## GUIDE TO THE MM2 HADHRAMAUT FILE

[The MM2 Hadhramaut File is concerned with the Arabic-speaking peoples and cultures of the Hadhramaut and the former Aden Protectorate in the southwestern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Since 1967 this area has been part of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen. However, all of the material in the file predates this time. The file contains 23 sources, numbered 1-16 and 18-24. The original source number 17 was never processed. All of the sources are in English and were written principally by government officials and travelers. The principal sources are 1: Ingrams, which is a British Colonial Office report on social, economic and political conditions in the Hadhramaut with data collected during the period 1934-1936 (this is the best single source in the File); 5: Hamilton and 6: Hamilton are lectures by a British army officer on the social organization of the various groups living in the Aden Protectorate and, more particularly, the Hadhramaut; and 24: Meulen and Wissmann is a good travel book which contains a large amount of cultural information. The various other sources help to fill in the subject areas not covered in the previous sources.

This is not a particularly good file to use for cross-cultural purposes. There are many gaps in the information; there are few sources written by social science researchers and none by anthropologists and ethnographers. On the other hand, the file contains the best of the little information available on this region and is valuable for special purpose uses. Most of the information refers to the period 1930-1950. The file was processed in 1955. There were no special marking decisions made for this file.]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35) 1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2


# CHAPTER I.

## GEOGRAPHY AND GENERAL INFORMATION.

### Geography.

It is not easy to define what territories should be included in the term Hadhramaut. Originally the word was no doubt the name of a tribe and at an early date came to be applied to the Wadi of that name. In its Hebrew form Hazarmaveth it occurs in Genesis, and the classical geographers speak of the people as the Adramitae and the Chatramotitae: the country they called Adramytta. 101

Masudi seems to divide Southern Arabia into the countries of Yemen, Hadhramaut, Ash Shihr, Mahra, and Oman. It is not quite clear that he makes a distinction between Shihr and Mahra, for in his day the inhabitants of Shihr were Mahris and the two words are allied.

On this conception arose the modern Arab's understanding of the term, and gradually Hadhramaut came to include both the interior in which the wadi ran and the coastlands previously called Ash Shihr; that name became restricted to the town. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says "Hadhramut, a district on the south coast of Arabia, bounded W. by Yemen, E. by Oman and N. by the Dahna desert. The modern Arabs restrict the name to the coast between Balhāf and Sihut, and the valley of the Wadi Hadhramut in the interior; in its wider and commonly accepted signification it includes also the Mahra and Gāra coasts extending eastwards to Mirbat; thus defined, its limits are between 14° and 18° N. and 47° 30′ to 55° E., with a total length of 550 m. and a breadth of 150 m." But the term has been even more unjustifiably extended to include all the territory between Aden and Ras al Hadd. 101 131

In the widest geographical sense in which it is used to-day, the term includes the Wahidi country, that of the Qu'aiti and Kathīri, and the Mahra country. The country east of Mahra, Dhufar, a province of Oman is not included. The eastern boundary on the coast is Ras Dharbat 'Ali, the cape which separates the Aden Protectorate from the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

The view of the Qu'aiti Government is that geographically the term includes the country "from 'Ain Ba Sa'id and Jirdan to Seihut in length, and from the sea to Al 'Abr (Sei'ar country) in breadth." Politically it includes only the country of the Qu'aiti and Kathīri Sultans, and in that sense it is used in this report. Physically this territory extends on the coast from Ras al Kalb to Damakh Hisāl in length and from the coast to the fringe of the Great Desert in breadth.

It would be convenient if some recognized limitation of regional names for South Arabia could be agreed upon, for, as has been shown, there has always been much vagueness over such names as

101 Shihr, and the territory described in the paragraph above might well
131 be accepted as the definition of the term Hadhramaut. Eastwards from the Hadhramaut succeed the Mahra country stretching on the coast from Museina'a to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, the boundary of the Aden Protectorate, and Dhufar in Oman which is inhabited by the Qara tribes who are a separate people and speak a separate language from the Mahras.

133 The Wadi Hadhramaut is the key feature of the geography of the country to which it gives its name. North and south of it the land rises to extensive plateaus which form watersheds. The one to the north, about 3,500 feet above sea-level, has a series of wadis draining north into the sands, and another series draining south into the Wadi Hadhramaut. The watershed to the south, consisting in the same way of plateaus, is higher than that to the north, for it rises to some 6,000 feet. From it, the wadis drain north into the Wadi Hadhramaut and south to the sea. This description is typical of that part of the country through which the wadi runs more or less west to east, that is to say, from about Husn al 'Abr to beyond Tarim. Over this stretch the bed of the wadi falls from a little over 2,000 feet above sea-level to a little under. On the 49th Meridian, a little west of Mukalla, there is an approximate depth of 106 miles of wadi, mountain, and steppe land between the sea and the main wadi, and rather more between that wadi and the desert. As the wadi turns to the south-east, however, it of course modifies these proportions, but the country maintains the same general formation.

**Climate.**

132 The climate of the Hadhramaut is on the whole healthy. On the high plateaus and even in the wadi land of the interior it is fresh and often cold in winter. In summer it is said to be hot but never unendurable. Mukalla probably enjoys a better summer than Aden. A period of forty days of extreme heat, and consequently known as the Arba'inia, begins on 4th May, and there is another period of eight days later in the year.

Heald, who reported on the agriculture of the Hadhramaut in 1921, says :—

> "The rain-fall along the coast is practically nil, some years they have one or two inches, but useless for agriculture, the floods being from the interior rain a long distance from Mukalla; when we were in the district from December to April, we had two or three showers, but every time too small for the rain gauge to measure.
>
> "The climate between October and April is healthy and suitable for travellers, but after that it becomes too hot for day marching; in fact, in April, some of the shut-in wadis were unbearable and we were very glad to leave the interior for the coast. Up in the hills in the winter months, it can be intensely cold."

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



following are notes on the other tribes mentioned, with the addition of three small tribes also dependent on the province.

### Ath Tha'yani.

This tribe possess houses and grazing lands around Reida and Qus'eir as far as Damakh. They live to the east of the Hamumi with whom they are allied, but they are not a Hamumi clan. They have an "A" agreement with the Qu'aiti, who pays them an annual subsidy.

### Hamumi.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bahasan at Tanbūl | — | Wadi al Ma'di | 250 | |
| Al Yamīni ... ... | — | Wadi 'Arf | 150 | — |
| As Sa'idi ... ... | — | Al Wāsit | 350 | — |
| Bā Hasan Bā Zamāri | — | North of Hami | 100 | — |
| Al Harāwiza ... | Beit Sarqāha | Ya'is Kherid | 100 | — |
| Beit 'Ali ... ... | — | Al Khamt | 250 | 'Ali bin Salim bin Mujanna Habrīsh. |
| Seiyids of Āl Zein and Āl bin Qitbān. | — | Al Jebel | 60 | |
| Beit ash Sharkha ... | — | Al Jebel | 50 | — |
| Beit Shanīn ... | — | North of Dis | 200 | — |
| Beni 'Ujeil ... ... | — | Al Jebel | 2,000[1] | — |
| Al Gharābi ... ... | — | Al Jebel and east of Wadi Himem. | 450 | — |
| Al Jāmiha ... ... | — | Al Jebel | 300 | — |
| Seiyids of Beit Hamūda | — | Al Jebel | 200 | — |
| Beit Ghatnīn ... | — | North of ar Reida and Qus'eir. | 200 | — |
| Al Jareiri ... ... | — | do. do. | 400 | — |
| Bin 'Asāna ... ... | — | do. do. | 300 | — |
| Al Hāzāwil ... ... | — | do. do. | 500 | — |
| Beit al 'Amaq ... | — | do. do. | 200 | — |
| Nōhat ... ... | — | do. do. | 250 | — |
| Beit Qarrād ... | — | do. do. | 700 | — |
| Beit Mabrūr... ... | — | do. do. | 100 | — |
| Al Asmūh ... ... | — | do. do. | 350 | — |
| Al 'Udūl ... ... | — | do. do. | 300 | — |
| Al Qarzi ... ... | — | North of Wadi 'Arf | 600 | — |
| Bā Shamakha ... | — | Beit al Qarazat | — | — |
| | | | 8,360 | |

The Hamumi Zei, who are of Himyaritic descent, strong and warlike, live in the country to the north of Shihr, from Wadi 'Arf in the south-west to Damakh Hisāl in the east. The western part of Reida and the southern part of Dis, where they have houses and

[1] Total estimated number of clan. Except where otherwise stated the estimated numbers given are those of armed men only.

631 grazing lands, belong to them, and they range from Shihr to
101 Seihut and up to the Manahil and Jabri. The Mana country
619 lies to the north and east of them, and the 'Awābitha and Al Heik live to their west.

619 The tribe[z] had a defensive and offensive alliance with the Kathīri, and were always a great source of trouble to the Qu'aiti. They were a byword for murder and robbery, owing to their systematic pillaging of travellers, until the Qu'aiti put an end to these activities by stringent measures some years ago. He[a] now pays them an annual subsidy and has a "B" agreement with them and they
[489] have ceased to be troublesome. Since coming to heel the tribesmen regularly load goods from Shihr for Shibam, Seiyun and Tarim, and continually visit Shihr, Hami, Dis, Qus'eir and Reida. They are mainly nomads and own about 3,000 loading camels but no riding animals.

They are the worst enemies of the Seibani, with whom they are continually at war: Inter-tribal feuds exist between several of their own clans, but all unite in the face of a common foe under the leadership of the Beit 'Ali clan, whose chief, 'Ali bin Salim Habrish, lives at Gheil Bā Yamīn and Wadi 'Arf and is the
[623] *Muqaddam* of the Zei. A "Council of Elders" is summoned at Gheil Bā Yamīn to decide matters of tribal importance, and the tribesmen of the various clans offer their rifles to prove their goodwill in acceptance of the decision of the Elders. The Mansabs of the tribe are Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il of the Āl 'Aidarus, but the Bā Shamakha clan are under the influence of 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and 'Abdul Qadir Āl Shibab of the Āl as Saqqaf. These Mansabs interfere in cases of serious tribal disputes or for the accomplishment of truces between fighting clans or tribes.

631 The clans of the Hamumi live in two districts, Al Ma'rab (the
101 Western) which is the smaller district and is situated to the North of Shihr, and Al Mashqās (the Eastern) which lies to the North
619 East of Shihr. The Bahasan at Tanbūl and the Yamīni are the clans living in Al Ma'rab, but also included in the district are their allies the Sha'āmila, the Bā Habān, and the Meseilīyin. The Yamīni, who are allied to the Seibani and live under their pro-
[249] tection, possess 200 camels, and the Bahasan own 100. The latter cultivate *tanbuli* leaf, which is chewed by the people of Shihr and Mukalla, and they have accordingly been nicknamed "at Tanbuli". The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with them.

The other clans mentioned in the list live in the district of Al Mashqās, consisting of deserts, fields, and wadis. From the Sa'idi to the Seiyids of Beit Hamūda inclusive the clans have a special system and their chief is the head of the Beit 'Ali. From the Beit Ghatnīn to the 'Udūl inclusive all the clans have their own

z [Hami ... Zei -- Analyst] a [See p. 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



chiefs. The Qarzi, who own about 600 camels but have no cultivation, are independent and the strongest of all the Hamumi clans. They have a "B" agreement with the Qu'aiti and they are in favour of peace and amity towards the Government with whom they have long been friends. 631 101 619

The Beit 'Ali clan possess about 400 camels and have no cultivation. The Gharābi are nomads with about 400 camels. The Beit Shanīn possess some 200 camels, and the Bā Hasan Bā Zamāri 100. The Beni 'Ujeil clan are cultivators and not fighters. They possess few arms and own about 600 camels. All the Hamumi clans are divided into many houses and branches.

### Ash Sha'āmila.

This small tribe, with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement, live between 'Arf and Gheil Bā Wazir in the district of Al Ma'rab. Together with the Bā Habān and the Meseilīyin, they number 300 armed men.

### Al Bā Habān.

This tribe, which together with the Sha'āmila and the Meseilīyin number 300 armed men, live in the district of Al Ma'rab to the north of Shihr.

### Al Meseilīyin.

The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with this tribe, who possess houses and grazing lands in the district of Al Ma'rab to the north of Shihr. They are connected with the 'Awābitha but are not a part of that tribe. Together with the Sha'āmila and the Bā Habān, they number 300 armed men.

### Al 'Asārina.

An independent tribe with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement. They possess houses and grazing lands in the southern part of Shihr.

### Al Bā Habāb.

A very small tribe living between Wadi Ma'di and Gheil. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with them.

### Tribesmen of Sadf.

This small tribe, with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement, live above the Sha'āmila. They were attached to the Kinda, but became separated. Hamdani mentions a sub-tribe of Kinda called Sadif with a sub-division named Bahr.

### Al 'Awābitha.

The clans of the 'Awābitha are the Bā Zor living at Al Hushin, Bā 'Anis living at Ghurb, and Bin Mujashar. They are a Himyaritic tribe, estimated at 2,000 to 3,000 persons, including some 700 armed

[see page 92, category 116. -- Analyst]

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631 101 619 men, and occupying the Wadi al 'Ain (south-east of 'Haura), the Wadi 'Adim, and the country to the east as far as Wadi Bin 'Ali. They also extend to the neighbourhood of Gheil Bā Wazir and at places border the Hamumi. The village of Ghurb, which is the headquarters of the Bā 'Anis clan, consists of about 250 houses. The tribe are independent, part settled, part nomad, and they ply their camels for hire between Mukalla, Shihēir, and Shihr, and the Wadi Hadhramaut via Wadi al 'Ain. They possess about 800 [423] camels. The settled 'Awābitha owned many date trees in Wadi al 'Ain, but they have sold or mortgaged a large number of them to the wealthy inhabitants of Du'an. The Qu'aiti Sultan also owns date groves in the wadi which used to be looked after by his slaves, but owing to a quarrel between the tribe and the slaves the latter were removed and the property entrusted to the care of the Bin Mufashar clan.

At one time the tribe had a defensive alliance with the Kathīri against the Qu'aiti, but they are said now to be loyally allied to the latter who pays them an annual subsidy and with whom they have an "A"[1] agreement. Though not actually under the Qu'aiti they acknowledge his suzerainty owing to his control of the ports, of which they greatly stand in need for the employment of their camels. They are not on terms with the Sei'ar, and they are allied to the Seibani against the Hamumi, their inveterate foes. Their *Mansab* is the Sheikh of the Bā Wazir living at Bawerqat in Wadi al 'Ain, where there are also other Bā Wazir villages, including Safīl which is the headquarters of the chief Bā Wazir *Mansabs*.

### Al Ma'ara.

The clans of the Ma'āra are Bin Thabit, Bā Surra, Bin Hateish, Bil Ahwal, Bā Bil Heiz, Bin Basut, Bā Ajban, Bā Hasan, Bā Awahab, Bā Haneish, Bā Tha'lab, Bin Joshum and Bin Shamemi. The tribe, whose habitat is Hirū and ar Reida, are often considered a clan of the Hamumi, but they are independent although they are closely attached to the Qarzi clan of the Hamumi. Their fighting men number some 400, and they possess houses and grazing lands in the upper part of the Shihr province; but they have no running water and their cultivation depends on rain. They breed camels and sheep, and they ply for hire between Shihr and the Wadi Hadhramaut via their own country, but they also go into Mukalla in order to obtain loads. They are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aiti who has a "B" agreement with them.

### Al Jōhī.

This tribe, who were originally part of the Seibani but are now independent, have houses and grazing lands in the upper part of the Shihr province, and Reida belongs to them. It is said that they are in the pay of the Qu'aiti, who has a "B" agreement with them.

1 [See pag=92, category 116 -- Analyst]

depend on the capital for business and supplies, as do the tribes of Nahd Rōdhān and Āl Makhāshin (included with the Nahd, see Chapter XIX). The Hadhrami Yafa'is, and particularly the sections of Bal'ala, al Hamdhān, al Jābri, Ibn az Zu', and ash Shabeibi, also look on it as their headquarters.

The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely connected with the province. The others mentioned will be found under more appropriate heads :—

BENI HASAN.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bā Haj ... ... ... | Bā Zala and eight other sections. | Mazīnab | 120 |
| Bā Ra'ida ... ... | — | — | 70 |
| Bā Kadīm ... ... | — | — | 50 |
| Bā 'Azad ... ... ... | Daqeil | 'Azad | 30 |
| Rahbani ... ... ... | Bā Dalhūs | — | 15 |
| | | | 285 |

[162]

The Beni Hasan, a Himyaritic tribe, closely allied to the 'Akābira who live to their south, are said to have been long settled in the country they inhabit. Their grazing lands lie around Mukalla and extend to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. Their chief village is Lubeib, but they reside also in Wādi Ariat and Asfal al 'Ain, west of Mukalla. They have been described as a clan of the Seibani living in the valley of Jirba and the surrounding mountains. They used to be neighbours of the Kasadi on the east, but assisted the Qu'aitis in their fight against the Kasadi Naqīb and for this reason receive, jointly with the 'Akābira, an annual gift of 700 loads of grain from the Qu'aiti, who also pays them an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them. Their chief is in his service and bears the title of Shaush. The armed strength of the Beni Hasan is estimated at from 200 to 300 men, and the tribe is under the influence of the 'Amūdi *Mansab* of Tila.

The Rahbani and Bā Haj clans are cultivators, but the Bā Zala section of the latter are nomads and own 500 camels. Half of the Bā Ra'ida are nomads, known as Bā Dahūs, and half are cultivators of dates and jowari; they own about 100 camels. The Bā Kadīm are almost all settled. The Bā 'Azad own about 50 camels, but the Daqeil section are nomads and the Bā Dalhūs are settled.

'AKĀBIRA.

| *Clan.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|
| Shahfi ... ... ... | Husn Buwar | 250 |
| Suleimani ... ... | — | 100 |
| Bin Naja and as Sa'idi ... | Masna'a | 100 |
| Mukbali ... ... ... | — | 35 |
| | | 485 |

[See page 42, category 116 -- Analyst]

A Himyaritic tribe and a sister tribe to the Beni Hasan. Like them they are said to have been long settled in the country they inhabit, and have grazing lands around Mukalla, extending to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. They also were neighbours of the Kasadi but helped the Qu'aitis against the Naqīb for which they receive, jointly with the Beni Hasan, an annual gift of 700 loads of grain. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the tribe and pays them an annual subsidy. They, too, have been described as a clan of the Seibani, living to the south and south-west of Howeira mountain. They are said to be a peaceful tribe, having no feud with their neighbours, and, except for the Sa'idi clan who are cultivators, they are all nomads, owning over 700 camels together with a fair number of sheep. Both the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan ply their camels for hire between Mukalla and Du'an only, and never go into the Hadhramaut. The armed strength of the 'Akābira is estimated at about 500, and their *mansabs* are from the 'Amūdis of Tila.

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### Muhammadīyin.

A Himyaritic tribe consisting of the following clans: Buheish, Bā 'Ambdh, Bā Jahlan, Mahi, Bā Baheis, Shamasi. They have grazing lands around Mukalla, extending to the borders of Hajr and to the high lands of Du'an, and they have long been settled in the country they inhabit. Their tribal centre is Ghazat al Buheish near Haseisa, where there is some cultivation, and they also have a little cultivation in Wadi Muhammadī. The tribe are on the west of the Beni Hasan and to the east of the Nūwah of Wadi Hajr. They are nomads, peaceful and friendly to both the Seibani and Nūwah in whose fights they take no part, and they own about 600 camels which are used for carrying goods to Du'an. Their armed strength is estimated at from 300 to 700. The Qu'aiti pays them an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

### Hāmdi.

This tribe, who have long been settled in the country they inhabit, have grazing lands around Mukalla which extend to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the tribe and pays them an annual subsidy.

### Buheish.

A nomadic tribe under one *Muqaddam* but subdivided into four clans, each with a separate name and chief. They extend along the coast from Ras Rahmat to Fuwa, a distance of 25 miles, with a vast district inland extending to the high lands of Du'an and the borders of Hajr. They were neighbours of the Kasadi and have long been settled in the country they inhabit. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with then

AL HEIK.

619 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the
631 sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan
101 they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shiheir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct
433 route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the
438 inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me
465 as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being
162 an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures
361 appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and
651 villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns
652 and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

635 619 [162] The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely connected with the province :—

SEIBANI.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 101 Marāshida ... | | Living round the province of Du'an. | 400—500 |
| | Bā Daheiduh | | |
| | Bā Beitar | | |
| | Bā Dhrus | — | |
| | Bā Kardas | | |
| | Bā Sara | | |
| Khāmā ... ... | — | — | 300—900 |
| | Bā Surra | | |
| | Bā Kadīm | | |
| | Bā Sallum | | |
| | Bā Rashīd | | |
| Hālka ... ... | | Hūfa in Wadi Leisar | 300—800 |
| | Bā Dajeil | | |
| | Bā Sa'd | | |
| | Bā Nakhar | | |
| | 'Al Biadha | | |
| | Bā Khashwein | | |
| As Sumūh ... ... | | | 500—1,000 |
| | Shaka'i | | 200 |
| | Bā Wasim | | |
| | Jodani | | |
| | Jahzami | | |
| | Bā Buteiya | | |
| | Ghuth | | |
| Al Meshājir ... ... | — | Husn Ba'ba', Wadi Yeb'uth. | 250 |
| Al Qathm ... ... | — | — | 100 |
| Al Hamidī ... ... | — | — | 400 |
| | | | 2,450—4,150 |

[162] 619 631 369 The Seibani Zei are said to be part of a Confederation which includes the 'Awābitha and Āl Heik tribes. They extend from the Hamūmi country on the east to the Nūwah on the west. The Nahd and Kathīri tribes bound them on the north, and the Beni Hasan on the south. The tribe are partly nomad and partly settled and they own villages round Mukalla and in Wadis Du'an, Leisar, and Huweira; many of them live in 'Aura and Qurein in Wadi Du'an. The settled Seibanis, like other townsmen land-owners, are subject to taxation on their date groves by the Qu'aiti whom they acknowledge in full sovereignty. The nomads acknowledge Qu'aiti suzerainty but pay no taxes. Their country is at present the safest for travelling and a *siyar* is unnecessary. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an " A 'agreement with them.

619 622 628 Muhammad bin 'Umar and Ahmed bin 'Umar Bā Surra of the Khāmā clan of the Seibani, the Qu'aiti Governors of the Du'an province, are also the paramount *Muqaddams* of the tribe. Inter-tribal disputes are settled by reference to the heads of neutral clans, more important cases being carried to the Bā Surras and the Shatiri Seiyid who is their *Mansab*. The Mihdhār family of Seiyids descended from Sheikh Abubekr, also have great influence

with the whole tribe, as have the 'Amūdi Sheikhs of Budha and Tila who exercise considerable authority, in as much as they can on their own initiative interfere and declare a fight between the Seibani and [illegible] as ended on the Seibani side. The Qathm clan, who [illegible] from the sea and ply their camels between Du'an and [illegible]ut, have the following *mansabs*, Muhammad bin Muham[illegible]ul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il. 619 622 628

Of the clans and sections given above, the Handbook of Arabia mentions the Bā Sara and the Sumūh, and also the Basarīyah and Bā Qūr whose names I did not obtain. The Marāshida clan are nomads, owning about 1,200 camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Du'an and Hadhramaut. In November 1934, this clan were at feud with the Sumūh. 619 628 101

The Khāmā are a hardy, nomad people, owning cattle and sheep and about 1,000 camels. The Bā Kadīm section are the strongest in numbers but the Bā Surra the most important. The Hālka clan have grazing lands round Mukalla extending towards Wadi Leisar. They own about 300 to 400 loading camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Hadhramaut via Wadi Leisar. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the clan and pays them an annual subsidy. The Biadha are a very small section, and the Bā Khashwein, though not really a section, live under the protection of the Hālka and are so closely allied to them that they are generally considered one of their sections. 619 101 631

The Sumūh, who own about 600 camels, are the largest clan. Their grazing lands lie round Mukalla extending to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. They have long been settled in the country they inhabit. The Qu'aiti pays the clan an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

### 'AMŪDI.

The tribe consists of the following clans: Āl Motahhar, Āl Muhammad bin Sa'id, Āl Ahmed bin Muhammad, Āl Baghābira, Āl Saklu', Ash Sheikh 'Umar al Munasib, Āl Batuk (Bin Tuk), Āl Badahia (Bin Dahia), Āl Bā 'Abd al Qadir, Āl Bā Ahmed, Āl at Teiyar, Āl Barubeid, Āl Faqih, Āl Bajumā, Āl Basamad, Āl Kushan, As Suq'an, Āl Batawīl, Āl Basaqr, Āl Abubekr, Āl Barnusa and Āl Bayasīn.

The 'Amūdi or Beni 'Isa live in Wadi Du'an and on the plateau of Reidat ad Deiyin. They are descended from one Sa'id bin 'Isa known as 'Amūd ad Dīn, and the men bear the title of Sheikh. They were once paramount in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, but in 1900 when, with a force of about 1,100 men, they advanced and occupied Qurein and 'Aura, the Qu'aiti collected men from Khoreiba and Rashid and these, reinforced from Mukalla, broke the power of the 'Amūdis once for all. They fled to the mountains and treated for peace, but were permitted to return to Sif and Budha and gradually obtained possession of a considerable area of fertile land in Wadi Du'an and Wadi Leisar.

1 [see page 92 category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



tribe who are now very weak, though the wadi is still called after them Wadi Hajr Bin Daghār. To-day the wadi belongs to the Qu'aiti and it is said that in time it will be known as Wadi Hajr Qu'aiti.

The capital of the province is now Kanina, said to have about 300 to 400 houses and an estimated population of 1,500. Other important villages are Yuwan, the old capital, As Sadaka, Husn Bā Suleiman, Husn Ba'ba', Al 'Asala, Al Qima, Al Hussein, Husun Bā Raghab, Jōl Bā Hāwa, Leswa and Muhrin. The Governor is Sa'id Marzuk Salah. Hajr is an agricultural province and it is estimated that the number of tribesmen is 5,000. As I did not visit the Hajr province during my tour, the information given is even more at second hand than in other cases.

The tribes living in the province or dependent on it are the Bin Daghār, Nūwah, Āl Deiyeb, Āl Bā Bekr and Āl Zaghīb, Āl Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Khāshia al Murqashi. The following is a description of these tribes together with others connected with Hajr.

NŪWAH.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Sub-section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nūwah Hajr ... | Āl Bā Rashid | — | Al Qeima, Libna | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Sheiba | — | Libna | 150 |
| | Āl Bā Shuqūr | — | — | 80 |
| | 'Ayāl Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Hajām | — | — | 40 |
| | Āl Bā Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Faqqās | — | Qazein, Yuwan | 200 |
| | Āl Bā Dubīān | Āl Bā Sabera | Jōl Bā Hāwa, Al Qāsima, Yuwan, Muhammada, Kanina. | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Mas'ud | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Dabeis | | Yuwan | 100 |
| | As Sumahi | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Sara | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Qarwān | — | Muhammada | 250 |
| | Āl Bā Rajāsh | — | Kanina, Sherij Bā Jamum, Husun Āl Bā Rajāsh. | 400 |
| | Bā Museita | | — | 100 |
| Nūwah Du'an | Āl Bā Hakīm | — | Al Qarn | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Sam | — | — | 120 |
| | Āl Bā Khamis | — | — | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Ma'as | — | — | 150 |
| | Bu Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Bā Safr | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl Bā Shihab | — | — | — |
| Nūwah Lajrāt Du'an. | Āl Bā Batīn | — | — | 70 |
| | Āl Bā Sūeid | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl 'Afif | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Meis | — | — | — |
| | | | | 2,760 |

619 The whole tribe are now peaceable and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them. The leader of the Motahhar clan who resides
622 at Budha is acknowledged as the paramount chief, but for practical
631 and political purposes the 'Amūdis are under the actual control
635 of the Seibani leaders, the Governors of Du'an, though the Qu'aiti allows them autonomy in their own towns. The towns of Qeidun, where their ancestor lies buried, and Dhuba also belong to the tribe, and the Sheikh of the former is 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Umar bin Muhammad, and of the latter Sheikh 'Abdulla bin Salih bin Motahhar al 'Amūdi.

### Deiyin.

631 The Deiyin tribe consists of twelve clans. The estimated number
601 of armed men where obtained is given after each clan: Al Bazi,
619 200; Bā Kershūb, 200; Al Bās, 150; Bā Salim, 50; Bā Kharbūsh, 50; Bin Sūeidan, 200; Bā Masdūs, 150; Bā 'Umein, 300; Labarja Bā Henhen, Yās, Ba Kharshūm.

The tribe trace their descent from Kinda. They inhabit Reidat ad Deiyin on the tableland between Wadis Du'an and 'Amd, and also the west of Du'an and Beina: their chief village is Zila. It is said that the estimated number of men belonging to those clans living at Al Hautá and 'Asala is 1,500. They possess camels and sheep, but live mainly by cultivation, and their means of livelihood depend on Mukalla and Du'an. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the tribe. Thier *mansab* is ' Isa bin ' Abdul Qudir Āl Haddad.

### Bā Juba.

A small tribe living at Qarat al Mihdhār under the influence of Seiyid Bubekr bin Hussein al Mihdhār. They formerly followed the plough but have now taken to arms.

### Khamikha.

This tribe live on the outskirts of the province of Du'an.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 4. HAJR PROVINCE.

635 The Hajr province includes the Wadi Hajr with its towns and
103 villages from Meifa to Ras al Kalb, together with the towns and villages in the south between Bir 'Ali and Wadi Hajr. According to a local account the Wadi was first known as Wadi Hajr Wahab after a man who came there, diverted the water springs, and then died. He was followed by the people of Kinda who found Sheikh Sa'id bin 'Isa al 'Amūdi living there. They assisted him to open the springs, and also imposed taxes to be paid by the people to the Sheikh. The Kinda ruled in the wadi which then became known as the Wadi Hajr Kinda. Later there came the Bin Daghār

[The ... see preceding page -- Analyst]

[see page 12, category 116 -- Analyst]

631 The Nūwah live in Wadi Hajr, occupying the country north of the Muhammadīyin and west of the Seibani. They have working and trading connections with Mukalla, but their chief occupation is the rearing of camels and they have a fair amount of cultivation, mostly dependent on rain. The tribe gave the Qu'aiti a great deal of trouble in his efforts to subdue them, but they are now friendly to him and under his influence. He pays them an annual subsidy and has an "A" agreement with them. The house of Al Beiti Seiyids of the Bā 'Alawi family living at Gheil bin Yamīn are said to have influence over the tribe.

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The Bā Faqqās and the Bā Dubīān sections live between the Wadis Bārda and Kanina which run into the main Wadi Hajr. The Bā Dubīān own about 100 camels. Their sub-section, the Bā Sabera is descended from the ancient tribe of Saberāt, one of the original Hadhramaut tribes.

The Bā Qarwān own about 150 to 200 camels, the Bā Sam about 100, and the Bā Shuqūr 100. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with the Bā Sara section.

### Bin Daghār.

This independent tribe live at Al Hussein in Wadi Hajr, but have working and trading connections with Mukalla, and the Qu'aiti, who has an "A" agreement with them, pays them an annual subsidy. As has been said the main wadi is still called after them, although they are now a weak tribe. The Āl Maknun Seiyids have influence over them.

### Āl Deiyeb.

The clans of the Āl Deiyeb are Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Āl Beni 'Utheimān, and Āl al Qumeish. The Qu'aiti, who recently renewed alliance with the Beni 'Utheimān, has "B" agreements with each clan and with the tribe as a whole. They live to the west of Hajr and belong to the Sultan of Balhaf.

### Āl Babekr and Āl Zaghīb.

The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with this independent nomadic tribe living in Hajr.

### Āl Bā Hanaf Āl Al 'Ajaz Al Mushafir.

A tribe living beyond Hajr with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement.

### Āl Khāshia Al Murqashi.

This tribe live near Fuwa and near Hajr. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with them.

### Āl Bā Hanaf.

A Hajr tribe living in Jerdan with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement.

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### Āl Hābib Benī Sa'd.

This tribe also live at Jerdan and the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with them.

### An Namāra Benī Hilāl.

The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with this tribe who live at Wadi Yeb'uth beyond Wadi 'Amd.

### Āl Senad Āl Murqashi.

This tribe live beyond Hajr and the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with them.

### The Beduins of Ash Shāūla.

This small tribe, who were originally of Hajr, now live to the west of Jerdan. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with them.

### Nu'mān.

The clans of the Nu'mān are Āl Baheith and Āl Bā Qātmi living at Sidāra and Wadi Salmun, and Āl Bā Suleiman living at Husn Bā Suleiman. The tribe is said to number about 2,000, and the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with the Āl Baheith clan.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 5. SHIBAM PROVINCE.

The Shibam province, which is described by the Qu'aiti as being the eye and the backbone of the Hadhramaut, includes the towns and villages up the Wadi Hajarein from, but excluding, Hajarein as far as the Wadi Hadhramaut, and eastward along the Wadi Hadhramaut to just east of Shibam. The capital of the province is Shibam, a tightly-packed walled city of 500 houses, seven mosques, and an estimated population of 7,000. The other towns and villages of the province after Hajarein are: Jidfera, belonging to the Āl Jābri (a clan of the Hadhrami Yafa'i) with 50 armed men; Al Jahi, belonging to the Bin Musā'id with 35 armed men, (on enquiry as to which tribe the Bin Musā'id belonged I was informed that they were a clan of the Sei'ar, but this should be treated with reserve); Nahūla, belonging to the Āl 'Umar Mahfudh with 85 armed men; Al Manīdhara, the inhabitants of which are full subjects of the Qu'aiti Government; Al Hauta and Meshhed belonging to the Seiyids of Al 'Attas; Marāwih, Al Aqlāt, and 'Adab belonging to the Bā Wazīr townsmen; Qabdhein ar Rōdha with 30 armed men under the *Mansab* of Meshhed; Sadba belonging to the Rabbā (a section of the Nahd) with 50 armed men; Qarn Āl Sharāh belonging to the Āl Manif (a section of the Nahd) with 70 armed men; Badra, Al 'Ardh, Dīār Āl Nāsir, and Siraj with 45, 50, 35, and 30 armed men respectively, belong also to the Rabbā; Bahrān belonging to the Nahd Āl Thābit with 60 armed men; Haura, with a population of 1,500, all subjects of the Qu'aiti

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Sultan 'Ali has great influence in the province and particularly among the Sei'ar, as his mother belonged to the Āl Sab'ān clan of that tribe.

The following tribes depend on Shibam: Sei'ar, Nahd Rōdhān, Al Makhāshin, Hadhrami Yafa'is, the tribesmen of Āl Kathīr ash Shenafir including their Beduins, Āl Mahfudh, Bin Musa'īd, Bā Wazir, 'Awaliq, Harizi, Āl 'Amr, Āl Bin Balleith and Āl Heidera. Of these the Makhāshin, sometimes considered a separate tribe, are included with the Nahd, and the Bin Musa'īd are included with the Sei'ar. A description of the Shenafir Confederation will be found in Chapter XXII.

The following is a description of the tribes living in, or close to, the province:—

SEI'AR.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Hātim ... | Hagr al Malāqīt | Hagr in Wadi Mahdhara. | — | Yeslem bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a. |
| | Āl Huweilān | Merikh in Wadi Mahdhara. | 100 | |
| | Āl Jerbū'a | Al Ārūh in Wadi Mahdhara. | 70 | — |
| | Ad Dalkh | Bādī in Wadi Mahdhara. | 30 | — |
| | Āl Dahūān | Az Zamra in Wadi Mahdhara. | 30 | — |
| | Āl Mulhī | Husn Āl Mulhī | 140 | 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī. |
| | Āl 'Abdulla 'Aun | Hadhī | 150 | Salim bin Muhammad al Jerbū'a. |
| | Āl Mesādisa | Jōl Āl Bajnab | 70 | do. do. |
| | Āl 'Ubeidun | Al Gheidha | 20 | do. do. |
| | Āl 'Asākira | Husn Āl 'Asākira. | 30 | do. do. |
| | Āl Ma'ruf | — | — | — |
| | Āl Sa'dun | — | — | — |
| | Āl Yahajīn | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Khushm | — | — | — |
| Āl 'Ali ... ... | Āl 'Ali | Husn Āl ar Rīs, Husn Tālib, Husn Meshāmid Husn al Ā'awar, Husn al Mūshahi. | 40 | Tanāf bin Seheil bin Rumeidān. |
| Dūmān ... ... | Dūmān | Husn Lakdān, Husn Bil'ādh, Husūn al Qana, Husn Seir, Husn Waqāsh. | 100 | — |
| Āl Bā Rūh ... | — | Qariat as Sumuh. | 50 | 'Ali bin 'Alta bin Tarim. |
| Āl Bāqi Mellem | — | — | 100 | do. do. |
| Āl Sab'ān ... | — | Qaria Jidfela | 25-40 | — |
| Āl Bā Wazifa ... | — | Husn ash Sha'ba. | 15 | — |

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| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Meshāikh Āl Is-haq. | — | Qariat al Hujr, Qaria Sarīn al Meshāikh. | | — |
| Āl 'Ayāf ... ... | — | Qariat al Hujr Āl 'Ayāf. | — | — |
| Ba'rān (Āl Leith bin 'Umar). | — | Qariat as Sabr | — | |
| Al Āshāmis al Ākasālīn. | — | Ar Ramīla | 30 | — |
| Āl Makram al Ākasālīn. | — | Husn Āl Makram | 20 | — |
| Āl al Fanakh al Ākasālīn. | — | Husn Āl al Fanakh. | 40 | — |
| Al Mazāri'a ... | — | Qariat adh Dhamr al Kasālīn. | 100 | — |
| Āl Jūbala ... | — | Husn as Samādi'a Āl Jūbala. | — | |
| Āl Hibrās ... | — | Husn ar Reika Āl Hibrās, Husn Āl Bakhīt Āl Hibrās. | — | — |
| Āl Hudeib ... | — | Husn bin Meifar Āl Hudeib, Husn Balqalīs, Āl Hudeib, Husn 'Awadh bin Rabi'a Āl Hudeib, Husn Maqāsid. | 100 | Tanāf bin Seheil bin Rumeidān. |
| Āl Qarwān | — | Husn Qā' al Fadhūl Āl Qarwān. | — | do. do. |
| Āl Fadhūl ... | — | Husn Qā' al Fadhūl Āl Fadhūl. | 40 | — |
| Āl Khamīs ... | — | Husn Sāh Āl Khamīs. | 40 | — |
| Āl ad Dāhbali ... | — | Husn al Minsāf ad Dāhbali. | 50 | — |
| As Sāda Āl 'Alawi bin Ahmed. | — | Husn as Seiyid | — | — |
| Al Fazīr ... | — | Husn Saligh | — | |
| Āl Hadad ... | — | Husn al Hadad | 20 | — |
| Āl 'Ajāj ... | — | Husn Āl 'Ajāj | 30 | — |
| Āl Yash bin 'Umar | — | Qanī | 70 | — |
| Āl Muhammad bin 'Ali | — | — | 10 | — |
| Āl Awadh bin Kaslān. | — | — | 30 | — |
| Āl Qartān ... | — | — | 100 | — |
| Āl Kharāis ... | — | — | 30 | — |
| Bin Musā'id | — | Al Jahi | 35 | |
| | | | 1,715–1,730 | |

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| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nahd Rōdhān ... | Āl Fāris | As Subeiha | 50 |
| | Āl Boshr | Dār al Hijil | 30 |
| | do. | Ash Sharq | 30 |
| | do. | Fadhh east and north | 40 |
| | Āl Manīf | Lakhmās | 30 |
| | do. | Al Qofi and Shirākh | 40 |
| | do. | Qarn Āl Sharāh | 70 |
| | Āl 'Abdulla bin Muhammad. | Bahrān | 20 |
| | Āl Thābit | Al Baqrī and Harat al Bīr. | 20 |
| | do. | Al Qāra | 20 |
| | do. | Ash Sharīūf | 15 |
| | Bin Mudh'adh'a bin Thābit. | Al 'Adān | 10 |
| | Āl 'Aqīl | Ghanīma | 20 |
| | Āl Muqeimah | Adh Dhāhira | 20 |
| | Āl 'Ajjāj | Qa'ūdha | 50 |
| | Āl Hidīān | Al Badū' | 50 |
| | Āl Buheijān | Al Husn | 30 |
| | Āl Badr | Ash Shareij | 150 |
| | Āl al Qānis | Museilāb | 10 |
| Nahd Yezīd ... | Āl Yamna | As Sufūl | 20 |
| | do. | As Sūr | 100 |
| | Āl Dhīāb | Duhr | 40 |
| | Āl Qamāsīn | Al Khariba | 40 |
| | Beni Shabīb | Manwab | 30 |
| | do. | Ghaseis | 30 |
| | do. | Mad-har bin Nahīd in Wadi Manūb. | — |
| | Āl az Zū' | Al Husn at Al Qatn | 20–40 |
| | Āl Hamdhān | Husn Handhān and 'Ikaba. | 20–30 |
| | Āl Hubū' | Al Furt | 15 |
| | Bil Hamaz | Al Qatn | — |
| | Āl Jebl | — | — |
| | Āl Basiab | — | — |
| Nahd Dhulfan | Beni Dhuleif | Between Fūha and Al Fūha, Wadi Henin. | 100 |
| | Bin at Teiyer | Salhab and Zugheifan | — |
| | Bin Makshūr and Bin Aqīl. | Sahlab | 40 |
| | Āl Sāīl | Juwat, Al Khannāq | 20 |
| | Āl 'Azūn | Wadi Henin | 40 |
| | Āl Shirmān | Al Hidba | 20 |
| | Āl Hutān | Khōnab, near tomb of Salih. | 40 |
| | Bin Tarban | — | — |
| | Bin 'Eifar | — | — |
| | Bil Wakhwakh | Wadi Ser, near tomb of Salih. | — |
| Nahd Āl Muhammad | Āl Jidnan | Ar Ramla | 60 |
| | Āl Hūeil | Al 'Ardh | 40–50 |
| | do. | As Sufūla | 50 |
| | Āl 'Abrī | Ghanīma | 20 |
| | do. | Al Mitna | 10 |
| | Āl Kūeir | Al Husn | 30 |

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| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nahd Āl Maqārīm | — | Diyār al Maqārīm | 30 |
| | Āl Tāhir | Bā Hasān | 20 |
| | Āl Muhanna | Al Juwa | 20 |
| | Āl Nuheid | Ash Shi'b | 30 |
| | do. | Mad-har | 40 |
| | Āl Muhammad bin 'Āmr. | 'Uneibida and Zukeika | 50 |
| | Āl Kuleib | Manwab and Al Ghatāa | 70 |
| | Āl Bedr Muhammad | Manwab and Al Ghatāa | 40 |
| | Āl Rabbā' | Sadba | 50–70 |
| | do. | Badra, Al 'Ardh, Sirāj, Diyār Āl Nāsir. | 160 |
| | Āl Makhāshin | Al 'Ardh, 'Arūdh al Makhāshin. | 70 |
| | Āl 'Umar bin Ja'far (Sultans). | Al 'Ajlānia | 17–30 |
| | Āl Najjar | — | — |
| Bā Bekr | 4 sections. | | |
| Āl Hukman | | | |
| Āl Shabbal | | | |
| Āl Hatra | | | |
| | | | 2,087–2,160 |

The Nahd live on the left bank of the Wadi Hadhramaut starting from a point opposite the confluence of the Wadis Du'an and 'Amd due north of Haura. They are Qahtanis and claim descent from Kinda. Ibn Khaldun states that the Beni Nahd are derived from Qudha'ā and that they settled in Yemen in the neighbourhood of the Beni Khath'am. He says they are like wild beasts and that the vulgar call them *As Sarwa*. Most of them are a mixed race, partly descended from the Beni Khath'am and Bajīla. Hamdani, who calls the Nahd a sub-tribe of the Beni 'Ans, mentions the Beni Harām as being the principal sub-division of the Beni Nahd.

The Nahd generally are usually on bad terms with the Sei'ar, though the latter visit their markets in the main wadi. Some of the Nahd are allied to the Qu'aitis and some to the Kathīris. The Qu'aiti has an "A" agreement with the Āl Makhāshin and "B"[1] agreements with the Āl Bā Bakr and the Nahd Rōdhān, though the former are also claimed as allies and followers of the Kathīris.

619 The majority of the tribe are agriculturists and grow dates,
631 jowari, and some wheat. The Nahd Dhulfan, whose country is mostly arid and cultivated only after rainfall, live principally by
[463] selling firewood and stones in Qu'aiti towns. About three-quarters of the Nahd al Maqārīm are agriculturists and many of them grow
241 wheat on well irrigation; the rest of the clan are Beduins who rear camels and sheep. The Āl Kuleib and Āl Nuheid, who are poor, possess little more than a few date trees; they sell firewood and
000 other things in the Qu'aiti towns. The Āl Makhāshin are settled

[1] See page 92 category 116 — Analyst

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The Āl Mukhāshan are settled

and possess towns, villages, and trees near Shibam, and depend on the capital for their necessities. 619

The Āl Hidlān, Āl Buheijān, Āl Badr, and Āl al Qānis are Beduins belonging to the Nahd Rōdhān clan, but they live at Fūha. Generally speaking, the rest of the Nahd Rōdhān clan possess towns, villages, and trees round Shibam and its dependencies. They have relied on Shibam for their necessities for a long time. The Āl Yamna, Beni Shabīb, Āl az Zu', Bil Hamaz, and Āl Baziab sections of the Nahd Yezīd are agriculturists and also rear camels. The Āl az Zu' and the Bil Hamaz are an exception to the rule that the tribe live on the left bank and reside near Al Qatn. The Āl Jebe and Āl Qāmāzīn are nomads; the latter have a reputation amongst the whole tribe for bad faith and robbery. 631 101

It is stated that there are 35 armed men of the Nahd in the village of Al Man'at, 50 in the village of Marāti between Al Man'at and Henin, and 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shabīb in the town of Mad-har in Wadi Manub, but it is not clear to what clans or sections this refers.

The *Mansabs* of the Nahd tribe are Ahmed bin Hussein Āl 'Aidarus, Al Hazm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus, 'Ali bin Zein and Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, Ahmed bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas, and Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. [6aa

### Āl 'Amr.

An independent nomadic tribe living in the Wadis 'Irma and Duhr near Shabwa.

### Āl Bin Balleith and Āl Heidera.

These two tribes together occupy the upper part of Wadi Rakhia near Wadis 'Irma and Duhr.

### Āl Mahfudh.

This tribe, who are said to number 2,000, are descended from Kinda, and for this reason they are sometimes included with the Sei'ars. It is said that they used to occupy the town of Hajarein but they are now scattered in the neighbouring mountains. The Āl 'Umar Mahfudh live at Nahūla and have been estimated at 85 armed men. The Qu'aiti has an "A" agreement with the tribe.

### Bā Muhammad.

A small independent tribe living at Haura and Hajarein.

### Hariẓi.

A small tribe practically confined to the Wadi Qubhudh which has its source on the plateau to the north of the main Wadi Hadhramaut. Apart from the village of Qubhudh and a few neighbouring hamlets, they are troglodytes and live with their animals in caves in the walls of the wadi, wandering up and down it in a precarious search for water and pasture. Some of them do a carrying trade, and they are, as they have to be, friendly with their neighbours. Their chief is Salih bin 'Ali.

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### Tribes connected with the 'Awaliq.

| Tribe. | Clan. | Places. |
|---|---|---|
| Āl Bureik ... | ... Āl Bin Bureik<br>Āl Nabāhīn | Shabwa. |
| Āl Karab ... | ... — | The neighbourhood of Rakban and further to the west. |
| Āl Hammām | ... — | The desert of Nisab. |

These tribes, which are not really Hadhramaut tribes but are included on account of their dependence on Shibam for a market, are practically independent though very nominally the Āl Bureik and the Āl Karab are under the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh, and the Āl Hammām are more or less under the authority of the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan.

The Āl Bureik are Sheikhs, and at one time the Āl Bin Bureik were masters of Shihr but now the whole of the small tribe are settled in Shabwa.

[631] The Qu'aiti has " B " agreements with the 'Awaliq generally.

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### The Hadhrami Yafa'is and their Sections.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Dhubi ... | Āl al Bakrī | Zarqāna and Bā Bakr | 25 |
| | Bin Dāūd and Al 'Afif | Husūn | 25 |
| | Āl al Hadhārim | As Sāha | 20 |
| Āl Mausata | Āl Qu'ata | Al 'Iqad | 75 |
| | Āl 'Ali al Hāj | As Sāha | 50 |
| | Āl al Hadādin | Hadba and Al Ghalīn | 20 |
| | Āl al Jahāwira | As Sāha | 20 |
| | Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl 'Ab bin Ahmed. | 'Ardh Maarūr | 60 |
| | Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl Salim bin 'Ali. | Huweila | 40 |
| | Bin 'Ali Jābir. | Khashāmir | 80 |
| Beni 'Ardh | | Al Fardh | 100 |
| Āl Rashīd ... | — | Hautat Jābir | 15 |
| Āl an Nuqabā | — | Bukria | 15 |
| Āl al Madāshina ... | — | Āl 'Anīn | 20 |
| Āl Beni Naqīb ... | — | Al 'Uqda | 20 |
| Āl Ahmed ... | — | Daqīqa | 85 |
| Āl Āsa'd ... | — | Al Kharāba | 30 |
| Āl Jabri ... | — | Husun | 25 |
| Āl Bal'ala ... | — | Jidfera | 50 |
| | | | 775 |

[712 701] Haura, Al Qatn and Shibam have garrisons of Yafa'is. At the first of these places I saw a small fort at the south of the town occupied by five Yafa'i soldiers, and there are probably more. Shibam has 40 Yafa'i soldiers, and the number round Qatn and Shibam is said to be all together about 500 armed men. Those actually employed in garrisons are paid, but the other irregulars only receive pay if called up for service. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the Hadhrami Yafa'is and their sections. The Āl

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al Bakri, known as a section of the Āl Dhubi in the Hadhramaut, is in Upper Yafa' a sub-section of the Hadhrami section of that tribe.

The *Mansabs* of the Āl Qu'ata are Muhsin bin Ahmed and Haddar bin Ahmed al Haddar.

## CHAPTER XX.

## OTHER DISTRICTS UNDER QU'AITI INFLUENCE.

In a written description of the provinces of the Qu'aiti state the Qu'aiti authorities included the tribesmen and villages of Wadi 'Amd as depending on Mukalla. The Wadi 'Amd, however, is far away from Mukalla province, and I have thought it better to mention it separately. Although this territory may not be definitely part of the Qu'aiti domains, it is certainly more under Qu'aiti influence than that of any other Protectorate ruler. Hureidha, which is the headquarters of the Al 'Attas family, is the principal town of the Wadi 'Amd. It is estimated to have about 2,000 inhabitants, and from 300 to 400 men are said to have left it in the last 20 years to seek wealth in Java. There are eight mosques in the town, and it is a place of religious teaching.

The following is a description of the Āl Ja'da, Āl Ma'di and Ad Dohm tribes of Wadi 'Amd :

### AL JA'DA.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Salima ... | | Seila, Jidfera, Kora, and Raham in Wadi 'Amd are the important villages of this clan. | 500 |
| Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed. | Āl Bin Murda<br>Āl Bin Halābi<br>Āl Bin Homeid<br>Bin Mubarek<br>Bin Hubeish | Habab, Al 'Ardh, Na'ir, and Rabb in Wadi 'Amd are their important villages. | 400 |
| Āl Bin Heilabi<br>Āl Bin Suqeir<br>Āl Tahir bin Rajih | Āl Bin Shemlan<br>Bin Namara<br>Bin Lizam<br>Bin ash Sheiba<br>Bin al Khashr | | |
| | | | 900 |

The Ja'da tribe, who claim descent from the Beni Hilāl, are nearly all Beduins occupying the central and lower sections of the Wadi 'Amd. They are under the influence of the Qu'aiti who has a "B" agreement with them. The foremost section is the Āl Bin Shemlan whose leader is recognised as the head of the whole tribe. The Āl Tahir bin Rajih are a small clan of the Yafa'is sometimes known as Kharba, but they are settled in Wadi 'Amd

619 and have allied themselves to the Ja'da. The Āl Salima have an 'Attas Seiyid as their *Mansab*; the 'Amūdi Sheikhs also have great
631 influence in the Wadi 'Amd.

101

### Āl Ma'di.

The clans of the tribe are Āl Sūeidan, Āl Sa'id, Āl 'Umar and Diba. The Āl Ma'di, said to be originally of the Beni Hilāl, live at Tamham, Hibra, Wajr and Diba in the upper part of the Wadi 'Amd. They are at feud with the Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed and Āl Salima clans of the Ja'da tribe who occupy the central and lower sections of the wadi.

### Ad Dohm.

An independent tribe living in Wadi 'Amd. Attached to them is the Shof, a small tribe with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement.

Details of the tribesmen of Beidat ad Deiyin, on the tableland between Wadis Du'an and 'Amd, were given me in Du'an, and as they are said to depend on that province, and as they are near to it, I have included them in Chapter XVII.

The Qu'aiti himself refers to certain districts as not belonging to any province but as being under his control. These are: (1) the tribesmen of Hajr close to the borders of Bir 'Ali "from the south side"; (2) the country of Sāh; (3) Gheil 'Umar; and (4) 'Einat to Qabr Hud including the Tamimi and Manahil tribes.

Of the first and third territories mentioned in this list, I have been unable to find anything, though outlying tribes connected with the Hajr province are described under that heading. The country of the Āl Sāh clan of the Āl Jābir tribe is due south of Seiyun on the tableland between the Wadis Bin 'Ali and 'Adim. The Āl Jābir are one of the principal tribes of the Shenafir Confederation which is led by the Kathīri Sultan, and it is admitted in the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement that the Āl Jābir are his followers. On these grounds the Kathīris claimed Sāh and the Qu'aiti Regent informed me that Sultan 'Umar agreed to let them have half. The inhabitants themselves, however, are said to have protested against this arrangement and stated that they preferred to be under the Qu'aitis. So presumably the matter stands. But it certainly seems that in law at any rate they should be considered as Kathīris. In this connection it has to be remembered that the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement apparently includes a recognition of Qu'aiti suzerainty over many tribes which are old Kathīri allies. Two tribes of the Wadi Bin 'Ali, the Beni Sa'd and Āl Seif, are said to decline Kathīri allegiance.

631 As regards the district 'Einat to Qabr Hud, Kathīri dominion ends outside the eastern walls of Tarim. The country beyond is Tamimi and beyond the Tamimi come the Manāhil, both of whom
[633] are Qu'aiti allies. 'Einat, a city of Seiyids, is definitely Qu'aiti
361 and has a Qu'aiti Governor as well as a *Mansab* of the Seiyids. The
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town, which is said to have 13 mosques and about 5,000 inhabitants, is a place of sanctuary. It shows signs of modern influences, and amongst other things which surprised me was a fairly well constructed incinerator at work. 361

The principal Tamimi towns are Dammūn, Qōz, Qāhir, Qasm, As Sōm, 'Asum, and Fughma. The Manāhil have no towns worth the name, though they have sections living in As Sōm and Fughma. The villages of Sena, An Neid, and Tabūrkum are their principal headquarters, and Qabr Hud is in their territory, but the little village is unoccupied except at the time of the pilgrimage on the 15th Sha'ban. Rich families from all over the Hadhramaut have houses there which are locked up for the greater part of the year. 631

The Tamimi and the Manāhil, together with a small tribe called the Āl as Sumāh, form the Beni Dhanna Confederation. Hamdani mentions the Beni Dhanna as a sub-tribe of the Beni 'Udhra, derived from Qudha'a, and elsewhere as descendents of the Beni Numeir, an Ishmaelite tribe. The following is a description of the Beni Dhanna Confederation: 619 631 101

### Āl as Sumāh.

A nomadic tribe in the mountains to the north of the valley of 'Einat.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Tamimi.** | | | |
| Āl Muhammad Yamāni bin 'Āli and bin Suleiman. | — | Bā 'Alāl | 35 | Suleiman |
| Balheij, Balhindi, and Bin Zeidān. | — | Below al Ghurfa. | 12 | Balheij |
| Al Qaramis and their slaves ... | — | do. | 20 | Mubarek bin 'Umar |
| Āl Shamlān and their slaves ... | — | As Sūeirī | 45 | Ahmed bin Karama. |
| Bin Qasīr ... ... ... | Āl Kibl Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar. | Beit Jubeir | 25 | Salih 'Ali |
| Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed. | — | Husn Fallūqa | 45 | Sa'id bin Salih. |
| Al 'Urān and Al Habārisa ... | — | Mustakhirat | 25 | Salim bin Faraj. |
| Bin 'Amhar and Bin Sa'id bin 'Umar. | — | Jarra | 15 | Sa'id bin 'Umar. |
| Bin Āl Mubarek bin 'Umar... | — | Al Husn | 20 | 'Aidha |
| Bin 'Ali bin Ahmed ... ... | — | Al Bada' | 10 | Ahmed bin 'Awadh. |
| Bin Sālma ... ... ... | — | Dammūn | 100 | Salim bin 'Awadh. |
| Bin Dahdūh and their slaves... | — | Khabāya | 10 | Sa'id bin 'Abdulla. |
| Āl 'Isa and Āl Marsān ... | — | Al Qōz | 70 | Sālmin |
| Āl 'Abd ash Sheikh ... ... | — | Bā 'Uteir | 35 | 'Umar bin Al 'Abd. |

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| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqīl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 619 Bin Yamāni and their slaves ... | — | Qasm | 50 | 'Ali bin Ahmed bin Imani. |
| 631 101 Āl Sa'id, Bin 'Uthmān, and Āl Dahnān. | — | Al Khōn | 50 | 'Umar bin 'Awadh bin Sa'id. |
| Āl Qafla, Āl Barakeiz, Āl Heithwa, and Āl Nuheid. | — | As Sōm | 50 | Kharīf |
| Āl as Sa'd ... ... ... | — | 'Asum | 45 | 'Isa |
| Samāh al 'Usba ... ... | — | Al 'Usba | 15 | 'Aidha bin 'Atūfa. |
| Beit Bal Hateish ... ... | — | Fughma | 35 | — |
| Āl Bin Kōb ... ... ... | — | Sha'b Hud | 15 | 'Awadh bin al 'Ahīdī. |
| Bin Marsaf ... ... ... | Al Fabd | — | 120 | — |
| Ash Sheiban ... ... ... | 5 sections | — | — | — |
| | | | 847 | |

The Tamimi are a part nomad, part settled tribe, living in the main wadi from the neighbourhood of Tarim to beyond Qasm. They have been allied to the Qu'aiti, with whom they have an "A 7 agreement, for a long time, and have had a long-standing feud with the 'Awāmir and Kathīris which was terminated by the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The Kathīri Sultans have no jurisdiction over them but it is said that the Tamimis are allied to them for purposes [628] of defence. Disputes between the Tarim Government and the Tamimis are settled by negotiation or Qu'aiti interference.

167 The Tamimis emigrate to Java and the East African Coast, but they are a poor tribe. They grow wheat, lucern, vegetables, jowari, 311 and other crops, on well irrigation. A large amount of land in the 369 Tamimi territory is the property of the rich townsmen of Tarim 438 and Dammūn which the Bin Silma cultivate, and they are generally safe and honest. At harvest time, however, Beduins come from across the northern hills, which are quite close to the cultivation here, settle in the groves, and do a certain amount of damage. Like most wadi dwellers from Tarim eastwards the Tamimis obtain their supplies from Shihr rather than Seihut, though Seihut sends regular caravans as far as 'Einat.

619 The Bin Qasīr clan is sometimes considered as divided into four sections, the Āl Kibl, Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar, Bin Dahdūh, and 631 Beit Bal Hateish. The Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed 101 clan is sometimes called a section of the Ash Sheiban clan; the latter is said to be divided into five sections. The Bin Silma is said to be the strongest clan and is stated to have four sections.

619 The *mansabs* of the Tamimi are 'Umar bin Zein Āl 'Abdulla bin 622 Ash Sheikh for the Āl Yamāni, Hasan bin 'Alawi al 'Aqīl, Ahmed bin 'Aqīl, Āl Matahar, Tahir bin Bubekr Āl Tahir for the Balheij, and 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shihab for the Bin Silma.

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## Āl 'Imran.

A tribe allied to the Tamimi. The *mansab* is Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. 619 631 101

### Manahil.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beit Kasim ... | Beit Ghānim | An Neid | 40 | 'Aidha bin Tanāf. |
| | Beit al Batīn | do. | 60 | do. |
| | Beit Rasī'a | do. | 150 | do. |
| | Beit al Hamādī | do. | 28 | do. |
| | Beit Nahāt | An Neid and As Sōm | 80 | do. |
| | Beit Barakāt | As Sōm and Fughma | 30 | do. |
| | Beit Nas'ūd | do. | 15 | do. |
| Beit Mu'ashini | Beit Nōkhat | — | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Bāqiya | Sena and An Neid | 100 | Yeslam bin Salim. |
| | Beit Sālmin | do. do. | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Qūeinisa | do. do. | 60 | do. |
| | Tammān | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | Hushhūsh | do. do. | 300 | do. |
| | Muzābbar | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | 'Atūnī | An Neid | 100 | do. |
| Al Bawāqī ... | — | do. | 100 | — |
| As Samāh ... | Samāh ar Raqāa | Near the coast | 100 | — |
| | Samāh al Ghuthma | — | 50 | — |
| | Samāh Beit Khafr | At Al Masīla | 180 | — |
| | 'Adūl | — | 100 | — |
| Tha'in and Beit Farād. | — | — | 250 | — |
| Beit Dahein ... | — | — | 50 | — |
| Beit Qumsīt ... | — | — | 500 | — |
| Beni Sa'id ... | — | — | — | — |
| Beni Ujeil ... | — | Near Qabr Hud | — | — |
| | | | — | |
| | | | 2,593 | |

The Manahil are a strong nomad tribe occupying the country east and north of the Hamumi and up into the Rub'al Khali. The southern part of Reida and the country from Damakh to upper Hadhramaut belong to them, and they have a few small settlements east of Qasm. They have an "A'[1]agreement with the Qu'aiti.

They breed camels extensively like their neighbours in the south-east, the Mahras, both for sale and for hire. Their camels are said to be finer and stronger than those of the Sei'ar, and the average price is estimated at about 200 rupees a camel. Female camels are seldom sold and are used both for breeding and riding. Women do not milk camels among the Manahil. 231 435 [562]

The tribe are said to raid as far as the Central Nejd and sometimes to the outskirts of Kuweit, passing the sandy stretch by routes known only to themselves. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Mahras in the steppe. We found that when passing through Mahra territory they declare themselves Tamimis. Bertram Thomas also says that "Bin Tannaf is the hereditary title of the 619 721 622

1 [See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

619 721 622 Sheikh of the Manahil tribe. The present (1930) holder is one of the most famous leaders of the raid. The leader has always the perquisite of two or three of the best camels taken, otherwise there is equal division of the spoil ". Philby mentions their chief, Saif bin Tannaf, as going to the Governor of Hasa to plead his excuses for not paying his taxes, and of the wilder spirits of the Manahil and other tribes joining a band of raiders called *Al Ziqirt*. In May 1935, the Manahil concluded a two years' truce with the Tamimi.

622 Their *mansabs* are Seiyid Hādi bin Ahmed ad Dawīla, whom I met collecting his tithes, which he does from Husn al 'Ur to Wad'a during the crop season, 'Ali bin Ahmed al Hussein who has influence over the Beni 'Ujeil, and Muhammad bin 'Ali Mola Dawīla who has influence over the Beni Sa'id, a small nomad clan.

BA 'ATWA.

619 631 101 This small tribe, now scattered between Qu'aiti and Kathīri domains, deserves mention for its historic interest. Members of the tribe live in Mukalla, Shihr, Al Qatn, Seiyun, and Taris; they have no fixed country of their own. Like the Ja'da and the Ma'di, they claim descent from the Beni Hilāl and are therefore Ma'adic, sons of Ishmael, and not of Joktan. Legend tells that the Beni Hilāl, who are sometimes rumoured giants, once lived in the Wadis 'Amd and Henin, but that drought drove them forth to northern pastures.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## THE RULE OF THE KATHĪRI SULTANS OF THE ĀL 'ABDULLA.

643 Authorities appear to be divided as to whether the Kathīri tribe are of Dhufar, Hadhramaut, or Yemen origin. They originally rose to prominence towards the end of the fourteenth century under Bedr bin al Habrali, commonly known as Bedr Bu Tuweirak. The genealogy of the Āl 'Abdulla, the ruling family of the Kathīris, as far as I have been able to ascertain it, is given in an appendix. The Āl 'Abdulla number some 700 souls and live in Tarim, Seiyun, Wadi Tarba and Al Bada'; their *mansab* is Ahmed bin 'Abdur Rahman as Saqqaf.

By the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla are recognised as Sultans of the Shenafir Confederation, and their dominion is defined as including the towns and villages of Seiyun, Tarim, Taris, Al Ghurf, Mariama and Al Gheil, and the Shenafir tribes of 'Umar, 'Amr, Al Kathīr, Bajri and Jabir and " all that is within their boundaries ". Practically speaking the Sultan's rule is only absolute in the towns mentioned, and in Tarim he is represented by the sons of his uncle, 'Abdulla and Muhammad, sons of Ghalib bin Muhsin bin Ghalib, who are semi-independent. The present Sultan is 'Ali bin Mansur who succeeded his father (who died at Mecca on the day of the Standing on Arafat) in 1929.

631 The Kathīri claims the Hamumi, Nahd, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar tribes as his allies. The agreement with the Nahd, which is said to be similar to those with the Hamumi, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar, is included in an appendix. It is stated that these tribes would join the Kathīris if there was trouble with the Qu'aitis.

*Kathīri Towns.*

101 The country ruled by the Kathīris was formerly of vast extent and stretched from the 'Aulaqi country on the west to the Mahri on the east, including the country of Dhufar beyond. The history of the circumscription of the territory to its present limits appears sufficiently in an earlier chapter of this report.

631 Of the six towns or villages mentioned as being included in the Kathīri dominions Seiyun and Tarim are the largest. Seiyun, the
632 capital of the Āl 'Abdulla Sultans, is a walled town of over 1,500
361 houses and about 50 mosques. The suburbs, which are all to the east of the town, are extending fairly rapidly with the building of pleasant looking residencies, most of them with their own gardens. The population is said to be about 20,000. Tarim is also a growing town with an estimated population of 15,000. Its walls, which are over five miles in length and are furnished with five gates and 25 forts, enclose a great deal of open space so that most of the better class houses have their own gardens. There are over 2,000 houses, and there are said to be 300 mosques, one of which, built by the Al Kafs, has the highest minaret in the Hadhramaut and is of an unusual pattern. The principal shrine in Tarim is that of Maqaddam Faqih. There are growing suburbs outside the walls such as 'Aidīd, but some of the suburbs such as Thibi, Dammūn, and Beit Jabīr, belong to the Tamimis and are under
342 Qu'aiti influence. Tarim and Seiyun are striking for their many
365 palaces, equipped in modern style, to which reference has already been made. These houses have a water supply laid on and pumped
312 up by small petrol engines. The towns are well supplied with wells, and Tarim is remarkable for being the only town in the Hadhramaut with public conveniences, which, however, are rough mud erections and very insanitary.

361 Taris is a village lying to the west of Seiyun, and its inhabitants
524 do not exceed 700. Mariama is a small village to the east of Seiyun with a population of about 300. Al Ghurf, also a small village, lies to the north of Tarim and has a population not exceeding 250. Gheil bin Yomein is said to be a popular place of resort during the autumn. It is a small village of which the majority of the inhabitants are Beduins.

565 A great deal of wealth comes into the Kathīri towns from the East Indies, and the towns of Tarim and Seiyun, which are considered centres of culture and learning, include many wealthy inhabitants whose fortunes have been made in the East Indies.

000 The whole of the Kathīri part of the wadi is accessible by motor

The whole of the Kathiri part of the wadi is accessible by motor cars and actually there are more cars in Kathīri territory than the rest of the Hadhramaut put together. 494 504

Shihr is the principal port for the Kathīri country and Tarim is almost exclusively supplied from it. Seiyun is reached indifferently from Shihr-Tarim or Mukalla-Shibam. Shibam is an important market for the Kathīris who depend on it for their daily requirements of grain, coffee, timber, salt, cotton, almonds, raisins, and ghee. 438 508

There is no landing ground in Kathīri territory.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE SHENAFIR CONFEDERATION.

The strength of the Shenafir Confederation has been variously estimated at 4,470 armed men, at 7,650 armed men and at 20,000 souls. The total number of the Shenafir and their followers, excluding Nahd and Sel'ar, is said to be 8,720 armed men. The following is a description of the tribes of the Confederation. 631 619 101

Āl Kathīr.

| Clan. | Section. | Sub-Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Al 'Umar | — | — | As Salil Haju, Wadi Bin 'Ali, Wadi Ghanima, Wadi Ser, Wadi Farš and Dhoilam | — | — |
| | Āl Tālib | | | | Sālim bin Ja'fer and Bedr bin 'Aidha. |
| | | Āl Mar'i bin Tālib. | Jifil | 220 | |
| | | Āl Ja'fer bin Tālib. | Ash Sh'ib, (Qarfū). | 120 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Tālib. | Bā Raf'a | 35 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Sa'id. | Al Wajīr | 40 | |
| | | Āl Bin 'Aun | Near Al Ghurfa | 20 | |
| | | Āl Bin Mahraq | Near Al Hauta | 10 | |
| | Āl Falhūm | | | | 'Āmr bin Ja'fer Balfas. |
| | | Āl al Fās | Yarqaq near Al Ghurfa. | 80 | |
| | | Āl al 'Ās | Yarqaq | 15 | |
| | | Āl Fabeitha | Al Hāwī | 25 | |
| | | Āl Barqī | Al Hōl | 20 | |
| | | Bin Kahīl | do. | 10 | |
| | | Bin Tanfira | Near Al Hauta | 6 | |
| | | Bin as Samīl | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Āl Wī'l | Al Hauta | 17 | |
| | Āl 'Umar bin Bedr. | Bin 'Umar bin Bedr. | Al Ghīyel | 25 | |
| | | Bin Mahrī | Yarqaq | 40 | |
| | | Bin Bedr bin 'Abdulla | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Bin ash Shein | do. | 50 | |

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| Clan. | Section. | Sub-Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl 'Āmr | Bin 'Abdāt | — | — | — | 'Umar 'Ubeid bin 'Abdāt and 'Awadh bin Gharāna. |
| | | Bin Khalid bin 'Umar. | Al Ghurfa and Al Hōl. | 150 | |
| | | Bin 'Ali Bin Umar. | Bā Bakr | 70 | |
| | | Bin at Tamil | do. | 40 | |
| | | Al Ma'ātif | An Neid | 60 | |
| | | Bin 'Abūd bin 'Umar | Al Ghurfa | 40 | |
| | Āl 'Abdul 'Aziz | | | | 'Ali bin Lahmān. |
| | | Balasq'a | Al Qāra | 50 | |
| | | Bin 'Umar bin 'Ali. | do. | 30 | |
| | | Bin Sūeid | do. | 60 | |
| | | Āl Mubarek | Near Qesba | | |
| | | Bin Hūeil | Al Qāra | 20 | |
| | | Bin 'Abdulla bin Bedr. | Wadi Sar | 20 | |
| | | Āl Hamud bin 'Awadh. | | | |
| | Āl Kada | Āl 'Abūd bin 'Āmr. | An Neid | 50 | |
| | | Āl Kada (Āl Sa'id bin Ja'far) | Al 'Ādiya and Al Maseila. | 50 | |
| | Āl Muhammad bin 'Umar. | | | | 'Ali bin Mubarek. |
| | | Bin Muhammad bin 'Umar. | Baheira | 60 | |
| | Āl 'Ali bin Sa'id. | Bin 'Ali bin Sa'id. | Al 'Ardh | 30 | |
| | Āl Dūeis | | An Neid | 50 | |
| Al Fakhālz | Āl 'Aun | | | | Muhammad bin 'Āmr bin Muneibārī and 'Āmr bin Sa'id bin Saqir. |
| | | Bin Muneibārī | Al 'Ardh near Madūda. | 70 | |
| | | Bin Ja'fer bin Bedr. | do. | 70 | |
| | | Bin as Saqir | do. | 80 | |
| | | Bin Zeima | do. | 60 | |
| | | Bin Shemlan | do. | 15 | |
| | | Bin 'Ali bin Sa'id. | do. | 15 | |
| | Āl Sa'id | | | | Hueidi bin Mara'ī. |
| | | Bin Mara'ī | Balleil | 60 | |
| | | Bin 'Ali bin Muhammad. | Ja'eima | 25 | |
| | | Bin Ja'fer bin Muhammad. | do. | 25 | |

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| Clan. | Section. | Sub-section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Balquhum | do. | 15 | |
| | | Bin Dahdūh | do. | 10 | |
| | | Bin 'Āmr Muhammad. | — | — | |
| | Āl Rawās | | | | Muhammad 'Āmr bin Sanad |
| | | Bin Sanad | Ad Dabqa, east of Shibam. | 40 | |
| | | Bin Hadhīl | Al Huzma, east of Shibam. | 20 | |
| | | Balla'jam | do. | 30 | |
| | | Āl Ladhrāf | do. | 15 | |
| | | Bin Husn | Al Heimarāt, west of Seiyun. | 20 | |
| | | Al Hājirī | | 10 | |
| | | Al Birām | Qasbal, east of Shibam. | 10 | |
| | | Āl 'Abdulla bin Salih. | Al Bodu' near Hureidha. | 17 | |
| | | Āl 'Ali bin Ja'fer. | Al 'Ajlānia | 24 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Ja'fer. | Al Jāhis near 'Amd. | 50 | |
| | Āl Seif | | | | |
| | Āl 'Abd al Wadud | | | | |
| | | | | 2,224 | |

The tribes of the Shenafir Confederation claim descent from Hamdan. The territory of the Kathīri tribe (as opposed to the territory of the Kathīri Sultans) extends from about a mile east of Shibam to An Neisa, about one and a-half miles west of Wadi Tarba, whence the 'Awāmir territory begins. The last boundary east is Al Qōf which belongs to both the 'Awāmir and Kathīri. The Qu'aiti states that he has a " B * agreement with the Kathīri tribe. This presumably refers to the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The total population of the tribe is said to be 5,000 or 6,000 people, but of its total strength of about 2,000 armed men many are absent in Java or Singapore.

The Āl 'Umar have property on the right bank of the main wadi, where cultivation is always better, and in the Wadi Bin 'Ali. The clan is the richest of the tribe and its money is derived from Java. The richest section is the Āl Tālib, and the Āl Mar'i bin Tālib sub-section has the most wealth of the whole clan. Miles states that the Āl 'Umar Kathīris are represented in Dhufar where with the Āl 'Āmr clan they may number 2,500 and occupy seven villages. All the sub-sections of the Āl Falhūm section, with the exception of the Bin as Samīl, are settled in the main wadi and grow dates, lucerne, and other vegetables.

The Āl 'Āmr are the strongest clan in point of numbers, and although many are absent in Java they are poorer as regards wealth

*[See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

631 derived from that country. They are also poorer as regards pro-
619 perty in the wadi for, with the exception of the Bin 'Abdāt who have property on the right bank, their territory lies on the left
101 bank, where cultivation is very poor. The Āl 'Āmr are friendly to the Qu'aiti and friendly to the British, indeed it is said that they have expressed themselves anxious to become British subjects and to be ready to pay taxes.

The third " clan " is called Al Fakhāis meaning " sections ", which is merely a collective term given to several independent sections. The Bin 'Āmr Muhammad and the Hājirī sub-sections are each composed of one *dar* or house. The latter are sometimes considered a sub-section of the Āl Sa'id.

[62a] The following are *Mansabs* of the Kathīri : Ahmed bin Hussein al Aidarus, 'Umar bin 'Abdulla and Muhammad bin 'Ali al Habashi, and Hasan bin Salih al Bahr.

'AWĀMIR.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bin Hatāb | | Tarba an Neid | 150 | Ahmed 'Abdul Qawi. |
| | Al Matrif | | | |
| | Al Hadhir | | | |
| | As Seif | | | |
| | Al Kowa'i | | | |
| Bin Salim | | Tarba | 40 | |
| Bin 'Abdul Bāqī | | Sahil Muhsin | 150 | Mansur bin Bukheit bin Kartam. |
| | 'Areidi | | | |
| | Beni Kheir | | | |
| Bin Khamis | | Eastern Sahīl | 60 | Salih 'Abdulla bin Gharib. |
| | Bin Ghareiya Al 'Ulus. | | | |
| Bin Kasbūba | | Sharma | 70 | Karama bin as Saqīr. |
| | Kasabib al Kahtan | | | |
| | Bin ad Dawal | | | |
| | Al Beihan | | | |
| Bin Ja'fer | | Tarba an Neid | 80 | Sālim bin 'Ali bin Husn. |
| Bin Kalīla | | do. | 100 | do. |
| | Al Muhammad | | | |
| | As Sūeid | | | |
| Bin Tabī'a | | Mushta an Neid | 40 | |
| Bin Wu'eil | | | 60 | |
| Bin Hūeilī | | | 20 | Sa'id bin Muhammad. |
| Bin Baraham | | Wadi adh Dhahab | 50 | |
| Awanza | | Taris | | |
| Al Qannas | | | | |
| Al Yokhlyīr | | | | |
| | | | 820 | |

The 'Awāmir are a part settled, part nomad, tribe living between An Neiza and Ghurf in the main Wadi Hadhramaut due south of Tarim and the northern mountains. Their territory includes Tarba, Wadi, Thibi, An Neid, and Al Mishqās, and in the main valley their settlements are in Wadi Tarba on the right bank, the opposite bank being entirely devoid of vegetation. They obtain their imported supplies of food from Shihr. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with the 'Awāmir, whose armed strength has been estimated at from 600 to 1,000. 631 619 101 7

Beduin sections of the tribe, said to number some thousands, live in the Oman Sultanate; they belong to the Bin Khamīs, Bin Kallla, and Awanza clans. Miles refers to the 'Awāmir in Oman as follows: "The Awāmir are both Bedoo and Ibadhi, are of Maaddic stock, and claim descent from Amr bin Saasaa, but are now Hinawi.[1] The Bedouin and larger portion of this tribe roam the desert as far as Dhofar, but the settled portion of the tribe occupy a group of twelve villages near Nezwa in Orman Proper. They number about 1,200 or 1,400 souls and the shaikhs reside at Kuriatain. The Bedouins are very wild and savage and are said to speak a dialect of their own. The Awāmir are at feud with the Jenebeh and have about thirty fakhths" (sub-divisions). He also states that they are said to "traverse the desert very extensively, and probably no part of it, except the Dahna, is altogether inaccessible to them. Part of the Awāmir tribe are settled in the Province of Oman Proper and follow agricultural pursuits. The Bedouin portion of the Awāmir is perhaps the most widely scattered of all the Oman tribes, wandering as far as Hadhramaut in a state of semi-savagedom, and it is probable that no wilder or more predatory race exists in Arabia."

"The Awāmir at Ras Noos", he says, "are genuine Bedoos and wear Hadhramaut clothes and speak a different dialect to Oman; it is hardly intelligible but is better Arabic." He goes on to say that some 'Awāmir came to Muscat overland on camels and in some places were five or six days without water. He also mentions the 'Awāmir as being one of the chief Omani tribes engaged in camel breeding, and possessing large herds of these animals.

It is a custom among the 'Awāmir that if two clans are in dispute a third may interfere to settle. The Bin Salim clan are sometimes stated to be a section of the Bin Hatāb. The Al Muhammad section of the Bin Kallla are said to be both settled and nomadic, but the As Sūeid section are purely nomad. The Qu'aiti states that he has a B agreement with the Al Beihan al 'Awāmir which presumably refers to the section of the Bin Kasbūba. [628]

The As Salibīa Seiyids have influence over the Bin Hatāb and Kasbūba clans, Seiyid 'Abdulla bin Ahmed Bu Futein has influence over the clans living in Tarba, and Seiyid Tahir bin Bubakr Al Tahir over the Al Muhammad.

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[1] This is clearly an error, *vide* genealogical tree.

7 [See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

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## Āl Jabir.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Hāj or Āl Sāh. | Āl 'Āmr | As Seiqa | 150 | Mubarek bin Muhammad, Sa'id bin Salih Qahtan, and Yamāni bin 'Umar. |
| | Āl Yamāni | Rasib | 350 | |
| | Āl Ahmed āl Hāj | Sakrān | 130 | |
| | Balgheirān | do. | 20 | |
| | Bin 'Abūdān | 'Adam | 20 | |
| | Bin 'Umar bin Sādiq. | Bāyūt | 10 | |
| Āl 'Aun | Āl Ridhwān | Husn bin Dhobān | 35 | Salih 'Umar. |
| | Āl 'Umeish | do. | 35 | |
| | Bin Hijār | An Ni'r | 6 | |
| | Bin Sultan and Bin Sa'dut. | Adh Dhieiqa and An Ni'r. | 30 | |
| Āl Hasan | Bin Bedr | Wadi Bin 'Ali | 100 | Salim bin 'Ali bin Bedr. |
| | Bin Sa'id bin 'Āmr | do. | 100 | |
| | Bin Mar'i bin' Āmr | do. | 50 | |
| | Bin Jābir bin 'Āmr | do. | 50 | |
| | Ballesqa' | do. | 30 | |
| | Bin 'Abūdān | do. | 25 | |
| | Bin Ja'fer bin 'Āmr | | | |
| Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar. | Bin 'Ali bin 'Umar | Sāh, Gheil bin Yomein. | 50 | |
| | Āl Muteihim | Hikma | 15 | |
| | Al 'Afār | Wadi Shahūh | 50 | |
| | | | 1,256 | |

[731 167] The Jābiris in the Wadi Bin 'Ali are mostly agriculturists. They obtain their supplies from Shihr. Some members of the tribe have connections in Java and Singapore, but the tribe as a whole is very poor, and owing to famine and distress many of the members, men and women, have emigrated to the African coast in search of a livelihood. The total number of the tribe has been variously estimated from 800 to over 1,000.

The sections of the Āl Hāj clan have been stated to be sections of the Āl Sāh clan which was referred to in Chapter XX. With the exception of a very few of the Āl Yamāni section who are nomads, the whole clan are settled. The Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar clan are entirely nomadic and ply their camels for hire. Seiyid Al Hasm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus has influence over the Jābir.

Besides the Kathīri and Jābiri settlements in Wadi Bin 'Ali there are a few houses of independent tribes called Āl Seif and Beni Sa'd, who do not consider themselves as in any way allied or subordinate to the Kathīri Sultans of Seiyun.

## Al Bajri.

| Clan. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Quseiyer | 'Ardh Būr | 100 | Sa'id bin Qutāmī and Salih bin Muhammad. |
| Āl Ahmed bin 'Ali | do. | 70 | |
| Bin 'Awadh bin 'Abūd | | | |
| Bin Rattas | | | |
| | | 170 | |

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The Bājrī live on the left bank of the main wadi at a distance of about ten miles north-east of Seiyun. They are surrounded by the tribes of Āl Kathīr and 'Awāmir. It is not universally admitted that the Bājrī are a true Shanfari tribe, but they nevertheless recognize the Sultan of Seiyun as their chief. There is a story that the Bājrī are the original inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, but that in course of time they became absorbed by stronger immigrant tribes. They are all agriculturists but their cultivation being on the left bank is very poor. 631 619 101

The *Mansabs* of the Āl Quseiyer are 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and Qadir adh Dhibab. Hussein bin 'Aidarus Āl Salīla also has influence over the tribe. [692]

## CHAPTER XXIII

### EMIGRATION: COLONIES OF HADHRAMIS ABROAD

There are probably few countries in the world where a larger proportion of the population lives abroad than the Hadhramaut. Between 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. of the estimated population of the Hadhramaut lives in the East Indies, East Africa, or Egypt and the countries bordering the Red Sea. 167

A great number of these emigrants do not proceed abroad for good, but expect to return when they have made their fortunes and die in their native land. Fortune with them is a relative term, for while some of them amass amounts that would not be despised in America the ambition of others is far more modest, and many run only to a few hundred or a few thousand Maria Theresa dollars. [556]

Apart from the 90,000 to 100,000 Hadhramis now living abroad there are a very large number in the country itself who have been abroad, and I have already commented on the fact that Malay and Swahili have really become naturalized languages in the country. [191]

It is not only of recent years that the Hadhramis have learnt the habit of leaving their native homes to seek their fortunes abroad. As Schoff points out, we learn from the *Periplus* that since the earliest time they have had a view beyond their own borders. Then as now, he says, "the outlook of Hadhramaut was towards India by sea and towards Egypt by land. Bent found the same conditions; the capital full of Parsee merchants, the natives going to India, the Straits and Java, and returning when they had amassed a competence; the English protectorate accepted because of England's domination of India, in the face of the religious convictions of rulers and people (*Geographical Journal*, IV, 322). Maltzan described the Hadhrami traders in Cairo as the keenest of the lot, and spoke of their activities in the East; while the Dutch Government, finding the islands of Java and Sumatra overrun with Hadhramaut Arabs, stimulated inquiries of them in Batavia."

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101 776

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

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But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west. 142

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration. 778

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting. 181 291 576

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy. 619 631 643

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it. [144]

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe. 576

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 101 174 619

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remnant of the Minæan State. Dr. Scott asked whether the names MA'AN and MA'IN were from the same root. He remarked that the ruins of Ma'in lie in the district of Jauf, roughly seventy to a hundred miles north-east of San'a, and that Ma'in and other remains in the vicinity had been regarded as the centre of Minæan culture. If this were so, the descendants of the Minæans are now a long way south-east of their ancient centre. He was particularly interested in this question because it seemed to him, when summarizing recently such information as is available on the pre-Islamic states of South-West Arabia, that there had been a tendency for states or kingdoms to move in succession in a southerly direction, either under pressure of invaders from the north or in search of better, less arid, country.

Major HAMILTON replied (in writing) that, while it would be risky to attempt too positive an answer in the present state of knowledge, his views were as follows:

"The names MA'AN and MA'IN are from the same root and, I fancy, refer to the same people. The name of the Transjordanian district of Ma'an, near Medāin Sālih, is the same word. I think you are certainly right in supposing that the trend of all peoples in the peninsula has been from north to south, whether in search of better land or—which seems more likely—because of pressure from the north.

"The rise of Saba will have been at the expense of other kingdoms, and I think the assumption is justified that the Sabæans forced Ma'an out of Jauf and also out of the district of Wadi Harib, near Beihan, from which several inscriptions referring to the 'Grand Council of Ma'an' have been collected; and that the remnant of the Minæans, if any, is to be found south and east of their original place. They could not have gone south-west because, by the time Saba became powerful, Qataba appears to have held the south-western spurs of the Yemen mountains and to have owned both Harib and Beihan. My own opinion, on the existing evidence only of modern tribal names and distribution, is that Ma'an was swamped by later rivals and is earlier than the other kingdoms. It is interesting that the name Ma'an is borne by the central tribe of a confederation with such marked peculiarities as the 'Aulaqi, in just the place where one would expect to find it. I think, therefore, that these Ma'ani 'Aulaqis are the remnant of the Minæan State forced from Jauf, and perhaps from further north, by the rise and the southward march of more powerful neighbours, and that they were eventually swamped in the struggles for the important 'Beihan Triangle.'"

Major Hamilton expressed the hope that the map accompanying his lecture entitled "Six Weeks in Shabwa," to be published shortly in the *Geographical Journal*, would show the very great local importance of that little triangle of territory (since published in Vol. 100, No. 3, September, 1942, pp. 107-123).

From the above it seems that Major Hamilton's views are in accordance with the usually accepted chronology—namely, that the Minæans were the oldest of the South-West Arabian kingdoms named, and were succeeded (but not entirely obliterated) by Saba and Qataba. These two were in part contemporaneous. (Later, Himyar became predominant.) It also appears that Major Hamilton considers the movement of peoples to have been from

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YEMENMLI

The NAME



is the name of a MAGAN DEITY and in the absence,

Y 101 174 778 622 of histories, we may take it that the confederation is pre-Islamic in date. Apart from the name, the only other obviously pre-Islamic possession of the tribe is the sacred drum, the "Tabble an Nahas," which is kept by the Beni Qasid and which is accorded sacred honours by the tribe of Yafa' only. It is possible that before Islam the Beni Qasid were the keepers of the drum, and I am going to suggest that the present Sultans of Yafa' are in reality Priest-Chiefs, whose functions as such have ceased with the introduction of a new religion, although their hereditary position remains as heads of the people who once worshipped Yafa'.

H 101 619 622 Let us examine another confederation of tribes. About sixty miles north of Aden live the Qateibi tribe, surrounded by the confederation of the Ja'ud. At first sight the tribes here seem to be disorganized and unrelated, but careful study of dialect, of local stories, of the Qasidas or epic poems, and of such things as star lore and magical beliefs, shows that these tribes are closely allied in thought, dialect and custom and form a true confederation, the organization of which becomes clear in times of danger. Of this confederation the Qateibi are the central tribe, and their sheikhly family is the Akhram, from which the Qateibi Sheikh is elected. As was shown in 1904, a Qateibi Sheikh with a strong personality can have considerable influence on the whole confederation, but he is not expected to rule, as we understand the word, even within his own family.

H 619 [623] 174 622 With the strong 'Aulaqi Confederation we find a more complicated organization, but a similar one. Ma'an is here the central tribe, in all probability the ancient Ma'an of the inscriptions, a pre-Sabian kingdom of South Arabia. Ancient Ma'an was ruled by a "Grand Council," as we find from the inscriptions, and this system still exists to-day.

The 'Aulaqi Confederation is divided into three parts—the Upper and Lower sub-Confederations of attached tribes and the tribe of Ma'an—and each of these three is ruled by a Chief of the tribe of Ma'an, elected by Ma'an only. Again we have the sheikhly family within the central tribe, surrounded by the attached tribes of the confederation. Again the name, but this time it is the name of the central tribe, is pre-Islamic. If we look [671] for further proof that the confederation is of pre-Islamic origin, we find an ancient legal system—that of the Manaqid, which I have already described—strongly attached to it.

H 619 We could continue to find examples of the organization from other confederations, but these three will suffice. The basis of the organization is clear: there is a central tribe containing a sheikhly family, forming the centre of a confederation of tribes.

H 174 Y 643 How did such an organization evolve? How is it that Chiefs, elected according to ancient custom, are not expected to rule their electors? What is the origin of such Chiefs, and of the sheikhly families from which they come? Our answers must be mainly guesswork, but we may well begin by seeing some of the conditions under which an Imam of Sana'a is elected, for I think they point the way to our understanding of the whole problem.

The first condition is that the Imam must be whole in body. No Imam may be elected if he limps, is blind in one or both eyes, has a stammer, squints, is a leper or has any other physical disabilities. If, once

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north to south, not only in South-West Arabia, but in the peninsula as a whole. Incidentally, while the name MA'AN is not given on some maps, it is printed on the folding map at the end of Wyman Bury's *Land of Uz* (1911). It is there placed just above the eastern end of the Qaur ranges and below the words "Upper 'Aulaqi."

The CHAIRMAN: What a remarkable experiment in Empire building has been exposed to us this afternoon. The thought that is uppermost in my mind is how absolutely essential it is that not only we should have very carefully selected Political Officers to carry on this experiment, but that they should be most carefully instructed in what they have to expect before they take up their duties. That seems to me to be of the utmost importance.

You will agree, I know, that we have had a most happy and fortunate send-off to the beginning of our tribal lectures. Indeed, Mr. Hamilton, we were more than happy and lucky to have you. Then, too, we had Sir Bernard Reilly with his great experience, both of them masters of their subject. We thank you too, Sir Bernard, for what you have told us.

May I ask you now to thank Mr. Hamilton most sincerely for his admirable lecture.

*A demand for this lecture, together with the discussion, has led to this reprint.*

121 what people want to hear. In this short talk I would like to deal more with the feeling of these buildings as related to the people who live in them and who have created them. If time allows I hope to show a short colour film I made there and which portrays general scenes of life in Hadhramaut.

122 There is one thing I can say without any hesitation or doubt, and that is to give expression to my great gratitude to those who helped me to go on these journeys. I could not possibly mention by name all those to whom I am indebted, but at least I wish to speak of Sir Bernard Reilly of the Colonial Office, who made it possible for me to go to Hadhramaut and gave me the necessary introductions. I also want to thank Dr. Serjeant of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, who taught me for two years and who showed me everything I had to know in order to travel in that strange and isolated country he had himself visited. Finally, I am most grateful to Colonel Hugh Boustead, Resident Adviser of the East Aden Protectorate, who facilitated my journey in every possible way. He was my kind host and gave me travel facilities and permits to go where many people had difficulty in going.

131 To plunge into my subject, I might say that one does in fact almost plunge into the Hadhramaut from above. It is one of those rare countries which cannot be reached by rail or by road and hardly by sea except on a little native dhow; so that since the British Protectorate authorities started to develop the country it has been habitual to go to Hadhramaut by plane, and one does indeed drop into it from the sky. Such isolation is rare in our times and needs some explanation for those not familiar with the geography of Southern Arabia.

131 Arabia has always been one of the most difficult countries of access to
133 Europeans, for geographical as well as religious reasons. In the centre of the peninsula is one of the largest deserts in the world, and it is surrounded by forbidding coastal ranges from halfway up the Red Sea coast, down to the "barren rocks of Aden" and eastward along the southern coast, almost three-quarters of its length before there is any break in the mountains.

But for small valleys, these mountains and the interior are absolutely barren. With the exception of the Yemen, to all intents and purposes, little or nothing grows in that vast area. There is no water. There is little earth, and in the relentless mountain ranges and plateaux along the coast there is often not even sand—just rock and flint and granite. Yet these coastal ranges are crossed in all directions by ageless tracks made by camel trains of the bedouin traders who have followed them for two thousand, perhaps three thousand years, bringing the incense from Dhufar beyond Hadhramaut.

101 The people who now live in the interior highlands are the bedouin,
[342] the descendants of the traders of old, who dwell in small stone-built villages or mud castles. This south-western corner is still largely a tribal area where there are different little bedouin sultanates. Some of them are being gradually brought into the confederation and some even accept complete British protection; others live entirely in their own ancient way of
000 life of blood feuds and strife. Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently

T: Sterler-Rasmacker T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently 679
killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not 131
more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. 186
Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through 114
or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, 177
and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to 773
Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaveth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became [101] ●
"Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along 131
a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and 133
deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, 133
one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent 311
moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is [504]
Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

133 a second miracle happens. There is a cleft in the great basalt plateau and
311 a beautiful green valley opens abruptly in the flat tableland—a valley running from east to west, joining the sea some 150 miles further on. This is a fertile valley with gardens and palm groves, millet fields and white palaces. An underground river continually provides water for the wells and the little irrigation channels. There are crops up to three times per year. In this lovely setting very civilized and well-dressed townsfolk live in large mud-built towns on the valley cliff sides. Recently they have laid aside their arms and ceased their blood feuds and tribal wars which raged from town to town, from tribe to tribe, from family to family. With the aid of the British adviser they have established law and order and made their foreign trade, which is their livelihood, flourish unhindered.

172 When we go back into history to find out where this miracle has sprung
341 from, we discover that there were the old Sabean and Hymyaritic civilizations of 1,000 or 2,000 years B.C., of which Mr. Ingrams spoke. Perhaps it started with the Minean Empire, on the eastern border of Yemen, and its capital, Ma'in. Later came the Sabeans with their capital a little south, at Marib; followed by the Katabaneans, whose centre, Timna, was at the south-eastern corner of the great desert. And lastly, perhaps, the Hadhramis, whose early capital may have been the much disputed Shabwa. These people built in stone, and their buildings were several storeys high and of very fine dry masonry. Many are the ruins covering the western territory between Aden and Hadhramaut and to the north in Yemen. But also in Hadhramaut itself, further east, there are vestiges of towns and temples, in the main valley and the side valleys; great plans of garrison cities, and remains of castle and palace walls in beautifully executed stonework, all erected perhaps some 2,000 years ago.

341 With such a tradition it is not surprising that something is still found
333 in the present day, and although the Hadhramis have not continued the stone masonry and have turned mainly to sun-dried mud bricks, their achievements are of remarkable interest.

101 Reviewing the various groups of the population, there are the bedouin
342 who still live by camel transport, the sand bedouin of the desert who live in simple black camelhair tents, and the bedouin mountain tribesmen who live on the arid plateaux. The latter are rugged and tough, like the country round them. Their life is hard; it is scorching hot without any shade in the day, bitterly cold at night at 6,000 feet. They still build their low windowless huts with brushwood roofs with the stones of the plateaux in dry walling. They carry on in their primitive way the stone tradition which has been lost elsewhere in the eastern area.

361 The next class of inhabitants we meet are the remote valley bedouin,
311 who live in rather better circumstances. They do have a little grazing, cultivate a little land where they grow millet called dharrah and a sort of
342 little cucumber-tomato called faguws. They live in the earthen beds of long-dried-up rivers that have a flood from the hills about once a year. They have grown lazy like everyone else, and they build their little castles
342 of mud bricks with a base of rough stones from the river-bed. A passage down the centre leads from the entrance door with almost windowless rooms for storage either side to a stair leading to a sheltered roof terrace.

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121 present condition. It is not easy to illustrate that with lantern slides, but I wanted to use the illustrations mainly to enable you to see some of the differences between each division, something of the nature of the country, the appearance of the people and, above all, the architecture.

### The Divisions of South-West Arabia

● 101 175 From an Arab point of view, in geography and history South-West Arabia consists of two countries, the Yemen and the Hadhramaut, but actually to-day its four distinct areas are the Kingdom of the Yemen, the Western Aden Protectorate, the Hadhramaut or Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Colony of Aden.

175 631 In Islamic times and until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Western Aden Protectorate and Aden were part of the Kingdom of the Yemen, but various governors and sheikhs of the Western Aden Protectorate only held an uneasy allegiance to the Yemen and broke away as practically independent units. They remained independent until they concluded treaties with His Majesty's Government, mostly last century. Thus the Aden Protectorate gradually grew up. What is now the Colony of Aden was captured from Lahej in 1839 or ceded at later dates. Towards the end of the nineteenth century treaties were made with the coastal chiefs of the Hadhramaut. In 1914 a British sphere of influence in South-West and South-East Arabia was arranged with the Turks. The Turks had twice occupied but never fully conquered the Yemen, and their insecure rule came to an end after the last war, when the Imam became independent.

In pre-Islamic times the Hadhramaut was for a period an independent kingdom. From the time of the Prophet's mission until the ninth century it submitted uneasily to the rule of the Caliphate, and then became independent again, though for periods during succeeding centuries—until the thirteenth century—it was claimed by the Yemen. There was a final short period of Yemeni domination at the end of the seventeenth century, but the Zeidis were finally turned out in 1704. The Hadhramaut remained independent until 1888, when the British Protectorate over the Qu'aiti started.

Down to 1937 the Aden Protectorate, often known as the Nine Cantons, and the Hadhramaut were treated as two ill-defined entities, but as the treaties with the chiefs of both were similar, the two were united as one protectorate by Order in Council that year. When, however, a forward policy in the Hadhramaut was started in that same year, they were again considered separate for administrative purposes, and the old Aden Protectorate was called the Western Protectorate and the Hadhramaut and Mahra country the Eastern.

631 There are such great differences between the Western Aden Protectorate and the Eastern Aden Protectorate that they should be considered separate areas when one is thinking of the divisions of South-West Arabia. Indeed, the Eastern Aden Protectorate could well be considered as two areas itself—the Hadhramaut in the west, and in the east, linked with Socotra, the Mahri country, much more primitive than the Hadhramaut and probably more primitive than the Western Aden Protectorate. It has

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622 the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh. Of the Subeihi Sheikhs, the Barahimi, the
631 Atifi, and the Rifa'i have treaties. The reason for the large number of
648 treaties was the desire to protect the land frontiers of Aden from incursion by foreign powers and from tribal assault. But the haphazard way in which the treaties were entered into has been responsible for a lot of confusion, because the policy has extended gradually from merely interest in the security of Aden to the welfare of the tribes themselves. When the treaties were made the country was largely unvisited. Chiefs came down to Aden, and on explaining their importance were given treaties. They were induced to do so by the fact that treaty chiefs were given stipends and presents and entertainment. But when the Government decided to stop giving treaties as freely as before, there were still a number of chiefs as important as those who had had treaties and the importance of many of the treaty chiefs declined. They died, and their successors were not men of the same personality. So that there is good reason for revising the treaties, and this is now often under consideration, though there is a good deal of difficulty about it.

All these treaty chiefs are juridically of the same status. On the plane of precedence the Sultan of Lahej comes first with a salute of eleven guns and the title of Highness, the Amir of Dhala, the Fadhli Sultan, and the Lower Yafa'i Sultan have nine-gun salutes. But, apart from Lahej, none of these kingdoms can be said to have a government and there are wide ranges of differences of authority between them. Indeed, some of them are totally without authority. Some have several thousands of tribesmen and subjects under their normal authority, some have perhaps no more than a few dozens. The main feature of the protectorate for the last century or so has been anarchy, and the population from Sultans downwards is to an overwhelming extent tribal. There are no mercantile centres of importance and no cultural centres at all. There are few Seiyids, comparatively speaking, and their standard of learning is much lower than in Aden or the Hadhramaut, from which latter they most of them originate. Apart from Lahej there is not a town in the protectorate of any great size or importance, and the make-up of the treaty chiefdoms outside the 'Abdali State does not lend itself to the building of governments at present, and few of them have the potential sources of sufficient revenue to do much in that way.

101 Historically, of course, the Western Protectorate was never a province of Arabia. The provinces of South Arabia were Yemen, Hadhramaut, Shihr (which meant the Mahra country), Dhofar, and 'Uman, and the Western Aden Protectorate is really part of the dusty skirt of the Yemen.

000 Politically, therefore, the set-up is not very promising. The best chance of making a country of the protectorate is by encouraging federation between different areas. It is probably not possible for it to become one country with the Sultan of Lahej as its leader, though his group will probably always tend to be the more important. He is already the suzerain of the Subeihis and the Haushabis, and has intervened successfully at times in the affairs of the Fadhlis, the Amiri, the Yafa'is, and the Lower 'Aulaqis. The Amiris, with the Quteibis and Alawis, could, from a geographical point of view, naturally federate with his bloc, but the

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behind it, and not the high mountains of the Yemen. Its height above the sea-level nowhere exceeds 6,000 feet and is generally not more than 3,500. It has therefore no regular rainfall.

Then, as regards treaties, while the W.A.P. has a total of about thirty-five chiefs in direct relation with His Majesty's Government, the E.A.P. has only seven, of which one, the Kathiri, is comparatively recent. The reason is that in the E.A.P. all that was required was to keep foreign powers off the coast. All the six original treaties with E.A.P. rulers were with coastal chiefs. Starting from the west, 'Irqa and Haura are only small villages. The two Wahidi Sultans come next, then the Qu'aiti, the largest of them all, whose state to-day covers some 50,000 square miles, and then the Mahra, which includes Socotra Island. While the W.A.P. is historically part of the Yemen, and has now a new and natural capital in Aden which supplies it with all its requirements, the E.A.P. is historically and geographically detached and has a local commercial capital in Mukalla, but looks to India, Singapore, and Java for its cultural and social contacts.

The Hadhramaut is historically and geographically a country in itself, and consists of the Wahidi Sultanates, with the two little Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, which are really ports in the country of the Dhiyeibi tribe, who are a Wahidi tribe, and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. I propose not to say anything more of the Mahra country because as yet little is known about it, though in the last year or two more has been learnt of Socotra.

You will have gathered, I think, that, owing to its desert nature and lack of rainfall, the prospects of the development of agriculture in the Hadhramaut are not very promising, and as the various explorations that have taken place to date have not discovered any mineral resources, it does not look as though the economic future is very bright. The best agricultural areas are Gheil Ba Wazir, on the coast, where Hamumi tobacco is very successfully grown, and this brings in a revenue of about Rs. 200,000 a year to the state, and Meifa, in which conditions have been considerably improved in the last few years and where some further development is possible. It was hoped that the alluvial silt of the Wadi Hadhramaut would prove a fertile area for wide development if water could be found, but experiment has shown that it is largely brackish and, bearing in mind the desert surroundings, it is probable that any further supplies of water which boring might discover would not be sufficient to wash out the salt. It is unfortunate, too, that the bulk of the population, the seiyids and tribesmen, do not take to working on the land themselves, as do the tribesmen of the W.A.P., but rely on dhafa, a class of poor townsmen who are almost in the position of serfs. These dhafa lived by building the palaces of the rich and working their wells, but the fall of Singapore and Java cut off the supplies of money from the Far East so that the rich could no longer maintain them. The beduin had lived by carrying supplies from the coast to the interior, but with the falling off of imports they too suffered. On top of this catastrophe there was a seven-year drought from 1937 to 1944, which meant the loss of crops, flocks, and 50 per cent. of the working camels, so that between the difficulties of

# A JOURNEY IN HADRAMAUT

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101 Hadramaut is a part of Arabia about which very little is yet known. It was celebrated in antiquity as the land of frankincense and myrrh, and the great trade route from India to the ports of South Arabia and thence through Hadramaut, Yemen and Nejran to Egypt and Syria, brought prosperity and culture. Lying on the border of the Sabæan and Minæan kingdoms, Hadramaut appears to have adopted many of their civilizing elements, and yet to have maintained its own independence. After the decline of the Sabæan kingdom and the civilization which flourished there, Hadramaut also sank into poverty and ignorance. In this respect Islam appears to have brought but little change. After the destruction of 167 the irrigation works, the poverty became terrible, and 735 the country was scarcely able to provide a meagre subsistence even for a very small population. Even centuries ago this led the most enterprising of the men to seek for themselves a better livelihood in foreign lands. 167 The men of Hadramaut wandered off to the east coast 186 of Africa, to the countries around the Red Sea as far as Egypt, to British India and to the Dutch East Indies. Their women never went with them, and the men remained firmly attached to their poor, dry and intensely hot native land. In foreign lands the people of Hadramaut have preserved their own characteristics up to the present day, and have never become assimilated to the peoples among whom they lived, endeavoring to return at some time to their native land, and sending their male children to Hadramaut for their education, if they could

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484 438 [463 512] passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

361 458 529 Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the [504] principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

619 438 Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

487 101 438 142 When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan [144] Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

we first went up there they charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

[THE BA HASAN TANBULIS -- ANALYST]

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and there was a general desire for peace in order to get on with the work in the fields.

My wife was accompanied by Seiyid 'Alawi al 'Attas and Jemila, a devoted maid servant of the family, who perched precariously on the back of my wife's camel singing Badawin war songs. My wife learnt some of them and they proceeded up the wadi singing duets. Besides being an amusing companion Jemila was a very useful one, for she proved an excellent lady's maid and a masseuse as well. Seiyid 'Alawi has married a tribeswoman, so the party stayed at Zeila in the house of his brother-in-law, one of the principal Ja'da chiefs. Like many Ja'dis their host had been to Java, but the only sign of his travels was a bicycle which he had brought back with him and which he said he preferred to a camel. From Zeila they rode through many small villages to 'Anaq belonging to the Al ash Shaibi, who are credited with possessing the Evil Eye and consequently shunned as much as possible. Seiyid 'Alawi thought it prudent not to mount his camel till the village had been left well behind, in case he was made to fall off by some evilly disposed person. They spent a night at 'Amd, which is almost at the end of Ja'da territory, for a little farther up the wadi the Madhi tribe have their habitat. All the villages in the wadi are much alike with a few three- and four-storeyed houses set amongst smaller ones, and most of them have well-built tanks for catching rain-water. Particularly in the left bank there are many dug-out caves, largely used now for habitation and grain stores. Miss Caton-Thompson says that these were probably all Himyaritic tombs. I think some cave dwellers she met were rather put out when she told them they were living in tombs. Many of the Al 'Attas family, who have much influence over the Ja'dis, have been canonized and their domed tombs are objects of veneration in several villages. My wife's appearance was taken for granted at 'Amd, where she spent a night with women who had been to Java and had seen European women before. They had brought back a few momentos of their travels and impelled by the same spirit that makes us hang Eastern curios on our walls they had hung up a pair of cheap European high-heeled slippers for the admiration of their untravelled friends.

From 'Amd they returned down the wadi following the left bank and passed many ruins, most of which covered low spurs jutting out from the cliffs. At Husn Ba Qasm there are ruins known as 'Adiya Qudha'a which may indicate the site of what was once the principal town in the wadi, as in the days before Islam it was called Wadi Qudha'a. Near the large village of Bateh they passed the time of day with a man who spoke to them from a second-storey window of his house as he dared not go out, for he was carrying on single-handed a war with all his neighbours. Like many others with whom my wife talked he asked for peace. Another had said "We want peace, we're sick of fighting. A man works in his fields and is shot dead—what's the use of it?" And another stopped them and said: "A country without a government is not a country. Bring us peace and settled government."

Returning to Shibam, which is of course the principal Qu'aiti town of the interior, there is west of it past Al Qatn and as far as the junction of the Wadi Du'an a bloc of Yafa'is, with a few Kathiris surviving in such places as Ajlania on the junction itself and also in the Wadi 'Amd. These Yafa'is have been

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settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century Bedr Bu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found, for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Badus keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim Mbaruk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dispensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signatories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 ocean escarpment, but in the Hadhramaut they intrude for over 120 miles to the northwards. Beyond them and between them and the southern edge of the sands is a wedge-shaped plain narrowing westwards and falling from south to north and from west to east. The edge of the sands at Mugshin is about 490 ft., at Shisur about 935 ft., at Shuait 950 ft., and to the west not improbably rising to 2,000 ft. or more in the neighbourhood of the Najran. This plain is crossed by dry wadi beds, or what Burton calls "fiumura." They take their rise in ravines deeply eroded in the limestone of the mountains and they become more shallow as they run northwards, until, as they approach the sands, they are almost indistinguishable from the steppe in which they are merely shallow depressions marked here and there by scrub. These wadis [132] are the arteries of approach for Badus journeying from the mountains northwards. They are evidence of a very different climate from what now prevails, the deep gorges are doubtless the result of torrential rain action. To-day the country is extremely arid, and rainfall is slight or negligible.

Arabia is said never to have had an ice age, so that when the territories of the higher latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere lay beneath an ice cap, Arabia must have enjoyed a pluvial period, and it is from this time that these great gorges running northwards on the desert side of the South Arabia escarpment possibly date. I picked up many fossils on the edge of the sands, which must have been washed down in bygone ages. These were of limestone formation and have all been identified as belonging to the Middle Eocene period. The tradition of ancient trade routes across what is now almost a prohibitive barrier of sands, should not therefore be dismissed as unreasonable: it may connote that a very early civilization 172 existed in this region. Indeed caravan tracks of great antiquity were pointed out to me in 138 lat. 18° 30′, long. 52° on the very edge of the sands and leading on a bearing of 325° into what is now a drought-stricken waste of sands. The Badus called this "the road to Ubar," a town which they say lies buried, according to their tradition, beneath the sands that are ever encroaching southwards. Whether the words "Ubar" and "Ophir" have any sort of connection it is impossible to say, but the alleged site of this buried city is on a direct line from the frankincense country of Dhufar to the most probable site of Gerrha on the Persian Gulf, and to Petra in Nabathaea, the great marts of the classical geographers.

[171] Other archæological remains are the old ruined townships of the plain of Dhufar and the trilith monuments I discovered in the frankincense country just over the Divide.[1] The former would appear to preserve a link with ancient Abyssinia, for the characteristic architectural feature is a monolithic column which, according to Bent, is common to that area, but is nowhere found being made to-day in Arabia. As regards the significance of the trilith monument, accurate memory of it has faded from the tribal mind. This brings us to the inhabitants themselves.

101 619 000 The nomadic tribes living in the Southern Steppe are Bait Kathir, elements of the Mahra, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai (Bal'Ubaid). In the mountains in northern Hadhramaut and the hinterland of Aden are two other interesting types, Hamumi and Yaf'i. With the

[1] For a detailed account see "Among Some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xiv, 1921, pp. 107 *seq.*

21; Thomas 7-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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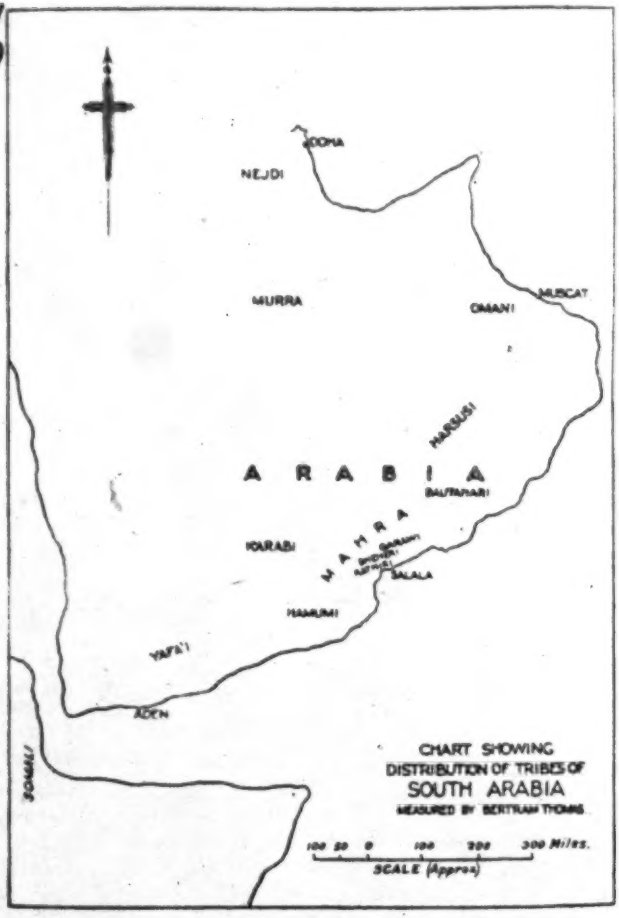


MAP.
(*By courtesy of Messrs. Jonathan Cape.*)

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



exception of the Mahra all these tribes speak Arabic and Arabic alone, and yet some are types clearly distinguishable from the northern Arab, and indeed those I measured are all brachycephals. The very word "Arab" is used in the desert to denote "people" instead of having the particular racial connotation which we give to it. More than once I have been asked "From what Arabs are you?" by a native, who was conscious that I was of a different race from himself.

Whether these Arabic-speaking South Arabians are indigenous or come from elsewhere is a question for anthropologists. In this connection, the Preface to Wyman Bury's book *Land of Uz* is of interest. That Preface, written by Maj.-Gen. Maitland who was British Resident at Aden at the beginning of the present century, declares the writer's opinion as follows :—

> "The people of Arabia belong to two distinct and apparently quite different races. The common idea of the Arab type is tall bearded men with clean-cut, hawk-like faces. The Arabs of South Arabia are smaller, darker, coarser featured and nearly beardless. All authorities agree that the Southern Arabs are nearly related by origin to the Abyssinian. Yet strange to say it is the Egypto-African race who are the original and 'pure' Arabs, while the stately Semitic of the North is *Mustareb* . . . one who is Arab by adoption and residence, rather than by descent."

But I am concerned here with a group of non-Arabic speaking tribes more distant in habit of life still from the familiar Arab, tribes of whom neither Burton nor Maitland could have had any personal knowledge, tribes whose members have seldom made the pilgrimage to Mecca, tribes for the most part settled in the Qara and Al Qamr mountains of the Central South where they breed cows and gather frankincense. To the list given in my previous paper, viz., Qara, Mahra, Shahara, Bauthâra and Harasîs should be added Barahama, Bil Haf, Afar, and Bit Istait (Bait ash Shaikh). Except for those elements of the Mahra that are nomadic, and for the nomadic Harasîs and Afar and the fishing tribe of Bautâhara, the remainder form a *bloc* of settled mountain society with a common and a unique culture.

The four languages of this group have been mentioned in the paper under reference. Of the additional tribes the Afar speak a language which is a variant of Mahri, called Aforit, and is said to be the same as that spoken by the Harasîs. The Bait ash Shaikh (Insakht) use the Shahara tongue and are thought to be collateral with the Shahara and once to have co-inhabited the great port, now a heap of ruins, of Rubat (Ariyot). Balhaf, a rather nondescript tribe, owes allegiance to no faction but is Mahri in speech.

### DRESS AND DYE CUSTOMS.

The men wear a single sheet wound round to form a skirt short to the knees and then brought diagonally across their bodies and thrown over one shoulder; women a single loose-falling black gown usually green with age and black muslin head-wrap which falls about shoulders and neck; they are mostly unveiled. The use of indigo for smearing their bodies and impregnating their clothes is common to both sexes. It gives their faces a purple hue. There is a local dye from a tree called *hunair*, but much of the indigo comes from India.

[Bait Kathir, Mahra, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai -- Analyst]

000 ness of its soil, which makes the greatest demands upon the physical and mental powers of endurance of the explorers, while it seems to promise little advantage to the western spirit of enterprise. Yet western science does not labour only in pursuit of material profit and is not, in the long run, held back from its aims by arid deserts. It is, however, not only the difficulties of climate and soil that deter the explorer in Arabia, but rather the xenophobia of its inhabitants, which often takes the form of religious fanaticism, and which has cost many a daring European scholar his life.

In this regard, as an indirect result of the World War, a considerable improvement has come about. In that great dual-monarchy of the Hedjaz and Nedjd, with its dependencies, anyone who enjoys the protection of the powerful Wahhābī ruler, Ibn Sa'ūd, can travel and explore in safety, and the same is true, in the fertile district of the Yemen, for those, who are received as guests by the forceful Imām Yaḥyā. Both enlightened rulers recognize, to a certain degree, the importance of the scientific exploration of their country and throw open their borders to visitors from the West, under certain conditions prompted by caution. By degrees, their subjects have become accustomed or are even reconciled to the sight of these foreign intruders, formerly so much abhorred. On the other hand, in the large areas of the peninsula, which are not under the control of such energetic rulers, the foreigner will at best, by the payment of money, be able to procure some guarantee, though not always of a reliable nature, for the safety of his life and property; but he will often find, when he has covered only a few miles, that, owing to the division of the inhabitants into innumerable, small, political entities, which are mostly at enmity with one another, he is obliged to negotiate with new tribal or district chiefs, whenever at least their fanaticism does not flatly deny him passage.

131 To these inhospitable territories belongs, or rather belonged
101 until very recently, the remarkable valley-complex, that stretches out in the middle of Southern Arabia, parallel with

the South coast and separated from it by a mountain range, the country of Ḥaḍramaut. The name occurs already in the Book of Genesis; in ancient times Ḥaḍramaut was famous for its exports of incense and myrrh; ruins and inscriptions from pre-Muhammadan days bear witness to a past greatness and prosperity.

This prosperity of bygone days has, through all manner of unfavourable circumstances, given way, centuries ago, to a pitiable decline. It is true that Islam found an early entrance here and that Muhammadan science has, amongst a certain class of the population, zealous devotees, but the political discipline of this religion has not succeeded in creating Ḥaḍramaut into a realm of peace. The endless tribal wars, which divide the people, make the land practically inaccessible to foreign visitors, even if they are Muhammadans, and at the same time prevent the inhabitants themselves from extracting from their native soil what it could yield to a peacefully labouring population. Because the Ḥaḍramīs are not lacking in ability, which often attains rich maturity under more orderly conditions, many of them have for centuries swarmed to the Yemen, Egypt, Syria and, during the last three centuries especially, also to India and Netherlands India. Of all parts of the Arabian peninsula, Ḥaḍramaut is pre-eminently the land of emigration.

In Netherlands India they have even, in earlier times, succeeded in founding sultanates (e. g. Siak, Pontianak), but now they content themselves with trade and money transactions. Some of them, having become wealthy, return to their own country, but others prefer to enjoy, away from the disturbances of Ḥaḍramaut, the pleasures that are there unattainable. Millionaires are also to be found amongst this fluctuating population of Netherlands India, which numbers seventy to eighty thousand souls. Mr. L. W. C. Van den Berg, adviser to the Netherlands India Government, in 1886, published a book, which, besides statistics of the Ḥaḍramī settlement in the East Indian Archipelago, contained also a description of the native land of these immigrants, compiled from information collected from them in Java. In the 19th

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



E. Glaser did research in the Yemen for a few years, but 114
after returning home, died before he had worked up all his copious and valuable material. It is only now at last that steps are being taken towards publishing the greater part of his scientific legacy. H. Burchardt was murdered whilst in the midst of his explorations. Before them Halévy travelled in the disguise of a Yemenī Jew through the otherwise unexplored districts of the Djöf and Nedjrān. He thus had the chance of seeing the land of Saba and the remains of the famous dam of Ma'rib, but had to return too soon to do more than raise a corner of the veil which still hangs over that land of "the Queen of the South". Though a great work has been accomplished by many a learned explorer the standard works on the Yemen are still to come. May they soon appear![1]

Ḥaḍramaut was, at one time, closely connected with the land 131
of the Yemen. The name itself really belongs to the broad 101
Wādī[2] Ḥaḍramaut, with the towns of el-Qaṭn, Shibām, Sēwūn 103
and Terīm. In Sabaean times, this wādī, many miles in width, with its fertile loam soil, must have been a veritable paradise on earth, thanks to its highly developed system of dams, reservoirs and irrigation channels. Enough still remains to make it understood that the surrounding districts down to the southern coast, with the harbours of Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, were included in the name of the most famous part: "Ḥaḍramaut". In the following pages, whenever "Ḥaḍramaut Proper" is meant these words are used.

The name of Ḥaḍramaut occurs as early as the book of 101
Genesis, chapter X, 26 ("Ḥāṣarmāweth" contains the same radicals as Ḥaḍramaut). Different opinions exist as regards

[1] The work of Dr. C. Rathjens of Hamburg and of my travelling companion Dr. H. von Wissmann, published by the University of Hamburg, marks an important advance in the history of the exploration of 'Arabia Felix'. Part 1 has already appeared. *Rathjens-v. Wissmannsche Südarabien-Reise.* Band I, *Sabäische Inschriften.* Bearbeitet von J. H. Mordtmann und Eugen Mittwoch, Hamburg, 1932.

[2] A *wādī* is a, generally dry, river-bed.

101 the meaning of this name, but none of them is scientifically established. The Ḥaḍramīs themselves have several etymologies, but give the preference, nevertheless, to that which is connected with their national Prophet, Hūd. The last words of Hūd, when he reached the end of his earthly life, and the people of ᶜĀd, who then inhabited the land, were not yet converted by his preaching, are said to have been: "*ḥaḍara 'l-maut*", "death has come". This referred as much to himself as to the people of ᶜĀd, who were destroyed by Allah.

101 In Roman times Ḥaḍramaut was included in the term
487 "Arabia Felix". Was it not known then as the country of the aloë, of incense and myrrh? And did not the great trade route from the Indies to the coasts of the Mediterranean pass from the ports of Southern Arabia through Ḥaḍramaut to Yemen, and thence northwards to Egypt and Syria? The territories of the Sabaean and Himyaritic kings must have extended as far as the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut. When those kingdoms collapsed, when their splendid irrigation works vanished, and when civilization perished, the desert gained the mastery; the great works which once existed here were covered for centuries by the sand-dunes piled up gradually by the hot winds of the desert. Unity broke down, civilized peoples could no longer maintain their existence and their place was taken by the sons of Ishmael "whose hand is against every man". From that time onwards the Yemen and Ḥaḍramaut led their own life of struggle and poverty; the fructifying contact between the
114 two regions was broken. Glaser, indeed, once turned his eyes in the direction of the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut and actually made the first sketch-map of the country between the Yemen and Ḥaḍramaut, from data collected by word of mouth from the Bedouins. But the few explorers who desired to investigate Ḥaḍramaut realized that the way there must lead, not through the Yemen, but by way of the seaport towns on the southern coast of Arabia.

Adolph von Wrede was the first scientific traveller who succeeded in penetrating into the region of Ḥaḍramaut and in

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 M1 Middle East :
Hadhramaut MM2

# CHAPTER VIII

# COTTON IN ARABIA

Arabia is divided into numerous groups, most of which are actually principalities. The boundaries of the subdivisions are indefinite and so is the authority of the local rulers in most cases. Some of these groups like to call themselves independent countries. One is called a kingdom. Some are called protectorates. The British have exercised the major influence over all these groups for 50 years and still do but in varying ways. One small spot of land actually belongs to the British Crown. 000

## ADEN PROTECTORATE

The narrow strip of land along the southwestern tip of the Arabian Peninsula includes a number of territories and dependencies of Arab chiefs which have been organized under a protectorate treaty with the British, and is called the Protectorate of Aden. 101

The Protectorate is about the size of Arizona. It has about 660,000 people, many of whom are nomads. The country is mostly mountainous though there are a few valleys and flood plains capable of cultivation. The Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that there are about 270,000 acres actually in cultivation at the present time. As the plains receive only about four inches of rainfall annually, irrigation is required. Considerable water is available as rainfall in the mountains is rather heavy, approaching 40 inches annually, but facilities are inadequate for catching and directing the water. 133 311 [161]

The economy of the protectorate rests almost solely on agriculture. The principal crops are grains and some fruits, principally dates. While a small quantity of coarse grains is normally exported, the country usually imports about half its bread grain requirements. 241.

## COTTON

Cotton has been grown in this area in small quantities for hundreds of years, but never in commercial quantities until very recent years when British interests began promoting production. 248

The following article on the present status and prospects of cotton production in the Protectorate was written especially for this report by the research staff of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, London, with the collaboration of Major Congdon, Manager of the Abyan Board in the Aden Protectorate. 114

## RECENT HISTORY

"During the last war to increase the production of food, the old Abyan irrigation system was reopened and the headworks were partially restored under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. The reclaimed areas were used mainly for sorghum, bulrush millet and simsim, but it soon became 241 242

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



munication in the Eastern Aden Protectorate—Scheme D.1373. Of 653
this project the road between Bir Ali and Balhaf has been completed, 491
work is now proceeding on the Meifa-Bir Ali stretch, and a start was 499
made in December, 1950, with the new Jahi-Rubat (Du'an) road.

Further, a road was constructed in the north linking Shibam and Henin with the tribal centre of Reidat-as-Sei'ar on the edge of the Ruba' al Khali and resurfacing of the Wadi Hadhramaut road between Tarim and Qassam, Shibam and Qatn and Ajlaniya and Qa'udha was carried out to facilitate transport in the main agricultural areas.

Considerable help was given by the former Director of Public Works, Aden and the Executive Engineer, Aden, who visited the Eastern Aden Protectorate and submitted valuable reports, with recommendations as to the repair and maintenance of roads, which are being implemented to the extent that local finances and labour resources permit.

*Air Communications* have also improved in the past two years. 509
A weekly service by Aden Airways Ltd. was maintained between Aden and Riyan (17 miles from Mukalla) and late in 1950 was extended to Al Qatn. The interior of the Hadhramaut is now within reach of Aden and the protracted delays travellers formerly faced are a thing of the past.

Special planes were flown direct from Riyan and Qatn to Hedjaz for the 1950 pilgrimage.

*Sea Communications* were maintained by occasional visits of 505
coastal steamers based on Aden, and more frequent trips by motor dhows and small powered craft.

# Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

## SITUATION AND AREA

The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described 101
administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the 131
Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MI1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



619 The other principal tribes, comparatively much less powerful than the two foregoing, are: the *'Amūdi*, in Wādi Dō'an; the
• 101 *Nahad*, in the upper Central Hadhramaut; the *Jābiri*, in the southern side of the main wādi; the *'Awāmir* and *Tamīmi*, in the lower Central Hadhramaut, east of the Jābiri; the *Hamumi* and *Manāhil*, in the plateau region and the lower Hadhramaut; the *Mahrah*, east of the lower Hadhramaut; and the *Wahīdi*. The Mahrah country, which is a coastal tract, links the Hadhramaut proper, on the west, with the Qara territory in the western confines of Oman. The pop. is estimated at about 50,000. Inland, the country is believed to consist of sandy steppes, but its boundaries
[643] are unknown. The Sultan of Mahrah, who is also ruler of Socotra, lives at **Qishn**, a rather poor fishing village about 36 miles
361 west of Ras Fartak. **Seihūt**, situated near the mouth of the main Hadhramaut valley, is a well-built town with many houses of stone, and is said to have a population of 10,000. **Hafāt** is another thriving village on the coast from which 9,000 cwt. of frankincense is exported annually, principally to Bombay.

[643] The Wahīdi, under one principal Sultan and several subordinate chiefs, occupy the south-western district of the Hadhramaut which
619 stretches from the coast inland to the plateau. They are one of the least aggressive tribes in the country and have, for the most part, settled down into peaceful tillers of the soil or herdsmen. They control 50 miles of coast from Ras el-Kelb to **Bālhāf** (a small Wahīdi port), and carry on a little local sea-borne trade, having several good but small harbours, all, however, open to the monsoons. The total pop. is estimated at over 9,000 souls, including a few Jews.
361 The chief towns are **Habbān**, with some 250 houses and 2,500 inhabitants, a mercantile settlement situated some 12 miles east of Yeshbum; **Hautah**, 2,000 inhabitants; **Raidah**, with some 1,000 people; and **Izzān** (Hisān), a large village, with a pop. of about 300.

701 The combatant portion of the population of the Hadhramaut is composed of bands of irregulars, and consists generally of the members of the tribes and their families, who all know the use of arms. Some chiefs have in addition a special and more disciplined guard and corps of armed slaves. Thus the Sultan of the Ka'aiti has an army, though somewhat irregular, of from 3,000–4,000 men and 1,500 slaves, which is mainly in garrison in the different towns under his authority, including 1,000 maintained at Shiheir; they are lodged and nourished at his expense and receive a little pay. The Sultan of the Kathīri is supposed to be able to muster some 7,000 fighting-men and has also about 1,000 armed slaves. There is no cavalry in the Hadhramaut.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

# CHAPTER XV

## SETTLED TRIBES OF THE SOUTH

### A. Aden Protectorate

#### 1. *'Abdāli*

The Ottoman attack on Aden in July 1915 resulted in the occupation of the 'Abdāli country by the Turks, the fall and sack of Lahej, its capital, the death of the ruling Sultan, and the retreat of most of his subjects to the Aden lines. 101 619 643

Previous to that event the 'Abdāli tribe occupied the country immediately round Aden. Its boundaries extended about 35 miles inland to the Haushabi tribe on the north, to the Fadhli Sultanate on the east, and the Subeihi tribe on the west. Formerly it held the Aden peninsula, until an outrage perpetrated on a shipwrecked crew and the absence of any satisfaction led to the British bombardment and occupation of Aden in 1839.

The Sultan of Lahej, who is the head of the 'Abdāli, still receives a yearly subsidy from the British Government for its occupation of the town of Sheikh 'Othmān, and leases to it a large area of land in the neck of the isthmus. The present Sultan, Abd el-Kerīm ibn Fadhl ibn 'Ali, is a man of 35, of sedentary habits, who has up to the present shown no marked ability. He is fairly well educated according to Arab standards, but knows no English. He is very popular with the tribe. He succeeded his cousin H. H. Sultan Sir 'Ali ibn Ahmed ibn 'Ali, K.C.I.E., on July 13, 1915, when the latter was accidentally shot during the Ottoman occupation of Lahej.

The tribe owes its importance more to its wealth than to its military prowess. It is entirely settled and agricultural, with the exception of the Ahl Bān, who are chiefly pastoral but have arable land westwards in Abiyān near the Fadhli Sultanate. The population is estimated at 14,500.

The late Sultan of Lahej controlled the first stage of the main caravan road from Aden to Yemen up the Wādi Tiban, and maintained armed and fortified posts at Zeida, Sha'qah (Shaka), and 'Anad. He also had a customs post for the Aden traffic at Dār

p. 509

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



101 el-Amīr. He was then able to put into the field about 2,000 men, who were of doubtful fighting value but strong enough to repel
619 any tribal attacks, knowing that British troops would come to their aid in the event of serious trouble.
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'ABDĀLI

| *Tribe.* | *Sub-Tribe.* | *Clan.* |
|---|---|---|
| 'Abdāli. | *Ahl Bān.* | *Mūsabein.* |
| Sultan Abd el-Kerīm ibn Fadhl ibn 'Ali | *'Udheibi.* | *Mansūri.* |
| | | Sh. Sālih Mansūr. |
| | | 'Ali Mansūr. |
| | | Mohammed Mansūr. |

## 2. *'Abd el-Wahīd Sultanate*

101 The 'Abd el-Wahīd confederation lies immediately to the east of the Upper and Lower 'Aulaqi Sultanates, with whose tribesmen
619 it is at constant feud.

Tribally it is divided into the Sultanates of Bālhāf, Habbān,
622 and Izzān.

The Sultan of Bālhāf, who lives in the town of that name on the sea-coast, is Sālih ibn 'Abdullah, who used to be officially recognized at Aden as the head of the 'Abd el-Wahīd confederation, and who received a small subsidy from Government. He is well conducted, anglophile, but without much influence over his turbulent tribesmen. The latter have an hereditary feud with the Ba Kāzim, but lack their resolute grit and hardihood. Passage from one country to the other is dangerous, and supplies from Aden ordinarily come by sea.

The Sultan of Habbān, the chief mercantile town of the district, is Nāsir ibn Sālih. He is untrustworthy, and strongly opposed to any European penetration of his dominion. He is unpopular with his tribesmen and frequently has trouble with the Lakmūsh and Ahl Iswad, two small but turbulent vassal tribes who lie between him and his hereditary enemies, the Ahl Ma'an of Upper 'Aulaqi.

The chief of the Izzān Sultanate, which lies 25 miles to the east of Habbān, is Muhsin ibn Sālih. He is a man of about 45, unpopular with his tribes, a robber and a bad governor. He was expelled by the tribesmen in the early nineties, and after taking refuge with the Ahl Ma'an, went to Aden, Jibuti, and Hodeidah. Having tried in vain to raise money by pledging his Sultanate in turn to the French and the Turks, he returned *via* San'ā and managed to reinstate himself. In 1898 he again came into disfavour by endeavouring to blackmail the Austrian Expedition.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



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He is now recognized by the Aden authorities as paramount and receives a subsidy of Rs. 720 per annum. He is also supreme at Bālhāf, but shares the dues with Sālih ibn 'Abdullah.

Officially recognized Sultan, Muhsin ibn Sālih of Izzān.

Subsidiary Sultans:
Nāsir ibn Sālih of Habbān.
Tribes:
*Ahl Iswad.*
*Lakmūsh.*
Sālih ibn 'Abdullah of Bālhāf.

### 3. *Ahl Karab*

The Ahl Karab is a nomad tribe ranging the desolate tracts north of Upper 'Aulaqi and penetrating as far west as Beihān el-Jezāb and the Mūsabein country. They are a tribe of marauders and robbers, and though nominally vassals of the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, are always at war with the Ahl Hammām.

Their chief is Hāmid ibn Nāsir abu Kateyān, who lives at Shabwah, a town of about 3,000 inhabitants, some 55 miles north-east of Nisāb, built on the ruins of an ancient Himyarite city. They muster 400 men.

### 4. *Ahl es-Sa'īdi*

The Ahl es-Sa'īdi are a small confederation bounded on the north by the 'Audillah, on the east by the Oleh, on the south by the Oleh, and on the west by the Yāfa'.

They are chiefly to be found near Dakhlah and the Sa'īdi plain, and are the original owners of the soil under the tenure of the Sultan of Upper 'Aulaqi, whose influence extends as far as Qarn Murshid. A land-tax is due to him from them, and is always withheld until he comes down to fetch it with a large force. This happens about every five years.

The chief 'Āqil is Mohammed 'Ali abu 'Awad, who resides at Nūbat es-Suwa, and also holds supreme authority over the Yazīd, who pay taxes to him. The Confederation numbers about 300 men, and are the nucleus of the following sub-tribes:

(1) Ahl Diyān. Living at El-'Ain and Hamra. Their 'Āqil Nasr Hamid, lives at El-'Ain and receives a small tax from them, but at Thuwarein they pay a far larger tax or *'ushr* to Mohammed ibn 'Ali, a chief of the Ahl es-Sa'īdi, whose grandfather was formerly 'Āqil on condition of receiving *'ushr* from the Ahl Diyān, which was levied on land which

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they tilled, belonging to the Ahl es-Sa'īdi. The 'Aqilship passed from that family, but the *'ushr* is still paid. The Ahl Diyān muster about 200 men and are an offshoot of the sub-tribe at Khaura, but may now be considered as a component part of the Ahl es-Sa'īdi Confederacy.

(2) Ahl Yazīd. Living at Dakhlah. They muster about fifty men.

There are three more actual sub-divisions of the Ahl es-Sa'īdi, but they barely muster between them 100 men and are scattered throughout the neighbouring villages in a most confusing manner.

There is a settlement within their territory called Hafa, which is peopled by Sādah (or *Seyyids*), whose origin is from Waht ('Abdāli country), where is the shrine of a well-known saint, 'Amr abu 'Ali, who, it is stated, formed a friendship with 'Amr abu Sa'īd (now enshrined at Mijdah) and was granted by him a small tax on the land round Dakhlah, which these Sādah collect. It is payable in kind, as are all these ecclesiastical contributions, and is about 5 per cent. on the year's crop. There is a shrine at Hafa (Fātimah bint Ahmed), and its attendants form the balance of the population.

### 5. *'Aqrabi*

A small and peaceably disposed tribe, numbering about 700 souls, ranging north of Aden lagoon and west of Bir Ahmed, the tribal capital. Here is the residence of the local Sultan, the tall mud tower of which can be plainly seen from Aden harbour. The inhabitants are agricultural and pastoral. Their chief is Sheikh Fadhl ibn 'Abdullah Ba Haidarah, who succeeded his father in 1905. He is now about 31 years old, and is said to be fairly intelligent. His uncle, 'Ali Ba Haidarah, a shrewd old man of nearly 70, unsuccessfully pressed his claim to the Sheikhship in 1905, but later worked in harmony with the present chief.

In the present war pressure from their powerful northern neighbours, the Subeihi, and from the Turks has brought them in temporarily on the side of the latter.

Their Sultan is said to be a prisoner in Turkish hands.

### 6. *'Alawi*

A small tribe of 1,200 souls whose chief village is at Suleiq, about 55 miles north of Aden. They live just south of the Quteibi tribe. Sheikh 'Ali ibn Nāshir ibn Sheif, who lives at Kasha', is the present chief. He has the tribe well in hand in spite of the chronic disputes

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with the Quteibi. A middle-aged man of no particular influence, he was at first loyal and amenable to advice, but for some years his hatred and jealousy of the Quteibi, combined with excessive indulgence in *kat*, led him into trouble. The animosity between him and the Quteibi finally cooled down and a permanent settlement was effected between them in 1913 by the late 'Abdāli Sultan, Sir Ahmed Fadhl. He succeeded to the Chiefship in 1898 and signed an agreement for the safety of the trade routes in July 1914, under which his stipend was raised from Rs. 600 to 1,200 per annum.

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Early in January 1916 he and his tribe were reported to have submitted with the Quteibi to the Turks and to be marching against the Fadhli Sultan.

### 7. *Amīri*

The Amīri is a pastoral and agricultural tribe numbering 5,000 souls and occupying the country round and south-east of Dhāla, their capital.

The original Emirs of Dhāla were Muwallads or half-caste slaves of the Imams of San'ā. When the power of the latter was broken up, the Dhāla district was in the hands of certain Seyyids, from whom it was seized by the forefathers of the present chief. There has been a long line of Emirs, and since the occupation of Aden by the British these chiefs have been in receipt of a subsidy, except during the period from 1873 to 1878, when the Ottoman Government made a strong aggressive effort to place the district under their own control.

By allegiance or conquest several additions have been made to what may be called the district of Dhāla proper. These consist of Kharāfah, Jebel Harīr, the valley of the Suheibīyah as far south as Qaflah, the Dhubayyāt hill (only nominal), Sufyān, and Zobeid.

The population of the Amīri territory is of a mixed nature. Firstly, there are the descendants of the original Amīrs, constituting a large clan, although, as at present, not always united; secondly, such Sheiri Sheikhs as are content to acknowledge the authority of the Emir; thirdly, the various settlers who have from time to time become possessed of land which they cultivate; fourthly, the ever-present Seyyids or descendants of the Prophet; and, lastly, a colony of Jews.

The Emir is Nāsir ibn Shā'if ibn Seif, who lives at Dhāla. He became Emir in 1911 and is the son of Shā'if ibn Seif 'Abd el-Hādi, who attended the Delhi Durbar during the Boundary Commission of 1902. He is a man of 36, good-natured, but weak and avaricious

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and of little ability. He has two brothers, 'Abd el-Hamīd and Seif, the latter of whom is said to possess a considerable amount of energy and character. The ruling house is unpopular with the tribesmen.

When the Turks appeared in 1915 they took from him some fifteen hostages and deprived him of his position. Towards the end of the year they summoned him to Lahej and made a settlement by which they released the hostages, keeping his son in their stead, and reinstated him with the gift of 50 rifles and a subsidy. It is doubtless owing to this that the neighbouring tribes of Quteibi and 'Alawi were coerced into joining them. Sheikh Qasim of Zobeid, who accompanied him to Lahej, received a gift of 10 rifles.

*Emir*, Nāsir ibn Shā'if ibn Seif; 'Abd el-Hamīd ibn Shā'if ibn Seif, Seif ibn Shā'if ibn Seif.

| *Sub-Tribes.* | *Sheikhs.* |
|---|---|
| Sheiri | (1) Ahmed Muthanna of Āl Beishi. Friend of Emir. Former tribal influence has passed to Sheikh of Melāhah. Has custom-house at Khoreibah. |
| | (2) Sāmih Sālim. |
| Deiri Muflahi | Yahya ibn Sālih in Radfān hills. Influential and well disposed. |
| | Seyyid 'Abd er-Razzāq ibn 'Abd er-Rahmān of Jebel Harīr. Loyal and influential in tribal disputes. |
| | Seyyid Mohammed Tahar. Spiritual master of J. Jihāf. Old but loyal and revered by people. |
| | 'Ali ibn 'Ali ez-Zindāni of Sarīr. Loyal but uninfluential. |
| | Seyyid 'Ali Ridthwyn es-Safāni of Jebel Dhubayyāt. Influential in tribal affairs. |
| | Seyyid Fadl ibn 'Alāwi of Radfān hills. Popular. A hypocrite but useful. |
| | Ghālib ibn Ahmed Hidiyān Naqīb of Jebel Kifa, south of Jebel Jihāf. On bad terms with Emir. Loyal to us. |
| | Muqbil Nāji', of Zindāni family on Jebel Jihāf. Was pro-Turk, but made overtures to Aden in 1914. |
| Azraqi | Hasan ibn Ahmed. Loyal to us. Declares himself independent of the Emir, to whom his adherence is very important. |
| Mihrābi | |
| Ahl Ahmed | |

## 8. *'Audillah*

The 'Audillah is a predatory tribe mustering 5,000 fighting men (including *'asākir*) and inhabiting the Kaur, the main ridge of the Aden Hinterland. It is bounded on the north by the Beida Sultanate, on the south by the Oleh confederation of Dathīnah, on the east by the 'Aulaqi, and on the west by the Yāfa'. The tribesmen are mainly pastoral, but cultivate barely sufficient for their needs.

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They hold a weekly market at Laudar, near the south foot of the Khaur, which the neighbouring tribes attend under a mutual understanding of neutrality. Here lives their Sultan, Qasīm ibn Hamīd el-Ghābir, a man who is powerless to curb their freebooting tendencies, but who provides the only ready channel by which the tribe can be approached. He made overtures for treaty relations in 1902, but was not at the time considered of sufficient importance for these to be encouraged. In 1912 he renewed his request, and as it was confirmed that the Turks had been making advances to him, a protectorate treaty was concluded in September 1914. The tribe has remained loyal during the present war. The only man who exercises any influence is Mohammed ibn Mohammed 'Abdullah, 'Āqil of the Kaur, a powerful chief whom, owing to the natural strength of his fortress, it is almost impossible to reach or constrain.

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The chief tribe is the Ahl Demān.

*'Audillah Confederation*, 3,000.

Sultan, Qasīm ibn Hamīd el-Ghābir.

'Āqil, Mohammed ibn Mohammed 'Abdullah

'AUDILLAH

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL DEMĀN 'Āqil, 'Ali 'Amr (living at Demān) | 1,800 | *Ahl Lamaki* | Lower reaches of Wādi Ruqub. Agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Lukfa* | Mountains N.E. of Demān. Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Kafai* | S. of Demān. Part agricultural, part Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Seyyari* | NE. of Demān. Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Nāhein er-Rahab* | Half-way between Sauma'ah and Demān. Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Buker er-Reidah* | S. of Ahl Nāhein. |
| | | *Ahl Wahesh* | NE. of Ahl Buker. |
| | | *Ahl Yazīd* | N. of Ahl Wahesh. |
| | | *Ahl Es-Seil* | E. of Sauma'ah. |
| AHL BUKER EL-HĀDHIN | 300 | | NE. of Mijdah. Bedouin. |
| AHL BU TAHIF | 200 | | Between Ahl esh-Shā'ah and Ahl Buker el-Hādhin. |
| AHL HĀDHIN | 200 | | E. of Ahl Buker el-Hādhin. Bedouin. |
| AHL 'ALI MOHAMMED | 200 | | Summit and N. of Kaur along road to Sauma'ah. Bedouin. |
| AHL ESH-SHĀ'AH | 100 | | N. of Mijdah. Agricultural. |

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'AUDILLA (*continued*)

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| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks* |
|---|---|---|---|
| MISHERI | 100 | | NE. of 'Ali Mohammed. Bedouin. |
| BIRKĀN | 100 | | E. of 'Ali Mohammed. Bedouin. |
| AHL GHAI MELĀN | | | W. Tilhāk. |
| AHL MARZŪQ (MERZOQ) | | | |
| AHL ELHĪN | | | |

With *'asākir*, and a few scattered clans not mentioned above the total strength s said to be 5,000.

## 9. *Upper and Lower 'Aulaqi*

The 'Aulaqi country is inhabited by a large tribal confederation, divided for political purposes into the Sultanates of Upper and Lower 'Aulaqi, but maintaining close intertribal relations and uniting in the event of any aggression from outside.

It extends from the edge of the Ruba' el-Khāli to the Aden Gulf, and is bounded on the east by the 'Abd el-Wahīd Sultanate and on the west by the Sultanates of Beida, 'Audillah, Oleh, Yāfa', and Fadhli. The inhabitants are mainly pastoral and semi-nomadic. but there are large tracts of arable land, while the main wādis all have their settled population.

The history of the confederation is as follows: From the Prophet's epoch (or still earlier), the Nisāb Sultanate was in the hands of the Umm-Rusās dynasty of Beida, while the whole of Wādi Yeshbum (then called Wādi Kahai) was under the Sultanate of 'Abd el-Wahīd, whose capital was then at Habbān. Wādi Yeshbum seems to have then been inhabited chiefly by *raya*, who paid taxes to the 'Abd el-Wahīd dynasty.

The Ba Kāzim were then confined to Heid Herīf (a part of the Utheili system), while Ahwar and district was in the hands of a tribe called the Ahl Zeidi.

Soon after the Prophet's death considerable political dissension seems to have occurred in the land of Jauf, where dwelt the remnants of the ancient and powerful Minean dynasty, which flourished before the Sabean kingdom, owing to the death of the paramount chief, named Ma'an. The house of Ma'an was much persecuted

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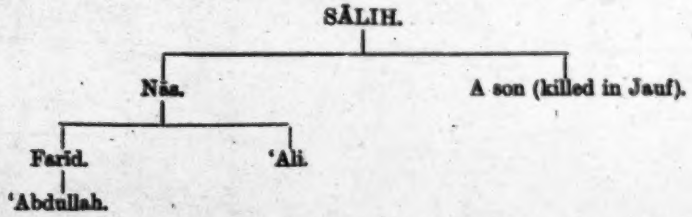
and fled the country, together with two branches of a former ruling chief named Sālih, whose descent was as follows : 1010 619 622




These three clans, the Ahl 'Abdullah, Ahl 'Ali, and the Ahl Ma'an, wandered across the outskirts of the Great Desert until they came upon Wādi Yeshbum, where they settled side by side with the *raya* of 'Abd el-Wahīd on the spot where now stand Wāsitah and Sa'īd. They had, of course, to become *raya* themselves, as they were aliens under the protection of another Sultanate, and for many years they paid tribute to the Sultan of Habbān.

In the course of time, however, they increased enormously in numbers, and the Ahl Ma'an left the wādi and adopted a pastoral and semi-nomadic life in the mountains, leaving the two branches of Manāṣir Bu Sālih still settled in the Yeshbum Valley. About the middle of the sixteenth century these latter became very discontented with their lot owing to excessive taxation, and in A.D. 1590 they persuaded the Ahl Ma'an to join them in an attack on the Umm-Rusās dynasty at Nisāb, with a view to the annexation of the whole of that district. The Ahl Bunyar, who now inhabit the plateau of Dahr but then occupied the Nisāb district as well, fought desperately for their Sultan, but could not stand before the rush of the Ahl Ma'an, who were fighting for their very existence as a tribe. The then representative of the Umm-Rusās dynasty at Nisāb fled for his life, and the Ahl Bunyar were chased up Wādi Khaura with great slaughter. The Ahl 'Abdullah received the Sultanate, and from them the present Sultan is descended.

Many of the Ahl Ma'an settled in this new Sultanate, as will be shown later on when considering the distribution of the various sub-tribes. The remainder returned to their pastoral life near Wādi Yeshbum, the Ahl 'Ali going back to their settlements in the wādi.

The Ba Kāzim now realized that this alien race was becoming a formidable power, and, having also views of expansion, sent a deputation to the Ahl 'Ali asking for their assistance in wresting

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Ahwar from the Zeidi, offering them the Sultanate of that district.

A famous diplomat and ascetic, Sheikh Abeid, whose name is still revered in both Upper and Lower 'Aulaqi, arranged the treaty between the two parties. It was agreed that the Ba Kāzim should have three-quarters of the arable land at Ahwar and the Ahl 'Ali the other quarter, the latter receiving the Sultanate. In the attack on Ahwar the Zeidi were completely defeated. Some tendered their submission, and are there to this day as mere tributary *raya*, and the rest fled towards the north-west, and no trace of them remains, although it is said that a small colony of them are settled at Jauf.

The Ba Kāzim then spread all over the country now known as Lower 'Aulaqi, but never seem to have submitted to the suzerainty of their nominal Sultan, whose dynasty they regarded as aliens whom they themselves had pitchforked into power.

After the Ahl 'Ali had left Yeshbum, one of the two divisions of the Ahl Ma'an abandoned their pastoral life and settled in the wādi. This was the Ahl 'Ali Bu Hamid, the other division, the Ahl Mohammed Bu Hamid, still following their nomadic life in the mountains.

The Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan is Sālih ibn 'Abdullah, who lives at Medāq, a short distance from Nisāb. He is a man of about 55, energetic and with considerable influence over the tribes. He was a signatory by proxy of the Aden Treaty in 1904, and has maintained his Anglophile attitude during the present war by refusing to join the Turks in their attack on Aden. His descent is as follows :

(AHL 'ABDULLAH)

'AWAD ABU 'ABDULLAH

(the last Sultan who visited Aden).

Hamid. | 'Abdullah. | Sakkaf. | Umm Rusās.

Sālih ibn 'Abdullah.

His tribesmen are inclined to be predatory, and although he does not give his official sanction to their raids, he nevertheless connives at them and generally receives some of the plunder in an unostentatious manner. At the same time he keeps a firm control over his subjects, and only permits measures to be taken against turbulent and aggressive tribes whom it is necessary to punish. The 'Audillah are always blockading the roads through his country, and

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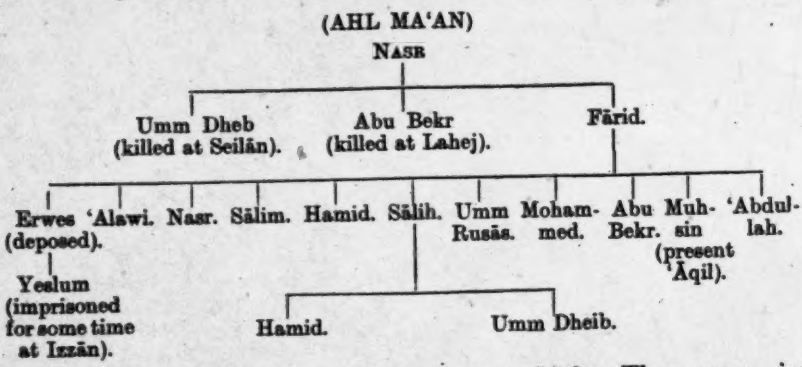
the Ahl Demān have an evil reputation for acts of violence and oppression perpetrated on petty traders. The Elhīn and the Ahl Diyān are similar offenders. The ethics of such measures are, of course, doubtful, but it can at least be said that many tribes and sub-tribes abstain from predatory acts, deterred by the fear of bringing wholesale ruin and disaster on themselves and their fellow tribesmen. 101 619 622

The two chief tribes are the Ahl Ma'an and the Ahl Mehājir. The Ahl Ma'an, with the exception of a large detached section, the Ba Thubān near Wādi Khaura, east of Nisāb, inhabit the fertile valley of Yeshbum and its surrounding hills. They are noted for their bravery and fighting qualities, and can muster about 5,000 fighting men. Their ruling family is the Fārid; its present representative Muhsin ibn Fārid. He is a man of about 45, and has always been Anglophile. He signed the Aden Treaty in 1903, and was granted a stipend of Rs. 1,440 per annum. He succeeded his elder brother Erwes, who was deposed by the tribes in about 1895 for intriguing with the then Sultan of Habbān, Muhsin ibn Sālih, and committing them to the sack of Habbān, a venture which they refused to undertake. His family is as follows:




The Ahl Mehājir have no paramount chief. They can raise about 4,000 fighting men, but their strength is not concentrated like that of the Ahl Ma'an. They lead a more nomadic life, and range the country from the northern boundary of the 'Audillah and the Kaur el-'Aud to the desert stretches north of the Nisāb and the wild country of the Ahl Karab and the Mūsabein, who pay a nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Upper 'Aulaqi, but are ever swift to raid his tribesmen when an opportunity occurs.

The most northern section of the Mehājir, the Ahl Hammām,

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are themselves inclined to be predatory, and scour the Hammām Desert on the look-out for caravans. When the depredations become too frequent and obtrusive, the Sultan of Nisāb marches his troops into their country and quickly restores order, dealing out condign punishment on any raiding parties met with. The Hammām 'Aqil, Husein abu Ahmed, has not much control over his people and cannot check marauding.

In addition to his own tribesmen, the Sultan exercises suzerainty over the following:

1. The Bal Hārith, who pay immediate allegiance to the Sherif of Beihān, who in turn is under Nisāb influence and pays a private, semi-voluntary tribute.

2. The Mūsabein, merely nominal.

3. The Ahl Karab, also nominal.

4. The Ahl es-Sa'īdi, who pay him land tax under pressure. A further description of the above will be found under their names.

5. The Ahl Nasiyīn, who derive their origin from the almost extinct race of Beni Hilāl, a few surviving representatives of which may be found at Heid Hādhinah. They number 700 men, and their territory stretches from Hajar to Heid Jehūr and towards the south-east. Its limit occurs at Jaul (or Jāl) Heirūr, and may be said to lie along the Wādi Markhah within the limits named. The Sultan is Nasr abu Thālib, who belongs to the Abu Thālib dynasty, an offshoot of the Nisāb dynasty. His sway is, of course, subject to the jurisdiction of Nisāb.

6. Three clans who are termed 'Asākir. They do not come directly under the Sultan, but are bound by treaty with the Ahl Ma'an to give their services in battle in case of a war.

(*a*) Ahl Ba Zal, leading a pastoral life in the Kaur el-'Aud near the source of Wādi Marbūn.

(*b*) Ahl Wahar, living at Heid Keneb and Hisn Makūsrah, agricultural.

(*c*) Ahl Reid, who occupy a district north-east of Arq (the frontier village of Lower 'Aulaqi). They lead a pastoral life along the banks of the Wādi Reid, which joins the Wādi Rafal just above Arq, under the name of Wādi Maleik.

7. Ahl Ba Feyyād, a powerful tribe, who are not related to the Ahl Ma'an, but are bound to them by a mutual offensive and defensive alliance. They muster 600 men and live along Wādi Yeshbum, between Safāl and the gorge of Nakabah. Origin not known.

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8. 'Ahl Ba Hadah, another treaty tribe of the Ahl Ma'an, who number 300 men and extend from below the Nakabah gorge to within a short distance of Habbān.

9. Khalīfah, a treaty tribe living on the western slopes of Heid Hādhinah, a range to the west of the Hammām Desert, and mustering about 1,000 men.

The fighting strength of the Sultan, including his 'Asākir or standing army, is as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Troops at Medak, Nisāb, Wādi Dhura, Wādi Abadan (or Abdān), Wasat, and Beihān | 1,100 |
| Ahl Ma'an and Treaty Tribes | 4,900 |
| Ahl Mehājir and Nasayīn | 4,400 |
| | 10,400 |

In case of a great emergency the Sultan would, as suzerain, secure the services of the desert tribes lying east and north-east of the Hammām as far as human life can be supported in the desert. The Beihān tribes would join as a matter of policy, for they are too close to escape being crushed by the fall of the 'Aulaqi dynasty. The people of Jauf would certainly throw in their lot with the 'Aulaqi, for it has always been the policy of the Nisāb Sultans to keep in touch with the parent tribeship, and Jaufi chiefs are often entertained at Nisāb. The Khalīfah of Hādhinah would also come forward, as a serious reverse to Upper 'Aulaqi would cut them off from all their trade routes to Nisāb, Yeshbum, and Habbān.

Lower 'Aulaqi would follow the lead of the Ahl Ma'an, as between Umm Rusās abu Fārid and 'Ali abu Muhsin, the paramount chief of the Ba Kāzim, there is firm friendship and also a defensive treaty. Only in the case of aggression against the 'Abdāli Sultan would the Ba Kāzim keep out, there being a close alliance between 'Ali abu Muhsin and the 'Abdāli Sultan.

If the position of Dathīnah is considered, it will be seen that the Oleh confederacy must join in or be annihilated, and, besides, their sympathies are with the 'Aulaqi.

Under such circumstances the forces may be estimated as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Upper 'Aulaqi | 10,400 |
| Lower 'Aulaqi | 4,800 |
| Jauf and tribes between them and Beihān | 12,000 |
| Beihān | 6,000 |
| Desert tribes, Ahl Karab, &c. | 8,000 |
| Khalīfah of Hādhinah | 1,000 |
| Oleh of Dathīnah | 3,200 |
| | 45,400 |

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The Ahl Bunyar, who number about 4,000, are excluded, as they would follow the Beida Sultan, and some tribes, whose forces are not known, are also omitted.

The supply of breech-loading rifles amongst these tribes has increased enormously during the last few years, and they have some good mounted troops. Their military spirit is undeniable, their history for the last century being full of martial episodes.

The Ba Kāzim with its numerous subdivisions compose the entire tribal population of Lower 'Aulaqi, and can put into the field about 5,000 men. They are a hardy and turbulent race, always engaged in petty feuds amongst themselves, or raids on their immediate neighbours, the 'Abd el-Wahīd, Fadhli, and Oleh. They have a bad reputation with the other tribes on account of their fondness for drink and their slackness in religious observances, but are redeemed by their genuineness and bravery.

They have no paramount chief, such influence as the tribe will permit being exercised by the brother chiefs of the Ahl 'Ali section at Ghidabah, Fadhl and 'Ali Muhsin.

The late Sultan of Lower 'Aulaqi, Bu Bekr ibn Nāsir, lived at Ahwar, about five miles from the coast, and had very little influence over the Ba Kāzim tribesmen. His successor has not yet been appointed.

## UPPER 'AULAQI

### Ahl Ma'an.

Ahl 'Ali Bu Hamid. Wādi Yeshbum from Wāsitah to Safāl, 2,200.

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ahl Bu Bekr | 1,000 | *Ahl Yeshbum Erwes* | Ruling house of Ahl Ma'an. Present representative Muhsin ibn Fārid. They inhabit Sa'īd and Wāsitah. |
| | | *Ahl Bu Bekr* | Pastoral and nomadic, Kaur Edth and Wādi Khaiwān. |
| | | *Ahl Sālim* | Inhabit Qarn Mabr and Heid Shūq (see vicinity of Yeshbum *Sūq*). Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl 'Abdullah* | In Heid Rafal, where they are pastoral and nomadic; also in lower reaches of W. Sha'bah, near its junction with W. Yeshbum. Here they have a little land. |

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UPPER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

| Tribe. | Nos. | Clan. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL ATIK | 500 | *Ahl Ajūz* | At Arashān and Mehlāl along W. Shabdh. Settled and agricultural; small proportion pastoral and semi-nomadic. |
| | | *Ahl Merwān* | At Arashān, settled and agricultural there, but at least half of them are pastoral. A few reside at Mehlāl. |
| | | *Ahl Mehrān* | In upper reaches of W. Sha'b. Pastoral. |
| | | *Ahl Ga'ar* | In Hisn Sha'b, close to junction of W. Sha'b and W. Sha'bah. Settled and agricultural. A few follow pastoral life farther up the wādi. |
| AHL MADHAJI | 400 | *Ahl Masās* | Upper reaches of Wādi Hasbasah. Pastoral. A few inhabit Jehdil and Hejil. |
| | | *Ahl Lijam* | Jehdil and Modal. Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Hanash* | At Hejil. Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl esh-Shawāhi* | At Edat Shems. Settled and agricultural. |
| AHL BA RAS | 300 | *Ahl Hādi* | At Kaulah. Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl 'Awad* | At Shreij. Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Sālim* | Small settlements under Heid Tahm at entrance to Rajalān Pass, chiefly pastoral; in wet weather become nomadic, ranging about the Ba Ras limits in order to make use of numerous grazing grounds which then afford luxuriant pasture throughout the tribeship. |

AHL MOHAMMED BU HAMID, 1,650.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL SULEIMĀN | 800 | | Divided into several *afkhādh*, but names not known. Live far up the Rajalān Pass towards Hādhinah. Bedouin. |
| AHL MATOSALAH | 300 | *Ahl Jedah* | All Bedouin, no *husūn*. Kaur el-'Aud. |

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UPPER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

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| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Ahl Ba Sheir* | Kaur el-'Aud. |
| | | *Ahl Ba Rajelah* | Kaur el-'Aud. |
| | | *Ahl Mudun* | Pastoral and agricultural. Some large tracts of arable land in the upper reaches of Wādi Khumar. |
| AHL HĀMED | 150 | | Live at Hisn es-Surr and vicinity of W. es-Surr. No *afkhādh*. Settled and agricultural. |
| AHL BA THOBĀN | 200 | | Occupy country SE. of Jaul el-Heirūr on the Nasin border and extend S. to near junction of W. Hajar and W. Subhān. |
| AHL MAKRAHAH | | | Stretch S. and SW. of the Ahl Ba Thobān. |

## AHL MEHĀJIR.

(Mehājir is an abstract title given to this group of tribes.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL HAMMĀM | 1,200 | | The Hammām is the most powerful of the Ahl Mehājir, and their 'Āqil, Husein Abu Ahmed, is one of the mainstays of the Ansab Sultan. Territory extends westwards to Heid Qabr and Hisn er-Ruqbah and NW. as far as junction of W. Markhah and W. Hammām. Their limits are somewhat vague as they are entirely nomadic and pastoral. |
| | | *Ahl Shemlān* | Occupy the country E. of Heid Mejah. |
| | | *Ahl Diyāb* | Extend from NE. of Heid Mejah into the desert. |
| | | *Ahl Husein* | E. of Hisn er-Ruqbah, and in time of drought graze and water their camels in Wādi Abadan. Other *afkhādh* names not known. |
| AHL MERĀZIQ | 900 | | Northern limit an imaginary line drawn from Ansab east- |

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UPPER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

| Tribe. | Nos. | Clan. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | wards through Qarn Lemah. S. limit border of Ahl Nitosalah in Jaul ed-Dahrah. They may be practically said to inhabit the mountain system that runs along the E. borders of Jaul el-Mutti and Jaul ed-Dahrah, both these plains being uninhabitable except in very wet weather, when they afford fair pasturage. They are pastoral. |
| AHL ER-RABĪZ | 600 | | Bounded on N. by Ahl Dakar; on S. their limits reach to Hism Jabrah; on the E. Wādi Hanak forms their frontier line. A powerful tribe, but much diminished by smallpox. Above number represents fighting strength in 1910. Partly pastoral, partly settled and agricultural. |
| AHL DAYA' | 700 | | Inhabit the Khaura district. Settled and agricultural. |
| AHL DAKAR | 100 | | Inhabit the vicinity of Abadan, bounded on the N. by the Ahl Mabīth and on the E. by Wādi Hanak. |
| AHL LAQĪT | 150 | | Inhabit the mountains of Laqīt, which extend from W. Sa'd to W. Jibah. Bedouin and pastoral. |
| AHL MABĪTH | 70 | | Live between Ahl Dakar and Ansab. Entirely pastoral. |

LOWER 'AULAQI

Ba Kāzim, 4,789

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL SHAMMA | 300 | *Ahl er-Rashīd* | Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl ez-Zenu* | At Kubth, but moving towards Lebākhah. |
| | | *Ahl Hawāfil* | Jidhābah. |

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## LOWER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Ahl Konah* | Kubth. |
| | | *Ahl 'Ali* | Kubth and Mehfid. |
| | | *Ahl Sālih bu Nasr* | Kubth. |
| | | *Ahl Husein* | Kubth. |
| | | *Ahl Mohammed bu Nasr* | Jidhābah. |
| AHL KARLAH | 400 | | All settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Gawil* | At Arakein. |
| | | *Ahl Dahas* | At Lebākhah. |
| | | *Ahl Ba Hāl* | At Lebākhah. |
| | | *Ahl Mansūr bu Sālim* | At Lebākhah. |
| | | *Ahl Ba Weden* | Arakein (these are Sa'dah). |
| | | *Ahl Shauf* | Arakein and vicinity. |
| | | *Ahl Hādi* | Lebākhah. |
| | | *Ahl Humeid* | Lebākhah. |
| AHL MANSŪR | 450 | | Chiefly Bedouin, but a few *husūn*. |
| | | *Ahl Muhlik* | Low down in Wādi Rafal. |
| | | *Ahl Makrum* | In Wādi Kafah below Heid (Leimūn). |
| | | *Ahl Haidarah* | Upper reaches of Wādi Meriyah |
| | | *Ahl Mas'ūd* | Below Ahl Heidarah in Wādi Mera. |
| | | *Ahl Lehwik* | Upper reaches of Wādi Faki. |
| | | *Ahl Khalīl* | Below Ahl Lehwik in Wādi Faki |
| | | *Ahl Nubah* | In Wādi Kafah above Ahl Makrum. |
| | | *Ahl Nasr* | Between Ahls Nubah and Makrum. |
| AHL BA KRAD | 130 | | Bedouin and pastoral. |
| | | *Ahl Sa'd* | Slopes of Heid Salr (a little land and one *hisn*). |
| | | *Ahl Hādi* | Wādi Legib (flows into Wādi Kafah from Heid Herlf). |
| | | *Ahl Yeslum* | On eastern border of the Dathīnah. |
| | | *Ahl el-Lefiyah* | S. of above. |
| | | *Ahl Gabr* | Kaur el-Utheili. |
| | | *Ahl Ligrab* | Heid Raham. |
| AHL MANA | 25 | | Partly agricultural and partly Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Lisāmah* | Land on left bank of Wādi Meriyah near Kaurat el-'Aliyah. |
| | | *Ahl Daur* | Kaurat el-'Aliyah. |
| | | *Ahl Sa'd* | Kaurat Ahl Mana. |
| | | *Ahl 'Awad* | Half-way down Wādi Faki. |
| | | *Ahl Sālih* | Kaurat es-Sifālah. |

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LOWER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL SA'ID | 20 | | Partly agricultural and partly Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Makasa* / *Ahl Salāmīn* | At Bir esh-Shukab where they have land and husūn. |
| | | *Ahl Sālim bu Qamar* | Near Seilat en-Nettakh (pastoral). |
| AHL BA SELĀHAH | 24 | *Ahl el-Awar* | All follow a pastoral life on Heid Hamr, a system E. of Heid Rahamu. |
| | | *Ahl Heidarah* | |
| | | *Ahl el-Hirdi* | |
| | | *Ahl Lidwa* | |
| | | *Ahl Ba Bedu* | |
| | | *Ahl Dedwah* | |
| | | *Ahl 'Aqab* | |
| | | *Ahl Bū Ed* | |
| AHL LAHAK | 500 | | Partly Bedouin and partly agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Heitham* | All in the district of Ludi, a well-watered country S. of Lebākhah. Extent uncertain, but its S. line probably approaches the barrier range which runs parallel with the coast. |
| | | *Ahl Tamūs* | |
| | | *Ahl Mareith* | |
| | | *Ahl 'Alī Bu Sa'īd* | |
| | | *Ahl Sabrah* | |
| | | *Ahl Jedah* | |
| | | *Ahl Zomah* | |
| | | *Ahl Kahtar* | |
| | | *Ahl Husein* | |
| | | *Ahl Mokah* | |
| | | *Ahl 'Uyūn en-Nabah* | |
| | | *Ahl Dheb el-Aswad* | |
| AHL LESHAR | 100 | | Live half-way down Wādi Leikah and are also scattered among the mountain ranges towards Dathīnah. Bedouin. |
| AHL AHTALSH | 900 | | Partly Bedouin and partly agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Yeslam* | At Ahwar and lower reaches of Leikah. |
| | | *Ahl Haidarah* | In Wādi Gahr (or Jahr), near junction with Leikah. |
| | | *Ahl el-'Afu* | At Ahwar. |
| | | *Ahl Luthfal* | Wādi Tisabah (comprises Dathīnah systems and joins Wādi Gahr). |
| | | *Ahl Baseniyah* | Upper reaches of Wādi Gahr. |
| | | *Ahl el-Asad* | Below Ahl Heidarah in Wādi Gahr. |
| | | *Ahl Ambur* | East of Ahl Luthfah. |

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LOWER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

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| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Ahl Umerthi* | At Ahwar and Hisn 'Ariyah 'Ali (or bu 'Ali). |
| | | *Ahl 'Ali* | Left bank of Wādi Leikah. |
| AHL AJAM (Ajara) (Dār) | 150 | | Between Ahl Mansūr and Ahl Ahtalah. Bedouin. |
| AHL HAMID (Dār) | 300 | | |
| AHL HAIDARAH (Dār) | 250 | | |
| AHL MANAS (Dār) | 220 | | Southern slopes of Heid Raham. |
| AHL BU BUL (Dār) | 180 | | Between Heid el-Aswad and Bir Subbāhīyah. |
| AHL BAHAN (Dār) | 200 | | East of Ahwar. |
| AHL YAHĀWI | 150 | | Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Gabr* | At Misāni S. of Ahwar. |
| | | *Ahl Soban* | At Hanad. |
| AHL BEDU (Dār) | 230 | | At Hanad. |
| AHL HAMID (Dār) | 160 | | At Hanad. |
| AHL UMM BUSHTI (Dār) | 100 | | SE. of Ahwar on right bank of the Wādi. |

### 10. *Bal Hārith*

See Beihān.

### 11. *Beida*

The Beida is a plateau Sultanate north of the Kaur, impinging on the Yemen along its western boundary and reaching northwards to Beihān ed-Daulah. To the east is the Upper 'Aulaqi Confederation and on the south the 'Audillah.

Formerly its power was more wide-reaching, and in the Prophet's time, or even earlier, all the land round Nisāb was in the hands of the Umm Rusās dynasty of Beida and his chief tribe, the Ahl Bunyar. This they held until the year 1590, when they were forced back up the Wādi Khaura and to the Dahr plateau by the Ahl Ma'an and other tribesmen who now form the Upper 'Aulaqi Confederation.

The Sultan resides at Beihān Umm Rusās, and can muster about 1,000 men of his own retainers and 'Asākir. An unsuccessful

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attempt was made some years ago to enter into relations with him. He still stands out from treaty relations with us and is in correspondence with the Imam.

The principal tribe is the Ahl Bunyar, occupying Soma (or Sauma'ah) and the Dahr plateau. Their chief is 'Abd en-Nebi Husein, who lives in the fortress of Dhimrah, which guards the thriving trading town of Soma from attack. He is a man of about 50 years and carries his influence beyond his borders to the 'Audillah and Upper 'Aulaqi tribes. He commands some 4,000 men. Farther north come the tribe of the Beni Yūb, who used to exact customs dues on the Beihān Jezāb and Yeshbum caravan road until prevented by the Ahl Hammām. They range along Wādi Markhah and up to Rahwat er-Ribbah. The Azani, the third chief tribe, are chiefly pastoral, with the exception of the Ahl 'Omar, who are a trading and agricultural community.

| *Tribe.* | *'Āqil.* | *Sub-Tribes.* |
|---|---|---|
| AHL BUNYAR. 4,000 men | 'Abd en-Nebi Husein. | |
| BENI YŪB | | |
| AZANI. 1,500 men | | *Ahl Sa'īd.*<br>*Ahl Omar.*<br>*Ahl 'Obeid.*<br>*Ahl Yahya.*<br>*Ahl Wahish.*<br>*Ahl Sei.*<br>*Ahl Kesiyīn.*<br>*Ahl Mohammedīn.* |

## 12. *Beihān*

Beihān is the name given to the district adjoining Wādi Beihān from the point where it leaves the mountain system of Beida down to the region where it loses itself in the Great Desert. Commencing from the upper reaches, the land on both sides of the wādi is in the hands of the Beida Sultanate. Farther down are the limits of the Mūsabein, chief town Hajarah. Below them the Sultan of Nisāb has some land, and farther down are the tribal limits of the Bal Hārith, in which are the towns of Durb, Hakaba, and Seilān; the two latter belong to the Ashrāf of Beihān and Durb belongs to a large and influential family of Sādah. The above towns have also a large population of *raya*, or trading classes, all of whom pay taxes to the Sultan of Upper 'Aulaqi. The Ashrāf and Sādah also pay a private semi-voluntary tribute (Jibār) to him, and he

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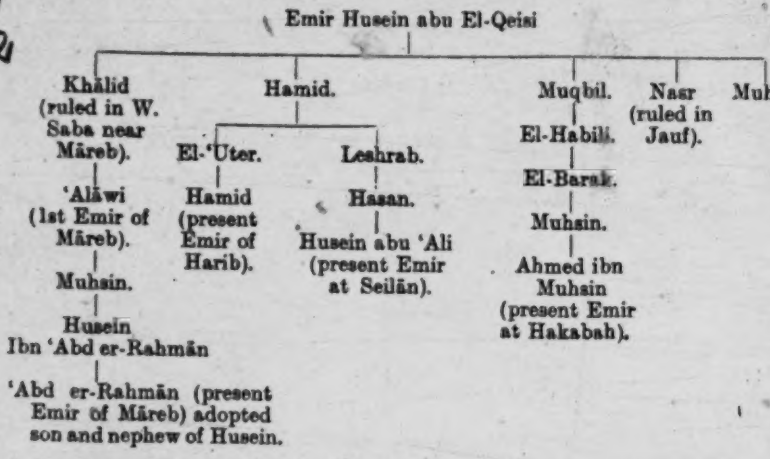
exercises considerable influence in the district. The position of these Ashrāf requires some explanation; they are descended as follows:




The chief Emir at Beihān is Ahmed ibn Muhsin of Hakaba, who also resides at Beihān el-Jezāb. He is an old man of about 67, crafty, but less powerful than he pretends. He is comparatively wealthy, entertains lavishly, and is very popular with the Bal Hārith, among whom he lives for a great part of the year as a Bedouin, in the lower reaches of Wādi Beihān. He acts as an arbitrator and dispenses justice. As regards his outside relations, he is on bad terms with the Sherif of Māreb. He has always been anglophile and signed the Aden Treaty in 1903. More recently he has expressed anxiety to extend the British sphere of influence northwards over Beida, Māreb, and Jauf. The Sheikh of the Bal Hārith is Shammakh ibn Ghannam, a middle-aged man who visited Aden in 1904 and confirmed the treaty concluded with Ahmed ibn Muhsin in the preceding year.

Neither he nor any of the Ashrāf have any influence with the Mūsabein. The Bal Hārith, Sādah, and Ashrāf number together 2,000 men. The Mūsabein are said to muster more than 4,000 men. The sand-dunes which surround Beihān on three sides prevent anything in the nature of a cavalry dash for raiding purposes, but marauding parties (especially from the Hammām), frequently slip through on saddle-camels and play havoc with the Mūsabein. The Bal Hārith and their Sādah and Ashrāf are, however, never molested.

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### 13. *Dhāmbari*

A small tribe north of Aden, about 40 miles east of the Haushabi, whose Sultan claims suzerainty over them, a claim which they only admit when it suits them. They have always given trouble, and in 1903 a British column meted out punishment to them for raiding the mail, and destroyed their fortress at Nakhlein. The chief Sheikh is Sālim Husein. They are reported to have recently joined the Turks. 101 619 622

### 14. *Fadhli*

The Fadhli are a large and warlike tribe, numbering about 8,000 fighting men, who are probably well armed owing to their large seaboard and resources. They are pastoral and agricultural, and extend from Maqātīn (the Lower 'Aulaqi boundary) to the Fadhli border and British frontier line at 'Imād, where the tribeship is a mere coastal strip and uninhabited. To the north is the Oleh confederation, over whom the Sultan claims a suzerainty, which is not admitted. In actual practice his power does not extend inland of the maritime ranges. The Sultan is Husein ibn Ahmed, resident at Shūghrah (Shuqrah). He is an old man of 90, and in 1877 was deported to India and confined in the fort of Ahmednagar for 9 years, having been implicated in the murder of his brother Heidīyah, who was then Sultan. Heidīyah was succeeded by Sultan Husein's son, Ahmed ibn Husein. The latter died in 1907, after giving much trouble to the authorities, and Husein was proclaimed Sultan. He is unpopular with his subjects, and his grandson 'Abdullah Dīn ibn Ahmed has greater influence and is anxious to supplant him. He has a son aged 31 named 'Abdullah ibn Husein, who acted for him during his absence in Delhi at the Durbar in 1911, and again in 1913 when he visited Jerusalem. Sultan Husein visited Aden late in 1915, afterwards returning to Shūghrah. In January of this year he was summoned to Lahej and received by Sa'ūd Pasha with much honour. After remaining there for some time he returned to Shūghrah and reopened correspondence with Aden, claiming to have been compelled by *force majeure* to visit Lahej. His subsidy has been withheld and an embargo been placed on Shūghrah. He has been ordered to Aden to state his case, but it is not expected that he will comply until the situation is clearer.

The Fadhli Sultan is in a favourable position, owing to the convergence of several caravan routes from the northern and eastern districts, to collect onerous transit dues and hamper traffic generally.

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The cadets of his house in Abiyān, which owes its fertility to W. Banna and other streams between the Fadhli and Aden, have always been independent of him, and bleed the unfortunate traders a second time before they can pass.

The chief tribe is the Merqūshi (Markashi), who live round J. 'Uris and the neighbouring hills.

FADHLI

| *Sultan.* | *Tribes.* | |
|---|---|---|
| Husein ibn Ahmed of Shūghrah. | *Merqūshi (Markashi).* | Round J. 'Uris. |
| | *Ahl Haidarah Mansūr.* | In Abiyān. |

### 15. *Haushabi*

The Haushabi are a powerful tribe extending from Dareijah to Nūbat Dakīm, and controlling the Yemen caravan road along the Wādi Tiban, north of the 'Abdāli territory. They claim suzerainty over the Dhāmbari, which that tribe admits only when it suits them. They are agricultural and pastoral and number about 6,000 souls.

The capital is Musemir, a town 60 miles north of Aden, situated on a small plateau overlooking the left bank of the Wādi Tiban. The Sultan, 'Ali ibn Mani, threw in his lot with the Turks when they appeared in 1915, and accompanied them south in their attack on Aden. He is said to be under the influence of Mohammed Nāsir Muqbil of Māwīyah. He had always shown signs of weakness and irresolution, and although his conduct improved just before the war broke out he had the misfortune to be in the hands of ill-disposed and irresponsible advisers, of whom the chief is Fadl ibn 'Ali Humādi.

### 16. *Hajarīyah*

The Sheikh of this district is Ahmed Na'mān, formerly a tax-farmer and made a Kaimmakam by the Turks. He maintains a Zeidist levy of 500 men, and raised a larger force to help the Turkish expedition against Aden. Sub-Sheikhs under his influence attacked us at Sheikh Sa'īd late in 1914. Early in 1915 he attacked Sh. Mohammed Hasan, the chief of a religious fraternity at Jebel Habashi, near Ta'izz, for refusal to pay tithe. More lately he has been reported to have been killed and succeeded by his son Mohammed, who was formerly A.D.C. to the commandant of Ta'izz, and is said to be energetic and anti-British.

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### 17. *Quteibi*

A small tribe, about 50 miles north of Aden, whose head-quarters are at Dhi Hajarah. The Sultan of the Amīri, who rules immediately to the north, claims suzerainty over them, but cannot enforce it, nor do they admit the claim.

The tribe rebelled in 1903 and a British expedition was sent against them. Their Sheikh, Mohammed Sālih el-Akhram, nursed a grievance about this for some years, but was eventually won over. He has not much influence over a restless and quarrelsome tribe. He was at odds with the 'Alawi until 1912, when the 'Abdāli Sultan effected a reconciliation. The real power lies with his nephew, Sheikh Muqbil 'Abdullah, who has always been an unreliable factor. Sheikh Mohammed Sālih endeavoured to remain neutral when the Turks advanced in 1915, and as late as November in that year wrote to the Resident, Aden, saying that the Turks were exercising pressure on him, and that he was afraid of invasion. He was still holding out in March 1916, but his nephew had been to Lahej to treat and temporize with the Turks.

### 18. *Māwīyah*

The Sheikh of Māwīyah, Qa'tabah, and Shurmān is Mohammed Nāsir Muqbil, a powerful chief on the Yemen boundary, whose influence extends from Qa'tabah to Sheikh Sa'īd on the west, and south-east to the Haushabi country. He was originally a tax-farmer, whom the Turks made Kaimmakam of Shurmān and Kama Ira. He opposed us in 1901 and, after an initial success against the Haushabi, was defeated by a British column which blew up his fortified tower at Darajah. On our protest to the Ottoman Government he was officially degraded as scapegoat, but was promoted later.

In February 1915 he signed an agreement with the Resident, Aden, agreeing in return for a subsidy to expel the Turks and recalcitrant chiefs from the Liwa of Ta'izz. Subsequently he joined the Turkish advance, bringing with him his permanent levy of 500 Feidis and some fighting men from the neighbouring tribes. Latterly he has been reported as being at Lahej with the Haushabi.

### 19. *Mūsabein*

A wild, semi-nomad tribe between the country of the Sherif of Beihān, who has no influence over them, and the Bal Hārith tribe. Their head-quarters are at Hajarah and they range east to the Ahl Karab country. They are nominally vassals of the Upper

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'Aulaqi tribe, but are on bad terms with the Ahl Hammām, who frequently send small raiding parties against them through the difficult sand-dune country which surrounds them. They are said to have 4,000 men.

### 20. *Oleh*

The Oleh are a powerful confederation of tribes, descended from a chief of that name, in a district known as Dathīnah, which, however, only occupies the centre of the confederation. Its limits are rather vague. The boundaries of the confederation are, on the north Upper 'Aulaqi, on the south the Merqūshi (Markashi) section of the Fadhli Confederation, on the east Lower 'Aulaqi, and on the west and north-west the 'Audillah, with whom they have an hereditary feud.

They number about 3,000 fighting men of good material, but undisciplined and lacking cohesion. They have no paramount chief, but Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Alāwi of the Elhīn, who claims descent from the common ancestor, Oleh, influences tribal policy to a certain extent. He has the right to adjust disputes between any tribes of the confederation.

There are three main family divisions of the Oleh, their family names being at the present time merely abstract titles denoting the branch from which each tribe was originally descended. They are the Ahl Ba Leil, the Ahl Armān, and the Ahl Sa'īd. The Ahl Ba Leil are the most numerous division, mustering nearly 1,500 fighting men. They occupy the south-eastern portion of the confederation and have a bad name for raiding caravans, although such acts are by no means common. Their 'Āqil is 'Awad ibn Haidarah of the Ahl Hanash. They are all nomadic and pastoral, but own a few fortified villages and possess a little arable land.

The Ahl Armān number 700 men and are mountaineers, pastoral and semi-nomadic. The Ahl Sa'īd dwell in the plain of 'Amūdīyah and are the richest and most civilized portion of the confederation. They are agricultural, settled and trading.

OLEH CONFEDERATION

Ahl Ba Leil. 'Āqil, 'Awad ibn Haidarah of the Ahl Hanash.

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Sub-Tribe.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL HANASH | 300 | | S. of Heid el-Hamra, nearly to Heid Lamas. |
| AHL JADĪNAH | 300 | | SW. of Ahl Hasanah, between them and Ba Kāzim frontier. |

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## OLEH CONFEDERATION (*continued*)

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Sub-Tribe.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL BA KUNNĀSHI | 150 | | S. of Hanashi borders. Eastward of Heid Lamas. |
| AHL MARŪMI | 150 | | Between Heid Lamas and Hamra on N. Hanashi border. |
| AHL AWENI | 70 | | Due S. of Jadīnah, Ba Kāzim on the E., Hanashi on the W., Ba Kunnāshi on the S. |
| AHL MEHWARI | 100 | | Range the N. and NE. slopes of Jebel 'Arīs. |
| AHL MAHĀTHIL | 100 | | E. of Surr between Ardh en-Nahein and Hanashi. |
| AHL SHUWEINI | 300 | | Entirely isolated. Many years ago friction between them and the Ahl Hanashi; they migrated westwards. Now in mountains NW. of Mis-hāl; graze their flocks along the great plain occupied towards NE. by the Ahl es-Sa'īdi. Yāfa' frontier on W. |

### AHL ARMĀN

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ELHĪN 'Ali ibn 'Alāwi | | | Most important tribe of Confederation; descended in direct line from common ancestor Oleh. Occupy large range of country between Wādis Khaura and Dhura (or Durra). Bounded on N. by Upper 'Aulaqi frontier and on S. by 'Audillah. |
| | | *Ahl edh-Dheib* | Near source of W. Dhura and westwards. |
| | | *Ahl el-Merda* | N. of the Ahl edh-Dheib. |
| | | *Ahl es-Sakri* | W. of the Ahl el-Merda and Ahl edh-Dheib. Western limit W. Khaura. |
| AHL FATHAN | 200 | | Northern limit Hisn Gabrah, southern the big 'Aqabah. |
| | | *Ahl el-Kahal* | E. of Ahl edh-Dheib. The Fathani 'Āqil belongs to this *fakhdh*; lives at Hisn el 'Atfah on the mountain route to Dathīnah. Owing to position of his *hisn* |

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OLEH CONFEDERATION (*continued*)

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| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Sub-Tribe.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | and enclosed nature of the route he is in a position to tax caravans relentlessly. |
| | | *Ahl Hāmid bu Mansūr* | E. of Heid Wajr. |
| AHL 'ARWĀL | 200 | | S. and SW. of Ahl Fathan. Southern limit just to SW. of Hisn Hanīb. |
| | | *Ahl el-Melh* | Near Hisn Dhelamah. |
| | | *Ahl Suleimān* | N. of the above. |
| | | *Ahl Hejlān* | Between the above and the Elhīn border. |
| | | *Ahl el-Faqīr* | At Hisn Hanīb. |
| | | *Ahl el-Hauti* | East of above. |
| AHL HĀTIM | 100 | | SW. of the 'Arwāli on the crest and S. slopes of Heid Maran. |
| | | *Ahl el-Makshum* | Range the summit of Heid Maran. |
| | | *Ahl en-Nesr* | Lower slopes of above and in Heid Thuwwah. |
| AHL SA'ĪD | | | |
| MEYĀSIR 'Āqil, Umm Heithami Abu Fadhl | 400 | | Plain of 'Amūdīyah. |
| | | *Ahl Faraj* | At Jiblah and El-Qarn. |
| | | *Ahl Sālih* | At 'Aqbābah and NE. to Hisn Maran. |
| | | *Ahl Mamrad* | At Mamrad. |
| | | *Ahl Shemlah* | Under the E. and SE. spurs of Heid Khamah. |
| HASANAH 'Āqil, Mijāli Abu Misudah | 600 | | Plain of 'Amūdīyah. |
| | | *Ahl Nasr* | At Quleitah. |
| | | *Ahl Ba Kām* | At Dobah and Qaus. |
| | | *Ahl 'Uleid* | On Heid Wajr. |
| | | *Ahl Sheid* | At Jiblah, Waznah, and N. of of Quleitah. |

The Meyāsir and Hasanah live side by side on the broad plain of 'Amūdīyah and are the plain-dwellers of the Confederation. There is no distinct border between the two, but an imaginary line joining the SE. spurs of Heid Gamrah and Heid Sumr will show the Meyāsir limit ; then comes a stretch of neutral ground and then the Hasan border, beyond whom to the SE. lie the Jadīnah, and on the W. and NW. the Ba Kāzim frontier.

## 21. *Subeihi*

The Subeihi are a large tribe numbering nearly 20,000 souls and inhabiting the country bordering on the sea from Ras Imrān Bāb el-Mandeb to within a few miles of Aden They are bounded on the

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north by the Maktāri, Sharjabi, Athwāri, and other tribes under Turkish suzerainty. 101 619 622

Of all the tribes in the vicinity of Aden the Subeihi approach most nearly to the typical Bedouin in character. True 'Children of the Dawn', as their name by some is said to imply, they by preference select that hour for their attacks on wayfarers. They are divided into a large number of petty clans, and there is no paramount chief. Except for some arable land near Umm Rija, they pay little attention to agriculture, nor do they engage in commerce to any extent. Many members of the tribe, however, earn a livelihood by becoming *muqaddams*, or leaders, of caravans from other districts which pass through the Subeihi country *en route* for Aden. On account of their frugal diet, which consists of little else than *jowari*, they are very spare in frame, but possess great powers of endurance and have a high reputation for courage, unfortunately blemished by their character for treachery. In consequence of their poverty, few of them own camels, none horses, but the camels in the district are considered equal in speed to the latter animal, in consequence of the great attention which is paid to their breeding.

They were placed under the sovereignty of the 'Abdāli in 1881, but overthrew his control and resumed their old position of independent relations with the Residency in 1886. Agreements were made with the Dubeini, Mansūri, Makhdūmi, and Rujei subdivisions of the tribe, whereby, in consideration of a monthly allowance, the traffic passing through their districts was freed from transit dues and protection granted to travellers.

They were one of the first tribes to join the Turks in 1915 and took part in the attack on Lahej.

| *Sub-Tribe.* | *Clan.* | *Sheikh.* |
|---|---|---|
| Mansūri | | Shahīr ibn Seif. About 22 years old. Elected in 1901 on death of his father, Seif ibn 'Abdullah Ba Khadra. His relative, Sālih ibn Ahmed, ruled for him till 1913. Resides at Mashārij. Drew a stipend of Rs.600 a year. Is of family formerly paramount over whole tribe. Respected by tribesmen. |
| Bruhīmi | | 'Ali ibn Ahmed Umm Tomi. Aged 49. Was stipendiary. |
| Bureimi | | 'Alāwi ibn 'Ali. Aged 42 years. Lives at Mujābah. Non-stipendiary. |
| Dubeini | | Muqbil Hasan. Stipendiary. Lives at Tāfih on the Aden–Mafālis caravan route. |
| " | Jereiwi | Derwīsh Battāsh. Aged 43 years. Ambitious to be Sheikh over all Dubeinis. Sometimes useful. |
| " | | Seif Diban. Muqaddam for caravans. |

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SUBEIHI (*continued*)

| *Sub-Tribe.* | *Clan.* | *Sheikh.* |
|---|---|---|
| 101 Dubeini | Mashāki | Haza' Qasīm. Young, intelligent, formerly well disposed. |
| 619 'Atīfi 622 | 'Aweida | 'Ali Ba Sālih Ba Rājih. Aged 42 years Lives at Khatabīyah or Kadthi. Stipendiary. Weak and unable to control his unruly following, who are a clan of nomadic robbers. |
| Jurabi | Masfari | Seyyid Mohammed Ya'qūb. 52 years old. Lives at Gharaqah. Has some influence. Generally on good terms with Aden, but his avarice led him astray. Non-stipendiary. |
| " | | Ahmed Sa'īd. Mansab of Weli Sanāwi shrine on the Subeihi Humeidi boundary. Aged about 51 years. Is revered for his sanctity. Lives at Hābil es-Sabt or Sanāwi. Was useful to Boundary Commission and afterwards visited Aden; intelligent. News reporter for district to Aden. |
| Mutarrifi | | 'Abdallah Ba 'Imād. Aged about 58 years. Lives at Mulehīyah. Has some influence with his sub-tribe, which is nomadic. |
| Wahāshah | Ma'mei | Ahmed Umm Basūs. Joint Sheikh. Aged about 57 years. Lives at Umm Shreijau. Relations with Aden were satisfactory on the whole. Frequently visited Aden. Non-stipendiary. |
| " | " | Seyyid Ja'ffar, joint Sheikh with above. Aged 52 years. Rendered some service in obtaining recovery of mail bags looted by 'Atīfis in January 1906. Means well, but weak. |
| " | Juleidi | 'Imād ibn Ahmed. Aged about 48 years. Resides at Shawar. A man of stubborn disposition and intriguer. Non-stipendiary. |
| Makhdūmi | | Murshid Ba Nāsir. Aged about 55 years. Stipendiary. Lives at Wādi Marasa. Influential and regarded by his sub-tribe and Mansūri as a prudent and pious leader. |
| Humeidi | | 'Ali Ba Sālim. Aged about 63 years. Lives at Jebel Asharwān near Haushabi border Influential with sub-tribe, which is mainly nomadic. Non-stipendiary. |

## 22. *Upper Yāfa'*

The Confederation of Upper Yāfa' is situated to the NE. of Aden, and is bounded by the Lower Yāfa' Sultanate on the south, the Beida and 'Audillah on the east, and the Amīri and Dhāmbari on the west.

The inhabitants are warlike and hardy mountaineers, always ready for active service, which they seek in different parts of the world. As a confederation they lose power owing to the lack of

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cohesion and a uniform policy and the personal ambition of the different Sultans.

Like many other tribes in the south of Arabia, they were formerly subject to the Imams of San'ā. The tribe is called after their ancestor ' 'Afif '.

Although known as ' Upper Yāfa' ' in English, the confederation is called in Arabic Yāfa' es-Sufla, or ' Lower Yāfa' '.

The rightful Sultan of Upper Yāfa' is 'Omar Qahtān, who succeeded his father in 1913, but was expelled by the tribe for coming to Aden to make a treaty with us, as they were jealous of his selection. He belongs to the Dhubi section, though originally of the house of Sheikh 'Ali Harharah. He was opposed by his brother, Sālih ibn 'Omar, and, despite English influence, failed to get himself reinstated. The Government accordingly refused to recognize him as Sultan and gave him a year within which to bring about his rehabilitation. They, however, continued to pay the stipend received by his father, Qahtān, who was a man of little influence and in his later days an exile from his capital. His brother Sālih ibn 'Omar, who is a man of much stronger character, was recognized in 1911 by the Maflahis as their Sultan and receives tribute from Rub'atein.

There are four chief tribes: the Mausata, Maflahi, Sheibi, and Dhubi. The Sheikh of the Mausata is Muhsin 'Askar. He is a man about 75 years old and comes of a family of intriguers, but wields undoubted influence. He signed the treaty with the Bombay Government in 1904 as joint signatory with his brother 'Ali 'Askar. The latter died in 1907 and was succeeded by his son Nāji 'Ali 'Askar, but most of the power has remained with his uncle Muhsin 'Askar.

The Sheibi are the most northerly tribe of the Confederation and impinge on Ottoman territory towards the Bana. Their Sultan is 'Ali Mauna es-Sakladi.

The Sheikh of the Dhubi is Sālim Sālih ibn 'Ātif Jābir. He is a stipendiary and his predecessor was the first Upper Yāfa' Sheikh to conclude a treaty with us (1903).

Two other stipendiaries of this section are the brother Sheikhs Mohammed and 'Omar ibn Muthanna ibn 'Ātif Jābir. The latter has little influence and has not justified his selection as stipendiary. He is grasping and a master of intrigue. Rub'atein is an appanage of the Dhubi tribe. The three principal Sheikhs are Yahya ibn 'Askar, Sālih ibn Ahmed, and Yahya Nāsir. Before the war they were all fearful of Turkish intrigue and desired closer relations with the British Government.

Another important tribe is that of the Maflahi, whose chief is

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'Abd er-Rahmān ibn Qasīm. He is a stipendiary and has always been a well-wisher of the English. His residence is at Jurba.

The conduct of the Upper Yāfa' Sheikhs has not been entirely satisfactory lately. Some of the non-stipendiary Sheikhs have long resented their exclusion from the list of recipients of doles and have turned to the Imam of San'ā. The descent of the Turkish forces opened an avenue for securing loot and monetary consideration from Sa'īd Pasha. The stipendiaries have been outwardly loyal, but there is evidence to show that some sort of secret understanding exists between them and the transborder Arabs. A section of the Mausata have actually gone over to the enemy, and the rest will follow where they think that their interest leads them.

UPPER YĀFA' CONFEDERATION

| *Tribe.* | *Chief.* | *Clan.* |
|---|---|---|
| MAUSATA | 'Ali 'Askar | |
| | Muhsin 'Askar | |
| SHEIBI | Salīm ibn 'Amr | |
| DHUBI | Sālim Sālih | |
| | Mohammed ibn Muthanna | |
| | 'Omar ibn Muthanna | *Khalaki.* |

### 23. *Lower Yāfa'*

The district of Lower Yāfa' is inhabited by the Beni Qāsid tribe. Their late Sultan, 'Abdullah ibn Muhsin, who died early in 1916, was a man of eccentric habits and disliked both the British and the Fadhli. The newly elected Sultan is as yet an unknown quantity, but is said to be Turkophobe. His tribes are out of hand and several have addressed themselves to Aden asking to know the policy of the Government. They have long been at variance with the Fadhli, and a short time ago were in danger of having their supplies cut off from Shūghrah. Sa'īd Pasha, however, intervened and succeeded in arranging a three months' truce between them

## B. HADHRAMAUT

### 1. *Akābarah*

A small nomad tribe, descended from Himyar, along the sea-coast west of Makalla and between Makalla and the Beni Hasan They number 500 fighting men.

### 2. *'Amūdi*

A nomad tribe which was formerly powerful and owned the Wādi Dō'an almost up to Meshed. They were almost annihilated

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about 15 years ago by the Sultan of Makalla. The survivors, numbering only about 150 men under Sheikh Sālih ibn 'Abdullah, are still suffered to live in the Wādi Dō'an.

### 3. *Awābthah*

An independent nomad tribe of Himyar, living in Wādi 'Ain, south-east of Haurah. Their chief Sheikh is 'Abdullah ibn Ahmed and they number about 2,000 men. They are allied with the Seibān and with them maintain a continued warfare with the Hamumi. The chief families of Ashrāf are the Ahl Ba Wazīr and Beni Sheibān.

Paramount Sheikh: 'Abdullah ibn Ahmed.

| *Sub-Tribes.* | |
|---|---|
| BANIS. | 'Abdullah ibn Ahmed. |
| BAZAR. | Ibn Kurdūsah. |

### 4. *'Awāmir*

A strong nomad tribe to the north of Terīm. They pay a nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Seyyūn and Terīm and unite with the Kathīri against aggression from outside.

### 5. *Dein*

A tribe, chiefly nomad but partly agricultural, in the country north-west of the Nu'a and between them and the Āl Hamīm. They trace their descent from Kindah. They are entirely independent, but maintain friendly relations with the Nu'a and Āl Hamīm. Sālim Bamar is their chief Sheikh with a following of about 2,000 fighting men.

Paramount Sheikh: Sālim Bamar.

| *Sub-Tribes.* | |
|---|---|
| BAMSADUS. | Sālim Bamar. |
| BA HENHEN. | 'Abdullah ibn Ahmed. |
| BA SUWEIDĀN. | 'Abdullah ibn Mubārak. |
| YĀS. | Ahmed ibn Yislam. |
| BA KARSHUM. | |

### 6. *Āl Hamīm*

A powerful and warlike Bedouin tribe, north-west of the Nu'a and Dein, living in the country round Shura and Wādi 'Irmah and ranging the country north to the Empty Quarter. They possess many horses and were of great assistance to the Nu'a in their fighting against Ghālib ibn 'Awad el-Ka'aiti, Sultan of Makalla. They can muster from 8,000 to 10,000 men under Thābit ibn 'Omar, their Paramount Chief.

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### 7. *Hamumi*

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A strong and warlike nomad tribe descended from Himyar in the country north of Makalla. They are entirely independent, can put nearly 10,000 men in the field, and are always at war with the Sultan of Makalla, the Awābthah, and the Seibān. Their chief Sheikh is Sheikh Halreish. The principal sub-tribes are Beit Jerzat, Beit 'Ali, and Beit Sa'īd.

### 8. *Beni Hasan*

A small nomad tribe descended from Himyar, and numbering 200 men, in the country along the coast between the Mohammedīn and the Akābarah west of Makalla.

### 9. *Jābiri* (pl. *Jawābir*)

A strong nomad tribe, south of Seyyūn, having a defensive alliance with the Kathīri and paying a nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Seyyūn and Terīm.

### 10. *Jada*

The Jada are an independent Bedouin tribe, tracing their descent from Kindah, and living in the Wādi 'Amd to the south-east of Haurah. They number 3,000 men.

Chief Sheikh, Ibn Shemlān.

| *Clans.* | |
|---|---|
| Beni Shemlān. | Ibn Shemlān. |
| Beni Humeid. | |
| Beni Mādhi. | |

### 11. *Kathīri*

The Kathīri tribe is one of the most warlike and powerful tribes in the Hadhramaut and is the chief menace to the ever-increasing power of the Sultan of Makalla. They are partly settled and partly nomad, and occupy the country between Terīm and Seyyūn, their chief towns, almost up to the Sultan of Makalla's frontier city of Shibām. The feud between the two arose in the early seventies of last century and has ever since dominated the politics of the Hadhramaut. At that time the Kathīri Sultan of Seyyūn borrowed three lakhs of rupees from the head of the Ka'aiti family, and afterwards repudiated the debt. Recourse was had to the Political Resident of Aden, and after arbitration had proved abortive, Shiheir and Makalla, then in the possession of the Kathīri Sultan, were bombarded by a British ship and handed over to the Ka'aiti. Since

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then there has been an increasing feud which has at times led to actual warfare.

The present Kathīri Sultan is Mansūr Kathīri, a man who has been unable to enforce his will on his independent tribesmen; the latter are said to number 10,000 to 15,000 fighting men, and with their allies the 'Awāmir, Tamīmi, and Jābiri, who can put into the field another 5,000 warriors, they form a very powerful confederation. Like all tribal confederations, however, jealousies and an innate independence prevent them from making full use of their power.

### 12. *Manāhil*

A warlike and independent nomad tribe, roaming the country to the north of the Hamumi, numbering between 5,000 and 6,000 men. They are allied to the Hamumi in opposition both to the Seibān and the Sultan of Makalla.

### 13. *Mohammedīn*

A small nomad tribe, numbering 300 men, between the Nu'a on the west and the Beni Hasan on the east. They trace their descent to Himyar. Sa'īd ibn Suleimān is their Sheikh, living at Haseisah, the main tribal centre.

### 14. *Nahad*

The Nahad are a Bedouin tribe, descended from Kindah, numbering from 3,000 to 4,000 men and occupying the country due north of Haurah. They are on friendly terms with the Sultan of Makalla's representative at Haurah, but are bitter enemies of the powerful tribe of Sa'ar to their north. Their Paramount Chief is Sheikh Ibn Minīf.

### 15. *Nu'a*

The Nu'a are a Bedouin tribe, descended from Himyar, with head-quarters round the valley of Wādi el-Hajar. They are bounded on the west by the tribes of the 'Abd el-Wahīd Sultanate, on the north-west by the Dein and Āl Hamīm tribes, on the north by the Numan, and on the east by the Seibān and Mohammedīn.

Between Bir 'Ali and Haseisah they come down to the sea. They cultivate *dhura* and wheat in Wādi Hajar and raise dates, but their chief wealth is in camels, of which they are said to possess about 6,000, and in sheep and goats. The Sultan of Makalla cast covetous eyes on their possessions and for 12 years strove to wrest the Wādi Hajar from them. He met with no success, and two years ago relinquished his attempts and made peace. The Nu'a can put

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101 from 5,000 to 6,000 men in the field, all armed with rifles. Their chief Sheikh is Ahmed ibn Qādim, who lives at Lubnah, a man of about 45, strong and well liked by his tribes. He keeps on good terms with the Sultan of Bālhāf and with the Dein, and is allied with Thābit ibn 'Omar, the chief of the Āl Hamīm, who helped him in his war against the Sultan of Makalla. The Ashrāf are strong in the district, and Sherīf el-Beit of Kanīni is much sought after as an arbitrator in quarrels between the different clans.

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Paramount Sheikh: Ahmed ibn Qādim.

| *Sub-Tribes.* | |
|---|---|
| BAQARWĀN. | Ahmed Abeidan. |
| BA DIYĀN. | Sa'īd ibn 'Ali. |
| BA FAQASH. | |
| BADBAS. | 'Ali ibn Mohammed. |
| BURSHEID. | Ahmed ibn Qādim. |
| BASAM. | Sa'īd ibn 'Ali. |
| BA HAMISH. | Mohammed ibn Sālim. |
| BA HAKIM. | 'Abdullah ibn Sa'īd. |
| LIMUS. | 'Omar ibn Ahmed. |

### 16. *Numan*

A nomadic tribe, numbering about 1,000 men, descended from Himyar, who roam the country north of the Nu'a and Wādi el-Hajar. Their chief Sheikh is Sālih ibn Selīm ibn Qutam.

### 17. *Sa'ar*

The Sa'ar are probably the most numerous tribe in the Hadhramaut; but though completely independent and lawless, they are too far removed to play a very important part in its politics. They roam the country north of the Nahad and Haurah right up to the edge of the Ruba' el-Khāli and are said to number 20,000 men. An old feud exists between them and the Nahad. Their chief is Ibn Jarbu. They claim descent from Kindah.

### 18. *Seibān*

A Himyarite tribe of nomads inhabiting the desolate plateau to the west of the upper reaches of the Wādi el-'Aisār. They are bounded on the north by the 'Amūdi, on the south by the Akābarah and Beni Hasan, and on the east by the Hamumi.

'Omar ibn Ahmed is their chief Sheikh, but they come also under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Makalla. They are friendly with the Nu'a and the small tribes on their south. With the Hamumi they have a long-standing feud which leads to continual fighting.

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ambition to add fresh territories to his dominions and become the ruling force in the Hadhramaut.

He has three brothers, 'Omar, Husein, and Manassar—all of whom he has quarrelled with and expelled from the country.

## C. Oman

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### 1. *'Abābid* (sing. *'Abbādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Felej Shirāh in Wādi Fara', in Western Hajar.

### 2. *'Abādilah* (sing. *'Abdūli*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,200 souls; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; settled at Shārjah town, Ghāllah in Shameilīyah, Khaleibīyah, near Wādi Hām, and on Sheikh Shu'aib Island.

### 3. *'Abriyīn* (sing. *'Abri*)

A tribe of Nizāri descent in the Oman Sultanate, belonging to the Ghāfiri political faction; in religion they are mostly Ibadhis, but a small minority are Sunnis. They are found in Dhāhirah at 'Arāqi; in Western Hajar at 'Awābi, at 'Aqair in Wādi Shāfān, at Zāmmah and Hāt in Wādi Beni 'Auf, at Beit el-Qarn in Wādi Fara', at Tabāqah in Wādi Beni Ghāfir, and at 'Amq, Fashah, Maqamma, and Mabu in Wādi Sahtan; in Oman Proper at Bahlah, Farq, Ghamr, and Hamra: their number is estimated at 6,500 souls. They cultivate dates and corn and are generally a well-behaved and peaceable tribe. They are the real masters of 'Awābi, but Bahlah is their tribal capital and Hamra their largest separate village.

### 4. *Beni 'Adi* (sing. *'Adwāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 5,000 souls; Hināwi in politics, settled chiefly in Western Hajar at the villages of Sawālih, Murbah, Qasra, Ghashab, and Wabil in Wādi Fara', but also found on the coast at Quryāt and at Ghuweisah in the sub-vilayet of Saham.

Those at Ghashab belong to a section called Beni Bakr.

### 5. *'Ajam, or Persians* (sing. *'Ajmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 10,000 souls, mostly now arabized Shiahs; settled at Muscat town and in

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They put about 2,000 men in the field. Abd er-Rahmān esh-Shatri has great influence over them. 101 •

Paramount Sheikh: 'Omar ibn Ahmed. 619 622

*Sub-Tribes.*

| | |
|---|---|
| BASARAH. | 'Omar ibn Ahmed. |
| BASARĪYAH. | 'Omar ibn Ahmed. |
| BA QŪR. | Mohammed ibn Suleimān. |
| SAMŪH. | Mohammed ibn 'Ali. |

### 19. *Tamīmi*

A nomad tribe to the east of Terīm and the Kathīri, with whom they are allied for purposes of defence.

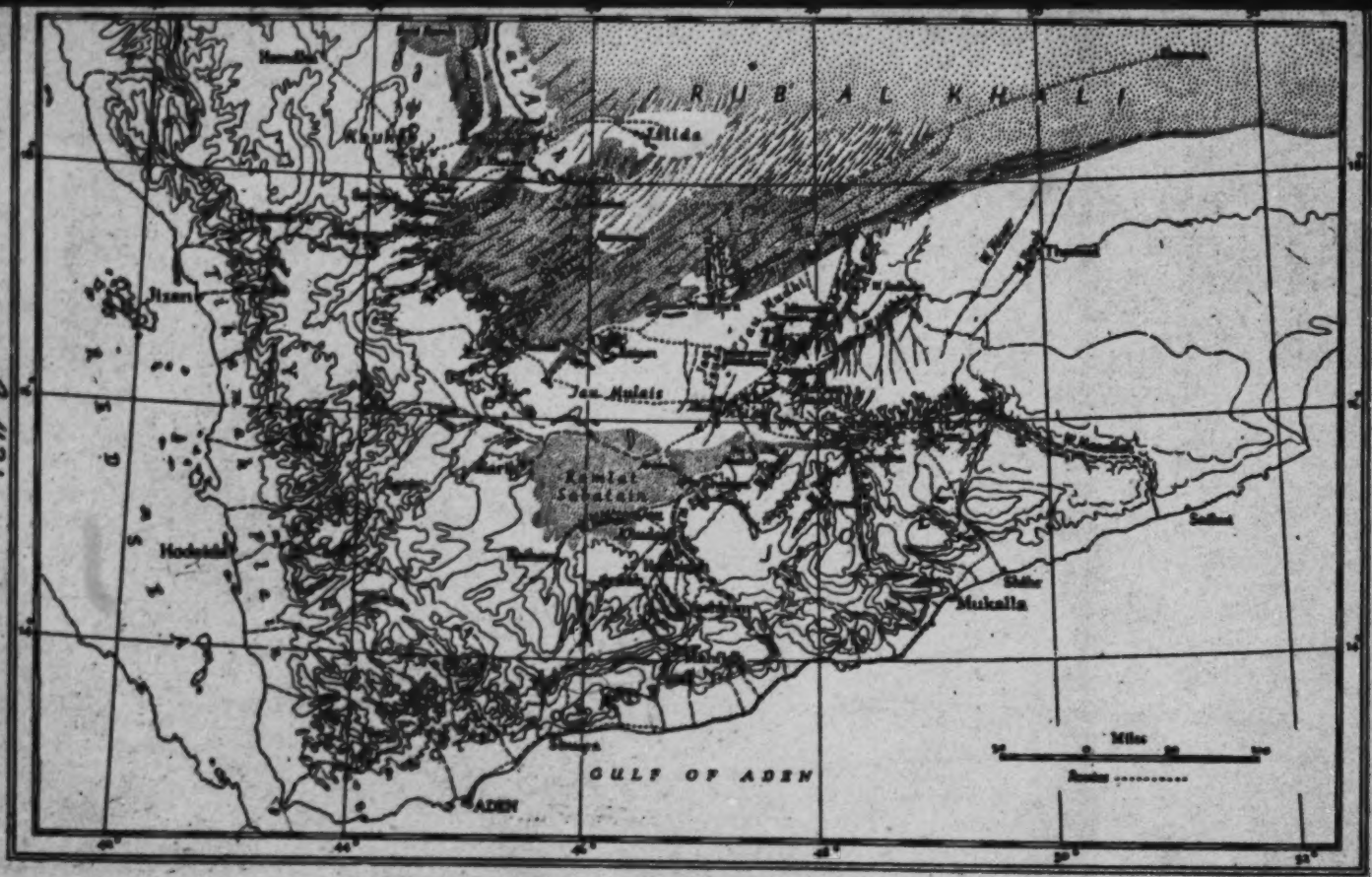
### 20. *Yāfa'*

The Yāfa' tribe, whose real home is in the Sultanates of Upper and Lower Yāfa' to the north-east of Aden, are represented in the Hadhramaut by the influential and wealthy family of Ka'aiti. Some six generations ago the Seyyids of the Abu Bekr family, at that time the most powerful in the Hadhramaut, were seriously threatened by the Bedouin tribes, and in their extremity invited the assistance of the Yāfa' Sultan. The Ka'aiti were sent to the rescue, and, having repulsed the enemy, established themselves in the country, where they have been ever since. Their power has steadily grown and was notably increased in 1874 by the expulsion of the Kathīri Sultan from Makalla and Shiheir and the presentation of these two towns to them by the British Government in settlement of a debt which had been repudiated by the Kathīri. They now own Makalla, Shiheir, Shibām, Haurah, and Hajarein, and exercise a suzerainty, which at times is only nominal, over the tribes of 'Amūdi, Seibān, and Nahad.

Their wealth comes chiefly from the Straits Settlements, whither many Hadhramis migrate, leaving their own sterile country to seek their fortunes abroad. Their connexion with Haidarabad is also very close, the Nizam maintaining a Hadhrami bodyguard, which is always commanded by one of the Ka'aiti family.

The present head of the house, styled Sultan of Makalla, is Ghālib ibn 'Awad el-Ka'aiti, a man of fifty, who is anglophile and maintains close relations with Aden. He keeps a permanent bodyguard of 1,000 men, but frequently has recourse to hiring mercenaries both to maintain himself against his implacable enemies the Kathīri and their allies, and the Hamumi, and also in furtherance of his

16. Bunker N-4 (ca. 1950) 1953 MM3 Hadhramaut MM3




*South-west borderlands of the Rub' al Khali*

P. 421

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IA | IB | IC | ID | IE | IF |
| IIA | IIB | IIC | IID | IIE | IIF |
| IIIA | IIIB | IIIC | IIID | IIIE | IIIF |
| IVA | IVB | IVC | IVD | IVE | IVF |
| VA | VB | VC | VD | VE | VF |
| | | | | | VI |

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

249(1)

END MAP I A

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END MAP IB

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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END MAP IC

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102
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END MAP ID

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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END MAP IE

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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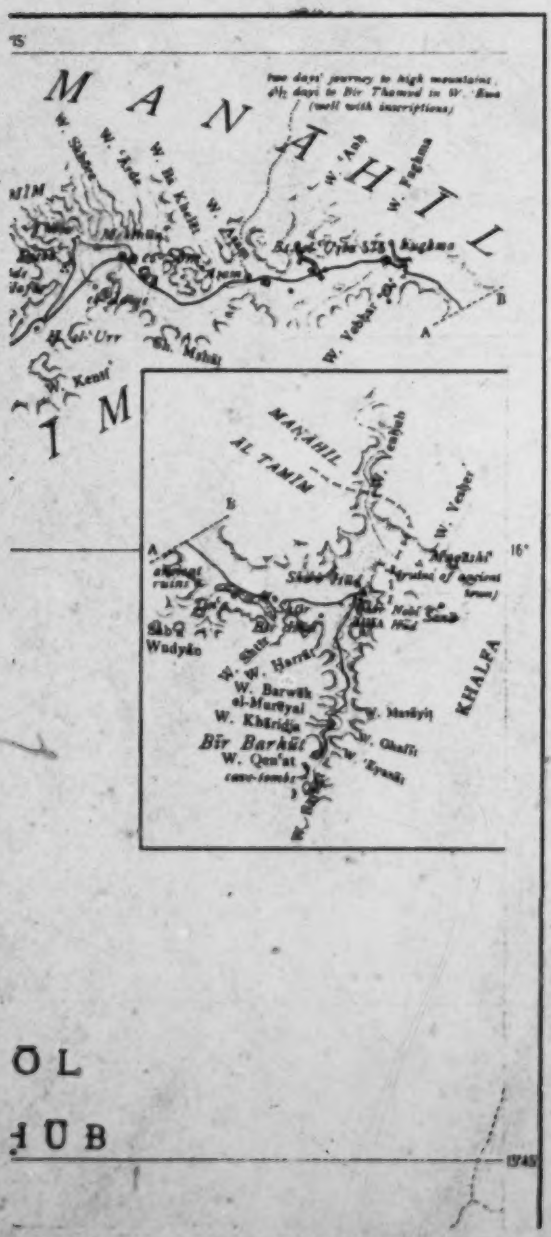


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END MAP IF

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END MAP II A

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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W. Tahayyah
Dj. el-Fiha
Dj. esh-Sherdj
NAHD DJA'DA
W. Rokkan
Diyar el-Hijjah
Diyar Bin Tamim
Diyar Bin Marfad
Diyar Bin Adwan
Diyar el-Fari
Diyar Bin Sinan
Diyar Bin Sa'ad
Diyar Bin Ma'rib
Diyar Bin Ma'rib Sh. ez-Zil
Diyar Bin Ma'rib Sh. el-Ghabra
Diyar Bin Ma'rib Sh. el-Ghabra
Diyar Bin Ma'rib Sh. el-Ghabra

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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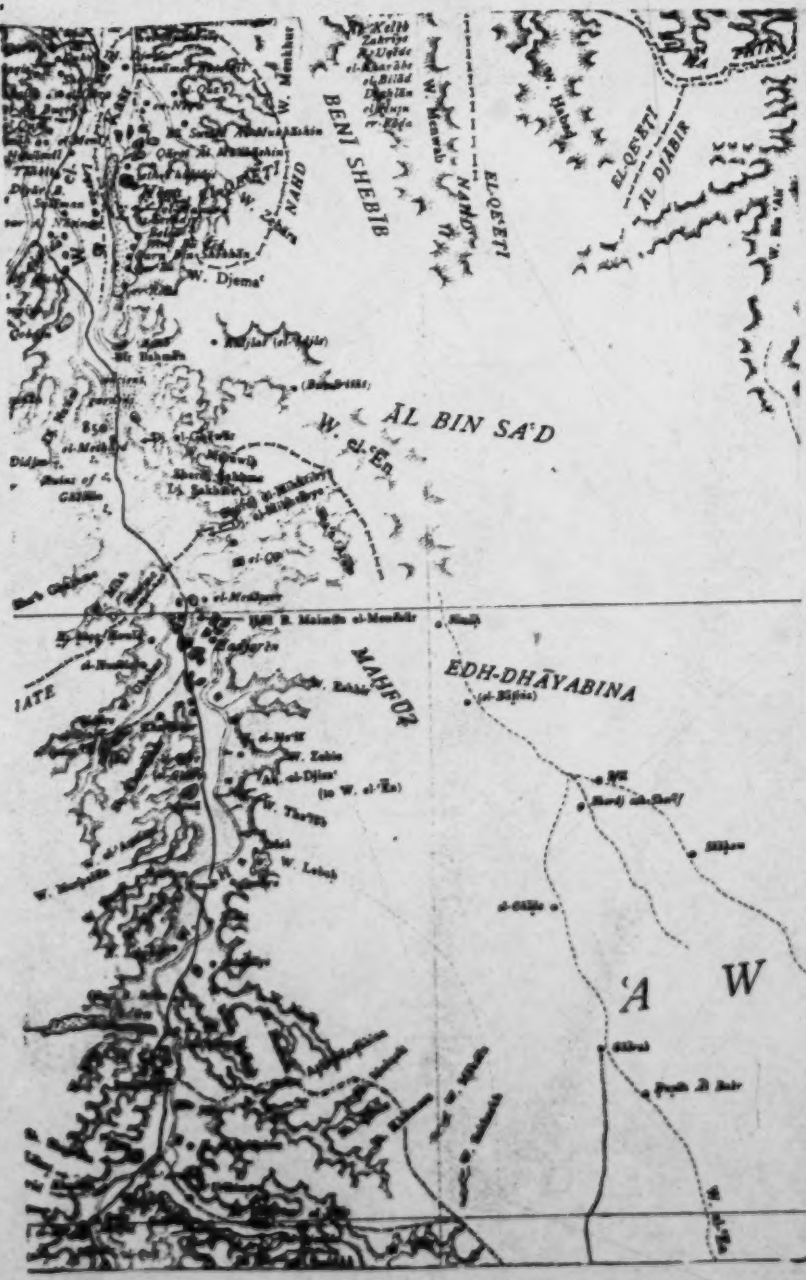


EID MAP II C

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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END MAP II D

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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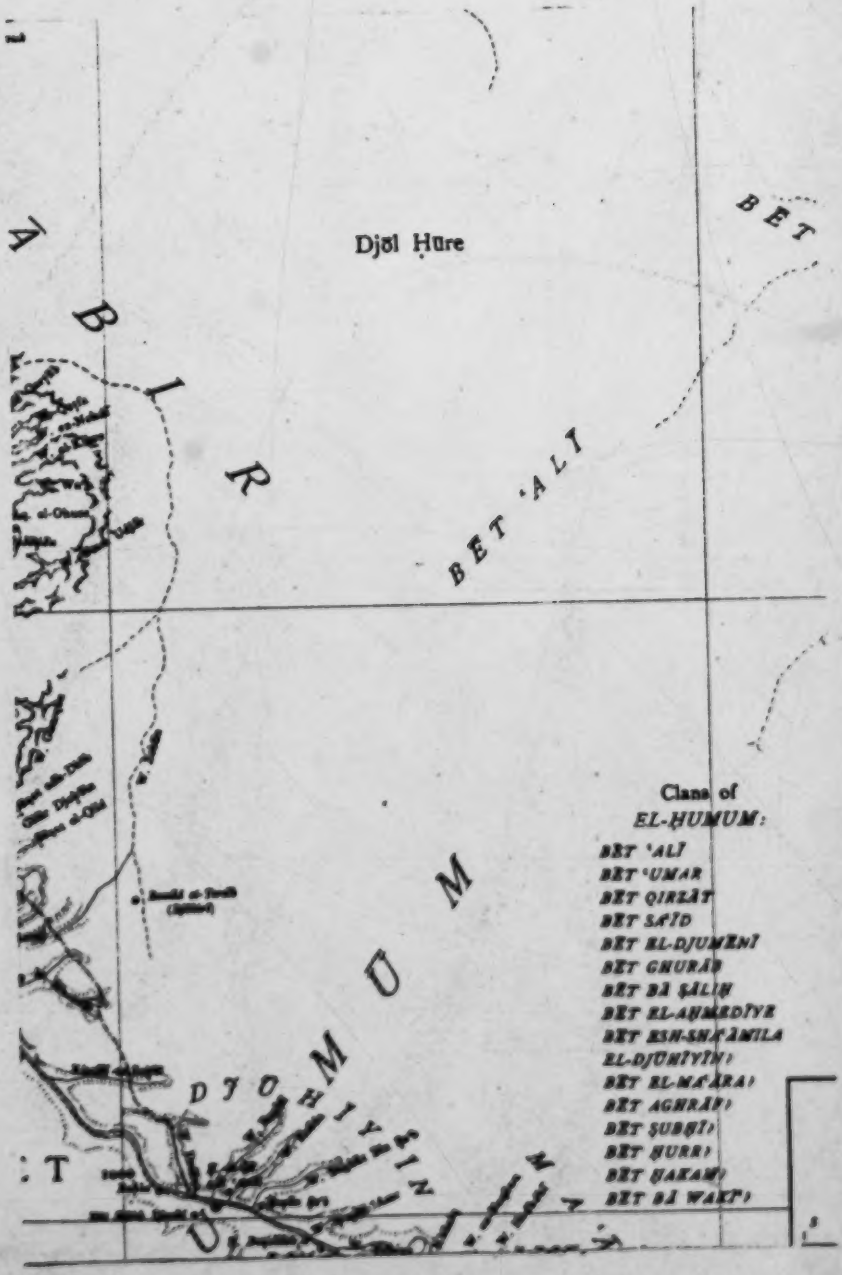


End map II E

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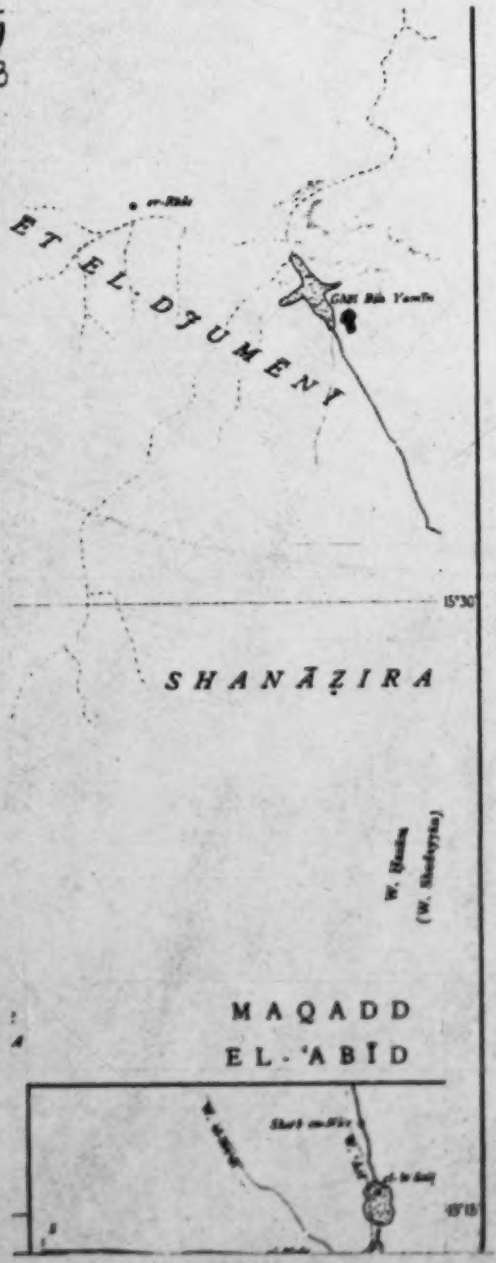


End map II F

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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END MAP III A

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END MAP III 8

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

249 (15)

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End map III C

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133

End map III D

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133

End map III E

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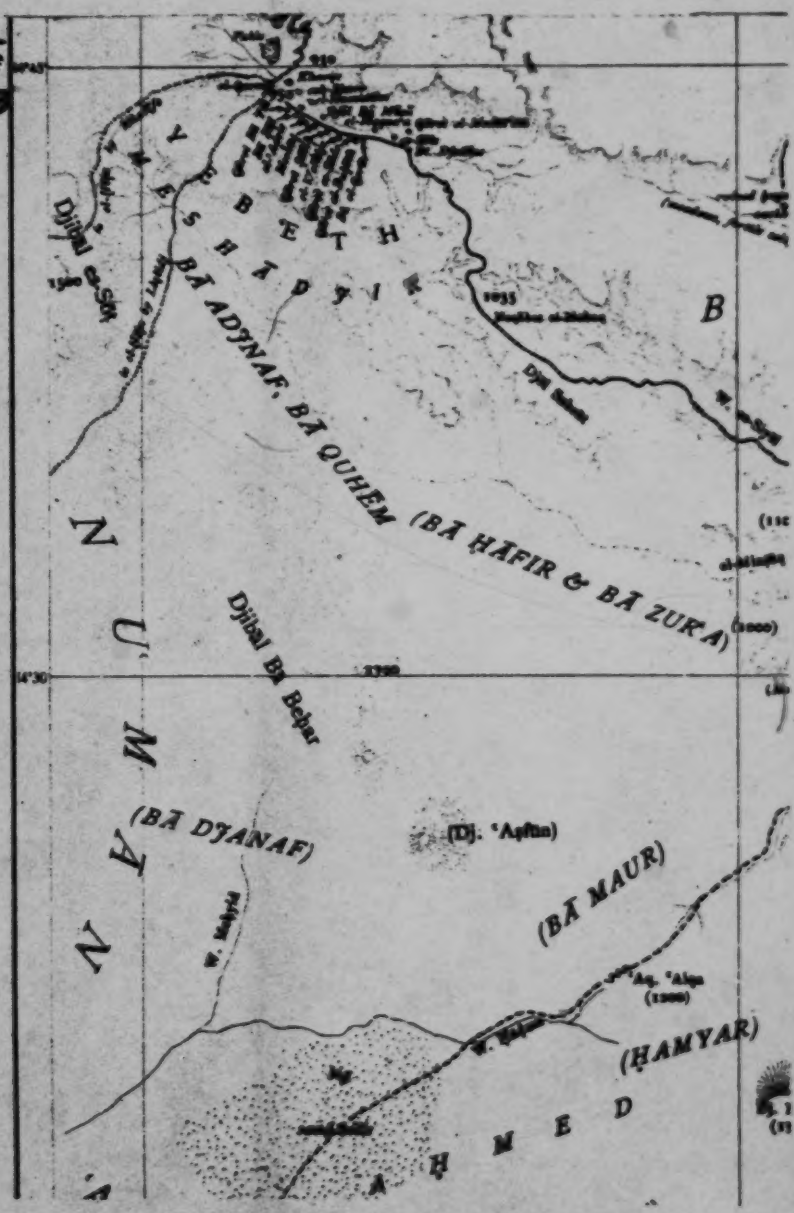
End map III F

24; Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

249 (19)




END MAP IV A

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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END MAP VI B

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END MAP IV C

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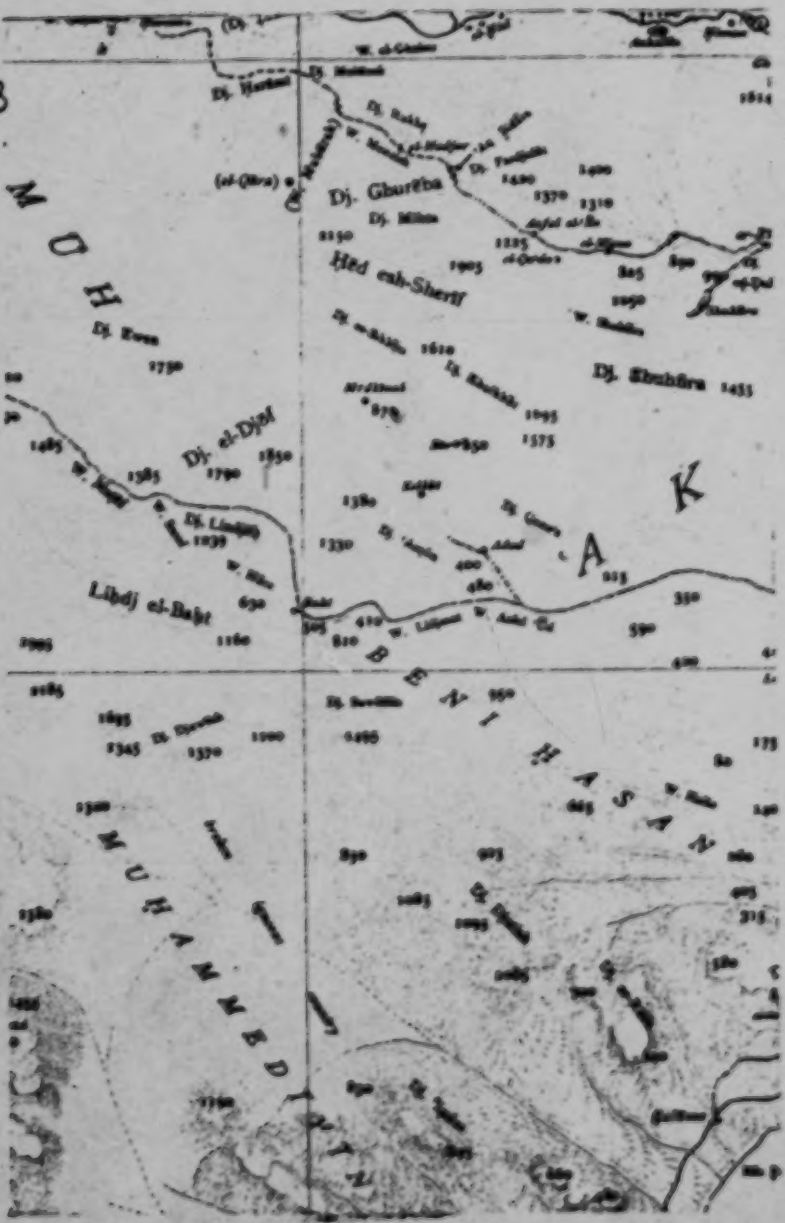


End map IV D

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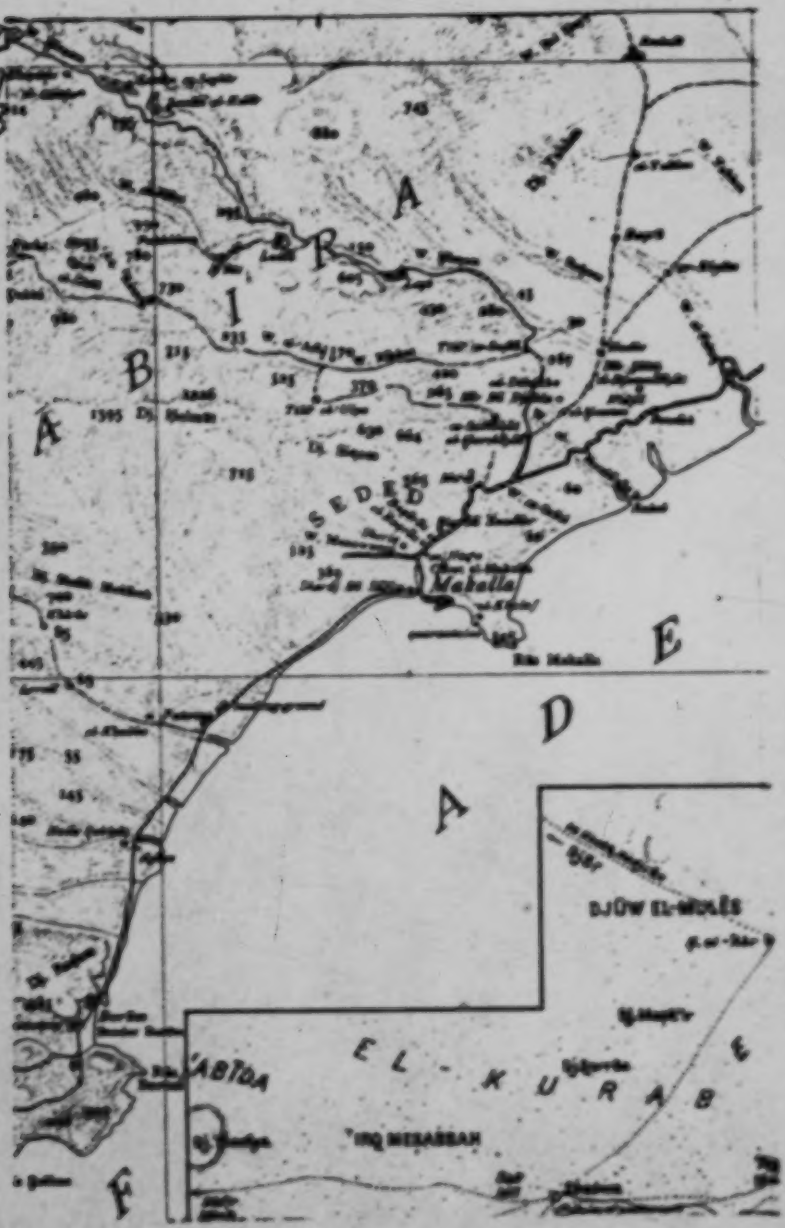


End map IV E

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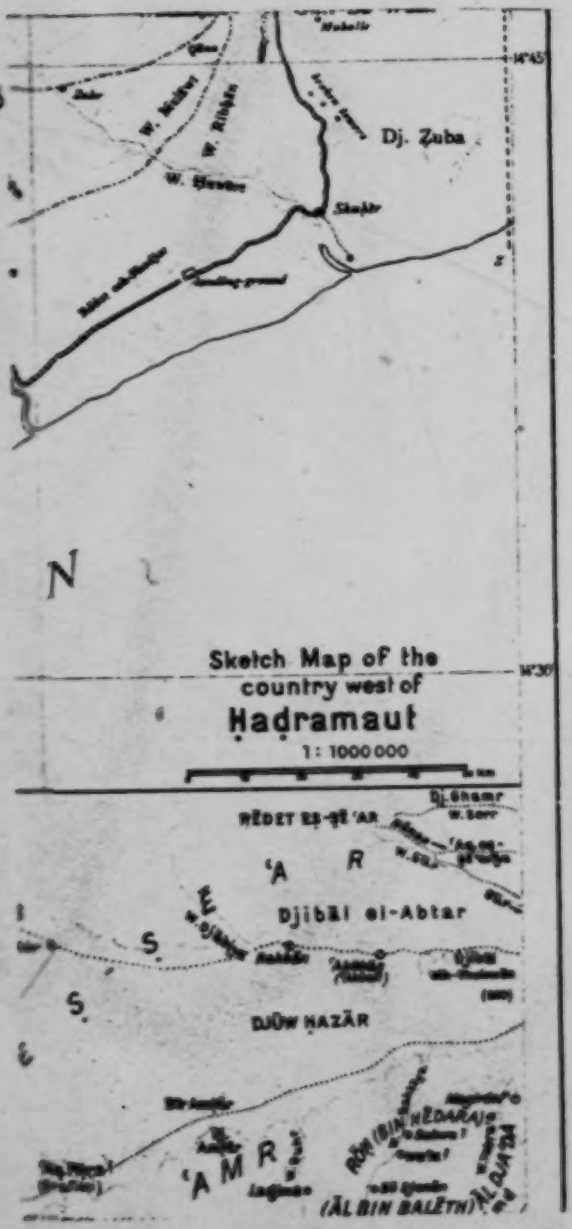


End map IV F

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END MAP V A

24;Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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END MAP 26

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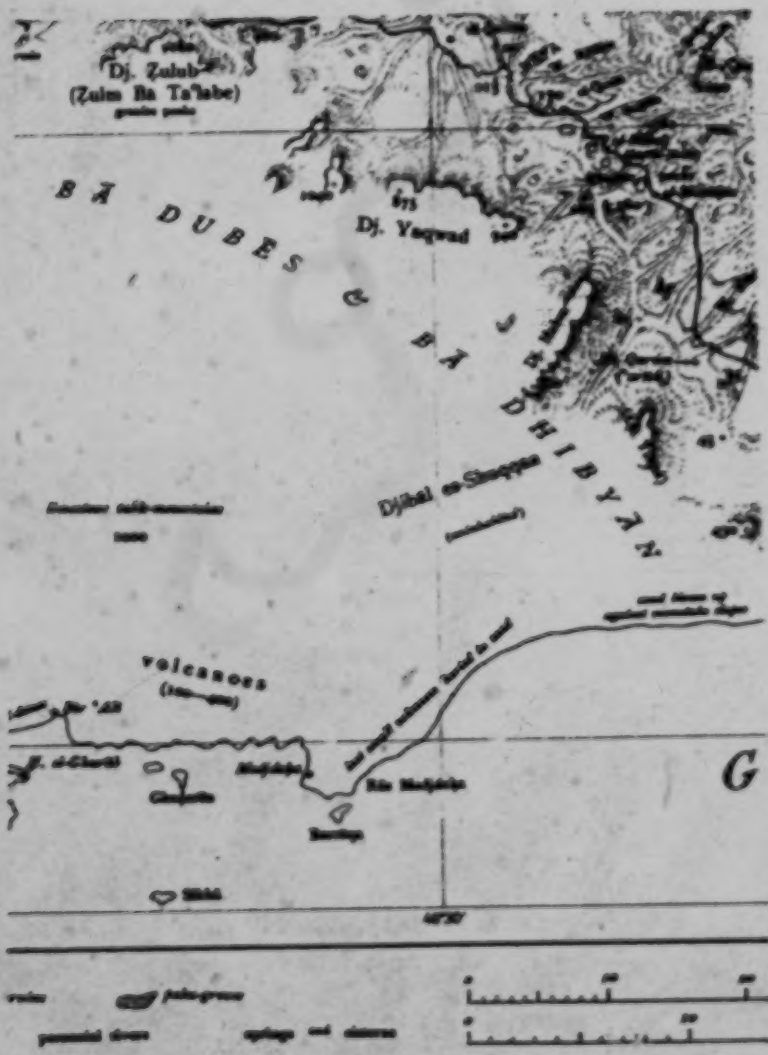


END MAP V C

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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End map V D

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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End map V E

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FOTO - LITHO.

End map V F

249 (31)

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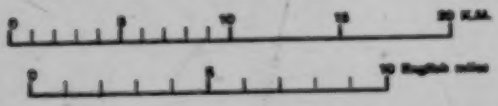
# HADRAMAUT

## Scale 1 : 250 000

by Dr. H. von Wissmann.

(Map belonging to "Hadramaut, some of its mysteries unveiled" by D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann.)

NOTE. The scale given under the map is wrong and the following should be used instead.




End map VI

G.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2

102

# ADEN. PROTECTORATE

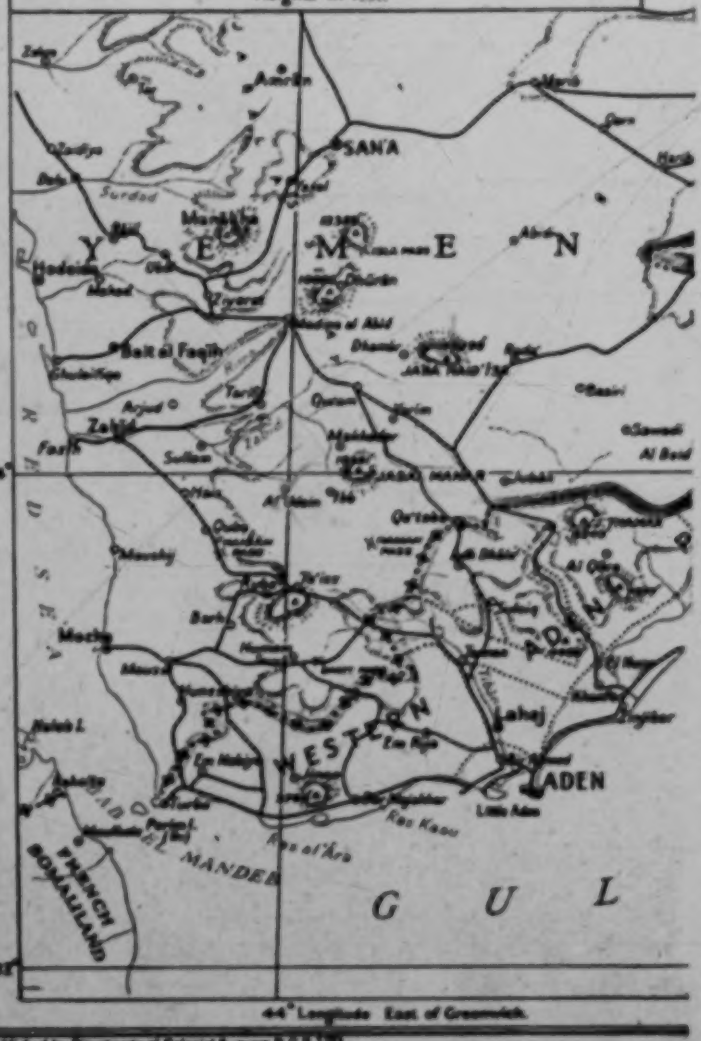
Scale of Miles.

20 10 0 20 40 60 80 100

REFERENCE.

Boundaries, Inter-Territorial
Boundary between Western & Eastern Aden Protectorates
Boundary between Eastern Aden Prot^te & Sultanate of Muscat & Oman
Boundaries between Protectorate States & Sultanates
Motorable Roads

Heights in feet.




Published by Directorate of Colonial Surveys D.C.S.1191.
10,000/1/48 G.P.O.

End map 2 (A)

G.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2

102

End mat 22(B)

G.Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

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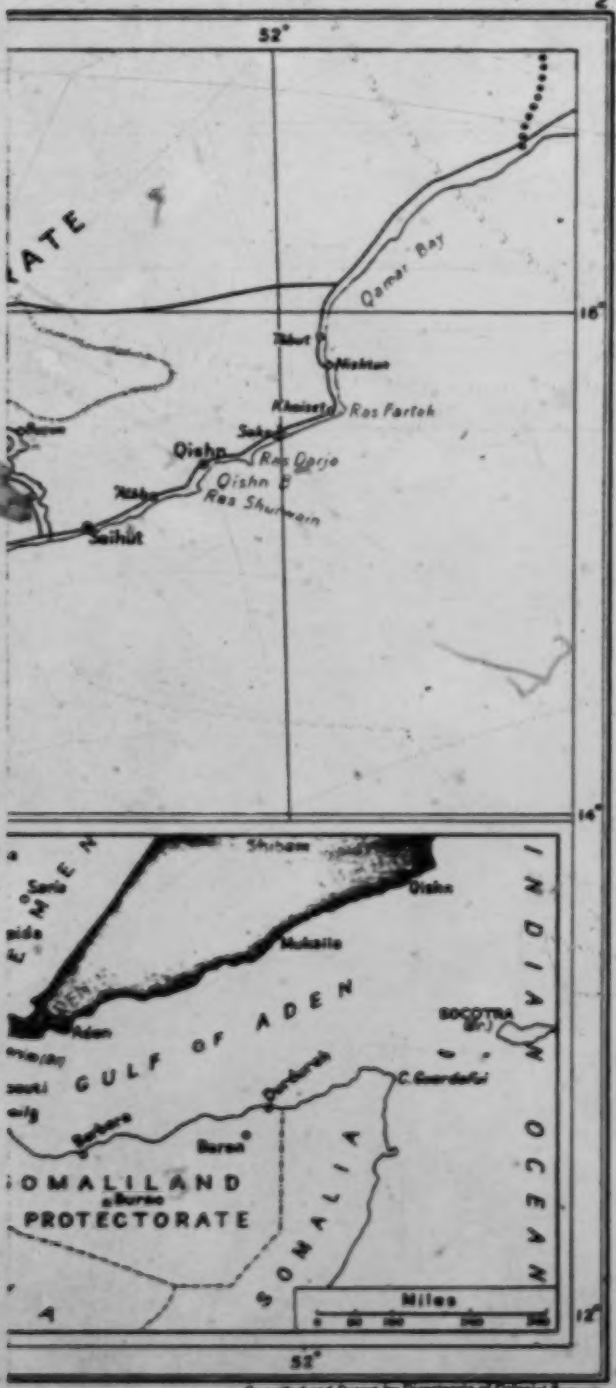
End map 2 (c)

6.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden

Half 1 MM2

102




Compiled and Drawn by Directorate of Colonial Surveys
Photolithographed and Printed by War Office, 1948.

End map 2 (D)

7: Great Britain, Colonial Office MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
102

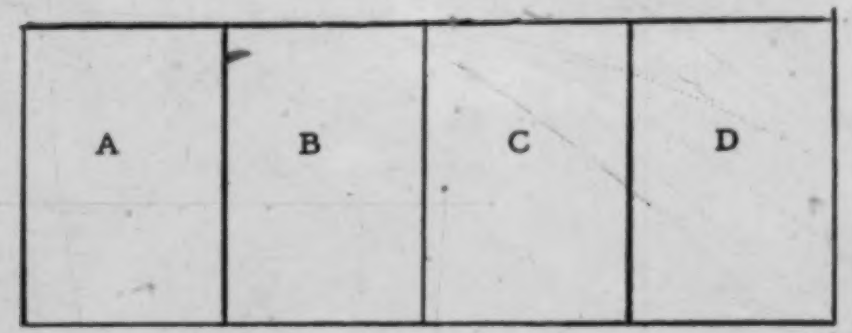



Chart of position of sections of end map 1.

Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2
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End Map 1 (A)

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden

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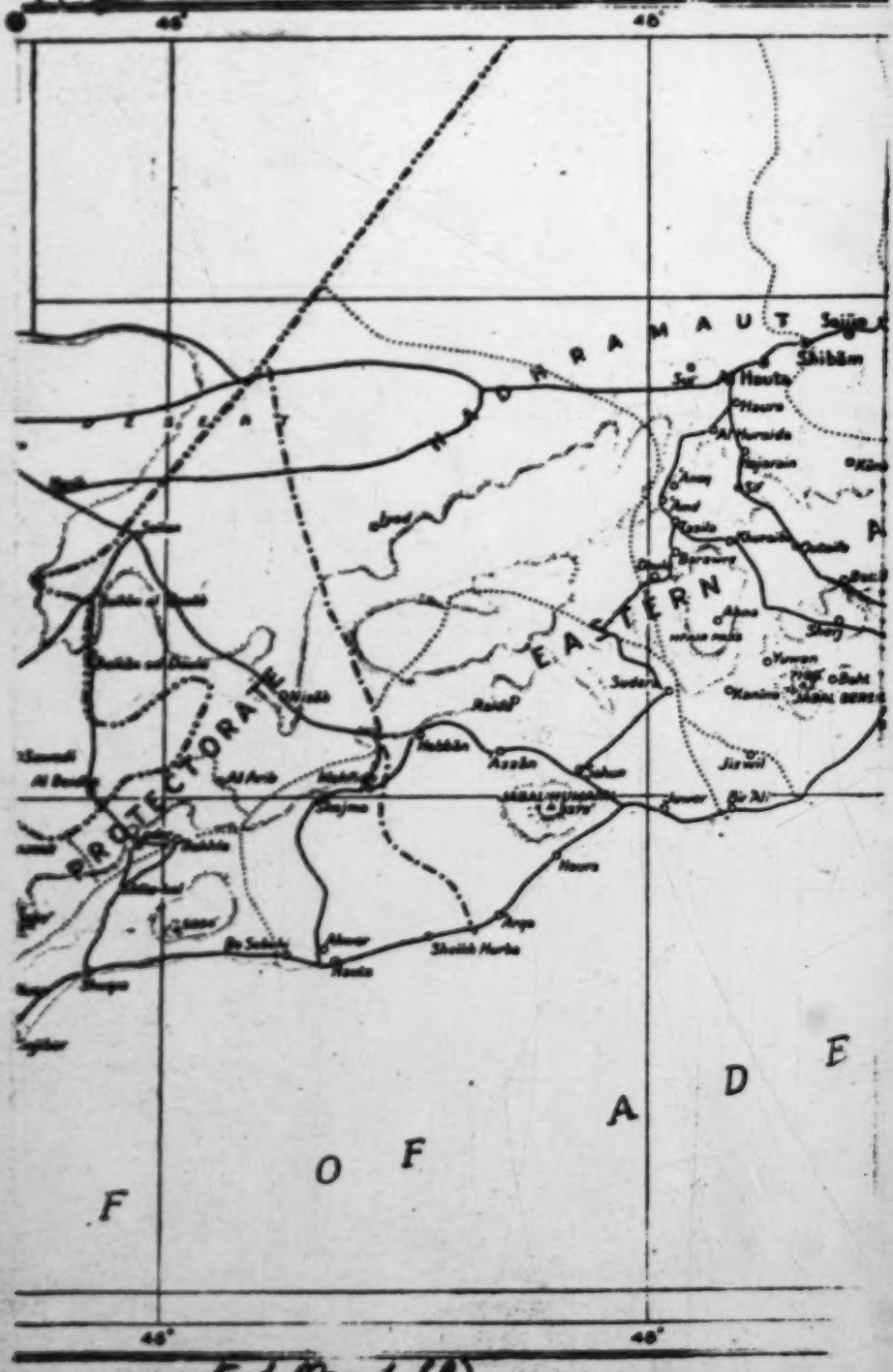
Hadhramaut MM 2


48°
48°
R A M A U T
Shibam
Hauta
Sif
Sudeira
Rabdah
Azaba
Jirwil
Hawra
Argo
Shaikh Marba
Nisab
Mawr
Bir Sabiah
Bir Ali
Shaqra
Qatn
Tarim
Shibam
Sif
Hajarain
Khuraiba
Dawan
Yemen
Hajar Dhuft
Jabal Qara
Sharj
Abna
Khuraiba
Dawan
Jabal Qara
Hajar Dhuft
Yemen
Sharj
Abna
Sif
Hajarain

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut. MM2

102

End Map 1 (c)

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Offi G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2

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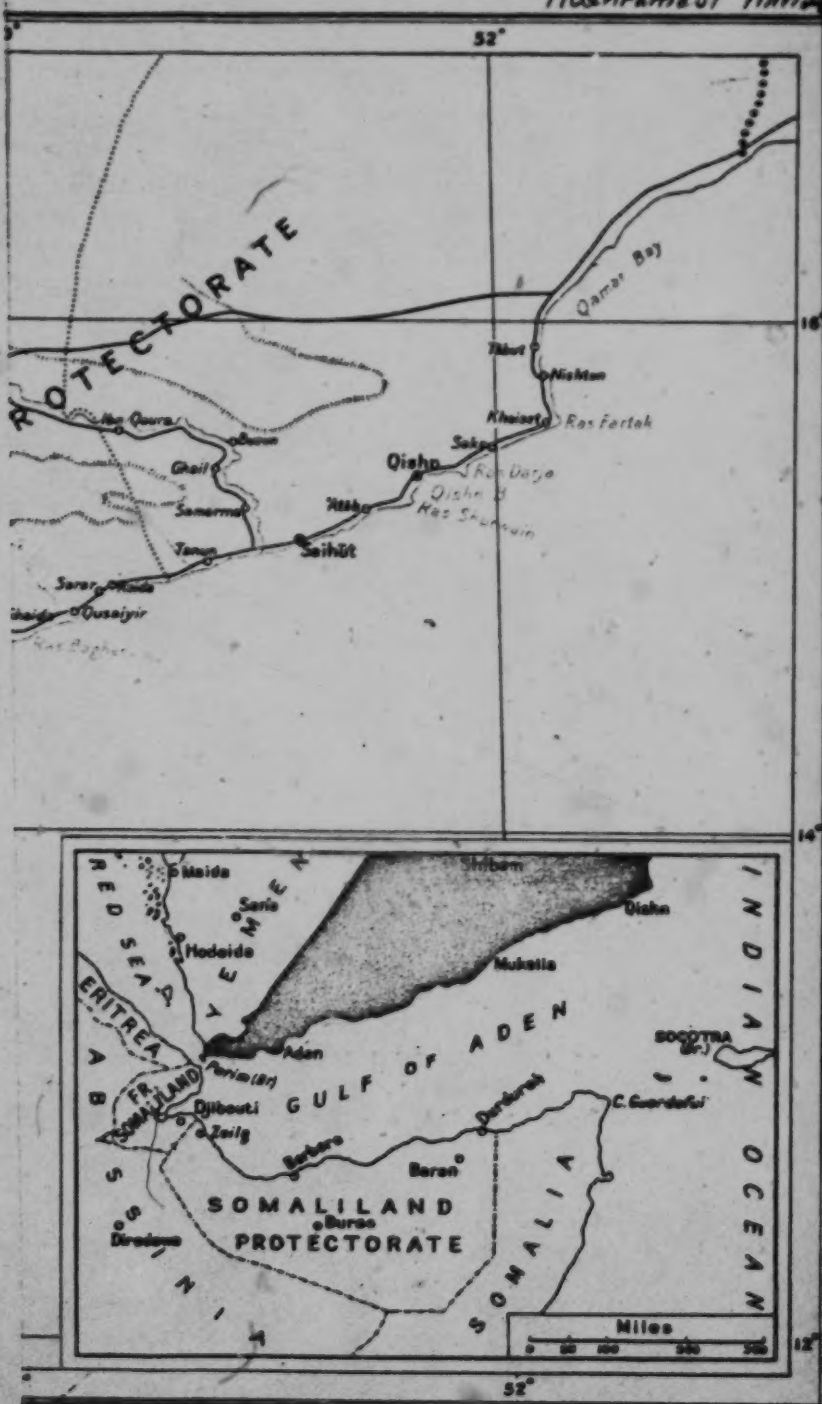


End Map 1(D)

Compiled and Drawn by Directorate of Colonial Surveys
Photolithographed and Printed by War Office, 1948

Eb Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1961) 1954
M1 Middle East

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM 2

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N
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*The Arabian Peninsula*

p. 234

63:Eisenstein et al G-5 (1941-1961) 1964
M1 Middle East
ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2
H
[102
361]

sequently return to their home settlements with their savings. Arabic is the language of the indigenous peoples, but Malay tongues are widely used in the towns of the Hadhramaut. Swahili, the *franca lingua* of East Africa, is understood throughout most of the area, while English is extensively employed in Aden proper. The majority of Arabs are Moslems, belonging to branches of the Sunni sect. Other religions are found chiefly among the different racial groups in the Colony and in the coast towns of the Protectorate.

H 167
H 191
A H 795

Education has made considerable progress in the Colony, and is gradually being introduced into the Protectorate. Primary schools for both sexes are supported by the government in the Colony, and by mission and private organizations. The Colonial authorities also operate secondary and vocational schools for boys. There are no post-secondary institutions, but government scholarships are available for the training of teachers and various professional personnel in the Anglo-Egytian Sudan or in the United Kingdom. The literacy rate among children of 6 to 12 years of age is estimated at 90 per cent, in contrast with 10 to 25 per cent in the general population. A program for the expansion of education

A H 871
H 658 871
H 212 185 658

p. 237 (8)

619 The whole tribe are now peaceable and the Qu'aiti has a " B "[2/A]
622 agreement with them. The leader of the Motahhar clan who resides
631 at Budha is acknowledged as the paramount chief, but for practical
635 and political purposes the 'Amūdis are under the actual control of the Seibani leaders, the Governors of Du'an, though the Qu'aiti allows them autonomy in their own towns. The towns of Qeidun, where their ancestor lies buried, and Dhuba also belong to the tribe, and the Sheikh of the former is 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Umar bin Muhammad, and of the latter Sheikh 'Abdulla bin Salih bin Motahhar al 'Amūdi.

### Deiyin.

631 The Deiyin tribe consists of twelve clans. The estimated number
101 of armed men where obtained is given after each clan: Al Bazi,
619 200; Bā Kershūb, 200; Al Bās, 150; Bā Salim, 50; Bā Kharbūsh, 50; Bin Sūeidan, 200; Bā Masdūs, 150; Bā 'Umein, 300; Labarja Bā Henhen, Yās, Ba Kharshūm.

The tribe trace their descent from Kinda. They inhabit Reidat ad Deiyin on the tableland between Wadis Du'an and 'Amd, and also the west of Du'an and Beina: their chief village is Zila. It is said that the estimated number of men belonging to those clans living at Al Hauta and 'Asala is 1,500. They possess camels and sheep, but live mainly by cultivation, and their means of livelihood depend on Mukalla and Du'an. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the tribe. Thier *mansab* is ' Isa bin ' Abdul Qudir Āl Haddad.

### Bā Juba.

A small tribe living at Qarat al Mihdhār under the influence of Seiyid Bubekr bin Hussein al Mihdhār. They formerly followed the plough but have now taken to arms.

### Khamikha.

This tribe live on the outskirts of the province of Du'an.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 4. HAJR PROVINCE.

635 The Hajr province includes the Wadi Hajr with its towns and
103 villages from Meifa to Ras al Kalb, together with the towns and villages in the south between Bir 'Ali and Wadi Hajr. According to a local account the Wadi was first known as Wadi Hajr Wahab after a man who came there, diverted the water springs, and then died. He was followed by the people of Kinda who found Sheikh Sa'id bin 'Isa al 'Amūdi living there. They assisted him to open the springs, and also imposed taxes to be paid by the people to the Sheikh. The Kinda ruled in the wadi which then became known as the Wadi Hajr Kinda. Later there came the Bin Daghār

[1/A [see preceding page -- Analyst]

[2/A [see page 12, category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



tribe who are now very weak, though the wadi is still called after them Wadi Hajr Bin Daghār. To-day the wadi belongs to the Qu'aiti and it is said that in time it will be known as Wadi Hajr Qu'aiti.

The capital of the province is now Kanina, said to have about 300 to 400 houses and an estimated population of 1,500. Other important villages are Yuwan, the old capital, As Sadaka, Husn Bā Suleiman, Husn Ba'ba', Al 'Asala, Al Qima, Al Hussein, Husun Bā Raghab, Jōl Bā Hāwa, Leswa and Muhrin. The Governor is Sa'id Marzuk Salah. Hajr is an agricultural province, and it is estimated that the number of tribesmen is 5,000. As I did not visit the Hajr province during my tour, the information given is even more at second hand than in other cases.

The tribes living in the province or dependent on it are the Bin Daghār, Nūwah, Āl Deiyeb, Āl Bā Bekr and Āl Zaghīb, Āl Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Khāshia al Murqashi. The following is a description of these tribes together with others connected with Hajr.

NŪWAH.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Sub-section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nūwah Hajr ... | Āl Bā Rashid | — | Al Qeima, Libna | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Sheiba | — | Libna | 150 |
| | Āl Bā Shuqūr | — | — | 80 |
| | 'Ayāl Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Hajām | — | — | 40 |
| | Āl Bā Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Faqqās | — | Qazein, Yuwan | 200 |
| | Āl Bā Dubīān | Āl Bā Sabera | Jōl Bā Hāwa, Al Qāsima, Yuwan, Muhammada, Kanina. | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Mas'ud | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Dabeis | | Yuwan | 100 |
| | As Sumahi | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Sara | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Qarwān | — | Muhammada | 250 |
| | Āl Bā Rajāsh | — | Kanina, Sherij Bā Jamum, Husun Āl Bā Rajāsh. | 400 |
| | Bā Museita | | — | 100 |
| Nūwah Du'an | Āl Bā Hakīm | — | Al Qarn | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Sam | — | — | 120 |
| | Āl Bā Khamis | — | — | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Ma'as | — | — | 150 |
| | Bu Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Bā Safr | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl Bā Shihab | — | — | — |
| Nūwah Lajrāt Du'an. | Āl Bā Batīn | — | — | 70 |
| | Āl Bā Sūeid | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl 'Afif | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Meis | — | — | — |
| | | | | 2,760 |

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 tufa surrounds, and almost blocks, the outlet, and forms a small fan below. In one case a narrow channel has been humanly cut in the deposit to lead the water into a cement tank from which periodically a few palms are watered. 137 The surplus water overflows and is lost in the scree. Growing amongst the huge boulders are shrubs and trees, wild figs, *Ficus salicifolia*, and *F. sycamorus* being particularly common. Around the water itself maiden-hair fern and other small plants make a pleasant green garden in the rocky desolation.

133 At this level there is a limestone platform or shelf some 10–11 m. wide, and on the edge of this occur the outcrops of Pleistocene tufa. In the Wadi Luqrun it is a block 5 m. thick and 3–4 m. high, which is evidently but a remnant of a much more extensive deposit, for traces were detected on the walls of the great limestone overhang. Its present size and isolation are some measure of the time that has elapsed since its formation. A few badly preserved fossil leaves were found here, but also a considerable number of small cavities which, as in Kharga, are the moulds of fruits. Most of these show no structure and are therefore unidentifiable, but Mrs. E. R. Reid, who kindly examined them, found one that was certainly a fruit of a species of *Celtis*.

A climb of 50 m. or so up the scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone leads over bare rock to the upper course of the wadi. In time of spate the waters must cascade in a fall over the lip. At Luqrun traces only of tufa occurred at this upper level, but in a valley east of Hureidha a much larger outcrop was found which yielded many leaves. Here, after half an hour's ride along the wadi floor, the track climbs gradually up the stony scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone. A hundred metres or so from the edge a mass of tufa occurs as a terrace remnant 15–16 m. above the limestone floor. It is 4·6 m. high and rests on limestone breccia. This outcrop was particularly 137 rich in leaves. The commonest types closely resemble figs, but without the fruits this identification cannot be assured. Some however seem identical with the *Ficus sycamorus* leaves found in the Kharga tufas,[1] and another resembles *F. salicifolia*; as both trees are still growing nearby they probably occur as fossils. Some kind of palm is certainly present and one or two other unidentified types. The shells are scarce and not well preserved. *Melania tuberculata*, *Zootecus insularis*, and a *Planorbis* were present. More abundant is the cast of a lava very similar in appearance to that found in Kharga and considered by Dr. Zeuner to be that of a dipterous insect.

103 The pool at the foot of the cliff was examined. It is called "El Bahr"—the 529 sea[2]—and is a favourite bathing-place, the Badawin climbing the cliff and 823 diving in from a considerable height. Local tradition calls it bottomless, and a weighted tape failed to touch bottom at 19 m. It would seem to be a super 133 pot-hole, ground out through the ages by the swirling stones and water of the seasonal cascade from higher levels. It is in the shade for most of the day, and water remains all the year. The shallows around are covered with soft

113 [1] Gardner, "The Pleistocene fauna and flora of Kharga Oasis" (*Quart. J. geol. Soc.*, vol. xci, December 1935.)

[2] Van der Meulen and von Wissmann in 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled' describe this place. "After energetic scrambling over fields of stone and up slopes of rock we actually arrive at El Bahr, a deep, rocky basin, full of water, with high cavernous walls, from which, after rain, the water must fall in spray into the basin."

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



E. Glaser did research in the Yemen for a few years, but 114
after returning home, died before he had worked up all his copious and valuable material. It is only now at last that steps are being taken towards publishing the greater part of his scientific legacy. H. Burchardt was murdered whilst in the midst of his explorations. Before them Halévy travelled in the disguise of a Yemenī Jew through the otherwise unexplored districts of the Djōf and Nedjrān. He thus had the chance of seeing the land of Saba and the remains of the famous dam of Ma'rib, but had to return too soon to do more than raise a corner of the veil which still hangs over that land of "the Queen of the South". Though a great work has been accomplished by many a learned explorer the standard works on the Yemen are still to come. May they soon appear![1]

Ḥaḍramaut was, at one time, closely connected with the land 131
of the Yemen. The name itself really belongs to the broad 101
Wādī[2] Ḥaḍramaut, with the towns of el-Qaṭn, Shibām, Sēwūn 103
and Terīm. In Sabaean times, this wādī, many miles in width, with its fertile loam soil, must have been a veritable paradise on earth, thanks to its highly developed system of dams, reservoirs and irrigation channels. Enough still remains to make it understood that the surrounding districts down to the southern coast, with the harbours of Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, were included in the name of the most famous part: "Ḥaḍramaut". In the following pages, whenever "Ḥaḍramaut Proper" is meant these words are used.

The name of Ḥaḍramaut occurs as early as the book of 101
Genesis, chapter X, 26 ("Ḥāṣarmāweth" contains the same radicals as Ḥaḍramaut). Different opinions exist as regards

[1] The work of Dr. C. Rathjens of Hamburg and of my travelling companion Dr. H. von Wissmann, published by the University of Hamburg, marks an important advance in the history of the exploration of 'Arabia Felix'. Part 1 has already appeared. *Rathjens-v. Wissmannsche Südarabien-Reise.* Band I, *Sabäische Inschriften.* Bearbeitet von J. H. Mordtmann und Eugen Mittwoch, Hamburg, 1932.

[2] A *wādī* is a, generally dry, river-bed.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 a good look at the stranger from the flat roof! The roomy, high and well-lighted kitchen is a sign that this house has many inhabitants. Dinner is served on a roof-terrace, after the sayyid and the male members of his household have returned from the *ṣalāt el-ᶜishā'* [1] in his own adjacent mosque. The son of the Vizier at Makalla is sent for by his old uncle. We have also a letter for him and he, after having read it, invites us to be his guests on the following day. We accept for breakfast, after which we must go on to our next stopping place, Ṣīf.

Whilst I was making these visits, Von Wissmann had made an excursion via Khurēba, to climb the *ᶜaqaba* which is opposite the spot where we had descended.

361 Khurēba is a little town with a small, narrow bazaar-street
103 and four large, and twenty small mosques. It is the largest and, probably, also the oldest town of Wādī Dōᶜan. As the meaning of Khurēba is "ruins", some geographers [2] have assumed that the original site of the town of Dōᶜan, after which the whole wādī must surely have been named, lay here. We find mention of this town as early as Ptolemy; Pliny speaks of the Toani. [3] The heretical Ibāḍites had their centre here and it is certain that the town was destroyed when they were exterminated.

701 The way by the western *ᶜaqaba* leads to Wādī ᶜAmd. Two fortified towers guard this entrance to Wādī Dōᶜan. These towers are always manned by guards of Yāfiᶜ soldiers as the wādī at this point borders on land outside the Qeᶜēṭī domain.

000 On May 17th our day begins early. We take leave of our Sābānī Bedouins and of Mautor, who takes with him a bag of letters for Makalla. The baggage must be got ready, to go ahead by camel to Ṣīf. Afterwards, in the *maṣnaᶜa*, we bid

104 [1] The late evening ritual prayer.

[2] Cf. M. J. de Goeje, *Hadramaut, Revue Coloniale Internationale*, ii. (1886), p. 106.

[3] Cf. A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern, 1875, p. 163.

24-Moulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 M42 Hadhramaut M42



After descending the slope on which the town lies, we enter a wonderfully ploughed area of loam soil. The brown hills of loam rise up, completely bare, out of the deep green palm-groves and the fields of *dhura*. An extensive system of irrigation canals with their side-channels provides for the distribution of the *sēl* water over all the cultivated land lying between the hill-ridges. The further we go beyond Hadjarēn the larger grows the number of defence and watch towers on the hill-tops beside the groves. The number of date-palms decreases, the fields are, at first, green, but, at last, only the loam dykes indicate that, given sufficient water and adequate safety, one can sow here as elsewhere. A stretch of half an hour's going forms the neutral zone between the Qeᶜēṭī and the Kathīrī territories. From now on, in view of the risk of being held up, the caravan must keep together. The bed of the wādī remains wide, yet becomes wild and devoid of vegetation. Here and there the loess is covered by sand and stones. There must have been a large town here in ancient times, for the way to el-Meshhed runs between ruin mounds. The sun is setting and we are to reach el-Meshhed before darkness falls. The donkeys are sent back to fetch the tired party who have climbed Djebel Hadjarēn. 241 361

## 5. EL-MESHHED, A CENTRE OF RUINS.

El-Meshhed is an extinct small town situated in the midst of the plantless, desert wādī. The meaning of the name el-Meshhed is "the place where a martyr died". It is important for a yearly fair and as a place of pilgrimage. During the days in the month of Muḥarram, fixed for that purpose, the place must be full of buyers and sellers lodging in the houses and temporary shacks; now most of the houses are empty. 361 103 438

The Governor of el-Meshhedī is not in town, he prefers residence in the larger, more prosperous Ḥurēḍa, where he has also a house, a family, and groves of date-palms. His sons are 662

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



241 protecting baskets. Sēwūn is said to be the finest and largest town in Ḥaḍramaut. It well deserves its appellation "eṭ-Ṭawīla, the Long", but it could also be called "the Clean" or "the Beautiful". The houses are lower and smaller and stand wider apart than those of Shibām. Also dirty water and other iniquities do not simply rain down into the streets. They flow through open or covered gutters along the outer walls of the houses into closed-in cesspools of masonry. It is true, the streets are also narrow; our cars, from time to time, could only just pass through them, but there is plenty of light and no bad smells. At the gate of the massive palace of the Sultan we learn that the authorities are awaiting us in the summer residence ʿIzz ed-Dīn. Sēwūn and this garden city have quite grown into one; many of the wealthy families live in their garden palaces the whole year round. Passing through a gate in a mud wall we drive up a great courtyard which is flanked by a long white building, only one storey high. The tops of the palm-trees overhang the edge of the spacious roof-terrace, which for the greater part is carpeted and where the Sultans of Sēwūn and Terīm await us, surrounded by their counsellors.

342
361

## 2. THE SULTANS OF SĒWŪN AND TERĪM AND THEIR SURROUNDINGS.

643 ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn, is a short, thick-set man, with one eye, with which, however, he looks at his guests with double friendliness. His brother and his two little sons are also among the great gathering there assembled; likewise his nephew, the Sultan of Terīm, a tall, slim, very dark-complexioned young man, whose name is Muḥammad bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr. The Sultan of Terīm is generally in Sēwūn with his uncle; his small, graceful, white palace is almost opposite that of the latter; it is much more beautiful than the one in his official place of residence.

000 In the middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all

15: Bunker N-4 (ca. 1950) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 the amount of evaporation. Accordingly we find in the north–south wadis a
311 continuous belt of cultivations with hamlets of a few houses every mile and towns about 15 miles or an easy day's walk apart. As opposed to this the cultivations in the Wadi Hadhramaut, which runs west–east, are to be found mainly in belts along the northern and southern sides, the south belt being wider than the north, due to the increasing evaporation and lower water table towards the centre of the wadi.

311 Except for the hamlets which occur among the fields, the buildings make
361 use of unproductive land, and perch up against the cliff side on the talus slope. This position also carries the advantages of shade together with good siting for defence. Where land is at a premium, villages may be so sited as to become inaccessible even to the draught and load-carrying beasts used in agriculture, and the stables and grainstores are found at the edges of the fields and at the foot of the narrow winding path leading up to the village (Plate 3).

[104] Water for the permanent cultivations of *dhurra* (*Sorghum* sp.), *dukhn*
312 (*Pennisetum typhoideum* et spp.), lucerne and date palm has until the last few
406 years been drawn by man or animal power, raising a leather bag of water by
241 walking down a ramp away from the well shaft. Nowadays greater use is being made of diesel- and petrol-driven pumps, increasing both the yield and the area it is economical to cultivate. The effect of these pumps, which are available on deferred terms, in lowering the water table will be watched with care. New crops such as potatoes, the brassicas, and sugar cane are also being introduced under the agriculture scheme in an attempt to make the Hadhramaut, if not entirely self-supporting, at least less dependent on its "extra-territorial population."

241 This limitation does not apply to the flood crops which are snatched
312 wherever possible. Throughout the lower wadi systems there exists a com-
361 plicated network of deflector dams which have the object of spreading the floodwaters over as large an area as possible, and leading a certain part of them into irrigation channels. Many retaining dams have been attempted, but usually unsuccessfully, as the major structure has been an earthwork with only the spillway of durable construction. In the shallow beds of the wadis running north from the secondary watershed there are many small cultivated patches and groups of two or three fortified houses are often situated where camel tracks converge on water cisterns cut into the rock.

*The transition belt.*

133 The transition zone between the mountain systems and the sand desert takes a number of forms. North of the Ramlat[1] al Mundafan the Kaukab sandstone plateau overlies the crystalline rocks to the west, and to the east has eroded to become an area of minor plateaus and blocks. Through the wide flat valleys between these minor plateaus runs the main Najran–Dawasir track, roughly north–south in longitude 44° 45′ E. at a general height of a little under 3000 feet. To the east of this track lies the southern section of the Nafud Dahi, running parallel with the road, and rising to a height of 100 feet

104 [1] Ramla(t): a general name for any sand feature. Thus the Ramlat al Mundafan means literally "the buried sands."

scarp at this point. The general alignment of the dunes is to 245° with the slip face to the north-west. The height is about 70 feet. As the Mundafan sands continue south-west they become divided into two sections by the *'asfal*[1] Wadi Habauna, a flat gravel plain on which no sign can be found of the Nafud Dahi scarp. The northern section continues unbroken to the eastern edge of the Ukhr block, a sandstone feature separated from the Kaukab plateau.

South of the *'asfal* Wadi Habauna as far as Shudaif the character of the transition zone is entirely different. Here parallel dunes reach right across to the foothills of the 'Asir and Yemen mountains leaving at the most a narrow plain but a few miles wide. For upwards of 20 miles from the base of the mountains, isolated granite crags may be found between and among the sand dunes. Driving through this area frequent detours have to be made out into the sands or in among the foothills to avoid the barrier formed by sand meeting hill. To pass the south-western end of the 'Arq ad Da'ir in 1952 necessitated a journey 6 miles further into the foothills than that recorded by Philby in 1936.

Shudaif marks the southern limit of the Rub' al Khali sands, and from here south-east stretches a vast triangular area of plains bounded to the north by the sands, to the east by the cliff wall of the *jol*, and to the south-west by the Yemen mountains. It has an area in the order of 150,000 square miles, and is divided into three sections, the Jau[2] Mulais, the Jau Khudaif and the Jau Hudhi by the Ramlat Sabatain and the Sauda scarp, which runs west and north respectively from Husn al 'Abr. The process of formation probably took place in three stages, of which the first was the planation of the archaean rocks before the deposition of the sedimentary strata. The second was the removal of this sedimentary cover by north-flowing wadis which were constantly forced against their eastern banks by the east-north-east dip of the underlying rock surface. Two river courses may still be seen doing this, the Hudhi cutting back the *jol*, and the abandoned course by Wudiya'a (see p. 423) which cut back the Sauda scarp. The third stage is the present one of arid erosion, where on the Jau Mulais the igneous protrusions are disintegrating by exfoliation down to a base level where they become protected from the great diurnal temperature changes by the sands and gravels of the desert floor, and on the Jau Hudhi above the Sauda scarp wind erosion is making the surface more and more smooth and level.

The Jau Khudaif and the Jau Mulais together form the Khudaif-Mulais basin referred to above (p. 423). The Jau Mulais is an area of quartz gravels, covered in some places by thin sheets of sand with areas of rock protruding from a few inches to a few feet. A few larger plugs and dykes form conspicuous hills such as the Raiyan group, which is in the form of a series of lines radiating from a point about 16° 30′ N., 46° 10′ E., the granite hills rising sheer from the plain made from their own disintegration. The Jau Khudaif lies to the south of the Jau Mulais and is divided from it by the Ramlat Sabatain. There is a greater cover of sand than on the Jau Mulais,

[1] 'Asfal: the lower reaches and outwash plain of a wadi.

[2] Jau: literally a wide valley here becomes applied only to these extensive plains formed by the merging of many watercourses.

133 and besides the granite foothills to the south-west there is a line of hills formed by salt domes along the foot of the *jol* to the south-east. In this area too may be found lignite deposits and occasional volcanic craters.

The sands of the Ramlat Sabatain lie east–west south of the 16th parallel, and are completely separate from the sands of the Rub' al Khali. In the west, where they lie against the Yemen hills, they measure some 50 miles in width from north to south. To the east they taper to a width of about 10 miles where they enter the Wadi Hadhramaut, and then lie within the wadi as far east as Qu'udha with isolated sections even farther east by Shibam and Sai'un. Near Baihan and near Shabwa the orientation of the dunes is to 290°, with the slip face southwards. Near Shabwa this direction has been used to give an easy crossing from Nasar to Arain, and between the dunes may be found a well marked camel track which was possibly part of the old incense route. South of al 'Abr the dunes lie at 230° and from here curve in a large arc east and south-east until they run almost due south to near Bir 'Asakir. From the east–west section another group of dunes breaks off to run in a similar curve south into the mouth of Wadi Dhuhr. Farther east the alignment is east–west and south of Qarn Qaima there is a reticulated area of overlapping crescentic dunes about 8 feet high and with their slip faces west.

Many wadis from the Yemen hills run into the western section of the Ramlat Sabatain and are dissipated within the sands, but the Wadi Baihan [135] forces its way through the sands in a series of deep silty channels between the [134] dunes which are here fixed by bushes of *arta* (*Calligonum comosum*) and runs out on to the Jau Khudaif. By using this wadi, Baihan can be reached from the Wadi Hadhramaut and also from Aden by the new route from Mahfadh, which makes use of the Yashbum gorge and the line of discontinuity between the crystalline hills and the *jol*.

North of the Ramlat Sabatain, the Jau Mulais is limited to the east by the Sauda scarp. This scarp, which is of sandstones similar to those of the Karoo and possibly of Triassic origin, runs north from near Al 'Abr and includes the hills of Murassas, Maishatt, Wudiya'a, etc. It gets its name Sauda, literally "the black," from its covering of hardpan and pebbles heavily impregnated with ilmenite (Plate 4). Its position marks the westerly limit of limestones, both Jurassic and Eocene, remnants of each of which, much confused with bands of contemporary sandstones, have been found near Wudiya'a. The whole of the Sauda area is covered with a network of intersecting animal tracks converging on salt-licks, proof that the region was once much more prolific of wild life.

135 East of the Sauda lies the Jau Hudhi, an undulating sand plain whose low 137 hill features may easily be correlated with past drainage patterns. The larger of these hills sometimes bear fragmentary remains of limestone capping in the form of small boulders. From the air distinctive vegetation patterns have been seen near Zamakh. They consist of parallel lines some 30 yards apart running north-west to south-east. There is also one west-flowing tributary from this area to the abandoned watercourse at the foot of the Sauda scarp.

133 At the Khashm al Jebel, 17° 30′ N., 48° 17′ E., the Jau Hudhi ends in a sharp point at a height of a little over 2000 feet, being limited to the east by the cliff face of the *jol*, here about 120 feet high, and to the north by the first

dunes of the Rub' al Khali. East of the Khashm al Jebel for over 50 miles to the mouth of Wadi Hizar the sands lie in contact with and to some extent overlying the low northern outcrops of the *jol*. These outcrops are in the form of flat-topped mounds covered with coarse pebbles of reddish marl with some thin sheets of limestone. East of Wadi Hizar the transition zone takes a further form as the outliers of the *jol* run in a line south of east and the sands in a line north of east, leaving a widening floor of gravel and desert marl. The plain is about 30 miles wide near Thamud and is reported by Thomas (1932) and by Thesiger (1946) to continue east to the Jiddat al Harasis.[1]

*The south-western sands*

The area of sands visited has been to the south of the 20th parallel and west of the 51st meridian. Throughout the whole of this area the sand pattern is one of parallel dune chains oriented generally from east-north-east to west-south-west and separated by long strips of flat desert floor known as *shiqaq*[2] (Plate 5). The tails of these dunes lie among the Yemen foothills and several crossings of the dunes have been made, up to 150 miles from the hills. The twenty or thirty southernmost dunes have been traced some 400 miles east to the vicinity of Shanna. In addition a large part of the area has been seen from the air.

The northern section of the Mundafan sands and the Ardh escarpment has already been described (p. 425–6). The southern section of the Mundafan sands are oriented to 205° and this orientation continues south through the 'Uruq al Juweis while other dunes break away to the north at an angle of 220°, parallel to the dunes of that section of the Mundafan which lies to the north of the *'asfal* Wadi Habauna. The slip faces of all these dunes are to the north-west.

South of the Mundafan sands the Ardh escarpment reappears running south from 18° 25′ N., 45° 27′ E. to the Khashm Khatma and then south-west losing height and disappearing into the desert floor at the Khashm al Ardh, 18° 01′ N., 45° 42′ E. This reappearance of the scarp breaks the continuity of the dunes which lie parallel to and south of the Mundafan sands, and leaves sand-free areas both on top of and at the foot of the scarp as with the northern section of the Ardh. A few outcrops of the Ardh occur southwards among the dunes, but do not break the continuity of the dune lines. In particular may be noted the Mutbathat group among which may be found traces of the old course of the Wadi Najran, and the Huwimil group at 17° 30′ N., 46° 00′ E. The final trace of the Jurassic limestones occurs at Abraqain near Wudiya'a.

Dune chains from the Khashm al Ardh may be traced south-west to the area of the wadi Taiyyibat al 'Ism and north-east to the Jilida plain. There is a well-marked motor track made by hunting parties leading to the Jilida plain from Najran via the *shiqaq* between these dunes. By the Khashm al Ardh the dunes are oriented to 220° with the dunes half a mile apart and the

[1] Later journeys (1953) have shown, that at least as far east as the mouth of Wadi Rama, this plain is divided into wide basins by lines of low hills running north from the *jol* to the sands.

[2] *Shaqqa*, pl. *shiqaq*: the "valleys" between parallel dune chains (*'urug*).

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Ṣa'īd respectively, both in the Wāḥidī, Ḥimyar territory. The Ṣa'īd house had in its clay construction that pattern of recessed surfaces one so often sees in fragments of pre-Islamic architectural ornament. Both of these columns are obviously representations of the palmtree, the capital representing the leaves on the outside, and the bunch of dates in its fibre bag (ḫubrah) on the inside. In all cases the capital which is carved out of a single block of wood, is called kabš or ram, a term which brings to mind the bull-headed columns of Persepolis. The room in which I saw fig. B. was the main reception room of the house called rakaiz (which Landberg gives as the general name for the second storey of a house), and the column was called rakīzah.

The following terms, most not mentioned by Landberg, may be of interest; the list makes no pretence at being near exhaustive, and these only apply to the Tarīm area.

*manwar* (pl. manāwir), a little oriel window set high in the wall.

*misyāb* (pl. mazāyīb), a hole in the wall at floor-level and the spout to which it leads, projecting outside for drainage (class.).

*sawārī*, pillars (class.).

*safan* (pl. asfān & sufūn), a stone base under a wooden column, or round column-drums, roughly six inches in height.

*sahm* (pl. suhūm & iahum), wooden column, (class.).

*kabš* (pl. kibāš), a horizontal piece of wood, about three feet in length, placed on the top of a column to serve as a capital, below the beam, (class.).

*ḳāsim* (pl. ḳawāsim), wooden beam lying on the top of the kabš (cf. Landberg).

*širḳah* (pl. širḳ), a beam running from wall to wall.

*ḳubl* (new plur. aḳbāl), Landberg's « solive ».

*'akf* (pl. 'ukūf), arch (Landberg). Bait mu'akkaf, a house with an arched roof (i.e. holding up the first floor).

*ṭāḳ*, any arched hole in a wall used as a shelf, and an arch over a window with a wooden shelf in it.

*'ammārah* (pl. 'ammarīyāt), cupboard.

*mirfa'* (pl. marāfi'), shelf. Syn. riff (class.).

*ḳawām* (pl. ḳiwām), a wooden frame in which a door is set. In Tarīm the sides of it are known as lānah.

*ḳafā'ah* (or ḳafā'at al-ṭāli'), the jamb over the top of the door.

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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*mardam* (pl. marādim), Landberg's « seuil ».

*darf*, a door with one leaf.

*muslif* (pl. masālif), a door with one leaf, a small door in the outer wall of a court for the use of the women of the household.

*waraḳatain*, two halves of a door with two leaves.

*zāfir* (pl. zawāfir), horizontal wooden bars on a door, part of its construction (Landberg).

*miḳaṣṣ al-dawār* (pl. muḳaṣṣah), hinge of tinned iron, with a flange resembling scissors.

*ḳuṣf* (pl. ḳuṣūf), an ordinary hinge, not specially an architectural term.

*madjarr*, a chain or rope in an upper room, stretching down to the main door of the house. It can be opened by someone upstairs who is able to view the arrival from an upper window.

*maḳbaḍ*, a door handle.

*sukkāṭah* (pl. saḳāḳīṭ), a bolt from a window-shutter into the base of the window-frame (class.).

*zawḳ* (pl. azwāḳ), decoration in embossed and painted plaster, or a line of plaster moulding. A synonym is said to be 'aḳf (pl. 'uḳūf).

*ḥaiš*, a metal grille.

Landberg also gives a list of the names of the different storeys of a Ḥaḍramī house, but the Tarīmī names given below differ slightly.

*muraiya'ah* (pl. āt), a ground-floor room with two to six pillars.

*maisamah* (pl. mayāsim), a narrow ground-floor room with no pillars.

*ġailah* (pl. ġiyal), a room on the first storey (ḳaṣr), said to be a synonym of the more usual maḥḍarah (pl. maḥāḍir). I knew the latter as a large reception room.

*mirwāḥ* (pl. marāwīḥ), a room on the second storey.

*ġulb* (pl. ġulūb), I have registered these as third storey rooms, but Landberg gives them as a belvedere on the roof.

*ḏjanāḥ* (pl. aḏjniḥah), a fourth storep room.

*saṭḥ* (pl. suṭūḥ), syn. raim (pl. ruyūm), a roof (Landberg).

London. R. B. Serjeant.

# THE QUARTERS OF TARĪM
## AND THEIR TANṢŪRAHS

621 361 Like Šiḥr and Mukallā, the city of Tarīm is divided into a number of quarters. I have already given the names of the quarters in Šiḥr elsewhere[1], and those of Mukallā are marked on H. von Wissmann's map[2] where Hafd el-'Abī should be corrected to [567] Ḥāfat al-'Abīd, i.e. the quarter of the Slaves. It may be recalled that when W. H. Ingrams arrived in Ḥaḍramawt these slaves were very powerful indeed just as they were amongst the Rwala chiefs[3] of N. Arabia. As in Mecca, the city quarters form an important part of the social structure of the community, and they have their own peculiar organisation upon which I have remarked previously[4]. [174] There seems to be evidence from the inscriptions that cities in South Arabia, sometimes at least, were split up into quarters [161] before Islam. In Tarīm there are no less than eleven quarters, though, as will be seen, only five of them are really independent, but even this is a large number for a city of approximately 15,000 inhabitants.

621 361 104 The five quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Sūḳ, Ḥārat al-Ḥilaif, Ḥārat al-Saḥīl, Ḥārat al-Nuwaidarah, and Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī. Of these the largest is Ḥārat al-Sūḳ. A saḥīl is a strip of land underneath a mountain, and including the mountain-side up to the base of the perpendicular Djol cliff[5], a word of frequent occurence. The town of Šibām which is not sub-divided into quarters, has a suburb

113 1 *Materials for South Arabian History* I, Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies (London, 1950), XIII, II, p. 296.

2 D. Van der Meulen & H. v. Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leiden, 1932).

3 Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), index *Slaves*.

4 *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, Le Muséon, LXII, 1-2, p. 159.

5 For the peculiar cliff formation of Wādī sides, see *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*.

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## TRANSCRIPTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ء ʾ | ر r | غ gh |
| ب b | ز z | ف f |
| ت t | س s | ق q |
| ث th | ش sh | ك k |
| ج dj | ص ṣ | م m |
| ح ḥ | ض ḍ | ن n |
| خ kh | ط ṭ | ه h |
| د d | ظ ẓ | و w |
| ذ dh | ع ʿ | ى y |

ه unconnected a, e; ه connected at, et.

pxvii
[pxviii is blank]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



of going further. He was only able to stay for a few hours with his host in Terīm, and then was forced, by the threatening attitude of the Sayyids, to make his way back again.

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent attempted the journey in the valley of Ḥaḍramaut soon after Leo Hirsch. They arrived at Makalla in December 1893, thus a few months after Hirsch's successful expedition. They were able to start inland at the end of a week, but were not to go further than Shibām. Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhūt were spared the visit of *Naṣrānīs*[1] for decades yet. The account of the journeys made in S. Arabia by this energetic couple was published by Mrs. Bent in 1900.[2]

Herewith the short list of our predecessors in Ḥaḍramaut has come to an end. A report indeed reached us of two English officers who undertook an expedition to Ḥaḍramaut, but, as far as we could discover, the results of their journey were never published. One of them, W. H. Lee Warner, merely gives *Notes on the Hadhramaut* as a supplement to an article by R. A. Cochrane in the *Geographical Journal* (Vol. lxxvii, 1931, p. 209—222). Lee Warner went in 1918 on a diplomatic errand to Shibām but he did not go beyond that place. Important exploration work has also been carried out by a squadron of the R.A.F. at Aden, under Squadron-Leader the Hon. R. A. Cochrane who, in the above-mentioned article *An Air Reconnaissance of the Hadhramaut*, gives impressions of that country as seen from the air. Qabr Hūd was seen and photographed on this expedition, but Bīr Barhūt could not be found.

It was not given to Dr. Wilhelm Hein to tread the soil of

[1] In daily language the word *Naṣrānī*, plural *Naṣārā*, is used when speaking of Christians. Whenever less stress is laid on the difference of religion and more on that of nationality, they are spoken of as *Efrendjīs*, a word which is a corruption of Franks. In Arabic all white-skinned, fair-haired and blue-eyed strangers are called *Efrendjīs*. As a rule the word sounds less odious than the name *Naṣrānīs*.

[2] Theodore Bent and Mrs. Theodore Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London, 1900.

# CHAPTER II.

## MAKALLA.

361 The gate to mysterious Ḥaḍramaut, so long closed to
342 foreigners, is of overwhelming beauty. Makalla stretches like a white ribbon along the margin of the blue sea, at the foot of the steep, reddish-brown rocky wall. The waves beat against the town, the white houses stand straight and strong, and many-storied. The balustrades surrounding the flat roofs are cut in filagree and are as white as lace. The minarets have here already the simple, strong, conical form characteristic of the Ḥaḍramī style. To the extreme left is the new and, behind it, the old palace of the Sultan. The new palace, cream-coloured with brick-red shutters and windows, and light-green verandas, stands on the black rocks close to the sea. The frame-work of the picture, formed by coco-nut and date-palms, mango and papaya trees, is of such a jubilant beauty in this world of rock and sea that the critical sense is lulled: the colouring makes everything, even the absence of style in the buildings, beautiful.

To the extreme right, some way out of the town, there is a third palace, belonging to the Sultan. About half way between these princely buildings is the tongue of land, on which is the old centre of the city of Makalla. There the Sultan originally lived, there stands the ancient mosque and there, on the point, the sturdy bastions of the old fort.

504 On one side of this short tongue of land is the harbour, where the graceful sailing-ships ride at anchor. Small rowing-boats and broad sambooks[1] pass to and fro to discharge passengers and merchandise on the broad stone steps, that

104 [1] A *sambook* is an Arab sailing-boat. It should be spelled *sanbūq* (سنبوق), but has nearly got citizenship in the English language, spelled as it is pronounced.

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000 Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās had come to Makalla from Java some months previously, with the object of importing motor-cars and other commodities, through the intermediary of his family living there. He would have to visit the interior shortly, so what could be more obvious than that we should try to establish a community of interests, and join forces for the journey? Sayyid ʿAluwī was born in Java and had spent some years in Cairo for his education. He had seen something of England and France, and it looked as if he had grown out of touch with the stern frugal life of the land of his fathers. We have to thank him for the introduction to his relatives at Ḥurēḍa, from whom we had a support and sympathy exceeding our most sanguine expectations.

## 1. BAZAAR LIFE.

361 Well contented with the favourable prospects which were
142 opening out before us, we sauntered through the main street,
291 which runs like a human river along the sea front, the whole
302 length of the town from West to East. One sees representatives of almost all the tribes of the interior gathered here in groups along the rows of booths. Most of them are dark-brown men, with the naked upper part of their bodies, as well as their faces and arms, smeared with indigo. They are bare-headed and barefoot and have only a short, but thickly rolled loin-cloth round their waists; their unkempt, half-long, jet-black, curly hair is tied up into a round knot at the back of the head, or held in place by a plaited leathern band or greased rag wound round the head. They have had to give up their inseparable guns and cartridge-belts to the watchman at the gates of the town and, consequently, feel unclothed and unsafe. Their hair shines with *samn* [1]; the upper part of their bodies is also rubbed with it, over the layer of indigo, and a strong odour of indigo and *samn* hangs about them.

000 On the way back from the tongue of land we pass the

● 104 [1] *Samn* (سمن) is melted butter of the milk of sheep, goats or cows.

228 From the tongue of land we pass the
443 fish-market, where a lively trade in the dwellers of the sea, here so multifarious, is carried on from early morning till late in the evening. The shark seems to be the commonest fish. Sacks full of dried and salted shark's flesh are sent into the interior, where, in times of prosperity, the Bedouins and townsfolk enjoy a piece of it with their frugal meal of bread and rice. The smell of badly dried and, consequently, somewhat decaying fish accompanies the traveller far into the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut.

443 The bazaar of Makalla has more penetrating odours than is
386 usual elsewhere. Not far from the fish-market are the workshops where loin-cloths and head-cloths are dyed a dull blue-black with indigo, and this trade also has sickening, nauseating smell. The workers and their houses are covered with a layer of indigo.

443 A more attractive trade than these is plied in this long
286 street of the bazaar — that of the weavers and lace-makers. They weave narrow lengths of cloth with brightly coloured stripes and with very attractive fringes, which are woven separately.

443 All sorts of sweets were offered for sale at the booths; also
438 the first bright-yellow or deep-red dates, not yet quite ripe,
439 tuberous fruits, spices, the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco in big bundles consisting of whole dried plants; broad waist-bands, Japanese, Indian and Dutch piece-goods, sugar-loaves and rice, coffee-beans and dried coffee-husks, ginger-root and tea from Ceylon and Java, various kinds of grain, meal and *samn*, sesame oil and kerosene, matches and coffee-cups, *djambiyas*[1] and cartridges.

443- We wandered through this storehouse of Ḥaḍramaut. The salesmen had lighted their reeking lamps and torches stuck in bottles; one could only pass slowly through the swarming crowd with the smoke of the lamps mingling with the heavy odour emanating from men and things. As in a dream we

104 [1] *Djambiya*, correctly spelled *djanbiya* (جنبية), is a broad, curved dagger worn in the waist-band in front of the body.

that we travelled with an escort of slave soldiers[1] of the *Dōla.*[2]

Nevertheless, as dangers threatened in the Āl Kathīr region, he strongly advised us not to go farther than Shibām and, under no condition, to attempt to return to esh-Shiḥr by way of Terīm. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm was certainly a rich and influential man, but he had no ruling power and could only obtain the favour of the Bedouins by means of money, and could give us no armed protection against them. El-Qeʿēṭī's power was great and a slave soldier of his would be a "flag of protection" for us.

The preparations for our departure would take at least four days, but then we should have reliable guides and good transport. We might make an excursion to esh-Shiḥr during our days of waiting, but it would have to be by way of the sea-coast as the route by the mountains was too tiring — "tiring" in this case meaning "unsafe". The Ḥumūmī tribe had been at war for a long time with el-Qeʿēṭī, and the latter's soldiers are being constantly ambushed and shot down. This even occurs on the coast road. We were quite willing to follow this route although we should have preferred to go one way and to return the other.

### 3. A TRIP TO ESH-SHIḤR VIA SHEHĒR.

The next day the Vizier sent a motor-bus with two drivers and five soldiers for us. We were not to go further that day than Sheḥēr (little Shiḥr). It was afternoon before we drove out of the very high and strongly fortified and guarded gate

[1] We saw in Makalla negro soldiers and Arab soldiers from the Yāfiʿ tribe in the hinterland of Aden. The negroes are slaves. Their numbers are decreasing in modern times of anti-slavery action. The Kathīrī Sultans have slave soldiers too, but we saw only a few in their territory.

[2] *Dōla* (دولة) means „dynasty, governing family, kingdom, state". In Ḥaḍramaut people generally speak of the *dōla* in the Qeʿēṭī territory and of the *sulṭān* in the Āl Kathīr region.

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137 In little valleys, green, juicy euphorbias grow to a height of six feet. Their fresh green colour and red tuberiferous flowers at the ends of their branches give them, in these colourless surroundings, the air of bouquets.

### 4. FIRST CONTACT WITH A HADRAMĪ NOMAD TRIBE.

233 A broad plain lower down has a clay soil where grass grows
361 fairly well. Goats, sheep, donkeys and camels graze here, at
342 distances widely apart from each other. Bedouin girls watch over them from a hill-top. This is the *Rēda* [1] of Sheḥēr where are the pastures and headquarters of the wandering Bedouins of these parts. Their temporary camp is on a rocky plateau to the right above the road. We walk with our cameras in their direction, without much hope of success. They do not see us, and the malicious watch-dogs, which elsewhere in Arabia make it impossible to slip past the Bedouin camps, are conspicuous by their absence. The Bedouins of Ḥaḍramaut appear to have no tents; they live in caves, or houses, or huts, or, as in this case, almost without shelter. A space of about five feet square is made by four sticks of about three feet high with other sticks connecting them and over which are spread bunches of long, hard grass, which do not really, however, keep out much sun. There are about ten of these "dwellings" scattered around. Some are even more primitive and consist of bushes cut down, with a few rags stretched over them, thus making a little shade. There is an acacia tree in the camp; its top is made shadier by extra bits of scrub hung between its own thorny branches. A camel with a horribly swollen, inflamed leg lies there; a few men, women and children are sitting around, watching the poor beast's agony.

609 Our arrival arouses some commotion, but they seem tolerant of us and answer our questions with an air of curiosity.

104 [1] A *rēda* (ريدة) is the centre of the territory of a Bedouin tribe, where many of them dwell together. Generally it is a depression in the rocky plateau with some vegetation and agriculture.

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green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted 301
in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased 302
stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and 609
with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a 508
landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions 137
aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were 136
swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky 135
ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said 361
to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent [342]
position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the 622
same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. 712
A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is 342
to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], 574
and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come 1040
to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

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have moved out to make room for us and the way is quite clear. Our host himself makes an inspection, to make sure that the feminine inhabitants are shut in behind closed doors before we are invited to follow him upstairs. It is glorious on the roof. We are free there from vermin, and mosquitoes, also, do not seem to come.

We beg urgently that no sheep be killed for us. It is difficult to persuade our generous host to accede to our unusual request, but he does at last realize that we have more desire for tea and fruit. A tray with glasses of tea is brought up to us and a second one with slices of melon, fresh figs, dates and sweets. Shēkh Elmās has seen something of the world; he is related to the Sultan's family and is not without a trace of Indian blood. His brother, the *ʿāmil*[1] of Ghēl Bā Wazīr, the headquarters for the cultivation of the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco, is sta[illegible] with him and gives us a pressing invitation to visit that prosperous and beautiful bit of Arabia. We promised to try and touch at Ghēl Bā Wazīr on our return journey.

## 5. AN EXCURSION TO GHĒL BĀ WAZĪR.

Our way back to the coast from Terīm was so planned that we were unable to keep our promise to our host's brother. Yet we *did* visit Ghēl Bā Wazīr, but not until after our return to Makalla, when we had to wait several days for our boat to Aden. On June 24th we started for Ghēl Bā Wazīr, via Sheḥēr, in a car placed at our disposal, as before, by the Vizier of Makalla, Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Miḥḍār.

Behind the plateaus of coral formation along the coast is a shallow, extensive loess basin which is watered by a little stream, the Ghēl, having its source in the mountains lying behind the coast terraces. This basin with the strip of land suitable for irrigation, which lies by the banks of the Ghēl, is the chief area for the cultivation of the famous Ḥumūmī tobacco. The little town, which guards the entrance

[1] *ʿĀmil* (عامل), governor.

than Makalla and was, indeed, an important trading centre before that city even existed.[1]

Under the east wall there is a large open plain, over which the cemetery extends, with some *qubbas*[2] and many mosques at the edge of it. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has, close to it, a large piece of ground, where he has built a palatial guest-house for relations and friends travelling to and fro between Java and Terīm via esh-Shiḥr. El-Kāf is busy constructing a motor road from Terīm to esh-Shiḥr, which is complete but for the last stretch as far as the coast, a matter of three days by camel. If this junction can be effected, in spite of the aversion to it of the warlike Ḥumūmī Bedouins, through whose territory it passes for the greater part, then perhaps esh-Shiḥr will grow again to fit into her walls.

Before we left the town we made another call on the Governor in charge, who, with the help of the tax-farmer, a well-educated Indian, gave us a hearty, friendly reception. We were conducted past a strong guard of soldiers to an old-fashioned *madjlis*, where the shutters of the windows and the wooden supporting pillars were beautifully carved, and the ceiling painted white, red and black. With grateful relish we partook of tea and a great variety of sweets and of fresh and tinned fruits.

The population of esh-Shiḥr is officially estimated at 9000. It did not seem to us that it could be more than 6000. Yet, as the Westerner does not get to know how densely peopled the big Arabian houses are, our calculations remain fairly uncertain. The town has 36 mosques.

We were compelled to beat a hasty retreat before the rising tide. For safety's sake we were given an extra Ford car and some soldiers. The coral rocks were still just passable, but we stuck in the bed of the wādī. Finally, after much delay and much fruitless exertion, we got free, but there was no time left for the promised meal with our host of Sheḥēr, who

[1] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *al-Shiḥr*.

[2] *Qubba* (قبة), is a dome, a cupola, or a cupola-shaped building.

# CHAPTER III.

## FROM MAKALLA TO WĀDĪ DŌʿAN.

### 1. A DIFFICULT START.

The outfitting of the caravan lasted several days. The Vizier and his officials showed great interest, and during our visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr, much necessary information and advice was given us by him. Then we also made acquaintance with the leader of our caravan, who appeared to have the original and very modern honorary name of Mautor [1], because he can run the distance from Wādī Dōʿan to Makalla in two days and nights, when urgent dispatches have to be carried for the Government. He has the full confidence of the Vizier and declares in a gentle voice and calling the while upon Allah that he will risk his life for us and that, with Allah's help, he will deliver us and our belongings safe and sound to Bā Şurra, the Governor of Wādī Dōʿan. Mautor is small and slight, his curly, greasy, black hair is held together round his head by a narrow plaited leather band. He wears a little cord round his neck from which hangs a silver ring set with a round, brownish coloured stone, which has the shape and measurements of a thumb nail. A short dark-blue loin-cloth, in which is stuck the sheath of a dagger (*djambīya*), is his only garment. We declare our trust in Mautor's leadership and protection, and the agreement is sealed with a hand-clasp. Provision will be made for camels fit for the mountains, which in Dōʿan will have to be exchanged for others suitable for the plains. We ourselves shall ride on donkeys as being less tiring and more comfortable if one has to dismount frequently to survey the route, to take photographs, and to collect plants and insects. We have also to provide food for the Bedouins who

[1] "Mautor" is the Bedouin pronunciation of "motor".

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Ḥarshīyāt we ar[illegible] by the road-side and, lying down beside our bagga[illegible]ere for some hours till the donkeys come. Then, in pitch darkness, we go forward at a steady pace, preceded by a Bedouin carrying a lantern. By the village of Tilāᶜ es-Sufla we are to camp for the night in the dry *sēl* [1]-bed of the wādī. Luckily it is not long before the camels arrive. We set up our camp-beds amongst the boulders; under the mosquito-nets we are safe from the gnats that swarm here near the irrigated groves of date-palms and *dhura* fields. It is warm and very damp. Men and beasts lie close together. We are not yet accustomed to the sounds and odours of such a bivouac and get but little sleep.

## 2. ON TREK TO WĀDĪ HIMEM.

An hour before sunrise everything is again in motion, but we cannot leave until the measurements are finished. The sun rises shortly after our departure. We are all thankful to say good-bye to this damp, hot mosquito camp, but fortunately each day brings us nearer to the dryness and coolness of the Ḥaḍramaut mountain-plateau. The terraces at Tilāᶜ consist chiefly of conglomerations of round stones, and the vegetation is scanty but varied. Many acacias grow in the wādīs, here called *smur* (*acacia etbaïca*) [2], also aerva. Wādī el-Laṣb, through which we march, becomes broad and sandy, and the atmosphere becomes very warm.

A great disappointment, indeed annoyance, is to find that our advance party has already encamped at eight o'clock by a well at the edge of the wādī, where the burning heat of the sun is only tempered by some acacia trees. The baggage has been unloaded, and the Bedouins will not move for either love or money; they will first eat and then rest from the fatigues of the departure. It is so appallingly hot that we are in fear

[1] *Sēl* (سيل) is a torrent flowing after the rare rain- and thunder-storms and which usually remains only a short time.

[2] Cf. L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 300; Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, i., Leide, 1901, p. 349.

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249 which is its chief source of livelihood. Only three of his men have emigrated to Java, but he has heard so much good of that land of promise that he wishes to go there himself, though it would mean leaving a family of six children behind. To my question as to whether he had performed the *ḥadjdj*[1] his answer was in the negative.

000 We have met very few travellers on the way from Makalla to Ḥimem — only a few camels and donkeys laden with bananas and other fruits for the Makalla market.

On the 11th of May, directly after breaking camp in the morning, we began by ascending a long *ʿaqaba*[2] and it was two hours before we reached the top. A little farther on we passed a place called Kubr, which our Bedouins pretended was the last spot for hours ahead, where we should find water, and they urged us strongly to take the afternoon's rest here. Immediately after I had agreed to this, it dawned upon me that the story about the water had only been invented in order to call a halt. The spot was very unfavourable, for water had to be fetched from some distance away out of the 20 feet deep bed of the wādī, where there was a well. We were obliged to seek shelter from the sun, in a fissure of the rocks which hardly gave room enough.

133 Von Wissmann used the opportunity to climb the steep precipice leading up to the plateau, in company with one of the slave soldiers. The eocene limestone, of which the 60 feet thick upper stratum is formed, falls away everywhere in a perpendicular drop, so that it is difficult to find a scaleable 000 spot in it. Our Bedouins did not believe that the *Efrendjī* could get up it in his shoes, and his attempts were watched with curiosity from our bivouac. When Von Wissmann, born and bred among the rock-mountains of Styria, conquered a very hazardous bit of wall and his soldier could only follow

104 [1] The *ḥadjdj* is the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five pillars of the religion of Islam.

[2] *ʿAqaba* (عقبة) is a road over or up, or down, or over some part of, a mountain; cf. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



137 globular shrub, an *euphorbia* which is *not* succulent, but has a green bark. Although this plant had flowers and fruit, it had, at the moment, no leaves. It occurs frequently.

312 From the top of Kōr Sēbān there stretches westwards
104 a slightly-furrowed plateau, intersected by good camel paths, and where cisterns for catching rain-water, called *neqābas*, have been made. The *neqābas* are cellars cut out of the limestone rock, with a narrow, round opening, three feet in diameter, and a shaft which soon broadens out to an underground cavity nine to ten feet deep and fifteen to eighteen feet in diameter. The rain-water is led there by means of low dykes. The narrow opening prevents much evaporation, and the water in the cellar remains cool. In suitable places, where there is much traffic, one finds as many as six to ten *neqābas* close together. The water in them can remain there for quite three years, but the disadvantage is that it generally has a brackish taste. There are also often simple, small, square buildings close to the *neqābas*, with walls of natural stones, loosely put together, and with flat mud roofs. They are called *murabbaʿas* and serve as shelter for travellers and their animals against the fierce sun by day and the cold wind by night. Moreover, one often finds ramparts and fortified observation posts close to the *neqābas*, recalling the many wars taking place in this barren and unpopulated land.

The *neqābas* make it possible to travel over the dry, stony plateaus. Were they not present one would have to follow the winding bed of boulders in the wādīs or else descend into them frequently and with difficulty to fetch water. Now one journeys from *neqāba* to *neqāba*. Occasionally one is found empty owing to the long-continued drought and that causes great disappointment, but one always comes upon another before long. The Bedouins of these districts generally know quite well what the condition of the different *neqābas* is and settle their route accordingly. The *neqābas* take the place of the *siqāyas* in the wādīs and in the mountains not of table

formation. They belong to the plateau called *djōl* (جول), 312
lying between the mountainous coast region and the great 104
depressions of inner Ḥaḍramaut.

## 6. THE DJŌL.

Our way now led over the *djōl* as far as Wādī Dō'an. The 133
*djōl* consists of vast table-lands of reddish-brown limestone, where flat-topped horizontal mountains, the remains of old, still higher plateaus, stretch like long wings. The wādīs are cut deep into them. We also often descend into flat, basin-shaped, wide depressions, passing over the crumbling edges of the plateaus, and afterwards have to climb laboriously up again, towards the boulders at the edge of the opposite plateau, quite half an hour away. Wherever one looks one sees the same long, horizontal lines of the table-mountains, with everywhere the forked, precipitous incisions made by the wādīs. The plain is strewn with sharp fragments of limestone, dark-brown and black in colour, which ring like metal whenever the passer-by kicks pieces of them together with his foot. Vegetation is al- 136
most absent. Towards the edges of the plateaus, against which 137
clouds sometimes seem to break, there are a few shrubs of small, crooked, gnarled acacias. One finds no trace of animal life except a few lizards and sometimes a solitary bird. It is very warm on the *djōl* during the day, the sun scorches, and the wind is hot and dry. During the night this same wind is cold and penetrating, so that one wakes up and remains awake longing for the warmth of the sun hours before it rises; then an hour later it is torment again from the heat.

The endless monotony is the great enemy of the traveller 000
over the *djōl*. The light is fierce and is reflected a thousand times in the metallic shining stones. The narrow camel path winds like a smooth and shining ribbon through the unruffled and almost unchanging expanse. The stones have been pushed aside by the feet of the camels which, in the course of so many years, have passed that way. The limestone of the plateau

# CHAPTER IV.

## WĀDĪ DŌ'AN.

### 1. THE DESCENT.

The stupendous, precipitous depression of Wādī Dō'an can only be seen when close at hand, for the high table-land continues unchanged on the further side. The walls have a sheer drop of more than 900 feet to where the bottom of the valley is pressed in between the slopes of débris, at the base of the rocks. We approach a little breach in the wall through which it has been possible to make the camel path. Sayyid 'Aluwī without pausing goes on ahead with the advance guard, longing as one does, after wearisome travel, to enter again the civilized life of a town.

For the time being we remain up above to take bearings and photographs. Where the descent of the rock path begins there is a fortified tower of solid stone.[1] We see a similar one on the other side at the edge of the ravine. There are continuous military posts which watch over the safety of the rich wādī below. We cautiously approach the overhanging, crumbling edge and gaze down below, full of awe. We see around us endless, grey-brown fields of stone, plantless and odourless, opposite us exactly the same as far as the eye can reach, and immediately at our feet glittering, yellow walls of rock, and then, down below in the depth, a marvel of colour and charm. The sun shines right into the wādī, where no life or movement are to be seen. Between patches of gay yellowish-green, formed by the fields of *dhura*, maize and lucerne, lies unruffled the broad, shining, grey-green strip of date-groves. Through it there winds a snow-white ribbon, the sandy bed of the *sēl*.

[1] Here called *kūt* (كوت), plur. *akwāt*, a word of Persian origin.

a passage, opening onto roof-terraces where, at this time of the day, one is conscious of a breeze. The old blind Bā Ṣurra sits there surrounded by his counsellors and the chiefs of the allied Bedouin tribes. Bā Ṣurra rises with difficulty and gropes his way forward in order to greet us. He is a stately figure with a long, white beard, and his mind is still active and his voice clear. We are very tired and warm, and gratefully enjoy the small cups of bitter coffee and the endless glasses of hot, sweet tea which succeed them. The young slave, who makes the tea in a samovar, asks whether we wish for Ceylon or Java tea. Lumps are broken off a sugar loaf with iron pincers and are dropped into the glasses. Afterwards we are offered dates and tinned pine-apple. Bā Ṣurra gives us the choice between lodging in the castle or in a house in the town. We decide upon the latter and go there in procession, accompanied by soldiers and by grandsons and grand-nephews of the *Ḥākim.*[1]

The house is five storeys high and stands at the edge of the village of ʿOra, and from our roof we look down upon the crowns of date-palms. Our quarters are uninhabited and clean; Bā Ṣurra has had carpets laid in the room, which we share with Sayyid ʿAlawī. All our hangers-on follow us upstairs and remain to watch and see what wonderful things emerge from our luggage. The fine, clever-looking descendants of the Governor put many questions to us and tell us much, and seem to be quite comfortable in the packed and stuffily hot room. It is with difficulty that we get rid of the crowd. The boys help in this, but, having accomplished it, do not dream of taking their own departure! They only stroll off at last under the promise that they may return in a couple of hours' time.

After the lapse of an hour three little boys come and will not be denied; they have an urgent message for us, they say, and with self-assurance they relate that their father has the

[1] *Ḥākim* (حاكم), governor, magistrate.

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much with Bā Ṣurra and is present now. The Deyyin are said to be a wild and primitive tribe, but their chief makes a congenial impression. We did not know at the time that we should pass through his territory on the return journey, otherwise we should have used this opportunity to make some arrangements in advance. The *Muqaddam*[1] of the Deyyin claimed to rule over 2500 Bedouins and maintained that to him who stood under his protection no harm from man could come, but only that which came from God.

The unbroken groves of palms in Wādī Dō'an appear to produce only enough dates for home consumption and for the use of the neighbouring Bedouins. The export of dates does not exist. Barely 400 to 500 camel-loads of honey are sent every year to the coast. There is much import trade, however, *e. g.*, in rice, sugar, flour, kerosene, coffee, tobacco, materials for clothing, etc. The trade balance is consequently rather unfavourable. The situation can, however, be maintained, thanks to the money earned abroad, much of which is sent into the country.

The rest of the morning we spent in sauntering through the plantations of date-palms and the little villages which lie beside them, standing out against the sunny hill-side. When we passed by el-Qarrēn the young sons of Sayyid Muḥammad bin 'Abdallāh bin Ṭāhā el-Bārr el-Munṣib dashed up to lead us in triumph to their father's house. It is, indeed, worth the trouble of a visit. Although it is new, the fine old style has been adhered to. The wood-carving on doors and windows and the ornamentation of tin-coated iron plates and nail-heads is true Ḥaḍramaut. The house is built of mud on a foundation of boulders bound with mud. The inhabited floors are white-washed as are also the filagree stone-work balustrades of the flat roofs and their corners and decorative borders. Built close to these rich houses there is nearly always a mosque with a minaret, both of them dazzlingly white. In such a case,

[1] *Muqaddam* (مقدّم), the first, the chief, the leader.

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342 passages connect the house with the lower portion as well as with the flat roof of the mosque. In the hot season the sunset and evening ritual prayers are always performed on the roof, and the ʿālim[1] sits here in the evenings, teaching the 566 recitation of the Koran to a circle of lads. A sayyid who has 782 made his fortune abroad will first build a mosque in his native 791 village and afterwards a big house for himself. For does he not owe the privileged position in his own country to religion, and to Allah's help the riches that he has successfully amassed in foreign lands? The abnormally large number of fine mosques in the poor country of Ḥaḍramaut is the result.

353 As in the other houses, the passages and stairs in Sayyid el-Bārr's house are plastered with light-brown mud mixed with finely chopped straw. The floor is always ribbed in a design of waving lines imprinted into the mud whilst it is wet. There are wooden pillars in the large rooms as there are no strong supporting beams for the construction of the roofs, which are always made of the split trunks of date-palms. The fibrous, brown stem of the tree is often plastered over with mud or covered with a wattle-work made of the split ribs of the leaves of the date-palm. Rust-red, black or white are the tasteful colours used in such wattle-work and, indeed, also on the layer of mud.

353 One usually enters the *madjlis* or reception-room by a door 352 in the middle of the shortest wall. On either side of the door there are great wooden chests, in which the sleeping-mattresses and pillows are hidden away during the day-time. These heavy, finely carved chests, decorated with tin-plated iron, are frequently the only ornament of the room. The window openings are small and close to the ground. In the houses of the rich, the wooden shutters and framework of the windows are carved. The floors are covered with simple mats of plaited palm-leaves over which the rich people lay carpets.

104 [1] ʿĀlim (عالم), a learned man, in this case, a man who thoroughly knows the religion.

000 a good look at the stranger from the flat roof! The roomy, high and well-lighted kitchen is a sign that this house has many inhabitants. Dinner is served on a roof-terrace, after the sayyid and the male members of his household have returned from the *ṣalāt el-ᶜishāʾ* [1] in his own adjacent mosque. The son of the Vizier at Makalla is sent for by his old uncle. We have also a letter for him and he, after having read it, invites us to be his guests on the following day. We accept for breakfast, after which we must go on to our next stopping place, Ṣīf.

Whilst I was making these visits, Von Wissmann had made an excursion via Khurēba, to climb the *ᶜaqaba* which is opposite the spot where we had descended.

361 Khurēba is a little town with a small, narrow bazaar-street
103 and four large, and twenty small mosques. It is the largest and, probably, also the oldest town of Wādī Dōᶜan. As the meaning of Khurēba is "ruins", some geographers [2] have assumed that the original site of the town of Dōᶜan, after which the whole wādī must surely have been named, lay here. We find mention of this town as early as Ptolemy; Pliny speaks of the Toani. [3] The heretical Ibāḍites had their centre here and it is certain that the town was destroyed when they were exterminated.

701 The way by the western *ᶜaqaba* leads to Wādī ᶜAmd. Two fortified towers guard this entrance to Wādī Dōᶜan. These towers are always manned by guards of Yāfiᶜ soldiers as the wādī at this point borders on land outside the Qeᶜēṭī domain.

000 On May 17th our day begins early. We take leave of our Sābānī Bedouins and of Mautor, who takes with him a bag of letters for Makalla. The baggage must be got ready, to go ahead by camel to Ṣīf. Afterwards, in the *maṣnaᶜa*, we bid

104 [1] The late evening ritual prayer.

[2] Cf. M. J. de Goeje, *Hadramaut, Revue Coloniale Internationale*, II. (1886), p. 106.

[3] Cf. A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern, 1875, p. 163.

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245 and is only important as part of the food supply of the common
262 people. The slave and the Bedouin consider the Dōʿan date as the really good one; the imported one, from Baṣra, they regard as inferior. The sayyids and notabilities who have made money abroad do not set much value on the date as an article of daily food. They keep on their date-groves in order to have a summer pavilion and a swimming-bath and to enjoy the shadow, the twittering of birds, and the old, familiar squeaking and creaking of the wooden wheels over which run the ropes drawing the water for irrigation from the wells to the surface. The family domestic staff and slaves with their wives and children find work in the date-groves, where they earn the food from which they chiefly subsist. The date plantations of the rich in this country are under present conditions no longer a source of income.

245 The fields which are dependent on the *sēl* go on beyond
241 the tract where the date-palms come to an end. They lie, well tilled, waiting for the rains higher up. Sometimes there is only one *sēl* in the year, but if it is a good one, its supply of water suffices for a successful harvest of dates. In the open spaces between the dates *dhura* is grown in summer, and *burr*[1] in winter. Most of the *sēls* occur in autumn.

There are fortunately plenty of *siqāyas* on the way to Ṣīf; it is true, the water is not always clear or odourless, but we are so tormented by thirst that we pay no attention to that.

Already long before Ṣīf cultivation ceases in the broad bed of the wādī, and our narrow path winds over bare stones.

361 Towards sunset we see Ṣīf lying on a broad slope of rock débris just where the wādī is very wide and the rocky bank is broken and retreats. The little, walled-in village looks rather poverty-stricken; the houses are not high, and only a few of their inhabitants appear to be well enough off to allow of their dwelling-floors being whitewashed, and of having a gay border to the balustrades of the roof-terraces.

P 104 [1] *Burr* (بُرّ), *triticum vulgare* Vill., cf. Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 172, 175.

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is announced. They have outgrown the fanaticism of the people of Ṣīf through their residence in Java and know and value the Netherlands' Government and, whispering, agree that our reception here is not a fitting one. The *Ḥākim* is poor and has no authority; through his pretended absence he has escaped the duty of offering us hospitality.

We make our notes and do other necessary work in the midst of all kinds of commotion. The Ṣīf soldiers sit with our following till long after midnight, enjoying the roast kid and boiled rice, whilst with their harsh voices they exchange all manner of anecdotes and news.

Von Wrede's attempt to penetrate into Ḥaḍramaut came to grief in this gloomy Ṣīf. He had the misfortune to arrive just one day before the *ziyāra*[1] to the grave of Shēkh Aḥmad bin ʿĪsā el-ʿAmūdī. Thousands of Bedouins were gathered there, who saw in him an *Efrendjī*, a spy of the English in Aden, and he narrowly escaped death. Ill-treated, robbed of his money and possessions, he was obliged to quit Ṣīf and return to the coast.[2]

Hirsch passed Ṣīf without difficulty[3]; the Bents, however, had to threaten with the power of the Queen of England. They speak of the inhabitants of Ṣīf as "a most unhealthy, diseased-looking lot".[4]

The night's rest at Ṣīf was of short duration, for at four o'clock the Governor, who is at the same time the *muʾadhdhin*[5], comes to call our Sayyid ʿAluwī to the *ṣalāt*. We immediately begin asking for information about animals for riding and transport. The answer consists of fine promises, but long after

[1] *Ziyāra* (زيارة), visit; here the yearly visit on the date fixed for that pilgrimage, when tribal wars stop for some time, and a fair is held close to the saint's tomb.

[2] A. von Wrede, *op. cit.*, p. 254—258.

[3] L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 154 *sqq.*

[4] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 94 *sqq.*

[5] *Muʾadhdhin* (مؤذن), the man who calls out the *ʾadhān*, the invitation to prayer at the beginning of the five times fixed for the obligatory ritual prayers.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## ENTERING OUR "LAND OF PROMISE".

### 1. EL-QAṬN AND SHIBĀM.

On May 23rd our host would not allow us to depart until we had partaken of the first of the two daily meals with him. There is no apparent objection to this, as Bin Marta[c] will take us himself in his car to el-Qaṭn. The heat and the sand-storm are very unpleasant. It is now the time when the dates ripen. The heavy, bright-yellow or deep-red bunches of fruit, sometimes as many as ten on one tree, need those hot winds to bring them to ripeness. Travelling in the sandy plain is not only unpleasant at this time, but it is also difficult to keep in the right direction. It is true, Bin Marta[c] will look after that, but Von Wissmann has great difficulty in making a drawing of our route, surveying the mountain-wall, which is just visible from time to time, and sketching in the villages.

After Hēnin we enter a real desert of sand. The soil is loess, but a thick layer of sand has drifted over it in the lower-lying places. A few bushes of *rāk*[1] grow here and there on the loam-hills. The wādī is seven miles wide here, the villages on the other side of it disappear in the sand-storm. We shape our direction towards the S. W. wall of the wādī, to the spot where Wādī Menwab debouches into it. Soon after the rocks come in sight we also see the tops of the date-palms shining through the leaden-coloured curtain of dust.

Furṭ[2] el-Qaṭn, the beginning of the inhabited, cultivated

[1] Classical *arāk* (أراك), *salvadora persica* Garcin, cf. Landberg *Arabica*, N°. v. (Leiden, 1898), p. 39 *sq.*; L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 211, 306.

[2] A *furṭ* (فرط) is a prominent top at the border of a mountain range.

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361 district called el-Qaṭn, now stands out clearly against the foot of the rock-wall. The ground grows flat; the loam emerges freed from the layer of sand; rectangular patches point to occasional cultivation of the land during a favourable rainy season. There is a low-growing plant in the fields; it is a weed that is used as fodder for cattle.

361 Furṭ el-Qaṭn is only a hamlet, but a continuous series of
241 palm-groves and fields of *dhura*, lucerne and sesame stretches from here until beyond Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn, where the Sultan is resident. All actual cultivation is due to irrigation by means of wells. A broad strip of ground which is cultivated when there is sufficient rainfall stretches outside the date plantations. The level of the subsoil water is nearer to the surface here, as the wādī descends more rapidly than does the subterranean river. Beyond Terīm it comes above the surface for considerable stretches.

212 The wells and the tracks along which beasts and men go to
231 draw up water are mostly situated in the shade of the date-
241 palms. Where shadow is lacking, long strips of jute or other
564 material sewn together are stretched over the track to make
571 shade for men and animals. Donkeys and cattle are used for haulage, but mostly with the help of man's labour. The poor, hard-working and little honoured caste of the *ḍaᶜfā* (the peasants) [1] have as their chief occupation this irrigation work [2], which really goes on almost all the year round. The *ḍaᶜīf* walks backwards beside his cow or donkey, pushing at the hauling rope with the back of his thighs, in which way his weight has most effect. By the time they reach the end of the hauling track, the bag full of water, which is generally leaking considerably, has appeared at the rim of the well. The *sānī* draws the bag of water (*gharb*) to the rim by a thin rope,

104 [1] *Ḍaᶜfā* is the plural of *ḍaᶜīf* (ضعيف), which name is given in Ḥaḍramaut to the agricultural labourer class, cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii, p. 220 and v. p. 406.

104 [2] Here called *senāwa* (سناوة); the man who works it is the *sānī*. Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *loc. cit.*

afterwards with wet body in the dry evening breeze certainly 000
does. Of course there is a servant with a samovar, who provides the glasses of tea, which are always welcome in this country of dry heat. The ripest dates are brought from the gardens; they are sweet but very astringent. The foreigner accustoms himself but slowly to this unusual and, at first, unappetising food. But soon he learns to appreciate the date whilst it is still hard and fresh.

Swimming by moonlight is an unexpected luxury and a par- 529
ticular pleasure to us in this country. On one side, close to the swimming-pool, there is a space for the *ṣalāt*, where a niche in the wall indicates the *qibla*[1]; on the other side there is a summer pavilion. Everything has a wash of light, delicate colour; the lines of the walls and roofs are edged with fine figures and borders, and one is inclined to forget that the material of which they are made is plain, brown mud. We spend quite a long time together with the young people on brotherly terms. They let themselves go now that no elders are present. Swimming and diving competitions are held with great gusto, until the time comes for the *ṣalāt el-ʿishāʾ* (the late evening ritual prayer), which is performed with suitable solemnity. The evenings at home on the great roof-terrace are always very attractive; only intimate friends remain till then, and our host puts questions which show clearly how his thoughts are always occupied with his country and people, and how he is seeking ways for their advancement.

There are many difficulties in the making of a road to esh- 491
Shiḥr. The Ḥumūmī Bedouins, notorious for their love of fight- 578
ing, and through whose territory passes the greater part of 656
the road, have — after being richly paid — made a pact by 489
which they promise not to oppose it and whereby Sayyid Abū Bakr binds himself only to allow the use of the road for travellers by motor-car, while the conveyance of freight shall be left to the camels of the Bedouins. There is only left unfinished a stretch of three days by camel.

[1] The *qibla* is the direction in which Mecca lies. 104

of pilgrims who used to come and worship here. ᶜĒnāt is well situated for this: nearly *all* pilgrims to the tomb of God's Prophet Hūd must pass through it. Now its greatness has fallen, and everyone in Ḥaḍramaut knows the *nuqra*[1], the cause of its gradual ruin. Since the disappearance of the dams periodic strong currents of water have worn out and deepened the *sēl*-bed. This erosion has moved slowly up-stream. By a dam nearly a mile in length Shibām has had to protect its palm plantations against this action, which lays bare the roots of the trees. ᶜĒnāt is situated further down-stream than any town in Ḥaḍramaut, so that it gets the full force of the torrents and the erosion occurs here first and makes itself most seriously felt. The *sēl* is very much strengthened at times by water from various side-wādīs, and in the thick layer of loess covering the valley here its bed is washed out deeper and deeper.

The roots of the palm-trees are washed bare and, consequently, the crop becomes smaller. Finally the tree falls; it goes on living and still bears fruit, but its death is near. The broad zone of palms around ᶜĒnāt is slowly perishing through the *nuqra*. The palms are doomed; the sun penetrates through the many open spaces, the works for distributing water are destroyed, and everything is covered by a layer of white sand. We only visited ᶜĒnāt on the way back, keeping now to the northern bank, which soon rises high up above the bed of the wādī. The loess wall is becoming more and more undermined by the water and it is therefore difficult for our drivers to find a safe way along it. This danger proved real on the way back; one of the two cars overturned and was badly damaged. An attempt has been made to divert the *sēl*-bed to the foot of the mountains on the north by constructing a dam. A great sum was raised for this, but the dam was repeatedly destroyed by the water so that the undertaking was, at last, abandoned. The plan to construct a dam was due to the initiative of one

[1] *Nuqra* is the gradual erosion by the water.

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000 from our roof how they begin to stir on the other roofs close to us and then go down to the kitchen to light a fire for a cup of ginger coffee. There is a small grove of date-palms round es-Sōm, on either side of the *sēl*-bed, which is full of water. We wash and drink our fill at one of the wells before resuming our journey in the heat.

After about three hours we arrive at the village of Fughma, which consists of a few mud houses encircled by huts. It is scorchingly hot although still early in the day. Our escort declare that we must rest and eat here, as there is no other village and no water to be met with for the next four or five hours. We do not believe this and insist that we must go on, but they, as one man, refuse, warning us of the consequences of such folly, and promise to set out again after an hour's rest. We give in against our will, with the unpleasant feeling that we are being taken in and that we could quite well take the risk of going further. A kid is purchased from our host and is carefully prepared for a splendid meal. Fughma is the last stopping-place before Qabr Hūd, and a four hours' walk through barren country still awaits us.

312 133 With great difficulty we get the caravan going again at two o'clock. We continue to follow the bed of the wādī, where we find water nearly everywhere! It is now the middle of the dry season; after the scanty rains or when the *sēls* rush down from the western mountains, then, at this point, the *mesīla*[1] of Wādī Ḥaḍramaut must have the aspect of a real river. Thus the British airmen from Aden reported truly when they said they had seen a river running through the wādī beyond Qabr Hūd. The river disappears under the surface of the soil, however, long before it reaches the Indian Ocean.

796 Close to Fughma we pass through small groves of palms with groups of miserable huts. This is the spot where the Bedouins of the neighbourhood come together once a year, to feast in pious memory of a holy man. Those are days of truce dedicated to God and trade. In Fughma we could hear

104 [1] A *mesīla* (مسيلة) is the bed of a *sēl*, a torrent, a streaming water.

000 seem to look upon it as the most ordinary thing in the world and to concentrate all their attention on the rifle-fire which, at intervals, proceeds from the other side. The noise of war has put a sudden end to all the bickering and squabbling, and all the troubles of the day, now nearly at its close, seem to be forgotten. Everyone lets himself go in tales of war, we are all carried away by our imagination, and in a gentle, happy and friendly mood we ascend the mountain path which leads us away from our fellow men in the hot wādī below. The path again leads along the safe side of the spur and, at this point, is overhung by a long piece of rock, under which travellers are in the habit of bivouacking. It is too late to reach the *djōl* before dark, so we decide to stay here and to go on the following morning as quickly as possible to the next *neqāba*[1] in the hope of finding water there. We have just enough left for a pot of tea and we are parched with thirst, but no one can be induced to return to ᶜAmd to fetch water. As we look down from the steep rocky slopes into the wādī far below us we are filled with great rejoicing. ᶜAmd is still visible just at the bend, and we are well away from the wearisome negotiations with the people there and from their rather intrusive interest in us. Also the protecting rock-wall is between us and enemy territory. To-night we are free and alone, far above men, looking out, from our shelf of rock, right to the eternal kingdom of the stars.

485 Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, our *siyāra*[2], relates how, a short time ago, sharp-shooters with mausers succeeded in sniping three men on this very zigzag path. It is the custom towards the close of day to exchange a few shots from the fortified watch-towers, as if to show that guard is being kept. Perhaps we had underestimated the danger again on this occasion.

855 Little Sayyid Muḥammad bin ᶜAlī felt quite at home in his narrow camp in the rocks on the edge of the precipice. He had

[1] See p. 52.

104 [2] A *siyāra* (سيارة) is a guide in Bedouin territory, who makes possible safe travelling in the area of his tribe.

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574 soon vanished when we saw dark figures looming up in increasing numbers out of the mysterious darkness; they had come to shake hands and they sat down and joined the circle of very bold questioners. Shēkh ʿUthmān was again in Wādī Dōʿan with the Governor, Bā Ṣurra; he had not told his sons about his meeting with us and so we had to give a detailed account of it. Only then did they tell us that we were welcome and served us with coffee. We were literally stormed with visitors, who were unblushing in their questions. Our sayyid did not help at all to uphold our prestige; when our welcome took place he saw to it that his hand was kissed and gave the information that we were only ordinary mortals, "Bedouins from Europe", a handicap we had to try and get the better of in the conversation that followed. I attempted this by leading up to the subject of the Holy Land and telling about conditions there and about Bin Saʿūd and his *ikhwān.*[1] Then, when everyone was listening attentively, I asked our sayyid quite casually: "Of course you have made the *ḥadjdj*. Tell us all about it!" He was then obliged to confess that he had not been to Mecca, and if he tried to swank again by saying that he had seen the world and had been, among other places, to Aden and Zanzibar, my obvious answer was: "I should have thought that your first journey would have been to Mecca and not one in search of wealth." There was nothing left for the pious sayyid after this but to reply: "If God wills I shall yet go to Mecca."

000 The Deyyin Bedouins give the impression of being primitive folk, dirty, poor and having little touch with the outside world. Their long, curly hair hangs round their faces and over their shoulders. On the following morning, when we had got rid of our sayyid, they turned out to be more friendly towards us and more ready to help than we had anticipated. That

104 [1] *Ikhwān* (إخوان) is the plural of *akh* (أخ), which means "brother". King Ibn Saʿūd, the great *Wahhābī* leader of Central Arabia, founded colonies of *ikhwān*, with whom he conquered the whole of Central Arabia and the Holy Land of Islām.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



**Religion.**

Islam is, of course, practically exclusively the religion of the Hadhramaut. There are a number of Banians in Mukalla and a few in Shihr, but, apart from these, other faiths are represented only by one or two Christians and possibly Parsees in the same ports. Occasional Memons, Khojas, and Ithnasheris among the Indian population represent the only exceptions to the universal adherence in the Hadhramaut to the Shafite Sunni school. Rumour has it that traces left from the old Ibadhi-ism are still to be found in the north west in Nejran, and there are of course Ibadhis from Oman, eastwards in Dhufar. 162 795

## CHAPTER VI.

### CONDITIONS OF LIVING IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

The report deals with the conditions found in the Hadhramaut and, to some extent at least, peculiar to that country; it assumes a general knowledge of Arabian conditions of life which are common to the whole Peninsula. It may, however, be well in a few remarks to call attention to some general features of tribal life which should be borne in mind. 121

The culture of the Arab is determined by his environment, which also largely affects his religion. In the more fertile wadis the people are settled and conservative, on the barren steppes and desert places they are nomadic and communistic. The Beduin, and indeed many of the settled tribes, are extremely poor; their food is of the simplest, their staples being dates, home-grown millet and other grain, imported rice, and dried fish. The tribesman's wardrobe consists of two or three pieces of cloth, and indigo, in which he has implicit faith as protection alike from sun and cold. His dwelling is poor and its furniture hardly makes a camel's load. There are three things he saves up to acquire—arms (a rifle and *jambiya* or curved dagger), a camel, and a wife. The wife is my own addition; Beduins have often mentioned the other requirements to me, which shows, I suppose, that the wife is either an essential who goes without saying or that she is an afterthought. But these are the only things for which a Beduin saves. In other respects he is thriftless. 105

Poverty affects them in one of two ways: either they raid to augment their scanty means of living or they emigrate and earn their increment in more favourable surroundings abroad. Raiding is a paradox: it is not only a crime against society, but also a recognized means of livelihood. Furthermore, as it is played according to recognized rules it is a national sport. As more and more of the population become settled, raiding tends to become less popular. It is of course a large overstatement to suggest that football and other games will take its place as a sport, but the overstatement does contain some truth, for football is rapidly becoming

105 more popular and provides the something of excitement which has given a zest to raiding. It should not be forgotten that some of our own games were war games.

The Beduin proletariat and the capitalist townsmen are mutually necessary to each other. The Beduins do all the carrying trade and supply the firewood and their other scanty products to the towns, and the merchants sell to the Beduins what they require of food, clothing, and other necessaries of life. The brokers of the Beduins to be found in all the towns supply the link between the two. They live on helping the Beduins to sell their produce to, and buy their requirements from, the merchants, and on helping the merchants to obtain the transport they need.

## Housing.

342 Each town in the Hadhramaut has its own individual charac-
362 teristics as regards housing. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Mukalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not six feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces. Away from the coast, mud is the almost universal building medium, and sun-dried mud bricks are used alike in building the palaces of the rich and the simple *dars* of the poor.

342 In the Wadi Du'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks
353 of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Du'an houses, the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb*[1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide
[531] heavily-carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, two inches across the heads, burnished with lead till they shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development in Du'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living-room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring bone pattern.

342 In Tarim the principal feature is the large number of enormous
171 dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks.

[1] Other Arabic names are *sidr* and *nebk*. *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*. L.

1: Ingrams, W.H. A Report on the Social, Economic and Political Condition of the Hadhramaut. Colonial Office Report No. 123. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1936.

Pp. iv, 177; 4 appendices; 1 map.

Yale: Bj71.133.

/The author was the first British Political Officer in the Aden Protectorate and collected most of the data in 1934-35, with supplementary data being obtained in 1936. After an introductory section in which the Hadhramaut is identified in regard to geography, climate, language affiliations, and population content, several chapters are devoted to a historical sketch, beginning with earliest traditional and written accounts and continuing to the modern political alignment of the Hadhramaut. Five chapters are then devoted to the social life of the population, including material on religion, housing, labor and the cost of living, all economic activities, and the development of communications, transportation, and commerce. Half of the volume is concerned with the political organization of the two principal states of the Hadhramaut, Kathiri and Qu'aiti. All provinces

1: Ingrams, W.H.

of both states are identified, with names, locations, activities, organization, leaders, and affiliations of all tribes clearly delineated. Since large numbers of Hadhramis have emigrated, the four concluding chapters of this source are concerned with the Hadhrami colonies in the East Indies, East Africa, and Egypt, with emphasis on their activities in these areas and their ties with the Protectorate. Three genealogical charts tracing the descent of various tribes and ruling dynasties are included, as are the texts of three Hadhramaut treaties. --Analyst. /

Field date: 1934-35
Analyst: Robert J. Smith

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1955

2: Ingrams, Harold. Political Development in the Hadhramaut. International Affairs, Vol. 21, pp. 236-252. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1945.

Yale: Oz10.B77e.v.21.

/The author of this source was a British Political Officer responsible for the administrative reorganization of the Hadhramaut. In this article he talks about his experiences and gives information on the political structure of Hadhramaut. The article further contains pertinent information on population, geography, customs and character of the peoples and the progress made by the Qu'aiti State between 1934 and 1944 in the fields of finance and internal organization. --Analyst/

Field date: 1934-1945
Analyst: Majed Elass

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1955

3: Smith, R.H. Notes on the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut. Middle East Journal, Vol. 7, pp. 499-503. Washington, D.C.: Middle East Institute, 1952.

Yale: Bj59a. M58. v. 7.

[A brief description of the political organization of the present Kathiri state in the Aden Protectorate is given in these notes. Public services of the state, including police, schools, support of teachers, etc., are outlined. A statistical table summarizing the area occupied, population, and annual governmental revenue of states within the Protectorate is provided. Mr. Smith was managing editor of a weekly newspaper published in India. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Charles Griffith

Evaluation: Journalist-3
Processed in 1955

4: Ingrams, W.H. House Building in the Hadhramaut. The Geographical Journal, Vol. 85, pp. 370-372. London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1935.

Yale: E10. R81g. v. 85

[Ingrams writes a short but interesting article on the mode of construction, the masonry and interior decoration of dwellings in some of the towns of the Hadhramaut. The author includes two illustrative plates --Analyst.]

Field date: none
Analyst: Olivia Maldonado

Evaluation: Government Official - 3
Processed in 1955

5: Hamilton, R.A.B. The Social Organization of the Tribes of the Aden Protectorate. Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol. 30, pp. 142-157. London: The Royal Central Asian Society, 1943.

Yale: Bj23. 17. v.30

/This is a highly informative analysis of the social organization of the tribes in Aden and, more particularly in the Hadhramaut. The author, Major Hamilton, discusses the status and influence of each class, their economic activities (including the property system) and speculates as to the origin and racial affinities of these tribes. This article was a lecture to the Royal Central Asian Society given by Hamilton in 1942 when he was a Political Officer in the Aden Protectorate--Analyst. /

Field date: none
Analyst: Olivia Maldonado

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1955

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6:

Hamilton, R.A.B. Social Organization of the Aden Protectorate. Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol. 30, pp. 267-274. London: The Royal Central Asian Society, 1943.

Yale: Bj23. 17. v.30

/This article is the second of two lectures by the author to the Royal Central Asian Society on the social organization of the tribes in the Aden Protectorate. Hamilton discusses specifically, the tribesman class, the tribal confederations, and the Suzerains and hereditary elected Chiefs. He also emphasizes the tribal disintegration that is evolving due to the breakdown of tribal custom and law--Analyst/

Field date: none
Analyst: Olivia Maldonado

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1955

7: Sturler-Raemaekers, M. de. Towns and Architecture of the Hadhramaut, Royal Central Asian Journal, Vol. 40, pp. 241-248. Royal Central Asian Society, 1953.

Yale: Bj23.17.40.

[This report of a lecture by a practicing architect who visited the Hadhramaut for a total of fifteen months, discusses the topography of South Arabia and the architecture of the towns in Hadhramaut. Particularly valuable is the description of interiors of the dwellings. --Analyst]

Field date: 1950-1951
Analyst: Beverly Meeker

Evaluation: Traveler-3
Processed in 1955

8: Pike, Ruthven W. Land and Peoples of the Hadhramaut, Aden Protectorate. The Geographical Review, Vol. 30, pp. 627-648. New York: The American Geographical Society, 1940.

Yale: E10. G132. v. 30

[This article contains extensive information on the geology and the river and stream drainage of the Hadhramaut. There is, however, included less comprehensive material on climate, water supply, caravan trade and raiding, emigration and the natives' economic activities. The source is supplemented by a map of the Hadhramaut and several illustrative plates. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Olivia Maldonado

Evaluation: Natural Scientist-4
Processed in 1955

9: Ingrams, Harold. South-West Arabia: Today and Tomorrow. Royal Central Asian Journal, Vol. 32, pp. 135-155. London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1945.

Yale: Bj23.17.32.

[In this lecture the British Resident Advisor at Mukalla discusses the four distinct parts of South-West Arabia: the Kingdom of Yemen, Western Aden Protectorate, Hadhramaut (or the Eastern Aden Protectorate,) and the Colony of Aden. The author clarifies the differences which distinguish the Eastern from the Western part of Aden Protectorate, then describes each primarily from the point of view of local government, including some information on history, geography, population, and education. The treatment of Aden Colony is done by a series of excerpts from writers about the settlement since the prophet Ezekiel, tracing its gradual decadence. Yemen is only given brief mention...concerning its geography and population. --Analyst]

Field date: 1934-1944
Analyst: Beverly Meeker

Evaluation: Government Official--4
Processed in 1955

10: Hutchison, Clark. M. A. The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. Royal Central Asian Journal, Vol. 37, pp. 62-65. London: The Royal Central Asian Society, 1950.

Yale: BJ23. 17. 37

[This brief article contains pertinent information on the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. The information covers the history of the legion, its activities, systems of payment, promotion, retirement, recruitment and training. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Majed Elass

Evaluation: Unknown - 3
Processed in 1955

111 MM2 Hadhramaut

11: Hamilton, R.A.B. A Greeting Ceremony in the Aden Protectorate. Man, A Record of Anthropological Science, Vol. 42, pp. 88-90. London: The Royal Anthropological Institute, 1942.

Yale: NK10. M31. v. 42-43

[Major Hamilton writes a short description of a greeting ceremony and its attendant etiquette as performed by certain tribes of the Aden Protectorate; in this case it was the Aulaqis. Two illustrative plates are included --Analyst.]

Field date: ca. 1942
Analyst: Olivia Maldonado

Evaluation: Government Official -3
Processed in 1955

12: Skene, R. Arab and Swahili Dances and Ceremonies. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 47, pp. 413-434. London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1917.

Yale: Nk10. R81. v. 47.

[Based upon the author's experience as a civil officer and with a knowledge of Swahili, he has brought together some 29 Arab and Swahili dances and ceremonies. Each dance is described as to the sex of the dancers, musical instruments used, food eaten, some of the movements and the purpose of the dance. The dances vary, some being war dances, for weddings, amusements, to pay compliments, as a form of competition, and the like. The ceremonies deal with techniques of ridding the patient of evil spirits, the symptoms and the types of spirits. There is some cross-reference information as to the origin and use of the dances and ceremonies among other groups. --Analyst]

Field date: none

Evaluation: Government Official, Folklorist--4

Analyst: Stanley A. Fishler

Processed in 1955

13: Huzayyin, S. A. Egyptian University Scientific Expedition to South-West Arabia. Nature, Vol. 140, pp. 513-514. London, 1937.

Yale: A78.O56.140.

[This paper forms the preliminary report of a scientific expedition sent by the Egyptian University of Cairo to Yamen and Hadhramaut. Findings in the fields of geology, physiography, archaeology, physical anthropology, and entomology are briefly described. --Analyst]

Field date: 1936
Analyst: Charles Griffith

Evaluation: Natural Scientist--4
Processed in 1955

14: Meulen, Daniel van der. A Journey in Hadramaut. The Moslem World, Vol. 22, pp. 378-392. Harrisburg, Pa.: Missionary Review Publishing Co., Inc., 1932.

Yale Divinity: ZP. M854. v22.

[This article principally recounts the events of an expedition made by the author through Hadhramaut. Some material of value can be found on the topography, the local rulers, the physical settlements and the shrine of Hūd. --Analyst]

Field date: 1931
Analyst: Majed Elass

Evaluation: Traveler--4
Processed in 1955

15: Bunker, D. G. The South-West Borderlands of the Rub' al Khali. The Geographical Journal, Vol. 119, pp. 420-430. London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1953.

Yale: E10. R81g. 119.

[This paper contains essentially descriptive material supplementing information on the two relief maps which the author prepared for the text. Also included are several photographs of the terrain. The important geographical features are indicated precisely as to longitude, latitude, and degrees. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1950
Analyst: Majed Elass

Evaluation: Natural Scientist-4
Processed in 1955

16: Gardner, Elinor W. Climate, Irrigation and Early Man in the Hadhramaut. The Geographical Journal, Vol. 93, pp. 18-35. London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1939.

Yale: E10. R81g. v. 93

[In a meeting before the Royal Geographic Society, G. Caton-Thompson, one of the expeditionary colleagues of the author of this article, reported their findings of a trip to the Hadhramaut. This article is a technical exposition of the geological history and a description of the area comprising an account of the group's prehistoric archeological investigations. There is included a map of the Hadhramaut and several illustrative plates --Analyst.]

Field date: 1937-1938
Analyst: Olivia Maldonado

Evaluation: Archeologist - 4
Processed in 1955

18: Ingrams, W.H. The Hadhramaut: Present and Future. The Geographical Journal, Vol. 92, pp. 289-312. London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1938.

Yale: E10. R81g. v. 92

[At a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, W.H. Ingrams, the British Resident in Mukalla, reviewed his travel through the Hadhramaut on a mission to procure the signing of a peace treaty between the warring tribes of that section. For every tribe encountered Ingrams gives incidental information as to its location, occupations, and dwellings. There are included a topographical map of the Hadhramaut and several illustrative plates--Analyst.]

Field date: 1934-1936
Analyst: Olivia Maldonado

Evaluation: Government Official-3
Processed in 1955

19: Serjeant, R.B. Building and Builders in Hadhramaut (Sacrificial Rites and Trade Guilds). Le Muséon, Revue d'études orientales, Vol. 62, pp. 275-284. Louvain, 1949.

Yale: F10.M97.v.62.

[Using house-building as the focal point for his essay, Mr. Serjeant analyzes the social organization of the craft guilds involved in constructing a house, the formalized relationships between the home owner and the workers, and the rituals which form "part and parcel of the process of building." Although brief, the article offers a good analysis of the manner in which these aspects of Hadhramaut culture are interwoven. A vocabulary list of architectural terms is provided at the end of the text. --Analyst.]

Field date: none
Analyst: Charles Griffith

Evaluation: Unknown--4
Processed in 1955

20: Serjeant, R.B. The Quarters of Tarim and their Tanṣūrah. Le Muséon, Revue d'études orientales, Vol. 63, pp. 277-284. Louvain, 1950.

Yale: F10.M97.v.63.

[The eleven quarters of the city of Tarim (pop. 15,000) are named and identified in this article. The relative importance of the five major quarters within the community is established. Examples of rallying songs (tanṣūrahs) for festive and other social occasions are given for each of the five large quarters. Statements concerning the saints of the quarters and the location of mosques as well as comments on occupational specialization with quarters are scattered throughout the text. --Analyst.]

Field date: none
Analyst: Charles Griffith

Evaluation: Unknown--4
Processed in 1955

21: Thomas, Bertram. Anthropological Observations in South Arabia. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 62, pp. 83-103. London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1932.

Yale: NK10. +R81. v. 62.

[This article contains ethnographic and physical anthropological data on the little-known and divergent tribes of South Arabia: the Bait Kathir, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar, Mashai (Bal'Ubaid), Hamumi, and Yaf'i, all of whom are Arabic-speakers; and the Mahra, Qara, Shahara, Bauthara, Harasis, Barahama, Bil Haf, Afar, and Bit Istait (Bait ash Shaikh), non-Arabic-speakers. Native dress and dye customs, circumcision rites, religious and magical beliefs, patterns of inheritance and marriage, dwellings, and tribal law are described with some comparative data on the distribution of these cultural traits. The final section of the article is devoted to a discussion of the inferred racial origins of the various Arabic tribes. Anthropometrical data and descriptive somatology for 40 representative individuals are presented in chart form, while head and face photographs of twelve individuals are included. Mr. Thomas made three short visits to South Arabia; the measurements and photographs were obtained on his last trip. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Charles Griffith

Evaluation: Traveler--5
Processed in 1955

22: Reilly, Bernard. The Aden Protectorate. Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol. 28, pp. 132-45. London: The Royal Central Asian Society, 1941.

Yale: Bj23.17.28.

[This article is the publication of a lecture given before The Royal Central Asian Society, plus comments made on the area by Society members. The author had intimate contact with the area for a number of years as governor of Aden colony. Background material is given relating to the geography, settlement patterns, adjoining territories, ethnic distribution, physical types, national cheracter, sects, and other subjects. The historical background of the formation of the Protectorate, changes and improvements due to British influence, rapport of the British in Aden, and foreign relations in general are related in more detail. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933-41
Analyst: Stanley A. Fishler

Evaluation: Government Official--3
Processed in 1955

111 MM2 Hadhramaut

23:British Government of the Aden Protectorate. Laws of the Aden Protectorate. Aden: The Government of the Colony of Aden, 1939.

Pp. ii, 56.

Yale: Br. Col. Aden P. 18. 1939.

[This volume consists of official British government documents relating to proclamations and laws which apply to the Aden Protectorate, and to India in some cases. Included in the orders and proclamations are those establishing the Protectorate, acts to halt slave traffic, modifications in the code of criminal procedure, the laws of the native states of India, regulations for the repression of murderous outrages in frontier tracts, regulations restricting sea traffic in munitions and other goods, and the execution of capital sentences. --Analyst]

Field date: 1877-1939
Analyst: Stanley A. Fishler

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1955

24:Meulen, Daniel Van der and H. Von Wissmann. Hadramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1932.

Pp. xxvi, 248; 1 map, 97 illustrations, 10 sketches.

The Middle East Institute library: DS247.H3M39.

[As First Consul and later Chargé d'affaires at Djedda, Mr. Van der Meulen decided that the time was ripe for the extending of the activities of the Netherland legation over other sections in the Arabian peninsula and to learn more of the area. In addition to this was the hope of Holland to enter into friendly relations with the Imam of Yemen, and to insure a suitable reception for the representative of Holland in the Hadhramaut. To attain this goal Van der Meulen gained a commission from the Netherlands government. Although the prospective journey was of a political nature, Van der Meulen desired to record accurately his journey and secured the cooperation of a German geographer, H. von Wissmann. The authors acknowledge their volume as a travel book, yet much is to be found concerning the attitudes of the Hadhramis toward strangers, hospitality in the Hadhramaut, flora, fauna, sources of water, crops grown, attitudes of the people toward their own country, descriptions of dwellings, settlements and religious buildings, descriptions of ruins, conflict within the area, and other data. This information is supplemented by an excellent map of the Hadhramaut, with numerous illustrations and sketches. --Analyst]

Field date: 1931 Evaluation: Traveler--3

Analyst: Stanley A. Fishler Processed in 1955

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## APPENDIX IV.

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2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



648 treaty and the force of circumstances the Sultan was already bound to follow the protecting Power. It ended up by saying that if there were serious disagreement between the Sultan and the adviser it would be open to the Sultan to appeal to the Governor of Aden and if necessary to the Secretary of State.

This new departure of giving an adviser to a ruler in Arabia was not really a great innovation. Lawrence describes the policy agreed on for Arabia after the last war as putting a "ring-wall around Arabia, a country which must be reserved as an area of Arabian individualism. So long as our fleet keeps its coasts, Arabia should be at leisure to fight out its own complex and fatal destiny."[1] The old treaty of protection represented just such a policy as Lawrence described. There was at that time, of course, no question of providing advisers in Arabia itself, but in *A Report on the Reconstruction of Arabia*, also by Lawrence, he wrote that any advisers chosen by Feisal "will be part of the Arab Government and will draw their executive authority from it and not from their own Government."[2]

In my case there was some discussion as to who should pay for the adviser, but as a gesture to a country which had at that time no money the British Government decided to pay. But I think it will be clear from the treaty and the Note accompanying it that it was intended that the adviser should work things out with the local government himself and that he should not be a mouthpiece to convey instructions from His Majesty's Government to the local ruler as to what was to be done. So that what was done is in harmony with what Lawrence wrote and that has been the way in which I have tried to work.

There is one other instrument to which I must refer and that is the Protectorate Order-in-Council of 1937. It was thought by some at the time that this Order-in-Council amounted to an annexation of the Protectorate, but the then Prime Minister in an answer in the House of Commons on June 1, 1938, denying that the Order-in-Council provided for an annexation of territory, said that when Aden became a colony, jurisdictions in the adjacent areas, hitherto exercised under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order-in-Council, had to be provided by a new Order-in-Council and that this was a normal administrative change. It did not therefore portend our administering the Protectorate or destroying the autonomy and responsibility of the chiefs.

## Comparison of State Government in Hadhramaut in 1934-6 and 1944

647 In 1934 the Sultan's staff in Mukalla consisted of a Wazir, a treasurer, a commander of the forces, a doctor, and a few school-masters. In 1944 there was a State Council of senior officials and nominated unofficials, and the administration was carried on in twenty organized departments under

113 [1]Robert Graves, *Lawrence and the Arabs* (London, Cape, 1927), p. 396, also *T. E. Lawrence by his friends* edited by A. W. Lawrence (London, Cape, 1937), p. 198.
[2]David Garnett (ed.), *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence of Arabia* (London, Cape, 1938), p. 288.

# TOWNS AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE HADHRAMAUT

## By MRS. M. de STURLER-RAEMAEKERS

000 Report of a lecture illustrated by a film delivered to the Society on Thursday, May 21, 1953, Mr. W. H. Ingrams, C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

The Chairman: As you can well imagine, it is a great pleasure to me to take the chair this afternoon for Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers, because I have spent ten years in the country which she is about to describe. Unfortunately, ever since I left it in 1944 time has done nothing but take me somewhere else in the world. I have just returned from a tour of the United States, Mexico, Central America and the West Indies. Most of my time seems to be taken up in Africa and it is difficult to get an opportunity of looking again at the Hadhramaut. Hence it is a great pleasure to be able to see Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers' slides and to hear her account this afternoon.

341 I expect that in some respects at least the architecture of the Hadhramaut is
● 113 familiar to many of you through Freya Stark's books, perhaps particularly the illustrations in her book *Seen in the Hadhramaut*; also Mr. Osbert Lankaster, an architect who many may know better as a cartoonist, wrote an article on the architecture of the Hadhramaut some years ago which appeared, I believe, in the *Architectural Journal*.

341 There is a very long tradition of architecture in the Hadhramaut. One wonders
773 how long this wonderful working in mud has gone on. In ancient days the ancient
333 Hadhraumauti used to go in for monumental stone masonry on a large scale. I remember seeing huge stones lying on the old Hadhramauti ruins and being told by the local people that the stones had been transported to the early buildings by the Adites, who were formerly giants. Hadhraumaut is a country which has always recognized the Book of Genesis, that there were giants in the land in those days.

114 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers was born in Holland and came to England as a child, first, during the first World War. Here she was educated, so we can at least claim part of her. Then she went to France and later came back to England to study architecture for three years at the Architectural Association. She took her degree in Brussels and practised there. Then she travelled a good deal in Europe. She returned to England again at the outbreak of the recent World War and has been here ever since except for her travelling. In 1948 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers thought she would go further afield and, fortunately for us and for Arabia, she chose to go there, but before doing so she took the precaution of studying Arabic for two years at London University.

Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers spent ten months in the Hadhramaut in 1950-51 and was there again in 1952 for five months. She has told me, very modestly, that that is a very inadequate time in which to study the Hadhramaut, but I think we shall discover that she found out a great deal of much interest while she was there.

My experience of the Middle East is, as you have heard, somewhat brief, being only three years. I therefore feel a little embarrassed when speaking before a gathering in which there may be many who have probably travelled there for much longer periods. I trust they will show some indulgence towards anything I may say which may not be either new or just as they saw it; I have at least specialized knowledge in
121 one subject which took me there, and that is architecture. I went to study the buildings of Hadhramaut and make measured drawings of them. I do not intend to give a technical discourse on exactly how the buildings are constructed or how the bricks are made, because I do not think that this is

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



132 mount steadily, until travel at midday becomes unpleasant and is not even practiced by the thoroughly accustomed Bedouins. At the peak of summer, travel is reduced to a minimum, and that undertaken only at night, probably more out of consideration for the Bedouin's valued beast of burden than for himself. A period of extreme heat lasting about forty days, known as the "arbainia" (*arba*, Arabic for "four"), usually begins about May 4, and there is another period of eight days later in the year.

The atmosphere, especially on the Jol, is exceptionally clear, save when an occasional dust storm darkens the sky. The dust storms affect large areas, for the wind-borne material is fine and easily distributed; but they do not extend to high altitudes. Fliers over the Jol report that at a few thousand feet above ground level the air normally remains clear. When moisture-laden winds are blowing landward from the Gulf of Aden, cloud banks cover the narrow coastal zone between the sea and the precipitous margin of the interior plateau.

Few or no instrumental data are at hand regarding rainfall in this part of Arabia. Heald, who reported on the agriculture of the Hadhramaut in 1921, says:

> The rain-fall along the coast is practically nil, some years they have one or two inches, but useless for agriculture, the floods being from the interior rain a long distance from Mukalla; when we were in the district from December to April, we had two or three showers, but every time too small for the rain gauge to measure.[1]

## The Plateau and Its Borders

133 In the Hadhramaut the narrow, sandy coast is bordered by a belt of mountains 30 miles wide. At the western edge of the Hadhramaut, about 100 miles east of Aden, rugged coast ranges rise to 7000 or 8000 feet. They are succeeded on the east by slightly lower table-topped and scarp-bounded mountains, whose height gradually decreases to about 2000 feet at Ras Fartak.

Between these mountains and the interior desert of Rub' al Khali, the southern border of which runs parallel to the coast at a distance of 200 miles, stretches a highly dissected and terraced tableland, sloping very gently to the north and east. Dissection is greatest in the Hadhramaut, Maseila, and Hafif drainage basins; the fringe of the interior desert shows considerably less erosion. The eastward slope of the plateau has an average gradient of 1 in 500 (in the 610 kilometers between Hafif and Shabwa the surface rises from sea level to 1200 meters). The over-all northward component of slope is less, perhaps 1 in 1000; it cannot be determined because the altitude of the Rub' al Khali is not known. The gradient is not uniform,

[1] Quoted by W. H. Ingrams: A Report on the Social, Economic and Political Condition of the Hadhramaut, *Colonial No. 123*, London, 1936, p. 8.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



however. The floor of the Hadhramaut Valley rises at a slope of 1 in 900 or 1000 from an altitude of 2000 feet at Tarim to about 3000 feet in the latitude of Shabwa and the west end of the tableland. 133

The observer in the Hadhramaut is impressed by the vast amount of rapid erosion that has taken place and the inadequacy of the rain-

FIG. 1—The Hadhramaut, Aden Protectorate, in its wider strategic relations. Scale 1: 40,000,000.

fall of today to explain it. Not only topographical but also cultural evidence points toward increasing aridity in the Hadhramaut. The numerous visible ruins, not to mention those buried by sand or disintegrated past recognition, are indicative of a greater population than now exists. A large number of the present-day inhabitants emigrate; and, according to Mr. Ingrams, they have been doing so at an increasing rate during the last fifty years.[2] It is suggested that the Hadhramaut area supports about the maximum population under the prevailing conditions of rainfall. 167 161

Each of the canyons excavated by the Wadi Hadhramaut and its tributaries in the vast South Arabian plateau suggests to the traveler a miniature Grand Canyon. The walls rise steeply for a full thousand feet throughout the deepest part of the drainage system and remain perpendicular, although decreasing in height, even to the heads of the smallest tributaries. To the observer on the ground the plateau 133

[2] W. H. Ingrams: Hadhramaut: A Journey to the Sei'ar Country and through the Wadi Masila, *Geogr. Journ.*, Vol. 88, 1936, pp. 524–531; reference on p. 527. 113

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Near the coast the wadi gradient is considerably steeper than in the central and upper parts, where the slope is only 1 in 1000. There seems to be no local cause to explain the anomaly.[3] Although there are a few small lava flows in the Maseila Valley near the coast, it is obvious from the steepness of the gradient, the size of the valley both above and below them, and the absence of old lake shores that they have not constituted a local base level. Neither does the river cut through abnormally resistant rocks of any other type, which might conceivably restrict erosion.

Usually a stream and its valley decrease in size from mouth to source, except where superimposed on resistant strata. The Hadhramaut drainage system, however, is broad and well incised near the mouth, narrow and less deeply incised in the middle, and much wider and deeper farther upstream than at the coast. In its middle part the main stream is not appreciably larger than its tributaries, and it is suggested that in this region lay the former headwaters of a westward-trending drainage. It seems impossible that the vast quantity of material removed during the creation of the great valley from Tarim westward could have been transported to the sea without more erosion than is evident in the vicinity of the hypothesized piracy, about midway between Tarim and the mouth.

As a result of what seems to have been a gentle epeirogenic movement in the region west of Tarim, both the valley floor and the adjoining plateau slope gently upward in this direction at a gradient of 1 in 700 or 1 in 1000. A gradual uplift in the west and south, which is, moreover, in the direction of rock exposures from which sediments have been removed, would have assisted piracy in bringing about a reversal of drainage. Such a sequence of events would well account for the alluvial fill in the tributaries of the main wadi. As the water wells do not penetrate the valley fill to bedrock, the thickness and distribution of this alluvial deposit in the Hadhramaut–Maseila drainage system are not revealed, but an observer gains an impression that it measures perhaps several tens or even hundreds of feet.

A more detailed picture of the interrelationships between, and relative importance of, epeirogenic uplift and stream piracy will, it is hoped, be gained when the Hadhramaut has been more thoroughly explored. That piracy was accompanied by underground drainage as well as by downcutting is suggested by the porosity of some of the rock strata. Subsequent alluviation, however, has obliterated the former entrenched parts of the valley and thus deprived the observer of many desirable details of physiographic history.

It must be noted, however, that tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut to the west of Tarim and also for a short distance to the east

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[3] G. Caton-Thompson and E. W. Gardner: Climate, Irrigation, and Early Man in the Hadhramaut, *Geogr. Journ.*, Vol. 93, 1939, pp. 18–38.

Himyarites was an important export center for incense and myrrh, has enough rainfall to support a thin growth of vegetation, largely incense trees. From this area and the surrounding country, at one time more abundantly watered, the priceless gum was most extensively collected in the past. It is still gathered today in small amounts, according to demand. The gum, which adheres to the bark, is harvested from varieties of the Burseraceae family, *Boswellia Carterii* and *B. Bhua-Dajiana*, divided by the Arabs into four grades.[4] Its value, which ranges from £80 to £10 a ton, depends on such qualities as color (red, green, and brown), size of the gum particles, and degree of adulteration. Just as the rubber gatherers of the Amazon debased latex with pebbles and gravel, so did the Arabs in the heyday of the incense trade, and to some extent even now, admix varying amounts of fine sand with the gum to increase its weight. Between March and August the trees are tapped by knife incision and a milky juice is extracted, which dries in three to five days.

FIG. 20—Caravan loading. The three men at the right are arguing about the disposition of loads.

Besides incense trees, a thin and scattered growth of bunch grass, camel's-thorn, and a cedarlike evergreen abundant in some dry wadies is found in the Hadhramaut. Date-palm groves, which cover many square miles, are mainly dependent on irrigation.

## Sources of Water Supply

In addition to artesian water and the water obtained from wells, other sources of supply are available. One of these is the *siquaya*, a small, rectangular, concrete tank with a capacity of 20 or 25 gallons erected along caravan routes near towns and maintained by them as a public service. Another is the well or cistern excavated at the base

[4] Freya Stark: The Southern Gates of Arabia. [New York], 1936. pp. 10–11.

# THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

701 DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

579 721 643 Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathīri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

648 728 Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

648 At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

185 625 701 From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls. [871]

113 * Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



which then emanates acrid smoke with an appalling smell. This is supposed to relieve the patient.

Natives do not know the origin of the *pepo punda*, and are extremely afraid of it. Happily it is not very frequent in Malindi.

NOTE.—The description of the above dances has been compiled by a civil officer of experience who has a thorough knowledge of Swahili. Many of the dances have undoubtedly been brought from Arabia by the Muscat Arabs, others were probably brought in by the Nabahana and the Vumba chiefs who came from Shiraz in Persia about A.D. 1100. The hypnotic seizures described in some of the ceremonies are well known in Africa, particularly among the Akamba people; the phenomena would well repay investigation by a medical psychologist.—C. W. HOBLEY. Mombasa.

## NOTES BY A. WERNER.

p. 415, l. 33.—This, or some similar event, followed by faction-fighting, has been celebrated by Muhamadi bin Abubakari Kijuma, of Lamu, in a poem called *Utendi wa Mkonumbi*.

p. 419.—The Kinyago. This (called *unyago* by the Yaos and *chinyao* by the Anyanja) takes place at the initiation of young people in Nyasaland. For particulars, see Rattray, *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 178, 179.

p. 420.—A list of *pepo*, with the appropriate exorcisms, songs, etc., as used in the Mrima region (the mainland opposite Zanzibar) is given in Velten's *Desturi za Waswahili*, pp. 149–167. The Arab *zar*, described for Mecca by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (The Hague, 1889), vol. ii, pp. 124–128), belongs to the same category.

p. 426.—The Wasanye in the Malindi district all speak Galla, but they say their old language is still spoken by the Waboni in the Witu territory.

# VON WISSMANN'S MAP OF HAḌRAMAUT.

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Sources used besides our own route survey:

*British Admiralty Chart*, Sheets 6[a] and 6[b]; for the coast.

O. H. Little, *The Geography and Geology of Makalla*, Cairo, 1925; a thorough survey of the southern half of the Makalla Sultanate.

Th. and Mrs. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, Londen, 1900, *Map of Hadramut*, surveyed by Imam Sharif Khan Bahadur, opp. p. 70; for the positions of Hadjarēn and Shibām.

Flight-Lieut. A. R. M. Rickards, *Sketch map of Hadhramaut, with corrections from air reconnaissances* in *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. lxxvii., March 1931; for the position of Ghēl Bin Yamīn and verification of the positions of Shibām and Qabr Hūd.

Air-photoes by Col. R. A. Cochrane and Flight-Lieut. A. R. M. Rickards, R. A. F., Aden; for many details along our own route.

L. Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-land und Hadramūt*, Leiden, 1897; for his route sketch and description, and especially for the names.

A. von Wrede, *Reise in Ḥadhramaut, Beled Beny ʿYssâ und Beled el Ḥadschar*, herausgegeben von H. Freiherr von Maltzan, Braunschweig, 1870; for his route description.

Sayyid ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAqīl's map of Ḥaḍramaut, in his *Aṭlas ʿArabī*, lithographed Batavia, ca. 1885.

Revised map of Sayyid ʿUthmān and description of this map, published by M. J. de Goeje in *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, Vol. ii., 1886.

L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Hadhramaut et les colonies arabes dans l'Archipel Indien*, Batavia, 1886; his map and list of distances.

*Khariṭat Ḥaḍramaut wa-Sawāḥilihā ilā ʿAdan*, based upon former maps, Weltevreden, Kolff, 1925.

Sayyid Muhammad Bin ʿAqīl's description of his journey to es-Sedd, Bīr Barhūt and Qabr Hūd, in the weekly *Ḥaḍramaut*, 9[th] year, Nos. 303 & 304, Surabaya, 1931.

W. Hein, *Südarabische Itinerare*, in *Mitteilungen der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, Vol. lvii., 1914, p. 32—58; inquiries about routes and distances in Eastern Ḥaḍramaut.

*Handbook of Arabia*, Vol. i., London, 1920; for tribal names.

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24: Meulen and Wissmann MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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[For additional references on the Hadhramaut, see category 116, footnotes and throughout the text.]

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Cries for assistance have also their own fixed forms. Should anything happen to a man he shouts for help with the phrase Yā Labbaik, yā labbaik [19], known to the classical tongue. Let it also be remarked that labbaik is the normal interjection used when asking a word or phrase to be repeated, equivalent to plaît-il. The reply to such a call by those coming to the assistance of a man in trouble of danger of any sort is Yā marḥīb, yā marḥīb. When in distress the 'Awāmir tribe shout out 'Āmir, yā wulīd 'Āmir, to which the reply is Labbaik, yā labbaik. The 'Abīd in similar circumstances cry 'Īk, 'Īk, and those coming to their help reply with zāmils.

It seems that when one gives the tribal cry (ṣarkhah) amongst the tribes of Raidat al-Daiyin, the words Yā Ḥimyarāh are shouted [20].

R. B. Serjeant.

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[19] For an interesting use of labbaik see C. A. Storey, *The Fākhir of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama* (Leiden, 1915), p. 224.

[20] Al-Rābiṭat al-'Alawīyah, (Batavia, 1347 H.), I, p. 354.

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b. Metre : Ramal type, ||—|——∪—|——∪—

شَيْخنَا ٱلمِخضَار يَطفِى ٱلنَّار

« Our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār puts out the fire. »

This is a raḏjaz or zāmil known as raḏjaz ḫābbah, or « jingle used by a party of men at the trot ». It would be sung after a fire had been extinguished. It should be noted that extinguishing of the fire is attributed to the patron saint of the quarter, and one can with justification see in this the survival of some ancient pagan ceremony.

c. Metre : Basīṭ type,

||—|—∪—|—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

وَٱلشَّيخ وَٱللهْ عُمَرْ يَا سَعْد مِنْ كَان شَيْخَهْ

« By the Šaiḫ, by God, 'Umar, O the good fortune of him whose šaiḫ he is. »

This raḏjaz (jingle) is also used in trotting.

d. Metre : Banī Mighrāh [10],

||——∪|——∪|——∪|——∪

عُمَرْ مِخضَار فِى كُلِّ حِجَّهْ نَهتَرِى بِهْ

وَرَاسَ ٱلخَصْم لِى قَدْ عَصَبْنَا بَيْن جِيَهْ

« 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, in every matter we shout for assistence to him.
And the head of the foe whom we have made up our mind (to attack) we shall bring [11]. »

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[10] I have named the metre Banī Mighrā because it seems to be invariably used in the poems which begin with this phrase. The Banī Mighrāh poem is the traditional hunting song of Ḥaḍramawt; it is discussed at length in my *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramaut.*

[11] اهترى LANDBERG, *Glos Dat.*, « prononcer le cri de ralliement de la tribu, crialler ». My informant said it meant « to seek assistance from. » For عصب he gave the synonym اراد. One can say عصبنا السيله equivalent to نبينا السيله « We want to go to the Masīlah ». In the « oath of denial » *infra*, I think that the first two verbs must have the fundamental sense of « binding and loosing ». بين جيه is equivalent to بنبينا نحيه .

# THE QUARTERS OF TARĪM
## AND THEIR TANṢŪRAHS

621 361 Like Šiḥr and Mukallā, the city of Tarīm is divided into a number of quarters. I have already given the names of the quarters in Šiḥr elsewhere[1], and those of Mukallā are marked on H. von Wissmann's map[2] where Hafd el-'Abī should be corrected to [567] Ḥāfat al-'Abīd, i.e. the quarter of the Slaves. It may be recalled that when W. H. Ingrams arrived in Ḥaḍramawt these slaves were very powerful indeed just as they were amongst the Rwala chiefs[3] of N. Arabia. As in Mecca, the city quarters form an important part of the social structure of the community, and they have their own peculiar organisation upon which I have remarked previously[4]. [174] There seems to be evidence from the inscriptions that cities in South Arabia, sometimes at least, were split up into quarters [161] before Islam. In Tarīm there are no less than eleven quarters, though, as will be seen, only five of them are really independent, but even this is a large number for a city of approximately 15,000 inhabitants.

621 361 104 The five quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Sūḳ, Ḥārat al-Ḥilaif, Ḥārat al-Saḥīl, Ḥārat al-Nuwaidarah, and Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī. Of these the largest is Ḥārat al-Sūḳ. A saḥīl is a strip of land underneath a mountain, and including the mountain-side up to the base of the perpendicular Djol cliff[5], a word of frequent occurence. The town of Šibām which is not sub-divided into quarters, has a suburb

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1 *Materials for South Arabian History* I, Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies (London, 1950), XIII, II, p. 296.

2 D. Van der Meulen & H. v. Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leiden, 1932).

3 Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), index *Slaves*.

4 *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, Le Muséon, LXII, 1-2, p. 159.

5 For the peculiar cliff formation of Wādī sides, see *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*.

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16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 tufa surrounds, and almost blocks, the outlet, and forms a small fan below. In one case a narrow channel has been humanly cut in the deposit to lead the water into a cement tank from which periodically a few palms are watered. 137 The surplus water overflows and is lost in the scree. Growing amongst the huge boulders are shrubs and trees, wild figs, *Ficus salicifolia*, and *F. sycamorus* being particularly common. Around the water itself maiden-hair fern and other small plants make a pleasant green garden in the rocky desolation.

133 At this level there is a limestone platform or shelf some 10–11 m. wide, and on the edge of this occur the outcrops of Pleistocene tufa. In the Wadi Luqrun it is a block 5 m. thick and 3–4 m. high, which is evidently but a remnant of a much more extensive deposit, for traces were detected on the walls of the great limestone overhang. Its present size and isolation are some measure of the time that has elapsed since its formation. A few badly preserved fossil leaves were found here, but also a considerable number of small cavities which, as in Kharga, are the moulds of fruits. Most of these show no structure and are therefore unidentifiable, but Mrs. E. R. Reid, who kindly examined them, found one that was certainly a fruit of a species of *Celtis*.

A climb of 50 m. or so up the scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone leads over bare rock to the upper course of the wadi. In time of spate the waters must cascade in a fall over the lip. At Luqrun traces only of tufa occurred at this upper level, but in a valley east of Hureidha a much larger outcrop was found which yielded many leaves. Here, after half an hour's ride along the wadi floor, the track climbs gradually up the stony scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone. A hundred metres or so from the edge a mass of tufa occurs as a terrace remnant 15–16 m. above the limestone floor. It is 4·6 m. high and rests on limestone breccia. This outcrop was particularly 137 rich in leaves. The commonest types closely resemble figs, but without the fruits this identification cannot be assured. Some however seem identical with the *Ficus sycamorus* leaves found in the Kharga tufas,[1] and another resembles *F. salicifolia*; as both trees are still growing nearby they probably occur as fossils. Some kind of palm is certainly present and one or two other unidentified types. The shells are scarce and not well preserved. *Melania tuberculata*, *Zootecus insularis*, and a *Planorbis* were present. More abundant is the cast of a lava very similar in appearance to that found in Kharga and considered by Dr. Zeuner to be that of a dipterous insect.

103 The pool at the foot of the cliff was examined. It is called "El Bahr"—the 529 sea[2]—and is a favourite bathing-place, the Badawin climbing the cliff and 823 diving in from a considerable height. Local tradition calls it bottomless, and a weighted tape failed to touch bottom at 19 m. It would seem to be a super 133 pot-hole, ground out through the ages by the swirling stones and water of the seasonal cascade from higher levels. It is in the shade for most of the day, and water remains all the year. The shallows around are covered with soft

113 [1] Gardner, "The Pleistocene fauna and flora of Kharga Oasis" (*Quart. J. geol. Soc.*, vol. xci, December 1935.)

[2] Van der Meulen and von Wissmann in 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled' describe this place. "After energetic scrambling over fields of stone and up slopes of rock we actually arrive at El Bahr, a deep, rocky basin, full of water, with high cavernous walls, from which, after rain, the water must fall in spray into the basin."

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



134 rainfall, represented by the gravel terraces. But this sequence might also be due to other causes such, for instance, as the blocking of the Wadi Hadhramaut by the lava-flows, and therefore it was necessary to look for independent evidence. Von Wissmann observed that the plains of the Yemen are floored with a great layer of fine sandy soil, aeolian in origin and very similar to loess.[1] This in a neighbouring country lends support to the climatic origin of the changes. Reinforcement comes also from the occurrence of aeolian silt, already mentioned, in the wadis of the *jol* far removed from the influence of the Wadi Hadhramaut. Further support on other lines was also obtained in the Wadi 'Amd itself, during the examination of small lateral wadis.

133 Some of these minor lateral wadis and ravines have springs trickling from the base of the big Cretaceous cliff, and it seemed possible that if a period of greater rainfall had, as surmised, occurred in the past, evidence would be registered in the formerly more abundant flow of these springs. In Kharga Oasis few springs still exist on the scarp, but we found there conclusive proof of more abundant water in the Pleistocene. This was demonstrated by the great deposits of travertine or tufa which in places completely mask the underlying rocks. In the Hadhramaut ancient tufa was found near the existing springs, and as terraces in the ravines above them, but developed on a far smaller scale than in Kharga (Plate 9). This may be due partly to the difference in configuration, and partly to the monsoon erosion in the Hadhramaut. Its occurrence does however point to a time of greater rainfall and spring activity. But, though on a smaller scale, the Arabian tufa deposits are strikingly like those of Kharga in their general aspect. In both places they have weathered to a rusty brown-black with a light yellow fracture, and in both places massive and cellular types occur, though nothing resembling the "plateau" tufa of Kharga was found. They all belonged to the "wadi" type.[2]

The deposit in both places contains fossil leaves, amongst which fig leaves are predominant, and shells, though these are unexpectedly much more abundant in Kharga than in the Hadhramaut. Moreover in Arabia the tufas were not, in the areas examined, associated with interbedded silts and gravels, as in Kharga, nor were palaeoliths, as there, *in situ* in them. The dating of the Kharga tufas in archaeological terms is therefore much more definite and susceptible of subdivisions than in Hadhramaut; but the palaeolithic age also of the latter is placed beyond doubt by the occurrence of tufa pebbles in the 10-m. gravel terrace, and in the gravels interbedded with the aeolian silt.

A typical spring and tufa terrace outcrop in Arabia may now be described for the first time.

The modern springs issue in lateral ravines at or near the base of the massive lowest Cretaceous limestone, which is undercut sometimes by as much as 20 or 30 m. A good example was found in a small valley on the west side of the Wadi Luqrun, where two trickles of water come from cracks in the limestone about 1·5 m. above its base. A soft spongy mass of recently formed

113 [1] C. Rathjens and H. von Wissmann, "Vorislamische Altertümer" (*Südarabien-Reise*, Band 2, 1932, p. 14).

[2] For discussion of these tufas see Caton-Thompson and Gardner, "The prehistoric geography of Kharga Oasis" (*Geogr. J.* 80 (1932) 369–409), and Gardner, "Some problems of the Pleistocene hydrography of Kharga Oasis" (*Geol. Mag.*, vol. lxix, September 1932).

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



114 end to end of the Wadi Hadhramaut, and accounts of their journeys have been given to the Society.[1]

*The geological work*

133 The geology of the coastal region around Mukalla has been described by Mr. O. H. Little, of the Egyptian Geological Survey, and those interested in the solid geology are referred to his paper.[2] This region is the most diversified both structurally and petrologically. The fundamental granite appears here overlaid by limestones of Cretaceous and Tertiary age, and faults and folds are conspicuous even from the air. The few days at Mukalla were spent in a rapid examination of the more recent geological features.

To the visitor by sea the most striking is the glistening bank of white dune-sand west of the town, probably masking a raised beach. The coast eastwards to Shihr is fringed with the remnants of a low-lying raised beach now being eroded. In the wadi immediately west of Mukalla a raised beach was noted at RL 15 m. about 1·5 km. from the shore. It consisted of semi-angular and partly rounded pebbles of granite and limestone with marine fossils. Four metres higher a second level of cellular sandstone may be either beach or river terrace.[3]

[487] After the Shihr road has passed through the coastal barrier backing Mukalla, it runs for 2 km. over an extensive gravel plain which slopes smoothly and evenly from RL 66 to RL 38 m. It then climbs a prominent ridge at RL 52·5 m., with a typical gravel profile, and descends again to a similar gravel plain. This plain is the most important erosional feature of the district: its age could not be determined exactly, but that it is Pleistocene seems fairly certain from the occurrence of palaeolithic flake implements of chert[4] on a narrow gravel ridge which rises from it near the fork of the Du'an road. This ridge lies 4 m. above the plain, and seems to be the last remnant of a more extensive level that has been destroyed by the lateral erosion of the two neighbouring wadis. These wadis bound the main plain north and south, and good gravel sections were examined in their banks, without however the discovery of flint implements *in situ* in them.

A line of levels was run from the Shihr road S.S.E. across the gravel plain towards the sea. The sketch-map and section, Fig. 1, show the principal results. The big erosional plain falls in this direction from RL 38 to RL 27 m. in 1100 m. It is then cut by the westerly wadi whose floor lies at RL 13 m. On the far side two terraces, one at RL 16 m. and a more extensive one at RL 20 m., are crossed before the gravel plain is regained at RL 22. From there it stretches for 500 m. or so seaward, and ends in a scarp feature at RL 19. It overlooks a marine terrace crowded with recent shells. Upstream these become scarcer and eventually die out, and the levels show that it is

113 [1] "A journey to the Sei'ar country and through the Wadi Maseila" (*Geogr. J.* 88 (1936) 524–51); "The Hadhramaut: present and future" (*Geogr. J.* 92 (1938) 289–312). See also *Journal R. Central Asian Society*, July 1936.

[2] O. H. Little, "The geography and geology of Makalla" (Geological Survey of Egypt, Cairo, 1925).

[3] Near Jibuti, which we visited on the way home via Hodeidah, Jeddah, and Yenbo, raised coral beaches have been recorded at RL 18 and 25 m.

[4] These resemble typologically the flakes called Levalloisian in N.W. Europe.

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



help to introduce for the first time dating, absolute or relative, into the early history, independently of, or in conjunction with, inscriptions. Interwoven with these purely archaeological questions was Miss Gardner's geological investigation of the Quaternary physiography of the region; more especially inquiry into problems of past climates; and comparisons of Pleistocene conditions in South-west Arabia in lat. 15° N. with those of a typical desert area as studied by her in Kharga Oasis and elsewhere in the Libyan desert 10° farther north.[1] A recent Egyptian expedition under Dr. S. A. Huzayyin had done valuable work on these lines in 1936 in the Yemen, where a series of prehistoric pluvial periods had been traced, besides the possibility of a minor

one in historic times. That expedition paid also a flying visit to the Hadhramaut, but little work was done there.[2]

The general physical features of the country are well known from the excellent map published by von Wissmann in 1932,[3] and from the air reconnaissance of Squadron-Leader Cochrane[4] and the late Flight-Lieut. A. R. M. Rickards, whose map shows well the peculiar drainage system (Plate 1). Very recently a methodical aerial survey of the whole Protectorate has been accomplished, and we are privileged here to publish some of the photographs. Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams still remain the only Europeans who have travelled from

[1] *Geol. Mag.*, vol. lxix, September 1932, "Some problems of the Pleistocene hydrography of Kharga Oasis."

[2] S. A. Huzayyin, "Egyptian University Scientific Expedition to south-west Arabia," *Nature* 140 (1937) 513–4.

[3] Folder to 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled,' by D. Van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann. Leiden, 1932.

[4] "An air reconnaissance of the Hadhramaut" (*Geogr. J.* 77 (1931) 209–16).

15: Bunker N-4 (ca. 1950) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## Acknowledgements

000 I wish to record my thanks to Mr. A. O. Thompson of the Department of Mines in Nairobi for his help in identifying the geological specimens, and to Mr. P. R. Stephenson, Director of the Desert Locust Survey, for his many constructive suggestions and permission to use photographs from the D.L.S. collection.

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● 113 For the heights above sea-level: our own observations. In non-visited parts, the map of Imam Sharif Khan Bahadur and the 1 : 1000.000 India map, with some rectifications.

For the south-western corner and the sketch map of the country West of Ḥaḍramaut, besides our own information:

The map illustrating the travels of Munzinger, Miles and Von Maltzan, in H. Freiherr von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Braunschweig, 1873.

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Comte de Landberg, *Arabica*, No. IV, Leiden, 1897, No. V, Leiden, 1898; detailed information about the 'Abd el-Wāḥid Sultanate up to Shabwa, Upper 'Awāliq, etc.

E. Glaser, sketch map of the country east of the Yemen, in *Eduard Glasers Reise nach Mârib*, herausgegeben von D. H. von Müller und N. Rhodokanakis, Wien 1913, Blatt 3.

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7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden MM1
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A subsidiary excavation was carried out on the smaller mound of Hagr Bin Humeid, nine miles south of Timna, for the purpose of establishing a pottery sequence.

The objects found were divided between the expedition and the Amir of Beihan, and the latter's share will be exhibited in the Aden Museum on loan in due course.

The expedition returned for a further season's work in December, 1950.

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A brief account of the first season's work has been published by Prof. W. F. Albright under the title of "The Chronology of Ancient South Arabia in the Light of the First Campaign of Excavation in Qataban" in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 119.

## Chapter 13: The British Council

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In spite of the fact that the number of United Kingdom appointed staff has been cut from three to one, the work of the British Institute, both men's and women's branches, has continued, and membership has increased to over 400 men and over 200 women. Lectures have been given on a variety of subjects, and the sporting and social activities of the Institute have been developed. Affiliated societies have included the Aden Discussion Group and the Aden Arts Club.

The British Council Library, which contains over 7,000 volumes, has retained its popularity. A scheme for providing boxes of books to readers living outside the range of the main library has been inaugurated. A large number of periodicals have been made available.

Extra-mural activities have been carried on in various parts of the Colony. As it is not easy for those who live outside Crater to attend British Institute functions, lectures have been given, films shown, and discussions held about life in Britain on the premises of local societies and clubs of non-political character. Unfortunately, owing to the shortage of staff, it has not been possible to extend this service as much as had been hoped.

With the object of enabling the ordinary citizens of Aden to meet their counterparts in Britain, an electrician, a fisherman, an Assistant Political Officer, a printer, and a telephone engineer visited Britain during 1949 and 1950 on British Council bursaries.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden MM1
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The following are the more important periodicals published in Aden :

| | |
|---|---|
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| *Reuters Bulletin* .. .. | English daily (Roneo). |
| *Dikra* .. .. .. | Arabic weekly. |
| *Fatat al Jazirah* .. .. | " " |
| *Nahda* .. .. .. | " " |
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### PORT ADMINISTRATION

The Port of Aden is administered by a Board of Trustees constituted under the Aden Port Trust Ordinance (No. 3 of 1951). The Board is at present composed of four officials including the Chairman, and eight non-officials. The Trustees, with the exception of the Chairman, are appointed by the Governor for a period of two years. Vacancies during this period are also filled by the Governor.

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The Port Trust maintains a pilot service consisting of one Harbour Master and nine pilots. Mercantile marine matters are dealt with by the Port Officer. The present incumbent is also Superintendent of Lighthouses.

A 504

The Port has continued to thrive throughout the period and there has been a further increase in the number and tonnage of ships using the harbour. There has been an increase in the number of ships calling for the purpose of bunkering and a consequent increase in the business done by the oil supplying companies. Coal bunkering has shown the falling off noticeable in previous years.

The Aden Port Trust publishes an annual report.

## Chapter 4: Weights and Measures

A 804

Imperial weights and measures are the legal standard, but a number of local and Indian measures are in use, particularly the frasila, which is normally 28 lb. but varies for different commodities.

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## PREFACE.

The information presented in this report was collected for the most part during a tour in the Hadhramaut in 1934-5. Apart from this tour the report owes a good deal to subsequent visits to Mukalla up to March of this year, and to two years almost continuous contact with the affairs of the country. Valuable information connected with colonies of Hadhramis in other countries has also been supplied by the administrations and others concerned. 114

I set out on the tour referred to, accompanied by my wife and Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad Salih Ja'fer, who has rendered many political services to the Government, on 29th October 1934. We left Aden for Mukalla by steamship, and after five days there went by donkey to the Wadi Du'an where we stayed two nights in 'Aura, and continued on donkeys to Henin. From Henin we drove to Shibam by car, and after a short stay journeyed on camels through part of the almost unknown Sei'ar country. We made a slight detour to visit the tomb of the Prophet Salih in the Wadi Khonab, and then followed the Wadis Ser and Sodaf to the northern watershed, returning to Shibam by the Wadi Qubhudh, where the inhabitants, members of the Harizi tribe, live in caves in the walls of the wadi. On our return to the Wadi Hadhramaut we went by car to Tarim where we spent a few days. During our time in the Wadi Hadhramaut we paid three short visits to Seiyun. From Tarim we travelled with camels down the hitherto unexplored Wadi Maseila, visiting Qabr Hud, the most sacred site in the Hadhramaut, and finally reached Seihut after passing through the country of the Mahra people. From Seihut we took a dhow to Shihr and after two days returned to Mukalla by car. Here we spent a further week and arrived back in Aden by steamship on New Year's Day, 1935.

Among the principal objects of the tour were an enquiry into the social, economic, and political conditions of the country, and the making of contacts with its rulers and people. In the course of this work a considerable amount of material was collected which can be classified as follows :— 121

1. *Political.*—Apart from information as to the political situation, collected from representatives of all sections of the population, I obtained much material on the various tribes of the country and the inhabitants generally. A great deal of this was taken down verbally during the journey, and much was contained in reports and notes given to me by many of the important authorities and inhabitants with whom I came in contact. Information regarding the Mahras has been omitted from the report.

2. *Economic and Social.*—A considerable amount of information was obtained, by observation and from different sources, on the condition of the people, their methods of living, their industries and the resources of the country, as well as on the finance and

121 organization of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states, whose dominions together make up the country referred to in this report as the Hadhramaut.

3. *Geographical.*—A complete watch and compass traverse was made of all the route traversed on foot, on donkey, or on camel. When travelling by car all mileages were recorded. Topographical notes in very full detail were made along the whole of the route. The heights of all halts were taken by aneroid barometer, and temperatures were also recorded. We took 1,330 photographs and 800 feet of cinema film.

4. *Natural History.*—Specimens collected included one mammal, one reptile, one batrachian, 330 insects, spiders, scorpions, centipedes and crustacea, six fossils, eight mineral specimens and 160 botanical specimens. These were all forwarded to the British Museum and reports received. A tin of Du'an honey was also forwarded through the Colonial Office to the Imperial Institute for analysis and report. The report is incorporated in Chapter VII.

5. *Archaeological.*—Although a large number of fragments of inscriptions and other objects were obtained, it does not seem likely that they will prove of exceptional interest. A collection of objects from a Himyaritic tomb in Tarim and some possible stone implements were sent to Professor C. G. Seligman, and I have received some notes from him. He considers the principal feature of interest to be the discovery of sites of manufactories of obsidian, chert, and flint instruments. Various other inscriptions in the country hitherto unrecorded were photographed or copied. The language and characters of one painted inscription found in the Wadi Maseila have not yet been fully determined. Dr. A. S. Tritton of the School of Oriental Studies, who has examined it, has indicated certain similarities, apart from Himyaritic, to Ethiopic and to the North Arabian alphabets of Thamud and Safa.

The information referred to in the first two heads above is included in this report. The remainder, which includes the description of the country visited, has been partly dealt with in papers to the Royal Geographical and Royal Central Asian Societies, and may be made available in other forms.

114 124 I must claim some indulgence for this report, as it will be understood that comparatively speaking the length of time spent in the country was very short. It will be readily understood also that with the wholesale collection of information in a short time it is not possible to obtain all the check desirable, and many of the statements made depend on a single informant. It is however useful that as much as possible should be recorded so that, as opportunity occurs, the information given may be revised.

000 I should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging the great assistance I received from my wife and Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad on the journey. It would not have been possible to obtain as much information and material without their assistance.

67 At this time, too, they had their connection with the East African coast for the *Periplus* says that it was governed "under some ancient right that subjects it to the sovereignty of the state that is become first in Arabia."[1]

Even in the Arabian Nights do we find reference to this emigration of the Hadhramis. As will be seen the Hadhramis almost universally maintain a connection with and an affection for their native land so that it will be of interest to give the following quotation:

"In time he reached Lahej where he found a ship ready to sail for India; so he shipped on board and made Calicut of Malabar. Here he met with many Arabs, especially Hazramis, who recommended him to the King; and this King (who was a Kafir) trusted him and advanced him to the captainship of his bodyguard. He remained ten years in all solace and delight of life; at the end of which time he was seized with home-sickness; and the longing to behold his native land was that of a lover pining for his beloved; and he came near to die of yearning desire. But his appointed day had not dawned; so, after taking the first bath of health, he left the King without leave, and in due course landed at Makalla of Hazramaut." (Burton, Vol. V, p. 136.)

Commenting on the passage Burton relates the story of a man who, flying from "Hazrami" society, reached the uttermost parts of China where he thought himself safe, but as he was about to pass the night in some ruin he heard a voice hard by him exclaim, "Oh 'Imad ad Din,"[2] the name of the patron saint of Hazramaut. "Thereupon he arose and fled and he is, they say, flying still."

The emigration of Hadhramis to foreign parts is therefore no new phenomenon, but its long continuance and the steady expansion of the Hadhrami communities in other countries, to which probably the brake applied by the recent depression is only temporary, is not without significance in considering the future of the country. Not only is it probably responsible for the more open and receptive atmosphere in the Hadhramaut but it is also probable that it has a considerable bearing on the growing desire in the country for peace and good government.

[483] There is a further point. Although the Hadhramaut could no doubt produce more under proper guidance the resources of the soil can never make it wealthy, and the item of invisible exports to the extent of £630,000 annually represented by remittances of money into the country is not to be neglected.

114 The first systematic attempt to examine the position of Hadhramaut colonies abroad was made by Professor Van den Berg in his noteworthy study on the Hadhramaut and the Arab colonies

[1] Stigand says (*Land of Zinj*) that the Arabs call Pate, Bata and derive the word from a tribe named Bataw which left Hadhramaut and settled in Pate.

[2] Probably 'Amad ad Din vide Chapter XVII.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



n the Indian Archipelago, published in 1886. In this work, which in Part 1 contains a remarkably full account of the country and the people by one who had never set foot in it but had learnt more about it than anyone who had, the author examined in great detail the Arab colonies in the East Indies. He comments on the fact that when an Arab established in the Indian Archipelago sees that one alone no longer suffices for his business, he engages in preference a young man of his family or of his tribe. This is the reason why in all the Arab colonies the majority of the immigrants are from the same part of the Hadhramaut. Thus he says the greater number of Arabs in the Indian Archipelago originally hail from the main wadi between Shibam and Tarim. The inhabitants of the Wadi Du'an prefer to go to the colonies in Aden, Jedda, Suakin, or Cairo. The people of the coast choose British India, above all the coast of Malabar and Hyderabad. The Beduins, he says, rarely leave their country. 114 167 472

The situation is much the same to-day. As regards the East Indies the majority of the emigrants to Java are from the Āl Kathīr, though the inhabitants of Tarim and Wadi Hajarein (particularly the towns of Badra and Haura), and the tribes of Nahd and Ja'da are also represented. The Singapore community originates principally from the towns of Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, and the Nahd tribesmen. Turning to East Africa the majority of the immigrants are from the Tamimi tribe, the Bā Haidera, and the tribes of Hajr. Zanzibar has a close connection with the ancient town of Shihr, and for this reason Hadhramis in the Protectorate are almost universally referred to as Shihiris. The Red Sea contingent is recruited mainly from the Wadi Du'an, and Du'anis are found in Egypt, Jedda, Abyssinia, and the Sudan. There are also a few from the Wadi Hajr in Jedda and from Shibam and the Nahd in Abyssinia and Sudan. 167

Although the general tendency is for the Hadhramaut colonies abroad to be recruited from particular places in the home country it will be observed that there is some overlapping, and this is due to the great extension of emigration and to the fact that there is nowadays more movement in the interior of the Hadhramaut. The Nahd tribesmen, notably, have many of them become almost townsmen, and living largely in the main wadi are in frequent touch with different parts of it.

There is yet another important contingent of Hadhramis abroad to be mentioned and this consists of those in the service of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Qu'aiti authorities informed me that this contingent amounts to 5,000 or 6,000 in number, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are Yafa'is, mostly with Hadhramaut connections. There are also many Hadhramaut tribes represented such as the Nāwah, the Ja'da, and even the Sei'ar. The command of the Nizam's bodyguard is held by the Sultan of Mukalla as hereditary Jemadar. This does not exhaust the list

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

## INTRODUCTION

131 To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South
114 Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

631 Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and
643 Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

133 The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and
132 uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable an-
512 tiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an
439 enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade.
167 The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

721 Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *liwas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

## Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

2: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 faith in which I was brought up, but when, in such a position as I have held, I have to deal with people of another faith, I feel it is essential to help and encourage them to live up to the best in their own faith, 771 for a live religious spirit is a vital necessity to all progress. The Had- 871 hramaut is sadly afflicted, as I have said, by over-emphasis on formalism, but I have found great support in pressing more and more the necessity of working and living in the spirit of religion. This type of teaching is employed in educating troops and boys and girls in the new schools, particularly in the children's village and in the bedouin boys' and girls' schools. My educational assistant has a candidate for training as a teacher of the spirit of religion, leaving the other teachers to teach, for example, the methods of prayer and fasting. In the course of time it has been generally accepted that the position of religion in the affairs of the country is being strengthened and not weakened.

## TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS FROM EXPERIENCE IN THE HADHRAMAUT

114 As I spent the first fifteen years of my service in Zanzibar and Mauritius and have had opportunities of studying the administration of East Africa, Malaya and the West Indies, whether on the spot or in the Colonial Office, it is natural for me to approach consideration of the best way to help backward areas in the Middle East, like the Hadhramaut, to more effective self government, by comparison with the better known colonial methods of approach to the same goal.

000 It seems to me that if success is ultimately achieved in teaching the people of such areas to govern themselves it will probably not be by the traditional methods of colonial administration. The practical difficulties of doing so seem to be due to the nature of the country, to the nature of the people and to political considerations. The country is mainly desert and our colonial tradition has been built up in lands [669] capable of economic development. Owing to their environment the people, taking them as a whole, are neither simple nor tractable and, by contrast with most peoples of tropical dependencies, they are suspicious of outside interference. As the close control of any part of Arabia is looked on with dislike by other parts of Arabia and as there is, as far as I can see, no over-riding necessity for us to control such an area as the Hadhramaut closely, it does not on political grounds seem worth while to do so. The less we interfere with the internal

# NOTES ON THE KATHIRI STATE OF HADHRAMAUT

*R. H. Smith*

DURING THE SIX YEARS since the sunset of imperial rule in India, new light has been shed on all but one of the former appendages of that rule in the adjacent Arabian peninsula. Though Kuwait, Bahrein and Oman have long enjoyed a certain "international status" entitling them to a delineation of their boundaries on maps of the Middle East, their most recent and widespread fame derives from their new status as repositories of a multi-billion dollar oil investment. Consequently, vital statistics relating to these three states are a fingertip proposition in many reference rooms in the country.

But the states of the Aden Protectorate — where as yet no petroleum has been discovered — remain the victims of such complete anonymity that most maps are utterly vacant of even the sketchiest political detail concerning them. Moreover, they receive only scant mention in the more specialized political handbooks. Yet in area and population, the Aden Protectorate equals Kuwait, Bahrein and Oman combined, while her cultural and social characteristics, especially in Hadhramaut, indicate a far higher development than can be found in most shaykhdoms of the Persian Gulf.

Most remarkable of the Aden sultanates, because of the paradox of its geographical remoteness, yet high degree of cosmopolitanism, is the Kathiri State, whose capital, Seiyun, is probably the loveliest purely native city in the entire Arab World. Here, too, is paradox, for, though Seiyun lies on the bottom of the parched Wadi Hadhramaut, it is famous for its many palace gardens and for such unheard-of desert luxuries as swimming

◆R. H. Smith was managing editor of *New Citizen*, a weekly newspaper published in India, and now is studying at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TRIBES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

By MAJOR THE HON. R. A. B. HAMILTON

Lecture given on September 23, 1942, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Hamilton is a Political Officer, following in the great tradition. He knows the needs and the minds of his Arabs, and he also will tell us, and indeed emphasize, what a Political Officer should know before he goes among them.

At the same time the Council feels that this tribal question stretches far beyond Southern Arabia into India, Africa and other parts of the British Empire. This, therefore, is the first of several lectures on backward tribes. We hope very much to get as much information as we can on this subject, and we trust that Political Officers who are not able to come to these lectures will give us the benefit of their experience in writing, so that we may put their views in the Journal. Naturally one's inclination is to hedge round these tribes, if it were possible, but there is no question that as time goes on they must be fitted in to the civilized world. The study of their ancient social organizations and of their heritage is absolutely necessary, so that, if it is possible to collect as much information as is available, we may perhaps induce the powers that be to take a line which will protect them from exploitation by civilization, by big business, and possibly by their more advanced neighbours.

THE organization of the social classes in the small area of the Aden Protectorate is complicated. Few people have given much thought to it, and those who have, have usually erred in accepting generalizations.

In the organization one may still trace the ancient divisions of the territory as it was some two thousand or more years ago. It was then divided into four main states, which we can call kingdoms: that of Saba, which is supposed to be the ancient Sheba, in the Yemen; Qataba in south-east Yemen; Ma'an, a confederation ruled by the "Grand Council," between Eastern Yemen and Hadhramaut; and the kingdom of Hadhramaut.

# TOWNS AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE HADHRAMAUT

By MRS. M. DE STURLER-RAEMAEKERS

000 Report of a lecture illustrated by a film delivered to the Society on Thursday, May 21, 1953, Mr. W. H. Ingrams, C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: As you can well imagine, it is a great pleasure to me to take the chair this afternoon for Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers, because I have spent ten years in the country which she is about to describe. Unfortunately, ever since I left it in 1944 time has done nothing but take me somewhere else in the world. I have just returned from a tour of the United States, Mexico, Central America and the West Indies. Most of my time seems to be taken up in Africa and it is difficult to get an opportunity of looking again at the Hadhramaut. Hence it is a great pleasure to be able to see Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers' slides and to hear her account this afternoon.

341 113 I expect that in some respects at least the architecture of the Hadhramaut is familiar to many of you through Freya Stark's books, perhaps particularly the illustrations in her book *Seen in the Hadhramaut*; also Mr. Osbert Lancaster, an architect who many may know better as a cartoonist, wrote an article on the architecture of the Hadhramaut some years ago which appeared, I believe, in the *Architectural Journal*.

341 773 323 There is a very long tradition of architecture in the Hadhramaut. One wonders how long this wonderful working in stone has gone on. In ancient days the ancient Hadhramauti used to go in for monumental stone masonry on a large scale. I remember seeing huge stones lying on the old Hadhramauti ruins and being told by the local people that the stones had been transported to the early buildings by the Adites, who were formerly giants. Hadhramaut is a country which has always recognized the Book of Genesis, that there were giants in the land in those days.

114 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers was born in Holland and came to England as a child, first, during the first World War. Here she was educated, so we can at least claim part of her. Then she went to France and later came back to England to study architecture for three years at the Architectural Association. She took her degree in Brussels and practised there. Then she travelled a good deal in Europe. She returned to England again at the outbreak of the recent World War and has been here ever since except for her travelling. In 1948 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers thought she would go further afield and, fortunately for us and for Arabia, she chose to go there, but before doing so she took the precaution of studying Arabic for two years at London University.

Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers spent ten months in the Hadhramaut in 1950-51 and was there again in 1952 for five months. She has told me, very modestly, that that is a very inadequate time in which to study the Hadhramaut, but I think we shall discover that she found out a great deal of much interest while she was there.

My experience of the Middle East is, as you have heard, somewhat brief, being only three years. I therefore feel a little embarrassed when speaking before a gathering in which there may be many who have probably travelled there for much longer periods. I trust they will show some indulgence towards anything I may say which may not be either new or just as they saw it; I have at least specialized knowledge in 121 one subject which took me there, and that is architecture. I went to study the buildings of Hadhramaut and make measured drawings of them. I do not intend to give a technical discourse on exactly how the buildings are constructed or how the bricks are made, because I do not think that this is

Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently
killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaweth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became "Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

# LAND AND PEOPLES OF THE HADHRAMAUT, ADEN PROTECTORATE

Ruthven W. Pike

131 ALTHOUGH Southern Arabia borders on the much-traveled route to India and ocean liners daily touch its shore at the port of Aden, it has been little reconnoitered, far less than •114 the northern part of the peninsula. A chronological account of exploration in the part of Southern Arabia known as the Hadhramaut, by Mr. W. H. Ingrams (now Chief Secretary in Aden), appeared in the *Geographical Review* for October, 1938. It is entirely due to the tactful and untiring efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, who, with the coöperation of Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf, member of the wealthiest family in the Hadhramaut, have succeeded in establishing peace and understanding among the many tribes of the region, that it is now possible for a European to journey unmolested within prescribed regions.

[131] The boundaries of the Aden Protectorate, of which the Hadhra-
131 maut is a part, extend into heretofore unexplored territory and have not been surveyed in the manner customary in settled areas. The limits are well understood, however. They are formed by the Gulf of Aden on the south, the district of Dhufar on the east, the southern margin of the great interior sandy desert of Rub' al Khali on the north, and a line running N 45° E from Perim Island to the Rub' al Khali on the west.

162 The population is densest near Aden and its mountainous hinter-
161 land. There are, however, a great many people to the east of Aden, who live along the coast and in the interior of the Hadhramaut; Mr. Ingrams estimates their number at 260,000. There are also many towns and villages between the mouth of the Wadi Maseila and the Dhufar Coast, with a population thought to be about 25,000. Mukalla,
361 with 16,000 inhabitants, is the chief port of the Hadhramaut and seat
[63] of the British Colonial Administration for the surrounding area.

## CLIMATE

132 The climate at sea level between October and April is healthful and agreeable to one accustomed to living in temperate regions. On the interior plateau, or Jol, at altitudes of 3000 to 4000 feet, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut, at 2000 feet, the nights are cool, with minimum temperatures reaching 50° F., and are apt to be windy. At such times ordinary summer clothing and light bedding do not afford enough protection.

From April on, the average and maximum daily temperatures

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# SOUTH-WEST ARABIA: TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

By HAROLD INGRAMS, C.M.G., O.B.E.

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Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on January 24, 1945, Lieut.-General H. G. Martin, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E., in the Chair.

Introducing the lecturer the Chairman said that Mr. Ingrams had been intimately connected with affairs in South-West Arabia since he first went to Aden as a political officer in 1934. Later as British Resident Adviser at Mukalla, Mr. Ingrams, accompanied by his wife, carried out a series of journeys, which were not only of scientific value but which paved the way for a remarkably successful pacification of the tribes in the Hadhramaut, who were induced by peaceful persuasion to lay aside their hereditary blood feuds. It was in recognition of the part that Mrs. Ingrams played in helping to make this possible that the Lawrence Memorial Medal was awarded conjointly to Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams in 1939; an example that was followed by the Royal Geographical Society in the award of their Founder's Medal in 1940. Mr. Ingrams returned to this country from the Western Aden Protectorate at the end of 1944.

The lecturer opened with an account of a recent journey in the Yemen, and it is hoped that this will appear as a separate article in the next issue of the Journal.

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OF late months there has been greater activity in the question of Arab unity. The conference at Alexandria was stimulated by the promise of His Majesty's Government to give full support to any scheme that will command general approval for strengthening the cultural, economic and political ties between the Arab countries. The conference was attended by representatives of Egypt, 'Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, and there was an observer from Palestine. Talk in relation to Arab unity is generally concentrated on the more advanced areas in the north, but sooner or later the matter must affect the whole of the peninsula, and the people of Southern Arabia must be drawn into closer touch with their brethren in the north.

I thought, therefore, that it might be of interest if I tried to give you a short description of conditions in South-West Arabia as they have been during the last few years. One way or another during the last six years of absence from England I have had to do with all parts of this area, and though I do not claim to know them all equally well, I thought perhaps I knew enough from seeing them personally and dealing with their affairs to justify my giving you my own impressions of them as a slight contribution to the material for the study of the question of Arab unity in relation to all Arab countries, including the less well known. But I make no claim whatever to give a final or authoritative picture, so you must not regard what I say about them as more than a personal view.

I have called this lecture "South-West Arabia: To-day and To-morrow," but as regards to-morrow I merely want to indicate a possibility or two, more with the object of asking the question, What can we do to help this more backward part of the Arab world to fit itself to take a real part in the League of Arab States which may eventually be established?

121 South-West Arabia is to-day divisible into four distinct parts, and I propose to take each of these in turn, giving a sketch of how I see its

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Middle East MI



chance of coming into being. But without discussing that, they have much of common interest to consider. In itself the visit of a King of Egypt to a King of Arabia is a matter of the utmost importance and significance. For unless the Arab states can come to an understanding on such matters as are implicit in the project of an Arab Federation, there is no doubt that sooner or later they will come under foreign domination.

If Arabia, with its position in the centre of the world, is to keep quiet and become prosperous, its present problems must be solved. I believe the best form that our sympathy with Syria and the Lebanon could take would be if we could agree with the French that neither we nor they would control any Arab area. The secret agreement between ourselves and the French in 1916, against which the Arab world has always protested, is the foundation of the presence of the French in Syria and Lebanon. Unless we are ourselves prepared to give up control of Arab territories we have no right to criticize the French.

When we have done that, I hope that, in a spirit of friendship, we may be able to send them people like Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, not as officials but as friends, to whom I am sure the Hadhramaut will always be grateful as to individuals who have taken the trouble to know the Arabs, to love them and to work for them.

Dr. Huzzayyin: I would like to congratulate the Royal Central Asian Society on this lecture, and Mr. Ingrams on the way in which he managed to cover so wide a field so successfully.

There are one or two points that I should like to raise. One is the importance of this part of Arabia. It has been overshadowed in the last few years when the Arab world has been thrust into intimate contact with the West, and the name Arab has carried with it to European minds the general idea of a nomad, or a merchant with his caravan of camels. This idea has been taken from the character of life in the northern and central parts of Arabia, and similarly Arab expansion has been thought of as a movement by land.

But Southern Arabia also played a great part in the diffusion of Arabic culture, and Arab expansion southwards spread as much by sea as it did in the north by land. Hadhramaut has from ancient times had contacts with the Far East of Asia. The Omeiras had close contacts with East Africa, and, as you could see from the pictures the lecturer has shown us, the Far East in return influenced the architecture of South Arabia.

The culture of Southern Arabia was more advanced than that of any other part of the peninsula in ancient times. This heritage is still latent in those countries, and it is worth while to help them revive it and take their part in the affairs of Asia.

A second point which Mr. Ingrams neglected to stress is the part he has himself played in the development of this area. I met him first in 1936, when he was just starting work in the Hadhramaut. He was not content to lead a leisured life in the comfort of Mukalla; he chose instead to go to the people of the hinterland, and through his work he has come to command the respect of all classes of the community. I have met many Hadhramis and they used to speak freely to me as an Egyptian, and I have been struck by their appreciation of his work, in pacification, in develop-

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Yemen MLL



ing friendly relations between the tribes, in work for education and for health.

I am afraid that what Mr. Ingrams says of Aden is true. It is a region of what we may call cultural contact, where Western and Arab ideas meet. Owing to the development of roads there is now a competition between the ports of Aden and Hodeida. Where commerce is developing there must be such cultural contacts, and unless this contact is controlled the result will be cultural confusion. I feel that the British Council might do valuable work, therefore, in trying to create at Aden a centre where Arabs may learn the best of Western culture, and may guide the developments that must arise in that region.

Colonel ELPHINSTON: We have been told that the Middle East is likely to be a testing ground of world controls. For reasons indicated by Mr. Philby, it may prove a more difficult testing ground than has sometimes been thought. But in that connection I would like to ask Mr. Ingrams one or two questions.

I understand that subsidies are not paid to the Sheikhs of the Aden Protectorate and the Trucial Coast, but that a subsidy is paid to King Ibn Sa'ud, and, further, that the Emperor of Abyssinia was recently offered a subsidy and refused it. Can Mr. Ingrams tell us if he thinks these subsidies a good thing, and whether he can suggest some way of controlling the expenditure of these monies so as to ensure their being used for the purpose for which they are given by the British taxpayers?

Secondly, the Jewish Agency in Palestine recently allotted some of the small annual quota of immigration permits to Oriental Jews, including some from the Yemen. Are the conditions under which Jews live in the Yemen such as to justify using up permits which may be desperately needed for European Jewish refugees?

Mr. INGRAMS: It is now agreed that it is better not to hand out large sums of money to rulers or individuals, which might be misused. But it is a good thing to provide money to start new and useful projects. I think that it is better to allow local freedom in the handling of these subsidies in such naturally independent countries, rather than to exercise a close control such as is applied in the ordinary type of dependency. In Hadhramaut it is not difficult to be certain that the money is well expended, because the Government is organized and has its own auditor, and there is a proper system of keeping public accounts.

No doubt there are sometimes instances of dishonesty, as such happen everywhere, but I do not think the Hadhramaut is at all bad in this respect. I once had an instance of the care that is taken, when a man from the Hedjaz came in to see me in my office, and when I waited to learn what he wanted, he said, "I have called because I thought I would like to tell you that this is the first port I have called at where I have not had to give a single bribe. Customs, passport officials, police, and everyone else, they have all done their duty without wanting rewards." And I think I can assure you that in the greater matter of the subsidies the money is properly spent and is not frittered away.

With regard to the status of the Jews. In Sana'a the outside exteriors of the Jewish houses do not look very promising, but when you get inside

which then emanates acrid smoke with an appalling smell. This is supposed to relieve the patient.

Natives do not know the origin of the *pepo punda*, and are extremely afraid of it. Happily it is not very frequent in Malindi.

NOTE.—The description of the above dances has been compiled by a civil officer of experience who has a thorough knowledge of Swahili. Many of the dances have undoubtedly been brought from Arabia by the Mumeat Arabs, others were probably brought in by the Nabahans and the Vumba chiefs who came from Shiraz in Persia about A.D. 1100. The hypnotic seizures described in some of the ceremonies are well known in Africa, particularly among the Akamba people; the phenomena would well repay investigation by a medical psychologist.—C. W. HOBLEY. Mombasa.

NOTES BY A. WERNER.

p. 418, l. 23.—This, or some similar event, followed by faction-fighting, has been celebrated by Mahamadi bin Abubakari Kijuma, of Lamu, in a poem called *Utendi wa Mkomambi*.

p. 419.—The Kinyago. This (called wapago by the Yao and chiyao by the Anyanja) takes place at the initiation of young people in Nyasaland. For particulars, see Rattray, *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 178, 179.

p. 420.—A list of pepo, with the appropriate exorcisms, songs, etc., as used in the Mrima region (the mainland opposite Zanzibar) is given in Velten's *Desturi za Waswahili*, pp. 149–167. The Arab *zar*, described for Mecca by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (The Hague, 1889), vol. ii. pp. 124–128), belongs to the same category.

p. 426.—The Wasanye in the Malindi district all speak Galla, but they say their old language is still spoken by the Waboni in the Witu territory.

afford to do so. It is difficult to understand what it is 167
that binds them so firmly to their poor, monotonous and 186
scorching rocks and deserts. Their fanatical Mohammedanism is certainly an important factor, but so is also their love for their ill-favored country, and the intuitive perception that the preservation of their group and of its characteristic attributes is closely connected with the hard, frugal and primitive ways of living in their native land.

In those regions to which the people of Hadramaut 167
emigrate they usually have a much larger part in the economic life of the people than their numbers would justify. This is particularly the case in the Dutch East Indies, where they have an increasingly important place as business men and as owners of land and houses, as well as being students of religion and promoters of orthodox Islam.

It was very natural that about the year 1880 the 114
government of the Netherlands Indies recommended the agent for Arabian and Mohammedan affairs to make a special study of Hadramaut and of the people who had come from that part of Arabia to the East Indies. The book written by this officer, Dr. L. W. C. van den Berg, "Le Hadhramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien," was published in 1886 at government expense. This year the Department for Foreign Affairs urged its representative at Jeddah to attempt a journey in Hadramaut for a diplomatic and economic survey. This preliminary report is the result of that request.

Dr. van den Berg wrote his book in Batavia, and never went to Hadramaut, but he got his information with the help of intelligent men from Hadramaut with whom he had intimate connections. He even made a sketch-map of the country, which was printed with his book, and for this the information these men supplied was of course indispensable. This sketch-map of course had many defects, but Hadramaut has been visited so little by scientific explorers that even this year van den

114 Berg's book written in 1886 was recommended to me by the governor of Aden as the best source of information they had at the government office at Aden. I also found that at that time the Royal Air Force was making use of Van den Berg's sketch-map in the scouting flights which they made over Hadramaut, and had corrected but few serious faults in it.

114 488 The attention of travelers in Arabia has been directed chiefly to the Hejaz and to what is known as Arabia Felix (Yemen), the center of civilization in former times. For this reason Hadramaut has been somewhat neglected, and also because it was so difficult to get into the interior. This was a closed land, not only for Christians but for strangers in general. The first explorer of Hadramaut was Adolph von Wrede, who made his memorable journey in 1843, disguised as an Egyptian Moslem. He was able to penetrate only as far as the entrance to Hadramaut itself, but he brought back with him very valuable material in regard to the region between the shore of the Indian Ocean and the actual valley of Hadramaut. However, in his native land (Germany) he was considered as an impostor, and it was not until 1873 that his "Reise in Hadhramaut" was published by von Maltzan.

It was not until January, 1893, that a second traveler attempted to follow the illustrious example of von Wrede. After months of futile efforts and journeys along the coast, it was Leo Hirsch's good fortune to get into the country and to penetrate to the interior. He reached the town of Terîm, but had to leave that place immediately, owing to the threats of the Sayyids and the populace. In 1897 he published his very accurate reports on his journey.

Shortly after Hirsch, in December, 1893, an English married couple, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent, tried to visit the Hadramaut valley. They did not get as far as Hirsch, and had to turn back from Shibām. The Hadramaut sanctuary of the tomb of the prophet Hūd, and the mysterious well, Bîr Barhūt, would continue for

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



some decades longer to be exempt from the visit of a Christian. 114 484

This ends the list of the explorers of Hadramaut. The Royal Air Force did indeed make several scouting flights from Aden over Hadramaut, but they never made a landing, and sometimes had to fly very high. To these flights, however, we are indebted for a very important series of photographs, which provide valuable geographical material (see *The Geographical Journal*, vol. lxxvii, No. 3, March, 1931).

When I was given the task of visiting this country, which is so little known, and so important to us (Hollanders) in view of the tens of thousands of people from Hadramaut who live in the Netherlands Indies, I took steps to make more of the journey than could be accomplished by one government official who is not in any way an expert. I sent an invitation to Dr. H. von Wissmann of the Geographical Institute connected with the University of Vienna, asking him to venture with me upon the hazardous journey to Hadramaut. I had become acquainted with von Wissmann through his exploration work in the Hejaz and Yemen. He was to make the survey of the journey, and to carry out all instrumental and scientific observations, and we would work together on the collections of plants and insects and in taking photographs. Moreover I was able to offer him the assistance of an official introduction from the Dutch government, my knowledge of the Arabic and Malay languages, and that special help which a former government official from the Dutch Indies might hope for in the country of the Hadramaut people. 121 114

When I met von Wissmann at Aden in April of this year (1931), I had just completed a trip along the shores of the Red Sea. Both of us had received very unfavorable information in regard to present conditions in Hadramaut. Practically no one gave us any hope of success. However, the English authorities at Aden

114 thought that we had some slight chance of succeeding, and they gave us loyal cooperation.

122 Thus we landed at Makalla on Sunday, May 3, accompanied only by my Yemenite servant. The Sultan was away as usual, and his vizier read the letters of introduction from our minister of foreign affairs and from the Governor of Aden. We were very well accommodated in one of the Sultan's former palaces, and then began the task of waiting for the great decision as to
609 whether we might enter the country. The same evening we had the good fortune to meet a member of the family al-'Attās, which is very friendly with the government of the Dutch Indies. He had received a telegram from his father instructing him to give all possible help to the Dutch representative of the government in his anticipated
568 journey in Hadramaut. The Sayyid family of al-'Attās, together with the closely allied family of al-Kāf, belongs to the leading group in Hadramaut proper. Two great parties, which are hostile to one another, are contesting for the power in this country, namely, the āl-Qa'ētī, who have their headquarters at Makalla, and the āl-Kathīr, with headquarters at Sēwun. The āl-Qa'ētī sultans take their cue from the English, and, thanks to English help, have authority in the coast region. The āl-Kathīr are more independent, and reside in Hadramaut proper, that is, in the broad valley in the interior which has that name. The Sayyids boast of being directly descended from the son-in-law of the Prophet, and in Hadramaut society hold a distinct and very privileged position. They have great influence with the government, but leave the actual business for the most part to the non-sayyids.
122 The immediate and whole-hearted support of the al-'Attās certainly did our enterprise a great deal of good, for on the following day we received the promise that
000 we might go inland. However, the great difficulties of the journey, especially at this time of the year (one of the hottest months), were expressly pointed out to us; and we were urgently dissuaded from crossing the

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# CLIMATE, IRRIGATION, AND EARLY MAN IN THE HADHRAMAUT

G. CATON-THOMPSON AND E. W. GARDNER

*Afternoon Meeting of the Society, 7 November 1938*

009 IN a land as little known as South-west Arabia there is danger to the scientific traveller of getting lost. Not lost in the geographical sense, though at times that might be easy in the unending monotony of its valley floors and desert plateaux, but lost in the intricacies of a myriad detailed observations concerning them and the parts they played thousands of years ago in the lives of their inhabitants. The traveller crawls about like an ant amongst the dust heaps, collecting facts; facts related and unrelated, important and unimportant, which eventually, perhaps years hence and in other hands, go to the making of an ever-incomplete picture. He may be envious of the all-embracing synthetic view, such as the airman may obtain; but he remains aware that his microscopic, analytic rummaging amongst the individual stones is the indispensable element in eventual comprehension of the whole. Such reflections are not an inappropriate preface to this paper, which is the record of hitherto unrecorded facts. That the unimportant may not have been winnowed yet from the important is recognized: it is too soon to be sure which is which, or what may be the wider relevance of any of them.

114 122 The archaeological and geological work in the Hadhramaut now to be outlined, pending a detailed publication of the whole, took place during the winter of 1937–38, between November and early March. It was made possible as much by a generous grant from Lord Wakefield, with the support of this Society, as by the facilities of entry into the country given by the Aden and Mukalla administration, and not least by the Arab potentates in Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory, whose proverbial hospitality we were privileged to experience. The party consisted of Freya Stark, already a well-known and observant traveller in the country; Elinor Gardner,[1] who has contributed the major part of this paper; and myself.

114 121 Scientifically the land, though beginning to be well known in its main topographical features, has escaped intensive study to a degree now rare, and therefore it offered a number of attractive pioneer problems to geologist and archaeologist alike. On the archaeological side the ground, in common with all Arabia Felix, was virtually *terra incognita*. Not a single date before the Christian era was fixed; almost anything might turn up. A prearranged plan of research in view of the uncertainties of the field was impossible. Nevertheless objectives have to be clarified, and mine were broadly threefold. First, to bridge the gap in palaeolithic distribution maps between East Africa and Asia. Secondly to test it as an area of possible contact with the Makran coast, Mesopotamia, and India in the third and fourth millennia. Thirdly to investigate the material culture of its pre-Islamic inhabitants, and by its

[1] My contribution is confined to the archaeological sections and to the form and general supervision of this paper in Miss Gardner's absence.

P. 18

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



help to introduce for the first time dating, absolute or relative, into the early history, independently of, or in conjunction with, inscriptions. Interwoven with these purely archaeological questions was Miss Gardner's geological investigation of the Quaternary physiography of the region; more especially inquiry into problems of past climates; and comparisons of Pleistocene conditions in South-west Arabia in lat. 15° N. with those of a typical desert area as studied by her in Kharga Oasis and elsewhere in the Libyan desert 10° farther north.[1] A recent Egyptian expedition under Dr. S. A. Huzayyin had done valuable work on these lines in 1936 in the Yemen, where a series of prehistoric pluvial periods had been traced, besides the possibility of a minor

one in historic times. That expedition paid also a flying visit to the Hadhramaut, but little work was done there.[2]

The general physical features of the country are well known from the excellent map published by von Wissmann in 1932,[3] and from the air reconnaissance of Squadron-Leader Cochrane [4] and the late Flight-Lieut. A. R. M. Rickards, whose map shows well the peculiar drainage system (Plate 1). Very recently a methodical aerial survey of the whole Protectorate has been accomplished, and we are privileged here to publish some of the photographs. Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams still remain the only Europeans who have travelled from

[1] *Geol. Mag.*, vol. lxix, September 1932, "Some problems of the Pleistocene hydrography of Kharga Oasis."

[2] S. A. Huzayyin, "Egyptian University Scientific Expedition to south-west Arabia," *Nature* 140 (1937) 513–4.

[3] Folder to 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled,' by D. Van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann. Leiden, 1932.

[4] "An air reconnaissance of the Hadhramaut" (*Geogr. J.* 77 (1931) 209–18).

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



114 end to end of the Wadi Hadhramaut, and accounts of their journeys have been given to the Society.[1]

*The geological work*

133 The geology of the coastal region around Mukalla has been described by Mr. O. H. Little, of the Egyptian Geological Survey, and those interested in the solid geology are referred to his paper.[2] This region is the most diversified both structurally and petrologically. The fundamental granite appears here overlaid by limestones of Cretaceous and Tertiary age, and faults and folds are conspicuous even from the air. The few days at Mukalla were spent in a rapid examination of the more recent geological features.

To the visitor by sea the most striking is the glistening bank of white dune-sand west of the town, probably masking a raised beach. The coast eastwards to Shihr is fringed with the remnants of a low-lying raised beach now being eroded. In the wadi immediately west of Mukalla a raised beach was noted at RL 15 m. about 1·5 km. from the shore. It consisted of semi-angular and partly rounded pebbles of granite and limestone with marine fossils. Four metres higher a second level of cellular sandstone may be either beach or river terrace.[3]

[487] After the Shihr road has passed through the coastal barrier backing Mukalla, it runs for 2 km. over an extensive gravel plain which slopes smoothly and evenly from RL 66 to RL 38 m. It then climbs a prominent ridge at RL 52·5 m., with a typical gravel profile, and descends again to a similar gravel plain. This plain is the most important erosional feature of the district: its age could not be determined exactly, but that it is Pleistocene seems fairly certain from the occurrence of palaeolithic flake implements of chert[4] on a narrow gravel ridge which rises from it near the fork of the Du'an road. This ridge lies 4 m. above the plain, and seems to be the last remnant of a more extensive level that has been destroyed by the lateral erosion of the two neighbouring wadis. These wadis bound the main plain north and south, and good gravel sections were examined in their banks, without however the discovery of flint implements *in situ* in them.

A line of levels was run from the Shihr road S.S.E. across the gravel plain towards the sea. The sketch-map and section, Fig. 1, show the principal results. The big erosional plain falls in this direction from RL 38 to RL 27 m. in 1100 m. It is then cut by the westerly wadi whose floor lies at RL 13 m. On the far side two terraces, one at RL 16 m. and a more extensive one at RL 20 m., are crossed before the gravel plain is regained at RL 22. From there it stretches for 500 m. or so seaward, and ends in a scarp feature at RL 19. It overlooks a marine terrace crowded with recent shells. Upstream these become scarcer and eventually die out, and the levels show that it is

113 [1] "A journey to the Sei'ar country and through the Wadi Masila" (*Geogr. J.* 88 (1936) 124–51); "The Hadhramaut: present and future" (*Geogr. J.* 92 (1938) 289–312). See also *Journal R. Central Asian Society*, July 1936.

[2] O. H. Little, "The geography and geology of Makalla" (Geological Survey of Egypt, Cairo, 1925).

[3] Near Jibuti, which we visited on the way home via Hodeidah, Jeddah, and Yenbo, raised coral beaches have been recorded at RL 18 and 25 m.

[4] These resemble typologically the flakes called Levalloisian in N.W. Europe.

Dr. Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



# ORIENTALIA

## BUILDING AND BUILDERS IN ḤADRAMAWT

### (SACRIFICIAL RITES AND TRADE GUILDS) *

114 This article does not attempt to be comprehensive in scope, for the art of building in South Arabia has been developed to a high level, and merits a lengthy study. Of recent years Ḥaḍramī architecture has been made known to Europe by the photographic studies of various travellers, but detailed architectural studies remain to be achieved. Carlo von Landberg has described the method of constructing a house in his usual admirable fashion, basing it on oral report in colloquial Arabic, but he has not concerned himself with the actual builders themselves, their social organisation, and the ritual which forms part and parcel of the process of building. These are the aspects of the craft with which I am concerned here, and I have included a number of architectural terms, culled from my field-books. Most of those words were noted in Tarīm where the architectural manner has been much influenced by Indonesian styles, but it is in the Wādī Daw'an and Šibām where one will find more truly native elements in the architecture. The adobe construction of the Wādīs again differs from the stone construction of the Djōls, and both contrast to some extent with buildings in the West Aden Protectorate.

* *Bibliography.* — Ingrams, W. H., *Housebuilding in the Hadhramaut*, *Geog. Journal* (London, April, 1935), lxxxv/4, p. 270-2, illus.; Lancaster, Cherry, *The culture of the Hadramaut and the spread of European barbarism*, *Architectural Review* (London, Sept., 1936), lxxx, no. 478, p. 96-100 (an architect's appreciation of Ḥaḍramī architecture as shown in Freya Stark's photographs); von Landberg, C., *Études sur les Dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, I, *Ḥaḍramūt* (Leiden, 1901), p. 394-406); Pillet, Maurice, *Les Grottes-ciel Orientaux*, *Urbanisme* (Paris, Nov.-Déc., 1937), VI, no 59, p. 233-47; Van den Berg, L. W. C., *Le Ḥadhramout et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien* (Batavia, 1886) (drawings of Ḥaḍramī forts); Van der Meulen, D., *Woonen en bouwen in Zuid-Arabië*, *Natuur en Techniek* (July, 1949).

21. Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932. 1943 Hadramaut MN2



# ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN SOUTH ARABIA.

By Bertram Thomas, O.B.E.

[With Plates XI and XII.]

## Introduction.

114 I have already been privileged to contribute a paper to the *Journal*.[1] "Among some unknown Tribes of South Arabia" was published after my first journey in those parts in January–February, 1928. Since then I have made two more visits to the Central South and have continued my investigations. On the last occasion I took head callipers, a small cinema camera and a still camera with me. I made some forty-five head measurements and took full-face and profile portraits of the various types I measured.

## Curious Tribes.

144 174 In my previous paper I said that there was a *blac* of tribes in the Central South that I believed to be non-Arab remainders, tribes at least who were physically, culturally, linguistically distinguishable from the familiar tall and hawk-faced Arab of the North. I am confirmed in that view. After an experience of fifteen years' service in Arabia, living on close terms of intimacy with its people in Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordan and the Persian Gulf, I am struck by the peculiarities of the inhabitants of the Central South. The Sultan of Muscat shared that opinion. I was not consciously aware at the time of the speculations of Richard Burton which also support it. That Arabian traveller had written in the middle of the last century (vide "Pilgrimage to Al Medina and Mecca")—

> "I was desirous to try by actual observation the truth of a theory proposed by Colonel Sykes, namely, that if tradition be true in the population of the vast peninsula there must exist certain physiological differences sufficient to warrant our questioning the common origin of the Arab family." . . . And later . . . "I have found proof . . . for believing in three distinct races, (1) the aborigines, driven into the Eastern and South-Eastern wilds, (2) a Syrian or Mesopotamian Stock that drove the indigenes from the choicest tracts of country . . . (3) an impure Syro-Egyptian class . . ."

133 Before passing to a consideration of these strange tribes I lived amongst, it is necessary to say something about the land in which they live. The south coast of Arabia west of long. 50° (Ras Nus) is very mountainous and very wild. It is a natural asylum for early races driven before invaders. At Dhofar in the Central South, these mountains form a crescent-shaped arm which encloses a prosperous and fertile plain. To the westward the mountains form an

[1] Vol. lx, 1928, January to June, p. 97.

# THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

By LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR BERNARD REILLY,
K.C.M.G., C.I.E., O.B.E.

OOO Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 12, 1941, Sir Cosmo Parkinson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

CHAIRMAN: We now come to the business of to-day, which is Sir Bernard Reilly's talk on the Aden Protectorate.

I could not help thinking, to go back to Lord Lloyd for a moment, how immensely interested he would have been in this talk, with his abiding memories of the Middle East, his intimate understanding of the Arab people, and his sincere respect for the faith and the tradition of Islam.

● 114 Sir Bernard Reilly needs no introduction. Any of you who have been to Aden, if only for a day, must know of him, because the two words "Aden" and "Reilly" are virtually synonymous. We have heard of "Reilly of Aden." I have sometimes wondered whether it should not be "Aden of Reilly." He has given a lifetime of service there, and, when the Aden Settlement was turned into a colony he became most appropriately the first Governor and Commander-in-Chief. If ever an administrator overseas deserved the title, "father and mother of the people," it was Sir Bernard Reilly in Aden.

OOO There is just one thing I must tell you. When he was going away from Aden last year he did not know that he was retiring. When he reached this country he realized that private circumstances were such that he absolutely must retire, deeply as he regretted not going back to Aden. Before he left, his Arab servant, who had been with him many years, said: "Master, when the time comes for you finally to leave Aden, you must not tell us. You must go away, just as if you were taking one of your holidays to England, because the partings would be too sorrowful." That is a great tribute; and, in point of fact, on this occasion the master did act on the advice of the servant.

131
133 THE Aden Protectorate is an extensive tract of country in Southern Arabia. Its coast stretches from a point opposite to the island of Perim for about 600 miles to Ras Durbat Ali on the borders of Oman, and it reaches inland to a depth varying from about 100 miles in the vicinity of Aden to a greater but undefined distance farther east. Arabia is often thought of as a land of deserts, but this part of it, like many other parts, is a country of mountains. The sandy plain that the passing traveller sees stretching inland from Aden is only a maritime belt. Beyond it the hills rise abruptly in peaks and ranges that reach to heights of 8,000 feet and more. These mountains are, for the most part, rugged and forbidding, but they are interspersed by valleys and ravines that contain fertile and cultivated strips of land. Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hills are

## FOREWORD.

114 In 1904, David George Hogarth wrote that commendable story of Arabian exploration, which, entitled "*The Penetration of Arabia*", comprises a faithful record of the development of western knowledge concerning the Arabian peninsula. In his prefatory note, he said truly that "Arabia is still in great part withdrawn from western eyes", but at the same time he expressed the hope that "Europeans will doubtless complete the penetration of Arabia" as soon as circumstances should become more favourable than they were at the time of the publication of his work. Indeed, were Hogarth still alive at the present day and were he to prepare a revised edition of his book, he could begin by saying that the period of 28 years, that has just elapsed, excels by far any previous period of equal length, in what it has contributed towards laying bare to western science the mysteries of that immense peninsula, "which, if restricted to its smallest dimensions by the thirtieth parallel of latitude, contains nearly a million and a quarter square miles". He would not have omitted to point out that just in these very last years even that centuries-old enigma, that on the maps of Arabia is shown, by the large, white patch in the southern part, *er-Rubʿ el-Khālī* (the Empty or Uninhabited Quarter) was actually being unveiled through the energy of two British explorers, Bertram Thomas and Philby. Yet in spite of all this encouraging decrease in ignorance, were the writer to revise his chapter "Unknown Arabia" and to record the new knowledge gained, in making up the sum total, the complaint would remain justified "but we know much of it hardly better than the Antarctic continent".

000 Ignorance of the greater part of this land is, to a certain extent, accounted for by the poverty and the inhospitable-

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the South coast and separated from it by a mountain range, 131
the country of Ḥaḍramaut. The name occurs already in the 101
Book of Genesis; in ancient times Ḥaḍramaut was famous for its exports of incense and myrrh; ruins and inscriptions from pre-Muhammadan days bear witness to a past greatness and prosperity.

This prosperity of bygone days has, through all manner 721
of unfavourable circumstances, given way, centuries ago, to 167
a pitiable decline. It is true that Islam found an early entrance here and that Muhammadan science has, amongst a certain class of the population, zealous devotees, but the political discipline of this religion has not succeeded in creating Ḥaḍramaut into a realm of peace. The endless tribal wars, which divide the people, make the land practically inaccessible to foreign visitors, even if they are Muhammadans, and at the same time prevent the inhabitants themselves from extracting from their native soil what it could yield to a peacefully labouring population. Because the Ḥaḍramīs are not lacking in ability, which often attains rich maturity under more orderly conditions, many of them have for centuries swarmed to the Yemen, Egypt, Syria and, during the last three centuries especially, also to India and Netherlands India. Of all parts of the Arabian peninsula, Ḥaḍramaut is pre-eminently the land of emigration.

In Netherlands India they have even, in earlier times, 167
succeeded in founding sultanates (e. g. Siak, Pontianak), but 14
now they content themselves with trade and money transactions. Some of them, having become wealthy, return to their own country, but others prefer to enjoy, away from the disturbances of Ḥaḍramaut, the pleasures that are there unattainable. Millionaires are also to be found amongst this fluctuating population of Netherlands India, which numbers seventy to eighty thousand souls. Mr. L. W. C. Van den Berg, adviser to the Netherlands India Government, in 1886, published a book, which, besides statistics of the Ḥaḍramī settlement in the East Indian Archipelago, contained also a description of the native land of these immigrants, compiled from information collected from them in Java. In the 19th

167 century, attempts to become acquainted with this remarkable
114 land, through personal investigation, were not lacking, but these efforts did not yield the desired results.

114 In his chapter on the exploration of the "Southern Borderlands" Hogarth calls Ḥaḍramaut "the most important part of the borderland, the ill-known inner region of the centre" and says of it that it "long remained the despair of the curious in the history and geography of Arabia". Intrepid travellers such as Von Wrede, Hirsch and the Bents have contributed much to our knowledge of the littoral with its roadsteads of el-Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, which has to be passed in order to penetrate into Ḥaḍramaut Proper; here has developed lately a fairly vigorous autocracy, which is practically under British protectorate and which puts no great difficulties in the way of European visitors. But though the authority of the Sultan of al-Makalla also extends over a small part of the hinterland, Ḥaḍramaut Proper falls outside its scope, and most of the princes and princelings there, who are at loggerheads with one another, are not very kindly disposed towards him. The aforementioned travellers therefore scarcely, if at all, managed to cast a hurried glance over a small section of that mysterious valley-complex. He who succeeded in reaching a Ḥaḍramī town, was speedily ejected and might deem himself lucky to have escaped with his life. A quiet visit to the inhabited part of the country being thus beset with difficulties, it was even more out of the question for them to investigate the secrets of the Well of Barhūt, that accursed, temporary resting-place of the souls of the Unbelievers, from which, so it was fabled, poisonous gasses belched forth; or to make a pilgrimage to the pre-Muhammadan sanctuary, which is regarded by the Ḥaḍramīs as the tomb of the pre-historic prophet Hūd.

After faithfully reviewing what Von Wrede, Hirsch and the Bents did and what they did not accomplish, Hogarth was right in concluding with the observation that "Hadramaut has yet to be visited by any one so well protected and so

zealously aided in his quest" as Glaser was in his explorations at Marib in the Yemen. "Interest in Hadramaut", he says further, "should not be suffered to decline yet... It is reported the only scene of actual volcanic activity on the mainland of Arabia; but an explorer has yet to see the smoke of Bir Borhut, that great well cursed by Ali, according to the "Jihān-Numā". Moreover its society seems to present peculiar features of great interest to students of Semitic life". 114

So far were we in 1904 and in 1931 we were not much further.

Mr. Van der Meulen had, during the five years when he was first consul and later *chargé d'affaires*, at Djedda, become convinced that the time was ripe for extending the activities of the Netherlands Legation over other sections of the Arabian peninsula than the dual-monarchy of Ibn Sa'ūd, and that it would be desirable for Holland to enter into friendly relations with the Imām Yaḥyā of the Yemen, and, if possible, to insure a suitable reception for the representative of Holland in Ḥaḍramaut, the country of origin of the many Arabs, who seek and find their fortunes in Netherlands India. He received then a commission from the Netherlands Government in this sense, naturally with a recommendation to caution in regard to Ḥaḍramaut. An introduction from the authorities at Aden would easily secure him entrance to the littoral, but whether he would succeed in penetrating Ḥaḍramaut Proper could not be anticipated with any degree of certainty, for, although since the World War their influence there has increased, even the British have so far limited their own direct contact with that territory chiefly to aerial reconnaissances, which have furnished some excellent photographs.

Even here in Ḥaḍramaut conditions have slightly improved since the last efforts were made to explore it. The number of Ḥaḍramīs who have achieved prosperity in Netherlands India has increased and many of them have become subjects of the Netherlands Government. The advantages to be derived from a normal, international intercourse, are now

114 realized in Ḥaḍramaut in a much wider circle than a quarter of a century ago. But this unhappy land still lacks that unity which is required to develop the springs of prosperity and to insure safety of life and property. In this respect, the barbaric customs of the Djāhiliyya (the pre-Islamic period) still prevail. For surmounting the difficulties on this score, Van der Meulen had to rely on the experience gained by him both in his earlier capacity as civil servant in Netherlands India and his later activity as diplomatic officer in Arabia, as well as on his proficiency in the Arabic and Malay languages, and, not least, on his own personality. All this has enabled him to take full advantage of the improved opportunities; his trip through the whole of Ḥaḍramaut has indeed been a triumphal progress.

114 121 It is obvious that Van der Meulen's expedition can only to a certain extent be called a journey of exploration. His commission was of a political nature, and it would not have been possible for him, in the allotted time, to combine with it profound geographical and ethnographical researches. But, in order that, should he manage to penetrate into Ḥaḍramaut, this success should as far as possible be made of service to science, he secured the co-operation of his friend, the able German geographer, Dr. H. von Wissmann. The two friends have spared themselves no trouble and have considered no effort or deprivation too great to make the best of the six weeks, which they could devote to the expedition to the littoral and hinterland. They have won the sympathy of influential persons both for themselves and for their work, and have been enabled not only to become acquainted with the chief towns, but also to solve, once for all, the mystery of the Well of Barhūt and to obtain a detailed knowledge of the Ḥaḍramī sanctuary, to which annually in the eighth month of the Muhammadan year, a large proportion of the population make a pilgrimage. They have cursorily examined various ruins, taken many photographs, and Von Wissmann has been able to ascertain enough data to draw the first map of Ḥaḍramaut, based on measure-

ments and surveying. And far from being driven out of the land with curses, as their forerunners were, there re-echoed everywhere on their departure the wish: "Goodbye and a speedy return". 114 121

Far more than they were able to do in the limited time, remains for their successors to accomplish, before it can be said that the country and people of Ḥaḍramaut have been fully described in all their characteristics. The same remark, however, still applies to the greater part of this gigantic peninsula. Let us hope that the trail blazed by Van der Meulen and Von Wissmann may before long be followed by other, thoroughly prepared and well-equipped, devotees of science, who will command the necessary leisure for completing, in every direction, the investigation so intrepidly begun.

It would, on the contrary, be regrettable in every way if that track were to be followed, not by serious investigators, but by more persons like a certain Hans Helfritz, who, a short time after the journey described in this book had been completed, succeeded through a fortunate chance, in making a hurried trip with his camera to the littoral and to a couple of towns in the interior, and whose photographs with nonsensical letter-press attached to them, have appeared in a number of European illustrated papers, in March and April of 1932. This "investigator" understands no Arabic, is absolutely unacquainted with the land and people of Arabia and is equally ignorant of what has already been achieved by others in the exploration of Arabia and especially of Ḥaḍramaut. He seems not even to have heard of his immediate predecessors, for he describes himself as the discoverer of the town of Terim "where no white man had set foot"; he calls the dwellers of Ḥaḍramaut savages and speaks of Arabian cannibals. What is worse, he gives details of his return journey to el-Makalla, which, if any truth underlies the anecdote, prove that he lacked all fitness for intercourse with the people of the country: five Bedouins, who were assigned to him by a chief to act as guides, are said to have 114

114 threatened to kill him and only a timely burst of laughter from some women, who happened to be passing by, saved his life! While fully appreciating Hans Helfritz's gifts as a photographer, we should welcome it, if the entry into Ḥaḍramaut were to remain closed, for the time being, against absolutely incompetent globe-trotters. This "historian of music", whose literary composition resembles more an out-of-tune fanfare than a symphony of Beethoven, should leave the exploration of Arabia to those, who are qualified for it and are able to extend our knowledge of the country and to improve the attitude of the people towards foreigners. Trips, such as this of Hans Helfritz, can bring nothing but harm.

Van der Meulen and Von Wissmann have laid solid foundations for a detailed exploration of Ḥaḍramaut; they have smoothed the way for later investigators, who, provided they are endowed with the same tact and modesty, and with the same understanding of Arabian psychology, will be able to complete the task; by their behaviour they have sown the seeds of respect and esteem for the name of European.

May the result of their serious labour be rewarded with that appreciation which their devotion so richly deserves!

C. Snouck Hurgronje.

Leiden, April 1932.

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000 and the number is not great of those who have succeeded in penetrating within her borders. But it wil not be long before Arabia will be explored throughout its length and breadth, and the ruins of towns, temples and irrigation works of the Minaeans, Sabaeans and Himyarites will yield material for added chapters to the history of the infancy of human culture.

114 Hitherto, exploration in Arabia has made a slow and difficult progress.[1] It is, in fact, only two and a half centuries old, and the explorers who, during that period, have returned to tell the tale of their experiences, have followed each other at long intervals. Two regions, especially, attracted their interest: The Hedjaz, the land of the Holy Cities, Mecca and Medina; and the Yemen, the "Arabia Felix" of the Romans, where are found the remains of ancient civilizations.

The Hedjaz has no longer many secrets for the Westerner. C. Niebuhr's party in 1763 showed the task and led the way. J. L. Burckhardt more than a century ago did the first important scientific exploration work. He was followed by R. F. Burton. In 1884—'85 Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, under the name of ʿAbdu 'l-Ghaffâr, carried through his investigations into the Holy City of Mecca. Foolish misgivings of a European representative at Djedda forced him to give up his work and leave the country, but the data for his classic and unrivalled work *Mecca* were saved.[2] Without minimizing the meritorious work of other explorers of this part of Arabia, I mention here, besides the name of Snouck Hurgronje, only that of the author of *Arabia Deserta*, C. M. Doughty[3], who for a couple of years, shared in the wanderings and sufferings of the poor Bedouin tribes, living in semi-starvation in Northern Arabia. He barely escaped with his life when approaching the sacred territory of Mecca. His book, which only late in the day received the recognition due to it, is in truth the epic of the wandering life of the Bedouins.

[1] Cf. D. G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, London, 1905.

[2] Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Haag, 1888, 2 vols. The second part appeared in English: *Mecca*, Leiden, 1931.

[3] Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888.

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E. Glaser did research in the Yemen for a few years, but after returning home, died before he had worked up all his copious and valuable material. It is only now at last that steps are being taken towards publishing the greater part of his scientific legacy. H. Burchardt was murdered whilst in the midst of his explorations. Before them Halévy travelled in the disguise of a Yemeni Jew through the otherwise unexplored districts of the Djôf and Nedjrân. He thus had the chance of seeing the land of Saba and the remains of the famous dam of Ma'rib, but had to return too soon to do more than raise a corner of the veil which still hangs over that land of "the Queen of the South". Though a great work has been accomplished by many a learned explorer the standard works on the Yemen are still to come. May they soon appear![1]

Ḥaḍramaut was, at one time, closely connected with the land of the Yemen. The name itself really belongs to the broad Wādī[2] Ḥaḍramaut, with the towns of el-Qaṭn, Shibām, Sêwûn and Terîm. In Sabaean times, this wādī, many miles in width, with its fertile loam soil, must have been a veritable paradise on earth, thanks to its highly developed system of dams, reservoirs and irrigation channels. Enough still remains to make it understood that the surrounding districts down to the southern coast, with the harbours of Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, were included in the name of the most famous part: "Ḥaḍramaut". In the following pages, whenever "Ḥaḍramaut Proper" is meant these words are used.

The name of Ḥaḍramaut occurs as early as the book of Genesis, chapter X, 26 ("Ḥâṣarmâweth" contains the same radicals as Ḥaḍramaut). Different opinions exist as regards

[1] The work of Dr. C. Rathjens of Hamburg and of my travelling companion Dr. H. von Wissmann, published by the University of Hamburg, marks an important advance in the history of the exploration of 'Arabia Felix'. Part 1 has already appeared. *Rathjens-v. Wissmannsche Südarabien-Reise.* Band I, *Sabäische Inschriften.* Bearbeitet von J. H. Mordtmann und Eugen Mittwoch, Hamburg, 1932.

[2] A *wādī* is a, generally dry, river-bed.

101 the meaning of this name, but none of them is scientifically established. The Ḥaḍramis themselves have several etymologies, but give the preference, nevertheless, to that which is connected with their national Prophet, Hūd. The last words of Hūd, when he reached the end of his earthly life, and the people of ʿĀd, who then inhabited the land, were not yet converted by his preaching, are said to have been: "*ḥaḍara 'l-mauf*", "death has come". This referred as much to himself as to the people of ʿĀd, who were destroyed by Allah.

101 In Roman times Ḥaḍramaut was included in the term
48] "Arabia Felix". Was it not known then as the country of the aloë, of incense and myrrh? And did not the great trade route from the Indies to the coasts of the Mediterranean pass from the ports of Southern Arabia through Ḥaḍramaut to Yemen, and thence northwards to Egypt and Syria? The territories of the Sabaean and Himyaritic kings must have extended as far as the wādis of Ḥaḍramaut. When those kingdoms collapsed, when their splendid irrigation works vanished, and when civilization perished, the desert gained the mastery; the great works which once existed here were covered for centuries by the sand-dunes piled up gradually by the hot winds of the desert. Unity broke down, civilized peoples could no longer maintain their existence and their place was taken by the sons of Ishmael "whose hand is against every man". From that time onwards the Yemen and Ḥaḍramaut led their own life of struggle and poverty; the fructifying contact between the
114 two regions was broken. Glaser, indeed, once turned his eyes in the direction of the wādis of Ḥaḍramaut and actually made the first sketch-map of the country between the Yemen and Ḥaḍramaut, from data collected by word of mouth from the Bedouins. But the few explorers who desired to investigate Ḥaḍramaut realized that the way there must lead, not through the Yemen, but by way of the seaport towns on the southern coast of Arabia.

Adolph von Wrede was the first scientific traveller who succeeded in penetrating into the region of Ḥaḍramaut and in

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collecting much valuable data there. Little is known of this remarkable man. Heinrich, Freiherr von Maltzan, who edited Von Wrede's *Reise in Ḥadhramaut Beled Beny ʿYssà und Beled el Ḥadschar* (Braunschweig, 1870) only tells us regarding him that he was born in Westphalia, served about 1830 as an officer in the Greek army, was then in Asia Minor and, later on, in Egypt. While there, about the spring of 1843, he started on his memorable journey of exploration. He only appears to have returned to Europe at a much later date in order to publish the record of his travels. He did not succeed in doing this in his fatherland, for Alexander von Humboldt and Leopold von Buch considered him to be a trickster whose reports were too fantastic to be believed. In England, Von Wrede seemed on the point of meeting with more recognition, for an abstract of his report was inserted by the Geographical Society in their Journal, and a publisher was found who was willing to take the manuscript, but unfortunately, the translater committed suicide, and only the text of the account of the journey was recovered, maps, drawings and water-colours being lost.

Von Wrede appears to have turned his back on Europe, a deeply disappointed man. Not far from Makalla, beside the road along which Von Wrede first travelled, a great pile of stones was pointed out to us by our Bedouins: "There lies buried a Christian who was murdered about 100 years ago, when he tried to get into our country." My travelling companion and I thought at first of Von Wrede, who, perhaps, had the last of his many disappointments on this spot. But after closer investigation we discovered that Von Wrede finally enlisted in the Turkish army and died as a poor and unknown man in a hospital in Constantinople.

We followed Von Wrede's route for some time both on our journey inland and back. We made much and grateful use of his detailed notes and of his map. We must make one reservation, however, with regard to the expedition that he claims to have made from Khurēba in Wādī Doʿan to ʿAmd, Ḥōra,

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114 Sahwa and the Baḥr es-Sāfī, and back to ʿAmd and Khurēba. Von Wissmann, while surveying Wādī ʿAmd, established the fact that Von Wrede has described this wādī so differently from what it is like in reality, placing all the villages that lie up-stream from ʿAmd down-stream, describing the steep *ʿaqaba* leading from ʿAmd to the south as a smooth slope, and failing so entirely in every part of his description that Von Wissmann became completely convinced that Von Wrede cannot have made this journey himself. So the story of his adventure at the border of Baḥr es-Sāfī where his measuring-line sank into quicksand as if in water may have had its origin in tales he heard in Wādī Dōʿan about caravans sinking into sands or more probably breaking into a salt-lake covered by a salt crust, invisible on account of drifting sand. As far as we could control the other parts of his journey up to Ṣīf in Wādī Dōʿan, his northernmost point, and in Wādī Ḥadjr, his descriptions of the country are good and exact, and we still see in Von Wrede *the* great explorer of Ḥaḍramaut: those who followed did less than he, who blazed the trial.

The years went by and it was not until January 1893 that a second traveller attempted to follow the example of von Wrede, an example so illustrious, yet leading to so many disappointments. This was Leo Hirsch, who published his experiences of these journeys under the title: *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-land und Hadramūt* (Leiden, 1897). It took Hirsch half a year to reach the interior from the coast. He went from Aden to esh-Shiḥr, and on to Sēḥūt and Qishn, and back to Makalla. There, for the moment, courage forsook him and he returned to Aden. Then armed with fresh introductions from the British authorities, he turned his steps once more to Makalla, where he was, nevertheless, to wait for yet another month before being granted permission to go inland. Hirsch was successful in penetrating further than Von Wrede into "Ḥaḍramaut Proper". He was the first European to see the cities of Shibām, Sēwūn and Terīm, but there was no question

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of going further. He was only able to stay for a few hours with his host in Terim, and then was forced, by the threatening attitude of the Sayyids, to make his way back again.

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent attempted the journey in the valley of Ḥaḍramaut soon after Leo Hirsch. They arrived at Makalla in December 1893, thus a few months after Hirsch's successful expedition. They were able to start inland at the end of a week, but were not to go further than Shibām. Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhūt were spared the visit of *Naṣrānīs*[1] for decades yet. The account of the journeys made in S. Arabia by this energetic couple was published by Mrs. Bent in 1900.[2]

Herewith the short list of our predecessors in Ḥaḍramaut has come to an end. A report indeed reached us of two English officers who undertook an expedition to Ḥaḍramaut, but, as far as we could discover, the results of their journey were never published. One of them, W. H. Lee Warner, merely gives *Notes on the Hadhramaut* as a supplement to an article by R. A. Cochrane in the *Geographical Journal* (Vol. lxxvii, 1931, p. 209—222). Lee Warner went in 1918 on a diplomatic errand to Shibām but he did not go beyond that place. Important exploration work has also been carried out by a squadron of the R.A.F. at Aden, under Squadron-Leader the Hon. R. A. Cochrane who, in the above-mentioned article *An Air Reconnaissance of the Hadhramaut*, gives impressions of that country as seen from the air. Qabr Hūd was seen and photographed on this expedition, but Bīr Barhūt could not be found.

It was not given to Dr. Wilhelm Hein to tread the soil of

[1] In daily language the word *Naṣrānī*, plural *Naṣārā*, is used when speaking of Christians. Whenever less stress is laid on the difference of religion and more on that of nationality, they are spoken of as *Efrendjīs*, a word which is a corruption of Franks. In Arabic all white-skinned, fair-haired and blue-eyed strangers are called *Efrendjīs*. As a rule the word sounds less odious than the name *Naṣrānīs*.

[2] Theodore Bent and Mrs. Theodore Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London, 1900.

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114 "Ḥaḍramaut Proper". In the year 1902, accompanied by Frau Hein he landed at Qishn, on the southern coast of Arabia. There, for two months, he lived almost as a prisoner, but he made use of his captivity to collect, among much else, important information about Ḥaḍramaut, which was published in the *Mitteilungen der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, Vol. 57 (1914), p. 32—58.

The Egyptian Government, at the request of the late Sultan of Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, commissioned Mr. O. H. Little to survey the geography and geology of the country west of Makalla up to Wādī Ḥadjr, with a view to finding out its mineral resources. The result of this enquiry was *The Geography and Geology of Makalla* (Government Press, Cairo, 1925). We gratefully made use of the map included in this valuable work.

This short enumeration of those who have devoted themselves to the exploration of Ḥaḍramaut must not be closed without mention of the work of Dr. L. W. C. van den Berg, who, under orders from the Government of Netherlands India, and without ever having set foot on the soil of Southern Arabia, wrote *Le Ḥadhramout et les colonies arabes dans l'Archipel Indien* (Batavia, 1886). This book was written with the help of learned Ḥaḍramis in Batavia. In this way even a map of Ḥaḍramaut was constructed. Naturally, both the book and the map have many shortcomings, but they have rendered good service up till now. The R.A.F. officers have used this map on their flights and have already made some important corrections in it.

# CHAPTER I.

## THE DEPARTURE.

### ADEN—MAKALLA.

We owe our journey to Ḥaḍramaut to a mission entrusted 121
to us by the Netherlands Government. Later it will become 167
clear how deep-lying the contact is between Ḥaḍramaut and 181
Netherlands India, and how self-evident it is that the Dutch Government should wish to make itself accurately acquainted with the social and political conditions in the native land of the tens of thousands of Arabs, who form such an important element in the social fabric of that country. The Ḥaḍramis are not absorbed into the union of Indonesian peoples, and many of them keep a firm hold on the connection with their own country, in the hope that some day they may be able to return there, to await the Day of Resurrection and Judgment in that hallowed ground. The charge entrusted to Dr. van den Berg to write his book, which was published by the Government of Netherlands India, resulted from the practical needs of that Government with regard to the heterogeneous peoples of Indonesia. So also with the mission entrusted to me.

Although I knew how difficult it had been made, until now, 114
for a Christian and Westerner to penetrate into the land of the fanatical Ḥaḍramī, yet I had some hope of success in the attempt, and this for two reasons.

The years that I had spent in the civil service of Netherlands India had given me the conviction that the Ḥaḍramī is grateful for the treatment which he receives there from our Government and for the opportunities which he has to save money and to get on in the world. As a government official of 114
Netherlands India I had not reckoned in vain on finding a wel- 191
come among the Ḥaḍramī families having relations with Indo-

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114 nesia, and a conversation carried on in the Malay language
191 often worked wonders.

114 My second advantage lay in the fact that I had represented my country for several years at Djedda, the seaport of Mecca, the Exalted. My knowledge of conditions in the sacred land of Islam and of the Wahhâbî régime, only recently established there by that great Arab Bin Sa'ûd, procured for me willing listeners in circles where there was no connection with the East Indies.

114 In order that the journey should serve not only a diplomatic,
121 but also a scientific purpose, it was necessary to have a travelling companion who would take upon himself that side of the work. Dr. Hermann von Wissmann accepted the offer to share the Ḥaḍramaut adventure. We had already met in Djedda and learned to appreciate each other. He had gained experience of travel and research with Dr. C. Rathjens of Hamburg in exploration in the Hedjaz and the Yemen. The large map of the district over which we travelled, the sketch maps, the ground-plans, and the geographical, geological, and botanical information, contained in the present book, are his work.

114 At the end of April 1931 we met in Aden. Our plans could not have succeeded without the cooperation of the British authorities. The Bents in their book write very gloomily over the attitude of the Aden Government towards them.[1] Hirsch had a better experience[2], and we perhaps, the best of all.
0 00 The Resident, Colonel Reilly, promised help and, instead of speaking with discouragement of our chances, as had been done up to now both by Arabs and Europeans, he considered that we were by no means without chance of success. He saw the greatest difficulty in the hot season that would be sure

[1] Th. Bent and Mrs. Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London, 1900, p. 72 *sq.*

[2] Leo Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-land und Hadramût*, Leiden, 1897, p. 2, 109.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 grown banks; we saw it no more after we had passed the grotto in the rock-wall to the left, where it made its appearance. The vegetation, however, continued rich and varied, and we could see from the little springs at the foot of the rocky wall that there was still a great quantity of water. Great blocks of rock had fallen here into the wādī from the steep sloping walls. In some places these walls were completely hollowed out by wind and water, and only a crust remained.

487 From Lubēb Von Wissmann had begun to survey the route.
114 Up to that point we were able to use the excellent map made by Little on his geological survey of the mountainous country of Makalla in 1919—'20.[3]

231 The valley now rises more rapidly,[4] and it requires much patience and skill to lead the loaded camels and donkeys over the great blocks of rock. The mountain camel knows this sort of ground, passes neatly through the blocks, and as he steps aside and turns thinks of the load projecting on either side of his body. On a warning call from the leaders: "Take care left!" or "Look out right!" the animal goes cautiously a little further away from the place where its load is threatened.

241 At the end of the wādī, about two miles beyond Ḥōṭat el-
487 Laṣb, there is a little plateau to which a short ascent leads
361 us. There is a plantation of date-palms and *dhura*, which is still within the boundary of Ḥōṭat el-Laṣb. At the end of this small plateau lies the village of Lubēb. We leave it on our left and descend towards Wadī Ḥimem, which, again, is shut in by high walls of limestone. The farther we advance the narrower becomes this wādī. The camel path along the steep cliffs to the right is blocked here and there with boulders. Some miles after Lubēb, the now narrow rock ravine makes a bend. Here is a splendid spring with a drinking-trough of masonry for the animals. The place is named el-Ḥallāf. On account of the road survey we are compelled to camp as soon as darkness falls. Indeed it would be difficult to march further in this valley of boulders.

[3] O. H. Little, *The Geography and Geology of Makalla*, Cairo, 1925.

1/1 [at Luheb -- ANALYST]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



172 amongst the broken stones of the ruins, also little bits of
212 rough, dark glass.

A quarter of an hour's walk distant there is another group of ruins that they call here "the Graves of the Kings". All those who are following us out of curiosity drop behind, when we go on through the suffocating heat between sand- and loam hills on the way to the Graves of the Kings, which lie in a great square S. S. W. of el-Meshhed. We find few inscriptions here. The hills are separated from each other, and have on their tops the foundations of solid walls forming a thirty feet square enclosure. The stones are not very large and are well and smoothly hewn. The ruins here are generally covered with piles of loam, very possibly the remains of the mud upper parts of the buildings. Many red-brown fragments of pottery lie among the stones.

172 The assumption made by the Bents [1], that the ground has
0114 been raised more than thirty feet by drifting sand and that thus the old buildings are to a great extent buried, seems to be incorrect. The opposite supposition is more likely, namely, that the *sēl*-bed became more deeply washed away when the barrages and irrigation canals were no longer kept in repair. The ruins now all lie upon the hill-tops, the loess around them having been all washed away.

609 Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭâs, the eldest brother now in Ḥaḍramaut of our companion Sayyid ᶜAluwī and the energetic head of the family in Ḥurēḍa, came from el-Meshhed to meet us. The father in Batavia had sent telegraphic instructions to give a good reception to the first envoy of the Netherlands to Ḥaḍramaut. Directly he received news of our approach, Sayyid Ḥasan mounted a *hadjīn* (riding camel) and set out to meet us. Being in his own country he dared to wear the khaki sun-
000 helmet of the *Efrendjīs*, when riding. Everything, later on, showed his progressiveness, his energy and daring. Sayyid Ḥasan acted henceforth as our host, and we had a good time under his guidance. Had he had enough time to accompany

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 104 *sq.*

helped by the motor-car in his great work of pacifying and 721
opening up Ḥaḍramaut.

We depart in two fine cars belonging to the Sultan of 114
Sewûn for Terîm, the city to which Leo Hirsch has preceded us and from which nearly forty years ago the sayyids with their fanaticism and hatred of Christianity forced him to flee within a few hours of his arrival. An Englishman, Mr. Boscawen, reached there also a full year in advance of us, but he did not publish a description of his journey and, according to report, only came for sport. Aeroplanes of the R. A. F. at Aden, with Colonels Cochrane and Lake and Flight-Lieutenant Rickards on board, also once flew high above the town, but they were only making an aerial reconnaissance, although the scouts themselves felt a growing desire within them to set foot for once in this wonderful town. The Ḥaḍramis say of it: "Terîm — and then thou desirest nothing else." [186]

The cars take us through winding mud lanes between palm- 241
groves to the hilly stretch of sand and loam outside the town. 172
The palm-trees are planted well apart from each other in the sand; the fields of *dhura* come to an end but the little dykes of the area that can only be cultivated when the rains are sufficient are to be seen for long afterwards. Quite soon we pass the ruins of a town, Maryama, probably of great antiquity. The castle and the town were laid waste in a local war, and, of the cultivation of the land, only the little dykes, which divided the fields into squares, still remain. Close to Maryama there was an old road which crossed southwards over the mountain-wall. My companion climbed this *ʿaqaba* called Duqm el-Aswad and found on the rock-wall close to the *djôl* scrollings and grafitti probably made, many centuries ago, by the Bedouins of passing caravans. Some distance further on the villages and palm-groves at the foot of the southern mountain-wall come to an end. The loam vanishes under an ever thicker layer of 493
sand and sand-dunes, and the cars stall several times. In 491
accordance with the instructions of the Sultan we do not go by the normal way, through the plain, to Terîm, but follow

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 bands of white and grey, against the dark green of the palms. The soldiers and children of the garrison stood crowded together to enjoy to the last this short variation in the monotony of their life as a besieged people. Then, through plantations of young palms and, after that, over uncultivated stretches of sand, our way led to that last outpost of el-Qeʿēṭī in Ḥaḍramaut, Shibām. As had been arranged, we announced our arrival directly to our friends Āl Ṭùwēy and Laʿdjam at their garden home. Once again we stay in this Arabian Nights' palace, bathe in the clear, lukewarm swimming-pool, and enjoy the luxury offered us here by our hospitable friends.

Early on the following day we go to Shibām to take photographs of Ḥimyaritic inscriptions and sculptures, which are to be found in the shop of a local dealer in antiquities. It is already unbearably hot in the narrow lanes between the tall houses, where, moreover, market is being held. We are thankful to turn our backs on this unhygienic but wonderful New York of Ḥaḍramaut and to go by car to the Sultan's palace in el-Qaṭn.

609 Sultan ʿAlī bin Ṣalāḥ bin Muḥammad bin ʿUmar bin ʿAwaḍ
172 bin ʿAbdallāh el-Qeʿēṭī gives us a hearty reception. He places an escort at Von Wissmann's disposal to show him some rock inscriptions and ruins on the southern bank of the wādī. It is very hot and the rocks are steep and high; the guides' interest in this inexplicable hobby of the Christians is extremely small, and Von Wissmann returns rather disappointed with the results of his excursion. We then go together in the Sultan's car to ʿUqrān, a village about half-way back to Shibām, at the entrance to the short side-wādī of the name,
114 in the southern wall of the main wādī. Hirsch[1] and the
172 Bents[2] have been here. Hirsch gives a detailed description from which it would seem that there was more to be

[1] L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 192.

[2] Th. and Mrs. Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 124 and 135. They call it Al Agran and Al Gran.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



seen at that time than there is now. The people inform us that the late Sultan had a stone, bearing an inscription, removed from the *masdjid* into which it was built and that he presented it to one of the *Efrendjis.*[1] There are still a few mounds of ruins to be seen in ᶜUqrān and, further, several of the simple mud houses of the place are built on foundations dating from pre-Islamic times. Walls and evenly made stairs leading to the inhabited storeys of the houses have been put together of stones, excellently hewn and bound with a kind of mortar unknown at the present time.

After having had our meal with the Sultan at el-Qaṭn we go on in two cars to Hēnin. Vegetation ceases near el-Furṭ, then we drive for a short time over the layer of loess, but after that the drift-sand gets the upper hand. Sand-storms always arise in the afternoon in this region; they are caused by the sand becoming greatly heated and by the rise of columns of hot air. Before long we were absorbed into a burning shroud of sand and were fighting our lonely way onwards. Occasionally a bit of the rock-wall can be seen through the mist, and that has to suffice for the drivers to take their bearings by. After some groping and going astray we really do arrive at Hēnin. One of the cars has motor trouble and, after vain attempts to repair it, has to be left behind. Our friend Bin Martaᶜ is unfortunately away and his car with him. Wādī Ḥaḍramaut begins here and is six miles wide, but still we venture the crossing in one overburdened car from Hēnin on the north bank to el-Qaᶜūẓa on the south side, at the point where Wādī Rakhīya, Wādī 'l-Kasr and Wādī ᶜAmd unite and form the great Ḥaḍramaut Valley. Then we drive on over the clay layer and then again over drift-sand, going as fast as possible so as to avoid stalling. The high promontory of rock behind el-Qaᶜūẓa is a good landmark.

Shortly before sunset we emerge out of the fog of sand just in front of the closed gates of the castle, to the speechless

[1] This *Efrendji* was Mr. Bent, who reproduces the stone opposite p. 145 of his book.

At midday we reached Ḥurēḍa, where, unfortunately, we had to change camels. This generally takes up more than a day, but our el-ʿAṭṭās friends knew how to get things done for us more quickly, and by that same afternoon of June 9th we were on our way again into Wādī ʿAmd.

Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, who had been our companion since Makalla, remained behind here. On long, wearying journeys one becomes intimately acquainted with the weak spots in one another's characters and so learns to value the good points all the more. Sayyid ʿAluwī had been a patient, good-humoured comrade to us two restless Westerners, with our endless questions and desire to investigate. By his introduction the houses and hearts of Ḥurēḍa were opened to us and Ḥurēḍa had been the key to Ḥaḍramaut for us. Our thankful recollections of that country can be summed up in the names el-ʿAṭṭās and el-Kāf.

## 2. POOR AND DRY—BUT RICH IN RUINS.

We stroll through Ḥurēḍa, attended by a goodly retinue, and not till we are outside the town do we mount our camels and say farewell. Von Wrede is the only European who claims to have travelled through Wādī ʿAmd, but it is a claim that we must call in question. Anyone who will go to the trouble of comparing Von Wrede's geographical descriptions of Wādī ʿAmd with Von Wissmann's map appended to the present work will probably experience the same feelings of doubt regarding that part of Von Wrede's accounts of his travels.

Just after leaving Ḥurēḍa we passed the largest area of ruins that we saw in Ḥaḍramaut. The mounds extend for a distance of about two and a half miles. A great quantity of small stones from the *sēl*-bed were at hand on the spot for building purposes, and this is, doubtless, the reason why so small a remnant of the walls still stands and why no inscriptions were found. Further up the wādī we constantly passed groups of ruins mostly crowning the hills lying in front of the mountain-wall.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



He cannot resist the wishes of his guests and very soon there is again a crowd of inquisitive people in the sweltering upper room, staring at us and hampering us with questions and loud conversation.

## 2. PROSE AND POETRY IN WĀDĪ ḤADJR.

We manage, by exercising much insistence, to get off at four o'clock that afternoon. There are two roads to Makalla: one goes direct through the mountains, the other makes a great circuit by following the main wādī as far as the sea and then going up the coast to Makalla. The mountain route is the shortest but the hardest; we are told that it is *too* hard for our camels, who are not strong. Moreover, it would be unsafe for our little company in the mountains, in the absence of an armed escort. Considering that even Little, with a big military escort, was attacked in this country — a sayyid who was acting as his guide was killed in an engagement — we accepted the assertions of the people in Ṣidāra as reasonable and therefore chose the detour by way of the wādī, which however has a bad name for malaria. Little had to contend much with this illness: his escort had to be almost entirely renewed after a short sojourn in Wādī Ḥadjr. We tried to avoid risk by sleeping away from human habitation and, as far as possible, on high-lying, dry ground.

The caravan was under the leadership of a strong, slight Arab, of the name of Dhēb. He had spent his youth as hostage in the Sultan's palace at Makalla. This shows that Ṣidāra some twenty years ago was still a part of the Qeᶜēṭī territory, but that the Sultan considered it necessary to strengthen his hold on the country by bringing up the sons of the leading families in his palace. It was to this circumstance that Dhēb owed his education — for this country a very good one — and he was much more cultivated than the other young men of Ṣidāra. In spite of his long hair, his face was handsomer and gentler in expression than is usually the case here. We also had

661 with us ʿAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of
912 being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of
533 the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way
857 he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the
463 *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.*
231 Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ʿAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā . . . ā . . . ā . . . ā!"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

292 The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

241 Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the
311 palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water
137 and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

114 Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf*, *i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



of the route and we are free to travel in the darkness, that is to say, after sunset and before sunrise.

Some two hours after starting, we arrive at the Qeᶜēṭī frontier. Here, besides a castle named Ḥuṣn Bin Dighāl and manned by the inhabitants of the wādī, we find the first stronghold occupied by a garrison of Yāfiᶜ soldiers of the *Dōla* (*i. e.* Government); it bears the name of Bedaᶜ Qeᶜār. We pass by this lonely castle; the soldiers, who are weakened by malaria, stare inquisitively after us, crowding each other aside to get a view of us from the little windows near the roof. We have come nearer to the river again at this point, and before long our path goes through fertile date-gardens, beside and across irrigation canals full of water. It is already growing dark as we approach Ḥūte, the first village on Little's map. We had decided not to spend the nights in villages and houses, if it were at all possible to avoid it, so as to have no bother from inquisitive visitors; we let the camels kneel down for the night where the slopes of a hill began a little way beyond Ḥūte.

We had not been able to replenish our stock of food at Ṣidāra, and here also the men we send out to do so come back empty-handed. The rocky slope was unpleasant to lie on and the proximity of the river and irrigated fields makes the atmosphere very damp, which is oppressive at night. Mosquitoes, the tormentors of mankind in hot, damp countries, make their appearance here again. In the middle of the night we were startled by a hyena that was snuffling round us but ran away like a hare when some of our company awoke and got to their feet.

On the following morning, June 17th, we did not succeed in making an early start. The camels had to be generously watered; then we were told that one of them had strayed, though in reality our men were only trying to give the animals plenty of time to feed from the *rāk* bushes which grow around. Bedouins invariably do everything they can to keep their camels in the best possible condition.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 Ml Middle East .
Hadhramaut MM2

# CHAPTER VIII

# COTTON IN ARABIA

Arabia is divided into numerous groups, most of which are actually principalities. The boundaries of the subdivisions are indefinite and so is the authority of the local rulers in most cases. Some of these groups like to call themselves independent countries. One is called a kingdom. Some are called protectorates. The British have exercised the major influence over all these groups for 50 years and still do but in varying ways. One small spot of land actually belongs to the British Crown. 000

## ADEN PROTECTORATE

The narrow strip of land along the southwestern tip of the Arabian Peninsula includes a number of territories and dependencies of Arab chiefs which have been organized under a protectorate treaty with the British, and is called the Protectorate of Aden. 101

The Protectorate is about the size of Arizona. It has about 660,000 people, many of whom are nomads. The country is mostly mountainous though there are a few valleys and flood plains capable of cultivation. The Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that there are about 270,000 acres actually in cultivation at the present time. As the plains receive only about four inches of rainfall annually, irrigation is required. Considerable water is available as rainfall in the mountains is rather heavy, approaching 40 inches annually, but facilities are inadequate for catching and directing the water. 133 311 [161]

The economy of the protectorate rests almost solely on agriculture. The principal crops are grains and some fruits, principally dates. While a small quantity of coarse grains is normally exported, the country usually imports about half its bread grain requirements. 241

### COTTON

Cotton has been grown in this area in small quantities for hundreds of years, but never in commercial quantities until very recent years when British interests began promoting production. 248

The following article on the present status and prospects of cotton production in the Protectorate was written especially for this report by the research staff of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, London, with the collaboration of Major Congdon, Manager of the Abyan Board in the Aden Protectorate. 114

### RECENT HISTORY

"During the last war to increase the production of food, the old Abyan irrigation system was reopened and the headworks were partially restored under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. The reclaimed areas were used mainly for sorghum, bulrush millet and simsim, but it soon became 241 248

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden MM1
Hadhramaut MM2



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1950

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| British .. | 2,428 | 10,890,157 |
| French | 118 | 550,895 |
| Italian .. | 268 | 785,461 |
| American | 69 | 306,707 |
| Others .. | 1,400 | 5,451,664 |
| | 4,283 | 17,984,884 |

Port facilities are described on pages 54–5.

# Chapter 12: Archæology

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[114]

An expedition sponsored by the American Foundation for the study of Man carried out archaeological excavations in March and April, 1950, in the territory of the Sharif of Beihan in the Western Aden Protectorate. The expedition was under the leadership of Mr. Wendell Phillips and the archaeological work was directed by Professor W. F. Albright of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

The main excavation took place on the mound of Hagr Kohlan at the northern end of Wadi Beihan. This site has been known by hearsay to scholars for a number of years and is identified by inscriptions with the ancient city of Timna or Thamna mentioned by classical geographers as the capital of the kingdom of Katabania or Qatabán. It had not, however, been previously examined by an archaeological party.

A survey showed that the city within the walls, apart from suburbs and cemeteries, covered an area of some 70 acres. Traces of large buildings of very heavy stone construction were visible on the surface.

Excavations at the south gate and in an adjoining street showed that the city was defended in that part by a stone wall and a sloping stone revetment. The gate towers were of very heavy, but rough, construction and were marked by a large number of inscriptions, some of them texts of considerable length. These inscriptions were of different dates and the series probably covered several centuries. In the street some of the buildings were preserved to an average height of over ten feet above the street level. The city had been destroyed by a general conflagration probably in the first half of the first century B.C.

A small number of fragments of pottery of Mediterranean origin were found among the ruins. The most striking find was a pair of hollow cast bronze lions, ridden by cupids. The figures, which were some 30 inches in length and had originally been fixed to the exterior wall of a building, were Hellenistic in style but made, as was shown by inscriptions on the bases, in Southern Arabia.

A very considerable number of inscriptions were found in the excavations and elsewhere, including some graffiti in a very primitive form of the South Arabian alphabetic script.

## 2. The Deluge and the Giants.

124 I proceed now to the narrative of Hadhramaut history as it
126 is told and believed in the country. Unless otherwise stated, the narrative is as given verbally by local authorities and taken down in writing at the time. The principal authority for the period
[115] from the disappearance of the 'Adites to modern times is Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir, private secretary to the Qu'aiti *Wazir*.

173 "In the time of our Father Nuh," said a Du'an historian, "the whole of this land and of every land was covered with water.[1] Nuh and his family built a big ship and lived in it while the flood lasted. When the waters subsided there were of course large rivers, and that is how the Wadis of the Hadhramaut were cut out, and that is why you find sea shells in them and on the Jōl."

"After the flood came the children of 'Ad, the first men to live in the Hadhramaut. They were great in stature, fifty cubits high. That was why they could use these great stones for building their houses. The tooth you have in your hand is the tooth of one of the sons of 'Ad, not of a sheep, as you thought." Thus said Muhammad the son of Seiyid Ahmed bin Hussein al 'Attas, the *Mansab* of Meshhed, as we stood among the ruins of Gheibun.

The children of 'Ad built towns and villages all over the Hadhramaut.[2] Some of them were big places and well built, and some of them were just rude dry stone shelters such as the Beduins build.[3]

Nebi Allah Salih, peace be upon him, was a prophet of the people of 'Ad,[4] and he died and was buried in the Wadi Khonab, and his son was Nebi Allah Hud, peace be upon him. And in his day the people of 'Ad did evil in the sight of Allah and they listened not to the warnings of the Prophet, and they were destroyed, except a few, and Allah received the Prophet and his grave is in the Wadi Maseila.

And the son of Nebi Allah Hud was Nebi Hudūn, and his grave is in the mosque of Hudūn in the Wadi Du'an. And there were other Nebis in the Hadhramaut, Mola Matar (whom some say is Seiyidna 'Ali bin 'Abitalib), and Molana Nebi Sodaf whose grave is in the Wadi Sodaf, and others.[5]

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[1] Hadhramaut "history" begins with the Flood. The very nature of the Wadis makes it appear so vivid that it often seems quite a recent memory. The more scientific theory is, I believe, that the Wadis are due to the last Ice Age.

[2] If you wonder at the extent of their activities, reflect that 'Ad lived 1,200 years, had a thousand wives, and sired four thousand sons and daughters. Masudi, V, III, p. 80.

[3] Any sign of human activity going beyond the knowledge of man is the work of the people of 'Ad. As Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir said to me, "the people of the interior attribute everything old to 'Ad and those of the coast to the Portuguese. Neither are right."

[4] This is not of course the orthodox view. Salih preached to Thamud and is not generally believed to be the father of Hud.

[5] The grave of the giant Mola Matar is not far from the Kor Seiban. It, and the other giants' tombs, may have been sanctuaries of the old religion. Possibly Mola Matar was a rain-god. Sodaf may be Sadaf, the descendant, according to Arab genealogists, of Hadhramaut.

tendency to fire high. Tactics are simple, usually an advance in strength or the investment or defence of small forts or houses. Any more complicated manœuvre involving strict timing or detailed concerted action would be beyond their capacity at present. They are difficult to control in action, and in the heat of the moment tend to forget their training and to expose themselves by not making use of ground and cover, but as their potential opponents suffer from the same faults this is not so serious as it would be against more experienced troops. The Bedouin does not favour night-fighting, but he is expert at moving and taking up position in the dark. He is willing to follow his officers, and has particular faith in those from the Arab Legion, who in simple fashion he believes must be more competent, as they have been brought in from another country. The same would apply to British officers, provided they understood his language and customs and accurately gauged his capabilities. Unless equipped with this knowledge, however, a British officer would find the Bedouin soldier awkward to handle and disappointing in action. 725 703 703 609

By showing promise and industry the soldier will gain promotion or can become a specialist such as wireless operator or armourer. At present the highest rank reached by any is lieutenant; owing to lack of experience, knowledge, and background, they are not yet suitable for higher rank, but in time this will be overcome. Part of the remedy may result from the foundation a few years ago of a Bedouin boys' school in Mukalla. This worth-while enterprise, sponsored and paid for by His Majesty's Government, is of considerable interest, and it is anticipated that ex-pupils will not only help to fill the ranks of H.B.L. with good material, but that others, encouraged to further education, will become much-needed Government servants, teachers and leaders in other walks of life. 701 [871]

There is a cadre of men who have voluntarily remained in the H.B.L. for longer periods, but after four years or so the average soldier, unless he has attained rank, will retire. He may ask that his place be taken by his brother or cousin, as he has liked the life, and his length of voluntary service speaks for itself. On his return to his tribe he will be an asset to Government, and his understanding and experience will be of help to political officers or other Government servants who may have dealings with his tribe or work to perform in his area. There is no reserve. The Bedouin in the Protectorate dislikes being tied down to a period of time, and a reserve as understood in a European army would be impossible to administer or co-ordinate. But in an emergency many ex-soldiers would return for temporary service if strongly requested. [157]

Whatever the future may hold, there is no doubt that the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion performs useful tasks at low costs. It is in no sense planned as a national army, but in its military and political rôles has fully justified itself. One hopes that its ties with the Arab Legion will not be broken and that in the years to come it will attain the prestige and success in its own area which the Arab Legion enjoys in the Arab world as a whole.

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I am indebted to Major I. E. Snell, Royal Sussex Regiment, at present seconded as Military Adviser to the British Agent, Mukalla, for certain facts and technical details used in this article. 115

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*Issued by the Colonial Office*

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ADEN PROTECTORATE

A Report on the Social, Economic and Political Condition of the

# HADHRAMAUT

By

W. H. INGRAMS, O.B.E.
*First Political Officer, Aden Protectorate*

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## PREFACE.

The information presented in this report was collected for the most part during a tour in the Hadhramaut in 1934-5. Apart from this tour the report owes a good deal to subsequent visits to Mukalla up to March of this year, and to two years almost continuous contact with the affairs of the country. Valuable information connected with colonies of Hadhramis in other countries has also been supplied by the administrations and others concerned. 114

I set out on the tour referred to, accompanied by my wife and Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad Salih Ja'fer, who has rendered many political services to the Government, on 29th October 1934. We left Aden for Mukalla by steamship, and after five days there went by donkey to the Wadi Du'an where we stayed two nights in 'Aura, and continued on donkeys to Henin. From Henin we drove to Shibam by car, and after a short stay journeyed on camels through part of the almost unknown Sei'ar country. We made a slight detour to visit the tomb of the Prophet Salih in the Wadi Khonab, and then followed the Wadis Ser and Sodaf to the northern watershed, returning to Shibam by the Wadi Qubhudh, where the inhabitants, members of the Harizi tribe, live in caves in the walls of the wadi. On our return to the Wadi Hadhramaut we went by car to Tarim where we spent a few days. During our time in the Wadi Hadhramaut we paid three short visits to Seiyun. From Tarim we travelled with camels down the hitherto unexplored Wadi Maseila, visiting Qabr Hud, the most sacred site in the Hadhramaut, and finally reached Seihut after passing through the country of the Mahra people. From Seihut we took a dhow to Shihr and after two days returned to Mukalla by car. Here we spent a further week and arrived back in Aden by steamship on New Year's Day, 1935.

Among the principal objects of the tour were an enquiry into the social, economic, and political conditions of the country, and the making of contacts with its rulers and people. In the course of this work a considerable amount of material was collected which can be classified as follows :— 121

1. *Political.*—Apart from information as to the political situation, collected from representatives of all sections of the population, I obtained much material on the various tribes of the country and the inhabitants generally. A great deal of this was taken down verbally during the journey, and much was contained in reports and notes given to me by many of the important authorities and inhabitants with whom I came in contact. Information regarding the Mahras has been omitted from the report.

2. *Economic and Social.*—A considerable amount of information was obtained, by observation and from different sources, on the condition of the people, their methods of living, their industries and the resources of the country, as well as on the finance and



37575

121 organization of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states, whose dominions together make up the country referred to in this report as the Hadhramaut.

3. *Geographical.*—A complete watch and compass traverse was made of all the route traversed on foot, on donkey, or on camel. When travelling by car all mileages were recorded. Topographical notes in very full detail were made along the whole of the route. The heights of all halts were taken by aneroid barometer, and temperatures were also recorded. We took 1,330 photographs and 800 feet of cinema film.

4. *Natural History.*—Specimens collected included one mammal, one reptile, one batrachian, 330 insects, spiders, scorpions, centipedes and crustacea, six fossils, eight mineral specimens and 160 botanical specimens. These were all forwarded to the British Museum and reports received. A tin of Du'an honey was also forwarded through the Colonial Office to the Imperial Institute for analysis and report. The report is incorporated in Chapter VII.

5. *Archaeological.*—Although a large number of fragments of inscriptions and other objects were obtained, it does not seem likely that they will prove of exceptional interest. A collection of objects from a Himyaritic tomb in Tarim and some possible stone implements were sent to Professor C. G. Seligman, and I have received some notes from him. He considers the principal feature of interest to be the discovery of sites of manufactories of obsidian, chert, and flint instruments. Various other inscriptions in the country hitherto unrecorded were photographed or copied. The language and characters of one painted inscription found in the Wadi Maseila have not yet been fully determined. Dr. A. S. Tritton of the School of Oriental Studies, who has examined it, has indicated certain similarities, apart from Himyaritic, to Ethiopic and to the North Arabian alphabets of Thamud and Safa.

The information referred to in the first two heads above is included in this report. The remainder, which includes the description of the country visited, has been partly dealt with in papers to the Royal Geographical and Royal Central Asian Societies, and may be made available in other forms.

114 124 I must claim some indulgence for this report, as it will be understood that comparatively speaking the length of time spent in the country was very short. It will be readily understood also that with the wholesale collection of information in a short time it is not possible to obtain all the check desirable, and many of the statements made depend on a single informant. It is however useful that as much as possible should be recorded so that, as opportunity occurs, the information given may be revised.

000 I should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging the great assistance I received from my wife and Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad on the journey. It would not have been possible to obtain as much information and material without their assistance.

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123 My wife was almost entirely responsible for the natural history
126 collections and for a great deal of the topographical information. As she had access to the women in the country she was able to obtain much information from a source that is often left unexplored. She kept a journal daily in which were recorded all the rough notes made during the day. The journal amounted to 500 quarto written pages. Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad was likewise most helpful in collecting information. He took down a great deal of the tribal information and collected written memoranda from all and sundry. He also recorded as far as possible the Arabic spellings of places we passed. My wife has also had a large share in the preparation of this report, and has been responsible for much of the translation and collation of the material obtained. In addition she has done the bulk of the typewriting.

000 I have also to thank Professor H. A. R. Gibb and Miss Freya Stark for reading the historical chapters and making certain suggestions.

Great care has been taken in an endeavour to ensure the spelling of Arabic words in accordance with the method used officially, which is generally known as the R.G.S. II system. The word "Hadhramaut" is pronounced in the country "Hadhramoot"; *ai* and *ei* are pronounced as *i* and *a* in Kite and Kate respectively.

W.H.I.

London,
19th July, 1936.

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## INTRODUCTION.

131 The coast line of the Aden Protectorate starts in the west from Ras Murad opposite the island of Perim, and runs eastward to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates it from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Roughly speaking, the Protectorate is bounded in the interior on the west and the north by the Kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. It also includes the island of Soqotra. The Hadhramaut lies in the east of the Protectorate between the Wahidi and 'Aulaqi countries on the west and the Mahra country on the east. North, it reaches to the Empty Quarter.

643 631 The two principal chiefs of the Protectorate are Their Highnesses the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej and the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla. The capital of the former lies about 20 miles north of Aden and that of the latter some 300 miles east. It will be easily realized that these two chiefs are by their geographical positions the natural leaders of the western and eastern parts of the Protectorate, and the 'Abdali Sultan, who is the premier chief of the Protectorate, has established his hegemony over the western portion. In some ways the Qu'aiti Sultan is perhaps the most important ruler of the Protectorate, for he controls, or has direct influence over, a larger population than any other chief, and, except for the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, whose nominal kingdom extends over a much wider area, he rules the largest tract of territory in the Protectorate. Although he is acknowledged by the Kathīri Sultan as having precedence in the Hadhramaut, he has not yet secured recognition by the Wahidi Sultans, or by the Mahra Sultan, as their natural leader.

643 68 636 The whole of the Aden Protectorate is ruled by its own chiefs, who are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned. Their relations with the Protecting Power are for the most part regulated by treaty, and while their foreign affairs are entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, interference in matters of domestic concern is generally limited to advice.

121 This report offers a survey of the social and political organization of the Hadhramis and of the resources of their country as seen by the writer. The object of this introduction is to give a brief indication of the present trend of development as it appears to him.

176 185 There is an extraordinary complexity of social and governmental organization in the Hadhramaut. The country is in a transition period between the disappearance or modification of the earlier social organization, which has itself evolved with the centuries, and the development of Government more or less on modern lines.

The various classes of society in the Hadhramaut are described in the report, and the interplay of some of them, one with another, has, in the course of time, as in other countries, given rise to abuses which, as the life and thought of the Middle Ages is influenced

by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have 178
stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old
order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern 185
conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen.

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth [369
to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves
with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement 182]
to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who 185
prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread.

The surprising modern developments in the Kathīri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increas- 185
ingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and
otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to 177
the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular 648
and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres. The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of good
will and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this [167]
the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion 178
of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions 185
of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut 182
appears to be changing almost despite itself.

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathīri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of Qu'aiti and Kathīri rule in their respective countries. I could 000
not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti

authorities told me about their activities were idealized. I observed continually they were far from being entirely so, but I have doubts as to whether they have strongly consolidated their work.

The Hadhramaut can never become a wealthy country, but a wise ruler can do much to make the best of its resources and give his people greater prosperity.

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# CHAPTER I.

## GEOGRAPHY AND GENERAL INFORMATION.

### Geography.

It is not easy to define what territories should be included in the term Hadhramaut. Originally the word was no doubt the name of a tribe and at an early date came to be applied to the Wadi of that name. In its Hebrew form Hazarmaveth it occurs in Genesis, and the classical geographers speak of the people as the Adramitae and the Chatramotitae: the country they called Adramytta. 101

Masudi seems to divide Southern Arabia into the countries of Yemen, Hadhramaut, Ash Shihr, Mahra, and Oman. It is not quite clear that he makes a distinction between Shihr and Mahra, for in his day the inhabitants of Shihr were Mahris and the two words are allied.

On this conception arose the modern Arab's understanding of the term, and gradually Hadhramaut came to include both the interior in which the wadi ran and the coastlands previously called Ash Shihr; that name became restricted to the town. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says "Hadhramut, a district on the south coast of Arabia, bounded W. by Yemen, E. by Oman and N. by the Dahna desert. The modern Arabs restrict the name to the coast between Balhāf and Sihut, and the valley of the Wadi Hadhramut in the interior; in its wider and commonly accepted signification it includes also the Mahra and Gāra coasts extending eastwards to Mirbat; thus defined, its limits are between 14° and 18° N. and 47° 30′ to 55° E., with a total length of 550 m. and a breadth of 150 m." But the term has been even more unjustifiably extended to include all the territory between Aden and Ras al Hadd. 101 131

In the widest geographical sense in which it is used to-day, the term includes the Wahidi country, that of the Qu'aiti and Kathīri, and the Mahra country. The country east of Mahra, Dhufar, a province of Oman is not included. The eastern boundary on the coast is Ras Dharbat 'Ali, the cape which separates the Aden Protectorate from the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

The view of the Qu'aiti Government is that geographically the term includes the country "from 'Ain Ba Sa'id and Jirdan to Seihut in length, and from the sea to Al 'Abr (Sei'ar country) in breadth." Politically it includes only the country of the Qu'aiti and Kathīri Sultans, and in that sense it is used in this report. Physically this territory extends on the coast from Ras al Kalb to Damakh Hisāl in length and from the coast to the fringe of the Great Desert in breadth.

It would be convenient if some recognized limitation of regional names for South Arabia could be agreed upon, for, as has been shown, there has always been much vagueness over such names as

101 Shihr, and the territory described in the paragraph above might well
131 be accepted as the definition of the term Hadhramaut. Eastwards from the Hadhramaut succeed the Mahra country stretching on the coast from Museina'a to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, the boundary of the Aden Protectorate, and Dhufar in Oman which is inhabited by the Qara tribes who are a separate people and speak a separate language from the Mahras.

133 The Wadi Hadhramaut is the key feature of the geography of the country to which it gives its name. North and south of it the land rises to extensive plateaus which form watersheds. The one to the north, about 3,500 feet above sea-level, has a series of wadis draining north into the sands, and another series draining south into the Wadi Hadhramaut. The watershed to the south, consisting in the same way of plateaus, is higher than that to the north, for it rises to some 6,000 feet. From it, the wadis drain north into the Wadi Hadhramaut and south to the sea. This description is typical of that part of the country through which the wadi runs more or less west to east, that is to say, from about Husn al 'Abr to beyond Tarim. Over this stretch the bed of the wadi falls from a little over 2,000 feet above sea-level to a little under. On the 49th Meridian, a little west of Mukalla, there is an approximate depth of 106 miles of wadi, mountain, and steppe land between the sea and the main wadi, and rather more between that wadi and the desert. As the wadi turns to the south-east, however, it of course modifies these proportions, but the country maintains the same general formation.

## Climate.

132 The climate of the Hadhramaut is on the whole healthy. On the high plateaus and even in the wadi land of the interior it is fresh and often cold in winter. In summer it is said to be hot but never unendurable. Mukalla probably enjoys a better summer than Aden. A period of forty days of extreme heat, and consequently known as the Arba'inia, begins on 4th May, and there is another period of eight days later in the year.

Heald, who reported on the agriculture of the Hadhramaut in 1921, says :—

> "The rain-fall along the coast is practically nil, some years they have one or two inches, but useless for agriculture, the floods being from the interior rain a long distance from Mukalla; when we were in the district from December to April, we had two or three showers, but every time too small for the rain gauge to measure.
>
> "The climate between October and April is healthy and suitable for travellers, but after that it becomes too hot for day marching; in fact, in April, some of the shut-in wadis were unbearable and we were very glad to leave the interior for the coast. Up in the hills in the winter months, it can be intensely cold."

During our visit the maximum and minimum temperatures recorded during stays in the principal towns were as follows :— 132

| | Dates inclusive. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mukalla | 31st October to 5th November ... | 86·8 | 75 |
| | 21st to 30th December ... ... | 82 | 74·5 |
| Shihr ... | 20th to 21st December ... ... | 80·2 | 73·3 |
| Du'an ... | 11th to 13th November ... ... | 78·8 | 70·3 |
| Shibam ... | 17th to 20th November ... ... | 84·2 | 66·8 |
| | 21st to 24th November ... ... | 75·1 | 62·3 |
| Tarim ... | 21st November ... ... ... | 75·9 | 72·9 |
| | 2nd to 5th December ... ... | 88·5 | 70·3 |

The lowest temperature we recorded on the whole trip was 37·3 at 6.45 a.m. on 29th November at Sih Rieidat al Kathîr. The highest was 88·5 at 4 p.m. on 5th December at Tarim.

## The States of the Hadhramaut.

In Article I of the Qu'aiti-Kathîri agreement of 1918 it is stated that the Qu'aiti Sultan and the Kathîri Sultan "recognise that the province of Hadhramaut shall be one province, the said province being an appanage of the British Empire under the Sultan of Al Shahr and Mukalla." This agreement appears *in extenso* in Appendix II. By it the Kathîri agreed to accept as binding on him the treaty of 1888 between the Qu'aiti and the British Government, which extended British Protection to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies, and also accepted the arbitration of the British Government in the settlement of future disputes. 642 648

The Qu'aiti state of Shihr and Mukalla is one of the most important of the Sultanates and Chiefdoms forming the Aden Protectorate. The Sultan receives a nominal stipend of Rs.60 a month from British funds and is entitled to a salute of eleven guns. The present Sultan, His Highness Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. He is recognized as being the ruler of the whole country, but that part of it defined as being Kathîri is autonomous in its domestic affairs and is ruled over by Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur. By virtue of the Qu'aiti-Kathîri agreement, negotiations with the Kathîri Sultanate are conducted through the medium of the Qu'aiti Sultan. 642 631 643

It is necessary, however, to avoid the impression that all the country included in the term Hadhramaut is ruled by Qu'aiti or Kathîri in the same way as obtains in more advanced countries, for such is far from being the case. In both Sultanates there are a number of towns or districts where the Government is absolute, and the central Government appoints Governors who take full responsibility for the affairs of those places. In some cases there are stretches of country including series of villages which are ruled in the same way, but every now and then will be found autonomous towns and villages. These belong to particular tribes or particular families, and the Qu'aiti or Kathîri Governments have no 642 631 641

say in their administration, nor do they collect taxes from them. From an administrative point of view the inhabitants of these towns are considered as Qu'aiti or Kathīri subjects and on proceeding abroad would be given Qu'aiti passports. In the same way, although members of the various tribes of the Hadhramaut are theoretically either Qu'aiti or Kathīri subjects, they are not directly ruled by the Qu'aiti or Kathīri Governments; the Sultans have treaty relations with the tribes. It may often happen that both Governments have agreements with the same tribe, but, as will be seen later, it is possible to consider each tribe as being subject to either Qu'aiti or Kathīri influence. There is no form of representative Government in the Hadhramaut.

## Population.

An informant quoted by Van den Berg estimated the population of the Hadhramaut in 1886 as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Shibam to Shabwa, including Wadis 'Irma, Duhr and Rakhia ... | 20,000 |
| Wadis 'Amd, Du'an, and Al 'Ain ... ... ... ... ... | 25,000 |
| From Shibam to Tarim ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 50,000 |
| From Tarim to Seihut ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6,000 |
| From north of the main wadi to the desert ... ... ... | 15,000 |
| From south of the main wadi to the sea ... ... ... ... | 16,000 |
| Shihr and its environs ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 12,000 |
| Mukalla and its environs ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6,000 |
| Total ... ... ... | 150,000 |

Van den Berg, however, appears to consider this excessive. He gives the population of Seiyun as 15,000, Tarim 10,000, Shibam 2,000, Al Ghurfa 1,500, and 'Einat 1,000.

According to *An Account of the Arab Tribes in the Vicinity of Aden* (1909) the Qu'aiti are estimated at 50,000, including Beduin tribes in the pay of the Qu'aiti, and the Kathīri at 7,000 armed men.

Van der Meulen in *Hadhramaut, some of its mysteries unveiled* gives the following estimates: Shiheir 1,500, Shihr 6,000, Mukalla 12,000, Du'an 20,000 and 1,500 Beduins, Hajarein 3,000, Hureidha 2,000, Shibam 8,000-9,000, Tarim 12,000, Seiyun 12,000-15,000, 'Einat 5,000, and Shibam, Al Qatn, and the villages between, 20,000.

Mr. O. H. Little in his report on the *Geography and Geology of Mukalla* estimates the population of Mukalla at about 10,000, but Mr. H. M. Heald, who accompanied Mr. Little to report on the agricultural resources, was given an estimate of 30,000.

The official estimate of the population contained in the Annual Administration Report of Aden is 300,000. In Mukalla I was given 400,000. Using the estimated figures of population of towns, and of the number of armed men in various tribes, which were given

to me in the Hadhramaut and which are stated in detail in subsequent chapters, I should say that 260,000 is a safer estimate. In making this calculation an endeavour has been made to avoid counting groups twice when they occur under different headings, and allowance has been made for sections of tribes for which estimates of armed men are not available. Where total figures are given for certain tribes for which a figure of the number of armed men is also available it appears that the ratio is about three to one, and for this reason numbers of armed men have been multiplied by three to obtain estimated total population. The following are the data used to obtain the total figure :—

### Qu'aiti Provinces.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shihr ... | Towns ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 11,000 |
| | 'Awābitha ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 2,500 |
| | Other tribes, men only 10,000 ... ... ... say | 30,000 |
| | | 43,500 |
| Mukalla | Towns (Mukalla 16,000, Gheil 6,000, Shiheir 1,500) ... | 23,500 |
| | Tribesmen, 2,100 ... ... ... ... ... say | 6,300 |
| | | 29,800 |
| | say | 30,000 |
| Du'an | Towns of Du'an and Leisar with certain deductions, men only ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 12,700 |
| | Tribesmen ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 5,000 |
| | | 17,700 |
| | say | 53,000 |
| | (This calculation compares well with estimate of 50,000 given). | |
| Hajr | Kanina ... ... ... ... ... .. ... | 1,500 |
| | Tribesmen, 5,000 ... ... ... ... ... say | 15,000 |
| | | 16,500 |
| Shibam | Towns and villages ... ... ... ... ... ... | 10,500 |
| | Āl Mahfudh ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 2,000 |
| | Other tribes (including Sei'ar) 6,700 ... ... say | 20,100 |
| | | 32,600 |
| | say | 33,000 |

### *Other Qu'aiti Districts.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Towns (Hureidha and 'Einat) ... ... ... ... | 7,000 |
| | Tribesmen (principally Ja'da, Tamimi and Manāhil), 5,250 ... ... ... ... ... ... say | 15,750 |
| | | 22,750 |
| | say | 23,000 |

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KATHIRI SULTANATE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Towns ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 36,700 |
| Tribesmen, 4,900 ... ... ... ... ... | say | 14,700 |
| | | 51,400 |
| | say | 51,500 |
| Total ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 250,500 |
| Add for Seiyids (see Chapter V) not elsewhere enumerated | | 5,000 |
| | | 255,500 |
| | say | 260,000 |

**Languages used in the Hadhramaut.**

197 There appear always to have been peculiarities in the language of the Hadhramaut. It may be of interest to record here that on the fragment of inscriptions found near Meshhed the third "S", the Hebrew *Samekh*, rare in other dialects of South Arabian, occurs frequently, and this is a distinctive feature of the Hadhramaut dialect. Another feature is the replacement of the modern "th" (*thā*) by "sh", thus *Shalasa* (the latter "s" being *samekh*) is "three" in Hadhramaut. The Mahri language, which, as it is spoken in the lower reaches of the Hadhramaut valley and westwards as far as Museina'a, may be included in the languages of the Hadhramaut, is said to be a modern representative of the ancient South Arabian.

But of more practical modern interest it is worth drawing attention to the difficulty of recording place and tribal names correctly when one's informants are illiterate, and there are eccentricities in accent and in the pronunciation of letters. In certain areas of the western part of the Protectorate the letter *jīm* becomes the *gīm* of Egypt. This sound also occurs in parts of the Hadhramaut, but so also do *jīm* and another variant *yīm*. Thus the village of Al Juwada in the Wadi Ser is called Al Yuwāda. *Qāf* is universally *gāf* in the Hadhramaut and indistinguishable from *gīm*.

191 It is of political interest to emphasize the spread of two introduced languages—Malay and Swahili. It would be possible to travel
177 over the whole country with either. Malay is in many cases almost more a mother-tongue than Arabic. There are many children of mixed blood, and many Malay or Javanese wives seem to have been introduced into the country. I was often told that there are children who speak Malay with more facility than Arabic, and Malay is a language regularly spoken in many homes.

Swahili has not attained this standard, but owing to the large numbers of people who go to East Africa it is very widely known as a second language. The great majority of those who speak it are of course Arabs, but there are a few slaves who speak it as a mother-tongue. I did not experience or hear of many cases like this in the Hadhramaut, but noticed a remarkable number further east in Merbat. Hindustani is a well-known language in certain

Yafa'i circles in the Hadhramaut. Some of the Seiyids of the Hadhramaut have an enigmatical way of speaking Arabic amongst themselves. 191/177

**Currency.**

The currency consists of rupees and Maria Theresa dollars. The exchange value of the latter depends on the price of silver, and in November 1934, when much of the information contained in this report was collected, the dollar was practically equivalent to a rupee. For this reason the two denominations were often used indifferently. By mid-May 1935, the rate was Rs.149 to $100 in Aden and Rs.150 to $100 in Mukalla. 486 [435]

Small change is almost entirely British Indian, though there are a few Mukalla pice, a little Javanese money, and some Italian lire from Somaliland. Indian notes circulate fairly freely in Mukalla. The copper coins are called *besa* and the other Indian change *shauli bauli*. Generally speaking, any known money will be exchanged. In the towns of the main Wadi many ancient coins pass for small change, and there are also a number of small coins struck by the Al Kaf family. Small change is given for dollars according to their relative value with rupees.

**Weights and Measures.** 804

The weights and measures in use in Mukalla are as follows:—

1 Qofia.—The weight of 4 annas.

1 Waqia.—1 English ounce.

1 Ratl.—1 English pound.

1 Frasila.—20 lb. of fish or 32 lb. of shells.

1 Gubban.—25 lb. for gum.

1 Bahar.—10¾ Aden maunds or 300 English lb. of tobacco, or 360 lb. of dates, but dates from the interior 300 lb.

1 Qosra.—180 lb. of Basra dates. Trucial Oman dates are in packages of 70-80 lb. They are of an inferior quality.

1 Ma'bar.—A basket of 30-40 lb. of *Wazif* (dried *'aid* fish).

In Shibam the pound is of 12 ounces; 28 lb. equal 1 *frasila*, and 14 *frasilas* 8 lb. equal one *bahar*.

MEASURES OF LENGTH.

1 Banan—1 finger's breadth.

2 Shubrs—1 Dhirra.

2 Dhirras—1 Wara.

1 Wara—1 Yard.

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

As a general rule liquids are sold by weight; there is however a small measure used for oil called a *Baura*. Such a quantity is sold for one or two pice.

**Calendar.** 805

For official and sometimes for business purposes, when dealing with Europeans, the date is expressed A.D. as well as A.H., but

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as a general rule only the Muhammadan calendar is used. As it is used in internal affairs of Government, it appears in this report. I left Aden for the Hadhramaut on 29th October 1934, which is equivalent to 20th Rajab, 1353, and returned on 1st January, 1935, or 26th Ramadhan, 1353.

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In Mukalla and Shihr the time is officially considered to be half-an-hour in advance of Aden, and is announced by the beating of gongs, somewhat erratically it must be confessed, at police posts. This is a familiar kind of public clock to those who know East Africa. The hours are marked in these towns in the European way, but in the interior the Arab reckoning is followed, and the day ends at sunset which is 12 o'clock. Thus our Wednesday night is the "night of Thursday" and 7 p.m. or 7 a.m. is one o'clock. It is curious that in most other parts of the Protectorate the Arabs have adopted the European reckoning of the hours, learnt of course from Aden.

H [171]

## CHAPTER II.

## HISTORY IN INSCRIPTION AND TRADITION.

### 1. The Early History of the Hadhramaut.

SA 127

"What a famous man believes as to his remote ancestral origins is often of more import than the dry, literal truth." With these words a great biographer began his biography of a great man. They apply perhaps with almost equal force to a country. What the people believe of their early history is often more important in the shaping of their future history than the forgotten truth. Certainly it has seemed so to me with the history of the Hadhramaut. For this reason I have summarized in some detail the traditional, and often orthodox, account of its origins, continuing it in one narrative to modern times, and leaving it to the reader to decide at which point he cares to accept it as a record of actual happening.

I propose to preface to the narrative a short summary of the history of the country, as far as it has been gleaned to date, from the South Arabian, commonly called Himyaritic, inscriptions. Before these inscriptions, of which comparatively few have as yet been published, were discovered and deciphered, knowledge of ancient South Arabian history was derived from a few scripture texts and some treasured references in Greek and Latin authors. Apart from this, there were only Arab sources. The witness of the monuments and modern exploration have abundantly confirmed the former and seriously impeached the latter.

SA 101 438

The amount of information to be gleaned from the classical geographers can be written in a very few lines. Strabo, after mentioning the Sabaeans and the Katabaneans, says "lastly furthest to the east are the Chatramotitae, having the city of Sabata." He also says "Kattabania produces incense, but Chatramotitis myrrh." Theophrastus in his *History of Plants* says

"Frankincense, Myrrh, Cassia and Cinnamon have their origin in 101
the Arabian Chersonese in Saba and Adramyta and Clibania and 438
Mawali."

Pliny, giving his list of South Arabian tribes, mentions the Thoani 101
and the Chatramotitae. Of the Atramitae he says that their capital is Sabota, enclosing sixty temples in its walls, and again "almost in the middle of it (Arabia) are the Atramitae, a people of the Sabaei, the capital of whose kingdom is Sabota on a high mountain." He also mentions that they border the Minaeans in the interior. The unknown author of the *Periplus*, describing the coast beyond Aden, says "After Eudaemon Arabia there is a continuous [261] length of coast, and a bay extending two thousand *stadia* or more, along which there are Nomads and Fish-Eaters living in villages; just beyond the cape projecting from this bay there is another market-town by the shore, Cana, of the Kingdom of Eleazus, the Frankincense Country; and facing it there are two desert islands, one called Island of Birds, the other Dome Island, one hundred and twenty *stadia* from Cana. Inland from this place lies the metro- [438] polis Sabbatha, in which the king lives. All the frankincense produced in the country is brought by camels to that place to be stored and to Cana on rafts held up by inflated skins after the manner of [505] the country, and in boats. And this place has a trade also with the [439] far-side ports, with Barygaza and Scythia and Ommana and the neighbouring coast of Persia."

Ptolemy, giving the longitude and latitude of the countries of the 131
Adramitae, has "The mouths of the River Prion 85°13°30′, sources 101
of the river 82°17°30′." He also speaks of the Chatramonitae. Among his towns are "Sabbatha Metropolis 87°16°30′." Stephen of Byzantium has "Atramitae, peoples of Arabia felix, as Uranius, (III of the Arabs), bears witness; Artemidorus calls them the Atramotitae.

"Chadramotitae, a tribe about the Indian Gulf, dwelling by the 101
river Prion, as Marcianus says.

"Chatramotitae, a region near the Red Sea. The people are Chatramotitae. Uranius, however, in *Of the Arabs* first calls them Chatramotae. The breeders of camels are the Chatramotae, Sabaei, and Homeritae."

These extracts are probably not exhaustive, but they will give 114
a fair idea of the little there is to be gained from classical sources; and yet if one considers the matter it is really remarkable how much the ancients knew about a country which *we* do not yet know really well. The fact that they knew as much as they did is due, as will be evident after a perusal of these extracts, to the incense trade. As there is little or nothing in this report to do with the 433
incense trade, I have avoided giving any history of it,[1] but it is 439
well to bear in mind the extent of the demand for this commodity

[1] There are useful and extensive notes on the subject both in Yule's *Marco Polo* and in Schoff's *Periplus*. See also Miss Stark's *Southern Gates of Arabia*. 113

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SA 433 in the civilized world. The ancients could not do without it, for
439 they required it in the performance of their religion, and when the Egyptians took to embalming their dead the demand increased. Pliny speaks with disapproval of the vast quantities used for secular purposes, and believed that the incense country of Arabia did not produce in a whole year so large a quantity of perfume as was burnt by Nero at the funeral of Poppaea.

H We gather also from Pliny and other writers that the organization
178 of the country in ancient times was much as it is to-day. When
439 the trade of Europe and the East began to go by sea, the succession
137 of old South Arabian kingdoms came to an end. Nature stepping
SA in put an end to the incense trade by a process of desiccation, and
178 nowadays incense-bearing trees are rare objects in the Hadhramaut
439 proper.

SA 101 Before I record the scant references to Hadhramaut history to be gleaned from the inscriptions, it will be well to bear in mind the names and approximate locations of the tribes of South Arabia. Eratosthenes says that proceeding in order down the Red Sea coast of Arabia were the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and Katabanaeans. To the east was Chatramotitae. Schoff gives the order on the South Arabian coast from west to east as Himyarites, Sabaeans, Qataban, Hadhramaut, and Habashat. Pliny remarks that the Minaeans were neighbours of Hadhramaut in the interior. Not later than the seventh century B.C. the state of Ausan was paramount in South Arabia. After Ausan fell, the principal power devolved on first Qataban, then Saba, and lastly Himyar.

In point of time the first reference to Hadhramaut is that which occurs in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis, but to pursue
SA the passage beyond the mere name would soon involve us in legend.
643 There were kings of Hadhramaut contemporary with those of Saba, and Saba may have risen to power about 800 B.C. There were fifteen rulers of Saba called *mukarib* (priest) who were followed by seventeen kings of Saba, and then by twenty-six kings of Saba and possessors of Reidan (Zafar near Yerim). Some of the later inscriptions are dated according to a Sabaean era which is presumed to have started about 115 or 114 B.C., from which time begin the kings of Saba and Reidan. How the change took place is not entirely clear, but an inscription which reads "Ilsharh Yahdib and his brother Ya'zil Bayyin the two kings of Saba and Reidan sons of Fara' king of Saba" suggests that the change of title
SA was a peaceful affair perhaps due to the need of being by the sea.

648 There appear to have been close relations between Hadhramaut
643 and the Minaeans, as a son of the Minaean king was king of Hadhramaut. There is an inscription in Ma'in recording the building of some towers dedicated to 'Athtar Dhu Qabd by the king of the Hadhramaut, in which he refers to the son of his brother, the king of Ma'in, which also indicates a close connection between the two people.

South Arabian politics, however, appear to have been as complicated at the epoch of which we are speaking as they are now. In the third century B.C. the Habashat, ancestors of the Mahras, were apparently supreme in the incense country. Then Hadhramaut conquered Qataban, and the Sabaeans were threatened by the Himyarites. It may have been as a sequel to this war that the Hamdani princes Yarm Ayman and Barig Yuharhib dedicated six images to the god Ta'lab Riyan because they had negotiated a peace between the kings of Saba, Qataban, and the Hadhramaut. The inscription which records this is, in the opinion of Glaser, not later than the end of the second century B.C. In 75 B.C., again according to Glaser, there was an alliance of Dhadarkot, king of the Habashat, with three successive kings of Saba for mutual protection against Hadhramaut and Himyar, but this was followed by Himyar's overthrow of Saba and the attack of Hadhramaut on the Habashat which resulted in the latter's migration to the Tigre Highlands. At this time Merib was ruled by the kings of Saba and Reidan, but at the time of the *Periplus* a king of Saba was a Himyarite ruling over Reidan and the East African coast which was an appanage of " the state that had become first in Arabia." The *Periplus* describes the king of the Hadhramaut as king of the frankincense country with a rule extending over the islands of Kuria Muria, Soqotra, and Masira, which formally belonged to Habashat. 721 648 [728] 648

The last known king of Saba was alive in A.D. 281. After this came the first Abyssinian period and the over-running of the country by Aryat. In 378 there were native kings again at Zafar with the title of King of Zafar, Reidan, Hadhramaut, and Yemen. In the same century the Abyssinian kings regained a foothold in Arabia and entitled themselves kings of Axum, Himyar, Reidan, Habashat, Saba, etc. After the Year of the Elephant, Seif bin Dhi Yazan sought the intervention of Nushirwan, and in 575 the Hadhramaut and South Arabia became subject to the Persians.

A word or two should be said about the religion of the ancient Hadhramis. Their gods were 'Athtar, Sīn, Khāl, and Shams. Shams (feminine) and Sīn are the sun and moon: 'Athtar, though masculine, is Ishtar, Venus. 'Athtar Sharqan (there was also 'Athtar Dhu Qabd) was the guardian of temples and tombs. To him men prayed that sacrilegious hands might not be laid on their offerings though they made no gifts to him. The antelope was sacred to 'Athtar, and the bull's head was the symbol of the crescent moon . Worship took place in temples. Oxen and sheep were offered, sometimes in large numbers. Incense was greatly used in the worship; indeed there seems to have been a special priest in charge of it. There was a month of pilgrimage, apparently in the autumn. Ceremonial purity, tithes, and perhaps first fruits had their part in the system of worship. 776 [182] [188] [182]

## 2. The Deluge and the Giants.

124 I proceed now to the narrative of Hadhramaut history as it
126 is told and believed in the country. Unless otherwise stated, the narrative is as given verbally by local authorities and taken down
115 in writing at the time. The principal authority for the period from the disappearance of the 'Adites to modern times is Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir, private secretary to the Qu'aiti *Wazir*.

173 "In the time of our Father Nuh," said a Du'an historian, "the whole of this land and of every land was covered with water.[1] Nuh and his family built a big ship and lived in it while the flood lasted. When the waters subsided there were of course large rivers, and that is how the Wadis of the Hadhramaut were cut out, and that is why you find sea shells in them and on the Jōl."

"After the flood came the children of 'Ad, the first men to live in the Hadhramaut. They were great in stature, fifty cubits high. That was why they could use these great stones for building their houses. The tooth you have in your hand is the tooth of one of the sons of 'Ad, not of a sheep, as you thought." Thus said Muhammad the son of Seiyid Ahmed bin Hussein al 'Attas, the *Mansab* of Meshhed, as we stood among the ruins of Gheibun.

The children of 'Ad built towns and villages all over the Hadhramaut.[2] Some of them were big places and well built, and some of them were just rude dry stone shelters such as the Beduins build to-day.[3]

Nebi Allah Salih, peace be upon him, was a prophet of the people of 'Ad,[4] and he died and was buried in the Wadi Khonab, and his son was Nebi Allah Hud, peace be upon him. And in his day the people of 'Ad did evil in the sight of Allah and they listened not to the warnings of the Prophet, and they were destroyed, except a few, and Allah received the Prophet and his grave is in the Wadi Maseila.

And the son of Nebi Allah Hud was Nebi Hudūn, and his grave is in the mosque of Hudūn in the Wadi Du'an. And there were other Nebis in the Hadhramaut, Mola Matar (whom some say is Seiyidna 'Ali bin 'Abitalib), and Molana Nebi Sodaf whose grave is in the Wadi Sodaf, and others.[5]

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[1] Hadhramaut "history" begins with the Flood. The very nature of the Wadis makes it appear so vivid that it often seems quite a recent memory. The more scientific theory is, I believe, that the Wadis are due to the last Ice Age.

[2] If you wonder at the extent of their activities, reflect that 'Ad lived 1,200 years, had a thousand wives, and sired four thousand sons and daughters. Masudi, V, III, p. 80.

[3] Any sign of human activity going beyond the knowledge of man is the work of the people of 'Ad. As Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir said to me, "the people of the interior attribute everything old to 'Ad and those of the coast to the Portuguese. Neither are right."

[4] This is not of course the orthodox view. Salih preached to Thamud and is not generally believed to be the father of Hud.

[5] The grave of the giant Mola Matar is not far from the Kor Seiban. It, and the other giants' tombs, may have been sanctuaries of the old religion. Possibly Mola Matar was a rain-god. Sodaf may be Sadaf, the descendant, according to Arab genealogists, of Hadhramaut.

Thus runs the earliest history of the Hadhramaut as I heard it there: it may be of interest to give Masudi's version. 173

After Noah the empire passed to the first 'Adites at a remote period and before all the Arab principalities . . . Sam established himself in the centre of the earth from the sacred territory (Mecca and Medina) as far as the Hadhramaut, Oman, and Alij. Amongst his descendants are quoted Aram, and Arfakhshad, both of them sons of Sam; amongst those of Aram, 'Ad, the son of 'Aus the son of Aram.[1]

God has revealed to us the existence of the empire of the 'Adites; He has described their violence; He has spoken of the high buildings which they built, and which, in spite of the passing of centuries, are still called by their name Al 'Adiya.

The 'Adites were gigantic men, as tall as palm trees; the length of their lives was proportionate to the enormous size of their figures. Of a very superior character, they had hard hearts. There were no people on earth who could compare with them in strength, greatness of works, vigour of mind, and strength of character. Destruction had no hold on their bodies, so strongly constituted had nature made them, so solid was their structure, so perfect were their forms, as God himself has revealed.

'Ad worshipped the moon. His kingdom was contiguous to the Yemen: it comprised the country of Al 'Ahqaf and of Sohar, that is to say Oman to Hadhramaut. Having reached the zenith of his career, surrounded by the multitude of his children and the children of his children, contemplating his prosperity to the tenth generation, seeing the solidity and prosperity of his empire grow with his family, he extended his good deeds to all men and generously exercised hospitality.

After his death the crown fell to the eldest of his sons, Shedīd. This prince reigned for five hundred and eighty years, or more or less, according to others. His successor was his brother, Sheddād son of 'Ad, who preserved the power for nine hundred years. It is said that he extended his rule over all the kingdoms of the earth. It was he who founded the town of 'Iram dhat al 'Imad.

At a later date the 'Adites, who then had for king Al Khuljān son of Al Wahm (he was the last king of the First 'Adites) gave themselves up to every excess. They worshipped three idols which were Samūdā, Sadā, and Al Habā. God sent Hud to them, son of 'Abdulla, son of Riāh, son of Khalid, son of Al Khalūd, son of 'Ad, and they treated him as a liar. The people of 'Ad were composed of ten tribes. Hud invoked the celestial vengeance against them; they were deprived of rain for three years, their earth dried up, and they did not know what would become of them.

They sent to Mecca to ask for rain from heaven. The Amalekites were then inhabiting this territory. The deputies, having arrived at Mecca, gave themselves up to drinking and amusing themselves, to such a point that the two slave courtesans of Muawiya, son of Bekr, sang verses to them in which this prince urged them to execute the undertaking for which they had come. On hearing his exhortation, the envoys, shaking off their torpor, hastened to

[1] See Genesis X, 21-31.

173 implore the water of heaven for their compatriots. No one is ignorant of what happened when the clouds arrived and the envoys went to choose the one which seemed preferable to them.

God sent against the 'Adites the devastating wind which fell upon them from one of their valleys. At the sight of the storm, they said to themselves, "Here is a cloud which will give us rain," and they rejoiced in this good news. Hud, hearing them speak thus, said to them: "That which you call upon with all your prayers is a wind which encloses a terrible punishment." (Quran, XLVI. 23.) The tempest unleashed itself on the fourth day of the week, not a single 'Adite remained alive. It was following this event that Wednesday is reputed unlucky and that it is not employed in the calculation of the days[1]. Hud the Prophet, after having seen with his own eyes the extermination of his people, retired with those believers who followed him.

Speaking of the Second 'Adites, Ibn Khaldun tells us that "It is said that (the Banu) 'Ad were led to the Arabian Peninsula (to Hadhramaut?) by Rukaym son of Aram (Rukaym son of 'Abir son of 'Ad?), who had formerly visited the country in company with the Prophet Hud. He returned to the people of 'Ad and led them in ships to the country and to its invasion. They wrested it from the hands of its inhabitants, but they were themselves subsequently conquered by the Banu Ya'rub son of Qahtan. Qahtan ruled over the country, and it was governed by his son Hadhramaut, after whom it was named."

But this last remark is rather anticipating. Of the time of the disappearance of the 'Adites, Masudi says "One knows all that Ishmael and Hagar suffered until the moment when God caused the water of Zemzem to spring up out of the earth for them, whilst the country of ash-Shihr and the Yemen were afflicted with drought. It was then that the Amalekites, the Jorhumites and the remains of the 'Adites established in these countries, dispersed."

### 3. The Sons of Qahtan.

When the children of 'Ad had passed away, there arose in the valley the children of Hadhramaut the son of Qahtan.[2] The name of Hadhramaut was 'Āmr, but he was nicknamed "Death is present" from the troublous times in which he lived. The first of the tribes of Hadhramaut was the tribe of Sadaf which was divided into four sections, the Saberāt (who are found to this day in the Āl Bā Sabera, a section of the Āl Bā Dubīān clan in Hajr), the Beni Sa'd, the Beni Haritha, and the Tijib.

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[1] Lane says that the twenty-fifth of the month on which the suffocating wind was sent upon the people of Hud is an unfortunate day.

[2] Yarub son of Qahtan is said to have established himself as ruler of all Yemen, which included Hejaz, Hadhramaut, and Oman. He appointed his brothers to rule over these provinces, and Hadhramaut became Governor of the province which bears his name. Under Yarub's feeble son Yashjub, the provinces became independent, but the kingdom was again consolidated by 'Abdi Shems Saba.

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Then there came into the Hadhramaut tribes of Kinda.[1] Two of 173
these tribes were the Saqsaq and the Sukun of the posterity of Asherash bin Thor.[2] They lived in Tarim and in Husn an Nujeir which was east of Tarim as you go to 'Einat, but it no longer exists. There were four Kindi kings in Hadhramaut, in Wadi 'Amd, in Wadi Henin, in Wadi Hajr, and in Wadi Jerdan and Shabwa. The tribes of Kinda worshipped an idol named Haslad and all Hadhramaut paid it reverence as their god.

There was always strife between the tribes of Hadhramaut and the tribes of Kinda. At first the tribes of Hadhramaut prevailed and the tribes of Kinda went away, but later they came back and left Lower Hadhramaut, that is to say, Hadara below Henin. and went to Upper Hadhramaut,[3] that is to say, from Henin to Shabwa and beyond. But most of them left Hadhramaut and went to Nejd. From the time of their going to Nejd they became well known; but the Hadhramaut tribes became Beduins and there were no famous men among them.

In Nejd the tribes of Kinda set up a king and his name was Marta' the son of Mu'awiya the son of Thor.[4] And Marta' reigned for 20 years and died and Thor his son reigned in his stead. And he reigned but a little while and Mu'awiya his son reigned after him. And he too reigned but a little while and slept with his fathers. And after him reigned his son Al Hārith for 40 years. And after Al Hārith his son Wahab reigned for 20 years. And when he died there reigned Hajr the son of 'Amr the brother of his father Al Hārith. And he ruled for 23 years. During his reign and the reign of his son the tribes of Kinda waxed stronger and allied themselves with the tribes of Rabi'a in Nejd. And after Hajr ruled his son 'Amr for 40 years when together with his allies the Rabi'a he attacked Syria and was killed.

After 'Amr reigned his son al Hārith[5] and when he died his

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[1] The tribe to which the philosopher 'Abu Yusuf Yakut belonged. His great grandfather Al Ashath was one of the companions of Muhammad (*vide infra*). Al Ashath's father, Qeis, was Kinda's greatest ruler, while his grandfather, Madi Karib, ruled in Hadhramaut over a section of the tribe called Banu al Harib al Ashghar.

The Kinda are said to have migrated from Bahrein to the Hadhramaut to the number of 30,000 about the time of Muhammad's birth. Some say they attached themselves to the Sadaf or Sadf.

[2] A third was Tujib. (Kay's Omarah, p. 218).

[3] The people of Shibam and neighbourhood are to-day called Ahl 'Alwa and those of Seiyun and Tarim Ahl Hadra. Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir's use of higher and lower seems slightly different.

[4] The Marta' family of Henin and Java claim descent from him.

[5] Hārith bin 'Amr king of Kinda invaded 'Iraq some time between A.D. 505 and A.D. 529, defeating and temporarily supplanting Mundhir III, King of Hira. Mundhir slaughtered some fifty or sixty of the house of Kinda, and Hārith himself was defeated and slain by Mundhir in 529. Then, as the story given above records, the power of Kinda sank and they were forced back to the Hadhramaut. (*Vide* Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 42).

173 kingdom was divided amongst his four sons. Hajr 'Aqīl al Murār[1] took the Beni Asad and the Beni Kinana, Sharhīl took the Beni Ghanima and the Beni Tai (from whom came Hatim Tai) and the Beni Rubāb, Salma took the Beni Taghlib and the Beni Nimr Bin Qāsut, and Ma'di Karib had the Qeis bin Gheitan.

Now the kingdoms of the sons of al Hārith lay over against the country of Nu'man bin al Mundhir,[2] the king of Hira in 'Iraq whose kingdom was under the protection of Anushirwan the king of Persia. And Nu'man knew that the sons of al Hārith wished to take his country from him and he sowed discord amongst them.[3] And the way that the son of Al Mundhir prevailed in his design was in this wise.

Hajr 'Aqīl al Murār dwelt in Dammūn,[4] which is to the east of Hajarein, and he was renowned for his bravery. When he received the news of his share of his father's kingdom, he left his son Imra'al-Qeis[5] in Dammūn and went to Nejd, but the Beni Asad knew him not and killed him. When they learnt who he was they went to Imra'al-Qeis and said that his father had been slain in error and that they were willing to receive him as their king. But

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[1] So my informant, but he appears to be wrong: It was Hajr bin 'Āmr mentioned above who was surnamed 'Aqil al Murār. He was the moving spirit in the extension of Kinda sway to Central and North Arabia (as is in fact indicated in the narrative) about A.D. 480. On his death the Kindite Confederation was broken up but re-established for a short while by his grandson Hārith bin 'Āmr. (*Vide* Nicholson, *ib.* p. 42).

Hajr 'Aqil al Murār married Hind al Hinud of the same stock between 460 and 480. From this union arose the al Hind tribe known in Oman. (Sahil ibn Razik, p. 29).

[2] Imra'al-Qeis III king of Hira from A.D. 503 to 513 carried off on a raid into Arabia Ma al Sama, who bore to him Mundhir III (513–562). Mundhir had three sons, 'Āmr, Qabus and Mundhir IV who succeeded him in turn as king of Hira. 'Āmr was the son of Hind, daughter of Harith bin 'Āmr whose marriage to Mundhir III had settled the feud started by Imra'al-Qeis III's rape of Ma al Sama. To Mundhir IV succeeded his son Nu'man III (here referred to), who reigned from A.D. 580 to 602 or from A.D. 585 to 607. Nu'man was brought up by a Christian family and probably became a Christian. His daughter Hind certainly was. (*Vide* Nicholson, *ib.* p. 44 *seq.* and Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, 1st Ed., Vol. I, p. clxxiii, *et. seq.*)

[3] The hatred of the Lakhmite kings of Hira and the Kings of Kinda dated from the affair of Mundhir III and Harith recounted above. It is sung by Imra'al-Qeis. (*Vide infra*) (Nicholson, *ib.* p. 43).

[4] "The country of the Banu Kindah is in the portion of the highlands of Yaman that borders upon Hadhramaut and upon Abjar and ar-Raml. The Ban Kindah were ruled by a dynasty of kings, and their capital was Dammūn, which is mentioned by Imru'l-Kays in his poems." (Ibn Khaldun. Kay's 'Omārah, p. 177.)

[5] This is the poet Imra'al-Qeis, the famous author of the first of the Muallaqat. On the death of his grandfather, Hārith, the confederacy he had built up was divided by his sons as recorded in the narrative. Hajr, the poet's father, ruled over the Beni Asad, "but finally they revolted and put him to death." Imra'al-Qeis' efforts to punish them failed and he resorted to Justinian, who appointed him Phylarch of Palestine. He died on his way there from Constantinople at Angora (c.A.D.540.) He is said to have perished from putting on a poisoned robe which Justinian sent him on account of an intrigue he had had with Justinian's daughter. (Nicholson, *Ibid.* pp. 103–104).

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Imra'al-Qeis refused and gathered together the tribes of Midhij,[1] who were another Qahtani tribe, and the tribe of Kinda and set out to attack the Beni Asad. By mistake he attacked the Kinana tribes instead of the Beni Asad, killing many of them, whereupon he cried out that he had revenged his father's death. When told of his mistake he was filled with remorse and returned to Dammūn. Then Nu'man bin al Mundhir, king of Hira in 'Iraq, who, as has been said, had been sowing discord among the tribes in Hadhramaut. brought an army against Imra'al-Qeis, causing all the tribes to follow him and declaring that if Imra'al-Qeis were captured, he must be killed, and if he ran away, no one was to render him assistance. As the tribes in the Hadhramaut were against him Imra'al-Qeis left and went to Syria. From Syria he went among the Arab tribes, but none would accept him. He then took refuge with the Emperor of Constantinople, who brought an army and marched against Nu'man at Angora. But the Beni Nu'man and the Beni Asad sent word to the Emperor that all the Arabs were against Imra'al-Qeis, whereupon the Emperor had him poisoned. His grave is at Angora and bears an inscription. 173

The Kinda tribes returned to Upper Hadhramaut and their kingdom extended no further than this territory. Between them and the Hadhramaut tribes there was always discord. The Saqsaq and Sukun tribes were in the Lower Hadhramaut. All these tribes were under petty chiefs, each in his own territory, and there was continual fighting between them.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE MIDDLE AGES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

### 1. The Coming of Islam.

Then Islam came to the Hadhramaut. The Prophet Muhammad. on whom be peace, sent Ziad bin Dhubed in the eighth year of the Hejira[2] and he converted the Kinda and Hadhramaut tribes without 792 797 175

[1] The Midhij (or Madhagi) still exist as a clan of Upper 'Aulaqi and a son of the house is a pupil in the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs. They claim to be descended from a son of 'Abd Shems Saba named Mizzah or Madhig. They came from the north and once opposed Aelius Gallus' expedition. Wyman Bury. *Arabia Infelix*, p. 3.

[2] So Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir whose story is here continued. But Ziad does not appear to have come to the Hadhramaut at this date.

In the tenth year of the Hejira among the missions that came to Muhammed was one from the Hadhramaut. Wa'il bin Hoji, the coastal chief, and Al Ash'ath, chief of the interior, and both of the Beni Kinda arrived in Mecca and made their submission. Wa'il, the Prophet confirmed in his rights, subject to the payment of tithes, and Al Ash'ath was married to Um Farwa, the sister of Abubekr. He was not, however, allowed to take his bride home as her parents thought the Hadhramaut too far away. Some idea of Hadhramaut manners then prevailing can be gleaned from Wa'il's behaviour to the host to whom he had been allotted. Though the ground was scorching hot, Wa'il would neither allow his host to ride on his camel with him nor even lend him his sandals, declaring it was unheard of in the Yemen for a common man to wear the sandals of the king. Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 462.

175 bloodshed, but they were only nominally converted. At that time
792 there were five rulers, four kings and a queen, Jemid, Manhūs,
797 Mashera, Abdh'a, and their sister Al 'Amureda.[1] (The Prophet corresponded with these rulers as he corresponded with other sovereigns.)

When Abu Bekr became Caliph the tribes in the Hadhramaut fell away from Islam, so Ziad[2] brought an army from Yemen and the Hejaz and killed the five rulers, after which Hadhramaut tribes again became followers of Islam and were loyal to the other Caliphs and at first to their successors the Omeiyads. But in A.H. 128 (A.D. 746) the tribes revolted against the Omeiyads as the ruler of Yemen, 'Āmr Qasim Bin 'Umar Ath Thaqafi, tyrannized over them.

175 Hadhramaut tribes then became Ibadhis[3] under Yahya bin 'Abdulla, known as Talib Al Haqq, from Kinda, who ruled the tribes after their revolt against the Omeiyads. All Hadhramaut was then Ibadhi and for twelve years recognized no outside authority, killing anyone who came to rule over them. But in A.H. 140 (A.D. 757) when the Abbasides were in power, Ma'n bin Zaida Ash Sheibani brought a large army from Yemen against them. He passed Henin and came to Furt al Hussein which lay between Henin and Qatn. Here the men of Hadhramaut met him and gave battle. They were defeated, 15,000 being killed including their ruler Talib al Haqq. Ma'n bin Zaida then ruled over the Hadhramaut under the Abbasides. Ma'n was a tyrant, and he

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[1] The princes of the Hadhramaut bore the title of 'Abāhila.

[2] Ziad was the Governor of the Hadhramaut under Al Muhājir. About a year after the prophet's death, Al Muhājir set forth for South Arabia and in due course met 'Akrima, who had been sent to subdue the Mahra, at Ma'rib. The two chiefs then proceeded to the Hadhramaut where Ziad was holding the country with difficulty. He had made himself unpopular with the Beni Kinda by his exactions of tithes, and in one of his raids had carried off the families of a tribe. Al Ash'ath gathered the clans and rescued the prisoners after which, being compromised, he raised the whole country against Ziad. At this moment Muhājir and 'Akrima arrived and routed Al Ash'ath. At last in a desperate bid for personal safety Al Ash'ath offered to betray the remnant of his force. His terms were accepted and he was sent to Abubekr at Mecca. The Caliph spared his life and even allowed him to fulfil his marriage contract with his sister.

[3] In the reign of the second Merwan. At this time the Khawarij had spread extensively over South Arabia and 'Iraq and were often strong enough to paralyse the Government. 'Abdulla bin Ibadh, founder of the Ibadhis, whose only date we know is A.D. 744, was active in Merwan's reign. He belonged to the Tamimi tribe. To-day the Ibadhis are still the rulers of Oman and of Zanzibar and there is a community of them in Morocco.

Masudi says, (VI, 67) that Merwan gave command of an army to fight the Ibadhis to 'Abdul Malik bin Muhammad bin 'Atia as Sa'adi. "Abdul Malik marched the Syrian troops of Merwan against the Yemen. 'Abdulla bin Yahya al Kindi set out from San'ā and the two parties met in the district of Taif in the territory of Jorah. There was a terrible battle which cost their lives to 'Abdulla and to the majority of the Ibadhis whom he commanded. The rest of the heretics took refuge in the Hadhramaut of which the population is almost all Ibadhi still in 332 of the Hejira. It does not differ in the way of beliefs from the Khawarij of Oman."

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



compelled all the people of the Hadhramaut to wear the black dress of the Abbasides.[1] 175

Hadhramaut remained loyal to the Abbasides to the year A.H. 263 (A.D. 877). During this time there had been about 53 Governors in the Hadhramaut. When the reign of the Abbasides came to an end, Hadhramaut became independent once again.[2]

## 2. Yemeni Domination.

We learn from Omārah[3] that the authority of Ibn Ziad, the Yemeni ruler who acquired the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by the Tubbas, extended to the provinces of Hadhramaut, ash Shihr, and Dīār Kinda. East of the Hadhramaut he was master of Merbat, and west, of Abyan, Lahej, and Aden, as well as the Red Sea coast as far as Hali. After the death of Muhammad ibn Ziad, his son 'Ibrahim and his grandson Ziyad followed. Ziyad was succeeded by his brother 'Abu'l Jeish Ishaq whose reign endured for a long time, according to Ibn Khaldun, until he had reached the age of eighty, though Omārah says he reigned eighty years over "Yemen, Hadhramaut and the maritime islands."

In A.H. 259 (A.D. 873) Muhammad ibn Ya'far succeeded to his father, and was invested by the Caliph al Mutamed, with the Government of San'ā. Hadhramaut was included in his dominions, "but he owed allegiance to the Ziyadites and paid them tributes."

The Ziyadite rule lasted a long time, and in A.H. 409 (A.D. 1018) their great Wazir, Ibn Salama, carried out one of his greatest public works. "Among the splendid works executed by Husayn ibn Salāmah must be reckoned the construction of great mosques and lofty minarets along the road from Hadhramaut to the city of Mecca (may God Most High guard it). The distance extends over sixty days' journey. He dug wells and channels with running water in solitary wildernesses, and he erected along the road constructions on which were indicated the distances in miles, in *parasangs*, and in stages. Some of these works I have seen, either in good order or in ruins, and of the remainder I have received descriptions from other persons, all agreeing with one another. The first stations were at Shibam and Tarim, two cities of Hadhramaut. (A footnote adds, "Of Tarim, al-Hamdāni merely says that it was a 491 175

[1] The Beduins still wear the black of the Abbasides, though they think it was imposed upon them as a punishment. Unlike the townswomen who wear their dresses short in front and long behind, the women of the Beduins wear their dresses long all round, and it is thought that this too is a survival of the Abbasides. 291

[2] It is apparent that the Hadhramaut took hardly to Islam. After several vicissitudes the country shook down to orthodox Shafi'ism, but from the time of the Abbasides paid no more than lip service to the Caliphate. To-day, while there are mosques almost everywhere, one may suspect that the Beduins are more attached to their patron saints, whom they have adopted into Islam, than to orthodox worship. Laxity like this may have not a little to do with the bigotry of the conservative Seiyid party. 771

[3] See Kay's Omārah, pp. 5, 141-2, 224.

175 491 large city" (p. 87, I. 17)). A series of mosques was built extending thence to Aden, to Abyan, and to Lahj, a distance of twenty days' journey. At each interval of one day's journey, there stood a mosque with a minaret and a well. As to Aden, it contained a mosque built by (the Khalīfah) 'Omar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz, which was restored by Husayn ibn Salāmah." (Kay's Omārah, p. 9.)

175 In A.H. 410 (A.D. 1019) the Beni Ma'n captured Aden and they also took the Hadhramaut.[1] In A.H. 460 (A.D. 1067) the tribes of the As Sulehi[2] took Aden and the Hadhramaut, but their power weakened and in A.H. 480 (A.D. 1087) Hadhramaut was once more independent. The tribe of Ar Rashid of Kinda governed from 'Aqad to Tarim, and at this time the Beni Ayub were ruling in Aden and Yemen.

In A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178) Othman Zingari, governor of the Beni Ayub, brought an army from Aden to the Hadhramaut and occupied all Hadhramaut, taking the Sultan of Ar Rashid of Kinda, Rashid bin Shijn'a, to Aden together with his two sons, 'Abdulla and Shijn'a. However, Yemen and Aden revolted against the Beni Ayub and returned the Sultan of Kinda with his sons to Hadhramaut where they ruled again.[3]

In A.H. 677 (A.D. 1278)[4] the Beni Rasul al Ghasanin occupied Yemen, and the Hadhramaut was under their protection with a ruler 'Abdur Rahman bin Rashid of the Beni Rashid of Kinda, Sultan in Shihr, whose authority extended as far as Tarim.

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[1] The Beni Ma'n took Aden, Abyan, Lahej, Ash Shihr and Hadhramaut at this time. Of the ancestry of the Beni Ma'n there is no very clear account. "They established their power over Aden, in the days of Al Ma'mūn according to Ibn Khaldūn or according to 'Omārah, on the downfall of the Ziyadite dynasty." (Kay's Omārah, p. 308). Ibn Khaldun mentions that the Beni Ma'n claim descent from Ma'n bin Za'ida, governor of Yemen from A.H. 145–151 (A.D. 762–768), but this is contradicted by al Khazraji and 'Omārah.

[2] 'Ali bin Muhammad as Sulehi allowed the Beni Ma'n to remain in possession of their territories as governors under his authority.

[3] Here Al Khazraji fills a few gaps. In Muharram of A.H. 658 (A.D. 1259–60) the 'Amir 'Essdu'd Dīn Muhammad bin Hassan bin 'Ali bin Rasul demanded of the Yemeni Sultan, Melik Mudhaffer, Sultan Shemsu'd Din Yusuf bin 'Umar bin 'Ali bin Rasul (A.D.1250–1295), that he should be equipped with an army to invade the Hadhramaut. The Sultan complied, but the Hadhramaut was saved for twenty years from the Beni Rasul because of internal troubles in the Yemen which prevented the 'Amir from proceeding to the Hadhramaut.

[4] Al Khazraji relates that in A.D. 1278 the people of Hadhramaut appealed to Salim bin Idris lord of Dhufar, originally from Habuda near Shibam, for assistance in a great famine that afflicted the country, offering him their fortresses in exchange. He agreed to the terms, went to the Hadhramaut, gave the assistance needed, and returned to Dhufar. But when his back was turned the people "inclined with one sole inclination to their fortresses" and took them back. So Salim was "nearly killed with his regret for having wasted his goods to no purpose."

Salim then, as compensation for what he had lost in Hadhramaut, raided an envoy of the Yemeni Sultan Melik Mudhaffer who was driven ashore at Dhufar by unfavourable winds on his way to Persia. The result was a war with the Yemen in which Salim was killed. After capturing Dhufar the Yemeni forces proceeded to Shibam and took possession of it on the 8th of Ramadhan (20th January, 1279). Hadhramaut became submissive and the Sultan appointed as 'Amir, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Naji, who adopted a conciliatory policy and thus avoided trouble.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



A section of the Āl Yamāni of the Āl Tamim then fought with the Ar Rashid and finally occupied Tarim in A.H. 745 (A.D. 1344), after taking and losing it many times. They then ruled in Tarim and over the neighbouring country, while at this period the Saberāt tribe were ruling in Tarba, Būr, and Al Hasīsa, and the Nahd tribe were ruling over Shibam and the neighbouring country, so that the Hadhramaut was then divided under three ruling tribes, the Tamimi, the Saberāt, and the Nahd. This continued until A.H. 894 (A.D. 1489) when the Kathīris began to rise to power.[1] 175

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN HADHRAMAUT.

### 1. The Rise of the Kathīris.

The Kathīris originated from Dhufar[2] where they were Sultans. They had been living in the Hadhramaut but were of little importance and had no name given to them until they began to make themselves felt. In this year, 894 (A.D. 1489). Sultan 'Abdulla bin Ja'fer al Kathīr became Governor of Shihr (he was the man from whom the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīri took their name), but he did not live long and in 910 A.H. (A.D. 1504) was succeeded by his son Bedr Bu Tuweirak bin 'Abdulla[3] who reigned for sixty years and was well known in and out of the Hadhramaut. But the [174]

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[1] The next item of information in chronological order is given by Al Khazraji In the month of Rabi'l 'Awal A.H. 768 (A.D. 1366–7) Melik Mudhaffer, son of Sultan Melik Mujāhid of the Rasuli dynasty, and the son of the Yemenite ('Ibnu'l-Yemaniyy) went against Shihr; but the lord thereof went out to meet them with his forces, when they were defeated and returned frustrated in the month of Jumad al 'Awal in this year 768 (January, 1367) . . . . The 'Amir Sārimu'd Dīn Dāu'd son of Musa son of Hanajir was appointed Governor of Shahr.

[2] The origin of the suggested connection of Dhufar with the Hadhramaut is sufficiently indicated above, but according to Miles (Vol. II, p. 515) the Kathīris came from the Hadhramaut at the close of the eighth century and invaded Dhufar. Hirsch says that 10,000 of the Kathīri came from the neighbourhood of San'ā about A.D. 1494. See also the Genealogy of the Kathīris in an Appendix.

[3] This famous Kathīri leader was born in A.H. 902 (A.D. 1497). His pedigree was bin 'Abdulla bin Ja'fer bin 'Abdulla bin 'Ali bin 'Umar. Miles states "The Shaikh Bedr, who is usually spoken of by the Katheeris as Bedr-ba-Towarek, is said to have been Mucoadam of Seyoon. He became Lord of Hadhramaut and Dhofar and extended his conquests as far east as Ras Sherbetat. It must be observed that Carter (H. J. Carter, Trans. Bombay As. Soc., 2845, 1847, 1851) makes no mention of Bedr, but was informed that the founder of the Katheeri Dynasty was Ali bin Omar al-Katheeri. Subsequently the Katheeris appear to have been overpowered by others, but ultimately regained supremacy, which they have maintained throughout the vicissitudes of successive years to the present day."

Further, Miles states, in connection with the geography of Dhufar, that the inhabitants of the plain mostly belong to the Kathīri tribe, who, with varying fortunes, have remained the predominant tribe in the plain ever since their invasion of Dhufar in the beginning of the ninth century of the Hejira. They are, he says, always at feud with the Qarsa, by whom they are often attacked and harassed. The Kathīris, he states, are in two divisions, the 'Umar bin Kathīr and the 'Āmr bin Kathīr, both of which are represented in Dhufar, where they may number 2,000, occupying seven villages. He also mentions Dareez as having been once the capital of the Kathīris.

115 Hadhramaut tribes were not loyal to him, nor was his own tribe the Shenafir, so he brought in men of the Zeidis, the Yafa'is, and also Turks from Suleiman the Magnificent.[1] There was continual fighting and at different periods the 'Amūdi and the Seibani occupied Shihr. In his time, also, the Portuguese came and fought at Shihr. Bu Tuweirak captured some of them and sent them to Jidda, for he was in alliance with the Turks.[2] His hold became very weak, and he could not even pay the wages of his Zeidis and Yafa'is who were able to take control of those places in which they were stationed. Bu Tuweirak's son, 'Abdulla, took his father prisoner and he was in prison for about two years when he died in A.H. 972 (A.D. 1565).[3] At his death his sons divided, one in Shihr, one in Shibam, and so on, and for two and a-half centuries there was continual trouble. It was owing to this division that 'Isa bin Bedr,[4] the founder of the Āl 'Isa bin Bedr Kathīris, took Shibam and established himself there.

'Abdulla bin Bu Tuweirak, however, had no real kingdom, and there was continual warfare. After much internal trouble some of the Āl 'Abdulla went to the Zeidis and Hadhramaut came under the Zeidis. This regime, however, did not last long, for Bedr bin Muhammad of the Āl 'Abdulla headed a revolution supported by 'Ali bin Ahmed bin Sheikh Bubekr of 'Einat. In A.H. 1116 (A.D. 1704) he brought an army of 6,000 Yafa'is under 'Umar bin Salih of the Beni Harhara, and turned out the Zeidis. The Kathīri tribe were much weakened and Tarim, Seiyun, and Taris became Yafa'i, but the Āl 'Isa bin Bedr Kathīris still retained Shibam, though apart from this they were reduced to joining their Beduins. The Āl 'Abdulla of the Kathīris were in Tarba, and one of them, Ghalib bin Muhsin, left Hadhramaut and went to India where he became a soldier under the Nizam and was promoted to the rank of Jemadar.

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[1] Another version states that it was 'Āmr bin Bedr who sought Yafa'i assistance, and with their aid was proclaimed ruler of Hadhramaut with the exception of the seaports which the Yafa'is retained.

[2] Another (Kathīri) historian tells me that besides expelling the Portuguese from Shihr, he defended the Hadhramaut from a Turkish occupation, insisting that the country, though under Turkish protection, was not a Turkish dependency. He sent presents to Constantinople and in 944 (A.D. 1537) received a firman and two robes of honour from Sultan Suleiman. From this time the Sultan's name as Caliph was recited in the Juma mosque at Shihr.

[3] Others say A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569).

[4] 'Isa bin Bedr bin 'Ali bin as Sultan Bedr Bu Tuweirak. 'Isa bin Bedr was always in trouble in Shibam because of internal dissension. The Zeidis occupied Hadhramaut with the help of his uncle 'Umar bin 'Ali, after which he left the country for Mocha, where he died. His sons succeeded him but they were not very strong and there was trouble at home and abroad. After them the sons of their uncles ruled and the ascendancy varied between 'Isa bin Bedr's family and 'Umar bin 'Ali's family, but until the Qu'aiti occupied the country the Hadhramaut was always unsettled, after that it became safe and calm. (Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir).

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## 2. The Foundation of the Qu'aiti Fortunes.

In A.H. 1246 (A.D. 1830) there were with Ghalib in the Nizam's army 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti and 'Abdulla bin 'Ali al 'Aulaqi.[1] Ghalib was under the 'Aulaqi. Ghalib became rich and used to send money to his father's servants and also to his brother in Tarba. He then bought a village called Ghurf and a *husn* at Heid Qāsim which gave him the key to Tarim. His brother brought in 2,000 'Aulaqi soldiers and then requested Bin Gherāma, the Yafa'i ruler of Tarim, to sell him half the town, to which Bin Gherāma agreed; thus the Kathīris held half Tarim and the Yafa'is the other half. But Bin Gherāma with the support of the Tamimis revolted against the Kathīris, until at last the Āl 'Abdulla al Kathīri obtained more assistance from the 'Aulaqis and finally occupied all Tarim in A.H. 1263 (A.D. 1847), and took Seiyun and Taris in A.H. 1264 (A.D. 1848).[2] Bin Gherāma at first fled to Seiyun, then went to the Naqib of the Kasadi[3] at Mukalla to request his help, which was refused.

Meanwhile the family of Hajj 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti was living at Qatn. He had been born in Shibam but went to Hyderabad where he achieved fame in the Nizam's service.[4] He had three sons, 'Ali, Muhammad, and 'Awadh,[5] who were born in India but he sent them to live at Al Qatn in the charge of two slaves, Al Ma's and Amba. At this time all the small villages round Qatn were Yafa'i, but Shibam was under the Āl 'Isa bin Bedr Kathīris, ruled over by Sultan Mansur, who, however, had no money so he sold half the town to the Qu'aitis of Qatn, and in A.H. 1246 (A.D. 1830) both were ruling in Shibam. At the 'Id al Fitr the Yafa'is went to Qatn to visit their relations, and Mansur the Kathīri killed those Yafa'is who remained in the town, declaring that the country was his. This was the beginning of the Qu'aiti—Kathīri trouble.

Fighting was continual, but the Kathīris were more powerful. Some of the Yafa'is sent a mission to Hajj 'Umar bin 'Awadh, who was then in India, and it was for this reason that he sent his

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[1] He married an Indian lady and had two sons, 'Ali and Muhsin, who were both dead by 1909. Muhsin was known at Hyderabad as Muqaddam Jung.

[2] The Yafa'is retook Seiyun in 1265 (A.D. 1849) but lost it again to the Kathīris in the same year. (Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir).

[3] The Kasadis were also from Yafa'. They are a section of the Di Nakhib of Lower Yafa'. (Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir).

[4] The "locals" of Shibam recount the following story to account for 'Umar's departure to India: There is an old mosque in the town and in the old days vegetable oil was used in the lamps. The people were surprised to find that every morning the oil had all gone, so a trap was laid for the thief, fish oil being put in the lamps instead of vegetable oil. Next day when 'Umar bin 'Awadh walked abroad it was found that he was reeking of fish oil, having been in the habit of using the oil for his hair. To avoid the scandal he agreed to exile himself to India.

[5] Actually five. Muhammad who died early, 'Awadh who became Jemadar Nawaz Jung under the Nizam and was Sultan of Shihr, 'Abdulla who represented the family in Hadhramaut, Salih, known as Parak Jung, who looked after the family interests at Hyderabad and died in 1880, and 'Ali who lived apart from his brothers at the Nizam's court.

175 three sons, mentioned before, to Qatn. He also sent soldiers who besieged Shibam for 16 years, during which time the inhabitants were reduced to eating leather. At last the Seiyids of Āl 'Aidarus were called in to arbitrate. They decided that the Qu'aitis should have one half of Shibam and the Kathīris the other half. To this they agreed, and in A.H. 1274 (A.D. 1858) Shibam was divided. Mansur, however, was not satisfied. After preparing a certain house for a feast and placing gunpowder in the building he invited the Yafa'is to dinner, including 'Ali, Muhammad, and 'Awadh, the sons of 'Umar bin 'Awadh, and their two slaves Al Ma's and Amba. But they were warned of what was to happen, so 'Awadh sent an excuse saying that they had received good news from their father and were celebrating the occasion with a "fantazīa". However he sent small groups of Yafa'is at different times to attend Mansur's feast; they would eat quickly and then excuse themselves. Afterwards 'Awadh invited Mansur to his house, and when he came, alone, they cut his throat. Then they killed all the Āl 'Isa Kathīris they found until the whole place was Qu'aiti.[1]

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[1] The following is a version, from the Kathīri side, of Hadhramaut history from the introduction of Yafa'is by Bedr down to the incident which established the Qu'aitis as lords of Shibam.

Until after 600 of the Hejira (A.D. 1204) the descendants of Rashid bin Qahtan were rulers of the Hadhramaut. Bedr bin 'Abdulla enlisted Yafa'is as mercenaries in order to strengthen his position. They settled in the Hadhramaut as soldiers under him and his successors and are still known as *'asākir*. In the course of time they attached themselves to the Seiyids of Āl Sheikh Bubekr bin Salim and secured a share in the country. In A.H. 1119 (A.D. 1707) they revolted against the Kathīris, over-ran Tarim and Seiyun, and expelled their former masters from most of the Hadhramaut towns. In 1165 (A.D. 1752) the Āl Bureik established themselves in Shihr with the help of the Āl 'Attas Seiyids. About the year 1222 (A.D. 1807) the Wahābis succeeded in occupying the Hadhramaut, and in 1231 (A.D. 1816) captured Shihr, but they were turned out of the country.

Presently the oppression of the Yafa'is induced many of the Kathīris to emigrate to Java and Singapore where they attained great wealth. In their new country the exiles pondered over the disturbed state of their home, and in 1250 (A.D. 1834) Seiyid 'Abdulla bin 'Umar bin Yahya conceived plans for expelling the Yafa'is. Sultan Ghalib bin Muhsin al Kathīri, who was in the army of the Nizam of Hyderabad, sent his brother 'Abdulla as regent of the Hadhramaut, and the Yafa'is were expelled from Tarim, Seiyun, and the neighbouring villages. In the month of Rajab 1263 (A.D. 1847) Sultan 'Abdulla and the Seiyids concluded a pact of co-operation for the establishment of an era of peace and justice in the Hadhramaut.

In 1266 (A.D. 1850) Seiyid Ishaq bin 'Aqīl bin Yahya al Hadhrami came from Hejaz in a ship with 400 soldiers lent by the Sharif. His aim was to assist the Kathīris, but with the help of the Kasadi Naqib the Āl Bureik succeeded in preventing their landing at Shihr.

The Yafa'is now sought revenge, and those in India persuaded Hajj 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti to help them. 'Umar sent his slave, Hajj Al Ma's al Habshi, as his representative to the Hadhramaut with considerable funds. On arrival Al Ma's declared his loyalty to the Seiyids and offered to assist in matters concerning the welfare of the country. He then purchased half of the town of Shibam for his master from Sultan Mansur al Kathīri, but, acting under instructions from his master, he deceived Mansur and murdered him. In this way the Qu'aitis obtained sole control of Shibam in 1274 (A.D. 1858).

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



### 3. The Kasadis, and the Qu'aiti Rise to Power.

In 1842 'Abdur Rab, the Kasadi Naqib of Mukalla, died, and his son Salih was forcibly dispossessed of his inheritance by his cousin Muhammad 'Abdul Habib. Like many usurpers Muhammad disturbed everybody, and in a few months had starved his *Wazir*, Seiyid Abreidi, to death on suspicion of treachery, and caused all whom he could find of his late uncle's issue to be murdered. Two sons and a grandson escaped and fled to Aden, but the Government of India declined to interfere though it gave them a small donation. Such was Britain's first official contact with the Hadhramaut. 175

In 1850 the Turks sent a force of some 800 men to annex Shihr and Mukalla, but they were defeated at an engagement at Burum and fled to Sharma whence the chief of Shihr dislodged them. The next year the Naqib offered Mukalla to the British as he feared further Turkish activities, but the offer was declined. Shortly afterwards Muhammad 'Abdul Habib died and was succeeded by his son Salih. In 1867 a Turkish warship made a further endeavour to annex Mukalla, Shihr, and the whole coast, but the Turkish pretension of sovereignty was evaded by the chiefs who were anxious for British protection. Naqib Salih, like his father, offered Mukalla to the British, and it was again refused, though some steps were taken towards dissuading the Turks from further interference. Four years after this offer (1873) Salih died and was succeeded by his feebleminded son 'Umar. His reign had been marked by the conclusion of two treaties with the British, in 1863 and 1873, for the abolition of the Slave Trade.

Meanwhile the old struggle of Kathīri *versus* Yafa'i had continued, both sides being subsidized by their friends and relations in India. The Yafa'i had prevailed to the extent, as has been related, of capturing and holding Shibam. 'Abdulla bin 'Ali the 'Aulaqi, too, had staked a small claim in the country, for he had purchased Sidda or Hazm, close to Shihr, from the Āl Bureik who possessed that town.[1]

In 1866 the Kathīri captured Shihr and 'Ali Naji, the Bureiki ruler, fled to Aden. The Āl Bureik now appealed to the Qu'aiti for help, and 'Awadh, with a party of armed Arabs left Bombay, and attacking Shihr by sea and land drove out the Kathīris. However, they did not restore it to the Āl Bureik, but kept it. Kasadi and Qu'aiti now united for the last time when 'Awadh and Salih attacked the Kathīri and were beaten. Shortly after the two fell out and the struggle in the Hadhramaut became Qu'aiti *versus* Kathīri and Qu'aiti *versus* Kasadi.

[1] The Āl Bureik of Hadhramaut and Shabwa occupied Shihr for 150 years, then the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris held it.

176 'Awadh was quick to perceive that 'Umar, Salih's son and successor, was a weak-minded youth, and, seizing his opportunity, set out again from India whither he had retired after his recent reverse. Arrived in the Hadhramaut, he sent a claim for 160,000 dollars for assistance rendered eight years previously by the Qu'aiti to the Kasadi against the Kathīri Sultan, Ghalib bin Muhsin. 'Awadh followed up this demand with an apparently friendly visit to the Naqib, taking in his train 500 soldiers. 'Umar received him with all honour, and while he was in Mukalla, 'Awadh increased the number of his followers by constant accessions. The greater part of the Naqib's forces were absent at this time subduing a revolt in Du'an, and when 'Awadh deemed himself sufficiently strong he demanded payment of the debt or, as an alternative, that he should buy the half of Mukalla and Burum for 240,000 dollars. As 'Umar was helpless he accepted the alternative (1290 A.H.—A.D. 1873) and 'Awadh paid him 80,000 dollars, the balance due after deducting the debt. Having pocketed his dollars 'Umar recalled his troops from Du'an and captured 'Awadh at Mukalla, but eventually allowed him to depart unconditionally.

'Umar then allied himself with his late enemies the Kathīri and with 'Abdulla 'Ali the 'Aulaqi. With their help he captured al Gheil, Reiyan, and Mesajida, but was repulsed from Shihr. 'Awadh, the Qu'aiti, attacked Burum, but was repulsed and in 1874 chartered a ship at Bombay in an attempt to transfer troops from Shihr to some point where he could attack the Naqib. The ship, however, was detained at Aden and not allowed to proceed. The Qu'aiti then sought aid from the Yemen but without receiving any substantial assistance. Further attempts by the Qu'aiti and the Kasadi to purchase ships to move their troops also proved fruitless, and during 1874-5 hostilities were continued with varying success, though it gradually became clear that the Qu'aiti was the more powerful chief. They blockaded each other's ports, but the blockades being utterly ineffective were forbidden by the British Government.

In 1876 the Qu'aiti attacked the Kathīris in Tarim and captured al Gheil, which had practically been evacuated by the Kathīris in order to relieve Tarim. Supplies began to fail the Kasadi and they had to evacuate Reiyan and Mesajida which were at once occupied by the Qu'aiti. In the same year the Sharif of Mecca offered the Naqib to mediate, but he was advised by the Aden Residency not to accept, and shortly afterwards the Government of India took a turn in the dispute by trying to bring hostilities to an end and then to offer mediation. Both sides were, however, obstinate, and the Government declared that it would only mediate when both parties consented to stop fighting.

At the end of 1876 the Resident succeeded in concluding a two years' truce between the parties, and early the following year the Qu'aiti showed some signs of willingness to accept the Resident's

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MMZ Hadhramaut MMZ



arbitration, then, in the usual way, complicated the case by claims to the sovereignty of Dis, and said that even if that question were settled his claim to 240,000 dollars must also be acknowledged by Government. 175

In 1877 the Naqib's chances became extremely slender, as the Qu'aiti had concluded a ten years' truce with the Kathīri in consideration of the evacuation of Tarim, and the Naqib had quarrelled with his brother Muhammad. In 1878 Dis, Sharma, and al Qarn fell to the Qu'aitis, and the Naqib appealed to the Sultan of Muscat to intervene, but the Government considered this undesirable.

Meanwhile the truce ran out and with much difficulty was renewed for a few months, while Government started consideration of the action that should be taken. It was not until January, 1881, that they decided that both chiefs should be persuaded to accept an agreement for the repayment of the debt and the cancellation of the transfer of Mukalla and Burum from the Kasadi to the Qu'aiti. As the Naqib continued to press for a British protectorate, failing which he proposed to hand over his territory to anybody that would take it, the Turks, Italians, French, Kathīris, and Zanzibar. being mentioned, he was to be warned of the consequences of disposing of his country without the consent of Government, though Government declined to announce its final intentions until the chiefs had accepted its proposals. The Naqib accepted at once, but the Qu'aiti declined on several pretexts. Pending further orders, a 15 days' truce was arranged, followed by another for nine days, during which time, Government, having already stopped hostilities by sea, decided to stop them by land.

In February both parties signed the alternative agreements presented to them which provided, one, for half Mukalla and Burum becoming the Qu'aiti's property with a British Officer appointed at Mukalla, the second, which provided for Mukalla and Burum being handed over to the Qu'aiti for 300,000 dollars, and the third for the repayment of the 240,000 dollars. Government now decided on the second alternative, and the Qu'aiti agreed to pay the money, but the Naqib declined to sell Mukalla outright and refused to cede it to the British unless they undertook not to hand it to the Qu'aiti, and he came to Aden to impress his views.

Government, however, decided to support the Qu'aiti, and after various proceedings, political and naval, lasting from May to November of 1881, the Qu'aiti obtained full possession of Mukalla. The Naqib, after handing over his forts to H.M.S. *Dragon*, left Mukalla for ever and arrived in Aden with 2,800 followers. Some of these subsequently returned to Mukalla, others went to Lahej, and the Naqib, with about a thousand men, left Aden in December and in January 1882 landed in Zanzibar.

The balance of the price of Mukalla was paid in due course by the Qu'aiti and invested for the benefit of the ex-Naqib, who was also granted an income of 1,000 dollars a month by Seiyid Barghash

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



175 bin Said, Sultan of Zanzibar. It was not until 1888 that he consented to use the interest on the sum invested, which had then amounted to 230,000 rupees, for his own use.[1]

148 643 In 1882 a treaty was entered into with 'Abdulla and 'Awadh, the Qu'aiti Jemadars, whereby due provision was made for the ex-Naqib and for the payment of an annual sum by the British Government to the Qu'aiti of 360 dollars a year. The Qu'aiti bound themselves not to dispose of any of the Hadhramaut territories to any person or power other than the British Government, and in 1888 a Protectorate treaty was concluded. Jemadar 'Abdulla died a few months later and 'Awadh became sole ruler. In 1900 the Qu'aiti dominions were further extended by the purchase, from the Wahidi, [554] of Meifa, and in 1902 the Sultan's old title of Jemadar was finally abolished and he was recognised by the title of Sultan.[2] Sultan

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[1] To-day Naqib 'Abdur Rab, 'Umar's son, the present head of the family, is a respected member of Zanzibar society. He has lived in a quiet and unobtrusive fashion, and he and his people have been absorbed into the population in which they are an indistinguishable element. The Naqib has adopted the fashions of dress and living of the Omani section of the population, while the rest of the large Hadhramaut element in Zanzibar forms a very distinct community of its own.

[2] The following is a continuation of the Kathīri narrative of Hadhramaut history, from the same source as before.

In 1283 (A.D. 1866), at the suggestion of Seiyid Ishaq bin 'Aqil, Sultan Ghalib bin Muhsin al Kathīri succeeded in occupying Shihr. He then marched against Mukalla but was defeated by the Naqib bin Sala's forces at Harshiat. The next year Jemadar 'Awadh bin 'Umar al Qu'aiti arrived from India with Indian and Yafa'i troops to attack Shihr. He landed with his forces at Hami, proceeded to Shihr, and with the assistance of the Kasadis captured the place and expelled the Kathīris. In 1287 (A.D. 1870) Seiyid Is'haq bin 'Aqil went to Hyderabad and proposed to the Qu'aitis, Salih and 'Awadh, and to the Kathīris, that they should retain those parts of the Hadhramaut which they respectively ruled and that they should co-operate with the Seiyids in the establishment of justice, the improvement in the condition of the country, and the maintenance of security on the routes. He also proposed that the Qu'aiti should pay to the Āl 'Abdulla $50,000 on entering into an agreement with him, and an annual sum of $20,000, to be paid from Shihr customs revenue, for the upkeep of the garrison of Tarim and Seiyun. The Kathīris, however, declined these terms and made preparations for investing Shihr. To achieve this object the Kathīris enlisted the assistance of the 'Aulaqi and the Āl 'Umar Bā 'Umar, the respective rulers of Gheil and Soda. The 'Aulaqi was able to supply them with considerable funds from India, as he too, held a position similar to that of the Qu'aiti and the Kathīri in the Government of the Nizam.

Hearing of this alliance, 'Awadh immediately started hostilities against the 'Aulaqi and the Āl Bā 'Umar. At the end of a year he had defeated them and annexed Gheil and Soda. 'Awadh now entered into an agreement with the Kasadi Naqib, 'Umar Salih, for invading the Hadhramaut. Leaving Shihr and Mukalla respectively, the united forces marched against the Āl 'Abdulla, but the Kathīris beat off their attacks and forced them to retire. The Naqib 'Umar Salih then died and 'Awadh left for India.

'Umar was succeeded by his son Salih. Jemadar 'Awadh now returned from India, and, taking advantage of the despatch of soldiers by the Naqib to Du'an to fight against the Āl 'Amudi, sent some of his troops to Mukalla, and demanded from the Naqib half of the expenditure incurred in the expedition against the Hadhramaut which he had undertaken with 'Umar Salih. The Yaf'ai chiefs then intervened and decided that the Naqib should surrender half Mukalla.

Sultan Awadh died in 1909 and was succeeded by his son Ghalib, a man of advanced views, who was extremely anxious for the development of his country in which he established peace and good order. His application for, and financing of, a mission to investigate agricultural and mineral resources of his country deserves special mention. He approached the High Commissioner for Egypt, and in 1919 Mr. O. H. Little was sent to report on the mineral resources and Mr. H. M. Heald on the agriculture. Mr. Little's report appeared in 1925, "The Geography and Geology of Mukalla," and the results of the agricultural survey appear in Mr. Heald's official report. 643 654

Sultan Ghalib died, universally regretted, in 1922, and was succeeded by his brother 'Umar, whose achievements will sufficiently appear elsewhere in this report. The present Sultan, whose accession to the Mukalla state was determined by the will of Sultan Ghalib, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. 643

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The late Qu'aiti Sultan was absent from the country during my visit, and in fact the greater part of his reign was spent in India. Just prior to my visit, however, he had performed a tour of the Hadhramaut, and this was the first occasion on which a reigning Sultan had undertaken the journey. Leaving Mukalla on 29th July His Highness, who was accompanied by his *Wazir*, other officials 200 soldiers and a brass band, arrived at Wadi Du'an on 4th August. He stayed in Du'an six days and left for Hajarein on the 10th August. The party reached Hajarein on the evening of the 11th, and next day left by car for Meshhed. On the 14th, Hureidha was reached and Haura the same evening. On the 15th, His Highness proceeded to Al Qatn where he spent two days, and left on the 17th for Shibam where he stayed seven days, during which the Kathîri Sultan visited him with a large retinue and invited him to the Kathîri part of the wadi. Sultan 'Umar arrived at Seiyun on the 24th and was well received. He proceeded next day to Tarim, and on the 26th visited 'Einat, returning to Tarim the same day. On the 27th he returned to Shibam, where he stayed a further week before going to Al Qatn on 3rd September. On his way back to Mukalla, which he reached on the 14th, Sultan 'Umar visited 643 484 [644]

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The Naqib succeeded in procrastinating until his troops returned from Du'an, when war ensued and the Qu'aitis were defeated. This war was known as the Nusfia or struggle for half the share. 648 643

The Qu'aiti then had resort to the British Government who ordered the Naqib to pay the amount claimed. On his failure he was removed from Mukalla, and thus in al Hijja 1299 (A.D. 1882) Mukalla and its dependencies came into the possession of 'Abdulla and 'Awadh bin 'Umar.

In Muharram 1307 (1888) the Qu'aiti entered into a treaty with the British, and was recognised as Sultan of Mukalla and its dependencies. When 'Abdulla died, there was a dispute between 'Awadh and the sons of 'Abdulla as to the paramountcy. The British Government intervened and ordered the removal of 'Abdulla's sons in consideration of compensation to be paid. Then Sultan 'Awadh and his descendants became the rulers of the whole country.

643 Henin and the Nahd tribe. During his tour he arranged the
484 following truces: At 'Einat, on 26th August, a two years' truce between the Seiyids of Āl Hussein and Āl al Hamed; at Al Qatn on 5th September a truce between all the Yafa'i tribesmen and their clans and sections to last five years; on 6th September at the same place, a 10 years' truce between the tribesmen of Āl Makhashin of the Nahd, and another of five years between the clan of Āl Mahfudh, and, again at Al Qatn, on 7th September, an eight months' truce between the Nahd tribesmen; on 9th September in Wadi al 'Ain a truce of five years between the tribesmen of Āl Batati, and another of five years between the Āl Batati and Āl Mahfudh.

643 His Highness left for India on 15th October 1934 for medical reasons. He did not return to Mukalla again, for he died in India of cancer, after a long and painful illness, in March 1936. Recognition has now been given to his nephew and successor, His Highness Sultan Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, who has been accorded a salute of 11 guns.

## CHAPTER V.

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

173 I have already drawn attention to the importance of a knowledge of traditional history, and there is one aspect of history in par-
829 ticular of which any one dealing with Arabs must have some knowledge, and that is genealogy. Arabs would regard families going back to the Conquest as mushroom growths, and many can carry their own trees back to Adam. Each one will at least know the main lines of his descent, and though in its earlier stages it is legendary, this is of no importance to others than purists, for it is believed. Wherever known, the origin of each tribe is indicated in this report, and genealogical trees show the accepted descent of tribal ancestors from Shem.

829 Racially, the Arabs divide themselves into four categories, of which three are represented in the Hadhramaut, the Baida or ex-
173 tinct Arabs represented by the sons of 'Ad, the 'Ariba or descend-
162 ants of Qahtan or Joktan embracing all the remaining Arabs except
565 the Seiyids and a few sons of Ma'ad who, being descended from Ishmael, are Musta 'Ariba.

The population of the Hadhramaut may be divided into seven social classes, almost castes. They are not all represented in every part of the country, and the order in which they appear below is partly historical and partly represents the order of their importance.

### SEIYIDS.

162 The Seiyids of the Hadhramaut derive their descent from Ahmed
565 bin 'Isa al Mohajir who migrated to the Hadhramaut from Basra and died there about 1,050 years ago. His grave is on the right bank of the main Wadi Hadhramaut at Al Hasisa, a few miles

east of Seiyun. Many of the families of Seiyids have hereditary chiefs bearing the title of *Mansab*. They are recognized as spiritual leaders by the surrounding tribes and even by tribes far away; thus, the Mansabs of 'Einat, some twelve miles east of Tarim, have a paramount spiritual influence over the Yafa'i tribes far away in the western part of the Protectorate. 162 565

The following is a list of those families of Seiyids whose descent from Seiyid Ahmed is regarded as authentic :—

| *Family.* | *House.* | *Mansab.* | *Residence.* | *Nos.* | *Influence Over.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Bā 'Alawi | Al Beiti | | Gheil Bin Yamin. | 400 | Nūwah. |
| | Al Maknun | | Yuwan | 100 | Bin Ajrar, a Balhaf tribe, Al bin Dagha. |
| | Barum | Muhammad Barum. | Du'an | 30 | |
| | Hāmed | 'Abdur Rahman bin Hāmed. | Tarim | 20 | |
| | Mudeihij | | Gheil Bin Yamin. | 80 | |
| | Fada'q | Muhammad bin Hussein Fada'q. | Habban | 100 | Al Aqmush and Al Aswad, Balhaf tribes. |
| | Bā 'Ubūd | | Taris | 30 | |
| | Bin Sahl | | " | 5 | |
| | Jemal al Leil | | " | 15 | |
| | Mola Dawila | Muhammad bin 'Ali. | Fughma | 400 | Beni Sa'id, Manahil. |
| | Al Hindwan | | Rogha near Tarim. | 40 | Have influence over certain tribes. |
| | As Siri | Bubekr Siri | Tarim | 20 | |
| | Al Juneid | The house consists of learned men and men of wealth; no manasb. | " | 50 | |
| | Bā 'Umar | | Loisar | 50 | |
| Āl 'Aidarus | Al 'Aidarus | Ahmed bin Hussein. | Tibi | 5,000 | Nahd. Kathīri. |
| | " | Al Hazm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus. | Būr and Hazm | 5,000 | Āl Jābir. Nahd. |
| | Al Isma'il | Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari and Hussein 'Abdulla. | Tarba, Tarim, Shihr. | | Al Qathm, Seiban, Al Hamumi. |
| | As Salibia | | Salibia | | Bin Hatab, Bin Kasbūba. |
| | Āl Salila | Hussein bin 'Aidarus. | Būr | 80 | Āl Bajri. |
| | Āl 'Abdulla bin ash Sheikh. | 'Umar bin Zein | Tarim and Ramla. | 120 | Al Yāmāni. |

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565

| Family. | House. | Manasib. | Residence. | Nos. | Influence Over. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Sheikh Bubekr bin Salim and Al Sheikh 'Aqīl bin Salim. | Al Hāmed | 'Abdul Qadir bin Salim. | 'Einat | 200 | Mahra, Seihut, Qishn, Merbat. |
| | Al Hussein | 'Ali bin Ahmed | 'Einat | 250 | Manahil, Beni Ujeil Yafa'. |
| | Al Mihdhar | Mustafa bin Ahmed and Bubekr bin Hussein. | Du'an, al Qawira. | 300 | Al Bajuba, Al Bahada, a Balhaf tribe, Khalifa, a tribe belonging to the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, Yafa'is. |
| | Al Haddar | Muhsin bin Ahmed and Haddar bin Ahmed. | Qatn, Shihr | 200 | Qu'aitis. |
| | Bu Futeim | 'Abdulla bin Ahmed. | Tarim and Tarba. | 20 | 'Awāmir clan living in Tarba. |
| | Muqeibil | | Du'an, Leisar | 40 | |
| | Al 'Attas | 'Ali bin Zein and Hasan bin Salim. | Hureidha, 'Amd. | 1,500 | Nahd and As Sei'ar. |
| | Bin Hadun | Ahmed bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas. | Meshhed | 90 | Nahd, As Sei'ar and Al Musa'id |
| | Al 'Aqīl | Hasan bin 'Alawi. | Dammūn | 100 | Part of the Āl Tamim. |
| | Ba Surra | | Du'an, Leisar | 20 | |
| | Āl Mutahar | Ahmed bin 'Aqīl. | Dammūn | 30 | Part of the Āl Tamim. |
| Āl as Saqqaf | As Saqqaf | Ahmed bin 'Abdur Rahman. | Seiyun | 500 | Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris. |
| | Āl Taha | | " | 40 | |
| | Āl Shibab | 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and 'Abdul Qadir. | Tarim and Dammūn. | 300 | Āl Quseiyer and Bā Shamakha. |
| | " | 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shibah. | " | | Bin Silma. |
| | Al Wunsur | | Seiyun | 400 | |
| | Al Mashhur | | Tarim | 50 | |
| | Al Hadi | Muhsin bin Zein. | " | 50 | |
| | Az Zahir | | | 80 | |
| | Al Bar | Ahmed bin 'Umar al Bar. | Du'an | 200 | |
| | Al Wahsh | | Du'an, al Qurein. | 200 | |
| | Āl Sāfi | | Du'an, ar Rubāt | 500 | |

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| *Family.* | *House.* | *Mansab.* | *Residence.* | *Nos.* | *Influence Over.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Al as Saqqaf —*contd.* | Bin Barahim. | The house consists of learned men and merchants. There is no mansab. | Qasm | 50 | |
| | Ba Harūn | | Hadhramaut | 60 | |
| | Al Habashi | 'Umar bin 'Abdulla, Muhammad bin 'Ali. | Hautat Ahmed bin Zein, Du'an, Seiyun. | 300 | Āl Kathīr. |
| | Bā 'Aqīl | | Qeidun | 800 | |
| | Ba Faqīh | | Du'an and Shihr. | 30 | |
| Āl Haddad | | 'Isa bin 'Abdul Qadir. | Tarim | 150 | Ad Deiīn. |
| | Āl Tahir | Tahir bin Bubekr. | Al Maseila | 30 | Āl Balbeij, Bā Muhammad. |
| | Āl bin Yahya | Ahmed bin 'Umar. | " | 20 | |
| | Āl Sumeit | | Shibam | 25 | |
| | Āl. 'Aidīd | | Tarim | 50 | |
| Āl Ahmed bin al Faqih ash Shahid. | Balfaqih | Zein bin Hasan | Tarim | 100 | Al 'Imran, Nahd. |
| | Al Jifri | 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Ali. | Wadi bin 'Ali | 1,000 | Wadi bin 'Ali. |
| | Al Kaf | Bubekr bin Sheikh (not a mansab, but has most influence). | Tarim | 150 | |
| | Al Bahr | Hasan bin Salih. | Di Sobh | 20 | Āl Kathīr. |
| | Ash Shatiri | 'Abdulla bin 'Umar ash Shatiri. | Tarim | 20 | Seiban |
| | | | | 19,415 | |

The following families have now become extinct in the Hadhramaut: Bin Qabtan, Āl Mahjub, Āl Musuwa, Bā Shumeila, Āl Tawīl, Āl Hāmel, Bā Raqaba, Āl Mandhar, Bā Hussein, Āl Qādir, Āl Qadri, Bā Faraj, Mola Kheila, Ash Shilli, Āl 'Abdul Malik, Āl Hashim, Āl al Manadhar, An Nadhir, Hussein al Qara, Merzaq, Bā Bureik, Khuneiman, Bā 'Ali, Āl Hūt, Al Ghota.

Until the last few years the Seiyids occupied universally over the Hadhramaut very much the position of the church in the Middle Ages in Europe, forming a theocracy with which the temporal rulers of the country interfered very little. On the whole their influence was generally on the side of law and order and they wielded great power.

565 Seiyids do not carry arms,[1] nor have they troops to support
554 them, so that instead of relying on the sanction of arms to main-
461 tain their authority they rely on their descent from the Prophet and the reverence which is given to them on account of their ancestry. They are extremely jealous of their privileges as Seiyids; realizing that their influence depends on the respect shown to them, they adhere keenly to such customs as the kissing of their hands and avoid any form of manual labour. They are usually comparatively well educated, and exercise influence on this account.

OOO Some years ago a movement started in the East Indies to restrict the power of the Seiyids. It is said to have had its origin in a squabble over a school, but its roots were deeply set in the growing contact of the Hadhrami immigrants with western influence which produced a liberal class keen on modernisation. The Seiyids were innately conservative and mistrusted the encroachment of western civilization. It cannot be said that the struggle between the church and the laity is yet over, but it is apparent that the victory will ultimately be with liberal tendencies rather than diehard conservatism. According to most accounts the 'Irshadis, as the rebels against ecclesiastical predominance termed themselves, never set up actual organizations in the Hadhramaut itself, but there is no doubt that their tenets have made considerable headway there.

565 In Qu'aiti territory the influence of the Seiyids has officially gone.
554 They are not allowed to interfere in politics though they are given respect for their descent. As long as the majority of them adhere to their mediaeval ecclesiasticism it is clearly right that they should be out of power. Unofficially, however, some of the best of them still play an important and indeed essential part in those districts not yet under direct Government control. In Kathīri territory they have more influence, but the leading families have moved with the advancing tide of progress, allied themselves with the forces of law and order, and are amongst the keenest advocates of modern methods in the country.

### Sheikhs.

793 Before the advent of Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa in the ninth century
565 and the gradual growth of the religious influence of the Seiyids,
554 the Sheikhs were the principal ecclesiastical influence in the country.
162 They probably took the place of an earlier ecclesiastical hierarchy formed by the priesthood of the old religion. Though they definitely take precedence after the Seiyids, they resemble them in that they exercise much the same privileges. Like them, they are a very much respected class, are better educated than the tribesmen, and do not as a rule bear arms.

565 The principal families are: Al 'Amūdi living in Du'an, Āl Is-hāq,
162 Āl Bā Wazīr living at Gheil, Wadi al 'Ain, and other places, Bā

[1] There are in fact a few families of Seiyids who do carry arms and are indistinguishable from Beduins.

565 Jābir living below Shibam, Āl Bā Sūdān at Du'an, Bā Humeid
162 at Madūda and Seiyun, Āl Bureik at Shabwa, Bā Khatib at Tarim, Bā Wa'l at Tarim, and Āl Bā 'Umar at 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn.

### Yafa'is.

565 The Yafa'is are the *'asākir* or soldiers and the actual rulers of
162 Qu'aiti territory. Their introduction as mercenaries, described in
463 the historical chapters, has led to the foundation of two dynasties, that of the Kasadis of Lower Yafa' and that of the Qu'aitis who drove out the Kasadis. The places in which some of the Yafa'is live will appear later when the inhabitants of the various provinces of Qu'aiti territory are enumerated. I have also given in an appendix a list of the various Yafa'i tribes with their sections, strength and situation.

[179] The Qu'aiti dynasty springs from a section of the Mausata tribe and is historically quite recent. Although the Sultan and his relations have had no personal contacts with their country they exercise some influence in Upper Yafa', and the Yafa'i connection is still a live one, as a great many Upper Yafa'is regularly go to the Hadhramaut to take service in the Qu'aiti forces, returning after a few years to their own country. Other Yafa'is have become settled in the Hadhramaut and form a powerful party on whom the Qu'aiti could depend in the case of disturbances.

565 The following are amongst Yafa'i tribes and sections represented
162 in the Hadhramaut, the sections being shown in brackets after each tribe: Adh Dhubi (Al Mosilli, Al Kasadi, Ash Shanāthira, Al Jahāwisha), Al Bu'si (Al Gharama, Az Zaghālida, Al Homām, Al Mattash), Al Mausata (Ar Robak, Āl Yazid, Āl Batati).

### Tribesmen.

000 The history of the tribes of the Hadhramaut has been, generally speaking, sufficiently indicated in the historical instruction, and their location and strength will be dealt with in the description of the various provinces.

619 There are only four words used in the Hadhramaut for the
565 nomenclature of the divisions of a tribe. *Az Zei* is a confederation
162 of tribes with a single leader. There are only three *Zeis* in the Hadhramaut, the Seibani, the Nūwah, and the Hamumi. The
621 Shenafir Confederation is not a *Zei*, for while the leaders of the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris are Sultans, they do not head the whole confederation of tribes. A tribe, *Qabila*, is sub-divided into a *Beit*, and a *Beit* into a *Fara'*. I cannot claim any particular merit for the divisions I have used, namely, Tribe, Clan, Section, and Sub-section, except that by using the word Clan I have avoided the clumsy term sub-sub-section which I found used in some statements of the other tribes of the Protectorate.

181 The Hadhrami tribesmen, like those of the rest of the Protectorate, are extremely conservative and "never depart from their
000 tribal customs." Most of them are nomads moving over their areas

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violat or to prove his innocence
[686] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

### Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

*In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

*In Seiyun:* Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

[The Hadhramaut tribesmen — Analyst]

*In Shibam:* Āl Bā Dīb, head, Muhammad bin Ahmed Bā Dīb; important members, 30, total, 50. Āl Bā 'Ubeid, head, Muhammad Salim Bā 'Ubeid; important members, 15, total, 20. Āl Shamākh; important members, 10, total, 40. Āl Ma'āshir, head, Bekr 'Ali Ma'ashir; important members, 24, total, 100. Āl Bā Jarsh, head, 'Abdur Rahman Bā Jarsh; important members, 20, total, 60. Āl at Tōwei, head, 'Ali at Tōwei; important members, 4, total, 20. The families of Qatn, Jabr, Bilfaqih, and Āl Khātib are said to possess authority. 565 162a [73]

*In Al Ghurfa:* Āl Bā Abbad; important members, 15, total, 80. Āl Msellem, head, Salim Msellem; one important member, total, 20. Āl Tarmum, head, 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman Tarmum; important members, 20, total, 90. Āl Sheiban, head, Sheikh 'Umar Sheiban; important members, 5, total, 30.

*In Du'an:* Āl Bā Shanfar, residence 'Aura; important members, 5, total, 80. Āl Bā Ya'shut, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 90. Āl Bā Mad-han, residence Al Qurein; important members, 160, total, 200. Āl Bā Lakma, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 80. Āl Bā Barahīm, residence Al Qurein; important members, 60, total 110. Āl Bā Basut, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 100, total, 200. Āl Bā Hanshal, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 30, total, 150. Āl Bā Khashwein, residence Hudūn; important members, 150, total, 300. The families of Bā Shameila, Bā Samad, Bā 'Ubeid, Bahawal, and Bā Baheir all possess authority, but those of Bazara, Bā 'Ashin, and Bā Sālih have none.

*In Bur:* Bā Sharāhil, who possess no authority.

The townsmen are divisible into four classes; merchants, artificers, labourers, and servants. The economic life of the country depends to a large extent on them. They live in the towns, do not bear arms, and are the principal taxpayers. It is from them that the people obtain the necessaries of life, and they form the main link with the outside world. Many of them are wealthy and they exercise a considerable influence in the country, and might well exercise more. The leading merchants to some extent govern the affairs of their towns, and have developed more than a germ of municipal organization. There are also signs of a kind of trades unionism, or rather of the mediaeval guild system, among the various artificers, and professions are usually, though not exclusively, hereditary. 565 162 556 [141]

### Slaves.

The Qu'aiti and Kathīri Governments are the biggest slave-holders in the country, and I should imagine that there is comparatively little private ownership. Apart from the fact that the slaves are slaves, there is very little to distinguish them, except their African countenances, from other classes of the country, and 567

567 I never heard a suggestion ~~from masters~~ or slaves that they were anything but exceedingly well treated. They include principally the *Nizam*, the most trusted part of the forces of the Qu'aiti and Kathīri, and receive very exceptional treatment compared with other servants of the State. They can rise to the highest positions, and the present Governor of the Shibam province is a slave. I also met a slave Governor of the town of Hajarein in the Du'an province, and I believe there are others. The town magistrate of Mukalla is also a slave. The young slaves belonging to the Mukalla Government are given especial care and training, and are formed into companies of cadets. They gave us a very creditable drill display in Mukalla.

It is possible that there may be a very occasional case of slave trading, and some women may have been introduced in recent years to the main valley, but this is not done with the approval or cognizance of the Mukalla Government.

### SUBIANS.

565 The Subians form definitely the lowest class of the population.
162 Some of them are agricultural labourers receiving wages or paid
in kind, and there are settlements of them outside coastal towns like
463 Mukalla and Shihr. When they are settled next door to a town they do the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and perform such sanitary services as are carried out by sweepers in other eastern countries.

565 I was informed that the word "*Subian*" comes from "*Sabi*",
173 a boy. In the Hadhramaut they originate from the Wadi Hajr, and for this reason in the western part of the Protectorate are known as Hajris. They are said to be the descendants of the Abyssinian invaders of the third to sixth centuries A.D., and to have been reduced to their present lowly estate after the Abyssinians had been routed by the Persians on the intervention of Seif bin Dhi Yazan. This is the tale told in the Hadhramaut, and d'Arnaud recounts a similar story as the origin of the Khadims of Yemen
[628] and Aden. Neither slaves nor Subians can be the subjects of blood feuds.

### Immigration.

167 Apart from these classes of the population, there are a number of immigrants settled, or partially settled, in the country. There are 300 British Indians in Mukalla and Shihr, and a few British Somalis. There are also some Italian Somalis. The total number of Somalis in the country is said to be about 1,200, of whom 1,000 reside in Mukalla. Owing to extensive migration to the East Indies,
[144] which will be further described later in the report, there has been a considerable infiltration of Malayan blood, and very East Indian types of countenances are to be observed in some of the up-country towns. The type is not uncommon in Tarim and Seiyun, but I found it very marked in the towns of Badra and Haura.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



**Religion.**

Islam is, of course, practically exclusively the religion of the Hadhramaut. There are a number of Banians in Mukalla and a few in Shihr, but, apart from these, other faiths are represented only by one or two Christians and possibly Parsees in the same ports. Occasional Memons, Khojas, and Ithnasheris among the Indian population represent the only exceptions to the universal adherence in the Hadhramaut to the Shafite Sunni school. Rumour has it that traces left from the old Ibadhi-ism are still to be found in the north west in Nejran, and there are of course Ibadhis from Oman, eastwards in Dhufar. 162 795

## CHAPTER VI.

## CONDITIONS OF LIVING IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

The report deals with the conditions found in the Hadhramaut and, to some extent at least, peculiar to that country; it assumes a general knowledge of Arabian conditions of life which are common to the whole Peninsula. It may, however, be well in a few remarks to call attention to some general features of tribal life which should be borne in mind. 121

The culture of the Arab is determined by his environment, which also largely affects his religion. In the more fertile wadis the people are settled and conservative, on the barren steppes and desert places they are nomadic and communistic. The Beduin, and indeed many of the settled tribes, are extremely poor; their food is of the simplest, their staples being dates, home-grown millet and other grain, imported rice, and dried fish. The tribesman's wardrobe consists of two or three pieces of cloth, and indigo, in which he has implicit faith as protection alike from sun and cold. His dwelling is poor and its furniture hardly makes a camel's load. There are three things he saves up to acquire—arms (a rifle and *jambiya* or curved dagger), a camel, and a wife. The wife is my own addition; Beduins have often mentioned the other requirements to me, which shows, I suppose, that the wife is either an essential who goes without saying or that she is an afterthought. But these are the only things for which a Beduin saves. In other respects he is thriftless. 105

Poverty affects them in one of two ways: either they raid to augment their scanty means of living or they emigrate and earn their increment in more favourable surroundings abroad. Raiding is a paradox: it is not only a crime against society, but also a recognized means of livelihood. Furthermore, as it is played according to recognized rules it is a national sport. As more and more of the population become settled, raiding tends to become less popular. It is of course a large overstatement to suggest that football and other games will take its place as a sport, but the overstatement does contain some truth, for football is rapidly becoming

105 more popular and provides the something of excitement which has given a zest to raiding. It should not be forgotten that some of our own games were war games.

The Beduin proletariat and the capitalist townsmen are mutually necessary to each other. The Beduins do all the carrying trade and supply the firewood and their other scanty products to the towns, and the merchants sell to the Beduins what they require of food, clothing, and other necessaries of life. The brokers of the Beduins to be found in all the towns supply the link between the two. They live on helping the Beduins to sell their produce to, and buy their requirements from, the merchants, and on helping the merchants to obtain the transport they need.

## Housing.

342 Each town in the Hadhramaut has its own individual charac-
362 teristics as regards housing. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Mukalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not six feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces. Away from the coast, mud is the almost universal building medium, and sun-dried mud bricks are used alike in building the palaces of the rich and the simple *dars* of the poor.

342 In the Wadi Du'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks
353 of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Du'an houses, the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of '*elb*' wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide
[531] heavily-carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, two inches across the heads, burnished with lead till they shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development in Du'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living-room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained '*elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of '*elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring bone pattern.

342 In Tarim the principal feature is the large number of enormous
177 dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks.

[1] Other Arabic names are *sidr* and *nebk*. *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.

bricks. The cost of building the house in which we stayed in Tarim 000 was $60,000. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, [435] green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors 342 are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and 531 fans, telephones, ice-plants, and European modern conveniences in 352 the bathrooms, wash-basins with running water and shower-baths. 354 Whereas in Du'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be 177 found, these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Large and comfortable chairs and sofas decorate the drawing-rooms, and there are English carpets, masses of gilt mirrors, chandeliers and glass cupboards full of marmalade dishes, egg-cups and so on. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel-back over the mountains for six days.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim 313 and Seiyun have to contend with in their building operations is the 341 difficulty of procuring long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree grows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees (*Conocarpus erectus*, Jacq.) growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseila, they cannot be transported by camels. The difficulty is being surmounted to some extent by experiments in the making of reinforced concrete pillars of which I saw two in construction at Seiyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seiyids training their masons. The 342 interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such 353 as gold crowns and coloured flowers, are covered with a lime plaster polished with smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, 361 which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area 500 houses built on a slight eminence in the Wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There 362 is no further building room in the town and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. By general consent, houses in Shibam are not now to be built 342 more than six storeys high in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher, but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this type of house which, [435] when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together. The life of a house is said to be 200 to 250 years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done, the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits, necessitating demolition.

361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil
342 there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
177 of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

**Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.**

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

511 For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
651 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
495 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes :—

"The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

"Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

"Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 466

**Women in the Hadhramaut.**

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [858 552] [212]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

462 roaming far afield in search of water and pasture. They work in the fields, milk the animals (with the exception, in some cases, of camels), gather the firewood, and fetch the water. They are not [562] so careful to keep themselves veiled, finding it sufficient to draw their head cloths in front of their mouths. If she belongs to a nomadic tribe a woman will follow her husband in his search for grazing, carrying the household utensils, usually one large saucepan, on her head and the baby on her back. Only very occasionally do the women emigrate with their husbands, but we travelled with such a family on the start of their journey to Zanzibar to seek a fortune.

562 The remaining women are those of the poor townspeople, the 462 female servants, slaves, or Subians. The last two are least particular about veiling. The others, no matter how poor, will always cover at least the lower part of their faces. Toil is the portion of all of them: they labour in the gardens, help the men and animals to draw water from the wells, and in many towns they are the [482] principal water carriers, bearing their burden in skins slung across their backs. The servants and slave women in well-to-do houses lead an easier existence. They cook the food, do such cleaning as is ever done, and fetch and carry for the ladies of the household. Slaves may be taken as concubines, but find their husbands among their own class. They are much favoured, being brought up as members of the family, and, like many privileged retainers, usually become somewhat outspoken and domineering in their old age.

## CHAPTER VII.

### PRODUCTION AND RESOURCES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

311 The natural resources of the Hadhramaut, such as they are, are principally agricultural. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize that only a very small proportion of the total area of the country, [131] which may amount to 35,000 or 40,000 square miles, is suitable for the growing of crops. As a general rule only wadis can be so used and the bulk of the land surface consists of the barren rock of mountains and steppes.

#### Tobacco.

249 The principal crop of economic importance is the well-known 438 Hamumi tobacco, and Gheil ba Wazir is the principal centre where it is grown. Practically speaking the production in that place is 655 entirely Government-directed and all the land is State land.

The nurseries are situated about three miles from Gheil at Al 312 Qnf. Here there is an apparently inexhaustible, somewhat brackish, water supply at depths to about 30 feet from the surface. There are three deep pools which are tapped by subterranean channels for Gheil and Al Harth, the source of the Gheil water supply being called Humat al Farath, and that for Al Harth being called Humat al Harth. Along the line of channels from these pools there are

at intervals of some 20 feet a series of shafts similar to those 312
described in connection with the Mukalla water-supply. Humat al Harth is temporarily not giving water, as the level has fallen below the channel. At Al Quf itself there are a number of wells, and round each are nursery beds where the tobacco seedlings are 249
grown. The beds are divided into patches three or four feet square and the seed close sown, so close that even where seed does not germinate the workers cut small scratches in the ground and plant fresh seed. When the seedlings are grown to a height of about three or four inches they are taken from Al Quf to Al Harth, about a mile and a-half away, and planted out in rows with intervals of a foot, or three-quarters of a *dhirra*, in beds of a size dependent on the amount of water. A bed is called *mutr*, plural *mutira*, and each is surrounded by a ridge to keep in the irrigation water. In due course the crop is gathered and dried. Drying barns are unknown.

The crop is financed by the merchants who advance the money to 454
the cultivators and are paid back either monthly or after the crop. 427
In the case of the Government lands at Gheil some cultivators pay their rent in advance and some after the crop. The rent of the 655
whole area of the Sultan's land at Gheil is assessed before each season and the figure required communicated to his representative there. This official then rents out the land at a figure per acre based on the total sum required.

The total annual value of the crop is now estimated at five lakhs 433
of which the Sultan receives Rs.120,000 in duty and ground rent. 651
Production costs are estimated at three lakhs, so that the profit to 434
the cultivators is Rs.80,000. In order to foster the local consumption of tobacco, there is a monopoly of imported cigarettes and pipe 655
tobacco.

Of tobacco, Mr. H. M. Heald in his report of the Agricultural 249
Mission to Mukalla says that in the Meifa valley " the cultivation of the tobacco received more attention than any other crop. . . . The seed was sown in a small plot of land which, in the large villages, had been heavily manured with sheep dung mixed with fine earth. [241]
When 40 days old the plants were transplanted into the small beds at distances of one foot apart, and again manured with fish; irrigation varied in the villages but generally every seven days.

" Topping of the terminal buds took place after all the leaves had been formed and the plants were ripe for cutting in four or five months, according to district and season. The plants were dried on the ground first singly and then in small bundles, and afterwards hung up in rows. After drying again in bundles, they were covered with sacks to promote fermentation, and then the plants were taken into the houses for further drying in the dark, and ready for transporting to the coast in a week or so. Practically no grading was done . . . and I am sure " he writes, " better prices would be obtained if more attention were paid to selection."

*[Tobacco -- Analpt]

**Honey Industry.**

231 The only other product of economic consequence is the celebrated
263 Du'an honey. Honey from Jerdan has an even greater local renown
438 but is not produced in such quantities. At places like Tarim it is not considered possible to grow honey owing to the depradations
[134] of the Blue-cheeked Bee eater (*Merops persicus persicus*), one of the most common, as well as most beautiful, birds in the Hadhramaut. We did not observe this bird at all in the Wadi Du'an, where it is shot on sight.

231 The hives are tunnel-like structures fitted into the walls of the
263 houses, and consist of circular sections about a foot in diameter. In the outside wall is a small hole through which the bees enter and leave the hives. Du'an enjoys two honey crops in a year; that of June, July and August being regarded as the best, for in it the bees collect the honey from the blossoms of the *'elb* trees. The honey obtained during the second crop, from November to March, is gathered from a small bush called *Qarmala*, and while it is
[843] highly esteemed it is considered very heating and may not be eaten by pregnant women. If there is much rain during April and May, the bees make a black honey called *helb*, and they are said to grow much stronger, for they consume this honey themselves. The swarming of the bees was thus described by a bee-keeper: A second queen bee, whom they call *âb* or father, sometimes leaves the hive and goes a short distance away followed by some of the others.* The bee-owner takes a mat and rolls it up in the shape of a hive, closing one end, and sprinkling inside a perfume of the perfumes used by the ladies. Approaching the swarm, he gently takes the queen in his fingers out of it and puts her into a small cage made for the purpose. The cage is then put inside the rolled mat. An assistant beats a tin or copper tray and the bees leave the place where they have swarmed and come to the queen. The swarm is now carried to a hive, the queen bee and her cage put into the hive, and in go the bees after her.

The bees collect the crop in 12 to 20 days, and when the owner sees the hive is full he fits on more sections until they have finished. Thirty to 40 pounds of honey are collected from a single hive at each crop. The honey is gathered by smoking the bees out from behind. When they have left, the exit hole is stopped up and the honey is taken, one section being left for the bees. In times of drought, honey is put into the hives for the bees to eat. The honey
251 is packed in comb and as liquid. In the former case two sizes of round tins are used, containing 4 lb. and 7 lb. respectively. An inside cover is soldered to the tins in Mukalla. Liquid honey is packed in cases of two kerosene tins. The value of the honey
435 in Mukalla is one rupee a pound. The total production is 90,000 to 100,000 pounds.

000 In view of the great renown which Du'an honey enjoys in South Arabia and the East Indies, and in view of the fact that it is much appreciated by Europeans, I had hoped that there might be

possibilities of a market being found for it as a luxury honey in England, and through the help of the Colonial Office a tin was sent to the Imperial Institute for examination. The result, however, is disappointing, and it seems that the honey would not be likely to be popular in England.

The following is the report which the Imperial Institute was good enough to prepare :—

REPORT ON HONEY FROM ARABIA.

The sample of honey which is the subject of this report was forwarded to the Imperial Institute by the Colonial Office and is referred to in a letter dated 28th February from that department. It had been received from a Political Officer in the Aden Protectorate, who had obtained it during a tour in the Hadhramaut. It was desired to have the honey analysed and to learn its market possibilities.

*Description.*—The sample weighed about 2½ lb. and consisted of honey in the comb. The honey, after separation from the comb by straining, was of a rather dark golden brown colour, and possessed a very sweet taste and a peculiar, aromatic odour. The odour and taste were both different from those of the honey commonly marketed in the United Kingdom.

*Results of Examination.*—The strained honey was found to be dextro-rotatory, whereas ordinary honey is laevo-rotatory. It was accordingly examined in comparison with the figures recorded for dextro-rotatory honey, and the following results were obtained :—

| | *Present sample.* Per cent. | *Recorded Figures.* Per cent. |
|---|---|---|
| Moisture ... ... ... ... ... ... | 13·6 | 13·6 to 17·8 |
| Ash ... ... ... ... ... ... | 0·06 | 0·3 to 1·3 |
| Ready-formed reducing sugars, expressed as invert sugar ... ... ... ... ... | 47·9 | 64·8 to 71·7 |
| Sugars reducing only after inversion, expressed as sucrose ... ... ... ... ... ... | 27·3[1] | 0·6 to 5·3 |
| | *°Ventzke.* | *°Ventzke.* |
| Immediate direct polarization at 20° C. ... | + 29·6 | + 6·7 to + 24·9 |
| Constant direct polarization at 20° C. ... | + 17·9 | + 3·6 to + 17·8 |
| Direct polarization at 87° C.... ... ... | + 24·7 | + 28·5 to + 35·8 |
| Polarization at 20° C. after inversion ... | − 10·0 | − 2·5 to + 15·0 |
| Polarization at 87° C. after inversion ... | + 18·4 | + 20·9 to + 35·0 |

The honey consumed in the United Kingdom and other Western countries is of the laevo-rotatory type, the sugars of which consist principally of dextrose and laevolose, with only from 1 to 4 per cent. of sucrose. The foregoing results show that the present sample is a dextro-rotatory honey with a high "apparent sucrose" content, and suggest that it is a

[1] This figure would include other polysaccharides in addition to sucrose.

000 product of the "honeydew" type,[1] which would account for its unusual taste and odour.

*Commercial Value.*—The honey was submitted to two firms of merchants in London who reported respectively as follows :—

(1) "We thank you for your letter and sample of honey, which we have examined. Although the body is quite good, we think you will agree that it leaves much to be desired with regard to flavour.

"At the moment England is so well served with honey of agreeable flavour that it seems doubtful if this honey could be imported to any material benefit. We can buy Jamaica honey, which is good both in colour and flavour, at 26s. per cwt. landed London, so you will appreciate that the value of the present honey would have to be decidedly below this figure. We think you will be well advised to inform your friend that there is little likelihood of an opening on the London market."

(2) "This honey appears to be of a good flavour, but at the present moment there is such a large stock of honey available of all kinds that it would be difficult to find a market for a fresh quality from a new origin."

The latter firm mentioned that Colonial honey was currently selling on the London market at prices ranging from 25s. to 40s. per cwt., according to quality. It will be observed that there is a difference of opinion with regard to the flavour of the honey, but it may be pointed out that the taste is undoubtedly such as would not appeal to the ordinary consumer in this country.

439 263 *Remarks.*—From the trade reports quoted above it will be seen that the possibility of disposing of this honey in the United Kingdom is very doubtful, in view of the large supplies of ordinary honey of good quality available on the market. Furthermore, it is probable that such dextro-rotatory honey would be regarded with suspicion, whilst its unattractive flavour and odour would be further obstacles to its sale.

## Livestock.

556 231 The wealth of the Beduins lies principally in their livestock, consisting of camels, donkeys, cattle, sheep, goats and poultry. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes. The selling of animals is a regular feature of the fairs which are held all over the country at the many shrines of saints. The Qu'aiti Government estimates the number of camels in the country at 20,000.

231 232 Sheep and goats are raised for milk and meat. Cattle, though not plentiful, are not uncommon. An outbreak of rinderpest had killed 60 head of cattle at Hajarein at the time of our visit, and this was considered a very heavy loss. Heald states a decoction of

[1] This is not ordinary honey originating in floral nectar, but is produced by the bee from secretions of leaves and sometimes from secretions deposited by insects.

boiled radishes is given to cattle with " cattle plague ". Donkeys are said to be susceptible to a very fatal disease. 231 232

Both cattle and camels are used in ploughing, the former usually in pairs and the latter singly. For the working of the wells, camels, cattle, donkeys, men and women, all combine, frequently in mixed teams, the animals being generally given a bunch of fodder at the top of the incline each time they reach it. Camels are also employed in turning the machines for extracting the simsim oil. The fact that fodder and water become more scarce north of the main Wadi necessitates a greater use of camels and donkeys are few and far between. Donkeys are uncommon also in the Wadi Maseila, for there is a three-day stretch without water in the middle of the Wadi, and below Buzun the flow is not perennial. Sheep and goats, however, are to be found everywhere, seeking their pasture under the care of women or girls. 231 492

Heald in his report states that no attention is paid to selection during the breeding season—which is usually in the early summer. With the sheep, one lamb is generally the average—although higher up in the Hadhramaut, amongst better pasture, ewes give two lambs. The sheep in the Meifa valley had black fleeces with the curly fat tails, although smaller than the Egyptian sheep. The goats are also smaller than in Egypt and originally came from the Yemen. 231

It was particularly noticeable in the Wadi Maseila that the livestock were very much smaller than those elsewhere. The cows are little larger than a normal-sized calf, and the sheep and goats are also smaller than those in Du'an or to the north. The cattle are similar in size to those of Soqotra. The breeds of goats and sheep appeared to vary considerably over the whole country, but a black-and-white variety was the most common. His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan has a few horses, both for riding and carriage work, and I saw one at Meshhed. There are probably not a dozen in the whole country. 643 492

**Minor agricultural products.**

Dates in the Hadhramaut are merely a hobby, and the entire local crop is consumed fresh during a season of two months, June and July. It may be recorded that a single date-tree in the Du'an valley sells from 400 to 1,000 dollars, many times its economic price. Dates form a staple article of diet and are therefore imported in large quantities. 245 262 435

The principal grain and other food crops are millet—*dirra* (great millet, *Sorghum vulgar*), *dukhn* (bullrush millet, *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and *keneb* or *mseheli* (Italian millet, *Setana italica*); lucerne; *jil jil* (sesame, not eaten by donkeys); *dijar* (a kind of bean); wheat (not eaten by donkeys or goats); and a little maize. The stalks are generically known as *qusab*, and the grain as *ta'm*. Hashish or grass is also grown for animals. The principal garden crops are sweet potatoes, onions, garlic, pumpkins, carrots, egg 241

241 plants, chillies, *faquz* (a kind of gourd, *Cucumis prophetarum* L.), and lubia. The fruits include limes, bananas, dates, pawpaws and a few grapes and pomegranates.

Speaking of the Meifa district, Heald states that "near the river the main cultivation was the date crops. The sesame did not receive any special cultivation than that given for the millets; the land was ploughed or broken up by the hoe and, after levelling down with a board, the seed was sown in holes at a distance of 18 inches apart; the crop being sown generally in September. The crop was manured with dung or fish, if available, and good results were obtained from liberal manuring; four or five waterings were generally given. The crop was ready for harvest in 3½ months, when the plants were cut down close to the ground and laid out in rows to dry; the plants were then shaken for the seed to fall out on a mat." Speaking of crops generally, Heald says, "All the crops, being from seed bred in and in, had become very poor as one might expect, and unless they import fresh seed from abroad, nothing can prevent the crops from becoming even poorer than they are at present."

## Methods of Agriculture.

134 *Soil.*—Mr. Heald's remarks on the land in Asfal al 'Ain apply pretty generally to much of the land in the Hadhramaut. He says, "The soil was of an alluvial nature, and in general very light loam, devoid of humus and requiring heavy manure to produce good yields. The soil in most of the villages in the Meifa valley was alluvial; very thin and with a stony subsoil." In parts of the Wadi Maseila owing to the heavy vegetation there is more humus.

805 241 *Seasons.*—The seasons are arranged by the stars and called Summer (*Seif*), Autumn (*Kharif*), Winter (*Sheita*) and Spring (*Rabia*). From an agricultural point of view it is difficult to distinguish. Crops are often to be seen in all stages, sowing, grown and harvested. According to Heald, the summer crops are Italian and bullrush millet and tobacco, which is sown towards the end of the summer for transplanting in early winter. The winter crops are great millet, maize, lucerne, wheat, barley and all the vegetables.

241 492 412 *Implements.*—The implements are few and primitive. A small plough is used for breaking up the surface of the soil. It consists of a sharpened piece of wood with an upright for the farmer to hold and press the "share" into the soil. It is pulled by oxen or a camel. The hoe used has a pear-shaped head; sometimes the soil is levelled after ploughing by dragging a small board over the surface. Small curved knives are used in the tobacco nurseries for scratching up the soil. Heald saw a "weeder" which was very much like a chisel.

241 *Manures.*—Tobacco beds are occasionally treated with sheep dung, but the principal manure in the lower Hadhramaut is fish manure. As many as three small fish are put on the soil round each plant.

Guano, brought from the small islands of Sikka or Jibus and Jazirat Bureika near Bir 'Ali west of Mukalla, is used when obtainable, but it is expensive. In the heavily-wooded parts of the Wadi Maseila the bush is burnt when cut. This provides a potash dressing the value of which is appreciated by the cultivators. 241

*Terrace cultivation.*—" The villages had very little cultivable soil and in many cases the small terraces had been made by bringing soil from a distance and then built up with rubble revetments, the area varying from 5 square yards to ¼ acre. These terraces were always built on the sides of the hills to avoid destruction by floods, and the houses generally on a higher level." Of the Meifa valley, Mr. Heald says that the cultivated terrace areas which were in bulge-like shape along the stream were irrigated by taking the small canals off from the rivers or springs at varying heights and bringing them down at great distances to the terraces. Although all the terraces I saw were generally above flood-level, there are none built high up the Wadi walls. 311 241

*Irrigation.*—Land is irrigated from springs, wells, or rivers. When wells and rivers are used, cattle, or camels, or donkeys, or men and women, or a combined team, pull up one or two leathern buckets attached to a rope running on a wooden pulley. The water then flows down a mortar or mud channel and is finally distributed to the land by small canals. The quantity delivered from a well by this method does not exceed 500 gallons an hour. When the land is irrigated from springs, the water is conducted by channels to the various terraces. In order to supply all the various levels, these small canals take off at great distances and there is consequently considerable loss by percolation and evaporation before the water reaches the land. 241 312

Occasionally hollowed-out halves of date palms are used as water channels for crossing hollows, and the cultivators of the Wadi Maseila display considerable ingenuity in bringing the water from the river to the land they are working. The river is usually at some distance from the foot of the steep bank above which the land is cultivated. Channels are dug from the river and a deep hole made at the foot of the bank. A scaffolding is erected over the hole to carry the usual well machinery, and a mud aqueduct supported by tree trunks and branches carries the water on to the higher level ground where it is distributed by canals in the usual way. A sloping walk of timber covered with earth is also provided for the team of animals and humans. Dams to raise the level of the water, and made principally of brushwood, are a common feature of the Wadi Maseila. In other places we saw a number of stone dams.

In most villages irrigated from springs the water is shut off at sunset, and the spring fills a cistern made from stone and mortar designed to hold the spring water running during the night. The springs naturally vary in volume, but Mr. Heald states that they generally range about 5,000 gallons an hour. Of Meifa he states, 312

312 "The quantities of water differed very much and ranged between 100 gallons and 10,000 gallons per hour in the springs, whereas only about 400 gallons per hour were obtained from the wells, but this quantity naturally depended on the amount of work done by the cattle. The stream in the Meifa valley was rather difficult to estimate on account of its underground sources and losses by evaporation, but, after several calculations, the quantity was decided on 1 m.³ per second and the fall averaged generally 5 feet per mile. This refers only to the stream in open country; as many portions of it poured down through narrow gorges, where it was impossible to calculate."

241 *Dry-farming.*—Heald states that in the villages of Kanina and Jol ar Rakh, or generally the district lying between the Meifa valley and Asfal al 'Ain, he discovered a system of dry-farming worked in connection with the flood irrigation. The flood water, which unfortunately could not be depended upon, poured down the wadis, and by a very good system of canals was conducted on to the land, and the seed sown in the mud—the surplus water being sent down to villages lower in the wadi. In some years the cultivators managed to sow two crops, spring and summer, if the floods permitted, but they only relied on the spring water. In the village of Kanina the cultivators sometimes left the roots of the millet in the soil after harvest, and thereby obtained a second, but very poor, crop.

After the harvest, the land was continually ploughed to retain the moisture ready for the next year, and the cultivators were quite aware of the importance of treating the surface oil in the dry-farming principles; however, where possible, irrigation was done from the springs and wells.

*Cultivation.*—After ploughing or hoeing the surface, the seed is either broadcasted or sown in holes. The great millet is generally sown thickly in a small plot and transplanted when about 12 inches high, but the other millets are merely broadcasted. As the stalks of great millet are too thin to carry the heads, about a dozen of the plants are tied together by the heads as soon as the seed begins to form. *Dijar* is planted between rows of millet in order to shade it from the sun. It is harvested after two months.

In some parts of the Hadhramaut, as in Africa, men, women and children sit on platforms built above the crop and use a small sling and stones to scare away the birds.

*Harvesting.*—When ripe, the great millet is cut close to the ground with a small sickle. After a few days' drying, the heads are cut off and beaten by flails. The heads of other grain are generally cut first and then the stalks pulled up for the cattle, and the stubble burnt on the ground The grain is put into shallow winnowing fans of a common eastern and African type, and thrown into the air for the wind to separate the chaff from the grain. I saw at least two patterns of quern used for grinding.

*Rotation.*—Heald states that mixed and overlapping rotations were found in Meifa and Asfal al 'Ain but, from careful enquiries, the following appeared to be the most popular :—Lucerne two years, followed by millet and the fourth year tobacco. If tobacco was not sown, the land was planted with another variety of millet. In some villages where lucerne was not grown, the rotation simply included tobacco and millet with sesame the third year. 242

In the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed. One year a certain part of the wadi bed will be cultivated, stick huts and erections for drawing up the water built, and when the crop is harvested the Beduins move on elsewhere, returning again another season. Thus we frequently passed remains of cultivation, disused mud aqueducts and tumbled-down huts.

*Diseases.*—Heald states, " Excepting for the caterpillar attacking the young millet and tobacco, the crops were remarkably free from pests and disease; I carefully searched for stem borer in the millet but could find none, and also for the scale in the few citrus trees."

**Trees and other vegetation of economic importance.**

The *'elb* (*Sidr. Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.) has many uses. Apart from its blossoms, which are said to give the good taste to the Du'an honey, its fruit called *dōm* is eaten extensively by the Beduins when dates are lacking. The beams, pillars and doors of Hadhramaut houses are made from the timber, and the supply and carriage of the trunks give much employment to the Beduins. It also supplies good firewood. It is a fodder tree, and the leaves are also used as a substitute for soap. 137 262 313 242 [388]

*Sār*, a palm tree (*Hyphaene thebaica* (L.) Mart.), from which the Beduins gather the leaves called *sāf* for transport to the towns, where they are made into mats, baskets, country string, etc. A popular drink called *nebidh* is also procured from this tree. 137 314 285 272

The long-thorned *sumr* (*Acacia spirocarpa* Hochst.) is perhaps the commonest tree in the Hadhramaut. It is a popular fodder for camels and is likewise eaten by goats. It supplies good firewood and a substance taken from the roots called *futukh* is used by fishermen for greasing their lines in order to make them strong. Another thorny tree, the *geradh* (*Acacia senegal* Willd.), is also a common fodder. Its leaves are used for tanning skins and it is said that the Beduins make a drink from them which they liken to tea. 137 246 314 372 272

The *musht* tree (*Grewia erythraea* Schweinf.), is used extensively for firewood and camel fodder. The leaves of the *ariata* tree (*Conocarpus erectus* Jacq.), which grows in the Wadi Maseila where it sometimes reaches a height of 50 to 70 feet, are dried for fodder, and the timber probably has its economic uses. I was told in Tarim of a large tree growing in Wadi Maseila the strong wood of which is used by carpenters; this may have been the *ariata*. 137 314 246 372

137 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
246 common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khuweira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

**Manufacturing Industries.**

492 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
262 mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
249 ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of
438 Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
353 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
326 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

**Fisheries.**

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They are :—

231 *Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla
438 or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazif* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked by men and also serve for fodder.

by men and also serve for fodder. It is sold by *ma'bar*, a basket of about 30 to 40 lb. The price for eight baskets is from one to three dollars.

*Hanīt* (cooked and dried *tamad* fish). About fifteen to twenty *bahars* of this are made a day in Mukalla and sold for local and up country consumption.

*Safīf* (dried *tarnak* and *tamad* fish). This used to be made only from the *tarnak* but now includes *tamad* as well.

*Lakhm* (dried shark). A great deal is prepared in Mukalla and one *frasila* costs one and a half to two and a-half dollars.

*Rīsh* (shark fins). A certain amount of these are exported to China.

The fish manufactories have been removed from the town of Mukalla, a sanitary measure for which credit is due to Sultan 'Umar. The drying-grounds and godowns for *wazīf* are situated beyond Therb, the camel park, outside the western gate. Here too there are old fish-oil tanks. The drying of fish for human consumption takes place at Al Khalf, east of the town, and here large godowns for storage and export are in process of completion. Dried fish forms a staple article of diet of the population. It is also a valuable manure and a widely-used fodder for animals. The extent of this coastal industry may be judged by the millions of gulls lining the seashore and the ever-pervading smell in the coastal towns.

Mr. Heald, referring to the fish-curing industry, writes "Along the coast in the various villages, a primitive fish-curing industry was carried on for sale in the interior, which consisted merely of digging a hole about one yard deep and half a yard broad, lined with stone; in this, wood was burnt and then the large-sized fish were placed in the hot ashes and covered over and left for 24 hours, afterwards taken out and sent up to the interior for sale. I was informed that the cured fish would keep for a considerable length of time, but, as a word of warning to intending travellers in this country, I strongly advise them not to allow any of their luggage especially bedding to be put on the same camel carrying the fish, as the smell was abominable and tainted everything it came into contact with. The Beduins on the journey fed their camels with the small sun dried fish and also partook of the same themselves without any attempt at cooking."

## Visit of Agricultural and Geological Experts in 1919.

### Agricultural Report.

At the request of the Sultan, then Sir Ghalib bin 'Awadh, K.C.I.E., experts were obtained from Egypt to examine and report on the agricultural and mineral possibilities of certain parts of his territory

[654] 311 241 Mr. H. M. Heald, the agriculturist, visited Asfal Al 'Ain, the Sultan's estate at Fuwa, and the Wadi Meifa. As regards Asfal Al 'Ain, he reported that the whole country along the Wadis through which he travelled consisted of hills and wastes, and from an agricultural point of view was very disappointing. In this rocky region, land is scarce. In a few small hamlets, terraces have been made with soil collected in the wadis, and a few acres of these are cultivated, producing millets, sweet potatoes, dates, and tobacco on a poor scale. These terraces are irrigated from springs and wells, but the latter give very little water. No definite seasons are followed for sowing and harvesting of crops. In one village Mr. Heald saw a crop in three stages of growth, viz., newly-sown, half-grown, and harvested. The soil is generally a light shallow loam of alluvial nature, devoid of humus, and, cultivated as it is by the most primitive methods, is becoming more impoverished year by year. Very little manuring is done owing to the cost of transporting fish and the scarcity of dung.

At Fuwa he saw 250 acres of millet and tobacco cultivated by the Sultan's slaves. Owing to the poor soil and bad cultivation, the produce was but small and none of it marketed. The villages along the coast to the entrance of the valley near Ras Al Kalb are similar to those in Asfal Al 'Ain district, but the cultivation is poorer.

Mr. Heald estimated the total area of the soil in Sidara, cultivated and capable of being brought under cultivation, at about 14,000 acres, of which considerably more than one half consists of swampy or salty land at the mouth of the river at Hali. The total area of all the land fit for cultivation in the country he saw, he estimated at under 20,000 acres.

[312] Owing to insufficiency of water for irrigation purposes, Heald considered it would be difficult to reclaim any large area of land at the mouth of the river at Hali, as most of this land is either swampy or bad salty soil due to the river changing its mouth frequently after heavy rains coming down the valley from the interior. The water is also very salty. Another obstacle to developing this area, and, at present a very big one, is the unhealthy climate and the impure drinking water.

OOD Mr. Heald concludes:

> "As regards settlers, it would, on account of the scarcity of land and the unhealthy climate at Meifa, be quite wrong to try and induce people to emigrate from India on a large scale, but a few could be settled at Fuwa and higher up the valley at Jol and Giswal. The present inhabitants, the Sybians, who are acclimatized, could then be sent to the mouth. As, however, this would only affect a very few thousands of acres, perhaps the expense would not be worth the trouble, and the

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



increased yields in the harvests would never be noticed by the country. To improve existing conditions, the Mukalla Government could buy good seed from outside and sell it to cultivators. Many of the crops are merely deteriorating year by year owing to the non-introduction of fresh seed. 000

"The district I traversed could never be made an agricultural one owing to the lack of soil. I was informed that nearly all the grain consumed in the country comes from India, etc., and this state of affairs will, I fear, always be the case. Perhaps the agriculture in the Hadhramaut may be better—one hears so—but as far as Europe is concerned, Mukalla may, from an agricultural point of view, be considered as non-existent."

## Geological Report.

Mr. O. H. Little reported that within the area he visited, lignite deposits varying in thickness between 15 inches and 5 feet exist at Kasai, Asfal Al 'Ain and Ad Da'liya. Samples of lignite were also brought from Lumeisa, about 20 miles north-west of Wadi Yuwan, and similar seams were reported to exist at Jebal Ruba and Tramwa, beyond Lumeisa. Samples were also obtained from the Wadi Howeri, at a point about 30 miles north of Mukalla, and at Khardarani, Jebal Ar Reish. He proved the seams at Kasai and Asfal Al 'Ain to extend for 150 yards along the cliff face and, though they both showed a decreasing thickness away from the main workings, he considered this was possibly due to the small amount of clearing. While the deposits are probably lenticular, much more work would have to be done before this is proved or their extent estimated. In *Southern Arabia* Bent describes the cliffs in a wadi near the Hadhramaut in terms which leave no doubt as to their similarity to the cliffs in which lignite has been found. Though he does not mention the occurrence of lignite, possibly because its existence in the country was then unknown, the probable extension of the coal-measures to a distance over a hundred miles north of Mukalla makes it possible that lignite deposits would be found throughout a very much greater area than in the 1,000 square miles of the coal-measure mapped. Little states that when the Beduins near Mukalla learnt the value of lignite and where to look for it on the scarps, they were reporting every outcrop of dark shale they found. A deposit at Ad Da'liya was discovered in this way only a short time before his arrival in Mukalla. He noticed many places in the scarps where they had evidently dug without success, but as they rarely dug more than a couple of feet deep they often failed to penetrate the debris. The almost inaccessible positions in which the lignite is found, and the fact that digging is necessary, would make systematic search for it expensive, but he considered that by offering suitable rewards the inhabitants would undoubtedly be induced to devote time to searching the scarps in their own districts. The coal-measure shales weather so easily that outcrops of lignite are soon covered by material from above, and fragments 135

135 of lignite in the detritus on the slopes and in the wadis are very rare; this he considered to be probably due to the very heavy rains which fall in the mountains every few years, which produce such floods that enormous rocks are moved along the wadi beds.

461 Mr. Little stated that the difficulties of working the deposits had
312 been pointed out by Mr. Beeby-Thompson and Dr. Ball (who visited Mukalla in 1918). They thought that cheap unskilled labour
135 could be produced locally, but for working on a large scale Mr. Little expressed the opinion that the local supply would prove unreliable and that labour would have to be imported. On the other hand, Messrs. Beeby-Thompson and Ball were not aware that a river (the water of which is slightly saline) flows through the oil-shale district near Neifa. Above Neifa the water is potable when boiled, but below Neifa it is very tainted by the petroliferous deposits through which it passes. Supplies of water might also be obtained by conserving the flood-water which flows down the wadis from the interior. There is generally a small flood every rainy season, with bigger floods every few years.

135 The heat of the sun in summer in the Hadhramaut is so great that rocks near the surface must lose most of their volatile constituents, and, to get a true indication of the amount of these it is necessary to take samples from a greater depth than has been done hitherto. The improvement which may take place with increasing depth is shown by the results of the analysis of two samples from Asfal Al 'Ain. The first was collected from different parts of the face of the seam which had been exposed for over a month, and the second was obtained by driving a hole 5 feet into the seam and taking it from the last portion removed. The calorific value of the latter sample, from Asfal Al 'Ain being 11,466 B.T.Us. and of those from Kasai and Wadi Howeri over 10,000 B.T.Us., show that in a country where fuel supplies are very scanty the lignite deposits would prove an important source of fuel. The oil-shales probably extend to south-west much beyond the area visited and mapped, and if at some distance below the surface they are richer than the sample brought by Messrs. Beeby-Thompson and Ball, they could be distilled near the river. In the economic exploitation of the fuel resources of the Sultanate, the possibility of finding oil fuel in the As Sidara district should be considered, as if oil exists there the pipe-line could be brought down the river to Wadi Arus and Neifa and thence to the coast. The river at Wadi Arus is 15 miles and at Neifa 10 miles in a straight line from the lignite deposits at Ad Da'liya, from which the fuel for the distillation of the oil-shales might be obtained. The danger of pipe-lines and railways being swept away by the big floods which occur every few years would have to be borne in mind when laying them. There is an anchorage for dhows at Mersa Riqeima just east of the river mouth, which Mr. Little thought might be suitable for small steamers except during the monsoon period.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



# CHAPTER VIII.

## COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

### Roads and Road Transport.

Despite the fact that of late years the motor-car has become a familiar object in parts of the Hadhramaut, the camel and the ass are still the principal means of conveyance for man and goods in the country, and although the tracks suitable for cars are certain to be increased, the bulk of the interior trade will continue to be carried in the traditional Arabian fashion. Increase of motor tracks will, in fact, probably mean increased earnings to caravan men, as there will be more goods to distribute over short carries off the main routes. 492 493

The principal caravan routes are :— 487

*Mukalla* (donkey route)—Tila—Zemen as Saghir—Hisi—Dahma—Jol Ubeid—Wadi Du'an—Sif—Hajarein—Meshhed—Haura—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Shibam.

*Mukalla* (camel route)—Rashnid—Haj Bal Qabrein—Kheila—Wadi Du'an—Sif—Hajarein—Meshhed—Haura—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Shibam.

*Mukalla*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Sufeila—Nihār—Sāh—Shibam—Seiyun.

*Mukalla*—Harshiat — Tokhm — Bagha — Jirwit—Batha—Marsa Mukalla—'Umn 'Ainein—Bawerqat—Haura—Hauta—Shibam—Seiyun—Seheil Qibli—Tarim—'Einat.

*Mukalla*—Fuwwa—Kherba—Bahth—Yuwan.

*Mukalla*—Fuwwa—Kherba—Bahth—Kanina—Sidara.

*Shihr*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Ma'di—Reida—Had al Jabir—Herū—Mesenda—Tarim—Maseilat as Silma—Qahir—'Einat.

*Shihr*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Ma'di—Reida—Had al Jabir—Herū—Mesenda—Tarim—Seiyun.

*Shihr*—Ras 'Aqabat al 'Arsha—'Abul—'Ais—Gheil bin Yamīn—Herū—Wadi Na'r—Husn bin Dhoban—Tarim.

*Seihut* (camels only)—Al 'Ais—Semarma—Al Gheil—Buzūn—Teheir—Maqrat—Al Qoz—Bin Qora—Morheih—Hanun—Bin Sheikh Nān—Hamir—Tabūrkum—Sena—'Qabr Hud—Fughma—As Som—Qasm—'Einat—Tarim.

*Shibam*—Husn al 'Abr—Nejran—San'a.

*Shibam*—Shabwa—San'a.

*Shibam*—Yab'uth—San'a.

There are also caravans to and from Merkha, Hadhina, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. 484

Caravans from Mukalla reach Du'an in about six days, and from Shihr and Mukalla arrive at the principal towns of the Wadi Hadhramaut in up to ten days. Caravans from Mukalla to Hajr take three days. Caravans travelling between Shibam and San'ā take fourteen or fifteen days over the journey with loaded camels.

484 It is four days journey from Shibam to Husn al 'Abr and five days from Husn al 'Abr to Nejran.

485. Routes from the coast are well provided with *siqayas*, or public fountains, near villages, and *qarifs* and *naqbas*, artificial pools and cisterns for rain-water, in the desert places. There are also of course many natural springs and water holes in the wadis. There are *muraba'as* (rest houses, called *madharab* in the low country and *sira* in the upper) at intervals approximately of a few hours' journey all over the principal routes crossing barren country. There are no definitely appointed stages, but caravans halt at places where they can graze and water their camels. They travel an average of six or seven hours a day.

492 From fifty to fifty-three thousand camels leave the camel park
489 called Therb outside the west gate of Mukalla every year for the interior. From Shihr the number is from 30,000 to 32,000. These figures include 5,000 to 8,000 in the former case and 2,000 in the latter of camels carrying food for the camel-men. Camels for this purpose are provided at the rate of about two to ten loaded camels.

Departures from and to the coast take place almost daily except during the month of Ramadhan. During that month caravans leave Mukalla and Shihr in order to arrive at their destinations by the feast day. Departures from and arrivals at Shibam for and from the interior are not so frequent.

From four hundred to a thousand loaded camels a month enter Shibam alone from the coast. It is estimated that a thousand annually come from San'ā in three or four caravans, but, as stated elsewhere, there is an increase if there is a demand.

An estimate given of the number of camels from other parts of the Protectorate and other parts of the Yemen is fourteen caravans of 1,000 camels each arriving mostly during the winter and spring. Caravans from Nejran are rare.

494 The 1934 fares from Mukalla to Du'an were as follows :—

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1. By donkey, *watā* and *'aser*, that is to say, riding over level country and over the rough and hilly places, standard rate, 15 to 16 dollars, but with variation according to weight, the limits each way being from 12 to 20 dollars.

2. By donkey, *watā*, i.e., riding only over the level country, standard fare, 10 to 11 dollars with limits according to weight of from 8 to 15 dollars.

Each passenger is allowed free transport of up to three *frasilas* (1 *frasila* = 20 lb.) of food.

3. By camel, *watā* and *'aser*, 10 dollars.

4. By camel, *watā*, 5 dollars.

There is no allowance for weight by camel but there is a free allowance of up to three *frasilas* of food.

The freight rates are : By camel, 10 dollars for 1 *bahar* of 20 *frasilas*; by donkey, 1½ dollars a *frasila*.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Besides the payment of fares, rations have to be provided for the men at the rate of one man for one animal in the case of donkeys, and one man for up to three animals for camels. For donkey-men the rations cost from ½ to 1½ dollars a head according to whether they eat with the passengers or not. For camel men the cost of the rations is 2 dollars a head as they take eight days over the journey instead of six. 494 484 435

Other normal fares are: Shibam to Ba Rumeidan 5 dollars a camel, the normal fare, but I was asked 25 dollars a camel, 5 dollars for the *muqaddam*, and 30 dollars for the Beduins' broker to accompany the caravan. Tarim to Seihut 20 dollars a camel. This route necessitated two *siyaras*, each costing 10 dollars, and a Seiyid who had to be given 60 dollars.

The Du'an route is worked by the Marāshida and Khāmā. The Wadi Leisar route by the Hālka, and the Wadi al 'Ain route by the 'Awābitha.

**Motor Transport.**

The following tracks are passable and regularly used by cars :— 491 487

| | Miles. |
|---|---|
| *Mukalla*—seashore—Wadi Tifat—Landing ground—Fuwwa ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 9 |
| *Mukalla*—shore—Wadi Mubekha—Sherij Bashhar—Wadi Tifat—Fuwwa—Lermi—Kherba ... ... | 15·2 |
| *Mukalla*—along the shore—Hali ... ... ... | 12 |
| *Mukalla*—Manawarih—Sherij Bashhar—Fuwwa—Lermi—Kherba ... ... ... ... ... ... | 16·75 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Baqrein—Bakezebur ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Wadi Seded—Wadi Rukub—Buweish—Wadi al Feleq—Reida landing ground—Wadi Huweira—Shiheir—Wadi Ghasam—Gheil Ba Wazir ... ... ... ... | 33·6 |
| *Mukalla*—Khalf—Ras Mukalla—shore—Shihr (this route passes close to Shiheir and is an alternative route to Gheil Ba Wazir from either Mukalla or Shihr) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 42·1 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Bir Ba Zambur—Harshiat—Tila as Sufla ... ... ... | 10·4 |
| *Shihr*—Dufeigha ... ... ... ... ... | 2·7 |
| *Shihr*—Wadi Rahba—Tubala ... ... ... | 5·6 |
| *Shihr*—Wadi Karangahem—Habis—Gheil Ba Wazir (to Habis 12 miles) ... ... ... ... | 24 |
| *Shihr*—Dis—Ras al Qarn ... ... ... ... | |
| *Shibam*—Hauta (al Qatn)—Haura—Meshhed—Hajarein ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | |
| *Shibam*—Hedhira—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Farudh—Hezin (this route continues to Hureidha) ... ... | 25 |

491 *Shibam*—Ghanima—Huweila—Al Atfa—Juwada—
487 Qubhudh ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
*Shibam*—Bequl—Al Hauta—Gheil—Al Ghurfa—
Taris—Seiyun—Mariama—Tarba—Tarim ... ... 36
*Shibam*—Bekheira—Maur ar Reiga—Wadi Ser—
Seiyun ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 13
*Tarim*—Dammūn and neighbouring suburbs ...
*Tarim*—Al Fijr—Maseilat as Silma—Jeheil—
Qahir—'Einat—Qasm ... ... ... ... ... 20

Cars are said to have reached Qabr Hud and there would be no difficulty in their going beyond this point. They are also said to have reached Husn al 'Abr from Shibam, but it is not yet known whether they can get to Nejran. There must be very considerable difficulties with sand over these routes.

A road has been started from Shihr to Tarim. It offers no particular constructional difficulties and it is to be hoped that it will soon be completed.

493 The number of cars in the Hadhramaut is as follows :—

Mukalla and Shihr.—7 or 8 in working order (3 belong to His Highness).
Six lorries (3 belong to His Highness).
Tarim.—60 cars and 1 motor-cycle.
Seiyun.—13 cars.
Shibam.—3 cars.
Henin.—1 car.

[492] There are a few others which I heard of in various villages. Cars destined for the interior are dismantled and carried at the rate of 12 camels to one car over the mountains.

494 Other forms of road transport are rare. There are 10 bicycles in Mukalla, one bullock cart (belonging to His Highness), one horse-carriage, one mule and one horse (the latter two belonging to His Highness). Human porterage is not used for heavy transport over long distances in the Hadhramaut, though *ma'ras* can be hired for the transport of light articles.

## Aerodromes.

508 The Royal Air Force maintains landing grounds at Fuwa, Shibam, Reidat al Qu'aiti, Qā' Bā Nūa, Al Qatn, Reidat as Shijar and Shihr. The last-named, owing to the large amount of drift sand, is not in serviceable condition. Mukalla is [illegible] R.A.F. refuelling depot. The Seiyids of Tarim are anxious [illegible] start a commercial aeroplane service.

## Posts and Telegraphs.

205 There is no postal service. The Sultan of Mukalla has recently
[206] introduced wireless and the Mukalla station is now open to traffic. Inward mails are sorted by the "postmaster" and distributed. The inhabitants of the interior towns have agents in Mukalla or

Shihr who forward their letters by caravan or special messenger. 205
Outward mails are disposed of in a similar manner. At Shibam I noticed a box inside the gate of the city in charge of one of the merchant's men in which letters were being placed for despatch to Aden by aeroplane. Runners can cover the distance from Mukalla to Du'an in 24 hours, and Mukalla to Shibam in three [481] days.

**Harbours.**

The only harbours for steamers are Mukalla and Shihr. Mukalla 504
promontory extends about 1¾ miles south-eastward. Ras Marbat is its south-western extremity, and Ras Kodar, eight cables eastward of Ras Marbat, is the southern extremity. Ras Mukalla, about three cables north-eastward of Ras Kodar, is the eastern extremity of the promontory.

Mukalla bay is the north-eastern part of the bight between Fuwa and Ras Marbat. About 1½ miles north-westward of Ras Marbat are two small bays, separated by a projection, extending about three cables south-westward, on which stands part of Mukalla town. The western of these two bays is the more frequented by boats. The eastern bay is seldom used owing to the swell which rolls in during the north-east monsoon. The shore bank in Mukalla bay, on which anchorage can be obtained, extends about half-a-mile offshore near the town, increasing westward to a width of nearly a mile off Fuwa. A stone jetty close to the Customs House is the usual landing place. There is no lighthouse, but a single lamp fixed on a pole in a small boat gives the only guiding light into the harbour. During the south-west monsoon dhows anchor at Bandar Burum where there is anchorage in depths of from five to seven fathoms, good holding ground, south-eastward of Burum village, but a ground swell rolls in.

Shihr roadstead is open with anchorage in depths of from 7 to 12 fathoms, sand and shells, from seven cables to one mile offshore.

Besides Mukalla, Burum, and Shihr the dhow harbours along the Hadhramaut coast are: Bandar Ruweini, about two miles northward from Ras Mukalla, has depths of from four to six fathoms, and native craft shelter here during the south-west monsoon; Hami, where there is anchorage off Hami village in depths of seven to eight fathoms about a mile offshore; Sharma bay, with a good anchorage in depths of from four to five fathoms; Al Qarn, an anchorage where small vessels can lie safely in depths of from two to four fathoms (Sharma bay and Al Qarn lie close to the town of Dis; Al Qarn is the more frequented harbour); and Ras Qus'eir, a mile southward of Qus'eir, where there is anchorage, but without shelter, in depths of from 12 to 14 fathoms.

**Shipping.**

There are two Lines calling frequently but not regularly. Usually 505
each calls twice a month. One is the Halal Shipping Company—Agent, Yusuf Sherif; and the other Cowasjee Dinshaw and Bros.—

505 Agent, 'Abdulla Lalljee. These Lines call at both Mukalla and Shihr on the line Aden—Mukalla—Shihr—Mukalla—Aden. Apart from these two Lines the principal cargo traffic is taken by dhows. The normal number of dhows entering and leaving Mukalla a year is 300-400 which includes 70 or 80 big buggalows from Bombay. Dhows come from Gulf ports, Oman, Basra, Sur, Utubi, Kuweit, Hindi Kwati, Karachi, Bombay, Aden, Red Sea ports, Zanzibar, and the Somali coast, and leave for the same places. When there is much grain the number increases to 400 or 500.

A combined service of the Rotterdam Lloyd, Netherland M.V.S., and Blue Funnel Line provides eight calls a year each way on the line Suez—Singapore and Singapore—Suez. The ships call each way once a month except during the south-west monsoon when big ships cannot anchor. Ships of the Bombay—Persia line call on the route Calcutta—Bombay—Jedda about eight times each way except during the pilgrim season when they only call on the homeward voyage from Red Sea ports. The agent for both these services is 'Abdulla Lalljee.

During the last three years one Russian ship has called, and Italian ships call occasionally when the Bombay—Persia line ships cannot.

## CHAPTER IX.

## COMMERCE OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

### Finance.

436 All finance is in the hands of the merchants. Seven lakhs of
437 rupees come from Java every month direct or via Aden. The
457 greater part of this is in drafts on Bombay which are sold in Mukalla for cash. Indian and the more important Arab merchants deal in them, and ordinarily charge no commission as the drafts form an easy and cheap method of remittance. If, however, money is scarce locally, about four annas per cent. of rupees is charged. Money goes out to Aden and Bombay and is remitted through the merchants, who write letters to their agents at those places to obtain drafts. Dollars move freely to the interior and, if the exchange is good, come from there. The caravans which take the goods to the interior bring the dollars back, and this, apart from honey, firewood, and fodder, is about all that is carried from the interior to Mukalla. The dollars are exported from Mukalla to Aden if the exchange is more favourable there, and on the other hand if there is a shortage of dollars in Mukalla, or if the dollar is cheaper in Aden than in Mukalla, they are brought in. Omani and other dhow traders bring goods and take out money in cash. When the Imam imposed a duty on dollars imported to the Yemen there was a flow of dollars from Mukalla to Shibam and thence along the caravan route to San'ā. Dollars in Mukalla are usually two pice or upwards more than in Aden,

436 but never less, though sometimes they are equal. Transfer of
439 bullion is more common from Mukalla to Aden than from Aden
457 to Mukalla.

## Interest.

452 Money can be had at 10 per cent. interest on mortgages, and
426 a few of the big Arabs obtain their wealth from this source. Goods are sold on a period of one month's credit and a percentage is calculated on this basis. Sometimes when cultivators have been unable to sell their tobacco the merchants have to wait for their payment for two to six months, and charge four to eight annas per cent. on the goods, or one rupee on people who are unable to pay for a long time. In Shibam 5 per cent. interest is charged on borrowed money. Interest transactions are of course disguised in order to avoid the Quranic precepts against usury.

## Foreign Trade.

439 The total value of the foreign trade (in merchandise) of the Hadhramaut in 1352 is estimated at over Rs.6,000,000. The chief exports are: tobacco, honey and fish products. The chief imports are: dates, flour, rice, goats and sheep, piece goods, simsim, jowari and kerosene.

### Imports of Merchandise.

| | *Quantity.* | *Rate.* | *Value.* (1353 prices.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fish products: *Sermai* (split and salted fish) pieces. | 10,000 to 15,000 | $28 to 60 per 100 | $2,800 to $4,200 |
| Goats and sheep, Nos. ... | 20,000 to 30,000 | Rs. 6 or 7 each | Rs. 120,000. |
| Dates. Basra. *Qosra* ... | 20,000 to 30,000 | Rs. 4/8 to Rs. 6/8 | Rs. 110,000 |
| Oman, *Jerab* (six *frasilas*) | 1,000 | Rs. 6 | Rs. 6,000 |
| Flour, bags ... ... | 10,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | French Rs. 10/4 Karachi Rs. 10/8 to Rs. 11/- | Rs. 102,500 |
| Rice, bags ... ... | 75,000 to 85,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 11/- | Rs. 825,000 |
| Building Poles (*boriles*), scores. | 400 to 500 | Rs. 7–25 a score according to quality. | * |
| Simsim, bags ... ... | 15,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 60–67 a *bahar* of 570 lbs. | Rs. 900,000 |
| Jowari, bags ... ... | 70,000 to 80,000 | Rs. 6–8·8 | Rs. 420,000 |
| Piece Goods Japanese bales | 1,000 | Rs. 130 | Rs. 130,000 |
| Others ... | Very few | | |
| Kerosene, cases ... ... | 26,000 to 30,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 6 | Rs. 156,000 |
| Petrol, cases ... ... | 1,200 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 9 | Rs. 10,800. |
| Tea, cases of 90 to 100 lb. | 1,200 to 1,300 Mukalla & Shihr. | Up to Rs. 3 a lb. | Rs. 125,000 |
| Coffee, bags of 8–10 *frasilas* | 1,500 | Jelal, Rs. 7 Majburu, Rs. 2–3 | Rs. 80,000 |

* None imported in 1353.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM 1



## EXPORTS OF MERCHANDISE.

| | | Quantity. | Rate. | Value. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| H 439 Fish products: (dried shark). | *Lakhm* | Little only | Rs. 1/6 a *frasila* | (1353 *prices*) |
| *Safif* (dried *Tarnak* and *Tamad* fish), cases of 2 cwt. | | 2,000 to 3,000 | $15 a case | $30,000 to $45,000 |
| *Rish* (shark fins) *frasilas* of 30 lb. | | 1,500 | $4 a *frasila* | $6,000 |
| Tobacco (Hamumi) *Bahars* | | *5,000 to 6,000 | Rs. 25–80 according to quality. | Rs. 500,000 |
| Honey, lb. | ... | 60,000 | | Rs. 100,000 |

* Not all exported, but the bulk.

H 438 439 The great bulk of the Hadhramaut trade is sea-borne. Shibam is the principal centre for land-borne trade into the Hadhramaut. The goods that come into that town from the interior are, ghee, jowari, wheat, barley, coffee berries, honey, oil, oilcakes, raisins, almonds, cotton, blankets, spinning cloth and animals. Most of these are domestic products and products of other parts of the Aden Protectorate, but coffee berries come from Yafa' and San'ā, and raisins and almonds particularly from San'ā. There is not a great deal of traffic from San'ā, but if the Shibam crops are not good the traffic increases. A moderate number of firearms and ammunition enter the Hadhramaut from the Yemen and Nejran through Shibam.

H 439 A 439 As the bulk of the trade of the Hadhramaut is with Aden, the following tables provided by the Trade Registration Office are of interest. Unfortunately the figures for the Hadhramaut ports and districts are not separated from other places under the heading Arabian Gulf Ports. These "ports" are, Hadhramaut: Mukalla, Shihr, Du'an, Dis, Gheil Ba Wazir, Qus'eir, Burum, Hami, Meifa and Hajr; and other ports: Shuqra, Habban, Seihūt, Dhofar, 'Irqa, Maqatein, Bir 'Ali, Ahwar, Balihaf, Qishn, Soqotra Island, Ras Seilan and Murbat.

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Telegrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Redistment MM2

Aden MM 1



STATEMENT SHOWING THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF GOODS IMPORTED INTO ADEN FROM ARABIAN GULF PORTS FOR THE PAST FIVE YEARS.

| Articles. | Denomination. | 1929-30. | | 1930-31. | | 1931-32. | | 1932-33. | | 1933-34. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. |
| | | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. |
| Animals, living ... ... | Nos. | — | — | — | — | 360 | 2,796 | — | — | — | — |
| Books and printed matters | Cwt. | 31 | 1,066 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Chalk and Lime ... | " | 6,592 | 9,123 | 13,650 | 15,841 | 17,581 | 15,855 | 7,707 | 7,492 | 7,229 | 9,734 |
| Coffee ... ... ... | " | — | — | 63 | 1,138 | 83 | 1,544 | 147 | 1,836 | — | — |
| Cordage and Rope ... | " | — | — | — | — | — | — | 273 | 4,151 | — | — |
| Drugs, etc., Aloes ... | " | — | — | 116 | 2,522 | 89 | 1,874 | 136 | 2,131 | 212 | 3,018 |
| " " Asafoetida | " | 54 | 1,500 | 31 | 1,240 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Drugs, other sorts ... | Value | — | — | — | — | — | 1,202 | — | — | — | — |
| Dyeing, other sorts ... | Cwt. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 37 | 1,800 |
| Fish, dry, unsalted ... | " | 6,600 | 46,960 | 6,377 | 39,453 | 3,960 | 31,144 | 7,019 | 35,779 | 11,369 | 50,270 |
| " " salted ... | " | 2,069 | 19,232 | 3,561 | 35,994 | 1,827 | 20,482 | 2,720 | 19,307 | 2,987 | 22,719 |
| " Maws and Shark-fins. | " | 1,143 | 44,519 | 1,277 | 29,637 | 1,124 | 26,295 | 1,145 | 22,122 | 1,665 | 31,944 |
| Dates, wet ... ... | Tons | 90 | 12,287 | 242 | 17,399 | 18 | 1,951 | 72 | 5,458 | 164 | 10,600 |
| Furniture of wood ... | Value | — | — | — | — | — | 2,714 | — | — | — | — |
| Grain, Jowari and Bajri | Tons | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 23 | 1,474 |
| Grain, Rice ... ... | " | 6 | 1,159 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Gum Arabic ... ... | Cwt. | — | — | 85 | 2,636 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| " Incense ... ... | " | 6,864 | 143,743 | 10,519 | 150,435 | 6,316 | 68,969 | 2,631 | 28,165 | 4,616 | 41,596 |
| " other sorts ... ... | " | 2,914 | 71,248 | 431 | 8,344 | 690 | 11,905 | 225 | 3,511 | 686 | 7,075 |
| Hides, raw ... ... | Tons | 4 | 1,770 | 7 | 2,633 | 11 | 3,950 | — | — | — | — |
| Skins, raw ... ... | " | 17 | 21,003 | 6 | 6,632 | 9 | 6,721 | 6 | 3,116 | 6 | 4,297 |
| Jewellery, Plate of Gold and Silver ... ... | Value | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2,025 |
| Leather, manufactured other sorts ... ... | Cwt. | 32 | 1,619 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Manures ... ... | Tons | 33 | 1,252 | — | — | — | — | 162 | 1,452 | — | — |
| Mats and Mattings ... | Sq. Yds. | 38,160 | 9,[illegible]0 | 34,480 | 8,175 | 38,320 | 9,721 | 23,040 | 5,594 | 25,200 | 6,239 |
| Fish Oil ... ... ... | Gls. | — | — | — | — | 2,532 | 1,423 | 2,621 | 1,346 | 13,172 | 6,703 |
| Perfumery ... ... | Value | — | — | — | 1,020 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Provisions—Ghee ... | Cwt. | 87 | 5,120 | 26 | 1,059 | — | — | — | — | 34 | 1,285 |
| " Vinegar ... | Gls. | 4,312 | 4,256 | 5,072 | 4,861 | 4,434 | 4,047 | 5,157 | 3,794 | 3,058 | 2,314 |

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1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2 Aden MM1



STATEMENT SHOWING THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF GOODS IMPORTED INTO ADEN FROM ARABIAN GULF PORTS FOR THE PAST FIVE YEARS—*continued.*

| *Articles.* | *denomination.* | *1929–30.* | | *1930–31.* | | *1931–32.* | | *1932–33.* | | *1933–34.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* |
| | | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. |
| Provisions—other sorts ... | Cwt. | 278 | 9,027 | 302 | 14,287 | 218 | 11,877 | 186 | 8,059 | 220 | 9,191 |
| Shells, Mother of Pearl ... | " | 404 | 14,476 | 200 | 6,146 | 369 | 7,987 | 420 | 8,968 | 507 | 5,542 |
| Spices—Dry Ginger ... | " | 70 | 1,993 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| " —Black Pepper ... | " | — | — | — | — | 35 | 1,200 | — | — | — | — |
| Stones and Marble ... | Tons | 51 | 1,050 | 176 | 4,780 | 187 | 3,368 | — | — | — | — |
| Cotton, Raw ... ... | " | 7 | 4,047 | 3 | 1,802 | 10 | 1,789 | 4 | 1,515 | — | — |
| " Twist ... ... | Lb. | 3,600 | 2,700 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| " Canvas ... | Yds. | 1,600 | 1,000 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Dyed Piece Goods ... | " | 111,270 | 48,140 | 146,970 | 55,835 | 167,310 | 39,915 | 168,490 | 30,716 | 144,674 | 23,335 |
| Jute Gunny Bags ... | No. | 13,540 | 3,824 | 8,560 | 2,069 | 6,320 | 1,350 | — | — | — | — |
| Wool Blankets ... ... | " | 3,528 | 1,650 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| " Carpets and Rugs... | " | 2,800 | 10,398 | 1,120 | 2,480 | — | — | — | — | 2,660 | 1,950 |
| Artificial silk piece goods | Yds. | 3,300 | 1,600 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Tobacco, unmanufactured | Lb. | 2,301,600 | 758,215 | 1,672,496 | 514,982 | 2,150,708 | 536,263 | 2,023,271 | 368,148 | 1,557,360 | 252,527 |
| Toys, other sorts... ... | Value | — | — | — | — | — | 2,128 | — | — | — | — |
| Motor-cars ... ... | Nos. | 8 | 7,200 | 4 | 8,800 | 3 | 4,065 | 1 | 1,900 | 2 | 1,600 |
| Ships, and parts of ... | Value | — | 3,620 | — | 3,475 | — | 4,795 | — | 1,135 | — | 1,160 |
| Wood, other timber ... | C. Tons | 149 | 4,452 | 121 | 3,695 | — | — | 121 | 6,780 | 73 | 3,131 |
| Firewood ... ... ... | Tons | 2,165 | 20,092 | 1,814 | 23,793 | 1,342 | 15,158 | 2,176 | 24,177 | 1,737 | 18,635 |
| Wood, manufactured ... | Value | — | 3,021 | — | 2,268 | — | — | — | 1,407 | — | — |
| All other articles ... | " | — | 4,446 | — | 6,810 | — | 4,269 | — | 2,033 | — | 1,313 |
| Total Merchandise ... | Rs. | | 1,305,228 | | 980,241 | | 846,457 | | 598,092 | | 523,466 |
| Treasure, Gold ... ... | " | | 88,665 | | 55,130 | | 95,925 | | 75,465 | | 32,685 |
| " Silver ... ... | " | | 463,758 | | 493,078 | | 594,471 | | 359,231 | | 368,765 |
| Total Treasure ... ... | " | | 552,423 | | 548,208 | | 690,396 | | 434,696 | | 401,450 |
| GRAND TOTAL IMPORTS | " | | 1,857,651 | | 1,528,449 | | 1,536,853 | | 1,032,788 | | 924,616 |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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STATEMENT SHOWING THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF GOODS EXPORTED FROM ADEN TO ARABIAN GULF PORTS FOR THE PAST FIVE YEARS.

| Articles. | denomination. | 1929–30. | | 1930–31. | | 1931–32. | | 1932–33. | | 1933–34. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. |
| | | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. |
| Animals, living ... ... | Nos. | 3,980 | 77,239 | 2,022 | 25,540 | 6,531 | 61,278 | 7,533 | 63,010 | 5,677 | 42,952 |
| Apparel ... ... ... | Value | — | 2,317 | — | 1,315 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Arms and ammunition ... | " | — | 5,495 | — | 23,718 | — | 29,924 | — | 19,533 | — | 29,409 |
| Building materials ... | Cwt. | — | — | 536 | 2,025 | 411 | 1,536 | 699 | 2,029 | 551 | 1,574 |
| Books and printed matters | " | 46 | 1,813 | 51 | 2,200 | 75 | 3,035 | 41 | 1,669 | 37 | 1,971 |
| Chemicals, etc. ... ... | Value | — | 3,106 | — | 8,845 | — | 3,079 | — | 1,954 | — | 3,619 |
| Coffee ... ... ... | Cwt. | 3,960 | 122,035 | 4,667 | 123,951 | 3,507 | 74,506 | 3,385 | 63,956 | 4,538 | 91,774 |
| Cordage and Rope ... | " | — | — | — | — | — | — | 87 | 1,068 | — | — |
| Drugs and Medicines ... | Value | — | 3,669 | — | 5,045 | — | 4,288 | — | 5,463 | — | 5,059 |
| Dyeing and Tanning substances ... ... ... | Cwt. | 956 | 51,411 | 1,399 | 56,246 | 1,161 | 48,464 | 1,206 | 57,218 | 1,311 | 71,449 |
| Earthenware and Porcelain | Value | — | 5,834 | — | 5,947 | — | 6,638 | — | 8,616 | — | 7,455 |
| Fish, dry, unsalted ... | Cwt. | 744 | 7,932 | 1,148 | 9,828 | 2,206 | 14,359 | 746 | 3,225 | — | — |
| Fodder, Bran and Pollards | Tons | 15 | 1,125 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Vegetables, fresh onions | Cwt. | 1,244 | 7,442 | 872 | 4,397 | 655 | 3,315 | 549 | 2,301 | 1,539 | 4,825 |
| Fruit and Vegetables, dried, salted, etc. ... | Tons | 191 | 28,195 | 158 | 14,127 | 163 | 13,751 | 182 | 13,332 | 86 | 8,369 |
| Furniture ... ... | Value | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2,551 | — | 1,616 |
| Glassware ... ... | " | — | 11,611 | — | 6,112 | — | 6,643 | — | 7,721 | — | 6,124 |
| Grain and Pulse ... ... | Tons | 6,610 | 1,034,800 | 5,235 | 667,720 | 3,487 | 342,915 | 3,630 | 271,113 | 3,507 | 275,268 |
| Gum and Resins ... | Cwt. | — | — | 26 | 1,021 | — | — | 123 | 2,560 | 144 | 3,585 |
| Hardware and Cutlery ... | Value | — | 39,405 | — | 26,364 | — | 26,987 | — | 37,769 | — | 30,350 |
| Instruments ... ... | " | — | 16,995 | — | 2,969 | — | 2,110 | — | 4,350 | — | 2,196 |
| Machinery ... ... | " | — | 5,299 | — | 52,831 | — | 5,000 | — | 24,127 | — | 8,135 |
| Fish manures ... ... | Tons | 38 | 2,764 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Metals, Brass wrought ... | Cwt. | 55 | 2,360 | 34 | 1,182 | — | — | — | — | — | — |

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1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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STATEMENT SHOWING THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF GOODS EXPORTED FROM ADEN TO ARABIAN GULF PORTS FOR THE PAST FIVE YEARS—*continued.*

| *Articles.* | *denomination.* | *1929–30.* | | *1930–31.* | | *1931–32.* | | *1932–33.* | | *1933–34.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* |
| | | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. |
| Metals, Copper wrought... | Cwt. | 41 | 1,370 | — | — | 47 | 1,707 | 115 | 5,677 | 95 | 3,451 |
| " Iron wrought ... | Tons | 24 | 14,118 | 28 | 15,628 | 55 | 17,618 | 59 | 22,822 | 71 | 29,312 |
| Oils ... ... ... | Gls. | 150,721 | 206,596 | 126,319 | 171,293 | 91,679 | 131,275 | 1,114,731 | 153,360 | 112,676 | 126,152 |
| Oil cakes ... ... | Tons | 14 | 1,771 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Paints and Painters' materials ... ... | Cwt. | 38 | 1,504 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 33 | 1,345 |
| Paper and pasteboard ... | " | 1,443 | 9,643 | 980 | 6,137 | 1,673 | 9,759 | 1,191 | 7,119 | 1,645 | 9,049 |
| Perfumery ... ... | Value | — | 1,757 | — | 3,325 | — | 5,044 | — | 4,739 | — | 4,720 |
| Provisions and Oilmen's Stores ... ... | Cwt. | 8,233 | 263,017 | 7,482 | 190,747 | 8,333 | 212,038 | 8,248 | 215,932 | 8,162 | 197,420 |
| Rubber, manufactured | Value | — | 7,047 | — | 4,415 | — | 4,790 | — | 2,962 | — | 2,467 |
| Seeds ... ... ... | Tons | 447 | 129,509 | 603 | 146,345 | 436 | 76,785 | 411 | 77,494 | 326 | 49,362 |
| Soap ... ... ... | Cwt. | 740 | 16,877 | 826 | 15,881 | 795 | 15,344 | 1,169 | 18,875 | 819 | 11,670 |
| Spices ... ... ... | " | 3,961 | 126,776 | 5,631 | 161,362 | 4,929 | 82,203 | 4,826 | 72,408 | 3,774 | 51,907 |
| Stationery ... ... | Value | — | 8,091 | — | 2,308 | — | 3,197 | — | 2,605 | — | 2,930 |
| Sugar ... ... ... | Tons | 1,151 | 243,194 | 1,212 | 189,344 | 1,247 | 182,832 | 914 | 120,144 | 1,304 | 157,408 |
| Tallows ... ... ... | Cwt. | 60 | 1,394 | 179 | 3,240 | 291 | 3,477 | 98 | 1,367 | 79 | 1,023 |
| Tea ... ... ... | Lb. | 11,197 | 10,420 | 12,791 | 10,873 | 21,730 | 15,670 | 12,327 | 9,341 | 8,156 | 4,522 |
| Cotton, Raw ... ... | Tons | — | — | — | — | — | — | 5 | 2,126 | — | — |
| Cotton Twist and Yarn ... | Lb. | 175,170 | 181,179 | 285,808 | 218,447 | 241,296 | 133,775 | 314,191 | 130,109 | 189,266 | 71,263 |
| Cotton Piece goods, gray | Yds. | 1,064,087 | 259,666 | 1,288,556 | 221,183 | 1,823,873 | 241,066 | 1,500,720 | 203,303 | 1,101,546 | 139,425 |
| " " white | " | 21,695 | 6,469 | 35,400 | 8,490 | 42,240 | 8,314 | 32,410 | 5,660 | 19,430 | 2,606 |
| " " dyed | " | 835,406 | 312,897 | 787,701 | 261,855 | 892,452 | 223,528 | 1,456,897 | 301,104 | 1,392,115 | 259,298 |
| Cotton Thread ... ... | Lb. | 4,610 | 3,958 | 2,880 | 1,727 | 6,602 | 3,277 | 7,650 | 3,424 | 6,178 | 2,638 |
| Cotton, manufactured ... | " | 3,458 | 1,822 | 5,410 | 3,221 | 2,688 | 1,637 | 3,579 | 2,256 | 3,570 | 2,890 |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Haberdashery ... ... | Value | — | 14,260 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Jute, manufactured ... | " | — | 5,077 | — | 1,853 | — | 2,889 | — | 1,996 | — | 1,356 |
| Silk mixed with other materials ... ... | Yds. | — | — | 2,700 | 2,150 | — | — | — | — | 3,900 | 1,025 |
| Silk Piece goods ... ... | " | 12,550 | 14,100 | 2,012 | 1,518 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Wool carpets and Rugs | Lb. | 3,864 | 6,710 | 1,624 | 2,260 | 2,408 | 5,620 | 4,270 | 7,655 | 3,360 | 6,432 |
| Wool, manufactured ... | " | 1,848 | 1,720 | 4,410 | 1,730 | 3,584 | 1,939 | — | — | 5,950 | 2,448 |
| Tobacco, unmanufactured | " | 121,912 | 21,751 | 98,616 | 18,935 | 160,832 | 17,138 | 98,336 | 17,259 | 80,612 | 12,364 |
| " manufactured | " | 8,554 | 10,239 | 6,535 | 9,056 | 7,308 | 7,652 | 11,735 | 9,773 | 9,331 | 10,700 |
| Toys ... ... ... | Value | — | 1,104 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Motor-cars, etc. ... ... | No. | 39 | 56,925 | 17 | 22,623 | 19 | 32,135 | 19 | 26,555 | 17 | 18,154 |
| Parts of Motor-cars ... | Value | — | 12,514 | — | 13,797 | — | 5,841 | — | 8,809 | — | 3,726 |
| Wood, other timber ... | C. Tons | 84 | 7,668 | 132 | 5,424 | 260 | 6,955 | 64 | 2,900 | 121 | 3,958 |
| Wood manufacture ... | Value | — | 1,705 | — | — | — | 1,243 | — | 1,071 | — | 2,734 |
| All other articles ... | " | — | 35,743 | — | 47,185 | — | 29,829 | — | 35,215 | — | 22,995 |
| Total merchandise ... | Rs. | | 3,429,438 | | 2,803,733 | | 2,132,395 | | 2,074,655 | | 1,812,400 |
| Treasure, silver ... ... | " | | 1,658,441 | | 2,198,410 | | 1,341,733 | | 985,787 | | 853,024 |
| " currency notes | | | — | | 3,000 | | — | | — | | — |
| Total Treasure ... ... | Rs. | | 1,658,441 | | 2,201,410 | | 1,341,733 | | 985,787 | | 853,024 |
| GRAND TOTAL ... | Rs. | | 5,087,879 | | 5,005,143 | | 3,474,128 | | 3,060,442 | | 2,665,424 |

**Distribution of Trade.**

IMPORTS.

439 *British Empire.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Aden ... ... ... ... | Bulk of imports. |
| Berbera ... ... ... | 30,000 goats and sheep. |
| East African Coast ... ... | Building poles, simsim, jowari. |
| Zanzibar ... ... ... | Building poles, simsim, jowari. |
| Karachi ... ... ... | Flour. |
| Bombay ... ... ... | Rice. |
| Mahri Coast ... ... ... | *Wazif, sermai* 10,000 to 15,000 *per annum.* |

*Persian Gulf.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Basra ... ... ... .. | Dates, jowari. |
| Oman ... ... ... ... | Dates. |

EXPORTS.

*British Empire.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Aden ... ... ... ... | Tobacco, 98 per cent., honey, fish products (a little). |
| Zanzibar ... ... ... | Fish products, *lakhm.* |
| East Africa ... ... ... | *Safif.* |
| Mauritius ... ... ... | *Safif* (little). |
| India ... ... ... ... | *Safif.* |
| Colombo ... ... ... | *Hanit* (very little now), *safif.* |
| Bombay ... ... ... | Honey, fish products. |

*Foreign countries.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Java ... ... ... ... | Greatest part of honey crop. |
| Red Sea Ports ... ... | Tobacco, 2 per cent. |
| China ... ... ... ... | Shark fins. |

## CHAPTER X.

### THE INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

442 In most of the western states of the Protectorate the ruling family is originally of foreign extraction. The 'Abdali Sultan, the Haushabi Sultan, the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, the 'Amir of Dhāla, all belong to dynasties founded by men who were originally Governors on behalf of the Imam of San'ā and who succeeded in throwing off their allegiance and establishing their independence. The 'Alawi Sheikh, too, is said to be descended from a Governor of the Imam, subordinate to the ancestor of the Haushabi. The Fadhli dynasty is said to be about three hundred years old and Turkish in origin. The Wāhidi Sultan is, according to local account, descended from a member of the Qureish who settled in the country, and the 'Irqa Sheikh is descended from a holy man who settled at 'Irqa and became "canonized" after his death.

None of these foreign dynasties appears to be so old as the Yafa'i connection with the Hadhramaut which dates back some four hundred years. It has been seen that the Yafa'is were brought in by the Kathiris as mercenaries about that time ago, and gradually two Yafa'i dynasties arose which became predominant in the country. The passing of the Kasadis in modern times has been already noticed, and so has the establishment of the Qu'aitis as far and away the strongest element in the country. It has also been noticed that other foreigners who established complete or partial authority, such as the Zeidis and the 'Aulaqis, have also passed away. 642

Amongst the western states above the Yafa'is are not mentioned for they appear never to have been subjected to the Imam of San'ā. They are probably the oldest dynasty in the Protectorate and have jealously guarded their inheritance without foreign interference. Although they are exclusive people and dislike any foreign intrusion into their country, they themselves migrate readily, and apart from indulging in business undertakings many of them become mercenaries under foreign Governments, although they usually retain connection with their own country. They are extremely [181] independent individually, and perhaps from this fact arises the anarchical state of Upper Yafa' where every tribesman wishes to be a Sultan. In Lower Yafa', though, the family of the Afifi appear to have succeeded in establishing themselves as really paramount, perhaps on account of the almost superstitious veneration in which the Sultan is held by his tribesmen. But the general tendency of the Yafa'i in his own country is towards disintegration. In their own mountains they appear to be unable to submit themselves to authority. It seems strange at first sight, therefore, that when they go abroad they should be able to achieve success in their undertakings. In their own country they are miserably poor, and yet the country is in many respects more fertile than many parts of Arabia where the people are more prosperous. Not only do they achieve fortune abroad but they reach positions of authority, and, as has been seen, have established one of the strongest dynasties of the Protectorate over a comparatively vast area of country. Perhaps the reason for this success lies in the very fact of almost every Yafa'i considering himself subject to no man but anxious to assert his superiority over others.

Considering, as I have remarked, that many dynasties of the Protectorate are originally foreign, and were foreign at no great distance of time, it is strange that while they have become assimilated to a large extent with the people of their states, the Qu'aitis of the Hadhramaut have remained foreign. While the dynasty itself is modern, I think that the reason is, at any rate partly, again to be found in the character of the Yafa'i. While 'Abdalis, 'Amiris, Fadhlis, and all the rest have long ceased to look on the places of their origin as their homes, the Yafa'i of the Hadhramaut still looks to his mountains.

643 Although the Qu'aiti family no longer consider themselves, if they ever did, subjects of the Qu'aiti Sheikh[1] of the Mausatas, they are still proud of their Yafa'i connection, and they maintain their hold over the Hadhramaut to a large extent with the aid of a great number of Yafa'is in their service, who come and go regularly between the Hadhramaut and Upper and Lower Yafa'.

622 In the western part of the Protectorate when there is a vacancy in the chieftainship a new chief is elected by the *'aqils* of the tribe from among the members of the royal family. In some cases it is the practice that the chieftainship shall be held alternately by different branches of the family. The usual tendency is, perhaps, to elect one of the elder and stronger members of the family to be the new chief, but the election of a child and the appointment of a regent is by no means uncommon. In the Hadhramaut, however, in Qu'aiti territory, the position is different and the country is treated as the private estate of the ruling family.

643 By his will of 1872 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti, the founder of the Qu'aiti fortunes in the Hadhramaut, left his possessions in that country to his sons 'Abdulla and 'Awadh and Salih. Salih and 'Abdulla predeceased 'Awadh. Abdulla died in 1888 and the British then acknowledged the succession of 'Awadh bin 'Umar as the ruler of the Shihr and Mukalla states, but declined for the moment to go into the question of the future succession. In this succession three of the nephews of Sultan 'Awadh bin 'Umar were interested, Manasir and Hussein, sons of 'Abdulla, and Muhsin the son of Salih. Manasir resigned his claim to participate in the sovereignty, and the claim of Muhsin was disposed of by the British Government. By his will of 1898 Sultan 'Awadh excluded Hussein from the inheritance, and determined the reversion of his Hadhramaut possessions as follows: 1. His son Ghalib bin 'Awadh bin 'Umar, 2. His son 'Umar bin 'Awadh bin 'Umar, the late Sultan, 3. Salih bin Ghalib, son of No. 1, the present Sultan, and 4. The son of Umar bin 'Awadh bin 'Umar (No. 2), failing whom, Muhammad bin Ghalib, son of No. 1.

The will continues:—

> "If he (i.e., 'Umar bin Awadh, No. 2) has a young son, Muhammad bin Ghalib should act in his place, and thus the succession should be amongst the sons of Ghalib bin 'Awadh and 'Umar bin 'Awadh and their descendants from generation to generation.
>
> "Every ruler elected, if he resides at Shihr, should appoint his successor to officiate on his behalf at Mukalla, and if he resides at Mukalla he should appoint his successor to officiate at Shihr. If his successor be absent the heir of his successor

[1] The Qu'aiti Sheikh appears to sit as precariously on his throne as any Yafa'i. Last year the incumbent, Musa bin 'Abdulla, paid a visit to the Aden Residency. On his return to his country he did not give a correct return to his tribesmen of the presents he had received and was very nearly unseated.

should act, but if both the successor and his heir be absent they should appoint anyone, whom the ruler may approve, to officiate until their return. If the ruler be absent on a journey he should appoint his successor to administer the Government during his absence. If his successor be absent also he should appoint his successor's heir, but if he too be absent the ruler may appoint anyone he may approve to officiate until his return. 643

"So long as Ghalib bin 'Awadh is the ruler and administrator, his successor, 'Umar bin 'Awadh, should be appointed the Chief Official, under the command of the ruler, to take charge of the goods, properties, products, revenues of the country, etc., to superintend the credits, and safeguard and receive the dues from whatsoever place or places it may be, or from whomsoever it may be. If 'Umar bin 'Awadh succeeds Ghalib, his successor, Salih bin Ghalib bin 'Awadh, should be appointed the Chief Official under his command. Thus the successor of every ruler should be appointed the Chief Official, as above defined.

"The Chief Official may be allowed to appoint whomsoever he desires to receive the revenue, safeguard the goods and products, demand and receive from any person or persons what is due to the ruler, and take action, either personally or through his attorney, for the recovery of debts due to the ruler. If the successor be absent in India, his heir should officiate in Arabia, administering, receiving dues, and appointing attorneys for the recovery of debts due to the ruler. But if the successor be in Arabia his heir should act in his place in India, administering, receiving dues, appointing attorneys for the recovery of debts due to the ruler, and negotiating settlements. If both (the successor and his heir) be in the same place they should assist each other in the administration and recovery of dues, but either should be sufficient to act if one be absent. The successor should be under the orders of the ruler, and the heir to the successor should be under the orders of the successor.

"In the cities of Shibam, Haura, Hajarein, and all the cities that are within the district of Hadhramaut, the ruler may appoint whomsoever he approves, either one or more, as representatives in each of these places, to administer the Government on his behalf and to be under his command. The representative should rule over his subjects with justice, hear complaints, judge wisely, prohibit wicked deeds, dispense the law that Almighty God has sent to His Prophet, may His mercy and peace be on him, endeavouring to improve the affairs of the country and people, and have compassion and pity on those, such as the weak and poor, over whom God has made him superior. He must give an account to the ruler of the revenue, expenditure, taxes, productions, and all which the ruler has appointed him to administer.

643 "If the representative disobeys the ruler, or shows any opposition, or does not maintain justice and oppresses the people, or gives no account of his administration, the ruler may dismiss him and appoint another in his place. If the ruler wishes to give him another appointment and does not desire that he should act as a representative he may be discharged and another appointed in his stead. The ruler is at liberty to appoint or dismiss whom he likes from the cities.

"The ruler must provide his successors, their sons and relatives, with an adequate allowance of food, clothing, riding animals, etc., and he must provide a settled allowance of food, clothing, etc., on the sons of the sons of his brother 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti, and on his descendants from generation to generation; also on the sons of the sons of Ghalib and descendants from generation to generation. He must also provide for those living in the ports of Shihr and Mukalla and their dependencies, or in the Hadhramaut, Shibam, and Haura, and for their descendants from generation to generation, and consider them as his sons.

"Every ruler who reigns over the ports of Shihr or Mukalla and their dependencies, as well as Shibam, Hadhramaut, etc., should provide such an allowance as is possible to all those related to our late father, 'Umar bin 'Awadh, and the sons of their sons who reside at Shihr or Mukalla and their dependencies, Hadhramaut, or Shibam, provided they are under his command, and obey, comply, and submit to him and are his supporters and assistants.

"If the ruler becomes insane, or be a minor his successor should act on his behalf until his recovery or until he is of age. This is all that should be followed."

[643] It does not appear that British approval was given to this will[1], nor indeed is it clear that it was required, though the Government had apparently already intervened in questions of the succession. It will be seen that the will in effect laid down a constitution for the Qu'aiti state, though it is not in practice being followed at the present day, and that the ordinary methods of election of a Sultan do not apply.

643 171 'Umar bin 'Awadh could never have founded the present Qu'aiti dynasty if he had remained in the Hadhramaut. The fortunes of that dynasty were laid in India, and ever since 'Umar took service under the Nizam of Hyderabad and made his name and fortune in that service, the connection with Hyderabad has been maintained. His descendants are hereditary Jemadars in the Nizam's forces, but the connection with India became more than one of service in a foreign army for several members of the family married Indian ladies, so that there is now much Indian blood in the family. Apart from the fact that they consider their Hadhramaut possessions as a private estate, they have other private estates which in his will

1 [i.e., of 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti, founder of the Qu'aiti dynasty, see pp. 80-82, category 643 -- Analyst]

Sultan 'Awadh dealt with on the same footing as those of the Hadhramaut. 643 171

Although the Indian connection is not a popular one with the indigenous inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, the dominant Yafa'i section of the population finds no objection to it, and it has in fact been the means of the introduction of a more advanced system of Government than any to be found elsewhere in the Protectorate, with the possible exception of Lahej where the enlightened rule of the 'Abdali dynasty again owes much to external influence, namely, to its close proximity to Aden. It has already been sufficiently indicated that Sultan 'Umar and his brother have been largely responsible for many of these improvements. After travelling in the western part of the Protectorate the contrast between the conditions in the Lower Yemen and those in the Hadhramaut are indeed remarkable. I do not think that anywhere else in the Protectorate the power of one authority is to be found extended over such a large area of country. There is a more than embryonic 642 show of good order and organized Government in Qu'aiti territory 185 on the coast, in the Mukalla and Shihr provinces, and up through the Du'an province to the Shibam province. This much I have seen with my own eyes and have observed the close contact between Provincial and Central Governments. From all accounts the condition is the same in the Hajr province. By his system of political arrangements with the tribes in and around Qu'aiti territory the Sultan has done much to make travel secure and easy. He has an army and police force in which discipline and administration are not lacking.

Apart from this comparatively satisfactory policing of the country, there is a growing tendency to promote educational and other social services in the Qu'aiti dominions, especially in Mukalla and Shihr, and there is in those parts a very colourable imitation of the machinery of western Government.

Although the rule over the Hadhramaut has thus been influenced 642 to a large extent by Indian ideas, and although excessive Indianisation is unpopular with the pure Hadhramaut elements, nevertheless 177 the administration escapes a great deal of unpopularity by its 186 employment of local Arabs and slaves throughout the interior of 643 the country. Even in the Kathiri camp I found that Sultan 'Umar was personally popular, and during his tour through the country he was very well received.

The interior of the Qu'aiti territory is now fast catching up with the coast in its connection with the outside world. Recent [607] years have seen far more visitors enter the interior then ever before and they are universally well received. In addition there are connections in the Shibam province with the East Indies, and in the Du'an province with Egypt, Sudan, and Abyssinia. Everywhere there are connections with East Africa, and these are extensive among the Tamimis where I found some indication of a desire for settled administration.

185 In all this evident progress which is being made one is conscious of a certain amount of wasted energy. There is certainly some indication of the will to give the people of the country those amenities and services which we consider the right of all people, but the achievement falls considerably short of what it should be, not because the will to achieve is not there, but because of lack of knowledge. It is obvious that education is eagerly desired, such facilities as exist are more than taken advantage of, but the few and crowded schools, although they attempt to model their system on that of Aden, are lacking in many things that could be provided without much extra expenditure. Their shoddiness, no less than the fact that the instruction, despite the enthusiasm of the staffs, lacks enlightenment, seems to me to be due to the want of a guiding hand. In the same way though the necessity of a good water-supply is realized the lack of protection to the water-supply argues only an absence of expert advice. These are but samples of the need for help which one can see in every aspect of the Mukalla administration.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE KATHĪRI STATE.

642 The condition of that part of the Hadhramaut remaining under Kathīri influence is in marked contrast to the large extent of survey under Qu'aiti rule or influence. We have to begin our survey of the situation with an entirely different set of premises. It will already have been sufficiently seen that the Kathīris are probably indigenous to the Hadhramaut, or at any rate so long settled there as to have become in every sense of the word sons of the land in which they live. Their dynasty is therefore a native one. At one time they were far and away the predominant people of the whole country and their influence extended beyond its bounds. Gradually, owing to their introduction of mercenaries, it has become less and less, though the present landlocked position of the Sultanate dates from only recent times.

643 Among the Kathīris we find the usual tribal system of election of a Sultan from the members of a family which has gradually become the predominant one of the whole Confederation. The way in which the tribes of the Shenafir Confederation are related to each other and descended from a common ancestor is shown in an appendix.

642 643 A Sultan who is head of his tribe but not its ruler is unfortunately only too common an occurrence in Arabia, and the position of the Kathīri Sultan is no anomaly. With the gradual curtailment of Kathīri power, differences between the various tribes and clans of the Confederation have tended to become more acute, and nowadays the actual rule of the Āl 'Abdulla is, as will be seen, confined to a couple of towns and a few villages. But this does not

mean that his position *vis à vis* the Confederation is wholly negli- 643
gible. The influence that an individual ruler exerts over a con-
federation of tribesmen depends to a large extent on the personality 642
of the individual and I found plenty of evidence that Sultan 'Ali
bin Mansur is universally respected, admired, and held in affection
amongst the Shenafir tribesmen. Even though his word is not
universally law his services are much sought in mediation between
different factions, and there is no lack of factions in the Confedera-
tion. Along the length of the valley from the east of Shibam [484]
to the east of Tarim, which is considered Kathîri, village after
village is a small city-state on its own. It is difficult to pass from
one to another, even now that the motor-car has come, without the
traditional *siyar* or escort.

Typical of the situation has been the state of war that has existed 578
for some time between the Āl 'Umar and Āl 'Āmr clans. They 669
have centred round the respectably-sized town of Al Ghurfa between
Shibam and Seiyun. Five or six years ago some of the tribesmen
of the Āl 'Umar started interfering with the inhabitants of Al
Ghurfa. Bin 'Abdat, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Āmr, protested to Salim
bin Ja'fer, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Umar, and proposed that they should
unite to make peace in Al Ghurfa. Hitherto disputes in the town [692]
were commonly referred to the settlement of one Sheikh Bā Abūd,
but this arrangement appears to have broken down. Bin 'Abdat
informed Bin Ja'fer that if he would not help him, he (Bin 'Abdat)
would establish control in the town himself. As Bin Ja'fer did not
give him support he took action himself and established order.
The new state of affairs was not popular, and probably resulted in
some further disorder which had its repercussions beyond local
limits. At this juncture the Qu'aiti *wazir* came to Shibam and
brought pressure on Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur to unite with him and
Salim bin Ja'fer in compelling Bin 'Abdat to vacate Al Ghurfa, and
retire to his original place outside. Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur marched
against Bin 'Abdat with one gun and some troops; Seiyid Hussein,
the Qu'aiti *wazir*, also brought a gun and some troops from Shibam,
Salim bin Ja'fer brought his own men, and the three forces col-
lected at Al Ghiyel. The town of Al Ghurfa was bombarded, and,
as it was described to me, " they had a good battle but without
success ".

Seiyid Hussein, the *wazir*, retired after having successfully com- 669
plicated the issue, and Sultan 'Ali immediately followed suit, leaving 725
Bin 'Abdat and Bin Ja'fer to fight it out together. Both sides
entrenched themselves. The elaborate system of fortifications and
communication trenches, still visible at Al Ghurfa, reminded me
strongly of France. They extend over nearly a mile, and in this
small patch of the valley both sides lived an uncomfortable life
for several years. Any cultivation that was done was done [722]
under difficulties, and the fields could only be approached
through trenches. Salim bin Ja'fer enlivened the proceedings by 715
importing a sort of armoured car from Java. This is now derelict

715 and is offered for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet, presumably, other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

[726] The situation sounds almost incredible, but the war continued for
728 several years. At last Sultan 'Ali supported by the Al Kaf Seiyids,
669 the strongest influence for peace in Kathīri territory, thought matters had gone far enough, and invited the disputants to Seiyun to conclude a peace. The terms suggested were agreed to on all points except for one requiring Bin 'Abdat to demolish two small forts. The matter appeared to have reached a deadlock when a Seiyid of Aden, of Hadhramaut origin, Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman al Jifri, proceeded to the Hadhramaut and offered his services in the settlement of the trouble. He is a friend of Bin 'Abdat's, and Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman and Bubekr al Kaf sent him to Bin 'Abdat to advise him not to hold out on account of the two small forts. Matters were probably ripe for a settlement as everybody was tired of hostilities, but Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman very creditably brought the feud to a satisfactory conclusion. What was even more satisfactory was that a gathering of more than a hundred representatives of all sections of the Shenafir was held at Seiyun, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman succeeded in assisting Sultan 'Ali, backed by the Al Kaf Seiyids, to negotiate a truce between all the Shenafir tribes. This agreement, which takes effect from the 1st of Sha'bān 1353 (5th November 1934) provides for a truce of two years and two months in all matters relating to blood feuds between the various tribes, and gives also a guarantee of five years security for travellers on the routes.

643 It may thus be that the foundations have now been laid for an
185 era of peace in Kathīri land, and the time seems to be propitious
565 for the establishment of a greater solidarity in Kathīri rule. There are certainly strong elements in favour of peace. Foremost of all is Sultan 'Ali himself. He is a man of culture and very charming personality with that kind of magnetism which inspires instinctive respect and affection. I do not think anybody who has met him can fail to receive the impression that he is a good man in the best sense of the word, nor can anyone who has discussed the situation with him fail to be impressed with the earnestness of his desire for peace. In this desire he is warmly and ably supported by many of the leading families, of whom the most important are the Al Kaf and Saqqaf Seiyids. Although they are Seiyids the measures of reform which these families support are many of them in flagrant opposition to the old conservative policy of the Seiyids, which for long maintained that body as the most powerful and the most desperately retrogressive party in the Hadhramaut. These families have shown that they can still play a very important part in the destinies of the country, and have in fact earned the right to speak in common voice with the Sultan in pressing reforms. It may also be observed that they are the heaviest, as well as the most willing,
[651] taxpayers in the country. Their annual contributions on Government and charitable undertakings amount to at least $70,000 a year, without considering special expenditure.

year, without considering special expenditure. It is fortunate that 000
these families give attention to the affairs of Government and have 185
been able to help to place the administration of the town of Tarim, 565
for example, on a business footing. The families include men of considerable wealth who have made fortunes in Singapore where they own a lot of property acquired and developed in two generations. The Al Kaf family, who, by the way, are mostly British subjects, pay (I give the figure from memory) 120,000 Straits dollars a year in taxation in Singapore, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman, the head of the family, is a Justice of the Peace.

But it is not only among the wealthiest members of the community that there are signs of a growing desire for peace and progress. I have recorded elsewhere that, as well as in Qu'aiti territory, there are tribesmen of the Shenafir who have expressed a desire for settled administration and stated their willingness to pay taxes. As a whole the Kathīri people are the most wealthy of the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut. Their wealth is very largely derived from the East Indies, and principally from the Dutch colonies; but, as will be seen in the part of this report dealing with emigration, the Hadhrami wherever he settles is always a Hadhrami, and he looks on his beloved valley as a home to which he wishes to return. Abroad under a British or Dutch aegis he acquires a taste for peace and security. The money he makes he sends home, and, as stated elsewhere, the amount remitted from the East Indies is about seven lakhs of rupees a month. Once he has acquired property he ceases to be a Beduin with nothing to lose and becomes a landed proprietor with a large and expensive residence which he does not wish to see destroyed. 185 565 177 [186]

I have said that the Qu'aiti need guidance in their very creditable schemes of progress, the Kathīri want it in order to achieve peace and security. 186

## CHAPTER XII.

### QU'AITI-KATHĪRI RELATIONS.

Between Qu'aiti and Kathīri there is, unhappily, profound mistrust. This, however, can be well understood when the history of the country is understood, and when it is remembered that old hates in the East generally remain fresh long after the events which gave rise to them have passed. The Kathīri, not unnaturally, has cherished a grudge against the people who deprived him of what was once his country. The Qu'aiti retains a fear that he may yet lose what he has so hardly won. He realizes no doubt that except for British backing, which has sometimes been erratic in its application, it might well be possible for the Kathīris, original owners of the country, to call to their aid the other indigenous people of the Hadhramaut, including their old allies, and drive out the invader. The Qu'aiti also cherishes, perhaps, the hate that one party often bears towards the party it has wronged. 578 182

578 These sentiments I believe to be at the back of the unsatisfactory
182 state of affairs between the two parties. They became accentuated by the Kathīris losing a seaport. Once they became land-locked, they felt themselves even more at the mercy of those who control the ways in and out of the country. The Qu'aitis, on their side, felt that with the seaports they could prevent the Kathīris from again becoming a menace. The inevitable result of this policy on the part of the Qu'aitis was intensified dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of the Kathīris.

185 Some 20 or 25 years ago they came to the conclusion that
661 the state of affairs could no longer be borne. It was resulting in a neglected condition of the country and increased anarchy in the
648 interior. All the revenue went into the pockets of the authority holding the seaports, and nothing was done in the way of improvements to the roads or to the development of the country. At this time there was little or no intercourse between the British and the Kathīri. The Qu'aiti had long been under British protection and had proved a loyal and faithful friend. Not unnaturally he was given support and in the usual way dealings with a tribe not in treaty relations were eschewed. Nevertheless the Kathīri would have preferred British assistance. As it was not forthcoming it is said that at different times he made advances to other powers, and the Turks, Dutch, Italians and French have been mentioned to me.

648 In due course we began to take an interest in the matter, and finally the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 was negotiated with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I do not propose to comment on this treaty (which is reproduced for convenience sake in an appendix) except to say that it seems to me admirable in its sentiments, particularly in its requiring the parties to co-operate in measures for the common benefit of the Hadhramaut. As far as the British Government was concerned its effect was to bring the Kathīris under British protection through the medium of the Protectorate treaty with the Qu'aitis. It also provides for the settlement of disputes between the two parties by the British. If the treaty could have been fulfilled in letter and spirit, all would have been well.

Apart from the fact that the Qu'aiti had been a loyal friend to the British, and that it would on that ground have been a mistake to upset his paramount authority in the Hadhramaut, any arrangement which set up two independent authorities in the Hadhramaut would be a mistake. The evil consequences of splitting up a country by means of separate treaties sought or granted on insufficient information are well exemplified in the case of Upper Yafa'. The Hadhramaut is economically and geographically a single unit, and its prosperity depends on the fullest co-operation between the party that controls the ports and the party that is paramount in the
000 interior. It has often been said that co-operation of this sort is not in the Arab genius, but economic forces are often more potent

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



than purely ethnographical considerations, and I certainly believe that with some assistance the present trend of progress in Qu'aiti territory and desire for peace and development in Kathīri territory could be co-ordinated to a common end.

So much for the treaty.* Unfortunately the spirit of it has not as yet been carried into effect. Mistrust still reigns supreme. This mistrust insists on the fulfilment of such a condition as correspondence by the Kathīris with the British being conducted through Qu'aiti channels. If the mistrust did not exist, this provision would be a natural one tending to the facility of the conduct of public business. On the other hand, such provisions as that requiring co-operation remains a dead letter, and any attempts to secure progress by the Kathīris seem doomed to obstruction by the Qu'aitis.

In October 1927, and May 1928, conferences were held at Singapore in which measures were discussed which might lead to the improvement of the two states, and proposals were even brought forward for the institution of an assembly composed of representatives of both states to " scrutinize the budget ", and concern itself with the interstate co-ordination of certain departmental activities. These conferences were of course not likely to have any far-reaching result, but they were interesting as showing the ideas that were being imbibed by Kathīri emigrants in the advanced environment of the Straits Settlements. Such democratic concepts, however, were not likely to find favour at the present stage of development of thought in the Hadhramaut.

In 1929 the Kathīri Sultan drew attention to the lack of co-operation and the difficulty of introducing schemes of reform, and he proposed that a conference should be assembled to discuss the matter. The Qu'aiti to whom the matter was referred expressed his readiness to hold such a conference, but although the idea was encouraged it subsequently came to nothing and was eventually postponed *sine die*.

Shortly before my visit to the Hadhramaut Sultan 'Umar made his state tour of his domains and of Kathīri territory. He was received everywhere wth acclamation and appears to have played the role of beneficent prince. He was presented with a petition asking for reforms. Certain abuses were mentioned in the petition, and, in particular, attention was called to the fact that although taxes were heavy they were not applied to the benefit of the subjects. There were also complaints of insecurity and the unrestricted traffic in arms. The petition recited the conclusion of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 and several others since concluded by Qu'aitis and Kathīris. The part of the petition dealing with these further documents is as follows :—

" The next treaty between both Governments was concluded on 10th Shawāl 1336 (1918). There followed also a third pact, which was concluded on 30th Dhu'l Qada 1336, between the Qu'aiti Government on the one part and the Āl Tamim on the

* [Qu'aiti – Kathiri agreement of 1918 – Analyst]

664 other concerning the protection of goods belonging to the sub-
185 jects. There is also a fourth pact wherein Your Highness undertook to take action against any party that should transgress against another party, to punish the offenders, restore looted property, and check the transgressors, according to this treaty, until such time as God wills. This treaty is dated 13th Jumād ath Thani 1342 (1923). It also embodies other conditions which have not been carried into effect.

"A fifth treaty was likewise concluded between Seiyid Hussein bin Hāmid al Mihdhār, representative of the Qu'aiti Government, on the one part, and the Sultan of the Āl Abdulla on the other, on 25th Ramadhan 1344 (1925). Thereafter an agreement was concluded between both the Governments, the Qu'aiti and the Āl 'Abdulla, on the one part, and the Āl 'Awāmir on the other. This pact is dated 12th Rajab 1345 (1926), and in it the Āl 'Awāmir undertook not to interfere with travellers belonging to either Government, or with other travellers, within their respective boundaries, even though they might happen to be in a state of war. This is the sixth pact.

"There is also a seventh treaty between Sultan Salih bin Ghalib bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti on the one part, and the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla on the other. The first Article provides that: 'Both Governments should co-operate to bring about a settlement, and maintain peace and security, and set at rest all agitations and disturbances by any means which will lead to conciliation. In the event of the said measures not being successful they should use all possible power to enforce the same.' In the fourth Article it is laid down that 'Both Governments shall endeavour to take the necessary measures for the security of the routes, and the protection of the poor and others from the effect of the strife and fighting which invariably occur between the tribesmen.'"

The petition bore sixty signatures of the leading inhabitants of the Kathīri part of the valley, and purported to speak on behalf of the "Hadhrami nation". It was addressed to the Qu'aiti and Kathīri Sultans. I do not think that the petition was intended to be on behalf of the inhabitants of the Qu'aiti domain but it was rather directed against the working of Qu'aiti policy *vis à vis* the Kathīri. It was rejected by Sultan 'Umar on the ground that the petitioners were not representative, but it was supported by the Kathīri Sultan.

651 As regards taxation, the position is that goods entering the country
653 are taxed at Mukalla. If they are intended for the Kathīri part of the valley they are often taken by sea to Shihr where they are taxed again. None of this money is used in maintaining security on the road from Shihr to Tarim, and none of it is used to improve communications for the people by whom it is paid. The Al Kaf Seiyids have spent $180,000 in attempting to build a Tarim-Shihr

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



car road. The really difficult part of the construction has been completed, from Tarim onwards towards Gheil. Much of the money was paid out to the Beduins, and in particular the Hamumis agreed that the road should be safe. At the request of the Qu'aiti the route of the road was changed as he was afraid that the Hamumis would have increased facilities for movement and raiding. Large sums of money were then disbursed on the Ma'di tribes through whose territory the Qu'aiti asked that the road should go. There is no doubt that the road could have been successfully completed, and the Al Kaf Seiyids were, and still are, willing to bear the whole cost. Sufficient support, however, was not received from the Qu'aitis and the work was stopped by Sultan 'Umar.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

Mukalla is the seat of Government of the Qu'aiti state. His Highness the Sultan, who is an absolute monarch in so far as the internal affairs of his state are concerned, has his principal palace there. The old palace of the Kasadis near the Customs in the centre of the old part of the town has now been turned into Government offices where the *Wazir* and other officials are in daily attendance.

The *Wazir* has a general superintendence over all departments of Government and presides over the *Wazir's* Court (*Hakm ad Dola.*) He is also the Governor of the Mukalla Province. The Treasurer superintends the schools, the dispensary, the passport work, and registration of sales and transfers of land. He sees to all disbursements on behalf of the state and collects certain of the internal revenue. The Mukalla Customs, which were formerly farmed, as the Shihr and other customs still are, is a Government department with a paid staff. The Chief of Customs also superintends the work of the port, though there is a special shipping clerk who prepares shipping papers for the *Wazir's* signature, and there are the usual manifest clerks employed by the Customs. The Commander of the Forces, who is more of a Minister for War, also controls the prison. The uniformed police are under the command of a Shaush, and the slave police are under a slave who is also the police magistrate. The medical officer has charge of the dispensary and in addition performs port health work. He is assisted by a qualified compounder who also has certain municipal duties.

As examples of the monthly salaries paid to officials of the Qu'aiti state, the following may be cited: *Wazir*, $1,000; Chief of Customs, Rs.225; Doctor, Rs.200; Treasurer, Rs.100; Commander of the Forces, Rs.100; English Master, Rs.80; State Photographer, Rs.60. Most of the officials are given quarters.

There was at one time a species of State Council in Mukalla, but it was dissolved by the present *Wazir* and a Council of Qadhis instituted instead. The function of this Council is not immediately apparent. At the time of my visit there was some talk

645 of a Municipal Council composed of merchants and notabilities being formed in Mukalla, but it did not seem likely that it would eventuate.

635 The Sultanate is divided into five *liwas* or provinces. Shihr, the oldest, Mukalla, Du'an, Hajr, and Shibam. Each of these provinces is ruled on behalf of the Sultan by a salaried Governor or *Muqaddam*, who has at least one paid clerk. He has direct control over the Qu'aiti towns in his province, and in important ones which are not autonomous there is a sub-Governor responsible to the Governor of the province. Subject to the general orders of His Highness the *Muqaddam* has power to settle any case in the province, but there is an appeal to the *Wazir* and Governor of Mukalla. From the judgments and decisions of the *Wazir* appeal lies to His Highness.

631 There are a number of autonomous towns throughout the Hadhra-
632 maut governed by particular tribes or families, and the Central Government does not interfere in their internal affairs. Relations
635 with the tribes over the country are conducted principally through
642 the Governors on whose towns they economically depend. The Sultan has the two following types of agreements with the various tribes: A. Engagements containing an undertaking to respond to the call of the Sultan in any matter and at any time, and B. Engagements of *bon voisinage* and friendship containing an undertaking to co-operate in matters of mutual interest. These agreements are all written.

The following tribes have A. agreements: Tamimi, Manahil, Ath Tha'yani, Awābitha, Seibani, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadīyin, Sumūh, Al Bab Sura, Hālka, Nūwah, Mahfudh, Makhashin, the Hadhrami Yafa'is, Hāmdi, Beni Daghār, and Buheish.

The following tribes have B. agreements: Hamumi, Qarzi, Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Ma'āra, Jōhi, 'Awāmir, Ash Shenafir al Kathīr, Mahra, Nahd Rodhān, Sei'ar, Ad Deiyin, Ja'da, Baheith, Namāra Beni Hilāl, 'Awāleq, Hājib Beni Sa'd, Bahanaf, Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Senad al Murqashi, Ba Habāb, Meseiliyin, 'Asārina, Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Beni 'Utheiman, Bā Babekr and Āl Zaghīb, tribesmen of Sadf, Al 'Amūdi, Ash Shof, Beduins of Shāūla, Āl Beihan al 'Awāmir, Al Khashia al Murqashi, Deiyeb, Qumeish, and Bā Bekr.

661 When there is any doubt as to the loyalty of a particular tribe,
431 hostages have to be provided who are kept in Mukalla prison, at Du'an, and sometimes at Shihr. Hostages may be changed every
642 month. Presents are given and subsidies paid to some of the tribes, and on the visits of tribal *'Aqils* to provincial headquarters they are given presents, and in some cases entertained.

642 The Qu'aiti administration makes no attempt to interfere with
632 tribal usages, but tribal usage does not run in the Qu'aiti towns and within the area round them demarcated by white pillars.

and within the area round them demarcated by white pillars. Any murder or loot in these areas is regarded as an offence against Government. Murderers of Beduins, subjects, soldiers, or slaves, are liable to death in these areas, and apart from restoration of loot, thieves are liable to imprisonment, deportation, or amputation of the hand.[1] If an individual contracts debts with any of the subjects of Government and absconds, the Government arrests any available member of his tribe and forces him to pay the debt. Routes between Qu'aiti towns are also sacrosanct and carriers may not be made the targets of blood feuds on them. The Qu'aiti is enabled to enforce these measures by his control of the ports and important markets.

## Government Finance.

The financial year coincides with the Muhammadan year, i.e., it begins with the 1st Muharram and ends with the 29th Dhu'l Hijja. The year 1353 began on the 16th April 1934, and this report must be taken to cover the period up to the 29th Dhu'l Hijja 1352, i.e., 15th April 1934.

### Revenue and Expenditure.

The annual Qu'aiti revenue at present is stated in the annual Aden Administration Report to be Rs.12,50,000 but it appears to me that seven lakhs is a more probable if rather conservative figure. It is based on figures given for Mukalla, Gheil ba Wazir and Shihr (Rs.6,30,000), and on other figures given for the Du'an province and for Shibam. I have no figures for the Hajr province which includes the rich Meifa lands. The excess of revenue over expenditure is said to be about one third.

The expenditure on all public services, except His Highness the Sultan, is said to be Rs.3,00,000 *per annum* in Mukalla and Shihr. His late Highness drew officially Rs.72,000 *per annum* but, I was told, " no one knows what he really spends ". The following are some of the principal items of expenditure :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Defence. Mukalla only, soldiers and slaves. | Rs.2,04,000 *per annum*. The total is perhaps Rs.2,25,000. |
| Tribal subsidies ... ... | Rs.12,000 *per annum* (formerly Rs.36,000 to 48,000 *per annum*). |
| Education ... ... ... | Rs.6,000. |
| Medical and Public Health ... | Rs.5,500. |
| Customs ... ... ... | Rs.10,000. |
| Du'an province ... ... | $21,000. |
| Shibam ... ... ... ... | more than $12,000. |

[1] I am told that, as in certain other parts of the Protectorate, this Qu'anic penalty is no longer enforced.



[in the Qu'aiti free towns -- Analyst]

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## Description of the main heads of Taxation and their yield.

### *Customs.*

*Export duties* :—

Honey.—Rs. 12,000 *per annum.*

Fish products (exports and imports).—Rs. 4,000 to Rs.5,000 *per annum.*

*Tobacco Excise.*—Until a year or two ago the collection of excise at Gheil ba Wazir was farmed for $85,000, the equivalent to Rs.1,70,000. The lessee became bankrupt and present revenue is equivalent to Rs.80,000.

*Rent of tobacco lands.*—Two or three years ago Rs.60,000, present yield Rs.40,000.

*Imported tobacco monopoly.*—Rs. 1,200 *per annum.*

*Internal transit dues on loaded camels,* Mukalla and Shihr.—Rs.73,000 to Rs.75,000 *per annum.*

*Internal transit dues on loaded camels,* Shibam (farmed) $12,000.

*Revenues of Du'an province.*—$15,000.

*Total Receipts.*

| *Mukalla.* | | *Shihr*[2]. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1348 ... ... ... | Rs. 3,50,000[1] | 1348 ... ... ... | Rs. 82,000 |
| 1349 ... ... ... | „ 2,87,000 | 1349 ... ... ... | „ 82,000 |
| 1350 ... ... ... | „ 2,80,000 | 1350 ... ... ... | „ 82,000 |
| 1351 ... ... ... | „ 2,75,000 | 1351 ... ... ... | „ 82,000 |
| 1352 ... ... ... | „ 2,65,000 | 1352 ... ... ... | „ 82,000 |

*Note*—[1]. Up to 1348 inclusive the Mukalla Customs were farmed at a yearly rental of Rs. 3,50,000 of which Rs. 50,000 was paid in advance and the rest in twelve equal monthly instalments.

[2]. The Customs at Shihr are farmed. As from 1st Muharram 1353 the rental has been increased to Rs. 11,000 *per mensem* as it was realised that the lessee was making a large profit.

### *Customs Tariff.*

The following shows the rates of duty on the principal imports and exports at Mukalla on the 29th Dhu'l Hijja 1352 :—

*Imports.*

Foodstuffs.—8 per cent. *ad valorem.*

Other articles.—5 per cent. *ad valorem.*

The following tariff was brought into force on the 1st Muharram 1353 :

*Imports.*

Foodstuffs, piece-goods, dates, firewood, building wood, passengers' new goods, etc. General rate of 8 per cent. *ad valorem.*

Sugar in addition to *ad valorem* duty of 8 per cent. : Re.1 per cwt. or Rs. 2 per bag.

Ghee : Rs.2 per kerosene tin of 4-gallon capacity. 651

Gingli, ground nut and other oils : Re.1 per kerosene tin of 4 gallon capacity. 491

Kerosene and petrol : Re.1 per case.

Qurans and religious works : free.

Fish products :

*Lakhm* (dried shark) : 8 per cent. *ad valorem*.

*Wazif* (dried fish for manure and cattle food) from beyond Qu'aiti dominions (i.e., Mahri coast) : 20 per cent. *ad valorem*.

*Sermai* (split and salted fish) : 10 per cent. *ad valorem*.

At Shihr there are no specific duties but a uniform *ad valorem* rate of 8 per cent.

*Exports.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Honey in comb ... ... | Annas 4 per *Qasa* of about 4 lb.<br>Annas 8 per *Qasa* of about 7 lb. |
| Honey, liquid ... ... ... | Rs.8 per case of two tins of about 60 lb. weight (*Sabib*). |
| Fish products : | |
| *Sifa* (Fish oil) ... ... | Annas 4 per four-gallon tin. |
| *Safif* (dried *tarnak* and *tamad* fish). | Annas 8 per cwt. or Re.1 per case of about 2 cwt. |
| *Rish* (shark fins) ... ... | Annas 4 per *frasila* of 20 lb. |
| Lime ... ... ... ... | Annas 8-12 per bag of three *frasilas*. |

*Excise Duties.*

Hamumi tobacco (Gheil ba Wazir) : Rs. 17 per *bahar* of 300 English pounds.

Hamumi tobacco (other places) : duty farmed.

*Wharfage Duties.*

On every package imported or exported at Mukalla : Anna 1.

*Registration Duties.*

On every deed of sale of house property in Mukalla : 6 per cent. of price. 651

*Municipal Dues.*

*Mukalla.*

| | |
|---|---|
| On each shop in bazaar streets, Scavenging tax ... ... ... | As.8 *per mensem*. |
| On each stall in vegetable market | Rs.5 *per mensem*. |

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*Internal transit dues.*

651 *Mukalla and Shihr.*

486 On every loaded camel leaving ... ... ... Re.1.

On every camel man[1] ... ... ... ... As.2.

*Shibam.*

On every *Bahar* brought in from Qu'aiti ports or territory ... ... ... ... ... ... $ ½.

On every *Bahar* from other places in Aden Protectorate or from Yemen ... ... ... $1¼.

*Passport Fees (compulsory).*

On every passport ... ... ... ... ... Rs.2

Photograph by state photographer ... ... Rs.3

## Defence.

### Regular Army.

704 The strength of the regular army is as follows: one Subedar, who apparently knows no drill and only appears in uniform on very special occasions; four Jemadars, of whom two are ex-Yemen Infantry officers, and two are Indians, one of them being a Pathan in command of the artillery; 350 to 400 Yafa'is, and 250 slaves.

The non-commissioned ranks are, Havildar, Naik and Lais Naik. The Yafa'is receive nine dollars a month, and the slaves one to three dollars as pocket-money, but they are much better off than the Yafa'is for they receive regular rations for themselves and every member of their families. They are provided with wives, and given milk, which is scarce, for their wives and children. The 702 cadet corps, already referred to, ensures a constant supply of disciplined recruits.

713 The force is armed with every sort of rifle, but principally Martini Henrys. They are said to keep them perfectly clean inside and out. There is a "range" behind the town. The regulars 714 are all provided with a khaki uniform, shirt and shorts, and a 708 red fez, but the uniform is not worn except by the guards at the palace and on special occasions. There are said to be parades every 533 two days. There is a band consisting of 14 who wear khaki uniforms and scarlet glengarries. The regulars for the most part are stationed in Mukalla, but there are a few in Shihr and Reida.

### Irregulars.

704 There are said to be 1,000 to 1,200 irregulars officered by eleven 701 *Muqaddams*, who receive 35 to 40 dollars a month. Each *Muqaddam* has a paid *Muawin* who receives 20 to 25 dollars, and each man is said to receive seven dollars a month. They are stationed in the districts. In Shibam there are 40 Yafa'is and 60 slaves. There are about 500 Yafa'is in the neighbourhood of Shibam who are [635] paid but allowed to work their own fields. The Sultan's representative in the Shibam province is in command of the troops.

[1] Members of certain tribes are exempted from this tax.

## Justice.

In Mukalla there are three courts. (1) The Sharia court, which is presided over by three Qadhis. It has also an appellate jurisdiction from other Qadhis in the country. They try all cases according to Sharia law and certain criminal cases are therefore excepted from their jurisdiction, as mutilation and some other Quranic penalties have been abolished. (2) The Hakm as Suq, which is presided over by a police magistrate who is also in charge of the slave police. He tries small cases and can imprison up to twelve days. These sentences are served in the court building which is also the station of the slave police. (3) The Hakm ad Dola, the *Wazir's* court. Here are heard important criminal cases, important civil cases, bankruptcy cases, and cases in which there is not sufficient evidence for the Sharia court. 695 692

There is no commercial court, but if a merchant goes bankrupt his creditors among the merchants gather together to arrange a settlement. In important civil cases the *Wazir* selects a committee of merchants as assessors who examine the cases and report to him. There are no pleaders before the courts. Provincial governors have jurisdiction to settle all cases in their *liwas* but there is an appeal to Mukalla. There are Qadhis at the bigger towns of the interior such as Shibam. 426 692 635

## Police.

### Organization.

In Mukalla the total strength of the uniformed police is 60; that of the plain clothes slave police is 33. The uniform consists of a dark blue tunic and shorts with a leather belt bearing a brass buckle in front, and a red fez. They are equipped with rifles, but only the actual sentry outside a station carries one. The slave police wear a police belt over their ordinary clothes and carry daggers. There is a Jemadar, one Havildar, one Corporal, and two Lance-Corporals. The headquarters of the uniformed police are at the Customs end of the bazaar. There are several other small police-stations in the town. 625

### Distribution.

In Mukalla 30 uniformed police are on duty by day and 10 at night, these latter being reinforced by 20 plain clothes slave police. The uniformed police man the Customs where a detachment is on duty for seven days, each man being relieved every 24 hours. Thirteen of the slave police are on duty at the station of the Hakm as Suq. The peculiar function of the slave police is to deal with armed offenders. Otherwise both bodies of police appear to have the usual functions. There are a few police in Shihr but none in the interior.

## Crime.

From information obtained it would appear that murder cases are now practically non-existent. Murderers are executed with a dagger plunged into the supra sternal notch. 682

**Prisons.**

697 In Mukalla there is one prison, and "lock-ups" in the police stations. There are said to be 20 warders in the prison who wear a khaki uniform, but I only saw six. The prison is in the charge of the Commander of the Forces. On inspection the only prisoners seen were political, some 30 men and boys who were hostages from the various tribes and who are changed every month.

The headquarters of the uniformed police contains two cells where short sentences are served and remand prisoners detained. It was said that prisoners were not kept there for more than 24 hours.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## SOCIAL SERVICES IN QU'AITI TERRITORY.

### Health Administration.

743 There is only one Government medical institution and that is the dispensary in Mukalla.[1] It is in charge of a Hindu doctor assisted by a compounder and three dressing boys. The doctor took over his duties in April 1934, and from the 3rd of that month to the end of September he had treated 1,575 patients. In the month of October the number was 147. He performs only very minor operations and the figures include eight or ten such cases. Most of the doctor's work is in the dispensary itself, but he is sometimes called in for domiciliary visits. The dispensary is open from 8 to 12 in the morning and from 5 to 8 in the evening for urgent cases.

164 The principal ailments are diseases of the eye, eye trachoma being very prevalent, and rheumatic affections of the joints. There is no malaria in Mukalla, but cases come in from outside. The doctor possesses no microscope, but he has not traced any cases of ankylostomiasis or bilharzia. There is practically no syphilis, but gonorrhoea is fairly common. Constipation is chronic. From April to October he had used almost two hundredweight of magnesium sulphate. Tropical ulcers are fairly common.

164 751 Mr. H. M. Heald in his report on the agricultural resources says "Smallpox seemed to be the most fatal disease in the interior, and in some years whole villages were wiped out; I was informed that for generations they have had a system of inoculation performed by taking the blood from a child with the disease and rubbing it in a cut made on the arm, generally between the shoulder and elbow. In Mukalla, being the seaport connected with the east, they sometimes had plague, but as far as I could gather they had been free for a number of years."

743 In addition to his dispensary work the doctor is in charge of the Port Health work for ships and dhows, and has recently been appointed medical officer of health in the town.

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[1] There may now be a dispensary operating in Shihr.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MMI



The sanitary systems, if any, vary throughout the large towns of the Hadhramaut. There are no drainage or sewerage systems in Mukalla. The houses for the most part are equipped with pit-latrines cleared every six months or a year. Waste water runs out from gullies projecting from the walls of the houses. At the time of my first visit there were 25 sweepers in charge of a *muqaddam* who were said to work from early morning till noon, and from two till six, but, apart from the main market street, there appeared to be little evidence of their activities. Since that time the number has been slightly increased, and, under the doctor's superintendence, the streets are somewhat cleaner. 364

In Shihr the waste water is allowed to settle into pools. As a consequence mosquitoes are a serious pest, but there is said to be little fever. There were no anopheles amongst specimens I captured. In Shibam there is a system of narrow gutters running down the middle of the streets. These become congested with rubbish and are rarely cleaned out, but when they are the refuse is sold.

**Water Supply.**

The water supply of Mukalla is brought from a reservoir at Baqrein, about four miles distant. The source is a mile further away at Bakezebur where there is a long series of deep wells, mostly protected by a stone coping but with no covering. These wells were constructed by labourers brought from Gheil ba Wazir where there are men " who know how to make waterworks ". The wells are connected at the bottom by a subterranean passage, used by those who clean the channel, along which the water flows till it emerges into an open cement channel leading to the reservoir at Baqrein. This reservoir is divided into compartments and the water passes through them into a delivery pipe. The outfall to the delivery pipe is partially protected from debris by a wire trap, and just outside the reservoir there is a covered manhole. There is no filter system and for the greater part of its length the supply is entirely unprotected, but the water is clear and apparently clean. It is conducted in pipes to the side of the mountain, along which it runs in a covered masonry channel, except where it is carried across gaps in pipes supported by piles. In the town there are reservoirs fitted with taps from which the water carriers draw their supply. Water supply is only laid on to the palaces and a few mosques. 365 312

The work was planned and begun by Sultan 'Awadh as a *Waqf* and was completed by Sultan 'Umar. It reflects great credit on the Mukalla administration, and if some protective measures were adopted would be, I should imagine, an unimpeachable supply. It is fortunate that cholera and typhoid are apparently unknown in Mukalla as it would be extraordinarily easy to contaminate the supply which, as I say, is unprotected, unfiltered, and not chlorinated. 365 653 164

There are several wells in Mukalla in which the water is brackish. The palaces, the Wazir's house, and the guest-house are fitted with 312 000

The palaces, the Wazir's house, and the guest house are fitted with
365 electric light generated by a petrol engine. The system is continued along the water front as far as Sultan 'Umar's mosque.

365 The town water supply in Shihr is brought in a covered aqueduct
312 from Tubala, 6·7 miles away. There are many springs at Tubala, most of which are hot, and a number are heavily impregnated with sulphur. The reservoir for the Shihr water supply consists of a large open tank which is fed by an open channel from the spring. As in the case of Mukalla there is no sort of protection. Shibam draws its water supply from wells, for the most part in the suburb of Seheil. The water is slightly brackish. The rest of the country depends on wells, springs, rivers, and rain cisterns.

**Educational Activities.**

658 In Mukalla there are three Government schools (two Arab and
871 one English), and at least three private schools. In addition to these Arab schools Yusuf Sherif, the principal Indian merchant and
794 Collector of Customs, maintains a private Gujerati school in which there are 42 boys and eight girls at present. There used to be schools in every mosque, but Sultan 'Umar suppressed them and ordered the boys to attend the Government schools. However, despite this prohibition I understand that a few maintain a precarious existence.

871 The larger of the Arabic schools, Al Madrassa al Khariya as Sultanja had been in existence for four years at the time of my visit and had twelve classes: *Hijar*, or Elementary, four classes; *Tahdir*, two classes; *Daraja Awal*, First standard, three classes; *Daraja ath Thani*, Second standard, one class; *Daraja ath Thalath*, Third standard, one class, *Daraja al Arb'a* Fourth standard, one class. A Fifth standard was to be added shortly.

On the register there were 290 to 300 boys aged from six to 14 and even 16, and perhaps older. On inspection the attendance at the various classes was as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Hijar* | ... | 56 |
| *Tahdir* | 1 ... | 20 |
| | 2 ... | 31 |
| *Daraja* | I.—1 ... | 32 |
| | 2 ... | 20 |
| | 3 ... | 27 |
| *Daraja* | II ... | 12 |
| *Daraja* | III ... | 13 |
| Total exclusive of the Fourth standard | ... | 211 |

The staff consists of a *Mudir* or Principal, a *Murakib*, who is responsible for the discipline of teachers and boys, and 12 teachers. There are nine class rooms, the four classes of *Hijar* sitting in one room. Up to *Daraja* I the boys sit on the floor, after which they are at desks. The school is closed on Fridays and on the 'Id days which are as follows: 'Id al Hajj, five days, 'Id al Fitr, five days, 12th Rabi' Awal, Maulad an Nebi, one day, 29th Ramadhan,

one day, 27th Rajab, one day, 15th Sha'ban, one day, 30th Sha'ban one day, and 10th Muharram, one day, making a total of 16 days. 871

School hours are from 7 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. in winter, and 6.30 a.m. to 11.30 a.m. in summer. In Ramadhan the hours are from 7 a.m. to 11 a.m. After three periods of the school session there is half an-hour's interval. In the evening some of the older boys attend the Sultan's mosque for religious teaching, *hizb*, and grammar.

The curriculum includes, besides reading, writing, and religious instruction, elementary arithmetic, composition, history, and geography. Semaphore signalling is taught to the older boys. The Fifth standard will be taught drawing, handicraft, book-keeping, and hygiene, as well as a more advanced course of the other subjects. There are examinations every year for all, and special ones every six months. There are neither organised games nor physical training.

A school register is kept which contains the following information: Name, name of father, occupation of father, birth-place, dwelling-place, any previous education, class in which placed, date of entrance, father's or guardian's signature, date of leaving, and father's or guardian's signature agreeing to rules. A visitors' book is also kept.

The second Arabic school, Al Madrassa al Watanla, has eight classes, *Hijar*, *Hijar* and Quran, *Tahdir* I and II, *Daraja* I to IV. The boys number 130 to 140 and their ages range from eight to eighteen. There is a staff of seven teachers not including the headmaster, who also teaches. The curriculum, examinations, working hours, and holidays are the same as for the other Arabic school.

The English school had been opened for only five or six months, but already had 61 boys from nine or ten to sixteen and even twenty. There are three classes, Primer, 2nd Primer, and 1st standard. A second standard is to be started shortly. There is only one teacher, a British Indian from the Danish Mission school in Aden, but he has worked out a time table by which the three classes are working on different subjects at the same time and he goes from one to the other. The curriculum is based on the Aden syllabus, and besides English it also includes the teaching of Gujerati. There are about ten or twelve British Indian boys attending, the rest are all Arabs. All the pupils are Boy Scouts.

In Shibam there is a charity school for boys and girls. Attendance is compulsory for boys and the Government brings back those who leave without permission. There are 250 boys and 150 girls attending. The staff consists of six masters and two mistresses. Religion only is taught. There is a good deal of religious education in 'Einat, and it is also remarkable for having a girls' school. There are said to be no schools in the Hajr province other than mosque schools. The Al Kaf Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun maintain a school at Khoreiba in the Du'an province.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



# CHAPTER XV.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

### I.—SHIHR PROVINCE.

635 361 131 The Shihr *liwa* is the first province of the Qu'aiti dominions. I was informed that its boundaries were, east to west, "from the extreme borders of the mountains of Damakh Hisāl up to the port of Shiheir", and south to north, "from the sea to the mountains which separate the plateau from the lowlands". The most easterly settlement of the province is Reidat al Qu'aiti, and the other coastal towns and villages of importance are Qus'eir (with Qurein), Baghashwa, Hami, and Al Qarn which is the port of Dis, a walled town a couple of miles inland with a population of about 5,000.

361 162 Shihr was once the most important town on the Hadhramaut coast, but it has been gradually decaying. Many of its houses have disappeared and its 45 mosques now serve a diminishing population. This is estimated at from 6,000 to 10,000, but I have no doubt the latter figure is excessive. Shihr, however, is still an important port: it is the principal port for Kathīri territory and the main distributing centre for the eastern part of the Hadhramaut. A landing-ground has been constructed, but is not in serviceable condition.

438 The principal industries are the drying and curing of fish and the dyeing and weaving of cloth. The water-supply, as has been mentioned, comes from Tubala where there are also hot sulphur springs and gardens. There are other gardens at Dufeigha and at Habis where the *Wazir* has a house.

635 438 361 At the time of my visit the Governor of Shihr was Sheikh Salih bin 'Ali al Qu'aiti. The tribes living in the *liwa*, or dependent on the town as their market, are: Ath Tha'yani, Manahil, Hamumi, Al Qarzi, Ash Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Al 'Asārina, Al Messillyin, Al 'Awābitha, Al Ma'āra and Al Jōhi. Of these, the Qarzi and the Bahasan are sometimes considered as clans of the Hamumi Zei. Although the 'Awābitha have considerable connections with Shihr and Mukalla they own no land in the province and live beyond its boundaries. Shihr is also an important market for the Mahras, to whom, centuries ago, as Masudi recalls, it belonged. Apart from those towns of the interior such as Seiyun and Tarim which obtain many of their supplies from Shihr, and have trading connections with it, the 'Awāmir, Al Jābir, and Al Jābir of Al Sāh (which are all Kathīri tribes) depend on it for their food supply.

000 The Manahil and the Kathīri tribes will be described elsewhere, and the Mahra, of course, are not a Hadhramaut tribe, but the

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



following are notes on the other tribes mentioned, with the addition of three small tribes also dependent on the province.

### Ath Tha'yani.

This tribe possess houses and grazing lands around Reida and Qus'eir as far as Damakh. They live to the east of the Hamumi with whom they are allied, but they are not a Hamumi clan. They have an "A" agreement with the Qu'aiti, who pays them an annual subsidy.

### Hamumi.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bahasan at Tanbāl | — | Wadi al Ma'di | 250 | |
| Al Yamini ... ... | — | Wadi 'Arf | 150 | — |
| As Sa'idi ... ... | — | Al Wāsit | 350 | — |
| Bā Hasan Bā Zamāri | — | North of Hami | 100 | — |
| Al Harāwiza ... | Beit Sarqāha | Ya'is Kherid | 100 | — |
| Beit 'Ali ... ... | — | Al Khamt | 250 | 'Ali bin Salim bin Mujanna Habrish. |
| Seiyids of Āl Zein and Āl bin Qithān. | — | Al Jebel | 60 | |
| Beit ash Sharkha ... | — | Al Jebel | 50 | — |
| Beit Shanin ... | — | North of Dis | 200 | — |
| Beni 'Ujail ... ... | — | Al Jebel | 2,000[1] | — |
| Al Gharābi ... ... | — | Al Jebel and east of Wadi Himem. | 450 | — |
| Al Jāmiha ... ... | — | Al Jebel | 300 | — |
| Seiyids of Beit Hamūda | — | Al Jebel | 200 | — |
| Beit Ghatrīn ... | — | North of ar Reida and Qus'eir. | 200 | — |
| Al Jarsiri ... ... | — | do. do. | 400 | — |
| Bin 'Askna ... ... | — | do. do. | 300 | — |
| Al Hanāwil ... ... | — | do. do. | 500 | — |
| Beit al 'Amaq ... | — | do. do. | 200 | — |
| Nāhat ... ... | — | do. do. | 250 | — |
| Beit Qarrād ... | — | do. do. | 700 | — |
| Beit Malrūr... ... | — | do. do. | 100 | — |
| Al Asmūh ... ... | — | do. do. | 350 | — |
| Al 'Udāl ... ... | — | do. do. | 300 | — |
| Al Qarni ... ... | — | North of Wadi 'Arf | 600 | — |
| Bā Shamakha ... | — | Beit al Qarazat | — | — |
| | | | 8,360 | |

The Hamumi Zei, who are of Himyaritic descent, strong and warlike, live in the country to the north of Shihr, from Wadi 'Arf in the south-west to Damakh Hisāl in the east. The western part of Reida and the southern part of Dis, where they have houses and

[1] Total estimated number of clan. Except where otherwise stated the estimated numbers given are those of armed men only.

* [see p. 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

631 grazing lands, belong to them, and they range from Shihr to
101 Seihut and up to the Manahil and Jabri. The Manahil country
619 lies to the north and east of them, and the 'Awābitha and Al Heik live to their west.

619 The tribe[2] had a defensive and offensive alliance with the Kathīrī, and were always a great source of trouble to the Qu'aiti. They were a byword for murder and robbery, owing to their systematic pillaging of travellers, until the Qu'aiti put an end to these activities by stringent measures some years ago. He now pays them an annual subsidy and has a "B" agreement[2] with them and they
[489] have ceased to be troublesome. Since coming to heel the tribesmen regularly load goods from Shihr for Shibam, Seiyun and Tarim, and continually visit Shihr, Hami, Dis, Qus'eir and Reida. They are mainly nomads and own about 3,000 loading camels but no riding animals.

They are the worst enemies of the Seibani, with whom they are continually at war: Inter-tribal feuds exist between several of their own clans, but all unite in the face of a common foe under the leadership of the Beit 'Ali clan, whose chief, 'Ali bin Salim Habrish, lives at Gheil Bā Yamīn and Wadi 'Arf and is the
[623] *Muqaddam* of the Zei. A "Council of Elders" is summoned at Gheil Bā Yamīn to decide matters of tribal importance, and the tribesmen of the various clans offer their rifles to prove their goodwill in acceptance of the decision of the Elders. The Mansabs of the tribe are Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il of the Āl 'Aidarus, but the Bā Shamakha clan are under the influence of 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and 'Abdul Qadir Āl Shibab of the Āl as Saqqaf. These Mansabs interfere in cases of serious tribal disputes or for the accomplishment of truces between fighting clans or tribes.

631 The clans of the Hamumi live in two districts, Al Ma'rab (the
101 Western) which is the smaller district and is situated to the North
619 of Shihr, and Al Mashqās (the Eastern) which lies to the North East of Shihr. The Bahasan at Tanbūl and the Yamīni are the clans living in Al Ma'rab, but also included in the district are their allies the Sha'āmila, the Bā Habān, and the Meseilīyin. The Yamīni, who are allied to the Seibani and live under their pro-
[249] tection, possess 200 camels, and the Bahasan own 100. The latter cultivate *Tanbuli* leaf, which is chewed by the people of Shihr and Mukalla, and they have accordingly been nicknamed "at Tanbuli". The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with them.

The other clans mentioned in the list live in the district of Al Mashqās, consisting of deserts, fields, and wadis. From the Sa'idi to the Seiyids of Beit Hamūda inclusive the clans have a special system and their chief is the head of the Beit 'Ali. From the Beit Ghatnīn to the 'Udūl inclusive all the clans have their own

[2 [Hamumi Zei -- Analyst] [2 [See p. 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM3



chiefs. The Qarzi, who own about 600 camels but have no cultivation, are independent and the strongest of all the Hamumi clans. They have a " B " agreement with the Qu'aiti and they are in favour of peace and amity towards the Government with whom they have long been friends. 631 101 69

The Beit 'Ali clan possess about 400 camels and have no cultivation. The Gharābi are nomads with about 400 camels. The Beit Shanīn possess some 200 camels, and the Bā Hasan Bā Zamāri 100. The Beni 'Ujeil clan are cultivators and not fighters. They possess few arms and own about 600 camels. All the Hamumi clans are divided into many houses and branches.

### Ash Sha'āmila.

This small tribe, with whom the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement, live between 'Arf and Gheil Bā Wazir in the district of Al Ma'rab. Together with the Bā Habān and the Meseillyin, they number 300 armed men.

### Al Bā Habān.

This tribe, which together with the Sha'āmila and the Meseillyin number 300 armed men, live in the district of Al Ma'rab to the north of Shihr.

### Al Meseillyin.

The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with this tribe, who possess houses and grazing lands in the district of Al Ma'rab to the north of Shihr. They are connected with the 'Awābitha but are not a part of that tribe. Together with the Sha'āmila and the Bā Habān, they number 300 armed men.

### Al 'Asārina.

An independent tribe with whom the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement. They possess houses and grazing lands in the southern part of Shihr.

### Al Bā Habāb.

A very small tribe living between Wadi Ma'di and Gheil. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

### Tribesmen of Sadf.

This small tribe, with whom the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement, live above the Sha'āmila. They were attached to the Kinda, but became separated. Hamdani mentions a sub-tribe of Kinda called Sadif with a sub-division named Bahr.

### Al 'Awābitha.

The clans of the 'Awābitha are the Bā Zor living at Al Hushin, Bā 'Anis living at Ghurb, and Bin Mujasbar. They are a Himyaritic tribe, estimated at 2,000 to 3,000 persons, including some 700 armed

[see page 92, category 11b -- Analyst]

631 men, and occupying the Wadi al 'Ain (south-east of Haura), the
101 Wadi 'Adim, and the country to the east as far as Wadi Bin 'Ali.
They also extend to the neighbourhood of Gheil Bā Wazir and at
619 places border the Hamumi. The village of Ghurb, which is the headquarters of the Bā 'Anis clan, consists of about 250 houses. The tribe are independent, part settled, part nomad, and they ply their camels for hire between Mukalla, Shiheir, and Shihr, and the Wadi Hadhramaut via Wadi al 'Ain. They possess about 800 [423] camels. The settled 'Awābitha owned many date trees in Wadi al 'Ain, but they have sold or mortgaged a large number of them to the wealthy inhabitants of Du'an. The Qu'aiti Sultan also owns date groves in the wadi which used to be looked after by his slaves, but owing to a quarrel between the tribe and the slaves the latter were removed and the property entrusted to the care of the Bin Mujashar clan.

At one time the tribe had a defensive alliance with the Kathīri against the Qu'aiti, but they are said now to be loyally allied to the latter who pays them an annual subsidy and with whom they have an " A " agreement. Though not actually under the Qu'aiti they acknowledge his suzerainty owing to his control of the ports, of which they greatly stand in need for the employment of their camels. They are not on terms with the Sei'ar, and they are allied to the Seibani against the Hamumi, their inveterate foes. Their *Mansab* is the Sheikh of the Bā Wazir living at Bawerqat in Wadi al 'Ain, where there are also other Bā Wazir villages, including Safīl which is the headquarters of the chief Bā Wazir *Mansabs*.

### Al Ma'ara.

The clans of the Ma'āra are Bin Thabit, Bā Surra, Bin Hateish, Bil Ahwal, Bā Bil Heiz, Bin Basut, Bā Ajban, Bā Hasan, Bā Awahab, Bā Haneish, Bā Tha'lab, Bin Joshum and Bin Shamemi. The tribe, whose habitat is Hirū and ar Reida, are often considered a clan of the Hamumi, but they are independent although they are closely attached to the Qarzi clan of the Hamumi. Their fighting men number some 400, and they possess houses and grazing lands in the upper part of the Shihr province; but they have no running water and their cultivation depends on rain. They breed camels and sheep, and they ply for hire between Shihr and the Wadi Hadhramaut via their own country, but they also go into Mukalla in order to obtain loads. They are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aiti who has a " B " agreement with them.

### Al Jōhī.

This tribe, who were originally part of the Seibani but are now independent, have houses and grazing lands in the upper part of the Shihr province, and Reida belongs to them. It is said that they are in the pay of the Qu'aiti, who has a " B " agreement with them.

[See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

# CHAPTER XVI.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 2. MUKALLA PROVINCE.

Although the town of Mukalla is the Qu'aiti capital the province is considered as ranking after Shihr. It is defined as extending from east to west " from the port of Shiheir to Meifa ", and south to north " from the sea to the low hills as far as the source of the river Hajr, but excluding the Hajr valley itself ". Apart from Mukalla the principal towns and villages on the coast are Shiheir with an estimated population of 1,500, Fuwa and Burum. The only inland town of any importance is Gheil Bā Wazīr, but there are a number of large villages such as Harshiat, Tila, Lusb and Lubeib. The population of Gheil Bā Wazīr, where the Sultan has a house, is estimated at from 6,000 to 7,000. It is a walled town, and the seat of an important tobacco industry. 635 361 162 [138]

Estimates of the population of the town of Mukalla vary from 10,000 to 30,000; the actual figure is probably 15,000 to 16,000. It is a compact, closely populated place, with 13 mosques, and it appears to be growing as building operations are continually in progress. It has several minor industries, of which the principal is fish-drying. West of the town, fish manure and fish fodder are prepared, and outside to the east fish is cured for human consumption. Other small industries are the crushing of simsim for oil and cake, lime-burning—the best quality lime used in Aden comes from Mukalla—and tanning. Apart from the fact of its being the seat of Government, Mukalla owes its importance to its being the principal port of entry for the Hadhramaut and the principal market for the interior. The landing-ground for Mukalla is at Fuwa and the province is well served with motor-tracks. The water-supply comes from Baqrein, where there are good gardens, and other garden suburbs are Dis al Mukalla, An Naq'a where the Sultan has a house, Manāwara, Lermi, Kherba and Khaba. 361 162 438

The Governor of the Mukalla province at the time of my visit was the *Wazir* of the state, Jemadar, or Sultan, Salim bin Ahmed bin 'Abdulla al Qu'aiti. The following tribes live in or are dependent on the Mukalla province: Seibani, Hālka, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadīyin, Sumūh, Hāmdi, Bubeish and the Āl Heik. As will be seen in Chapter XVII, the Hālka and the Sumūh, sometimes considered as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani. The Bin Daghār and the Nūwah of the Wadi Hajr (see Chapter XVIII) have working and trading connections with Mukalla, as have the tribes of the Wadi 'Amd, the Ma'di, the Ja'da, Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed and Āl Salima; the last two, though sometimes considered to be separate tribes, are included with the Ja'da (Chapter XX). The tribesmen of the Wadi Reidat ad Deiyin and other tribes to the west of Du'an, Beina and Wadi 'Amd, also trade with Mukalla. Shibam and the tribes in and around it 635 619

depend on the capital for business and supplies, as do the tribes of Nahd Rōdhān and Āl Makhāshin (included with the Nahd, see Chapter XIX). The Hadhrami Yafa'is, and particularly the sections of Bal'ala, al Hamdhān, al Jābri, Ibn az Zu', and ash Shabeibi, also look on it as their headquarters.

The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely connected with the province. The others mentioned will be found under more appropriate heads :—

BENI HASAN.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bā Haj ... ... ... | Bā Zala and eight other sections. | Mazīnab | 120 |
| Bā Ra'ida ... ... | — | — | 70 |
| Bā Kadīm ... ... | — | — | 50 |
| Bā 'Azad ... ... ... | Daqeil | 'Azad | 30 |
| Rahbani ... ... ... | Bā Dalhūs | — | 15 |
| | | | 285 |

The Beni Hasan, a Himyaritic tribe, closely allied to the 'Akābira who live to their south, are said to have been long settled in the country they inhabit. Their grazing lands lie around Mukalla and extend to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. Their chief village is Lubeib, but they reside also in Wadi Ariat and Asfal al 'Ain, west of Mukalla. They have been described as a clan of the Seibani living in the valley of Jirba and the surrounding mountains. They used to be neighbours of the Kasadi on the east, but assisted the Qu'aitis in their fight against the Kasadi Naqlb and for this reason receive, jointly with the 'Akābira, an annual gift of 700 loads of grain from the Qu'aiti, who also pays them an annual subsidy and has an " A agreement with them. Their chief is in his service and bears the title of Shaush. The armed strength of the Beni Hasan is estimated at from 200 to 300 men, and the tribe is under the influence of the 'Amūdi *Mansab* of Tila.

The Rahbani and Bā Haj clans are cultivators, but the Bā Zala section of the latter are nomads and own 500 camels. Half of the Bā Ra'ida are nomads, known as Bā Dahūs, and half are cultivators of dates and jowari; they own about 100 camels. The Bā Kadīm are almost all settled. The Bā 'Azad own about 50 camels, but the Daqeil section are nomads and the Bā Dalhūs are settled.

'AKĀBIRA.

| Clan. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|
| Shahū ... ... ... | Hum Buwar | 250 |
| Suleimani ... ... | — | 100 |
| Bin Naja and as Sa'ili ... | Hasna'a | 100 |
| Makbali ... ... ... | — | 33 |
| | | 483 |

[See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

A Himyaritic tribe and a sister tribe to the Beni Hasan. Like them they are said to have been long settled in the country they inhabit, and have grazing lands around Mukalla, extending to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. They also were neighbours of the Kasadi but helped the Qu'aitis against the Naqib for which they receive, jointly with the Beni Hasan, an annual gift of 700 loads of grain. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the tribe and pays them an annual subsidy. They, too, have been described as a clan of the Seibani, living to the south and south-west of Howeira mountain. They are said to be a peaceful tribe, having no feud with their neighbours, and, except for the Sa'idi clan who are cultivators, they are all nomads, owning over 700 camels together with a fair number of sheep. Both the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan ply their camels for hire between Mukalla and Du'an only, and never go into the Hadhramaut. The armed strength of the 'Akābira is estimated at about 500, and their *mansabs* are from the 'Amūdis of Tila. 619 631 101

### Muhammadiyin.

A Himyaritic tribe consisting of the following clans: Buheish, Bā 'Awadh, Bā Jahlan, Mahi, Bā Baheis, Shamasi. They have grazing lands around Mukalla, extending to the borders of Hajr and to the high lands of Du'an, and they have long been settled in the country they inhabit. Their tribal centre is Ghazat al Buheish near Haseisa, where there is some cultivation, and they also have a little cultivation in Wadi Muhammadī. The tribe are on the west of the Beni Hasan and to the east of the Nūwah of Wadi Hajr. They are nomads, peaceful and friendly to both the Seibani and Nūwah in whose fights they take no part, and they own about 600 camels which are used for carrying goods to Du'an. Their armed strength is estimated at from 300 to 700. The Qu'aiti pays them an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

### Hāmdi.

This tribe, who have long been settled in the country they inhabit, have grazing lands around Mukalla which extend to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the tribe and pays them an annual subsidy.

### Buheish.

A nomadic tribe under one *Muqaddam* but subdivided into four clans, each with a separate name and chief. They extend along the coast from Ras Rahmat to Fuwa, a distance of 25 miles, with a vast district inland extending to the high lands of Du'an and the borders of Hajr. They were neighbours of the Kasadi and have long been settled in the country they inhabit. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them

### Āl Heik.

619 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the
631 sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan
101 they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shiheir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct
933 route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of
438 the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me
465 as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being
162 an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures
361 appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and
651 villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns
652 and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

635 162 361 651 652 most of them are exempted from taxation: Al Qurha, estimated number of men 300, estimated number of rifles 50, the inhabitants are tribesmen. Husn Bā Sam, men 150, rifles 25, tribesmen. Ar Rubāt, men 800, rifles 100, revenue $1,600, expenditure $1,800; the inhabitants are soldiers. Al Qarn, men 500, rifles 100, inhabitants are tribesmen of Bā Hakīm, a clan of the Nūwah. Al Khoreiba, men 1,500, rifles 50, revenue $1,500, expenditure $1,800, inhabitants are soldiers and sheikhs. Sharq, men 300, rifles 50, revenue $300, expenditure $360, tribesmen and soldiers. Ar Rashīd, men 400, rifles 150, revenue $1,200, expenditure $1,400, tribesmen. 'Aura, men 80, revenue $400. Al Qurein, men 800, rifles 10, revenue $200, expenditure $600.

631 361 651 162 The following towns and villages are under the authority of the Mihdhār family, and the Government derives no revenue from them. Their annual produce is valued at approximately $10,000: Al Quweira, men 400. Halibūn, men 80. Rihāb, men 400, rifles 30. Hudūn, men 200, rifles 50. Khasūfar, men 100. Dhāhir, men 300, rifles 15. Matrūh, men 250, rifles 30. Al Jubeil, men 400, rifles 100. Quweirat al Khozab, men 25. Gheil Bal Kheir, men 40.

The towns under the authority of the Sheikhs of al 'Amūdi are: Husn Bā 'Abd as Somad, men 100. Budha, men 1,000, rifles 200. Bilad al Ma', men 100, rifles 10. Khudeish, men 70, rifles 12. Qarn Mājid, men 50, rifles 8.

635 361 162 The remaining towns of the Wadi Du'an between Al Qurha and Hajarein are again under the direct authority of the Governors of Du'an: Sīf, men 400, rifles 30; Sīf has a garrison of 15 Yafa'is of whom five live in the Husn ad Dōla and 10 in the town. Those I saw were all of the Beni Sa'd Lower Yafa'is. Feil, men 30. Al 'Āddiya, men 30. Ghār as Sūdān, men 30, rifles 5. Nasara, men 10. Naseira, men 10. Seil'a, men 30, rifles 10. Hajarein, men 500, rifles 10. There is a garrison of Yafa'is in Hajarein.

The towns and villages of Wadi Leisar included in the Du'an province are: Al 'Arsama, men 500, rifles 20. Al Jahi, men 300, rifles 150. Al 'Ardh, men 40. Al Jadīda, men 150, rifles 10. Ad Dūfa, men 250, rifles 20. Jureif, men 150, rifles 10. Subeikh, men 400, rifles 30. Tūlaba, men 500, rifles 35. Dhari, men 600, rifles 30. Hūfa, men 500, rifles 70. Heid al Jazīl, men 150, rifles 10.

635 631 69 The following tribes live in the province or are dependent on the wadi: Seibani and its branches, Deiyin, al Hālka, al Marāshida, Khamikha, Bā Hakīm, Bā Sam, and al 'Amūdi. The Beni Hasan and the 'Akābira (see Chapter XVI) deal equally with Mukalla and Du'an. The Hālka and the Marāshida, sometimes considered as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani, and the Bā Hakīm and the Bā Sam, also sometimes treated as separate tribes, are included with the Nūwah (see Chapter XVIII).

635 The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely con-
619 nected with the province :—
[162]

SEIBANI.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 101 Marsahida ... | | Living round the province of Du'an. | 400—500 |
| | Bā Daheiduh | | |
| | Bā Beitar | | |
| | Bā Dhrus | — | |
| | Bā Kardas | | |
| | Bā Sara | | |
| Khāmā ... ... | | — | 300—900 |
| | Bā Surra | | |
| | Bā Kadīm | | |
| | Bā Sallum | | |
| | Bā Rashīd | | |
| Hālka ... ... | | Hūfa in Wadi Leisar | 300—800 |
| | Bā Dajeil | | |
| | Bā Sa'd | | |
| | Bā Nakhar | | |
| | Al Biadha | | |
| | Bā Khashwein | | |
| As Sumūh ... ... | | | 500—1,000 |
| | Shaka'i | | 200 |
| | Bā Wasim | | |
| | Jodani | | |
| | Jahzami | | |
| | Bā Buteiya | | |
| | Ghuth | | |
| Al Mashājir ... ... | — | Husn Ba'ba', Wadi Yeb'uth. | 250 |
| Al Qathm ... ... | — | — | 100 |
| Al Hamidī ... ... | — | — | 400 |
| | | | 2,450—4,150 |

[162]

619 The Seibani Zei are said to be part of a Confederation which
631 includes the 'Awābitha and Āl Heik tribes. They extend from the
369 Hamumi country on the east to the Nūwah on the west. The Nabd and Kathīri tribes bound them on the north, and the Beni Hasan on the south. The tribe are partly nomad and partly settled and they own villages round Mukalla and in Wadis Du'an, Leisar, and Huweira; many of them live in 'Aura and Qurein in Wadi Du'an. The settled Seibanis, like other townsmen land-owners, are subject to taxation on their date groves by the Qu'aiti whom they acknowledge in full sovereignty. The nomads acknowledge Qu'aiti suzerainty but pay no taxes. Their country is at present the safest for travelling and a *siyar* is unnecessary. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

619 Muhammad bin 'Umar and Ahmed bin 'Umar Bā Surra of the
622 Khāmā clan of the Seibani, the Qu'aiti Governors of the Du'an
628 province, are also the paramount *Muqaddams* of the tribe. Inter-tribal disputes are settled by reference to the heads of neutral clans, more important cases being carried to the Bā Surras and the Shatiri Seiyid who is their *Mansab*. The Mihdhār family of Seiyids descended from Sheikh Abubekr, also have great influence

1 [See page 92 [illegible] — Analyst]

with the whole tribe, as have the 'Amūdi Sheikhs of Budha and Tila who exercise considerable authority, in as much as they can on their own initiative interfere and declare a fight between the Seibani and Hamumi as ended on the Seibani side. The Qathm clan, who live furthest from the sea and ply their camels between Du'an and Hadhramaut, have the following *mansabs*, Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il. 619 622 628

Of the clans and sections given above, the Handbook of Arabia mentions the Bā Sara and the Sumūh, and also the Basarīyah and Bā Qūr whose names I did not obtain. The Marāshida clan are nomads, owning about 1,200 camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Du'an and Hadhramaut. In November 1934, this clan were at feud with the Sumūh. 619 628 101

The Khāmā are a hardy, nomad people, owning cattle and sheep and about 1,000 camels. The Bā Kadīm section are the strongest in numbers but the Bā Surra the most important. The Hālka clan have grazing lands round Mukalla extending towards Wadi Leisar. They own about 300 to 400 loading camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Hadhramaut via Wadi Leisar. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the clan and pays them an annual subsidy. The Biadha are a very small section, and the Bā Khashwein, though not really a section, live under the protection of the Hālka and are so closely allied to them that they are generally considered one of their sections. 619 101 631

The Sumūh, who own about 600 camels, are the largest clan. Their grazing lands lie round Mukalla extending to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. They have long been settled in the country they inhabit. The Qu'aiti pays the clan an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

'AMŪDI.

The tribe consists of the following clans: Āl Motahhar, Āl Muhammad bin Sa'id, Āl Ahmed bin Muhammad, Āl Baghābira, Āl Saklu', Ash Sheikh 'Umar al Munasib, Āl Batuk (Bin Tuk), Āl Badahia (Bin Dahia), Āl Bā 'Abd al Qadir, Āl Bā Ahmed, Āl at Teiyar, Āl Barubeid, Āl Faqih, Āl Bajumā, Āl Basamad, Āl Kushan, As Suq'an, Āl Batawīl, Āl Basaqr, Āl Abubekr, Āl Barnusa and Āl Bayasin.

The 'Amūdi or Beni 'Isa live in Wadi Du'an and on the plateau of Reidat ad Deiyin. They are descended from one Sa'id bin 'Isa known as 'Amūd ad Dīn, and the men bear the title of Sheikh. They were once paramount in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, but in 1900 when, with a force of about 1,100 men, they advanced and occupied Qurein and 'Aura, the Qu'aiti collected men from Khoreiba and Rashid and these, reinforced from Mukalla, broke the power of the 'Amūdis once for all. They fled to the mountains and treated for peace, but were permitted to return to Sif and Budha and gradually obtained possession of a considerable area of fertile land in Wadi Du'an and Wadi Leisar.

[see page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

619 The whole tribe are now peaceable and the Qu'aiti has a " B "[2] agreement with them. The leader of the Motahhar clan who resides
622 at Budha is acknowledged as the paramount chief, but for practical
631 and political purposes the 'Amūdis are under the actual control
635 of the Seibani leaders, the Governors of Du'an, though the Qu'aiti allows them autonomy in their own towns. The towns of Qeidun, where their ancestor lies buried, and Dhuba also belong to the tribe, and the Sheikh of the former is 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Umar bin Muhammad, and of the latter Sheikh 'Abdulla bin Salih bin Motahhar al 'Amūdi.

### Deiyin.

631 The Deiyin tribe consists of twelve clans. The estimated number
101 of armed men where obtained is given after each clan: Al Bazi,
619 200; Bā Kershūb, 200; Al Bās, 150; Bā Salim, 50; Bā Kharbūsh, 50; Bin Sūeidan, 200; Bā Masdūs, 150; Bā 'Umein, 300; Labarja Bā Henhen, Yās, Ba Kharshūm.

The tribe trace their descent from Kinda. They inhabit Reidat ad Deiyin on the tableland between Wadis Du'an and 'Amd, and also the west of Du'an and Beina: their chief village is Zila. It is said that the estimated number of men belonging to those clans living at Al Hauta and 'Asala is 1,500. They possess camels and sheep, but live mainly by cultivation, and their means of livelihood depend on Mukalla and Du'an. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the tribe. Thier *mansab* is ' Isa bin ' Abdul Qudir Al Haddad.

### Bā Juba.

A small tribe living at Qarat al Mihdhār under the influence of Seiyid Bubekr bin Hussein al Mihdhār. They formerly followed the plough but have now taken to arms.

### Khamikha.

This tribe live on the outskirts of the province of Du'an.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 4. HAJR PROVINCE.

635 The Hajr province includes the Wadi Hajr with its towns and
103 villages from Meifa to Ras al Kalb, together with the towns and villages in the south between Bir 'Ali and Wadi Hajr. According to a local account the Wadi was first known as Wadi Hajr Wahab after a man who came there, diverted the water springs, and then died. He was followed by the people of Kinda who found Sheikh Sa'id bin 'Isa al 'Amūdi living there. They assisted him to open the springs, and also imposed taxes to be paid by the people to the Sheikh. The Kinda ruled in the wadi which then became known as the Wadi Hajr Kinda. Later there came the Bin Daghār

[2 [see preceding page -- Anal. ist]

[2 [see page 12, category 116 -- Anal. ist]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



tribe who are now very weak, though the wadi is still called after them Wadi Hajr Bin Daghār. To-day the wadi belongs to the Qu'aiti and it is said that in time it will be known as Wadi Hajr Qu'aiti. 635 103

The capital of the province is now Karina, said to have about 300 to 400 houses and an estimated population of 1,500. Other important villages are Yuwan, the old capital, As Sadaka, Husn Bā Suleiman, Husn Ba'ba', Al 'Asala, Al Qima, Al Hussein, Husun Bā Raghab, Jōl Bā Hāwa, Leswa and Muhrin. The Governor is Sa'id Marzuk Salah. Hajr is an agricultural province and it is estimated that the number of tribesmen is 5,000. As I did not visit the Hajr province during my tour, the information given is even more at second hand than in other cases. 635 361 162 [143]

The tribes living in the province or dependent on it are the Bin Daghār, Nūwah, Āl Deiyeb, Āl Bā Bekr and Āl Zaghīb, Āl Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Khāshia al Murqashi. The following is a description of these tribes together with others connected with Hajr. 631 101 619

NŪWAH.

| Clan. | Section. | Sub-section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nūwah Hajr ... | Āl Bā Rashid | — | Al Qeima, Libna | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Sheiba | — | Libna | 150 |
| | Āl Bā Shaqīr | — | — | 80 |
| | 'Ayāl Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Hajām | — | — | 40 |
| | Āl Bā Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Faqqās | — | Qazein, Yuwan | 200 |
| | Āl Bā Dubān | Āl Bā Sabera | Jōl Bā Hāwa, Al Qāsima, Yuwan, Muhammada, Kanina. | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Mas'ud | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Dabeis | | Yuwan | 100 |
| | As Sumahi | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Sara | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Qarwān | — | Muhammada | 250 |
| | Āl Bā Rajāsh | — | Kanina, Sherij Bā Jamum, Husun Āl Bā Rajāsh. | 400 |
| | Bā Musaita | | — | 100 |
| Nūwah Du'an | Āl Bā Hakīm | — | Al Qarn | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Sam | — | — | 120 |
| | Āl Bā Khamla | — | — | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Ma'as | — | — | 150 |
| | Bu Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Bā Safir | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl Bā Shihab | — | — | — |
| Nūwah Lajāsh Du'an. | Āl Bā Betin | — | — | 70 |
| | Āl Bā Sheid | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl 'Asif | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Meis | — | — | — |
| | | | | 2,760 |

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631 The Nūwah live in Wadi Hajr, occupying the country north
101 of the Muhammadīyin and west of the Seibani. They have work-
619 ing and trading connections with Mukalla, but their chief occupation is the rearing of camels and they have a fair amount of cultivation, mostly dependent on rain. The tribe gave the Qu'aiti a great deal of trouble in his efforts to subdue them, but they are now friendly to him and under his influence. He pays them an annual subsidy and has an "A" * agreement with them. The house of Al Beiti Seiyids of the Bā 'Alawi family living at Gheil bin Yamīn are said to have influence over the tribe.

The Bā Faqqās and the Bā Dubīān sections live between the Wadis Bārda and Kanina which run into the main Wadi Hajr. The Bā Dubīān own about 100 camels. Their sub-section, the Bā Sabera is descended from the ancient tribe of Saberāt, one of the original Hadhramaut tribes.

The Bā Qarwān own about 150 to 200 camels, the Bā Sam about 100, and the Bā Shuqūr 100. The Qu'aiti has a "B" * agreement with the Bā Sara section.

### Bin Daghār.

This independent tribe live at Al Hussein in Wadi Hajr, but have working and trading connections with Mukalla, and the Qu'aiti, who has an "A" agreement with them, pays them an annual subsidy. As has been said the main wadi is still called after them, although they are now a weak tribe. The Āl Maknun Seiyids have influence over them.

### Āl Deiyeb.

The clans of the Āl Deiyeb are Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Āl Beni 'Utheimān, and Āl al Qumeish. The Qu'aiti, who recently renewed alliance with the Beni 'Utheimān, has "B" agreements with each clan and with the tribe as a whole. They live to the west of Hajr and belong to the Sultan of Balhaf.

### Āl Babekr and Āl Zaghīb.

The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with this independent nomadic tribe living in Hajr.

### Āl Bā Hanaf Āl Al 'Ajaz Al Mushafir.

A tribe living beyond Hajr with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement.

### Āl Khāshia Al Murqashi.

This tribe live near Fuwa and near Hajr. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with them.

### Āl Bā Hanaf.

A Hajr tribe living in Jerdan with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement.

* [See page 92, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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### Āl Hājib Beni Sa'd.

This tribe also live at Jerdan and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

### An Namāra Beni Hilāl.

The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with this tribe who live at Wadi Yeb'uth beyond Wadi 'Amd.

### Āl Senad Al Murqashi.

This tribe live beyond Hajr and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

### The Beduins of Ash Shāūla.

This small tribe, who were originally of Hajr, now live to the west of Jerdan. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

### Nu'mān.

The clans of the Nu'mān are Āl Baheith and Āl Bā Qātmi living at Sidāra and Wadi Salmun, and Āl Bā Suleiman living at Husn Bā Suleiman. The tribe is said to number about 2,000, and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the Āl Baheith clan.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 5. SHIBAM PROVINCE.

The Shibam province, which is described by the Qu'aiti as being the eye and the backbone of the Hadhramaut, includes the towns and villages up the Wadi Hajarein from, but excluding, Hajarein as far as the Wadi Hadhramaut, and eastward along the Wadi Hadhramaut to just east of Shibam. The capital of the province is Shibam, a tightly-packed walled city of 500 houses, seven mosques, and an estimated population of 7,000. The other towns and villages of the province after Hajarein are: Jidfera, belonging to the Āl Jābri (a clan of the Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 50 armed men; Al Jahi, belonging to the Bin Musā'id with 35 armed men, (on enquiry as to which tribe the Bin Musā'id belonged I was informed that they were a clan of the Sei'ar, but this should be treated with reserve); Nahūla, belonging to the Āl 'Umar Mahfudh with 85 armed men; Al Manidhara, the inhabitants of which are full subjects of the Qu'aiti Government; Al Hauta and Meshhed belonging to the Seiyids of Al 'Attas; Marāwih, Al Aqlāt, and 'Adab belonging to the Bā Wazir townsmen; Qabdhein ar Rōdha with 30 armed men under the *Mansab* of Meshhed; Sadha belonging to the Rabbā (a section of the Nahd) with 50 armed men; Qarn Āl Sharsh belonging to the Āl Manif (a section of the Nahd) with 70 armed men; Badra, Al 'Ardh, Dār Āl Nāsir, and Siraj with 45, 50, 35, and 30 armed men respectively, belong also to the Rabbā; Bahrān belonging to the Nahd Āl Thābit with 60 armed men; Haura, with a population of 1,500, all subjects of the Qu'aiti

635 Government; 'Arūdh al Makhāshin belonging to the Makhāshin
162 section of the Nahd, with a population of 300, all subjects of the
631 Qu'aiti Government; An Naq'a belonging to the Bā Wazīr towns-
617 men with a population of 500; Al 'Ajlānia, belonging to the Āl Kathīr with 17 armed men; Al Man'at, belonging to the Nahd with 35 armed men; and Al Marāti', a village between Al Man'at and Henin, with 200 armed tribesmen of Kinda, and 50 of the Nahd.

At Al 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn are the houses of the Bā 'Umar Sheikhs with 15 armed men; the town of Mad-har bin Nahīd in the Wadi Manūb with 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shabīb (a section of the Nahd), and Dīār al Maqārīm with 30 armed Nahd tribesmen.

Between Al Qatn and Shibam are: 'Ardh Masrūr belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl 'Ali bin Ahmed (Yafa'is) with 60 armed men; Huweila belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl Salim bin 'Ali (Yafa'is) with 40 armed men; Khashāmir belonging to the Bin 'Ali Jābir (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 80 armed men; Al 'Iqad, situated at the end of Al Qatn and the beginning of Wadi Beni Rashīd, belonging to the Āl Qu'ata (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 75 armed men; 'Ikāba and Al Husn belonging to the Hamdhān (of the Nahd) with 30 armed men; Husūn at Al Qatn belonging to the Āl az Zu' (of the Nahd) with 40 armed men; Husūn belonging to the Bal'alā (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 30 armed men; and Husūn belonging to the Āl Jābri (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 25 armed men.

488 Shibam is the most important advanced market of the Hadhra-
361 maut, and has a large inward traffic from Mukalla. It is also a buying market for the products of the country north and west, and the products of these parts are consumed in the town. Caravans come from San'ā in about 15 days. The tribesmen bringing these caravans are Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Rabi', Āl Khalifa, and 'Abīda. The principal inland traffic, however, is from Merkha, Hadhina, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. These caravans, mainly carrying maize, wheat, barley, ghee, oil, oilcakes, cotton, honey, blankets, and spinning cloth, are brought by 'Aulaqis, Hamām, Āl Ruba'ia, Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Maradi'a, Āl Khalifa, Dohum, Karab, Nahd and Āl Bureik tribesmen.

361 There is no regular communication with Nejd although occasional visitors come skirting the desert. Members of the Rashidi tribe also come to Shibam now and then. There is a landing ground at Shibam, and apart from its being a large caravan station it is in touch with towns between Hajarein and Qasm by car. It has no great industries, but makes mats and dyes cloths and skins.

635 The Governor of the Shibam province is Ferai Sa'id, a slave
567 who has held high positions and who has previously served at Shibam. He has also been Governor of 'Einat. He was appointed in October 1934, in succession to Sultan 'Ali bin Salah al Qu'aiti.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Sultan 'Ali has great influence in the province and particularly among the Sej'ar, as his mother belonged to the Āl Sab'ān clan of that tribe. 635 567

The following tribes depend on Shibam: Sei'ar, Nahd Rōdhān, Al Makhāshin, Hadhrami Yafa'is, the tribesmen of Āl Kathīr ash Shenafir including their Beduins, Āl Mahfudh, Bin Musa'īd, Bā Wazir, 'Awaliq, Harizi, Āl 'Amr, Āl Bin Balleith and Āl Heidera. Of these the Makhāshin, sometimes considered a separate tribe, are included with the Nahd, and the Bin Musa'īd are included with the Shenafir Confederation will be found in Chapter XXII. 631 619 101

The following is a description of the tribes living in, or close to, the province:—

SEI'AR.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Hātim ... | Haer al Malāqīt | Haer in Wadi Mahdhara. | — | Yeslem bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a. |
| | Āl Huweilān | Merikh in Wadi Mahdhara. | 100 | |
| | Āl Jerbū'a | Al Ārūh in Wadi Mahdhara. | 70 | — |
| | Ad Dalkh | Bādī in Wadi Mahdhara. | 30 | — |
| | Āl Dahīān | Az Zamra in Wadi Mahdhara. | 30 | — |
| | Āl Mulhī | Husn Āl Mulhī | 140 | 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī. |
| | Āl 'Abdulla 'Aun | Hadīī | 150 | Salim bin Muhammad al Jerbū'a. |
| | Āl Mesādina | Jēl Āl Bajnab | 70 | do. do. |
| | Āl 'Ubeidun | Al Gheidha | 20 | do. do. |
| | Āl 'Asākira | Husn Āl 'Asākira. | 30 | do. do. |
| | Āl Ma'ruf | — | — | — |
| | Āl Sa'dun | — | — | — |
| | Āl Yahajīn | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Khushm | — | — | — |
| Āl 'Ali ... ... | Āl 'Ali | Husn Āl ar Rīs, Husn Tālib, Husn Mushkmid Husn al Ā'awar, Husn al Mūshahi. | 40 | Tamīl bin Sebeil bin Rumeidān. |
| Dūmān ... ... | Dūmān | Husn Lahdān, Husn Bil'ādh, Husīn al Qana, Husn Seir, Husn Waqīah. | 100 | — |
| Āl Bā Rūh ... | — | Qarīat as Sumrah. | 80 | 'Ali bin 'Ata bin Tarim. |
| Āl Bāqi Maulem | — | — | 100 | do. do. |
| Āl Sab'ān ... | — | Qarīa Jidīela | 25-40 | — |
| Āl Bā Wazīr ... | — | Husn ash Sha'ba. | 18 | — |

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| Clan. | Section. | Place. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Al Meshâkh Al Ishaq. | — | Qarist al Hajr, Qarn Sarîn al Meshâkh. | | — |
| Al 'Ayâf ... ... | — | Qarist al Hajr Al 'Ayâf. | — | — |
| Ba'rân (Al Leith bin 'Umar). | — | Qarist as Sabr | — | |
| Al Ashâmis al Akasîlin. | — | Ar Ramla | 30 | — |
| Al Makram al Akasîlin. | — | Hum Al Makram | 20 | — |
| Al al Fanakh al Akasîlin. | — | Hum Al al Fanakh. | 40 | — |
| Al Mazâri'a ... | — | Qarist adh Dhamr al Kasîlin. | 100 | — |
| Al Jûbala ... | — | Hum as Samhdi'a Al Jûbala. | — | |
| Al Hibrân ... | — | Hum ar Reiha Al Hibrân, Hum Al Rakhît Al Hibrân. | — | — |
| Al Hudeib ... | — | Hum bin Meifar Al Hudeib, Hum Rahgalla, Al Hudeib, Hum 'Awadh bin Rabi'a Al Hudeib, Hum Mugleid. | 100 | Taaâf bin Sebeil bin Rumeidân. |
| Al Qarwân | — | Hum Qâ' al Fadhâl Al Qarwân. | — | do. do. |
| Al Fadhâl ... | — | Hum Qâ' al Fadhâl Al Fadhâl. | 60 | — |
| Al Khamla ... | — | Hum Sîh Al Khamla. | 40 | — |
| Al ad Dâhbali ... | — | Hum al Minâif ad Dâhbali. | 50 | — |
| As Sâda Al 'Alawi bin Ahmed. | — | Hum as Seiyid | — | — |
| Al Fazir ... | — | Hum Salîgh | — | |
| Al Hadad ... | — | Hum al Hadad | 20 | — |
| Al 'Ajâj ... | — | Hum Al 'Ajâj | 30 | — |
| Al Yash bin 'Umar | — | Qaul | 70 | — |
| Al Muhammad bin 'Ali | — | — | 10 | — |
| Al Awadh bin Kasîlin. | — | — | 30 | — |
| Al Qartân ... | — | — | 100 | — |
| Al Khartân ... | — | — | 30 | — |
| Bin Mas'ûd | — | Al Jabi | 35 | |
| | | | 1,718–1,730 | |

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The following is the order of importance of the four paramount Chiefs of the Sei'ar tribe : Yeslam bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a of the Āl Hātim, Tanāf bin Seheil bin Runeidān of the Āl Hudeib, the Āl Qarwān, and the Āl 'Ali, 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī of the Āl Mulhī, and 'Ali bin 'Aita bin Tarim of the Āl Bā Rūh and the Āl Bāqi Msellem. Yeslam bin Muhammad is said to be far and away the most powerful of the Sei'ar chiefs.

The Sei'ar are descended from the tribe of Kinda and they claim Aswad al Kindi as their ancestor. On account of this descent the Āl Mahfudh are sometimes included with them. Their country, an inhospitable waste of barren plateaux scored with unfertile wadis, lies north of the main wadi and stretches west to Wadi 'Abr. It is called simply Ridat as Sei'ar.

They told me their neighbours are, on the east, 'Awāmir and Kathīr, Manāhil and Mahra, Zabeini, on the north, Kathīri as Suflan, Harawiz, Mahra, Zabeini, Rawashid, Murra, Yām, and on the west, Daham, 'Abida, Marādā, Hammām, Bal 'Ubeid, Kurab. The very names tell how far afield they ream and raid. They are the wolves of the desert and steppe, and parialis to the wadi folk living south of them, for they raid into the Minhali country on the east and the Hamumi and 'Awābitha on the south. Philby mentions them raiding far into the sands to Bir Fadhil, to Sharma, and possibly going to Hadbat abu Khasba. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Qutun, a section of the Qara tribe, and raiding a Mahra encampment at the waterhole of Andhaur. He also says they raided as far north as the region of Umm Malissa and that Sei'ar is a word of terror to the Rashid and the southern Murra. The Nahd let them visit their markets through fear only, and they are an ever present danger to small unguarded parties of travellers, whom they have interrupted up to Ghadīr al Mihb in the Wadi Du'an. Having no settled habitat they are hard to punish and have always proved elusive and wary. When travelling in small numbers outside their own country they choose the byways and travel by night, for owing to their habits every man's hand is against them. The only places at which they appear openly are Shibam where they behave themselves, and Meshhed during the time of the annual *ziyara* in the month of Rabi'l Awal when they sell their camels. But their hardier neighbours do not let them have it all their own way and the Manāhil, for instance, give them as good as they get. If they raid far they are also raided from afar, as witness the case of a young warrior of the Southern Ajman from the neighbourhood of Kuweit, who, proceeding to Nejran in the winter of 1934-5 to espouse a Yām damsel, raided the Sei'ar on the Hadhramaut borders on his way home and took five of their camels to Kuweit.

They have monthly truces among themselves, never longer; sometimes they will make new ones, sometimes they fight. I was

619 given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My
921 first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir
for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on
678 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months
passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two
years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months
passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Sebeil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathīri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathīri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a "B agreement with them.

231 The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: "The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and Manahil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have,
438 of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell *saf* leaves for making mats, *'elb* trunks, and charcoal.

609 Bertram Thomas records the following description of them:
771 "The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. 'They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them!'" We learned from the
582 Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

622 The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and Ahmed
619 bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

[See p. 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

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NAHD.

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| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nahd Rödhân ... | Āl Fāris | As Subeiha | 50 |
| | Āl Boshr | Dār al Hijil | 30 |
| | do. | Ash Sharq | 30 |
| | do. | Fadhh east and north | 40 |
| | Āl Manīf | Lakhmān | 30 |
| | do. | Al Qoff and Shirākh | 40 |
| | do. | Qarn Āl Sharāh | 70 |
| | Āl 'Abdulla bin Muhammad. | Bahrān | 20 |
| | Āl Thābit | Al Baqrī and Harat al Bir. | 20 |
| | do. | Al Qāra | 20 |
| | do. | Ash Shartūf | 15 |
| | Bin Mudh'adh'a bin Thābit. | Āl 'Adān | 10 |
| | Āl 'Aqil | Ghanima | 20 |
| | Āl Muqeizah | Adh Dhāhira | 20 |
| | Āl 'Ajjāj | Qa'ūdha | 50 |
| | Āl Hidān | Āl Badū' | 50 |
| | Āl Buheijān | Al Husn | 30 |
| | Āl Badr | Ash Shareij | 150 |
| | Āl al Qānis | Museilāb | 10 |
| Nahd Yeslā ... | Āl Yamna | As Sufāl | 20 |
| | do. | As Sāf | 100 |
| | Āl Dhlāb | Duhr | 40 |
| | Āl Qamāsin | Al Kharība | 40 |
| | Beni Shahīb | Manwab | 30 |
| | do. | Ghaseis | 30 |
| | do. | Mad-har bin Nahid in Wadi Manūb. | — |
| | Āl az Zā' | Al Husn at Al Qatn | 20–40 |
| | Āl Hamdhān | Husn Hamdhān and 'Ikaba. | 20–30 |
| | Āl Hubā' | Al Furt | 15 |
| | Bil Hamaz | Al Qatn | — |
| | Āl Jebl | — | — |
| | Āl Baziab | — | — |
| Nahd Dhulfan | Beni Dhuleif | Between Fūha and Al Fūha, Wadi Henin. | 100 |
| | Bin at Tuiyer | Salhab and Zugheifan | — |
| | Bin Maksūr and Bin Aqil. | Sahlab | 40 |
| | Āl Sāff | Juwat, Al Khannāq | 20 |
| | Āl 'Arān | Wadi Henin | 40 |
| | Āl Shirmān | Al Hidba | 20 |
| | Āl Hutāla | Khōnab, near tomb of Salih. | 40 |
| | Bin Tarban | — | — |
| | Bin 'Ifar | — | — |
| | Bil Wakhwakh | Wadi Ser, near tomb of Salih. | — |
| Nahd Āl Muhammad | Āl Jidnan | Ar Ramla | 60 |
| | Āl Hōell | Al 'Ardh' | 40–50 |
| | do. | As Suffāla | 50 |
| | Āl 'Abet | Ghanima | 20 |
| | do. | Al Mitna | 10 |
| | Āl Kāsir | Al Husn | 30 |

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| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nahd Āl Maqārim | — | Diyār al Maqārim | 30 |
| | Āl Tāhir | Bā Hasān | 20 |
| | Āl Muhanna | Al Juwa | 20 |
| | Āl Nuheid | Ash Shi'b | 30 |
| | do. | Mad-har | 40 |
| | Āl Muhammad bin 'Āmr. | 'Uneibida and Zakeika | 50 |
| | Āl Kuleib | Manwab and Al Ghatāa | 70 |
| | Āl Bedr Muhammad | Manwab and Al Ghatāa | 40 |
| | Āl Rabbā' | Sadba | 50–70 |
| | do. | Badra, Al 'Ardh, Sirāj, Diyār Āl Nāsir. | 160 |
| | Āl Makhāshin | Al 'Ardh, 'Arūdh al Makhāshin. | 70 |
| | Āl 'Umar bin Ja'far (Sultans). | Al 'Ajlānis | 17–30 |
| | Āl Najjar 4 sections. | — | — |
| Bā Bekr | | | |
| Āl Hakman | | | |
| Āl Shabbal | | | |
| Āl Hatra | | | |
| | | | 2,087–2,160 |

The Nahd live on the left bank of the Wadi Hadhramaut starting from a point opposite the confluence of the Wadis Du'an and 'Amd due north of Haura. They are Qahtanis and claim descent from Kinda. Ibn Khaldun states that the Beni Nahd are derived from Qudha'a and that they settled in Yemen in the neighbourhood of the Beni Khath'am. He says they are like wild beasts and that the vulgar call them *As Sarus*. Most of them are a mixed race, partly descended from the Beni Khath'am and Bajila. Hamdani, who calls the Nahd a sub-tribe of the Beni 'Ans, mentions the Beni Harām as being the principal sub-division of the Beni Nahd.

The Nahd generally are usually on bad terms with the Sei'ar, though the latter visit their markets in the main wadi. Some of the Nahd are allied to the Qu'aitis and some to the Kathīris. The Qu'aiti has an "A" agreement with the Āl Makhāshin and "B"[1] agreements with the Āl Bā Bakr and the Nahd Rōdhān, though the former are also claimed as allies and followers of the Kathīris.

619 The majority of the tribe are agriculturists and grow dates,
631 jowari, and some wheat. The Nahd Dhulfan, whose country is mostly arid and cultivated only after rainfall, live principally by
[468] selling firewood and stones in Qu'aiti towns. About three-quarters
241 of the Nahd al Maqārim are agriculturists and many of them grow wheat on well irrigation; the rest of the clan are Beduins who rear camels and sheep. The Āl Kuleib and Āl Nuheid, who are poor, possess little more than a few date trees; they sell firewood and
000 other things in the Qu'aiti towns. The Āl Makhāshin are settled

1 [See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The Āl Mukhāshin are settled and possess towns, villages, and trees near Shibam, and depend on the capital for their necessities. 619

The Āl Hidlān, Āl Buheijān, Āl Badr, and Āl al Qānis are Beduins belonging to the Nahd Rōdhān clan, but they live at Fūha. Generally speaking, the rest of the Nahd Rōdhān clan possess towns, villages, and trees round Shibam and its dependencies. They have relied on Shibam for their necessities for a long time. The Āl Yamna, Beni Shablb, Āl az Zu', Bil Hamaz, and Āl Baziab sections of the Nahd Yezīd are agriculturists and also rear camels. The Āl az Zu' and the Bil Hamaz are an exception to the rule that the tribe live on the left bank and reside near Al Qatn. The Āl Jebe and Āl Qamāzīn are nomads; the latter have a reputation amongst the whole tribe for bad faith and robbery. 631 101

It is stated that there are 35 armed men of the Nahd in the village of Al Man'at, 50 in the village of Marāti between Al Man'at and Henin, and 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shablb in the town of Mad-har in Wadi Manub, but it is not clear to what clans or sections this refers.

The *Mansabs* of the Nahd tribe are Ahmed bin Hussein Āl 'Aidarus, Al Hazm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus, 'Ali bin Zein and Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, Ahmed bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas, and Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. 622

### Āl 'Amr.

An independent nomadic tribe living in the Wadis 'Irma and Duhr near Shabwa.

### Āl Bin Balleith and Āl Heidera.

These two tribes together occupy the upper part of Wadi Rakhia near Wadis 'Irma and Duhr.

### Āl Mahfudh.

This tribe, who are said to number 2,000, are descended from Kinda, and for this reason they are sometimes included with the Sei'ars. It is said that they used to occupy the town of Hajarein but they are now scattered in the neighbouring mountains. The Āl 'Umar Mahfudh live at Nahūla and have been estimated at 85 armed men. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the tribe.

### Bā Muhammad.

A small independent tribe living at Haura and Hajarein.

### Harizi.

A small tribe practically confined to the Wadi Qubhudh which has its source on the plateau to the north of the main Wadi Hadhramaut. Apart from the village of Qubhudh and a few neighbouring hamlets, they are troglodytes and live with their animals in caves in the walls of the wadi, wandering up and down it in a precarious search for water and pasture. Some of them do a carrying trade, and they are, as they have to be, friendly with their neighbours. Their chief is Salih bin 'Ali.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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TRIBES CONNECTED WITH THE 'AWALIQ.

| Tribe. | Clan. | Places. |
|---|---|---|
| Al Bureik ... ... | Al Bin Bureik<br>Al Nabāhīn | Shabwa. |
| Al Karab ... ... | — | The neighbourhood of Rakhen and further to the west. |
| Al Hammām ... | — | The desert of Nisah. |

These tribes, which are not really Hadhramaut tribes but are included on account of their dependence on Shibam for a market, are practically independent though very nominally the Al Bureik and the Al Karab are under the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh, and the Al Hammām are more or less under the authority of the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan.

The Al Bureik are Sheikhs, and at one time the Al Bin Bureik were masters of Shihr but now the whole of the small tribe are settled in Shabwa.

[631] The Qu'aiti has " B " agreements with the 'Awaliq generally.

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THE HADHRAMI YAFA'IS AND THEIR SECTIONS.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Al Dhubi ... | Al al Bakri | Zarqāna and Bā Bakr | 25 |
| | Bin Dādd and Al 'Aff | Husha | 25 |
| | Al al Hadhārim | As Sāha | 20 |
| Al Mamsha | Al Qu'aiti | Al 'Iqad | 75 |
| | Al 'Ali al Hāj | As Sāha | 50 |
| | Al al Hadādin | Hadba and Al Ghalta | 20 |
| | Al al Jahāwim | As Sāha | 20 |
| | Al ash Sheikh 'Ali Al 'Ali bin Ahmed. | 'Ardh Maurūr | 60 |
| | Al ash Sheikh 'Ali Al Salim bin 'Ali. | Hawwila | 40 |
| | Bin 'Ali Jikir. | Khashāmir | 20 |
| Beni 'Ardh | | Al Fardh | 100 |
| Al Rashīd ... | — | Hautat Jikir | 15 |
| Al an Nuqabā ... | — | Bakria | 15 |
| Al al Madhāhim ... | — | Al 'Amin | 20 |
| Al Beni Naqib ... | — | Al 'Uqda | 20 |
| Al Ahmed ... | — | Daqiqa | 25 |
| Al Ana'd ... | — | Al Khanfir | 30 |
| Al Jabri ... | — | Hasan | 25 |
| Al Bal'ala ... | — | Jikiera | 50 |
| | | | 775 |

[712
701] Haura, Al Qatn and Shibam have garrisons of Yafa'is. At the first of these places I saw a small fort at the south of the town occupied by five Yafa'i soldiers, and there are probably more. Shibam has 40 Yafa'i soldiers, and the number round Qatn and Shibam is said to be all together about 500 armed men. Those actually employed in garrisons are paid, but the other irregulars only receive pay if called up for service. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the Hadhrami Yafa'is and their sections. The Al

[See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



al Bakri, known as a section of the Āl Dhubi in the Hadhramaut, is 619
in Upper Yafa' a sub-section of the Hadhrami section of that tribe. 101
The *Mansabs* of the Āl Qu'ata are Muhsin bin Ahmed and Haddar 631
bin Ahmed al Haddar. [633]

## CHAPTER XX.

### OTHER DISTRICTS UNDER QU'AITI INFLUENCE.

In a written description of the provinces of the Qu'aiti state the 631
Qu'aiti authorities included the tribesmen and villages of Wadi 'Amd as depending on Mukalla. The Wadi 'Amd, however, is far away from Mukalla province, and I have thought it better to mention it separately. Although this territory may not be definitely part of the Qu'aiti domains, it is certainly more under Qu'aiti influence than that of any other Protectorate ruler. Hureidha, which is the headquarters of the Al 'Attas family, is the principal [163
town of the Wadi 'Amd. It is estimated to have about 2,000 167]
inhabitants, and from 300 to 400 men are said to have left it in the last 20 years to seek wealth in Java. There are eight mosques in the town, and it is a place of religious teaching.

The following is a description of the Āl Ja'da, Āl Ma'di and 631
Ad Dohm tribes of Wadi 'Amd : 619
101

AL JA'DA.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Salima ... | | Seila, Jidfera, Kora, and Raham in Wadi 'Amd are the important villages of this clan. | 500 |
| | Āl Bin Murda<br>Āl Bin Halābi<br>Āl Bin Homeid<br>Bin Mubarek<br>Bin Hubeish | | |
| Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed. | | Habab, Al 'Ardh, Na'ir, and Rabb in Wadi 'Amd are their important villages. | 400 |
| | Āl Bin Shemlan<br>Bin Namara<br>Bin Lizam<br>Bin ash Sheiba<br>Bin al Khashr | | |
| Āl Bin Heilabi<br>Āl Bin Suqeir<br>Āl Tahir bin Rajih | | | |
| | | | 900 |

The Ja'da tribe, who claim descent from the Beni Hilāl, are nearly all Beduins occupying the central and lower sections of the Wadi 'Amd. They are under the influence of the Qu'aiti who has a "B" agreement with them. The foremost section is the Āl Bin Shemlan whose leader is recognised as the head of the whole tribe. The Āl Tahir bin Rajih are a small clan of the Yafa'is sometimes known as Kharba, but they are settled in Wadi 'Amd

619 and have allied themselves to the Ja'da. The Āl Salima have an
631 'Attas Seiyid as their *Mansab*; the 'Amūdi Sheikhs also have great
101 influence in the Wadi 'Amd.

### Āl Ma'di.

The clans of the tribe are Āl Sūeidan, Āl Sa'id, Āl 'Umar and Diba. The Āl Ma'di, said to be originally of the Beni Hilāl, live at Tamham, Hibra, Wajr and Diba in the upper part of the Wadi 'Amd. They are at feud with the Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed and Āl Salima clans of the Ja'da tribe who occupy the central and lower sections of the wadi.

### Ad Dohm.

An independent tribe living in Wadi 'Amd. Attached to them is the Shof, a small tribe with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement.

Details of the tribesmen of Reidat ad Deiyin, on the tableland between Wadis Du'an and 'Amd, were given me in Du'an, and as they are said to depend on that province, and as they are near to it, I have included them in Chapter XVII.

The Qu'aiti himself refers to certain districts as not belonging to any province but as being under his control. These are: (1) the tribesmen of Hajr close to the borders of Bir 'Ali "from the south side"; (2) the country of Sāh; (3) Gheil 'Umar; and (4) 'Einat to Qabr Hud including the Tamimi and Manahil tribes.

Of the first and third territories mentioned in this list, I have been unable to find anything, though outlying tribes connected with the Hajr province are described under that heading. The country of the Āl Sāh clan of the Āl Jābir tribe is due south of Seiyun on the tableland between the Wadis Bin 'Ali and 'Adim. The Āl Jābir are one of the principal tribes of the Shenafir Confederation which is led by the Kathīri Sultan, and it is admitted in the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement that the Āl Jābir are his followers. On these grounds the Kathīris claimed Sāh and the Qu'aiti Regent informed me that Sultan 'Umar agreed to let them have half. The inhabitants themselves, however, are said to have protested against this arrangement and stated that they preferred to be under the Qu'aitis. So presumably the matter stands. But it certainly seems that in law at any rate they should be considered as Kathīris. In this connection it has to be remembered that the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement apparently includes a recognition of Qu'aiti suzerainty over many tribes which are old Kathīri allies. Two tribes of the Wadi Bin 'Ali, the Beni Sa'd and Āl Seif, are said to decline Kathīri allegiance.

631 As regards the district 'Einat to Qabr Hud, Kathīri dominion ends outside the eastern walls of Tarim. The country beyond is Tamimi and beyond the Tamimi come the Manāhil, both of whom
[63a] are Qu'aiti allies. 'Einat, a city of Seiyids, is definitely Qu'aiti
361 and has a Qu'aiti Governor as well as a *Mansab* of the Seiyids. The
[See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MMZ Hadhramaut MMZ



town, which is said to have 13 mosques and about 5,000 inhabitants, is a place of sanctuary. It shows signs of modern influences, and amongst other things which surprised me was a fairly well constructed incinerator at work. 361

The principal Tamimi towns are Dammūn, Qōz, Qāhir, Qasm, As Sōm, 'Asum, and Fughma. The Manāhil have no towns worth the name, though they have sections living in As Sōm and Fughma. The villages of Sena, An Neid, and Tabūrkum are their principal headquarters, and Qabr Hud is in their territory, but the little village is unoccupied except at the time of the pilgrimage on the 15th Sha'ban. Rich families from all over the Hadhramaut have houses there which are locked up for the greater part of the year. 631

The Tamimi and the Manāhil, together with a small tribe called the Āl as Sumāh, form the Beni Dhanna Confederation. Hamdani mentions the Beni Dhanna as a sub-tribe of the Beni 'Udhra, derived from Qudha'a, and elsewhere as descendents of the Beni Numeir, an Ishmaelite tribe. The following is a description of the Beni Dhanna Confederation: 619 631 101

### Āl as Sumāh.

A nomadic tribe in the mountains to the north of the valley of 'Einat.

### Tamimi.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Muhammad Yamāni bin 'Āli and bin Suleiman. | — | Bā 'Alāl | 35 | Suleiman |
| Balheij, Balhindi, and Bin Zeidān. | — | Below al Ghurfa. | 12 | Balheij |
| Al Qaramis and their slaves ... | — | do. | 20 | Mubarek bin 'Umar |
| Āl Shamlān and their slaves ... | — | As Sūeirī | 45 | Ahmed bin Karama. |
| Bin Qasir ... ... ... | Āl Kibl | Beit Jubeir | 25 | Salih 'Ali |
| Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed. | Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar. — | Husn Fallūqa | 45 | Sa'id bin Salih. |
| Al 'Urān and Al Habārisa ... | — | Mustakhirat | 25 | Salim bin Faraj. |
| Bin 'Amhar and Bin Sa'id bin 'Umar. | — | Jarra | 15 | Sa'id bin 'Umar. |
| Bin Āl Mubarek bin 'Umar... | — | Al Husn | 20 | 'Aidha |
| Bin 'Ali bin Ahmed ... ... | — | Al Bada' | 10 | Ahmed bin 'Awadh. |
| Bin Silma ... ... ... | — | Dammūn | 100 | Salim bin 'Awadh. |
| Bin Dahdūh and their slaves... | — | Khabāya | 10 | Sa'id bin 'Abdulla. |
| Āl 'Isa and Āl Marsān ... | — | Al Qōz | 70 | Sālmīn |
| Āl 'Abd ash Sheikh ... ... | — | Bā 'Uteir | 35 | 'Umar bin Al 'Abd. |

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 619 Bin Yamāni and their slaves ... | — | Qasm | 80 | 'Ali bin Ahmed bin Imani. |
| 631 101 Āl Sa'id, Bin 'Uthmān, and Āl Dahnān. | — | Al Khōn | 50 | 'Umar bin 'Awadh bin Sa'id. |
| Āl Qafa, Āl Barakein, Āl Heithwa, and Āl Nuheid. | — | As Sōm | 50 | Kharff |
| Āl as Sa'd ... ... ... | — | 'Asum | 45 | 'Isa |
| Samāh al 'Uaba ... ... | — | Al 'Uaba | 15 | 'Aidha bin 'Atōfa. |
| Beit Bal Hateish ... ... | — | Fughma | 35 | — |
| Āl Bin Kōb ... ... ... | — | Sha'b Hud | 15 | 'Awadh bin al 'Ahidl. |
| Bin Marsaf ... ... ... | Al Fahd | — | 120 | — |
| Ash Sheiban ... ... ... | 5 sections | — | — | — |
| | | | 847 | |

The Tamimi are a part nomad, part settled tribe, living in the main wadi from the neighbourhood of Tarim to beyond Qasm. They have been allied to the Qu'aiti, with whom they have an "A 7 agreement, for a long time, and have had a long-standing feud with the 'Awāmir and Kathīris which was terminated by the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The Kathīri Sultans have no jurisdiction over them but it is said that the Tamimis are allied to them for purposes [628] of defence. Disputes between the Tarim Government and the Tamimis are settled by negotiation or Qu'aiti interference.

167 The Tamimis emigrate to Java and the East African Coast, but they are a poor tribe. They grow wheat, lucern, vegetables, jowari, 311 and other crops, on well irrigation. A large amount of land in the 369 Tamimi territory is the property of the rich townsmen of Tarim 438 and Dammūn which the Bin Silma cultivate, and they are generally safe and honest. At harvest time, however, Beduins come from across the northern hills, which are quite close to the cultivation here, settle in the groves, and do a certain amount of damage. Like most wadi dwellers from Tarim eastwards the Tamimis obtain their supplies from Shihr rather than Seihut, though Seihut sends regular caravans as far as 'Einat.

619 The Bin Qasīr clan is sometimes considered as divided into four sections, the Āl Kibl, Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar, Bin Dahdūh, and 631 Beit Bal Hateish. The Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed 101 clan is sometimes called a section of the Ash Sheiban clan; the latter is said to be divided into five sections. The Bin Silma is said to be the strongest clan and is stated to have four sections.

619 The *mansabs* of the Tamimi are 'Umar bin Zein Āl 'Abdulla bin 622 Ash Sheikh for the Āl Yamāni, Hasan bin 'Alawi al 'Aqīl, Ahmed bin 'Aqīl, Āl Matahar, Tahir bin Bubekr Āl Tahir for the Balheij, and 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shibab for the Bin Silma.

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## Al 'Imran.

A tribe allied to the Tamimi. The *mansab* is Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. 619 631 101

### Manahil.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beit Kasim ... | Beit Ghânim | An Neid | | 40 | 'Aidha bin Tanâf. |
| | Beit al Batîn | do. | | 60 | do. |
| | Beit Rasf'a | do. | | 150 | do. |
| | Beit al Hamâdi | do. | | 28 | do. |
| | Beit Nahâi | An Neid and As Sôm | | 80 | do. |
| | Beit Barakât | As Sôm and Fughma | | 30 | do. |
| | Beit Nas'id | do. | | 15 | do. |
| Beit Mu'asbini | Beit Nôkhat | — | | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Biqiya | Sena and An Neid | | 100 | Yeslam bin Salim. |
| | Beit Sâlmin | do. | do. | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Qôeinisa | do. | do. | 60 | do. |
| | Tammân | do. | do. | 100 | do. |
| | Hushhûsh | do. | do. | 300 | do. |
| | Muzâbbar | do. | do. | 100 | do. |
| | 'Atûwf | An Neid | | 100 | do. |
| Al Bawâqi' ... | — | do. | | 100 | — |
| As Samâh ... | Samâh ar Raqîa | Near the coast | | 100 | — |
| | Samâh al Ghuthma | — | | 50 | — |
| | Samâh Beit Khafr | At Al Masîla | | 180 | — |
| | 'Adâl | — | | 100 | — |
| Tha'in and Beit Farâd. | — | — | | 250 | — |
| Beit Dahein ... | — | — | | 50 | — |
| Beit Qumaît ... | — | — | | 500 | — |
| Beni Sa'id ... | — | — | | — | — |
| Beni Ujeil ... | — | Near Qabr Hud | | — | — |
| | | | | 2,593 | |

The Manahil are a strong nomad tribe occupying the country east and north of the Hamumi and up into the Rub'al Khali. The southern part of Reida and the country from Damakh to upper Hadhramaut belong to them, and they have a few small settlements east of Qasm. They have an "A'fagreement with the Qu'aiti.

They breed camels extensively like their neighbours in the south-east, the Mahras, both for sale and for hire. Their camels are said to be finer and stronger than those of the Sei'ar, and the average price is estimated at about 200 rupees a camel. Female camels are seldom sold and are used both for breeding and riding. Women do not milk camels among the Manahil. 231 435 [563]

The tribe are said to raid as far as the Central Nejd and sometimes to the outskirts of Kuweit, passing the sandy stretch by routes known only to themselves. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Mahras in the steppe. We found that when passing through Mahra territory they declare themselves Tamimis. Bertram Thomas also says that "Bin Tannaf is the hereditary title of the 619 721 622

[See page 92, Category 116 - - Analyst]

619 721 622 Sheikh of the Manahil tribe. The present (1930) holder is one of the most famous leaders of the raid. The leader has always the perquisite of two or three of the best camels taken, otherwise there is equal division of the spoil ". Philby mentions their chief, Saif bin Tannaf, as going to the Governor of Hasa to plead his excuses for not paying his taxes, and of the wilder spirits of the Manahil and other tribes joining a band of raiders called *Al Ziqirt*. In May 1935, the Manahil concluded a two years' truce with the Tamimi.

622 Their *mansabs* are Seiyid Hādi bin Ahmed ad Dawīla, whom I met collecting his tithes, which he does from Husn al 'Ur to Wad'a during the crop season, 'Ali bin Ahmed al Hussein who has influence over the Beni 'Ujeil, and Muhammad bin 'Ali Mola Dawīla who has influence over the Beni Sa'id, a small nomad clan.

### Ba 'Atwa.

619 631 101 This small tribe, now scattered between Qu'aiti and Kathīri domains, deserves mention for its historic interest. Members of the tribe live in Mukalla, Shihr, Al Qatn, Seiyun, and Taris; they have no fixed country of their own. Like the Ja'da and the Ma'di, they claim descent from the Beni Hilāl and are therefore Ma'adic, sons of Ishmael, and not of Joktan. Legend tells that the Beni Hilāl, who are sometimes rumoured giants, once lived in the Wadis 'Amd and Henin, but that drought drove them forth to northern pastures.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## THE RULE OF THE KATHĪRI SULTANS OF THE ĀL 'ABDULLA.

643 Authorities appear to be divided as to whether the Kathīri tribe are of Dhufar, Hadhramaut, or Yemen origin. They originally rose to prominence towards the end of the fourteenth century under Bedr bin al Habrali, commonly known as Bedr Bu Tuweirak. The genealogy of the Āl 'Abdulla, the ruling family of the Kathīris, as far as I have been able to ascertain it, is given in an appendix. The Āl 'Abdulla number some 700 souls and live in Tarim, Seiyun, Wadi Tarba and Al Bada'; their *mansab* is Ahmed bin 'Abdur Rahman as Saqqaf.

By the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla are recognised as Sultans of the Shenafir Confederation, and their dominion is defined as including the towns and villages of Seiyun, Tarim, Taris, Al Ghurf, Mariama and Al Gheil, and the Shenafir tribes of 'Umar, 'Amr, Al Kathīr, Bajri and Jabir and " all that is within their boundaries ". Practically speaking the Sultan's rule is only absolute in the towns mentioned, and in Tarim he is represented by the sons of his uncle, 'Abdulla and Muhammad, sons of Ghalib bin Muhsin bin Ghalib, who are semi-independent. The present Sultan is 'Ali bin Mansur who succeeded his father (who died at Mecca on the day of the Standing on Arafat) in 1929.

The Kathīris have no organised Governmental institutions in the accepted sense of the word, though the Sultan and his supporters, including the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun, are very anxious for progress. Sultan 'Ali's state income is estimated at $20,000 a year in respect of Seiyun, Taris and Mariama; $6,000 of this is a direct contribution from the Al Kaf Seiyids, and the remainder consists of taxes on dates and on goods entering Seiyun. The whole sum is expended on state services, for Sultan 'Ali has a private income derived from Singapore. He maintains a force consisting of 200 indifferently armed slave soldiers in Seiyun, and 200 in Tarim. 643 642 651 565

In Tarim the Al Kaf contribute $12,000 a year to the city Treasury. There is a Town Council which organises the local taxation, and thanks to the Al Kaf Seiyids its affairs are said to be run in a very business-like way, for its budget balances. In normal times the political expenditure on maintaining peace between Tarim and the neighbouring tribes is perhaps $4,000 a year, and this is all borne by the Al Kafs. But to this normal expenditure is often added extraordinary expenditure as, for instance, in a case which occurred about May 1934, when Seiyid Bubekr, the second brother of the family, spent $12,000 in settling a dispute between Tarim and the Tamimis. 651 632 565

In Tarim and Seiyun there is a doctor and dispensary, but they are supported by the Seiyids. At the time of my visit, the doctor, a Punjabi, was on leave and such work as was being carried on was being done by a dispenser. No great public use was made of his services. The dispensary costs the Al Kafs about $1,000 a month, and they spend $2,000 a month on charities and roads. As regards their expenditure on communications it should be recorded that they built all the water pools on the caravan route from Tarim to Shihr, that they spent $7,000 on building a pass at Al 'Arsha for caravans, and that Seiyid Bubekr has spent over $180,000 on road making between Tarim and Shihr. 743 565 735 653

The schools in Kathīri territory are almost entirely supported by the wealthy Seiyids. There are two Ribāts, religious foundations, principally supported by *Waqfs* (religious endowments) for the teaching of religion and philosophy. Of these one is in Seiyun and has an attendance of 40 students, and the other is in Tarim with an attendance of 120. The Saqqaf family of Seiyids maintain two schools in Seiyun, one containing 500 boys and seven teachers, the other 100 boys and four teachers, and the Al Kafs, who also contribute to the Ribāts, run two schools in Tarim. One of these formerly had an attendance of 400 boys but it is now only attended by children of the family, numbering 54. The other, a public school, accommodates between 300 and 400 boys. The Al Kafs also run one if not two schools at Khoreiba in Wadi Du'an in Qu'aiti territory. They are, in fact, the only people undertaking educational activities in a wider sense in that province. I believe, too, that they support the private schools in Mukalla and Shihr. 565 871

631 The Kathiri claims the Hamumi, Nahd, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar tribes as his allies. The agreement with the Nahd, which is said to be similar to those with the Hamumi, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar, is included in an appendix. It is stated that these tribes would join the Kathiris if there was trouble with the Qu'aitis.

*Kathiri Towns.*

101 The country ruled by the Kathiris was formerly of vast extent and stretched from the 'Aulaqi country on the west to the Mahri on the east, including the country of Dhufar beyond. The history of the circumscription of the territory to its present limits appears sufficiently in an earlier chapter of this report.

631 Of the six towns or villages mentioned as being included in the
632 Kathiri dominions Seiyun and Tarim are the largest. Seiyun, the capital of the Āl 'Abdulla Sultans, is a walled town of over 1,500
361 houses and about 50 mosques. The suburbs, which are all to the east of the town, are extending fairly rapidly with the building of pleasant looking residencies, most of them with their own gardens. The population is said to be about 20,000. Tarim is also a growing town with an estimated population of 15,000. Its walls, which are over five miles in length and are furnished with five gates and 25 forts, enclose a great deal of open space so that most of the better class houses have their own gardens. There are over 2,000 houses, and there are said to be 300 mosques, one of which, built by the Al Kafs, has the highest minaret in the Hadhramaut and is of an unusual pattern. The principal shrine in Tarim is that of Maqaddam Faqih. There are growing suburbs outside the walls such as 'Aidid, but some of the suburbs such as Thibi, Dammūn, and Beit Jabir, belong to the Tamimis and are under
342 Qu'aiti influence. Tarim and Seiyun are striking for their many
365 palaces, equipped in modern style, to which reference has already been made. These houses have a water supply laid on and pumped
312 up by small petrol engines. The towns are well supplied with wells, and Tarim is remarkable for being the only town in the Hadhramaut with public conveniences, which, however, are rough mud erections and very insanitary.

361 Taris is a village lying to the west of Seiyun, and its inhabitants
529 do not exceed 700. Mariama is a small village to the east of Seiyun with a population of about 300. Al Ghurf, also a small village, lies to the north of Tarim and has a population not exceeding 250. Gheil bin Yomein is said to be a popular place of resort during the autumn. It is a small village of which the majority of the inhabitants are Beduins.

565 A great deal of wealth comes into the Kathiri towns from the East Indies, and the towns of Tarim and Seiyun, which are considered centres of culture and learning, include many wealthy inhabitants whose fortunes have been made in the East Indies.
000 The whole of the Kathiri part of the wadi is accessible by motor

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The whole of the Kathiri part of the wadi is accessible by motor cars and actually there are more cars in Kathiri territory than the rest of the Hadhramaut put together. 474 504

Shihr is the principal port for the Kathiri country and Tarim is almost exclusively supplied from it. Seiyun is reached indifferently from Shihr-Tarim or Mukalla-Shibam. Shibam is an important market for the Kathiris who depend on it for their daily requirements of grain, coffee, timber, salt, cotton, almonds, raisins, and ghee. 438 508

There is no landing ground in Kathiri territory.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE SHENAFIR CONFEDERATION.

The strength of the Shenafir Confederation has been variously estimated at 4,470 armed men, at 7,650 armed men and at 20,600 souls. The total number of the Shenafir and their followers, excluding Nahd and Sel'ar, is said to be 8,720 armed men. The following is a description of the tribes of the Confederation. 631 619 101

#### Al Kathir.

| Clan. | Section. | Sub-Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Al 'Umar | — | — | As Salil Haju, Wadi Bin 'Ali, Wadi Ghanima, Wadi Ser, Wadi Farś and Dhoilar | — | — |
| | Al Tālib | | | | Sālim bin Ja'fer and Bedr bin 'Aidha. |
| | | Al Mar'i bin Tālib. | Jifil | 220 | |
| | | Al Ja'fer bin Tālib. | Ash Sh'ib, (Qarfi). | 120 | |
| | | Al 'Umar bin Tālib. | Bā Raf'a | 35 | |
| | | Al 'Umar bin Sa'id. | Al Wajir | 40 | |
| | | Al Bin 'Ann | Near Al Ghurfa | 20 | |
| | | Al Bin Mahraq | Near Al Hauta | 10 | |
| | Al Falhūm | | | | 'Amr bin Ja'fer Balfas. |
| | | Al al Fās | Yarqaq near Al Ghurfa. | 80 | |
| | | Al al 'As | Yarqaq | 15 | |
| | | Al Fabeitha | Al Hawi | 25 | |
| | | Al Barqi | Al Höl | 20 | |
| | | Bin Kahfi | do. | 10 | |
| | | Bin Tanfira | Near Al Hauta | 6 | |
| | | Bin as Samil | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Al Wi'i | Al Hauta | 17 | |
| | Al 'Umar bin Bedr. | Bin 'Umar bin Bedr. | Al Ghiyel | 25 | |
| | | Bin Mahri | Yarqaq | 40 | |
| | | Bin Bedr bin 'Abdulla | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Bin ash Shein | do. | 50 | |

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| Clan. | Section. | Sub-Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl 'Amr | Bin 'Abdāt | — | — | — | 'Umar 'Ubeid bin 'Abdāt and 'Awadh bin Gharina. |
| | | Bin Khalid bin 'Umar. | Al Ghurfa and Al Hōl. | 150 | |
| | | Bin 'Ali Bin Umar. | Bā Bakr | 70 | |
| | | Bin at Tamil | do. | 60 | |
| | | Al Ma'ātif | An Neid | 60 | |
| | | Bin 'Abūd bin 'Umar | Al Ghurfa | 40 | |
| | Āl 'Abdul 'Azīz | | | | 'Ali bin Lahmān. |
| | | Balasq's | Al Qāra | 50 | |
| | | Bin 'Umar bin 'Ali. | do. | 30 | |
| | | Bin Sōeid | do. | 60 | |
| | | Āl Mubarek | Near Qasba | | |
| | | Bin Hōeil | Al Qāra | 20 | |
| | | Bin 'Abdulla bin Badr. | Wadi Sar | 20 | |
| | | Āl Hamud bin 'Awadh. | | | |
| | Āl Kada | Āl 'Abūd bin 'Āmr. | An Neid | 50 | |
| | | Āl Kada (Āl Sa'id bin Ja'far) | Al 'Ādiya and Al Masila. | 50 | |
| | Āl Muhammad bin 'Umar. | | | | 'Ali bin Mubarek. |
| | | Bin Muhammad bin 'Umar. | Baheira | 60 | |
| | Āl 'Ali bin Sa'id. | Bin 'Ali bin Sa'id. | Al 'Ardh | 30 | |
| | Āl Dōeis | | An Neid | 50 | |
| Al Fakhāis | Āl 'Aun | | | | Muhammad bin 'Āmr bin Muneibārī and 'Āmr bin Sa'id bin Saqir. |
| | | Bin Muneibārī | Al 'Ardh near Madōda. | 70 | |
| | | Bin Ja'fer bin Badr. | do. | 70 | |
| | | Bin as Saqir | do. | 80 | |
| | | Bin Zeina | do. | 60 | |
| | | Bin Shemlan | do. | 15 | |
| | | Bin 'Ali bin Sa'id. | do. | 15 | |
| | Āl Sa'id | | | | Hueidi bin Mara'i. |
| | | Bin Mara'i | Balleil | 60 | |
| | | Bin 'Ali bin Muhammad. | Ja'eima | 25 | |
| | | Bin Ja'fer bin Muhammad. | do. | 25 | |

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| Clan. | Section. | Sub-section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Balqubam | do. | 15 | |
| | | Bin Dahdūh | do. | 10 | |
| | | Bin 'Āmr Muhammad. | — | — | |
| | | | | | Muhammad 'Āmr bin Sanad |
| | Āl Rawīs | | | | |
| | | Bin Sanad | Ad Dahqa, east of Shibam. | 40 | |
| | | Bin Hadhū | Al Huzma, east of Shibam. | 20 | |
| | | Balla'jam | do. | 30 | |
| | | Āl Ladhrāf | do. | 15 | |
| | | Bin Husn | Al Heimarāt, west of Seiyun. | 20 | |
| | | Al Hājirī | | 10 | |
| | | Al Birām | Qasbal, east of Shibam. | 10 | |
| | | Āl 'Abdulla bin Salih. | Al Bodu' near Hurēidha. | 17 | |
| | | Āl 'Ali bin Ja'far. | Al 'Ajlānia | 24 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Ja'far. | Al Jāhis near 'Amd. | 50 | |
| | Āl Seif | | | | |
| | Āl 'Abd al Wadud | | | | |
| | | | | 2,224 | |

The tribes of the Shenafir Confederation claim descent from Hamdan. The territory of the Kathīri tribe (as opposed to the territory of the Kathīri Sultans) extends from about a mile east of Shibam to An Neisa, about one and a-half miles west of Wadi Tarba, whence the 'Awāmir territory begins. The last boundary east is Al Qōf which belongs to both the 'Awāmir and Kathīri. The Qu'aiti states that he has a " B * agreement with the Kathīri tribe. This presumably refers to the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The total population of the tribe is said to be 5,000 or 6,000 people, but of its total strength of about 2,000 armed men many are absent in Java or Singapore.

The Āl 'Umar have property on the right bank of the main wadi, where cultivation is always better, and in the Wadi Bin 'Ali. The clan is the richest of the tribe and its money is derived from Java. The richest section is the Āl Tālib, and the Āl Mar'i bin Tālib sub-section has the most wealth of the whole clan. Miles states that the Āl 'Umar Kathīris are represented in Dhufar where with the Āl 'Āmr clan they may number 2,500 and occupy seven villages. All the sub-sections of the Āl Falhūm section, with the exception of the Bin as Samīl, are settled in the main wadi and grow dates, lucerne, and other vegetables.

The Āl 'Āmr are the strongest clan in point of numbers, and although many are absent in Java they are poorer as regards wealth

* [See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

631 derived from that country. They are also poorer as regards pro-
617 perty in the wadi for, with the exception of the Bin 'Abdāt who have property on the right bank, their territory lies on the left
101 bank, where cultivation is very poor. The Āl 'Āmr are friendly to the Qu'aiti and friendly to the British, indeed it is said that they have expressed themselves anxious to become British subjects and to be ready to pay taxes.

The third "clan" is called Al Fakhāis meaning "sections", which is merely a collective term given to several independent sections. The Bin 'Āmr Muhammad and the Hājirī sub-sections are each composed of one *dar* or house. The latter are sometimes considered a sub-section of the Āl Sa'id.

[62a] The following are *Mansabs* of the Kathīri: Ahmed bin Hussein al Aidarus, 'Umar bin 'Abdulla and Muhammad bin 'Ali al Habashi, and Hasan bin Salih al Bahr.

'AWĀMIB.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqīl.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bin Hatāb | | Tarba an Neid | 150 | Ahmed 'Abdul Qawi. |
| | Al Matrif | | | |
| | Al Hadhir | | | |
| | As Seif | | | |
| | Al Kowa'i | | | |
| Bin Salim | | Tarba | 40 | |
| Bin 'Abdul Bāqī | | Sahil Muhsin | 150 | Mansur bin Bukheit bin Kartam. |
| | 'Areidi | | | |
| | Beni Kheir | | | |
| Bin Khamīs | | Eastern Sahīl | 60 | Salih 'Abdulla bin Gharib. |
| | Bin Ghareiya Al 'Ulus. | | | |
| Bin Kasbūba | | Sharma | 70 | Karama bin as Saqīr. |
| | Kasabib al Kahtan | | | |
| | Bin ad Dawal | | | |
| | Al Beihan | | | |
| Bin Ja'fer | | Tarba an Neid | 80 | Sālim bin 'Ali bin Husn. |
| Bin Kalfla | | do. | 100 | do. |
| | Al Muhammad | | | |
| | As Sūeid | | | |
| Bin Tabī'a | | Mushta an Neid | 40 | |
| Bin Wu'eil | | | 60 | |
| Bin Hūeilī | | | 20 | Sa'id bin Muhammad. |
| Bin Baraham | | Wadi adh Dhahab | 50 | |
| Awanza | | Taris | | |
| Al Qannas | | | | |
| Al Yokhlyir | | | | |
| | | | 820 | |

The 'Awāmir are a part settled, part nomad, tribe living between An Neiza and Ghurf in the main Wadi Hadhramaut due south of Tarim and the northern mountains. Their territory includes Tarba, Wadi, Thibi, An Neid, and Al Mishqās, and in the main valley their settlements are in Wadi Tarba on the right bank, the opposite bank being entirely devoid of vegetation. They obtain their imported supplies of food from Shihr. The Qu'aiti has a "B agreement with the 'Awāmir, whose armed strength has been estimated at from 600 to 1,000. 631 619 101 7

Beduin sections of the tribe, said to number some thousands, live in the Oman Sultanate; they belong to the Bin Khamis, Bin Kallla, and Awanza clans. Miles refers to the 'Awāmir in Oman as follows: "The Awāmir are both Bedoo and Ibadhi, are of Maaddic stock, and claim descent from Amr bin Saasaa, but are now Hinawi.[1] The Bedouin and larger portion of this tribe roam the desert as far as Dhofar, but the settled portion of the tribe occupy a group of twelve villages near Nezwa in Orman Proper. They number about 1,200 or 1,400 souls and the shaikhs reside at Kuriatain. The Bedouins are very wild and savage and are said to speak a dialect of their own. The Awāmir are at feud with the Jenebeh and have about thirty fakhths" (sub-divisions). He also states that they are said to "traverse the desert very extensively, and probably no part of it, except the Dahna, is altogether inaccessible to them. Part of the Awāmir tribe are settled in the Province of Oman Proper and follow agricultural pursuits. The Bedouin portion of the Awāmir is perhaps the most widely scattered of all the Oman tribes, wandering as far as Hadhramaut in a state of semi-savagedom, and it is probable that no wilder or more predatory race exists in Arabia."

"The Awāmir at Ras Noos", he says, "are genuine Bedoos and wear Hadhramaut clothes and speak a different dialect to Oman; it is hardly intelligible but is better Arabic." He goes on to say that some 'Awāmir came to Muscat overland on camels and in some places were five or six days without water. He also mentions the 'Awāmir as being one of the chief Omani tribes engaged in camel breeding, and possessing large herds of these animals.

It is a custom among the 'Awāmir that if two clans are in dispute a third may interfere to settle. The Bin Salim clan are sometimes stated to be a section of the Bin Hatāb. The Al Muhammad section of the Bin Kallla are said to be both settled and nomadic, but the As Sūeid section are purely nomad. The Qu'aiti states that he has a B agreement with the Al Beihan al 'Awāmir which presumably refers to the section of the Bin Kasbūba. [628]

The As Salibla Seiyids have influence over the Bin Hatāb and Kasbūba clans, Seiyid 'Abdulla bin Ahmed Bu Futein has influence over the clans living in Tarba, and Seiyid Tahir bin Bubakr Āl Tahir over the Āl Muhammad.

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[1] This is clearly an error, *vide* genealogical tree.

7 [See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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## Āl Jabir.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Hāj or Āl Sāh. | Āl 'Āmr | As Seiqa | 150 | Muborek bin Muhammad, Sa'id bin Salih Qahtan, and Yamāni bin 'Umar. |
| | Āl Yamāni | Rasib | 350 | |
| | Āl Ahmed āl Hāj | Sakrān | 130 | |
| | Balgheirān | do. | 20 | |
| | Bin 'Abūdān | 'Adam | 20 | |
| | Bin 'Umar bin Sādiq. | Bāyūt | 10 | |
| Āl 'Aun | Āl Ridhwān | Husn bin Dhobān | 35 | Salih 'Umar. |
| | Āl 'Umeish | do. | 35 | |
| | Bin Hijār | An Ni'r | 6 | |
| | Bin Sultan and Bin Sa'dut. | Adh Dhieiqa and An Ni'r. | 30 | |
| Āl Hasan | Bin Bedr | Wadi Bin 'Ali | 100 | Salim bin 'Ali bin Bedr. |
| | Bin Sa'id bin 'Āmr | do. | 100 | |
| | Bin Mar'i bin 'Āmr | do. | 50 | |
| | Bin Jābir bin 'Āmr | do. | 50 | |
| | Balkeirs' | do. | 30 | |
| | Bin 'Abūdān | do. | 25 | |
| | Bin Ja'fer bin 'Āmr | | | |
| Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar. | Bin 'Ali bin 'Umar | Sāh, Gheil bin Yomrin. | 50 | |
| | Āl Mutrihim | Hikma | 15 | |
| | Al 'Afār | Wadi Shahūh | 50 | |
| | | | 1,256 | |

[731
167]

The Jābiris in the Wadi Bin 'Ali are mostly agriculturists. They obtain their supplies from Shihr. Some members of the tribe have connections in Java and Singapore, but the tribe as a whole is very poor, and owing to famine and distress many of the members, men and women, have emigrated to the African coast in search of a livelihood. The total number of the tribe has been variously estimated from 800 to over 1,000.

The sections of the Āl Hāj clan have been stated to be sections of the Āl Sāh clan which was referred to in Chapter XX. With the exception of a very few of the Āl Yamāni section who are nomads, the whole clan are settled. The Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar clan are entirely nomadic and ply their camels for hire. Seiyid Al Hasm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus has influence over the Jābir.

Besides the Kathīri and Jābiri settlements in Wadi Bin 'Ali there are a few houses of independent tribes called Āl Seif and Beni Sa'd, who do not consider themselves as in any way allied or subordinate to the Kathīri Sultans of Seiyun.

## Al Bajri.

| Clan. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Quseiyer | 'Ardh Būr | 100 | Sa'id bin Qutāmī and Salih bin Muhammad. |
| Āl Ahmed bin 'Ali | do. | 70 | |
| Bin 'Awadh bin 'Abūd | | | |
| Bin Rattas | | | |
| | | 170 | |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The Bājrī live on the left bank of the main wadi at a distance of about ten miles north-east of Seiyun. They are surrounded by the tribes of Āl Kathīr and 'Awāmir. It is not universally admitted that the Bājrī are a true Shanfari tribe, but they nevertheless recognize the Sultan of Seiyun as their chief. There is a story that the Bājrī are the original inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, but that in course of time they became absorbed by stronger immigrant tribes. They are all agriculturists but their cultivation being on the left bank is very poor. 631 619 101

The *Mansabs* of the Āl Quseiyer are 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and Qadir adh Dhibab. Hussein bin 'Aidarus Āl Sallla also has influence over the tribe. [622]

## CHAPTER XXIII

### EMIGRATION: COLONIES OF HADHRAMIS ABROAD

There are probably few countries in the world where a larger proportion of the population lives abroad than the Hadhramaut. Between 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. of the estimated population of the Hadhramaut lives in the East Indies, East Africa, or Egypt and the countries bordering the Red Sea. 167

A great number of these emigrants do not proceed abroad for good, but expect to return when they have made their fortunes and die in their native land. Fortune with them is a relative term, for while some of them amass amounts that would not be despised in America the ambition of others is far more modest, and many run only to a few hundred or a few thousand Maria Theresa dollars. [556]

Apart from the 90,000 to 100,000 Hadhramis now living abroad there are a very large number in the country itself who have been abroad, and I have already commented on the fact that Malay and Swahili have really become naturalized languages in the country. [191]

It is not only of recent years that the Hadhramis have learnt the habit of leaving their native homes to seek their fortunes abroad. As Schoff points out, we learn from the *Periplus* that since the earliest time they have had a view beyond their own borders. Then as now, he says, " the outlook of Hadhramaut was towards India by sea and towards Egypt by land. Bent found the same conditions; the capital full of Parsee merchants, the natives going to India, the Straits and Java, and returning when they had amassed a competence; the English protectorate accepted because of England's domination of India, in the face of the religious convictions of rulers and people (*Geographical Journal*, IV, 322). Maltzan described the Hadhrami traders in Cairo as the keenest of the lot, and spoke of their activities in the East; while the Dutch Government, finding the islands of Java and Sumatra overrun with Hadhramaut Arabs, stimulated inquiries of them in Batavia."

67 At this time, too, they had their connection with the East African coast for the *Periplus* says that it was governed "under some ancient right that subjects it to the sovereignty of the state that is become first in Arabia."[1]

Even in the Arabian Nights do we find reference to this emigration of the Hadhramis. As will be seen the Hadhramis almost universally maintain a connection with and an affection for their native land so that it will be of interest to give the following quotation:

"In time he reached Labej where he found a ship ready to sail for India; so he shipped on board and made Calicut of Malabar. Here he met with many Arabs, especially Hazramis, who recommended him to the King; and this King (who was a Kafir) trusted him and advanced him to the captainship of his bodyguard. He remained ten years in all solace and delight of life; at the end of which time he was seized with home-sickness; and the longing to behold his native land was that of a lover pining for his beloved; and he came near to die of yearning desire. But his appointed day had not dawned; so, after taking the first bath of health, he left the King without leave, and in due course landed at Makalla of Hazramaut." (Burton, Vol. V, p. 136.)

Commenting on the passage Burton relates the story of a man who, flying from "Hazrami" society, reached the uttermost parts of China where he thought himself safe, but as he was about to pass the night in some ruin he heard a voice hard by him exclaim, "Oh 'Imad ad Din,"[2] the name of the patron saint of Hazramaut. "Thereupon he arose and fled and he is, they say, flying still."

The emigration of Hadhramis to foreign parts is therefore no new phenomenon, but its long continuance and the steady expansion of the Hadhrami communities in other countries, to which probably the brake applied by the recent depression is only temporary, is not without significance in considering the future of the country. Not only is it probably responsible for the more open and receptive atmosphere in the Hadhramaut but it is also probable that it has a considerable bearing on the growing desire in the country for peace and good government.

[433] There is a further point. Although the Hadhramaut could no doubt produce more under proper guidance the resources of the soil can never make it wealthy, and the item of invisible exports to the extent of £630,000 annually represented by remittances of money into the country is not to be neglected.

114 The first systematic attempt to examine the position of Hadhramaut colonies abroad was made by Professor Van den Berg in his noteworthy study on the Hadhramaut and the Arab colonies

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[1] Stigand says (*Land of Zinj*) that the Arabs call Pate, Bata and derive the word from a tribe named Batawe which left Hadhramaut and settled in Pate.

[2] Probably 'Amud ad Din *vide* Chapter XVII.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



n the Indian Archipelago, published in 1886. In this work, which in Part 1 contains a remarkably full account of the country and the people by one who had never set foot in it but had learnt more about it than anyone who had, the author examined in great detail the Arab colonies in the East Indies. He comments on the fact that when an Arab established in the Indian Archipelago sees that one alone no longer suffices for his business, he engages in preference a young man of his family or of his tribe. This is the reason why in all the Arab colonies the majority of the immigrants are from the same part of the Hadhramaut. Thus he says the greater number of Arabs in the Indian Archipelago originally hail from the main wadi between Shibam and Tarim. The inhabitants of the Wadi Du'an prefer to go to the colonies in Aden, Jedda, Suakin, or Cairo. The people of the coast choose British India, above all the coast of Malabar and Hyderabad. The Beduins, he says, rarely leave their country. 114 167 472

The situation is much the same to-day. As regards the East Indies the majority of the emigrants to Java are from the Āl Kathīr, though the inhabitants of Tarim and Wadi Hajarein (particularly the towns of Badra and Haura), and the tribes of Nahd and Ja'da are also represented. The Singapore community originates principally from the towns of Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, and the Nahd tribesmen. Turning to East Africa the majority of the immigrants are from the Tamimi tribe, the Bā Haidera, and the tribes of Hajr. Zanzibar has a close connection with the ancient town of Shihr, and for this reason Hadhramis in the Protectorate are almost universally referred to as Shihiris. The Red Sea contingent is recruited mainly from the Wadi Du'an, and Du'anis are found in Egypt, Jedda, Abyssinia, and the Sudan. There are also a few from the Wadi Hajr in Jedda and from Shibam and the Nahd in Abyssinia and Sudan. 167

Although the general tendency is for the Hadhramaut colonies abroad to be recruited from particular places in the home country it will be observed that there is some overlapping, and this is due to the great extension of emigration and to the fact that there is nowadays more movement in the interior of the Hadhramaut. The Nahd tribesmen, notably, have many of them become almost townsmen, and living largely in the main wadi are in frequent touch with different parts of it.

There is yet another important contingent of Hadhramis abroad to be mentioned and this consists of those in the service of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Qu'aiti authorities informed me that this contingent amounts to 5,000 or 6,000 in number, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are Yafa'is, mostly with Hadhramaut connections. There are also many Hadhramaut tribes represented such as the Nūwah, the Ja'da, and even the Sei'ar. The command of the Nizam's bodyguard is held by the Sultan of Mukalla as hereditary Jemadar. This does not exhaust the list

167 of Hadhrami colonies abroad, though it includes the most important. Hadhramis are almost ubiquitous in the near east and in the south-western parts of the Indian Ocean. I know of some in Madagascar and in the Comoro Islands.

While the general tendency of recruitment of the Hadhramaut colonies abroad is as above stated, it is not to be taken that these colonies are recruited exclusively in the manner indicated. Thus I know of Sei'ars who have been to East Africa, and I know of Kathīris who have been to both East Africa and Java. Years ago I had a boy from the town of Tarim in my service in Zanzibar. We found occasional Swahili-speaking people all over our route. The fact that in the Manahil and Mahra parts of the main wadi I met men who had been in East Africa is perhaps due to the fact that the former of these people are neighbours of the Tamimi, and that the latter are continually travelling down the wadi to Seihut. The connection of Seihut and Qishn with East Africa which I also observed seems to be purely from a seafaring point of view. Further east in Murbat in the Dhufar Province of Oman the connection with East Africa is historical and the Swahili I heard spoken was spoken by Swahili slaves. There were also examples of this in the Hadhramaut.

Another change to be noticed from the time of Van den Berg's report is that the Beduins have to some extent taken to emigration. In this respect the case of the Sei'ars is considered remarkable even by the people in the country. Living well off the beaten tracks away to the north of the main wadi, and separated from the sea by miles of country inhabited by people to whom the word Sei'ar is anathema, I think it indeed does call for comment that these people are now not only going down to the sea in ships as passengers but as sailors.

000 It will be of interest now if we consider the life and activities of the Hadhramis in their adopted countries. With a view to obtaining up-to-date information on this point enquiries were addressed to the Governments of the various countries concerned as to the numbers of Hadhramis resident in the territories under their administration, whether they were increasing or decreasing, their occupation, their trade with the Hadhramaut, whether they coalesced with other members of the community, and generally the part they played in the life of their adopted countries. An enquiry was also made as to what proportion of them permanently severed their connection with the Hadhramaut.

The thanks of the Residency have been addressed to the Governments of the Straits Settlements, the Sudan, Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and to His Majesty's High Commissioner for Egypt and H.M's. Consul General at Batavia, for the interesting reports they have forwarded. I am also indebted to Captain B. W. Seager, Frontier Officer of the Aden Protectorate and formerly pro-Consul at Jedda, for information regarding the Hadhramis in the Hejaz.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB1
Arabs



# CHAPTER XXIV.

## HADHRAMIS IN THE EAST INDIES.

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*Netherlands East Indies.*—From the point of view of numbers and wealth the colonies of Hadhramis in the East Indies easily come first, and for this reason I am particularly grateful for the detailed report forwarded through the Acting Consul General by Dr. L. de Vries, Deputy Adviser for Native Affairs to the Government of the Netherlands East Indies.

Dr. Vries has given so fully the history of the growth of these settlements that it is hardly necessary for me to refer back to Professor Van den Berg's book, and for this reason I do no more than give the statistics of Professor Van den Berg which show the distribution of the sexes.

| *Colony.* | *Arabs born in Arabia.* | | *Arabs born in East Indies.* | | | *Total in 1885.* | *Total in 1870.* | *Total in 1859.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men.* | *Children.* | *Men.* | *Women.* | *Children.* | | | |
| Java and Madura | 1,852 | 66 | 2,092 | 2,384 | 4,494 | 10,888 | 7,495 | 4,992 |
| Sumatra ... | 573 | 17 | 2,311 | 2,567 | 4,145 | 9,613 | 4,917 | 2,776 |

The Sumatra figures were not exhaustive and in addition it was estimated that there were perhaps another 220 in places from which figures had not been received.

I now give Dr. de Vries' report in full.

"1. *Total, increasing or decreasing.*—The Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies, almost without exception come from the Hadhramaut so that the following particulars, principally referring to Arabs in general may be held to apply to the Arabs, resident here, coming from the Hadhramaut.

The oldest Arab settlements in the Netherlands-Indies were established two and a-half centuries ago in Sumatra (Siak) and in Borneo (Pontianak); the settlements in Palembang, Java and Madoera date from a later period. Raffles reports in his "History of Java" the existence of an Arab colony in the town of Grisee, where to this day they form an important group of the population. Full figures of the number of Arabs at that time are, however, not known; they could not have been numerous. The oldest complete figures are recorded by the Government Census in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1860 there were nearly 9,000 Arabs counted in the Netherlands-Indies and after a great increase in 1900 there were three times as many. Since 1900 the increase is still greater; the average yearly increase during the period 1920-30 was 4·7 per cent against scarcely 3 per cent. between 1905-20 and 2·7 per cent. in the preceding period between the Government's census.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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*Total of Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies.*

| *Year.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|
| 1860 | 8,909 |
| 1880 | 16,025 |
| 1885 | 17,250 |
| 1890 | 21,640 |
| 1895 | 24,410 |
| 1900 | 27,399 |
| 1905 | 29,588 |
| 1920 | 44,902 |
| 1930 | 71,335 |

This accelerated increase in the last ten years cannot be accounted for by an equally great increase in the total of immigrants. The annual total number of immigrants was indeed higher in these years than in the preceding period but the total number of new-comers to the country in the period 1921-30, 7,000 in all, does not weigh much against the total increase of about 26,000 souls, because a number of these new-comers are eliminated either by death or departure.

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[163]

The chief cause of this accelerated increase must be sought in the rising birth-rate for the children of immigrants who have nearly all established themselves for good and founded families here.

This may be seen by studying the life figures of the whole population group of Other Foreign Orientals which group undoubtedly reflects, in its main lines, the figures for the Arab community.

*Total of Arabs with their families permitted to enter the Netherlands-Indies.*

1900–1933.

| *Period.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|
| 1900–1903 | 1,367 |
| 1904–1907 | 1,958 |
| 1908–1911 | 1,793 |
| 1912–1915 | 2,186 |
| 1916–1919 | 1,066 |
| 1920–1923 | 2,612 |
| 1924–1927 | 2,377 |
| 1928–1931 | 2,882 |

| *Year.* | |
|---|---|
| 1921 | 538 |
| 1922 | 701 |
| 1923 | 654 |
| 1924 | 444 |
| 1925 | 490 |
| 1926 | 567 |
| 1927 | 876 |
| 1928 | 895 |
| 1929 | 1,036 |
| 1930 | 485 |
| 1931 | 466 |
| 1932 | 287 |
| 1933 | 231 |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia 081
Arabs



This is not merely a phenomenon of recent times; formerly also Arab immigrants for the most part settled for good in the Netherlands-Indies. Thus there are now many Arab families who have lived in the Netherlands-Indies for generations and have proportionately become more numerous. In this "nucleus" group and amongst the children of new-comers' families there is a natural equality of men and women. These groups are so large that the entire Arab community, "nucleus" immigrants' children together with the almost solely male immigrants, has a lesser shortage of women than the other non-indigenous population groups in the Netherlands-Indies, and this has also been the case in former years. Among the European population the excess of males over females was only reduced in 1930 by the recently increased immigration of European women. I [163]

The gradually rising birth-rate for immigrants' children and for children of Arabs themselves born here, has produced a very large group of minors who will, in due course, when they become adult, greatly exceed the present numbers of middle-aged adults. An increase in the procreative capacity of the Arab population group is therefore to be expected and thus also, after some time, a corresponding increase in the Arab population group.

2. *Occupations.*—The Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies come almost without exception from the Hadhramaut. The principal means of subsistence of most Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies is trade, in various forms, and principally trading in batiks and sarongs. Pekalongan and Sole are the centres of their batik trade. Some, like the Chinese, do business in haberdashery in Middle and East Java. Like the Chinese they also form a link between the European retailer and the native. They try to hawk various goods for large profits amongst the native population. This, however, is usually very risky for them. They deliver goods generally to the less substantial buyers on easy payment terms. Bankruptcies occur often among the Arabs. Then their insolvent estates must be saved by the College for the Administration of Intestate Estates (Wees- and Boedelkamer). Many Arabs are money-lenders either openly or in a disguised form. The coastal trade with sailing ships was formerly largely in Arab hands; but this now means little to them. Agriculture, handicrafts and occupations for which a certain education is essential, are only in exceptional cases carried out by them. There are also among the Arabs some wholesale merchants, landowners and estate-owners; the latter own extensive landed property and tea estates. H 167 437 I 563 441 426 423

3. *Trade with the Hadhramaut.*—So far as we know there are, generally speaking, no trade relations between the Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies and the Hadhramaut. The only close contact with the Hadhramaut is through their families there; they regularly send money and other necessities for their maintenance. H 439 457 I 439

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB 1
Arabs



H 563 582 871 I 563 658

4. *Coalescence with other members of the community in the Netherlands-Indies.*—The method of living and the language among Arab families in the Netherlands-Indies and particularly in the Netherlands-Indian Arabic families, are practically the same as among the Netherlands-Indian population of corresponding kind and position. In the Hadhramaut women do not travel abroad according to the customs of their country. Arabs who wish to found a family in the Netherlands-Indies are thus obliged to look for a wife among the native population, or among the daughters of their own country-men who have been born and brought up in the Netherlands-Indies. The more well-to-do aim at sending their sons to the Hadhramaut or to the private Arabic schools existing here to complete their education. This helps to keep up their knowledge of the Arabic language and Arabic customs. The sons of those who are less well-to-do for the most part receive no Arabic education, and thus know little of their own language and customs. The establishment by the Government of the H.A.S. (Holland-Arabic School) at Sole in recent years provides an opportunity for the Arabs to give their children also a Western education.

H 798 I 798 671

5. *The part they play in the life of their adopted country.*

The principal part played by the Arabs in this country in the life of the community is of a religious nature. The Hadhramis, once they have been established in the Netherlands-Indies, generally take care to moderate the fanaticism ruling their fatherland. But some of them have shown a keen proselytising spirit in their own localities. Above all the law scholars in the Arabic community have had a steadying and by no means inconsiderable influence on Islam in the Netherlands-Indies, through their teaching, their pupils and their widely distributed writings. These law scholars are consulted by their native colleagues in cases concerning Mohamedan law and several "fatwas" or expert judgments exist thanks to them.

H 167 641 186 I 641

6. *What proportion permanently sever their connections with the Hadhramaut.*

None of the Arabs in this country who have been born in the Hadhramaut completely sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. Many of them are so attached to the land of their birth that they have only one wish and that is to spend the last days of their lives in the Hadhramaut. Some of them who have grown rich here return from time to time to the Hadhramaut to visit members of their families and for a short change. Now and then one will leave the Netherlands-Indies to establish himself once more for good in the Hadhramaut. Lately a group of Netherlands-Indian Arabs have been trying to establish connections with the native populations. These Arabs desire to consider the Netherlands-Indies as their fatherland. They will also try to adapt their

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
[Straits Settlements] Indonesia OB1
Malaya AN1



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manner of living to the necessities of this country. They consider the Hadhramaut only the land of their ancestors."

*Straits Settlements.*—As regards the Straits Settlements Van den Berg gives some statistics which will serve as a comparison with the present day state of affairs.

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"In the English possessions on the peninsula of Malacca the first census of Arabs is that of 1874; the last which has been published by the Colonial Government is that of 1884.

| Province. | Men. | Women. | Children. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *1874.* | | | | |
| Singapore ... ... ... | 189 | 111 | 165 | [illegible] |
| Malacca ... ... ... | 81 | 87 | 135 | [illegible] |
| Penang ... ... ... | 106 | 106 | 110 | [illegible] |
| Wellesley ... ... ... | 11 | 8 | 13 | 32 |
| Total ... ... | 387 | 312 | 423 | 1,122 |
| *1884.* | | | | |
| Singapore ... ... ... | 445[1] | 165 | 225 | [illegible] |
| Malacca ... ... ... | 70 | 71 | 86 | 227 |
| Penang ... ... ... | 163 | 158 | 200 | 521 |
| Wellesley ... ... ... | 21 | 14 | 18 | 53 |
| Total ... ... | 699 | 409 | 529 | 1,637 |

"The English statistics make no distinction between Arabs born in Arabia and those born in the Indian Archipelago.

"As for the Arab colonies in English possessions, the most ancient is that of Malacca. but it is decaying, like the town itself, since the foundation of Singapore in 1819. It consists at the present time almost entirely of half-castes, the majority of whom are poor. Those who had the means and energy left the town to settle at Singapore. There is found at present the most flourishing, though not the largest, Arab colony in all the Indian Archipelago. It is the point by which all Arabs pass who go to seek their fortunes in the extreme East. Also the number of new arrivals there increases each year. It is the same with the Arab colony of Poulou Penang, although much inferior to the preceding. In the English possessions the Arabs have no chiefs of their own nationality; they are placed under the direct orders of the European authorities."

He also gives the following information regarding the wealth of the Arab immigrants in Singapore. Those having an annual income of 600 to 3,600 florins were estimated at 90, from 3,600 to

[1] From information collected by myself in person, this figure is much too high. There are, at most, 200 adult Arabs actually settled at Singapore. I think it is possible to explain the figure of the official statistics: persons passing through Singapore on their way to Dutch possessions must have been entered in the registers.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
[Straits Settlements] Malaya AN 1


H 167 12,000 at 50, and more than 12,000 at 15. To-day the estimated number of the community in Singapore is 580, made up as follows :—

M 162 167

| Born in Hadhramaut | | Born in Singapore. | | Children above 10 years say |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. | |
| 120 | 20 | 160 | 180 | 100 |

M [163] The females born in Singapore are of mixed race with Arab, Malay, Javanese, Bugis, and Chinese blood. It may be presumed that this remark applies to some of the males born in Singapore and most of the children.

H 167 463 M 162 167 563 The number of Hadhramaut Arabs in Singapore to-day is about 10 per cent. less than in 1925. This reduction is attributed chiefly to the slump which caused some members of the community formerly resident in Singapore to move to neighbouring countries, and principally Java. The Hadhramis in Singapore are principally occupied as

1. House, land, and estate proprietors.
2. Kain Batik (cloth) dealers.
3. Miscellaneous professions including importers of merchandise from Arabia.
4. Brokers.
5. Religious teachers and *Imams*.

M 563 H 167 The community for its size is the wealthiest in Singapore owing to its large holdings in house, land, and estate property. Lee Warner (Geographical Journal, March 1931) says that "whole streets in Singapore and Penang are owned by wealthy Hadhramis, mainly of the Kathiri tribes." The community, probably owing to the religious objection to interest, invests its profits in land and house property.

The 13 principal individuals or families represented in Singapore own property valued at 21,800,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to about £2,544,000. Out of this amount the wealth of one family is estimated alone at 10,000,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to nearly £1,170,000. Two other fortunes also run into millions of dollars.

M 439 H 439 Trade with the Hadhramaut, or more accurately with Arabia, is not carried on on a large scale. It is confined to: *Exports:* cloth (Kain Batik), sandalwood, incense, crockery, and brassware. *Imports:* ghee, honey, Arab incense, native medicines and herbs, rosaries, and Arab coffee.

M 563 H 186 Regarding the part played by the Hadhramis in local affairs the information given is that the Hadhrami-born element does not take much interest in local social life or politics, but confines itself to its own groups. These people are conservative, good business men, respectable, dignified, and patriotic to their own country of origin and law-abiding to their country of adoption. They confine their interests to money making and religious exercises and maintain

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Malaya AN1
Kenya FL1



close relations with the Hadhramaut. One Hadhramaut-born Arab, Sheikh Salim bin Muhammad Bin Talib al Kathīri, is a Justice of the Peace. M 563 H 186

The younger generation of Singapore-born Hadhramis are said to take more interest in local social life than in business. They are more interested in merry making than in money making and do not possess much character nor love for their country of origin. Like the young Arabs in other countries they appear to have fallen victims to the easier side of modern influence, and have become Malayanised and not of much use either to the country of their origin or to that of their adoption. Amongst them of course are members of an older, pre-War generation, born in Singapore and like the old Hadhrami-born Arabs maintaining a proper loyalty to both countries. Two of these are Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Sheikh al Kaf and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Juneid al Juneid, both of whom are Justices of the Peace. M 563 178 H 186 178

## CHAPTER XXV.

## HADHRAMIS IN EAST AFRICA.

*Kenya Colony and Protectorate.*—The Kenya Non-Native Census Report for 1921 stated that Arab settlement in the country had gone on for centuries and that there was still a steady influx of Hadhramaut Arabs which was to be encouraged. "They are", says the report, "a virile, industrious, and thrifty race, and some authorities maintain that the regeneration of the coast is dependent on their efforts." Nine hundred and twenty Arabs, or 8·7 per cent. of the Arab population of Kenya, of whom 688 were males and 232 females, returned themselves as Hadhramis, but 1,347 other gave Arabia as birthplace. It was considered safe to assume that practically all of them were from the Hadhramaut or born in Kenya. As regards their occupation the Arabs showed themselves the most independent of any non-European race, for 67 per cent. of them were working on their own account. More than half the Arab males were traders and such women as were employed were classified Industrial. Many Hadhramis were employed on *hamali* transport and as water sellers. Commenting on this the report says the two trades beloved of the Shihiri Arabs still survive in spite of the competition of the motor lorry in the former case, and in the latter of the installation of a water supply. H 167 K 167 464

The District Commissioner of Mombasa states that there are today approximately 5,000 natives of Hadhramaut and Shihr in this district. There has been no change in their numbers during the past five or six years. Their principal occupations are water-carrying, coolie work, and petty trading. There is practically no trade with Hadhramaut. A number of them intermarry with other communities, and some families are permanently settled in the country. There was a time when they monopolised coolie work, but i very many cases they have been replaced by Africans. K 162 464 H 167

1:Ingra.. s G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Kenya FL 1
Tanganyika FN 1



H 167 K 167 It is a pity, he says, that for some years past almost all immigrants from Hadhramaut and Shihr have not been of the type that could be said to be of any economic value to the country. Many are professional beggars and almost all are of the type that only remain in the country to earn a few shillings and then return to their country.

H 167 457 K 167 Particularly undesirable temporary immigrants are the "Sheriffs."[1] These people visit the country once a year and besides collecting as much money as they can from their people, they are a positive danger inasmuch as they invariably foment discontent and ill-feeling between their own communities. Some settle down and live on others, doing no work themselves.

457 The families permanently settled here are loyal and law-abiding. They own property and keep their money in the country. There was a time when very good families used to immigrate to the country. The immigration of natives of Hadhramaut and Shihr dates back to the time when the Sultan of Zanzibar used to import them as soldiers guarding the Forts.

K 162 167 182 439 H 167 The District Commissioner of Lamu reports that the number of Hadhramis in the district is approximately 1,500. There does not appear to be any increase apart from the natural internal increase which is not very large. They find employment in most walks of life, particularly as cultivators and petty traders. They seem to be very hard working and ambitious and undertake most work with the object of eventually owning a small shop. They have no trade with the Hadhramaut. They coalesce readily with other members of the community and share the general life of the Arab population of Lamu. They are more recent arrivals in Lamu than the other Arabs but they exercise a definite influence on the community and are gradually becoming more and more prominent in the general life and institutions of Lamu. It is estimated that over 90 per cent. of them have permanently severed their connection with the Hadhramaut.

T 162 167 H 167 *Tanganyika Territory.*—There are said to be at present from 2,000 to 3,000 Hadhramis living in Tanganyika. They are scattered amongst the coastal towns of the Territory chiefly, and are mostly engaged in trade as small shopkeepers and sellers of dried fish, etc. A number of them intermarry with local Africans, but otherwise they do not coalesce with other members of the community.

186 H 167 186 So far as can be ascertained, only a very small proportion of them have permanently severed their connection with the Had-

[1] This probably refers to tithe collecting Seiyids as all the Prophet's descendants in the Hadhramaut are of the line of Hussein. It is interesting to note that they follow their flocks so far afield. I met a *mansab* of this nature in Seihut who had been to Mombasa.

hramaut, and even though they may live in the Territory for many years, they visit their own country when possible and send their children there to school. H 167 186

*Zanzibar.*—Writing of his visit to Zanzibar in 1857 Burton (*Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast*, Vol. 1, p. 378) says, " the poorer Arabs who flock to Zanzibar during the season are Hazramis, and they work and live hard as the Hammals of Stamboul. These men club and mess together in gangs under an Akidah (head man), who supplies them with rice, ghi and scones, and who keeps the accounts so skilfully, that the labourer receives annually about $35, though he may gain four times that sum." Z 167 464 H 167 464

Speaking of the same period Colonel Rigby, His Britannic Majesty's Consul and Honourable Company's Agent, says in his report on Zanzibar for 1860, " a considerable number of Arabs from the Hadhramaut coast also come to labour as porters and carriers, they are a patient, industrious people, and most useful to the merchants in loading and unloading ships."

This was high praise from Rigby who was critical, and contrasts in a remarkable manner with his next statement about immigrants from Sur further along the coast. " The Arabs from the coast of Omān called ' Soorees ' are also numerous; they are a troublesome, turbulent, plundering race always ready for any mischief. They are filthy, squalid, ill featured savages and arrant cowards."

Major F. B. Pearce, a late British Resident at Zanzibar, wrote in 1919 that the Hadhramis formed an important section of the Arab population of Zanzibar. " In physical appearance, pursuits and mode of life they differ somewhat from the Oman Arab. The Mshihiri[1] is a thin, spare man of medium height, without an ounce of superflous flesh on his body. His face is long and thin and generally hairless; and those of them who have not resided sufficiently long in Zanzibar to become enervated by its softening climate and surroundings possess a marked glitter of the eye, indicative of hidden fires within, which might burst forth on little provocation. H 142 167 Z 167

" Under the normal conditions of life in Zanzibar they are hard and willing workers, keeping much to themselves, and living together in a special quarter of the town. H 167 186

" While some of the more influential and wealthier Mshihiris have made Zanzibar their permanent home, the majority come to the Sultanate for a period in order to earn money, and they then return to their own home in Arabia. When in Zanzibar they work in the port loading and unloading ships, and they are in great demand as stevedores up and down the coast. The lighter forms of labour sought for by the Mshihiri is water carrying from house to house, and they perform this work with the same assiduity and ~~tiredness as in the heaviest labour consisted with strength~~. 464 Z 464 167

[1] The singular of the Swahilised form of Shihiri, the plural is Washihiri.

Hingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



OOW H 285

tirelessness as in the heavier labour connected with shipping. They also make all the matting bags, baskets and coverings required for the packing of cloves.

Z 563

"The Mshihiri community possesses its own mosque and burial ground in Zanzibar. In religious views they differ from the Oman Arab by adherence to the Sunni belief."

H 167 Z 167

My friend, Mr. G. H. Shelswell-White, has written a long and detailed account of the Hadhramis in Zanzibar, which has been forwarded by the Zanzibar Government. He begins his note with a historical introduction and after touching on the earliest times already covered above, proceeds as follows, quoting Dr. Krapf (*Travels in Eastern Africa*, 1860).

> "Among the most important phenomena in the early history of Eastern Africa must have been the intercourse kept up with it by the inhabitants of the Arabian sea-board. The southern coast of Arabia must from the earliest period have been necessarily connected with Eastern Africa by the wants of its inhabitants. From Eastern Africa the Arab of the coast derived his corn, his rice, his Durra, his wood, his ivory and especially his slaves."

Although, as has already been stated, there appear to be few specific references to the Hadhramis, their connexion with East Africa must have been at least as intimate and as long-standing as that of any of the other inhabitants of Arabia. Zanzibar Hadhramis, indeed, claim that their ancestors were the pioneers of colonization in East Africa, although according to the Chronicles of Kilwa the first Arab settlers were the Ammu Zeid, the followers of Zeid, son of Hussein, great-grandson of the Prophet. The Hadhramis also claim to have been responsible for the spread of the Sunni sect in these regions.[1]

H 567

Throughout their long connexion with East Africa, the Hadhramis doubtless took a large share in the great slave trade in regard to which the Report of the Select Committee on the Slave Trade of the East Coast of Africa, 1871, stated :—

> "The whole slave trade by sea, whether for the supply of the Sultan's African dominions or the markets in Arabia and Persia, is carried on by Arabs from Muscat and other parts of the Arabian Coast."

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[1] Remembering the South Arabian states of the "Waqt al Jahiliya" the claim to pioneership is justified. I have seen a reference to the conversion of the East African Coast at a very early date, but on this subject see Guillain, Vol. I, p. 161, and my *Zanzibar*, p. 77.

It must be remembered that according to Masudi the Hadhramaut was still Ibadhi in A.D. 944 and until Al Mehajir's descendants established themselves, the country was always backsliding.

The Hadhrami has never been a too exacting missionary abroad, which is probably one reason why he gets on so well.

The Ammu Zeid were of course Shiites and the Zeidis still rule in Yemen.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



In 1876 the Hadhramis were described (Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa*) as being the largest slave holders in Zanzibar and it is stated that they were entirely dependent upon them for their livelihood. It was, in fact, amongst the slaves in the household of a Hadhrami living in the quarter of Malindi that the great cholera epidemic, which subsequently swept over the island and thence to East Africa, began in 1869.

But it was not only in trading that the Hadhramis occupied themselves. From at least the first half of the nineteenth century until comparatively recent times many of them entered the service of the Sultans as soldiers and Government officials (especially treasurers, clerks, Liwalis and Qadhis). Guillain, writing in 1856, says that the Sultan maintained a fairly large number of Hadhramis in the garrisons of Africa and Omān, while in 1877, at the time when Lieutenant (later General) Lloyd Matthews was called in by Sultan Seiyid Barghash to reorganise his army, the Seiyid's forces consisted almost entirely of Persians and Hadhramis (Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*, 1905). In modern times the Hadhramis have maintained their reputation as soldiers, for a large number from Zanzibar joined the Arab Rifles during the Great War. Guillain also mentions that Hadhramis were very largely employed as porters ("*hamalis*") and estimated their floating population in Zanzibar at three or four hundred. In addition, Shihiris were employed for many years as captains and officers in the Sultans' ships.

**Vital Statistics.**

The 1931 Census gives the total Hadhrami[1] population of the Protectorate as 2,797 made up as follows :—

| | *Zanzibar Island.* | *Pemba Island.* |
|---|---|---|
| Zanzibar Town and Native Quarter | 1,313 | 1,333 |
| Districts ... ... ... ... | 151 | |
| | 1,464 | 1,333 |
| Total for Protectorate ... ... ... | 2,797 | |

Of the population in the Island of Zanzibar, 621 are recorded as having been born in the Protectorate and 843 elsewhere. Corresponding figures for the Island of Pemba are not given. It seems clear, however, that the returns are inaccurate for, by common consent, it is not likely that the population in Pemba exceeded two or three hundred (see also 1924 Census, in the Appendix to this note). It should be remembered that as their women rarely emigrate, Hadhramis who settle in the islands mostly marry local

[1] Both in the 1924 and the 1931 Census Reports the only relevant classifications used are "Arabs" and "Shihiris." As, however, the term "Shihiri" when used in Zanzibar frequently denotes the up-country native as well as the coastal inhabitant, it is assumed that the term, as used in the Reports, includes all natives of the Hadhramaut.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



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women with or without Hadhrami blood, so that a large proportion of those included in the Census returns as Hadhramis were by no means of pure stock.

It should also be borne in mind that the major portion of the community in Zanzibar consists of visitors whose number varies with the season, the maximum population occurring during the north-east monsoon (December to March) when the visitors arrive by dhow, and the minimum during the south-west monsoon (May to October) when they return to their homes in Arabia. The 1931 Census was undertaken at the end of March so that the figures given may be taken to represent the maximum population during the year of the count.

According to the 1924 Census, the total Hadhrami population of the Protectorate was then 2,406, but as this Census, although begun on the 11th March, was not completed until the 23rd May when some of the seasonal visitors may already have left the Protectorate, inferences cannot be drawn in regard to any increase or decrease in the population which may have occurred during the period 1924 to 1931. It is said, however, that both the settled and the non-settled elements are decreasing.

Further official statistics in regard to the Hadhrami population are not available. A local estimate, however, places the number of those who are permanently settled in the islands at 200 Hadhramis and 400 Shihiris.

The chief tribes represented in the Protectorate are, in the case of the Hadhramis, the Tamimi, Kathīri, Yafa'i, and Hashimi (Seiyids); and, in the case of the Shihiris, the Masheikh Āl Bā Humeid, 'Awābitha, Bin Sahaq and Ba Ziheir.

In the Township of Zanzibar, where the great majority of them live, the Hadhramis are concentrated for the most part in the quarters of Kiponda and Ngambo, while the Shihiris, just as in 1876 (Christie), reside in the Malindi quarter. The non-settled elements either rent lodgings or are accommodated in the houses of those who have made the Protectorate their home.

The leading members of both sections of the community are as follows:—

*Hadhramis.*—Muhsin Ghalib Al Yafa', Seiyid 'Abdulla Ba Harūn, 'Abdulla Mubarek at Tamim, Muhammad Sa'id Ba Abdo, 'Umar 'Abdulla Jurnah, 'Abdulla Ahmed Ba Fadhl.

*Shihiris.*—Muhammad Sa'id Humeid, Mansur Abeid Barkot, Salim Khamis Salimin, Mubarek Ahmed Ba Seif, 'Abdulla Muhammad Ba Salāma, Naqib Abdur Rab bin 'Umar Kasadi, Muhammad 'Awadh 'Ubulān, Faraj 'Awadh 'Ubulān.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



**Trade and Occupations.**

In the Appendix to this note will be found statistics in regard to the trade between Zanzibar and Aden during the years 1932-4. No separate records are kept in respect of the merchandise with which these notes are mainly concerned (i.e., merchandise transported by [illegible] themselves in dhows), but the following table fu[illegible] the Comptroller of Customs gives a very rough estimate [illegible]

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| *Imports.* | Per cent. | *Exports.* | Per cent. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fish, dried ... ... | 90 | Clove and clove stems ... | 20 |
| Ghee ... ... ... | 100 | Coconuts ... ... | 100 |
| Salt ... ... ... | 75 | Simsim (re-export) ... | 95 |
| Tobacco, native ... | 50 | Coconut oil ... ... | 100 |
| Cotton manufactures ... | 60 | Iron and Steel manufactures ... ... | 100 |
| Medicines ... ... | 100 | | |
| Sugar ... ... ... | 100 | | |
| Colour materials ... | 100 | | |

As, however, it is understood that most of the dhows plying between Zanzibar and the Hadhramaut enter and leave the ports of Mukalla, Seihut and Shihr (imports and exports in respect of which are presumably included under the separate and general head "Arabia") without touching the port of Aden, the foregoing information can be of little value.

It may be said generally, however, that the non-settled elements of the Hadhrami population, who move backwards and forwards between their homes and the Protectorate for the purpose of trading, bring with them, when they arrive in the north-east monsoon, such articles as clothes (loin cloths, etc.), honey, henna, dried fish, salt, ghee, livestock, dates and shark oil (sifa), some of which are obtained en route on the Somaliland coast. A number of the visitors, having disposed of their goods, return to the Hadhramaut a few months later in the south-west monsoon taking with them locally grown millet; others, finding employment, stay on for two or three years or more until they have accumulated sufficient money—two or three hundred rupees or so—to return to their homes.

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The latest Zanzibar Census (1931) does not include statistics in regard to the occupation of the people, but the directions in which the Hadhramis find employment are indicated in the 1924 Census, relevant extracts from which are contained in the Appendix to this note. It will be observed that the commonest occupations were the following, in the order mentioned: General traders, labourers, water carriers, private servants (no occupation), other occupations, Government employees, fishermen, and gold and silversmiths. Included in the list are of course the Hadhrami coolies, stevedores,

H 167 463 Z 463

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



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coffee-shop and small store keepers, and itinerant coffee vendors who are so much in evidence, while particular mention should also be made of the shark and dried fish dealers, the dealers in baskets (*vikapo*) and mats (*majamvi* and *makanda*), and those engaged in the meat trade between Zanzibar and the African mainland ports (especially Kismayu, Lamu and Dar-es-Salaam), in all of which occupations the Hadhramis have almost a monopoly. It is of interest to notice here that the meat trade was almost exclusively in the hands of the Hadhramis as long ago as 1876 (Christie). Fishing and hawking are practised by the Shihiris alone, while basket and mat making is confined to the up-country natives. Fitzgerald writing in 1898 (*Travels in B.E.A., Zanzibar and Pemba*), states that the making of mats (*makanda*), which were used for the exporting of grain, was confined to the Shihiris and the Gunias (Bajunis).

Although, formerly, the Hadhramis owned many clove and coconut plantations and much house property in the Town of Zanzibar, they now have little property of either kind. It is probable that much of it has passed into the hands of Indians.

**Political and Social.**

Z 162 579 563 H 167 579

Absorbed in trade and the accumulation of money, the members of the Hadhrami community are comparatively indifferent to politics and are therefore not important factors in the political life of the Protectorate. Although hot-tempered by nature, they are as a rule law-abiding and loyal, giving little trouble to Government and seldom appearing in the Courts. During the years 1923 to 1928, however, a series of affrays occurred in most, if not all, of which the Hadhramis are known to have been the aggressors. The victims of their attacks were successively the Baluchis, the Khoja and Hindu Indians, and the Muscat and Suri Arabs. The last and most serious disturbance occurred in 1928 when fighting between the Hadhramis and the Omani Arabs continued intermittently for four days during the course of which four persons were killed and some 30 wounded. Nasir bin 'Abdulla al Kathīri,[1] the chief ringleader, and others were subsequently deported. There has been no further trouble.

In 1926 a split occurred in the community, the majority following Nasir bin 'Abdulla (Hadhrami, see above) and the minority Sa'id 'Abūd al Humeid (Shihiri). The rival factions were only prevented from coming to blows by the intervention of the Sultan.

[1] Nasir 'Abdulla is an example of a Hadhrami who emigrates to more than one of the people's favourite hunting grounds abroad. After he and his deported companions had appealed, with the support of His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan, but unsuccessfully, against their removal from Zanzibar he migrated to Java, whither emigrating Kathiris mostly direct their steps, and returned to Mukalla in December, 1934. He has now gone back to his tribe.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar— FM1



The affairs of the community are managed by two associations— Z
that of the Hadhramis (Junia' al Hadhramia) and that of the 162
Shihiris (Juania' Ahl as Sahil)—which also endeavour, as far as 579
possible, to compose differences between individuals. The leading 563
personalities in the associations at present are Muhsin bin Ghalib H
al Yafa' of the Hadhramis and Muhammad Sa'id 'Abūd al Humeid 167
of the Shihiris. Both are semi-officially recognised by Govern- 579
ment as the heads of their community.

The clannish feeling of the Hadhrami prevents him, in Zanzibar H
as in other countries, from mixing with the members of the other 167
communities any more than is necessary for the purpose of his 186
trade or calling. He keeps much to himself and, as a rule, takes Z
little part in local life, political, sporting or social. Even his 563
intercourse with his cousin from Oman is restricted. The language difficulty is no doubt partly responsible in the case of those who are not permanently settled in the Protectorate, but even those who have made Zanzibar their home appear to learn the local language less readily than other foreign elements of the population, and they exhibit the same disinclination for social intercourse with their neighbours. Hardworking and thrifty, unlike their cousins from Omān, and absorbed in their own occupations, they appear to have few forms of entertainment even amongst themselves, dancing and sitting in coffee-shops being almost the sole manner in which they seek relaxation, at any rate in public.

In Zanzibar there is an increasing tendency, especially amongst H
the younger Arabs and Africans, to adopt European clothing. The 186
Hadhramis, however, are little affected by the prevailing fashion, Z
and it is rare to see one of the community attired in anything 563
but his own national dress. As in the case of clothes, so in his manner of living; the Hadhrami, preferring his own customs, does not easily adopt the manners and ways of those around him.

The women of the Hadhramaut have always felt a striking H
aversion to emigrate and, as has already been noticed, it is but 167
rarely that the Hadhrami will bring his wife or female relations Z
to Zanzibar. Even girls who are born in Zanzibar and are taken 563
back to their homes in Arabia seldom return to the Protectorate 582
after attaining puberty. Few of the children born locally, therefore, are of pure stock. As a rule, marriages are not contracted in Zanzibar by those who are not settled on the islands, although liaisons of a temporary kind are frequently entered into, particularly with African women. Those who are more or less permanently settled normally marry members of their own community, but they occasionally seek brides from amongst the Muscat Arabs, the Comorians and sometimes even the Africans.

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The diet of the Zanzibar Hadhramis naturally consists, as far as 563
possible, of those articles of food to which they are accustomed in 262
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1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



Z 563 262 A 167 186

their own homes. It includes fresh and salted fish and shark, wheat porridge (*Shurba* and *Haris*) millet, rice, meat, dates, bread, milk, coffee, and tea.

Z 778

Places of worship are normally shared by both Hadhramis and Shihiris alike, but in practice the Hadhramis mostly congregate in and largely control the Juma's and Mzaham Mosques and the Shihiris the Malindi Mnara Mosque. One burial ground is, on the other hand, used by both sections.

## APPENDIX

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### Trade Between Zanzibar and Aden for the period 1932–1934.

| | Trade Imports and Direct Transhipment Total. | | Domestic Exports, Re-Exports and Direct Transhipment Total. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quantity. | Value. Rs. | Quantity. | Value. Rs. |
| Cloves ... ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 3,486 | 117,768 |
| Clove Stems ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 44 | 188 |
| Fish, dried ... ... ... cwts. | 9,325 | 67,454 | 75 | 600 |
| Fruit, fresh ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 2,295 | 8,697 |
| Ghee ... ... ... lbs.... | 3,520 | 1,420 | ... | ... |
| Salt ... ... ... lbs. | 1,295,802 | 8,917 | ... | ... |
| Tobacco, manufactured ... lbs. | ... | ... | 125 | 337 |
| Tobacco, Native ... ... lbs. | 3,920 | 1,471 | ... | ... |
| Coconuts ... ... ... ... | ... | ... | 12,865 | 276 |
| Sim Sim ... ... ... lbs. | ... | ... | 156,535 | 9,777 |
| Miscellaneous ... ... ... | ... | 433 | ... | ... |
| Instruments, Scientific and Surgical, etc. ... ... ... | ... | ... | 1 | 628 |
| Cotton, manufactured ... ... | ... | 1,404 | ... | ... |
| Silk, manufactured ... ... | ... | 7 | ... | ... |
| Mats, etc. ... ... ... ... | ... | 133 | ... | ... |
| Chemicals ... ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 72 | 6,600 |
| Medicines ... ... ... ... | ... | 6 | ... | ... |
| Stationery ... ... ... cwts. | 4 | 341 | ... | ... |
| Books ... ... ... ... | ... | 4 | ... | ... |
| Goods, manufactured ... ... | ... | 66 | ... | 50 |
| Sugar ... ... ... cwts. | 27 | 386 | ... | ... |
| Food and Drinks ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | 152 |
| Coconut oil ... ... lbs.... | ... | ... | 27,313 | 4,584 |
| Garlic ... ... ... cwts. | 18 | 172 | ... | ... |
| Iron and Steel, manufactured tons. | ... | ... | ... | 428 |
| Bags and Sacks ... ... doz. | ... | ... | 16 | 80 |
| Colour materials ... ... cwts. | 2 | 117 | ... | ... |
| | | 82,331 | | 150,105 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Imports ... ... | Rs. | 82,331 |
| Exports ... ... | „ | 150,105 |
| Total Trade ... | Rs. | 232,436 |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1
Egypt MR1



1924 Census: Hadhrami population of Zanzibar by occupations.

| | Zanzibar Island. | Pemba Island. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| General Traders ... ... ... ... | 387 | 19 | 406 |
| Labourers ... ... ... ... ... | 203 | 5 | 208 |
| Water carriers ... ... ... ... | 200 | 5 | 205 |
| Private servants ... ... ... | 172 | 3 | 175 |
| No occupations ... ... ... ... | 112 | 13 | 125 |
| Other occupations ... ... ... | 56 | 6 | 62 |
| Government employees ... ... ... | 43 | 2 | 45 |
| Fishermen ... ... ... ... ... | 41 | 2 | 43 |
| Tailors ... ... ... ... ... | 37 | 4 | 41 |
| Cultivators ... ... ... ... | 2 | 25 | 27 |
| Landowners (clove and coconut properties only) ... ... ... ... ... | 16 | 7 | 23 |
| Masons ... ... ... ... ... | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Carpenters ... ... ... ... | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| Overseers ... ... ... ... | 8 | 1 | 9 |
| Sailors ... ... ... ... ... | 8 | — | 8 |
| Brokers ... ... ... ... ... | 6 | — | 6 |
| Gold and Silver Smiths ... ... | — | 3 | 3 |
| Weeders ... ... ... ... ... | — | 3 | 3 |
| | 1,300 | 108 | 1,408 |
| Females[1] ... ... ... ... ... | 443 | 97 | |
| Boys under 12 ... ... ... ... | 210 | 63 | |
| Girls under 12[1] ... ... ... ... | 139 | 46 | |
| | 2,092 | 314 | |
| Total for Protectorate ... | 2,406 | | |

[1] Probably almost entirely of mixed blood (see page 155).

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### HADHRAMIS IN EGYPT AND THE COUNTRIES BORDERING THE RED SEA.

*Egypt.*—Most of the Hadhramis in Egypt settled there over half a century ago, starting business in a very small way. Being by nature a prudent and thrifty race they gradually became successful merchants and accumulated fortunes. Formerly they were the only wholesale merchants in Egypt dealing in South Arabian produce.

It is estimated that there are between 400 and 500 Hadhramis in Egypt, including women and children. The community is rather smaller now than in the past. In Cairo the Hadhrami colony lives for the most part in the Gamaliya District near Sayedna El-Hussein Mosque. They are for the most part well-to-do people trading in the produce of Aden and the Hadhramaut, coffee from Yemen, and Syrian soap. The principal occupation is that of coffee or incense merchant. No Egyptian goods are exported by the community to the Hadhramaut, but sums of money representing profits and other

E 162 surplus funds are remitted there annually. In this way the
H 167 members of the community maintain a very real connection with
457 their country of origin. A good deal of real property is owned by the community.

H 167 The number of heads of families resident in Cairo is estimated at from ten to twelve, mostly merchants. There are also about half a dozen students. The numbers are understood to have
E 162 decreased in recent years, as, owing to business depression, several of the merchants have returned to the Hadhramaut. There
167 appears to be no organisation of the community as such in Cairo, there having been no officially recognised Sheikh for many years. The members therefore tend to mingle with other Arabic-speaking communities and frequently marry Egyptian wives. The children of such marriages born in Egypt are naturally brought up in Egyptian ways and thus become scarcely distinguishable from Egyptians. But although they are much Egyptianised the Hadhramis in Egypt do not appear to be much concerned with political matters. Amongst others the al Kaf, Bazara, Baghafar and Banaga families are represented.

Hadhramis registered at the British Consulate General are as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of heads of families ... ... ... | 9 |
| Total number of children in these families ... | 11 |
| Total number of single men ... ... ... | 18 |

All the children were born in Cairo, and all the wives are of Egyptian origin, except one from the Hadhramaut and one from British Malaya.

The professions given include :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchant ... ... ... ... ... ... | 15 |
| Estate Manager ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Technical Student ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |

H 167 *Sudan.*—There does not appear to be an extensive Hadhrami community in the interior of the Sudan. It seems that there is only one in Khartoum who is permanently settled there and runs an eating house. In Omdurman there are two from the Hadhramaut and six from places like Nisab and Balhaf on the western borders of the Hadhramaut. In this small community there are representatives of all the professions undertaken by Hadhramis abroad. There is a merchant who lives on the rentals of his property, there are small traders and there is a porter. About a third of them have definitely severed their connection with the Hadhramaut.

AS 162 At Port Sudan there is an important Hadhrami merchant of the Safi family who has offices in Port Sudan and Suakin. The
167 Acting Commissioner states that Colonies of Hadhramis exist at
H 167

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Arab Sudan MQ 1



AS 162 167 H 167

Port Sudan, Suakin and Tokar, with small groups at Halaib, Akik and Karora. Approximate figures are as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Port Sudan ... ... ... ... ... ... | 180 |
| Suakin ... ... ... ... ... ... | 228 |
| Tokar ... ... ... ... ... ... | 294 |
| Halaib ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| Akik ... ... ... ... ... ... | 30 |
| Karora ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6 |
| | 742 |

They fall roughly into two categories, namely the permanently settled, who have been in these parts since the old days of Suakin, and have to all intents and purposes severed their connection with Hadhramaut, and the visitors, who normally spend about three years in the Sudan between visits of about a year's duration to their homes. The division between the categories is roughly half and half. In the towns, the Hadhramis are primarily shopkeepers or shop assistants. A few work as cooks, bakers and labourers, and in Tokar Delta many have taken up cultivation. Some have become allottees of Government land, that is virtually land owners. There are 37 of these. Others, numbering about 150, work as " nusf " cultivators, that is they work another's land in return for half the profits and hope in due course to become allottees themselves. AS 563 464 H 167

They do not coalesce to any noticeable degree with the local population. The settled Hadhramis principally intermarry among themselves, and show a small natural increase. The visitors occasionally intermarry with local inhabitants, principally the girls of the " Khasa ", that is the rank and file of the Beni Amer whose social status both before and after marriage is low. The majority either have wives in the Hadhramaut or are unmarried. There is a surprisingly large number of bachelors. None of the 30 residents of Akik is married. The visitors, therefore, as applications for entry to the Sudan are only granted very sparingly, show no noticeable increase. Relations with the Hadhramaut are virtually non-existent among the settled Hadhramis. The visitors, as stated, frequently visit their homes and many like to return and spend the evening of their days there. Commercial relations with the Hadhramaut are negligible if not non-existent. AS 563 H 167

The Hadhramis are an industrious and economical people and their profits, which are probably considerable, are taken out of the country[1] by those who return home. They do not use banks but hoard silver or (if they can get it) gold, and carry it out in this form. They are a quiet and law-abiding people and give little trouble to anybody. They are clannish in the extreme and never employ a native if they can find a fellow-countryman. They have a local reputation for meanness, in which respect they certainly H [457] 186 AS 563

1 [i.e., the Sudan -- Analyst]

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Arab Sudan MQ1
Saudi Arabia MJ1



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compare unfavourably with the Hedjazi and the Yemani. All are on the make, and quite prepared to start at the bottom and work up.

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*Saudi Arabia.*—Writing about the year 1885, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje (Mecca, Leiden, 1931) says that the Hadhramis in Mecca are among the most serious competitors of the Indians in the money-lending business. " These come to Mekka almost invariably without money, but endowed with great adaptability and endless endurance. No sense of honour hinders them from making their choice of trade or situation accord solely with the advantages that circumstances offer. Many have begun as heavy porters in Jeddah where the guild of porters carries on the whole traffic between town and harbour : some of these porters become rich men. In Mekka, they, in the first place, seek situations as day labourers in some trade. Thus they gain local and technical knowledge of which they as soon as possible make the most on their own account ; a 14-year old boy who has earned some 25 dollars at once puts 20 of them out at interest, and such small loans often bring in one hundred per cent. even though the time for which the money is lent is only a few months."

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But the dubiously respectable profession of disguised money-lending was not the only occupation of Hadhramis in the Hejaz. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramaut supplied many professors and quotes as eminent amongst them the " almost dwarfish Muhammad Sa'id Ba Beseil " who acted as Amin al Fatwa to the Sheikh al Ulema. At that time the Hadhramis had " from of old " their own Sheikh who transacted business between the local government and his countrymen. Generally speaking the learned doctor gave it as his opinion that religion plays no part in the wanderlust of the Hadhramis, and other observers have made the same comment.

Emigration to the Hejaz, however, was, and no doubt is, for some, in a different category. Many students go there to study and Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramis being brought up in a poor, cultureless land regard the great town of Mecca as a modern Babylon. Those who have a taste for learning derive from the holiness of Mecca blessings not to be found in the Hadhramaut. Immigrants soon adapt themselves to Meccan customs and consider the change a progress.

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Captain Seager estimates that there are about 5,000 Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia to-day. They live mainly in Jedda and Mecca. A few are to be found in Medina but it is doubtful whether they exceed a total of 30 souls. It would be true to say that since 1930 the Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia are decreasing in numbers. This decrease is no accident. Since the advent of the general economic depression, Hadhramis have found it more and more difficult to earn a living in Saudi Arabia. The finances of the country have been shaky for the past four years and money is naturally scarce. This has badly hit the shopkeeper class and by far the greatest

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Saudi Arabia MJ 1



number of Hadhramis are shopkeepers with the result that increasing numbers have elected to return home or emigrate to countries where prospects are somewhat brighter. SA 167

In normal circumstances a number of them are annually attracted to India and a greater number to the Straits Settlements and Dutch East Indies. A lesser but increasing number proceed to Massawa and Mogadisho. H 167

The Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia are almost exclusively (*a*) shopkeepers, (*b*) merchants either in a big or small way, (*c*) money-changers and money-lenders, or (*d*) domestic servants. The shopkeepers are by far the most numerous and it can be said with a degree of accuracy that every other shop (usually stocking cigarettes, matches, spices, cereals, paraffin, etc.) is owned by a Hadhrami who somehow manages to live on next to nothing, and gradually, over a period of years, collects a sum of money which will enable him to return to the Hadhramaut and live in peace and comfort from three months to four years. After this period the Hadhrami will bestir himself and return to his occupation once again. In his absence, a brother, cousin, relative or fellow tribesman will act for him. H 167 457 SA 441

The merchant class is divided into two categories: (1) the big and well-to-do merchant with substantial capital, and (2) the smaller merchants with very limited capital. Category (1) with very few exceptions have taken up their abode permanently in Saudi Arabia. and for the most part have taken up Saudi nationality. This class generally invests its money in immovable property in Saudi Arabia. One Hadhrami in Jedda, for instance, owns about 120 houses, some of which are quite imposing buildings. Category (2) rarely take up their permanent abode in Saudi Arabia and do not change their nationality. They try to make a living in a small way, and, like the shopkeeper proceed on leave to the Hadhramaut when they have collected enough money for themselves and bought presents for their relatives. The Hadhrami money-lenders and money-changers did a roaring trade up to 1930 but the Government then stepped in and clipped their wings. A number of them went out of business and took up shopkeeping and trading. SA 441 SA [42]

The domestic servants are the poorest class. The domestic Hadhrami stays in Saudi Arabia from one to ten years. His wages are small, but like the shopkeeper he saves, scrapes and economises until he is in a position to proceed on furlough to the Hadhramaut. Some of the domestic servants are luckier but they are in the minority: if it should happen that they are employed by persons of means their future is well nigh assured. Their employers allow them to trade in a small way and eventually in the course of years they separate from their masters and set up on their own with quite a substantial capital. It occasionally happens that prominent Hadhramis are given official posts. During the Hashmite regime a Hadhrami (whose family is permanently domiciled in Saudi Arabia) was King Hussein's Minister of Finance. The Saudi Government SA 463 H 167 000

SA 641 while excluding Hadhramis from official posts sometimes call them in as advisers and members of committees.

SA 563 H 167 The Saudi Government

The Hadhramis have a flair for getting on with all classes of the community. In Saudi Arabia they keep well in with the local Government, and, if it comes to a tug-of-war between the British Legation (representative of the Protecting Power) and the Saudi Arabian Government the Hadhrami takes good care to side with the Government. It is very rarely that a Hadhrami seeks the good offices of the British Legation in Jedda in any kind of dispute. If a Hadhrami elects to be very brave he puts up his case tentatively as he fully realises that his life is bound up with the life of the country and that he cannot afford to earn the hostility of any other sections of the community. Generally speaking, the Hadhrami, when he is not working day or night, spends his time sitting on a fence and very ably sums up a position before taking a plunge. The British Legation in Jedda finds them irritating at times as they never know from one day to another whether they are and wish to be considered as British Protected Persons or whether they are British Protected Persons and wish it kept a very dark secret.

It is probable that apart from the big merchant class—and they do not number more than 45 families—it is only on the very rarest occasions that the Hadhramis sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. The Hadhramis are like homing pigeons and find it difficult to stay away from their native country longer than a period of ten years.

H 167 *Aden.*—There are a considerable number of Hadhramis in Aden of whom about 40 are of importance. Du'an is most largely represented with members of the families of as Safi, Bazara, Bā 'Ashin, Bā Shanfar, Bā Sūdān, Bā Quhum, Bā Suleimi, Bā Tawīl, Bā Sindua, Bā Sam, Bā Hakīm, Bā Hamish, and Bā Juneid. From Shibam the families of Bā 'Ubeid and Bā Jarash are amongst those represented. Other families are Bā Fadhl, al Haddād, Bā 'Abbād, Bā Yusuf, az Zūeidi, and Barahīm. Of the Seiyids represented the principal family is the Āl 'Aidarus. The greater number of these important Hadhramis are merchants and traders.

There is a small but important community of Hadhramis in Abyssinia where the Seiyids of Bā Harūn and al Bār from Du'an have business connections.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## APPENDIX I.

### The Tribes of Yafa'.

### Upper Yafais

With the exceptions noted, the Yafais all claim descent from Himyar. The tribes of Upper Yafa' are: 619

I. Mausata. They live to the east of Wadi Banā in Wadi Hatib, which is a tributary of the Banā. They number 4,540 fighting men; their two Naqibs are of the Ahl Asker 'Ali and have their headquarters at Al Qudma. The tribe is divided into four quarters. The sections of the first quarter are Yaslemi, Al Mos'idi, Al Jaradi, and As So'adi. Those of the second are Al Hauthari, Ar Rushedi, and Al Irwi. The third has five, Al Isa'i, Al Hatrashi, An Najdi, Al Hanashi and Al Falahi, and the fourth two, Al Alasi and AL QU'AITI. The district of the AL QU'AITI is situated in Balad Atif bin 'Amir Seilat Hatib and Jebel al 'Ayasha. Their villages are Mazaba, Shamran, Hamari, Kadan, Beit al Buali, Buala, Mosetir, Al Jah, Al Basiri, Harbub, Alat ad Deiri, Alat bin Ahmed, Dhafar, Alat bin 'Amir, Alat ash Shobali, Salab, Al Hulla, Beit al Kumah, Ad Dahia and Ariat al Yam. They also own the following villages in Seilat Hatib: Al 'Ala, Zil Maara, Alat Katram, As Salab, Al Hajar, Kabil at Tuweira, Dal Bueleis, Al Kurein, Hafah, Alat bin 'Amir.

The Dabiani, Kutuan ash Shawahi, Na'wa, and Juban are reported to be further sections of the Mausata, and the Khulaqi (not Himyaritic but from Khuza'a beyond San'a) and Ar Rewi are friends of the tribe.

II. Dhubi, Dubi. The territory of this tribe is in the south of Upper Yafa'. They are bounded by Lower Yafa' on the south, on the east by Um Rasas, on the west by the Bo'si, and on the north by the Mausata and Dabiani. The tribe numbers 5,000 men, and the Dhubi Sheikh resides at Dhisurah. The sections of the tribe are Sura'i or Ahl Dhi Sura, Sharafi, Ahl bin Salah or As Salahi, As Sa'idi, Ahl 'Attif, Ahl As Siyal or as Seili, Al Furdi and Al Hadhrami (practically independent). The Hadhrami are divided into the following subsections: Marfadi, Bakri, Ahl Mas'ud, 'Issa, Tanhi, Ahl Balhei and Ahl Sinan. The Ahl Bakri are said to be a section of the Dhubi tribe but entirely independent.

III. Muflahi. Originally this tribe migrated from Sad Marib. They are divided into two parts; the larger live to the east of wadi Banā beyond the Halmin and the Sheibi, and their chief village is Al Jurba, and the smaller part live to the north, north-west and north-east of Jibal Hawi and the Sheiri country; their chief village is Al Khalla. The sections of the tribe are: As Sakkaf, As Suleimani, Ad Daharia, Adh Dharhani, Al Mashali, Al Muflahi of Khallahani, Ahl 'Abdulla, Ahl Manfaru, Ahl Ar Rubo', Ahl Yunis, Al Fokara, Ahl Zakari and Al Ko'da, Ahl Na'man, Ahl al Jabal Al 'Alix and Ahl Za'mar.

IV. Bo'si. This tribe are bounded on the north by the Mausata, on the east by the Hadhrami, on the south by the Dhubi, and on the west by the Nakhibi section of the Yazidi tribe of Lower Yafa'. They number 2,500 of whom 1,200 are fighting men. There are two sections, Al Hauri and Al 'Amri.

V. Da'udi. They live in Al Had, bounded on the north and north-east by Al Hamrā of Beida, on the west by the Khulaqa, and on the south by the Dhubi. They number 600 to 700 of whom 280 to 300 are fighting men.

VI. Rub'atein. This territory is on the northern border of Upper Yafa'. The Juban and Na'wa bound it on the north, the Dabiani on the east, the Wadi Banā and the Sheibi on the south, and the Marais on the west. The territory is claimed personally by the Upper Yafa' Sultan and is said to have paid tribute to him for over 200 years. It is now in Imanic occupation. There are four districts, Rub'al 'Ilawi, Rub'al Akri, Rub'al Sufi, and Rub'al 'Ureimi. The sections are Beni Keis and Rafai Tarfka (originally from Upper Egypt). The inhabitants number about 2,000 of whom 400 are fighting men.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



619 VII. Sheibi. On the west this tribe are bounded by the Mareis, on the north by Rub'atein, on the east by the Dabiani, Rau and Mufahi, on the south-west by the Muflahi of Khalla and on the south-east by the Halmin. Their chief village is Bakhal. They number 10,000 of whom 2,500 are fighting men. Their connection with Upper Yafa' is indefinite and consists in a doubtful claim by the Naqibs to tribute and military assistance.

LOWER YAFAIS (Yafai Beni Qāsid or Beni Afif).

The following are the tribes of Lower Yafa' :

I. Kaladi. They number 10,000 of whom 3,000 are fighting men. Their sections are, Huwidi, 'Umari, Maudha'a, Baki, Al Bakri, Al Mansari, Al Yusifi, As Sanadi, Da'asi, Saidi, At Talibi, Al Hanashi, Al 'Alawi, Al Hāji, Galladi, Qureiri, Sarahi, Gurdumi, Komati and Ahl Salim.

II. Yahari. This tribe number at most 12,000 of whom at least 6,000 are fighting men. The sections are, Bin Saba', Bin Soaja, Bin Jaradi, Dubhi, 'Umari, Muharrami, Shabahi, Muslimix, Maraban, 'Alawi, Rubii, Himyar al Jibal, Himyar al Wadi, Sha'b al 'Armi, Jebel al 'Amtar, Suneidi.

III. Saadi. They number 4,000 to 5,000 of whom 1,500 are fighting men. Their sections are, Ahl Suleiman, Yahya Nasir, Ahl al Jibal al Kafi, Beni Ahwad bin Ahmed Naum, Maraban, Ahl bin al Ahwar, Ahl bin Qahtan, Wa'lani, 'Umari, Duweidi, Muhammadi, Tami, Kabila, Thamari 'Amiri, Bari'i, Sarahi.

IV. Yazidi. The principal village of the tribe is 'Ali Khadra and the fighting men number 4,500 to 5,000. The sections are Al Batati, Ahl Nuffaji, Ahl 'Alawi Salih, Ahl Kabābi, Ahl Tallubi, Ahl Hama'i, Dhuki, Sinani, Thauwadi and Ahl as Sa'id.

The Di-Nakhib are sometimes considered a tribe and sometimes a section of the Yazidi. They number about 400 fighting men, and their sections or sub-sections are Koro'ei, Kohali, Kanashi, Nasri, KASADI, Kausali, Aghbari, Nakhibi, Asari, Ammari, Quheimi, Mansuri, Bannaji, Murshidi, Faraji, Ahl 'Ileiya, Haji, MASHADI, Az Zifki, 'Awadi and 'Arashi. The KASADI are the origin of the Nakhib. Their village is Sheiwaha and they were reported to have 100 fighting men.

V. Mash'ali. This tribe number about 2,500 of whom 1,200 are fighting men. Their sections are Talibi, Asbahi, As Saadi, and As Salimi at Tani.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## APPENDIX II.

### Hadhramaut Treaties.

### Protectorate Treaty with Jeamadar 'Abdulla bin Umar and 'Awadth bin 'Umar,—1888.

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*Article* 1.

"The British Government, in compliance with the wish of the undersigned 'Abdalla bin 'Umar bin 'Awadth al-Ka'yti on behalf of himself and his brother "Awadth bin 'Umar al-Ka'yti, hereby undertakes to extend to Mokalla and Shihr and their dependencies which are under their authority and jurisdiction, the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress.

*Article* 2.

"The said 'Abdalla bin 'Umar bin 'Awadth al-Ka'yti agrees and promises, on behalf of himself and his brother 'Awadth bin 'Umar al-Ka'yti, and their heirs and successors, to refrain from entering into any correspondence, agreement, or treaty with any foreign nation or Power, except with the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; and further promises to give immediate notice to the Resident at Aden, or other British Officer, of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with Mokalla and Shihr and their dependencies.

*Article* 3.

"The above Treaty shall have effect from this date. In witness whereof the undersigned have affixed their signatures or seals at Shihr this first day of May one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight.

### Qu'aiti-Kathiri Agreement, 1918.

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631

"I. The Qaiti Sultan, lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla and the Sultans of the family of Abdallah al Kathiri recognise that the province of Hadramaut shall be one province, the said province being an appanage of the British Empire under the Sultan of Al Shahr and Mukalla.

II. The Qaiti Sultan lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla acknowledges that the Sultans of the family of Abdallah are Sultans of Al Shanafir, but the family of Abdallah rule within Hadramaut over the towns and villages of Siwun, Terim, Teris, Al Charaf, Mariana and Al Gheil. It is acknowledged that the sub-tribes of Shanafir mentioned as follows shall be under the Sultan of the family of Abdallah: namely the tribes of Omar and Aamir; the sub-tribes of Al Kathiri, Al Awamir, Bag-iri and Gabiri and all that is within their boundaries, as is well known and recognised.

III. The Qaiti Sultan lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla contracts on his own behalf and of his heirs and successors on the one hand, that he acknowledges and recognises the rights and suzerainty of the Sultans of the family of Abdallah and their heirs and successors over the said towns and villages as well as the sub-tribe of Shanafir aforenamed in Article II above; and also that he will not interfere with it in any matter whatsoever, and that he recognises them as Sultans absolute in their own country as defined in Article II.

IV. The Sultans of the Abdallah family admit on their own behalf and that of their heirs and successors on the other hand, that they will not interfere in any way soever with the Government of Hadramaut, with the exception of the towns and villages aforenamed in Article II and likewise the sub-tribe named in the said Article; and agree that they have no power to interfere in any other places.

V. The Abdallah Sultans acknowledge and recognise that the treaty signed between the British Government and the Qaiti Government in 1888 is binding upon them, just as if they had themselves made it, and they agree to conform to its conditions faithfully. They further recognise that all their negotiations and correspondence with the British Government shall be carried on through the Qaiti Sultan Lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla.

VI. Both parties agree to suppress disorders both now and in future, immediately; they agree to forgive and forget all that has passed and to renounce severally all

648 631 vendetta or claims for compensation; they agree to preserve in future security on the roads existing within their well-known frontiers, to enforce justice according to the Sheria and respect for the higher authority, to succour the oppressed and to maintain the common law within the stated boundary.

VII. The aforesaid agree to give each other mutual assistance in case of any transgression committed by either of the two parties against their subjects or friends or any person connected with them, or against a sherif, a wayfarer or any defenceless person. They agree mutually to defend life and property, as well as their followers and subjects and any who seek their hospitality, as long as the boundaries named shall endure; they further agree to treat them with the same justice and equity that they show towards their friends.

VIII. The aforesaid agree that absolute commercial freedom shall prevail, and that tithes shall be collected to the amount fixed from all persons impartially who are subjects of the aforenamed Sultans.

IX. If either of the aforenamed Sultans desires to visit the other he must give notice of his intention, so that fitting preparations may be made to receive him; and in no case soever must the number of the soldiers exceed 50, so as to avoid the occurrence of brawls between soldiers.

X. The Qaiti Sultans and those of the Kathiri family alike agree to give mutual assistance in so far as in them lies in any organisation which is directed to the promotion of the well-being and prosperity of the Hadramaut.

XI. In order to promote the acceptance of the aforesaid conditions between the Sultan of Shahr and Mukalla and the Sultans of the family of Abdallah of the Kathiri family, the British Government shall endeavour to settle all differences arising in future between the aforesaid, from the date of the signature of this treaty through the intermediary of the Governor of Aden."

There were engagements in 1863 and 1873 with the Naqib of Mukalla and the Jemadar of Shihr for the abolition of the Slave Trade in their dominions. In 1882 there was an agreement with the Qu'aitis by which they undertook not to dispose of their territories except to the British, to provide for the ex-Kasadi Naqib, and to abide by British advice in their dealings with neighbouring chiefs and foreign powers. The agreement also provides for the payment of a stipend of 360 dollars to the Qu'aiti providing the stipulations of the agreement are fulfilled.

These agreements and one or two others of historic interest will be found in Aitchison's Treaties.

631 PACT CONCLUDED BETWEEN ĀL'ABDULLA AND ALL NAHD AND BENI SHABIB.

*Praise be to God.*

"On the 10th of Moharram 1264 (A.D. 1848), Sultan 'Abud bin Salim bin Muhammad bin Ahmed al Kathīri and All Nehd and Beni Shabib came to an agreement.

Sultan 'Abud acted as Representative of Sultan 'Abdulla bin Nuhain bin Ahmed and all the Sultans of Āl 'Abdulla bin 'Umar.

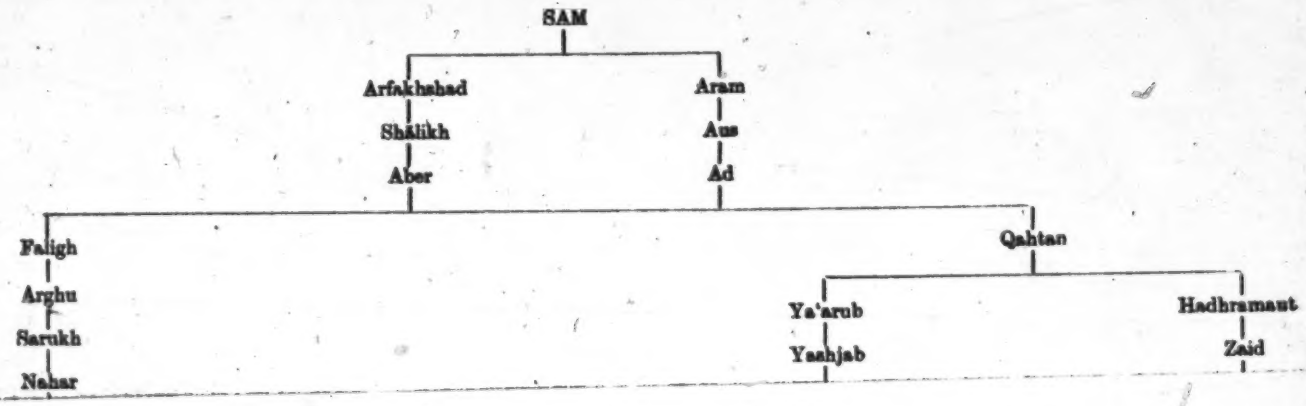
Each representative of the Nahd on behalf of his section and those submissive and obedient to it, has given an undertaking to follow and respond to the call of the Sultan whenever received and go against anyone whomsoever he may be and wherever he may be, They are prepared to respond to the call of the Sultan in whatever may be of interest to him. In accordance with tribal usages they will have to carry it out while every thing which would be harmful to him they will have to abandon. All the above has been undertaken and whoever contradicts the above will be considered to have committed a breach of the undertaking.

The Sultan has also given an undertaking to those who have given undertakings to him to treat them with all becoming respect as herein stated. All customary gifts which the Nahd were in the habit of receiving from the Sultan and his predecessors shall be given to those mentioned in this document. Every friend of the Sultan is their friend and his foe is also their foe. They will comply with the Commandments of God.

The Representatives of the Nahd and Beni Shabib sections (52 signatures)."

## APPENDIX III.

### THE PROGENY OF SHEM TO SHOW THE DESCENT OF THE TRIBES OF HADHRAMAUT AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.



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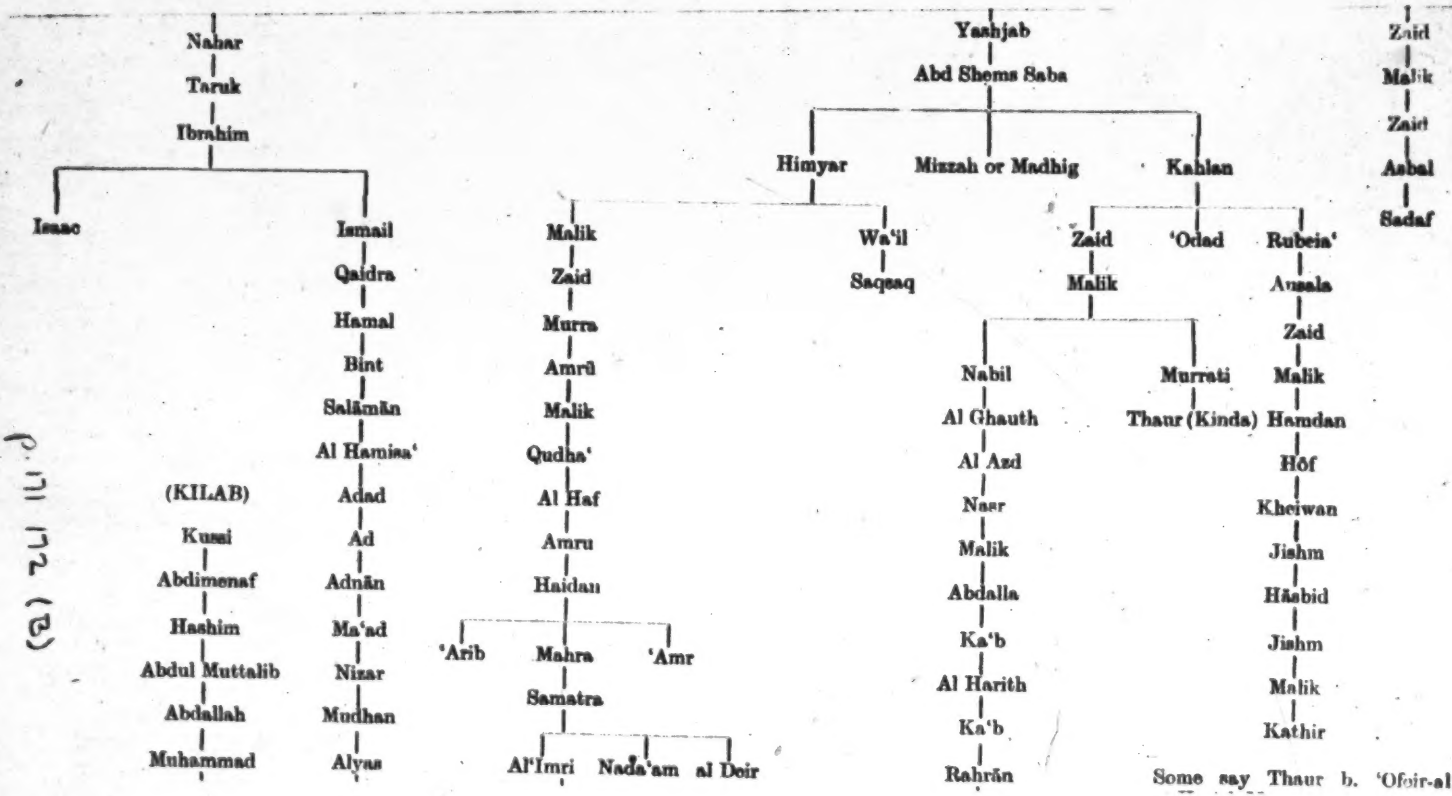


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Muhammad
Fatuma
Hussein
Ali Zain al Abidin
Muhammad al Baqir
Jaffar as Sadiq
Ali al Oraidhi
Muhammad an Naqib
Isa
Ahmed

Alyas
Muderikah
Huzeimah
Kinana
Nither
Malik
Fihri
Ghalib
Luri
Kiabu
Murra
Kilab

Al'Imri Nada'am al Deir
al Qamr al Masalla al Masaka

Rahrān
Abdalla
'Adthan
Dōs
Ghanim
Fahm
Malik

Some say Thaur b. 'Ofeir-al Harith-Man-'Adad.

Seiyid Abdulla bin Muhammad as Saqqaf in his *Lives of the Hadhramaut poets* gives the poet 'Amr al Qeis Genealogy as follows :—'Āmr al Qeis bin Hujr bin al Harith bin 'Amr al Maqsūr bin al Harith bin 'Amru bin Hujr b. 'Amru Akil al Mūrar b. Muawiya al Akramin b. al Harith b. Muawiya b. Thor b. Marta' b. Kinda h. 'Ofeir b. 'Adi b. al Harith b. 'Mura b. Ādad b. Zaid b. Yashjub b. 'Ariba b. Zeid b. Rabia b. Kahlan b. Saba b. Yashjub b. Ya 'Arub b. 'Yahtan.

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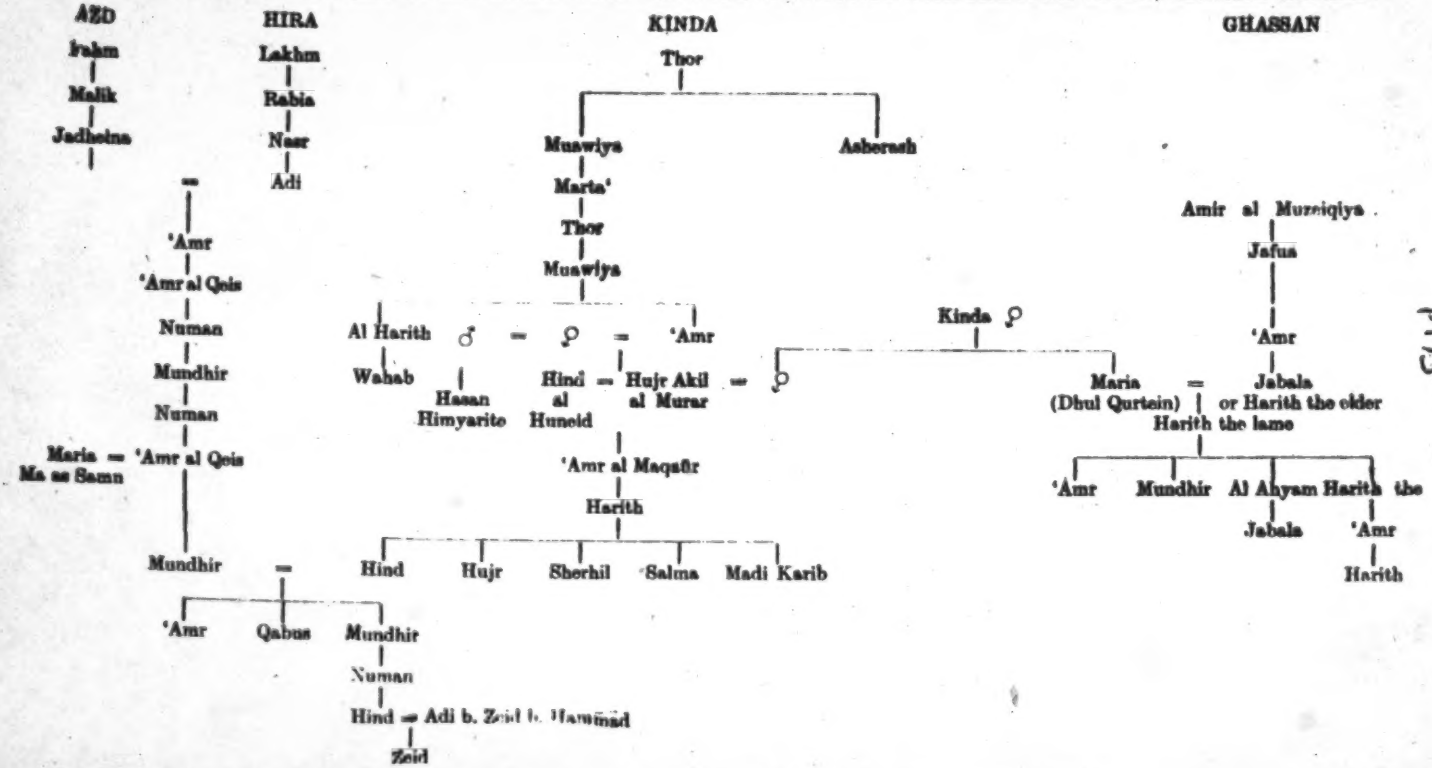
1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

p173

TREE SHOWING THE DESCENT OF THE KINDA KINGS AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE LINES OF AZD, HIRA AND GHASSAN.




Further genealogical details of these families may be found in Masudi. *Muruj adh Dhahab.*

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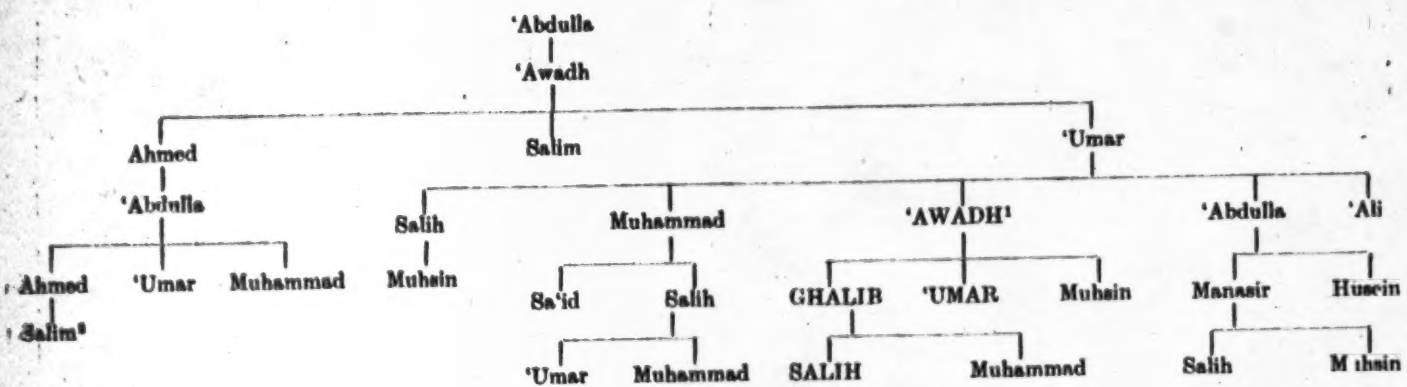
GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE QU'AITI DYNASTY OF HADHRAMAUT.



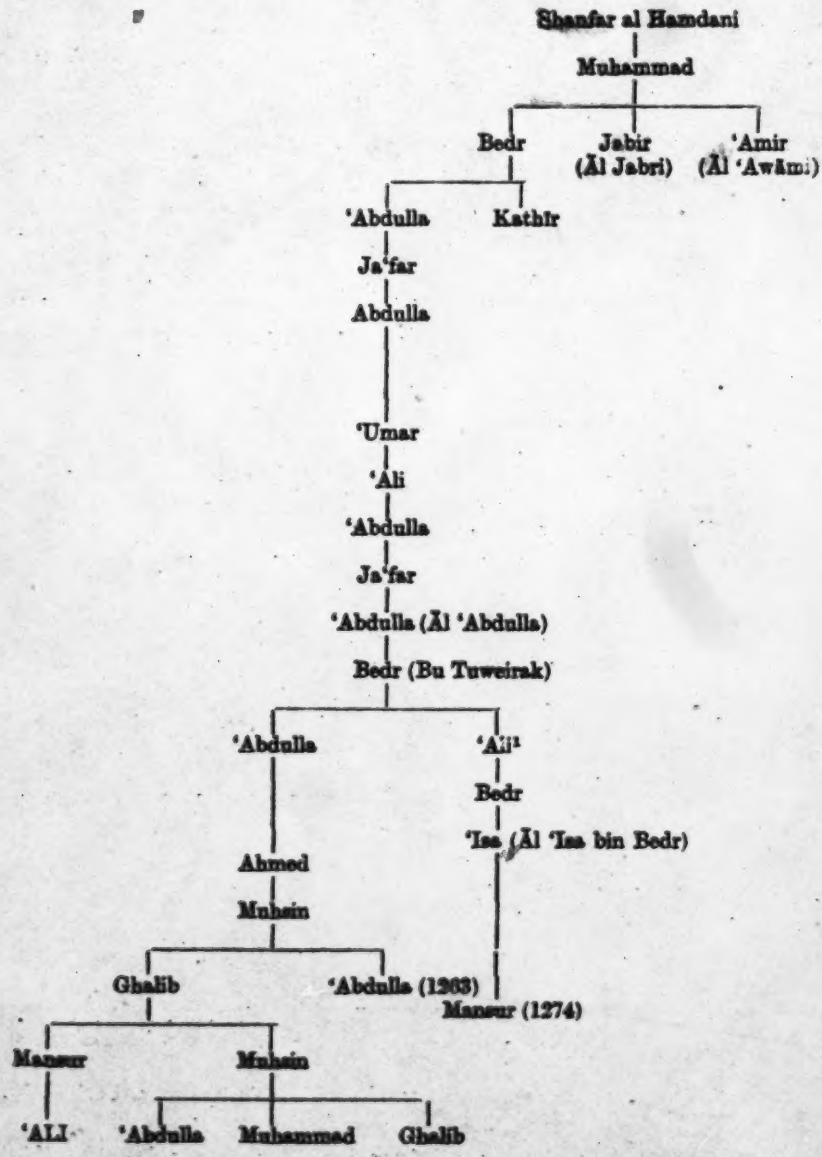

[1] Sultans marked in Capitals.

[2] The *Wazir* in 1934–35.

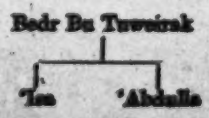
1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



173 GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE KATHĪRI DYNASTY OF HADHRAMAUT.




[1] Van den Berg gives :—



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## APPENDIX IV.

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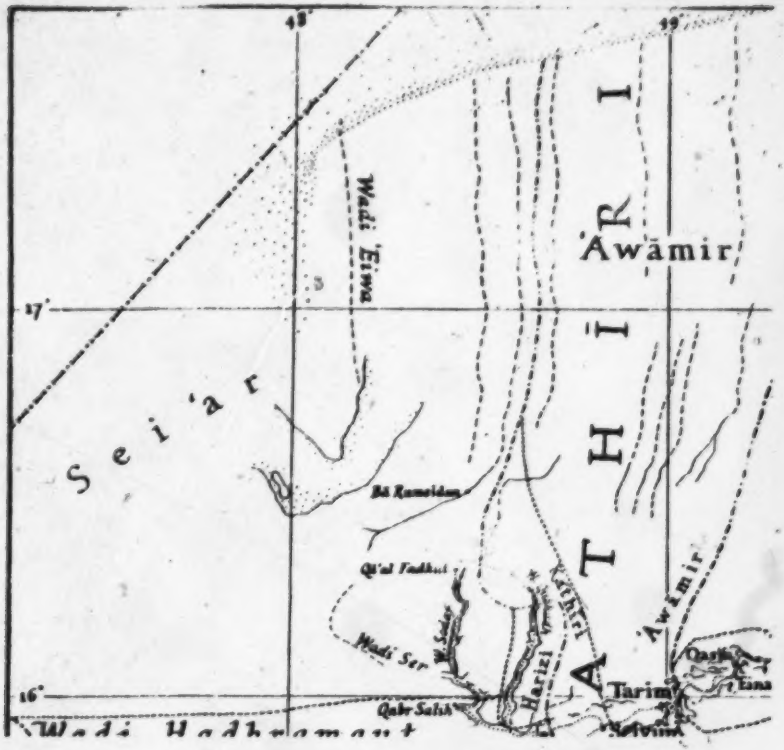


End map (A)

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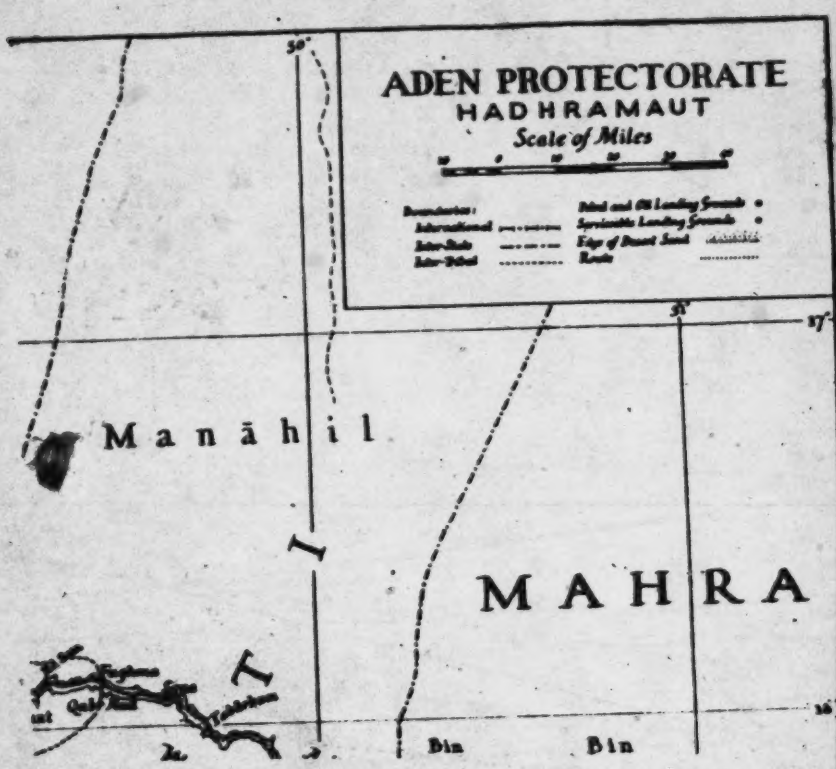


End map (B)

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35) 1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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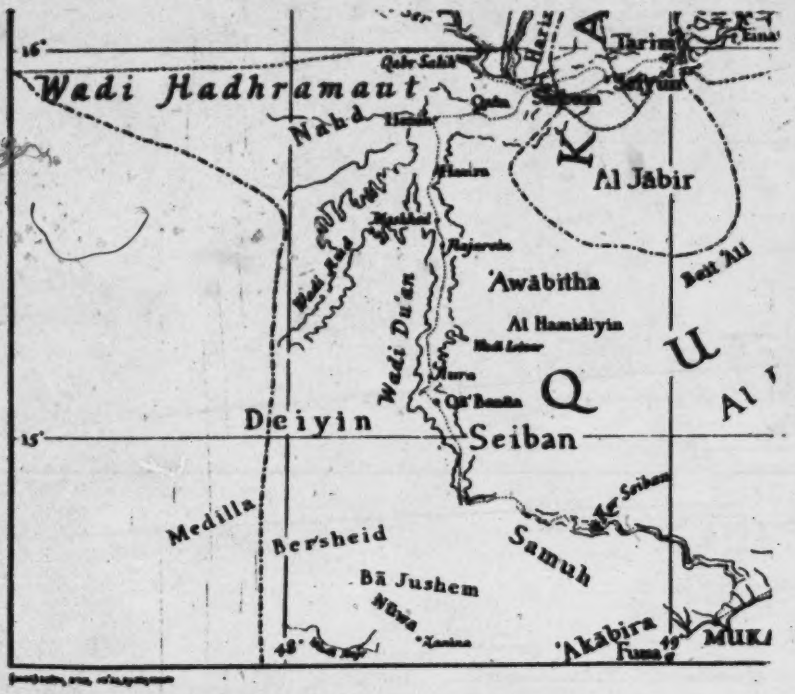


End map (C)

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35) 1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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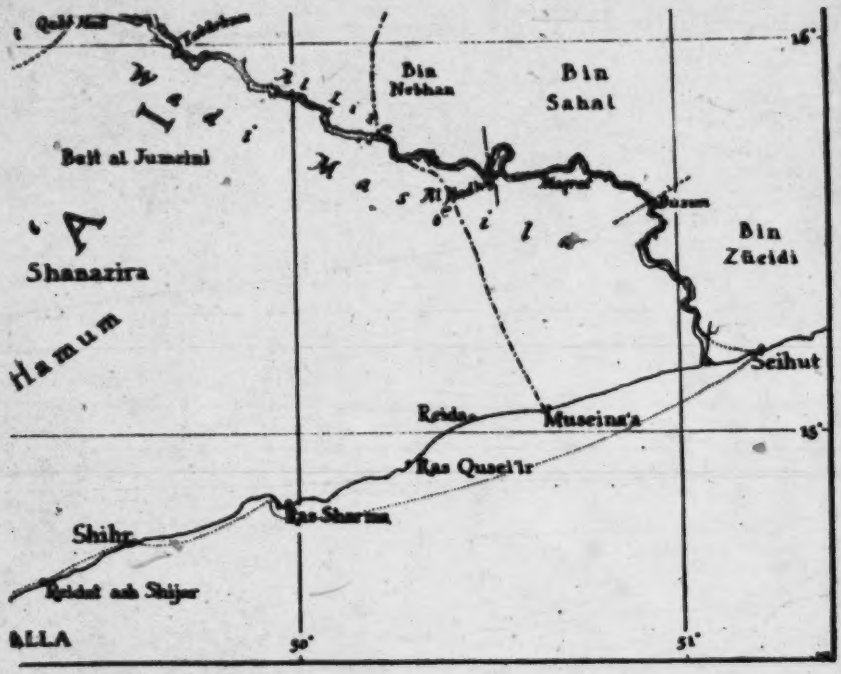


End map (D)

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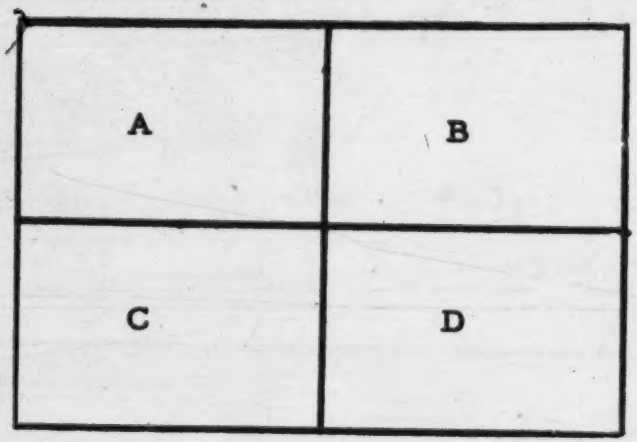


# POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

## INTRODUCTION

131 To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South
114 Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

631 Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and
643 Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

133 The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and
132 uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable antiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their
312 limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an
439 enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade.
167 The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

721 Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *lines* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

### Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



648 treaty and the force of circumstances the Sultan was already bound to follow the protecting Power. It ended up by saying that if there were serious disagreement between the Sultan and the adviser it would be open to the Sultan to appeal to the Governor of Aden and if necessary to the Secretary of State.

This new departure of giving an adviser to a ruler in Arabia was not really a great innovation. Lawrence describes the policy agreed on for Arabia after the last war as putting a "ring-wall around Arabia, a country which must be reserved as an area of Arabian individualism. So long as our fleet keeps its coasts, Arabia should be at leisure to fight out its own complex and fatal destiny."[1] The old treaty of protection represented just such a policy as Lawrence described. There was at that time, of course, no question of providing advisers in Arabia itself, but in *A Report on the Reconstruction of Arabia*, also by Lawrence, he wrote that any advisers chosen by Feisal "will be part of the Arab Government and will draw their executive authority from it and not from their own Government."[2]

In my case there was some discussion as to who should pay for the adviser, but as a gesture to a country which had at that time no money the British Government decided to pay. But I think it will be clear from the treaty and the Note accompanying it that it was intended that the adviser should work things out with the local government himself and that he should not be a mouthpiece to convey instructions from His Majesty's Government to the local ruler as to what was to be done. So that what was done is in harmony with what Lawrence wrote and that has been the way in which I have tried to work.

There is one other instrument to which I must refer and that is the Protectorate Order-in-Council of 1937. It was thought by some at the time that this Order-in-Council amounted to an annexation of the Protectorate, but the then Prime Minister in an answer in the House of Commons on June 1, 1938, denying that the Order-in-Council provided for an annexation of territory, said that when Aden became a colony, jurisdiction in the adjacent areas, hitherto exercised under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order-in-Council, had to be provided by a new Order-in-Council and that this was a normal administrative change. It did not therefore portend our administering the Protectorate or destroying the autonomy and responsibility of the chiefs.

### Comparison of State Government in Hadhramaut in 1934-6 and 1944

647 In 1934 the Sultan's staff in Mukalla consisted of a Wazir, a treasurer, a commander of the forces, a doctor, and a few school-masters. In 1944 there was a State Council of senior officials and nominated unofficials, and the administration was carried on in twenty organized departments under

113 [1]Robert Graves, *Lawrence and the Arabs* (London, Cape, 1927), p. 396, also *T. E. Lawrence by his friends* edited by A. W. Lawrence (London, Cape, 1937), p. 198.
[2]David Garnett (ed.), *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence of Arabia* (London, Cape, 1938), p. 288.

the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers. 647

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000. 651 652

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few. 579 712 165 625 721 701 643 619 728 652

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government. 619

[1]About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off. 567

619 He is no longer apt to be shot at by Government soldiers and he brings his troubles to the Government. The provincial governors and the district
647 heads are better men and better paid than they used to be and all new candidates have courses of instruction before appointment. There are
692 systems of State and tribal courts which are becoming more and more
619 effective. There is a special department of bedouin affairs which is staffed entirely by Hadhrami tribesmen; five or six years ago no Hadhrami tribesmen were employed in any positions of responsibility.

759 As regards social services, in 1934 there was one doctor, mainly for the Sultan though he ran a public dispensary, and medical services cost Rs. 5,500
657 a year: in 1944 the sum voted was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary
652 services. There was an establishment of four doctors, and a State hospital
749 for fifty in-patients was being built in Mukalla.

In 1934 education cost Rs. 6,000 and about three hundred boys received
871 some sort of schooling. In 1944 Rs. 1,054,000 was provided. The number of boys in primary Government schools on the coast has increased to about
652 seventeen hundred. There were between a hundred and thirty and a
657 hundred and forty girls in the new Mukalla girls' school, and an inter-
658 mediate boarding school, assisted by the British Council and a grant from His Majesty's Government, had been started with about eighty boys. As part of the famine relief measures, children were brought down from the Hadhramaut and have now been taken over by the Qu'aiti State which bought a village outside Mukalla and is now housing three hundred boys
[874] and girls in it. A wall enclosing garden land has been built round it and the children work the garden and are apprenticed to various local trades. They are given a modest schooling and it is hoped that they will also be taught by means of a village council to run their own village.

658 Another State educational experiment owes its impetus mainly to the enthusiasm of the young men of Mukalla. A number of young men have
871 gone through a course organized by the Education Department in how to teach illiterate adults to read and write. These teachers compiled a coolies' vocabulary of seven hundred words or so and when I left were about to teach coolies from the Hadhramaut, who had come seeking for work at the coast on account of the famine, how to write the language they speak, a sort of basic Arabic. There are schemes for producing a small newspaper in this simplified form of speech and for developing some public-health consciousness.

701 What little the State could do towards the war effort it has done. It provided a company for guard duties in Aden while the Italians were in
648 the war. It has raised a Pioneer Company for service in the Middle East Command. It has guarded the R.A.F. aerodromes in the State and pro-
[712] vided coastal guards. The Public Works Department has built an R.A.F. station at about a third of the cost expected. It has landed and handled a great quantity of R.A.F. stores. In addition, at the outbreak of war when the surplus balance was about Rs. 80,000, it contributed Rs. 20,000 for
648 general war purposes, and Hadhramis at home and abroad subscribed to a

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

## Nature of the People and Country

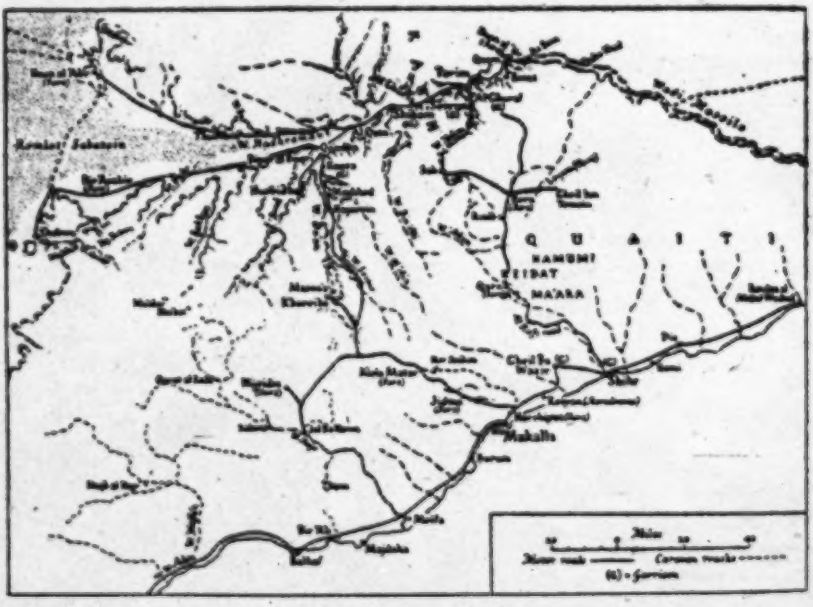
Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Wafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



serfs whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells. The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.




*Reproduced by courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society*

The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from considerable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft, however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

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and the people are natural Muslims having learnt in a hard school absolute submission to the will of God. Religious fanaticism is strongest where the seiyids are strongest. In other places there is greater tolerance and, among the bedouins, it is what a man is rather than what his religion is that counts. 771 181

When we started everybody wanted independence. Many of the old secluded seiyids, whose ideas of independence merely amounted to the exclusion of infidels, had sons and relations who read the Egyptian papers and their ideas of independence were based on grandiose schemes of complete self-government. Some of them, who thought themselves moderate, demanded no more than independence on the Egyptian and Iraqi models and talked airily of Parliaments and so on. In Singapore and Java in 1939 I had petitions presented to me three times demanding this sort of independence. Once at Solo the deputation was pointed out to me as representative: it contained seiyids, tribesmen and a Sultan of the Kathiri family. Only the last had ever been in the Hadhramaut. He asked me if he might see me privately after the meeting and then asked me to arrange independence for Jahiz. Jahiz was his village in the Wadi 'Amd and consists of five houses. The tribesmen, settled and bedouin, wanted independence; the bedouin claim was at least easy to understand for all it amounted to was that their freedom in the hills and deserts should be undisturbed. The settled tribesmen were and are more difficult. Every little section considered itself independent, and the more powerful, who could afford not only to arm themselves but to buy and arm private forces of slaves, did all they could to extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbours. 648 185 619

The strangest example of this kind of campaign was that of the Bin 'Abdat section of the Kathiri tribe, who own much landed property in Singapore and Java. The treaty chief of the Kathiris is the Kathiri Sultan whose capital is Seiyun. About 1928 the head of the Bin 'Abdat section forcibly occupied the walled town of Al Ghurfa, belonging to some unarmed sheikhs. This brought him into conflict with the Kathiri Sultan, who was supported by the Qu'aiti Sultan, and with the neighbouring heads of other Kathiri sections. War ensued which carried on with little interruption till 1937. Bin 'Abdat built up a respectable force of slaves and tribesmen of his own and constructed an elaborate system of forts and trenches which extended right across the Wadi Hadhramaut some three miles or more, and almost to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary at Shibam. In the course of the fighting, a curious armoured vehicle was imported from Java, which was intended to be towed by a motor car into the enemy camp. Bin 'Abdat acquired a very large stock of ammunition and really good rifles at very high prices. The Qu'aiti Sultan brought artillery, ancient and modern, to the aid of the Kathiri, but no decision was ever reached. 669 721

When I came to the Hadhramaut in 1936 Bin 'Abdat instructed his lawyer in Singapore to address a letter to the Government in which he claimed to be an "independent rajah." He was informed that the only recognized treaty chiefs in the main Hadhramaut were the Qu'aiti and 669 648

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669 Kathiri Sultans and that he was the recognized head of a Kathiri section
subordinate to the latter. In 1937 after a lot of persuasion he subscribed
648 to the three years truce. This chief loyally kept the peace and helped in maintaining peace till his death early in 1939, when he was succeeded by an irresponsible nephew who after visiting Java and Singapore to collect his inheritance, returned to Hadhramaut determined to extend his boundaries and influence.

In 1939 my wife and I also visited the East Indies and while in Batavia were entertained by the Bin 'Abdat family at a tea and cocktail party at the Hôtel des Galleries, a large modern hotel belonging to the family. Round the walls of the room in which the reception was held were pictures of Al Ghurfa labelled "Al Ghurfa in the Hadhramaut over which this family has fought so long."

Late in 1939 the new Bin 'Abdat started fresh operations. He extended his fortifications and subsidized a large bedouin tribe, the Hamumis, amongst whom the Government was trying to make peace, to make the then one motor road unsafe and to oppose the Government in every possible way. A good deal of fighting ensued in which both the Hamumis and the Qu'aiti troops had casualties. He also brought Hamumi bedouins as his soldiers into the Wadi Hadhramaut itself where they made the road unsafe for travellers. He arrested and maltreated persons who had recourse to the Sultan in their troubles. The Sultans were supported by His Majesty's Government and action was taken against him. He submitted in May 1940, but did not observe the condition he had accepted and until the fall of Singapore and Java eventually caused his funds to dry up, was always a source of trouble. For it was the profits of the hotel and rents of his properties in the Far East which had enabled the family to keep their wars going. Many Hadhrami chiefs did the same thing, but none on the
627 Bin 'Abdat scale. And when litigants in Java lost their cases in the Java Courts it was not unusual for them to repay their opponents in the Hadhramaut by having their families shot or their homes burnt.

631 There were supposed to be only two Governments in Hadhramaut, the
Qu'aiti and Kathiri, but in fact there were about two thousand—the
619 fourteen hundred tribes and sections who had signed the truce and several hundreds more of independent villages ruled by mansabs and sheikhs.

185 It was considerations such as these that I had to bear in mind when I thought of the kind of organization which would be most likely to succeed in the Hadhramaut. The only things that seemed to offer a favourable opening were a widespread desire for peace and a genuine anxiety on the part of the Sultan for improvements in Governmental and social services. Apart from these factors I had the instruments I have referred to, and the general indication that one should try to follow as far as possible the methods adopted in the Unfederated Malay States, to guide me in forming an organization.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## Organization of the Residency and Methods Used

After persuading the tribes to make the general truce for three years, 647
I turned my attention to Government organization. I had hoped at first 648
that it would not be necessary to have more than three European assistants, two political and one military, but the burden of work became so heavy that by the beginning of the war I think there were eight European officers working in the Hadhramaut. Owing to the general anti-foreigner feeling, [609]
I thought it better that these officers should belong to the Residency staff as assistants to the adviser and that they should not have executive authority, and I told them to regard themselves rather as men with oil cans, who saw that the machinery was working, than as part of the machinery itself. Furthermore I felt sure that the actual responsibility must remain in the hands of the local Government. I believed, and I am sure that events have proved me right, that if you give people responsibility and make them exercise it they are eventually able to do so fairly effectively. You begin by collecting a group of what are in effect pictures labelled as heads of departments and in due course they come, like Galatea, to life. This rather extensive employment of Europeans did not turn out very successfully and, in 1942, it was approved that I might reduce my European assistants to two and engage trained orientals to instruct the local Government staff in the conduct of bedouin affairs, district administration, finance, medical, educational, agricultural, military and police work. Not all these posts have yet been filled owing to the difficulty of finding qualified candidates but there are now Transjordanis holding the posts of Bedouin Affairs Assistant and Police Assistant, a Hadhrami seiyid who is a Major in the Hyderabad military forces and a Punjabi Mussulman as Military Assistants, and a Sudani as Educational Assistant.

The functions of the Residency are advice, instruction and inspection. 648
As regards instruction the Residency runs a military school which is 647
attended by officers and non-commissioned officers of all the forces, and promotion in the forces cannot be had without a certificate from it. It 871
runs courses for teachers, courses for administrative candidates for employment as district officers, and police courses. Other courses are obtained by sending candidates to Aden, for example for training as dispensers, and by sending boys for education to the Sudan.

Most Government departments were in their beginning practically directed by Residency staff. When they are able to stand sufficiently on their own feet, the Residency withdraws and leaves them entirely to their own heads and the State Secretary.

Some things, however, are paid for by His Majesty's Government and 648
are under Residency control. The most important of these is the Hadhrami 701
Bedouin Legion. It is modelled as far as possible on Brigadier Glubb's Desert Patrol, which he kindly enabled me to see in 1938, and he generously provided Arab officers for it. The bedouins were quite unaccustomed to 701
any sort of military service and the force experienced ups and downs for 702

701 the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts
702 in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The
[743] force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making.
875 The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys; district schools
758 have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dis-
731 pensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these
657 places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

671 A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school. A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants
759 and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

000 So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their
[273] request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

609 As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a community which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence
771 of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was
648 always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my
000 duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

2: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 faith in which I was brought up, but when, in such a position as I have held, I have to deal with people of another faith, I feel it is essential to help and encourage them to live up to the best in their own faith, 771 for a live religious spirit is a vital necessity to all progress. The Had- 871 hramaut is sadly afflicted, as I have said, by over-emphasis on formalism, but I have found great support in pressing more and more the necessity of working and living in the spirit of religion. This type of teaching is employed in educating troops and boys and girls in the new schools, particularly in the children's village and in the bedouin boys' and girls' schools. My educational assistant has a candidate for training as a teacher of the spirit of religion, leaving the other teachers to teach, for example, the methods of prayer and fasting. In the course of time it has been generally accepted that the position of religion in the affairs of the country is being strengthened and not weakened.

## TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS FROM EXPERIENCE IN THE HADHRAMAUT

114 As I spent the first fifteen years of my service in Zanzibar and Mauritius and have had opportunities of studying the administration of East Africa, Malaya and the West Indies, whether on the spot or in the Colonial Office, it is natural for me to approach consideration of the best way to help backward areas in the Middle East, like the Hadhramaut, to more effective self government, by comparison with the better known colonial methods of approach to the same goal.

000 It seems to me that if success is ultimately achieved in teaching the people of such areas to govern themselves it will probably not be by the traditional methods of colonial administration. The practical difficulties of doing so seem to be due to the nature of the country, to the nature of the people and to political considerations. The country is mainly desert and our colonial tradition has been built up in lands [609] capable of economic development. Owing to their environment the people, taking them as a whole, are neither simple nor tractable and, by contrast with most peoples of tropical dependencies, they are suspicious of outside interference. As the close control of any part of Arabia is looked on with dislike by other parts of Arabia and as there is, as far as I can see, no over-riding necessity for us to control such an area as the Hadhramaut closely, it does not on political grounds seem worth while to do so. The less we interfere with the internal

000 affairs of Arabia, and the more we can give assistance, including financial assistance, without giving rise to fears of annexation or virtual annexation, the more popular we shall be.

648 Some time ago I was telling some of the principal people of Mukalla of some assistance which His Majesty's Government was proposing to give. They were grateful for it, but there were doubts as to whether all this would lead to closer control and the subject turned to British colonization as they call it. Said one, "the English come to you and say, 'I would like to stay in your house and help you. I will be no bother to you, all I want

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



648 is your friendship and I will pay my way.' A little later on, they say, 'I would like to hang up my hat here, it won't be in your way.' Then they say, 'my coat also.'" Said another, "and then it is their trousers and then they cannot leave." A few months later when the Governor of Aden was telling a meeting in the Hadhramaut of the very generous help His Majesty's Government was offering for famine relief, an address thanking him asked for an assurance that there was not more than charity behind it. This he readily gave, but the point is that the Arabs of South Arabia know well enough what peaceful penetration has meant in the past, in such places as Zanzibar, and they fear us even when we bring gifts.

800 I do feel, however, that, given the right type of adviser or political officer, it is possible to improve administration, security and social services in such areas by such means as I have described, and I am quite sure that the resultant dividend of good will in the area itself and in neighbouring areas is far greater than you would get by applying the more efficient methods of direct or indirect rule.

Seeing my own successes and failures and watching those of others over the course of years has given me some ideas of what an officer working in [181] these countries should be and do. As Arabs are individualists and will at best only treat you as an equal, a man they feel to be a leader can handle them better than another. So that personality counts for a lot, but it must not be aggressive. Tact, judgment, self-reliance and balance are indispensable, and without patience and hope many a good man might give up. But beyond these things an officer working with such people should not feel and must never show that he is a superior being to those amongst whom he works. They will expect him to have a greater knowledge of outside things than they have, for he would not be there if he had not, but he must be careful how he uses it. In social matters it is not merely a question of having no colour prejudice. Administrative officers of the Colonial Service rarely have colour prejudice in an acute form, but they generally set bounds between themselves and the people in social intercourse. The officer living amongst the Arabs cannot do this, and must be prepared for long periods at a time to live and share the life of the people while at the same time keeping his own virtue and preserving a sense 186 of proportion. The Arabs believe as an article of faith that they are the noblest of races, and it should not be over-looked that they have a civilization and a literature of their own so that it is not for us to impose a culture on them or to build a culture for them. A kindly condescension to a less fortunate race is therefore out of place when dealing with them. They take our so-called insularity not as a peculiarity for which allowances should be made, but as a criticism of them and their manner of life. In this, of course, they are not peculiar. They call our insularity and condescension *kibr inglis*. The French in Mauritius used to call them *orgueil anglais* and they are perhaps the things above all others which make us unpopular.

181 Simplicity of life and manner are in many circumstances a valuable

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qualification. Pomp and circumstance mean little to a tribesman and nothing at all if they are only window dressing. It is worth while quoting what Tabari says of the Khalif Umar's instructions to governors: "Whenever he appointed a governor he used to draw up in writing a certificate of investiture. It contained the following instructions: That he must not ride on horseback, nor eat white bread, nor wear fine clothes, not set up a door between himself and those who had aught to ask of him."[1]

An officer living in many of these countries must not expect a life of ease and comfort, and he must be ready to do without the sort of things that he considers the ordinary amenities of life, such as games, clubs, European society and its distractions. If he cannot find interest and entertainment in local society and its diversions, he is better elsewhere. The same applies to his wife. Freya Stark once wrote that the British are always popular until they bring their wives. This is exaggerated but there is a great deal of truth in it, and I have often heard the complaint that wives caused the lack of understanding between British officers and their people by keeping their husbands away from the people.

Apart from personal qualities an officer must have not only a knowledge of the language of the country but a knowledge of and sympathy with its religious customs. He must know its history and the more he knows of its literature the better. Without these he cannot speak with the enemy within the gates. Finally, he must have a general grounding of administrative or technical knowledge and experience. When he sees a suitable opening and can get the requisite co-operation he should be in a position to help to put finances on a sound basis, and to help in the development of medical services, education and agriculture. He should be of an inventive turn of mind and should be able to make a little money do the work of a lot. He should be able to make bricks without straws.

I cannot, of course, pretend to speak for any area of which I have not direct experience, but from what I have seen and heard of the rest of the Middle East I have the feeling that it is qualifications of this kind that are needed there also.

It may be to some extent a counsel of perfection to ask for officers of these qualifications, but I find it difficult to believe that candidates with many or all of them and with the necessary missionary spirit cannot be found; and I think there would be a far greater chance of finding them if there were a recognized unified political service from which political officers and advisers could be selected for the various posts which we have or may have to fill in this area. If there were such a service it should be possible to attract better candidates to it as there would be a cadre large enough to offer a reasonable career.

Of course that is not enough by itself to ensure a settled, or at any rate a more settled, Middle East. There is the importance of adequately garrisoning the area (of showing force as Lyautey, often quoted by Brigadier

[1]R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs* (London, Cambridge University Press, 1930).

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 701 648

Glubb, said in order not to have to use it). In our area we owe a great deal to the R.A.F.; much of the improved security in the Hadhramaut is due to the presence of an R.A.F. station near Mukalla and to the new local forces. The R.A.F. have been particularly good in political work as opposed to punitive work. Not only have they shown the flag regularly, taken the sick to hospital, carried doctors about and, lately, provided a whole flight for the exclusive work of flying grain to famine areas, but in peace-time they have often made friendly social contacts and given and taken hospitality in a spirit which has made them very welcome visitors. I am sure that friendly social intercourse between garrisons abroad and the local population in peace-time, when there is time for it, goes a long way to reduce the possible need for armed intervention. I am not sure how far such contacts are officially encouraged but perhaps more could be done in that way.

My conclusions are:

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(1) There is a type of backward territory in the Middle East in which for reasons of climate, soil, nature of population and politics, colonial administration in the usual sense of the word is inapplicable.

(2) That neither of the systems of colonial administration known as direct rule and indirect rule are suitable in such countries as these. Even in indirect rule the person who has the final authority and responsibility in a country is the Governor and under him his provincial and district commissioners. In Arab countries final responsibility must rest with the ruler and his Government, and the adviser must draw his authority from them. The responsibility of the Government supplying the adviser ends with providing the best officer available and withdrawing him if he is not suitable.

(3) That the best way of dealing with these territories is by a system of loose political control and/or advice which is neither direct nor indirect rule nor complete abstention.

(4) That you cannot expect people to act responsibly if you do not give them full responsibility. In countries that are as hard as the Hadhramaut and have as few economic resources, the only hope of salvation lies in the people being kept fit to look after themselves.

(5) That foreigners, working as advisers or political officers concerned with the internal affairs of countries which are suspicious of external interference and are independently minded, must work and live as part of the people and consider things from the point of view of the people. They can be sure that by serving the interests of those among whom they work in this way they are also best serving the interests of their own country. A political officer must be able to interpret the people among whom he is working to his own Government and also be able to interpret his own Government to the people. The first requirement is often the more difficult.

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(6) That this type of work is not the function of an administrative officer nor of a foreign service officer, but of a specialist political officer or adviser.

(7) That in order to ensure the supply of the right kind of officer for work in the more backward protected areas or spheres of influence in the Middle East which are a British responsibility as well as for secondment to the more advanced Governments of the area which may ask for them, a special service with its own training and conditions is required.

(8) That financial assistance given to backward territories should usually be a free gift. If it is a loan it should not be accompanied by a demand for closer control. In other words the man who pays the piper should in this instance not insist on calling the tune. As regards advisers' salaries I am in favour of the borrowing Government paying a salary on a scale commensurate with what they pay other employees. I think this should make them feel more the employer of the adviser and would avoid jealousy of the adviser's high salary among his colleagues. The pay should be made up to what is necessary for the right man by His Majesty's Government.

One might add a further general conclusion. South-West Arabia—the Kingdom of the Yemen and the Aden Protectorate—is inevitably part of the Arab world, but it and South-East Arabia are far more backward than the northern Arab countries. Nevertheless they must eventually come into any picture of Arab unity, and I think that the methods of political development in the Hadramaut which may, one hopes, lead to a federation of the Hadhramaut States, will result in that area becoming more fit and more willing to come into schemes for Arab unity. Aden, apart from being an imperial fortress and a commercial centre, has willy-nilly played some sort of educational role in the area in the past and, if it developed as a cultural centre, that, too, would help the Yemen and the Protectorates further along the path to Arab unity.

I do not offer these conclusions in any dogmatic spirit but I have formed them in the course of a long experience of a particularly difficult area. I think they are justified from such success as has attended the methods used, by a falling back when other methods were attempted, and because I do not think they differ markedly from those reached by others, such as Brigadier Glubb, working on similar principles. We cannot expect to get on with these people, to be able to help them or to serve our own interests in the most satisfactory way—and there is no clash between British and local interests—unless we have the right type of people to work in the area.

These are not the only questions, of course. No matter how good the work on the spot may be, it must to some extent fall short if there is not a clearly defined policy from on high, and from many parts of the Middle East there are suggestions that policy is insufficiently defined. The area

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is capable of producing more unanswerable problems per day per square mile than any other in the world, and one wonders whether the machinery for producing the best answer possible is as good as can be designed. On the British side, for instance, one wonders whether it is good to have three Departments of State, apart from Service Departments, dealing with Middle East questions? And in international affairs would it be well to have some organization to consider matters in the area in which Great Powers are concerned? I do not attempt to answer these questions but in our own interests as well as those of the area I feel that they are matters which should if possible be settled now. If we have to wait until after the war so many more things will have to be dealt with that nobody will have time to deal with these.

I do not pretend that the organization of a Middle East service or that improving the machinery for dealing with Middle East problems at a higher level, are not matters presenting more difficulties than many of us who know only a few sides of a many-sided question can see, but it is certain that those who are concerned with the welfare of this area work with good will towards it and with faith and, if it is admitted, and I think it is admitted, that things could be done much better than they are, then one need not despair of improvements. I should like to end on this note with an extract from a letter written to me a year ago by a very distinguished visitor who was concerned with the area and who had spent a week or so seeing the Hadhramaut with me. I had asked him whether he thought the experiment of trying to build up an administration in such an unpromising and barren area was worth while.

Indeed and indeed [he wrote] it is worth our going on with what has been begun. True, the Kathiris are a disappointment at present but in Mukalla and the Qu'aiti State you can see with your own eyes the fruit of the seed which has been planted. *Finis coronat opus.* But when is the end? It is not given to administrators, whether at home or in the lands overseas, to see the end of all their work. We move forward, sometimes groping and seeing as in a glass darkly, sometimes with a flash of vision clear as the "sun shining after rain." But we work in faith. And whatever the mistakes which will surely be made, none of us will have anything to reproach himself with, in looking back on the work of his life, if he has stood in the ways, and seen, and asked for the old paths, where is the good way and walked therein: just dealing, honesty of purpose and humanity—and the greatest of these is humanity.

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# NOTES ON THE KATHIRI STATE OF HADHRAMAUT

*R. H. Smith*

000 DURING THE SIX YEARS since the sunset of imperial rule in India, new light has been shed on all but one of the former appendages of that rule in the adjacent Arabian peninsula. Though Kuwait, Bahrein and Oman have long enjoyed a certain "international status" entitling them to a delineation of their boundaries on maps of the Middle East, their most recent and widespread fame derives from their new status as repositories of a multi-billion dollar oil investment. Consequently, vital statistics relating to these three states are a fingertip proposition in many reference rooms in the country.

But the states of the Aden Protectorate — where as yet no petroleum has been discovered — remain the victims of such complete anonymity that most maps are utterly vacant of even the sketchiest political detail concerning them. Moreover, they receive only scant mention in the more specialized political handbooks. Yet in area and population, the Aden Protectorate equals Kuwait, Bahrein and Oman combined, while her cultural and social characteristics, especially in Hadhramaut, indicate a far higher development than can be found in most shaykhdoms of the Persian Gulf.

Most remarkable of the Aden sultanates, because of the paradox of its geographical remoteness, yet high degree of cosmopolitanism, is the Kathiri State, whose capital, Seiyun, is probably the loveliest purely native city in the entire Arab World. Here, too, is paradox, for, though Seiyun lies on the bottom of the parched Wadi Hadhramaut, it is famous for its many palace gardens and for such unheard-of desert luxuries as swimming

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000 pools built by the rich and progressive class of Seyyeds, whose many innovations have re-made the face of this ancient land of the Queen of Sheba.

731 The political frontiers of the Kathiri State describe a finger pointed downward from the Rub-al-Khali into the heart of [161] Hadhramaut. They enclose an area of some six thousand square miles and a population of sixty thousand, a third of whom dwell 652 in the city of Seiyun. The state's current average annual revenue runs close to $100,000.[1]

175 Early Kathiri history is obscure. Forebears of the present sultan once controlled all of Hadhramaut, but in the eighteenth century the al-Quaiti, an immigrant tribe of Yemeni origin, wrested control of the coastal region from their Kathiri overlords at Seiyun and gradually established hegemony over interior tribes until today the Quaiti State comprises nearly the whole of Hadhramaut. Until the "Peace of Ingrams,"[2] modern Kathiri history was dominated by constant and costly warfare between Seiyun and the parvenu Quaiti power at Mukalla.

643 The present Kathiri ruler, His Highness Sultan Husayn Ali Ibn Mansur, succeeded to the throne on May 22, 1950, and was one of the five Aden chiefs selected to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth.[3] It is through Sultan Husayn's generous and patient correspondence that much of this statistical information concerning his far-off land has been gathered.

643 Political organization in the Kathiri State is patterned closely 645 after administrative machinery in Malaya.[4] Executive authority is vested in the sultan assisted by a Council of State of which the ruler is president and the British Resident an ex-officio member. The Council's remaining members include: the Kathiri State Secretary (*Wazir*) and heads of the departments of the Treasury, Customs, Education and Judiciary, in addition to four un-

436 [1] In 1951 the East African shilling, worth about $0.14, replaced the Indian rupee as legal tender in the Protectorate.

[2] William Harold Ingrams, last of the old-style empire-builders, did much to pacify and organize modern Hadhramaut in the years 1934–44. He was the first Resident Adviser to the states of Hadhramaut and the Eastern Aden Protectorate. To him, Hadhramis have given the name, "Peace-maker of the Desert."

[3] Others invited: the sultans of Mukalla, Lahej, Shuqra and the Amir of Dhala, the latter three, prominent chiefs of the Western Aden Protectorate.

[4] Ingrams visited Singapore in 1940 to study the operation of local governments in the Malay States for ways of stepping-up efficiency in native rule in the Hadhramaut.

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official members serving as consultative representatives of the "popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public services consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educational facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the state's own postage stamps[5] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, appears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements[8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

[5] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

[8] The Anglo-Kathiri treaty engagement of 1918 was merely an extension of the terms of a previous Anglo-Quaiti treaty to those parts of the Hadhramaut interior controlled by the Kathiri sultan. By terms of the Anglo-Kathiri agreement the Kathiri State was placed under British protectorate. The 1939 Adviser Agreement provided for the appointment of a British Resident Adviser to the court of the Kathiri sultan.

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648 lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

439 That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri
167 State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya
171 is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

162 TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

| State | Title of ruler | Population | Area in sq. miles | Annual revenue | Police | Salute |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 652 Qu'aiti (Mukalla) .. | H.H. the Sultan of | 197,000 | 30,000 | Rs 27,50,078 | Unlisted | 11 guns |
| 625 Kathiri (Seiyun) ... | Sultan of | 60,000 | 6,000 | Rs 4,80,000 | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| 186 Wahidi (Balhaf) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 5,000 | Rs 1,02,448 | Unlisted | None |
| 631 Mahri (Socotra & Qishn) ..... | Sultan of | 22,000 | 13,000 | Unlisted | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Haura ..... | Shaykh of | 300 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| 'Irqa ..... | Shaykh of | 350 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Abdali (Lahej) ..... | H.H. the Sultan of | 41,400 | 4,500 | Unlisted | 380 | 11 guns |
| Fadhli (Shuqra) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 2,500 | Rs 4,17,697 | 120 | 9 guns |
| Amiri (Dhala) ..... | Amir of | 27,000 | 1,050 | Rs 1,50,000 | 75 | 9 guns |
| Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara) ..... | Sultan of | 23,000 | 700 | Rs 1,65,000 | 30 | 9 guns |
| Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba) ..... | Sultan of | 89,000 | 900 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar) ..... | Sultan of | 12,000 | 2,500 | Rs 49,000 | 40 | None |
| Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab) ..... | Sultan of | 53,000 | 1,800 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Beihan (Beihan Qasb) .... | Amir of | 13,000 | 4,000 | Unlisted | 40 | None |
| Audhali (Lodar) .... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 1,000 | Unlisted | 30 | None |
| Haushabi (Museimir) ..... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 350 | Unlisted | 29 | None |
| Alawi (Al Qash'a) .. | Shaykh of | 1,200 | 89 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed). | Shaykh of | 2,000 | 101 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds 439
remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business 167
holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over 171
a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.[9]

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is 177
virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common 198
tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Ka- 291
thiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be 556
incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, 185
Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf 177
family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In [491]
1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, [509]
Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

[9] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut*. London: Colonial Office, 1936.

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# HOUSE BUILDING IN THE HADHRAMAUT

W. H. INGRAMS

342 361 363 DURING a recent tour in the Hadhramaut my wife and I collected some notes on the building of houses. Each town in the country has its own individual characteristics. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type, built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Makalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not 6 feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces.

361 342 353 In the Wadi Do'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Do'an houses the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb* [1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, 2 inches across the heads, burnished with lead, which shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development of Do'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring-bone pattern.

361 342 177 352 492 493 In Terim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice plants, and modern European conveniences in the bathrooms. Whereas in Do'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel back over the mountains for six days, and while I mention this it is worth recording that there are sixty cars in Terim itself, each of which has been transported in parts by twelve camels from the coast.

313 333 353 The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seyyids of Terim and Seyyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of getting long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree trows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseilah, they cannot be transported by

[1] The commoner Arabic name is *sidr*, *Rhamnus nabeca*.

4: Ingrams G-3 (no date) 1935 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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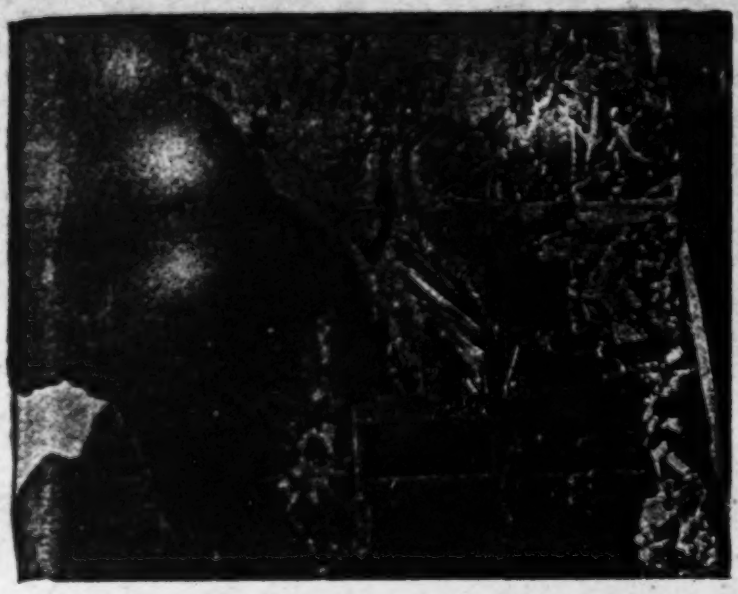

Later stage in house-building, Do'an

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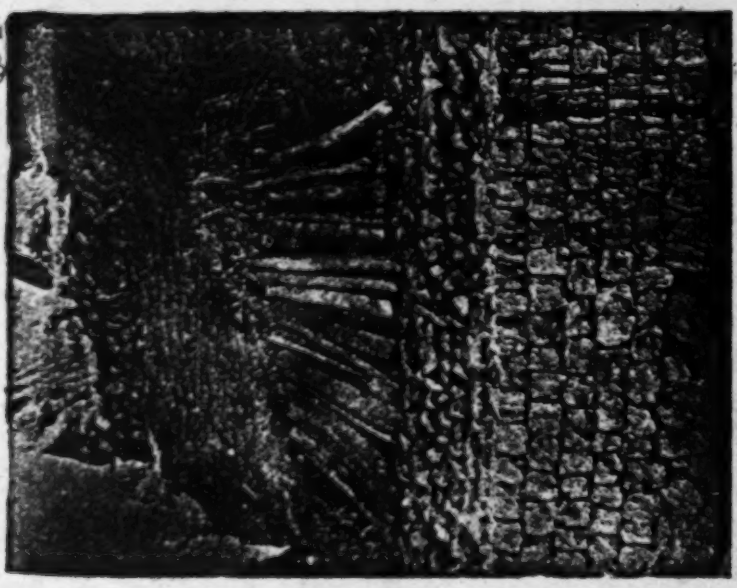

Foundations of a house in Do'an, showing blood of the sacrifice

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313 camels. The difficulty is being got over to some extent by experiments in
333 making reinforced-concrete pillars, of which we saw two in construction at
353 Seyyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seyyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, consist of a lime plaster polished by smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

361 Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area five hundred houses built on
342 a slight eminence in the wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears
435 to be one enormous brown mud-built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town, and the only
623 way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild.
344 The area of land required to build a house 45 *dhirras* in width by 35 in depth (a *dhirra*, or cubit, equals 1·5 foot) will cost 10,000 dollars, and having acquired the land the prospective builder will have to submit the specifications of his house for the approval of a committee of the townspeople who consider the position of windows and of gutters carrying water to the street. Subsequent alterations to a house must also be similarly approved. By general consent houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high, in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this house, which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars.

333 The foundations are dug 2 *dhirras* deep below the surface of the earth and
342 3 *dhirras* wide. Stones are used for the foundation mortared together with a mixture of wood ash and lime. In places where there is any doubt as to the solidity of the ground on which the house is to stand long pieces of *'elb* wood are laid in pairs lengthwise in the foundations. Wood for this purpose must be cut in the winter; if this is done it is said never to rot. The stone foundation or *sās* is continued for 2 *dhirras* above the level of the ground. When the building operations have reached this stage a foundation sacrifice of a goat or sheep is made on the walls. The house is centred round a solid pillar built on the same foundation as the walls. For a house of the dimensions proposed this pillar or *'arus el beit* will be 3½ by 3 *dhirras* wide and of the same thickness from top to bottom. The stairs of the house invariably go up round the *'arus*. The bricks are made of clay mixed with straw, the standard size being 1¼ *dhirras* in length by ⅔ in breadth by 4 *banan* or fingers' widths in thickness. When the clay of the required consistency and thickness for making the bricks has been laid out they are cut out by a wooden frame which makes two bricks
[435] at a time. The bricks cost five dollars a thousand.

The thickness of the walls of the first storey is 1⅞ *dhirras*, of the second 1½, of the third 1¼, of the fourth 1 *dhirra*, of the fifth ¾, of the sixth ⅝, and of the seventh ½ a *dhirra*. The bricks are mortared together with wet clay. As *'elb* wood grows to no great length the size of the room is determined to some
[435] extent by the length of the pieces available as girders. The girders are usually very short and supported by carved pillars each costing about twenty dollars.

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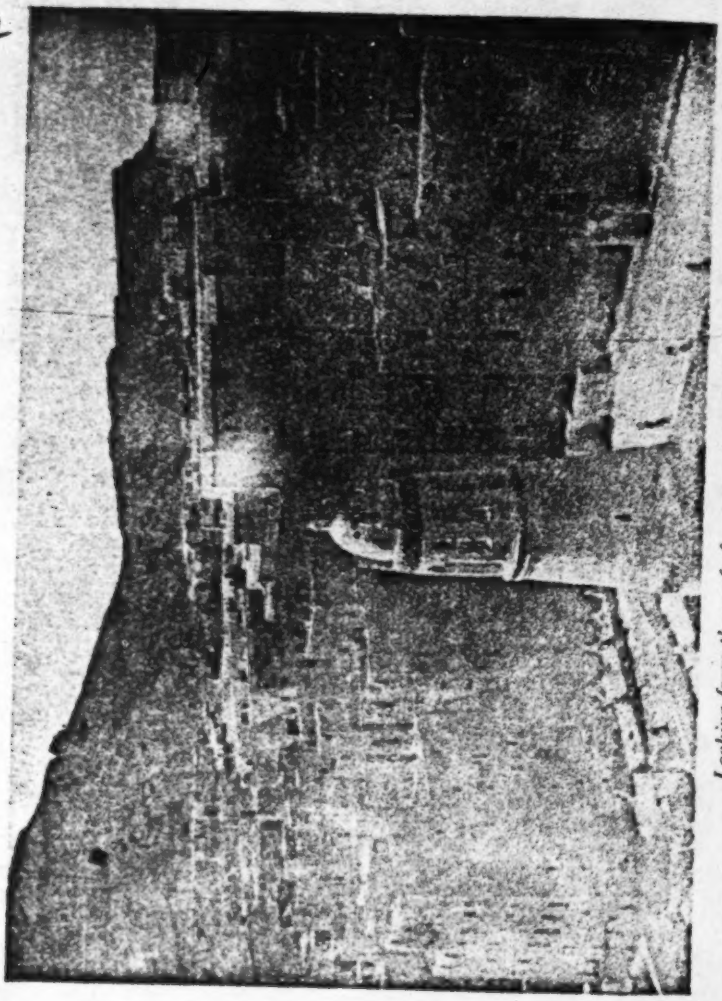

*Looking from the roof of a seven-storey house in Shibam.*

Facing P. 371

342 361 The ground floor of the house is usually the highest and the others are all about the same. Some of the houses in Shibam are built on the slope of the hill and are therefore provided with cellars. The height of the wall facing the outside of the city in these circumstances is about 70 *dhirras* or 105 feet high. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together.

The life of a house is said to be two hundred to two hundred and fifty years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits necessitating demolition. Outside the walls of Shibam, in the rich man's suburb of Seheil there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in [402] these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, it may be interesting to record that in one wadi through which we travelled to the north of the main wadi towards the desert we found troglodyte Badawin living in caves in the walls of the wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseilah between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than 5 feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents.

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# THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TRIBES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

By MAJOR THE HON. R. A. B. HAMILTON

Lecture given on September 23, 1942, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., in the Chair.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Hamilton is a Political Officer, following in the great tradition. He knows the needs and the minds of his Arabs, and he also will tell us, and indeed emphasize, what a Political Officer should know before he goes among them.

At the same time the Council feels that this tribal question stretches far beyond Southern Arabia into India, Africa and other parts of the British Empire. This, therefore, is the first of several lectures on backward tribes. We hope very much to get as much information as we can on this subject, and we trust that Political Officers who are not able to come to these lectures will give us the benefit of their experience in writing, so that we may put their views in the Journal. Naturally one's inclination is to hedge round these tribes, if it were possible, but there is no question that as time goes on they must be fitted in to the civilized world. The study of their ancient social organizations and of their heritage is absolutely necessary, so that, if it is possible to collect as much information as is available, we may perhaps induce the powers that be to take a line which will protect them from exploitation by civilization, by big business, and possibly by their more advanced neighbours.

THE organization of the social classes in the small area of the Aden Protectorate is complicated. Few people have given much thought to it, and those who have, have usually erred in accepting generalizations.

In the organization one may still trace the ancient divisions of the territory as it was some two thousand or more years ago. It was then divided into four main states, which we can call kingdoms: that of Saba, which is supposed to be the ancient Sheba, in the Yemen; Qataba in south-east Yemen; Ma'an, a confederation ruled by the "Grand Council," between Eastern Yemen and Hadhramaut; and the kingdom of Hadhramaut.

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To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101 776

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

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643 The Sultan of Lahej rules over the territory of the 'Abdali tribe, and
425 his frontier marches with the northern frontier of Aden Colony. He is descended from a Yafa'i family, who were appointed as Governors of Lahej by an Imam of San'a. Later they revolted against the Imams and declared their independence. By purchase, Imamic grants and seizure they own a considerable portion of the Lahej lands; they are of foreign origin to the tribe over which they rule.

The Amirs of Dhala' were appointed Governors of the Dhala' province, including the lands of the tribes of Halumein, Ahmad, Azraq and Shu'Ar, by the Imamas of San'a, and, later, of the lands of Sha'ib by a Sultan of Turkey. I see that the official handbook describes the Amirs of Dhala' as descendants from slaves. It is surprising how such obvious in-
567 accuracies persist. To see that they have no slave blood in them requires
795 no more than ordinary eyesight, and it would be impossible for an Imam of
144 San'a to appoint a slave to any post, since there are no slaves in the Yemen at all, slavery being forbidden by the tenets of the Zeidi sect. The Amirs are of typical Central Yemeni type, such as is found on the Yemen plateau.

643 Later, they rebelled against the Imams and established their independence. Thus they rule over a confederation of small tribes, while belonging to none of them.

These appointed Suzerains, of whom the Sultan of Makalla is one, form a distinct class among Arab Chiefs. They do not mix with their tribesmen in the usual democratic Arab way, but stand apart, as it were, and are addressed by titles of exaggerated respect. Not being tribesmen of the tribe they rule, they have no traditional and family holds over the people and their attitudes towards their tribesmen are those of foreign rulers. They do not, as a rule, favour elected hereditary headmen in their villages, but prefer to appoint outsiders as headmen, whom they pay as retainers.

When a Suzerain dies, the election of the new Chief is held by the family only and the tribesmen are not consulted.

622 The accepted Suzerains are represented by one example only—the
792 Sharifs of Beihan. It is, however, an interesting example.

628 In Beihan there are settlements of Sharifs and of Seyyids. There are
648 also two tribes among whom these holy men live. Both the Sharifs and the Seyyids are arms-bearing families, and for some time were divided by a feud. Before the Great War, the elected Chief of the Sharifs, a far-sighted man called Ahmad, negotiated a treaty of protection and friendship with Great Britain. In this he gained the support of the lower tribe and of half the upper tribe, which was divided by a feud. After the Great War he concluded a truce with the Seyyids, and consolidated his relationships with his supporters among the tribesmen, who amounted to three-quarters of the population of Beihan. They accepted him as Suzerain and as their general agent for dealing with their foreign affairs. Thus, while he is undoubtedly a Suzerain, he is one of limited authority. He does not claim taxes from the land or the trade except in his own settlements, and is, consequently, very poor. But, for all that, the influence of the Sharifs is considerable in all the Beihan area. Their position is not, of course, unique in Arabia, but it is doubtful if any others than holy men could find themselves in a similar one.

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The elected hereditary tribal Chiefs form the third type. In each tribal confederation there is a central tribe. Of this central tribe one family only provides Chiefs to the confederation. Normally the election of a Chief is the concern, not of his family only, but of the central tribe, while powerful petty Chiefs of other tribes within the confederation have a considerable say in it. Such Chiefs are, by virtue of the conditions of their election, truly democratic. By ancient tradition, however, they are held in great respect and are referred to invariably, as is their family, as the "Dola," or dynasty. They are accorded high-sounding titles by the Government and by other Chiefs, but their tribesmen address them by their names, and it would appear that the high-sounding titles are of recent adoption in the country. The Imam of San'a rarely uses them. Government correspondence is, for this reason, often a source of merriment. 622 21

It will be seen that all Chiefs are, whatever their type, elected in a greater or lesser degree—the Suzerains within their family circle and the hereditary Chiefs within their tribe. The main difference between the types is that, whereas the Suzerains are of foreign descent to the tribes over which they rule, the hereditary Chiefs are of the tribe and, as such, do not need to surround themselves with the trappings of imposed authority. In appearance the Suzerains are more imposing, and this has misled officials into supposing that they are of more consequence socially than other Chiefs are. This is, of course, not so. 643 622

In all these types of Chief, when the Chief dies his eldest son would appear, by custom, to have less right to succeed than others. Suzerains always try to impose their eldest or their favourite son as accepted heir during their lifetimes. This has happened in Lahej, where it led to a revolt among the Sultan's relations, and in Makalla by arrangement. The Sharifs of Beihan have been exceptions to this, and have abided by custom. When Sharif Ahmad died, they held discussions among themselves. The eldest son was Sharif Hussein, but he was appointed Regent to his own eldest son, a young boy, who was elected Sharif. The reason given for this was that the grandson of the dead Chief had longer to live than his father and that frequent change in leadership was a bad thing. As a rule, however, Chiefly families pass the Chiefdoms from branch to branch, and, when the Chief dies, a nephew will usually succeed. Among the 'Audhali recently, the Chief was murdered by his cousin. The tribe was split in two by feud, but one half elected the murderer's son, a boy of eight years old, to the Chiefdom. This boy was accepted in 1934, when the feud ceased, as Sultan of the tribe. 628

We next come to the holy classes. The first of these are the Sharifs and Seyyids, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. They live in settlements and elect among themselves in each family a headman. They have great influence in the community, but it varies, of course, with the amount of their riches. Most Seyyids—the only Sharifs are those in Beihan—do not bear arms and take no part in tribal warfare. They are peacemakers, and derive considerable income as such, and as dispensers of the Sharia or holy law of Islam. They are treated with veneration and respect and, after death, are frequently treated as saints. They marry 792 556] 824 428

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792 582 423 tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

792 778 346 The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

778 651 423 792 754 Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

792 778 In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We [776] must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

792 [622] 778 792 782 All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

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Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court. 778 796 782 792 [21 T21]

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer. 778 735

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed. 693 671 [692]

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of 671 693 577 626

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693 tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had
671 touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt
577 or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's
626 own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

365 This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and
631 tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

565 We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past
463 incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will
465 therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of
421 those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The
792 Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

421 Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of
565 the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

565 Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen
144 and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

566 Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class.
463 The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

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do not remain for any length of time on one plot of land, but take up all kinds of casual labour as well as farm labour. Among such one may find carpenters, gunsmiths, builders and tradesmen. The manufacture of indigo dye, with which the Mushreqi tribesman dyes himself and his clothes, and the sale of indigo-dyed cotton is, to a large extent, in their hands. Large families of this class are to be found throughout the territory in the market towns. Unlike the Raya, they do not bear arms.

The Heiq class is almost indistinguishable from the Dha'if, but there is a distinction in that the Heiq can be described as the lower third of the Dha'if class. That is, that the whole class of artisans and casual labourers can be described, in a generalization, as Dha'if, but the poorer, unskilled casual labourer is of the Heiq class. As an example, a rich shopkeeper is Dha'if, but, because of his possessions, is not Heiq. It is not a very important distinction. Dha'if in Arabic means "weak." I am unable to discover the derivation of Heiq, but we can take it to mean "of low quality."

The Asakar, or hired soldier class, are a class in themselves. They are of two kinds—freed slaves still in the service of their master and tribesmen who have lost their lands and their status and entered the service of their Chief. Once this happens to a tribesman, he or his descendants can never return again to the status of tribesmen, but remain ever afterwards Askari, whether they still serve master or not. They have dropped below the aristocratic classes and can no longer intermarry with tribesmen. I have heard of no exceptions to this hard rule.

The next class is that of the Doshan, plural Doashin. I can find no derivation to the name. They are of two kinds—wandering singers and dancers, and settled singing-men who have attached themselves to a particular tribe. Their origin is a mystery. The wanderings ones, who give the most dismal performances of what they call dancing, can always be driven out of camp. It is best, however, to be polite to the settled ones. They are skilled versifiers, and those who treat them with contempt must submit afterwards to unmerciful lampooning. On public holidays in up-country towns one of them frequently appoints himself as Amir Al 'Id, or "Amir of the Holiday." Supported by his friends and anyone who wants some fun, he calls upon the local Chief and demands a present and entertainment. This the Chief refuses, and receives an ultimatum challenging him to war in a few minutes. The war which ensues is conducted for the most part with fireworks, blank ammunition, water and balls of dung. The Chief's fort is the centre of attack. Eventually the Chief will ask for a truce, ambassadors are exchanged and all ends in an entertainment and a present to the "Amir." At other times they will institute rhyming competitions, or will compose and sing long Qasidas on the local political situation. Some of these settled Doashin become men of mark, but they have, for all their poems and lampoons, little effect on tribal policy and no say whatever in tribal affairs.

Slaves need no introduction. The slave trade in the south is dead, but the descendants of Abyssinian slaves still serve their original masters. It would be absurd to free them; they are completely free, but slavery is their only niche in the community. Take that away and they would be homeless and workless. As in the rest of Arabia, except the Zeidi Yemen,

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they are a race apart and are much respected, frequently attaining positions of high rank. A man will trust his slave before his brother. Tribesmen will eat with a slave when the slave has attained a position of eminence, such as governor of a village or commander of a post, but never with a Doshan or with a Heiq. A Chief's responsibility for his slaves is a very real one, and should he sell a slave or part with one he will be considered to have committed a shame. The slaves that I have met in the territory upheld the reputation slaves have always had for loyalty and courage.

We next come to two curious races, the Akhdam and the Hajur. I am satisfied that these are quite separate races, although there are a few instances of intermarriage in the major settlements. Akhdam is the plural of Khadim, which means "servant." This race is of African origin, but I can make no guess at the date at which they came to Arabia. Whenever it was, they appear to have left no relations or traces behind them in Africa. Their main settlement is at Zabid in the Western Yemen. They are of the Shafa'i sect, but practise witchcraft, make phalli and hold snakes and snake-charmers in great respect. In appearance they are small and their skin is a dull dark brown, not a glossy East African black. The only race in the country which will do filthy work, the Akhdam are in great demand and are employed as sweepers. They have their own headman in their small communities, successful wizards appointing themselves to the post without election.

The second foreign race is the Hajur. They appear to be South-west Abyssinians and are very like the Galla. Like the Akhdam, they have long ago lost any linguistic connection with Africa and speak Arabic. They are hardy and well-built and live in grass-hut settlements on the coastal belt between Lahej and Abyan. Some, on occasion, bear arms, but they are on the whole un-warlike and seek casual labour at harvest time. The 'Abdali tribes of Lajeh have intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and for this reason the 'Abdalis are darker than most coast Arabs and many villages in their territory are occupied by settled Hajur. In a few generations the Hajur and the 'Abdali will be indistinguishable, and I think this mingling of the two races must be very recent, and probably began during or just before the Turkish occupation of Lahej in 1916.

East of Aden, for some hundred miles, the coastal fishing communities are of Hajur or mixed Hajur stock. They elect their headmen as the Arabs do and are of the Shafa'i sect, but, like the Akhdam, they incline towards witchcraft and phallic worship. The observant traveller on the Lahej road will see plenty of evidence for this close to their settlements.

It is possible that these two African races came to Arabia during the second and third centuries A.D. as camp-followers to Abyssinian armies. But this is pure conjecture.

Finally, we come to the Jews. Jewish settlements exist all over the Protectorate. The principal settlement is in San'a, and all Jews of South Arabia claim inter-relationship and have many family connections in Palestine. They claim to be descended from the Jews of Kheybar. It is more probable, however, that the original Yemeni Jews are of South Arab race. Before the rise of Islam the people of South-west Arabia were

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Christians, Jews and worshippers of the many local gods. There was a Christian bishopric at Najran, and a strong settlement of Jews in Jauf. The Jews survived the rise of Islam, religious affinities have attracted to them a certain amount of northern blood, but to-day there is little apparent difference physically between them and the tribesmen of the Yemen: their features are similar; the colour of the skin is only a little lighter, which may be accounted for by the Jew being less exposed to the weather. J 141 142

Certain laws are imposed upon the Jews by the Arabs. Where, as in the Ja'ud tribes, there is no real Chief, the law becomes custom. They must dress in a particular kind of smock; they must wear their hair in ringlets, hanging down either side of the head in front of the ears; they must not wear a turban; they must not build houses of more than one storey in height; they must not carry arms. J 563 671 291 302 421 463

The Jews are perfectly content to abide by these customs. They own no land and their only stock is chickens, but they are, comparatively, skilled artisans, jewellers and metal workers. They have a corner in such trades. Moreover, they pay only the most nominal of taxes, their houses are rent free and no man's hand is against them. To kill a Jew is a great shame, greater even than killing a woman. The Arab leaves the Jew to his religion, and he would not dream of attempting to coerce one into working on the Sabbath, however urgent the matter was. The Jews of the Yemen, therefore, live in great security. They appoint their own heads and run their own schools. Their women are unmolested, their taxes small and their profits great. Few of them, in my opinion, even wish to leave the Yemen, but are more than content to remain. In the capital of Yemen, San'a, the Imam deals with business concerning the Jews through their own head entirely and treats them with every consideration and respect, and his example is followed by his Governors and by Chiefs of the Protectorate. They are a contented, hard-working community. From enquiries I have made I would say that their numbers are fairly static and that there is little danger of a Jewish population problem arising in the near future. 231 651 J 643 563 J 161

These complete the list of classes and races settled in the Aden Protectorate. Time limits my description to a mere sketch, and I have confined myself to permanent settlers and not to those different types with which the political officer may at times have to concern himself. South Arabia is still a pilgrim route, and I have several times met travellers from the Persian Gulf and Oman and as far afield as Baluchistan, journeying on the hard road through the country to Mecca. I have not described the Somali or Dankali coast traders, nor the sailors. H 121

It will, very soon, be necessary to correct the existing handbook or to publish a new official manual about the country. While there were a few political officers of long residence in the Protectorate such a manual was unnecessary. We all learnt on our own. Now not only has the political staff been increased, but Air Staff Intelligence Officers and Army Intelligence Officers are beginning to travel in the country. The country is being opened up and it is essential that officers who have to travel in it should make a close study of its people, their ancient social organization, ITO

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their laws of land tenure and their systems of agriculture. At present those officers who have the inclination to investigate these complicated matters seldom have the time to make that investigation a thorough one. It must be added that such knowledge cannot be obtained through interpreters, but that the investigator must have a very fair knowledge of the spoken and the written language. Such things as deeds of ownership must be examined in the original, and the investigator must have a good knowledge of the language and the history of the people to enable him to form a judgment on an original document or to spot a forgery. A colloquial knowledge of the language is insufficient. My own knowledge is insufficient, I hope others will add to this short summary.

Sir Bernard Reilly: I think we would all agree that Mr. Hamilton's description of the tribes of the Aden Protectorate has been very interesting and very informative. To my personal knowledge he has a very intimate acquaintance with the tribes of the Aden Protectorate, has done much valuable work for them, and has moved about among them, not merely as a Political Officer representing the Government, but as a friend, with the result that he has acquired a knowledge of their customs and feelings, of their prejudices, their likes and dislikes, and their hopes, which can come only from people who are willing to confide in a man whom they recognize as a friend.

The description that he has given of the social structure that exists amongst those tribes shows what a big task we British have undertaken in that part of the world. Aden itself, upon which the Protectorate is based, is, of course, a British Colony, and is governed as such. It is not now entirely Arab; it has become a cosmopolitan port and is peculiar to itself. But the colony is very small. It is only about eighty square miles, and beyond it stretches this large area of the Aden Protectorate, which, including all the mountainous and desert parts which lie within its borders, covers an area of over 100,000 square miles, and is about the same size as the United Kingdom.

That is a very large area, and in that area we are committed to a policy of what is known as indirect rule—that is to say, we are determined not to annex the country, but merely to protect it, as far as lies in our power, from foreign intrusion, and to give it the assistance of our guidance and help in its own self-development. It is not an easy task, because we do not wish to do anything which will denationalize these people or in any way stop them from being what they are—Arabs. We do not want the impact of our Western civilization to harm them or lay them open to exploitation, but we do want to give them the benefit of our help and of our experience in trying to adapt themselves to this contact with the ouside world which has become inevitable in modern times. I think many of them, if we asked them, would probably prefer to be left as they are, to have no interference from outside, but that is difficult in these days. There is now no country that can remain completely isolated from the outside world. The extension of communications, the development of air travel, and other factors make contact inevitable, and so these people, living in the social state which Mr. Hamilton has described, which has in many cases

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remained unchanged through centuries of the past and which was perhaps well suited to periods long ago, somehow or other have to adapt themselves to modern conditions. 000

That is the problem which Political Officers in a country like the Aden Protectorate have to face: that is to say, they have to give the best that we can offer to the people without doing at the same time harm, which so obviously might accompany our action if we were to press our own ideas too much on a social system so different from our own. That makes it all the more important—in fact, it is essential—that British Officers, Political Officers working in that country, should really understand the people as Mr. Hamilton understands them; that they should study them and specialize in their task, for otherwise it is only too easy to fall into serious errors and mistakes.

The question which remains to be answered is to what extent communities like these tribes can absorb or adapt themselves to these changes and to the conditions which they have to meet. As you know from what 681 Mr. Hamilton has said, the units are very small. In some cases, such as 642 Lahej and Mukalla, we have something approximating to what we regard 621 as a regular government. But in some tribal areas the authority of the sheikh is very small; in fact, in some cases I think Mr. Hamilton would agree that it is practically non-existent. The tribal chief often has little real authority. He is merely one of the family, one of the tribe. The extent to which he can carry his authority depends largely on his personality.

We have also heard how the tribesmen, the landowning tribesmen, who 625 regard themselves as the aristocracy of the country, are not a minority but a majority of the people. I once was talking to an Arab from the Protectorate, and I asked him: "What exactly is the difference between a tribesman and a subject?" He replied very briefly: "Well, a subject has to do what he is told, and a tribesman need not." If the tribesmen are in a majority, that makes it very difficult. I said to him: "What about your own tribe? Have you many subjects there or not?" He replied: "As a matter of fact, in my own particular tribe we have no subjects; we are all tribesmen, and that is what causes all the trouble."

If we want to help these people in matters like assisting them to develop 000 their agriculture, to develop their resources in water (which is a necessary concomitant of any agricultural development), to give them help in medical matters (of which they are badly in need, for there is no such thing as even an approach to a medical service in any part of the Protectorate), to help them in education—I mean an education suitable to them—the first and foremost foundation must be some form of internal security. With so many of these small tribal communities immersed in old vendettas and [638] blood feuds the security in the country is in some parts very slight. You cannot build up anything on a basis of anarchy and disorder, and the question arises whether these small tribal units are capable of establishing enough authority and of getting rid of anarchical conditions sufficiently to meet the needs of the time.

Our neighbour there, the Imam of the Yemen, maintains that many of these tribes are too small to enjoy any forms of independence. He says, in fact, that they ought to belong to him, and he would understand how

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to rule them because he has a government, which is true. He says that our policy of recognizing them as small independent units, and according them rights as such, is a mistake.

However, we are committed to that policy. We have treaties with them promising them protection, and we intend to maintain these treaties. So we have to face the question of how to promote progress and development and the benefits that we feel we can confer on communities which are so divided and in many cases under such a very flimsy form of authority.

Perhaps Mr. Hamilton could say what he thinks on this point.

Mr. HAMILTON: I think that it is useless to bring in any sort of progressive service, as Sir Bernard Reilly says, until peace has been made. It sounds easy enough to make peace. The men are intelligent and very poor, and they know that their feuds and war hurt them and no one else; but it is not so easy as all that, and the trouble is tribal honour. "If I make peace first, my honour has gone." You are up to the neck in that.

There is a way of making peace, and that is if your Political Officers are sufficiently numerous and well enough known; one man cannot be in three or four different mountains at the same time, and when he is going from mountain A to mountain B, mountain A goes on the rampage again. I do not see why some of these Political Officers should not be Arabs who know the country sufficiently well and can get down to conferencing, and so approach the matter from that angle of tribal honour.

The first argument will be: "No, nothing will induce me to make peace. That man killed my uncle." Then you say: "Suppose a really strong government came and made you make peace, like the Imam's Government or us?" He will say: "What can I do against a strong government?" You say: "Here is the big government. I am it." I do not think you will have much need to use force. The less force used, the better. I think force can be used in quite small parties on the ground, recruited from the tribes themselves in most cases, and not by imported troops.

On that basis I think you can make peace, and it is being made already very much on that basis in the Hadhramaut. Once that peace is made these men are perfectly capable of working up not only to a progressive form of society, but eventually, in my opinion, to self-government.

I have taught Scottish soldiers to use the machine-gun, and have also taught Arab soldiers; when I came to teaching ballistics and ballistic formulæ for night shooting, I found the Arab learnt in a week, while the Scottish soldier took ten weeks and more.

Once they are given pacification the Arabs will forge ahead.

I said to one fellow: "You Arabs are all mad."

He replied: "Oh no, we are not, but some time ago our house fell upon us and now we are struggling under the ruins of it."

I asked: "What can you do about it?"

"Nothing," he answered, "because we are inside. But you are outside. You can make a hole in it."

"What sort of a hole?" I enquired.

"Security," he answered. "You force security down our throats and we will thank you for ever."

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But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west. 142

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration. 778

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting. 181 291 576

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy. 619 631 643

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it. [144]

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe. 576

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 101 174 619

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remnant of the Minæan State. Dr. Scott asked whether the names MA'AN and MA'IN were from the same root. He remarked that the ruins of Ma'in lie in the district of Jauf, roughly seventy to a hundred miles north-east of San'a, and that Ma'in and other remains in the vicinity had been regarded as the centre of Minæan culture. If this were so, the descendants of the Minæans are now a long way south-east of their ancient centre. He was particularly interested in this question because it seemed to him, when summarizing recently such information as is available on the pre-Islamic states of South-West Arabia, that there had been a tendency for states or kingdoms to move in succession in a southerly direction, either under pressure of invaders from the north or in search of better, less arid, country.

Major HAMILTON replied (in writing) that, while it would be risky to attempt too positive an answer in the present state of knowledge, his views were as follows:

"The names MA'AN and MA'IN are from the same root and, I fancy, refer to the same people. The name of the Transjordanian district of Ma'an, near Medāin Sālih, is the same word. I think you are certainly right in supposing that the trend of all peoples in the peninsula has been from north to south, whether in search of better land or—which seems more likely—because of pressure from the north.

"The rise of Saba will have been at the expense of other kingdoms, and I think the assumption is justified that the Sabæans forced Ma'an out of Jauf and also out of the district of Wadi Harib, near Beihan, from which several inscriptions referring to the 'Grand Council of Ma'an' have been collected; and that the remnant of the Minæans, if any, is to be found south and east of their original place. They could not have gone south-west because, by the time Saba became powerful, Qataba appears to have held the south-western spurs of the Yemen mountains and to have owned both Harib and Beihan. My own opinion, on the existing evidence only of modern tribal names and distribution, is that Ma'an was swamped by later rivals and is earlier than the other kingdoms. It is interesting that the name Ma'an is borne by the central tribe of a confederation with such marked peculiarities as the 'Aulaqi, in just the place where one would expect to find it. I think, therefore, that these Ma'ani 'Aulaqis are the remnant of the Minæan State forced from Jauf, and perhaps from further north, by the rise and the southward march of more powerful neighbours, and that they were eventually swamped in the struggles for the important 'Beihan Triangle.'"

Major Hamilton expressed the hope that the map accompanying his lecture entitled "Six Weeks in Shabwa," to be published shortly in the *Geographical Journal*, would show the very great local importance of that little triangle of territory (since published in Vol. 100, No. 3, September, 1942, pp. 107-123).

From the above it seems that Major Hamilton's views are in accordance with the usually accepted chronology—namely, that the Minæans were the oldest of the South-West Arabian kingdoms named, and were succeeded (but not entirely obliterated) by Saba and Qataba. These two were in part contemporaneous. (Later, Himyar became predominant.) It also appears that Major Hamilton considers the movement of peoples to have been from

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north to south, not only in South-West Arabia, but in the peninsula as a whole. Incidentally, while the name MA'AN is not given on some maps, it is printed on the folding map at the end of Wyman Bury's *Land of Uz* (1911). It is there placed just above the eastern end of the Qaur ranges and below the words "Upper 'Aulaqi."

The CHAIRMAN: What a remarkable experiment in Empire building has been exposed to us this afternoon. The thought that is uppermost in my mind is how absolutely essential it is that not only we should have very carefully selected Political Officers to carry on this experiment, but that they should be most carefully instructed in what they have to expect before they take up their duties. That seems to me to be of the utmost importance.

You will agree, I know, that we have had a most happy and fortunate send-off to the beginning of our tribal lectures. Indeed, Mr. Hamilton, we were more than happy and lucky to have you. Then, too, we had Sir Bernard Reilly with his great experience, both of them masters of their subject. We thank you too, Sir Bernard, for what you have told us.

May I ask you now to thank Mr. Hamilton most sincerely for his admirable lecture.

*A demand for this lecture, together with the discussion, has led to this reprint.*

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# SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

## II.—The Tribesman Class

By CAPTAIN THE HON. R. A. B. HAMILTON

000 Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on May 26, 1943, Mr. H. E. Bowman, C.M.G., C.B.E., in the Chair. Captain the Hon. R. A. B. Hamilton gave an address on the "Social Organization of the Aden Protectorate—II. The Tribesman Class."

The CHAIRMAN said that in September, 1942, Captain Hamilton had given them his first lecture on the "Social Organization of the Tribesmen of the Aden Protectorate," and had so interested his audience and the readers of the *Journal* that the article had been reprinted in the last issue. From that lecture it was clear that Major Hamilton had gained a wonderful insight into the people of the country, and that he possessed not only an intimate acquaintance with the different sections of the population of that vast territory, but also a wide learning of the country and sympathy, understanding and friendship for the people of the Aden Protectorate. Those qualities were not always to be found in British political officers, and when they were it was up to everyone to pay tribute to them. Captain Gammans, M.P., had written an excellent letter to *The Times* recently on the future of the Colonial Empire. In that letter he said: "The British Colonial Empire is at the parting of the ways." If that was true, as it might be, then they should see that they took the right way, and if they were to take the right way he, the Chairman, could not ask them to follow a better guide than Captain Hamilton.

H 121 IN my last paper I described the classes into which the people of the Aden Protectorate are divided. The most numerous of these is the tribesman class, who are the warriors and the landowners, and it is my purpose in this paper to describe the tribal organization of this class and to suggest how this organization has developed and how the future may affect it.

H 619 The basis of the tribal organization in the Aden Protectorate is the confederation of tribes. The tribe itself is a small unit, rarely exceeding 500 males. Some of these small tribes are "sheikhly" tribes, and these form the nucleus of confederations. A few examples will serve to make this clear.

Y 101 619 The tribes of the Yafa' Confederation inhabit the highest of the mountain spurs of the south-east Yemen range. They are divided into the sub-confederations of Upper and Lower Yafa'. The sheikhly tribe of both sub-confederations is the Beni Qasid of Lower Yafa', from and within which is elected the Lower Yafa' Sultan, which is the Chief of Chiefs of all Yafa'.

Y 622 It must not be supposed that this Sultan of the Beni Qasid is a ruler in our sense of the word. In fact, even within his family, his powers are very small. A certain aura of holiness attaches to him as an hereditary tribal head, which we will shortly examine, but the influence he wields within his own small tribe dwindles outside that tribe almost to nothing.

000 The name "Yafa'" is the name of a pagan deity, and, in the absence

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is the name of a PAGAN DEITY AND IN THE ABSENCE,

Y 101 174 778 622 of histories, we may take it that the confederation is pre-Islamic in date. Apart from the name, the only other obviously pre-Islamic possession of the tribe is the sacred drum, the "Tabble an Nahas," which is kept by the Beni Qasid and which is accorded sacred honours by the tribe of Yafa' only. It is possible that before Islam the Beni Qasid were the keepers of the drum, and I am going to suggest that the present Sultans of Yafa' are in reality Priest-Chiefs, whose functions as such have ceased with the introduction of a new religion, although their hereditary position remains as heads of the people who once worshipped Yafa'.

H 101 619 622 Let us examine another confederation of tribes. About sixty miles north of Adén live the Qateibi tribe, surrounded by the confederation of the Ja'ud. At first sight the tribes here seem to be disorganized and unrelated, but careful study of dialect, of local stories, of the Qasidas or epic poems, and of such things as star lore and magical beliefs, shows that these tribes are closely allied in thought, dialect and custom and form a true confederation, the organization of which becomes clear in times of danger. Of this confederation the Qateibi are the central tribe, and their sheikhly family is the Akhram, from which the Qateibi Sheikh is elected. As was shown in 1904, a Qateibi Sheikh with a strong personality can have considerable influence on the whole confederation, but he is not expected to rule, as we understand the word, even within his own family.

H 619 [623] 174 622 With the strong 'Aulaqi Confederation we find a more complicated organization, but a similar one. Ma'an is here the central tribe, in all probability the ancient Ma'an of the inscriptions, a pre-Sabian kingdom of South Arabia. Ancient Ma'an was ruled by a "Grand Council," as we find from the inscriptions, and this system still exists to-day.

The 'Aulaqi Confederation is divided into three parts—the Upper and Lower sub-Confederations of attached tribes and the tribe of Ma'an—and each of these three is ruled by a Chief of the tribe of Ma'an, elected by Ma'an only. Again we have the sheikhly family within the central tribe, surrounded by the attached tribes of the confederation. Again the name, but this time it is the name of the central tribe, is pre-Islamic. If we look [671] for further proof that the confederation is of pre-Islamic origin, we find an ancient legal system—that of the Manaqid, which I have already described—strongly attached to it.

H 619 We could continue to find examples of the organization from other confederations, but these three will suffice. The basis of the organization is clear: there is a central tribe containing a sheikhly family, forming the centre of a confederation of tribes.

H 174 Y 643 How did such an organization evolve? How is it that Chiefs, elected according to ancient custom, are not expected to rule their electors? What is the origin of such Chiefs, and of the sheikhly families from which they come? Our answers must be mainly guesswork, but we may well begin by seeing some of the conditions under which an Imam of Sana'a is elected, for I think they point the way to our understanding of the whole problem.

The first condition is that the Imam must be whole in body. No Imam may be elected if he limps, is blind in one or both eyes, has a stammer, squints, is a leper or has any other physical disabilities. If, once

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elected Imam, he goes outside the acknowledged boundaries of his kingdom (the present Imam acknowledges no boundaries, nor have any of his predecessors) he ceases to be Imam, and a new Imam must be elected. The Imam is usually elected during the lifetime of his predecessor, so that when one dies the country is not without an Imam.

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Now all these conditions are those pertaining to divine Kings. There is little doubt that they are ancient pre-Islamic conditions, and it is possible that they are taken from the conditions under which the Tobbas of Himyar became King and which governed the ancient kingship of Sheba. Some inscriptions made by the Tobbas, who ruled over Axum in Abyssinia, as well as Saba and Eastern Yemen, are countersigned, as it were, by a Minister who styles himself "The Sacrifice"—in itself a very significant title. These conditions must have been accepted by the Persian and Abyssinian rulers of the Yemen, and both they and subsequent rulers must have thought it as well to assume the kingship in its ancient form.

In the same way as the Imam is elected and proclaimed, so under him each confederation elects its Chiefs and petty Chiefs within their tribes and families. The central tribes elect their Chiefs, who become the heads of confederations, and each tribe elects its leaders within itself; only in the case of the smaller units, from the confederation downwards, there appear to be no such conditions as I have mentioned regarding the Imamate. All these Chiefs are figureheads who can exert a strong influence but who are not expected to rule.

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The scene thus represented is one of the greatest interest to anthropologists and to sociologists. It is a stage in the development of nations. Before the formation of kingdoms and before Islam, Arabia was a land of many gods. Each of these gods was the particular god of a tribe, and his worship was in the hands of a priestly tribe who elected a Priest-Chief. He was, as it were, a divine Chief, and doubtless it was his main duty to ensure fertility, which entails all the priestly functions of bringing rain, guarding against disease and supervising agriculture. Both the magic and the custom were higher than him. He could not change either but was himself ruled by both. In inter-tribal disputes he spoke for the tribe and not for himself as ruler of the tribe. When Islam came, the tribal god vanished, but the Priest-Chief was left as a figurehead, with a vague aura of holiness but with nevertheless a considerable loss of his power, which was never very great. This is the position of the elected hereditary Chief in the Aden Protectorate to-day.

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It is obvious that such Chiefs cannot be expected to rule their confederations and tribes unless they obtain military power. For the most part they are reluctant to do this. At one time it was the policy of the Government to give arms and ammunition to the Chiefs so as to strengthen their hands against their more unruly tribesmen. The hereditary elected Chiefs, however, did not respond to this policy as they were supposed to do, but gave the arms away to brigands in the form of bribes. The Suzerains avidly accepted these presents from the Government, for they understood rule as we do, and have held their positions through this understanding. This, by contrast between the two types of Chief, throws a strong light on the accepted position of the hereditary Chiefs. There is,

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H THERE IS,
622 as far as I know, nothing written to define their position, but it is
623 accepted that they can only use their position to influence their tribesmen,
792 and that the rule of the tribe is that of the tribal council, which is drawn from all the heads of tribe and family, and is influenced by all strong personalities within the tribe as well as by the holy classes—the Seyyids and descendants of saints. The strength of rule which the Chief can impose depends, therefore, on how much he can influence the influential. By his own position he is not a ruler; he is a figurehead; and if his ancestors at one time could inspire respect and fear through their magical powers, he inspires neither, except through his own personality. By a reluctance to enforce his rule, even when he is assisted to do so, he shows that in some vague way he appreciates his peculiar hereditary position. Until the official understands this he will live in wonderland, where the Chief he wishes to assist blandly gives Government arms away to his enemies and then returns to demand equality of force with them and the assistance of aircraft to defend himself. But the official is dealing with the older thing, with a type of community which long ago ceased to have meaning or motive, but has preserved the ancient forms of its pagan birth.

Y It is notable that the Imam does not attempt to rule the Yemen through
643 hereditary tribal Chiefs. He rules, as his ancestors did, through appointed
631 Governors of provinces, and these provinces often disregard tribal areas.
174 It may be that the Yemen progressed beyond the Priest-Chief state of rule in the days of the kingdoms and under a succession of Governors never
622 returned to it. I do not myself believe that the Mushreq has ever known other than tribal life and the rule of tribal councils and public opinion from the days of the Grand Council of Ma'an to the present day. The Yemeni parts of the Protectorate which are under Suzerains are governed after the Yemeni autocratic model. Here the tribal figurehead counts for very little, unless he is a strong personality and a favourite of the Suzerain. But the figurehead is still there for all the centuries of " foreign " rule.

It would seem that it is usual for the rule of Priest-Chiefs to be followed by that of tyrants. Perhaps it is that as trade develops some firmer kind of rule is needed than a vaguely conservative council under a Priest-Chief. The church, as it were, cannot keep the functions of the state. When it can it tries to endow every activity of the individual with a magical colour. It usually succeeds. But in South Arabia the religion was violently changed by a militant Christianity and after a few centuries by a militant Islam, and in the place of the old order, under which each man worshipped his tribal god, there came the new order of the conqueror and his appointed Governors. In this small strip of Arabia we are fortunate to be able to study both these types of rule as they react to contact with the modern world.

600 Almost the whole world has been through the phase of passing from the rule of the Priest-King to that of the tyrant, and we are no exception. It would almost seem to be a necessary growing pain for the people to first be ruled by autocrats before they rule themselves. But it would be interesting, to us who have passed through this phase and who see ourselves on the frontiers of the wider democracy of our age, to dispense with this phase and to at once develop a government of truly democratic form

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators. 000

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more complicated than in most places in the Protectorate. 619 182 421

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their centres. 427 565 792 651 619 672 182

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood fued, and there is little doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to 182 628 411 436

182 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last
628 quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras
411 carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease
436 of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some
[712] years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by
182 Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small
671 thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the
576 gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

182 Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

182 I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into
693 their confederations and have shown the course which these confedera-
728 tions are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of
671 Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts,
[625] whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when
000 nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



A lady MEMBER asked for information with regard to weddings or customs relating to the women. 000

Major HAMILTON said that in the big towns the women married to rich or ultra-respectable people were in purdah. Over the whole of the Protectorate women normally walked about unveiled and free, but in some tribes in the Yemen they had most peculiar veils of all varieties. Women had a tremendously powerful influence on political affairs. They would have heard of Mrs. Ingrams, who went into the harem and talked to the women. She had enormously extended the influence of the political officer. He thought it was safe to say that the women in the harem could influence two-thirds of the people while the political officer could only influence one-third. He therefore thought it was a point for consideration whether more lady doctors, who could speak Arabic and who were young and prepared to travel, should not take up work in these places, where they could go into the harem and influence mothers and wives. 582 562 000

In reply to a question as to how any business was conducted in the democratic tribes, Major HAMILTON said that the Chief would go back to his village with a proposition, whereupon anybody who had any influence in the tribe would meet him. There would be a frightful noise, and eventually he would say, "This is what I have been told"; then several people would jump up and say, "This is where I die; I am not going to do this." There would be a very long parley which would sometimes end in bloodshed. Sometimes, when it was a question of the payment of a Government fine, the whole tribe would split up, and then there was no opportunity of getting them together again in order to obtain any sort of concerted action. Once he was out on a very hot day and came on about forty men walking backwards away from each other with rifles pointing at each other. He shouted a greeting in a loud jovial tone. They all stopped and kept one eye on him and one eye on each other. He said, "What is going on?" and they answered, "A peace conference." (*Laughter.*)

Dr. HUGH SCOTT said he thought that Major Hamilton had made an extremely important point when he indicated that none of these social conditions were static, and there was a danger in accepting as final the reports of anthropologists and travellers who were only there for a short time and could only give a record of things as they found them at that time.

He wished to bear witness to the value of the work which Major Hamilton had put on record. He had been privileged to see him at work among the tribes for a short time when he was up in the hills under Major Hamilton's protection and the protection of one of the Chiefs who had appeared on the screen. He was now having to compile all sorts of information about those and adjacent parts of Arabia, which meant extensive reading, and he had not read in any book an account which equalled in detail and exactitude Major Hamilton's description of the social organization of the tribes.

On the political side, when he was in the Aden Protectorate he had discussed with English friends, officers of the Aden Government, the question whether the policy of indirect administration would be sufficient

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or whether it would be necessary for the British to go into some of the lawless districts and administer them more directly. In connection with this point Major Hamilton had given them much food for thought.

A question about broadcasting was referred by Major Hamilton to [207] Mr. J. GOEPEL. Mr. Goepel said there was a certain amount of broadcasting from Aden. The Navy maintained about twelve wireless sets in the chief centres, but from the ordinary person's point of view there was no broadcasting. Taking England as a comparison, it would mean that there would be half a dozen sets in Westminster, four sets in Edinburgh, and perhaps one at York and Ely, and that was all.

The CHAIRMAN emphasized the point made by Major Hamilton and Dr. Scott that peoples went forward or backward; they were not static. That was true of all civilizations, but it was especially true of some peoples who were not, so far, as civilized as others. He himself was an optimist with regard to the Arabs of those countries where he had lived and worked, and he believed they were going forward rather than backward. He hoped this would also be true of both the Arabs and the non-Arabs in the Aden Protectorate.

He thought Major Hamilton's remarks with regard to tribal customs were extremely interesting. If tribal customs were taken away the whole foundation would disintegrate. If the customs of civilized peoples were destroyed, the same would happen to them; only the law would remain to hold them together; and these tribal people had not even the law.

On the question of women, he and his wife were once talking to a British Consul in Syria about work among Moslems in Arab countries, and the Consul had said to his wife: "I assure you that a woman—the right kind of woman—can do more in three months than her husband as political officer can do in three years."

They had listened to an extremely interesting lecture, for which they were most grateful to Major Hamilton; this was his second lecture, and he was sure they would all agree when he said that he hoped some day Major Hamilton would give them a third.

(*A few slides were shown illustrating the different types of men and apparel.*)

7: Sturler-Raemaekers 7-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# TOWNS AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE HADHRAMAUT

By MRS. M. DE STURLER-RAEMAEKERS

000 Report of a lecture illustrated by a film delivered to the Society on Thursday, May 21, 1953, Mr. W. H. Ingrams, C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

The Chairman: As you can well imagine, it is a great pleasure to me to take the chair this afternoon for Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers, because I have spent ten years in the country which she is about to describe. Unfortunately, ever since I left it in 1944 time has done nothing but take me somewhere else in the world. I have just returned from a tour of the United States, Mexico, Central America and the West Indies. Most of my time seems to be taken up in Africa and it is difficult to get an opportunity of looking again at the Hadhramaut. Hence it is a great pleasure to be able to see Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers' slides and to hear her account this afternoon.

341 I expect that in some respects at least the architecture of the Hadhramaut is
113 familiar to many of you through Freya Stark's books, perhaps particularly the illustrations in her book *Seen in the Hadhramaut*; also Mr. Osbert Lankaster, an architect who many may know better as a cartoonist, wrote an article on the architecture of the Hadhramaut some years ago which appeared, I believe, in the *Architectural Journal*.

341 There is a very long tradition of architecture in the Hadhramaut. One wonders
773 how long this wonderful working in mud has gone on. In ancient days the ancient Hadhraumauti used to go in for monumental stone masonry on a [illegible] scale. I
333 remember seeing huge stones lying on the old Hadhramauti ruins and being told by the local people that the stones had been transported to the early buildings by the Adites, who were formerly giants. Hadhraumaut is a country which has always recognized the Book of Genesis, that there were giants in the land in those days.

114 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers was born in Holland and came to England as a child, first, during the first World War. Here she was educated, so we can at least claim part of her. Then she went to France and later came back to England to study architecture for three years at the Architectural Association. She took her degree in Brussels and practised there. Then she travelled a good deal in Europe. She returned to England again at the outbreak of the recent World War and has been here ever since except for her travelling. In 1948 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers thought she would go further afield and, fortunately for us and for Arabia, she chose to go there, but before doing so she took the precaution of studying Arabic for two years at London University.

Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers spent ten months in the Hadhramaut in 1950-51 and was there again in 1952 for five months. She has told me, very modestly, that that is a very inadequate time in which to study the Hadhramaut, but I think we shall discover that she found out a great deal of much interest while she was there.

MY experience of the Middle East is, as you have heard, somewhat brief, being only three years. I therefore feel a little embarrassed when speaking before a gathering in which there may be many who have probably travelled there for much longer periods. I trust they will show some indulgence towards anything I may say which may not be either new or just as they saw it; I have at least specialized knowledge in
121 one subject which took me there, and that is architecture. I went to study the buildings of Hadhramaut and make measured drawings of them. I do not intend to give a technical discourse on exactly how the buildings are constructed or how the bricks are made, because I do not think that this is

121 what people want to hear. In this short talk I would like to deal more with the feeling of these buildings as related to the people who live in them and who have created them. If time allows I hope to show a short colour film I made there and which portrays general scenes of life in Hadhramaut.

122 There is one thing I can say without any hesitation or doubt, and that is to give expression to my great gratitude to those who helped me to go on these journeys. I could not possibly mention by name all those to whom I am indebted, but at least I wish to speak of Sir Bernard Reilly of the Colonial Office, who made it possible for me to go to Hadhramaut and gave me the necessary introductions. I also want to thank Dr. Serjeant of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, who taught me for two years and who showed me everything I had to know in order to travel in that strange and isolated country he had himself visited. Finally, I am most grateful to Colonel Hugh Boustead, Resident Adviser of the East Aden Protectorate, who facilitated my journey in every possible way. He was my kind host and gave me travel facilities and permits to go where many people had difficulty in going.

131 To plunge into my subject, I might say that one does in fact almost plunge into the Hadhramaut from above. It is one of those rare countries which cannot be reached by rail or by road and hardly by sea except on a little native dhow; so that since the British Protectorate authorities started to develop the country it has been habitual to go to Hadhramaut by plane, and one does indeed drop into it from the sky. Such isolation is rare in our times and needs some explanation for those not familiar with the geography of Southern Arabia.

131 Arabia has always been one of the most difficult countries of access to
133 Europeans, for geographical as well as religious reasons. In the centre of the peninsula is one of the largest deserts in the world, and it is surrounded by forbidding coastal ranges from halfway up the Red Sea coast, down to the "barren rocks of Aden" and eastward along the southern coast, almost three-quarters of its length before there is any break in the mountains.

But for small valleys, these mountains and the interior are absolutely barren. With the exception of the Yemen, to all intents and purposes, little or nothing grows in that vast area. There is no water. There is little earth, and in the relentless mountain ranges and plateaux along the coast there is often not even sand—just rock and flint and granite. Yet these coastal ranges are crossed in all directions by ageless tracks made by camel trains of the bedouin traders who have followed them for two thousand, perhaps three thousand years, bringing the incense from Dhufar beyond Hadhramaut.

101 The people who now live in the interior highlands are the bedouin,
[312] the descendants of the traders of old, who dwell in small stone-built villages or mud castles. This south-western corner is still largely a tribal area where there are different little bedouin sultanates. Some of them are being gradually brought into the confederation and some even accept complete British protection; others live entirely in their own ancient way of
000 life of blood feuds and strife. Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently

Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently
killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaweth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became "Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there stretches nothing but endless waste tabbleland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

133 a second miracle happens. There is a cleft in the great basalt plateau and
a beautiful green valley opens abruptly in the flat tableland—a valley run-
311 ning from east to west, joining the sea some 150 miles further on. This is a fertile valley with gardens and palm groves, millet fields and white palaces. An underground river continually provides water for the wells and the little irrigation channels. There are crops up to three times per year. In this lovely setting very civilized and well-dressed townsfolk live in large mud-built towns on the valley cliff sides. Recently they have laid aside their arms and ceased their blood feuds and tribal wars which raged from town to town, from tribe to tribe, from family to family. With the aid of the British adviser they have established law and order and made their foreign trade, which is their livelihood, flourish unhindered.

172 When we go back into history to find out where this miracle has sprung
341 from, we discover that there were the old Sabean and Hymyaritic civilizations of 1,000 or 2,000 years B.C., of which Mr. Ingrams spoke. Perhaps it started with the Minean Empire, on the eastern border of Yemen, and its capital, Ma'in. Later came the Sabeans with their capital a little south, at Marib; followed by the Katabaneans, whose centre, Timna, was at the south-eastern corner of the great desert. And lastly, perhaps, the Hadhramis, whose early capital may have been the much disputed Shabwa. These people built in stone, and their buildings were several storeys high and of very fine dry masonry. Many are the ruins covering the western territory between Aden and Hadhramaut and to the north in Yemen. But also in Hadhramaut itself, further east, there are vestiges of towns and temples, in the main valley and the side valleys; great plans of garrison cities, and remains of castle and palace walls in beautifully executed stonework, all erected perhaps some 2,000 years ago.

341 With such a tradition it is not surprising that something is still found
333 in the present day, and although the Hadhramis have not continued the stone masonry and have turned mainly to sun-dried mud bricks, their achievements are of remarkable interest.

101 Reviewing the various groups of the population, there are the bedouin
342 who still live by camel transport, the sand bedouin of the desert who live in simple black camelhair tents, and the bedouin mountain tribesmen who live on the arid plateaux. The latter are rugged and tough, like the country round them. Their life is hard; it is scorching hot without any shade in the day, bitterly cold at night at 6,000 feet. They still build their low windowless huts with brushwood roofs with the stones of the plateaux in dry walling. They carry on in their primitive way the stone tradition which has been lost elsewhere in the eastern area.

361 The next class of inhabitants we meet are the remote valley bedouin,
311 who live in rather better circumstances. They do have a little grazing, cultivate a little land where they grow millet called dharrah and a sort of
342 little cucumber-tomato called faguws. They live in the earthen beds of long-dried-up rivers that have a flood from the hills about once a year. They have grown lazy like everyone else, and they build their little castles of mud bricks with a base of rough stones from the river-bed. A passage
342 down the centre leads from the entrance door with almost windowless rooms for storage either side to a stair leading to a sheltered roof terrace.

7: Sturler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk. 342

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm. 361

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anis go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices. 311 312 511 262 439 291

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space. 342 361 531

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut. 361 342

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on [441]

361 a mound, is seven storeys and rises above the rest, the whole, like all
342 others, built in mud bricks.

In the centre, the space that is left, lie huddled the one-storeyed shops of the suq and the many-storeyed flat houses of the poor. Shibam seemed the only town where houses were occupied in flats. Elsewhere I saw almost exclusively one-family houses even if the family had many groups within it.

342 All houses in Hadhramaut have a strong inward slant from bottom to
333 top, which gives them a look of strength mingled with grace. There are no basements and barely foundations, but the ground floor is an almost solid base, so thick are the walls that taper towards the top. They may be almost 3 feet thick at the base for a tall castle, and a foot at the top.

In Shibam, the houses forming a solid rampart wall have windows at the two ends only, and a small light-well to light the stairs in the centre of the deep building. The ground floor usually contains granaries and stores. The straight flights of the stairs rise between thick walls with a very heavy
342 central block. On the first floor the Shibam citizen keeps his goats and
231 rabbits in the outside rooms, while the centre is occupied by more stores. About the second floor begin the living quarters—that is, the office and rooms of the men, stores in the centre again, and often with kitchen,
342 washroom, and lavatory. These washrooms and lavatories are systemati-
336 cally built over a central shaft, though water is mostly allowed to run from a gutter into the centre of the street. But there are "back" streets for the
342 sanitation and "front" streets for doors. About the third floor the private quarters begin. They would be men's living quarters, with the ladies on the floor above, the fourth, with kitchen and washrooms again; right on top, often little private quarters for the owner of the house where he may enjoy most fresh air. Each floor has a double set of windows, a large one down to the floor and a small square one for ventilation above, up against the ceiling, so that there are continual draughts running through the top of the room. Practically all rooms have windows on two sides, and with this and the thick walls and the smooth plaster they remain pleasantly cool.

342 The lower floors are usually the loftiest; even the ground floor store
353 rooms are up to 12 and 13 feet high. The house often has two entrances—
531 a large door for the men and a little one for the ladies, with separate stairs in the larger houses, even in Shibam where land is scarce. The façades are in rough mud brick, a uniform brown colour with a white plaster smooth base and white ornaments round windows and parapet, getting richer towards the top of the house, which is the best part of it.

Their plasterwork is one of their great arts. It is extraordinarily hard. To obtain this it is presumed to be mixed with date juice. When polished with a piece of flint and rubbed with a cloth for hours it acquires a lustre that makes it shine like marble. This is chiefly done inside the main rooms and in the washrooms and stairs. Outside it is only polished at the base, for water to run off. The ornamentation of the upper storeys is left
342 rough white. But as people's wealth increased they have abandoned this
531 form of very characteristic decoration, which divided the tall buildings in broad brown bands alternating with narrow white bands at window level.

7: Stutler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost. 342 531

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby. 341 531 177

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away. 342 353 177

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms. 361 565

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely. 565 292 561

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one 565 342

665 half for the men and one for the women, each with their entrance, kitchen,
342 store rooms and granary on the ground floor, reception rooms and wash-rooms on the first floor, and more private apartments with washrooms on the second floor. There may be a third floor with terrace rooms, but usually not more.

342 Although the span of the ceiling beams is quite small, as everywhere
353 else (about six feet, determined by the maximum size of timber available), many of the rooms in these houses are very large, being divided up by
565 two, four, six or nine pillars. They have rows of three or four windows, some even more, on two sides. The floors are covered with carpets, and cushions against the walls are the only form of furnishing. There will be niches with cups, silver samovars and brass trays; other niches with some books; and a few large flat basket-trays hung on the walls, from which one eats. But that is absolutely all that is needed. There are large wall closets for clothing and for bedding, the normal place to sleep being the floor. But there is no difference between a living-room and a sleeping apartment. Each room serves for either purpose in turn, the men and the women
[291 being separate. Nor are there clothes for the night and clothes for the day, though the men wear beautifully laundered clothes, frequently
515] changed.

342 Washrooms consist of a spacious compartment, with glazed plaster walls with niches and pegs for clothing. Near the window stands a tall
515 jar with water and a scoop for showering oneself. The water runs out under the window through a runnel and gutter. Some washrooms have a shower tank. The washroom may contain a lavatory of the south continental, foot-rest type, or this may be in an entirely separate spacious compartment. Each floor has at least two. Besides this the Saywun and Terim house has a little "roman" bath for complete ablution about 10 feet square, and which is usually near the private prayer-room.

342 Another pleasant characteristic of the Saywun house is that in the large
271 corridor that runs from one side of the house to the other; in front of the window at the coolest end there is usually a corner for drinking-water skins to hang up in a cooling draught. Niches for cups are at hand, and again there is a runnel for the water dripping from the skin to run outside. The same arrangement is found on most terraces. Upper rooms are used in summer, lower rooms in winter for warmth, for there is no glass in the windows and only ill-fitting wood shutters to keep out the night air.

342 All these amenities will be found on a small scale in the most modest houses. The house of the dhobbi had three floors. It contained about *four living-rooms, two washrooms, a kitchen and a store.* So that where space is concerned the Hadhrami house does not compare unfavourably with European standards.

000 A film showing Hadhramaut buildings was followed by a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

# LAND AND PEOPLES OF THE HADHRAMAUT, ADEN PROTECTORATE

Ruthven W. Pike

131 ALTHOUGH Southern Arabia borders on the much-traveled route to India and ocean liners daily touch its shore at the port of Aden, it has been little reconnoitered, far less than
114 the northern part of the peninsula. A chronological account of exploration in the part of Southern Arabia known as the Hadhramaut, by Mr. W. H. Ingrams (now Chief Secretary in Aden), appeared in the *Geographical Review* for October, 1938. It is entirely due to the tactful and untiring efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, who, with the coöperation of Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf, member of the wealthiest family in the Hadhramaut, have succeeded in establishing peace and understanding among the many tribes of the region, that it is now possible for a European to journey unmolested within prescribed regions.

[63] The boundaries of the Aden Protectorate, of which the Hadhramaut is a part, extend into heretofore unexplored territory and have
131 not been surveyed in the manner customary in settled areas. The limits are well understood, however. They are formed by the Gulf of Aden on the south, the district of Dhufar on the east, the southern margin of the great interior sandy desert of Rub' al Khali on the north, and a line running N 45° E from Perim Island to the Rub' al Khali on the west.

162 The population is densest near Aden and its mountainous hinterland. There are, however, a great many people to the east of Aden, who
161 live along the coast and in the interior of the Hadhramaut; Mr. Ingrams estimates their number at 260,000. There are also many towns and villages between the mouth of the Wadi Maseila and the Dhufar Coast, with a population thought to be about 25,000. Mukalla,
361 with 16,000 inhabitants, is the chief port of the Hadhramaut and seat
[63] of the British Colonial Administration for the surrounding area.

## Climate

132 The climate at sea level between October and April is healthful and agreeable to one accustomed to living in temperate regions. On the interior plateau, or Jol, at altitudes of 3000 to 4000 feet, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut, at 2000 feet, the nights are cool, with minimum temperatures reaching 50° F., and are apt to be windy. At such times ordinary summer clothing and light bedding do not afford enough protection.

From April on, the average and maximum daily temperatures

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



132 mount steadily, until travel at midday becomes unpleasant and is not even practiced by the thoroughly accustomed Bedouins. At the peak of summer, travel is reduced to a minimum, and that undertaken only at night, probably more out of consideration for the Bedouin's valued beast of burden than for himself. A period of extreme heat lasting about forty days, known as the "arbainia" (*arba*, Arabic for "four"), usually begins about May 4, and there is another period of eight days later in the year.

The atmosphere, especially on the Jol, is exceptionally clear, save when an occasional dust storm darkens the sky. The dust storms affect large areas, for the wind-borne material is fine and easily distributed; but they do not extend to high altitudes. Fliers over the Jol report that at a few thousand feet above ground level the air normally remains clear. When moisture-laden winds are blowing landward from the Gulf of Aden, cloud banks cover the narrow coastal zone between the sea and the precipitous margin of the interior plateau.

Few or no instrumental data are at hand regarding rainfall in this part of Arabia. Heald, who reported on the agriculture of the Hadhramaut in 1921, says:

> The rain-fall along the coast is practically nil, some years they have one or two inches, but useless for agriculture, the floods being from the interior rain a long distance from Mukalla; when we were in the district from December to April, we had two or three showers, but every time too small for the rain gauge to measure.[1]

## The Plateau and Its Borders

133 In the Hadhramaut the narrow, sandy coast is bordered by a belt of mountains 30 miles wide. At the western edge of the Hadhramaut, about 100 miles east of Aden, rugged coast ranges rise to 7000 or 8000 feet. They are succeeded on the east by slightly lower table-topped and scarp-bounded mountains, whose height gradually decreases to about 2000 feet at Ras Fartak.

Between these mountains and the interior desert of Rub' al Khali, the southern border of which runs parallel to the coast at a distance of 200 miles, stretches a highly dissected and terraced tableland, sloping very gently to the north and east. Dissection is greatest in the Hadhramaut, Maseila, and Hafif drainage basins; the fringe of the interior desert shows considerably less erosion. The eastward slope of the plateau has an average gradient of 1 in 500 (in the 610 kilometers between Hafif and Shabwa the surface rises from sea level to 1200 meters). The over-all northward component of slope is less, perhaps 1 in 1000; it cannot be determined because the altitude of the Rub' al Khali is not known. The gradient is not uniform,

113 [1] Quoted by W. H. Ingrams: A Report on the Social, Economic and Political Condition of the Hadhramaut, *Colonial No. 123*, London, 1936, p. 8.

however. The floor of the Hadhramaut Valley rises at a slope of 1 in 900 or 1000 from an altitude of 2000 feet at Tarim to about 3000 feet in the latitude of Shabwa and the west end of the tableland. 133

The observer in the Hadhramaut is impressed by the vast amount of rapid erosion that has taken place and the inadequacy of the rain- [131]

FIG. 1—The Hadhramaut, Aden Protectorate, in its wider strategic relations. Scale 1: 40,000,000.

fall of today to explain it. Not only topographical but also cultural evidence points toward increasing aridity in the Hadhramaut. The numerous visible ruins, not to mention those buried by sand or disintegrated past recognition, are indicative of a greater population than now exists. A large number of the present-day inhabitants 167 emigrate; and, according to Mr. Ingrams, they have been doing so at an increasing rate during the last fifty years.[2] It is suggested that 161 the Hadhramaut area supports about the maximum population under the prevailing conditions of rainfall.

Each of the canyons excavated by the Wadi Hadhramaut and its 133 tributaries in the vast South Arabian plateau suggests to the traveler a miniature Grand Canyon. The walls rise steeply for a full thousand feet throughout the deepest part of the drainage system and remain perpendicular, although decreasing in height, even to the heads of the smallest tributaries. To the observer on the ground the plateau

[2] W. H. Ingrams: Hadhramaut: A Journey to the Sei'ar Country and through the Wadi Masila, *Geog. Journ.*, Vol. 88, 1936, pp. 524–551; reference on p. 527. 113

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8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

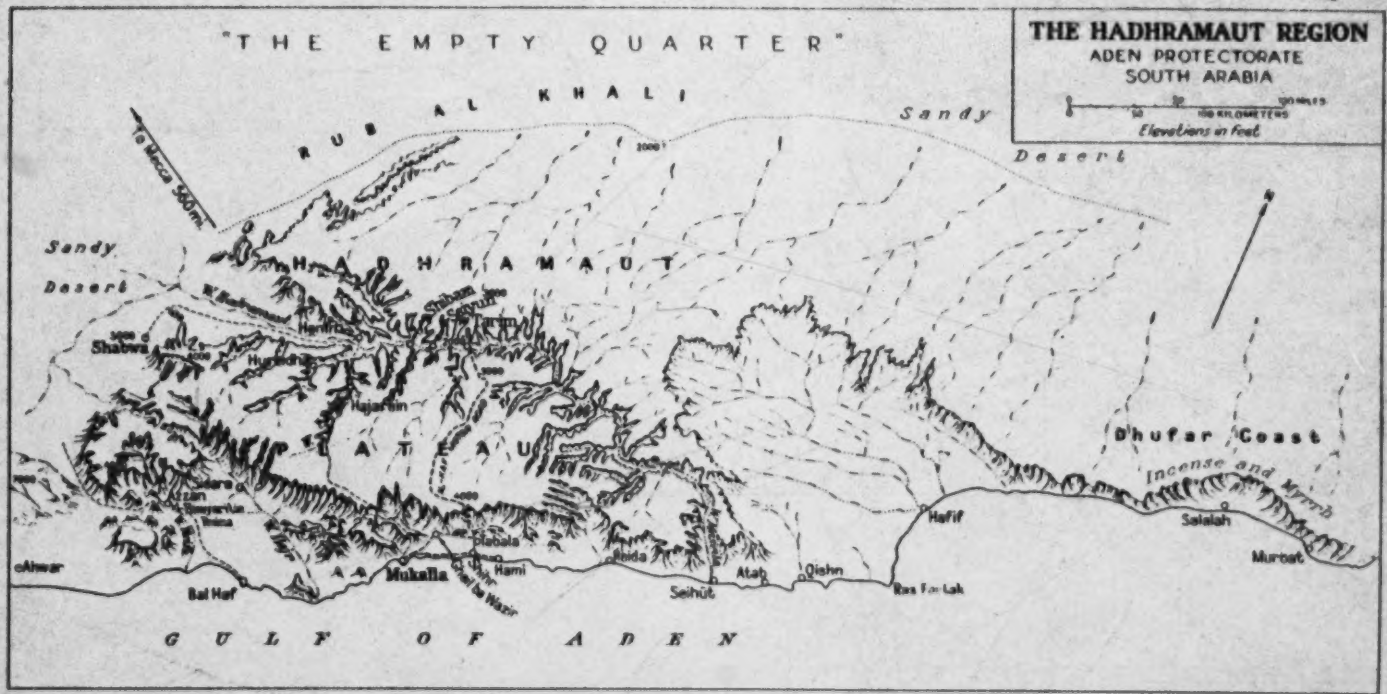


FIG. 2—Diagrammatic sketch of the Hadhramaut illustrating the dissection of the plateau by the main wadi and its tributaries and the relation to other drainage systems. Mukalla is about 300 miles east-northeast of Aden, in 14° 32′ N. and 49° 07′ E. (See Fig. 1).

133 presents the appearance of an undissected plain stretching to the horizon, broken here and there by flat-topped, isolated hills and extensive rock terraces. Only by a campaign of "trial and error" can one find where the drainage divides are and the limitations the drainage imposes on freedom of movement in this treeless and apparently obstacle-free terrain. Even the smallest wadi constitutes a formidable obstacle; for should descent be possible, the chances of finding a route to scramble up the opposite wall are small. With 487 almost limitless time at their disposal, the Bedouins have obtained a comprehensive picture of the stream system and have adjusted their caravan routes accordingly, utilizing the relatively few suitable passes from wadi level to plateau level. From a distance these century-old trails appear as inconspicuous paths; yet along the passes and narrow parts of present caravan routes, some of which are thought to be identical with the incense roads of antiquity, one may observe that once-jagged rocks have been rounded and polished by the passage of countless unshod men and soft-footed camels during several thousand years.

## Hadhramaut–Maseila Drainage System

133 The drainage of the Hadhramaut is divisible into four systems: (1) Wadi Hadhramaut–Wadi Maseila; (2) streams flowing north to the interior basin of the Rub' al Khali desert; (3) eastward-flowing streams entering the sea on the Hafif coast; (4) small and short streams tributary to the Gulf of Aden.

To the west of Tarim the main stream is known as the Wadi Hadhramaut, to the east as the Wadi Maseila. It has been explored on foot by Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams for 360 miles from its mouth to the longitude of Shabwa, where the valley walls, 1000 feet high, diverge and flare off to the north and south, leaving a sandy, featureless plain, studded with low dunes and occasional salt-incrusted flats, stretching westward toward the mountains of Yemen, 200 miles away.

For much of the distance below Tarim the water flows above ground; but upstream the bed is dry and water must be obtained [312 from wells 30 to 45 feet deep. The supply seems adequate for present-132] day domestic and irrigation requirements, and acute water shortages are uncommon. During the summer there is some rain in the interior, especially in the mountains of Yemen, and water then flows down the valley all the way to the coast, at times becoming a flood. It is suggested that the present direction of flow of the Wadi Hadhramaut may have been achieved in recent time through piracy by a rapidly eroding stream flowing south to the coast, which has succeeded in diverting drainage that formerly flowed westward into the Rub' al Khali via the broad western part of the valley.

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FIG. 3—The Wadi Hadhramaut at Tarim, looking eastward, i.e., downstream. Tarim, surrounded by no wall, is at the left. Trees in the broad alluvial-filled valley are date palms, irrigated by water hand-drawn from wells. The dissected character and even summit levels of the Jol (plateau) are clearly seen. Canyon walls along the wadi are one to eight feet high. Irrigation ditches to direct occasional floods are discernible everywhere on the wadi floor.

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FIG. 4—A caravan carrying wood to the market in Tarim.

P. 632

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Fig. 5—This view is practically panoramic with Figure 3. Along the crest of the nearest plateau one may be seen a distinct white streak, which is the Al Kaf road to the coast, distant 100 miles as the crow flies, 170 by speedometer. It may be observed that in this direction there is less stream dissection and greater expanse of unbroken plateau. The narrowing of the wadi downstream should be noticed.

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Fig. 6—Wadi irrigation. Note the rude palm leg embankment.

Lp. 633

133 Near the coast the wadi gradient is considerably steeper than in the central and upper parts, where the slope is only 1 in 1000. There seems to be no local cause to explain the anomaly.[1] Although there are a few small lava flows in the Maseila Valley near the coast, it is obvious from the steepness of the gradient, the size of the valley both above and below them, and the absence of old lake shores that they have not constituted a local base level. Neither does the river cut through abnormally resistant rocks of any other type, which might conceivably restrict erosion.

Usually a stream and its valley decrease in size from mouth to source, except where superimposed on resistant strata. The Hadhramaut drainage system, however, is broad and well incised near the mouth, narrow and less deeply incised in the middle, and much wider and deeper farther upstream than at the coast. In its middle part the main stream is not appreciably larger than its tributaries, and it is suggested that in this region lay the former headwaters of a westward-trending drainage. It seems impossible that the vast quantity of material removed during the creation of the great valley from Tarim westward could have been transported to the sea without more erosion than is evident in the vicinity of the hypothesized piracy, about midway between Tarim and the mouth.

As a result of what seems to have been a gentle epeirogenic movement in the region west of Tarim, both the valley floor and the adjoining plateau slope gently upward in this direction at a gradient of 1 in 700 or 1 in 1000. A gradual uplift in the west and south, which is, moreover, in the direction of rock exposures from which sediments have been removed, would have assisted piracy in bringing about a reversal of drainage. Such a sequence of events would well account for the alluvial fill in the tributaries of the main wadi. As the water wells do not penetrate the valley fill to bedrock, the thickness and distribution of this alluvial deposit in the Hadhramaut–Maseila drainage system are not revealed, but an observer gains an impression that it measures perhaps several tens or even hundreds of feet.

A more detailed picture of the interrelationships between, and relative importance of, epeirogenic uplift and stream piracy will, it is hoped, be gained when the Hadhramaut has been more thoroughly explored. That piracy was accompanied by underground drainage as well as by downcutting is suggested by the porosity of some of the rock strata. Subsequent alluviation, however, has obliterated the former entrenched parts of the valley and thus deprived the observer of many desirable details of physiographic history.

It must be noted, however, that tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut to the west of Tarim and also for a short distance to the east

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[1] G. Caton-Thompson and E. W. Gardner: Climate, Irrigation, and Early Man in the Hadhramaut, *Geog. Journ.*, Vol. 93, 1939, pp. 18–38.

enter the main stream normally, i.e. the angle between main and tributary streams is acute. This suggests that the present drainage prevailed during the period of tributary incision and contradicts the hypothesis of stream reversal. On the other hand, tributaries in the area thought to be that of the former headwaters of westward drainage join the main wadi as if it once flowed in the opposite direction. 133

The apparently normal direction at which the tributaries west of Tarim join the main wadi cannot readily be explained from the data in hand; the problem requires critical study. However, it is felt that the evidence of abnormal stream profile and the relatively small amount of erosion in the central part of the valley outweigh any argument against change in the direction of flow.

### Streams Tributary to the Rub' al Khali

Northward from the east-west drainage divide of the Hadhramaut–Maseila and Hafif systems innumerable slightly incised wadies, in a former extensive tableland, carry intermittent runoff toward the Rub' al Khali desert, where the water is absorbed and the stream channels become choked. The drainage pattern is dendritic; but the main streams, although broadly meandering, maintain a rather uniform direction down the steepest gradient of the plateau surface.

Although little is known of this region and not until recently was it observed by members of the Royal Air Force to be inhabited, it can safely be said that aridity is higher than in the Hadhramaut–Maseila basin, which is favored with annual floods from Yemen, and in the coastal zone, where a number of springs exist.

### Streams Tributary to the Coast at Hafif

Eastward from the point where the Wadi Hadhramaut swerves from its east-west course toward the coast a drainage basin of similar trend carries runoff to the Gulf of Aden in the vicinity of Hafif. This drainage area is bounded on the south by steep-gradient streams to the sea, on the west by the Hadhramaut basin, and on the north by the drainage province tributary to the Rub' al Khali. It measures some 140 miles in length from east to west by 80 miles in width; the area is some 11,200 square miles.

The watercourses of the Hafif area are thought to be intermittent. Nowhere is the water table known to reach the surface. Undoubtedly water is obtainable, as in certain parts of the Hadhramaut, by means of wells favorably located in the main drainage lines; for no other source of supply for the people of this sparsely inhabited area is apparent. 312

The drainage pattern exhibits both rectangular and dendritic characteristics, the former being most evident along the main streams. 133

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FIG. 7—Seiyun, looking westwards up the Wadi Hadhramaut toward Shibam (see Fig. 9). The large white building with a dark oval in the foreground is the rathouse with swimming pool shown in Figure 10. The magnificent palace of the Sultan (Fig. 8) is below and to the right of the rocky promontory against which the town lies. The upper right-hand margin of the photograph shows the dissected plateau in the direction of the Rub' al Khali desert about 300 miles to the north.

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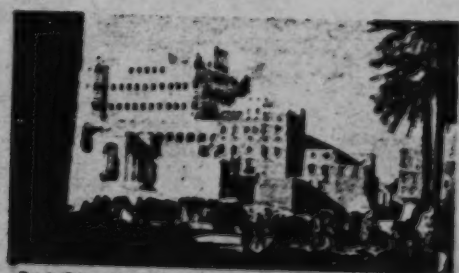

FIG. 8—Palace of the Sultan in Seiyun. This beautiful building dominates the market place and is among the most picturesque to be found in the Hadhramaut.

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8. Files N-4 (no date) 1940 MMS Hadhramaut MMS

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FIG. 9—Shibam, looking down the Wadi Hadhramaut toward Seyun (see Fig. 7). Shibam is built on a low hill at the tip of a plateau spur and, for lack of space, grow upward; the buildings are eight to ten stories high. The landlord occupies the upper stories and these parts are whitewashed, the more whitewash, the wealthier the owner. Note the abandoned fields embanked to prevent runoff of water. The upper right-hand margin shows the plateau topography to the detriment of the sea, a hundred miles distant.

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FIG. 10—European glass house at Seiyun. Only one half of the mansion is in view. Most of the unnamed shows the main is occupied by a swimming pool.

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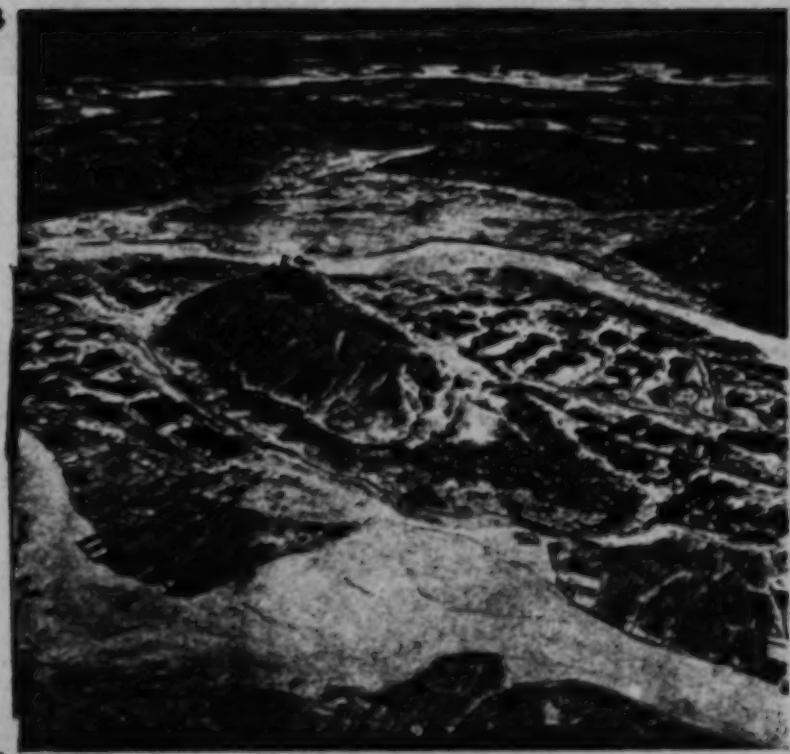

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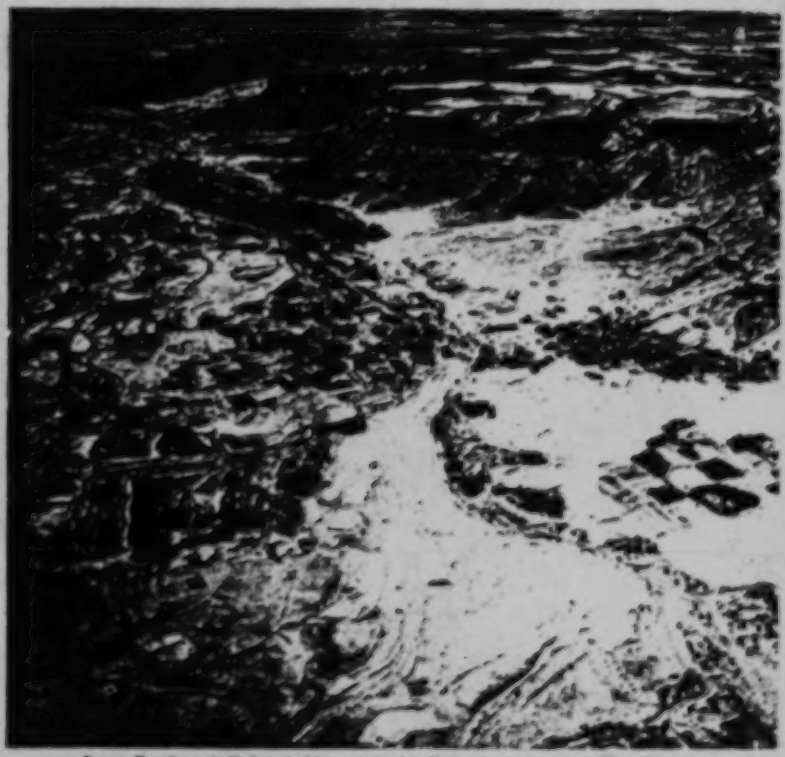

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Pic. 13—Shrouths, in the Wadi Amd. Like a majority of the Hadhramaut cities, it is situated in a semi-protected site. Both used and abandoned agricultural areas may be observed throughout the broad valley. This view over the inhabited belts southward toward the sea and illustrates the steep-walled nature of the drainage systems among even the smaller streams.

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Pic. 14—Recently discovered ruins along Wadi Bayt, near Aden, during even the time of the pre-Islamic Himyaritic Kingdom.

P.639

8. Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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FIG. 15—Mukalla from the sea. The skyline of the second largest settlement and commercial center on the south coast of Arabia.

133 Gradients are low, not more than 1 in 500 and very probably averaging about 1 in 750.

## STREAMS NEAR THE COAST

The area between the coast and the southern margin of the Hadhramaut-Maseila and Hafif basins, some 500 miles long, is drained by short, intermittent, steep-gradient mountain streams, few of which, except certain sections of the Maseila, are perennial. The best known of these is the Wadi Hajr, which enters the Gulf of Aden at Ras al Kalb, 50 miles southwest of Mukalla. Another is the Wadi Mejfa, about the same distance beyond Hajr. Both of them, although they have not been traced to their sources, are reasonably reported to be fed by springs.

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FIG. 16—The harbor of Mukalla. "Main Street" follows the shore of the bay behind the first row of buildings. Mukalla holds most of the locally-owned shows.

8: Film N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



172

FIG. 17—Ruins of a pre-Islamic city in the Wadi Masila. The site was chosen for defensive purposes and each house was in itself a fortress.

## HOT SPRINGS

133 [135] Hot sulphurous springs are widely scattered in the coastal zone, and fairly accurate accounts of many of them are available. They commonly deposit gypsum in quantity. Some of the deposits are so large as to suggest either that activity was more general in the past or that the position of the spring outlets has shifted. The springs may be attributed to the same subterranean conditions that prevail in Yellowstone Park, where descending waters become superheated through close association with uncooled rocks and rise again to the surface.

312 241 361 [271] Within half a mile of the coast of Hami, east of Mukalla, several hot springs are utilized by the natives for irrigation of date palms and millet and also for drinking. Neither here nor elsewhere does the

[312] FIG. 18—A view in the Wadi Masila where water is present during most of the year. The edge of the Jol appears in the background.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 241 361

mineral content of the water seem to affect agriculture adversely. A striking example is seen about five miles north of Shihr where a series of springs depositing sulphur and gypsum have built an impressive mound, on which the village of Tabala stands. Their abundant and continued flow enables extensive irrigation by hand-dug canals and aqueducts and affords a means of livelihood for several hundred

[487 302]

FIG. 19—A caravan settling down for the night on the cold and stony Jol in the lengthening shadows of the setting sun. A caravan stops wherever night may overtake it and with little or no cover the Bedouins find a place to rest among the stones and shiver themselves to sleep. A coating of indigo stain with which the Bedouins not uncommonly paint themselves is said to be some defense against the night air.

people. The temperature of these springs on emergence is not far below boiling point, and they are reported to be the hottest on the coast.

At the small village of Harshiat, 3½ miles north of Mukalla, a few tepid sulphurous springs likewise are valuable for their yield. At the village of Gheil ba Wazir, on the inland road between Mukalla and Shihr, is an extensive gypsum flat and also a group of gypsum-depositing springs. Here a tobacco-raising community has sprung up. A part of the arable land is devoted to the growing of dates and millet and the remainder to tobacco, for which, owing to a quality unsurpassed in Southern Arabia, demand exceeds supply.

The small community of Husn Baquidran depends on a limited but constant supply of nongypsiferous sulphur water in the mountains of the Wadi Hajr, 30 miles from the coast. Irrigation is practiced on a small scale. The sites of Sidara and Mahamda, on the Wadi Hajr above Husn Baquidran, were determined by the presence of several groups of sulphur springs that are used for irrigation and consumption.

## VEGETATION

132 37 175

Today only the seaward fringe of the Dhufar Coast region, which during the pre-Islamic empires of the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and

Himyarites was an important export center for incense and myrrh, has enough rainfall to support a thin growth of vegetation, largely incense trees. From this area and the surrounding country, at one time more abundantly watered, the priceless gum was most extensively collected in the past. It is still gathered today in small amounts, according to demand. The gum, which adheres to the bark, is harvested from varieties of the Burseraceae family, *Boswellia Carterii* and *B. Bhua-Dajiana*, divided by the Arabs into four grades.[4] Its value, which ranges from £80 to £10 a ton, depends on such qualities as color (red, green, and brown), size of the gum particles, and degree of adulteration. Just as the rubber gatherers of the Amazon debased latex with pebbles and gravel, so did the Arabs in the heyday of the incense trade, and to some extent even now, admix varying amounts of fine sand with the gum to increase its weight. Between March and August the trees are tapped by knife incision and a milky juice is extracted, which dries in three to five days.

FIG. 20. Caravan loading. The three men at the right are arguing about the disposition of loads.

Besides incense trees, a thin and scattered growth of bunch grass, camel's-thorn, and a cedarlike evergreen abundant in some dry wadies is found in the Hadhramaut. Date-palm groves, which cover many square miles, are mainly dependent on irrigation.

## Sources of Water Supply

In addition to artesian water and the water obtained from wells, other sources of supply are available. One of these is the *siquays*, a small, rectangular, concrete tank with a capacity of 20 or 25 gallons erected along caravan routes near towns and maintained by them as a public service. Another is the well or cistern excavated at the base

[4] Freya Stark: The Southern Gates of Arabia. [New York], 1936, pp. 10–11.

8. Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 of a broad, gently sloping bedrock drainage surface. The plateau abounds in suitable rock surfaces, and they serve as catchment areas for occasional cloudbursts. Walls, six to eight inches high, fashioned of closely packed but uncemented rock fragments and slabs, are

[291 411 362]

FIG. 21—Bedouins of Wadi Hajr. Note the attire and appearance: bare feet or sandals; short sarong; cartridge belt; curved dagger; long, black, glistening, oily hair; ever present musket. To the stocks of their antiquated guns, goat skulls are frequently attached, as these are thought to provide greater comfort than the original design.

laid out radially from the well so that surface drainage will converge on it from a wide area.

415 409 483 To transport water, Bedouins use bags of uncut goat skins, tied firmly at the leg and neck openings. For drawing well water, the skin is fashioned into a bucket and attached to a rope passing over a pulley in a crudely constructed scaffolding of palm logs lashed together with coconut-fiber cord. The bucket is raised and lowered by donkeys, cattle, or slaves, with the assistance of an appropriate harness. To augment the lifting power applied to each bucket, it is customary to excavate an incline downward from the mouth of the well, equal in length to the depth of the water table, and it is along such a trench that man and beast plod long, weary hours each day. When a bulging and leaking skin has been lifted slightly above the welltop, it is pulled over and lowered into a catchment basin connected with the local irrigation system.

## THE CARAVANS

492 438 429 Many Bedouins, not engaged in agriculture or herding, find occupation in the camel transport system of the Hadhramaut. A man

usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other 492
tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, 438
sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not 439
self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

[291
411]
[177

FIG. 22—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general attire, especially the sarong, which has been introduced by Hadhrami emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to pro- 457
vide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands 167
who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan 484
and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, [437]
packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

8: Pike N-4 (to date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



484 pasture lies beyond a certain point; or at noonday halts the camels become "temporarily lost."

Moonlit nights are considered most desirable for travel. Camels 233 are grazed wherever pasture is most abundant, regardless of the time of day—the heat may be intense—or the progress of the journey. This would not be necessary if small quantities of fodder, such as millet and hay, were carried. This practice, however, is not popular, owing either to custom or to what may be considered unwarranted expense, despite the fact that the animals could be maintained in superior condition and at the same time be worked harder to a degree that would more than offset the cost of purchased fodder.

[262] On the march camelmen provide for their own maintenance with small amounts of dates, bread, coffee, and tea, which add little to 484 the burden a caravan can transport. Therefore, provided the equipment of a traveling group is not too cumbersome and the personnel not too large, the unit can maintain itself on the march four or five weeks without replenishing supplies. Speed of travel will be governed by local grazing, water supply, and terrain, the condition of the camels, and the "temperament" of the caravan leader—an unknown usually capable of "adjustment."

492 In the caravans of those not strictly limited in resources, the 436 donkey is invariably included because it is comparatively easy to ride and a more comfortable mount than a camel. Camels can be hired for 1.00 to 1.25 Maria Theresa dollars (the standard currency in the interior) a day and donkeys for about 1.00 dollar.

## Bedoun "Warfare"

721 It is common knowledge that caravans have been both successfully 484 and unsuccessfully raided; but just what tactics the Bedouins employ on such occasions is somewhat of a mystery. At 4.00 a. m. one day a small party was plodding silently through bushes and mist along a broad wadi bottom leading to the sea. Through a knowledge of the prevailing wind as revealed by ripple marks in the sand, the leader cautiously picked his way and at length found a faint trail incised [283] in the bank. About 10.00 a. m. the caravan came to rest in the spotted shade of a leafless camel's-thorn for the customary noontime forage; and while the camels fed on the sharp, crunchy thorns, the Bedouins reclined on the sand in the meager shade of the dry branches.

Without apparent warning the whole camp was suddenly alive, for downwind had come a faint call, which one man had been alert enough to catch. The sharp-eyed Bedouins soon discovered two minute figures on the crest of a distant dune overlooking the caravan route ahead; and it was at once recalled that this route followed a tribal boundary between two groups now rumored to be unfriendly. The

strangers were assumed to be enemy scouts, the advance guard of a larger fighting force behind some distant dune. 721 484

The "ambushed" caravan comprised sixteen Bedouins, only twelve of them armed. This fact, however, the theoretically opposing force was supposed not to know, since it is an unwritten law of the desert that every Bedouin travels with rifle and ammunition. Without hesitation the leader selected three armed men to act as scouts and an unarmed messenger. Hastily the four men washed down a few mouthfuls of food, since they did not know when they would be able to eat again, filled with water from the large reservoir skins some small ones suitable for short, flying trips, and then slipped swiftly off across the sand in a peculiar bowlegged glide. Under cover of a near-by dune the caravan men scrambled to its summit, at once opened fire, and drove the two intruders from view. They then dashed ahead to the dune on which their adversaries had stood and later advanced from hilltop to hilltop parallel to the caravan route and between it and "enemy" territory. In the meantime the camels had been hastily packed and started on the march along the now protected trail, which they followed without intermission until sundown. [411]

The two "enemy" tribesmen were not seen again, and it was concluded that their actions had been misinterpreted. Freedom from molestation during the remainder of the day did not, however, cause the caravan leader to relinquish vigilance. The party was scheduled to pass at about 3.00 p. m. a water hole to one side of the trail and hidden from it by a dune. As a method of precaution an advance guard of four went ahead and, just as the caravan came abreast of this spot, converged on the well from four directions. Although the strategy displayed by the Bedouins and their chief was happily unnecessary, the "shadow" campaign showed how fearless and cautious these men of the desert can be.

## Fishers and Ropemakers

During certain of the winter months sardines abound along the Hadhramaut coast, traveling in large schools, which can be seen from the shore as black patches on the surface of the sea. Natives wade out with hand nets or cast from small canoes, making enormous hauls with considerable ease. The sardines are much appreciated by the Bedouins as an addition to their diet of dates, millet, and goat or sheep meat and are eaten either raw or cooked. The fish are taken from the nets, tossed up on the beach to dry, and then packed into large bundles for transport to the interior, where they are used for camel fodder or fertilizer. Fish oil is obtained from that part of the catch which is dumped into pits and allowed to decompose. Sting rays, sharks, porpoises, and lobsters are also taken from the sea; but as the use of lobster is unknown, it is cast back from the nets. 136 226 237 [262]

361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from
Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where
245 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager
438 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in
283 this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They
[342] are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have
caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the
186 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate,
191 with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a
more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family
185 acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley,
48 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was
491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal
728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the
18 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

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# SOUTH-WEST ARABIA: TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

By HAROLD INGRAMS, C.M.G., O.B.E.

114 Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on January 24, 1945, Lieut.-General H. G. Martin, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E., in the Chair.

Introducing the lecturer the Chairman said that Mr. Ingrams had been intimately connected with affairs in South-West Arabia since he first went to Aden as a political officer in 1934. Later as British Resident Adviser at Mukalla, Mr. Ingrams, accompanied by his wife, carried out a series of journeys, which were not only of scientific value but which paved the way for a remarkably successful pacification of the tribes in the Hadhramaut, who were induced by peaceful persuasion to lay aside their hereditary blood feuds. It was in recognition of the part that Mrs. Ingrams played in helping to make this possible that the Lawrence Memorial Medal was awarded conjointly to Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams in 1939; an example that was followed by the Royal Geographical Society in the award of their Founder's Medal in 1940. Mr. Ingrams returned to this country from the Western Aden Protectorate at the end of 1944.

The lecturer opened with an account of a recent journey in the Yemen, and it is hoped that this will appear as a separate article in the next issue of the Journal.

000 OF late months there has been greater activity in the question of Arab unity. The conference at Alexandria was stimulated by the promise of His Majesty's Government to give full support to any scheme that will command general approval for strengthening the cultural, economic and political ties between the Arab countries. The conference was attended by representatives of Egypt, 'Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, and there was an observer from Palestine. Talk in relation to Arab unity is generally concentrated on the more advanced areas in the north, but sooner or later the matter must affect the whole of the peninsula, and the people of Southern Arabia must be drawn into closer touch with their brethren in the north.

I thought, therefore, that it might be of interest if I tried to give you a short description of conditions in South-West Arabia as they have been during the last few years. One way or another during the last six years of absence from England I have had to do with all parts of this area, and though I do not claim to know them all equally well, I thought perhaps I knew enough from seeing them personally and dealing with their affairs to justify my giving you my own impressions of them as a slight contribution to the material for the study of the question of Arab unity in relation to all Arab countries, including the less well known. But I make no claim whatever to give a final or authoritative picture, so you must not regard what I say about them as more than a personal view.

I have called this lecture "South-West Arabia: To-day and To-morrow," but as regards to-morrow I merely want to indicate a possibility or two, more with the object of asking the question, What can we do to help this more backward part of the Arab world to fit itself to take a real part in the League of Arab States which may eventually be established?

121 South-West Arabia is to-day divisible into four distinct parts, and I propose to take each of these in turn, giving a sketch of how I see its

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121 present condition. It is not easy to illustrate that with lantern slides, but I wanted to use the illustrations mainly to enable you to see some of the differences between each division, something of the nature of the country, the appearance of the people and, above all, the architecture.

### The Divisions of South-West Arabia

101 175 From an Arab point of view, in geography and history South-West Arabia consists of two countries, the Yemen and the Hadhramaut, but actually to-day its four distinct areas are the Kingdom of the Yemen, the Western Aden Protectorate, the Hadhramaut or Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Colony of Aden.

175 631 In Islamic times and until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Western Aden Protectorate and Aden were part of the Kingdom of the Yemen, but various governors and sheikhs of the Western Aden Protectorate only held an uneasy allegiance to the Yemen and broke away as practically independent units. They remained independent until they concluded treaties with His Majesty's Government, mostly last century. Thus the Aden Protectorate gradually grew up. What is now the Colony of Aden was captured from Lahej in 1839 or ceded at later dates. Towards the end of the nineteenth century treaties were made with the coastal chiefs of the Hadhramaut. In 1914 a British sphere of influence in South-West and South-East Arabia was arranged with the Turks. The Turks had twice occupied but never fully conquered the Yemen, and their insecure rule came to an end after the last war, when the Imam became independent.

In pre-Islamic times the Hadhramaut was for a period an independent kingdom. From the time of the Prophet's mission until the ninth century it submitted uneasily to the rule of the Caliphate, and then became independent again, though for periods during succeeding centuries—until the thirteenth century—it was claimed by the Yemen. There was a final short period of Yemeni domination at the end of the seventeenth century, but the Zeidis were finally turned out in 1704. The Hadhramaut remained independent until 1888, when the British Protectorate over the Qu'aiti started.

Down to 1937 the Aden Protectorate, often known as the Nine Cantons, and the Hadhramaut were treated as two ill-defined entities, but as the treaties with the chiefs of both were similar, the two were united as one protectorate by Order in Council that year. When, however, a forward policy in the Hadhramaut was started in that same year, they were again considered separate for administrative purposes, and the old Aden Protectorate was called the Western Protectorate and the Hadhramaut and Mahra country the Eastern.

631 There are such great differences between the Western Aden Protectorate and the Eastern Aden Protectorate that they should be considered separate areas when one is thinking of the divisions of South-West Arabia. Indeed, the Eastern Aden Protectorate could well be considered as two areas itself—the Hadhramaut in the west, and in the east, linked with Socotra, the Mahri country, much more primitive than the Hadhramaut and probably more primitive than the Western Aden Protectorate. It has

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its own language, and in its trade, which is dhow-borne, unlike that of Mukalla, which is largely steamer-borne in normal times, it deals with Muscat, the Persian Gulf and India, and to some extent with East Africa, for the coastal Mahris are great seafarers. The Mahris, unlike the Hadhramis, do not settle abroad, so by reason of their habits and their speech they are an even more exclusive and secluded people than the Hadhramis. But in effect little is seen or heard of the Mahris, and their territory is considered part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and they have their contacts with His Majesty's Government through the Residency at Mukalla.

631 [167]

### The Western Aden Protectorate

To me the outstanding features of the political set-up of the Western Protectorate are the position of His Highness the Sultan of Lahej, the large number of treaty chiefs, and the general tribal atmosphere of the country. A glance at the map will show why the Sultan of Lahej is the most important chief in the protectorate, for his territory stands at the door of Aden, and throughout land traffic from the Yemen and from a great deal of the protectorate must pass. It is the transit dues on goods that have made Lahej the richest state of the Western Protectorate, and with the money His Highness has managed to develop Lahej territory as a sort of private estate, which pays because it grows so much fruit and vegetables which are consumed in Aden. For he has water, and a good deal of the spate of Yemen pass with the Wadi al Kabir and the Wadi as Saghir, which flow through his territory.

622 643 439 651

So that geography has played a great part in determining the part that Lahej should play in the protectorate. But much of the prestige that the Sultan enjoys to-day is due to his own wisdom. While strenuously guarding the internal affairs of his own Sultanate from external interference, His Highness has consistently given every possible help to His Majesty's Government in matters of defence and so on, and has also co-operated so wholeheartedly in the settling of disputes and political matters generally that he is almost universally accepted as an impartial arbitrator with no axe to grind. This personal achievement of Sultan 'Abdul Karim has made him the leader of the Western Protectorate, and it is really remarkable, as the general tendency of tribal chiefs in the protectorate is not to brook interference in their affairs from others.

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There are in the Western Protectorate twenty chiefs in direct treaty relationship with His Majesty's Government, and seven others who have agreements. There are about thirty-five all told who correspond directly with Government. The "nine cantons" are the 'Abdali, the Amiri, the Haushabi, the Fadhli, the Yafa'i, the Subeihi, the 'Aqrabi, the 'Aulaqi, and the 'Alawi—the original tribes with whom treaties were made. The other tribes in the Western Protectorate—the Audhali and the Beihani—did not come into treaty relations until later. But the Yafa'i, the 'Aulaqi, and the Subeihi are divided. In the Upper Yafa'i confederation there are treaties with the Upper Yafa'i Sultan, the Naqibs of Mausatta, the Dhubi Sheikh, the Maflahi Sheikh, the Hadhrami Sheikh, and the Shaibi Sheikh. In Lower Yafa' there is only one treaty, with the Sultan. In 'Aulaqi there are treaties with the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, and

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622 631 648 the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh. Of the Subeihi Sheikhs, the Barahimi, the Atifi, and the Rifa'i have treaties. The reason for the large number of treaties was the desire to protect the land frontiers of Aden from incursion by foreign powers and from tribal assault. But the haphazard way in which the treaties were entered into has been responsible for a lot of confusion, because the policy has extended gradually from merely interest in the security of Aden to the welfare of the tribes themselves. When the treaties were made the country was largely unvisited. Chiefs came down to Aden, and on explaining their importance were given treaties. They were induced to do so by the fact that treaty chiefs were given stipends and presents and entertainment. But when the Government decided to stop giving treaties as freely as before, there were still a number of chiefs as important as those who had had treaties and the importance of many of the treaty chiefs declined. They died, and their successors were not men of the same personality. So that there is good reason for revising the treaties, and this is now often under consideration, though there is a good deal of difficulty about it.

All these treaty chiefs are juridically of the same status. On the plane of precedence the Sultan of Lahej comes first with a salute of eleven guns and the title of Highness, the Amir of Dhala, the Fadhli Sultan, and the Lower Yafa'i Sultan have nine-gun salutes. But, apart from Lahej, none of these kingdoms can be said to have a government and there are wide ranges of differences of authority between them. Indeed, some of them are totally without authority. Some have several thousands of tribesmen and subjects under their normal authority, some have perhaps no more than a few dozens. The main feature of the protectorate for the last century or so has been anarchy, and the population from Sultans downwards is to an overwhelming extent tribal. There are no mercantile centres of importance and no cultural centres at all. There are few Seiyids, comparatively speaking, and their standard of learning is much lower than in Aden or the Hadhramaut, from which latter they most of them originate. Apart from Lahej there is not a town in the protectorate of any great size or importance, and the make-up of the treaty chiefdoms outside the 'Abdali State does not lend itself to the building of governments at present, and few of them have the potential sources of sufficient revenue to do much in that way.

101 Historically, of course, the Western Protectorate was never a province of Arabia. The provinces of South Arabia were Yemen, Hadhramaut, Shihr (which meant the Mahra country), Dhofar, and 'Uman, and the Western Aden Protectorate is really part of the dusty skirt of the Yemen.

000 Politically, therefore, the set-up is not very promising. The best chance of making a country of the protectorate is by encouraging federation between different areas. It is probably not possible for it to become one country with the Sultan of Lahej as its leader, though his group will probably always tend to be the more important. He is already the suzerain of the Subeihis and the Haushabis, and has intervened successfully at times in the affairs of the Fadhlis, the Amiri, the Yafa'is, and the Lower 'Aulaqis. The Amiris, with the Quteibis and Alawis, could, from a geographical point of view, naturally federate with his bloc, but the

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Audhalis, 'Aulaqis, and Beihanis are too far away, and it is doubtful if any federation with them could be very real. The Yafa'is, though they are excellent outside their own mountains, are at present a very difficult problem from the point of view of good order and government in them. I had almost forgotten the 'Aqrabis, but as that kingdom consists in effect of only one village on the borders of Aden and Lahej they hardly constitute a problem. But it is possible that some day steps towards the federation of the protectorate by areas may come to pass.

If, however, the political outlook is not very promising, experience of recent years has shown that in potential agricultural resources the Western Protectorate is far better off than the Eastern. It is true that its total area is not much more than half that of the Eastern and that by far the greater proportion of it is barren mountains or arid desert, but none the less the cultivable acreage is greater than that of the Eastern and the people are on the whole better agriculturists. There are fewer beduin, and the tribesmen, unlike those of the Eastern Protectorate, are many of them tillers of the land on which they live, rather than employers or financiers of a peasant class with the idea that manual work is unbecoming to dignity. On the coastal area there are large and useful oases at Lahej, Abyan—by far the biggest—and Ahwar. These oases are sure of regular spates from the Yemen highlands behind, and can grow useful crops of grain, principally millet, and vegetables and fruits of the coarser tropical kinds. There are good patches of soil in the Dhala and Yafa'i mountains, and the latter grow the best coffee in Arabia, but at Mukeiras in Audhali country there is a really important fertile area at over 7,000 feet where temperate crops are grown and which is now producing in fair abundance European vegetables and fruits of excellent quality which include potatoes, tomatoes, lettuces and so on, apples, peaches, plums, and apricots. The main difficulty in disposing of these good things, for which a ready market exists in Aden for local consumption and for shipping, is communication and transport. The Audhali plateau is over a hundred miles from Aden and is cut off from the maritime plain and the foothills by a 4,000-foot, almost perpendicular bluff, the picturesque Kaur al Audilla. So road-making is difficult and expensive, and the bad tracks play havoc with the lorries used for transporting the produce to Aden from the foot of the bluff, down which it is transported on animals. If ever the Yemen is developed agriculturally it will have great advantages over Audhali country, for roads can be better made. The main agricultural produce that now comes by caravan and lorry from the Yemen is the highly perishable and iniquitous qat, and the qat traffic is probably centuries old. Better communication and better agriculture in the Yemen would therefore make it difficult for the Audhali country to be economically worth while. Beyond the Audhalis and descending towards the heat of the desert is Beihan country, which drains to the Rub'al Khali. Having high mountains behind it, it is reasonably watered, and millet cultivation is being extended there.

The present tendency in the improvement of conditions in the Western Aden Protectorate is to select an area where conditions are favourable and send a political officer to assist the chief to establish control over his people,

448 to advise him in his rule so as to establish confidence in him as a ruler, to help in agriculture, medical work, and schools. The work done so far has been of an experimental nature, but a measure of success has been achieved in the Beihan and Ahwar areas, and work in other areas, such as Shaibi country, has been started. I have not been in close touch with the work, but I believe the experiment is distinctly promising. If there is a weakness about it, it may be that there is not sufficient promise of continuity—that is to say, it may be it is too dependent on one man, the chief. The areas are small, there is no government establishment. If you have an establishment one man may fail and you can put another in, but the thing continues. If you have only one man, and he dies, there is no guarantee that his successor will be like him. Even if a political officer is permanently in the country he is dependent on there being a co-operative chief, unless he is to run the country himself.

871 The W.A.P. is almost entirely tribal, as I have said; there is therefore
212 little culture. Indigenous schools are rare and there are none beyond the Quran school stage. Illiteracy is very general. But there is little doubt that schools, if provided, will be quickly filled. The main question is
000 what will the newly educated do in their own countries? Certainly there is room for educated chiefs and for the comparatively few who are, or will be, required to help them in governing or providing social services. But the opportunities there will only absorb a few and there are no mercantile communities worth mentioning. There may be scope for some technical training and even agricultural training, but it is not easy to see how the tribesman already expert at the cultivation of oases, terrace cultivation in the comparatively few parts where agriculture is possible, is going to be given an education which will greatly assist him. There are few areas where over-education could cause more trouble with discontented literates than the proteciorate. So that a question that to my mind still requires much thought is—what sort of education can be given which will help the advancement of the country and not upset it? And I don't think that a satisfactory answer is yet forthcoming as to what can be the future of the W.A.P. Until it is answered it is difficult to decide on the lines education should follow, for there is nothing old to build on.

### The Eastern Aden Protectorate

133 So much for the W.A.P. The Eastern Aden Protectorate provides a great contrast. Perhaps it may be helpful to catalogue the contrasts briefly. In the first place, the area of the E.A.P. is between 70,000 and 80,000 squares miles, while that of the W.A.P. is between 30,000 and
[161] 40,000. The estimated population of both is about 300,000, so that the E.A.P. is much more sparsely inhabited. But the bulk of the population lives on the coast and in the Wadis Du'an and Hadhramaut 100 to 150 miles inland. So that there are vast areas which are practically uninhabited. Therefore there are bigger distances to cover between communities. In the second place, as I have already said, the total acreage of cultivable land is very much less than the W.A.P., and the people who own it are much less agriculturally minded than the farmer-owners of the W.A.P. It is an essentially desert country, with the Rub'al Khali just

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behind it, and *not* the high mountains of the Yemen. Its height above 133
the sea-level nowhere exceeds 6,000 feet and is generally not more than
3,500. It has therefore no regular rainfall.

Then, as regards treaties, while the W.A.P. has a total of about thirty- 648
five chiefs in direct relation with His Majesty's Government, the E.A.P.
has only seven, of which one, the Kathiri, is comparatively recent. The
reason is that in the E.A.P. all that was required was to keep foreign
powers off the coast. All the six original treaties with E.A.P. rulers were
with coastal chiefs. Starting from the west, 'Irqa and Haura are only
small villages. The two Wahidi Sultans come next, then the Qu'aiti, the
largest of them all, whose state to-day covers some 50,000 square miles,
and then the Mahra, which includes Socotra Island. While the W.A.P.
is historically part of the Yemen, and has now a new and natural capital
in Aden which supplies it with all its requirements, the E.A.P. is historic-
ally and geographically detached and has a local commercial capital in
Mukalla, but looks to India, Singapore, and Java for its cultural and social
contacts.

The Hadhramaut is historically and geographically a country in itself, 101
and consists of the Wahidi Sultanates, with the two little Sheikhdoms of
'Irqa and Haura, which are really ports in the country of the Dhiyeibi
tribe, who are a Wahidi tribe, and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. I
propose not to say anything more of the Mahra country because as yet
little is known about it, though in the last year or two more has been learnt
of Socotra.

You will have gathered, I think, that, owing to its desert nature and 241
lack of rainfall, the prospects of the development of agriculture in the
Hadhramaut are not very promising, and as the various explorations that 311
have taken place to date have not discovered any mineral resources, it
does not look as though the economic future is very bright. The best
agricultural areas are Gheil Ba Wazir, on the coast, where Hamumi
tobacco is very successfully grown, and this brings in a revenue of about
Rs. 200,000 a year to the state, and Meifa, in which conditions have been
considerably improved in the last few years and where some further
development is possible. It was hoped that the alluvial silt of the Wadi
Hadhramaut would prove a fertile area for wide development if water
could be found, but experiment has shown that it is largely brackish and,
bearing in mind the desert surroundings, it is probable that any further
supplies of water which boring might discover would not be sufficient to
wash out the salt. It is unfortunate, too, that the bulk of the population, 565
the seiyids and tribesmen, do not take to working on the land themselves,
as do the tribesmen of the W.A.P., but rely on dhafa, a class of poor 463
townsmen who are almost in the position of serfs. These dhafa lived by
building the palaces of the rich and working their wells, but the fall of
Singapore and Java cut off the supplies of money from the Far East so
that the rich could no longer maintain them. The beduin had lived by
carrying supplies from the coast to the interior, but with the falling off of
imports they too suffered. On top of this catastrophe there was a seven- 731
year drought from 1937 to 1944, which meant the loss of crops, flocks, and
50 per cent. of the working camels, so that between the difficulties of

731 getting food from abroad in war-time, the loss of money from the Far East, and the drought, famine ensued. I am thankful to say that owing to the generous help of His Majesty's Government and to the breaking of the drought, conditions are now much better, but from the point of view of this survey the thing to be remembered is that in all probability the produce of the country cannot sustain much more than a quarter of the population and that it is very largely dependent on money from abroad. Of old, the ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade, so that the Mediterranean countries provided the cash. When the incense went by sea the Hadhramis learnt to emigrate, and the present Hadhramaut has drawn its cash from the Far East, East Africa, Egypt, the Sudan, Abyssinia [67] —the countries to which the people migrate. One out of every three or four Hadhramis lives and works abroad. Emigration or means to earn money abroad is an absolute essential to the Hadhramaut, and there are grounds for fearing it is not going to be so easy in the future as it has been in the past.

So much for the gloomier side of the picture. In 1938 I described to the Royal Central Asian Society how a three-year peace embracing the whole of the Hadhramaut had been made and how the organization of government had started. To my mind the brightest thing about the Hadhramaut is the way the Government of the Qu'aiti State has advanced and developed social services, and, serious as the famine was, principally in part of the Inner Hadhramaut, out of it has grown a number of educational and medical developments which would probably not have matured if there had been no famine. The State Government had so far advanced by the time it came, that it was able to cope with difficulties and there developed a real spirit of service. It could not have managed on its own resources if His Majesty's Government had not helped so generously, but what the state could do in a financial way it did and the service its officials gave could not have been provided without it.

652 At the time when reorganization of the Government[1] started about
178 seven years ago the revenue was about Rs. 6,30,000, of which Rs. 3,10,000 were spent on Government services; Rs. 2,25,000 of that went to irregular soldiers and to slaves. This year the revenue is estimated at just under Rs. 15,00,000. On April 1, 1939, there was a general deficit of Rs. 40,000, because the late Sultan used to take all the cash he could to India. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit balance of Rs. 14,00,000. In this year the Government is preparing to spend Rs. 16,00,000, of which Rs. 4,00,000 goes to the maintenance of security forces. There are forts, with soldiers or gendarmerie, and garrison towns all round the country, so that security is very greatly improved. The Budget also includes, under various heads, about Rs. 300,000 for relief work direct and indirect. The amount paid on education has risen from Rs. 6,000 in 1934 to Rs. 154,000 in 1944. Only Rs. 5,550 was spent on medical work in 1934; in 1944 the sum was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary services.

641 It seems to me that these figures indicate, more clearly than anything
178 else can, progress and the will to progress. I cannot give many details of new developments, but I will mention some of them quite briefly. One of the most striking things is the growth of reciprocal confidence between

1 [of the Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Government and beduin. Many beduin tribes who were inveterate foes of the Qu'aitis have now declared permanent peace with the Government and said they are "sons of government." The State Government has now a beduin affairs department staffed entirely by local tribesmen, and there is a system of tribal courts. There are many tribesmen in Government service, and the greater number of the soldiers and police are now tribesmen and beduin. In the old days, Hadhrami tribesmen were hardly ever employed in Government and there were very few in the forces. The only effective soldiers were Yafa'is, irregular mercenaries and slaves. Even the Government slaves have now disappeared. There is an African company in the regular army which consists of ex-slaves and Somalis and is employed on guarding an R.A.F. station, and others are employed as Government servants on the same footing as Arabs; the old slaves have been pensioned. All soldiers and police are taught to read and write, and by passing examinations in the military school can and do secure promotion. Enlistment is popular now because of the amenities provided and because a soldier can definitely expect to be more fitted for civil life when he leaves the forces. The status of a military life is very definitely advanced.

Another thing that attracts attention is the development in education. The coastal elementary schools have 1,700 boys in them instead of 300, and the education department is rapidly extending over the interior. There is an intermediate boarding school for 80 boys which opened last year. There is a boarding school attached to the Hadhrami Beduin Legion with 100 beduin boys in it, and another with 24 beduin girls. There are several town girls' schools, the biggest and best being in Mukalla with 150 girls, who learn not only to read and write, but to sew, embroider, wash, and cook. A most interesting experiment has lately been started with a whole village organized as a school, where 300 boys and girls of the serf class—a class which works hard but does very little thinking for itself—are being trained to run their own village and to learn various industries and crafts. Teachers of the Mukalla Government and other volunteers are also teaching adults of the serf class to read and write the language they speak and trying to induce in them some public health consciousness.

On the medical side a hospital is being built in Mukalla, and the sanitary state of the town—which may shortly have a municipality—has been greatly improved.

Of old, Government was mainly carried on by a handful of officials with a Sultan generally in India, but the present Sultan has spent most of his reign in his state and has a state council of officials and unofficials to help him. The executive work of Government is in charge of a state secretary and twenty organized departments.

In the Kathiri State progress has not been nearly so spectacular. The revenue is much smaller and the Wadi Hadhramaut is so divided by the jealousies of Sultans and tribesmen, and handicapped by the unwillingness or inability of the bulk of the seiyids to get together and co-operate, that the Government is not nearly so alive. There is, however, a state secretary at Seiyun and a good deal of the work of a government has been organized.

[Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

178. 565 The Wahidi Sultanate of Balhaf asked for advisory arrangements in 1939 and that of Bir 'Ali in 1943. The former was making very reasonable progress on its modest means till the war upset its Customs receipts, and security forces and schools were established. Bir 'Ali has only just started, but the town has been cleaned up, the Customs organized, and a school and dispensary provided for.

491 178 Much extension of motorable tracks has been made, and all places of importance in Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory can now be reached by car. Bir 'Ali and Balhaf soon will be, as a motor road towards Aden had passed its most difficult stretch and was getting on towards the agricultural region of Meifa in June, 1944.

178 565 So that on the whole, despite the famine, the picture is one of progress rather more than one would at first sight expect of a rather unpromising country. For beyond the handicaps of nature have been the handicaps the inhabitants have made for themselves: the chronic insecurity, the everlasting divisions, and the unsound social system of the Inner Hadhramaut, with a number of classes so acutely separated as more to resemble the castes of India than social grades in the brotherhood of Islam. And there was, on the whole, so much desire for independence on the part of all—though almost all classes interpreted it differently—that it was difficult to see how a few foreigners could get over the suspicion and help the 000 people to achieve something. But I think that now the Qu'aiti State, at least, could stand to some extent on its own legs and would be unlikely to collapse entirely if it was left to itself, for its stability does not entirely depend on its ruler alone, although he has been such a tower of strength in promoting progress. I think the thing that would be mostly lacking 648 if it were left to itself would be initiative. The best thing that could happen to the Hadhramaut now would be a federation of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States and the Wahidi Sultanates. I think this could be achieved, but it is not very easy. On the Qu'aiti side the objection is to spending money in Kathiri territory, although the old hatred between the two has died out, and in Kathiri territory the difficulty is the disunion between the various sections of the Wadi Hadhramaut. It is, however, fair that the Qu'aiti State should help in Kathiri territory, as much of its Customs revenue comes from goods imported by the Kathiri State, which has no ports. Between the Wahidi Sultanates there is still intense hatred, which was fanned up a couple of years ago by the murder of the Balhaf Regent in a plot hatched by the Bir 'Ali Sultans. But as the Bir 'Ali Sultans have now turned respectable and accepted advisory arrangements, some federation could probably be brought about. Bir 'Ali, having the better harbour, will have better revenue than Balhaf, which has a larger population to provide for. One would hope for a federation which left autonomy in local matters to the constituent parts of the country, but shared the cost of social services, communications, and so on. If the Hadhramis can emigrate and if they can govern themselves with a sound federal Government, they will have something to thank us for of lasting worth, and no doubt those abroad will give a good report of the British connection.

000 Buried under all the politics the Hadhramaut is a cultured country.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1



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Buried under all the politics the Hadhramaut is a cultured country

It has far more culture than the Western Aden Protectorate, and of indigenous Arab culture, more than Aden. The outlook of Mukalla and Shihr is commercial, but recent advances in education and the provision of clubs, the organization of public debates and so on, is spreading culture of a suitable kind. The driving force behind this movement is largely local, but great assistance has been given by the Sudan Government in the provision of teachers and by the British Council and His Majesty's Government in subsidizing the intermediate school. Arab culture flourishes at a fairly high level in the Wadi Hadhramaut itself, where there are religious academies of old standing and where, when you go to a dinner-party, poetry and philosophy are commonly talked. The Wahidi country and the other tribal areas have no culture to compare with this, though almost everywhere there are seiyids and mansabs who have kept alight the torch of learning since Ahmed bin Isa al Mohajir, the ancestor of all the seiyids, came to the Hadhramaut and started the work which his descendants have carried on for over 1,000 years.

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## The Colony of Aden

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Lastly, Aden itself. No doubt many of you are familiar with its general appearance. Everybody who sees it is struck with its natural grandeur, which, however desolate and forbidding, forms a fitting setting for one of the great fortresses of our Eastern Empire. After a visit ashore one is left with a feeling of depression at the general shoddiness of man's handiwork, and the shoddiness is even more depressing when one realizes that it is entirely due to British work and influence. All over the Yemen and the two protectorates you find towns and villages that provide pictures worth photographing. Probably many of you have seen Miss Stark's book of pictures, *Seen in the Hadhramaut*, and if you know Aden will agree that it would be a waste of film to photograph it.

This was not always the case, and it is worth while reading descriptions of previous Adens.

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As you probably know, Aden and Eden are the same word, but I won't try to persuade you that Aden was once the fairest garden of all. Nevertheless, the Eden mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel was no doubt our Aden and so in his time it may have been a fair city. Apostrophizing Tyre and Sidon, the prophet included it amongst the great marts of the then known world which traded with them:

> "Haran and Canneh and Eden, the merchants of Sheba,
> Asshur and Chilmad were thy merchants."

What the early Aden looked like we do not know. In the first century it had suffered destruction. The Periplus says:

"... there is Eudaemon Arabia, a village by the shore, also of the Kingdom of Charibael, and having convenient anchorages, and watering-places, sweeter and better than those at Ocelis; it lies at the entrance of a bay, and the land recedes from it. ... But not long before our own time Charibael destroyed the place."

But this did not prevent a new and worthy Aden arising. Ibn Batuta,

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut
Aden MM1



175 who visited it in the thirteenth century, does not describe it closely, but gives an idea of its importance in the following passage:

"It is enclosed by mountains, and you can enter by one side only. It is a large town, but has neither corn nor trees, nor fresh water, except from reservoirs made to catch the rain water; for other drinking water is at a great distance from the town. The Arabs often prevent the towns-people coming to fetch it until the latter have come to terms with them, and paid them a bribe in money or clothes. The heat at Aden is great. It is the port frequented by the people from India, and great ships come thither from Kunbayat, Tana, Kaulan, Fandarsina, Shalisi, Manjarur, Fakanur, Hinaur, Sindabur, etc. There are Indian merchants residing in the city, and Egyptian merchants as well."

Being an Arab, perhaps its beauties did not strike him in the same way as they struck the Portuguese Duarte Barbosa in 1518:

". . . Passing by these we arrive at the populous and wealthy city of Aden, which belongs to the Moors and has its own King. This city has a right good haven and an exceeding great traffic in goods of importance. It is a fine town with lofty houses of stone and mortar, flat-roofed, with many tall windows; it is well laid out in streets and surrounded with walls, towers and bastions, with battlements after our fashion. This city is on a point between the mountains and the sea. The mountain is cut through on the mainland side, so that there is no way of going out save by one passage only which they can use; on no other side can they come in or go out. On the upper part of this ridge, whereon the city lies, are many small castles, very fair to behold, which can be seen from the sea."

An idea of the place as it was then can be derived from a sixteenth century wood engraving. Sir Henry Yule commented on it as follows:

"It will seem absurd, especially to those who knew Aden in the early days of our occupation, and no doubt some of the details are extravagant, but the general impression is quite consonant with that derived from the description of De Barros and Andres Corsali: 'In site and aspect from the seaward,' says the former, 'the city forms a beautiful object, for besides the part which lies along the shore, with its fine walls and towers, its many public buildings and rows of houses rising aloft in many stories, with terraced roofs, you have all that ridge of mountain facing the sea and presenting to its very summit a striking picture of the operations of Nature, and still more of the industry of man.' This historian says that the prosperity of Aden increased on the arrival of the Portuguese in those seas, for the Mussulman traders from Jedda and the Red Sea ports now dreaded these Western corsairs, and made Aden an entrepôt, instead of passing it by as they used to do in days of unobstructed navigation. This prosperity, however, must have been of very brief duration."

By the time the next description I have been able to trace was written, the Turks had destroyed the place, though there were still traces of its former glory. Writing in 1609, John Jourdain says:

"This cittie of Aden hath in former time been a famous and stronge place, but at present is ruinated and destroyed by the Turks. There hath bene very faire buildings in it, as by the remainders of the faire houses which are lefte may be seene, falling to the ground for want of repayringe.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut
Aden MM1



There are in this cittie yett remayneinge many Arabs of the poorer sorte, which are but as slaves to the Turke. This cittie is walled round with a stone wall, very stronge, and hath in it three very stronge gates, vizt. one on the north side, with yren grates to take up and downe at their pleasure, and within this gate there are twoe other gates, one a prettie distance one within another; these two gates are of timber, with great nayles as thicke as they can stand; and the reason why this gate is stronger than the other is because this way is the easiest way for any enemie to assault the cittie, having noe other good entrance but over rocks or by the sea. Under their castles on the south side there is annother gate; but this gate is commoonlie kept fast, because that way there is noe recourse of people, because it is towards the mountains, where there is noe travelling. The third gate is toward the sea, which is towards the west, by the castell, which is without the towne, upon the top of the iland. All the gates have a guard kept in them naight and daie. The towne is cittuated in a valley envyronned aboute with craggie mountaines, except at the north side, where the three gates are; and on the mountaines there are castells and watch howses round aboute, with ordinance in them, and watch kept in all of them, although with fewe men, for that they are scituated in such stronge places that one man may keepe out twenty. All these forts are within falcon shoot of the towne and doth command the whole cittie. . . ."

Even a hundred years later, 1709, Aden was still impressive, as can be gathered from the description by La Rocque:

"Aden is seated at the Foot of high mountains, which surround it almost on all sides. There are five or six Forts on the Tope of them, with Curtains, and a great many other Fortifications at the Necks of the Mountains. A fair Aqueduct conveys from thence the Waters into a great Canal, or Reservatory, built about three quarters of a mile from the City, which supplies the inhabitants with very good water. . . .

"The place is encompass'd with Walls, which are at present in a bad Condition enough; especially towards the sea where nevertheless there are some Plattforms at certain distances, with five or six Batteries of Brass Canon, some of which carry a Ball of sixty Pounds weight. . . .

"I say nothing about the Inside of this Town, which is considerably big, and where there are to be seen many fine Houses of two Stories, and Terrass'd on Top, but with all, many Ruins and decay'd buildings. 'Tis easy to perceive by what remains of it, and the advantagiousness of the Situation that Aden was formerly a famous Town, and of great importance, very strong, and the principal Bulwark of the Happy Arabia. . . .

"I must confess, that there are not to be seen of the kind, fairer Stoves and Baths than those of this Town; they are all lin'd with Marble, or Jaspar, and cover'd with a fair Dome, through which the Light comes, which is adorn'd within-side with Galleries, supported by magnificent Columns. All the Building is perfectly well divided into Chambers, Closets, and other vaulted Apartments, which all meet at the principal Hall of the Dome. . . ."

That was the final end of the impressive aspect of Aden. Just before the British occupation—1835—Wellsted wrote:

"All that remains of the former city are a few minarets, about a

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut
Aden MMI



175 hundred houses, and some disjointed remnants of its walls, the rest being occupied by tombs, mounds, and heaps of rubbish, roofless walls of older dwellings, or the wretched habitations of the present residents."

And in 1838 Haines the first Resident said:

"The little village (formerly the great city) of Aden is now reduced to the most exigent condition of poverty and neglect. In the reign of Constantine this town possessed unrivalled celebrity, for its impenetrable fortifications, its flourishing commerce, and the glorious haven it offered to vessels from every quarter of the world. But how lamentable is the present contrast. With scarcely a vestige of its former proud superiority, the traveller sees and values it only for its capabilities, and regrets the barbarous cupidity of that Government, under whose injudicious management it has fallen so low."

In 1877, Captain Hunter, in his description of British Aden, says:

"At present the town of Aden consists of about 2,000 whitewashed houses built of stone and mud, divided into streets and lanes; it is nearly 1,400 yards broad. Many of the houses are double-storied, but none are noteworthy for their architecture. The whole town has been rebuilt since the British occupation. . . .

The only building of any pretension in the Crater is the Court-house and Treasury office; the barracks are commodious but not handsome; the Protestant church, situated on a hill, has some slight claim to honourable mention. The mess-houses of the two regiments stationed in the Crater are substantial and commodious buildings. . . ."

From then on travellers became more frequent, and I quote only Walter B. Harris in 1893:

"What a scene of desolation and dreariness Aden presents to the newcomer! And how soon one gets to like the place in spite of it all! A background of dreary blackish rock, a sandy road, half a dozen rickety gharies under the shelter of a hideous iron-roofing, with sleepy little ponies and still more sleepy Somali drivers; a whitewashed domed saint's tomb, with an apology for a garden on each side, in which a few weary-looking plants were trying to appear green under a thick coating of dust and a sweltering sun; a long crescent of badly (designed) houses, with the exception of the handsome Aden Bank buildings, faced by an expanse of sand and black palings—and that is Steamer Point, as one first sees it."

And Colonel Jacob, in 1923, wrote:

". . . but Aden is still fifty years behind the times. The apathy of Government is visible in this settlement. . . .

"There has been but little system or plan in the erection of buildings. There is scarcely one building in Aden of architectural beauty. An expert once landed and gave us hints, but these have not been carried out."

175 What a depressing thought it is that we who have done so much in the
361 East have been guilty of building anything like the modern Aden. You will have gathered from the extracts I have read that we knew well enough what it was like of old, and we knew well enough what beautiful cities the Arabs round us were capable of building. Even if we had merely kept to the lay-out Haines made and encouraged builders from the Yemen and the Hadhramaut to do the rest, we should have had a town with beauty

*[See preceding pages -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut
Aden MM



and character and worthy of the grandeur of its setting, even if from a modern point of view is was not a perfect town. What the place needs is a plan for gradual rebuilding, with due regard to the architecture of the region and to its own needs. 175 361

For Aden will probably always be an important commercial centre, as it has been since the days of Ezechiel, and it will no doubt always be an imperial fortress. From the former aspect it needs replanning. It is ridiculous, for instance, that goods imported for re-export, such as skins and coffee, should be carried from the harbour up the pass into Aden town and then carried back again after repacking. From a fortress point of view the shoddy buildings of Tarshein and Morbat need replacing with something more worthy. Why, for instance, it is necessary to have pent roofs, the development of a rainy country, in a country where flat roofs are required, is a mystery. But the roofs are a minor matter, the buildings are in themselves and from any point of view hideous.

But it is not of the commercial or military aspects of Aden I wish to speak, nor need I say anything about the government and life of the colony itself. The colony is year by year recovering from the long period during which the declared policy was to consider the garrison as the only part of Aden that mattered, and not to spend money and effort on the people. Since it became a colony, Aden has accumulated substantial surplus balances, and once hostilities are over great development of social services can be undertaken.

But it is of Aden as the potential culture centre of the Southern Red Sea and Gulf of Aden area that I should like to speak. Willy-nilly, since the time of its capture Aden started to play a part in the affairs of its neighbours. Before that time, such contacts as there were with South Arabia were conducted through the Government of Bombay and the Government of Mauritius. Gradually the protectorate was built up, as I have described, the chiefs were entertained, and as the commerce of Aden redeveloped, the town began to be the market of the Western Aden Protectorate, the Yemen and British Somaliland. It is now, alas, regarded as the acme of what the British think good. Aden has in the past been an educational centre despite itself. It just could not help it, because of its geographical position. 439 361

It is quite clear that anything Aden has better than its neighbours, must attract the latter to it. In the past the attraction has been mainly trade, though medical facilities have attracted many, and even the wretched education which it offered in the past has been used.

In 1935 a small boarding school for thirty-six selected pupils, mainly the sons of chiefs, was started, and that was the first active attempt to offer something educative to the people of the protectorate. Its avowed object is to help in the production of more enlightened chiefs, and, though roughly it only provides primary schooling, it has done definite good and has become a success. 871

As soon as the war is over the British Council will be opening what will eventually be a secondary school, mainly for boys from the protectorate and the Yemen, the Lord Lloyd College. Possibly later on it will attain university status.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1946) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MMI
Yemen MLI



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## Conclusion

177 If Aden were to exert itself to become the cultural capital of the area
H of which it is the centre, it could attract all that is best in that area to it,
177 and they could take back the best that British culture could offer them. For in Aden, if anywhere, is the chance for Arab culture and British culture to mix on equal terms and to produce something worth while.

I think it is apparent from what we have seen of South-West Arabia that British culture and Western education alone are not going to make a strong appeal to the principal elements in the country, and in many ways it would be dangerous to give too much of it undiluted. It is by no means clear how many people with a Western education the W.A.P. is going to be able to absorb, and discontented educated people unsuitably employed can very well create trouble and discontent by no means divine. The Yemen is afraid of too much Western education and a Zeidi Government will do all it can to discourage it.

Y Taking the country as a whole, there are first of all the very fertile
138 highlands of the Yemen, where almost any temperate crop could be
162 grown; lower down are the mountains of the 4,000- to 6,000-foot level, mostly barren but with good cultivable areas; and then there is the huge area of desert mountain and coastal plain with only occasional oases. The Yemeni highlands are the preserve of the Zeidis, a most exclusive people. The rest of the country is mostly populated by settled and nomadic tribesmen of Shafi'i persuasion, with here and there in the Yemen and the Hadhramaut large towns with an urban population and commercial or
H cultural interests. About a fifth of the population of the Hadhramaut
162 are seiyids. The whole of this area, whether independent Yemen or pro-
186 tected chiefdoms, is independent minded and places Islamic culture far
Y above any other, and we for our part have no desire to threaten its inde-
186 pendence or its culture.

Y The academies of the Yemen and Hadhramaut are poorly endowed,
871 but they are always full with students, who live on a starvation diet in
212 order to get their education. As another pointer to the demand for Arab
H culture, look at the three bookshops of Aden. In them it is possible to buy
871 most of the great Arab classics of the Abbasid period and Arab Spain.
212 All the shopkeepers tell me they find their best buyers among up-country visitors; the young men of Aden buy, when they buy anything, modern books and translations of novels from the Cairo presses.

000 If we provided Western education only, it would in the end attract people to it, but the risks of doing this are considerable. Has Western education been an unqualified success elsewhere in the East? There is no space to discuss this much-discussed question here, but I think on the whole it is safe to say that there are a good many who would agree that there are aspects of what we have done which are open to criticism and that the results of it all have not on the whole been too happy.

Considering, therefore, what was achieved by the culture centres of old, such as Cairo, Baghdad, and Damascus, and that the south has never had a cultural centre to compare with them, and considering that there is much we can offer of our own culture which need not be destructive of Arab

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



culture, I think that Aden can, if it wills, play a great part in helping the people of South-West Arabia (and even of Somaliland if it wishes) to become more able to play a real part in the development of their countries and in the Arab world. Perhaps it is looking too far ahead to expect an Arab world politically unified, but it does seem certain that closer contacts in many things will now come to pass and in no field more so than in culture.

Perhaps the best way in which Aden could attract the best of the cultured and would-be cultured classes, would be by providing the best possible religious and literary education in Arabic as well as English courses, and courses on English culture, British imperial history and policy, and particularly Britain's rôle in the Middle East. I specify these two things because to a Muslim education without religion is an anomaly, and because one thing that needs to be understood in South-West Arabia, as elsewhere, is the British ideal in colonial administration and British intention in the Middle East. South-West Arabia is afraid of what it calls colonization. It would be well that it should understand what British "colonization" really is, that in any case there is no reason to fear our applying it to that area, but that we can help them to play a full part in the Arab world and are ready to do so. Such an institution could also provide courses of study in other subjects for which a demand developed, such as agriculture, civil administration, and so on.

South-West Arabia is a country with an area of several hundred thousand square miles and a population of several million, in which our only imperial interests are the fortress of Aden and the security of the sea and air communications. This does not conflict in any way with the interests of the people, who desire at present no more than their own freedom and independence in their own country and facilities to earn abroad, since their own country cannot support them all.

I hope I have made my picture intelligible. If I have you will have seen that the great majority of the people are intelligent and, out of their own country, often able in affairs. That they have an instinct for beauty, especially in their architecture, and a good deal of culture, which they value highly. That they are independent minded and that their strongest loyalties are to their faith and homes. You will also have seen that in comparison with modern world standards they are backward and that their individualism has been a chronic cause of disunion. Against this I think you will have seen that they are very friendly to us, and, provided they see no reason for suspicion of our intentions, can and do learn from us. I think you will have seen the enormous possibilities of Aden as a centre from which to help them and, taking everything into consideration, you may agree that we can probably best help them to take their full place in the Arab world through educational agencies centred there. Such agencies, though they would no doubt be assisted and approved by Government, would probably be more successful if they were not Government directed, since in that way it is easier to avoid suspicion of political motives.

Mr. PHILBY: I think you will all agree with the purport of the lec-

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Middle East M1



000 turer's closing remarks—that Aden to-day is a very dreary place, and we have not done ourselves much credit in the century we have been there that it should be so. Aden is not only depressing in itself, but it has a depressing effect on all those who have been there. I expect most of you in this room have visited Aden, or have at least called there at some time or other, and you can bear out this description of the place.

Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams are, however, an exception to the general rule. They are not only a unique pair in the history of exploration in Arabia, but they are exceptional in the way they have managed to keep themselves unsullied by this atmosphere of intellectual and mental depression. They are, I believe, the first people really to have explored the south-west corner of Arabia. Colonel Jacob, a generation ago, did some very good work in that area, but even he was never tempted into the parts beyond easy reach of Aden itself. The Ingrams have contributed a very great deal to our knowledge of the region outside the immediate neighbourhood of Aden; a region of which I think it is fair to say that the only previous accounts were either travellers' tales or an occasional official report hidden away in the files of the Colonial Office. Mr. Ingrams also has written his official reports, but, unlike his predecessors, he has managed to see to it that he has been on the spot to carry out some of the things he recommended should be done. No doubt the people of Aden and the Hadhramaut are grateful to us as a nation for what Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams have done for them. For, apart from what the Ingrams had already then begun, it is only within the last ten years that we, as a ruling power, have seriously tried to do something for these areas that we claim to govern.

648 ME 648 * Mr. Ingrams told us something about these countries of South-West Arabia, he said, in order that we might be able to bring the area into the general picture of what is called the sphere of Arab Federation.

We might call these countries prospective candidates for Arab Federation, were it not that under the conditions that obtain in Arabia to-day, Arab Federation is a completely impossible conception. You cannot have federation in any area of which half is free and the other half is under the control of foreign powers. However beneficent those powers may be, and even if they do good where they are in control, they ought not to be there at all.

Lahej is the natural fringe of the Yemen, and to the Yemen it will inevitably return some day. Hadhramaut always enjoyed a considerable measure of independence. Only in the second or third century A.D. was it absorbed into the Yemen of that day, and there is no question but that to-day it does not want to return to the Yemen nor to have anything to do with it.

On the other hand, a ruler who, like the King of Yemen, has governed an unruly country with success for upwards of forty years, deserves the gratitude of his people, for there is no doubt that had it had a less able ruler the country would have come under foreign control long since.

It may be interesting to you to know that to-day, as we sit here, a meeting is taking place between King Ibn Sa'ud of Sa'udi Arabia and King Farouk of Egypt at Yanbu' on the western coast of the Hedjaz. I do not think that under present circumstances Arab Federation has any

* [Mr. Philby speaking -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Middle East M1



chance of coming into being. But without discussing that, they have much of common interest to consider. In itself the visit of a King of Egypt to a King of Arabia is a matter of the utmost importance and significance. For unless the Arab states can come to an understanding on such matters as are implicit in the project of an Arab Federation, there is no doubt that sooner or later they will come under foreign domination.

If Arabia, with its position in the centre of the world, is to keep quiet and become prosperous, its present problems must be solved. I believe the best form that our sympathy with Syria and the Lebanon could take would be if we could agree with the French that neither we nor they would control any Arab area. The secret agreement between ourselves and the French in 1916, against which the Arab world has always protested, is the foundation of the presence of the French in Syria and Lebanon. Unless we are ourselves prepared to give up control of Arab territories we have no right to criticize the French.

When we have done that, I hope that, in a spirit of friendship, we may be able to send them people like Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, not as officials but as friends, to whom I am sure the Hadhramaut will always be grateful as to individuals who have taken the trouble to know the Arabs, to love them and to work for them.

Dr. Huzzayyin: I would like to congratulate the Royal Central Asian Society on this lecture, and Mr. Ingrams on the way in which he managed to cover so wide a field so successfully.

There are one or two points that I should like to raise. One is the importance of this part of Arabia. It has been overshadowed in the last few years when the Arab world has been thrust into intimate contact with the West, and the name Arab has carried with it to European minds the general idea of a nomad, or a merchant with his caravan of camels. This idea has been taken from the character of life in the northern and central parts of Arabia, and similarly Arab expansion has been thought of as a movement by land.

But Southern Arabia also played a great part in the diffusion of Arabic culture, and Arab expansion southwards spread as much by sea as it did in the north by land. Hadhramaut has from ancient times had contacts with the Far East of Asia. The Omeiras had close contacts with East Africa, and, as you could see from the pictures the lecturer has shown us, the Far East in return influenced the architecture of South Arabia.

The culture of Southern Arabia was more advanced than that of any other part of the peninsula in ancient times. This heritage is still latent in those countries, and it is worth while to help them revive it and take their part in the affairs of Asia.

A second point which Mr. Ingrams neglected to stress is the part he has himself played in the development of this area. I met him first in 1936, when he was just starting work in the Hadhramaut. He was not content to lead a leisured life in the comfort of Mukalla; he chose instead to go to the people of the hinterland, and through his work he has come to command the respect of all classes of the community. I have met many Hadhramis and they used to speak freely to me as an Egyptian, and I have been struck by their appreciation of his work, in pacification, in develop-

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1946) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



ing friendly relations between the tribes, in work for education and for health.

I am afraid that what Mr. Ingrams says of Aden is true. It is a region of what we may call cultural contact, where Western and Arab ideas meet. Owing to the development of roads there is now a competition between the ports of Aden and Hodeida. Where commerce is developing there must be such cultural contacts, and unless this contact is controlled the result will be cultural confusion. I feel that the British Council might do valuable work, therefore, in trying to create at Aden a centre where Arabs may learn the best of Western culture, and may guide the developments that must arise in that region.

Colonel ELPHINSTON: We have been told that the Middle East is likely to be a testing ground of world controls. For reasons indicated by Mr. Philby, it may prove a more difficult testing ground than has sometimes been thought. But in that connection I would like to ask Mr. Ingrams one or two questions.

I understand that subsidies are not paid to the Sheikhs of the Aden Protectorate and the Trucial Coast, but that a subsidy is paid to King Ibn Sa'ud, and, further, that the Emperor of Abyssinia was recently offered a subsidy and refused it. Can Mr. Ingrams tell us if he thinks these subsidies a good thing, and whether he can suggest some way of controlling the expenditure of these monies so as to ensure their being used for the purpose for which they are given by the British taxpayers?

Secondly, the Jewish Agency in Palestine recently allotted some of the small annual quota of immigration permits to Oriental Jews, including some from the Yemen. Are the conditions under which Jews live in the Yemen such as to justify using up permits which may be desperately needed for European Jewish refugees?

Mr. INGRAMS: It is now agreed that it is better not to hand out large sums of money to rulers or individuals, which might be misused. But it is a good thing to provide money to start new and useful projects. I think that it is better to allow local freedom in the handling of these subsidies in such naturally independent countries, rather than to exercise a close control such as is applied in the ordinary type of dependency. In Hadhramaut it is not difficult to be certain that the money is well expended, because the Government is organized and has its own auditor, and there is a proper system of keeping public accounts.

No doubt there are sometimes instances of dishonesty, as such happen everywhere, but I do not think the Hadhramaut is at all bad in this respect. I once had an instance of the care that is taken, when a man from the Hedjaz came in to see me in my office, and when I waited to learn what he wanted, he said, "I have called because I thought I would like to tell you that this is the first port I have called at where I have not had to give a single bribe. Customs, passport officials, police, and everyone else, they have all done their duty without wanting rewards." And I think I can assure you that in the greater matter of the subsidies the money is properly spent and is not frittered away.

With regard to the status of the Jews. In Sana'a the outside exteriors of the Jewish houses do not look very promising, but when you get inside

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1946 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Yemen ML1



the better-class houses there is a great deal of comfort. I do not think there is any oppression of the Jewish community, and within the limits of the sumptuary laws they are properly treated. There is a natural feeling of resentment on the part of the Jews against the sumptuary laws. On the other hand, they are much more lightly taxed than are the Arabs as Muslims. The reason why they are popular as immigrants into Palestine is no doubt that they fit in well and are welcome as very good citizens. In the western area of the Hadhramaut, too, they are felt to be very valuable citizens. In Yemen, like all other citizens, they lose their property if they leave the country. The law is that only Yemeni subjects can own immovable property in the country, and if anyone leaves the country with the intention of acquiring another domicile he ceases to be a Yemeni subject.

ANOTHER MEMBER: I have been told that King Ibn Sa'ud got teachers to supply his schools from the University of el Azhar in Cairo. Can the lecturer tell us whether it has been possible to follow a similar plan in the Hadhramaut? It seems a pity that a Westernized form of education should be brought in.

Mr. INGRAMS: In the Hadhramaut the improvement in education has been due to local enthusiasm and to several teachers from the Sudan. Great care has been taken in drawing up the educational programme to make it conform with the natural cultural traditions of the country. The seiyids are nervous of Westernized education, and it is all under the direction of Arabs in an attempt to strengthen the old culture of the Arab world while assimilating what is useful from the West.

Dr. HUZZAYYIN: Although time has not allowed the lecturer to develop that side of his subject, Aden has great possibilities as a meeting place. If we could build up an Arab centre there, we could have a wedding of Arab and British culture.

The CHAIRMAN then expressed the very warm appreciation of the audience and their thanks to Mr. Ingrams for his lecture and the really beautiful photographs by which it was illustrated.

# THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

701 DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

579 721 643 Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

648 728 Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

648 At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

185 625 701 From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls.

[871]

113 * Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

10: Hutchison U-3 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000.

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambīyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870.

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamīs*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turban-wise round his head.

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This,

702 taking into consideration rations and clothing, is good money in the
701 Hadhramaut, and is sufficient for a soldier's tobacco and personal needs and to maintain a wife and family. Unlike his British counterpart, he does not have to undergo a rigid medical examination, nor is he likely to suffer from the dentist, but if he should fall ill he is treated by the unit medical orderly or a civilian doctor, and provision is made for his admittance to the civil hospital in Mukalla if need arises.

712 At the end of recruit training a soldier will be sent to one of the posts
701 in the interior, and here the discipline and character-training already undergone will be continued. Some of these posts are sited where desert tracks cross, others near disputed wells or in areas where the tribes have
[342] proved recalcitrant. Sometimes local houses are requisitioned, and as Hadhrami architecture derives from the need for security these high, small-based, mud-brick houses are not unlike forts in themselves. In other localities proper small-scale forts have been built, square in shape and enclosing a well in the courtyard, resembling the smaller Palestine police posts or Arab Legion forts. Usually built with towers at two diagonally opposite corners, they have an imposing entrance gate, storerooms and sleeping quarters below, and above two rooms and a balcony encircling the fort. In commanding position, they would fill admirably the requirements of a producer of the *Beau Geste* type of film. From their posts the H.B.L. patrol on foot, perform guard duties, and if necessary provide escorts. Life in an outpost may appear dull, but reliefs are
[212] regular, and in his spare time a soldier is wise to learn to read and write, as without these accomplishments he is debarred from promotion above the rank of corporal. Any day a row of four or five soldiers may be observed at the unusual task of laborious reading or writing under the guidance of an officer or N.C.O.

701 Generally the presence of soldiers in an area has a deterrent effect on
721 any potential law-breakers or tribal raiders, and by mixing with the local Bedouin, and by reason of being themselves Bedouin, they do much to assist Government by explanation and advice. When trouble does occur, minor operations may have to be undertaken to deal with the offenders. During these infrequent periods the soldier receives his best training, and the prospect of more active duty always appeals to him. Although a natural fighter in his own type of warfare and country, the Bedouin is no match for his brother in the H.B.L., who has the advantage of superior leadership, better weapons, and a plentiful supply of ammunition. The expenditure of rounds, which do not have to be accounted for individually,
[619] is one of the soldier's greatest joys and entertainments. It may be wondered, if, on occasion, men enlisted from tribes which are hostile to each other carry this enmity with them into the force. Such is not the case, and once in the army they seem to lose their civilian opinions and prejudices and to forget past feuds. However, care is taken that soldiers of a tribe against which force is used are not employed on that task.

702 Militarily speaking, the Hadhrami Bedouin soldier is quick at drill, and, as practically all of them are born with a rifle in their hands, weapon training, even with light machine-guns, comes easily to them. They are not, however, such good shots as might be expected and have a universal
Tendency to fire high.

tendency to fire high. Tactics are simple, usually an advance in strength 725
or the investment or defence of small forts or houses. Any more compli- 703
cated manœuvre involving strict timing or detailed concerted action would be beyond their capacity at present. They are difficult to control in action, and in the heat of the moment tend to forget their training and to expose themselves by not making use of ground and cover, but as their potential opponents suffer from the same faults this is not so serious as it would be against more experienced troops. The Bedouin does not favour night-fighting, but he is expert at moving and taking up position in the dark. He is willing to follow his officers, and has particular faith in those from 703
the Arab Legion, who in simple fashion he believes must be more com- 609
petent, as they have been brought in from another country. The same would apply to British officers, provided they understood his language and customs and accurately gauged his capabilities. Unless equipped with this knowledge, however, a British officer would find the Bedouin soldier awkward to handle and disappointing in action.

By showing promise and industry the soldier will gain promotion or 701
can become a specialist such as wireless operator or armourer. At present the highest rank reached by any is lieutenant; owing to lack of experience, knowledge, and background, they are not yet suitable for higher rank, but in time this will be overcome. Part of the remedy may result from the [871]
foundation a few years ago of a Bedouin boys' school in Mukalla. This worth-while enterprise, sponsored and paid for by His Majesty's Government, is of considerable interest, and it is anticipated that ex-pupils will not only help to fill the ranks of H.B.L. with good material, but that others, encouraged to further education, will become much-needed Government servants, teachers and leaders in other walks of life.

There is a cadre of men who have voluntarily remained in the H.B.L. for longer periods, but after four years or so the average soldier, unless he has attained rank, will retire. He may ask that his place be taken by his brother or cousin, as he has liked the life, and his length of voluntary service speaks for itself. On his return to his tribe he will be an asset to Government, and his understanding and experience will be of help to political officers or other Government servants who may have dealings with his tribe or work to perform in his area. There is no reserve. The Bedouin in the Protectorate dislikes being tied down to a period of time, [157]
and a reserve as understood in a European army would be impossible to administer or co-ordinate. But in an emergency many ex-soldiers would return for temporary service if strongly requested.

Whatever the future may hold, there is no doubt that the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion performs useful tasks at low costs. It is in no sense planned as a national army, but in its military and political rôles has fully justified itself. One hopes that its ties with the Arab Legion will not be broken and that in the years to come it will attain the prestige and success in its own area which the Arab Legion enjoys in the Arab world as a whole.

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I am indebted to Major I. E. Snell, Royal Sussex Regiment, at present 115
seconded as Military Adviser to the British Agent, Mukalla, for certain facts and technical details used in this article.

11: Hamilton G-3 (ca. 1942)1942 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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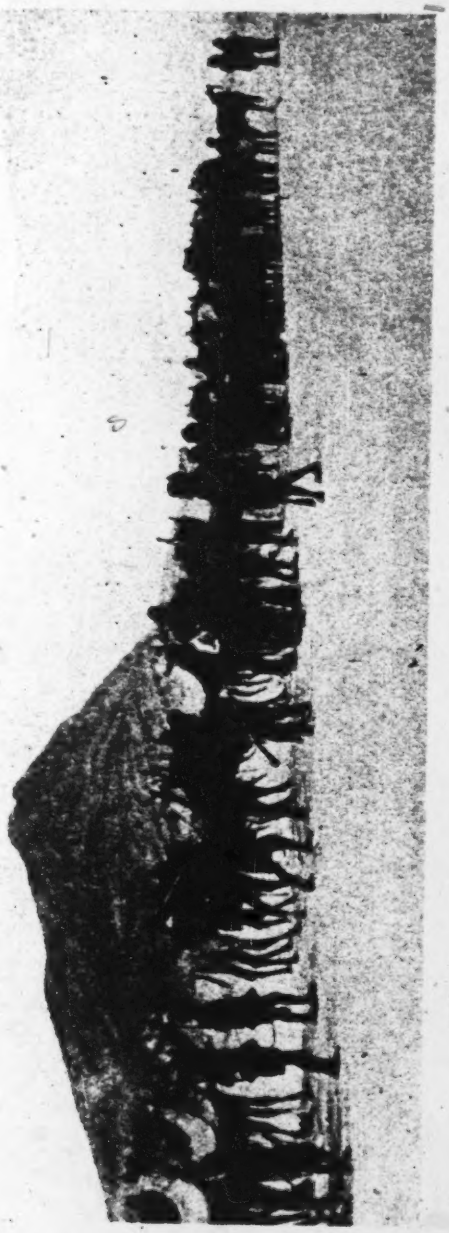

FIG. 1.—THE GREETING CEREMONY: A TRIBESMAN WELCOMES THE VISITORS.

p. 85(A)

11: Hamilton G-3 (ca. 1942)1942 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

000 **A GREETING CEREMONY IN THE ADEN PROTECTORATE.**
*R. A. B. Hamilton. Illustrated.*

P. 88 (B)

576 **44** Certain tribes of the Aden Protectorate, in particular the Aulaqis, perform a peculiar greeting ceremony called the *Móqab*. When visitors of importance approach a settlement, word of their coming is sent on ahead, and the men of the settlement turn out to receive them. They parade in a long line on some convenient piece of flat ground in front of their forts, with the leading men and important guests in [534] the centre. On the appearance of the visitors a drum is usually beaten, and shots are exchanged in salute. The Bil Obeid consider it complimentary to shoot as close to the visitors as possible, but most of the tribes have the sense to fire straight up into the air.

p. 88 (c)

**PROTECTORATE.** *By Major the Honourable*

576 When the visitors come near they dismount, form a line with the most important men in the centre, advance to a distance of about fifty yards [411] from the 'home side,' and halt. They then load their rifles, adjust their garments, and wait for the ceremony to begin. The men of the 'home side' now spring forward, usually in couples holding hands, and, uttering war cries, form themselves into a long column, with the most important men in front. The column moves towards the visitors, but it is led in wheels and circles, so that at no time is it directly approaching them. If the principal men are not in front, it indicates that some at least are not disposed to give the visitors a very cordial welcome.

576 A tribesman now separates himself from the
587 'home side' and, very fast and in a loud voice,
533 declaims verses which he has composed (fig. 1). If these are not accepted by his companions he declaims others, until acceptance is indicated by cries of 'Yallah.' He then begins to intone the first half of his verses in a chant peculiar to the occasion, and is followed by the leading half of the column. The second half of the verses is chanted by the second half of the column. When the poet is satisfied that the words are being sung correctly by all, he resumes his place in the column and joins in the singing. The column has meanwhile continued to wheel and circle (fig. 2).

576 The visitors can judge, from the words sung,
533 whether their welcome is a hearty one, or not. These words are not always polite, and the

576 greatest interest in them is displayed by the
533 visitors, not only because they must soon reply in kind, but also because upon them may depend whether the visitors remain to feast and spend the night or whether, with unpleasant smiles and covert insults, they will move off to sleep elsewhere. On one occasion in Hâdhina the greeting song opened with the words—'It is only through 'our politeness that you have crossed the boun-'daries of Hâdhina.' These words, and a rapid count which showed that over half the 'home side' were in the forts, led to suspicion, and caused the visitors to extend their line until all semblance of ceremony was lost. But if the words are pleasant, an atmosphere of friendliness
576 is quickly established. The men of the 'home
[411] side' eventually file past the principal visitors, often firing their rifles and 'salaaming', and wheel back into their original line.

000 often firing their rifles and 'salaaming,' and wheel back into their original line.

176 The visitors now go through the same procedure, until they too file past their principal hosts and reform their line. The principal men of the 'home side' now advance and are met in the centre, between the two lines, by the principal visitors. The two sides move in single file and greet each other, without speaking, by clasping right hands, raising them to face level, and giving them a good hearty sniff, half sniff and half kiss; the hands on meeting are slapped hard together. On no account is the thumb held, as by the Yemenis and Somalis; this is considered indecent.

The principal men of both sides now face each other, and the usual verbal greetings are given,

576 but it is a hard and fast rule that no news shall be given. The sheikh and ten men may have been killed in a blood feud the day before, but the answer to the question : 'Any news ? '—which is invariably asked—is always given in the formula —'There is no news, and nothing has been 'started, and nothing has been destroyed, and 'no one has said anything to anybody.'

This flat denial of news ends the ceremony. The visitors, if they are staying, hand over their rifles to their hosts, and are led by the left hand [272] into the village, where they drink the bitter infusion of coffee-husk, flavoured with ginger. Conversation then becomes normal, and news is exchanged.

576 This greeting ceremony, as performed by the 537 Aulaqi tribesmen, with its long and rather

p. 89 (D)
[text continued on p. 90(A)]

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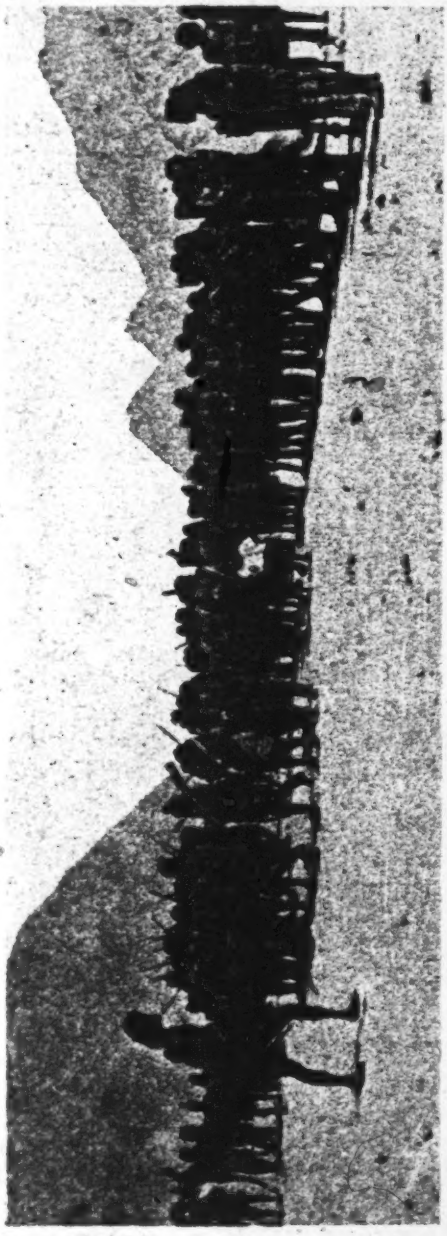
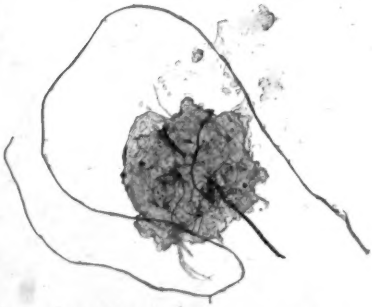


FIG. 2.—THE 'HOME SIDE' WHEELS AND CIRCLES TO THE POET'S CHART.

P·89 (E)



576 monotonous chant, has considerable dignity, but
587 as performed by the Qaramish, at a fast and ungainly run, it strikes one as laughable.

576 The most remarkable feature about the ceremony as a whole is the twisted path taken by the singers, for the more the leaders wheel and turn,

576 the better it is considered. A hundred men or more in file, wheeling and circling in this way, present a very snake-like appearance, and such is admitted to be the intention, though no reason is given for it.

# ARAB AND SWAHILI DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

By R. Skene.

## The Razha Dance.

535 171 702 562 The Razha was originally a war dance practised by the Arabs in Arabia prior to starting out on a raid. It originated at Manga in Muscat, and is danced with naked swords, the object being to get the muscles of the sword arm into training. The Hatharmut or Hadramaut Arabs also dance it, but use daggers instead of swords.

The dancers, who of course are all men, stand in two rows facing each other, or in one row. They advance slowly a few inches at each step, keeping time to the drumming. The sword is held perpendicularly in the right hand, the fore-arm being at a right angle with the body. While holding the hilt of the sword in a perfect balance between the thumb and the first and second fingers, the base of the hilt is given a smart blow with the wrist so as to make the blade of the sword quiver. Being highly polished and made of fine supple steel, the quivering blade reflects the light in a most effective manner. This can only be done with the long straight double-edged sword of Southern Arabia and not with the scimitar-like blade used further north, owing to the thickness of the latter weapon.

535 534 The music for the Razha dance is supplied by a drum called a *chapuo*, cylindrical in shape, covered with goat skin on both ends. It is about eighteen inches long by eight in diameter, and is played on both ends with the hands, while hung across the waist of the drummer by a cord round the neck. A bass drum is also used, called a *vumi* of the same shape as the *chapuo*, but larger, being two to three feet long and fifteen inches in diameter. It is beaten in the same manner as the *chapuo*.

Anyone who knows how to dance can join in. No refreshments are served.

## The Shebwani Dance.

535 562 585 This is danced by the Arabs of Mkelle or Makulla, without any weapons, and by men only, who attend by invitation. It usually takes place at a wedding festival, in which case food and coffee are served round, or at any other general rejoicing. The dancers stand in two lines facing each other about eight or ten paces apart. They bend the knee and bow the body slightly forward to each other in unison and in time to the beating of the drums. They also sing a chorus song and keep time by clapping their hands together.

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535 585 534 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* drum, both described above (see Razha dance). A treble drum called a *marwasi* is also used. It is much smaller than the *vumi* and is only about eight inches long by eight inches in diameter. It is covered with goat skin on both ends and is beaten with the flat of the right hand while held in the left by a piece of cord. The drumming is accompanied by cymbals of brass called *vitasa*, which are placed on the ground one above another and struck with pieces of stick, one in each hand, so as to make the cymbals rattle together. In lieu of the cymbals, a metal rod is sometimes used bent into a triangle exactly the same shape as the triangles used in European military bands, and played in the same manner.

The Shebwani is sometimes danced in the afternoon but more often at night. It has no mystical meaning.

## THE SHERHA DANCE.

535 585 562 This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs to celebrate a wedding or for any other cause of rejoicing. The dancers, who are all men, and who attend by invitation, stand round in a large circle some ten paces in diameter and sway the body slightly from side to side, while clapping their hands in time to the music. Presently two men come out of the ring and dance towards each other, and then backwards and forwards in a sort of "chassé croisé" for about ten minutes, and then they retire from the ring and are replaced by two others. Sometimes two couples dance in the ring at the same time.

535 585 534 The music is supplied by a wind instrument much resembling a clarionet or a French "musette," but the mouthpiece consists of two reeds instead of one, and the tone is very similar to that of the chanter of Scotch bag-pipes. This instrument is called a *zumari*, and supplies the tune accompanied by a *vumi* drum described above (see Razha dance) and by a *msondo* drum standing about four feet high with a diameter of about eighteen inches. It is cylindrical in shape and is covered by a goat-skin at the top end only, the bottom end being open. It is played with both hands in an upright position, resting on the ground.

No refreshments are served at a Sherha dance except if it is held to celebrate a wedding, in which case *pilaw* is served and coffee also.

## KINANDA DANCE.

535 562 517 This dance partakes of the nature of a performance for the amusement of the onlookers and is held indoors. Two male performers hold a silk scarf or woollen shawl between them and repeatedly advance towards the audience and retire, while executing various steps and figures. They then face each other and dance in that position, executing with their arms and bodies slow and graceful movements. Then they face the audience and advance and retire and so on till they become tired.

The musical instruments consist of the small *marwasi* drum described above (see Shebwani dance) and of a *kinanda* which supplies the tune. The latter is a string instrument of the nature of a guitar and is played in much the same way. It usually has seven strings, six of which used formerly to be made of sheep gut, but are now made of twisted silk. The seventh is the bass string and is made of copper wire. 535 534 517

Although not considered altogether reprehensible by austere Mohammedans, the "Kinanda" entertainment is looked upon as rather advanced, if not fast.

Sometimes the dancing is dispensed with and the entertainment is reduced to solo songs accompanied by the *kinanda*. It then assumes a more respectable character, though still not entirely approved of.

Being held indoors, the audience naturally come by invitation only. Refreshments consisting of coffee, sherbet and *halwa* (Turkish Delight) are handed round.

### THE ZAMIL DANCE.

This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs, and generally takes place either by day or by night, in front of the house of some exalted person to whom it is intended to pay compliment or to show respect. It is in fact a sort of serenade, but is also danced at weddings. 535 585 554

The dancers form up in one or more lines facing the house of the person in whose honour it is being held. The leader of the dance starts singing a solo, usually a song of praise to the person in question, and the remainder take up the chorus, which they accompany by rhythmic clapping of hands and swaying of the body. It is not by invitation, and anyone may join in. No drums or musical instruments are used and no refreshments partaken of, except at weddings. This dance has no mystical meaning.

### THE CHAMA DANCE.

This may be called a faction dance owing to the element of competition which enters into it in regard to some other faction which has also organized a dance. It is danced by Swahili men, who dress up in their best clothes and wear Arab daggers and swords borrowed from those of their friends who have them. They do their best to make as fine and as big a show as possible in order to eclipse the dance of the other competing faction. Formerly the dance was accompanied by a feast, and still is in the Lamu District, where the factions vie with each other as to the number of cattle they can afford to kill. In 1912, one faction at the village of Mkunumbi (Witu Sultanate) was known to kill thirty head of cattle to cap the twenty-five head which another faction had killed a few days previously.[1] Needless to say that such waste is impossible in the Malindi District where cattle are scarce, and where the dancers only compete in matters of personal adornment and the number of followers. Faction feeling sometimes runs high, and if two competing dances happen to be taking place on the same night it is not unheard of for one party to attack the other with sticks. 535 562 578 527



[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

535 171 The dance itself resembles the Arab Razha dance, the men standing in a row and jerking sticks in the same manner that the Arabs jerk their swords, one of which may sometimes be seen in the hand of a Swahili dancer of the Chama.

536 534 517 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* drum, a *chapuo* drum, a pair of cymbals or *vitasa*, a *zumari* or clarionet, all of which are described above (see Razha dance, Shebwani dance and Sherha dance), also a tambourine called a *tari* or *pari*. This is sometimes ornamented with loose brass discs that jingle together, as in the Spanish tambourine. The goat-skin is pegged to the wooden frame and is tightened by stuffing a more or less thick cord between the skin and the frame.

The Chama is usually danced in a public place and no invitation is necessary. Anyone may join in who feels so inclined. No refreshments are served nowadays in the Malindi District at a Chama dance, which has no mystical significance.

### THE SHANGWI DANCE.

535 562 578 554 The dance is identical with the Chama and is danced by the winning faction in the Chama competition, which is judged by the "*wazee wa Ngoma*," or elders of the dance, men who are accustomed to take the lead in dances, in other words "masters of the ceremonies." The winning faction proceed to the house of the organizer of the opposition dance and dance the Shangwi in front of it. He is supposed to take this as a compliment, and passes round a scent bottle and sometimes takes part in the dancing himself. The Shangwi has no mystical significance and is usually danced at night with the same orchestra as for the Chama.

### NGOMA YA FIMBO. (Walking-stick dance.)

535 585 852 562 The Ngoma Ya Fimbo is danced at Swahili wedding feasts, and at Swahili circumcision feasts. The dancers, all men, assemble by invitation and form a ring in the open near the house of the host, all carrying sticks, hence the name of the dance. While those in the ring balance themselves slowly and rhythmically from one foot to the other, two of their number go into the centre and make passes at each other with their sticks as if they were swords, in time to the drumming. After a few minutes of this, another pair go into the centre of the circle and perform in the same manner while the first two retire, and so on to the end of the dance, which usually takes place by day.

535 534 Cigarettes and betel nuts are passed round to the dancers. The music is supplied by *vumi* and *chapuo* drums described above (see Razha dance) by *vitasa* or cymbals (see Shebwani dance), and by a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). In a temporary pavilion of palm-thatch erected close by, a number of young slave women generally stand holding buffalo horns in their left hands, which they strike with small sticks in time to the drumming.

This dance has no mystic significance and is merely a form of rejoicing.

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## THE MWARIBE DANCE.

A dance for women only, which takes place indoors if danced by free women, and out of doors if the dancers are slaves. The women stand in a circle singing songs and clapping their hands in time to a triangle described above (see Shebwani dance). One dancer then advances, executing various fancy steps, towards another dancer in front of whom she stamps her foot and then retires, still executing fancy steps, to her place in the ring. The person in front of whom the first dancer stamped her foot then advances from her place in the ring in the same manner as the first dancer and stamps her foot in front of a third, who comes out in her turn, and so on. 535 562 567

The songs are led by one of the women, who sings the solo while the remainder join in the chorus. No drums are used. 535 585 796

This dance often takes place at wedding festivals when betel nut and cigarettes are handed round with tea. Then towards the end of the entertainment meat and rice are eaten. It may also be danced on the occasion of other rejoicings, the special time of year for having it being the first week of the North-east monsoon, that is, in November and December.

This Mwaribe dance has no mystic meaning.

## THE MWASHA DANCE.

This is also a woman's dance and is of Bajuni origin, its introduction to the Malindi District from Witu having begun about four years ago. If the dancers are free women they dance indoors; if they are slaves the dance takes place in the open, but always by invitation. 535 562 171 567

The guests line up in two or three rows, one behind the other, and move forward slowly an inch or two at each step, while they jerk their chins forward and move their shoulders in time to the drums. When the front row gets up to the wall of the room, or to the limits of the dancing-floor, all the dancers face about and move slowly as before in the opposite direction, the front row becoming the back one.

If it takes place indoors, no men are allowed to be present except the orchestra, consisting of the performers on a *vumi* described above (see Razha dance) on a tari or tambourine (see Chama dance), and on a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). 535 562 534

This dance, which has an undoubted touch of savagery about it, may perhaps be derived from the Somalis, and tends to work the dancers up into a nervous state. It is often danced in competition with another dance faction. No refreshments are served. 535 171 578

It has no mystic significance and appears to be indulged in when the general physical condition of the performers calls for a nervous outlet of some sort.

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## THE DANDARO DANCE.

535 This is rarely if ever danced by free men, and is considered essentially a slaves
567 dance. In a convenient open space, men and women stand in a circle facing inwards,
562 the drums being in the middle. The men stand together, occupying one part of the circle and the women the other. The dancers place the right hand on the left shoulder and the left hand under the right elbow, and in this position they bend the knees slightly and sway the body in time to the music while progressing very slowly sideways
535 round the circle to the right. A *zumari* or clarionet described above (see Sherha
534 dance) plays the tune to which the dancers sing the words of a song, or rather a chorus repeated over and over again at short intervals which are filled by the clarionet solo. The accompanying drums consist of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* (see Razha dance), also a *kurugo* drum, about two feet high and ten inches in diameter, with a goat-skin on one end only which is beaten with a stick, the drum resting on the ground in an upright position.

The Dandaro may be danced during the daytime as well as at night. Occasionally food may be cooked and partaken of towards the end of the dance. In the larger townships no invitation is necessary, and anybody may join in.

## THE KI-NYASA DANCE.

535 As its name indicates, this dance is an importation from Nyasaland, introduced
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567 first to Zanzibar and then to the coast of the mainland by slaves captured in Nyasa-
562 land and brought here by the Arabs. Consequently it is a dance practised only by slaves and people of humble origin.

It is danced in the open either by day or by night. Men and women, arranged in no special order as to sex, form a circle standing one behind the other and go round in a direction opposite to the hands of a clock, moving in quick time but taking very short steps and bending the knee considerably at each step. The arms are held in the position of a person running, that is to say with the elbow bent and the fore-arm at right angles to the body, which is bent slightly forward. Some of the dancers jerk their shoulders up and down occasionally. The leader of the dance sings a solo and the others take up the chorus. The men wear a string of small iron bells known as *njuga* strung round their knees, and stamp their foot at each step so as to make them jingle.

535 One large drum is used, called a *msondo*, and fashioned somewhat after the drum
534 of the Washambala. It is rather a high-toned drum in spite of its size, which is about
782 six feet in length and twelve to fifteen inches in diameter. One end only is covered with goat-skin, struck with the player's hands. The open end of the drum rests on the ground while the drummer stands astride the other end which is supported by a cloth round his waist, and he plays it in that position. This dance has no mystical meaning, and is merely an expression of a superabundance of animal spirits which

are given vent to by singing and running round in a circle, in time to the beating of a drum, very much in the same manner as children do. No invitations are given, and anyone may join in. No refreshments are handed round. 535 534 782

### THE MDEMA DANCE.

This also is an importation from Nyasaland (see Ki-Nyasa dance), and is danced by the slave population only, either by day or by night. It is exactly like the Ki-Nyasa dance described above, with the exception that no iron bells are strapped round the knees, and it is, if possible, of a simpler character, the Ki-Nyasa being in truth simple enough. Like the latter it is merely a vent for high animal spirits. No refreshments are given and no invitations are necessary. 535 567 782

### THE KINDIMBA.

The Kindimba is not a dance, but a musical entertainment into which enters a slight element of the mystical. It is only given by people of the slave class in fulfilment of a vow. Any person who greatly desires something or some event to come to pass makes a vow to give a Kindimba if his wish is fulfilled. 533 667 517 782

Invitations are issued to his friends by the person who is giving the entertainment, and they assemble at his house. The men and women sit together either indoors if there is room, or else in the open. Songs are sung by a leader, the other guests joining in the chorus, and clapping their hands in time to the singing, which is accompanied by a small drum called a *mgumbaro*, very like a *marwasi* (see Shebwani dance), with this difference that only one end is covered with a goat skin, while in the *marwasi* both ends are covered. The other end, which is open, is made to rest on the chest or stomach of the player, who performs upon it in that position with both hands. Hard grains of maize are placed in dry gourds of various sizes, and these are rattled in time to the singing. 533 634 782

The entertainment partakes of the nature of thanksgiving, and frivolous songs are therefore avoided. Although not exactly of a religious character, a certain amount of superstition is far from being foreign to the Kindimba.

### THE VUGO.

At a wedding, a procession of women is often formed in the evening after dark to parade the streets, and is called a Vugo. The women sing in chorus to the sound of buffalo horns beaten with short sticks. No men are allowed to take part in the procession, which is both an Arab and a Swahili custom. 533 562 585

### THE KINYAGO DANCE.[1]

This is a Swahili medicine-dance usually held outside the town in a plantation on a moonless night. No artificial lights are allowed. Swahilis who have any 535 756

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

535 756 pretensions to being medicine-men inform their friends that a Kinyago is to be danced at a certain spot on a certain night, and a crowd consequently congregates there. The medicine-men, most of whom in Malindi District apart from Giryama are of Shambala slave origin, make themselves up with the help of clothes stuffed with grass to represent certain wild animals, such as elephants, lions, etc. A ring having been made in the waiting crowd, a medicine-man thus disguised as an animal suddenly dashes from behind a convenient bush and enters the ring, where he capers about and makes a noise in imitation of the beast he represents. On getting tired he retires again behind the convenient bush, and another disguised medicine-man [533] takes his place in the ring and so on. A *msondo* drum is used, described above (see Ki-Nyasa dance). The crowd takes no part in the performance.

535 527 756 The Kinyago is, of course, a heathen dance from Nyasaland imported by slaves. It takes place usually after a good harvest, and is intended more or less as a thanksgiving to the spirits that control the rain and the abundance of food generally. It is also intended by the medicine-men to impress the people with the powers which they ascribe to themselves of being able to change the shape of their bodies into that of any wild animal. But these pretensions are not accorded much credence nowadays in the Malindi District.[1]

## 1 NGOMA YA PEPO.

/ 776 753 The Swahili word *pepo* is the equivalent of the Arab word *jin*, or devil or evil spirit. The people inhabiting the coastal zone, both Arabs and Swahilis, believe in the existence of these beings, some of whom are considered harmless while others, entering into the human body, create various ills and pains, insensibility or sometimes a demented state accompanied by violent gestures. It is quite evident, even to a layman, that these ills are due to a disturbance of the nervous system of imaginative and highly-strung individuals. Thus one finds that the great majority of the people who get *pepo* are women.

753 533 The native cure for *pepo* is principally drumming. The natives of Africa are particularly sensitive to rhythm, pure and simple, even more so perhaps than Europeans. The rhythm of certain kinds of drumming has the effect of exciting the nerves to an ecstatic degree, while other rhythms appear to have the contrary effect upon the nervous system of Africans. It is the latter rhythms that are used as a cure for *pepo*.

This physiological effect of rhythmic drumming is, however, unknown to the nhabitants of the coastal zone, and believing as they do, that the nervous disturbance known as *pepo* is caused by the presence of evil spirits in the body, they set about propitiating the *jin* and putting him in a good temper by giving a drumming

[1] This reminds one of some of the corn dances recorded by Sir J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*; and by Professor Ridgway in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), pp. 335–374.

1 [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

entertainment in his honour, so as to induce him to depart from the body of the person possessed. 753 776 533

The exorcising of the *pepo* is conducted by a professional man or elderly woman known as a *fundi* or *mganga* who specializes in certain kinds of *pepo*. 753 776

The *pepo* themselves are divided into various tribes such as the *pepo ya ki-galla*, *pepo ya ki-arabu*, *pepo ya ki-somali*, *pepo ya ki-shakini*, *pepo ya i-pemba*, *pepo ya ki-nubi*, etc., and some even are said to be like animals, such as the *pepo ya ng'ombe* and the *pepo ya punda*. Besides belonging to various tribes, the *pepo* have individual names similar to those common to human beings of the same tribe. Thus some *pepo ya ki-galla* are known as Guyo, Barsa, Godana, Galgalo, all of which are fairly common amongst the Gallas on the Tana River. 533 756

The *pepo* is recognised by the language it speaks through the lips of the person possessed. The *fundis* make out that the language spoken is actually Galla, Somali, Arabic, etc., but that it is an ancient form of these languages, and that no one can understand them but the *fundis* themselves. This, of course, is nonsense, as it is impossible for a person ignorant of a language to speak it suddenly and quite fluently. What actually happens is that the person possessed speaks ordinary Swahili,[1] but being in a state of high nervous tension the voice assumes an unnatural pitch, and the words are spoken indistinctly and interlarded with inarticulate sounds, so that they may be said to assume, with a stretch of imagination, either an Arab, a Somali, or any other accent, and, together with the inarticulate sounds uttered, are interpreted by the "*fundi*" as being ancient Arabic or ancient Somali, or some other ancient language.[2]

Each *fundi* has his own special set of *pepo* whom he knows by name, and to him only will such *pepo* respond. If a *fundi* is called in to attend to a possessed person, and is unable to make the *pepo* speak to him through the lips of the patient, then he knows that the *pepo* in question is not one of his set, but is a client of some other *fundi*. He then withdraws from the case, and suggests to the relations of the patient that such or such *fundi* be called in.

The first step in the treatment of a possessed person is to get the *pepo* to "come into the head" of the patient and speak to the *fundi*, the object of this being to find out from the *pepo* what would be acceptable to him as an offering in order to induce him to depart from the body of the possessed person. 753 755 756 776

The method of making the *pepo* speak is by administering *dawa*, or native medicine. The various tribes of *pepo* respond each to its particular kind of *dawa*, which in most cases consists of a decoction of roots mixed with leaves of plants found in the bush, and sometimes fresh seaweed. Each *fundi* has, of course, his own secret prescription. The mixture of roots and leaves is placed in a

[1] This is not certain.—C. W. H.

[2] For possession by spirits of other tribes, see Junod. *Les Baronga*, pp. 440, 441.

753 755 756 776 pot and made to boil. The patient is made to sit close up to the pot, or, if possible, over it, and is then entirely covered with a sheet in such a manner as to allow as little as possible of the vapour from the pot to escape. This is practically a Turkish bath, the effect on the patient being naturally a soothing one, and on leading questions being put to the patient by the *fundi*, the *pepo* will state through the mouth of the sick person who he is and how many days' drumming he would like in order to induce him to depart and leave the patient in peace. This method of applying native medicine is used to make the *pepo* of almost all the heathen tribes respond to the *fundi*, provided, of course, that the *fundi* is the right man for that particular *pepo*, and provided the right decoction of roots and leaves is used.

If the *fundi* called in has a suspicion that the *pepo* he has to deal with belongs to a Moslem tribe, such as Arab, Somali, or Nubi, he does not employ the Turkish bath method in order to induce him to speak, but makes a mixture of camphor, musk, and saffron, with a little water, and writes with it on a plate the various attributes of Allah. By means of a little more of the mixture, the writing is carefully washed off the plate into a cup, and is given to the patient to drink. The camphor has a soothing effect, and the *pepo* then states who he is and what he wants as a propitiation.

The *fundi*, having recognised the *pepo* as one of his set, now comes to an agreement with the relations of the sick person as to the amount of the fees to be given to him. These vary according to the financial position of the relations, but generally range from 5Rs. to 10Rs. Much higher fees are sometimes given, however, and the total expenses, including the cost of the food for the *fundi*, the drummers, and the guests have been known to amount to 300Rs. The *fundi's* fees are paid after he has succeeded in getting rid of the *pepo*.

The drumming and dancing invariably take place indoors, except on the last day when the patient is practically cured, and then the dancing goes on outside the house.

The various kinds of *pepo* believed to seize people in Malindi are :—

*Pepo ya ki-galla*
*Pepo ya ki-sanya*
*Pepo ya ki-shakini*
*Pepo ya ki-rima*
*Pepo ya ki-nyika*
*Pepo ya ki-pemba*
*Pepo ya ki-habshi*
*Pepo ya ki-arabu*
*Pepo ya ki-somali*
*Pepo ya ki-nubi*
*Pepo ya Ng'ombe*
*Pepo ya Punda*

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The names of the *fundis* now practising in Malindi are as follows :— 776 756

Mohamed bin Mhaji
Make Chocho
Habiba wa Jora
Biasha wa Ali
Shaibu wa Saburi
Fundi Ali
Fundi Matano
Said wa Famao
Hussein (a police constable)
Kiranja Mhaji
Mwalim Kai

When a *fundi* has recognised a *pepo* as one of his own, and when the bargain as to the fees to be paid has been made, he sends round to all the other *fundis* and invites them to witness his efforts to exorcise the *pepo*.

New clothes must be bought for the *pepo* in all cases, and they are worn by the patient in the manner of the tribe to which the *pepo* belongs.

The following are detailed descriptions of the procedure followed in exorcising the various kinds of *pepo* who are believed to seize people in Malindi :— 776 756 782 757 171

### PEPO YA KI-GALLA.

On being called to see a sick person the *fundi* examines the patient and decides whether he is suffering from *pepo* or not. As a rule the decision is in the affirmative. He then orders a "*sadaka*" or sacrifice of food to be made. This varies according to circumstances of the patient and his relations, but it usually consists of boiled rice and goats' meat or fowl. The relations and friends of the sick person partake of this, as well as the *fundi* and his drummers. But before the meal begins, a *mwalim* or person versed in the prayers of the Koran is called in and the *fathiha*—*Illa hathrati el habibi Muhamad Nabbi al mustafa* is read over three times. Both prayers and feast take place just outside the house of the patient. But the women remain inside, and the food is taken in to them.

The *fundi* then goes and gets the native medicine necessary to make the *pepo* come into the head of the patient, and state what it wants as propitiation in order to induce it to leave the body of the patient. The medicine used consists of the leaves and small roots of certain trees to be found in the bush. The special kinds of trees used are professional secrets of the *fundis*, each of whom has his own prescription. Certain kinds of sea-weed gathered from coral rocks at low water are sometimes used, and these together with the roots and leaves are pounded together so as to form a paste which is mixed with water and placed in a pot to boil over a fire in the sick-room. The patient is then made to sit on a stool or native bed

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776 756 782 757 171 over the pot, or as close as possible, and is entirely covered over with a sheet so as to receive all the vapour from the pot and the heat from the fire.

While this primitive method of giving a Turkish bath is being carried out, the *fundi* chants an appropriate song of praise to the *pepo*, and the women, if they know the song, join in and clap their hands in time to the tune. This ceremony takes place soon after sunrise, at mid-day, and in the evening from about 7 p.m. to 8.30 or 9 p.m., each session lasting about an hour to an hour and a half, more or less. After each session the *fundi* questions the *pepo* to ascertain what *pepo* he has to deal with and what propitiation it requires, but the *pepo* may refuse to speak at once, and the same ceremonial is repeated every day up to seven days. If by that time the *pepo* has not spoken, the *fundi* usually comes to the conclusion that the *pepo* in question is not one of his clientele, and he suggests that some other *fundi* be called in.

If, however, success is attained in making the *pepo* speak through the lips of the patient, which is very often the case owing to leading questions being asked by the *fundi*, and perhaps to a certain amount of mental ascendancy on his part, to which a hypnotic element may not be foreign, arrangements are then made to fulfil the desires of the *pepo*, which invariably take the form of an *ngoma* or dance repeated every day for seven days, with or without a *pepo* feast, and a male goat to be ridden by the *pepo* on the last day of the dance.

776 535 756 171 Before the dancing begins, new clothes are bought for the *pepo*, and the patient puts them on. If the latter is a man, a white cloth is tied round his chest and hangs down to his feet and another white cloth is put over the head and shoulders in such a manner as to leave only the face visible, the head and neck being covered. A pair of white cotton trousers tight at the ankle are also worn. If the patient is a woman the same clothes are worn, but the first-mentioned cloth is tied round her waist, and not round the chest as in the case of the man.

Guests are invited, both men and women, but the majority of the dancers at an *ngoma ya pepo* are women. The latter are the only ones allowed to enter the sick room, except the *fundi* and his drummers, and one or two male guests by request of the relations of the patient. The *fundi* and his drummers may also sit in the *ukumbi*, or entrance to the house, according to the wishes of the relations.

The dancing begins at eight or nine o'clock in the morning and lasts for two or three hours, or until the patient, impelled by the *pepo*, lifts his hands as a sign of having had enough for the time being. A second session takes place the same day from about 6 p.m. till 9 p.m., and so on every day till the seventh day.

535 755 171 *Pepo ya ki-galla* generally begins to take part in the dancing on the third day of the dance. The patient, while still seated, begins to jerk his shoulders backwards and forwards and up and down, in time to the drumming. Then he gradually rises from his seat. A fly-switch, made from the tail of any wild animal which could be used for the purpose is placed in one hand, and a small calabash filled with leaves

supposed to have medicinal properties is placed in the other. A string of oval iron bells (*njuga*) with a pebble inside is tied just below his right knee, and he then shuffles forward alone, dragging his feet. He takes up his position between the two lines of dancers, one at each end of the room, and shuffles backwards and forwards between the two lines of dancers while waving the fly-switch and the calabash, and still jerking his shoulders as described above. The two lines of dancers move their shoulders in the same manner, but remain in the same place.

These proceedings are repeated twice a day, morning and evening, until the evening of the seventh day, when the session is prolonged through the night well on into the next day, sometimes even until mid-day.

During the last dance, the cloth over the head of the patient is allowed to drop on to his shoulders, and another white cloth is put on his head and is kept on by a cord being wound round the temples after the manner of the Beduins.

If the *pepo* has required the production of a goat amongst other things to be done for his propitiation, a male goat is now produced and brought to the door of the house. The patient comes out and strokes the goat, passing his right hand three times from its head along its back to its tail. He then gets astride of it and pretends to ride it like a horse, jumping up and down, and jerking his shoulders as before in time to the drumming.

If at any time the *pepo* calls for food, a small piece of bread is produced, on which is placed a speck of ambergris and musk, and it is then placed in the mouth of the patient, who eats it. A few raisins are also given, and a lump or two of sugar candy.

After the patient has got tired of riding the goat, the *fundi* asks the *pepo* in the presence of the assembled guests if he has received all he had asked for. The *pepo* says "yes." The *fundi* then asks him if he will ever seize the patient again, to which the *pepo* replies, "I will not seize him again," and thereupon he is considered to have taken his departure, and the patient goes to bed to sleep off his fatigue, and awakes later to find himself quite cured.

There are about fifty propitiatory songs for the *pepo ya ki-galla* known in Malindi.

The names of some of the *pepo ya ki-galla* who are believed to possess people in Malindi are as follows:—Guyo, Barsa, Godana, and Galgalo. All these are common Galla names.

The drums used are two *Vumi* drums, one *Chapuo* drum, and *Vitasa* cymbals, all described in the Shebwani dance.

### PEPO YA KI-SANYE.

The ceremonies and medicines used to cast out a *pepo* of the Sanye tribe are exactly similar to those used in connection with a *pepo* of the Galla tribe. The only difference is that the *pepo* speaks the Sanye language through the medium

171 776 782 755 of the patient, and the propitiatory songs are also in the Sanye language, although Galla songs may also be sung effectively.

The names of the *pepo ya ki-sanye* who are believed to frequent Malindi are merely common Sanye names.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla.*

## PEPO YA KI-SHAKINI.

171 776 755 The people of Malindi[1] do not know here where the Shakini country is. They tell one vaguely that it is *mbarani mbali sana*, that is somewhere in the distant interior of Africa. The Shakini language is said to be understood by the Zigula people. The *pepo ya ki-shakini* is thought to have been introduced to Malindi by slaves brought from the interior, but very little is known of its origin.

The ceremonies which take place at the casting out of a *pepo ya ki-shakini* are exactly the same as those of the *pepo ya ki-galla*; the roots and leaves which make up the ingredients of the medicine used to make the *pepo* speak are, however, different, but the medicine is applied in the same way, that is by means of a Turkish bath.

The clothes worn by the patient when the dancing begins are similar to those worn by a person possessed of a *pepo ya ki-galla*, only the clothes are made of a dark blue cotton (*kaniki*) instead of white cotton (*amerikani*). The trousers worn may be made of blue cotton cloth or red cotton cloth (*bendera*). On the last day of the dance the white cloth worn on the head of the patient suffering from *pepo ya ki-galla* is replaced by a red or blue cloth secured on the head in the same way, by a cord bound round the temples. Formerly, when colobus monkey skins were obtainable, the head-dress consisted of a conical hat made from these skins, about a foot to fifteen inches high, in the shape of a dunce's cap with a peak to it in front, and the monkey's handsome tail hanging down behind. A leather breast-plate and back-plate connected by straps that hang over the shoulders are also worn as an ornament, being profusely decorated with beads and kauri shells. This is called a *torosi* (a Ki-rima word), and is worn on the last day of the dance.

171 776 755 535 782 The dancers of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* form a circle, one behind the other, and move round and round with short jerky steps in a direction opposite to that of the hands of a clock, and stamp their feet in time to the drums. They move the upper part of the body by alternatively throwing the chest forward and the shoulders back and then the shoulders forward and the chest in. The patient dances along with the others, and waves a fly-switch made from the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The *pepo* of the Shakini tribe are believed to be very fond of tembo, and the patient is given frequent libations of this drink. But he cannot tolerate the smell of mutton, and all cooking of this meat must be done at a distance while the patient is possessed of this *jin*.

On the last day of the dance a male goat may be produced if the

1 [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

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*pepo* so desires, and the same ceremony is gone through as for the *pepo ya ki-galla*. 171 776

The songs of praise of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* sung in Malindi amount to about twenty-five. 755 535 782

Some names of *pepos* of the Shakini tribe known here are, Shinga Kamba wa Goshi, Hotea, Shingwa Rambo wa Seraf, Giwa wa Mwenne Panganga Waso wa Jentangu.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-RIMA.

The origin of these *pepo*, as their name indicates, is of course well known, but their introduction to the Malindi District dates only to nineteen years back. 171 776 535

The ceremonial followed is the same as that of the *pepo ya ki-galla*, and of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The head-dress is, however, different, and consists of what is called a *shumburere*, which is of exactly the same shape as a Mexican hat with a tall conical crown and a very wide brim. It is woven from the split fronds of the dom palm or the *mkindu* palm, the wild date. From the outer edge of the brim is suspended a fringe composed of strips of coloured cloth which hang down to the pit of the stomach in front, and to the same level at the back. The head and face of the patient are consequently completely hidden. 755 782

As in the Shakini *pepo* dance, the dancers follow each other round and round in a direction opposite to the hands of the clock, and perform the same steps and antics as in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The patient also waves in the same manner a fly-switch made out of the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The patient is anointed with castor oil as soon as he shows signs by jerks and twitches that he is about to begin to dance.

The *torosi* breast-plate and back-plate of leather are also worn by the patient in this dance, and a male goat is produced if so required by the *pepo*, and is ridden and danced round in the same manner as described in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

There are some forty songs known in Malindi sung in praise of the *pepo ya ki-rima*.

Some names of these *pepo* known here are, Lairan wa Laitua, Laitoni wa Laimoran, Lukwalla wa Lugawane. They remind one of Nandi or Masai names.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-NYIKA.

This is considered a benign form of *pepo* who does not cause the patient any great pain or ill, nothing more serious than a headache or a cough, which do not incapacitate the person possessed. 753 755 535 782

Native medicine is not usually given in order to make the spirit speak and say who he is and what he wants. He is generally recognised by the ache or pain he 776

753 causes to the patient, and he is not exacting in his requirements of propitiation.
755 Generally two or three days' dancing will satisfy him together with a large
535 supply of boiled mealie-meal served with grilled fowl or goat. Sometimes as a
782 special treat some *kunde* beans are mixed with the meal. This is given as a
776 farewell dinner to the *pepo* after the dancing is finished. All the guests partake of it as well as the patient.

The dancing begins about 9 a.m., and lasts about an hour and a half. The patient then goes about his work as usual. In the evening the dancers reassemble and dance through the night with the patient. A line is formed, and one dancer at a time advances to where the drums are being played, jerks his shoulders about while bending over one of the drums for a few minutes, then suddenly stamping his foot he retires with a shuffling step back to his place in the line and another dancer goes forward and repeats the performance, and so on. The patient dances with the others, but is distinguished by having a fly-switch in one hand and a live fowl in the other, both of which he waves about.

The patient is dressed in two new dark blue cotton cloths (*kaniki*), worn as a Swahili woman wears her *leso*. No head-dress is worn. On the second day of the dance, if the patient is a woman, she exchanges her two dark blue cloths for a kilt such as the Nyika women wear.

During the dancing, the patient goes occasionally to a pot of cold water in which leaves of wild trees believed to have certain properties have been pounded and mixed up. He puts both hands into the pot and raises some of the liquid to his mouth and drinks. Having quenched his thirst he throws some of the liquid over each shoulder on to his back, and also pours some on his chest as if he were taking a bath.

At the end of the dance on the third day a meal is partaken of as stated above and the *pepo* departs.

The names of *pepo ya ki-nyika* known in Malindi are without number, and are similar to ordinary names at present heard amongst the various Nyika tribes. The songs of praise sung in honour of these *pepo* in Malindi are also numberless.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

## PEPO YA KI-PEMBA.

171
776 As their name indicates, these "*pepo*" are supposed to come from the island of
755 Pemba.
534 In order to make the *pepo* declare himself, the usual native medicine and Turkish bath are given. The patient is then dressed in two white cloths after the fashion of the *pepo ya ki-galla*. He is placed on a stool, and as soon as the drumming begins he sways his body about in time to it, and ultimately jerks the stool which he sits on round the room. A *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance) is also played to the accompaniment of the drums. This jerking about on the stool goes on for seven days, and on the eighth day matting is laid on the floor. The

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patient sits on the matting at one end, and proceeds to jerk himself forward to the other end. On reaching this he jerks backwards without turning round. This is a very laborious business and takes a good deal of effort. 171 776 755

On the eleventh day the patient assumes an upright position, and dances, standing up between two lines of dancers. He advances with short shuffling steps to the line of people in front of him. On getting within a couple of feet of them he begins to retire, shuffling backwards without turning round, and keeping his body bent forwards almost at a right angle with his lower limbs. He is followed by the line of dancers facing him, who dance the same shuffling step, and who keep within a couple of feet of him. On reaching the line of dancers behind him, he straightens his body and starts forward again, the line facing him then retiring and the line behind him following him. He waves a fly-switch in his hand, and a string of small oval iron bells, *njuga*, with pebbles inside, is tied round his right ankle. 534 535 755 782

No head-dress is worn by the patient, but a paste is made by pounding to a powder a certain scented wood called *udi*, and mixing it with water. This is applied all over the head. If no *udi* wood is available, the wood of the *muhuhu* is used. A black line about half an inch wide is also painted from the tip of the nose over the head to the back of the neck.

On the last day of the dance, fruits and delicacies in very small quantities are laid before the patient, who eats a little of each for the benefit of the *pepo*.

If the *pepo* demands it, and the financial position of the patient will allow of it, a white bull or a male goat is produced on the last day, and is ridden and danced round by the patient as described in the ceremonies which take place to expel a *pepo ya ki-galla*, after which the *pepo* departs from the sick person.

The names of some of the *pepo* known in Malindi are, Mwana Mashungi wa Ukulu, Kekecha wa Mawamba, Makata wa Mapinga, Maungua wa Maamba. A great many propitiatory songs are also known at Malindi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-HABSHI.

171

The Abyssinian spirit is not believed to have seized anyone at Malindi yet, and very little is known about it here. It is, however, believed to have possessed people in Zanzibar and Kismayu. 776

### PEPO YA KI-ARABU.

The ceremonies which are gone through to expel a *pepo* of this variety constitute a type which is followed with slight variations in exorcising almost all the *jins* believed to belong to Moslem tribes. 776 755

The fundamental difference between the method of treating heathen *pepo* and Moslem *pepo* consists in the substitution of strong perfumes for the Turkish bath method, in order to induce the *pepo* to declare himself.

776 755 [782] The preliminaries are the same as those described in the *pepo ya ki-galla* up to the point where it becomes necessary to ascertain what the *pepo* requires as a bribe or propitiation to depart from the body of the person whose sickness he is believed to be causing.

In order to get this information from the *pepo*, a mixture is made of rose water, ambergris, musk, saffron and camphor. Using this as an ink, the *fundi* writes on a plate the name of Allah with His various attributes (the all-powerful, the all-merciful, etc.), also the names of some of the archangels. The writing being completed, it is carefully and reverently washed off the plate into a cup with a little more of the mixture above mentioned. The contents of the cup are then given to the invalid to drink, and incense is also burnt beside him. In a short time the *pepo* comes into the head of the patient and states who he is and what he wishes.

776 755 535 Arrangements are then made for a dance, and guests are invited in the usual way. New white cloths are put on the patient, who wears them in the same way as *lesos* are worn by Swahili women. A pair of trousers, tight at the ankle, is also worn.

The patient sits on a stool and gradually begins to sway his body in time to the drumming. Later on the swaying becomes more and more accentuated, till it develops into jerks of the body of sufficient violence to move the stool, on which the patient sits, all about the room. Ultimately he becomes sufficiently excited to stand up and dance with a sort of gliding step, backwards and forwards between two lines of dancers, who imitate his step and gestures. In each of his hands is placed a small white flag, on which is written the verse of the Koran *Ayat il kursi*. The flag in his left hand he holds over his left shoulder, and the one in his right hand he waves about. A *maharuma* or Beduin head-dress is secured on his head, but if none is available an ordinary white cap will do. On standing up to dance the patient must change his clothes. He discards his two white cloths, and if the *pepo* who possesses him has been ascertained to be a male he dons a white *kanzu* as worn by men. If the *pepo* is a female, then a short *kanzu* of some coloured material or, if possible, of silk such as the Arab women of Muscat wear, is put on by the patient.

If a male *pepo* seizes a man, or a female *pepo* a woman, there is believed to be little hope of the recovery of the patient, whose fate is practically sealed. If on the other hand a *pepo* of one sex seizes a human being of the opposite sex, then the recovery of the patient is assured.

The drumming is accompanied by songs in Arabic appropriate to the occasion, and usually in praise of the spirit.

755 782 At the end of the dance on the last day, a feast is given to the *pepo*, with delicacies consisting of small quantities of Turkish delight (*halua*), powdered white sugar, white lump sugar, moist sugar, sugar candy, almonds, raisins, milk, eggs, young coconuts (*dafu*), but of the pale coloured variety, rose scent, scented oil and European scents.

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If the patient can afford it, a white bull is produced and, dressed in his best turban with dagger and sword, the patient mounts it like a horse. It is then led round and round the dancing ring in the open, while he flourishes his sword and shows off generally. If the patient is a woman, the dagger and sword are dispensed with. 755 776

Some names of Arab *pepo* known in Malindi are, Maruhani bin Kaftan, Luranni bin Dervess, Rikh bin Zariha, Duban bin Dabran, Amir Ghaish bin Sudian, Jinwi bin Jinan, Hodeida binti Jabal Duhan, Sharua binti Haruta, Saida binti Saida, Saida binti Kisti, Zilzalla binti Harun bin Alwan.

The patriarch Noah is said to have had great ascendancy over Arab *pepo*, and each time his name is mentioned the *pepo* will give a start.

The *pepo ya ki-arabu* are the only *pepo* who appear to have sex distinction. All the other seem to be sexless.

*Tari*, or tambourines, described in the Chama dance, and a *vumi* drum, described in the Shebwani dance, are used.

### PEPO YA KI-NUBI.

This *pepo* is unknown in Malindi, but used frequently to seize people in Takaungu, and does still occasionally. His introduction to that town took place at the time when Said Barghash, Sultan of Zanzibar, maintained a garrison there under Liwali Salim bin Hamis, father of the present titular chief of the Mazrui tribe, Rashid bin Salim. Some of the *askaris* of the garrison were Sudanese, and the introduction of the *pepo ya ki-nubi* is without doubt due to them. 171 776 755 535

This *jin* is a Moslem, and the preliminary ceremonies carried out to make him speak are the same as for the *pepo ya Ki-arabu*. He is not an exacting spirit, and two or three days' dancing and drumming will satisfy him. He does not require any *sadaka* to induce him to speak, but will eat ordinary food, and in the matter of raiment, any clothes will do. In fact he is a mild fellow, and is rarely the cause of any serious ailment.

On the arrival of the guests, a ring is formed in the open, the dancers facing inward with the sick person amongst them. They move round and round the circle in the opposite direction to the hands of the clock, jumping and jerking their shoulders about. The drums, consisting of three *msondo* (described in the Ki-Nyasa dance), are played in the centre of the ring, together with the *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance). The dancing begins at 3 p.m. and goes on well into the middle of the night. This is repeated for two or three days.

The last dance continues right through the night to the next morning, when the dancers disperse. As the dance is just about to break up, the sick person makes a rush to a cauldron placed a few paces away from the dancing ring, and filled with water. He plunges his head and shoulders into the water, and the *fundi* and several muscular friends hold his head under water until he begins to struggle from loss of breath. They let him struggle for a minute or so, and then release him.

171 776 755 635 Instantly he makes a dash back to the dancing ring and prostrates himself on the ground near the drums, probably from exhaustion. But he is not given much time to consider what ails him, for he is closely followed by the *fundi* armed with a *bakora* or cane, who rouses him with a smart cut across the shoulders. The patient jumps up in fear of receiving another blow of the *bakora* and is surprised to find himself quite cured. He returns home to sleep off his fatigue.

Some names of *pepo ya ki-nubi* are Fatuma wa Abdalla, Abdeh wa Hamdeh, Tai wa Yusuf, Saida wa Abana.

There are no *fundis* of *pepo ya ki-nubi* at Malindi, and it is doubtful if any remain at Takaungu.

### PEPO YA KI-SOMALI.

776 535 755 This *pepo* being a Moslem, the preliminary ceremonies are exactly the same as those which take place in connection with the *pepo ya ki-arabu*.

The dancing is also similar to that of the Arab *pepo*, but is much more rapid.

When the sick man is able to get up and dance he puts on Somali clothes instead of Arab clothes. He also flourishes two small flags with sacred words on them. If he rides a bull on the last day of the dance, he flourishes a spear instead of a sword as the Arab *pepo* does.

[534] The drums used are the *tari* (described in the Chama dance), and they are beaten in very quick time.

The names of the Somali *pepo* are the same as modern names common to Somalis.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-arabu* dance.

### PEPO NG'OMBE.

776 755 This *pepo* is said to make the unfortunate person who gets it low like a cow. It is considered a dangerous *pepo*, and many people do not get rid of it without paralysis of some of their limbs or of one whole side of the body.

The procedure followed to make the *pepo* speak is the same as that in cases of *pepo ya ki-galla*, that is to say the Turkish bath.

The *pepo ng'ombe* speaks Swahili, but in a hesitating manner, and interlarded with bovine noises. Grass must be cut and brought in to him to eat. If no grass is given he will try to get out of the house to go and graze. Water must be given to him to drink in a bucket or other large receptacle, into which he puts his face and drinks like a cow. Some of the water must be thrown over the body of the patient, for, if this is not done, rigidity of the limbs is believed to set in.

If the patient's mouth begins to twist to one side, the case is considered to have entered a very serious phase, and another Turkish bath is given. The patient is rubbed with castor oil, but no other sort of grease must be brought near him, nor any kind of perfume or scent.

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As soon as the patient is strong enough, dark blue cotton clothes are put on him as in the manner of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*, and he then sits up, and ultimately as he gets stronger he takes part in the dancing, which is of the same style as that of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. He also wears a *shumburere* hat and a *torosi* (described in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*), and waves a fly-switch. The dance may be protracted to three weeks, as the illness is sometimes very stubborn. A person who has once suffered from *pepo ng'ombe* can never again tolerate the sight or smell of beef, whether raw or cooked, and sometimes even faints at the sight of it. 776 755 535

On being questioned as to where they come from, the *pepo ngombe* state that their home is in Guran at Bwana Manolo's. There is no country known in Malindi by this name.

Some of the names of *pepo ngombe* known in Malindi are: Darsheh wa Losinga, Darsan wa Bwana Manolo, Darwesh wa Bwana Msija, Lisiji wa Mpinde, Suta wa Bwana Darwasi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

## PEPO YA PUNDA.

This is a most serious illness, the majority of cases proving fatal. The name *pepo punda* is due to the noises which the patient makes, and which may be assimilated, with a good stretch of imagination, to the braying of a donkey. There is, however, no similarity at all, the noises made by the patient being merely hollow groans of pain, for the disease is extremely painful, and from the symptoms there is no doubt whatever that the *pepo punda* is tetanus. 776 755

The patient cannot speak. No drumming or dancing is allowed. Native medicine only is given to drive out the *pepo*. This medicine consists of a mixture of the following ingredients: *koto* (a root imported from Arabia), *udi-il-karah* (an astringent wood from Arabia), *arkisus* (a wood with a taste like pepper, from Arabia), *habbasoda* (a small seed like a cummin seed, but black, from Arabia), *khardal-filfil* (a root from Arabia with a taste like mustard), common black pepper, *yayi leusi* (a seed like blasting powder with a bitter taste, from Arabia), mustard seed, garlic, *shimari* (a seed like cummin seed), *zatari* (dried aromatic leaves imported from Arabia), also the horn or hoof of a black cow pounded up to powder. All these ingredients are boiled together and given to the unfortunate patient to drink. 278 757

A piece of hard wood scraped clean is placed between the teeth so as to allow of his being given medicine after the lower jaw has become rigid. 776 755

As soon as the spine of the sick person becomes arched, a fire is lighted in the sick room. A mixture is then made from donkey's dung, dog's excreta, garlic, *mvuje*, (asafœtida), sulphur and *sunduna* (a black kind of seaweed). All this is made into a paste by the addition of castor-oil, and lumps of it are cast on to the fire, from

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776 which then emanates acrid smoke with an appalling smell. This is supposed to
955 relieve the patient.

Natives do not know the origin of the *pepo punda*, and are extremely afraid of it. Happily it is not very frequent in Malindi.

114 . NOTE.—The description of the above dances has been compiled by a civil officer of experience
171 who has a thorough knowledge of Swahili. Many of the dances have undoubtedly been brought from Arabia by the Muscat Arabs, others were probably brought in by the Nabahans and the Vumba chiefs who came from Shiraz in Persia about A.D. 1100. The hypnotic seizures described in some of the ceremonies are well known in Africa, particularly among the Akamba people; the phenomena would well repay investigation by a medical psychologist.—C. W. HOBLEY. Mombasa.

## NOTES BY A. WERNER.

p. 415, l. 33.—This, or some similar event, followed by faction-fighting, has been celebrated by Muhamadi bin Abubakari Kijuma, of Lamu, in a poem called *Utendi wa Mkonumbi*.

171 p. 419.—The Kinyago. This (called *unyago* by the Yaos and *chinyao* by the Anyanja) takes place
113 at the initiation of young people in Nyasaland. For particulars, see Rattray, *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 178, 179.

p. 420.—A list of *pepo*, with the appropriate exorcisms, songs, etc., as used in the Mrima region (the mainland opposite Zanzibar) is given in Velten's *Desturi za Waswahili*, pp. 149–167. The Arab *zar*, described for Mecca by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (The Hague, 1889), vol. ii, pp. 124–128), belongs to the same category.

p. 426.—The Wasanye in the Malindi district all speak Galla, but they say their old language is still spoken by the Waboni in the Witu territory.

# 116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

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# Egyptian University Scientific Expedition to South-West Arabia

By Dr. S. A. Huzayyin

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121 BETWEEN April and October 1936 the Egyptian University of Cairo sent out a scientific expedition to Yaman and Hadhramaut. It consisted of four members, and was intended to carry out researches in the fields of geology, physiography, archæology, anthropology and entomology. The expedition covered a distance of some 2,500 kilometres and was able to carry out intensive researches at various localities both on the High Plateau of Yaman and in the interior of Hadhramaut. The material brought back has not been studied in detail as yet; but a preliminary note can be given here.

## GEOLOGY

121 133 One of the expedition's main aims was to work out certain problems connected with the geological history of the southern borders of the Red Sea. We worked at a number of points along the lines of rifting both south and west of the Yaman Plateau, where the old crystalline rocks (schists and granites) of the base were exposed under later (secondary and tertiary) sediments and lavas. The successive horizons of the tertiary traps of the High Plateau were carefully examined and specimens collected. In north-east Yaman we worked chiefly on Jurassic limestones and Nubian sandstones, and a large collection of fossils was made from the successive zones of the former. The interior of Hadhramaut was found to have a relatively simple structure and to consist mostly of Eocene limestones on earlier unfossiliferous sandstones. We hope that new evidence from the lower part of the Eocene may throw useful light on the date of the trap volcanic series of tertiaries in south-west Arabia.

## PHYSIOGRAPHY

133 Pleistocene geology proved to be quite interesting. We worked chiefly on the middle parts of the valleys, which were relatively independent of changes in base (sea) level. Two physiographic cycles were established, the first being by far the more pronounced. Valleys with sloping sides were first cut and then filled with coarse gravels which now rise (usually in two or more terraces) to some 30 m. above the beds of the streams. During this stage there was a good deal of lateral wash and erosion in the middle parts of the valleys, and this erosion was probably responsible for the sloping sides of the V-shaped valleys. The gravels were examined at a large number of exposures, but unfortunately they produced only one or two specimens of pre-Chellean appearance.

The second physiographic cycle was associated first with the cutting of new steep-sided valleys *emboîtées* in the older gravels, and then with the filling in of these new valleys with soft sediments of silt. Deposition was much more regular and there was very little lateral wash in the middle parts of the new valley-beds. The discharge during the depositional phase of the second cycle was much less than that during the depositional phase of the first cycle, as only

141 144 Africa. Already interesting links are being worked out with Iran and the west Deccan. Local differences have also been worked out within both Yaman and Hadhramaut. The population of the northern part of the Yaman plateau is essentially mesocephalic, though it also shows certain features due to mixture. South Yaman, on the other hand, has broader heads. There is also a number of Jewish colonies in Yaman from whom representative groups were measured. In Hadhramaut we have a markedly brachycephalic type (very dominant, especially in the interior) and a mesocephalic one (especially on the coast). The broad heads of Hadhramaut show interesting anthropometrical features, and the roundness of their heads is primarily due to shortness (flattening of the back) rather than to width. Armenoid affinities among the broad heads of south Arabia are already known from previous observation and measurements (Bertram Thomas, etc.). The High Plateau of Yaman is practically free from prognathism, which becomes more and more marked as we go eastwards into Hadhramaut. We have reason to believe that this feature was not the result of crossing with Negroids from Africa, but represents an element brought from farther East. Special attention, however, has been paid to cases and areas of metisation between Negroid and Arab types, especially in coastal regions. Some peoples of the coastal plains of west Yaman have been shown to have marked affinities with the Negroids of Africa, who, however, do not seem to have affected the High Plateau to any appreciable extent. Certain parts of the Hadhramaut coast are equally mixed, and even in the interior there are colonies of imported elements (for example, Negro soldier-slaves, Indo-Chinese and Chinese elements as slaves and wives brought back by enterprising merchants of Hadhramaut, etc.).

## Entomology

136 Between five and six thousand specimens have been collected, and a large number of these were actually set in the field. They represent fauna from all the altitudes we have passed through (from sea-level to 3,500 m.). The identification of our specimens will inevitably be a long process, but it is hoped that fresh light may be thrown on the question of migration between adjacent parts of Africa and Asia in these regions. One of the chief topics we worked upon was the question of locust breeding-grounds and migrations, and already some useful results have been achieved in this direction.

100 In addition to these topics, members of the expedition carried out side-line investigations, such as the taking of a meteorological record during the journey (with as few breaks as possible), the collection of plants and small animals in localities which have not been visited before and of fishes and aquatic fauna from all streams and springs along the way, as well as the recording of observations on the general geography and ethnography of the lands and peoples in the areas visited.

* Should there be any chance of such a separation, however, the only possibility would be that at a posterior date pecor tribes took shelter among the Sabaito-Himyarite ruins and left their obsidian industry thoroughly mixed with earlier remains. In that case the lithic industry would be still more recent than the Sabaan phase. There can be no possibility of the Sabaito-Himyarites having chosen for sites of their cities places where earlier obsidian and flint-using tribes left their kitchen midden and rubbish heaps.

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133 soft silt could be carried to the middle courses of the streams. The two cycles were separated by a phase which was marked by extensive volcanic activity, especially in north-east Yaman, where the lava spreads always cover the old gravels and underlie the silts. The second cycle was followed by erosion, during which new torrential beds were cut into the silts (sometimes producing a series of erosional terraces). There has also been a still more recent (historical) outburst of volcanic activity (on a much more limited scale), the accompanying features of which are still noticeable in hot springs, etc.

We were able to associate the two physiographic cycles (or at least their depositional phases) with pluvial episodes. During Quaternary times this corner of Arabia seems to have had two major Pluvials separated by an Interpluvial. It was not possible to work out the stages of the first Pluvial, which was a prolonged one, and which must have had more than one sub-maximum (as shown by terraces); but there is presumptive evidence from one or two places that the second Pluvial may have had two sub-maxima separated by an Intrapluvial. In recent times there was a new wet phase (shown by archæological and other evidence), which we believe to have continued well into the Christian era (perhaps to the fifth century A.D.).

## ARCHÆOLOGY

172 The south-west plateau of Arabia proved to be singularly poor in prehistoric remains. Perhaps the great height (mainly above 1,500 m.) and the unfavourable climatic conditions during pluvial episodes contributed to this. It is to be recalled that very few remains have thus far been found at the high altitudes (above 6,000 ft.) of the opposite coasts of East Africa. We have carefully examined gravel exposures and have carried out experimental excavations at no fewer than fifteen caves and rock shelters in Yaman and Hadhramaut, but the results were largely negative. Surface specimens were looked for all along the route, but they were found only in very limited numbers and in particularly favourable localities; they belong typologically to Lower and Middle Palæolithic and rarely to the Upper Palæolithic. Whatever may have been the reasons, the scarcity of even surface finds shows that even if remains of prehistoric man may some day be forthcoming from this region, they will never be comparable in quantity with those from the African side. This reflects rather unfavourably on recent views put forward with regard to East Africa as a centre of cultural diffusion in Lower Palæolithic times.

Remains relating to the early historic phase of the area were, on the other hand, particularly abundant. Work and excavations at a number of places in Yaman and Hadhramaut have yielded fairly illuminating results. New light is thrown on relations between south-west Arabia on one hand and the Hellenistic East and Græco-Roman Egypt on the other, during the early centuries of the Christian era.

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172 More than a hundred new Sabaitic inscriptions were copied and photographed. At three sites in the Aden and Hadhramaut protectorate, particularly the ruins of Reiboun (near Mash-had) there is, on the other hand, contacts with East Africa. Here we found an industry of obsidian (with some flint) in definite association with pottery and with Sabaito-Himyaritic inscriptions, all found in shallow kitchen midden-like remains and amongst ruins of ancient buildings and habitations. Some of the characters were actually inscribed on the pottery both before and after baking. The obsidian industry includes practically all the types and sub-types of the so-called final Palæolithic and Neolithic cultures of East Africa—Wilton, Elmenteitan and Gumban. There are small nuclei, simple and retouched blades, truncated and notched ones, small backed knives, trapezoidal forms (in abundance), true lunates (less abundant), chisel-ended tools or *pièces écaillées* ('sinew-frayers' of Dr. L. S. B. Leakey), borers, medium-size and small burins (but not the micro-burin proper) and scrapers of various descriptions (nucleiform, round, at end of blade, etc.). Yet there can be no doubt about the Sabaito-Himyarite date of this industry in south-west Arabia (the few centuries centring round the beginning of the Christian era).

Apart from inscriptions (on stone and on pottery) there are metal elements and beads of dating value. The pottery here is much more developed and varied than in East Africa, but this is to be expected in a country with more progressive civilization. One cannot argue from the evidence we have for the separation of the obsidian industry from the rest of the datable remains which must all have belonged at least to one and the same culture phase*. If this be so, the dates assigned by Dr. Leakey and others to the so-called final Palæolithic and Neolithic industries of East Africa will have to be revised. It would be unreasonable to argue for a 'survival' into historic times of an obsidian and flint technique in south-west Arabia after it had been introduced from the African side at a final Palæolithic date. It would be rather in this latter region (East Africa), which produced no such highly progressive civilizations as we know from south-west Arabia, that we should expect such 'persistence'. Perhaps many of the Microlithic elements of industries in East Africa may ultimately prove to be of comparatively recent historic date (Christian era).

We have also discovered, at a number of rock shelters in the Middle Wadi Hadhramaut, rock drawings (both animals and men) of both naturalistic and schematic styles. The former were associated with Himyaritic inscriptions (mostly names and cartouches), while the latter were of much more recent appearance. At the base of some of the rock shelters we found a flake and blade industry of flint which we have reason to associate with the first series of drawings.

## ANTHROPOLOGY

141 Anthropometrical measurements were made of 1,250
144 male individuals, of whom 800 were studied in Yaman and 550 in Hadhramaut. More than 400 individuals were photographed full face and profile. The individuals are representative of the great majority of the tribes inhabiting the area, and useful light may be expected to be shed both on local distribution of anthropological features and types and on similarities and connexions with neighbouring areas in Asia and

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# A JOURNEY IN HADRAMAUT

This article, originally printed by the Royal Geographical Society of the Netherlands, has been translated from the Dutch.—*Ed.*

101 Hadramaut is a part of Arabia about which very little is yet known. It was celebrated in antiquity as the land of frankincense and myrrh, and the great trade route from India to the ports of South Arabia and thence through Hadramaut, Yemen and Nejran to Egypt and Syria, brought prosperity and culture. Lying on the border of the Sabæan and Minæan kingdoms, Hadramaut appears to have adopted many of their civilizing elements, and yet to have maintained its own independence. After the decline of the Sabæan kingdom and the civilization which flourished there, Hadramaut also sank into poverty and ignorance. In this respect Islam appears to have brought but little change. After the destruction of
167 the irrigation works, the poverty became terrible, and
735 the country was scarcely able to provide a meagre subsistence even for a very small population. Even centuries ago this led the most enterprising of the men to seek for themselves a better livelihood in foreign lands.
167 The men of Hadramaut wandered off to the east coast
186 of Africa, to the countries around the Red Sea as far as Egypt, to British India and to the Dutch East Indies. Their women never went with them, and the men remained firmly attached to their poor, dry and intensely hot native land. In foreign lands the people of Hadramaut have preserved their own characteristics up to the present day, and have never become assimilated to the peoples among whom they lived, endeavoring to return at some time to their native land, and sending their male children to Hadramaut for their education, if they could

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afford to do so. It is difficult to understand what it is 167
that binds them so firmly to their poor, monotonous and 188
scorching rocks and deserts. Their fanatical Mohammedanism is certainly an important factor, but so is also their love for their ill-favored country, and the intuitive perception that the preservation of their group and of its characteristic attributes is closely connected with the hard, frugal and primitive ways of living in their native land.

In those regions to which the people of Hadramaut 167
emigrate they usually have a much larger part in the economic life of the people than their numbers would justify. This is particularly the case in the Dutch East Indies, where they have an increasingly important place as business men and as owners of land and houses, as well as being students of religion and promoters of orthodox Islam.

It was very natural that about the year 1880 the 114
government of the Netherlands Indies recommended the agent for Arabian and Mohammedan affairs to make a special study of Hadramaut and of the people who had come from that part of Arabia to the East Indies. The book written by this officer, Dr. L. W. C. van den Berg, "Le Hadhramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien," was published in 1886 at government expense. This year the Department for Foreign Affairs urged its representative at Jeddah to attempt a journey in Hadramaut for a diplomatic and economic survey. This preliminary report is the result of that request.

Dr. van den Berg wrote his book in Batavia, and never went to Hadramaut, but he got his information with the help of intelligent men from Hadramaut with whom he had intimate connections. He even made a sketch-map of the country, which was printed with his book, and for this the information these men supplied was of course indispensable. This sketch-map of course had many defects, but Hadramaut has been visited so little by scientific explorers that even this year van den

114 Berg's book written in 1886 was recommended to me by the governor of Aden as the best source of information they had at the government office at Aden. I also found that at that time the Royal Air Force was making use of Van den Berg's sketch-map in the scouting flights which they made over Hadramaut, and had corrected but few serious faults in it.

114 484 The attention of travelers in Arabia has been directed chiefly to the Hejaz and to what is known as Arabia Felix (Yemen), the center of civilization in former times. For this reason Hadramaut has been somewhat neglected, and also because it was so difficult to get into the interior. This was a closed land, not only for Christians but for strangers in general. The first explorer of Hadramaut was Adolph von Wrede, who made his memorable journey in 1843, disguised as an Egyptian Moslem. He was able to penetrate only as far as the entrance to Hadramaut itself, but he brought back with him very valuable material in regard to the region between the shore of the Indian Ocean and the actual valley of Hadramaut. However, in his native land (Germany) he was considered as an impostor, and it was not until 1873 that his "Reise in Hadhramaut" was published by von Maltzan.

It was not until January, 1893, that a second traveler attempted to follow the illustrious example of von Wrede. After months of futile efforts and journeys along the coast, it was Leo Hirsch's good fortune to get into the country and to penetrate to the interior. He reached the town of Terīm, but had to leave that place immediately, owing to the threats of the Sayyids and the populace. In 1897 he published his very accurate reports on his journey.

Shortly after Hirsch, in December, 1893, an English married couple, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent, tried to visit the Hadramaut valley. They did not get as far as Hirsch, and had to turn back from Shibām. The Hadramaut sanctuary of the tomb of the prophet Hūd, and the mysterious well, Bīr Barhūt, would continue for

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



some decades longer to be exempt from the visit of a Christian. 114 484

This ends the list of the explorers of Hadramaut. The Royal Air Force did indeed make several scouting flights from Aden over Hadramaut, but they never made a landing, and sometimes had to fly very high. To these flights, however, we are indebted for a very important series of photographs, which provide valuable geographical material (see *The Geographical Journal,* vol. lxxvii, No. 3, March, 1931).

When I was given the task of visiting this country, which is so little known, and so important to us (Hollanders) in view of the tens of thousands of people from Hadramaut who live in the Netherlands Indies, I took steps to make more of the journey than could be accomplished by one government official who is not in any way an expert. I sent an invitation to Dr. H. von Wissmann of the Geographical Institute connected with the University of Vienna, asking him to venture with me upon the hazardous journey to Hadramaut. I had become acquainted with von Wissmann through his exploration work in the Hejaz and Yemen. He was to make the survey of the journey, and to carry out all instrumental and scientific observations, and we would work together on the collections of plants and insects and in taking photographs. Moreover I was able to offer him the assistance of an official introduction from the Dutch government, my knowledge of the Arabic and Malay languages, and that special help which a former government official from the Dutch Indies might hope for in the country of the Hadramaut people. 121 114

When I met von Wissmann at Aden in April of this year (1931), I had just completed a trip along the shores of the Red Sea. Both of us had received very unfavorable information in regard to present conditions in Hadramaut. Practically no one gave us any hope of success. However, the English authorities at Aden

114 thought that we had some slight chance of succeeding, and they gave us loyal cooperation.

122 Thus we landed at Makalla on Sunday, May 3, accompanied only by my Yemenite servant. The Sultan was away as usual, and his vizier read the letters of introduction from our minister of foreign affairs and from the Governor of Aden. We were very well accommodated in one of the Sultan's former palaces, and then began the task of waiting for the great decision as to
609 whether we might enter the country. The same evening we had the good fortune to meet a member of the family al-'Attās, which is very friendly with the government of the Dutch Indies. He had received a telegram from his father instructing him to give all possible help to the Dutch representative of the government in his anticipated
565 journey in Hadramaut. The Sayyid family of al-'Attās, together with the closely allied family of al-Kāf, belongs to the leading group in Hadramaut proper. Two great parties, which are hostile to one another, are contesting for the power in this country, namely, the āl-Qa'ētī, who have their headquarters at Makalla, and the āl-Kathīr, with headquarters at Sēwun. The āl-Qa'ētī sultans take their cue from the English, and, thanks to English help, have authority in the coast region. The āl-Kathīr are more independent, and reside in Hadramaut proper, that is, in the broad valley in the interior which has that name. The Sayyids boast of being directly descended from the son-in-law of the Prophet, and in Hadramaut society hold a distinct and very privileged position. They have great influence with the government, but leave the actual business for the most part to the non-sayyids.

122 The immediate and whole-hearted support of the al-'Attās certainly did our enterprise a great deal of good, for on the following day we received the promise that
000 we might go inland. However, the great difficulties of the journey, especially at this time of the year (one of the hottest months), were expressly pointed out to us; and we were urgently dissuaded from crossing the

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boundary of the region of the āl-Qa'ētī, and were advised 000
to trust to the āl-Kathīr. About five days were considered necessary to get our caravan together, and these days were made use of for making a botanical collection on the limestone hills behind Makalla.

Von Wissmann made profile sketches of the hills, and 484
made observations to get a good base for his road survey. 486
We were thankful to make use of the permission granted 721
us by the authorities to make a trip for two days along the coast to ash-Shihr, which was formerly the most important harbor. Even a short distance inland from Makalla the country becomes unsafe. We were taken in a sort of auto-bus belonging to the sultan round the inland side of the mass of rock at Makalla, after that close along the shore, and finally even along the flat sandy shore. The bus was quite full of armed guards. We were forbidden to go by the road over the mountains, since on that road some soldiers had been killed from an ambush a short time before.

We were thankful when, after many negotiations with the leaders of our caravan, the signal for departure could be given on the afternoon of May 8. From early morning until the afternoon the vizier had had to negotiate with a group of Bedouins, who were waiting for our caravan among the rocks near the road, just outside the whitewashed boundary marks of the town of Makalla, in order to satisfy a blood-feud. The vizier knew how to bargain for a safe passage, but to be quite safe he had us taken in a government auto to a point beyond the border. In the darkness of night we were set down by the side of the road to wait for our donkeys!

The journey to the inaccessible and fanatical land of 133
Hadramaut was now begun. From the 9th to the 15th of May we traveled northwards,—first through the Wādī Himim. Finally we came to the terrible, monotonous plateau with table-mountains, known as *jōl*. For many days we marched over this limestone plateau with its basin-like depressions and its very scant vegetation.

133 During the daytime the heat was stifling, and at night it was so cold that for hours before the sun rose I was no longer able to sleep. The interminable, barren plain was covered all over with sharp, loose fragments of stone, and among these wound the narrow path along which from morning to night we steadily wended our way.
312 Drinking water is here to be found in *negābas,* which are cisterns hewn out of the rock some three meters below the surface, with a narrow opening. Low ridges lead the scanty rainfall to the *negāba.* Owing to the narrow opening there is very little evaporation, and if one has no rope at hand with a vessel to draw water, this opening is just large enough to admit a man to dip it out.
485 Near the *negāba* there is usually a little square building made by piling up rough stones in clay, this is called *murabba,* and here the midday hours with their scorch-
486 ing heat may be spent. For the sake of safety, our
609 Bedouins avoided the *negābas* as places for passing the night. In the evening the neighborhood of the bivouac was carefully reconnoitred, and usually sentries were posted at night. The authorities at Makalla had given us for our personal protection two negro soldiers belonging
133 to the famous slave army of the āl-Qa'ētī sultan. On May 15 we reached the wonderfully beautiful valley Wādī Dō'an. The descent of hundreds of meters of this almost perpendicular wall of rock with loaded camels was a difficult feat causing some anxiety; but the Bedouins and their camels reached the valley below with-
245 out a single mishap. As we looked upon this *wādī,* hemmed in by its high walls of rock, it looked like a land of magic with its deep-green groves of date palms
[361] and its clay villages with great castles and high houses. A glowing heat as dry as dust prevailed in Wādī Dō'an night and day. The bright yellow and deep red bunches of dates were hanging ripening in the hot wind. In the shade of the magnificent and remarkably well kept trees the population were quietly waiting for the harvest time.
144 A great deal of mixture with negro blood (of slaves) has

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taken place here, and there are still many slaves for 144
agricultural work.

The old blind governor, Bā Surra, received us in his 609
castle with oriental hospitality. The only thing we had to complain of in our lodgings was that there were too many interested in us! Our animals for mountain transport had to be exchanged here for others which were accustomed to traveling in the hot sand of the level *wādīs*.

On the 17th of May we resumed our journey, after having been entertained first in the summer residence of the vizier of Makalla, where his son acted as host. As 361
the evening shadows fell we reached Sēf, a miserable and squalid village where nearly a century ago von Wrede was recognized as a Christian, and barely escaped a miserable death. We also had unpleasant experiences at Sēf. Long before Sēf the *wādī* had lost its splendid 311
datepalm cultivation, and had become a broad valley of 137
sand and stones, with here and there some lotus trees (*nibq*). After the excellent reception we had had at 609
Dō'an, Sēf was a grievous disappointment. The governor was supposed to be away, but it appeared later that because of his embarrassment and poverty he had sought an excuse to be relieved of the duty of conferring hospitality upon us. In a very primitive manner we were installed upon the roof of a stable by the governor's soldiers, who took his place as our hosts. We were not left alone for a moment, for interested visitors were continually jostling one another on our roof. We had to secure fresh donkeys at Sēf, and the troublesome negotiations about this began that evening.

The next day the governor appeared, but he seemed to have absolutely no influence. We had to wait for hours before the necessary donkeys and camels were brought. A large escort of soldiers eager for *baksheesh* wished to accompany us, but I vigorously opposed this, and succeeded in reducing their number to two. Much too late, weary of all the negotiations and disgusted with the obvious opposition and antipathy of everybody here

609 against the two non-Moslem travelers, we started in the direction of Hajarēn. It was a silent struggle against thirst and heat. At last we were standing at the foot of
361 the mountain on which Hajarēn lies. It must be a very old town. For a land of warfare its position is also very favorable. In the midst of the broad valley, on the top of a steep rocky hill, which stands there alone and commands the entire valley, they naturally preferred to build a town in former times. We were at the end of our strength as we worked our way up, in through the gate of Hajarēn, and by many narrow, steep streets to a plain house where a friend of the Dutch was said to be living.
609 He might well have been startled when he saw the caravan of his unexpected visitors. It was a long time before the doors were opened. Luck was not with us.
[585] A double wedding feast was just being celebrated, and the women had to vacate the room in which we were to be received. Our host was not rich, but he put himself and all that he had at our disposal. When he saw how weary we were and how we longed for rest, a room was made ready for us higher up, where we could sleep until the meal was ready. We were under the roof of a Dutch subject. I remember with deep gratitude the oriental hospitality which cannot be praised enough, and of which we saw here a brilliant example. Thoroughly refreshed
361 we started in the afternoon for Meshed. We had to
609 close our ranks in doing this, for here was the neutral
721 zone between the regions of the āl-Qa'ētī and the āl-
609 Kathīr. Everything here indicated warfare and highway robbery. Meshed is a little place built in the midst of the desert, solely for the purpose of preventing highway robbery. The trade route from the Wādī Hadramaut through the Wādī Dō'an to the coast is safe since Meshed was established. Here we came into the jurisdiction of the family al-'Attās, and our troubles and anxieties came to an end. We were taken into a beautiful, spotlessly clean guest house, and were welcomed as honored guests by the cultured son of the absent governor.

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On the 19th of May we reached Horēda, the tribal 361
village of the family al-'Attās, where we had a fine recep- 191
tion. Horēda can thank the wealth accumulated in Java 563
and at Singapore for its beautiful houses and mosques. There is a large number of Dutch subjects there, and so many of them speak Malay that one even frequently hears it spoken on the streets.

On the 20th and 21st of May we remained at Horēda 361
The mosques and schools were carefully examined, and some short excursions were made in that neighborhood.

Horēda lies in the Wādī 'Amd, which branches off from the main *Wādī* of Hadramaut, to which we now returned, leaving Horēda on the 22nd of May. Bin 494
Marta' from Soerabaya, a large dealer in building ma- 361
terials, took us in his auto, which was the first that ever came to Horēda, to the place where he lives, Hēnan. It was a difficult task among the endless sand-hills to find a track on which it was possible for the auto to travel, and when a sandstorm came up we had to flee to the Diyār-āl-Buqri, certain high castles in the midst of the broad sandy *wādī*, which were the center of a warfare which had been going on there for years. The fighting captains and their soldiers received us very well; they appear to have close family relationships with Java. Elsewhere, in a description of the political situation, I will deal minutely with the Diyār-āl-Buqri and their inhabitants. Hēnan is a little place which is lost in the sand. By installing a motor pump, our friend Bin Marta' is trying to arouse his village to new life.

On the 23rd of May, Bin Marta' took us in his auto 361
to al-Qatn, the residence of the sultan of Shibām. We 241
were here once more in the āl-Qa'ētī jurisdiction. At al-Qatn the Wādī Hadramaut changes completely, and beautiful date-palm plantations begin here. In the shadow of these palms lie the luxurious green *dhura* fields (maize). The sultan did not appear to be at al- 361
Qatn, and we were received by a member of the family. 609
Through a severe sandstorm we drove on to Shibām, the

361 609 New York of Hadramaut. The city consists of very high houses built close together. One drives into the city through a heavy double gate, and then up a square in front of the ancient but beautiful palace, which is at the same time a castle. The young and sympathetic sultan received us cordially, but was very much displeased about our guides of the al-'Attās, who had not taken care that His Highness was properly informed beforehand about our coming. The situation was relieved by some rich merchants of Singapore with an invitation for us to take an auto ride to their plantations, and by their asking the sultan's permission to invite us to stay at the house in their plantation. This the sultan permitted, on condition that we should first take a meal with him, and that on the way back we should make it possible for him to prepare a worthy reception for us. The gentlemen at at-Tuwayy and La'jam had a house like a fairy tale, where we afterwards stayed in the atmosphere of the 000 Arabian nights. In front of this house, which was decorated in fantastic colors, there was a small swimming pool, and here in the soft moonlight we forgot all about the sandstorm.

We spent the morning of the 24th of May with our hosts and the sultan at the house in the plantation, and at midday we went further on to Sēwun in the sultan's automobiles. There they had been properly informed as to our coming. The sultan, surrounded by all his retinue, was awaiting us in a white guesthouse, situated in the plantation quarter. In this little town, which is the most beautiful in Hadramaut, we spent several interesting days. The sultan of Terīm also has his palace at Sēwun, and is generally at the last-named place, since at Terīm Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf is the dominant person. In his palace we spent one forenoon.

491 On May the 26th we went in two of the sultan's automobiles to Terīm. At the express desire of His Highness we drove along the mountain road, which was constructed by Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf, and the entire

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



cost was paid by him. The way across the mountains is 491
fantastically dangerous, but an expert chauffeur with a first class auto seems to be able to pass over it without any accident. I made up my mind, however, not to risk it again, and on the way back to follow the longer way round through the *wādī*. The mountain road was constructed at a time when it was impossible, owing to hostilities, to pass through the level country.

From the 27th of May until the 7th of June we were 741
in Terīm as the guests of Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf 871
As a Sayyid he has no official part in the government of 185
his country, but actually he is the man who is now doing most for his country and people. It was he who founded the schools at Makalla, at ash-Shihr, at Dō'an and in the towns of the Wādī Hadramaut, and it is he who supports them; it was he who made possible the transport of the first automobiles from the coast to Terīm, along the great road which he is now engaged in constructing. He is the man who constructed the automobile road from Terīm to Sēwun, and it is he who gives generously to thousands of the poor, to whom he has food supplied every Thursday evening. Terīm is the town for religion and learn- 361
ing; once it was the most important town of Hadramaut, and it is again on the road to become that. It is a town with a multitude of mosques and dozens of palaces, in which are living those families the members of which were able to amass millions of money in Java and at Singapore. The home of Sayyid Abu Bakr is the place where religious and political leaders meet one another, and where the future of the country is discussed.

Thanks to the help of our host, we were able to make 778
a trip to Sūne, the center for archæology, and finally to [782]
attain our most distant goal by being able to visit the 788
central sanctuary of Hadramaut, namely, the grave of the prophet of Allah, Hūd, and to explore the mythical abode of the souls of the unbelievers, Bīr Barhūt. The tomb of Hūd (Qabr Hūd) is the Mecca of Hadramaut and of the surrounding countries. For three days in

every year pilgrims assemble there from all those regions, and both before and after that a Truce of God prevails during an appointed period, in this country which is rent asunder by mutual warfare. Never before had a Christian been able to get further than Terīm in the direction of this sanctuary, and without the protection and the planning of the powerful Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf we should not have succeeded. On the way to Qabr Hūd we passed the magnificent ruined castles of el-'Urr and Thōbe, and the remains of houses and a cemetery at Makēnun. Qabr Hūd seemed to be a silent and defunct little town, with great houses which are only occupied for three days in a year. In the bed of the *wādī* there appeared to be water here, but before it reaches the sea it is said to disappear underground or else to dry up. The grave of Hūd, the great preacher of repentance in Hadramaut, is adorned with a dome which impresses one by its simplicity and beauty. The other sacred buildings are equally beautiful and are well kept. Where we had expected to find a Bedouin sanctuary which was neglected and primitive and surrounded by mud huts for the pilgrims, we found instead on the border of Arabia's "empty quarter," far away from the world, a sanctuary built and cared for with devotion and great talent.

We entered still further into the branch valley of Barhūt, and at the end of this *wādī* we saw at a height of about one hundred meters above the bottom of the valley the dark yawning chasm of the Bīr Barhūt, of which even the ancient geographers furnished descriptions, and definitely anticipated that there must be here the crater of a great volcano. After an investigation of two hours in the dark passages, arches and tunnels of Bīr Barhūt we were able to determine that we have here to deal with an ordinary limestone cave. Nowhere in this region did we see any trace of volcanic action. It was only in the broken ridge of mountains on the coast that we saw many traces of volcanic action. Further north the strata are horizontal; a layer of limestone about

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a hundred meters in thickness lies on a likewise horizontal layer of sandstone. Owing to this, the valley profiles throughout Hadramaut are monotonously uniform.

On the 7th of June we left Terīm. With some difficulty we had succeeded in securing the sympathy and cooperation of Sayyid Abu Bakr for our plan of trying to reach Aden overland. The baggage would be sent direct to ash-Shihr, and thence by sea to Aden. We could take with us only as much as we could carry with us on our riding camels. With a small escort and fast camels we should then perhaps be able to pass unnoticed through the region where there was war. This plan fell through. We were continually coming upon territory through which we could not pass. By way of Horēda we passed through the Wādī 'Amd to a place where, beyond 'Amd, the territory between two contending parties compelled us to make a circuitous movement through the country of the Deyyin Bedouins. Even though we traveled rapidly with a small party we were continually compelled to make new detours. In so doing we got still further away from our original goal, namely, Nisāb (or Ansāb), which is the furthest English outpost in the hinterland of Aden. At Yeb'ith, where the attitude of the population was antagonistic, and where our food supply seemed to be extremely limited, we gave up the Aden plan, and decided to make rapid marches direct to Makalla. At Sidāra we entered the Wādī Hajr, the only *wādī* in South Arabia where there is always running water. At Mēfa'a we reached the coast. Through the difficult mountain range along the coast we went as far as the fishing town of Borūm. Then we followed the coast to Makalla, where we arrived safe on the afternoon of June 21.

The return journey had been partly through territory never yet traveled. Von Wissmann was thus in a position to put on his map the exact connection between Hadramaut and the hinterland of Aden. By this conclusion of

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



our journey we obtained a more correct view of the political condition of the interior of the country, and of the destitution into which the mutual hostilities have brought the population. For hours we had to walk through the trenches from one beleaguered city to another, and were able to speak with the invested garrisons; their longing for the intervention of some powerful outsider was frequently expressed by the leaders. Von Wissmann's maps, the full report of our journeys, some English air photographs and many of our own pictures of the hitherto so little known Hadramaut, will, we trust, soon be published, thanks to the assistance of the Royal Geographical Society of the Netherlands.

*Leiden, Holland.* D. VAN DER MEULEN.

# THE SOUTH-WEST BORDERLANDS OF THE RUB' AL KHALI

D. G. BUNKER

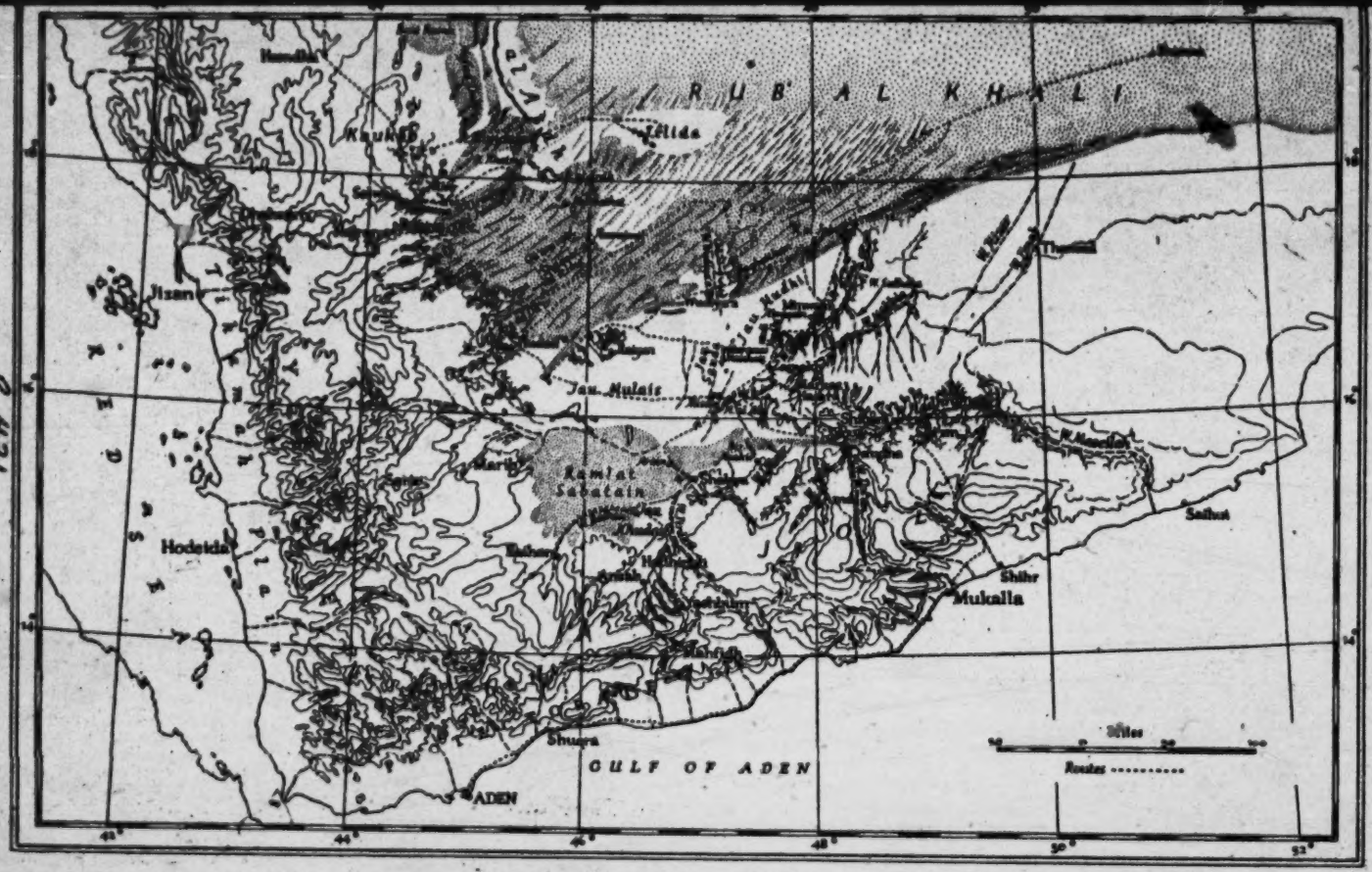
121 126 As a result of work carried out for the Desert Locust Survey in south-western Arabia during the past few years, several of the blanks on the map have been filled in and much confirmation has been given to previous travellers' reports. The region particularly investigated has been that which forms the transition belt from the peripheral mountain system to the interior sand desert often referred to as the Rub' al Khali. The area visited has been mapped on a scale of 1:500,000 by means of car-compass traverses tied to astronomically determined positions, all to a general accuracy of 0·1 of a mile. The following notes are intended only to supplement the information contained in those maps which are in process of publication.

*The mountain systems*

123 The old crystalline hills of the 'Asir and Yemen, which to the west drop in a series of steps to the Tihamah or coastal plain, are to the east overlain by near horizontal strata of sedimentary rocks of which the oldest are probably the sandstones forming the Kaukab plateau and the newest, excluding recent deposits, are the Eocene limestones of the *jol*, the succession seeming more complete in the north. The peripheral mountain system is in the form of a letter L, where the upright stroke comprises the 'Asir and the Yemen mountains and the horizontal stroke is the *jol* plateau, the division being more or less abrupt along the line of the forty-seventh meridian.

Philby (1938) describes the change between the two sides of the 'Asir watershed as "abruptly from a tropical country to a desert plateau of uniform height of over eight thousand feet (with higher ridges), descending to about six thousand feet at the western end of the Najran tract. It is a sandstone area with occasional cappings and peaks of basalt. Its rugged gorges and valleys have occasional wells and springs, but for the most part it is an abomination of desolation extending north-ward to Dhahran and south-ward to the limit of vision into the still unexplored territory of northern Yemen." Nevertheless there are among the eastern slopes many wadis whose seasonal floods may rush out of the mountainous regions to the inland plain and on into the sandy desert.

The regularity of these floods in the past may be deduced from the extent of the thick layers of silt which mark the sites of past damming and irrigation works in nearly all these wadis. These silt layers often form 20-foot cliffs containing the present watercourses, and occasionally the ruins of the dams themselves may be found. The Wadis Habauna and Najran, besides having silt cliffs, show signs of further re-cutting of their outwash plains. In both cases the outwash plain extends regularly for the first 10 miles from the foothills but during the next 5 miles is eroded by gullies some 3 feet deep which together form a plain at a lower level, only to be re-cut in the same manner.




*South-west borderlands of the Rub' al Khali*

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133 In those parts visited, three such steps were noted in Wadi Najran and two in Wadi Habauna.

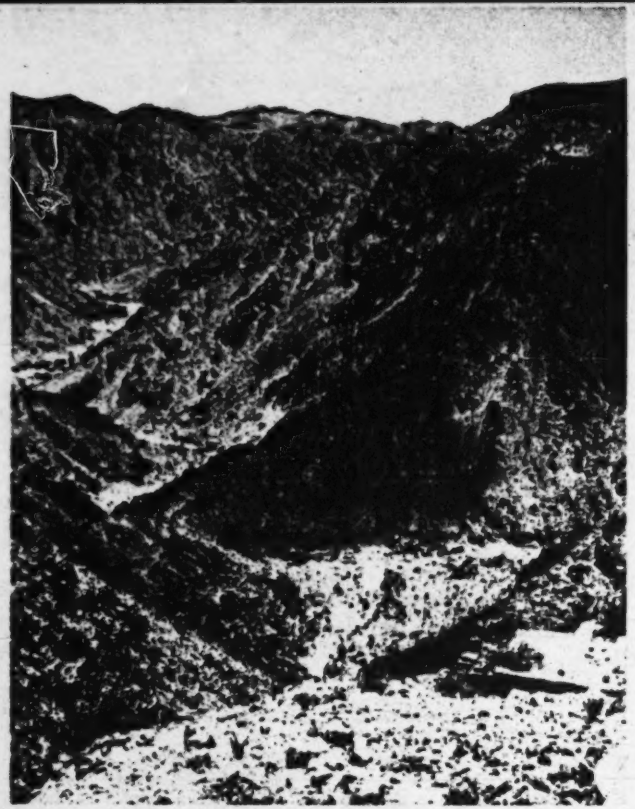
The line of the eastern foothills of the 'Asir and Yemen mountains continues in a curve south-east from Najran through Marib and Baihan to Al Hadhinah, about 14° 30′ N, 46° 50′ E. From here southwards through Mahfadh to the coast the crystalline rocks disappear under the cover of horizontal strata of nodular Eocene limestone which forms the plateau of the *jol*. The western limit of this *jol* continues north-east from Al Hadhinah to the Khashm al Jebel, 17° 30′ N.

At the Khashm al Jebel the plateau has an elevation a little over 2000 feet rising gently south-south-westwards till at 16° N. the altitude is 3000 feet at Sa[illegible] and 3400 by Markaz Hajar and Husn al 'Abr. South of the Wadi Hadhramaut the strata continue to rise until some 40 miles inland from the coast, where an increasing amount of faulting occurs and blocks of the *jol* have been forced to heights of over 6000 feet. Here too begins the volcanic activity evidenced by lava flows and signs of contact metamorphism, with a thin stratum of limestone overlying the igneous rocks (Plate 1).

*The wadis of the jol*

The deeply incised wadi courses which descend through the *jol* in a series of steps between high cliffs have excited the curiosity of travellers from the earliest times (Plate 2). The Bents (1900) thought that the erosion had been caused by marine action, but the general theory of climatic fluctuations has since suggested that there may have been sufficient rain in the past to have produced the present landform. Fisher (1951) remarks that the feature of the wide upper reaches of the Wadi Hadhramaut would seem to be the result of wadi capture, and it is suggested that this theory can be elaborated to account for the whole pattern of the present *jol* drainage.

The original drainage was north and south from the 6000-foot watershed. There may have been an east–west fault along the line of the present Wadi Hadhramaut which caused the north-flowing rivers each to have a short eastward reach along the line of the fault before continuing north again. One of the south-flowing rivers, the Maseilah, cut back through the main watershed at about 15° 40′ N., 50° 50′ E. and initiated the series of river captures on a line parallel to and inland of the watershed. In this it would have been helped by the existence of a fault line or similar line of weakness, though the absence of such a line of weakness does not materially affect or invalidate the hypothesis. The west–east course of the Hadhramaut–Maseilah system formed in this way dominates the present drainage pattern. The upper reaches of the north-flowing rivers would now have become north-flowing tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut, while the lower reaches would have been left headless or formed their own much shallower heads at the subsidiary watershed now created to the north of the Hadhramaut. This is supported by the statement by Thesiger (1949) that "the wadis flowing north from the Hadhramaut watershed are shallow at their heads, in contrast with the north-flowing wadis from Dhufar which begin in deep canyons." Once the north-flowing wadis from Dhufar are compared with the north-flowing wadis from the main watershed, *i.e.* the north-flowing tributaries to the Wadi Hadhra-



*1. Thin stratum of limestone (top right-hand corner) overlying igneous rocks, on the west road from Mukalla*

*2. Part of the jol with the Wadi Hadhramaut, east of Tarim. The cliffs are approximately 1000 ~~feet high~~*

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15: Bunker N-4 (ca. 1950) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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*3. A typical town on unproductive land in the Wadi Du'an*

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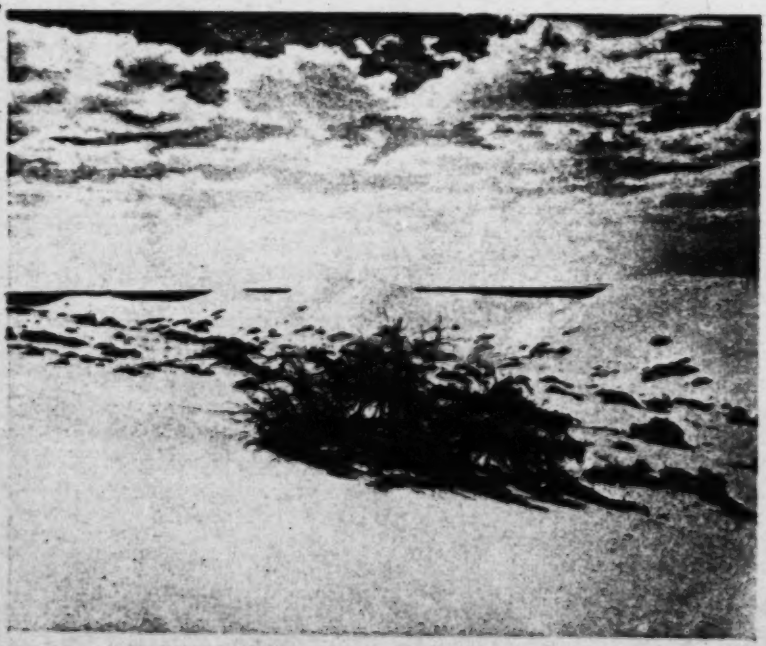

*4. Part of the "Assoda" scarp seen from the Uruq az Zaza dunes. The scarp can be seen as a black line on horizon level. Vegetation is largely Calligonum comosum, Dipterygium glaucum and Cyperus sp.*

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133 maut, and not with their beheaded remnants north of the subsidiary watershed, then the similarity becomes obvious. As would be expected from this theory, the south-flowing tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut have heads even deeper than those on the main watershed. Given a short eastward displacement in the courses of the original rivers, then it is possible that the Du'an and 'Amd drainages originally fed into the Hizar and Jinab respectively.

The completion of the present phase of river capture occurred when the headwaters of the Hadhramaut cut right back and out of the western edge of the *jol*, and formed the unusual and almost unique feature of the wide upper reaches in a line from Husn al 'Abr to Shabwa. The headwaters cut back rapidly across the plain which had been formed by the wadis 'Arma, Jirdan, Baihan, etc., and carried all the waters from them down to the Maseilah and the Gulf of Aden, whereas before they had drained towards the Persian Gulf. This capture has left a vast dry plain, the Khudaif–Mulais basin, with dry watercourses up to 2 miles wide. Several such courses may be seen in the Wudiya'a area, and have banks 20 feet or more deep, and floors of heavy fluvial gravels.

A series of levels carried out in early 1951 showed river capture still occurring around Husn al 'Abr. Here short, steep-profiled tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut are cutting back into the headwaters of the Wadi Hudhi, which flows north-eastwards past Zamakh with the cliff edge of the *jol* forming its right bank. Hills such as the Misair group have been isolated from the rest of the *jol*, and both Misair and Rubah retain the flat-topped character of the *jol*. The cliff face of Rubah is only some 200 feet high on the north where it descends to the Hudhi, but on the south it drops 500 feet to the Hadhramaut. Levels were also carried out in the Minwakh area and showed the capture of the lower waters of the Hudhi and the waters of the Sibr, Kor, Sulhaba, etc., which had been tributary to it. The point of capture of these rivers by the Aiwat as Sei'ar is at Shasun, about 10 miles downstream from Minwakh

*The pattern of settlements*

361 133 491 The siting of settlements in the mountain areas is dependent on agriculture with its requirement of a workable tilth and water at a manageable depth. Among the crystalline hills these conditions are best fulfilled at the foot of the torrent course, where the first patches of riverine plain appear. Thus there is a series of settlements from Ranya through Bisha, Tathlith, Hamdha, Salwa, Najran, Shudaif, Marib, Baihan, and Ansab to Al Hadhinah, and all these settlements can be reached by motor transport from the inland plain by driving up the wadi bed. Penetration upstream of the settlements is frequently difficult as the bed becomes stony and boulder-strewn, and all pretence of riverine plain ceases.

133 311 In the *jol* the wadis descend in a series of steps which are caused by strata more resistant to erosion. The horizontal section of each of these steps has retained sufficient silt for agriculture and water is also available. Moreover the vertical cliff faces, sometimes higher than the width of the valleys they contain, cut off the morning and afternoon sun, thereby considerably reducing

133 the amount of evaporation. Accordingly we find in the north–south wadis a
311 continuous belt of cultivations with hamlets of a few houses every mile and towns about 15 miles or an easy day's walk apart. As opposed to this the cultivations in the Wadi Hadhramaut, which runs west–east, are to be found mainly in belts along the northern and southern sides, the south belt being wider than the north, due to the increasing evaporation and lower water table towards the centre of the wadi.

311 Except for the hamlets which occur among the fields, the buildings make
361 use of unproductive land, and perch up against the cliff side on the talus slope. This position also carries the advantages of shade together with good siting for defence. Where land is at a premium, villages may be so sited as to become inaccessible even to the draught and load-carrying beasts used in agriculture, and the stables and grainstores are found at the edges of the fields and at the foot of the narrow winding path leading up to the village (Plate 3).

[104] Water for the permanent cultivations of *dhurra* (*Sorghum* sp.), *dukhn*
312 (*Pennisetum typhoideum* et spp.), lucerne and date palm has until the last few
406 years been drawn by man or animal power, raising a leather bag of water by
241 walking down a ramp away from the well shaft. Nowadays greater use is being made of diesel- and petrol-driven pumps, increasing both the yield and the area it is economical to cultivate. The effect of these pumps, which are available on deferred terms, in lowering the water table will be watched with care. New crops such as potatoes, the brassicas, and sugar cane are also being introduced under the agriculture scheme in an attempt to make the Hadhramaut, if not entirely self-supporting, at least less dependent on its "extra-territorial population."

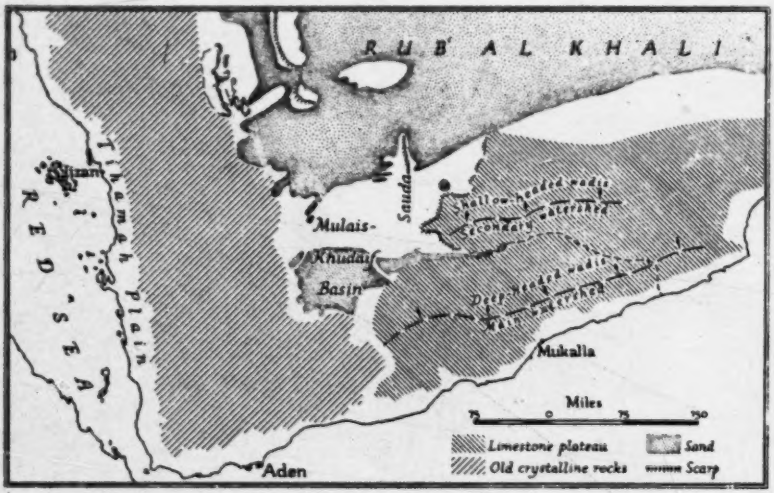
241 This limitation does not apply to the flood crops which are snatched
312 wherever possible. Throughout the lower wadi systems there exists a com-
361 plicated network of deflector dams which have the object of spreading the floodwaters over as large an area as possible, and leading a certain part of them into irrigation channels. Many retaining dams have been attempted, but usually unsuccessfully, as the major structure has been an earthwork with only the spillway of durable construction. In the shallow beds of the wadis running north from the secondary watershed there are many small cultivated patches and groups of two or three fortified houses are often situated where camel tracks converge on water cisterns cut into the rock.

*The transition belt.*

133 The transition zone between the mountain systems and the sand desert takes a number of forms. North of the Ramlat[1] al Mundafan the Kaukab sandstone plateau overlies the crystalline rocks to the west, and to the east has eroded to become an area of minor plateaus and blocks. Through the wide flat valleys between these minor plateaus runs the main Najran–Dawasir track, roughly north–south in longitude 44° 45′ E. at a general height of a little under 3000 feet. To the east of this track lies the southern section of the Nafud Dahi, running parallel with the road, and rising to a height of 100 feet

104 [1] Ramla(t): a general name for any sand feature. Thus the Ramlat al Mundafan means literally "the buried sands."

above it. It is a sandstone feature some 25 miles wide and has a covering of loose sand which tends to conceal its structure. However the sand cover becomes so thin along the highest part that the vegetation takes on a reticulated pattern in conformity with the fissure pattern of the sandstone below, suggesting that the ridge is either a shallow anticline or more probably a low west-facing escarpment concealed by the surfacing of loose sand. On the most southerly extension of the Nafud Dahi there are a few parallel dune chains oriented to 220° and 1 to 2 miles in length with a lateral spacing of 1 mile between groups. The slip faces are to the south-east, and the dunes about 20 feet high. According to local information the dunes are more




*South-west borderlands of the Rub' al Khali: geological detail*

abundant to the north, and the orientation of the Beni Rumh sands is to the north-west, but this area was not visited.

To the east, the Nafud Dahi descends easily to a north–south plain some 10 miles wide and 100 miles long lying at a height of 2600 feet at the foot of the Ardh scarp. This scarp, which is the southward continuation of the Jebel Tuwaiq, is of possibly Triassic calcareous felspathic sandstone overlain by a sheet of Jurassic limestone of great purity but covered by "desert varnish" giving it the appearance of old ivory. The scarp varies from 200 to 250 feet in height and between 19° and 20° N. lies in longitude 45° 10′ E., interrupted in 19° 53′ N. by the Wadi Fau. South of 19° N. the scarp turns to the south-east, loses height due to the east-north-east dip, and reaches 18° 32′ N., 45° 25′ E. The parallel dune chains of the sand desert proper lie on top of the scarp and from 2 to 4 miles back from the edge, with the exception of one line, the Ramlat al Mundafan which, in line with the ends of the other dunes, disappears into a depression of the Ardh scarp known as the Muqta'a al Tuwaiq, 18° 30′ N., 45° 30′ E. and continues, "buried" from sight, out on to the plain at the foot of the scarp. Motor transport can be taken up the scarp at this point.

133 scarp at this point. The general alignment of the dunes is to 245° with the slip face to the north-west. The height is about 70 feet. As the Mundafan sands continue south-west they become divided into two sections by the *'asfal*[1] Wadi Habauna, a flat gravel plain on which no sign can be found of the Nafud Dahi scarp. The northern section continues unbroken to the eastern edge of the Ukhr block, a sandstone feature separated from the Kaukab plateau.

South of the *'asfal* Wadi Habauna as far as Shudaif the character of the transition zone is entirely different. Here parallel dunes reach right across to the foothills of the 'Asir and Yemen mountains leaving at the most a narrow plain but a few miles wide. For upwards of 20 miles from the base of the mountains, isolated granite crags may be found between and among the sand [487] dunes. Driving through this area frequent detours have to be made out into the sands or in among the foothills to avoid the barrier formed by sand meeting hill. To pass the south-western end of the 'Arq ad Da'ir in 1952 necessitated a journey 6 miles further into the foothills than that recorded by Philby in 1936.

Shudaif marks the southern limit of the Rub' al Khali sands, and from here south-east stretches a vast triangular area of plains bounded to the north by the sands, to the east by the cliff wall of the *jol*, and to the south-west by the Yemen mountains. It has an area in the order of 150,000 square miles, and is divided into three sections, the Jau[2] Mulais, the Jau Khudaif and the Jau Hudhi by the Ramlat Sabatain and the Sauda scarp, which runs west and north respectively from Husn al 'Abr. The process of formation probably took place in three stages, of which the first was the planation of the archaean rocks before the deposition of the sedimentary strata. The second was the removal of this sedimentary cover by north-flowing wadis which were constantly forced against their eastern banks by the east-north-east dip of the underlying rock surface. Two river courses may still be seen doing this, the Hudhi cutting back the *jol*, and the abandoned course by Wudiya'a (see p. 423) which cut back the Sauda scarp. The third stage is the present one of arid erosion, where on the Jau Mulais the igneous protrusions are disintegrating by exfoliation down to a base level where they become protected from the great diurnal temperature changes by the sands and gravels of the desert floor, and on the Jau Hudhi above the Sauda scarp wind erosion is making the surface more and more smooth and level.

The Jau Khudaif and the Jau Mulais together form the Khudaif-Mulais basin referred to above (p. 423). The Jau Mulais is an area of quartz gravels, covered in some places by thin sheets of sand with areas of rock protruding from a few inches to a few feet. A few larger plugs and dykes form conspicuous hills such as the Raiyan group, which is in the form of a series of lines radiating from a point about 16° 30′ N., 46° 10′ E., the granite hills rising sheer from the plain made from their own disintegration. The Jau Khudaif lies to the south of the Jau Mulais and is divided from it by the Ramlat Sabatain. There is a greater cover of sand than on the Jau Mulais,

[104] [1] 'Asfal: the lower reaches and outwash plain of a wadi.

[2] Jau: literally a wide valley here becomes applied only to these extensive plains formed by the merging of many watercourses.

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5. *Sandy shaqqa[1] bearing Aristida plumosa and Calligonum comosum. These shiqaq extend for hundreds of miles between parallel dune chains, and vary between a half and two miles in width*

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6. *Dune chains by the neolithic site in the Shaqqat al Khareitah. The dunes run to the south-west and the photograph was taken looking north*

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[1] [The 'valleys' between parallel dune chains -- Analyst]

*7. Dune chains north of the Khashm al Jebel. The shaqqa is about half a mile wide*

*8. Some of the dunes across the shaqqa floor of sand, about 100 miles west of Shanna*

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133 and besides the granite foothills to the south-west there is a line of hills formed by salt domes along the foot of the *jol* to the south-east. In this area too may be found lignite deposits and occasional volcanic craters.

The sands of the Ramlat Sabatain lie east–west south of the 16th parallel, and are completely separate from the sands of the Rub' al Khali. In the west, where they lie against the Yemen hills, they measure some 50 miles in width from north to south. To the east they taper to a width of about 10 miles where they enter the Wadi Hadhramaut, and then lie within the wadi as far east as Qa'udha with isolated sections even farther east by Shibam and Sai'un. Near Baihan and near Shabwa the orientation of the dunes is to 290°, with the slip face southwards. Near Shabwa this direction has been used to give an easy crossing from Nasar to Arain, and between the dunes may be found a well marked camel track which was possibly part of the old incense route. South of al 'Abr the dunes lie at 230° and from here curve in a large arc east and south-east until they run almost due south to near Bir 'Asakir. From the east–west section another group of dunes breaks off to run in a similar curve south into the mouth of Wadi Dhuhr. Farther east the alignment is east–west and south of Qarn Qaima there is a reticulated area of overlapping crescentic dunes about 8 feet high and with their slip faces west.

Many wadis from the Yemen hills run into the western section of the Ramlat Sabatain and are dissipated within the sands, but the Wadi Baihan [137] forces its way through the sands in a series of deep silty channels between the [104] dunes which are here fixed by bushes of *arta* (*Calligonum comosum*) and runs out on to the Jau Khudaif. By using this wadi, Baihan can be reached from the Wadi Hadhramaut and also from Aden by the new route from Mahfadh, which makes use of the Yashbum gorge and the line of discontinuity between the crystalline hills and the *jol*.

North of the Ramlat Sabatain, the Jau Mulais is limited to the east by the Sauda scarp. This scarp, which is of sandstones similar to those of the Karoo and possibly of Triassic origin, runs north from near Al 'Abr and includes the hills of Murassas, Maishatt, Wudiya'a, etc. It gets its name Sauda, literally "the black," from its covering of hardpan and pebbles heavily impregnated with ilmenite (Plate 4). Its position marks the westerly limit of limestones, both Jurassic and Eocene, remnants of each of which, much confused with bands of contemporary sandstones, have been found near Wudiya'a. The whole of the Sauda area is covered with a network of intersecting animal tracks converging on salt-licks, proof that the region was once much more prolific of wild life.

133 East of the Sauda lies the Jau Hudhi, an undulating sand plain whose low 137 hill features may easily be correlated with past drainage patterns. The larger of these hills sometimes bear fragmentary remains of limestone capping in the form of small boulders. From the air distinctive vegetation patterns have been seen near Zamakh. They consist of parallel lines some 30 yards apart running north-west to south-east. There is also one west-flowing tributary from this area to the abandoned watercourse at the foot of the Sauda scarp.

133 At the Khashm al Jebel, 17° 30′ N., 48° 17′ E., the Jau Hudhi ends in a sharp point at a height of a little over 2000 feet, being limited to the east by the cliff face of the *jol*, here about 120 feet high, and to the north by the first

133 dunes of the Rub' al Khali. East of the Khashm al Jebel for over 50 miles to the mouth of Wadi Hizar the sands lie in contact with and to some extent overlying the low northern outcrops of the *jol*. These outcrops are in the form of flat-topped mounds covered with coarse pebbles of reddish marl with some thin sheets of limestone. East of Wadi Hizar the transition zone takes a further form as the outliers of the *jol* run in a line south of east and the sands in a line north of east, leaving a widening floor of gravel and desert marl. The plain is about 30 miles wide near Thamud and is reported by Thomas (1932) and by Thesiger (1946) to continue east to the Jiddat al Harasis.[1]

*The south-western sands*

The area of sands visited has been to the south of the 20th parallel and west of the 51st meridian. Throughout the whole of this area the sand pattern is one of parallel dune chains oriented generally from east-north-east to west-south-west and separated by long strips of flat desert floor known as *shiqaq*[2] (Plate 5). The tails of these dunes lie among the Yemen foothills and several crossings of the dunes have been made, up to 150 miles from the hills. The twenty or thirty southernmost dunes have been traced some 400 miles east to the vicinity of Shanna. In addition a large part of the area has been seen from the air.

The northern section of the Mundafan sands and the Ardh escarpment has already been described (p. 425–6). The southern section of the Mundafan sands are oriented to 205° and this orientation continues south through the 'Uruq al Juweis while other dunes break away to the north at an angle of 220°, parallel to the dunes of that section of the Mundafan which lies to the north of the *'asfal* Wadi Habauna. The slip faces of all these dunes are to the north-west.

South of the Mundafan sands the Ardh escarpment reappears running south from 18° 25′ N., 45° 27′ E. to the Khashm Khatma and then south-west losing height and disappearing into the desert floor at the Khashm al Ardh, 18° 01′ N., 45° 42′ E. This reappearance of the scarp breaks the continuity of the dunes which lie parallel to and south of the Mundafan sands, and leaves sand-free areas both on top of and at the foot of the scarp as with the northern section of the Ardh. A few outcrops of the Ardh occur southwards among the dunes, but do not break the continuity of the dune lines. In particular may be noted the Mutbathat group among which may be found traces of the old course of the Wadi Najran, and the Huwimil group at 17° 30′ N., 46° 00′ E. The final trace of the Jurassic limestones occurs at Abraqain near Wudiya'a.

Dune chains from the Khashm al Ardh may be traced south-west to the area of the wadi Taiyyibat al 'Ism and north-east to the Jilida plain. There is a well-marked motor track made by hunting parties leading to the Jilida plain from Najran via the *shiqaq* between these dunes. By the Khashm al Ardh the dunes are oriented to 220° with the dunes half a mile apart and the

[1] Later journeys (1953) have shown, that at least as far east as the mouth of Wadi Rama, this plain is divided into wide basins by lines of low hills running north from the *jol* to the sands.

[2] *Shaqqa*, pl. *shiqaq*: the "valleys" between parallel dune chains (*'urug*).

15: Bunker N-4 (ca. 1950) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



slip faces to the north-west. Near the Taiyyibat al 'Ism the orientation is to 250° with a well marked line of riders at 215° some of which extend over the *shaqqa* floor giving a reticulated pattern. The slip face here also is to the north-west. 133

South of the Mutbathat as far as the Shaqqat al 'Itima, *i.e.* the *shaqqa* into which the Wadi 'Itima flows, lie the Qa'amiyat sands. These dunes, with a height of over 200 feet, are the highest dunes of the south-west Rub' al Khali. They are oriented to 220° with no pronounced slip face, and due to their width the *shiqaq* between them are always narrow and frequently eliminated. They carry riders at 210° which have the slip face to the south-east.

South of the Shaqqal al 'Itima and east of the Sauda scarp which penetrates 30 miles into the sands there are two distinct orientations of the dunes. The easterly section, which lies back from the foot of the scarp, consists of about sixty dune chains less than a mile apart and generally oriented to 245°. Along a distinct line between 17° 15′ N., 45° 45′ E. and the Raiyan hills these dunes coalesce in groups to form only twenty-five dunes oriented to 225°. The slip faces of all these dunes is to the south, and there is no distinct line of riders. A large number of neolithic flints were found at 17° 12′ N., 45° 55·2 E. (Plate 6).

At the northern tip of the Sauda scarp, where it sinks into the desert floor, both floor and scarp are concealed by small south-west facing crescentic dunes 4–6 feet high. East of the Sauda the sands lie back as is the case with the Ardh scarp, but the six most southerly dunes of the sand desert approach to within 2 miles of the top of the scarp. North of them lies an area of sand sheet, the Bagheithan plain, with a few scattered dunes oriented in 250°. The plain may be traced some 20 miles east, and the dunes become more abundant and regular, until by 47° 45′ E. the full pattern of parallel dunes with intervening *shiqaq* is redeveloped (Plate 7). The dune line about twentieth from the south was followed eastward from here (Plate 8). In 17° 50′ N., 48° 10′ E., there is a distinct change in orientation from 252° (to the west) to 244° (to the east), which may be correlated with a more gradual curve through the same range made by the dunes to the south near the Khashm al Jebel. The orientation of the riders is 10° greater than that of the dunes, and the slip faces to the south. For the next 80 miles east there is a series of minor direction changes always between 237° and 243°. In the area about 19° N., 50° E., the *shiqaq* floors become broken into windows by layers of sheet sand perpendicular to the general line of the dunes, and during the next 30 miles east these sheets take a more and more pronounced form till they become as high as the original dune lines, and the straight lines of *shiqaq* become confused in an area of reticulations.

A small area of dune massifs exists near the Khashm al Jebel, occupying the narrow triangle between the most southerly dune and the edge of the *jol*. The massifs lie on the nodes of a hexagon net and do not continue east of the mouth of the Wadi Hizar except for a few isolated examples known as "qa'id" on the gravel *jau*. The slip faces of all these massifs are to the south-west.

15: Bunker N-4 (ca. 1950) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## Acknowledgements

000 I wish to record my thanks to Mr. A. O. Thompson of the Department of Mines in Nairobi for his help in identifying the geological specimens, and to Mr. P. R. Stephenson, Director of the Desert Locust Survey, for his many constructive suggestions and permission to use photographs from the D.L.S. collection.

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# CLIMATE, IRRIGATION, AND EARLY MAN IN THE HADHRAMAUT

G. CATON-THOMPSON AND E. W. GARDNER

*Afternoon Meeting of the Society, 7 November 1938*

000 IN a land as little known as South-west Arabia there is danger to the scientific traveller of getting lost. Not lost in the geographical sense, though at times that might be easy in the unending monotony of its valley floors and desert plateaux, but lost in the intricacies of a myriad detailed observations concerning them and the parts they played thousands of years ago in the lives of their inhabitants. The traveller crawls about like an ant amongst the dust heaps, collecting facts; facts related and unrelated, important and unimportant, which eventually, perhaps years hence and in other hands, go to the making of an ever-incomplete picture. He may be envious of the all-embracing synthetic view, such as the airman may obtain; but he remains aware that his microscopic, analytic rummaging amongst the individual stones is the indispensable element in eventual comprehension of the whole. Such reflections are not an inappropriate preface to this paper, which is the record of hitherto unrecorded facts. That the unimportant may not have been winnowed yet from the important is recognized: it is too soon to be sure which is which, or what may be the wider relevance of any of them.

114 The archaeological and geological work in the Hadhramaut now to be
122 outlined, pending a detailed publication of the whole, took place during the winter of 1937–38, between November and early March. It was made possible as much by a generous grant from Lord Wakefield, with the support of this Society, as by the facilities of entry into the country given by the Aden and Mukalla administration, and not least by the Arab potentates in Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory, whose proverbial hospitality we were privileged to experience. The party consisted of Freya Stark, already a well-known and observant traveller in the country; Elinor Gardner,[1] who has contributed the major part of this paper; and myself.

114 Scientifically the land, though beginning to be well known in its main topo-
121 graphical features, has escaped intensive study to a degree now rare, and therefore it offered a number of attractive pioneer problems to geologist and archaeologist alike. On the archaeological side the ground, in common with all Arabia Felix, was virtually *terra incognita*. Not a single date before the Christian era was fixed; almost anything might turn up. A prearranged plan of research in view of the uncertainties of the field was impossible. Nevertheless objectives have to be clarified, and mine were broadly threefold. First, to bridge the gap in palaeolithic distribution maps between East Africa and Asia. Secondly to test it as an area of possible contact with the Makran coast, Mesopotamia, and India in the third and fourth millennia. Thirdly to investigate the material culture of its pre-Islamic inhabitants, and by its

[1] My contribution is confined to the archaeological sections and to the form and general supervision of this paper in Miss Gardner's absence.

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



help to introduce for the first time dating, absolute or relative, into the early history, independently of, or in conjunction with, inscriptions. Interwoven with these purely archaeological questions was Miss Gardner's geological investigation of the Quaternary physiography of the region; more especially inquiry into problems of past climates; and comparisons of Pleistocene conditions in South-west Arabia in lat. 15° N. with those of a typical desert area as studied by her in Kharga Oasis and elsewhere in the Libyan desert 10° farther north.[1] A recent Egyptian expedition under Dr. S. A. Huzayyin had done valuable work on these lines in 1936 in the Yemen, where a series of prehistoric pluvial periods had been traced, besides the possibility of a minor

one in historic times. That expedition paid also a flying visit to the Hadhramaut, but little work was done there.[2]

The general physical features of the country are well known from the excellent map published by von Wissmann in 1932,[3] and from the air reconnaissance of Squadron-Leader Cochrane[4] and the late Flight-Lieut. A. R. M. Rickards, whose map shows well the peculiar drainage system (Plate 1). Very recently a methodical aerial survey of the whole Protectorate has been accomplished, and we are privileged here to publish some of the photographs. Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams still remain the only Europeans who have travelled from

[1] *Geol. Mag.*, vol. lxix, September 1932, "Some problems of the Pleistocene hydrography of Kharga Oasis."

[2] S. A. Huzayyin, "Egyptian University Scientific Expedition to south-west Arabia," *Nature* 140 (1937) 513–4.

[3] Folder to 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled,' by D. Van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann. Leiden, 1932.

[4] "An air reconnaissance of the Hadhramaut" (*Geogr. J.* 77 (1931) 209–16).

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114 end to end of the Wadi Hadhramaut, and accounts of their journeys have been given to the Society.[1]

*The geological work*

133 The geology of the coastal region around Mukalla has been described by Mr. O. H. Little, of the Egyptian Geological Survey, and those interested in the solid geology are referred to his paper.[2] This region is the most diversified both structurally and petrologically. The fundamental granite appears here overlaid by limestones of Cretaceous and Tertiary age, and faults and folds are conspicuous even from the air. The few days at Mukalla were spent in a rapid examination of the more recent geological features.

To the visitor by sea the most striking is the glistening bank of white dune-sand west of the town, probably masking a raised beach. The coast eastwards to Shihr is fringed with the remnants of a low-lying raised beach now being eroded. In the wadi immediately west of Mukalla a raised beach was noted at RL 15 m. about 1·5 km. from the shore. It consisted of semi-angular and partly rounded pebbles of granite and limestone with marine fossils. Four metres higher a second level of cellular sandstone may be either beach or river terrace.[3]

[487] After the Shihr road has passed through the coastal barrier backing Mukalla, it runs for 2 km. over an extensive gravel plain which slopes smoothly and evenly from RL 66 to RL 38 m. It then climbs a prominent ridge at RL 52·5 m., with a typical gravel profile, and descends again to a similar gravel plain. This plain is the most important erosional feature of the district: its age could not be determined exactly, but that it is Pleistocene seems fairly certain from the occurrence of palaeolithic flake implements of chert[4] on a narrow gravel ridge which rises from it near the fork of the Du'an road. This ridge lies 4 m. above the plain, and seems to be the last remnant of a more extensive level that has been destroyed by the lateral erosion of the two neighbouring wadis. These wadis bound the main plain north and south, and good gravel sections were examined in their banks, without however the discovery of flint implements *in situ* in them.

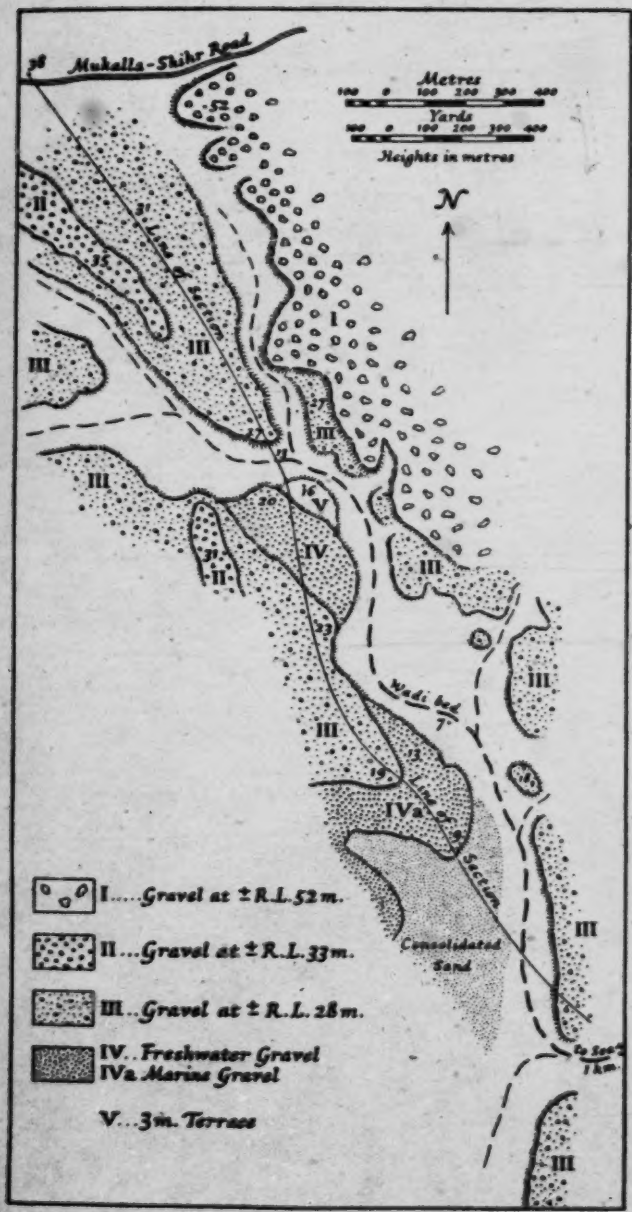
A line of levels was run from the Shihr road S.S.E. across the gravel plain towards the sea. The sketch-map and section, Fig. 1, show the principal results. The big erosional plain falls in this direction from RL 38 to RL 27 m. in 1100 m. It is then cut by the westerly wadi whose floor lies at RL 13 m. On the far side two terraces, one at RL 16 m. and a more extensive one at RL 20 m., are crossed before the gravel plain is regained at RL 22. From there it stretches for 500 m. or so seaward, and ends in a scarp feature at RL 19. It overlooks a marine terrace crowded with recent shells. Upstream these become scarcer and eventually die out, and the levels show that it is

113 [1] "A journey to the Sei'ar country and through the Wadi Maseila" (*Geogr. J.* 88 (1936) 524–51); "The Hadhramaut: present and future" (*Geogr. J.* 92 (1938) 289–312). See also *Journal R. Central Asian Society*, July 1936.

[2] O. H. Little, "The geography and geology of Makalla" (Geological Survey of Egypt, Cairo, 1925).

[3] Near Jibuti, which we visited on the way home *via* Hodeidah, Jeddah, and Yenbo, raised coral beaches have been recorded at RL 18 and 25 m.

[4] These resemble typologically the flakes called Levalloisian in N.W. Europe.


Mukalla-Shihr Road
Metres
Yards
Heights in metres
N
Line of Section
Wadi bed
Line of Section
Consolidated Sand
I.....Gravel at ± R.L. 52 m.
II...Gravel at ± R.L. 33 m.
III...Gravel at ± R.L. 28 m.
IV..Freshwater Gravel
IVa Marine Gravel
V...3m. Terrace

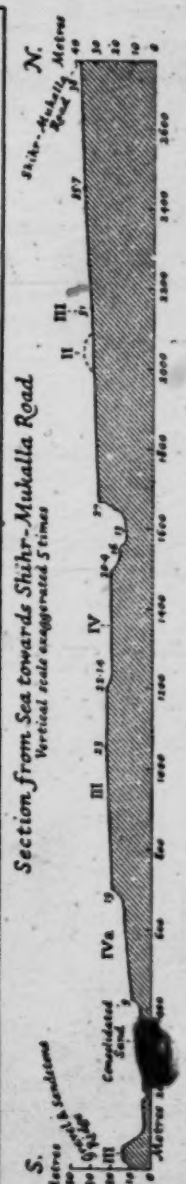

Section from Sea towards Shihr-Mukalla Road
Vertical scale exaggerated 5 times
N.
S.
Shihr-Mukalla Road
Consolidated Sand
Metres

*Fig. 1*

P. 21

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 the seaward end of the 16 m. terrace already mentioned. It slopes from about RL 15 beneath the higher plain to RL 12. Here it ends in a scarp about 2 m. high, and below it a consolidated yellow sand forms the wadi floor. The channel here turns and breaks through a ridge to the sea. This ridge is composed of cellular sandstone similar in appearance to that seen near Mukalla and, in some places, of gravels. From its level it would seem to be the last remnant of the big erosional plain on the east side of the wadi.

We have then in this area three well-defined levels and a minor one. These in order of age are: high-level gravel, RL 52 m., possibly Tertiary or early Pleistocene; remnant of erosional level, about RL 32 m., with palaeolithic chert implements on surface; extensive and important erosional plain, about RL 28 m., no sign of marine deposits passing downstream; terrace at 7 m.–5 m. above wadi floor at RL 16 m.; and a terrace at 3 m. above wadi floor.

[487] The road to Shihr continues along the coastal plain, crossing marine beds in many places, and runs over an extensive development of gravel just before reaching the town.

The coastal plain is here some 10–12 km. broad, and is backed by the great cliffs and outliers of the South Arabian plateau, called the *jol*. It is some [132 1000 m. high, but slopes gradually northwards up to 3000 m., becoming ever 487] more barren as it recedes from the influence of the monsoon rains. The newly made road to Tarim follows a switch-back course over it, now crossing stony plateaux, then descending into broad flat-bottomed wadis often sand-covered and with lines of trees and scrub marking the watercourses. In 134 these wadis a loess-like deposit that was later to become such a familiar and prehistorically important feature in the Wadi Hadhramaut and its tributaries, was first seen. Here, as there, it seems to have filled the valleys through which later erosion has carved a way. Near the village of Reida, in the Ma'ara country about 60 km. from the southern edge of the plateau, rounded consolidated gravel and conglomerate were seen near a water-hole.

183 The watershed between the north and south-running valleys lies much nearer the southern than the northern edge of the plateau; this is possibly due to subsidence of the coastal area, and as a consequence many of the wadis draining into the Wadi Hadhramaut are very long. Nearing the edge of this great wadi the character of the drainage changes; instead of broad flat-bottomed valleys, there are narrow ravines deeply entrenched in the limestone (Plate 4). On the stony ground between them numerous deeply patinated palaeoliths, both cores and flakes, were found, similar in type to others whose occurrence *in situ* in gravel terraces of the valley floor system will be described later. Their position here, on tongues of plateau furrowed by deep ravines, recalled the occurrence of typologically similar implements on similar tongues of plateau licking the cliff edge of the Nile valley.

We first saw the Wadi Hadhramaut from the top of the pass leading sharply down to Tarim. It is a great flat-floored trench some 3 km. broad and 300 m. deep, bounded by high cliffs of characteristic outline, which repeats itself with monotonous regularity both along the main wadi and in the tributary valleys. This outline is the expression of the geological features, which are here very simple (Plates 2, 3). The cliffs consist of a series of almost horizontal beds; the upper 200 m. are of limestone, Eocene over Cretaceous.

18: Gardner A+4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

133

*1. The Hadhramaut: entrenched drainage and characteristic denudation*

Facing P. 22 (A)

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*2. Wadi Hadhramaut at Seiyun, looking down the valley*

*3. Wadi 'Amd at Hureidha*

Facing P. 22 (B)

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 The Cretaceous bed is particularly massive and juts out beyond the overlying strata to form bold headlands between the lateral wadis. The more gentle slope below to the wadi floor is due to soft red sandstones, with occasional shaly layers towards the top. They are probably the local representatives of the Nubian sandstone. Owing to their softness they are being eroded rapidly and consequent undercutting of the superposed limestone causes huge falls of rock. The result is a thick mantle of scree, consolidated in places to a breccia which almost hides the sandstones. The formation of this scree must have begun far back in the wadi's history, for not only have the talus slopes been cut into "semi-detached" hillocks, but they appear to plunge under the valley filling. Numbers of chert implements of Levallois type lie in and on the scree and argue a *status quo* as far back as the middle [172] or later Pleistocene. In historic times also these screes and breccias were put to practical use, for tomb entrances of the pre-Islamic inhabitants of these valleys were cut through them, and sepulchral caves hollowed out in the soft sandstone slopes beneath.

Travelling along the main wadi and up its tributaries, the beds in the bounding cliffs appear to remain at a constant level above the wadi floor. The strata cannot therefore be truly horizontal, but must rise gradually both west and south. To one used to the valley systems of Egypt a striking feature of the Wadi Hadhramaut is the monotonous flatness and uniformity of its floor (Plate 3). No great prehistoric gravel terraces mark higher water-levels, and the present flood-channel or "*seil*-bed" is a relatively insignificant feature. Obviously the most important episode in the wadi's history, after its actual cutting, was the deposition of material which filled it and its tributaries to some unplumbed depth. The upper part of this fill is a fine sandy silt, which will be described later, but there is reason to believe that gravels underlie it, for farther down the main wadi they come to light. Moreover in the Wadi 'Adim, an important tributary coming in from the south near Tarim, the 15-m. section of the wadi bank shows 4–8 m. of silt overlying thick gravel bands (Plate 5). These gravels fade out before the mouth of the wadi is reached, and have presumably plunged deeply down and may join similar deposits in the main valley.

The Wadi Hadhramaut shows a curious reversal of the normal valley form in being wider towards the source than the mouth. In the narrower stretch below Tarim, known as the Wadi Maseila, Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams found lava-flows which, it has been suggested, may once have blocked the course. Air photographs show the position of this lava, but have not conclusively corroborated the idea. The narrowing, moreover, begins before this point for no apparent petrological reason, and the cause more probably lies in the wadi's history, and is conceivably due to complicated river capture. Unfortunately time and tribal conditions prevented an examination of this area.

[361] All the detailed work of the expedition was done from the small town of Hureidha in the Wadi 'Amd, 24 km. from its junction with the Wadi Hadhramaut. Here one of the most important tributary systems enters from the south. It consists of two big valleys which divide, 10 km. from their common outlet, into the Wadi Du'an running due south for 80 km., and the Wadi 'Amd running south-south-west for over 120 km. Near the junction of the

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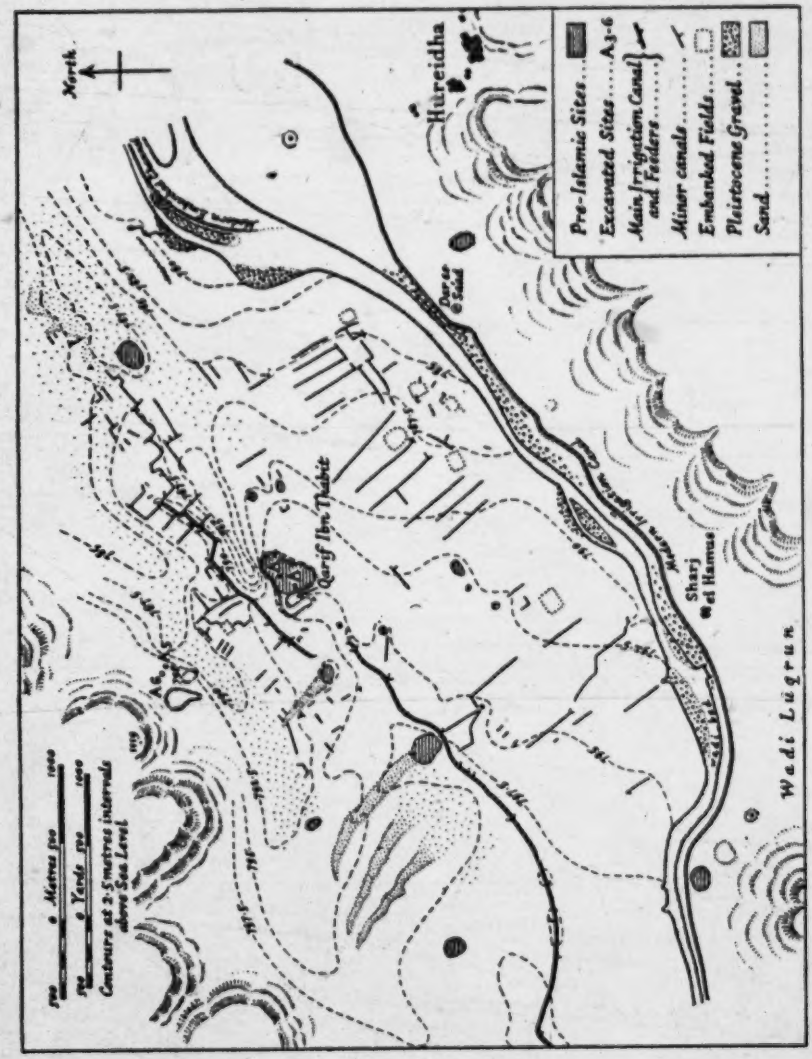


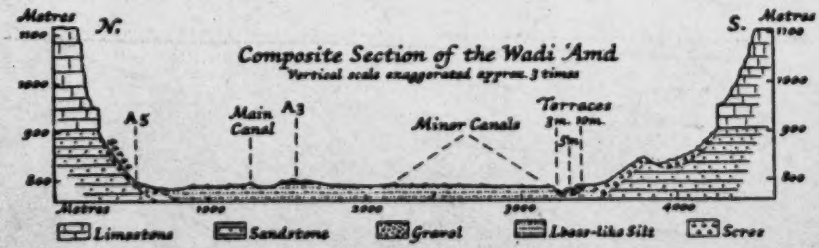


Fig. 2 p. 24

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



two great wadis the silty deposit, which we propose to name "aeolian silt," 133
has been eroded into hillocks reminiscent of those on the floor of Kharga Oasis, except that they are larger and not so stream-lined by wind. The subordinance of wind erosion in the Hadhramaut is in striking contrast to conditions in Kharga, and emphasizes the difference between a true desert-belt and one under the influence, however incompletely, of the monsoons.

The work around Hureidha consisted of the examination of the geologically recent deposits, and the detailed mapping of a small area around the ruin field (Fig. 2). The section, Fig. 2, shows that the structure of the valley is the same as that in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

The valley filling is the dominant deposit. It is on the whole a fine-grained 134
material, largely arenaceous but with a certain amount of clay. Structurally it shows the prominent vertical jointing so characteristic of loess and aeolian deposits in general. Yet this is not the only guide to its origin, for clay bands and occasional scattered lines of pebbles point also to water action. It seems therefore convenient to use the term "aeolian silt" for this deposit to represent its composite character, part wind, part water-laid. Water action would seem to have played a greater rôle here than in Kharga, where wind bedding, absent in the Hadhramaut, is common. A good section was examined in the banks of the flood channel north of Hureidha (Plate 6). Two darker banks can be seen running nearly horizontally 1 and 2 m. from the top of the section. These are formed of more argillaceous material, and clay balls were common in the sandy layers. Here and there a pocket of land shells lying at all angles was found. These were mostly *Zootecus insularis* Ehrn, but a few *Obeliscella bentiae* M. and P. and *Pupoides* sp. also occurred. The full depth of the filling could nowhere be ascertained. The wells in the floor of the Wadi Hadhramaut are shallow, and in the Wadi 'Amd, though very deep,[1] they are in the rising sides of the valley. In discussing the age of the aeolian silt we can therefore speak only of the upper layers.

In the Wadi 'Amd good dating evidence was obtained in the north bank of 133
the flood channel opposite the Wadi Luqrun, a tributary wadi entering from 134
the south near the village of Sharj el Hamus (see Fig. 2). Here a magnificent 172
section is exposed in a cliff 10–8 m. high (Plate 7). It is capped by four or more metres of aeolian silt which stretches away northwards and forms the whole floor of Wadi 'Amd. This is underlaid by two gravel bands separated by more aeolian silt, which in turn underlies the lowest gravel and forms the floor of the flood channel. The gravel bands are about 1·5 m. thick, and consist of medium to small limestone pebbles with occasional ones of chert or tufa. Both bands contain chert implements but they are particularly abundant in the lower. In the sides of the erosion channels the gravels are seen to tail out northwards and eventually disappear. They obviously represent the outwash fans of the Wadi Luqrun, which seems to have been capable of carrying gravels while the main wadi was bringing down silt only. The tools in these gravels are of Levalloisian flake type, and date the uppermost layers of silt in the Wadi 'Amd. Confirmation was obtained by finding a good unworn tortoise core embedded in the silt at another spot.

[1] Van der Meulen and von Wissmann state (*op. cit.*, p. 98) that some are about 300 feet deep.

134 A more active phase succeeded the silt filling of the valley. On its southern edge floods again brought down gravels, but this time down the main wadi itself. These occur in three terraces at 10 to 8, 5, and 3 m. respectively above the thalweg (Plate 8). All contain implements of the same type as those found in the section already described, but they are most numerous in the 10-m. terrace. The gravel is composed of similar elements in all, the only distinction being that in the 5 and 3-m. terraces true current-bedded sands occur which appear to be absent in the 10-m. terrace. The latter is interbedded in places with aeolian silt, probably derived from pre-existing deposits. All the terraces are laid against the silt and occasionally the gravel overlaps it on the north bank. It never however spreads far north, and in this stretch of the wadi the flood channel seems always to have kept more or less closely to the southern cliffs.

The 10-m. terrace is best developed between Dar es Sa'ad and Sharj el Hamus on the southern bank of the channel (see map, Fig. 2). It is frequently obscured by ancient and modern irrigation works and agricultural operations. At the entrance of the Wadi Luqrun a big stone barrage has been built across the mouth of the channel to prevent backward erosion. This wall abuts against the 10-m. terrace, which stands out darker coloured in contrast with the lighter-coloured gravel of the 5-m. terrace below it. It has occasional pockets and layers of aeolian silt in it, but downstream these increase in importance till a little east of Dar es Sa'ad only 1 m. of gravel rests on solid silt. Beyond this point the 10-m. gravel is not seen, the south bank being of aeolian silt until the Hureidha lateral valley is reached, when the 5-m. and 3-m. terraces become prominent.

At this point the 5-m. terrace is laid against the silt on the south side, while on the north bank a scatter of gravel at 5 m. probably represents the remnant of this terrace. Near Dar es Sa'ad it seems to be cut out of the 10-m. gravel, and upstream from here spreads out to form a broad bay. In these sections however it is once more resting on aeolian silt. A typical exposure showed:

top 1·5 m. gravel, medium-sized pebbles, occasional patches of aeolian silt
1·5 m. gravel of finer texture with 1 cm. mud layer overlying current-bedded sands
0·5 m. coarse gravel
about 1·5 m. sand and pebbles overlying irregularly the eroded floor of aeolian silt, here forming the wadi bed.

No implements were found in this section, though a few were collected *in situ* near Dar es Sa'ad and Hureidha.

The 3-m. terrace forms low flats cut through by the modern flood channel. It may rest against the aeolian silt on the 5-m. terrace, which it resembles in all respects but level. A few rolled implements were found in it in the Hureidha section. East of Dar es Sa'ad it is well developed, and shows 1 m. of rather coarse gravel resting on aeolian silt. At this point it has been utilized for the start of the modern embankment that leads the flood waters down a recently cut canal to 'Andal.

We have so far traced a series of events which might be interpreted climatically as a dry phase (the deposition of the silt), followed by one of greater

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*4. Jol above Tarim: palaeolithic area at the head of lateral wadi*

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*5. Wadi 'Adim: exposure of aeolian silt over gravel*

Facing P. 26 (A)

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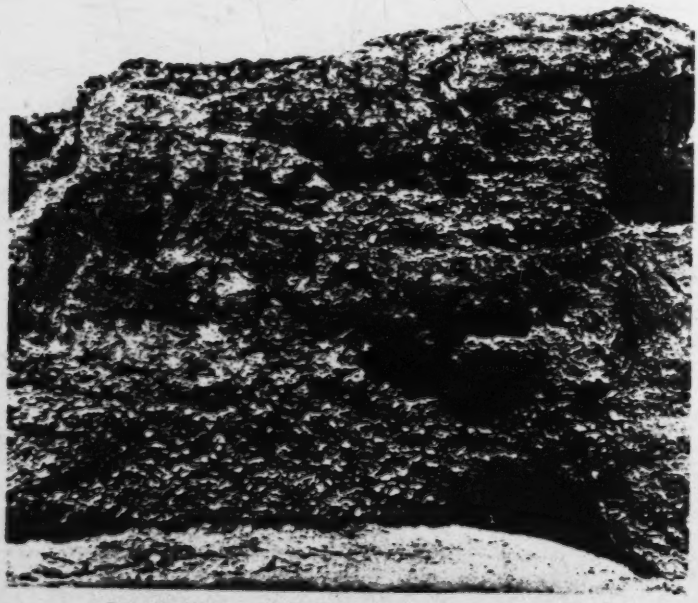
*6. Aeolian silt cliff and present flood bed in Wadi 'Amd*



*7. Interbedded aeolian silt and gravels in Wadi 'Amd*

facing p. 26 (B)

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



134 rainfall, represented by the gravel terraces. But this sequence might also be due to other causes such, for instance, as the blocking of the Wadi Hadhramaut by the lava-flows, and therefore it was necessary to look for independent evidence. Von Wissmann observed that the plains of the Yemen are floored with a great layer of fine sandy soil, aeolian in origin and very similar to loess.[1] This in a neighbouring country lends support to the climatic origin of the changes. Reinforcement comes also from the occurrence of aeolian silt, already mentioned, in the wadis of the *jol* far removed from the influence of the Wadi Hadhramaut. Further support on other lines was also obtained in the Wadi 'Amd itself, during the examination of small lateral wadis.

133 Some of these minor lateral wadis and ravines have springs trickling from the base of the big Cretaceous cliff, and it seemed possible that if a period of greater rainfall had, as surmised, occurred in the past, evidence would be registered in the formerly more abundant flow of these springs. In Kharga Oasis few springs still exist on the scarp, but we found there conclusive proof of more abundant water in the Pleistocene. This was demonstrated by the great deposits of travertine or tufa which in places completely mask the underlying rocks. In the Hadhramaut ancient tufa was found near the existing springs, and as terraces in the ravines above them, but developed on a far smaller scale than in Kharga (Plate 9). This may be due partly to the difference in configuration, and partly to the monsoon erosion in the Hadhramaut. Its occurrence does however point to a time of greater rainfall and spring activity. But, though on a smaller scale, the Arabian tufa deposits are strikingly like those of Kharga in their general aspect. In both places they have weathered to a rusty brown-black with a light yellow fracture, and in both places massive and cellular types occur, though nothing resembling the "plateau" tufa of Kharga was found. They all belonged to the "wadi" type.[2]

The deposit in both places contains fossil leaves, amongst which fig leaves are predominant, and shells, though these are unexpectedly much more abundant in Kharga than in the Hadhramaut. Moreover in Arabia the tufas were not, in the areas examined, associated with interbedded silts and gravels, as in Kharga, nor were palaeoliths, as there, *in situ* in them. The dating of the Kharga tufas in archaeological terms is therefore much more definite and susceptible of subdivisions than in Hadhramaut; but the palaeolithic age also of the latter is placed beyond doubt by the occurrence of tufa pebbles in the 10-m. gravel terrace, and in the gravels interbedded with the aeolian silt.

A typical spring and tufa terrace outcrop in Arabia may now be described for the first time.

The modern springs issue in lateral ravines at or near the base of the massive lowest Cretaceous limestone, which is undercut sometimes by as much as 20 or 30 m. A good example was found in a small valley on the west side of the Wadi Luqrun, where two trickles of water come from cracks in the limestone about 1·5 m. above its base. A soft spongy mass of recently formed

113 [1] C. Rathjens and H. von Wissmann, "Vorislamische Altertümer" (*Südarabien-Reise*, Band 2, 1932, p. 14).

[2] For discussion of these tufas see Caton-Thompson and Gardner, "The prehistoric geography of Kharga Oasis" (*Geogr. J.* 80 (1932) 369–409), and Gardner, "Some problems of the Pleistocene hydrography of Kharga Oasis" (*Geol. Mag.*, vol. lxix, September 1932).

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 tufa surrounds, and almost blocks, the outlet, and forms a small fan below. In one case a narrow channel has been humanly cut in the deposit to lead the water into a cement tank from which periodically a few palms are watered.
137 The surplus water overflows and is lost in the scree. Growing amongst the huge boulders are shrubs and trees, wild figs, *Ficus salicifolia*, and *F. sycamorus* being particularly common. Around the water itself maiden-hair fern and other small plants make a pleasant green garden in the rocky desolation.

133 At this level there is a limestone platform or shelf some 10–11 m. wide, and on the edge of this occur the outcrops of Pleistocene tufa. In the Wadi Luqrun it is a block 5 m. thick and 3–4 m. high, which is evidently but a remnant of a much more extensive deposit, for traces were detected on the walls of the great limestone overhang. Its present size and isolation are some measure of the time that has elapsed since its formation. A few badly preserved fossil leaves were found here, but also a considerable number of small cavities which, as in Kharga, are the moulds of fruits. Most of these show no structure and are therefore unidentifiable, but Mrs. E. R. Reid, who kindly examined them, found one that was certainly a fruit of a species of *Celtis*.

A climb of 50 m. or so up the scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone leads over bare rock to the upper course of the wadi. In time of spate the waters must cascade in a fall over the lip. At Luqrun traces only of tufa occurred at this upper level, but in a valley east of Hureidha a much larger outcrop was found which yielded many leaves. Here, after half an hour's ride along the wadi floor, the track climbs gradually up the stony scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone. A hundred metres or so from the edge a mass of tufa occurs as a terrace remnant 15–16 m. above the limestone floor. It is 4·6 m. high and rests on limestone breccia. This outcrop was particularly
137 rich in leaves. The commonest types closely resemble figs, but without the fruits this identification cannot be assured. Some however seem identical with the *Ficus sycamorus* leaves found in the Kharga tufas,[1] and another resembles *F. salicifolia*; as both trees are still growing nearby they probably occur as fossils. Some kind of palm is certainly present and one or two other unidentified types. The shells are scarce and not well preserved. *Melania tuberculata*, *Zootecus insularis*, and a *Planorbis* were present. More abundant is the cast of a lava very similar in appearance to that found in Kharga and considered by Dr. Zeuner to be that of a dipterous insect.

103 The pool at the foot of the cliff was examined. It is called "El Bahr"—the
529 sea[2]—and is a favourite bathing-place, the Badawin climbing the cliff and
823 diving in from a considerable height. Local tradition calls it bottomless, and a weighted tape failed to touch bottom at 19 m. It would seem to be a super
133 pot-hole, ground out through the ages by the swirling stones and water of the seasonal cascade from higher levels. It is in the shade for most of the day, and water remains all the year. The shallows around are covered with soft

113 [1] Gardner, "The Pleistocene fauna and flora of Kharga Oasis" (*Quart. J. geol. Soc.*, vol. xci, December 1935.)

[2] Van der Meulen and von Wissmann in 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled' describe this place. "After energetic scrambling over fields of stone and up slopes of rock we actually arrive at El Bahr, a deep, rocky basin, full of water, with high cavernous walls, from which, after rain, the water must fall in spray into the basin."

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



muddy tufa still being deposited. No living thing was seen in the pool, but 133
dead shells of *Bulinus*, probably *truncatus*, were collected from the muddy edge. They are small and distorted, probably owing to the excess of lime.

In a wadi still farther up the lateral valley, the Wadi Sam'ua, a series of pools occurs at the foot of successive steps in the ravine bed above the Cretaceous limestone. These pools were not so deep as El Bahr and had abundant [136]
life: fish, frogs, beetles were all seen, and two univalves (a *Planorbis* and a new species of *Ancylus*).[1] The wadi narrows to a steep-sided ravine in its upper reaches; yet clinging to the side above the first pool was a mass of tufa 4 m. high. Other pools, backed by tufa cliffs with suspended stalactites, lie at still higher levels. Here exploration had to stop, but enough had been seen to establish the interest of the terrace tufa in these upper reaches.

From the above account it may be deduced that the main events in the wadi's history are as follows:

Major erosional phase, when the great Wadi Hadhramaut and its main tributaries were cut. This in all probability took place in stages. From the amount of erosion and the many changes in the wadi since its development, the time of cutting must be at least as early as late Tertiary or early Pleistocene, and may well be far older. It cannot, as has been suggested, be synchronous with the Glacial Age in Europe.

Major depositional phase, also probably subdivided into minor episodes. The valleys were filled to some unknown depth with deposits. The upper part of these is aeolian silt of palaeolithic age, which is known to overlie gravel in some areas. In the lateral wadis tufa formation had begun.

Minor erosional phase, represented by the cutting of the aeolian silt and deposition of gravel in place of silt. This can be subdivided into three parts, the 10, 5, and 3-m. terraces, also of palaeolithic age. The flood channel then followed the same restricted course as now.

It is interesting to note that these three main phases were traced in Kharga Oasis; but there, the evidence being more complete and varied, and the time of study far longer, they could be subdivided and dated with more certainty than in the Hadhramaut. No sign of a historic pluvial was seen in that part of the country which we examined.

*Archaeological notes*

Quaternary palaeoliths have, in the foregoing pages, been noted: on the 133
Mukalla gravel plain; on the spurs of the *jol* near the south edge overlooking 172
the Wadi Hadhramaut above Tarim, in positions recalling their distribution on desert cliffs overlooking the Nile valley; on and in cliff screes of the Wadis Hadhramaut and 'Amd; and in the 10, 5, and 3-m. gravel terraces of the Wadi 'Amd near Hureidha, and in the somewhat earlier aeolian silt of the valley's main filling. These discoveries of palaeoliths were no novelty, for Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams had already noted them in many places,[2] but they had not, I
believe, been previously found in geological deposits. Nor must our restricted 172

[1] All shells from the Hadhramaut have been given to the British Museum. Major Connolly is kindly identifying them and will publish the results in his forthcoming work on the shells of the Yemen collected by Dr. Scott, of the British Museum.

[2] *Geogr. J.* 92 (1938) 306.

172 distribution list be taken to indicate more than the limitations of our wanderings, not those of palaeolithic man, who doubtless ranged over the whole area wherever water, game, and raw material for his tools and weapons could be found.

The technique of the implements collected, though falling well within the recognized limits of a specific palaeolithic culture—the Levalloisian—is almost uniformly crude compared with African, North Arabian, and Palestinian specimens of similar types. This may be due in part to the very bad quality of chert yielded by the local limestones; but since in other countries primitive man frequently triumphed over refractory rock, and succeeded in making from it symmetrical and serviceable implements in forms traditional to his peculiar culture, the excuse here is not wholly valid. It represents also, one may surmise, a genuinely low ebb in contemporary palaeolithic standards, indicative possibly of an over harsh and impoverished environment, but perhaps due in still greater measure to absence of contact with more progressive groups. This last postulate presupposes the separation at an early date in the Pleistocene, or before, of South-west Arabia from East Africa; for East Africa was, throughout the entire span of the palaeolithic period, in a position to provide just the technical stimulus lacking, apparently, in Southern Arabia.

In East Equatorial Africa an unbroken succession of Stone Age industries, made known in the first instance by Mr. E. J. Wayland and by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, begin in Lower Pleistocene deposits and progress steadily through a series of vast physiographical happenings, which include rifting, uplift, vulcanicity, reversals of drainage, eustatic, and climatic changes, until the end of Upper Pleistocene times. No attempt can possibly be made without vastly more prolonged specialist work in South-west Arabia, and the accumulation of a store of comprehensive and independent data, to correlate the two areas. It is legitimate only to note that uplift, vulcanicity, eustatic, and climatic changes are all registered in the Hadhramaut (and also, as shown by Dr. Huzayyin, in the Yemen), though neither their geo-chronological relation to each other, nor to human history, can yet be ascertained.

But another line of reasoning reinforces the likelihood of the early marine separation of the two continents. Palaeolithic industries, legion in number and distressing in nomenclature,[1] are morphologically classified by prehistorians into three main culture groups, irrespective of relative age. They comprise hand-axe industries, flake industries, and blade industries.

The distribution of the first of these, the hand-axe culture group and its derivatives, includes practically all Africa—certainly all East Africa from north to south. Yet it failed, as far as the evidence goes, to reach South-west Arabia. In the Hadhramaut, though it is perhaps still too early to be conclusive, neither we nor Dr. Huzayyin's party found a single specimen; and the solitary example recorded by him in the Yemen [2] seems far more likely to have reached it from the north, where, in Palestine, Syria, and Transjordan, the type, in certain phases, is well entrenched.

A crude flake industry of Levalloisian type belonging to the second class

[1] In East Africa for instance at least ten distinct palaeolithic industries are known, with some two dozen subdivisions.

[2] *Op. cit.*

A crude flake-industry of Levalloisian type belonging to the second class

mentioned above would seem alone to represent palaeolithic man in the Hadhramaut, where it was free from the development which in N.W. Europe has necessitated seven subdivisions. The earliest appearance we could trace was *in situ* near the top of the aeolian silt of the Wadi 'Amd infilling. In chronological succession follow the 10, 5, and 3-m. gravel terraces laid in a stream-bed cut in this silt. The scarce contents of the 3-m. terrace are derived from the two higher ones, which however show no variation in type *inter se*. 172 138

Eventual discovery of the palaeolithic contents of the older, deeply buried silt levels and gravels would be of great interest; but we may risk already the conclusion that the flake industry found *in situ* continued, isolated and unchanged, throughout a very long geological period, which we tapped at only one or two points. It would be rash on existing evidence to place its probable position in the Pleistocene, though it may well prove to lie in the middle: typology alone is insufficient, and archaeological stratigraphy will need first to be established in cave or man-favoured geological deposit, if such exist, and our failure to find a single fossil animal bone in the gravels rectified.

So much for the first of the archaeological objectives. The second of them —namely contacts with the chalcolithic east—drew a complete blank. I myself found, was shown by natives, or observed in the miscellaneous antiquities gathered together in Aden no single object which indicated any such early contacts with the Hadhramaut. Of later antiquities however there was no scarcity. Though the Wadi Hadhramaut itself in the stretch examined around Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam yielded little except rock graffiti pecked in South Arabian characters, and accompanying animal engravings in restricted numbers, the major lateral wadis seem to offer better prospects to the excavator. 172

The fairly extensive pre-Islamic ruins at Sune in the Wadi 'Adim were visited for a few hours from Tarim, and sherds and other samples collected from the surface for comparison later with more westerly sites. Here too were lying numbers of the microlithic obsidian flakes in geometric forms—trapezoids, triangles, rectangles, and crescents, neatly retouched on their lateral edges—which Miss Stark had also collected in 1935 on the ruin-field of Gheibun near Meshhed in the Wadi Du'an, and had kindly shown to me.[1] I had then recognized their kinship with the latest microlithic obsidian industries in Kenya, and was prepared, in the absence of the necessary corroborative evidence from other archaeological factors, for a date considerably earlier—possibly in the second millennium—than anything hitherto known from the ruins of the old South Arabian kingdoms. Their occurrence also at Sune, amongst the dusty rubble heaps of the stone-built ruins, though suggestive of true contemporaneity could not, without excavations, be conclusive.[2] Any doubts there might be vanished later at Hureidha in the Wadi 'Amd, where my excavations of a pre-Islamic temple and its contemporary tombs, no part of which could be earlier than about the sixth century B.C. and which were mainly or entirely some centuries later, established beyond question the

[1] 'The southern gates of Arabia,' p. 166. Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams had also collected them there in 1934 (*Geogr. J.* 88 (1936) 524–51), but not, I think, the crucial types.

[2] Dr. Huzayyin in 1936 also collected these obsidian tools at Gheibun, and felt assured their date was that of the ruins.

172 fact that geometric microliths, which in Europe and the Mediterranean area existed long before 3000 B.C., were still flourishing in South Arabia at this late date.

[171] If analogy may be trusted, as I think here it may, the little trapezoids were used as arrow-tips, of a form well known in prehistoric Denmark at least six thousand years ago, and common (whether in flint, chert, chalcedony, or obsidian is immaterial) over large parts of Europe and the Mediterranean, including predynastic and dynastic Egypt, at various dates down to 2000 B.C., or in the Sudan over a thousand years later. In Mesopotamia Sir Leonard Woolley has recorded a variant of the type in the royal tomb of Mes-Kalam-Dug at Ur. Dr. Grahame Clark in drawing attention to this discovery [1] suggested the possibility that the type, being of such antiquity, was used for symbolical purposes in a royal grave only, and not in the other, contemporary, burials. Be that as it may, the little arrow-tips were noticeably associated with the burials we examined in South-west Arabia, though not to the exclusion of the other types, amongst which the rectangles are almost certainly sickle-blades.

That these obsidian implements in the Hadhramaut owe their appearance to African influence I have little doubt. In East Africa their progenitors, the third of the three great culture groups referred to above, are strongly entrenched, and range back uninterruptedly into Upper Palaeolithic times. In South Arabia on the contrary they appear to have no ancestry. Until analyses have been made it cannot be certain from whence the obsidian came, and perhaps not even then; for it is likely that the eruptive areas of South-west Arabia yield a volcanic glass indistinguishable from the East African variety. Local Badawin asserted that obsidian was to be found "in the mountains," pointing south-west from Hureidha. But how far away they meant remained an unanswered question.

Our excavations have been recorded in brief outline in *Nature* (vol. 142, 23 July 1938), and the results will eventually be fully published. They were confined to a spot in the Wadi 'Amd near Hureidha, which Miss Gardner and I reached on December 20.[2] The little town, about 850 m. above sea-level, compactly nestles, in approved Hadhramaut fashion, on the steep scree of a snout of cliff projecting at the confluence of a lateral wadi with the Wadi 'Amd (Plate 3). December 22 and 23 were given up to the absorbing task of examination of the ruin-field, skirted by von Wissmann and Van der Meulen in 1931.[3] It lay about an hour's donkey pace from the town, on the barren plain of aeolian silt filling the main valley, and proved to be a scattered and unenticing affair covering about 10 sq. km., and giving little hope of depth of deposit. Small evenly spaced stone-rubble heaps, at first sight puzzling, sprang from bare wind-swept ground. These, thanks to Miss Gardner's subsequent mapping, proved to be the vestiges of an old irrigation system; here also the outlines of ancient fields and boundaries could be traced. My decision to excavate rested on small beginnings. Across the plain, nearing the opposite cliffs, a sudden heaping up of consolidated and stationary sand-

[1] *Antiquity*, June 1935, pp. 210–15.
[2] Miss Stark was then in hospital at Aden, but rejoined us.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



dunes called for explanation. The sand must have been immobilized by something, we argued. With a first recruitment of six local men and four boys, soundings were made the following day, and we soon struck the foundations of a large stone building. Thus was discovered the temple of the Moon God, Sîn,[1] the first of its kind recorded in Arabia. It provided the complete ground-plan of a pagan semitic sanctuary, over fifty dedicatory inscriptions, and accessory details of baetyllic cult. The temple must have stood, unprotected and conspicuous, on a slight eminence overlooking in both directions the length of the level plain, then diligently watered and cultivated (Plate 10). Its enlargement, at two later periods, and the gradual rise in pavement levels, imply security over a very considerable length of time. No village appears to have flourished in the immediate vicinity, and the secular habitations on the plain around seem to have consisted of isolated farmsteads which lie buried beneath mounds. One such was excavated,[2] and proved, by the pottery, to be contemporary with the temple.

These discoveries went far to fulfil the third of my archaeological objectives. But the collection of more utilitarian material than a sacred edifice normally produces became urgent, and time was short. The paramount importance of common things is axiomatic in archaeology, eclipsing in value all the rarities beloved by the uninitiated; and never more so than at the beginning of research as in South Arabia, where even the pre-Islamic pottery was virtually unknown.

The temple deposits were singularly poor in potsherds: these were moreover in small fragments, and not a single complete vessel was found. The scarcity also of pottery in the farmstead site suggested that we were dealing with a people, then as now, making and using little earthenware, and relying on skin, wood, and stone for their domestic receptacles. To remedy perhaps these deficiencies, as well as to obtain facts concerning the physical types of these early South Arabians,[3] the discovery of graves was essential. A sedentary Badu in possession of a few ancient beads and a stone incense burner volunteered non-committal information, and Miss Gardner went off to report. It became clear that tombs existed in the lower scree slopes of the northern cliffs, only 1 km. from the temple; indeed our informant lived, comfortably and apparently unsuspectingly, with his family in an anciently robbed one.

The excavation of two in this vicinity [4]—a lengthy affair, as they were large collective sepulchral caves about 8 m. in diameter hollowed out by hand in the sandstone underlying breccia—occupied the remainder of the season, and yielded besides beads and other trinkets a big group of the required pots intact, which will form the essential basis of a South Arabian *corpus*. The skulls are uniformly long-headed. Seals derived from probably Achaemenid

[1] Position is marked A3 on the map, Fig. 2.

[2] Position is marked A4 on the map, Fig. 2.

[3] The generalization has been made that North Arabians are predominantly long-headed, the Southerners round-headed (Hitti, 'History of the Arabs,' p. 30). See also Professor Seligman's remarks (*Geogr. J.* 87, 88 (1931) 34, 239) regarding Mr. Bertram Thomas's anthropometric data from S.E. Arabia.

[4] Marked A5 and A6 on the map, Fig. 2. Further tomb work was sadly abbreviated by a long bout of fever in February.

172 prototypes give a *terminus a quo* in the sixth to fourth centuries B.C., and suggest the probability of a later local date extending into Roman times.

The jumbled rubble mounds, some 2 m. high, scattered over a wide area of the Hureidha ruin-field, when mapped in detail, fell into orderly lines. They were, in fact, the remnants of an extensive irrigation system which surrounded the pre-Islamic valley sites. The clue to their origin was first found north of A3 and A4. Here in sand-covered ground a parallel line of stones 16–20 m. apart was traced east and west for some distance. Small channels took off from it at an acute angle, always directed eastwards. The broad parallel was clearly a main canal feeding the land on either side. At intervals the stone-covered mounds branched off at right-angles to the main line and to each other, and an examination of their structure quickly showed that they too had been integral parts of the system, placed at nodal points or junctions. The main canal was finally traced continuously for 1200 m. in the immediate neighbourhood of A3, and mapped for more than 3 km. west, or upstream, from that site.

It will be seen from the map, Fig. 2, that the main canal follows the highest ground of the wadi floor and has a fall of 1 m. in 455 m. for the westerly portion. In this part it is ill-defined and marked only by a concentration of pebbles as a 20-m. band along its course. Its nature however is clear from the presence of the minor channels which take off on either side. Just west of A3, near the stone foundations of a house, the line is lost altogether, and is next picked up 250 m. farther north after a fall in level of nearly 2 m. It is probable that erosion has destroyed all traces of this connecting stretch.

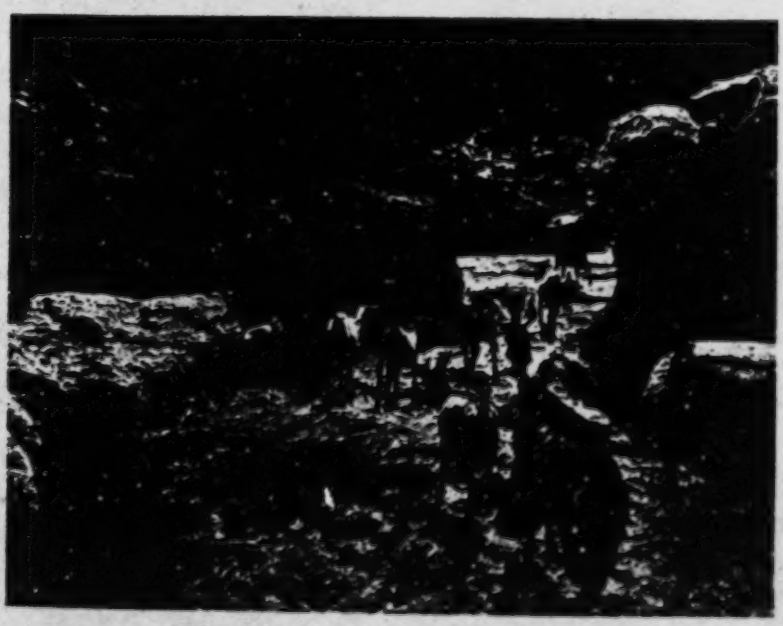
From the lower level the main canal runs along a narrow ridge, possibly partly artificial, enclosed by the 792·5 m. contour. It maintains a fairly constant width throughout this stretch of 800 m. and makes two pronounced right-angle bends about half-way along. Just after the most westerly one on the N.–S. leg there is a sudden narrowing to 6 m. for a distance of 10 m., then the full 20-m. width recommences. This probably marks a contrivance for measuring the flow of water. At the eastern end of the 800-m. stretch the 20-m. canal stops, and a pair of 8-m. channels branch off north and south at right-angles. The system then becomes obscured by sand, but it seems to branch into ever narrower channels. Beyond that point no canals were seen, but a settlement or farmstead lies 1 km. beyond the last one mapped and probably was served by the same system. To the south of A3 there is a smooth even slope for 50 m. or more with few or no traces of canals. Then the network begins again. The N.–S. components are the strongest, which is natural, since not only are they the most important but the E.–W. ones would lie right across the drainage line and therefore suffer most from erosion.

It seems probable that the sections of canals now missing were made, as are their modern equivalents, by silt thrown up from the valley floor. Only the important points such as junctions and crossings were stone-built, and these have been left by erosion on isolated mounds, which have themselves been severely reduced.

There seem, then, to have been three types of channels: the main canal which led water from farther afield into the area, and a dependent secondary and tertiary system. The secondary channels are those which took off at right-

133

*8. Terraces in Wadi 'Amd*



*9. Wadi 'Amd: tufa boulders in lateral wadi*

Facing P 34 (A)

16. Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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*10. Platform of the Moon God temple near Hureidha*

*11. Ruin of irrigation dam revetment in Wadi 'Amd*

Facing P. 34 (B)

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



172 angles to the main one, and which distributed the water to the field-plots: these are from 4 to 8 m. broad and approximately 2 m. above the general ground-level. The irrigation of the fields themselves was directly controlled by the tertiary system, which consists of short narrow 1-m. ditches, taking off at an acute angle either from the main or secondary channels. The total area covered by this network was about 7 sq. km., and its various parts can be paralleled in the modern irrigation system.

Near the southern edge of this system there are several fields bounded by high silt banks. These are marked on the map by strong dotted lines, and some can be faintly distinguished in Plate 3 on the edge of the valley floor beyond the flood channel. They may be later in date, but in one case a stone inlet and outlet channel was found similar in all respects to the ancient work. The ground-level was here about RL 787 m., the inlet channel at 788·2 m., and the outlet at 787·7 m. Many of these fields have been intermittently cultivated in modern times by means of rainfall only.[1] A scatter of sickle flints and microlithic obsidians was found over the entire irrigated area. It may be noted that obsidian implements were absent on all the Islamic sites examined.

312 At the present day the flood waters are led off the flood channel several
[245] kilometres above Hureidha and are carried down by a 4-m. channel running on the south side of the wadi (see Fig. 2) till they reach the palm groves of the town, where they divide and water many thousand palms. As the ancient
172 system was so similar to the modern it seems probable that it resembled it in this respect also. Within the area mapped there was no sign of a supply from the flood channel. The main canal never approached it and the minor ones were actually truncated by it. A day was therefore spent in riding up the wadi in the hopes of finding the take-off of the main pre-Islamic canal. Traces of it were followed for 16 km. but nowhere did it approach the present flood channel till the latter swings across the valley floor towards the north cliffs (Plate 3). Here a well-defined ancient canal is truncated by the wadi bed. It has 2 m. high gravel-covered banks, 30 m. apart, and can be clearly traced for 80 m. or so in an eastward direction. Beyond this point there is no sign of it, and here may therefore be the actual take-off of the flood waters which fed the ancient supply.

Possible confirmatory evidence was obtained about 1 km. upstream. Here there is a remnant of a V-shaped dam which projected from the southern bank part-way across the stream and would have served to divert the current to the entrance of the channel (Plate 11). In the bed itself only the foundations of this dam remain as a band of stones 3½ m. broad, wedged on both sides by larger, more regularly laid material. The downstream arm is 40 m. long and the upstream one 63 m., with a base of 81 m. along the wadi bank. The upstream branch springs from a base that wedges into the gravel of the bank for 2·6 m. The sloping sides are composed of wedge-shaped limestone blocks: eighteen courses high, probably the full number, are preserved on the downstream side and fourteen on the upstream. The infilling is of gravel. No sign of inscriptions or well-dressed stones were seen, and the age must therefore remain conjectural; but local tradition knows nothing of its history.

[1] Mr. Ingrams notes that in the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed—'Hadhramaut' (Colonial Office Report No. 123, 1937, p. 59).

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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# THE HADHRAMAUT: PRESENT AND FUTURE

W. H. INGRAMS

*Evening Meeting of the Society, 13 June 1938*

I CONFESS that I have not found it easy to plan what shape this paper should take. I would rather have been able to give you a straightforward account of a single pioneering journey, and if when my wife and I returned to the Hadhramaut on 16 November 1936 things had gone as we had expected, I should have hoped to tell you about a journey made in the time-honoured way by camel from the Hadhramaut eastwards through the Mahra country to the sea beyond Cape Fartak. We left Aden for Mukalla with six weeks allotted us and had hoped to make the journey when the immediate tasks arising out of our previous journey in 1934 had been completed. But our destiny was written otherwise, and though the six weeks spun out into months and though we have now become permanent residents of the Hadhramaut we have not yet found the time or opportunity for our journey. So it happens that I am unable to give you all those fresh first impressions of a new country once visited which are so interesting to those who have to do their travelling as listeners or readers.

It may none the less be interesting to attempt a fuller perspective of the Hadhramaut by describing, with that knowledge which comes from day-to-day familiarity, a country which is still little known from many points of view; and I shall hope, too, to describe occasional excursions over its hitherto unvisited districts.

When I look back over these past eighteen months I am struck by the great contrasts between the Hadhramaut then and now, contrasts which are probably more marked than any other changes the country has seen in its history. Eighteen months ago the Hadhramaut had, it is true, already become one of the better-known regions of Arabia. There had been quite a spate of writing and talking about it and within a short period it had seen quite a number of European visitors, comparatively speaking, for I suppose the total number of Europeans who had seen it since 1843, when Von Wrede went there, was twenty to thirty, of whom all except an odd half-dozen had been there since

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1933. In these last eighteen months however, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and otherwise, runs into over one hundred, in fact, into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included, for Mukalla has recently had the fresh experience of seeing bus loads of tourists from steamers driving through its street.

The more frequent and more intensive incursion of European visitors is of course in itself a great contrast with the recent past, but I think that the contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country in the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every Badawin and tribesman in the country carried his rifle with him, even to walk across the street. Blood feuds were widespread, and even harmless travellers of the unarmed classes were at times likely to lose not only their property but their lives. Travellers by motor car had to take with them an escort when passing from village to village. In places there were extensive systems of trenches to pass from the villages to the fields, and I know of people who have spent as much as twenty years without getting beyond their own doors.

Now however all this has passed and it is comparatively rarely that you see a tribesman carrying a rifle, indeed many of them do not even carry the *jambiyas* or curved daggers which are almost as much a part of their dress as a walking-stick was of ours. How all this has come to pass is more a matter of the history of the Hadhramaut than its geography, but I should simply like to say that it was largely through the will of the people who have a genuine desire for peace and for the following of peaceful pursuits.

This new peace has resulted in a much greater contact between tribes and between different parts of the country and has made possible a great extension in communications. Eighteen months ago there were about half a dozen motors on the coast and about sixty in the interior, carried up by camels. By the completion of the Al Kaf road Tarim has been linked with Shihr and passenger-carrying lorries ply almost daily between the coast and the interior. When I left the country a couple of months ago there were at least two hundred motor vehicles in it and every ship was bringing one or two. Many more car tracks have been made and cars now go to almost all parts of the Hadhramaut, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is also constructing another remarkably good motor road to the Hadhramaut which is being built northwards from Mukalla and southwards from Du'an. Something over 20 miles of the former and 10 of the latter had been completed when I left; about 60 miles remains to be done, of which the greater part is over the flat *jols* and offers no particular difficulties of construction. Starting from Mukalla you can now motor at least 300 miles in the Hadhramaut without recrossing your tracks, and there are over 500 miles of tracks altogether.

The possibilities of air transport have also been greatly improved. There were, eighteen months ago, eight landing-grounds in the five Sultanates in the eastern part of the Protectorate of which only three, Mukalla, Shibam, and Qishn, were used at all frequently. New landing-grounds have been constructed at Tarim, Seiyun, Hureidha, Al 'Abr, 'Azzan, Balhaf, Riaib,

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Hazwein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the 508
seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited.

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls 509
of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air 205
service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. 206
There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation.

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet 131
fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent 161
with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on 162
the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden.

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development 311
of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north.

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly 439
commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to 226
the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount 241
of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir. 1821
From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possessing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local [167]
opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations

in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main wadi system, there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *badu* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government, and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

The climate of Mukalla is on the whole pleasant enough, and with the gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year we had a particularly bad

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epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, 364
according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to 164
see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for 731
rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in 361
its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia 464
and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans. One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors [565]
and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily. We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla 100
have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations. The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency, the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish. Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light 373
has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible 701
far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganize and train his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on 517
the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago, for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The 20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, 491
for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hill-sides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extraordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the 484
beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which 438

184 438 [463 512] passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

361 438 529 Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the [504] principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

619 438 Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

487 101 438 142 When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan [244] Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

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we first went up there they[1] charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

1 [THE BA HASAN TANBULIS -- ANALYST]

180 and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of
136 monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer
180 for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly
623 friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under
728 it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

[491 A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the
508] Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground.
721 The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and
574 holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the
312 country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

361 The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru,
312 where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which
223 last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

491 From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate.
487 Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and
609 parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the 'aqaba it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

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out to meet you. Many people prefer to walk down the *'aqaba*, and in any case the drivers stop at the top to tie up the brakes. I have only walked down once, and that was on the morning of the New Year. I sat for a short time at the top and it really was a most beautiful sight watching the day break over the minarets and white houses of Tarim. 600

"Tarim and thou desirest no more" is a local saying, and in truth I know of no happier places to live in than Tarim and Seiyun. I shall never forget our first impressions of Tarim nor I think does anybody else forget his, but the charm of these places grows with knowledge and they have a hospitable and cultured society. There is little literary learning in Mukalla or Shihr: 212
Mukalla can be difficult to live in, but Shihr is always friendly and welcoming. 538
Seiyun and Tarim are not only that, but can talk of affairs, of history, and of philosophy. The whole country is full of poets, and not only quotes the old poets but records constantly current history in *qasidas*, and that is how much of it survives. At a Shabwani dance the poets assemble and in turn compose extempore couplets, which are repeated by the choir leaders and taken up by a hundred throats.

Tarim and its rich suburb of 'Aidid, where there are several beautiful Riviera 631
villas, are of course under Kathiri rule, but they and the small village of Al [361]
Ghuraf are in Tamimi country. One interesting fact about Tarim that I have learnt recently is that it contains a state within its walls. This enclosure, which contains a few houses inhabited by the Seiyids of Al Haddad, is ruled by their *mansab* under some ancient right. His subjects are completely under his jurisdiction, and even if they commit offences in the city of Tarim are not tried by the Sultan but handed over to him. The intelligentsia of Tarim call him the *Baba* (the Pope) and his state the *Fatikana*. Tarim and Seiyun both have old religious academies (*Rubats*) to which students come from considerable distances in the west of the Protectorate and from the Yemen. 874
I remember when I first passed the Tarim Rubat a long time ago there was 609
a rush to exclude the contaminating influence, and all the doors and window shutters were hastily banged. Life gets more pleasant when crowds of children and adult hangers on cease to follow you shouting *Nasrani* (Christian). When I returned to Mukalla from the interior in March 1937 one small boy did shout Nasrani, but was immediately corrected by a friend who said "*That's* not a Nasrani, that's Ingrams."

The Tamimis, who stretch several miles on the way to Seiyun, and down 619
the Wadi Maseila to below Qasm, the Tamimi capital, are a Qu'aiti tribe, so that Tarim and Al Ghuraf form islands in their territory. There are no Badu [167]
sections to the Tamimis, and they all live in the wadi and emigrate largely to East Africa and the East Indies. They are however an astonishingly disunited tribe whose sections were constantly warring against each other, mostly over land questions. In this way they are a great contrast to their neighbours, the Manahil, who belong to the same Confederation, the Beni Dhanna. The Manahil are all Badus but are completely united in following their young chief 'Aidha bin Tannaf, a very fine lad of about twenty-five. I thought at first that the Manahil were not going to join in the truce, but after holding back for a little while they came and signed, and have never caused the slightest trouble, though 'Aidha had considerable difficulty in restraining

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them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

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hospitality in the new house during the past year, and last hot weather nothing 000
was more delightful than to sit in the swimming pool in the evening and listen
to the strains of the B.B.C. Empire Orchestra. Since then the Arabic broad-
casts have started and they are extremely popular throughout the Hadhramaut, [607]
which now sets its watches by Big Ben. Bathing over, dinner would be laid
on carpets by the side of the bathing pool. One rarely sits down less than
twenty at meals in Seiyid Bubekr's house and very often it is forty. The
average daily consumption runs into about 30 to 40 lb. of rice, three or four
dozen eggs, half a dozen chickens, and one or two sheep, and several pounds
of vegetables. We went up for the wedding of his daughter, and then over
five thousand people were fed for three days.

Seiyun has been our principal headquarters in the wadi, and from it I
have continually visited all the neighbouring places, staying at Shibam,
Al Qatn, Henin, Qa'udha, and Hureidha. You never get to Hureidha without [609]
stopping for a meal at Diyar al Buqri, where the people are so hospitable that
they have been known to fire on those who have attempted to pass in cars
without stopping to have a meal. The Buqri are Nahd, and although they
are settled they are still rather Badu. On my first visit they offered us a large
house if we would but stay and rule the country, and it was then I learned
that they had imported a first-class cook from Java in the hope of being able
to entertain Europeans. Great as is the hospitality and kindness of all the
Nahd, the meals at Diyar al Buqri are as fine and as varied as anything you
could get anywhere. Their ideas even of afternoon tea are on the most lavish
scale. I have had it with them three times and on each occasion they have
produced cakes, honey, and halwa, several varieties of tinned fruit, British
biscuits, and super-cream toffees.

Beyond Diyar al Buqri, as you enter the Wadi 'Amd, stands a little fort 712
with a sentry for ever gazing out. It was some time before I discovered that 619
the sentry was a dummy, a lump of clay artistically draped with a black
cloth, but in recent months I notice he has fallen into disrepair. The Nahd
extend down into the Wadi 'Amd almost as far as Hureidha, of which the
population consists entirely of Seiyids of the Al 'Attas family and their
dependants. Here, too, I have several times stayed, and there is now a land- 080
ing-ground. There is no need for me to say much about Hureidha as it is
here that Miss Stark, Miss Caton-Thompson and Miss Gardner have been
wintering. One interesting fact about Hureidha may however be too trivial
for their notice, and that is that one of the mosques has two large town clocks,
one with a face 6 feet in diameter and the other 3 feet. Only the latter works,
and they are of course at the top of the high minaret. But they are inside
the minaret, and you have to walk up sixty or seventy steps to see the time.

Up the wadi from Hureidha is the Ja'da tribe. I have not travelled farther 619
up the wadi than Hureidha on foot, but before I went there for peace negotia- 361
tions my wife did the journey on camel. The wadi is thickly populated and 628
has numerous small villages which at that time were nearly all at war with 241
each other. My wife took down particulars of thirty-two major feuds going
on between sections and even between houses a few yards apart. There were
trench systems, similar to those at Qa'udha, leading from the houses to the
fields, but owing to the disturbed conditions cultivation had suffered badly
AND THERE WAS A GENERAL DESIRE FOR PEACE IN ORDER TO GET ON
WITH THE WORK IN THE FIELDS.

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and there was a general desire for peace in order to get on with the work in the fields.

My wife was accompanied by Seiyid 'Alawi al 'Attas and Jemila, a devoted maid servant of the family, who perched precariously on the back of my wife's camel singing Badawin war songs. My wife learnt some of them and they proceeded up the wadi singing duets. Besides being an amusing companion Jemila was a very useful one, for she proved an excellent lady's maid and a masseuse as well. Seiyid 'Alawi has married a tribeswoman, so the party stayed at Zeila in the house of his brother-in-law, one of the principal Ja'da chiefs. Like many Ja'dis their host had been to Java, but the only sign of his travels was a bicycle which he had brought back with him and which he said he preferred to a camel. From Zeila they rode through many small villages to 'Anaq belonging to the Al ash Shaibi, who are credited with possessing the Evil Eye and consequently shunned as much as possible. Seiyid 'Alawi thought it prudent not to mount his camel till the village had been left well behind, in case he was made to fall off by some evilly disposed person. They spent a night at 'Amd, which is almost at the end of Ja'da territory, for a little farther up the wadi the Madhi tribe have their habitat. All the villages in the wadi are much alike with a few three- and four-storeyed houses set amongst smaller ones, and most of them have well-built tanks for catching rain-water. Particularly in the left bank there are many dug-out caves, largely used now for habitation and grain stores. Miss Caton-Thompson says that these were probably all Himyaritic tombs. I think some cave dwellers she met were rather put out when she told them they were living in tombs. Many of the Al 'Attas family, who have much influence over the Ja'dis, have been canonized and their domed tombs are objects of veneration in several villages. My wife's appearance was taken for granted at 'Amd, where she spent a night with women who had been to Java and had seen European women before. They had brought back a few momentos of their travels and impelled by the same spirit that makes us hang Eastern curios on our walls they had hung up a pair of cheap European high-heeled slippers for the admiration of their untravelled friends.

From 'Amd they returned down the wadi following the left bank and passed many ruins, most of which covered low spurs jutting out from the cliffs. At Husn Ba Qasm there are ruins known as 'Adiya Qudha'a which may indicate the site of what was once the principal town in the wadi, as in the days before Islam it was called Wadi Qudha'a. Near the large village of Bateh they passed the time of day with a man who spoke to them from a second-storey window of his house as he dared not go out, for he was carrying on single-handed a war with all his neighbours. Like many others with whom my wife talked he asked for peace. Another had said "We want peace, we're sick of fighting. A man works in his fields and is shot dead—what's the use of it?" And another stopped them and said: "A country without a government is not a country. Bring us peace and settled government."

Returning to Shibam, which is of course the principal Qu'aiti town of the interior, there is west of it past Al Qatn and as far as the junction of the Wadi Du'an a bloc of Yafa'is, with a few Kathiris surviving in such places as Ajlania on the junction itself and also in the Wadi 'Amd. These Yafa'is have been

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715

*Armoured car near Al Ghurfa*

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*Trenches at Al Ghurfa* [FACING P. 300 (A)]

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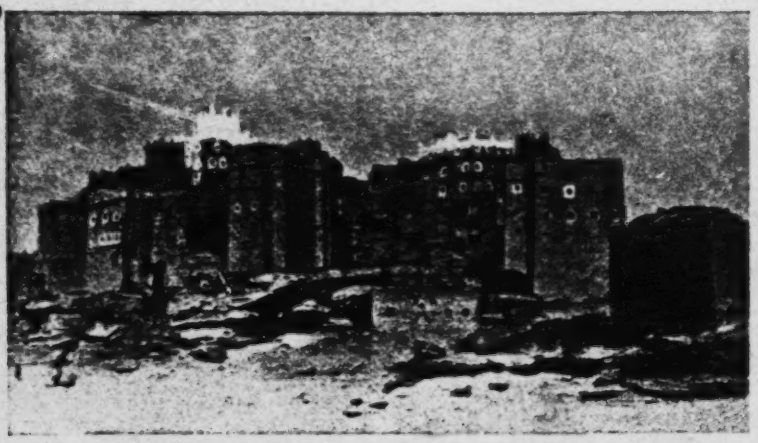

*'Azzan, capital of the sultanate of Balhaf*

*The 'aqaba for motors at Tarim*

701

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settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the 361
sixteenth century Bedr Bu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, 101
whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found; for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and 311
it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi 619
green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern [233]
part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Badus keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim 622
Mbaruk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dispensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom 701 728
there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali 619
is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 721
and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signatories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who 728
had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in 000
October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

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Shibam to the entrance of the Wadi Ser took us three minutes; this journey had taken us exactly two hours on camels, and twenty minutes by car. After sighting the tomb of the Prophet Salih in the Wadi Khonab we turned into the Wadi Ser and at the mouth of the Wadi Latakh I recognized the Bents' Himyaritic caravan signpost. Then we went up the Wadi Sodaf and from Qa' al Fadhul on the *jol* at its head took directions previously given to me by Badawins for Ba Rumeidan, which we found. This is the residence of Tannaf, the principal chief of the Al Baqi Msellem of the Sei'ar. From the air I saw plainly that just before Qa' al Fadhul we were over the northern watershed, from which deep-cut short wadis run south-south-west to the Hadhramaut, and long shallow ones in an east-north-easterly direction to the sands. There was very little habitation over this part of the country, and most of the inhabitants live in caves. After just over forty minutes' flying from Shibam we found ourselves between two short wadis running out into a broad channel of sand which it took us two minutes to cross, and beyond it was a broken mass of rock stretching away to the north-east. The channel itself ran out into the desert just west of the course of the flight, and the distance from Shibam to this point is calcuated at 69 miles. The visibility was perfect. Air Commodore McClaughry, who was with the flight, noted the high mass of the Seiban mountains at least 100 miles away to the south, so that one could also see at least that distance to the north. An unbroken sea of sand stretched wave on wave far away to the horizon. Looking north it was the most remarkable rosy red colour, quite unforgettable and quite unbelievable if an attempt were made to paint it. It was about three-quarters of an hour short of noon local time, so that the colour owed nothing to early morning light. After a few minutes over the desert, which seemed all too short, we came back to Shibam a bit to the west of Wadi Qubhudh.

Next morning we left Seiyun at a quarter to nine on an almost due northerly course. On this outward flight the same facts were observed, deep short ravines running nearly south to the Hadhramaut, and past the paler coloured *jols* of the watershed more shallow wadis running almost east-north-easterly to the sands. In the upper reaches of the southern system we saw a few poor settlements of the 'Awamir and a caravan of some fifty camels plodding its way southward. The whole *jol* from west to east is heavily scored with well-marked tracks, and it is worth noting, as I have also noted on aeroplane journeys over the Wadi Maseila, that east of our course and some 50 miles north of the wadi as it goes towards Qabr Hud there is a considerable rise in the ground, almost a range of mountains. This is probably the Jebel al Wuti of Von Wissmann's map.

After exactly an hour and a quarter's flying we passed over the edge of the steppe and the desert, just by a conspicuous large white patch of sand, the distance from Seiyun being calculated at 112 miles. Again there was the same wonderful sight of endless rosy waves of sand, though when we were directly over the sand I noticed that it was a rich ochre. Just west of the white patch a channel of desert sand opened into the steppe. This proved to be the eastern end of yesterday's channel, separating a long broken up island *jol* from the mainland. Its situation and shape were sufficiently like Madagascar for us to call it that, and the name seems to have stuck in local usage. The flight

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EASTERN ADEN PE

"THE HADHRAMAUT: PRESENT

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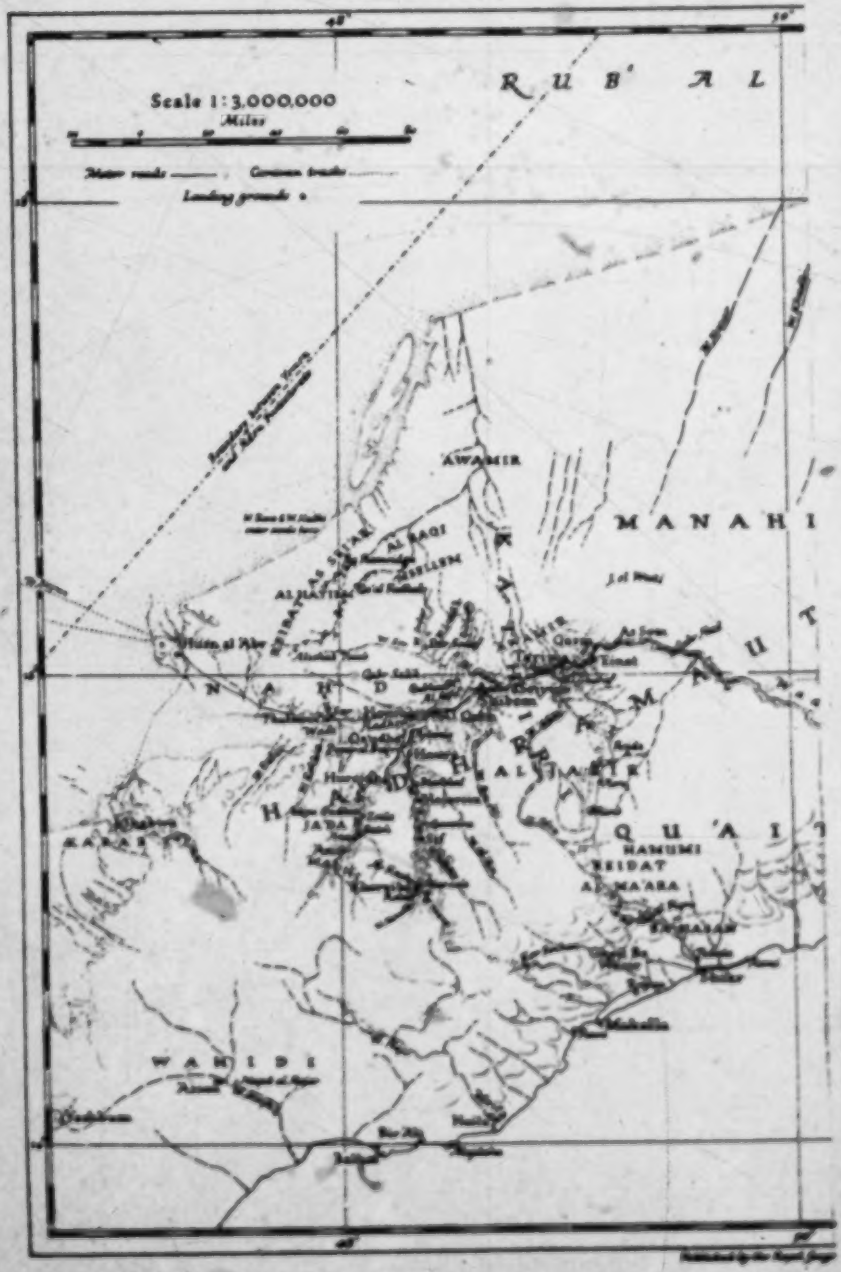


[FACING P. 202 (A)]

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N PROTECTORATE
ENT & FUTURE" by Mr. W. H. Ingrams

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[PACING P. 302 (B)]

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coasted westwards along the line just dividing the desert from the steppe; where the larger wadis run out into the sand there were wide stretches of scattered vegetation which made the land look as if there was a green scum on it.

At the western end of the "island," much broken with gulfs and with small islands lying off it in the desert, the flight turned to the south-west, a little to the west of the point which had been reached on the previous day's reconnaissance, and explored the western part of the Sei'ar country, the territory of the Al Hatim of which Bin Jerbu'a and Bin Mulhi are the chiefs. This is the heart of Reidat as Sei'ar, and turned out to be surprisingly thickly populated and cultivated. On almost every bank of the wadis were villages consisting of the usual type of Hadhrami Badawin conglomerate *dars*, with a tall tower in the centre, and small contiguous quarters, each called a *Beit*, clustered round it. Subsequent flights made this country very familiar, and with the aid of a Sei'ar, one of the most intelligent Badawin guides, I was able to identify almost all these *dars*. On several occasions we flew beyond Reidat as Sei'ar over uninhabited steppe to Husn Al 'Abr, seeing on clear days Shabwa away in the distance.

These reconnaissances seemed to us very interesting, not only politically but geographically, for the watershed and the fall of the land, steep towards the Hadhramaut and gradual towards the sands, were clearly visible. Up on this watershed I recorded altitudes of 3600, while 300 miles to the east Mr. Thomas states that the altitude remained fairly constant at about 950 feet. This northern steppe is bounded on three sides by sand and has cliff-walls all round it, highest on the wadi side and lowest on the northern or desert side. At a conservative estimate in some 20 square miles there are not less than fifty to sixty Sei'ar villages which have scarcely even been visited by Arabs other than the Sei'ar and the Al Ishaq Sheikhs who live among them.

Some time after these reconnaissances my wife and I visited Al 'Abr on the ground, though she in fact went rather farther and drove some 20 miles towards Shabwa, a day and a half's camel ride from Al 'Abr. We have thus seen the whole of the Wadi Hadhramaut from its source to the sea, and the more you see of it the more extraordinary it is, for it must be at least 40 miles from its northern or left to its southern or right banks at Al 'Abr. This of course narrows very rapidly to 4 miles or so at Henin. It was from Henin that Seiyid Bubekr and I set out for Al 'Abr, following for a start the tracks which Dr. Pike, on a geological survey, had made in that direction. The tracks made by Mr. Philby had of course disappeared.

Our object was to obtain the looted camels of the Manahils, held by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun of the Sei'ar at Al 'Abr. We had with us the fifteen slave soldiers of the Qu'aiti Regular Army who were to be installed there as a garrison, and as we did not want the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to abscond into the desert with the camels, we had kept our movements secret. Seiyid Bubekr said his sunset prayers at Henin. The lorries had gone ahead and had made very slow progress as they had had heavy sand to negotiate. It was difficult finding the way in the dark, but we caught them up at half-past eight, and all of us sat down to dine together, just near the village of Sur and under the two mountains called Thabwein which form a conspicuous landmark from the air for a radius of 70 or 80 miles around. This was 27 miles from Henin,

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and we were in country with which there had been practically no contact It must really have been alarming to the Badawin: a noisy party in lorries, which they had not seen before, and ourselves in cars, shouting directions to each other in the night and firing Verey lights to show each other the way; but the Badawin materialized out of the darkness, most surprisingly without rifles, directed us time and again on our way, and pushed our cars out of the sand.

After Thukmein, which we left about half-past eleven, we had no great difficulty in moving on as the moon was up. We drove on for some hours and then stopped to let the rest of the party come up. It was bitterly cold and the keen wind cut through us as we huddled together trying to sleep on the sand, but we did sleep and woke to a marvellous dawn. The sunset of the night before, the brilliant moon, and the sunrise are three enduring memories of that night.

The four flat-topped hills of Al 'Abr lay about 10 miles ahead of us, and although only one of the lorries had come on, the other having had one of its many breakdowns, we decided to go on. It was marvellous hard sand on which a speed of fifty was easy and we had quickly left the lorry behind. We made our way into the wadi bed, myself acting as guide as I was the only one who knew the country even from the air. There were one or two Bureiki Sheikhs about with camels, and rather reluctantly they told us that the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun were also there with the camels. A few minutes' driving up the hard wadi brought us to the ruins of the fort, said by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to have been built by them.

The dozen or so Badawin round the well looked extremely surprised when the car drew up. I suppose they were hardly awake, as the morning was still chilly and they were all wearing their sheepskin coats. A few Bureiki Sheikhs came down and bade us welcome. All the rest of the Badawin claimed to belong to every tribe except the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun. Some said they were Sheikhs, some claimed to be Daham, a Yemeni tribe, and some Nahd, but there were a good many shifty looks and in the course of the morning we sorted out nine who had given themselves away and who finally admitted to belonging to this raiding section. There are only forty-three males all told of the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun, but from the amount of trouble they had given in the past it was well worth getting them under control. They have no houses or settled habitation and are about the only people of the Hadhramaut who have goatskin tents. They are part of the Al Hatim, but Bin Mulhi, their chief, says he has no control over them and the Sei'ar themselves were delighted when we took hostages from them and put in a garrison, whose function is to protect the travellers and not to interfere in other ways.

Presently the lorries came up and I installed the wireless and settled the garrison into temporary quarters. There was nothing at Al 'Abr except the ruined fort of which only one wall still stood, a small stone *murabba'a*, one of the dark cube-shaped shelters used by travellers all over the Hadhramaut, and a hut built of branches of trees and grass of which there was a great profusion. There was also a new wali's tomb decorated with ibex horns, and one of the Bureiki Sheikhs took us there and chopping the tomb addressed its holy occupant and introduced us. We put the garrison into the

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WE PUT THE GARRISON INTO THE

grass hut, as the *murabba'a* was occupied by a woman who had been bitten 752
by a snake and the Sheikh asked us not to disturb her: it was part of her treatment that she should not be seen. A thin trail of ash had been sprinkled round the building to keep other snakes away.

During the day we collected other 'Abdulla bin 'Aun who came and watched 000
us from a distance in little groups. Somehow they seemed to be fascinated by us, for although they would not come when we shouted to them, they made no attempt to move or to resist when we walked over to them and told them to come along with us. Few of them were armed, and neither were we until the garrison came along. There were a couple of wells in commission, and I was told that at one time there had been as many as eighty-one. Some of the Badawin showed us on the wall of a cliff little columns of holes bored in soft stone. You counted up the holes and then stepping that number of paces from the column found yourself on a buried well.

Having explored the neighbourhood of the fort we went to see the site for a landing-ground which had been previously decided on from the air. Unfortunately it had to be at some little distance from the fort—2 or 3 miles—but it was a marvellous landing-ground and greatly pleased the Royal Air Force when they came along later in the day and flew Seiyid Bubekr and myself back to Seiyun.

On later visits I had the opportunity of seeing all the surrounding country from the air, and I was struck by the truth of the saying that Al 'Abr is the "Key of the Hadhramaut," for behind the mountains tracks radiated out in all directions to Nejran, the Yemen, and Shabwa and the Western Aden Protectorate. From Al 'Abr eastwards there was only the one track. I have visited Al 'Abr five times on the ground and passed over it many times by air, and on each occasion I have been struck by the large number of caravans which halt there for water. For a week or two after our occupation there was some falling off, as the Badawin were not certain of our intentions, but now it seems that far more come than before; they have a sense of security which was previously lacking when the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun were constantly looting them. My own belief, which is shared by responsible opinion in the Hadhramaut, is that before long a town will spring up there, as it forms an ideal place for a market and there is plenty of good water. The wells are not much [821]
more than 20 feet deep, cut through the soft limestone, and as soon as you draw the water out it runs in again in such a way as to give you the impression that there must be an underground river. On the first visit I took there a party of skilled builders from Tarim and they set to work at once to rebuild the fort. They also opened another well or two, and if we can find the money we shall open more, for these increased facilities are much appreciated by the Badawin.

Amongst the visitors who come are a large number of women. Thereabouts 562
they are unveiled and talk fearlessly and freely with you. I found these girls very charming and full of courage. They thought nothing of journeys alone with camels across the desert, from the Jof for instance, and it is the women throughout the Hadhramaut who appreciate the peace more than any one. They have often said that in the old days they always lived in fear that when their menfolk parted from them they might not see them again.

000 Another thing I have noticed from the air all around Al 'Abr are those rows of small heaps of stone often with a large circle of stones at the end of them. These we had found up in the Sei'ar country in 1934 and had been told they were the work of the men of 'Ad. In the Sei'ar country there were always round them plenty of flint implements, and my wife, who on her visit to Al 'Abr was able to explore more of the neighbourhood on the ground, found flint implements in plenty at Al 'Abr. It would be interesting to know what these lines of stones were. It may be remembered that Mr. Bertram Thomas found them also in the Mahra country when starting on his journey across the Rub' al Khali. Most of the *jols* and some of the valley places in the Hadhramaut have flint implements on them, and Miss Caton-Thompson has found a great many.

Politically Al 'Abr is a most useful place, as it enables one to keep easy touch with our own Badawin tribes such as the Nahd, Sei'ar, Kerbi, and Al Bureik, and enables us to make friendly contacts with our neighbours such as the Daham and 'Abida. These latter have asked us to extend peaceful arrangements to them, but we can only reply that they must apply to the Imam of the Yemen.

South of the Sei'ar country across the Wadi Hadhramaut are three other wadis, the 'Irma, Duhr, and Rakhia, with the tribes of which I have as yet only exchanged letters. Single-handed it has been too difficult to do much for them, though they are continually writing of raids in which large numbers of goats and some women have been looted and some men killed. I have seen their country from the air, but Wadi Rakhia is the only one which is at all closely populated and cultivated. South of them again, towards the Wahidi country, are a number of tribes whose country I have not seen even from the air, but who practically all have signed the truce and from whom representatives come to visit me in Seiyun or Mukalla.

In this survey there remains of Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory, the Hadhramaut States, only the Du'an area which I have not had the time to visit more than twice during the past tour, as the roads are not yet completed. You appreciate from the air how closely these deep narrow clefts of Leisar and Du'an are cultivated, for they form brilliant slashes of green in the brown of the surrounding *jols*. My last visit was a day or two before I left, when I was taking Mr. Figgis, my new assistant, round the country to introduce him. We arrived unexpected at Du'an as our letters had been delayed, and as we climbed down the familiar '*asaba* the sunset call to prayer echoed round the wadi from a dozen minarets.

We stayed again in the Arabian Nights' palace of the Ba Surra brothers, surrounded by the wonderful carving and decoration of their guest house. Each time I see it I am more struck with it, and this time I was tempted to place an order for a complete set of doors, windows, cupboards, pillars, and ceiling for a room. The total cost is estimated at only 800 dollars, rather less than £60, and now I am faced with the problem of building a house somewhere to put it in. The carpenters are tribesmen and, as one would expect, their art is hereditary. They are proud of the fact that they are descended straight from Kinda.

We spent a week-end with the Ba Surras, and after a very large Sunday

18:Inguma G-3 (1934-36)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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*Hamumi tribesmen at Shihr*

[41]

*Crossbows in Wadi 'Amd*

*Wahidi tribesmen at 'Azzan* [FACING P. 80(A)]

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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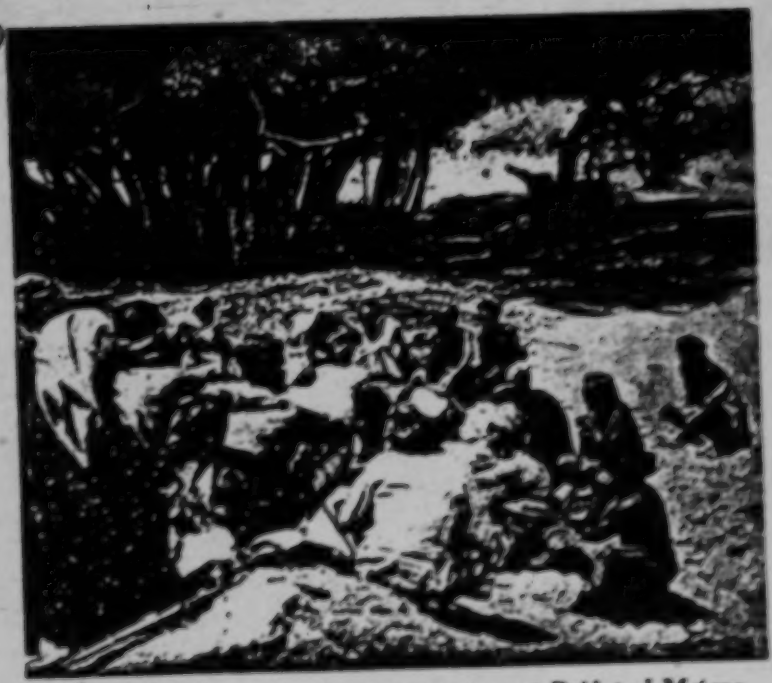

*A peace meeting under the sanctuary tree at Reidat al Ma'aro*

*Surrender at Seiyun of the Bin Yamani section from Rinb*

[FACING P. 304 (B)]

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



lunch, also in true Arabian Nights' style, as we had lamb stuffed with pistachio nuts, almonds, and raisins, and many other good things, we started off for a round of afternoon calls. Many old friends had come to see us and all wanted us to visit them. However we managed to weed them down to four and thought we would take the farthest first, so we went off through the date palms to Robat where we had an enormous tea, and then came back through Khoreiba, where we had two more and a fourth, just after sunset, at Ar Rashid. Then we staggered back for dinner to Masna'a, Mr. Figgis rather under the weather and wondering how he was going to cope with Hadhrami hospitality after the more modest repasts of Northern Nigeria.

My wife re-visited Du'an at the beginning of 1937, journeying up the well-known caravan road from Mukalla. She travelled with two Seiyids of the Mihdhar family returning to their homes after a long absence, and they took seven days on donkeys from the coast to Wadi Du'an. The nights were spent in the *marabba'a* and towards sunset each evening they raced with an old shepherd taking a flock of Somaliland sheep over the *jols* to Du'an, for he was determined that his sheep should sleep in the stone hut and the Seiyids were equally determined that my wife and they should. There was always a long midday halt for about eleven o'clock the Seiyids felt they needed their ginger coffee, and it was after noon before the large meal of rice and dried fish was ready.

Except for the preparation of two large meals a day everything was very simple. The Seiyids each had a folding iron camp bed and the Badawin, two of whom acted as chief cook and butler-valet, usually slept curled up underneath the beds. The Seiyids had put on clean clothes at the beginning of the journey, and these they wore night and day until they reached the top of the 'aqaba leading to Du'an, when they unpacked their boxes and put on new clothes to arrive in. Crowds quickly came from their homes to meet them, and from the Ba Surra's house to meet my wife. She spent two nights with the ladies in Masna'a, who were very anxious to know all about Miss Stark, and if she had quite recovered from the illness that attacked her in Du'an. My wife also visited Robat and Khoreiba, and had tea in one house and spent the night in another house in which a crowd of self-invited guests gathered after dinner to hear the wireless, at that time the only set in the wadi. The reception was not too good, but they heard Big Ben and switched from Egypt to Rome, from Palestine to Germany, and back to London.

With the usual Du'an hospitality she was given two breakfasts in different houses, visited many women, and returned to Masna'a for a gay evening party with drums and dancing in the harem. She left Masna'a for Quweira, where she stayed with the Mihdhar family, whose stronghold it is. This clan of Seiyids is very large but firmly united under its chief, Seiyid Mustafa, a very old man who was amazingly ignorant of any matters outside his valley and had never before descended to shaking hands with a European woman. He had evidently seen pictures of them however for he frankly expressed his approval of my wife's dress, which had long sleeves and was not cut short above the knees as he had imagined it would be. She quite lost count of the number of houses she visited in Quweira, and in all of which she was taken straight up to see the women. It is a curiosity of Du'an that all the women dress

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



IT IS A CURIOSITY OF DU'AN THAT ALL WOMEN DRESS
291 alike in long black dresses with coloured patches inserted in front and orange
301 scarves over their heads. They are, too, the only women who affect nose rings similar to those usually worn on the fingers. Very few of them have ever left their valley, but many of them bemoaned the absence of husbands who frequently left them for years at a time.

The Seiyids lent her a magnificent white donkey to go on to Sif where we had stayed before, and the following day she was met by a friend and a car just before reaching Meshhed. Thence she rejoined me in Seiyun.

From Du'an Mr. Figgis and I flew across to 'Azzan over the upper reaches of the Wadi Hajr, which like the Wadi Maseila has perennial water nearly all its length. I had been to 'Azzan before, but this visit was very short, as the machine crashed on the landing-ground. It was a very artistic crash, and in Air Force parlance a complete write-off. Luckily none of the three of us in the machine were in the least hurt and the crash was far more alarming for Mr. Figgis and his pilot still up above, as it was some time before we found a comfortable way of climbing out of the ruins. I hope that in every crash I have I shall have as skilful a pilot as on that occasion. The crash was due to misguided zeal of the locals, for it was their own home-made landing-ground and they had raked up all the stones off the ground into a ridge along its edge, and it was this we hit as we landed. As ours was the machine with the wireless in it we swapped over into the other, which had landed safely, and flew back to Mukalla to organize assistance.

261 'Azzan is the capital of the Balhaf Sultan and is most picturesquely situated
609 on a citadel rock by the side of the wadi. I was given a great reception on my
411 first visit there with the firing of rifles and war whooping, which is much more a feature of welcomes in the Western Aden Protectorate than in the Eastern. As we walked from the landing-ground to the village the Artillery, a fine old bronze gun marked "A. Wilson. Cossipore. 1841," was brought into play. Our path led below it and it was really rather alarming, because with each discharge a shower of burning shirts and other old clothes, which had been used as wadding, was fired over us.

411 'Azzan is the only place where I have seen spears surviving, though my wife
435 saw them in the Wadi 'Amd. One or two aged warriors came out with spears which they shook in martial fashion, threw into the air and caught again. Quite a number of old weapons survive in the Hadhramaut, for my wife also saw crossbows in the Wadi 'Amd and there are more of the old matchlocks in the country, some of them still in use, than in any other part of the Protectorate. The Hadhramaut seems to have turned over to modern weapons much more recently than the Western Protectorate, for most of the rifles, modern weapons, have wooden butts covered with goatskin fastened over them to take the recoil, a precaution far more necessary with matchlocks. It is worth recording perhaps that there is a heavy slump in the price of firearms. The ordinary Badawin rifle can be bought for as little as eight dollars with some ammunition thrown in, and the most modern rifles of continental manufacture, which eighteen months ago fetched an easy six hundred or more dollars when brought in from the Yemen, are now not bought at all and offers have been made of them for as little as fifty dollars.

619 The atmosphere of the Balhaf court is completely tribal; much more like
162

28-Jagana C-3 (1934-[illegible]) [illegible] Hadhramaut [illegible]



that of the Sultanates of the West, though I was interested to find that there was a small Jewish community, and this is the nearest that any Jews have got to the Hadhramaut. The Balhaf Sultan, an intelligent young man whom I have known for a long time, came to see me in Seiyun and asked us to help in extending peaceful arrangements to his country. Though most of the sections have signed the truce the situation is still far from settled, as Miss Stark, who arrived at 'Azzan from the Wadi 'Amd shortly after my first visit, will tell.

A short distance down the Wadi Meifa'a from 'Azzan are the ruins of Naqab al Hajar described by Wellstead a hundred years ago. This is Meepha Metropolis. I have only seen the ruins from the air, though Miss Stark has recently visited them. There are inscriptions also at Husn Gharab on the coast which Mr. Martens, one of this winter's visitors, has recently seen. He too was well received.

Bir 'Ali is the other Wahidi Sultanate and, though the old Sultan has no claim to rule outside his wedge-shaped little walled town, he is unfortunately at present unwilling to compose his long-standing differences with the Balhaf and 'Azzan relatives, which makes settlement more difficult. I have lately had both Sultans in Mukalla and tried to get them to bury the hatchet.

I have had little opportunity in this last tour to do more for the Mahras than visit Qishn, their capital, occasionally, and Socotra I have not visited since 1935. It may perhaps be remembered that the Bin Zueidi section of the Mahras did not exactly welcome us when we arrived at the coast through the Wadi Maseila in 1934, and a couple of months ago for the first time the Mahras asked for intervention in their internal affairs, as the Zueidi tyranny in Seihut had become acute. We are now trying in the normal political way of advice and exhortation to induce them to cease their exactions on unarmed merchants and peaceful citizens in a town in which they have no lawful concern, and I paid my last visit to Qishn a day or two before I left Mukalla.

I had intended to visit Gheidha, the most eastern landing-ground in the Aden Protectorate, but we did not get so far and made a landing at Haswein just west of Cape Fartak. The inhabitants said it was the first time that Europeans had been there, though they called me by my name as soon as I stepped out of the machine. These coastal Mahras are a peaceful folk engaging mostly in fishing, and they have pleasant breeze-swept villages of a simple style of architecture, unlike the Hadhramaut but which reminded Mr. Figgis, who was with me, very much of the Arab dwellings in Northern Nigeria. I do not believe we could really have been the first Europeans to visit the place as there is quite an adequate account of it in the Red Sea Pilot, perhaps derived from a visit of Captain Haines in the *Palinurus* over a hundred years ago. Perhaps too there had been a much earlier European visitor, for authorities on classical geography usually identify Ras Fartak, Cape Syragrus, the Boar's Head, as the point from which Hippolus set forth in about A.D. 45 when he discovered the changes of the monsoons. I have long had a wish to put up on this majestic cape of Fartak a simple obelisk with the inscription, a quotation from the *Periplus*, "Hippolus discovered the changes of the

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



monsoon." Perhaps now that I have visited Hauwein this ambition is nearer fulfilment for I do not think the inhabitants would have any objection.

Flying back from Qishn on one occasion we flew inland a good deal and it was most interesting to see some of the Mahra villages of the interior, as they were quite different from anything I had seen before. They were surrounded by thick low walls perhaps between 4 and 5 feet high and 3 feet thick. These walls not only surrounded the villages but their fields as well. It seemed to me that they said very little for security in the Mahra country. We crossed over the Wadi Maseila about half-way up it and its great deep gorge was most impressive from the air.

I hope I have succeeded in giving some idea of this fascinating country in which my lot is for the present cast, and in reaching which I have achieved a desire now fifteen years old. There is still much to be done in the Hadhramaut, but I think it is mainly by specialist surveys that we can help the people to make the most of it. Something has already been done in this direction, for in 1935 Dr. Storm of Bahrein made a leprosy survey, and at the same time Mr. Maxwell Darling investigated the locust question. This last winter we have been fortunate in having two very able American geologists, Dr. Pike and Mr. Wofford, who covered an incredible area on the ground and the whole country by air. It is hoped that most useful additions to the map will result from their work. It was good to have them there, for not only did they thoroughly enjoy the country but the country has thoroughly enjoyed them.

In the last couple of months Mr. V. L. Griffiths, Principal of Bakht er Ruda College in the Sudan, has travelled through the country and made a survey of the present educational resources and future needs. I believe his report will be of great value to us in this all-important matter. Next will come the investigation of the agricultural and water possibilities for which I believe we shall not have long to wait.

Apart from severely utilitarian investigations such as these there has been the visit of Miss Caton-Thompson, Miss Gardner, and Miss Stark, and one may expect that much light on the history and geology of the country will be forthcoming as a result of their researches. I do not know whether the Hadhramaut is likely to be so attractive in this regard as some people have thought in the past, for I believe that Miss Caton-Thompson is inclined to agree with an idea that I have long had that in the times of the old South Arabian kingdoms the Hadhramaut was rather on the fringe of things and that the most interesting area is probably that between Beihan and Marib.

I must not omit to mention that the Hadhramaut has twice had the honour of welcoming the Governor during the last year. On the first occasion when he opened the Al Kaf road he travelled all round the country for ten days, largely by car. He was so much entertained that he came to the conclusion that social life there was even more strenuous than in Aden. On the second occasion he brought with him Lord Dufferin, the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and with the honour of this visit the country may well claim to be "on the map." Lord Dufferin could only spare a day and a half, but visited Mukalla, Shihr, and Seiyun, and saw a good deal from the air.

There has been a good deal of reference to air travel in this paper, and I

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-39)1938 MMS Hadhramaut MMS



should like to emphasize the great and beneficial part the Royal Air Force play in the development of the Protectorate. It would be impossible to do anything like so much as is now being done to help the people if they were not there, for it would require a much larger political staff. There are no more popular visitors in the Protectorate than the Air Force and the people are always glad to see them not only for the services they render them, such as the bringing of doctors, the giving of lifts and the carrying of letters, but, perhaps more than all these, simply for their friendly visits and for the good fellowship that results from constant contact.

## DISCUSSION

Before the paper the DEPUTY PRESIDENT (Professor KENNETH MARTIN) said: I have to introduce to-night Mr. Harold Ingrams, the first British Resident in Mukalla. We are about to listen to an extremely interesting lecture, in the course of which we shall hear of the more beneficent side of the uses of aeroplanes. Mr. Ingrams has done great work in the Hadhramaut. I will ask him now to commence his lecture.

*Mr. Ingrams then read a summary of the paper printed above, and a discussion followed.*

The DEPUTY PRESIDENT: I have had a somewhat unlucky day. I have done my best to persuade the wife of the lecturer to speak to us to-night, but she came here only on the distinct understanding that she should not address us. While sitting beside her during the lecture I have again tried to persuade her to speak, but her answer is "No." However, we have with us Dr. Pike, whom Mr. Ingrams mentioned and who has travelled through the country. I will ask him to be so good as to add a word or two.

Dr. R. W. PIKE: After Mr. Ingrams' marvellous lecture there is little I can do except to confirm many of his statements. Prior to my arrival at Aden I had naturally read some of the publications on the Hadhramaut, and I got the impression that the place was somewhat dangerous; that if people left the coast and travelled inland they did so at their own risk: they survived, but did not have an altogether easy time. Actually when I got there and talked with Mr. Ingrams I found that I could go anywhere I liked.

Very shortly after my arrival in the country I learned of the legend that has grown up around Mr. Ingrams. You heard him say that one thousand members [124] of the Sei'ar tribe signed a peace treaty. I understand he achieved that completely single-handed; he did not have the Royal Air Force with him; so far as I know he went to the country of the tribe armed merely with the idea that the Hadhramaut needed him and he needed the Hadhramaut. After the peace treaty was signed there were heavy rains, and prosperous crops, and everybody felt extremely grateful.

Later, he went down Wadi Hadhramaut with Mrs. Ingrams, and I understand that they were then confronted by a very serious situation which might have cost them their lives. They were amazingly ignorant about all that, but I want to point out that Mr. Ingrams has not had too easy a time. Though things are getting easier now, at the beginning they certainly had a great deal of difficulty. The man who interfered with his progress was later carried away by a flood; he was the only man drowned by the flood; and that more or less impressed upon the people that Mr. Ingrams was there to stay and that he had some special powers. He now has the reputation which he has very justly earned.

000 Everything is going along admirably and travellers can go practically anywhere they like in the country. Mr. Ingrams spoke of a few odds and ends still to be pacified, but I think that it is rapidly taking place.

I would like to thank Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams for the kind hospitality that Mr. Wofford and I received. And before I sit down I ought to bring Mrs. Ingrams out of hiding. She has helped her husband most ably. I really was much impressed by what she did for him in every conceivable up-station into which she was capable of going and, moreover, when the work piles up, she goes without sleep.

Lord LAMINGTON: I happen to have been in Aden two or three years ago and I heard so much of the wonderful results obtained by Mr. Ingrams in the Hadhramaut that I would like to bear testimony to the great reputation he has in that neighbourhood. It is a wonderful stretch of country of which we have heard to-night. The political life is bound up with Aden to the west, whereas its social and commercial life is mainly to the east with India. Considering the wild rocky country so prevalent in the Hadhramaut its prosperity is extraordinary. I have flown over a portion of the Aden Protectorate to the 'Audhali tribe and from the pictures that have been shown the two areas do not seem very dissimilar. I only wish to emphasise that our lecturer has a very distinguished reputation, as a result of his achievements in the Hadhramaut in the way of investigation and in assisting to put matters on to a proper footing in that very interesting country. I am not however going to delineate anything that has come to me through hearsay evidence.

Miss E. W. GARDINER: I would like to add my testimony to that of Dr. Pike in regard to the great work Mr. Ingrams, and may I also add Mrs. Ingrams, are doing in the Hadhramaut. I found their house an open house to me, as it is indeed to everybody who visits the country. We were welcomed with the greatest hospitality; everything possible was done for us and our safety was considered. Indeed, in no part in which I have been in the east have I found travel so safe as in the Hadhramaut. If you think of the conditions which existed there until a few years ago you will realise what that statement means. The change is all due to the work done by Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams. We found their name an open sesame to us wherever we went. We were asked did we know "Ingrams" and even more in the Hadhramaut did we know "Doreen," because it is, in a way, a democratic country, and everybody is known by his or her Christian name.

Mr. Ingrams was regarded as a great rain-maker. We were told that ever since peace had come as a result of his work the rains had never failed. That was put down not to the mercy of God but directly to Mr. Ingrams. I add my tribute of appreciation of his lecture and say how much I have enjoyed it.

The PRESIDENT: We have with us to-night a representative of the Colonial Office, but again I must admit I have been unlucky. He informed me at dinner that he was coming here to learn and not to teach, so that I cannot call upon him to address us. Unless anybody else wishes to contribute to the discussion, I ask you to accord a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Ingrams for an extraordinarily interesting lecture, also to his wife, the rain-makers and the peace-makers of the Hadhramaut.

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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# ORIENTALIA

## BUILDING AND BUILDERS IN ḤADRAMAWT

### (SACRIFICIAL RITES AND TRADE GUILDS) *

114 This article does not attempt to be comprehensive in scope, for the art of building in South Arabia has been developed to a high level, and merits a lengthy study. Of recent years Ḥaḍramī architecture has been made known to Europe by the photographic studies of various travellers, but detailed architectural studies remain to be achieved. Carlo von Landberg has described the method of constructing a house in his usual admirable fashion, basing it on oral report in colloquial Arabic, but he has not concerned himself with the actual builders themselves, their social organisation, and the ritual which forms part and parcel of the process of building. These are the aspects of the craft with which I am concerned here, and I have included a number of architectural terms, culled from my field-books. Most of those words were noted in Tarīm where the architectural manner has been much influenced by Indonesian styles, but it is in the Wādī Daw'an and Šibām where one will find more truly native elements in the architecture. The adobe construction of the Wādīs again differs from the stone construction of the Djōla, and both contrast to some extent with buildings in the West Aden Protectorate.

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19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 In Ṭarīm many houses belonging to the wealthy saiyids seem
552 to have a name chosen by the owner, and Saiyid 'Umar b. Šaiḫ
174 Āl Kāf, our neighbour in Tarīm, called his house al-'Iššah, or 'the
212 nest', but others seem to be called after the name ot the locality, or as the Ḥaḍramī says, after the name of the well, such as the house Ḥamṭūṭ, our neighbour to the east. Houses in Tarīm often have chronograms over the door, generally some pious phrase, worked in the plaster and painted. In Šibām the Maṣna'ah or fort has inscriptions, including dates, in the woodwork. I am convinced that herein lies the explanation of why so very few pre-Islamic and early Islamic inscriptions have been found in Ḥaḍramawt. On dams, on buildings, even in the mosques, the inscriptions which today record the foundation, or repairs effected to a construction, are all drawn in the plaster. The only two Kufic inscriptions I saw in Ḥaḍramawt were on the grave-stones at Ḳabr Nabī Allāh Hūd, and the strange shrine of Mawlā Maṭar. Pre-Islamic stone inscriptions will of course be discovered when excavation is made in the mud mounds which represent the ancient towns and villages of the country.

712 The sacrificial rites described here are probably general to South-
342 West Arabia. (In the Ṣubaiḫī village of Am-Fadjarah, west of Aden I came across very similar practices. A ewe (ganamah) was slaughtered at the foundation (aṣs). In the space under the stairs called ḳuṭb, when it was made, another was slaughtered, and on completion of the building a third ewe, called the iklīl or 'crown', was also immolated. As the occupier of the house in question I was asked to defray the cost of these. This is some hundreds of miles from Ḥaḍramawt.) Comparisons with ritual in the ancient world may be made by scholars.

463 According to my early notes in Tarīm, every craft seems to
342 have different categories of workmen, perhaps graded, but I did not explore this possibility. A fully trained craftsman is called a mu'allim, and if you want to have a house built, you go to the mu'allim. Tarīm once had fifty to sixty mu'allims, but now (1947) there are probably only about thirty. Other categories are, the musawwis who builds the dry stone foundation of your house, and the bānī who builds with the clay bricks (madar) and clay (ṭīn). A bānī in Ḥaḍramawt is also a potter (syn. in Yemen, maddār). I heard of an architect in Tarīm who bore the name 'Umar Ya'mur

which is interesting, because the name for a builder in other parts of South-West Arabia is 'ammar (verb, 'ammar yi'ammir). 463 342

When you start to put the first clay brick (madrah) on the stone foundation of your house, you slaughter a sheep or two, or more if you are a rich man. You invite one of the ṣāliḥīn (pious) such as a sayyid or mamnah to lay the first madrah; a ceremony is made out of the entire proceeding, and an entertainment given known as the ḍiyāfah of the laying of the brick (ṭarḥ al-madrah). A sheep is slaughtered on one of the corners (ḥukn pl. ḥikam), probably the first to be completed. You then take the sheep's head and lay it on each corner for about a minute or so, in order that the blood may be scattered on each corner. This is done to stop the Djinn from entering the house. Sometimes, if you are slaughtering two head of sheep, you kill on one ḥukn and anoint a second, then you kill again, and blood the remaining two. If it is a large house like al-Munaṣṣūrah, the Āl Yaḥyā house in which we were living, one may slaughter eight to ten sheep. A photograph of the sīs of a house building in Dawʿan stained with the blood of a sacrifice is shown by Ingrams[1]. 782 342

As the sheep is slaughtered, one of the ḥadīkmīn (i.e. the workers on the building) gets on top of the foundation (sīs) and halloos (yiḥawwil), and all the other other ḥadīkmīn do the same. (This halloosing is also performed when the rain-flood is coming down the Wādī, and by the Bedouin on the Djīls when rain comes.) They then repeat a number of formulae for good luck, such as the following : —

> Ṣalla ʿalā Muḥammad — wa-ṭawwil ʿumr fulān bin fulān — Allāh yaʿṭīh min ʿaṭāʾ — wa-yrzuḳh māl wa-ʿayāl, etc.
>
> Bless Muḥammad — and make long the life of so and so (the master of the house) — God give him sustenance — and provide him with money and off-spring.

The sheep's carcass is then taken to a house and divided, one quarter goes to the owner of the house which is being built, one fifth of the remainder goes to the Dawlah (Sultan), two fifths go to Ahl al-Sīs, i.e. the builders of the foundations who in

[1] See art. noted in the bibliography.

Box: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



782 Tarim are the Ahl Bā Ḥurāil, also the Tarim grave-diggers[3], and
342 two fifths to the other ḥaddāmin. The owner of the house customarily gives some of his portion away, but my informant did not remember exactly how much this is, or to whom it is given. Apart from the foundation sacrifice, the owner will also make a separate ḍiyāfah or entertainment in his own house, killing a sheep or two there.

When you have finished setting in position the beams which act as lintels to the windows, exits, cupboards, etc., on the ground floor, and which are known as taisfirah (pl. tayāsir) or mafsir), a sheep
[574] is usually slaughtered on the corner tayāsir. The feast given at this point is known as Ġadā al-Tayāsir[5]. The blood lies on the tayāsir, and the Djinn drink. Being grateful to the lord of the house, they leave him alone, and protect him from the other Djinn[4]. If however you should happen to be a poor man, you may not be able to afford to slaughter an animal on this occasion, but you give the workmen a meal. At least, in the past you gave the workmen a meal, but as they brought their children etc., with them, you used to find yourself giving thirty a meal, instead of ten or twelve. So this practice has now ceased, and a bargain is made that the men get food in kind, and money to buy meat, instead of having a meal provided for them.

782 At the placing of the cross-beams on top of the wooden or stone
342 columns (tarkīb iskum, or ta'kīd iskum), the master of the new
535 house provides a ḍiyāfah known as Ġadā Tarkīb Iskum, and also

[3] Cf. my article in *Le Muséon*, 62 (1949), p. 158.

[5] Ġadā is used in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt and Wādī territory to denote food provided in kind for an employee as part of his contract.

[4] I have a pamphlet by 'Abd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥ. al-Ḥāmid of Ḥaibān where it was given me, entitled Ṭuḳs «Singapore» (Singapore, 1351 H.) which mentions slaughtering on ('alā) the feet of the bride and groom at the Lailat al-Ḥafl when the bride comes to her husband's house. Those who cannot buy a beast to sacrifice (ḏabīḥah) break eggs at their feet, a custom common enough in Ḥaḍramawt where I have often seen eggs lying broken outside rooms in which newly-born children lay. An opinion on the practice is cited. « If the ḏabīḥah is slaughtered at the feet of the bride and groom, its religious injuriousness is known, for it is slaughtering out of fear of something other than God, such as the Djinn or the Šaiṭān. This arises from the belief that if the ḏabīḥah is not slaughtered, then a trembling (ḥazan) from the Djinn will befall them. Slaughtering at that time is therefore forbidden. »

a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended [5]) for the carpenter (naǧǧār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥaḫwān of the Āl Bā Ḥaḫwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two [6]. One says for instance, Dī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yāhisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah [7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted *supra*, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee [8]. The people of the Quarter [9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian taśt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥaḳḳ al-salli, haḳḳ al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. Arnaez, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresia Thalers*, *Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍrami coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my art's in *Le Muséon* cited above.

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fall out with him, or find that he is not doing his work properly, you give him ḳuṣū'ah, and then dismiss him. Unless you do so, you will find that another carpenter will not come and work for you. If you tried to employ a different carpenter the latter would ask about the first carpenter and make sure that he obtained his ḳuṣū'ah before he left you. The Bā Sumbul (or Sumbil) who make stone querns, pestles, and work stone of all kinds, and the Baḳḳārah (cattlemen, ploughmen) will not allow you to change the particular member of their group who works for you at all. The only exception made is if you have had to dismiss the man you were employing, for laziness, incompetence, or disobedience; then you inform the next man you wish to employ of your reason for dismissing his predecessor. The new employee in turn ascertains from the man you have just dismissed that what you say is true, and if your case is just, he will come and work for you. This system is however confined to the two classes last mentioned only. The poet 'Askūl says : —

> Wa'rdja' takhabbar 'ala 'l-waḳḳār
> Li ṣāll mawḳarah li-'l-abdjār
> Bā Sumbil illi yabī' al-sufūn.
>
> Come ask about the stone worker
> Who to the stones bears his hammer
> Ba Sumbil who sells column-drums.

This faḥidah of the Bā Sumbil has the monopoly in making stones for columns (safan), pestles (ḳuṣrah), etc. They live in the suburb known as 'Aidid. They do not allow any one else to carry on this work, and I am informed that they can even take people to court for infringing on their monopoly. The Baḳḳārah too have a similar monopoly in their profession.

As evidence of the power of the guilds of workmen in Tārim the following incident is relevant. Some time before the advent of the British to Ḥadramawt, the Sultans of Tarim, some of the wealthier saiyids, and others who were then constructing the large palaces for which it is famous, determined to lower the wages of the builders there. So they brought them together, and told them that they had resolved to make a reduction (nuḳṣān) in their wages. The builders refused. The Kathīrī Sultan however, consenting that

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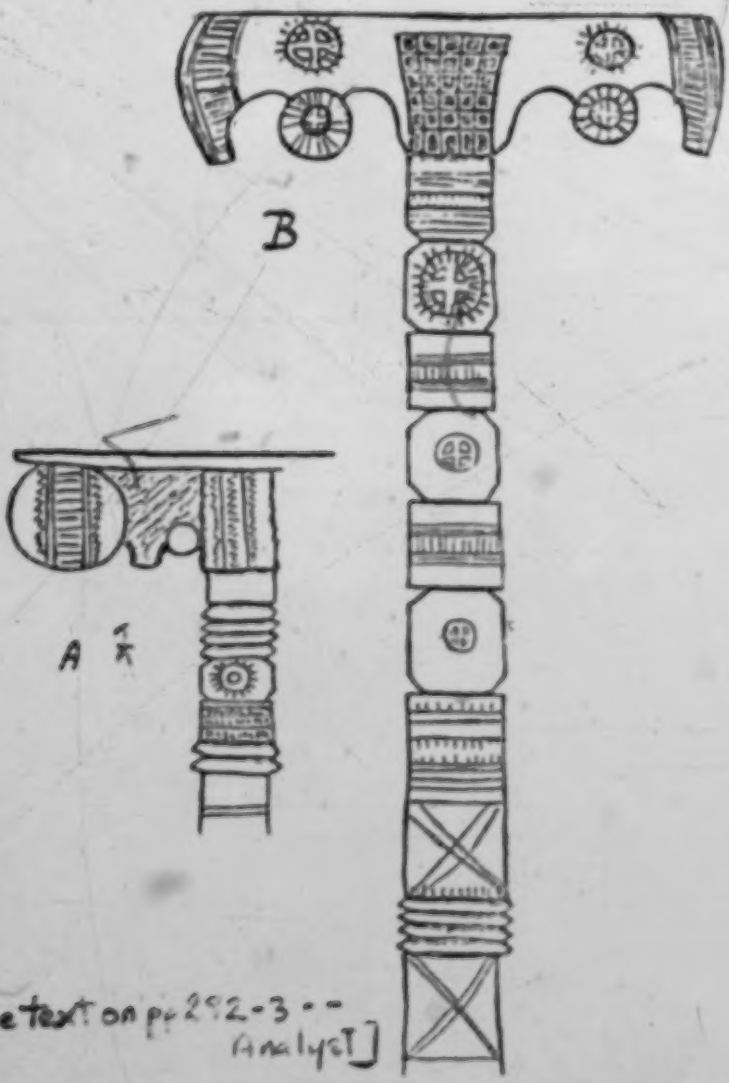
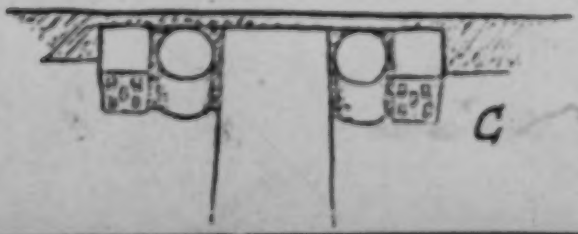



[See text on pp. 292-3 -- Analysis]



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467 this reduction should be made, issued a decree (taḳrīr) defining the
466 wages of the various categories of people engaged in building. The workmen still refused to accept the revised wages, and some left Tarīm and went to the independent Ḥawṭah of Thibī, outside it and beyond Kathīrī jurisdiction. Some however stayed in Tarīm, but worked at collecting firewood, and refused to undertake building. A *modus vivendi* was established through the good offices of Saiyid Bū Bakr al-Kāf, but whereas, before, the wage of the builders had been two three Āl Kāf ḍarībahs per day, which the wealthy had attempted to reduce to one ḍarībah only, after the dispute all the workmen received three ḍarībahs[10].

172 To revert to the sacrifice on the sāk, I noticed in the fine archaeo-
782 logical site of the town known as Am-'Ādīyah[11] that on some buildings an inscription was located at the *corner* of the sāk which was constructed of the typical lozenge-backed Himyarite hewn stone, and that it stood about three *feet* from the ground. Possibly therefore it was sometimes a custom to place inscriptions in the sāk about the place of the sacrifice; they could not be placed higher as the wall above this point is of adobe. These particular Am-'Ādīyah inscriptions are very weather-beaten, and to the best of my knowledge no attempt has been made to copy them.

322 An interesting feature of Ḥaḍramī building is the shape of the
342 columns, generally carved from 'ilb wood, which strikes one immediately as descended from an ancient tradition. In the Ḥawṭah of
531 Thibī near Tarīm, I first saw the curious capital sketched (fig. C.) from below, with its little round pendants underneath the rectangular blocks. Later I realised that this was a very stylised type of capital, derived from a prototype somewhat resembling the examples in figs. A & B., sketched in my field-book at 'Arrān and

436 [10] Reproductions of the ḍarībah in J. A. S. Buckhill, *A note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia, Journ. of the Malay of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, 1925), III, 1. It is the coin which has the number 18 written on it. There were about five to six ḍarībahs to the riyāl (kirī franskwī).

[11] For notes on this town see S. Pinowski, *'Im'adīya and Bokas, Aden, Antiquity* (London), xiii (1939), p. 50. The author confuses the name امادية with عادية, but it is really the South Arabian article Am = Al, followed by the word 'Ādīyah. It is therefore « the 'Ādite city » which means little more really than « the ancient city ». I visited it in 1941.

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Ṣa'īd respectively, both in the Wāḥidī, Ḥimyar territory. The Ṣa'īd house had in its clay construction that pattern of recessed surfaces one so often sees in fragments of pre-Islamic architectural ornament. Both of these columns are obviously representations of the palmtree, the capital representing the leaves on the outside, and the bunch of dates in its fibre bag (ḫubrah) on the inside. In all cases the capital which is carved out of a single block of wood, is called kabš or ram, a term which brings to mind the bull-headed columns of Persepolis. The room in which I saw fig. B. was the main reception room of the house called rakaiz (which Landberg gives as the general name for the second storey of a house), and the column was called rakīzah. 322 342 531

The following terms, most not mentioned by Landberg, may be of interest; the list makes no pretence at being near exhaustive, and these only apply to the Tarīm area. 342 104

*manawir* (pl. manāwir), a little oriel window set high in the wall.

*mizyāb* (pl. mazāyīb), a hole in the wall at floor-level and the spout to which it leads, projecting outside for drainage (class.).

*sawārī*, pillars (class.).

*safan* (pl. asfān & sufūn), a stone base under a wooden column, or round column-drums, roughly six inches in height.

*sahm* (pl. suhūm & iahum), wooden column, (class.).

*kabš* (pl. kibāš), a horisontal piece of wood, about three feet in length, placed on the top of a column to serve as a capital, below the beam, (class.).

*ḳāsim* (pl. ḳawāsim), wooden beam lyving on the top of the kabš (cf. Landberg).

*širḳah* (pl. širḳ), a beam running from wall to wall.

*ḳabl* (new plur. aḳbāl), Landberg's « solive ».

*'akf* (pl. 'ukūf), arch (Landberg). Bait mu'akkaf, a house with an arched roof (i.e. holding up the first floor).

*ṭāḳ*, any arched hole in a wall used as a shelf, and an arch over a window with a wooden shelf in it.

*'ammārah* (pl. 'ammāriyāt), cupboard.

*mirfa'* (pl. marāfi'), shelf. Syn. riff (class.).

*ḳawām* (pl. ḳiwām), a wooden frame in which a door is set. In Tarīm the sides of it are known as lānah.

*ḳafā'ah* (or ḳafā'at al-ṭāli'), the jamb over the top of the door.

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*mardam* (pl. *marādim*), Landberg's « seuil ».

*darf*, a door with one leaf.

*maslif* (pl. *masālif*), a door with one leaf, a small door in the outer wall of a court for the use of the women of the household.

*warakatain*, two halves of a door with two leaves.

*sāfir* (pl. *sawāfir*), horizontal wooden bars on a door, part of its construction (Landberg).

*miḳaṣṣ al-dawār* (pl. *muḳaṣṣah*), hinge of tinned iron, with a flange resembling scissors.

*ḳuṣf* (pl. *ḳuṣūf*), an ordinary hinge, not specially an architectural term.

*madjarr*, a chain or rope in an upper room, stretching down to the main door of the house. It can be opened by someone upstairs who is able to view the arrival from an upper window.

*maḳbad*, a door handle.

*saḳḳāṭah* (pl. *saḳāḳīṭ*), a bolt from a window-shutter into the base of the window-frame (class.).

*zawḳ* (pl. *azwāḳ*), decoration in embossed and painted plaster, or a line of plaster moulding. A synonym is said to be 'aḳf (pl. 'uḳūf).

*ḥaiḍ*, a metal grille.

Landberg also gives a list of the names of the different storeys of a Ḥaḍramī house, but the Tarīmī names given below differ slightly.

*muraiya'ah* (pl. āt), a ground-floor room with two to six pillars.

*maisamah* (pl. *mayāsim*), a narrow ground-floor room with no pillars.

*ġailah* (pl. *ġiyal*), a room on the first storey (*ḳaṣr*), said to be a synonym of the more usual *maḥdarah* (pl. *maḥādir*). I knew the latter as a large reception room.

*mirwāḥ* (pl. *marāwīḥ*), a room on the second storey.

*ġulb* (pl. *ġulūb*), I have registered these as third storey rooms, but Landberg gives them as a belvedere on the roof.

*ḏjanāḥ* (pl. *aḏjniḥah*), a fourth storep room.

*saṭḥ* (pl. *suṭūḥ*), syn. *raim* (pl. *ruyūm*), a roof (Landberg).

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# THE QUARTERS OF TARĪM
## AND THEIR TANṢŪRAHS

621 Like Šiḥr and Mukallā, the city of Tarīm is divided into a number
361 of quarters. I have already given the names of the quarters in Šiḥr elsewhere[1], and those of Mukallā are marked on H. von Wissmann's map[2] where Hafd el-'Abī should be corrected to
[567] Ḥāfat al-'Abīd, i.e. the quarter of the Slaves. It may be recalled that when W. H. Ingrams arrived in Ḥaḍramawt these slaves were very powerful indeed just as they were amongst the Rwala chiefs[3] of N. Arabia. As in Mecca, the city quarters form an important part of the social structure of the community, and they have their own peculiar organisation upon which I have remarked previously[4].
[174] There seems to be evidence from the inscriptions that cities in South Arabia, sometimes at least, were split up into quarters
[161] before Islam. In Tarīm there are no less than eleven quarters, though, as will be seen, only five of them are really independent, but even this is a large number for a city of approximately 15,000 inhabitants.

621 The five quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Sūḳ, Ḥārat al-Ḥilaif,
361 Ḥārat al-Saḥīl, Ḥārat al-Nuwaidarah, and Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī. Of these
104 the largest is Ḥārat al-Sūḳ. A saḥīl is a strip of land underneath a mountain, and including the mountain-side up to the base of the perpendicular Djol cliff[5], a word of frequent occurence. The town of Šibām which is not sub-divided into quarters, has a suburb

113 1 *Materials for South Arabian History* I, Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies (London, 1950), XIII, II, p. 296.

2 D. Van der Meulen & H. v. Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leiden, 1932).

3 Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), index *Slaves*.

4 *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, Le Muséon, LXII, 1-2, p. 159.

5 For the peculiar cliff formation of Wādī sides, see *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*.

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known as al-Saḥīl, lying to the south of it. Al-Ḥāwī is a ḥawṭah or sacred enclave, the property of the Āl Ḥaddād saiyids. Amongst other ḥawṭahs in Tarīm are Ḥawṭat al-Šaiḫ (Ḥusain b. 'Abdullāh al-'Aidarūs), (this saint being the brother of al-'Adanī), lying to the west of the Djāmi' mosque, and Ḥawṭat Bā 'Alawī, the capital of the 'Alawī saiyids. Perhaps at one time these ḥawṭahs had an independent organisation of their own, distinct from that of the rest of Tarīm as al-Ḥāwī has to this day. Raḥaiyam Bā Faḍl indeed remarked that the city contained many old ḥawṭahs which are no longer treated as ḥawṭahs, but have become only quarters (ḥārah). The Masākīn of al-Ḥāwī are independent of the other quarters of Tarīm, and follow the Manṣab who is, of course, an Āl Ḥaddād saiyid.

The other quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Ruḍaimah which follows the Sūḳ quarter (tābi'ah li-Ḥārat al-Sūḳ); that is to say that the Masākīn of the quarter follow those of the Sūḳ quarter on ceremonial occasions, join with them in defence of their rights, and probably use the same tanṣūrahs. Then there is the suburb *extra muros* of Tarīm, Ḥārat 'Aidīd which follows Ḥārat al-Ḫilaif. There is Ḥārat al-Midjaff which follows the Sūḳ quarter; according to al-Fawā'id al-Sanīyah[6] this quarter was once known as Ḥārat al-Ḳaṣṣārīn, though not in the author's day, presumably because laundering was done there, though it may have been the quarter where the periodical dying of clothes with indigo was performed. The remaining quarters are Āl al-Siddah, i.e. the Gate Section who follow the Sūḳ quarter, Āl al-Fidjīr who are ḍu'afā al-Sūḳ, and the Āl al-Ḫalīf who are ḍu'afā following the Saḥīl quarter.

621 565 463 Those who follow the Sūḳ quarter follow the dallāls[7] and the carpenters (nadjar, pl. of nadjdjār) of the Sūḳ; they go with them on the pilgrimage to Hūd, and accompany them to put out fires, etc.

[6] Composed in 1203 H. (1789 A.D.), see my *Materials*, *op. cit.*, p. 298. This source also mentions another quarter known as حارة الازرق which is said by some in that day to have been the old town from which building had spread out especially towards the north, but this old part of the city was not apparently on the main road from East to West.

[7] The dallāl is the intermediary between the tribesman and the shop-keeper. He is an important and interesting figure in the economic life of the country, but is of course of the Mukīs class.

When there is a fire the people in the streets should cut « Wa-'n-nâr wa-'n-nâr », or, if there has been an accident when some one has fallen into a well, « Wa-'l-bîr ». At this all of the males of the quarter come running out at a trot, leaving their occupations. If it is a fire they take tanaks (tins) and fill them at the mosque cistern (ḏâkiyah). Only the Masâkîn perform these duties of course, not the salyids or malâ'ik. Apart from the occasions cited in a previous article[8] another time when the quarter turns out is when a clay-bank (ḏjurf) of a water-channel or water-course has fallen on top of some person or persons. The latter are dug out by the quarter.

Each quarter has a tanṣûrah (pl. tanâṣîr), a kind of rallying-song or theme special to each quarter, and doubtless each with its special tune. These tanṣûrahs are used on all sorts of occasions, festal or otherwise, and probably, indeed, whenever a body of men from the quarter assemble together. The tanṣûrah may be compared in some respects with the tribal ṣarḫah and 'azwah[9] examples of which are given by Landberg. The following are examples of some of the themes used by the principal quarters of Tarîm.

I. Ahl al-Sûḳ

a. Metre : Wâfir type, ‖—|———∪|———∪

لَنَا ٱلتَّرَايِدْ وَفِينَا ٱلْرَّايِدْ

Metre : Raḏjaz type, ‖—|—∪——|—∪—∪

وَشَيْخَنَا ٱلْمِخْفَار مَعْنَا

« We have the most, and amongst us lies the most.
And our Šaiḫ al-Miḫḍâr is with us. »

As the metre of these two pieces differs I assume they are independent of each other though given me as a single tanṣûrah. The sense is that the Ahl al-Sûḳ is greater in numbers than any other quarter, it being the largest of all. Al-Miḫḍâr is the celebrated Tarîmî saint. [792]

[8] *The Cemeteries of Tarîm*, *op. cit.*
[9] C. ze Landberg, *Arabica IV* (Leiden, 1897), pp. 18, 20, etc.

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b. Metre : Ramal type, ||—|——∪—|——∪—

شَيْخُنَا ٱلْمِخْضَار يَطْفِى ٱلنَّار

« Our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār puts out the fire. »

This is a radjaz or zāmil known as radjaz ḫābbah, or « jingle used by a party of men at the trot ». It would be sung after a fire had been extinguished. It should be noted that extinguishing of the fire is attributed to the patron saint of the quarter, and one can with justification see in this the survival of some ancient pagan ceremony.

c. Metre : Basīṭ type,

||—|—∪—|—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

وَٱلشَّيْخ وَٱللّٰهْ عُمَرْ يَا سَعْد مِنْ كَان شَيْخَهْ

« By the Šaiḫ, by God, 'Umar, O the good fortune of him whose šaiḫ he is. »

This radjaz (jingle) is also used in trotting.

d. Metre : Banī Mighrāh [10],

||——∪|———∪|——∪|———∪

عُمَرْ مِخْضَار فِى كُلِّ حِجَّهْ نَهْتَدِى بَهْ

وَرَاسَ ٱلْخَصْم لِى قَدْ عَصَبْنَا بَيْن جِيَهْ

« 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, in every matter we shout for assistence to him.

And the head of the foe whom we have made up our mind (to attack) we shall bring [11]. »

[113
224]

[10] I have named this metre Banī Mighrā because it seems to be invariably used in the poems which begin with this phrase. The Banī Mighrāh poem is the traditional hunting song of Ḥaḍramawt; it is discussed at length in my *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramaut.*

[11] اهترى LANDBERG, *Glossaire*, « prononcer le cri de ralliement de la tribu, crialler ». My informant said it meant « to seek assistance from. » For عصب he gave the synonym اراد. One can say عصبنا المسيله equivalent to بنينا المسيله « We want to go to the Masīlah ». In the « oath of denial » *infra*, I think that the first two verbs must have the fundamental sense of « binding and loosing » بين جيه is equivalent to بنينا نحيه .

It seems that herein lie pagan ideas attached to the person of a Muslim saint who appears to be regarded in much the same way as a tribal god of the pre-Islamic era. On consideration, I do not think that the intent is to bring the head of the foe to 'Umar al-Mihdhâr, but he is evidently regarded as assisting the quarter in battle against, perhaps, another quarter, Muslims and Šawâfi' notwithstanding. 621 789 792

In the case of a quarrel between two quarters, when one quarter denies its culpability it uses the following formula : 539 621 578

لا عَمِدْنا وَلا كَلَفْنا وَلا جَمَزْنا وَلا غَمِزْنا

«We did not decide (to do anything), nor did we omit (to do anything), we did not leap nor did we whisper [12]. »

This is known as the «oath of the denial» (yamîn al-inkâr). 621

2. Abû al-Hilaif 539 527

a. Metre : Basît, ||—⏑——|—⏑—|—⏑—— 533

اَلْيَوْمَ جُمُعَةٌ وَغَدًا مِثْلُهَا
لَنَا تَقُومُ الْقِيَامَةُ كُلُّهَا.
عِيدُهُمْ يَوْمُ جُمُعَةٍ

«Today is Friday, tomorrow the same,
Until the Resurrection comes, all of it.»

The sense is, probably, that today is a holiday, or at least a fortunate day. After this and other verses, exclamations such as the above are commonly used. Another common exclamation is wa-Hibbu. What these exclamations signify none can say, but all Hadramis concur that they are old and curious. I am tempted to suggest they might be corrupt vestiges of pagan religious ritual. 2

12. The latter two verbs of the «oath of denial» were thus paraphrased for me, but I feel that the classical senses of the Lexicons might be more appropriate here.

539
533
621
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b. Metre :

Perhaps ||—— ∪ | — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — فَاعِلْ مُسْتَفْعِلْ فَعُولْ

نَدْ قَنَصْنَا ٱلصَّيْدْ فِي رَبُوعَهْ [33]

شَيْخَنَا عَلِيْ بِنْ مُحَيْمِدْ

« We have hunted the game in its lairs (or mountain-sides). Our šaiḫ is 'Alī bin Muḥaimid. »

This tanṣīrah has no small interest when it is recalled that the ritual hunt played an important part in the pre-Islamic religion of this part of Arabia, especially the hunting of the ibex [34]. The first half-verse is commonly sung by all the quarters of Tarīm, and is even used by the people of the ḥawṭah of Ṯibī not far away.

[792] . Šaiḫ 'Alī bin Muḥammad is a saint of the Āl Ḫaṭīb family, known as Ṣāḥib al-Wī'il, i.e. « He of the Ibex ». Once, on the occasion of a feast, either the lesser or the greater 'Īd, he had no animal to slaughter by way of celebration, but on returning home from the mosque he found an ibex standing by his door. This was evidently a miracle performed on his behalf. Šaiḫ 'Alī is the patron saint

[306 361] of al-Ḫilaif, and is buried in the cemetery of al-Furaiṭ [35]. The chief mosque of the quarter is Masjid al-Wī'il, and at one time when, owing to the dissension between three sections of the Yāfi'ī rulers, Tarīm was divided into three territories with three separate ǧāmi' mosques, the Masjid al-Wī'il was used for the Friday prayer; this took place about a century ago.

No doubt this tanṣīrah would be used by parties of hunters returning from the ibex-hunt as I have described in the preface to my book on Ḥaḍramī popular verse.

2. Ḫitrat al-Šaiḫ

[792] The people of this quarter mention their saint, an 'Aidarūs saiyid

539 who is buried in Tārīmah, but I have no further particulars about

621 their tanṣīrah. They chant

533

[33] Variant شَمُوعَهْ.

[34] Cf. A. Bessaso, The Ritual Hunt, Le Muséon, LXI, 3-4, pp. 183-96.

[35] For this cemetery see The Cemeteries of Tarīm, op. cit.

Metre : Ramal, ||— — ∪ — | — — ∪ —

شَيْخَنَا عَلْوِى بِنْ أَحْمَدْ

4. Al-Nuwaidarah

The patron saint of al-Nuwaidarah is Šihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Alī bin Abī Bakr al-Sakrān[16].

5. Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī

The tanṣūrah of this quarter mentions the saint of the ḥawṭah Laiḥanā al-Ḥaddād, i.e. the celebrated saint and author 'Abdullāh al-Ḥaddād who is also known beyond the confines of Ḥaḍramawt.

It would however seem that the term tanṣūrah is not confined to the rallying-cries of the quarters of the cities, for I can recall the word being used in the Dathīnah area when tanṣūrahs were performed over the grave of a man whose murder had been successfully avenged. It is a cry used also by the tribes[17] in Ḥaḍramawt.

Very similar to the Tamīmī tanṣūrah quoted by Landberg[18] is the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd of Tarīm. The 'Abīd have an organisation in many respects similar to that of the Masākīn with a headman (muḳaddam). Their tanṣūrah runs :

بَنِى سِوَيْدَ ٱلْغَلَّابَهْ

كَمْ مِنْ قَبِيلِى ظَفِرْنَا بِهْ

« Banī Siwaid, the conquering,
How many a tribesman have we overcome. »

Landberg remarks that the verse he quotes is defective, if one must see a metre in it, but the first half-verse which he gives corresponds exactly in metre to the first half-verse of the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd.

[16] « The Drunken » might, at first sight, seem an odd term to apply to a Muslim saint, but the term of course is Sufistic, and implies that he was drunk with the ecstacy of the knowledge of God. Some names are much more curious. I was told that the 'Aṭṭās saiyids derived their name from a miracle performed by their ancestor who is said to have been heard to sneeze while still in the womb!

[17] C. DE LANDBERG, *Ḥaḍramoût* (Leiden, 1901), p. 184.

[18] Loc. laud.

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



195 192 576 Cries for assistance have also their own fixed forms. Should anything happen to a man he shouts for help with the phrase Yā Labbaik, yā labbaik [19], known to the classical tongue. Let it also be remarked that labbaik is the normal interjection used when asking a word or phrase to be repeated, equivalent to plaît-il. The reply to such a call by those coming to the assistance of a man in trouble of danger of any sort is Yā marḥīb, yā marḥīb. When in distress the 'Awāmir tribe shout out 'Āmir, yā wulīd 'Āmir, to which the reply is Labbaik, yā labbaik. The 'Abīd in similar circumstances cry 'Īk, 'Īk, and those coming to their help reply with zāmils.

It seems that when one gives the tribal cry (sarkhah) amongst the tribes of Raidat al-Daiyin, the words Yā Ḥimyarāh are shouted [20].

R. B. Serjeant.

113 [19] For an interesting use of labbaik see C. A. Storey, *The Fākhir of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama* (Leiden, 1915), p. 224.

[20] Al-Rābiṭat al-'Alawiyah, (Batavia, 1347 H.), I, p. 354.

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) p 932 MAS Hadhramaut MN2



# ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN SOUTH ARABIA.

By Bertram Thomas, O.B.E.

[With Plates XI and XII.]

## Introduction.

114 I have already been privileged to contribute a paper to the *Journal*.[1] "Among some unknown Tribes of South Arabia" was published after my first journey in those parts in January–February, 1928. Since then I have made two more visits to the Central South and have continued my investigations. On the last occasion I took head callipers, a small cinema camera and a still camera with me. I made some forty-five head measurements and took full-face and profile portraits of the various types I measured.

## Curious Tribes.

144 174 In my previous paper I said that there was a *bloc* of tribes in the Central South that I believed to be non-Arab remainders, tribes at least who were physically, culturally, linguistically distinguishable from the familiar tall and hawk-faced Arab of the North. I am confirmed in that view. After an experience of fifteen years' service in Arabia, living on close terms of intimacy with its people in Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordan and the Persian Gulf, I am struck by the peculiarities of the inhabitants of the Central South. The Sultan of Muscat shared that opinion. I was not consciously aware at the time of the speculations of Richard Burton which also support it. That Arabian traveller had written in the middle of the last century (*vide* "Pilgrimage to Al Medina and Mecca")—

> "I was desirous to try by actual observation the truth of a theory proposed by Colonel Sykes, namely, that if tradition be true in the population of the vast peninsula there must exist certain physiological differences sufficient to warrant our questioning the common origin of the Arab family." . . . And later . . . "I have found proof . . . for believing in three distinct races, (1) the aborigines, driven into the Eastern and South-Eastern wilds, (2) a Syrian or Mesopotamian Stock that drove the indigenae from the choicest tracts of country . . . (3) an impure Syro-Egyptian clan . . ."

133 Before passing to a consideration of these strange tribes I lived amongst, it is necessary to say something about the land in which they live. The south coast of Arabia west of long. 55° (Ras Nus) is very mountainous and very wild. It is a natural asylum for early races driven before invaders. At Dhufar in the Central South, these mountains form a crescent-shaped arm which encloses a prosperous and fertile plain. To the westward the mountains form an

[1] Vol. liz, 1929, January to June, p. 97.

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932. MS2 Hadhramaut 1932



133 ocean escarpment, but in the Hadhramaut they intrude for over 120 miles to the northwards. Beyond them and between them and the southern edge of the sands is a wedge-shaped plain narrowing westwards and falling from south to north and from west to east. The edge of the sands at Mughsin is about 490 ft., at Shisur about 935 ft., at Shuait 950 ft., and to the west not improbably rising to 2,000 ft. or more in the neighbourhood of the Najran. This plain is crossed by dry wadi beds, or what Burton calls "fumura." They take their rise in ravines deeply eroded in the limestone of the mountains and they become more shallow as they run northwards, until, as they approach the sands, they are almost indistinguishable from the steppe in which they are merely shallow depressions marked here and there by scrub. These wadis [132] are the arteries of approach for Badus journeying from the mountains northwards. They are evidence of a very different climate from what now prevails, the deep gorges are doubtless the result of torrential rain action. To-day the country is extremely arid, and rainfall is slight or negligible.

Arabia is said never to have had an ice age, so that when the territories of the higher latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere lay beneath an ice cap, Arabia must have enjoyed a pluvial period, and it is from this time that these great gorges running northwards on the desert side of the South Arabia escarpment possibly date. I picked up many fossils on the edge of the sands, which must have been washed down in bygone ages. These were of limestone formation and have all been identified as belonging to the Middle Eocene period. The tradition of ancient trade routes across what is now almost a prohibitive barrier of sands, should not therefore be dismissed as unreasonable: it may connote that a very early civilization 172 existed in this region. Indeed caravan tracks of great antiquity were pointed out to me in 138 lat. 18° 30′, long. 52° on the very edge of the sands and leading on a bearing of 325° into what is now a drought-stricken waste of sands. The Badus called this "the road to Ubar," a town which they say lies buried, according to their tradition, beneath the sands that are ever encroaching southwards. Whether the words "Ubar" and "Ophir" have any sort of connection it is impossible to say, but the alleged site of this buried city is on a direct line from the frankincense country of Dhufar to the most probable site of Gerrha on the Persian Gulf, and to Petra in Nabathaea, the great marts of the classical geographers.

[171] Other archæological remains are the old ruined townships of the plain of Dhufar and the trilith monuments I discovered in the frankincense country just over the Divide.[1] The former would appear to preserve a link with ancient Abyssinia, for the characteristic architectural feature is a monolithic column which, according to Bent, is common to that area, but is nowhere found being made to-day in Arabia. As regards the significance of the trilith monument, accurate memory of it has faded from the tribal mind. This brings us to the inhabitants themselves.

101 The nomadic tribes living in the Southern Steppe are Bait Kathir, elements of the Mahra, 619 Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai (Bal'Ubaid). In the mountains in northern Hadhramaut 000 and the hinterland of Aden are two other interesting types, Hamumi and Yaf'i. With the

[1] For a detailed account see "Among Some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xiv, 1921, pp. 107 *seq.*

21. Thomas T-S (no date) 1932 · MMZ Hadhramaut MMZ



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MAP.
(*By courtesy of Messrs. Jonathan Cape.*)

21: Thomas T-8 (no date) 1932. MMS Hadhramaut MM2



With the

191 exception of the Mahra all these tribes speak Arabic and Arabic alone, and yet some are types
141 clearly distinguishable from the northern Arab, and indeed those I measured are all brachycephals. The very word "Arab" is used in the desert to denote "people" instead of having the particular racial connotation which we give to it. More than once I have been asked "From what Arabs are you?" by a native, who was conscious that I was of a different race from himself.

144 Whether these Arabic-speaking South Arabians are indigenous or come from elsewhere is a question for anthropologists. In this connection, the Preface to Wyman Bury's book *Land of Uz* is of interest. That Preface, written by Maj.-Gen. Maitland who was British Resident at Aden at the beginning of the present century, declares the writer's opinion as follows :—

> "The people of Arabia belong to two distinct and apparently quite different races. The common idea of the Arab type is tall bearded men with clean-cut, hawk-like faces. The Arabs of South Arabia are smaller, darker, coarser featured and nearly beardless. All authorities agree that the Southern Arabs are nearly related by origin to the Abyssinian. Yet strange to say it is the Egypto-African race who are the original and 'pure' Arabs, while the stately Semitic of the North is *Musteareb* . . . one who is Arab by adoption and residence, rather than by descent."

101 But I am concerned here with a group of non-Arabic speaking tribes more distant in habit
361 of life still from the familiar Arab, tribes of whom neither Burton nor Maitland could have had any personal knowledge, tribes whose members have seldom made the pilgrimage to Mecca, tribes for the most part settled in the Qara and Al Qamr mountains of the Central South
619 where they breed cows and gather frankincense. To the list given in my previous paper, viz., Qara, Mahra, Shahara, Bauthâra and Harasîs should be added Barahama, Bil Haf, Afar, and Bit Istait (Bait ash Shaikh). Except for those elements of the Mahra that are nomadic, and for the nomadic Harasîs and Afar and the fishing tribe of Bautâhara, the remainder form a *blor of settled* mountain society with a common and a unique culture.

191 The four languages of this group have been mentioned in the paper under reference. Of the additional tribes the Afar speak a language which is a variant of Mahri, called Aforit, and is said to be the same as that spoken by the Harasîs. The Bait ash Shaikh (Inaakht) use the Shahara tongue and are thought to be collateral with the Shahara and once to have co-inhabited the great port, now a heap of ruins, of Rubat (Ariyot). Balhaf, a rather nondescript tribe, owes allegiance to no faction but is Mahri in speech.

## DRESS AND DYE CUSTOMS.

291 The men wear a single sheet wound round to form a skirt short to the knees and then brought diagonally across their bodies and thrown over one shoulder; women a single loose-falling black gown usually green with age and black muslin head-wrap which falls about
301 shoulders and neck; they are mostly unveiled. The use of indigo for smearing their bodies
302 and impregnating their clothes is common to both sexes. It gives their faces a purple hue.
177 There is a local dye from a tree called *Aussair*, but much of the indigo comes from India.

1 [Bait Kathir, Mahra, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai -- Analyst]

Bl. Thomas T-5 (no date) 532 MSS Hadhramaut 1942



Indigo is in common use throughout South-West Arabia as far as Aden, more especially amongst the settled elements. (In Oman I remember it only in the Beni Ali-Beni Kalban area where it is grown.) A black dye used in tattooing their gums is derived from the coconut. This is used down through the centre of the woman's hair parting, too. Anklets, affected by coastal women, are not found amongst these tribes, but many bracelets and necklaces (mostly beads) and ear-rings; the men often wear a single bangle above one elbow and a single ear-ring, generally in the right ear. 301 302 171

Wars, another vegetable product which stains a canary yellow, is not met with at all in the Dhofar area, probably it is too expensive. The Ja'alan and Hajar districts of Oman use it extensively, not elsewhere, except amongst women. But no ill is thought of a man amongst them who emerges with a patch on his shoulder or sleeve come by in an embrace with his wife, but for such to appear on an unmarried man would cause derision. In the eastern Hadhramaut where it is grown it is also not extensively used except amongst women. *Henna*, the only other dye in common on festive occasions but generally limited to hands and feet, red and green face paint, not permitted in Oman, is in everyday use in the Dhofar province.

Girls throughout these tribes wear a nose-ring in the right nostril. When approaching puberty the edge of their ears is pierced in six or seven places from which charms or rings depend. Women adorn their faces also with black paint: over eyebrows, round nostrils and a straight line to ears from nostrils, around edge of chin, black bands around throat, red lips, green brow. The Mahra ladies also on special occasions paint their faces red. With the greenish dye *sabar* they smear their faces indiscriminately, also their arms from the elbow downward; their legs from the knee downward, and the upper part of the breasts to the neck. In the Hadhramaut a headband dyed with indigo woven around the head is affected instead of a *Mahaff* (a local variant of the *agal*) (see my paper under reference). 301 301 302

## CIRCUMCISION AND HAIR CUSTOMS.

Circumcision and hair customs have been dealt with exhaustively in my previous paper, but one or two corrections in detail need stating.[1] The scalping system of *mamarot* usually synchronizes with the first third of the month of married life, the shaving of the boy's lock with circumcision. The Mahra were said to have at one time carried on male circumcision on the night before marriage. Great festivities accompany male circumcision still, in contrast to the private untalked-of female circumcisions. For the former some eight or ten of the most presentable females in the neighbourhood line up. The men select who is the most beautiful amongst them—the other ladies protesting No! No! No! No! With the Qara the festivities of male circumcision are attended by women opening their garments to disclose the upper parts of their breasts. Camp fires are the centre of dancing and merry-making by both sexes. 304 152

[1] The pursuit, immediately after the operation, of the circumcised youth by his sister does not now take place. The milking of animals from behind is nowhere practised.

B: Thomas T-6 (no date) 1932. MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



302 Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.[1]

[771] The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan
754 cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under
755 reference explained the details of Ra'abe Hamza spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the
752 imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work, however, and was followed by another next day. This, called Habil, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

754 These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally
755 for their flocks and herds. The ceasing of lactation is invariably ascribed to *Ain Bolis*. The cure is frankincense. I witnessed the ceremony on occasion and made a cinema film of it, though it is usually performed at sunrise or at sunset. The incense burner was brought and wood introduced and lighted. The practitioner, the cow-owner, broke a fragment of frankincense about the size of a walnut into three pieces. Then spitting upon it three times he introduced it into the burner. While two other witnesses held the afflicted animal by head and leg respectively, he waved about its head the burning frankincense, chanting a set sacrificial chant.

782 For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

753 A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify
776 *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinns*, *jinnyat* and *Zars*. *Zars*[2] are the most accommodating, *jinns* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

782 The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the
556 deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

[1] Detailed descriptions will be found in my *Arabia Felix* (Jonathan Cape, 1932).

[2] A detailed description of the "Zar" cult as practised in Oman is given in my *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

24; Thomas T-8 (no date) 1932 MS: Hadhramaut MM2



exceeding 40 cows, 20 cows are the limit, may be a camel and a few sheep as well. In the case of a poor man, perhaps a single cow or sheep. Two cows are slaughtered near the grave of the deceased on the day of burial (*i.e.* death generally), if overnight, a third cow. Two nights are allowed to pass and on the third night a cow is slaughtered. This is called *khutum*. A further period elapses varying according to the economic condition of the deceased's relatives. It may be so little as a fortnight or so much as three months when the big sacrifice takes place, may be of 10, 15 or 20 cows respresenting half of the deceased man's herds. This is called *yum al nahaira*. Both *khutum* and *nahaira* are performed at the place where the man lived and not upon his grave. More cows will be sacrificed by relatives and friends of the deceased towards whose families in his lifetime he has acted similarly. This vast slaughter attracts the whole neighbourhood and the sectional tribe of the dead man divide up the flesh for themselves, and go away under their great burdens. Visitors from other tribes have no such rights, but partake of the feast of cooked meat for which one cow will have been roasted for the occasion. 782 356

There is a widespread belief in *Subira*, *i.e.* spirits of the departed and their power for good and evil. In the Wadi Rizat I came upon scraps of food and tobacco in the pool beneath where the spring comes gushing out of a cavern. The locals emerge at night to throw morsals on the ground or into the pool shouting, "We are your sons and your daughters—don't harm us. Be awake so that we are not harmed by *Jins* (human kind) or *Jinns*." 769 776

*Nughush* they call this casting of bread upon the waters. In theory these spirits brood over running water only: they are amenable to kind treatment and treat mankind in the same way that they are treated by mankind.

The people of Jurbaib, lower down, sacrifice a cow before the harvest after it has made a circuit of the crops—its blood being drained into the irrigation ducts. Bits of its flesh are cast amongst the growing grass. 782 769 312

This spring of Rizat was in old days the subject of a notorious government case. Bait Zaiyan, a section of the Shahara, claimed the exclusive right to practise *nughush* in it. The Qara overlords who wished to share in the benefits of ghostly grace demanded to go "fifty-fifty" in the sacrifice. The government wali, in order to make government itself a partner in the scheme and share in the crops of the plains, decided that both parties would receive exactly equal quantities of food from government so that there should be no cheating. But in later years the slave soldiers of government, becoming overbearing in their treatment of Bait Zaiyan, the latter called upon the departed spirits of their forefathers who promptly made the water run up hill, so that the crops in the plains withered and died, whereupon government's share lapsed. [619]

Cases of virtue held to be latent in certain dying animals I met with on several occasions. The highly valued contents of the antelope's bladder for man, and its stomach for camels, may be purely a rational custom, but that cannot be said of a raven I had shot. While it lay dying a Badu asked for its heart, which he proposed thus to eat raw and palpitating. This was, he said, a protection to his own heart from evil influence, its bile also which he proposed mixing with kohl with which to annoint his eyelids. The Shahari who killed my biggest cobra, 825 789 754

825 a 3 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
789 impart virtue to his sight.

754 I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

## INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
[782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

## LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

1582 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere
583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
832 the ~~triple~~ nose-kiss, ~~left, right~~, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

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a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting 576
a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 832

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which 562
are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes, and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire 585
of his wife and say *Talag* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house 586
with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If 583
she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper, ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representative father or brother descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter [782]
a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day 844
or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal 848
marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere 837
in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would 684
on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and [628]
have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

## CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees 342
at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain [754]
itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. 782
When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342

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342 782 a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hens' [784 607] eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

## LAW AND DISPUTES.

671 692 As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al hauz*, or a code of ancient sanctions, is the law. The *hauz* is a wise man of the tribe. Not infrequently his is an hereditary office, occasionally the *hauz* is the shaikh of his tribe. Shara law, *i.e.* holy law in Oman and elsewhere, is the law of the coastal townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony, and sometimes of divorce and inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. That is the province of the *hauz*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara or holy law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed even along the coast by government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing 683 evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye-for-an-eye idea, 696 the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali of Dhufar as having taken place last year is as follows: "X" was going on a journey into the "Y's" country and took a *rabia* from "Y." On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and "X" found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. The *hauz* heard the case and decided that "Y," the innocent party but member of the offending tribe, must submit to the infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

671 692 721 682 628 In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *hauz*, when he would receive from the offenders *Laum-al-wijh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at 400 dollars. Murder, which in Arab tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood-money which varies between 400 and 1,000 dollars (or rather its equivalent in kind), in these Qara mountains is assessed prodigiously high, in theory something like 5,000 dollars, which may take a lifetime to pay off, but is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom, must bear the brunt.

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The tribes of the Central South have a poor reputation as regards the *radud-as-salaam.*[1] 576
The *radud-as-salaam* merely means that when two persons meet, between whose tribes there 577
is blood or other enmity, and one says to the other—"Peace be upon you" and the other replies "And upon you be peace," they have buried the hatchet for the nonce. For one now to take advantage of the other and slay him in his sleep, for instance, would in any other part of Arabia be the deepest treachery. Not so amongst this lawless brood, however. That it may happen elsewhere is possible, but normally the offender would be hounded out of his own tribe or be required to make some requital and his name would be for ever smirched. These non-Arabic speaking tribes of the Central South have so much regard for the elsewhere universal law. They also observe in the breach what is elsewhere a fixed canon, the *thamn-al-batn* or "stomach 574
price." This is an elaboration of the law of three days' hospitality. If a Badu has eaten the 171
salt of a man his goods are safe for a period of four days and four nights, the time for the last 576
vestige of food to have passed from his body. If the Badu's tribe unwittingly raids the man 671
during these four days they must and do return the loot. This *thamn-al-batn* is sacred with the other tribes of the southern fringe but not with the non-Arab group. Who and whence are these tribes? Indigenous? Of African origin? or have they a common origin with African tribes, or are none of these hypotheses tenable? Here is an almost black race of brachycephals, and brachycephaly properly belongs to Asia. The answer is for you to decide. History sheds but little light.

In the year A.D. 1325 Ibn Batuta, the great Moorish traveller and theologian, set out on 175
his 25 years' travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia and elsewhere. He sojourned 144
in Dhufar and amongst what he wrote of it was this:—"Another thing is that its people closely resemble the people of North-West Africa in their customs. . . . The outlying population is not Arab, but of a Sudanic type." Does Ibn Batuta help us?

The following discussion took place after the paper:—

Sir Arthur Keith said that Capt. Bertram Thomas had thrown light on one of the darkest anthropological 144
corners of the world. It was now clear that the Southern Arabs were very different from the Northern Arabs
—in almost every respect. If one sought to trace the affinities of the Southern Arabs by judging from their 142
external appearances—as revealed in Capt. Thomas's photographs—one was immediately reminded of the native type of North-Eastern Africa. To his eye the Southern Arabs showed in their fuzzy hair and black—or dark brown—pigmentation of hair and skin, as well as in their facial features, distinct Hamitic or Somali-like affinities. On the other hand, Capt. Thomas's measurements of heads proved that the Southern Arabs differed from the Hamitic peoples of Africa and also from the Arabs of Northern Arabia in having skulls which were short and wide. The width of the heads of Southern Arabs was between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. of the length. The Southern Arabs were distinctly and highly round-headed—or brachycephalic. Hamitic peoples and the Badawin (Arab) type of Northern and North-Western Arabia were usually long-headed or dolichocephalic. Thus Capt. Thomas's observations confirmed the data collected by Professor C. G. Seligman fourteen years ago that the people of Southern Arabia are round-headed or brachycephalic.

Although the Southern Arabs—who were of low stature, the men being usually about 64 inches in height—showed certain Hamitic traits in their features, yet these were overshadowed by others which proclaimed an affinity to the Caucasian or white stock of mankind. They were less fully bearded than the Northern Arab and yet more so than among Hamites. In some respects the South Arabian type bridged the difference between Semite and Hamite.

[1] It is only within comparatively recent times that the Bauthara would recognise the *rubia* at all.

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Sir Arthur looked on the Arabs of Oman and of the Persian Gulf littoral as differing in type from the Arabs living along the Southern Coast of Arabia. In the Oman Arabs—one of whose skulls was preserved in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons—there is to be seen a very lofty head, which was flattened and high in its hinder or occipital wall. There was usually in the Omanese type a Semitic type of nose with long face and a tendency to adiposity of body. The Omanese were probably the descendants of a very ancient colony of traders. The type is South Caspian in origin, and is still to be observed in certain communities in India—particularly in Bombay. The Omanese type could in his opinion be named Armenoid—as Dr. Seligman maintained—but the brachycephalic form of skull found amongst the Southern Arabs seemed to him to differ from that ascribed to the typical Armenian. It is true that some of Capt. B. Thomas's photographs of the Southern Arabs did show the high Armenoid occiput, but this character was an exceptional, not a prevalent, feature.

Capt. Bertram Thomas's observations in South Arabia threw light on one of the major problems relating to the evolution of modern races of mankind. A survey of the present distribution of races led to the supposition that the negro type at one time was distributed across the southern hemisphere from the Congo in Africa to the Islands of the Pacific—this original black band extending through Arabia, Persia, Baluchistan, India, and further India. One had a right to suppose that, at various phases of the latest geological period of the earth's history, Arabia, the Sahara, and the deserts of Central Asia had been fertile lands. The middle part of this primeval black or negro belt had been replaced—or transmuted—by evolutionary changes so as to give rise to the Hamitic type in Africa and the Dravidian type in India, for clearly the Hamitic and Dravidian types, from an elementary point of view, were not far apart.

"Now when we look," Sir Arthur said in conclusion, "at a racial map of the present world, we see that the black belt has been broken through in two regions of Asia. In Eastern Asia the Mongolian stock has broken through at various times and by various waves to gain the Pacific—the Polynesian and Malayan 'break-throughs.' Then in Western Asia there has been the Caucasian break-through, so that we find to-day the lands which extend from the Indus Valley to the Red Sea, occupied by peoples of the Caucasian stock. When the Caucasian break-through took place we have as yet no certain information, but it must be of ancient date—probably late Pleistocene, when the culture of the Caucasian stock was that known as Aurignacian. We may suppose that the people who now inhabit Southern Arabia represent the advance guard of the Caucasian stock—the pioneers who first penetrated the Arabian peninsula and replaced its black-skinned Hamitic inhabitants. The Hamitic characters now seen in the South Arabs may be the result of an intermingling of the Arab pioneers with the Hamitic natives. To explain the fact that the South Arabs are brachycephalic we have to suppose that their original home was between the Pamir and Asia Minor, for it is in this part of Asia that the Armenoid type of skull seems to have been evolved—on the ethnological frontier between the Mongolian and Caucasian stocks. The oldest skulls we know of from Mesopotamia (Ur) are long-headed—of the North Arab type. We must suppose, then, that the brachycephalic South Arab had passed southwards before the long-headed Sumerians had occupied the lower regions of the Euphrates-Tigris Valley. This explanation seems more probable than to suppose that a brachycephalic skull had evolved independently among the people of South Arabia. Amongst the South Arabian boys and girls are to be seen not infrequently individuals who recall children of the Dravidians. If the theory just outlined is accepted, the resemblances of the Southern Arabs to the Dravidians of India and Hamites of Africa will be understood and explained."

Professor C. G. Seligman said: "We may first regard Mr. Thomas's subjects as constituting a single group, 'Southern Arabians,' when we find that they differ from the inhabitants of Northern Arabia in being not long-headed but very decidedly round-headed, *i.e.* in the higher grades of brachycephaly. If we divide these Southern Arabians into two groups, (1) Arabic-speaking, and (2) non-Arabic-speaking, we find that the latter are even rounder-headed than the former. Omitting two tall men from Oman, the two groups are nearly identical in stature. Both groups, then, are brachycephalic and both are of medium stature.

"Further, the two Omani men have notably high round skulls, with a steeply sloping but not flat occiput, long oval faces, notably Armenoid noses with pronounced nostrility, hair which appears to be straight, and a moderate beard of rather wavy hair. These men are typical members of the Armenoid race, and their features fit one of the Oman skulls in the Royal College of Surgeons extraordinarily well. The other Arabic-speaking tribesmen from the south-east, if less typically Armenoid, are yet so round-headed and have such

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typical, so-called 'Jewish,' noses that they can only be regarded as Armenoids. There is, however, a limited number of subjects who are round-headed certainly but broad-faced, with prominent cheekbones and a straight nose not the least Armenoid, who cannot be placed at present. 144 142

"Turning to the non-Arabic-speaking tribes, these are even more round-headed than the Arabic-speaking group, and the majority have more or less oval and generally rather long faces, with pronounced Armenoid noses. Again, however, there are a few exceptions.

"If we endeavour to sum up the information presented by the measurements and photographs brought back by Mr. Thomas, we can only say that (omitting a small number of unusual types) there is no very outstanding difference between the Arabic and non-Arabic-speaking groups, and both are predominantly Armenoid. This, as I pointed out in 1917, is the race to which the Arabs of South-Western Arabia belong. I cannot see that there is any reason to regard Mr. Thomas's subjects as Hamitic, nor have I been able to trace resemblances to such Abyssinian photographs as are at my disposal.

"Now such pronounced Armenoid characters can only point back to Near Eastern Asia and to Mesopotamia, using that term in the widest sense to include, if necessary, an undefined area to the east of the Tigris. I put it this way because Mr. Thomas assures me that his men of the Empty Quarter are not like those he knew in Mesopotamia, but I think there may well have been some degree of change in feature between the time when the Armenoids came into Southern Arabia and the present period.

"As to the probability of the intensity and long standing of Mesopotamian influence in South Arabia, I need only refer to the general geographical and cultural conditions which render it almost inevitable, and I would particularly stress the South Arabian coins of 70–40 B.C., depicting high round-heads, totally different in shape from that of the Northern Arab, and also the fact that twice in mediæval times considerable bodies of men have moved from Mesopotamia to South Arabia and *vice versa*. About A.D. 570 the Yaman was conquered by the Persians under Khosroes I, who installed a Governor whose successors continued to rule the country until Badhan, the last Governor, accepted Islam. The other example, which shows that it was easy for a considerable body of men to pass from Arabia to Mesopotamia, is offered by the march of Khalid ibn Walid, 'the sword of God,' in the early days of Islam. The Persians were defeated in the neighbourhood of the modern Kuwait by an army marching from Arabia, and Khalid was not again opposed until he reached the neighbourhood of the Tigris canal, where he gained a new victory.

"I may add that the terraced hills of Southern Arabia and the history of the dam at Marib all point to relatively early contacts with just such an engineering agricultural people as the round-headed Armenoid inhabitants of Mesopotamia."

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| No., Name and Tribe. | Age. | Head. Length. | Head. Breadth. | C.I. | Height. ft. in. | Span. ft. in. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) AHMAD BIN ALI. Tribe—Ahl Yazid Yafa | 20 | 184 | 151 | 82·07 | 5 2¼ | 5 3½ |
| (2) NASIR BIN MAHIN. Tribe—Yahar Yafa | 25 | 180 | 141 | 78·33 | 5 2½ | 5 2½ |
| (3) SHAIYIF BIN SALIH. Tribe—Yahar Yafa | 23 | 174 | 137 | 79·7 | 5 4 | 5 6½ |
| (4) ALI BIN AHMAD. Tribe—Ahl sa'ad Yafa | 22 | 165 | 142 | 86·06 | 5 2½ | 5 3½ |
| (5) NASIR BIN MUHAMMAD. Tribe—Ahl Yazid Yafa | 28 | 173 | 144 | 83·24 | 5 5½ | 5 3½ |
| (6) SA'AD BIN MUSELLIM. Tribe—Bit Shatana Mahra | 23 | 163 | 148 | 90·8 | 5 5 | 5 4 |
| (7) SALIM BIN SA'ID. Tribe—Bit Hanif Mahra | 20 | 167 | 148 | 88·6 | 5 3 | 5 4½ |
| (8) SA'ID BIN HAMAD. Tribe—Bit Shat'ana Mahra | 27 | 175 | 143 | 81·71 | 5 3½ | 5 6 |
| (9) MUSELLIM BIN SA'AD. Tribe—Mahra ... | 27 | 167 | 144 | 86·23 | 5 5 | 5 6 |
| (10) ABUD BIN SA'ID. Tribe—Bait Ali Iskar'on Mahri (but not Bir Boki) | 34 | 172 | 148 | 86·05 | 5 8 | 5 8 |
| (11) SA'ID BIN HAMAD BIN QATAMIN. Tribe—Al Kathiri (Bait Marhun) | 32 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (12) ALI AL DHAB'AN. Tribe—Mashai'a (Bal Ubaid), W. Irmah, N. Hadhramaut | 40 | 174 | 150 | 86·21 | 5 4½ | 5 4 |
| (13) SA'ID BIN SAIF (Wali of Dhufar). Tribe—Bahari of Oman | 47 | 174 | 144 | 82·76 | 5 6½ | 5 7½ |

NOTE.—The above (1–5) are Al Yafa soldiers recruited from hinterland of Aden for service in Bahrein's and downwards; a hairless race except the bountiful growth on their heads. Their hair is extremely coarse.

NOTE.—All Mahra have heavy eyebrows, black mop hair, but comparatively hairless faces—a little

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| Body Colour. | Hair. | Nose. | Eyes. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Greenish - brown dark chocolate colour | Golliwog, frizzy, long spirals. No beards as yet, lip fluff | Slightly hooked, but moderately fleshy | Large green, almond shape, droop at edges | Arms reaching nearly to knee; small ears. |
| Dark brown ... | Golliwog, long and frizzy. Hairless body, chin fluff | Long, straight, circular nostrils | Large, brown | Falsetto voice. |
| Dark brown ... | Frizzy; hairless body | Very straight, fleshy at base, wide nostrils | Dark brown, almond shape, drooping downward | Arms reaching nearly to knees; small ears |
| Dark brown, greenish face | Curly, but not frizzy; body more hairy than companions; slight moustache | Slightly crooked; long, moderate nostrils | Almond brown | Small ears. |
| Dark brown, greenish face | Curly, mop of very small spirals, moderately hairless body, slight moustache, chin fluff | Shortish, very straight, pointed round nostrils | Almond shape, dark brown | Small ears. |
| Dark brown, same as Yafa, greenish face | Curly, but not frizzy; hairless body, little beard, but slight chin fluff | Hooked, narrow nostrils | Brown, small almond shape, slit upwards | Arms reach above knee, shorter than Yafa, emaciated. Large teeth. |
| Dark brown body, greenish face | Slightly long, curly; hairless body | Hooked, small; long nostrils | Nearly black; sloping slightly upwards | Heavy eyebrows, rather projecting teeth. |
| Dark brown, greenish face | Curly mop hair, poor face growth; chin tuft; hairless body, except chest | Straight and delicate; long straight nostrils | Brown, almond shape, slant upwards | Shaikhly family. Large teeth. |
| Dark brown, greenish face | Mop curly hair, chin tuft and side fluff, otherwise no beard; almost hairless body | Short; long nostrils | Largish brown, almond shape, sloping upwards | Big teeth, thick underlip. |
| Dark brown ... | Long wavy ringlets; black hairy chest, beard. Mahfif | Short, straight, fairly open nostrils | Round, very dark brown; thick eyelashes, shallow upper eyelid | Father Mahri of Jadhib, not a Badu; appears better race than local Badu. |
| Dark brown ... | Long wavy ringlets. Mahfif. Hairless body | Long, slightly hooked and pointed, stands out from axis of brow | Greenish brown, small slit | — |
| Very dark brown | Long and wavy, moderate beard; hairy legs, but hairless chest and arms | Straight and pointed, standing out from brow: moderate length, wide but slanting nostrils | Large brown; round and slightly upturned | Smallish ears. |
| Palish yellow, black hairy body | Straight and short; beard | Long and curved; slit nostrils; fleshy | Brown ... ... | Big ears. |

fort at Salalah. General appearance distinctive: golliwog hair, faces broad at cheek-bones, tapering upwards, but greasy with cocoanut oil.
chin fluff and side fluff only.

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| No., Name and Tribe. | Age. | Head. Length. | Head. Breadth. | C.I. | Height. | Span. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | ft. in. | ft. in. |
| (14) SA'ID BIN JUM'AN. Tribe—Shahari (Bin Ziferol) | 20 | 164 | 150 | 91·46 | 5 2 | 5 3½ |
| (15) HASAN BIN MUSELLIM. Tribe—Bin Tabok (Qara) | 40 | 168 | 147 | 87·5 | 5 5 | 5 5½ |
| (16) MUSA ALI. Tribe—Bait Majartain Somali | 32 | 188 | 147 | 78·19 | 5 8½ | 6 0 |
| (17) MUHAMMAD ABDUL RAHMAN. Tribe—Majartain Somali | 36 | 180 | 144 | 80 | 5 10 | 5 8½ |
| (18) UTHMAN QAYTL. Tribe—Majartain Somali | 30 | 174 | 142 | 81·61 | 5 8½ | 5 10 |
| (19) AHMADLI. Somali ... ... ... | 20 | 163 | 130 | 79·1 | 5 4½ | 5 4 |
| (20) ALI BIN YUSUF. Somali ... ... ... | 20 | 175 | 137 | 78·3 | 5 4½ | 5 2 |
| (21) MUSA ALI. Somali ... ... ... | 20 | 169 | 138 | 86·5 | 5 4½ | 5 8½ |
| (22) HAMAD BIN SALIH. Tribe—Bani Bu Hasan (Hinawiyah). Omani | 26 | 171 | 148 | 86·55 | 5 10 | 5 11½ |
| (23) AMR BIN SAIF. Tribe of the Shaikhs of Beni Ali (Hinawi). Omani | 21 | 167 | 144 | 86·23 | 5 4½ | 5 4 |
| (24) LUBKHIT BIN MUSELLIM. Tribe—Bait'isa. Qara | 33 | 168 | 146 | 86·9 | 5 9 | 5 10½ |
| (25) ESKRUN BIN MUSELLIM. Qarawi of Shaikhly family. Bait Tabok | 35 | 165 | 150 | 90·91 | 5 4 | 5 5 |

NOTE.—Specimens 16–20 are Somali domiciled in Dhufar for several years, but of Somali origin and the seaport town of Bandar Gasim. They seem to have a good deal of back to the head, as opposed to the

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| Body Colour. | Hair. | Nose. | Eyes. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dark brown, but fairer than Qara | Long mop of curly hair; chin tuft and faint down on cheeks, hairy legs, but hairless body | Straight; moderately short and fleshy; slight dimple in end | Brown, slit ... | Much more squat than others. Small ear. |
| Dark brown, very dark face | Mop of very dark brown hair, slightly curly (almost straight); black beard; hairy body | Heavy well-shaped nose, delicate nostrils (distinctive in Qara); dimple on end of nose | Round, lightish brown. Straight brows | Lithe appearance. |
| Blackish brown ... | Curlyish; little on face, slight moustache and chin fluff; hairless body | Straight; widish nostrils | Small and round, slit upwards; blackish brown | Large flapping ears; full lips, large teeth. |
| Blackish brown ... | Cropped and straight; chin fluff; hairless body | Straight but squat; full nostrils | Round; blackish brown | Thick lips; rather negroid. |
| Blackish ... ... | Cropped; probably rather straight; no beard, but chin tuft and lip fluff; hairless body | Straight, short, large nostrils | Large and black; almond shape | Small round ear; thick lips, big teeth. |
| Black ... ... | Cropped, no eyebrows or face growth; hairless body | Straight, pointed; rather large nostrils | Black ... ... | Tiny ear, flat with lobe; big teeth, negro lips. |
| Black ... ... | Cropped, no eyebrows or face growth; hairless body | Straight, pointed; rather large nostrils | Black ... ... | Tiny ear, flat with lobe; big teeth, negro lips. |
| Black ... ... | Cropped, but probably curly spiral hair; beardless | Short, straight and fleshy; largish nostrils, but not negroid | Blackish brown ... | Small ear, negro lips. |
| Lightish brown or yellow | Straight, considerable beard and moustache; little hair on body; arched eyebrows; hair recedes on temples | Large, long and straight well-shaped nose; elongated nostrils standing out from axis of brow | Large and round, brown, set widely apart | Largish ear; very fair compared with S. Arabians. Thick lips, small teeth, not negroid. |
| Lightish brown yellow | Straight and black; slight beard and moustache | Straight and pointed; delicate nostrils | Brown, round and beady; set widely apart | Thick lips, not negroid. |
| Darkish brown ... | Black, almost straight; fairly heavy beard; almost hairless body | Straight, fairly fleshy | Large, brown ... | Badu type; will not intermarry, so are pure; very broad upper face. Pouting mouth. |
| Dark brown ... | Dark brown, slightly curly; hairy chest, slight beard; black chin tuft | Straight, slightly retroussé | Round, greenish brown | Full but well-shaped mouth. Stands with one leg in front of other. |

parentage. They are decidedly darker than the general run, and seem to be much mixed. They come from straighter back of the South Arabian types.

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| No., Name and Tribe. | Age. | Head. Length. | Head. Breadth. | C.I. | Height. ft. in. | Span. ft. in. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (26) JUM'AN BIN ASHUR. Tribe—Bin Zuferol. Shahari (the Shaikh of the tribe of Zuferol) | 47 | 162 | 158 | 97·53 | 5 5 | 5 7½ |
| (27) ALDUKAIT BIN JUM'AN. Tribe—Bin Zuferol. Shahari. (Son of above) | 18 | 164 | 150 | 91·46 | 5 3½ | 5 7 |
| (28) UNBURK BIN SA'ID (Mubarrak). Tribe—Bain Zuferol. Shahari | 24 | 168 | 148 | 88·10 | 5 3½ | 5 6½ |
| (29) JUM'AN BIN ALI. Tribe—Zuferol ... | 40 | 175 | 151 | 86·29 | 5 4 | 5 6½ |
| (30) AHMAD BIN ALI. Tribe—Zuferol. Shahari | 60 | 171 | 143 | 83·63 | 5 0 | 5 2½ |
| (31) SA'ID BIN ALI. Tribe—Zuferol. Shahari... | 33 | 170 | 146 | 85·88 | 5 4 | 5 5½ |
| (32) INSTAHAIL DUN MAHUD. Tribe—Shahari | 40 | 181 | 151 | 83·43 | 5 8 | 5 8½ |
| (33) DAHABA BIN SA'ID. Harsusi (Harasis in own language). Harsid | 22 | 174 | 145 | 83·33 | 5 1½ | 5 4½ |
| (34) SAID BIN SHAGHAIYAH. Tribe—Bait Kathir. Al Masen section | 35 | 170 | 148 | 87·06 | 5 6 | 5 9 |
| (35) BOKHIT RA RAQIQA. Tribe—Bait Kathir. Al Masen section | 35 | 163 | 150 | 92·02 | 5 5 | 5 8½ |
| (36) SAID BIN MAHUNT. Tribe—Shahari. (European and Scandinavian colour) | 30 | 173 | 146 | 84·39 | 5 1 | 5 5 |

NOTE.—Nos. 26 to 32 are Shahari: none wore the right earring which is so distinctive of the rather large brows, larger ears with no lobe, hair curlier, feet turn outward, bigger chins, shorter thumbs out at different angle from face. The mouth is a distinguishing feature; they do not pout, the teeth of

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| Body Colour. | Hair. | Nose. | Eyes. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dark brownish chocolate | Curly, black, turning to grey; slight beard grown, chin tufts rusty grey | Straight, broad and fleshy; wide nostrils | Brown, almond shape, straight eyebrows, thickish; set well apart | Hunted expression of Shaikhly family; thin lips, broad forehead. |
| Dark brown ... | Curly black, not frizzy; hairless body; slight lip fringe | Straight ... ... | Brown, almond-shape; set well apart; thick lashes | No lobe to ear. Squatter build than Qara. |
| Blackish brown with indigo | Thick mop of very dark brown wavy hair; slight on chest | Long and straight; stands out at more of an angle than Qara. | Small slit, light brown, turning upwards. Straight heavy lashes | Fairly thin lips; largish ear. |
| Yellowish brown | Mop of blackish brown curls; thick black beard, more than normal | Long fleshy at base, straight, stands out from axis, slightly curved | Round, greenish brown; thick, straight brows. | Straight, well-formed lips; big ear. |
| Dark brown ... | Curly, rusty grey; stoutish beard, but short | Fairly large and fleshy, well-formed | Brownish, losing colour; green iris; straightish black brows | Very large ears; thin lips. |
| Dark yellowish brown | Black-brown mop of curls; chin fluff and moustache, but no beard or body hair | Small, well-formed, straight and pointed nose; fairly large nostrils. Stands out well from face | Rather round; eyebrows tend to droop. | Hunted expression; full, small mouth; small ear. |
| Rather dark brown | Mops of thick curls, rusty grey | Short, straight, pointed and wide; largish nostrils | Round and brown, wide set; thick, straight eyebrows | Thin lips; moderate-sized ears with no lobe. Hunted expression. |
| Rather light brown (yellowish) straw coloured | Heavy black, rather wavy; slight chin fluff and moustache, no body hair | Long, narrow, and hooked | Wide-set, almond-shape, cross-eyed look | Well-shaped mouth, full but not thick lips. Short and thickset, not a S. Arabian type, but distinctive; bow legs and toes turning in. |
| Rather light brown for local Badus | Large waving black curls; slight black beard and chin tuft. Almost hairless body | Straight, well-shaped, fairly heavy at tip | Large, light brown, set wide apart | Full lips. Badus, who do not work incense trees. Largish ears. Feet turned in. |
| Rather light brown for local Badus | Mass of small plaits; slight beard and chin tuft; slight body hair | Heavy, curved, and fleshy. Roman | Rather light brown; set wide apart | Full lips. Rather large ears; feet turned in. Badus, who do not work incense trees. |
| Pink, large brownish spots | Straight straw-coloured; ginger beard, heavier than locals; body and leg hair | Long, eagle-shaped; long slit nostrils | Bluish, closely set white; poor eyebrows | Straight, thin, rather European lips. |

**Mahra and Qara.** They have longer necks than the Qara, broader heads, and are more squat in appearance, and nails, longer upper lip than either Qara or Mahra, hunted expression, of one complexion, nose stands both jaws coming together and not projecting.

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| No., Name and Tribe. | Age. | Head. Length. | Head. Breadth. | C.I. | Height. ft. in. | Span. ft. in. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (37) SALIM BIN DARAIYEH. Tribe—Bautahari | 40 | 182 | 144 | 79·12 | 5 7 | 5 8 |
| (38) ABUD BIN 'ISA AL 'AIYUNI. Tribe—Imburruz. (One day from Riyadh. A Najdi of Arabia, soldier of Sultanate Ahfal Charb) | 65 | 180 | 142 | 78·89 | 5 5 | 5 6½ |
| (39) TALIB BIN HALAIYIL. Tribe—Al Murra. Al Maytha, (Aluwair Badu of Qatar and sands, servant of) | 28 | 172 | 143 | 83·14 | 5 1½ | 5 3½ |
| (40) KILTHUT BIN SALIH. Rashidi ... ... | 24 | 171 | 141 | 82·46 | 5 3 | 5 4½ |

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| Body Colour. | Hair. | Nose. | Eyes. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dark brown ... | Straight, black, full white beard; body hair brown | Long, fleshy, slightly hooked at tip | Small, round, closely set; no upper eyelid | Tight lips, slightly protruding; very small ears, almost no lobe. Furtive look; fish-eating race; very small teeth. |
| Rather dark brown; less chocolate than locals | Rather straight, white; more beard than locals; body hairless | Heavy and rather squat | Round and black with upper eyelids | Tight, but rather full lips; large ears. Quite distinct from locals. |
| Hairy chest, black | Straight, and very dark brown; black, hairy chest. Beard | Rather short, projecting; slightly curved | Small, round and black | Rather large ears bandy legs; hairy. |
| Hairy chest, black | Rather straight, dark brown; hairy chest and legs | Rather large, straight, aquiline | Brown, almond-shape | Thick projecting lips; short teeth, tattooed gums. Foxy face. |

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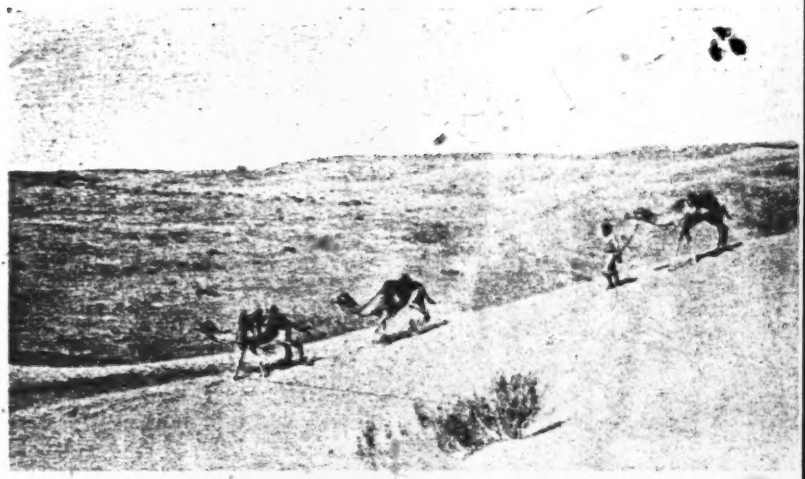

FIG. 1.—THE SANDS OF DAKAKA.

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FIG. 2.—SOUTH ARABIA QARA MOUNTAINS. FUZAH. LOOKING DOWN OVER IR (W. ARBOT).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN SOUTH ARABIA.

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FIG. 1.—POAL UBAID BADU, HADHRAMAUT. KARABI ON MAP.

FIG. 2.—POAL UBAID BADU, HADHRAMAUT. KARABI ON MAP.

FIG. 3.—SHAIKH HASAN. QARA TRIBE.



FIG. 4.—SHAIKH HASAN. QARA TRIBE.



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FIG. 9.—AN OMANI.

FIG. 10.—AN OMANI.

FIG. 11.—A MAHRI.



FIG. 12.—A SHAHRI.

SOUTH ARABIAN TYPES.

p. 104(c)

# THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

By LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR BERNARD REILLY,
K.C.M.G., C.I.E., O.B.E.

000 Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 12, 1941, Sir Cosmo Parkinson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

CHAIRMAN: We now come to the business of to-day, which is Sir Bernard Reilly's talk on the Aden Protectorate.

I could not help thinking, to go back to Lord Lloyd for a moment, how immensely interested he would have been in this talk, with his abiding memories of the Middle East, his intimate understanding of the Arab people, and his sincere respect for the faith and the tradition of Islam.

114 Sir Bernard Reilly needs no introduction. Any of you who have been to Aden, if only for a day, must know of him, because the two words "Aden" and "Reilly" are virtually synonymous. We have heard of "Reilly of Aden." I have sometimes wondered whether it should not be "Aden of Reilly." He has given a lifetime of service there, and, when the Aden Settlement was turned into a colony he became most appropriately the first Governor and Commander-in-Chief. If ever an administrator overseas deserved the title, "father and mother of the people," it was Sir Bernard Reilly in Aden.

000 There is just one thing I must tell you. When he was going away from Aden last year he did not know that he was retiring. When he reached this country he realized that private circumstances were such that he absolutely must retire, deeply as he regretted not going back to Aden. Before he left, his Arab servant, who had been with him many years, said: "Master, when the time comes for you finally to leave Aden, you must not tell us. You must go away, just as if you were taking one of your holidays to England, because the partings would be too sorrowful." That is a great tribute; and, in point of fact, on this occasion the master did act on the advice of the servant.

131 133 THE Aden Protectorate is an extensive tract of country in Southern Arabia. Its coast stretches from a point opposite to the island of Perim for about 600 miles to Ras Durbat Ali on the borders of Oman, and it reaches inland to a depth varying from about 100 miles in the vicinity of Aden to a greater but undefined distance farther east. Arabia is often thought of as a land of deserts, but this part of it, like many other parts, is a country of mountains. The sandy plain that the passing traveller sees stretching inland from Aden is only a maritime belt. Beyond it the hills rise abruptly in peaks and ranges that reach to heights of 8,000 feet and more. These mountains are, for the most part, rugged and forbidding, but they are interspersed by valleys and ravines that contain fertile and cultivated 000 strips of land. Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hills are

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 194: MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
MIDDLE EAST ISLANDS M21
Socotra



Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hill are terraced by the industrious inhabitants to grow crops and, in the higher altitudes, the excellent Mocha coffee for which Southern Arabia is famous. Villages appear in unexpected places, built of mud brick in the low country and of stone on the mountain-sides and hill-tops. Among these habitations are seen always the square towers, or *ḥars*, and the little mosques or whitewashed shrines that are characteristic of the Arab villages.

The aspect of the country varies in its different parts. Immediately to the north of Aden is the large and fertile oasis in which stands the capital of the Sultan of Lahej. It is irrigated from the bifurcation of the Wadi Tiban that brings water from the mountains and then disappears in the sands near Aden. To the east and west of Lahej are desert strips, but beyond are the Subeihi hills and valleys to the north-west, the rugged Haushabi country, and the pleasant district of Dhala in the Amiri highlands to the north, and the lofty mountains of Yafa to the north-east. Thence to the eastward a steep escarpment spans the country like a rampart; and is crowned by the fertile Audhali plateau 7,000 feet above sea-level. Farther east, beyond another stretch of rough, mountainous country, is the fantastic and barren *jol*, reminiscent of pictures of the surface of the moon. To the north of this strange and desolate area, and in striking contrast to it, is the wide valley of the Hadhramaut, with its chain of towns and villages, its skyscrapers, country houses, palace and gardens. Beyond again, away to the north, lies the edge of the Rub' al Khali, the Empty Quarter, with its sea of tumbled terra-cotta coloured sand dunes stretching into the distant interior.

On the sea coast of the Protectorate there are at intervals fishing villages and little ports, and about 300 miles to the east of Aden stands the picturesque town and port of Mukalla, the capital of the Quaiti Sultan. Protected by a steep background of rock, its white houses cling to the shore, and its appearance from the sea is singularly attractive. The town of Shehr lies on the coast beyond it, and eastward again there are more coastal villages, of which Qishn, the capital of the mainland territory of the Sultan of Socotra, is the most important.

The large island of Socotra, situated about 500 miles to the east of Aden, forms part of the Protectorate. It, too, is a mountainous country, but, owing to its greater rainfall, it is much less bleak than the neighbouring mainland. It has a good deal of varied vegetation, and is noted for its so-called dragon's-blood tree, the sap of which is exported to India and elsewhere to make a rich purple dye. Socotra has also a

Socotra has also a
good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

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earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his 181
friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came 577
to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a 795
strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They 102
belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their 276
neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African [144]
blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an 567
institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, 648
when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from 631
attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth

648 century and the early years of the twentieth the potential enemy on the
631 South Arabian mainland was Turkey, whose occupation of the province of Yemen brought its territory to within a short distance of Aden. The Turks, indeed, maintained a theoretical claim to the whole of Southern Arabia, including Aden itself. In practice, however, they accepted the existence of British protection over nine tribes adjacent to Aden, and these became known in diplomatic dealings between the British and Turkish Governments as the Nine Cantons, a term that still lingers, although the number of tribes in treaty relations with the British Government now far exceeds the original nine.

648 The Protectorate treaties are all cast in much the same form. It is a
631 very simple one, for the provisions are limited to a few short clauses stating that the gracious favour and protection of the British Sovereign shall be extended to the tribal chief, who, in return for a stipend, undertakes to have no relations with any other foreign Power. In some cases the treaties were supplemented by agreements about the security of roads or other matters of common interest, but generally speaking there was no attempt to introduce any direct British influence or even supervision in the internal affairs of the tribes. Aden was regarded as being primarily a fortress, and the purpose of the Protectorate was the creation and maintenance of a vacuum behind the fortress, into which no foreign intruders would be admitted. Provided that this object was secured, the Protecting Power at that time showed no interest in the welfare or development of the people of the country, who were left to their own devices and to their traditional vendettas and anarchy.

This indifference to the domestic concerns of the protected tribes was even more marked in the eastern part of the Protectorate than in the country nearer to Aden. Treaties of the same type as those already mentioned were made with the local chiefs on the sea coast to the east of Aden up to the borders of Muscat. The reason for this extension of the protected sphere was similar to that which led to the establishment of the Nine Cantons. Its object was the exclusion of foreign influence from Southern Arabia owing to the proximity of this territory to our vital sea communications with the East. The most important treaties with tribes to the east of Aden are those with the Quaiti Sultan of Shehr and Mukalla and with the Sultan of Qishn and Socotra, whose territory includes a mainland portion as well as the island of Socotra. No effort was made at that time to extend British influence inland from Mukalla or the neighbouring coast. The Government of India, by whom the Protectorate treaties were concluded, was content to have

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a British protected belt along the coast and to leave the interior of the 648
country alone. This policy was no doubt due in part to the difficulties 631
of communication overland and to the attitude of the Arab chiefs concerned, who welcomed protection against foreign enemies, but disliked any interference with their internal affairs.

Unfortunately, British protection was not always effective. No 648
troops were maintained in the Protectorate, and when the test of war came in 1915 the Turks in the Yemen found no difficulty in marching down through the Protectorate to Lahej and the gates of Aden. After the war the rule of the Turks in the Yemen was succeeded by that of the Zeidi Imam of Sana. This energetic ruler has always regarded both Turks and British as usurpers in Southern Arabia, the whole of which he looks upon as his rightful inheritance, and he lost no time in seizing as much of the Aden Protectorate as he could take with impunity. The British at Aden, with a much reduced garrison and a minute air force, were unable to give effective protection to their tribes until 1928, when air reinforcements enabled them to recover the Dhala district. The Imam's Zeidi troops retained possession of some parts of the Protectorate until 1934, when they were withdrawn as a corollary to the signature of the Treaty of Sana. This treaty effected a temporary settlement of the vexed question of the Protectorate frontier. The Imam did not formally renounce his historic claims, for he declares that he will never do that, but he agreed that they should remain in abeyance for the period of the treaty—that is, for forty years from its signature, or until a more permanent solution could be found. On the other hand, the British Government recognized the Imam's title as King of the Yemen and his complete independence within his own territory.

It was hoped that the Treaty of Sana would prove to be a turning- 663
point in the history of the Aden Protectorate, and this hope has to some extent been justified. Before the conclusion of the treaty the Protecting Power was mainly concerned with the problem of defence against external aggression, and there were even advocates of the abandonment of all but a fragment of the Protectorate in the immediate vicinity of Aden. The settlement with the Yemen enabled the authorities at Aden to turn their attention to setting the Protectorate house in order. There was a growing feeling that the old policy of indifference to its internal needs was unworthy of the best British traditions, and that an effort should be made to improve the lot of the people in the protected area. It was no longer considered to be good enough to put a ring

663 fence round the country and then to leave it to anarchy. On the other hand, there was no wish to introduce direct British rule over a people who are tenaciously attached to their independence. Our policy is therefore to support the treaty chiefs and to lead them and their subjects to appreciate the advantages of the suppression of lawlessness and the maintenance, in collaboration with the British Government, of internal peace and security. At the same time it was laid down as a general principle that the main trade routes through the Protectorate must be kept safe, and that the Government would enforce this decision.

The medium through which this policy was to be carried into effect was a number of political officers centred on Aden, but working in the Protectorate, and I, as Governor at the time, was fortunate in the appointment by the Colonial Office of a group of young men who threw themselves wholeheartedly and devotedly into the work of gaining the confidence and friendship of the Arab tribes and their chiefs, and in promoting the policy upon which the Government had embarked.

712 This work would not have been possible without the collaboration of the Royal Air Force. Aden had become an Air Command in 1928, and the first action of the strengthened Air Force was the ejection of the Yemenis from Dhala, to which I have already referred. This was followed by the construction of landing-grounds. There are now between thirty and forty of these in various parts of the Protectorate, including the Hadhramaut Valley, which had until lately been almost a *terra incognita* except to a few adventurous travellers. Flights by the Royal Air Force over the Hadhramaut were followed by invitations from the local Arabs to land, and the pioneer work of two young Air Force officers, Cochrane and Rickards, led to the establishment of closer contact. The first visit of a Resident of Aden to this strange and most interesting district was paid by myself in the early part of 1933.

556 I have already referred to this remarkable valley of the Hadhramaut,
167 and readers of Miss Freya Stark's delightful and graphic descriptions of her travels in Southern Arabia will be familiar with its peculiar characteristics. Its wealthy seyyids and merchants have generally amassed their fortunes in Java or Singapore, to which countries the Hadhramis emigrate in large numbers, and in which many of them are owners of valuable house property. They do not, however, lose their
[186] love for their original home in Arabia, and many of them eventually
342 return to the Hadhramaut, and there build for themselves the luxurious

houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the [186] austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These 342 well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign 578 countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them 185 among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem 648 presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination 157 before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, 578 and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same 648 demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section 185 of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with 643 the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at 625 Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in 185 a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage.

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N000 653 185 long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage. An energetic Agricultural Officer appointed by the Colonial Office has initiated experiments that are producing very promising results on the Audhali plateau to the north-east of Aden, and in other districts where water is available for irrigation. Medical and educational progress is as yet only in its initial stage, but a beginning has been made in the establishment of local dispensaries, and the institution at Aden of a Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs has met with encouraging success.

A 101 162 177 H 648 It is a fundamental principle of our policy in the Aden Protectorate that the Arab character of the country must be preserved. In this respect the Protectorate differs from the colony of Aden, which it adjoins. The colony is a small territory comprising the town and port of Aden; and, although the majority of its inhabitants are Arabs, it has long been a cosmopolitan community, in which Europeans, Indians, Jews, and Somalis mingle with the Arabs in friendly co-operation and a common loyalty to the British Crown and administration. The Protectorate, on the other hand, is recognized to be wholly Arab country. There is no intention on the part of the British Government to annex any part of it or to introduce any direct British administration. H 648 Our ambition and our hope are to produce in Southern Arabia an example of friendly and willing British and Arab co-operation, in which we give the best we can in the shape of advice and technical help without disturbing the national characteristics of the people. All efforts at reform are fated to meet with opposition from some quarters, and especially from those that are interested in the maintenance of old abuses, and our experience in the Aden Protectorate is no exception in this respect. On the whole, however, we have received a cordial, and often an eager, response. British officers working in Aden and the Protectorate have been rewarded not only with understanding and support, but also with liking and friendship that have bound them by personal ties to these Arabs, who have so much in common with the British in their individualism, their adventurousness, their humour, H 609 648 186 and their love of freedom. Now, when the Empire is at war and is passing through critical days, it is a pleasure and an encouragement to see the spontaneous loyalty and affection that have been displayed by the people of Aden reflected also in the Protectorate that we so long neglected but are now at last trying sincerely to befriend. In the towns and in remote villages in the mountains the people have gathered in their mosques to pray for British victory. Their friendship did not falter in the dark days of last summer, and now that victories have

come they are united with us in a common rejoicing. That is the kind 609
of recompense that gladdens the hearts of those who have worked for 648
these people and have striven to make British protection a real benefit 186
to them. It encourages our belief that our pioneer work in this country has been undertaken on the right lines, and that we may hope to add another success to those that have been achieved by our predecessors and contemporaries in other parts of the Empire. A great deal remains to be done in the Aden Protectorate, but with patience and perseverance and with the right principles to guide us we may be confident that it will be accomplished.

Colonel Tod: I do not know whether you would like to hear any- 000
thing of the earlier history of the Protectorate, but the time I spent in the Aden Protectorate was before even Sir Bernard Reilly's time, forty years ago, when I was a member of the Anglo-Turkish Mandate Commission. At that time the Protectorate consisted of only nine tribes. Since then it has been considerably extended. Hadhramaut was a *terra incognita* in those days and was certainly not part of the Protectorate.

I think the Sultan of Lahej owes his preponderance chiefly to the 643
fact that all roads from the interior lead through his capital, of which 491
he has taken advantage at different times.

You mentioned the incursion of the Turks in 1915. That was by 721
no means their first incursion into the Protectorate. When they re- 648
conquered the Yemen in about 1870 they gradually pushed their rule south until they penetrated many miles into the British Protectorate. When the British Commission went up there in 1901, intending to open friendly relations with the Turks about the demarcation of the frontier, they found the Turks had brought down a considerable force, had taken military possession of that part of the Protectorate, only just leaving the town of Dhala itself outside the militarily occupied area, and had seized the heads of the passes that led down to Aden; so the position of the Commission was a most difficult one. The Turks simply put their foot down and said, "J'y suis, j'y reste," and we had no power to turn them out. There was just an insignificant escort of Indian troops with the Commission. It took a very long time indeed to persuade the home Government that they must intervene with force, and it was only when a force stronger than the Turkish force was sent up there in 1902 that the Turks were compelled to withdraw. That means that Dhala was occupied by the Turks for about thirty years. It

721 is a case of the neglect, to which you referred, of the Government
648 towards our so-called protected sheikhs.

000 There are one or two rather curious facts in connection with that Commission. The head of the Commission was a Colonel Wahab, a very talented officer. His assistant was a Major Abud. Anyone who understands Arabic will understand the strange coincidence of those two names. When I first made contact with the Turks, they asked me in a puzzled way: "Who are these two men, Wahab and Abud?" They thought that, whereas they had sent some of their most important men, we had sent some local Arabs to deal with them.

You mentioned the frequency of the travel of the tribes of the Protectorate to foreign lands. That was a very striking feature even in those days. It was quite a common thing to meet a half-naked Arab leading a string of camels, who would say: "Bon jour, monsieur."

We had great difficulty in getting a cook there. Our Indian cook went sick, and to our surprise a local Arab turned up from a village in the mountains. We found he talked English with a very Australian accent, and had been an assistant cook in a temperance hotel in Queensland.

Captain Acworth: Sir Bernard spoke of the very great religious enthusiasm of the tribes, but he also mentioned a sort of friction between the various tribes, and some of them did not think very highly of the others. I was wondering whether in the very keen Moslem faith in the south of Arabia they have among them the same sort of divergencies and different views that we have in our churches here, like High Church, Modernist, and so on—whether there are really a considerable number of sects among the Moslems.

Then, are the various tribes something like the counties in England —say, Lancashire and Cornwall? Can they all understand each other? Those two points I have always wondered about.

795 Sir Bernard Reilly: The division I spoke of was between the Shafeis and the Zeidis. The Shafeis belong to the great Sunni Division of the Moslem faith. The Zeidis are more akin to the Shiahs, though they are not precisely Shiahs. They take their name from the founder of their sect, named Zeid, but they have more in common with the Shiahs than the Shafeis have.

I do not think it would be right to say there are many subdivisions in the Aden Protectorate. The people of the Protectorate are all Shafeis, and there are no serious divisions among them from a religious point of view at all.

As regards dialects, Captain Acworth asked whether the tribesmen of one tribe understand the tribesmen of another. Undoubtedly yes. There is no great divergence of language. There are slight differences of pronunciation and accent. I have heard the men of one tribe mimicking the speech of those of another tribe, but fundamentally their language is the same. I should imagine that the differences in matters of speech are rather less than those between different parts of England. 197

Of course, there is a great difference between the Arabic spoken in the south of Arabia and Arabic spoken in Palestine or Egypt, but there are no great distinctions inside the country itself. ooo

Dr. Hugh Scott acknowledged his indebtedness to Sir Bernard Reilly and the officers of the Aden Protectorate during the British Museum Expedition to South-West Arabia in 1937. Dr. Scott added some interesting remarks on the peoples of the country, which are amplified in his article (see p. 146).

The Chairman: When Sir John Shea wrote and asked whether I would take the chair at this meeting, I said I should be very pleased to do that because I knew that Sir Bernard Reilly would give us an interesting talk. I think you will bear me out that I was right in that prophecy.

Naturally, I have been listening to his talk from the Colonial Office angle. The Colonial Office was associated with Aden even before the colony was established in April, 1937, because by a division of work the Government of India had continued to deal with the settlement of Aden, but the Colonial Office had been made responsible, as part of H.M. Government here, for the Aden Protectorate. For instance, when Sir Bernard went to Sana to negotiate that treaty, in which he was so successful, the Colonial Office was in charge at this end.

When the colony was formed, as I dare say you know, there was quite a lot of fear in Aden on the part of the Indian community. They thought that Customs would be imposed to raise revenue to spend on the Protectorate. Well, Aden is still a free port. They were afraid their Indian law was going to be put aside by a Colonial Office which had no interest in Indian law. The Indian code still remains. They were afraid their Indian currency would go. The rupee is still there. They were afraid we should waste money. But a Budget deficit has become a Budget surplus. They were afraid that they would lose their salt trade. There the Colonial Office is not actually in control. It depends upon the Government of India whether or not Aden's salt

000 continues to receive the same favourable treatment as before. But at least the Colonial Office and Sir Bernard have done their level best to ensure that that favourable treatment continues. So those fears have gone.

When we set up the colony we had no intention of introducing drastic reforms, but in the Protectorate we did introduce a new policy quite deliberately. Sir Bernard has talked of that Protectorate as having been a vacuum. Nature abhors a vacuum, we are told. I do not know if the many critics of the Colonial Office would ever expect to find the Colonial Office doing anything which they would regard as natural. But at any rate we did follow Nature in abhorring this vacuum, and we set about quite deliberately, with Sir Bernard's help, to get a change, but our first rule was that there must be no hustle. It is not the slightest good, in dealing with Eastern peoples, to try to hurry, and if at any time we were wanting to go too fast, Sir Bernard was far too prudent to let us. I have sometimes thought the right motto for the Aden Protectorate comes from the prophet Isaiah: "Precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little and there a little."

The first thing was obviously security. Sir Bernard has spoken of the tremendous work of the R.A.F. in the background. The whole principle was to try to introduce a reasonable amount of peace and order in a very disturbed country and keep the trade routes open, but not to administer anything. We have no intention of administering the Protectorate. What we want to do is to build there on Arab institutions and to keep it an Arab country. That will be done through the work of advisers like Mr. Ingrams, who has made for himself a great name in the Hadhramaut, and political officers, whose numbers have grown from two to ten in Sir Bernard's time. With their help we must seek to improve the standard of life and conditions in the Protectorate.

Of course, there are certain things you must try to remove, such as an obvious abuse like slave-trading, not that it exists now; but in general you must carry on and develop existing institutions. We are giving help in the Protectorate with agriculture and with dispensaries, and we are beginning on education.

There have been setbacks at times—in security, for example—and there will be setbacks. It is a very primitive country, but the [illegible] thing is perseverance. As a matter of fact, we are already getting [illegible] reward through the work of these political officers, which is probably

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



some of the most selfless work in the world. Let me mention a recent incident. When Buckingham Palace was bombed, a man in Aden named Ali Ahmed Ruban came to the Governor and brought £7 10s., half a month's salary. He was an engineer foreman. He said: "This money is to help with cement for repairing the King's house now that the Nazis have bombed it." It is a touching story, and it illustrates the general feeling in Aden Colony and Protectorate.

Just one thing I would like to make quite clear about the Protectorate. Great Britain is there to give, not to take. There is no question of revenue coming from the Protectorate. The British Government puts up the money for anything that the Government spends in the Protectorate.

For my part, I am proud of the share which the Colonial Office has had in this new policy for the Protectorate, and I would like to take this opportunity of saying, in Sir Bernard Reilly's presence, how very fortunate we feel we have been to have had in him so wise and so understanding an administrator to initiate it. (Applause.)

23: British Gov't. G-5 (1877-1937) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

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# LAWS

OF THE

# ADEN PROTECTORATE.

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ADEN

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THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONY OF ADEN

1939

P.1

# NOTE.

*671 The Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, is reproduced for reference as regards interpretation of the rules and orders made by the Governor General of India in Council under it.

It should be borne in mind that all the Indian legislation in force in the Aden Protectorate before the 1st of April 1937, must be construed subject to the provisions (especially sub-section (1) of section 7) of the Aden Protectorate Order, 1937, with which the collection begins.

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# LEGISLATION IN FORCE IN THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

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# LEGISLATION IN FORCE IN THE ADEN PROTECTORATE.

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## I.—The Aden Protectorate Order, 1937, and Orders made thereunder, 1937, No. 246.

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At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 18th day of March, 1937.

PRESENT,

The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance and other lawful means His Majesty has power and jurisdiction within the territories known as the Protectorate of Aden:

And whereas it is expedient to make provision for the peace, order, and good government of the Protectorate of Aden:

Now, therefore, His Majesty, by virtue and in exercise of the powers by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, or otherwise in His Majesty vested, is pleased, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, as follows:—

53 & 54 Vict. c. 37.

1. This Order may be cited as the Aden Protectorate Order, 1937. Title.

2. This Order shall apply to the territories of Arabia which are bounded on the south by the Colony of Aden and the Gulf of Aden, on the west and north by the Kingdom of the Yemen and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and on the east by the Sultanate of Oman, and also to the Islands of Socotra and Abdul Quri and any other islands adjacent to the said territories. Limits of the Order.

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Definitions.

3.—(1) In this Order, unless the context otherwise requires—

"His Majesty" includes His Majesty's heirs and successors;

"the Secretary of State" means one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State;

"the Governor" includes every person for the time being administering the Government of the Colony of Aden;

"the Colony" means the Colony of Aden;

"the Protectorate" means the territories described in section 2 of this Order;

"the appointed day" means the first day of April nineteen hundred and thirty-seven;

"the Gazette" means the Gazette of the Protectorate;

"native of the Protectorate" means any person who is a member or either of whose parents is or was a member of a tribe or community indigenous to the Protectorate.

(2) The Interpretation Act, 1889, shall apply for the interpretation of this Order as it applies for the interpretation of an Act of Parliament. 52 & 53 Vict. c. 63.

Governor.

4. The Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony shall be the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Protectorate, and he is hereby empowered and commanded to exercise on His Majesty's behalf all such powers and jurisdiction as His Majesty now has, or may from time to time have, therein, and to that end to take or cause to be taken all such measures and to do or cause to be done all such things therein as in the interest of His Majesty's service he may think expedient.

5. The Governor is hereby empowered and commanded to do all things that belong to his said office in accordance with such Commission as may be issued to him under His Majesty's Sign Manual and Signet, such Instructions as may from time to time be addressed to him under His Majesty's Sign Manual and Signet or through the Secretary of State, and such Orders in Council and other laws as may from time to time be in force in the Protectorate.

Governor to observe instructions etc. 648

6. His Majesty hereby reserves to Himself, His heirs and successors power, with the advice of His or their Privy Council, from time to time, to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Protectorate.

Powers of legislation reserved to the Crown. 648 671x

7.—(1) Subject to the provisions of this Order, all Acts, Orders, Rules, Regulations and other enactments having the force of law in the Protectorate on the appointed day shall, except so far as the same shall, in their application to the Protectorate, thereafter be repealed, amended or otherwise affected by or under any subsequent order, rule or other law, continue to have effect in the Protectorate, but shall be construed subject to such modifications as may be necessary to bring them into conformity with the provisions of this Order and of the Aden Colony Order, 1936. (a)

Continuance of laws, and powers to make rules and orders.

(2) Without prejudice to any powers otherwise vested in him, the Governor is hereby empowered to make rules and orders for the following purposes:—

(a) to modify the provisions of any Order of His Majesty in Council in force in the Protectorate on the appointed day, in order to bring such provisions into conformity with the provisions of this Order and of the Aden Colony Order, 1936;

(b) to amend, add to, or repeal any other enactment to which subsection (1) of this section applies;

(c) to apply in whole or in part, with such modifications (if any) as to him may seem neces-

(a) S.R. & O. 1936 (No. 1031) I, p. 1.

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sary or expedient, any Act, Order, Rule, Regulation or other enactment from time to time in force in the Colony, to persons in the Protectorate not being natives of the Protectorate;

[609]

(*d*) to regulate or prohibit the entry into the Protectorate of persons not being natives of the Protectorate; and

(*e*) to secure the enforcement within the Protectorate of judgments, orders and decrees of the Courts of the Colony.

(3) For the avoidance of doubts it is hereby declared that all Rules and Orders made before the appointed day by the Governor-General of India in Council under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, have, in so far as at any time before the date of this Order they applied to the Protectorate and have not in such application been expressly repealed or revoked, continued in force in the Protectorate notwithstanding that the Protectorate has ceased to be a territory in which jurisdiction is exercised by or on behalf of His Majesty through the Governor-General of India in Council or some authority subordinate to him, and subsection (1) of this section shall apply accordingly to such Rules and Orders.

**Disallowance of rules and orders.**

8. It shall be lawful for His Majesty to disallow any rule or order made by the Governor in exercise of the powers conferred upon him by this Order or any other Order of His Majesty in Council and to signify such disallowance through the Secretary of State. Every rule or order so disallowed shall cease to have effect from the time when the signification of such disallowance shall be published by the Governor by notice in the Gazette, but without prejudice to anything lawfully done or suffered thereunder.

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**Jurisdiction of Courts of the Colony.**

9. The Supreme Court of the Colony and all Courts of the Colony inferior to the Supreme Court shall, subject to and in accordance with the provisions of any law in that behalf from time to time in force in the Colony, have jurisdiction in all matters arising in the Protectorate in which any person not being a native of the Protectorate is

concerned, in the same manner and to the same extent as if such matters had arisen in the Colony. 648 671x 692

Deputies.

10. In the event of the Governor having occasion at any time to be absent for a short period from the seat of Government, or in the exercise or discharge of any powers or duties conferred or imposed upon him by virtue of his office to visit any neighbouring territories, he may by an Instrument under the Public Seal appoint any person to be his Deputy within the Protectorate or any part thereof during such temporary absence, and in that capacity to exercise, perform and execute for and on behalf of the Governor during such absence, but no longer, all such powers and authorities vested in the Governor as shall in and by such Instrument be specified and limited, but no others. 648 671x

Every such Deputy shall conform to and observe all such instructions as the Governor shall from time to time address to him for his guidance. The power and authority of the Governor shall not by the appointment of a Deputy as aforesaid be abridged, altered or in any way affected otherwise than His Majesty may at any time hereafter think proper to direct.

Appointment of Officers.

11. The Governor may constitute and appoint all such necessary officers as may be lawfully constituted or appointed by His Majesty, all of whom, unless otherwise provided by law, shall hold their offices during His Majesty's pleasure.

Pardon.

12. When any offence has been committed for which the offender may be tried by any of His Majesty's courts having jurisdiction within the Protectorate, the Governor may, as he shall see occasion, in His Majesty's name and on His Majesty's behalf, grant a pardon to any accomplice in such offence who shall give such information as shall lead to the conviction of the principal offender or of any one of such offenders if more than one; and further may grant to any offender convicted in any such court a pardon, either free or subject to lawful conditions, or any remission of the sentence passed on such offender, or any respite of the execution of such sentence, for such period as the Governor thinks fit, and may remit any penalties or forfeitures due to His Majesty. 648 671x 696

2a British Gov't. G-6 (1977-1978) 1980 MMS Hadramaut MMS



Disciplinary powers.

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13. The Governor may, subject to the provisions of any law for the time being in force in the Protectorate and to such instructions as may from time to time be given to him by His Majesty through the Secretary of State, upon sufficient cause to him appearing, dismiss or suspend from the exercise of his office any person holding any public office under the Crown in the Protectorate, or, subject as aforesaid, may take such other disciplinary action as may seem to him desirable.

Public Seal.

14. The Seal now or hereafter in use as the Public Seal of the Colony shall be also the Public Seal of the Protectorate and shall be used for sealing all things whatsoever that shall pass the said Seal.

Saving for past acts.

15. Nothing in this Order shall affect the validity or future operation of any lawful act done by any authority in the Protectorate before the appointed day.

Revocation or amendment of Order.

16. His Majesty may from time to time revoke, add to or amend this Order.

Commencement.

17. This Order shall come into operation on the appointed day.

*H. P. A. Hanby.*

23: British Gov't. G-5 (1877-1937) 1939 MMB Hadhramaut MMB



*Legislative Order No. 1.*

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I, Lieutenant-Colonel Morice Challoner Lake, Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Officer administering the Government of the Protectorate of Aden, hereby order that the Mineral Mining Ordinance, 1937, of the Colony of Aden shall, subject to the modifications set out in this Order, apply to all persons in the Protectorate of Aden, not being natives of the Protectorate.

There shall be substituted for "Colony" in clause 3 the word "Protectorate".

Given under my hand this
third day of November 1937.

(Sgd.) M. C. LAKE,

Acting Governor.

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[Page 12 is blank]

## II.—Order in Council under "An Act for more effectually punishing offences relating to the Slave Traffic."

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No. **1664-P.**, dated the 13th July 1877.—The following Order of Her Majesty in Council is published for general information :—

At the Court at Windsor,

The 30th day of April, 1877.

Present:

The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas by an Act of Parliament made and passed in the Session of Parliament holden in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of Her Majesty's reign, intituled "An Act for more effectually punishing offences against the laws relating to the Slave Trade," it is, amongst other things, enacted that—

30 & 40 Vict., cap 46.

If any person, being a subject of Her Majesty, or of any Prince or State in India in alliance with Her Majesty, shall, upon the High Seas or in any part of Asia or, Africa which Her Majesty may from time to time think fit to specify by any Order in Council in this behalf, commit any of the offences defined in sections 367, 370 and 371 (in the schedule to this Act respectively recited) of Act XLV of 1860, passed by the Governor General of India in Council, and called "The Indian Penal Code," or abet, within the meaning of the fifth chapter of the said Penal Code, the commission of any such offence, such person shall be dealt with in respect of such offence or abetment as if the same had been committed in any place within British India in which he may be or may be found.

Now, therefore in pursuance and by virtue of the said recited Act of Parliament, Her Majesty is pleased, by and with the advice of Her Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that the said Act shall apply to the several parts of Asia and Africa hereinafter specified; that is to say—

(a) The territories of the Khan of Kalat and of the Sultan of Muscat in Mekran and Arabia.

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(b) The coasts of Baluchistan, and of the Bunder Abbas Districts, and the shores of the Persian Gulf.

(c) The coast of Arabia from Ras Mussendom to Cape Babel-Mandeb.

(d) The territories of the following tribes near Aden, namely,—

The Abdali

The Foodli

The Akrabi

The Howshabi

The Alawi

The Amiri

The Subeihi

The Yafai

The Aulaki

(e) The coast of Africa from Ras Sejarme to Delagoa Bay.

(f) The territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

(g) The sea and islands within ten degrees of latitude from such coast and shores, respectively.

And the Right Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury and the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

## III.—The Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, and Orders made thereunder by the Governor General in Council.

No. **3917-1. A.**—dated the 12th September 1902.—The following Order of His Majesty the King in Council which appeared in the London Gazette of the 13th June 1902, is republished for general information. 671x 648

### ORDER IN COUNCIL.

Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902.

AT THE COURT AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

The 11th day of June 1902.

PRESENT:

The King's Most Excellent Majesty.

Lord President.

Earl of Kintore.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

Sir John Winfield Bonser.

Whereas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance, and other lawful means, His Majesty the King has powers and jurisdiction, exercised on His behalf by the Governor General of India in Council, in India and in certain territories adjacent thereto;

Now, therefore, His Majesty, by virtue and in exercise of the powers by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, or otherwise in His Majesty vested, is pleased, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. This Order may be cited as the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902.

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2. The limits of this Order are the territories of India outside British India, and any other territories which may be declared by His Majesty in Council to be territories in which jurisdiction is exercised by or on behalf of His Majesty through the Governor General of India in Council, or some authority subordinate to him, including the territorial waters of any such territories.

3. The Governor General of India in Council may, on His Majesty's behalf, exercise any power or jurisdiction which His Majesty or the Governor General of India in Council for the time being has within the limits of this Order and may delegate any such power or jurisdiction to any servant of the British Indian Government in such manner and to such extent as the Governor General in Council from time to time thinks fit.

4. The Governor General in Council may make such rules and orders as may seem expedient for carrying this Order into effect, and in particular—

(*a*) for determining the law and procedure to be observed, whether by applying with or without modifications all or any of the provisions of any enactment in force elsewhere, or otherwise;

(*b*) for determining the persons who are to exercise jurisdiction, either generally or in particular classes of cases, and the powers to be exercised by them;

(*c*) for determining the courts, authorities, judges, and magistrates, by whom, and for regulating the manner in which, any jurisdiction, auxiliary or incidental to or consequential on the jurisdiction exercised under this Order, is to be exercised in British India;

(*d*) for regulating the amount, collection, and application of fees.

5. All appointments, delegations, certificates, requisitions, rules, notifications, processes, orders, and directions made or issued under or in pursuance of any enactment of the Indian Legislature regulating the exercise of foreign jurisdiction, are hereby confirmed, and shall have effect as if made or issued under this Order. 671x 648

6. The Interpretation Act, 1889, shall apply to the construction of this Order.

A. W. FITZROY.

---

Delegation of powers to the Governor of Bombay in Council.

No. **2859-I. A.**—dated the 19th June 1903.—In exercise of the powers conferred by article 3 of the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, the Governor General in Council is pleased to delegate to the Governor of Bombay in Council the power to make rules and orders within the places set forth in the Schedule hereto annexed, which is conferred on the Governor General in Council by article 4 of the said Order in Council:

Provided that the exercise of the power hereby delegated shall be subject to the control of the Governor General in Council;

Provided also, that nothing in this notification shall be deemed to preclude the Governor General in Council from exercising any power hereby delegated.

**The Schedule.**

(Not reproduced. See Gazette of India, 1903, Pt. I, p. 515.)

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Criminal law and procedure of British India applicable to British subjects in Native States.

No. **1863-I. A.**, dated the 13th May, 1904.—In exercise of the powers conferred by the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council 1902, the Governor General in Council is pleased, with effect from the 1st day of June, 1904, to direct that, for the purposes of any power or jurisdiction exercised under that Order, the law relating to offences and to criminal procedure for the time being in force in British India shall, subject as to procedure to such modifications as the Governor General in Council from time to time directs, apply, so far as applicable, to all subjects of His Majesty.

23: British Gov't. G-5 (1877-1937) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut M42



## PART I.

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1. The provisions, so far as they can be made applicable in the circumstances for the time being, and as amended for the time being by subsequent enactments, of the enactments specified in the First Schedule, are hereby applied to the Aden Protectorate, subject, in the case of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), to the modifications specified in the Second Schedule to this part.

2. For the purpose of facilitating the application of the said enactments to the Aden Protectorate, any Court for the Aden Protectorate may construe any provision in any such enactment with such alterations not affecting the substance as may be necessary or proper to adapt it to the matter before the Court.

3. No legal practitioner shall be permitted to appear in any case before any Court without the express authority in writing of the Political Resident.

### The First Schedule.

Enactments Applied.

| Number and year. | Subject. |
|---|---|
| Act XLV of 1860, | Penal Code. |
| Act V of 1898, | Criminal Procedure. |
| Regulation IV of 1901, | Frontier Murderous Outrages. |

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### The Second Schedule.

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Modifications in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898).

(a) The Court of Session may take cognisance of any offence as a Court of original jurisdiction without the accused person being com-

mitted to it by a Magistrate and shall, when so taking cognisance of any offence, follow the procedure prescribed by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the trial of warrant cases by Magistrates. 648 671x 692

(b) Save as hereinafter provided, no appeal shall lie from any order of any Sessions Judge.

(c) Trials before the Court of Session may, in the discretion of the Sessions Judge, be without jury or the aid of assessors.

(d) In cases under Regulation IV of 1901, no sentence of death passed by an Assistant Resident shall be carried out unless and until it is confirmed by the Political Resident. 648 671x 681 692

(e) In cases under other acts, no sentence of death passed by any Court shall be carried out unless and until it is confirmed by the Governor of Bombay.

(f) All sentences of imprisonment passed by an Assistant Resident for a term exceeding one year shall be submitted for confirmation to the Political Resident.

In any case in which an Assistant Resident passes a sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding six months, an appeal shall be to the Political Resident.

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Constitution of Criminal Courts.

No. **368-E.B.**, dated the 1st February, 1907.—In exercise of the powers conferred by the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following Orders:— 648 671x 693

## PART II.

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For the purposes of the exercise of criminal jurisdiction as regards the Aden Protectorate :—

1. The Political Resident and, with the sanction of the Political Resident in writing, the Assistant Resident for the time being of Aden shall exercise the powers of District Magistrates and Sessions Judges as described in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, and of Deputy Commissioners or Sessions Judges under the Frontier Murderous Outrages Regulation, 1901, as applied by this notification.

2. If in any case in which the complainant (if any) and the accused person or all the accused persons are not British subjects, the Court deems it expedient for political reasons to decline to exercise the power so conferred on it, it shall be in the discretion of the Court to do so.

3. The Political Resident and Assistant Residents for the time being at Aden are hereby appointed to be Justices of the Peace within the Aden Protectorate.

4. The High Court of Judicature at Bombay shall be the Court to which European British subjects charged in Aden with any offence (other than an offence punishable with death) which a Justice of the Peace shall not be competent to punish, and there shall be sufficient grounds for committing him for trial, such European British subject shall be committed to the Court of the Resident, and shall be tried by the Resident.

# IV.—LAWS IN FORCE IN NATIVE STATES IN INDIA.

## A.—STATUTES IN FORCE GENERALLY IN ALL NATIVE STATES IN INDIA.

671*

| Year. | Reign. | Chapter. | Subject. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1772-73. | 13 Geo. III. | 63 | The East India Company Act, 1772. | Section 14 declares that the new Chapter establishing a Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta shall extend to all British subjects who shall reside in the Kingdoms or provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, or any of them, under the protection of the East India Company; and empowers the Court so established to hear and determine all complaints against any of His Majesty's subjects for any crimes, misdemeanours or oppressions committed or to be committed; and also to entertain, hear and determine any suits or actions whatsoever against any of His Majesty's subjects in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and any suit, action or complaint against any person who shall at the time such debt or cause of action or complaint shall have arisen, have been employed by, or shall have been, directly or indirectly, in the service of the Company, or any of His Majesty's subjects. |
| 1792-93. | 33 Geo. III. | 52 | The East India Company Act, 1793. | Section 67 declares all His Majesty's subjects as well as servants of the said United Company as |

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| Year. | Reign. | Chapter. | Subject. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | others, to be amenable to all Courts of Justice, both in India and Great Britain, of competent jurisdiction to try offences committed in India for all acts, injuries, wrongs, oppressions, trespasses, misdemeanours, offences and crimes, whatever by them or any of them done or to be done or committed in any of the lands or territories of any Native Prince or State, or against their persons or properties, or the persons or properties of any of their subjects or people, in the same manner as if the same had been done or committed within the territories directly subject to and under the British Government in India. |
| 1796-97. | 37 Geo. III. | 142 | The East India Company Act, 1797. | Section 10 empowers the Supreme Court established by the new Charter at Madras and Bombay to hear and determine all and all manner of complaints against any of His Majesty's subjects for any crimes, misdemeanours and oppressions committed or to be committed; and also to hear and determine all suits and actions whatsoever against any of His Majesty's subjects arising within any of the dominions of the Native Princes of India in alliance with the Governments of Madras and Bombay, respectively, or against persons who, at the time when such debt or cause of action shall have arisen, |

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| Year. | Reign. | Chapter. | Subject. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | have been employed by or shall have been directly or indirectly in the service of the United Company or any of His Majesty's subjects. |
| 1833. | 3 & 4 Will. IV. | 85. | The Government of India Act, 1833. | Section 73 empowers the Governor General in Council to make Articles of War for the Government of Native officers and soldiers in the Military service of His Majesty, and for the administration of justice by Courts-martial to be holden over such officers and soldiers; such articles to prevail and be in force wheresoever such officers and soldiers may be serving. |
| 1861. | 24 & 25 Vict. | 67. | Indian Councils Act. | Section 22 empowers the Governor General in Council to make laws and regulations for all servants of the Government of India within the dominions of Princes and States in alliance with His Majesty. |
| 1865. | 28 & 29 Vict. | 15. | The Indian High Courts Act, 1865. | Section 3 empowers the Governor General in Council to authorise and empower High Courts to exercise jurisdiction in respect of Christian subjects of His Majesty resident within the dominions of such of the Princes and States of India in alliance with His Majesty as he may from time to time determine. |
| 1865. | 28 & 29 Vict. | 17. | The Government of India Act, 1865. | Section 1 empowers the Governor General in Council to make laws and regulations for all British |

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| Year. | Reign. | Chapter. | Subject. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | subjects of His Majesty within the dominions of Princes and States in India in alliance with His Majesty, whether in the service of the Government of India or otherwise. |
| 1869. | 32 & 33 Vict. | 98. | The Indian Councils Act, 1869. | Section 1 empowers the Governor General in Council to make laws and regulations for Native Indian subjects of His Majesty without and beyond as well as within the Indian territories under the dominion of His Majesty. |
| 1876. | 39 & 40 Vict. | 46. | The Slave Trade Act, 1876. | Provides (section 1) for the punishment of offences against slave trade law committed by British subjects and subjects of allied Native States in such places in Asia and Africa as His Majesty may specify by Order; confers (section 3) certain powers on High Courts in India in regard to obtaining evidence in such allied Native States of the commission of such offences, and extends (section 4) the provisions of the Muscat Order in Council, 1867, to the subjects of allied Native States residing in Muscat territories. |
| 1879. | 42 & 43 Vict. | 41. | The Indian Guaranteed Railways Act, 1879. | Section 1, paragraph 3, and section 2 empower Guaranteed Railway Companies to make agreements with the Secretary of State as to the working of railways, which term is defined as meaning any |

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| Year. | Reigu. | Chap-ter | Subject. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | railway constructed before or after the passing of this Act and belonging to the Secretary of State for India in Council or situate in His Majesty's territories in India, or in any territory in the East Indies belonging to any Native Prince or State in alliance with His Majesty or to any European power. |
| 1881. | 44 & 45 Vict. | 58. | The Army Act (as amended for the time being by subsequent Acts.) | Purports to apply generally to His Majesty's Forces wherever serving, and particularly when serving in India, which term is deemed to mean "British India together with any territories of any Native Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty exercised through the Governor General of India or through any Governor or other officer subordinate to the Governor General of India". (See section 180 and section 190, clause (21) as amended by the Army (Annual) Act, 1890.) |
| 1884. | 47 & 48 Vict. | 38. | Indian Marine Service. | Empowers the Governor General in Council to make laws for all persons employed or serving in, or belonging to, His Majesty's Indian Marine Service, provided that no such law shall apply to any offence unless the vessel to which the offender belongs is at the time of the commission of the offence on the High Seas |

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| Year. | Reign. | Chapter. | Subject. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | between the Cape of Good Hope on the west and the Straits of Magellan on the east, or on territorial waters between those limits. |
| 1889. | 52 & 53 Vict. | 10 | Commissioners for Oaths Act. | Section 3 (1) admits of an oath or affidavit required for the purpose of any Court or matter in England, etc., being taken or made in any place out of England, before any person having authority to administer an oath in that place. Section 6 (2) authorises every British Ambassador, Envoy, Minister, Chargè d'Affaires, and Secretary of Embassy or Legation exercising his functions in any foreign country, and every British Consul-General, Acting Consul, Pro-Consul, and Consular Agent exercising his functions in any foreign place, to administer any oath and take any affidavit and also, do any notarial act which any notary public can do in the United Kingdom. |
| 1889. | 52 & 53 Vict. | 63. | The Interpretation Act, 1889. | Defines the expression "India" as meaning British India together with any territories of any Native Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty, exercised through the Governor General of India or through any Governor or other officer subordinate to the Governor General of India. (Section 18 (5).) |

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| Year. | Reign. | Chapter. | Subject. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1890. | 53 & 54 Vict. | 37. | The Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890. | Provides for the exercise of His Majesty's jurisdiction out of His dominions. Section 15 applies to all subjects of Princes and States in India the provisions of any Orders in Council made in pursuance of the Act and extending to persons enjoying His Majesty's protection. |
| 1893. | 56 & 57 Vict. | 5. | The Regimental Debts Act, 1893. | Applies (section 25) to India subject to certain modifications and subject to the proviso that it shall not apply, save so far as may be prescribed, to any Native of India within the meaning of Indian Military Law, and (section 30) to all persons subject to Military Law, whether within or without His Majesty's dominions. |
| 1911. | 1 & 2 Geo. V. | 28. | The Official Secrets Act, 1911. | Applies to all acts which are offences under the Act, when committed in any part of His Majesty's dominions, or when committed by British officers or subjects anywhere. (Section 10 (1).) Any competent British Court in the place where an offence is committed may enquire into and determine such offence. (Section 10 (2).) |
| 1911. | 1 & 2 Geo. V. | 46. | The Copyright Act, 1911. | Section 28 provides for the extension of the Act by Order in Council to any territory under His Majesty's protection. |
| 1911. | 1 & 2 Geo. V. | 57. | The Maritime Conventions Act, 1911. | Extends to territories under His Majesty's protection. (Section 9 (1).) |

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## B.—ACTS OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL IN FORCE GENERALLY IN ALL NATIVE STATES IN INDIA, OR CONTAINING SPECIAL PROVISIONS RELATING TO NATIVE STATES.

| Year. | No. | Title. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1860. | XLV. | Indian Penal Code (as amended by Acts XXVII of 1870, XIX of 1872, VIII of 1882, X of 1886, I & IV of 1889, X of 1891, III of 1894, III of 1895, VI of 1896, IV of 1898, III of 1910 and VIII of 1913). | Applies generally to persons liable by any law passed by the Governor General in Council to be tried for an offence committed beyond the limits of British India, and to any Native Indian subject of Her Majesty in any place without and beyond British India, and to any other British subject and to any servant of the King, whether a British subject or not, within the territories of any Native Prince or Chief in India (see sections 3 and 4). Enhanced punishment may be given by Courts in British India for certain offences after previous convictions by British Courts in Native States (see section 75). |
| 1869. | IV. | Indian Divorce Act (as amended by Act X of 1912). | Applies generally to British subjects within the dominions of Princes and States in India in alliance with His Majesty (see section 2). |
| 1869. | XX. | Indian Volunteers Act, 1869 (as amended by Acts X of 1896 and V of 1909). | Applies generally to British subjects within the dominions of Native Princes and States in alliance with His Majesty (see section 2). |
| 1872. | I. | Indian Evidence Act, 1872. | Section 79 declares that every document purporting to be a cer- |

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| Year. | No. | Title. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | tificate, etc., which is by law admissible as evidence shall be presumed to be genuine when duly certified by any officer in any Native State in alliance with His Majesty who is duly authorised thereto by the Governor General in Council. |
| 1872. | XV. | Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872 (as amended by Acts II of 1891, II of 1892, I of 1903 and XIII of 1911). | Applies generally to Christian subjects of His Majesty within the territories of Native Princes and States in alliance with His Majesty (see section 1). |
| 1873. | X. | Indian Oaths Act, 1873. | Applies generally to subjects of His Majesty within the territories of Native Princes and States in alliance with His Majesty (see section 1). |
| 1874. | II. | Administrator General's Act, 1874 (as amended by Acts IX of 1881, II of 1890 and VII of 1901). | Applies generally to British subjects of His Majesty within the dominions of Princes and States in India in alliance with His Majesty (see section 1). |
| 1874. | III. | Married Women's Property Act, 1874. | Applies generally to subjects of His Majesty within the dominions of Princes and States in India in alliance with His Majesty (see section 2). |
| 1874. | IX. | European Vagrancy Act, 1874. | Extends generally to the dominions of Princes and States in India in alliance with His Majesty (see section 1). |

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| Year. | No. | Title. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1875. | IX. | Indian Majority Act, 1875. | Applies generally to subjects of His Majesty within the dominions of Princes and States in India in alliance with His Majesty (see section 1). |
| 1880. | VII. | Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1880. | The provisions of the Act for preventing overloading and improper loading apply to foreign ships when in ports of British India (see section 85). |
| 1884. | VII. | Indian Steamships Act, 1884 (as amended by Acts III of 1890, III of 1902, and I of 1909). | Section 4 prohibits the carriage of more than 12 passengers by a steam-ship not having a certificate from any place in, to any place out of, British India. |
| 1885. | XIII. | Indian Telegraph Act, 1885. | Applies generally to subjects of His Majesty within the dominions of Princes and States in India in alliance with His Majesty (see section 1). |
| 1886. | II. | Indian Income-tax Act, 1886 (as amended by Act XI of 1903). | Applies generally within the dominions of Princes and States in India in alliance with His Majesty to British subjects in those dominions who are in the service of the Government of India, or of a local authority established in the exercise of the powers of the Governor General in Council in that behalf (see section 1). |

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| Year. | No. | Title. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1886. | VI. | Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act, 1886 (as amended by Acts XVI of 1890 and IX of 1911). | Applies generally to British subjects in the dominions of Princes and States in India in alliance with His Majesty (see section 2). |
| 1887. | X. | Native Passenger Ships Act, 1887. | Applies generally—<br>(a) to all subjects of His Majesty within the dominions of Princes and States in India in alliance with His Majesty;<br>(b) to all Native Indian subjects of His Majesty without and beyond British India; and<br>(c) subject to certain exceptions, to vessels carrying more than thirty passengers, being Natives of Asia or Africa;<br>(see section 2). |
| 1887. | XIV. | Indian Marine Act, 1887 (as amended by Acts XVII of 1888 and I of 1899). | Applies generally to persons employed or serving in or belonging to the Indian Marine whose vessels are within the limits of Indian waters, as defined by the Indian Marine Service Act, 1884 (47 & 48 Vict., c. 38). |
| 1888. | VII. | Indian Reserve Forces Act, 1888. | Purports to subject persons belonging to Indian Reserve Forces to military law in the same manner, |

| Year. | No. | Title. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | and to the same extent, as persons belonging to His Majesty's Indian Forces (i.e., when serving in Native States as well as elsewhere, see entries opposite the Army Act (44 & 45 Vict., c. 58), supra, page 8, and Act VIII of 1911, at page 19 infra respectively). |
| 1889. | VII. | Succession Certificate Act, 1889. | Admits as valid succession certificates granted or extended to residents within Foreign States by British representatives accredited thereto, subject to certain conditions (section 17). |
| 1889. | XV. | Indian Official Secrets Act, 1889 (as amended by Act V of 1904). | Applies—<br>(a) to all subjects of His Majesty within the dominions of Princes and States in India in alliance with His Majesty (see section 1 (2) (a) ); and<br>(b) to all Native Indian subjects of His Majesty without and beyond British India (see section 1 (2) (b) ). |
| 1890. | I. | Revenue Recovery Act, 1890. | Section 8 provides for the recovery in British India of certain public demands arising in local area beyond British India when this Act has been applied thereto. |

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| Year. | No. | Title. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1890. | IX. | Indian Railways Act, 1890 (as amended by Act IX of 1896). | Applies to all subjects of His Majesty within the dominions of Princes and States in India in alliance with His Majesty, and to all Native subjects of His Majesty without and beyond British India and those dominions, see section 1 (2). |
| 1895. | XIV. | Pilgrim Ships Act, 1895. | Applies generally—<br>(a) to all subjects of His Majesty within the dominions of Princes or States in India under the suzerainty of His Majesty; and<br>(b) to all Native Indian subjects of His Majesty without and beyond British India, see section 2 (1). |
| 1897. | X. | General Clauses Act, 1897, as amended by Act I of 1903. | Applies in certain cases to all Acts passed after the 3rd January, 1868, in others to all Acts made after the 14th January, 1887, and in others to all Acts made after the Act came into force and therefore to such Acts when they apply to Native States. |
| 1898. | III. | Lepers Act, 1898, as amended by Act XII of 1903. | Section 19 provides for the reception in leper asylums in British India of lepers from territories of Princes and States in India. |

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| Year. | No. | Title. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1898. | V. | Code of Criminal Procedure. | Sections 188 and 189 provide for the trial in British India of European British subjects and of servants of the King committing offences in the territories of Princes or States in India and of Native Indian subjects committing offences anywhere.<br><br>Chapter XL provides for the issue of commissions for the examination of witnesses residing in the dominions of Princes or States in alliance with His Majesty. |
| 1898. | VI. | Indian Post Office Act, 1898, as amended by Acts II of 1903 and III of 1912. | Applies generally to—<br>(a) all Native Indian subjects of His Majesty in any place without and beyond British India ;<br>(b) all other British subjects within the territories of any Native Prince or Chief in India ; and<br>(c) all servants of the King, whether British subjects or not, within the territories of any Native Prince or Chief in India, see section 1 (2).<br><br>Provides for the establishment of Post Offices beyond the limits of British India. |

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| Year. | No. | Title. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1900. | III. | Prisoners Act, 1900, as amended by Act I of 1903. | Section 15 empowers officers in charge of prisoners outside the Presidency towns to give effect to any sentence or order or warrant for the detention of any person passed or issued—<br><br>(a) by any Court acting without British India under the authority of His Majesty or of the Governor General in Council, or of a Local Government, or<br><br>(b) by any Court in the territories of any Prince or State in India—<br><br>(i) if the presiding Judge or one of the Judges is an officer of the British Government authorized to sit as such Judge by the Prince or State or by the Governor General in Council, and<br><br>(ii) if the reception, detention or imprisonment in British India of persons sentenced by such Court has been authorised by the Governor General in Council or by the Local Government, or |

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| Year. | No. | Title. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (c) by any other Court in the territories of any Prince or State in India with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council or the Local Government in each case.<br><br>Section 18 provides in certain circumstances for the execution in British India of capital sentences passed by British Courts without British India, and directs that the Courts mentioned in section 15 (b) (i) shall be deemed to be British Courts for the purposes of this section. |
| 1903. | XIV. | Indian Foreign Marriage Act, 1903. | Applies—<br>(a) to all British subjects, and<br>(b) to all servants of the King, whether British subjects or not,<br>in the territories of any Prince or State in India, see section 1 (3). |
| 1903. | XV. | Indian Extradition Act, 1903, as amended by Act I of 1913. | Chapter III provides for the surrender of fugitive criminals, including deserters from the Imperial Service Troops, in the case of Native States. Chapter VI provides for the execution of commissions issued by Criminal Courts outside British India. |

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| Year. | No. | Title. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1904. | VIII. | Indian Universities Act, 1904. | Section 27 provides for the inclusion of Native States in the territorial limits within which the Indian Universities exercise powers. |
| 1908. | V. | Code of Civil Procedure. | Section 29 provides for the service by Courts in British India of the summons of any Civil or Revenue Court beyond British India which either has been established or continued by the Governor General in Council or has been notified for the concession.<br><br>Rule 26 of Order V in the First Schedule provides for the service in foreign territory of the summonses of Courts in British India.<br><br>Section 43 provides for the execution in British India of decrees of Courts in foreign territory established or continued by the Governor General in Council.<br><br>Section 44 provides for the execution in British India of decrees of Civil or Revenue Courts of Native States.<br><br>Section 45 provides for the execution of decrees of Courts in British India by Courts established or continued by the Governor General in Council in foreign territory. |

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| Year. | No. | Title. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Section 77 provides for the examination of witnesses residing beyond British India.<br><br>Section 78 provides for the execution and return of commissions issued by Courts beyond the limits of British India established, or continued by the Governor General in Council.<br><br>Sections 84 to 87 deal with suits by or against any Sovereign Prince or Ruling Chief, whether in subordinate alliance with the British Government or otherwise, or any Ambassador or Envoy of a foreign State.<br><br>Schedule I, Order XXXII, Rule 16, excepts a Sovereign Prince or Ruling Chief suing or being sued in the name of his State by the direction of the Governor General in Council or a Local Government from the provisions of Order XXXII (suits by or against minors or persons of unsound mind). |
| 1908. | VI. | Explosive Substances Act, 1908. | Applies to—<br><br>(a) all native Indian subjects of His Majesty in any place without and beyond British India ;<br><br>(b) all other British subjects within the territories of any Native Prince or Chief in India. See section 1 (2). |

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| Year. | No. | Title. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1908. | IX. | Indian Limitation Act, 1908. | Section 13 provides that the period of absence from territories beyond British India under the administration of the Government shall also be excluded in computing period of limitation. |
| 1908. | XVII. | Indian Emigration Act, 1908, as amended by Act XIV of 1910. | Applies to any native of India who emigrates or has emigrated beyond the limits of India to countries other than Ceylon and the Straits Settlements. |
| 1909. | III. | Presidency-towns Insolvency Act, 1909. | Provides as to acts of insolvency committed out of British India. |
| 1911. | VIII. | Indian Army Act, 1911. | Applies to native officers, soldiers, and followers of His Majesty's Indian Forces wherevef serving, including Native States in India.<br><br>Section 5 also provides for the application of the provisions of the Act, to any force raised or maintained in India under the authority of the Governor General in Council. |
| 1912. | IV. | Indian Lunacy Act, 1912. | Sections 98 and 99 provide for the reception and detention of lunatics in asylums in British India under orders or warrants issued by Courts beyond the limits of British India. |

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| Year. | No. | Title. | Extent of application. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1912. | VI. | Indian Life Assurance Companies Act, 1912. | Section 19 specifies requirements as to Companies constituted outside British India which establish a place of business or appoint an agent in British India. |
| 1913. | II. | Official Trustees Act, 1913. | Applies (see section 1 (2) ) to all British and Indian subjects of His Majesty in the territories of Native States in India, which for the purposes of the Act may be included in a Presidency (section 2 (5) ) or province (section 31). |
| 1913. | III. | Administrator General's Act, 1913. | Applies (see section 1 (2) ) to all British and Indian subjects of His Majesty in the territories of Native States in India, which for the purposes of the Act may be included in a Presidency (section 2 (9) ) or province (section 58). |

# V. REGULATIONS.

## Regulation No. IV of 1901.

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A Regulation to make better provision for the suppression of murderous outrages in certain frontier tracts.

*(Received the assent of the Governor General on the 18th October, 1901; and published in the Gazette of India on the 26th idem.)*

WHEREAS it is expedient to make better provision for the suppression of murderous outrages in certain frontier tracts; It is hereby enacted as follows:—

Short title, commencement and extent.

1. (*1*) This Regulation may be called the Frontier Murderous Outrages Regulation, 1901*.

(*2*) Save as otherwise provided by section 6, sub-section (*2*), it extends only to the territories for the time being administered by the Chief Commissioner of British Baluchistan; but the Local Government may, either of its own motion or at the request of the Judicial Commissioner, exempt any local area, or withdraw any case or class of cases, from the operation of all or any of its provisions.

Punishment of fanatic committing, or attemptin to commit, murder.

2. (*1*) Any fanatic who, within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code, commits murder, or does any act with such intention or knowledge, and in such circumstances, that, if he by that act caused death, he would commit murder, shall be punishable with death or with transportation or imprisonment for life, and all his property shall be forfeited to the Government.

XLV of 1860.

(*2*) Notwithstanding anything in section 393 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, or in any other enactment for the time being in force, where any such fanatic as aforesaid is sentenced to transportation or imprisonment for life, he may also be sentenced to whipping in addition to such transportation or imprisonment.

V of 1898.

* Repealed by Act 12 of 1927.

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Forfeiture of property and disposal of body of fanatic killed in committing offence under section 2.

3. Where any fanatic is killed in the act of committing an offence punishable under section 2, or, having been wounded and arrested in the act of committing any such offence, afterwards dies of his wounds, the Court which, under the provisions of section 4, would have had cognizance of the offence if the offender could have been brought to trial, may proceed to hold an inquest into the circumstances of the death of the fanatic, and, on proof of his having been killed as aforesaid, or of his having died of wounds received as aforesaid, may adjudge that all his property shall be forfeited to the Government, and may dispose of his body as it may think fit.

Court before which offences punishable under section 2 to be tried.

4. (*1*) Any offence punishable under section 2 shall be tried by the Sessions Judge or Deputy Commissioner of the district in which it was committed:

Provided that the jurisdiction so conferred on the Sessions Judge or Deputy Commissioner may be exercised by any Magistrate of the first class whom the Local Government, or the Sessions Judge or Deputy Commissioner to whom such Magistrate is subordinate, may, after the commission of an offence punishable under section 2, specially invest with such jurisdiction for the purpose of trying such offence.

(*2*) In every trial held under this Regulation the Court shall follow the procedure for the trial of warrant-cases by Magistrates prescribed by Chapter XXI of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898: V of 1898.

Provided that, where the Court is of opinion that any witness or evidence is offered for the purpose of vexation or delay or of defeating the ends of justice, it may require the accused person to satisfy it that there are reasonable grounds for believing that such witness or evidence is material, and, where the Court is not so satisfied, it shall not be bound to summon the witness or examine the evidence so offered.

Trial to be with aid of assessors.

5. (*1*) Every trial held under this Regulation shall be conducted with the aid of two or more assessors as members of the Court.

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(2) The Court may appoint such persons, other than persons specified in section 278 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, at such time, and in such manner, as it may think fit, to serve as assessors, and no persons shall be exempt, within the meaning of section 320 of the said Code, from liability to serve as such assessors.

V of 1898.

(3) The provisions of the said Code shall, save as aforesaid, apply to assessors appointed under this section.

Contents of judgment and execution of sentence.

6. (1) When any trial held under this Regulation is concluded, if the accused person is convicted, it shall be sufficient if the Court, in passing judgment and recording the finding and sentence, specifies the offence of which he is convicted, and the Court shall immediately issue a warrant to the officer in charge of the prison in which the prisoner is confined, or to which the Court has, by its judgment or by a subsequent order, directed him to be transferred for this purpose, to cause the sentence to be carried into execution, and the sentence shall be carried into execution accordingly:

Provided that, where a sentence of death is passed, the Court may, from time to time, if it seems to it that the public interest so requires, extend the date fixed for the execution of the sentence, and the execution shall be postponed accordingly.

(2) The Court may, under sub-section (1), direct a prisoner to be transferred for the execution of a sentence passed upon him under this Regulation to any prison in British India, whether in the territories for the time being administered by the Chief Commissioner of British Baluchistan or not; and nothing in the Prisoners Act, 1900, or in any other enactment for the time being in force, shall be deemed to preclude the officer in charge of such prison from carrying such sentence into execution.

III of 1900.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, or in any other enactment for the time being in force, no sentence of death passed under this Regulation shall require confirmation by any Court.

V of 1898.

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Disposal of body of offender on execution of sentence of death passed under section 2.

7. When a sentence of death passed under section 2 has been carried into execution, the body of the offender shall be disposed of as the Court by which he was sentenced, shall direct.

Proceedings to be reported to Local Government.

8. The proceedings in every trial held under this Regulation shall, without unnecessary delay, be reported by the Court to the Local Government.

No appeal from order or sentence under Regulation.

9. Notwithstanding anything in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, or in any other enactment for the time being in force, no appeal shall lie from any order made or sentence passed under this Regulation. V of 1898

Procedure where offence charged is not punishable under section 2.

10. Where the Court is of opinion that a person charged with an offence punishable under section 2 is not so punishable, but has committed an offence punishable under the Indian Penal Code, the accused person shall be dealt with in manner provided in such case by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898. XLV of 1860. V of 1898.

Power for Local Government to confine person charged with, or suspected of, offence punishable under section 2.

11. The Local Government shall have, with respect to the confinement of any person charged with, or suspected of an intention to commit, or abet the commission of, an offence punishable under section 2, the powers vested in the Governor General in Council by any law for the time being in force regarding the confinement of persons charged with, or suspected of, State offences; and the provisions of any such law shall, *mutatis mutandis*, be applicable in every case in which the Local Government proceeds under the authority of this section.

Detention of persons in anticipation of proceedings under section 11.

12. Any Magistrate of the first class may cause any person against whom there are, in his opinion, grounds for proceeding under section 11, to be arrested, and may, after such inquiry as he may think necessary, detain such person in safe custody until he has received the orders of the Local Government, to which he shall in every such case, without unnecessary delay, report his proceedings.

13. (*1*) Any police-officer may, without an order from a Magistrate and without a warrant, arrest any person against whom credible information has been received, or a reasonable suspicion exists, that he is a person who intends to commit, or abet the commission of, an offence punishable under section 2, or who habitually protects or harbours fanatics committing such offences, or who orally or in writing counsels, or by approval encourages, the commission of such offences.

Arrest, etc., of persons suspected of intending to commit, or of habitually conniving at commission of, offences punishable under section 2.

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(*2*) Any such person as aforesaid shall be deemed, within the meaning of clause (*f*) of section 110 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, to be so desperate and dangerous as to render his being at large without security hazardous to the community, and the provisions of Chapter VIII and of sections 406, 514 and 515 of the said Code shall apply to him, except in so far as is otherwise provided in this Regulation.

V of 1898.

(*3*) Where a Magistrate makes in respect of such person as aforesaid an order in writing as prescribed by section 118 of the said Code, he may direct such person, during the whole or part of the period of the bond,—

(*a*) to reside beyond the limits of the territories to which this Regulation extends, or at such place within the said limits as may be specified in the order; and,

(*b*) if he is so directed to reside within the said limits, to notify his residence and every change of residence to such authority as may be specified in the order.

(*4*) Whoever, being bound over to be of good behaviour under this section, commits a breach of any direction under sub-section (*3*), shall be deemed to have forfeited his bond, and shall, in addition to any term of rigorous imprisonment to which he may be liable for breach of the conditions of his bond, be punishable with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

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(5) Every order made under this section shall be at once reported to the Local Government, and the Local Government may revise any such order.

Further preventive and punitive measures.

14. (1) Where a fanatic has committed an offence punishable under section 2, the Court may, on the recommendation of a Council of Elders or after such inquiry as it may think necessary, take any of the following measures against any community, section of a community or individual with whom such fanatic is or has been associated in circumstances which satisfy the Court that, by reasonable prudence or diligence on the part of such community, section of a community or individual, the commission or attempted commission of such offence might have been prevented, namely :—

(a) it may impose a fine on such community, section of a community or individual and recover the same as if it were an arrear of land-revenue ; or

(b) it may direct that such community, section of a community or individual shall forfeit, in whole or in part and for a term or in perpetuity, any assignment or remission of land-revenue or allowance payable out of public funds of which it or he may be in enjoyment.

(2) No order made under this section shall take effect until it has been confirmed by the Local Government.

(3) Nothing in this section shall affect the powers of the Local Government with respect to the grant, continuance or forfeiture, in whole or in part, of any assignment or remission of land-revenue or of any allowance payable out of public funds.

*Explanation.*—In sub-section (1), the expression "Council of Elders" means a Council of three or more persons convened according to the Pathan, Biluch or other usage, as the Court may in each case direct.

Power for Local Government to issue circular orders.

15. The Local Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, make and issue circular orders for the guidance of officers in carrying out the purposes and objects of this Regulation; and every circular order so made and issued shall have effect as if enacted in this Regulation.

## Regulation No. III of 1910.

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A Regulation to amend the law relating to restrictions on the sea-traffic in arms, ammunition, military stores and explosives between Aden and places in the Gulf of Aden.

Whereas it is expedient to amend the law relating to restrictions on the sea-traffic in arms, ammunition, military stores and explosives between Aden and places in the Gulf of Aden; It is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. This Regulation may be called the Aden Arms (Sea-traffic) Regulation, 1910. Short title.

2. In this Regulation, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,— Definitions.

(a) "Resident" means the Political Resident at Aden; and

(b) all words and expressions defined in the Indian Arms Act, 1878, or the Indian Explosives Act, 1884, and used in this Regulation shall be deemed to have the meanings respectively assigned to them by those Acts.

XI of 1878. IV of 1884.

3. No vessel shall depart or proceed from Aden on a voyage to any place in the Gulf of Aden without obtaining a port-clearance from such officer as the Resident may appoint in this behalf. Vessels not to leave Aden without port-clearance.

4. Subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council, the Resident may from time to time prepare and publish a list of selected ports in the Gulf of Aden and declare that the master of any vessel arriving in Aden from any such selected port must produce a port-clearance, granted by the proper authority at such port, authorising the vessel to depart or proceed from such port direct to Aden. Power to require production of port-clearance for vessels arriving at Aden from selected ports.

5. Subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council, the Resident may from time to time, by published order, declare that any port included in a list published under section 4 shall be deemed to be a "pres- Power to declare any of such ports to be "prescribed ports".

23: British Gov't. G-5 (1877-1937) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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cribed port" for the purposes of this Regulation, in respect of any specified portion of the coast-line of the Gulf of Aden.

Power to prohibit grant of port-clearance at Aden for voyages to other than prescribed ports.

6. (1) When any port has been declared under section 5 to be a prescribed port in respect of any portion of the coast-line of the Gulf of Aden, the Resident may, subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council, prohibit the grant of port-clearance at Aden for voyages to any port on such portion of the coast-line other than a prescribed port.

(2) When port-clearance is granted for a voyage to a prescribed port, it shall only authorise the vessel to depart or proceed from Aden direct to such port.

Penalties for leaving Aden without port-clearance or touching at place on way to prescribed port.

7. If any vessel—

(a) departs or proceeds from Aden on a voyage to any place in the Gulf of Aden without obtaining a port-clearance as required by section 3, or,

(b) in the case of a voyage to a prescribed port, after leaving Aden and before arriving at the prescribed port, touches at any other place otherwise than by reason of the perils of the sea or other unavoidable accident,

the master and the owner shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punishable with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with both.

Penalties for unlawfully carrying arms, ammunition, military stores or explosives.

8. If any vessel has, within a period of one year immediately before the institution of a prosecution under this section in respect of the vessel, carried arms, ammunition, military stores or explosives between any places in the Gulf of Aden without, or in contravention of the terms of,—

(a) a license granted at Aden by such officer as the Resident may appoint in this behalf, or

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(b) a pass granted elsewhere by a public official whose designation is included in a list to be prepared and published from time to time by the Resident subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council,

the master and the owner shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punishable with fine which may extend to five thousand rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, or with both.

Penalties for arriving in Aden without port-clearance or touching at place on way from prescribed port.

9. If any vessel arrives in Aden from any port mentioned in a list published under section 4,—

(a) without having a port-clearance granted by the proper authority at such port, or

(b) having touched after leaving any such port and before arriving in Aden, at any other place otherwise than by reason of the perils of the sea or other unavoidable accident,

the master and the owner shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punishable with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with both.

Detention, realization and confiscation.

10. (1) Where the owner or master of a vessel is charged with any offence punishable under section 7, section 8 or section 9, the Resident may, by order in writing, direct such vessel to be detained, and where such owner or master is sentenced to pay a fine for any such offence, and the fine is not paid at the time and in the manner prescribed by the order of payment, the Court may, in addition to any other means prescribed by law for enforcing payment, direct that the amount remaining unpaid be levied by distress and sale of such vessel, and the tackle, apparel and furniture thereof, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

(2) Where the owner or master is convicted of any offence punishable under section 8, the Resident may further, by order in writing, direct that the vessel be confiscated.

Searching posts.

11. The Resident, with the previous sanction of the Governor of Bombay in Council, may, on or near such pub-

23: British Gov't. G-5 (1877-1937) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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lic or private wharves or other landing-places as he may deem expedient, establish searching-posts at which all boxes, bales and packages landed or in transit may be detained and searched for arms, ammunition, military stores and explosives by any officer appointed by the Resident in this behalf.

**Power for Resident to make rules.**

12. (1) Subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council, the Resident may make rules to provide for all or any of the following matters, namely :—

(a) prohibiting the master or owner of a native vessel trading from and to Aden to and from ports in the British Protectorates of Aden and Somaliland from carrying any arms on such vessel, except under a license and in the manner and to the extent permitted by such license;

(b) determining the officers by whom, the form in which, and the terms and conditions on and subject to which, any such license shall be granted; and

(c) generally, the carrying out of the purposes and objects of this Regulation.

(2) In particular, and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, the rules under clause (b) of sub-section (1) may—

(a) fix the fee to be charged for any such license;

(b) limit the time during which any such license is to continue in force;

(c) provide for the renewal of any such license, and its cancellation or suspension in the case of any breach of the terms and conditions on and subject to which it is granted;

(d) provide for ascertaining the quantity and description of any arms on board any native vessel;

(e) provide for the marking for the purpose of identification, and the registering, of any arms covered by any such license; 671* 439

(f) require the person holding or acting under any such license to produce the same, and to produce or account for the arms covered by the same when called upon by an officer of Government so to do; and

(g) provide for the deposit and custody on shore of any arms covered by any such license, while the vessel is in port.

(3) In making any rule under this section, the Resident may direct that a breach of it shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to three hundred rupees, or with both.

(4) All rules under this section shall be published locally in such manner as the Resident, subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council, may direct.

Explanation.—For the purposes of this section, "native vessel" means a vessel fulfilling one of the two following conditions, namely :—

(a) it must present the outward appearance of native build or rig; or

(b) it must be manned by a crew of whom the master and the majority of the seamen belong by origin to a country having a sea-coast on the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf.

13. Subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council, the Resident may declare that all or any of the provisions of this Regulation shall not apply in the case of any vessel or class of vessels, and may from time to time alter or vary any such declaration. Exemption.

III of 1902. 14. The Aden Sea-traffic in Arms Regulation, 1902, is hereby repealed. Repeal.

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## VI.—Orders under Acts of the Governor General in Council.

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No. 1431-I, dated 27th April, 1893.—Whereas a capital sentence is occasionally passed by a British Court exercising in or with respect to territory beyond the limits of British India jurisdiction which the Governor General in Council has in such territory; and whereas there may be in such territory no secure place for the confinement of a prisoner under sentence of death, or no suitable appliances for his execution in a decent and humane manner;

Execution of capital sentences in British India.

In exercise of the powers conferred by sections 4 and 5 of the Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition Act (XXI of 1879), and of all other powers enabling him in this behalf, the Governor General in Council is pleased to direct as follows:—

1. When any person is sentenced to death by a British Court in the exercise of such jurisdiction as is referred to in the first paragraph of the preamble to this notification, and, in the opinion of the Court, such sentence should for any such reason as is referred to in the second paragraph of the said preamble be executed in British India, the Court shall issue its warrant for such execution to the Superintendent or Keeper of a jail in British India, and shall in such warrant prescribe, as nearly as may be, the place in British India where such Superintendent or Keeper is to cause the execution to be carried out.

2. The jail in British India to which the Court may send its warrant under the provisions of this notification shall be such as the Governor General in Council, or a Local Government authorized by him in this behalf, may by general or special order direct.

3. Every warrant for the execution of a sentence of death to be issued by a Court under the provision of this notification shall be in the form set forth in the schedule hereto annexed.

### Schedule.

*Form of Warrant.*

To

The Superintendent or Keeper of the jail at
in British India.

671 Whereas at a trial held on the day of
681 189 , at (name of place), in (name of territory),
696 before me A.B. (name of Judge), being the presiding officer of a British Court exercising in (or with respect to) territory beyond the limits of British India, jurisdiction which the Governor General in Council has in such territory, C.D. (name of prisoner) was duly convicted of the offence of culpable homicide amounting to murder and sentenced to suffer death (S and the S to be omitted when sentence said sentence has does not require confirmation been confirmed by E.F. (name of authority). ) ;

And whereas there is in (name of territory) no secure place for the confinement of a prisoner under sentence of death (or no suitable appliances for the execution of a person under sentence of death in a decent and humane manner) ;

And whereas this Court is of opinion that for the reasons aforesaid the said sentence should be executed in British India ;

This is to authorize and require you, the said Superintendent (or Keeper), being a Superintendent (or Keeper) of a jail specified in an order under section 2 of Act No. V of 1893, passed by the Governor General of India in Council, to receive the said C.D. (prisoner's name) into your custody in the said jail together with this warrant, and there him safely to keep until the time hereinafter appointed, and then to carry the said sentence into execution by causing the said C.D. (prisoner's name) to be hanged by the neck until he be dead, at (time and place of execution), and to return this warrant to this Court with an endorsement certifying that the sentence has been executed.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this day of 189 .

Seal.

(Signature)

In Bombay.

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No. **4220**, dated the 3rd July, 1895.—Whereas in exercise of the powers conferred by section 2 of Act V of 1893 (being an Act to legalise in certain cases the execution, within British India, of capital sentences which have been passed by British Courts exercising in or with respect to territory beyond the limits of British India jurisdiction which the Governor General in Council has in such territory), and in order to give effect to the provisions of the notification by the Government of India in the Political Department, No. 1431-I., dated the 27th April, 1893, the Governor General in Council has been pleased, by letter No. 3080-I., dated 2nd September, 1893, to authorise the Governor of Bombay in Council such Courts may send their warrants for the execution of capital sentences under the provisions of the said Act and notification, and to order the Superintendents of all such jails respectively to execute all sentences of death in respect whereof warrants may be issued to them respectively by any such Courts as aforesaid.

Now the Governor in Council is pleased, in pursuance of the said authorisation—

(a) to direct that the jail specified in respect of each Court mentioned in the table hereinbelow contained shall be the jail within the territories subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor of Bombay in Council to which such Court may send such warrants as aforesaid; and

(b) to order that the Superintendent of every such jail shall, on receipt of such warrants from a Court hereby authorised to send such warrant to such jail, cause the execution to be carried out therein in the same manner and subject to the same conditions in all respects as if it were a warrant duly issued under the provisions of section 381 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882.

## TABLE.

| From the Court of the Political Resident, Aden, | To the Prison at Aden. |
|---|---|
| • • | • • |
| • • | • • |

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**Prohibition of import into Aden of certain goods not covered by export passes.**

No. **4902-62**, dated the 7th June, 1907.—In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 19 of the Sea Customs Act, 1878 (VIII of 1878), the Governor General in Council is pleased to prohibit the bringing by sea or land into Aden of any Goods specified in the annexed schedule, except such as are imported under cover of an export pass note issued in respect of them by an officer of customs at the place of export.

## SCHEDULE.

1. Ostrich eggs.

2. Heads, horns, skins, feathers, or flesh of any of the undermentioned animals :—

(1) Zebra,
(2) Giraffe,
(3) Eland,
(4) White-tailed gnu,
(5) Wild ass,
(6) Buffalo,
(7) Elephant,
(8) Vulture,
(9) Secretary bird,
(10) Owl,
(11) Rhinoceros-bird or beef-eater (Buphaga), any species.
(12) X X
(13) Rhinoceros,
(14) All antelopes and gazelles,
(15) Cheeta (Cynoclurus),
(16) Aard-wolf,
(17) Smaller monkeys of each species,
(18) Morabons,
(19) Egret,
(20) Wild pig,
(21) Smaller cats,
(22) Wart hog (Phacocharus).
(23) Greater Bustard.

23: British Government
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MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

[For British laws affecting the Aden Protectorate see category 116, entire source.]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# ḤAḌRAMAUT

## SOME OF ITS MYSTERIES UNVEILED

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# ḤAḌRAMAUT

## SOME OF ITS MYSTERIES UNVEILED

BY

D. VAN DER MEULEN

Chargé d'affaires of the Netherlands in Djedda

AND

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Professor of the Nanking National Central University

PRINTED FOR THE TRUSTEES OF THE „DE GOEJE FUND".

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## FOREWORD.

114 In 1904, David George Hogarth wrote that commendable story of Arabian exploration, which, entitled "*The Penetration of Arabia*", comprises a faithful record of the development of western knowledge concerning the Arabian peninsula. In his prefatory note, he said truly that "Arabia is still in great part withdrawn from western eyes", but at the same time he expressed the hope that "Europeans will doubtless complete the penetration of Arabia" as soon as circumstances should become more favourable than they were at the time of the publication of his work. Indeed, were Hogarth still alive at the present day and were he to prepare a revised edition of his book, he could begin by saying that the period of 28 years, that has just elapsed, excels by far any previous period of equal length, in what it has contributed towards laying bare to western science the mysteries of that immense peninsula, "which, if restricted to its smallest dimensions by the thirtieth parallel of latitude, contains nearly a million and a quarter square miles". He would not have omitted to point out that just in these very last years even that centuries-old enigma, that on the maps of Arabia is shown, by the large, white patch in the southern part, *er-Rubᶜ el-Khālī* (the Empty or Uninhabited Quarter) was actually being unveiled through the energy of two British explorers, Bertram Thomas and Philby. Yet in spite of all this encouraging decrease in ignorance, were the writer to revise his chapter "Unknown Arabia" and to record the new knowledge gained, in making up the sum total, the complaint would remain justified "but we know much of it hardly better than the Antarctic continent".

000 Ignorance of the greater part of this land is, to a certain extent, accounted for by the poverty and the inhospitable-

p. v

000 ness of its soil, which makes the greatest demands upon the physical and mental powers of endurance of the explorers, while it seems to promise little advantage to the western spirit of enterprise. Yet western science does not labour only in pursuit of material profit and is not, in the long run, held back from its aims by arid deserts. It is, however, not only the difficulties of climate and soil that deter the explorer in Arabia, but rather the xenophobia of its inhabitants, which often takes the form of religious fanaticism, and which has cost many a daring European scholar his life.

In this regard, as an indirect result of the World War, a considerable improvement has come about. In that great dual-monarchy of the Hedjaz and Nedjd, with its dependencies, anyone who enjoys the protection of the powerful Wahhābī ruler, Ibn Saʿūd, can travel and explore in safety, and the same is true, in the fertile district of the Yemen, for those, who are received as guests by the forceful Imām Yaḥyā. Both enlightened rulers recognize, to a certain degree, the importance of the scientific exploration of their country and throw open their borders to visitors from the West, under certain conditions prompted by caution. By degrees, their subjects have become accustomed or are even reconciled to the sight of these foreign intruders, formerly so much abhorred. On the other hand, in the large areas of the peninsula, which are not under the control of such energetic rulers, the foreigner will at best, by the payment of money, be able to procure some guarantee, though not always of a reliable nature, for the safety of his life and property; but he will often find, when he has covered only a few miles, that, owing to the division of the inhabitants into innumerable, small, political entities, which are mostly at enmity with one another, he is obliged to negotiate with new tribal or district chiefs, whenever at least their fanaticism does not flatly deny him passage.

131 To these inhospitable territories belongs, or rather belonged
101 until very recently, the remarkable valley-complex, that stretches out in the middle of Southern Arabia, parallel with

the South coast and separated from it by a mountain range, 131
the country of Ḥaḍramaut. The name occurs already in the 101
Book of Genesis; in ancient times Ḥaḍramaut was famous for its exports of incense and myrrh; ruins and inscriptions from pre-Muhammadan days bear witness to a past greatness and prosperity.

This prosperity of bygone days has, through all manner 721
of unfavourable circumstances, given way, centuries ago, to 167
a pitiable decline. It is true that Islam found an early entrance here and that Muhammadan science has, amongst a certain class of the population, zealous devotees, but the political discipline of this religion has not succeeded in creating Ḥaḍramaut into a realm of peace. The endless tribal wars, which divide the people, make the land practically inaccessible to foreign visitors, even if they are Muhammadans, and at the same time prevent the inhabitants themselves from extracting from their native soil what it could yield to a peacefully labouring population. Because the Ḥaḍramīs are not lacking in ability, which often attains rich maturity under more orderly conditions, many of them have for centuries swarmed to the Yemen, Egypt, Syria and, during the last three centuries especially, also to India and Netherlands India. Of all parts of the Arabian peninsula, Ḥaḍramaut is pre-eminently the land of emigration.

In Netherlands India they have even, in earlier times, 167
succeeded in founding sultanates (e. g. Siak, Pontianak), but 114
now they content themselves with trade and money transactions. Some of them, having become wealthy, return to their own country, but others prefer to enjoy, away from the disturbances of Ḥaḍramaut, the pleasures that are there unattainable. Millionaires are also to be found amongst this fluctuating population of Netherlands India, which numbers seventy to eighty thousand souls. Mr. L. W. C. Van den Berg, adviser to the Netherlands India Government, in 1886, published a book, which, besides statistics of the Ḥaḍramī settlement in the East Indian Archipelago, contained also a description of the native land of these immigrants, compiled from information collected from them in Java. In the 19th

167 century, attempts to become acquainted with this remarkable
114 land, through personal investigation, were not lacking, but these efforts did not yield the desired results.

114 In his chapter on the exploration of the "Southern Borderlands" Hogarth calls Ḥaḍramaut "the most important part of the borderland, the ill-known inner region of the centre" and says of it that it "long remained the despair of the curious in the history and geography of Arabia". Intrepid travellers such as Von Wrede, Hirsch and the Bents have contributed much to our knowledge of the littoral with its roadsteads of el-Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, which has to be passed in order to penetrate into Ḥaḍramaut Proper; here has developed lately a fairly vigorous autocracy, which is practically under British protectorate and which puts no great difficulties in the way of European visitors. But though the authority of the Sultan of al-Makalla also extends over a small part of the hinterland, Ḥaḍramaut Proper falls outside its scope, and most of the princes and princelings there, who are at loggerheads with one another, are not very kindly disposed towards him. The aforementioned travellers therefore scarcely, if at all, managed to cast a hurried glance over a small section of that mysterious valley-complex. He who succeeded in reaching a Ḥaḍramī town, was speedily ejected and might deem himself lucky to have escaped with his life. A quiet visit to the inhabited part of the country being thus beset with difficulties, it was even more out of the question for them to investigate the secrets of the Well of Barhūt, that accursed, temporary resting-place of the souls of the Unbelievers, from which, so it was fabled, poisonous gasses belched forth; or to make a pilgrimage to the pre-Muhammadan sanctuary, which is regarded by the Ḥaḍramīs as the tomb of the pre-historic prophet Hūd.

After faithfully reviewing what Von Wrede, Hirsch and the Bents did and what they did not accomplish, Hogarth was right in concluding with the observation that "Hadramaut has yet to be visited by any one so well protected and so

zealously aided in his quest" as Glaser was in his explorations at Marib in the Yemen. "Interest in Hadramaut", he says further, "should not be suffered to decline yet... It is reported the only scene of actual volcanic activity on the mainland of Arabia; but an explorer has yet to see the smoke of Bir Borhut, that great well cursed by Ali, according to the "Jihān-Numā". Moreover its society seems to present peculiar features of great interest to students of Semitic life". 114

So far were we in 1904 and in 1931 we were not much further.

Mr. Van der Meulen had, during the five years when he was first consul and later *chargé d'affaires*, at Djedda, become convinced that the time was ripe for extending the activities of the Netherlands Legation over other sections of the Arabian peninsula than the dual-monarchy of Ibn Saʿūd, and that it would be desirable for Holland to enter into friendly relations with the Imām Yaḥyā of the Yemen, and, if possible, to insure a suitable reception for the representative of Holland in Ḥaḍramaut, the country of origin of the many Arabs, who seek and find their fortunes in Netherlands India. He received then a commission from the Netherlands Government in this sense, naturally with a recommendation to caution in regard to Ḥaḍramaut. An introduction from the authorities at Aden would easily secure him entrance to the littoral, but whether he would succeed in penetrating Ḥaḍramaut Proper could not be anticipated with any degree of certainty, for, although since the World War their influence there has increased, even the British have so far limited their own direct contact with that territory chiefly to aerial reconnaissances, which have furnished some excellent photographs.

Even here in Ḥaḍramaut conditions have slightly improved since the last efforts were made to explore it. The number of Ḥaḍramīs who have achieved prosperity in Netherlands India has increased and many of them have become subjects of the Netherlands Government. The advantages to be derived from a normal, international intercourse, are now

114 realized in Ḥaḍramaut in a much wider circle than a quarter of a century ago. But this unhappy land still lacks that unity which is required to develop the springs of prosperity and to insure safety of life and property. In this respect, the barbaric customs of the Djāhiliyya (the pre-Islamic period) still prevail. For surmounting the difficulties on this score, Van der Meulen had to rely on the experience gained by him both in his earlier capacity as civil servant in Netherlands India and his later activity as diplomatic officer in Arabia, as well as on his proficiency in the Arabic and Malay languages, and, not least, on his own personality. All this has enabled him to take full advantage of the improved opportunities; his trip through the whole of Ḥaḍramaut has indeed been a triumphal progress.

114 It is obvious that Van der Meulen's expedition can only
121 to a certain extent be called a journey of exploration. His commission was of a political nature, and it would not have been possible for him, in the allotted time, to combine with it profound geographical and ethnographical researches. But, in order that, should he manage to penetrate into Ḥaḍramaut, this success should as far as possible be made of service to science, he secured the co-operation of his friend, the able German geographer, Dr. H. von Wissmann. The two friends have spared themselves no trouble and have considered no effort or deprivation too great to make the best of the six weeks, which they could devote to the expedition to the littoral and hinterland. They have won the sympathy of influential persons both for themselves and for their work, and have been enabled not only to become acquainted with the chief towns, but also to solve, once for all, the mystery of the Well of Barhūt and to obtain a detailed knowledge of the Ḥaḍramī sanctuary, to which annually in the eighth month of the Muhammadan year, a large proportion of the population make a pilgrimage. They have cursorily examined various ruins, taken many photographs, and Von Wissmann has been able to ascertain enough data to draw the first map of Ḥaḍramaut, based on measure-

ments and surveying. And far from being driven out of the 114
land with curses, as their forerunners were, there re-echoed 121
everywhere on their departure the wish: "Goodbye and a speedy return".

Far more than they were able to do in the limited time, remains for their successors to accomplish, before it can be said that the country and people of Ḥaḍramaut have been fully described in all their characteristics. The same remark, however, still applies to the greater part of this gigantic peninsula. Let us hope that the trail blazed by Van der Meulen and Von Wissmann may before long be followed by other, thoroughly prepared and well-equipped, devotees of science, who will command the necessary leisure for completing, in every direction, the investigation so intrepidly begun.

It would, on the contrary, be regrettable in every way if 114
that track were to be followed, not by serious investigators, but by more persons like a certain Hans Helfritz, who, a short time after the journey described in this book had been completed, succeeded through a fortunate chance, in making a hurried trip with his camera to the littoral and to a couple of towns in the interior, and whose photographs with nonsensical letter-press attached to them, have appeared in a number of European illustrated papers, in March and April of 1932. This "investigator" understands no Arabic, is absolutely unacquainted with the land and people of Arabia and is equally ignorant of what has already been achieved by others in the exploration of Arabia and especially of Ḥaḍramaut. He seems not even to have heard of his immediate predecessors, for he describes himself as the discoverer of the town of Terim "where no white man had set foot"; he calls the dwellers of Ḥaḍramaut savages and speaks of Arabian cannibals. What is worse, he gives details of his return journey to el-Makalla, which, if any truth underlies the anecdote, prove that he lacked all fitness for intercourse with the people of the country: five Bedouins, who were assigned to him by a chief to act as guides, are said to have

114 threatened to kill him and only a timely burst of laughter from some women, who happened to be passing by, saved his life! While fully appreciating Hans Helfritz's gifts as a photographer, we should welcome it, if the entry into Ḥaḍramaut were to remain closed, for the time being, against absolutely incompetent globe-trotters. This "historian of music", whose literary composition resembles more an out-of-tune fanfare than a symphony of Beethoven, should leave the exploration of Arabia to those, who are qualified for it and are able to extend our knowledge of the country and to improve the attitude of the people towards foreigners. Trips, such as this of Hans Helfritz, can bring nothing but harm.

Van der Meulen and Von Wissmann have laid solid foundations for a detailed exploration of Ḥaḍramaut; they have smoothed the way for later investigators, who, provided they are endowed with the same tact and modesty, and with the same understanding of Arabian psychology, will be able to complete the task; by their behaviour they have sown the seeds of respect and esteem for the name of European.

May the result of their serious labour be rewarded with that appreciation which their devotion so richly deserves!

C. Snouck Hurgronje.

Leiden, April 1932.

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## THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

Like many other writers of books of travel, I have had the experience that, though much exertion and tenacity are required to carry through an exploration in an unknown territory, yet the compilation and publication of the collected data are the heavier part of the whole enterprise. As my travelling-companion had to leave me after completing his maps and sketches, I was confronted with a task which was difficult beyond expectation. Without the help of loyal friends in the Dutch centre of oriental studies, the University of Leiden, namely Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, Dr. C. van Arendonk and Dr. J. H. Kramers, I should never have been able to bring this to a successful conclusion. A great part therein was taken by Dr. C. van Arendonk, who took infinite trouble to check up, as far as that was possible, the correct orthography of the more than 2000 geographical names that appear in the book and in the maps. In this most thankless and yet most exacting part of the work he supported me with never faltering loyalty.

An added difficulty was the presentation of my book in English; I was fortunate in securing the help of Miss M. Barber of The Hague, who, with much devotion, acquitted herself of the difficult task of translating. Mrs. Duyvendak of Leiden was so kind as to put on the finishing touches and to assist in proof-reading.

Amongst Dutch orientalists, Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje alone possesses a comprehensive and detailed knowledge of Ḥaḍramaut. He realizes, better than anyone else, to what an extent our work has been merely of a preparatory and tentative character. His appreciation has been my greatest reward. To him, my eminent master in the language and

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000 religion of the Arabs, I humbly dedicate in gratitude my share in this work.

Thankfully I acknowledge the share that the Dutch Foreign Office has had in the production of this book. Not only would the expedition never have taken place without the official commission from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but ever since that commission was given I have enjoyed more support and appreciation from the Foreign Office than I could ever have anticipated; for this I am profoundly grateful.

I hope that this book will be received with interest by the Sultans, Sayyids and other prominent men in Ḥaḍramaut, with whom we came into contact. Their friends, "Ḥarmal" and the "Konsul", treasure the memory of many a conversation, of much heartening hospitality and cordiality and, above all, of the confidence shown to them, the strangers from the West.

May Von Wissmann's map be welcome and the illustrations acceptable to the Ḥaḍramis both within and outside Ḥaḍramaut!

D. VAN DER MEULEN.

Leiden, May, 1932.

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# VON WISSMANN'S MAP OF HADRAMAUT.

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# INTRODUCTION.

## A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE EXPLORATION OF ḤAḌRAMAUT.

Arabia is a great country: it is great in extent and great in history and yet it seems at first glance to lack charm and attraction and always to resist the advances of the one who seeks to draw closer to it. Bare, precipitous rocks defy the most daring climber. How burning hot must be those shining hard cliffs, where no shadows fall! Their dim, black colour looks cruel in this land of light and heat. At times too we see, when approaching the Arabian peninsula, a grey plain or rigid sea of sand with high curved waves, motionless and silent. The air over that land quivers in the heat and makes everything look indistinct and hazy; the sky above is colourless, like molten lead, torturing the eyes. Arabia, great and mysterious, neither entices nor attracts him, who passes by the hot barren rocks and reefs of its coast.

And yet, like the sea, so boundless and to all appearance so monotonous, the desert land of Arabia exercises upon one, who enters its great silent spaces, an inexplicable charm which he cannot elude. Not all at once, but slowly and after the exercise of much patience and frequent trial, the awe-inspiring beauty of this land, the power of its people, their unbending courage and their faith which knows no doubt are bit by bit revealed to him, and there dawns on him a vague comprehension of the treasures of civilization that have been accumulated here for all mankind by a constant struggle against the pitiless, stern forces of nature.

All regions of the world have had to give up their secrets to the searching eye of the Westerner, but Arabia guards hers still. Christians, despised and hated, are seldom allowed to enter this land chosen by Allah for the last of his Prophets,

000 and the number is not great of those who have succeeded in penetrating within her borders. But it wil not be long before Arabia will be explored throughout its length and breadth, and the ruins of towns, temples and irrigation works of the Minaeans, Sabaeans and Himyarites will yield material for added chapters to the history of the infancy of human culture.

114 Hitherto, exploration in Arabia has made a slow and difficult progress.[1] It is, in fact, only two and a half centuries old, and the explorers who, during that period, have returned to tell the tale of their experiences, have followed each other at long intervals. Two regions, especially, attracted their interest: The Hedjaz, the land of the Holy Cities, Mecca and Medina; and the Yemen, the "Arabia Felix" of the Romans, where are found the remains of ancient civilizations.

The Hedjaz has no longer many secrets for the Westerner. C. Niebuhr's party in 1763 showed the task and led the way. J. L. Burckhardt more than a century ago did the first important scientific exploration work. He was followed by R. F. Burton. In 1884—'85 Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, under the name of ʿAbdu 'l-Ghaffār, carried through his investigations into the Holy City of Mecca. Foolish misgivings of a European representative at Djedda forced him to give up his work and leave the country, but the data for his classic and unrivalled work *Mecca* were saved.[2] Without minimizing the meritorious work of other explorers of this part of Arabia, I mention here, besides the name of Snouck Hurgronje, only that of the author of *Arabia Deserta*, C. M. Doughty[3], who for a couple of years, shared in the wanderings and sufferings of the poor Bedouin tribes, living in semi-starvation in Northern Arabia. He barely escaped with his life when approaching the sacred territory of Mecca. His book, which only late in the day received the recognition due to it, is in truth the epic of the wandering life of the Bedouins.

[1] Cf. D. G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, London, 1905.

[2] Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Haag, 1888, 2 vols. The second part appeared in English: *Mecca*, Leiden, 1931.

[3] Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888.

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E. Glaser did research in the Yemen for a few years, but 114
after returning home, died before he had worked up all his copious and valuable material. It is only now at last that steps are being taken towards publishing the greater part of his scientific legacy. H. Burchardt was murdered whilst in the midst of his explorations. Before them Halévy travelled in the disguise of a Yemenī Jew through the otherwise unexplored districts of the Djōf and Nedjrān. He thus had the chance of seeing the land of Saba and the remains of the famous dam of Ma'rib, but had to return too soon to do more than raise a corner of the veil which still hangs over that land of "the Queen of the South". Though a great work has been accomplished by many a learned explorer the standard works on the Yemen are still to come. May they soon appear! [1]

Ḥaḍramaut was, at one time, closely connected with the land 131
of the Yemen. The name itself really belongs to the broad 101
Wādī [2] Ḥaḍramaut, with the towns of el-Qaṭn, Shibām, Sēwūn 103
and Terīm. In Sabaean times, this wādī, many miles in width, with its fertile loam soil, must have been a veritable paradise on earth, thanks to its highly developed system of dams, reservoirs and irrigation channels. Enough still remains to make it understood that the surrounding districts down to the southern coast, with the harbours of Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, were included in the name of the most famous part: "Ḥaḍramaut". In the following pages, whenever "Ḥaḍramaut Proper" is meant these words are used.

The name of Ḥaḍramaut occurs as early as the book of 101
Genesis, chapter X, 26 ("Ḥaṣarmāweth" contains the same radicals as Ḥaḍramaut). Different opinions exist as regards

[1] The work of Dr. C. Rathjens of Hamburg and of my travelling companion Dr. H. von Wissmann, published by the University of Hamburg, marks an important advance in the history of the exploration of 'Arabia Felix'. Part 1 has already appeared. *Rathjens-v. Wissmannsche Südarabien-Reise.* Band I, *Sabäische Inschriften.* Bearbeitet von J. H. Mordtmann und Eugen Mittwoch, Hamburg, 1932.

[2] A *wādī* is a, generally dry, river-bed.

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101 the meaning of this name, but none of them is scientifically established. The Ḥaḍramīs themselves have several etymologies, but give the preference, nevertheless, to that which is connected with their national Prophet, Hūd. The last words of Hūd, when he reached the end of his earthly life, and the people of ᶜĀd, who then inhabited the land, were not yet converted by his preaching, are said to have been: "*ḥaḍara 'l-maut*", "death has come". This referred as much to himself as to the people of ᶜĀd, who were destroyed by Allah.

101 In Roman times Ḥaḍramaut was included in the term
487 "Arabia Felix". Was it not known then as the country of the aloë, of incense and myrrh? And did not the great trade route from the Indies to the coasts of the Mediterranean pass from the ports of Southern Arabia through Ḥaḍramaut to Yemen, and thence northwards to Egypt and Syria? The territories of the Sabaean and Himyaritic kings must have extended as far as the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut. When those kingdoms collapsed, when their splendid irrigation works vanished, and when civilization perished, the desert gained the mastery; the great works which once existed here were covered for centuries by the sand-dunes piled up gradually by the hot winds of the desert. Unity broke down, civilized peoples could no longer maintain their existence and their place was taken by the sons of Ishmael "whose hand is against every man". From that time onwards the Yemen and Ḥaḍramaut led their own life of struggle and poverty; the fructifying contact between the
114 two regions was broken. Glaser, indeed, once turned his eyes in the direction of the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut and actually made the first sketch-map of the country between the Yemen and Ḥaḍramaut, from data collected by word of mouth from the Bedouins. But the few explorers who desired to investigate Ḥaḍramaut realized that the way there must lead, not through the Yemen, but by way of the seaport towns on the southern coast of Arabia.

Adolph von Wrede was the first scientific traveller who succeeded in penetrating into the region of Ḥaḍramaut and in

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collecting much valuable data there. Little is known of this 114
remarkable man. Heinrich, Freiherr von Maltzan, who edited Von Wrede's *Reise in Ḥadhramaut Beleḍ Beny ʿYssà und Beled el Ḥadschar* (Braunschweig, 1870) only tells us regarding him that he was born in Westphalia, served about 1830 as an officer in the Greek army, was then in Asia Minor and, later on, in Egypt. While there, about the spring of 1843, he started on his memorable journey of exploration. He only appears to have returned to Europe at a much later date in order to publish the record of his travels. He did not succeed in doing this in his fatherland, for Alexander von Humboldt and Leopold von Buch considered him to be a trickster whose reports were too fantastic to be believed. In England, Von Wrede seemed on the point of meeting with more recognition, for an abstract of his report was inserted by the Geographical Society in their Journal, and a publisher was found who was willing to take the manuscript, but unfortunately, the translater committed suicide, and only the text of the account of the journey was recovered, maps, drawings and water-colours being lost.

Von Wrede appears to have turned his back on Europe, a deeply disappointed man. Not far from Makalla, beside the road along which Von Wrede first travelled, a great pile of stones was pointed out to us by our Bedouins: "There lies buried a Christian who was murdered about 100 years ago, when he tried to get into our country." My travelling companion and I thought at first of Von Wrede, who, perhaps, had the last of his many disappointments on this spot. But after closer investigation we discovered that Von Wrede finally enlisted in the Turkish army and died as a poor and unknown man in a hospital in Constantinople.

We followed Von Wrede's route for some time both on our journey inland and back. We made much and grateful use of his detailed notes and of his map. We must make one reservation, however, with regard to the expedition that he claims to have made from Khurēba in Wādī Doʿan to ʿAmd, Ḥōra,

114 Sahwa and the Baḥr es-Sāfī, and back to ᶜAmd and Khurēba. Von Wissmann, while surveying Wādī ᶜAmd, established the fact that Von Wrede has described this wādī so differently from what it is like in reality, placing all the villages that lie up-stream from ᶜAmd down-stream, describing the steep *ᶜaqaba* leading from ᶜAmd to the south as a smooth slope, and failing so entirely in every part of his description that Von Wissmann became completely convinced that Von Wrede cannot have made this journey himself. So the story of his adventure at the border of Baḥr es-Sāfī where his measuring-line sank into quicksand as if in water may have had its origin in tales he heard in Wādī Dōᶜan about caravans sinking into sands or more probably breaking into a salt-lake covered by a salt crust, invisible on account of drifting sand. As far as we could control the other parts of his journey up to Ṣīf in Wādī Dōᶜan, his northernmost point, and in Wādī Ḥadjr, his descriptions of the country are good and exact, and we still see in Von Wrede *the* great explorer of Ḥaḍramaut: those who followed did less than he, who blazed the trial.

The years went by and it was not until January 1893 that a second traveller attempted to follow the example of von Wrede, an example so illustrious, yet leading to so many disappointments. This was Leo Hirsch, who published his experiences of these journeys under the title: *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-land und Hadramūt* (Leiden, 1897). It took Hirsch half a year to reach the interior from the coast. He went from Aden to esh-Shiḥr, and on to Sēḥūt and Qishn, and back to Makalla. There, for the moment, courage forsook him and he returned to Aden. Then armed with fresh introductions from the British authorities, he turned his steps once more to Makalla, where he was, nevertheless, to wait for yet another month before being granted permission to go inland. Hirsch was successful in penetrating further than Von Wrede into "Ḥaḍramaut Proper". He was the first European to see the cities of Shibām, Sēwūn and Terīm, but there was no question

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of going further. He was only able to stay for a few hours with his host in Terīm, and then was forced, by the threatening attitude of the Sayyids, to make his way back again. 114

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent attempted the journey in the valley of Ḥaḍramaut soon after Leo Hirsch. They arrived at Makalla in December 1893, thus a few months after Hirsch's successful expedition. They were able to start inland at the end of a week, but were not to go further than Shibām. Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhūt were spared the visit of *Naṣrānīs*[1] for decades yet. The account of the journeys made in S. Arabia by this energetic couple was published by Mrs. Bent in 1900.[2]

Herewith the short list of our predecessors in Ḥaḍramaut has come to an end. A report indeed reached us of two English officers who undertook an expedition to Ḥaḍramaut, but, as far as we could discover, the results of their journey were never published. One of them, W. H. Lee Warner, merely gives *Notes on the Hadhramaut* as a supplement to an article by R. A. Cochrane in the *Geographical Journal* (Vol. lxxvii, 1931, p. 209—222). Lee Warner went in 1918 on a diplomatic errand to Shibām but he did not go beyond that place. Important exploration work has also been carried out by a squadron of the R.A.F. at Aden, under Squadron-Leader the Hon. R. A. Cochrane who, in the above-mentioned article *An Air Reconnaissance of the Hadhramaut*, gives impressions of that country as seen from the air. Qabr Hūd was seen and photographed on this expedition, but Bīr Barhūt could not be found.

It was not given to Dr. Wilhelm Hein to tread the soil of

[1] In daily language the word *Naṣrānī*, plural *Naṣārā*, is used when speaking of Christians. Whenever less stress is laid on the difference of religion and more on that of nationality, they are spoken of as *Efrendjīs*, a word which is a corruption of Franks. In Arabic all white-skinned, fair-haired and blue-eyed strangers are called *Efrendjīs*. As a rule the word sounds less odious than the name *Naṣrānīs*. 104

[2] Theodore Bent and Mrs. Theodore Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London, 1900.

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114 "Ḥaḍramaut Proper". In the year 1902, accompanied by Frau Hein he landed at Qishn, on the southern coast of Arabia. There, for two months, he lived almost as a prisoner, but he made use of his captivity to collect, among much else, important information about Ḥaḍramaut, which was published in the *Mitteilungen der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien,* Vol. 57 (1914), p. 32—58.

The Egyptian Government, at the request of the late Sultan of Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, commissioned Mr. O. H. Little to survey the geography and geology of the country west of Makalla up to Wādī Ḥadjr, with a view to finding out its mineral resources. The result of this enquiry was *The Geography and Geology of Makalla* (Government Press, Cairo, 1925). We gratefully made use of the map included in this valuable work.

This short enumeration of those who have devoted themselves to the exploration of Ḥaḍramaut must not be closed without mention of the work of Dr. L. W. C. van den Berg, who, under orders from the Government of Netherlands India, and without ever having set foot on the soil of Southern Arabia, wrote *Le Ḥadhramout et les colonies arabes dans l'Archipel Indien* (Batavia, 1886). This book was written with the help of learned Ḥaḍramis in Batavia. In this way even a map of Ḥaḍramaut was constructed. Naturally, both the book and the map have many shortcomings, but they have rendered good service up till now. The R.A.F. officers have used this map on their flights and have already made some important corrections in it.

# CHAPTER I.

## THE DEPARTURE.

### ADEN—MAKALLA.

We owe our journey to Ḥaḍramaut to a mission entrusted 121
to us by the Netherlands Government. Later it will become 167
clear how deep-lying the contact is between Ḥaḍramaut and 181
Netherlands India, and how self-evident it is that the Dutch Government should wish to make itself accurately acquainted with the social and political conditions in the native land of the tens of thousands of Arabs, who form such an important element in the social fabric of that country. The Ḥaḍramis are not absorbed into the union of Indonesian peoples, and many of them keep a firm hold on the connection with their own country, in the hope that some day they may be able to return there, to await the Day of Resurrection and Judgment in that hallowed ground. The charge entrusted to Dr. van den Berg to write his book, which was published by the Government of Netherlands India, resulted from the practical needs of that Government with regard to the heterogeneous peoples of Indonesia. So also with the mission entrusted to me.

Although I knew how difficult it had been made, until now, 114
for a Christian and Westerner to penetrate into the land of the fanatical Ḥaḍramī, yet I had some hope of success in the attempt, and this for two reasons.

The years that I had spent in the civil service of Netherlands India had given me the conviction that the Ḥaḍramī is grateful for the treatment which he receives there from our Government and for the opportunities which he has to save money and to get on in the world. As a government official of 114
Netherlands India I had not reckoned in vain on finding a wel- 191
come among the Ḥaḍramī families having relations with Indo-

114 nesia, and a conversation carried on in the Malay language
191 often worked wonders.

114 My second advantage lay in the fact that I had represented my country for several years at Djedda, the seaport of Mecca, the Exalted. My knowledge of conditions in the sacred land of Islam and of the Wahhābī régime, only recently established there by that great Arab Bin Saʿūd, procured for me willing listeners in circles where there was no connection with the East Indies.

114 In order that the journey should serve not only a diplomatic,
121 but also a scientific purpose, it was necessary to have a travelling companion who would take upon himself that side of the work. Dr. Hermann von Wissmann accepted the offer to share the Ḥaḍramaut adventure. We had already met in Djedda and learned to appreciate each other. He had gained experience of travel and research with Dr. C. Rathjens of Hamburg in exploration in the Hedjaz and the Yemen. The large map of the district over which we travelled, the sketch maps, the ground-plans, and the geographical, geological, and botanical information, contained in the present book, are his work.

114 At the end of April 1931 we met in Aden. Our plans could not have succeeded without the cooperation of the British authorities. The Bents in their book write very gloomily over the attitude of the Aden Government towards them.[1] Hirsch had a better experience[2], and we perhaps, the best of all.
0 00 The Resident, Colonel Reilly, promised help and, instead of speaking with discouragement of our chances, as had been done up to now both by Arabs and Europeans, he considered that we were by no means without chance of success. He saw the greatest difficulty in the hot season that would be sure

[1] Th. Bent and Mrs. Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London, 1900, p. 72 *sq.*

[2] Leo Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-land und Hadramūt*, Leiden, 1897, p. 2, 109.

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to make the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut unbearable, and in the fact that the S. W. monsoon was soon to be expected. He did not think that we should be able to reach Aden again by sea after these winds had begun; on the other hand, the overland coast journey from Makalla to Aden would be very tiring and wearisome, perhaps even impossible, as from time to time, certain of the coast tribes are in the habit of making war on each other. Therefore, Colonel Reilly considered that it would be necessary for us to be back on the coast by about the end of May, whether at Makalla or at esh-Shiḥr.

This theory does not seem quite to square with the facts. In the first place the S. W. monsoon sometimes breaks later than the end of May. We did not return till the end of June, and then by sea to Aden, and had a fairly good passage. Also we gathered from the captain and from the traders at Makalla that the steamers do not stop sailing during the period of the S. W. monsoon, even though lading and discharging are then unsafe in the open roads of Makalla and esh-Shiḥr and only possible during certain hours of the day, and, every afternoon, the ship has to seek shelter behind Cape Burūm for the night.

Colonel Reilly introduced us to Colonel Lake, who has great knowledge of the hinterland of Aden and of its tribes. This quiet, keen observer of country and people had, as flight observer, accompanied Colonel Cochrane and Flight-Lieut. Rickards on their aerial exploring expeditions [1] above Ḥaḍramaut, and he was able to give us much important information.

We heard from him of Colonel T. M. Boscawen's hunting expedition which, in November 1929, got as far as Terīm. We also owe a great deal of thanks to our consul in Aden, Mr. Meek.

On the evening of May 1st the small coasting vessel "Ayamonte" steamed out of the harbour of Aden with our little

[1] R. A. Cochrane, *An Air Reconnaissance of the Hadhramaut*, in *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. lxxvii (1931), p. 209 *sqq.*

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company on board. We only had with us my Djedda servant, Ṣāliḥ, who had accompanied me on a previous journey in the Yemen and had on that occasion proved his worth in exhausting travels through unknown lands.

The voyage prospered, although the little old "Ayamonte" only did six miles an hour. The 230 miles to Makalla were covered in about 40 hours, and towards the afternoon of May 3rd we arrived in the open roads of Makalla. During the day we had the coast continually in sight and could see it particularly clearly on the morning of May 3rd. Bīr ʿAlī, with its brown-black volcanoes against which the yellow-white sand lies piled up high, gleams in the sun under a whitish-blue sky. Behind the volcanic rocks there are crumbling slopes, the spurs of the chalky plateau which here attains a height of quite 6000 feet. The volcanic rocks become smaller and smaller and, after Bīr ʿAlī, entirely disappear. Before passing Rās el-Kalb (the Dog's Head) great sand-dunes slope towards the mountains, as in military array. Then comes the mouth of Wādī Ḥadjr, the only wādī of that district which always has water. It is true, there is no water to be seen from the boat, but the eye, wearied of rocks and sand, is refreshed by the sight of dense vegetation. Trees are even to be distinguished and, between them, a harbour and a few fishermen's huts. Green-grey rocky mountains alternate with detritus of limestone and sandstone of a reddish-brown colour. The strata run in a north-easterly direction, but there are many in cross-section. Quaint old shore-terraces slip by. Burûm comes in sight, with its cape, the shelter against the S. W. monsoon. The small town is shut in on the land side by mountains, which, however, leave a little space for a grove of date-palms and fields of *dhura*[1] and Indian corn. A white palace, a mosque with minarets, a few large stone houses, the beach,

[1] *Dhura* (ذرة), *andropogon sorghum*, also called *faʿām*, cf. L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 24; G. Schweinfurth, *Arabische Pflanzennamen aus Aegypten, Algerien und Jemen*, Berlin, 1912, p. 128, 160, 189; A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen*, Paris, 1889, p. 224: le doourrah, *Holcus Durra* Forsk.

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and the fishing boats on the sea make a picture so surprisingly beautiful as can only be found in this land of barren rock and desert. 000

As Burūm fades away in the already quivering hot air which lies over the land, something white becomes distinguishable ahead against a steep wall of rock. That is our first goal; that is Makalla.

There the decision as to our journey to Ḥaḍramaut will be made. If only we may enter the interior from there, our opportunity will have come.

# CHAPTER II.

## MAKALLA.

361 The gate to mysterious Ḥaḍramaut, so long closed to
342 foreigners, is of overwhelming beauty. Makalla stretches like a white ribbon along the margin of the blue sea, at the foot of the steep, reddish-brown rocky wall. The waves beat against the town, the white houses stand straight and strong, and many-storied. The balustrades surrounding the flat roofs are cut in filagree and are as white as lace. The minarets have here already the simple, strong, conical form characteristic of the Ḥaḍramī style. To the extreme left is the new and, behind it, the old palace of the Sultan. The new palace, cream-coloured with brick-red shutters and windows, and light-green verandas, stands on the black rocks close to the sea. The frame-work of the picture, formed by coco-nut and date-palms, mango and papaya trees, is of such a jubilant beauty in this world of rock and sea that the critical sense is lulled: the colouring makes everything, even the absence of style in the buildings, beautiful.

To the extreme right, some way out of the town, there is a third palace, belonging to the Sultan. About half way between these princely buildings is the tongue of land, on which is the old centre of the city of Makalla. There the Sultan originally lived, there stands the ancient mosque and there, on the point, the sturdy bastions of the old fort.

504 On one side of this short tongue of land is the harbour, where the graceful sailing-ships ride at anchor. Small rowing-boats and broad sambooks[1] pass to and fro to discharge passengers and merchandise on the broad stone steps, that

104 [1] A sambook is an Arab sailing-boat. It should be spelled sanbūq (سنبوق), but has nearly got citizenship in the English language, spelled as it is pronounced.

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lead to the roomy Customs House. The steamers anchor only a few hundred yards away. A big Dutch ship had just landed 150 Ḥaḍramis from Java and a motor boat from the rival shipping company lay out at sea, when the "Ayamonte" dropped anchor there. The harbour master and doctor had a busy time that day, for the Dutchman wished to sail again before dusk. The doctor attended to us and took our letter from the Resident at Aden, to present it to the Vizier with our request to be permitted to land. A favourable answer came after hours of waiting, and the friendly doctor insisted on conducting us personally to the quarters where we were to stay, so as to see whether we were satisfied with them. We motored through the busily swarming bazaar street, along the sea coast, towards the Sultan's palace on the South-west of the town. We turned to the right into the garden of the old palace and, passing under palms and other fruit-trees, entered the courtyard, in the middle of which is a stone basin. The car stopped before some broad stone steps and, with a cordial gesture and a "You are welcome", the doctor invited us into the old, but well-preserved, building. Upstairs we entered a large open space, out of which led the enormous reception-room and the sleeping and living quarters. There was no question but that we should lodge royally here, and the doctor must have read on our faces our thankful surprise over such a welcome in the seaport of Ḥaḍramaut.

As evening approaches and the call to the evening prayer silences the busy noise of the town, we sit on the terrace of the doctor's big old house, close by the landing stage. Among the group of those present, drinking large cups of weak tea with much milk and sugar, which beverage is poured ready-prepared from an enormous kettle, there are two Englishmen from the motor boat of the coastal service. Our doctor, who had been a chemist in Aden, speaks quite good English as do the passport officer and a young Ḥaḍrami, who, to my great surprise, turned out to be a member of the well-known family el-ʿAṭṭâs.

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000 Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās had come to Makalla from Java some months previously, with the object of importing motor-cars and other commodities, through the intermediary of his family living there. He would have to visit the interior shortly, so what could be more obvious than that we should try to establish a community of interests, and join forces for the journey? Sayyid ʿAluwī was born in Java and had spent some years in Cairo for his education. He had seen something of England and France, and it looked as if he had grown out of touch with the stern frugal life of the land of his fathers. We have to thank him for the introduction to his relatives at Ḥurēḍa, from whom we had a support and sympathy exceeding our most sanguine expectations.

## 1. BAZAAR LIFE.

361 Well contented with the favourable prospects which were
142 opening out before us, we sauntered through the main street,
291 which runs like a human river along the sea front, the whole
302 length of the town from West to East. One sees representatives of almost all the tribes of the interior gathered here in groups along the rows of booths. Most of them are dark-brown men, with the naked upper part of their bodies, as well as their faces and arms, smeared with indigo. They are bare-headed and barefoot and have only a short, but thickly rolled loin-cloth round their waists; their unkempt, half-long, jet-black, curly hair is tied up into a round knot at the back of the head, or held in place by a plaited leathern band or greased rag wound round the head. They have had to give up their inseparable guns and cartridge-belts to the watchman at the gates of the town and, consequently, feel unclothed and unsafe. Their hair shines with *samn*[1]; the upper part of their bodies is also rubbed with it, over the layer of indigo, and a strong odour of indigo and *samn* hangs about them.

000 On the way back from the tongue of land we pass the

104 [1] *Samn* (سمن) is melted butter of the milk of sheep, goats or cows.

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Makalla. The tongue of land with the cemetery.

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Makalla, seen from the west.

P 16 (B)

Makalla. The Sultan's palaces. To the left the black slave quarter.

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P.46(c)

Makalla, twenty years ago. Photographed by a member of an unsuccessful Austrian expedition.

36/
P16(D)

228 From the tongue of land we pass the
443 fish-market, where a lively trade in the dwellers of the sea, here so multifarious, is carried on from early morning till late in the evening. The shark seems to be the commonest fish. Sacks full of dried and salted shark's flesh are sent into the interior, where, in times of prosperity, the Bedouins and townsfolk enjoy a piece of it with their frugal meal of bread and rice. The smell of badly dried and, consequently, somewhat decaying fish accompanies the traveller far into the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut.

443 The bazaar of Makalla has more penetrating odours than is
382 usual elsewhere. Not far from the fish-market are the workshops where loin-cloths and head-cloths are dyed a dull blue-black with indigo, and this trade also has sickening, nauseating smell. The workers and their houses are covered with a layer of indigo.

443 A more attractive trade than these is plied in this long
286 street of the bazaar — that of the weavers and lace-makers. They weave narrow lengths of cloth with brightly coloured stripes and with very attractive fringes, which are woven separately.

448 All sorts of sweets were offered for sale at the booths; also
438 the first bright-yellow or deep-red dates, not yet quite ripe,
439 tuberous fruits, spices, the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco in big bundles consisting of whole dried plants; broad waist-bands, Japanese, Indian and Dutch piece-goods, sugar-loaves and rice, coffee-beans and dried coffee-husks, ginger-root and tea from Ceylon and Java, various kinds of grain, meal and *samn*, sesame oil and kerosene, matches and coffee-cups, *djambiyas*[1] and cartridges.

448 We wandered through this storehouse of Ḥaḍramaut. The salesmen had lighted their reeking lamps and torches stuck in bottles; one could only pass slowly through the swarming crowd with the smoke of the lamps mingling with the heavy odour emanating from men and things. As in a dream we

104 [1] *Djambiya*, correctly spelled *djanbiya* (جنبية), is a broad, curved dagger worn in the waist-band in front of the body.

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443 passed through this unknown world, and the desire and hope, until now cautiously suppressed, grew unconsciously within us, to enter the land that lay behind the town and to learn to know its people.

## 2. THE VIZIER SAYYID ABÛ BAKR BIN ḤUSÊN EL-MIḤḌÂR.

645 We made acquaintance, the morning after our arrival, with
[643] the Vizier, who, in the absence of the Sultan, deals with state affairs. Sayyid Abû Bakr bin Ḥusên el-Miḥḍâr is a man in the prime of life; he is energetic, has a congenial, alert personality, and shows absolutely no sign of opposition to the *Naṣrânis*, the *Efrendjis*. The heavy task of governing the Qe-
645 ʿêṭi Sultanate falls chiefly upon his solid shoulders. His popu-
565 larity is supported doubly by tradition: in the first place, as
175 sayyid he belongs to the class of spiritual and worldly leaders, for he is a direct descendant of the Prophet, and, in the second place, the house of Abû Bakr was, six generations ago, the most influential family of Ḥaḍramaut.[1] In an evil hour, in their struggle against the Bedouin tribes, they called in the help of the Yâfiʿ, a tribe noted for its fighting qualities. Its Sultan sent help under one Qeʿêṭi, who, after having delivered the sayyids of the el-Miḥḍâr family from their enemies, took the leadership into his own hands. The power of his family expanded. In 1874 the Qeʿêṭis asked the British Government in Aden to intervene for the purpose of reaching a settlement in a war, which had arisen over the refusal of the Âl Kathir to repay a sum of money which had been lent to them. On this occasion Makalla and esh-Shiḥr were, with the help of the British, taken away from the Kathiri Sultan and handed over to the Qeʿêṭi, but the family of el-Miḥḍâr had remained the leading one of that region.

701 The Vizier declared that he had *no* objection to our journey
567 into the interior. The route via Wâdi Dôʿan was safe, provided

[1] Best, *op. cit.*, p. 75; *A Handbook of Arabia*, i. (London, 1920), p. 542 sq.

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that we travelled with an escort of slave soldiers[1] of the *Dōla*.[2]

Nevertheless, as dangers threatened in the Āl Kathīr region, he strongly advised us not to go farther than Shiḥām and, under no condition, to attempt to return to esh-Shiḥr by way of Terīm. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm was certainly a rich and influential man, but he had no ruling power and could only obtain the favour of the Bedouins by means of money, and could give us no armed protection against them. El-Qe'ēṭī's power was great and a slave soldier of his would be a "flag of protection" for us.

The preparations for our departure would take at least four days, but then we should have reliable guides and good transport. We might make an excursion to esh-Shiḥr during our days of waiting, but it would have to be by way of the sea-coast as the route by the mountains was too tiring — "tiring" in this case meaning "unsafe". The Ḥumūmī tribe had been at war for a long time with el-Qe'ēṭī, and the latter's soldiers are being constantly ambushed and shot down. This even occurs on the coast road. We were quite willing to follow this route although we should have preferred to go one way and to return the other.

### 3. A TRIP TO ESH-SHIḤR VIA SHEḤĒR

The next day the Vizier sent a motor-bus with two drivers and five soldiers for us. We were not to go further that day than Sheḥēr (little Shiḥr). It was afternoon before we drove out of the very high and strongly fortified and guarded gate

[1] We saw in Makalla negro soldiers and Arab soldiers from the Yāfi' tribe in the hinterland of Aden. The negroes are slaves. Their numbers are decreasing in modern times of anti-slavery action. The Kathīrī Sultans have slave soldiers too, but we saw only a few in their territory.

[2] *Dōla* (دولة) means „dynasty, governing family, kingdom, state". In Ḥaḍramaut people generally speak of the *dōla* in the Qu'ēṭī territory and of the *sulṭān* in the Āl Kathīr region.

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000 of the city. Before the gate is the Wādī Seded, where the sea
484 has penetrated far inland and formed an inlet. Here on the
361 beach the caravans camp as they travel to and from the
231 interior. Hundreds of camels are kneeling in great circles,
492 eating the food that lies in the centre. Other camels are being bathed and scrubbed down with sea-water, while still others are protesting with gurgling snarls against the treatment of some skin trouble or of big open wounds. There are donkeys here and there amongst them. Bedouins lie asleep wrapped
[264] about in their cloaks or sit round a small fire eating out of wooden bowls their porridge of crumbled bread mixed up with a little fat. Some are busy with the difficult work of loading: after the freights have been weighed by lifting and then
[372] divided, they are fastened on to the pack-saddles. Children are collecting into baskets the camel's dung which is of great value as fuel. The ground is swarming with the so-called camel-louse, which is really a sort of tick. The penetrating odour of the camels' urine and sweat hangs over this wide-spread, permanent bivouac.

487 We go inland along the bank of the Wādī Seded, which is
312 here filled with sea-water, so as to cross, by making a big bend, behind the 1800 feet high rocky ridge of Makalla. On the left of the road, only a few miles from Makalla, there are groves of palm, with the white summer quarters of the Vizier and of the Sultan. Here is a spring from which, by means of a thin, iron pipe lying on the ground, water is carried to Makalla to provide the town with drink.

361 Two hamlets, el-Baqrēn and Baqērēn, with some cultivated
578 fields, lie close to the frontier of the Sultanate of Makalla. There are two fortified towers on the road manned by soldiers, and not far beyond Baqērēn there stands a whitewashed piece of rock. Against the high wall of primary rock, rising up each side of the road, two white marks have been made to show even in the mountain region, where the land is at peace and where at war. No vendetta may be carried on nor ancient feuds settled by arms in or around the town.

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A little way beyond the boundary-marks, about 20 Bedouins have made a bivouac under an overhanging wall of rock. On the top of the rock on the other side of the road are their outposts, who keep a sharp look-out for caravans passing along the high road. One caravan that had carried out a vendetta is now in safety in Makalla, a willing prisoner. We only realized later that we should be the ones to free it from that imprisonment.

The road winds through steep rocks and at last zigzags up to a plateau which seems to be of coral limestone formation. The hamlet of Maʿōṣ lies in a rocky valley a little in front of the plateau; further up, in a longer valley, there is a larger village called el-Ḥarshīyāt. From the plateau one can see, far away to the left, the village of el-Ḥawwā'. We are soon past the rock massif of Makalla, and the road descends to an inlet of the sea which has run far inland, whereon lies the village of Buwēsh. Papaya, bēdān and bananas are planted here along the edge of fields of lucerne. In the wādī that runs into the sea near Buwēsh there are, higher up, more date-palms and other fruit-trees, plantations which are the property of the Vizier and of other rich men of Makalla. The wells from which the fields are irrigated are not deep here, only 20 feet. On the coast between Buwēsh and Makalla lies Rūkeb. The road mounts again, runs for some time over coral formations, and then again drops to the Wādī Feleq, into which, far inland, the sea-water runs and which, consequently, is more like a small river. Baṣra lies a little higher up this wādī. At the edge of the stream we find much *asal*[1] growing. The coral limestone terraces on both sides are fairly high. The road runs farther over level land where jathropha shrubs grow; whole patches, also, are covered with incense bushes, which are recognizable by their scent and have either no leaves or very small ones. Some tall acacia bushes with elongated blossoms stand out here and there amidst the brownish shrubs which grow upon the bare rocky ground, strewn with pieces of coral.

[1] A kind of big reed.

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157 In little valleys, green, juicy euphorbias grow to a height of six feet. Their fresh green colour and red tuberiferous flowers at the ends of their branches give them, in these colourless surroundings, the air of bouquets.

### 4. FIRST CONTACT WITH A HADRAMĪ NOMAD TRIBE.

233 A broad plain lower down has a clay soil where grass grows
361 fairly well. Goats, sheep, donkeys and camels graze here, at
342 distances widely apart from each other. Bedouin girls watch over them from a hill-top. This is the *Rēda*[1] of Sheḥēr where are the pastures and headquarters of the wandering Bedouins of these parts. Their temporary camp is on a rocky plateau to the right above the road. We walk with our cameras in their direction, without much hope of success. They do not see us, and the malicious watch-dogs, which elsewhere in Arabia make it impossible to slip past the Bedouin camps, are conspicuous by their absence. The Bedouins of Ḥaḍramaut appear to have no tents; they live in caves, or houses, or huts, or, as in this case, almost without shelter. A space of about five feet square is made by four sticks of about three feet high with other sticks connecting them and over which are spread bunches of long, hard grass, which do not really, however, keep out much sun. There are about ten of these "dwellings" scattered around. Some are even more primitive and consist of bushes cut down, with a few rags stretched over them, thus making a little shade. There is an acacia tree in the camp; its top is made shadier by extra bits of scrub hung between its own thorny branches. A camel with a horribly swollen, inflamed leg lies there; a few men, women and children are sitting around, watching the poor beast's agony.

609 Our arrival arouses some commotion, but they seem tolerant of us and answer our questions with an air of curiosity.

104 [1] A *rēda* (ريدة) is the centre of the territory of a Bedouin tribe, where many of them dwell together. Generally it is a depression in the rocky plateau with some vegetation and agriculture.

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Women, with little children, or decrepit, sick old men are sitting under the rough shelters. The babies lie in very practical cradles, which look just like gaping oyster-shells with little feet. The little one lies in the lower shell whilst the upper slants over him as a protection against sun and wind. When mother has to go away she takes the cradle and its contents with her, carrying it with the open side against her. The infant lies on woven rushes or on a skin, and, in the latter case, a round hole four inches in diameter is cut in it so that thus diapers are dispensed with! The mothers stand in great dread of the evil eye, so one must not show too much interest in the babies. 854 342

We distributed some small coin among the children and old men, and, as we talked, the uneasiness of the others gave way. A woman discovered a gold tooth in the mouth of one of us, and we both had to submit our mouths to a detailed examination. Outcries of amazement and, thereupon, great and general merriment! 609

Then they found more strange things about these *Efrendjis*. The most forward among the women, after having examined our mouths, went further. She began to rub vigorously with her dark, hard fingers on the white inner side of my arm. They all watched in suspense: it remained white! Then she pulled my khaki shirt a little wider open at the neck: again white. All the bystanders burst into laughter, and the examination was continued. My shirt was pulled out of my breeches, and a long-drawn "Eh! Eh!" of amazement went up when it appeared that my abdomen was also quite white. The black hand was passed admiringly over that part of my anatomy.

When my examiner wished to continue her exploration, I assured her that the rest was really all the same colour. "Had we done it with soap?" They had heard that the *Efrendjis* were in the habit of rubbing it into themselves.

"No, God has made us so."

"Doubtless you live in houses so that the sun cannot make you black as we are? Doubtless you only live on milk?"

609 "No, we eat the same things that you do."

"Stay with us and we will dance for you to-night with clapping of hands" — and our merry questioner danced and clapped her hands to the great diversion of the other women.

"We would gladly stay, but we have no time; we must go further."

837 "No, stay here! We will give you a wife."

Here I could not help glancing critically round the circle of my anything but beautiful questioners. They read my thoughts.

"No, the young girls are with the flocks, but they come home towards nightfall."

301 However poor and primitive may be the life of a Bedouin
302 woman, she will go to great pains to make herself beautiful. She learns when quite young that she who wishes to be beautiful must suffer. At an early age, 8 to 10 fine round holes are pierced all the way round the rims of the ears and through these, later on, silver rings of the average size of a crown piece or small silver chains will be hung and the poor little ears dragged downwards. Then the nails of both hands and feet are coloured brown with *ḥinnā*[1], the tips of the fingers and toes are blackened, and the inside of the hand made brown. The face, the hands and forearms, and the legs and feet are coloured yellow with curry. The rims of the eyelids are smeared with *kuḥl*[2]; even the men do this, as it is said to make the eyes strong.

The women and girls paint their faces with all sorts of figures, and their necks, breasts and shoulders and the upper surface of the hands and feet with a network of lines, mostly with some blue or black dye, but also sometimes with red or

137 [1] *Hinnā'* (حنّاء), *lawsonia inermis*, is a plant used for dyeing brown hands and feet. Cf. G. Schweinfurth, *op cit.*, p. 167, 181; E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1865.

[2] *Kuḥl* (كحل), antimony powder, which usually mixed with grease makes a cosmetic for the rims of the eyelids.

137

Euphorbia candelabra, on the coastal terrace between Makalla and esh-Shiḥr.

342
854

Dwelling of Ḥaiqī Bedouins at Rēdet Sheḥr. In the foreground a Bedouin cradle.

[facing p. 24]

green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted 301
in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased 302
stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and 609
with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a 508
landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions 137
aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were 136
swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky 133
ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said 361
to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent [342]
position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the 622
same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. 712
A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is 342
to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], 574
and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come 104
to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

137

Incense bushes on the same coastal terrace.

[facing p. 25]

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have moved out to make room for us and the way is quite clear. Our host himself makes an inspection, to make sure that the feminine inhabitants are shut in behind closed doors before we are invited to follow him upstairs. It is glorious on the roof. We are free there from vermin, and mosquitoes, also, do not seem to come.

We beg urgently that no sheep be killed for us. It is difficult to persuade our generous host to accede to our unusual request, but he does at last realize that we have more desire for tea and fruit. A tray with glasses of tea is brought up to us and a second one with slices of melon, fresh figs, dates and sweets. Shēkh Elmās has seen something of the world; he is related to the Sultan's family and is not without a trace of Indian blood. His brother, the *ʿāmil*[1] of Ghēl Bā Wazīr, the headquarters for the cultivation of the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco, is staying with him and gives us a pressing invitation to visit that prosperous and beautiful bit of Arabia. We promised to try and touch at Ghēl Bā Wazīr on our return journey.

## 5. AN EXCURSION TO GHĒL BĀ WAZĪR.

Our way back to the coast from Terīm was so planned that we were unable to keep our promise to our host's brother. Yet we *did* visit Ghēl Bā Wazīr, but not until after our return to Makalla, when we had to wait several days for our boat to Aden. On June 24th we started for Ghēl Bā Wazīr, via Sheḥēr, in a car placed at our disposal, as before, by the Vizier of Makalla, Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Miḥḍār.

Behind the plateaus of coral formation along the coast is a shallow, extensive loess basin which is watered by a little stream, the Ghēl, having its source in the mountains lying behind the coast terraces. This basin with the strip of land suitable for irrigation, which lies by the banks of the Ghēl, is the chief area for the cultivation of the famous Ḥumūmī tobacco. The little town, which guards the entrance

[1] *ʿĀmil* (عامل), governor.

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to this rich domain, lies at the edge of the plateau of coral 133
stone. As one approaches from the coast one barely sees the 361
gardens of palms; soon one finds oneself in front of a high, white wall, with a great, fortified gate, which, apparently, is kept closed even during the day. The traveller, as he waits, can only see, close to the wall and rising boldly up above it, the Sultan's massive palace which now serves as barracks for soldiers.

We were obliged to wait at a respectful distance from the 361
menacing, fortified gateway until our letter of introduction 249
had been taken to the palace, read and deemed satisfactory enough to admit us into the tobacco town. Ghēl Bā Wazīr, as a city, has not many beauties except for the large and ancient palace and a few mosques, and we were glad to accept the invitation of one of the authorities of the place to proceed at once to the gardens and to the Sultan's country-house in the cultivated district behind the town. We, therefore, drove without pausing through the place, which reeked of tobacco. The 361
valley side of the town, that is the north side, has less defences 249
than the south, whence start the great thoroughfares to 487
Makalla and esh-Shiḥr. Nowadays motor lorries convey the bales of tobacco, which are two yards long, from el-Ghēl to Makalla. Manure for the tobacco fields is brought from the coast on camels.

A richly cultivated area begins immediately behind the town. 249
The Sultan owns much tobacco-growing land, which is said 361
to be a great source of income to him. Close behind the town 342
are two gardens, in each of which is a newly-built summer 471
residence. We enter the first garden with the smaller house which is set aside for the use of the male members of the household. In the other garden is a much larger building for the wives and their female attendants.

The gate is immediately shut behind us, our following of 351
inquisitive youths remains outside, and we stand in the silence of the luxuriant garden, trying to accustom our eyes to the deep shade under the blossoming fruit-trees. It looks just as

34:Moulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



351 If we had been transported bodily into a bit of the Indies. The fruit-trees best known in that country are represented here, and a sultry, moist heat permeates the shadows of this richly watered garden.

529 In front of the garden villa,[1] built in a modern style, but not yet quite finished, is a cemented swimming-pool about 300 feet long and of the same width as the building. It joins onto the stairs of the terrace, and a trim rowing-boat lies motionless on the crystal clear water. To do us honour the basin has been filled by means of an engine-pump, and, although the water is warm, we show our appreciation at once by enjoying a bathe, and a row in the boat.

279 277 387 Our host, who is acting for the Sultan, is a tobacco-grower as well as an official. He says that the Ḥumūmī tobacco can only be grown here. They are trying to cultivate the same kind in Lahadj, behind Aden, and in the Yemen; as the climate and the soil are not similar the result is a product which in perfume and taste is inferior to that grown here. Cultivation in el-Ghēl is carried to a very high pitch of refinement. The tobacco-plants are manured three times: with guano, with fish, and with the dung of beasts and men. Pure water is used for irrigation, not too much and not too little. Each kind of dung is applied to the plant at the right time. The best guano comes from an island on the coast of Somaliland, for which the British authorities have given a concession. A second kind of guano is found on islands near Bir ʿAlī, to the west of Makalla, and near Aden. The entire harvest of tobacco is exported to Egypt, and from there a part of it goes to Syria and to the countries on the Red Sea. The Ḥumūmī tobacco is broken up and cut into wide strips, and is smoked in water-pipes. The stalks can be used at the same time and for this reason the plants are dried whole, not the leaves alone. They are then bound into large bundles an packed into oblong bales, the weight of a camel's load, that is to say 300 lbs. The price of such a bale is nowadays 120 to 130 rupees.

1 [OF THE SULTAN AT GHĒI BĒ WAZĪR — AMBLXXT]

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## 6. ALONG THE BEACH TO ESH-SHIHR.

That night in Sheḥēr there was not much sleep, for a wedding was being celebrated in the village square below us. Several houses are lighted up, and, from our vantage-point high up above them, we can see the feasting that is going on there. Afterwards by the light of gasoline lamps there is dancing in the square; the men and women stand facing each other in long rows, which approach each other with rythmical stamping of feet and clapping of hands and then again retreat. All unite in the singing of a monotonous refrain, the constant repetition of one and the same melody. The actual song is recited by a single person. They all know the old songs and enjoy taking part in them and joining in the rising enthusiasm caused by their refrain. Sweat pours down the naked chests of the men, but it is nearly morning before their energy is exhausted and the festal joy quietens down.

Our driver wakes us up with a toot from his horn in front of the castle, before it is yet light. He knows that we must do the journey to esh-Shiḥr and back, by way of the coast, before high tide.

Our host accompanies us. The road runs along the east bank of the wādī right up to the coast, which is at a distance of only a few miles. On the beach lie the heavy boats of the fishermen and of the men who collect guano. There are drying-places for fish close to some huts: we could smell them that night in Sheḥēr. The guano is conveyed by camel from here to Ghēl Bā Wazīr, there to be used for manuring the fields. The shore is very like the sandy beach of Holland and there are even dunes with some vegetation, which are, however, not more than 20—30 feet in height. On the beach there are armies of crabs, which, at our approach, try to escape either in the direction of the sea or towards the sand-dunes, where cone-shaped heaps of sand flank the entrance to their long spiral passages, which lead underground. The ridge of dunes, which

387 is only a narrow one, is broken in some places by breaches
186 through which at high tide the sea water streams. These gaps
487 have doubtless been made by the rainfall from the mountains farther inland seaking an outlet to the sea. Close by esh-Shiḥr coral rocks jut out above the level of the sand, and the passage there is narrow and vanishes completely when the tide is at flood.

361 Esh-Shiḥr lies on a wide flat sea coast, which slopes only very gradually so that steamers have to anchor far out at sea. At the moment several sambooks are lying there and fishermen are plying their trade till far away to the horizon. The track runs through deep, loose sand from the beach to the gate, which is new, but lacking in taste architecturally. The wall is also new and is strengthened on the inner side with buttresses of mud bricks, but the garment is too large for what it has to cover, and a half-dead town is pining away within the walls. Many blocks of houses are uninhabited, some have even fallen in. One crosses great open spaces on the way from the west to the east gate. The streets are dirty and even the inhabited houses have a neglected look. Over the whole town, and stronger even than the sewage smell of the streets, hangs
314 the stench of drying, half-decayed fish. The Government
361 buildings are in a square situated in the western part of the town. The castle stands on a sandy eminence by the sea; the
346 building has just been restored and, with its simple, strong lines makes a good impression. The bottom floor is being used temporarily as a school for three to four hundred boys. On the hill near the fortress some old, big cannon are lying, and a solitary signal-mast stands there. The Governor's house, a large, tall, well-constructed building, whose many roof-terraces are well suited to the sweltering, damp climate of esh-Shiḥr, stands on the land side of the square. The Governor is not at home, for we have met him on the beach in his fine, American motor-car. He looks Indian, and too modern for his town, nearly cut off as it is from the outside world and still dreaming of former glories. At one time, esh-Shiḥr was larger

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than Makalla and was, indeed, an important trading centre before that city even existed.[1]

Under the east wall there is a large open plain, over which the cemetery extends, with some *qubbas*[2] and many mosques at the edge of it. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terim has, close to it, a large piece of ground, where he has built a palatial guest-house for relations and friends travelling to and fro between Java and Terim via esh-Shiḥr. El-Kāf is busy constructing a motor road from Terim to esh-Shiḥr, which is complete but for the last stretch as far as the coast, a matter of three days by camel. If this junction can be effected, in spite of the aversion to it of the warlike Ḥumūmī Bedouins, through whose territory it passes for the greater part, then perhaps esh-Shiḥr will grow again to fit into her walls.

Before we left the town we made another call on the Governor in charge, who, with the help of the tax-farmer, a well-educated Indian, gave us a hearty, friendly reception. We were conducted past a strong guard of soldiers to an old-fashioned *madjlis*, where the shutters of the windows and the wooden supporting pillars were beautifully carved, and the ceiling painted white, red and black. With grateful relish we partook of tea and a great variety of sweets and of fresh and tinned fruits.

The population of esh-Shiḥr is officially estimated at 9000. It did not seem to us that it could be more than 6000. Yet, as the Westerner does not get to know how densely peopled the big Arabian houses are, our calculations remain fairly uncertain. The town has 36 mosques.

We were compelled to beat a hasty retreat before the rising tide. For safety's sake we were given an extra Ford car and some soldiers. The coral rocks were still just passable, but we stuck in the bed of the wādī. Finally, after much delay and much fruitless exertion, we got free, but there was no time left for the promised meal with our host of Sheḥēr, who

[1] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *al-Shiḥr*.

[2] *Qubba* (قبة), is a dome, a cupola, or a cupola-shaped building.

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was deeply disappointed. In this land the hurry of Europeans is neither understood nor valued. One has plenty of time oneself, and the Arabian proverb: "Patience and waiting are of the All Merciful, but haste is of Satan", is carried into practice. When Shēkh Elmâs poured coals of fire on our heads by insisting that we should take his coat in place of one of our own, which had been torn in pushing the car, we departed with fresh wonder at Arabian hospitality.

It was already dark when we arrived at the frontier of the Makalla territory. The Bedouins were still lying in ambush, waiting for the foe, small fires were burning in their camp among the rocks, and the look-outs were posted close beside the road. We were under the protection of the *Dōla*, and the latter had only to fear attack from the Ḥumûmī.

### 7. THE LAST DAYS OF WAITING IN MAKALLA.

In Makalla it appeared that preparations for our departure were really advancing. Nevertheless we had to have patience for yet another day, as everything must be in good order. The Vizier told us that we should only be able to travel by day, as the ground was too difficult for night-journeys. "He who has not yet seen the mountains of Ḥaḍramaut has not yet learned what *real mountains* are."

So we had one day more in which to enlarge our acquaintance with the town, visit divers officials and, after that, climb the rocks behind the town, to collect plants and insects and to lay the foundation for the map of our itinerary.

The Vizier, Sayyid Abû Bakr, lives in the centre of the town, at the base of the tongue of land where, formerly, the Sultan also lived. The promontory turns out to be occupied, for the greater part, by the cemetery, in the centre of which is a fine *qubba* dedicated to Shēkh Yaᶜqūb, the patron saint of Makalla. The *ithl*[1] trees spoken of by earlier travellers no longer exist, and the cemetery has now no green whatsoever.

[1] *Ithl* or *athl* (اثل), *tamarix nilotica* Ehrenb., cf. L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 90, 306; G. Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 172, 174.

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The visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr was quite official in character; 647
there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been mono- [463]
polised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramis have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramis are Dutch subjects and as I was con- 648
sidered to be their partisan, an impression which had been 641
still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer 162
told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramis come from Java every year 167
and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. 272
Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export 439
figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity, will rapidly increase in the future.

## 8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we 133
clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

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133 standing in line close to the edge. The plateau is a few hundred feet wide, and the rock mounts again steeply till one reaches the flat top. The youngsters helped enthusiastically with collecting plants and catching insects. On the top we had a magnificent panorama landwards. There was just time enough to make a few outline sketches and to take bearings of the many mountain tops before the sun went down and it became cold. The guide said he would show us another and much easier way down, but it turned out to be otherwise, for he lost the way entirely; the boys left us in the lurch to find a good way home for themselves, and we could only progress slowly, in the increasing darkness, down the fairly steep rock-wall. Being an inexperienced climber I finally dared not, nor in fact was able, to proceed any further; with difficulty I reached a spot under an overhanging rock where, exhausted and with garments torn, I sank down. In the town below, however, they had been thinking of us, and after fully an hour we saw lights approaching from two different directions; they were soldiers sent out by the Vizier to bring us in. With much difficulty they reached the spot where we were held up. They had also thought of what one needs above all else on expeditions in this land — water. When I refused to risk the descent in the darkness and suggested waiting until dawn, the commandant of the patrol answered that he must bring us down that same evening. These experienced hill-men climb so well on their bare feet that I soon came to trust their directions, and we reached Makalla that evening without great difficulty. The leader passed with us in triumph through the crowd, which had been following our descent by the lights of our lanterns and had run out to watch our arrival. Our guide came to meet us coatless and without head-covering, as he had lost these garments during the descent in search of help. His answer to the reproach made to him from all sides was: "All comes from Allah. Allah let me lose the way, but brought you, nevertheless, safely down. Allah be praised!"

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# CHAPTER III.

## FROM MAKALLA TO WĀDĪ DŌ'AN.

### I. A DIFFICULT START.

The outfitting of the caravan lasted several days. The Vizier and his officials showed great interest, and during our visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr, much necessary information and advice was given us by him. Then we also made acquaintance with the leader of our caravan, who appeared to have the original and very modern honorary name of Mautor [1], because he can run the distance from Wādī Dō'an to Makalla in two days and nights, when urgent dispatches have to be carried for the Government. He has the full confidence of the Vizier and declares in a gentle voice and calling the while upon Allah that he will risk his life for us and that, with Allah's help, he will deliver us and our belongings safe and sound to Bā Şurra, the Governor of Wādī Dō'an. Mautor is small and slight, his curly, greasy, black hair is held together round his head by a narrow plaited leather band. He wears a little cord round his neck from which hangs a silver ring set with a round, brownish coloured stone, which has the shape and measurements of a thumb nail. A short dark-blue loin-cloth, in which is stuck the sheath of a dagger (*djambīya*), is his only garment. We declare our trust in Mautor's leadership and protection, and the agreement is sealed with a hand-clasp. Provision will be made for camels fit for the mountains, which in Dō'an will have to be exchanged for others suitable for the plains. We ourselves shall ride on donkeys as being less tiring and more comfortable if one has to dismount frequently to survey the route, to take photographs, and to collect plants and insects. We have also to provide food for the Bedouins who

[1] "Mautor" is the Bedouin pronunciation of "motor".

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will accompany us. We leave the procuring of supplies as well as of water-skins, cooking-pans, lanterns, rope, etc. to the officials of the Vizier, who are delighted to see to everything. Sayyid ʿAluwī, who is to travel with us, will arrange for his own donkey and baggage camel.

We are due to start on the 9th of May. The officials, who have made all the necessary arrangements for us, have come in the early morning with their accounts. We have a hundred and sixty rupees to pay for four camels, two donkeys, two slave soldiers, the pay of the caravan-leader and food for us all, and that for the stage Makalla—Dōʿan, which will take about six days. Twelve Bedouins of the Sēbān tribe accompany us. They also have their own camels loaded with merchandise, but all of them will have to be fed from our large, well-filled pot.

On the day of departure Bedouins come and go, camels and donkeys are brought, rejected and led away again, endless negotiations are carried on and give rise to noisy quarrels over the distribution of freights. Nothing is said as yet, however, about the start. On the first day of a big journey one always makes a short march, so we can quite well delay our departure till the afternoon. In the afternoon we learn that our Bedouins belong to the caravan which is taking refuge in Makalla from their pursuers and that their enemies are waiting for them just across the border, so early in the morning the Vizier had left to negotiate a free passage, but had not yet returned. At two in the afternoon he is back, tired and feverish, and sends his son to bid us farewell and to say that he has been able to make conditions for a two weeks' armistice. Only now do our Sēbān people work as if they really mean to get off.

As towards sunset they are not yet ready, we accept the Vizier's offer to be taken in a car, meanwhile, over the border, there to await the donkeys and to go as far as the first bivouac, where the camels are due to arrive at midnight. We get in, taking the donkeys' packs with us; Sayyid ʿAluwī with his servant and Ṣāliḥ, our cook, accompany us. Near el-

Ḥarshiyāt we are put down by the road-side and, lying down beside our baggage, wait there for some hours till the donkeys come. Then, in pitch darkness, we go forward at a steady pace, preceded by a Bedouin carrying a lantern. By the village of Tilāʿ es-Sufla we are to camp for the night in the dry *sēl* [1]-bed of the wādī. Luckily it is not long before the camels arrive. We set up our camp-beds amongst the boulders; under the mosquito-nets we are safe from the gnats that swarm here near the irrigated groves of date-palms and *dhura* fields. It is warm and very damp. Men and beasts lie close together. We are not yet accustomed to the sounds and odours of such a bivouac and get but little sleep.

## 2. ON TREK TO WĀDĪ ḤIMEM.

An hour before sunrise everything is again in motion, but we cannot leave until the measurements are finished. The sun rises shortly after our departure. We are all thankful to say good-bye to this damp, hot mosquito camp, but fortunately each day brings us nearer to the dryness and coolness of the Ḥaḍramaut mountain-plateau. The terraces at Tilāʿ consist chiefly of conglomerations of round stones, and the vegetation is scanty but varied. Many acacias grow in the wādīs, here called *smur* (*acacia etbaïca*) [2], also aerva. Wādī el-Laṣb, through which we march, becomes broad and sandy, and the atmosphere becomes very warm.

A great disappointment, indeed annoyance, is to find that our advance party has already encamped at eight o'clock by a well at the edge of the wādī, where the burning heat of the sun is only tempered by some acacia trees. The baggage has been unloaded, and the Bedouins will not move for either love or money; they will first eat and then rest from the fatigues of the departure. It is so appallingly hot that we are in fear

[1] *Sēl* (سيل) is a torrent flowing after the rare rain- and thunder-storms and which usually remains only a short time.

[2] Cf. L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 300; Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, i., Leide, 1901, p. 349.

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of sunstroke. Mautor certainly means well, but dares not set himself up against the unanimously expressed wishes of his comrades. He helps us to hang a few cloths among the branches of the acacia, so as to make a shady spot in which we can safely lie down. Our sayyid stirs up the fire of our wrath and uneasiness even more by repeatedly declaring with a mysterious face: "Very bad people, Consul, these Bedouins, very bad people." With some anxiety, I ponder over what may be in store for us from this undisciplined band, who, without having any apparent interest in us, eat heartily of the food which we have paid for. Is it possible that they will spin out the time during his expedition to Dôʿan as long as possible, so as to enjoy to the full the free rations provided by us? Our suspicions are strengthened by the great zest with which they now gather round the full pot of rice, and also by the jovial hospitality extended to passing and inquisitively watching Bedouins, and this state of affairs continued throughout the whole journey. There are always camp followers who count on a bit of food, and there are always present, at the solemn moment when the rations are ladled out of the great pot, unknown guests emerging mysteriously out of the unpopulated wilderness. Our cook, who seems to have an innate dislike and contempt for Bedouins, does not neglect to call our attention repeatedly to this phenomenon. I, in my heart of hearts, have complete sympathy with our open-handed Sēbān people.

In the meantime we are reduced almost to desperation by the heat under the shadowless acacia shrubs. Lying or sitting in the sun is far more dangerous than walking or riding; that was always our experience. When we could not succeed in inducing our thoroughly satiated Bedouins to move, we went on ahead with our negro soldiers. A few Bedouin boys who belonged to our party left with us, each one already carrying a small-sized musket ornamented with silver plating and proudly wearing the cartridge-belt round his slim waist. They made themselves useful by helping zealously in catching butterflies and collecting plants.

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We reached the little village of Laṣb within an hour. It lies just at the point where the gap narrows and the mountains on either side of the wādī become higher. In the perpendicular wall of rock has been cut a conduit, by which the water of a rivulet, which soon vanishes again, is carried to the palm-groves and *dhura* fields of the villages. We leave the path to seek refreshment among the *dhura* grown to more than a man's height. At the edges of the fields bananas and papayas are planted. The inhabitants of the village do not show themselves. The castle-like dwellings of mud stand high above the cultivated land, against the mountain-wall; perhaps our movements are being spied upon from behind the small, dark window openings. 361 311

Beyond the village, Wādī el-Laṣb narrows and the walls become steeper. The water-conduit looks like a thick, green roll clinging to the wall, with maidenhair fern and other moisture-loving plants growing in abundance. The brook with its crystal-clear water soon appears; where the water is dammed up in basins we see shoals of little black fish and many black frogs. The rocks are full of deep holes. The piled-up strata slope down towards us. The rock-wall hangs over us as we go further up the valley, and a thick, hard crust projects high above our heads over its edge so that we could walk in its shadow. Here we decided to wait for the camels; our companions immediately fell asleep, while we sought out a spot in the rivulet where it had widened out to form a pool and we bathed there. It is true, the little fishes came to see whether we were edible, but that did not spoil the unexpected, deep satisfaction of a bath in the wilderness of Southern Arabia. The water, certainly, is warm, but the dry wind has a refreshing effect as soon as one is out of the water and lets oneself be blown dry. Further inland the water was so warm that it was only enjoyable to bathe in it at night. 361 312

When the camels and the donkeys were at last to be seen, we went on further into the rapidly ascending wādī. We soon had to do without the pleasure of the brook and its thickly- 000

000 grown banks; we saw it no more after we had passed the grotto in the rock-wall to the left, where it made its appearance. The vegetation, however, continued rich and varied, and we could see from the little springs at the foot of the rocky wall that there was still a great quantity of water. Great blocks of rock had fallen here into the wādī from the steep sloping walls. In some places these walls were completely hollowed out by wind and water, and only a crust remained.

487 From Lubēb Von Wissmann had begun to survey the route.
114 Up to that point we were able to use the excellent map made by Little on his geological survey of the mountainous country of Makalla in 1919—'20.[1]

231 The valley now rises more rapidly, and it requires much patience and skill to lead the loaded camels and donkeys over the great blocks of rock. The mountain camel knows this sort of ground, passes neatly through the blocks, and as he steps aside and turns thinks of the load projecting on either side of his body. On a warning call from the leaders: "Take care left!" or "Look out right!" the animal goes cautiously a little further away from the place where its load is threatened.

241 At the end of the wādī, about two miles beyond Ḥōṭat el-
x487 Laṣb, there is a little plateau to which a short ascent leads
361 us. There is a plantation of date-palms and *dhura*, which is still within the boundary of Ḥōṭat el-Laṣb. At the end of this small plateau lies the village of Lubēb. We leave it on our left and descend towards Wadī Ḥimem, which, again, is shut in by high walls of limestone. The farther we advance the narrower becomes this wādī. The camel path along the steep cliffs to the right is blocked here and there with boulders. Some miles after Lubēb, the now narrow rock ravine makes a bend. Here is a splendid spring with a drinking-trough of masonry for the animals. The place is named el-Ḥallāf. On account of the road survey we are compelled to camp as soon as darkness falls. Indeed it would be difficult to march further in this valley of boulders.

[1] O. H. Little, *The Geography and Geology of Makalla*, Cairo, 1925.

1/1 [at Lubeb -- ANALYST]

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Tilā' es-Suflā. In the foreground the dry *sēl*-bed, where we camped the first night.

Wādī el-Laṣb.

[facing p. 40]

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## 3. BIVOUAC LIFE.

We pitch our second camp by el-Ḥallāf although our Bedouins are not quite at ease in their minds as to its safety. Mautor, the leader, climbs up towards the almost perpendicular rock-wall on our right and sends a few others to climb the less steep wall on our left. They remain away for a long time, reconnoitring and examining.

Meanwhile, down below also every one is busy. The camels and donkeys are unloaded and led to the water-trough. Some of the Bedouins go out to search along the rock-walls for camel-fodder, cutting it up with their crooked *djambīyas*. They know exactly which shrubs are good for the beasts and which are not. They roll great bundles of green down the slopes, and before long the camels are kneeling in a circle with a supply in their midst. The donkeys are standing a little apart, tethered to shrubs or to points of rock, content to chew dreamily at their rations. Quarrelling among the animals will only begin a few hours hence, when provisions are exhausted. More than once shall we be startled out of our first sleep by stamping, braying, and the grunting of camels, and shall see the Bedouins running like black devils after the runaway brawlers, in order to prevent the animals from getting hurt.

We ourselves join in the hard work of getting the bivouac into order. With the help of Ṣāliḥ we drag in our camp-beds, chests of instruments, the box of cooking utensils, the camp table and chairs. We choose a suitable spot for the beds and put them up; we unpack the meteorological instruments, the chest with plant-presses; the bivouac lamps are lighted. Whilst Ṣāliḥ prepares a simple meal, we begin that part of our task which always calls for the greatest output of energy; the harvest of plants and flowers has been rich and the bag of plants is full and bulging. Hours pass before we have the flora lying between sheets of paper and firmly pressed in thick bundles between the pressing-boards. Then the contents of the

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Where Wādī el-Laṣb narrows there is a small brook and some vegetation.

133

[facing p. 41]

Wādī Ḥimem.

insect bottles[1] are poured out, sorted, wrapped in cotton-wool and packed in boxes, except for the butterflies. Oh, the work of patience to fold up each butterfly in a triangular piece of paper and to put it safely away! And here, in the low-lying districts, there is a great variety of lepidoptera, — moths, owl-moths, etc., which are attracted to the lighted lamps, and our Bedouin boys are constantly bringing proudly with them some find or other. When this work is done there are still the diaries to write up, and, finally, the cameras must be seen to, the exposed films carefully packed up, and a new supply made ready for use on the following day. Then, at last, comes the moment when we can stretch ourselves out on our camp-beds and with deep contentment, gaze at the starred heaven above us and at the threatening masses of black rock outlined against it. The sound of the animals close by us peacefully munching or rubbing themselves brings a mood of thankfulness and we, in the midst of this majestic nature, with these faithful beasts and their primitive attendants, feel that it is a great privilege to be able to leave western civilization behind and to live as if on the bosom of Mother Earth. Alas! such peaceful meditations are soon disturbed by a Bedouin giving utterance to his feelings of contentment in a harsh and unmelodious song, or yesterday's dispute is renewed with fresh force and carried to a conclusion. But life with Bedouins would be far from real without this bit of prose.

It is already late before the scouts come clambering down the precipices towards the camp. A second group then goes out to watch the approaches to our resting place.

The signal to rise is given at a quarter to four. The thermo-barometer and other measurements take up nearly an hour. The Bedouins all feel this very annoying and unnecessary, but for us it has the great advantage of keeping us from starting before the outlines of the mountains are clearly visible and the compass can be read.

[1] Bottles for killing insects, butterflies etc.

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The way winds upwards out of the wādī; the mountains here are no longer so precipitous and it had been possible to cut out a path on the slope about 300 feet above the bed of the wādī. It is a primitive path, but it has been improved here and there. We are going north-east and have the sun obliquely in front of us; it is a hot, constantly ascending stretch of road. Already at half past seven the Bedouins wanted to make a halt, but we prevented this by vigorous opposition, and it was postponed till 11 o'clock. We have passed a large well of water, el-Ghuḍūḍa, and see Zemān el-Kebīr on our right, lying close to the mountain slope. There are date and coco-nut palms, papaya and banana trees in the midst of neatly cultivated fields of tobacco. We make a halt at the next village, Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr, and find shelter against the merciless glare of the sun, in an empty stone building that seems to be intended for passing caravans.

Here we first made acquaintance with those pious institutions for the protection of travellers against thirst, the *siqāyas*. Later on we were to travel from *siqāya* to *siqāya* and learn to look on these white, beneficent landmarks in nearly waterless stretches of country, with a greater thankfulness than at the beginning. We were only just at the edge of the dry, rocky table-land and could still give ourselves the luxury of a hygienic, critical standard in the matter of drinking-water. The *siqāyas* are small buildings, generally five feet square and six feet high, with a dome-shaped roof, made of natural stone or dried mud and whitewashed. About five feet from the ground there are square or triangular holes, through which by means of a cup one can scoop water out of the masonwork cistern, about six inches deep, which has been placed at that height in the *siqāya*. The filling of the cistern is attended to daily by one who is paid for doing so by the pious foundation (*waqf*) endowed for that purpose. In one of the openings in the walls of the *siqāya*, there is to be found the half of a coco-nut shell, a rusty tin, or an oblong wooden cup, with which one scoops out the water and from which one

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312 drinks. One must accustom oneself as soon as possible to the
271 fixed habit in this country, of drinking one after the other out
485 of the same cup or bowl. Even among the very rich and the Sultans, the big earthenware drinking cups are passed from guest to guest. One sees the soldiers and slaves drink out of them too. The water in the *siqāyas* is often dirty, with a variety of odours and tastes; it also swarms with larvae and the like, but thirst soon teaches one not to notice them and the aversion diminishes in course of time!

In Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr we were able to buy milk, buttermilk (here called *rūb*), lemons, coco-nuts and bananas, but at high prices.

361 In the afternoon we proceeded and in a short time arrived
311 on a plateau, fairly thickly covered with tufts of grass and low shrubs, where two villages, el-Ghēḍa and el-Ghiyāḍa, lie among well-cultivated fields of tobacco, surrounded by a small
342 grove of date-palms. The mayor of el-Ghiyāḍa is related to the
439 family of el-ᶜAṭṭās; we were therefore desirous of calling upon him. The door of his simple, mud, mayoral residence was decorated with particularly fine carving. We were received in a little, dimly-lighted room that served both as a place for storing tobacco and as a reception-room. The mayor had been in Batavia for seven years and had there acquired some wealth in the *batik*[1] trade, which a son is now continuing. As soon as I was informed of this, I proposed to converse in Malay instead of in Arabic. Our host eagerly agreed and we were
[272] soon deep in reminiscences of Java. Meantime coffee was
271 prepared, consisting for three quarters of ginger and for one quarter of coffee, and a great earthen bowl of cold water passed from mouth to mouth. These porous, unglazed bowls filled with water are placed in the small window openings, and the hot outer air causes the water which exudes through them to evaporate, thus cooling their contents. One finds the same

[1] *Batik* is the name of the specially Javanese art of decorating and dyeing pieces of cloth used as garments. The thus decorated pieces are also called *batik*.

system of drinking- and at the same time cooling-bowls, 271
among poor and rich alike.

Our host spoke with longing of beautiful, rich Java and of 167
the good years that he had passed there, and it was obvious that he would have liked to return there but for leaving his family behind, for the Ḥaḍramī woman does not leave her country with her husband. It was clear, from the friendly farewell, that I had not been wrong in thinking that my years passed as a civil servant in Netherlands India would facilitate my travels in Ḥaḍramaut.

They all went a little way with us to see us off and were 133
photographed at their own request. We followed the broad 312
*sēl*-bed [1] crossing the plateau surrounded by terraces of about 300 feet high. There, where the plateau ends, lies, at a height of 50 feet the village of Ḥimem on a hill at the edge of the wādī to which it gives its name. At the foot of the hill, there are very tall coco-nut trees, the last that we shall see for the time being, for the altitude is already 3000 feet. A conduit full of water, fed by little springs at the edge of the wādī, irrigates fields of *dhura* and of neatly-planted and well-cultivated tobacco. It is true that it is not first-class Ḥumūmī tobacco that is raised here, but even so it commands a good market price.

The evening falls and we are obliged to camp soon after 133
leaving Ḥimem. The valley has here penetrated into the sand- 271
stone and the conglomerates under the eocene limestone. Here at a height of 3000 feet the nights are already cold. According to our Bedouins, who are good water-tasters, the water also improves in proportion as one gets further away from the coast; all salt and bitterness gradually disappears from it.

In our bivouac at Ḥimem we had to put away again a great 136
harvest of plants and insects; the swallow-tail butterfly was also found here.

The mayor of Ḥimem came to visit us in our camp. He told 249
us that his village of 200 to 300 inhabitants grows tobacco,

[1] The bed through which the water flows for a short time after rain.

249 which is its chief source of livelihood. Only three of his men have emigrated to Java, but he has heard so much good of that land of promise that he wishes to go there himself, though it would mean leaving a family of six children behind. To my question as to whether he had performed the *ḥadjdj*[1] his answer was in the negative.

000 We have met very few travellers on the way from Makalla to Himem — only a few camels and donkeys laden with bananas and other fruits for the Makalla market.

On the 11th of May, directly after breaking camp in the morning, we began by ascending a long *ʿaqaba*[2] and it was two hours before we reached the top. A little farther on we passed a place called Kubr, which our Bedouins pretended was the last spot for hours ahead, where we should find water, and they urged us strongly to take the afternoon's rest here. Immediately after I had agreed to this, it dawned upon me that the story about the water had only been invented in order to call a halt. The spot was very unfavourable, for water had to be fetched from some distance away out of the 20 feet deep bed of the wādī, where there was a well. We were obliged to seek shelter from the sun, in a fissure of the rocks which hardly gave room enough.

133 Von Wissmann used the opportunity to climb the steep precipice leading up to the plateau, in company with one of the slave soldiers. The eocene limestone, of which the 60 feet thick upper stratum is formed, falls away everywhere in a perpendicular drop, so that it is difficult to find a scaleable 000 spot in it. Our Bedouins did not believe that the *Efrendjī* could get up it in his shoes, and his attempts were watched with curiosity from our bivouac. When Von Wissmann, born and bred among the rock-mountains of Styria, conquered a very hazardous bit of wall and his soldier could only follow

104 [1] The *ḥadjdj* is the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five pillars of the religion of Islam.

[2] *ʿAqaba* (عقبة) is a road over or up, or down, or over some part of, a mountain; cf. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*.

with difficulty, his popularity with our Sēbāni people was established for good. From thenceforth he was named *Ḥarmal*, a name of good companionship, which stuck to him as long as he was in Ḥaḍramaut. Ḥarmal is a corruption of Hermann; it is at the same time the name of one of the most common plants in Ḥaḍramaut, a plant inedible for cattle and, consequently, worthless. 000

My name they could not keep in their memories, so from this time on I was called Konsul. Bedouins are a very democratic folk: whenever they had anything to ask or to say they did not lie in wait for a favourable opportunity, but would shout out from the rear of the caravan: "Yā Ḥarmal!" or "Yā Konsul!" I would then immediately reply in an equally loud "Yā ḥādjdj!" or "Yā Sēbānī!" Then came the question, to which, whenever possible, I gave a jocular reply. They enjoyed laughing, and if one could manage to maintain one's hold on them by keeping them in good humour, it was possible to crack many a hard nut. It seemed to me very necessary to be good friends with one's Bedouins, but at the same time to keep them at a distance and to make one's authority felt.

Up above on the edge of the plateau[1] Von Wissmann had a fine, distant view. To the south were esh-Shiḥr and the sea, to the north the highest mountain of Ḥaḍramaut, Kōr Sēbān, a great massif of eocene limestone. On the east and west were the endless plain and, still visible close by, the deep-cut wādīs, and higher up the long horizontal line of the table-mountains. Several kinds of acanthus were growing close to the rock-wall and crossander, with blue-green leaves. *Cadia varia* appeared here for the first time, but later on was often to be seen in the wādīs. 133 137

When the sun began to penetrate into our rocky cleft and the temperature rose to 33° C., we were forced to break camp, although our Bedouins were not yet inclined to do so. It took a great effort to wake them up, and, while they were trying to find their camels, which had wandered off in search of food, we sauntered on ahead. At first the way wound along 000

1 [See preceding page -- Analyst]

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000 the fairly steep slope of Wādī Ḥimem, high above the *sēl*-bed. We looked down on the fresh green of small trees and shrubs; a shepherdess with her flock of goats was occasionally to be seen amongst them. The path then dropped down towards the wādī; walking over the grey-white boulders and under small acacias with scanty foliage, we made our weary way to the end of Wādī Ḥimem, in and beside which we had been journeying for days past.

### 4. THROUGH WĀDĪ LUṢŪB TO THE GREAT ROCK PLATEAU. THE CAMP AT EL-ḤISĪ.

133 361 312 We came out onto a high plateau but soon entered the wide, shallow bed of Wādī Luṣūb, which was fairly well covered with vegetation. Small, poor houses lie scattered here, like cubes of stone, with very primitive little gardens. The people live principally by breeding sheep and goats. We made our quarters for the night just beyond the houses, forming the hamlet of el-Ḥisī, beside a large well of masonry within which one descends by stone steps to the surface of the water. The well had been dug in the *sēl*-bed and was therefore protected by a thick wall, as high as a man, against the water floods which appear after rain. In el-Ḥisī lived the family of Mautor, the leader of our caravan, and hence the dawdling which characterised this day; on no account were they prepared to go beyond el-Ḥisī.

245 262 All bickering was forgotten now and our Bedouins radiated contentment and willingness. The people of el-Ḥisī set to work cutting up food for our animals, all the inhabitants came to have a look at our camp, and, afterwards, Mautor took all his comrades with him to feast in his village. He brought us, beforehand, a cloth full of *nibq* fruit. The *nibq* tree, also called *sidr* or *dōm*, is of intrinsic importance in those parts of Ḥaḍramaut where there is too little water for the cultivation of the date-palm. There, wherever one is dependent on the *sēl*, the water which only comes after rain, and where the subsoil

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Acacia trees, further inland in Wādī Himem.

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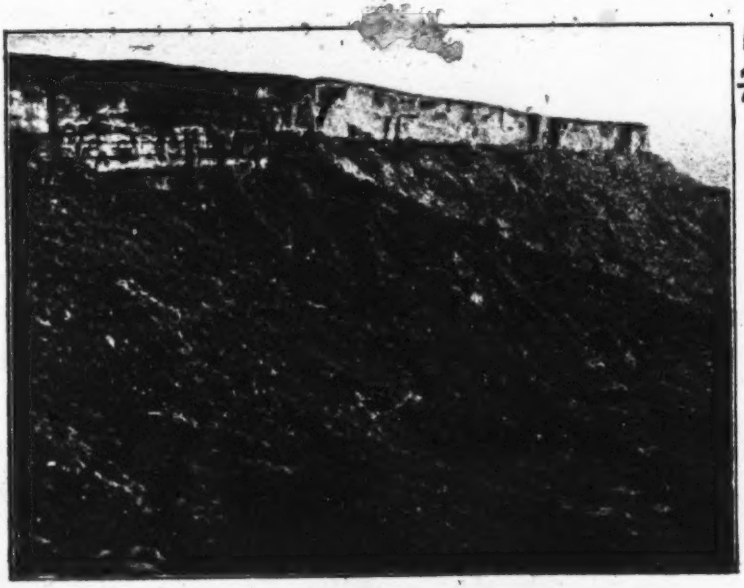

The slope of the Kōr Sēbān.

1 [See pages 46 and 47 and pages 50-51 --Analyst]

p.48(A)

See pages 48 and 51

312

Bēn el-Djibāl. Our party resting at the first *murabba'a* alongside the first *neqāba*.

137

On the top of the Kōr Sēbān .... a solitary dragon's blood tree.

p.48 (B)

137

The border of the *djōl*, with some vegetation (euphorbias and acacias).

133

A view over the *djōl*.

p.48 (C)

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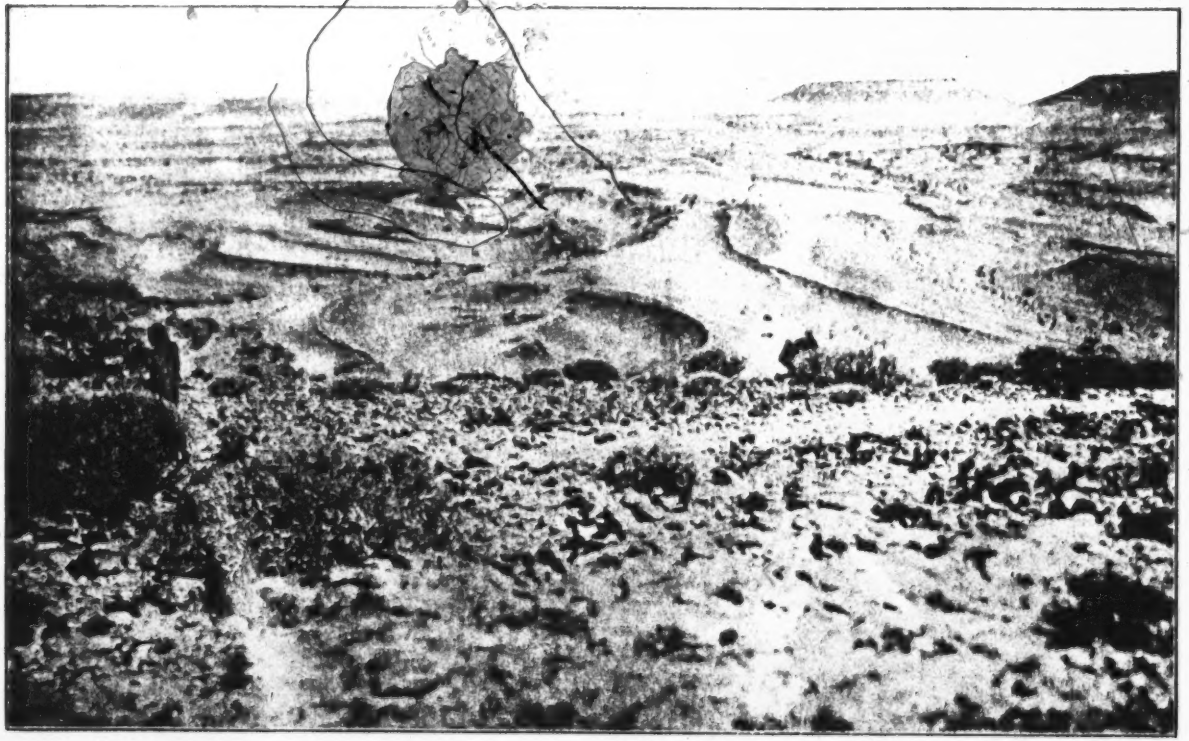

The *djōl* with the long horizontal lines of the table-mountains in the distance.

p. 48 (D)

water is too far below the surface to serve for the regular 245
irrigation of a plantation, the *nibq* can still live quite well, 262
and even if there is no rain for some years it does not die. The fruit of the *nibq* is as large as a marble and has a stone of the size of a pea. The taste is sour-sweet and refreshing. The fruit can be dried and kept for a long time: it is then crushed fine, stone and all, and with the meal bread is baked or a sort of porridge made. This small fruit is the chief food supply of many in times of drought, and in times of scarcity many Bedouins live on *nibq* and milk and do not look ill on the diet. The shepherdesses carry the *nibqs* with them in small oval, prettily woven baskets.

The wood of the *nibq* tree is reddish-brown and hard, and [313]
is used for beams and supporting pillars in the big, many- 314
storied, mud houses of the rich. The branches, thick with 262
thorns, are used in the date plantations when the bunches of 231
dates approach ripeness. They are bound in a wreath round the trunk just below the clusters of fruit, to prevent the dates from being stolen. Finally the green leaves of the *nibq* are also useful: when, during a long drought, there is hardly any more food to be found for the sheep and goats one sees the agile shepherdesses, in spite of their flowing, black garments, clambering up to the top of the *nibq* tree and knocking off the leaves from the branches with long, thin sticks. The flock stands below the tree in expectation of the godsend of food to come. We have only a mild admiration for the *nibq* fruit: one must do much chewing for little nourishment and for little taste.

They also brought us from el-Ḥisī a few handfuls of the 262
roasted larvae of white ants. The taste was not bad; Von Wissmann ate up a whole helping with the result that, shortly afterwards, he had a pain in his throat and could not utter a sound, a condition that lasted for about two hours.

El-Ḥisī lies about 4500 feet above sea-level, and the 133
evenings are quite cold. While there, we examined the bundles 000
of plants which we had already collected and pressed. Great

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was our disappointment on finding that many of them were mildewy. It was a long and very disheartening work to remove the damaged plants and to replace the damp paper with new. We were now in high-lying dry country and from henceforth might expect to have no further difficulty with the already decreasing quantity of plants collected. After this, we always opened the presses during the afternoon rest and laid stacks of the papers which contained the plants, held down by stones, to dry in the fierce sun and hot wind. Thus the collection of plants was safeguarded against decay.

## 5. KŌR SĒBĀN, THE HIGHEST TOP OF HAḌRAMAUT.

The camp at el-Ḥisī lay at the foot of Kōr Sēbān, which of course Von Wissmann wanted to climb. We arranged that he should start early on the following morning with one of the soldiers and a Bedouin guide, whilst I, with the other soldier, should attend to the timely breaking up of camp and the speedy advance of our caravan. We were to meet again at the afternoon halting place.

The night in el-Ḥisī was so cold that, towards morning, sleep became impossible, so that early rising was quite easy. On this morning of May 12th we marched from half past six until eleven o'clock. Our way lay smoothly over high-lying level ground, remarkably flat limestone plateaus, into which the wādīs cut vertically and where the lateral wādīs begin.

So little rain falls here that the origin of these steep-banked wādīs, already cut so deep from the beginning, cannot be sufficiently accounted for by the erosive action of rain-water only. The Bents have assumed that these wādīs were formed by the sea and that this is the explanation of the likeness, everywhere to be found, in the outline of the walls on each side of the wādīs.[1] This supposition does not appear acceptable. It seems to us that Caetani's theory of the drying-up of Arabia and possibly of the whole world might offer a plausible

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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explanation of the facts. More rainfall on this bare table-land, 133
where all water immediately streams away, must have caused mighty floods streaming with elementary force through the wādīs to the sea. In this way wide, deep ravines in the plateau can have come into existence. The monotonous likeness in their outlines is to be ascribed to the fact that the ground, in which the erosion takes place, always shows the same composition and that the climatic conditions of the interior are invariable. A horizontal stratum of limestone, 50—100 yards thick, lies on a similar horizontal sandstone stratum. The limestone layer has, at the edge of the wādī, an almost perpendicular incline as has the sandstone layer also at first, but it then merges into the slopes of rock débris, which reach quite high up the walls of the wādī. The little towns and villages lie, in the [361]
narrow wādīs, on these slopes of débris, while in the broad wādīs, as also in Ḥaḍramaut Proper, the towns and villages are built in front of the débris.

Kōr Sēbān is the highest mountain of Ḥaḍramaut, though its altitude is not more than 7088 feet. The summit is a gradual elevation, rising out of the high-lying plateau surrounding it. The eocene limestone strata are 1200 feet higher than the plateau, yet fairly horizontal, as is the case with Djebel Ghurēba, visible in the distance. Violent tectonic disturbances must have taken place here. A camel path leads upwards to the flat top of Kōr Sēbān, from where one has a fine view over the Wādī Ḥuwēre, which makes a deep cutting on the further side of Kōr Sēbān and lies quite 3000 feet lower than Wādī Ḥimem. Djebel Ghurēba, which is certainly not much lower than Kōr Sēbān, also appears to be separated from the latter range by a deep valley on its southern side. Djebel Baraka, two days' march distant, must be about the same height.

On one of the highest points of Kōr Sēbān there was 137
growing an *arab*, apparently a *dracaena*, with large clusters of reddish blossoms. The trunk had been mutilated by the removal of pieces of bark, and living boughs had also been hacked off. On the summit plateau there was seen for the first time a semi-

137 globular shrub, an *euphorbia* which is *not* succulent, but has a green bark. Although this plant had flowers and fruit, it had, at the moment, no leaves. It occurs frequently.

312 From the top of Kōr Sēbān there stretches westwards
104 a slightly-furrowed plateau, intersected by good camel paths, and where cisterns for catching rain-water, called *neqābas*, have been made. The *neqābas* are cellars cut out of the limestone rock, with a narrow, round opening, three feet in diameter, and a shaft which soon broadens out to an underground cavity nine to ten feet deep and fifteen to eighteen feet in diameter. The rain-water is led there by means of low dykes. The narrow opening prevents much evaporation, and the water in the cellar remains cool. In suitable places, where there is much traffic, one finds as many as six to ten *neqābas* close together. The water in them can remain there for quite three years, but the disadvantage is that it generally has a brackish taste. There are also often simple, small, square buildings close to the *neqābas*, with walls of natural stones, loosely put together, and with flat mud roofs. They are called *murabbaʿas* and serve as shelter for travellers and their animals against the fierce sun by day and the cold wind by night. Moreover, one often finds ramparts and fortified observation posts close to the *neqābas*, recalling the many wars taking place in this barren and unpopulated land.

The *neqābas* make it possible to travel over the dry, stony plateaus. Were they not present one would have to follow the winding bed of boulders in the wādīs or else descend into them frequently and with difficulty to fetch water. Now one journeys from *neqāba* to *neqāba*. Occasionally one is found empty owing to the long-continued drought and that causes great disappointment, but one always comes upon another before long. The Bedouins of these districts generally know quite well what the condition of the different *neqābas* is and settle their route accordingly. The *neqābas* take the place of the *siqāyas* in the wādīs and in the mountains not of table

formation. They belong to the plateau called *djōl* (جول), 312
lying between the mountainous coast region and the great 104
depressions of inner Ḥaḍramaut.

## 6. THE DJŌL.

Our way now led over the *djōl* as far as Wādī Dōʿan. The 133
*djōl* consists of vast table-lands of reddish-brown limestone, where flat-topped, horizontal mountains, the remains of old, still higher plateaus, stretch like long wings. The wādīs are cut deep into them. We also often descend into flat, basin-shaped, wide depressions, passing over the crumbling edges of the plateaus, and afterwards have to climb laboriously up again, towards the boulders at the edge of the opposite plateau, quite half an hour away. Wherever one looks one sees the same long, horizontal lines of the table-mountains, with everywhere the forked, precipitous incisions made by the wādīs. The plain is strewn with sharp fragments of limestone, dark-brown and black in colour, which ring like metal whenever the passer-by kicks pieces of them together with his foot. Vegetation is al- 136
most absent. Towards the edges of the plateaus, against which 137
clouds sometimes seem to break, there are a few shrubs of small, crooked, gnarled acacias. One finds no trace of animal life except a few lizards and sometimes a solitary bird. It is very warm on the *djōl* during the day, the sun scorches, and the wind is hot and dry. During the night this same wind is cold and penetrating, so that one wakes up and remains awake longing for the warmth of the sun hours before it rises; then an hour later it is torment again from the heat.

The endless monotony is the great enemy of the traveller 000
over the *djōl*. The light is fierce and is reflected a thousand times in the metallic shining stones. The narrow camel path winds like a smooth and shining ribbon through the unruffled and almost unchanging expanse. The stones have been pushed aside by the feet of the camels which, in the course of so many years, have passed that way. The limestone of the plateau

000 has been rubbed flat and polished by the pads of horny skin under the feet of Bedouins and camels. Every caravan in its turn follows the same, scarcely necessary windings.

The *neqābas* and *murabbaʿas*, where we take our afternoon rest and where we are joined by the climbers from Kōr Sēbān, are called Bēn el-Djibāl, "between the mountains".

In the afternoon we continued our way over the watershed between deeply cut fissures to right and left, making great bends round table-mountains. From Neqābat el-Ghāṭ we saw the mountains of the southern coast for the last time. We made a short cut (*muqriba*), by clambering down along a deep wādī-bed, which, to our great surprise, appeared to be thickly overgrown with shrubs and small trees and where there was the smell of jasmine, which was growing wild. Our quarters for the night, el-Qumra, lay behind Qāret el-Mūle, the only mountain with a peak. Mautor and his comrades did not seem to find the place safe and sent men out to reconnoitre the surroundings, and, during the night, a sharper watch was kept.

149 Directly the sun went down we shivered in our thin clothes and hurried to put on something warm as soon as possible. Our Bedouins have nothing warm, not even blankets to cover them when asleep. They sit in the wind with the upper part of their bodies bare and it does not seem to hurt them. It is 533 true, they make a fire round which they sit until far into the night, telling their tales or singing their *dānā-ā-ā* improvisations. Their rough voices affect us disagreeably, their melodies, whose cadences are strange to our ear, are sombre and plaintive. They sing one somewhat cheerful song, to make men and animals go at a double-quick pace, and it is remarkable how long they can keep this up and what an encouraging effect the song has on the animals. Not only the camels, but also the donkeys, begin to trot and do not allow themselves to be caught up by the Bedouins, who follow singing and skipping.

000 The night was cold in el-Qumra; it was long next morning before energy returned to our stiffened limbs. A long march lay ahead, and one would suffer for starting late in the morn-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



ing by having to toil along in the tormenting heat. There was no need for hard climbing and descending, the way lay smoothly over gently sloping plateaus, allowing a view on low, flat table-mountains and not very deep wādīs. In the surrounding mountains we saw many horizontal lines, ancient plateaus or geological strata. Vegetation became scantier and scantier as we went further. We only passed by two small villages with an insignificant bit of cultivated ground, entirely dependent upon rain-water. At the first village, Dahma, we rested for the afternoon in a *murabbaʿa*. Here a few people from the village came to ask us for medicines. Kneeling beside the medicine-chest in the burning sun, I tried to doctor the patients: eyes closed up tight by inflammation were cleansed with cotton-wool and boracic water, after which I used protargol, drop by drop; aspirin was given, in a cup of hot tea with lemon, for headaches and fever; festering wounds were cleaned and then bound up with Peruvian balsam; castor oil, worm-cakes and quinine were also dispensed more than once. The population as a whole gave an impression of health. Although they wash their bodies but seldom and smear them with *samn* and indigo, it is surprising how little one sees of itch and other skin troubles. The only malaria which occurs on the *djōl* is brought in from the lower-lying districts.

The Bedouins are mostly small and slightly built, but they have great powers of endurance and do not give the impression of being underfed. The boys who belonged to our caravan ran the whole day long, helped energetically morning and evening, and ate only two meals a day (some dates, rice and a piece of dried shark's meat, sometimes unleavened bread baked in hot ashes).

Dahma appears to consist of twenty or so small houses, the lower parts of which are built of rough stones, and the upper parts of dried mud. A large, square tower, entirely built of stone, serves as a defence for the village and as the residence of its mayor. On the border of the village is a mud-built, communal threshing-floor; there are also ovens for baking meat,

that is to say, small piles of stones on which a fire is made till they are hot and on which meat can be roasted.

The number of people in this village who seemed to be afflicted with blindness or with other diseases of the eye was startling. The cemetery, which lies outside the village, is large; rows of graves covered with little hillocks of stones give the impression of not yet being old. Dahma has, apparently, been decimated by an epidemic. The neatly cultivated fields lie awaiting the rain. Two date-palms as well as some *nibq* trees increase the parched and barren impression of the place.

Apparently we are over the watershed here and in the river-basin of Ḥaḍramaut Proper. The landscape looks dryer and emptier of vegetation. The *euphorbia* bushes have neither fruit nor blossom, and the few grasses are dried up. After passing Dahma we saw an artificial pond, at present dry, made at the cost of much labour, which is intended to hold the water after rain.

Half an hour after sunset we reached Bureyyira, our quarters for the night, situated close by a small village.

## 7. AN EXCURSION TO THE RUINS OF THE PEOPLE OF ʿĀD.

There were great things on the programme for May 14th. We had often questioned our Bedouins about ruins and inscriptions, and they understood what we meant, for all of them knew about the remains of the towns and graves of the people of ʿĀd and Thamūd, the original inhabitants of the land, whom Allah had swept from the face of the earth, in punishment for their many sins. The groups of ruins are actually situated more towards Ḥaḍramaut Proper, with their centre in the direction of the Yemen. Probably we were setting foot here on the borderland of Sabaean civilisation. Old Aḥmad, one of our Sēbānī Bedouins, attracted by the promised reward, said that he had pondered well over it and remembered that there were inscriptions, painted by the people of ʿĀd, on a wall of rock in Wādī Thiqbe, not far to the north-east of our route, and that, besides

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Trekking over the *djōl.*

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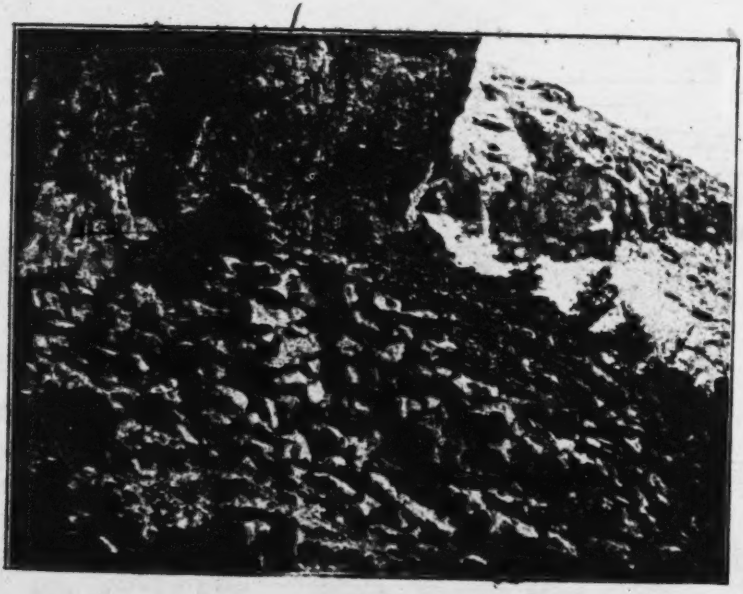

The Dār ʿĀd, ruins dating probably from Sabaean times.

[facing p. 86]

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this, there were the remains of the houses which these people had inhabited in the days of the preaching of Hūd, the prophet of Allah. It was arranged for the caravan to go ahead as usual and for us to rise early and set out on a rapid excursion to the ᶜĀd remains, without losing a day of the time on our schedule.

The night in Bureyyira seemed very cold, yet in the morning the temperature was only 18° C. The night-wind and the great contrast with the heat of the day make one feel the cold very much. We set out at 5 o'clock under the leadership of Aḥmad and the protection of the soldier ᶜUbēd. We went first by the road on donkeys for some hours and then, leaving the animals with their attendants behind us, we struck into a side-path that led over massive rocks to the source of Wādī Ghār. The wādī is very soon deeply hollowed out and we climb with difficulty high up along its steep wall, but luckily that does not last long, and we approach the wādī-bed. Occasionally our way is blocked by great, greyish-white boulders. All sorts of interesting plants grow against the wall of rock as, for example, *anisotes,* which is also to be found at el-Ḥisī. We followed the bed of this narrow, deep wādī for a long time, and our eyes were refreshed by the colour of many an acacia. After strenuous climbing we reached the broader Wādī Thiqbe, where we had to circumvent immense blocks of rock. The *sēls* must have formed waterfalls here by which deep basins have been hollowed out of the rock, which in several places still held some water, though rather thick and brown. Now that the sun is so high that its rays reach the bed of the wādī, the temperature rises very quickly, and the prolonged and hard exertion makes us very thirsty. The water-supply that we brought with us is soon exhausted, but these basins of brown water arouse aversion. There is some shadow given by a number of trees, among which are some large *nibqs,* and that is the spot where we rest. Aḥmad really knows the way well. He brings us to a deep pool, hidden from sight by rocks, which has straight walls and is quite full of brown water. Though we dare not

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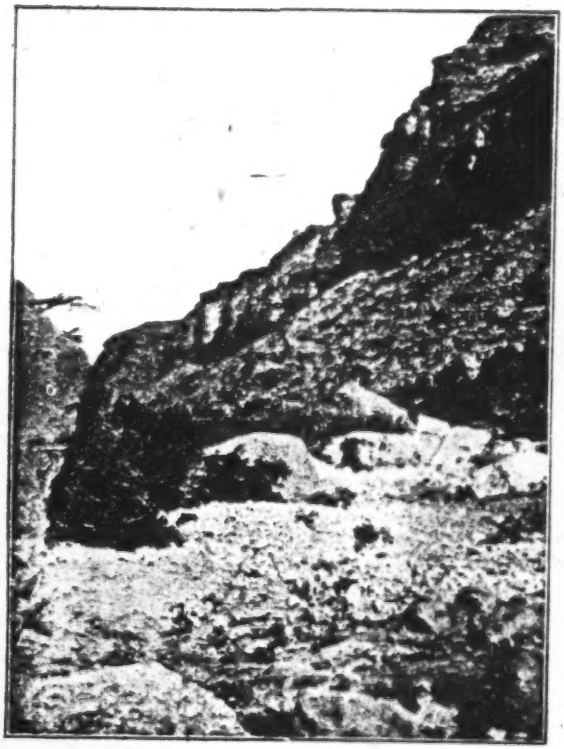

Wādī Thiqbe, close to Dār ʿĀd.

[facing p. 57]

See page 57.

825 drink it, we will, at least, swim in it! Our guide urgently advises against doing so: according to him, there are large snakes in the water. We do not see the dangerous reptiles and do not believe the story, but wish to treat with respect the superstitious awe with which the Bedouins have shown us this beautiful bit of nature, so we forego our bathe.

172 Not far from this place there rises a high rocky precipice which, more than has been the case hitherto, makes the wādī like a real cañon. The people of ʿĀd must have had their dwellings up there, where the perpendicular part begins. Some climbing along the steep rock débris at the foot brings us into the Dār ʿĀd, the region of ʿĀd. We see, clinging to the base of the partly overhanging wall of rock, the remains of very simple dwellings about ten feet long by six feet high. Holes in the rock-wall are, in places, closed up with stones, but in others are open. They go fairly deep into the wall, but, on examination, have nothing remarkable to show. They attain a height of about one foot. One can see also a row of small holes where the rafters of the roof were supported. There are drawings in red paint in several places higher up on the wall of rock, which look like alphabetic characters, and some can be recognised as Sabaean. They are only in a state of preservation in such places where neither sun nor rain can touch them.

The copies which we made were deciphered by Professor Mordtmann of Berlin, who found that these inscriptions consisted exclusively of proper names.

The houses can be identified over a space of about 450 feet. The walls which still stand are made of natural stones bound together by means of mud; they do not look very old and can well be of later date than the drawings.

000 The Dār ʿĀd lies just at the junction of Wādī Menwe with Wādī Thiqbe. We continue our climbing along the rock-wall of the former to the noon halting place of our caravan, by the Murabbaʿa Bā Khemīs, where we arrive an hour after midday.

## 8. APPROACHING WĀDĪ DŌ'AN.

We notice that we are approaching the great *'aqaba* leading to Wādī Dō'an; some long caravans with rice from Makalla pass us, and about twenty villagers on donkeys, bound for Makalla, come towards us. We start off again at half past three, crossing the dry, high table-land, with a distant horizon vanishing into a blue mist, against which are outlined the low, far-stretching mountain plateaus — an extraordinarily monotonous, colourless and formless landscape. The next day, when we descend into Wādī Dō'an, we shall take leave of it for a while. Thus it will be the last night of bivouac with our Sēbānī people.

At Ḥumḥār we camped behind the edge of a plateau, where there was some shelter from the wind. On the way, after some bargaining, our men have bought a sheep. The prospect of the feast reduces them to such confusion of mind that they unload the camels some distance from us. We notice this too late, but try to insist that they shall reload them; however, we have finally to content ourselves with the promise that they will carry to our camping place the pieces of luggage that we need. They let us wait: the sheep is killed and made ready and they all go out to collect the firewood and it almost seems as if they will take no further trouble about us. To avoid this, Ṣāliḥ and the soldiers carry all the Bedouins' food away to the spot where we have established ourselves. We wait in suspense to see what will happen! The Sēbānīs return from all directions, throw their wood in a great pile and light a fire, which is to heat the stones upon which the meat will shortly be roasted. Meanwhile, when they want to prepare the dough for the bread, they discover that all the food has disappeared. The merry excitement abruptly ceases, and, after a moment of amazement, indignation bursts forth in effervescence. Mautor approaches us with two companions to demand the return of their food supplies. They speak first with our soldiers and with Ṣāliḥ, who treat them to a torrent of reproaches, but

who are in their hearts afraid that the power of the Bedouins may turn against them. The messengers return to their comrades: Mautor apparently defends our attitude, anyhow, he is attacked from all sides. After a while he comes back with the ḥādjdjī. They come straight up to me and lay heir rifles at my feet with the words: "We surrender to you. Pronounce judgment upon us!" They then withdraw and sit waiting. I let them wait a little and then talk to Mautor, once more pointing out his short-comings. Both sides are relieved when the leaders have their rifles again, peace is restored and the bags of flour, rice and dates are taken back, and the feast can begin.

After the night in Ḥumḥār there follows a journey of hours over brownish-yellow, stone-strewn, high table-lands. We can see all around us for a distance of many days' march, endless brown fields of stone and an almost flat horizon. There is nothing of the great Wādī Dōʿan to be seen. We do not understand, but advance along the narrow path winding through the stony expanse of country. Struck silent, the caravan moves steadily forward. It is nearly twelve o'clock when we reach the long-expected *ʿaqaba* (steep ascent or descent) leading to the wādī.

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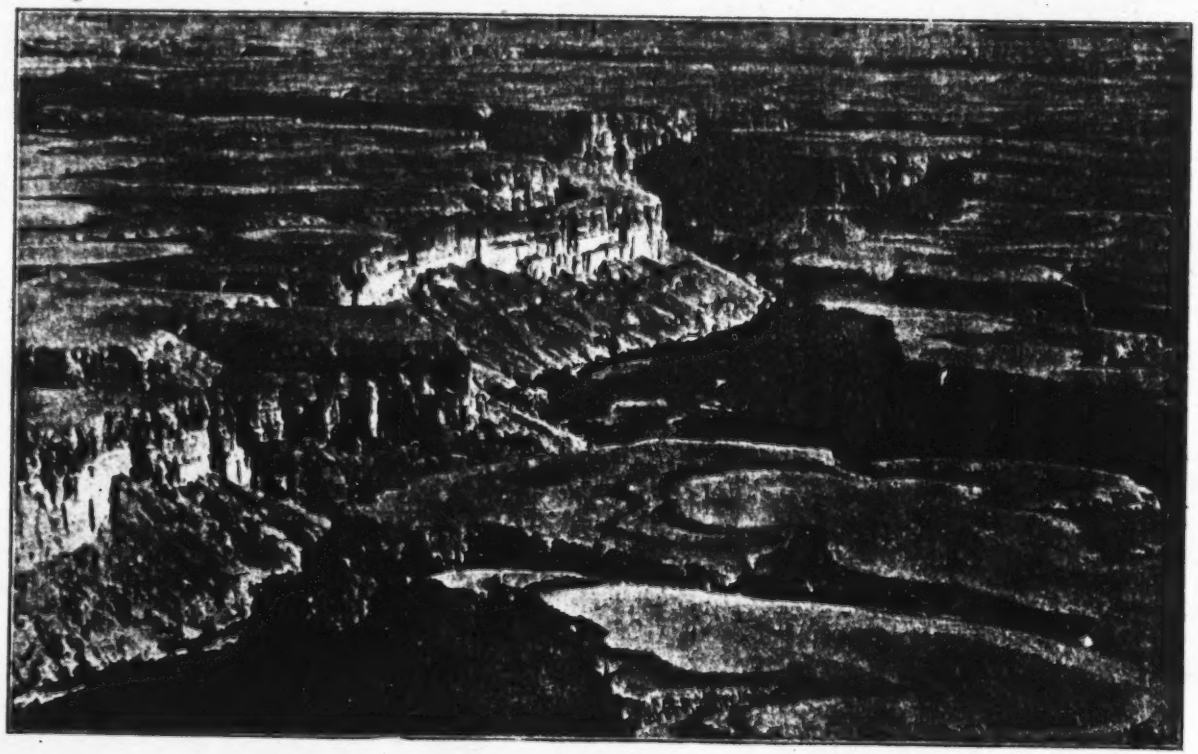

The stupendous, perpendicular depression of Wādī Dōʿan.

[facing p 60]

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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See page 6

# CHAPTER IV.

## WĀDĪ DŌ'AN.

### 1. THE DESCENT.

The stupendous, precipitous depression of Wādī Dō'an can 133
only be seen when close at hand, for the high table-land continues unchanged on the further side. The walls have a sheer drop of more than 900 feet to where the bottom of the valley is pressed in between the slopes of débris, at the base of the rocks. We approach a little breach in the wall through which 000
it has been possible to make the camel path. Sayyid 'Aluwī without pausing goes on ahead with the advance guard, longing as one does, after wearisome travel, to enter again the civilized life of a town.

For the time being we remain up above to take bearings and photographs. Where the descent of the rock path begins there is a fortified tower of solid stone.[1] We see a similar one on the other side at the edge of the ravine. There are continuous military posts which watch over the safety of the rich wādī below. We cautiously approach the overhanging, crumbling edge and gaze down below, full of awe. We see around us endless, grey-brown fields of stone, plantless and odourless, opposite us exactly the same as far as the eye can reach, and immediately at our feet glittering, yellow walls of rock, and then, down below in the depth, a marvel of colour and charm. The sun shines right into the wādī, where no life or movement are to be seen. Between patches of gay yellowish-green, formed by the fields of *dhura,* maize and lucerne, lies unruffled the broad, shining, grey-green strip of date-groves. Through it there winds a snow-white ribbon, the sandy bed of the *sēl.*

[1] Here called *kūt* (كوت), plur. *akwāt,* a word of Persian origin. 104

p. 61

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Wādī Doʿan. A green river of date-palms and the snow-white ribbon of the sēl-bed.

[facing p. 61]

361 Small towns, little more than groups of tall mud houses, of the same brown colour as the ground beneath them, stand close up against the steep slopes of rock débris. No sound from below rises to us, no trace of life can be espied; Wādī Dōʿan lies there between its high rocky banks, safely shut off from the world, like an unreal, forgotten bit of paradise waiting for the Day of Judgment. This is the reward
000 of weary travellers in the desert. We are filled with joy. We stand, lost in admiration, on the borders of our "land of promise". We have not dared, nor been able, to think of it as being so beautiful. And this is not yet Ḥaḍramaut Proper, although it is, in fact, its outer gateway. Alone we stand on the border of the precipice and silently work our cameras. In spite of the heat, we cannot tear ourselves away from the spell cast by this valley full of fertility and beauty, in the midst of an endless desert of barren rock and stone.

484 Meanwhile the camels have arrived at the *ʿaqaba* and have been unloaded. The beasts must be thoroughly rested before the difficult descent can be risked. Seen from above, it looks impossible for animals, whose feet seem to have been created for the plains, to be able to climb down, especially when burdened with heavy loads. Nevertheless, the Sēbān Bedouins know their high table-lands and *ʿaqabas* and the capacity of their camels. It is not often that a camel has an accident on an *ʿaqaba*. The animals are now divided into groups of three with a Bedouin in front. They seem to know what awaits them, for the plaintive, anxious, guttural sounds continue without stopping. Many cries and, finally, many scoldings from the leader are required to induce them to move. Traffic between Makalla and Ḥaḍramaut passes for a great part over this *ʿaqaba*. There are other ways and there is also a direct route from Shibām, but it is easy to see on this path that the feet of thousands and thousands of camels have helped to polish the rock. When the path becomes very narrow and steep and the camels hesitate, the leader speaks words of encouragement to them: their singsong cries of warning and of cheer echo con-

tinually along the wall of rock. They move slowly and very 484
cautiously, and the whole caravan reaches the bottom of the wādī without mishap.

The advance guard with the donkeys has long since arrived. 000
A crowd of boys stands waiting for us, and in the background, in the shadow of the date-palms, there are a number of women, who do not wish to let slip this chance of seeing Naṣrānīs. The Governor, Bā Ṣurra, has sent a few soldiers to show us the way to his castle. They look like Yemenīs and, indeed, come from the western highlands. The villages and towns are 361
situated close up against the slopes of débris above the cultivated fields. The houses are high and well built, often against steep inclines. Only a few of the rich have allowed themselves the luxury of a whitewashed top storey. The path winds through date-groves to the *maṣnaʿa*, the castle of the *Dōla* (Government). The date-palms are strong, fine trees; 245
heavy clusters of yellow and red dates hang downwards from their crowns. Each tree is surrounded by a mud wall, so that, when the *sēl* comes, the roots are not washed bare, and a considerable amount of water is kept inside the little wall. Even in the deeply shaded plantations our feet sink in a thick layer of dust as fine as powder, for there has been no *sēl* for a long time.

## 2. BĀ ṢURRA, THE GOVERNOR OF WĀDĪ DŌʿAN.

The path leads steeply upwards through the village of 342
el-Maṣnaʿa to the castle, which stands on the top of a rock high above all the other houses. It looks like a great mediaeval fortress with corner-towers, heavy triple gates, with stables, soldiers' quarters, halls and living-rooms. The stout wooden gates are magnificently carved, and decorated with metal plates and nail-heads. The first gate is opened by a guard of soldiers. We pass through a passage to the second gate, and then through a stable, past some calves, to the third. Then we are led through a hall, full of soldiers, to a narrower one, really

a passage, opening onto roof-terraces where, at this time of the day, one is conscious of a breeze. The old blind Bā Ṣurra sits there surrounded by his counsellors and the chiefs of the allied Bedouin tribes. Bā Ṣurra rises with difficulty and gropes his way forward in order to greet us. He is a stately figure with a long, white beard, and his mind is still active and his voice clear. We are very tired and warm, and gratefully enjoy the small cups of bitter coffee and the endless glasses of hot, sweet tea which succeed them. The young slave, who makes the tea in a samovar, asks whether we wish for Ceylon or Java tea. Lumps are broken off a sugar loaf with iron pincers and are dropped into the glasses. Afterwards we are offered dates and tinned pine-apple. Bā Ṣurra gives us the choice between lodging in the castle or in a house in the town. We decide upon the latter and go there in procession, accompanied by soldiers and by grandsons and grand-nephews of the *Ḥākim.*[1]

The house is five storeys high and stands at the edge of the village of ʿOra, and from our roof we look down upon the crowns of date-palms. Our quarters are uninhabited and clean; Bā Ṣurra has had carpets laid in the room, which we share with Sayyid ʿAluwī. All our hangers-on follow us upstairs and remain to watch and see what wonderful things emerge from our luggage. The fine, clever-looking descendants of the Governor put many questions to us and tell us much, and seem to be quite comfortable in the packed and stuffily hot room. It is with difficulty that we get rid of the crowd. The boys help in this, but, having accomplished it, do not dream of taking their own departure! They only stroll off at last under the promise that they may return in a couple of hours' time.

After the lapse of an hour three little boys come and will not be denied; they have an urgent message for us, they say, and with self-assurance they relate that their father has the

[1] *Ḥākim* (حاكم), governor, magistrate.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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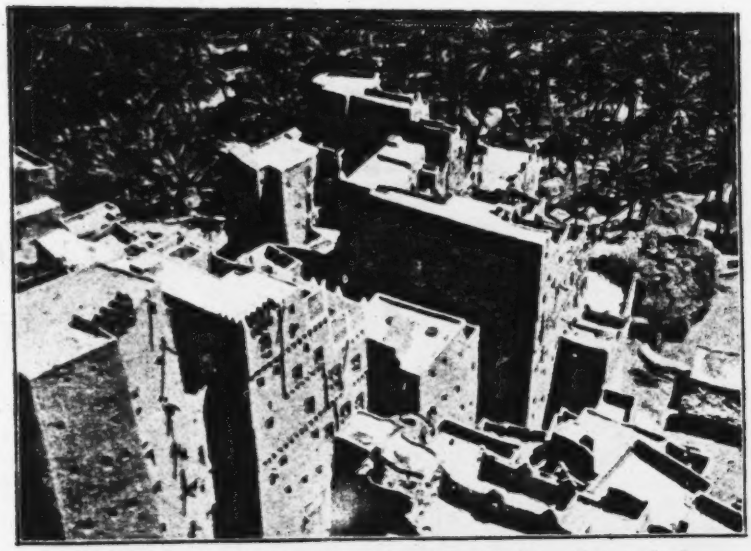
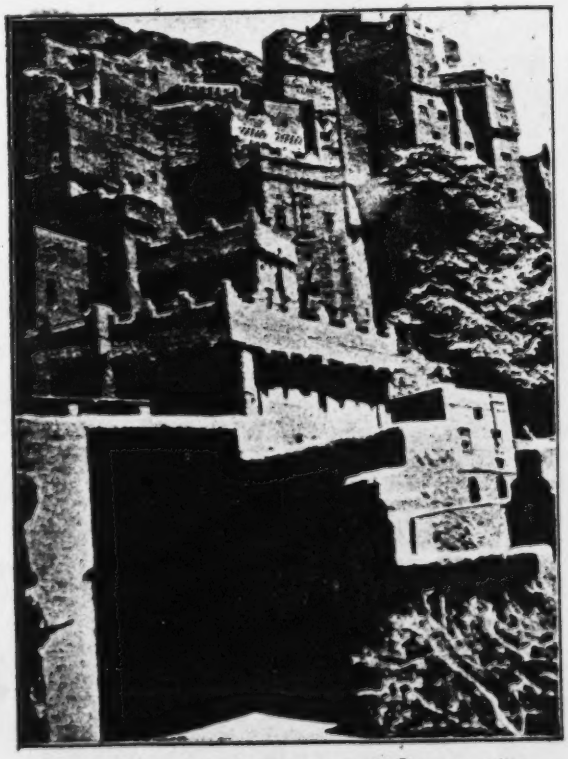


'Ora the village where we stayed, seen from the roof of Bā Surra's castle.



From the roof of our house at 'Ora, looking up to the Governor's castle.

p64 (A)

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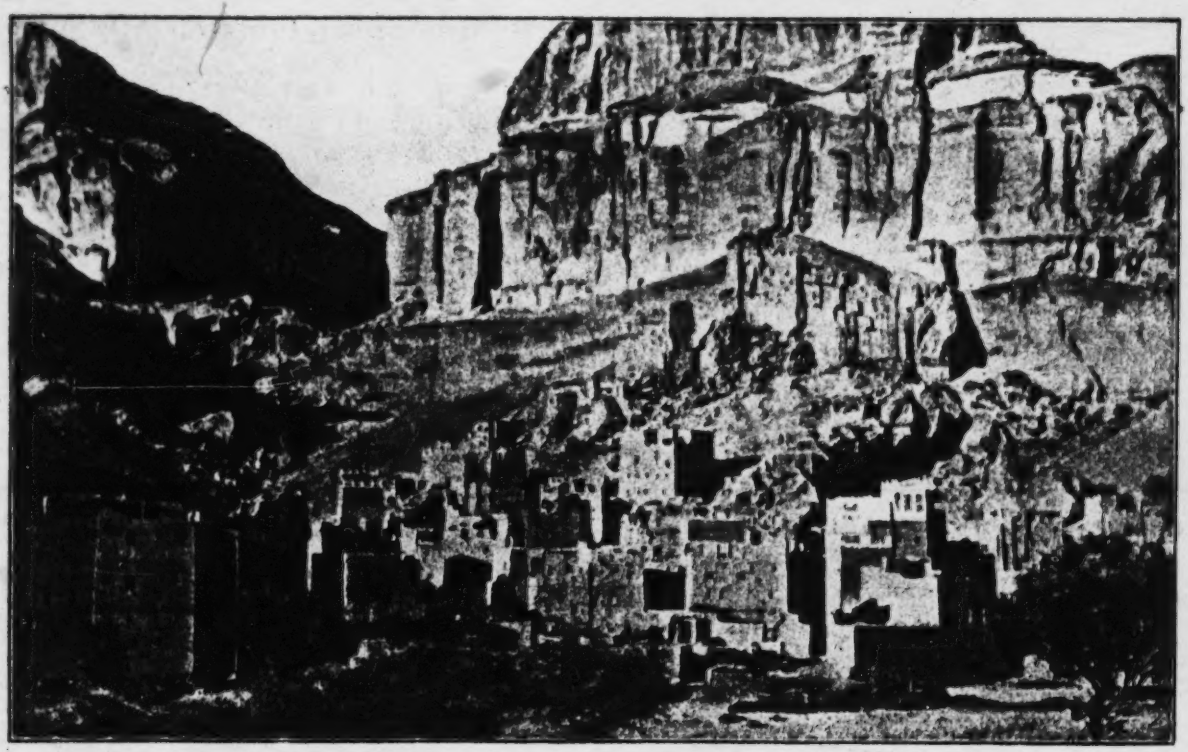
Khurēba, the principal town of Wādī Dō'an.

p64 (B)



The Maṣna'a of Bā Ṣurra, standing like a mediaeval castle high up against the rock-wall.

342

See page 63.

p64(c)

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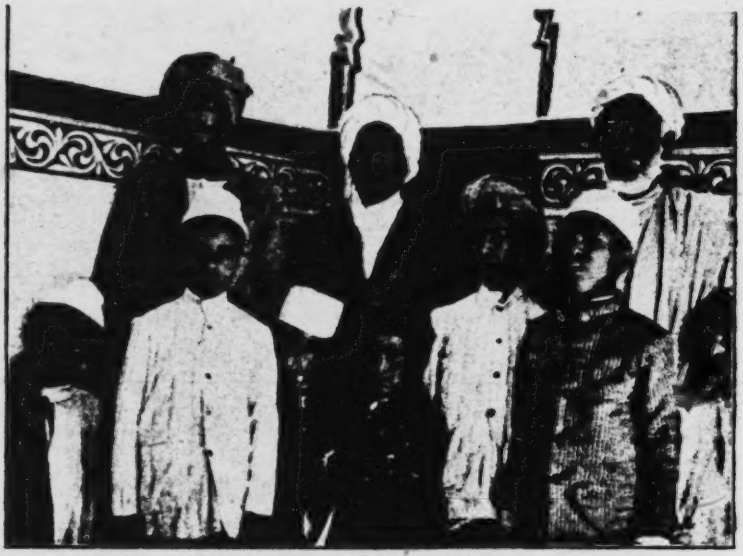

Sayyid el-Bārr with some of his children and servants.

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Sun and shade in the palm-groves of Wādī Dō'an.

p 64 (D)

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



finest house in all Wādī Dō'an and that we must come and see it without fail. They were born in Addis Abeba of Abyssinian mothers; there, by trading in skins, their father had made the money with which he had built his house. The boys refused to be sent away until they had extracted a promise that we would come on the morrow.

### 3. THE DAYS SPENT IN WĀDĪ DŌ'AN.

The nights in Wādī Dō'an are said to be cool; 34.2° C. is certainly not cold, but the atmosphere is dry and we can all sleep on the roof though mosquito-nets are necessary. The bathrooms and lavatories in the houses make good breeding-places for insects. Flies also, during the day-time, are more numerous than we could wish.

On the following morning, May 16th, Bā Ṣurra sends us a real Arabian breakfast: a heavy bunch of fine dates in a basket, a tin entirely filled with honey in the comb, the famous honey of this country and one of its few articles of export, further, pine-apple in water made in a Chinese fruit-preserving factory at Singapore and, in a flat basket, a pile of Ḥaḍramī bread, thick pancakes of flour, just baked and still warm from the fire. This bread is saltless and rather heavy, but has a clean taste, but when cold it is as tough as leather. It tastes better and is more digestible than the bread which the Bedouins make, and bake in hot ashes. This latter is of the size and shape of a man's hand (thus about an inch thick) and is generally burnt outside and underbaked inside. It looks red or yellow according to the kind of *dhura* or *dukhn* of which it is made. After breakfast we go together to the *maṣna'a* to negotiate arrangements for our further journey and to collect, in the course of our talk, information about this region. Our Sēbānī people will remain here with their camels and donkeys, for we must take with us animals accustomed to go through the wide, level wādīs.

622 At the castle we found Bā Ṣurra again seated between two
623 sons, in the midst of his counsellors and the Bedouin chiefs;
162 there are also present some soldiers somewhat in the background, the grandsons and other offspring in our vicinity, and the slave who makes the tea.

The old *Ḥākim* and his family are photographed in a large group on the terrace close to the *madjlis*. Then begin long conversations in which our endless questions are patiently answered. Bā Ṣurra himself tells us that the whole of Wādī Dōᶜan and its tributary, Wādī el-Ēsar, are under his jurisdiction. In about fifty villages there are 20.000 inhabi-
871 tants. There are only two small schools, both of them founded and maintained by that remarkable sayyid of Terīm, Abū Bakr bin Shēkh el-Kāf. It is certainly extraordinary that this leading personage of the Āl Kathīr district should be the founder and supporter of most of the schools in the territory of el-Qeᶜēṭī. Many of the schools in Makalla and esh-Shiḥr are also due to el-Kāf's generosity. Khurēba, the old centre of Wādī Dōᶜan, has a school with seventy to eighty pupils, and the other is in Qēdūn, with from twenty to fifty pupils.

346 There are in Bā Ṣurra's province nearly 200 mosques, some
167 among them very fine ones, which are often the property of
556 rich sayyids and connected with their houses. The fortunes of these rich men are always made in foreign lands. Every district of Ḥaḍramaut has its own particular countries to which its people emigrate in swarms to make money; from Wādī Dōᶜan they go to Abyssinia, the coast towns of the Red Sea, and the coast of East Africa. Barely a hundred have gone out from here to Java, though from Wādī el-Ēsar, on the other hand, quite 500 have done so.

162 There are also 1500 Bedouins under Bā Ṣurra's jurisdiction,
622 among them the whole Sēbān tribe from the Qibla region (*i. e.* from the North). The chief of the Deyyin tribe, ᶜUthmān bin Muḥammad el-ᶜAmūdī, the ruler in Rēdet ed-Deyyin, is

much with Bā Ṣurra and is present now. The Deyyin are said to be a wild and primitive tribe, but their chief makes a congenial impression. We did not know at the time that we should pass through his territory on the return journey, otherwise we should have used this opportunity to make some arrangements in advance. The *Muqaddam*[1] of the Deyyin claimed to rule over 2500 Bedouins and maintained that to him who stood under his protection no harm from man could come, but only that which came from God.

The unbroken groves of palms in Wādī Dōʿan appear to produce only enough dates for home consumption and for the use of the neighbouring Bedouins. The export of dates does not exist. Barely 400 to 500 camel-loads of honey are sent every year to the coast. There is much import trade, however, *e. g.*, in rice, sugar, flour, kerosene, coffee, tobacco, materials for clothing, etc. The trade balance is consequently rather unfavourable. The situation can, however, be maintained, thanks to the money earned abroad, much of which is sent into the country.

The rest of the morning we spent in sauntering through the plantations of date-palms and the little villages which lie beside them, standing out against the sunny hill-side. When we passed by el-Qarrēn the young sons of Sayyid Muḥammad bin ʿAbdallāh bin Ṭāhā el-Bārr el-Munṣib dashed up to lead us in triumph to their father's house. It is, indeed, worth the trouble of a visit. Although it is new, the fine old style has been adhered to. The wood-carving on doors and windows and the ornamentation of tin-coated iron plates and nail-heads is true Ḥaḍramaut. The house is built of mud on a foundation of boulders bound with mud. The inhabited floors are white-washed as are also the filagree, stone-work balustrades of the flat roofs and their corners and decorative borders. Built close to these rich houses there is nearly always a mosque with a minaret, both of them dazzlingly white. In such a case,

[1] *Muqaddam* (مقدّم), the first, the chief, the leader.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 passages connect the house with the lower portion as well as with the flat roof of the mosque. In the hot season the sunset and evening ritual prayers are always performed on the roof, and the *ᶜālim*[1] sits here in the evenings, teaching the 566 recitation of the Koran to a circle of lads. A sayyid who has 782 made his fortune abroad will first build a mosque in his native 791 village and afterwards a big house for himself. For does he not owe the privileged position in his own country to religion, and to Allah's help the riches that he has successfully amassed in foreign lands? The abnormally large number of fine mosques in the poor country of Ḥaḍramaut is the result.

353 As in the other houses, the passages and stairs in Sayyid el-Bārr's house are plastered with light-brown mud mixed with finely chopped straw. The floor is always ribbed in a design of waving lines imprinted into the mud whilst it is wet. There are wooden pillars in the large rooms as there are no strong supporting beams for the construction of the roofs, which are always made of the split trunks of date-palms. The fibrous, brown stem of the tree is often plastered over with mud or covered with a wattle-work made of the split ribs of the leaves of the date-palm. Rust-red, black or white are the tasteful colours used in such wattle-work and, indeed, also on the layer of mud.

353 One usually enters the *madjlis* or reception-room by a door 352 in the middle of the shortest wall. On either side of the door there are great wooden chests, in which the sleeping-mattresses and pillows are hidden away during the day-time. These heavy, finely carved chests, decorated with tin-plated iron, are frequently the only ornament of the room. The window openings are small and close to the ground. In the houses of the rich, the wooden shutters and framework of the windows are carved. The floors are covered with simple mats of plaited palm-leaves over which the rich people lay carpets.

104 [1] *ᶜĀlim* (عالم), a learned man, in this case, a man who thoroughly knows the religion.

Against the walls there are cushions on which to recline. The ugly modernity of mirrors fixed into the ceiling has been introduced into el-Bārr's house. Also, the old Ḥaḍramī colours of rust-red, black and white, which harmonize so well with the brown wood and with the lighter brown mud, have had some ugly new ones added to them. 353 352

In order to give pleasure to the family we take some more photographs of grown-ups and children. The household slaves and their jet-black children are with us in the *madjlis*; they serve round coffee and tea and many sweets, and talk with us, but nevertheless remain modestly in the background. 567

One can see from the many negro types in the streets and plantations that there are a great many slaves in Wādī Dōʿan. They are employed for work on the land and as domestic servants.

In the afternoon we did what we could to treat a great number of patients, who came to us to ask for medicines or to have wounds and ulcers attended to. We could do little, however; and what, in any case, is the use of but one treatment? In all Ḥaḍramaut and its surroundings there is only one doctor with a western training. It is again the progressive Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf who has got this young Indian doctor to come here, but his work lies in far-away Terīm. The rich go sometimes to Aden to consult a doctor, and the Mission Hospital at Shēkh ʿUthmān near Aden is also known to a few. 000 759

Towards evening I stroll with Sayyid ʿAluwī to Qāret Āl el-Miḥḍār, half an hour distant, where lives Sayyid Muṣṭafā bin Aḥmad el-Miḥḍār, to whom we have a letter from the Vizier at Makalla. Our reception is particularly friendly. The old sayyid has seen something of the world, and he compares life in Wādī Dōʿan to sleep, which is something like death. I am urged to talk constantly and the atmosphere grows so friendly that he takes me with him to his other and larger house and shows me all over it, having first, with his own hands, shut in his young wives behind bolted doors and hung the keys on his belt. The wives take their revenge by having a good look at the stranger from the flat roof 834 609 595

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 a good look at the stranger from the flat roof! The roomy, high and well-lighted kitchen is a sign that this house has many inhabitants. Dinner is served on a roof-terrace, after the sayyid and the male members of his household have returned from the *ṣalāt el-ᶜishāʾ* [1] in his own adjacent mosque. The son of the Vizier at Makalla is sent for by his old uncle. We have also a letter for him and he, after having read it, invites us to be his guests on the following day. We accept for breakfast, after which we must go on to our next stopping place, Ṣīf.

Whilst I was making these visits, Von Wissmann had made an excursion via Khurēba, to climb the *ᶜaqaba* which is opposite the spot where we had descended.

361 103 Khurēba is a little town with a small, narrow bazaar-street and four large, and twenty small mosques. It is the largest and, probably, also the oldest town of Wādī Dōᶜan. As the meaning of Khurēba is "ruins", some geographers [2] have assumed that the original site of the town of Dōᶜan, after which the whole wādī must surely have been named, lay here. We find mention of this town as early as Ptolemy; Pliny speaks of the Toani. [3] The heretical Ibāḍites had their centre here and it is certain that the town was destroyed when they were exterminated.

701 The way by the western *ᶜaqaba* leads to Wādī ᶜAmd. Two fortified towers guard this entrance to Wādī Dōᶜan. These towers are always manned by guards of Yāfiᶜ soldiers as the wādī at this point borders on land outside the Qeᶜēṭī domain.

000 On May 17th our day begins early. We take leave of our Sabānī Bedouins and of Mautor, who takes with him a bag of letters for Makalla. The baggage must be got ready, to go ahead by camel to Ṣīf. Afterwards, in the *maṣnaᶜa*, we bid

104 [1] The late evening ritual prayer.

[2] Cf. M. J. de Goeje, *Hadramaut, Revue Coloniale Internationale*, ii. (1886), p. 106.

[3] Cf. A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern, 1875, p. 163.

farewell to Bā Ṣurra, his sons and grandsons, and then we 000
start off again on donkeys through the glorious groves of date-palms to Huwēbiya, three quarters of an hour distant, where the Vizier of Makalla has estates, now managed by his son Sālim.

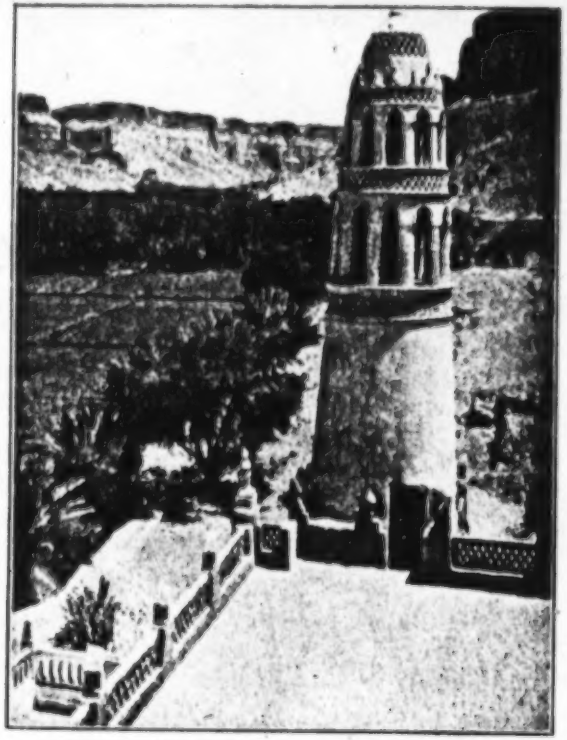
We ride most of the way on the tops of the mud dykes 312
which lie alongside of the irrigation canals. The palm-groves are intersected by many deep channels which distribute the water from the *sēl* over the land under cultivation, and whose high, though narrow, mud dykes are made to protect the plantations from damage by the swiftly flowing water. The actual *sēl*-bed is dammed, here and there, between barrages of piled-up boulders.

The Vizier has a fine house, well situated close to the 000
green wādī. The cream-coloured mosque near by it has a minaret, which is a beautiful bit of Ḥaḍramī architecture.

The old Sayyid Muṣṭafā puts in his appearance soon after, 609
and there is also a Ḥaḍramī who has done well as a merchant in Djedda. Conversation turns on the World War and the events resulting from it. One feels them, as always, groping for the weak spot in the West, for the seed of destruction in the wordly and spiritual power which dominates and enslaves the lands of Islam. It comes out clearly how positively our listeners count upon a vigorous recovery of Germany, who will revenge herself for defeat in a new world war which will put an end for good to the dominating position of the whole West. They are all aflame for war from so-called pure sympathy for Germany or antipathy for Albion. It is difficult, not only to run directly counter to that kind of anticipation of the future, but also to bring forward some arguments for the love of peace and of mankind, transcending differences in religion, in such a way that, at least, they will not be immediately forgotten again.

After a breakfast of hot bread-cakes, *samn* mixed with 262
honey, poached eggs with onions, tinned pine-apple and pears, the conversation is taken up again with renewed vigour. We 000

are not allowed to leave like this; we have also to accept the invitation for the midday meal. Our hosts see that we are tired and they themselves suggest that we shall lie down and have a sleep. After the midday meal we are also able to rest a little and then we part as the best of friends, in spite of the great differences in our views of life and anticipations for the future, which have come so clearly to light.



The mosque of the Āl el-Miḥḍār in Huwēbiya, Wādī Dō'an.

The authors as the guests of Sayyid Muṣṭafā bin Aḥmad Āl el-Miḥḍār.

See pages 69 and 71.

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[facing p 72]

# CHAPTER V.

## THROUGH THE WĀDĪ TO HADRAMAUT PROPER.

### 1. ṢĪF THE INHOSPITABLE.

It is warm, — 39.5° C. — even in the shadow of the date-palms through which our way now leads for hours to come. We go on in the direction of Ṣīf, alternately up over the dyke and through the dried-up bed of the irrigation canal. Finally vegetation grows less and less and so does the number of villages on the slopes of rock débris. As time goes on one sees in place of date-palms more and more *nibq* trees. Their thorny branches are dragged in bundles to the date plantations, where they are bound to the trunks of the trees below the bunches of fruit, so that it is very difficult to get at the ripening fruit. In order to protect the dates, now becoming soft, against birds and other animals, bags made of plaited palm-leaves are pulled over the large clusters of fruit and then tied round their quite long and strong stems. On our way we meet donkeys laden with these bags, and also men and boys dragging after them bundles of branches of the *nibq* tree. The date-palms are excellently cared for. The dry leaves are cut away close to the trunk, and the clusters of fruit hang almost immediately underneath the crown of leaves. The date harvest is the great, happy event of the wādī. The fortunate possessors of date-trees drop down into the plantations from the *djōls* and side-wādīs. Those who are earning their living out of the country try to return home in time for the date harvest, and they all postpone their departure abroad until it is over. Yet this is more an affair of reverence and tradition than of economic importance. The local date is of no consequence as an article of commerce,

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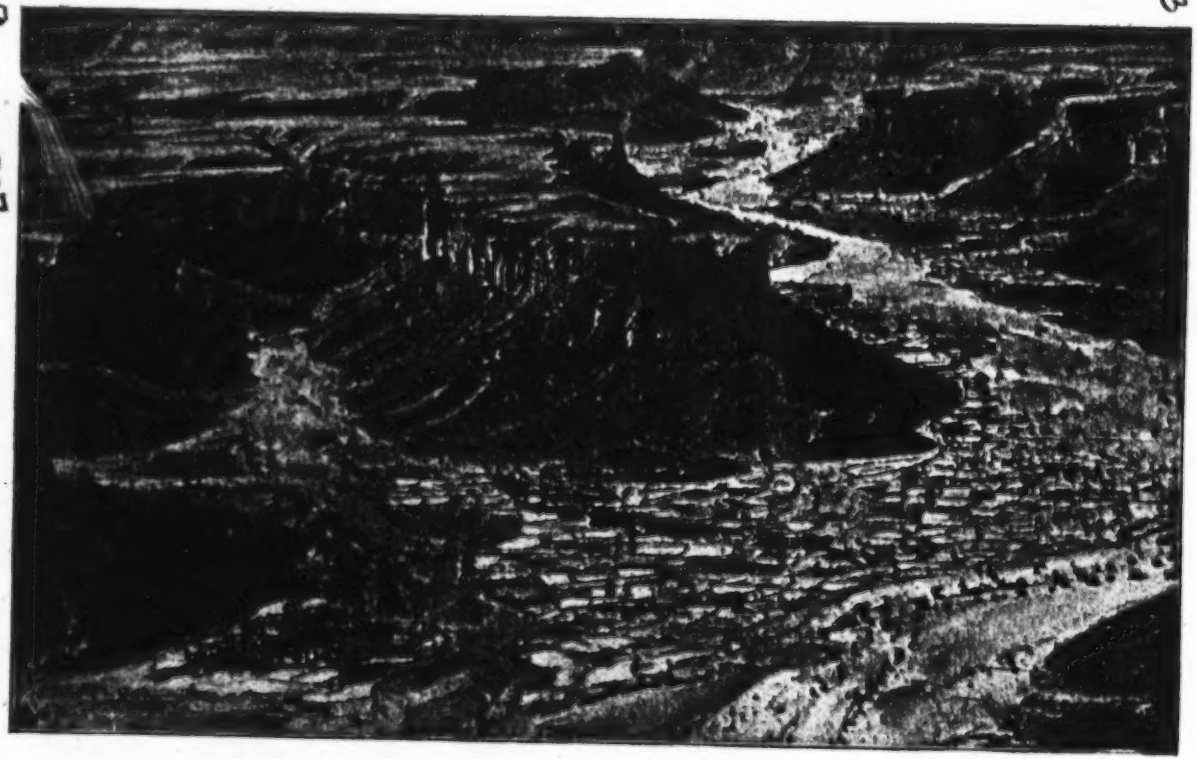
[facing p 73]



Wādī el-Ēsar debouching into Wādī Dō'an near Ṣīf.

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245 and is only important as part of the food supply of the common
262 people. The slave and the Bedouin consider the Dōʿan date as the really good one; the imported one, from Baṣra, they regard as inferior. The sayyids and notabilities who have made money abroad do not set much value on the date as an article of daily food. They keep on their date-groves in order to have a summer pavilion and a swimming-bath and to enjoy the shadow, the twittering of birds, and the old, familiar squeaking and creaking of the wooden wheels over which run the ropes drawing the water for irrigation from the wells to the surface. The family domestic staff and slaves with their wives and children find work in the date-groves, where they earn the food from which they chiefly subsist. The date plantations of the rich in this country are under present conditions no longer a source of income.

245 The fields which are dependent on the *sēl* go on beyond
241 the tract where the date-palms come to an end. They lie, well tilled, waiting for the rains higher up. Sometimes there is only one *sēl* in the year, but if it is a good one, its supply of water suffices for a successful harvest of dates. In the open spaces between the dates *dhura* is grown in summer, and *burr*[1] in winter. Most of the *sēls* occur in autumn.

There are fortunately plenty of *siqāyas*, on the way to Ṣīf; it is true, the water is not always clear or odourless, but we are so tormented by thirst that we pay no attention to that.

Already long before Ṣīf cultivation ceases in the broad bed of the wādī, and our narrow path winds over bare stones.

361 Towards sunset we see Ṣīf lying on a broad slope of rock débris just where the wādī is very wide and the rocky bank is broken and retreats. The little, walled-in village looks rather poverty-stricken; the houses are not high, and only a few of their inhabitants appear to be well enough off to allow of their dwelling-floors being whitewashed, and of having a gay border to the balustrades of the roof-terraces.

104 [1] *Burr* (بُرّ), *triticum vulgare* Vill., cf. Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 172, 175.

We approach the dead little place, stumbling over the boulders. We have been spoiled in the days that lie behind us by being received as esteemed and welcome guests by the authorities and persons of note. Nevertheless, we are here still under the protection of the Qeᶜēṭī régime, and the great Bā Ṣurra has given us a letter of introduction to the *Ḥākim* of Ṣīf. It is true that the Miḥḍār family have warned us that the Governor of Ṣīf is a poor man, well versed in religious lore, but ignorant and incompetent in matters of worldly administration. The people are fanatical and poor. But we count upon the Governor's willingness to allot us a roof-terrace for the night, and we ask no more, for we wish to start again as early as possible on the morrow.

Ṣīf looks unfriendly, plantless and colourless, and the inhabitants stare in a hostile way at our little party as it passes through the narrow, dirty, small streets. The guard leads us to a low stable, and after having passed the inner courtyard, where cows are standing, we climb up to the roof by a narrow staircase. Tall, miserable-looking houses surround us, which shut out all refreshing breezes, and also from all the little window openings and from the flat roofs we are spied upon. Tom, Dick and Harry swarm into our stable and climb up to our roof so that before long we are in the midst of a crowd. The soldiers, all from the Yāfiᶜ tribe, who receive us in the name of the absent governor are very friendly and beg us to make shift with the little that they can offer us. They even bring a lamb and a kid, between which we are to choose our supper. The soldiers enjoy this variation in the monotony of their lives, and they are so friendly that we acquiesce in the inevitable and fix up our night-quarters on the stable-roof. We do not see any of the notabilities of the town; apparently they will have no dealings with the *Naṣārā* (Christians). The street-arabs and the youths of the place show all the more interest. With the help of the soldiers and a great deal of bad language, we manage to clear some space on our roof and to put up our camp beds. A group of Malay speaking inhabitants

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609 is announced. They have outgrown the fanaticism of the people of Ṣīf through their residence in Java and know and value the Netherlands' Government and, whispering, agree that our reception here is not a fitting one. The *Ḥākim* is poor and has no authority; through his pretended absence he has escaped the duty of offering us hospitality.

522 We make our notes and do other necessary work in the midst of all kinds of commotion. The Ṣīf soldiers sit with our following till long after midnight, enjoying the roast kid and boiled rice, whilst with their harsh voices they exchange all manner of anecdotes and news.

609 Von Wrede's attempt to penetrate into Ḥaḍramaut came to grief in this gloomy Ṣīf. He had the misfortune to arrive just one day before the *ziyāra*[1] to the grave of Shēkh Aḥmad bin ʿĪsā el-ʿAmūdī. Thousands of Bedouins were gathered there, who saw in him an *Efrendjī*, a spy of the English in Aden, and he narrowly escaped death. Ill-treated, robbed of his money and possessions, he was obliged to quit Ṣīf and return to the coast.[2]

Hirsch passed Ṣīf without difficulty[3]; the Bents, however, had to threaten with the power of the Queen of England. They speak of the inhabitants of Ṣīf as "a most unhealthy, diseased-looking lot".[4]

000 The night's rest at Ṣīf was of short duration, for at four o'clock the Governor, who is at the same time the *muʾadhdhin*[5], comes to call our Sayyid ʿAluwī to the *ṣalāt*. We immediately begin asking for information about animals for riding and transport. The answer consists of fine promises, but long after

104 [1] *Ziyāra* (زيارة), visit; here the yearly visit on the date fixed for that pilgrimage, when tribal wars stop for some time, and a fair is held close to the saint's tomb.

[2] A. von Wrede, *op. cit.*, p. 254—258.

[3] L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 154 *sqq.*

[4] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 94 *sqq.*

104 [5] *Muʾadhdhin* (مؤذن), the man who calls out the *ʾadhān*, the invitation to prayer at the beginning of the five times fixed for the obligatory ritual prayers.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the sun has risen no animals have appeared. It is no longer endurable on our roof, which is without any shelter against the heat of the sun. We stand for hours by our baggage, waiting. Our spirits sink. What shall we do, if animals for riding and saddles are not soon provided here? We cannot remain in this town, with unmannerly street-boys and lazy soldiers crowding round us. When at last the governor shows himself again he is treated to a torrent of reproaches. We send the soldiers themselves out to arrange matters and so, at last, albeit much too late, shake the dust of Ṣīf from off our feet with a sigh of relief. Two extra soldiers accompany us, after we have obstinately refused to accept more. These two soldiers, paid by the Qeᶜēṭī Government, are mercenaries from Yāfiᶜ in the hinterland of Aden. Ṣīf appears to be unhealthy, the soldiers look pale and ill. Further, there is nothing to be earned in that poor little place, and their pay does not suffice to feed them properly. Both soldiers ask to be taken into service and to go abroad with us. One of them had served in the Arab regiment of the *Niẓām* of Hyderabad and knew Hindustānī.

## 2. A TIRESOME WALK FROM ṢĪF TO HADJARĒN.

The bed of the wādī near Ṣīf is wide; the walls are not so steep as at Dōᶜan, and, consequently, the slopes of rock débris look higher and broader. There are some cultivated fields in the wādī, but no more date-palms. Our path winds over extensive fields strewn with round boulders to the other side of the wādī. Walking is easier as soon as we reach that part of the wādī where the soil is chiefly loess. The path is covered with a thick layer of dust, as fine as powder, which is soft to our painful feet, but, on the other hand, the dust which whirls up makes our thirst worse. Up hill and down dale we go in the loess and our gaze searches for the familiar white, cupola-shaped little roofs of the *siqāyas* which, fortunately, are not lacking here. Vegetation is scanty; only a few

000 *nibq* trees are scattered over the wādī. Shepherdesses with their little herds of goats seek shelter in their shadow from the heat of the sun. Sometimes we see them, with long sticks, busily hitting off the leaves, which the goats eagerly nibble.

After a march of quite two hours, two irreproachably dressed sayyids approach us, messengers for Sayyid ᶜAluwī el-ᶜAṭṭās, who is of our party, to inform him that his relations in the valley of Ḥaḍramaut had heard of our coming arrival, but had expected us to be already further on our way, and that Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has sent two cars for us in the direction of Ḥurēḍa, the town of the ᶜAṭṭās family, as they expected this to be our first goal. We now go on with fresh courage. We cross the wādī again to the left bank, the side on which Ṣīf lies. Our Yāfiᶜ soldiers insist that it is not safe here, and they beg us to wait for the camels and then proceed further in company. It is very hot, 39° C. in the shade, and the mountain against whose slopes Hadjarēn is built is still not in sight. In silence we trudge on over the hillocks of loess, which are higher than those we have passed. The rain-water has washed many channels into them. At last Djebel Hadjarēn, with its peculiar, sharp-edged, flat ridge comes into sight, and in a shimmering haze lie the palm-groves, like a green ribbon, at its foot. We push on now with fresh determination, in spite of the oppressive heat and the exhaustion of our animals. We think we are already there when we reach the edge of the cultivated land, but there is still a good distance to be covered, and walking through the dry irrigation canal is exceedingly hot and close.

271 At the first houses we ask for a cool drink; a porous earthenware bowl is handed to us, which we pass round and lift to our mouths with both hands, enjoying its cold contents
000 in long, greedy draughts. For a long time the way lies on top of the dyke, and then again through the dry irrigation canal. The donkeys can barely keep going any longer and we dismount. One of our Yāfiᶜ soldiers takes my beast by the bridle and leads it along in our rear-guard, but, once there,

he tries to mount it unnoticed. We have seen, however, and call out to him to get off, because we have just dismounted out of pity for the animal. His Yāfiᶜ comrade, who is walking in front of me, calls to him *not* to obey. I angrily bid him be silent, with the remark that I have paid for the donkeys and that, consequently, the command over them lies with me. At his insolent reply: "Hold your tongue!", he gets without further ado a box on his ears. He turns in fury, his rifle clenched in his hands. 000

"Shall I let myself be struck by you?"

"You shall obey me, you are under my command."

ᶜAbdallāh sulkily vanishes into the rear-guard, while we all keep our eyes on his rifle. His comrade comes to me before long to ask forgiveness for him. "Do not be angry with him, he is a little mad." Who can be angry for long with these rough children of nature? Towards evening, when the heat is over and thirst and fatigue no longer torment, both Yāfiᶜ soldiers get their so much desired remuneration and part with the two *Naṣrānīs* as the best of friends.

Close to Hadjarēn we passed a mosque at a saint's grave, and all sought the cool shadow of this place, forbidden to unbelievers. We were allowed to stand for a breathing-space in the porch. There is an earthenware jar full of water in the building, but we may not go inside, so our Makalla soldiers fetch water for us. A few peasant women who are passing by also come for the sake of the shelter. Their wide, dark-blue, rough cotton garments leave their faces uncovered. However, as soon as they see strangers, they draw their head-cloths over their faces. They wear straw hats, with pointed crowns and wide brims, as a protection against the sun. 778 784 291 834

### 3. AN UNFORGETTABLE RECEPTION IN HADJARĒN.

From here the way mounts towards the foot of the mountain close up against which lies Hadjarēn. A steep, paved, zigzag path leads at last to the gate of this town, which by 000

its fine strategic position once commanded the great route from the coast to Ḥaḍramaut. Within the gate the streets also mount steeply. The town gives an impression of decay; there are few tall or fine houses, the white colour of prosperity is to be seen on hardly a single one of them; the town is grey-brown as the mountain against which it stands.

We stop in front of a double house that is built over a small side-street. Sayyid Muḥammad bin Sālim bin ʿAbdarraḥmān Āl Qāf, the man to whom we were given an introduction by our host in Dōʿan, is said to live here. The letter is taken in, the door closed again, and we wait in the shadow of the narrow, overarched street. Time passes and we ask ourselves anxiously whether the *Efrendjīs* are perhaps not welcome in this house. No, that is not the case, but a double wedding is being celebrated at this moment, and the house is therefore full of women, who have to be removed and shut up, before our company can be allowed to enter. At last this stage is reached and we are taken to an apartment which shows signs of having been very much inhabited. It is warm there and not clean, and, although we already fill the room, a number of inquisitive people force themselves in. The master of the house himself as well as his snivelling small son appear to have economised water for all other purposes than washing. But his friendly glance and hearty welcome make everything all right at once.

It is perhaps here timely to pay grateful tribute to the wonderful hospitality of the Arabs. Who, in the West, would hide his disappointment at having a wedding feast broken in upon by a whole caravan of tired and hungry men? Who amongst us would immediately throw open his whole house to the travellers, "the sons of the road", himself bring water to slake their thirst, and immediately prepare food to strengthen them?

Life is democratic here. In the reception-room, which is chock-full, sit slaves, servants, children and master all together, who drink out of the same bowl and pour out coffee

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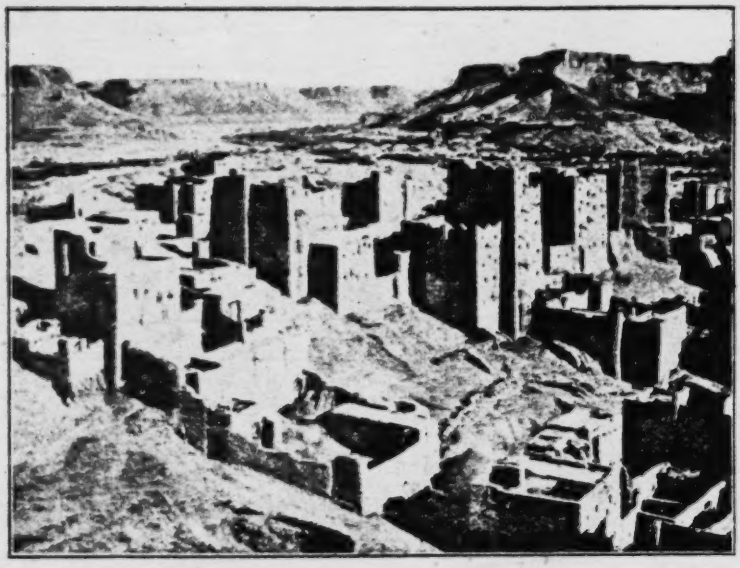

A part of Hadjarēn.

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Along the ruins of Ghēbūn, near el-Meshhed.

[facing p 80]

See pages 78 and 83.

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for themselves in each other's unwashed cups. Our host devotes himself entirely to us; he frequently absents himself to see that preparations are made for a meal without delay. Sounds of music and song reach us from the women, who are making merry in the adjoining room. In spite of the sweltering heat, the song with its refrain, the concerted clapping of hands and dancing to the monotonous music are carried on with great enthusiasm. Our host invites us urgently and repeatedly to spend the night with him. Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, who is with us, has, however, so great a longing to see his family in his own country that, on his account, we decide to start for el-Meshhed in the afternoon. Meanwhile our delicately solicitous host has quietly had a room made ready in a distant corner of the great double house. He sees how tired we are and whispers to us to follow him so as to escape from the interest and curiosity of the constantly changing visitors. These fellow townsmen, against whom one cannot protect oneself, will not penetrate into this quiet room; we can stretch ourselves out on the floor on the simple mats and rugs, and our host will see to it that we are not disturbed for an hour. Then the meal is brought up to us without a sound, and we are only awakened when the yellow-coloured rice awaits us, ready served in flat dishes, on the round eating-mat, along with dishes of boiled mutton and gravy. A round flat bread-cake lies in front of each of our places on the mat. Our host apologizes for the scarcity and simplicity of the food offered to us, but we fall to with a thankful "In the name of Allah." The practice of spicing the rice and meat very strongly must have been introduced from Java and India. They overdo the seasoning to such an extent for foreign guests that, after the first pangs of hunger have been appeased, it is a real effort to continue eating.

Our host speaks Malay by preference and likes to talk about Cheribon on the north coast of Java, where his family rose to prominence and where he hopes to return in a few months, after the date harvest. His father possesses 20 houses

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A panorama of the cultivated fields of Hadjarēn.

[facing p. 81]

169 there. He knows as many as 150 men who have gone from
556 Hadjarēn to seek their fortunes in Java. The little town has now at most 3000 inhabitants. Before we leave, I have to look at the Dutch passports of our host and his relations, make a note of their adresses, and promise to look them up later on in Cheribon. They have fully earned any small attention from our side; we stand amazed over the simple, genuine kindness that we received in this house, especially after our sad experience in Ṣīf.

609 At our departure all sorts of Malay speaking Hadjarēners endeavour to exchange a few words with the white government official from their second fatherland. And, instead of being surrounded by faces with expressions of hate and contempt, and malicious, insulting remarks about *Naṣrānīs*, who should not be allowed to pollute the land, our exodus here is a small triumphal procession, crowded round as we are by the exuberant youth of the streets, all trying to air their knowledge of the Malay language.

## 4. ACROSS THE NEUTRAL ZONE BETWEEN EL-QEʿĒṬĪ AND ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

622 Guides of the el-ʿAṭṭās clan have offered themselves to
172 take us to el-Meshhed, the first place in the domain of the
131 Āl Kathīr, which is, however, actually under the supervision of the el-ʿAṭṭās family. Our caravan divides, as Von Wissmann, with a couple of young sayyids, the Yāfiʿ soldiers, one of our *ʿabīd* (slave soldiers), and a whole band of street-arabs sets out to ascend Djebel Hadjarēn to see whether the ruins, of which we have been told, are really to be found, to take photographs and to survey. The territory of the Qeʿēṭīs ends just beyond Hadjarēn. Further up, in the midst of Ḥaḍramaut Proper, there lie, like islands, the districts of Ḥōra and el-Qaṭn-Shibām, which are subject to the Qeʿēṭī régime. The neutral zone, which we now enter, is an ideal hunting-ground for robbers and thieves.

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After descending the slope on which the town lies, we 241
enter a wonderfully ploughed area of loam soil. The brown 361
hills of loam rise up, completely bare, out of the deep green palm-groves and the fields of *dhura*. An extensive system of irrigation canals with their side-channels provides for the distribution of the *sēl* water over all the cultivated land lying between the hill-ridges. The further we go beyond Hadjarēn the larger grows the number of defence and watch towers on the hill-tops beside the groves. The number of date-palms decreases, the fields are, at first, green, but, at last, only the loam dykes indicate that, given sufficient water and adequate safety, one can sow here as elsewhere. A stretch of half an hour's going forms the neutral zone between the Qeᶜēṭī and the Kathīrī territories. From now on, in view of the risk of being held up, the caravan must keep together. The bed of the wādī remains wide, yet becomes wild and devoid of vegetation. Here and there the loess is covered by sand and stones. There must have been a large town here in ancient times, for the way to el-Meshhed runs between ruin mounds. The sun is setting and we are to reach el-Meshhed before darkness falls. The donkeys are sent back to fetch the tired party who have climbed Djebel Hadjarēn.

## 5. EL-MESHHED, A CENTRE OF RUINS.

El-Meshhed is an extinct small town situated in the midst 361
of the plantless, desert wādī. The meaning of the name el- 103
Meshhed is "the place where a martyr died". It is impor- 438
tant for a yearly fair and as a place of pilgrimage. During the days in the month of Muḥarram, fixed for that purpose, the place must be full of buyers and sellers lodging in the houses and temporary shacks; now most of the houses are empty.

The Governor of el-Meshhed is not in town, he prefers 662
residence in the larger, more prosperous Ḥurēḍa, where he has also a house, a family, and groves of date-palms. His sons are

662 fine young men, who represent their father in the duties of host most admirably. The el-ᶜAṭṭās family has a big well-kept guest-house for relations passing through el-Meshhed. The roof-storey has been recently whitewashed, the mud staircases and passages, the bathroom, lavatories and everything are clean. It is a luxury for us to be able to have a bath and to put up our camp-beds on the clean, white roof-terrace, high up above the dirty smells, which pervade every Arab town. What a difference from the stable-roof at Ṣīf!

172 212 On Tuesday, May 19th, we begin a detailed examination of the inscriptions at el-Meshhed and of the ruins of Ghēbūn, which are near by, to the south and south-west. We were shown stones with Sabaean inscriptions, built into houses, saints' graves, mosques, *siqāyas* and into the large, very deep village well. The material is not favourable; the limestone which is used is taken from the neighbouring mountains and is brittle, and, consequently, there remain only fragments of most of the inscriptions. A longer and more minute research than we could undertake would most certainly bring a great deal more to light. Ten minutes' walk out of el-Meshhed to the south-west lies the group of ruins of Ghēbūn. They are ascribed by the inhabitants to the fabulous people of the ᶜĀdites and are probably on the site of a Ḥimyaritic city. One sees hillocks as much as thirty feet in height, and on their tops the remains of walls built up of great, hewn blocks of stone, which have been bound with a sort of cement. On one of the first hills we see the remains of four stone foundations with square impressions, probably the bases of pillars. Towards the slopes we find many fragments of stone with characters inscribed on them. On the next hillock there is an old well, thirty feet in diameter and quite sixty feet deep. The upper part of its wall consists of a layer of piled-up stone, while the lower part is of mud. The well is partly filled with rubbish and was probably much deeper originally than it is now. The subsoil water-level here is quite 180 feet below the surface of the earth. Many fragments of simple pottery lie

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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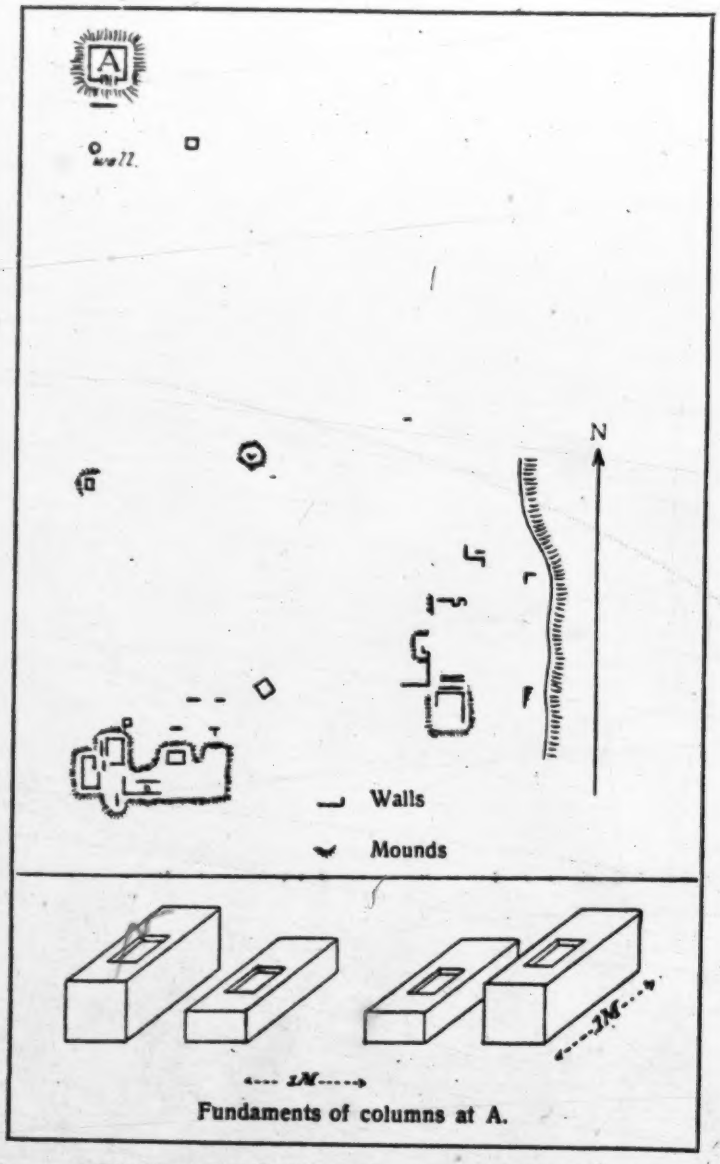



Fundaments of columns at A.

RUINS OF GHĒBŪN. NORTHERN BUILDINGS.

172 amongst the broken stones of the ruins, also little bits of
212 rough, dark glass.

A quarter of an hour's walk distant there is another group of ruins that they call here "the Graves of the Kings". All those who are following us out of curiosity drop behind, when we go on through the suffocating heat between sand- and loam hills on the way to the Graves of the Kings, which lie in a great square S. S. W. of el-Meshhed. We find few inscriptions here. The hills are separated from each other, and have on their tops the foundations of solid walls forming a thirty feet square enclosure. The stones are not very large and are well and smoothly hewn. The ruins here are generally covered with piles of loam, very possibly the remains of the mud upper parts of the buildings. Many red-brown fragments of pottery lie among the stones.

172 The assumption made by the Bents [1], that the ground has
114 been raised more than thirty feet by drifting sand and that thus the old buildings are to a great extent buried, seems to be incorrect. The opposite supposition is more likely, namely, that the *sēl*-bed became more deeply washed away when the barrages and irrigation canals were no longer kept in repair. The ruins now all lie upon the hill-tops, the loess around them having been all washed away.

609 Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās, the eldest brother now in Ḥaḍramaut of our companion Sayyid ᶜAluwī and the energetic head of the family in Ḥurēḍa, came from el-Meshhed to meet us. The father in Batavia had sent telegraphic instructions to give a good reception to the first envoy of the Netherlands to Ḥaḍramaut. Directly he received news of our approach, Sayyid Ḥasan mounted a *hadjīn* (riding camel) and set out to meet us. Being in his own country he dared to wear the khaki sun-
000 helmet of the *Efrendjīs*, when riding. Everything, later on, showed his progressiveness, his energy and daring. Sayyid Ḥasan acted henceforth as our host, and we had a good time under his guidance. Had he had enough time to accompany

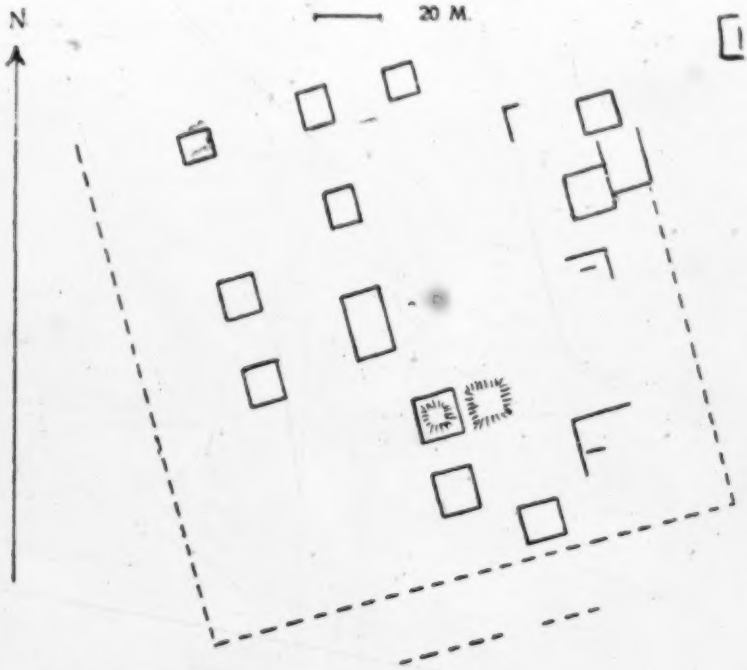
[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 104 *sq.*

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



us on the return journey, many disappointments would most certainly have been spared us.

Our help had been asked for by several sick old women




RUINS OF GHĒBŪN. SOUTHERN BUILDINGS.

and men in el-Meshhed, and we now returned there. There is much surprise when we refuse to give medicine for a *sherīfa* (the daughter of a sayyid), because we are not allowed to see the patient.

# CHAPTER VI.

## ḤURĒḌA, THE CENTRE OF THE EL-ᶜAṬṬĀS CLAN.

### 1. FROM EL-MESHHED TO ḤURĒḌA.

133 In the afternoon we leave el-Meshhed under the guidance
36 of Sayyid Ḥasan, and travel through the great, wide, plantless wādī to the mouth of Wādī ᶜAmd. The bed of the wādī is here called Baḥrān, "the two streams", as the *sēl*-beds of Wādī Dōᶜan and of Wādī el-ᶜĒn, to the left and the right respectively, separated from each other by a plateau of sand and loam, meet at this point. The villages of Sidbe, which lie like tall castles at the foot of the mountain, get the water for their palm-groves from Wādī el-ᶜĒn. To the right in the far distance there lies the village of Ḥōra with a great castle and a watch-tower on a hill. It is a small Qeᶜēṭī island in the midst of an Āl Kathīr sea.

When we reach the mouth of Wādī ᶜAmd and there take an inward bend in a south-westerly direction, the sun is setting in a magnificent glow of light. We feel diminutively small in the broad river-beds of sand with their far-away high banks. We have passed from one *siqāya* to another. We enter Wādī ᶜAmd, following closely the rock-wall on its south-western side. High up against that wall, which is in a somewhat crumbling condition here, we see a few fortifications and towers. In the wādī there are some tilled, but still bare, fields in the midst of the sand; *nibq* trees and bushes grow
[609] scattered here and there. Sometimes also we pass a few date-palms and little settlements, the inhabitants of which call out to us in suspicion as we go by. As soon as they hear that *sāda* (*i. e.* sayyids) of the el-ᶜAṭṭās family are with our party, the words of salutation ring out *"Yā ḥayyaī"*, an abbreviation for "May Allah give you life!"

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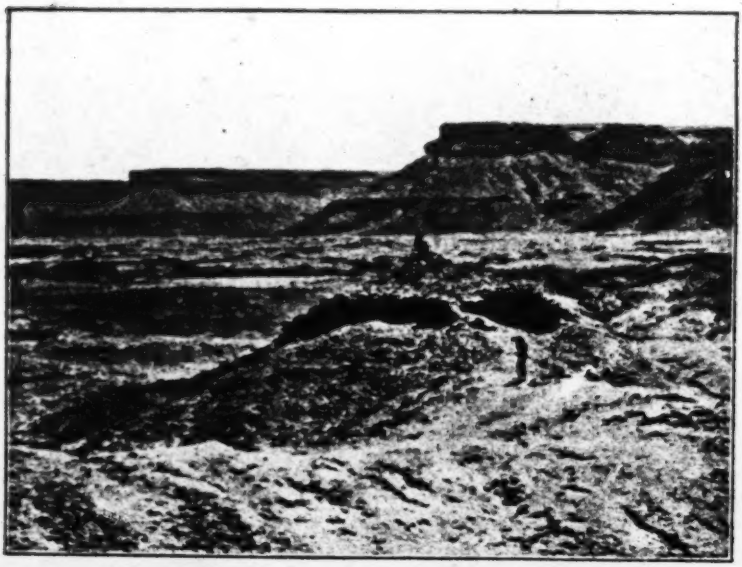
Wādī ʿAmd, at its juncture with Wādī 'l-Kasr, looking eastward.



See pa

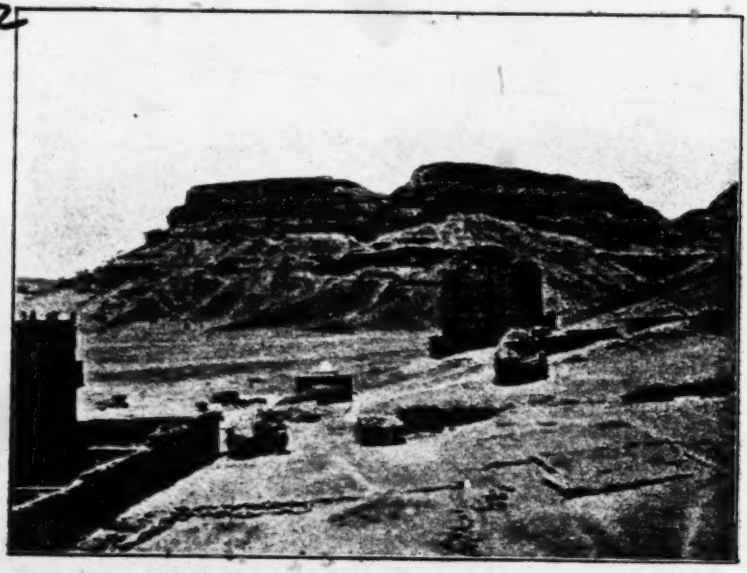
p88(A)

764
172



The "Graves of the Kings".

342



The el-ʿAṭṭās house in Ḥurēḍa.

p88 (B)

See pages 86 and 90.

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346

The principal mosque of Ḥurēḍa.

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38. The cemetery of Ḥurēḍa.

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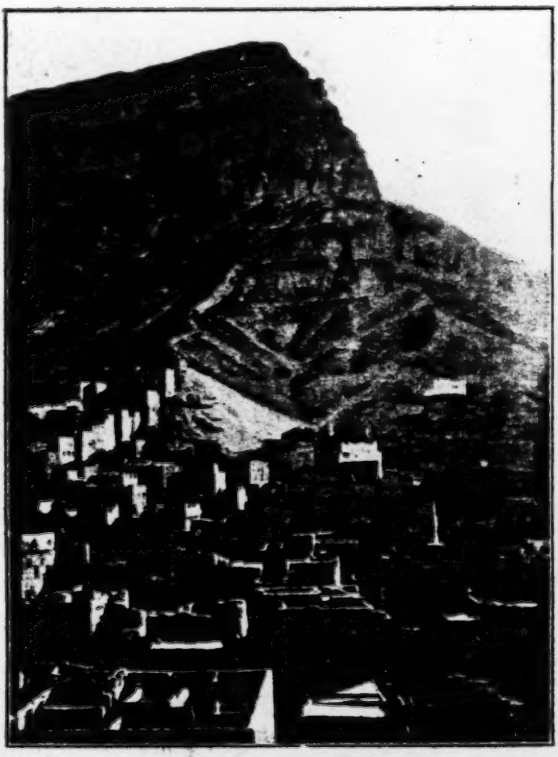

Ḥurēḍa.

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See page 89

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We march on for hours under a gorgeous heaven of stars. 000
The great promontory towards which we are setting our course is Djebel Ghumdān. Only when we have passed it do we see the lights of Ḥurēḍa. The nearer we approach the more messengers with lamps, and people filled with curiosity come out to meet us. Youth especially is well in evidence, handsome, frank youngsters, who accompany us pushing each other aside and talking busily. Quite soon the boys try to put a few 191
questions in Malay. When the answers come also in that lan- 871
guage, questions follow thick upon each other, and these wordly-wise youths, born in Java and sent here to get a real Arabian education, become objects of admiration and envy to their fellows.

"Do you find it pleasant here?"

"No, not at all. It is much finer in Java. This is a dreadful country of poverty, heat and boredom."

They are home-sick for Java, where their parents are and where they would like to return at once.

We dismount at the entrance to Ḥurēḍa, which is un- 622
walled, for we see, by the light of many gasoline lamps, 609
the white figures of the notabilities of the town awaiting us. [291]
The Governor of el-Meshhed comes forward as spokesman. He says that the people of Ḥurēḍa are grateful for, and feel themselves honoured by, the first official Dutch visit. It is not so long ago that foreigners were denied entrance to Ḥurēḍa, but now opinion has become much more modern. In the whole of Ḥaḍramaut there is sympathy for Holland and gratitude to that country for the hospitality and good treatment enjoyed by the Ḥaḍramīs in the lands under her rule. Hope is expressed that an enduring contact between Ḥaḍramaut and Holland may spring from this visit.

The many lanterns light up fantastically this unusual spectacle on the outskirts of Ḥurēḍa, where the first Europeans, weary and dirty, with limbs stiff from long riding, make their entry into the little town, hand in hand with its notables in their clean, white garments. The Governor has solemnly taken

622 the Dutchman by the hand, and Sayyid Ḥasan walks on
609 his other side. Von Wissmann is accompanied in the same way by two notables, and then begins the slow entry into the town. A splendid white mosque looms up out of the darkness and then vanishes into it again; for the rest, there are brown mud houses, which seem to have been built without much order. After about five minutes we have passed through the place and see, against the slopes of rock débris, the great el-ᶜAṭṭās house with its many small windows lighted up. The house has just been rebuilt and enlarged, and, therefore, the upper storey has not yet been whitewashed. A brother of Ḥasan and ᶜAluwī comes with an uncle to greet us. This brother has had a Dutch, ᶜAluwī an Egyptian, and Ḥasan an Indian education. The uncle was an officer in the Ḥaḍramī regiment of the *Niẓām* of Hyderabad. The reception in the great *madjlis* is of short duration, and we then go upstairs to have a meal on the spacious roof-terrace in company with the nearest male members of the family.

## 2. SOME GOOD DAYS IN ḤURĒḌA.

554 A fine, clean guest-house is assigned to us for our quarters during our stay in Ḥurēḍa. This has the great advantage of giving us a place of privacy and rest, as we only meet visitors in the family-house of the el-ᶜAṭṭās. On the next morning (May 20th) a gathering takes place there to introduce us to the inhabitants of Ḥurēḍa. These things are done democratically here. High and low, old and young are present at such a meeting, even the Bedouins of the caravan, the guard of soldiers belonging to the house, our slave soldiers, and the younger members of the family. The only thing is that the young people and the subordinates keep somewhat in the background and take care not to make any noise that might
575 disturb their elders. The old and wise men of the place are
177 together. The young men's group has, however, an important
654 place, being organized by the driving power of Sayyid Ḥasan

into an association of the el-ʿAṭṭās family. The idea of the association is an importation from Aligarh, where Sayyid Ḥasan studied at the Muslim University; it brings a modern element into the public life of Ḥurēḍa.

There is much discussion over the political situation in Egypt, the Yemen, the Hedjaz, Netherlands India, and in the country itself. This last subject is the most painful. Of course the question is put, under general attention, whether Holland is prepared to appoint a consul in Ḥaḍramaut. My answer to this is that Holland would like nothing better, but cannot do so. She would wish it, in order to strengthen the bonds which have existed for centuries past with the most distinguished families of Ḥaḍramaut, and also for the extension of the trade of Java and Holland with Southern Arabia. But it cannot be, because there is no unity here and no responsible ultimate authority. To whom should our Queen turn and who would be able to take the responsibility for her representative? This argument is well understood and it is a matter of grave pre-occupation to them. To relieve the painful situation thus created, I express my appreciation of the unexpectedly favourable conditions that I have found here after two weeks' journeying through very primitive regions. One observes here the influence of men who have seen something of the world. And yet I cannot help saying that those people achieve more in other countries, for example in Netherlands India, than in their own land. It is with great circumspection that we advise them to concentrate on reaching harmony amongst themselves and to devote their attention and energy to their own country. The "Hip! hip! hurrah!" mood is somewhat lowered by these conversations, but our contact with the large circle of attentively listening visitors is strengthened.

In the afternoon the notables come to show us the town. In front and hand in hand with the Governor of el-Meshhed, who seems to be the most influential man here, and followed by Von Wissmann conducted by Sayyid Ḥasan, we saunter to the great mosque which is rightly the pride of the people

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of Ḥurēḍa. There are eight large, fine mosques in this little town of not more than 2000 inhabitants. Two of these are connected with excellent school-buildings, where the male youth of the place gets elementary instruction, followed by training in the recitation of the Koran and some dogmatical tuition. The mosques and schools have been erected at the expense of men of Ḥurēḍa who have become rich in foreign lands and who also supply the funds for their maintenance. The first mosque they showed us was the work of an Indian architect. To our great amazement we were invited to take off our shoes and to enter: this is the first occasion on Arabian soil that I have been permitted to enter a mosque. We hear criticism among many bystanders and murmurs of disapprobation, but our escort give but short replies to these and simply take us in with them. The great, open space in the centre is entirely paved, in places with Italian marble. Behind it there is a closed room where the *ṣalāt* is performed in winter. Behind that again is the space containing the tomb of the donor of the building. The coffin as well as the doors and beams are of beautifully carved *nibq* wood. This at least is true native art in this building of non-Arabian architecture. The tomb stands underneath a separate, cupola-shaped roof which is attached to the mosque. The donor's wish was that there should be a library and study for theological sciences above his grave: thus, under the cupola-roof and above the grave, there is a roomy, cool hall, where there are books indeed, but where students, however, are generally lacking! Nothing is omitted in our inspection. We are allowed to see the arrangements for performing the ablutions. We ascend to the minaret passing by two large, expensive English clocks. From the mosque a door gives access to the school, where there are at present no pupils, as it is holiday time on account of the date harvest.

We go on in procession to the second, older mosque of Ḥurēḍa built by a local architect and, thus, in the beautiful, severe Ḥaḍramī style. Then we go round the town to a lovely, brand-new mosque built for a plutocrat from Djohore, who is

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



going to erect a house for himself here and, in accordance 346
with the good custom, begins with the mosque. There are
some fine houses in Ḥurēḍa whose owners live in Djohore, 167
Singapore, or Java. The actual inhabitants seem to be very 511
poor. Outside the town there are some fine date-plantations,
it is true, but the total impression is one of decline. Everything
that is fine and prosperous owes its existence to money that is
earned abroad. The tie between a Ḥaḍramī and his birth-place [18]
is very close, and if he is doing well, he returns from time to
time, and when he sees the evening of his life approaching
he longs to spend it in the little mud town where he was born,
and, finally, to await the Day of Resurrection in Ḥaḍramī soil,
which for him is consecrated ground. This is why there are
here palaces and country-seats of sayyids and mighty castles
of sultans, whilst the Bedouins live in rock-caves or lean-to
shelters, always on the verge of starvation, and the home-
staying town-dweller does not rise beyond a very poverty-
stricken existence. We are only just at the portal of actual
Ḥaḍramaut and soon shall see contrasts so moving, that it will
sometimes be difficult to grasp the fact that we are in a real
world, and are not dreaming after reading a centuries-old story
from the "Arabian Nights".

### 3. THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE TOWN.

On May 21st we intended to see something of the surround- 000
ings of Ḥurēḍa. Therefore, we asked Sayyid ʿAlī, the Bedouin
member of the el-ʿAṭṭās family, to go with us. Most sayyids
are not to be tempted for walks in the country at this time of
the year! At the request of some of the notables we go to a
spring which flows from out the mountain-wall a mile south-
west of Ḥurēḍa, just at the spot where the limestone stratum
rests on sandstone. Enemy Bedouins are said to have stopped
up this spring, which formerly flowed much more copiously.
The foreigners, held to be so proficient in all technical matters [609]
must say how the spring is to be put right. If there were

000 172 a chance of success some money could be spared for it. Close to this spring lie against the mountain-wall the ruins of Khurēḍa, the town from which Ḥurēḍa is said to have taken its name. It may be presumed that these ruins date from well into pre-Islamic times, in spite of the fact that we found no inscriptions to prove it. There are remains of houses, namely foundations of stone, two wells, which are still very deep, and a cistern, which is plastered with a kind of cement. A fragment of an aqueduct of mason-work leading to the spring is still to be seen.

312 Tins of water are carried on donkeys from the spring to Ḥurēḍa. We advised that the spring and the rocky basin in front of it should be cleaned out right up to the massive rock, then cemented, and the water brought at least as far as the valley by means of a conduit of iron piping, thus saving much output of energy and minimizing the possibility of pollution and the spilling of water.

After this, under the guidance of the Bedouin Sayyid ʿAlī, we go through the palm-groves and over the dry irrigation canals to the other wall of the wādī, where, in a fissure of the rock, there is said to be a little pool which always has water. Sayyid ʿAlī does not much like the hot climbing, but we 529 persevere in it. After energetic scrambling over fields of stone and up slopes of rock we actually arrive at al-Baḥr, "the sea", a deep, rocky basin, full of water, with high, cavernous walls from which, after rain, the water must fall in spray into the basin. It is a splendid place for a swim. The temperature of the water is certainly high, but it is so broiling hot in the chasm that the contrast is refreshing. The basin is so deep that we cannot dive to the bottom. Sayyid ʿAlī performed one of his great feats, on the occasion of a picnic, by climbing up the high wall of rock and diving thence into the basin. That nearly all these men of the desert are good swimmers and daring divers certainly points to the natural giftedness of the race. Ḥaḍramīs who have never seen the sea enlist as pearl-divers or go as stokers on long voyages.

1/1 [ONE MILE S.W. OF HURĒḌA -- ANALYST]

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On the way back through the oasis we pass by a hamlet, called esh-Sherdj, where we ask for water at a poor cottage. The familiar earthenware cooling-bowl is handed round, but, at the same time, we are so pressingly invited to stay for a cup of coffee that we all sit down together in a circle in the simple room, to watch the host at the solemn business of roasting a few coffee-beans, pounding root-ginger, and then bringing the concoction to the boil in a brass kettle with a long spout, on a fire fed with some sprigs of dried weeds. It is grillingly hot out of doors and equally so indoors, but here we are protected against the fierce light. Our eyes gradually accustom themselves to the twilight in the brown, mud-walled room, where dark men sit quietly along the wall and where, from time to time, a naked, chubby child disturbs the subdued conversation. Our help is asked for a comrade who, a few days ago, was shot in the leg and whose wound has now festered. Warfare amongst the tribes continues thus right up to the stronghold of the el-ʿAṭṭās Sayyids.

## 4. HOME LIFE IN A ḤAḌRAMĪ TOWN.

In the afternoon I had the opportunity of a long talk with Sayyid Ḥasan el-ʿAṭṭās, the energetic eldest son and, with his father's brother, the leader of the el-ʿAṭṭās family in Ḥurēḍa. In his boyhood he and his father did not get on well together and for this reason, quite early in life, he tried to make his own way in the world. He studied at the Muslim University of ʿAligarh, living in poor circumstances and supporting himself by manual labour. When Imām Yaḥyā of the Yemen, with the co-operation of the German firm of Junkers, started an air-service in his country, Sayyid Ḥasan, at his own request, was taken into his service. Under German leadership he learned still better how to go the right way about things and to take risks. When the Junkers' experiment came to grief, Sayyid Ḥasan returned from Ṣanʿāʾ to Ḥurēḍa by way of the dangerous overland route.

162 According to my informant, Ḥurēḍa has now about
581 2000 inhabitants. There are some 4000 people living in Java who originally came thence. During the last 20 years from 300 to 400 men have left Ḥurēḍa to try their luck in Java. The successful ones come back occasionally for short periods and then return again to their business in the Indies. When they can afford it, they send their sons to Ḥaḍramaut, where they remain for five or six years to become intimate with their family, language, religion and traditions. The daughters *never* come from Java to Ḥaḍramaut just as the women here *never* go to Java. Consequently the children born there are always of mixed race. Sayyid Ḥasan could only remember one Ḥaḍramī woman who had succeeded in carrying through her wish of accompanying her husband to Batavia. Generally the wives do not wish, nor have they the courage, to do so.
167 I learned later on that Javanese and Chinese women are, how-
463 ever, brought to Ḥaḍramaut. They are said to be very much
162 sought after as housekeepers and cooks. Purely Javanese boys, who have come to study the religion and language, are not to be found in Ḥurēḍa, and only a few in other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Ḥasan estimates the number of Ḥaḍramīs living in Hyderabad to be at least 13.000, for the greater part serving as men and officers of the *Niẓām*'s Arabian regiment. Many of the families of note here have Hyderabad officers among their ancestors.

[162] In Shibām, Sēwūn, Terīm and ᶜĒnāt there are, according
565 to my informant, 6000 sayyids, and another 4000 in Wādī Dōᶜan, Wādī ᶜAmd, Wādī Rakhīya, and Djibāl Hadjaz. Three divisions of the Ḥumūmī Bedouins are sayyids. Originally their leaders were sayyids, who were gradually absorbed into the tribe of which they have come to form a part. All sayyids in Ḥaḍramaut belong to the ᶜAluwī branch. The founder of the family was ᶜAluwī bin ᶜUbēd Allāh bin Aḥmed (who came from ᶜIrāq) bin ᶜĪsā bin ᶜAlī el-ᶜUrēḍī bin Dja ᶜfar eṣ-Ṣādiq bin Muḥammad el-Bāqir bin Zain el-ᶜĀbidīn bin Ḥusēn bin ᶜAlī bin Abī Ṭālib. In Ḥaḍramaut Proper the sayyids have still an in-

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fluential, privileged position, though abroad this position is 565
constantly attacked, and with increasing violence. Western colonial governments make no distinction between the *sāda* (plural of *sayyid*) and those who are not descended from the Prophet, but here this kind of democracy is neither understood nor respected by the *sāda*. It was the only objection that I heard raised against the Netherlands' Colonial Government. 565

In their own land they are the maintainers of religion, and in 782
no other Muḥammadan country are there so many and such 554
beautiful mosques. Also I have seldom seen the *ṣalāt* performed with so much devotion as among the *sāda* in Ḥaḍramaut. Their influence on the government of their land is great: the Sultans are financially dependent on them, the Bedouin tribes are governed by them both by means of money and by religious influence. If they were not so hopelessly disunited among themselves, the political conditions in the "country of the *sāda*" would be much better. It will be seen from what follows how distressingly bad these are at the present time.

The place of honour is given to the sayyid in daily life; 565
he takes the lead during the performance of the *ṣalāt* and sees 554
that it is duly carried out. He is greeted with a respectful kiss on the hand, a salute which even the Sultan does not evade, at least in appearance; the sayyid shows his appreciation of this by drawing back his hand and making as if he will kiss that of the Sultan. This game of make-believe is carried on for quite a little time, for people in Ḥaḍramaut have plenty of time to spare and cling with great respect to the decorum of life. For the non-sayyid of distinction it also suffices if he makes a pretence of kissing the hand.

In Ḥurēḍa all worldly authority is subordinate to that of the sayyids. The Governor is a poor young man who is completely dependent, financially, on the el-ʿAṭṭās family. The schools, mosques, wells and other objects of public utility are maintained by the sayyids.

Water-supply for Ḥurēḍa is a matter of difficulty. We saw 312
great wells lined with masonry, which are about 55 *qāma* deep

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312 (that is a little more than 300 feet). Groups of sturdy male and female slaves, singing in unison the while, raised the water-bags by a pulley and emptied the contents into a conduit which led to a cemented basin. Cheap labour on the one hand and capital earned abroad on the other make it possible to keep such places as Ḥurēḍa in condition. The palm-groves are kept alive by the *sēl,* but seem to be on the decline and, on their borders, to be giving way to accumulating heaps of sand.

648 On the evening of the 21st of May, I was officially received in the simple dwelling of the Governor of Ḥurēḍa. The Governor of el-Meshhed and Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās, however, acted as hosts and leaders of the meeting. The Governor is a quiet, friendly, young man and the whole atmosphere is particularly gentle and kind. A youthful poet of the el-ᶜAṭṭās family had composed a song of welcome. Sayyid Ḥasan makes a speech in which the poem is recited and in which he welcomes us as the first Europeans to visit Ḥurēḍa. As Dutch subjects, they are very much delighted that one of us is an envoy of the Netherlands Government. In my reply I said that it seemed right and fair to me that the Dutchman has preceded the Briton in Ḥurēḍa, for with the Dutch in Java exist the more long-standing and intimate relations. In Ḥaḍramaut, along with agreeable surprises, I also found disappointing conditions. We considered the energetic Ḥaḍramīs, whom we know in Java, to be capable of improving the backward conditions which exist in their fatherland.

I seized every opportunity that was offered to me to point to the necessity of independent activity and thus to answer the repeated requests for Dutch or other foreign help for the achieving of better conditions.

172 My companion, with the Bedouin Sayyid ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās, climbed Djebel Ghumdān to investigate the wonders that are told of this historic summit. There should be ruins, and a deep well on the top was said to have a subterranean connection with Bīr ᶜAlī on the coast. The ruins of defensive towers on

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the Ghumdān appear to be of recent date. The well is also 172
found, and plucky Sayyid ʿAlī has the daring to go down into it, in spite of the gruesome tales of snakes and other monsters which are said to haunt its depths. The pit appears to be a shaft of karst about 90 feet in depth; in the lower part of it there is a transverse passage into which Sayyid ʿAlī penetrates over a few yards, with a loaded revolver in his hand. Then the squeaking of bats fluttering around him becomes too much for him and he returns to the shaft, where Von Wissmann has followed him. No traces of human activity nor of hidden treasures can be detected by the light of their electric torches. Both of them climb up again out of the pit without mishap, but with great effort.

Henceforth Sayyid ʿAlī feels drawn to Von Wissmann by the 000
friendship of admiration. Of course he wishes to go with us into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut to the great Sayyid el-Kāf in Terīm and then to accompany us further to Qabr Hūd, there, with his friend "Ḥarmal" (corruption of Hermann, see p. 47), to explore the mysterious Bīr Barhūt. He who dared the descent of Bīr Ghumdān shall also venture the hell's mouth of Barhūt, and the name of Sayyid ʿAlī shall be handed down in honour for generations in the annals of Ḥaḍramaut. Drunken with pride and joy Sayyid ʿAlī accompanies Von Wissmann through the darkness back to Ḥurēḍa. He relates his tale, which grows ever finer in the telling, until deep into the night. My companion's fame precedes him into Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid ʿAlī will introduce him with pride: "Ḥarmal, the German airman (look at his knee that has been shot away), the man who fears no height nor depth."

On the morning of May 22nd we have another invitation, 484
this time to take tea with Sayyid Ṭālib, who is introduced as 595
the Sindbad of Ḥaḍramaut. He has travelled pretty well all 431
over the Islamic world, where as a sayyid and son of a race of theologians he was everywhere welcome, and he has returned wealthy from his travels. This Sindbad's beautiful house is jestingly called "the little Yildiz". He is old by now, but listens

with amusement while his younger guests relate how, every year, he marries the prettiest girl to be found in Ḥurēḍa. We perfume ourselves with incense, the host doing so the most thoroughly of us all. He keeps the smoking censer under the wide folds of his garment. The tea with dishes of a confection of ginger is served. Sindbad, with his crafty face framed in a white beard, the extreme points of which are dyed orange with *ḥinnā*ʾ, tells about his travels. The youthful audience feasts upon the witty tales of this enjoyer of life — a vanishing figure of the typical sayyid society of Ḥaḍramaut.

We exchange keepsakes with Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās in lasting remembrance of our visit to Ḥurēḍa. The lavish, kind welcome given us and the friendly feeling shown us here have smoothed the way for us through Ḥaḍramaut.

# CHAPTER VII.

## THE ENTRANCE TO BEAUTIFUL HADRAMAUT PROPER.

On the following day the first car arrived in Ḥurēḍa. Bin ᶜAwaḍ Martaᶜ of Hēnin, a wholesale merchant from Surabaya, has succeeded in finding a way hither through the region of hillocks of loam and sand. In the afternoon we depart in his car, which we fill to the utmost. Not only is it unbearably hot, but, moreover, a scorching wind appears to come up in the afternoon in these broad, sandy wādīs. Several times the car stalls in the loose sand, but our united efforts set it free again, and, seeking and twisting, we continue on our way through the lonely, baking hot desert. No one is on the road at this hour of the day; the little mud villages that we occasionally see in the distance look as if they were dead. Scanty date-palms glimmer now and then through the curtain of sand which hangs stagnant in the air.

### 1. DIYĀR ĀL BUQRĪ, A CENTRE OF WAR.

After about two hours we reach the mouth of Wādī ᶜAmd in the Wādī 'l-Kasr. The soil is firmer here, consisting, in fact, of hillocks of loam. The wādī, at this point, rather resembles a great plain, in which the driver of our car steers, keeping in sight some promontories of the far-off high rock-wall, looming up from time to time out of the mist of sand. We twist and turn continuously among the loam-hills. Bin Martaᶜ is certainly a clever driver. After a time the high, greyish-white castles of Āl Buqrī, which are situated in about the middle of the wādī, become visible through the haze. They

721 are the centre point of a country at war, for two groups of villages have been fighting each other here for the last eleven years. The brothers Āl Buqrī are the commanders on one side. The castles are very high and armed at every point against possible assault. The gardens are surrounded by mud walls, in which are gates made of strong wood with iron-wrought, ornamental plates. We are yearning for a drink and for a place of shelter against the sand-storm. Soldiers' heads appear over the balustrade on the roof in reply to the tooting of our car, and they call out that we must turn to the other side of the castle, as in this side we are liable to be hit by enemy bullets. The enemy villages are about half a mile away. The gate on the safe side is opened and we see the brothers Āl Buqrī standing in the midst of their soldiers. They bid us a friendly welcome and, crowded round by soldiers and children, we are conducted to a large *madjlis* on the third floor.
342 The house is one of the largest and, above all, one of the tallest that we have seen here so far. It is still new and finely constructed, and is plastered all over with white, inside and out. The outside is ornamented with dark-grey edges to the windows and terraces, giving an effect which shows very good
721 taste. The martial individual who is the general is a tall, thin, broad-shouldered man with piercing grey eyes and an aquiline nose: a typical soldier. When we are seated and the phrases of welcome are at an end, the General says: "War is a man's business". This is his answer to our inquiring glances along the walls on which rifles and cartridge-belts are hanging, whilst below them, in close-packed rows, his soldiers are sitting. Upon this follows a conversation from which we learn that our host served with the British in East Africa, where he learned his "man's business". He can, however, take in good part a flat contradiction from us. After an argument, followed with attention by the soldiers, the two Buqrī brothers jump to the other extreme and express their weariness of war and their longing for the end of this cap-
000 tivity in their own house. Fighting is stopped by mutual

Fighting is stopped by mutual agreement during three months of every year. It is the time of the yearly fairs, of pilgrimages and travels. Both parties belong to the Nahd tribe and would gladly see the end of their quarrel. There is, however, no central authority here, able to step in and enforce its decision. 728

We have become aware during these last days that the insecurity here is a much more serious matter than we had thought when everything went so easily and, apparently, so safely. Now we know that we are in the midst of a people longing for a strong hand to create order and legal security. The el-ʿAṭṭās family wished to present the best case possible as regards conditions in their territory. But Sayyid Ḥasan was obliged first to stipulate for a few days' peace in order to make possible our journey to and from Ḥurēḍa through a war zone. 721

The day before we left, a threatening letter came in from the Bedouins forbidding the passing through of the *Naṣrānīs*. The three Bedouins who brought the letter were clapped into prison and Sayyid Ḥasan threatened to call up all his Bedouin followers to wage war against those who should assail his guests, and then only were we granted freedom of passage. With the Buqrīs we were in the midst of a war zone; there were armed men all over the house; photographing and the taking of bearings from the roof were only allowed under a guard of soldiers and on the condition that we remove our pith helmets; loop-holes were in all the walls, even in the lavatories, and look-outs on the roof.

Whilst tea and preserved ginger are being served, the brothers Buqrī, who know the world, continue the discussion over war in the Malay language. The conflict arose through treachery on the part of the opponent; after that blood was repeatedly shed, and now no squaring of the account could be reached in this bloodfeud. Deliverance could only be brought by foreigners, British or Dutch. Why do they not do it? The Buqrīs would give the preference to Holland over England, in spite of its heavy taxes, because legal security is greater 721 648

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



721 and the police better in the Dutch colonial territories. This
648 same question was repeated again in the evening, in the reception-room of our host at Hēnin. However pleasing I may have found these signs of appreciation for western colonial government on the part of an eastern Muḥammadan people, I continued to answer with evasions and urged them to take the matter into their own hands and to achieve unity, forced on by necessity.

## 2. THE OLD DYING TOWN OF HĒNIN.

It cost us much pains to decline the pressing invitations to stay longer and to continue the journey to Hēnin in the afternoon.

The hot wind is still filling the wādī with a thick, high-driven mist of sand and dust. The Buqrīs, with their numerous soldiers crowding round them, accompany us till we are outside the gate on the side away from the enemy. Obviously they are all sorry we are leaving so soon and that this variation in their monotonous life comes to so early an end. Before our departure we promise, gladly and faithfully, should we return by this route, to spend the night in their high, beautiful castle. Before long Diyār Āl Buqrī has disappeared in the haze of sand and we travel in absolute solitude amongst the hillocks of loam. Bin ʿAwaḍ Martaʿ, steering a very twisting course, seeks those places where his car can pass between the line of hills. The lower parts are filled with fine sand that lies piled up by the wind so that we have to go by way of the slopes at the foot of the loam-hills. We pass a few tumble-down villages; of vegetation there is hardly a trace.

361 The number of settlements increases as we approach the
241 neighbourhood of Hēnin. They are situated partly at the foot
134 of the mountain-wall which forms the northern bank of Wādī el-Kasr, and partly close by, in the bed of the wādī. Little dykes, which make rectangular divisions in the loam, are a sure proof that agriculture was once carried on here. It does not

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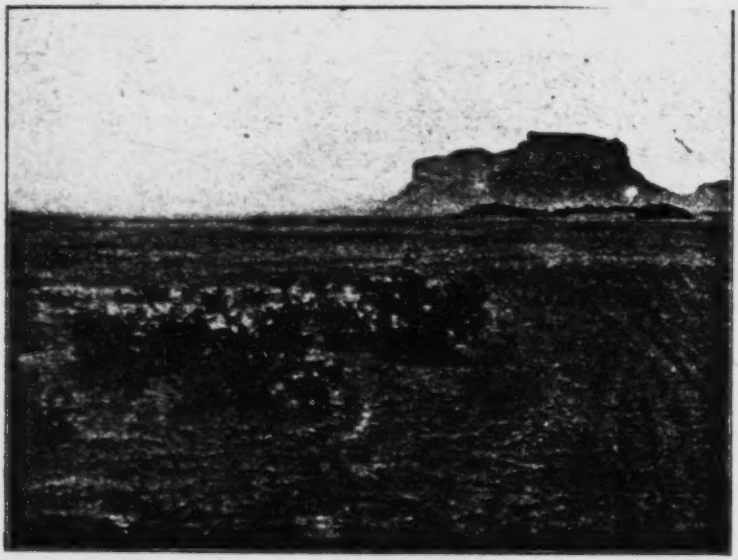

A sand-storm blowing up in Wādī 'l-Kasr.

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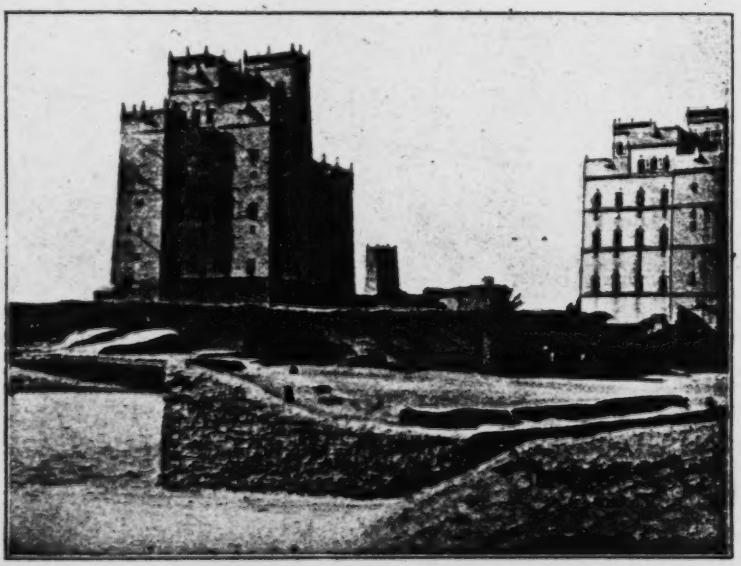

A war centre at the portal of Ḥaḍramaut Proper: Diyār Āl Buqrī.

P 104 (A)

*See pages 101 and 102.*

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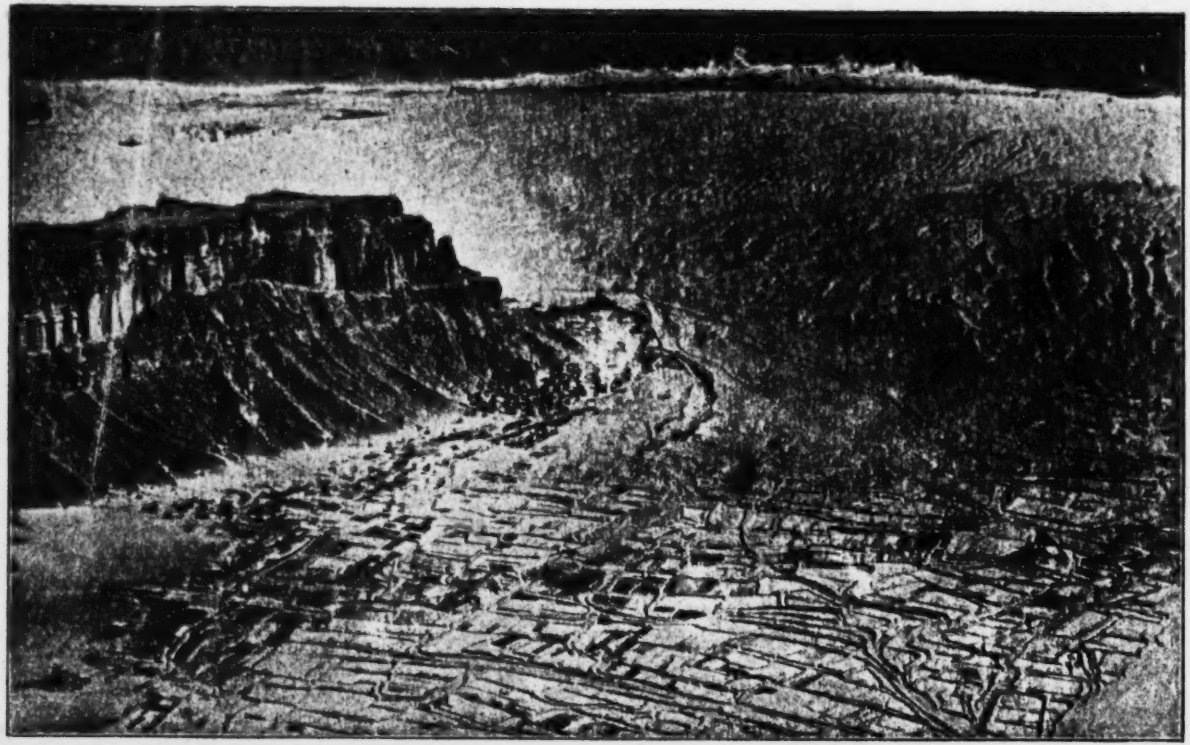
p 104 (8)



The entrance to Ḥaḍramaut Proper. An ocean of sand engulfing the plantations and the town of Hēnin.

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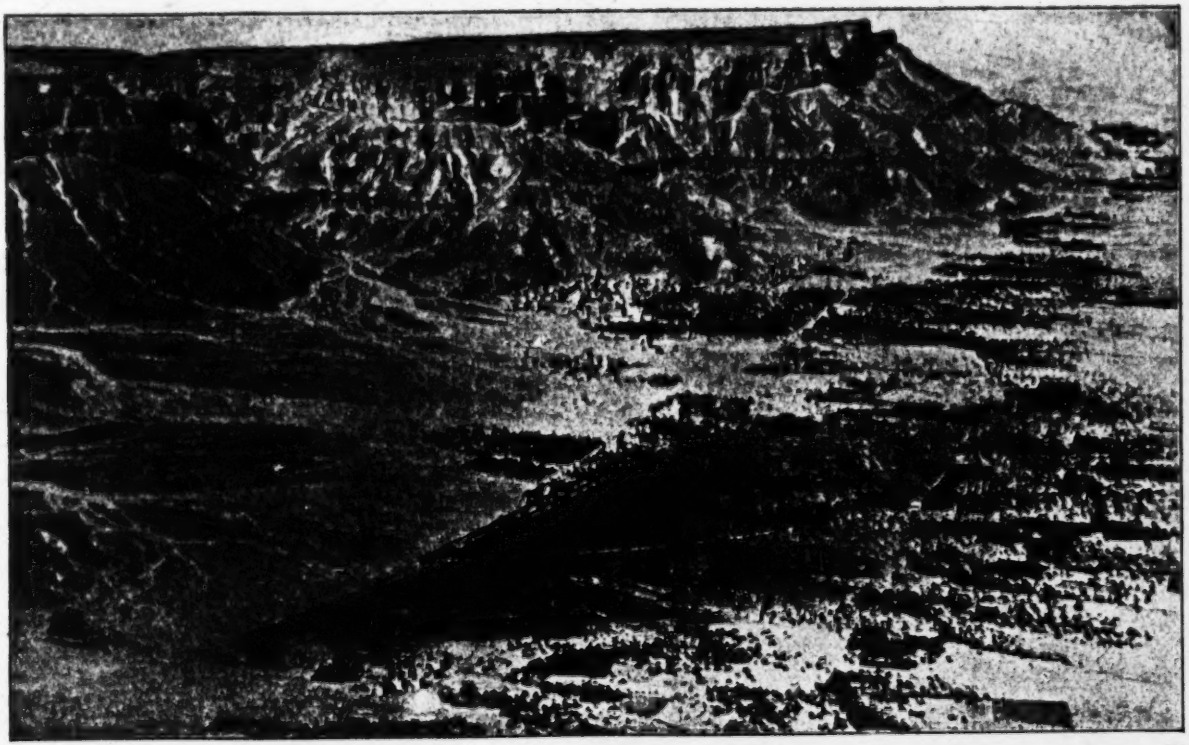

The el-Qaṭn district, with Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn in the centre, at the foot of the rock-wall.

P 1004(C)

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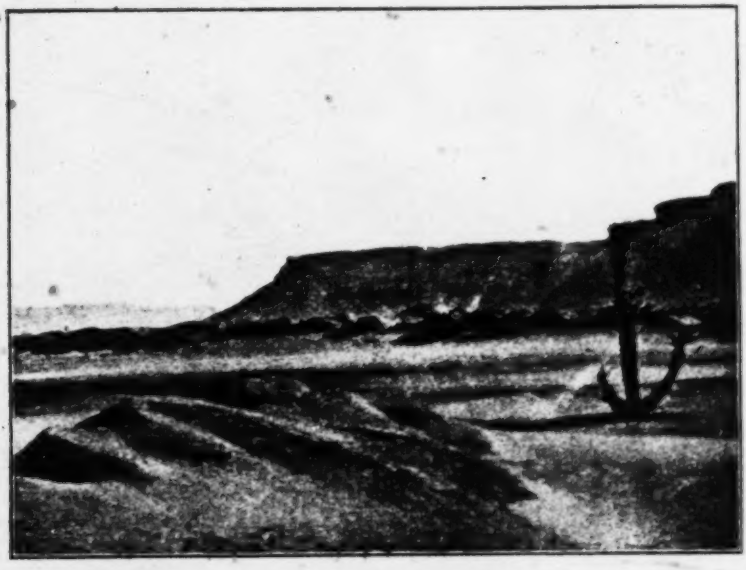

Hillocks of loam and sand near Diyār Al Buqrī.

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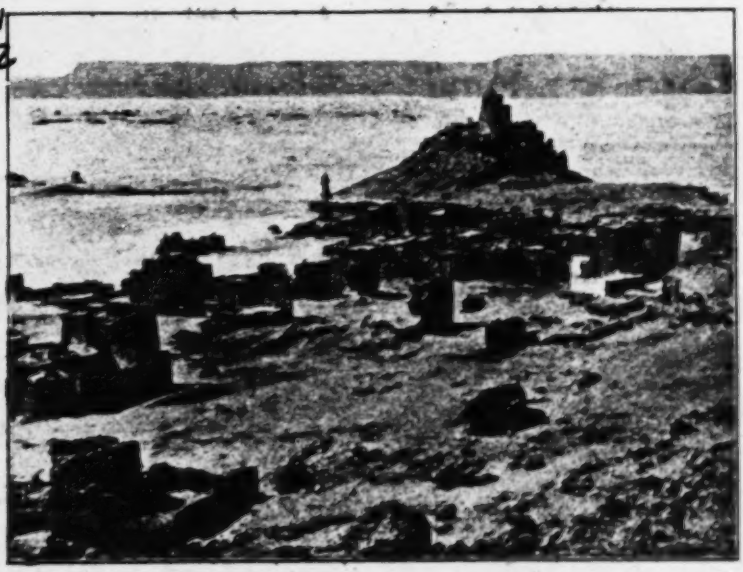

The old dying town of Hēnin.

p104(D)

See pages 104 and 105.

look as though this is still possible in any way; the drifting 361
sand has killed the date-palms and reduced to a minimum the 241
cultivation of *dhura* and the like. The hamlets are partially 134
deserted and the mud houses fallen in.

The very ancient town of Hēnin [1] has shared this fate. The 361
place lies like a long line at the foot of the rock-wall. Castles 134
and defence turrets higher up have fallen into ruin as have most of the houses of this once important town on the road to the Yemen.

Bin ᶜAwaḍ Martaᶜ has returned to his fatherland from Sura- 241
baya with the resolve to try to check its decay. The family 134
house has been restored by him and a new storey built on to it. 312
He has brought from Java a motor pump which has been set up on the 70 feet deep well. The pump supplies 30 gallons of water for irrigation per minute so that, if it works for eight hours a day, it just suffices to wrench a few acres of *dhura* from the sandy desert and to keep alive the 200 young date-palms which are planted between.

Bin Martaᶜ himself now also realizes that this is but a service 361
of love at a death-bed and that his motor pump cannot save 134
Hēnin from decay and from the engulfing sea of sand. Hēnin is like a little town destroyed by storm on the rocky coast of an interminable sea of sand which has first swallowed up its palm-groves and is now submerging the place itself. We have seen nothing of the Bā ᶜAṭwah, the poet beggars of Hēnin. [2] They have been driven by poverty to the prosperous parts of the valley of Ḥaḍramaut and to Java.

Hēnin is nominally under Qeᶜēṭī rule; the Sultan of Shibām 622
and el-Qaṭn protects the place and the insignificant little 511
villages surrounding it. That evening, in the great *madjlis* of Bin Martaᶜ's house, we met the poor, simple shēkhs of the

[1] Cf. el-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 85, l. 19 *sqq.*, 86, l. 20 *sq.*, 88, l. 10 *sqq.*; De Goeje, *Hadhramaut*, in *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, II.(1886), p. 110.

[2] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Zur Dichtkunst der Bā ᶜAṭwah in Ḥadhramōt*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, v. (Bonn, 1925), p. 393 *sqq.*

neighbourhood and also the chief of the Ṣē'ar Bedouins. They inhabit the *djōl* and the wādīs to the north of Hēnin. The Ṣē'ar have the name of being very primitive and poor. Although the shēkh, who lives in the Rēdet eṣ-Ṣē'ar, was very friendly, he nevertheless avoided falling in with our request that we might be allowed to visit him in his *rēda*.

We spent the night at Hēnin in a room, as the roof-terrace, which was not yet completed, was taken up by the family. The heat and the mosquitoes, which owe their existence to the motor pump, made sleep impossible.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## ENTERING OUR "LAND OF PROMISE".

### 1. EL-QAṬN AND SHIBĀM.

On May 23rd our host would not allow us to depart until we had partaken of the first of the two daily meals with him. There is no apparent objection to this, as Bin Marta[c] will take us himself in his car to el-Qaṭn. The heat and the sand-storm are very unpleasant. It is now the time when the dates ripen. The heavy, bright-yellow or deep-red bunches of fruit, sometimes as many as ten on one tree, need those hot winds to bring them to ripeness. Travelling in the sandy plain is not only unpleasant at this time, but it is also difficult to keep in the right direction. It is true, Bin Marta[c] will look after that, but Von Wissmann has great difficulty in making a drawing of our route, surveying the mountain-wall, which is just visible from time to time, and sketching in the villages. 000

After Hēnin we enter a real desert of sand. The soil is loess, but a thick layer of sand has drifted over it in the lower-lying places. A few bushes of *rāk*[1] grow here and there on the loam-hills. The wādī is seven miles wide here, the villages on the other side of it disappear in the sand-storm. We shape our direction towards the S. W. wall of the wādī, to the spot where Wādī Menwab debouches into it. Soon after the rocks come in sight we also see the tops of the date-palms shining through the leaden-coloured curtain of dust. 133

Furṭ[2] el-Qaṭn, the beginning of the inhabited, cultivated 361

[1] Classical *arāk* (أراك), *salvadora persica* Garcin, cf. Landberg *Arabica*, N°. v. (Leiden, 1898), p. 39 *sq.*; L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 211, 306. 137

[2] A *furṭ* (فرط) is a prominent top at the border of a mountain range. 104

p. 107.

361 district called el-Qaṭn, now stands out clearly against the foot of the rock-wall. The ground grows flat; the loam emerges freed from the layer of sand; rectangular patches point to occasional cultivation of the land during a favourable rainy season. There is a low-growing plant in the fields; it is a weed that is used as fodder for cattle.

361 · Furṭ el-Qaṭn is only a hamlet, but a continuous series of
241 palm-groves and fields of *dhura*, lucerne and sesame stretches from here until beyond Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn, where the Sultan is resident. All actual cultivation is due to irrigation by means of wells. A broad strip of ground which is cultivated when there is sufficient rainfall stretches outside the date plantations. The level of the subsoil water is nearer to the surface here, as the wādī descends more rapidly than does the subterranean river. Beyond Terīm it comes above the surface for considerable stretches.

212 The wells and the tracks along which beasts and men go to
231 draw up water are mostly situated in the shade of the date-
241 palms. Where shadow is lacking, long strips of jute or other
564 material sewn together are stretched over the track to make
571 shade for men and animals. Donkeys and cattle are used for haulage, but mostly with the help of man's labour. The poor, hard-working and little honoured caste of the *ḍaᶜfā* (the peasants) [1] have as their chief occupation this irrigation work [2], which really goes on almost all the year round. The *ḍaᶜīf* walks backwards beside his cow or donkey, pushing at the hauling rope with the back of his thighs, in which way his weight has most effect. By the time they reach the end of the hauling track, the bag full of water, which is generally leaking considerably, has appeared at the rim of the well. The *sānī* draws the bag of water (*ghārb*) to the rim by a thin rope,

104 [1] *Ḍaᶜfā* is the plural of *ḍaᶜīf* (ضعيف), which name is given in Haḍramaut to the agricultural labourer class, cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii, p. 220 and v. p. 406.

104 [2] Here called *senāwa* (سناوة); the man who works it is the *sānī*. Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *loc. cit.*

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where it empties itself into a little mud basin, out of which the irrigation conduits lead to the cultivated ground. Work at the well occupies the whole family: father and son guide the animals and walk with them in hauling ropes and mother and daughters relieve them at this work. Two old dames sit in the shade making ready food for the beasts, which consists of dry straw bound round with fresh green into bundles, that are pushed into the animals' mouths whenever they arrive at the top or bottom. I saw women continuing their mat-plaiting whilst, at the same time, walking backwards in the traces down the slope of the track. The work is very tiring: pulling whilst going down hill and then climbing up again. The path, on which their walk begins at sunrise, is as long as the well is deep.

## 2. TO THE SULTAN'S PALACE IN EL-QAṬN.

One sees the tall buildings of Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn even from afar rising above its walls and the tops of the date-palms. The place is not large and is situated, like the townlets in Wādī Dōʿan, stretched out and closed in between date-groves and the rock-barrier. It is surrounded by a mud wall kept in good repair. At the gate of the town we see our caravan; it is on its way to Shibām with the baggage and is resting here during the heat of the day. Although we are informed that the Sultan is staying in Shibām, we wish to pay a visit of courtesy to his deputy at the palace; possibly he may allow us to make a survey and to photograph from the roof of this very high building. The palace has just been partially renovated and, consequently, has not yet the gay outside decoration of whitewash. A broad staircase leads to a large, finely carved door. There we give our letter of introduction to the guard and after some time we are invited to follow him upstairs. By way of broad passages and endless stairs, both plastered with dried mud, we arrive at the reception-room, which has just been finished. Much of the beautiful old Arabian style is spoiled here by

342 western importations. Genuine oriental carpets have been
353 replaced in part by others from European factories. The wood-carving is painted. The aristocratic old colours of brown, red and white are crowded out by more glaring and less harmonizing dyes of western manufacture. Coloured glass has been applied as an ornament above the doors and windows. Though the old be more beautiful, the new is more cheerful, lighter and cleaner.

701 A shy relative of the Sultan, of Indian appearance, receives us. Sayyid ᶜAluwī had not had our visit announced long enough in advance and, consequently, we took him somewhat by surprise. Our request to take photographs from the roof is complied with. Our host even climbs with us up the many remaining stairs, and he appreciates our unfeigned admiration as we gaze around us over the magnificent country of el-Qaṭn. There is a large grove of date-palms behind the palace. The Sultan's mosque, completely white, stands out finely against the grey-green tops of the palms. Beyond, we see, walled off apart, the large palm-groves and the white country-houses of Yāfiᶜ soldiers and officers enriched by service under the Qeᶜēṭī Government. Soldiers and officers of former Sultans have been rewarded with grants of land. Some of them have become men of means, and they have founded a whole colony of Yāfiᶜ here; they are under the obligation to give their help to the Sultan against his enemies in times of danger. The town, in which are some large, opulent-looking houses, lies close up against the rock-wall. We cannot stay too long on the roof, for, in so doing, we should oblige our host to stand with us in the burning heat of the sun. After Wādī ᶜAmd and the journey through plains of loam-hills and sand, and the halting places of Dīyār Āl Buqrī and Hēnin, this first acquaintance with the real, true Ḥaḍramaut is certainly a great surprise. Wādī Dōᶜan was very beautiful, but this is grander and more spacious. Wādī Ḥaḍramaut reaches a breadth of five miles here.

000 We notice, when passing through the lower floors of the

palace, that a school is carried on there, in which some hundred and fifty boys receive elementary secular and religious instruction. The silent, but friendly representative of the Sultan shows us out as far as our car and allows us to photograph him with his own surroundings in front of the house.

## 3. THROUGH A SAND-STORM TO "THE TOWN" OF HADRAMAUT.

We now drive through the cultivated tract of land to its sandy, outer margin. The sand-storm meanwhile has increased in violence and Bin Marta<sup>c</sup> loses the way from time to time so that we make but slow progress towards Shibām. It is fortunate that we had clear weather in which to see this part of our route on the return journey and so were able to fill in the necessary details in describing it. Not far from Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn the fertile strip of land becomes very narrow and later on quite vanishes. The villages look then like small green islands in the otherwise bare land at the foot of the mountain. Our way goes through sand-hills grown over with a kind of reed.

Not far from Shibām we pass through the fields of *dhura* and small palm-groves belonging to the villages of el-Hēme and Āl Shēkh ᶜAlī.

At this point the cultivated ground reaches the bank of the deep *sēl*-bed. During the rains the *sēl* here threatened to degenerate from a blessing into a danger: rushing torrents of water forced their way through to the valuable palm plantations of Shibām and washed bare the roots of the trees. A cemented stone dam with sluices has been made in the *sēl*-bed to keep down the rush of water; it is quite half a mile long. Earlier dams have been destroyed, over and over again, by the *sēl*; this one has been made at great expense, and it seems to be capable of holding up and conducting the water.

The last part of the way to Shibām goes again over a plain, bare of vegetation, where the hot sand-storm has full play. On

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133 the right are fields and some groves of date-palms which seem
361 to be dependent on rain, hiding themselves behind the wide curtain of dust. Suddenly we see before us something that resembles *fata morgana*: a square, grey mass rises high up above the desert, and its upper side looks as if it were
361 covered with snow. There lies Shibām, the New York of Ḥaḍramaut, one of her three great cites and the centre of her commerce for centuries past. It was probably an important town even in pre-Islamic times.[1] High walls protect the palm plantations against the drifting sand; they are therefore invisible and the marvel of the great city looming up out of the desert breaks forcibly upon the stranger as he approaches Shibām from the direction of el-Qaṭn for the first time. No town of Ḥaḍramaut is built so compactly and of such high houses as Shibām. Nearly all the houses have a white-washed roof-storey, which gives that wonderful effect of a brown cake powdered with sugar. The city is straitly enclosed by a high, strong wall which, to a great extent, is incorporated into the back of the houses. Just at a short distance from the wall the road passes over a bridge made of the trunks of palm-trees, which spans a waterless irrigation canal, and enters the date plantation. Everything is covered with a layer of dust. The drought has been so great this year that these palms, which are dependent on the *sēl*, have been unable to produce fruit. The road follows the wall round the city, then descends to the broad, level sandy bed of the *sēl*, in the middle of which is a series of wells from which the people of the town draw water. From here a wide sope leads to the high, double gate of the town. The car gets up the bumpily paved ascent with difficulty, and we pass through the first gate to another one, 90 feet further on. We are then in a square where camels are resting, which, terrified by our car, rear on their hind legs and try to run away, in spite of their being hobbled and their heavy loads. The square is shut in on the right side by the

[1] Cf. el-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 86, l. 24, 25; 87, l. 3, 25; *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Art. *Shibām*, 4.

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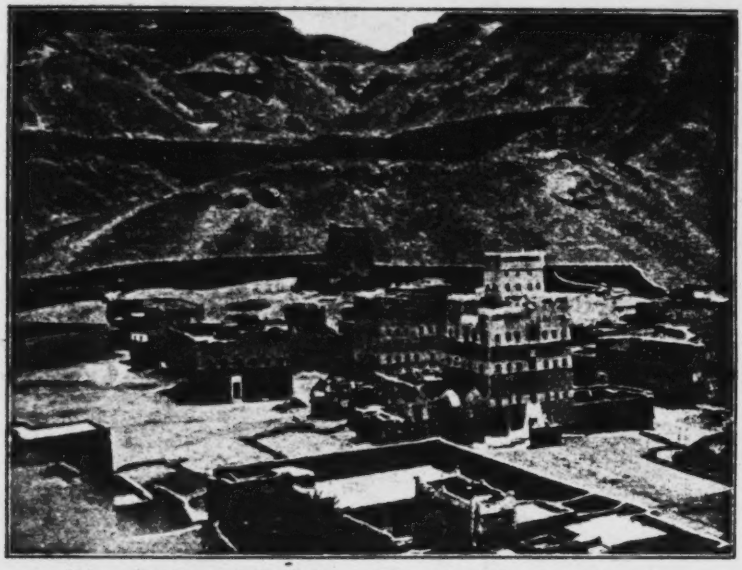
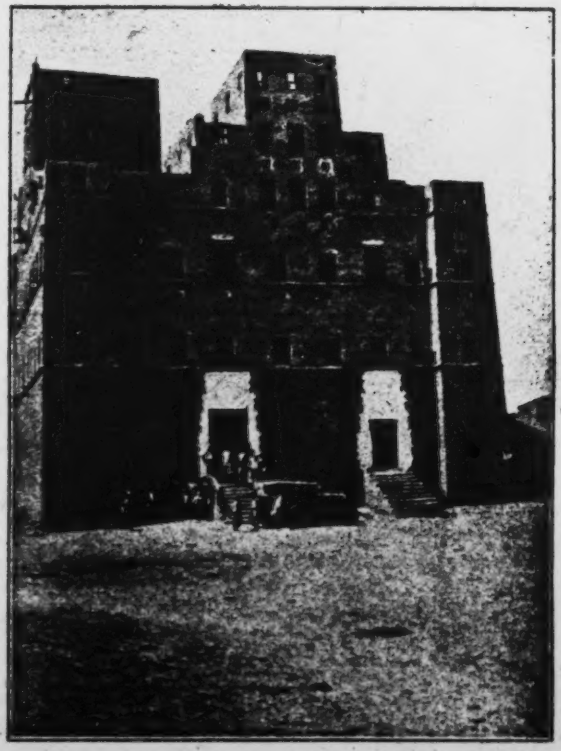


View of Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn from the roof of the Sultan's palace.



The Sultan's palace at el-Qaṭn p.112 (A)

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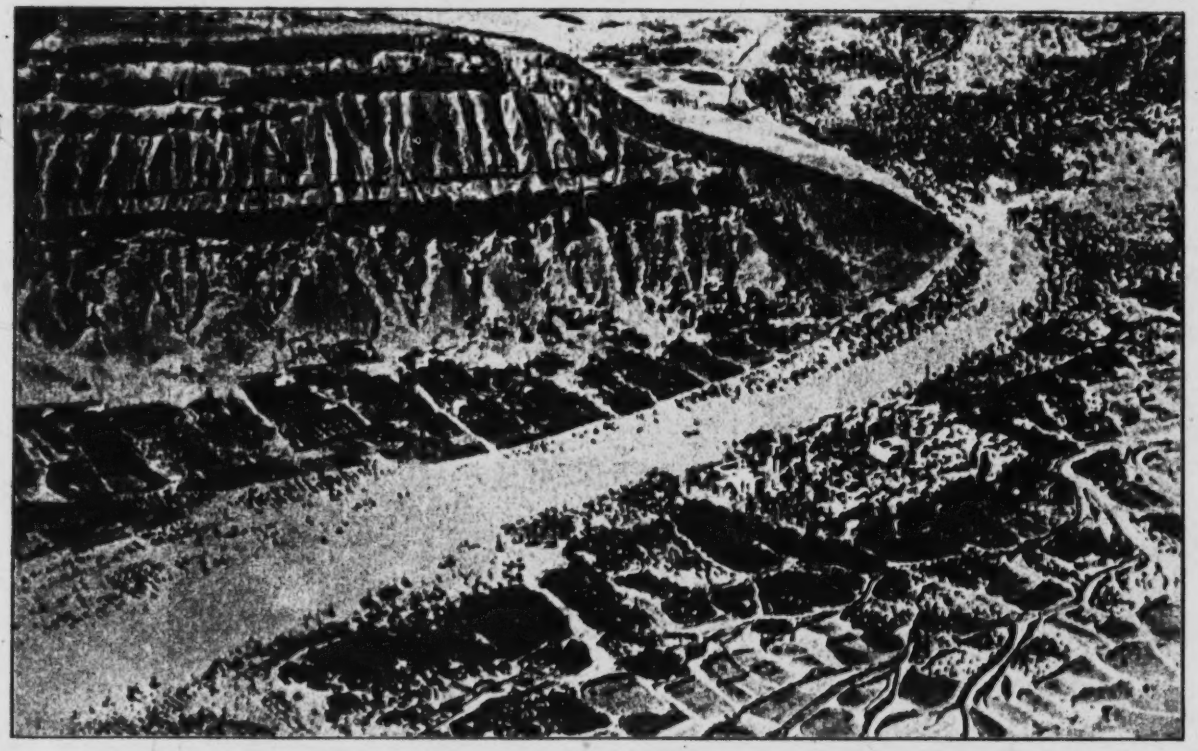
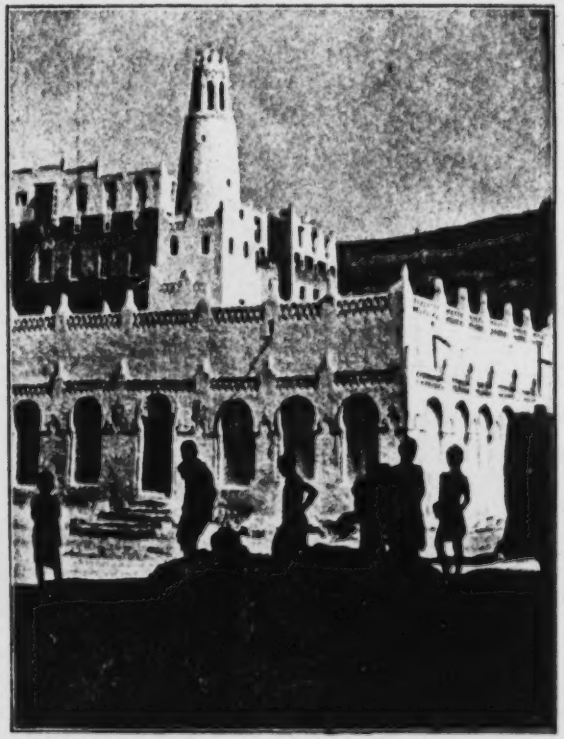
P 112 (13).



Shibām, beside the broad sand-river.

See page 113.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



A gleaming-white mosque in gloomy Shibām.

346

See page 118.

Street-scene in Shibām.

361

p.112 (c)

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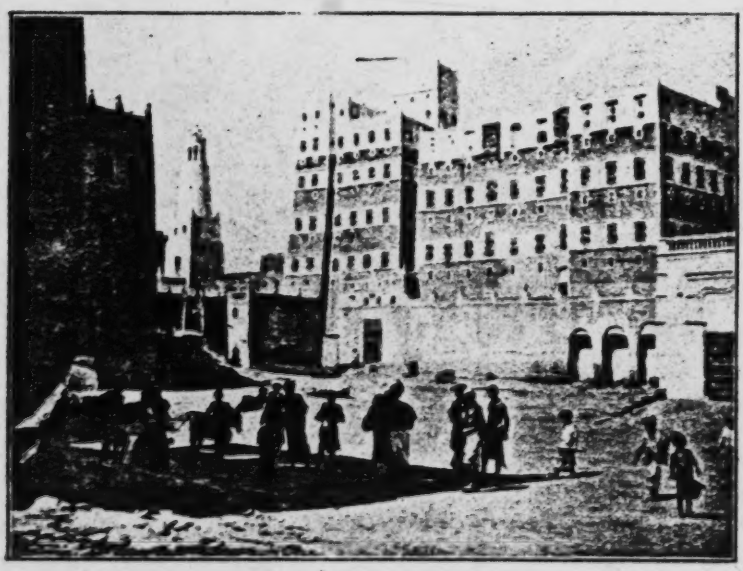

The Sultan's palace in Shibām.

p 112 (D).

See page 113.

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Sultan's huge, high palace. The car stops before the comparatively small gate and our escort discharge their guns. The gate opens and soldiers accompany us up a long staircase running across the front of the building and behind the outer wall to the entrance proper. The impression made by the palace is one of neglect and dirt. This is because the Sultan lives in Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn and only comes to stay in this palace for a few days from time to time to attend to affairs of state. At all other times it is entrusted to the very indifferent care of the soldiers who are lodged within it. 361

We are conducted to a simple room, where the carpets are old and dusty and where, on an European travelling rug, sits a tall, very thin young man, the Sultan of Shibām, ᶜAlī bin Ṣalāḥ bin Muḥammad bin ᶜUmar bin ᶜAwaḍ bin ᶜAbdallāh el-Qeᶜēṭī, the grand-nephew of the Sultan of Makalla. We are quietly and kindly received. The Sultan is very much displeased that our escort has not given him due notice of our arrival; if he had known in time he would have received us in his palace at el-Qaṭn, which is suitably furnished for receptions. Sayyid ᶜAluwī tries to apologize, but without success. In the meanwhile chairs have been borrowed in the town and placed in a large room. We can at last retire and try to wash the coating of clinging dust from our weary bodies. During these private operations we are not left alone: attentive soldiers keep watch and even allow immaculately dressed notables of Shibām to enter. These have heard of the arrival of foreigners and are on the spot at once to learn all about them. They have come in their magnificent new cars and with Arabian hospitality invite us to drive with them to the garden city in front of Shibām and to have a cup of tea with them in their garden pavilions. It has an incredible sound to our ears, when, to add to the attractiveness of their invitation, they also say that we can swim in the mason-work swimming-pool in their garden. We accept with gratitude, on condition that the Sultan makes no objection to our leaving his hospitable roof for the time being. 643 609 644

## 4. A WONDERFUL RECEPTION IN THE GARDEN CITY SEḤĒL SHIBĀM.

491 The families of Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam are on the best of
493 friendly terms with the Sultan and arrange matters with him. A little later the great dark-red cars buzz through the gate and cross the *sēl*-bed in the direction of the palm-groves, called Seḥēl Shibām. Only in the last few years has the motor-car penetrated as far as Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has made this possible by the construction of motor roads. Motor-cars can, with great difficulty, be brought from the port of esh-Shiḥr to Terīm. The separate parts of the cars have to be transported on camels for a great part of the way.
562 From the road one can see very little of the palm-groves
529 and the summer pavilions in their midst; high mud walls shut
576 off the gardens from the gaze of passers-by. There is one exception to this, where the central point is formed by a new building in modern style. This is the club of the young men of Shibām; no women come here and so there is nothing to shut
312 off. A little further on the cars turn into the gateway that
342 gives entrance to the garden of the Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam.
177 This summer abode of their joint families is still uninhabited;
351 the time for moving from town to country has only just come. There is a well behind the house, from which oxen and donkeys draw up the water, clear as crystal, though tasting somewhat bitter. All around there are banana and papaya trees, pomegranate and lemon bushes as well as date-palms. The new summer pavilion is in the depths of the garden; our host has devoted his leisure to building it. It is a product of Ḥaḍramī imagination influenced by Singapore and Java. For the outer walls chaste, simple white has been abandoned and is replaced by soft green, rose and sky-blue. The great windows are framed by coloured ornamentation. Connected with the villa is a swimming-bath with a high parapet. One has a great longing for colour in this sunny land, where it is so lacking, and this fairy palace strikes a happy note among

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the grey-green tops of the date-palms with the unchanging yellow-brown rocks in the background. The contrast between this part of Ḥaḍramaut and the desert of burning loam and sand, which scorches up the small, dying villages, is certainly great. To our regret we are only able to make a short stay in this land of enchantment, as the Sultan expects us at the palace for the evening meal. Our hosts take us back to the town and ask the Sultan whether he is willing for us to stay with them in their garden villa for the night. Permission is given and the Sultan even promises to spend the next day with us there. We eat alone in the palace; the Sultan retires after inviting us to draw up to the dining mat and to fall to. Afterwards by moonlight we return to the garden. Tea and pomegranates are served on a terrace. The conversation, carried on in Malay, is not fatiguing; our hosts make us feel how welcome we are and how much they appreciate this break in their very monotonous existence. When we wish to bathe in the swimming-pool we are provided not only with spotlessly clean bathing-gear but also with combs and scent. The moon shines in calm, silent splendour on the dark crowns of the date-palms, the water is clear and lukewarm. We ask ourselves over and over again: "Is this real? Is this actually Ḥaḍramaut, the secluded, the fanatical, the poor?"

Sultan ʿAlī bin Ṣalāḥ came, as arranged, on the following morning. He at once made searching inquiries as to our further plan of travel. We are here on the farthermost limits of the Qeʿēṭī territory and naturally the question arises: "What will await us among the Āl Kathīr?" We told the Sultan that our experiences would determine our return route. We should now go first to see the famous Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm; if he approves and thinks it justifiable to take the risk, then I, at least, shall have to return by the shortest route, and that will be direct through the Ḥumūm territory to esh-Shiḥr. Sultan ʿAlī's advice is strongly against this, the road is dangerous and Sayyid Abū Bakr has only financial influence and no governmental authority. No, we must return to Shibām,

000 then stay with him in el-Qaṭn, and, whilst there, visit with him the Ḥimyaritic antiquities in the vicinity. He will then arrange for camels and donkeys, and we shall be able to return to Makalla through Wādī Ḥuwēre in six or seven days. What Sultan ᶜAlī says coincides with the advice given us by the Vizier in Makalla and represents the standpoint of el-Qeᶜēṭī. We do not wish to make an immediate decision, for we should prefer to return by a different route, but, on the other hand, wish to keep open the possibility of making the return journey through Qeᶜēṭī territory, so as not to cut ourselves off from the support of the authorities here.

### 5. SHIBĀM "EL-DJARĪMA, THE GRAND".

162 Shibām has as many as 500 towering houses and about
167 8000 inhabitants. The number reaches 9000 if one includes
361 the whole garden suburb and the workmen's quarter outside
471 the walls of the town. There is a school with about 250 pupils, which was founded and is maintained by our hosts. In the town itself there are five large, fine mosques, almost the only low buildings and also the only entirely white ones. Outside the town, but belonging to it, there are seven more. A quarter of the masculine population is travelling constantly abroad to make money, the greater part going to Makalla and Aden. About 100 are in Java and 50 in Singapore. The Āl Ṭuwēy, for example, have house property in Singapore, Batavia and Surabaya, and when times are good they also carry on trade. Altogether about 30 households live on this family property. All the house property of the Laᶜdjam brothers is at Singapore. The well-known capitalist Bā Swēdān, who is a great landowner and has hundreds of houses in Singapore and Batavia, also comes from Shibām. Sēwūn and Terīm, however, are the centres where the Ḥaḍramīs live who have made riches in Java, and there are a great number of Dutch subjects in these towns.

000 In Shibām no poll-tax is paid by the population as is the

no poll tax is paid by the population as is the 651
case in Sēwūn and Terīm. A tax of a quarter of a *riyāl*[1] is 643
levied on every camel load that enters the gate of Shibām; also 4 % on sales of houses or land is due to the Sultan. Of the produce of the fields which depend on rain, 1 % is earmarked for the state treasury, *i. e.* the Sultan's pocket. The Government levies no tax on lands that are irrigated by their owners' efforts. The Qeᶜēṭī Sultan of Makalla owns much land in his kingdom: his tobacco fields at Ghēl Bā Wazīr, near Sheḥēr, bring in about 30.000 *riyāl* a year, and he owns many palm-groves in Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. Yet the greater part of his income comes from Bombay and Hyderabad, where he has extensive land and house property, and he receives 1500 *rupees* a month from the Niẓām of Hyderabad for his services as commander of the troops.

These great riches of the Qeᶜēṭīs are the source of their 643
power. The existence of a central authority is, in spite of many abuses, noticeable in their territory. It makes itself felt whenever urgently necessary and has no difficulty in holding its own against the Āl Kathīr, who are divided amongst themselves and are lacking in strong financial support.

The Sultan of Shibām only receives a salary from the Sultan of Makalla, to whom he is bound by family ties.

The military forces of the Qeᶜēṭī consist, in peace time, of 701
5000 soldiers, of whom 2000 are negro slave soldiers. In Shibām only 100 of them are in regular service, whilst some 500 are on reserve in case of need. These latter live, as a rule, in good houses all around el-Qaṭn.

The Sultan estimates the number of souls in Shibām, el-Qaṭn 162
and the villages between them, at 20.000. These are all the inhabitants of the State of Shibām, exclusive, however, of the Bedouin tribes who are allied by treaty with his Government.

We showed Sultan ᶜAlī the books about Ḥaḍramaut that we 186
had brought with us and a few English air photographs. It was then apparent how little the ruler and his entourage knew

[1] At the time of our visit a *riyāl* had about the same value as an 435
Indian *rupee*.

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186 about the land outside their own small territory. The Sultan knows neither Sēwūn nor Terīm; Hadjarēn was recognized by none of those present.

361 342 On this same day, before proceeding further, we return to Shibām to have a good look over this wonderful city. The streets form narrow, dark tunnels between high, grey houses built in rows. In the middle of the street there is a drain of masonry into which runs the dirty water from the houses, which splashes down into the street from many gutters made of the trunks of date-palms. Cats, donkeys and chickens are doing themselves well on the reeking brew. We are obliged to look upwards constantly to see whether an evil-smelling rain is not beginning to spatter down from one of the gutters. The houses are five or six storeys high; only the top storey is whitewashed and that cannot be seen from the street. The mosques stand in the open spaces and look indeed like toys made of sugar amongst the many tall, gloomy houses surrounding them. In the bazaar streets is a great crowd of buyers and sellers. These latter have either miniature shops or booths on the streets. The doors and windows in the houses of the rich are of magnificently carved wood. The keyhole for the huge wooden keys, which with their many wooden pegs look like brushes, is close to the door, about 4½ feet from the ground, and is usually shut off by a little shutter, neatly decorated. The dim obscurity, the stifling heat and the extremely foul streets offer, of course, good conditions of existence for flies, mosquitoes and other spreaders of disease germs.

# CHAPTER IX.

## SĒWŪN, THE HEART OF HADRAMAUT PROPER.

### 1. PENETRATING INTO THE ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

The border of the Qeᶜēṭī territory is a quarter of an hour's walk to the east of Shibām. There, high up at the edge of the mountain, is a fort and an observation post; there are also mud block-houses in the plain. Somewhat further along the mountain's ridge the white military posts of the Āl Kathīr are visible.

On the afternoon of May 24th, immediately after leaving Shibām, we cross the sandy wādī diagonally towards the northern side, where there is least vegetation, but also least warfare. The whole southern side has the name of being unsafe. But even here on the north, soldiers dog our footsteps whenever we stop to take photographs. The villages are built up against the mountain foot, and on higher points are the ruins of fortifications. Following the margin we again enter date plantations, which are, however, very thin and finally perish in the engulfing sand. Then we go on through sand-dunes overgrown with a kind of beach-grass. Close by Sēwūn we again have to cross the bed of the wādī, as this place is situated on the southern side. There is water, here and there, in the *sēl*-bed; it is, however, very bitter. The soil close to those stagnant pools is covered with a crust of white salt.

Sēwūn lies within a wide belt of magnificent palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. The water-level is only eighteen to twenty-one feet below the surface; the water has a saltish taste, but appears to be exceptionally suitable for the irrigation of the gardens. We had not so far seen such vigorous date-palms and such luxuriant, tall-growing *dhura* as in this part of the country. The hot wind has already ripened the bunches of dates, which are comfortably hidden away by this time in their

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241 protecting baskets. Sēwūn is said to be the finest and largest town in Ḥaḍramaut. It well deserves its appellation "eṭ-Ṭawīla, [103] the Long", but it could also be called "the Clean" or "the 342 Beautiful". The houses are lower and smaller and stand wider 361 apart than those of Shibām. Also dirty water and other iniquities do not simply rain down into the streets. They flow through open or covered gutters along the outer walls of the houses into closed-in cesspools of masonry. It is true, the streets are also narrow; our cars, from time to time, could only just pass through them, but there is plenty of light and no bad smells. At the gate of the massive palace of the Sultan we learn that the authorities are awaiting us in the summer residence ʿIzz ed-Dīn. Sēwūn and this garden city have quite grown into one; many of the wealthy families live in their garden palaces the whole year round. Passing through a gate in a mud wall we drive up a great courtyard which is flanked by a long white building, only one storey high. The tops of the palm-trees overhang the edge of the spacious roof-terrace, which for the greater part is carpeted and where the Sultans of Sēwūn and Terīm await us, surrounded by their counsellors.

## 2. THE SULTANS OF SĒWŪN AND TERĪM AND *THEIR SURROUNDINGS.*

643 ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn, is a short, thick-set man, with one eye, with which, however, he looks at his guests with double friendliness. His brother and his two little sons are also among the great gathering there assembled; likewise his nephew, the Sultan of Terīm, a tall, slim, very dark-complexioned young man, whose name is Muḥammad bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr. The Sultan of Terīm is generally in Sēwūn with his uncle; his small, graceful, white palace is almost opposite that of the latter; it is much more beautiful than the one in his official place of residence.

000 In the middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all

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Sewūn, the heart of Ḥaḍramaut.

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p120(A)

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A pool in the *mastla* near Sewūn, surrounded by a white salt-crust.

p 120 (B)

See page 119.

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Sewûn's garden city.

p120 (c)

See page 999

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A carved door in Shibām.

p 120 (D)

See page 118.

middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all 342
sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One 167
can see that we are nearing Terim with its refinements of 177
civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in 641
huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many 191
Ḥaḍramis who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals [262]
served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijstafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of [144]
races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the 648
ṣalāt and by meals. As the Sultan[1] has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terim, another additional 578
question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the 648
Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramis who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[1] [ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin al-Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn -- ANALIST]

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578 neutral and too democratic. Although there are heated arguments and great differences of opinion come to light, these do not in the least disturb the hearty hospitality that, here once again, we find such a surprising experience. We are also in-
648 variably required to give our impressions of Ḥaḍramaut. This is done with the object of hearing our opinion about the lack of legal security, the great poverty of the people, the backwardness of the country as regards education, roads and irrigation. My attempts to keep myself out of the game by making comparisons between conditions here and those which I had become acquainted with in the two other independent Arabian kingdoms, the Yemen and the Hedjaz, were followed with attention, but did not serve my aim. Finally, the Sultan or one of his advisers asks directly what we think of the state of affairs here. It is then no longer possible to avoid answering, and we give frank vent to our disappointment over the great lack of unity and the state of warfare which are a disgrace to the leading Ḥaḍramīs, whom we have known as able, energetic men and peaceful citizens in Java. I then say to them that they ought not to look for help from abroad, whether it be from England or Holland, or from whatever other country they expect it, but that they must seek unity amongst themselves and set their hand to the plough with self-confidence; then, with the help of Allah, they will succeed in putting an end to many shameful conditions in their country. We repeated this in many keys in all parts of the Āl Kathīr country and never noticed that it spoiled our excellent relations in the least degree.

000 As soon as the Sultan notices that we are desirous of rest, he gives the sign to withdraw, and all present, with the exception of a number of servants, follow their lord and master out of the room. The servants crowd joyously round the samovar, which goes on producing numberless glasses of tea until deep into the night, and it does not occur to them that we, blasé Europeans, may perhaps be disturbed by the stories told and the songs sung by them. The nights passed on the great roof-

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terrace of ʿIzz ed-Dīn, with the moon-lit tops of the palm-trees all around and the star-lit sky of Arabia above, are unforgettable.

On May 25th the Sultan invites us to a motor drive through the gardens of Sēwūn. The two cars pass slowly between mud walls enclosing gardens; the white summer residences in the midst of palm-trees are hidden from the gaze of the inquisitive. Then, in order to get a good view of beautiful Sēwūn, we were taken as far as the mountain-wall, where we climbed a hill on the slopes of the rock débris. The city, which lies at the foot of the mountain-wall, gleams white and thus gives a prosperous impression. On the highest point stands, wide and tall, the palace of the Sultan, one of the best examples of Ḥaḍramī palace architecture that we came across. Only the roof-terraces, with the rooms built upon them, are entirely white. The rest of the buildings has two white bands on a line with the windows, whilst the ventilation openings are framed in white. The corners of the edifice, which is long and rectangular, are fortified by round turrets. The heavy mud walls are thinner above than below and, consequently, the outer walls are not perpendicular, but slope inwards, which strengthens the impression of power and beauty in the building. The palace rises up from walled-in terraces, on which are gatehouses, powder magazines, stables and soldiers' quarters. At a little distance lies the graceful palace, entirely white, but somewhat smaller, of the Sultan of Terīm.

The cemetery is situated nearly in the centre of the town and has five graves of *walīs* with graceful *qubbas* in their honour. Several white minarets rise out of the sea of houses of the city, reminding us that Sēwūn was once famous as a seat of religion and learning. Schools were habitually connected with the mosques and that is still the case with their scanty remnants. Surrounding the city is a wide border of palm-groves, with the white of summer residences dotting it here and there. Those of the es-Saqqāf family are noticeable for their number and their size.

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000 The heat of the sun drives us away, however, from our bare hillock, but the Sultan promises to give us the pleasure of another similar excursion in the evening. We shall meet again at lunch in the palace of the Sultan of Terim, who is to entertain us to-day.

353 It is exceedingly hot when, some hours later, we leave the
342 garden city and proceed to the palace. We are received in a broad corridor, the only place where there is some breeze and, thus, some degree of coolness. The corridor is spread with beautiful carpets; at one end is a table with chairs placed round it, at the other end cushions lie on the carpets. The reception begins on chairs, but that does not last long. We are soon all seated on the floor, leaning against the cushions as is the custom here. The meal is served in a hall where there are two rows of pillars. Long and strong supporting beams cannot be obtained here, where wood is scarce and short; thus all large rooms have pillars to support the roof construction. A long table-cloth is laid over the carpets in the middle
[177] of the room. Seated around it with their legs crossed under
[264] them the great company, with few words and in a rapid tempo, feasts upon the excellently prepared Javanese "rice meal" (*rijsttafel*) laid before them.

353 The mural decorations of the otherwise empty room consist of mirrors, old English prints, photographs of Java and Singapore and two large hanging clocks with musical chimes.

Tea is served in a small drawing-room with modern furniture. In Ḥaḍramaut, the new is less practical and less beautiful than the old and indigenous. It is so hot in here, with its coloured glass windows, that all are thankful when the meeting is adjourned.

508 In the afternoon the Sultan takes us by car to a broad plain
489 where the mountain-wall recedes. He would like to make an aerodrome here and wants therefore to have our opinion. The aeroplane would be an ideal means of transport for the whole of Arabia, and especially for Ḥaḍramaut. Not only are distances great, the communications difficult and whole stretches

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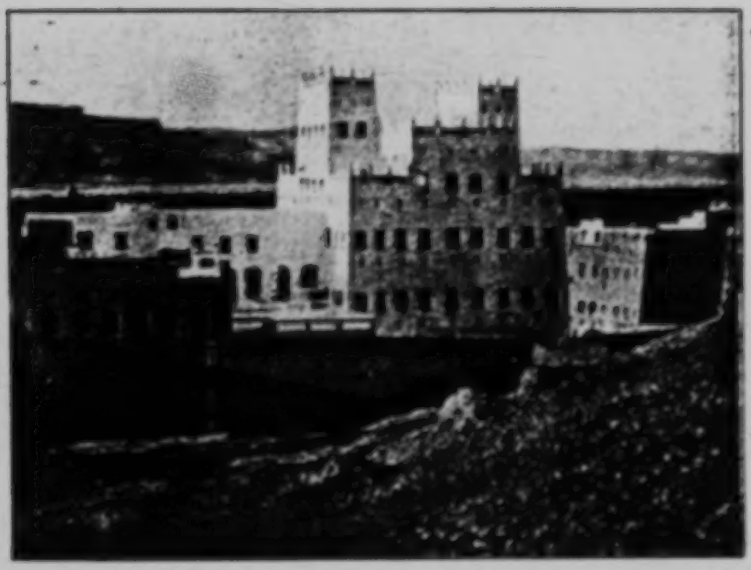

The white palace of the Sultan of Terim in the centre of Sewûn.

p.124 (A)

See page 124.

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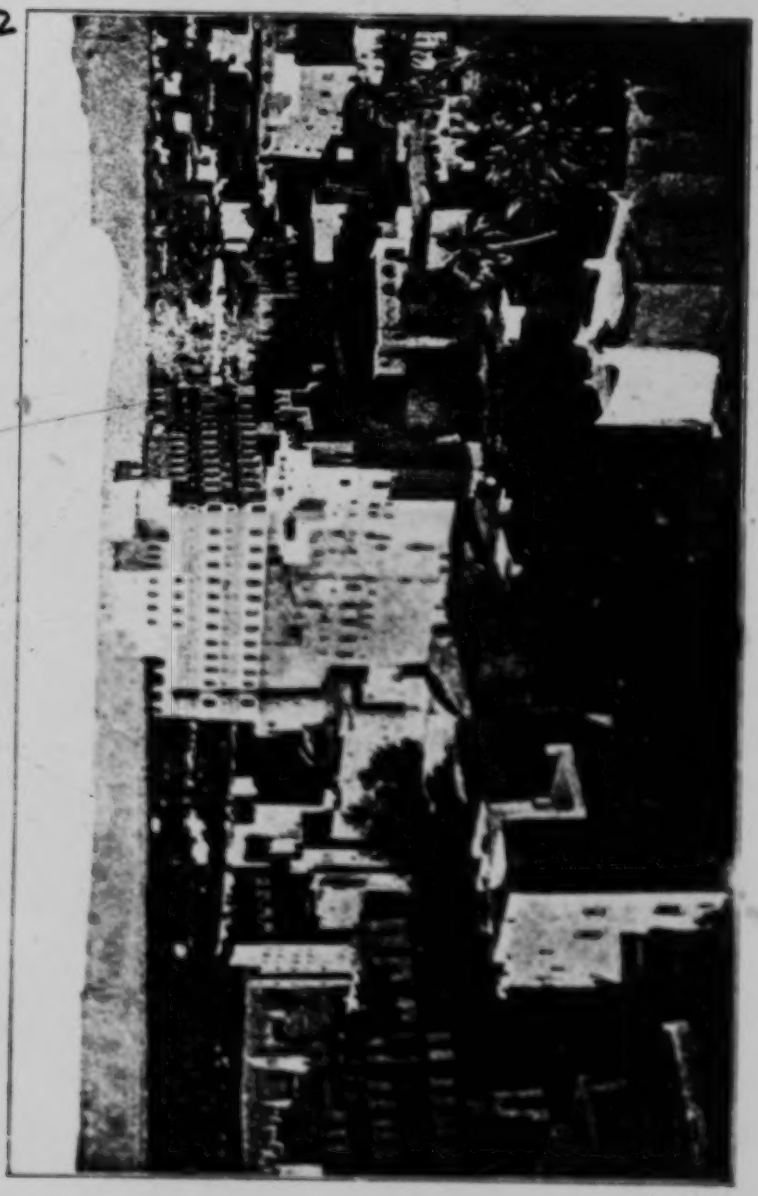

The Sultan's palace in Sewûn.

p124 (B)

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Sewûn with the cemetery in the foreground.

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p124 (C)

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The first mountain road for motor traffic over the rocky spurs near Terim.

p 124 D

See page 120.

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often very poor in water, but, over and above this, countless internal wars make traffic dangerous and force travellers to go by very circuitous routes. This is why the Ḥaḍramī seldom knows his own country well. A learned Ḥaḍramī whom I knew formerly said to me quite truly: "I know all the volcanoes of Java and all the stations on its main railway lines, but I cannot give you any information about the wādīs and mountains a few hours distant from my home." The Sultan of Sēwūn is a relatively favourable exception to this rule in that he has seen Aden; he went there to attend a conference convened by the British authorities, where an attempt was made to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Qe'ēṭī and Kathīrī rulers. He desires to see more of the world, including Java, the land in which three quarters of his subjects have interests. The great difficulty, however, is to get over the Qe'ēṭī barrier, and for that an aeroplane is necessary. The site for the future aerodrome which was shown to us seemed quite suitable.

In the evening there is again a gathering on the roof-terrace at 'Izz ed-Dīn. The subject brought forward for discussion is the poverty of Ḥaḍramaut and how relief from it may be obtained. In and around Sēwūn the water-level is not deep, which fact accounts for the prosperous palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. But the water-supply would have to be enlarged if it is to help the people really forward. This cannot be done by motor pumps, because they are too expensive in practice. The pump at Hēnin has to work eight hours a day to keep in existence a few acres of *dhura* and 200 small palm-trees, and that costs more in kerosene and lubricating oil than can ever be made from the produce of the irrigated land. The soil in Sēwūn is better and water nearer to the surface, and yet experience has taught that here also the motor pump does not pay. Can matters not be improved by means of artesian wells? The Sultan asks us to help by sending an expert with the necessary instruments. He says that at one time, in the days of the Ḥimyaritic kingdom, Ḥaḍramaut must have been

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prosperous. Great irrigation works for collecting and distributing water were constructed. There is no longer united action, the reservoirs have gone to wrack and ruin, and now, every year, quantities of life-giving water stream down to the sea and are wasted. This matter was discussed again thoroughly later in Terīm.

000

May 26th is the day fixed for our departure for Terīm. In the morning, cars are placed at our disposal to enable us to make a tour through the city and its surroundings for taking photographs. We thankfully seize this opportunity of making a pictorial record of some of the fine houses and views of this city in a forest of palms in the midst of the desert. In photographing the es-Saqqāf town house it is impossible to evade the pressing invitation of Sayyid Hūd es-Saqqāf to come in and have a glass of tea, so we promise to do so as soon as we have finished photographing. We cannot pass the cemetery without taking snapshots of some graves with light-green cupolas with unostentatious, beautiful, open-work borders. There are also several small mosques in picturesque situations. The Sultan kindly allowed us to admire the city of Sēwūn from the roof of his palace. Noticeable here in this great palace are the order and cleanliness which literally gleam out at the visitor. It is especially in the palaces, with the many soldiers quartered in them and with the many guests, that the contrary is often the case. It takes some time before the women in the corridors and on the staircases, where we have to pass, can be warned of our approach. When this has been successfully done we saunter through deserted passages of mud and ascend by well-constructed even staircases to the shining white roof. Here we stand on the most beautiful site in Ḥaḍramaut. Terīm does its best to equal it and has more to show in great palaces, but here is grace, here is the happy variation of deep-green, luxuriant gardens and fine summer residences, here the Ḥaḍramī style, pure and harmonious, has been adhered to.

In the house of the namesake of Hūd, Ḥaḍramaut's great prophet, the promised glass of tea is awaiting us. The grey-

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headed Sayyid Hūd es-Saqqāf receives us with great friendliness and conducts us to a room, in his princely mud-built dwelling, where a table-cloth spread on the carpets is hidden beneath dishes of pastry, sweets and tinned fruits. Even a Dutch cigar, to accompany a cup of the finest Java tea, is not lacking. Grateful recognition of much good treatment from a Western Christian government finds expression here. Our visit to Sayyid Hūd is of short duration, but every moment of it is filled with hearty hospitality.

In the afternoon we bid farewell to the Sultan of Sēwūn, his young sons, his brother, his counsellors and servants, and also to the Sultan of Terīm and his brother, with a "We meet again, if Allah will!" We stand together on the steps by the entrance of the white ʿIzz ed-Dīn: the first contact with a Kathīrī ruler has gone excellently well. We have gained the impression in conversation that the political condition in their territory is far from ideal, but that they themselves feel this and desire improvement with all their hearts. Their notables have known a well-governed country too intimately not to long for an end to their disputes, for legal security, for safety, for a united setting of the hand to the plough to bring progress in the land, for the opening of roads to link up with the outside world, which goes forward on its way without troubling itself about sleepy Ḥaḍramaut. Even rulers and notables repeatedly called their country a land of slumber and added: "Sleep is like death." The first essential for improvement exists already: they are dissatisfied with things as they are, and the energetic among them have seen a different state of affairs abroad. The fanaticism which shuts off its own country from the outside world, in order to keep its religion and its sacred soil inviolate, is being more and more overcome. It is the *sāda* themselves, the protectors of the faith of their fathers, who are foremost in the endeavour to throw down the barriers shutting off their country.

# CHAPTER X.

## TO TERÎM, THE HOPE OF ALL ḤAḌRAMAUT.

871 In the Qeʿêṣī country, already, we heard the name of Sayyid
487 Abû Bakr el-Kâf invariably pronounced with respect, and here
491 we have entered the land of his activity. Sayyid el-Kâf has plac-
741 ed his energy, his love, and all his possessions at the service of
493 his country and of his people. His example is an impressive
185 call to unity and to the setting aside of personal interests and susceptibilities for the general good. Schools, endowed and maintained by him, are scattered all over the country. The Qeʿêṣī Sultans and Governors have them in their residences, and the influence of these little schools will slowly penetrate through the whole land. His other sensational enterprise, which may become of the greatest significance for the country's future, is the construction of a motor road from the Ḥaḍramaut valley to the coast. Although the road is not yet completed, its influence is already making itself felt. The most difficult *ʿaqabas* have been conquered so that it is possible to bring cars into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut, though the transport of these is still expensive. There, where the first car passes, others will soon follow, and in a country where travelling is very tiring and very slow, the motor-car will be particularly appreciated. The Ḥaḍramis who have been successful abroad do not lack money. The motor-car having arrived will not disappear again, and conditions within the borders of Ḥaḍramaut will be entirely changed thereby. The construction of roads in the valley itself has been started without delay, and drivers and mechanics have already found their way there.
721 The inconvenience of intertribal warfare makes itself felt more and more forcibly, but Sayyid Abû Bakr will be greatly
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Terim, the town of wisdom and religion.

See page 130/131.

facing p 128

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helped by the motor-car in his great work of pacifying and 721
opening up Ḥaḍramaut.

We depart in two fine cars belonging to the Sultan of 114
Sēwūn for Terīm, the city to which Leo Hirsch has preceded us and from which nearly forty years ago the sayyids with their fanaticism and hatred of Christianity forced him to flee within a few hours of his arrival. An Englishman, Mr. Boscawen, reached there also a full year in advance of us, but he did not publish a description of his journey and, according to report, only came for sport. Aeroplanes of the R. A. F. at Aden, with Colonels Cochrane and Lake and Flight-Lieutenant Rickards on board, also once flew high above the town, but they were only making an aerial reconnaissance, although the scouts themselves felt a growing desire within them to set foot for once in this wonderful town. The Ḥaḍramis say of it: "Terīm — and then thou desirest nothing else." [186]

The cars take us through winding mud lanes between palm- 241
groves to the hilly stretch of sand and loam outside the town. 172
The palm-trees are planted well apart from each other in the sand; the fields of *dhura* come to an end but the little dykes of the area that can only be cultivated when the rains are sufficient are to be seen for long afterwards. Quite soon we pass the ruins of a town, Maryama, probably of great antiquity. The castle and the town were laid waste in a local war, and, of the cultivation of the land, only the little dykes, which divided the fields into squares, still remain. Close to Maryama there was an old road which crossed southwards over the mountain-wall. My companion climbed this *ʿaqaba* called Duqm el-Aswad and found on the rock-wall close to the *djōl* scrollings and grafitti probably made, many centuries ago, by the Bedouins of passing caravans. Some distance further on the villages and palm-groves at the foot of the southern mountain-wall come to an end. The loam vanishes under an ever thicker layer of 493
sand and sand-dunes, and the cars stall several times. In 491
accordance with the instructions of the Sultan we do not go by the normal way, through the plain, to Terīm, but follow

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Part of the outer wall ~~and defence~~ towers, protecting Terim.

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493 the mountain road made by Sayyid el-Kāf. Some years ago,
491 when the motor-car was first introduced into Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm was at war with villages in the wādī, and this stretch across the plains was then, consequently, impassable. But Sayyid el-Kāf would not yield to any war whatever and, at great expense and effort, he made a road over the two rocky spurs which separate Terīm from Sēwūn.

491 The Sultan of Sēwūn was so proud of this piece of Ḥaḍramī engineering that he insisted on our following this route. It is very difficult for the drivers to cross the wādī at this point, to avoid hillocks and pitfalls, and to come out finally onto the beginning of the zigzag mountain road at the base of the rock. The road, narrow and very steep, goes up and up against the slopes of rock débris, and only short cars can manoeuvre the sharp corners. Half way up, the engines have to cool off and the drivers take a breathing-space, while we too need to recover from the tension! Descent on the other side of the steep ridge seems to be even more difficult than the ascent. Our drivers have to depend only on the brakes and do not seem able to lessen speed by letting the motor run on the lowest gear without giving gas. They do not trust our suggestions, and the brakes get hot so quickly that they have to be cooled with the water that we have brought with us in skins. The second spur of rock too is conquered without mishap; however, I preferred to make the descent on foot. It was indeed in this case quicker than in a car the brake-bands of which catch fire.

### 1. "TERĪM — AND THEN THOU DESIREST NOTHING ELSE".

361 We get the first view of Terīm from the second rocky ridge.
342 It lies in an absolutely barren stony plain. The cultivated tract of land is narrower than at Sēwūn and does not look so luxuriant and fertile, but the great number of large, square palaces is at once noticeable. They are not grey and white here as in Sēwūn, but of all manner of striking colours. One of

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them is entirely blue and is, consequently, the most conspicuous; in others yellow or pink is predominant. A very high minaret, not round but square, and also plastered in a shade of blue, rises high above palm-groves and houses. Terîm, as a city, is a thing by itself. It is a town of many rich men: one can see that even from a distance.

The mountain path debouches into a plain covered with small boulders. A good road, apparently much used, runs right across the plain direct to the gate of Terîm. An evidently new mud wall, with gatehouses and defence turrets in good condition, encloses the town with its gardens and cemetery and runs high up the mountain-wall on either side. War is a familiar phenomenon round about Terîm, and the city is worth strong protection. Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf has organised the building and maintenance of the defence works of the town, and has borne the lion's share of the expense.

As soon as we have passed the gate, the road passes through a well-kept burial ground, where there are three *qubbas* in honour of holy men buried there [1], and also a small mosque. Then, through narrow, winding streets, we come to the house of the widely famed Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf. The house is large but has not yet been completed. We pass through a mud gateway into the garden, where masons are working with their building material of mud, where poor men are waiting for alms, where visitors come and go. We are conducted to the new wing, where, in the reception-room furnished in western style, we make acquaintance with our host and his habitual male entourage.

## 2. GOOD DAYS WITH SAYYID ABÛ BAKR EL-KÂF, HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS.

Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf is of middle age; he is more simply dressed than his guests and relatives. He does not like coming

[1] Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Sa'd ès-Suwêni, ein seltsamer Walî in Hadhramôt*, *op. cit.*, v., p. 403 *sqq.*

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000 to the fore and at the beginning gazes at us earnestly and searchingly, saying little, but pushing others forward. His young Indian doctor, whom he brought here about a year ago and who is the first medical man with a western training to practise in Ḥaḍramaut, is especially entrusted with the reception of the European visitors. He, with Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, our travelling companion, always has meals with us, seated at a table, whilst at a little distance Sayyid el-Kāf and his Arabian guests are seated round the dishes served on the floor, according to the custom of the country.

It is a real surprise to me to meet again, in this circle, Sayyid Muḥammad bin Hāshim bin Ṭāhir, a learned Ḥaḍramī, who for a long time played an important part in education and journalism in Java. Sayyid ʿUmar bin Shēkh bin ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān el-Kāf, a younger brother of our host, who is resti g in Terīm from his strenuous business life in Singapore, is a daily visitor in the house. A room, the size of a large hall, is placed at our disposal as bedroom and work-room. We are left a great deal of freedom, and when we wish for company we go to the *madjlis*, which after sunset is transferred to a spacious terrace, onto which the room itself opens. There, in the evening, dinner is served, there the papers are read, and, in connection therewith and under the stimulus of several glasses of tea, many things are told and listened to.

It is the custom for the numerous members of the great el-Kāf family to take a motor drive at sunset in the surroundings of Terīm, to obtain a little refreshing coolness at this hot season of the year. Later on, the evening ritual prayer is jointly performed in the house or garden of some member of the family. The young men are in the habit of meeting in the garden of Sayyid ʿUmar, where a big swimming-pool fed continuously with fresh water by means of a Deutz motor — the water-level is 45 feet below the surface here — forms the centre of attraction. We, with the young doctor, are regularly of the party. The temperature of the water is so warm that swimming itself cools one but little, though standing

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afterwards with wet body in the dry evening breeze certainly 000
does. Of course there is a servant with a samovar, who provides the glasses of tea, which are always welcome in this country of dry heat. The ripest dates are brought from the gardens; they are sweet but very astringent. The foreigner accustoms himself but slowly to this unusual and, at first, unappetising food. But soon he learns to appreciate the date whilst it is still hard and fresh.

Swimming by moonlight is an unexpected luxury and a par- 529
ticular pleasure to us in this country. On one side, close to the swimming-pool, there is a space for the *ṣalāt*, where a niche in the wall indicates the *qibla*[1]; on the other side there is a summer pavilion. Everything has a wash of light, delicate colour; the lines of the walls and roofs are edged with fine figures and borders, and one is inclined to forget that the material of which they are made is plain, brown mud. We spend quite a long time together with the young people on brotherly terms. They let themselves go now that no elders are present. Swimming and diving competitions are held with great gusto, until the time comes for the *ṣalāt el-'ishā'* (the late evening ritual prayer), which is performed with suitable solemnity. The evenings at home on the great roof-terrace are always very attractive; only intimate friends remain till then, and our host puts questions which show clearly how his thoughts are always occupied with his country and people, and how he is seeking ways for their advancement.

There are many difficulties in the making of a road to esh- 491
Shiḥr. The Ḥumūmī Bedouins, notorious for their love of fight- 578
ing, and through whose territory passes the greater part of 656
the road, have — after being richly paid — made a pact by 489
which they promise not to oppose it and whereby Sayyid Abū Bakr binds himself only to allow the use of the road for travellers by motor-car, while the conveyance of freight shall be left to the camels of the Bedouins. There is only left unfinished a stretch of three days by camel.

[1] The *qibla* is the direction in which Mecca lies. 104

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000 721 185 509 finished a stretch of three days by camel. Sayyid Abū Bakr foresees, nevertheless, much bickering with the Bedouins in the future and therefore is meditating upon the possibility of inaugurating an air service between Terīm and esh-Shiḥr. Since he saw British military aeroplanes manoeuvring above Terīm and heard what a deep impression those unknown, gigantic birds made on the Bedouins, the conviction has grown within him that the aeroplane would be the conclusive way of bringing the Bedouins under discipline and keeping them there. An aeroplane cannot be opposed with dagger and gun, the wādīs are no hindrance to it, and there is no spot on the barren *djōls* where one can escape the searching eye of the airman. Sayyid Abū Bakr considers that a single demonstration, to show the terrible effects wrought by a bomb dropped from one such aeroplane, would suffice to make an end to the Bedouin warfare, which has been going on for centuries, and that this would be the first step on the way towards the real advancement of the country. We advise them — although they know the Dutch Fokker aeroplanes in Java and the kindred type, the Junkers, in the Yemen, — to consult the British authorities at Aden and to procure the same type of aeroplane as is used by them.

508 On the afternoons of the ensuing days motor drives were made in the neighbourhood of Terīm, to show us the ground considered suitable for an aerodrome. My expert companion chooses the site indicated on the ground-plan of Terīm, eastward of el-Ḥāwī, of which only a small part would need levelling; it is close to and connected with the town, and is not so near to the precipitous mountain-wall as the other terrains under review. At the request of Sayyid Abū Bakr, Von Wissmann draws a sketch map of the proposed landing ground with its surroundings, to show to the Governor of Aden when consulting him as to whether the R. A. F. would allow their machines to land on such a ground. Our energetic friend, Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās of Ḥurēḍa, has worked with the Junkers commission in the Yemen and will, eventually, be

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entrusted by his uncle Sayyid Abû Bakr with the carrying out of these aviation plans.

On the morning after our arrival we were, first of all, shown the so-called "wild cow" [1], a present to Sayyid Abû Bakr from some Bedouins who had caught it young on the border of the Rub' el-Khālī (the "Empty Quarter"). The wild cow appears to be a white antelope with black marks and two very long, straight horns. The beautiful, big creature has already lived in captivity for twelve years and looks well on it, except that its hoofs, owing to lack of abrasion, have grown too long.

On the ground floor of Sayyid Abû Bakr's house, where he has his stables, we found some stones with inscriptions on them, brought by Bedouins from the ruins of Sûne. This drew our attention towards that district of ruins, and our host promised that he would organize an excursion for us there.

### 3. THE PALACES OF TERÎM.

Later we pay a visit to Sayyid 'Umar bin Shēkh el-Kāf, the younger brother of our host, already mentioned, whose house, just restored, is said to be the most beautiful in all Terîm, and that is saying a great deal in this city of palaces. His house is chiefly conspicuous for its dimensions and colour. The outside is painted deep blue, and the stately rows of tall windows are bordered with a design in yellow. There is, also, no sparing use of pink and green. The style is more Indian than Ḥaḍramī.

All the great houses of Terîm have a character quite of their own that one does not see in the other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. They are massive, square buildings, with regular rows of tall windows, with few extensions on the roofs and few decorative designs on the top of the walls or on the parapets. The lower floor, which is very lofty, has generally two wide, high entrances, closed by doors of teak, and with broad

[1] *Baqarat el-waḥsh* (بقرة الوحش).

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342 mud steps leading up to them. Signs of intimate contact with foreign countries, Singapore as well as Java, may be noticed
439 both in the exteriors and interiors of these palaces. For instance, it appears to be the existing fashion to have the doors sent ready-made from Java and Singapore. Transport of these very heavy doors and window-frames is certainly expensive and difficult, for the strongest and largest camels have to be selected for it, but the supply of wood in Ḥaḍramaut is small and poor in quality and could not have provided for the many great new buildings of Terim in so short a time.
[438] This extra expense is permissible because the rest of the
465 building costs in Ḥaḍramaut is small. Manual labour is very
331 cheap in this desperately poor and overpopulated country.
342 Even first-rate professional men, architects included, do not earn more than a very moderate daily wage. The chief building material is mud, which can be dug up everywhere close by the house that is to be built. As everything is covered with a plaster of mud, the most crooked branches of *nibq* and desert shrubs can be used for roof construction and similar details. The trunks of date-palms are chiefly in use for ceilings and supporting pillars. We only saw wooden pillars with wooden capitals and cross-beams in the very old, dilapidated castles; the carved, dark-brown wood found in these, with their ceilings of split and interwoven branches, painted in rust-red, white, and black, are certainly very beautiful; yet, owing to the scarcity of wood, one must make shift with the trunks of date-palms. Ceilings, pillars and cross-beams are nowadays covered with a plaster of mud, and this, again, is painted over in fresh, soft colours. The new buildings, consequently, make a gayer and lighter impression, both without and within, and they are more cleanly, but something of the old beauty has vanished. Present-day builders have become real masters in modelling mud and in whitewash work. Pillars made of palm-trunks are transformed by them, as if by magic, into vigorous-looking, round columns with fine capitals.

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The palaces of Terim.

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The great cleanliness of the houses of the rich is very 336
noticeable. The drainage from lavatories and kitchens runs 271
down wide, square shafts into spaces destined for it in the lower floor, into which however, unfortunately, light penetrates so that they become good breeding places for flies. Bathrooms and also lavatories are partly fitted out as in the East Indies. Sometimes there are douches, and generally there are large brick cisterns for the bath water, which one scoops out to pour over oneself. Our host has a large refrigerator by means of which cold drinking-water is provided for the numerous guests and dwellers in the house, and fruits and sweetmeats become the refinement of pleasure.

Cooking in Terîm, as in Sêwûn, is very much influenced 252
by Singapore and Java. Chinese cooks are responsible for 177
the extensive rice meals that are enjoyed daily by dozens of guests. Many dried or tinned foods are imported from Java. Some kinds of vegetables are grown in the gardens of Terîm; the fresh fruits which are served at table are large oval melons and the first ripe dates. As the latter are rather scarce, last years' dates come to table prepared as paste, in cakes, sweet bread, etc.

Sayyid ʿUmar el-Kâf's house, like that of our host, is 352
furnished in half-European style. Old-fashioned Indian rocking-chairs stand on the beautiful carpets. A bed, rigged up in the Javanese manner, decorates the great reception-room. The bed linen is not white, but pink. There are many mirrors on the walls and also photographs of the family's estates in the Indies. Sayyid ʿUmar is the owner of the great Europe Hotel in Singapore; he shows us with pride — and no wonder — the model of the new hotel, which makes an impression magnificently American. The walls are further decorated with Mausers and American repeating rifles, which are hard to obtain in this country and, consequently, are worth a great deal.

It had already struck us that the Kathîrî soldiers were 714
better clad than those of the Qeʿêṭî. The number of pro- 411 565

"Terim and then thou desirest nothing else".

See page 138.

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714 fessional soldiers is much smaller here, and the black slave
411 element is entirely absent. The sayyids of Ḥaḍramaut them-
565 selves are not armed, but they set great store on the possession of a few good Mausers (here called *Mēser*) and of large quantities of munition.

## 4. THE HIGHEST MINARET OF ḤAḌRAMAUT.

346 In the afternoon, accompanied by our host's son and the doctor, we climb the highest minaret of Ḥaḍramaut. No one knows the exact height; we estimate it at 150 feet. It is a pity that this minaret is built in modern style. The true Ḥaḍramaut minaret is round, tapering a little towards the top, with a single band of lattice-work as the only decoration; on the top are small round pillars supporting the cupola. The colour, cream, stands out very effectively against a hard blue sky and above the grey-green of the date-palms. But *this* minaret is square and the colour is blue and white; it has many small window openings with grey borders. It also tapers towards the top, where the spiral staircase of mud is only practicable for slim people. At the top is again the little cupola with pillars supporting the roof.

361 A striking panorama is spread out from here before our eyes. Standing in the midst of the luscious, green oasis, with its gaily coloured palaces, we gaze out towards the wide, scorched plains of sand of the wādī and the dark, crumbled walls of the *djōl*. One can see clearly from here that Terīm is a town of some extension, with many great houses of which the greater number are kept in good condition, and that many new ones are in process of building. The cemetery, with its three cupolas marking the graves of *walīs* (saints) [1], makes a large open space. There are many mosques, recognisable by their high or low, round or square minarets. The ruins of a great castle, the centre point of the old city, stand on a hill.

[1] See p. 131, foot-note.

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on a hill. Whilst we photograph, survey and sketch, we feel as if our narrow standing-place were swaying gently to and fro. It is unpleasant to contemplate that we are so high above the level of the ground, standing on a slender tower made of almost nothing but dried mud.

## 5. SMALL RUINS OUTSIDE TERÎM.

In the evening, during the family motor drive, when the el-Kāfs and their set ride in slow procession through the gardens of Terîm and the baked plains of stone that lie outside it, a hill in the midst of Wādī ʿEdid is pointed out to us, which is said to have associations dating from the ʿĀd epoch. From a certain distance an old, paved high road is clearly visible, leading to the summit of the hill, where a temple must have stood. Only loose stones with mortar between them are now to be seen on the hill; at its base there are the remains of foundations of buildings, which seem to point to a guest-house with many small rooms. For the people of Terîm these ruins have an odour of sanctity; a similar hill, close by, is used by childless women as a place of worship, where they have to perform certain nocturnal rites by means of which they hope to have children.

## 6. A WALK THROUGH THE TOWN.

On the following day, May 28th, we go with the doctor to see his house and clinic. This pioneer of western medical science has no easy time here; the people still cling to their own ideas as to the functions of the human body and the causes of illness. They think that there are three chief causes of sickness, namely *riyāḥ* (gasses in the blood), *burūda* (cold), and *ḥarāra* (heat). They say of foods that they make the body cold or hot, or cause or disperse flatulence. Even the men of standing talk about their ailments in this terminology

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753 and our doctor has had to adapt himself temporarily to it and
758 to fixed wishes regarding diet, in anticipation of the growth of better understanding and more trust. The result of his work as the first and only doctor in all Ḥaḍramaut is not as great as one would expect. Sayyid Abū Bakr himself is not yet sufficiently convinced of the value of western medical art to allow the never ending outlay on medicines and instruments for the expert help of the doctor. The first nurse in Terīm was an Arab from one of the African coast towns, who missed his cinema and café so much that he speedily fled from the place of banishment, to return to the towns where he could enjoy the blessings of western civilization. Thus the doctor has all the work again on his own hands.

743 An enormous mud building has been placed at his disposal. In it he lives, has his pharmacy, the polyclinic and the beginnings of an operating-room. Further, one of the young el-Kāfs, who was assistant to an Egyptian dentist who formerly worked here for some months, has a room where, equipped with modern instruments, he practises dentistry.

164 According to the doctor, Ḥaḍramaut seems to be a healthy country. Among the lower classes there is, however, a good deal of eye disease, and it is also true that malaria makes its appearance in the autumn. What will be the eventual outcome of this beginning of medical help will depend on the tact and devotion and staying-power of the young doctor.

312 After this we go with the doctor on a walking tour to see the sights of the town of Terīm. First of all, naturally, we visit the remains of old Terīm, on the borders of the residential area of the town; it consists of a bare low hill on whose top stand the ruins of the once great and mighty castle. There are always wells for drinking-water in castles of this kind. These wells are very deep as they are in the inner courtyard of the castles and are, consequently, dug from the summit of the hill. From this ruined castle one had a good view over
346 Terīm so rich in mosques, palaces and . . . graves. The popular report in Ḥaḍramaut is that the town possesses 360 mos-

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ques. One of the el-Kāfs told us that there are 200 in use and 160 falling into disrepair. My friend Sayyid Hāshim makes it 60 in use and 300 falling into disrepair; this is, doubtless, nearer to the truth. 346

The number of the inhabitants of Terīm is almost certainly 12000, for our host has lists of names in connection with the distributions of food made by him to the masses. Sēwūn must then have rather more, that is, between 12000 and 15000. 162

There are two elementary schools here with about 400 pupils, and one school for more advanced religious instruction with some 200 students. 871

After the visit to the castle we go to New Terīm. There a completely new suburb is being built, partly for people who are in the service of the el-Kāfs. In none of the places that we had visited up to now was there so much life and expansion as here. In Terīm a conscious and well-considered effort is being made to become, within a short time, the foremost town of Ḥaḍramaut. El-Kāf and Terīm are the names that we heard everywhere whenever new undertakings or plans were under discussion. 361

We pass through the new suburb till we strike the wall of the city, which ascends the slope of the mountain at this spot until it becomes unclimbable. Two forts manned by soldiers strengthen this starting point of the defence works of the town. From their high position they overlook quite half of the well-maintained and solid wall which encloses the town and the palm-groves in straight lines. 712

It is Thursday, the day for the distribution of food to the poor. As we return home, the street and square before our host's house are black with women, children and greybeards, awaiting the portions of rice and flour that are destined for them. The work of distribution lasts for hours. Servants hand out the portions; others check and sign long lists of names. The soldiers and Bedouins from the Qeᶜēṭī territory who accompany us gaze in dumb amazement at this lavish charitableness. Soon when they return to their country, they will 735 554

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



735 spread still more widely and will magnify in their highly
554 coloured narratives the fame of that noble-minded Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf. So it is that the hopes and expectations of an ever-growing number turn towards Terim. If Sayyid Abû Bakr wished for political power, he would have an opportunity to establish unity and peace in the Kathîrî territories now torn by internecine warfare.

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# CHAPTER XI.

## A TOUR TO THE RUINS NEAR SŪNE.

In the evening, in conversation, we lead up to the question of our plans for further travel. They laugh incredulously at first and say that it is now too hot to travel by day: they themselves only go out of doors towards sunset. When we say that we cannot understand how the great leaders of business of Singapore and Java and these men, who played an active part there in education and journalism, can stand this life of inaction, they answer: "This is the land of sleep and of death. We come here to sleep and towards the end of our lives, so that we may die here." The changeless, scorching plains of stone, the rock-walls, the deserts of sand, the ever green date-palms, the glowing heat and the noiseless nature in Ḥaḍramaut do indeed make one think of sleep and of death. But we are still full of the restlessness of the West, and they see that we are serious in our desire to see more of the country, in spite of heat and thirst and in spite of difficulties certainly to be anticipated from the Bedouins, who are also in bad odour here. Our great object is to see Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhūt, the former, because it is the great sanctuary of Ḥaḍramaut to which each year thousands go on pilgrimage, and the latter, because for centuries past the most fantastic tales have been current about Bīr Barhūt and no one can say with certainty what this "mouth of hell" actually is. Sayyid Abū Bakr has promised to help us. The expedition to Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhūt demands days of preparation and therefore we had better undertake a simpler excursion first and visit the ruins in Wādī Sūne.

On Friday, May 29th, we leave Terīm early in the morning in two cars. We are in the first with Sayyid Hāshim and the

doctor, for whom Friday is a holiday. The car which follows is filled with armed Bedouins, members of the tribes through whose land we shall pass. The district of Terīm ends just outside the city. Mud defence turrets and fortifications are pointed out to us, where, up to a year ago, shooting still went on. The aspect of the villages and neglected plantations shows that prosperity has been here disturbed by warfare. Some of these villages are under the rule of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, others are independent, that is to say, they belong to the tribes in whose territories they are situated and are not under a *dōla* (a government), as the expression goes here.

The road runs over a sandy plain to the deep Wādī ᶜAdim, which seems to be fairly well watered, to judge from the thick vegetation along its banks and from its fine groves of palms. Here lies the village of el-Mesīle, the birth-place of our learned Javanese Ḥaḍramī, Sayyid Hāshim. The village chief had received instructions from Sayyid Abū Bakr to provide a midday meal for us, so he stands ready waiting with his pots and the sheep which is to be killed. We stop just long enough to pick him up with his sheep and cooking-pots and then on we go again through a hilly, sandy region with here and there villages and plantations. The further we go the poorer become the villages; the gardens are partly dried up and half of the houses are in ruins. The male population has been decimated by intertribal warfare, and now poverty and starvation are killing the rest.

The drivers have difficulty in finding a practicable track between the sand-hills. At last we reach Ruḍēḥ, the village of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, where donkeys are waiting for us. The drivers are of the opinion that the cars can go on still further if we will all help by pushing from time to time. We are again obliged to go through the sandy bed of the *sēl*. Great exertion is necessary to get the cars through the loose sand, but after that it is good going over loam plains and through wādīs. Sometimes a descent or ascent has to be dug, but we are prepared for that: pickaxes and spades have been brought.

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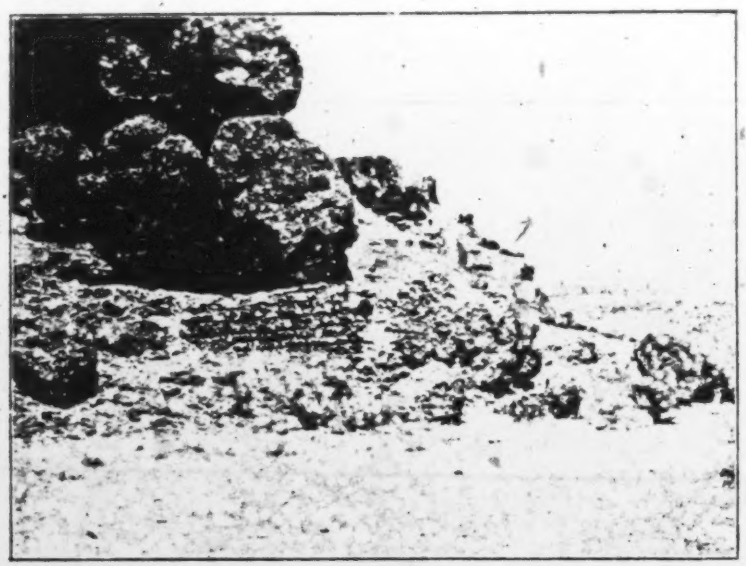

Ruined remains of a stone-built dam from pre-Islamic days, near Sūne.

Some of the ruin mounds near Sūne.

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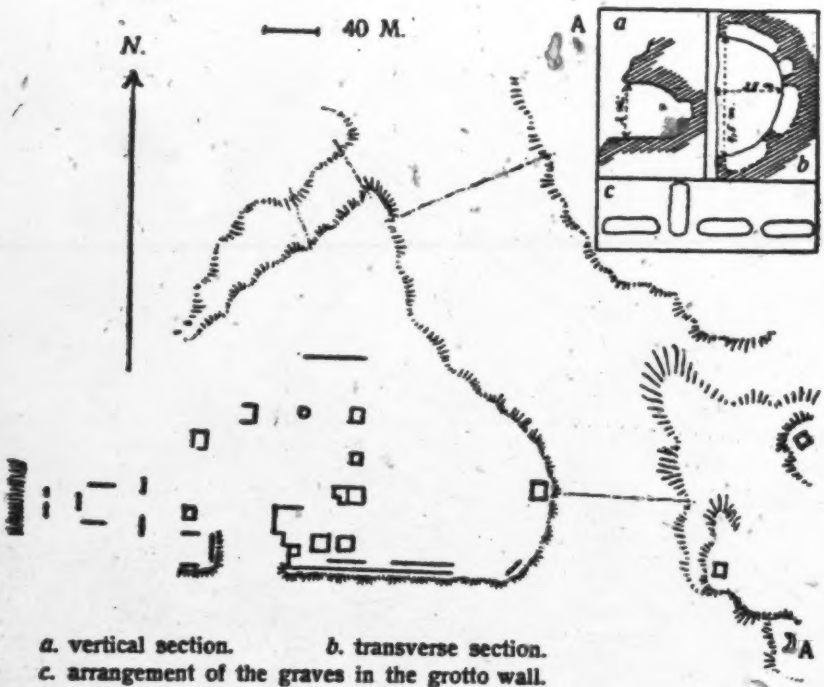
We succeed in getting the cars close to the site of the ruins at Ḥedbet el-Ghuṣn, near the village of Sūne. Shortly before arriving there we passed a massive piece of wall made of natural stone and certainly joined to the rock-wall in former




*a.* vertical section. *b.* transverse section.
*c.* arrangement of the graves in the grotto wall.

SKETCH OF RUINS AT ḤEDBET EL-GHUṢN NEAR SŪNE.

times. It is presumably the remains of a dam built across the wādī, dating from pre-Islamic times.

The ruins near Sūne have much in common with those of Ghēbūn. The square foundations of buildings, made of huge pieces of uncut stone, are still to be seen on the tops of mounds. Lying on top of and around the ruins are smaller stones, being the remains of a kind of mortar, and many

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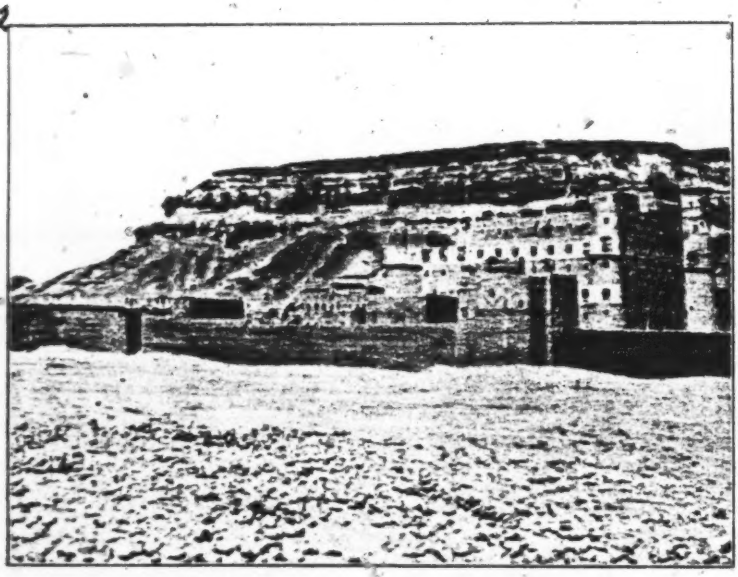

The old castle of Qasam.

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172 potsherds. We find but few inscriptions and then only in fragments. Von Wissmann wriggled with difficulty into a grotto in the mountain-wall and there found five empty sepulchral niches. It is unbearably hot and none of our company helps us in our investigations. The sun forces us to retreat after we have first taken some photographs and made some sketches.

728 The return journey is laboriously accomplished, again the cars stall repeatedly in the scorching sand of the wādīs and the body of the car is so hot that one burns oneself when touching it to push. Back at Ruḍēḥ, we seek shelter from the sun's heat in the house of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, where the midday meal is awaiting us. Long negotiations have been necessary to achieve this arrangement, for up to a short time ago he was at war with the adherents of Sayyid Abū Bakr. The occasion of our visit is used as a first, cautious attempt at friendship, following on the conclusion of peace a year ago. Ruḍēḥ is a village falling into decline, in a landscape drying up through lack of workers for its irrigation.

ooo Back at Terīm we make a detailed report to our much interested host. The fragments with inscriptions found by us are handed over to him with the request that he will add them to the other pieces from Sūne that are already in his possession. We strongly advise the founding of a museum at Terīm, where antiquities could be preserved; this would prevent their being used in building wells and houses and being made unrecognizable by a layer of plaster, or their being disposed of outside the country.

Preparations have been completed meanwhile for the trip to Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhūt and we can leave on the second day. It is urgent now to make fixed plans for our return journey as that also will require time to arrange. The route Terīm—esh-Shiḥr is open to us; notwithstanding the bad reports concerning this route current in the Qeᶜēṭī territory, Sayyid Abū Bakr takes full responsibility for our safety, should we wish to travel that way. For me personally this is

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the obvious route. As an official of my Government, I must choose the shortest and least dangerous way back after fulfilling my mission.

It goes without saying, however, that my travelling companion does not wish to miss the particularly favourable opportunity, given by the support of our eminent host, to see yet more of "unexplored Arabia". Thus our ways must part here . . . at least if Sayyid Abū Bakr will also take upon him the responsibility for Von Wissmann's expedition inland. To this question he promises to give mature consideration. The result of his deliberations is that he says I must not leave my friend in the lurch. Together we can venture a journey through unknown territory, for we have then the prestige of my position as an envoy of the Netherlands' Government, and, between us, we have enough knowledge of the language. Then we must abandon the plan of going to Ṣanʿāʾ via the country of Maʾrib, but we might try to reach Aden by way of Niṣāb. Sayyid Abū Bakr thought there was some chance of success in this. We should, however, have to leave all our baggage behind us, which he would himself send by sea to Aden, via esh-Shiḥr, for we must not take more with us than can be packed into the saddle-bags of our riding camels. With fast camels and a small following, we must then try to pass through the war zone so rapidly that we are only heard of when already gone. Thus the decision is made.

Whilst we are away on the excursion to Qabr Hūd and Bir Barhūt our host will make all necessary preparations for the overland dash to Aden.

# CHAPTER XII.

## THE AIM OF EVERY HADRAMAUT EXPLORER: QABR HŪD AND BĪR BARHŪT.

Very early on May 31st we depart in two cars for the journey to the tomb of Allah's prophet Hūd and for Bīr Barhūt. None of the family or their intimates have any desire to join this tiring, hot expedition and only Sayyid ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās el-Badawī, who made the descent of Bīr Ghumdān near Ḥurēḍa, remains faithful to us. He wishes to be the first Ḥaḍramī to go down into the mysterious depths of Bīr Barhūt [1], so that thereafter his name may be immortalized in his country's history.

For companions we have Ṣāliḥ, our cook, and further, Bedouins and soldiers of Sayyid Abū Bakr. We first pass large villages, palm-groves and fields of *dhura,* as we drive through the wādī. One can see from the outward appearance of the villages and gardens that we are going through a district that is on the decline. This becomes very clear as we approach ᶜĒnāt which lies on the right bank of the wādī-bed.

### 1. THE NUQRA.

361 778 ᶜĒnāt was once one of the largest and most famous towns in Ḥaḍramaut. The great *qubba* of Shēkh Abū Bakr bin Sālim, as well as the tombs of six other holy men, attracted great numbers of pilgrims to it. The approach to the town was made a pleasure by a large wood of palms. The white cupolas and numerous mosques, real gems of the pure Ḥaḍramaut style of architecture, drew the admiring glances of the thousands

[1] Later on (pp. 150 and 165) we shall see that one Ḥaḍramī, the late Sayyid Muḥammad bin ᶜAqīl, penetrated into Bīr Barhūt, twenty years ago, but gave up the endeavour after some hundred yards.

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of pilgrims who used to come and worship here. ʿĒnāt is well situated for this: nearly *all* pilgrims to the tomb of God's Prophet Hūd must pass through it. Now its greatness has fallen, and everyone in Ḥaḍramaut knows the *nuqra*[1], the cause of its gradual ruin. Since the disappearance of the dams periodic strong currents of water have worn out and deepened the *sēl*-bed. This erosion has moved slowly up-stream. By a dam nearly a mile in length Shibām has had to protect its palm plantations against this action, which lays bare the roots of the trees. ʿĒnāt is situated further down-stream than any town in Ḥaḍramaut, so that it gets the full force of the torrents and the erosion occurs here first and makes itself most seriously felt. The *sēl* is very much strengthened at times by water from various side-wādīs, and in the thick layer of loess covering the valley here its bed is washed out deeper and deeper.

The roots of the palm-trees are washed bare and, consequently, the crop becomes smaller. Finally the tree falls; it goes on living and still bears fruit, but its death is near. The broad zone of palms around ʿĒnāt is slowly perishing through the *nuqra*. The palms are doomed; the sun penetrates through the many open spaces, the works for distributing water are destroyed, and everything is covered by a layer of white sand. We only visited ʿĒnāt on the way back, keeping now to the northern bank, which soon rises high up above the bed of the wādī. The loess wall is becoming more and more undermined by the water and it is therefore difficult for our drivers to find a safe way along it. This danger proved real on the way back; one of the two cars overturned and was badly damaged. An attempt has been made to divert the *sēl*-bed to the foot of the mountains on the north by constructing a dam. A great sum was raised for this, but the dam was repeatedly destroyed by the water so that the undertaking was, at last, abandoned. The plan to construct a dam was due to the initiative of one

[1] *Nuqra* is the gradual erosion by the water.

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312 of the best known of the sayyids of Ḥaḍramaut, Sayyid Muḥammad bin ʿAqīl bin Yaḥyā, who made a journey east of Terīm in 1913. After his death in September 1931 there was found among his papers a detailed account of this journey, which was published in Java in the weekly paper *Ḥaḍramaut*.[1]

## 2. QASAM AND ITS OLD CASTLE.

361 The land down-stream from ʿĒnāt has suffered even more from the *nuqra*; date culture has disappeared and many of the people have departed. The little town of Qasam gives a clear illustration of this decline. The town, still surrounded by a wall, lies half in ruins; only a few hundred people live there now, whereas formerly there were thousands. Outside the wall there is a vast cemetery, which is bounded on the other side by a mediaeval castle and its accessory buildings. Part of it has fallen in, but, with its simple, powerful lines, it is still a fine building. The conical corner towers have a thickening at the level of the second storey. The white bands on a line with the rows of windows have almost disappeared; bit by bit the building will become a grey mass of mud in the midst of
622 a land whose inhabitants have left it. The old *muqaddam*[2]
567 welcomes us in the great reception-room; he is very deaf and his slave soldiers are his spokesmen. His father was a mighty and widely-feared ruler, while he has carried on a hopeless struggle against the forces of nature. His land has dried up, his subjects have departed, he has become poor, so poor that he can no longer pay his soldiers. Warfare was no match for the drought. His five score of slave soldiers have remained faithful to him; in turn they go in groups to their paternal country on the African coast or elsewhere to earn something by trading or by manual labour and then return to their old master, to share the money that they have saved, with him and their fellows.

[1] Published at Surabaya, 9th year, Nos. 303 and 304.
[2] Cf. p. 67, foot-note.

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This grey-haired *muqaddam* receives us with particular friendliness. After the welcome in his reception-room he invites us to follow him upstairs to a smaller room where a meal is served for us and where we can write and rest undisturbed. Here he tells us the sad story of his two elder sons who left their arid fatherland for the swamps of Borneo, where their young lives wasted away as a result of the treacherous, deadly fever. Two younger sons also went there, but they are doing well and hope to be able to send home, before long, part of their earnings. This money will be used for the travelling expenses of the youngest, who is still at home, but who must also go abroad to seek a livelihood. Our host asks questions about the climate and the manner of living in Borneo and would like his youngest boy to go with me to the Indies. I am obliged to disappoint him as I shall not be going there [illegible]tly from Ḥaḍramaut.

It is particularly hot in Qasam, even in the large rooms of the old castle. We take photographs of the neighbourhood from the roof, but the servants cannot bear the heat of the roof on the soles of their feet and hunt up old cushions or a few rags to stand on.

### 3. THE RUINED CASTLE OF EL-ʿURR.

It is a matter of difficulty to get the caravan going again in the afternoon. Departure is delayed as long as possible to escape the fierceness of the sun's heat. Yet we must travel by daylight to be able to survey the landscape. Thus there is always a state of tension with regard to this point between us and our escort. This time they have been chosen by our host Sayyid Abū Bakr and are paid by him; so we have not so much control over them as we should wish. Furthermore, he has sent as caravan leader one of his cooks, a big, fat, dark-skinned man, who devotes all his attention and energy to the meals, for which the necessaries have been abundantly provided from his master's rich store.

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172 To expedite matters we take the risk of starting off in
312 advance on our donkeys. As we pass we see at a great dis-
231 tance some villages almost entirely in ruins, and also castles of the type of that of Qasam. There is water here and there in the deep and by no means wide *sēl*-bed. It appeared soon after we left ʿĒnāt and it increased further towards the east. This water is pretty bitter, though in some places it is sweet enough to be drinkable. The inhabitants prefer the well-water, which is better, but the pack-animals drink the water of the river. It is running and every now and then disappears to continue its course underground. Beyond Qasam the wādī is still wide and the soil consists of a thick layer of
136 loess. The broad path winds between bushes of fresh green *rāk* covered with bluish-red berries, which are being gathered here and there by children. When we heard that they were eatable we tasted them; they have the taste of cress, sweet but hot as pepper. They have a strong laxative action as have the leaves for which camels and donkeys have a liking. Where *rāk* grows the animals are given nothing else, although they get diarrhoea from it. In journeying through *rāk* districts one sees the rumps of the camels smeared with greenish pap, whilst their leaders and riders are not free from splashes sprinkled round by their animals' tails. At these times a very unpleasant smell clings night and day to the caravan.

172 The further we go, the more barren becomes the bed of the wādī, which is still very wide. The layer of loam is covered with sand; mounds of loam rise up out of it, some of them covered with vegetation. Shortly before sunset we enter a region of many and magnificent ruins. It is too late to examine them closely, and we pass the smaller mounds by so as to go on to the central ruin of el-ʿUrr. This is visible when we are still far from it. Massive remains of walls, towering high against the evening sky, stand on a lonely mass of rock, right in the midst of the wādī level. The rocky hill extends some distance and is very steep, and it is difficult to clamber over the rubble of the building, which has

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The ruins of Ḥuṣn el-'Urr seen from the North-west.

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-8 (19 1)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



fallen down it. This [illegible]s the conclusion that we have here a fortress wh[illegible]ce commanded the surrounding country. At the foot is a well of mason-work, now partly filled up with débris. Traces of a path leading from the well to the

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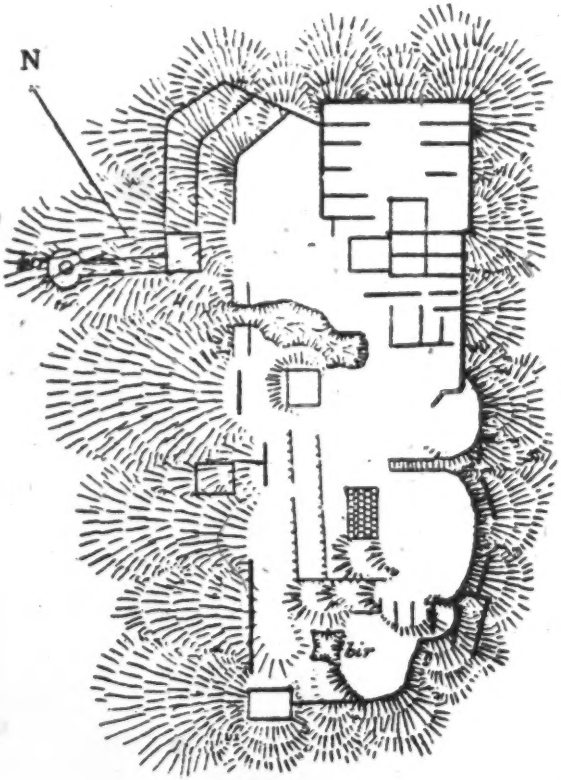


RUINS OF HUSN EL-'URR. 1:1000

summit are s[illegible] discernable. Remains of the buildings are strewn around and on top of the hill. Strong, high walls have been erected of well-hewn stone, and remnants of them still stand to a height of from 45 to 50 feet. There is a steep, narrow passage in the middle of the south-eastern side of the rock,

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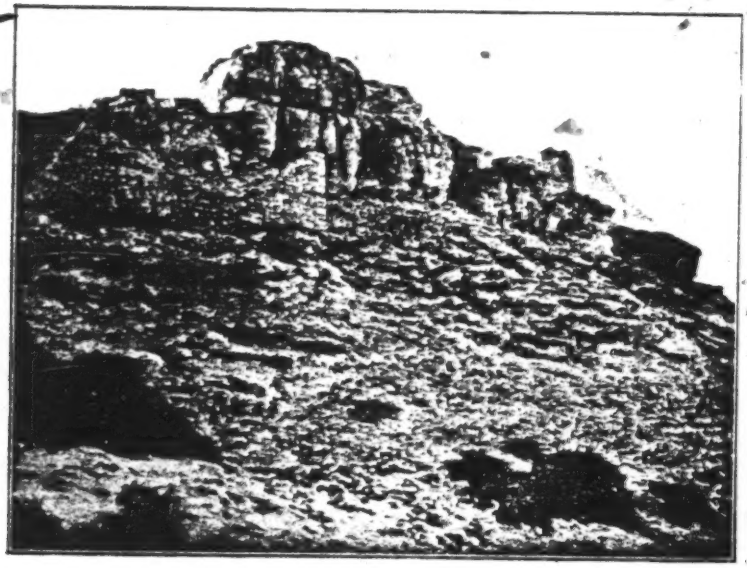

The ruins of Ḥuṣn el-ʿUrr seen from the South-east.

facing p 153

See page 153.

where the vestiges of steps are still to be seen: this must have been the principal entrance to the castle. We were not successful in finding inscriptions of any importance, but we did discover some carved capitals of pillars. These we buried in the sand with the object of picking them up on our return journey when we hoped to have time for a more leisurely examination of the ruins of this imposing castle.

### 4. A NIGHT IN ES-SŌM.

For the moment the setting sun forced us to go on further to es-Sōm, where we intended to spend the night. The last and most tiring hours of travel were made even more wearisome by a hot sand-storm, which delayed us so long that darkness had set in several hours before we reached the *sēl*-bed in which, at this spot, there is a wide, shallow strip of water. The donkeys and camels have found their way in the darkness and now get through the tepid water without difficulty, but my donkey refuses to budge an inch. The caravan vanishes into the darkness of the night; I hear it, far away, climbing up the bank of the wādī, and then all is still. Weary with beating my unwilling beast, I sit down waiting to see whether the others will miss me and send help. It is not long before three men with electric torches come back for me. Our united efforts push the donkey into the water and, once in it, he puts his best foot foremost to reach the other side. We follow barefoot to where the caravan awaits us. No one, however, takes any notice of us; they are all standing in a crowd round my cook, Ṣāliḥ, who has trodden on a scorpion and been stung by the insect. He is groaning with pain. We can do nothing for him here, but must endeavour to get to es-Sōm as quickly as possible.

This small, dying place makes a poverty-stricken, gloomy impression; we stumble, tired and disheartened, through the winding streets; the only sound is Ṣāliḥ's groaning. Will they be ready, in this miserable village, to take us in immediately

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in the middle of the night? Will they be able to do anything for our patient? We stand, like beggars, in front of the house allotted to us, waiting for an answer to our knocks and shouts. The painful uncertainty does not, however, last for long, for the owner of the house opens the door and gives immediate instructions for a part of the roof to be cleared for us, and the village medicine-woman is summoned. Whilst awaiting her arrival, we cut open the dark-blue poisoned spot[1] with a pocket-knife in order to suck out some of the poison. The old woman arrives and we are glad to leave the treatment to her expert knowledge; she rubs the wound with garlic and before long the pain is somewhat less acute. Meanwhile, our host and the male members of his family have brought everything that we need, and we lay our tired heads down that evening with a feeling of great gratitude and forget our troubles. We learn yet again, under the care of our Ḥaḍramī host, that it is a sacred duty imposed by religion itself to receive hospitably the traveller who, passing by night, should knock at the door. The whole caravan crouches together in brotherly fashion on the roof-terrace. A huge amount of food is prepared by our *muqaddam*, who himself likes good food and plenty of it, as do most of the Bedouins who are with us and have only come for the reward of free meals. We enjoy many glasses of hot, weak tea with lemon, with which we eat some dates and biscuits. It is long past midnight before our brown travelling companions, replete with food and after much talk and quarrelling, at last lay themselves down to sleep.

## 5. FUGHMA AND THEN THE HEART'S DESIRE OF EVERY HADRAMĪ.

On June 1st we set off early; it is barely five o'clock when the caravan leaves es-Sōm, which is just awakening from sleep. One is forced to get up directly after sunrise in this country, where everyone sleeps in the open air. We can see

[1] [from a scorpions bite --Analyst]

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000 from our roof how they begin to stir on the other roofs close to us and then go down to the kitchen to light a fire for a cup of ginger coffee. There is a small grove of date-palms round es-Sōm, on either side of the *sēl*-bed, which is full of water. We wash and drink our fill at one of the wells before resuming our journey in the heat.

After about three hours we arrive at the village of Fughma, which consists of a few mud houses encircled by huts. It is scorchingly hot although still early in the day. Our escort declare that we must rest and eat here, as there is no other village and no water to be met with for the next four or five hours. We do not believe this and insist that we must go on, but they, as one man, refuse, warning us of the consequences of such folly, and promise to set out again after an hour's rest. We give in against our will, with the unpleasant feeling that we are being taken in and that we could quite well take the risk of going further. A kid is purchased from our host and is carefully prepared for a splendid meal. Fughma is the last stopping-place before Qabr Hūd, and a four hours' walk through barren country still awaits us.

312 133 With great difficulty we get the caravan going again at two o'clock. We continue to follow the bed of the wādī, where we find water nearly everywhere! It is now the middle of the dry season; after the scanty rains or when the *sēls* rush down from the western mountains, then, at this point, the *mesīla*[1] of Wādī Ḥaḍramaut must have the aspect of a real river. Thus the British airmen from Aden reported truly when they said they had seen a river running through the wādī beyond Qabr Hūd. The river disappears under the surface of the soil, however, long before it reaches the Indian Ocean.

796 Close to Fughma we pass through small groves of palms with groups of miserable huts. This is the spot where the Bedouins of the neighbourhood come together once a year, to feast in pious memory of a holy man. Those are days of truce dedicated to God and trade. In Fughma we could hear

104 [1] A *mesīla* (مسيلة) is the bed of a *sēl*, a torrent, a streaming water.

them shooting, and singing for joy, but now the feast has 796
succumbed to the heat; the merry-makers lie in the shadow
up against the rocky slopes, in grottoes, under blocks of rock,
or under shelters made of sticks and fragments of cloth, rest-
ing after the noisy racket. The number of participants does not
seem to be great, a fact which also points to the decline of the
district. A group come up to us and overwhelm us with 796
questions. We reply that we are truly on the way to the tomb 609
of their Prophet Hūd and that we also intend to pray there.
When I answer their question as to whence we come by
saying: "From the Holy Land, from Djedda", it becomes
apparent that they are not very well informed as regards
the founder of their religion and his country. But some
of them have been in East Africa, and these relate that [788]
the Muslims there are in the habit of going to Mecca just as
the Ḥaḍramīs go to Qabr Hūd. We are then invited to stay
on with them, for a short time, to resume the feast, but being
convinced that friendship with these suspicious, brutal fanatics
is a very fragile affair we prefer to continue our march. We
cannot rest until we have reached our goal, Qabr Hūd.

One of the group acts as spokesman; he was for some time 609
in Zanzibar and there made acquaintance with Europeans. He
promises to follow in our rear and to accompany us to Bīr
Barhūt on the morrow. It is thanks to his intercession that we
are allowed to proceed without hindrance.

We march on further as fast as we can through the valley,
which becomes narrower. On the right, over a great distance, 788
the high bank has been broken through, namely where 487
the "Seven Wādīs" (Sabʿa Wudyān) open into the main
wādī. It is as still as death in the wādī, no living creature
is to be seen. The path is good on the whole, thanks to the
fact that every year, in the month Shaʿbān, thousands of pil-
grims pass backwards and forwards along it. Sometimes it
goes through barren sand-hills, sometimes between bushes of
*rāk* and by a few crooked *ithl* trees.

## 6. THE TOMB OF THE PROPHET HŪD AND THE SILENT PILGRIMS' TOWN.

778 At last we see the white domes of Qabr Hūd and the buildings belonging to it, against the dark rock-wall. The wādī bends at a right angle towards the north; from the distance it almost looks as if it had no outlet and ends in a steep chasm between black rocks. About half an hour before we reach Qabr Hūd we come upon a square mud building on a flat-topped hill, in which a guard is posted. Our *muqaddam* maintains that we may only enter the town under the protection of this guard. We manage to arrange for our protectors to await the caravan and to go with it to the house in Shaᶜb Hūd (the Chasm of Hūd) where we are to spend the night.

778 And now we are making our way unaccompanied to the
133 goal which we had hardly dared to hope to reach. It is only thanks to Sayyid Abū Bakr that we, as the first Christian visitors, are allowed to enter this renowned sanctuary of Ḥaḍramaut. To approach it, my companion and I leave the road and go across country, each following what he thinks to be the shortest and best way. Wādī Barhūt here leads into Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. The thick layer of loess is, in many unexpected places, deeply cut into by water flowing away after rain. The banks of these dry *sēl*-beds are so steep that it costs time and effort to get through. The hills between them are covered with a layer of fine dust more than eight inches thick. A great number of bushes of *ᶜushar, rāk* and *ithl* make the landscape a charming picture of fresh green.

361 But our eyes turn towards the wonderful white buildings
778 that lie there before us, up against a grey-black precipice of rock, and towards the dead town lower down in the narrow ravine — the town which is only inhabited for three days in the year. The whole scene is much greater and more beautiful than we had ventured to picture it in our thoughts. The pure white buildings, destined for the cult of the saint, give the impression of being brand-new, and of being most devotedly

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preserved and cared for. The town with its solidly built, large 361
houses looks well-kept and attractive. We had expected to see 778
a great camp with tumble-down huts and certainly not a town with cupolas and mosques, with tall houses of many storeys with whitewashed roofs and high windows. In earlier times it was indeed different. Qabr Nebī Allāh Hūd has been the headquarters of a religious cult, belonging to and destined for Bedouins, dating from pre-Muḥammadan times. Wealth, amassed abroad, has been partly used to show gratitude to Allāh, the Giver. Thus, a full ten years ago, a rich member of the el-Kāf family left a large sum of money for the restoration of this sanctuary; only the cupola of the tomb is old, the other religious buildings being new. The tomb lies higher than the rest against the steep rock-wall. I will recall here the 792
popular story of the Prophet Hūd, the man of God of pagan times, who called his people to repentance and conversion, yet, like many another prophet, was not honoured in his own country. He ended his earthly career in this place, hunted down by his enemies. Allāh opened the rock for him and his pursuers saw him no more. The faithful she-camel (the *nāqa*) that Hūd rode and the milk of which he drank died close by his master's grave. When Islām had penetrated into Ḥaḍramaut, the cult of the Prophet Hūd arose and the pilgrimage to his tomb was incorporated into that Faith.

Hūd must have been a very big man, for his grave is about [792]
120 feet long. The *qubba* is built on the spot where his head 778
is said to rest, the place where, also, the rock was cleft open. 346
The building is in pure Ḥaḍramī style, simple and lovely. In the narrow ravine encircled by threatening, dark precipices and rude, brownish-black blocks of stone, this gay, white edifice with its beautiful simplicity and its sober ornamentation is like the voice of all that is finest and highest in man in a world of harshness and want. This voice, speaking in the eternal silence of this out-of-the-way, motionless corner of the world, is heard and understood even by us, the first Christian pilgrims from the West. We understand how the

778 Bedouin, calling himself a Muslim, yet still a heathen, ap-
346 proaches this spot with holy dread. Here, for three days, he knows peace with his fellows and brotherly intercourse; here fear is banished; here he stands, in very truth, on the threshold of holy ground. He, with his life's great need, approaches the miracle-working tomb of his Prophet like a hopeful and trustful child. He, or more often she, carries a wooden wedge and a coloured thread of wool with a little stone attached to it, lightly in the hand. The wedge has to be driven into the outer wall of the *qubba* or into the rounded border of stone, plastered with white, which marks the place where the body lies. It does not seem to be permitted to drive wedges into the inside of the cupola. The threads of wool are chewed into lumps and, well-moistened with saliva, are stuck on to the walls and ceiling. The walls are decorated in this way so profusely that they look as though hung with a many-coloured wall-paper or enriched with a gaily painted design.

778 We have approached the sanctuary warily and noiselessly.
346 No one comes to forbid our entrance, so we venture to go in.
782 Fortunately there is no one inside either. Below us, in the *nāqa* mosque, there are a few pilgrims, and if there are keepers of the buildings they will be with them teaching them how to recite the special prayers. The sound of litanies said in unison rises up to us; they are repeated with monotonous persistance and increasing urgency. In the *qubba* of Nebī Hūd we see, in the middle, a round piece of masonry like the base of a very thick pillar. It is built upon the protruding rock, which has a wide, deep fissure in it just here. This is the place where the rock, at Allāh's command, must have opened for His servant to enter and never closed again completely. The rock and, in particular, the edges of the cleft, are polished smooth by the thousands of hands that have stroked them gently in prayer and by the lips that have kissed this sacred spot. Verses from the Koran in which the Prophet Hūd is mentioned, or sayings of Muḥammad handed down by word of mouth, extolling the merits of the pilgrimage to the tomb of Hūd, are written here and there on the walls.

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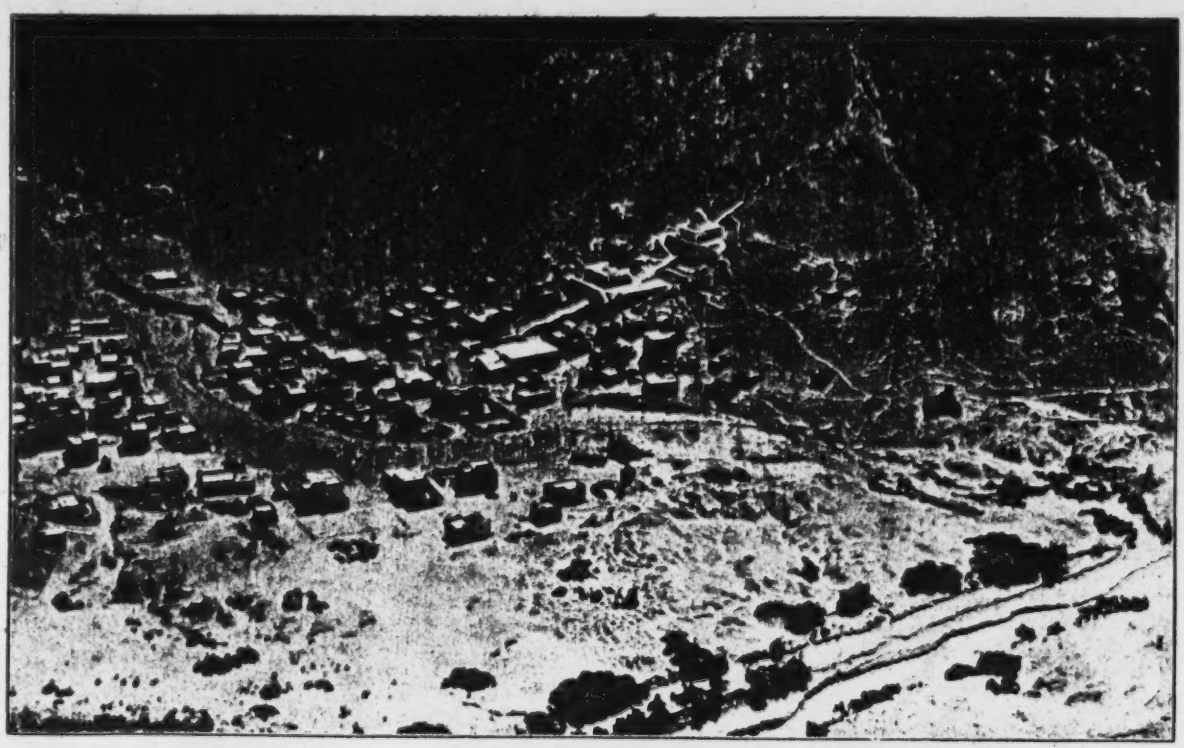

The Chasm of Nebī Hūd.

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361

P 160 (A)

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346

The national sanctuary, the tomb of Allāh's Prophet Hūd.

p160 (B)

See page 158.

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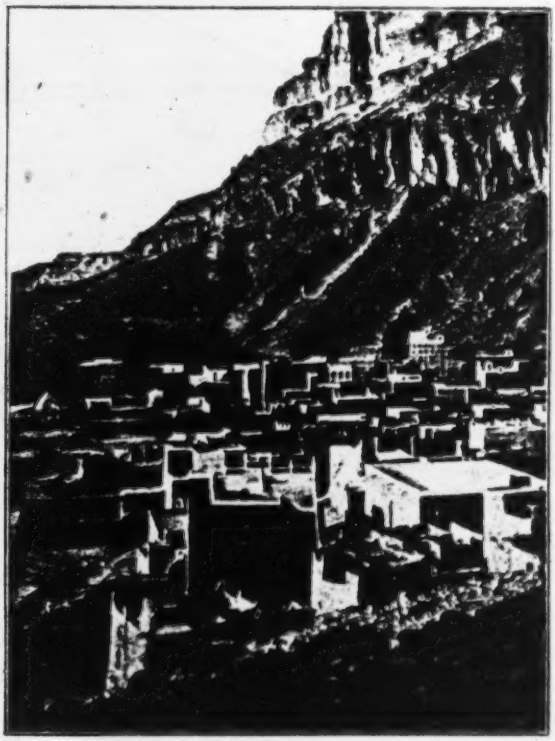
361



The silent city of the pilgrims.

p 160(c)

See page 101.

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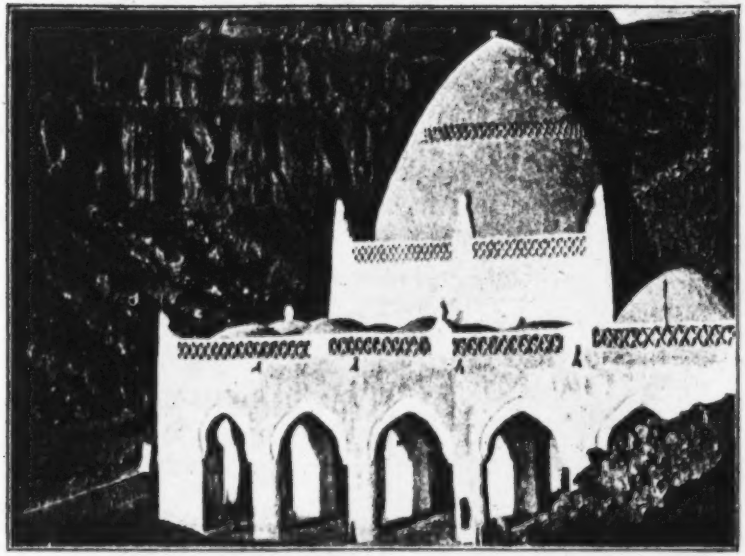

The heart's desire of every Ḥaḍramī, the cupola of Nebī Hūd.

See page 160.

p 160 (D)

the tomb of Hūd, are written here and there on the walls. 000
The sun is sinking as we go from the pillared hall of the 346
cupola to the terrace built round it and look out over the long wādī through which we have come. There is water in the *sēl*-bed, which shines like gold in the light of the setting sun. The bushes and trees along its banks have taken on a violet colour. The shapes of the stern rock-walls are becoming blurred and have lost their look of sombre menace. This is the solemn moment when desert, *djōl* and wādī are movingly beautiful. The silence and infinity oppress, nevertheless, and man deeply realizes his littleness and finiteness.

We descend the steps to the silent town in the ravine. In 782
the mosque of the *nāqa,* between the white pillars, we 346
see pilgrims at prayer in rows, prostrating themselves and standing up again. Their prayer of supplication has a moving sound in the great silence of the evening. The mosque is quite new; a great block of rock which is said to be the petrified camel projects from the mountain-side above the building. A great white terrace, on which are straight rows of simple, round pillars supporting a flat roof, and a broad white stairway leading down to the town, complete a sober, beautiful whole.

We have been able to enter one of the great houses of the 000
el-Kāf family by a small backdoor. The rock-walls and the houses are radiating the heat that they have absorbed during the day; gusts of hot air pass from time to time through the ravine. We climb up to the roof-terrace. The caravan has arrived shortly before us and our companions have lain down to rest on the roof. No one has energy left to attend to us, no one provides for food or for drink, and yet we are dying of thirst and must have water. One of the Bedouins who followed the caravan is persuaded by the promise of a meal to go in search of water. The wells in the town do not supply good 812
drinking-water; the water in the wādī is bitter and is only drunk by the pilgrims, who also bathe in it, ascribing a purifying power to it, but there is a well with sweet water in
Wādī Barhūt, at least half an hour's walk from the town. 11

000 Wādī Barhūt, at least half an hour's walk from the town. Faint and oppressed by the great heat we all lie down and wait, but when after the lapse of an hour the Bedouin has not returned, we begin to feel anxious about the water. Can he possibly have lost his way, or . . . can the well have dried up? This thought torments us, we feel that we *must* have water and that, without it, we shall barely survive the night. From my camp-bed I gaze upwards at the black rocks which, projecting from the steep precipice, hang menacingly over us: it looks as if we should be broken to pieces were a block to break off. Thirst grips us by the throat and terrible visions stir in our minds. Better to close our eyes against the overhanging masses of rock! But that only makes it worse. Then the boulders expand enormously, the cleft becomes one black menace, it bears down on us, we vanish into it, and are surrounded by the deathly silence of the pitch-black night of Bīr Barhūt, the gate of hell. I try to cry out for help, but no sound comes from my parched throat. My body feels as heavy as lead, but exerting all my strength I strive to move and escape from this place of terror. Then I awake and see the moonlight on the black cliffs high up above me. We lie in silence waiting, hoping, panting for water.

At last we hear the Bedouin returning and all spring to our feet. The bag, full of water, is set down in our midst and, one by one, our men kneel down before it and drink in deep draughts from its mouth until the others become impatient and push them gently aside. We let the others drink first, but take good care that Ṣāliḥ, our cook, fills the kettle to the brim when he has done drinking. Then we too drink some of the tepid, turbid water, which has a strong taste of the skin in which it has been carried. On trek it is our custom to drink in the evening as little as possible of the lukewarm, stinking water, for we have leisure then and like to listen to the singing of the great samovar on the camp fire and to drink hot, weak tea, which is better for thirst and gives a feeling of refresh-

ment. We drink then as much as we can, and that is saying a great deal!

Our Bedouins now begin with the cooking of a meal. It is late before the rations are dealt out and still later by the time they have eaten their fill and have settled down to sleep. The moon has risen over the mountains and illumines the wādī through which we have come. The *sēl*-bed, smooth as a mirror, looks like a silver ribbon, the bushes and trees make a white mist along the banks, the crumbled rock-walls are like primeval, impassive witnesses of the ruin of the people of ᶜĀd, grown rigid by silence and inaction.

## 7. BĪR BARHŪT, THE ENTRANCE TO THE ABODE OF THE SOULS OF UNBELIEVERS.

We plan to set out next day before day-break for Bīr Barhūt, to have a close view of that volcano of legend and its crater. Two Bedouins are enlisted to show us the way, but only a few others of our company have the courage to go with us. Ṣāliḥ, our cook, who has tramped through the whole rough country of the Yemen as donkey-boy to a Greek merchant, has no fear and casts in his lot with ours; he says that where we go he too will go. Then there is Sayyid ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās, who is trying to make a name for himself in Ḥaḍramaut, who made the descent into Bīr Ghumdān with Von Wissmann, and who has set out with us this time, in order to add the descent into Bīr Barhūt to his laurels. The leader of our caravan will also come; he has shown himself to be a daring rock-climber and is curious to investigate whatever interests us. Then again there are a few Bedouins who will let this night's dreams decide for them whether or no they are to accompany us. The undertaking is much harder in the eyes of our companions than in our own, for they are firmly convinced that snakes and monstrous creatures live in the black abysses of Bīr Barhūt, and they know and accept credulously the tales that are told of suffocating vapours rising out of it. Never-

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778 theless, their trust in the ability of the white Westerner and in the power of his instruments counterbalances these intimidating factors. If we go calmly ahead armed with our automatic pistols and electric torches they can keep enough courage to follow.

165 Bīr Barhūt is mentioned in several old Arabic works on
778 geography.

El-Hamdānī, who wrote, about A. D. 900, his *Kitāb Ṣifat Djazīrat el-ᶜArab,* mentions Bīr Barhūt among other remarkable wells and quotes the curse: "May Allāh send his soul to join the souls of the unbelievers in Barhūt!" [1]

El-Masᶜūdī, who wrote, about A. D. 950, his *Kitāb Murūdj edh-Dhahab,* says: "The volcano of Wādī Barhūt lies somewhere in the country of Asfār and Ḥaḍramaut, belonging to the land of esh-Shiḥr, which lies between the Yemen and ᶜOmān; its voice, like that of thunder, is to be heard from many miles away. It ejects coals as large as mountains and pieces of black rock, whose sound as they are thrown into the air can be heard afar off, and which fall into and around the crater. The coals which come out of it are stones, red hot from the fire", etc. [2]

El-Qazwīnī writes in his *ᶜAdjā'ib el-Makhlūqāt,* about A. D. 1250: "Bīr Barhūt is close to Ḥaḍramaut. The Prophet — on whom be the *ṣalāt* and the *salām* — has said of this *Bīr,* that the souls of unbelievers and of hypocrites dwell within it. It is a well from the time of ᶜĀd, in the desert part of a dark wādī. It is told of ᶜAlī — to whom God be merciful — that he said: 'The bit of earth most hated by Allāh is Wādī Barhūt, in which there is a well filled with evil-smelling, black water, wherein go the souls of the unbelievers.' El-Aṣmaᶜī says that he was told by a man from Ḥaḍramaut: 'Whenever we notice

[1] El-Hamdānī, *op. cit.,* p. 128, l. 25; 201, l. 2; 203 *infra.* See also for the legend of Bīr Barhūt, J. Halévy, *La légende arabe sur Bourhoût* in *Journal Asiatique,* 8e Série, T. ii., p. 442—454.

[2] *Les Prairies d'Or,* ed. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Vol. ii. (Paris, 1863), p. 26—27.

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a foul smell in the neighbourhood of Barhūt, then, later on, we are informed of the death of one of the most prominent among the unbelievers'."[1]

Other writers when speaking of Ḥaḍramaut also mention Bīr Barhūt and record what they have heard of it. That does not differ in essentials from what is said by the old writers.[2]

The first more exact information comes from the aforementioned Ḥaḍramī scholar, the late Sayyid Bin ʿAqīl; he was the first writer to see Bīr Barhūt for himself and even had the courage to enter it for some distance and he gives a detailed account of what he thinks he saw and observed within it.[3] It is true that he speaks still of the trails of snakes, of the smell of sulphur and of the ashes of burnt sulphur, but his description differs widely from the pool of sulphur into which were thrown the souls of unbelievers.

This description of his travels was only published after our return from Ḥaḍramaut. We both, however, had the privilege of meeting the learned Sayyid and of hearing from his own mouth much that was worth knowing. He spent his last years in Ḥodēda in the Yemen, being exiled by the Qeʿēṭī Government. We had met a brother of his at el-Kāf's house in Terīm.

We left Qabr Hūd for Bīr Barhūt at five o'clock on the morning of June 3rd. We went on foot, but had a camel with us laden with water-skins. As baggage we had only cameras, electric torches, compasses and a rope. Wādī Barhūt debouches into the main wādī close to Qabr Hūd. It is fairly wide at first and the surface soil is a thick layer of loam. A remnant of agriculture and a few small date-groves still remain. There is also the well from which, on the previous evening, we had procured drinking-water. No trace is left

[1] El-Qazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1849), Vol. i., p. 198.

[2] Cf. Th. and Mrs. Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 138 *sq.*; C. Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Vol. i., *Ḥaḍramoût*, Leiden, 1901, p. 440 *sq.*, 445 *sqq.*, 483.

[3] See the weekly paper *Ḥaḍramaut*, 9th year, No. 304, Surabaya, 9th Oct. 1931.

778 of the woods of date-palms and the villages spoken of in the popular accounts, nor did we see any ruins of houses or castles. The *sēl*-bed has dug itself deeply in and the last ten date-palms or so are in danger of being uprooted by this smaller *nuqra*. As we proceed, boulders and sand get the better of the loam, the wādī narrows and a small footpath winds between annoying fragments of rock. We walk fast, spurred on by the desire to look upon the mystery of Ḥaḍramaut. The table-land is very much intersected here; wild crags rise on all sides. No trace of volcanism is to be found. There is a thick stratum of limestone on sandstone here as everywhere else in Ḥaḍramaut. Here and there the dark mouths of caves can be seen in the mountain slopes.

We walk fast for two or three hours through Wādī Barhūt, ever narrowing as it winds upwards, and we see no living being in this savage, silent world of rock. Were one to journey through it alone one would surely be overwhelmed by a feeling of great loneliness. Furthermore, as the sun rises, it becomes unbearably hot in this narrow, deep wādī of rock; it is a region of terror, but, as a matter of fact, all uninhabited parts of Ḥaḍramaut are. It is a little more savage here than elsewhere, but that alone does not explain why popular imagination has created such terrifying tales about Bīr Barhūt, tales which are believed all over the country up to the present day.

At last we stand at the foot of the mountain-side of Bīr Barhūt. We see the wide, dark mouth of the cave, in a steep mountain wall, about 300 feet above us. The sight has the effect of a challenge. Our escort hasten to throw down everything superfluous in a heap beside the camel with the bags of water, and then to clamber up to the entrance of the cave. We take a good drink and then follow them. A zigzag path, where camels can go, has been cut into the rock; parts of it have been destroyed by water and it does not give the impression of being in use. Sayyid Bin ᶜAqīl tells in his paper [1]

[1] See p. 165.

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that camels used to go by this path to fetch manure from out of Bīr Barhūt. This must have been the dung of bats. 778

When we arrived at the top, we found our companions sitting on boulders scattered on the floor of a broad, high porch, the portal of Bīr Barhūt, which is about 120 feet wide, 45 feet high and 60 feet deep. Boulders many feet in height lie in disorder before the entrance to the cave in the further wall, which is nine feet wide and four feet high. Having established this fact we take a short rest. Sayyid ᶜAlī sniffs adventure and his thoughts see fame beckoning to him. Naked but for a loin-cloth and with a gun of one of the Bedouins who remain behind slung over his shoulder, he leads the way, creeping into the cave. We follow with the torches and the rope. Von Wissmann has with him the compass and the route note-book. He, as an experienced investigator of caves, will sketch our route inside Bīr Barhūt, and thus we hope, if torches and compass work properly, to find our way back again to the entrance. Besides three electric torches we have a *fānūs*, a kerosene lamp, by means of which we can verify whether the air in the cave has a sufficiency of oxygen. Sayyid ᶜAlī goes ahead with this lamp, Von Wissmann follows with the measuring tape in his hand, I follow as soon as the tape becomes taut and the direction has been noted down.

Cautiously we climb, one behind the other, into the thick darkness; the cave leads fairly horizontally into the limestone mountain. Passing over sharp, rough boulders we reach a spot where the cave becomes so low that we have to creep through on hands and feet. Beyond this the passage becomes roomy and high again. We have to pass deep clefts, the bottom of which even the beams of our lanterns cannot fathom. The rock on which we walk is covered with a thick layer of fine dust into which our feet sink noiselessly. Daylight does not penetrate here. The gloom makes a deep impression on the Arabs who are with us, for they are convinced that this black night hides monsters and spirits, who must resent the pre-

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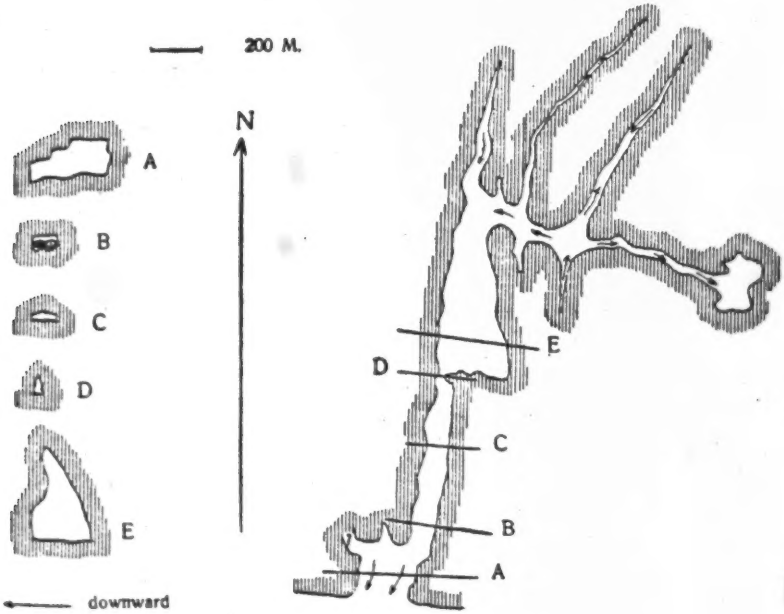
778 sence of intruders in their kingdom. It is too much for some of them; they can still find their way out and do so and none of those who remain utters a word of scorn or reproach. We *will* not leave our leaders, Von Wissmann and Sayyid ʿAlī, alone and, with beating hearts, we press onward. It is very warm in the cave; we feel bats flapping around us and smell




CAVE CALLED BĪR BARHŪT.

an unpleasant odour, which we ascribe to those animals, and we hear their gentle rustling. We go forward walking cautiously on the carpet of dust. The passage emerges into a high, wide space. We tell our Arab companions, who stare in stupefaction upon the dimensions of this unexpected hall: "This is the Cathedral of the Unbelievers." Their murmured answers are: "Allāh is the greatest, Allāh knoweth best." On the further side the space narrows and becomes a corridor

again, which ends by being so narrow as to be impassable. 778
It seems to us that the "Cathedral" has no other exit than a broad, high one in the wall on the right. This last passage leads upwards at first, over boulders; the further we penetrate into the cave, the hotter it becomes. The oppression caused by the darkness and heat, combined with the still increasing unpleasant smell, rises in my gorge, and I think that most of us hope that those corridors will come to a dead end so that we can turn back! Meanwhile we proceed with care and pass side corridors leading off to the left and right. At the beginning of the passage which we have taken we find traces of human presence; a small niche has been hacked out of the limestone wall with a tool, the scars of which can be clearly seen, and some charcoal is lying about and there is soot on the wall of the niche. Somewhat further on there is another similar spot, where some branches also lie among the charcoal and the ashes. The Bedouins presume that it has been a place of refuge for those fleeing from the pursuit of enemies.

This corridor is long and at last narrows and comes to a dead end. In these narrow passages with no outlet it is noticeably hotter than in the broad, main corridor. If our attention had not been so much concentrated on examining the cave we should hardly have been able to endure the temperature. But now we did not think of it and only when we reached the daylight again did we see that we looked like stokers, sweating at every pore and covered all over with dust! Sometimes the side corridors descended sharply; one of them could only be entered through a small hole. Sayyid ʿAlī went first. As soon as he was through we saw him with his lamp glissading down all the while on a layer of fine rubble. Von Wissmann followed him, but we did not venture to do so. Their light vanished far away in the depths and an avalanche of stones noisily followed them; then came silence. I had the torches extinguished to economise the batteries; the pitch darkness and stillness oppressed my companions who, every moment, wished to switch on the lights again. Our thoughts

778 dwelt anxiously on the possibility that the two dare-devils might have had an accident, if the slope had perhaps become steeper further down. They had with them our only rope of 70 feet. We stood waiting there for twenty minutes, with increasing anxiety; then to our great relief a faint glimmer of light could be seen far away in the depths, and a little later we were helping the two weary men to climb up again along the wall of the corridor.

All sorts of sharp objects stuck out of the wall where the passages were narrow. They appeared to be shells and were frequently quite intact. We picked some off and took them away with us. The walls also sparkled as if covered with a layer of salt or other white powder, though, to judge from the taste, it was not any ordinary kind of salt.

At last all the passages within reach had been searched and we set out on the return to the main corridor. It became appreciably cooler as we neared the exit; unfortunately we had forgotten to bring a thermometer with us to measure the high temperature inside the cave. When we came out into the great porch of Bīr Barhūt we found our guides stretched out on the boulders, fast asleep. When we awakened them, they were dumb with amazement to see us again. They had waited for perhaps half an hour, hoping for our return, but then, as we still did not come, they felt sure that we had been overwhelmed by snakes and hellish spirits or suffocated by sulphurous vapours!

However, there we were standing before them, after two hours, certainly very dirty and drenched in perspiration, but very much alive. We had established the fact that Bīr Barhūt is a typical limestone cave, with nothing whatever volcanic about it. The curious but innocuous smell inside does not come from sulphurous vapour; it is probably due to the dust from the weathering of rock or, perhaps, to bats. The high temperature, especially at the ends of the corridors, is not a consequence of volcanism, but is connected with the very high temperature reached by the outer air in Wādī Barhūt.

The hot air penetrates to the furthest and highest parts of the 778
cave and does not cool down much there. In the whole region of Ḥaḍramaut, after the broken mountainous strata of the coast, we saw no further trace of volcanism.

When our eyes had grown accustomed once more to the 000
light and we had had a drink, we descended again into the wādī. The sun shone right into it and it was suffocatingly hot, nor could we escape from the heat until we reached Qabr Hūd, so we walked as fast as we could and in two hours arrived at the well at the beginning of the wādī. Our escort were unable to keep up with us, but two young Minhālī Bedouins, with the slender suppleness and strength of the ibex, offered their society and were entertaining companions. We were thoroughly exhausted by the time we got to the well, but they were absolutely fresh. They drew water for us and, afterwards, drank themselves but once. We drank the water — warm, but clear — again and again, and had it poured over our backs and chests, so getting a long needed bath. One of the two spoke Swahili; he had spent five years in Nairobi where he had had a shop and had saved 600 *riyāls*. Now he was the happy possessor of ten camels and a young 583
wife. The other was still unable to marry, as the marriage 291
portion here is from 150 to 200 *riyāls* and, for the moment, 301
he had not this amount. He would like us to take him abroad, 302
there to try his luck as his comrade had done. The Minhālīs wear necklaces of plaited leathern straps and red and white coral, and round their waists, under the cartridge-belt, I saw similar, very artistic bands. They are bare-headed, with a strap round their greasy hair, which is waved and worn half-length, and they wear small loin-cloths over which the cartridge-belt is buckled. Many of them have still muzzle-loading guns. It is obvious from their primitive appearance that the lands where they rove lie along the southern border of the Rub$^{c}$ el-Khālī, the extreme northern limit of Ḥaḍramaut.

In the house in the ravine of Qabr Hūd it was also un- 000
bearably hot, the indoor temperature reaching from 40° to

000 42° C. The task which every one imposes upon himself is to lie still, try to feel as calm as possible and to wait patiently until the greatest heat is past. When the sun is somewhat lower in the sky we give the signal to break camp, but there is general protest, for they must all go and pray in the cupola of the tomb and in the *nāqa* mosque. Sayyid ʿAlī, who besides being a daring man of adventure is also a pious Muslim, takes the lead and recites the prayers and passages from the Koran, suitable to the occasion. Further, everyone has charges to carry out for relations or friends and so it happens that these last prayers at Qabr Hūd seem never-ending. From our house we can see their small forms between the pillars on the dark, stony hill-side, and their recitations and supplications rise and fall on waves of sound, raising echoes in the silent, deathlike valley.

000 They come back from their prayers at last down the white steps, as if satisfied with themselves, and go on towards the town. We are ready to leave, but they are not. They wish, for some time, to enjoy in retrospect their religious ecstasy and not to break camp until after sundown. Our patience, however, is by this time exhausted and Von Wissmann and I set out together under general protest, followed by the two donkey-boys with the donkeys carrying the instruments and the drinking-water. When the others see that our decision is irrevocable, an armed guide is sent to follow.

## 8. THE RUINS OF EL-MEKĒNŪN, ḤUṢN THŌBE AND EL-ʿURR.

We stride fast over the soft path of loess. The shadow of the mountain wall soon fills the wādī-bed through which we are walking. The fierce, blinding light of the hot day has disappeared; the evening sky takes on soft gay colours and reflects them over the quiet country. There are bushes beside the path into which a few birds have come to roost, sparrows and a kind of dove, which have very little shyness and break the silence and rigidity of the landscape. Here, where there

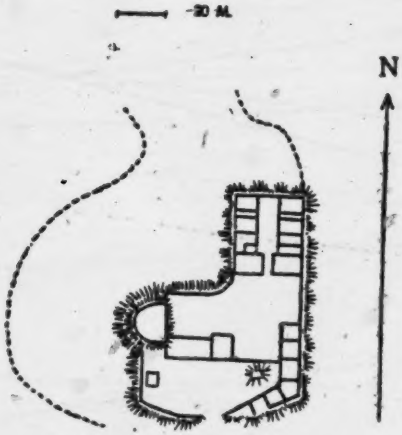
is always water in the *sēl*-bed, *rāk* bushes and tamarisks grow 000
in plenty. We soon pass the wide delta of the "Seven Wādīs" which debouch into the main wādī.

After two and a half hours steady walking we arrive in pitch darkness at Fughma and knock at the door of the house where, on our outward journey, we have spent some hours during the heat of the day. Although the master of the house 609
has already retired with his family for the night's rest on the roof, he comes at once to open the door to us, and we also are assigned a part of a roof, a coverlet of goat's hair and a few greasy cushions. When everyone has settled down again to rest our caravan looms up out of the darkness, and the men, in their turn, are received with great hospitality and given quarters on another roof.

On the following day, June 3rd, we leave Fughma by break 000
of day and, before it becomes very hot, reach es-Sōm, where we again call on our host of the journey out. We are received with particular friendliness and are all allowed into the great reception-room, the *madjlis*. We want to write and rest, and we put out feelers to see whether there is, perhaps, a separate, small room for us; the living-room is immediately emptied and placed at our disposal. We wish to leave early in the afternoon to see the groups of ruins at el-Mekēnūn, Thōbe and el-ᶜUrr before sundown.

The group of ruins known as el-Mekēnūn lies near es- 172
Sōm and towards the northern wall of the wādī. The remains of old buildings stand out above the plain like mounds of débris, with a well now partly filled in with stones, lying between them. Our search for stones with inscriptions is *not* rewarded. Connected with these mounds there is a large open space that is regarded as a cemetery by the people of the district; stones have been placed in circles and ellipses and are said to indicate the graves. According to tradition, the people of ᶜĀd were a race of giants and the dimensions of these circles and ellipses do not clash with this conception. We have no time to excavate; there are more groups of ruins to inspect. Against

172 our will we turn our backs on el-Mekēnūn and follow our guide into Wādī Sekhōre. In the distance we can already see, rising upon a precipitous, high hill, the remains of what must once have been a fortress. The position points to this and has much in common with that of the ruins of the castle at el-ʿUrr, which stand on a similar hill rising out of the main wādī, only half an hour's walk westwards.

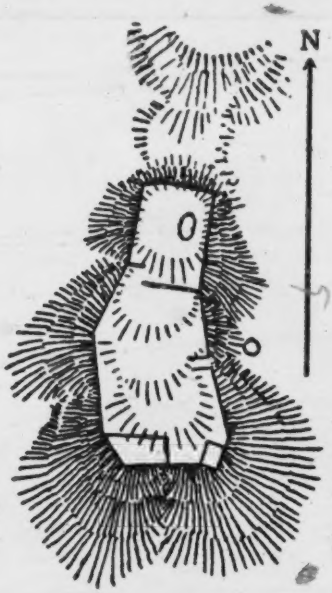



RUINS OF EL-MEKĒNŪN.

Ḥuṣn Thōbe is the name of the ruined castle at the mouth of Wādī Sekhōre. The steep slopes of the huge rock, which is nearly 300 feet high, are covered with débris. At its foot there is a well, at the top we find fairly high remains of walls, but no inscriptions.

174 The scarcity of inscriptions found here, in contrast with the multiplicity of those found in the mountainous land of the Yemen, is explicable if we look upon Ḥaḍramaut as the borderland of the Sabaean and Minaean Kingdoms. Professor J. H. Mordtmann of Berlin, who studied and deciphered the inscriptions that we brought home, is of opinion that the people of

Ḥaḍramaut were famed for their warlike qualities at a quite 174
early period. According to him, mention is made of the country and its kings in the most ancient Sabaean inscriptions, and again in the later texts. A great deal is told about wars with Ḥaḍramaut. There are no data which suggest that the Ḥaḍramīs were ever subdued by their neighbours, the Sabaeans and Minaeans. In the time of the Alexandrian scholars




RUINS OF THE ANCIENT ḤUṢN THŌBE.

they had a separate kingdom; this is unanimously and credibly reported. They had their national God, Sīn, just as the Minaeans had ᶜAthtar, the Sabaeans Ilmaqah, and the people of Qatabān, ᶜAmm and Anbay. So also they preserved their own dialect until as late as the sixth century of our era.

In any case, there would seem to have been many wars, 174
and the castles of Thōbe and el-ᶜUrr have, unquestionably, 212
been military fortifications; this points to the country having

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ANALYST

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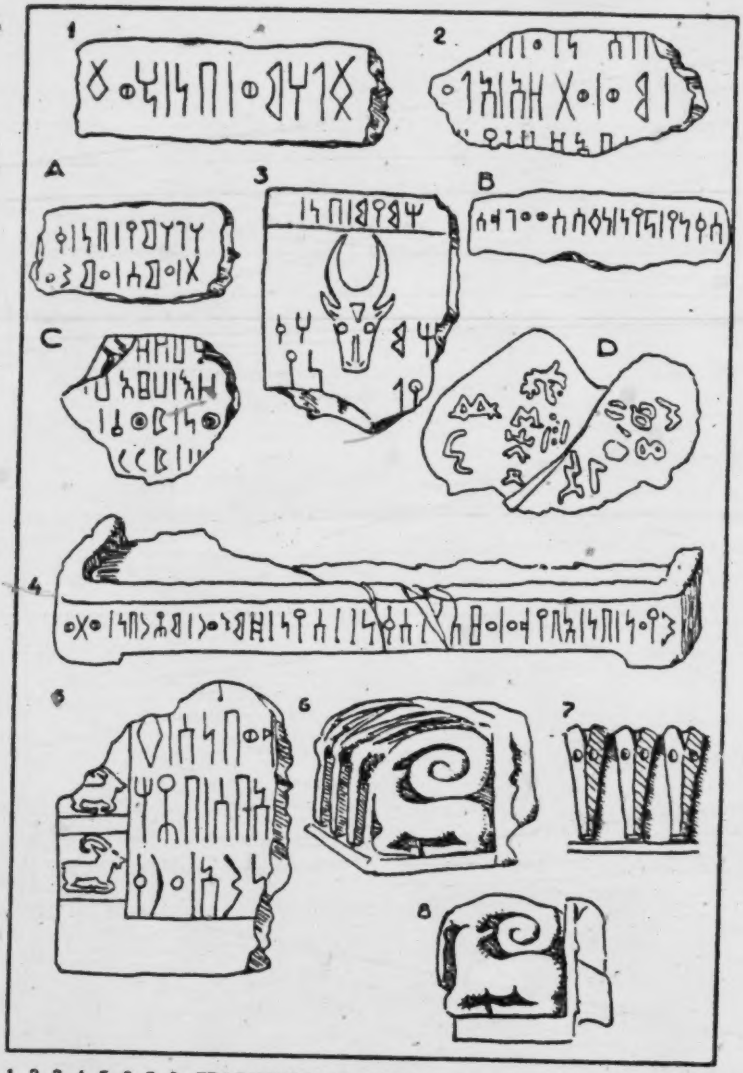


1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8: FRAGMENTS OF INSCRIPTIONS AND CARVED STONES FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF SAYYID ABŪ BAKR EL-KĀF IN TERĪM, BROUGHT BY BEDOUINS CHIEFLY FROM THE SŪNE RUINS.

A, B, C: INSCRIPTIONS COPIED IN AND AROUND EL-MESHHED.

D: ROCK-WALL PAINTINGS IN RED, FROM DĀR ʿĀD IN WĀDĪ THIQBE.

p. 176

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1981)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



been the borderland of two kingdoms, which naturally would not be the most favourable place for setting up inscriptions. Frontier defences are never centres of culture. Furthermore the stone here is not favourable for incising: it is too brittle. All the texts deciphered for us by Mordtmann are votary inscriptions (proskynemas) to the national god, Sīn.

From Ḥuṣn Thōbe we walked back to the main wādī, in whose midst, on a great lonely rock, remains of the walls of Ḥuṣn el-ᶜUrr still rise to a considerable height. We met the caravan here and, uniting our forces, tried to get at a piece of cut stone that was cemented into the upper part of the remains of the walls. After much effort we succeeded. It turned out that we had detached a capital of whitish sandstone, particularly well-hewn on its four planes. The capital was too heavy for transport on our camels, so Von Wissmann made the drawing reproduced here.[1] The skill of the artist who, in ancient times, made this head of a column is clearly shown in the undamaged portions. The sculptor seems to have depicted hunting scenes. Mounted men fighting with lions are represented on one plane; on another are very good reproductions of the ibex (*wiᶜl*), an animal which plays a great part in the folklore of Ḥaḍramaut. The *wiᶜl* hunt is still the favourite sport of the Ḥaḍramīs, although strongly disapproved of by their religious leaders on account of the ceremonies of evidently heathen origin accompanying it. The heavy, notched horns of the ibex, gracefully bending backwards, are, up to this day, to be found as trophies decorating the façade of many a house in Ḥaḍramaut.

The smaller hewn stone that we had found in the ruins on the outward journey was dug up again. This stone, flat and of the same white sandstone as the capital, appeared to bear on front and back an identical sculpture, representing a bunch of grapes with a few leaves, a motive that also occurs here and there on the decorated surfaces of the capital. We wished to take this stone with us to Terīm as an addition

[1] See p. 178.

172
532

THE CARVED CAPITAL OF ḤUṢN EL-ʿURR.

to our host's little collection. After much insistence the caravan leader agreed to this, but when falling darkness forced us to leave el-ʿUrr, we noticed that the owner of our camels, who had come with us in person, was carrying the stone on his shoulder. He thought that it would injure his camels, although they were very lightly laden, and he demonstrated by running fast, jumping, and so forth, that it was no hindrance to himself!

## 9. AN EXTRAORDINARY NIGHT.

It was pitch-dark as we approached Bā Ḥafār, lying at the entrance of Wādī el-Khūn, which runs from the north. We had to follow the *sēl*-bed, which was full of water, after having ridden for some time through a narrow date plantation beside the bank. My donkey caused great consternation when, having had a long drink, he lay down at his ease in the middle of the lukewarm pool. Everyone rushed, in answer to our cry of distress, to rescue the instruments and photographic material from the saddle-bags; the donkey's bath ended however without doing any damage.

Bā Ḥafār is a miserable village, with inhabitants as poor as Job and living in huts. Its mud houses have been destroyed in tribal warfare; the remaining population is too weak in numbers and strength to rebuild them. Only one mud house had been restored, and on its roof we pitched our camp for the night in brotherly company. Very soon a number of inquisitive men came to the roof to enjoy the unexpected sight. Here something happened that we had never experienced before: the women-folk also came, a little later, to satisfy their curiosity. They sat down, huddled against each other, in a corner of the roof opposite to that which we had chosen for sleeping, with only the stairway space between us. As they had no thought of going away again and were enjoying intensely the novelty of what they saw, we were obliged to go on with our business without letting their presence disturb us.

00 us. The camp-beds which, from being small packages, became long, large objects drew from them a cry of amazement. When we undressed, the amazement frequently turned into great merriment. We hoped to put an end to the visitation by suddenly switching on the beams of an electric torch. Giggling and scrambling to hide behind each other they crept away, and for a moment we were anxious lest any one of them, in her fright, should jump off the roof. Before long the girls and young women were sitting hidden away behind the backs of the old ones and so they sustained the glare in their eyes and the roars of laughter of the men and boys. When I fell asleep the gossiping black figures were still sitting there.

511 On June 4th, we were awakened by the rising sun. All around is wrapped in slumber and the women have disappeared. I gaze out across the little wādī with its miserable hovels. On the sand around our house I see shapeless, black forms lying. Then one of them begins to stir and, drunk with sleep, a woman sits up. She gets up, totters, shakes some dust and sand off the black rags that she wraps round herself, and treads silently away to her hut to resume her monotonous life of poverty. Another soon follows and gradually one after the other vanishes. Here we had for a moment a glimpse of the grey poverty and the monotonous life of hunger in a village of this part of Ḥaḍramaut, where the inhabitants have been decimated and their energies sapped by war, the surviving men have fled from its misery to foreign lands, and the long-suffering Ḥaḍramī women, who never leave their country, alone remain. The world of women and of family life always remained a closed book to us.

## 10. A VISIT TO ʿENĀT.

361 The distance from Bā Ḥafār to Qasam is not great, and we
346 arrived in that dead little town quite early in the day, to
511 find the car promised by el-Kāf awaiting us. We drive then through the town, which is half in ruins; yet, a sayyid who

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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A mosque in 'Enāt.

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has made his fortune abroad has built here a princely house 361
for himself. He has, of course, not forgotten to render thanks 346
to Allah at the same time by building a mosque, a glittering 511
white masterpiece of Ḥaḍramī architecture. The contrast between the great wealth of many sayyids and the poverty of the great mass of the people does not seem to be poignantly felt here. The palaces of the rich stand right in the midst of 565
dying towns; their children, frequently overdressed, play with 735
the almost naked black children of slaves. The rich return 511
of their own accord from lands of culture and prosperity to their own land of appalling poverty, to enjoy within its borders the wealth they have accumulated. Allah has willed that there be rich men in the world and poor men to whom they should be able to give alms. It is fit and proper that there should be beggars in every good Muslim society and especially a plentiful supply of them in places of pilgrimage, so that the pious may have ample opportunity to practise the generosity commanded by Allah. We have noticed little jealousy or class conflict in Ḥaḍramaut. This is certainly due partly to the democratic way of living. The privileges of the sayyid class have a religious and not a money basis. Soldiers, household slaves and the free citizens of the village meet in the *madjlis* of the rich and all eat there in company, drink from the same bowl and join in the same converse.

From Qasam we go by car along the high clay bank of the 361
*masīla* (the bed of the wādī), which has been eroded by 758
the *nuqra*. Having reached a point opposite ʿĒnāt we attempt 778
to cross the wide sandy bed of the *masīla* to reach the town. The palm plantations have been growing progressively thinner and the soil here is entirely covered by a layer of sand. We stall constantly in this sand in the *masīla* and have difficulty in reaching ʿĒnāt, where everything speaks of vanished glory. The town is scattered over a wide area; great open spaces give one the impression that the population was formerly much larger than it is now. At one time many pilgrims were attracted here by the seven *qubbas* which adorn

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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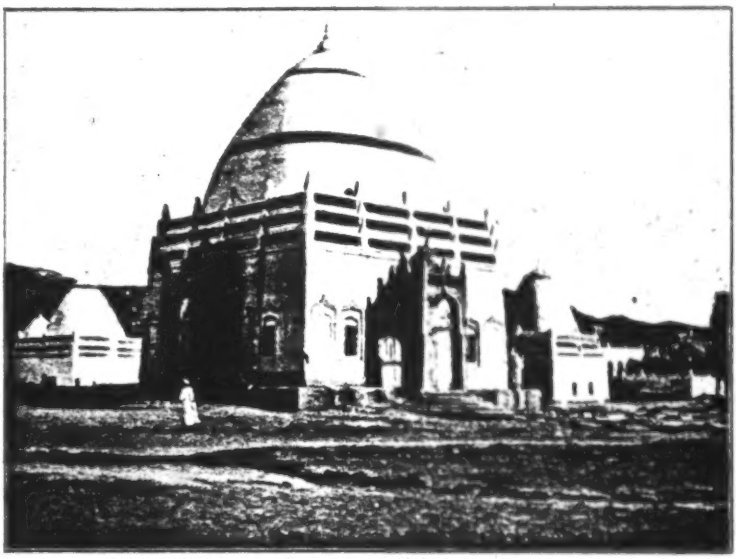

Some of the seven cupolas in memory of saints in 'Ĕnăt.

facing p 181

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



361 the tombs of holy men. The Āl el-ᶜĒderūs, one of the families
778 of sayyids whose riches are made in Java, come from ᶜĒnāt
788 and are, moreover, the ruling family in this pious city, which owes the few houses that are kept in repair, the beautiful white mosques and the fine school for boys to these sayyids and to those of the Āl Ḥāmid. At the seven *qubbas* we meet Sayyid ᶜAlī bin el-ᶜĒderūs, who feels an exile from his people who live in Surabaya, but his place here will be taken by another member of the family in a few years' time. He is glad to meet someone who knows Java and invites us to take a cup of tea with him. We learn from him that ᶜĒnāt can
312 boast of thirteen mosques and has, at the present time,
172 5000 inhabitants. Water for drinking has to be brought from
[162] a great distance, as the local supply is not fit for it. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh Āl Ḥāmid, who lived for ten years in Dār es-Salām, is also glad to have an opportunity of talking once more with Europeans and comes to Sayyid ᶜAlī's *madjlis*. He has some acquaintance with the early history of his country and tells us of the great dam which is said to have existed in pre-Islamic times between Qabr Hūd and the sea. The destruction of this dam ushered in the decline of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh has his own theory of the means by which the great stones of the buildings in the pre-Islamic period were piled one upon the other; he asserts that he has seen representations of elephants on the ruins and assumes that it was by them that these heavy stones were dragged to their places. I doubt whether this supposition is correct, although it is true that elephants play a part in the historical traditions of Arabia. The great castles are built on high, rocky hills, whose slopes are barely practicable even for man.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## OUR LAST DAYS IN TERĪM.

On our return to Terīm we were met with a storm of 000
questions and had to give a detailed account of our experiences in Bīr Barhūt. They were all very much surprised to hear that it really is *not* a crater. In reply to the question what it actually is we answer that it is one of the many caves which Allāh is wont to create in mountains of limestone formation. Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās gives to an attentive audience a dramatic account of what he saw and heard and experienced in the cave into which no man before him had ventured.

The following day, June 5th, was a Friday. In the morning [565]
of that day the learned men and notables of the place meet in the el-Kāf house. This time the meeting was very animated; many questions were put about the ruins and about Bīr Barhūt, and interesting views expressed on the subject. A brother of Muḥammad bin ʿAqīl, the Ḥaḍramī traveller, told of the remains of the supposed great dam of the Ḥimyarites, which were investigated and described by his brother. He estimates that 600 years have elapsed since the destruction of the dam, which must have been accomplished not by floods but by the hand of man. The dam must have been made entirely of mud, as no fragments of stones remain. According to other informants, many well-hewn, massive stones are to be met with down-stream from the dam. Muḥammad bin ʿAqīl 312
in his paper says that the dam could easily be reconstructed, as it has a very favourable position. The side-wādī *a* was filled by the damming-up of the water; *a* is connected with side-wādī *b*, as an existing, low sill of stone forms no real hindrance. So the surplus water found an outlet through these side-wādīs. Thus too heavy pressure was never exercised

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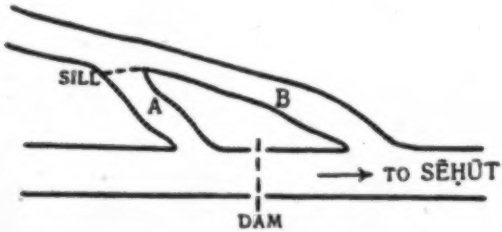
312 upon the dam. Bin ʿAqīl has made much propaganda all his life long for the restoration of the dam. Three tribes have a direct interest in the matter, namely: the Āl Djābir, who dwell up-stream in Wādī ʿAdim, the Manāhīl, in whose territory is the site of the ancient dam, and the Banū Tamīm dwelling between the two former tribes. According to Bin ʿAqīl, the Manāhīl have promised the half of the loam soil and the whole waste land of their territory to those who will put the dam into working order again.

312 829 The obvious question is put why this work, presumably so important for Ḥaḍramaut, has not yet been undertaken.




It is the great, urgent question which is coming more and more under consideration and discussion in the advanced circles of those who have lived abroad and who feel with sorrow the backwardness of their fatherland. These painful questions are brought once more to our attention before we take farewell of this group of men who feel themselves responsible for the future of Ḥaḍramaut. They want to hear our reply although they know it quite well. The fundamental weakness here is the lack of unity. They have realized from experience that they cannot attain this unity by themselves. 829 Therefore they regard as necessary the coming of a compelling power which shall be stronger than all the little groups with conflicting interests in the country, a power which shall impose unity and which, by a curt command, shall put an end to the suicidal intertribal warfare. But that is merely shifting the difficult task, that is flight. True change for the

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



better must come from within the land itself: they must shoulder their own burden. The times seem ripe for it. On our return journey we were to see yet more of the distress of war and also of war weariness.

After consultation with our host the following plans for our journey were drawn up. We were again to go by car up the Ḥaḍramaut valley to el-Qaʿūẓa, via Sēwūn and Shibām. From there we should try to ride on camel-back in quick stages across the flat sandy region straight to Nişāb, the farthest point inland of the territory belonging to the British protectorate. Should the way from el-Qaʿūẓa to Nişāb be rendered too unsafe by robber bands, we should have to go by camel up Wādī ʿAmd to the town of ʿAmd and try to get through from there to Nişāb. Once there, and with British help, we should certainly get further, if needs be by aeroplane, for there is a British military aerodrome at Nişāb. We calculated that the whole journey to Aden would take from three to four weeks.

June 6th was a day of preparation and farewell. The baggage was packed to be sent by camel to esh-Shiḥr. We ourselves only took one change of linen with us (and that is not much in this land of dry heat), a blanket to ride upon and to sleep in, and a small rug to serve as a sort of mattress when sleeping on the rocky *djōl*. Further, *qirbas* (skins) for water, a kettle, a few mugs for tea, a large cluster of the excellent dates that grow in Sayyid el-Kāf's garden, sugar, cubes of Maggi's soup extract and some tins of biscuits. Then we went to express our gratitude by gifts to Sayyid Abū Bakr, his children, wives and servants. We are taken in his car for a last drive through the palm-gardens to the gate of the city, and across the bare, rocky plain to the equally barren, rocky bluffs. Then we walk once more with these men who seem to have overcome all their prejudices against us, unbelievers, and who have given us their friendship, even their trust. After sunset it is still very warm on the stony plain near Terīm; the heat absorbed by it during the day is then given out again. It is

·24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



only noticeably cooler in the date plantations and between the irrigated fields of *dhura* within the city walls. Some degree of coolness is occasioned there by evaporation in the dry atmosphere. Once again, for the last time, we meet the younger members of the great el-Kāf clan in the swimming-pool of Sayyid ʿUmar bin Shēkh el-Kāf's garden. There the *ṣalāt* is performed, after which there are races under water from one end of the bath to the other. Then tea is drunk, and we eat dates fresh from the garden.

It is remarkable what a fresh, simple spirit is kept by these people enjoying a long holiday in surroundings of luxury. Our visit and the talks with us certainly seem to be appreciated, yet they are content with their own peaceful existence.

# CHAPTER XIV.

## AN ATTEMPT TO REACH ADEN OVERLAND.

### 1. THROUGH ḤAḌRAMAUT PROPER BACK TO THE ENTRANCE OF WĀDĪ ʿAMD.

On the following morning two cars await us to take us to Sēwūn. The Sultan there will in his turn provide our transport to the Sultan at el-Qaṭn, and so on until we reach el-Qaʿūẓa. We now go through the plain, rounding the two rocky spurs. Occasionally a car sticks fast in the sand, but we are at Sēwūn by, at least, ten o'clock. There the Sultan, surrounded by his satellites, welcomes us as old friends and it seems impossible to go on further at once: we have to stay for a meal. In the meanwhile the Sultan will make ready for us four letters of introduction to influential chiefs in the district through which we must pass. Von Wissmann is given a sketch map, made in Netherlands India, of Ḥaḍramaut and the territories bordering on it, whilst a curved sword with an elaborate silver sheath is presented to us jointly as a souvenir. Then we are asked, with great interest, as to our impressions of Terīm and as to the conversations carried on there over the needs of Ḥaḍramaut. One receives the impression that the country, inspired by the set of men in Terīm, is beginning to wake up, that it begins to realize its common interests and to long for unity and a strong, central authority. Both at Terīm and at Shibām we had been told that the south bank of the wādī between Sēwūn and Shibām was rendered impracticable by hostilities. The Sultan asserts now, however, that there is no danger whatever and that we can quite well take that route, which is also much more beautiful.

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361 Of course we follow this advice. The road[1] runs almost without interruption through magnificent palm plantations and by villages with curious grey-brown mud-built castles, flanked by spotlessly white houses of fine architecture. It is the most prosperous and finest district in Ḥaḍramaut Proper. Its chief centre is el-Ghurfa, a town well-known and important in ancient times, but now reduced to secondary rank by constant
721 wars. We enter the war zone a little way out of Sēwūn. No
722 danger threatens us, however, as the Sultan is neutral in a struggle between groups of families who consider themselves to be independent and who fight amongst themselves for domination in this borderland between the Āl el-Qeᶜēṭī and the Āl Kathīr. A deathly silence reigns in the pretty villages lying close together among gardens of palms. It seems as if we alone are on the road in an enchanted land, whose inhabitants have either vanished or are asleep. Our drivers do not expect the cars to be fired at, but all the same, they keep out of the way of the villages, whence unseen watchers are certainly following our every movement. Before long we come upon trenches cut across the road, which force us to make long detours. The Sultan's soldiers who accompany us point out the villages of three parties at war. Soon they are so mixed up that we can no longer distinguish which is which. The trenches are deep and numerous, and only through them can the people enter and leave their villages and houses and get to their gardens. As all three parties are equally dependent on these magnificent gardens they have agreed amongst themselves that necessary work therein must be kept going.

We approach the town of el-Ghurfa; it is entirely surrounded by a wall with closed gates, and encircled by broad, deep trenches. The palm gardens extend as far as the wall of the town. The silence is oppressive. In order to avoid a trench we have to go out of our way close by one of the corner gates. The sentries appear to have been asleep, for directly the sound of our motors is audible, cries of alarm reach us from behind the gate. We are only a little further

[1] [on the South bank of the wādī between Sēwūn and Shibām -- ANALYST]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



when the gate is pushed open and a group of soldiers rush 721
out with their guns at the attack. Our people are petrified with 722
fright and call out that we belong to the *Dōla* (the Government). Then the guns drop and the sound of a greeting reaches us, but our chauffeurs drive on as fast as possible, so as to escape from this hostile place.

We now enter the district belonging to the third party, with el-ᶜUqda as its headquarters, where the rich Shēkh Sālim bin Djaᶜfar bin Ṭālib lives. We are to pay a call upon him. He gave us a pressing invitation to do so on the outward journey, but, at that time, the Sultan of Shibām, who had undertaken our transport arrangements, gave orders to avoid the war zone. Shēkh Sālim is a Dutch subject; he possesses a great fortune, amassed in Surabaya, and was one of the well-known Ḥaḍramīs of that city.

The country round el-ᶜUqda is a paradise of beauty. White 361
and light-grey palaces, with rows of big windows and fine 342
points and pinnacles along the edges of the roofs, are scattered among the plantations of young palm-trees. Behind this gay green and white colouring is the yellowish-brown of the rock. In the gardens are also many bushes of lemon and pomegranate and papayas. The buildings in which Shēkh Sālim lives are surrounded by a high wall, with a colossal wooden gate covered with sheet iron, which gives entrance to a courtyard. The outposts here have done their duty and 622
given notive of our arrival, and the gate has been thrown 191
wide open and Shēkh Sālim himself, surrounded by soldiers 186
and children, stands there to give us welcome. The pro-Dutch sentiments of the grey-headed Shēkh are well known, and we have no need to doubt for one moment that our welcome here comes from the heart. Conversation is carried on in the Malay language, in compliment to the presence of a government official of Netherlands India. This creates an intimate atmosphere and offers the advantage that the soldiers and children cannot follow what is said. The great *madjlis* of this im- 574
posing building becomes speedily filled with a crowd of inter-

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574 ested people who, according to the custom of the country, may not be excluded. It is a great disappointment for our host, who seems to have a great deal on his mind, that we are obliged to refuse quite definitely his invitation to stay for a few days and that we must really be in Shibām before nightfall.
722 Now that the time is so short, he goes ahead at once. An outspoken talk over the misery here follows on my question why he does not prefer to live in safety in his beautiful house at Surabaya rather than be a virtual prisoner in this his own palace in el-ʿUqda. He would indeed much rather look after his affairs in Java, but must be here now as head of his family
728 and defender of its interests. War has been going on for the past six years, more and ever more blood is shed, and the constantly recurring cry for vengeance removes all prospect of the peace so much desired. It does not appear as if the war can be ended without the intervention of a powerful outsider. He presses the point with the greatst earnestness that our Government should mediate between the contesting parties. England has failed: shortly after the outbreak of the struggle the *wālī* in Aden had proposed a six months' truce and summoned the leaders on both sides. They went and waited at Aden for four months in hope of a solution, and waited in vain. The *wālī* did not understand the matter, his expert assistant went away shortly on leave, and they were soon at the mercy of a corrupt and corruptible Indian interpreter. The leaders of the tribes at war returned to Ḥaḍramaut without having achieved any result. If the Government of Netherlands India would only do so, it could bid hostilities cease without direct intervention, for this reason: the country is full of Dutch subjects having great financial interests in Java. If our Indian Government were merely to threaten, with banishment and confiscation of property, those who did not at once force their families in Ḥaḍramaut to cease hostilities, then peace would be assured. This sounded very logical. Ready interpreters gave a short account of our host's suggestions to the members of the invested garrison, who listened with great interest and

expressions of general agreement. Shēkh Sālim went even further. If I would only stay one day more and speak with the leaders of the three parties, it would be an easy matter for me to bring about peace, for everyone was longing for it from the bottom of their hearts.

Many of their ideas were not new to me: I had heard them already in Diyār Āl Buqrī, in Sēwūn, in Terīm. Never, however, had they been posed with so much urgency and in such a concrete form. I was obliged to explain why it was impossible for me to assume the right to act as arbitrator. So long as the the Dutch could only enter the doors of Ḥaḍramaut with Britain's permission, so long would direct contact between our Government and the authorities of that land remain difficult. Also, as long as there existed no central power in the country, such contact would be out of the question. I could only give the advice to strive for unity and the formation of a central power. If they could not do this alone, then co-operation with the British authorities in Aden, to whom, also, they had turned in former times, seemed to be the obvious way.

The struggle was a war between relations, in which the Qeᶜēṭī Government was now also implicated. A certain Ṣāliḥ bin ᶜUbēd bin ᶜAbdād had got el-Ghurfa into his power by treachery. This place was formerly a free town, without a *dōla* and without taxes. The occupation was felt to be unendurable, not only by the other branches of Ṣāliḥ's family, who were envious, but also by the Government of el-Qeᶜēṭī. For there was already a treaty arrangement with Britain according to which the power in Ḥaḍramaut Proper should be divided between two groups: the Āl el-Qeᶜēṭī and the Āl Kathīr. El-Qeᶜēṭī would not put up with a third authority. The twenty two other branches of the Āl ᶜUmar — the family of Ṣāliḥ bin ᶜUbēd — also took a hand in the quarrel, and since then no solution to it has been found.

Towards sundown we took our leave of this group of three country-houses standing out most effectively, with their

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000 bands of white and grey, against the dark green of the palms. The soldiers and children of the garrison stood crowded together to enjoy to the last this short variation in the monotony of their life as a besieged people. Then, through plantations of young palms and, after that, over uncultivated stretches of sand, our way led to that last outpost of el-Qeʿēṭī in Ḥaḍramaut, Shibām. As had been arranged, we announced our arrival directly to our friends Āl Ṭuwēy and Laʿdjam at their garden home. Once again we stay in this Arabian Nights' palace, bathe in the clear, lukewarm swimming-pool, and enjoy the luxury offered us here by our hospitable friends.

Early on the following day we go to Shibām to take photographs of Ḥimyaritic inscriptions and sculptures, which are to be found in the shop of a local dealer in antiquities. It is already unbearably hot in the narrow lanes between the tall houses, where, moreover, market is being held. We are thankful to turn our backs on this unhygienic but wonderful New York of Ḥaḍramaut and to go by car to the Sultan's palace in el-Qaṭn.

609 Sultan ʿAlī bin Ṣalāḥ bin Muḥammad bin ʿUmar bin ʿAwaḍ
172 bin ʿAbdallāh el-Qeʿēṭī gives us a hearty reception. He places an escort at Von Wissmann's disposal to show him some rock inscriptions and ruins on the southern bank of the wādī. It is very hot and the rocks are steep and high; the guides' interest in this inexplicable hobby of the Christians is extremely small, and Von Wissmann returns rather disappointed with the results of his excursion. We then go together in the Sultan's car to ʿUqrān, a village about half-way back to Shibām, at the entrance to the short side-wādī of the name, in the southern wall of the main wādī. Hirsch[1] and the
114 172 Bents[2] have been here. Hirsch gives a detailed description from which it would seem that there was more to be

[1] L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 192.

[2] Th. and Mrs. Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 124 and 135. They call it Al Agran and Al Gran.

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facing p 192

El-Ghurfa, since years the bone of contention between branches of the Al 'Umar family.

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*See page 188.*

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seen at that time than there is now. The people inform us that the late Sultan had a stone, bearing an inscription, removed from the *masdjid* into which it was built and that he presented it to one of the *Efrendjīs*.[1] There are still a few mounds of ruins to be seen in ᶜUqrān and, further, several of the simple mud houses of the place are built on foundations dating from pre-Islamic times. Walls and evenly made stairs leading to the inhabited storeys of the houses have been put together of stones, excellently hewn and bound with a kind of mortar unknown at the present time.

After having had our meal with the Sultan at el-Qaṭn we go on in two cars to Hēnin. Vegetation ceases near el-Furṭ, then we drive for a short time over the layer of loess, but after that the drift-sand gets the upper hand. Sand-storms always arise in the afternoon in this region; they are caused by the sand becoming greatly heated and by the rise of columns of hot air. Before long we were absorbed into a burning shroud of sand and were fighting our lonely way onwards. Occasionally a bit of the rock-wall can be seen through the mist, and that has to suffice for the drivers to take their bearings by. After some groping and going astray we really do arrive at Hēnin. One of the cars has motor trouble and, after vain attempts to repair it, has to be left behind. Our friend Bin Martaᶜ is unfortunately away and his car with him. Wādī Ḥaḍramaut begins here and is six miles wide, but still we venture the crossing in one overburdened car from Hēnin on the north bank to el-Qaᶜūẓa on the south side, at the point where Wādī Rakhīya, Wādī 'l-Kasr and Wādī ᶜAmd unite and form the great Ḥaḍramaut Valley. Then we drive on over the clay layer and then again over drift-sand, going as fast as possible so as to avoid stalling. The high promontory of rock behind el-Qaᶜūẓa is a good landmark.

Shortly before sunset we emerge out of the fog of sand just in front of the closed gates of the castle, to the speechless

[1] This *Efrendjī* was Mr. Bent, who reproduces the stone opposite p. 145 of his book.

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The beleaguered white castles of el-'Uqde.

facing p 193

See page 189.

000 amazement of its garrison. The solid wooden doors of the gate are locked; not a living soul is visible among the other mud houses; there is not a tree or shrub to offer shade amidst all this surrounding sand and loam and rock. El-Qaʿūẓa is encircled by foes and shots are very apt to fall after sunset from the mausers of the sharp-shooters, who man the forts on the rock-wall. The doors, however, open to the tooting of our horn and we stare into the dumb, wondering faces of the soldiers and boys who come running to meet us.

622 Old Mubārak bin Muḥammad is the shēkh held in awe by
489 the Bedouins and who controls all the caravans travelling
609 from el-Qaʿūẓa by the southern border of the "Empty Quarter" to the Yemen or to the hinterland of Aden. If he will assume the responsibility and provide us with camels and an armed escort we can risk a forced march to Niṣāb. Unluckily the mighty Bedouin shēkh is ill. We are received in a very fraternal way by his soldiers and taken to the roomy *madjlis*, which is soon chock-full of people interested in our arrival; they all come forward to greet us with a firm grasp of the hand and then begin to satisfy their curiosity by asking questions. There seems to be a great deal of contact with Java here: many speak Malay as do all the boys who so eagerly press forward. Money from Java has kept the war going so far, although the last date-palm has died long ago in the dried-up gardens.

000 Conversation in Malay soon breaks down the initial reserve of our hosts, and before long we are talking gaily about Java, the land of promise, with these frank and intelligent youths. The soldiers are only now prepared to speak to the old shēkh, to show him our letters and to communicate our request. A little later they come to take me to the sick man, Mubārak bin Muḥammad. The grey-headed chief is lying in a small room. He says that the region through which we wish to pass has been rendered unsafe by large bands of Bedouins and that an armed escort of ten camel-riders would not protect us against them. The only possibility for us would be to join

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forces with a caravan. These only go every fortnight or three weeks, but if we had the patience to wait we should then travel with 200 to 300 camels and a strong escort. But we have no time and cannot wait and must try the circuitous route by way of Wādī ᶜAmd. As we do not relish the idea of staying in this crammed castle with its sick chief and as we have also a feeling that we are not so very welcome here, we ask permission to go and stay for the night in Diyār Āl Buqrī where we had such pleasant experiences on our journey inland. Our travelling companions, the Sayyids ᶜAluwī and ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās, who know that Diyār Āl Buqrī is much richer than el-Qaᶜūẓa and that a feast will most certainly be prepared for us there, are also attracted to this prospect by the pangs of hunger. We send a messenger in advance to announce our arrival, having first, from the roof of the house, estimated the distance as a walk of from fifteen to twenty minutes.

## 2. THROUGH TRENCHES FROM ONE BESIEGED CASTLE TO ANOTHER.

Shortly after sundown we set out, a guide goes in front, then follows a camel with our baggage, then we ourselves. The whole garrison accompanies us as far as the gate. Under the covering protection of the castle we go towards a wide, deep trench, which will lead us by a roundabout way to Diyār Āl Buqrī. The enemy outposts appear to have espied us, bullets come in our direction from the rocky plateau above and our escort hurries us on. The trench has many turnings and also side branches and positions made strong with the trunks of palms. Its dimensions are such that it can safely be used by a caravan of camels. For an hour and a half we wade through the loose sand of the winding trench and then reach a region of sand-dunes where our guide loses his way in the pitch darkness; frequently we have to wait whilst he goes on ahead.

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It is as dangerous to encounter one's own outposts at night as those of the enemy. To the great relief of all of us we hear at last cries of recognition coming from the Āl Buqrī soldiers; they had been anxious, having heard the sounds of shooting after receiving news of our approaching arrival, and had thought that we had come upon the enemy unawares, so had started out to meet us. We had now nothing to fear from the much dreaded dogs who are let loose to guard Diyār Āl Buqrī at night.

We were led as welcome guests into one of the three tall desert strongholds, and up to a roof-terrace prepared for our reception. One of the two brothers stayed in the kitchen to superintend the preparations for the banquet, while the other, with the soldiers, kept us company. The rifles and cartridge-belts were hung on to strong pegs in the wall. In a corner, on a few crossed sticks, hung a thick skin, bulging with drinking-water. It must have been just like this in the Middle Ages in the castles of Europe. Here were only lacking the châtelaine and her maidens, of whose existence the visitor sees nothing. Below in the inner courtyard there are bathrooms and a mosque. The bath water is poured into a little tank, generally an earthenware vessel, in a corner, about six feet above the ground. A thin stream of water is made to spout down upon the bather, by pulling a wooden peg out of the bottom of the tank. One can take a refreshing bath in this way with little water.

The meal was not served until late at night. Great pains were taken over it: the dishes were hotly spiced, after the Javanese manner, to such an extent that it was an effort for us to fulfil the duty of courtesy towards our host by eating enough of them. Animated discussions over the political situation in the country had been started before dinner and were continued after it. People in Diyār Āl Buqrī, in spite of their bellicose appearance, are weary of war; they, as was the case elsewhere, long for the intervention of a powerful outsider who could put an end to it and its miseries. The

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argument which was wrung from me resolved itself, more or less, into the verdict that a people generally has the government that it deserves.

When, long after midnight, peace began to reign on our roof, Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās seized the opportunity to give, before an attentive audience gathered on another roof, a moving and histrionic demonstration of his adventures in Bīr Ghumdān and Bīr Barhūt.

# CHAPTER XV.

## WĀDĪ ᶜAMD.

### 1. FAREWELL TO ḤUREḌA.

000 The expedition on camels was to start at Diyār Āl Buqrī. We did not expect to get off in the morning on June 9th, owing to the fact that our hosts had spent the greater part of the night in converse, but we had underestimated our martial host: he had sent his servants out during the night to fetch the camels from a neighbouring village and in the morning at sunrise the camels lay waiting in the courtyard with the escort. How we hoped, as we sat in the saddles with our right legs over the high wooden pommels, that the camel ride now beginning would not end before we changed into a car at Shuqra on the south coast or in Lahadj, near Aden! Filled with cheerful courage we bade farewell to these hospitable, lofty strongholds of the desert, hospitable although encircled by enemies and with the last date-palm in their gardens dried up years ago. The Buqrī brothers with their soldiers accompanied us as far as the gate, but kept cover all the time behind the protecting walls of the stronghold. Diyār Āl Buqrī lies in Wādī 'l-Ḳasr close to the point where Wādī ᶜAmd debouches into it, in the midst of a wide, hilly stretch of sand and loam. Our camels, treading lightly and silently, turned towards Wādī ᶜAmd. The children in the enemy villages close by dared not run out and have a look at us and so expose themselves to the bullets from Diyār Āl Buqrī. They kept quiet and observed us from behind a mud wall.

Swinging on the high backs of our camels we ride into the silence, the fierce light and the dry heat of the undulating, arid plain. It was good so: one ought to ride on a camel in Ḥaḍramaut and not doze in a noisy, smelly motor-car.

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At midday we reached Ḥurēḍa, where, unfortunately, we had to change camels. This generally takes up more than a day, but our el-ʿAṭṭās friends knew how to get things done for us more quickly, and by that same afternoon of June 9th we were on our way again into Wādī ʿAmd.

Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, who had been our companion since Makalla, remained behind here. On long, wearying journeys one becomes intimately acquainted with the weak spots in one another's characters and so learns to value the good points all the more. Sayyid ʿAluwī had been a patient, good-humoured comrade to us two restless Westerners, with our endless questions and desire to investigate. By his introduction the houses and hearts of Ḥurēḍa were opened to us and Ḥurēḍa had been the key to Ḥaḍramaut for us. Our thankful recollections of that country can be summed up in the names el-ʿAṭṭās and el-Kāf.

## 2. POOR AND DRY—BUT RICH IN RUINS.

We stroll through Ḥurēḍa, attended by a goodly retinue, and not till we are outside the town do we mount our camels and say farewell. Von Wrede is the only European who claims to have travelled through Wādī ʿAmd, but it is a claim that we must call in question. Anyone who will go to the trouble of comparing Von Wrede's geographical descriptions of Wādī ʿAmd with Von Wissmann's map appended to the present work will probably experience the same feelings of doubt regarding that part of Von Wrede's accounts of his travels.

Just after leaving Ḥurēḍa we passed the largest area of ruins that we saw in Ḥaḍramaut. The mounds extend for a distance of about two and a half miles. A great quantity of small stones from the *sēl*-bed were at hand on the spot for building purposes, and this is, doubtless, the reason why so small a remnant of the walls still stands and why no inscriptions were found. Further up the wādī we constantly passed groups of ruins mostly crowning the hills lying in front of the mountain-wall.

621 We had not received favourable reports of Wādī ʿAmd. The el-Aṭṭās family, nevertheless, maintained the contrary; it is their wādī and the Djaʿdī Bedouins who inhabit it are allied with them and are, in a certain sense, under their control, but it is hard to discover how far this control goes. We got the impression that the wādī was very much armed and ready for war. The landscape is barren and, at first, monotonous; the *sēl*-bed is broad and filled with bluish-white, small boulders. Conditions must have been much better in the old days, for the numerous ruins suggest a dense population.

361 It is long after sunset before we reach Nukhr, where the el-
231 ʿAṭṭās family own a house. The place consists of a few huts
243 and a half tumble-down mud house, in which a room has been prepared for us. It is too warm to spend the night indoors, but the staircase leading to the roof has collapsed. In the middle of the hamlet there is a storehouse for fodder, half below and half above the ground. Its roof is about three feet above the ground and has a parapet about one and a half feet high. The basin thus formed is smoothly plastered with mud, and the grain is thrashed in it after harvesting. It makes a hard but safe sleeping place.

172 On the following day, June 10th, we set off again south-
312 westwards. At first the wādī is very monotonous and barren
241 and the *sēl*-bed widens considerably. After two hours' riding Wādī ʿAmd makes a bend towards the south and then very soon one comes across date plantations. There are an increasing number of ruins of what, presumably, were defence works, situated on hill-tops. The palm plantations have suffered much from the drought in recent years, as for two years there was neither rain nor *sēl* of any considerable quantity. The subsoil water is far from the surface and wells are 300 to 450 feet in depth so that they are not used for purposes of irrigation but only for supplying drinking-water. Groups of men hoist up the water, singing monotonously the while.

241 Further southwards the plantations increase and form an un-
312 broken girdle between the broad, wild *sēl*-bed and the wes-

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tern bank of the wādī. The fields are bone-dry and trimly 241
cultivated, rain being expected this month. One substantial 312
downpour of rain or a good inundation caused by rain elsewhere is said to be enough for this loam soil, which holds water for so long. Great pains have been taken over the irrigation system; the dams, made of piled-up stones and plastered with an inner lining of mud, suffer much from the *sēls*. Groups of inquisitive people come running towards us out of the villages and ask all sorts of questions of our escort. A grey-headed village-chief turns to us with the inquiry how to put an end to the repeatedly recurring destruction of the stone dykes through the *sēl*. We answer that it would probably suffice if they were to use lime as cement for the boulders: the initial cost of this would be considerable, but it would be a great economy in the long run.

All the women of this district are veiled, even the poor 834
women working in the fields. When working in the sun they 291
wear straw hats with very wide brims. They are not so 301
frightened of us as women were elsewhere and are quite ready for a chat or even to be photographed. The young girls, at the request of the men, climb like cats right up to the crowns of the palm-trees, to pick the ripe fruit from the bunches of dates. Their wide black garments hang untidily about them, the only pretty thing in their dress is the broad girdle ornamented with large and small silver buttons, which encircles the waist. An attempt to buy one of these fails, as the women are all too modest to think of selling a part of their clothing. Many 857
children run all over the place with little bows made of the rib of a palm-leaf, and sharp-pointed arrows of the same, with which they try to kill the few birds that alight on the ripening fruit. Occasionally, as we pass, some relative of one of our escort will present us with a handful of the first really ripe dates.

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### 3. A KIND RECEPTION BY A ḤAḌRAMĪ-JAVANESE SHĒKH.

361 Towards eleven o'clock we arrive at es-Sēla, where there are a few tall mud houses but no more palm plantations. Everything is grey-brown again — the soil of the wādī, the houses, 622 the mountain-wall. Shēkh Ḥāmid bin ʿAlī el-Djaʿdī and his brother are the heads of the richest and most prominent family of the village. We had already made acquaintance, at Ḥurēḍa, with these high-spirited young men, whose outward appearance is more Javanese than Arab. They were born in Java of a Javanese mother and were brought up in the beautiful highland of the Preanger district. To Ḥurēḍa, where we met them, they had gone specially to welcome us. The mixture of Arab and Javanese blood has, in this instance, produced men with the proud, beautiful physique of the Arab and the fine, cultivated and modest manners of the Javanese. We are with Dutch subjects here, with whom we feel particularly in 701 sympathy. The armed men of the neighbourhood were 722 summoned to their chiefs' house by a few rifle-shots; one by one they come hurrying, all armed, into the *madjlis*, asking what is the matter. Their minds are set at rest as soon as they are told that it is only a question of doing honour to two guests. Among the soldiers are boys of about twelve years of age; they are reckoned to be full-grown soldiers as soon as they are able to carry a gun. As they sit squatting in the circle, the long, bent points of their *djambīyas* almost stick into their boyish faces. This preparedness for war impresses us and makes us suspect that fighting is of frequent occurrence here, which is indeed the case. Our host tells us that he cannot go outside his house for five minutes without a gun and an armed escort. Only a short time ago his half-brother was shot down beside him whilst they were inspecting their date-gardens; he himself shot down three of their assailants, but the actual culprit got off with a trifling wound in his foot. It is true that peace has just been concluded, but one

always has to be on one's guard against treachery. In answer to my question whether he likes being here, he replies that he does not. Separated as he is from wife and children in Java, he is only here to defend his family's honour and position, and as soon as he can be spared he will return to his mother-land. 701 722

The master of the house himself conducts us to a place where Ḥimyaritic characters have been scratched on a rock and where are also as many as five long, though fairly narrow, basins beside the path. They were, of course, dry for the time being, but appear to be quite serviceable, and were plastered on the inside with a kind of mortar. 212 172

## 4. THE TOWN OF 'AMD, DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS AND HARD DECEPTIONS.

The way continues for the greater part over the boulders in the *sēl*-bed, which evoke many a groan from our camels. The beasts are weary from the long march in the hot wādī, yet we are ready to stake everything on the attempt to reach ᶜAmd before the day ends so that, in the evening, negotiations for our further journey may be started, and then perhaps we may have the luck to get off again after no more than a day's delay. To our pleasant surprise, the great man of Wādī ᶜAmd, Shēkh ᶜAwaḍ bin Saᶜūd bin Shamlān el-Djaᶜdī, overtakes us on our way. He is a tough greybeard, who is still lithe enough to mount onto his camel's back while it is standing. His greeting is friendly and he insists on my mounting his camel. The Shēkh's right hand, Sālim bin Sallūm el-Djaᶜdī, a very loquacious man with a heart-rending voice, sits behind me. We go on at a trot. As we approach ᶜAmd the date plantations grow thicker. It is already dark when we pass the big village of Ḥebeb. Our caravan has got somewhat separated through my riding-companion's insistence on keeping our racing camel perpetually at the trot. I am carried along helplessly and in the darkness it is quite an art to keep my seat 493

1/1 [NOAH 65 - SEIA -- ANALYST]

493 in the saddle, for the camel sees obstacles on the ground, which escape my searching eye, so that unexpected swerves are the result. It is a fantastic and most exhausting ride, which only comes to an end when, close to the little town of ᶜAmd, we reach the house in which we are to be lodged. The rest of the caravan arrives after us in dribblets, and before long we are sitting together on the spacious roof of our guest-house, onto which crowds of inquisitive folk are flocking.

511 Nowhere, so far, had so much Malay been spoken and
167 nowhere was conversation so frank and open. ᶜAmd appears
191 to be a town on the decline and very poor and to suffer
186 much from protracted warfare. This condition of things leads the young men to seek their fortunes out of the country, Java attracting the bulk of them. The consequence is that a great many wives and children remain behind in poverty. The number of boys who are sent from Java to be brought up in ᶜAmd is relatively large. They can be distinguished at once from among their dirty little comrades by their better dress and greater cleanliness. They form a part of our visitors that night and begin with great boldness to talk in Malay, to show off their knowledge. These youngsters look upon their sojourn in ᶜAmd as a real period of exile and pine for Java.

000 The discussions over plans for our further journey were disappointing. It was considered to be out of the question for us to go to Niṣāb, but they could certainly bring us to the coast towns of Bal-Ḥāf or Bīr ᶜAlī. Everyone deserted us at this point, even our own Sayyid ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās, but we held on to Niṣāb. Before we retired to a roof-terrace higher up, we had Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf's letter of introduction and those from the Sultans of Sēwūn and Shibām read aloud, which made a noticeable impression. I added thereto that we were determined to go to Niṣāb and that we wished to leave on the morrow. So we bade farewell to this company, which was to carry on its consultations until deep into the night.

132 It is appreciably cooler at ᶜAmd than it is further in Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm being the hottest place. The altitude of

ʿAmd is higher and it lies also nearer to the highlands from whence a cool wind blows when evening falls. 132

We were early awakened by the sun, and discussions began soon afterwards. It looked as if the journey by way of Nisāb was regarded more favourably, but they tried to postpone the matter. The frontier of the Djaʿdī sphere of influence runs close to ʿAmd and the war zone begins immediately beyond it. Three parties are at war with each other there and they have built fortified watch-towers along the frontier. We were told that an unarmed sayyid could conduct us through the dangerous territory, and this we were glad to believe and we were ready not only to trust such a highly respected personage with our lives, but also to reward him handsomely for his services. A sayyid is called for who is able and willing to undertake the mission. This impoverished descendant of the Prophet is a haughty and self-confident man, for whom it is obviously hard to accept service with two *Naṣrānīs*, and only their gold tempts him to it. Then, after further deliberation, he comes to the conclusion that he dares not venture and lengthy negotiations are resumed with another sayyid, who in turn backs out. Meanwhile, arrangements are being pushed through for the camels promised for to-day by Shēkh ʿAwaḍ. Everyone seeks a loop-hole of escape and tries to palm us off with promises. Our language becomes more and more threatening and we feign to be really indignant, though in point of fact we are only afraid that we shall be checked here. We have to force matters, for if we allow of delays all hope of getting to Nisāb will be lost.

Both Shēkh ʿAwaḍ and his satellite, Sālim bin Sallūm, have sons seeking their fortunes in Java, whom they would like to visit. They have asked my help in this and I have noted down the sons' addresses. They would certainly be glad to help us, but dare not, so we remain the centre of very agitated discussions which suddenly flare up into abuse and last the whole day long. We make a call on the sayyids, but with little result; we avoid kissing their hands as we have always

done on similar occasions. They seem to take this amiss, for we are not given the places of honour and are passed over when coffee is served. At last, Shēkh ʿAwaḍ gets to the point of having the camels ready waiting for us, and whilst the attendants are carrying on violent disputes we stroll off, surrounded by all the boys of the town. Shēkh ʿAwaḍ and Sālim beckon to us mysteriously to join them in the date-groves and when we are there they climb into one of their trees to cut a fine bundle of dates for us. Then they beg us urgently to promote the interest of their family in Java, and we give them our visiting-cards and take a friendly farewell of them there, where no one can observe this intimacy with the *Naṣrānīs*. We set out alone, for we can no longer stand the loud disputes that go on around the caravan. Together we approach the deserted frontier land; the zigzag path on the rock-wall rises steeper towards the *djōl* where the Deyyin Bedouins dwell. From a distance we see our camels kneeling on the path, and their quarrelling leaders doubtless expect us to return to them in wrath, but we are so thankful to have got away from ʿAmd and to feel the peace of evening all around us, that we do not dream of turning back and hope that our stubbornness will drag the caravan after us.

# CHAPTER XVI.

## OVER THE DEYYIN PLATEAU.

### 1. THE HUMOROUS END OF AN EVENTFUL DAY.

The path lies behind a protecting spur of the mountain and we cannot be seen from the watch-towers of the enemy on the other side of the main wādī and of the side-wādī. Things become different when we reach the almost perpendicular part of the rock-wall, for we have hardly appeared from behind the spur when shots fall on the other side. We duck behind a rock and listen for the sound of more bullets. In order to find out whether they are really intended for us, we place a pith helmet above the edge of the rock; it immediately draws the enemy's fire. All this has a good effect on the caravan, which comes hurriedly after us, the guide running ahead and shouting to us to lie down. When they reach us, quite breathless, they tell us that sharp-shooters with good mausers are stationed on the other side of the wādī and that, from that range, they recently killed three men. Meanwhile our somewhat peculiar caravan joins us. It seems that we have four sayyids as escort; there is one young man for the camels and an older one to act as the responsible guide. He had refused to go alone and had induced Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās after long persuasion to accompany him. Sayyid ʿAlī, who has a wife and child in ʿAmd and intended to stay there, has brought his son with him and has to give much of his attention to this small, three years old offspring, who is now a great hindrance to him. This infant sayyid sits pluckily on a camel [492] with both small hands clinging firmly to the long wooden pommel. To European eyes this looks more than dangerous on the zigzags of the precipitous rock-wall, but the Arabs

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000 seem to look upon it as the most ordinary thing in the world and to concentrate all their attention on the rifle-fire which, at intervals, proceeds from the other side. The noise of war has put a sudden end to all the bickering and squabbling, and all the troubles of the day, now nearly at its close, seem to be forgotten. Everyone lets himself go in tales of war, we are all carried away by our imagination, and in a gentle, happy and friendly mood we ascend the mountain path which leads us away from our fellow men in the hot wādī below. The path again leads along the safe side of the spur and, at this point, is overhung by a long piece of rock, under which travellers are in the habit of bivouacking. It is too late to reach the *djōl* before dark, so we decide to stay here and to go on the following morning as quickly as possible to the next *neqāba*[1] in the hope of finding water there. We have just enough left for a pot of tea and we are parched with thirst, but no one can be induced to return to ᶜAmd to fetch water. As we look down from the steep rocky slopes into the wādī far below us we are filled with great rejoicing. ᶜAmd is still visible just at the bend, and we are well away from the wearisome negotiations with the people there and from their rather intrusive interest in us. Also the protecting rock-wall is between us and enemy territory. To-night we are free and alone, far above men, looking out, from our shelf of rock, right to the eternal kingdom of the stars.

485 Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, our *siyāra*[2], relates how, a short time ago, sharp-shooters with mausers succeeded in sniping three men on this very zigzag path. It is the custom towards the close of day to exchange a few shots from the fortified watch-towers, as if to show that guard is being kept. Perhaps we had underestimated the danger again on this occasion.

855 Little Sayyid Muḥammad bin ᶜAlī felt quite at home in his narrow camp in the rocks on the edge of the precipice. He had

[1] See p. 52.

104 [2] A *siyāra* (سيارة) is a guide in Bedouin territory, who makes possible safe travelling in the area of his tribe.

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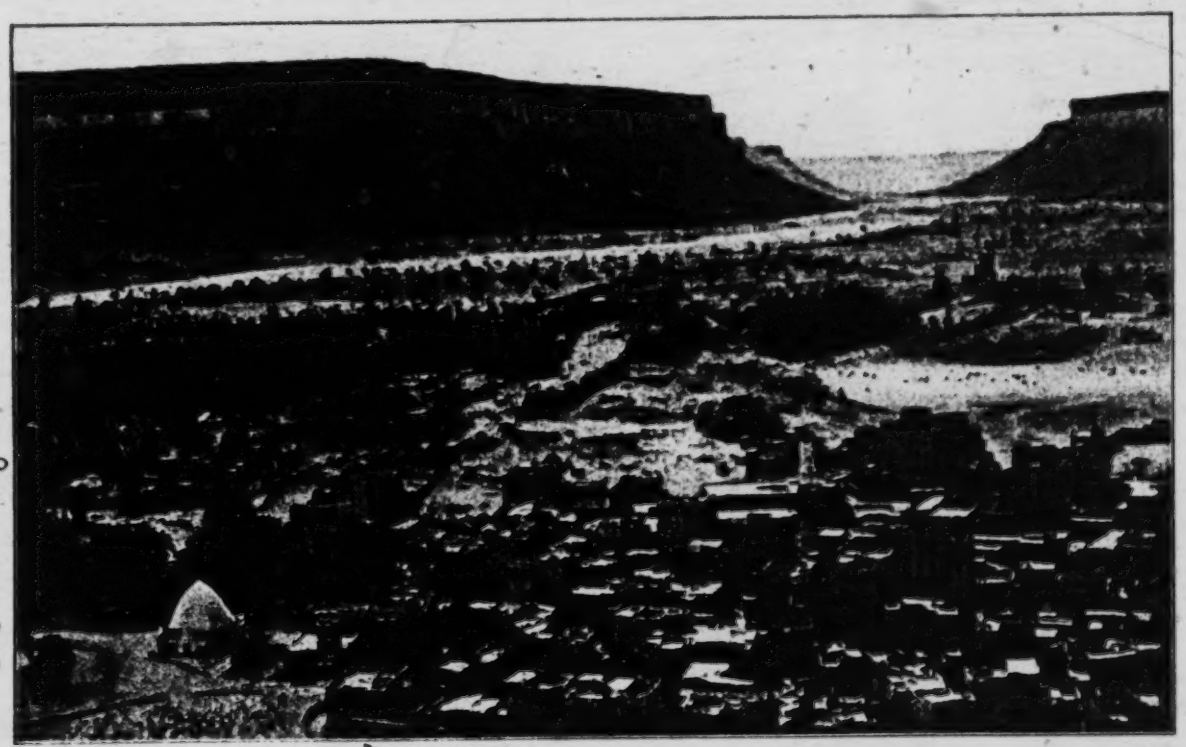

The town of ʿAmd and a view in Wādī ʿAmd, looking northward.

See page 204.

facing p. 208

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a good tuck-in to our biscuits — to him something wonderful — and then curled up peacefully to sleep on his hard bed of rock. In the middle of the night cries reached us from the plain below: Muḥammad bin ᶜAlī's mother was very anxious about her truant son and kept up a continuous moan: *"Yā waladī, yā waladī!"* (Oh, my son!), nor did she stop till some members of the family came up the mountain with a donkey to fetch the little chap home. She did not seem to place much trust in her adventurous husband. The relief expedition got up to us safely, but dared not make the dangerous return by night. Towards day-break Sayyid ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās, with his little son sitting proudly on the donkey, returned to Wādī ᶜAmd, and we went on upwards to the plateau of the Deyyin Bedouins, with the primary object of finding water for ourselves and our camels.

## 2. TREKKING OVER THE DJŌL AGAIN.

Our escort was now reduced to two sayyids. One was for the camels and he knew the way although he had been over it only once in his life; the other, Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, a ready-witted and talkative man, was responsible for our safety and was to be the intermediary in our relations with the Deyyin Bedouins. These latter are very primitive and so might be dangerous for strangers travelling alone. We had met their old shēkh, ᶜUthmān, in the *Maṣnaᶜa* of Dōᶜan with Governor Bā Ṣurra, and Von Wissmann had taken advantage of the occasion to pick up information from him about his territory and tribe and to put out feelers as to whether a visit to their headquarters at er-Rēda would be welcomed. Thereupon the old shēkh had invited us to come and had even promised to let us see his still very wild country.[1] Thus, much depended upon whether we should find the chief of the Deyyin himself in er-Rēda.

[1] See p. 66 sq.

312

The first watering station on the *djōl* of the Deyyin.

133

The *djōl* of the Deyyin Bedouins.

facing p. 209

See pages 210 and 212

153 We mounted our camels on reaching the *djōl* and made as fast as possible for the first halting place, where there was drinking-water to be found. This *djōl* differed little in character from that which we had crossed on our way to Wādī Dōʿan. It is again the same flat, limestone plateau, thickly strewn with sharp fragments of stone; through this winds a similar narrow camel path. The view is limitless in every direction; the characteristic, long chains of table-mountains are absent here. Here and there we pass some dwarf trees, crooked and gnarled. Deep silence reigns in this motionless
361 region. After some hours marching we saw, in a fold in the land, a fortification built of rough stones with strong, square
312 towers at each corner. Some people are living in it, so there must be water at hand, and it is high time, for our thirst is becoming a torture. Not a living soul was to be seen, nothing but a wall enclosing a square space, with towers rising up out of it. Close by rain had conveyed some earth to a depression in the ground, where there were some dried-up fields and a few *nibq* trees, leafless and grey, with not a sign of green; everything was monotonously grey and lifeless like the rocky plain all around us. As we neared the settlement we saw a few large *neqābas* and people drawing water from them. There had been no rain for a long time and, consequently, the water-supply in some of the *neqābas* was exhausted, whilst, in the others, the water which had been stored in them for so long had a brackish taste; in spite of this, we slaked our thirst with it and filled our water-skins and thermos flasks. We dealt out biscuits from our store to the poor, friendly inhabitants, who were experiencing extra hard times on account of the long drought. A small caravan from Makalla was also resting there.
438 Dried fish, principally small sharks, and rice were being carried to Wādī ʿAmd, but the cost of transport appears to exceed the market value of these articles in Makalla.

361 Our way continued over the *djōl* until we reached Sherdj el-Abyaḍēn Bā Manṣūr, where we rested for the afternoon. Here we saw the same picture of drought and poverty. The

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place consists of a few small houses and sheds, built of stone 361
and mud and with flat mud roofs. There are still some green leaves left on the few *nibq* trees growing between the cultivated acres, and these, to the last leaf, are gathered for the goats. The latter, with outstretched necks, stand watching the movements of a shepherdess who, armed with a long stick, was climbing about at the top of the tree to knock off the foliage. Only one family lived in the hamlet; an empty house
was offered to us as a lodging. No eggs, no flour, no rice, no 262
milk were to be bought here, the only thing obtainable being large quantities of the dried fruit of the *nibq* tree, which help one to stave off starvation. These are ground to powder and then made into porridge or bread. When eaten raw only the thin rind of dried pulp is edible; the seed, which is as hard
as stone, is then thrown away. The *nibq* menu is eked out occa- [231]
sionally with a little goat's milk or camel's milk, and when the date harvest is gathered in Wādī Dōʿan a portion of it will find its way to the Deyyin Bedouins, who, in return, protect the inhabitants of the wādī against enemies. All the same, a long hard training is necessary in order to live on such a minimum of food as these Bedouins seem able to do in times of drought. The few shepherds and shepherdesses whom we met later in similar depressions of the ground and in wādīs where some bushes and trees were growing had as their only food-supply small round woven baskets filled with dried *nibq* fruit.

Thanks to the ready tongue of our *siyāra*, Sayyid el-ʿEde- 562
rūs, as well as to the respect accorded to all sayyids among these simple folk, we succeeded in photographing the female inhabitants of the hamlet consisting of a mother, two daughters and a friend.

The women go unveiled and are much more free and open in their manner than in Wādī ʿAmd. They seem to feel quite safe, for we met them far away from their homes, alone with their flocks or on their way to some business in another hamlet hours distant. Maryam, encouraged by her mother, even yield- 000

301 MARYAM, ENCOURAGED BY HER MOTHER, EVEN YIELD-
ed up to us her graceful girdle of copper wire with fine silver wire twisted round it, in return for good payment, as well as her necklace of oval silver beads. Having made a success of this transaction, Maryam at once made her way with a part of the proceeds to the goldsmith, living in a village hours away, to buy a new girdle and necklace!

361 We continued our way through the monotonous stony levels in the burning heat of the afternoon. In the distance we saw a few scattered hamlets belonging to the Deyyin territory. These villages generally have a piece of cultivated land and a few trees, and the well-ploughed land lies waiting now for the rain, which will make sowing possible. The trees are burnt up, brownish-grey, dead as in a northern winter.

724 On our left we passed the ruins of el-Khamīs. Our sayyid told us that this had been the dwelling-place of a Ḥaḍramī, who had amassed a fortune in Java and, when he returned to his fatherland, had tried to conquer a kingdom. With the money he had made in Java he recruited soldiers, made raids into the fertile lands of Wādī Dōʿan and destroyed its gardens of date-palms. In place of buying him off with a piece of land, the Qeʿēṭī Sultan raised an army against him and even transported a few cannon to his village. The man, who was out for a kingdom, was not prepared for this development; he was taken prisoner, his village was razed to the ground and a heavy ransom was exacted from his wealthy family in Java. The family petitioned the Netherlands Government on behalf of the captive adventurer, basing their appeal on his Dutch nationality. It was then that the desirability of being accurately informed as to conditions in the land of origin of a considerable number of its subjects became evident to the Netherlands Government.

312 A little further on we came to the village of Khalīfet Bā Suwēde. There we made a halt to beg water for man and beast and to try to purchase some food for the animals. It appeared that there was not much water left in the *neqābas*, and doubt-
less this accounted for our none too friendly reception. There

there was also no large supply of fodder[1] we could only buy thirty bundles of dried *dhura* stalks, which cost us one *riyāl*. The *riyāl* seemed to be the only coin in use; for a half *riyāl* one could buy nothing. Our help was asked for a sick camel which, we were told, had been bitten by a snake. The local camel doctor had smeared the animal with a black salve and had cut off half of its ears. A sick man, who was obviously suffering from elephantiasis, told us that he had been hissed at by a snake. With regret we had to explain that we travelled without our medicine-chest and were unprovided with means for helping against the dangerous snakes of the country.

### 3. ʿRĒDET ED-DEYYIN.

We went on our way very soon, in the hope of reaching er-Rēda, the central point of the settlements of the Deyyin Bedouins, that evening. There lives the chief whose acquaintance we had made at Bā Ṣurra's castle. It was long after sundown when we approached Shēkh ʿUthmān's village, Nedjēdēn. We stumbled on through the darkness, following the camels, till we came to cultivated land with a few dried-up *nibq* trees dotted about here and there. The village showed no sign of a friendly, inviting light; the fortress-like houses resembled nothing but black cubes. Directly the watch-dogs heard us they proceeded to attack us, barking furiously, and this noise roused life in the houses: first there were questioning voices and then a few lights. We kept the dogs at bay with stones and, aided by information proceeding from the closed houses, found our way to Shēkh ʿUthmān's dwelling, which was a miserable-looking, low building with nothing attractive about it. We awakened the inhabitants by our shouts and, with distrustful aversion, they admitted us to a large room with an earthen floor where we sat down on our travelling rugs. Our hopes of a speedy sleep after this very tiring day

[1] [at a time of drought --Analysis]

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574 soon vanished when we saw dark figures looming up in increasing numbers out of the mysterious darkness; they had come to shake hands and they sat down and joined the circle of very bold questioners. Shēkh ᶜUthmān was again in Wādī Dōᶜan with the Governor, Bā Ṣurra; he had not told his sons about his meeting with us and so we had to give a detailed account of it. Only then did they tell us that we were welcome and served us with coffee. We were literally stormed with visitors, who were unblushing in their questions. Our sayyid did not help at all to uphold our prestige; when our welcome took place he saw to it that his hand was kissed and gave the information that we were only ordinary mortals, "Bedouins from Europe", a handicap we had to try and get the better of in the conversation that followed. I attempted this by leading up to the subject of the Holy Land and telling about conditions there and about Bin Saᶜūd and his *ikhwān.*[1] Then, when everyone was listening attentively, I asked our sayyid quite casually: "Of course you have made the *ḥadjdj.* Tell us all about it!" He was then obliged to confess that he had not been to Mecca, and if he tried to swank again by saying that he had seen the world and had been, among other places, to Aden and Zanzibar, my obvious answer was: "I should have thought that your first journey would have been to Mecca and not one in search of wealth." There was nothing left for the pious sayyid after this but to reply: "If God wills I shall yet go to Mecca."

000 The Deyyin Bedouins give the impression of being primitive folk, dirty, poor and having little touch with the outside world. Their long, curly hair hangs round their faces and over their shoulders. On the following morning, when we had got rid of our sayyid, they turned out to be more friendly towards us and more ready to help than we had anticipated. That

104 [1] *Ikhwān* (إخوان) is the plural of *akh* (أخ), which means "brother". King Ibn Saᶜūd, the great *Wahhābī* leader of Central Arabia, founded colonies of *ikhwān,* with whom he conquered the whole of Central Arabia and the Holy Land of Islām.

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evening, as the company crowded into our room and would not leave us, we were finally obliged to ask permission to lie down to sleep. "We have no objection — by all means do so," was the reply, so there was nothing for it but to stretch ourselves out where we were and to try to sleep despite the loud conversation going on all round us.

## 4. IN FORCED MARCHES TO WĀDĪ YEBᶜETH.

On June 13th, we were awakened long before sunrise. We had to get fresh camels and a new escort and had expected this to take some doing, but as a matter of fact it went quite easily. The camels were brought in during the night, and one simple, stammering Bedouin called Saᶜīd was told off to see us as far as Yebᶜeth.

Though we had tried our utmost, we found nobody who had the courage to take us to Nişāb. Again we had to circumvent an unsafe zone and to go southward to Wādī Yebᶜeth. There people might see whether they liked to take the risk of hurrying with us across the lawless area between Ḥaḍramaut and the Aden hinterland. Owing to the drought, the camels had not much food and went slowly and had to be spared as much as possible; we ourselves walked most of the way. Towards noon we reached Wādī Gharba, where our path descended a limestone slope that the pads of camels had polished until it shone. A few trees and bushes were growing in the sandy soil of the wādī. Ṣāliḥ helped Saᶜīd, our guide and camel-driver, during the descent, by looking after one of the camels; these beasts, trained to the mountains, went down the rock-wall with great caution. The heat in the wādī was so intense that we nearly lost courage and from time to time anxiously deliberated whether we should really be able to stand it for some hours more.

Fortunately the wādī was not long and in half an hour we were standing at the foot of the rock-wall up which we

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had to climb to regain the highland. But such exertion during the overpowering heat would be too much for both men and beasts and we therefore decided to take the noon rest under a tree in the wādī. We hung travelling rugs between the branches of the tree to increase the very small amount of shade made by it, and, in spite of the heat, rest was sweet and we revelled in endless quantities of tea. Then, in the afternoon and with renewed courage, we began the ascent of the precipice at the end of Wādī Gharba. In the wādī we had seen a few shepherds and shepherdesses feeding their little flocks of goats with leaves from the trees. On the *djōl*, over which we journeyed till after sundown, there was somewhat more vegetation: clumps of grey-black, dried-up acacias and other stumpy crooked trees were to be seen from time to time, but no animal life, no sound, no movement could be seen or heard. Hour after hour we pressed forward, now walking over the hard, stony plateau, where the loose stones rang like metal, now rocking to and from on the backs of our camels, fighting against sleep. We passed a few dry *neqābas* and then, when darkness had fallen, let the animals kneel by a clump of gnarled, old acacias. We pushed aside the loose stones and spread our travelling rugs on the rocky ground, still hot from the sun. These preparations for the night were much simpler than on our outward journey; we were only four in number now and had but a minimum of baggage. The night's rest, far from human beings and with only a taciturn guide as companion, was welcomed as a great privilege. The evening meal was very frugal indeed, consisting only of some dates and a few biscuits, and the supply of drinking-water was only just sufficient. But there were no harsh and rough voices to disturb the silent peace of the desert night, and we were not forced to carry on negotiations for our further journey. The idea of hurrying on in the direction of Aden had become an obsession with us and we held tenaciously to this plan and felt distrust and opposition rising within us whenever anyone explained that we could not go direct to Niṣāb, but must

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The descent to Wādī Yeb'eth.

p. 216 (A)

See page 217.

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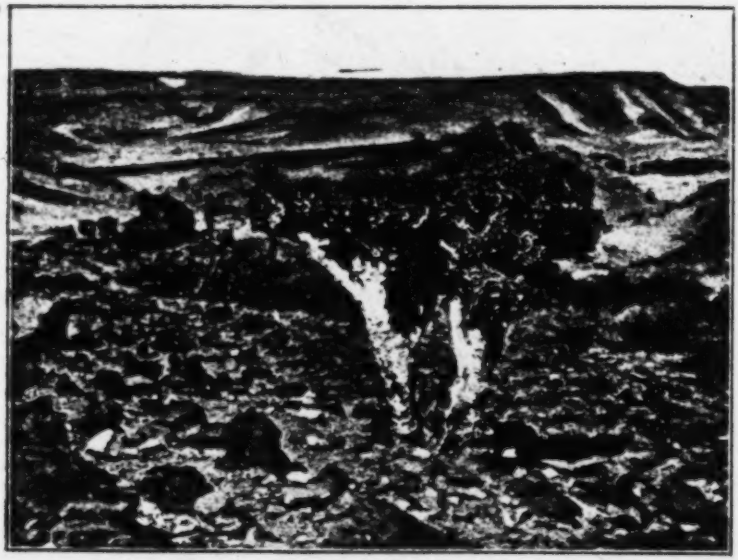

The rock-like trees near Yeb'eth.

p 216 (B)

See page 217.

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One of the strongly built stone villages in Wādī Yebʿeth.

p. 216 (c)

See page 218.

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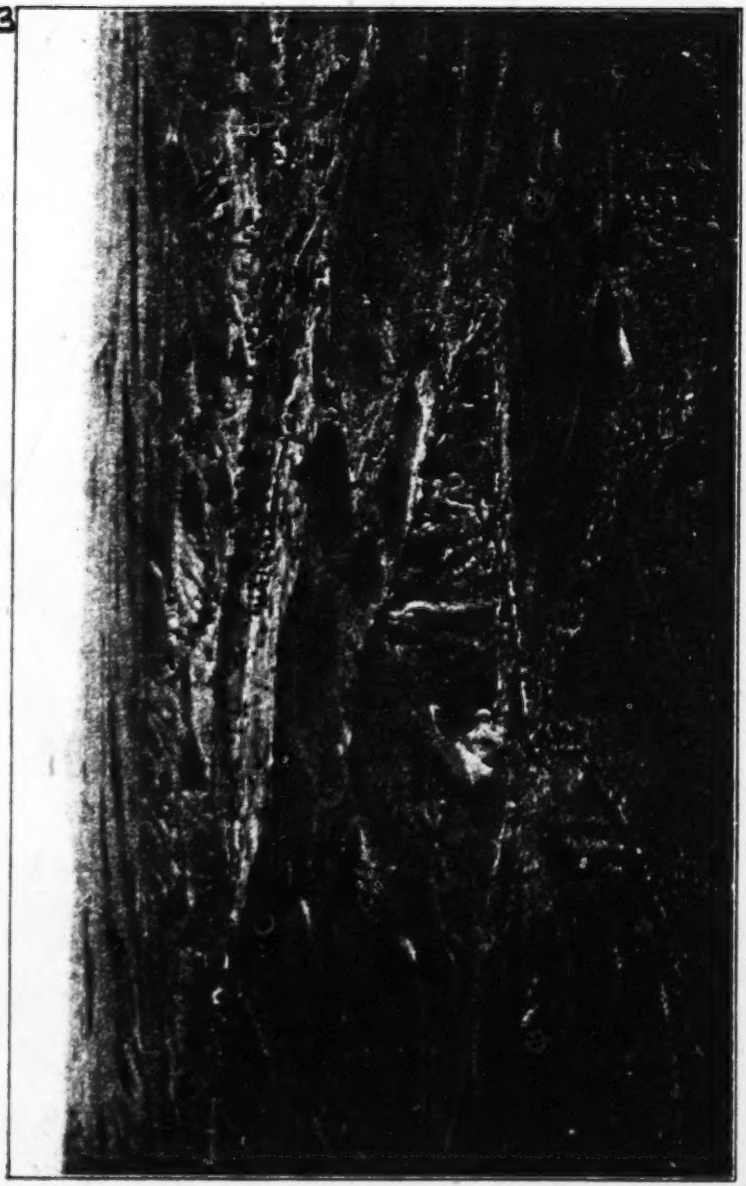

Panorama of Wadi Yeb'eth.

p 216(D)

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first make a detour and then make an attempt from the next stopping place. Having already come too far south of Nişāb, we made up our minds to try and reach Shuqra on the coast by way of el-Ḥōṭa-ᶜIzzān-Ḥabbān-Yeshbum. From Shuqra to Aden there is a road which has been used sometimes for motor traffic. The final decision was to be made at Yebᶜeth on the following afternoon.

On June 14th, we were ready very early for the start. Every one helped: screams and squabbling did not, on this occasion, disturb the preparations for departure. This next part of our route went over a rocky plateau with occasional basin-shaped depressions; on the edge of one such wide basin we saw three gazelles. The *djōl* does not seem to furnish enough food even for the very modest needs of these animals: these three were the only examples of their kind that we ever saw on these plateaus. After a few hours' march we reached the *ᶜaqaba*, the steep rocky path, by which we dropped down to the wādī wherein lies the group of villages called Yebᶜeth. It was certainly a long, hot descent, but the path had been laid out to a certain extent and appeared to be pretty much in use. The first part passed between high walls of rock, but, after that, we reached the slopes of the wādī proper, which is very wide, and we had a magnificent distant view over the hills in the foreground, then over the wādī with many villages of stone-built houses, and over date-palms and *nibq* trees, to the other bank of the wādī and the *djōl* stretching out beyond it as far as the eye could see. We saw several curious little trees close to the path. The struggle for existence in the drought and heat has made the branches grow gnarled and short and so close into each other that the tree resembles a toadstool made of rock, strewn with small green leaves.

## 5. WĀDĪ YEBᶜETH.

As we descend into the silent wādī we are filled with suspense as to whether we shall be able to secure guides and

000 camels for the expedition to el-Ḥōṭa. The heat keeps people indoors during the day-time, now that there is nothing to be done in the gardens. Yebᶜeth seems to suffer badly from the long-continued drought. The date-palms had had too little water and had borne no fruit; the grove of vigourous *nibq* trees on the well-tilled fields was bare and colourless. The 361 light-brown loam soil of the wādī must be very fertile. The villages[1] built on hills at the base of the gently sloping bank of the wādī, have an appearance of prosperity. The houses are built of pieces of rough stone, dark, almost black in colour and bound with mud; there is generally one high square 484 house which can do service as a tower for defence. Saᶜīd took us to el-Qarn, to the house of Shēkh Abū Bakr, for whom we had a letter of introduction from the sons of Shēkh ᶜUthmān at Rēdet ed-Deyyin. His house was shabby, but he gave us a kind reception, set before us dates, some bread and a little piece of salt fish, but informed us at the same time that we should have to wait for at least two or three days for camels and, especially, for *siyāras* (responsible guides) to accompany us to el-Ḥōṭa. The district through which we were to pass was very dangerous: quite recently people had been robbed and murdered there. Not until a caravan had come in and was ready to leave again could we join it and go on our way, as no one would run the risk of guiding us through 000 that region without the protection of a caravan. We could not afford to wait for days on such an uncertain chance. For a few hours we deliberated and sought other advice, but no one made a satisfactory proposal, and meanwhile Ṣāliḥ had come to me whispering that we ought not to stay, as the people of the place were *not* well disposed towards us. A sojourn of days in this miserable dwelling, where we were already in the day-time plagued by bugs, was not attractive. The faithful Saᶜīd, who seemed convinced that we were in danger here, offered to take us on as far as Ṣidāra, in Wādī Ḥadjr, with his own camels, if we could find just one guide to show us the way. It was at this stage that we gave up the

1 [of Yeb'eth -- Analyst]

attempt to reach Aden overland — the attempt for which we had made such forced marches and conducted such frequent and difficult negotiations. Fatigue, bad and insufficient food, bugs, and the marked antipathy shown us, the first Christians to visit Yebᶜeth, by the local people, all contributed to our decision. The expedition to Aden, even were it to succeed, would apparently take too long.

We could reach Ṣidāra in Wādī Ḥadjr in two days, and, according to people here, it would take three or four more from there to Makalla. In reality we found that twice this time was actually needed to cover the distance. As soon as the decision was made we prepared for departure; we were given a negro slave to act as guide and protector. This was not as it should be: a man of some position ought to have accompanied us. In this wādī[1] the slave element is again much to the fore; we had seen only a few negro types in Wādī ᶜAmd and in the Deyyin district, but here, on the contrary, we saw many.

It was still early in the afternoon when we set off. Our host came out of his house whilst we were taking photographs of the bystanders and watching the camels being loaded, but he no longer attempted to shield us from the rude manners and mocking remarks of the young men, who stood looking on without stretching out a hand to help. We had to check them from going too far by giving a few menacing answers. Ṣāliḥ and Saᶜīd, obviously disturbed over the turn that affairs were taking, worked hard to get the camels ready. When we were alone Saᶜīd said that he had overheard evil-boding talk and had been asked whether we had much gold coin with us. On his replying in the negative they had said that *Naṣrānīs* would certainly not venture so far afield in unknown lands if they had not plenty of money and that they only travelled under such poor conditions in order to avoid the danger of robbery. If Saᶜīd would join in with them he would get a share of the loot, and no one would get to know anything about the matter, if both simply said that we had been fallen

1 [Yeb'eth — — ANALYST]

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609 upon and murdered by robbers during the journey. Ṣāliḥ also had a great mistrust of the people of the place, and both he and Saʿīd suspected that the slave who had been given us was meant to be a participant in the plot and to attack us that night whilst we were asleep. We were not unmoved by their great anxiety, although not yet willing to believe that the remarks they had overheard were more than an idea conceived for the simple pleasure of frightening us.

We followed a broad and much trodden path beside cultivated fields half-shaded by a number of *nibq* trees and small groups of date-palms. From every village we passed inquisitive inhabitants came running out with the stereotyped question: "Why do you bring the *Naṣrānīs* here? What have they come to do, and where are you taking them to?" Attempts to exchange a few friendly words generally met with ill-will and dislike. An impoverished sayyid constituted the one exception; he had performed the *ḥadjdj* and thus seen something of the world and he accompanied us some distance on our way talking the while. He was not in the least disturbed by the hateful remarks made by the wādī people and excused their rudeness to us on account of their ignorance.

## 6. A LOST ILLUSION — TURNING OUR FACES TO MAKALLA AGAIN.

Before we left the inhabited wādī and struck up a side-valley, we filled our water-bags from a deep well at the last hamlet. We were not left in peace by a troop of abusive boys until, going as fast as we could, we were well advanced into the deserted side-wādī. Once there, it gave one a feeling of deliverance to be no longer pursued by the scorn and hate and ill-will of men. Ṣāliḥ and Saʿīd felt the need of giving vent to their bottled-up feelings in hearty abuse of those "faithless dogs". We ourselves were not angry and only wondered over this unexpected and inexplicable antipathy towards the foreigner and non-Muslim. As we proceeded the

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conviction that we were threatened by real danger grew and, therefore, that we ought to get as far as possible from the inhabited world before evening fell.

*Ithl* trees and various shrubs grow in this side-wādī. Shepherdesses are driving their flocks homewards. Before long our path again leads up the rock-wall towards the *djōl*; arrived there we stop for a breathing-space but after that go on again with renewed determination. It gives us a strange feeling to realize that we have given up the plan we had held on to so tenaciously and are now returning to our starting point. It is a great disappointment, but we are both convinced that it would have been impossible to reach Aden overland in the time left to us. Also we now follow a route, a great part of which is unknown, and shall only reach the country explored and surveyed by Little when we enter Wādī Ḥadjr.

Our black guide is thoroughly mistrusted by Ṣāliḥ and Saʿīd. They think that he may have orders to make our camp for the night at a pre-determined spot so that we can be attacked unawares and plundered there. Thus, in the first place, we wish to push on as far as our own strength and that of the camels will permit and, in the second, we wish our guide to see that we are prepared for an attack. When, at the end of a further march of two hours after sundown, we at last made a halt and had spread out our blankets by the side of the path, our revolvers were unearthed from the depths of a travelling bag, thoroughly examined and loaded, and then laid under the roll of clothes which served as a pillow. Nothing happened, however, and we slept splendidly on this night as always.

On June 15th, we had a heavy march over difficult country with many *ʿaqabas*. Fatigue and hunger gradually made their effects felt, — the sickening sweetness of our diet of dates, biscuits and tea nauseated us, and also we never had enough sleep. After the cool nights on the plateau, the heat which begins so rapidly with the coming of day was doubly disagreeable. One could tell from the increasing dampness of the

000 air that we were nearing the coast and Wādī Ḥadjr, where there is always water. Our clothes and other things were already damp by the time the sun rose.

Not till twelve o'clock did we halt in a sweltering wādī under the shade of a boulder which radiated heat. An effort of will was necessary to get us under way again, towards half past two. We went on in silence, avoiding speech with each other, as the energy which makes for friendliness and gaiety
133 was lacking. We pass through a region very interesting from a geological and botanical point of view. The *djōl* ends here and a broken, uneven area of rock and wādī takes its place. The direction of the strata, until now uniformly horizontal, is disturbed and new strata of coal-black rock formation break a way through the layers of limestone and sandstone and sometimes rise up above them like solitary cones. There is more water, but it contains a high percentage of salt. We go through jungles of grass, several feet high. Here and there the ground is swampy and covered with a crust of salt; a tall, slender palm-tree of a kind we have not hitherto come across grows in this salty marsh land. Later on we come again to
361 barren stretches covered with boulders. To our amazement
312 we found no human settlements here: we only saw people when much farther on, by the thickly-grown banks of a shallow but swift-flowing river. This turned out to be the upper reaches of Wādī Ḥadjr. The water was very warm and bitter. The sun was already setting when we crossed the stream and hastened on to reach Ṣidāra before nightfall, but before long we saw the scattered stone houses of this large village lying on the hilly banks of the wādī. Here cultivation begins again: fields of sesame and *dhura* alternate rapidly with gardens of date-palms. Vigorous springs throw up water which is nearly boiling; this water is carried to the fields and date plantations. The conduits have been made of such a length that the water is sufficiently cool by the time it reaches the plants, but even so it is still very warm. We noticed a white deposit in the conduits.

It was dark as we approached the first houses of Şidāra, and it was with aversion and distrust that we again came near our fellow men. Should we here again encounter the self-same prejudice against the *Naṣrānīs*? Should we have to meet, as before, inquisitive and often obtrusive questioners and have to listen to harsh voices till deep into the night?

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# CHAPTER XVII.

## WĀDĪ ḤADJR — A BIT OF ARABIA FELIX.

### 1. ṢIDĀRA, ITS CHIEF SETTLEMENT.

361 Ṣidāra gave us the impression of being dirty, yet fairly
131 prosperous. The stone houses are scattered wide apart; they
621 have generally two storeys and are built square and strong so as to hold their own in case of hostilities. Ṣidāra is independent; the farthest frontier post of the Qeᶜēṭī Government is a good two hours' march south-east. Much fighting has been carried on for the possession of this very fertile Wādī Ḥadjr, and in the days which followed we saw many traces of this strife.

609 Here we stood at last in front of the house of the village-
186 chief, wondering how we were to be received. A roof-terrace was rapidly prepared for us and, after that, the master of the house came to bid us welcome and invite us to enter. We recall him gratefully to mind, for we owe it to him that the people left us more or less in peace, although here again they did not exactly sympathize with foreigners. Our host had performed the *ḥadjdj* and had brought back with him two very favourable recollections of Europeans: when passing through Aden he had become acquainted with the Mission Hospital at Shēkh ᶜUthmān and spoke with great respect of the Mission doctor whom he had met there; and then again, in the Holy Land itself he had met a Dutchman who had become a Muḥammadan; after the *ḥadjdj* was over he had seen the latter again in Djedda and had been treated by him as if he were his own brother. I told him that the Dutchman at Djedda was a good friend of mine, and with that we were in friendly touch at once.

000 The roof-terrace was soon full of people and hand-shaking and questions began as usual. The youth of the village was

p.224

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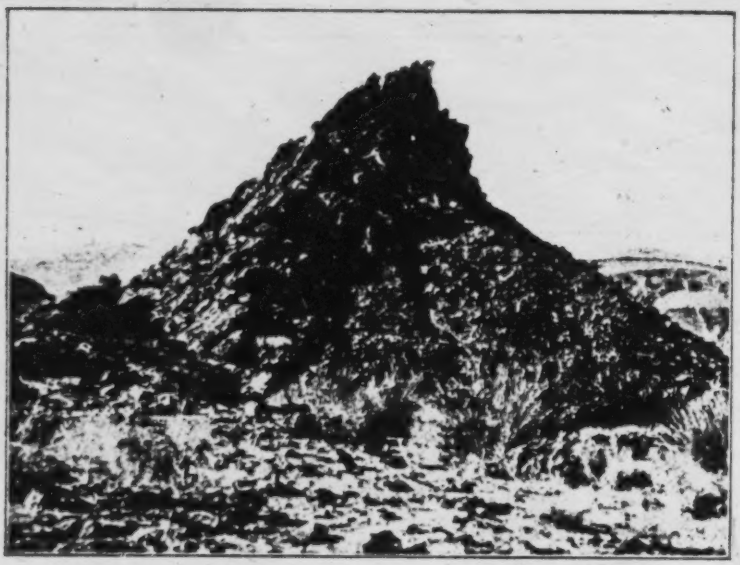

Peaks of black stone piercing the lime- and sandstone strata near Wādī Hadjr.

361

Ṣidāra, situated at the beginning of the cultivated area in Wādī Hadjr.

facing p. 224

See pages 220 and 22

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diverting itself in the street below us, when suddenly we heard a great noise and saw people running from all directions and bombarding the house opposite ours with stones. We thought that a general fight was about to ensue. Then came some men carrying burning palm-leaves and the house which was a target for the stones was fantastically lit up. To our great relief we discovered the cause of the disturbance: a large snake was trying to escape along the front of the house. Some of the stones hit their mark, the twistings and writhings grew slower and then the creature fell into the street as if broken. One of the most daring in the crowd approached and cut off the end of its tail; with that the danger was ended and peace was soon restored.

When we were thoroughly tired of answering the numerous questions put to us and of greeting those who put them, we asked permission to retire to rest. The whole assembly gave its approval; our host announced that we were to sleep on this same terrace, but no one moved an inch for us to be alone. So there was nothing for it but to stretch ourselves out between our visitors, who were packed as close as sardines. A little later on we were awakened for a meal; every one was still sitting in the same place. We ate and then at once went to sleep again, but were awakened before the sun rose by the loud voices of our visitors, who had already come back.

That day was to be devoted to getting our caravan ready for the journey to Makalla. Stammering Saʿīd, who had been such a trusty helper to us all the way from Rēdet ed-Deyyin, would give his exhausted camels a good feed and rest and then return with them to his boundless, hard rock-plateau. The taciturn black slave from el-Qarn in the Yebʿeth district had been a good guide; he went his way homewards well pleased with a thank-offering for the faithfulness, of which we had had so much doubt at first.

A reconnaissance of the neighbourhood showed that several hot springs water the date-gardens and cultivated fields near

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The hot springs of Wādī Ḥadjr.

Wādī Ḥadjr, the only everflowing river in the neighbourhood of Ḥaḍramaut.

facing p. 225

See pages 226 and 228.

312 Ṣidāra. The high temperature of the water does no harm
273 to the vegetation as can be seen by the thick and almost
245 tropical growth even at the sources of these hot streams. The picture made by this landscape in the midst of the deserts of rock was quite new to us. New to us also was the custom, which exists here, of tapping sap from the palm-trees: this sap soon ferments and produces a by no means innocent
[538] drink which is consumed in large quantities. Artless tales were told us of many a man who had become a regular slave of the wine of the date-palm. That this abuse of the date-palm, so strongly condemned by orthodox Muḥammadan opinion, does not seem to exist in other districts through which we travelled, is probably due rather to poverty than to religious conscientiousness. The people only indulge in the luxury of this sin in the well-watered country of Wādī Ḥadjr, where date plantations succeed each other continuously for hours and even days.

312 We had a bathe in one of the warm springs, a comfort
133 lacking since Diyār Āl Buqrī; but the crowded circle of critical and youthful spectators and their mocking remarks, added to the somewhat too high temperature of the water, prevented complete enjoyment of the event.

These hot springs point to volcanic action. Ṣidāra lies on the edge of the coastal chain of mountains, which is full of clear traces of volcanism. The monotonous similarity of the *djōl* and *wādī* formation of the interior has disappeared. The geological strata are no longer horizontal, nor do they consist any longer of limestone and sandstone and loam. Fantastically folded and broken strata, high precipices and peaks of archaic rock, between which extinct volcanoes can be recognised, characterize the landscape between Ṣidāra and Makalla.

000 The necessary waiting for camels and escort gives us the opportunity to write up our diaries, which has been pushed aside lately by other and more urgent affairs; but although our host does his best to give us the chance of a few hours' quiet work in a room upstairs, he does not succeed in doing so.

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He cannot resist the wishes of his guests and very soon there is again a crowd of inquisitive people in the sweltering upper room, staring at us and hampering us with questions and loud conversation.

## 2. PROSE AND POETRY IN WĀDĪ ḤADJR.

We manage, by exercising much insistence, to get off at four o'clock that afternoon. There are two roads to Makalla: one goes direct through the mountains, the other makes a great circuit by following the main wādī as far as the sea and then going up the coast to Makalla. The mountain route is the shortest but the hardest; we are told that it is *too* hard for our camels, who are not strong. Moreover, it would be unsafe for our little company in the mountains, in the absence of an armed escort. Considering that even Little, with a big military escort, was attacked in this country — a sayyid who was acting as his guide was killed in an engagement — we accepted the assertions of the people in Ṣidāra as reasonable and therefore chose the detour by way of the wādī, which however has a bad name for malaria. Little had to contend much with this illness: his escort had to be almost entirely renewed after a short sojourn in Wādī Ḥadjr. We tried to avoid risk by sleeping away from human habitation and, as far as possible, on high-lying, dry ground.

The caravan was under the leadership of a strong, slight Arab, of the name of Dhēb. He had spent his youth as hostage in the Sultan's palace at Makalla. This shows that Ṣidāra some twenty years ago was still a part of the Qeᶜēṭī territory, but that the Sultan considered it necessary to strengthen his hold on the country by bringing up the sons of the leading families in his palace. It was to this circumstance that Dhēb owed his education — for this country a very good one — and he was much more cultivated than the other young men of Ṣidāra. In spite of his long hair, his face was handsomer and gentler in expression than is usually the case here. We also had

661 with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of
842 being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of
533 the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way
857 he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the
463 *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.*
231 Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā . . . ā . . . ā . . . ā!"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

292 The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

241 Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the
311 palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water
137 and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

114 Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf, i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

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of the route and we are free to travel in the darkness, that is to say, after sunset and before sunrise.

Some two hours after starting, we arrive at the Qeᶜēṭī frontier. Here, besides a castle named Ḥuṣn Bin Dighāl and manned by the inhabitants of the wādī, we find the first stronghold occupied by a garrison of Yāfiᶜ soldiers of the *Dōla* (*i. e.* Government); it bears the name of Bedaᶜ Qeᶜār. We pass by this lonely castle; the soldiers, who are weakened by malaria, stare inquisitively after us, crowding each other aside to get a view of us from the little windows near the roof. We have come nearer to the river again at this point, and before long our path goes through fertile date-gardens, beside and across irrigation canals full of water. It is already growing dark as we approach Ḥūte, the first village on Little's map. We had decided not to spend the nights in villages and houses, if it were at all possible to avoid it, so as to have no bother from inquisitive visitors; we let the camels kneel down for the night where the slopes of a hill began a little way beyond Ḥūte.

We had not been able to replenish our stock of food at Ṣidāra, and here also the men we send out to do so come back empty-handed. The rocky slope was unpleasant to lie on and the proximity of the river and irrigated fields makes the atmosphere very damp, which is oppressive at night. Mosquitoes, the tormentors of mankind in hot, damp countries, make their appearance here again. In the middle of the night we were startled by a hyena that was snuffling round us but ran away like a hare when some of our company awoke and got to their feet.

On the following morning, June 17th, we did not succeed in making an early start. The camels had to be generously watered; then we were told that one of them had strayed, though in reality our men were only trying to give the animals plenty of time to feed from the *rāk* bushes which grow around. Bedouins invariably do everything they can to keep their camels in the best possible condition.

312 The way ran by the river all the time now, through an un-
361 interrupted grove of date-palms. At one time the path follows
511 the left bank, then at another the right. At regular intervals
241 we pass long, low dams made of boulders; these store up the water which is conducted through channels for the irrigation of the palm-gardens. The fringe of palm-trees is not, as a rule, wide and above it, against the rocky slopes, where no shade falls, villages swelter in the heat of the sun. They are always in a good strategic position, for this fertile Wādī Ḥadjr has been a much disputed territory until a short time ago. To this must be attributed the low degree of prosperity and the lack of intensive cultivation of all the arable land here. In this respect Wādī Dōᶜan is on a much higher level.

361 After a few hours the wādī becomes narrower, the rocky
342 slopes approach the river, and the cultivated strips of land grow narrower and, at last, cease entirely. Our way goes over a plain strewn with sharp, reddish-brown stones, where lies the village of Ḥuṣn Mṣēneᶜ, which consists entirely of houses with neither front nor back walls; they are like short tunnels of stone with their further end towards the rock-wall and their front facing the river. When we asked the reasons for this way of building we were told that they were poverty and the great heat; in this way advantage is taken of the breeze which blows through the tunnels. Its inhabitants belong to a kind of gypsy tribe living apart from other people. Further on they dwell in large villages of straw-huts; they are half-nomads and are despised by the settled inhabitants.

312 The wādī narrows until it becomes a rocky gorge through which the river flows underground. Its narrow bed is full of boulders; probably the *sēl* after rain rushes through here above ground as well. The path rises steeply up the rocky slope, and it is a real feat on the part of the camels to climb up, with their heavy loads, over the slippery boulders and then to descend again into the wādī where it widens out. Halfway through the gorge the river comes to the surface again, showing a beautiful greenish-blue colour.

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After the descent no one could resist the temptation of the shady trees and shining white sand by the river, which has here broadened out into a deep pond. But it is a case of deceptive appearances. Burning heat soon made this afternoon camp untenable, for it is only the date-palm, in Arabia, that gives satisfactory shade. Other trees are illusive on account of their apparent shade, as their leaves generally take an upright position in the heat of the day to protect themselves from the sun's rays.

At the point where the river runs against rock and makes a bend of 90°, it has hollowed out a basin so deep that we could not reach the bottom by diving. The sand on its margin and also the rock were so hot that one could not stand or sit on them without one's clothes on. The water also was warm. The dry desert wind alone brought coolness, and that only as long as one's body was still wet. The succeeding hours spent in that bivouac were a martyrdom. Ants and camel's ticks gave us no peace, and the piercing rays of the sun, together with the high temperature, made us fear for sunstroke.

Quite early in the afternoon we went on our way. The path wound from one bank of the river to the other. The wādī is still narrow here and the arable strip of land inconsiderable. At long intervals we saw an occasional field of *dhura* with a hut for its guards. Otherwise the wādī is uninhabited in this part.

Before sunset we reached el-Ghabara, where our road was to leave the wādī and cross the mountains for some distance. Our Bedouins asserted that we should be without water there for two days and that therefore it was necessary for us to bivouac here, where it was still to be found. Of course what they were after was to give their camels yet another opportunity of eating their fill from the *rāk* bushes. We went to sleep as good friends, having obtained the promise to break camp at half past three the next morning. The camels, who had strayed far away, were however not to be found in the darkness before the dawn, and it was nearly five o'clock

000 before we got our caravan on the move. A disappointment of this kind does not improve the mental atmosphere, especially before one has learnt to know one's followers. Distrust of the honesty of their promise to do all in their power, and the overwhelming desire to go quickly forward on account of the scantiness and bad quality of our food bred in us a mood of tension and exhaustion.

133 The mountain scenery through which we passed became
312 gorgeous. The geological strata were clearly visible in the
712 walls of the dry river-beds through which our path ran. Before us was a lofty chain of granite mountains like a huge wall with sharp peaks and jagged tops. It grew very warm among those bare rock-walls where we had to climb laboriously over sharp, slippery ground. To one side of the path was a brackish spring of whose water even the animals refused to drink. We mounted towards the high mountain-pass which our people called Hūta. The remains of a strongly fortified wall built of fragments of uncut stone stand in the pass. Heavy fighting took place there ten years ago when
[764] el-Qeᶜēṭī sent an expedition to conquer Wādī Ḥadjr. The graves of the slain are marked by simple heaps of stones, on either side of the mountain path. After a long descent we reached the wādī again at just about the hottest time of day. Its banks here are steep and so we could not get at the enticing water or the green *rāk* bushes, but our Bedouins went in search of a place where it would be possible
000 to descend. We had made up our minds to rest for the afternoon, not here in el-Qulēta, but further on at Nēfa. The intense desire to hurry on at all costs and to get to the end made Von Wissmann and me decide foolishly to force matters and, if need be, to walk alone to Nēfa without the caravan. The path wound on through a region of sand-hills and the heat was so great that we became uneasy over our decision. Luckily Dhēb had the magnanimity to give way and gave the order to follow us. Nor had we trusted in vain to Little's map, for Nēfa was close at hand. Near the path was a great

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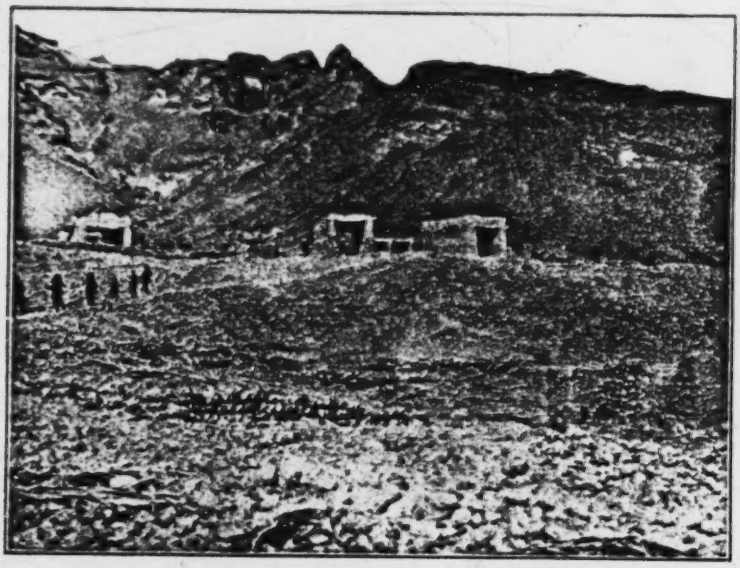

Ḥuṣn Mṣēne', the gypsy village with the tunnel-shaped houses.

312

Our hot swimming-pool, past 'Aqabat Sfēye.

facing p 232.

rock, in shape like a toadstool, and the whole caravan could find protection in its shade. The river was not far away and green bushes from which the camels might feed grew along its banks.

Our supply of dates and biscuits was beginning to run short. Our Bedouin companions were very frugal eaters: they had two meals a day, one during the afternoon rest and one at the night bivouac, when they baked a few underdone bread-cakes with a yellow flour of some sort. The taste of these was none too attractive and, what was worse, they lay heavy on the chest like an indigestible stone. Von Wissmann had always drunk the milk of our she-camel in the evening, but I had refused the drink, which had the penetrating odour of the animal's sweat. We were getting underfed and overexhausted. The inner tension and self-control demanded for the long negotiations and conversations at ʿAmd, in the Deyyin country, at Yebʿeth and Ṣidāra were beginning to take their revenge on my digestion. But we were obliged to go on and that day we marched till half past six in the evening and spent the night on a little plateau of rock among the granite mountains. During the day the Bedouins collect branches and dry shrubs and parched-up plants for the evening fire, on whose ashes they bake their bread and over which we make our tea. It is the best hour of the day; it brings us all together in a mood of good fellowship and of thankfulness for the completion of the day's hot and tiring journey. It was also the moment when our Bedouins smeared themselves carefully — arms, breast and neck — *with samn. Their hair also* was kept well greased. It struck us that the skin of our bodies, which perspired continuously and were seldom washed, felt stiff and grainy from the salt of evaporated perspiration. The Bedouins get rid of this unpleasant feeling by rubbing themselves with grease; moreover, the practice makes their skin more resistant against the sun's heat and the sudden coldness of the air in the evening. They told us that the skin became so pleasantly "moist" from the grease.

133

Granite walls in the coastal mountain-range.

Hūte, where the Qe'eſſ troops fought a hard struggle.

facing p 233

000 That night a wolf came near our bivouac. The Bedouins heard his call in the encircling mountains and rose in haste to gather the camels together inside the camp.

On the following morning, June 19th, we rose very early, for it was growing important to reach Makalla as soon as possible. The caravan was in motion at a quarter past four and we made a straight line for the sea coast, scrambling 361 laboriously over granite boulders. By ten past eight we had reached Mĕfa$^{c}$, a forlorn little village by the sea at the mouth of Wādī Ḥadjr.

312 The river here has shrunk till it is no more than a swiftly flowing stream. No doubt the major portion of the water flows underground to the sea.

361 The population of Mĕfa$^{c}$ dwells for the greater part in 164 miserable shacks; the few mud houses are dilapidated and poor and dirty. The house where the soldiers live was opened for us; it was the best to be had, but still miserable enough. Only one soldier still remained; his companions had died of the fevers for which Mĕfa$^{c}$ has an unenviable reputation. Yāfi$^{c}$ soldiers from the healthy highlands are among the least resistant to the fever of the damp, hot coast. When this soldier's last comrade died, he had fled from the house, not daring to live there any longer. No food was to be had from the villagers for love or money, but the soldier shared some of his provisions of rice and eggs with us. He told us that the people of the place are desperately poor and unhealthy. Emigrants come here, it is true, but they do not stand it for long, and only a portion of the arable land is under cultivation. The Qe$^{c}$ĕṭī soldiers regard transference to Mĕfa$^{c}$ as equivalent to a death sentence. Their constitutions are not resistant against the endemic fever, they have not enough pay to feed themselves well, and the people of the village are so poor and miserable that nothing can be got from them.

757 Whilst lying in a corner of a little room, which smelt of indigo, I got a violent attack of cramp in the stomach, and it looked as if I should not be able to go further. Luckily the

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people had a remedy which they unanimously declared to be unfailing, namely, a large spoonful of fine pepper. I conquered my distrust and managed to get down half a spoonful. The cure was not so immediate as my medical advisers had expected, but I was at least able to go on with the caravan in the afternoon, and we left that unhealthy spot with a sigh of relief. 757

# CHAPTER XVII.

## ALONG THE COAST BACK TO OUR STARTING POINT.

000 We now turned back in the direction of the mountains, crossing a broad rocky plain covered with small stones. When darkness fell we lay down on a granite plateau and were lulled to sleep by the sound of the waves swept against the coast by the monsoon, which was now gradually breaking.

On June 20th, we were up by half past two and left our last mountain camp at three o'clock. At el-Ghabar, where the wādī of that name flows into the sea, we took a rest and had food and drink. There was well-water a few yards below the surface of the wādī-bed, but the water is brackish, which is not to be wondered at, as the well is only a few hundred yards away from the sea. We dozed under some bushes, but the sun, rising high in the heavens, soon drove us on our way.

The afternoon's rest was taken close to a well of sweet water at the mouth of another wādī. Here, in the shadow of an overhanging rock, rest was turned into torture by swarms of camel-ticks; we found however on the beach a cave which the waves had hollowed out. There, free from ticks we dreamed — to the booming of the surf and splashed with its spray — that we were sailing on a choppy sea, making for Aden.

361 In the evening at eight o'clock we arrived at Burūm. This is the famous harbour of refuge for steamers which cannot pass the nights in the roadsteads of Makalla and esh-Shiḥr during the S. W. monsoon and which lie at anchor here, protected from the wind by Rās Burūm.

000 We set up our bivouac for the night on a rocky level outside the town. None of the inhabitants ventured to leave the protection of the village at night to satisfy their curiosity and

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disturb us with questions. It was a disappointment to find that there was, apparently, no food to be bought, but . . . we hoped to be back again in the palace of the hospitable Sultan of Makalla on the morrow!

June 21st was to be the last day of our travels and the fifteenth since leaving Terīm. We were on the march at twenty past four, going round the village towards the sea, where a few fishermen were already busy with their nets. Burūm has barely a few hundreds of inhabitants and has known better days. There are only soldiers now in the white palace of the Sultan. A white mosque, as well as a few white stone houses, give it an attractive appearance when seen from a distance. A date plantation and *dhura* fields lie between the village and the mountain-wall, but there is no room for them to spread out in this narrow coastal plain shut in by rocks. Makalla controls Burūm by means of fiscal regulations. The fishing trade is the only source of income left to the people. We saw good-sized, dried shark's heads thrown into a heap, amongst them those of the hammer-head.

From the beach the path mounts to the rock-wall beside the sea. On the rocky cape the remains of a fort and a few rusty cannon are to be seen. For a part of the way the path is hewn out of the precipice. Little Muḥammad, who has never seen the sea, lags behind constantly, quite lost in wonder over this new marvel. At one time our way ascends high up onto the rocks, then, at another, leads over a beach of glittering white sand. The farther we go the farther the mountains recede and, at last, one is walking along the flat sandy beach. The way is much travelled and there are plenty of *siqāyas*. Fūwa, our last stopping place before Makalla, comes in sight. The white town, encircled by an extensive district under cultivation, lies at the mouth of Wādī Fūwa. We pass through fresh green fields towards a group of shady trees, our chosen halting place, but it proves to be too warm and we are forced to seek human neighbourhood. Hospitality will be readily offered us in the high, white houses, but there we shall neither

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be able to rest nor to get away early, so we ask for shelter against the sun's rays in the village of huts where dwell the negro slaves. An empty hut is allotted to us and we even succeed in buying rice, a few eggs and some slices of fish. Ṣāliḥ prepares a regular feast from these supplies and we banquet upon it fraternally with our caravan companions in the negro hut. Then we set out again cheerfully into the glowing oven of a South Arabian afternoon.

Close to Fūwa we pass a British aerodrome, which has just been completely levelled and cleared of stones and can be reached by car from Makalla. The track makes a bend towards the beach and continues there till we reach the town. We see it from the distance like a white blur, dim and quivering in the haze of the afternoon heat. The camels are afraid of the waves and dare not go on the wet hard sand close to the sea. They are also tired to death; the young camel that is making its first journey moans continually as it walks, like a weeping child, and it only ceases when Dhēb talks to it to give it courage.

It is Sunday afternoon and we are nearing the end of our fatigues, annoyances, hunger and dangers. We are returning to our starting point and we ought to be feeling happy and thankful. The sight of our journey's end ought to give us fresh strength and make our eyes shine with joy, but instead we toil dumbly and slowly on in our completely worn-out shoes and gaze towards Makalla over the sea, which reflects the glare of the sun, with aching, weary eyes. The young camel moans and puts forth the remnant of its strength. We are too tired to think, but we feel that something extremely beautiful and good is ending for us. Towards five o'clock we pass within the tall gate of Makalla and turn directly to the left towards the ancient Sultan's palace. The first to come to meet us is the harbour doctor, ʿAlī ʿAbdallāh Ḥakīm, who shakes us warmly and repeatedly by the hand with the words: "Thank God!"

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[1]) b. = bin; W. = Wādī.

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
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| IIA | IIB | IIC | IID | IIE | IIF |
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| VA | VB | VC | VD | VE | VF |
| | | | | | VI |

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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END MAP IA

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END MAP IB

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END MAP IC

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END MAP ID

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END MAP IE

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KHALFA
Wadyin
W. Barwik
el-Murtyal
W. Khāridja
Bir Barhēt
W. Qen'at
W. Yeshbir
W. Ghafir
W. 'Ryash
W. Hamra
W. Mashyir
W. Ashab
W. Fughum
W. Yashbir
W. Kenif
Mukalla
Shabwa
Bir Ba'ūm
Bir Ba'ūm 528
Bir Ba'ūm
Ruins of ancient town
Ruins of ancient town
Ruins of ancient town

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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END MAP II A

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24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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END MAP II D

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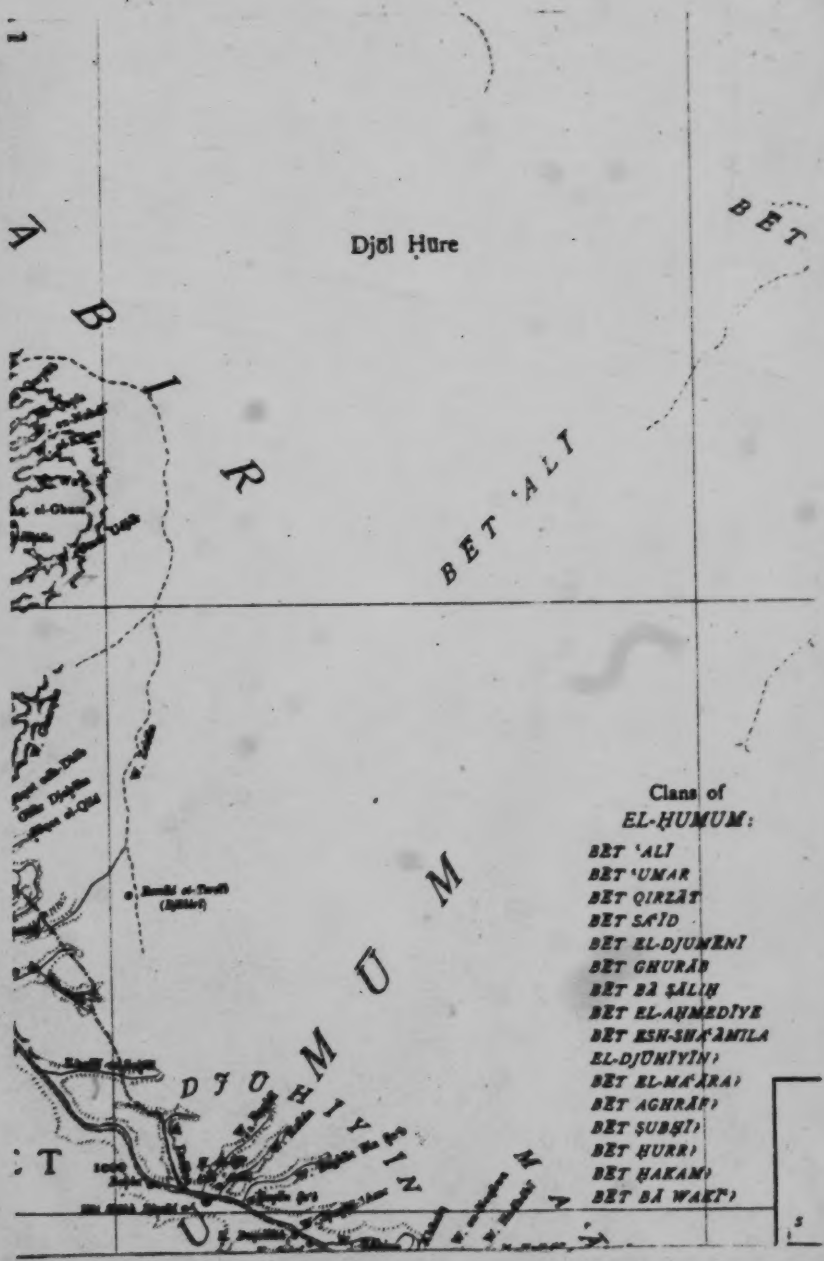


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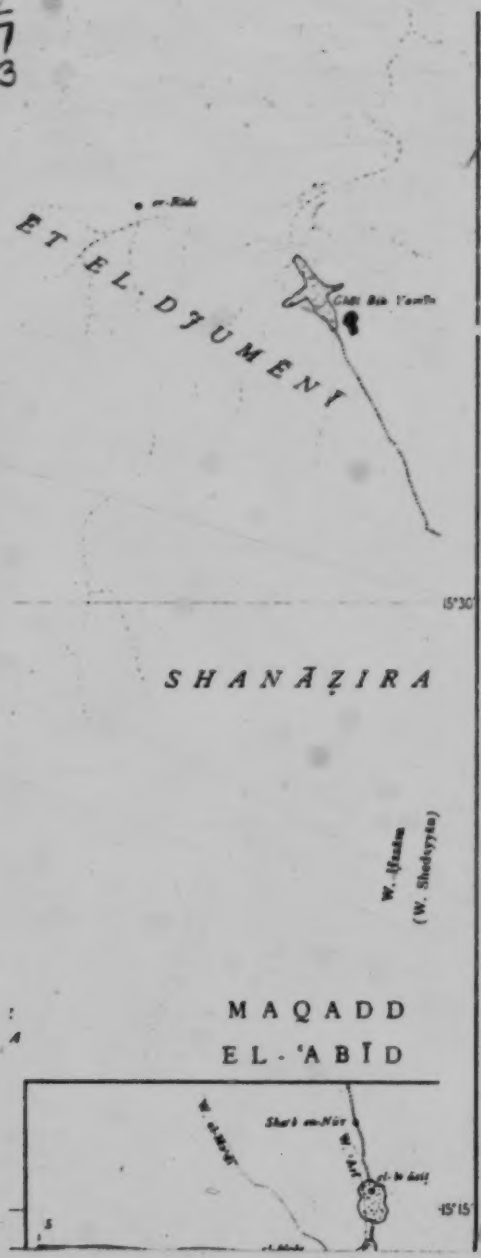


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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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END MAP III A

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End map III C

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End map III D

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End map III E

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24; Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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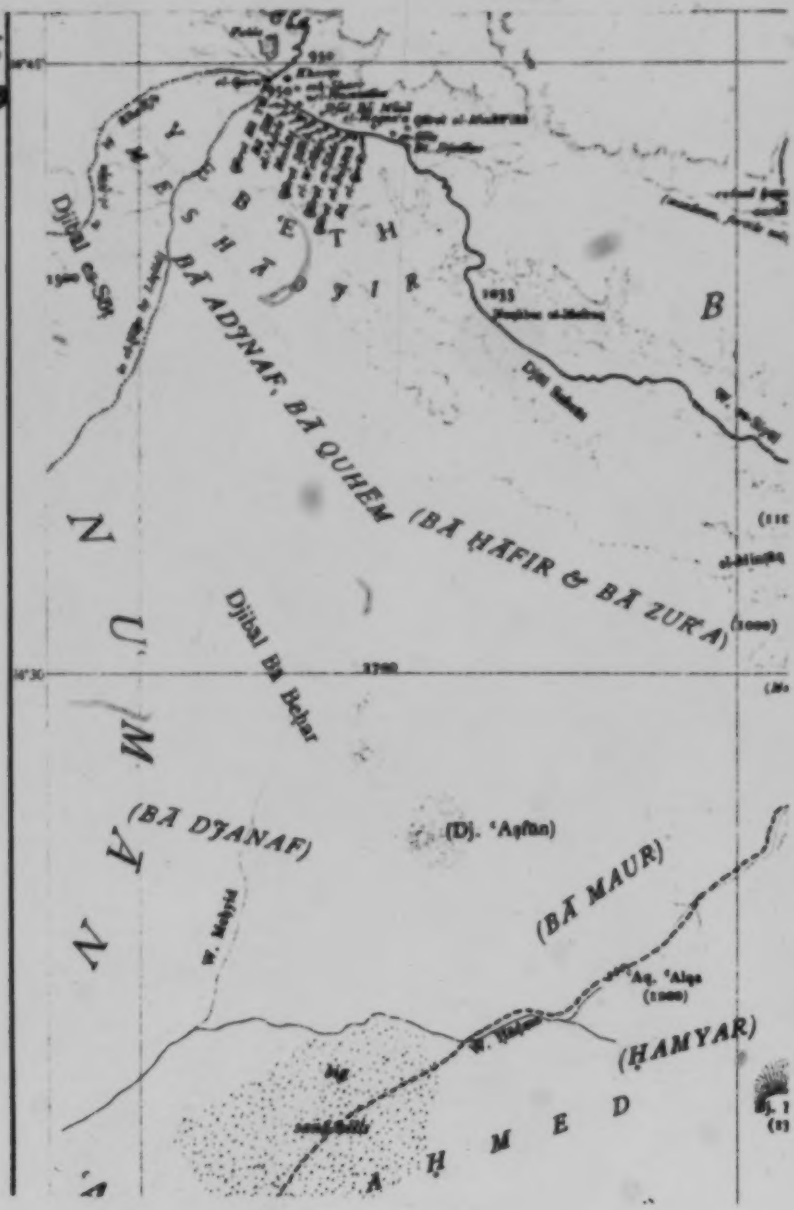


END MAP IV A

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END MAP VI B

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END MAP IV C

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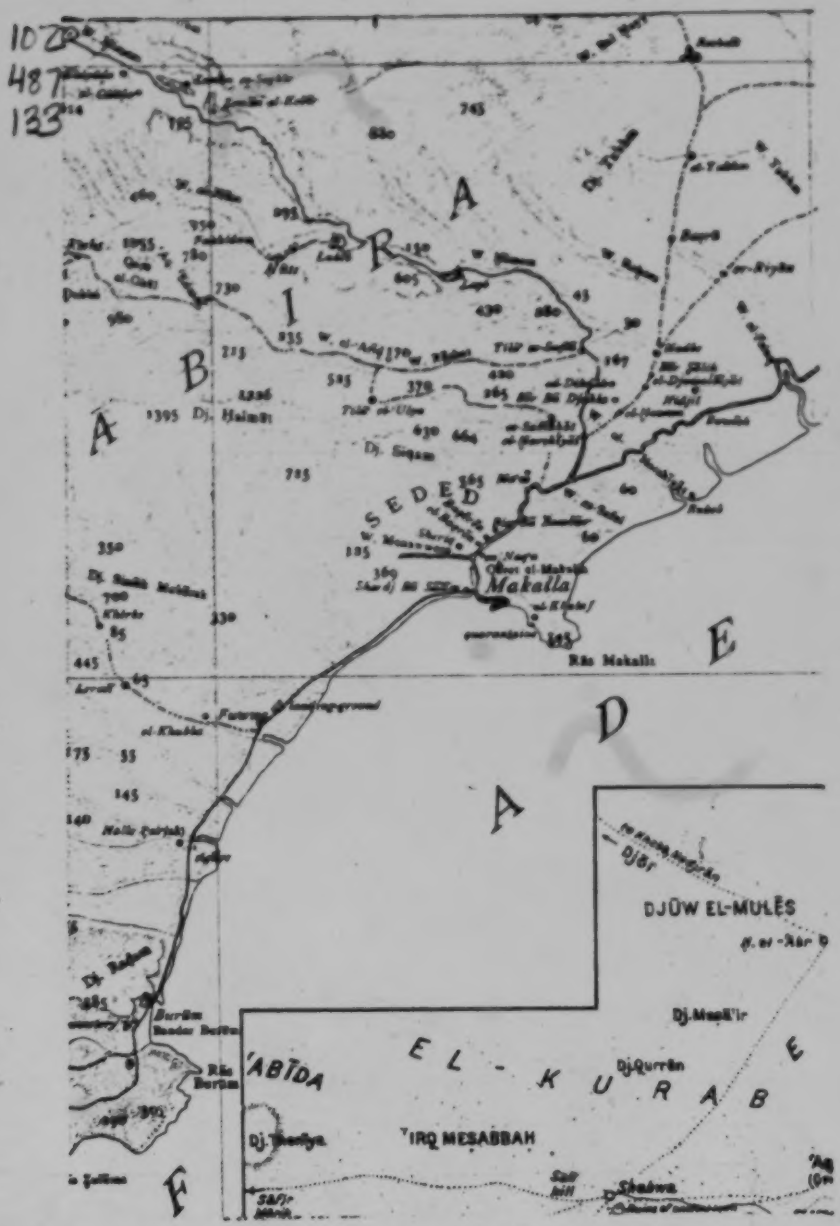
End map IV D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A
D
E
SEDED
Dj. Haimin
Dj. Sigam
Makalla
Rās Makalla
DJŪW EL-MULĒS
Dj. Mesā'ir
Dj. Qurrān
EL - KURAB
'ABTDA
'IRQ MESABBAH
Dj. Bedīya
Shabwa

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Sketch Map of the country west of Ḥaḍramaut

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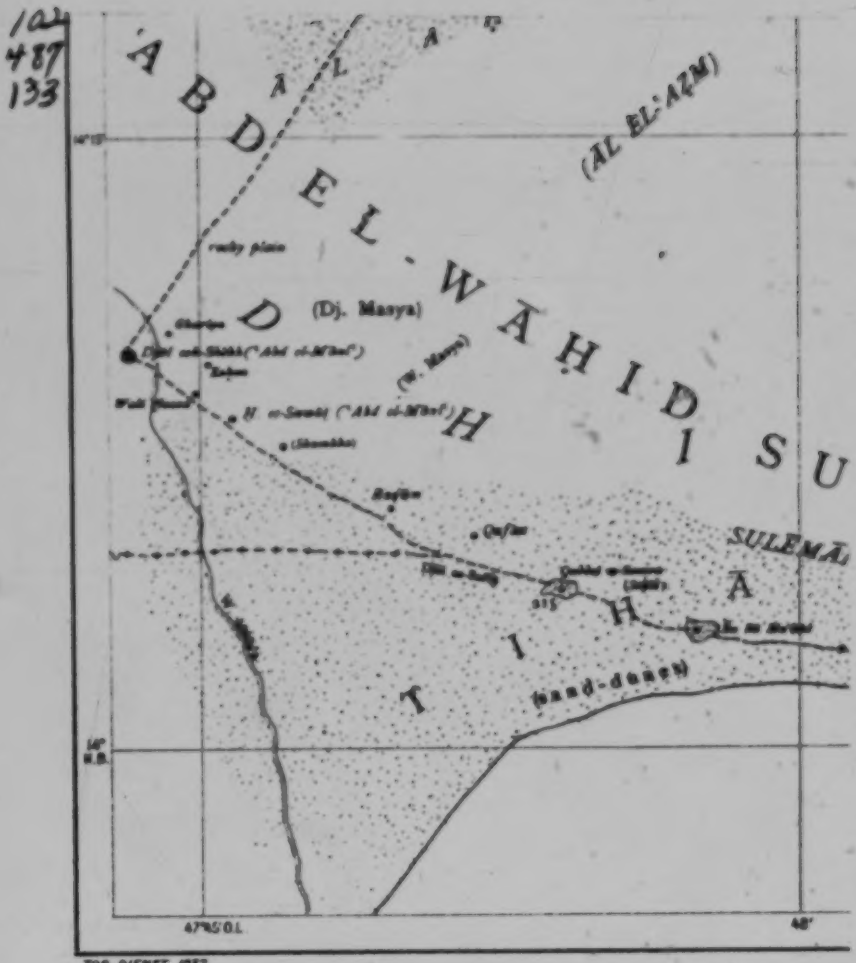
End map IV F




tribal boundaries — roads — tracks based upon personal inquiries

TRIBAL NAMES — REGIONS — mountains (heights in meters)

END MAP V A

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END MAP 26

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End map V D

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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ie of A. v. Wrede 1843 ——— routes of L. Hirsch and Imām Sherif Khan Bahadur (surveyor of Th. Bent) 1893

bel = mountain H = Hisn = castle, fortified house W. = Wādī = riverbed Bt = Bīt = house.

End map V E

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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FOTO - LITHO.

3 ——— route of O. H. Little. 1905 —+—+ routes of other explorers

ouse, family B = Bin = son

End map V F

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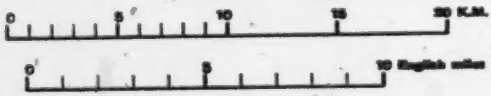
# HAḌRAMAUT

## Scale 1 : 250 000

by Dr. H. von Wissmann.

(Map belonging to "Ḥaḍramaut, some of its mysteries unveiled" by D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann.)

NOTE. The scale given under the map is wrong and the following should be used instead.




End map VI

24: Meulen and Wissmann MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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[For additional references on the Hadhramaut, see category 116, footnotes and throughout the text.]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## PREFACE.

The information presented in this report was collected for the most part during a tour in the Hadhramaut in 1934-5. Apart from this tour the report owes a good deal to subsequent visits to Mukalla up to March of this year, and to two years almost continuous contact with the affairs of the country. Valuable information connected with colonies of Hadhramis in other countries has also been supplied by the administrations and others concerned.

I set out on the tour referred to, accompanied by my wife and Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad Salih Ja'fer, who has rendered many political services to the Government, on 29th October 1934. We left Aden for Mukalla by steamship, and after five days there went by donkey to the Wadi Du'an where we stayed two nights in 'Aura, and continued on donkeys to Henin. From Henin we drove to Shibam by car, and after a short stay journeyed on camels through part of the almost unknown Sei'ar country. We made a slight detour to visit the tomb of the Prophet Salih in the Wadi Khonab, and then followed the Wadis Ser and Sodaf to the northern watershed, returning to Shibam by the Wadi Qubhudh, where the inhabitants, members of the Harizi tribe, live in caves in the walls of the wadi. On our return to the Wadi Hadhramaut we went by car to Tarim where we spent a few days. During our time in the Wadi Hadhramaut we paid three short visits to Seiyun. From Tarim we travelled with camels down the hitherto unexplored Wadi Maseila, visiting Qabr Hud, the most sacred site in the Hadhramaut, and finally reached Seihut after passing through the country of the Mahra people. From Seihut we took a dhow to Shihr and after two days returned to Mukalla by car. Here we spent a further week and arrived back in Aden by steamship on New Year's Day, 1935.

Among the principal objects of the tour were an enquiry into the social, economic, and political conditions of the country, and the making of contacts with its rulers and people. In the course of this work a considerable amount of material was collected which can be classified as follows :—

1. *Political.*—Apart from information as to the political situation, collected from representatives of all sections of the population, I obtained much material on the various tribes of the country and the inhabitants generally. A great deal of this was taken down verbally during the journey, and much was contained in reports and notes given to me by many of the important authorities and inhabitants with whom I came in contact. Information regarding the Mahras has been omitted from the report.

2. *Economic and Social.*—A considerable amount of information was obtained, by observation and from different sources, on the condition of the people, their methods of living, their industries and the resources of the country, as well as on the finance and

121 organization of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states, whose dominions together make up the country referred to in this report as the Hadhramaut.

3. *Geographical.*—A complete watch and compass traverse was made of all the route traversed on foot, on donkey, or on camel. When travelling by car all mileages were recorded. Topographical notes in very full detail were made along the whole of the route. The heights of all halts were taken by aneroid barometer, and temperatures were also recorded. We took 1,330 photographs and 800 feet of cinema film.

4. *Natural History.*—Specimens collected included one mammal, one reptile, one batrachian, 330 insects, spiders, scorpions, centipedes and crustacea, six fossils, eight mineral specimens and 160 botanical specimens. These were all forwarded to the British Museum and reports received. A tin of Du'an honey was also forwarded through the Colonial Office to the Imperial Institute for analysis and report. The report is incorporated in Chapter VII.

5. *Archaeological.*—Although a large number of fragments of inscriptions and other objects were obtained, it does not seem likely that they will prove of exceptional interest. A collection of objects from a Himyaritic tomb in Tarim and some possible stone implements were sent to Professor C. G. Seligman, and I have received some notes from him. He considers the principal feature of interest to be the discovery of sites of manufactories of obsidian, chert, and flint instruments. Various other inscriptions in the country hitherto unrecorded were photographed or copied. The language and characters of one painted inscription found in the Wadi Maseila have not yet been fully determined. Dr. A. S. Tritton of the School of Oriental Studies, who has examined it, has indicated certain similarities, apart from Himyaritic, to Ethiopic and to the North Arabian alphabets of Thamud and Safa.

The information referred to in the first two heads above is included in this report. The remainder, which includes the description of the country visited, has been partly dealt with in papers to the Royal Geographical and Royal Central Asian Societies, and may be made available in other forms.

114 124 I must claim some indulgence for this report, as it will be understood that comparatively speaking the length of time spent in the country was very short. It will be readily understood also that with the wholesale collection of information in a short time it is not possible to obtain all the check desirable, and many of the statements made depend on a single informant. It is however useful that as much as possible should be recorded so that, as opportunity occurs, the information given may be revised.

000 I should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging the great assistance I received from my wife and Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad on the journey. It would not have been possible to obtain as much information and material without their assistance.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## INTRODUCTION.

131 The coast line of the Aden Protectorate starts in the west from Ras Murad opposite the island of Perim, and runs eastward to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates it from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Roughly speaking, the Protectorate is bounded in the interior on the west and the north by the Kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. It also includes the island of Soqotra. The Hadhramaut lies in the east of the Protectorate between the Wahidi and 'Aulaqi countries on the west and the Mahra country on the east. North, it reaches to the Empty Quarter.

64 631 The two principal chiefs of the Protectorate are Their Highnesses the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej and the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla. The capital of the former lies about 20 miles north of Aden and that of the latter some 300 miles east. It will be easily realized that these two chiefs are by their geographical positions the natural leaders of the western and eastern parts of the Protectorate, and the 'Abdali Sultan, who is the premier chief of the Protectorate, has established his hegemony over the western portion. In some ways the Qu'aiti Sultan is perhaps the most important ruler of the Protectorate, for he controls, or has direct influence over, a larger population than any other chief, and, except for the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, whose nominal kingdom extends over a much wider area, he rules the largest tract of territory in the Protectorate. Although he is acknowledged by the Kathīri Sultan as having precedence in the Hadhramaut, he has not yet secured recognition by the Wahidi Sultans, or by the Mahra Sultan, as their natural leader.

643 648 636 The whole of the Aden Protectorate is ruled by its own chiefs, who are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned. Their relations with the Protecting Power are for the most part regulated by treaty, and while their foreign affairs are entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, interference in matters of domestic concern is generally limited to advice.

121 This report offers a survey of the social and political organization of the Hadhramis and of the resources of their country as seen by the writer. The object of this introduction is to give a brief indication of the present trend of development as it appears to him.

178 185 There is an extraordinary complexity of social and governmental organization in the Hadhramaut. The country is in a transition period between the disappearance or modification of the earlier social organization, which has itself evolved with the centuries, and the development of Government more or less on modern lines.

The various classes of society in the Hadhramaut are described in the report, and the interplay of some of them, one with another, has, in the course of time, as in other countries, given rise to abuses which, as the life and thought of the Middle Ages is influenced

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



### Religion.

Islam is, of course, practically exclusively the religion of the Hadhramaut. There are a number of Banians in Mukalla and a few in Shihr, but, apart from these, other faiths are represented only by one or two Christians and possibly Parsees in the same ports. Occasional Memons, Khojas, and Ithnasheris among the Indian population represent the only exceptions to the universal adherence in the Hadhramaut to the Shafite Sunni school. Rumour has it that traces left from the old Ibadhi-ism are still to be found in the north west in Nejran, and there are of course Ibadhis from Omān, eastwards in Dhufar.

## CHAPTER VI.

## CONDITIONS OF LIVING IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

The report deals with the conditions found in the Hadhramaut and, to some extent at least, peculiar to that country; it assumes a general knowledge of Arabian conditions of life which are common to the whole Peninsula. It may, however, be well in a few remarks to call attention to some general features of tribal life which should be borne in mind.

The culture of the Arab is determined by his environment, which also largely affects his religion. In the more fertile wadis the people are settled and conservative, on the barren steppes and desert places they are nomadic and communistic. The Beduin, and indeed many of the settled tribes, are extremely poor; their food is of the simplest, their staples being dates, home-grown millet and other grain, imported rice, and dried fish. The tribesman's wardrobe consists of two or three pieces of cloth, and indigo, in which he has implicit faith as protection alike from sun and cold. His dwelling is poor and its furniture hardly makes a camel's load. There are three things he saves up to acquire—arms (a rifle and *jambiya* or curved dagger), a camel, and a wife. The wife is my own addition; Beduins have often mentioned the other requirements to me, which shows, I suppose, that the wife is either an essential who goes without saying or that she is an afterthought. But these are the only things for which a Beduin saves. In other respects he is thriftless.

Poverty affects them in one of two ways: either they raid to augment their scanty means of living or they emigrate and earn their increment in more favourable surroundings abroad. Raiding is a paradox: it is not only a crime against society, but also a recognized means of livelihood. Furthermore, as it is played according to recognized rules it is a national sport. As more and more of the population become settled, raiding tends to become less popular. It is of course a large overstatement to suggest that football and other games will take its place as a sport, but the overstatement does contain some truth, for football is rapidly becoming

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *liwas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih [illegible] Kalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

## Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
YEMENITE JEWS ML4



Christians, Jews and worshippers of the many local gods. There was a Christian bishopric at Najran, and a strong settlement of Jews in Jauf. The Jews survived the rise of Islam, religious affinities have attracted to them a certain amount of northern blood, but to-day there is little apparent difference physically between them and the tribesmen of the Yemen: their features are similar; the colour of the skin is only a little lighter, which may be accounted for by the Jew being less exposed to the weather. J 144 142

Certain laws are imposed upon the Jews by the Arabs. Where, as in the Ja'ud tribes, there is no real Chief, the law becomes custom. They must dress in a particular kind of smock; they must wear their hair in ringlets, hanging down either side of the head in front of the ears; they must not wear a turban; they must not build houses of more than one storey in height; they must not carry arms. J 563 67 24 302 421 463

The Jews are perfectly content to abide by these customs. They own no land and their only stock is chickens, but they are, comparatively, skilled artisans, jewellers and metal workers. They have a corner in such trades. Moreover, they pay only the most nominal of taxes, their houses are rent free and no man's hand is against them. To kill a Jew is a great shame, greater even than killing a woman. The Arab leaves the Jew to his religion, and he would not dream of attempting to coerce one into working on the Sabbath, however urgent the matter was. The Jews of the Yemen, therefore, live in great security. They appoint their own heads and run their own schools. Their women are unmolested, their taxes small and their profits great. Few of them, in my opinion, even wish to leave the Yemen, but are more than content to remain. In the capital of Yemen, San'a, the Imam deals with business concerning the Jews through their own head entirely and treats them with every consideration and respect, and his example is followed by his Governors and by Chiefs of the Protectorate. They are a contented, hard-working community. From enquiries I have made I would say that their numbers are fairly static and that there is little danger of a Jewish population problem arising in the near future. 231 651 J 643 563 J 161

These complete the list of classes and races settled in the Aden Protectorate. Time limits my description to a mere sketch, and I have confined myself to permanent settlers and not to those different types with which the political officer may at times have to concern himself. South Arabia is still a pilgrim route, and I have several times met travellers from the Persian Gulf and Oman and as far afield as Baluchistan, journeying on the hard road through the country to Mecca. I have not described the Somali or Dankali coast traders, nor the sailors. H 121

It will, very soon, be necessary to correct the existing handbook or to publish a new official manual about the country. While there were a few political officers of long residence in the Protectorate such a manual was unnecessary. We all learnt on our own. Now not only has the political staff been increased, but Air Staff Intelligence Officers and Army Intelligence Officers are beginning to travel in the country. The country is being opened up and it is essential that officers who have to travel in it should make a close study of its people, their ancient social organization,

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

YEMEN ML1

# SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

## II.—The Tribesman Class

BY CAPTAIN THE HON. R. A. B. HAMILTON

000 Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on May 26, 1943, Mr. H. E. Bowman, C.M.G., C.B.E., in the Chair. Captain the Hon. R. A. B. Hamilton gave an address on the "Social Organization of the Aden Protectorate—II. The Tribesman Class."

The CHAIRMAN said that in September, 1942, Captain Hamilton had given them his first lecture on the "Social Organization of the Tribesmen of the Aden Protectorate," and had so interested his audience and the readers of the *Journal* that the article had been reprinted in the last issue. From that lecture it was clear that Major Hamilton had gained a wonderful insight into the people of the country, and that he possessed not only an intimate acquaintance with the different sections of the population of that vast territory, but also a wide learning of the country and sympathy, understanding and friendship for the people of the Aden Protectorate. Those qualities were not always to be found in British political officers, and when they were it was up to everyone to pay tribute to them. Captain Gammans, M.P., had written an excellent letter to *The Times* recently on the future of the Colonial Empire. In that letter he said: "The British Colonial Empire is at the parting of the ways." If that was true, as it might be, then they should see that they took the right way, and if they were to take the right way he, the Chairman, could not ask them to follow a better guide than Captain Hamilton.

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121 IN my last paper I described the classes into which the people of the Aden Protectorate are divided. The most numerous of these is the tribesman class, who are the warriors and the landowners, and it is my purpose in this paper to describe the tribal organization of this class and to suggest how this organization has developed and how the future may affect it.

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619 The basis of the tribal organization in the Aden Protectorate is the confederation of tribes. The tribe itself is a small unit, rarely exceeding 500 males. Some of these small tribes are "sheikhly" tribes, and these form the nucleus of confederations. A few examples will serve to make this clear.

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619 The tribes of the Yafa' Confederation inhabit the highest of the mountain spurs of the south-east Yemen range. They are divided into the sub-confederations of Upper and Lower Yafa'. The sheikhly tribe of both sub-confederations is the Beni Qasid of Lower Yafa', from and within which is elected the Lower Yafa' Sultan, which is the Chief of Chiefs of all Yafa'.

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622 It must not be supposed that this Sultan of the Beni Qasid is a ruler in our sense of the word. In fact, even within his family, his powers are very small. A certain aura of holiness attaches to him as an hereditary tribal head, which we will shortly examine, but the influence he wields within his own small tribe dwindles outside that tribe almost to nothing.

000 The name "Yafa'" is the name of a pagan deity, and, in the absence

7: Sturler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# TOWNS [illegible] ARCHITECTURE OF THE [illegible]DHRAMAUT

BY [illegible] DE STURLER-RAEMAEKERS

000 Report of a lecture illustrated by a film delivered to the Society on Thursday, May 21, 1953, Mr. W. H. Ingrams, C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: As you can well imagine, it is a great pleasure to me to take the chair this afternoon for Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers, because I have spent ten years in the country which she is about to describe. Unfortunately, ever since I left it in 1944 time has done nothing but take me somewhere else in the world. I have just returned from a tour of the United States, Mexico, Central America and the West Indies. Most of my time seems to be taken up in Africa and it is difficult to get an opportunity of looking again at the Hadhramaut. Hence it is a great pleasure to be able to see Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers' slides and to hear her account this afternoon.

341 113 I expect that in some respects at least the architecture of the Hadhramaut is familiar to many of you through Freya Stark's books, perhaps particularly the illustrations in her book *Seen in the Hadhramaut*; also Mr. Osbert Lankaster, an architect who many may know better as a cartoonist, wrote an article on the architecture of the Hadhramaut some years ago which appeared, I believe, in the *Architectural Journal*.

341 773 333 There is a very long tradition of architecture in the Hadhramaut. One wonders how long this wonderful working in mud has gone on. In ancient days the ancient Hadhraumauti used to go in for monumental stone masonry on a large scale. I remember seeing huge stones lying on the old Hadhramauti ruins and being told by the local people that the stones had been transported to the early buildings by the Adites, who were formerly giants. Hadhraumaut is a country which has always recognized the Book of Genesis, that there were giants in the land in those days.

-114 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers was born in Holland and came to England as a child, first, during the first World War. Here she was educated, so we can at least claim part of her. Then she went to France and later came back to England to study architecture for three years at the Architectural Association. She took her degree in Brussels and practised there. Then she travelled a good deal in Europe. She returned to England again at the outbreak of the recent World War and has been here ever since except for her travelling. In 1948 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers thought she would go further afield and, fortunately for us and for Arabia, she chose to go there, but before doing so she took the precaution of studying Arabic for two years at London University.

Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers spent ten months in the Hadhramaut in 1950-51 and was there again in 1952 for five months. She has told me, very modestly, that that is a very inadequate time in which to study the Hadhramaut, but I think we shall discover that she found out a great deal of much interest while she was there.

MY experience of the Middle East is, as you have heard, somewhat brief, being only three years. I therefore feel a little embarrassed when speaking before a gathering in which there may be many who have probably travelled there for much longer periods. I trust they will show some indulgence towards anything I may say which may not be either new or just as they saw it; I have at least specialized knowledge in one subject which took me there, and that is architecture. I went to study the buildings of Hadhramaut and make measured drawings of them. I do not intend to give a technical discourse on exactly how the buildings are constructed or how the bricks are made, because I do not think that this is

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●121 what people want to hear. In this short talk I would like to deal more with the feeling of these buildings as related to the people who live in them and who have created them. If time allows I hope to show a short colour film I made there and which portrays general scenes of life in Hadhramaut.

122 There is one thing I can say without any hesitation or doubt, and that is to give expression to my great gratitude to those who helped me to go on these journeys. I could not possibly mention by name all those to whom I am indebted, but at least I wish to speak of Sir Bernard Reilly of the Colonial Office, who made it possible for me to go to Hadhramaut and gave me the necessary introductions. I also want to thank Dr. Serjeant of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, who taught me for two years and who showed me everything I had to know in order to travel in that strange and isolated country he had himself visited. Finally, I am most grateful to Colonel Hugh Boustead, Resident Adviser of the East Aden Protectorate, who facilitated my journey in every possible way. He was my kind host and gave me travel facilities and permits to go where many people had difficulty in going.

131 To plunge into my subject, I might say that one does in fact almost plunge into the Hadhramaut from above. It is one of those rare countries which cannot be reached by rail or by road and hardly by sea except on a little native dhow; so that since the British Protectorate authorities started to develop the country it has been habitual to go to Hadhramaut by plane, and one does indeed drop into it from the sky. Such isolation is rare in our times and needs some explanation for those not familiar with the geography of Southern Arabia.

131 Arabia has always been one of the most difficult countries of access to
133 Europeans, for geographical as well as religious reasons. In the centre of the peninsula is one of the largest deserts in the world, and it is surrounded by forbidding coastal ranges from halfway up the Red Sea coast, down to the "barren rocks of Aden" and eastward along the southern coast, almost three-quarters of its length before there is any break in the mountains.

But for small valleys, these mountains and the interior are absolutely barren. With the exception of the Yemen, to all intents and purposes, little or nothing grows in that vast area. There is no water. There is little earth, and in the relentless mountain ranges and plateaux along the coast there is often not even sand—just rock and flint and granite. Yet these coastal ranges are crossed in all directions by ageless tracks made by camel trains of the bedouin traders who have followed them for two thousand, perhaps three thousand years, bringing the incense from Dhufar beyond Hadhramaut.

101 The people who now live in the interior highlands are the bedouin,
[342] the descendants of the traders of old, who dwell in small stone-built villages or mud castles. This south-western corner is still largely a tribal area where there are different little bedouin sultanates. Some of them are being gradually brought into the confederation and some even accept complete British protection; others live entirely in their own ancient way of
000 life of blood feuds and strife. Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently

# SOUTH-WEST ARABIA: TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

By HAROLD INGRAMS, C.M.G., O.B.E.

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Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on January 24, 1945, Lieut.-General H. G. Martin, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E., in the Chair.

Introducing the lecturer the Chairman said that Mr. Ingrams had been intimately connected with affairs in South-West Arabia since he first went to Aden as a political officer in 1934. Later as British Resident Adviser at Mukalla, Mr. Ingrams, accompanied by his wife, carried out a series of journeys, which were not only of scientific value but which paved the way for a remarkably successful pacification of the tribes in the Hadhramaut, who were induced by peaceful persuasion to lay aside their hereditary blood feuds. It was in recognition of the part that Mrs. Ingrams played in helping to make this possible that the Lawrence Memorial Medal was awarded conjointly to Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams in 1939; an example that was followed by the Royal Geographical Society in the award of their Founder's Medal in 1940. Mr. Ingrams returned to this country from the Western Aden Protectorate at the end of 1944.

The lecturer opened with an account of a recent journey in the Yemen, and it is hoped that this will appear as a separate article in the next issue of the Journal.

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OF late months there has been greater activity in the question of Arab unity. The conference at Alexandria was stimulated by the promise of His Majesty's Government to give full support to any scheme that will command general approval for strengthening the cultural, economic and political ties between the Arab countries. The conference was attended by representatives of Egypt, 'Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, and there was an observer from Palestine. Talk in relation to Arab unity is generally concentrated on the more advanced areas in the north, but sooner or later the matter must affect the whole of the peninsula, and the people of Southern Arabia must be drawn into closer touch with their brethren in the north.

I thought, therefore, that it might be of interest if I tried to give you a short description of conditions in South-West Arabia as they have been during the last few years. One way or another during the last six years of absence from England I have had to do with all parts of this area, and though I do not claim to know them all equally well, I thought perhaps I knew enough from seeing them personally and dealing with their affairs to justify my giving you my own impressions of them as a slight contribution to the material for the study of the question of Arab unity in relation to all Arab countries, including the less well known. But I make no claim whatever to give a final or authoritative picture, so you must not regard what I say about them as more than a personal view.

I have called this lecture "South-West Arabia: To-day and To-morrow," but as regards to-morrow I merely want to indicate a possibility or two, more with the object of asking the question, What can we do to help this more backward part of the Arab world to fit itself to take a real part in the League of Arab States which may eventually be established?

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South-West Arabia is to-day divisible into four distinct parts, and I propose to take each of these in turn, giving a sketch of how I see its

9. Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2.



121 present condition. It is not easy to illustrate that with lantern slides, but I wanted to use the illustrations mainly to enable you to see some of the differences between each division, something of the nature of the country, the appearance of the people and, above all, the architecture.

## The Divisions of South-West Arabia

101 175 From an Arab point of view, in geography and history South-West Arabia consists of two countries, the Yemen and the Hadhramaut, but actually to-day its four distinct areas are the Kingdom of the Yemen, the Western Aden Protectorate, the Hadhramaut or Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Colony of Aden.

175 631 In Islamic times and until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Western Aden Protectorate and Aden were part of the Kingdom of the Yemen, but various governors and sheikhs of the Western Aden Protectorate only held an uneasy allegiance to the Yemen and broke away as practically independent units. They remained independent until they concluded treaties with His Majesty's Government, mostly last century. Thus the Aden Protectorate gradually grew up. What is now the Colony of Aden was captured from Lahej in 1839 or ceded at later dates. Towards the end of the nineteenth century treaties were made with the coastal chiefs of the Hadhramaut. In 1914 a British sphere of influence in South-West and South-East Arabia was arranged with the Turks. The Turks had twice occupied but never fully conquered the Yemen, and their insecure rule came to an end after the last war, when the Imam became independent.

In pre-Islamic times the Hadhramaut was for a period an independent kingdom. From the time of the Prophet's mission until the ninth century it submitted uneasily to the rule of the Caliphate, and then became independent again, though for periods during succeeding centuries—until the thirteenth century—it was claimed by the Yemen. There was a final short period of Yemeni domination at the end of the seventeenth century, but the Zeidis were finally turned out in 1704. The Hadhramaut remained independent until 1888, when the British Protectorate over the Qu'aiti started.

Down to 1937 the Aden Protectorate, often known as the Nine Cantons, and the Hadhramaut were treated as two ill-defined entities, but as the treaties with the chiefs of both were similar, the two were united as one protectorate by Order in Council that year. When, however, a forward policy in the Hadhramaut was started in that same year, they were again considered separate for administrative purposes, and the old Aden Protectorate was called the Western Protectorate and the Hadhramaut and Mahra country the Eastern.

631 There are such great differences between the Western Aden Protectorate and the Eastern Aden Protectorate that they should be considered separate areas when one is thinking of the divisions of South-West Arabia. Indeed, the Eastern Aden Protectorate could well be considered as two areas itself—the Hadhramaut in the west, and in the east, linked with Socotra, the Mahri country, much more primitive than the Hadhramaut and probably more primitive than the Western Aden Protectorate. It has

121 BETWEEN April and October 1936 the Egyptian University of Cairo sent out a scientific expedition to Yaman and Hadhramaut. It consisted of four members, and was intended to carry out researches in the fields of geology, physiography, archæology, anthropology and entomology. The expedition covered a distance of some 2,500 kilometres and was able to carry out intensive researches at various localities both on the High Plateau of Yaman and in the interior of Hadhramaut. The material brought back has not been studied in detail as yet; but a preliminary note can be given here.

## GEOLOGY

121 133 One of the expedition's main aims was to work out certain problems connected with the geological history of the southern borders of the Red Sea. We worked at a number of points along the lines of rifting both south and west of the Yaman Plateau, where the old crystalline rocks (schists and granites) of the base were exposed under later (secondary and tertiary) sediments and lavas. The successive horizons of the tertiary traps of the High Plateau were carefully examined and specimens collected. In north-east Yaman we worked chiefly on Jurassic limestones and Nubian sandstones, and a large collection of fossils was made from the successive zones of the former. The interior of Hadhramaut was found to have a relatively simple structure and to consist mostly of Eocene limestones on earlier unfossiliferous sandstones. We hope that new evidence from the lower part of the Eocene may throw useful light on the date of the trap volcanic series of tertiaries in south-west Arabia.

## PHYSIOGRAPHY

133 Pleistocene geology proved to be quite interesting. We worked chiefly on the middle parts of the valleys, which were relatively independent of changes in base (sea) level. Two physiographic cycles were established, the first being by far the more pronounced. Valleys with sloping sides were first cut and then filled with coarse gravels which now rise (usually in two or more terraces) to some 30 m. above the beds of the streams. During this stage there was a good deal of lateral wash and erosion in the middle parts of the valleys, and this erosion was probably responsible for the sloping sides of the V-shaped valleys. The gravels were examined at a large number of exposures, but unfortunately they produced only one or two specimens of pre-Chellean appearance.

The second physiographic cycle was associated first with the cutting of new steep-sided valleys *emboîtées* in the older gravels, and then with the filling in of these new valleys with soft sediments of silt. Deposition was much more regular and there was very little lateral wash in the middle parts of the new valley-beds. The discharge during the depositional phase of the second cycle was much less than that during the depositional phase of the first cycle, as only

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



some decades longer to be exempt from the visit of a Christian. 114 484

This ends the list of the explorers of Hadramaut. The Royal Air Force did indeed make several scouting flights from Aden over Hadramaut, but they never made a landing, and sometimes had to fly very high. To these flights, however, we are indebted for a very important series of photographs, which provide valuable geographical material (see *The Geographical Journal,* vol. lxxvii, No. 3, March, 1931).

When I was given the task of visiting this country, which is so little known, and so important to us (Hollanders) in view of the tens of thousands of people from Hadramaut who live in the Netherlands Indies, I took steps to make more of the journey than could be accomplished by one government official who is not in any way an expert. I sent an invitation to Dr. H. von Wissmann of the Geographical Institute connected with the University of Vienna, asking him to venture with me upon the hazardous journey to Hadramaut. I had become acquainted with von Wissmann through his exploration work in the Hejaz and Yemen. He was to make the survey of the journey, and to carry out all instrumental and scientific observations, and we would work together on the collections of plants and insects and in taking photographs. Moreover I was able to offer him the assistance of an official introduction from the Dutch government, my knowledge of the Arabic and Malay languages, and that special help which a former government official from the Dutch Indies might hope for in the country of the Hadramaut people. 121 114

When I met von Wissmann at Aden in April of this year (1931), I had just completed a trip along the shores of the Red Sea. Both of us had received very unfavorable information in regard to present conditions in Hadramaut. Practically no one gave us any hope of success. However, the English authorities at Aden

# THE SOUTH-WEST BORDERLANDS OF THE RUB' AL KHALI

D. G. BUNKER

121 126 As a result of work carried out for the Desert Locust Survey in south-western Arabia during the past few years, several of the blanks on the map have been filled in and much confirmation has been given to previous travellers' reports. The region particularly investigated has been that which forms the transition belt from the peripheral mountain system to the interior sand desert often referred to as the Rub' al Khali. The area visited has been mapped on a scale of 1:500,000 by means of car-compass traverses tied to astronomically determined positions, all to a general accuracy of 0·1 of a mile. The following notes are intended only to supplement the information contained in those maps which are in process of publication.

*The mountain systems*

123 The old crystalline hills of the 'Asir and Yemen, which to the west drop in a series of steps to the Tihamah or coastal plain, are to the east overlain by near horizontal strata of sedimentary rocks of which the oldest are probably the sandstones forming the Kaukab plateau and the newest, excluding recent deposits, are the Eocene limestones of the *jol*, the succession seeming more complete in the north. The peripheral mountain system is in the form of a letter L, where the upright stroke comprises the 'Asir and the Yemen mountains and the horizontal stroke is the *jol* plateau, the division being more or less abrupt along the line of the forty-seventh meridian.

Philby (1938) describes the change between the two sides of the 'Asir watershed as "abruptly from a tropical country to a desert plateau of uniform height of over eight thousand feet (with higher ridges), descending to about six thousand feet at the western end of the Najran tract. It is a sandstone area with occasional cappings and peaks of basalt. Its rugged gorges and valleys have occasional wells and springs, but for the most part it is an abomination of desolation extending north-ward to Dhahran and south-ward to the limit of vision into the still unexplored territory of northern Yemen." Nevertheless there are among the eastern slopes many wadis whose seasonal floods may rush out of the mountainous regions to the inland plain and on into the sandy desert.

The regularity of these floods in the past may be deduced from the extent of the thick layers of silt which mark the sites of past damming and irrigation works in nearly all these wadis. These silt layers often form 20-foot cliffs containing the present watercourses, and occasionally the ruins of the dams themselves may be found. The Wadis Habauna and Najran, besides having silt cliffs, show signs of further re-cutting of their outwash plains. In both cases the outwash plain extends regularly for the first 10 miles from the foothills but during the next 5 miles is eroded by gullies some 3 feet deep which together form a plain at a lower level, only to be re-cut in the same manner.

# CLIMATE, IRRIGATION, AND EARLY MAN IN THE HADHRAMAUT

G. CATON-THOMPSON AND E. W. GARDNER

*Afternoon Meeting of the Society, 7 November 1938*

000 IN a land as little known as South-west Arabia there is danger to the scientific traveller of getting lost. Not lost in the geographical sense, though at times that might be easy in the unending monotony of its valley floors and desert plateaux, but lost in the intricacies of a myriad detailed observations concerning them and the parts they played thousands of years ago in the lives of their inhabitants. The traveller crawls about like an ant amongst the dust heaps, collecting facts; facts related and unrelated, important and unimportant, which eventually, perhaps years hence and in other hands, go to the making of an ever-incomplete picture. He may be envious of the all-embracing synthetic view, such as the airman may obtain; but he remains aware that his microscopic, analytic rummaging amongst the individual stones is the indispensable element in eventual comprehension of the whole. Such reflections are not an inappropriate preface to this paper, which is the record of hitherto unrecorded facts. That the unimportant may not have been winnowed yet from the important is recognized: it is too soon to be sure which is which, or what may be the wider relevance of any of them.

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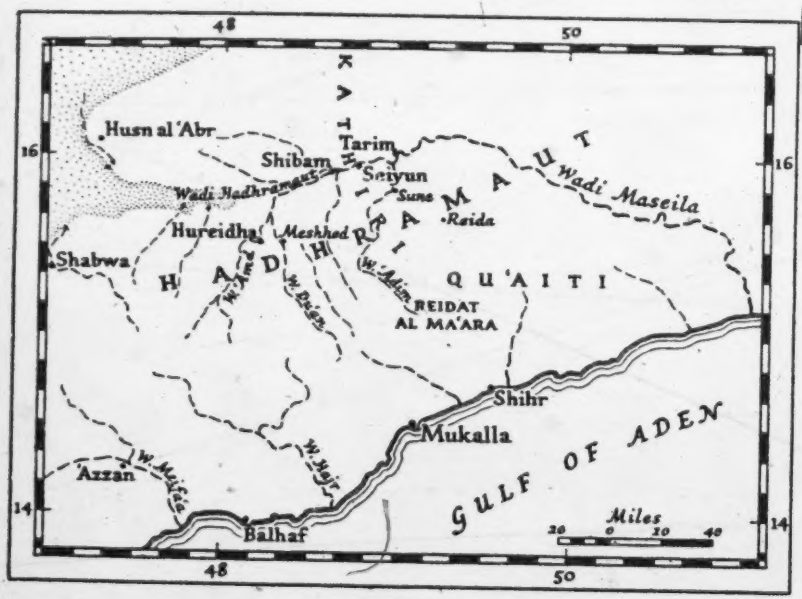
16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



help to introduce for the first time dating, absolute or relative, into the early history, independently of, or in conjunction with, inscriptions. Interwoven with these purely archaeological questions was Miss Gardner's geological investigation of the Quaternary physiography of the region; more especially inquiry into problems of past climates; and comparisons of Pleistocene conditions in South-west Arabia in lat. 15° N. with those of a typical desert area as studied by her in Kharga Oasis and elsewhere in the Libyan desert 10° farther north.[1] A recent Egyptian expedition under Dr. S. A. Huzayyin had done valuable work on these lines in 1936 in the Yemen, where a series of prehistoric pluvial periods had been traced, besides the possibility of a minor




one in historic times. That expedition paid also a flying visit to the Hadhramaut, but little work was done there.[2]

The general physical features of the country are well known from the excellent map published by von Wissmann in 1932,[3] and from the air reconnaissance of Squadron-Leader Cochrane [4] and the late Flight-Lieut. A. R. M. Rickards, whose map shows well the peculiar drainage system (Plate 1). Very recently a methodical aerial survey of the whole Protectorate has been accomplished, and we are privileged here to publish some of the photographs. Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams still remain the only Europeans who have travelled from

[1] *Geol. Mag.*, vol. lxix, September 1932, "Some problems of the Pleistocene hydrography of Kharga Oasis."

[2] S. A. Huzayyin, "Egyptian University Scientific Expedition to south-west Arabia," *Nature* 140 (1937) 513–4.

[3] Folder to 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled,' by D. Van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann. Leiden, 1932.

[4] "An air reconnaissance of the Hadhramaut" (*Geogr. J.* 77 (1931) 209–16).

114 realized in Ḥaḍramaut in a much wider circle than a quarter of a century ago. But this unhappy land still lacks that unity which is required to develop the springs of prosperity and to insure safety of life and property. In this respect, the barbaric customs of the Djāhiliyya (the pre-Islamic period) still prevail. For surmounting the difficulties on this score, Van der Meulen had to rely on the experience gained by him both in his earlier capacity as civil servant in Netherlands India and his later activity as diplomatic officer in Arabia, as well as on his proficiency in the Arabic and Malay languages, and, not least, on his own personality. All this has enabled him to take full advantage of the improved opportunities; his trip through the whole of Ḥaḍramaut has indeed been a triumphal progress.

114 121 It is obvious that Van der Meulen's expedition can only to a certain extent be called a journey of exploration. His commission was of a political nature, and it would not have been possible for him, in the allotted time, to combine with it profound geographical and ethnographical researches. But, in order that, should he manage to penetrate into Ḥaḍramaut, this success should as far as possible be made of service to science, he secured the co-operation of his friend, the able German geographer, Dr. H. von Wissmann. The two friends have spared themselves no trouble and have considered no effort or deprivation too great to make the best of the six weeks, which they could devote to the expedition to the littoral and hinterland. They have won the sympathy of influential persons both for themselves and for their work, and have been enabled not only to become acquainted with the chief towns, but also to solve, once for all, the mystery of the Well of Barhūt and to obtain a detailed knowledge of the Ḥaḍramī sanctuary, to which annually in the eighth month of the Muhammadan year, a large proportion of the population make a pilgrimage. They have cursorily examined various ruins, taken many photographs, and Von Wissmann has been able to ascertain enough data to draw the first map of Ḥaḍramaut, based on measure-

ments and surveying. And far from being driven out of the 114
land with curses, as their forerunners were, there re-echoed 121
everywhere on their departure the wish: "Goodbye and a speedy return".

Far more than they were able to do in the limited time, remains for their successors to accomplish, before it can be said that the country and people of Ḥaḍramaut have been fully described in all their characteristics. The same remark, however, still applies to the greater part of this gigantic peninsula. Let us hope that the trail blazed by Van der Meulen and Von Wissmann may before long be followed by other, thoroughly prepared and well-equipped, devotees of science, who will command the necessary leisure for completing, in every direction, the investigation so intrepidly begun.

It would, on the contrary, be regrettable in every way if 114
that track were to be followed, not by serious investigators, but by more persons like a certain Hans Helfritz, who, a short time after the journey described in this book had been completed, succeeded through a fortunate chance, in making a hurried trip with his camera to the littoral and to a couple of towns in the interior, and whose photographs with nonsensical letter-press attached to them, have appeared in a number of European illustrated papers, in March and April of 1932. This "investigator" understands no Arabic, is absolutely unacquainted with the land and people of Arabia and is equally ignorant of what has already been achieved by others in the exploration of Arabia and especially of Ḥaḍramaut. He seems not even to have heard of his immediate predecessors, for he describes himself as the discoverer of the town of Terim "where no white man had set foot"; he calls the dwellers of Ḥaḍramaut savages and speaks of Arabian cannibals. What is worse, he gives details of his return journey to el-Makalla, which, if any truth underlies the anecdote, prove that he lacked all fitness for intercourse with the people of the country: five Bedouins, who were assigned to him by a chief to act as guides, are said to have

# CHAPTER I.

## THE DEPARTURE.

### ADEN—MAKALLA.

We owe our journey to Ḥaḍramaut to a mission entrusted to us by the Netherlands Government. Later it will become clear how deep-lying the contact is between Ḥaḍramaut and Netherlands India, and how self-evident it is that the Dutch Government should wish to make itself accurately acquainted with the social and political conditions in the native land of the tens of thousands of Arabs, who form such an important element in the social fabric of that country. The Ḥaḍramīs are not absorbed into the union of Indonesian peoples, and many of them keep a firm hold on the connection with their own country, in the hope that some day they may be able to return there, to await the Day of Resurrection and Judgment in that hallowed ground. The charge entrusted to Dr. van den Berg to write his book, which was published by the Government of Netherlands India, resulted from the practical needs of that Government with regard to the heterogeneous peoples of Indonesia. So also with the mission entrusted to me.

Although I knew how difficult it had been made, until now, for a Christian and Westerner to penetrate into the land of the fanatical Ḥaḍramī, yet I had some hope of success in the attempt, and this for two reasons.

The years that I had spent in the civil service of Netherlands India had given me the conviction that the Ḥaḍramī is grateful for the treatment which he receives there from our Government and for the opportunities which he has to save money and to get on in the world. As a government official of Netherlands India I had not reckoned in vain on finding a welcome among the Ḥaḍramī families having relations with Indo-

114 nesia, and a conversation carried on in the Malay language
191 often worked wonders.

114 My second advantage lay in the fact that I had represented my country for several years at Djedda, the seaport of Mecca, the Exalted. My knowledge of conditions in the sacred land of Islam and of the Wahhābī régime, only recently established there by that great Arab Bin Saʿūd, procured for me willing listeners in circles where there was no connection with the East Indies.

114 In order that the journey should serve not only a diplomatic,
121 but also a scientific purpose, it was necessary to have a travelling companion who would take upon himself that side of the work. Dr. Hermann von Wissmann accepted the offer to share the Ḥaḍramaut adventure. We had already met in Djedda and learned to appreciate each other. He had gained experience of travel and research with Dr. C. Rathjens of Hamburg in exploration in the Hedjaz and the Yemen. The large map of the district over which we travelled, the sketch maps, the ground-plans, and the geographical, geological, and botanical information, contained in the present book, are his work.

114 At the end of April 1931 we met in Aden. Our plans could not have succeeded without the cooperation of the British authorities. The Bents in their book write very gloomily over the attitude of the Aden Government towards them.[1] Hirsch had a better experience[2], and we perhaps, the best of all. The Resident, Colonel Reilly, promised help and, instead of speaking with discouragement of our chances, as had been done up to now both by Arabs and Europeans, he considered that we were by no means without chance of success. He saw the greatest difficulty in the hot season that would be sure

[1] Th. Bent and Mrs. Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London, 1900, p. 72 *sq.*

[2] Leo Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-land und Hadramūt*, Leiden, 1897, p. 2, 109.

121 what people want to hear. In this short talk I would like to deal more with the feeling of these buildings as related to the people who live in them and who have created them. If time allows I hope to show a short colour film I made there and which portrays general scenes of life in Hadhramaut.

122 There is one thing I can say without any hesitation or doubt, and that is to give expression to my great gratitude to those who helped me to go on these journeys. I could not possibly mention by name all those to whom I am indebted, but at least I wish to speak of Sir Bernard Reilly of the Colonial Office, who made it possible for me to go to Hadhramaut and gave me the necessary introductions. I also want to thank Dr. Serjeant of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, who taught me for two years and who showed me everything I had to know in order to travel in that strange and isolated country he had himself visited. Finally, I am most grateful to Colonel Hugh Boustead, Resident Adviser of the East Aden Protectorate, who facilitated my journey in every possible way. He was my kind host and gave me travel facilities and permits to go where many people had difficulty in going.

131 To plunge into my subject, I might say that one does in fact almost plunge into the Hadhramaut from above. It is one of those rare countries which cannot be reached by rail or by road and hardly by sea except on a little native dhow; so that since the British Protectorate authorities started to develop the country it has been habitual to go to Hadhramaut by plane, and one does indeed drop into it from the sky. Such isolation is rare in our times and needs some explanation for those not familiar with the geography of Southern Arabia.

131 Arabia has always been one of the most difficult countries of access to
133 Europeans, for geographical as well as religious reasons. In the centre of the peninsula is one of the largest deserts in the world, and it is surrounded by forbidding coastal ranges from halfway up the Red Sea coast, down to the "barren rocks of Aden" and eastward along the southern coast, almost three-quarters of its length before there is any break in the mountains.

But for small valleys, these mountains and the interior are absolutely barren. With the exception of the Yemen, to all intents and purposes, little or nothing grows in that vast area. There is no water. There is little earth, and in the relentless mountain ranges and plateaux along the coast there is often not even sand—just rock and flint and granite. Yet these coastal ranges are crossed in all directions by ageless tracks made by camel trains of the bedouin traders who have followed them for two thousand, perhaps three thousand years, bringing the incense from Dhufar beyond Hadhramaut.

101 The people who now live in the interior highlands are the bedouin,
[342] the descendants of the traders of old, who dwell in small stone-built villages or mud castles. This south-western corner is still largely a tribal area where there are different little bedouin sultanates. Some of them are being gradually brought into the confederation and some even accept complete British protection; others live entirely in their own ancient way of
000 life of blood feuds and strife. Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently

114 thought that we had some slight chance of succeeding, and they gave us loyal cooperation.

122 Thus we landed at Makalla on Sunday, May 3, accompanied only by my Yemenite servant. The Sultan was away as usual, and his vizier read the letters of introduction from our minister of foreign affairs and from the Governor of Aden. We were very well accommodated in one of the Sultan's former palaces, and then began the task of waiting for the great decision as to 609 whether we might enter the country. The same evening we had the good fortune to meet a member of the family al-'Attās, which is very friendly with the government of the Dutch Indies. He had received a telegram from his father instructing him to give all possible help to the Dutch representative of the government in his anticipated 565 journey in Hadramaut. The Sayyid family of al-'Attās, together with the closely allied family of al-Kāf, belongs to the leading group in Hadramaut proper. Two great parties, which are hostile to one another, are contesting for the power in this country, namely, the āl-Qa'ētī, who have their headquarters at Makalla, and the āl-Kathīr, with headquarters at Sēwun. The āl-Qa'ētī sultans take their cue from the English, and, thanks to English help, have authority in the coast region. The āl-Kathīr are more independent, and reside in Hadramaut proper, that is, in the broad valley in the interior which has that name. The Sayyids boast of being directly descended from the son-in-law of the Prophet, and in Hadramaut society hold a distinct and very privileged position. They have great influence with the government, but leave the actual business for the most part to the non-sayyids. 122 The immediate and whole-hearted support of the al-'Attās certainly did our enterprise a great deal of good, for on the following day we received the promise that 000 we might go inland. However, the great difficulties of the journey, especially at this time of the year (one of the hottest months), were expressly pointed out to us; and we were urgently dissuaded from crossing the

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P. 18

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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126 collections and for a great deal of the topographical information. As she had access to the women in the country she was able to obtain much information from a source that is often left unexplored. She kept a journal daily in which were recorded all the rough notes made during the day. The journal amounted to 500 quarto written pages. Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad was likewise most helpful in collecting information. He took down a great deal of the tribal information and collected written memoranda from all and sundry. He also recorded as far as possible the Arabic spellings of places we passed. My wife has also had a large share in the preparation of this report, and has been responsible for much of the translation and collation of the material obtained. In addition she has done the bulk of the typewriting.

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W.H.I.

London,
19th July, 1936.

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121 organization of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states, whose dominions together make up the country referred to in this report as the Hadhramaut.

3. *Geographical.*—A complete watch and compass traverse was made of all the route traversed on foot, on donkey, or on camel. When travelling by car all mileages were recorded. Topographical notes in very full detail were made along the whole of the route. The heights of all halts were taken by aneroid barometer, and temperatures were also recorded. We took 1,330 photographs and 800 feet of cinema film.

4. *Natural History.*—Specimens collected included one mammal, one reptile, one batrachian, 330 insects, spiders, scorpions, centipedes and crustacea, six fossils, eight mineral specimens and 160 botanical specimens. These were all forwarded to the British Museum and reports received. A tin of Du'an honey was also forwarded through the Colonial Office to the Imperial Institute for analysis and report. The report is incorporated in Chapter VII.

5. *Archaeological.*—Although a large number of fragments of inscriptions and other objects were obtained, it does not seem likely that they will prove of exceptional interest. A collection of objects from a Himyaritic tomb in Tarim and some possible stone implements were sent to Professor C. G. Seligman, and I have received some notes from him. He considers the principal feature of interest to be the discovery of sites of manufactories of obsidian, chert, and flint instruments. Various other inscriptions in the country hitherto unrecorded were photographed or copied. The language and characters of one painted inscription found in the Wadi Maseila have not yet been fully determined. Dr. A. S. Tritton of the School of Oriental Studies, who has examined it, has indicated certain similarities, apart from Himyaritic, to Ethiopic and to the North Arabian alphabets of Thamud and Safa.

The information referred to in the first two heads above is included in this report. The remainder, which includes the description of the country visited, has been partly dealt with in papers to the Royal Geographical and Royal Central Asian Societies, and may be made available in other forms.

114 124 I must claim some indulgence for this report, as it will be understood that comparatively speaking the length of time spent in the country was very short. It will be readily understood also that with the wholesale collection of information in a short time it is not possible to obtain all the check desirable, and many of the statements made depend on a single informant. It is however useful that as much as possible should be recorded so that, as opportunity occurs, the information given may be revised.

000 I should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging the great assistance I received from my wife and Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad on the journey. It would not have been possible to obtain as much information and material without their assistance.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## 2. The Deluge and the Giants.

124 I proceed now to the narrative of Hadhramaut history as it
126 is told and believed in the country. Unless otherwise stated, the narrative is as given verbally by local authorities and taken down
[115] in writing at the time. The principal authority for the period from the disappearance of the 'Adites to modern times is Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir, private secretary to the Qu'aiti *Wazir*.

173 "In the time of our Father Nuh," said a Du'an historian, "the whole of this land and of every land was covered with water.[1] Nuh and his family built a big ship and lived in it while the flood lasted. When the waters subsided there were of course large rivers, and that is how the Wadis of the Hadhramaut were cut out, and that is why you find sea shells in them and on the Jōl."

"After the flood came the children of 'Ad, the first men to live in the Hadhramaut. They were great in stature, fifty cubits high. That was why they could use these great stones for building their houses. The tooth you have in your hand is the tooth of one of the sons of 'Ad, not of a sheep, as you thought." Thus said Muhammad the son of Seiyid Ahmed bin Hussein al 'Attas, the *Mansab* of Meshhed, as we stood among the ruins of Gheibun.

The children of 'Ad built towns and villages all over the Hadhramaut.[2] Some of them were big places and well built, and some of them were just rude dry stone shelters such as the Beduins build to-day.[3]

Nebi Allah Salih, peace be upon him, was a prophet of the people of 'Ad,[4] and he died and was buried in the Wadi Khonab, and his son was Nebi Allah Hud, peace be upon him. And in his day the people of 'Ad did evil in the sight of Allah and they listened not to the warnings of the Prophet, and they were destroyed, except a few, and Allah received the Prophet and his grave is in the Wadi Maseila.

And the son of Nebi Allah Hud was Nebi Hudūn, and his grave is in the mosque of Hudūn in the Wadi Du'an. And there were other Nebis in the Hadhramaut, Mola Matar (whom some say is Seiyidna 'Ali bin 'Abitalib), and Molana Nebi Sodaf whose grave is in the Wadi Sodaf, and others.[5]

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[1] Hadhramaut "history" begins with the Flood. The very nature of the Wadis makes it appear so vivid that it often seems quite a recent memory. The more scientific theory is, I believe, that the Wadis are due to the last Ice Age.

[2] If you wonder at the extent of their activities, reflect that 'Ad lived 1,200 years, had a thousand wives, and sired four thousand sons and daughters. Masudi, V, III, p. 80.

[3] Any sign of human activity going beyond the knowledge of man is the work of the people of 'Ad. As Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir said to me, "the people of the interior attribute everything old to 'Ad and those of the coast to the Portuguese. Neither are right."

[4] This is not of course the orthodox view. Salih preached to Thamud and is not generally believed to be the father of Hud.

[5] The grave of the giant Mola Matar is not far from the Kor Seiban. It, and the other giants' tombs, may have been sanctuaries of the old religion. Possibly Mola Matar was a rain-god. Sodaf may be Sadaf, the descendant, according to Arab genealogists, of Hadhramaut.

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124 I proceed now to the narrative of Hadhramaut history as it is told and believed in the country. Unless otherwise stated, the 126 narrative is as given verbally by local authorities and taken down in writing at the time. The principal authority for the period [115] from the disappearance of the 'Adites to modern times is Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir, private secretary to the Qu'aiti *Wazir*.

173 "In the time of our Father Nuh," said a Du'an historian, "the whole of this land and of every land was covered with water.[1] Nuh and his family built a big ship and lived in it while the flood lasted. When the waters subsided there were of course large rivers, and that is how the Wadis of the Hadhramaut were cut out, and that is why you find sea shells in them and on the Jōl."

"After the flood came the children of 'Ad, the first men to live in the Hadhramaut. They were great in stature, fifty cubits high. That was why they could use these great stones for building their houses. The tooth you have in your hand is the tooth of one of the sons of 'Ad, not of a sheep, as you thought." Thus said Muhammad the son of Seiyid Ahmed bin Hussein al 'Attas, the *Mansab* of Meshhed, as we stood among the ruins of Gheibun.

The children of 'Ad built towns and villages all over the Hadhramaut.[2] Some of them were big places and well built, and some of them were just rude dry stone shelters such as the Beduins build to-day.[3]

Nebi Allah Salih, peace be upon him, was a prophet of the people of 'Ad,[4] and he died and was buried in the Wadi Khonab, and his son was Nebi Allah Hud, peace be upon him. And in his day the people of 'Ad did evil in the sight of Allah and they listened not to the warnings of the Prophet, and they were destroyed, except a few, and Allah received the Prophet and his grave is in the Wadi Maseila.

And the son of Nebi Allah Hud was Nebi Hudūn, and his grave is in the mosque of Hudūn in the Wadi Du'an. And there were other Nebis in the Hadhramaut, Mola Matar (whom some say is Seiyidna 'Ali bin 'Abitalib), and Molana Nebi Sodaf whose grave is in the Wadi Sodaf, and others.[5]

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[1] Hadhramaut "history" begins with the Flood. The very nature of the Wadis makes it appear so vivid that it often seems quite a recent memory. The more scientific theory is, I believe, that the Wadis are due to the last Ice Age.

[2] If you wonder at the extent of their activities, reflect that 'Ad lived 1,200 years, had a thousand wives, and sired four thousand sons and daughters. Masudi, V, III, p. 80.

[3] Any sign of human activity going beyond the knowledge of man is the work of the people of 'Ad. As Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir said to me, "the people of the interior attribute everything old to 'Ad and those of the coast to the Portuguese. Neither are right."

[4] This is not of course the orthodox view. Salih preached to Thamud and is not generally believed to be the father of Hud.

[5] The grave of the giant Mola Matar is not far from the KorSeiban. It, and the other giants' tombs, may have been sanctuaries of the old religion. Possibly Mola Matar was a rain-god. Sodaf may be Sadaf, the descendant, according to Arab genealogists, of Hadhramaut.

# THE SOUTH-WEST BORDERLANDS OF THE RUB' AL KHALI

D. G. BUNKER

121 126 As a result of work carried out for the Desert Locust Survey in south-western Arabia during the past few years, several of the blanks on the map have been filled in and much confirmation has been given to previous travellers' reports. The region particularly investigated has been that which forms the transition belt from the peripheral mountain system to the interior sand desert often referred to as the Rub' al Khali. The area visited has been mapped on a scale of 1:500,000 by means of car-compass traverses tied to astronomically determined positions, all to a general accuracy of 0·1 of a mile. The following notes are intended only to supplement the information contained in those maps which are in process of publication.

*The mountain systems*

123 The old crystalline hills of the 'Asir and Yemen, which to the west drop in a series of steps to the Tihamah or coastal plain, are to the east overlain by near horizontal strata of sedimentary rocks of which the oldest are probably the sandstones forming the Kaukab plateau and the newest, excluding recent deposits, are the Eocene limestones of the *jol*, the succession seeming more complete in the north. The peripheral mountain system is in the form of a letter L, where the upright stroke comprises the 'Asir and the Yemen mountains and the horizontal stroke is the *jol* plateau, the division being more or less abrupt along the line of the forty-seventh meridian.

Philby (1938) describes the change between the two sides of the 'Asir watershed as "abruptly from a tropical country to a desert plateau of uniform height of over eight thousand feet (with higher ridges), descending to about six thousand feet at the western end of the Najran tract. It is a sandstone area with occasional cappings and peaks of basalt. Its rugged gorges and valleys have occasional wells and springs, but for the most part it is an abomination of desolation extending north-ward to Dhahran and south-ward to the limit of vision into the still unexplored territory of northern Yemen." Nevertheless there are among the eastern slopes many wadis whose seasonal floods may rush out of the mountainous regions to the inland plain and on into the sandy desert.

The regularity of these floods in the past may be deduced from the extent of the thick layers of silt which mark the sites of past damming and irrigation works in nearly all these wadis. These silt layers often form 20-foot cliffs containing the present watercourses, and occasionally the ruins of the dams themselves may be found. The Wadis Habauna and Najran, besides having silt cliffs, show signs of further re-cutting of their outwash plains. In both cases the outwash plain extends regularly for the first 10 miles from the foothills but during the next 5 miles is eroded by gullies some 3 feet deep which together form a plain at a lower level, only to be re-cut in the same manner.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35) 1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## INTRODUCTION.

131 The coast line of the Aden Protectorate starts in the west from Ras Murad opposite the island of Perim, and runs eastward to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates it from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Roughly speaking, the Protectorate is bounded in the interior on the west and the north by the Kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. It also includes the island of Soqotra. The Hadhramaut lies in the east of the Protectorate between the Wahidi and 'Aulaqi countries on the west and the Mahra country on the east. North, it reaches to the Empty Quarter.

643 631 The two principal chiefs of the Protectorate are Their Highnesses the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej and the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla. The capital of the former lies about 20 miles north of Aden and that of the latter some 300 miles east. It will be easily realized that these two chiefs are by their geographical positions the natural leaders of the western and eastern parts of the Protectorate, and the 'Abdali Sultan, who is the premier chief of the Protectorate, has established his hegemony over the western portion. In some ways the Qu'aiti Sultan is perhaps the most important ruler of the Protectorate, for he controls, or has direct influence over, a larger population than any other chief, and, except for the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, whose nominal kingdom extends over a much wider area, he rules the largest tract of territory in the Protectorate. Although he is acknowledged by the Kathīri Sultan as having precedence in the Hadhramaut, he has not yet secured recognition by the Wahidi Sultans, or by the Mahra Sultan, as their natural leader.

643 648 636 The whole of the Aden Protectorate is ruled by its own chiefs, who are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned. Their relations with the Protecting Power are for the most part regulated by treaty, and while their foreign affairs are entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, interference in matters of domestic concern is generally limited to advice.

121 This report offers a survey of the social and political organization of the Hadhramis and of the resources of their country as seen by the writer. The object of this introduction is to give a brief indication of the present trend of development as it appears to him.

178 185 There is an extraordinary complexity of social and governmental organization in the Hadhramaut. The country is in a transition period between the disappearance or modification of the earlier social organization, which has itself evolved with the centuries, and the development of Government more or less on modern lines.

The various classes of society in the Hadhramaut are described in the report, and the interplay of some of them, one with another, has, in the course of time, as in other countries, given rise to abuses which, as the life and thought of the Middle Ages is influenced

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2


# CHAPTER I.

## GEOGRAPHY AND GENERAL INFORMATION.

### Geography.

It is not easy to define what territories should be included in the term Hadhramaut. Originally the word was no doubt the name of a tribe and at an early date came to be applied to the Wadi of that name. In its Hebrew form Hazarmaveth it occurs in Genesis, and the classical geographers speak of the people as the Adramitae and the Chatramotitae: the country they called Adramytta. 101

Masudi seems to divide Southern Arabia into the countries of Yemen, Hadhramaut, Ash Shihr, Mahra, and Oman. It is not quite clear that he makes a distinction between Shihr and Mahra, for in his day the inhabitants of Shihr were Mahris and the two words are allied.

On this conception arose the modern Arab's understanding of the term, and gradually Hadhramaut came to include both the interior in which the wadi ran and the coastlands previously called Ash Shihr; that name became restricted to the town. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says "Hadhramut, a district on the south coast of Arabia, bounded W. by Yemen, E. by Oman and N. by the Dahna desert. The modern Arabs restrict the name to the coast between Balhāf and Sihut, and the valley of the Wadi Hadhramut in the interior; in its wider and commonly accepted signification it includes also the Mahra and Gāra coasts extending eastwards to Mirbat; thus defined, its limits are between 14° and 18° N. and 47° 30′ to 55° E., with a total length of 550 m. and a breadth of 150 m." But the term has been even more unjustifiably extended to include all the territory between Aden and Ras al Hadd. 101 131

In the widest geographical sense in which it is used to-day, the term includes the Wahidi country, that of the Qu'aiti and Kathīri, and the Mahra country. The country east of Mahra, Dhufar, a province of Oman is not included. The eastern boundary on the coast is Ras Dharbat 'Ali, the cape which separates the Aden Protectorate from the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

The view of the Qu'aiti Government is that geographically the term includes the country "from 'Ain Ba Sa'id and Jirdan to Seihut in length, and from the sea to Al 'Abr (Sei'ar country) in breadth." Politically it includes only the country of the Qu'aiti and Kathīri Sultans, and in that sense it is used in this report. Physically this territory extends on the coast from Ras al Kalb to Damakh Hisāl in length and from the coast to the fringe of the Great Desert in breadth.

It would be convenient if some recognized limitation of regional names for South Arabia could be agreed upon, for, as has been shown, there has always been much vagueness over such names as

101 Shihr, and the territory described in the paragraph above might well
131 be accepted as the definition of the term Hadhramaut. Eastwards from the Hadhramaut succeed the Mahra country stretching on the coast from Museina'a to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, the boundary of the Aden Protectorate, and Dhufar in Oman which is inhabited by the Qara tribes who are a separate people and speak a separate language from the Mahras.

133 The Wadi Hadhramaut is the key feature of the geography of the country to which it gives its name. North and south of it the land rises to extensive plateaus which form watersheds. The one to the north, about 3,500 feet above sea-level, has a series of wadis draining north into the sands, and another series draining south into the Wadi Hadhramaut. The watershed to the south, consisting in the same way of plateaus, is higher than that to the north, for it rises to some 6,000 feet. From it, the wadis drain north into the Wadi Hadhramaut and south to the sea. This description is typical of that part of the country through which the wadi runs more or less west to east, that is to say, from about Husn al 'Abr to beyond Tarim. Over this stretch the bed of the wadi falls from a little over 2,000 feet above sea-level to a little under. On the 49th Meridian, a little west of Mukalla, there is an approximate depth of 106 miles of wadi, mountain, and steppe land between the sea and the main wadi, and rather more between that wadi and the desert. As the wadi turns to the south-east, however, it of course modifies these proportions, but the country maintains the same general formation.

**Climate.**

132 The climate of the Hadhramaut is on the whole healthy. On the high plateaus and even in the wadi land of the interior it is fresh and often cold in winter. In summer it is said to be hot but never unendurable. Mukalla probably enjoys a better summer than Aden. A period of forty days of extreme heat, and consequently known as the Arba'inia, begins on 4th May, and there is another period of eight days later in the year.

Heald, who reported on the agriculture of the Hadhramaut in 1921, says :—

> "The rain-fall along the coast is practically nil, some years they have one or two inches, but useless for agriculture, the floods being from the interior rain a long distance from Mukalla; when we were in the district from December to April, we had two or three showers, but every time too small for the rain gauge to measure.
>
> "The climate between October and April is healthy and suitable for travellers, but after that it becomes too hot for day marching; in fact, in April, some of the shut-in wadis were unbearable and we were very glad to leave the interior for the coast. Up in the hills in the winter months, it can be intensely cold."

roaming far afield in search of water and pasture. They work in the fields, milk the animals (with the exception, in some cases, of camels), gather the firewood, and fetch the water. They are not so careful to keep themselves veiled, finding it sufficient to draw their head cloths in front of their mouths. If she belongs to a nomadic tribe a woman will follow her husband in his search for grazing, carrying the household utensils, usually one large saucepan, on her head and the baby on her back. Only very occasionally do the women emigrate with their husbands, but we travelled with such a family on the start of their journey to Zanzibar to seek a fortune.

The remaining women are those of the poor townspeople, the female servants, slaves, or Subians. The last two are least particular about veiling. The others, no matter how poor, will always cover at least the lower part of their faces. Toil is the portion of all of them: they labour in the gardens, help the men and animals to draw water from the wells, and in many towns they are the principal water carriers, bearing their burden in skins slung across their backs. The servants and slave women in well-to-do houses lead an easier existence. They cook the food, do such cleaning as is ever done, and fetch and carry for the ladies of the household. Slaves may be taken as concubines, but find their husbands among their own class. They are much favoured, being brought up as members of the family, and, like many privileged retainers, usually become somewhat outspoken and domineering in their old age.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PRODUCTION AND RESOURCES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

The natural resources of the Hadhramaut, such as they are, are principally agricultural. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize that only a very small proportion of the total area of the country, which may amount to 35,000 or 40,000 square miles, is suitable for the growing of crops. As a general rule only wadis can be so used and the bulk of the land surface consists of the barren rock of mountains and steppes.

### Tobacco.

The principal crop of economic importance is the well-known Hamumi tobacco, and Gheil ba Wazir is the principal centre where it is grown. Practically speaking the production in that place is entirely Government-directed and all the land is State land.

The nurseries are situated about three miles from Gheil at Al Quf. Here there is an apparently inexhaustible, somewhat brackish, water supply at depths to about 30 feet from the surface. There are three deep pools which are tapped by subterranean channels for Gheil and Al Harth, the source of the Gheil water supply being called Humat al Farath, and that for Al Harth being called Humat al Harth. Along the line of channels from these pools there are

# CHAPTER XV.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

### I.—SHIHR PROVINCE.

635 361 131 The Shihr *liwa* is the first province of the Qu'aiti dominions. I was informed that its boundaries were, east to west, " from the extreme borders of the mountains of Damakh Hisāī up to the port of Shiheir ", and south to north, " from the sea to the mountains which separate the plateau from the lowlands ". The most easterly settlement of the province is Reidat al Qu'aiti, and the other coastal towns and villages of importance are Qus'eir (with Qurein), Baghashwa, Hami, and Al Qarn which is the port of Dis, a walled town a couple of miles inland with a population of about 5,000.

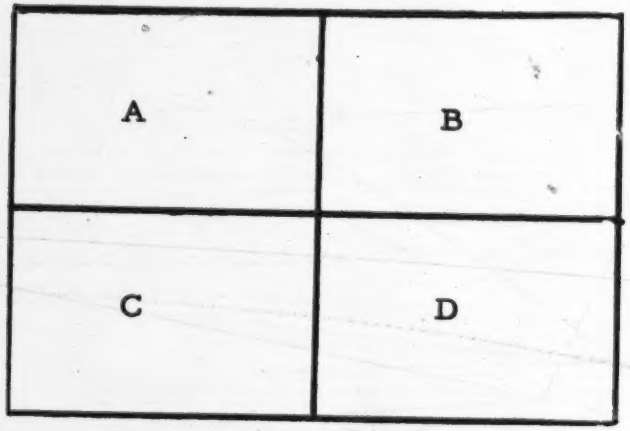
361 162 Shihr was once the most important town on the Hadhramaut coast, but it has been gradually decaying. Many of its houses have disappeared and its 45 mosques now serve a diminishing population. This is estimated at from 6,000 to 10,000, but I have no doubt the latter figure is excessive. Shihr, however, is still an important port: it is the principal port for Kathīri territory and the main distributing centre for the eastern part of the Hadhramaut. A landing-ground has been constructed, but is not in serviceable condition.

438 The principal industries are the drying and curing of fish and the dyeing and weaving of cloth. The water-supply, as has been mentioned, comes from Tubala where there are also hot sulphur springs and gardens. There are other gardens at Dufeigha and at Habis where the *Wazir* has a house.

635 438 361 At the time of my visit the Governor of Shihr was Sheikh Salih bin 'Ali al Qu'aiti. The tribes living in the *liwa*, or dependent on the town as their market, are: Ath Tha'yani, Manahil, Hamumi, Al Qarzi, Ash Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Al 'Asārina, Al Meseilīyin, Al 'Awābitha, Al Ma'āra and Al Jōhi. Of these, the Qarzi and the Bahasan are sometimes considered as clans of the Hamumi Zei. Although the 'Awābitha have considerable connections with Shihr and Mukalla they own no land in the province and live beyond its boundaries. Shihr is also an important market for the Mahras, to whom, centuries ago, as Masudi recalls, it belonged. Apart from those towns of the interior such as Seiyun and Tarim which obtain many of their supplies from Shihr, and have trading connections with it, the 'Awāmir, Al Jābir, and Al Jābir of Āl Sāh (which are all Kathīri tribes) depend on it for their food supply.

000 The Manahil and the Kathīri tribes will be described elsewhere, and the Mahra, of course, are not a Hadhramaut tribe, but the

The plan for the End Map is as follows:



1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35) 1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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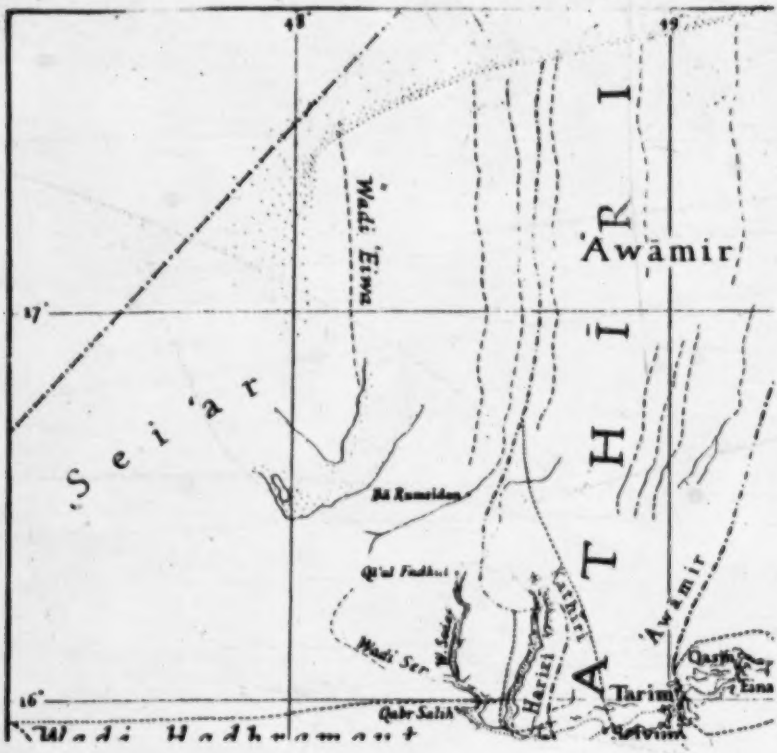


End map (A)

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35) 1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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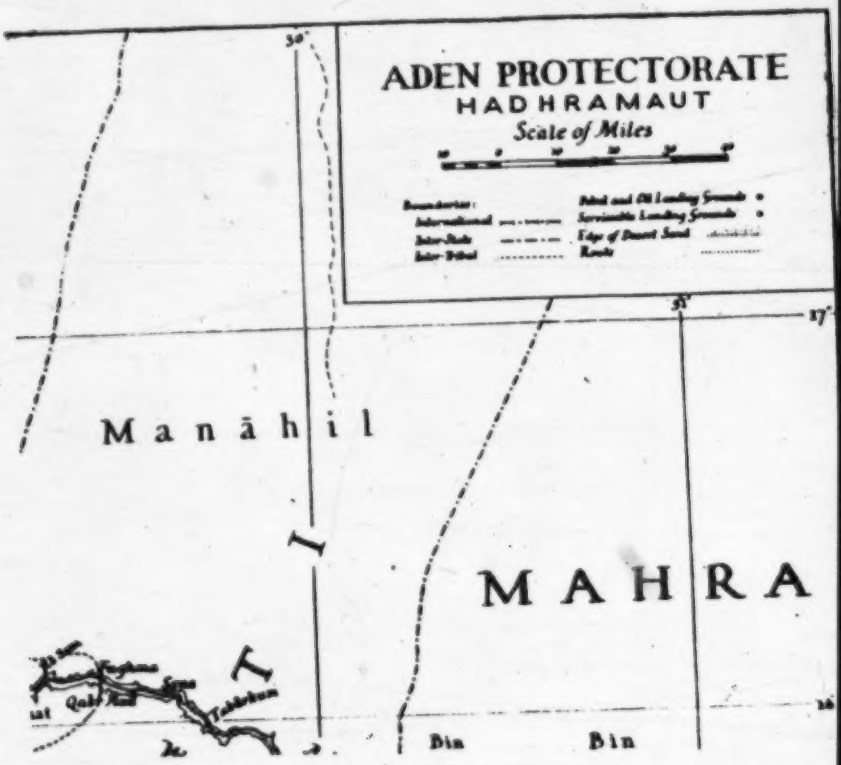


End map (B)

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35) 1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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End map (C)

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35) 1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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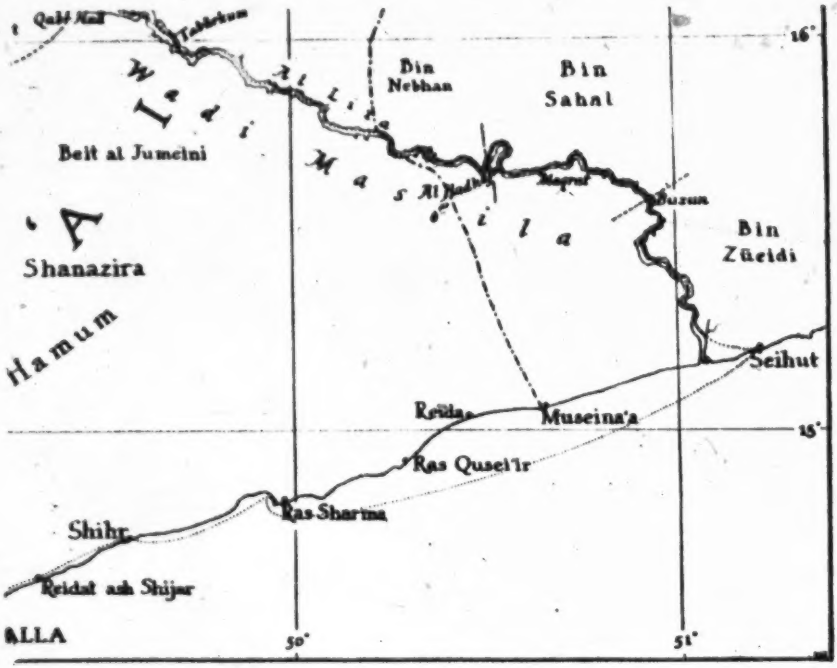


End map (D)

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

## INTRODUCTION

131 To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South
114 Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

631 Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and
643 Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

133 The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and
132 uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable antiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their
312 limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an
439 enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade.
167 The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

721 Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *liwas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

### Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

Zinghrams G-S (1936-35)1986 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

## Nature of the People and Country

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

000 pools built by the rich and progressive class of Seyyeds, whose many innovations have re-made the face of this ancient land of the Queen of Sheba.

131 The political frontiers of the Kathiri State describe a finger pointed downward from the Rub-al-Khali into the heart of [161] Hadhramaut. They enclose an area of some six thousand square miles and a population of sixty thousand, a third of whom dwell 652 in the city of Seiyun. The state's current average annual revenue runs close to $100,000.[1]

175 Early Kathiri history is obscure. Forebears of the present sultan once controlled all of Hadhramaut, but in the eighteenth century the al-Quaiti, an immigrant tribe of Yemeni origin, wrested control of the coastal region from their Kathiri overlords at Seiyun and gradually established hegemony over interior tribes until today the Quaiti State comprises nearly the whole of Hadhramaut. Until the "Peace of Ingrams,"[2] modern Kathiri history was dominated by constant and costly warfare between Seiyun and the parvenu Quaiti power at Mukalla.

643 The present Kathiri ruler, His Highness Sultan Husayn Ali Ibn Mansur, succeeded to the throne on May 22, 1950, and was one of the five Aden chiefs selected to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth.[3] It is through Sultan Husayn's generous and patient correspondence that much of this statistical information concerning his far-off land has been gathered.

643 Political organization in the Kathiri State is patterned closely 645 after administrative machinery in Malaya.[4] Executive authority is vested in the sultan assisted by a Council of State of which the ruler is president and the British Resident an ex-officio member. The Council's remaining members include: the Kathiri State Secretary (*Wazir*) and heads of the departments of the Treasury, Customs, Education and Judiciary, in addition to four un-

436 [1] In 1951 the East African shilling, worth about $0.14, replaced the Indian rupee as legal tender in the Protectorate.

[2] William Harold Ingrams, last of the old-style empire-builders, did much to pacify and organize modern Hadhramaut in the years 1934–44. He was the first Resident Adviser to the states of Hadhramaut and the Eastern Aden Protectorate. To him, Hadhramis have given the name, "Peace-maker of the Desert."

[3] Others invited: the sultans of Mukalla, Lahej, Shuqra and the Amir of Dhala, the latter three, prominent chiefs of the Western Aden Protectorate.

[4] Ingrams visited Singapore in 1940 to study the operation of local governments in the Malay States for ways of stepping-up efficiency in native rule in the Hadhramaut.

648 lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

439 That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri
167 State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya
171 is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

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TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

| State | Title of ruler | Population | Area in sq. miles | Annual revenue | Police | Salute |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Qu'aiti (Mukalla) .. | H.H. the Sultan of | 197,000 | 30,000 | Rs 27,50,078 | Unlisted | 11 guns |
| Kathiri (Seiyun) ... | Sultan of | 60,000 | 6,000 | Rs 4,80,000 | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Wahidi (Balhaf) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 5,000 | Rs 1,02,448 | Unlisted | None |
| Mahri (Socotra & Qishn) ..... | Sultan of | 22,000 | 13,000 | Unlisted | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Haura ..... | Shaykh of | 300 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| 'Irqa ..... | Shaykh of | 350 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Abdali (Lahej) ..... | H.H. the Sultan of | 41,400 | 4,500 | Unlisted | 380 | 11 guns |
| Fadhli (Shuqra) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 2,500 | Rs 4,17,697 | 120 | 9 guns |
| Amiri (Dhala) ..... | Amir of | 27,000 | 1,050 | Rs 1,50,000 | 75 | 9 guns |
| Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara) ..... | Sultan of | 23,000 | 700 | Rs 1,65,000 | 30 | 9 guns |
| Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba) ..... | Sultan of | 89,000 | 900 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar) ..... | Sultan of | 12,000 | 2,500 | Rs 49,000 | 40 | None |
| Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab) ..... | Sultan of | 53,000 | 1,800 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Beihan (Beihan Qasb) .... | Amir of | 13,000 | 4,000 | Unlisted | 40 | None |
| Audhali (Lodar) .... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 1,000 | Unlisted | 30 | None |
| Haushabi (Museimir) ..... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 350 | Unlisted | 29 | None |
| Alawi (Al Qash'a) .. | Shaykh of | 1,200 | 89 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed). | Shaykh of | 2,000 | 101 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazeteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

121 what people want to hear. In this short talk I would like to deal more with the feeling of these buildings as related to the people who live in them and who have created them. If time allows I hope to show a short colour film I made there and which portrays general scenes of life in Hadhramaut.

122 There is one thing I can say without any hesitation or doubt, and that is to give expression to my great gratitude to those who helped me to go on these journeys. I could not possibly mention by name all those to whom I am indebted, but at least I wish to speak of Sir Bernard Reilly of the Colonial Office, who made it possible for me to go to Hadhramaut and gave me the necessary introductions. I also want to thank Dr. Serjeant of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, who taught me for two years and who showed me everything I had to know in order to travel in that strange and isolated country he had himself visited. Finally, I am most grateful to Colonel Hugh Boustead, Resident Adviser of the East Aden Protectorate, who facilitated my journey in every possible way. He was my kind host and gave me travel facilities and permits to go where many people had difficulty in going.

131 To plunge into my subject, I might say that one does in fact almost plunge into the Hadhramaut from above. It is one of those rare countries which cannot be reached by rail or by road and hardly by sea except on a little native dhow; so that since the British Protectorate authorities started to develop the country it has been habitual to go to Hadhramaut by plane, and one does indeed drop into it from the sky. Such isolation is rare in our times and needs some explanation for those not familiar with the geography of Southern Arabia.

131 Arabia has always been one of the most difficult countries of access to
133 Europeans, for geographical as well as religious reasons. In the centre of the peninsula is one of the largest deserts in the world, and it is surrounded by forbidding coastal ranges from halfway up the Red Sea coast, down to the "barren rocks of Aden" and eastward along the southern coast, almost three-quarters of its length before there is any break in the mountains.

But for small valleys, these mountains and the interior are absolutely barren. With the exception of the Yemen, to all intents and purposes, little or nothing grows in that vast area. There is no water. There is little earth, and in the relentless mountain ranges and plateaux along the coast there is often not even sand—just rock and flint and granite. Yet these coastal ranges are crossed in all directions by ageless tracks made by camel trains of the bedouin traders who have followed them for two thousand, perhaps three thousand years, bringing the incense from Dhufar beyond Hadhramaut.

101 The people who now live in the interior highlands are the bedouin,
[342] the descendants of the traders of old, who dwell in small stone-built villages or mud castles. This south-western corner is still largely a tribal area where there are different little bedouin sultanates. Some of them are being gradually brought into the confederation and some even accept complete British protection; others live entirely in their own ancient way of
000 life of blood feuds and strife. Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently

Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently
killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not 579
more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. 131
Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through 186
or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. 114
There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, 177
and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to 773
Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaveth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became [101]
"Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along 131
a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and 133
deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, 133
one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent 311
moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is [504]
Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

# LAND AND PEOPLES OF THE HADHRAMAUT, ADEN PROTECTORATE

Ruthven W. Pike

131 ALTHOUGH Southern Arabia borders on the much-traveled route to India and ocean liners daily touch its shore at the port of Aden, it has been little reconnoitered, far less than 114 the northern part of the peninsula. A chronological account of exploration in the part of Southern Arabia known as the Hadhramaut, by Mr. W. H. Ingrams (now Chief Secretary in Aden), appeared in the *Geographical Review* for October, 1938. It is entirely due to the tactful and untiring efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, who, with the coöperation of Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf, member of the wealthiest family in the Hadhramaut, have succeeded in establishing peace and understanding among the many tribes of the region, that it is now possible for a European to journey unmolested within prescribed regions.

[131] The boundaries of the Aden Protectorate, of which the Hadhra-131 maut is a part, extend into heretofore unexplored territory and have not been surveyed in the manner customary in settled areas. The limits are well understood, however. They are formed by the Gulf of Aden on the south, the district of Dhufar on the east, the southern margin of the great interior sandy desert of Rub' al Khali on the north, and a line running N 45° E from Perim Island to the Rub' al Khali on the west.

162 The population is densest near Aden and its mountainous hinter-161 land. There are, however, a great many people to the east of Aden, who live along the coast and in the interior of the Hadhramaut; Mr. Ingrams estimates their number at 260,000. There are also many towns and villages between the mouth of the Wadi Maseila and the Dhufar Coast, with a population thought to be about 25,000. Mukalla, 361 with 16,000 inhabitants, is the chief port of the Hadhramaut and seat [631] of the British Colonial Administration for the surrounding area.

## Climate

132 The climate at sea level between October and April is healthful and agreeable to one accustomed to living in temperate regions. On the interior plateau, or Jol, at altitudes of 3000 to 4000 feet, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut, at 2000 feet, the nights are cool, with minimum temperatures reaching 50° F., and are apt to be windy. At such times ordinary summer clothing and light bedding do not afford enough protection.

From April on, the average and maximum daily temperatures

however. The floor of the Hadhramaut Valley rises at a slope of 1 in 900 or 1000 from an altitude of 2000 feet at Tarim to about 3000 feet in the latitude of Shabwa and the west end of the tableland. 133

The observer in the Hadhramaut is impressed by the vast amount of rapid erosion that has taken place and the inadequacy of the rain- [131]

FIG. 1—The Hadhramaut, Aden Protectorate, in its wider strategic relations. Scale 1: 40,000,000.

fall of today to explain it. Not only topographical but also cultural evidence points toward increasing aridity in the Hadhramaut. The numerous visible ruins, not to mention those buried by sand or disintegrated past recognition, are indicative of a greater population than now exists. A large number of the present-day inhabitants 167 emigrate; and, according to Mr. Ingrams, they have been doing so at an increasing rate during the last fifty years.[2] It is suggested that 161 the Hadhramaut area supports about the maximum population under the prevailing conditions of rainfall.

Each of the canyons excavated by the Wadi Hadhramaut and its 133 tributaries in the vast South Arabian plateau suggests to the traveler a miniature Grand Canyon. The walls rise steeply for a full thousand feet throughout the deepest part of the drainage system and remain perpendicular, although decreasing in height, even to the heads of the smallest tributaries. To the observer on the ground the plateau

[2] W. H. Ingrams: Hadhramaut: A Journey to the Sei'ar Country and through the Wadi Maseila, *Geogr. Journ.*, Vol. 88, 1936, pp. 524–551; reference on p. 527. 113

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



help to introduce for the first time dating, absolute or relative, into the early history, independently of, or in conjunction with, inscriptions. Interwoven with these purely archaeological questions was Miss Gardner's geological investigation of the Quaternary physiography of the region; more especially inquiry into problems of past climates; and comparisons of Pleistocene conditions in South-west Arabia in lat. 15° N. with those of a typical desert area as studied by her in Kharga Oasis and elsewhere in the Libyan desert 10° farther north.[1] A recent Egyptian expedition under Dr. S. A. Huzayyin had done valuable work on these lines in 1936 in the Yemen, where a series of prehistoric pluvial periods had been traced, besides the possibility of a minor

one in historic times. That expedition paid also a flying visit to the Hadhramaut, but little work was done there.[2]

The general physical features of the country are well known from the excellent map published by von Wissmann in 1932,[3] and from the air reconnaissance of Squadron-Leader Cochrane [4] and the late Flight-Lieut. A. R. M. Rickards, whose map shows well the peculiar drainage system (Plate 1). Very recently a methodical aerial survey of the whole Protectorate has been accomplished, and we are privileged here to publish some of the photographs. Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams still remain the only Europeans who have travelled from

[1] *Geol. Mag.*, vol. lxix, September 1932, "Some problems of the Pleistocene hydrography of Kharga Oasis."

[2] S. A. Huzayyin, "Egyptian University Scientific Expedition to south-west Arabia," *Nature* 140 (1937) 513–4.

[3] Folder to 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled,' by D. Van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann. Leiden, 1932.

[4] "An air reconnaissance of the Hadhramaut" (*Geogr. J.* 77 (1931) 209–16).

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the 508
seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited.

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls 509
of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air 205
service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. 206
There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation.

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet 131
fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent 161
with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on 162
the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden.

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development 311
of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north.

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly 439
commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to 226
the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount 241
of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir.
From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possess- 182
ing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the
making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local [167]
opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

EASTERN ADEN PR

"THE HADHRAMAUT: PRESENT

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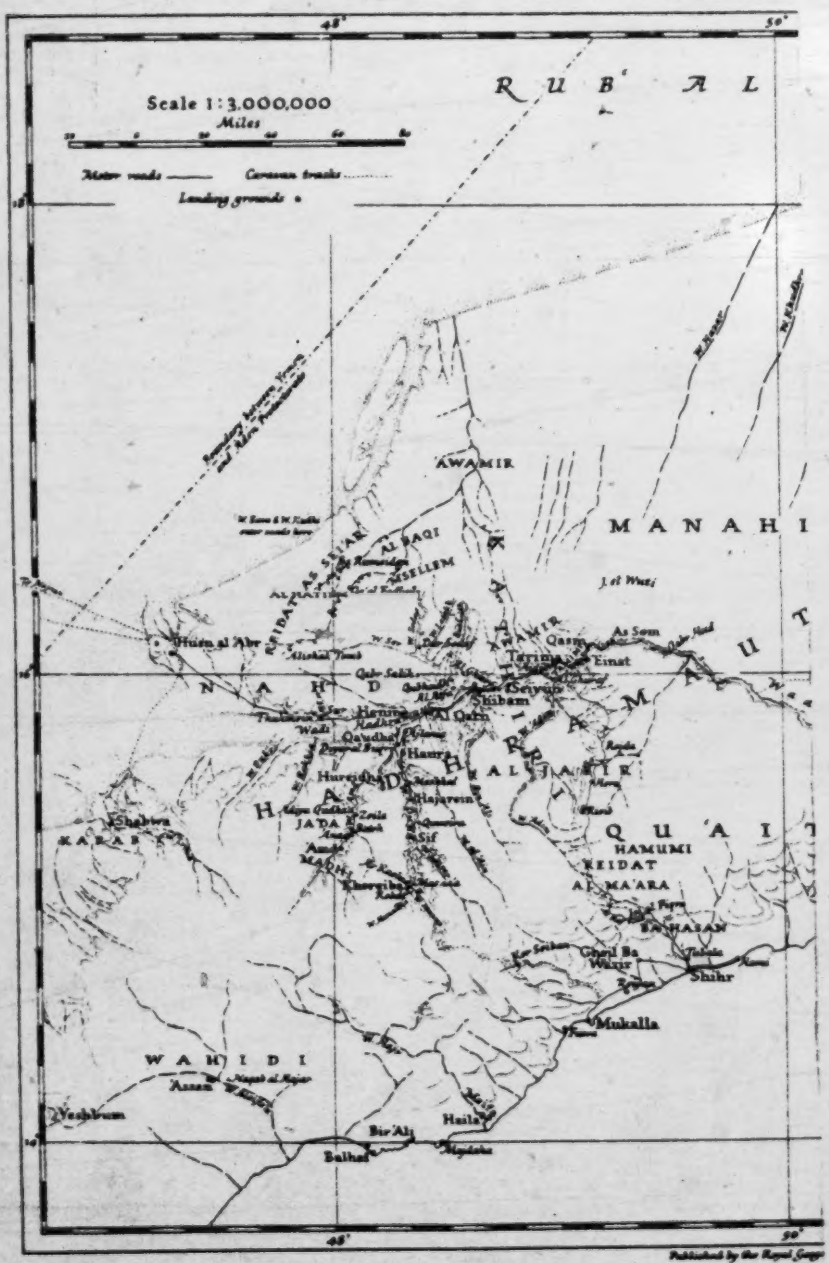
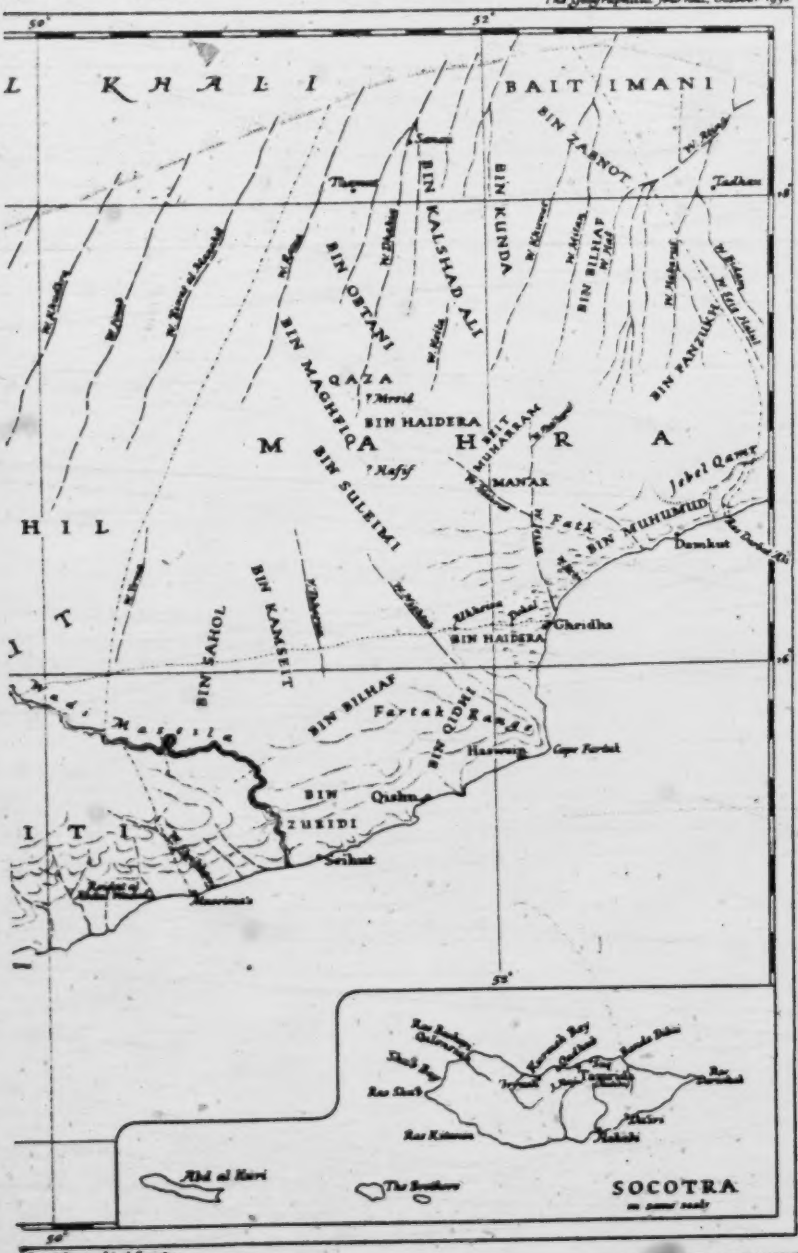



[FACING P. 302 (A)]

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

N PROTECTORATE
ENT & FUTURE" by Mr. W. H. Ingrams

131




HADHRAMAUT
Ingrams

[FACING P. 302 (B)]

# THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

By LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR BERNARD REILLY,
K.C.M.G., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 12, 1941, Sir Cosmo Parkinson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

CHAIRMAN: We now come to the business of to-day, which is Sir Bernard Reilly's talk on the Aden Protectorate.

I could not help thinking, to go back to Lord Lloyd for a moment, how immensely interested he would have been in this talk, with his abiding memories of the Middle East, his intimate understanding of the Arab people, and his sincere respect for the faith and the tradition of Islam.

Sir Bernard Reilly needs no introduction. Any of you who have been to Aden, if only for a day, must know of him, because the two words "Aden" and "Reilly" are virtually synonymous. We have heard of "Reilly of Aden." I have sometimes wondered whether it should not be "Aden of Reilly." He has given a lifetime of service there, and, when the Aden Settlement was turned into a colony he became most appropriately the first Governor and Commander-in-Chief. If ever an administrator overseas deserved the title, "father and mother of the people," it was Sir Bernard Reilly in Aden.

There is just one thing I must tell you. When he was going away from Aden last year he did not know that he was retiring. When he reached this country he realized that private circumstances were such that he absolutely must retire, deeply as he regretted not going back to Aden. Before he left, his Arab servant, who had been with him many years, said: "Master, when the time comes for you finally to leave Aden, you must not tell us. You must go away, just as if you were taking one of your holidays to England, because the partings would be too sorrowful." That is a great tribute; and, in point of fact, on this occasion the master did act on the advice of the servant.

THE Aden Protectorate is an extensive tract of country in Southern Arabia. Its coast stretches from a point opposite to the island of Perim for about 600 miles to Ras Durbat Ali on the borders of Oman, and it reaches inland to a depth varying from about 100 miles in the vicinity of Aden to a greater but undefined distance farther east. Arabia is often thought of as a land of deserts, but this part of it, like many other parts, is a country of mountains. The sandy plain that the passing traveller sees stretching inland from Aden is only a maritime belt. Beyond it the hills rise abruptly in peaks and ranges that reach to heights of 8,000 feet and more. These mountains are, for the most part, rugged and forbidding, but they are interspersed by valleys and ravines that contain fertile and cultivated strips of land. Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hills are

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Middle East Islands MI1
Socotra



Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hill are terraced by the industrious inhabitants to grow crops and, in the higher altitudes, the excellent Mocha coffee for which Southern Arabia is famous. Villages appear in unexpected places, built of mud brick in the low country and of stone on the mountain-sides and hill-tops. Among these habitations are seen always the square towers, or *ḥars*, and the little mosques or whitewashed shrines that are characteristic of the Arab villages.

The aspect of the country varies in its different parts. Immediately to the north of Aden is the large and fertile oasis in which stands the capital of the Sultan of Lahej. It is irrigated from the bifurcation of the Wadi Tiban that brings water from the mountains and then disappears in the sands near Aden. To the east and west of Lahej are desert strips, but beyond are the Subeihi hills and valleys to the north-west, the rugged Haushabi country, and the pleasant district of Dhala in the Amiri highlands to the north, and the lofty mountains of Yafa to the north-east. Thence to the eastward a steep escarpment spans the country like a rampart; and is crowned by the fertile Audhali plateau 7,000 feet above sea-level. Farther east, beyond another stretch of rough, mountainous country, is the fantastic and barren *jol*, reminiscent of pictures of the surface of the moon. To the north of this strange and desolate area, and in striking contrast to it, is the wide valley of the Hadhramaut, with its chain of towns and villages, its skyscrapers, country houses, palace and gardens. Beyond again, away to the north, lies the edge of the Rub' al Khali, the Empty Quarter, with its sea of tumbled terra-cotta coloured sand dunes stretching into the distant interior.

On the sea coast of the Protectorate there are at intervals fishing villages and little ports, and about 300 miles to the east of Aden stands the picturesque town and port of Mukalla, the capital of the Quaiti Sultan. Protected by a steep background of rock, its white houses cling to the shore, and its appearance from the sea is singularly attractive. The town of Shehr lies on the coast beyond it, and eastward again there are more coastal villages, of which Qishn, the capital of the mainland territory of the Sultan of Socotra, is the most important.

The large island of Socotra, situated about 500 miles to the east of Aden, forms part of the Protectorate. It, too, is a mountainous country, but, owing to its greater rainfall, it is much less bleak than the neighbouring mainland. It has a good deal of varied vegetation, and is noted for its so-called dragon's-blood tree, the sap of which is exported to India and elsewhere to make a rich purple dye. Socotra has also a

22: Reilly G-3 (1939-41) 1941 MM? Hadhramaut MM?
MIDDLE EAST ISLANDS 1121
Socotra.



Socotra has also a
S 231 good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

S 698 With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

H 131 161 162 369 The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

H 181 611 The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

# LEGISLATION IN FORCE IN THE ADEN PROTECTORATE.

## I.—The Aden Protectorate Order, 1937, and Orders made thereunder, 1937, No. 246.

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At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 18th day of March, 1937.

PRESENT,

The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance and other lawful means His Majesty has power and jurisdiction within the territories known as the Protectorate of Aden:

And whereas it is expedient to make provision for the peace, order, and good government of the Protectorate of Aden:

Now, therefore, His Majesty, by virtue and in exercise of the powers by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, or otherwise in His Majesty vested, is pleased, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, as follows:—

53 & 54 Vict. c. 37.

1. This Order may be cited as the Aden Protectorate Order, 1937. Title.

2. This Order shall apply to the territories of Arabia which are bounded on the south by the Colony of Aden and the Gulf of Aden, on the west and north by the Kingdom of the Yemen and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and on the east by the Sultanate of Oman, and also to the Islands of Socotra and Abdul Quri and any other islands adjacent to the said territories. Limits of the Order.

648
131

000 ness of its soil, which makes the greatest demands upon the physical and mental powers of endurance of the explorers, while it seems to promise little advantage to the western spirit of enterprise. Yet western science does not labour only in pursuit of material profit and is not, in the long run, held back from its aims by arid deserts. It is, however, not only the difficulties of climate and soil that deter the explorer in Arabia, but rather the xenophobia of its inhabitants, which often takes the form of religious fanaticism, and which has cost many a daring European scholar his life.

In this regard, as an indirect result of the World War, a considerable improvement has come about. In that great dual-monarchy of the Hedjaz and Nedjd, with its dependencies, anyone who enjoys the protection of the powerful Wahhābī ruler, Ibn Saʿūd, can travel and explore in safety, and the same is true, in the fertile district of the Yemen, for those, who are received as guests by the forceful Imām Yaḥyā. Both enlightened rulers recognize, to a certain degree, the importance of the scientific exploration of their country and throw open their borders to visitors from the West, under certain conditions prompted by caution. By degrees, their subjects have become accustomed or are even reconciled to the sight of these foreign intruders, formerly so much abhorred. On the other hand, in the large areas of the peninsula, which are not under the control of such energetic rulers, the foreigner will at best, by the payment of money, be able to procure some guarantee, though not always of a reliable nature, for the safety of his life and property; but he will often find, when he has covered only a few miles, that, owing to the division of the inhabitants into innumerable, small, political entities, which are mostly at enmity with one another, he is obliged to negotiate with new tribal or district chiefs, whenever at least their fanaticism does not flatly deny him passage.

● 131 101 To these inhospitable territories belongs, or rather belonged until very recently, the remarkable valley-complex, that stretches out in the middle of Southern Arabia, parallel with

the South coast and separated from it by a mountain range, the country of Ḥaḍramaut. The name occurs already in the Book of Genesis; in ancient times Ḥaḍramaut was famous for its exports of incense and myrrh; ruins and inscriptions from pre-Muhammadan days bear witness to a past greatness and prosperity.

This prosperity of bygone days has, through all manner of unfavourable circumstances, given way, centuries ago, to a pitiable decline. It is true that Islam found an early entrance here and that Muhammadan science has, amongst a certain class of the population, zealous devotees, but the political discipline of this religion has not succeeded in creating Ḥaḍramaut into a realm of peace. The endless tribal wars, which divide the people, make the land practically inaccessible to foreign visitors, even if they are Muhammadans, and at the same time prevent the inhabitants themselves from extracting from their native soil what it could yield to a peacefully labouring population. Because the Ḥaḍramīs are not lacking in ability, which often attains rich maturity under more orderly conditions, many of them have for centuries swarmed to the Yemen, Egypt, Syria and, during the last three centuries especially, also to India and Netherlands India. Of all parts of the Arabian peninsula, Ḥaḍramaut is pre-eminently the land of emigration.

In Netherlands India they have even, in earlier times, succeeded in founding sultanates (e. g. Siak, Pontianak), but now they content themselves with trade and money transactions. Some of them, having become wealthy, return to their own country, but others prefer to enjoy, away from the disturbances of Ḥaḍramaut, the pleasures that are there unattainable. Millionaires are also to be found amongst this fluctuating population of Netherlands India, which numbers seventy to eighty thousand souls. Mr. L. W. C. Van den Berg, adviser to the Netherlands India Government, in 1886, published a book, which, besides statistics of the Ḥaḍramī settlement in the East Indian Archipelago, contained also a description of the native land of these immigrants, compiled from information collected from them in Java. In the 19th

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



E. Glaser did research in the Yemen for a few years, but 114
after returning home, died before he had worked up all his copious and valuable material. It is only now at last that steps are being taken towards publishing the greater part of his scientific legacy. H. Burchardt was murdered whilst in the midst of his explorations. Before them Halévy travelled in the disguise of a Yemenī Jew through the otherwise unexplored districts of the Djōf and Nedjrān. He thus had the chance of seeing the land of Saba and the remains of the famous dam of Ma'rib, but had to return too soon to do more than raise a corner of the veil which still hangs over that land of "the Queen of the South". Though a great work has been accomplished by many a learned explorer the standard works on the Yemen are still to come. May they soon appear![1]

Ḥaḍramaut was, at one time, closely connected with the land 131
of the Yemen. The name itself really belongs to the broad 101
Wādī[2] Ḥaḍramaut, with the towns of el-Qaṭn, Shibām, Sēwūn 103
and Terīm. In Sabaean times, this wādī, many miles in width, with its fertile loam soil, must have been a veritable paradise on earth, thanks to its highly developed system of dams, reservoirs and irrigation channels. Enough still remains to make it understood that the surrounding districts down to the southern coast, with the harbours of Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, were included in the name of the most famous part: "Ḥaḍramaut". In the following pages, whenever "Ḥaḍramaut Proper" is meant these words are used.

The name of Ḥaḍramaut occurs as early as the book of 101
Genesis, chapter X, 26 ("Ḥāṣarmāweth" contains the same radicals as Ḥaḍramaut). Different opinions exist as regards

[1] The work of Dr. C. Rathjens of Hamburg and of my travelling companion Dr. H. von Wissmann, published by the University of Hamburg, marks an important advance in the history of the exploration of 'Arabia Felix'. Part 1 has already appeared. *Rathjens-v. Wissmannsche Südarablen-Reise.* Band I, *Sabäische Inschriften.* Bearbeitet von J. H. Mordtmann und Eugen Mittwoch, Hamburg, 1932.

[2] A *wādī* is a, generally dry, river-bed.

169 there. He knows as many as 150 men who have gone from
656 Hadjarēn to seek their fortunes in Java. The little town has now at most 3000 inhabitants. Before we leave, I have to look at the Dutch passports of our host and his relations, make a note of their adresses, and promise to look them up later on in Cheribon. They have fully earned any small attention from our side; we stand amazed over the simple, genuine kindness that we received in this house, especially after our sad experience in Ṣīf.

609 At our departure all sorts of Malay speaking Hadjarēners endeavour to exchange a few words with the white government official from their second fatherland. And, instead of being surrounded by faces with expressions of hate and contempt, and malicious, insulting remarks about *Naṣrānīs*, who should not be allowed to pollute the land, our exodus here is a small triumphal procession, crowded round as we are by the exuberant youth of the streets, all trying to air their knowledge of the Malay language.

### 4. ACROSS THE NEUTRAL ZONE BETWEEN EL-QEᶜĒṬĪ AND ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

622 Guides of the el-ᶜAṭṭās clan have offered themselves to
172 take us to el-Meshhed, the first place in the domain of the
131 Āl Kathīr, which is, however, actually under the supervision of the el-ᶜAṭṭās family. Our caravan divides, as Von Wissmann, with a couple of young sayyids, the Yāfiᶜ soldiers, one of our *ᶜabīd* (slave soldiers), and a whole band of street-arabs sets out to ascend Djebel Hadjarēn to see whether the ruins, of which we have been told, are really to be found, to take photographs and to survey. The territory of the Qeᶜēṭīs ends just beyond Hadjarēn. Further up, in the midst of Ḥaḍramaut Proper, there lie, like islands, the districts of Ḥōra and el-Qaṭn-Shibām, which are subject to the Qeᶜēṭī régime. The neutral zone, which we now enter, is an ideal hunting-ground for robbers and thieves.

# CHAPTER IX.

## SĒWŪN, THE HEART OF HADRAMAUT PROPER.

### 1. PENETRATING INTO THE ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

The border of the Qeᶜēṭī territory is a quarter of an hour's walk to the east of Shibām. There, high up at the edge of the mountain, is a fort and an observation post; there are also mud block-houses in the plain. Somewhat further along the mountain's ridge the white military posts of the Āl Kathīr are visible.

On the afternoon of May 24th, immediately after leaving Shibām, we cross the sandy wādī diagonally towards the northern side, where there is least vegetation, but also least warfare. The whole southern side has the name of being unsafe. But even here on the north, soldiers dog our footsteps whenever we stop to take photographs. The villages are built up against the mountain foot, and on higher points are the ruins of fortifications. Following the margin we again enter date plantations, which are, however, very thin and finally perish in the engulfing sand. Then we go on through sand-dunes overgrown with a kind of beach-grass. Close by Sēwūn we again have to cross the bed of the wādī, as this place is situated on the southern side. There is water, here and there, in the *sēl*-bed; it is, however, very bitter. The soil close to those stagnant pools is covered with a crust of white salt.

Sēwūn lies within a wide belt of magnificent palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. The water-level is only eighteen to twenty-one feet below the surface; the water has a saltish taste, but appears to be exceptionally suitable for the irrigation of the gardens. We had not so far seen such vigorous date-palms and such luxuriant, tall-growing *dhura* as in this part of the country. The hot wind has already ripened the bunches of dates, which are comfortably hidden away by this time in their

p 119

000 doctor, for whom Friday is a holiday. The car which follows is filled with armed Bedouins, members of the tribes through 712 whose land we shall pass. The district of Terīm ends just ●131 outside the city. Mud defence turrets and fortifications are pointed out to us, where, up to a year ago, shooting still 621 went on. The aspect of the villages and neglected plantations shows that prosperity has been here disturbed by warfare. Some of these villages are under the rule of Sayyid el-ʿĒderūs, others are independent, that is to say, they belong to the tribes in whose territories they are situated and are not under a *dōla* (a government), as the expression goes here.

361 The road runs over a sandy plain to the deep Wādī ʿAdim, which seems to be fairly well watered, to judge from the thick vegetation along its banks and from its fine groves of palms. Here lies the village of el-Mesīle, the birth-place of our learned 000 Javanese Ḥaḍramī, Sayyid Hāshim. The village chief had received instructions from Sayyid Abū Bakr to provide a midday meal for us, so he stands ready waiting with his pots and the sheep which is to be killed. We stop just long enough to pick him up with his sheep and cooking-pots and then on we go again through a hilly, sandy region with here and 511 there villages and plantations. The further we go the poorer become the villages; the gardens are partly dried up and half of the houses are in ruins. The male population has been decimated by intertribal warfare, and now poverty and starvation are killing the rest.

000 The drivers have difficulty in finding a practicable track between the sand-hills. At last we reach Ruḍēḥ, the village of Sayyid el-ʿĒderūs, where donkeys are waiting for us. The drivers are of the opinion that the cars can go on still further if we will all help by pushing from time to time. We are again obliged to go through the sandy bed of the *sēl*. Great exertion is necessary to get the cars through the loose sand, but after that it is good going over loam plains and through wādīs. Sometimes a descent or ascent has to be dug, but we are prepared for that: pickaxes and spades have been brought.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## WĀDĪ ḤADJR — A BIT OF ARABIA FELIX.

### 1. ṢIDĀRA, ITS CHIEF SETTLEMENT.

361 Ṣidāra gave us the impression of being dirty, yet fairly
131 prosperous. The stone houses are scattered wide apart; they
621 have generally two storeys and are built square and strong so as to hold their own in case of hostilities. Ṣidāra is independent; the farthest frontier post of the Qeᶜēṭī Government is a good two hours' march south-east. Much fighting has been carried on for the possession of this very fertile Wādī Ḥadjr, and in the days which followed we saw many traces of this strife.

609 Here we stood at last in front of the house of the village-
186 chief, wondering how we were to be received. A roof-terrace was rapidly prepared for us and, after that, the master of the house came to bid us welcome and invite us to enter. We recall him gratefully to mind, for we owe it to him that the people left us more or less in peace, although here again they did not exactly sympathize with foreigners. Our host had performed the *ḥadjdj* and had brought back with him two very favourable recollections of Europeans: when passing through Aden he had become acquainted with the Mission Hospital at Shēkh ᶜUthmān and spoke with great respect of the Mission doctor whom he had met there; and then again, in the Holy Land itself he had met a Dutchman who had become a Muḥammadan; after the *ḥadjdj* was over he had seen the latter again in Djedda and had been treated by him as if he were his own brother. I told him that the Dutchman at Djedda was a good friend of mine, and with that we were in friendly touch at once.

060 The roof-terrace was soon full of people and hand-shaking and questions began as usual. The youth of the village was

p.224

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Aden MM1
Hadramaut MM2



Continuing friction was sharpened when British geologists 175 prospected unsuccessfully for oil in part of the disputed territory. In 1949 the RAF bombed a fort which Yemeni troops were building on territory claimed by the Sharif of Baihan, a ruler within the Western Aden Protectorate. A new Anglo-Yemeni Treaty of 1951[1] proposed to settle the frontier dispute by means of a joint commission. In April 1952, however, the Sultan Fadl Abdul Karim of Lahej (the most important state of the Western Aden Protectorate) summarily executed two of his cousins and, when 'invited' by the Governor of Aden to go there for medical treatment pending an independent judicial inquiry, fled to the Yemen. The Yemen Government immediately protested against the temporary occupation by Aden Protectorate Levies of Lahej town (which lies thirty miles from the Yemen frontier), on the grounds that the Yemen 'had vital interests in the stability of that area'.[2] A council of the tribal leaders of Lahej unanimously declared Fadl Abdul-Karim deposed in favour of his younger brother, the Aden Protectorate Government having imposed as a condition of his election that he should accept a resident adviser as a precaution against the irregularities which had occurred under Fadl Abdul-Karim.[3] The latter meanwhile continued to protest to the Arab League against his deposition, claiming that Lahej had always enjoyed autonomy and connecting the Aden Government's action with AIOC's proposal to build its refinery.[4]

Kamaran Island, lying off the Yemen coast 200 miles north of Perim, was an Ottoman quarantine station for pilgrims travelling to Mecca from the East. British forces occupied it in 1915; and when the Turkish Republic renounced its sovereignty over the island in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), its status became indeterminate; but it continued to be administered by the Governor of Aden and to be available for use as a quarantine station.

## THE PROTECTORATE

The area of the Western Protectorate is approximately 42,000 H 131 square miles and of the Eastern Protectorate 70,000, Aden Colony being a small enclave (75 square miles) in the territory H of the latter. Arable land is estimated at only one-third per cent 133 of the whole, and established pastures and meadows are unknown, the bulk of the area being desert or steppe, which pro- 132

[1] Cmd. 8590 (1952).
[2] *The Times*, 23 April 1952.
[3] *Mideast Mirror*, 11 October 1952, p. 25.
[4] *Bourse Egyptienne*, 10 and 25 June 1952; cf. *The Times*, 27 October 1951, 4 April 1952.

A 133 extinct volcano with a broad crater which is surrounded on three sides by peaks rising to over 1,800 feet, while the fourth side slopes gradually to the sea. Kamaran Island, important as an international quarantine station until 1951, is administered independently under the Colony.

H 131 The Aden Protectorate has an approximate area of 112,000 square miles, with a coastline of about 740 miles, extending from Ras Murad, at the entrance to the Red Sea, to Ras Dhurbat 'Ali, which marks the frontier with Muscat and Oman. It is bounded on the northwest by the Kingdom of the Yemen, on the east by the Dhufar country under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Muscat, on the north by the desert of Rub' al Khali, the so-called "Empty Quarter" of Arabia, and on the south by the Gulf of Aden. The Protectorate is a composite of H 642 independent sultanates and tribal confederations, the rulers and the chiefs of which 648

p. 235(B)

ficiency are widespread. Pellagroid lesions of the skin are often encountered among the peoples of the Protectorate. In a survey of 518 Arab schoolboys in Aden township in 1949, no cases of overt deficiency were found, but enlargement of the liver, possibly suggestive of low protein intake, was revealed in 27 per cent.

### Miscellaneous Conditions

A small outbreak of epidemic muscular rheumatism, classified as Bornholm disease, was reported from Aden in 1946. It involved 35 persons—34 British and 1 Arab.

Hepatic cirrhosis is one of the most frequent conditions seen at the Civil Hospital. Local physicians have noted that most of the cases come from malarious regions where qat is widely used, but the underlying causes have not been investigated.

Chewing the leaves of *Catha edulis*, or qat, is a general custom in Western Aden Protectorate. The leaf juices contain a stimulant, and habitual indulgence is said to produce loss of appetite, sleeplessness and a variety of more serious nervous disorders. Local observers believe that addiction to the drug contributes to the widespread undernutrition among the people.

### SUMMARY

The Colony of Aden and the adjacent Protectorate, on the southern coast of Arabia, have been British dependencies for over a century. The population of the Colony, including the port of Aden, was enumerated at 80,516 in the census of 1946, and calculated at over 100,000 in 1950. The Protectorate territory comprises two administrative divisions—Western Aden Protectorate and Eastern Aden Protectorate, in which the estimated population for 1948 was about 350,000 and 300,000, respectively. The local governments are tribal and diverse in organization, ranging from sultanates to smaller autonomous units. The inhabitants of both the Colony and the Protectorate are predominantly Arabs and adherents of Islam.

p. 251 (8)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia

Aden MM1
Hadhramaut
MM2

# CHAPTER VII

## ADEN AND HADHRAMAUT

A 631 191 H 631 131

THE Resident of Aden exercises political influence over a very extensive tract of country in the south of the Arabian Peninsula, south of a line beginning at Ras Turbah (Tūrbākh), a point at the extreme south-westerly corner of Arabia, and extending roughly in a north-easterly direction to the desert; it comprises all the territory to the south of this line, inclusive of the Hadhramaut. In the present chapter this region will be considered in two sections: (A) Aden and the Interior (including the Aden Protectorate proper), and (B) The Hadhramaut.

### A. ADEN AND THE INTERIOR

#### AREA

The Aden Interior includes the actual Protectorate (q. v. p. 183) and the remoter tribes under the outer Aden sphere of influence, but excludes the Sultanates of the Hadhramaut and the Wahīdi. Its western boundary is the delimitation line drawn (Jan. 1902–Dec. 1904) by the Anglo-Turkish Commission, from Ras Turbah, a point opposite Perim Island, inland past Jalīlah, north of Dhāla and a little south of Qa'tabah, to the Bana River, and produced thence by a line, not fixed by actual survey, north-east to Beihān el-Jezāb. The eastern boundary is not so clearly defined, but may be indicated by a line drawn northward from Sheikh 'Abd er-Rahmān (a coastal shrine marking the lower 'Aulaqi eastern border) to a point half-way between Yeshbum, an important settlement in upper 'Aulaqi, and Habbān, a town of the Wahīdi Sultanate. The northern limit is the Ruba' el-Khāli, or great inland desert, the Sherif of Beihān el-Jezāb being the most northerly chief in political relationship with Aden. The southern limit is, of course, the sea-coast. Within this frontier the most important section is the western, comprising the territories of the Emir of Dhāla, the Haushabi, and a portion of the Subeihi. Through these districts pass the main trade-routes from Turkish Yemen, the only routes

H 631 487



p. 179

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



the summer thunderstorms are due. These latter are often extremely violent, even terrifying. Hail occasionally falls. Harvesting of one crop or another goes on throughout the year—chiefly bearded wheat, barley, maize, lucerne, and coffee (but the latter is less frequent than over the Yemen border). Indigo and cotton (a very small bush) are grown in the Nisāb district and grapes on the Yemen border. 132 241 311

In the sixth zone—the Empty Quarter or Great Red Desert—the population is pastoral and follows the grazing according to the rainfall, which is irregular and scanty. Along the principal wādis, which lead north towards the desert, there are permanent settlements and cereal crops are raised, chiefly millet, the stalks of which make useful fodder when grazing is scarce. The semi-nomadic part of the population returns to the settlements to await the next grazing-season in the desert.

In the Aden Interior as a whole the prevailing diseases are small-pox, fever (especially malarial), and, to some extent, consumption. The 'Yemen ulcer' is also common among the tribes. 164

## Population

The population of the Aden Interior (considered as a whole, and including that portion known strictly as the Aden Protectorate), settled and nomadic, may be computed at about half a million. The district is composed of a number of Tribal Confederations or Sultanates, some lying within the limits of the Protectorate proper, some without. 161 631

The limits of the Aden Protectorate proper are the delimitation line, previously mentioned, from Ras Turbah to a point some few miles north of Dhāla, and thence a somewhat vaguely defined line continuing at first in a south-easterly direction and then in a generally easterly direction to the coast of the Gulf of Aden near the small settlement of Maqātīn. They enclose an area of about 4,200 sq. miles, having a population of 100,000. The tribal confederations lying within this boundary are: the Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, Haushabi, Amīri, 'Alawi, 'Aqrabi, and other smaller tribes; and without are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and 'Audillah ('Audali). The tribes of the Protectorate have a larger proportion of non-combatants and are more settled than those of the remoter interior; the bulk are to be found in the towns and villages of the littoral belt, the chief centres being Lahej, Waht, Shūghrah, and the Abiyān district. 131• 619 621 361

In dealing with a variety of tribes with such different characteristics it is difficult to generalize; broadly they may be divided 619 142

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia

Hadhramaut MM2



a market town, engirdled by fighting towers. **Jiblat el-Qarn**, near by, is the stronghold of the El-Qarn branch, and is built on a little knoll commanding the Hasani border. 361

3. **Mijdah**, in Wādi Ruqub, a tributary wādi of the Ahwar, is a large village of some 600 inhabitants, mostly non-combatants, and is situated on the south-western spur of the Maran ridge. The shrine of Sīdi 'Amr ibn Sa'īd is close to the village and is a prominent landmark and a centre of pilgrimage from all parts. A spring of good water comes out near the shrine and runs through an artificially covered channel past the village.

v. *'Audillah* (or 'Audali). A tribe of predatory habits and abrupt manners, under a Sultan, which inhabits the Kaur el-'Audillah, west and north-west of the territory of the Oleh. The population is not known with any exactitude, but the tribe is reputed to muster 4,000 fighting men (Bent). The people, the women in particular, decorate their faces in a very grotesque manner with a red earth dye, called *hisn*, and some of the women dye their faces red all over. 619 621

The chief town is Laudar (Loder), the capital, a white unwalled town situated on the Sa'īdi plain at the foot of the Kaur el-'Audillah, and said to be 'more populous than Shibām'. It is an important centre for the littoral and highland trade of a wide region. A market is held every Wednesday, and is attended by all the outlying tribes of the neighbouring confederations, who, though they may be at feud, agree on that day to declare a truce. 361

## B. THE HADHRAMAUT

### Area

In its broader sense, this region may be said to extend inland from the coast of the Arabian Sea to about lat. 17° N.; and from long. 47° E. to long. 53° E. Its frontiers are in no sense defined, but roughly it is bounded on the W. by the 'Aulaqi territory, N. by the great Ahqāf tract of desert, and E. by the Dhofār province of Oman. Thus considered, the region measures about 400 miles from E. to W. and has a depth N. and S. varying from about 220 miles in the west to about 50 miles in the east. 131

In its more restricted sense, the term Hadhramaut refers to the broad valley running for some hundreds of miles more or less parallel to the coast, by which the waters of the many valleys in a large portion of the southern Arabian tableland probably drain into the sea, between Seihūt and Qishn.

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut + MM21



the development of agriculture and irrigation in Abyan has been much 2421
appreciated.

During the latter part of 1947 it was possible to station a Political Officer in the Abyan and Ahwar areas. His presence and the benefit of increased production in the area have contributed to the appreciable success of the Abyan experiment during the year.

## EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate considerable political activity was 665
shown by various sections of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states. In the former, two parties were formed in March, one the National party and the other the Hadhrami party. The latter is for Hadhrami unity, in which it agrees with the Seiyid party of the Kathiri state, which also showed some liveliness at the start of the year. Later, however, the Seiyids began to concentrate less on the general question of Hadhrami unity and more on the immediate question of escaping from paying double taxation. Several committees were formed with this object and in April a deputation waited on the Resident Adviser, whose answer to them was that it was for the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states to co-operate in the matter of lightening the burden of taxation of their subjects. Later the Seiyids sent a telegraphic plea to the Governor and Secretary of State.

Meanwhile the National party remained anti-Seiyid and, on the whole, anti-unity. In April they published a manifesto of their aims on the front page of the Aden newspaper, *Fatat-al-Jezira*.

The Arab cause in Palestine continued to arouse considerable sympathy 664
in the Eastern Aden Protectorate. This came to a head in December after the United Nations Assembly had recommended partition and took the form of processions (without violence) and the opening of subscription lists. Telegrams were sent to the Secretary of State and there was a one-day strike in Mukalla and Sai'un.

In both Qu'aiti and Kathiri states democratic changes were made in 646
the administration. In the latter a State Council was formed in April 642
and met for the first time in May: it consists at present of three *ex-officio*, three official and three unofficial members. In June the Qu'aiti State Council Decree was amended to allow the representation of provincial communities with the intention of improving relations between the Government and the provinces. These communities were not previously represented.

Outstanding boundary disputes between the Qu'aiti and Kathiri 731
states remained unsettled throughout the year.

Security continued to be disturbed throughout the year in the north- 721
west on the boundaries with the Yemen and Sa'udi Arabia and to a 619
lesser extent in the Wahidi area on the boundaries of the Western Aden Protectorate. In January the Kazimis looted a caravan on its way to Habban. In March there was a big raid by the Dahin and Abida (Yemeni) on the eastern coastal area. In May the Upper Aulaqi (who owe allegiance to no one) attacked Amaqin in Wahidi; in that month also the Sei'ar

5. Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to resore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Mansab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

## Chapter 2: Population

The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



509 no regular steamer service, but the R.A.F. continued the carrying of mail and Government passengers, while in May Ethiopian Air Lines, an American company, received permission to run a fortnightly service, Aden-Riyan and return, which they continued to do throughout the year.

# Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

## SITUATION AND AREA

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## CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject
133 to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadhramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol", extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultiva-
[241] tion is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into: the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2
131
491

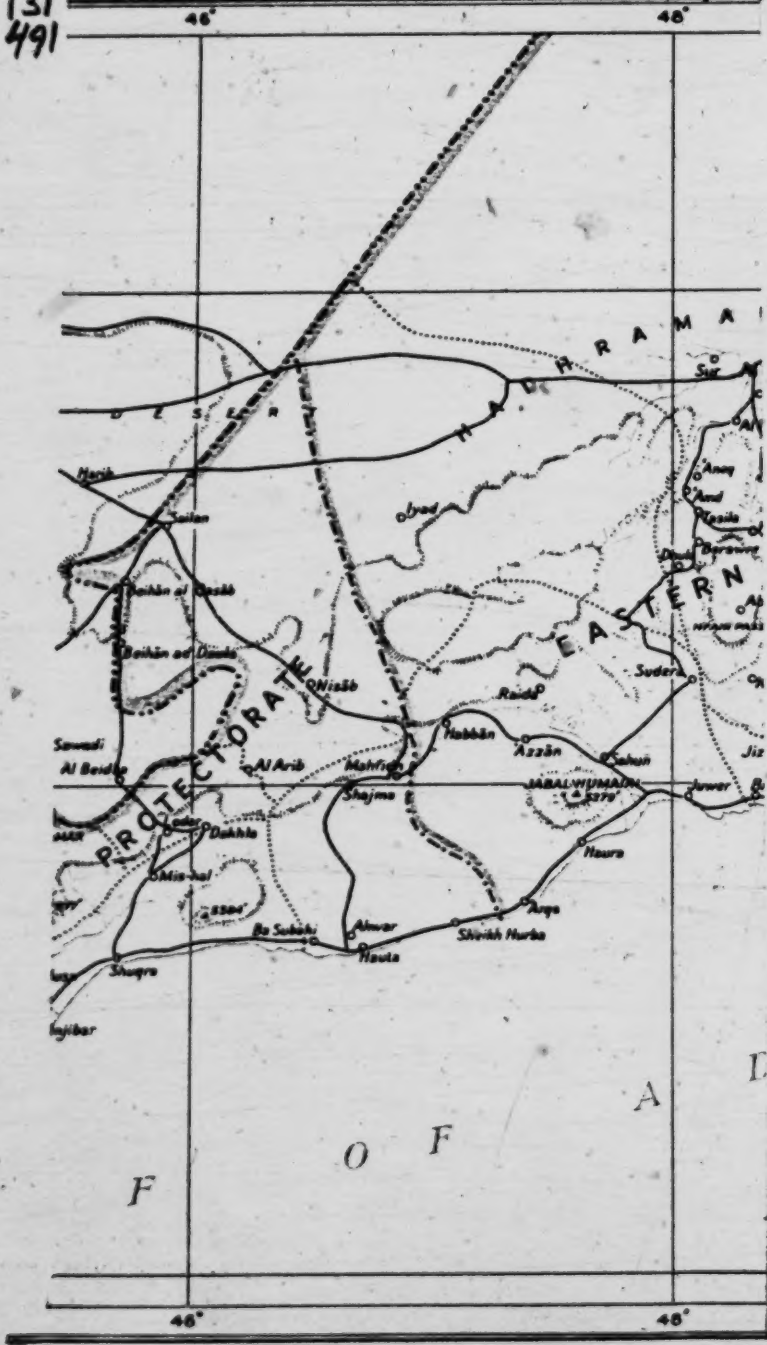
Published by Directorate of Colonial Surveys D.C.S. 17/1.
10,000/4/48 S.R.C.

End Map 2 (G)

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM21

131
491




End map 2 (H)

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM21

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End Map 2 (I)

5:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut 2.
MM21
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Compiled and Drawn by Directorate of Colonial Surveys.
Photolithographed and Printed by War Office, 1948.

End map 2 (J)

131

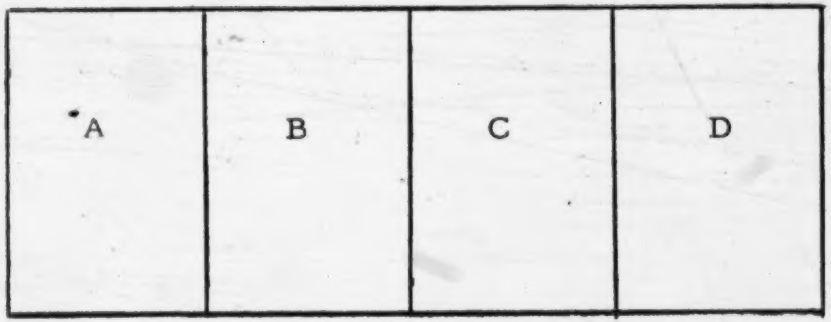


Chart of position of sections of end map 2.

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



### PRISONS

There is no recognised Prisons Service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of States have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff. 697

## Chapter 10: Communications

In the Western Aden Protectorate increasing use is being made of motor vehicles throughout the Protectorate, and, although no first-class roads exist, regular traffic is maintained on the following routes: 494

| | | | *Miles* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman | to | Lahej | 16 |
| " " | " | Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " | " | Musaimir | 61 |
| " " | " | Dhala | 88 |
| Aden | " | Zinjibar | 40 |
| " | " | Ja'ar | 50 |
| " | " | Al Husn | 56 |
| Zinjibar | " | Dirjaj | 17 |
| " | " | Sheikh Abdullah | 6 |
| " | " | Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra | " | Am Surra | 30 |
| " | " | Lodar | 50 |
| " | " | Mudia | 68 |
| " | " | Am Quleita | 78 |
| " | " | Ahwar | 76 |
| " | " | Irqa (E. Aden Prot.) | 48 |

A regular air service by B.O.A.C. was maintained during the summer months between Aden and Mukeiras, mainly for transporting vegetables for the Aden Market. Other existing landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala and Beihan. 509

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate B.O.A.C. resumed its services in the spring, but suspended them again in November. Ethiopian Air Lines ceased operating in the spring when their licence expired. There was still no regular steamer service, although the number of weird craft passing as steamers which called at Mukalla increased considerably.

## Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

### SITUATION AND AREA

The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sul- 131 631

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



131 tanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khail (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the status quo as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

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The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and
361 cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

631 The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting
648 of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun),

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



munication in the Eastern Aden Protectorate—Scheme D.1373. Of 653
this project the road between Bir Ali and Balhaf has been completed, 491
work is now proceeding on the Meifa-Bir Ali stretch, and a start was 499
made in December, 1950, with the new Jahi-Rubat (Du'an) road.

Further, a road was constructed in the north linking Shibam and Henin with the tribal centre of Reidat-as-Sei'ar on the edge of the Ruba' al Khali and resurfacing of the Wadi Hadhramaut road between Tarim and Qassam, Shibam and Qatn and Ajlaniya and Qa'udha was carried out to facilitate transport in the main agricultural areas.

Considerable help was given by the former Director of Public Works, Aden and the Executive Engineer, Aden, who visited the Eastern Aden Protectorate and submitted valuable reports, with recommendations as to the repair and maintenance of roads, which are being implemented to the extent that local finances and labour resources permit.

*Air Communications* have also improved in the past two years. 509
A weekly service by Aden Airways Ltd. was maintained between Aden and Riyan (17 miles from Mukalla) and late in 1950 was extended to Al Qatn. The interior of the Hadhramaut is now within reach of Aden and the protracted delays travellers formerly faced are a thing of the past.

Special planes were flown direct from Riyan and Qatn to Hedjaz for the 1950 pilgrimage.

*Sea Communications* were maintained by occasional visits of 505
coastal steamers based on Aden, and more frequent trips by motor dhows and small powered craft.

# Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

## SITUATION AND AREA

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8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# PART VI

## Chapter 1 : Geography and Climate

### GEOGRAPHY

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8: Great Britain, Colonial Office

MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

● 131

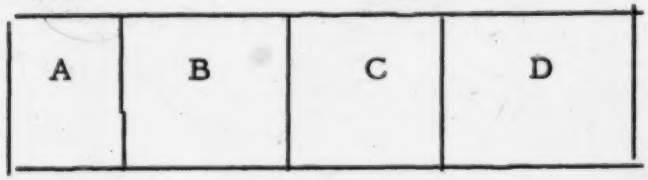



Chart of position of sections of end map.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2

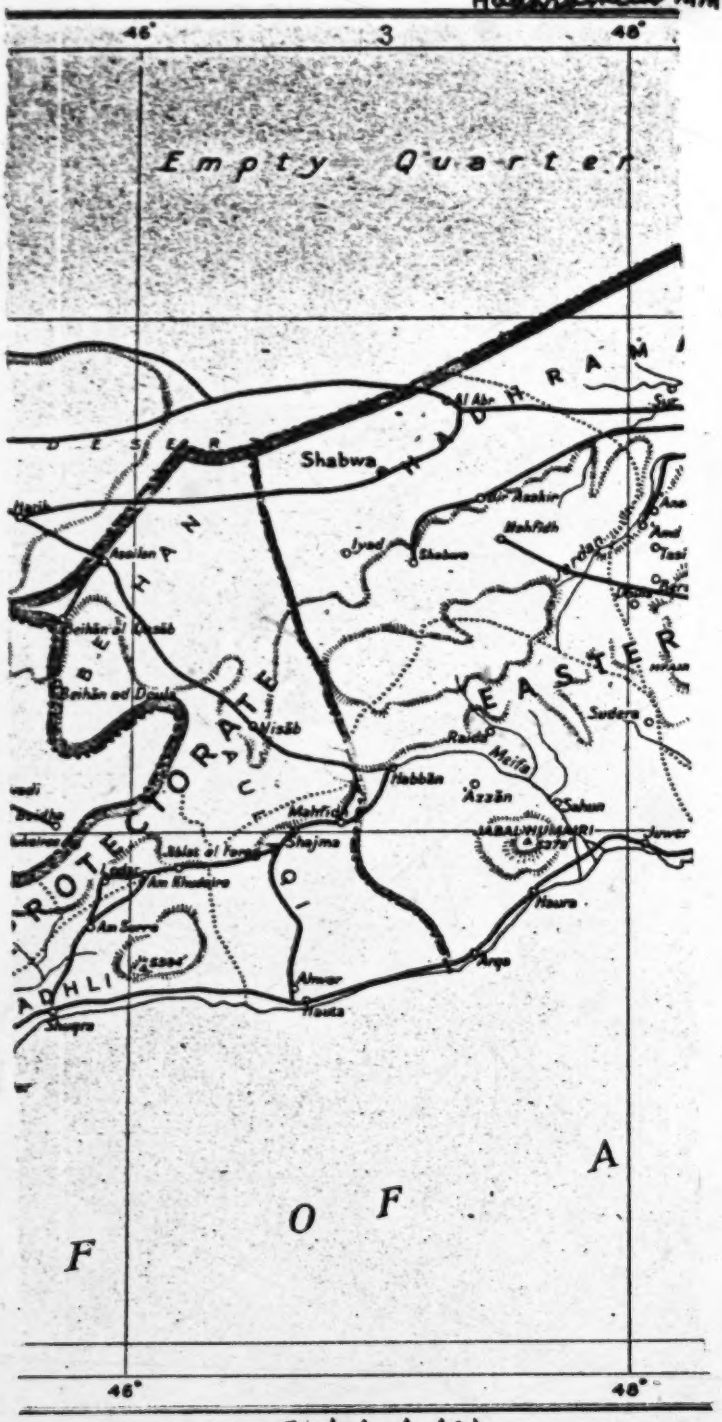
131

1
44°
2
Scale of Miles
20 10 0 20 40 60 80 100
REFERENCE.
Boundaries, Inter-Territorial
Boundary between Western & Eastern Aden
Boundary between Eastern Aden Prot^te & Sultanate of Muscat & Oman
Boundaries between Protectorate States & Sultanates
Motorable Roads
Heights in feet
16°
14°
12
Zabid
Zaidiya
Dahi
Surdud
Hodeida
Mokha
Mocha
Mawzi
Mawsaj
Mauza
Hunesh
Halab L.
Bab el Mandeb
Ras al 'Ara
Ras Kasu
Little Aden
ADEN
Lahej
Ed Rija
Ed Dali
Ed Hawta
Ed Hawra
Ed Hawra
Ed Hawra

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2

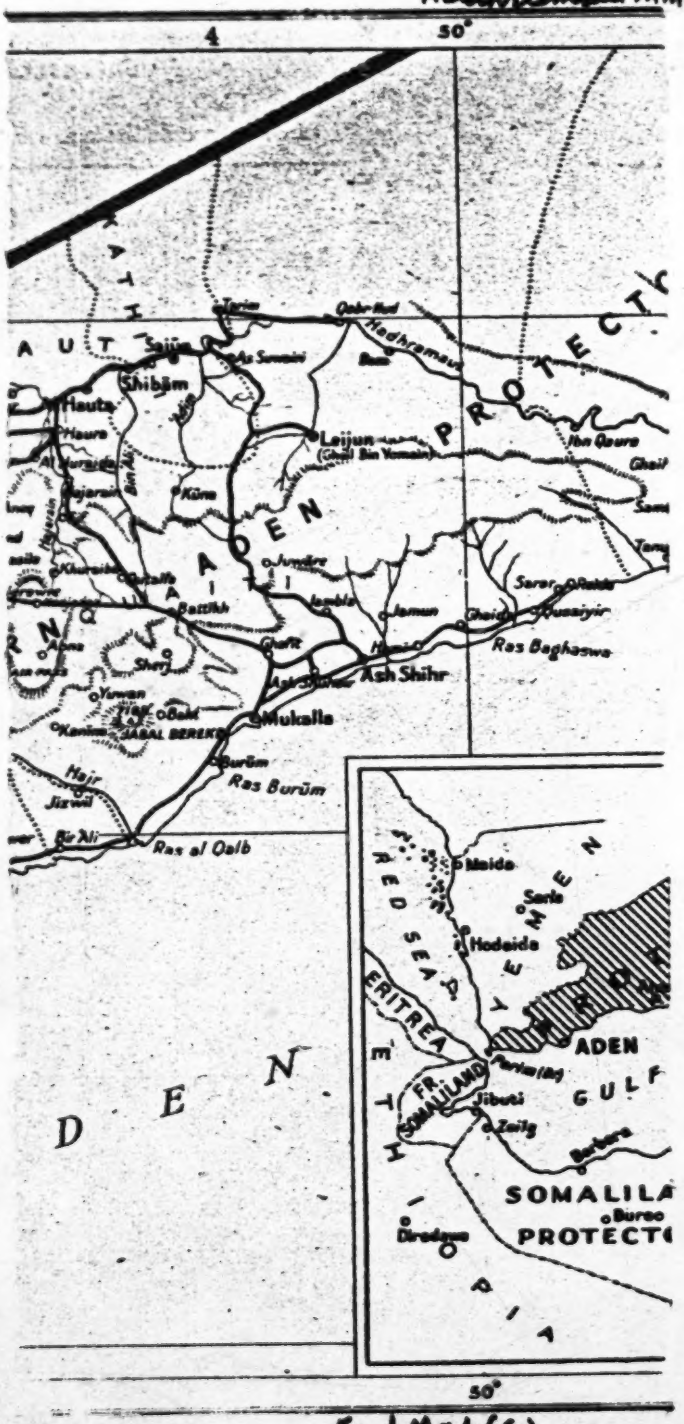
131




End Map (B)

8:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

131

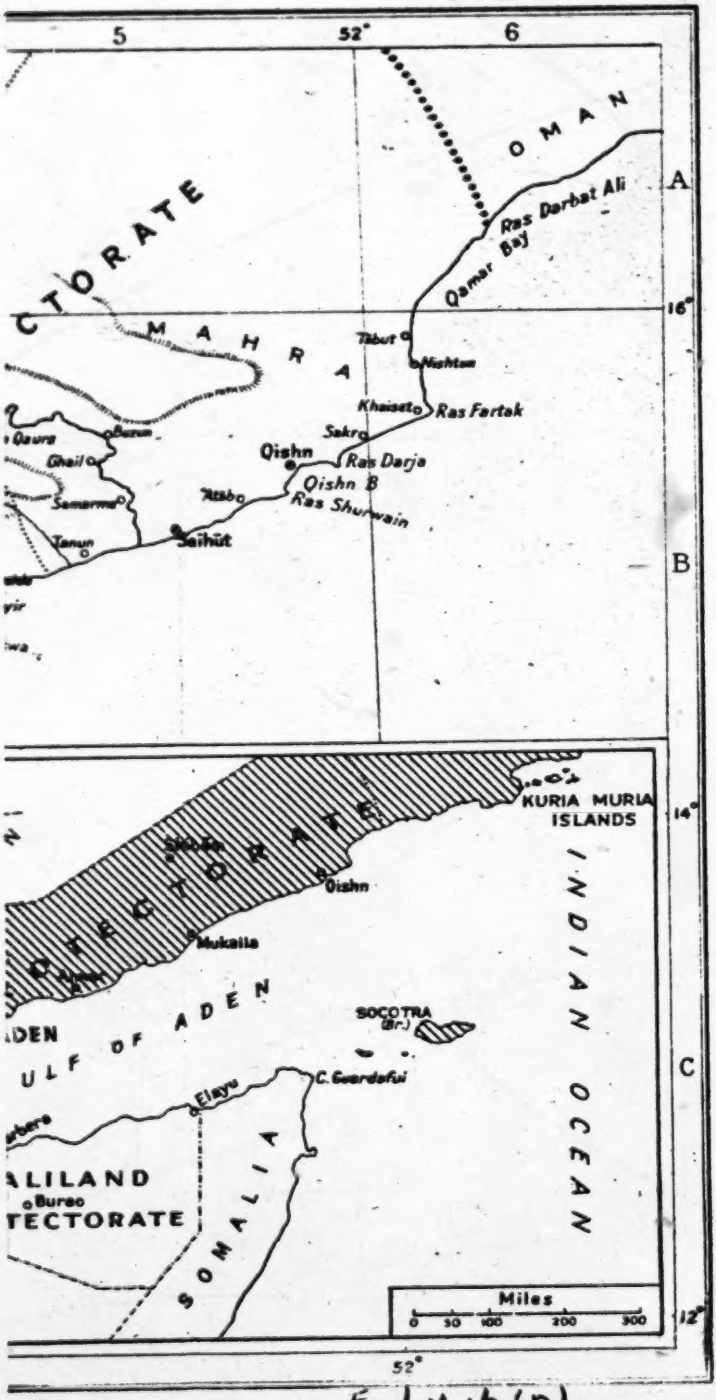



End Map(C)

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# ADEN. 3

131




End Map (D)

101 Shihr, and the territory described in the paragraph above might well
131 be accepted as the definition of the term Hadhramaut. Eastwards from the Hadhramaut succeed the Mahra country stretching on the coast from Museina'a to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, the boundary of the Aden Protectorate, and Dhufar in Oman which is inhabited by the Qara tribes who are a separate people and speak a separate language from the Mahras.

133 The Wadi Hadhramaut is the key feature of the geography of the country to which it gives its name. North and south of it the land rises to extensive plateaus which form watersheds. The one to the north, about 3,500 feet above sea-level, has a series of wadis draining north into the sands, and another series draining south into the Wadi Hadhramaut. The watershed to the south, consisting in the same way of plateaus, is higher than that to the north, for it rises to some 6,000 feet. From it, the wadis drain north into the Wadi Hadhramaut and south to the sea. This description is typical of that part of the country through which the wadi runs more or less west to east, that is to say, from about Husn al 'Abr to beyond Tarim. Over this stretch the bed of the wadi falls from a little over 2,000 feet above sea-level to a little under. On the 49th Meridian, a little west of Mukalla, there is an approximate depth of 106 miles of wadi, mountain, and steppe land between the sea and the main wadi, and rather more between that wadi and the desert. As the wadi turns to the south-east, however, it of course modifies these proportions, but the country maintains the same general formation.

**Climate.**

132 The climate of the Hadhramaut is on the whole healthy. On the high plateaus and even in the wadi land of the interior it is fresh and often cold in winter. In summer it is said to be hot but never unendurable. Mukalla probably enjoys a better summer than Aden. A period of forty days of extreme heat, and consequently known as the Ārba'inia, begins on 4th May, and there is another period of eight days later in the year.

Heald, who reported on the agriculture of the Hadhramaut in 1921, says :—

> "The rain-fall along the coast is practically nil, some years they have one or two inches, but useless for agriculture, the floods being from the interior rain a long distance from Mukalla; when we were in the district from December to April, we had two or three showers, but every time too small for the rain gauge to measure.
>
> "The climate between October and April is healthy and suitable for travellers, but after that it becomes too hot for day marching; in fact, in April, some of the shut-in wadis were unbearable and we were very glad to leave the interior for the coast. Up in the hills in the winter months, it can be intensely cold."

During our visit the maximum and minimum temperatures recorded during stays in the principal towns were as follows :— 132

| | Dates inclusive. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mukalla | 31st October to 5th November ... | 86·8 | 75 |
| | 21st to 30th December ... ... | 82 | 74·5 |
| Shihr ... | 20th to 21st December ... ... | 80·2 | 73·3 |
| Du'an ... | 11th to 13th November ... ... | 78·8 | 70·3 |
| Shibam ... | 17th to 20th November ... ... | 84·2 | 66·8 |
| | 21st to 24th November ... ... | 75·1 | 62·3 |
| Tarim ... | 21st November ... ... ... | 75·9 | 72·9 |
| | 2nd to 5th December ... ... | 88·5 | 70·3 |

The lowest temperature we recorded on the whole trip was 37·3 at 6.45 a.m. on 29th November at Sih Rieidat al Kathīr. The highest was 88·5 at 4 p.m. on 5th December at Tarim.

## The States of the Hadhramaut.

In Article I of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 it is stated that the Qu'aiti Sultan and the Kathīri Sultan "recognize that the province of Hadhramaut shall be one province, the said province being an appanage of the British Empire under the Sultan of Al Shahr and Mukalla." This agreement appears *in extenso* in Appendix II. By it the Kathīri agreed to accept as binding on him the treaty of 1888 between the Qu'aiti and the British Government, which extended British Protection to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies, and also accepted the arbitration of the British Government in the settlement of future disputes. 642 648

The Qu'aiti state of Shihr and Mukalla is one of the most important of the Sultanates and Chiefdoms forming the Aden Protectorate. The Sultan receives a nominal stipend of Rs.60 a month from British funds and is entitled to a salute of eleven guns. The present Sultan, His Highness Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. He is recognized as being the ruler of the whole country, but that part of it defined as being Kathīri is autonomous in its domestic affairs and is ruled over by Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur. By virtue of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement, negotiations with the Kathīri Sultanate are conducted through the medium of the Qu'aiti Sultan. 642 631 643

It is necessary, however, to avoid the impression that all the country included in the term Hadhramaut is ruled by Qu'aiti or Kathīri in the same way as obtains in more advanced countries, for such is far from being the case. In both Sultanates there are a number of towns or districts where the Government is absolute, and the central Government appoints Governors who take full responsibility for the affairs of those places. In some cases there are stretches of country including series of villages which are ruled in the same way, but every now and then will be found autonomous towns and villages. These belong to particular tribes or particular families, and the Qu'aiti or Kathīri Governments have no 642 631 641

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

## INTRODUCTION

131 To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South
114 Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

631 Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali
643 and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

133 The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and
● 132 uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable antiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their
312 limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an
439 enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade.
167 The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

721 Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

# LAND AND PEOPLES OF THE HADHRAMAUT, ADEN PROTECTORATE

Ruthven W. Pike

131 ALTHOUGH Southern Arabia borders on the much-traveled route to India and ocean liners daily touch its shore at the port of Aden, it has been little reconnoitered, far less than
114 the northern part of the peninsula. A chronological account of exploration in the part of Southern Arabia known as the Hadhramaut, by Mr. W. H. Ingrams (now Chief Secretary in Aden), appeared in the *Geographical Review* for October, 1938. It is entirely due to the tactful and untiring efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, who, with the coöperation of Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf, member of the wealthiest family in the Hadhramaut, have succeeded in establishing peace and understanding among the many tribes of the region, that it is now possible for a European to journey unmolested within prescribed regions.

[63] The boundaries of the Aden Protectorate, of which the Hadhramaut is a part, extend into heretofore unexplored territory and have
131 not been surveyed in the manner customary in settled areas. The limits are well understood, however. They are formed by the Gulf of Aden on the south, the district of Dhufar on the east, the southern margin of the great interior sandy desert of Rub' al Khali on the north, and a line running N 45° E from Perim Island to the Rub' al Khali on the west.

162 The population is densest near Aden and its mountainous hinter-
161 land. There are, however, a great many people to the east of Aden, who live along the coast and in the interior of the Hadhramaut; Mr. Ingrams estimates their number at 260,000. There are also many towns and villages between the mouth of the Wadi Maseila and the Dhufar Coast, with a population thought to be about 25,000. Mukalla,
361 with 16,000 inhabitants, is the chief port of the Hadhramaut and seat
[63] of the British Colonial Administration for the surrounding area.

## Climate

• 132 The climate at sea level between October and April is healthful and agreeable to one accustomed to living in temperate regions. On the interior plateau, or Jol, at altitudes of 3000 to 4000 feet, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut, at 2000 feet, the nights are cool, with minimum temperatures reaching 50° F., and are apt to be windy. At such times ordinary summer clothing and light bedding do not afford enough protection.

From April on, the average and maximum daily temperatures

B: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



132 mount steadily, until travel at midday becomes unpleasant and is
[484] not even practiced by the thoroughly accustomed Bedouins. At the peak of summer, travel is reduced to a minimum, and that undertaken only at night, probably more out of consideration for the Bedouin's valued beast of burden than for himself. A period of extreme heat lasting about forty days, known as the "arbainia" (*arba*, Arabic for "four"), usually begins about May 4, and there is another period of eight days later in the year.

The atmosphere, especially on the Jol, is exceptionally clear, save when an occasional dust storm darkens the sky. The dust storms affect large areas, for the wind-borne material is fine and easily distributed; but they do not extend to high altitudes. Fliers over the Jol report that at a few thousand feet above ground level the air normally remains clear. When moisture-laden winds are blowing landward from the Gulf of Aden, cloud banks cover the narrow coastal zone between the sea and the precipitous margin of the interior plateau.

Few or no instrumental data are at hand regarding rainfall in this part of Arabia. Heald, who reported on the agriculture of the Hadhramaut in 1921, says:

> The rain-fall along the coast is practically nil, some years they have one or two inches, but useless for agriculture, the floods being from the interior rain a long distance from Mukalla; when we were in the district from December to April, we had two or three showers, but every time too small for the rain gauge to measure.[1]

## The Plateau and Its Borders

133 In the Hadhramaut the narrow, sandy coast is bordered by a belt of mountains 30 miles wide. At the western edge of the Hadhramaut, about 100 miles east of Aden, rugged coast ranges rise to 7000 or 8000 feet. They are succeeded on the east by slightly lower table-topped and scarp-bounded mountains, whose height gradually decreases to about 2000 feet at Ras Fartak.

Between these mountains and the interior desert of Rub' al Khali, the southern border of which runs parallel to the coast at a distance of 200 miles, stretches a highly dissected and terraced tableland, sloping very gently to the north and east. Dissection is greatest in the Hadhramaut, Maseila, and Hafif drainage basins; the fringe of the interior desert shows considerably less erosion. The eastward slope of the plateau has an average gradient of 1 in 500 (in the 610 kilometers between Hafif and Shabwa the surface rises from sea level to 1200 meters). The over-all northward component of slope is less, perhaps 1 in 1000; it cannot be determined because the altitude of the Rub' al Khali is not known. The gradient is not uniform,

113 [1] Quoted by W. H. Ingrams: A Report on the Social, Economic and Political Condition of the Hadhramaut, *Colonial No. 123*, London, 1936, p. 8.

133 presents the appearance of an undissected plain stretching to the horizon, broken here and there by flat-topped, isolated hills and extensive rock terraces. Only by a campaign of "trial and error" can one find where the drainage divides are and the limitations the drainage imposes on freedom of movement in this treeless and apparently obstacle-free terrain. Even the smallest wadi constitutes a formidable obstacle; for should descent be possible, the chances of finding a route to scramble up the opposite wall are small. With
487 almost limitless time at their disposal, the Bedouins have obtained a comprehensive picture of the stream system and have adjusted their caravan routes accordingly, utilizing the relatively few suitable passes from wadi level to plateau level. From a distance these century-old trails appear as inconspicuous paths; yet along the passes and narrow parts of present caravan routes, some of which are thought to be identical with the incense roads of antiquity, one may observe that once-jagged rocks have been rounded and polished by the passage of countless unshod men and soft-footed camels during several thousand years.

## Hadhramaut–Maseila Drainage System

133 The drainage of the Hadhramaut is divisible into four systems: (1) Wadi Hadhramaut–Wadi Maseila; (2) streams flowing north to the interior basin of the Rub' al Khali desert; (3) eastward-flowing streams entering the sea on the Hafif coast; (4) small and short streams tributary to the Gulf of Aden.

To the west of Tarim the main stream is known as the Wadi Hadhramaut, to the east as the Wadi Maseila. It has been explored on foot by Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams for 360 miles from its mouth to the longitude of Shabwa, where the valley walls, 1000 feet high, diverge and flare off to the north and south, leaving a sandy, featureless plain, studded with low dunes and occasional salt-incrusted flats, stretching westward toward the mountains of Yemen, 200 miles away.

For much of the distance below Tarim the water flows above ground; but upstream the bed is dry and water must be obtained
[312 from wells 30 to 45 feet deep. The supply seems adequate for present-
132] day domestic and irrigation requirements, and acute water shortages are uncommon. During the summer there is some rain in the interior, especially in the mountains of Yemen, and water then flows down the valley all the way to the coast, at times becoming a flood. It is suggested that the present direction of flow of the Wadi Hadhramaut may have been achieved in recent time through piracy by a rapidly eroding stream flowing south to the coast, which has succeeded in diverting drainage that formerly flowed westward into the Rub' al Khali via the broad western part of the valley.

8 Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 241 361

mineral content of the water seem to affect agriculture adversely. A striking example is seen about five miles north of Shihr where a series of springs depositing sulphur and gypsum have built an impressive mound, on which the village of Tabala stands. Their abundant and continued flow enables extensive irrigation by hand-dug canals and aqueducts and affords a means of livelihood for several hundred

[487 302]

FIG. 19—A caravan settling down for the night on the cold and stony Jol in the lengthening shadows of the setting sun. A caravan stops wherever night may overtake it and with little or no cover the Bedouins find a place to rest among the stones and shiver themselves to sleep. A coating of indigo stain with which the Bedouins not uncommonly paint themselves is said to be some defense against the night air.

people. The temperature of these springs on emergence is not far below boiling point, and they are reported to be the hottest on the coast.

At the small village of Harshiat, 3½ miles north of Mukalla, a few tepid sulphurous springs likewise are valuable for their yield. At the village of Gheil ba Wazir, on the inland road between Mukalla and Shihr, is an extensive gypsum flat and also a group of gypsum-depositing springs. Here a tobacco-raising community has sprung up. A part of the arable land is devoted to the growing of dates and millet and the remainder to tobacco, for which, owing to a quality unsurpassed in Southern Arabia, demand exceeds supply.

The small community of Husn Baquidran depends on a limited but constant supply of nongypsiferous sulphur water in the mountains of the Wadi Hajr, 30 miles from the coast. Irrigation is practiced on a small scale. The sites of Sidara and Mahamda, on the Wadi Hajr above Husn Baquidran, were determined by the presence of several groups of sulphur springs that are used for irrigation and consumption.

## VEGETATION

132 37 175

Today only the seaward fringe of the Dhufar Coast region, which during the pre-Islamic empires of the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and

Himyarites was an important export center for incense and myrrh, has enough rainfall to support a thin growth of vegetation, largely incense trees. From this area and the surrounding country, at one time more abundantly watered, the priceless gum was most extensively collected in the past. It is still gathered today in small amounts, according to demand. The gum, which adheres to the bark, is harvested from varieties of the Burseraceae family, *Boswellia Carterii* and *B. Bhua-Dajiana*, divided by the Arabs into four grades.[4] Its value, which ranges from £80 to £10 a ton, depends on such qualities as color (red, green, and brown), size of the gum particles, and degree of adulteration. Just as the rubber gatherers of the Amazon debased latex with pebbles and gravel, so did the Arabs in the heyday of the incense trade, and to some extent even now, admix varying amounts of fine sand with the gum to increase its weight. Between March and August the trees are tapped by knife incision and a milky juice is extracted, which dries in three to five days.

FIG. 20. Caravan loading. The three men at the right are arguing about the disposition of loads.

Besides incense trees, a thin and scattered growth of bunch grass, camel's-thorn, and a cedarlike evergreen abundant in some dry wadies is found in the Hadhramaut. Date-palm groves, which cover many square miles, are mainly dependent on irrigation.

## Sources of Water Supply

In addition to artesian water and the water obtained from wells, other sources of supply are available. One of these is the *siquaya*, a small, rectangular, concrete tank with a capacity of 20 or 25 gallons erected along caravan routes near towns and maintained by them as a public service. Another is the well or cistern excavated at the base

[4] Freya Stark: The Southern Gates of Arabia. [New York]. 1936. pp. 10-11.

16: Gardner A·4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 the seaward end of the 16 m. terrace already mentioned. It slopes from about RL 15 beneath the higher plain to RL 12. Here it ends in a scarp about 2 m. high, and below it a consolidated yellow sand forms the wadi floor. The channel here turns and breaks through a ridge to the sea. This ridge is composed of cellular sandstone similar in appearance to that seen near Mukalla and, in some places, of gravels. From its level it would seem to be the last remnant of the big erosional plain on the east side of the wadi.

We have then in this area three well-defined levels and a minor one. These in order of age are: high-level gravel, RL 52 m., possibly Tertiary or early Pleistocene; remnant of erosional level, about RL 32 m., with palaeolithic chert implements on surface; extensive and important erosional plain, about RL 28 m., no sign of marine deposits passing downstream; terrace at 7 m.–5 m. above wadi floor at RL 16 m.; and a terrace at 3 m. above wadi floor.

[487] The road to Shilr continues along the coastal plain, crossing marine beds in many places, and runs over an extensive development of gravel just before reaching the town.

The coastal plain is here some 10–12 km. broad, and is backed by the great cliffs and outliers of the South Arabian plateau, called the *jol*. It is some [132 1000 m. high, but slopes gradually northwards up to 3000 m., becoming ever 427] more barren as it recedes from the influence of the monsoon rains. The newly made road to Tarim follows a switch-back course over it, now crossing stony plateaux, then descending into broad flat-bottomed wadis often sand-covered and with lines of trees and scrub marking the watercourses. In 134 these wadis a loess-like deposit that was later to become such a familiar and prehistorically important feature in the Wadi Hadhramaut and its tributaries, was first seen. Here as there, it seems to have filled the valleys through which later erosion has carved a way. Near the village of Reida, in the Ma'ara country about 60 km. from the southern edge of the plateau, rounded consolidated gravel and conglomerate were seen near a water-hole.

133 The watershed between the north and south-running valleys lies much nearer the southern than the northern edge of the plateau; this is possibly due to subsidence of the coastal area, and as a consequence many of the wadis draining into the Wadi Hadhramaut are very long. Nearing the edge of this great wadi the character of the drainage changes; instead of broad flat-bottomed valleys, there are narrow ravines deeply entrenched in the limestone (Plate 4). On the stony ground between them numerous deeply patinated palaeoliths, both cores and flakes, were found, similar in type to others whose occurrence *in situ* in gravel terraces of the valley floor system will be described later. Their position here, on tongues of plateau furrowed by deep ravines, recalled the occurrence of typologically similar implements on similar tongues of plateau licking the cliff edge of the Nile valley.

We first saw the Wadi Hadhramaut from the top of the pass leading sharply down to Tarim. It is a great flat-floored trench some 3 km. broad and 300 m. deep, bounded by high cliffs of characteristic outline, which repeats itself with monotonous regularity both along the main wadi and in the tributary valleys. This outline is the expression of the geological features, which are here very simple (Plates 2, 3). The cliffs consist of a series of almost horizontal beds; the upper 200 m. are of limestone, Eocene over Cretaceous.

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 ocean escarpment, but in the Hadhramaut they intrude for over 120 miles to the northwards. Beyond them and between them and the southern edge of the sands is a wedge-shaped plain narrowing westwards and falling from south to north and from west to east. The edge of the sands at Mugshin is about 490 ft., at Shisur about 935 ft., at Shuait 950 ft., and to the west not improbably rising to 2,000 ft. or more in the neighbourhood of the Najran. This plain is crossed by dry wadi beds, or what Burton calls "fiumura." They take their rise in ravines deeply eroded in the limestone of the mountains and they become more shallow as they run northwards, until, as they approach the sands, they are almost indistinguishable from the steppe in which they are merely shallow depressions marked here and there by scrub. These wadis [132] are the arteries of approach for Badus journeying from the mountains northwards. They are evidence of a very different climate from what now prevails, the deep gorges are doubtless the result of torrential rain action. To-day the country is extremely arid, and rainfall is slight or negligible.

Arabia is said never to have had an ice age, so that when the territories of the higher latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere lay beneath an ice cap, Arabia must have enjoyed a pluvial period, and it is from this time that these great gorges running northwards on the desert side of the South Arabia escarpment possibly date. I picked up many fossils on the edge of the sands, which must have been washed down in bygone ages. These were of limestone formation and have all been identified as belonging to the Middle Eocene period. The tradition of ancient trade routes across what is now almost a prohibitive barrier of sands, should not therefore be dismissed as unreasonable: it may connote that a very early civilization 172 existed in this region. Indeed caravan tracks of great antiquity were pointed out to me in 138 lat. 18° 30′, long. 52° on the very edge of the sands and leading on a bearing of 325° into what is now a drought-stricken waste of sands. The Badus called this "the road to Ubar," a town which they say lies buried, according to their tradition, beneath the sands that are ever encroaching southwards. Whether the words "Ubar" and "Ophir" have any sort of connection it is impossible to say, but the alleged site of this buried city is on a direct line from the frankincense country of Dhufar to the most probable site of Gerrha on the Persian Gulf, and to Petra in Nabathaea, the great marts of the classical geographers.

[171] Other archæological remains are the old ruined townships of the plain of Dhufar and the trilith monuments I discovered in the frankincense country just over the Divide.[1] The former would appear to preserve a link with ancient Abyssinia, for the characteristic architectural feature is a monolithic column which, according to Bent, is common to that area, but is nowhere found being made to-day in Arabia. As regards the significance of the trilith monument, accurate memory of it has faded from the tribal mind. This brings us to the inhabitants themselves.

101 The nomadic tribes living in the Southern Steppe are Bait Kathir, elements of the Mahra, 619 Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai (Bal'Ubaid). In the mountains in northern Hadhramaut 000 and the hinterland of Aden are two other interesting types, Hamumi and Yaf'i. With the

[1] For a detailed account see "Among Some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xiv, 1921, pp. 107 *seq.*

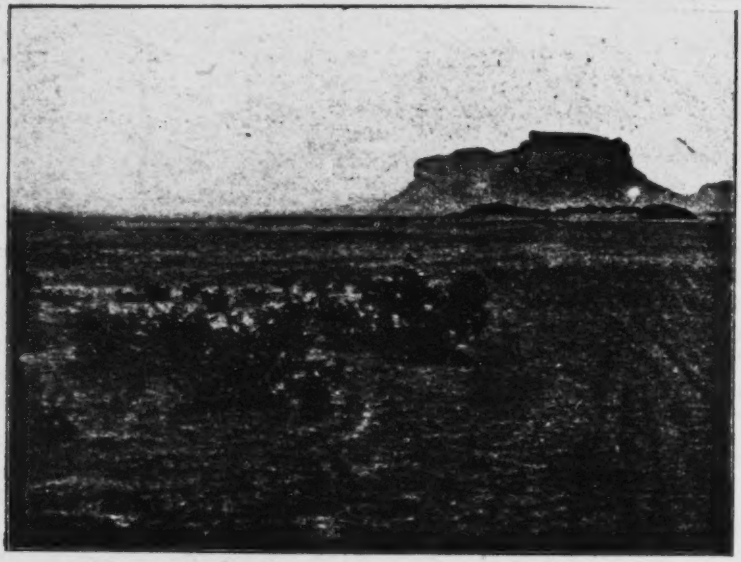
finest house in all Wādī Dōʿan and that we must come and see it without fail. They were born in Addis Abeba of Abyssinian mothers; there, by trading in skins, their father had made the money with which he had built his house. The boys refused to be sent away until they had extracted a promise that we would come on the morrow.

### 3. THE DAYS SPENT IN WĀDĪ DŌʿAN.

The nights in Wādī Dōʿan are said to be cool; 34.2° C. is certainly not cold, but the atmosphere is dry and we can all sleep on the roof though mosquito-nets are necessary. The bathrooms and lavatories in the houses make good breeding-places for insects. Flies also, during the day-time, are more numerous than we could wish.

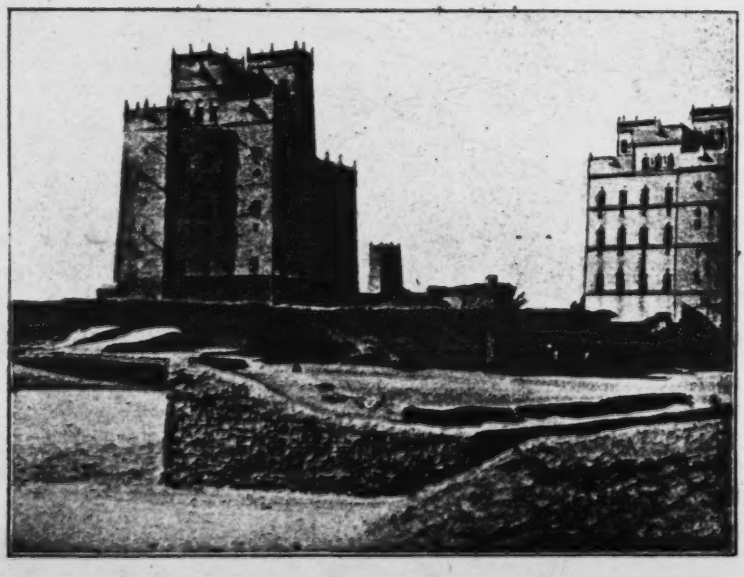
On the following morning, May 16th, Bā Ṣurra sends us a real Arabian breakfast: a heavy bunch of fine dates in a basket, a tin entirely filled with honey in the comb, the famous honey of this country and one of its few articles of export, further, pine-apple in water made in a Chinese fruit-preserving factory at Singapore and, in a flat basket, a pile of Ḥaḍramī bread, thick pancakes of flour, just baked and still warm from the fire. This bread is saltless and rather heavy, but has a clean taste, but when cold it is as tough as leather. It tastes better and is more digestible than the bread which the Bedouins make, and bake in hot ashes. This latter is of the size and shape of a man's hand (thus about an inch thick) and is generally burnt outside and underbaked inside. It looks red or yellow according to the kind of *dhura* or *dukhn* of which it is made. After breakfast we go together to the *maṣnaʿa* to negotiate arrangements for our further journey and to collect, in the course of our talk, information about this region. Our Sēbānī people will remain here with their camels and donkeys, for we must take with us animals accustomed to go through the wide, level wādīs.

132



A sand-storm blowing up in Wādī 'l-Kasr.

342



A war centre at the portal of Ḥaḍramaut Proper:
Diyār Āl Buqrī.

P 104 (A)

See pages 101 and 102.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



seen at that time than there is now. The people inform us that the late Sultan had a stone, bearing an inscription, removed from the *masdjid* into which it was built and that he presented it to one of the *Efrendjīs*.[1] There are still a few mounds of ruins to be seen in ᶜUqrān and, further, several of the simple mud houses of the place are built on foundations dating from pre-Islamic times. Walls and evenly made stairs leading to the inhabited storeys of the houses have been put together of stones, excellently hewn and bound with a kind of mortar unknown at the present time.

After having had our meal with the Sultan at el-Qaṭn we go on in two cars to Hēnin. Vegetation ceases near el-Furṭ, then we drive for a short time over the layer of loess, but after that the drift-sand gets the upper hand. Sand-storms always arise in the afternoon in this region; they are caused by the sand becoming greatly heated and by the rise of columns of hot air. Before long we were absorbed into a burning shroud of sand and were fighting our lonely way onwards. Occasionally a bit of the rock-wall can be seen through the mist, and that has to suffice for the drivers to take their bearings by. After some groping and going astray we really do arrive at Hēnin. One of the cars has motor trouble and, after vain attempts to repair it, has to be left behind. Our friend Bin Martaᶜ is unfortunately away and his car with him. Wādī Ḥaḍramaut begins here and is six miles wide, but still we venture the crossing in one overburdened car from Hēnin on the north bank to el-Qaᶜūẓa on the south side, at the point where Wādī Rakhīya, Wādī 'l-Kasr and Wādī ᶜAmd unite and form the great Ḥaḍramaut Valley. Then we drive on over the clay layer and then again over drift-sand, going as fast as possible so as to avoid stalling. The high promontory of rock behind el-Qaᶜūẓa is a good landmark.

Shortly before sunset we emerge out of the fog of sand just in front of the closed gates of the castle, to the speechless

[1] This *Efrendjī* was Mr. Bent, who reproduces the stone opposite p. 145 of his book.

493 in the saddle, for the camel sees obstacles on the ground, which escape my searching eye, so that unexpected swerves are the result. It is a fantastic and most exhausting ride, which only comes to an end when, close to the little town of ʿAmd, we reach the house in which we are to be lodged. The rest of the caravan arrives after us in dribblets, and before long we are sitting together on the spacious roof of our guest-house, onto which crowds of inquisitive folk are flocking.

511 Nowhere, so far, had so much Malay been spoken and
167 nowhere was conversation so frank and open. ʿAmd appears
191 to be a town on the decline and very poor and to suffer
186 much from protracted warfare. This condition of things leads the young men to seek their fortunes out of the country, Java attracting the bulk of them. The consequence is that a great many wives and children remain behind in poverty. The number of boys who are sent from Java to be brought up in ʿAmd is relatively large. They can be distinguished at once from among their dirty little comrades by their better dress and greater cleanliness. They form a part of our visitors that night and begin with great boldness to talk in Malay, to show off their knowledge. These youngsters look upon their sojourn in ʿAmd as a real period of exile and pine for Java.

000 The discussions over plans for our further journey were disappointing. It was considered to be out of the question for us to go to Niṣāb, but they could certainly bring us to the coast towns of Bal-Ḥāf or Bīr ʿAlī. Everyone deserted us at this point, even our own Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās, but we held on to Niṣāb. Before we retired to a roof-terrace higher up, we had Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf's letter of introduction and those from the Sultans of Sēwūn and Shibām read aloud, which made a noticeable impression. I added thereto that we were determined to go to Niṣāb and that we wished to leave on the morrow. So we bade farewell to this company, which was to carry on its consultations until deep into the night.

0/32 It is appreciably cooler at ʿAmd than it is further in Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm being the hottest place. The altitude of

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



ʿAmd is higher and it lies also nearer to the highlands from whence a cool wind blows when evening falls.

We were early awakened by the sun, and discussions began soon afterwards. It looked as if the journey by way of Nişāb was regarded more favourably, but they tried to postpone the matter. The frontier of the Djaʿdī sphere of influence runs close to ʿAmd and the war zone begins immediately beyond it. Three parties are at war with each other there and they have built fortified watch-towers along the frontier. We were told that an unarmed sayyid could conduct us through the dangerous territory, and this we were glad to believe and we were ready not only to trust such a highly respected personage with our lives, but also to reward him handsomely for his services. A sayyid is called for who is able and willing to undertake the mission. This impoverished descendant of the Prophet is a haughty and self-confident man, for whom it is obviously hard to accept service with two *Naşrānīs*, and only their gold tempts him to it. Then, after further deliberation, he comes to the conclusion that he dares not venture and lengthy negotiations are resumed with another sayyid, who in turn backs out. Meanwhile, arrangements are being pushed through for the camels promised for to-day by Shēkh ʿAwaḍ. Everyone seeks a loop-hole of escape and tries to palm us off with promises. Our language becomes more and more threatening and we feign to be really indignant, though in point of fact we are only afraid that we shall be checked here. We have to force matters, for if we allow of delays all hope of getting to Nişāb will be lost.

Both Shēkh ʿAwaḍ and his satellite, Sālim bin Sallūm, have sons seeking their fortunes in Java, whom they would like to visit. They have asked my help in this and I have noted down the sons' addresses. They would certainly be glad to help us, but dare not, so we remain the centre of very agitated discussions which suddenly flare up into abuse and last the whole day long. We make a call on the sayyids, but with little result; we avoid kissing their hands as we have always

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Aden MM1
Hadramaut MM2

 A

Continuing friction was sharpened when British geologists 175 prospected unsuccessfully for oil in part of the disputed territory. In 1949 the RAF bombed a fort which Yemeni troops were building on territory claimed by the Sharif of Baihan, a ruler within the Western Aden Protectorate. A new Anglo-Yemeni Treaty of 1951[1] proposed to settle the frontier dispute by means of a joint commission. In April 1952, however, the Sultan Fadl Abdul Karim of Lahej (the most important state of the Western Aden Protectorate) summarily executed two of his cousins and, when 'invited' by the Governor of Aden to go there for medical treatment pending an independent judicial inquiry, fled to the Yemen. The Yemen Government immediately protested against the temporary occupation by Aden Protectorate Levies of Lahej town (which lies thirty miles from the Yemen frontier), on the grounds that the Yemen 'had vital interests in the stability of that area'.[2] A council of the tribal leaders of Lahej unanimously declared Fadl Abdul-Karim deposed in favour of his younger brother, the Aden Protectorate Government having imposed as a condition of his election that he should accept a resident adviser as a precaution against the irregularities which had occurred under Fadl Abdul-Karim.[3] The latter meanwhile continued to protest to the Arab League against his deposition, claiming that Lahej had always enjoyed autonomy and connecting the Aden Government's action with AIOC's proposal to build its refinery.[4]

Kamaran Island, lying off the Yemen coast 200 miles north of Perim, was an Ottoman quarantine station for pilgrims travelling to Mecca from the East. British forces occupied it in 1915; and when the Turkish Republic renounced its sovereignty over the island in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), its status became indeterminate; but it continued to be administered by the Governor of Aden and to be available for use as a quarantine station.

## THE PROTECTORATE

H

The area of the Western Protectorate is approximately 42,000 131 square miles and of the Eastern Protectorate 70,000, Aden Colony being a small enclave (75 square miles) in the territory H of the latter. Arable land is estimated at only one-third per cent 133 of the whole, and established pastures and meadows are un- 132 known, the bulk of the area being desert or steppe, which pro-

[1] Cmd. 8590 (1952).
[2] *The Times*, 23 April 1952.
[3] *Mideast Mirror*, 11 October 1952, p. 25.
[4] *Bourse Egyptienne*, 10 and 25 June 1952; cf. *The Times*, 27 October 1951, 4 April 1952.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadramout MM2



133 vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Never-
132 theless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in
241 normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley, and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the
[312] highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from
132 wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the
241 pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supple-
439 mented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until
167 recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from
262 the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

161 The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952
631 was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of
648 varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have
643 one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Government and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 37–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 103; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



315 A party from Petroleum Concessions Ltd. arrived in November and, after visiting Hadhramaut, went east along the coast to prospect the Mahra area.

# Chapter 7: Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry

## AGRICULTURE

*General*

132 There was rain in the west of the Hadhramaut and in the Eastern coastal [312] area in February, and in June and August good rains in the Hadhramaut formed a new lake above the recently finished Nuqra dam. The spring 243 wheat and barley crops were satisfactory. Efforts to persuade the farmers to grow barley rather than wheat continued and towards the end of the year some effect was noticed, partly owing to the discovery of a way of cooking the barley so as to make it acceptable as food; experiments in machine grinding were also started.

*Staff*

647 The staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a Director, two Agricultural Officers, an Agricultural Assistant, an Engineer Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors.

*Land Utilisation*

Lack of rainfall imposes a severe limitation on crop production in 312 the Protectorate. Highly developed conservation measures, run-off control, flood irrigation and artificial irrigation are employed to secure 311 arable land production. The percentage of arable land to the desert and range is estimated at 0·33 per cent. Established pastures and meadows are unknown. Dry forest scrub is found on the Island of Socotra and in the far Eastern Mahra Coast.

*Crop Production*

241

*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | *Acres* | *Tons* |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 60,000 | 12,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 10,000 | 1,500 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 |
| Sesame | 10,000 | 1,000 |

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 20,000 | 4,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 3,000 | 500 |
| Wheat | 3,500 | 2,500 |
| Date palms | 10,000 | 5,500 |

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden Hadhramaut MM21



509 no regular steamer service, but the R.A.F. continued the carrying of mail and Government passengers, while in May Ethiopian Air Lines, an American company, received permission to run a fortnightly service, Aden-Riyan and return, which they continued to do throughout the year.

# Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

## SITUATION AND AREA

131 The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily stabilised by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

## CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of 133 March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadhramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol", extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultiva- [241] tion is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into: the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



(B) EXPORTS

| No. | Commodity | No. of packages | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Tobacco, native | 13,236 bdls. | 16,858 cwt. | 8,93,650 |
| 2. | Honey in comb | — | 5,200 lb. | 5,6001 |
| 3. | ,, cleaned | — | 1,020 ,, | 2,550 |
| 4. | Dates, country | — | 900 ,, | 220 |
| 5. | Lime | 3,879 bags | 4,000 cwt. | 15,500 |
| 6. | Sheep and Goats' skins, tanned | — | 10 scores | 1,000 |
| 7. | Dried lemons | 229 bdls. | 581 cwt. | 33,000 |
| 8. | Fish oil | 17,049 tins | 68,195 gln. | 1,27,860 |
| 9. | Miscellaneous | — | — | 2,93,380 |
| | | | TOTAL | 13,82,760 |

# Chapter 7: Agriculture and Fisheries

## AGRICULTURE

In 1948 farming conditions were generally poor in the Aden Protectorate. 241
Conditions of 1947 were reversed in the areas west of the Bana river, 132
which had a poor 1947 season, received fair rainfall and flood conditions, 731
while east of the Bana erratic and poor rainfall over large areas reduced 1457
food production to a low level. This was particularly true of the Hadhramaut and other eastern districts where complete drought returned to the country, causing famine conditions to reappear at the end of the year. The shortage of food was accentuated in those areas where the economy of the country is largely dependent on remittances from abroad. Famine appeared particularly in the Wadi Amd and in Rakhya, where food production is not secured by any irrigation from underground supplies, but is dependent entirely on rain and runoff control. These districts are also partly dependent on remittances from Hyderabad and became particularly affected when India invaded Hyderabad, and currency decrees in Hyderabad cut off the flow of remittances. The scarcity of food was further aggra- 4397
vated by the ban on exports of grain from the Yemen.

*Staff*

The technical staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a 547
Director, two Agricultural Officers (to be increased to four), an Agricul- 242
tural Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors.

The Abyan Development Scheme has the part-time services of an Irrigation Adviser.

*Rainfall Crop and Livestock Conditions*

In the districts west of the Bana river *saif* rains were fair, particularly 212
in the highland areas. East of the Bana river *saif* conditions were poor in many districts, but in Beihan conditions were good and the Wadi ran no less than eleven floods. Most of this water was from the runoff of

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



131 tanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khail (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the status quo as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

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The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and 361 cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

631 The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting 648 of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun),

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# ADEN PROTECTORATE

## PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

THE poor rainfall of 1948 was repeated in 1949; but the rains of 1950 were in almost all areas exceptionally good and the economic situation is generally better than it has been for a long period. The new forms of administration in Shaib and Beihan progressed slowly but satisfactorily and up to the end of the period the political situation was generally improved, especially in Lower Yafa'i, where more friendly relations were restored between Government and the Sultan. At the very end of the period, on Christmas Eve, the attempted assassination of the British Agent in Shairi country in the Amiri State made a punitive expedition necessary; but order was being restored by the end of 1950. [132] 643

In August, 1949, Yemeni troops began to build a fort on Protectorate soil near Najd Marqad in Beihan State. It was eventually found necessary to destroy this fort by air action. This serious incident resulted in an Anglo-Yemeni conference in London in the autumn of 1950 for the purpose of discussing a means of finally clearing away points of misunderstanding between the two Governments.

A number of clashes made it necessary to re-enter the northern part of the lower Aulaqi State. Order was restored by the end of 1950 with a show of force but no actual fighting.

It is hoped that the erection of a fort, now completed, on the main road will put a final stop to trade route incidents in Qutebi country.

A large number of Jews passed through the Protectorate on their way to Aden to be flown to Israel. This operation passed off without a single incident in which a Jew suffered any physical harm. [167]

The development of the Abyan scheme greatly raised the revenues of the Fadhli and Lower Yafa'i states and social services are improving as a result.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

*Political*

The settlement of the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary dispute and the general prevalence of peace in tribal areas and throughout the country allowed efforts to be concentrated on development of agriculture and improvement of the administrative machinery. 631

More responsibility was given to Naibs (local Arab District Com-

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



439

EXPORTS

| | | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tobacco, native .. .. | cwt. | 22,341 | 23,59,700 |
| Honey, in combs .. .. | lb. | 15,348 | 61,390 |
| Honey, cleaned .. .. | " | 2,160 | 7,560 |
| Dates, local .. .. .. | cwt. | 299 | 7,530 |
| Lime .. .. .. .. | " | 8,643 | 43,220 |
| Sheep and Goat skins .. | scores | 326 | 1,140 |
| Lemons, dried .. .. | cwt. | 651 | 37,070 |
| Fish oil .. .. .. | gal. | 2,924 | 7,310 |
| Miscellaneous .. .. | | | 2,48,920 |
| TOTAL VALUE OF EXPORTS .. | Rs. | | 27,73,840 |

# Chapter 7; Production

241

## AGRICULTURE

*Principal Products*

*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | Acres | Tons |
|---|---|---|
| Sorghum Millet .. .. .. .. | 62,000 | 12,400 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small Millets.. | 9,500 | 1,900 |
| Wheat .. .. .. .. .. | 1,500 | 750 *a.* |
| Barley .. .. .. .. .. | 4,500 | 3,000 *a.* |
| Sesame .. .. .. .. .. | 8,500 | 850 |

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sorghum Millet .. .. .. .. | 20,000 | 4,000 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small Millets.. | 2,000 | 400 |
| Wheat .. .. .. .. .. | 2,000 | 1,000 *a.* |
| Date palms.. .. .. .. .. | 10,000 | 3,500 |

(*a*)—Crops sown in previous year, harvested in 1949.

*Estimate of the Numbers of Principal Classes of Livestock* 231

| *Western Aden Protectorate* | | *Eastern Aden Protectorate* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Camels .. .. | 30,000 | Camels .. .. | 40,000 |
| Cattle .. .. | 50,000 | Cattle .. .. | 7,000 |
| Goats .. .. | 400,000 | Goats .. .. | 250,000 |
| Sheep .. .. | 100,000 | Sheep .. .. | 30,000 |
| Donkeys .. .. | 3,500 | Donkeys .. .. | 3,000 |

132

The year 1949 opened with drought conditions in almost all districts, but early Saif rains, followed by good late Saif and good Kharif rains, and an exceptional fall of rain in the early part of the winter combined

B

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



132 to make it one of the most favourable for many years. The rains of November and December were judged to have been the heaviest seen for thirty years.

731 Unfortunately the cultivator was in many areas, particularly the eastern districts, unable to make full use of these favourable conditions. This was the result of the bad season of 1948 which had caused famine in the Wadis 'Amd and Rakhya of the Hadhramaut, and continued to cause famine for the first four months of 1949. Famine relief and rehabilitation measures were largely responsible for getting farmers in these western Hadhramaut districts back to work, and by the end of the year there was little indication that a famine had existed in the early months of the year. In the Hadramaut important famine relief and famine prevention measures were adopted ; of outstanding importance was the introduction of a pump scheme financed by the States, and by the end of the year considerable progress had been made with this scheme. Conditions were severe in the 'Aulaqi districts of the Western Protectorate, but other districts, notably Abyan, had surplus grain stocks, and the districts which were short were able to draw on these supplies and move them, mainly by camel transport, to where needed.

653 248 The year 1949 saw great expansion in the Abyan scheme ; offices and staff buildings were built, supplies were accumulated, and important irrigation work was extended, particularly in the region of the Wadi Hassan. The year saw the emergence of Abyan as a successful producer of long staple cotton, and the harvest from some 82 acres (which averaged 1,750 lb. of seed cotton to the acre) was ginned on a roller gin in Abyan, pressed on a hand press in Aden, and exported to Liverpool for sale to the Raw Cotton Commission. Planting for the 1949–50 crop was extended to over 1,000 acres.

*Rainfall, Crop and Livestock Conditions*

132 731 *Saif Rains Season.* An abundant Saif rain was received in almost all districts of the Protectorate in 1949. In parts of the Eastern Protectorate the rains came late, but were heavy ; and in the Hadhramaut considerable destruction was caused to irrigation works from the resulting floods. The great Nuqra Dam, which had stood successfully for the previous two flood seasons, received the full weight of the combined floods of the Wadi 'Idim and Wadi Ser and was breached owing to a blow-up of the apron caused by excessive up-stream pressure.

241 The Saif rains were badly needed. They gave the cultivator, hard pressed through the previous bad season, a chance to grow grain and fodder crops with which to build up his condition in readiness for cultivation in the Kharif season.

132 *Kharif Rains Season.* Rain followed close on the finish of the Saif, and in almost all districts the rainfall was sufficient for the needs of the cultivator. In November, 1949, the Protectorate was blessed with that rare visitation, a general winter rainfall, which fell with exceptional heaviness, particularly in the north-eastern areas from Beihan across

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut min2



to the Hadhramaut. This winter rainfall enormously improved the range conditions over the mountain areas of the Protectorate and produced exceptionally good pasturage for the desert tribes in the north-east. 132

Large acreages of winter cereals and fodder crops were grown. The year finished with the whole of the Protectorate in good condition. 241

Livestock started the year in many areas in a starved condition, and in the east with their numbers greatly reduced. At the end of 1949 their condition was restored, but numbers, particularly of small stock, were low. 231

*Plant Pests and Diseases*

As a result of the favourable rains and the continuance of sorghum cultivation through the Saif season, to the flood crop of the Kharif, and into the lift irrigated crops planted in autumn, 1949, there was a serious increase in the stalk borer population, and an estimated loss of up to 50 per cent of the crop resulted in the Hadhramaut lift irrigated areas. 731 242

*Animal Health*

No outbreak of rinderpest or other serious animal disease was recorded during 1949. 731

*Market Conditions*

With the devaluation of the pound the value of the Maria Theresa dollar rose nearly 30 per cent in relation to rupee currency. Produce prices remained high until autumn, 1949, when a sharp drop occurred in many districts following the good harvests. Sorghum grain on the Aden market averaged about £35 per ton throughout 1949. 135

*Demonstration and Experiment*

A field trial with X1730A cotton grown from Abyan raised seed was very successful in 1949 ; some 1,750 lbs. of seed cotton per acre was obtained from scattered plots totalling 82 acres which had received one watering only before planting. The crop was planted in the months of September and October, and grew rapidly. In some fields plants reached a height of over 6 feet and carried an enormous crop. No important pests or diseases were seen. 242

The crop was classified by the Chief Classifier of the Sudan Plantation Syndicate, who was flown over for the purpose ; he placed about half the crop in grades 3 and 4, and the balance in grades 5 and 6, basing his classification on Sudan Gezira standard for L type cottons. The graded crop was sold to the Raw Cotton Commission.

Varieties of cane, introduced in small quantities from Mauritius in the previous season, were cut in September, 1949, and planted out in observation plots.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



### CLIMATE

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### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

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311 The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Sai'un, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

631 The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting
648 of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of
649 Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

648 The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly
631 area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# PART VI

## Chapter 1: Geography and Climate

### GEOGRAPHY

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8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



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courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

## Chapter 2: History

For a time in the eighteenth century, the Western Protectorate formed 175
part of the domain of the Imam of Sana'a in the Yemen and several of the rulers of the tribal districts were the Imam's "wakils" or governors until his power declined and they declared their independence.

After the occupation of Aden by the British in 1839, some of the 648
neighbouring chiefs entered into protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. Others followed suit as time went on, the last to do so being the Audhali Sultan in 1914.

In July, 1915, during the first World War, the Turks, who had conquered the Yemen in the course of the previous century, occupied the Abdali, Haushabi and Amiri districts of the Protectorate until the Armistice of 1918.

In 1934 a Treaty of Friendship was signed between His Majesty's Government and the Kingdom of Yemen. There was an Exchange of Notes in 1950 when it was agreed to establish reciprocal diplomatic missions and to set up a Frontier Commission.

In 1944 and 1945 five Western Aden Protectorate Chiefs (the Fadhli, the Lower Aulaqi and the Lower Yafa'i Sultans, the Sharif of Beihan and the Amir of Dhala) entered into closer relations with His Majesty's Government by new treaties in which they agreed, *inter alia*, to abide by the advice of the Governor of Aden in the improvement of their administrations. Similar treaties were signed by the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and the Audhali Sultan in 1952. In 1952 the newly elected Sultan of Lahej accepted a Political Officer as adviser and signed an advisory treaty.

The most important aspect of recent history in the Eastern Protec- 643
torate has been the decline of the traditional power of the Kathiri Sultans and the rise of the Qu'aiti—a new Yafa'i dynasty which gained 648
power and wealth from military and other services rendered by its members abroad to the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Qu'aiti rulers first entered into a treaty with Her Majesty's Government in 1882. This was strengthened in 1888 by the conclusion of a Protectorate treaty in the common form of the treaties with other Protectorate chiefs. In 1918 the Kathiri Sultan made an agreement with the Qu'aiti Sultan acknowledging this treaty as binding on them also. In 1937 and 1939 respectively the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans signed treaties undertaking to accept the advice of a British Resident Adviser in all matters except those concerning Mohammedan religion and custom. The Wahidi Sultan of Belhaf signed an Advisory Treaty in 1949.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



133 the greater part of the year, in certain places. These interruptions are due to the entire volume of water—which in dry seasons is not very considerable—being led off into the cultivation and returned again lower down. It is said that the waters of the Tiban, like those of the Bana, occasionally reach the sea after abnormal floods. The Bana River runs continuously from May to October.

The coast-line generally is low and sandy and devoid of promontories or inlets of any size, except at Aden, where craterous promontories rise to about 1,700 ft. above sea-level, forming sheltered bays, and at a point some sixty miles west of Aden, where a spur of the Yemen highlands approaches the coast at Khōr 'Umeirah.

### Climate

• 132 In the first zone—the littoral—the heat in general is excessive, but the climate is not unhealthy for those who can stand the fierce heat of the day, and the nights are cool. The cultivated oases and [164] river-beds, however, which afford grateful shade by day, should be avoided as fever traps, and the Tiban valley and Lahej oasis 241 in general have an ill name for malaria of a malignant type. The only rainfall is afforded by a few showers in mid-winter. Cultiva- 311 tion depends chiefly on irrigation from the wādi water-courses, and consists almost entirely of millet, *jowari*, and tall fodder crops such as *kirbi*.

In the second zone—the maritime hills—the rainfall is as in the first zone; but there is no opportunity for wādi irrigation, and in consequence scarcely any crops are raised. The air is stifling by day and damp at night.

In the third zone—the intramontane plains—the rainfall takes place during the summer in occasional thunderstorms. The crops are millet and maize, and they become more abundant and fertile as the main watershed is approached. The heat here, again, is very great.

In the fourth zone—the main watershed—there is a considerable rainfall during the summer months, and a bracing and fairly equable climate with sometimes a degree or so of frost at night. Cultivation is scanty, chiefly barley and a few light fodder crops.

In the fifth zone—the plateau—water lies within ten feet or so of the surface, and there is a good deal of irrigation from wells, besides the regular rainfall. This is small, but from October to March the region is liable to dense white fogs which fall after dark and lie thick to 9 a.m. They will wet one through in an hour, but are invaluable to the farmer as they alone keep the crops alive till

39: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



the summer thunderstorms are due. These latter are often extremely violent, even terrifying. Hail occasionally falls. Harvesting of one crop or another goes on throughout the year—chiefly bearded wheat, barley, maize, lucerne, and coffee (but the latter is less frequent than over the Yemen border). Indigo and cotton (a very small bush) are grown in the Nisāb district and grapes on the Yemen border.

In the sixth zone—the Empty Quarter or Great Red Desert—the population is pastoral and follows the grazing according to the rainfall, which is irregular and scanty. Along the principal wādis, which lead north towards the desert, there are permanent settlements and cereal crops are raised, chiefly millet, the stalks of which make useful fodder when grazing is scarce. The semi-nomadic part of the population returns to the settlements to await the next grazing-season in the desert.

In the Aden Interior as a whole the prevailing diseases are small-pox, fever (especially malarial), and, to some extent, consumption. The 'Yemen ulcer' is also common among the tribes.

## Population

The population of the Aden Interior (considered as a whole, and including that portion known strictly as the Aden Protectorate), settled and nomadic, may be computed at about half a million. The district is composed of a number of Tribal Confederations or Sultanates, some lying within the limits of the Protectorate proper, some without.

The limits of the Aden Protectorate proper are the delimitation line, previously mentioned, from Ras Turbah to a point some few miles north of Dhāla, and thence a somewhat vaguely defined line continuing at first in a south-easterly direction and then in a generally easterly direction to the coast of the Gulf of Aden near the small settlement of Maqātīn. They enclose an area of about 4,200 sq. miles, having a population of 100,000. The tribal confederations lying within this boundary are: the Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, Haushabi, Amiri, 'Alawi, 'Aqrabi, and other smaller tribes; and without are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and 'Audillah ('Audali). The tribes of the Protectorate have a larger proportion of non-combatants and are more settled than those of the remoter interior; the bulk are to be found in the towns and villages of the littoral belt, the chief centres being Lahej, Waht, Shūghrah, and the Abiyān district.

In dealing with a variety of tribes with such different characteristics it is difficult to generalize; broadly they may be divided

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



tremely fertile, for though they have no visible perennial water-courses, water is very abundant in the subsoil throughout the system and is procurable almost everywhere by sinking wells; this is eminently the case in the main Hadhramaut wādi, or at least over a considerable part of its length, where vast reservoirs of water are available at little depths below the surface, at all times of the year, for the irrigation of comparatively large and continuous tracts of land. The last hundred miles or so of the main wādi are, however, desert, owing to the almost complete absorption of the water higher up for irrigation purposes; the oasis tracts are thus removed from direct contact with the sea. The chief tributary wādis, naming them from west to east, are the 'Irmah, Rashah, 'Amd, Dō'an, and 'Aisār, all of which join to form the Kesr; the 'Ain, Bin 'Ali, and 'Adam, all eventually leading into the main Hadhramaut Wādi. 133

(c) The scarped belt, skirting the main wādi to the north, and penetrated in parts by shorter tributary wādis, is calcareous and arid, and to a certain extent screens the main depression from the formidable desert tract beyond, which, however, makes encroachments on this depression.

## Climate

The district as a whole is hot except on the elevated plateau. The climate of the coastal tract is extremely hot and enervating (intolerably so in summer) owing largely to the aspect of the coast, which is almost due south, and to the elevated region by which it is backed; the heat is especially oppressive when, as not infrequently happens, there are no sea-breezes. Bent describes the air of the tableland as 'fresh and invigorating after the excessive heat of the valleys below', and he mentions Sujeila, at an altitude of 3,150 ft., as 'having excellent air that would make it a first-class sanatorium for Aden'. But this upland appears to be subject, at certain seasons, to a cold, penetrating wind, to cold and dewy nights, and to very great extremes of temperature. 132

Twice during the year the coastal districts, at all events, of the Hadhramaut receive their share of the rains brought by the monsoons, though probably in a less degree than the Yemen. But the regularity of the rains in the interior is not so certain, for when the Bents visited the Wādi Sirr in 1894 they were told by the inhabitants that they had had no rain for two years, and that they were sometimes without any for as much as three years at a time. Thunderstorms of a very sudden and violent nature are recorded by travellers, these being usually preceded by fierce heat and hot and violent

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



361 of Sheikh 'Othmān and small village of Hiswah on the north-east, at a radius roughly of ten miles from Aden town. The island of Socotra, in the Arabian Sea, passed under the protection of the British Government in virtue of a treaty concluded with the Sultan of Mahrah in 1886 (p. 205).

133 The peninsula of Aden proper is an irregular oval, 15 miles in circumference, with a diameter of from 3 to 5 miles, connected with the mainland by a neck of land about 1,350 yards wide, but at one place nearly covered at high spring tides. The causeway and aqueduct, however, are always above, although at some seasons only just above, water level. The peninsula consists of a huge crater walled round by precipices, the highest point being 1,775 feet above the sea; and rugged spurs, with valleys between, radiate from the centre. A great gap in the circumference of the crater has been rent on its eastern sea-face by some later volcanic disturbance. The town of Aden and part of the military cantonment lie within the crater, and consequently are surrounded on all sides by rocky hills. Lavas, spongy breccias, and tufas form the materials of this volcanic fortress. The natural vegetation is very scanty and resembles that of Arabia Petræa.

132 The average shade temperature of Aden is 87°—the mean monthly range being from 75° in January to 98° in June, with occasional variations up to or exceeding 102°. The lulls between the monsoon periods, in May and September, are specially oppressive. The [165] mortality among Europeans, although greatly increased by the sick or dying from the passengers and crews of ships, amounts to only [164] 7·2 per thousand. Aden, in fact, ranks as a rather healthy station for troops, though on first arrival they are subject to sandfly-fever, and it is a well-ascertained fact that long residence impairs the faculties and undermines the constitution of Europeans. The climate during the north-east monsoon, or from October to April, is cool and pleasant, particularly in November, December, and January. During the remainder of the year (the period of the south-west monsoon), hot sandy winds, known as *Shamāl* (north), prevail within the crater, but on the western or Steamer Point side the breezes come directly off the sea and are fairly cool. The rainfall may be said to vary from ¼ inch to 8½ inches, with an irregular average of about 3 inches; the irregularity and smallness of the yearly rainfall is borne out by the fact that the tanks, since their restoration in 1856, have only been filled six times—in May 1866 and 1870, and September 1877, 1889, 1893, and 1897. The 164 Settlement is exceptionally free from infectious diseases and epidemics. The absence of vegetation, the dryness of the soil, and the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



132 whirlwinds, from all sides, which disturb the dust. According to the Arabs, a particularly hot windless period of about forty days occurs with the changing of the monsoons. All travellers in the Hadhramaut make frequent allusions to the intensely high temperatures experienced in the narrow confined wādis of the interior.

164 Van den Berg says: 'Sicknesses are relatively few, which is quite natural, seeing the simple life led by the people, the pure and generally dry atmosphere of the mountains, and the total abstention of the people from pork, opium, and alcohol. Cholera is unknown, small-pox is never epidemic, but consumption is rampant, and there are cases of leprosy.'

## Population

162 The total population of the Hadhramaut is extremely uncertain, and the various authorities give very divergent estimates. Mons. Babahir, whom Van den Berg cites as having had considerable facilities for judging, estimates it at about 150,000, which he distributes as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| From Shibām to Shabwah, including Wādis 'Irmah, Dahr, and Rashah | 20,000 |
| Wādis 'Amd, Dō'an, and 'Ain | 25,000 |
| Shibām to Terīm (inclusive) | 50,000 |
| Terīm to Seihūt | 6,000 |
| From N. of the main wādi to the desert | 15,000 |
| From S. of the main wādi to the sea | 16,000 |
| Shiheir, Makalla, and their environs | 18,000 |
| Total | 150,000 |

Van den Berg, however, considers this estimate to be excessive, seeing that the greater part of the region is uninhabitable and unsuitable for agricultural pursuits of any kind. He himself gives the total of the chief centres of population of the interior, viz. Seyyūn, Terīm, Shibām, Ghurfah, and 'Aināt (or 'Ināt), as certainly not exceeding 29,500.

144 The people are known as *Hadhrami* and belong generally to the South Arabian stock, claiming descent from Ya'rab ibn Qahtān. There is, however, a large number of 'Seyyids', or descendants of the Prophet (described more fully below), and of 'townsmen' of northern origin, besides a considerable class of African or of mixed descent. But in spite of these variations the Hadhrami form, geographically and socially, a remarkably homogeneous whole.

H 442 648 [635] are bound by protective treaties with Great Britain. Administratively, it is divided into two areas, the Western Aden Protectorate, covering roughly 45,000 square miles in the southwestern highlands, and the Eastern Aden Protectorate, which incorporates the remaining territory and the island of Socotra, about 150 miles from Cape Guardafui, the easternmost point in Africa.

H 133 The geography of the region is characterized by mountains and high plateaus which slope to a sandy plain along the coast and are intersected by deep and often fertile valleys. The topography of Western Aden Protectorate is particularly rugged. Four zones are differentiated: the littoral; the coastal hills reaching up to 2,000 feet in height; the inland plains, with slightly higher elevations; and the interior plateau, at an altitude of 5,000 to 8,000 feet. The dominant feature of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is the Wadi Hadhramaut. The valley, which is broad and well defined, parallels the coast for almost 200 miles before turning southeast toward the sea. It is hemmed in by massive plateaus, with an average elevation of 6,000 feet in the south and 3,500 feet in the north, which are terraced and dissected by numerous secondary wadies. The main valley lies over 100 miles inland, and is separated from the coast by a complex terrain of mountains, steppe and desert.

H 132 Few meteorologic observations have been recorded. Extreme heat, accompanied by high humidity, is encountered in the coastal region during the summer; slightly moderated temperatures at the time of the northeast monsoon, from October to April. A 132 The mean temperature in the Colony is estimated at 80° F.; 75° F. in the winter and 90° F. in the summer. The daily range is slight in the summer, but cool and sometimes cold nights are experienced during the winter months. The temperatures in the interior vary with the altitude and the season. Marked contrasts exist between the heat of the shut-in wadies and the cooler temperatures of the high plateaus. The rainfall is

A 132 scanty and irregular throughout most of the region. At Aden, it averages about 3 to 5 inches a year, and is normally concentrated in the period from December to April. In contrast, the western highlands receive a summer rainfall which reaches 15 to 20 H 132 inches a year in most areas. The precipitation in the Hadhramaut region does not follow a seasonal pattern: it is appreciably lower and often localized in distribution. Torrential thunderstorms sometimes occur, while sandstorms are frequent, especially between May and September.

## POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### Population

A 161 162 361 The population of the Colony is essentially cosmopolitan and urban in character. According to the last census in 1946, the inhabitants numbered 80,516, including 58,455 Arabs, 7,273 Jews, 4,322 Somalis, 9,456 Indians, 365 Europeans and 645 of other nationalities. Since that date the population has increased markedly. In 1950, it A 161 was officially estimated at 100,000 and was 167 generally believed to approach 110,000 to 563 120,000. The Arabs are mainly immigrants or descendants of immigrants from the Protectorate and Yemen: in 1946, slightly less than one half were registered as Alen-born. Most of the Jewish community has recently migrated to Israel, with the result that a remnant of less than 2,000 Jews remained in 1951.

A 632 162 The Colony consists of two incorporated townships, besides important military installations. The township of Aden, sometimes designated as the Fortress, embraces all the settlements on the Aden peninsula and isthmus. It had over 55,800 inhabitants in 1946, about 36,200 of whom lived in the main town of Crater and 12,000 in the modern harbor sections of Tawahi and Steamer Point. Sheikh Othman, the second township, had about 22,600 residents. It comprises the town itself, situated on an oasis behind the peninsula, several small out-

101 Shihr, and the territory described in the paragraph above might well
131 be accepted as the definition of the term Hadhramaut. Eastwards from the Hadhramaut succeed the Mahra country stretching on the coast from Museina'a to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, the boundary of the Aden Protectorate, and Dhufar in Oman which is inhabited by the Qara tribes who are a separate people and speak a separate language from the Mahras.

133 The Wadi Hadhramaut is the key feature of the geography of the country to which it gives its name. North and south of it the land rises to extensive plateaus which form watersheds. The one to the north, about 3,500 feet above sea-level, has a series of wadis draining north into the sands, and another series draining south into the Wadi Hadhramaut. The watershed to the south, consisting in the same way of plateaus, is higher than that to the north, for it rises to some 6,000 feet. From it, the wadis drain north into the Wadi Hadhramaut and south to the sea. This description is typical of that part of the country through which the wadi runs more or less west to east, that is to say, from about Husn al 'Abr to beyond Tarim. Over this stretch the bed of the wadi falls from a little over 2,000 feet above sea-level to a little under. On the 49th Meridian, a little west of Mukalla, there is an approximate depth of 106 miles of wadi, mountain, and steppe land between the sea and the main wadi, and rather more between that wadi and the desert. As the wadi turns to the south-east, however, it of course modifies these proportions, but the country maintains the same general formation.

**Climate.**

132 The climate of the Hadhramaut is on the whole healthy. On the high plateaus and even in the wadi land of the interior it is fresh and often cold in winter. In summer it is said to be hot but never unendurable. Mukalla probably enjoys a better summer than Aden. A period of forty days of extreme heat, and consequently known as the Arba'inia, begins on 4th May, and there is another period of eight days later in the year.

Heald, who reported on the agriculture of the Hadhramaut in 1921, says :—

> "The rain-fall along the coast is practically nil, some years they have one or two inches, but useless for agriculture, the floods being from the interior rain a long distance from Mukalla; when we were in the district from December to April, we had two or three showers, but every time too small for the rain gauge to measure.
>
> "The climate between October and April is healthy and suitable for travellers, but after that it becomes too hot for day marching; in fact, in April, some of the shut-in wadis were unbearable and we were very glad to leave the interior for the coast. Up in the hills in the winter months, it can be intensely cold."

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

## INTRODUCTION

131 To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South
114 Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

631 Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and
643 Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

133 The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and
152 uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable antiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their
312 limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an
439 enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade.
167 The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

721 Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

121 what people want to hear. In this short talk I would like to deal more with the feeling of these buildings as related to the people who live in them and who have created them. If time allows I hope to show a short colour film I made there and which portrays general scenes of life in Hadhramaut.

122 There is one thing I can say without any hesitation or doubt, and that is to give expression to my great gratitude to those who helped me to go on these journeys. I could not possibly mention by name all those to whom I am indebted, but at least I wish to speak of Sir Bernard Reilly of the Colonial Office, who made it possible for me to go to Hadhramaut and gave me the necessary introductions. I also want to thank Dr. Serjeant of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, who taught me for two years and who showed me everything I had to know in order to travel in that strange and isolated country he had himself visited. Finally, I am most grateful to Colonel Hugh Boustead, Resident Adviser of the East Aden Protectorate, who facilitated my journey in every possible way. He was my kind host and gave me travel facilities and permits to go where many people had difficulty in going.

131 To plunge into my subject, I might say that one does in fact almost plunge into the Hadhramaut from above. It is one of those rare countries which cannot be reached by rail or by road and hardly by sea except on a little native dhow; so that since the British Protectorate authorities started to develop the country it has been habitual to go to Hadhramaut by plane, and one does indeed drop into it from the sky. Such isolation is rare in our times and needs some explanation for those not familiar with the geography of Southern Arabia.

131 Arabia has always been one of the most difficult countries of access to
133 Europeans, for geographical as well as religious reasons. In the centre of the peninsula is one of the largest deserts in the world, and it is surrounded by forbidding coastal ranges from halfway up the Red Sea coast, down to the "barren rocks of Aden" and eastward along the southern coast, almost three-quarters of its length before there is any break in the mountains.

But for small valleys, these mountains and the interior are absolutely barren. With the exception of the Yemen, to all intents and purposes, little or nothing grows in that vast area. There is no water. There is little earth, and in the relentless mountain ranges and plateaux along the coast there is often not even sand—just rock and flint and granite. Yet these coastal ranges are crossed in all directions by ageless tracks made by camel trains of the bedouin traders who have followed them for two thousand, perhaps three thousand years, bringing the incense from Dhufar beyond Hadhramaut.

101 The people who now live in the interior highlands are the bedouin,
[342] the descendants of the traders of old, who dwell in small stone-built villages or mud castles. This south-western corner is still largely a tribal area where there are different little bedouin sultanates. Some of them are being gradually brought into the confederation and some even accept complete British protection; others live entirely in their own ancient way of
000 life of blood feuds and strife. Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently

7: Stutler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MMI Hadhramaut MMI



Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaveth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became "Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

133 a second miracle happens. There is a cleft in the great basalt plateau and
a beautiful green valley opens abruptly in the flat tableland—a valley run-
311 ning from east to west, joining the sea some 150 miles further on. This is a fertile valley with gardens and palm groves, millet fields and white palaces. An underground river continually provides water for the wells and the little irrigation channels. There are crops up to three times per year. In this lovely setting very civilized and well-dressed townsfolk live in large mud-built towns on the valley cliff sides. Recently they have laid aside their arms and ceased their blood feuds and tribal wars which raged from town to town, from tribe to tribe, from family to family. With the aid of the British adviser they have established law and order and made their foreign trade, which is their livelihood, flourish unhindered.

172 When we go back into history to find out where this miracle has sprung
341 from, we discover that there were the old Sabean and Hymyaritic civiliza-
tions of 1,000 or 2,000 years B.C., of which Mr. Ingrams spoke. Perhaps it started with the Minean Empire, on the eastern border of Yemen, and its capital, Ma'in. Later came the Sabeans with their capital a little south, at Marib; followed by the Katabaneans, whose centre, Timna, was at the south-eastern corner of the great desert. And lastly, perhaps, the Hadhramis, whose early capital may have been the much disputed Shabwa. These people built in stone, and their buildings were several storeys high and of very fine dry masonry. Many are the ruins covering the western territory between Aden and Hadhramaut and to the north in Yemen. But also in Hadhramaut itself, further east, there are vestiges of towns and temples, in the main valley and the side valleys; great plans of garrison cities, and remains of castle and palace walls in beautifully executed stonework, all erected perhaps some 2,000 years ago.

341 With such a tradition it is not surprising that something is still found
333 in the present day, and although the Hadhramis have not continued the stone masonry and have turned mainly to sun-dried mud bricks, their achievements are of remarkable interest.

101 Reviewing the various groups of the population, there are the bedouin
342 who still live by camel transport, the sand bedouin of the desert who live in simple black camelhair tents, and the bedouin mountain tribesmen who live on the arid plateaux. The latter are rugged and tough, like the country round them. Their life is hard; it is scorching hot without any shade in the day, bitterly cold at night at 6,000 feet. They still build their low windowless huts with brushwood roofs with the stones of the plateaux in dry walling. They carry on in their primitive way the stone tradition which has been lost elsewhere in the eastern area.

361 The next class of inhabitants we meet are the remote valley bedouin,
311 who live in rather better circumstances. They do have a little grazing, cultivate a little land where they grow millet called dharrah and a sort of
342 little cucumber-tomato called faguws. They live in the earthen beds of long-dried-up rivers that have a flood from the hills about once a year. They have grown lazy like everyone else, and they build their little castles
342 of mud bricks with a base of rough stones from the river-bed. A passage down the centre leads from the entrance door with almost windowless rooms for storage either side to a stair leading to a sheltered roof terrace.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



132 mount steadily, until travel at midday becomes unpleasant and is not even practiced by the thoroughly accustomed Bedouins. At the peak of summer, travel is reduced to a minimum, and that undertaken only at night, probably more out of consideration for the Bedouin's valued beast of burden than for himself. A period of extreme heat lasting about forty days, known as the "arbainia" (*arba*, Arabic for "four"), usually begins about May 4, and there is another period of eight days later in the year.

The atmosphere, especially on the Jol, is exceptionally clear, save when an occasional dust storm darkens the sky. The dust storms affect large areas, for the wind-borne material is fine and easily distributed; but they do not extend to high altitudes. Fliers over the Jol report that at a few thousand feet above ground level the air normally remains clear. When moisture-laden winds are blowing landward from the Gulf of Aden, cloud banks cover the narrow coastal zone between the sea and the precipitous margin of the interior plateau.

Few or no instrumental data are at hand regarding rainfall in this part of Arabia. Heald, who reported on the agriculture of the Hadhramaut in 1921, says:

> The rain-fall along the coast is practically nil, some years they have one or two inches, but useless for agriculture, the floods being from the interior rain a long distance from Mukalla; when we were in the district from December to April, we had two or three showers, but every time too small for the rain gauge to measure.[1]

## The Plateau and Its Borders

133 In the Hadhramaut the narrow, sandy coast is bordered by a belt of mountains 30 miles wide. At the western edge of the Hadhramaut, about 100 miles east of Aden, rugged coast ranges rise to 7000 or 8000 feet. They are succeeded on the east by slightly lower table-topped and scarp-bounded mountains, whose height gradually decreases to about 2000 feet at Ras Fartak.

Between these mountains and the interior desert of Rub' al Khali, the southern border of which runs parallel to the coast at a distance of 200 miles, stretches a highly dissected and terraced tableland, sloping very gently to the north and east. Dissection is greatest in the Hadhramaut, Maseila, and Hafif drainage basins; the fringe of the interior desert shows considerably less erosion. The eastward slope of the plateau has an average gradient of 1 in 500 (in the 610 kilometers between Hafif and Shabwa the surface rises from sea level to 1200 meters). The over-all northward component of slope is less, perhaps 1 in 1000; it cannot be determined because the altitude of the Rub' al Khali is not known. The gradient is not uniform,

113 [1] Quoted by W. H. Ingrams: A Report on the Social, Economic and Political Condition of the Hadhramaut, *Colonial No. 123*, London, 1936, p. 8.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



however. The floor of the Hadhramaut Valley rises at a slope of 133
1 in 900 or 1000 from an altitude of 2000 feet at Tarim to about 3000 feet in the latitude of Shabwa and the west end of the tableland.

The observer in the Hadhramaut is impressed by the vast amount of rapid erosion that has taken place and the inadequacy of the rain- [31]

FIG. 1—The Hadhramaut, Aden Protectorate, in its wider strategic relations. Scale 1:40,000,000.

fall of today to explain it. Not only topographical but also cultural evidence points toward increasing aridity in the Hadhramaut. The numerous visible ruins, not to mention those buried by sand or disintegrated past recognition, are indicative of a greater population than now exists. A large number of the present-day inhabitants 167
emigrate; and, according to Mr. Ingrams, they have been doing so 161
at an increasing rate during the last fifty years.[1] It is suggested that the Hadhramaut area supports about the maximum population under the prevailing conditions of rainfall.

Each of the canyons excavated by the Wadi Hadhramaut and its 133
tributaries in the vast South Arabian plateau suggests to the traveler a miniature Grand Canyon. The walls rise steeply for a full thousand feet throughout the deepest part of the drainage system and remain perpendicular, although decreasing in height, even to the heads of the smallest tributaries. To the observer on the ground the plateau

[1] W. H. Ingrams: Hadhramaut: A Journey to the Sal'ar Country and through the Wadi Masila, *Geog. Journ.*, Vol. 88, 1936, pp. 324–331; reference on p. 327. 113

133
361

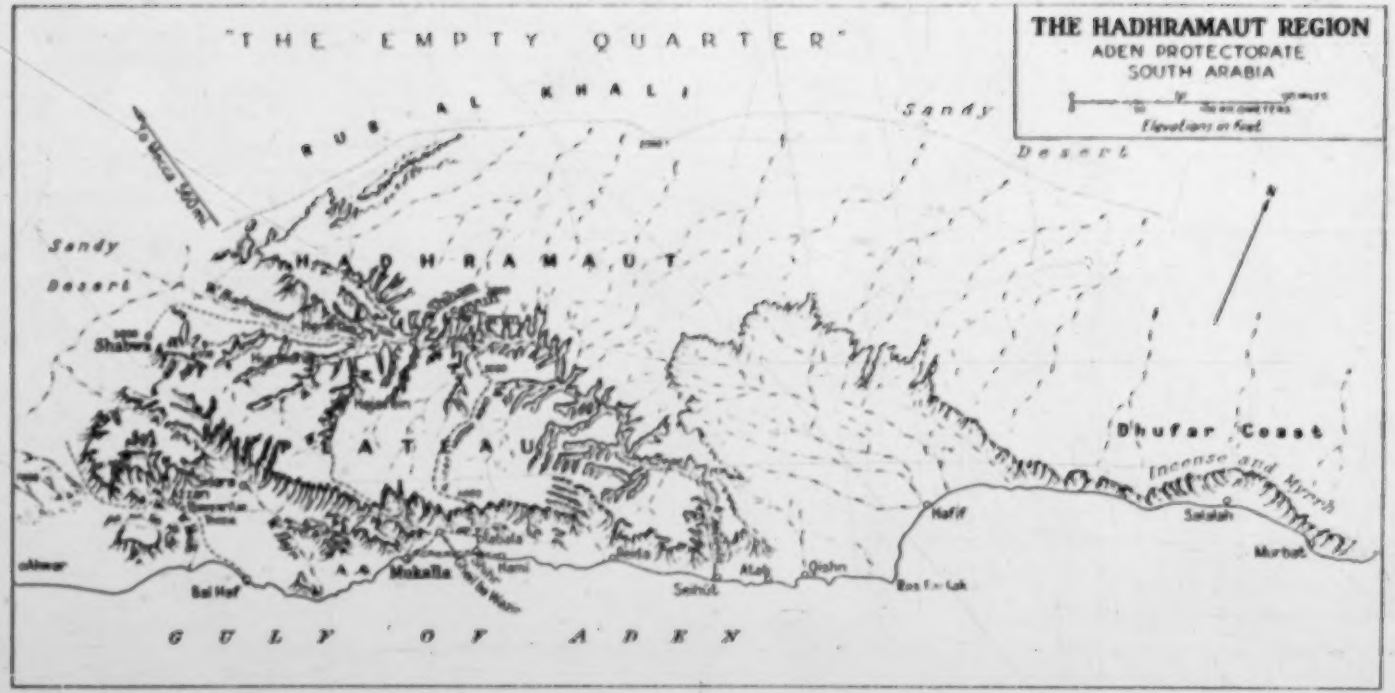


FIG. 2—Diagrammatic sketch of the Hadhramaut illustrating the dissection of the plateau by the main wadi and its tributaries and the relation to other drainage systems. Mukalla is about 300 miles east-northeast of Aden, in 14° 32′ N. and 49° 07′ E. (See Fig. 1).

133 presents the appearance of an undissected plain stretching to the horizon, broken here and there by flat-topped, isolated hills and extensive rock terraces. Only by a campaign of "trial and error" can one find where the drainage divides are and the limitations the drainage imposes on freedom of movement in this treeless and apparently obstacle-free terrain. Even the smallest wadi constitutes a formidable obstacle; for should descent be possible, the chances of finding a route to scramble up the opposite wall are small. With 487 almost limitless time at their disposal, the Bedouins have obtained a comprehensive picture of the stream system and have adjusted their caravan routes accordingly, utilizing the relatively few suitable passes from wadi level to plateau level. From a distance these century-old trails appear as inconspicuous paths; yet along the passes and narrow parts of present caravan routes, some of which are thought to be identical with the incense roads of antiquity, one may observe that once-jagged rocks have been rounded and polished by the passage of countless unshod men and soft-footed camels during several thousand years.

## Hadhramaut–Maseila Drainage System

133 The drainage of the Hadhramaut is divisible into four systems: (1) Wadi Hadhramaut–Wadi Maseila; (2) streams flowing north to the interior basin of the Rub' al Khali desert; (3) eastward-flowing streams entering the sea on the Hafif coast; (4) small and short streams tributary to the Gulf of Aden.

To the west of Tarim the main stream is known as the Wadi Hadhramaut, to the east as the Wadi Maseila. It has been explored on foot by Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams for 360 miles from its mouth to the longitude of Shabwa, where the valley walls, 1000 feet high, diverge and flare off to the north and south, leaving a sandy, featureless plain, studded with low dunes and occasional salt-incrusted flats, stretching westward toward the mountains of Yemen, 200 miles away.

For much of the distance below Tarim the water flows above ground; but upstream the bed is dry and water must be obtained [312 from wells 30 to 45 feet deep. The supply seems adequate for present- 132] day domestic and irrigation requirements, and acute water shortages are uncommon. During the summer there is some rain in the interior, especially in the mountains of Yemen, and water then flows down the valley all the way to the coast, at times becoming a flood. It is suggested that the present direction of flow of the Wadi Hadhramaut may have been achieved in recent time through piracy by a rapidly eroding stream flowing south to the coast, which has succeeded in diverting drainage that formerly flowed westward into the Rub' al Khali via the broad western part of the valley.

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FIG. 3—The Wadi Hadhramaut at Tarim, looking eastward, i.e., downstream. Tarim, surrounded by no wall, is at the left. Trees in the broad alluvial-filled valley are date palms, irrigated by water hand-drawn from wells. The dissected character and even summit levels of the Jol (plateau) are clearly seen. Canyon walls along the wadi are 300 to 1000 feet high. Irrigation ditches to divert occasional floods are discernible everywhere on the wadi floor.

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FIG. 4—A caravan carrying wood to the market in Tarim.

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FIG. 5—This view is practically panoramic with Figure 3. Along the crest of the nearer plateau one may be seen a sinuous white streak, which is the Al Kaf road to the coast, distant 100 miles as the crow flies, 170 by speedometer. It may be observed that to the downstream there is less stream dissection and greater expanse of unbroken plateau. The narrowing of the wadi downstream should be noted.

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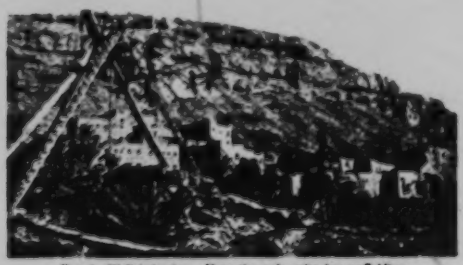

FIG. 6—Well irrigation. Note the rude palm log scaffolding.

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8. Fike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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Near the coast the wadi gradient is considerably steeper than in the central and upper parts, where the slope is only 1 in 1000. There seems to be no local cause to explain the anomaly.[3] Although there are a few small lava flows in the Maseila Valley near the coast, it is obvious from the steepness of the gradient, the size of the valley both above and below them, and the absence of old lake shores that they have not constituted a local base level. Neither does the river cut through abnormally resistant rocks of any other type, which might conceivably restrict erosion.

Usually a stream and its valley decrease in size from mouth to source, except where superimposed on resistant strata. The Hadhramaut drainage system, however, is broad and well incised near the mouth, narrow and less deeply incised in the middle, and much wider and deeper farther upstream than at the coast. In its middle part the main stream is not appreciably larger than its tributaries, and it is suggested that in this region lay the former headwaters of a westward-trending drainage. It seems impossible that the vast quantity of material removed during the creation of the great valley from Tarim westward could have been transported to the sea without more erosion than is evident in the vicinity of the hypothesized piracy, about midway between Tarim and the mouth.

As a result of what seems to have been a gentle epeirogenic movement in the region west of Tarim, both the valley floor and the adjoining plateau slope gently upward in this direction at a gradient of 1 in 700 or 1 in 1000. A gradual uplift in the west and south, which is, moreover, in the direction of rock exposures from which sediments have been removed, would have assisted piracy in bringing about a reversal of drainage. Such a sequence of events would well account for the alluvial fill in the tributaries of the main wadi. As the water wells do not penetrate the valley fill to bedrock, the thickness and distribution of this alluvial deposit in the Hadhramaut–Maseila drainage system are not revealed, but an observer gains an impression that it measures perhaps several tens or even hundreds of feet.

A more detailed picture of the interrelationships between, and relative importance of, epeirogenic uplift and stream piracy will, it is hoped, be gained when the Hadhramaut has been more thoroughly explored. That piracy was accompanied by underground drainage as well as by downcutting is suggested by the porosity of some of the rock strata. Subsequent alluviation, however, has obliterated the former entrenched parts of the valley and thus deprived the observer of many desirable details of physiographic history.

It must be noted, however, that tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut to the west of Tarim and also for a short distance to the east

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[3] G. Caton-Thompson and E. W. Gardner: Climate, Irrigation, and Early Man in the Hadhramaut. *Geogr. Journ.*, Vol. 93. 1939. pp. 18–38.

enter the main stream normally, i.e. the angle between main and tributary streams is acute. This suggests that the present drainage prevailed during the period of tributary incision and contradicts the hypothesis of stream reversal. On the other hand, tributaries in the area thought to be that of the former headwaters of westward drainage join the main wadi as if it once flowed in the opposite direction. 133

The apparently normal direction at which the tributaries west of Tarim join the main wadi cannot readily be explained from the data in hand; the problem requires critical study. However, it is felt that the evidence of abnormal stream profile and the relatively small amount of erosion in the central part of the valley outweigh any argument against change in the direction of flow.

### Streams Tributary to the Rub' al Khali

Northward from the east-west drainage divide of the Hadhramaut-Maseila and Hafif systems innumerable slightly incised wadies, in a former extensive tableland, carry intermittent runoff toward the Rub' al Khali desert, where the water is absorbed and the stream channels become choked. The drainage pattern is dendritic; but the main streams, although broadly meandering, maintain a rather uniform direction down the steepest gradient of the plateau surface.

Although little is known of this region and not until recently was it observed by members of the Royal Air Force to be inhabited, it can safely be said that aridity is higher than in the Hadhramaut-Maseila basin, which is favored with annual floods from Yemen, and in the coastal zone, where a number of springs exist.

### Streams Tributary to the Coast at Hafif

Eastward from the point where the Wadi Hadhramaut swerves from its east-west course toward the coast a drainage basin of similar trend carries runoff to the Gulf of Aden in the vicinity of Hafif. This drainage area is bounded on the south by steep-gradient streams to the sea, on the west by the Hadhramaut basin, and on the north by the drainage province tributary to the Rub' al Khali. It measures some 140 miles in length from east to west by 80 miles in width; the area is some 11,200 square miles.

The watercourses of the Hafif area are thought to be intermittent. Nowhere is the water table known to reach the surface. Undoubtedly water is obtainable, as in certain parts of the Hadhramaut, by means of wells favorably located in the main drainage lines; for no other source of supply for the people of this sparsely inhabited area is apparent. 312

The drainage pattern exhibits both rectangular and dendritic characteristics, the former being most evident along the main streams. 133

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Fig. 7—[illegible] with a [illegible] of the [illegible] right-hand [illegible] Seiyun, looking westwards up the Wadi Hadhramaut toward Shibam (see Fig. 6). The large white building [illegible] oval to the foreground is the rest-house with swimming pool shown in Figure 10. The magnificent palace [illegible] (Fig. 8) is below and to the right of the rocky promontory against which the town lies. The upper margin of the photograph shows the dissected plateau in the direction of the Rub' al Khali desert about [illegible] the north.

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Fig. 8—Palace of the Sultan in Seiyun. This beautiful building dominates the market place and is among the most pretentious to be found in the Hadhramaut.

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FIG. 9—Shibam, looking down the Wadi Hadhramaut toward Seiyun (see Fig. 7). Shibam is built on a low hill at the tip of a plateau spur and, for lack of space, grew upward; the buildings are eight to ten stories high. The landlord occupies the upper stories and these parts are whitewashed, the more whitewash, the wealthier the owner. Note the abandoned fields embanked to prevent runoff of water. The upper right-hand margin shows the plateau topography in the direction of the sea, a hundred miles distant.

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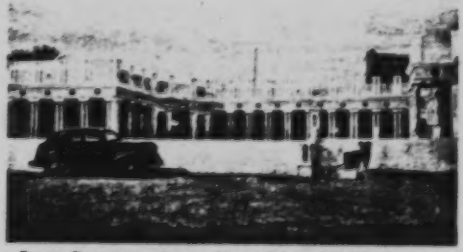

FIG. 10—European guest house at Seiyun. Only one half of the mansion is in view. Most of the courtyard above the steps is occupied by a swimming pool.

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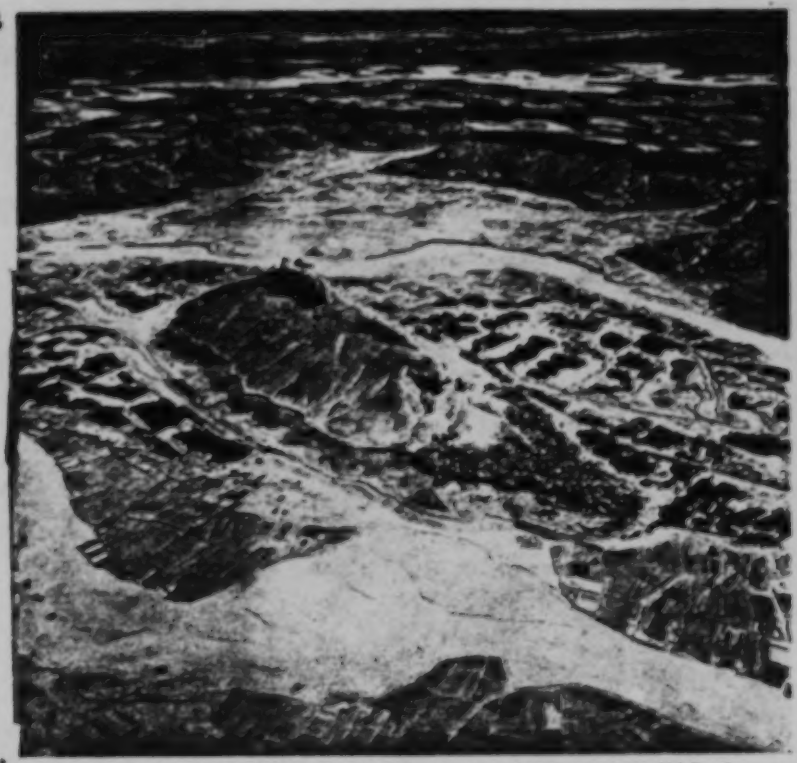

Fig. 11—Hajarain, the largest city in Wadi Do'an, is an map of the principal caravan routes between Mukalla and the Wadi Hadhramaut. Its site was obviously chosen with an eye to defense. Groves of cultivated date palms and millet fields may be seen amid a series of earthen retaining walls and irrigation ditches. As in other cities of the Hadhramaut, adobe brick is the building material.

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Fig. 12—A typical, fortified, Arab settlement on the banks of the Wadi Hajr. The irrigated groves of date palms furnish the main foodstuff.

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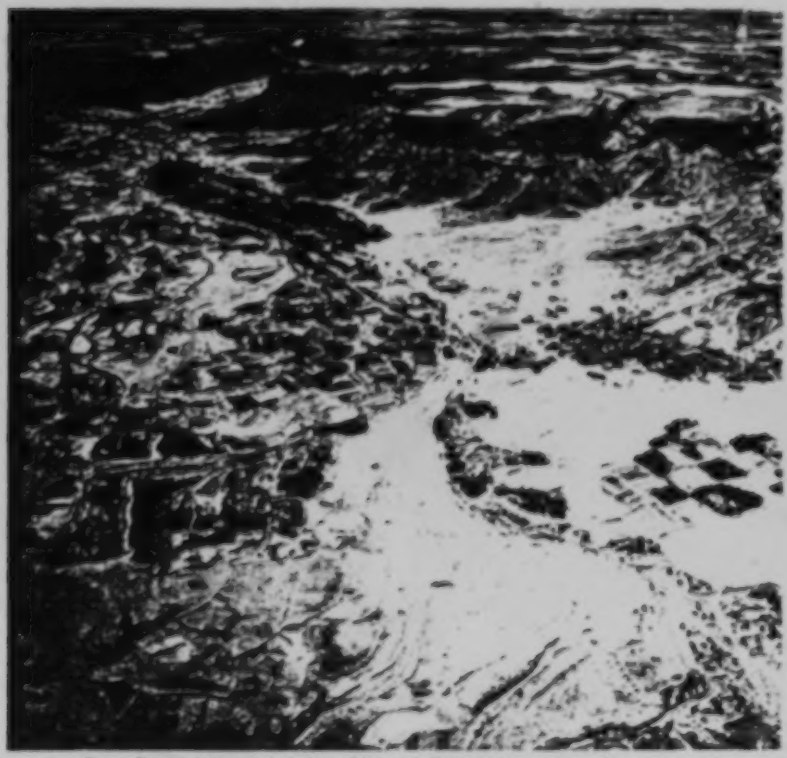

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FIG. 15—Hureidha, in the Wadi Amd. Like a majority of the Hadhramaut cities, it is situated in a semi-protected spot. Both used and abandoned agricultural areas may be observed throughout the broad valley. This view over the tableland looks southward toward the sea and illustrates the steep-walled nature of the drainage system among even the smaller streams.

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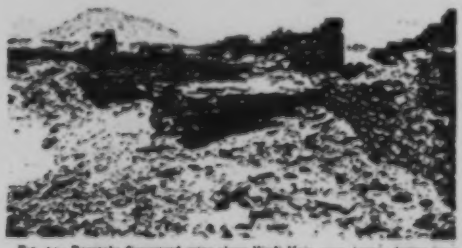

FIG. 16—Recently discovered ruins along Wadi Hajr, near Amoh, dating from the time of the pre-Islamic Himyaritic kingdom.

P.639

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FIG. 15—Mukalla from the sea. The skyline of the second largest settlement and commercial center on the south coast of Arabia.

133 Gradients are low, not more than 1 in 500 and very probably averaging about 1 in 750.

### STREAMS NEAR THE COAST

The area between the coast and the southern margin of the Hadhramaut-Maseila and Hafif basins, some 500 miles long, is drained by short, intermittent, steep-gradient mountain streams, few of which, except certain sections of the Maseila, are perennial. The best known of these is the Wadi Hajr, which enters the Gulf of Aden at Ras al Kalb, 50 miles southwest of Mukalla. Another is the Wadi Meifa, about the same distance beyond Hajr. Both of them, although they have not been traced to their sources, are reasonably reported to be fed by springs.

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FIG. 16—The harbor of Mukalla. "Main Street" follows the shore of the bay behind the first row of buildings. Mukalla builds most of the locally-owned dhows.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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FIG. 17—Ruins of a pre-Islamic city in the Wadi Maseila. The site was chosen for defensive purposes and each house was in itself a fortress.

## HOT SPRINGS

133 [135] Hot sulphurous springs are widely scattered in the coastal zone, and fairly accurate accounts of many of them are available. They commonly deposit gypsum in quantity. Some of the deposits are so large as to suggest either that activity was more general in the past or that the position of the spring outlets has shifted. The springs may be attributed to the same subterranean conditions that prevail in Yellowstone Park, where descending waters become superheated through close association with uncooled rocks and rise again to the surface.

312 241 361 [271] Within half a mile of the coast of Hami, east of Mukalla, several hot springs are utilized by the natives for irrigation of date palms and millet and also for drinking. Neither here nor elsewhere does the

[312] FIG. 18—A view in the Wadi Maseila where water is present during most of the year. The edge of the *Jol* appears in the background.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



to advise him in his rule so as to establish confidence in him as a ruler, to help in agriculture, medical work, and schools. The work done so far has been of an experimental nature, but a measure of success has been achieved in the Beihan and Ahwar areas, and work in other areas, such as Shaibi country, has been started. I have not been in close touch with the work, but I believe the experiment is distinctly promising. If there is a weakness about it, it may be that there is not sufficient promise of continuity—that is to say, it may be it is too dependent on one man, the chief. The areas are small, there is no government establishment. If you have an establishment one man may fail and you can put another in, but the thing continues. If you have only one man, and he dies, there is no guarantee that his successor will be like him. Even if a political officer is permanently in the country he is dependent on there being a co-operative chief, unless he is to run the country himself.

The W.A.P. is almost entirely tribal, as I have said; there is therefore little culture. Indigenous schools are rare and there are none beyond the Quran school stage. Illiteracy is very general. But there is little doubt that schools, if provided, will be quickly filled. The main question is what will the newly educated do in their own countries? Certainly there is room for educated chiefs and for the comparatively few who are, or will be, required to help them in governing or providing social services. But the opportunities there will only absorb a few and there are no mercantile communities worth mentioning. There may be scope for some technical training and even agricultural training, but it is not easy to see how the tribesman already expert at the cultivation of oases, terrace cultivation in the comparatively few parts where agriculture is possible, is going to be given an education which will greatly assist him. There are few areas where over-education could cause more trouble with discontented literates than the protectorate. So that a question that to my mind still requires much thought is—what sort of education can be given which will help the advancement of the country and not upset it? And I don't think that a satisfactory answer is yet forthcoming as to what can be the future of the W.A.P. Until it is answered it is difficult to decide on the lines education should follow, for there is nothing old to build on.

### The Eastern Aden Protectorate

So much for the W.A.P. The Eastern Aden Protectorate provides a great contrast. Perhaps it may be helpful to catalogue the contrasts briefly. In the first place, the area of the E.A.P. is between 70,000 and 80,000 squares miles, while that of the W.A.P. is between 30,000 and 40,000. The estimated population of both is about 300,000, so that the E.A.P. is much more sparsely inhabited. But the bulk of the population lives on the coast and in the Wadis Du'an and Hadhramaut 100 to 150 miles inland. So that there are vast areas which are practically uninhabited. Therefore there are bigger distances to cover between communities. In the second place, as I have already said, the total acreage of cultivable land is very much less than the W.A.P., and the people who own it are much less agriculturally minded than the farmer-owners of the W.A.P. It is an essentially desert country, with the Rub'al Khali just

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



behind it, and not the high mountains of the Yemen. Its height above the sea-level nowhere exceeds 6,000 feet and is generally not more than 3,500. It has therefore no regular rainfall. 33

Then, as regards treaties, while the W.A.P. has a total of about thirty-five chiefs in direct relation with His Majesty's Government, the E.A.P. has only seven, of which one, the Kathiri, is comparatively recent. The reason is that in the E.A.P. all that was required was to keep foreign powers off the coast. All the six original treaties with E.A.P. rulers were with coastal chiefs. Starting from the west, 'Irqa and Haura are only small villages. The two Wahidi Sultans come next, then the Qu'aiti, the largest of them all, whose state to-day covers some 50,000 square miles, and then the Mahra, which includes Socotra Island. While the W.A.P. is historically part of the Yemen, and has now a new and natural capital in Aden which supplies it with all its requirements, the E.A.P. is historically and geographically detached and has a local commercial capital in Mukalla, but looks to India, Singapore, and Java for its cultural and social contacts. 648

The Hadhramaut is historically and geographically a country in itself, and consists of the Wahidi Sultanates, with the two little Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, which are really ports in the country of the Dhiyeibi tribe, who are a Wahidi tribe, and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. I propose not to say anything more of the Mahra country because as yet little is known about it, though in the last year or two more has been learnt of Socotra. 101

You will have gathered, I think, that, owing to its desert nature and lack of rainfall, the prospects of the development of agriculture in the Hadhramaut are not very promising, and as the various explorations that have taken place to date have not discovered any mineral resources, it does not look as though the economic future is very bright. The best agricultural areas are Gheil Ba Wazir, on the coast, where Hamumi tobacco is very successfully grown, and this brings in a revenue of about Rs. 200,000 a year to the state, and Meifa, in which conditions have been considerably improved in the last few years and where some further development is possible. It was hoped that the alluvial silt of the Wadi Hadhramaut would prove a fertile area for wide development if water could be found, but experiment has shown that it is largely brackish and, bearing in mind the desert surroundings, it is probable that any further supplies of water which boring might discover would not be sufficient to wash out the salt. It is unfortunate, too, that the bulk of the population, the seiyids and tribesmen, do not take to working on the land themselves, as do the tribesmen of the W.A.P., but rely on dhafa, a class of poor townsmen who are almost in the position of serfs. These dhafa lived by building the palaces of the rich and working their wells, but the fall of Singapore and Java cut off the supplies of money from the Far East so that the rich could no longer maintain them. The beduin had lived by carrying supplies from the coast to the interior, but with the falling off of imports they too suffered. On top of this catastrophe there was a seven-year drought from 1937 to 1944, which meant the loss of crops, flocks, and 50 per cent. of the working camels, so that between the difficulties of 241 311 565 463 731

133 soft silt could be carried to the middle courses of the streams. The two cycles were separated by a phase which was marked by extensive volcanic activity, especially in north-east Yaman, where the lava spreads always cover the old gravels and underlie the silts. The second cycle was followed by erosion, during which new torrential beds were cut into the silts (sometimes producing a series of erosional terraces). There has also been a still more recent (historical) outburst of volcanic activity (on a much more limited scale), the accompanying features of which are still noticeable in hot springs, etc.

We were able to associate the two physiographic cycles (or at least their depositional phases) with pluvial episodes. During Quaternary times this corner of Arabia seems to have had two major Pluvials separated by an Interpluvial. It was not possible to work out the stages of the first Pluvial, which was a prolonged one, and which must have had more than one sub-maximum (as shown by terraces); but there is presumptive evidence from one or two places that the second Pluvial may have had two sub-maxima separated by an Intrapluvial. In recent times there was a new wet phase (shown by archæological and other evidence), which we believe to have continued well into the Christian era (perhaps to the fifth century A.D.).

## Archæology

172 The south-west plateau of Arabia proved to be singularly poor in prehistoric remains. Perhaps the great height (mainly above 1,500 m.) and the unfavourable climatic conditions during pluvial episodes contributed to this. It is to be recalled that very few remains have thus far been found at the high altitudes (above 6,000 ft.) of the opposite coasts of East Africa. We have carefully examined gravel exposures and have carried out experimental excavations at no fewer than fifteen caves and rock shelters in Yaman and Hadhramaut, but the results were largely negative. Surface specimens were looked for all along the route, but they were found only in very limited numbers and in particularly favourable localities; they belong typologically to Lower and Middle Palæolithic and rarely to the Upper Palæolithic. Whatever may have been the reasons, the scarcity of even surface finds shows that even if remains of prehistoric man may some day be forthcoming from this region, they will never be comparable in quantity with those from the African side. This reflects rather unfavourably on recent views put forward with regard to East Africa as a centre of cultural diffusion in Lower Palæolithic times.

Remains relating to the early historic phase of the area were, on the other hand, particularly abundant. Work and excavations at a number of places in Yaman and Hadhramaut have yielded fairly illuminating results. New light is thrown on relations between south-west Arabia on one hand and the Hellenistic East and Græco-Roman Egypt on the other, during the early centuries of the Christian era.

p. 513 (c)

121 BETWEEN April and October 1936 the Egyptian University of Cairo sent out a scientific expedition to Yaman and Hadhramaut. It consisted of four members, and was intended to carry out researches in the fields of geology, physiography, archæology, anthropology and entomology. The expedition covered a distance of some 2,500 kilometres and was able to carry out intensive researches at various localities both on the High Plateau of Yaman and in the interior of Hadhramaut. The material brought back has not been studied in detail as yet; but a preliminary note can be given here.

## Geology

121 133 One of the expedition's main aims was to work out certain problems connected with the geological history of the southern borders of the Red Sea. We worked at a number of points along the lines of rifting both south and west of the Yaman Plateau, where the old crystalline rocks (schists and granites) of the base were exposed under later (secondary and tertiary) sediments and lavas. The successive horizons of the tertiary traps of the High Plateau were carefully examined and specimens collected. In north-east Yaman we worked chiefly on Jurassic limestones and Nubian sandstones, and a large collection of fossils was made from the successive zones of the former. The interior of Hadhramaut was found to have a relatively simple structure and to consist mostly of Eocene limestones on earlier unfossiliferous sandstones. We hope that new evidence from the lower part of the Eocene may throw useful light on the date of the trap volcanic series of tertiaries in south-west Arabia.

## Physiography

133 Pleistocene geology proved to be quite interesting. We worked chiefly on the middle parts of the valleys, which were relatively independent of changes in base (sea) level. Two physiographic cycles were established, the first being by far the more pronounced. Valleys with sloping sides were first cut and then filled with coarse gravels which now rise (usually in two or more terraces) to some 30 m. above the beds of the streams. During this stage there was a good deal of lateral wash and erosion in the middle parts of the valleys, and this erosion was probably responsible for the sloping sides of the V-shaped valleys. The gravels were examined at a large number of exposures, but unfortunately they produced only one or two specimens of pre-Chellean appearance.

The second physiographic cycle was associated first with the cutting of new steep-sided valleys *emboîtées* in the older gravels, and then with the filling in of these new valleys with soft sediments of silt. Deposition was much more regular and there was very little lateral wash in the middle parts of the new valley-beds. The discharge during the depositional phase of the second cycle was much less than that during the depositional phase of the first cycle, as only

p. 513 (B)

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1935) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



boundary of the region of the āl-Qa'ētī, and were advised 000
to trust to the āl-Kathir. About five days were considered necessary to get our caravan together, and these days were made use of for making a botanical collection on the limestone hills behind Makalla.

Von Wissmann made profile sketches of the hills, and 484
made observations to get a good base for his road survey. 486
We were thankful to make use of the permission granted 721
us by the authorities to make a trip for two days along the coast to ash-Shihr, which was formerly the most important harbor. Even a short distance inland from Makalla the country becomes unsafe. We were taken in a sort of auto-bus belonging to the sultan round the inland side of the mass of rock at Makalla, after that close along the shore, and finally even along the flat sandy shore. The bus was quite full of armed guards. We were forbidden to go by the road over the mountains, since on that road some soldiers had been killed from an ambush a short time before.

We were thankful when, after many negotiations with the leaders of our caravan, the signal for departure could be given on the afternoon of May 8. From early morning until the afternoon the vizier had had to negotiate with a group of Bedouins, who were waiting for our caravan among the rocks near the road, just outside the whitewashed boundary marks of the town of Makalla, in order to satisfy a blood-feud. The vizier knew how to bargain for a safe passage, but to be quite safe he had us taken in a government auto to a point beyond the border. In the darkness of night we were set down by the side of the road to wait for our donkeys!

The journey to the inaccessible and fanatical land of 133
Hadramaut was now begun. From the 9th to the 15th of May we traveled northwards,—first through the Wādī Himim. Finally we came to the terrible, monotonous plateau with table-mountains, known as *jōl*. For many days we marched over this limestone plateau with its basin-like depressions and its very scant vegetation.

133 During the daytime the heat was stifling, and at night it was so cold that for hours before the sun rose I was no longer able to sleep. The interminable, barren plain was covered all over with sharp, loose fragments of stone, and among these wound the narrow path along which from morning to night we steadily wended our way.
312 Drinking water is here to be found in *negābas,* which are cisterns hewn out of the rock some three meters below the surface, with a narrow opening. Low ridges lead the scanty rainfall to the *negāba.* Owing to the narrow opening there is very little evaporation, and if one has no rope at hand with a vessel to draw water, this opening is just large enough to admit a man to dip it out.
485 Near the *negāba* there is usually a little square building made by piling up rough stones in clay, this is called *murabba,* and here the midday hours with their scorch-
486 ing heat may be spent. For the sake of safety, our
609 Bedouins avoided the *negābas* as places for passing the night. In the evening the neighborhood of the bivouac was carefully reconnoitred, and usually sentries were posted at night. The authorities at Makalla had given us for our personal protection two negro soldiers belonging
133 to the famous slave army of the āl-Qa'ētī sultan. On May 15 we reached the wonderfully beautiful valley Wādī Dō'an. The descent of hundreds of meters of this almost perpendicular wall of rock with loaded camels was a difficult feat causing some anxiety; but the Bedouins and their camels reached the valley below with-
245 out a single mishap. As we looked upon this *wādī,* hemmed in by its high walls of rock, it looked like a land of magic with its deep-green groves of date palms
[361] and its clay villages with great castles and high houses. A glowing heat as dry as dust prevailed in Wādī Dō'an night and day. The bright yellow and deep red bunches of dates were hanging ripening in the hot wind. In the shade of the magnificent and remarkably well kept trees the population were quietly waiting for the harvest time.
144 A great deal of mixture with negro blood (of slaves) has

every year pilgrims assemble there from all those regions, and both before and after that a Truce of God prevails during an appointed period, in this country which is rent asunder by mutual warfare. Never before had a Christian been able to get further than Terīm in the direction of this sanctuary, and without the protection and the planning of the powerful Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf we should not have succeeded. On the way to Qabr Hūd we passed the magnificent ruined castles of el-'Urr and Thōbe, and the remains of houses and a cemetery at Makēnun. Qabr Hūd seemed to be a silent and defunct little town, with great houses which are only occupied for three days in a year. In the bed of the *wādī* there appeared to be water here, but before it reaches the sea it is said to disappear underground or else to dry up. The grave of Hūd, the great preacher of repentance in Hadramaut, is adorned with a dome which impresses one by its simplicity and beauty. The other sacred buildings are equally beautiful and are well kept. Where we had expected to find a Bedouin sanctuary which was neglected and primitive and surrounded by mud huts for the pilgrims, we found instead on the border of Arabia's "empty quarter," far away from the world, a sanctuary built and cared for with devotion and great talent.

We entered still further into the branch valley of Barhūt, and at the end of this *wādī* we saw at a height of about one hundred meters above the bottom of the valley the dark yawning chasm of the Bīr Barhūt, of which even the ancient geographers furnished descriptions, and definitely anticipated that there must be here the crater of a great volcano. After an investigation of two hours in the dark passages, arches and tunnels of Bīr Barhūt we were able to determine that we have here to deal with an ordinary limestone cave. Nowhere in this region did we see any trace of volcanic action. It was only in the broken ridge of mountains on the coast that we saw many traces of volcanic action. Further north the strata are horizontal; a layer of limestone about

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a hundred meters in thickness lies on a likewise horizontal layer of sandstone. Owing to this, the valley profiles throughout Hadramaut are monotonously uniform.

On the 7th of June we left Terīm. With some difficulty we had succeeded in securing the sympathy and cooperation of Sayyid Abu Bakr for our plan of trying to reach Aden overland. The baggage would be sent direct to ash-Shihr, and thence by sea to Aden. We could take with us only as much as we could carry with us on our riding camels. With a small escort and fast camels we should then perhaps be able to pass unnoticed through the region where there was war. This plan fell through. We were continually coming upon territory through which we could not pass. By way of Horēda we passed through the Wādī 'Amd to a place where, beyond 'Amd, the territory between two contending parties compelled us to make a circuitous movement through the country of the Deyyin Bedouins. Even though we traveled rapidly with a small party we were continually compelled to make new detours. In so doing we got still further away from our original goal, namely, Nisāb (or Ansāb), which is the furthest English outpost in the hinterland of Aden. At Yeb'ith, where the attitude of the population was antagonistic, and where our food supply seemed to be extremely limited, we gave up the Aden plan, and decided to make rapid marches direct to Makalla. At Sidāra we entered the Wādī Hajr, the only *wādī* in South Arabia where there is always running water. At Mēfa'a we reached the coast. Through the difficult mountain range along the coast we went as far as the fishing town of Borūm. Then we followed the coast to Makalla, where we arrived safe on the afternoon of June 21.

The return journey had been partly through territory never yet traveled. Von Wissmann was thus in a position to put on his map the exact connection between Hadramaut and the hinterland of Aden. By this conclusion of

# THE SOUTH-WEST BORDERLANDS OF THE RUB' AL KHALI

D. G. BUNKER

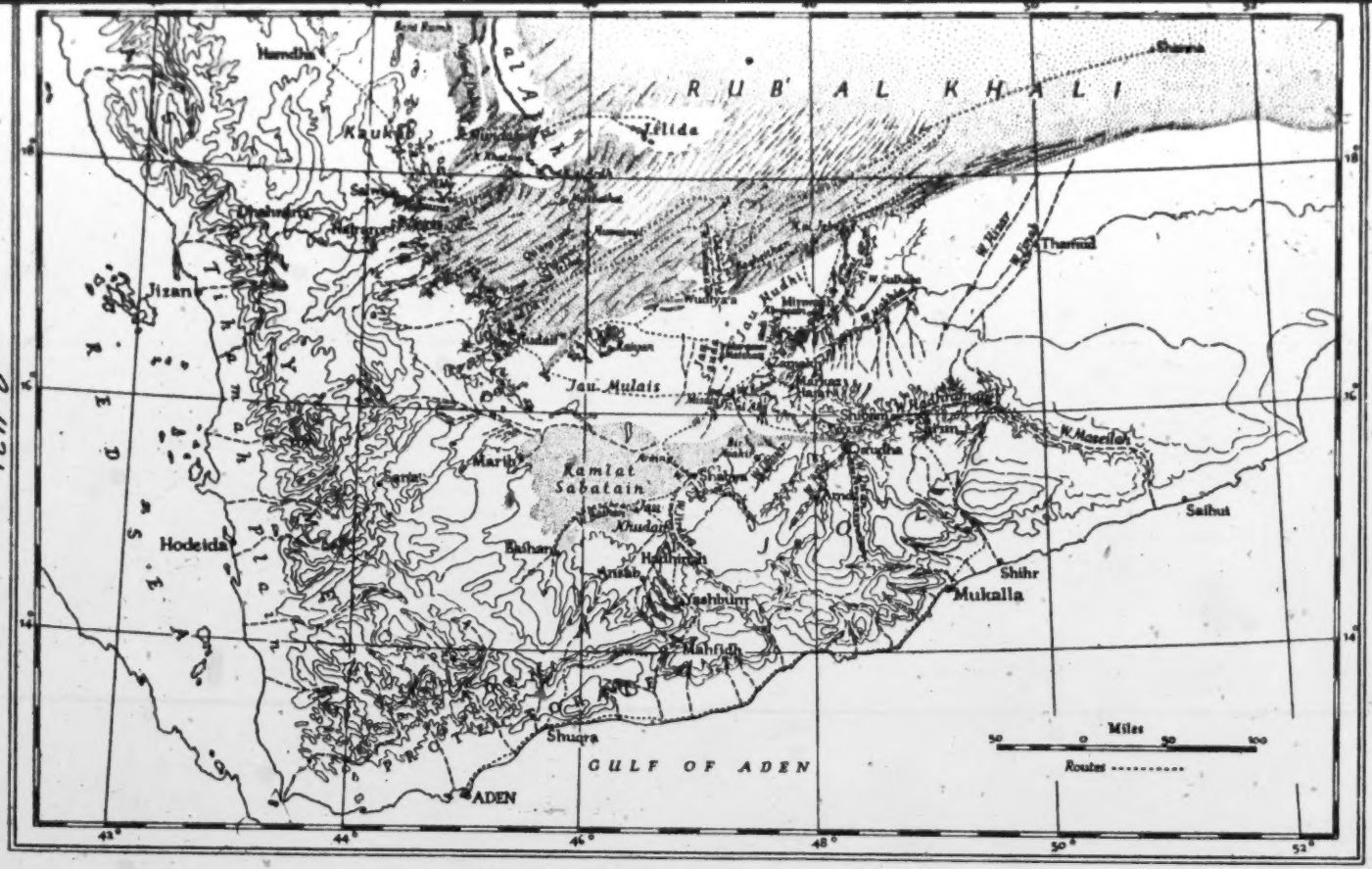
121 126 As a result of work carried out for the Desert Locust Survey in south-western Arabia during the past few years, several of the blanks on the map have been filled in and much confirmation has been given to previous travellers' reports. The region particularly investigated has been that which forms the transition belt from the peripheral mountain system to the interior sand desert often referred to as the Rub' al Khali. The area visited has been mapped on a scale of 1:500,000 by means of car-compass traverses tied to astronomically determined positions, all to a general accuracy of 0·1 of a mile. The following notes are intended only to supplement the information contained in those maps which are in process of publication.

*The mountain systems*

123 The old crystalline hills of the 'Asir and Yemen, which to the west drop in a series of steps to the Tihamah or coastal plain, are to the east overlain by near horizontal strata of sedimentary rocks of which the oldest are probably the sandstones forming the Kaukab plateau and the newest, excluding recent deposits, are the Eocene limestones of the *jol*, the succession seeming more complete in the north. The peripheral mountain system is in the form of a letter L, where the upright stroke comprises the 'Asir and the Yemen mountains and the horizontal stroke is the *jol* plateau, the division being more or less abrupt along the line of the forty-seventh meridian.

Philby (1938) describes the change between the two sides of the 'Asir watershed as "abruptly from a tropical country to a desert plateau of uniform height of over eight thousand feet (with higher ridges), descending to about six thousand feet at the western end of the Najran tract. It is a sandstone area with occasional cappings and peaks of basalt. Its rugged gorges and valleys have occasional wells and springs, but for the most part it is an abomination of desolation extending north-ward to Dhahran and south-ward to the limit of vision into the still unexplored territory of northern Yemen." Nevertheless there are among the eastern slopes many wadis whose seasonal floods may rush out of the mountainous regions to the inland plain and on into the sandy desert.

The regularity of these floods in the past may be deduced from the extent of the thick layers of silt which mark the sites of past damming and irrigation works in nearly all these wadis. These silt layers often form 20-foot cliffs containing the present watercourses, and occasionally the ruins of the dams themselves may be found. The Wadis Habauna and Najran, besides having silt cliffs, show signs of further re-cutting of their outwash plains. In both cases the outwash plain extends regularly for the first 10 miles from the foothills but during the next 5 miles is eroded by gullies some 3 feet deep which together form a plain at a lower level, only to be re-cut in the same manner.




*South-west borderlands of the Rub' al Khali*

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133 In those parts visited, three such steps were noted in Wadi Najran and two in Wadi Habauna.

The line of the eastern foothills of the 'Asir and Yemen mountains continues in a curve south-east from Najran through Marib and Baihan to Al Hadhinah, about 14° 30′ N, 46° 50′ E. From here southwards through Mahfadh to the coast the crystalline rocks disappear under the cover of horizontal strata of nodular Eocene limestone which forms the plateau of the *jol*. The western limit of this *jol* continues north-east from Al Hadhinah to the Khashm al Jebel, 17° 30′ N.

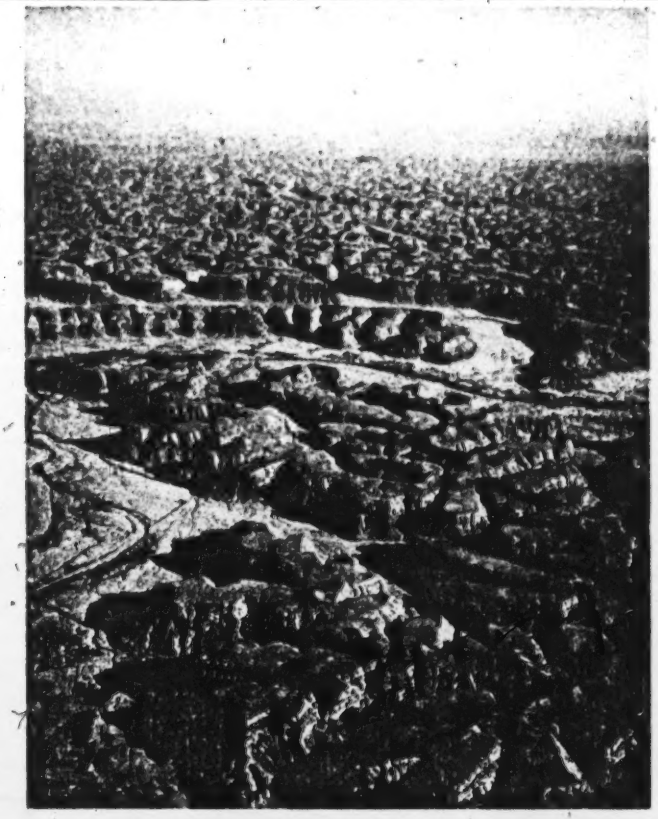
At the Khashm al Jebel the plateau has an elevation a little over 2000 feet rising gently south-south-westwards till at 16° N. the altitude is 3000 feet at Sai'un and 3400 by Markaz Hajar and Husn al 'Abr. South of the Wadi Hadhramaut the strata continue to rise until some 40 miles inland from the coast, where an increasing amount of faulting occurs and blocks of the *jol* have been forced to heights of over 6000 feet. Here too begins the volcanic activity evidenced by lava flows and signs of contact metamorphism, with a thin stratum of limestone overlying the igneous rocks (Plate 1).

*The wadis of the jol*

The deeply incised wadi courses which descend through the *jol* in a series of steps between high cliffs have excited the curiosity of travellers from the earliest times (Plate 2). The Bents (1900) thought that the erosion had been caused by marine action, but the general theory of climatic fluctuations has since suggested that there may have been sufficient rain in the past to have produced the present landform. Fisher (1951) remarks that the feature of the wide upper reaches of the Wadi Hadhramaut would seem to be the result of wadi capture, and it is suggested that this theory can be elaborated to account for the whole pattern of the present *jol* drainage.

The original drainage was north and south from the 6000-foot watershed. There may have been an east–west fault along the line of the present Wadi Hadhramaut which caused the north-flowing rivers each to have a short eastward reach along the line of the fault before continuing north again. One of the south-flowing rivers, the Maseilah, cut back through the main watershed at about 15° 40′ N., 50° 50′ E. and initiated the series of river captures on a line parallel to and inland of the watershed. In this it would have been helped by the existence of a fault line or similar line of weakness, though the absence of such a line of weakness does not materially affect or invalidate the hypothesis. The west–east course of the Hadhramaut–Maseilah system formed in this way dominates the present drainage pattern. The upper reaches of the north-flowing rivers would now have become north-flowing tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut, while the lower reaches would have been left headless or formed their own much shallower heads at the subsidiary watershed now created to the north of the Hadhramaut. This is supported by the statement by Thesiger (1949) that "the wadis flowing north from the Hadhramaut watershed are shallow at their heads, in contrast with the north-flowing wadis from Dhufar which begin in deep canyons." Once the north-flowing wadis from Dhufar are compared with the north-flowing wadis from the main watershed, *i.e.* the north-flowing tributaries to the Wadi Hadhra-

*1. Thin stratum of limestone (top right-hand corner) overlying igneous rocks, on the west road from Mukalla*



*2. Part of the jol with the Wadi Hadhramaut, east of Tarim. The cliffs are approximately 1000 feet high*

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133 maut, and not with their beheaded remnants north of the subsidiary watershed, then the similarity becomes obvious. As would be expected from this theory, the south-flowing tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut have heads even deeper than those on the main watershed. Given a short eastward displacement in the courses of the original rivers, then it is possible that the Du'an and 'Amd drainages originally fed into the Hizar and Jinab respectively.

The completion of the present phase of river capture occurred when the headwaters of the Hadhramaut cut right back and out of the western edge of the *jol*, and formed the unusual and almost unique feature of the wide upper reaches in a line from Husn al 'Abr to Shabwa. The headwaters cut back rapidly across the plain which had been formed by the wadis 'Arma, Jirdan, Baihan, etc., and carried all the waters from them down to the Masqilah and the Gulf of Aden, whereas before they had drained towards the Persian Gulf. This capture has left a vast dry plain, the Khudaif–Mulais basin, with dry watercourses up to 2 miles wide. Several such courses may be seen in the Wudiya'a area, and have banks 20 feet or more deep, and floors of heavy fluvial gravels.

A series of levels carried out in early 1951 showed river capture still occurring around Husn al 'Abr. Here short, steep-profiled tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut are cutting back into the headwaters of the Wadi Hudhi, which flows north-eastwards past Zamakh with the cliff edge of the *jol* forming its right bank. Hills such as the Misair group have been isolated from the rest of the *jol*, and both Misair and Rubah retain the flat-topped character of the *jol*. The cliff face of Rubah is only some 200 feet high on the north where it descends to the Hudhi, but on the south it drops 500 feet to the Hadhramaut. Levels were also carried out in the Minwakh area and showed the capture of the lower waters of the Hudhi and the waters of the Sibr, Kor, Sulhaba, etc., which had been tributary to it. The point of capture of these rivers by the Aiwat as Sei'ar is at Shasun, about 10 miles downstream from Minwakh

*The pattern of settlements*

361 133 491 The siting of settlements in the mountain areas is dependent on agriculture with its requirement of a workable tilth and water at a manageable depth. Among the crystalline hills these conditions are best fulfilled at the foot of the torrent course, where the first patches of riverine plain appear. Thus there is a series of settlements from Ranya through Bisha, Tathlith, Hamdha, Salwa, Najran, Shudaif, Marib, Baihan, and Ansab to Al Hadhinah, and all these settlements can be reached by motor transport from the inland plain by driving up the wadi bed. Penetration upstream of the settlements is frequently difficult as the bed becomes stony and boulder-strewn, and all pretence of riverine plain ceases.

133 311 In the *jol* the wadis descend in a series of steps which are caused by strata more resistant to erosion. The horizontal section of each of these steps has retained sufficient silt for agriculture and water is also available. Moreover the vertical cliff faces, sometimes higher than the width of the valleys they contain, cut off the morning and afternoon sun, thereby considerably reducing

133 the amount of evaporation. Accordingly we find in the north–south wadis a
311 continuous belt of cultivations with hamlets of a few houses every mile and towns about 15 miles or an easy day's walk apart. As opposed to this the cultivations in the Wadi Hadhramaut, which runs west–east, are to be found mainly in belts along the northern and southern sides, the south belt being wider than the north, due to the increasing evaporation and lower water table towards the centre of the wadi.

311 Except for the hamlets which occur among the fields, the buildings make
361 use of unproductive land, and perch up against the cliff side on the talus slope. This position also carries the advantages of shade together with good siting for defence. Where land is at a premium, villages may be so sited as to become inaccessible even to the draught and load-carrying beasts used in agriculture, and the stables and grainstores are found at the edges of the fields and at the foot of the narrow winding path leading up to the village (Plate 3).

[104] Water for the permanent cultivations of *dhurra* (*Sorghum* sp.), *dukhn*
312 (*Pennisetum typhoideum* et spp.), lucerne and date palm has until the last few
406 years been drawn by man or animal power, raising a leather bag of water by
241 walking down a ramp away from the well shaft. Nowadays greater use is being made of diesel- and petrol-driven pumps, increasing both the yield and the area it is economical to cultivate. The effect of these pumps, which are available on deferred terms, in lowering the water table will be watched with care. New crops such as potatoes, the brassicas, and sugar cane are also being introduced under the agriculture scheme in an attempt to make the Hadhramaut, if not entirely self-supporting, at least less dependent on its "extra-territorial population."

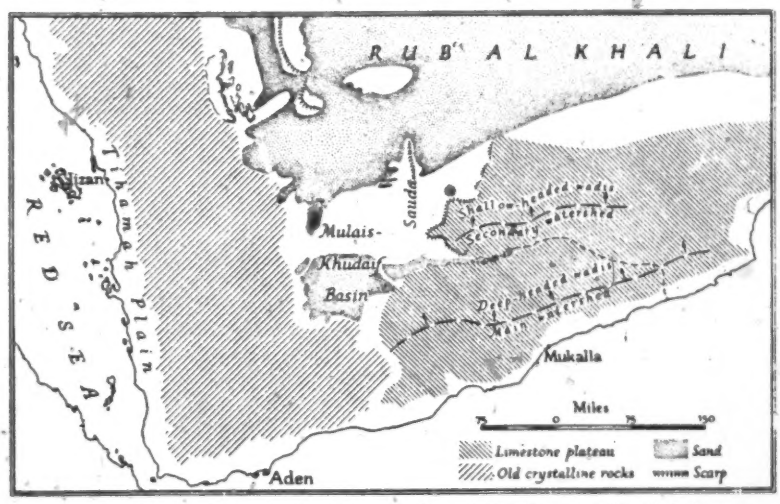
241 This limitation does not apply to the flood crops which are snatched
312 wherever possible. Throughout the lower wadi systems there exists a com-
361 plicated network of deflector dams which have the object of spreading the floodwaters over as large an area as possible, and leading a certain part of them into irrigation channels. Many retaining dams have been attempted, but usually unsuccessfully, as the major structure has been an earthwork with only the spillway of durable construction. In the shallow beds of the wadis running north from the secondary watershed there are many small cultivated patches and groups of two or three fortified houses are often situated where camel tracks converge on water cisterns cut into the rock.

*The transition belt.*

133 The transition zone between the mountain systems and the sand desert takes a number of forms. North of the Ramlat[1] al Mundafan the Kaukab sandstone plateau overlies the crystalline rocks to the west, and to the east has eroded to become an area of minor plateaus and blocks. Through the wide flat valleys between these minor plateaus runs the main Najran–Dawasir track, roughly north–south in longitude 44° 45′ E. at a general height of a little under 3000 feet. To the east of this track lies the southern section of the Nafud Dahi, running parallel with the road, and rising to a height of 100 feet

104 [1] Ramla(t): a general name for any sand feature. Thus the Ramlat al Mundafan means literally "the buried sands."

above it. It is a sandstone feature some 25 miles wide and has a covering of loose sand which tends to conceal its structure. However the sand cover becomes so thin along the highest part that the vegetation takes on a reticulated pattern in conformity with the fissure pattern of the sandstone below, suggesting that the ridge is either a shallow anticline or more probably a low west-facing escarpment concealed by the surfacing of loose sand. On the most southerly extension of the Nafud Dahi there are a few parallel dune chains oriented to 220° and 1 to 2 miles in length with a lateral spacing of 1 mile between groups. The slip faces are to the south-east, and the dunes about 20 feet high. According to local information the dunes are more




*South-west borderlands of the Rub' al Khali: geological detail*

abundant to the north, and the orientation of the Beni Rumh sands is to the north-west, but this area was not visited.

To the east, the Nafud Dahi descends easily to a north–south plain some 10 miles wide and 100 miles long lying at a height of 2600 feet at the foot of the Ardh scarp. This scarp, which is the southward continuation of the Jebel Tuwaiq, is of possibly Triassic calcareous felspathic sandstone overlain by a sheet of Jurassic limestone of great purity but covered by "desert varnish" giving it the appearance of old ivory. The scarp varies from 200 to 250 feet in height and between 19° and 20° N. lies in longitude 45° 10′ E., interrupted in 19° 53′ N. by the Wadi Fau. South of 19° N. the scarp turns to the south-east, loses height due to the east-north-east dip, and reaches 18° 32′ N., 45° 25′ E. The parallel dune chains of the sand desert proper lie on top of the scarp and from 2 to 4 miles back from the edge, with the exception of one line, the Ramlat al Mundafan which, in line with the ends of the other dunes, disappears into a depression of the Ardh scarp known as the Muqta'a al Tuwaiq, 18° 30′ N., 45° 30′ E. and continues, "buried" from sight, out on to the plain at the foot of the scarp. Motor transport can be taken up the scarp at this point.

133 scarp at this point. The general alignment of the dunes is to 245° with the slip face to the north-west. The height is about 70 feet. As the Mundafan sands continue south-west they become divided into two sections by the *'asfal* [1] Wadi Habauna, a flat gravel plain on which no sign can be found of the Nafud Dahi scarp. The northern section continues unbroken to the eastern edge of the Ukhr block, a sandstone feature separated from the Kaukab plateau.

South of the *'asfal* Wadi Habauna as far as Shudaif the character of the transition zone is entirely different. Here parallel dunes reach right across to the foothills of the 'Asir and Yemen mountains leaving at the most a narrow plain but a few miles wide. For upwards of 20 miles from the base of the mountains, isolated granite crags may be found between and among the sand [487] dunes. Driving through this area frequent detours have to be made out into the sands or in among the foothills to avoid the barrier formed by sand meeting hill. To pass the south-western end of the 'Arq ad Da'ir in 1952 necessitated a journey 6 miles further into the foothills than that recorded by Philby in 1936.

Shudaif marks the southern limit of the Rub' al Khali sands, and from here south-east stretches a vast triangular area of plains bounded to the north by the sands, to the east by the cliff wall of the *jol*, and to the south-west by the Yemen mountains. It has an area in the order of 150,000 square miles, and is divided into three sections, the Jau [2] Mulais, the Jau Khudaif and the Jau Hudhi by the Ramlat Sabatain and the Sauda scarp, which runs west and north [illegible]ively from Husn al 'Abr. The process of formation probably took place in three stages, of which the first was the planation of the archaean rocks before the deposition of the sedimentary strata. The second was the removal of this sedimentary cover by north-flowing wadis which were constantly forced against their eastern banks by the east-north-east dip of the underlying rock surface. Two river courses may still be seen doing this, the Hudhi cutting back the *jol*, and the abandoned course by Wudiya'a (see p. 423) which cut back the Sauda scarp. The third stage is the present one of arid erosion, where on the Jau Mulais the igneous protrusions are disintegrating by exfoliation down to a base level where they become protected from the great diurnal temperature changes by the sands and gravels of the desert floor, and on the Jau Hudhi above the Sauda scarp wind erosion is making the surface more and more smooth and level.

The Jau Khudaif and the Jau Mulais together form the Khudaif-Mulais basin referred to above (p. 423). The Jau Mulais is an area of quartz gravels, covered in some places by thin sheets of sand with areas of rock protruding from a few inches to a few feet. A few larger plugs and dykes form conspicuous hills such as the Raiyan group, which is in the form of a series of lines radiating from a point about 16° 30′ N., 46° 10′ E., the granite hills rising sheer from the plain made from their own disintegration. The Jau Khudaif lies to the south of the Jau Mulais and is divided from it by the Ramlat Sabatain. There is a greater cover of sand than on the Jau Mulais,

[104] [1] 'Asfal: the lower reaches and outwash plain of a wadi.

[2] Jau: literally a wide valley here becomes applied only to these extensive plains formed by the merging of many watercourses.

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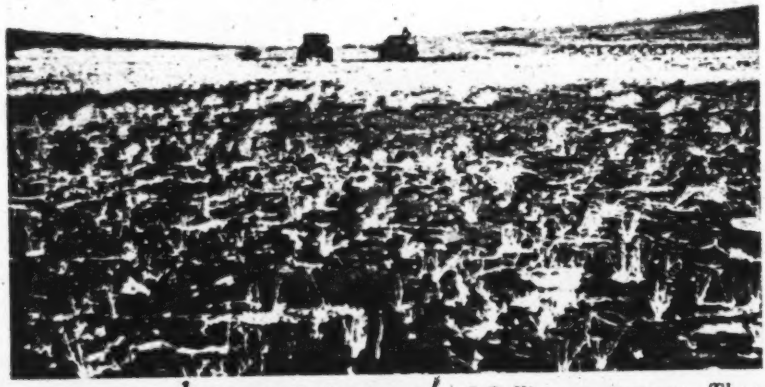

5. *Sandy shaqqa bearing Aristida plumosa and Calligonum comosum. These shiqaq extend for hundreds of miles between parallel dune chains, and vary between a half and two miles in width*

133

6. *Dune chains by the neolithic site in the Shaqqat al Khareitah. The dunes run to the south-west and the photograph was taken looking north*

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[The 'valleys' between parallel dune chains -- Analyst]

*7. Dune chains north of the Khashm al Jebel. The shaqqa is about half a mile wide*

*8. Some of the dunes across the shaqqa floor of sand, about 100 miles west of Shanna*

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133 and besides the [illegible] foothills to the south-west there is a line of hills formed by salt domes al[illegible] the foot of the *jol* to the south-east. In this area too may be fou[illegible] deposits and occasional volcanic craters.

The sands [illegible] Sabatain lie east–west south of the 16th parallel, and are comp[illegible] from the sands of the Rub' al Khali. In the west, where they lie [illegible] Yemen hills, they measure some 50 miles in width from north to [illegible] o the east they taper to a width of about 10 miles where they enter the Wadi Hadhramaut, and then lie within the wadi as far east as Qa'udha with isolated sections even farther east by Shibam and Sai'un. Near Baihan and near Shabwa the orientation of the dunes is to 290°, with the slip face southwards. Near Shabwa this direction has been used to give an easy crossing from Nasar to Arain, and between the dunes may be found a well marked camel track which was possibly part of the old incense route. South of al 'Abr the dunes lie at 230° and from here curve in a large arc east and south-east until they run almost due south to near Bir 'Asakir. From the east–west section another group of dunes breaks off to run in a similar curve south into the mouth of Wadi Dhuhr. Farther east the alignment is east–west and south of Qarn Qaima there is a reticulated area of overlapping crescentic dunes about 8 feet high and with their slip faces west.

Many wadis from the Yemen hills run into the western section of the Ramlat Sabatain and are dissipated within the sands, but the Wadi Baihan
[137] forces its way through the sands in a series of deep silty channels between the
[104] dunes which are here fixed by bushes of *arta* (*Calligonum comosum*) and runs out on to the Jau Khudaif. By using this wadi, Baihan can be reached from the Wadi Hadhramaut and also from Aden by the new route from Mahfadh, which makes use of the Yashbum gorge and the line of discontinuity between the crystalline hills and the *jol*.

North of the Ramlat Sabatain, the Jau Mulais is limited to the east by the Sauda scarp. This scarp, which is of sandstones similar to those of the Karoo and possibly of Triassic origin, runs north from near Al 'Abr and includes the hills of Murassas, Maishatt, Wudiya'a, etc. It gets its name Sauda, literally "the black," from its covering of hardpan and pebbles heavily impregnated with ilmenite (Plate 4). Its position marks the westerly limit of limestones, both Jurassic and Eocene, remnants of each of which, much confused with bands of contemporary sandstones, have been found near Wudiya'a. The whole of the Sauda area is covered with a network of intersecting animal tracks converging on salt-licks, proof that the region was once much more prolific of wild life.

133 East of the Sauda lies the Jau Hudhi, an undulating sand plain whose low
137 hill features may easily be correlated with past drainage patterns. The larger of these hills sometimes bear fragmentary remains of limestone capping in the form of small boulders. From the air distinctive vegetation patterns have been seen near Zamakh. They consist of parallel lines some 30 yards apart running north-west to south-east. There is also one west-flowing tributary from this area to the abandoned watercourse at the foot of the Sauda scarp.

133 At the Khashm al Jebel, 17° 30′ N., 48° 17′ E., the Jau Hudhi ends in a sharp point at a height of a little over 2000 feet, being limited to the east by the cliff face of the *jol*, here about 120 feet high, and to the north by the first

133 dunes of the Rub' al Khali. East of the Khashm al Jebel for over 50 miles to the mouth of Wadi Hizar the sands lie in contact with and to some extent overlying the low northern outcrops of the *jol*. These outcrops are in the form of flat-topped mounds covered with coarse pebbles of reddish marl with some thin sheets of limestone. East of Wadi Hizar the transition zone takes a further form as the outliers of the *jol* run in a line south of east and the sands in a line north of east, leaving a widening floor of gravel and desert marl. The plain is about 30 miles wide near Thamud and is reported by Thomas (1932) and by Thesiger (1946) to continue east to the Jiddat al Harasis.[1]

*The south-western sands*

The area of sands visited has been to the south of the 20th parallel and west of the 51st meridian. Throughout the whole of this area the sand pattern is one of parallel dune chains oriented generally from east-north-east to west-south-west and separated by long strips of flat desert floor known as *shiqaq*[2] (Plate 5). The tails of these dunes lie among the Yemen foothills and several crossings of the dunes have been made, up to 150 miles from the hills. The twenty or thirty southernmost dunes have been traced some 400 miles east to the vicinity of Shanna. In addition a large part of the area has been seen from the air.

The northern section of the Mundafan sands and the Ardh escarpment has already been described (p. 425–6). The southern section of the Mundafan sands are oriented to 205° and this orientation continues south through the 'Uruq al Juweis while other dunes break away to the north at an angle of 220°, parallel to the dunes of that section of the Mundafan which lies to the north of the *'asfal* Wadi Habauna. The slip faces of all these dunes are to the north-west.

South of the Mundafan sands the Ardh escarpment reappears running south from 18° 25′ N., 45° 27′ E. to the Khashm Khatma and then south-west losing height and disappearing into the desert floor at the Khashm al Ardh, 18° 01′ N., 45° 42′ E. This reappearance of the scarp breaks the continuity of the dunes which lie parallel to and south of the Mundafan sands, and leaves sand-free areas both on top of and at the foot of the scarp as with the northern section of the Ardh. A few outcrops of the Ardh occur southwards among the dunes, but do not break the continuity of the dune lines. In particular may be noted the Mutbathat group among which may be found traces of the old course of the Wadi Najran, and the Huwimil group at 17° 30′ N., 46° 00′ E. The final trace of the Jurassic limestones occurs at 'Abraqain near Wudiya'a.

Dune chains from the Khashm al Ardh may be traced south-west to the area of the wadi Taiyyibat al 'Ism and north-east to the Jilida plain. There is a well-marked motor track made by hunting parties leading to the Jilida plain from Najran via the *shiqaq* between these dunes. By the Khashm al Ardh the dunes are oriented to 220° with the dunes half a mile apart and the

[1] Later journeys (1953) have shown, that at least as far east as the mouth of Wadi Rama, this plain is divided into wide basins by lines of low hills running north from the *jol* to the sands.

[2] *Shaqqa*, pl. *shiqaq*: the "valleys" between parallel dune chains (*'urug*).

slip faces to the north-west. Near the Taiyyibat al 'Ism the orientation is to 250° with a well marked line of riders at 215° some of which extend over the *shaqqa* floor giving a reticulated pattern. The slip face here also is to the north-west. 133

South of the Mutbathat as far as the Shaqqat al 'Itima, *i.e.* the *shaqqa* into which the Wadi 'Itima flows, lie the Qa'amiyat sands. These dunes, with a height of over 200 feet, are the highest dunes of the south-west Rub' al Khali. They are oriented to 220° with no pronounced slip face, and due to their width the *shiqaq* between them are always narrow and frequently eliminated. They carry riders at 210° which have the slip face to the south-east.

South of the Shaqqal al 'Itima and east of the Sauda scarp which penetrates 30 miles into the sands there are two distinct orientations of the dunes. The easterly section, which lies back from the foot of the scarp, consists of about sixty dune chains less than a mile apart and generally oriented to 245°. Along a distinct line between 17° 15′ N., 45° 45′ E. and the Raiyan hills these dunes coalesce in groups to form only twenty-five dunes oriented to 225°. The slip faces of all these dunes is to the south, and there is no distinct line of riders. A large number of neolithic flints were found at 17° 12′ N., 45° 55·2 E. (Plate 6).

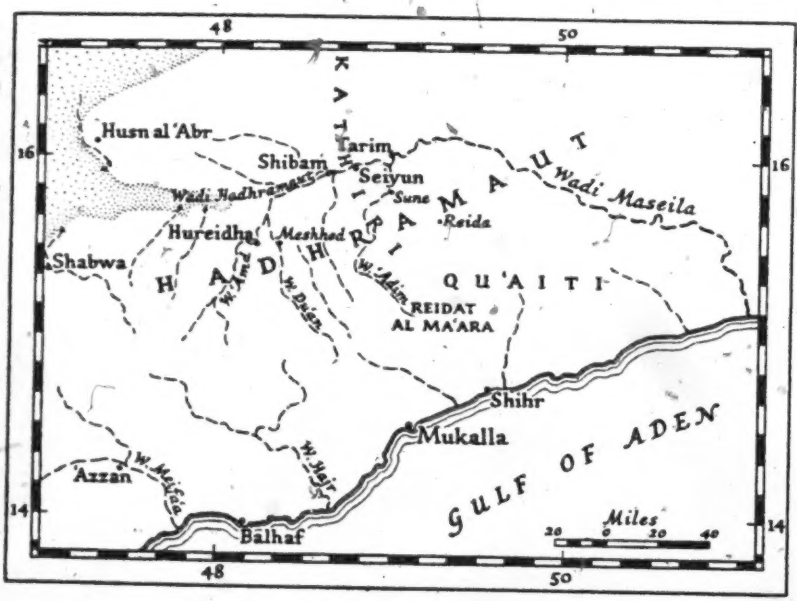
At the northern tip of the Sauda scarp, where it sinks into the desert floor, both floor and scarp are concealed by small south-west facing crescentic dunes 4–6 feet high. East of the Sauda the sands lie back as is the case with the Ardh scarp, but the six most southerly dunes of the sand desert approach to within 2 miles of the top of the scarp. North of them lies an area of sand sheet, the Bagheithan plain, with a few scattered dunes oriented in 250°. The plain may be traced some 20 miles east, and the dunes become more abundant and regular, until by 47° 45′ E. the full pattern of parallel dunes with intervening *shiqaq* is redeveloped (Plate 7). The dune line about twentieth from the south was followed eastward from here (Plate 8). In 17° 50′ N., 48° 10′ E., there is a distinct change in orientation from 252° (to the west) to 244° (to the east), which may be correlated with a more gradual curve through the same range made by the dunes to the south near the Khashm al Jebel. The orientation of the riders is 10° greater than that of the dunes, and the slip faces to the south. For the next 80 miles east there is a series of minor direction changes always between 237° and 243°. In the area about 19° N., 50° E., the *shiqaq* floors become broken into windows by layers of sheet sand perpendicular to the general line of the dunes, and during the next 30 miles east these sheets take a more and more pronounced form till they become as high as the original dune lines, and the straight lines of *shiqaq* become confused in an area of reticulations.

A small area of dune massifs exists near the Khashm al Jebel, occupying the narrow triangle between the most southerly dune and the edge of the *jol*. The massifs lie on the nodes of a hexagon net and do not continue east of the mouth of the Wadi Hizar except for a few isolated examples known as "qa'id" on the gravel *jau*. The slip faces of all these massifs are to the south-west.

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



help to introduce for the first time dating, absolute or relative, into the early history, independently of, or in conjunction with, inscriptions. Interwoven with these purely archaeological questions was Miss Gardner's geological investigation of the Quaternary physiography of the region; more especially inquiry into problems of past climates; and comparisons of Pleistocene conditions in South-west Arabia in lat. 15° N. with those of a typical desert area as studied by her in Kharga Oasis and elsewhere in the Libyan desert 10° further north.[1] A recent Egyptian expedition under Dr. S. A. Huzayyin had done valuable work on these lines in 1936 in the Yemen, where a series of prehistoric pluvial periods had been traced, besides the possibility of a minor




one in historic times. That expedition paid also a flying visit to the Hadhramaut, but little work was done there.[2]

The general physical features of the country are well known from the excellent map published by von Wissmann in 1932,[3] and from the air reconnaissance of Squadron-Leader Cochrane [4] and the late Flight-Lieut. A. R. M. Rickards, whose map shows well the peculiar drainage system (Plate 1). Very recently a methodical aerial survey of the whole Protectorate has been accomplished, and we are privileged here to publish some of the photographs. Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams still remain the only Europeans who have travelled from

[1] *Geol. Mag.*, vol. lxix, September 1932, "Some problems of the Pleistocene hydrography of Kharga Oasis."

[2] S. A. Huzayyin, "Egyptian University Scientific Expedition to south-west Arabia," *Nature* 140 (1937) 513–4.

[3] Folder to 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled,' by D. Van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann. Leiden, 1932.

[4] "An air reconnaissance of the Hadhramaut" (*Geogr. J.* 77 (1931) 209–16).

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



114 end to end of the Wadi Hadhramaut, and accounts of their journeys have been given to the Society.[1]

*The geological work*

133 The geology of the coastal region around Mukalla has been described by Mr. O. H. Little, of the Egyptian Geological Survey, and those interested in the solid geology are referred to his paper.[2] This region is the most diversified both structurally and petrologically. The fundamental granite appears here overlaid by limestones of Cretaceous and Tertiary age, and faults and folds are conspicuous even from the air. The few days at Mukalla were spent in a rapid examination of the more recent geological features.

To the visitor by sea the most striking is the glistening bank of white dune-sand west of the town, probably masking a raised beach. The coast eastwards to Shihr is fringed with the remnants of a low-lying raised beach now being eroded. In the wadi immediately west of Mukalla a raised beach was noted at RL 15 m. about 1·5 km. from the shore. It consisted of semi-angular and partly rounded pebbles of granite and limestone with marine fossils. Four metres higher a second level of cellular sandstone may be either beach or river terrace.[3]

[487] After the Shihr road has passed through the coastal barrier backing Mukalla, it runs for 2 km. over an extensive gravel plain which slopes smoothly and evenly from RL 66 to RL 38 m. It then climbs a prominent ridge at RL 52·5 m., with a typical gravel profile, and descends again to a similar gravel plain. This plain is the most important erosional feature of the district: its age could not be determined exactly, but that it is Pleistocene seems fairly certain from the occurrence of palaeolithic flake implements of chert[4] on a narrow gravel ridge which rises from it near the fork of the Du'an road. This ridge lies 4 m. above the plain, and seems to be the last remnant of a more extensive level that has been destroyed by the lateral erosion of the two neighbouring wadis. These wadis bound the main plain north and south, and good gravel sections were examined in their banks, without however the discovery of flint implements *in situ* in them.

A line of levels was run from the Shihr road S.S.E. across the gravel plain towards the sea. The sketch-map and section, Fig. 1, show the principal results. The big erosional plain falls in this direction from RL 38 to RL 27 m. in 1100 m. It is then cut by the westerly wadi whose floor lies at RL 13 m. On the far side two terraces, one at RL 16 m. and a more extensive one at RL 20 m., are crossed before the gravel plain is regained at RL 22. From there it stretches for 500 m. or so seaward, and ends in a scarp feature at RL 19. It overlooks a marine terrace crowded with recent shells. Upstream these become scarcer and eventually die out, and the levels show that it is

113 [1] "A journey to the Sei'ar country and through the Wadi Maseila" (*Geogr. J.* 88 (1936) 524–51); "The Hadhramaut: present and future" (*Geogr. J.* 92 (1938) 289–312). See also *Journal R. Central Asian Society*, July 1936.

[2] O. H. Little, "The geography and geology of Makalla" (Geological Survey of Egypt, Cairo, 1925).

[3] Near Jibuti, which we visited on the way home *via* Hodeidah, Jeddah, and Yenbo, raised coral beaches have been recorded at RL 18 and 25 m.

[4] These resemble typologically the flakes called Levalloisian in N.W. Europe.

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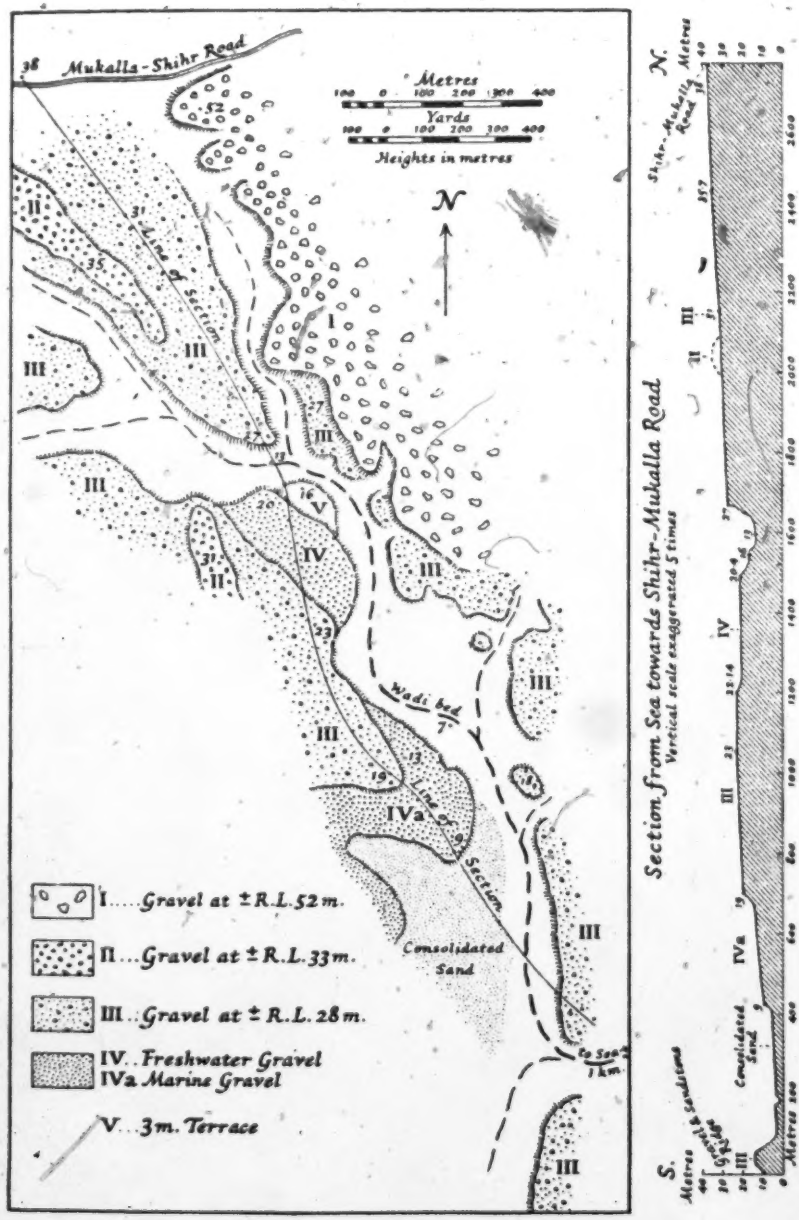
Mukalla-Shihr Road
Metres
Yards
Heights in metres
N
Line of Section
Wadi bed
Consolidated Sand
To Sea 1 km
I.....Gravel at ± R.L. 52 m.
II...Gravel at ± R.L. 33 m.
III..Gravel at ± R.L. 28 m.
IV..Freshwater Gravel
IVa Marine Gravel
V...3m. Terrace
Section from Sea towards Shihr-Mukalla Road
Vertical scale exaggerated 5 times
N.
S.
Shihr-Mukalla Road
Consolidated Sand
Metres

Fig. 1

P. 21

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 the seaward end of the 16 m. terrace already mentioned. It slopes from about RL 15 beneath the higher plain to RL 12. Here it ends in a scarp about 2 m. high, and below it a consolidated yellow sand forms the wadi floor. The channel here turns and breaks through a ridge to the sea. This ridge is composed of cellular sandstone similar in appearance to that seen near Mukalla and, in some places, of gravels. From its level it would seem to be the last remnant of the big erosional plain on the east side of the wadi.

We have then in this area three well-defined levels and a minor one. These in order of age are: high-level gravel, RL 52 m., possibly Tertiary or early Pleistocene; remnant of erosional level, about RL 32 m., with palaeolithic chert implements on surface; extensive and important erosional plain, about RL 28 m., no sign of marine deposits passing downstream; terrace at 7 m.–5 m. above wadi floor at RL 16 m.; and a terrace at 3 m. above wadi floor.

[487] The road to Shihr continues along the coastal plain, crossing marine beds in many places, and runs over an extensive development of gravel just before reaching the town.

The coastal plain is here some 10–12 km. broad, and is backed by the great cliffs and outliers of the South Arabian plateau, called the *jol*. It is some [132 1000 m. high, but slopes gradually northwards up to 3000 m., becoming ever 42] more barren as it recedes from the influence of the monsoon rains. The newly made road to Tarim follows a switch-back course over it, now crossing stony plateaux, then descending into broad flat-bottomed wadis often sand-covered and with lines of trees and scrub marking the watercourses. In 134 these wadis a loess-like deposit that was later to become such a familiar and prehistorically important feature in the Wadi Hadhramaut and its tributaries, was first seen. Here, as there, it seems to have filled the valleys through which later erosion has carved a way. Near the village of Reida, in the Ma'ara country about 60 km. from the southern edge of the plateau, rounded consolidated gravel and conglomerate were seen near a water-hole.

133 The watershed between the north and south-running valleys lies much nearer the southern than the northern edge of the plateau; this is possibly due to subsidence of the coastal area, and as a consequence many of the wadis draining into the Wadi Hadhramaut are very long. Nearing the edge of this great wadi the character of the drainage changes; instead of broad flat-bottomed valleys, there are narrow ravines deeply entrenched in the limestone (Plate 4). On the stony ground between them numerous deeply patinated palaeoliths, both cores and flakes, were found, similar in type to others whose occurrence *in situ* in gravel terraces of the valley floor system will be described later. Their position here, on tongues of plateau furrowed by deep ravines, recalled the occurrence of typologically similar implements on similar tongues of plateau licking the cliff edge of the Nile valley.

We first saw the Wadi Hadhramaut from the top of the pass leading sharply down to Tarim. It is a great flat-floored trench some 3 km. broad and 300 m. deep, bounded by high cliffs of characteristic outline, which repeats itself with monotonous regularity both along the main wadi and in the tributary valleys. This outline is the expression of the geological features, which are here very simple (Plates 2, 3). The cliffs consist of a series of almost horizontal beds; the upper 200 m. are of limestone, Eocene over Cretaceous.

18 Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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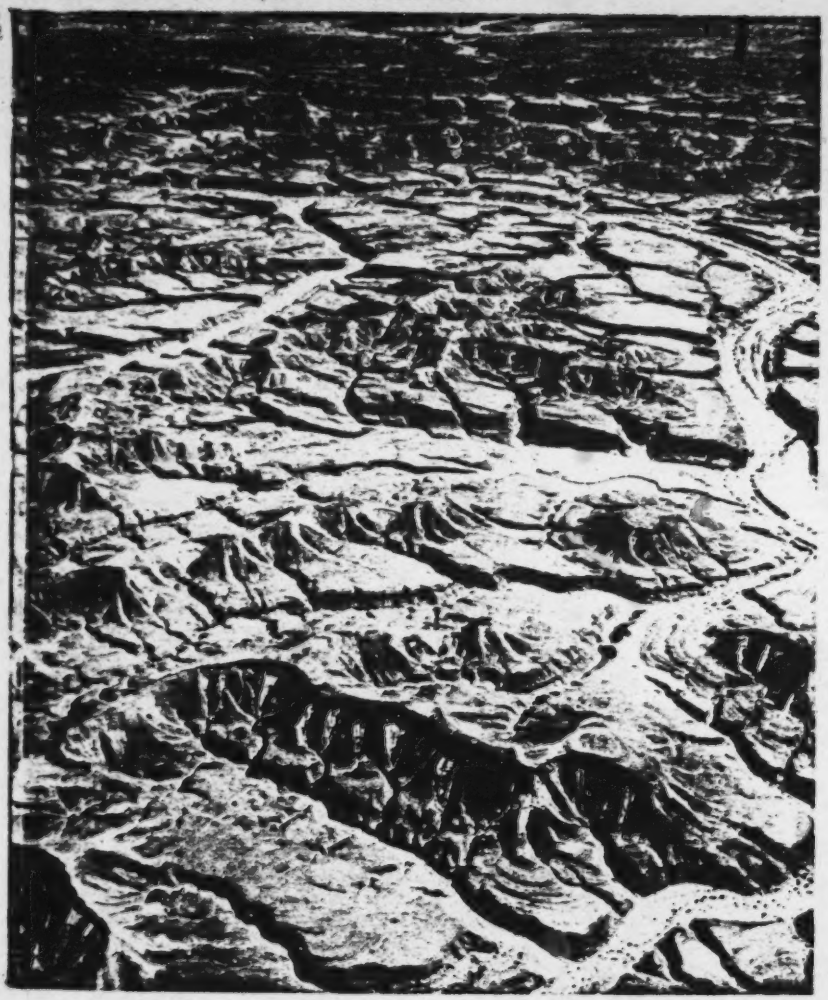

*1. The Hadhramaut: entrenched drainage and characteristic denudation*

Facing P. 22 (A)

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2. *Wadi Hadhramaut at Seiyum, looking down the valley*

3. *Wadi 'Amd at Hureidha*

Facing P. 22 (B)

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 The Cretaceous bed is particularly massive and juts out beyond the overlying strata to form bold headlands between the lateral wadis. The more gentle slope below to the wadi floor is due to soft red sandstones, with occasional shaly layers towards the top. They are probably the local representatives of the Nubian sandstone. Owing to their softness they are being eroded rapidly and consequent undercutting of the superposed limestone causes huge falls of rock. The result is a thick mantle of scree, consolidated in places to a breccia which almost hides the sandstones. The formation of this scree must have begun far back in the wadi's history, for not only have the talus slopes been cut into "semi-detached" hillocks, but they appear to plunge under the valley filling. Numbers of chert implements of Levallois type lie in and on the scree and argue a *status quo* as far back as the middle [172] or later Pleistocene. In historic times also these screes and breccias were put to practical use, for tomb entrances of the pre-Islamic inhabitants of these valleys were cut through them, and sepulchral caves hollowed out in the soft sandstone slopes beneath.

Travelling along the main wadi and up its tributaries, the beds in the bounding cliffs appear to remain at a constant level above the wadi floor. The strata cannot therefore be truly horizontal, but must rise gradually both west and south. To one used to the valley systems of Egypt a striking feature of the Wadi Hadhramaut is the monotonous flatness and uniformity of its floor (Plate 3). No great prehistoric gravel terraces mark higher water-levels, and the present flood-channel or "*seil*-bed" is a relatively insignificant feature. Obviously the most important episode in the wadi's history, after its actual cutting, was the deposition of material which filled it and its tributaries to some unplumbed depth. The upper part of this fill is a fine sandy silt, which will be described later, but there is reason to believe that gravels underlie it, for farther down the main wadi they come to light. Moreover in the Wadi 'Adim, an important tributary coming in from the south near Tarim, the 15-m. section of the wadi bank shows 4–8 m. of silt overlying thick gravel bands (Plate 5). These gravels fade out before the mouth of the wadi is reached, and have presumably plunged deeply down and may join similar deposits in the main valley.

The Wadi Hadhramaut shows a curious reversal of the normal valley form in being wider towards the source than the mouth. In the narrower stretch below Tarim, known as the Wadi Maseila, Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams found lava-flows which, it has been suggested, may once have blocked the course. Air photographs show the position of this lava, but have not conclusively corroborated the idea. The narrowing, moreover, begins before this point for no apparent petrological reason, and the cause more probably lies in the wadi's history, and is conceivably due to complicated river capture. Unfortunately time and tribal conditions prevented an examination of this area.

[361] All the detailed work of the expedition was done from the small town of Hureidha in the Wadi 'Amd, 24 km. from its junction with the Wadi Hadhramaut. Here one of the most important tributary systems enters from the south. It consists of two big valleys which divide, 10 km. from their common outlet, into the Wadi Du'an running due south for 80 km., and the Wadi 'Amd running south-south-west for over 120 km. Near the junction of the

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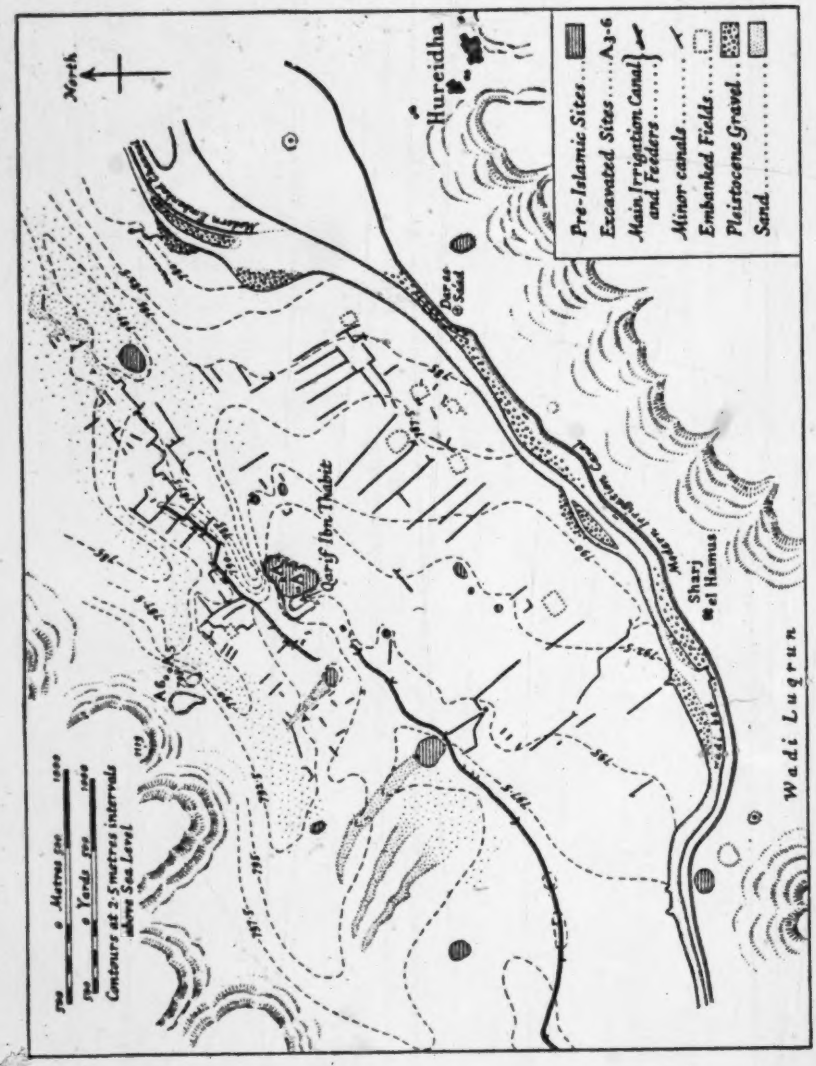


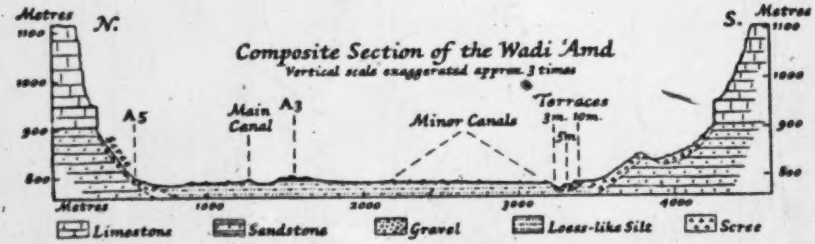


Fig. 2 P·24

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



two great wadis the silty deposit, which we propose to name "aeolian silt," 133
has been eroded into hillocks reminiscent of those on the floor of Kharga Oasis, except that they are larger and not so stream-lined by wind. The subordinance of wind erosion in the Hadhramaut is in striking contrast to conditions in Kharga, and emphasizes the difference between a true desert-belt and one under the influence, however incompletely, of the monsoons.

The work around Hureidha consisted of the examination of the geologically recent deposits, and the detailed mapping of a small area around the ruin field (Fig. 2). The section, Fig. 2, shows that the structure of the valley is the same as that in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

The valley filling is the dominant deposit. It is on the whole a fine-grained 134
material, largely arenaceous but with a certain amount of clay. Structurally it shows the prominent vertical jointing so characteristic of loess and aeolian deposits in general. Yet this is not the only guide to its origin, for clay bands and occasional scattered lines of pebbles point also to water action. It seems therefore convenient to use the term "aeolian silt" for this deposit to represent its composite character, part wind, part water-laid. Water action would seem to have played a greater rôle here than in Kharga, where wind bedding, absent in the Hadhramaut, is common. A good section was examined in the banks of the flood channel north of Hureidha (Plate 6). Two darker banks can be seen running nearly horizontally 1 and 2 m. from the top of the section. These are formed of more argillaceous material, and clay balls were common in the sandy layers. Here and there a pocket of land shells lying at all angles was found. These were mostly *Zootecus insularis* Ehrn, but a few *Obeliscella bentiae* M. and P. and *Pupoides* sp. also occurred. The full depth of the filling could nowhere be ascertained. The wells in the floor of the Wadi Hadhramaut are shallow, and in the Wadi 'Amd, though very deep,[1] they are in the rising sides of the valley. In discussing the age of the aeolian silt we can therefore speak only of the upper layers.

In the Wadi 'Amd good dating evidence was obtained in the north bank of 133
the flood channel opposite the Wadi Luqrun, a tributary wadi entering from 134
the south near the village of Sharj el Hamus (see Fig. 2). Here a magnificent 172
section is exposed in a cliff 10–8 m. high (Plate 7). It is capped by four or more metres of aeolian silt which stretches away northwards and forms the whole floor of Wadi 'Amd. This is underlaid by two gravel bands separated by more aeolian silt, which in turn underlies the lowest gravel and forms the floor of the flood channel. The gravel bands are about 1·5 m. thick, and consist of medium to small limestone pebbles with occasional ones of chert or tufa. Both bands contain chert implements but they are particularly abundant in the lower. In the sides of the erosion channels the gravels are seen to tail out northwards and eventually disappear. They obviously represent the outwash fans of the Wadi Luqrun, which seems to have been capable of carrying gravels while the main wadi was bringing down silt only. The tools in these gravels are of Levalloisian flake type, and date the uppermost layers of silt in the Wadi 'Amd. Confirmation was obtained by finding a good unworn tortoise core embedded in the silt at another spot.

[1] Van der Meulen and von Wissmann state (*op. cit.*, p. 98) that some are about 300 feet deep.

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*4. Jol above Tarim: palaeolithic area at the head of lateral wadi*

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*5. Wadi 'Adim: exposure of aeolian silt over gravel*

Facing P. 26 (A)

134 rainfall, represented by the gravel terraces. But this sequence might also be due to other causes such, for instance, as the blocking of the Wadi Hadhramaut by the lava-flows, and therefore it was necessary to look for independent evidence. Von Wissmann observed that the plains of the Yemen are floored with a great layer of fine sandy soil, aeolian in origin and very similar to loess.[1] This in a neighbouring country lends support to the climatic origin of the changes. Reinforcement comes also from the occurrence of aeolian silt, already mentioned, in the wadis of the *jol* far removed from the influence of the Wadi Hadhramaut. Further support on other lines was also obtained in the Wadi 'Amd itself, during the examination of small lateral wadis.

133 Some of these minor lateral wadis and ravines have springs trickling from the base of the big Cretaceous cliff, and it seemed possible that if a period of greater rainfall had, as surmised, occurred in the past, evidence would be registered in the formerly more abundant flow of these springs. In Kharga Oasis few springs still exist on the scarp, but we found there conclusive proof of more abundant water in the Pleistocene. This was demonstrated by the great deposits of travertine or tufa which in places completely mask the underlying rocks. In the Hadhramaut ancient tufa was found near the existing springs, and as terraces in the ravines above them, but developed on a far smaller scale than in Kharga (Plate 9). This may be due partly to the difference in configuration, and partly to the monsoon erosion in the Hadhramaut. Its occurrence does however point to a time of greater rainfall and spring activity. But, though on a smaller scale, the Arabian tufa deposits are strikingly like those of Kharga in their general aspect. In both places they have weathered to a rusty brown-black with a light yellow fracture, and in both places massive and cellular types occur, though nothing resembling the "plateau" tufa of Kharga was found. They all belonged to the "wadi" type.[2]

The deposit in both places contains fossil leaves, amongst which fig leaves are predominant, and shells, though these are unexpectedly much more abundant in Kharga than in the Hadhramaut. Moreover in Arabia the tufas were not, in the areas examined, associated with interbedded silts and gravels, as in Kharga, nor were palaeoliths, as there, *in situ* in them. The dating of the Kharga tufas in archaeological terms is therefore much more definite and susceptible of subdivisions than in Hadhramaut; but the palaeolithic age also of the latter is placed beyond doubt by the occurrence of tufa pebbles in the 10-m. gravel terrace, and in the gravels interbedded with the aeolian silt.

A typical spring and tufa terrace outcrop in Arabia may now be described for the first time.

The modern springs issue in lateral ravines at or near the base of the massive lowest Cretaceous limestone, which is undercut sometimes by as much as 20 or 30 m. A good example was found in a small valley on the west side of the Wadi Luqrun, where two trickles of water come from cracks in the limestone about 1·5 m. above its base. A soft spongy mass of recently formed

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[1] C. Rathjens and H. von Wissmann, "Vorislamische Altertümer" (*Südarabien-Reise*, Band 2, 1932, p. 14).

[2] For discussion of these tufas see Caton-Thompson and Gardner, "The prehistoric geography of Kharga Oasis" (*Geogr. J.* 80 (1932) 369–409), and Gardner, "Some problems of the Pleistocene hydrography of Kharga Oasis" (*Geol. Mag.*, vol. lxix, September 1932).

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 tufa surrounds, and almost blocks, the outlet, and forms a small fan below. In one case a narrow channel has been humanly cut in the deposit to lead the water into a cement tank from which periodically a few palms are watered. 137 The surplus water overflows and is lost in the scree. Growing amongst the huge boulders are shrubs and trees, wild figs, *Ficus salicifolia*, and *F. sycamorus* being particularly common. Around the water itself maiden-hair fern and other small plants make a pleasant green garden in the rocky desolation.

133 At this level there is a limestone platform or shelf some 10–11 m. wide, and on the edge of this occur the outcrops of Pleistocene tufa. In the Wadi Luqrun it is a block 5 m. thick and 3–4 m. high, which is evidently but a remnant of a much more extensive deposit, for traces were detected on the walls of the great limestone overhang. Its present size and isolation are some measure of the time that has elapsed since its formation. A few badly preserved fossil leaves were found here, but also a considerable number of small cavities which, as in Kharga, are the moulds of fruits. Most of these show no structure and are therefore unidentifiable, but Mrs. E. R. Reid, who kindly examined them, found one that was certainly a fruit of a species of *Celtis*.

A climb of 50 m. or so up the scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone leads over bare rock to the upper course of the wadi. In time of spate the waters must cascade in a fall over the lip. At Luqrun traces only of tufa occurred at this upper level, but in a valley east of Hureidha a much larger outcrop was found which yielded many leaves. Here, after half an hour's ride along the wadi floor, the track climbs gradually up the stony scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone. A hundred metres or so from the edge a mass of tufa occurs as a terrace remnant 15–16 m. above the limestone floor. It is 4·6 m. high and rests on limestone breccia. This outcrop was particularly 137 rich in leaves. The commonest types closely resemble figs, but without the fruits this identification cannot be assured. Some however seem identical with the *Ficus sycamorus* leaves found in the Kharga tufas,[1] and another resembles *F. salicifolia*; as both trees are still growing nearby they probably occur as fossils. Some kind of palm is certainly present and one or two other unidentified types. The shells are scarce and not well preserved. *Melania tuberculata*, *Zootecus insularis*, and a *Planorbis* were present. More abundant is the cast of a lava very similar in appearance to that found in Kharga and considered by Dr. Zeuner to be that of a dipterous insect.

103 The pool at the foot of the cliff was examined. It is called "El Bahr"—the 529 sea[2]—and is a favourite bathing-place, the Badawin climbing the cliff and 823 diving in from a considerable height. Local tradition calls it bottomless, and a weighted tape failed to touch bottom at 19 m. It would seem to be a super 133 pot-hole, ground out through the ages by the swirling stones and water of the seasonal cascade from higher levels. It is in the shade for most of the day, and water remains all the year. The shallows around are covered with soft

113 [1] Gardner, "The Pleistocene fauna and flora of Kharga Oasis" (*Quart. J. geol. Soc.*, vol. xci, December 1935.)

[2] Van der Meulen and von Wissmann in 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled' describe this place. "After energetic scrambling over fields of stone and up slopes of rock we actually arrive at El Bahr, a deep, rocky basin, full of water, with high cavernous walls, from which, after rain, the water must fall in spray into the basin."

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



muddy tufa still being deposited. No living thing was seen in the pool, but 133
dead shells of *Bulinus*, probably *truncatus*, were collected from the muddy edge. They are small and distorted, probably owing to the excess of lime.

In a wadi still farther up the lateral valley, the Wadi Sam'ua, a series of pools occurs at the foot of successive steps in the ravine bed above the Cretaceous limestone. These pools were not so deep as El Bahr and had abundant [136]
life: fish, frogs, beetles were all seen, and two univalves (a *Planorbis* and a new species of *Ancylus*).[1] The wadi narrows to a steep-sided ravine in its upper reaches; yet clinging to the side above the first pool was a mass of tufa 4 m. high. Other pools, backed by tufa cliffs with suspended stalactites, lie at still higher levels. Here exploration had to stop, but enough had been seen to establish the interest of the terrace tufa in these upper reaches.

From the above account it may be deduced that the main events in the wadi's history are as follows:

Major erosional phase, when the great Wadi Hadhramaut and its main tributaries were cut. This in all probability took place in stages. From the amount of erosion and the many changes in the wadi since its development, the time of cutting must be at least as early as late Tertiary or early Pleistocene, and may well be far older. It cannot, as has been suggested, be synchronous with the Glacial Age in Europe.

Major depositional phase, also probably subdivided into minor episodes. The valleys were filled to some unknown depth with deposits. The upper part of these is aeolian silt of palaeolithic age, which is known to overlie gravel in some areas. In the lateral wadis tufa formation had begun.

Minor erosional phase, represented by the cutting of the aeolian silt and deposition of gravel in place of silt. This can be subdivided into three parts, the 10, 5, and 3-m. terraces, also of palaeolithic age. The flood channel then followed the same restricted course as now.

It is interesting to note that these three main phases were traced in Kharga Oasis; but there, the evidence being more complete and varied, and the time of study far longer, they could be subdivided and dated with more certainty than in the Hadhramaut. No sign of a historic pluvial was seen in that part of the country which we examined.

*Archaeological notes*

Quaternary palaeoliths have, in the foregoing pages, been noted: on the 133
Mukalla gravel plain; on the spurs of the *jol* near the south edge overlooking 172
the Wadi Hadhramaut above Tarim, in positions recalling their distribution on desert cliffs overlooking the Nile valley; on and in cliff screes of the Wadis Hadhramaut and 'Amd; and in the 10, 5, and 3-m. gravel terraces of the Wadi 'Amd near Hureidha, and in the somewhat earlier aeolian silt of the valley's main filling. These discoveries of palaeoliths were no novelty, for Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams had already noted them in many places,[2] but they had not, I
believe, been previously found in geological deposits. Nor must our restricted 172

[1] All shells from the Hadhramaut have been given to the British Museum. Major Connolly is kindly identifying them and will publish the results in his forthcoming work on the shells of the Yemen collected by Dr. Scott, of the British Museum.

[2] *Geogr. J.* 92 (1938) 306.

A crude flake-industry of levalloisian type belonging to the second class 172 138

mentioned above would seem alone to represent palaeolithic man in the Hadhramaut, where it was free from the development which in N.W. Europe has necessitated seven subdivisions. The earliest appearance we could trace was *in situ* near the top of the aeolian silt of the Wadi 'Amd infilling. In chronological succession follow the 10, 5, and 3-m. gravel terraces laid in a stream-bed cut in this silt. The scarce contents of the 3-m. terrace are derived from the two higher ones, which however show no variation in type *inter se*.

Eventual discovery of the palaeolithic contents of the older, deeply buried silt levels and gravels would be of great interest; but we may risk already the conclusion that the flake industry found *in situ* continued, isolated and unchanged, throughout a very long geological period, which we tapped at only one or two points. It would be rash on existing evidence to place its probable position in the Pleistocene, though it may well prove to lie in the middle: typology alone is insufficient, and archaeological stratigraphy will need first to be established in cave or man-favoured geological deposit, if such exist, and our failure to find a single fossil animal bone in the gravels rectified.

So much for the first of the archaeological objectives. The second of them —namely contacts with the chalcolithic east—drew a complete blank. I 172
myself found, was shown by natives, or observed in the miscellaneous antiquities gathered together in Aden no single object which indicated any such early contacts with the Hadhramaut. Of later antiquities however there was no scarcity. Though the Wadi Hadhramaut itself in the stretch examined around Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam yielded little except rock graffiti pecked in South Arabian characters, and accompanying animal engravings in restricted numbers, the major lateral wadis seem to offer better prospects to the excavator.

The fairly extensive pre-Islamic ruins at Sune in the Wadi 'Adim were visited for a few hours from Tarim, and sherds and other samples collected from the surface for comparison later with more westerly sites. Here too were lying numbers of the microlithic obsidian flakes in geometric forms—trapezoids, triangles, rectangles, and crescents, neatly retouched on their lateral edges—which Miss Stark had also collected in 1935 on the ruin-field of Gheibun near Meshhed in the Wadi Du'an, and had kindly shown to me.[1] I had then recognized their kinship with the latest microlithic obsidian industries in Kenya, and was prepared, in the absence of the necessary corroborative evidence from other archaeological factors, for a date considerably earlier—possibly in the second millennium—than anything hitherto known from the ruins of the old South Arabian kingdoms. Their occurrence also at Sune, amongst the dusty rubble heaps of the stone-built ruins, though suggestive of true contemporaneity could not, without excavations, be conclusive.[2] Any doubts there might be vanished later at Hureidha in the Wadi 'Amd, where my excavations of a pre-Islamic temple and its contemporary tombs, no part of which could be earlier than about the sixth century B.C. and which were mainly or entirely some centuries later, established beyond question the

[1] 'The southern gates of Arabia,' p. 166. Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams had also collected them there in 1934 (*Geogr. J.* 88 (1936) 524–51), but not, I think, the crucial types.

[2] Dr. Huzayyin in 1936 also collected these obsidian tools at Gheibun, and felt assured their date was that of the ruins.

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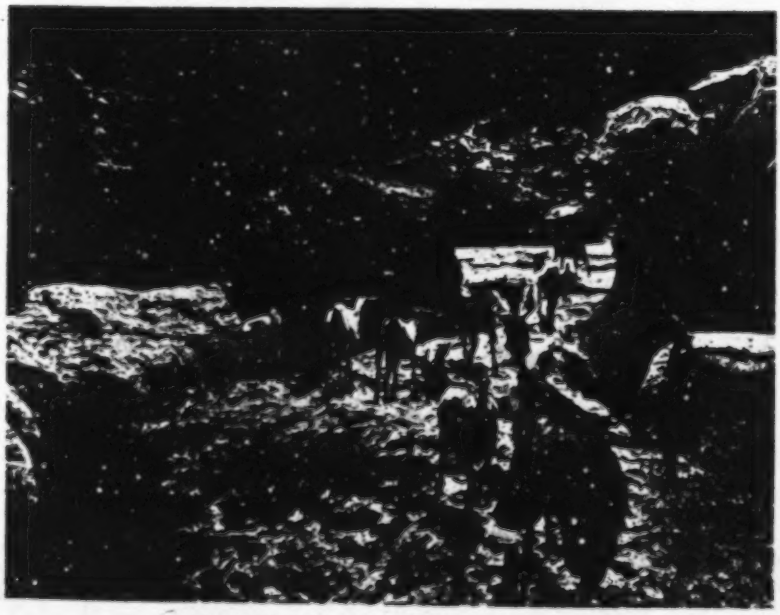
*8. Terraces in Wadi 'Amd*



*9. Wadi 'Amd: tufa boulders in lateral wadi*

Facing P 34 (A)

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



# ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN SOUTH ARABIA.

By Bertram Thomas, O.B.E.

[With Plates XI and XII.]

## Introduction.

114 I have already been privileged to contribute a paper to the *Journal*.[1] "Among some unknown Tribes of South Arabia" was published after my first journey in those parts in January–February, 1928. Since then I have made two more visits to the Central South and have continued my investigations. On the last occasion I took head callipers, a small cinema camera and a still camera with me. I made some forty-five head measurements and took full-face and profile portraits of the various types I measured.

## Curious Tribes.

144 174 In my previous paper I said that there was a *bloc* of tribes in the Central South that I believed to be non-Arab remainders, tribes at least who were physically, culturally, linguistically distinguishable from the familiar tall and hawk-faced Arab of the North. I am confirmed in that view. After an experience of fifteen years' service in Arabia, living on close terms of intimacy with its people in Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordan and the Persian Gulf, I am struck by the peculiarities of the inhabitants of the Central South. The Sultan of Muscat shared that opinion. I was not consciously aware at the time of the speculations of Richard Burton which also support it. That Arabian traveller had written in the middle of the last century (*vide* "Pilgrimage to Al Medina and Mecca")—

> "I was desirous to try by actual observation the truth of a theory proposed by Colonel Sykes, namely, that if tradition be true in the population of the vast peninsula there must exist certain physiological differences sufficient to warrant our questioning the common origin of the Arab family." . . . And later . . . "I have found proof . . . for believing in three distinct races, (1) the aborigines, driven into the Eastern and South-Eastern wilds, (2) a Syrian or Mesopotamian Stock that drove the indigenae from the choicest tracts of country . . . (3) an impure Syro-Egyptian clan . . ."

133 Before passing to a consideration of these strange tribes I lived amongst, it is necessary to say something about the land in which they live. The south coast of Arabia west of long. 55° (Ras Nus) is very mountainous and very wild. It is a natural asylum for early races driven before invaders. At Dhufar in the Central South, these mountains form a crescent-shaped arm which encloses a prosperous and fertile plain. To the westward the mountains form an

[1] Vol. liv, 1929, January to June, p. 97.

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 ocean escarpment, but in the Hadhramaut they intrude for over 120 miles to the northwards. Beyond them and between them and the southern edge of the sands is a wedge-shaped plain narrowing westwards and falling from south to north and from west to east. The edge of the sands at Mugshin is about 490 ft., at Shisur about 935 ft., at Shuait 950 ft., and to the west not improbably rising to 2,000 ft. or more in the neighbourhood of the Najran. This plain is crossed by dry wadi beds, or what Burton calls "fiumura." They take their rise in ravines deeply eroded in the limestone of the mountains and they become more shallow as they run northwards, until, as they approach the sands, they are almost indistinguishable from the steppe in which they are merely shallow depressions marked here and there by scrub. These wadis [132] are the arteries of approach for Badus journeying from the mountains northwards. They are evidence of a very different climate from what now prevails, the deep gorges are doubtless the result of torrential rain action. To-day the country is extremely arid, and rainfall is slight or negligible.

Arabia is said never to have had an ice age, so that when the territories of the higher latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere lay beneath an ice cap, Arabia must have enjoyed a pluvial period, and it is from this time that these great gorges running northwards on the desert side of the South Arabia escarpment possibly date. I picked up many fossils on the edge of the sands, which must have been washed down in bygone ages. These were of limestone formation and have all been identified as belonging to the Middle Eocene period. The tradition of ancient trade routes across what is now almost a prohibitive barrier of sands, should not therefore be dismissed as unreasonable: it may connote that a very early civilization 172 existed in this region. Indeed caravan tracks of great antiquity were pointed out to me in 138 lat. 18° 30′, long. 52° on the very edge of the sands and leading on a bearing of 325° into what is now a drought-stricken waste of sands. The Badus called this "the road to Ubar," a town which they say lies buried, according to their tradition, beneath the sands that are ever encroaching southwards. Whether the words "Ubar" and "Ophir" have any sort of connection is impossible to say, but the alleged site of this buried city is on a direct line from the frankincense country of Dhufar to the most probable site of Gerrha on the Persian Gulf, and to Petra in Nabathaea, the great marts of the classical geographers.

[171] Other archæological remains are the old ruined townships of the plain of Dhufar and the trilith monuments I discovered in the frankincense country just over the Divide.[1] The former would appear to preserve a link with ancient Abyssinia, for the characteristic architectural feature is a monolithic column which, according to Bent, is common to that area, but is nowhere found being made to-day in Arabia. As regards the significance of the trilith monument, accurate memory of it has faded from the tribal mind. This brings us to the inhabitants themselves.

101 The nomadic tribes living in the Southern Steppe are Bait Kathir, elements of the Mahra,
619 Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai (Bal'Ubaid). In the mountains in northern Hadhramaut
000 and the hinterland of Aden are two other interesting types, Hamumi and Yafi. With the

[1] For a detailed account see "Among Some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xiv, 1921, pp. 107 *seq.*

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXII, 1932, Plate XI*

133
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FIG. 1.—THE SANDS OF DAKAKA.

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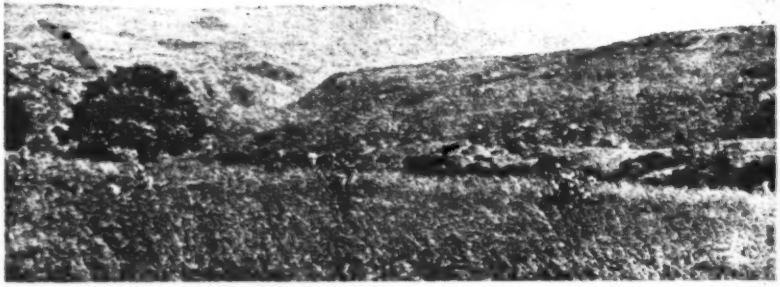

FIG. 2.—SOUTH ARABIA QARA MOUNTAINS. FUZAH. LOOKING DOWN OVER IR (W. ARBOT).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN SOUTH ARABIA.

P. 104 (A)

# THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

By LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR BERNARD REILLY,
K.C.M.G., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 12, 1941, Sir Cosmo Parkinson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

CHAIRMAN: We now come to the business of to-day, which is Sir Bernard Reilly's talk on the Aden Protectorate.

I could not help thinking, to go back to Lord Lloyd for a moment, how immensely interested he would have been in this talk, with his abiding memories of the Middle East, his intimate understanding of the Arab people, and his sincere respect for the faith and the tradition of Islam.

114 Sir Bernard Reilly needs no introduction. Any of you who have been to Aden, if only for a day, must know of him, because the two words "Aden" and "Reilly" are virtually synonymous. We have heard of "Reilly of Aden." I have sometimes wondered whether it should not be "Aden of Reilly." He has given a lifetime of service there, and, when the Aden Settlement was turned into a colony he became most appropriately the first Governor and Commander-in-Chief. If ever an administrator overseas deserved the title, "father and mother of the people," it was Sir Bernard Reilly in Aden.

There is just one thing I must tell you. When he was going away from Aden last year he did not know that he was retiring. When he reached this country he realized that private circumstances were such that he absolutely must retire, deeply as he regretted not going back to Aden. Before he left, his Arab servant, who had been with him many years, said: "Master, when the time comes for you finally to leave Aden, you must not tell us. You must go away, just as if you were taking one of your holidays to England, because the partings would be too sorrowful." That is a great tribute; and, in point of fact, on this occasion the master did act on the advice of the servant.

131 133 THE Aden Protectorate is an extensive tract of country in Southern Arabia. Its coast stretches from a point opposite to the island of Perim for about 600 miles to Ras Durbat Ali on the borders of Oman, and it reaches inland to a depth varying from about 100 miles in the vicinity of Aden to a greater but undefined distance farther east. Arabia is often thought of as a land of deserts, but this part of it, like many other parts, is a country of mountains. The sandy plain that the passing traveller sees stretching inland from Aden is only a maritime belt. Beyond it the hills rise abruptly in peaks and ranges that reach to heights of 8,000 feet and more. These mountains are, for the most part, rugged and forbidding, but they are interspersed by valleys and ravines that contain fertile and cultivated strips of land. Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hills are

green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted 301
in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased 302
stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and 609
with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a 508
landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions 137
aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were 136
swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky 139
ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said 361
to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent [342]
position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the 622
same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. 712
A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is 342
to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], 574
and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come 104
to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



have moved out to make room for us and the way is quite clear. Our host himself makes an inspection, to make sure that the feminine inhabitants are shut in behind closed doors before we are invited to follow him upstairs. It is glorious on the roof. We are free there from vermin, and mosquitoes, also, do not seem to come.

We beg urgently that no sheep be killed for us. It is difficult to persuade our generous host to accede to our unusual request, but he does at last realize that we have more desire for tea and fruit. A tray with glasses of tea is brought up to us and a second one with slices of melon, fresh figs, dates and sweets. Shēkh Elmās has seen something of the world; he is related to the Sultan's family and is not without a trace of Indian blood. His brother, the *ʿāmil*[1] of Ghēl Bā Wazīr, the headquarters for the cultivation of the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco, is staying with him and gives us a pressing invitation to visit that prosperous and beautiful bit of Arabia. We promised to try and touch at Ghēl Bā Wazīr on our return journey.

## 5. AN EXCURSION TO GHĒL BĀ WAZĪR.

Our way back to the coast from Terīm was so planned that we were unable to keep our promise to our host's brother. Yet we *did* visit Ghēl Bā Wazīr, but not until after our return to Makalla, when we had to wait several days for our boat to Aden. On June 24th we started for Ghēl Bā Wazīr, via Sheḥēr, in a car placed at our disposal, as before, by the Vizier of Makalla, Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Miḥḍār.

Behind the plateaus of coral formation along the coast is a shallow, extensive loess basin which is watered by a little stream, the Ghēl, having its source in the mountains lying behind the coast terraces. This basin with the strip of land suitable for irrigation, which lies by the banks of the Ghēl, is the chief area for the cultivation of the famous Ḥumūmī tobacco. The little town, which guards the entrance

[1] *ʿĀmil* (عامل), governor.

to this rich domain, lies at the edge of the plateau of coral 133
stone. As one approaches from the coast one barely sees the 361
gardens of palms; soon one finds oneself in front of a high, white wall, with a great, fortified gate, which, apparently, is kept closed even during the day. The traveller, as he waits, can only see, close to the wall and rising boldly up above it, the Sultan's massive palace which now serves as barracks for soldiers.

We were obliged to wait at a respectful distance from the 361
menacing, fortified gateway until our letter of introduction 249
had been taken to the palace, read and deemed satisfactory enough to admit us into the tobacco town. Ghēl Bā Wazīr, as a city, has not many beauties except for the large and ancient palace and a few mosques, and we were glad to accept the invitation of one of the authorities of the place to proceed at once to the gardens and to the Sultan's country-house in the cultivated district behind the town. We, therefore, drove without pausing through the place, which reeked of tobacco. The 361
valley side of the town, that is the north side, has less defences 249
than the south, whence start the great thoroughfares to 489
Makalla and esh-Shiḥr. Nowadays motor lorries convey the bales of tobacco, which are two yards long, from el-Ghēl to Makalla. Manure for the tobacco fields is brought from the coast on camels.

A richly cultivated area begins immediately behind the town. 249
The Sultan owns much tobacco-growing land, which is said 361
to be a great source of income to him. Close behind the town 342
are two gardens, in each of which is a newly-built summer 471
residence. We enter the first garden with the smaller house which is set aside for the use of the male members of the household. In the other garden is a much larger building for the wives and their female attendants.

The gate is immediately shut behind us, our following of 351
inquisitive youths remains outside, and we stand in the silence of the luxuriant garden, trying to accustom our eyes to the deep shade under the blossoming fruit-trees. It looks just as

The visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr was quite official in character; 647
there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been mono- [463]
polised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramīs have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramīs are Dutch subjects and as I was con- 648
sidered to be their partisan, an impression which had been 641
still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ᶜAluwī el-ᶜAṭṭās, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer 162
told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramīs come from Java every year 167
and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. 272
Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export 439
figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity, will rapidly increase in the future.

## 8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we 135
clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

133 standing in line close to the edge. The plateau is a few hundred feet wide, and the rock mounts again steeply till one reaches the flat top. The youngsters helped enthusiastically with collecting plants and catching insects. On the top we had a magnificent panorama landwards. There was just time enough to make a few outline sketches and to take bearings of the many mountain tops before the sun went down and it became cold. The guide said he would show us another and much easier way down, but it turned out to be otherwise, for he lost the way entirely; the boys left us in the lurch to find a good way home for themselves, and we could only progress slowly, in the increasing darkness, down the fairly steep rock-wall. Being an inexperienced climber I finally dared not, nor in fact was able, to proceed any further; with difficulty I reached a spot under an overhanging rock where, exhausted and with garments torn, I sank down. In the town below, however, they had been thinking of us, and after fully an hour we saw lights approaching from two different directions; they were soldiers sent out by the Vizier to bring us in. With much difficulty they reached the spot where we were held up. They had also thought of what one needs above all else on expeditions in this land — water. When I refused to risk the descent in the darkness and suggested waiting until dawn, the commandant of the patrol answered that he must bring us down that same evening. These experienced hill-men climb so well on their bare feet that I soon came to trust their directions, and we reached Makalla that evening without great difficulty. The leader passed with us in triumph through the crowd, which had been following our descent by the lights of our lanterns and had run out to watch our arrival. Our guide came to meet us coatless and without head-covering, as he had lost these garments during the descent in search of help. His answer to the reproach made to him from all sides was: "All comes from Allah. Allah let me lose the way, but brought you, nevertheless, safely down. Allah be praised!"

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Ḥarshīyāt we are put down by the road-side and, lying down beside our baggage, wait there for some hours till the donkeys come. Then, in pitch darkness, we go forward at a steady pace, preceded by a Bedouin carrying a lantern. By the village of Tilāᶜ es-Suflā we are to camp for the night in the dry *sēl* [1]-bed of the wādī. Luckily it is not long before the camels arrive. We set up our camp-beds amongst the boulders; under the mosquito-nets we are safe from the gnats that swarm here near the irrigated groves of date-palms and *dhura* fields. It is warm and very damp. Men and beasts lie close together. We are not yet accustomed to the sounds and odours of such a bivouac and get but little sleep.

## 2. ON TREK TO WĀDĪ ḤIMEM.

An hour before sunrise everything is again in motion, but we cannot leave until the measurements are finished. The sun rises shortly after our departure. We are all thankful to say good-bye to this damp, hot mosquito camp, but fortunately each day brings us nearer to the dryness and coolness of the Ḥaḍramaut mountain-plateau. The terraces at Tilāᶜ consist chiefly of conglomerations of round stones, and the vegetation is scanty but varied. Many acacias grow in the wādīs, here called *smur* (*acacia etbaïca*) [2], also aerva. Wādī el-Laṣb, through which we march, becomes broad and sandy, and the atmosphere becomes very warm.

A great disappointment, indeed annoyance, is to find that our advance party has already encamped at eight o'clock by a well at the edge of the wādī, where the burning heat of the sun is only tempered by some acacia trees. The baggage has been unloaded, and the Bedouins will not move for either love or money; they will first eat and then rest from the fatigues of the departure. It is so appallingly hot that we are in fear

[1] *Sēl* (سيل) is a torrent flowing after the rare rain- and thunder-storms and which usually remains only a short time.

[2] Cf. L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 300; Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, i., Leide, 1901, p. 349.

133

Tilā' es-Suflā. In the foreground the dry *sēl*-bed, where we camped the first night.

Wādī el-Laṣb.

[facing p. 40]

●133
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Where Wādī el-Laṣb narrows there is a small brook and some vegetation.

133

[facing p. 41]

Wādī Ḥimem.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



system of drinking- and at the same time cooling-bowls, 271
among poor and rich alike.

Our host spoke with longing of beautiful, rich Java and of 167
the good years that he had passed there, and it was obvious that he would have liked to return there but for leaving his family behind, for the Ḥaḍramī woman does not leave her country with her husband. It was clear, from the friendly farewell, that I had not been wrong in thinking that my years passed as a civil servant in Netherlands India would facilitate my travels in Ḥaḍramaut.

They all went a little way with us to see us off and were 133
photographed at their own request. We followed the broad 312
*sēl*-bed [1] crossing the plateau surrounded by terraces of about 300 feet high. There, where the plateau ends, lies, at a height of 50 feet the village of Ḥimem on a hill at the edge of the wādī to which it gives its name. At the foot of the hill, there are very tall coco-nut trees, the last that we shall see for the time being, for the altitude is already 3000 feet. A conduit full of water, fed by little springs at the edge of the wādī, irrigates fields of *dhura* and of neatly-planted and well-cultivated tobacco. It is true that it is not first-class Ḥumūmī tobacco that is raised here, but even so it commands a good market price.

The evening falls and we are obliged to camp soon after 133
leaving Ḥimem. The valley has here penetrated into the sand- 271
stone and the conglomerates under the eocene limestone. Here at a height of 3000 feet the nights are already cold. According to our Bedouins, who are good water-tasters, the water also improves in proportion as one gets further away from the coast; all salt and bitterness gradually disappears from it.

In our bivouac at Ḥimem we had to put away again a great 136
harvest of plants and insects; the swallow-tail butterfly was also found here.

The mayor of Ḥimem came to visit us in our camp. He told 249
us that his village of 200 to 300 inhabitants grows tobacco,

[1] The bed through which the water flows for a short time after rain.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



which is its chief source of livelihood. Only three of his men have emigrated to Java, but he has heard so much good of that land of promise that he wishes to go there himself, though it would mean leaving a family of six children behind. To my question as to whether he had performed the *ḥadjdj*[1] his answer was in the negative.

We have met very few travellers on the way from Makalla to Ḥimem — only a few camels and donkeys laden with bananas and other fruits for the Makalla market.

On the 11th of May, directly after breaking camp in the morning, we began by ascending a long *ʿaqaba*[2] and it was two hours before we reached the top. A little farther on we passed a place called Kubr, which our Bedouins pretended was the last spot for hours ahead, where we should find water, and they urged us strongly to take the afternoon's rest here. Immediately after I had agreed to this, it dawned upon me that the story about the water had only been invented in order to call a halt. The spot was very unfavourable, for water had to be fetched from some distance away out of the 20 feet deep bed of the wādī, where there was a well. We were obliged to seek shelter from the sun, in a fissure of the rocks which hardly gave room enough.

Von Wissmann used the opportunity to climb the steep precipice leading up to the plateau, in company with one of the slave soldiers. The eocene limestone, of which the 60 feet thick upper stratum is formed, falls away everywhere in a perpendicular drop, so that it is difficult to find a scaleable spot in it. Our Bedouins did not believe that the *Efrendjī* could get up it in his shoes, and his attempts were watched with curiosity from our bivouac. When Von Wissmann, born and bred among the rock-mountains of Styria, conquered a very hazardous bit of wall and his soldier could only follow

[1] The *ḥadjdj* is the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five pillars of the religion of Islam.

[2] *ʿAqaba* (عقبة) is a road over or up, or down, or over some part of, a mountain; cf. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*.

with difficulty, his popularity with our Sēbāni people was established for good. From thenceforth he was named *Ḥarmal*, a name of good companionship, which stuck to him as long as he was in Ḥaḍramaut. Ḥarmal is a corruption of Hermann; it is at the same time the name of one of the most common plants in Ḥaḍramaut, a plant inedible for cattle and, consequently, worthless. 000

My name they could not keep in their memories, so from this time on I was called Konsul. Bedouins are a very democratic folk: whenever they had anything to ask or to say they did not lie in wait for a favourable opportunity, but would shout out from the rear of the caravan: "Yā Ḥarmal!" or "Yā Konsul!" I would then immediately reply in an equally loud "Yā ḥādjdj!" or "Yā Sēbānī!" Then came the question, to which, whenever possible, I gave a jocular reply. They enjoyed laughing, and if one could manage to maintain one's hold on them by keeping them in good humour, it was possible to crack many a hard nut. It seemed to me very necessary to be good friends with one's Bedouins, but at the same time to keep them at a distance and to make one's authority felt.

Up above on the edge of the plateau[1] Von Wissmann had a fine, distant view. To the south were esh-Shiḥr and the sea, to the north the highest mountain of Ḥaḍramaut, Kōr Sēbān, a great massif of eocene limestone. On the east and west were the endless plain and, still visible close by, the deep-cut wādīs, and higher up the long horizontal line of the table-mountains. Several kinds of acanthus were growing close to the rock-wall and crossander, with blue-green leaves. *Cadia varia* appeared here for the first time, but later on was often to be seen in the wādīs. 133 137

When the sun began to penetrate into our rocky cleft and the temperature rose to 33° C., we were forced to break camp, although our Bedouins were not yet inclined to do so. It took a great effort to wake them up, and, while they were trying to find their camels, which had wandered off in search of food, we sauntered on ahead. At first the way wound along 000

1 [See preceding page -- Analyst]

the fairly steep slope of Wādī Ḥimem, high above the *sēl*-bed. We looked down on the fresh green of small trees and shrubs; a shepherdess with her flock of goats was occasionally to be seen amongst them. The path then dropped down towards the wādī; walking over the grey-white boulders and under small acacias with scanty foliage, we made our weary way to the end of Wādī Ḥimem, in and beside which we had been journeying for days past.

### 4. THROUGH WĀDĪ LUṢŪB TO THE GREAT ROCK PLATEAU. THE CAMP AT EL-ḤISĪ.

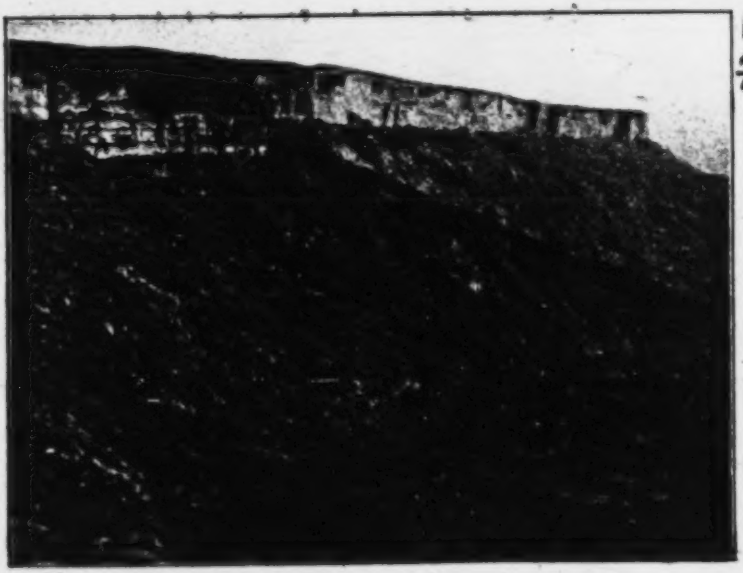
We came out onto a high plateau, but soon entered the wide, shallow bed of Wādī Luṣūb, which was fairly well covered with vegetation. Small, poor houses lie scattered here, like cubes of stone, with very primitive little gardens. The people live principally by breeding sheep and goats. We made our quarters for the night just beyond the houses, forming the hamlet of el-Ḥisī, beside a large well of masonry within which one descends by stone steps to the surface of the water. The well had been dug in the *sēl*-bed and was therefore protected by a thick wall, as high as a man, against the water floods which appear after rain. In el-Ḥisī lived the family of Mautor, the leader of our caravan, and hence the dawdling which characterised this day; on no account were they prepared to go beyond el-Ḥisī.

All bickering was forgotten now and our Bedouins radiated contentment and willingness. The people of el-Ḥisī set to work cutting up food for our animals, all the inhabitants came to have a look at our camp, and, afterwards, Mautor took all his comrades with him to feast in his village. He brought us, beforehand, a cloth full of *nibq* fruit. The *nibq* tree, also called *sidr* or *dōm*, is of intrinsic importance in those parts of Ḥaḍramaut where there is too little water for the cultivation of the date-palm. There, wherever one is dependent on the *sēl*, the water which only comes after rain, and where the subsoil

137

Acacia trees, further inland in Wādī Himem.

133



The slope of the Kōr Sēbān.

1 See pages 46 and 47 and pages 50-51 --Analyst

p.48(A)

See pages 48 and 51

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The border of the *djōl*, with some vegetation (euphorbias and acacias).

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A view over the *djōl*.

p.48 (C)

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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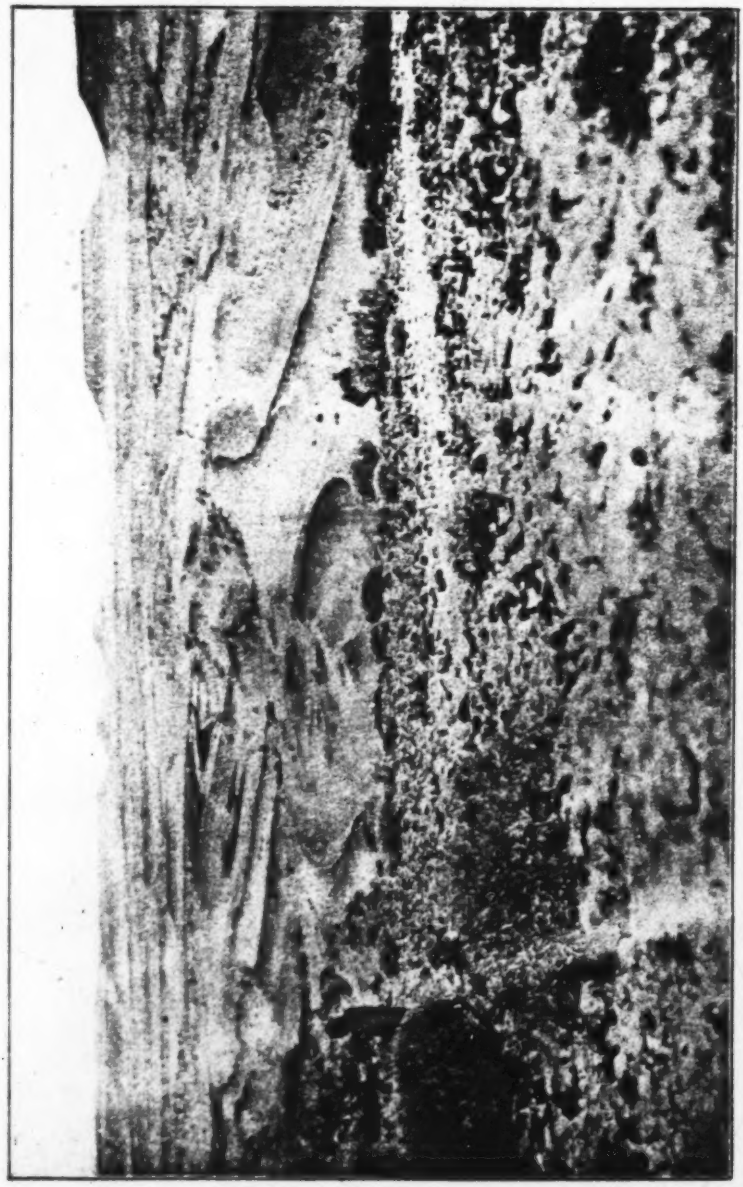

The *djōl* with the long horizontal lines of the table-mountains in the distance.

p.48(D)

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



water is too far below the surface to serve for the regular irrigation of a plantation, the *nibq* can still live quite well, and even if there is no rain for some years it does not die. The fruit of the *nibq* is as large as a marble and has a stone of the size of a pea. The taste is sour-sweet and refreshing. The fruit can be dried and kept for a long time: it is then crushed fine, stone and all, and with the meal bread is baked or a sort of porridge made. This small fruit is the chief food supply of many in times of drought, and in times of scarcity many Bedouins live on *nibq* and milk and do not look ill on the diet. The shepherdesses carry the *nibqs* with them in small oval, prettily woven baskets. 245 262

The wood of the *nibq* tree is reddish-brown and hard, and is used for beams and supporting pillars in the big, many-storied, mud houses of the rich. The branches, thick with thorns, are used in the date plantations when the bunches of dates approach ripeness. They are bound in a wreath round the trunk just below the clusters of fruit, to prevent the dates from being stolen. Finally the green leaves of the *nibq* are also useful: when, during a long drought, there is hardly any more food to be found for the sheep and goats one sees the agile shepherdesses, in spite of their flowing, black garments, clambering up to the top of the *nibq* tree and knocking off the leaves from the branches with long, thin sticks. The flock stands below the tree in expectation of the godsend of food to come. We have only a mild admiration for the *nibq* fruit: one must do much chewing for little nourishment and for little taste. [313] 314 262 231

They also brought us from el-Ḥisī a few handfuls of the roasted larvae of white ants. The taste was not bad; Von Wissmann ate up a whole helping with the result that, shortly afterwards, he had a pain in his throat and could not utter a sound, a condition that lasted for about two hours. 262

El-Ḥisī lies about 4500 feet above sea-level, and the evenings are quite cold. While there, we examined the bundles of plants which we had already collected and pressed. Great 133 000

was our disappointment on finding that many of them were mildewy. It was a long and very disheartening work to remove the damaged plants and to replace the damp paper with new. We were now in high-lying dry country and from henceforth might expect to have no further difficulty with the already decreasing quantity of plants collected. After this, we always opened the presses during the afternoon rest and laid stacks of the papers which contained the plants, held down by stones, to dry in the fierce sun and hot wind. Thus the collection of plants was safeguarded against decay.

### 5. KŌR SĒBĀN, THE HIGHEST TOP OF HAḌRAMAUT.

The camp at el-Ḥisī lay at the foot of Kōr Sēbān, which of course Von Wissmann wanted to climb. We arranged that he should start early on the following morning with one of the soldiers and a Bedouin guide, whilst I, with the other soldier, should attend to the timely breaking up of camp and the speedy advance of our caravan. We were to meet again at the afternoon halting place.

The night in el-Ḥisī was so cold that, towards morning, sleep became impossible, so that early rising was quite easy. On this morning of May 12th we marched from half past six until eleven o'clock. Our way lay smoothly over high-lying level ground, remarkably flat limestone plateaus, into which the wādīs cut vertically and where the lateral wādīs begin.

133 So little rain falls here that the origin of these steep-banked wādīs, already cut so deep from the beginning, cannot be sufficiently accounted for by the erosive action of rain-water only. The Bents have assumed that these wādīs were formed by the sea and that this is the explanation of the likeness, everywhere to be found, in the outline of the walls on each side of the wādīs.[1] This supposition does not appear acceptable. It seems to us that Caetani's theory of the drying-up of Arabia and possibly of the whole world might offer a plausible

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

explanation of the facts. More rainfall on this bare table-land, 133
where all water immediately streams away, must have caused mighty floods streaming with elementary force through the wādīs to the sea. In this way wide, deep ravines in the plateau can have come into existence. The monotonous likeness in their outlines is to be ascribed to the fact that the ground, in which the erosion takes place, always shows the same composition and that the climatic conditions of the interior are invariable. A horizontal stratum of limestone, 50—100 yards thick, lies on a similar horizontal sandstone stratum. The limestone layer has, at the edge of the wādī, an almost perpendicular incline as has the sandstone layer also at first, but it then merges into the slopes of rock débris, which reach quite high up the walls of the wādī. The little towns and villages lie, in the [361]
narrow wādīs, on these slopes of débris, while in the broad wādīs, as also in Ḥaḍramaut Proper, the towns and villages are built in front of the débris.

Kōr Sēbān is the highest mountain of Ḥaḍramaut though its altitude is not more than 7088 feet. The summit is a gradual elevation, rising out of the high-lying plateau surrounding it. The eocene limestone strata are 1200 feet higher than the plateau, yet fairly horizontal, as is the case with Djebel Ghurēba, visible in the distance. Violent tectonic disturbances must have taken place here. A camel path leads upwards to the flat top of Kōr Sēbān, from where one has a fine view over the Wādī Ḥuwēre, which makes a deep cutting on the further side of Kōr Sēbān and lies quite 3000 feet lower than Wādī Ḥimem. Djebel Ghurēba, which is certainly not much lower than Kōr Sēbān, also appears to be separated from the latter range by a deep valley on its southern side. Djebel Baraka, two days' march distant, must be about the same height.

On one of the highest points of Kōr Sēbān there was 137
growing an *arab*, apparently a *dracaena*, with large clusters of reddish blossoms. The trunk had been mutilated by the removal of pieces of bark, and living boughs had also been hacked off. On the summit plateau there was seen for the first time a semi-

formation. They belong to the plateau called *djōl* (جول), 312
lying between the mountainous coast region and the great 104
depressions of inner Ḥaḍramaut.

## 6. THE DJŌL.

Our way now led over the *djōl* as far as Wādī Dō'an. The 133
*djōl* consists of vast table-lands of reddish-brown limestone, where flat-topped, horizontal mountains, the remains of old, still higher plateaus, stretch like long wings. The wādīs are cut deep into them. We also often descend into flat, basin-shaped, wide depressions, passing over the crumbling edges of the plateaus, and afterwards have to climb laboriously up again, towards the boulders at the edge of the opposite plateau, quite half an hour away. Wherever one looks one sees the same long, horizontal lines of the table-mountains, with everywhere the forked, precipitous incisions made by the wādīs. The plain is strewn with sharp fragments of limestone, dark-brown and black in colour, which ring like metal whenever the passer-by kicks pieces of them together with his foot. Vegetation is al- 136
most absent. Towards the edges of the plateaus, against which 137
clouds sometimes seem to break, there are a few shrubs of small, crooked, gnarled acacias. One finds no trace of animal life except a few lizards and sometimes a solitary bird. It is very warm on the *djōl* during the day, the sun scorches, and the wind is hot and dry. During the night this same wind is cold and penetrating, so that one wakes up and remains awake longing for the warmth of the sun hours before it rises; then an hour later it is torment again from the heat.

The endless monotony is the great enemy of the traveller 000
over the *djōl*. The light is fierce and is reflected a thousand times in the metallic shining stones. The narrow camel path winds like a smooth and shining ribbon through the unruffled and almost unchanging expanse. The stones have been pushed aside by the feet of the camels which, in the course of so many years, have passed that way. The limestone of the plateau

133

Trekking over the *djōl*.

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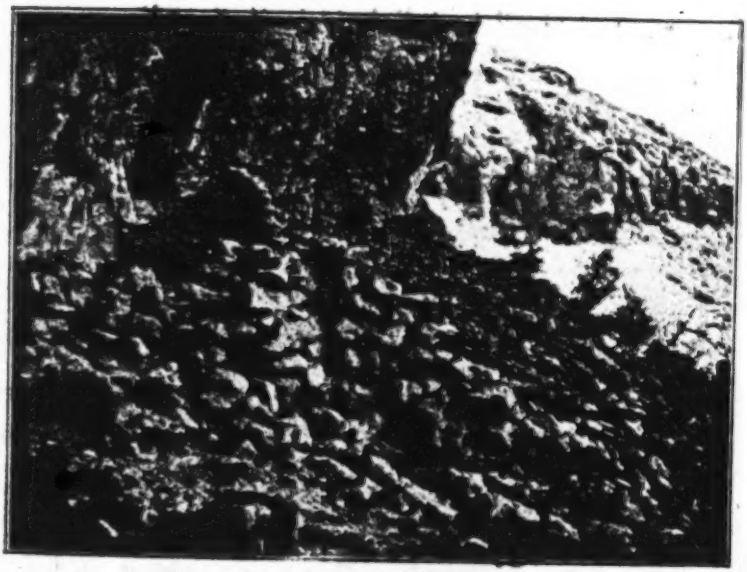

The Dār 'Ād, ruins dating probably from Sabaean times.

[facing p. 86]

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Wādī Thiqbe, close to Dār 'Ād.

[facing p. 57]

See page 57.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



this, there were the remains of the houses which these people had inhabited in the days of the preaching of Hūd, the prophet of Allah. It was arranged for the caravan to go ahead as usual and for us to rise early and set out on a rapid excursion to the ᶜĀd remains, without losing a day of the time on our schedule.

The night in Bureyyira seemed very cold, yet in the morning the temperature was only 18° C. The night-wind and the great contrast with the heat of the day make one feel the cold very much. We set out at 5 o'clock under the leadership of Aḥmad and the protection of the soldier ᶜUbēd. We went first by the road on donkeys for some hours and then, leaving the animals with their attendants behind us, we struck into a side-path that led over massive rocks to the source of Wādī Ghār. The wādī is very soon deeply hollowed out and we climb with difficulty high up along its steep wall, but luckily that does not last long, and we approach the wādī-bed. Occasionally our way is blocked by great, greyish-white boulders. All sorts of interesting plants grow against the wall of rock as, for example, *anisotes*, which is also to be found at el-Ḥisī. We followed the bed of this narrow, deep wādī for a long time, and our eyes were refreshed by the colour of many an acacia. After strenuous climbing we reached the broader Wādī Thiqbe, where we had to circumvent immense blocks of rock. The *sēls* must have formed waterfalls here by which deep basins have been hollowed out of the rock, which in several places still held some water, though rather thick and brown. Now that the sun is so high that its rays reach the bed of the wādī, the temperature rises very quickly, and the prolonged and hard exertion makes us very thirsty. The water-supply that we brought with us is soon exhausted, but these basins of brown water arouse aversion. There is some shadow given by a number of trees, among which are some large *nibqs*, and that is the spot where we rest. Aḥmad really knows the way well. He brings us to a deep pool, hidden from sight by rocks, which has straight walls and is quite full of brown water. Though we dare not

# CHAPTER IV.

## WĀDĪ DŌ'AN.

### 1. THE DESCENT.

The stupendous, precipitous depression of Wādī Dō'an can 133
only be seen when close at hand, for the high table-land continues unchanged on the further side. The walls have a sheer drop of more than 900 feet to where the bottom of the valley is pressed in between the slopes of débris, at the base of the rocks. We approach a little breach in the wall through which 000
it has been possible to make the camel path. Sayyid 'Aluwī without pausing goes on ahead with the advance guard, longing as one does, after wearisome travel, to enter again the civilized life of a town.

For the time being we remain up above to take bearings and photographs. Where the descent of the rock path begins there is a fortified tower of solid stone.[1] We see a similar one on the other side at the edge of the ravine. There are continuous military posts which watch over the safety of the rich wādī below. We cautiously approach the overhanging, crumbling edge and gaze down below, full of awe. We see around us endless, grey-brown fields of stone, plantless and odourless, opposite us exactly the same as far as the eye can reach, and immediately at our feet glittering, yellow walls of rock, and then, down below in the depth, a marvel of colour and charm. The sun shines right into the wādī, where no life or movement are to be seen. Between patches of gay yellowish-green, formed by the fields of *dhura,* maize and lucerne, lies unruffled the broad, shining, grey-green strip of date-groves. Through it there winds a snow-white ribbon, the sandy bed of the *sēl.*

[1] Here called *kūt* (كوت), plur. *akwāt,* a word of Persian origin. 104

p. 61

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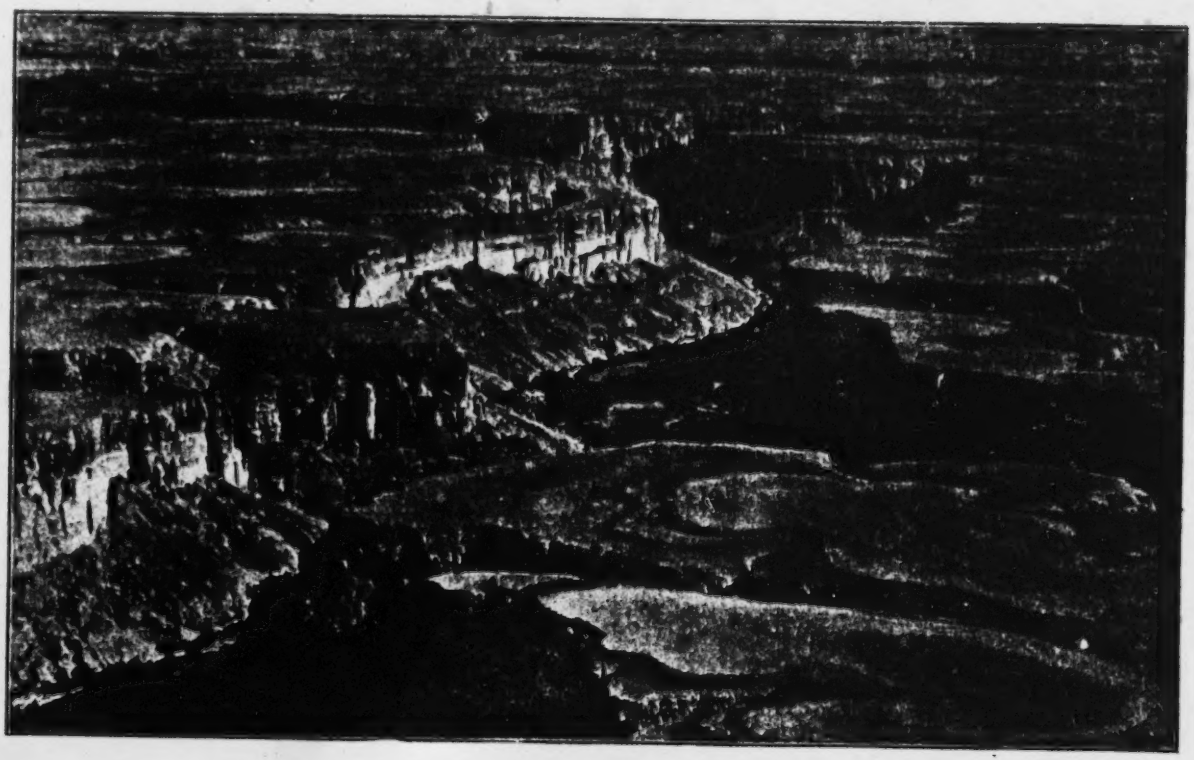

The stupendous, perpendicular depression of Wādī Dō'an.

[facing p 60]



See page 6

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## 8. APPROACHING WĀDĪ DŌ'AN.

We notice that we are approaching the great *'aqaba* leading to Wādī Dō'an; some long caravans with rice from Makalla pass us, and about twenty villagers on donkeys, bound for Makalla, come towards us. We start off again at half past three, crossing the dry, high table-land, with a distant horizon vanishing into a blue mist, against which are outlined the low, far-stretching mountain plateaus — an extraordinarily monotonous, colourless and formless landscape. The next day, when we descend into Wādī Dō'an, we shall take leave of it for a while. Thus it will be the last night of bivouac with our Sēbānī people.

At Ḥumḥār we camped behind the edge of a plateau, where there was some shelter from the wind. On the way, after some bargaining, our men have bought a sheep. The prospect of the feast reduces them to such confusion of mind that they unload the camels some distance from us. We notice this too late, but try to insist that they shall reload them; however, we have finally to content ourselves with the promise that they will carry to our camping place the pieces of luggage that we need. They let us wait: the sheep is killed and made ready and they all go out to collect the firewood and it almost seems as if they will take no further trouble about us. To avoid this, Ṣāliḥ and the soldiers carry all the Bedouins' food away to the spot where we have established ourselves. We wait in suspense to see what will happen! The Sēbānīs return from all directions, throw their wood in a great pile and light a fire, which is to heat the stones upon which the meat will shortly be roasted. Meanwhile, when they want to prepare the dough for the bread, they discover that all the food has disappeared. The merry excitement abruptly ceases, and, after a moment of amazement, indignation bursts forth in effervescence. Mautor approaches us with two companions to demand the return of their food supplies. They speak first with our soldiers and with Ṣāliḥ, who treat them to a torrent of reproaches, but

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (193)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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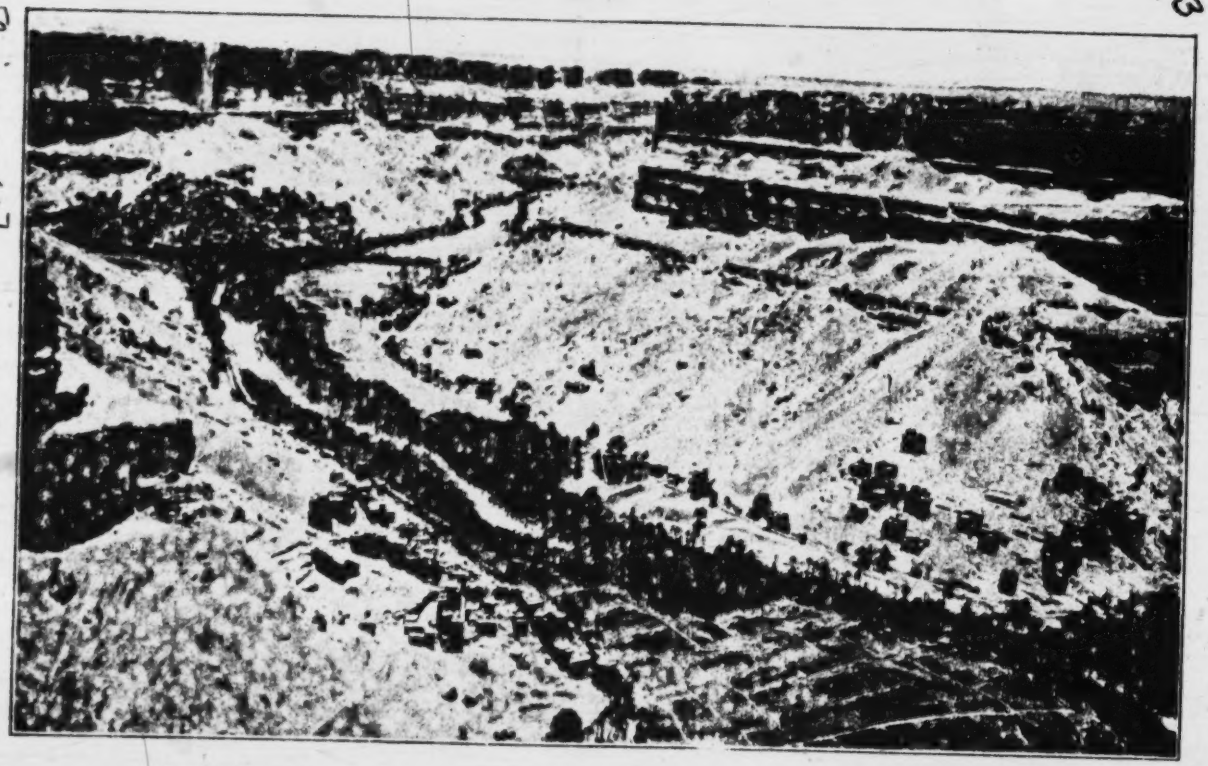

Wādī Dōʿan. A green river of date-palms and the snow-white ribbon of the *sēl*-bed.

[facing p. 61]

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133

Khurēba, the principal town of Wādī Dō'an.

p64 (B)

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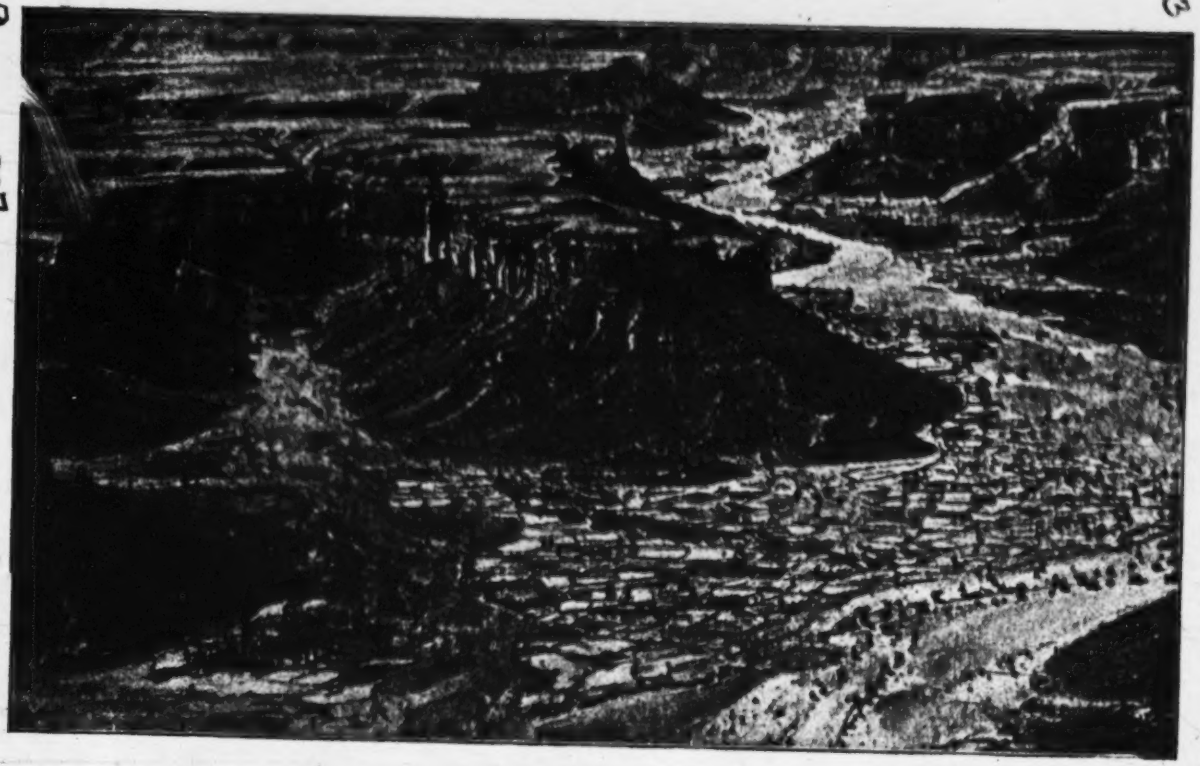
[Facing p 73]



Wādī el-Ēsar debouching into Wādī Dōʿan near Ṣīf.

See page 77

# CHAPTER VI.

## ḤUREḌA, THE CENTRE OF THE EL-ᶜAṬṬĀS CLAN.

### 1. FROM EL-MESHHED TO ḤUREḌA.

133 361 In the afternoon we leave el-Meshhed under the guidance of Sayyid Ḥasan, and travel through the great, wide, plantless wādī to the mouth of Wādī ᶜAmd. The bed of the wādī is here called Baḥrān, "the two streams", as the *sēl*-beds of Wādī Dōᶜan and of Wādī el-ᶜĒn, to the left and the right respectively, separated from each other by a plateau of sand and loam, meet at this point. The villages of Sidbe, which lie like tall castles at the foot of the mountain, get the water for their palm-groves from Wādī el-ᶜĒn. To the right in the far distance there lies the village of Ḥōra with a great castle and a watch-tower on a hill. It is a small Qeᶜēṭī island in the midst of an Āl Kathīr sea.

When we reach the mouth of Wādī ᶜAmd and there take an inward bend in a south-westerly direction, the sun is setting in a magnificent glow of light. We feel diminutively small in the broad river-beds of sand with their far-away high banks. We have passed from one *siqāya* to another. We enter Wādī ᶜAmd, following closely the rock-wall on its south-western side. High up against that wall, which is in a somewhat crumbling condition here, we see a few fortifications and towers. In the wādī there are some tilled, but still bare, fields in the midst of the sand; *nibq* trees and bushes grow [609] scattered here and there. Sometimes also we pass a few date-palms and little settlements, the inhabitants of which call out to us in suspicion as we go by. As soon as they hear that *sāda* (*i. e.* sayyids) of the el-ᶜAṭṭās family are with our party, the words of salutation ring out *"Yā ḥayya!"*, an abbreviation for "May Allah give you life!"

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Wādī ʿAmd, at its juncture with Wādī 'l-Kasr, looking eastward.

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See pag

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The el-Qaṭn district, with Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn in the centre, at the foot of the rock-wall.

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

p 194(G)

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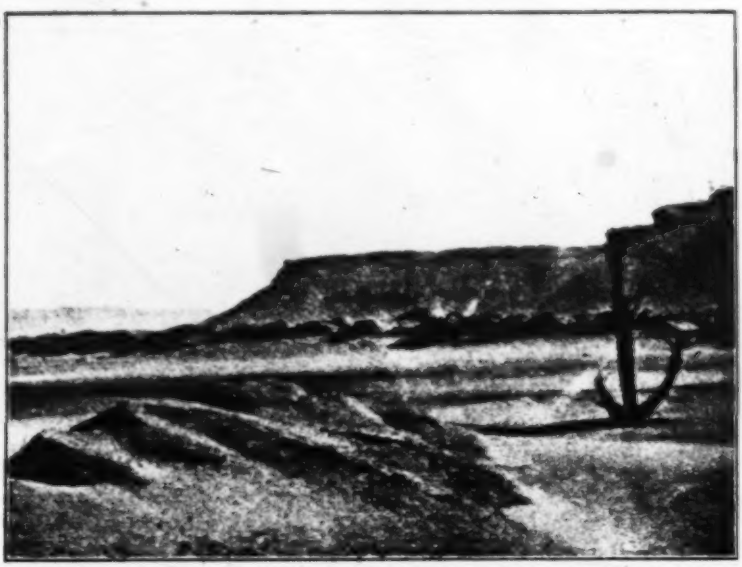
132



Hillocks of loam and sand near Diyār Al Buqrī.

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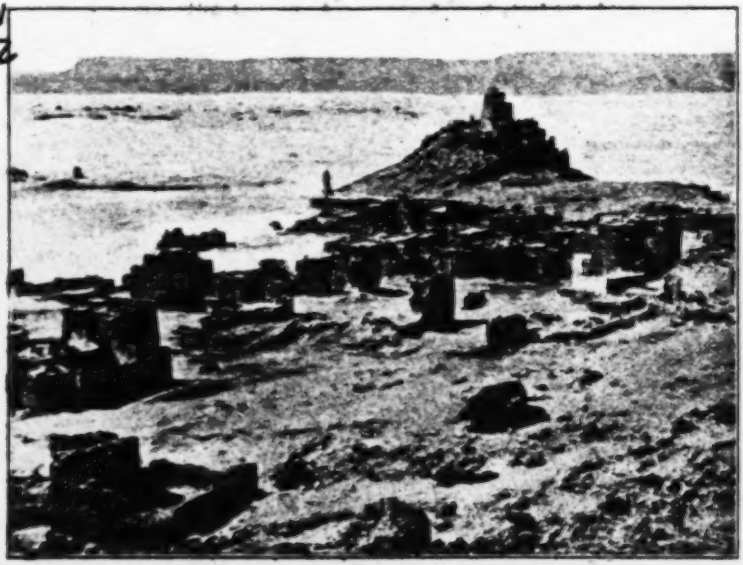
34a



The old dying town of Hēnin.

p104(D)

See pages 104 and 108.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## ENTERING OUR "LAND OF PROMISE".

### 1. EL-QAṬN AND SHIBĀM.

On May 23rd our host would not allow us to depart until we had partaken of the first of the two daily meals with him. There is no apparent objection to this, as Bin Marta^c will take us himself in his car to el-Qaṭn. The heat and the sand-storm are very unpleasant. It is now the time when the dates ripen. The heavy, bright-yellow or deep-red bunches of fruit, sometimes as many as ten on one tree, need those hot winds to bring them to ripeness. Travelling in the sandy plain is not only unpleasant at this time, but it is also difficult to keep in the right direction. It is true, Bin Marta^c will look after that, but Von Wissmann has great difficulty in making a drawing of our route, surveying the mountain-wall, which is just visible from time to time, and sketching in the villages.

After Hēnin we enter a real desert of sand. The soil is loess, but a thick layer of sand has drifted over it in the lower-lying places. A few bushes of *rāk* [1] grow here and there on the loam-hills. The wādī is seven miles wide here, the villages on the other side of it disappear in the sand-storm. We shape our direction towards the S. W. wall of the wādī, to the spot where Wādī Menwab debouches into it. Soon after the rocks come in sight we also see the tops of the date-palms shining through the leaden-coloured curtain of dust.

Furṭ [2] el-Qaṭn, the beginning of the inhabited, cultivated

[1] Classical *arāk* (أراك), *salvadora persica* Garcin, cf. Landberg *Arabica*, N°. v. (Leiden, 1898), p. 39 *sq.*; L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 211, 306.

[2] A *furṭ* (فرط) is a prominent top at the border of a mountain range.

palace, that a school is carried on there, in which some hundred and fifty boys receive elementary secular and religious instruction. The silent, but friendly representative of the Sultan shows us out as far as our car and allows us to photograph him with his own surroundings in front of the house.

## 3. THROUGH A SAND-STORM TO "THE TOWN" OF ḤADRAMAUT.

We now drive through the cultivated tract of land to its sandy, outer margin. The sand-storm meanwhile has increased in violence and Bin Marta<sup>c</sup> loses the way from time to time so that we make but slow progress towards Shibām. It is fortunate that we had clear weather in which to see this part of our route on the return journey and so were able to fill in the necessary details in describing it. Not far from Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn the fertile strip of land becomes very narrow and later on quite vanishes. The villages look then like small green islands in the otherwise bare land at the foot of the mountain. Our way goes through sand-hills grown over with a kind of reed.

Not far from Shibām we pass through the fields of *dhura* and small palm-groves belonging to the villages of el-Hēme and Āl Shēkh ᶜAlī.

At this point the cultivated ground reaches the bank of the deep *sēl*-bed. During the rains the *sēl* here threatened to degenerate from a blessing into a danger: rushing torrents of water forced their way through to the valuable palm plantations of Shibām and washed bare the roots of the trees. A cemented stone dam with sluices has been made in the *sēl*-bed to keep down the rush of water; it is quite half a mile long. Earlier dams have been destroyed, over and over again, by the *sēl*; this one has been made at great expense, and it seems to be capable of holding up and conducting the water.

The last part of the way to Shibām goes again over a plain, bare of vegetation, where the hot sand-storm has full play. On

133 the right are fields and some groves of date-palms which seem
361 to be dependent on rain, hiding themselves behind the wide curtain of dust. Suddenly we see before us something that resembles *fata morgana*: a square, grey mass rises high up above the desert, and its upper side looks as if it were
361 covered with snow. There lies Shibām, the New York of Ḥaḍramaut, one of her three great cities and the centre of her commerce for centuries past. It was probably an important town even in pre-Islamic times.[1] High walls protect the palm plantations against the drifting sand; they are therefore invisible and the marvel of the great city looming up out of the desert breaks forcibly upon the stranger as he approaches Shibām from the direction of el-Qaṭn for the first time. No town of Ḥaḍramaut is built so compactly and of such high houses as Shibām. Nearly all the houses have a white-washed roof-storey, which gives that wonderful effect of a brown cake powdered with sugar. The city is straitly enclosed by a high, strong wall which, to a great extent, is incorporated into the back of the houses. Just at a short distance from the wall the road passes over a bridge made of the trunks of palm-trees, which spans a waterless irrigation canal, and enters the date plantation. Everything is covered with a layer of dust. The drought has been so great this year that these palms, which are dependent on the *sēl*, have been unable to produce fruit. The road follows the wall round the city, then descends to the broad, level sandy-bed of the *sēl*, in the middle of which is a series of wells from which the people of the town draw water. From here a wide slope leads to the high, double gate of the town. The car gets up the bumpily paved ascent with difficulty, and we pass through the first gate to another one, 90 feet further on. We are then in a square where camels are resting, which, terrified by our car, rear on their hind legs and try to run away, in spite of their being hobbled and their heavy loads. The square is shut in on the right side by the

[1] Cf. el-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 86, l. 24, 25; 87, l. 3, 25; *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Art. *Shibām*, 4.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-8 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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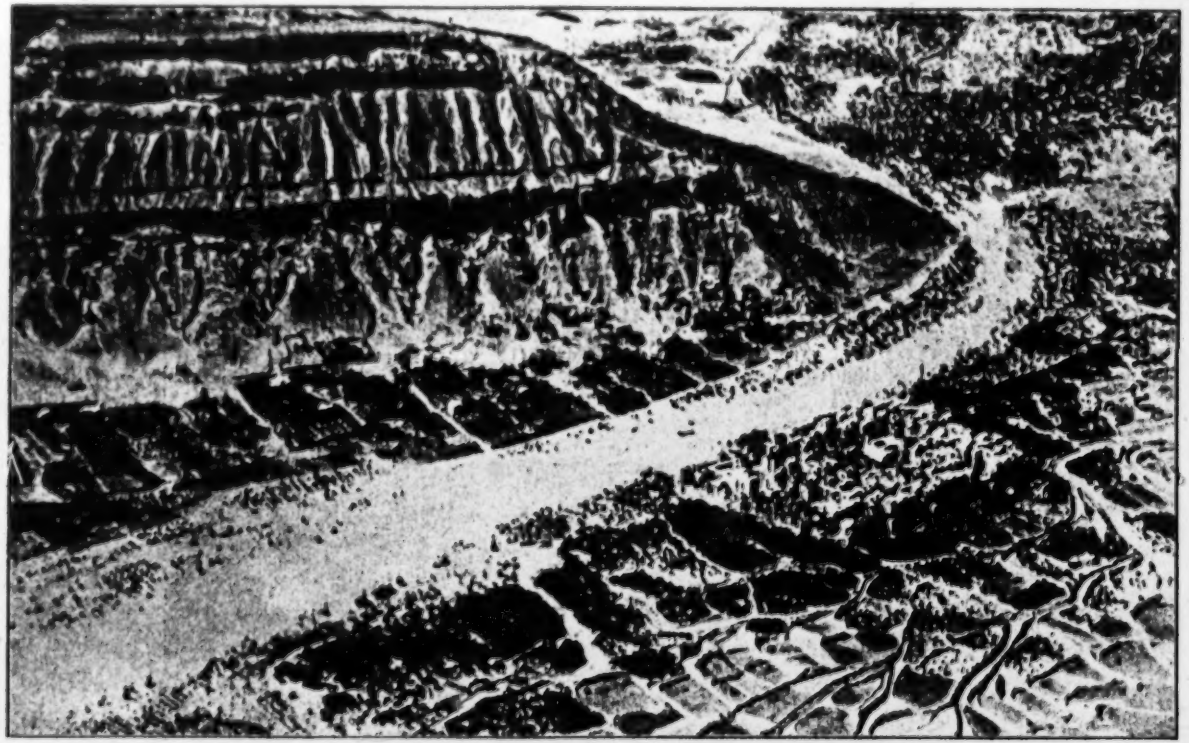

Shibām, beside the broad sand-river.

*See page 112.*

p 112 (3).

# CHAPTER IX.

## SĒWŪN, THE HEART OF HADRAMAUT PROPER.

### 1. PENETRATING INTO THE ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

The border of the Qeᶜēṭī territory is a quarter of an hour's 121
walk to the east of Shibām. There, high up at the edge of the 712
mountain, is a fort and an observation post; there are also mud block-houses in the plain. Somewhat further along the mountain's ridge the white military posts of the Āl Kathīr are visible.

On the afternoon of May 24th, immediately after leaving 721
Shibām, we cross the sandy wādī diagonally towards the northern side, where there is least vegetation, but also least warfare. The whole southern side has the name of being unsafe. But even here on the north, soldiers dog our footsteps whenever we stop to take photographs. The villages are built 361
up against the mountain foot, and on higher points are the 312
ruins of fortifications. Following the margin we again enter 133
date plantations, which are, however, very thin and finally perish in the engulfing sand. Then we go on through sand-dunes overgrown with a kind of beach-grass. Close by Sēwūn we again have to cross the bed of the wādī, as this place is situated on the southern side. There is water, here and there, in the *sēl*-bed; it is, however, very bitter. The soil close to those stagnant pools is covered with a crust of white salt.

Sēwūn lies within a wide belt of magnificent palm-groves 241
and fields of *dhura*. The water-level is only eighteen to twenty-one feet below the surface; the water has a saltish taste, but appears to be exceptionally suitable for the irrigation of the gardens. We had not so far seen such vigorous date-palms and such luxuriant, tall-growing *dhura* as in this part of the country. The hot wind has already ripened the bunches of dates, which are comfortably hidden away by this time in their

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (193)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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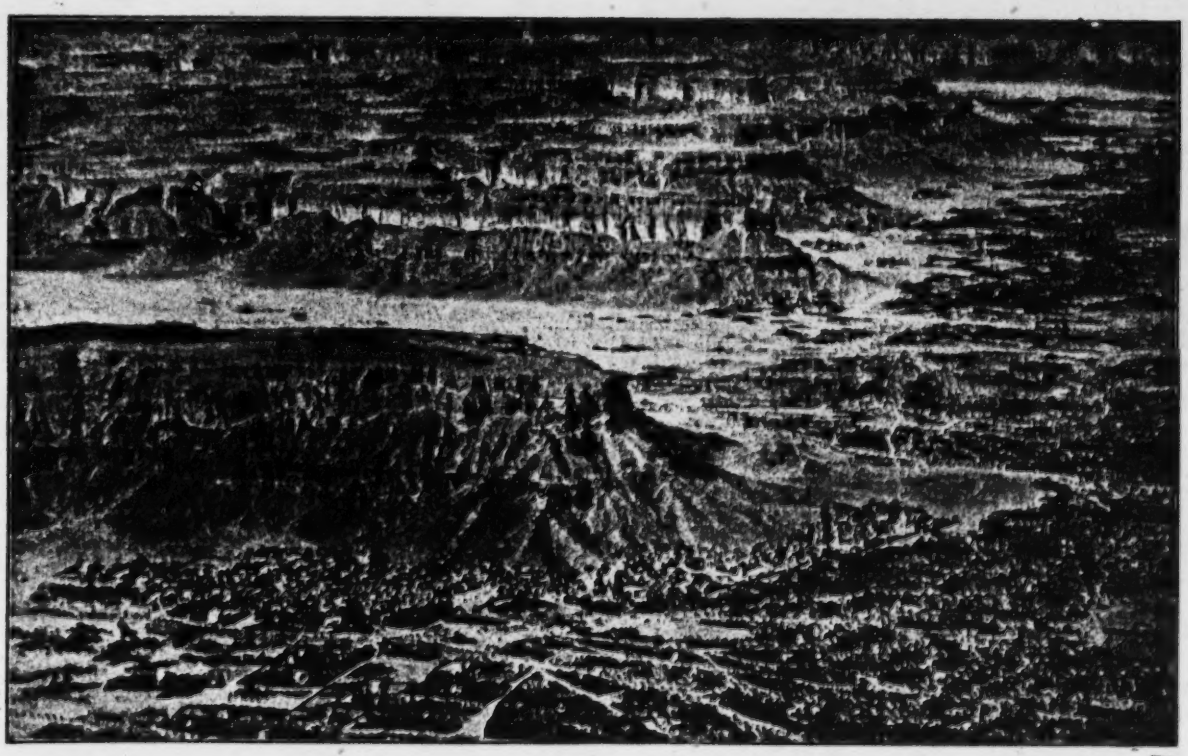

Sēwūn, the heart of Ḥaḍramaut.

p120(A)

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● 133

A pool in the *masīla* near Sēwūn, surrounded by a white salt-crust.

p 120 (B)

See page 119.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 from our roof how they begin to stir on the other roofs close to us and then go down to the kitchen to light a fire for a cup of ginger coffee. There is a small grove of date-palms round es-Sōm, on either side of the *sēl*-bed, which is full of water. We wash and drink our fill at one of the wells before resuming our journey in the heat.

After about three hours we arrive at the village of Fughma, which consists of a few mud houses encircled by huts. It is scorchingly hot although still early in the day. Our escort declare that we must rest and eat here, as there is no other village and no water to be met with for the next four or five hours. We do not believe this and insist that we must go on, but they, as one man, refuse, warning us of the consequences of such folly, and promise to set out again after an hour's rest. We give in against our will, with the unpleasant feeling that we are being taken in and that we could quite well take the risk of going further. A kid is purchased from our host and is carefully prepared for a splendid meal. Fughma is the last stopping-place before Qabr Hūd, and a four hours' walk through barren country still awaits us.

312 With great difficulty we get the caravan going again at
●133 two o'clock. We continue to follow the bed of the wādī, where we find water nearly everywhere! It is now the middle of the dry season; after the scanty rains or when the *sēls* rush down from the western mountains, then, at this point, the *mesīla*[1] of Wādī Ḥaḍramaut must have the aspect of a real river. Thus the British airmen from Aden reported truly when they said they had seen a river running through the wādī beyond Qabr Hūd. The river disappears under the surface of the soil, however, long before it reaches the Indian Ocean.

796 Close to Fughma we pass through small groves of palms with groups of miserable huts. This is the spot where the Bedouins of the neighbourhood come together once a year, to feast in pious memory of a holy man. Those are days of truce dedicated to God and trade. In Fughma we could hear

104 [1] A *mesīla* (مسيلة) is the bed of a *sēl*, a torrent, a streaming water.

## 6. THE TOMB OF THE PROPHET HŪD AND THE SILENT PILGRIMS' TOWN.

778 At last we see the white domes of Qabr Hūd and the buildings belonging to it, against the dark rock-wall. The wādī bends at a right angle towards the north; from the distance it almost looks as if it had no outlet and ends in a steep chasm between black rocks. About half an hour before we reach Qabr Hūd we come upon a square mud building on a flat-topped hill, in which a guard is posted. Our *muqaddam* maintains that we may only enter the town under the protection of this guard. We manage to arrange for our protectors to await the caravan and to go with it to the house in Shaᶜb Hūd (the Chasm of Hūd) where we are to spend the night.

778 And now we are making our way unaccompanied to the
● 133 goal which we had hardly dared to hope to reach. It is only thanks to Sayyid Abū Bakr that we, as the first Christian visitors, are allowed to enter this renowned sanctuary of Ḥaḍramaut. To approach it, my companion and I leave the road and go across country, each following what he thinks to be the shortest and best way. Wādī Barhūt here leads into Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. The thick layer of loess is, in many unexpected places, deeply cut into by water flowing away after rain. The banks of these dry *sēl*-beds are so steep that it costs time and effort to get through. The hills between them are covered with a layer of fine dust more than eight inches thick. A great number of bushes of *ᶜushar, rāk* and *ithl* make the landscape a charming picture of fresh green.

361 But our eyes turn towards the wonderful white buildings
778 that lie there before us, up against a grey-black precipice of rock, and towards the dead town lower down in the narrow ravine — the town which is only inhabited for three days in the year. The whole scene is much greater and more beautiful than we had ventured to picture it in our thoughts. The pure white buildings, destined for the cult of the saint, give the impression of being brand-new, and of being most devotedly

312

The first watering station on the *djōl* of the Deyyin.

● 133

The *djōl* of the Deyyin Bedouins.

facing p. 209

See pages 210 and 212

●153 We mounted our camels on reaching the *djōl* and made as fast as possible for the first halting place, where there was drinking-water to be found. This *djōl* differed little in character from that which we had crossed on our way to Wādī Dōʿan. It is again the same flat, limestone plateau, thickly strewn with sharp fragments of stone; through this winds a similar narrow camel path. The view is limitless in every direction; the characteristic, long chains of table-mountains are absent here. Here and there we pass some dwarf trees, crooked and gnarled. Deep silence reigns in this motionless region. After some hours marching we saw, in a fold in the land, a fortification built of rough stones with strong, square towers at each corner. Some people are living in it, so there must be water at hand, and it is high time, for our thirst is becoming a torture. Not a living soul was to be seen, nothing but a wall enclosing a square space, with towers rising up out of it. Close by rain had conveyed some earth to a depression in the ground, where there were some dried-up fields and a few *nibq* trees, leafless and grey, with not a sign of green; everything was monotonously grey and lifeless like the rocky plain all around us. As we neared the settlement we saw a few large *neqābas* and people drawing water from them. There had been no rain for a long time and, consequently, the water-supply in some of the *neqābas* was exhausted, whilst, in the others, the water which had been stored in them for so long had a brackish taste; in spite of this, we slaked our thirst with it and filled our water-skins and thermos flasks. We dealt out biscuits from our store to the poor, friendly inhabitants, who were experiencing extra hard times on account of the long drought. A small caravan from Makalla was also resting there. Dried fish, principally small sharks, and rice were being carried to Wādī ʿAmd, but the cost of transport appears to exceed the market value of these articles in Makalla.

361 312 438

361 Our way continued over the *djōl* until we reached Sherdj el-Abyaḍēn Bā Manṣūr, where we rested for the afternoon. Here we saw the same picture of drought and poverty. The

133

The descent to Wādī Yeb'eth.

p. 216 (A)

See page 217.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

133

Panorama of Wadi Yeb'eth.

p 216(D)

000 air that we were nearing the coast and Wādī Ḥadjr, where there is always water. Our clothes and other things were already damp by the time the sun rose.

Not till twelve o'clock did we halt in a sweltering wādī under the shade of a boulder which radiated heat. An effort of will was necessary to get us under way again, towards half past two. We went on in silence, avoiding speech with each other, as the energy which makes for friendliness and gaiety
● 133 was lacking. We pass through a region very interesting from a geological and botanical point of view. The *djōl* ends here and a broken, uneven area of rock and wādī takes its place. The direction of the strata, until now uniformly horizontal, is disturbed and new strata of coal-black rock formation break a way through the layers of limestone and sandstone and sometimes rise up above them like solitary cones. There is more water, but it contains a high percentage of salt. We go through jungles of grass, several feet high. Here and there the ground is swampy and covered with a crust of salt; a tall, slender palm-tree of a kind we have not hitherto come across grows in this salty marsh land. Later on we come again to
361 barren stretches covered with boulders. To our amazement
312 we found no human settlements here: we only saw people when much farther on, by the thickly-grown banks of a shallow but swift-flowing river. This turned out to be the upper reaches of Wādī Ḥadjr. The water was very warm and bitter. The sun was already setting when we crossed the stream and hastened on to reach Ṣidāra before nightfall, but before long we saw the scattered stone houses of this large village lying on the hilly banks of the wādī. Here cultivation begins again: fields of sesame and *dhura* alternate rapidly with gardens of date-palms. Vigorous springs throw up water which is nearly boiling; this water is carried to the fields and date plantations. The conduits have been made of such a length that the water is sufficiently cool by the time it reaches the plants, but even so it is still very warm. We noticed a white deposit in the conduits.

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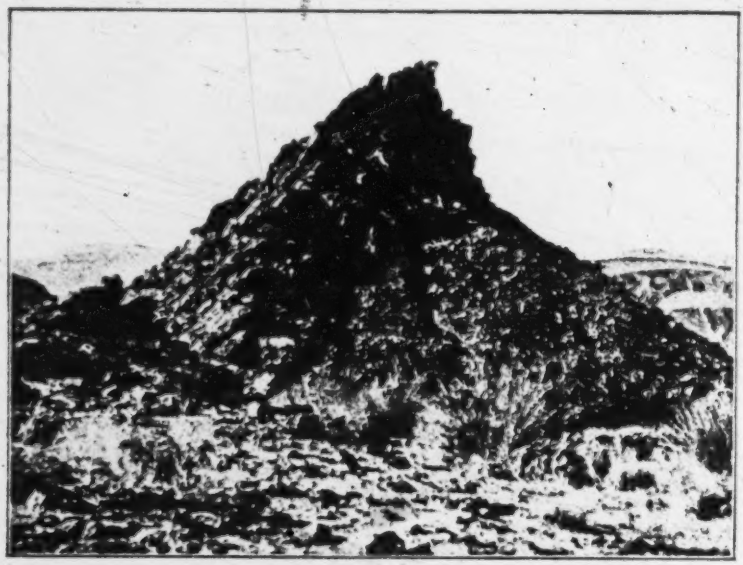

Peaks of black stone piercing the lime- and sandstone strata near Wādī Ḥadjr.

361

Ṣidāra, situated at the beginning of the cultivated area in Wādī Ḥadjr.

facing p. 224

See pages 222 and 22

312 Ṣidāra. The high temperature of the water does no harm
273 to the vegetation as can be seen by the thick and almost
245 tropical growth even at the sources of these hot streams. The picture made by this landscape in the midst of the deserts of rock was quite new to us. New to us also was the custom, which exists here, of tapping sap from the palm-trees: this sap soon ferments and produces a by no means innocent
[538] drink which is consumed in large quantities. Artless tales were told us of many a man who had become a regular slave of the wine of the date-palm. That this abuse of the date-palm, so strongly condemned by orthodox Muḥammadan opinion, does not seem to exist in other districts through which we travelled, is probably due rather to poverty than to religious conscientiousness. The people only indulge in the luxury of this sin in the well-watered country of Wādī Ḥadjr, where date plantations succeed each other continuously for hours and even days.

312 We had a bathe in one of the warm springs, a comfort
133 lacking since Diyār Āl Buqrī; but the crowded circle of critical and youthful spectators and their mocking remarks, added to the somewhat too high temperature of the water, prevented complete enjoyment of the event.

These hot springs point to volcanic action. Ṣidāra lies on the edge of the coastal chain of mountains, which is full of clear traces of volcanism. The monotonous similarity of the *djōl* and *wādī* formation of the interior has disappeared. The geological strata are no longer horizontal, nor do they consist any longer of limestone and sandstone and loam. Fantastically folded and broken strata, high precipices and peaks of archaic rock, between which extinct volcanoes can be recognised, characterize the landscape between Ṣidāra and Makalla.

000 The necessary waiting for camels and escort gives us the opportunity to write up our diaries, which has been pushed aside lately by other and more urgent affairs; but although our host does his best to give us the chance of a few hours' quiet work in a room upstairs, he does not succeed in doing so.

before we got our caravan on the move. A disappointment of this kind does not improve the mental atmosphere, especially before one has learnt to know one's followers. Distrust of the honesty of their promise to do all in their power, and the overwhelming desire to go quickly forward on account of the scantiness and bad quality of our food bred in us a mood of tension and exhaustion.

The mountain scenery through which we passed became gorgeous. The geological strata were clearly visible in the walls of the dry river-beds through which our path ran. Before us was a lofty chain of granite mountains like a huge wall with sharp peaks and jagged tops. It grew very warm among those bare rock-walls where we had to climb laboriously over sharp, slippery ground. To one side of the path was a brackish spring of whose water even the animals refused to drink. We mounted towards the high mountain-pass which our people called Hūta. The remains of a strongly fortified wall built of fragments of uncut stone stand in the pass. Heavy fighting took place there ten years ago when el-Qeᶜēṭī sent an expedition to conquer Wādī Ḥadjr. The graves of the slain are marked by simple heaps of stones, on either side of the mountain path. After a long descent we reached the wādī again at just about the hottest time of day. Its banks here are steep and so we could not get at the enticing water or the green *rāk* bushes, but our Bedouins went in search of a place where it would be possible to descend. We had made up our minds to rest for the afternoon, not here in el-Qulēta, but further on at Nēfa. The intense desire to hurry on at all costs and to get to the end made Von Wissmann and me decide foolishly to force matters and, if need be, to walk alone to Nēfa without the caravan. The path wound on through a region of sand-hills and the heat was so great that we became uneasy over our decision. Luckily Dhēb had the magnanimity to give way and gave the order to follow us. Nor had we trusted in vain to Little's map, for Nēfa was close at hand. Near the path was a great

•133

Granite walls in the coastal mountain-range.

Hūte, where the Qe'ɛ̄ʃī troops fought a hard struggle.

facing p 233

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IA | IB | IC | ID | IE | IF |
| IIA | IIB | IIC | IID | IIE | IIF |
| IIIA | IIIB | IIIC | IIID | IIIE | IIIF |
| IVA | IVB | IVC | IVD | IVE | IVF |
| VA | VB | VC | VD | VE | VF |
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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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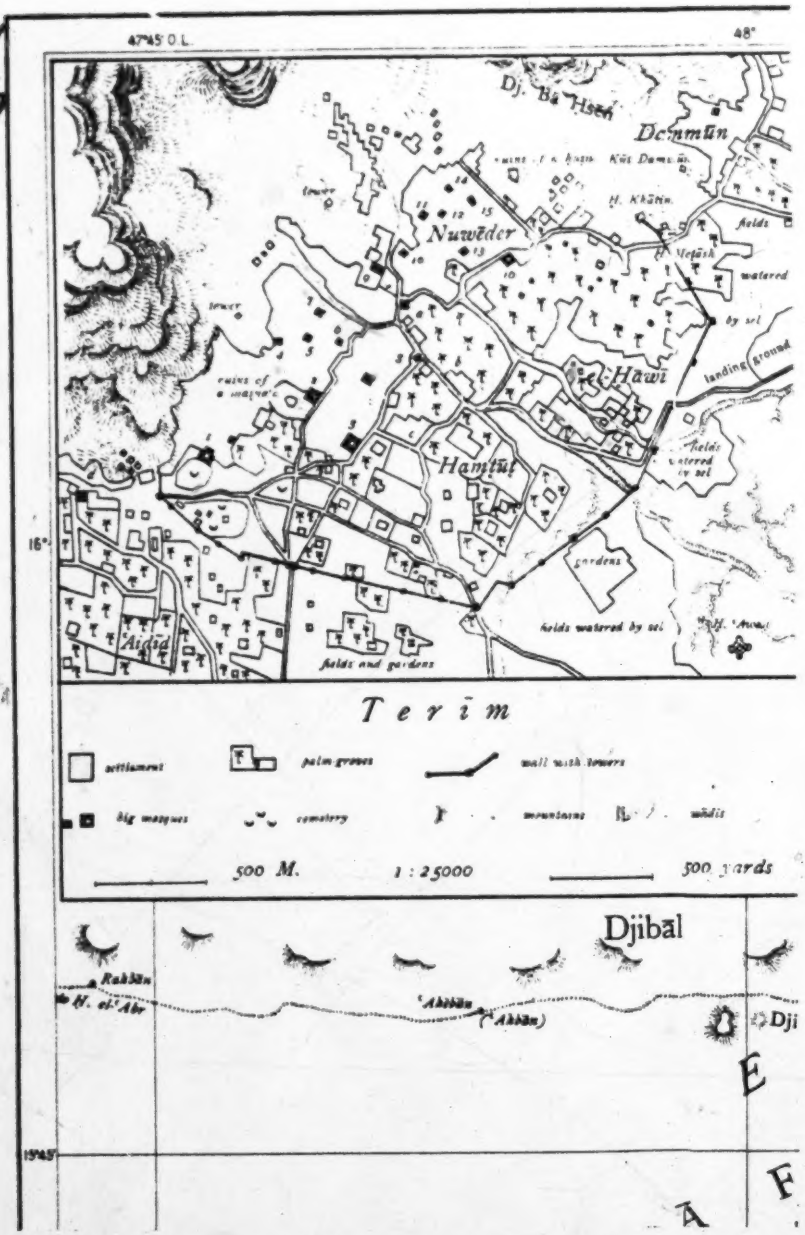


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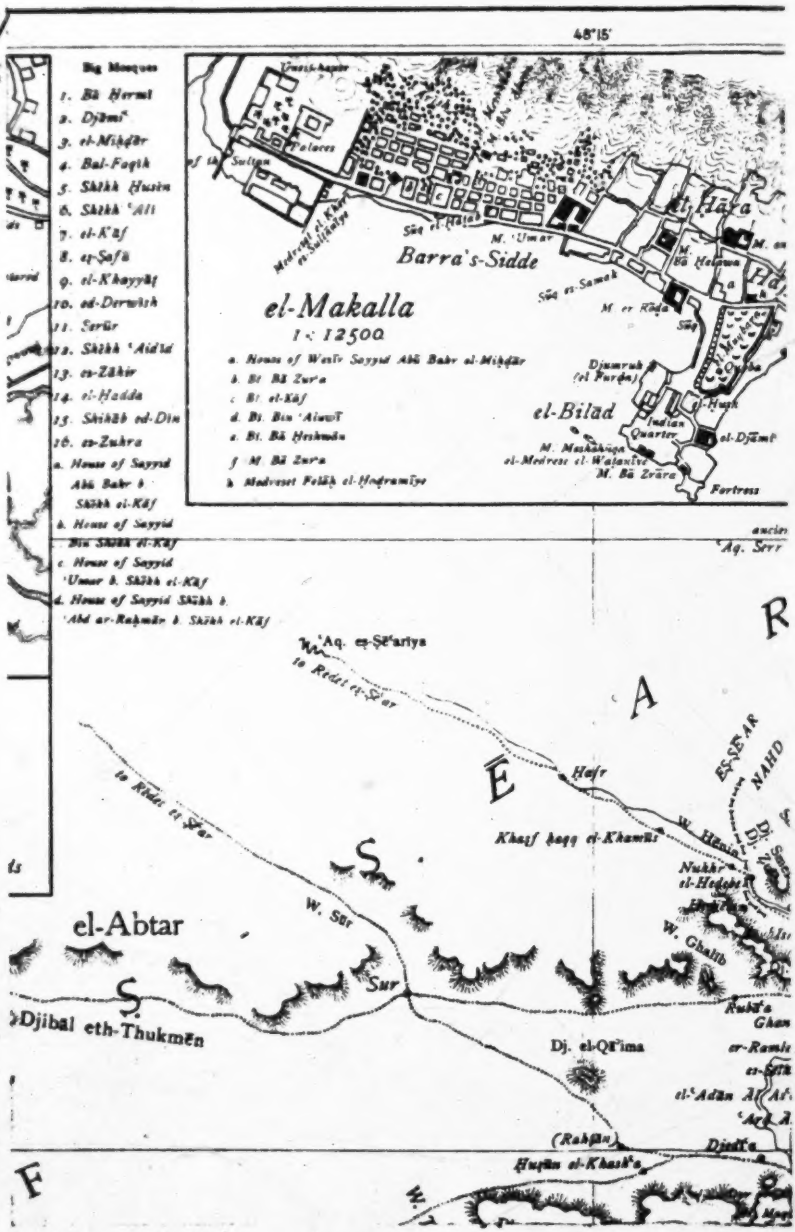
48°15'
Big Mosques
1. Bā Ḥurmul
2. Djāmi'
3. el-Miḥḍār
4. Bal-Faqīh
5. Shāḥḥ Ḥusein
6. Shāḥḥ 'Alī
7. el-K'af
8. eṣ-Ṣafā
9. el-K'hayyāf
10. ed-Darwīsh
11. Ṣerūr
12. Shāḥḥ 'Aid'id
13. eẓ-Ẓāhir
14. el-Ḥadda
15. Shihāb ed-Din
16. eẓ-Zuhra
a. House of Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Shāḥḥ el-Kāf
b. House of Sayyid Bin Shāḥḥ el-Kāf
c. House of Sayyid 'Umar b. Shāḥḥ el-Kāf
d. House of Sayyid Shāḥḥ b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Shāḥḥ el-Kāf
Palaces
Sultan
Barra's-Sidde
el-Makalla
1 : 12500
a. House of Wali Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Miḥḍār
b. Bt. Bā Zur'a
c. Bt. el-Kāf
d. Bt. Bin 'Alawī
e. Bt. Bā Ḥrahmān
f. M. Bā Zur'a
h. Madrasat Falāḥ el-Ḥaḍramīya
M. 'Umar
M. er-Rīḍa
Djamrah (el Furḍa)
el-Bilād
Indian Quarter
el-Ḥusk
el-Djāmi'
M. Mukhāliqa
el-Madrasa el-Wataniya
M. Bā Zrāra
Fortress
'Aq. Ṣerr
'Aq. eṣ-Ṣe'ariya
to Redat eṣ-Ṣer
Ḥafr
Khaṣf ḥagg el-Khamūs
W. Ḥesein
Nukhr el-Hedjar
W. Ghalib
W. Ṣer
Ṣur
el-Abtar
Djibal eth-Thukmēn
Dj. el-Qi'ima
(Rahḍān)
Ḥuṣūn el-Khash'a
Djadi'a
ES-SE'AR
NAHD
E
A
R
F

END MAP IB

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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END MAP IC

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END MAP ID

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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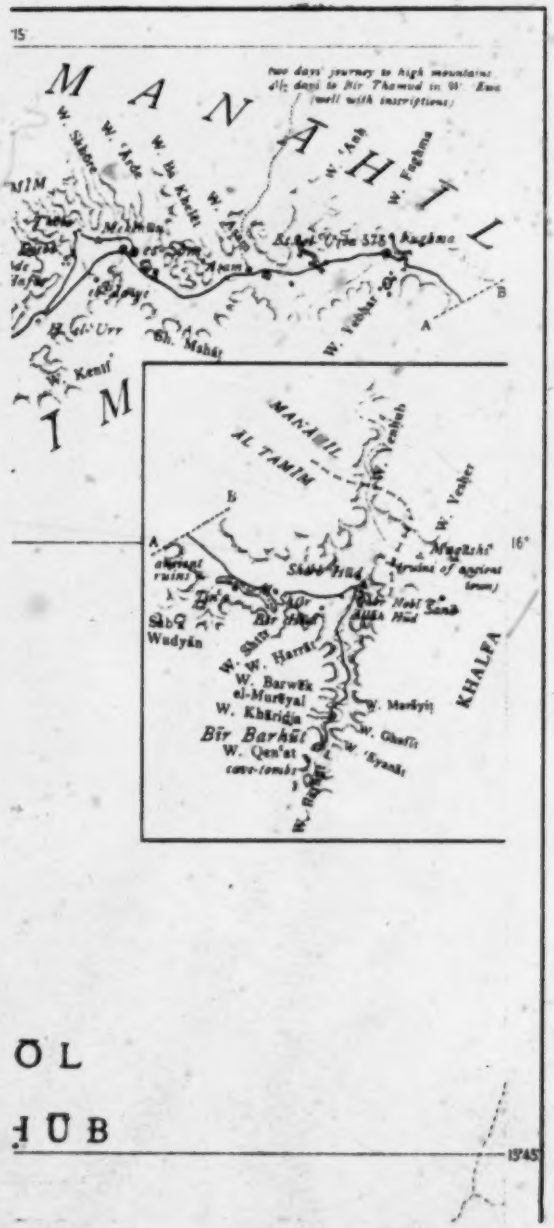


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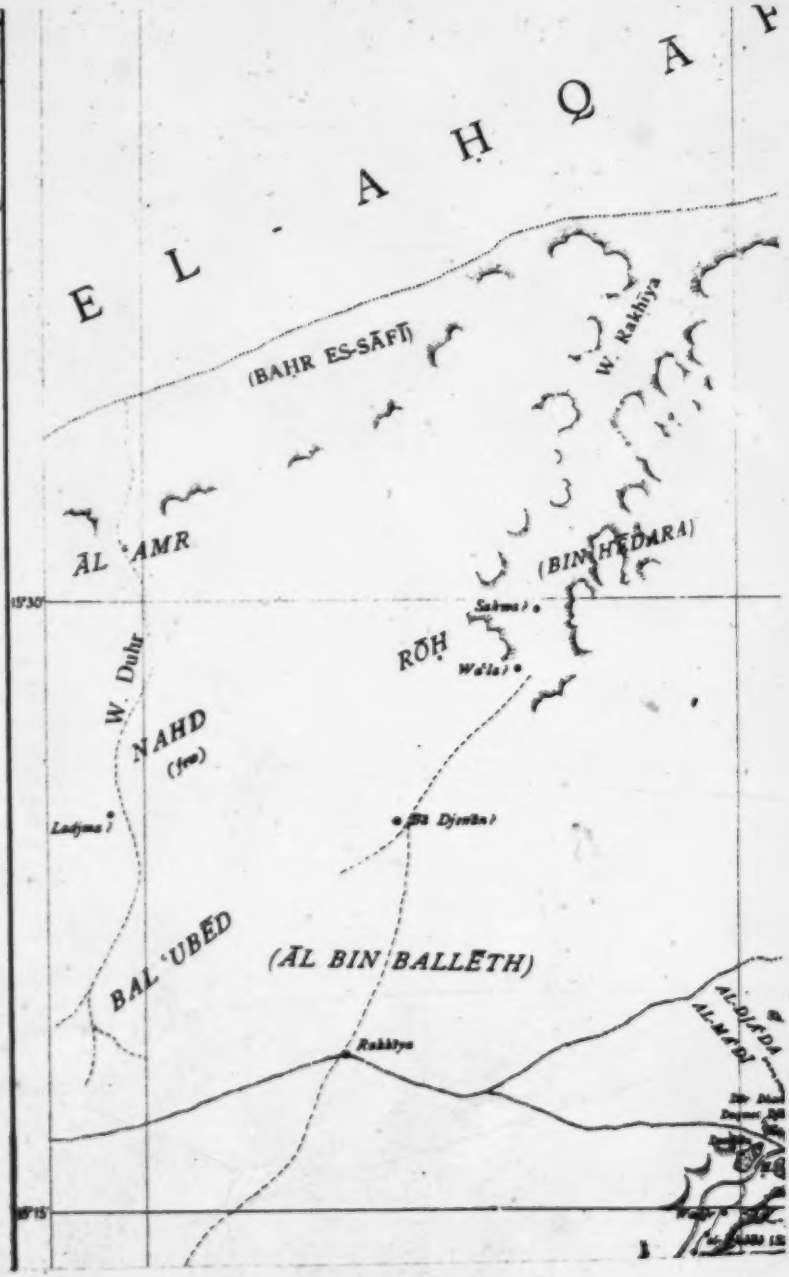


END MAP IIA

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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END MAP II B

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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Eth map II C

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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END MAP II D

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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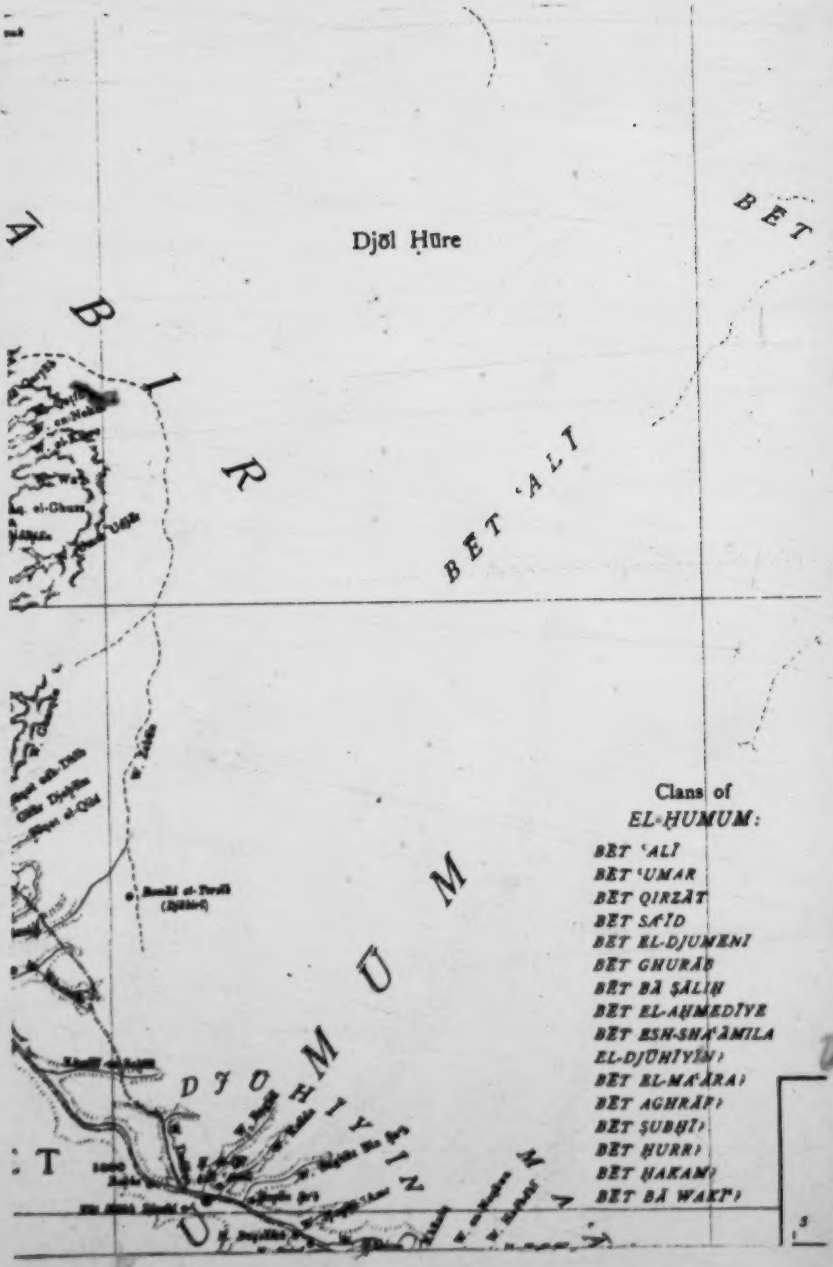


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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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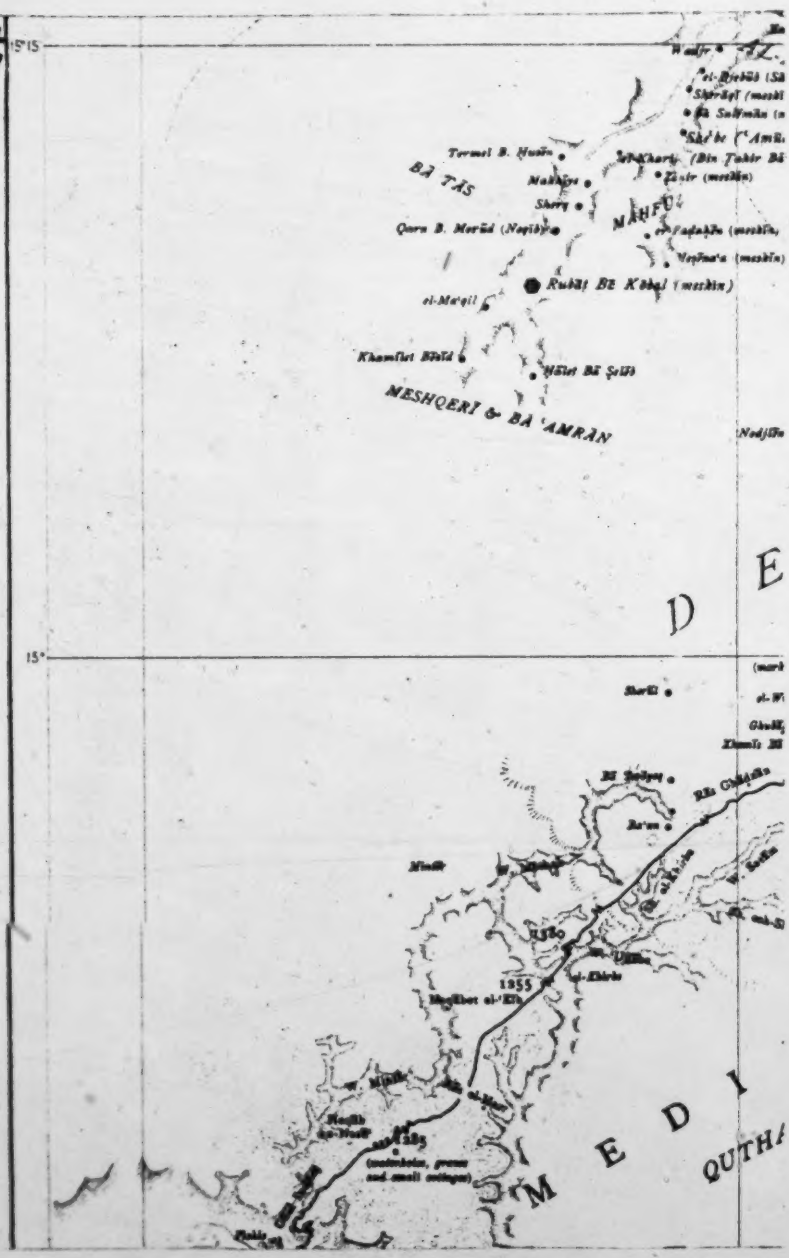


END MAP III A

102
487
133

END MAP III 8

102
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●133

End map III C

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

249 (16)

102
487
133

End map III D

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



102
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133

End map III E

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

249 (18)

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End map III F

112
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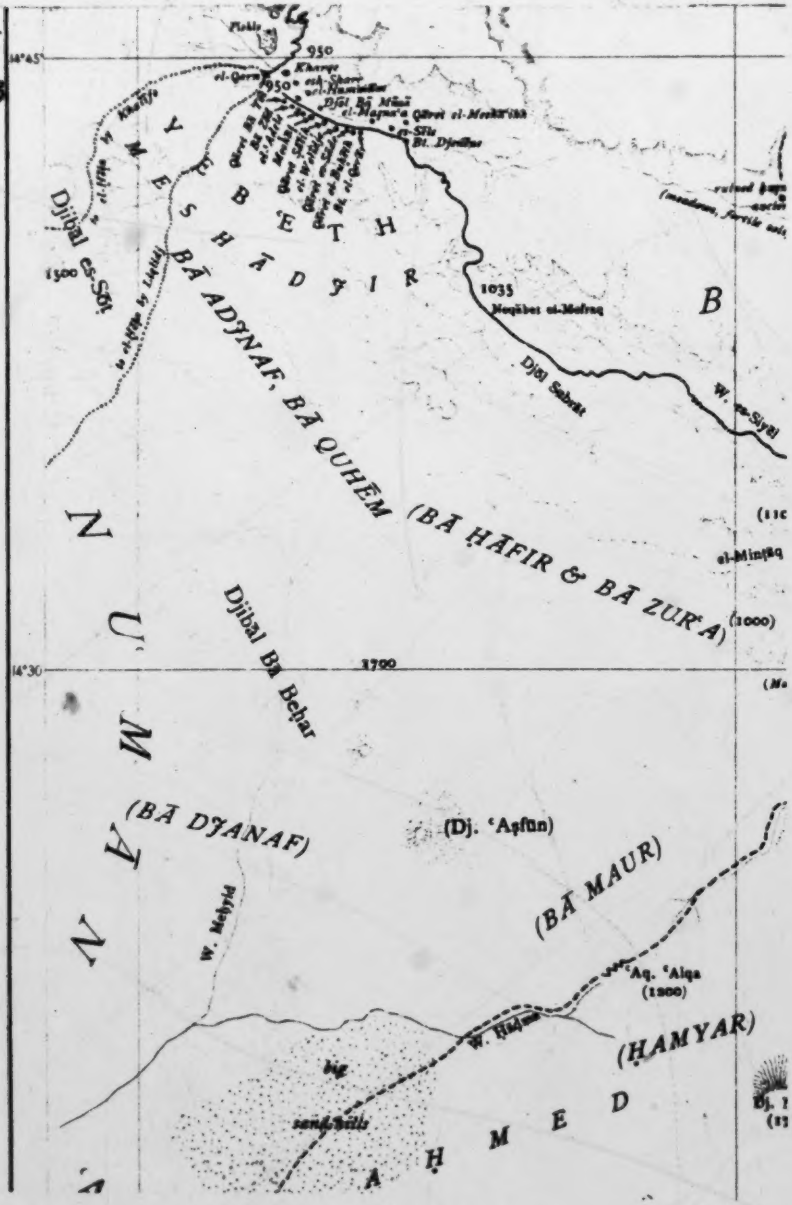
133


14°45'
950
Khorge
el-Qorre
950
el-Ghorr
el-Hamdhar
Djbl Bā Mūsā
el-Magma'a
Qōrei el-Mukkā'ibh
el-Sīlu
Bl. Djedhar
Qōrei Bā Ṣāliḥ
Qōrei el-Mukkā'ibh
Qōrei el-Mukkā'ibh
Qōrei el-Mukkā'ibh

102
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●133

END MAP IV B

102
487
● 133

(Ghār Shaqq)
W. Sarfe
(W. Qirbe)
W. Yuwan
Yuwan
ancient tomb
Dj. Qulēla
W. Kasayy
Dj. Kasayy
Halle
W. Mer maha
Kauina
ancient inscription
Mahāmda
Dj. Makāb
Dj. Bereke
Gāddat BE Mittar
W. BE Qirdān
W. Fahwa
ancient ruins and tombs
Dj. ed-Dellye
black rocks, probably volcanic
broken (gravel) country
BA DABAS
BA DJUHEM
DJIZWIL
Ghādara
Rās Arqan
Dj. Billum
Dj. Awad ed-Dīb
Dj. Awad
el-Djiani volcano
Rūta
END MAP IV C

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



102
487
133

End map IV D

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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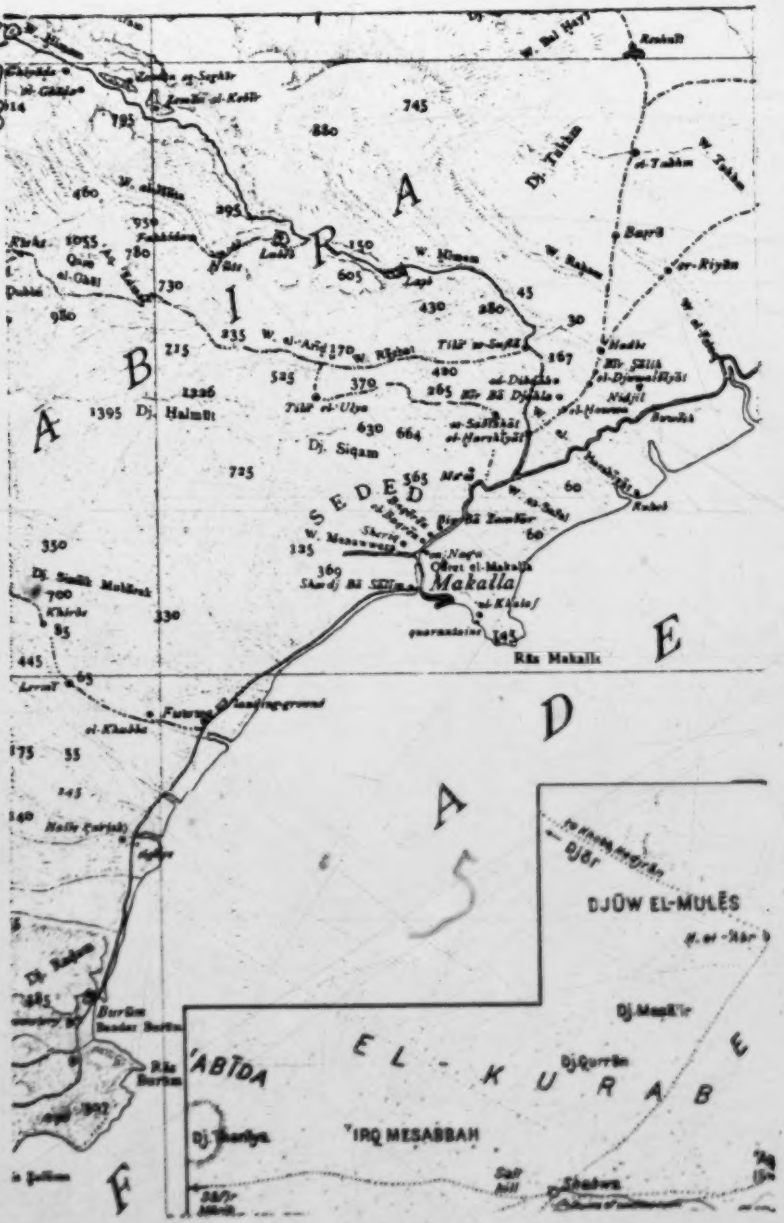


End map IV E

102
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●133

N

Sketch Map of the country west of Ḥadramauṭ

1 : 1000 000

End map IV F

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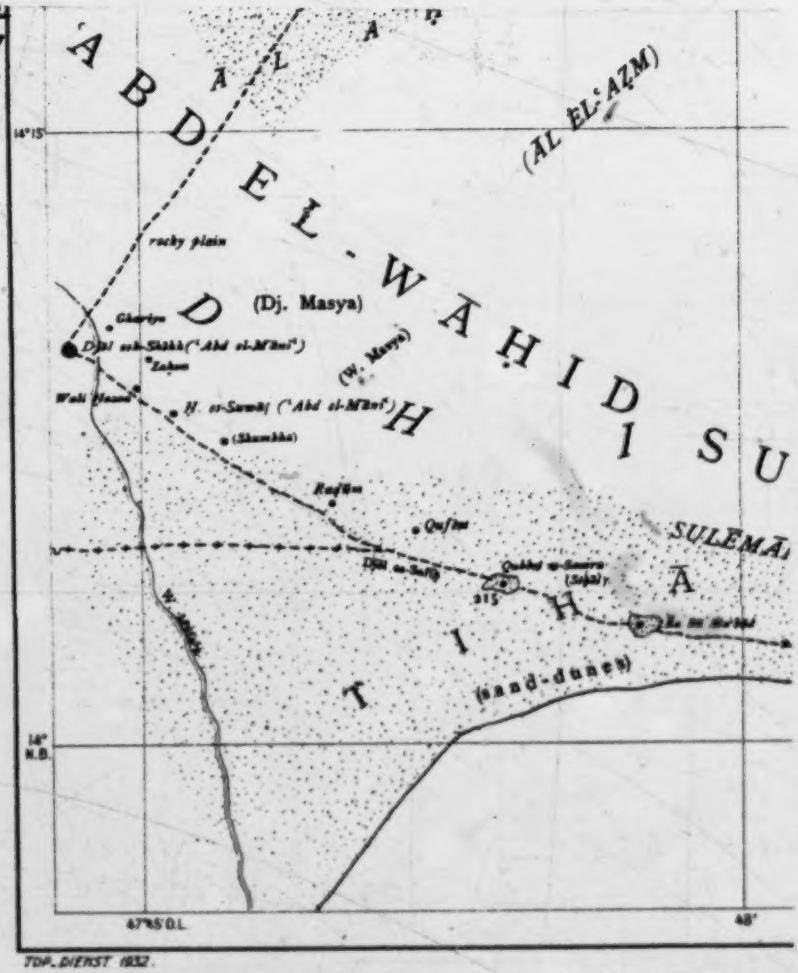
133




TOP. DIENST 1932.

tribal boundaries — roads — tracks based upon personal inquiries

TRIBAL NAMES — REGIONS — mountains (heights in meters)

END MAP V A

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



102
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133

END MAP IV B

102
487
●133

END MAP IV C

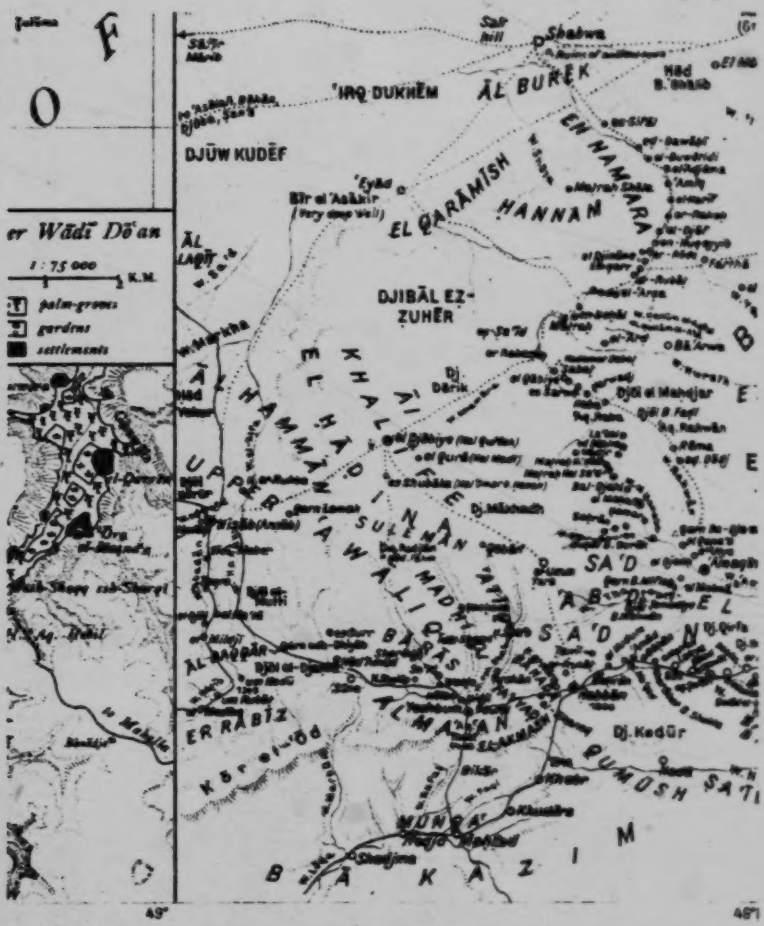
102
487
183

End map V D

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



102
487
● 133




...e of A. v. Wrede 1843 ——— route of L. Hirsch and Imām Sherif Khan Bahadur (surveyor of Th. Bent) 1893

bel = mountain  H = Hisn = castle, fortified house.  W. = Wādī = riverbed  Bt = Bīt = house.

End map V E

102
487
●133

FOTO - LITHO.

s ——— route of O. H. Little, 1905 —·—·— route of other explorers

race, family B = Bin = son

End map V F

102
487
133

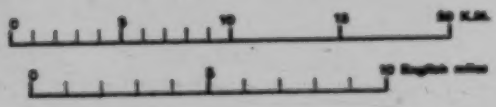
# HAḌRAMAUT

## Scale 1 : 250 000

by Dr. H. von Wissmann.

(Map belonging to "Ḥaḍramaut, some of its mysteries unveiled" by D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann.)

NOTE. The scale given under the map is wrong and the following should be used instead.




End map VI

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Middle East Islands MI21
Socotra



Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hill are terraced by the industrious inhabitants to grow crops and, in the higher altitudes, the excellent Mocha coffee for which Southern Arabia is famous. Villages appear in unexpected places, built of mud brick in the low country and of stone on the mountain-sides and hill-tops. Among these habitations are seen always the square towers, or *bars*, and the little mosques or whitewashed shrines that are characteristic of the Arab villages.

The aspect of the country varies in its different parts. Immediately to the north of Aden is the large and fertile oasis in which stands the capital of the Sultan of Lahej. It is irrigated from the bifurcation of the Wadi Tiban that brings water from the mountains and then disappears in the sands near Aden. To the east and west of Lahej are desert strips, but beyond are the Subeihi hills and valleys to the north-west, the rugged Haushabi country, and the pleasant district of Dhala in the Amiri highlands to the north, and the lofty mountains of Yafa to the north-east. Thence to the eastward a steep escarpment spans the country like a rampart; and is crowned by the fertile Audhali plateau 7,000 feet above sea-level. Farther east, beyond another stretch of rough, mountainous country, is the fantastic and barren *jol*, reminiscent of pictures of the surface of the moon. To the north of this strange and desolate area, and in striking contrast to it, is the wide valley of the Hadhramaut, with its chain of towns and villages, its skyscrapers, country houses, palace and gardens. Beyond again, away to the north, lies the edge of the Rub' al Khali, the Empty Quarter, with its sea of tumbled terra-cotta coloured sand dunes stretching into the distant interior.

On the sea coast of the Protectorate there are at intervals fishing villages and little ports, and about 300 miles to the east of Aden stands the picturesque town and port of Mukalla, the capital of the Quaiti Sultan. Protected by a steep background of rock, its white houses cling to the shore, and its appearance from the sea is singularly attractive. The town of Shehr lies on the coast beyond it, and eastward again there are more coastal villages, of which Qishn, the capital of the mainland territory of the Sultan of Socotra, is the most important.

The large island of Socotra, situated about 500 miles to the east of Aden, forms part of the Protectorate. It, too, is a mountainous country, but, owing to its greater rainfall, it is much less bleak than the neighbouring mainland. It has a good deal of varied vegetation, and is noted for its so-called dragon's-blood tree, the sap of which is exported to India and elsewhere to make a rich purple dye. Socotra has also a

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Aden MM1
Hadramaut MM2

 A

Continuing friction was sharpened when British geologists 175 prospected unsuccessfully for oil in part of the disputed territory. In 1949 the RAF bombed a fort which Yemeni troops were building on territory claimed by the Sharif of Baihan, a ruler within the Western Aden Protectorate. A new Anglo-Yemeni Treaty of 1951[1] proposed to settle the frontier dispute by means of a joint commission. In April 1952, however, the Sultan Fadl Abdul Karim of Lahej (the most important state of the Western Aden Protectorate) summarily executed two of his cousins and, when 'invited' by the Governor of Aden to go there for medical treatment pending an independent judicial inquiry, fled to the Yemen. The Yemen Government immediately protested against the temporary occupation by Aden Protectorate Levies of Lahej town (which lies thirty miles from the Yemen frontier), on the grounds that the Yemen 'had vital interests in the stability of that area'.[2] A council of the tribal leaders of Lahej unanimously declared Fadl Abdul-Karim deposed in favour of his younger brother, the Aden Protectorate Government having imposed as a condition of his election that he should accept a resident adviser as a precaution against the irregularities which had occurred under Fadl Abdul-Karim.[3] The latter meanwhile continued to protest to the Arab League against his deposition, claiming that Lahej had always enjoyed autonomy and connecting the Aden Government's action with AIOC's proposal to build its refinery.[4]

Kamaran Island, lying off the Yemen coast 200 miles north of Perim, was an Ottoman quarantine station for pilgrims travelling to Mecca from the East. British forces occupied it in 1915; and when the Turkish Republic renounced its sovereignty over the island in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), its status became indeterminate; but it continued to be administered by the Governor of Aden and to be available for use as a quarantine station.

## THE PROTECTORATE

The area of the Western Protectorate is approximately 42,000 H 181 square miles and of the Eastern Protectorate 70,000, Aden Colony being a small enclave (75 square miles) in the territory H of the latter. Arable land is estimated at only one-third per cent 133 of the whole, and established pastures and meadows are unknown, the bulk of the area being desert or steppe, which pro- 132

[1] Cmd. 8590 (1952).
[2] *The Times*, 23 April 1952.
[3] *Mideast Mirror*, 11 October 1952, p. 25.
[4] *Bourse Egyptienne*, 10 and 25 June 1952; cf. *The Times*, 27 October 1951, 4 April 1952.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadramout MM2



133 vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Never-
132 theless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in
244 normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley, and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the
[312] highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from
132 wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food
241 has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supple-
439 mented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until
167 recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from
262 the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

161 The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952
631 was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of
648 varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have
643 one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Government and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 37–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 109; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 Ml Middle East .
Hadhramaut MM2

# CHAPTER VIII

# COTTON IN ARABIA

Arabia is divided into numerous groups, most of which are actually principalities. The boundaries of the subdivisions are indefinite and so is the authority of the local rulers in most cases. Some of these groups like to call themselves independent countries. One is called a kingdom. Some are called protectorates. The British have exercised the major influence over all these groups for 50 years and still do but in varying ways. One small spot of land actually belongs to the British Crown. 000

## ADEN PROTECTORATE

The narrow strip of land along the southwestern tip of the Arabian Peninsula includes a number of territories and dependencies of Arab chiefs which have been organized under a protectorate treaty with the British, and is called the Protectorate of Aden. 101

The Protectorate is about the size of Arizona. It has about 660,000 people, many of whom are nomads. The country is mostly mountainous though there are a few valleys and flood plains capable of cultivation. The Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that there are about 270,000 acres actually in cultivation at the present time. As the plains receive only about four inches of rainfall annually, irrigation is required. Considerable water is available as rainfall in the mountains is rather heavy, approaching 40 inches annually, but facilities are inadequate for catching and directing the water. 133 311 [161]

The economy of the protectorate rests almost solely on agriculture. The principal crops are grains and some fruits, principally dates. While a small quantity of coarse grains is normally exported, the country usually imports about half its bread grain requirements. 241

### COTTON

Cotton has been grown in this area in small quantities for hundreds of years, but never in commercial quantities until very recent years when British interests began promoting production. 242

The following article on the present status and prospects of cotton production in the Protectorate was written especially for this report by the research staff of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, London, with the collaboration of Major Congdon, Manager of the Abyan Board in the Aden Protectorate. 114

### RECENT HISTORY

"During the last war to increase the production of food, the old Abyan irrigation system was reopened and the headworks were partially restored under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. The reclaimed areas were used mainly for sorghum, bulrush millet and simsim, but it soon became 241 242

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



509 no regular steamer service, but the R.A.F. continued the carrying of mail and Government passengers, while in May Ethiopian Air Lines, an American company, received permission to run a fortnightly service, Aden-Riyan and return, which they continued to do throughout the year.

# Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

## SITUATION AND AREA

131 The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily stabilised by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

## CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of
133 March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadhramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol", extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultiva-
[241] tion is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into: the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to

5:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), 133
with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably 361
Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12 : Administration

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting 631
of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates 648
of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., 643
Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

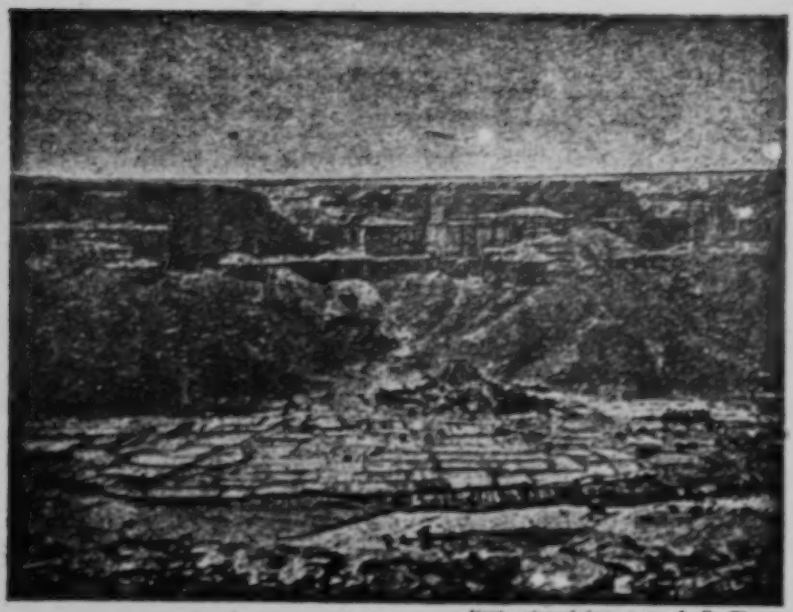
The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it 175
came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. 438
The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 16
100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is 133
mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital 361
is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a 643
small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be 619
recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete 622
control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them

8:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

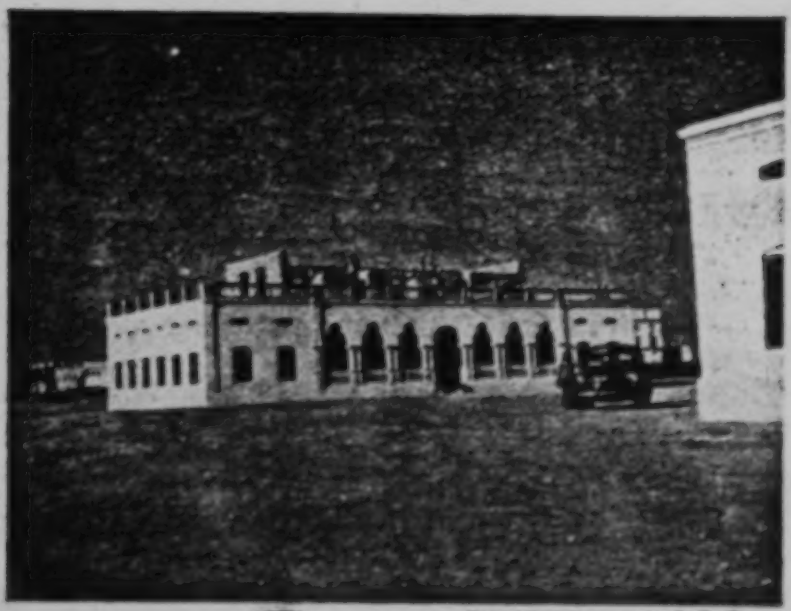
133



With acknowledgments to A. R. Thomas

WADI AMD, HADHRAMAUT

34b



With acknowledgments to A. R. Thomas

NEW TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOL, GHEIL BA WAZIR,
ADEN PROTECTORATE

Facing p. 40 (B)

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut M112



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6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate. 631 648 643

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The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government. 619 701 625 624

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts: 631 361

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej. [643]

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



accounts section the position was particularly serious ; but equally important was the lack of essential hydrological data on such matters as river discharges, the availability of suitable storage sites, studies on percolation and so on. Without such information progress must be delayed. 654

As mentioned earlier, the X1730A type of cotton planted on 82 acres in 1948, proved a great success. The crop was ginned and marketed by the Board, and arrangements with cultivators for the new season's planting resulted in an extension of the acreage to 1,097 acres. At the end of 1949 the crop showed great promise, and in many areas appeared even better than the previous year's crop. 248 242 654

Grain, oil-seed and fodder production was satisfactory, though grain yields were reduced in many areas through double-cropping the land with a sorghum fodder crop in the Saif season and then a grain crop in the Kharif.

A great deal of the land in Abyan which has been well irrigated for the past five years is now becoming heavily infested with weeds, mainly the weed grass *Desmostachya bipinnata*. The introduction of cotton as a cleaning crop and the "drying up" and resting with or without cultivation, of these heavily infested lands is now recognised as an urgent matter. In order to tackle the weed problem the Board increased its tractor strength by the purchase of three Fowler Diesel crawler tractors in the last quarter of 1949. 654 137 242

Another problem which came to notice towards the end of 1949 was the rapid rise in the height of the water table in certain areas. The area involved does not exceed 300 acres, but already in this area (where in places the water table has risen to within six feet of the surface) salts are appearing in the upper layers of the soil, and vegetation, particularly in the seedling stage, has been affected. It was noticed that cotton, once established, flourished and appeared exceedingly healthy on these salt-impregnated soils. 133 242

*Anti-Famine Measures*

In the first four-and-a-half months of 1949 until general rains fell over the Eastern Protectorate, famine again threatened human life in the Hadhramaut. Relief measures were introduced, as in the previous famine, but this time so promptly that practically no deaths from famine occurred. Again aircraft of the Royal Air Force came to the rescue and dropped grain supplies to the worst affected areas. Large quantities of grain were moved inland by motor transport and any camel transport that could be mustered ; at the same time large numbers of the destitute, particularly women and children, were brought down or walked down to the coastal towns, where they were accommodated in refugee camps and fed. To employ labour on relief works an extensive programme of road construction, and irrigation repair works and new construction was undertaken. 731 [653]

When rain fell, it was again found necessary to issue loans to

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



### CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol," extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

132 There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultiva-
312 tion is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

311 The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Sai'un, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

631 The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting
648 of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of
649 Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

648 The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly
631 area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# PART VI

## Chapter 1: Geography and Climate

### GEOGRAPHY

131 The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described
648 administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the Kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

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In the Wadi Hadramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol", extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

H 42 648 [635] are bound by protective treaties with Great Britain. Administratively, it is divided into two areas, the Western Aden Protectorate, covering roughly 45,000 square miles in the southwestern highlands; and the Eastern Aden Protectorate, which incorporates the remaining territory and the island of Socotra, about 150 miles from Cape Guardafui, the easternmost point in Africa.

H 133 The geography of the region is characterized by mountains and high plateaus which slope to a sandy plain along the coast and are intersected by deep and often fertile valleys. The topography of Western Aden Protectorate is particularly rugged. Four zones are differentiated: the littoral; the coastal hills reaching up to 2,000 feet in height; the inland plains, with slightly higher elevations; and the interior plateau, at an altitude of 5,000 to 8,000 feet. The dominant feature of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is the Wadi Hadhramaut. The valley, which is broad and well defined, parallels the coast for almost 200 miles before turning southeast toward the sea. It is hemmed in by massive plateaus, with an average elevation of 6,000 feet in the south and 3,500 feet in the north, which are terraced and dissected by numerous secondary wadies. The main valley lies over 100 miles inland, and is separated from the coast by a complex terrain of mountains, steppe and desert.

H 132 Few meteorologic observations have been recorded. Extreme heat, accompanied by high humidity, is encountered in the coastal region during the summer; slightly moderated temperatures at the time of the northeast monsoon, from October to April. A 132 The mean temperature in the Colony is estimated at 80° F.; 75° F. in the winter and 90° F. in the summer. The daily range is slight in the summer, but cool and sometimes cold nights are experienced during the winter months. The temperatures in the interior vary with the altitude and the season. Marked contrasts exist between the heat of the shut-in wadies and the cooler temperatures of the high plateaus. The rainfall is

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



631 which could be utilized by a force advancing into British territory
487 from Yemen, or the converse. The main lines of communication are three: (*a*) through the Dhāla valley, (*b*) through the Tiban valley, and (*c*) past Mafālis and down Wādi Ma'din, a tributary of the Wādi Darr. The area of the Aden Interior, thus considered, is about 19,000 sq. miles.

## Physical Character

• 133 The region may be divided into six clearly defined zones, roughly parallel with the coast and not greatly differing from those of Yemen:

(1) The littoral belt.
(2) The maritime ranges.
(3) The intramontane plains.
(4) The main watershed.
(5) The up-country plateau.
(6) The great inland desert.

(1) The littoral belt is a level, maritime plain, chiefly desert and often saline near the coast. Two important oases may be noted: (*a*) that of Lahej, in the 'Abdāli Sultanate, between Wādis Kebīr and Saghīr, bifurcations of the Tiban valley; (*b*) Abiyān, a large district of scattered villages and cultivation lying between Wādis Bana and Hasan. Each of these oases has an approximate area of 60 sq. miles, but that of Lahej is by far the richer of the two.

(2) The littoral belt, which varies in width from 40 miles to less than four, is backed by low ranges of maritime hills, black and metamorphic, which culminate here and there in upstanding and often twin peaks of 3,000 or more feet in altitude. Passes, by which caravan routes cross the crest, average 2,500 ft. The maritime scarps of the ranges are barren and almost waterless; but the inland slopes, which are far less abrupt, hold wooded water-courses and permanent wells.

(3) The series of broad plains, inland of the maritime hills, which average 2,000 ft. above sea-level, are of sterile aspect but have a small regular rainfall in the summer, which enables fairly large areas to be placed under cultivation.

(4) The main watershed rises almost sheer from the plains and in parts, especially at the eastern end, has the appearance of an unbroken wall, but really consists of several mountain ranges which overlap each other. The crests attain an average altitude of 7,000 ft. above sea-level. Passes, on caravan routes, seldom exceed 5,000 ft. in height. This main watershed is highest in the west where it merges into the Yemen highlands. It is usually known

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



among the natives as the *Kaur*, or highland, with various local names attached, such as Kaur el-'Audillah, El-Od (or El-'Aud), Edth, &c. It is well watered, but the maritime scarps are comparatively sterile and much steeper than the internal slopes. Unlike the Yemen highlands, the Kaur is thinly populated by semi-nomadic, pastoral tribes, and is poorly cultivated. 133

(5) Inland of this ridge the ground gradually descends in a series of terraces to large well-watered plateaux lying at an average altitude of 5,000 ft., where are most of the mountain settlements and extensive cultivated tracts. The plateaux are intersected by many subsidiary ranges of foot-hills running down from the ridge, and they decline gradually towards the north and north-east, the fertile and broken terrain opening out by degrees into broad and comparatively sterile tracts, which merge into the rolling sands of the Ruba' el-Khāli.

(6) The great inland desert has a mean altitude of 3,500 ft. along its southern margin, while occasional isolated ranges, far out in the desert, probably rise to 5,000 ft.: this is as much as human knowledge can say at present about the Ruba' el-Khāli.

The innumerable wādis, deep and precipitous in their upper reaches in the plateaux but shallower and broader as they cross the plain, by which this region as a whole is intersected, run mostly in a southerly direction. As in other parts of South-West Arabia, all are dry during the greater part of the year, but water-courses come down in violent spate when heavy rain has fallen in the hills, and then some of the larger ones reach the sea. Of these wādis the most important (enumerating from west to east) are Tarbaha, Timnan, Am Shahar, Darr, the Tiban which bifurcates north of Lahej and waters that oasis with its two branches Wādi Kebīr and Wādi Saghīr, the Bana, some 40 miles east of Aden, which in time of flood cuts its way through the sand-bar at its mouth to the sea, Wādi Hasan, fed by Wādi Yerāmis, and Wādi Ahwar (Hūwar), fed by Wādis Jahr (Gahr) and Leikah. North of the Kaur the country is drained by Wādis Beihān, Khalla, Surum, Khaura, Na'mān (or Na'mah), Khatib, and 'Abdān, all of which have more or less direct northerly courses, and sooner or later merge into the unexplored Wādi Markhah which loses itself in the Sāfi (or (Ahqāf). The Tiban calls for special mention as, with its complex ramifications, it forms the main artery of communication with the Yemen. Of its innumerable branches, the 'Aqqān, Warazān, Sūdān, and Tisan (or Qaisān) on the r. bank, and Bilih and Tabaghain on the l., are the chief. The stream of the Tiban is perennial, though short waterless stretches of river-bed will be met with, during

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



133 the greater part of the year, in certain places. These interruptions are due to the entire volume of water—which in dry seasons is not very considerable—being led off into the cultivation and returned again lower down. It is said that the waters of the Tiban, like those of the Bana, occasionally reach the sea after abnormal floods. The Bana River runs continuously from May to October.

The coast-line generally is low and sandy and devoid of promontories or inlets of any size, except at Aden, where craterous promontories rise to about 1,700 ft. above sea-level, forming sheltered bays, and at a point some sixty miles west of Aden, where a spur of the Yemen highlands approaches the coast at Khōr 'Umeirah.

### Climate

132 In the first zone—the littoral—the heat in general is excessive, but the climate is not unhealthy for those who can stand the fierce heat of the day, and the nights are cool. The cultivated oases and [164] river-beds, however, which afford grateful shade by day, should be avoided as fever traps, and the Tiban valley and Lahej oasis 241 in general have an ill name for malaria of a malignant type. The only rainfall is afforded by a few showers in mid-winter. Cultiva- 311 tion depends chiefly on irrigation from the wādi water-courses, and consists almost entirely of millet, *jowari*, and tall fodder crops such as *kirbi*.

In the second zone—the maritime hills—the rainfall is as in the first zone; but there is no opportunity for wādi irrigation, and in consequence scarcely any crops are raised. The air is stifling by day and damp at night.

In the third zone—the intramontane plains—the rainfall takes place during the summer in occasional thunderstorms. The crops are millet and maize, and they become more abundant and fertile as the main watershed is approached. The heat here, again, is very great.

In the fourth zone—the main watershed—there is a considerable rainfall during the summer months, and a bracing and fairly equable climate with sometimes a degree or so of frost at night. Cultivation is scanty, chiefly barley and a few light fodder crops.

In the fifth zone—the plateau—water lies within ten feet or so of the surface, and there is a good deal of irrigation from wells, besides the regular rainfall. This is small, but from October to March the region is liable to dense white fogs which fall after dark and lie thick to 9 a.m. They will wet one through in an hour, but are invaluable to the farmer as they alone keep the crops alive till

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



## Physical Character

133 Physically the Hadhramaut may be divided into four main horizontal belts: (*a*) the lowland belt of littoral flats and foot-hills; (*b*) a broad belt of downs or plateaux (*jāl*) diversified by a few outstanding peaks; (*c*) a belt of deep-cut wādis sloping north and north-eastward into a great main depression; and (*d*) a naked scarped ridge which skirts, and merges into, the great central sands.

(*a*) The coastal belt varies in width, rarely, however, extending much more than ten miles inland, and is an arid waste of plain and low sand-hills with a gentle rise towards the southern spurs of the plateau belt. The coastline itself, which runs in a generally east-north-easterly direction, is fairly regular, but has a number of projecting points with small intervening bays without deep indentations to form good natural harbours, and here and there longer stretches of unbroken line of low sand. The chief promontories are Ras el-Asīda, Ras el-Kelb, Ras Makalla, Ras Baghashwah, Ras Atāb, Ras Sharwein, and Ras Fartak.

(*b*) The plateau, which is calcareous in character and extremely arid, presents a more or less abrupt escarpment towards the sea and is, in fact, only a continuation of the great Yemen shelf or plateau and is penetrated in step-like stages by a number of rapidly ascending and burnt-up, arid, or sand-covered valleys. The crest line of the plateau lies generally some 30 miles from the coast and attains an average height of from 4,000–5,000 ft., the highest part being the Hāj Bāl Qabrein near the head of Wādi el-Aisar (or 'Aisār), one of the many tributaries of the main Wādi Hadhramaut. The surface of the plateau, which has a general slope towards the north and north-east, is comparatively uniform, with here and there a prominent peak. There are, however, very numerous shallow depressions where cultivation becomes possible, the water being supplied from artificial tanks that have been constructed to collect the surface water.

(*c*) The deeply sunk wādis, by which the plateau is intersected, have a generally north or north-easterly trend, until they lead into the main wādi, which makes an immense easterly to south-easterly curve of over 500 miles before it debouches at the coast. The wādis in parts have almost the character of canyons, so abrupt and precipitous are their sides, and they look much as if they had been cut out of the plateau 'like slices out of a cake'. The descents into them are exceedingly sudden, but in the wādis themselves there is very little slope. Like those of the Yemen, they are in great part ex-

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



tremely fertile, for though they have no visible perennial water-courses, water is very abundant in the subsoil throughout the system and is procurable almost everywhere by sinking wells; this is eminently the case in the main Hadhramaut wādi, or at least over a considerable part of its length, where vast reservoirs of water are available at little depths below the surface, at all times of the year, for the irrigation of comparatively large and continuous tracts of land. The last hundred miles or so of the main wādi are, however, desert, owing to the almost complete absorption of the water higher up for irrigation purposes; the oasis tracts are thus removed from direct contact with the sea. The chief tributary wādis, naming them from west to east, are the 'Irmah, Rashah, 'Amd, Dō'an, and 'Aisār, all of which join to form the Kesr; the 'Ain, Bin 'Ali, and 'Adam, all eventually leading into the main Hadhramaut Wādi. 133

(c) The scarped belt, skirting the main wādi to the north, and penetrated in parts by shorter tributary wādis, is calcareous and arid, and to a certain extent screens the main depression from the formidable desert tract beyond, which, however, makes encroachments on this depression.

## Climate

The district as a whole is hot except on the elevated plateau. The climate of the coastal tract is extremely hot and enervating (intolerably so in summer) owing largely to the aspect of the coast, which is almost due south, and to the elevated region by which it is backed; the heat is especially oppressive when, as not infrequently happens, there are no sea-breezes. Bent describes the air of the tableland as 'fresh and invigorating after the excessive heat of the valleys below', and he mentions Sujeila, at an altitude of 3,150 ft., as 'having excellent air that would make it a first-class sanatorium for Aden'. But this upland appears to be subject, at certain seasons, to a cold, penetrating wind, to cold and dewy nights, and to very great extremes of temperature. 132

Twice during the year the coastal districts, at all events, of the Hadhramaut receive their share of the rains brought by the monsoons, though probably in a less degree than the Yemen. But the regularity of the rains in the interior is not so certain, for when the Bents visited the Wādi Sirr in 1894 they were told by the inhabitants that they had had no rain for two years, and that they were sometimes without any for as much as three years at a time. Thunderstorms of a very sudden and violent nature are recorded by travellers, these being usually preceded by fierce heat and hot and violent

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



361 of Sheikh 'Othmān and small village of Hiswah on the north-east, at a radius roughly of ten miles from Aden town. The island of Socotra, in the Arabian Sea, passed under the protection of the British Government in virtue of a treaty concluded with the Sultan of Mahrah in 1886 (p. 205).

• 133 The peninsula of Aden proper is an irregular oval, 15 miles in circumference, with a diameter of from 3 to 5 miles, connected with the mainland by a neck of land about 1,350 yards wide, but at one place nearly covered at high spring tides. The causeway and aqueduct, however, are always above, although at some seasons only just above, water level. The peninsula consists of a huge crater walled round by precipices, the highest point being 1,775 feet above the sea; and rugged spurs, with valleys between, radiate from the centre. A great gap in the circumference of the crater has been rent on its eastern sea-face by some later volcanic disturbance. The town of Aden and part of the military cantonment lie within the crater, and consequently are surrounded on all sides by rocky hills. Lavas, spongy breccias, and tufas form the materials of this volcanic fortress. The natural vegetation is very scanty and resembles that of Arabia Petræa.

132 The average shade temperature of Aden is 87°—the mean monthly range being from 75° in January to 98° in June, with occasional variations up to or exceeding 102°. The lulls between the monsoon periods, in May and September, are specially oppressive. The [165] mortality among Europeans, although greatly increased by the sick or dying from the passengers and crews of ships, amounts to only [164] 7·2 per thousand. Aden, in fact, ranks as a rather healthy station for troops, though on first arrival they are subject to sandfly-fever, and it is a well-ascertained fact that long residence impairs the faculties and undermines the constitution of Europeans. The climate during the north-east monsoon, or from October to April, is cool and pleasant, particularly in November, December, and January. During the remainder of the year (the period of the south-west monsoon), hot sandy winds, known as *Shamāl* (north), prevail within the crater, but on the western or Steamer Point side the breezes come directly off the sea and are fairly cool. The rainfall may be said to vary from ¼ inch to 8½ inches, with an irregular average of about 3 inches; the irregularity and smallness of the yearly rainfall is borne out by the fact that the tanks, since their restoration in 1856, have only been filled six times—in May 1866 and 1870, and September 1877, 1889, 1893, and 1897. The 164 Settlement is exceptionally free from infectious diseases and epidemics. The absence of vegetation, the dryness of the soil, and the

241 plants, chillies, *faquz* (a kind of gourd, *Cucumis prophetarum* L.), and lubia. The fruits include limes, bananas, dates, pawpaws and a few grapes and pomegranates.

Speaking of the Meifa district, Heald states that "near the river the main cultivation was the date crops. The sesame did not receive any special cultivation than that given for the millets; the land was ploughed or broken up by the hoe and, after levelling down with a board, the seed was sown in holes at a distance of 18 inches apart; the crop being sown generally in September. The crop was manured with dung or fish, if available, and good results were obtained from liberal manuring; four or five waterings were generally given. The crop was ready for harvest in 3½ months, when the plants were cut down close to the ground and laid out in rows to dry; the plants were then shaken for the seed to fall out on a mat." Speaking of crops generally, Heald says, "All the crops, being from seed bred in and in, had become very poor as one might expect, and unless they import fresh seed from abroad, nothing can prevent the crops from becoming even pooger than they are at present."

## Methods of Agriculture.

● 134 *Soil.*—Mr. Heald's remarks on the lahd in Asfal al 'Ain apply pretty generally to much of the land in the Hadhramaut. He says, "The soil was of an alluvial nature, and in general very light loam, devoid of humus and requiring heavy manure to produce good yields. The soil in most of the villages in the Meifa valley was alluvial; very thin and with a stony subsoil." In parts of the Wadi Maseila owing to the heavy vegetation there is more humus.

805 241 *Seasons.*—The seasons are arranged by the stars and called Summer (*Seif*), Autumn (*Kharif*), Winter (*Sheita*) and Spring (*Rabia*). From an agricultural point of view it is difficult to distinguish. Crops are often to be seen in all stages, sowing, grown and harvested. According to Heald, the summer crops are Italian and bullrush millet and tobacco, which is sown towards the end of the summer for transplanting in early winter. The winter crops are great millet, maize, lucerne, wheat, barley and all the vegetables.

241 492 412 *Implements.*—The implements are few and primitive. A small plough is used for breaking up the surface of the soil. It consists of a sharpened piece of wood with an upright for the farmer to hold and press the "share" into the soil. It is pulled by oxen or a camel. The hoe used has a pear-shaped head; sometimes the soil is levelled after ploughing by dragging a small board over the surface. Small curved knives are used in the tobacco nurseries for scratching up the soil. Heald saw a "weeder" which was very much like a chisel.

241 *Manures.*—Tobacco beds are occasionally treated with sheep dung, but the principal manure in the lower Hadhramaut is fish manure. As many as three small fish are put on the soil round each plant.

133 the seaward end of the 16 m. terrace already mentioned. It slopes from about RL 15 beneath the higher plain to RL 12. Here it ends in a scarp about 2 m. high, and below it a consolidated yellow sand forms the wadi floor. The channel here turns and breaks through a ridge to the sea. This ridge is composed of cellular sandstone similar in appearance to that seen near Mukalla and, in some places, of gravels. From its level it would seem to be the last remnant of the big erosional plain on the east side of the wadi.

We have then in this area three well-defined levels and a minor one. These in order of age are: high-level gravel, RL 52 m., possibly Tertiary or early Pleistocene; remnant of erosional level, about RL 32 m., with palaeolithic chert implements on surface; extensive and important erosional plain, about RL 28 m., no sign of marine deposits passing downstream; terrace at 7 m.–5 m. above wadi floor at RL 16 m.; and a terrace at 3 m. above wadi floor.

[487] The road to Shihr continues along the coastal plain, crossing marine beds in many places, and runs over an extensive development of gravel just before reaching the town.

The coastal plain is here some 10–12 km. broad, and is backed by the great cliffs and outliers of the South Arabian plateau, called the *jol*. It is some [132 1000 m. high, but slopes gradually northwards up to 3000 m., becoming ever 427] more barren as it recedes from the influence of the monsoon rains. The newly made road to Tarim follows a switch-back course over it, now crossing stony plateaux, then descending into broad flat-bottomed wadis often sand-covered and with lines of trees and scrub marking the watercourses. In 134 these wadis a loess-like deposit that was later to become such a familiar and prehistorically important feature in the Wadi Hadhramaut and its tributaries, was first seen. Here, as there, it seems to have filled the valleys through which later erosion has carved a way. Near the village of Reida, in the Ma'ara country about 60 km. from the southern edge of the plateau, rounded consolidated gravel and conglomerate were seen near a water-hole.

183 The watershed between the north and south-running valleys lies much nearer the southern than the northern edge of the plateau; this is possibly due to subsidence of the coastal area, and as a consequence many of the wadis draining into the Wadi Hadhramaut are very long. Nearing the edge of this great wadi the character of the drainage changes; instead of broad flat-bottomed valleys, there are narrow ravines deeply entrenched in the limestone (Plate 4). On the stony ground between them numerous deeply patinated palaeoliths, both cores and flakes, were found, similar in type to others whose occurrence *in situ* in gravel terraces of the valley floor system will be described later. Their position here, on tongues of plateau furrowed by deep ravines, recalled the occurrence of typologically similar implements on similar tongues of plateau licking the cliff edge of the Nile valley.

We first saw the Wadi Hadhramaut from the top of the pass leading sharply down to Tarim. It is a great flat-floored trench some 3 km. broad and 300 m. deep, bounded by high cliffs of characteristic outline, which repeats itself with monotonous regularity both along the main wadi and in the tributary valleys. This outline is the expression of the geological features, which are here very simple (Plates 2, 3). The cliffs consist of a series of almost horizontal beds; the upper 200 m. are of limestone, Eocene over Cretaceous.

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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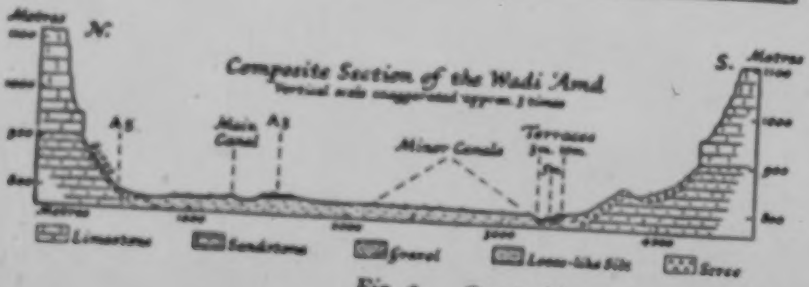


Fig. 2 P. 24

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



two great wadis the silty deposit, which we propose to name "aeolian silt," 133
has been eroded into hillocks reminiscent of those on the floor of Kharga Oasis, except that they are larger and not so stream-lined by wind. The subordinance of wind erosion in the Hadhramaut is in striking contrast to conditions in Kharga, and emphasizes the difference between a true desert-belt and one under the influence, however incompletely, of the monsoons.

The work around Hureidha consisted of the examination of the geologically recent deposits, and the detailed mapping of a small area around the ruin field (Fig. 2). The section, Fig. 2, shows that the structure of the valley is the same as that in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

The valley filling is the dominant deposit. It is on the whole a fine-grained 134
material, largely arenaceous but with a certain amount of clay. Structurally it shows the prominent vertical jointing so characteristic of loess and aeolian deposits in general. Yet this is not the only guide to its origin, for clay bands and occasional scattered lines of pebbles point also to water action. It seems therefore convenient to use the term "aeolian silt" for this deposit to represent its composite character, part wind, part water-laid. Water action would seem to have played a greater rôle here than in Kharga, where wind bedding, absent in the Hadhramaut, is common. A good section was examined in the banks of the flood channel north of Hureidha (Plate 6). Two darker banks can be seen running nearly horizontally 1 and 2 m. from the top of the section. These are formed of more argillaceous material, and clay balls were common in the sandy layers. Here and there a pocket of land shells lying at all angles was found. These were mostly *Zootecus insularis* Ehrn, but a few *Obeliscella bentiae* M. and P. and *Pupoides* sp. also occurred. The full depth of the filling could nowhere be ascertained. The wells in the floor of the Wadi Hadhramaut are shallow, and in the Wadi 'Amd, though very deep,[1] they are in the rising sides of the valley. In discussing the age of the aeolian silt we can therefore speak only of the upper layers.

In the Wadi 'Amd good dating evidence was obtained in the north bank of 133
the flood channel opposite the Wadi Luqrun, a tributary wadi entering from
the south near the village of Sharj el Hamus (see Fig. 2). Here a magnificent 134
section is exposed in a cliff 10–8 m. high (Plate 7). It is capped by four or more 172
metres of aeolian silt which stretches away northwards and forms the whole floor of Wadi 'Amd. This is underlaid by two gravel bands separated by more aeolian silt, which in turn underlies the lowest gravel and forms the floor of the flood channel. The gravel bands are about 1·5 m. thick, and consist of medium to small limestone pebbles with occasional ones of chert or tufa. Both bands contain chert implements but they are particularly abundant in the lower. In the sides of the erosion channels the gravels are seen to tail out northwards and eventually disappear. They obviously represent the outwash fans of the Wadi Luqrun, which seems to have been capable of carrying gravels while the main wadi was bringing down silt only. The tools in these gravels are of Levalloisian flake type, and date the uppermost layers of silt in the Wadi 'Amd. Confirmation was obtained by finding a good unworn tortoise core embedded in the silt at another spot.

[1] Van der Meulen and von Wissmann state (*op. cit.*, p. 98) that some are about 300 feet deep.

134 A more active phase succeeded the silt filling of the valley. On its southern edge floods again brought down gravels, but this time down the main wadi itself. These occur in three terraces at 10 to 8, 5, and 3 m. respectively above the thalweg (Plate 8). All contain implements of the same type as those found in the section already described, but they are most numerous in the 10-m. terrace. The gravel is composed of similar elements in all, the only distinction being that in the 5 and 3-m. terraces true current-bedded sands occur which appear to be absent in the 10-m. terrace. The latter is interbedded in places with aeolian silt, probably derived from pre-existing deposits. All the terraces are laid against the silt and occasionally the gravel overlaps it on the north bank. It never however spreads far north, and in this stretch of the wadi the flood channel seems always to have kept more or less closely to the southern cliffs.

The 10-m. terrace is best developed between Dar es Sa'ad and Sharj el Hamus on the southern bank of the channel (see map, Fig. 2). It is frequently obscured by ancient and modern irrigation works and agricultural operations. At the entrance of the Wadi Luqrun a big stone barrage has been built across the mouth of the channel to prevent backward erosion. This wall abuts against the 10-m. terrace, which stands out darker coloured in contrast with the lighter-coloured gravel of the 5-m. terrace below it. It has occasional pockets and layers of aeolian silt in it, but downstream these increase in importance till a little east of Dar es Sa'ad only 1 m. of gravel rests on solid silt. Beyond this point the 10-m. gravel is not seen, the south bank being of aeolian silt until the Hureidha lateral valley is reached, when the 5-m. and 3-m. terraces become prominent.

At this point the 5-m. terrace is laid against the silt on the south side, while on the north bank a scatter of gravel at 5 m. probably represents the remnant of this terrace. Near Dar es Sa'ad it seems to be cut out of the 10-m. gravel, and upstream from here spreads out to form a broad bay. In these sections however it is once more resting on aeolian silt. A typical exposure showed:

top 1·5 m. gravel, medium-sized pebbles, occasional patches of aeolian silt
1·5 m. gravel of finer texture with 1 cm. mud layer overlying current-bedded sands
0·5 m. coarse gravel
about 1·5 m. sand and pebbles overlying irregularly the eroded floor of aeolian silt, here forming the wadi bed.

No implements were found in this section, though a few were collected *in situ* near Dar es Sa'ad and Hureidha.

The 3-m. terrace forms low flats cut through by the modern flood channel. It may rest against the aeolian silt on the 5-m. terrace, which it resembles in all respects but level. A few rolled implements were found in it in the Hureidha section. East of Dar es Sa'ad it is well developed, and shows 1 m. of rather coarse gravel resting on aeolian silt. At this point it has been utilized for the start of the modern embankment that leads the flood waters down a recently cut canal to 'Andal.

We have so far traced a series of events which might be interpreted climatically as a dry phase (the deposition of the silt), followed by one of greater

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*4. Jol above Tarim: palaeolithic area at the head of lateral wadi*

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*5. Wadi 'Adim: exposure of aeolian silt over gravel*

Facing P. 26 (A)

16. Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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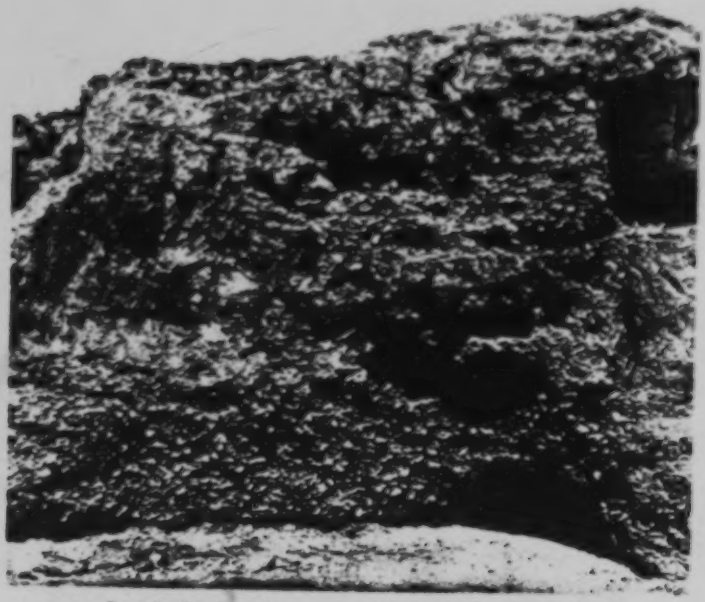
6. *Aeolian silt cliff and present flood bed in Wadi 'Amd*



7. *Interbedded aeolian silt and gravels in Wadi 'Amd*

facing p. 26 (B)

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



934 rainfall, represented by the gravel terraces. But this sequence might also be due to other causes such, for instance, as the blocking of the Wadi Hadhramaut by the lava-flows, and therefore it was necessary to look for independent evidence. Von Wissmann observed that the plains of the Yemen are floored with a great layer of fine sandy soil, aeolian in origin and very similar to loess.[1] This in a neighbouring country lends support to the climatic origin of the changes. Reinforcement comes also from the occurrence of aeolian silt, already mentioned, in the wadis of the *jol* far removed from the influence of the Wadi Hadhramaut. Further support on other lines was also obtained in the Wadi 'Amd itself, during the examination of small lateral wadis.

133 Some of these minor lateral wadis and ravines have springs trickling from the base of the big Cretaceous cliff, and it seemed possible that if a period of greater rainfall had, as surmised, occurred in the past, evidence would be registered in the formerly more abundant flow of these springs. In Kharga Oasis few springs still exist on the scarp, but we found there conclusive proof of more abundant water in the Pleistocene. This was demonstrated by the great deposits of travertine or tufa which in places completely mask the underlying rocks. In the Hadhramaut ancient tufa was found near the existing springs, and as terraces in the ravines above them, but developed on a far smaller scale than in Kharga (Plate 9). This may be due partly to the difference in configuration, and partly to the monsoon erosion in the Hadhramaut. Its occurrence does however point to a time of greater rainfall and spring activity. But, though on a smaller scale, the Arabian tufa deposits are strikingly like those of Kharga in their general aspect. In both places they have weathered to a rusty brown-black with a light yellow fracture, and in both places massive and cellular types occur, though nothing resembling the "plateau" tufa of Kharga was found. They all belonged to the "wadi" type.[2]

The deposit in both places contains fossil leaves, amongst which fig leaves are predominant, and shells, though these are unexpectedly much more abundant in Kharga than in the Hadhramaut. Moreover in Arabia the tufas were not, in the areas examined, associated with interbedded silts and gravels, as in Kharga, nor were palaeoliths, as there, *in situ* in them. The dating of the Kharga tufas in archaeological terms is therefore much more definite and susceptible of subdivisions than in Hadhramaut; but the palaeolithic age also of the latter is placed beyond doubt by the occurrence of tufa pebbles in the 10-m. gravel terrace, and in the gravels interbedded with the aeolian silt.

A typical spring and tufa terrace outcrop in Arabia may now be described for the first time.

The modern springs issue in lateral ravines at or near the base of the massive lowest Cretaceous limestone, which is undercut sometimes by as much as 20 or 30 m. A good example was found in a small valley on the west side of the Wadi Luqrun, where two trickles of water come from cracks in the limestone about 1·5 m. above its base. A soft spongy mass of recently formed

113 [1] C. Rathjens and H. von Wissmann, "Vorislamische Altertümer" (*Südarabien-Reise*, Band 2, 1932, p. 14).

[2] For discussion of these tufas see Caton-Thompson and Gardner, "The prehistoric geography of Kharga Oasis" (*Geogr. J.* 80 (1932) 369–409), and Gardner, "Some problems of the Pleistocene hydrography of Kharga Oasis" (*Geol. Mag.*, vol. lxix, September 1932).

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



721 and the police better in the Dutch colonial territories. This
648 same question was repeated again in the evening, in the reception-room of our host at Hēnin. However pleasing I may have found these signs of appreciation for western colonial government on the part of an eastern Muḥammadan people, I continued to answer with evasions and urged them to take the matter into their own hands and to achieve unity, forced on by necessity.

## 2. THE OLD DYING TOWN OF HĒNIN.

It cost us much pains to decline the pressing invitations to stay longer and to continue the journey to Hēnin in the afternoon.

The hot wind is still filling the wādī with a thick, high-driven mist of sand and dust. The Buqrīs, with their numerous soldiers crowding round them, accompany us till we are outside the gate on the side away from the enemy. Obviously they are all sorry we are leaving so soon and that this variation in their monotonous life comes to so early an end. Before our departure we promise, gladly and faithfully, should we return by this route, to spend the night in their high, beautiful castle. Before long Diyār Āl Buqrī has disappeared in the haze of sand and we travel in absolute solitude amongst the hillocks of loam. Bin ʿAwaḍ Martaʿ, steering a very twisting course, seeks those places where his car can pass between the line of hills. The lower parts are filled with fine sand that lies piled up by the wind so that we have to go by way of the slopes at the foot of the loam-hills. We pass a few tumble-down villages; of vegetation there is hardly a trace.

361 The number of settlements increases as we approach the
241 neighbourhood of Hēnin. They are situated partly at the foot
●134 of the mountain-wall which forms the northern bank of Wādī el-Kasr, and partly close by, in the bed of the wādī. Little dykes, which make rectangular divisions in the loam, are a sure proof that agriculture was once carried on here. It does not

look as though this is still possible in any way; the drifting 361
sand has killed the date-palms and reduced to a minimum the 241
cultivation of *dhura* and the like. The hamlets are partially 134
deserted and the mud houses fallen in.

The very ancient town of Hēnin[1] has shared this fate. The 361
place lies like a long line at the foot of the rock-wall. Castles 134
and defence turrets higher up have fallen into ruin as have most of the houses of this once important town on the road to the Yemen.

Bin ᶜAwaḍ Martaᶜ has returned to his fatherland from Sura- 241
baya with the resolve to try to check its decay. The family 134
house has been restored by him and a new storey built on to it. 312
He has brought from Java a motor pump which has been set up on the 70 feet deep well. The pump supplies 30 gallons of water for irrigation per minute so that, if it works for eight hours a day, it just suffices to wrench a few acres of *dhura* from the sandy desert and to keep alive the 200 young date-palms which are planted between.

Bin Martaᶜ himself now also realizes that this is but a service 361
of love at a death-bed and that his motor pump cannot save 134
Hēnin from decay and from the engulfing sea of sand. Hēnin is like a little town destroyed by storm on the rocky coast of an interminable sea of sand which has first swallowed up its palm-groves and is now submerging the place itself. We have seen nothing of the Bā ᶜAṭwah, the poet beggars of Hēnin.[2] They have been driven by poverty to the prosperous parts of the valley of Ḥaḍramaut and to Java.

Hēnin is nominally under Qeᶜēṭī rule; the Sultan of Shibām 622
and el-Qaṭn protects the place and the insignificant little 511
villages surrounding it. That evening, in the great *madjlis* of Bin Martaᶜ's house, we met the poor, simple shēkhs of the

[1] Cf. el-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 85, l. 19 *sqq.*, 86, l. 20 *sq.*, 88, l. 10 *sqq.*; De Goeje, *Hadhramaut*, in *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, ii. (1886), p. 110.

[2] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Zur Dichtkunst der Bâ ᶜAṭwah in Hadhramôt*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, v. (Bonn, 1925), p. 393 *sqq.*

24.Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



of pilgrims who used to come and worship here. ʿEnāt is well situated for this: nearly *all* pilgrims to the tomb of God's Prophet Hūd must pass through it. Now its greatness has fallen, and everyone in Ḥaḍramaut knows the *nuqra*[1], the cause of its gradual ruin. Since the disappearance of the dams periodic strong currents of water have worn out and deepened the *sēl*-bed. This erosion has moved slowly up-stream. By a dam nearly a mile in length Shibām has had to protect its palm plantations against this action, which lays bare the roots of the trees. ʿEnāt is situated further down-stream than any town in Ḥaḍramaut, so that it gets the full force of the torrents and the erosion occurs here first and makes itself most seriously felt. The *sēl* is very much strengthened at times by water from various side-wādīs, and in the thick layer of loess covering the valley here its bed is washed out deeper and deeper.

The roots of the palm-trees are washed bare and, consequently, the crop becomes smaller. Finally the tree falls; it goes on living and still bears fruit, but its death is near. The broad zone of palms around ʿEnāt is slowly perishing through the *nuqra*. The palms are doomed; the sun penetrates through the many open spaces, the works for distributing water are destroyed, and everything is covered by a layer of white sand. We only visited ʿEnāt on the way back, keeping now to the northern bank, which soon rises high up above the bed of the wādī. The loess wall is becoming more and more undermined by the water and it is therefore difficult for our drivers to find a safe way along it. This danger proved real on the way back; one of the two cars overturned and was badly damaged. An attempt has been made to divert the *sēl*-bed to the foot of the mountains on the north by constructing a dam. A great sum was raised for this, but the dam was repeatedly destroyed by the water so that the undertaking was, at last, abandoned. The plan to construct a dam was due to the initiative of one

[1] *Nuqra* is the gradual erosion by the water.

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| *Animal Husbandry* | *Western Aden Protectorate* | *Eastern Aden Protectorate* |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 30,000 | 50,000 |
| Cattle | 45,000 | 10,000 |
| Goats | 500,000 | 420,000 |
| Sheep | 150,000 | 80,000 |

*Soil Conservation*

In Southern Arabia the rainfall is in general too low for an efficient natural vegetation to cover the slopes and act as a check to run-off. Only by the efficient use of all sources of water, particularly flood water, can cultivation continue. In these circumstances an effective system of soil and water conservation forms an integral part of traditional cultivation, and although there is a constant movement of the soil from the slopes to the flats, efficient run-off control results in comparatively little silt-laden water reaching the sea. Soil erosion occurs where flood waters are not controlled and in some areas overstocking has led to soil degradation. 312 654 [134]

The agricultural staff is at present very small but steps have been taken to improve the position.

The general view is that efforts to conserve soil should be directed to the maintenance and extension of flood-control systems. The districts of Abyan, Beihan and Ahwar and the Hadhramaut, which depend largely on a system of flood-water irrigation, have been selected as areas for improvement. In past years flood waters have gone to waste owing to local insecurity and poverty which resulted in the neglect of the deflectors and canals required for flood control. During the past few seasons active measures have been taken to remedy this state of affairs following an improvement in political conditions and by a system of advances to cultivators willing to undertake the restoration of their irrigation systems. Such flood-water control works must naturally go hand in hand with increased production measures. Special attention has been paid to Abyan where a Development Scheme is in operation.

On the Audhali plateau a system of advances to farmers who are willing to improve or sink wells or recondition terraces proved successful. Particular interest has been stimulated in areas where political difficulties have in the past caused neglect of such opportunities for the improvement of the natural resources.

Wind erosion is a factor of importance in the alluvial areas such as on the coastal plain where it affects areas which have been withheld from cultivation for long periods. In such situations dessication of the soil is followed by wind erosion. The remedy is to irrigate such soils and bring them back into cultivation 134

*Study of Agricultural Techniques*

(*a*) *Soils* are mainly alluvial. In the Eastern Protectorate they are almost everywhere derived from limestone. In the Western Protectorate soils in high-altitude districts are derived from the granite and elsewhere from the limestone series or from volcanic rock. Soils in irrigated areas

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Hadhramaut MM21



934 are generally of good-quality alluvium. In high-altitude districts less fertile soils are found and they are generally light in texture, except in some limestone areas where they are heavy and intractable.

312 (*b*) *Water supplies* are generally good and sufficient for the needs of cultivators who tend to concentrate in the river-valley areas or in the highland areas where some rainfall can be expected. Water becomes scarce in the Eastern districts where the settled country emerges into the Empty Quarter. Domestic water supplies are obtained from springs, wells, dams, tanks and cisterns.

(*c*) *Irrigation and drainage systems* are highly developed. At high altitudes the run-off is led to terraces in order to boost the rainfall which is insufficient in itself for crop production. Flood irrigation systems are found in the river valleys and on the coastal plain. Irrigation from permanent streams and springs is highly developed. Artificial irrigation is from open wells. Animal power lifts are worked at depths of 10 to 60 feet and in the most favourable districts command up to 10 per cent. of the total arable area.

241 (*d*) *Mechanical cultivation* is confined to one small unit used by the Abyan Board in the Abyan district. Elsewhere the simple Arabian plough, combined levelling-board and scraper, harrow and a drill attachment for the plough comprise the implements used by the cultivator.

(*e*) *Application of fertilisers.* Organic fertilisers only are used. Farmyard manure is commonly used in all mid-altitude and highland districts. Farmyard manure, human excreta and town wastes are used in the Hadhramaut. Fish and guano are commonly used in the Eastern Protectorate coastal areas.

*Land Tenure*

423 (*a*) Customary tribal law and Shari'a law affect land tenure.

(*b*) Individual ownership is the common and most-desired form of tenancy; share tenancy is the usual form of leasehold tenure.

(*c*) His Majesty's Government owns no land in the Aden Protectorate. Some of the Arab states hold extensive tracts of land as state domain. All the land is held by indigenous inhabitants except for a very small percentage held by Yemeni settlers and a few Indians and Somalis.

*Agricultural Credit*

452 There are no banks in the Aden Protectorate. One small Farmers' Association giving credit assistance to its members was formed during
453 the year. The Department of Agriculture, the local Governments, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut a Relief Organisation afforded assistance to farmers with interest-free loans.

## FISHERIES

654 A visit in February by the Fisheries Adviser to the Secretary of State
226 for the Colonies resulted in the arrival of a fisheries research party in

increased yields in the harvests would never be noticed by the country. To improve existing conditions, the Mukalla Government could buy good seed from outside and sell it to cultivators. Many of the crops are merely deteriorating year by year owing to the non-introduction of fresh seed.

"The district I traversed could never be made an agricultural one owing to the lack of soil. I was informed that nearly all the grain consumed in the country comes from India, etc., and this state of affairs will, I fear, always be the case. Perhaps the agriculture in the Hadhramaut may be better—one hears so—but as far as Europe is concerned, Mukalla may, from an agricultural point of view, be considered as non-existent."

### Geological Report.

Mr. O. H. Little reported that within the area he visited, lignite deposits varying in thickness between 15 inches and 5 feet exist at Kasai, Asfal Al 'Ain and Ad Da'liya. Samples of lignite were also brought from Lumeisa, about 20 miles north-west of Wadi Yuwan, and similar seams were reported to exist at Jebal Ruba and Tramwa, beyond Lumeisa. Samples were also obtained from the Wadi Howeri, at a point about 80 miles south of Mukalla, and at Khardarani, Jebal Ar Reish. He proved the seams at Kasai and Asfal Al 'Ain to extend for 150 yards along the cliff face and, though they both showed a decreasing thickness away from the main workings, he considered this was possibly due to the small amount of clearing. While the deposits are probably lenticular, much more work would have to be done before this is proved or their extent estimated. In *Southern Arabia* Bent describes the cliffs in a wadi near the Hadhramaut in terms which leave no doubt as to their similarity to the cliffs in which lignite has been found. Though he does not mention the occurrence of lignite, possibly because its existence in the country was then unknown, the probable extension of the coal-measures to a distance over a hundred miles north of Mukalla makes it possible that lignite deposits would be found throughout a very much greater area than in the 1,000 square miles of the coal-measure mapped. Little states that when the Beduins near Mukalla learnt the value of lignite and where to look for it on the scarps, they were reporting every outcrop of dark shale they found. A deposit at Ad Da'liya was discovered in this way only a short time before his arrival in Mukalla. He noticed many places in the scarps where they had evidently dug without success, but as they rarely dug more than a couple of feet deep they often failed to penetrate the debris. The almost inaccessible positions in which the lignite is found, and the fact that digging is necessary, would make systematic search for it expensive, but he considered that by offering suitable rewards the inhabitants would undoubtedly be induced to devote time to searching the scarps in their own districts. The coal-measure shales weather so easily that outcrops of lignite are soon covered by material from above, and fragments

135 of lignite in the detritus on the slopes and in the wadis are very rare; this he considered to be probably due to the very heavy rains which fall in the mountains every few years, which produce such floods that enormous rocks are moved along the wadi beds.

464 Mr. Little stated that the difficulties of working the deposits had
312 been pointed out by Mr. Beeby-Thompson and Dr. Ball (who visited Mukalla in 1918). They thought that cheap unskilled labour
135 could be produced locally, but for working on a large scale Mr. Little expressed the opinion that the local supply would prove unreliable and that labour would have to be imported. On the other hand, Messrs. Beeby-Thompson and Ball were not aware that a river (the water of which is slightly saline) flows through the oil-shale district near Neifa. Above Neifa the water is potable when boiled, but below Neifa it is very tainted by the petroliferous deposits through which it passes. Supplies of water might also be obtained by conserving the flood-water which flows down the wadis from the interior. There is generally a small flood every rainy season, with bigger floods every few years.

135 The heat of the sun in summer in the Hadhramaut is so great that rocks near the surface must lose most of their volatile constituents, and, to get a true indication of the amount of these it is necessary to take samples from a greater depth than has been done hitherto. The improvement which may take place with increasing depth is shown by the results of the analysis of two samples from Asfal Al 'Ain. The first was collected from different parts of the face of the seam which had been exposed for over a month, and the second was obtained by driving a hole 5 feet into the seam and taking it from the last portion removed. The calorific value of the latter sample, from Asfal Al 'Ain being 11,466 B.T.Us. and of those from Kasai and Wadi Howeri over 10,000 B.T.Us., show that in a country where fuel supplies are very scanty, the lignite deposits would prove an important source of fuel. The oil-shales probably extend to south-west much beyond the area visited and mapped, and if at some distance below the surface they are richer than the sample brought by Messrs. Beeby-Thompson and Ball, they could be distilled near the river. In the economic exploitation of the fuel resources of the Sultanate, the possibility of finding oil fuel in the As Sidara district should be considered, as if oil exists there the pipe-line could be brought down the river to Wadi Arus and Neifa and thence to the coast. The river at Wadi Arus is 15 miles and at Neifa 10 miles in a straight line from the lignite deposits at Ad Da'liya, from which the fuel for the distillation of the oil-shales might be obtained. The danger of pipe-lines and railways being swept away by the big floods which occur every few years would have to be borne in mind when laying them. There is an anchorage for dhows at Mersa Riqeima just east of the river mouth, which Mr. Little thought might be suitable for small steamers except during the monsoon period.

135 Government; 'Arūdh al Makhāshin belonging to the Makhāshin section of the Nahd, with a population of 300, all subjects of the Qu'aiti Government; An Naq'a belonging to the Bā Wazīr townsmen with a population of 500; Al 'Ajlānia, belonging to the Āl Kathīr with 17 armed men; Al Man'at, belonging to the Nahd with 35 armed men; and Al Marāti', a village between Al Man'at and Henin, with 200 armed tribesmen of Kinda, and 50 of the Nahd.

At Al 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn are the houses of the Bā 'Umar Sheikhs with 15 armed men; the town of Mad-har bin Nahīd in the Wadi Manūb with 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shabīb (a section of the Nahd), and Dīār al Maqārīm with 30 armed Nahd tribesmen.

Between Al Qatn and Shibam are: 'Ardh Masrūr belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl 'Ali bin Ahmed (Yafa'is) with 60 armed men; Huweila belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl Salim bin 'Ali (Yafa'is) with 40 armed men; Khashāmir belonging to the Bin 'Ali Jābir (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 80 armed men; Al 'Iqad, situated at the end of Al Qatn and the beginning of Wadi Beni Rashīd, belonging to the Āl Qu'ata (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 75 armed men; 'Ikāba and Al Husn belonging to the Hamdhān (of the Nahd) with 30 armed men; Husūn at Al Qatn belonging to the Āl az Zu' (of the Nahd) with 40 armed men; Husūn belonging to the Bal'alā (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 30 armed men; and Husūn belonging to the Āl Jābri (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 25 armed men.

138 Shibam is the most important advanced market of the Hadhramaut, and has a large inward traffic from Mukalla. It is also a 361 buying market for the products of the country north and west, and the products of these parts are consumed in the town. Caravans come from San'ā in about 15 days. The tribesmen bringing these caravans are Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Rabi', Āl Khalifa, and 'Abīda. The principal inland traffic, however, is from Merkha, Hadhina, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. These caravans, mainly carrying maize, wheat, barley, ghee, oil, oilcakes, cotton, honey, blankets, and spinning cloth, are brought by 'Aulaqis, Hamām, Āl Ruba'ia, Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Maradi'a, Āl Khalifa, Dohum, Karab, Nahd and Āl Bureik tribesmen.

361 There is no regular communication with Nejd although occasional visitors come skirting the desert. Members of the Rashidi tribe also come to Shibam now and then. There is a landing ground at Shibam, and apart from its being a large caravan station it is in touch with towns between Hajarein and Qasm by car. It has no great industries, but makes mats and dyes cloths and skins.

135 The Governor of the Shibam province is Ferai Sa'id, a slave 361 who has held high positions and who has previously served at Shibam. He has also been Governor of 'Einat. He was appointed in October 1934, in succession to Sultan 'Ali bin Salah al Qu'aiti.

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FIG. 17—Ruins of a pre-Islamic city in the Wadi Masella. The site was chosen for defensive purposes and each house was in itself a fortress.

## HOT SPRINGS

133 [135] Hot sulphurous springs are widely scattered in the coastal zone, and fairly accurate accounts of many of them are available. They commonly deposit gypsum in quantity. Some of the deposits are so large as to suggest either that activity was more general in the past or that the position of the spring outlets has shifted. The springs may be attributed to the same subterranean conditions that prevail in Yellowstone Park, where descending waters become superheated through close association with uncooled rocks and rise again to the surface.

312 241 361 [271] Within half a mile of the coast of Hami, east of Mukalla, several hot springs are utilized by the natives for irrigation of date palms and millet and also for drinking. Neither here nor elsewhere does the

[312] FIG. 18—A view in the Wadi Masella where water is present during most of the year. The edge of the Jol appears in the background.

ADEN MM1
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LITTLE is known of the mineral reserves of this region, and most of the local industries are small and primitive. Salt is the chief export of the Colony; tobacco, honey and fish products, of the Protectorates. H 135 438 A H 439

The port of Aden is visited regularly by ships from all parts of the world. Within the last few years, the Colony has also become a regional center for air services to Cairo and other cities in the Near East and East Africa. Communications between the Colony and the interior are mainly by roads and caravan trails, supplemented by a coastwise dhow trade. Camels and donkeys are the primary means of transport, but the use of motor vehicles is increasing along the main routes. Roads suitable for motor traffic link Aden Colony with certain population centers in Western Aden Protectorate, and Mukalla with the larger towns of the Hadhramaut and adjacent coastlands. Access to the interior is also provided by military air services. A 504 509 A 491 492 H A 491 H [509]

### Food and Nutrition

Aden Colony is a cosmopolitan community, in which a variety of food habits is found among the peoples of different racial and economic groups. With the exception of fish, milk and limited supplies of garden vegetables, all foodstuffs are imported. Undernutrition is prevalent among the poorer inhabitants, and particularly among the transient laborers from the interior. A 262 439 146 464

Food supplies are never abundant in the Protectorate, where cultivation is restricted by the nature of the terrain and the scarcity of water in many areas. Anything which interferes with normal production, such as droughts or an invasion of locusts, may result in local food shortages, often approaching famine conditions. The Hadhramaut was seriously affected during the widespread drought in 1943, and children were evacuated from some of the famine areas to relief camps in Mukalla. H 511 433 731

The average Arab diet is simple, while that of the pastoral tribes is almost invari- H 262

Plants. The shrub, *Catha edulis*, colloquially known as *qat*, is extensively cultivated in sections of the western highlands. The leaves yield a stimulant which dissipates fatigue and causes loss of appetite and of desire for sleep. Qat chewing is a popular custom in the Colony and Western Aden Protectorate, as it is in Yemen.

Cases of poisoning, caused by the contamination of imported wheat with grains of *Lolium temulentum* (Darnel grass), are recorded frequently. Species of *Euphorbia* grow in many areas, and contact poisoning is sometimes observed.

### Food Sanitation

Regulations governing the sanitary quality of milk, meats and other products are in force only in the Colony. The markets and the slaughterhouses, which are located at four points—in Crater, Tawahi and Maala, on the peninsula, and in Sheikh Othman—are operated under the supervision of sanitary inspectors. Eating houses, coffee shops, date stalls and other premises where foods are prepared or sold, and the aerated water and ice factories, are licensed and inspected from time to time. No controls are exercised over food handlers, however, and many food vendors and workers in small shops are immigants among whom the standards of cleanliness are generally poor.

Meat animals are inspected by veterinary officers at the slaughterhouses, but no postmortem examinations of the carcasses are made. The dairy cows are housed in municipal or private sheds within the town limits. Samples of milk from commercial herds are collected at regular intervals and tested for adulteration. There are no facilities for pasteurization. Opportunities for the spread of infection through contaminated milk are minimal, however, due to the universal custom of boiling milk before it is used. Brucellosis is enzootic among the goats, and infections undoubtedly are transmitted to man occasionally through cheese and other milk products. Bovine tuberculosis is pres-

## Honey Industry.

231 The only other product of economic consequence is the celebrated
263 Du'an honey. Honey from Jerdan has an even greater local renown
438 but is not produced in such quantities. At places like Tarim it is not considered possible to grow honey owing to the depradations
[134] of the Blue-cheeked Bee eater (*Merops persicus persicus*), one of the most common, as well as most beautiful, birds in the Hadhramaut. We did not observe this bird at all in the Wadi Du'an, where it is shot on sight.

231 The hives are tunnel-like structures fitted into the walls of the
263 houses, and consist of circular sections about a foot in diameter. In the outside wall is a small hole through which the bees enter and leave the hives. Du'an enjoys two honey crops in a year; that of June, July and August being regarded as the best, for in it the bees collect the honey from the blossoms of the *'elb* trees. The honey obtained during the second crop, from November to March, is gathered from a small bush called *Qarmala*, and while it is
[843] highly esteemed it is considered very heating and may not be eaten by pregnant women. If there is much rain during April and May, the bees make a black honey called *helb*, and they are said to grow much stronger, for they consume this honey themselves. The swarming of the bees was thus described by a bee-keeper: A second queen bee, whom they call *ab* or father, sometimes leaves the hive and goes a short distance away followed by some of the others.* The bee-owner takes a mat and rolls it up in the shape of a hive, closing one end, and sprinkling inside a perfume of the perfumes used by the ladies. Approaching the swarm, he gently takes the queen in his fingers out of it and puts her into a small cage made for the purpose. The cage is then put inside the rolled mat. An assistant beats a tin or copper tray and the bees leave the place where they have swarmed and come to the queen. The swarm is now carried to a hive, the queen bee and her cage put into the hive, and in go the bees after her.

The bees collect the crop in 12 to 20 days, and when the owner sees the hive is full he fits on more sections until they have finished. Thirty to 40 pounds of honey are collected from a single hive at each crop. The honey is gathered by smoking the bees out from behind. When they have left, the exit hole is stopped up and the honey is taken, one section being left for the bees. In times of drought, honey is put into the hives for the bees to eat. The honey
251 is packed in comb and as liquid. In the former case two sizes of round tins are used, containing 4 lb. and 7 lb. respectively. An inside cover is soldered to the tins in Mukalla. Liquid honey is packed in cases of two kerosene tins. The value of the honey
435 in Mukalla is one rupee a pound. The total production is 90,000 to 100,000 pounds.

000 In view of the great renown which Du'an honey enjoys in South Arabia and the East Indies, and in view of the fact that it is much appreciated by Europeans, I had hoped that there might be

strangers were assumed to be enemy scouts, the advance guard of a larger fighting force behind some distant dune. 721 484

The "ambushed" caravan comprised sixteen Bedouins, only twelve of them armed. This fact, however, the theoretically opposing force was supposed not to know, since it is an unwritten law of the desert that every Bedouin travels with rifle and ammunition. Without hesitation the leader selected three armed men to act as scouts and an unarmed messenger. Hastily the four men washed down a few mouthfuls of food, since they did not know when they would be able to eat again, filled with water from the large reservoir skins some small ones suitable for short, flying trips, and then slipped swiftly off across the sand in a peculiar bowlegged glide. Under cover of a near-by dune the caravan men scrambled to its summit, at once opened fire, and drove the two intruders from view. They then dashed ahead to the dune on which their adversaries had stood and later advanced from hilltop to hilltop parallel to the caravan route and between it and "enemy" territory. In the meantime the camels had been hastily packed and started on the march along the now protected trail, which they followed without intermission until sundown. [411]

The two "enemy" tribesmen were not seen again, and it was concluded that their actions had been misinterpreted. Freedom from molestation during the remainder of the day did not, however, cause the caravan leader to relinquish vigilance. The party was scheduled to pass at about 3.00 p. m. a water hole to one side of the trail and hidden from it by a dune. As a method of precaution an advance guard of four went ahead and, just as the caravan came abreast of this spot, converged on the well from four directions. Although the strategy displayed by the Bedouins and their chief was happily unnecessary, the "shadow" campaign showed how fearless and cautious these men of the desert can be.

## Fishers and Ropemakers

During certain of the winter months sardines abound along the Hadhramaut coast, traveling in large schools, which can be seen from the shore as black patches on the surface of the sea. Natives wade out with hand nets or cast from small canoes, making enormous hauls with considerable ease. The sardines are much appreciated by the Bedouins as an addition to their diet of dates, millet, and goat or sheep meat and are eaten either raw or cooked. The fish are taken from the nets, tossed up on the beach to dry, and then packed into large bundles for transport to the interior, where they are used for camel fodder or fertilizer. Fish oil is obtained from that part of the catch which is dumped into pits and allowed to decompose. Sting rays, sharks, porpoises, and lobsters are also taken from the sea; but as the use of lobster is unknown, it is cast back from the nets. 136 226 237 [262]

141 144 Africa. Already interesting links are being worked out with Iran and the west Deccan. Local differences have also been worked out within both Yaman and Hadhramaut. The population of the northern part of the Yaman plateau is essentially mesocephalic, though it also shows certain features due to mixture. South Yaman, on the other hand, has broader heads. There is also a number of Jewish colonies in Yaman from whom representative groups were measured. In Hadhramaut we have a markedly brachycephalic type (very dominant, especially in the interior) and a mesocephalic one (especially on the coast). The broad heads of Hadhramaut show interesting anthropometrical features, and the roundness of their heads is primarily due to shortness (flattening of the back) rather than to width. Armenoid affinities among the broad heads of south Arabia are already known from previous observation and measurements (Bertram Thomas, etc.). The High Plateau of Yaman is practically free from prognathism, which becomes more and more marked as we go eastwards into Hadhramaut. We have reason to believe that this feature was not the result of crossing with Negroids from Africa, but represents an element brought from farther East. Special attention, however, has been paid to cases and areas of metisation between Negroid and Arab types, especially in coastal regions. Some peoples of the coastal plains of west Yaman have been shown to have marked affinities with the Negroids of Africa, who, however, do not seem to have affected the High Plateau to any appreciable extent. Certain parts of the Hadhramaut coast are equally mixed, and even in the interior there are colonies of imported elements (for example, Negro soldier-slaves, Indo-Chinese and Chinese elements as slaves and wives brought back by enterprising merchants of Hadhramaut, etc.).

## ENTOMOLOGY

136 Between five and six thousand specimens have been collected, and a large number of these were actually set in the field. They represent fauna from all the altitudes we have passed through (from sea-level to 3,500 m.). The identification of our specimens will inevitably be a long process, but it is hoped that fresh light may be thrown on the question of migration between adjacent parts of Africa and Asia in these regions. One of the chief topics we worked upon was the question of locust breeding-grounds and migrations, and already some useful results have been achieved in this direction.

100 In addition to these topics, members of the expedition carried out side-line investigations, such as the taking of a meteorological record during the journey (with as few breaks as possible), the collection of plants and small animals in localities which have not been visited before and of fishes and aquatic fauna from all streams and springs along the way, as well as the recording of observations on the general geography and ethnography of the lands and peoples in the areas visited.

* Should there be any chance of such a separation, however, the only possibility would be that at a posterior date poorer tribes took shelter among the Sabaito-Himyarite ruins and left their obsidian industry thoroughly mixed with earlier remains. In that case the lithic industry would be still more recent than the Sabaean phase. There can be no possibility of the Sabaito-Himyarites having chosen for sites of their cities places where earlier obsidian and flint-using tribes left their kitchen midden and rubbish heaps.

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16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



muddy tufa still being deposited. No living thing was seen in the pool, but dead shells of *Bulinus*, probably *truncatus*, were collected from the muddy edge. They are small and distorted, probably owing to the excess of lime. 133

In a wadi still farther up the lateral valley, the Wadi Sam'ua, a series of pools occurs at the foot of successive steps in the ravine bed above the Cretaceous limestone. These pools were not so deep as El Bahr and had abundant life: fish, frogs, beetles were all seen, and two univalves (a *Planorbis* and a new species of *Ancylus*).[1] The wadi narrows to a steep-sided ravine in its upper reaches; yet clinging to the side above the first pool was a mass of tufa 4 m. high. Other pools, backed by tufa cliffs with suspended stalactites, lie at still higher levels. Here exploration had to stop, but enough had been seen to establish the interest of the terrace tufa in these upper reaches. [136]

From the above account it may be deduced that the main events in the wadi's history are as follows:

Major erosional phase, when the great Wadi Hadhramaut and its main tributaries were cut. This in all probability took place in stages. From the amount of erosion and the many changes in the wadi since its development, the time of cutting must be at least as early as late Tertiary or early Pleistocene, and may well be far older. It cannot, as has been suggested, be synchronous with the Glacial Age in Europe.

Major depositional phase, also probably subdivided into minor episodes. The valleys were filled to some unknown depth with deposits. The upper part of these is aeolian silt of palaeolithic age, which is known to overlie gravel in some areas. In the lateral wadis tufa formation had begun.

Minor erosional phase, represented by the cutting of the aeolian silt and deposition of gravel in place of silt. This can be subdivided into three parts, the 10, 5, and 3-m. terraces, also of palaeolithic age. The flood channel then followed the same restricted course as now.

It is interesting to note that these three main phases were traced in Kharga Oasis; but there, the evidence being more complete and varied, and the time of study far longer, they could be subdivided and dated with more certainty than in the Hadhramaut. No sign of a historic pluvial was seen in that part of the country which we examined.

*Archaeological notes*

Quaternary palaeoliths have, in the foregoing pages, been noted: on the Mukalla gravel plain; on the spurs of the *jol* near the south edge overlooking the Wadi Hadhramaut above Tarim, in positions recalling their distribution on desert cliffs overlooking the Nile valley; on and in cliff screes of the Wadis Hadhramaut and 'Amd; and in the 10, 5, and 3-m. gravel terraces of the Wadi 'Amd near Hureidha, and in the somewhat earlier aeolian silt of the valley's main filling. These discoveries of palaeoliths were no novelty, for Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams had already noted them in many places,[2] but they had not, I believe, been previously found in geological deposits. Nor must our restricted 133 172 172

[1] All shells from the Hadhramaut have been given to the British Museum. Major Connolly is kindly identifying them and will publish the results in his forthcoming work on the shells of the Yemen collected by Dr. Scott, of the British Museum.

[2] *Geogr. J.* 92 (1938) 306.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road p[illegible] near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have [illegible]y bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## 6. ALONG THE BEACH TO ESH-SHIHR.

That night in Sheḥēr there was not much sleep, for a wedding was being celebrated in the village square below us. Several houses are lighted up, and, from our vantage-point high up above them, we can see the feasting that is going on there. Afterwards by the light of gasoline lamps there is dancing in the square; the men and women stand facing each other in long rows, which approach each other with rythmical stamping of feet and clapping of hands and then again retreat. All unite in the singing of a monotonous refrain, the constant repetition of one and the same melody. The actual song is recited by a single person. They all know the old songs and enjoy taking part in them and joining in the rising enthusiasm caused by their refrain. Sweat pours down the naked chests of the men, but it is nearly morning before their energy is exhausted and the festal joy quietens down.

Our driver wakes us up with a toot from his horn in front of the castle, before it is yet light. He knows that we must do the journey to esh-Shiḥr and back, by way of the coast, before high tide.

Our host accompanies us. The road runs along the east bank of the wādī right up to the coast, which is at a distance of only a few miles. On the beach lie the heavy boats of the fishermen and of the men who collect guano. There are drying-places for fish close to some huts: we could smell them that night in Sheḥēr. The guano is conveyed by camel from here to Ghēl Bā Wazīr, there to be used for manuring the fields. The shore is very like the sandy beach of Holland and there are even dunes with some vegetation, which are, however, not more than 20—30 feet in height. On the beach there are armies of crabs, which, at our approach try to escape either in the direction of the sea or towards the sand-dunes, where cone-shaped heaps of sand flank the entrance to their long spiral passages, which lead underground. The ridge of dunes, which

387 is only a narrow one, is bro[illegible] some places by breaches
●136 through which at high tide the sea water streams. These gaps
487 have doubtless been made by the rainfall from the mountains farther inland seaking an outlet to the sea. Close by esh-Shiḥr coral rocks jut out above the level of the sand, and the passage there is narrow and vanishes completely when the tide is at flood.

361 Esh-Shiḥr lies on a wide flat sea coast, which slopes only very gradually so that steamers have to anchor far out at sea. At the moment several sambooks are lying there and fishermen are plying their trade till far away to the horizon. The track runs through deep, loose sand from the beach to the gate, which is new, but lacking in taste architecturally. The wall is also new and is strengthened on the inner side with buttresses of mud bricks, but the garment is too large for what it has to cover, and a half-dead town is pining away within the walls. Many blocks of houses are uninhabited, some have even fallen in. One crosses great open spaces on the way from the west to the east gate. The streets are dirty and even the inhabited houses have a neglected look. Over the whole town, and stronger even than the sewage smell of the streets, hangs
344 the stench of drying, half-decayed fish. The Government
361 buildings are in a square situated in the western part of the town. The castle stands on a sandy eminence by the sea; the
346 building has just been restored and, with its simple, strong lines makes a good impression. The bottom floor is being used temporarily as a school for three to four hundred boys. On the hill near the fortress some old, big cannon are lying, and a solitary signal-mast stands there. The Governor's house, a large, tall, well-constructed building, whose many roof-terraces are well suited to the sweltering, damp climate of esh-Shiḥr, stands on the land side of the square. The Governor is not at home, for we have met him on the beach in his fine, American motor-car. He looks Indian, and too modern for his town, nearly cut off as it is from the outside world and still dreaming of former glories. At one time, esh-Shiḥr was larger

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



system of drinking- and at the same time cooling-bowls, among poor and rich alike.

Our host spoke with longing of beautiful, rich Java and of the good years that he had passed there, and it was obvious that he would have liked to return there but for leaving his family behind, for the Ḥaḍramī woman does not leave her country with her husband. It was clear, from the friendly farewell, that I had not been wrong in thinking that my years passed as a civil servant in Netherlands India would facilitate my travels in Ḥaḍramaut.

They all went a little way with us to see us off and were photographed at their own request. We followed the broad *sēl*-bed [1] crossing the plateau surrounded by terraces of about 300 feet high. There, where the plateau ends, lies, at a height of 50 feet the village of Ḥimem on a hill at the edge of the wādī to which it gives its name. At the foot of the hill, there are very tall coco-nut trees, the last that we shall see for the time being, for the altitude is already 3000 feet. A conduit full of water, fed by little springs at the edge of the wādī, irrigates fields of *dhura* and of neatly-planted and well-cultivated tobacco. It is true that it is not first-class Ḥumūmī tobacco that is raised here, but even so it commands a good market price.

The evening falls and we are obliged to camp soon after leaving Ḥimem. The valley has here penetrated into the sandstone and the conglomerates under the eocene limestone. Here at a height of 3000 feet the nights are already cold. According to our Bedouins, who are good water-tasters, the water also improves in proportion as one gets further away from the coast; all salt and bitterness gradually disappears from it.

In our bivouac at Ḥimem we had to put away again a great harvest of plants and insects; the swallow-tail butterfly was also found here.

The mayor of Ḥimem came to visit us in our camp. He told us that his village of 200 to 300 inhabitants grows tobacco,

[1] The bed through which the water flows for a short time after rain.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



formation. They belong to the plateau called *djōl* (جول), 312
lying between the mountainous coast region and the great 104
depressions of inner Ḥaḍramaut.

## 6. THE DJŌL.

Our way now led over the *djōl* as far as Wādī Dōʿan. The 133
*djōl* consists of vast table-lands of reddish-brown limestone, where flat-topped, horizontal mountains, the remains of old, still higher plateaus, stretch like long wings. The wādīs are cut deep into them. We also often descend into flat, basin-shaped, wide depressions, passing over the crumbling edges of the plateaus, and afterwards have to climb laboriously up again, towards the boulders at the edge of the opposite plateau, quite half an hour away. Wherever one looks one sees the same long, horizontal lines of the table-mountains, with everywhere the forked, precipitous incisions made by the wādīs. The plain is strewn with sharp fragments of limestone, dark-brown and black in colour, which ring like metal whenever the passer-by kicks pieces of them together with his foot. Vegetation is al- 136
most absent. Towards the edges of the plateaus, against which 137
clouds sometimes seem to break, there are a few shrubs of small, crooked, gnarled acacias. One finds no trace of animal life except a few lizards and sometimes a solitary bird. It is very warm on the *djōl* during the day, the sun scorches, and the wind is hot and dry. During the night this same wind is cold and penetrating, so that one wakes up and remains awake longing for the warmth of the sun hours before it rises; then an hour later it is torment again from the heat.

The endless monotony is the great enemy of the traveller 000
over the *djōl*. The light is fierce and is reflected a thousand times in the metallic shining stones. The narrow camel path winds like a smooth and shining ribbon through the unruffled and almost unchanging expanse. The stones have been pushed aside by the feet of the camels which, in the course of so many years, have passed that way. The limestone of the plateau

finest house in all Wādī Dōʿan and that we must come and see it without fail. They were born in Addis Abeba of Abyssinian mothers; there, by trading in skins, their father had made the money with which he had built his house. The boys refused to be sent away until they had extracted a promise that we would come on the morrow.

### 3. THE DAYS SPENT IN WĀDĪ DŌʿAN.

The nights in Wādī Dōʿan are said to be cool; 34.2° C. is certainly not cold, but the atmosphere is dry and we can all sleep on the roof though mosquito-nets are necessary. The bathrooms and lavatories in the houses make good breeding-places for insects. Flies also, during the day-time, are more numerous than we could wish.

On the following morning, May 16th, Bā Ṣurra sends us a real Arabian breakfast: a heavy bunch of fine dates in a basket, a tin entirely filled with honey in the comb, the famous honey of this country and one of its few articles of export, further, pine-apple in water made in a Chinese fruit-preserving factory at Singapore and, in a flat basket, a pile of Ḥaḍramī bread, thick pancakes of flour, just baked and still warm from the fire. This bread is saltless and rather heavy, but has a clean taste, but when cold it is as tough as leather. It tastes better and is more digestible than the bread which the Bedouins make, and bake in hot ashes. This latter is of the size and shape of a man's hand (thus about an inch thick) and is generally burnt outside and underbaked inside. It looks red or yellow according to the kind of *dhura* or *dukhn* of which it is made. After breakfast we go together to the *maṣnaʿa* to negotiate arrangements for our further journey and to collect, in the course of our talk, information about this region. Our Sēbānī people will remain here with their camels and donkeys, for we must take with us animals accustomed to go through the wide, level wādīs.

entrusted by his uncle Sayyid Abū Bakr with the carrying out of these aviation plans.

On the morning after our arrival we were, first of all, shown the so-called "wild cow" [1], a present to Sayyid Abū Bakr from some Bedouins who had caught it young on the border of the Rubᶜ el-Khālī (the "Empty Quarter"). The wild cow appears to be a white antelope with black marks and two very long, straight horns. The beautiful, big creature has already lived in captivity for twelve years and looks well on it, except that its hoofs, owing to lack of abrasion, have grown too long.

On the ground floor of Sayyid Abū Bakr's house, where he has his stables, we found some stones with inscriptions on them, brought by Bedouins from the ruins of Sūne. This drew our attention towards that district of ruins, and our host promised that he would organize an excursion for us there.

### 3. THE PALACES OF TERĪM.

Later we pay a visit to Sayyid ᶜUmar bin Shēkh el-Kāf, the younger brother of our host, already mentioned, whose house, just restored, is said to be the most beautiful in all Terīm, and that is saying a great deal in this city of palaces. His house is chiefly conspicuous for its dimensions and colour. The outside is painted deep blue, and the stately rows of tall windows are bordered with a design in yellow. There is, also, no sparing use of pink and green. The style is more Indian than Ḥaḍramī.

All the great houses of Terīm have a character quite of their own that one does not see in the other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. They are massive, square buildings, with regular rows of tall windows, with few extensions on the roofs and few decorative designs on the top of the walls or on the parapets. The lower floor, which is very lofty, has generally two wide, high entrances, closed by doors of teak, and with broad

[1] *Baqarat el-waḥsh* (بقرة الوحش).

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



172 To expedite matters we take the risk of starting off in
312 advance on our donkeys. As we pass we see at a great dis-
231 tance some villages almost entirely in ruins, and also castles of the type of that of Qasam. There is water here and there in the deep and by no means wide *sēl*-bed. It appeared soon after we left ʿĒnāt and it increased further towards the east. This water is pretty bitter, though in some places it is sweet enough to be drinkable. The inhabitants prefer the well-water, which is better, but the pack-animals drink the water of the river. It is running and every now and then disappears to continue its course underground. Beyond Qasam the wādī is still wide and the soil consists of a thick layer of
136 loess. The broad path winds between bushes of fresh green *rāk* covered with bluish-red berries, which are being gathered here and there by children. When we heard that they were eatable we tasted them; they have the taste of cress, sweet but hot as pepper. They have a strong laxative action as have the leaves for which camels and donkeys have a liking. Where *rāk* grows the animals are given nothing else, although they get diarrhoea from it. In journeying through *rāk* districts one sees the rumps of the camels smeared with greenish pap, whilst their leaders and riders are not free from splashes sprinkled round by their animals' tails. At these times a very unpleasant smell clings night and day to the caravan.

172 The further we go, the more barren becomes the bed of the wādī, which is still very wide. The layer of loam is covered with sand; mounds of loam rise up out of it, some of them covered with vegetation. Shortly before sunset we enter a region of many and magnificent ruins. It is too late to examine them closely, and we pass the smaller mounds by so as to go on to the central ruin of el-ʿUrr. This is visible when we are still far from it. Massive remains of walls, towering high against the evening sky, stand on a lonely mass of rock, right in the midst of the wādī level. The rocky hill extends some distance and is very steep, and it is difficult to clamber over the rubble of the building, which has

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2



248 1950–1, with a quality considered equal to that of the Sudan, and a contract lasting until 1955–6 has been secured with the British Raw Cotton Commission. This irrigation has, however, [136] created a new problem in the establishment of a semi-permanent population of desert locusts where they were formerly sparse.[1]

*Education*

871 658 872 Until the opening of the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs in 1935 there had been no government provision for education. In the Hadramaut, and especially in the towns of Sayun and Tarim, traditional Islamic education had reached a highly advanced stage about a century ago and produced a [212] body of Islamic scholars; but in other parts of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate. Present educational policy is that, as each state becomes sufficiently advanced, it should be helped to set up a self-supporting department of education with village schools, central primary schools, and intermediary or secondary schools in the larger states. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by government or local government authorities had risen from not more than 100 in 1939 to about 6,700 by 1951. The total expenditure on education in 1949–50 was about £39,000, of which the Quaiti state contributed 54 per cent, the British Government 36 per cent, and the remaining states about 10 per cent. There were then 74 primary boys' schools, varying from the small Koran school to those of full primary status; about half received British financial help. The Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs was being closed down as the newer primary schools reached the desired level. There were seven girls' primary schools in the Eastern Protectorate and one in the Western, with a total attendance of about 800. In each Protectorate there was one post-primary school, with Egyptian and Sudanese teachers on the staff. A junior secondary school at Ghail ba-Wazir near Mukalla was completed in 1950 to provide a two-years' course for the local administrative service, the police, and the army. Full secondary education in Aden Protectorate is unlikely for some years, but the new Aden College, a secondary school opened in 1951, receives boys from the Protectorate as well as from the Colony and will it is hoped eventually be developed to university standard. In 1950 ten Protectorate boys held scholarships in the Sudan, and some twenty from the Eastern Protectorate were studying in other Arab countries.

[1] Dr B. P. Uvarov, director of the Anti-Locust Research Centre, reported in *The Times*, 27 September 1952.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East

Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1

# COTTON IN ARABIA

## PESTS AND DISEASES

H 248 136 242

"At first, as was to be expected, the cotton crop as a whole was remarkably free from major pests and diseases, but these are now beginning to appear. Bacterial blight *(X. malvacearum)*, has not so far been evident, the land having started clean and the seed having been introduced from Tokar where the disease is not prevalent. The almost complete absence of rain during the growing season also makes any secondary spread of the disease unlikely.

"Jassids are present in small numbers and may tend to increase, and American bollworm *(Heliothis armigera)* is beginning to appear in quite large numbers in Abyan.

"At Lahej the most serious pests are the red bollworm *(Diparopsis castanea)* and the pink bollworm *(Platyedra gossypiella)*.

## PROSPECTS

H 248

"It is unlikely that production of cotton in the Aden Protectorate will ever be on a very large scale as the area of land which can conveniently be flooded is limited. At present some 30,000 acres are in use in Abyan, of which 9,000 are under cotton and the target, when all proposed canals are finished, is about 50,000 acres, with cotton on about 20,000 acres in a good flood year. With developments in other areas the total area under cotton may be extended to 30,000 acres.

## RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTATION

H 654 242

"The Senior Entomologist of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, at the request of the Director of Agriculture, visited Aden in January 1951 to make a survey of the insect pest position, and the Corporation's senior officer in the Sudan is now spending half his time in Aden pending full time employment by the Abyan Board later. He has started selection work on the X1730 A seed from the Sudan and is arranging for regular supplies of pure seed to be produced in the area. In addition other strains are being tested in the variety trials and observation plots, including a strain of Wilds which matures very early and occupies the land for only six months. If this proves successful it might enable a food crop to be grown in the same year as the cotton crop.

"A Colonial office mission also visited Aden early in 1951 to examine the technical, agricultural and financial problems involved and to make recommendations for the development of the scheme and the establishment of any research work that may be needed."

# ADEN

A 101 [161]

The crown colony of Aden located on a tiny peninsula on the coast of the protectorate actually dominates the area. Though the colony is only 75 square miles in area it has almost 100,000 people. The port of Aden has been an important trading center since the time of the ancients. This was the crossing point for the Abyssinians as early as 3,000 B.C. It was the final port of call for the Indian traders in the same century. It was also a chief port on the Indian trade route during the Roman times. Today Aden is the principal port and the commercial center for the entire Arabian Peninsula and one of the main crossing points for the African Moslems trekking to Mecca.

ADEN MM 1
HADHRAMAUT MM 2

mosques and to storage tanks from which the commercial carriers draw water for sale to the inhabitants. Most well supplies are unprotected and exposed to subsoil and surface contamination. The ablution pools in the mosques are often heavily polluted and serve as vehicles for the transmission of intestinal infections. They also provide conditions favorable for the breeding of anopheline and other mosquitoes; also of Planorbis and Bulinus snails. H 312 N 312 364 164 136

There are numerous small irrigation projects in the agricultural districts, especially in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut, many of which have been in use for decades. They depend upon water from streams or wells and, in some parts of the highlands, from spring-fed cisterns. Pumps have been introduced in the modern developments, but in most instances water is drawn from streams and wells in the traditional manner, namely, in leather buckets by means of ropes pulled over wooden pulleys by men or animals. H 312

### Waste Disposal

The methods of sewage disposal are primitive. Septic tanks, which discharge into the main drainage system, are connected with some of the newer houses in Aden Colony, but pail privies provide the usual means of sewage disposal in both Aden and Sheikh Othman townships. In old buildings with several stories, soil pipes which may be 40 feet in length lead from the privies on the upper floors to containers below. The night soil is collected regularly from private and public latrines by the town authorities and conveyed to incineration plants. Pit latrines are employed in some quarters, but they are being abolished wherever possible. In the congested districts, the latrines are located along concrete passages between the rears of the houses and are drained to storm sewers or to soakpits. The construction of a modern sewerage system for the Colony is under consideration. A 364 A 364 185

The "long drop" method, in which closed N 364

p. 241 (B)

H 364 shafts lead from lavatories in the upper stories to a reception chamber on the ground floor, is widely used in the larger houses in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut. Pit or surface privies are sometimes found in the courtyards of the smaller houses, but the majority have no facilities for the disposal of sewage wastes. Indiscriminate pollution of the soil is a general practice.

## Fauna and Flora

A 659 Few entomologic surveys have been made in this region, and data regarding the insect vectors and animal hosts of human disease are fragmentary. It is probable, however, that the species identified in the neighboring territories are present in Aden Protectorate under similar physiogeographic conditions.

A 136 164 **Arthropods. Mosquitoes.** *Anopheles adenensis* (— *A. culicifacies adenensis*) is the most important anopheline mosquito in Aden Colony. Although it has been eradicated from Aden and Sheikh Othman townships, it persists in near-by oases, and is a major vector of malaria wherever it is encountered. In the last local outbreak in the *kutcha* hut district of Sheikh Othman, *A. adenensis* was found breeding in large numbers in the soakpits. It normally breeds A [744] in wells, shallow cisterns, irrigation canals and sluggish streams, and, before the institution of effective control measures, had become adapted to the high salinity of the saltpan seepages.

H 136 164 *A. gambiae* is widely distributed in the Protectorate, where it probably acts as the principal vector of malaria. It breeds along the edges of pools and streams, in irrigation canals, in wells and in numerous other collections of water. *A. turkhudi, A. coustani, A. d'thali, A. pretoriensis* and *A. barbirostris* have also been reported from various localities.

*Aedes aegypti*, the usual urban vector of yellow fever elsewhere, and *A. vittatus*, a tree-hole breeder implicated in the transmission of yellow fever in endemic foci in

p. 242 (A)

H 136 164 Africa, are found in the coastal area. Numerous species of *Culex* are present, including *C. quinquefasciatus* (= *C. fatigans*), a potential vector of filariasis. A species of *Taeniorhynchus* has been described from Western Aden Protectorate.

A 744 136 Mosquito control measures have been carried on by the health authorities in the Colony for several decades. They involve weekly inspections of all premises to eliminate breeding sites, the protection and the larvicidal treatment of permanent bodies of water, the reclamation of swamps and low-lying lands in the vicinity of the towns, and the supervision of the dhows using the port. The Aedes index was 0.014 per cent in 1950, in contrast with 4 per cent in 1930.

A H 136 361 511 Flies. Flies are abundant in towns and villages, where the insanitary conditions around markets, cattlesheds and dwellings favor prolific breeding. They are most numerous between November and March. The house flies, *Musca domestica* and related species, are ubiquitous and undoubtedly play a role in the spread of intestinal and eye infections. The stable fly, *Stomoxys calcitrans*, is prevalent. Sandflies are numerous, among which *Phlebotomus papatasii* is presumably of primary medical concern. The tsetse fly, *Glossina tachinoides*, was reported early in this century from the Haushabi and the Subeihi tribal districts in Western Aden Protectorate.[8] It has not been collected in recent surveys, however, and the original observations remain the only record of its appearance outside Africa.[20] Campaigns against flies, employing DDT, Gammexane and other insecticidal sprays in markets and public buildings, are undertaken periodically by the health authorities in the two townships of the Colony.

A 136 Campaigns against flies, employing DDT, Gammexane and other insecticidal sprays in markets and public buildings, are undertaken periodically by the health authorities in the two townships of the Colony.

A H 136 164 Lice. All forms of human lice are found, particularly among the inhabitants of towns and villages in the interior. *Pediculus humanus corporis* is prevalent in the highland villages, where it is the vector of louse-borne typhus and louse-borne relapsing fever.

Fleas. Both *Xenopsylla cheopis* and *X. astia* parasitize the rats in this region.

p. 242 (B)

They are potential vectors of plague, but no cases have been recorded for several decades. The human flea, *Pulex irritans*, is common and has been suspected of transmitting plague from man to man in past outbreaks. Species of *Ctenocephalides* undoubtedly occur, as in the adjacent territories.

Ticks and Mites. Several species of ticks infest both wild and domestic animals in the rural areas. The human itch mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*, is unusual among the schoolchildren in the Colony, although it is widespread in the poor communities in Yemen and the Protectorate.

Reptiles. The puff adder, *Bitis arietans*, inhabits some portions of the western highlands. The carpet viper, *Echis coloratus*, and the sand vipers, *Aspis cerastes* (— *Cerastes cornutus*) and *A. vipera* (— *C. vipera*), are described from southern Arabia, but their prevalance within Aden territory is uncertain.

Rodents. *Rattus rattus rattus* and *R. rattus alexandrinus* are widely distributed. At least 90 to 95 per cent of the rats captured in the Colony have been identified as *R. rattus*. In spite of the diversity of shipping activities, *R. norvegicus* is seldom encountered. Active measures for the destruction of rodents in the bazaars and the dwellings in the towns and on the dhows visiting the port are carried on by the Colonial health authorities. No controls are exercised over the larger vessels, which have to anchor in the harbor. A representative proportion of the captured rodents are examined annually for evidence of plague.

Wild rodents are common, including species of *Meriones*, *Jaculus* and *Gerbillus*.

Molluscs. Foci of *Schistosoma haematobium* and *S. mansoni* infection exist in Western Aden Protectorate, but the intermediate snail hosts have not been positively identified. Planorbis and Bulinus snails have been reported from Mukeiras and Muscimir, and Bulinus from the Dhala' plateau. *Melanoides tuberculata* and other species are found in several areas.

A 165 167 854 146 thorities regard undernutrition and incorrect methods of feeding as important underlying factors. The deaths in infants under 1 year of age totaled 175 in 1950, or about 44 per cent of the known dysentery deaths.

H 164 No precise information is available regarding bacillary and amebic dysentery in the Protectorate, but the high rate of infection among visitors to Aden Colony suggests that both are widespread.

A 164 361 744 **Cholera.** Cholera has not been reported from Aden within the present century, although outbreaks have followed its introduction in the past. Since no record exists of its presence in the Hadhramaut, it is probable that the disease was largely confined to the port towns.

During the 1947 outbreak in Egypt, traffic through Aden was increased due to the quarantine restrictions imposed on Egyptian ports. Special precautions were taken by the health authorities to prevent the admission of infected individuals or goods by sea, land or air routes. Immunization against cholera was also provided for all persons handling shipping and for all health service personnel.

A 751

N 164 **Helminthiases.** SCHISTOSOMIASIS. Schistosomiasis is endemic in scattered localities in Western Aden Protectorate, especially in the highland districts above 2,000 feet elevation. Foci of *Schistosoma haematobium* are known to exist in the Jebel Jehaf and Dhala' plateau country, in the Wadi Tiban area around Museimir, and in the vicinity of Tor am Baha, Huwemi and Khor 'Umeira. *S. mansoni* is apparently more restricted in distribution, but it is found in the Jebel Jehaf and the Wadi Tiban regions.

A 164 No locally acquired infections are reported from the Colony, although numerous cases among persons from the interior are treated in the civilian hospitals each year. A large proportion of the cases seen in Aden Colony come from Yemen or from the Dhala' and the Museimir districts.

H A 136 The intermediate snail hosts of *S. haematobium* and *S. mansoni* have not been definitely established, but Bulinus and Planor-

p. 246(b)

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

bis snails have been described from some of the affected foci. H A 136

ANCYLOSTOMIASIS. Hookworm infection occurs in Labej and a few agricultural centers in Western Aden Protectorate. *Necator americanus* has been identified in the cases treated at the Civil Hospital in Aden.[20]

OTHER HELMINTH INFECTIONS. Infections with one or more types of intestinal worms are prevalent, particularly among the peoples of the Protectorate. Ascariasis is widespread. Trichuriasis and, to a lesser extent, enterobiasis are common. Hydatid disease is reported among individuals from the Colony and from the interior. Infection with the beef tapeworm, *Taenia saginata*, is enzootic among the cattle in the tribal districts, and human infections are undoubtedly frequent. Cases are occasionally encountered among immigrant families in the Colony. The pork tapeworm, *T. solium*, is rare, but infections are sometimes seen in the Aden hospitals. H 164 136 232 A 164 167 136

Other Infections. *Brucella melitensis* is enzootic among the goats in this area, and Malta fever is diagnosed from time to time in the Colony hospitals and dispensaries. A 232 136

## DISEASES SPREAD CHIEFLY THROUGH THE RESPIRATORY TRACT

Tuberculosis. Tuberculosis is one of the most prominent diseases affecting the inhabitants of southern Arabia, but no precise information is available, except for Aden Colony. The high degree of undernutrition and overcrowding, and the low standards of personal hygiene and sanitation prevailing among large sections of the population, favor the spread of the infection. The disease is probably prevalent among the women who are confined to close quarters by the *purdah* system and among the young children in close contact with them. In a small tuberculin test survey covering 95 Aden township schoolboys of 7 to 12 years of age, in 1945,[3] positive reactions were obtained in 56 per cent—a rate which ranks high among those usually found in A 164 146 515 364 A 164 837 361 659

p. 247 (A)

## Diseases Spread by Arthropods

**Malaria.** Little or no indigenous malaria exists at present in the Colony. From 1,000 to 2,000 malaria patients are treated each year in the civilian hospitals and dispensaries, but, with the exception of occasional cases of questionable origin, the infection has almost invariably been acquired outside the limits of the Colony, usually in the interior. Until recent decades, malaria was highly endemic in the oasis of Sheikh Othman and surrounding villages, and sporadic outbreaks were experienced in the town of Aden. Anopheline control work was initiated in 1909 and extended on a colony-wide basis in the 1930s. As a result, the disease was early eliminated from Aden, while its prevalence was progressively reduced in Sheikh Othman. The number of local cases treated at the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital declined from almost 2,000 a year in 1907 to zero in 1950. The last outbreak of malaria was recorded in 1943 among the transient laborers living in *kutcha* hut settlements in Sheikh Othman. At that time, *Anopheles adenensis* (— *A. culicifacies adenensis*), the principal vector, was found breeding in the soakpits. Antianopheline measures are carried on continuously in the Colony and adjacent sections of the Protectorate, and vector species have been eradicated almost completely.

A 164 768 361

A 744 464 164

H A 744

Malaria occurs in most portions of the Protectorate, exclusive of the desert regions and the mountainous areas at the higher elevations. In the 1939-40 survey of Western Aden Protectorate, all gradations of endemicity were encountered. In general, the infection was hyperendemic in the vicinity of perennial streams and moderately endemic in villages around wadies which remained dry for most of the year. The splenic index ranged from 40 to 92 per cent in different localities. Extensive epidemics have been recorded from the highland districts, especially from the Dhala' and the Yafa'i country. Both *Plasmodium falcip-*

H 164

H 164 136

p. 249(B)

H 164 136 *arum* and *P. vivax* are found in most regions, but *P. malariae* is apparently relatively rare. *A. gambiae* is widely distributed, and is regarded as the principal vector in the Protectorate.

H A 164 **Rickettsial Infections.** Louse-borne typhus has been recognized in the highlands of southwestern Arabia since 1939, and occasional imported cases are admitted to hospitals in the Colony. In 1944-45, epidemics of typhus were recorded from Western Aden Protectorate which were secondary A 164 to foci in Yemen. The disease first appeared 167 in Aden in January, 1944, among Jewish 744 emigrants who had traveled overland from Yemen and were awaiting transport to Israel. Fifteen cases were reported, all but 2 of which were members of the Jewish community. The movement of Yemenis across the frontiers was restricted, and a camp at Lahej which at that time harbored some 1,600 Jewish emigrants was transferred to a quarantine site in the desert. A 167 Sick individuals from the Jewish quarters 758 in the town were removed to the camp, and 744 wholesale delousing measures were enforced both at the camp and in infected areas in the town. The spread of the infection in the Colony was curtailed, but new outbreaks developed in the Amiri and the Subeihi tribal districts, near the Yemeni border, and progressed along the trade routes to within 40 miles of Aden Colony. The importance of the port and military installations during the prevailing war emergency necessitated the creation of a sanitary cordon to isolate the Colony from the interior.

A 164 744 The infection persisted in epidemic form in the Protectorate, spreading eastward to the Dhala' plateau and the mountainous villages of the Lower Yafa'i country. In many localities, 10 to 25 per cent of the inhabitants are believed to have suffered from the disease. Insecticidal powders, as well as antityphus vaccine, were supplied by the United States Typhus Commission, and mass dusting campaigns were carried on in the villages visited by the medical

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither the rains nor the variable streams are in general adequate to this purpose, and watering of the soil is mainly carried on from wells. These may be sunk practically everywhere in the valleys. As in many other parts of Arabia, the water is drawn up in a leather hoist by animals, usually cows, attached to a cord which passes over a pulley supported on wooden struts; the water thus obtained is received in a large wooden trough whence it is spread over the land by means of little runnels. 241 312 [406]

Cattle-rearing is the principal occupation of the Bedouins. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes; sheep for killing and for milk; cows only for milk and irrigation work; oxen exclusively for ploughing. Horses are very rare and are considered as animals *de luxe*. Bees are numerous, and much honey is produced. The wild animals most largely found are the rabbit, gazelle, wild goat, jerboa, hyena, hedgehog, a large species of lizard (permitted as food to Mussulmans), and the panther, wolf, and monkey (not permitted as food). 231 136

## Trade and Commerce

The only ports of importance commercially are Makalla (see p. 232), Shiheir (see p. 232), and Seihūt (see p. 230), and even at these the trade carried on is purely coastal, with the near coast of Africa, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the southern coast of Arabia, and above all with Aden and Muscat. Trade by caravan is carried on from these ports with the whole of the interior of the Hadhramaut and with the southern Arabian littoral as far as Yemen on the west and Oman on the east. Burūm (see p. 233) and Qusei'ir are small fishing villages. 504 439

There are no made roads; the routes follow the courses of the wādis or natural paths. Transport by wheeled vehicles is impossible everywhere; all is carried on by camels or donkeys. It is, however, relatively cheap; e. g. a camel from Shiheir or Makalla to Seyyūn costs only 5 florins in the good season; in summer, when forage is scarce, it is higher, but never above 10 florins. 487 494

The chief exports are dates, stuffs dyed with indigo, a superior quality of wheat, and honey; smaller exports are shells and fins of fish, the latter exported to India and China. Imports: wheat, butter, coco-nuts, coffee, sugar, rice, cotton and cotton stuffs, pottery, bars of iron and worked iron, sesame oil, petroleum, and tin-ware. 439

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Historical South Arabia ML2



SA 453 431 in the civilized world. The ancients could not do without it, for they required it in the performance of their religion, and when the Egyptians took to embalming their dead the demand increased. Pliny speaks with disapproval of the vast quantities used for secular purposes, and believed that the incense country of Arabia did not produce in a whole year so large a quantity of perfume as was burnt by Nero at the funeral of Poppaea.

H 178 439 137 SA 178 439 We gather also from Pliny and other writers that the organization of the country in ancient times was much as it is to-day. When the trade of Europe and the East began to go by sea, the succession of old South Arabian kingdoms came to an end. Nature stepping in put an end to the incense trade by a process of desiccation, and nowadays incense-bearing trees are rare objects in the Hadhramaut proper.

SA 10 Before I record the scant references to Hadhramaut history to be gleaned from the inscriptions, it will be well to bear in mind the names and approximate locations of the tribes of South Arabia. Eratosthenes says that proceeding in order down the Red Sea coast of Arabia were the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and Katabanaeans. To the east was Chatramotitae. Schoff gives the order on the South Arabian coast from west to east as Himyarites, Sabaeans, Qataban, Hadhramaut, and Habashat. Pliny remarks that the Minaeans were neighbours of Hadhramaut in the interior. Not later than the seventh century B.C. the state of Ausan was paramount in South Arabia. After Ausan fell, the principal power devolved on first Qataban, then Saba, and lastly Himyar.

In point of time the first reference to Hadhramaut is that which occurs in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis, but to pursue SA the passage beyond the mere name would soon involve us in legend. 643 There were kings of Hadhramaut contemporary with those of Saba, and Saba may have risen to power about 800 B.C. There were fifteen rulers of Saba called *mukarib* (priest) who were followed by seventeen kings of Saba, and then by twenty-six kings of Saba and possessors of Reidan (Zafar near Yerim). Some of the later inscriptions are dated according to a Sabaean era which is presumed to have started about 115 or 114 B.C., from which time begin the kings of Saba and Reidan. How the change took place is not entirely clear, but an inscription which reads "Ilsharh Yahdib and his brother Ya'zil Bayyin the two kings of Saba and Reidan sons of Fara' king of Saba" suggests that the change of title SA was a peaceful affair perhaps due to the need of being by the sea.

648 643 There appear to have been close relations between Hadhramaut and the Minaeans, as a son of the Minaean king was king of Hadhramaut. There is an inscription in Ma'in recording the building of some towers dedicated to 'Athtar Dhu Qabd by the king of the Hadhramaut, in which he refers to the son of his brother, the king of Ma'in, which also indicates a close connection between the two people.

*Rotation.*—Heald states that mixed and overlapping rotations were found in Meifa and Asfal al 'Ain but, from careful enquiries, the following appeared to be the most popular :—Lucerne two years, followed by millet and the fourth year tobacco. If tobacco was not sown, the land was planted with another variety of millet. In some villages where lucerne was not grown, the rotation simply included tobacco and millet with sesame the third year. 242

In the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed. One year a certain part of the wadi bed will be cultivated, stick huts and erections for drawing up the water built, and when the crop is harvested the Beduins move on elsewhere, returning again another season. Thus we frequently passed remains of cultivation, disused mud aqueducts and tumbled-down huts.

*Diseases.*—Heald states, " Excepting for the caterpillar attacking the young millet and tobacco, the crops were remarkably free from pests and disease ; I carefully searched for stem borer in the millet but could find none, and also for the scale in the few citrus trees."

**Trees and other vegetation of economic importance.**

The *'elb* (*Sidr. Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.) has many uses. Apart from its blossoms, which are said to give the good taste to the Du'an honey, its fruit called *dōm* is eaten extensively by the Beduins when dates are lacking. The beams, pillars and doors of Hadhramaut houses are made from the timber, and the supply and carriage of the trunks give much employment to the Beduins. It also supplies good firewood. It is a fodder tree, and the leaves are also used as a substitute for soap. 137 262 313 242 [388]

*Sār*, a palm tree (*Hyphaene thebaica* (L.) Mart.), from which the Beduins gather the leaves called *sāf* for transport to the towns, where they are made into mats, baskets, country string, etc. A popular drink called *nebidh* is also procured from this tree. 137 314 285 272

The long-thorned *sumr* (*Acacia spirocarpa* Hochst.) is perhaps the commonest tree in the Hadhramaut. It is a popular fodder for camels and is likewise eaten by goats. It supplies good firewood and a substance taken from the roots called *futukh* is used by fishermen for greasing their lines in order to make them strong. Another thorny tree, the *geradh* (*Acacia senegal* Willd.), is also a common fodder. Its leaves are used for tanning skins and it is said that the Beduins make a drink from them which they liken to tea. 137 246 314 312 272

The *musht* tree (*Grewia erythraea* Schweinf.), is used extensively for firewood and camel fodder. The leaves of the *ariata* tree (*Conocarpus erectus* Jacq.), which grows in the Wadi Maseila where it sometimes reaches a height of 50 to 70 feet, are dried for fodder, and the timber probably has its economic uses. I was told in Tarim of a large tree growing in Wadi Maseila the strong wood of which is used by carpenters ; this may have been the *ariata*. 137 314 24 272

137 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north
246 of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khuwcira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

## Manufacturing Industries.

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
262 mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
249 ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
438 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to
353 the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
346 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

## Fisheries.

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They are :—
231

*Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla
438 or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazif* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

8 Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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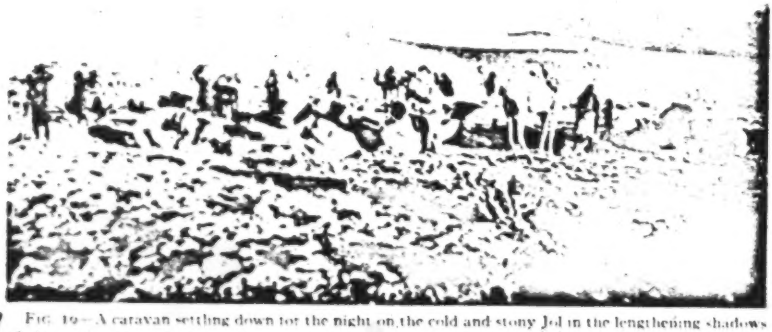
mineral content of the water seem to affect agriculture adversely. A striking example is seen about five miles north of Shihr where a series of springs depositing sulphur and gypsum have built an impressive mound, on which the village of Tabala stands. Their abundant and continued flow enables extensive irrigation by hand-dug canals and aqueducts and affords a means of livelihood for several hundred



[487
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FIG. 19.—A caravan settling down for the night on the cold and stony Jol in the lengthening shadows of the setting sun. A caravan stops wherever night may overtake it and with little or no cover the Bedouins find a place to rest among the stones and shiver themselves to sleep. A coating of indigo stain with which the Bedouins not uncommonly paint themselves is said to be some defense against the night air.

people. The temperature of these springs on emergence is not far below boiling point, and they are reported to be the hottest on the coast.

At the small village of Harshiat, 3½ miles north of Mukalla, a few tepid sulphurous springs likewise are valuable for their yield. At the village of Gheil ba Wazir, on the inland road between Mukalla and Shihr, is an extensive gypsum flat and also a group of gypsum-depositing springs. Here a tobacco-raising community has sprung up. A part of the arable land is devoted to the growing of dates and millet and the remainder to tobacco, for which, owing to a quality unsurpassed in Southern Arabia, demand exceeds supply.

The small community of Husn Baquidran depends on a limited but constant supply of nongypsiferous sulphur water in the mountains of the Wadi Hajr, 30 miles from the coast. Irrigation is practiced on a small scale. The sites of Sidara and Mahamda, on the Wadi Hajr above Husn Baquidran, were determined by the presence of several groups of sulphur springs that are used for irrigation and consumption.

## VEGETATION

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Today only the seaward fringe of the Dhufar Coast region, which during the pre-Islamic empires of the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and

Himyarites was an important export center for incense and myrrh, has enough rainfall to support a thin growth of vegetation, largely incense trees. From this area and the surrounding country, at one time more abundantly watered, the priceless gum was most extensively collected in the past. It is still gathered today in small amounts, according to demand. The gum, which adheres to the bark, is harvested from varieties of the Burseraceae family, *Boswellia Carterii* and *B. Bhua-Dajiana*, divided by the Arabs into four grades.[4] Its value, which ranges from £80 to £10 a ton, depends on such qualities as color (red, green, and brown), size of the gum particles, and degree of adulteration. Just as the rubber gatherers of the Amazon debased latex with pebbles and gravel, so did the Arabs in the heyday of the incense trade, and to some extent even now, admix varying amounts of fine sand with the gum to increase its weight. Between March and August the trees are tapped by knife incision and a milky juice is extracted, which dries in three to five days.

FIG. 20 Caravan loading. The three men at the right are arguing about the disposition of loads.

Besides incense trees, a thin and scattered growth of bunch grass, camel's-thorn, and a cedarlike evergreen abundant in some dry wadies is found in the Hadhramaut. Date-palm groves, which cover many square miles, are mainly dependent on irrigation.

## Sources of Water Supply

In addition to artesian water and the water obtained from wells, other sources of supply are available. One of these is the *siquaya*, a small, rectangular, concrete tank with a capacity of 20 or 25 gallons erected along caravan routes near towns and maintained by them as a public service. Another is the well or cistern excavated at the base

[4] Freya Stark: The Southern Gates of Arabia. [New York]. 1936. pp. 10–11.

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



taken place here, and there are still many slaves for 144
agricultural work.

The old blind governor, Bā Surra, received us in his 609
castle with oriental hospitality. The only thing we had to complain of in our lodgings was that there were too many interested in us! Our animals for mountain transport had to be exchanged here for others which were accustomed to traveling in the hot sand of the level *wādīs*.

On the 17th of May we resumed our journey, after having been entertained first in the summer residence of the vizier of Makalla, where his son acted as host. As 361
the evening shadows fell we reached Sēf, a miserable and squalid village where nearly a century ago von Wrede was recognized as a Christian, and barely escaped a miserable death. We also had unpleasant experiences at Sēf. Long before Sēf the *wādī* had lost its splendid 311
datepalm cultivation, and had become a broad valley of 137
sand and stones, with here and there some lotus trees (*nibq*). After the excellent reception we had had at 609
Dō'an, Sēf was a grievous disappointment. The governor was supposed to be away, but it appeared later that because of his embarrassment and poverty he had sought an excuse to be relieved of the duty of conferring hospitality upon us. In a very primitive manner we were installed upon the roof of a stable by the governor's soldiers, who took his place as our hosts. We were not left alone for a moment, for interested visitors were continually jostling one another on our roof. We had to secure fresh donkeys at Sēf, and the troublesome negotiations about this began that evening.

The next day the governor appeared, but he seemed to have absolutely no influence. We had to wait for hours before the necessary donkeys and camels were brought. A large escort of soldiers eager for *baksheesh* wished to accompany us, but I vigorously opposed this, and succeeded in reducing their number to two. Much too late, weary of all the negotiations and disgusted with the obvious opposition and antipathy of everybody here

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*3. A typical town on unproductive land in the Wadi Du'an*

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*4. Part of the "Assoda" scarp seen from the Uruq az Zaza dunes. The scarp can be seen as a black line on horizon level. Vegetation is largely Calligonum comosum, Dipterygium glaucum and Cyperus sp.*

FACING p. 423

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5. *Sandy shaqqa[1] bearing Aristida plumosa and Calligonum comosum. These shiqaq extend for hundreds of miles between parallel dune chains, and vary between a half and two miles in width*

133

6. *Dune chains by the neolithic site in the Shaqqat al Khareitah. The dunes run to the south-west and the photograph was taken looking north*

FACING P. 426

1 [The 'valleys' between parallel dune chains -- Analyst]

133 and besides the granite foothills to the south-west there is a line of hills formed by salt domes along the foot of the *jol* to the south-east. In this area too may be found lignite deposits and occasional volcanic craters.

The sands of the Ramlat Sabatain lie east–west south of the 16th parallel, and are completely separate from the sands of the Rub' al Khali. In the west, where they lie against the Yemen hills, they measure some 50 miles in width from north to south. To the east they taper to a width of about 10 miles where they enter the Wadi Hadhramaut, and then lie within the wadi as far east as Qa'udha with isolated sections even farther east by Shibam and Sai'un. Near Baihan and near Shabwa the orientation of the dunes is to 290°, with the slip face southwards. Near Shabwa this direction has been used to give an easy crossing from Nasar to Arain, and between the dunes may be found a well marked camel track which was possibly part of the old incense route. South of al 'Abr the dunes lie at 230° and from here curve in a large arc east and south-east until they run almost due south to near Bir 'Asakir. From the east–west section another group of dunes breaks off to run in a similar curve south into the mouth of Wadi Dhuhr. Farther east the alignment is east–west and south of Qarn Qaima there is a reticulated area of overlapping crescentic dunes about 8 feet high and with their slip faces west.

Many wadis from the Yemen hills run into the western section of the Ramlat Sabatain and are dissipated within the sands, but the Wadi Baihan [137] forces its way through the sands in a series of deep silty channels between the [104] dunes which are here fixed by bushes of *arta* (*Calligonum comosum*) and runs out on to the Jau Khudaif. By using this wadi, Baihan can be reached from the Wadi Hadhramaut and also from Aden by the new route from Mahfadh, which makes use of the Yashbum gorge and the line of discontinuity between the crystalline hills and the *jol*.

North of the Ramlat Sabatain, the Jau Mulais is limited to the east by the Sauda scarp. This scarp, which is of sandstones similar to those of the Karoo and possibly of Triassic origin, runs north from near Al 'Abr and includes the hills of Murassas, Maishatt, Wudiya'a, etc. It gets its name Sauda, literally "the black," from its covering of hardpan and pebbles heavily impregnated with ilmenite (Plate 4). Its position marks the westerly limit of limestones, both Jurassic and Eocene, remnants of each of which, much confused with bands of contemporary sandstones, have been found near Wudiya'a. The whole of the Sauda area is covered with a network of intersecting animal tracks converging on salt-licks, proof that the region was once much more prolific of wild life.

133 East of the Sauda lies the Jau Hudhi, an undulating sand plain whose low 137 hill features may easily be correlated with past drainage patterns. The larger of these hills sometimes bear fragmentary remains of limestone capping in the form of small boulders. From the air distinctive vegetation patterns have been seen near Zamakh. They consist of parallel lines some 30 yards apart running north-west to south-east. There is also one west-flowing tributary from this area to the abandoned watercourse at the foot of the Sauda scarp.

133 At the Khashm al Jebel, 17° 30′ N., 48° 17′ E., the Jau Hudhi ends in a sharp point at a height of a little over 2000 feet, being limited to the east by the cliff face of the *jol*, here about 120 feet high, and to the north by the first

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 tufa surrounds, and almost blocks, the outlet, and forms a small fan below. In one case a narrow channel has been humanly cut in the deposit to lead the water into a cement tank from which periodically a few palms are watered. 137 The surplus water overflows and is lost in the scree. Growing amongst the huge boulders are shrubs and trees, wild figs, *Ficus salicifolia*, and *F. sycamorus* being particularly common. Around the water itself maiden-hair fern and other small plants make a pleasant green garden in the rocky desolation.

133 At this level there is a limestone platform or shelf some 10–11 m. wide, and on the edge of this occur the outcrops of Pleistocene tufa. In the Wadi Luqrun it is a block 5 m. thick and 3–4 m. high, which is evidently but a remnant of a much more extensive deposit, for traces were detected on the walls of the great limestone overhang. Its present size and isolation are some measure of the time that has elapsed since its formation. A few badly preserved fossil leaves were found here, but also a considerable number of small cavities which, as in Kharga, are the moulds of fruits. Most of these show no structure and are therefore unidentifiable, but Mrs. E. R. Reid, who kindly examined them, found one that was certainly a fruit of a species of *Celtis*.

A climb of 50 m. or so up the scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone leads over bare rock to the upper course of the wadi. In time of spate the waters must cascade in a fall over the lip. At Luqrun traces only of tufa occurred at this upper level, but in a valley east of Hureidha a much larger outcrop was found which yielded many leaves. Here, after half an hour's ride along the wadi floor, the track climbs gradually up the stony scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone. A hundred metres or so from the edge a mass of tufa occurs as a terrace remnant 15–16 m. above the limestone floor. It is 4·6 m. high and rests on limestone breccia. This outcrop was particularly 137 rich in leaves. The commonest types closely resemble figs, but without the fruits this identification cannot be assured. Some however seem identical with the *Ficus sycamorus* leaves found in the Kharga tufas,[1] and another resembles *F. salicifolia*; as both trees are still growing nearby they probably occur as fossils. Some kind of palm is certainly present and one or two other unidentified types. The shells are scarce and not well preserved. *Melania tuberculata*, *Zootecus insularis*, and a *Planorbis* were present. More abundant is the cast of a lava very similar in appearance to that found in Kharga and considered by Dr. Zeuner to be that of a dipterous insect.

103 The pool at the foot of the cliff was examined. It is called "El Bahr"—the 529 sea[2]—and is a favourite bathing-place, the Badawin climbing the cliff and 823 diving in from a considerable height. Local tradition calls it bottomless, and a weighted tape failed to touch bottom at 19 m. It would seem to be a super 133 pot-hole, ground out through the ages by the swirling stones and water of the seasonal cascade from higher levels. It is in the shade for most of the day, and water remains all the year. The shallows around are covered with soft

113 [1] Gardner, "The Pleistocene fauna and flora of Kharga Oasis" (*Quart. J. geol. Soc.*, vol. xci, December 1935.)

[2] Van der Meulen and von Wissmann in 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled' describe this place. "After energetic scrambling over fields of stone and up slopes of rock we actually arrive at El Bahr, a deep, rocky basin, full of water, with high cavernous walls, from which, after rain, the water must fall in spray into the basin."

A little way beyond the boundary-marks, about 20 Bedouins have made a bivouac under an overhanging wall of rock. On the top of the rock on the other side of the road are their outposts, who keep a sharp look-out for caravans passing along the high road. One caravan that had carried out a vendetta is now in safety in Makalla, a willing prisoner. We only realized later that we should be the ones to free it from that imprisonment. 578

The road winds through steep rocks and at last zigzags up to a plateau which seems to be of coral limestone formation. The hamlet of Maᶜōṣ lies in a rocky valley a little in front of the plateau; further up, in a longer valley, there is a larger village called el-Ḥarshīyāt. From the plateau one can see, far away to the left, the village of el-Ḥawwāʾ. We are soon past the rock massif of Makalla, and the road descends to an inlet of the sea which has run far inland, whereon lies the village of Buwēsh. Papaya, bēdān and bananas are planted here along the edge of fields of lucerne. In the wādī that runs into the sea near Buwēsh there are, higher up, more date-palms and other fruit-trees, plantations which are the property of the Vizier and of other rich men of Makalla. The wells from which the fields are irrigated are not deep here, only 20 feet. On the coast between Buwēsh and Makalla lies Rūkeb. The road mounts again, runs for some time over coral formations, and then again drops to the Wādī Feleq, into which, far inland, the sea-water runs and which, consequently, is more like a small river. Baṣra lies a little higher up this wādī. At the edge of the stream we find much *asal*[1] growing. The coral limestone terraces on both sides are fairly high. The road runs farther over level land where jathropha shrubs grow; whole patches, also, are covered with incense bushes, which are recognizable by their scent and have either no leaves or very small ones. Some tall acacia bushes with elongated blossoms stand out here and there amidst the brownish shrubs which grow upon the bare rocky ground, strewn with pieces of coral. 361 245 312 487 137 487

[1] A kind of big reed.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



137 In little valleys, green, juicy euphorbias grow to a height of six feet. Their fresh green colour and red tuberiferous flowers at the ends of their branches give them, in these colourless surroundings, the air of bouquets.

### 4. FIRST CONTACT WITH A HAḌRAMĪ NOMAD TRIBE.

233 A broad plain lower down has a clay soil where grass grows
361 fairly well. Goats, sheep, donkeys and camels graze here, at
342 distances widely apart from each other. Bedouin girls watch over them from a hill-top. This is the *Rēda* [1] of Sheḥēr where are the pastures and headquarters of the wandering Bedouins of these parts. Their temporary camp is on a rocky plateau to the right above the road. We walk with our cameras in their direction, without much hope of success. They do not see us, and the malicious watch-dogs, which elsewhere in Arabia make it impossible to slip past the Bedouin camps, are conspicuous by their absence. The Bedouins of Ḥaḍramaut appear to have no tents; they live in caves, or houses, or huts, or, as in this case, almost without shelter. A space of about five feet square is made by four sticks of about three feet high with other sticks connecting them and over which are spread bunches of long, hard grass, which do not really, however, keep out much sun. There are about ten of these "dwellings" scattered around. Some are even more primitive and consist of bushes cut down, with a few rags stretched over them, thus making a little shade. There is an acacia tree in the camp; its top is made shadier by extra bits of scrub hung between its own thorny branches. A camel with a horribly swollen, inflamed leg lies there; a few men, women and children are sitting around, watching the poor beast's agony.

609 Our arrival arouses some commotion, but they seem tolerant of us and answer our questions with an air of curiosity.

104 [1] A *rēda* (ريدة) is the centre of the territory of a Bedouin tribe, where many of them dwell together. Generally it is a depression in the rocky plateau with some vegetation and agriculture.

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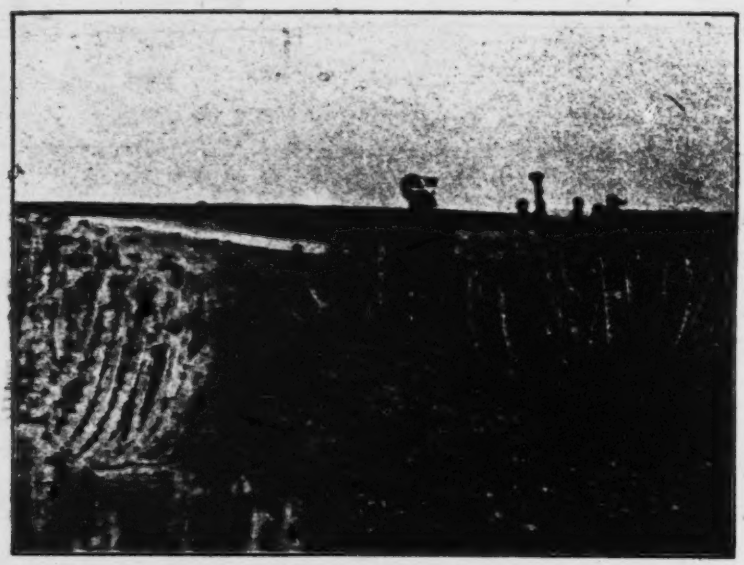

Euphorbia candelabra, on the coastal terrace between Makalla and esh-Shiḥr.

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8.54

Dwelling of Ḥaiqī Bedouins at Rēdet Sheḥēr. In the foreground a Bedouin cradle.

[facing p. 24]

609 "No, we eat the same things that you do."

"Stay with us and we will dance for you to-night with clapping of hands" — and our merry questioner danced and clapped her hands to the great diversion of the other women.

"We would gladly stay, but we have no time; we must go further."

837 "No, stay here! We will give you a wife."

Here I could not help glancing critically round the circle of my anything but beautiful questioners. They read my thoughts.

"No, the young girls are with the flocks, but they come home towards nightfall."

301 However poor and primitive may be the life of a Bedouin
302 woman, she will go to great pains to make herself beautiful. She learns when quite young that she who wishes to be beautiful must suffer. At an early age, 8 to 10 fine round holes are pierced all the way round the rims of the ears and through these, later on, silver rings of the average size of a crown piece or small silver chains will be hung and the poor little ears dragged downwards. Then the nails of both hands and feet are coloured brown with *ḥinnā'* [1], the tips of the fingers and toes are blackened, and the inside of the hand made brown. The face, the hands and forearms, and the legs and feet are coloured yellow with curry. The rims of the eyelids are smeared with *kuḥl* [2]; even the men do this, as it is said to make the eyes strong.

The women and girls paint their faces with all sorts of figures, and their necks, breasts and shoulders and the upper surface of the hands and feet with a network of lines, mostly with some blue or black dye, but also sometimes with red or

137 [1] *Hinnā'* (حنّاء), *lawsonia inermis*, is a plant used for dyeing brown hands and feet. Cf. G. Schweinfurth, *op cit.*, p. 167, 181; E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1865.

[2] *Kuḥl* (كحل), antimony powder, which usually mixed with grease makes a cosmetic for the rims of the eyelids.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

137

Incense bushes on the same coastal terrace.

[facing p. 25]

green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted 301
in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased 302
stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and 609
with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a 508
landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions 137
aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were 136
swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky 139
ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said 361
to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent [342]
position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the 622
same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. 712
A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is 342
to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], 574
and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come 104
to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



was deeply disappointed. In this land the hurry of Europeans is neither understood nor valued. One has plenty of time oneself, and the Arabian proverb: "Patience and waiting are of the All Merciful, but haste is of Satan", is carried into practice. When Shēkh Elmās poured coals of fire on our heads by insisting that we should take his coat in place of one of our own, which had been torn in pushing the car, we departed with fresh wonder at Arabian hospitality.

It was already dark when we arrived at the frontier of the Makalla territory. The Bedouins were still lying in ambush, waiting for the foe, small fires were burning in their camp among the rocks, and the look-outs were posted close beside the road. We were under the protection of the *Dōla*, and the latter had only to fear attack from the Ḥumūmī.

### 7. THE LAST DAYS OF WAITING IN MAKALLA.

In Makalla it appeared that preparations for our departure were really advancing. Nevertheless we had to have patience for yet another day, as everything must be in good order. The Vizier told us that we should only be able to travel by day, as the ground was too difficult for night-journeys. "He who has not yet seen the mountains of Ḥaḍramaut has not yet learned what *real mountains* are."

So we had one day more in which to enlarge our acquaintance with the town, visit divers officials and, after that, climb the rocks behind the town, to collect plants and insects and to lay the foundation for the map of our itinerary.

The Vizier, Sayyid Abū Bakr, lives in the centre of the town, at the base of the tongue of land where, formerly, the Sultan also lived. The promontory turns out to be occupied, for the greater part, by the cemetery, in the centre of which is a fine *qubba* dedicated to Shēkh Ya$^{c}$qūb, the patron saint of Makalla. The *ithl*[1] trees spoken of by earlier travellers no longer exist, and the cemetery has now no green whatsoever.

[1] *Ithl* or *athl* (أثل), *tamarix nilotica* Ehrenb., cf. L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 90, 306; G. Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 172, 174.

Ḥarshīyāt we are put down by the road-side and, lying down beside our baggage, wait there for some hours till the donkeys come. Then, in pitch darkness, we go forward at a steady pace, preceded by a Bedouin carrying a lantern. By the village of Tilāᶜ es-Suflā we are to camp for the night in the dry *sēl* [1]-bed of the wādī. Luckily it is not long before the camels arrive. We set up our camp-beds amongst the boulders; under the mosquito-nets we are safe from the gnats that swarm here near the irrigated groves of date-palms and *dhura* fields. It is warm and very damp. Men and beasts lie close together. We are not yet accustomed to the sounds and odours of such a bivouac and get but little sleep.

## 2. ON TREK TO WĀDĪ ḤIMEM.

An hour before sunrise everything is again in motion, but we cannot leave until the measurements are finished. The sun rises shortly after our departure. We are all thankful to say good-bye to this damp, hot mosquito camp, but fortunately each day brings us nearer to the dryness and coolness of the Ḥaḍramaut mountain-plateau. The terraces at Tilāᶜ consist chiefly of conglomerations of round stones, and the vegetation is scanty but varied. Many acacias grow in the wādīs, here called *smur* (*acacia etbaïca*) [2], also aerva. Wādī el-Laṣb, through which we march, becomes broad and sandy, and the atmosphere becomes very warm.

A great disappointment, indeed annoyance, is to find that our advance party has already encamped at eight o'clock by a well at the edge of the wādī, where the burning heat of the sun is only tempered by some acacia trees. The baggage has been unloaded, and the Bedouins will not move for either love or money; they will first eat and then rest from the fatigues of the departure. It is so appallingly hot that we are in fear

[1] *Sēl* (سيل) is a torrent flowing after the rare rain- and thunder-storms and which usually remains only a short time.

[2] Cf. L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 300; Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, I., Leide, 1901, p. 349.

133
●137

Where Wādī el-Laṣb narrows there is a small brook and some vegetation.

133

[facing p. 41]

Wādī Ḥimem.

with difficulty, his popularity with our Sēbāni people was established for good. From thenceforth he was named *Ḥarmal*, a name of good companionship, which stuck to him as long as he was in Ḥaḍramaut. Ḥarmal is a corruption of Hermann; it is at the same time the name of one of the most common plants in Ḥaḍramaut, a plant inedible for cattle and, consequently, worthless.

My name they could not keep in their memories, so from this time on I was called Konsul. Bedouins are a very democratic folk: whenever they had anything to ask or to say they did not lie in wait for a favourable opportunity, but would shout out from the rear of the caravan: "Yā Ḥarmal!" or "Yā Konsul!" I would then immediately reply in an equally loud "Yā ḥādjdj!" or "Yā Sēbānī!" Then came the question, to which, whenever possible, I gave a jocular reply. They enjoyed laughing, and if one could manage to maintain one's hold on them by keeping them in good humour, it was possible to crack many a hard nut. It seemed to me very necessary to be good friends with one's Bedouins, but at the same time to keep them at a distance and to make one's authority felt.

Up above on the edge of the plateau[1] Von Wissmann had a fine, distant view. To the south were esh-Shiḥr and the sea, to the north the highest mountain of Ḥaḍramaut, Kōr Sēbān, a great massif of eocene limestone. On the east and west were the endless plain and, still visible close by, the deep-cut wādīs, and higher up the long horizontal line of the table-mountains. Several kinds of acanthus were growing close to the rock-wall and crossander, with blue-green leaves. *Cadia varia* appeared here for the first time, but later on was often to be seen in the wādīs.

When the sun began to penetrate into our rocky cleft and the temperature rose to 33° C., we were forced to break camp, although our Bedouins were not yet inclined to do so. It took a great effort to wake them up, and, while they were trying to find their camels, which had wandered off in search of food, we sauntered on ahead. At first the way wound along

[1] [See preceding page -- Analyst]

137

Acacia trees, further inland in Wādī Ḥimem.

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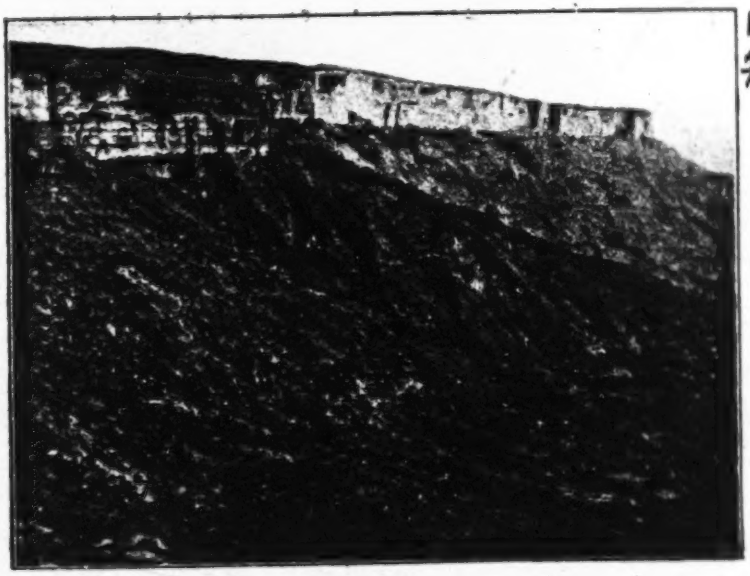

The slope of the Kōr Sēbān.

1 [See pages 46 and 47 and pages 50-51 --Analyst]

p.48(A)

See pages 48 and 51

312

Bēn el-Djibāl. Our party resting at the first *murabba'a* alongside the first *neqāba*.

●137

**On the top of the Kōr Sēbān .... a solitary dragon's blood tree.**

p.48 (B)

137

The border of the *djôl*, with some vegetation (euphorbias and acacias).

138

A view over the *djôl*.

p.48 (C)

explanation of the facts. More rainfall on this bare table-land, 133
where all water immediately streams away, must have caused mighty floods streaming with elementary force through the wādīs to the sea. In this way wide, deep ravines in the plateau can have come into existence. The monotonous likeness in their outlines is to be ascribed to the fact that the ground, in which the erosion takes place, always shows the same composition and that the climatic conditions of the interior are invariable. A horizontal stratum of limestone, 50—100 yards thick, lies on a similar horizontal sandstone stratum. The limestone layer has, at the edge of the wādī, an almost perpendicular incline as has the sandstone layer also at first, but it then merges into the slopes of rock débris, which reach quite high up the walls of the wādī. The little towns and villages lie, in the [361]
narrow wādīs, on these slopes of débris, while in the broad wādīs, as also in Ḥaḍramaut Proper, the towns and villages are built in front of the débris.

Kōr Sēbān is the highest mountain of Ḥaḍramaut though its altitude is not more than 7088 feet. The summit is a gradual elevation, rising out of the high-lying plateau surrounding it. The eocene limestone strata are 1200 feet higher than the plateau, yet fairly horizontal, as is the case with Djebel Ghurēba, visible in the distance. Violent tectonic disturbances must have taken place here. A camel path leads upwards to the flat top of Kōr Sēbān, from where one has a fine view over the Wādī Ḥuwēre, which makes a deep cutting on the further side of Kōr Sēbān and lies quite 3000 feet lower than Wādī Ḥimem. Djebel Ghurēba, which is certainly not much lower than Kōr Sēbān, also appears to be separated from the latter range by a deep valley on its southern side. Djebel Baraka, two days' march distant, must be about the same height.

On one of the highest points of Kōr Sēbān there was 137 ●
growing an *arab*, apparently a *dracaena*, with large clusters of reddish blossoms. The trunk had been mutilated by the removal of pieces of bark, and living boughs had also been hacked off. On the summit plateau there was seen for the first time a semi-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



●137 globular shrub, an *euphorbia* which is *not* succulent, but has a green bark. Although this plant had flowers and fruit, it had, at the moment, no leaves. It occurs frequently.

312 From the top of Kōr Sēbān there stretches westwards
104 a slightly-furrowed plateau, intersected by good camel paths, and where cisterns for catching rain-water, called *neqābas*, have been made. The *neqābas* are cellars cut out of the limestone rock, with a narrow, round opening, three feet in diameter, and a shaft which soon broadens out to an underground cavity nine to ten feet deep and fifteen to eighteen feet in diameter. The rain-water is led there by means of low dykes. The narrow opening prevents much evaporation, and the water in the cellar remains cool. In suitable places, where there is much traffic, one finds as many as six to ten *neqābas* close together. The water in them can remain there for quite three years, but the disadvantage is that it generally has a brackish taste. There are also often simple, small, square buildings close to the *neqābas*, with walls of natural stones, loosely put together, and with flat mud roofs. They are called *murabbaʿas* and serve as shelter for travellers and their animals against the fierce sun by day and the cold wind by night. Moreover, one often finds ramparts and fortified observation posts close to the *neqābas*, recalling the many wars taking place in this barren and unpopulated land.

The *neqābas* make it possible to travel over the dry, stony plateaus. Were they not present one would have to follow the winding bed of boulders in the wādīs or else descend into them frequently and with difficulty to fetch water. Now one journeys from *neqāba* to *neqāba*. Occasionally one is found empty owing to the long-continued drought and that causes great disappointment, but one always comes upon another before long. The Bedouins of these districts generally know quite well what the condition of the different *neqābas* is and settle their route accordingly. The *neqābas* take the place of the *siqāyas* in the wādīs and in the mountains not of table

formation. They belong to the plateau called *djōl* (جول), 312
lying between the mountainous coast region and the great 104
depressions of inner Ḥaḍramaut.

## 6. THE DJŌL.

Our way now led over the *djōl* as far as Wādī Dō'an. The 133
*djōl* consists of vast table-lands of reddish-brown limestone, where flat-topped, horizontal mountains, the remains of old, still higher plateaus, stretch like long wings. The wādīs are cut deep into them. We also often descend into flat, basin-shaped, wide depressions, passing over the crumbling edges of the plateaus, and afterwards have to climb laboriously up again, towards the boulders at the edge of the opposite plateau, quite half an hour away. Wherever one looks one sees the same long, horizontal lines of the table-mountains, with everywhere the forked, precipitous incisions made by the wādīs. The plain is strewn with sharp fragments of limestone, dark-brown and black in colour, which ring like metal whenever the passer-by kicks pieces of them together with his foot. Vegetation is al- 136
most absent. Towards the edges of the plateaus, against which 137
clouds sometimes seem to break, there are a few shrubs of small, crooked, gnarled acacias. One finds no trace of animal life except a few lizards and sometimes a solitary bird. It is very warm on the *djōl* during the day, the sun scorches, and the wind is hot and dry. During the night this same wind is cold and penetrating, so that one wakes up and remains awake longing for the warmth of the sun hours before it rises; then an hour later it is torment again from the heat.

The endless monotony is the great enemy of the traveller 000
over the *djōl*. The light is fierce and is reflected a thousand times in the metallic shining stones. The narrow camel path winds like a smooth and shining ribbon through the unruffled and almost unchanging expanse. The stones have been pushed aside by the feet of the camels which, in the course of so many years, have passed that way. The limestone of the plateau

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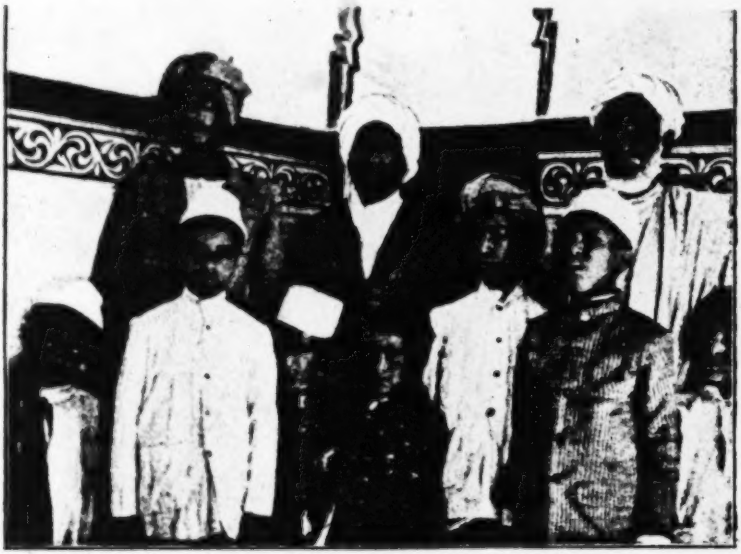
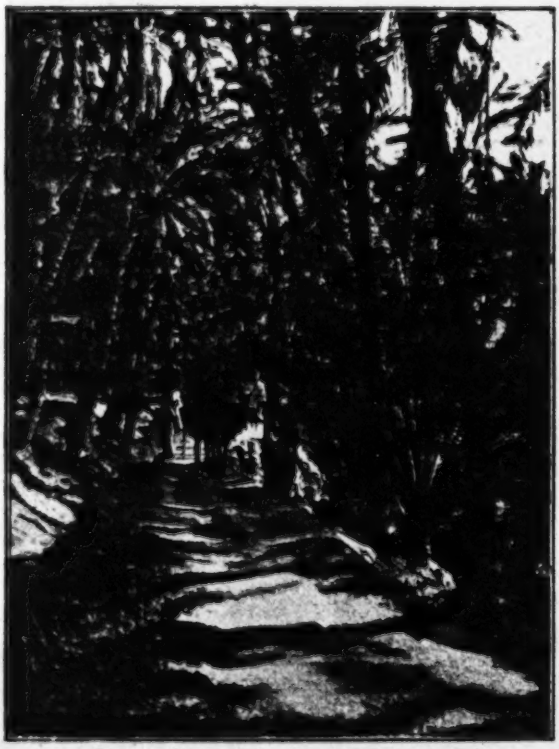
142



Sayyid el-Bārr with some of his children and servants.

●137



p 64 (D) Sun and shade in the palm-groves of Wādī Dō'an.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## ENTERING OUR "LAND OF PROMISE".

### 1. EL-QAṬN AND SHIBĀM.

On May 23rd our host would not allow us to depart until 000
we had partaken of the first of the two daily meals with him. There is no apparent objection to this, as Bin Marta[c] will take us himself in his car to el-Qaṭn. The heat and the sand-storm are very unpleasant. It is now the time when the dates ripen. The heavy, bright-yellow or deep-red bunches of fruit, sometimes as many as ten on one tree, need those hot winds to bring them to ripeness. Travelling in the sandy plain is not only unpleasant at this time, but it is also difficult to keep in the right direction. It is true, Bin Marta[c] will look after that, but Von Wissmann has great difficulty in making a drawing of our route, surveying the mountain-wall, which is just visible from time to time, and sketching in the villages.

After Hēnin we enter a real desert of sand. The soil is 133
loess, but a thick layer of sand has drifted over it in the lower-lying places. A few bushes of *rāk* [1] grow here and there on the loam-hills. The wādī is seven miles wide here, the villages on the other side of it disappear in the sand-storm. We shape our direction towards the S. W. wall of the wādī, to the spot where Wādī Menwab debouches into it. Soon after the rocks come in sight we also see the tops of the date-palms shining through the leaden-coloured curtain of dust.

Furṭ [2] el-Qaṭn, the beginning of the inhabited, cultivated 361

[1] Classical *arāk* (أراك), *salvadora persica* Garcin, cf. Landberg 137
*Arabica*, N°. v. (Leiden, 1898), p. 39 *sq.*; L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 211, 306.

[2] A *furṭ* (فرط) is a prominent top at the border of a mountain 104
range.

p 107

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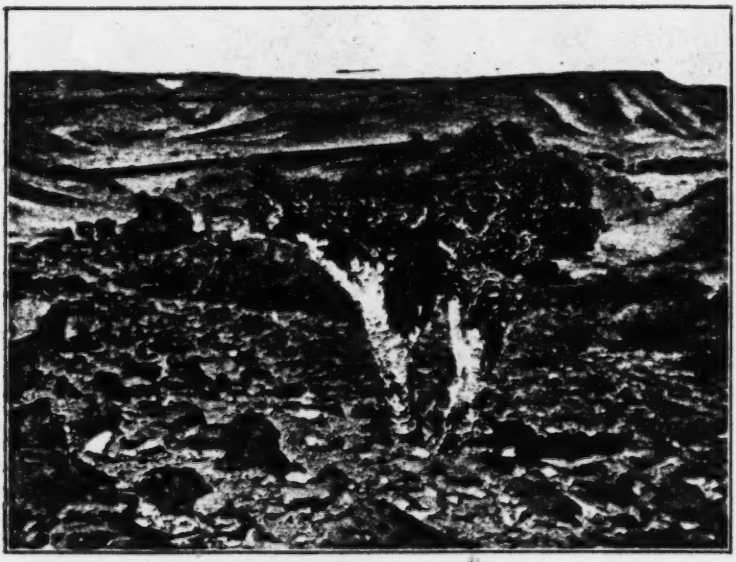

The rock-like trees near Yeb'eth.

p 216 (B)

See page 217.

661 with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of
912 being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of
533 the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way
857 he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the
463 *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.*
231 Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā . . . ā . . . ā . . . ā!"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

292 The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

241 Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the
311 palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water
● 137 and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

114 Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf*, *i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



*Plant Introductions*

137 Sann hemp and Dolichus beans were introduced from the Sudan.
242 Tepary beans, bunch-type groundnuts, and velvet beans were introduced from Uganda. These new introductions were planted in observation plots in the Abyan district.

The introduction of deciduous fruits and of citrus for planting in the Audhali Sultanate continued.

*Development Schemes*

654 *The Avyan Board.* During 1949 the scheme, now furnished with sufficient capital to embark on its work as a proving scheme, developed at a satisfactory rate in all fields where adequate staff, machinery, and materials could be mustered.

406 A rebuilt D.7 Caterpillar tractor complete with bulldozer and carry-
654 all scraper, and three D.4 Caterpillars, one with bulldozer attachment,
332 were obtained through the Crown Agents. These rebuilt tractors were delivered without any spares and gave a certain amount of trouble, but were responsible, together with a D.6 Caterpillar already in the hands of the Board, for great progress in irrigation construction.

Important extensions were made to the Ba Tes and Na'aza systems, while two new diversion systems were opened on the Wadi Hassan.

The tractors were generally worked as a fleet, with a mass of ox power owned or hired by the Board. Often 200 yokes of oxen—each with a scraper attached and each yoke with its driver/scraper operator in attendance—worked alongside the tractors. These were used for ripping and drawing masses of earth close to the dykes, which were then finished off by the oxen.

The value of the D.7 was judged to be equal to 150 to 200 yokes of oxen in earth-moving capacity, but for finishing off work and consolidation the use of oxen has been found to pay. Earth-moving costs have been low, and on short hauls of work of moderate height costs have not exceeded 6 annas per cubic metre.

654 Survey work has accelerated and a staff of 6 surveyors was at work in the field at the end of 1949.

A great deal of the Board's effort was devoted to the construction of offices, workshops and staff houses. At the end of 1949 substantial progress had been made and building, apart from some additions to staff houses and a projected pilot ginnery, had been completed.

The Board staff was increased considerably. On irrigation matters the Board continued to receive advice from Mr. N. Simansky, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of Jordan, who visited Abyan twice during the year. In September the staff was strengthened by the addition of an Irrigation Engineer, Mr. Douglas Hall, who joined the Board as Chief Engineer. In November Mr. B. May joined the Board on secondment, as Chief Accountant, the office having remained vacant since the resignation of the first Accountant Officer at the end of March. These two appointments were long overdue, and serious arrears of work had to be faced by both officers on taking up their appointments. In the

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



accounts section the position was particularly serious ; but equally important was the lack of essential hydrological data on such matters as river discharges, the availability of suitable storage sites, studies on percolation and so on. Without such information progress must be delayed. 654

As mentioned earlier, the X1730A type of cotton planted on 82 acres in 1948, proved a great success. The crop was ginned and marketed by the Board, and arrangements with cultivators for the new season's planting resulted in an extension of the acreage to 1,097 acres. At the end of 1949 the crop showed great promise, and in many areas appeared even better than the previous year's crop. 248 242 654

Grain, oil-seed and fodder production was satisfactory, though grain yields were reduced in many areas through double-cropping the land with a sorghum fodder crop in the Saif season and then a grain crop in the Kharif.

A great deal of the land in Abyan which has been well irrigated for the past five years is now becoming heavily infested with weeds, mainly the weed grass *Desmostachya bipinnata*. The introduction of cotton as a cleaning crop and the "drying up" and resting with or without cultivation, of these heavily infested lands is now recognised as an urgent matter. In order to tackle the weed problem the Board increased its tractor strength by the purchase of three Fowler Diesel crawler tractors in the last quarter of 1949. 654 197 242

Another problem which came to notice towards the end of 1949 was the rapid rise in the height of the water table in certain areas. The area involved does not exceed 300 acres, but already in this area (where in places the water table has risen to within six feet of the surface) salts are appearing in the upper layers of the soil, and vegetation, particularly in the seedling stage, has been affected. It was noticed that cotton, once established, flourished and appeared exceedingly healthy on these salt-impregnated soils. 133 242

*Anti-Famine Measures*

In the first four-and-a-half months of 1949 until general rains fell over the Eastern Protectorate, famine again threatened human life in the Hadhramaut. Relief measures were introduced, as in the previous famine, but this time so promptly that practically no deaths from famine occurred. Again aircraft of the Royal Air Force came to the rescue and dropped grain supplies to the worst affected areas. Large quantities of grain were moved inland by motor transport and any camel transport that could be mustered ; at the same time large numbers of the destitute, particularly women and children, were brought down or walked down to the coastal towns, where they were accommodated in refugee camps and fed. To employ labour on relief works an extensive programme of road construction, and irrigation repair works and new construction was undertaken. 731 [653]

When rain fell, it was again found necessary to issue loans to

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



## ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231

*Estimate of Livestock in* 1952

| | *Western Protectorate* | *Eastern Protectorate* |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 35,000 | 45,000 |
| Cattle | 60,000 | 8,000 |
| Goats | 500,000 | 355,000 |
| Sheep | 150,000 | 50,000 |
| Donkeys | 3,500 | 3,500 |

Most of the animals are kept by peasant farmers who depend on animal products for an important part of their diet. Away from the less settled areas pastoral, nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes own large numbers of livestock and depend on stock products for food and for sale and barter to obtain other requirements.

Towards the end of 1952 drought conditions affected the production and general condition of livestock. No serious animal disease was recorded during the year.

There is no separate Veterinary Department in the Protectorate but 647
the Director of Agriculture undertakes preventive measures to control 232
important diseases such as rinderpest and horse-sickness.

A herd of Ongole (Nellore) cattle is maintained by the Abyan Board. It is proposed to test the productivity of this breed and the suitability of animals raised locally from the breed for draught purposes in Abyan.

## FORESTRY

No true forest exists in the Protectorate. Trees and shrubs common 137
to arid regions in this latitude are found, while a dense growth of Tamarisk and Salvadora is found as "corridor forest" on the sides of the larger flood courses. Acacia is the most important species at all altitudes ; a semi-cultivated species of great value for timber and for honey-gathering bees is the Elb (*Ziziphus spina christi*).

A general dearth of forest products for timber, building materials 185
and for browse for livestock is apparent. In many parts of the Protectorate, and particularly in areas close to Aden, the coastal towns of the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut towns, destruction of vegetation for charcoal production and for fuel has devastated large areas. So far no satisfactory measures have been taken to regenerate such areas. Large amounts of capital and firm action by local Governments are needed for this.

## CO-OPERATION

The Beihan Farmers' Association, now in its fifth year, continued to 476
benefit the Beihan district. This Association provides its members with seed stocks and grain supplies on credit. At the end of the year the assets were estimated at £14,850 and liabilities at £8,779.

The Audhali-Kaur Farmers' Association has made moderate progress since its formation in 1950. It is primarily concerned with the organisation of vegetable production, transport and marketing for its members who farm with the aid of lift irrigation in the mid-altitude area of the "Audhali-Kaur".

172 More than a hundred new Sabaitic inscriptions were copied and photographed. At three sites in the Aden and Hadhramaut protectorate, particularly the ruins of Reiboun (near Mash-had) there is, on the other hand, contacts with East Africa. Here we found an industry of obsidian (with some flint) in definite association with pottery and with Sabaito-Himyaritic inscriptions, all found in shallow kitchen midden-like remains and amongst ruins of ancient buildings and habitations. Some of the characters were actually inscribed on the pottery both before and after baking. The obsidian industry includes practically all the types and sub-types of the so-called final Palæolithic and Neolithic cultures of East Africa—Wilton, Elmenteitan and Gumban. There are small nuclei, simple and retouched blades, truncated and notched ones, small backed knives, trapezoidal forms (in abundance), true lunates (less abundant), chisel-ended tools or *pièces écaillées* ('sinew-frayers' of Dr. L. S. B. Leakey), borers, medium-size and small burins (but not the micro-burin proper) and scrapers of various descriptions (nucleiform, round, at end of blade, etc.). Yet there can be no doubt about the Sabaito-Himyarite date of this industry in south-west Arabia (the few centuries centring round the beginning of the Christian era).

Apart from inscriptions (on stone and on pottery) there are metal elements and beads of dating value. The pottery here is much more developed and varied than in East Africa, but this is to be expected in a country with more progressive civilization. One cannot argue from the evidence we have for the separation of the obsidian industry from the rest of the datable remains which must all have belonged at least to one and the same culture phase*. If this be so, the dates assigned by Dr. Leakey and others to the so-called final Palæolithic and Neolithic industries of East Africa will have to be revised. It would be unreasonable to argue for a 'survival' into historic times of an obsidian and flint technique in south-west Arabia after it had been introduced from the African side at a final Palæolithic date. It would be rather in this latter region (East Africa), which produced no such highly progressive civilizations as we know from south-west Arabia, that we should expect such 'persistence'. Perhaps many of the Microlithic elements of industries in East Africa may ultimately prove to be of comparatively recent historic date (Christian era).

We have also discovered, at a number of rock shelters in the Middle Wadi Hadhramaut, rock drawings (both animals and men) of both naturalistic and schematic styles. The former were associated with Himyaritic inscriptions (mostly names and cartouches), while the latter were of much more recent appearance. At the base of some of the rock shelters we found a flake and blade industry of flint which we have reason to associate with the first series of drawings.

## Anthropology

141 Anthropometrical measurements were made of 1,350 male individuals, of whom 800 were studied in Yaman
144 and 550 in Hadhramaut. More than 400 individuals were photographed full face and profile. The individuals are representative of the great majority of the tribes inhabiting the area, and useful light may be expected to be shed both on local distribution of anthropological features and types and on similarities and connexions with neighbouring areas in Asia and

p. 514(A)

141 144 Africa. Already interesting links are being worked out with Iran and the west Deccan. Local differences have also been worked out within both Yaman and Hadhramaut. The population of the northern part of the Yaman plateau is essentially mesocephalic, though it also shows certain features due to mixture. South Yaman, on the other hand, has broader heads. There is also a number of Jewish colonies in Yaman from whom representative groups were measured. In Hadhramaut we have a markedly brachycephalic type (very dominant, especially in the interior) and a mesocephalic one (especially on the coast). The broad heads of Hadhramaut show interesting anthropometrical features, and the roundness of their heads is primarily due to shortness (flattening of the back) rather than to width. Armenoid affinities among the broad heads of south Arabia are already known from previous observation and measurements (Bertram Thomas, etc.). The High Plateau of Yaman is practically free from prognathism, which becomes more and more marked as we go eastwards into Hadhramaut. We have reason to believe that this feature was not the result of crossing with Negroids from Africa, but represents an element brought from farther East. Special attention, however, has been paid to cases and areas of metisation between Negroid and Arab types, especially in coastal regions. Some peoples of the coastal plains of west Yaman have been shown to have marked affinities with the Negroids of Africa, who, however, do not seem to have affected the High Plateau to any appreciable extent. Certain parts of the Hadhramaut coast are equally mixed, and even in the interior there are colonies of imported elements (for example, Negro soldier-slaves, Indo-Chinese and Chinese elements as slaves and wives brought back by enterprising merchants of Hadhramaut, etc.).

## ENTOMOLOGY

136 Between five and six thousand specimens have been collected, and a large number of these were actually set in the field. They represent fauna from all the altitudes we have passed through (from sea-level to 3,500 m.). The identification of our specimens will inevitably be a long process, but it is hoped that fresh light may be thrown on the question of migration between adjacent parts of Africa and Asia in these regions. One of the chief topics we worked upon was the question of locust breeding-grounds and migrations, and already some useful results have been achieved in this direction.

100 In addition to these topics, members of the expedition carried out side-line investigations, such as the taking of a meteorological record during the journey (with as few breaks as possible), the collection of plants and small animals in localities which have not been visited before and of fishes and aquatic fauna from all streams and springs along the way, as well as the recording of observations on the general geography and ethnography of the lands and peoples in the areas visited.

* Should there be any chance of such a separation, however, the only possibility would be that at a posterior date poorer tribes took shelter among the Sabaito-Himyarite ruins and left their obsidian industry thoroughly mixed with earlier remains. In that case the lithic industry would be still more recent than the Sabean phase. There can be no possibility of the Sabaito-Himyarites having chosen for sites of their cities places where earlier obsidian and flint-using tribes left their kitchen midden and rubbish heaps.

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21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



With the

191 exception of the Mahra all 1 these tribes speak Arabic and Arabic alone, and yet some are types
141 clearly distinguishable from the northern Arab, and indeed those I measured are all brachycephals. The very word "Arab" is used in the desert to denote "people" instead of having the particular racial connotation which we give to it. More than once I have been asked "From what Arabs are you?" by a native, who was conscious that I was of a different race from himself.

144 Whether these Arabic-speaking South Arabians are indigenous or come from elsewhere is a question for anthropologists. In this connection, the Preface to Wyman Bury's book *Land of Uz* is of interest. That Preface, written by Maj.-Gen. Maitland who was British Resident at Aden at the beginning of the present century, declares the writer's opinion as follows:—

> "The people of Arabia belong to two distinct and apparently quite different races. The common idea of the Arab type is tall bearded men with clean-cut, hawk-like faces. The Arabs of South Arabia are smaller, darker, coarser featured and nearly beardless. All authorities agree that the Southern Arabs are nearly related by origin to the Abyssinian. Yet strange to say it is the Egypto-African race who are the original and 'pure' Arabs, while the stately Semitic of the North is *Mustareb* . . . one who is Arab by adoption and residence, rather than by descent."

101 But I am concerned here with a group of non-Arabic speaking tribes more distant in habit
361 of life still from the familiar Arab, tribes of whom neither Burton nor Maitland could have had any personal knowledge, tribes whose members have seldom made the pilgrimage to Mecca, tribes for the most part settled in the Qara and Al Qamr mountains of the Central South
619 where they breed cows and gather frankincense. To the list given in my previous paper, viz., Qara, Mahra, Shahara, Bauthâra and Harasîs should be added Barahama, Bil Haf, Afar, and Bit Istait (Bait ash Shâikh). Except for those elements of the Mahra that are nomadic, and for the nomadic Harasîs and Afar and the fishing tribe of Bautâhara, the remainder form a *bloc* of settled mountain society with a common and a unique culture.

191 The four languages of this group have been mentioned in the paper under reference. Of the additional tribes the Afar speak a language which is a variant of Mahri, called Aforit, and is said to be the same as that spoken by the Harasîs. The Bait ash Shaikh (Insakht) use the Shahara tongue and are thought to be collateral with the Shahara and once to have co-inhabited the great port, now a heap of ruins, of Rubat (Ariyot). Balhaf, a rather nondescript tribe, owes allegiance to no faction but is Mahri in speech.

## DRESS AND DYE CUSTOMS.

291 The men wear a single sheet wound round to form a skirt short to the knees and then brought diagonally across their bodies and thrown over one shoulder; women a single loose-falling black gown usually green with age and black muslin head-wrap which falls about
301 shoulders and neck; they are mostly unveiled. The use of indigo for smearing their bodies
302 and impregnating their clothes is common to both sexes. It gives their faces a purple hue.
177 There is a local dye from a tree called *hummir*, but much of the indigo comes from India.

1 [Bait Kathir, Mahra, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai -- Analyst]

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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| No., Name and Tribe. | Age. | Head. Length. | Head. Breadth. | C.I. | Height. | Span. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | ft. in. | ft. in. |
| (1) AHMAD BIN ALI. Tribe—Ahl Yazid Yafa | 20 | 184 | 151 | 82·07 | 5 2¼ | 5 3½ |
| (2) NASIR BIN MAHIN. Tribe—Yahar Yafa | 25 | 180 | 141 | 78·33 | 5 2½ | 5 2½ |
| (3) SHAITIN BIN SALIH. Tribe—Yahar Yafa | 23 | 174 | 137 | 79·7 | 5 4 | 5 6½ |
| (4) ALI BIN AHMAD. Tribe—Ahl sa'ad Yafa | 22 | 165 | 142 | 86·06 | 5 2½ | 5 3½ |
| (5) NASIR BIN MUHAMMAD. Tribe—Ahl Yazid Yafa | 28 | 173 | 144 | 83·24 | 5 5½ | 5 3½ |
| (6) SA'AD BIN MUSELLIM. Tribe—Bit Shatana Mahra | 23 | 163 | 148 | 90·8 | 5 5 | 5 4 |
| (7) SALIM BIN SA'ID. Tribe—Bit Hanif Mahra | 20 | 167 | 148 | 88·6 | 5 3 | 5 4½ |
| (8) SA'ID BIN HAMAD. Tribe—Bit Shat'ana Mahra | 27 | 175 | 143 | 81·71 | 5 3¾ | 5 6 |
| (9) MUSELLIM BIN SA'AD. Tribe—Mahra ... | 27 | 167 | 144 | 86·23 | 5 5 | 5 6 |
| (10) ABUD BIN SA'ID. Tribe—Bait Ali Iskar'on Mahri (but not Bir Boki) | 34 | 172 | 148 | 86·05 | 5 8 | 5 8 |
| (11) SA'ID BIN HAMAD BIN QATAMIN. Tribe—Al Kathiri (Bait Marhun) | 32 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (12) ALI AL DHAF'AN. Tribe—Mashai'a (Bal Ubaid), W. Irmah, N. Hadhramaut | 40 | 174 | 150 | 86·21 | 5 4¾ | 5 4 |
| (13) SA'ID BIN SAIF (Wali of Dhufar). Tribe—Bahari of Oman | 47 | 174 | 144 | 82·76 | 5 6½ | 5 7½ |

NOTE.—The above (1–5) are Al Yafa soldiers recruited from hinterland of Aden for service in Sultan's and downwards; a hairless race except the bountiful growth on their heads. Their hair is extremely coarse

NOTE.—All Mahra have heavy eyebrows, black mop hair, but comparatively hairless faces—a little

(3

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut 1442



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| Body Colour. | Hair. | Nose. | Eyes. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Greenish - brown dark chocolate colour | Golliwog, frizzy, long spirals. No beards as yet, lip fluff | Slightly hooked, but moderately fleshy | Large green, almond shape, droop at edges | Arms reaching nearly to knee; small ears. |
| Dark brown ... | Golliwog, long and frizzy. Hairless body, chin fluff | Long, straight, circular nostrils | Large, brown | Falsetto voice. |
| Dark brown ... | Frizzy; hairless body | Very straight, fleshy at base, wide nostrils | Dark brown, almond shape, drooping downward | Arms reaching nearly to knees; small ears |
| Dark brown, greenish face | Curly, but not frizzy; body more hairy than companions; slight moustache | Slightly crooked; long, moderate nostrils | Almond brown | Small ears. |
| Dark brown, greenish face | Curly, mop of very small spirals; moderately hairless body, slight moustache, chin fluff | Shortish, very straight, pointed round nostrils | Almond shape, dark brown | Small ears. |
| Dark brown, same as Yafa, greenish face | Curly, but not frizzy; hairless body, little beard, but slight chin fluff | Hooked, narrow nostrils | Brown, small, almond shape, slit upwards | Arms reach above knee, shorter than Yafa, emaciated. Large teeth. |
| Dark brown body, greenish face | Slightly long, curly; hairless body | Hooked, small; long nostrils | Nearly black; sloping slightly upwards | Heavy eyebrows, rather projecting teeth. |
| Dark brown, greenish face | Curly mop hair, poor face growth; chin tuft; hairless body, except chest | Straight and delicate; long straight nostrils | Brown, almond shape; slant upwards | Shaikhly family. Large teeth. |
| Dark brown, greenish face | Mop curly hair, chin tuft and side fluff, otherwise no beard; almost hairless body | Short; long nostrils | Largish brown, almond shape, sloping upwards | Big teeth, thick underlip. |
| Dark brown ... | Long wavy ringlets; black hairy chest, beard. Mahfif | Short, straight, fairly open nostrils | Round, very dark brown; thick eyelashes, shallow upper eyelid | Father Mahri of Jadhib, not a Badu; appears better race than local Badu. |
| Dark brown ... | Long wavy ringlets. Mahfif. Hairless body | Long, slightly hooked and pointed, stands out from axis of brow | Greenish brown, small slit | — |
| Very dark brown | Long and wavy, moderate beard; hairy legs, but hairless chest and arms | Straight and pointed, standing out from brow: moderate length, wide but slanting nostrils | Large brown; round and slightly upturned | Smallish ears. |
| Palish yellow, black hairy body | Straight and short; beard | Long and curved; slit nostrils; fleshy | Brown ... ... | Big ears. |

fort at Salalah. General appearance distinctive: golliwog hair, faces broad at cheek-bones, tapering upwards, but greasy with coconut oil.
chin fluff and side fluff only.

21: Thomas 7-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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| No., Name and Tribe. | Age. | Head. | | C.I. | Height. | Span. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Length. | Breadth. | | | |
| | | | | | ft. in. | ft. in. |
| (14) SA'ID BIN JUM'AN. Tribe—Shahari (Bin Ziferol) | 20 | 164 | 150 | 91·46 | 5 2 | 5 3¼ |
| (15) HARAN BIN MUSELLIM. Tribe—Bin Tabok (Qara) | 40 | 168 | 147 | 87·5 | 5 5 | 5 5¾ |
| (16) MUSA ALI. Tribe—Bait Majartain Somali | 32 | 188 | 147 | 78·19 | 5 8½ | 6 0 |
| (17) MUHAMMAD ABDUL RAHMAN. Tribe—Majartain Somali | 36 | 180 | 144 | 80 | 5 10 | 5 8½ |
| (18) UTHMAN QAYTI. Tribe—Majartain Somali | 30 | 174 | 142 | 81·61 | 5 8½ | 5 10 |
| (19) AHMADLI. Somali ... ... ... | 20 | 163 | 130 | 79·1 | 5 4¾ | 5 4 |
| (20) ALI BIN YUSUF. Somali ... ... ... | 20 | 175 | [illegible] | 78·3 | 5 4½ | 5 2 |
| (21) MUSA ALI. Somali ... ... ... | 20 | 169 | 138 | [illegible] | 5 4½ | 5 8½ |
| (22) HAMAD BIN SALIH. Tribe—Bani Bu Hasan (Hinawiyah). Omani | 26 | 171 | 148 | 86·55 | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| (23) AMR BIN SAIF. Tribe of the Shaikhs of Beni Ali (Hinawi). Omani | 21 | 167 | 144 | 86·23 | 5 4¾ | 5 4 |
| (24) LUBKHIT BIN MUSELLIM. Tribe—Bait'isa. Qara | 33 | 168 | 146 | 86·9 | 5 9 | 5 10½ |
| (25) EBRUN BIN MUSELLIM. Qarawi of Shaikhly family. Bait Tabok | 35 | 165 | 150 | 90·91 | 5 4 | 5 5 |

NOTE.—Specimens 16–20 are Somali domiciled in Dhufar for several years, but of Somali origin and the seaport town of Bandar Gasim. They seem to have a good deal of back to the head, as opposed to the

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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| Body Colour. | Hair. | Nose. | Eyes. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dark brown, but fairer than Qara | Long mop of curly hair; chin tuft and faint down on cheeks, hairy legs, but hairless body | Straight; moderately short and fleshy; slight dimple in end | Brown, slit ... | Much more squat than others. Small ear. |
| Dark brown, very dark face | Mop of very dark brown hair, slightly curly (almost straight); black beard; hairy body | Heavy well-shaped nose, delicate nostrils (distinctive in Qara); dimple on end of nose | Round, lightish brown. Straight brows | Lithe appearance. |
| Blackish brown ... | Curlyish; little on face, slight moustache and chin fluff; hairless body | Straight; widish nostrils | Small and round, slit upwards; blackish brown | Large flapping ears; full lips, large teeth. |
| Blackish brown ... | Cropped and straight; chin fluff; hairless body | Straight but squat; full nostrils | Round; blackish brown | Thick lips; rather negroid. |
| Blackish ... ... | Cropped; probably rather straight; no beard, but chin tuft and lip fluff; hairless body | Straight, short, large nostrils | Large and black; almond shape | Small round ear; thick lips, big teeth. |
| Black ... ... | Cropped, no eyebrows or face growth; hairless body | Straight, pointed; rather large nostrils | Black ... ... | Tiny ear, flat with lobe; big teeth, negro lips. |
| Black ... ... | Cropped, no eyebrows or face growth; hairless body | Straight, pointed; rather large nostrils | Black ... ... | Tiny ear, flat with lobe; big teeth, negro lips. |
| Black ... ... | Cropped, but probably curly spiral hair; beardless | Short, straight and fleshy; largish nostrils, but not negroid | Blackish brown ... | Small ear, negro lips. |
| Lightish brown or yellow | Straight, considerable beard and moustache; little hair on body; arched eyebrows; hair recedes on temples | Large, long and straight well-shaped nose; elongated nostrils standing out from axis of brow | Large and round, brown, set widely apart | Largish ear; very fair compared with S. Arabians. Thick lips, small teeth, not negroid. |
| Lightish brown yellow | Straight and black; slight beard and moustache | Straight and pointed; delicate nostrils | Brown, round and beady; set widely apart | Thick lips, not negroid. |
| Darkish brown ... | Black, almost straight; fairly heavy beard; almost hairless body | Straight, fairly fleshy | Large, brown ... | Badu type; will not intermarry, so are pure; very broad upper face. Pouting mouth. |
| Dark brown ... | Dark brown, slightly curly; hairy chest, slight beard; black chin tuft | Straight, slightly retroussé | Round, greenish brown | Full but well-shaped mouth. Stands with one leg in front of other. |

parentage. They are decidedly darker than the general run, and seem to be much mixed. They come from straighter back of the South Arabian types.

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| No., Name and Tribe. | Age. | Head. Length. | Head. Breadth. | C.I. | Height. | Span. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | ft. in. | ft. in. |
| (26) JUM'AN BIN ASHUB. Tribe—Bin Zuferol. Shahari (the Shaikh of the tribe of Zuferol) | 47 | 162 | 158 | 97·53 | 5 5 | 5 7½ |
| (27) ALBUKAIT BIN JUM'AN. Tribe—Bin Zuferol. Shahari. (Son of above) | 18 | 164 | 150 | 91·46 | 5 3¾ | 5 7. |
| (28) UNBURK BIN SA'ID (Mubarrak). Tribe—Bain Zuferol. Shahari | 24 | 168 | 148 | 88·10 | 5 3½ | 5 6¼ |
| (29) JUM'AN BIN ALI. Tribe—Zuferol ... | 40 | 175 | 151 | ~~86·29~~ | ~~5~~ 4 | 5 6½ |
| (30) AHMAD BIN ALI. Tribe—Zuferol. Shahari | 60 | 171 | 143 | 83·63 | 5 0 | ~~5~~ 2½ |
| (31) SA'ID BIN ALI. Tribe—Zuferol. Shahari... | 33 | 170 | ~~146~~ | ~~85·88~~ | 5 4 | 5 5½ |
| (32) INSTAHAIL DUN MAHUD. Tribe—Shahari | 40 | 181 | 151 | 83·43 | 5 8 | 5 8½ |
| (33) DAHABA BIN SA'ID. Harsusi (Harasis in own language). Harsid | 22 | 174 | 145 | 83·33 | 5 1½ | 5 4¾ |
| (34) SAID BIN SHAGHAIYAH. Tribe—Bait Kathir. Al Masen section | 35 | 170 | 148 | 87·06 | 5 6 | 5 9 |
| (35) BOKHIT BA RAQIQA. Tribe—Bait Kathir. Al Masen section | 35 | 163 | 150 | 92·02 | 5 5 | 5 8½ |
| (36) SAID BIN MAHUNT. Tribe—Shahari. (European and Scandinavian colour) | 30 | 173 | 146 | 84·39 | 5 1 | 5 5 |

NOTE.—Nos. 26 to 32 are Shahari: none wore the right earring which is so distinctive of the rather large brows, larger ears with no lobe, hair curlier, feet turn outward, bigger chins, shorter thumbs out at different angle from face. The mouth is a distinguishing feature; they do not pout, the teeth of

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhrama MM 2



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| Body Colour. | Hair. | Nose. | Eyes. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dark brownish chocolate | Curly, black, turning to grey; slight beard grown, chin tufts rusty grey | Straight, broad and fleshy; wide nostrils | Brown, almond shape, straight eyebrows, thickish; set well apart | Hunted expression of Shaikhly family; thin lips, broad forehead. |
| Dark brown ... | Curly black, not frizzy; hairless body; slight lip fringe | Straight ... ... | Brown, almond-shape; set well apart; thick lashes | No lobe to ear. Squatter build than Qara. |
| Blackish brown with indigo | Thick mop of very dark brown wavy hair; slight on chest | Long and straight; stands out at more of an angle than Qara. | Small slit, light brown, turning upwards. Straight heavy lashes | Fairly thin lips; largish ear. |
| Yellowish brown | Mop of blackish brown curls; thick black beard, more than normal | Long fleshy at base, straight, stands out from axis, slightly curved | Round, greenish brown; thick, straight brows. | Straight, well-formed lips; big ear. |
| Dark brown ... | Curly, rusty grey; stoutish beard, but short | Fairly large and fleshy, well-formed | Brownish, losing colour; green iris; straightish black brows | Very large ears; thin lips. |
| Dark yellowish brown | Black-brown mop of curls; chin fluff and moustache, but no beard or body hair | Small, well-formed, straight and pointed nose; fairly large nostrils. Stands out well from face | Rather round; eyebrows tend to droop | Hunted expression; full, small mouth; small ear. |
| Rather dark brown | Mops of thick curls, rusty grey | Short, straight, pointed and wide; largish nostrils | Round and brown, wide set; thick, straight eyebrows | Thin lips; moderate-sized ears with no lobe. Hunted expression. |
| Rather light brown (yellowish) straw coloured | Heavy black, rather wavy; slight chin fluff and moustache, no body hair | Long, narrow, and hooked | Wide-set, almond-shape, cross-eyed look | Well-shaped mouth, full but not thick lips. Short and thickset, not a S. Arabian type, but distinctive; bow legs and toes turning in. |
| Rather light brown for local Badus | Large waving black curls; slight black beard and chin tuft. Almost hairless body | Straight, well-shaped, fairly heavy at tip | Large, light brown, set wide apart | Full lips. Badus, who do not work incense trees. Largish ears. Feet turned in. |
| Rather light brown for local Badus | Mass of small plaits; slight beard and chin tuft; slight body hair | Heavy, curved, and fleshy. Roman | Rather light brown; set wide apart | Full lips. Rather large ears; feet turned in. Badus, who do not work incense trees. |
| Pink, large brownish spots | Straight straw-coloured; ginger beard, heavier than locals; body and leg hair | Long, eagle-shaped; long slit nostrils | Bluish, closely set white; poor eyebrows | Straight, thin, rather European lips. |

**Mahra and Qara.** They have longer necks than the Qara, broader heads, and are more squat in appearance, and nails, longer upper lip than either Qara or Mahra, hunted expression, of one complexion, nose stands both jaws coming together and not projecting.

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MN12 Hadhramaut MM2



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| No., Name and Tribe. | Age. | Head. Length. | Head. Breadth. | C.I. | Height. ft. in. | Span. ft. in. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (37) SALIM BIN DAHAIYER. Tribe—Bautahari | 40 | 182 | 144 | 79·12 | 5 7 | 5 8 |
| (38) ABUD BIN 'ISA AL 'AIYUNI. Tribe—Imburruz. (One day from Riyadh. A Najdi of Arabia, soldier of Sultanate Ahl al Charb) | 65 | 180 | 142 | 78·89 | 5 5 | 5 6½ |
| (39) TALIB BIN HALAIYIL. Tribe—Al Murra. Al Maytha. (Aluwair Badu of Qatar and sands, servant of) | 28 | 172 | 143 | 83·14 | 5 1½ | 5 3½ |
| (40) KILTHUT BIN SALIH. Rashidi ... ... | 24 | 171 | 141 | 82·46 | 5 3 | 5 4½ |

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| Body Colour. | Hair. | Nose. | Eyes. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dark brown ... | Straight, black, full white beard; body hair brown | Long, fleshy, slightly hooked at tip | Small, round, closely set; no upper eyelid | Tight lips, slightly protruding; very small ears, almost no lobe. Furtive look; fish-eating race; very small teeth. |
| Rather dark brown; less chocolate than locals | Rather straight, white; more beard than locals; body hairless | Heavy and rather squat | Round and black with upper eyelids | Tight, but rather full lips; large ears. Quite distinct from locals. |
| Hairy chest, black | Straight, and very dark brown; black, hairy chest. Beard | Rather short, projecting; slightly curved | Small, round and black | Rather large ears bandy legs; hairy. |
| Hairy chest, black | Rather straight, dark brown; hairy chest and legs | Rather large, straight, aquiline | Brown, almond-shape | Thick projecting lips; short teeth, tattooed gums. Foxy face. |

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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FIG. 1.—FOAL UBAID BADU, HADHRAMAUT. KARADI ON MAP.

FIG. 2.—FOAL UBAID BADU, HADHRAMAUT. KARADI ON MAP.

FIG. 3.—SHAIKH HASAN. QARA TRIBE.

FIG. 4.—SHAIKH HASAN. QARA TRIBE.



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FIG. 12.—A SHAHARI.

FIG. 11.—A MAHRI.

FIG. 10.—AN OMANI.

FIG. 9.—AN OMANI.

SOUTH ARABIAN TYPES.

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# 142

142 DESCRIPTIVE SOMATOLOGY--color of skin, hair, and eyes; form, length, and distribution of hair; musculature; secondary sexual characteristics; somatotype data; etc.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 ~~Hadhramaut MM2~~
Zanzibar FM1



hramaut, and even though they may live in the Territory for many years, they visit their own country when possible and send their children there to school. H 167 186

*Zanzibar.*—Writing of his visit to Zanzibar in 1857 Burton (*Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast*, Vol. 1, p. 378) says, " the poorer Arabs who flock to Zanzibar during the season are Hazramis, and they work and live hard as the Hammals of Stamboul. These men club and mess together in gangs under an Akidah (head man), who supplies them with rice, ghi and scones, and who keeps the accounts so skilfully, that the labourer receives annually about $35, though he may gain four times that sum." Z 167 464 H 167 464

Speaking of the same period Colonel Rigby, His Britannic Majesty's Consul and Honourable Company's Agent, says in his report on Zanzibar for 1860, " a considerable number of Arabs from the Hadhramaut coast also come to labour as porters and carriers, they are a patient, industrious people, and most useful to the merchants in loading and unloading ships."

This was high praise from Rigby who was critical, and contrasts in a remarkable manner with his next statement about immigrants from Sur further along the coast. " The Arabs from the coast of Omān called ' Soorees ' are also numerous; they are a troublesome, turbulent, plundering race always ready for any mischief. They are filthy, squalid, ill featured savages and arrant cowards."

Major F. B. Pearce, a late British Resident at Zanzibar, wrote in 1919 that the Hadhramis formed an important section of the Arab population of Zanzibar. " In physical appearance, pursuits and mode of life they differ somewhat from the Oman Arab. The Mshihiri[1] is a thin, spare man of medium height, without an ounce of superflous flesh on his body. His face is long and thin and generally hairless; and those of them who have not resided sufficiently long in Zanzibar to become enervated by its softening climate and surroundings possess a marked glitter of the eye, indicative of hidden fires within, which might burst forth on little provocation. H 142 167 Z 167

" Under the normal conditions of life in Zanzibar they are hard and willing workers, keeping much to themselves, and living together in a special quarter of the town. H 167 186

" While some of the more influential and wealthier Mshihiris have made Zanzibar their permanent home, the majority come to the Sultanate for a period in order to earn money, and they then return to their own home in Arabia. When in Zanzibar they work in the port loading and unloading ships, and they are in great demand as stevedores up and down the coast. The lighter forms of labour sought for by the Mshihiri is water carrying from house to house, and they perform this work with the same assiduity and ~~tiredness, as in the heavier labour connected with shipping~~ 464 Z 464 167

[1] The singular of the Swahiliised form of Shihiri, the plural is Washihiri.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101 776

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

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But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west. 142

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration. 778

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting. 181 291 576

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy. 619 631 643

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it. [144]

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe. 576

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 101 174 619

As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000.

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambīyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870.

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamīs*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turban-wise round his head.

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This,

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passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

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The tribes of the Central South have a poor reputation as regards the *radud-as-salaam*.[1] 576
The *radud-as-salaam* merely means that when two persons meet, between whose tribes there 577
is blood or other enmity, and one says to the other—"Peace be upon you" and the other replies "And upon you be peace," they have buried the hatchet for the nonce. For one now to take advantage of the other and slay him in his sleep, for instance, would in any other part of Arabia be the deepest treachery. Not so amongst this lawless brood, however. That it may happen elsewhere is possible, but normally the offender would be hounded out of his own tribe or be required to make some requital and his name would be for ever smirched. These non-Arabic speaking tribes of the Central South have no such regard for the elsewhere universal law. They also observe in the breach what is elsewhere a fixed canon, the *thamn-al-batn* or "stomach 574
price." This is an elaboration of the law of three days' hospitality. If a Badu has eaten the 171
salt of a man his goods are safe for a period of four days and four nights, the time for the last 576
vestige of food to have passed from his body. If the Badu's tribe unwittingly raids the man 671
during these four days they must and do return the loot. This *thamn-al-batn* is sacred with the other tribes of the southern fringe but not with the non-Arab group. Who and whence are these tribes? Indigenous? Of African origin? or have they a common origin with African tribes, or are none of these hypotheses tenable? Here is an almost black race of brachycephals, and brachycephaly properly belongs to Asia. The answer is for you to decide. History sheds but little light.

In the year A.D. 1325 Ibn Batuta, the great Moorish traveller and theologian, set out on 175
his 25 years' travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia and elsewhere. He sojourned 144
in Dhufar and amongst what he wrote of it was this:—"Another thing is that its people closely resemble the people of North-West Africa in their customs. . . . The outlying population is not Arab, but of a Sudanic type." Does Ibn Batuta help us?

The following discussion took place after the paper:—

Sir Arthur Keith said that Capt. Bertram Thomas had thrown light on one of the darkest anthropological 144
corners of the world. It was now clear that the Southern Arabs were very different from the Northern Arabs 142
—in almost every respect. If one sought to trace the affinities of the Southern Arabs by judging from their external appearances—as revealed in Capt. Thomas's photographs—one was immediately reminded of the native type of North-Eastern Africa. To his eye the Southern Arabs showed in their fuzzy hair and black—or dark brown—pigmentation of hair and skin, as well as in their facial features, distinct Hamitic or Somali-like affinities. On the other hand, Capt. Thomas's measurements of heads proved that the Southern Arabs differed from the Hamitic peoples of Africa and also from the Arabs of Northern Arabia in having skulls which were short and wide. The width of the heads of Southern Arabs was between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. of the length. The Southern Arabs were distinctly and highly round-headed—or brachycephalic. Hamitic peoples and the Badawin (Arab) type of Northern and North-Western Arabia were usually long-headed or dolichocephalic. Thus Capt. Thomas's observations confirmed the data collected by Professor C. G. Seligman fourteen years ago that the people of Southern Arabia are round-headed or brachycephalic.

Although the Southern Arabs—who were of low stature, the men being usually about 64 inches in height—showed certain Hamitic traits in their features, yet these were overshadowed by others which proclaimed an affinity to the Caucasian or white stock of mankind. They were less fully bearded than the Northern Arab and yet more so than among Hamites. In some respects the South Arabian type bridged the difference between Semite and Hamite.

[1] It is only within comparatively recent times that the Bauthara would recognize the *rabia* at all.

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Sir Arthur looked on the Arabs of Oman and of the Persian Gulf littoral as differing in type from the Arabs living along the Southern Coast of Arabia. In the Oman Arabs—one of whose skulls was preserved in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons—there is to be seen a very lofty head, which was flattened and high in its hinder or occipital wall. There was usually in the Omanese type a Semitic type of nose with long face and a tendency to adiposity of body. The Omanese were probably the descendants of a very ancient colony of traders. The type is South Caspian in origin, and is still to be observed in certain communities in India—particularly in Bombay. The Omanese type could in his opinion be named Armenoid—as Dr. Seligman maintained—but the brachycephalic form of skull found amongst the Southern Arabs seemed to him to differ from that ascribed to the typical Armenian. It is true that some of Capt. B. Thomas's photographs of the Southern Arabs did show the high Armenoid occiput, but this character was an exceptional, not a prevalent, feature.

Capt. Bertram Thomas's observations in South Arabia threw light on one of the major problems relating to the evolution of modern races of mankind. A survey of the present distribution of races led to the supposition that the negro type at one time was distributed across the southern hemisphere from the Congo in Africa to the Islands of the Pacific—this original black band extending through Arabia, Persia, Baluchistan, India, and further India. One had a right to suppose that, at various phases of the latest geological period of the earth's history, Arabia, the Sahara, and the deserts of Central Asia had been fertile lands. The middle part of this primeval black or negro belt had been replaced—or transmuted—by evolutionary changes so as to give rise to the Hamitic type in Africa and the Dravidian type in India, for clearly the Hamitic and Dravidian types, from an elementary point of view, were not far apart.

"Now when we look," Sir Arthur said in conclusion, "at a racial map of the present world, we see that the black belt has been broken through in two regions of Asia. In Eastern Asia the Mongolian stock has broken through at various times and by various waves to gain the Pacific—the Polynesian and Malayan 'break-throughs.' Then in Western Asia there has been the Caucasian break-through, so that we find to-day the lands which extend from the Indus Valley to the Red Sea, occupied by peoples of the Caucasian stock. When the Caucasian break-through took place we have as yet no certain information, but it must be of ancient date—probably late Pleistocene, when the culture of the Caucasian stock was that known as Aurignacian. We may suppose that the people who now inhabit Southern Arabia represent the advance guard of the Caucasian stock—the pioneers who first penetrated the Arabian peninsula and replaced its black-skinned Hamitic inhabitants. The Hamitic characters now seen in the South Arabs may be the result of an intermingling of the Arab pioneers with the Hamitic natives. To explain the fact that the South Arabs are brachycephalic we have to suppose that their original home was between the Pamir and Asia Minor, for it is in this part of Asia that the Armenoid type of skull seems to have been evolved—on the ethnological frontier between the Mongolian and Caucasian stocks. The oldest skulls we know of from Mesopotamia (Ur) are long-headed—of the North Arab type. We must suppose, then, that the brachycephalic South Arab had passed southwards before the long-headed Sumerians had occupied the lower regions of the Euphrates-Tigris Valley. This explanation seems more probable than to suppose that a brachycephalic skull had evolved independently among the people of South Arabia. Amongst the South Arabian boys and girls are to be seen not infrequently individuals who recall children of the Dravidians. If the theory just outlined is accepted, the resemblances of the Southern Arabs to the Dravidians of India and Hamites of Africa will be understood and explained."

Professor C. G. Seligman said: "We may first regard Mr. Thomas's subjects as constituting a single group, 'Southern Arabians,' when we find that they differ from the inhabitants of Northern Arabia in being not long-headed but very decidedly round-headed, *i.e.* in the higher grades of brachycephaly. If we divide these Southern Arabians into two groups, (1) Arabic-speaking, and (2) non-Arabic-speaking, we find that the latter are even rounder-headed than the former. Omitting two tall men from Oman, the two groups are nearly identical in stature. Both groups, then, are brachycephalic and both are of medium stature.

"Further, the two Omani men have notably high round skulls, with a steeply sloping but not flat occiput, long oval faces, notably Armenoid noses with pronounced nostrility, hair which appears to be straight, and a moderate beard of rather wavy hair. These men are typical members of the Armenoid race, and their features fit one of the Oman skulls in the Royal College of Surgeons extraordinarily well. The other Arabic-speaking tribesmen from the south-east, if less typically Armenoid, are yet so round-headed and have such

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typical, so-called 'Jewish,' noses that they can only be regarded as Armenoids. There is, however, a limited number of subjects who are round-headed certainly but broad-faced, with prominent cheekbones and a straight nose not the least Armenoid, who cannot be placed at present. 144 142

"Turning to the non-Arabic-speaking tribes, these are even more round-headed than the Arabic-speaking group, and the majority have more or less oval and generally rather long faces, with pronounced Armenoid noses. Again, however, there are a few exceptions.

"If we endeavour to sum up the information presented by the measurements and photographs brought back by Mr. Thomas, we can only say that (omitting a small number of unusual types) there is no very outstanding difference between the Arabic and non-Arabic-speaking groups, and both are predominantly Armenoid. This, as I pointed out in 1917, is the race to which the Arabs of South-Western Arabia belong. I cannot see that there is any reason to regard Mr. Thomas's subjects as Hamitic, nor have I been able to trace resemblances to such Abyssinian photographs as are at my disposal.

"Now such pronounced Armenoid characters can only point back to Near Eastern Asia and to Mesopotamia, using that term in the widest sense to include, if necessary, an undefined area to the east of the Tigris. I put it this way because Mr. Thomas assures me that his men of the Empty Quarter are not like those he knew in Mesopotamia, but I think there may well have been some degree of change in feature between the time when the Armenoids came into Southern Arabia and the present period.

"As to the probability of the intensity and long standing of Mesopotamian influence in South Arabia, I need only refer to the general geographical and cultural conditions which render it almost inevitable, and I would particularly stress the South Arabian coins of 70–40 B.C., depicting high round-heads, totally different in shape from that of the Northern Arab, and also the fact that twice in mediæval times considerable bodies of men have moved from Mesopotamia to South Arabia and *vice versa*. About A.D. 570 the Yaman was conquered by the Persians under Khosroes I, who installed a Governor whose successors continued to rule the country until Badhan, the last Governor, accepted Islam. The other example, which shows that it was easy for a considerable body of men to pass from Arabia to Mesopotamia, is offered by the march of Khalid ibn Walid, 'the sword of God,' in the early days of Islam. The Persians were defeated in the neighbourhood of the modern Kuwait by an army marching from Arabia, and Khalid was not again opposed until he reached the neighbourhood of the Tigris canal, where he gained a new victory.

"I may add that the terraced hills of Southern Arabia and the history of the dam at Marib all point to relatively early contacts with just such an engineering agricultural people as the round-headed Armenoid inhabitants of Mesopotamia."

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| No., Name and Tribe. | Age. | Head. Length. | Head. Breadth. | C.I. | Height. | Span. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | ft. in. | ft. in. |
| (1) AHMAD BIN ALI. Tribe—Ahl Yazid Yafa | 20 | 184 | 151 | 82·07 | 5 2¼ | 5 3½ |
| (2) NASIR BIN MAHEIN. Tribe—Yahar Yafa | 25 | 180 | 141 | 78·33 | 5 2½ | 5 2½ |
| (3) SHAIYIF BIN SALIH. Tribe—Yahar Yafa | 23 | 174 | 137 | 79·7 | 5 4 | 5 6¾ |
| (4) ALI BIN AHMAD. Tribe—Ahl sa'ad Yafa | 22 | 165 | 142 | 86·06 | 5 2¼ | 5 3½ |
| (5) NASIR BIN MUHAMMAD. Tribe—Ahl Yazid Yafa | 28 | 173 | 144 | 83·24 | 5 5½ | 5 3½ |
| (6) SA'AD BIN MUSELLIM. Tribe—Bit Shatana Mahra | 23 | 163 | 148 | 90·8 | 5 5 | 5 4 |
| (7) SALIM BIN SA'ID. Tribe—Bit Hanif Mahra | 20 | 167 | 148 | 88·6 | 5 3 | 5 4½ |
| (8) SA'ID BIN HAMAD. Tribe—Bit Shat'ans Mahra | 27 | 175 | 143 | 81·71 | 5 3¾ | 5 6 |
| (9) MUSELLIM BIN SA'AD. Tribe—Mahra ... | 27 | 167 | 144 | 86·23 | 5 5 | 5 6 |
| (10) ABUD BIN SA'ID. Tribe—Bait Ali Iskar'on Mahri (but not Bir Boki) | 34 | 172 | 148 | 86·05 | 5 8 | 5 8 |
| (11) SA'ID BIN HAMAD BIN QATAMIN. Tribe—Al Kathiri (Bait Marhun) | 32 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (12) ALI AL DHAB'AN. Tribe—Mashai'a (Bal Ubaid), W. Irmah, N. Hadhramaut | 40 | 174 | 150 | 86·21 | 5 4½ | 5 4 |
| (13) SA'ID BIN SAIF (Wali of Dhufar). Tribe—Bahari of Oman | 47 | 174 | 144 | 82·76 | 5 6½ | 5 7½ |

NOTE.—The above (1–5) are Al Yafa soldiers recruited from hinterland of Aden for service in Sultan's and downwards; a hairless race except the bountiful growth on their heads. Their hair is extremely coarse

NOTE.—All Mahra have heavy eyebrows, black mop hair, but comparatively hairless faces—a little

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| Body Colour. | Hair. | Nose. | Eyes. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Greenish - brown dark chocolate colour | Golliwog, frizzy, long spirals. No beards as yet, lip fluff | Slightly hooked, but moderately fleshy | Large green, almond - shape, droop at edges | Arms reaching nearly to knee; small ears. |
| Dark brown ... | Golliwog, long and frizzy. Hairless body, chin fluff | Long, straight, circular nostrils | Large, brown | Falsetto voice. |
| Dark brown ... | Frizzy; hairless body | Very straight, fleshy at base, wide nostrils | Dark brown, almond shape, drooping downward | Arms reaching nearly to knees; small ears |
| Dark brown, greenish face | Curly, but not frizzy; body more hairy than companions; slight moustache | Slightly crooked; long, moderate nostrils | Almond brown | Small ears. |
| Dark brown, greenish face | Curly, mop of very small spirals moderately hairless body, slight moustache, chin fluff | Shortish, very straight, pointed round nostrils | Almond shape, dark brown | Small ears. |
| Dark brown, same as Yafa, greenish face | Curly, but not frizzy; hairless body, little beard, but slight chin fluff | Hooked, narrow nostrils | Brown, small almond shape, slit upwards | Arms reach above knee, shorter than Yafa, emaciated. Large teeth. |
| Dark brown body, greenish face | Slightly long, curly; hairless body | Hooked, small; long nostrils | Nearly black; sloping slightly upwards | Heavy eyebrows, rather projecting teeth. |
| Dark brown, greenish face | Curly mop hair, poor face growth; chin tuft; hairless body, except chest | Straight and delicate; long straight nostrils | Brown, almond shape; slant upwards | Shaikhly family. Large teeth. |
| Dark brown, greenish face | Mop curly hair, chin tuft and side fluff, otherwise no beard; almost hairless body | Short; long nostrils | Largish brown, almond shape, sloping upwards | Big teeth, thick underlip. |
| Dark brown ... | Long wavy ringlets; black hairy chest, beard. Mahfif | Short, straight, fairly open nostrils | Round, very dark brown; thick eyelashes, shallow upper eyelid | Father Mahri of Jadhib, not a Badu; appears better race than local Badu. |
| Dark brown ... | Long wavy ringlets. Mahfif. Hairless body | Long, slightly hooked and pointed, stands out from axis of brow | Greenish brown, small slit | — |
| Very dark brown | Long and wavy, moderate beard; hairy legs, but hairless chest and arms | Straight and pointed, standing out from brow: moderate length, wide but slanting nostrils | Large brown; round and slightly upturned | Smallish ears. |
| Palish yellow, black hairy body | Straight and short; beard | Long and curved; slit nostrils; fleshy | Brown ... ... | Big ears. |

fort at Salalah. General appearance distinctive; golliwog hair, faces broad at cheek-bones, tapering upwards, but greasy with coconut oil.
chin fluff and side fluff only.

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| No., Name and Tribe. | Age. | Head. Length. | Head. Breadth. | C.I. | Height. | Span. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | ft. in. | ft. in. |
| (14) SA'ID BIN JUM'AN. Tribe—Shahari (Bin Ziferol) | 20 | 164 | 150 | 91·46 | 5 2 | 5 3½ |
| (15) HASAN BIN MUSELLIM. Tribe—Bin Tabok (Qara) | 40 | 168 | 147 | 87·5 | 5 5 | 5 5½ |
| (16) MUSA ALI. Tribe—Bait Majartain Somali | 32 | 188 | 147 | 78·19 | 5 8½ | 6 0 |
| (17) MUHAMMAD ABDUL RAHMAN. Tribe—Majartain Somali | 36 | 180 | 144 | [illegible] | 5 10 | 5 8½ |
| (18) UTHMAN QAYTI. Tribe—Majartain Somali | 30 | 174 | 142 | 81·61 | 5 8½ | 5 10 |
| (19) AHMADLI. Somali ... ... ... | 20 | 163 | 130 | 79·1 | 5 4¾ | 5 4 |
| (20) ALI BIN YUSUF. Somali ... ... ... | 20 | 175 | 1[illegible] | 78·3 | 5 4½ | 5 2 |
| (21) MUSA ALI. Somali ... ... ... | 20 | 169 | 138 | 8[illegible]·5 | 5 4½ | 5 8½ |
| (22) HAMAD BIN SALIH. Tribe—Bani Bu Hasan (Hinawiyah). Omani | 26 | 171 | 148 | 86·55 | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| (23) AMR BIN SAIF. Tribe of the Shaikhs of Beni Ali (Hinawi). Omani | 21 | 167 | 144 | 86·23 | 5 4½ | 5 4 |
| (24) LUBKHIT BIN MUSELLIM. Tribe—Bait'isa. Qara | 33 | 168 | 146 | 86·9 | 5 9 | 5 10½ |
| (25) ESERUN BIN MUSELLIM. Qarawi of Shaikhly family. Bait Tabok | 35 | 165 | 150 | 90·91 | 5 4 | 5 5 |

NOTE.—Specimens 16–20 are Somali domiciled in Dhufar for several years, but of Somali origin and the seaport town of Bandar Gasim. They seem to have a good deal of back to the head, as opposed to the

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| Body Colour. | Hair. | Nose. | Eyes. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dark brown, but fairer than Qara | Long mop of curly hair; chin tuft and faint down on cheeks, hairy legs, but hairless body | Straight; moderately short and fleshy; slight dimple in end | Brown, slit ... | Much more squat than others. Small ear. |
| Dark brown, very dark face | Mop of very dark brown hair, slightly curly (almost straight); black beard; hairy body | Heavy well-shaped nose, delicate nostrils (distinctive in Qara); dimple on end of nose | Round, lightish brown. Straight brows | Lithe appearance. |
| Blackish brown ... | Curlyish; little on face, slight moustache and chin fluff; hairless body | Straight; widish nostrils | Small and round, slit upwards; blackish brown | Large flapping ears; full lips, large teeth. |
| Blackish brown ... | Cropped and straight; chin fluff; hairless body | Straight but squat; full nostrils | Round; blackish brown | Thick lips; rather negroid. |
| Blackish ... ... | Cropped; probably rather straight; no beard, but chin tuft and lip fluff; hairless body | Straight, short, large nostrils | Large and black; almond shape | Small round ear; thick lips, big teeth. |
| Black ... ... | Cropped, no eyebrows or face growth; hairless body | Straight, pointed; rather large nostrils | Black ... ... | Tiny ear, flat with lobe; big teeth, negro lips. |
| Black ... ... | Cropped, no eyebrows or face growth; hairless body | Straight, pointed; rather large nostrils | Black ... ... | Tiny ear, flat with lobe; big teeth, negro lips. |
| Black ... ... | Cropped, but probably curly spiral hair; beardless | Short, straight and fleshy; largish nostrils, but not negroid | Blackish brown ... | Small ear, negro lips. |
| Lightish brown or yellow | Straight, considerable beard and moustache; little hair on body; arched eyebrows; hair recedes on temples | Large, long and straight well-shaped nose; elongated nostrils standing out from axis of brow | Large and round, brown, set widely apart | Largish ear; very fair compared with S. Arabians. Thick lips, small teeth, not negroid. |
| Lightish brown yellow | Straight and black; slight beard and moustache | Straight and pointed; delicate nostrils | Brown, round and beady; set widely apart | Thick lips, not negroid. |
| Darkish brown ... | Black, almost straight; fairly heavy beard; almost hairless body | Straight, fairly fleshy | Large, brown ... | Badu type; will not intermarry, so are pure; very broad upper face. Pouting mouth. |
| Dark brown ... | Dark brown, slightly curly; hairy chest, slight beard; black chin tuft | Straight, slightly retroussé | Round, greenish brown | Full but well-shaped mouth. Stands with one leg in front of other. |

parentage. They are decidedly darker than the general run, and seem to be much mixed. They come from straighter back of the South Arabian types.

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| No., Name and Tribe. | Age. | Head. Length. | Head. Breadth. | C.I. | Height. ft. in. | Span. ft. in. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (26) JUM'AN BIN ASHUB. Tribe—Bin Zuferol. Shahari (the Shaikh of the tribe of Zuferol) | 47 | 162 | 158 | 97·53 | 5 5 | 5 7½ |
| (27) ALBUKAIT BIN JUM'AN. Tribe—Bin Zuferol. Shahari. (Son of above) | 18 | 164 | 150 | 91·46 | 5 3¾ | 5 7 |
| (28) UNBURK BIN SA'ID (Mubarrak). Tribe—Bain Zuferol. Shahari | 24 | 168 | 148 | 88·10 | 5 3½ | 5 6¼ |
| (29) JUM'AN BIN ALI. Tribe—Zuferol ... | 40 | 175 | 151 | ~~86·29~~ | ~~5~~ 4 | 5 6½ |
| (30) AHMAD BIN ALI. Tribe—Zuferol. Shahari | 60 | 171 | 143 | 83·63 | 5 0 | 5 2½ |
| (31) SA'ID BIN ALI. Tribe—Zuferol. Shahari... | 33 | 170 | ~~146~~ | ~~85·88~~ | 5 4 | 5 5½ |
| (32) INSTAHAIL DUN MAHUD. Tribe—Shahari | 40 | 181 | 151 | 83·43 | 5 8 | 5 8½ |
| (33) DAHABA BIN SA'ID. Harsusi (Harasis in own language). Harsid | 22 | 174 | 145 | 83·33 | 5 1½ | 5 4¾ |
| (34) SAID BIN SHAGHAIYAH. Tribe—Bait Kathir. Al Masen section | 35 | 170 | 148 | 87·06 | 5 6 | 5 9 |
| (35) BOKHIT BA RAQIQA. Tribe—Bait Kathir. Al Masen section | 35 | 163 | 150 | 92·02 | 5 5 | 5 8½ |
| (36) SAID BIN MAHUNT. Tribe—Shahari. (European and Scandinavian colour) | 30 | 173 | 146 | 84·39 | 5 1 | 5 5 |

NOTE.—Nos. 26 to 32 are Shahari: none wore the right earring which is so distinctive of the rather large brows, larger ears with no lobe, hair curlier, feet turn outward, bigger chins, shorter thumbs out at different angle from face. The mouth is a distinguishing feature; they do not pout, the teeth of

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| Body Colour. | Hair. | Nose. | Eyes. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dark brownish chocolate | Curly, black, turning to grey; slight beard grown, chin tufts rusty grey | Straight, broad and fleshy; wide nostrils | Brown, almond shape, straight eyebrows, thickish; set well apart | Hunted expression of Shaikhly family; thin lips, broad forehead. |
| Dark brown ... | Curly black, not frizzy; hairless body; slight lip fringe | Straight ... ... | Brown, almond-shape; set well apart; thick lashes | No lobe to ear. Squatter build than Qara. |
| Blackish brown with indigo | Thick mop of very dark brown wavy hair; slight on chest | Long and straight; stands out at more of an angle than Qara. | Small slit, light brown, turning upwards. Straight heavy lashes | Fairly thin lips; largish ear. |
| Yellowish brown | Mop of blackish brown curls; thick black beard, more than normal | Long fleshy at base, straight, stands out from axis, slightly curved | Round, greenish brown; thick, straight brows. | Straight, well formed lips; big ear. |
| Dark brown ... | Curly, rusty grey; stoutish beard, but short | Fairly large and fleshy, well-formed | Brownish, losing colour; green iris; straightish black brows | Very large ears; thin lips. |
| Dark yellowish brown | Black-brown mop of curls; chin fluff and moustache, but no beard or body hair | Small, well-formed, straight and pointed nose; fairly large nostrils. Stands out well from face | Rather round; eyebrows tend to droop | Hunted expression; full, small mouth; small ear. |
| Rather dark brown | Mops of thick curls, rusty grey | Short, straight, pointed and wide; largish nostrils | Round and brown, wide set; thick, straight eyebrows | Thin lips; moderate-sized ears with no lobe. Hunted expression. |
| Rather light brown (yellowish) straw coloured | Heavy black, rather wavy; slight chin fluff and moustache, no body hair | Long, narrow, and hooked | Wide-set, almond-shape, cross-eyed look | Well-shaped mouth, full but not thick lips. Short and thickset, not a S. Arabian type, but distinctive; bow legs and toes turning in. |
| Rather light brown for local Badus | Large waving black curls; slight black beard and chin tuft. Almost hairless body | Straight, well-shaped, fairly heavy at tip | Large, light brown, set wide apart | Full lips. Badus, who do not work incense trees. Largish ears. Feet turned in. |
| Rather light brown for local Badus | Mass of small plaits; slight beard and chin tuft; slight body hair | Heavy, curved, and fleshy. Roman | Rather light brown; set wide apart | Full lips. Rather large ears; feet turned in. Badus, who do not work incense trees. |
| Pink, large brownish spots | Straight straw-coloured; ginger beard, heavier than locals; body and leg hair | Long, eagle-shaped; long slit nostrils | Bluish, closely set white; poor eyebrows | Straight, thin, rather European lips. |

**Mahra and Qara.** They have longer necks than the Qara, broader heads, and are more squat in appearance, and nails, longer upper lip than either Qara or Mahra, hunted expression, of one complexion, nose stands both jaws coming together and not projecting.

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| No., Name and Tribe. | Age. | Head. Length. | Head. Breadth. | C.I. | Height. ft. in. | Span. ft. in. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (37) SALIM BIN DARAIYEH. Tribe—Bautahari | 40 | 182 | 144 | 79·12 | 5 7 | 5 8 |
| (38) ABUD BIN 'ISA AL 'AIYUNI. Tribe—Imburrur. (One day from Riyadh. A Najdi of Arabia, soldier of Sultanate Ahl al Charb) | 65 | 180 | 142 | 78·89 | 5 5 | 5 6½ |
| (39) TALIB BIN HALAIYIL. Tribe—Al Murra. Al Maytha. (Aluwair Badu of Qatar and sands, servant of) | 28 | 172 | 143 | 83·14 | 5 1½ | 5 3½ |
| (40) KILTHUT BIN SALIH. Rashidi ... ... | 24 | 171 | 141 | 82·46 | 5 3 | 5 4½ |

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| Body Colour. | Hair. | Nose. | Eyes. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dark brown ... | Straight, black, full white beard; body hair brown | Long, fleshy, slightly hooked at tip | Small, round, closely set; no upper eyelid | Tight lips, slightly protruding; very small ears, almost no lobe. Furtive look; fish-eating race; very small teeth. |
| Rather dark brown; less chocolate than locals | Rather straight, white; more beard than locals; body hairless | Heavy and rather squat | Round and black with upper eyelids | Tight, but rather full lips; large ears. Quite distinct from locals. |
| Hairy chest, black | Straight, and very dark brown; black, hairy chest. Beard | Rather short, projecting; slightly curved | Small, round and black | Rather large ears bandy legs; hairy. |
| Hairy chest, black | Rather straight, dark brown; hairy chest and legs | Rather large, straight, aquiline | Brown, almond-shape | Thick projecting lips; short teeth, tattooed gums. Foxy face. |

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FIG. 1.—POAL UBAID BADU, HADHRAMAUT. KARABI ON MAP.

FIG. 2.—POAL UBAID BADU, HADHRAMAUT. KARABI ON MAP.

FIG. 3.—SHAIKH HASAN. QARA TRIBE.



FIG. 4.—SHAIKH HASAN. QARA TRIBE.



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FIG. 12.—A SHAHARI.

FIG. 11.—A MAHRI.

FIG. 10.—AN OMANI.

FIG. 9.—AN OMANI.

SOUTH ARABIAN TYPES.

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās had come to Makalla from Java some months previously, with the object of importing motor-cars and other commodities, through the intermediary of his family living there. He would have to visit the interior shortly, so what could be more obvious than that we should try to establish a community of interests, and join forces for the journey? Sayyid ʿAluwī was born in Java and had spent some years in Cairo for his education. He had seen something of England and France, and it looked as if he had grown out of touch with the stern frugal life of the land of his fathers. We have to thank him for the introduction to his relatives at Ḥurēḍa, from whom we had a support and sympathy exceeding our most sanguine expectations.

## 1. BAZAAR LIFE.

361 Well contented with the favourable prospects which were
● 142 opening out before us, we sauntered through the main street,
291 which runs like a human river along the sea front, the whole
302 length of the town from West to East. One sees representatives of almost all the tribes of the interior gathered here in groups along the rows of booths. Most of them are dark-brown men, with the naked upper part of their bodies, as well as their faces and arms, smeared with indigo. They are bare-headed and barefoot and have only a short, but thickly rolled loin-cloth round their waists; their unkempt, half-long, jet-black, curly hair is tied up into a round knot at the back of the head, or held in place by a plaited leathern band or greased rag wound round the head. They have had to give up their inseparable guns and cartridge-belts to the watchman at the gates of the town and, consequently, feel unclothed and unsafe. Their hair shines with *samn*[1]; the upper part of their bodies is also rubbed with it, over the layer of indigo, and a strong odour of indigo and *samn* hangs about them.

000 On the way back from the tongue of land we pass the

104 [1] *Samn* (سمن) is melted butter of the milk of sheep, goats or cows.

# CHAPTER III.

## FROM MAKALLA TO WĀDĪ DŌ'AN.

### 1. A DIFFICULT START.

The outfitting of the caravan lasted several days. The Vizier and his officials showed great interest, and during our visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr, much necessary information and advice was given us by him. Then we also made acquaintance with the leader of our caravan, who appeared to have the original and very modern honorary name of Mautor [1], because he can run the distance from Wādī Dō'an to Makalla in two days and nights, when urgent dispatches have to be carried for the Government. He has the full confidence of the Vizier and declares in a gentle voice and calling the while upon Allah that he will risk his life for us and that, with Allah's help, he will deliver us and our belongings safe and sound to Bā Şurra, the Governor of Wādī Dō'an. Mautor is small and slight, his curly, greasy, black hair is held together round his head by a narrow plaited leather band. He wears a little cord round his neck from which hangs a silver ring set with a round, brownish coloured stone, which has the shape and measurements of a thumb nail. A short dark-blue loin-cloth, in which is stuck the sheath of a dagger (*djambīya*), is his only garment. We declare our trust in Mautor's leadership and protection, and the agreement is sealed with a hand-clasp. Provision will be made for camels fit for the mountains, which in Dō'an will have to be exchanged for others suitable for the plains. We ourselves shall ride on donkeys as being less tiring and more comfortable if one has to dismount frequently to survey the route, to take photographs, and to collect plants and insects. We have also to provide food for the Bedouins who

[1] "Mautor" is the Bedouin pronunciation of "motor".

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM

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Sayyid el-Bärr with some of his children and servants

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Sun and shade in the palm-groves of Wädī Dō'an.

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the summer thunderstorms are due. These latter are often extremely violent, even terrifying. Hail occasionally falls. Harvesting of one crop or another goes on throughout the year—chiefly bearded wheat, barley, maize, lucerne, and coffee (but the latter is less frequent than over the Yemen border). Indigo and cotton (a very small bush) are grown in the Nisāb district and grapes on the Yemen border.

In the sixth zone—the Empty Quarter or Great Red Desert—the population is pastoral and follows the grazing according to the rainfall, which is irregular and scanty. Along the principal wādis, which lead north towards the desert, there are permanent settlements and cereal crops are raised, chiefly millet, the stalks of which make useful fodder when grazing is scarce. The semi-nomadic part of the population returns to the settlements to await the next grazing-season in the desert.

In the Aden Interior as a whole the prevailing diseases are small-pox, fever (especially malarial), and, to some extent, consumption. The 'Yemen ulcer' is also common among the tribes.

## Population

The population of the Aden Interior (considered as a whole, and including that portion known strictly as the Aden Protectorate), settled and nomadic, may be computed at about half a million. The district is composed of a number of Tribal Confederations or Sultanates, some lying within the limits of the Protectorate proper, some without.

The limits of the Aden Protectorate proper are the delimitation line, previously mentioned, from Ras Turbah to a point some few miles north of Dhāla, and thence a somewhat vaguely defined line continuing at first in a south-easterly direction and then in a generally easterly direction to the coast of the Gulf of Aden near the small settlement of Maqātīn. They enclose an area of about 4,200 sq. miles, having a population of 100,000. The tribal confederations lying within this boundary are: the Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, Haushabi, Amīri, 'Alawi, 'Aqrabi, and other smaller tribes; and without are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and 'Audillah ('Audali). The tribes of the Protectorate have a larger proportion of non-combatants and are more settled than those of the remoter interior; the bulk are to be found in the towns and villages of the littoral belt, the chief centres being Lahej, Waht, Shūghrah, and the Abiyān district.

In dealing with a variety of tribes with such different characteristics it is difficult to generalize; broadly they may be divided

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619 142 into settled or agricultural, and nomad races, with the differences due to and inseparable from their modes of life. The racial type which marks the original population of this part of Arabia is characterized by a coppery complexion and high cheek-bones, not unlike the purer strains of old North American Indian blood. The hair is straight and usually tied up tightly in a bunch on the top of the head, a mode of immemorial antiquity, depicted on Egyptian monuments. But this indigenous type, though still exclusively confined to some of the littoral sub-tribes and to others in the maritime ranges, has been greatly modified by incursions of the taller Semitic race, who wear their hair loose and wavy and lack the reddish complexion of the indigenous race; they came from the north, mainly the ancient district of Jauf, which appears to have been convulsed by bitter internal strife after the Prophet's death, owing to the jealousy of rival factions which followed the decease of the then paramount chief, Ma'an. His family fled southward to escape persecution, followed by other branches of a former ruling house. They finally penetrated as far south as the Yeshbum valley, where they settled as mere *raya*, or tributary subjects of the Ahl Bunyar people, under the 'Abd el-Wahīd Sultanate which then dominated the country nearly to the city of Nisāb. Increasing in power and numbers these Jaufi clans eventually drove the Bunyar on to the Dahr plateau, where they remain to this day, and thrust back the 'Abd el-Wahīd rule as far as the strong city of Habbān. The clans now proclaimed themselves an integral tribal unit which became the nucleus and origin of the Upper 'Aulaqi. They formed an alliance with their southern neighbours, the Ba Kāzim, who, thus assisted, threw off the 'Abd el-Wahīd yoke too, and became the Lower 'Aulaqi.

Upper and Lower Yāfa' have been colonized in much the same way—the invaders in this case coming from Yemen. The central district of Dathīnah presents both types, as does the Fadhli country, while the 'Abdāli have absorbed so much alien blood as to have almost lost all racial distinction; they are indeed strongly characterized by negroid intermarriages which have introduced a swarthy coarse-featured type. Still further west, the Subeihi still preserve an indigenous type, though tainted with negro blood.

619 713 The fighting organization and equipment of the confederations deserve somewhat detailed notice. Beginning with the Sultan and the 'Dōlah', or adult males of his house, we find that all wear the national dagger or *jambiyah*; but the scabbard does not curl up in horse-shoe form, unless its owner is something of a swashbuckler,

567 I never heard a suggestion ~~from masters~~ or slaves that they were anything but exceedingly well treated. They include principally the *Nizam*, the most trusted part of the forces of the Qu'aiti and Kathīri, and receive very exceptional treatment compared with other servants of the State. They can rise to the highest positions, and the present Governor of the Shibam province is a slave. I also met a slave Governor of the town of Hajarein in the Du'an province, and I believe there are others. The town magistrate of Mukalla is also a slave. The young slaves belonging to the Mukalla Government are given especial care and training, and are formed into companies of cadets. They gave us a very creditable drill display in Mukalla.

It is possible that there may be a very occasional case of slave trading, and some women may have been introduced in recent years to the main valley, but this is not done with the approval or cognizance of the Mukalla Government.

### SUBIANS.

565 The Subians form definitely the lowest class of the population.
162 Some of them are agricultural labourers receiving wages or paid in kind, and there are settlements of them outside coastal towns like
463 Mukalla and Shihr. When they are settled next door to a town they do the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and perform such sanitary services as are carried out by sweepers in other eastern countries.

565 I was informed that the word "*Subian*" comes from "*Sabi*",
173 a boy. In the Hadhramaut they originate from the Wadi Hajr, and for this reason in the western part of the Protectorate are known as Hajris. They are said to be the descendants of the Abyssinian invaders of the third to sixth centuries A.D., and to have been reduced to their present lowly estate after the Abyssinians had been routed by the Persians on the intervention of Seif bin Dhi Yazan. This is the tale told in the Hadhramaut, and d'Arnaud recounts a similar story as the origin of the Khadims of Yemen
[168] and Aden. Neither slaves nor Subians can be the subjects of blood feuds.

### Immigration.

167 Apart from these classes of the population, there are a number of immigrants settled, or partially settled, in the country. There are 300 British Indians in Mukalla and Shihr, and a few British Somalis. There are also some Italian Somalis. The total number of Somalis in the country is said to be about 1,200, of whom 1,000 reside in Mukalla. Owing to extensive migration to the East Indies,
[144] which will be further described later in the report, there has been a considerable infiltration of Malayan blood, and very East Indian types of countenances are to be observed in some of the up-country towns. The type is not uncommon in Tarim and Seiyun, but I found it very marked in the towns of Badra and Haura.

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To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101 776

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

643 The Sultan of Lahej rules over the territory of the 'Abdali tribe, and
425 his frontier marches with the northern frontier of Aden Colony. He is descended from a Yafa'i family, who were appointed as Governors of Lahej by an Imam of San'a. Later they revolted against the Imams and declared their independence. By purchase, Imamic grants and seizure they own a considerable portion of the Lahej lands; they are of foreign origin to the tribe over which they rule.

The Amirs of Dhala' were appointed Governors of the Dhala' province, including the lands of the tribes of Halumein, Ahmad, Azraq and Shu'Ar, by the Imamas of San'a, and, later, of the lands of Sha'ib by a Sultan of Turkey. I see that the official handbook describes the Amirs of Dhala' as descendants from slaves. It is surprising how such obvious in-
567 accuracies persist. To see that they have no slave blood in them requires
795 no more than ordinary eyesight, and it would be impossible for an Imam of
1144 San'a to appoint a slave to any post, since there are no slaves in the Yemen at all, slavery being forbidden by the tenets of the Zeidi sect. The Amirs are of typical Central Yemeni type, such as is found on the Yemen plateau.

643 Later, they rebelled against the Imams and established their independence. Thus they rule over a confederation of small tribes, while belonging to none of them.

These appointed Suzerains, of whom the Sultan of Makalla is one, form a distinct class among Arab Chiefs. They do not mix with their tribesmen in the usual democratic Arab way, but stand apart, as it were, and are addressed by titles of exaggerated respect. Not being tribesmen of the tribe they rule, they have no traditional and family holds over the people and their attitudes towards their tribesmen are those of foreign rulers. They do not, as a rule, favour elected hereditary headmen in their villages, but prefer to appoint outsiders as headmen, whom they pay as retainers.

When a Suzerain dies, the election of the new Chief is held by the family only and the tribesmen are not consulted.

622 The accepted Suzerains are represented by one example only—the
792 Sharifs of Beihan. It is, however, an interesting example.

628 In Beihan there are settlements of Sharifs and of Seyyids. There are
648 also two tribes among whom these holy men live. Both the Sharifs and the Seyyids are arms-bearing families, and for some time were divided by a feud. Before the Great War, the elected Chief of the Sharifs, a far-sighted man called Ahmad, negotiated a treaty of protection and friendship with Great Britain. In this he gained the support of the lower tribe and of half the upper tribe, which was divided by a feud. After the Great War he concluded a truce with the Seyyids, and consolidated his relationships with his supporters among the tribesmen, who amounted to three-quarters of the population of Beihan. They accepted him as Suzerain and as their general agent for dealing with their foreign affairs. Thus, while he is undoubtedly a Suzerain, he is one of limited authority. He does not claim taxes from the land or the trade except in his own settlements, and is, consequently, very poor. But, for all that, the influence of the Sharifs is considerable in all the Beihan area. Their position is not, of course, unique in Arabia, but it is doubtful if any others than holy men could find themselves in a similar one.

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693 tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had
671 touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt
577 or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's
626 own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

365 This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and
631 tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

565 We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past
463 incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will
465 therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of
421 those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The
792 Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

421 Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of
565 the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

565 Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen
144 and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

565 Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class.
463 The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

5 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadramaut MM 21
YEMENITE JEWS ML4
YEMEN ML 1



they are a race apart and are much respected, frequently attaining positions of high rank. A man will trust his slave before his brother. Tribesmen will eat with a slave when the slave has attained a position of eminence, such as governor of a village or commander of a post, but never with a Doshan or with a Heiq. A Chief's responsibility for his slaves is a very real one, and should he sell a slave or part with one he will be considered to have committed a shame. The slaves that I have met in the territory upheld the reputation slaves have always had for loyalty and courage.

We next come to two curious races, the Akhdam and the Hajur. I am satisfied that these are quite separate races, although there are a few instances of intermarriage in the major settlements. Akhdam is the plural of Khadim, which means "servant." This race is of African origin, but I can make no guess at the date at which they came to Arabia. Whenever it was, they appear to have left no relations or traces behind them in Africa. Their main settlement is at Zabid in the Western Yemen. They are of the Shafa'i sect, but practise witchcraft, make phalli and hold snakes and snake-charmers in great respect. In appearance they are small and their skin is a dull dark brown, not a glossy East African black. The only race in the country which will do filthy work, the Akhdam are in great demand and are employed as sweepers. They have their own headman in their small communities, successful wizards appointing themselves to the post without election.

The second foreign race is the Hajur. They appear to be South-west Abyssinians and are very like the Galla. Like the Akhdam, they have long ago lost any linguistic connection with Africa and speak Arabic. They are hardy and well-built and live in grass-hut settlements on the coastal belt between Lahej and Abyan. Some, on occasion, bear arms, but they are on the whole un-warlike and seek casual labour at harvest time. The 'Abdali tribes of Lajeh have intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and for this reason the 'Abdalis are darker than most coast Arabs and many villages in their territory are occupied by settled Hajur. In a few generations the Hajur and the 'Abdali will be indistinguishable, and I think this mingling of the two races must be very recent, and probably began during or just before the Turkish occupation of Lahej in 1916.

East of Aden, for some hundred miles, the coastal fishing communities are of Hajur or mixed Hajur stock. They elect their headmen as the Arabs do and are of the Shafa'i sect, but, like the Akhdam, they incline towards witchcraft and phallic worship. The observant traveller on the Lahej road will see plenty of evidence for this close to their settlements.

It is possible that these two African races came to Arabia during the second and third centuries A.D. as camp-followers to Abyssinian armies. But this is pure conjecture.

Finally, we come to the Jews. Jewish settlements exist all over the Protectorate. The principal settlement is in San'a, and all Jews of South Arabia claim inter-relationship and have many family connections in Palestine. They claim to be descended from the Jews of Kheybar. It is more probable, however, that the original Yemeni Jews are of South Arab race. Before the rise of Islam the people of South-west Arabia were

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west. 142

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration. 778

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting. 181 291 576

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy. 619 631 643

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it. [144]

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe. 576

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 101 174 619

141 144 Africa. Already interesting links are being worked out with Iran and the west Deccan. Local differences have also been worked out within both Yaman and Hadhramaut. The population of the northern part of the Yaman plateau is essentially mesocephalic, though it also shows certain features due to mixture. South Yaman, on the other hand, has broader heads. There is also a number of Jewish colonies in Yaman from whom representative groups were measured. In Hadhramaut we have a markedly brachycephalic type (very dominant, especially in the interior) and a mesocephalic one (especially on the coast). The broad heads of Hadhramaut show interesting anthropometrical features, and the roundness of their heads is primarily due to shortness (flattening of the back) rather than to width. Armenoid affinities among the broad heads of south Arabia are already known from previous observation and measurements (Bertram Thomas, etc.). The High Plateau of Yaman is practically free from prognathism, which becomes more and more marked as we go eastwards into Hadhramaut. We have reason to believe that this feature was not the result of crossing with Negroids from Africa, but represents an element brought from farther East. Special attention, however, has been paid to cases and areas of metisation between Negroid and Arab types, especially in coastal regions. Some peoples of the coastal plains of west Yaman have been shown to have marked affinities with the Negroids of Africa, who, however, do not seem to have affected the High Plateau to any appreciable extent. Certain parts of the Hadhramaut coast are equally mixed, and even in the interior there are colonies of imported elements (for example, Negro soldier-slaves, Indo-Chinese and Chinese elements as slaves and wives brought back by enterprising merchants of Hadhramaut, etc.).

## Entomology

136 Between five and six thousand specimens have been collected, and a large number of these were actually set in the field. They represent fauna from all the altitudes we have passed through (from sea-level to 3,500 m.). The identification of our specimens will inevitably be a long process, but it is hoped that fresh light may be thrown on the question of migration between adjacent parts of Africa and Asia in these regions. One of the chief topics we worked upon was the question of locust breeding-grounds and migrations, and already some useful results have been achieved in this direction.

100 In addition to these topics, members of the expedition carried out side-line investigations, such as the taking of a meteorological record during the journey (with as few breaks as possible), the collection of plants and small animals in localities which have not been visited before and of fishes and aquatic fauna from all streams and springs along the way, as well as the recording of observations on the general geography and ethnography of the lands and peoples in the areas visited.

* Should there be any chance of such a separation, however, the only possibility would be that at a posterior date power tribes took shelter among the Sabaito-Himyarite ruins and left their cheddian industry thoroughly mixed with earlier remains. In that case the lithic industry would be still more recent than the Sabaean phase. There can be no possibility of the Sabaito-Himyarites having chosen for sites of their cities places where earlier cheddian and flint-using tribes left their kitchen midden and rubbish heaps.

p. 514(B)

172 More than a hundred new Sabaitic inscriptions were copied and photographed. At three sites in the Aden and Hadhramaut protectorate, particularly the ruins of Reiboun (near Mash-had) there is, on the other hand, contacts with East Africa. Here we found an industry of obsidian (with some flint) in definite association with pottery and with Sabaito-Himyaritic inscriptions, all found in shallow kitchen midden-like remains and amongst ruins of ancient buildings and habitations. Some of the characters were actually inscribed on the pottery both before and after baking. The obsidian industry includes practically all the types and sub-types of the so-called final Palæolithic and Neolithic cultures of East Africa—Wilton, Elmenteitan and Gumban. There are small nuclei, simple and retouched blades, truncated and notched ones, small backed knives, trapezoidal forms (in abundance), true lunates (less abundant), chisel-ended tools or *pièces écaillées* ('sinew-frayers' of Dr. L. S. B. Leakey), borers, medium-size and small burins (but not the micro-burin proper) and scrapers of various descriptions (nucleiform, round, at end of blade, etc.). Yet there can be no doubt about the Sabaito-Himyarite date of this industry in south-west Arabia (the few centuries centring round the beginning of the Christian era).

Apart from inscriptions (on stone and on pottery) there are metal elements and beads of dating value. The pottery here is much more developed and varied than in East Africa, but this is to be expected in a country with more progressive civilization. One cannot argue from the evidence we have for the separation of the obsidian industry from the rest of the datable remains which must all have belonged at least to one and the same culture phase*. If this be so, the dates assigned by Dr. Leakey and others to the so-called final Palæolithic and Neolithic industries of East Africa will have to be revised. It would be unreasonable to argue for a 'survival' into historic times of an obsidian and flint technique in south-west Arabia after it had been introduced from the African side at a final Palæolithic date. It would be rather in this latter region (East Africa), which produced no such highly progressive civilizations as we know from south-west Arabia, that we should expect such 'persistence'. Perhaps many of the Microlithic elements of industries in East Africa may ultimately prove to be of comparatively recent historic date (Christian era).

We have also discovered, at a number of rock shelters in the Middle Wadi Hadhramaut, rock drawings (both animals and men) of both naturalistic and schematic styles. The former were associated with Himyaritic inscriptions (mostly names and cartouches), while the latter were of much more recent appearance. At the base of some of the rock shelters we found a flake and blade industry of flint which we have reason to associate with the first series of drawings.

## Anthropology

141 144 Anthropometrical measurements were made of 1,350 male individuals, of whom 800 were studied in Yaman and 550 in Hadhramaut. More than 400 individuals were photographed full face and profile. The individuals are representative of the great majority of the tribes inhabiting the area, and useful light may be expected to be shed both on local distribution of anthropological features and types and on similarities and connexions with neighbouring areas in Asia and

p. 514(A)

133 During the daytime the heat was stifling, and at night it was so cold that for hours before the sun rose I was no longer able to sleep. The interminable, barren plain was covered all over with sharp, loose fragments of stone, and among these wound the narrow path along which from morning to night we steadily wended our way.
312 Drinking water is here to be found in *negābas,* which are cisterns hewn out of the rock some three meters below the surface, with a narrow opening. Low ridges lead the scanty rainfall to the *negāba.* Owing to the narrow opening there is very little evaporation, and if one has no rope at hand with a vessel to draw water, this opening is just large enough to admit a man to dip it out.
485 Near the *negāba* there is usually a little square building made by piling up rough stones in clay, this is called *murabba,* and here the midday hours with their scorch-
486 ing heat may be spent. For the sake of safety, our
609 Bedouins avoided the *negābas* as places for passing the night. In the evening the neighborhood of the bivouac was carefully reconnoitred, and usually sentries were posted at night. The authorities at Makalla had given us for our personal protection two negro soldiers belonging
133 to the famous slave army of the āl-Qa'ētī sultan. On May 15 we reached the wonderfully beautiful valley Wādī Dō'an. The descent of hundreds of meters of this almost perpendicular wall of rock with loaded camels was a difficult feat causing some anxiety; but the Bedouins and their camels reached the valley below with-
245 out a single mishap. As we looked upon this *wādī,* hemmed in by its high walls of rock, it looked like a land of magic with its deep-green groves of date palms
[361] and its clay villages with great castles and high houses. A glowing heat as dry as dust prevailed in Wādī Dō'an night and day. The bright yellow and deep red bunches of dates were hanging ripening in the hot wind. In the shade of the magnificent and remarkably well kept trees the population were quietly waiting for the harvest time.
144 A great deal of mixture with negro blood (of slaves) has

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



taken place here, and there are still many slaves for 144
agricultural work.

The old blind governor, Bā Surra, received us in his 609
castle with oriental hospitality. The only thing we had to complain of in our lodgings was that there were too many interested in us! Our animals for mountain transport had to be exchanged here for others which were accustomed to traveling in the hot sand of the level *wādīs*.

On the 17th of May we resumed our journey, after having been entertained first in the summer residence of the vizier of Makalla, where his son acted as host. As 361
the evening shadows fell we reached Sēf, a miserable and squalid village where nearly a century ago von Wrede was recognized as a Christian, and barely escaped a miserable death. We also had unpleasant experiences at Sēf. Long before Sēf the *wādī* had lost its splendid 311
datepalm cultivation, and had become a broad valley of 137
sand and stones, with here and there some lotus trees (*nibq*). After the excellent reception we had had at 609
Dō'an, Sēf was a grievous disappointment. The governor was supposed to be away, but it appeared later that because of his embarrassment and poverty he had sought an excuse to be relieved of the duty of conferring hospitality upon us. In a very primitive manner we were installed upon the roof of a stable by the governor's soldiers, who took his place as our hosts. We were not left alone for a moment, for interested visitors were continually jostling one another on our roof. We had to secure fresh donkeys at Sēf, and the troublesome negotiations about this began that evening.

The next day the governor appeared, but he seemed to have absolutely no influence. We had to wait for hours before the necessary donkeys and camels were brought. A large escort of soldiers eager for *baksheesh* wished to accompany us, but I vigorously opposed this, and succeeded in reducing their number to two. Much too late, weary of all the negotiations and disgusted with the obvious opposition and antipathy of everybody here

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



# ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN SOUTH ARABIA.

By Bertram Thomas, O.B.E.

[With Plates XI and XII.]

## Introduction.

114 I have already been privileged to contribute a paper to the *Journal*.[1] "Among some unknown Tribes of South Arabia" was published after my first journey in those parts in January–February, 1928. Since then I have made two more visits to the Central South and have continued my investigations. On the last occasion I took head callipers, a small cinema camera and a still camera with me. I made some forty-five head measurements and took full-face and profile portraits of the various types I measured.

## Curious Tribes.

144 174 In my previous paper I said that there was a *bloc* of tribes in the Central South that I believed to be non-Arab remainders, tribes at least who were physically, culturally, linguistically distinguishable from the familiar tall and hawk-faced Arab of the North. I am confirmed in that view. After an experience of fifteen years' service in Arabia, living on close terms of intimacy with its people in Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordan and the Persian Gulf, I am struck by the peculiarities of the inhabitants of the Central South. The Sultan of Muscat shared that opinion. I was not consciously aware at the time of the speculations of Richard Burton which also support it. That Arabian traveller had written in the middle of the last century (*vide* "Pilgrimage to Al Medina and Mecca")—

> "I was desirous to try by actual observation the truth of a theory proposed by Colonel Sykes, namely, that if tradition be true in the population of the vast peninsula there must exist certain physiological differences sufficient to warrant our questioning the common origin of the Arab family." . . . And later . . . "I have found proof . . . for believing in three distinct races, (1) the aborigines, driven into the Eastern and South-Eastern wilds, (2) a Syrian or Mesopotamian Stock that drove the indigenae from the choicest tracts of country . . . (3) an impure Syro-Egyptian clan . . ."

133 Before passing to a consideration of these strange tribes I lived amongst, it is necessary to say something about the land in which they live. The south coast of Arabia west of long. 55° (Ras Nus) is very mountainous and very wild. It is a natural asylum for early races driven before invaders. At Dhufar in the Central South, these mountains form a crescent-shaped arm which encloses a prosperous and fertile plain. To the westward the mountains form an

[1] Vol. lix, 1929, January to June, p. 97.

With the

191 exception of the Mahra all these tribes speak Arabic and Arabic alone, and yet some are types
141 clearly distinguishable from the northern Arab, and indeed those I measured are all brachycephals. The very word "Arab" is used in the desert to denote "people" instead of having the particular racial connotation which we give to it. More than once I have been asked "From what Arabs are you?" by a native, who was conscious that I was of a different race from himself.

144 Whether these Arabic-speaking South Arabians are indigenous or come from elsewhere is a question for anthropologists. In this connection, the Preface to Wyman Bury's book *Land of Uz* is of interest. That Preface, written by Maj.-Gen. Maitland who was British Resident at Aden at the beginning of the present century, declares the writer's opinion as follows:—

> "The people of Arabia belong to two distinct and apparently quite different races. The common idea of the Arab type is tall bearded men with clean-cut, hawk-like faces. The Arabs of South Arabia are smaller, darker, coarser featured and nearly beardless. All authorities agree that the Southern Arabs are nearly related by origin to the Abyssinian. Yet strange to say it is the Egypto-African race who are the original and 'pure' Arabs, while the stately Semitic of the North is *Mustareb* . . . one who is Arab by adoption and residence, rather than by descent."

101 But I am concerned here with a group of non-Arabic speaking tribes more distant in habit
361 of life still from the familiar Arab, tribes of whom neither Burton nor Maitland could have had any personal knowledge, tribes whose members have seldom made the pilgrimage to Mecca, tribes for the most part settled in the Qara and Al Qamr mountains of the Central South
619 where they breed cows and gather frankincense. To the list given in my previous paper, viz., Qara, Mahra, Shahara, Bauthāra and Harasīs should be added Barahama, Bil Haf, Afar, and Bit Istait (Bait ash Shaikh). Except for those elements of the Mahra that are nomadic, and for the nomadic Harasīs and Afar and the fishing tribe of Bautāhara, the remainder form a bloc of settled mountain society with a common and a unique culture.

191 The four languages of this group have been mentioned in the paper under reference. Of the additional tribes the Afar speak a language which is a variant of Mahri, called Aforit, and is said to be the same as that spoken by the Harasīs. The Bait ash Shaikh (Insakht) use the Shahara tongue and are thought to be collateral with the Shahara and once to have co-inhabited the great port, now a heap of ruins, of Rubat (Ariyot). Balhaf, a rather nondescript tribe, owes allegiance to no faction but is Mahri in speech.

### DRESS AND DYE CUSTOMS.

291 The men wear a single sheet wound round to form a skirt short to the knees and then brought diagonally across their bodies and thrown over one shoulder; women a single loose-falling black gown usually green with age and black muslin head-wrap which falls about
301 shoulders and neck; they are mostly unveiled. The use of indigo for smearing their bodies
302 and impregnating their clothes is common to both sexes. It gives their faces a purple hue.
177 There is a local dye from a tree called *hunair*, but much of the indigo comes from India.

1 [Bait Kathir, Mahra, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai -- Analyst]

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The tribes of the Central South have a poor reputation as regards the *radud-as-salaam*.[1] 576
The *radud-as-salaam* merely means that when two persons meet, between whose tribes there 577
is blood or other enmity, and one says to the other—"Peace be upon you" and the other replies "And upon you be peace," they have buried the hatchet for the nonce. For one now to take advantage of the other and slay him in his sleep, for instance, would in any other part of Arabia be the deepest treachery. Not so amongst this lawless brood, however. That it may happen elsewhere is possible, but normally the offender would be hounded out of his own tribe or be required to make some requital and his name would be for ever smirched. These non-Arabic speaking tribes of the Central South have no such regard for the elsewhere universal law. They also observe in the breach what is elsewhere a fixed canon, the *thamn-al-batn* or "stomach 574
price." This is an elaboration of the law of three days' hospitality. If a Badu has eaten the 171
salt of a man his goods are safe for a period of four days and four nights, the time for the last 576
vestige of food to have passed from his body. If the Badu's tribe unwittingly raids the man 671
during these four days they must and do return the loot. This *thamn-al-batn* is sacred with the other tribes of the southern fringe but not with the non-Arab group. Who and whence are these tribes? Indigenous? Of African origin? or have they a common origin with African tribes, or are none of these hypotheses tenable? Here is an almost black race of brachycephals, and brachycephaly properly belongs to Asia. The answer is for you to decide. History sheds but little light.

In the year A.D. 1325 Ibn Batuta, the great Moorish traveller and theologian, set out on 175
his 25 years' travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia and elsewhere. He sojourned 144
in Dhufar and amongst what he wrote of it was this:—"Another thing is that its people closely resemble the people of North-West Africa in their customs. . . . The outlying population is not Arab, but of a Sudanic type." Does Ibn Batuta help us?

The following discussion took place after the paper:—

Sir Arthur Keith said that Capt. Bertram Thomas had thrown light on one of the darkest anthropological 144
corners of the world. It was now clear that the Southern Arabs were very different from the Northern Arabs 142
—in almost every respect. If one sought to trace the affinities of the Southern Arabs by judging from their external appearances—as revealed in Capt. Thomas's photographs—one was immediately reminded of the native type of North-Eastern Africa. To his eye the Southern Arabs showed in their fuzzy hair and black—or dark brown—pigmentation of hair and skin, as well as in their facial features, distinct Hamitic or Somali-like affinities. On the other hand, Capt. Thomas's measurements of heads proved that the Southern Arabs differed from the Hamitic peoples of Africa and also from the Arabs of Northern Arabia in having skulls which were short and wide. The width of the heads of Southern Arabs was between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. of the length. The Southern Arabs were distinctly and highly round-headed—or brachycephalic. Hamitic peoples and the Badawin (Arab) type of Northern and North-Western Arabia were usually long-headed or dolichocephalic. Thus Capt. Thomas's observations confirmed the data collected by Professor C. G. Seligman fourteen years ago that the people of Southern Arabia are round-headed or brachycephalic.

Although the Southern Arabs—who were of low stature, the men being usually about 64 inches in height—showed certain Hamitic traits in their features, yet these were overshadowed by others which proclaimed an affinity to the Caucasian or white stock of mankind. They were less fully bearded than the Northern Arab and yet more so than among Hamites. In some respects the South Arabian type bridged the difference between Semite and Hamite.

[1] It is only within comparatively recent times that the Bauthara would recognise the rabio at all.

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



144
142

Sir Arthur looked on the Arabs of Oman and of the Persian Gulf littoral as differing in type from the Arabs living along the Southern Coast of Arabia. In the Oman Arabs—one of whose skulls was preserved in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons—there is to be seen a very lofty head, which was flattened and high in its hinder or occipital wall. There was usually in the Omanese type a Semitic type of nose with long face and a tendency to adiposity of body. The Omanese were probably the descendants of a very ancient colony of traders. The type is South Caspian in origin, and is still to be observed in certain communities in India—particularly in Bombay. The Omanese type could in his opinion be named Armenoid—as Dr. Seligman maintained—but the brachycephalic form of skull found amongst the Southern Arabs seemed to him to differ from that ascribed to the typical Armenian. It is true that some of Capt. B. Thomas's photographs of the Southern Arabs did show the high Armenoid occiput, but this character was an exceptional, not a prevalent, feature.

Capt. Bertram Thomas's observations in South Arabia threw light on one of the major problems relating to the evolution of modern races of mankind. A survey of the present distribution of races led to the supposition that the negro type at one time was distributed across the southern hemisphere from the Congo in Africa to the Islands of the Pacific—this original black band extending through Arabia, Persia, Baluchistan, India, and further India. One had a right to suppose that, at various phases of the latest geological period of the earth's history, Arabia, the Sahara, and the deserts of Central Asia had been fertile lands. The middle part of this primeval black or negro belt had been replaced—or transmuted—by evolutionary changes so as to give rise to the Hamitic type in Africa and the Dravidian type in India, for clearly the Hamitic and Dravidian types, from an elementary point of view, were not far apart.

"Now when we look," Sir Arthur said in conclusion, "at a racial map of the present world, we see that the black belt has been broken through in two regions of Asia. In Eastern Asia the Mongolian stock has broken through at various times and by various waves to gain the Pacific—the Polynesian and Malayan 'break-throughs.' Then in Western Asia there has been the Caucasian break-through, so that we find to-day the lands which extend from the Indus Valley to the Red Sea, occupied by peoples of the Caucasian stock. When the Caucasian break-through took place we have as yet no certain information, but it must be of ancient date—probably late Pleistocene, when the culture of the Caucasian stock was that known as Aurignacian. We may suppose that the people who now inhabit Southern Arabia represent the advance guard of the Caucasian stock—the pioneers who first penetrated the Arabian peninsula and replaced its black-skinned Hamitic inhabitants. The Hamitic characters now seen in the South Arabs may be the result of an intermingling of the Arab pioneers with the Hamitic natives. To explain the fact that the South Arabs are brachycephalic we have to suppose that their original home was between the Pamir and Asia Minor, for it is in this part of Asia that the Armenoid type of skull seems to have been evolved—on the ethnological frontier between the Mongolian and Caucasian stocks. The oldest skulls we know of from Mesopotamia (Ur) are long-headed—of the North Arab type. We must suppose, then, that the brachycephalic South Arab had passed southwards before the long-headed Sumerians had occupied the lower regions of the Euphrates-Tigris Valley. This explanation seems more probable than to suppose that a brachycephalic skull had evolved independently among the people of South Arabia. Amongst the South Arabian boys and girls are to be seen not infrequently individuals who recall children of the Dravidians. If the theory just outlined is accepted, the resemblances of the Southern Arabs to the Dravidians of India and Hamites of Africa will be understood and explained."

Professor C. G. Seligman said: "We may first regard Mr. Thomas's subjects as constituting a single group, 'Southern Arabians,' when we find that they differ from the inhabitants of Northern Arabia in being not long-headed but very decidedly round-headed, *i.e.* in the higher grades of brachycephaly. If we divide these Southern Arabians into two groups, (1) Arabic-speaking, and (2) non-Arabic-speaking, we find that the latter are even rounder-headed than the former. Omitting two tall men from Oman, the two groups are nearly identical in stature. Both groups, then, are brachycephalic and both are of medium stature.

"Further, the two Omani men have notably high round skulls, with a steeply sloping but not flat occiput, long oval faces, notably Armenoid noses with pronounced nostrility, hair which appears to be straight, and a moderate beard of rather wavy hair. These men are typical members of the Armenoid race, and their features fit one of the Oman skulls in the Royal College of Surgeons extraordinarily well. The other Arabic-speaking tribesmen from the south-east, if less typically Armenoid, are yet so round-headed and have such

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



typical, so-called 'Jewish,' noses that they can only be regarded as Armenoids. There is, however, a limited number of subjects who are round-headed certainly but broad-faced, with prominent cheekbones and a straight nose not the least Armenoid, who cannot be placed at present. 144 142

"Turning to the non-Arabic-speaking tribes, these are even more round-headed than the Arabic-speaking group, and the majority have more or less oval and generally rather long faces, with pronounced Armenoid noses. Again, however, there are a few exceptions.

"If we endeavour to sum up the information presented by the measurements and photographs brought back by Mr. Thomas, we can only say that (omitting a small number of unusual types) there is no very outstanding difference between the Arabic and non-Arabic-speaking groups, and both are predominantly Armenoid. This, as I pointed out in 1917, is the race to which the Arabs of South-Western Arabia belong. I cannot see that there is any reason to regard Mr. Thomas's subjects as Hamitic, nor have I been able to trace resemblances to such Abyssinian photographs as are at my disposal.

"Now such pronounced Armenoid characters can only point back to Near Eastern Asia and to Mesopotamia, using that term in the widest sense to include, if necessary, an undefined area to the east of the Tigris. I put it this way because Mr. Thomas assures me that his men of the Empty Quarter are not like those he knew in Mesopotamia, but I think there may well have been some degree of change in feature between the time when the Armenoids came into Southern Arabia and the present period.

"As to the probability of the intensity and long standing of Mesopotamian influence in South Arabia, I need only refer to the general geographical and cultural conditions which render it almost inevitable, and I would particularly stress the South Arabian coins of 70–40 B.C., depicting high round-heads, totally different in shape from that of the Northern Arab, and also the fact that twice in mediæval times considerable bodies of men have moved from Mesopotamia to South Arabia and *vice versa*. About A.D. 570 the Yaman was conquered by the Persians under Khosroes I, who installed a Governor whose successors continued to rule the country until Badhan, the last Governor, accepted Islam. The other example, which shows that it was easy for a considerable body of men to pass from Arabia to Mesopotamia, is offered by the march of Khalid ibn Walid, 'the sword of God,' in the early days of Islam. The Persians were defeated in the neighbourhood of the modern Kuwait by an army marching from Arabia, and Khalid was not again opposed until he reached the neighbourhood of the Tigris canal, where he gained a new victory.

"I may add that the terraced hills of Southern Arabia and the history of the dam at Marib all point to relatively early contacts with just such an engineering agricultural people as the round-headed Armenoid inhabitants of Mesopotamia."

earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his 181
friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came 577
to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a 795
strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They 102
belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their 276
neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African [144] ●
blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an 567
institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, 648
when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from 631
attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth

middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all 342
sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One 167
can see that we are nearing Terīm with its refinements of 177
civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in 641
huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many 191
Ḥaḍramīs who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals [262] served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of [144] races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the 648
*ṣalāt* and by meals. As the Sultan[1] has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional 578
question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the 648
Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[1] ['Alī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin al Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn -- Anal(it)]

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



132 whirlwinds, from all sides, which disturb the dust. According to the Arabs, a particularly hot windless period of about forty days occurs with the changing of the monsoons. All travellers in the Hadhramaut make frequent allusions to the intensely high temperatures experienced in the narrow confined wādis of the interior.

164 Van den Berg says: 'Sicknesses are relatively few, which is quite natural, seeing the simple life led by the people, the pure and generally dry atmosphere of the mountains, and the total abstention of the people from pork, opium, and alcohol. Cholera is unknown, small-pox is never epidemic, but consumption is rampant, and there are cases of leprosy.'

## Population

162 The total population of the Hadhramaut is extremely uncertain, and the various authorities give very divergent estimates. Mons. Babahir, whom Van den Berg cites as having had considerable facilities for judging, estimates it at about 150,000, which he distributes as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| From Shibām to Shabwah, including Wādis 'Irmah, Dahr, and Rashah | 20,000 |
| Wādis 'Amd, Dō'an, and 'Ain | 25,000 |
| Shibām to Terīm (inclusive) | 50,000 |
| Terīm to Seihūt | 6,000 |
| From N. of the main wādi to the desert | 15,000 |
| From S. of the main wādi to the sea | 16,000 |
| Shiheir, Makalla, and their environs | 18,000 |
| Total | 150,000 |

Van den Berg, however, considers this estimate to be excessive, seeing that the greater part of the region is uninhabitable and unsuitable for agricultural pursuits of any kind. He himself gives the total of the chief centres of population of the interior, viz. Seyyūn, Terīm, Shibām, Ghurfah, and 'Aināt (or 'Ināt), as certainly not exceeding 29,500.

144 The people are known as *Hadhrami* and belong generally to the South Arabian stock, claiming descent from Ya'rab ibn Qahtān. There is, however, a large number of 'Seyyids', or descendants of the Prophet (described more fully below), and of 'townsmen' of northern origin, besides a considerable class of African or of mixed descent. But in spite of these variations the Hadhrami form, geographically and socially, a remarkably homogeneous whole.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
ADEN MAU
HADHRAMAUT HM 2

A 165 731 1,000 live births in the 4 years 1945-48, and subsequently declined to 162 in 1949 and to 166 in 1950. As in the case of population death rates, the infant mortality statistics A [167] are exaggerated by the inclusion of immigrant deaths.

A 165 Figures for the 5 years 1946-50 indicate that deaths among children under 5 years of age accounted for 34 to 38 per cent of the total deaths. The stillbirth rate varied from 54 to 73 per 1,000 births; the maternal mortality rate, from 4 to 7 per 1,000 live births and stillbirths.

N 165 Few statistical studies have been made in the Aden protectorate. The total death and infant mortality rates are believed to be generally higher than those of the Colony, but in the absence of authentic records, inadequate data are available for measuring the actual health status of the people. Evidence obtained from the interrogation of 76 women, from 15 to 45 years of age, in Western Aden Protectorate in 1939-40[20] suggests an average infant mortality of 245 per 1,000 live births, varying from 80 to over 500 in different localities. Infancy was not accurately defined, however, and any baby breast-fed and unable to walk was classified as an infant. The mortality among children H 165 under 5 years of age was 25 to 100 per cent greater in most areas. Malnutrition and 146 ignorance of the fundamental principles of 854 child care are important factors contributing to the high mortality in infancy and early childhood in both the Colony and the Protectorate.

## Social Economy

A 432 489 The economy of the Colony is based almost entirely upon shipping and trade. Not only is Aden a prominent fueling station for ocean and coastwise vessels, but it derives considerable wealth from the transshipment of goods to and from Yemen and adjacent territories, usually by means of A 439 dhows and camel caravans. The production 317 of salt in evaporation beds along the coast A surrounding Aden harbor is the only export 441 industry. Numerous small plants have been

ADEN MH1
HADHRAMAUT MH2

year for evidence of plague. The disease has not been reported from the Protectorate. H A 744

Other Infections. Localized outbreaks of louse-borne relapsing fever have been recorded from the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been encountered in Aden. Cases of relapsing fever were frequently discovered at the time of the typhus outbreaks in 1944-45. H A 164

Occasional cases of kala-azar are seen in the Colony hospitals, usually among immigrants from Yemen. Two cases, in which the diagnosis of kala-azar was confirmed by spleen puncture, were recently reported from the Civil Hospital.[30] Both originated in southern Yemen, one from the vicinity of Ta'izz and the other from a village near the border of Western Aden Protectorate. Sporadic cases of Oriental sore are also treated in Aden, but the extent of infection in the interior is uncertain. H A 167 164

Cases suspected of being sandfly fever are common. The vector, *Phlebotomus papatasii*, is widely distributed. Guinea worm infection is endemic in the Hadhramaut and in certain coastal districts in the Protectorate. Imported cases are often observed in Aden Colony. Travelers from endemic centers in Africa thought to be suffering from yellow fever are sometimes admitted to the Colony hospitals, but no indigenous cases have been reported.

### Nutritional Diseases

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Undernutrition is prevalent, particularly among the immigrant laborers in Aden and the poorer villagers and the Bedouin in the interior. Few studies of the prevalence of nutritional diseases have been made, but, in view of the inadequate diet of large sections of the population, deficiency conditions are probably numerous, particularly as regards protein and vitamins C, A and riboflavin of the B complex. Rickets is common in the Protectorate, while minor symptoms of the disease were detected in 17 per cent of 264 schoolchildren examined in Aden township in 1945. Spongy gums, gingivitis and other signs of vitamin C de- 146 464 511 361 A H 146 164

p. 251 (A)

ficiency are widespread. Pellagroid lesions of the skin are often encountered among the peoples of the Protectorate. In a survey of 518 Arab schoolboys in Aden township in 1949, no cases of overt deficiency were found, but enlargement of the liver, possibly suggestive of low protein intake, was revealed in 27 per cent.

### Miscellaneous Conditions

A small outbreak of epidemic muscular rheumatism, classified as Bornholm disease, was reported from Aden in 1946. It involved 35 persons—34 British and 1 Arab.

Hepatic cirrhosis is one of the most frequent conditions seen at the Civil Hospital. Local physicians have noted that most of the cases come from malarious regions where qat is widely used, but the underlying causes have not been investigated.

Chewing the leaves of *Catha edulis*, or qat, is a general custom in Western Aden Protectorate. The leaf juices contain a stimulant, and habitual indulgence is said to produce loss of appetite, sleeplessness and a variety of more serious nervous disorders. Local observers believe that addiction to the drug contributes to the widespread undernutrition among the people.

### SUMMARY

The Colony of Aden and the adjacent Protectorate, on the southern coast of Arabia, have been British dependencies for over a century. The population of the Colony, including the port of Aden, was enumerated at 80,516 in the census of 1946, and calculated at over 100,000 in 1950. The Protectorate territory comprises two administrative divisions—Western Aden Protectorate and Eastern Aden Protectorate, in which the estimated population for 1948 was about 350,000 and 300,000, respectively. The local governments are tribal and diverse in organization, ranging from sultanates to smaller autonomous units. The inhabitants of both the Colony and the Protectorate are predominantly Arabs and adherents of Islam.

p. 251 (8)

180 the Colony. Undernutrition and avitamin-
A osis are widespread, but the prevalence of
H specific nutritional deficiencies is not ac-
146 curately known.

A Dysentery, tuberculosis, trachoma and
164 malaria are the most prominent disease problems, although indigenous malaria has now been largely eradicated from the Colony. Smallpox is frequently epidemic in the interior, but vaccination is compulsory in the Colony, and no outbreaks of local ori-
H gin have been recorded since 1929. Serious
164 epidemics of louse-borne typhus have occurred within recent years in the Western Aden Protectorate. Skin diseases, pneumonia, helminthiases and venereal infections are prevalent and widely distributed. Typhoid fever, measles and other respiratory diseases of childhood, and probably murine
A typhus and sandfly fever, are endemic. Lep-
H rosy, schistosomiasis and louse-borne re-
164 lapsing fever exist in certain localized areas. Diphtheria, meningococcus meningitis and poliomyelitis are sporadic in the Colony and probably in the Protectorate. The last outbreak of plague in the Colony was recorded in 1928, while cholera has not been present within this century. Cases of kala-azar, Oriential sore, hookworm and guinea worm infection are occasionaly admitted to the Colony hospitals among individuals from the Protectorate or Yemen.

p. 252 (B)

5 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadramaut MM 21
YEMENITE JEWS ML4
YEMEN ML 1



they are a race apart and are much respected, frequently attaining positions of high rank. A man will trust his slave before his brother. Tribesmen will eat with a slave when the slave has attained a position of eminence, such as governor of a village or commander of a post, but never with a Doshan or with a Heiq. A Chief's responsibility for his slaves is a very real one, and should he sell a slave or part with one he will be considered to have committed a shame. The slaves that I have met in the territory upheld the reputation slaves have always had for loyalty and courage.

We next come to two curious races, the Akhdam and the Hajur. I am satisfied that these are quite separate races, although there are a few instances of intermarriage in the major settlements. Akhdam is the plural of Khadim, which means "servant." This race is of African origin, but I can make no guess at the date at which they came to Arabia. Whenever it was, they appear to have left no relations or traces behind them in Africa. Their main settlement is at Zabid in the Western Yemen. They are of the Shafa'i sect, but practise witchcraft, make phalli and hold snakes and snake-charmers in great respect. In appearance they are small and their skin is a dull dark brown, not a glossy East African black. The only race in the country which will do filthy work, the Akhdam are in great demand and are employed as sweepers. They have their own headman in their small communities, successful wizards appointing themselves to the post without election.

The second foreign race is the Hajur. They appear to be South-west Abyssinians and are very like the Galla. Like the Akhdam, they have long ago lost any linguistic connection with Africa and speak Arabic. They are hardy and well-built and live in grass-hut settlements on the coastal belt between Lahej and Abyan. Some, on occasion, bear arms, but they are on the whole un-warlike and seek casual labour at harvest time. The 'Abdali tribes of Lajeh have intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and for this reason the 'Abdalis are darker than most coast Arabs and many villages in their territory are occupied by settled Hajur. In a few generations the Hajur and the 'Abdali will be indistinguishable, and I think this mingling of the two races must be very recent, and probably began during or just before the Turkish occupation of Lahej in 1916.

East of Aden, for some hundred miles, the coastal fishing communities are of Hajur or mixed Hajur stock. They elect their headmen as the Arabs do and are of the Shafa'i sect, but, like the Akhdam, they incline towards witchcraft and phallic worship. The observant traveller on the Lahej road will see plenty of evidence for this close to their settlements.

It is possible that these two African races came to Arabia during the second and third centuries A.D. as camp-followers to Abyssinian armies. But this is pure conjecture.

Finally, we come to the Jews. Jewish settlements exist all over the Protectorate. The principal settlement is in San'a, and all Jews of South Arabia claim inter-relationship and have many family connections in Palestine. They claim to be descended from the Jews of Kheybar. It is more probable, however, that the original Yemeni Jews are of South Arab race. Before the rise of Islam the people of South-west Arabia were

000 has been rubbed flat and polished by the pads of horny skin under the feet of Bedouins and camels. Every caravan in its turn follows the same, scarcely necessary windings.

The *neqābas* and *murabbaʿas*, where we take our afternoon rest and where we are joined by the climbers from Kōr Sēbān, are called Bēn el-Djibāl, "between the mountains".

In the afternoon we continued our way over the watershed between deeply cut fissures to right and left, making great bends round table-mountains. From Neqābat el-Ghāṭ we saw the mountains of the southern coast for the last time. We made a short cut (*muqriba*), by clambering down along a deep wādī-bed, which, to our great surprise, appeared to be thickly overgrown with shrubs and small trees and where there was the smell of jasmine, which was growing wild. Our quarters for the night, el-Qumra, lay behind Qāret el-Mūle, the only mountain with a peak. Mautor and his comrades did not seem to find the place safe and sent men out to reconnoitre the surroundings, and, during the night, a sharper watch was kept.

147 Directly the sun went down we shivered in our thin clothes and hurried to put on something warm as soon as possible. Our Bedouins have nothing warm, not even blankets to cover them when asleep. They sit in the wind with the upper part of their bodies bare and it does not seem to hurt them. It is 533 true, they make a fire round which they sit until far into the night, telling their tales or singing their *dānā-ā-ā* improvisations. Their rough voices affect us disagreeably, their melodies, whose cadences are strange to our ear, are sombre and plaintive. They sing one somewhat cheerful song, to make men and animals go at a double-quick pace, and it is remarkable how long they can keep this up and what an encouraging effect the song has on the animals. Not only the camels, but also the donkeys, begin to trot and do not allow themselves to be caught up by the Bedouins, who follow singing and skipping.

000 The night was cold in el-Qumra; it was long next morning before energy returned to our stiffened limbs. A long march lay ahead, and one would suffer for starting late in the morn-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



ing by having to toil along in the tormenting heat. There was no need for hard climbing and descending, the way lay smoothly over gently sloping plateaus, allowing a view on low, flat table-mountains and not very deep wādīs. In the surrounding mountains we saw many horizontal lines, ancient plateaus or geological strata. Vegetation became scantier and scantier as we went further. We only passed by two small villages with an insignificant bit of cultivated ground, entirely dependent upon rain-water. At the first village, Dahma, we rested for the afternoon in a *murabbaʿa*. Here a few people from the village came to ask us for medicines. Kneeling beside the medicine-chest in the burning sun, I tried to doctor the patients: eyes closed up tight by inflammation were cleansed with cotton-wool and boracic water, after which I used protargol, drop by drop; aspirin was given, in a cup of hot tea with lemon, for headaches and fever; festering wounds were cleaned and then bound up with Peruvian balsam; castor oil, worm-cakes and quinine were also dispensed more than once. The population as a whole gave an impression of health. Although they wash their bodies but seldom and smear them with *samn* and indigo, it is surprising how little one sees of itch and other skin troubles. The only malaria which occurs on the *djōl* is brought in from the lower-lying districts.

The Bedouins are mostly small and slightly built, but they have great powers of endurance and do not give the impression of being underfed. The boys who belonged to our caravan ran the whole day long, helped energetically morning and evening, and ate only two meals a day (some dates, rice and a piece of dried shark's meat, sometimes unleavened bread baked in hot ashes).

Dahma appears to consist of twenty or so small houses, the lower parts of which are built of rough stones, and the upper parts of dried mud. A large, square tower, entirely built of stone, serves as a defence for the village and as the residence of its mayor. On the border of the village is a mud-built, communal threshing-floor; there are also ovens for baking meat,

tendency to fire high. Tactics are simple, usually an advance in strength 725
or the investment or defence of small forts or houses. Any more compli- 703
cated manœuvre involving strict timing or detailed concerted action would be beyond their capacity at present. They are difficult to control in action, and in the heat of the moment tend to forget their training and to expose themselves by not making use of ground and cover, but as their potential opponents suffer from the same faults this is not so serious as it would be against more experienced troops. The Bedouin does not favour night-fighting, but he is expert at moving and taking up position in the dark. He is willing to follow his officers, and has particular faith in those from 703
the Arab Legion, who in simple fashion he believes must be more com- 609
petent, as they have been brought in from another country. The same would apply to British officers, provided they understood his language and customs and accurately gauged his capabilities. Unless equipped with this knowledge, however, a British officer would find the Bedouin soldier awkward to handle and disappointing in action.

By showing promise and industry the soldier will gain promotion or 701
can become a specialist such as wireless operator or armourer. At present the highest rank reached by any is lieutenant; owing to lack of experience, knowledge, and background, they are not yet suitable for higher rank, but in time this will be overcome. Part of the remedy may result from the [871]
foundation a few years ago of a Bedouin boys' school in Mukalla. This worth-while enterprise, sponsored and paid for by His Majesty's Government, is of considerable interest, and it is anticipated that ex-pupils will not only help to fill the ranks of H.B.L. with good material, but that others, encouraged to further education, will become much-needed Government servants, teachers and leaders in other walks of life.

There is a cadre of men who have voluntarily remained in the H.B.L. for longer periods, but after four years or so the average soldier, unless he has attained rank, will retire. He may ask that his place be taken by his brother or cousin, as he has liked the life, and his length of voluntary service speaks for itself. On his return to his tribe he will be an asset to Government, and his understanding and experience will be of help to political officers or other Government servants who may have dealings with his tribe or work to perform in his area. There is no reserve. The [157]
Bedouin in the Protectorate dislikes being tied down to a period of time, and a reserve as understood in a European army would be impossible to administer or co-ordinate. But in an emergency many ex-soldiers would return for temporary service if strongly requested.

Whatever the future may hold, there is no doubt that the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion performs useful tasks at low costs. It is in no sense planned as a national army, but in its military and political roles has fully justified itself. One hopes that its ties with the Arab Legion will not be broken and that in the years to come it will attain the prestige and success in its own area which the Arab Legion enjoys in the Arab world as a whole.

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I am indebted to Major I. E. Snell, Royal Sussex Regiment, at present 115
seconded as Military Adviser to the British Agent, Mukalla for certain facts and technical details used in this article.

houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the [186] austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These 342 well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign 578 countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them 185 among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem 648 presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination 157 before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, 578 and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same 648 demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section 185 of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with 643 the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at 625 Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in 185 a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



say in their administration, nor do they collect taxes from them. From an administrative point of view the inhabitants of these towns are considered as Qu'aiti or Kathīri subjects and on proceeding abroad would be given Qu'aiti passports. In the same way, although members of the various tribes of the Hadhramaut are theoretically either Qu'aiti or Kathīri subjects, they are not directly ruled by the Qu'aiti or Kathīri Governments; the Sultans have treaty relations with the tribes. It may often happen that both Governments have agreements with the same tribe, but, as will be seen later, it is possible to consider each tribe as being subject to either Qu'aiti or Kathīri influence. There is no form of representative Government in the Hadhramaut.

## Population.

An informant quoted by Van den Berg estimated the population of the Hadhramaut in 1886 as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Shibam to Shabwa, including Wadis 'Irma, Duhr and Rakhia ... | 20,000 |
| Wadis 'Amd, Du'an, and Al 'Ain ... ... ... ... ... | 25,000 |
| From Shibam to Tarim ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 50,000 |
| From Tarim to Seihut ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6,000 |
| From north of the main wadi to the desert ... ... ... | 15,000 |
| From south of the main wadi to the sea ... ... ... ... | 16,000 |
| Shihr and its environs ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 12,000 |
| Mukalla and its environs ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6,000 |
| Total ... ... ... | 150,000 |

Van den Berg, however, appears to consider this excessive. He gives the population of Seiyun as 15,000, Tarim 10,000, Shibam 2,000, Al Ghurfa 1,500, and 'Einat 1,000.

According to *An Account of the Arab Tribes in the Vicinity of Aden* (1909) the Qu'aiti are estimated at 50,000, including Beduin tribes in the pay of the Qu'aiti, and the Kathīri at 7,000 armed men.

Van der Meulen in *Hadhramaut, some of its mysteries unveiled* gives the following estimates: Shiheir 1,500, Shihr 6,000, Mukalla 12,000, Du'an 20,000 and 1,500 Beduins, Hajarein 3,000, Hureidha 2,000, Shibam 8,000-9,000, Tarim 12,000, Seiyun 12,000-15,000, 'Einat 5,000, and Shibam, Al Qatn, and the villages between, 20,000.

Mr. O. H. Little in his report on the *Geography and Geology of Mukalla* estimates the population of Mukalla at about 10,000, but Mr. H. M. Heald, who accompanied Mr. Little to report on the agricultural resources, was given an estimate of 30,000.

The official estimate of the population contained in the Annual Administration Report of Aden is 300,000. In Mukalla I was given 400,000. Using the estimated figures of population of towns, and of the number of armed men in various tribes, which were given

to me in the Hadhramaut and which are stated in detail in subsequent chapters, I should say that 260,000 is a safer estimate. In making this calculation an endeavour has been made to avoid counting groups twice when they occur under different headings, and allowance has been made for sections of tribes for which estimates of armed men are not available. Where total figures are given for certain tribes for which a figure of the number of armed men is also available it appears that the ratio is about three to one, and for this reason numbers of armed men have been multiplied by three to obtain estimated total population. The following are the data used to obtain the total figure :—

### Qu'aiti Provinces.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shihr ... | Towns ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 11,000 |
| | 'Awâbitha ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 2,500 |
| | Other tribes, men only 10,000) ... ... ... say | 30,000 |
| | | 43,500 |
| Mukalla | Towns (Mukalla 16,000, Ghail 5,000, Shibeir 1,500) ... | 22,500 |
| | Tribesmen, 2,100 ... ... ... ... ... say | 6,300 |
| | | 29,800 |
| | say | 30,000 |
| Du'an | Towns of Du'an and Lemar with certain deductions, men only ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 12,700 |
| | Tribesmen ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 5,000 |
| | | 17,700 |
| | say | 53,000 |
| | (This calculation compares well with estimate of 50,000 given). | |
| Hajr | Kanina ... ... ... ... ... .. ... | 1,300 |
| | Tribesmen, 5,000 ... ... ... ... ... say | 15,000 |
| | | 16,300 |
| Shibam | Towns and villages ... ... ... ... ... ... | 10,500 |
| | Al Mahfudh ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 2,000 |
| | Other tribes (including Sei'ar) 6,700 ... ... say | 20,100 |
| | | 32,600 |
| | say | 33,000 |

### *Other Qu'aiti Districts.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Towns (Hureidha and 'Einat) ... ... ... ... | | 7,000 |
| Tribesmen (principally Ja'da, Tamimi and Manâhil), 5,250 ... ... ... ... ... ... say | | 15,750 |
| | | 22,750 |
| | say | 23,000 |

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *limas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

### Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan, a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 pools built by the rich and progressive class of Seyyeds, whose many innovations have re-made the face of this ancient land of the Queen of Sheba.

131 The political frontiers of the Kathiri State describe a finger pointed downward from the Rub-al-Khali into the heart of [161] Hadhramaut. They enclose an area of some six thousand square miles and a population of sixty thousand, a third of whom dwell 652 in the city of Seiyun. The state's current average annual revenue runs close to $100,000.[1]

175 Early Kathiri history is obscure. Forebears of the present sultan once controlled all of Hadhramaut, but in the eighteenth century the al-Quaiti, an immigrant tribe of Yemeni origin, wrested control of the coastal region from their Kathiri overlords at Seiyun and gradually established hegemony over interior tribes until today the Quaiti State comprises nearly the whole of Hadhramaut. Until the "Peace of Ingrams,"[2] modern Kathiri history was dominated by constant and costly warfare between Seiyun and the parvenu Quaiti power at Mukalla.

643 The present Kathiri ruler, His Highness Sultan Husayn Ali Ibn Mansur, succeeded to the throne on May 22, 1950, and was one of the five Aden chiefs selected to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth.[3] It is through Sultan Husayn's generous and patient correspondence that much of this statistical information concerning his far-off land has been gathered.

643 Political organization in the Kathiri State is patterned closely 645 after administrative machinery in Malaya.[4] Executive authority is vested in the sultan assisted by a Council of State of which the ruler is president and the British Resident an ex-officio member. The Council's remaining members include: the Kathiri State Secretary (*Wazir*) and heads of the departments of the Treasury, Customs, Education and Judiciary, in addition to four un-

436 [1] In 1951 the East African shilling, worth about $0.14, replaced the Indian rupee as legal tender in the Protectorate.

[2] William Harold Ingrams, last of the old-style empire-builders, did much to pacify and organize modern Hadhramaut in the years 1934–44. He was the first Resident Adviser to the states of Hadhramaut and the Eastern Aden Protectorate. To him, Hadhramis have given the name, "Peace-maker of the Desert."

[3] Others invited: the sultans of Mukalla, Lahej, Shuqra and the Amir of Dhala, the latter three, prominent chiefs of the Western Aden Protectorate.

[4] Ingrams visited Singapore in 1940 to study the operation of local governments in the Malay States for ways of stepping-up efficiency in native rule in the Hadhramaut.

# LAND AND PEOPLES OF THE HADHRAMAUT, ADEN PROTECTORATE

Ruthven W. Pike

131 ALTHOUGH Southern Arabia borders on the much-traveled route to India and ocean liners daily touch its shore at the port of Aden, it has been little reconnoitered, far less than 114 the northern part of the peninsula. A chronological account of exploration in the part of Southern Arabia known as the Hadhramaut, by Mr. W. H. Ingrams (now Chief Secretary in Aden), appeared in the *Geographical Review* for October, 1938. It is entirely due to the tactful and untiring efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, who, with the coöperation of Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf, member of the wealthiest family in the Hadhramaut, have succeeded in establishing peace and understanding among the many tribes of the region, that it is now possible for a European to journey unmolested within prescribed regions.

[63] The boundaries of the Aden Protectorate, of which the Hadhramaut is a part, extend into heretofore unexplored territory and have 131 not been surveyed in the manner customary in settled areas. The limits are well understood, however. They are formed by the Gulf of Aden on the south, the district of Dhufar on the east, the southern margin of the great interior sandy desert of Rub' al Khali on the north, and a line running N 45° E from Perim Island to the Rub' al Khali on the west.

162 The population is densest near Aden and its mountainous hinterland. There are, however, a great many people to the east of Aden, who • 161 live along the coast and in the interior of the Hadhramaut; Mr. Ingrams estimates their number at 260,000. There are also many towns and villages between the mouth of the Wadi Maseila and the Dhufar Coast, with a population thought to be about 25,000. Mukalla, 361 with 16,000 inhabitants, is the chief port of the Hadhramaut and seat [63] of the British Colonial Administration for the surrounding area.

## Climate

132 The climate at sea level between October and April is healthful and agreeable to one accustomed to living in temperate regions. On the interior plateau, or Jol, at altitudes of 3000 to 4000 feet, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut, at 2000 feet, the nights are cool, with minimum temperatures reaching 50° F., and are apt to be windy. At such times ordinary summer clothing and light bedding do not afford enough protection.

From April on, the average and maximum daily temperatures

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



however. The floor of the Hadhramaut Valley rises at a slope of 133
1 in 900 or 1000 from an altitude of 2000 feet at Tarim to about 3000 feet in the latitude of Shábwa and the west end of the tableland.

The observer in the Hadhramaut is impressed by the vast amount of rapid erosion that has taken place and the inadequacy of the rain- 130

FIG. 1—The Hadhramaut, Aden Protectorate, in its wider strategic relations. Scale 1:40,000,000.

fall of today to explain it. Not only topographical but also cultural evidence points toward increasing aridity in the Hadhramaut. The numerous visible ruins, not to mention those buried by sand or disintegrated past recognition, are indicative of a greater population than now exists. A large number of the present-day inhabitants 167
emigrate; and, according to Mr. Ingrams, they have been doing so 161
at an increasing rate during the last fifty years.[2] It is suggested that the Hadhramaut area supports about the maximum population under the prevailing conditions of rainfall.

Each of the canyons excavated by the Wadi Hadhramaut and its 133
tributaries in the vast South Arabian plateau suggests to the traveler a miniature Grand Canyon. The walls rise steeply for a full thousand feet throughout the deepest part of the drainage system and remain perpendicular, although decreasing in height, even to the heads of the smallest tributaries. To the observer on the ground the plateau

[2] W. H. Ingrams: Hadhramaut: A Journey to the Bal'ar Country and through the Wadi Mawila, Geog. Journ., Vol. 88, 1936, pp. 524-551; reference on p. 537. 113

9; Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



to advise him in his rule so as to establish confidence in him as a ruler, to help in agriculture, medical work, and schools. The work done so far has been of an experimental nature, but a measure of success has been achieved in the Beihan and Ahwar areas, and work in other areas, such as Shaibi country, has been started. I have not been in close touch with the work, but I believe the experiment is distinctly promising. If there is a weakness about it, it may be that there is not sufficient promise of continuity—that is to say, it may be it is too dependent on one man, the chief. The areas are small, there is no government establishment. If you have an establishment one man may fail and you can put another in, but the thing continues. If you have only one man, and he dies, there is no guarantee that his successor will be like him. Even if a political officer is permanently in the country he is dependent on there being a co-operative chief, unless he is to run the country himself.

The W.A.P. is almost entirely tribal, as I have said; there is therefore little culture. Indigenous schools are rare and there are none beyond the Quran school stage. Illiteracy is very general. But there is little doubt that schools, if provided, will be quickly filled. The main question is what will the newly educated do in their own countries? Certainly there is room for educated chiefs and for the comparatively few who are, or will be, required to help them in governing or providing social services. But the opportunities there will only absorb a few and there are no mercantile communities worth mentioning. There may be scope for some technical training and even agricultural training, but it is not easy to see how the tribesman already expert at the cultivation of oases, terrace cultivation in the comparatively few parts where agriculture is possible, is going to be given an education which will greatly assist him. There are few areas where over-education could cause more trouble with discontented literates than the protectorate. So that a question that to my mind still requires much thought is—what sort of education can be given which will help the advancement of the country and not upset it? And I don't think that a satisfactory answer is yet forthcoming as to what can be the future of the W.A.P. Until it is answered it is difficult to decide on the lines education should follow, for there is nothing old to build on.

### The Eastern Aden Protectorate

So much for the W.A.P. The Eastern Aden Protectorate provides a great contrast. Perhaps it may be helpful to catalogue the contrasts briefly. In the first place, the area of the E.A.P. is between 70,000 and 80,000 squares miles, while that of the W.A.P. is between 30,000 and 40,000. The estimated population of both is about 300,000, so that the E.A.P. is much more sparsely inhabited. But the bulk of the population lives on the coast and in the Wadis Du'an and Hadhramaut 100 to 150 miles inland. So that there are vast areas which are practically uninhabited. Therefore there are bigger distances to cover between communities. In the second place, as I have already said, the total acreage of cultivable land is very much less than the W.A.P., and the people who own it are much less agriculturally minded than the farmer-owners of the W.A.P. It is an essentially desert country, with the Rub'al Khali just

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited. 508

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation. 509 205 206

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden. 131 161 162

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north. 311

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir. From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possessing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations 439 226 241 182 [167]

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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# THE QUARTERS OF TARĪM
## AND THEIR TANṢŪRAHS

621 361 Like Šiḥr and Mukallā, the city of Tarīm is divided into a number of quarters. I have already given the names of the quarters in Šiḥr elsewhere[1], and those of Mukallā are marked on H. von Wissmann's map[2] where Hafd el-'Abī should be corrected to [367] Ḥāfat al-'Abīd, i.e. the quarter of the Slaves. It may be recalled that when W. H. Ingrams arrived in Ḥaḍramawt these slaves were very powerful indeed just as they were amongst the Rwala chiefs[3] of N. Arabia. As in Mecca, the city quarters form an important part of the social structure of the community, and they have their own peculiar organisation upon which I have remarked previously[4]. [174] There seems to be evidence from the inscriptions that cities in South Arabia, sometimes at least, were split up into quarters [161] before Islam. In Tarīm there are no less than eleven quarters, though, as will be seen, only five of them are really independent, but even this is a large number for a city of approximately 15,000 inhabitants.

621 361 104 The five quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Sūḳ, Ḥārat al-Ḫilaif, Ḥārat al-Saḥīl, Ḥārat al-Nuwaidarah, and Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī. Of these the largest is Ḥārat al-Sūḳ. A saḥīl is a strip of land underneath a mountain, and including the mountain-side up to the base of the perpendicular Djol cliff[5], a word of frequent occurence. The town of Šibām which is not sub-divided into quarters, has a suburb

113 1 *Materials for South Arabian History* I, Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies (London, 1950), XIII, II, p. 296.

2 D. Van der Meulen & H. v. Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leiden, 1932).

3 Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), index *Slaves*.

4 *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, Le Muséon, LXII, 1-2, p. 159.

5 For the peculiar cliff formation of Wādī sides, see *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*.

P. 277

Zk: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM7
Middle East Islands (2)
Socotra



Socotra has also a
good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadramaut MN2



133 vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Never-
132 theless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in
248 normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley, and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the
[312] highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from
132 wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the
241 pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supple-
439 mented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until
167 recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from
262 the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

161 The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952
631 was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of
648 varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have
643 one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Government and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 37–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 103; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhram... 1952



Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar 161
of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited 631
largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved 648
a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in December 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn 668?
and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser 643
strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most important ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of [625]
Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 721
1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate, and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his 648
staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend £410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only £23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a [731]
serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly 651
helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami 312
emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political 311
changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40 miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns, the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple 248
cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 62–5.
[4] See above, p. 112.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 Ml Middle East :
Hadhramaut MM2

## CHAPTER VIII

# COTTON IN ARABIA

Arabia is divided into numerous groups, most of which are actually principalities. The boundaries of the subdivisions are indefinite and so is the authority of the local rulers in most cases. Some of these groups like to call themselves independent countries. One is called a kingdom. Some are called protectorates. The British have exercised the major influence over all these groups for 50 years and still do but in varying ways. One small spot of land actually belongs to the British Crown. 000

## ADEN PROTECTORATE

The narrow strip of land along the southwestern tip of the Arabian Peninsula includes a number of territories and dependencies of Arab chiefs which have been organised under a protectorate treaty with the British, and is called the Protectorate of Aden. 101

The Protectorate is about the size of Arizona. It has about 660,000 people, many of whom are nomads. The country is mostly mountainous though there are a few valleys and flood plains capable of cultivation. The Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that there are about 270,000 acres actually in cultivation at the present time. As the plains receive only about four inches of rainfall annually, irrigation is required. Considerable water is available as rainfall in the mountains is rather heavy, approaching 40 inches annually, but facilities are inadequate for catching and directing the water. 133 311 [161]

The economy of the protectorate rests almost solely on agriculture. The principal crops are grains and some fruits, principally dates. While a small quantity of coarse grains is normally exported, the country usually imports about half its bread grain requirements. 241

### COTTON

Cotton has been grown in this area in small quantities for hundreds of years, but never in commercial quantities until very recent years when British interests began promoting production. 248

The following article on the present status and prospects of cotton production in the Protectorate was written especially for this report by the research staff of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, London, with the collaboration of Major Congdon, Manager of the Abyan Board in the Aden Protectorate. 114

### RECENT HISTORY

"During the last war to increase the production of food, the old Abyan irrigation system was reopened and the headworks were partially restored under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. The reclaimed areas were used mainly for sorghum, bulrush millet and simsim, but it soon became 241 248

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to resore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Mansab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

## Chapter 2: Population

The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

5:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), 133
with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably 361
Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting 631
of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been [648]
for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., [643]
Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it 175
came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. 438
The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 161
100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is 133
mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital 361
is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a 648
small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be 619
recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete 621
control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate. 631 648 643

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The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government. 619 701 625 621

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts: 631 361

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej. [643]

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the
167 Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. All the Jews in Wahidi State emigrated to Israel in 1950, and there are now no Jews in the Eastern Protectorate.

# Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½. Working hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March.
467 There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

# Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western Aden Protectorate's expenditure for the years 1949-50 and 1950-51:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

| | 1949–50 | 1950–51 |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Staff and Miscellaneous .. .. .. | 45,313 | 64,026 |
| Government Guards (includes Wireless Telegraphy establishment) .. .. | 60,754 | 75,051 |
| Subsidies to local forces .. .. .. | 5,257 | 3,638 |
| Medical .. .. .. .. .. | 6,964 | 7,005 |
| Education .. .. .. .. .. | 3,030 | 3,926 |
| Aden Protectorate College .. .. | 3,614 | 3,681 |
| Agriculture .. .. .. .. .. | 10,245 | 11,172 |
| | 135,177 | 168,499 |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# PART V

## Chapter 1: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. There are no
167 Jews now in the Eastern and Western Protectorates as they have all emigrated to Israel.

## Chapter 2: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from *Shs.*1.50 to *Shs.*3 per day. Working
467 hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably shorter from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 3: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of Her Majesty's Government's expenditure in the Protectorates for the years 1951–52 and 1952–53:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

| | 1951–52 | 1952–53 |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 40,706 | 51,054 |
| Government Guards (including W/T establishments) | 68,602 | 84,858 |
| Subsidies to Local Forces | 3,411 | 2,801 |
| Health | 7,315 | 16,110 |
| Education | 3,213 | 7,753 |
| Aden Protectorate College | 2,229 | — |
| Agriculture | 10,158 | 14,083 |
| | 135,624 | 176,659 |

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

ficiency are widespread. Pellagroid lesions of the skin are often encountered among the peoples of the Protectorate. In a survey of 518 Arab schoolboys in Aden township in 1949, no cases of overt deficiency were found, but enlargement of the liver, possibly suggestive of low protein intake, was revealed in 27 per cent.

A H 146 164

### Miscellaneous Conditions

A small outbreak of epidemic muscular rheumatism, classified as Bornholm disease, was reported from Aden in 1946. It involved 35 persons—34 British and 1 Arab.

A 164

Hepatic cirrhosis is one of the most frequent conditions seen at the Civil Hospital. Local physicians have noted that most of the cases come from malarious regions where qat is widely used, but the underlying causes have not been investigated.

H A 164 733 146

Chewing the leaves of *Catha edulis*, or qat, is a general custom in Western Aden Protectorate. The leaf juices contain a stimulant, and habitual indulgence is said to produce loss of appetite, sleeplessness and a variety of more serious nervous disorders. Local observers believe that addiction to the drug contributes to the widespread undernutrition among the people.

## SUMMARY

The Colony of Aden and the adjacent Protectorate, on the southern coast of Arabia, have been British dependencies for over a century. The population of the Colony, including the port of Aden, was enumerated at 80,516 in the census of 1946, and calculated at over 100,000 in 1950. The Protectorate territory comprises two administrative divisions—Western Aden Protectorate and Eastern Aden Protectorate, in which the estimated population for 1948 was about 350,000 and 300,000, respectively. The local governments are tribal and diverse in organization, ranging from sultanates to smaller autonomous units. The inhabitants of both the Colony and the Protectorate are predominantly Arabs and adherents of Islam.

A H 648 A 161 H 131 161 H 619 H A 563 795

p. 251 (8)

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lying fishing villages on the coast and the second peninsula of Little Aden. A 632 162

The Protectorate population is not accurately known, but estimates for 1948 place the total for Western Aden Protectorate at about 350,000, and for Eastern Aden Protectorate at 300,000. The local governments are tribal, and range in organization from sultanates to smaller autonomous units of varying size and complexity. The principal state in the western protectorate is the Abdali Sultanate of Lahej, with its capital in the oasis town of Lahej, about 20 miles inland from Aden. The Qu'aiti Sultanate of Mukalla and Shihr and the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra are the largest and the most influential states in the east. Probably about three quarters of the inhabitants in Eastern Aden Protectorate dwell in the Hadhramaut, the region of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the adjacent coastlands. The term is often loosely applied to the entire central portion of the Protectorate, but politically it is restricted to the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri Sultanates. Several sizable and important towns are found on the slopes of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the connecting valleys, while Mukalla, the seat of government of the Qu'aiti, and Ash Shihr are prominent ports on the eastern coast. In addition to the settled peoples, numerous nomadic Bedouin tribes roam the steppes with their flocks. The residence of the Mahri Sultan is on Socotra, a rocky island with a population of about 5,000.

H 161 644 H 635 H 361 632 H [162]

The inhabitants of the Protectorate are mainly of south Arabian stock, but Malay admixtures are encountered in many parts of the Hadhramaut. Small colonies of Indians and Somalis are settled along the coast. Jewish communities of ancient origin are located in scattered villages in the western highlands and the Hadhramaut. They totaled only about 1,500 in 1948, and their numbers have since been depleted by emigration to Israel. The Hadhramis have long tended to emigrate to the islands of southeastern Asia, to East Africa and to countries bordering on the Red Sea, and many sub-

H 563 H [162] H 167

33: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



the summer thunderstorms are due. These latter are often extremely violent, even terrifying. Hail occasionally falls. Harvesting of one crop or another goes on throughout the year—chiefly bearded wheat, barley, maize, lucerne, and coffee (but the latter is less frequent than over the Yemen border). Indigo and cotton (a very small bush) are grown in the Nisāb district and grapes on the Yemen border. 132 241 311

In the sixth zone—the Empty Quarter or Great Red Desert—the population is pastoral and follows the grazing according to the rainfall, which is irregular and scanty. Along the principal wādis, which lead north towards the desert, there are permanent settlements and cereal crops are raised, chiefly millet, the stalks of which make useful fodder when grazing is scarce. The semi-nomadic part of the population returns to the settlements to await the next grazing-season in the desert.

In the Aden Interior as a whole the prevailing diseases are small-pox, fever (especially malarial), and, to some extent, consumption. The 'Yemen ulcer' is also common among the tribes. 164

## Population

The population of the Aden Interior (considered as a whole, and including that portion known strictly as the Aden Protectorate), settled and nomadic, may be computed at about half a million. The district is composed of a number of Tribal Confederations or Sultanates, some lying within the limits of the Protectorate proper, some without. 161• 651

The limits of the Aden Protectorate proper are the delimitation line, previously mentioned, from Ras Turbah to a point some few miles north of Dhāla, and thence a somewhat vaguely defined line continuing at first in a south-easterly direction and then in a generally easterly direction to the coast of the Gulf of Aden near the small settlement of Maqātīn. They enclose an area of about 4,200 sq. miles, having a population of 100,000. The tribal confederations lying within this boundary are: the Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, Haushabi, Amīri, 'Alawi, 'Aqrabi, and other smaller tribes; and without are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and 'Audillah ('Audali). The tribes of the Protectorate have a larger proportion of non-combatants and are more settled than those of the remoter interior; the bulk are to be found in the towns and villages of the littoral belt, the chief centres being Lahej, Waht, Shūghrah, and the Abiyān district. 131 619 621 361

In dealing with a variety of tribes with such different characteristics it is difficult to generalize; broadly they may be divided 619 142

to me in the Hadhramaut and which are stated in detail in subsequent chapters, I should say that 260,000 is a safer estimate. In making this calculation an endeavour has been made to avoid counting groups twice when they occur under different headings, and allowance has been made for sections of tribes for which estimates of armed men are not available. Where total figures are given for certain tribes for which a figure of the number of armed men is also available it appears that the ratio is about three to one, and for this reason numbers of armed men have been multiplied by three to obtain estimated total population. The following are the data used to obtain the total figure :—

### Qu'aiti Provinces.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shihr ... | Towns ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 11,000 |
| | 'Awâbitha ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 2,500 |
| | Other tribes, men only 10,000 ... ... ... | say | 30,000 |
| | | | 43,500 |
| Mukalla | Towns (Mukalla 16,000, Ghail 6,000, Shihair 1,500) ... | | 23,500 |
| | Tribesmen, 2,100 ... ... ... ... ... | say | 6,300 |
| | | | 29,800 |
| | | say | 30,000 |
| Du'an | Towns of Du'an and Leisar with certain deductions, men only ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 12,700 |
| | Tribesmen ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 5,000 |
| | | | 17,700 |
| | | say | 53,000 |
| | (This calculation compares well with estimate of 50,000 given). | | |
| Hajr | Kanina ... ... ... ... ... .. ... | | 1,500 |
| | Tribesmen, 5,000 ... ... ... ... ... | say | 15,000 |
| | | | 16,500 |
| Shibam | Towns and villages ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 10,500 |
| | Âl Mahfudh ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 2,000 |
| | Other tribes (including Sei'ar) 6,700 ... ... | say | 20,100 |
| | | | 32,600 |
| | | say | 33,000 |

### *Other Qu'aiti Districts.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Towns (Hureidha and 'Einat) ... ... ... ... | | 7,000 |
| Tribesmen (principally Ja'da, Tamimi and Manâhil), 5,250 ... ... ... ... ... ... | say | 15,750 |
| | | 22.750 |
| | say | 23,000 |

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



162

KATHIRI SULTANATE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Towns ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 36,700 |
| Tribesmen, 4,900 ... ... ... ... ... | say | 14,700 |
| | | 51,400 |
| | say | 51,500 |
| Total ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 250,500 |
| Add for Seiyids (see Chapter V) not elsewhere enumerated | | 5,000 |
| | | 255,500 |
| | say | 260,000 |

**Languages used in the Hadhramaut.**

197 There appear always to have been peculiarities in the language of the Hadhramaut. It may be of interest to record here that on the fragment of inscriptions found near Meshhed the third "S", the Hebrew *Samekh*, rare in other dialects of South Arabian, occurs frequently, and this is a distinctive feature of the Hadhramaut dialect. Another feature is the replacement of the modern "th" (*thā*) by "sh", thus *Shalasa* (the latter "s" being *samekh*) is "three" in Hadhramaut. The Mahri language, which, as it is spoken in the lower reaches of the Hadhramaut valley and westwards as far as Museina'a, may be included in the languages of the Hadhramaut, is said to be a modern representative of the ancient South Arabian.

But of more practical modern interest it is worth drawing attention to the difficulty of recording place and tribal names correctly when one's informants are illiterate, and there are eccentricities in accent and in the pronunciation of letters. In certain areas of the western part of the Protectorate the letter *jīm* becomes the *gīm* of Egypt. This sound also occurs in parts of the Hadhramaut, but so also do *jīm* and another variant *yīm*. Thus the village of Al Juwada in the Wadi Ser is called Al Yuwāda. *Qāf* is universally *gāf* in the Hadhramaut and indistinguishable from *gīm*.

191 It is of political interest to emphasize the spread of two introduced languages—Malay and Swahili. It would be possible to travel
177 over the whole country with either. Malay is in many cases almost more a mother-tongue than Arabic. There are many children of mixed blood, and many Malay or Javanese wives seem to have been introduced into the country. I was often told that there are children who speak Malay with more facility than Arabic, and Malay is a language regularly spoken in many homes.

Swahili has not attained this standard, but owing to the large numbers of people who go to East Africa it is very widely known as a second language. The great majority of those who speak it are of course Arabs, but there are a few slaves who speak it as a mother-tongue. I did not experience or hear of many cases like this in the Hadhramaut, but noticed a remarkable number further east in Merbat. Hindustani is a well-known language in certain

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



643 Henin and the Nahd tribe. During his tour he arranged the
484 following truces: At 'Einat, on 26th August, a two years' truce between the Seiyids of Āl Hussein and Āl al Hamed; at Al Qatn on 5th September a truce between all the Yafa'i tribesmen and their clans and sections to last five years; on 6th September at the same place, a 10 years' truce between the tribesmen of Āl Makhashin of the Nahd, and another of five years between the clan of Āl Mahfudh, and, again at Al Qatn, on 7th September, an eight months' truce between the Nahd tribesmen; on 9th September in Wadi al 'Ain a truce of five years between the tribesmen of Āl Batati, and another of five years between the Āl Batati and Āl Mahfudh.

643 His Highness left for India on 15th October 1934 for medical reasons. He did not return to Mukalla again, for he died in India of cancer, after a long and painful illness, in March 1936. Recognition has now been given to his nephew and successor, His Highness Sultan Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, who has been accorded a salute of 11 guns.

## CHAPTER V.

### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

173 I have already drawn attention to the importance of a knowledge
829 of traditional history, and there is one aspect of history in particular of which any one dealing with Arabs must have some knowledge, and that is genealogy. Arabs would regard families going back to the Conquest as mushroom growths, and many can carry their own trees back to Adam. Each one will at least know the main lines of his descent, and though in its earlier stages it is legendary, this is of no importance to others than purists, for it is believed. Wherever known, the origin of each tribe is indicated in this report, and genealogical trees show the accepted descent of tribal ancestors from Shem.

829 Racially, the Arabs divide themselves into four categories, of
173 which three are represented in the Hadhramaut, the Baida or ex-
162 tinct Arabs represented by the sons of 'Ad, the 'Ariba or descend-
565 ants of Qahtan or Joktan embracing all the remaining Arabs except the Seiyids and a few sons of Ma'ad who, being descended from Ishmael, are Musta 'Ariba.

The population of the Hadhramaut may be divided into seven social classes, almost castes. They are not all represented in every part of the country, and the order in which they appear below is partly historical and partly represents the order of their importance.

#### SEIYIDS.

162 The Seiyids of the Hadhramaut derive their descent from Ahmed
565 bin 'Isa al Mohajir who migrated to the Hadhramaut from Basra and died there about 1,050 years ago. His grave is on the right bank of the main Wadi Hadhramaut at Al Hasisa, a few miles

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



east of Seiyun. Many of the families of Seiyids have hereditary chiefs bearing the title of *Mansab*. They are recognized as spiritual leaders by the surrounding tribes and even by tribes far away; thus, the Mansabs of 'Einat, some twelve miles east of Tarim, have a paramount spiritual influence over the Yafa'i tribes far away in the western part of the Protectorate. 162 565

The following is a list of those families of Seiyids whose descent from Seiyid Ahmed is regarded as authentic :—

| *Family.* | *House.* | *Mansab.* | *Residence.* | *Nos.* | *Influence Over.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Bā 'Alawi | Al Beiti | | Gheil Bin Yamin. | 400 | Nūwah. |
| | Al Maknun | | Yuwan | 100 | Bin Ajrar, a Balhaf tribe, Al bin Dagha. |
| | Barum | Muhammad Barum. | Du'an | 30 | |
| | Hāmed | 'Abdur Rahman bin Hāmed. | Tarim | 20 | |
| | Mudeihij | | Gheil Bin Yamin. | 80 | |
| | Fada'q | Muhammad bin Hussein Fada'ç. | Habban | 100 | Al Aqmush and Al Aswad, Balhaf tribes. |
| | Bā 'Ubūd | | Taris | 30 | |
| | Bin Sahl | | " | 5 | |
| | Jemal al Leil | | " | 15 | |
| | Mola Dawila | Muhammad bin 'Ali. | Fughma | 400 | Beni Sa'id, Manahil. |
| | Al Hindwan | | Rogha near Tarim. | 40 | Have influence over certain tribes. |
| | As Siri | Bubekr Siri | Tarim | 20 | |
| | Al Juneid | The house consists of learned men and men of wealth; no manasb. | " | 50 | |
| | Bā 'Umar | | Leisar | 50 | |
| Āl 'Aidarus | Al 'Aidarus | Ahmed bin Hussein. | Tibi | 5,000 | Nahd. Kathīri. |
| | " | Al Hazm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus. | Būr and Hazm | 5,000 | Āl Jābir. Nahd. |
| | Al Isma'il | Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari and Hussein 'Abdulla. | Tarba, Tarim, Shihr. | | Al Qathm, Seiban, Al Hamumi. |
| | As Salibla | | Salibla | | Bin Hatab, Bin Kasbūba. |
| | Āl Salila | Hussein bin 'Aidarus. | Būr | 80 | Āl Bajri. |
| | Āl 'Abdulla bin ash Sheikh. | 'Umar bin Zein | Tarim and Ramla. | 120 | Al Yamāni. |

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| Family. | House. | Manash. | Residence. | Nos. | Influence Over. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Sheikh Bubekr bin Salim and Al Sheikh 'Aqil bin Salim. | Al Hāmed | 'Abdul Qadir bin Salim. | 'Einat | 200 | Mahra, Seihut, Qishn, Merbat. |
| | Al Hussein | 'Ali bin Ahmed | 'Einat | 250 | Manahil, Beni Ujeil Yafa'. |
| | Al Mihdhar | Mustafa bin Ahmed and Bubekr bin Hussein. | Du'an, al Qawira. | 300 | Al Bajuba, Al Bahada, a Balhaf tribe, Khalifa, a tribe belonging to the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, Yafa'a. |
| | Al Haddar | Muhsin bin Ahmed and Haddar bin Ahmed. | Qatn, Shihr | 200 | Qu'aitis. |
| | Bu Futeim | 'Abdulla bin Ahmed. | Tarim and Tarba. | 20 | 'Awāmir clan living in Tarba. |
| | Muqeibil | | Du'an, Leisar | 40 | |
| | Al 'Attas | 'Ali bin Zein and Hasan bin Salim. | Hureidha, 'Amd. | 1,500 | Nahd and As Sei'ar. |
| | Bin Hadun | Ahmed bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas. | Meshhed | 90 | Nahd, As Sei'ar and Al Musa'id |
| | Al 'Aqil | Hasan bin 'Alawi. | Dammūn | 100 | Part of the Āl Tamim. |
| | Ba Surra | | Du'an, Leisar | 20 | |
| | Āl Mutahar | Ahmed bin 'Aqil. | Dammūn | 30 | Part of the Āl Tamim. |
| Āl as Saqqaf | As Saqqaf | Ahmed bin 'Abdur Rahman. | Seiyun | 500 | Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris. |
| | Āl Taha | | " | 40 | |
| | Āl Shibab | 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and 'Abdul Qadir. | Tarim and Dammūn. | 300 | Āl Quseiyer and Bā Shamakha. |
| | " | 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shibab. | " | | Bin Sūlma. |
| | Al Wunawar | | Seiyun | 400 | |
| | Al Mashhur | | Tarim | 50 | |
| | Al Hadi | Muhsin bin Zein. | " | 50 | |
| | Az Zahir | | | 80 | |
| | Al Bar | Ahmed bin 'Umar al Bar. | Du'an | 200 | |
| | Al Wahsh | | Du'an, al Qurein. | 200 | |
| | Āl Sāfi | | Du'an, ar Rubāt | 500 | |

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| *Family.* | *House.* | *Mansab.* | *Residence.* | *Nos.* | *Influence Over.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Al as Saqqaf —*contd.* | Bin Barahim. | The house consists of learned men and merchants. There is no mansab. | Qasm | 50 | |
| | Bā Harūn | | Hadhramaut | 60 | |
| | Al Habashi | 'Umar bin 'Abdulla, Muhammad bin 'Ali. | Hautat Ahmed bin Zein, Du'an, Seiyun. | 300 | Āl Kathīr. |
| | Bā 'Aqīl | | Qeidun | 800 | |
| | Ba Faqīh | | Du'an and Shihr. | 30 | |
| Āl Haddad | | 'Isa bin 'Abdul Qadir. | Tarim | 150 | Ad Deiīn. |
| | Āl Tahir | Tahir bin Bubekr. | Al Maseila | 30 | Āl Balheij, Bā Muhammad. |
| | Āl bin Yahya | Ahmed bin 'Umar. | ,, | 20 | |
| | Āl Sumeit | | Shibam | 25 | |
| | Āl. 'Aidīd | | Tarim | 50 | |
| Āl Ahmed bin al Faqih ash Shahid. | Balfaqih | Zein bin Hasan | Tarim | 100 | Al 'Imran, Nahd. |
| | Al Jifri | 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Ali. | Wadi bin 'Ali | 1,000 | Wadi bin 'Ali. |
| | Al Kaf | Bubekr bin Sheikh (not a mansab, but has most influence). | Tarim | 150 | |
| | Al Bahr | Hasan bin Salih. | Di Sobh | 20 | Āl Kathīr. |
| | Ash Shatiri | 'Abdulla bin 'Umar ash Shatiri. | Tarim | 20 | Seiban |
| | | | | 19,415 | |

The following families have now become extinct in the Hadhramaut: Bin Qabtan, Āl Mahjub, Āl Musuwa, Bā Shumeila, Āl Tawīl, Āl Hāmel, Bā Raqaba, Āl Mandhar, Bā Hussein, Āl Qādir, Āl Qadri, Bā Faraj, Mola Kheila, Ash Shilli, Āl 'Abdul Malik, Āl Hashim, Āl al Manadhar, An Nadhir, Hussein al Qara, Merzaq, Bā Bureik, Khuneiman, Bā 'Ali, Āl Hūt, Al Ghota.

Until the last few years the Seiyids occupied universally over the Hadhramaut very much the position of the church in the Middle Ages in Europe, forming a theocracy with which the temporal rulers of the country interfered very little. On the whole their influence was generally on the side of law and order and they wielded great power.

Seiyids do not carry arms,[1] nor have they troops to support them, so that instead of relying on the sanction of arms to maintain their authority they rely on their descent from the Prophet and the reverence which is given to them on account of their ancestry. They are extremely jealous of their privileges as Seiyids; realizing that their influence depends on the respect shown to them, they adhere keenly to such customs as the kissing of their hands and avoid any form of manual labour. They are usually comparatively well educated, and exercise influence on this account.

Some years ago a movement started in the East Indies to restrict the power of the Seiyids. It is said to have had its origin in a squabble over a school, but its roots were deeply set in the growing contact of the Hadhrami immigrants with western influence which produced a liberal class keen on modernisation. The Seiyids were innately conservative and mistrusted the encroachment of western civilization. It cannot be said that the struggle between the church and the laity is yet over, but it is apparent that the victory will ultimately be with liberal tendencies rather than diehard conservatism. According to most accounts the 'Irshadis, as the rebels against ecclesiastical predominance termed themselves, never set up actual organizations in the Hadhramaut itself, but there is no doubt that their tenets have made considerable headway there.

In Qu'aiti territory the influence of the Seiyids has officially gone. They are not allowed to interfere in politics though they are given respect for their descent. As long as the majority of them adhere to their mediaeval ecclesiasticism it is clearly right that they should be out of power. Unofficially, however, some of the best of them still play an important and indeed essential part in those districts not yet under direct Government control. In Kathīri territory they have more influence, but the leading families have moved with the advancing tide of progress, allied themselves with the forces of law and order, and are amongst the keenest advocates of modern methods in the country.

### Sheikhs.

Before the advent of Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa in the ninth century and the gradual growth of the religious influence of the Seiyids, the Sheikhs were the principal ecclesiastical influence in the country. They probably took the place of an earlier ecclesiastical hierarchy formed by the priesthood of the old religion. Though they definitely take precedence after the Seiyids, they resemble them in that they exercise much the same privileges. Like them, they are a very much respected class, are better educated than the tribesmen, and do not as a rule bear arms.

The principal families are: Al 'Amūdi living in Du'an, Āl Is-hāq, Āl Bā Wazīr living at Gheil, Wadi al 'Ain, and other places, Bā

[1] There are in fact a few families of Seiyids who do carry arms and are indistinguishable from Beduins.

Jābir living below Shibam, Āl Bā Sūdān at Du'an, Bā Humeid at Madūda and Seiyun, Āl Bureik at Shabwa, Bā Khatib at Tarim, Bā Wa'l at Tarim, and Āl Bā 'Umar at 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qain. 565 162

YAFA'IS.

The Yafa'is are the *'asākir* or soldiers and the actual rulers of Qu'aiti territory. Their introduction as mercenaries, described in the historical chapters, has led to the foundation of two dynasties, that of the Kasadis of Lower Yafa' and that of the Qu'aitis who drove out the Kasadis. The places in which some of the Yafa'is live will appear later when the inhabitants of the various provinces of Qu'aiti territory are enumerated. I have also given in an appendix a list of the various Yafa'i tribes with their sections, strength and situation. 565 162 463

The Qu'aiti dynasty springs from a section of the Mausata tribe and is historically quite recent. Although the Sultan and his relations have had no personal contacts with their country they exercise some influence in Upper Yafa', and the Yafa'i connection is still a live one, as a great many Upper Yafa'is regularly go to the Hadhramaut to take service in the Qu'aiti forces, returning after a few years to their own country. Other Yafa'is have become settled in the Hadhramaut and form a powerful party on whom the Qu'aiti could depend in the case of disturbances. [73]

The following are amongst Yafa'i tribes and sections represented in the Hadhramaut, the sections being shown in brackets after each tribe: Adh Dhubi (Al Mosilli, Al Kasadi, Ash Shanāthira, Al Jahāwisha), Al Bu'si (Al Gharama, Az Zaghālida, Al Homām, Al Mattash), Al Mausata (Ar Robak, Āl Yazid, Āl Batati). 565 162

TRIBESMEN.

The history of the tribes of the Hadhramaut has been, generally speaking, sufficiently indicated in the historical instruction, and their location and strength will be dealt with in the description of the various provinces. 000

There are only four words used in the Hadhramaut for the nomenclature of the divisions of a tribe. *Az Zei* is a confederation of tribes with a single leader. There are only three *Zeis* in the Hadhramaut, the Seibani, the Nūwah, and the Hamumi. The Shenafir Confederation is not a *Zei*, for while the leaders of the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris are Sultans, they do not head the whole confederation of tribes. A tribe, *Qabila*, is sub-divided into a *Beit*, and a *Beit* into a *Fara'*. I cannot claim any particular merit for the divisions I have used, namely, Tribe, Clan, Section, and Sub-section, except that by using the word Clan I have avoided the clumsy term sub-sub-section which I found used in some statements of the other tribes of the Protectorate. 619 565 162 621

The Hadhrami tribesmen, like those of the rest of the Protectorate, are extremely conservative and "never depart from their tribal customs." Most of them are nomads moving over their areas 181

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

### TOWNSMEN.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa, and the following are the principal families.

[173] *In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

*In Seiyun:* Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

[The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

*In Shibam:* Āl Bā Dīb, head, Muhammad bin Ahmed Bā Dīb; important members, 30, total, 50. Āl Bā 'Ubeid, head, Muhammad Salim Bā 'Ubeid; important members, 15, total, 20. Āl Shamākh; important members, 10, total, 40. Āl Ma'āshir, head, Bekr 'Ali Ma'ashir; important members, 24, total, 100. Āl Bā Jarsh, head, 'Abdur Rahman Bā Jarsh; important members, 20, total, 60. Āl at Tōwei, head, 'Ali at Tōwei; important members, 4, total, 20. The families of Qatn, Jabr, Bilfaqih, and Āl Khātib are said to possess authority. 565 162 [73]

*In Al Ghurfa:* Āl Bā Abbad; important members, 15, total, 80. Āl Msellem, head, Salim Msellem; one important member, total, 20. Āl Tarmum, head, 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman Tarmum; important members, 20, total, 90. Āl Sheibān, head, Sheikh 'Umar Sheiban; important members, 5, total, 30.

*In Du'an:* Āl Bā Shanfar, residence 'Aura; important members, 5, total, 80. Āl Bā Ya'shut, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 90. Āl Bā Mad-han, residence Al Qurein; important members, 160, total, 200. Āl Bā Lakma, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 80. Āl Bā Barahīm, residence Al Qurein; important members, 60, total 110. Āl Bā Basut, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 100, total, 200. Āl Bā Hanshal, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 30, total, 150. Āl Bā Khashwein, residence Hudūn; important members, 150, total, 300. The families of Bā Shameila, Bā Samad, Bā 'Ubeid, Bahawal, and Bā Baheir all possess authority, but those of Bazara, Bā 'Ashin, and Bā Sālih have none.

*In Bur:* Bā Sharāhil, who possess no authority.

The townsmen are divisible into four classes; merchants, artificers, labourers, and servants. The economic life of the country depends to a large extent on them. They live in the towns, do not bear arms, and are the principal taxpayers. It is from them that the people obtain the necessaries of life, and they form the main link with the outside world. Many of them are wealthy and they exercise a considerable influence in the country, and might well exercise more. The leading merchants to some extent govern the affairs of their towns, and have developed more than a germ of municipal organization. There are also signs of a kind of trades unionism, or rather of the mediaeval guild system, among the various artificers, and professions are usually, though not exclusively, hereditary. 565 162 556 [44]

### Slaves.

The Qu'aiti and Kathīri Governments are the biggest slave-holders in the country, and I should imagine that there is comparatively little private ownership. Apart from the fact that the slaves are slaves, there is very little to distinguish them, except their African countenances, from other classes of the country, and 567

567 I never heard a suggestion ~~from masters~~ or slaves that they were anything but exceedingly well treated. They include principally the *Nizam*, the most trusted part of the forces of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri, and receive very exceptional treatment compared with other servants of the State. They can rise to the highest positions, and the present Governor of the Shibam province is a slave. I also met a slave Governor of the town of Hajarein in the Du'an province, and I believe there are others. The town magistrate of Mukalla is also a slave. The young slaves belonging to the Mukalla Government are given especial care and training, and are formed into companies of cadets. They gave us a very creditable drill display in Mukalla.

It is possible that there may be a very occasional case of slave trading, and some women may have been introduced in recent years to the main valley, but this is not done with the approval or cognizance of the Mukalla Government.

### SUBIANS.

565 The Subians form definitely the lowest class of the population. 162 Some of them are agricultural labourers receiving wages or paid in kind, and there are settlements of them outside coastal towns like 463 Mukalla and Shihr. When they are settled next door to a town they do the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and perform such sanitary services as are carried out by sweepers in other eastern countries.

565 I was informed that the word "*Subian*" comes from "*Sabi*", 173 a boy. In the Hadhramaut they originate from the Wadi Hajr, and for this reason in the western part of the Protectorate are known as Hajris. They are said to be the descendants of the Abyssinian invaders of the third to sixth centuries A.D., and to have been reduced to their present lowly estate after the Abyssinians had been routed by the Persians on the intervention of Seif bin Dhi Yazan. This is the tale told in the Hadhramaut, and d'Arnaud recounts a similar story as the origin of the Khadims of Yemen [608] and Aden. Neither slaves nor Subians can be the subjects of blood feuds.

### Immigration.

167 Apart from these classes of the population, there are a number of immigrants settled, or partially settled, in the country. There are 300 British Indians in Mukalla and Shihr, and a few British Somalis. There are also some Italian Somalis. The total number of Somalis in the country is said to be about 1,200, of whom 1,000 reside in Mukalla. Owing to extensive migration to the East Indies, [144] which will be further described later in the report, there has been a considerable infiltration of Malayan blood, and very East Indian types of countenances are to be observed in some of the up-country towns. The type is not uncommon in Tarim and Seiyun, but I found it very marked in the towns of Badra and Haura.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



**Religion.**

Islam is, of course, practically exclusively the religion of the Hadhramaut. There are a number of Banians in Mukalla and a few in Shihr, but, apart from these, other faiths are represented only by one or two Christians and possibly Parsees in the same ports. Occasional Memons, Khojas, and Ithnasheris among the Indian population represent the only exceptions to the universal adherence in the Hadhramaut to the Shafite Sunni school. Rumour has it that traces left from the old Ibadhi-ism are still to be found in the north west in Nejran, and there are of course Ibadhis from Oman, eastwards in Dhufar. 162 795

## CHAPTER VI.

## CONDITIONS OF LIVING IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

The report deals with the conditions found in the Hadhramaut and, to some extent at least, peculiar to that country; it assumes a general knowledge of Arabian conditions of life which are common to the whole Peninsula. It may, however, be well in a few remarks to call attention to some general features of tribal life which should be borne in mind. 121

The culture of the Arab is determined by his environment, which also largely affects his religion. In the more fertile wadis the people are settled and conservative, on the barren steppes and desert places they are nomadic and communistic. The Beduin, and indeed many of the settled tribes, are extremely poor; their food is of the simplest, their staples being dates, home-grown millet and other grain, imported rice, and dried fish. The tribesman's wardrobe consists of two or three pieces of cloth, and indigo, in which he has implicit faith as protection alike from sun and cold. His dwelling is poor and its furniture hardly makes a camel's load. There are three things he saves up to acquire—arms (a rifle and *jambiya* or curved dagger), a camel, and a wife. The wife is my own addition; Beduins have often mentioned the other requirements to me, which shows, I suppose, that the wife is either an essential who goes without saying or that she is an afterthought. But these are the only things for which a Beduin saves. In other respects he is thriftless. 105

Poverty affects them in one of two ways: either they raid to augment their scanty means of living or they emigrate and earn their increment in more favourable surroundings abroad. Raiding is a paradox: it is not only a crime against society, but also a recognized means of livelihood. Furthermore, as it is played according to recognized rules it is a national sport. As more and more of the population become settled, raiding tends to become less popular. It is of course a large overstatement to suggest that football and other games will take its place as a sport, but the overstatement does contain some truth, for football is rapidly becoming

# CHAPTER XV.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

### I.—SHIHR PROVINCE.

635 361 131 The Shihr *liwa* is the first province of the Qu'aiti dominions. I was informed that its boundaries were, east to west, "from the extreme borders of the mountains of Damakh Hisāl up to the port of Shiheir", and south to north, "from the sea to the mountains which separate the plateau from the lowlands". The most easterly settlement of the province is Reidat al Qu'aiti, and the other coastal towns and villages of importance are Qus'eir (with Qurein), Baghashwa, Hami, and Al Qarn which is the port of Dis, a walled town a couple of miles inland with a population of about 5,000.

361 162 Shihr was once the most important town on the Hadhramaut coast, but it has been gradually decaying. Many of its houses have disappeared and its 45 mosques now serve a diminishing population. This is estimated at from 6,000 to 10,000, but I have no doubt the latter figure is excessive. Shihr, however, is still an important port: it is the principal port for Kathīri territory and the main distributing centre for the eastern part of the Hadhramaut. A landing-ground has been constructed, but is not in serviceable condition.

438 The principal industries are the drying and curing of fish and the dyeing and weaving of cloth. The water-supply, as has been mentioned, comes from Tubala where there are also hot sulphur springs and gardens. There are other gardens at Dufelgha and at Habis where the *Wazir* has a house.

635 438 361 At the time of my visit the Governor of Shihr was Sheikh Salih bin 'Ali al Qu'aiti. The tribes living in the *liwa*, or dependent on the town as their market, are: Ath Tha'yani, Manahil, Hamumi, Al Qarzi, Ash Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Al 'Asārina, Al Meseilīyin, Al 'Awābitha, Al Ma'āra and Al Jōhi. Of these, the Qarzi and the Bahasan are sometimes considered as clans of the Hamumi Zei. Although the 'Awābitha have considerable connections with Shihr and Mukalla they own no land in the province and live beyond its boundaries. Shihr is also an important market for the Mahras, to whom, centuries ago, as Masudi recalls, it belonged. Apart from those towns of the interior such as Seiyun and Tarim which obtain many of their supplies from Shihr, and have trading connections with it, the 'Awāmir, Al Jābir, and Al Jābir of Āl Sāh (which are all Kathīri tribes) depend on it for their food supply.

000 The Manahil and the Kathīri tribes will be described elsewhere, and the Mahra, of course, are not a Hadhramaut tribe, but the

1: Ingram's G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



following are notes on the other tribes mentioned, with the addition of three small tribes also dependent on the province.

### ATH THA'YANÎ.

This tribe possess houses and grazing lands around Reida and Qus'eir as far as Damakh. They live to the east of the Hamumi with whom they are allied, but they are not a Hamumi clan. They have an "A" agreement with the Qu'aiti, who pays them an annual subsidy.

### HAMUMI.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bahasan at Tanbūl | — | Wadi al Ma'di | 250 | |
| Al Yamīni ... ... | — | Wadi 'Arf | 150 | — |
| As Sa'idi ... ... | — | Al Wāsit | 350 | — |
| Bā Hasan Bā Zamāri | — | North of Hami | 100 | — |
| Al Harāwiza ... | Beit Sarqāha | Ya'is Kherid | 100 | — |
| Beit 'Ali ... ... | — | Al Khamt | 250 | 'Ali bin Salim bin Mujanna Habrish. |
| Seiyids of Āl Zein and Āl bin Qitbān. | — | Al Jebel | 60 | |
| Beit ash Sharkha ... | — | Al Jebel | 50 | — |
| Beit Shanīn ... | — | North of Dis | 200 | — |
| Beni 'Ujeil ... ... | — | Al Jebel | 2,000[1] | — |
| Al Gharābi ... ... | — | Al Jebel and east of Wadi Himem. | 450 | — |
| Al Jāmiha ... ... | — | Al Jebel | 300 | — |
| Seiyids of Beit Hamūda | — | Al Jebel | 200 | — |
| Beit Ghatnīn ... | — | North of ar Reida and Qus'eir. | 200 | — |
| Al Jareiri ... ... | — | do. do. | 400 | — |
| Bin 'Asāna ... ... | — | do. do. | 300 | — |
| Al Hazāwil ... ... | — | do. do. | 500 | — |
| Beit al 'Amaq ... | — | do. do. | 200 | — |
| Nōhat ... ... | — | do. do. | 250 | — |
| Beit Qarrād ... | — | do. do. | 700 | — |
| Beit Mabrūr... ... | — | do. do. | 100 | — |
| Al Asmūh ... ... | — | do. do. | 350 | — |
| Al 'Udūl ... ... | — | do. do. | 300 | — |
| Al Qarzi ... ... | — | North of Wadi 'Arf | 600 | — |
| Bā Shamakha ... | — | Beit al Qarazat | — | — |
| | | | 8,360 | |

The Hamumi Zei, who are of Himyaritic descent, strong and warlike, live in the country to the north of Shihr, from Wadi 'Arf in the south-west to Damakh Hisāl in the east. The western part of Reida and the southern part of Dis, where they have houses and

[1] Total estimated number of clan. Except where otherwise stated the estimated numbers given are those of armed men only.

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# CHAPTER XVI.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 2. MUKALLA PROVINCE.

Although the town of Mukalla is the Qu'aiti capital the province is considered as ranking after Shihr. It is defined as extending from east to west " from the port of Shiheir to Meifa ", and south to north " from the sea to the low hills as far as the source of the river Hajr, but excluding the Hajr valley itself ". Apart from Mukalla the principal towns and villages on the coast are Shiheir with an estimated population of 1,500, Fuwa and Burum. The only inland town of any importance is Gheil Bā Wazīr, but there are a number of large villages such as Harshiat, Tila, Lusb and Lubeib. The population of Gheil Bā Wazīr, where the Sultan has a house, is estimated at from 6,000 to 7,000. It is a walled town, and the seat of an important tobacco industry. 635 361 162 [438]

Estimates of the population of the town of Mukalla vary from 10,000 to 30,000; the actual figure is probably 15,000 to 16,000. It is a compact, closely populated place, with 13 mosques, and it appears to be growing as building operations are continually in progress. It has several minor industries, of which the principal is fish-drying. West of the town, fish manure and fish fodder are prepared, and outside to the east fish is cured for human consumption. Other small industries are the crushing of sinsim for oil and cake, lime-burning—the best quality lime used in Aden comes from Mukalla—and tanning. Apart from the fact of its being the seat of Government, Mukalla owes its importance to its being the principal port of entry for the Hadhramaut and the principal market for the interior. The landing-ground for Mukalla is at Fuwa and the province is well served with motor-tracks. The water-supply comes from Baqrein, where there are good gardens, and other garden suburbs are Dis al Mukalla, An Naq'a where the Sultan has a house, Manāwara, Lermi, Kherba and Khaba. 361 162 438

The Governor of the Mukalla province at the time of my visit was the *Wazir* of the state, Jemadar, or Sultan, Salim bin Ahmed bin 'Abdulla al Qu'aiti. The following tribes live in or are dependent on the Mukalla province: Seibani, Hālka, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadīyin, Sumūh, Hāmdi, Buheish and the Āl Heik. As will be seen in Chapter XVII, the Hālka and the Sumūh, sometimes considered as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani. The Bin Daghār and the Nūwah of the Wadi Hajr (see Chapter XVIII) have working and trading connections with Mukalla, as have the tribes of the Wadi 'Amd, the Ma'di, the Ja'da, Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed and Āl Salima; the last two, though sometimes considered to be separate tribes, are included with the Ja'da (Chapter XX). The tribesmen of the Wadi Reidat ad Deiyin and other tribes to the west of Du'an, Beina and Wadi 'Amd, also trade with Mukalla. Shibam and the tribes in and around it 635 619

depend on the capital for business and supplies, as do the tribes of Nahd Rodhān and Āl Makhāshin (included with the Nahd, see Chapter XIX). The Hadhrami Yafa'is, and particularly the sections of Bal'ala, al Hamdhān, al Jābri, Ibn az Zu', and ash Shabeibi, also look on it as their headquarters.

The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely connected with the province. The others mentioned will be found under more appropriate heads :—

BENI HASAN.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bā Haj ... ... ... | Bā Zala and eight other sections. | Mazinab | 120 |
| Bā Ra'ida ... ... | — | — | 70 |
| Bā Kadīm ... ... | — | — | 50 |
| Bā 'Azad ... ... ... | Daqeil | 'Azad | 30 |
| | Bā Dalhūs | | |
| Rahbani ... ... ... | — | — | 15 |
| | | | 285 |

[162]

The Beni Hasan, a Himyaritic tribe, closely allied to the 'Akābira who live to their south, are said to have been long settled in the country they inhabit. Their grazing lands lie around Mukalla and extend to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'un on the north. Their chief village is Lubeib, but they reside also in Wadi Ariat and Asfal al 'Ain, west of Mukalla. They have been described as a clan of the Seibani living in the valley of Jirba and the surrounding mountains. They used to be neighbours of the Kasadi on the east, but assisted the Qu'aitis in their fight against the Kasadi Naqīb and for this reason receive, jointly with the 'Akābira, an annual gift of 700 loads of grain from the Qu'aiti, who also pays them an annual subsidy and has an "A" agreement with them. Their chief is in his service and bears the title of Shaush. The armed strength of the Beni Hasan is estimated at from 200 to 300 men, and the tribe is under the influence of the 'Amūdi *Mansab* of Tila.

The Rahbani and Bā Haj clans are cultivators, but the Bā Zala section of the latter are nomads and own 500 camels. Half of the Bā Ra'ida are nomads, known as Bā Dahūs, and half are cultivators of dates and jowari; they own about 100 camels. The Bā Kadīm are almost all settled. The Bā 'Azad own about 50 camels, but the Daqeil section are nomads and the Bā Dalhūs are settled.

'AKĀBIRA.

| *Clan.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|
| Shahfi ... ... ... | Husn Buwar | 250 |
| Suleimani ... ... | — | 100 |
| Bin Naja and as Sa'idi ... | Masna'a | 100 |
| Mukbali ... ... ... | — | 35 |
| | | 485 |

[See page 12 category 116 -- Analyst]

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AL HEIK.

619 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the
631 sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan
101 they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shiheir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct
433 route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the
438 inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me
465 as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being
162 an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures
361 appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and
651 villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns
652 and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

635 most of them are exempted from taxation: Al Qurha, estimated
162 number of men 300, estimated number of rifles 50, the inhabitants
are tribesmen. Husn Bā Sam, men 150, rifles 25, tribesmen. Ar
361 Rubāt, men 800, rifles 100, revenue $1,600, expenditure $1,800; the
651 inhabitants are soldiers. Al Qarn, men 500, rifles 100, inhabitants
652 are tribesmen of Bā Hakīm, a clan of the Nūwah. Al Khoreiba,
men 1,500, rifles 50, revenue $1,500, expenditure $1,800,
inhabitants are soldiers and sheikhs. Sharq, men 300, rifles 50,
revenue $300, expenditure $360, tribesmen and soldiers. Ar
Rashīd, men 400, rifles 150, revenue $1,200, expenditure $1,400,
tribesmen. 'Aura, men 80, revenue $400. Al Qurein, men 800,
rifles 10, revenue $200, expenditure $600.

631 The following towns and villages are under the authority of the
361 Mihdhār family, and the Government derives no revenue from them.
651 Their annual produce is valued at approximately $10,000: Al
Quweira, men 400. Halibūn, men 80. Rihāb, men 400, rifles 30.
162 Hudūn, men 200, rifles 50. Khasūfar, men 100. Dhāhir, men
300, rifles 15. Matrūh, men 250, rifles 30. Al Jubeil, men 400,
rifles 100. Quweirat al Khozab, men 25. Gheil Bal Kheir, men 40.

The towns under the authority of the Sheikhs of al 'Amūdi are: Husn Bā 'Abd as Somad, men 100. Budha, men 1,000, rifles 200. Bilad al Ma', men 100, rifles 10. Khudeish, men 70, rifles 12. Qarn Mājid, men 50, rifles 8.

635 The remaining towns of the Wadi Du'an between Al Qurha and
361 Hajarein are again under the direct authority of the Governors of
162 Du'an: Sīf, men 400, rifles 30; Sīf has a garrison of 15 Yafa'is of
whom five live in the Husn ad Dōla and 10 in the town. Those
I saw were all of the Beni Sa'd Lower Yafa'is. Feil, men 30.
Al 'Āddiya, men 30. Ghār as Sūdān, men 30, rifles 5. Nasara,
men 10. Naseira, men 10. Seil'a, men 30, rifles 10. Hajarein,
men 500, rifles 10. There is a garrison of Yafa'is in Hajarein.

The towns and villages of Wadi Leisar included in the Du'an province are: Al 'Arsama, men 500, rifles 20. Al Jahi, men 300, rifles 150. Al 'Ardh, men 40. Al Jadīda, men 150, rifles 10. Ad Dūfa, men 250, rifles 20. Jureif, men 150, rifles 10. Subeikh, men 400, rifles 30. Tūlaba, men 500, rifles 35. Dharī, men 600, rifles 30. Hūfa, men 500, rifles 70. Heid al Jazīl, men 150, rifles 10.

635 The following tribes live in the province or are dependent on the
631 wadi: Seibani and its branches, Deiyin, al Hālka, al Marāshida,
Khamikha, Bā Hakīm, Bā Sam, and al 'Amūdi. The Beni Hasan
619 and the 'Akābira (see Chapter XVI) deal equally with Mukalla
and Du'an. The Hālka and the Marāshida, sometimes considered
as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani, and the Bā Hakīm
and the Bā Sam, also sometimes treated as separate tribes, are
included with the Nūwah (see Chapter XVIII).

The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely connected with the province :—

SEIBANI.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Marāshida ... | | Round the [illegible]ce of Du'an. | 400—500 |
| | Bā Daheiduh | | |
| | Bā Beitar | | |
| | Bā Dhrus | — | |
| | Bā Kardas | | |
| | Bā Sara | | |
| Khāmā ... ... | | — | 300—900 |
| | Bā Surra | | |
| | Bā Kadīm | | |
| | Bā Sallum | | |
| | Bā Rashīd | | |
| Hālka ... ... | | Hūfa in Wadi Leisar | 300—800 |
| | Bā Dajeil | | |
| | Bā Sa'd | | |
| | Bā Nakhar | | |
| | Al Biadha | | |
| | Bā Khashwein | | |
| As Sumūh ... ... | | | 500—1,000 |
| | Shaka'i | | 200 |
| | Bā Wasim | | |
| | Jodani | | |
| | Jahzami | | |
| | Bā Buteiya | | |
| | Ghuth | | |
| Al Meshājir ... ... | — | Husn Ba'ba', Wadi Yeb'uth. | 250 |
| Al Qathm ... ... | — | — | 100 |
| Al Hamidī ... ... | — | — | 400 |
| | | | 2,450—4,150 |

The Seibani Zei are said to be part of a Confederation which includes the 'Awābitha and Āl Heik tribes. They extend from the Hamumi country on the east to the Nūwah on the west. The Nahd and Kathīri tribes bound them on the north, and the Beni Hasan on the south. The tribe are partly nomad and partly settled and they own villages round Mukalla and in Wadis Du'an, Leisar, and Huweira; many of them live in 'Aura and Qurein in Wadi Du'an. The settled Seibanis, like other townsmen land-owners, are subject to taxation on their date groves by the Qu'aiti whom they acknowledge in full sovereignty. The nomads acknowledge Qu'aiti suzerainty but pay no taxes. Their country is at present the safest for travelling and a *siyar* is unnecessary. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an "A" agreement with them.

Muhammad bin 'Umar and Ahmed bin 'Umar Bā Surra of the Khāmā clan of the Seibani, the Qu'aiti Governors of the Du'an province, are also the paramount *Muqaddams* of the tribe. Inter-tribal disputes are settled by reference to the heads of neutral clans, more important cases being carried to the Bā Surras and the Shatiri Seiyid who is their *Mansab*. The Mihdhār family of Seiyids descended from Sheikh Abubekr, also have great influence

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tribe who are now very weak, though the wadi is still called after them Wadi Hajr Bin Daghār. To-day the wadi belongs to the Qu'aiti and it is said that in time it will be known as Wadi Hajr Qu'aiti.

The capital of the province is now Kanina, said to have about 300 to 400 houses and an estimated population of 1,500. Other important villages are Yuwan, the old capital, As Sadaka, Husn Bā Suleiman, Husn Ba'ba', Al 'Asala, Al Qima, Al Hussein, Husun Bā Raghab, Jōl Bā Hāwa, Leswa and Muhrin. The Governor is Sa'id Marzuk Salah. Hajr is an agricultural province, and it is estimated that the number of tribesmen is 5,000. As I did not visit the Hajr province during my tour, the information given is even more at second hand than in other cases.

The tribes living in the province or dependent on it are the Bin Daghār, Nūwah, Āl Deiyeb, Āl Bā Bekr and Āl Zaghīb, Āl Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Khāshia al Murqashi. The following is a description of these tribes together with others connected with Hajr.

NŪWAH.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Sub-section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nūwah Hajr ... | Āl Bā Rashid | — | Al Qeima, Libna | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Sheiba | — | Libna | 150 |
| | Āl Bā Shuqūr | — | — | 80 |
| | 'Ayāl Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Hajām | — | — | 40 |
| | Āl Bā Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Faqqās | — | Qazein, Yuwan | 200 |
| | Āl Bā Dubīān | Āl Bā Sabera | Jōl Bā Hāwa, Al Qāsima, Yuwan, Muhammada, Kanina. | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Mas'ud | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Dabeis | | Yuwan | 100 |
| | As Sumahi | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Sara | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Qarwān | — | Muhammada | 250 |
| | Āl Bā Rajāsh | — | Kanina, Sherij Bā Jamum, Husun Āl Bā Rajāsh. | 400 |
| | Bā Museita | | — | 100 |
| Nūwah Du'an | Āl Bā Hakīm | — | Al Qarn | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Sam | — | — | 120 |
| | Āl Bā Khamis | — | — | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Ma'as | — | — | 150 |
| | Bu Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Bā Safr | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl Bā Shihab | — | — | — |
| Nūwah Lajrāt Du'an. | Āl Bā Batīn | — | — | 70 |
| | Āl Bā Sūeid | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl 'Afif | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Meis | — | — | — |
| | | | | 2,760 |

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AL HĀJIB BENI SA'D.

This tribe also live at Jerdan and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them. 631 101 619

AN NAMĀRA BENI HILĀL.

The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with this tribe who live at Wadi Yeb'uth beyond Wadi 'Amd.

ĀL SENAD AL MURQASHI.

This tribe live beyond Hajr and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

THE BEDUINS OF ASH SHĀŪLA.

This small tribe, who were originally of Hajr, now live to the west of Jerdan. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

NU'MĀN.

The clans of the Nu'mān are Āl Baheith and Āl Bā Qātmi living at Sīdāra and Wadi Salmun, and Āl Bā Suleiman living at Husn Bā Suleiman. The tribe is said to number about 2,000, and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the Āl Baheith clan.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 5. SHIBAM PROVINCE.

The Shibam province, which is described by the Qu'aiti as being the eye and the backbone of the Hadhramaut, includes the towns and villages up the Wadi Hajarein from, but excluding, Hajarein as far as the Wadi Hadhramaut, and eastward along the Wadi Hadhramaut to just east of Shibam. The capital of the province is Shibam, a tightly-packed walled city of 500 houses, seven mosques, and an estimated population of 7,000. The other towns and villages of the province after Hajarein are: Jidfera, belonging to the Āl Jābri (a clan of the Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 50 armed men; Al Jahi, belonging to the Bin Musā'id with 35 armed men, (on enquiry as to which tribe the Bin Musā'id belonged I was informed that they were a clan of the Sei'ar, but this should be treated with reserve); Nahūla, belonging to the Āl 'Umar Mahfudh with 85 armed men; Al Manīdhara, the inhabitants of which are full subjects of the Qu'aiti Government; Al Hauta and Meshhed belonging to the Seiyids of Al 'Attas; Marāwih, Al Aqlāt, and 'Adab belonging to the Bā Wazīr townsmen; Qabdhein ar Rōdha with 30 armed men under the *Mansab* of Meshhed; Sadba belonging to the Rabbā (a section of the Nahd) with 50 armed men; Qarn Āl Sharāh belonging to the Āl Manif (a section of the Nahd) with 70 armed men; Badra, Al 'Ardh, Dīār Āl Nāsir, and Siraj with 45, 50, 35, and 30 armed men respectively, belong also to the Rabbā; Bahrān belonging to the Nahd Āl Thābit with 60 armed men; Haura, with a population of 1,500, all subjects of the Qu'aiti

635 Government; 'Arūdh al Makhāshin belonging to the Makhāshin
162 section of the Nahd, with a population of 300, all subjects of the
131 Qu'aiti Government; Al Naq'a belonging to the Bā Wazīr towns-
611 men with a population of 500; Al 'Ajlānia, belonging to the Āl Kathīr with 17 armed men; Al Man'at, belonging to the Nahd with 35 armed men; and Al Marāti', a village between Al Man'at and Henin, with 200 armed tribesmen of Kinda, and 50 of the Nahd.

At Al 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn are the houses of the Bā 'Umar Sheikhs with 15 armed men; the town of Mad-har bin Nahid in the Wadi Manūb with 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shabīb (a section of the Nahd), and Dīār al Maqārīm with 30 armed Nahd tribesmen.

Between Al Qatn and Shibam are: 'Ardh Masrūr belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl 'Ali bin Ahmed (Yafa'is) with 60 armed men; Huweila belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl Salim bin 'Ali (Yafa'is) with 40 armed men; Khashāmir belonging to the Bin 'Ali Jābir (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 80 armed men; Al 'Īqad, situated at the end of Al Qatn and the beginning of Wadi Beni Rashīd, belonging to the Āl Qu'ata (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 75 armed men; 'Ikāba and Al Husn belonging to the Hamdhān (of the Nahd) with 30 armed men; Husūn at Al Qatn belonging to the Āl az Zu' (of the Nahd) with 40 armed men; Husūn belonging to the Bāl'alā (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 30 armed men; and Husūn belonging to the Āl Jābri (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 25 armed men.

438 Shibam is the most important advanced market of the Hadhra-
361 maut, and has a large inward traffic from Mukalla. It is also a buying market for the products of the country north and west, and the products of these parts are consumed in the town. Caravans come from San'ā in about 15 days. The tribesmen bringing these caravans are Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Rabi', Āl Khalifa', and 'Abīda. The principal inland traffic, however, is from Merkha, Hadhinā, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. These caravans, mainly carrying maize, wheat, barley, ghee, oil, oilcakes, cotton, honey, blankets, and spinning cloth, are brought by 'Aulaqis, Hamām, Āl Ruba'ia, Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Maradi'a, Āl Khalifa', Dohum, Karab, Nahd and Āl Bureik tribesmen.

361 There is no regular communication with Nejd although occasional visitors come skirting the desert. Members of the Rashidi tribe also come to Shibam now and then. There is a landing ground at Shibam, and apart from its being a large caravan station it is in touch with towns between Hajarein and Qasm by car. It has no great industries, but makes mats and dyes cloths and skins.

635 The Governor of the Shibam province is Ferai Sa'id, a slave
567 who has held high positions and who has previously served at Shibam. He has also been Governor of 'Einat. He was appointed in October 1934, in succession to Sultan 'Ali bin Salah al Qu'aiti.

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| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Meshāikh Āl Is-haq. | — | Qariat al Hujr, Qaria Sarin al Meshāikh. | | — |
| Āl 'Ayāf ... ... | — | Qariat al Hujr Āl 'Ayāf. | — | — |
| Ba'rān (Āl Leith bin 'Umar). | — | Qariat as Sabr | — | |
| Al Āshāmis al Ākasālin. | | Ar Ramīla | 30 | — |
| Āl Makram al Ākasālin. | — | Husn Āl Makram | 20 | |
| Āl al Eanakh al Ākasālin. | — | Husn Āl al Fanakh. | 40 | — |
| Al Mazāri'a ... | — | Qariat adh Dhamr al Kasālin. | 100 | — |
| Āl Jūbala ... | — | Husn as Samādi'a Āl Jūbala. | — | |
| Āl Hibrās ... | | Husn ar Reika Āl Hibrās, Husn Āl Bakhīt Āl Hibrās. | — | — |
| Āl Hudeib ... | — | Husn bin Meifar Āl Hudeib, Husn Balqalis, Āl Hudeib, Husn 'Awadh bin Rabi'a Āl Hudeib, Husn Maqāsid. | 100 | Tanāf bin Seheil bin Rumeidān. |
| Āl Qarwān | — | Husn Qā' al Fadhūl Āl Qarwān. | — | do. do. |
| Āl Fadhūl ... | — | Husn Qā' al Fadhūl Āl Fadhūl. | 40 | — |
| Āl Khamis ... | — | Husn Sāh Āl Khamis. | 40 | — |
| Āl ad Dāhbali ... | — | Husn al Minsāf ad Dāhbali. | 50 | — |
| As Sāda Āl 'Alawi bin Ahmed. | — | Husn as Seiyid | — | — |
| Al Fazīr ... | — | Husn Saligh | — | |
| Āl Hadad ... | — | Husn al Hadad | 20 | — |
| Āl 'Ajāj ... | — | Husn Āl 'Ajāj | 30 | — |
| Āl Yash bin 'Umar | — | Qanī | 70 | — |
| Āl Muhammad bin 'Ali | — | — | 10 | — |
| Āl Awadh bin Kaslān. | — | — | 30 | — |
| Āl Qartān ... | — | — | 100 | — |
| Āl Kharāis ... | — | — | 30 | — |
| Bin Musā'id | — | Al Jahi | 35 | |
| | | | 1,715–1,730 | |

[162]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



al Bakri, known as a section of the Āl Dhubi in the Hadhramaut, is in Upper Yafa' a sub-section of the Hadhrami section of that tribe. 619

The *Mansabs* of the Āl Qu'ata are Muhsin bin Ahmed and Haddar bin Ahmed al Haddar. 631 [624]

## CHAPTER XX.

## OTHER DISTRICTS UNDER QU'AITI INFLUENCE.

In a written description of the provinces of the Qu'aiti state the Qu'aiti authorities included the tribesmen and villages of Wadi 'Amd as depending on Mukalla. The Wadi 'Amd, however, is far away from Mukalla province, and I have thought it better to mention it separately. Although this territory may not be definitely part of the Qu'aiti domains, it is certainly more under Qu'aiti influence than that of any other Protectorate ruler. Hureidha, which is the headquarters of the Āl 'Attas family, is the principal town of the Wadi 'Amd. It is estimated to have about 2,000 inhabitants, and from 300 to 400 men are said to have left it in the last 20 years to seek wealth in Java. There are eight mosques in the town, and it is a place of religious teaching. 631 [162 167]

The following is a description of the Āl Ja'da, Āl Ma'di and Ad Dohm tribes of Wadi 'Amd : 631 619 101

### AL JA'DA.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Salima ... | | Seila, Jidfera, Kora, and Raham in Wadi 'Amd are the important villages of this clan. | 500 |
| Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed. | Āl Bin Murda<br>Āl Bin Halābi<br>Āl Bin Homeid<br>Bin Mubarek<br>Bin Hubeish | Habab, Al 'Ardh, Na'ir, and Rabb in Wadi 'Amd are their important villages. | 400 |
| Āl Bin Heilabi<br>Āl Bin Suqeir<br>Āl Tahir bin Rajih | Āl Bin Shemlan<br>Bin Namara<br>Bin Lizam<br>Bin ash Sheiba<br>Bin al Khashr | | |
| | | | 900 |

The Ja'da tribe, who claim descent from the Beni Hilāl, are nearly all Beduins occupying the central and lower sections of the Wadi 'Amd. They are under the influence of the Qu'aiti who has a "B" agreement with them. The foremost section is the Āl Bin Shemlan whose leader is recognised as the head of the whole tribe. The Āl Tahir bin Rajih are a small clan of the Yafa'is sometimes known as Kharba, but they are settled in Wadi 'Amd

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



648 lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

439 That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri
167 State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya
171 is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

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162 TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

131

| State | Title of ruler | Population | Area in sq. miles | Annual revenue | Police | Salute |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 652 Qu'aiti (Mukalla) .. | H.H. the Sultan of | 197,000 | 30,000 | Rs 27,50,078 | Unlisted | 11 guns |
| 625 Kathiri (Seiyun) ... | Sultan of | 60,000 | 6,000 | Rs 4,80,000 | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| 186 Wahidi (Balhaf) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 5,000 | Rs 1,02,448 | Unlisted | None |
| 631 Mahri (Socotra & Qishn) ..... | Sultan of | 22,000 | 13,000 | Unlisted | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Haura ..... | Shaykh of | 300 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| 'Irqa ..... | Shaykh of | 350 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Abdali (Lahej) ..... | H.H. the Sultan of | 41,400 | 4,500 | Unlisted | 380 | 11 guns |
| Fadhli (Shuqra) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 2,500 | Rs 4,17,697 | 120 | 9 guns |
| Amiri (Dhala) ..... | Amir of | 27,000 | 1,050 | Rs 1,50,000 | 75 | 9 guns |
| Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara) ..... | Sultan of | 23,000 | 700 | Rs 1,65,000 | 30 | 9 guns |
| Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba) ..... | Sultan of | 89,000 | 900 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar) ..... | Sultan of | 12,000 | 2,500 | Rs 49,000 | 40 | None |
| Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab) ..... | Sultan of | 53,000 | 1,800 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Beihan (Beihan Qasb) .... | Amir of | 13,000 | 4,000 | Unlisted | 40 | None |
| Audhali (Lodar) .... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 1,000 | Unlisted | 30 | None |
| Haushabi (Museimir) ..... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 350 | Unlisted | 29 | None |
| Alawi (Al Qash'a) .. | Shaykh of | 1,200 | 89 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed). | Shaykh of | 2,000 | 101 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazeteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

# LAND AND PEOPLES OF THE HADHRAMAUT, ADEN PROTECTORATE

Ruthven W. Pike

131 ALTHOUGH Southern Arabia borders on the much-traveled route to India and ocean liners daily touch its shore at the port of Aden, it has been little reconnoitered, far less than 114 the northern part of the peninsula. A chronological account of exploration in the part of Southern Arabia known as the Hadhramaut, by Mr. W. H. Ingrams (now Chief Secretary in Aden), appeared in the *Geographical Review* for October, 1938. It is entirely due to the tactful and untiring efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, who, with the coöperation of Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf, member of the wealthiest family in the Hadhramaut, have succeeded in establishing peace and understanding among the many tribes of the region, that it is now possible for a European to journey unmolested within prescribed regions.

[63] The boundaries of the Aden Protectorate, of which the Hadhramaut is a part, extend into heretofore unexplored territory and have 131 not been surveyed in the manner customary in settled areas. The limits are well understood, however. They are formed by the Gulf of Aden on the south, the district of Dhufar on the east, the southern margin of the great interior sandy desert of Rub' al Khali on the north, and a line running N 45° E from Perim Island to the Rub' al Khali on the west.

● 162 The population is densest near Aden and its mountainous hinterland. There are, however, a great many people to the east of Aden, who 161 live along the coast and in the interior of the Hadhramaut; Mr. Ingrams estimates their number at 260,000. There are also many towns and villages between the mouth of the Wadi Maseila and the Dhufar Coast, with a population thought to be about 25,000. Mukalla, 361 with 16,000 inhabitants, is the chief port of the Hadhramaut and seat [63] of the British Colonial Administration for the surrounding area.

## CLIMATE

132 The climate at sea level between October and April is healthful and agreeable to one accustomed to living in temperate regions. On the interior plateau, or Jol, at altitudes of 3000 to 4000 feet, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut, at 2000 feet, the nights are cool, with minimum temperatures reaching 50° F., and are apt to be windy. At such times ordinary summer clothing and light bedding do not afford enough protection.

From April on, the average and maximum daily temperatures

Audhalis, 'Aulaqis, and Beihanis are too far away, and it is doubtful if 000
any federation with them could be very real. The Yafa'is, though they are excellent outside their own mountains, are at present a very difficult problem from the point of view of good order and government in them. I had almost forgotten the 'Aqrabis, but as that kingdom consists in effect of only one village on the borders of Aden and Lahej they hardly constitute a problem. But it is possible that some day steps towards the federation of the protectorate by areas may come to pass.

If, however, the political outlook is not very promising, experience of 162
recent years has shown that in potential agricultural resources the Western Protectorate is far better off than the Eastern. It is true that its total area 311
is not much more than half that of the Eastern and that by far the greater 241
proportion of it is barren mountains or arid desert, but none the less the cultivable acreage is greater than that of the Eastern and the people are on the whole better agriculturists. There are fewer beduin, and the tribesmen, unlike those of the Eastern Protectorate, are many of them tillers of the land on which they live, rather than employers or financiers of a peasant class with the idea that manual work is unbecoming to dignity. On the coastal area there are large and useful oases at Lahej, Abyan—by far the biggest—and Ahwar. These oases are sure of regular spates from the Yemen highlands behind, and can grow useful crops of grain, principally millet, and vegetables and fruits of the coarser tropical kinds. There are good patches of soil in the Dhala and Yafa'i mountains, and the latter grow the best coffee in Arabia, but at Mukeiras in Audhali country there is a really important fertile area at over 7,000 feet where temperate crops are grown and which is now producing in fair abundance European vegetables and fruits of excellent quality which include potatoes, tomatoes, lettuces and so on, apples, peaches, plums, and apricots. The 489
main difficulty in disposing of these good things, for which a ready market 491
exists in Aden for local consumption and for shipping, is communication
and transport. The Audhali plateau is over a hundred miles from Aden 241
and is cut off from the maritime plain and the foothills by a 4,000-foot, almost perpendicular bluff, the picturesque Kaur al Audilla. So road-making is difficult and expensive, and the bad tracks play havoc with the lorries used for transporting the produce to Aden from the foot of the bluff, down which it is transported on animals. If ever the Yemen is developed agriculturally it will have great advantages over Audhali country, for roads can be better made. The main agricultural produce that now comes by caravan and lorry from the Yemen is the highly perishable and iniquitous qat, and the qat traffic is probably centuries old. Better communication and better agriculture in the Yemen would therefore make it difficult for the Audhali country to be economically worth while. Beyond the Audhalis and descending towards the heat of the desert is Beihan country, which drains to the Rub'al Khali. Having high mountains behind it, it is reasonably watered, and millet cultivation is being extended there.

The present tendency in the improvement of conditions in the Western 48
Aden Protectorate is to select an area where conditions are favourable and send a political officer to assist the chief to establish control over his people,

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MMI
Yemen MLI



## Conclusion

A 177 If Aden were to exert itself to become the cultural capital of the area
H 177 of which it is the centre, it could attract all that is best in that area to it, and they could take back the best that British culture could offer them. For in Aden, if anywhere, is the chance for Arab culture and British culture to mix on equal terms and to produce something worth while.

I think it is apparent from what we have seen of South-West Arabia that British culture and Western education alone are not going to make a strong appeal to the principal elements in the country, and in many ways it would be dangerous to give too much of it undiluted. It is by no means clear how many people with a Western education the W.A.P. is going to be able to absorb, and discontented educated people unsuitably employed can very well create trouble and discontent by no means divine. The Yemen is afraid of too much Western education and a Zeidi Government will do all it can to discourage it.

Y 133 162 Taking the country as a whole, there are first of all the very fertile highlands of the Yemen, where almost any temperate crop could be grown; lower down are the mountains of the 4,000- to 6,000-foot level, mostly barren but with good cultivable areas; and then there is the huge area of desert mountain and coastal plain with only occasional oases. The Yemeni highlands are the preserve of the Zeidis, a most exclusive people. The rest of the country is mostly populated by settled and nomadic tribesmen of Shafi'i persuasion, with here and there in the Yemen and the Hadhramaut large towns with an urban population and commercial or cultural interests. About a fifth of the population of the Hadhramaut
H 162 186 are seiyids. The whole of this area, whether independent Yemen or protected chiefdoms, is independent minded and places Islamic culture far
Y 186 above any other, and we for our part have no desire to threaten its independence or its culture.

Y 871 212 The academies of the Yemen and Hadhramaut are poorly endowed, but they are always full with students, who live on a starvation diet in order to get their education. As another pointer to the demand for Arab
H 871 212 culture, look at the three bookshops of Aden. In them it is possible to buy most of the great Arab classics of the Abbasid period and Arab Spain. All the shopkeepers tell me they find their best buyers among up-country visitors; the young men of Aden buy, when they buy anything, modern books and translations of novels from the Cairo presses.

000 If we provided Western education only, it would in the end attract people to it, but the risks of doing this are considerable. Has Western education been an unqualified success elsewhere in the East? There is no space to discuss this much-discussed question here, but I think on the whole it is safe to say that there are a good many who would agree that there are aspects of what we have done which are open to criticism and that the results of it all have not on the whole been too happy.

Considering, therefore, what was achieved by the culture centres of old, such as Cairo, Baghdad, and Damascus, and that the south has never had a cultural centre to compare with them, and considering that there is much we can offer of our own culture which need not be destructive of Arab

in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main wadi system, there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *badu* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government, and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

The climate of Mukalla is on the whole pleasant enough, and with the gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year we had a particularly bad

IT IS A CURIOSITY OF DU'AN THAT ALL WOMEN DRESS
291 alike in long black dresses with coloured patches inserted in front and orange
301 scarves over their heads. They are, too, the only women who affect nose rings similar to those usually worn on the fingers. Very few of them have ever left their valley, but many of them bemoaned the absence of husbands who frequently left them for years at a time.

170 The Seiyids lent her a magnificent white donkey to go on to Sif where we had stayed before, and the following day she was met by a friend and a car just before reaching Meshhed. Thence she rejoined me in Seiyun.

From Du'an Mr. Figgis and I flew across to 'Azzan over the upper reaches of the Wadi Hajr, which like the Wadi Maseila has perennial water nearly all its length. I had been to 'Azzan before, but this visit was very short, as the machine crashed on the landing-ground. It was a very artistic crash, and in Air Force parlance a complete write-off. Luckily none of the three of us in the machine were in the least hurt and the crash was far more alarming for Mr. Figgis and his pilot still up above, as it was some time before we found a comfortable way of climbing out of the ruins. I hope that in every crash I have I shall have as skilful a pilot as on that occasion. The crash was due to misguided zeal of the locals, for it was their own home-made landing-ground and they had raked up all the stones off the ground into a ridge along its edge, and it was this we hit as we landed. As ours was the machine with the wireless in it we swapped over into the other, which had landed safely, and flew back to Mukalla to organize assistance.

361 'Azzan is the capital of the Balhaf Sultan and is most picturesquely situated
609 on a citadel rock by the side of the wadi. I was given a great reception on my
411 first visit there with the firing of rifles and war whooping, which is much more a feature of welcomes in the Western Aden Protectorate than in the Eastern. As we walked from the landing-ground to the village the Artillery, a fine old bronze gun marked "A. Wilson. Cossipore. 1841," was brought into play. Our path led below it and it was really rather alarming, because with each discharge a shower of burning shirts and other old clothes, which had been used as wadding, was fired over us.

411 'Azzan is the only place where I have seen spears surviving, though my wife
435 saw them in the Wadi 'Amd. One or two aged warriors came out with spears which they shook in martial fashion, threw into the air and caught again. Quite a number of old weapons survive in the Hadhramaut, for my wife also saw crossbows in the Wadi 'Amd and there are more of the old matchlocks in the country, some of them still in use, than in any other part of the Protectorate. The Hadhramaut seems to have turned over to modern weapons much more recently than the Western Protectorate, for most of the rifles, modern weapons, have wooden butts covered with goatskin fastened over them to take the recoil, a precaution far more necessary with matchlocks. It is worth recording perhaps that there is a heavy slump in the price of firearms. The ordinary Badawin rifle can be bought for as little as eight dollars with some ammunition thrown in, and the most modern rifles of continental manufacture, which eighteen months ago fetched an easy six hundred or more dollars when brought in from the Yemen, are now not bought at all and offers have been made of them for as little as fifty dollars.

619 The atmosphere of the Balhaf court is completely tribal; much more like
162

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



that of the Sultanates of the West, though I was interested to find that there was a small Jewish community, and this is the nearest that any Jews have got to the Hadhramaut. The Balhaf Sultan, an intelligent young man whom I have known for a long time, came to see me in Seiyun and asked us to help in extending peaceful arrangements to his country. Though most of the sections have signed the truce the situation is still far from settled, as Miss Stark, who arrived at 'Azzan from the Wadi 'Amd shortly after my first visit, will tell.

A short distance down the Wadi Meifa'a from 'Azzan are the ruins of Naqab al Hajar described by Wellstead a hundred years ago. This is Meepha Metropolis. I have only seen the ruins from the air, though Miss Stark has recently visited them. There are inscriptions also at Husn Gharab on the coast which Mr. Martens, one of this winter's visitors, has recently seen. He too was well received.

Bir 'Ali is the other Wahidi Sultanate and, though the old Sultan has no claim to rule outside his wedge-shaped little walled town, he is unfortunately at present unwilling to compose his long-standing differences with the Balhaf and 'Azzan relatives, which makes settlement more difficult. I have lately had both Sultans in Mukalla and tried to get them to bury the hatchet.

I have had little opportunity in this last tour to do more for the Mahras than visit Qishn, their capital, occasionally, and Socotra I have not visited since 1935. It may perhaps be remembered that the Bin Zueidi section of the Mahras did not exactly welcome us when we arrived at the coast through the Wadi Maseila in 1934, and a couple of months ago for the first time the Mahras asked for intervention in their internal affairs, as the Zueidi tyranny in Seihut had become acute. We are now trying in the normal political way of advice and exhortation to induce them to cease their exactions on unarmed merchants and peaceful citizens in a town in which they have no lawful concern, and I paid my last visit to Qishn a day or two before I left Mukalla.

I had intended to visit Gheidha, the most eastern landing-ground in the Aden Protectorate, but we did not get so far and made a landing at Haswein just west of Cape Fartak. The inhabitants said it was the first time that Europeans had been there, though they called me by my name as soon as I stepped out of the machine. These coastal Mahras are a peaceful folk engaging mostly in fishing, and they have pleasant breeze-swept villages of a simple style of architecture, unlike the Hadhramaut but which reminded Mr. Figgis, who was with me, very much of the Arab dwellings in Northern Nigeria. I do not believe we could really have been the first Europeans to visit the place as there is quite an adequate account of it in the Red Sea Pilot, perhaps derived from a visit of Captain Haines in the *Palinurus* over a hundred years ago. Perhaps too there had been a much earlier European visitor, for authorities on classical geography usually identify Ras Fartak, Cape Syragrus, the Boar's Head, as the point from which Hippolus set forth in about A.D. 45 when he discovered the changes of the monsoons. I have long had a wish to put up on this majestic cape of Fartak a simple obelisk with the inscription, a quotation from the *Periplus*, "Hippolus discovered the changes of the

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut NM2



721 643 Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al Abr. Proposals were made and agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

648 619 In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

578 721 619 In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Mansab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

000 The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

[648] The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring. Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

## Chapter 2: Population

162 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

## Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 467 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

than Makalla and was, indeed, an important trading centre before that city even existed.[1]

Under the east wall there is a large open plain, over which the cemetery extends, with some *qubbas*[2] and many mosques at the edge of it. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has, close to it, a large piece of ground, where he has built a palatial guest-house for relations and friends travelling to and fro between Java and Terīm via esh-Shiḥr. El-Kāf is busy constructing a motor road from Terīm to esh-Shiḥr, which is complete but for the last stretch as far as the coast, a matter of three days by camel. If this junction can be effected, in spite of the aversion to it of the warlike Ḥumūmī Bedouins, through whose territory it passes for the greater part, then perhaps esh-Shiḥr will grow again to fit into her walls.

Before we left the town we made another call on the Governor in charge, who, with the help of the tax-farmer, a well-educated Indian, gave us a hearty, friendly reception. We were conducted past a strong guard of soldiers to an old-fashioned *madjlis*, where the shutters of the windows and the wooden supporting pillars were beautifully carved, and the ceiling painted white, red and black. With grateful relish we partook of tea and a great variety of sweets and of fresh and tinned fruits.

The population of esh-Shiḥr is officially estimated at 9000. It did not seem to us that it could be more than 6000. Yet, as the Westerner does not get to know how densely peopled the big Arabian houses are, our calculations remain fairly uncertain. The town has 36 mosques.

We were compelled to beat a hasty retreat before the rising tide. For safety's sake we were given an extra Ford car and some soldiers. The coral rocks were still just passable, but we stuck in the bed of the wādī. Finally, after much delay and much fruitless exertion, we got free, but there was no time left for the promised meal with our host of Sheḥēr, who

[1] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *al-Shiḥr*.

[2] *Qubba* (قبة), is a dome, a cupola, or a cupola-shaped building.

The visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr was quite official in character; 647
there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been mono- [463]
polised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramīs have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramīs are Dutch subjects and as I was con- 648
sidered to be their partisan, an impression which had been 641
still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ᶜAluwī el-ᶜAṭṭās, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer 162
told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramīs come from Java every year 167
and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. 272
Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export 439
figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity, will rapidly increase in the future.

## 8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we 133
clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

622 At the castle we found Bā Ṣurra again seated between two
623 sons, in the midst of his counsellors and the Bedouin chiefs;
●162 there are also present some soldiers somewhat in the background, the grandsons and other offspring in our vicinity, and the slave who makes the tea.

The old *Ḥākim* and his family are photographed in a large group on the terrace close to the *madjlis*. Then begin long conversations in which our endless questions are patiently answered. Bā Ṣurra himself tells us that the whole of Wādī Dōᶜan and its tributary, Wādī el-Ēsar, are under his jurisdiction. In about fifty villages there are 20.000 inhabi-
871 tants. There are only two small schools, both of them founded and maintained by that remarkable sayyid of Terīm, Abū Bakr bin Shēkh el-Kāf. It is certainly extraordinary that this leading personage of the Āl Kathīr district should be the founder and supporter of most of the schools in the territory of el-Qeᶜēṭī. Many of the schools in Makalla and esh-Shiḥr are also due to el-Kāf's generosity. Khurēba, the old centre of Wādī Dōᶜan, has a school with seventy to eighty pupils, and the other is in Qēdūn, with from twenty to fifty pupils.

346 There are in Bā Ṣurra's province nearly 200 mosques, some
167 among them very fine ones, which are often the property of
556 rich sayyids and connected with their houses. The fortunes of these rich men are always made in foreign lands. Every district of Ḥaḍramaut has its own particular countries to which its people emigrate in swarms to make money; from Wādī Dōᶜan they go to Abyssinia, the coast towns of the Red Sea, and the coast of East Africa. Barely a hundred have gone out from here to Java, though from Wādī el-Ēsar, on the other hand, quite 500 have done so.

162 There are also 1500 Bedouins under Bā Ṣurra's jurisdiction,
622 among them the whole Sēbān tribe from the Qibla region (*i. e.* from the North). The chief of the Deyyin tribe, ᶜUthmān bin Muḥammad el-ᶜAmūdī, the ruler in Rēdet ed-Deyyin, is

much with Bā Ṣurra and is present now. The Deyyin are said to be a wild and primitive tribe, but their chief makes a congenial impression. We did not know at the time that we should pass through his territory on the return journey, otherwise we should have used this opportunity to make some arrangements in advance. The *Muqaddam*[1] of the Deyyin claimed to rule over 2500 Bedouins and maintained that to him who stood under his protection no harm from man could come, but only that which came from God.

The unbroken groves of palms in Wādī Dō'an appear to produce only enough dates for home consumption and for the use of the neighbouring Bedouins. The export of dates does not exist. Barely 400 to 500 camel-loads of honey are sent every year to the coast. There is much import trade, however, *e. g.*, in rice, sugar, flour, kerosene, coffee, tobacco, materials for clothing, etc. The trade balance is consequently rather unfavourable. The situation can, however, be maintained, thanks to the money earned abroad, much of which is sent into the country.

The rest of the morning we spent in sauntering through the plantations of date-palms and the little villages which lie beside them, standing out against the sunny hill-side. When we passed by el-Qarrēn the young sons of Sayyid Muḥammad bin 'Abdallāh bin Ṭāhā el-Bārr el-Munṣib dashed up to lead us in triumph to their father's house. It is, indeed, worth the trouble of a visit. Although it is new, the fine old style has been adhered to. The wood-carving on doors and windows and the ornamentation of tin-coated iron plates and nail-heads is true Ḥaḍramaut. The house is built of mud on a foundation of boulders bound with mud. The inhabited floors are white-washed as are also the filagree, stone-work balustrades of the flat roofs and their corners and decorative borders. Built close to these rich houses there is nearly always a mosque with a minaret, both of them dazzlingly white. In such a case,

[1] *Muqaddam* (مقدّم), the first, the chief, the leader.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



of Ḥurēḍa. There are eight large, fine mosques in this little town of not more than 2000 inhabitants. Two of these are connected with excellent school-buildings, where the male youth of the place gets elementary instruction, followed by training in the recitation of the Koran and some dogmatical tuition. The mosques and schools have been erected at the expense of men of Ḥurēḍa who have become rich in foreign lands and who also supply the funds for their maintenance. The first mosque they showed us was the work of an Indian architect. To our great amazement we were invited to take off our shoes and to enter: this is the first occasion on Arabian soil that I have been permitted to enter a mosque. We hear criticism among many bystanders and murmurs of disapprobation, but our escort give but short replies to these and simply take us in with them. The great, open space in the centre is entirely paved, in places with Italian marble. Behind it there is a closed room where the *ṣalāt* is performed in winter. Behind that again is the space containing the tomb of the donor of the building. The coffin as well as the doors and beams are of beautifully carved *nibq* wood. This at least is true native art in this building of non-Arabian architecture. The tomb stands underneath a separate, cupola-shaped roof which is attached to the mosque. The donor's wish was that there should be a library and study for theological sciences above his grave: thus, under the cupola-roof and above the grave, there is a roomy, cool hall, where there are books indeed, but where students, however, are generally lacking! Nothing is omitted in our inspection. We are allowed to see the arrangements for performing the ablutions. We ascend to the minaret passing by two large, expensive English clocks. From the mosque a door gives access to the school, where there are at present no pupils, as it is holiday time on account of the date harvest.

We go on in procession to the second, older mosque of Ḥurēḍa built by a local architect and, thus, in the beautiful, severe Ḥaḍramī style. Then we go round the town to a lovely, brand-new mosque built for a plutocrat from Djohore, who is

162 According to my informant, Ḥurēḍa' has now about
581 2000 inhabitants. There are some 4000 people living in Java who originally came thence. During the last 20 years from 300 to 400 men have left Ḥurēḍa to try their luck in Java. The successful ones come back occasionally for short periods and then return again to their business in the Indies. When they can afford it, they send their sons to Ḥaḍramaut, where they remain for five or six years to become intimate with their family, language, religion and traditions. The daughters *never* come from Java to Ḥaḍramaut just as the women here *never* go to Java. Consequently the children born there are always of mixed race. Sayyid Ḥasan could only remember one Ḥaḍramī woman who had succeeded in carrying through her wish of accompanying her husband to Batavia. Generally the wives do not wish, nor have they the courage, to do so.
167 I learned later on that Javanese and Chinese women are, how-
463 ever, brought to Ḥaḍramaut. They are said to be very much
162 sought after as housekeepers and cooks. Purely Javanese boys, who have come to study the religion and language, are not to be found in Ḥurēḍa, and only a few in other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Ḥasan estimates the number of Ḥaḍramīs living in Hyderabad to be at least 13.000, for the greater part serving as men and officers of the *Niẓām*'s Arabian regiment. Many of the families of note here have Hyderabad officers among their ancestors.

[162] In Shibām, Sēwūn, Terīm and ᶜĒnāt there are, according
565 to my informant, 6000 sayyids, and another 4000 in Wādī Dōᶜan, Wādīᶜ Amd, Wādī Rakhīya, and Djibāl Hadjaz. Three divisions of the Ḥumūmī Bedouins are sayyids. Originally their leaders were sayyids, who were gradually absorbed into the tribe of which they have come to form a part. All sayyids in Ḥaḍramaut belong to the ᶜAluwī branch. The founder of the family was ᶜAluwī binᶜUbēd Allāh bin Aḥmed (who came from ᶜIrāq) binᶜĪsā bin ᶜAlī el-ᶜUrēḍī bin Djaᶜfar eṣ-Ṣādiq bin Muḥammad el-Bāqir bin Zain el-ᶜĀbidīn bin Ḥusēn bin ᶜAlī bin Abī Ṭālib. In Ḥaḍramaut Proper the sayyids have still an in-

000 then stay with him in el-Qaṭn, and, whilst there, visit with him the Ḥimyaritic antiquities in the vicinity. He will then arrange for camels and donkeys, and we shall be able to return to Makalla through Wādī Ḥuwēre in six or seven days. What Sultan ᶜAlī says coincides with the advice given us by the Vizier in Makalla and represents the standpoint of el-Qeᶜēṭī. We do not wish to make an immediate decision, for we should prefer to return by a different route, but, on the other hand, wish to keep open the possibility of making the return journey through Qeᶜēṭī territory, so as not to cut ourselves off from the support of the authorities here.

### 5. SHIBĀM "EL-DJARĪMA, THE GRAND".

162 Shibām has as many as 500 towering houses and about
167 8000 inhabitants. The number reaches 9000 if one includes
361 the whole garden suburb and the workmen's quarter outside
471 the walls of the town. There is a school with about 250 pupils, which was founded and is maintained by our hosts. In the town itself there are five large, fine mosques, almost the only low buildings and also the only entirely white ones. Outside the town, but belonging to it, there are seven more. A quarter of the masculine population is travelling constantly abroad to make money, the greater part going to Makalla and Aden. About 100 are in Java and 50 in Singapore. The Āl Ṭuwēy, for example, have house property in Singapore, Batavia and Surabaya, and when times are good they also carry on trade. Altogether about 30 households live on this family property. All the house property of the Laᶜdjam brothers is at Singapore. The well-known capitalist Bā Swēdān, who is a great landowner and has hundreds of houses in Singapore and Batavia, also comes from Shibām. Sēwūn and Terīm, however, are the centres where the Ḥaḍramīs live who have made riches in Java, and there are a great number of Dutch subjects in these towns.

000 In Shibām no poll-tax is paid by the population as is the

no poll tax is paid by the population as is the 651
case in Sēwūn and Terīm. A tax of a quarter of a *riyāl*[1] is 643
levied on every camel load that enters the gate of Shibām; also 4 % on sales of houses or land is due to the Sultan. Of the produce of the fields which depend on rain, 1 % is earmarked for the state treasury, *i. e.* the Sultan's pocket. The Government levies no tax on lands that are irrigated by their owners' efforts. The Qeᶜēṭī Sultan of Makalla owns much land in his kingdom: his tobacco fields at Ghēl Bā Wazīr, near Sheḥēr, bring in about 30.000 *riyāl* a year, and he owns many palm-groves in Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. Yet the greater part of his income comes from Bombay and Hyderabad, where he has extensive land and house property, and he receives 1500 *rupees* a month from the Niẓām of Hyderabad for his services as commander of the troops.

These great riches of the Qeᶜēṭīs are the source of their 643
power. The existence of a central authority is, in spite of many abuses, noticeable in their territory. It makes itself felt whenever urgently necessary and has no difficulty in holding its own against the Āl Kathīr, who are divided amongst themselves and are lacking in strong financial support.

The Sultan of Shibām only receives a salary from the Sultan of Makalla, to whom he is bound by family ties.

The military forces of the Qeᶜēṭī consist, in peace time, of 701
5000 soldiers, of whom 2000 are negro slave soldiers. In Shibām only 100 of them are in regular service, whilst some 500 are on reserve in case of need. These latter live, as a rule, in good houses all around el-Qaṭn.

The Sultan estimates the number of souls in Shibām, el-Qaṭn 162
and the villages between them, at 20.000. These are all the inhabitants of the State of Shibām, exclusive, however, of the Bedouin tribes who are allied by treaty with his Government.

We showed Sultan ᶜAlī the books about Ḥaḍramaut that we 186
had brought with us and a few English air photographs. It was then apparent how little the ruler and his entourage knew

[1] At the time of our visit a *riyāl* had about the same value as an Indian *rupee*. 435

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



ques. One of the el-Kāfs told us that there are 200 in use and 346
160 falling into disrepair. My friend Sayyid Hāshim makes it
60 in use and 300 falling into disrepair; this is, doubtless,
nearer to the truth.

The number of the inhabitants of Terīm is almost certainly 1620
12000, for our host has lists of names in connection with the
distributions of food made by him to the masses. Sēwūn must
then have rather more, that is, between 12000 and 15000.

There are two elementary schools here with about 400 871
pupils, and one school for more advanced religious instruc-
tion with some 200 students.

After the visit to the castle we go to New Terīm. There 361
a completely new suburb is being built, partly for people who
are in the service of the el-Kāfs. In none of the places that we
had visited up to now was there so much life and expansion
as here. In Terīm a conscious and well-considered effort is
being made to become, within a short time, the foremost
town of Ḥaḍramaut. El-Kāf and Terīm are the names that we
heard everywhere whenever new undertakings or plans were
under discussion.

We pass through the new suburb till we strike the wall of 712
the city, which ascends the slope of the mountain at this spot
until it becomes unclimbable. Two forts manned by soldiers
strengthen this starting point of the defence works of the
town. From their high position they overlook quite half of the
well-maintained and solid wall which encloses the town and
the palm-groves in straight lines.

It is Thursday, the day for the distribution of food to the 735
poor. As we return home, the street and square before our 554
host's house are black with women, children and greybeards,
awaiting the portions of rice and flour that are destined for
them. The work of distribution lasts for hours. Servants hand
out the portions; others check and sign long lists of names.
The soldiers and Bedouins from the Qeᶜēṭī territory who
accompany us gaze in dumb amazement at this lavish chari-
tableness. Soon when they return to their country, they will

361 the tombs of holy men. The Āl el-ᶜĒderūs, one of the families
778 of sayyids whose riches are made in Java, come from ᶜĒnāt
788 and are, moreover, the ruling family in this pious city, which owes the few houses that are kept in repair, the beautiful white mosques and the fine school for boys to these sayyids and to those of the Āl Ḥāmid. At the seven *qubbas* we meet Sayyid ᶜAlī bin el-ᶜĒderūs, who feels an exile from his people who live in Surabaya, but his place here will be taken by another member of the family in a few years' time. He is glad to meet someone who knows Java and invites us to take a cup of tea with him. We learn from him that ᶜĒnāt can
312 boast of thirteen mosques and has, at the present time,
172 5000 inhabitants. Water for drinking has to be brought from
•[142] a great distance, as the local supply is not fit for it. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh Āl Ḥāmid, who lived for ten years in Dār es-Salām, is also glad to have an opportunity of talking once more with Europeans and comes to Sayyid ᶜAlī's *madjlis*. He has some acquaintance with the early history of his country and tells us of the great dam which is said to have existed in pre-Islamic times between Qabr Hūd and the sea. The destruction of this dam ushered in the decline of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh has his own theory of the means by which the great stones of the buildings in the pre-Islamic period were piled one upon the other; he asserts that he has seen representations of elephants on the ruins and assumes that it was by them that these heavy stones were dragged to their places. I doubt whether this supposition is correct, although it is true that elephants play a part in the historical traditions of Arabia. The great castles are built on high, rocky hills, whose slopes are barely practicable even for man.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



disturb us with questions. It was a disappointment to find that there was, apparently, no food to be bought, but . . . we hoped to be back again in the palace of the hospitable Sultan of Makalla on the morrow!

June 21st was to be the last day of our travels and the fifteenth since leaving Terīm. We were on the march at twenty past four, going round the village towards the sea, where a few fishermen were already busy with their nets. Burūm has barely a few hundreds of inhabitants and has known better days. There are only soldiers now in the white palace of the Sultan. A white mosque, as well as a few white stone houses, give it an attractive appearance when seen from a distance. A date plantation and *dhura* fields lie between the village and the mountain-wall, but there is no room for them to spread out in this narrow coastal plain shut in by rocks. Makalla controls Burūm by means of fiscal regulations. The fishing trade is the only source of income left to the people. We saw good-sized, dried shark's heads thrown into a heap, amongst them those of the hammer-head.

From the beach the path mounts to the rock-wall beside the sea. On the rocky cape the remains of a fort and a few rusty cannon are to be seen. For a part of the way the path is hewn out of the precipice. Little Muḥammad, who has never seen the sea, lags behind constantly, quite lost in wonder over this new marvel. At one time our way ascends high up onto the rocks, then, at another, leads over a beach of glittering white sand. The farther we go the farther the mountains recede and, at last, one is walking along the flat sandy beach. The way is much travelled and there are plenty of *siqāyas*. Fūwa, our last stopping place before Makalla, comes in sight. The white town, encircled by an extensive district under cultivation, lies at the mouth of Wādī Fūwa. We pass through fresh green fields towards a group of shady trees, our chosen halting place, but it proves to be too warm and we are forced to seek human neighbourhood. Hospitality will be readily offered us in the high, white houses, but there we shall neither

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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purity of the drinking water constitute efficient safeguards against many maladies common to tropical countries. 164

The harbour of Aden—the Bandar Tawīyah, or Aden West Bay, but more generally known as Aden Back Bay—lies between the two lofty peninsulas, very like in appearance, of Jebel Shamshan (east) and Jebel Ihsan (west); it extends eight miles from east to west and four from north to south, and is divided into two bays by a spit of land. The depth of water in the western bay is from 3 to 4 fathoms, and, across the entrance, from 4½ to 5 fathoms. There are several islands in the inner bay, notably Jezīrah Sawāyih (Slave Island), which culminates in a peak 300 ft. in altitude. 504

The port of Aden is a great coaling-station and place of call for vessels passing to and from the Suez Canal. Large vessels lie off Steamer Point, the western extremity of Jebel Ihsan. The Peninsular and Oriental Navigation Company's steamers call weekly at the port to receive, tranship, or land passengers and mails, and it is a port of call for a number of other important lines. There are numerous lights and lightships, the chief being the Aden Cape Light at Ras Marshag, on the east of the Ihsan peninsula, visible for 20 miles, and the Elephant's Back Light on the summit of a headland, visible also for 20 miles; the Aden Lightship, not far from Steamer Point, is visible for 10 miles, and fires a gun whenever a vessel enters the harbour at night. 504 505

Of the total population of the Aden Settlement (46,000), about 23,000 are returned as Arabs and there is a large number of Somalis. These two sections do the hard work of the port, but among the Arabs there are a few merchants of substance. Almost every nationality is also represented: Hindus, Parsees, Persians, Chinese, Abyssinians, Jews, &c. The Parsees have annexed a very considerable portion of the trade, for they act as agents and shopkeepers, and their business talent equals that of the Jews. Classified otherwise, European residents and Christians number from 2,000 to 3,000; Mohammedans, 34,000; and Jews, 3,700. The natives have an untidy makeshift air which contrasts with the personal cleanliness of an Indian population, and this arises partly from the scarcity of water, and partly from the temporary nature of their residence and outdoor life. 620

As far as the Settlement is concerned, there are no natural products whatever with the exception of salt. The food of the whole population, civil and military, is imported, Aden producing not even a blade of grain. Rice comes from Calcutta, Bombay, and Malabar; *jowari*, *bajri*, and maize are brought on camels from the interior; fodder and firewood come from the Lahej and Fadhli districts. 433 439

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918)1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



are tapped for Aden, an aqueduct leading from them along the peninsula into the town (see p. 202). There are very large camping-grounds round the town, the place forming the terminus of many caravan routes from the Aden interior. Sheikh 'Othmān was purchased with the object of settling there the surplus population of the peninsula, but, owing to its inaccessibility and the unhealthiness due to its contaminated water-supply and want of a drainage system, it has so far failed to become a popular settlement. 361

3. **'Imād,** a miserable village of about 40 reed huts, marks the extreme eastern limit of Aden; it is peopled by the Salum, a small independent tribe.

4. **Perim** and **Socotra.** These two islands are attached to the settlement of Aden. *Perim* is a volcanic island in the straits of Bāb el-Mandeb, 1½ miles from the Arabian coast; it was occupied by the British in 1799, subsequently abandoned, and reoccupied in 1857 on the opening of the overland route. In 1883 a company (the Perim Coal Company) was formed, which obtained a concession on the south-western side of the island as a site for a coaling-station. The company maintains here a stock of Welsh coal varying from 5,000 to 10,000 tons, and a large number of vessels now call annually for supplies. There is a good harbour with a powerful flashing light, elevated 266 ft. and with a range of over 22 miles. The population in 1901 was about 1,200, and no one is allowed to reside on the island without the permission of the Resident. The island is bare and rocky, rather flat in appearance, and about 3 miles long by 2 wide. *Socotra* is distant about 130 miles from the nearest point of the Arabian coast, and some 500 miles from Aden. It is about 70 miles in length and 18 miles in width, and has an unbroken coast on the southern side. The interior may be described as a tableland from 700 to 1,900 ft. high (with rugged peaks rising to nearly 5,000 ft.), surrounded by a coast plain averaging from two to four miles in width; total area about 1,400 square miles; population about 12,000. Its principal products are gum and resin-producing plants and aloes; the island has been famous for the latter from the earliest times. The natives look for their chief means of support to their flocks and date-groves; melons, beans, and a little tobacco are also grown. The trade of the island is small, the chief exports being aloes and *ghi*. The capital is Tamrīda, situated on the northern shore. The island was formally placed under British protection in 1886, and the Sultan receives a stipend from the Government of 360 dollars, undertaking to enter into no arrangement with any foreign power without the sanction of the British Government. The *Kuria Muria Islands*, near the South Arabian coast, in long. 56° E., were

361 471 505 504 [162] 361 438 [162] 361

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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132 whirlwinds, from all sides, which disturb the dust. According to the Arabs, a particularly hot windless period of about forty days occurs with the changing of the monsoons. All travellers in the Hadhramaut make frequent allusions to the intensely high temperatures experienced in the narrow confined wādis of the interior.

164 Van den Berg says: 'Sicknesses are relatively few, which is quite natural, seeing the simple life led by the people, the pure and generally dry atmosphere of the mountains, and the total abstention of the people from pork, opium, and alcohol. Cholera is unknown, small-pox is never epidemic, but consumption is rampant, and there are cases of leprosy.'

## Population

162 The total population of the Hadhramaut is extremely uncertain, and the various authorities give very divergent estimates. Mons. Babahir, whom Van den Berg cites as having had considerable facilities for judging, estimates it at about 150,000, which he distributes as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| From Shibām to Shabwah, including Wādis 'Irmah, Dahr, and Rashah | 20,000 |
| Wādis 'Amd, Dō'an, and 'Ain | 25,000 |
| Shibām to Terīm (inclusive) | 50,000 |
| Terīm to Seihūt | 6,000 |
| From N. of the main wādi to the desert | 15,000 |
| From S. of the main wādi to the sea | 16,000 |
| Shiheir, Makalla, and their environs | 18,000 |
| Total | 150,000 |

Van den Berg, however, considers this estimate to be excessive, seeing that the greater part of the region is uninhabitable and unsuitable for agricultural pursuits of any kind. He himself gives the total of the chief centres of population of the interior, viz. Seyyūn, Terīm, Shibām, Ghurfah, and 'Aināt (or 'Ināt), as certainly not exceeding 29,500.

144 The people are known as *Hadhrami* and belong generally to the South Arabian stock, claiming descent from Ya'rab ibn Qahtān. There is, however, a large number of 'Seyyids', or descendants of the Prophet (described more fully below), and of 'townsmen' of northern origin, besides a considerable class of African or of mixed descent. But in spite of these variations the Hadhrami form, geographically and socially, a remarkably homogeneous whole.

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

lying fishing villages on the coast and the second peninsula of Little Aden. A 632 162

The Protectorate population is not accurately known, but estimates for 1948 place the total for Western Aden Protectorate at about 350,000, and for Eastern Aden Protectorate at 300,000. The local governments are tribal, and range in organization from sultanates to smaller autonomous units of varying size and complexity. The principal state in the western protectorate is the Abdali Sultanate of Lahej, with its capital in the oasis town of Lahej, about 20 miles inland from Aden. The Qu'aiti Sultanate of Mukalla and Shihr and the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra are the largest and the most influential states in the east. Probably about three quarters of the inhabitants in Eastern Aden Protectorate dwell in the Hadhramaut, the region of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the adjacent coastlands. The term is often loosely applied to the entire central portion of the Protectorate, but politically it is restricted to the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri Sultanates. Several sizable and important towns are found on the slopes of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the connecting valleys, while Mukalla, the seat of government of the Qu'aiti, and Ash Shihr are prominent ports on the eastern coast. In addition to the settled peoples, numerous nomadic Bedouin tribes roam the steppes with their flocks. The residence of the Mahri Sultan is on Socotra, a rocky island with a population of about 5,000.

H 161 644 H 635 H 361 632 H [162]

The inhabitants of the Protectorate are mainly of south Arabian stock, but Malay admixtures are encountered in many parts of the Hadhramaut. Small colonies of Indians and Somalis are settled along the coast. Jewish communities of ancient origin are located in scattered villages in the western highlands and the Hadhramaut. They totaled only about 1,500 in 1948, and their numbers have since been depleted by emigration to Israel. The Hadhramis have long tended to emigrate to the islands of southeastern Asia, to East Africa and to countries bordering on the Red Sea, and many sub-

H 563 H [162] H 167

72: ReiLy G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM? Hadhramaut MM?
MIDDLE EAST ISLANDS (121)
Socotra.



Socotra has also a
good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

**Prisons.**

697 In Mukalla there is one prison, and "lock-ups" in the police stations. There are said to be 20 warders in the prison who wear a khaki uniform, but I only saw six. The prison is in the charge of the Commander of the Forces. On inspection the only prisoners seen were political, some 30 men and boys who were hostages from the various tribes and who are changed every month.

The headquarters of the uniformed police contains two cells where short sentences are served and remand prisoners detained. It was said that prisoners were not kept there for more than 24 hours.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## SOCIAL SERVICES IN QU'AITI TERRITORY.

### Health Administration.

743 There is only one Government medical institution and that is the dispensary in Mukalla.[1] It is in charge of a Hindu doctor assisted by a compounder and three dressing boys. The doctor took over his duties in April 1934, and from the 3rd of that month to the end of September he had treated 1,575 patients. In the month of October the number was 147. He performs only very minor operations and the figures include eight or ten such cases. Most of the doctor's work is in the dispensary itself, but he is sometimes called in for domiciliary visits. The dispensary is open from 8 to 12 in the morning and from 5 to 8 in the evening for urgent cases.

164 The principal ailments are diseases of the eye, eye trachoma being very prevalent, and rheumatic affections of the joints. There is no malaria in Mukalla, but cases come in from outside. The doctor possesses no microscope, but he has not traced any cases of ankylostomiasis or bilharzia. There is practically no syphilis, but gonorrhoea is fairly common. Constipation is chronic. From April to October he had used almost two hundredweight of magnesium sulphate. Tropical ulcers are fairly common.

164 751 Mr. H. M. Heald in his report on the agricultural resources says "Smallpox seemed to be the most fatal disease in the interior, and in some years whole villages were wiped out; I was informed that for generations they have had a system of inoculation performed by taking the blood from a child with the disease and rubbing it in a cut made on the arm, generally between the shoulder and elbow. In Mukalla, being the seaport connected with the east, they sometimes had plague, but as far as I could gather they had been free for a number of years."

743 In addition to his dispensary work the doctor is in charge of the Port Health work for ships and dhows, and has recently been appointed medical officer of health in the town.

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[1] There may now be a dispensary operating in Shihr.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM



The sanitary systems, if any, vary throughout the large towns of the Hadhramaut. There are no drainage or sewerage systems in Mukalla. The houses for the most part are equipped with pit-latrines cleared every six months or a year. Waste water runs out from gullies projecting from the walls of the houses. At the time of my first visit there were 25 sweepers in charge of a *muqaddam* who were said to work from early morning till noon, and from two till six, but, apart from the main market street, there appeared to be little evidence of their activities. Since that time the number has been slightly increased, and, under the doctor's superintendence, the streets are somewhat cleaner. 364

In Shihr the waste water is allowed to settle into pools. As a consequence mosquitoes are a serious pest, but there is said to be little fever. There were no anopheles amongst specimens I captured. In Shibam there is a system of narrow gutters running down the middle of the streets. These become congested with rubbish and are rarely cleaned out, but when they are the refuse is sold.

**Water Supply.**

The water supply of Mukalla is brought from a reservoir at Baqrein, about four miles distant. The source is a mile further away at Bakezebur where there is a long series of deep wells, mostly protected by a stone coping but with no covering. These wells were constructed by labourers brought from Gheil ba Wazir where there are men " who know how to make waterworks ". The wells are connected at the bottom by a subterranean passage, used by those who clean the channel, along which the water flows till it emerges into an open cement channel leading to the reservoir at Baqrein. This reservoir is divided into compartments and the water passes through them into a delivery pipe. The outfall to the delivery pipe is partially protected from debris by a wire trap, and just outside the reservoir there is a covered manhole. There is no filter system and for the greater part of its length the supply is entirely unprotected, but the water is clear and apparently clean. It is conducted in pipes to the side of the mountain, along which it runs in a covered masonry channel, except where it is carried across gaps in pipes supported by piles. In the town there are reservoirs fitted with taps from which the water carriers draw their supply. Water supply is only laid on to the palaces and a few mosques. 365 312

The work was planned and begun by Sultan 'Awadh as a *Waqf* and was completed by Sultan 'Umar. It reflects great credit on the Mukalla administration, and if some protective measures were adopted would be, I should imagine, an unimpeachable supply. It is fortunate that cholera and typhoid are apparently unknown in Mukalla as it would be extraordinarily easy to contaminate the supply which, as I say, is unprotected, unfiltered, and not chlorinated. 365 653 164

There are several wells in Mukalla in which the water is brackish. The palaces, the Wazir's house, and the guest-house are fitted with 312 000

in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main wadi system, there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *badu* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government, and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

The climate of Mukalla is on the whole pleasant enough, and with the gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year we had a particularly bad

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, 364
according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to 164
see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for 731
rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in 361
its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia 484
and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans. One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors [563]
and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily. We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla 500
have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations. The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency, the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish. Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light 373
has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible 701
far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganize and train his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on 517
the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago, for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The 20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, 491
for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hill-sides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extraordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the 484
beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which 438

ing by having to toil along in the tormenting heat. There was no need for hard climbing and descending, the way lay smoothly over gently sloping plateaus, allowing a view on low, flat table-mountains and not very deep wādīs. In the surrounding mountains we saw many horizontal lines, ancient plateaus or geological strata. Vegetation became scantier and scantier as we went further. We only passed by two small [illegible] th an insignificant bit of cultivated ground, entirely dep[illegible] upon rain-water. At the first village, Dahma, we rested for the afternoon in a *murabbaʿa*. Here a few people from the village came to ask us for medicines. Kneeling beside the medicine-chest in the burning sun, I tried to doctor the patients: eyes closed up tight by inflammation were cleansed with cotton-wool and boracic water, after which I used protargol, drop by drop; aspirin was given, in a cup of hot tea with lemon, for headaches and fever; festering wounds were cleaned and then bound up with Peruvian balsam; castor oil, worm-cakes and quinine were also dispensed more than once. The population as a whole gave an impression of health. Although they wash their bodies but seldom and smear them with *samn* and indigo, it is surprising how little one sees of itch and other skin troubles. The only malaria which occurs on the *djōl* is brought in from the lower-lying districts.

The Bedouins are mostly small and slightly built, but they have great powers of endurance and do not give the impression of being underfed. The boys who belonged to our caravan ran the whole day long, helped energetically morning and evening, and ate only two meals a day (some dates, rice and a piece of dried shark's meat, sometimes unleavened bread baked in hot ashes).

Dahma appears to consist of twenty or so small houses, the lower parts of which are built of rough stones, and the upper parts of dried mud. A large, square tower, entirely built of stone, serves as a defence for the village and as the residence of its mayor. On the border of the village is a mud-built, communal threshing-floor; there are also ovens for baking meat,

that is to say, small piles of stones on which a fire is made till they are hot and on which meat can be roasted.

[164] The number of people in this village who seemed to be afflicted with blindness or with other diseases of the eye was startling. The cemetery, which lies outside the village, is large; rows of graves covered with little hillocks of stones give the impression of not yet being old. Dahma has, apparently, been decimated by an epidemic. The neatly cultivated fields lie awaiting the rain. Two date-palms as well as some *nibq* trees increase the parched and barren impression of the place.

Apparently we are over the watershed here and in the river-basin of Ḥaḍramaut Proper. The landscape looks dryer and emptier of vegetation. The *euphorbia* bushes have neither fruit nor blossom, and the few grasses are dried up. After passing Dahma we saw an artificial pond, at present dry, made at the cost of much labour, which is intended to hold the water after rain.

Half an hour after sunset we reached Bureyyira, our quarters for the night, situated close by a small village.

## 7. AN EXCURSION TO THE RUINS OF THE PEOPLE OF ʿĀD.

There were great things on the programme for May 14th. We had often questioned our Bedouins about ruins and inscriptions, and they understood what we meant, for all of them knew about the remains of the towns and graves of the people of ʿĀd and Thamūd, the original inhabitants of the land, whom Allah had swept from the face of the earth, in punishment for their many sins. The groups of ruins are actually situated more towards Ḥaḍramaut Proper, with their centre in the direction of the Yemen. Probably we were setting foot here on the borderland of Sabaean civilisation. Old Aḥmad, one of our Sēbānī Bedouins, attracted by the promised reward, said that he had pondered well over it and remembered that there were inscriptions, painted by the people of ʿĀd, on a wall of rock in Wādī Thiqbe, not far to the north-east of our route, and that, besides

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



753 and our doctor has had to adapt himself temporarily to it and
758 to fixed wishes regarding diet, in anticipation of the growth of better understanding and more trust. The result of his work as the first and only doctor in all Ḥaḍramaut is not as great as one would expect. Sayyid Abū Bakr himself is not yet sufficiently convinced of the value of western medical art to allow the never ending outlay on medicines and instruments for the expert help of the doctor. The first nurse in Terīm was an Arab from one of the African coast towns, who missed his cinema and café so much that he speedily fled from the place of banishment, to return to the towns where he could enjoy the blessings of western civilization. Thus the doctor has all the work again on his own hands.

743 An enormous mud building has been placed at his disposal. In it he lives, has his pharmacy, the polyclinic and the beginnings of an operating-room. Further, one of the young el-Kāfs, who was assistant to an Egyptian dentist who formerly worked here for some months, has a room where, equipped with modern instruments, he practises dentistry.

●164 According to the doctor, Ḥaḍramaut seems to be a healthy country. Among the lower classes there is, however, a good deal of eye disease, and it is also true that malaria makes its appearance in the autumn. What will be the eventual outcome of this beginning of medical help will depend on the tact and devotion and staying-power of the young doctor.

312 After this we go with the doctor on a walking tour to see the sights of the town of Terīm. First of all, naturally, we visit the remains of old Terīm, on the borders of the residential area of the town; it consists of a bare low hill on whose top stand the ruins of the once great and mighty castle. There are always wells for drinking-water in castles of this kind. These wells are very deep as they are in the inner courtyard of the castles and are, consequently, dug from the summit of the hill. From this ruined castle one had a good view over
346 Terīm so rich in mosques, palaces and . . . graves. The popular report in Ḥaḍramaut is that the town possesses 360 mos-

000 That night a wolf came near our bivouac. The Bedouins heard his call in the encircling mountains and rose in haste to gather the camels together inside the camp.

On the following morning, June 19th, we rose very early, for it was growing important to reach Makalla as soon as possible. The caravan was in motion at a quarter past four and we made a straight line for the sea coast, scrambling 361 laboriously over granite boulders. By ten past eight we had reached Mēfa$^{c}$, a forlorn little village by the sea at the mouth of Wādī Ḥadjr.

312 The river here has shrunk till it is no more than a swiftly flowing stream. No doubt the major portion of the water flows underground to the sea.

361 The population of Mēfa$^{c}$ dwells for the greater part in ●164 miserable shacks; the few mud houses are dilapidated and poor and dirty. The house where the soldiers live was opened for us; it was the best to be had, but still miserable enough. Only one soldier still remained; his companions had died of the fevers for which Mēfa$^{c}$ has an unenviable reputation. Yāfi$^{c}$ soldiers from the healthy highlands are among the least resistant to the fever of the damp, hot coast. When this soldier's last comrade died, he had fled from the house, not daring to live there any longer. No food was to be had from the villagers for love or money, but the soldier shared some of his provisions of rice and eggs with us. He told us that the people of the place are desperately poor and unhealthy. Emigrants come here, it is true, but they do not stand it for long, and only a portion of the arable land is under cultivation. The Qe$^{c}$ēṭī soldiers regard transference to Mēfa$^{c}$ as equivalent to a death sentence. Their constitutions are not resistant against the endemic fever, they have not enough pay to feed themselves well, and the people of the village are so poor and miserable that nothing can be got from them.

757 Whilst lying in a corner of a little room, which smelt of indigo, I got a violent attack of cramp in the stomach, and it looked as if I should not be able to go further. Luckily the

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



*Liaison*

In the first half of 1947 the post of Protectorate Education Officer was filled, a post which had been vacant for a year. This Officer's duties include tours of inspection throughout the Protectorate, and advice and assistance, through the British Agents, where required. 647

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate advance was somewhat hampered by the absence of the Sudani Adviser for the greater part of the year on leave. However, estimates for grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act were prepared and despatched; these include schemes for enlarging the Intermediate School at Gheil Ba Wazir and for primary schools for the Kathiri State and Wahidi area. A number of scholarships for Hadhramis were given by the Governments of Syria, Egypt and Iraq. 658 648

## HEALTH

*Medical Report for the Western Aden Protectorate*

His Majesty's Government finance a small medical service in the Western Aden Protectorate. The area covered is large, communications are poor and access to many parts is difficult. In consequence only a small proportion of the population, who are in great need of health services, can be visited and treated. Nevertheless, 16 dispensaries are maintained at strategic points in the Protectorate. New dressers are given instruction in hygiene and elementary medicine and nursing care, and are then sent out to open up new areas or to work with more senior dressers in the established dispensaries. They have to deal with diseases common to all races. Certain tropical diseases such as schistosomiasis and dysentery are very prevalent. 743 759 164

Drought and the vagaries of the climate also play their part in undermining the health of the inhabitants. The third year of drought in Sublihi country undoubtedly had an effect on the prevalence of tuberculosis, dental caries and vitamin deficiency diseases in that area. 731

Apart from the dispensaries in the Protectorate, the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital in Sheik Othman which trains the dispensers also welcomes up-country patients. More would come than do at present if ignorance and superstition did not prevail in the Protectorate. Again, for many the road to the hospital is physically difficult and it is certain that they come only as a last resort and after long deliberation. In consequence doctors do all they can to visit the dispensaries as frequently as possible and to spend adequate time at each one to treat the sick, and to give instructions to dressers to keep them up to date. 743

*Famine Relief*

During 1947 the situation in the Hadhramaut continued to improve. At the beginning of the year there were 1,112 persons being fed in the kitchens, which were closed by the end of March, leaving only Malja—a relief centre for those incapable of work—whose 716 inmates in March were gradually reduced to 227 in December. Nuqra dam, the major famine relief work undertaken, was finished in June. Remittances 735 [312] 008

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of 000
religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past 178
in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protec- 771
torate. Any development of education initiated by Government had 212
therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, 875
there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the biggest problem in Protectorate education to-day.

## HEALTH

### *Western Aden Protectorate*

The development of the Protectorate Medical Service was rather 759
upset in the past three years by numerous changes of senior medical staff. However, one advantage came from this, namely that in the drawing up of a plan for future development, co-operative help and advice was given by every doctor and nurse who ever worked in the Protectorate.

At the beginning of the year, a three-month course was given for new tribal dressers, who were posted to work under senior dressers in the Protectorate.

It is estimated that in the course of the year 50,000 patients were 743
treated in the 18 dispensaries. Malaria, dysentery, schistosomiasis and 164
tuberculosis were the four most prevalent diseases. Obstetrical problems [562]
and gynaecology offer a very large field for research. Owing to customs necessitating the seclusion of women any estimate of these problems is pure conjecture. In spite of these restrictions, the Medical Officer attended a great many during his visits, especially in Beihan at the very edge of " the empty quarter " of Arabia. A number of those who otherwise would never receive surgical treatment were flown down to the hospital at Aden. Venereal disease was unfortunately on the increase in Abyan, where crowds of people of all kinds came to find work in the agricultural project there.

Many visits including some of several days duration were paid by the Medical Officer to the various dispensaries in the Protectorate during which between 4,000 and 5,000 selected patients were treated. Besides those patients who found their own way down to hospital in Aden, 150 or more were brought down on the Protectorate Medical Officer's recommendation.

## HOUSING

The settled Western Aden Protectorate population is housed for the 342
main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



311 471 Inhabitants of Wadi Du'an, an area with an ever-present threat of famine, were persuaded to purchase some of the large tracts of good arable land and shallow wells lying fallow and idle in the main Wadi Hadhramaut in the hope that they will gradually move from their over-populated wadi. Three companies were formed by Duanis, with a capital of well over Rs. 1,00,000 for the purpose of cultivating hitherto dead lands at Dar-Assab, Aqad and the area at Hautat Ahmed bin Zein in the main wadi, while Du'an merchants began to take an interest in existing date palm groves in the area. The local States were empowered to allot dead lands to farmers if the owners failed to cultivate them.

An agricultural syndicate formed to develop the Meifa area of Wadi Hajr with a capital of Rs. 4,00,000 has been active during 1950. The planting of date palms in the area has started and the syndicate [164] allotted lands and gave advances to some 240 Subians—but up to now there is some reluctance on the part of agriculturists from other areas to settle down and work in Meifa owing to the prevalence of malaria there.

In November, 1950, two windmills were imported for experimental use in irrigation, one being installed at Buweish in the coastal area, the other being sent to Sai'un.

*Co-operation*

474 The Beihan Farmers' Association had a difficult year. A large proportion of the barley crop had been sown early and, in January and February, frost damaged the heading crop, seriously reducing yield and quality. As a result the Association deferred collection of up to 50 per cent of the outstanding loans which were carried over to the Saif and Kharif crops and to the winter crop of the 1949-50 season. Excellent conditions at the end of the year gave the Association full confidence in its operations.

The credit facilities for seed and cash given by the Association enabled the cultivators to carry on without much recourse to merchants and moneylenders.

## FISHERIES

228 The Fishery Department did not begin work on a permanent basis until the end of 1949. During 1950 activity has been mostly exploratory. Unfortunately, winch trouble in the fishery vessel severely limited the amount and nature of the trial fishing that could be done, but practically every fishing village in both Protectorates was visited, and also the islands of Kamaran in the Red Sea and Kuria Muria, 700 miles east of Aden off the Muscat coast. The information obtained about the fishing population and its activities forms a valuable basis for development plans.

In general, the observations made in the 1948 report still hold good. The winter sardine seasons of 1949–50 and 1950–51 have, unfortunately, been little better than 1948–49. There has been a definite but slight improvement, but catches of sardines and their attendant predators are

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



871 under the auspices of the British Council. At the end of 1950 five Hadhrami students at Bin Khaldun School in Syria gained the first five places in the final class results for the year.

Twenty-two Qu'aiti pupils are now studying outside the Hadhramaut, nine being in the Sudan, five in Syria, four in Egypt and four in Iraq. The scholars in the Sudan are being financed by the Qu'aiti Government, while the remainder are being paid for from the Mukalla Charitable Fund. There are seven Kathiri students abroad, two being in Iraq, and five in Syria. Two of these students are being financed by their parents, while the rest are supported by the Tarim Brotherhood.

## HEALTH

*Western Aden Protectorate*

744 Two outstanding developments have characterised the growth of the Protectorate Medical Service in 1949 and 1950. First, the ten most promising dressers were called in from their tribes in the mountains, deserts, valleys and coasts of the Protectorate for a year's course in curative and preventive medicine at the Keith Falconer Hospital, Sheikh Othman. Secondly, the first major malaria control scheme has been successfully undertaken at Abyan. This area which was once a death-trap due to malaria is now virtually rid of the anopheline mosquito. This enterprise was financed by a grant under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1949 and has subsequently been carried on by local funds.

Major tours were made to the Dhala', Dathina and Beihan areas besides the usual routine visits to the twenty dispensaries.

164 743 758 Malaria, dysentery, tuberculosis and malignant malnutrition with its associated conditions remain the most prevalent diseases. Trachoma is very prevalent at the desert end of Beihan. There is very wide scope for nurses and lady doctors who can stand the rigours of the road, who will learn Arabic and who will take to heart the welfare of the women and children. On the whole the dressers are doing a good piece of work amongst their own tribes. There are six dispensaries between 3,000 and 5,000 feet up, three dispensaries in the mountains at 7,000 ft. or more—two of which are reached on foot and one by air—and the rest are in Subeihi, the Wadi Tiban, Abyan and the coast.

Many patients come too late for treatment, but after one has seen the difficulties of the roads it is astonishing that so many of them come at all, and it is for this reason that the dressers visit the villages from their dispensaries and the medical officer and nursing sister visit all areas as much as possible.

744 Recently a visit was made to Mukalla and Sai'un to advise about public health work, but the demands of the Western Aden Protectorate are so great and the staff so small for its needs that there is little time left for the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In 1949 when the Protectorate Medical Officer was on leave, Dr. R. B. Smith, of the Keith Falconer Scottish Mission Hospital, acted in an honorary but full-time capacity.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



A case of smallpox in Audhali area was immediately and effectively dealt with by Dr. Affara, also from the Keith Falconer Scottish Mission Hospital, and 4,500 people were vaccinated. 744 751

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

In the Eastern Protectorate, advances in medical and public health services were retarded in early 1949 by lack of staff. It was not until late in 1950 that the staff situation was relieved by the arrival of a medical officer from India for the Kathiri State and of a German lady doctor from Germany for Shibam. 744

With the obvious exception of cases of scurvy and malnutrition during the famine of 1949, there was a very mild outbreak of small-pox in Mukalla in February and March, 1949, and sporadic outbreaks of malaria in particular in the coastal areas, and the health of the population has been reasonably good in the past two years. [164]

Stringent and vigorous anti-malarial measures were started in January, 1950. All pools, including the source of water supply in the vicinity of Mukalla and Shihr were oiled or stocked with larvae-consuming fish, and water collecting tanks were closed and cleaned out weekly.

An additional sanitary inspector in Mukalla was appointed during 1950.

In October, 1950, Dr. R. B. Smith, Acting Protectorate Medical Officer, was invited to visit Eastern Aden Protectorate and his recommendations on the best methods of improving and safe-guarding public health are being implemented.

In November, 1950, four soldiers of the Mukalla Regular Army and two of the Kathiri Armed Constabulary proceeded to the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital, Sheikh Othman, on an anti-malarial course for three months. 744 759

## HOUSING

No greater contrast could be imagined than exists in the houses of the Aden Protectorate. 342

The most elementary are the goat-hair tents of the nomadic people, and the even more primitive shelters of some shepherds, consisting only of a mat hung on poles, or spread over a branch of a bush.

The simplest form of house for the settled population, or those who stay for some period in a place to work at harvest time, is a kind of inverted nest of brush-wood, with a little matting incorporated in places. This provides privacy and shelter from the sun, though not of course from rain if it falls, or from the all-pervading dust storms.

The most common type of permanent house is built of mud-brick in the plains and rough stones bound with mud in the hill districts, and more rarely of squared stones. Rooms are generally small (long timber being very scarce) and dark, affording a relief from the glare outside; ventilation is usually adequate and the thick walls provide

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



yet afford to offer pensionable service. Conditions of employment 875
for a qualified teacher are therefore inferior to those obtainable, even in teaching, in the Colony.

*Principal Events*

The greatest change in the period under review was the closing down 873
in March, 1952, of the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs, a boarding school of primary standard which has been running for 17 years in the Colony. The College served a useful purpose and gained a high reputation in its time but was too small to be run economically. It has now been superseded by the primary schools in the various districts of the Western Protectorate.

Work on an intermediate boarding school at Zinjibar in the Western Protectorate began about the same time. The new intermediate school, which will take another three years to complete, forms a vital link between the primary schools and the Aden and Technical Colleges.

## HEALTH

*General*

Protectorate health statistics are not yet available, though in places 165
such as Tarim recent local studies show an infantile mortality rate of 439 per 1,000 live births, a rate rather greater than those previously reported for Mukalla and parts of the Western Protectorate.

*Diseases*

Important causes of sickness in the population are malaria, the 164
dysenteries, ulcers, trachoma and conjunctivitis. Less obtrusive are pulmonary tuberculosis, bilharzia of both urinary and intestinal types, guineaworm (in patchy distribution), leprosy, dermal leishmaniasis and the common venereal diseases with, in places, what appears to be either yaws or bejel. In areas where night-soil is used as manure for salad vegetables round-worm infection is common. Where, as in the Hadhramaut towns, rigid purdah still obtains, ostemalacia, obstructed [291]
labour and puerperal fever are of relatively frequent occurrence. Through failure of the capricious rainfall or floods in the winter months, famine and its associated subnutrition are an ever present threat. In certain Western States the consumption of qat (*Catha edulis*) is a cause of subnutrition and affections of the digestive tract.

Important causes of death in both young and adults are malaria and the dysenteries, and in adults pulmonary tuberculosis.

Prevention and treatment are provided by mobile health units, 743
static health units (previously called dispensaries) and hospitals. 744
Prevention is furthered by lectures, demonstrations and film shows to teachers and local administrators, and by emphasis in the training of subordinate technical staff on the preventive aspects of medicine, more particularly cleanliness, insect control, balanced feeding and the values of local foodstuffs. A series of propaganda leaflets has been planned and the first one—on malaria—issued to the public. An effort is being made among communities remote from hospitals and health units to market at controlled prices insecticides, malarial remedies and sulphamezathine in small containers with instructions in Arabic.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2



242 [426] conditions as for tenants. If not owner occupiers, they take responsibility for debts incurred by tenants, to whose settlement or eviction they must agree.

*Finance*

| | Sales | |
|---|---|---|
| | *bale of 400 lb.* | *Value £* |
| 1949 | 100 | 5,270 |
| 1950 | 1,587 | 121,450 |
| 1951 | 9,890 | 867,088 |
| 1952 | 6,300 | 725,810 |

The contract with the Raw Cotton Commission extends to the season 1955–56.

Seed was sold to the value of £86,500 in 1951 and £54,870 in 1952.

Expenditure of approximately £20,000 loaned by the Colony Government on the first stage of the scheme in 1943–46 was refunded in part, and the balance handed over in the form of improvements and working capital to the Abyan Board on its formation.

Capital liabilities for loans stood at £278,307 at 30th September, 1952.

At the same date, after disposal of the current season's cotton crop, there were fixed assets worth £324,693. Cash and investment funds were available for the provision of £400,000 to a general development reserve ; £180,000 to a revenue stabilisation fund ; and £25,000 to a sinking fund.

*Social Effects*

The Scheme has had great beneficial influence on the general economy of the Aden Protectorate.

728 Peace and security have been extended to an area formerly insecure and the area has been settled by members of many tribes formerly at feud with each other in the Protectorate.

164 742 242 The Scheme has also been responsible for the virtual eradication of malaria in the district. This work conducted by the Protectorate Medical Service has been assisted by the Board which has guaranteed to provide a minimum of £26,000 per annum to a joint States' Medical Service ; it has also agreed to provide £20,000 for the building of a hospital.

ADEN MM 1
HADHRAMAUT MM 2

mosques and to storage tanks from which the commercial carriers draw water for sale to the inhabitants. Most well supplies are unprotected and exposed to subsoil and surface contamination. The ablution pools in the mosques are often heavily polluted and serve as vehicles for the transmission of intestinal infections. They also provide conditions favorable for the breeding of anopheline and other mosquitoes; also of Planorbis and Bulinus snails.

There are numerous small irrigation projects in the agricultural districts, especially in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut, many of which have been in use for decades. They depend upon water from streams or wells and, in some parts of the highlands, from spring-fed cisterns. Pumps have been introduced in the modern developments, but in most instances water is drawn from streams and wells in the traditional manner, namely, in leather buckets by means of ropes pulled over wooden pulleys by men or animals.

### Waste Disposal

The methods of sewage disposal are primitive. Septic tanks, which discharge into the main drainage system, are connected with some of the newer houses in Aden Colony, but pail privies provide the usual means of sewage disposal in both Aden and Sheikh Othman townships. In old buildings with several stories, soil pipes which may be 40 feet in length lead from the privies on the upper floors to containers below. The night soil is collected regularly from private and public latrines by the town authorities and conveyed to incineration plants. Pit latrines are employed in some quarters, but they are being abolished wherever possible. In the congested districts, the latrines are located along concrete passages between the rears of the houses and are drained to storm sewers or to soakpits. The construction of a modern sewerage system for the Colony is under consideration.

The "long drop" method, in which closed

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H 324 shafts lead from lavatories in the upper stories to a reception chamber on the ground floor, is widely used in the larger houses in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut. Pit or surface privies are sometimes found in the courtyards of the smaller houses, but the majority have no facilities for the disposal of sewage wastes. Indiscriminate pollution of the soil is a general practice.

## Fauna and Flora

A 659 Few entomologic surveys have been made in this region, and data regarding the insect vectors and animal hosts of human disease are fragmentary. It is probable, however, that the species identified in the neighboring territories are present in Aden Protectorate under similar physiogeographic conditions.

A 136 164 **Arthropods.** Mosquitoes. *Anopheles adenensis* (— *A. culicifacies adenensis*) is the most important anopheline mosquito in Aden Colony. Although it has been eradicated from Aden and Sheikh Othman townships, it persists in near-by oases, and is a major vector of malaria wherever it is encountered. In the last local outbreak in the *kutcha* hut district of Sheikh Othman, *A. adenensis* was found breeding in large numbers in the soakpits. It normally breeds A [744] in wells, shallow cisterns, irrigation canals and sluggish streams, and, before the institution of effective control measures, had become adapted to the high salinity of the saltpan seepages.

H 136 164 *A. gambiae* is widely distributed in the Protectorate, where it probably acts as the principal vector of malaria. It breeds along the edges of pools and streams, in irrigation canals, in wells and in numerous other collections of water. *A. turkhudi*, *A. coustani*, *A. d'thali*, *A. pretoriensis* and *A. barbirostris* have also been reported from various localities.

*Aedes aegypti*, the usual urban vector of yellow fever elsewhere, and *A. vittatus*, a tree-hole breeder implicated in the transmission of yellow fever in endemic foci in

p. 242 (A)

H 136 164 Africa, are found in the coastal area. Numerous species of *Culex* are present, including *C. quinquefasciatus* (— *C. fatigans*), a potential vector of filariasis. A species of *Taeniorhynchus* has been described from Western Aden Protectorate.

A 744 136 Mosquito control measures have been carried on by the health authorities in the Colony for several decades. They involve weekly inspections of all premises to eliminate breeding sites, the protection and the larvicidal treatment of permanent bodies of water, the reclamation of swamps and low-lying lands in the vicinity of the towns, and the supervision of the dhows using the port. The Aedes index was 0.014 per cent in 1950, in contrast with 4 per cent in 1930.

A H 136 361 511 Flies. Flies are abundant in towns and villages, where the insanitary conditions around markets, cattlesheds and dwellings favor prolific breeding. They are most numerous between November and March. The house flies, *Musca domestica* and related species, are ubiquitous and undoubtedly play a role in the spread of intestinal and eye infections. The stable fly, *Stomoxys calcitrans*, is prevalent. Sandflies are numerous, among which *Phlebotomus papatasii* is presumably of primary medical concern. The tsetse fly, *Glossina tachinoides*, was reported early in this century from the Haushabi and the Subeihi tribal districts in Western Aden Protectorate.[9] It has not been collected in recent surveys, however, and the original observations remain the only record of its appearance outside Africa.[20] Campaigns against flies, employing DDT, Gammexane and other insecticidal sprays in markets and public buildings, are undertaken periodically by the health authorities in the two townships of the Colony.

A 136 Lice. All forms of human lice are found, particularly among the inhabitants of towns and villages in the interior. *Pediculus humanus corporis* is prevalent in the highland villages, where it is the vector of louse-borne typhus and louse-borne relapsing fever.

A H 136 164 Fleas. Both *Xenopsylla cheopis* and *X. astia* parasitize the rats in this region.

p. 242 (6)

They are potential vectors of plague, but no cases have been recorded for several decades. The human flea, *Pulex irritans*, is common and has been suspected of transmitting plague from man to man in past outbreaks. Species of *Ctenocephalides* undoubtedly occur, as in the adjacent territories. H A 136 164

Ticks and Mites. Several species of ticks infest both wild and domestic animals in the rural areas. The human itch mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*, is unusual among the schoolchildren in the Colony, although it is widespread in the poor communities in Yemen and the Protectorate.

Reptiles. The puff adder, *Bitis arietans*, inhabits some portions of the western highlands. The carpet viper, *Echis coloratus*, and the sand vipers, *Aspis cerastes* (— *Cerastes cornutus*) and *A. vipera* (— *C. vipera*), are described from southern Arabia, but their prevalance within Aden territory is uncertain. A H 136

Rodents. *Rattus rattus rattus* and *R. rattus alexandrinus* are widely distributed. At least 90 to 95 per cent of the rats captured in the Colony have been identified as *R. rattus*. In spite of the diversity of shipping activities, *R. norvegicus* is seldom encountered. Active measures for the destruction of rodents in the bazaars and the dwellings in the towns and on the dhows visiting the port are carried on by the Colonial health authorities. No controls are exercised over the larger vessels, which have to anchor in the harbor. A representative proportion of the captured rodents are examined annually for evidence of plague. A 136 744

Wild rodents are common, including species of *Meriones*, *Jaculus* and *Gerbillus*.

Molluscs. Foci of *Schistosoma haematobium* and *S. mansoni* infection exist in Western Aden Protectorate, but the intermediate snail hosts have not been positively identified. Planorbis and Bulinus snails have been reported from Mukeiras and Museimir, and Bulinus from the Dhala' plateau. *Melanoides tuberculata* and other species are found in several areas. H 136 164

Colonial government. Five physicians were working in the eastern protectorate; one in the western. H A 759

Dentists. In 1950, there were 3 dentists in Aden, one of whom was employed on the government's school health program.

## DISEASES

The statistics compiled from the reports of cases of illness and death in the Colony are apt to give an erroneous impression of the health status of the local inhabitants, since a considerable proportion of the cases treated in hospitals and dispensaries are immigrants from Yemen or the Protectorate. Large numbers enter the Colony each year as transient laborers or traders, while others seek medical attention which is nonexistent in their home communities. The majority are undernourished and live in miserable, crowded quarters under conditions which facilitate the spread of infection. Morbidity and fatality rates in the immigrant population are abnormally high, and affect adversely the health statistics of the Colony as a whole. In the absence of adequate laboratory facilities, the diagnosis of many diseases is necessarily provisional, and the differentiation of various types of infection is seldom made. Moreover, from 10 to 15 per cent of the deaths are usually recorded under the heading "other fevers." A 164 167 464 A 464 511 167 A [165]

The health facilities in the Protectorate are of recent origin, and although dispensaries have been established in increasing numbers within the last two decades, they are elementary and serve only a small fraction of the population. The meager information derived from the reports of a few medical observers who have toured sections of the interior and from records of admissions to the hospitals in Aden permits scarcely more than rough generalizations as to the prevalence and the distribution of specific diseases among the peoples of the Protectorate. The diseases of primary concern in this area are malaria, tuberculosis, dysentery and eye and skin infections, all H 743 758 H 164

H 164 of which are almost invariably associated with widespread undernutrition.

### Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Intestinal or Urinary Tract

H A 164 **Typhoid and Paratyphoid Fevers.** Typhoid fever is sporadic, and 10 to 35 cases are reported from the Colony each year. Over one half of the known cases occur usually among nonresident laborers. Paratyphoid fevers are grouped with typhoid in the morbidity statistics. The rate of infection is not known, but both paratyphoid A and paratyphoid B fevers are undoubtedly present. Typhoid fever is apparently endemic in the Protectorate, although recognized cases are reputedly rare in the Hadhramaut.

H A 164 515 **Dysenteries.** Dystentery is prevalent throughout this region, where the unhygienic habits of the people and the abundance of flies promote the spread of intestinal infections. From 500 to 1,300 cases are treated annually in the civilian hospitals and dispensaries in the Colony. Amebic dysentery predominates among the few cases in which the differential diagnosis is established, but a large proportion of the remainder are probably bacillary infections. Of the 589 cases recorded in 1949, 1 was diagnosed as bacillary dysentery and 48 as amebic, while 540 were unclassified. The percentage of carriers of *Endamoeba histolytica* is believed to be high: it has been estimated at 40 to 50 per cent among immigrants from Yemen, many of whom are engaged in the handling of foodstuffs in the Colony.

H A 164 A 165 167 854 146 Amebic and bacillary dysentery, as well as diarrhea and enteritis, are grouped together as "dysentery" in the official statistics. In each of the 5 years 1946-50, the dysentery deaths numbered 334 to 406, or approximately 20 to 25 per cent of the recorded mortality in the Colony. Among the 393 deaths reported in 1950 as due to dysentery, 107 were among the immigrant population. The younger age groups are most seriously affected, and the local au-

p. 246 (A)

A 165 167 854 146 thorities regard undernutrition and incorrect methods of feeding as important underlying factors. The deaths in infants under 1 year of age totaled 175 in 1950, or about 44 per cent of the known dysentery deaths.

H 164 No precise information is available regarding bacillary and amebic dysentery in the Protectorate, but the high rate of infection among visitors to Aden Colony suggests that both are widespread.

A 164 361 744 **Cholera.** Cholera has not been reported from Aden within the present century, although outbreaks have followed its introduction in the past. Since no record exists of its presence in the Hadhramaut, it is probable that the disease was largely confined to the port town.

During the 1947 outbreak in Egypt, traffic through Aden was increased due to the quarantine restrictions imposed on Egyptian ports. Special precautions were taken by the health authorities to prevent the admission of infected individuals or goods by sea, land or air routes. Immunization against cholera was also provided for all persons handling shipping and for all health service personnel.

A 751

N 164 **Helminthiases.** SCHISTOSOMIASIS. Schistosomiasis is endemic in scattered localities in Western Aden Protectorate, especially in the highland districts above 2,000 feet elevation. Foci of *Schistosoma haematobium* are known to exist in the Jebel Jehaf and Dhala' plateau country, in the Wadi Tiban area around Museimir, and in the vicinity of Tor am Baha, Huwemi and Khor 'Umeira. *S. mansoni* is apparently more restricted in distribution, but it is found in the Jebel Jehaf and the Wadi Tiban regions.

A 164 No locally acquired infections are reported from the Colony, although numerous cases among persons from the interior are treated in the civilian hospitals each year. A large proportion of the cases seen in Aden Colony come from Yemen or from the Dhala' and the Museimir districts.

N A 136 The intermediate snail hosts of *S. haematobium* and *S. mansoni* have not been definitely established, but Bulinus and Planor-

p. 246(B)

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

bis snails have been described from some of the affected foci. H A 136

ANCYLOSTOMIASIS. Hookworm infection occurs in Lahej and a few agricultural centers in Western Aden Protectorate. *Necator americanus* has been identified in the cases treated at the Civil Hospital in Aden.[30]

OTHER HELMINTH INFECTIONS. Infections with one or more types of intestinal worms are prevalent, particularly among the peoples of the Protectorate. Ascariasis is widespread. Trichuriasis and, to a lesser extent, enterobiasis are common. Hydatid disease is reported among individuals from the Colony and from the interior. Infection with the beef tapeworm, *Taenia saginata*, is enzootic among the cattle in the tribal districts, and human infections are undoubtedly frequent. Cases are occasionally encountered among immigrant families in the Colony. The pork tapeworm, *T. solium*, is rare, but infections are sometimes seen in the Aden hospitals. H 164 136 232 A 164 167 136

Other Infections. *Brucella melitensis* is enzootic among the goats in this area, and Malta fever is diagnosed from time to time in the Colony hospitals and dispensaries. A 232 136

## DISEASES SPREAD CHIEFLY THROUGH THE RESPIRATORY TRACT

**Tuberculosis.** Tuberculosis is one of the most prominent diseases affecting the inhabitants of southern Arabia, but no precise information is available, except for Aden Colony. The high degree of undernutrition and overcrowding, and the low standards of personal hygiene and sanitation prevailing among large sections of the population, favor the spread of the infection. The disease is probably prevalent among the women who are confined to close quarters by the *purdah* system and among the young children in close contact with them. In a small tuberculin test survey covering 95 Aden township schoolboys of 7 to 12 years of age, in 1945,[2] positive reactions were obtained in 56 per cent—a rate which ranks high among those usually found in A 164 146 515 364 A 164 837 361 659

p. 247 (A)

ADEN MMI

urban communities in the Middle East. Pulmonary infections predominate, but other forms of the disease are also observed. A 164 537 561 659

Tuberculosis is widespread in the immigrant populations in Aden, as shown by the fact that 58 to 70 per cent of the cases of pulmonary tuberculosis recorded in the three years 1948-50 were in nonresidents. Among the 530 cases reported in 1950, Aden was the place of origin in 152, Yemen in 193, Western Aden Protectorate in 99, Eastern Aden Protectorate in 12, and Somaliland, India and other countries in the remainder. In the decade 1941-50, the number of deaths attributed to pulmonary tuberculosis ranged from 113 to 261 a year, with peaks of prevalance associated with large migrations of immigrants. W A 164 167 A

Although tuberculosis has long been regarded as a major cause of sickness and death in the Colony, few facilities for diagnosis and treatment existed before 1945. In that year, the health authorities initiated a campaign for the reduction of tuberculosis in all ecopomic groups of the population. The diagnostic services were reorganized and X-ray equipment provided. Special wards were also added to the civilian hospitals; the number of beds available for the treatment of tuberculosis was increased from 18 in 1945 to 150 in 1951. As a further preventive measure, a program of supervised domiciliary treatment was introduced in 1947 to furnish care to persons who could not be hospitalized. 164 758 744 A

Following the organization of the anti-tuberculosis campaign, there was a decrease in the specific death rates from around 29.3 per 10,000 population in the period 1931-44 to 11.3 in 1950. In the latter year, the corrected rate for the local population alone was 8.4 per 10,000. A tuberculin testing and BCG inoculation program was planned for 1952 by the Medical and Health Department, in co-operation with the World Health Organization. A 164 165 744 758

Smallpox. In spite of the fact that localized epidemics of smallpox are recurrent in the Protectorate, no outbreaks have been W A 164

p. 247(B)

A 164 porting, 2,018 and 2,325 cases, respectively, were recorded. Of these, 59 to 63 per cent were diagnosed as syphilis and 31 to 34 per cent as gonorrhea, while chancroid predominated in the remainder. Some indication of the prevalence of syphilis is provided by the results of serologic examinations of blood specimens taken from individuals admitted to tubeculosis wards. In a series of Kahn tests performed on 243 cases in 1950,[7] positive reactions were obtained in 13 per cent. Centers for the treatment of venereal diseases have been established at the Civil Hospital, in Aden township, and at the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital, in Sheikh Othman.

A 164 758

H 164 Syphilis and gonorrhea are reputed to be common in the towns of the Protectorate, but no reliable information is available. A nonvenereal treponemal infection, believed to be bejel by most authorities, has been reported from various localities in southern Arabia. A focus probably exists around Beiham, in Western Aden Protectorate. Cases are observed from time to time in the Colony hospitals among persons from this area, as well as from Yemen.

H 164 515 **Diseases of the Eyes.** Trachoma and conjunctivitis are major problems, particularly in the Protectorate, where environmental conditions and the unhygienic customs of the people promote the spread of infectious eye diseases. Trachoma is frequent among the schoolchildren in the Colony. In a survey conducted in 1946,[8] the incidence of trachoma was found to be 18.9 per cent among 1,103 boys examined in the government schools. Measures for improved diagnosis and treatment were instituted, with an appreciable decrease in infection. In a similar group of 1,419 boys observed in 1948, evidence of trachoma was detected in 9.8 per cent.

H 164

H 164 659 Less is known of the extent of the disease in the interior. A medical survey in Western Aden Protectorate in 1939-40[20] revealed widespread trachoma infection, with rates varying from 14 per cent in Dhubiyat to

p. 248(6)

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

75 per cent in Shuqra. In most localities, the infection rates ranged from 27 to 88 per cent among children under 15 years of age and from zero to 48 per cent in persons over 15 years of age. The Fadhli and the Abdali tribal districts were the most seriously affected regions visited. H 164 659

**Diseases of the Skin.** Favus, ringworm and other mycotic skin infections are widely distributed. Madura foot is common in the Protectorate, and cases are seen in the Colony hospitals each year among patients from the interior. Phagedenic ulcers are responsible for considerable disability among laborers in the Colony and in all parts of the Protectorate. Several thousand cases are treated each year in the hospitals and the dispensaries in Aden Colony, where they are usually designated as "Yemen ulcers." The ankle is the most frequent site of infection, and amputation is often necessary in neglected cases. A H 164 167 A 758

Scabies and impetigo are prevalent, especially among the children of inland towns and villages who live under congested, insanitary conditions. By contrast, surprisingly few cases of scabies are encountered among the children seen in the schools in Aden township. A H 164 511 515

**Leprosy.** Leprosy is endemic in the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been reported from the Colony within recent years. The infection is probably not extensive, although foci of the disease are known to exist in the Hadhramaut and in the Lahej, the Dhala' and the Abyen areas in the western protectorate. As lepers are not discriminated against socially, some difficulty is encountered in controlling the movement of infected individuals in the Colony. A small leper hospital is located at Sheikh Othman: it receives patients not only from Aden territory but also from Yemen. Eighteen of the 29 patients in residence in 1939[18] were open nodular or lepromatous cases. A H 164 A H 743 164 183

**Other Infections.** Tetanus is endemic, but reported cases are rare. A H 164

p. 249(A)

ADEN MMI
HADRAMAUT MMI

## Diseases Spread by Arthropods

**Malaria.** Little or no indigenous malaria exists at present in the Colony. From 1,000 to 2,000 malaria patients are treated each year in the civilian hospitals and dispensaries, but, with the exception of occasional cases of questionable origin, the infection has almost invariably been acquired outside the limits of the Colony, usually in the interior. Until recent decades, malaria was highly endemic in the oasis of Sheikh Othman and surrounding villages, and sporadic outbreaks were experienced in the town of Aden. Anopheline control work was initiated in 1909 and extended on a colony-wide basis in the 1930s. As a result, the disease was early eliminated from Aden, while its prevalence was progressively reduced in Sheikh Othman. The number of local cases treated at the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital declined from almost 2,000 a year in 1907 to zero in 1950. The last outbreak of malaria was recorded in 1943 among the transient laborers living in *kutcha* hut settlements in Sheikh Othman. At that time, *Anopheles adenensis* (— *A. culicifacies adenensis*), the principal vector, was found breeding in the soakpits. Antianopheline measures are carried on continuously in the Colony and adjacent sections of the Protectorate, and vector species have been eradicated almost completely.

A 164 768 361

A 744 464 164

H A 744

Malaria occurs in most portions of the Protectorate, exclusive of the desert regions and the mountainous areas at the higher elevations. In the 1939-40 survey of Western Aden Protectorate, all gradations of endemicity were encountered. In general, the infection was hyperendemic in the vicinity of perennial streams and moderately endemic in villages around wadies which remained dry for most of the year. The splenic index ranged from 40 to 92 per cent in different localities. Extensive epidemics have been recorded from the highland districts, especially from the Dhala' and the Yafa'i country. Both *Plasmodium falcip-*

H 164

H 164 136

p. 249(B)

H 164 136 *arum* and *P. vivax* are found in most regions, but *P. malariae* is apparently relatively rare. *A. gambiae* is widely distributed, and is regarded as the principal vector in the Protectorate.

H A 164 **Rickettsial Infections.** Louse-borne typhus has been recognized in the highlands of southwestern Arabia since 1939, and occasional imported cases are admitted to hospitals in the Colony. In 1944-45, epidemics of typhus were recorded from Western Aden Protectorate which were secondary A 164 167 744 to foci in Yemen. The disease first appeared in Aden in January, 1944, among Jewish emigrants who had traveled overland from Yemen and were awaiting transport to Israel. Fifteen cases were reported, all but 2 of which were members of the Jewish community. The movement of Yemenis across the frontiers was restricted, and a camp at Lahej which at that time harbored some 1,600 Jewish emigrants was transferred to a quarantine site in the desert. A 167 758 744 Sick individuals from the Jewish quarters in the town were removed to the camp, and wholesale delousing measures were enforced both at the camp and in infected areas in the town. The spread of the infection in the Colony was curtailed, but new outbreaks developed in the Amiri and the Subeihi tribal districts, near the Yemeni border, and progressed along the trade routes to within 40 miles of Aden Colony. The importance of the port and military installations during the prevailing war emergency necessitated the creation of a sanitary cordon to isolate the Colony from the interior.

A 164 744 The infection persisted in epidemic form in the Protectorate, spreading eastward to the Dhala' plateau and the mountainous villages of the Lower Yafa'i country. In many localities, 10 to 25 per cent of the inhabitants are believed to have suffered from the disease. Insecticidal powders, as well as antityphus vaccine, were supplied by the United States Typhus Commission, and mass dusting campaigns were carried on in the villages visited by the medical

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A 164 744 officers. Special delousing stations were established along the 3 main trade routes from Yemen to guard against the development of new foci.

The prevalence of the infection diminished during the summer months, but sporadic outbreaks were again reported in the winter of 1944-45. Early in 1945, a series of permanent dispensaries was organized in Western Aden Protectorate, and the tribal dressers in charge were trained to undertake mass dusting of the populace with DDT powder in the event of further epidemics. No outbreaks of typhus have been reported from the Protectorate since 1945, although the disease has continued to smolder in Yemen.

H 164 743 744

A 164 Murine typhus is probably endemic. Suspected cases have been observed in Aden hospitals from time to time, but the diagnosis has not been confirmed by laboratory diagnosis.

Plague. Six outbreaks of plague have been recorded from the Colony within the present century—in 1899-1900, 1903-04, 1904-05, 1913-14, 1917-18 and 1927-28. The most serious epidemics were those of 1904-05, involving 2,299 known cases, and of 1927-28, with 1,494 cases and a fatality rate of 74 per cent. In each outbreak the initial cases were detected among dock laborers employed in moving cargo or in loading or unloading coal. Since evidence of a preliminary rat epizootic was lacking, the local authorities concluded that the disease had been introduced by infected workers or by individuals carrying infected fleas. It was considered probable that the rat infection was secondary to the human. The morbidity rates almost invariably reached a peak in February or March, and declined with the onset of hot weather. No plague has been reported from the Colony since 1928, but the danger of its importation by means of dhow traffic from endemic ports in Africa and the East is always present. The Medical and Health Department carries on an active rat control program, and examines significant numbers of captured rats each

A [165] A 164 464 232 A [165] H A 744

year for evidence of plague. The disease has not been reported from the Protectorate. H A 744

Other Infections. Localized outbreaks of louse-borne relapsing fever have been recorded from the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been encountered in Aden. Cases of relapsing fever were frequently discovered at the time of the typhus outbreaks in 1944-45. H A 164

Occasional cases of kala-azar are seen in the Colony hospitals, usually among immigrants from Yemen. Two cases, in which the diagnosis of kala-azar was confirmed by spleen puncture, were recently reported from the Civil Hospital.[10] Both originated in southern Yemen, one from the vicinity of Ta'izz and the other from a village near the border of Western Aden Protectorate. Sporadic cases of Oriental sore are also treated in Aden, but the extent of infection in the interior is uncertain. H A 167 164

Cases suspected of being sandfly fever are common. The vector, *Phlebotomus papatasii*, is widely distributed. Guinea worm infection is endemic in the Hadhramaut and in certain coastal districts in the Protectorate. Imported cases are often observed in Aden Colony. Travelers from endemic centers in Africa thought to be suffering from yellow fever are sometimes admitted to the Colony hospitals, but no indigenous cases have been reported.

## Nutritional Diseases

A

Undernutrition is prevalent, particularly among the immigrant laborers in Aden and the poorer villagers and the Bedouin in the interior. Few studies of the prevalence of nutritional diseases have been made, but, in view of the inadequate diet of large sections of the population, deficiency conditions are probably numerous, particularly as regards protein and vitamins C, A and riboflavin of the B complex. Rickets is common in the Protectorate, while minor symptoms of the disease were detected in 17 per cent of 264 schoolchildren examined in Aden township in 1945. Spongy gums, gingivitis and other signs of vitamin C de- A 146 464 511 361 A H 146 164

p. 251 (A)

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

ficiency are widespread. Pellagroid lesions of the skin are often encountered among the peoples of the Protectorate. In a survey of 518 Arab schoolboys in Aden township in 1949, no cases of overt deficiency were found, but enlargement of the liver, possibly suggestive of low protein intake, was revealed in 27 per cent.

A H 146 164

### Miscellaneous Conditions

A small outbreak of epidemic muscular rheumatism, classified as Bornholm disease, was reported from Aden in 1946. It involved 35 persons—34 British and 1 Arab.

A 164

Hepatic cirrhosis is one of the most frequent conditions seen at the Civil Hospital. Local physicians have noted that most of the cases come from malarious regions where qat is widely used, but the underlying causes have not been investigated.

H A 164 753 146

Chewing the leaves of *Catha edulis*, or qat, is a general custom in Western Aden Protectorate. The leaf juices contain a stimulant, and habitual indulgence is said to produce loss of appetite, sleeplessness and a variety of more serious nervous disorders. Local observers believe that addiction to the drug contributes to the widespread undernutrition among the people.

## SUMMARY

The Colony of Aden and the adjacent Protectorate, on the southern coast of Arabia, have been British dependencies for over a century. The population of the Colony, including the port of Aden, was enumerated at 80,516 in the census of 1946, and calculated at over 100,000 in 1950. The Protectorate territory comprises two administrative divisions—Western Aden Protectorate and Eastern Aden Protectorate, in which the estimated population for 1948 was about 350,000 and 300,000, respectively. The local governments are tribal and diverse in organization, ranging from sultanates to smaller autonomous units. The inhabitants of both the Colony and the Protectorate are predominantly Arabs and adherents of Islam.

A H 648 A 161 H 131 161 H 619 H A 563 745

p. 251 (8)

180 the Colony. Undernutrition and avitamin-
A osis are widespread, but the prevalence of
H
146 specific nutritional deficiencies is not accurately known.

A Dysentery, tuberculosis, trachoma and
164 malaria are the most prominent disease problems, although indigenous malaria has now been largely eradicated from the Colony. Smallpox is frequently epidemic in the interior, but vaccination is compulsory in the Colony, and no outbreaks of local ori-
H gin have been recorded since 1929. Serious
164 epidemics of louse-borne typhus have occurred within recent years in the Western Aden Protectorate. Skin diseases, pneumonia, helminthiases and venereal infections are prevalent and widely distributed. Tyhoid fever, measles and other respiratory diseases of childhood, and probably murine
A typhus and sandfly fever, are endemic. Lep-
H rosy, schistosomiasis and louse-borne re-
164 lapsing fever exist in certain localized areas. Diphtheria, meningococcus meningitis and poliomyelitis are sporadic in the Colony and probably in the Protectorate. The last outbreak of plague in the Colony was recorded in 1928, while cholera has not been present within this century. Cases of kala-azar, Oriential sore, hookworm and guinea worm infection are occasionaly admitted to the Colony hospitals among individuals from the Protectorate or Yemen.

p. 252 (B)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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133 the greater part of the year, in certain places. These interruptions are due to the entire volume of water—which in dry seasons is not very considerable—being led off into the cultivation and returned again lower down. It is said that the waters of the Tiban, like those of the Bana, occasionally reach the sea after abnormal floods. The Bana River runs continuously from May to October.

The coast-line generally is low and sandy and devoid of promontories or inlets of any size, except at Aden, where craterous promontories rise to about 1,700 ft. above sea-level, forming sheltered bays, and at a point some sixty miles west of Aden, where a spur of the Yemen highlands approaches the coast at Khōr 'Umeirah.

### Climate

132 In the first zone—the littoral—the heat in general is excessive, but the climate is not unhealthy for those who can stand the fierce heat of the day, and the nights are cool. The cultivated oases and [164] river-beds, however, which afford grateful shade by day, should be avoided as fever traps, and the Tiban valley and Lahej oasis 241 in general have an ill name for malaria of a malignant type. The only rainfall is afforded by a few showers in mid-winter. Cultiva- 311 tion depends chiefly on irrigation from the wādi water-courses, and consists almost entirely of millet, *jowari*, and tall fodder crops such as *kirbi*.

In the second zone—the maritime hills—the rainfall is as in the first zone; but there is no opportunity for wādi irrigation, and in consequence scarcely any crops are raised. The air is stifling by day and damp at night.

In the third zone—the intramontane plains—the rainfall takes place during the summer in occasional thunderstorms. The crops are millet and maize, and they become more abundant and fertile as the main watershed is approached. The heat here, again, is very great.

In the fourth zone—the main watershed—there is a considerable rainfall during the summer months, and a bracing and fairly equable climate with sometimes a degree or so of frost at night. Cultivation is scanty, chiefly barley and a few light fodder crops.

In the fifth zone—the plateau—water lies within ten feet or so of the surface, and there is a good deal of irrigation from wells, besides the regular rainfall. This is small, but from October to March the region is liable to dense white fogs which fall after dark and lie thick to 9 a.m. They will wet one through in an hour, but are invaluable to the farmer as they alone keep the crops alive till

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



the summer thunderstorms are due. These latter are often extremely violent, even terrifying. Hail occasionally falls. Harvesting of one crop or another goes on throughout the year—chiefly bearded wheat, barley, maize, lucerne, and coffee (but the latter is less frequent than over the Yemen border). Indigo and cotton (a very small bush) are grown in the Nisāb district and grapes on the Yemen border. 132 241 311

In the sixth zone—the Empty Quarter or Great Red Desert—the population is pastoral and follows the grazing according to the rainfall, which is irregular and scanty. Along the principal wādis, which lead north towards the desert, there are permanent settlements and cereal crops are raised, chiefly millet, the stalks of which make useful fodder when grazing is scarce. The semi-nomadic part of the population returns to the settlements to await the next grazing-season in the desert.

In the Aden Interior as a whole the prevailing diseases are small-pox, fever (especially malarial), and, to some extent, consumption. The 'Yemen ulcer' is also common among the tribes. 164

## Population

The population of the Aden Interior (considered as a whole, and including that portion known strictly as the Aden Protectorate), settled and nomadic, may be computed at about half a million. The district is composed of a number of Tribal Confederations or Sultanates, some lying within the limits of the Protectorate proper, some without. 161 651

The limits of the Aden Protectorate proper are the delimitation line, previously mentioned, from Ras Turbah to a point some few miles north of Dhāla, and thence a somewhat vaguely defined line continuing at first in a south-easterly direction and then in a generally easterly direction to the coast of the Gulf of Aden near the small settlement of Maqātīn. They enclose an area of about 4,200 sq. miles, having a population of 100,000. The tribal confederations lying within this boundary are: the Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, Haushabi, Amīri, 'Alawi, 'Aqrabi, and other smaller tribes; and without are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and 'Audillah ('Audali). The tribes of the Protectorate have a larger proportion of non-combatants and are more settled than those of the remoter interior; the bulk are to be found in the towns and villages of the littoral belt, the chief centres being Lahej, Waht, Shūghrah, and the Abiyān district. 131 619 621 361

In dealing with a variety of tribes with such different characteristics it is difficult to generalize; broadly they may be divided 619 142

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



361 of Sheikh 'Othmān and small village of Hiswah on the north-east, at a radius roughly of ten miles from Aden town. The island of Socotra, in the Arabian Sea, passed under the protection of the British Government in virtue of a treaty concluded with the Sultan of Mahrah in 1886 (p. 205).

133 The peninsula of Aden proper is an irregular oval, 15 miles in circumference, with a diameter of from 3 to 5 miles, connected with the mainland by a neck of land about 1,350 yards wide, but at one place nearly covered at high spring tides. The causeway and aqueduct, however, are always above, although at some seasons only just above, water level. The peninsula consists of a huge crater walled round by precipices, the highest point being 1,775 feet above the sea; and rugged spurs, with valleys between, radiate from the centre. A great gap in the circumference of the crater has been rent on its eastern sea-face by some later volcanic disturbance. The town of Aden and part of the military cantonment lie within the crater, and consequently are surrounded on all sides by rocky hills. Lavas, spongy breccias, and tufas form the materials of this volcanic fortress. The natural vegetation is very scanty and resembles that of Arabia Petræa.

132 The average shade temperature of Aden is 87°—the mean monthly range being from 75° in January to 98° in June, with occasional variations up to or exceeding 102°. The lulls between the monsoon periods, in May and September, are specially oppressive. The [165] mortality among Europeans, although greatly increased by the sick or dying from the passengers and crews of ships, amounts to only [164] 7·2 per thousand. Aden, in fact, ranks as a rather healthy station for troops, though on first arrival they are subject to sandfly-fever, and it is a well-ascertained fact that long residence impairs the faculties and undermines the constitution of Europeans. The climate during the north-east monsoon, or from October to April, is cool and pleasant, particularly in November, December, and January. During the remainder of the year (the period of the south-west monsoon), hot sandy winds, known as *Shamāl* (north), prevail within the crater, but on the western or Steamer Point side the breezes come directly off the sea and are fairly cool. The rainfall may be said to vary from ¼ inch to 8½ inches, with an irregular average of about 3 inches; the irregularity and smallness of the yearly rainfall is borne out by the fact that the tanks, since their restoration in 1856, have only been filled six times—in May 1866 and 1870, and September 1877, 1889, 1893, and 1897. The 164 Settlement is exceptionally free from infectious diseases and epidemics. The absence of vegetation, the dryness of the soil, and the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



purity of the drinking water constitute efficient safeguards against many maladies common to tropical countries. 164

The harbour of Aden—the Bandar Tawīyah, or Aden West Bay, but more generally known as Aden Back Bay—lies between the two lofty peninsulas, very like in appearance, of Jebel Shamshan (east) and Jebel Ihsan (west); it extends eight miles from east to west and four from north to south, and is divided into two bays by a spit of land. The depth of water in the western bay is from 3 to 4 fathoms, and, across the entrance, from 4½ to 5 fathoms. There are several islands in the inner bay, notably Jezīrah Sawāyih (Slave Island), which culminates in a peak 300 ft. in altitude. 504

The port of Aden is a great coaling-station and place of call for vessels passing to and from the Suez Canal. Large vessels lie off Steamer Point, the western extremity of Jebel Ihsan. The Peninsular and Oriental Navigation Company's steamers call weekly at the port to receive, tranship, or land passengers and mails, and it is a port of call for a number of other important lines. There are numerous lights and lightships, the chief being the Aden Cape Light at Ras Marshag, on the east of the Ihsan peninsula, visible for 20 miles, and the Elephant's Back Light on the summit of a headland, visible also for 20 miles; the Aden Lightship, not far from Steamer Point, is visible for 10 miles, and fires a gun whenever a vessel enters the harbour at night. 504 505

Of the total population of the Aden Settlement (46,000), about 23,000 are returned as Arabs and there is a large number of Somalis. These two sections do the hard work of the port, but among the Arabs there are a few merchants of substance. Almost every nationality is also represented: Hindus, Parsees, Persians, Chinese, Abyssinians, Jews, &c. The Parsees have annexed a very considerable portion of the trade, for they act as agents and shopkeepers, and their business talent equals that of the Jews. Classified otherwise, European residents and Christians number from 2,000 to 3,000; Mohammedans, 34,000; and Jews, 3,700. The natives have an untidy makeshift air which contrasts with the personal cleanliness of an Indian population, and this arises partly from the scarcity of water, and partly from the temporary nature of their residence and outdoor life. 162

As far as the Settlement is concerned, there are no natural products whatever with the exception of salt. The food of the whole population, civil and military, is imported, Aden producing not even a blade of grain. Rice comes from Calcutta, Bombay, and Malabar; *jowari*, *bajri*, and maize are brought on camels from the interior; fodder and firewood come from the Lahej and Fadhli districts. 433 439

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



132 whirlwinds, from all sides, which disturb the dust. According to the Arabs, a particularly hot windless period of about forty days occurs with the changing of the monsoons. All travellers in the Hadhramaut make frequent allusions to the intensely high temperatures experienced in the narrow confined wādis of the interior.

164 Van den Berg says: 'Sicknesses are relatively few, which is quite natural, seeing the simple life led by the people, the pure and generally dry atmosphere of the mountains, and the total abstention of the people from pork, opium, and alcohol. Cholera is unknown, small-pox is never epidemic, but consumption is rampant, and there are cases of leprosy.'

## Population

162 The total population of the Hadhramaut is extremely uncertain, and the various authorities give very divergent estimates. Mons. Babahir, whom Van den Berg cites as having had considerable facilities for judging, estimates it at about 150,000, which he distributes as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| From Shibām to Shabwah, including Wādis 'Irmah, Dahr, and Rashah | 20,000 |
| Wādis 'Amd, Dō'an, and 'Ain | 25,000 |
| Shibām to Terīm (inclusive) | 50,000 |
| Terīm to Seihūt | 6,000 |
| From N. of the main wādi to the desert | 15,000 |
| From S. of the main wādi to the sea | 16,000 |
| Shiheir, Makalla, and their environs | 18,000 |
| Total | 150,000 |

Van den Berg, however, considers this estimate to be excessive, seeing that the greater part of the region is uninhabitable and unsuitable for agricultural pursuits of any kind. He himself gives the total of the chief centres of population of the interior, viz. Seyyūn, Terīm, Shibām, Ghurfah, and 'Aināt (or 'Ināt), as certainly not exceeding 29,500.

144 The people are known as *Hadhrami* and belong generally to the South Arabian stock, claiming descent from Ya'rab ibn Qahtān. There is, however, a large number of 'Seyyids', or descendants of the Prophet (described more fully below), and of 'townsmen' of northern origin, besides a considerable class of African or of mixed descent. But in spite of these variations the Hadhrami form, geographically and socially, a remarkably homogeneous whole.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers.

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000.

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few.

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government.

[1]About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



778 theless, their trust in the ability of the white Westerner and in the power of his instruments counterbalances these intimidating factors. If we go calmly ahead armed with our automatic pistols and electric torches they can keep enough courage to follow

●/65 Bīr Barhūt is mentioned in several old Arabic works on
778 geography.

El-Hamdānī, who wrote, about A. D. 900, his *Kitāb Ṣifat Djazīrat el-ᶜArab*, mentions Bīr Barhūt among other remarkable wells and quotes the curse: "May Allāh send his soul to join the souls of the unbelievers in Barhūt!" [1]

El-Masᶜūdī, who wrote, about A. D. 950, his *Kitāb Murūdj edh-Dhahab*, says: "The volcano of Wādī Barhūt lies somewhere in the country of Asfār and Ḥaḍramaut, belonging to the land of esh-Shiḥr, which lies between the Yemen and ᶜOmān; its voice, like that of thunder, is to be heard from many miles away. It ejects coals as large as mountains and pieces of black rock, whose sound as they are thrown into the air can be heard afar off, and which fall into and around the crater. The coals which come out of it are stones, red hot from the fire", etc. [2]

El-Qazwīnī writes in his *ᶜAdjā'ib el-Makhlūqāt*, about A. D. 1250: "Bīr Barhūt is close to Ḥaḍramaut. The Prophet — on whom be the *ṣalāt* and the *salām* — has said of this *Bīr*, that the souls of unbelievers and of hypocrites dwell within it. It is a well from the time of ᶜĀd, in the desert part of a dark wādī. It is told of ᶜAlī — to whom God be merciful — that he said: 'The bit of earth most hated by Allāh is Wādī Barhūt, in which there is a well filled with evil-smelling, black water, wherein go the souls of the unbelievers.' El-Aṣmaᶜī says that he was told by a man from Ḥaḍramaut: 'Whenever we notice

[1] El-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 128, l. 25; 201, l. 2; 203 *infra*. See also for the legend of Bīr Barhūt, J. Halévy, *La légende arabe sur Bourhoût* in *Journal Asiatique*, 8e Série, T. ii., p. 442—454.

[2] *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Vol. ii. (Paris, 1863), p. 26—27.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a foul smell in the neighbourhood of Barhūt, then, later on, we are informed of the death of one of the most prominent among the unbelievers'."[1]

Other writers when speaking of Ḥaḍramaut also mention Bīr Barhūt and record what they have heard of it. That does not differ in essentials from what is said by the old writers.[2]

The first more exact information comes from the aforementioned Ḥaḍramī scholar, the late Sayyid Bin ʿAqīl; he was the first writer to see Bīr Barhūt for himself and even had the courage to enter it for some distance and he gives a detailed account of what he thinks he saw and observed within it.[3] It is true that he speaks still of the trails of snakes, of the smell of sulphur and of the ashes of burnt sulphur, but his description differs widely from the pool of sulphur into which were thrown the souls of unbelievers.

This description of his travels was only published after our return from Ḥaḍramaut. We both, however, had the privilege of meeting the learned Sayyid and of hearing from his own mouth much that was worth knowing. He spent his last years in Ḥodēda in the Yemen, being exiled by the Qeʿēṭī Government. We had met a brother of his at el-Kāf's house in Terīm.

We left Qabr Hūd for Bīr Barhūt at five o'clock on the morning of June 3rd. We went on foot, but had a camel with us laden with water-skins. As baggage we had only cameras, electric torches, compasses and a rope. Wādī Barhūt debouches into the main wādī close to Qabr Hūd. It is fairly wide at first and the surface soil is a thick layer of loam. A remnant of agriculture and a few small date-groves still remain. There is also the well from which, on the previous evening, we had procured drinking-water. No trace is left

[1] El-Qazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1849), Vol. i., p. 198.

[2] Cf. Th. and Mrs. Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 138 *sq.*; C. Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Vol. i., *Ḥaḍramoût*, Leiden, 1901, p. 440 *sq.*, 445 *sqq.*, 483.

[3] See the weekly paper *Ḥaḍramaut*, 9th year, No. 304, Surabaya, 9th Oct. 1931.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



yet afford to offer pensionable service. Conditions of employment 875
for a qualified teacher are therefore inferior to those obtainable, even in teaching, in the Colony.

*Principal Events*

The greatest change in the period under review was the closing down 873
in March, 1952, of the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs, a boarding school of primary standard which has been running for 17 years in the Colony. The College served a useful purpose and gained a high reputation in its time but was too small to be run economically. It has now been superseded by the primary schools in the various districts of the Western Protectorate.

Work on an intermediate boarding school at Zinjibar in the Western Protectorate began about the same time. The new intermediate school, which will take another three years to complete, forms a vital link between the primary schools and the Aden and Technical Colleges.

## HEALTH

*General*

Protectorate health statistics are not yet available, though in places 165
such as Tarim recent local studies show an infantile mortality rate of 439 per 1,000 live births, a rate rather greater than those previously reported for Mukalla and parts of the Western Protectorate.

*Diseases*

Important causes of sickness in the population are malaria, the 164
dysenteries, ulcers, trachoma and conjunctivitis. Less obtrusive are pulmonary tuberculosis, bilharzia of both urinary and intestinal types, guineaworm (in patchy distribution), leprosy, dermal leishmaniasis and the common venereal diseases with, in places, what appears to be either yaws or bejel. In areas where night-soil is used as manure for salad vegetables round-worm infection is common. Where, as in the Hadhramaut towns, rigid purdah still obtains, ostemalacia, obstructed [291]
labour and puerperal fever are of relatively frequent occurrence. Through failure of the capricious rainfall or floods in the winter months, famine and its associated subnutrition are an ever present threat. In certain Western States the consumption of qat (*Catha edulis*) is a cause of subnutrition and affections of the digestive tract.

Important causes of death in both young and adults are malaria and the dysenteries, and in adults pulmonary tuberculosis.

Prevention and treatment are provided by mobile health units, 743
static health units (previously called dispensaries) and hospitals. 744
Prevention is furthered by lectures, demonstrations and film shows to teachers and local administrators, and by emphasis in the training of subordinate technical staff on the preventive aspects of medicine, more particularly cleanliness, insect control, balanced feeding and the values of local foodstuffs. A series of propaganda leaflets has been planned and the first one—on malaria—issued to the public. An effort is being made among communities remote from hospitals and health units to market at controlled prices insecticides, malarial remedies and sulphamezathine in small containers with instructions in Arabic.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



361 of Sheikh 'Othmān and small village of Hiswah on the north-east, at a radius roughly of ten miles from Aden town. The island of Socotra, in the Arabian Sea, passed under the protection of the British Government in virtue of a treaty concluded with the Sultan of Mahrah in 1886 (p. 205).

133 The peninsula of Aden proper is an irregular oval, 15 miles in circumference, with a diameter of from 3 to 5 miles, connected with the mainland by a neck of land about 1,350 yards wide, but at one place nearly covered at high spring tides. The causeway and aqueduct, however, are always above, although at some seasons only just above, water level. The peninsula consists of a huge crater walled round by precipices, the highest point being 1,775 feet above the sea; and rugged spurs, with valleys between, radiate from the centre. A great gap in the circumference of the crater has been rent on its eastern sea-face by some later volcanic disturbance. The town of Aden and part of the military cantonment lie within the crater, and consequently are surrounded on all sides by rocky hills. Lavas, spongy breccias, and tufas form the materials of this volcanic fortress. The natural vegetation is very scanty and resembles that of Arabia Petræa.

132 The average shade temperature of Aden is 87°—the mean monthly range being from 75° in January to 98° in June, with occasional variations up to or exceeding 102°. The lulls between the monsoon periods, in May and September, are specially oppressive. The [165] mortality among Europeans, although greatly increased by the sick or dying from the passengers and crews of ships, amounts to only [164] 7·2 per thousand. Aden, in fact, ranks as a rather healthy station for troops, though on first arrival they are subject to sandfly-fever, and it is a well-ascertained fact that long residence impairs the faculties and undermines the constitution of Europeans. The climate during the north-east monsoon, or from October to April, is cool and pleasant, particularly in November, December, and January. During the remainder of the year (the period of the south-west monsoon), hot sandy winds, known as *Shamāl* (north), prevail within the crater, but on the western or Steamer Point side the breezes come directly off the sea and are fairly cool. The rainfall may be said to vary from ¼ inch to 8½ inches, with an irregular average of about 3 inches; the irregularity and smallness of the yearly rainfall is borne out by the fact that the tanks, since their restoration in 1856, have only been filled six times—in May 1866 and 1870, and September 1877, 1889, 1893, and 1897. The 164 Settlement is exceptionally free from infectious diseases and epidemics. The absence of vegetation, the dryness of the soil, and the

A 165 731 1,000 live births in the 4 years 1945-48, and subsequently declined to 162 in 1949 and to 166 in 1950. As in the case of population death rates, the infant mortality statistics A [167] are exaggerated by the inclusion of immigrant deaths.

A 165 Figures for the 5 years 1946-50 indicate that deaths among children under 5 years of age accounted for 34 to 38 per cent of the total deaths. The stillbirth rate varied from 54 to 73 per 1,000 births; the maternal mortality rate, from 4 to 7 per 1,000 live births and stillbirths.

H 165 Few statistical studies have been made in the Aden protectorates. The total death and infant mortality rates are believed to be generally higher than those of the Colony, but in the absence of authentic records, inadequate data are available for measuring the actual health status of the people. Evidence obtained from the interrogation of 76 women, from 15 to 45 years of age, in Western Aden Protectorate in 1939-40[20] suggests an average infant mortality of 245 per 1,000 live births, varying from 80 to over 500 in different localities. Infancy was not accurately defined, however, and any baby breast-fed and unable to walk was classified as an infant. The mortality among children H under 5 years of age was 25 to 100 per cent 165 greater in most areas. Malnutrition and 146 ignorance of the fundamental principles of 854 child care are important factors contributing to the high mortality in infancy and early childhood in both the Colony and the Protectorate.

## Social Economy

A 433 489 The economy of the Colony is based almost entirely upon shipping and trade. Not only is Aden a prominent fueling station for ocean and coastwise vessels, but it derives considerable wealth from the transshipment of goods to and from Yemen and adjacent territories, usually by means of A dhows and camel caravans. The production 439 of salt in evaporation beds along the coast 317 surrounding Aden harbor is the only export A industry. Numerous small plants have been 441

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

A 164 reported from the Colony of Aden since 1929. A few cases are treated almost every A 758 year in the Colony hospitals, but, with rare 167 exceptions, they have occurred among im- 751 migrant families or among persons arriving from other ports. Vaccination against smallpox is compulsory for all residents of the A 751 Colony. In addition, intensive revaccination campaigns are undertaken by the health authorities whenever cases are discovered, or when outbreaks are reported from adjacent areas, as at the time of the epidemic in Mukalla in 1949. Although visitors to the Colony are required to possess valid certificates of vaccination, enforcement is sometimes difficult because of the large numbers of dhows and other small vessels which ply between Aden and Indian or African ports. Vaccination posts are established along the land frontiers on caravan routes from Yemen and Western Aden Protectorate, at which immigrants are examined, and, if necessary, vaccinated.

A H **Other Infections.** Pneumonia is wide- 164 spread, ranking among the leading causes 167 of death in both the Colony and the Pro- 165 tectorate. The fatality rate among the immigrant community in the Colony is unusually high, since many of the individuals who flock to the port in search of work or medical attention arrive in a debilitated condition. Sporadic cases of diphtheria are reported each year from the Colony. Chickenpox, measles, mumps and poliomyelitis are endemic. Localized outbreaks of meningococcus meningitis are recorded occasionally.

### Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Contact

A 164 **Venereal Diseases.** All forms of venereal diseases are observed among the civilian populations in Aden Colony. Syphilis and gonorrhea are reportable, but the statistics probably fail to give a true picture of the relative frequency of the different venereal infections. In 1948 and 1949, following the inauguration of a campaign for better re-

p. 248(A)

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar MM2



## Trade and Occupations.

In the Appendix to this note will be found statistics in regard to the trade between Zanzibar and Aden during the years 1932-4. No separate record is kept in respect of the merchandise with which these notes are mainly concerned (i.e., merchandise transported by Hadhramis themselves in dhows), but the following table furnished by the Comptroller of Customs gives a very rough estimate :— H 439

| *Imports.* | Per cent. | *Exports.* | Per cent. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fish, dried ... ... | 90 | Clove and clove stems ... | 20 |
| Ghee ... ... ... | 100 | Coconuts ... ... | 100 |
| Salt ... ... ... | 75 | Simsim (re-export) ... | 95 |
| Tobacco, native ... | 50 | Coconut oil ... ... | 100 |
| Cotton manufactures ... | 60 | Iron and Steel manufactures ... ... | 100 |
| Medicines ... ... | 100 | | |
| Sugar ... ... ... | 100 | | |
| Colour materials ... | 100 | | |

As, however, it is understood that most of the dhows plying between Zanzibar and the Hadhramaut enter and leave the ports of Mukalla, Seihut and Shihr (imports and exports in respect of which are presumably included under the separate and general head "Arabia") without touching the port of Aden, the foregoing information can be of little value.

It may be said generally, however, that the non-settled elements of the Hadhrami population, who move backwards and forwards between their homes and the Protectorate for the purpose of trading, bring with them, when they arrive in the north-east monsoon, such articles as clothes (loin cloths, etc.), honey, henna, dried fish, salt, ghee, livestock, dates and shark oil (sifa), some of which are obtained en route on the Somaliland coast. A number of the visitors, having disposed of their goods, return to the Hadhramaut a few months later in the south-west monsoon taking with them locally grown millet; others, finding employment, stay on for two or three years or more until they have accumulated sufficient money—two or three hundred rupees or so—to return to their homes. H 166 438

The latest Zanzibar Census (1931) does not include statistics in regard to the occupation of the people, but the directions in which the Hadhramis find employment are indicated in the 1924 Census, relevant extracts from which are contained in the Appendix to this note. It will be observed that the commonest occupations were the following, in the order mentioned : General traders, labourers, water carriers, private servants (no occupation), other occupations, Government employees, fishermen, and gold and silversmiths. Included in the list are of course the Hadhrami coolies, stevedores, H 167 463 Z 463

by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen. 178 185

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread. [369 182] 185

The surprising modern developments in the Kathīri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increasingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres. The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of good will and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut appears to be changing almost despite itself. 185 177 648 [167] 178 185 182

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathīri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of Qu'aiti and Kathīri rule in their respective countries. I could not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti 000

567 I never heard a suggestion ~~from masters~~ or slaves that they were anything but exceedingly well treated. They include principally the *Nizam*, the most trusted part of the forces of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri, and receive very exceptional treatment compared with other servants of the State. They can rise to the highest positions, and the present Governor of the Shibam province is a slave. I also met a slave Governor of the town of Hajarein in the Du'an province, and I believe there are others. The town magistrate of Mukalla is also a slave. The young slaves belonging to the Mukalla Government are given especial care and training, and are formed into companies of cadets. They gave us a very creditable drill display in Mukalla.

It is possible that there may be a very occasional case of slave trading, and some women may have been introduced in recent years to the main valley, but this is not done with the approval or cognizance of the Mukalla Government.

### SUBIANS.

565 The Subians form definitely the lowest class of the population.
162 Some of them are agricultural labourers receiving wages or paid in kind, and there are settlements of them outside coastal towns like
463 Mukalla and Shihr. When they are settled next door to a town they do the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and perform such sanitary services as are carried out by sweepers in other eastern countries.

565 I was informed that the word "*Subian*" comes from "*Sabi*",
173 a boy. In the Hadhramaut they originate from the Wadi Hajr, and for this reason in the western part of the Protectorate are known as Hajris. They are said to be the descendants of the Abyssinian invaders of the third to sixth centuries A.D., and to have been reduced to their present lowly estate after the Abyssinians had been routed by the Persians on the intervention of Seif bin Dhi Yazan. This is the tale told in the Hadhramaut, and d'Arnaud recounts a similar story as the origin of the Khadims of Yemen
[628] and Aden. Neither slaves nor Subians can be the subjects of blood feuds.

### Immigration.

● 167 Apart from these classes of the population, there are a number of immigrants settled, or partially settled, in the country. There are 300 British Indians in Mukalla and Shihr, and a few British Somalis. There are also some Italian Somalis. The total number of Somalis in the country is said to be about 1,200, of whom 1,000 reside in Mukalla. Owing to extensive migration to the East Indies,
[144] which will be further described later in the report, there has been a considerable infiltration of Malayan blood, and very East Indian types of countenances are to be observed in some of the up-country towns. The type is not uncommon in Tarim and Seiyun, but I found it very marked in the towns of Badra and Haura.

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes :—

" The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

" Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

" Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

## Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [258 582] [20]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



al Bakri, known as a section of the Āl Dhubi in the Hadhramaut, is 619
in Upper Yafa' a sub-section of the Hadhrami section of that tribe. 101
The *Mansabs* of the Āl Qu'ata are Muhsin bin Ahmed and Haddar 631
bin Ahmed al Haddar. [629]

## CHAPTER XX.

### OTHER DISTRICTS UNDER QU'AITI INFLUENCE.

In a written description of the provinces of the Qu'aiti state the 631
Qu'aiti authorities included the tribesmen and villages of Wadi 'Amd as depending on Mukalla. The Wadi 'Amd, however, is far away from Mukalla province, and I have thought it better to mention it separately. Although this territory may not be definitely part of the Qu'aiti domains, it is certainly more under Qu'aiti influence than that of any other Protectorate ruler. Hureidha, which is the headquarters of the Al 'Attas family, is the principal [162 town of the Wadi 'Amd. It is estimated to have about 2,000 167] inhabitants, and from 300 to 400 men are said to have left it in the last 20 years to seek wealth in Java. There are eight mosques in the town, and it is a place of religious teaching.

The following is a description of the Āl Ja'da, Āl Ma'di and 631
Ad Dohm tribes of Wadi 'Amd : 619
101

AL JA'DA.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Salima ... | | Seila, Jidfera, Kora, and Raham in Wadi 'Amd are the important villages of this clan. | 500 |
| Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed. | Āl Bin Murda<br>Āl Bin Halābi<br>Āl Bin Homeid<br>Bin Mubarek<br>Bin Hubeish | Habab, Āl 'Ardh, Na'ir, and Rabb in Wadi 'Amd are their important villages. | 400 |
| Āl Bin Heilabi<br>Āl Bin Suqeir<br>Āl Tahir bin Rajih | Āl Bin Shemlan<br>Bin Namara<br>Bin Lizam<br>Bin ash Sheiba<br>Bin al Khashr | | |
| | | | 900 |

The Ja'da tribe, who claim descent from the Beni Hilāl, are nearly all Beduins occupying the central and lower sections of the Wadi 'Amd. They are under the influence of the Qu'aiti who has a "B" agreement with them. The foremost section is the Āl Bin Shemlan whose leader is recognised as the head of the whole tribe. The Āl Tahir bin Rajih are a small clan of the Yafa'is sometimes known as Kharba, but they are settled in Wadi 'Amd

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 619 631 101 Bin Yamāni and their slaves ... | — | Qasm | 50 | 'Ali bin Ahmed bin Imani. |
| Āl Sa'id, Bin 'Uthmān, and Āl Dahnān. | — | Al Khōn | 50 | 'Umar bin 'Awadh bin Sa'id. |
| Āl Qafla, Āl Barakeiz, Āl Heithwa, and Āl Nubeid. | — | As Sōm | 50 | Kharīf |
| Āl as Sa'd ... ... ... | — | 'Asum | 45 | 'Isa |
| Samāh al 'Usba ... ... | — | Al 'Usba | 15 | 'Aidha bin 'Atūfa. |
| Beit Bal Hateish ... ... | — | Fughma | 35 | — |
| Āl Bin Kōb ... ... ... | — | Sha'b Hud | 15 | 'Awadh bin al 'Ahīdi. |
| Bin Marsaf ... ... ... | Al Fahd | — | 120 | — |
| Ash Sheiban ... ... ... | 5 sections | — | — | — |
| | | | 847 | |

The Tamimi are a part nomad, part settled tribe, living in the main wadi from the neighbourhood of Tarim to beyond Qasm. They have been allied to the Qu'aiti, with whom they have an "A" agreement, for a long time, and have had a long-standing feud with the 'Awāmir and Kathīris which was terminated by the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The Kathīri Sultans have no jurisdiction over them but it is said that the Tamimis are allied to them for purposes [628] of defence. Disputes between the Tarim Government and the Tamimis are settled by negotiation or Qu'aiti interference.

● 167 311 369 438 The Tamimis emigrate to Java and the East African Coast, but they are a poor tribe. They grow wheat, lucern, vegetables, jowari, and other crops, on well irrigation. A large amount of land in the Tamimi territory is the property of the rich townsmen of Tarim and Dammūn which the Bin Silma cultivate, and they are generally safe and honest. At harvest time, however, Beduins come from across the northern hills, which are quite close to the cultivation here, settle in the groves, and do a certain amount of damage. Like most wadi dwellers from Tarim eastwards the Tamimis obtain their supplies from Shihr rather than Seihut, though Seihut sends regular caravans as far as 'Einat.

619 631 101 The Bin Qasīr clan is sometimes considered as divided into four sections, the Āl Kibl, Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar, Bin Dahdūh, and Beit Bal Hateish. The Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed clan is sometimes called a section of the Ash Sheiban clan; the latter is said to be divided into five sections. The Bin Silma is said to be the strongest clan and is stated to have four sections.

619 622 The *mansabs* of the Tamimi are 'Umar bin Zein Āl 'Abdulla bin Ash Sheikh for the Āl Yamāni, Hasan bin 'Alawi al 'Aqīl, Ahmed bin 'Aqīl, Āl Matahar, Tahir bin Bubekr Āl Tahir for the Balheij, and 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shibab for the Bin Silma.

[See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



631
619
101

### Āl Jabir.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Hāj or Āl Sāh. | Āl 'Āmr | As Seiqa | 150 | Mubarek bin Muhammad, Sa'id bin Salih Qahtan, and Yamāni bin 'Umar. |
| | Āl Yamāni | Rasib | 350 | |
| | Āl Ahmed āl Hāj | Sakrān | 130 | |
| | Balgheirān | do. | 20 | |
| | Bin 'Abūdān | 'Adam | 20 | |
| | Bin 'Umar bin Sādiq. | Bāyūt | 10 | |
| Āl 'Aun | Āl Ridhwān | Husn bin Dhobān | 35 | Salih 'Umar. |
| | Āl 'Umeish | do. | 35 | |
| | Bin Hijār | An Ni'r | 6 | |
| | Bin Sultan and Bin Sa'dut. | Adh Dhieiqa and An Ni'r. | 30 | |
| Āl Hasan | Bin Bedr | Wadi Bin 'Ali | 100 | Salim bin 'Ali bin Bedr. |
| | Bin Sa'id bin 'Āmr | do. | 100 | |
| | Bin Mar'i bin' Āmr | do. | 50 | |
| | Bin Jābir bin 'Āmr | do. | 50 | |
| | Ballesqa' | do. | 30 | |
| | Bin 'Abūdān | do. | 25 | |
| | Bin Ja'fer bin 'Āmr | | | |
| Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar. | Bin 'Ali bin 'Umar | Sāh, Gheil bin Yomein. | 50 | |
| | Āl Muteihim | Hikma | 15 | |
| | Al 'Afār | Wadi Shahūh | 50 | |
| | | | 1,256 | |

[731
167]

The Jābiris in the Wadi Bin 'Ali are mostly agriculturists. They obtain their supplies from Shihr. Some members of the tribe have connections in Java and Singapore, but the tribe as a whole is very poor, and owing to famine and distress many of the members, men and women, have emigrated to the African coast in search of a livelihood. The total number of the tribe has been variously estimated from 800 to over 1,000.

The sections of the Āl Hāj clan have been stated to be sections of the Āl Sāh clan which was referred to in Chapter XX. With the exception of a very few of the Āl Yamāni section who are nomads, the whole clan are settled. The Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar clan are entirely nomadic and ply their camels for hire. Seiyid Al Hasm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus has influence over the Jābir.

Besides the Kathīri and Jābiri settlements in Wadi Bin 'Ali there are a few houses of independent tribes called Āl Seif and Beni Sa'd, who do not consider themselves as in any way allied or subordinate to the Kathīri Sultans of Seiyun.

### Al Bajri.

| Clan. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Quseiyer | 'Ardh Būr | 100 | Sa'id bin Qutāmī and Salih bin Muhammad. |
| Āl Ahmed bin 'Ali Bin 'Awadh bin 'Abūd Bin Rattas | do. | 70 | |
| | | 170 | |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The Bājrī live on the left bank of the main wadi at a distance of about ten miles north-east of Seiyun. They are surrounded by the tribes of Āl Kathīr and 'Awāmir. It is not universally admitted that the Bājrī are a true Shanfari tribe, but they nevertheless recognize the Sultan of Seiyun as their chief. There is a story that the Bājrī are the original inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, but that in course of time they became absorbed by stronger immigrant tribes. They are all agriculturists but their cultivation being on the left bank is very poor. 631 619 101

The *Mansabs* of the Āl Quseiyer are 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and Qadir adh Dhibab. Hussein bin 'Aidarus Āl Salīla also has influence over the tribe. [692]

## CHAPTER XXIII

## EMIGRATION: COLONIES OF HADHRAMIS ABROAD

There are probably few countries in the world where a larger proportion of the population lives abroad than the Hadhramaut. Between 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. of the estimated population of the Hadhramaut lives in the East Indies, East Africa, or Egypt and the countries bordering the Red Sea. 167

A great number of these emigrants do not proceed abroad for good, but expect to return when they have made their fortunes and die in their native land. Fortune with them is a relative term, for while some of them amass amounts that would not be despised in America the ambition of others is far more modest, and many run only to a few hundred or a few thousand Maria Theresa dollars. [556]

Apart from the 90,000 to 100,000 Hadhramis now living abroad there are a very large number in the country itself who have been abroad, and I have already commented on the fact that Malay and Swahili have really become naturalized languages in the country. [191]

It is not only of recent years that the Hadhramis have learnt the habit of leaving their native homes to seek their fortunes abroad. As Schoff points out, we learn from the *Periplus* that since the earliest time they have had a view beyond their own borders. Then as now, he says, "the outlook of Hadhramaut was towards India by sea and towards Egypt by land. Bent found the same conditions: the capital full of Parsee merchants, the natives going to India, the Straits and Java, and returning when they had amassed a competence; the English protectorate accepted because of England's domination of India, in the face of the religious convictions of rulers and people (*Geographical Journal*, IV, 322). Maltzan described the Hadhrami traders in Cairo as the keenest of the lot, and spoke of their activities in the East; while the Dutch Government, finding the islands of Java and Sumatra overrun with Hadhramaut Arabs, stimulated inquiries of them in Batavia."

167 At this time, too, they had their connection with the East African coast for the *Periplus* says that it was governed "under some ancient right that subjects it to the sovereignty of the state that is become first in Arabia."[1]

Even in the Arabian Nights do we find reference to this emigration of the Hadhramis. As will be seen the Hadhramis almost universally maintain a connection with and an affection for their native land so that it will be of interest to give the following quotation:

"In time he reached Lahej where he found a ship ready to sail for India; so he shipped on board and made Calicut of Malabar. Here he met with many Arabs, especially Hazramis, who recommended him to the King; and this King (who was a Kafir) trusted him and advanced him to the captainship of his bodyguard. He remained ten years in all solace and delight of life; at the end of which time he was seized with home-sickness; and the longing to behold his native land was that of a lover pining for his beloved; and he came near to die of yearning desire. But his appointed day had not dawned; so, after taking the first bath of health, he left the King without leave, and in due course landed at Makalla of Hazramaut." (Burton, Vol. V, p. 136.)

Commenting on the passage Burton relates the story of a man who, flying from "Hazrami" society, reached the uttermost parts of China where he thought himself safe, but as he was about to pass the night in some ruin he heard a voice hard by him exclaim, "Oh 'Imad ad Din,"[2] the name of the patron saint of Hazramaut. "Thereupon he arose and fled and he is, they say, flying still."

The emigration of Hadhramis to foreign parts is therefore no new phenomenon, but its long continuance and the steady expansion of the Hadhrami communities in other countries, to which probably the brake applied by the recent depression is only temporary, is not without significance in considering the future of the country. Not only is it probably responsible for the more open and receptive atmosphere in the Hadhramaut but it is also probable that it has a considerable bearing on the growing desire in the country for peace and good government.

[483] There is a further point. Although the Hadhramaut could no doubt produce more under proper guidance the resources of the soil can never make it wealthy, and the item of invisible exports to the extent of £630,000 annually represented by remittances of money into the country is not to be neglected.

114 The first systematic attempt to examine the position of Hadhramaut colonies abroad was made by Professor Van den Berg in his noteworthy study on the Hadhramaut and the Arab colonies

[1] Stigand says (*Land of Zinj*) that the Arabs call Pate, Bata and derive the word from a tribe named Batawe which left Hadhramaut and settled in Pate.

[2] Probably 'Amud ad Din *vide* Chapter XVII.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



n the Indian Archipelago, published in 1886. In this work, which in Part 1 contains a remarkably full account of the country and the people by one who had never set foot in it but had learnt more about it than anyone who had, the author examined in great detail the Arab colonies in the East Indies. He comments on the fact that when an Arab established in the Indian Archipelago sees that one alone no longer suffices for his business, he engages in preference a young man of his family or of his tribe. This is the reason why in all the Arab colonies the majority of the immigrants are from the same part of the Hadhramaut. Thus he says the greater number of Arabs in the Indian Archipelago originally hail from the main wadi between Shibam and Tarim. The inhabitants of the Wadi Du'an prefer to go to the colonies in Aden, Jedda, Suakin, or Cairo. The people of the coast choose British India, above all the coast of Malabar and Hyderabad. The Beduins, he says, rarely leave their country. 114 167 472

The situation is much the same to-day. As regards the East Indies the majority of the emigrants to Java are from the Āl Kathīr, though the inhabitants of Tarim and Wadi Hajarein (particularly the towns of Badra and Haura), and the tribes of Nahd and Ja'da are also represented. The Singapore community originates principally from the towns of Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, and the Nahd tribesmen. Turning to East Africa the majority of the immigrants are from the Tamimi tribe, the Bā Haidera, and the tribes of Hajr. Zanzibar has a close connection with the ancient town of Shihr, and for this reason Hadhramis in the Protectorate are almost universally referred to as Shihiris. The Red Sea contingent is recruited mainly from the Wadi Du'an, and Du'anis are found in Egypt, Jedda, Abyssinia, and the Sudan. There are also a few from the Wadi Hajr in Jedda and from Shibam and the Nahd in Abyssinia and Sudan. 167

Although the general tendency is for the Hadhramaut colonies abroad to be recruited from particular places in the home country it will be observed that there is some overlapping, and this is due to the great extension of emigration and to the fact that there is nowadays more movement in the interior of the Hadhramaut. The Nahd tribesmen, notably, have many of them become almost townsmen, and living largely in the main wadi are in frequent touch with different parts of it.

There is yet another important contingent of Hadhramis abroad to be mentioned and this consists of those in the service of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Qu'aiti authorities informed me that this contingent amounts to 5,000 or 6,000 in number, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are Yafa'is, mostly with Hadhramaut connections. There are also many Hadhramaut tribes represented such as the Nūwah, the Ja'da, and even the Sei'ar. The command of the Nizam's bodyguard is held by the Sultan of Mukalla as hereditary Jemadar. This does not exhaust the list

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



167 of Hadhrami colonies abroad, though it includes the most important. Hadhramis are almost ubiquitous in the near east and in the south-western parts of the Indian Ocean. I know of some in Madagascar and in the Comoro Islands.

While the general tendency of recruitment of the Hadhramaut colonies abroad is as above stated, it is not to be taken that these colonies are recruited exclusively in the manner indicated. Thus I know of Sei'ars who have been to East Africa, and I know of Kathīris who have been to both East Africa and Java. Years ago I had a boy from the town of Tarim in my service in Zanzibar. We found occasional Swahili-speaking people all over our route. The fact that in the Manahil and Mahra parts of the main wadi I met men who had been in East Africa is perhaps due to the fact that the former of these people are neighbours of the Tamimi, and that the latter are continually travelling down the wadi to Seihut. The connection of Seihut and Qishn with East Africa which I also observed seems to be purely from a seafaring point of view. Further east in Murbat in the Dhufar Province of Oman the connection with East Africa is historical and the Swahili I heard spoken was spoken by Swahili slaves. There were also examples of this in the Hadhramaut.

Another change to be noticed from the time of Van den Berg's report is that the Beduins have to some extent taken to emigration. In this respect the case of the Sei'ars is considered remarkable even by the people in the country. Living well off the beaten tracks away to the north of the main wadi, and separated from the sea by miles of country inhabited by people to whom the word Sei'ar is anathema, I think it indeed does call for comment that these people are now not only going down to the sea in ships as passengers but as sailors.

000 It will be of interest now if we consider the life and activities of the Hadhramis in their adopted countries. With a view to obtaining up-to-date information on this point enquiries were addressed to the Governments of the various countries concerned as to the numbers of Hadhramis resident in the territories under their administration, whether they were increasing or decreasing, their occupation, their trade with the Hadhramaut, whether they coalesced with other members of the community, and generally the part they played in the life of their adopted countries. An enquiry was also made as to what proportion of them permanently severed their connection with the Hadhramaut.

The thanks of the Residency have been addressed to the Governments of the Straits Settlements, the Sudan, Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and to His Majesty's High Commissioner for Egypt and H.M's. Consul General at Batavia, for the interesting reports they have forwarded. I am also indebted to Captain B. W. Seager, Frontier Officer of the Aden Protectorate and formerly pro-Consul at Jedda, for information regarding the Hadhramis in the Hejaz.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar MM2



## Trade and Occupations.

In the Appendix to this note will be found statistics in regard to the trade between Zanzibar and Aden during the years 1932-4. No separate record is kept in respect of the merchandise with which these notes are mainly concerned (i.e., merchandise transported by Hadhramis themselves in dhows), but the following table furnished by the Comptroller of Customs gives a very rough estimate :— H 434

| *Imports.* | Per cent. | *Exports.* | Per cent. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fish, dried ... ... | 90 | Clove and clove stems ... | 20 |
| Ghee ... ... ... | 100 | Coconuts ... ... | 100 |
| Salt ... ... ... | 75 | Simsim (re-export) ... | 95 |
| Tobacco, native ... | 50 | Coconut oil ... ... | 100 |
| Cotton manufactures ... | 60 | Iron and Steel manufactures ... ... | 100 |
| Medicines ... ... | 100 | | |
| Sugar ... ... ... | 100 | | |
| Colour materials ... | 100 | | |

As, however, it is understood that most of the dhows plying between Zanzibar and the Hadhramaut enter and leave the ports of Mukalla, Seihut and Shihr (imports and exports in respect of which are presumably included under the separate and general head "Arabia") without touching the port of Aden, the foregoing information can be of little value.

It may be said generally, however, that the non-settled elements of the Hadhrami population, who move backwards and forwards between their homes and the Protectorate for the purpose of trading, bring with them, when they arrive in the north-east monsoon, such articles as clothes (loin cloths, etc.), honey, henna, dried fish, salt, ghee, livestock, dates and shark oil (sifa), some of which are obtained en route on the Somaliland coast. A number of the visitors, having disposed of their goods, return to the Hadhramaut a few months later in the south-west monsoon taking with them locally grown millet; others, finding employment, stay on for two or three years or more until they have accumulated sufficient money—two or three hundred rupees or so—to return to their homes. H 166 438

The latest Zanzibar Census (1931) does not include statistics in regard to the occupation of the people, but the directions in which the Hadhramis find employment are indicated in the 1924 Census, relevant extracts from which are contained in the Appendix to this note. It will be observed that the commonest occupations were the following, in the order mentioned: General traders, labourers, water carriers, private servants (no occupation), other occupations, Government employees, fishermen, and gold and silversmiths. Included in the list are of course the Hadhrami coolies, stevedores, H 167 463 Z 463

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



H 167 463 Z 463

coffee-shop and small store keepers, and itinerant coffee vendors who are so much in evidence, while particular mention should also be made of the shark and dried fish dealers, the dealers in baskets (*vikapo*) and mats (*majamvi* and *makanda*), and those engaged in the meat trade between Zanzibar and the African mainland ports (especially Kismayu, Lamu and Dar-es-Salaam), in all of which occupations the Hadhramis have almost a monopoly. It is of interest to notice here that the meat trade was almost exclusively in the hands of the Hadhramis as long ago as 1876 (Christie). Fishing and hawking are practised by the Shihiris alone, while basket and mat making is confined to the up-country natives. Fitzgerald writing in 1898 (*Travels in B.E.A., Zanzibar and Pemba*), states that the making of mats (*makanda*), which were used for the exporting of grain, was confined to the Shihiris and the Gunias (Bajunis).

Although, formerly, the Hadhramis owned many clove and coconut plantations and much house property in the Town of Zanzibar, they now have little property of either kind. It is probable that much of it has passed into the hands of Indians.

## Political and Social.

Z 162 579 563 H 167 579

Absorbed in trade and the accumulation of money, the members of the Hadhrami community are comparatively indifferent to politics and are therefore not important factors in the political life of the Protectorate. Although hot-tempered by nature, they are as a rule law-abiding and loyal, giving little trouble to Government and seldom appearing in the Courts. During the years 1923 to 1928, however, a series of affrays occurred in most, if not all, of which the Hadhramis are known to have been the aggressors. The victims of their attacks were successively the Baluchis, the Khoja and Hindu Indians, and the Muscat and Suri Arabs. The last and most serious disturbance occurred in 1928 when fighting between the Hadhramis and the Omani Arabs continued intermittently for four days during the course of which four persons were killed and some 30 wounded. Nasir bin 'Abdulla al Kathīri,[1] the chief ringleader, and others were subsequently deported. There has been no further trouble.

In 1926 a split occurred in the community, the majority following Nasir bin 'Abdulla (Hadhrami, see above) and the minority Sa'id 'Abūd al Humeid (Shihiri). The rival factions were only prevented from coming to blows by the intervention of the Sultan.

[1] Nasir 'Abdulla is an example of a Hadhrami who emigrates to more than one of the people's favourite hunting grounds abroad. After he and his deported companions had appealed, with the support of His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan, but unsuccessfully, against their removal from Zanzibar he migrated to Java, whither migrating Kathiris mostly direct their steps, and returned to Mukalla in December, 1934. He has now gone back to his tribe.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB1
Arabs



# CHAPTER XXIV.

## HADHRAMIS IN THE EAST INDIES.

*Netherlands East Indies.*—From the point of view of numbers and wealth the colonies of Hadhramis in the East Indies easily come first, and for this reason I am particularly grateful for the detailed report forwarded through the Acting Consul General by Dr. L. de Vries, Deputy Adviser for Native Affairs to the Government of the Netherlands East Indies.

H 167 I 162 167

Dr. Vries has given so fully the history of the growth of these settlements that it is hardly necessary for me to refer back to Professor Van den Berg's book, and for this reason I do no more than give the statistics of Professor Van den Berg which show the distribution of the sexes.

| Colony. | Arabs born in Arabia. | | Arabs born in East Indies. | | | Total in 1885. | Total in 1870. | Total in 1859. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men. | Children. | Men. | Women. | Children. | | | |
| Java and Madura | 1,852 | 66 | 2,092 | 2,384 | 4,494 | 10,888 | 7,495 | 4,992 |
| Sumatra ... | 573 | 17 | 2,311 | 2,567 | 4,145 | 9,613 | 4,917 | 2,776 |

The Sumatra figures were not exhaustive and in addition it was estimated that there were perhaps another 220 in places from which figures had not been received.

I now give Dr. de Vries' report in full.

" 1. *Total, increasing or decreasing.*—The Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies, almost without exception come from the Hadhramaut so that the following particulars, principally referring to Arabs in general may be held to apply to the Arabs, resident here, coming from the Hadhramaut.

The oldest Arab settlements in the Netherlands-Indies were established two and a-half centuries ago in Sumatra (Siak) and in Borneo (Pontianak); the settlements in Palembang, Java and Madoera date from a later period. Raffles reports in his " History of Java " the existence of an Arab colony in the town of Grisee, where to this day they form an important group of the population. Full figures of the number of Arabs at that time are, however, not known; they could not have been numerous. The oldest complete figures are recorded by the Government Census in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1860 there were nearly 9,000 Arabs counted in the Netherlands-Indies and after a great increase in 1900 there were three times as many. Since 1900 the increase is still greater; the average yearly increase during the period 1920-30 was 4·7 per cent against scarcely 3 per cent. between 1905-20 and 2·7 per cent. in the preceding period between the Government's census.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB 2
Arabs



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*Total of Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies.*

| *Year.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|
| 1860 | 8,909 |
| 1880 | 16,025 |
| 1885 | 17,250 |
| 1890 | 21,640 |
| 1895 | 24,410 |
| 1900 | 27,399 |
| 1905 | 29,588 |
| 1920 | 44,902 |
| 1930 | 71,335 |

This accelerated increase in the last ten years cannot be accounted for by an equally great increase in the total of immigrants. The annual total number of immigrants was indeed higher in these years than in the preceding period but the total number of new-comers to the country in the period 1921-30, 7,000 in all, does not weigh much against the total increase of about 26,000 souls, because a number of these new-comers are eliminated either by death or departure.

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The chief cause of this accelerated increase must be sought in the rising birth-rate for the children of immigrants who have nearly all established themselves for good and founded families here.

This may be seen by studying the life figures of the whole population group of Other Foreign Orientals which group undoubtedly reflects, in its main lines, the figures for the Arab community.

*Total of Arabs with their families permitted to enter the Netherlands-Indies.*

1900–1933.

| *Period.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|
| 1900–1903 | 1,367 |
| 1904–1907 | 1,958 |
| 1908–1911 | 1,793 |
| 1912–1915 | 2,186 |
| 1916–1919 | 1,066 |
| 1920–1923 | 2,612 |
| 1924–1927 | 2,377 |
| 1928–1931 | 2,882 |

| *Year.* | |
|---|---|
| 1921 | 538 |
| 1922 | 701 |
| 1923 | 654 |
| 1924 | 444 |
| 1925 | 490 |
| 1926 | 567 |
| 1927 | 876 |
| 1928 | 895 |
| 1929 | 1,036 |
| 1930 | 485 |
| 1931 | 466 |
| 1932 | 287 |
| 1933 | 231 |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB1
Arabs



This is not merely a phenomenon of recent times; formerly also Arab immigrants for the most part settled for good in the Netherlands-Indies. Thus there are now many Arab families who have lived in the Netherlands-Indies for generations and have proportionately become more numerous. In this " nucleus " group and amongst the children of new-comers' families there is a natural equality of men and women. These groups are so large that the entire Arab community, " nucleus " immigrants' children together with the almost solely male immigrants, has a lesser shortage of women than the other non-indigenous population groups in the Netherlands-Indies, and this has also been the case in former years. Among the European population the excess of males over females was only reduced in 1930 by the recently increased immigration of European women. I [163]

The gradually rising birth-rate for immigrants' children and for children of Arabs themselves born here, has produced a very large group of minors who will, in due course, when they become adult, greatly exceed the present numbers of middle-aged adults. An increase in the procreative capacity of the Arab population group is therefore to be expected and thus also, after some time, a corresponding increase in the Arab population group.

2. *Occupations.*—The Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies come almost without exception from the Hadhramaut. The principal means of subsistence of most Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies is trade, in various forms, and principally trading in batiks and sarongs. Pekalongan and Sole are the centres of their batik trade. Some, like the Chinese, do business in haberdashery in Middle and East Java. Like the Chinese they also form a link between the European retailer and the native. They try to hawk various goods for large profits amongst the native population. This, however, is usually very risky for them. They deliver goods generally to the less substantial buyers on easy payment terms. Bankruptcies occur often among the Arabs. Then their insolvent estates must be saved by the College for the Administration of Intestate Estates (Wees- and Boedelkamer). Many Arabs are money-lenders either openly or in a disguised form. The coastal trade with sailing ships was formerly largely in Arab hands; but this now means little to them. Agriculture, handicrafts and occupations for which a certain education is essential, are only in exceptional cases carried out by them. There are also among the Arabs some wholesale merchants, landowners and estate-owners; the latter own extensive landed property and tea estates. H 167 437 I 563 441 426 423

3. *Trade with the Hadhramaut.*—So far as we know there are, generally speaking, no trade relations between the Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies and the Hadhramaut. The only close contact with the Hadhramaut is through their families there; they regularly send money and other necessities for their maintenance. H 439 457 I 439

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB1
Arabs



H 563 582 871 I 563 658

4. *Coalescence with other members of the community in the Netherlands-Indies.*—The method of living and the language among Arab families in the Netherlands-Indies and particularly in the Netherlands-Indian Arabic families, are practically the same as among the Netherlands-Indian population of corresponding kind and position. In the Hadhramaut women do not travel abroad according to the customs of their country. Arabs who wish to found a family in the Netherlands-Indies are thus obliged to look for a wife among the native population, or among the daughters of their own country-men who have been born and brought up in the Netherlands-Indies. The more well-to-do aim at sending their sons to the Hadhramaut or to the private Arabic schools existing here to complete their education. This helps to keep up their knowledge of the Arabic language and Arabic customs. The sons of those who are less well-to-do for the most part receive no Arabic education, and thus know little of their own language and customs. The establishment by the Government of the H.A.S. (Holland-Arabic School) at Sole in recent years provides an opportunity for the Arabs to give their children also a Western education.

H 798 I 798 671

5. *The part they play in the life of their adopted country.*

The principal part played by the Arabs in this country in the life of the community is of a religious nature. The Hadhramis, once they have been established in the Netherlands-Indies, generally take care to moderate the fanaticism ruling their fatherland. But some of them have shown a keen proselytising spirit in their own localities. Above all the law scholars in the Arabic community have had a steadying and by no means inconsiderable influence on Islam in the Netherlands-Indies, through their teaching, their pupils and their widely distributed writings. These law scholars are consulted by their native colleagues in cases concerning Mohamedan law and several "fatwas" or expert judgments exist thanks to them.

H 167 641 186 I 641

6. *What proportion permanently sever their connections with the Hadhramaut.*

None of the Arabs in this country who have been born in the Hadhramaut completely sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. Many of them are so attached to the land of their birth that they have only one wish and that is to spend the last days of their lives in the Hadhramaut. Some of them who have grown rich here return from time to time to the Hadhramaut to visit members of their families and for a short change. Now and then one will leave the Netherlands-Indies to establish himself once more for good in the Hadhramaut. Lately a group of Netherlands-Indian Arabs have been trying to establish connections with the native populations. These Arabs desire to consider the Netherlands-Indies as their fatherland. They will also try to adapt their

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
[Straits Settlements] Indonesia - OB1
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manner of living to the necessities of this country. They consider the Hadhramaut only the land of their ancestors."

*Straits Settlements.*—As regards the Straits Settlements Van den Berg gives some statistics which will serve as a comparison with the present day state of affairs.

"In the English possessions on the peninsula of Malacca the first census of Arabs is that of 1874; the last which has been published by the Colonial Government is that of 1884.

| Province. | Men. | Women. | Children. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *1874.* | | | |
| Singapore ... ... ... | 189 | 111 | 165 | 465 |
| Malacca ... ... ... | 81 | 87 | 135 | 303 |
| Penang ... ... ... | 106 | 106 | 110 | 322 |
| Wellesley ... ... ... | 11 | 8 | 13 | 32 |
| Total ... ... | 387 | 312 | 423 | 1,122 |
| | *1884.* | | | |
| Singapore ... ... ... | 445[1] | 165 | 225 | 836 |
| Malacca ... ... ... | 70 | 71 | 86 | 227 |
| Penang ... ... ... | 163 | 158 | 200 | 521 |
| Wellesley ... ... ... | 21 | 14 | 18 | 53 |
| Total ... ... | 699 | 409 | 529 | 1,637 |

"The English statistics make no distinction between Arabs born in Arabia and those born in the Indian Archipelago.

"As for the Arab colonies in English possessions, the most ancient is that of Malacca. but it is decaying, like the town itself, since the foundation of Singapore in 1819. It consists at the present time almost entirely of half-castes, the majority of whom are poor. Those who had the means and energy left the town to settle at Singapore. There is found at present the most flourishing, though not the largest, Arab colony in all the Indian Archipelago. It is the point by which all Arabs pass who go to seek their fortunes in the extreme East. Also the number of new arrivals there increases each year. It is the same with the Arab colony of Poulou Penang, although much inferior to the preceding. In the English possessions the Arabs have no chiefs of their own nationality; they are placed under the direct orders of the European authorities."

He also gives the following information regarding the wealth of the Arab immigrants in Singapore. Those having an annual income of 600 to 3,600 florins were estimated at 90, from 3,600 to

[1] From information collected by myself in person, this figure is much too high. There are, at most, 200 adult Arabs actually settled at Singapore. I think it is possible to explain the figure of the official statistics: persons passing through Singapore on their way to Dutch possessions must have been entered in the registers.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
[Straits Settlements] Malaya AN1



H 12,000 at 50, and more than 12,000 at 15. To-day the estimated
●167 number of the community in Singapore is 580, made up as
M follows :—

| Born in Hadhramaut | | Born in Singapore. | | Children above 10 years |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. | say |
| 120 | 20 | 160 | 180 | 100 |

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The females born in Singapore are of mixed race with Arab,
M Malay, Javanese, Bugis, and Chinese blood. It may be presumed
[163] that this remark applies to some of the males born in Singapore and most of the children.

H The number of Hadhramaut Arabs in Singapore to-day is about
167 10 per cent. less than in 1925. This reduction is attributed chiefly
463 to the slump which caused some members of the community
M formerly resident in Singapore to move to neighbouring countries,
162 and principally Java. The Hadhramis in Singapore are principally occupied as

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1. House, land, and estate proprietors.
2. Kain Batik (cloth) dealers.
3. Miscellaneous professions including importers of merchandise from Arabia.
4. Brokers.
5. Religious teachers and *Imams*.

M The community for its size is the wealthiest in Singapore owing
563 to its large holdings in house, land, and estate property. Lee
H Warner (Geographical Journal, March 1931) says that "whole
167 streets in Singapore and Penang are owned by wealthy Hadhramis, mainly of the Kathiri tribes" The community, probably owing to the religious objection to interest, invests its profits in land and house property.

The 13 principal individuals or families represented in Singapore own property valued at 21,400,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to about £2,544,000. Out of this amount the wealth of one family is estimated alone at 10,000,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to nearly £1,170,000. Two other fortunes also run into millions of dollars.

M Trade with the Hadhramaut, or more accurately with Arabia, is
439 not carried on on a large scale. It is confined to: *Exports:* cloth (Kain Batik), sandalwood, incense, crockery, and brassware.
H *Imports:* ghee, honey, Arab incense, native medicines and herbs,
439 rosaries, and Arab coffee.

Regarding the part played by the Hadhramis in local affairs
M the information given is that the Hadhrami-born element does not
563 take much interest in local social life or politics, but confines itself
H to its own groups. These people are conservative, good business
186 men, respectable, dignified, and patriotic to their own country of origin and law-abiding to their country of adoption. They confine their interests to money making and religious exercises and maintain

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
[Straits Settlements] Malaya AN1
[Kenya] Kenya FL1


close relations with the Hadhramaut. One Hadhramaut-born Arab, Sheikh Salim bin Muhammad Bin Talib al Kathīri, is a Justice of the Peace. M 563 H 186

The younger generation of Singapore-born Hadhramis are said to take more interest in local social life than in business. They are more interested in merry making than in money making and do not possess much character nor love for their country of origin. Like the young Arabs in other countries they appear to have fallen victims to the easier side of modern influence, and have become Malayanised and not of much use either to the country of their origin or to that of their adoption. Amongst them of course are members of an older, pre-War generation, born in Singapore and like the old Hadhrami-born Arabs maintaining a proper loyalty to both countries. Two of these are Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Sheikh al Kaf and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Juneid al Juneid, both of whom are Justices of the Peace. M 563 178 H 186 178

## CHAPTER XXV.

## HADHRAMIS IN EAST AFRICA.

*Kenya Colony and Protectorate.*—The Kenya Non-Native Census Report for 1921 stated that Arab settlement in the country had gone on for centuries and that there was still a steady influx of Hadhramaut Arabs which was to be encouraged. "They are", says the report, "a virile, industrious, and thrifty race, and some authorities maintain that the regeneration of the coast is dependent on their efforts." Nine hundred and twenty Arabs, or 8·7 per cent. of the Arab population of Kenya, of whom 688 were males and 232 females, returned themselves as Hadhramis, but 1,347 other gave Arabia as birthplace. It was considered safe to assume that practically all of them were from the Hadhramaut or born in Kenya. As regards their occupation the Arabs showed themselves the most independent of any non-European race, for 67 per cent. of them were working on their own account. More than half the Arab males were traders and such women as were employed were classified Industrial. Many Hadhramis were employed on *hamali* transport and as water sellers. Commenting on this the report says the two trades beloved of the Shihiri Arabs still survive in spite of the competition of the motor lorry in the former case, and in the latter of the installation of a water supply. H 167 K 167 464

The District Commissioner of Mombasa states that there are today approximately 5,000 natives of Hadhramaut and Shihr in this district. There has been no change in their numbers during the past five or six years. Their principal occupations are water-carrying, coolie work, and petty trading. There is practically no trade with Hadhramaut. A number of them intermarry with other communities, and some families are permanently settled in the country. There was a time when they monopolised coolie work, but in very many cases they have been replaced by Africans. K 162 464 H 167

1:Ingra.. s G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Kenya FL 1
Tanganyika FN 1



H 167 It is a pity, he says, that for some years past almost all immigrants from Hadhramaut and Shihr have not been of the type that could be said to be of any economic value to the country. Many K 167 are professional beggars and almost all are of the type that only remain in the country to earn a few shillings and then return to their country.

H 167 457 K 167 Particularly undesirable temporary immigrants are the "Sheriffs."[1] These people visit the country once a year and besides collecting as much money as they can from their people, they are a positive danger inasmuch as they invariably foment discontent and ill-feeling between their own communities. Some settle down and live on others, doing no work themselves.

457 The families permanently settled here are loyal and law-abiding. They own property and keep their money in the country. There was a time when very good families used to immigrate to the country. The immigration of natives of Hadhramaut and Shihr dates back to the time when the Sultan of Zanzibar used to import them as soldiers guarding the Forts.

K 162 167 182 439 H 167 The District Commissioner of Lamu reports that the number of Hadhramis in the district is approximately 1,500. There does not appear to be any increase apart from the natural internal increase which is not very large. They find employment in most walks of life, particularly as cultivators and petty traders. They seem to be very hard working and ambitious and undertake most work with the object of eventually owning a small shop. They have no trade with the Hadhramaut. They coalesce readily with other members of the community and share the general life of the Arab population of Lamu. They are more recent arrivals in Lamu than the other Arabs but they exercise a definite influence on the community and are gradually becoming more and more prominent in the general life and institutions of Lamu. It is estimated that over 90 per cent. of them have permanently severed their connection with the Hadhramaut.

T 162 167 H 167 *Tanganyika Territory.*—There are said to be at present from 2,000 to 3,000 Hadhramis living in Tanganyika. They are scattered amongst the coastal towns of the Territory chiefly, and are mostly engaged in trade as small shopkeepers and sellers of dried fish, etc. A number of them intermarry with local Africans, but otherwise they do not coalesce with other members of the community.

186 H 167 186 So far as can be ascertained, only a very small proportion of them have permanently severed their connection with the Had-

[1] This probably refers to tithe collecting Seiyids as all the Prophet's descendants in the Hadhramaut are of the line of Hussein. It is interesting to note that they follow their flocks so far afield. I met a *mansab* of this nature in Seihut who had been to Mombasa.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 ~~Hadhramaut MM2~~
Zanzibar FM1



hramaut, and even though they may live in the Territory for many years, they visit their own country when possible and send their children there to school. H 167 186

*Zanzibar.*—Writing of his visit to Zanzibar in 1857 Burton (*Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast*, Vol. 1, p. 378) says, " the poorer Arabs who flock to Zanzibar during the season are Hazramis, and they work and live hard as the Hammals of Stamboul. These men club and mess together in gangs under an Akidah (head man), who supplies them with rice, ghi and scones, and who keeps the accounts so skilfully, that the labourer receives annually about $35, though he may gain four times that sum." Z 167 464 H 167 464

Speaking of the same period Colonel Rigby, His Britannic Majesty's Consul and Honourable Company's Agent, says in his report on Zanzibar for 1860, " a considerable number of Arabs from the Hadhramaut coast also come to labour as porters and carriers, they are a patient, industrious people, and most useful to the merchants in loading and unloading ships."

This was high praise from Rigby who was critical, and contrasts in a remarkable manner with his next statement about immigrants from Sur further along the coast. " The Arabs from the coast of Omān called ' Soorees ' are also numerous; they are a troublesome, turbulent, plundering race always ready for any mischief. They are filthy, squalid, ill featured savages and arrant cowards."

Major F. B. Pearce, a late British Resident at Zanzibar, wrote in 1919 that the Hadhramis formed an important section of the Arab population of Zanzibar. " In physical appearance, pursuits and mode of life they differ somewhat from the Oman Arab. The Mshihiri[1] is a thin, spare man of medium height, without an ounce of superflous flesh on his body. His face is long and thin and generally hairless; and those of them who have not resided sufficiently long in Zanzibar to become enervated by its softening climate and surroundings possess a marked glitter of the eye, indicative of hidden fires within, which might burst forth on little provocation. H 142 167 Z 167

" Under the normal conditions of life in Zanzibar they are hard and willing workers, keeping much to themselves, and living together in a special quarter of the town. H 167 186

" While some of the more influential and wealthier Mshihiris have made Zanzibar their permanent home, the majority come to the Sultanate for a period in order to earn money, and they then return to their own home in Arabia. When in Zanzibar they work in the port loading and unloading ships, and they are in great demand as stevedores up and down the coast. The lighter forms of labour sought for by the Mshihiri is water carrying from house to house, and they perform this work with the same assiduity and ~~tireless~~ ness as in the heavier labour connected with shipping. 464 Z 464 167

[1] The singular of the Swahiliised form of Shihiri, the plural is Washihiri.

Hingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



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tirelessness as in the heavier labour connected with shipping. They also make all the matting bags, baskets and coverings required for the packing of cloves.

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"The Mshihiri community possesses its own mosque and burial ground in Zanzibar. In religious views they differ from the Oman Arab by adherence to the Sunni belief."

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My friend, Mr. G. H. Sheiswell-White, has written a long and detailed account of the Hadhramis in Zanzibar which has been forwarded by the Zanzibar Government. He begins his note with a historical introduction and after touching on the earliest times already covered above, proceeds as follows, quoting Dr. Krapf (*Travels in Eastern Africa*, 1860).

> "Among the most important phenomena in the early history of Eastern Africa must have been the intercourse kept up with it by the inhabitants of the Arabian sea-board. The southern coast of Arabia must from the earliest period have been necessarily connected with Eastern Africa by the wants of its inhabitants. From Eastern Africa the Arab of the coast derived his corn, his rice, his Durra, his wood, his ivory and especially his slaves."

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Although, as has already been stated, there appear to be few specific references to the Hadhramis, their connexion with East Africa must have been at least as intimate and as long-standing as that of any of the other inhabitants of Arabia. Zanzibar Hadhramis, indeed, claim that their ancestors were the pioneers of colonization in East Africa, although according to the Chronicles of Kilwa the first Arab settlers were the Āmmu Zeid, the followers of Zeid, son of Hussein, great-grandson of the Prophet. The Hadhramis also claim to have been responsible for the spread of the Sunni sect in these regions.[1]

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Throughout their long connexion with East Africa, the Hadhramis doubtless took a large share in the great slave trade in regard to which the Report of the Select Committee on the Slave Trade of the East Coast of Africa, 1871, stated :—

> "The whole slave trade by sea, *whether for the supply of* the Sultan's African dominions or the markets in Arabia and Persia, is carried on by Arabs from Muscat and other parts of the Arabian Coast."

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[1] Remembering the South Arabian states of the "Waqt al Jahiliya" the claim to pioneership is justified. I have seen a reference to the conversion of the East African Coast at a very early date, but on this subject see Guillain, Vol. I, p. 161, and my *Zanzibar*, p. 77.

It must be remembered that according to Masudi the Hadhramaut was still Ibadhi in A.D. 944 and until Al Mehajir's descendants established themselves, the country was always backsliding.

The Hadhrami has never been a too exacting missionary abroad, which is probably one reason why he gets on so well.

The Āmmu Zeid were of course Shiites and the Zeidis still rule in Yemen.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



In 1876 the Hadhramis were described (Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa*) as being the largest slave holders in Zanzibar and it is stated that they were entirely dependent upon them for their livelihood. It was, in fact, amongst the slaves in the household of a Hadhrami living in the quarter of Malindi that the great cholera epidemic, which subsequently swept over the island and thence to East Africa, began in 1869.

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But it was not only in trading that the Hadhramis occupied themselves. From at least the first half of the nineteenth century until comparatively recent times many of them entered the service of the Sultans as soldiers and Government officials (especially treasurers, clerks, Liwalis and Qadhis). Guillain, writing in 1856, says that the Sultan maintained a fairly large number of Hadhramis in the garrisons of Africa and Omān, while in 1877, at the time when Lieutenant (later General) Lloyd Matthews was called in by Sultan Seiyid Barghash to reorganise his army, the Seiyid's forces consisted almost entirely of Persians and Hadhramis (Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*, 1905). In modern times the Hadhramis have maintained their reputation as soldiers, for a large number from Zanzibar joined the Arab Rifles during the Great War. Guillain also mentions that Hadhramis were very largely employed as porters ("*hamalis*") and estimated their floating population in Zanzibar at three or four hundred. In addition, Shihiris were employed for many years as captains and officers in the Sultans' ships.

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**Vital Statistics.**

The 1931 Census gives the total Hadhrami[1] population of the Protectorate as 2,797 made up as follows :—

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| | *Zanzibar Island.* | *Pemba Island.* |
|---|---|---|
| Zanzibar Town and Native Quarter | 1,313 | 1,333 |
| Districts ... ... ... ... | 151 | |
| | 1,464 | 1,333 |
| Total for Protectorate ... ... ... | | 2,797 |

Of the population in the Island of Zanzibar, 621 are recorded as having been born in the Protectorate and 843 elsewhere. Corresponding figures for the Island of Pemba are not given. It seems clear, however, that the returns are inaccurate for, by common consent, it is not likely that the population in Pemba exceeded two or three hundred (see also 1924 Census, in the Appendix to this note). It should be remembered that as their women rarely emigrate, Hadhramis who settle in the islands mostly marry local

[1] Both in the 1924 and the 1931 Census Reports the only relevant classifications used are "Arabs" and "Shihiris." As, however, the term "Shihiri" when used in Zanzibar frequently denotes the up-country native as well as the coastal inhabitant, it is assumed that the term, as used in the Reports, includes all natives of the Hadhramaut.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



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women with or without Hadhrami blood, so that a large proportion of those included in the Census returns as Hadhramis were by no means of pure stock.

It should also be borne in mind that the major portion of the community in Zanzibar consists of visitors whose number varies with the season, the maximum population occurring during the north-east monsoon (December to March) when the visitors arrive by dhow, and the minimum during the south-west monsoon (May to October) when they return to their homes in Arabia. The 1931 Census was undertaken at the end of March so that the figures given may be taken to represent the maximum population during the year of the count.

According to the 1924 Census, the total Hadhrami population of the Protectorate was then 2,406, but as this Census, although begun on the 11th March, was not completed until the 23rd May when some of the seasonal visitors may already have left the Protectorate, inferences cannot be drawn in regard to any increase or decrease in the population which may have occurred during the period 1924 to 1931. It is said, however, that both the settled and the non-settled elements are decreasing.

Further official statistics in regard to the Hadhrami population are not available. A local estimate, however, places the number of those who are permanently settled in the islands at 200 Hadhramis and 400 Shihiris.

The chief tribes represented in the Protectorate are, in the case of the Hadhramis, the Tamimi, Kathīri, Yafa'i, and Hashimi (Seiyids); and, in the case of the Shihiris, the Masheikh Āl Bā Humeid, 'Awābitha, Bin Sahaq and Ba Ziheir.

In the Township of Zanzibar, where the great majority of them live, the Hadhramis are concentrated for the most part in the quarters of Kiponda and Ngambo, while the Shihiris, just as in 1876 (Christie), reside in the Malindi quarter. The non-settled elements either rent lodgings or are accommodated in the houses of those who have made the Protectorate their home.

The leading members of both sections of the community are as follows:—

*Hadhramis.*—Muhsin Ghalib Al Yafa', Seiyid 'Abdulla Ba Harūn, 'Abdulla Mubarek at Tamim, Muhammad Sa'id Ba Abdo, 'Umar 'Abdulla Jurnah, 'Abdulla Ahmed Ba Fadhl.

*Shihiris.*—Muhammad Sa'id Humeid, Mansur Abeid Barkot, Salim Khamis Salimin, Mubarek Ahmed Ba Seif, 'Abdulla Muhammad Ba Salāma, Naqib Abdur Rab bin 'Umar Kasadi, Muhammad 'Awadh 'Ubulān, Faraj 'Awadh 'Ubulān.

The affairs of the community are managed by two associations— that of the Hadhramis (Junia' al Hadhramia) and that of the Shihiris (Juania' Ahl as Sahil)—which also endeavour, as far as possible, to compose differences between individuals. The leading personalities in the associations at present are Muhsin bin Ghalib al Yafa' of the Hadhramis and Muhammad Sa'id 'Abūd al Humeid of the Shihiris. Both are semi-officially recognised by Government as the heads of their community. Z 162 579 563 H 167 579

The clannish feeling of the Hadhrami prevents him, in Zanzibar as in other countries, from mixing with the members of the other communities any more than is necessary for the purpose of his trade or calling. He keeps much to himself and, as a rule, takes little part in local life, political, sporting or social. Even his intercourse with his cousin from Oman is restricted. The language difficulty is no doubt partly responsible in the case of those who are not permanently settled in the Protectorate, but even those who have made Zanzibar their home appear to learn the local language less readily than other foreign elements of the population, and they exhibit the same disinclination for social intercourse with their neighbours. Hardworking and thrifty, unlike their cousins from Omān, and absorbed in their own occupations, they appear to have few forms of entertainment even amongst themselves, dancing and sitting in coffee-shops being almost the sole manner in which they seek relaxation, at any rate in public. H 167 186 Z 563

In Zanzibar there is an increasing tendency, especially amongst the younger Arabs and Africans, to adopt European clothing. The Hadhramis, however, are little affected by the prevailing fashion, and it is rare to see one of the community attired in anything but his own national dress. As in the case of clothes, so in his manner of living; the Hadhrami, preferring his own customs, does not easily adopt the manners and ways of those around him. H 186 Z 563

The women of the Hadhramaut have always felt a striking aversion to emigrate and, as has already been noticed, it is but rarely that the Hadhrami will bring his wife or female relations to Zanzibar. Even girls who are born in Zanzibar and are taken back to their homes in Arabia seldom return to the Protectorate after attaining puberty. Few of the children born locally, therefore, are of pure stock. As a rule, marriages are not contracted in Zanzibar by those who are not settled on the islands, although liaisons of a temporary kind are frequently entered into, particularly with African women. Those who are more or less permanently settled normally marry members of their own community, but they occasionally seek brides from amongst the Muscat Arabs, the Comorians and sometimes even the Africans. H 167 Z 563 582

The diet of the Zanzibar Hadhramis naturally consists, as far as possible, of those articles of food to which they are accustomed in Z 563 262 H 167 186

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



Z 563 262 H 167 186

their own homes. It includes fresh and salted fish and shark, wheat porridge (*Shurba* and *Haris*) millet, rice, meat, dates, bread, milk, coffee, and tea.

Places of worship are normally shared by both Hadhramis and Shihiris alike, but in practice the Hadhramis mostly congregate in and largely control the Juma's and Mzaham Mosques and the Shihiris the Malindi Mnara Mosque. One burial ground is, on the other hand, used by both sections.

Z 778

## APPENDIX

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TRADE BETWEEN ZANZIBAR AND ADEN FOR THE PERIOD 1932–1934.

| | Trade Imports and Direct Transhipment Total. | | Domestic Exports, Re-Exports and Direct Transhipment Total. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quantity. | Value. Rs. | Quantity. | Value. Rs. |
| Cloves ... ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 3,486 | 117,708 |
| Clove Stems ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 44 | 188 |
| Fish, dried ... ... ... cwts. | 9,325 | 67,454 | 75 | 600 |
| Fruit, fresh ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 2,295 | 8,697 |
| Ghee ... ... ... lbs.... | 3,520 | 1,420 | ... | ... |
| Salt ... ... ... lbs. | 1,295,802 | 8,917 | ... | ... |
| Tobacco, manufactured ... lbs. | ... | ... | 125 | 337 |
| Tobacco, Native ... ... lbs. | 3,920 | 1,471 | ... | ... |
| Coconuts ... ... ... ... | ... | ... | 12,865 | 276 |
| Sim Sim ... ... ... lbs. | ... | ... | 156,535 | 9,777 |
| Miscellaneous ... ... ... | ... | 433 | ... | ... |
| Instruments, Scientific and Surgical, etc. ... ... ... | ... | ... | 1 | 628 |
| Cotton, manufactured ... ... | ... | 1,404 | ... | ... |
| Silk, manufactured ... ... | ... | 7 | ... | ... |
| Mats, etc. ... ... ... ... | ... | 133 | ... | ... |
| Chemicals ... ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 72 | 6,600 |
| Medicines ... ... ... ... | ... | 6 | ... | ... |
| Stationery ... ... ... cwts. | 4 | 341 | ... | ... |
| Books ... ... ... ... | ... | 4 | ... | ... |
| Goods, manufactured ... ... | ... | 66 | ... | 50 |
| Sugar ... ... ... cwts. | 27 | 386 | ... | ... |
| Food and Drinks ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | 152 |
| Coconut oil ... ... lbs.... | ... | ... | 27,313 | 4,584 |
| Garlic ... ... ... cwts. | 18 | 172 | ... | ... |
| Iron and Steel, manufactured tons | ... | ... | ... | 428 |
| Bags and Sacks ... ... doz. | ... | ... | 16 | 80 |
| Colour materials ... ... cwts. | 2 | 117 | ... | ... |
| | | 82,331 | | 150,105 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Imports ... ... | Rs. | 82,331 |
| Exports ... ... | „ | 150,105 |
| Total Trade ... | Rs. | 232,436 |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1
Egypt MR1



1924 Census: Hadhrami population of Zanzibar by occupations.

| | Zanzibar Island. | Pemba Island. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| General Traders ... ... ... ... | 387 | 19 | 406 |
| Labourers ... ... ... ... ... | 203 | 5 | 208 |
| Water carriers ... ... ... ... | 200 | 5 | 205 |
| Private servants ... ... ... | 172 | 3 | 175 |
| No occupations ... ... ... ... | 112 | 13 | 125 |
| Other occupations ... ... ... | 56 | 6 | 62 |
| Government employees ... ... ... | 43 | 2 | 45 |
| Fishermen ... ... ... ... ... | 41 | 2 | 43 |
| Tailors ... ... ... ... ... | 37 | 4 | 41 |
| Cultivators ... ... ... ... | 2 | 25 | 27 |
| Landowners (clove and coconut properties only) ... ... ... ... ... | 16 | 7 | 23 |
| Masons ... ... ... ... ... | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Carpenters ... ... ... ... | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| Overseers ... ... ... ... | 8 | 1 | 9 |
| Sailors ... ... ... ... ... | 8 | — | 8 |
| Brokers ... ... ... ... ... | 6 | — | 6 |
| Gold and Silver Smiths ... ... | — | 3 | 3 |
| Weeders ... ... ... ... ... | — | 3 | 3 |
| | 1,300 | 108 | 1,408 |
| Females[1] ... ... ... ... ... | 443 | 97 | |
| Boys under 12 ... ... ... ... | 210 | 63 | |
| Girls under 12[1] ... ... ... ... | 139 | 46 | |
| | 2,092 | 314 | |
| Total for Protectorate ... | 2,406 | | |

[1] Probably almost entirely of mixed blood (see page 155).

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### HADHRAMIS IN EGYPT AND THE COUNTRIES BORDERING THE RED SEA.

*Egypt.*—Most of the Hadhramis in Egypt settled there over half a century ago, starting business in a very small way. Being by nature a prudent and thrifty race they gradually became successful merchants and accumulated fortunes. Formerly they were the only wholesale merchants in Egypt dealing in South Arabian produce.

It is estimated that there are between 400 and 500 Hadhramis in Egypt, including women and children. The community is rather smaller now than in the past. In Cairo the Hadhrami colony lives for the most part in the Gamaliya District near Sayedna El-Hussein Mosque. They are for the most part well-to-do people trading in the produce of Aden and the Hadhramaut, coffee from Yemen, and Syrian soap. The principal occupation is that of coffee or incense merchant. No Egyptian goods are exported by the community to the Hadhramaut, but sums of money representing profits and other

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Egypt MR1
Arab Sudan MQ1



E 162 surplus funds are remitted there annually. In this way the members of the community maintain a very real connection with H 167 their country of origin. A good deal of real property is owned by 457 the community.

The number of heads of families resident in Cairo is estimated H 167 at from ten to twelve, mostly merchants. There are also about half a dozen students. The numbers are understood to have E 162 decreased in recent years, as, owing to business depression, several of the merchants have returned to the Hadhramaut. There appears to be no organisation of the community as such in Cairo, 167 there having been no officially recognised Sheikh for many years. The members therefore tend to mingle with other Arabic-speaking communities and frequently marry Egyptian wives. The children of such marriages born in Egypt are naturally brought up in Egyptian ways and thus become scarcely distinguishable from Egyptians. But although they are much Egyptianised the Hadhramis in Egypt do not appear to be much concerned with political matters. Amongst others the al Kaf, Bazara, Baghafar and Banaga families are represented.

Hadhramis registered at the British Consulate General are as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of heads of families ... ... ... | 9 |
| Total number of children in these families ... | 11 |
| Total number of single men ... ... ... | 18 |

All the children were born in Cairo, and all the wives are of Egyptian origin, except one from the Hadhramaut and one from British Malaya.

The professions given include :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchant ... ... ... ... ... ... | 15 |
| Estate Manager ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Technical Student ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |

H *Sudan.*—There does not appear to be an extensive Hadhrami 167 community in the interior of the Sudan. It seems that there is only one in Khartoum who is permanently settled there and runs an eating house. In Omdurman there are two from the Hadhramaut and six from places like Nisab and Balhaf on the western borders of the Hadhramaut. In this small community there are representatives of all the professions undertaken by Hadhramis abroad. There is a merchant who lives on the rentals of his property, there are small traders and there is a porter. About a third of them have definitely severed their connection with the Hadhramaut.

AS At Port Sudan there is an important Hadhrami merchant of 162 the Safi family who has offices in Port Sudan and Suakin. The 167 Acting Commissioner states that Colonies of Hadhramis exist at

H 167

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Arab Sudan MQ 1



AS 162 167 H 167

Port Sudan, Suakin and Tokar, with small groups at Halaib, Akik and Karora. Approximate figures are as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Port Sudan ... ... ... ... ... ... | 180 |
| Suakin ... ... ... ... ... ... | 228 |
| Tokar ... ... ... ... ... ... | 294 |
| Halaib ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| Akik ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 30 |
| Karora ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6 |
| | 742 |

AS 563 464 H 167

They fall roughly into two categories, namely the permanently settled, who have been in these parts since the old days of Suakin, and have to all intents and purposes severed their connection with Hadhramaut, and the visitors, who normally spend about three years in the Sudan between visits of about a year's duration to their homes. The division between the categories is roughly half and half. In the towns, the Hadhramis are primarily shopkeepers or shop assistants. A few work as cooks, bakers and labourers, and in Tokar Delta many have taken up cultivation. Some have become allottees of Government land, that is virtually land owners. There are 37 of these. Others, numbering about 150, work as " nusf " cultivators, that is they work another's land in return for half the profits and hope in due course to become allottees themselves.

AS 563 H 167

They do not coalesce to any noticeable degree with the local population. The settled Hadhramis principally intermarry among themselves, and show a small natural increase. The visitors occasionally intermarry with local inhabitants, principally the girls of the " Khasa ", that is the rank and file of the Beni Amer whose social status both before and after marriage is low. The majority either have wives in the Hadhramaut or are unmarried. There is a surprisingly large number of bachelors. None of the 30 residents of Akik is married. The visitors, therefore, as applications for entry to the Sudan are only granted very sparingly, show no noticeable increase. Relations with the Hadhramaut are virtually non-existent among the settled Hadhramis. The visitors, as stated, frequently visit their homes and many like to return and spend the evening of their days there. Commercial relations with the Hadhramaut are negligible if not non-existent.

H [457] 186 AS 563

The Hadhramis are an industrious and economical people and their profits, which are probably considerable, are taken out of the country[1] by those who return home. They do not use banks but hoard silver or (if they can get it) gold, and carry it out in this form. They are a quiet and law-abiding people and give little trouble to anybody. They are clannish in the extreme and never employ a native if they can find a fellow-countryman. They have a local reputation for meanness, in which respect they certainly

1 [i.e., the Sudan - - H. 1, 1]

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Arab Sudan MQ1
Saudi Arabia MJ1


H 186 AS 563

compare unfavourably with the Hedjazi and the Yemani. All are on the make, and quite prepared to start at the bottom and work up.

H 167 SA 555 426

*Saudi Arabia.*—Writing about the year 1885, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje (Mecca, Leiden, 1931) says that the Hadhramis in Mecca are among the most serious competitors of the Indians in the money-lending business. "These come to Mekka almost invariably without money, but endowed with great adaptability and endless endurance. No sense of honour hinders them from making their choice of trade or situation accord solely with the advantages that circumstances offer. Many have begun as heavy porters in Jeddah where the guild of porters carries on the whole traffic between town and harbour: some of these porters become rich men. In Mekka, they, in the first place, seek situations as day labourers in some trade. Thus they gain local and technical knowledge of which they as soon as possible make the most on their own account; a 14-year old boy who has earned some 25 dollars at once puts 20 of them out at interest, and such small loans often bring in one hundred per cent. even though the time for which the money is lent is only a few months."

H 871 167

But the dubiously respectable profession of disguised money-lending was not the only occupation of Hadhramis in the Hejaz. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramaut supplied many professors and quotes as eminent amongst them the "almost dwarfish Muhammad Sa'id Ba Beseil" who acted as Amin al Fatwa to the Sheikh al Ulema. At that time the Hadhramis had "from of old" their own Sheikh who transacted business between the local government and his countrymen. Generally speaking the learned doctor gave it as his opinion that religion plays no part in the wanderlust of the Hadhramis, and other observers have made the same comment.

Emigration to the Hejaz, however, was, and no doubt is, for some, in a different category. Many students go there to study and Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramis being brought up in a poor, cultureless land regard the great town of Mecca as a modern Babylon. Those who have a taste for learning derive from the holiness of Mecca blessings not to be found in the Hadhramaut. Immigrants soon adapt themselves to Meccan customs and consider the change a progress.

SA 162 167 H 167

Captain Seager estimates that there are about 5,000 Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia to-day. They live mainly in Jedda and Mecca. A few are to be found in Medina but it is doubtful whether they exceed a total of 30 souls. It would be true to say that since 1930 the Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia are decreasing in numbers. This decrease is no accident. Since the advent of the general economic depression, Hadhramis have found it more and more difficult to earn a living in Saudi Arabia. The finances of the country have been shaky for the past four years and money is naturally scarce. This has badly hit the shopkeeper class and by far the greatest

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Saudi Arabia MJ 1



number of Hadhramis are shopkeepers with the result that increasing numbers have elected to return home or emigrate to countries where prospects are somewhat brighter. SA 167 H 167

In normal circumstances a number of them are annually attracted to India and a greater number to the Straits Settlements and Dutch East Indies. A lesser but increasing number proceed to Massawa and Mogadisho.

The Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia are almost exclusively (*a*) shopkeepers, (*b*) merchants either in a big or small way, (*c*) money-changers and money-lenders, or (*d*) domestic servants. The shopkeepers are by far the most numerous and it can be said with a degree of accuracy that every other shop (usually stocking cigarettes, matches, spices, cereals, paraffin, etc.) is owned by a Hadhrami who somehow manages to live on next to nothing, and gradually, over a period of years, collects a sum of money which will enable him to return to the Hadhramaut and live in peace and comfort from three months to four years. After this period the Hadhrami will bestir himself and return to his occupation once again. In his absence, a brother, cousin, relative or fellow tribesman will act for him. H 167 457 SA 441

The merchant class is divided into two categories: (1) the big and well-to-do merchant with substantial capital, and (2) the smaller merchants with very limited capital. Category (1) with very few exceptions have taken up their abode permanently in Saudi Arabia. and for the most part have taken up Saudi nationality. This class generally invests its money in immovable property in Saudi Arabia. One Hadhrami in Jedda, for instance, owns about 120 houses, some of which are quite imposing buildings. Category (2) rarely take up their permanent abode in Saudi Arabia and do not change their nationality. They try to make a living in a small way, and, like the shopkeeper proceed on leave to the Hadhramaut when they have collected enough money for themselves and bought presents for their relatives. The Hadhrami money-lenders and money-changers did a roaring trade up to 1930 but the Government then stepped in and clipped their wings. A number of them went out of business and took up shopkeeping and trading. SA 441 SA [432]

The domestic servants are the poorest class. The domestic Hadhrami stays in Saudi Arabia from one to ten years. His wages are small, but like the shopkeeper he saves, scrapes and economises until he is in a position to proceed on furlough to the Hadhramaut. Some of the domestic servants are luckier but they are in the minority: if it should happen that they are employed by persons of means their future is well nigh assured. Their employers allow them to trade in a small way and eventually in the course of years they separate from their masters and set up on their own with quite a substantial capital. It occasionally happens that prominent Hadhramis are given official posts. During the Hashmite regime a Hadhrami (whose family is permanently domiciled in Saudi Arabia) was King Hussein's Minister of Finance. The Saudi Government SA 463 H 167 200

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Saudi Arabia MJ 1

 The Saudi Government

SA 641 while excluding Hadhramis from official posts sometimes call them in as advisers and members of committees.

SA 563 The Hadhramis have a flair for getting on with all classes of the community. In Saudi Arabia they keep well in with the local Government, and, if it comes to a tug-of-war between the British Legation (representative of the Protecting Power) and the Saudi Arabian Government the Hadhrami takes good care to side with H ●167 the Government. It is very rarely that a Hadhrami seeks the good offices of the British Legation in Jedda in any kind of dispute. If a Hadhrami elects to be very brave he puts up his case tentatively as he fully realises that his life is bound up with the life of the country and that he cannot afford to earn the hostility of any other sections of the community. Generally speaking, the Hadhrami, when he is not working day or night, spends his time sitting on a fence and very ably sums up a position before taking a plunge. The British Legation in Jedda finds them irritating at times as they never know from one day to another whether they are and wish to be considered as British Protected Persons or whether they are British Protected Persons and wish it kept a very dark secret.

It is probable that apart from the big merchant class—and they do not number more than 45 families—it is only on the very rarest occasions that the Hadhramis sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. The Hadhramis are like homing pigeons and find it difficult to stay away from their native country longer than a period of ten years.

H 167 *Aden.*—There are a considerable number of Hadhramis in Aden of whom about 40 are of importance. Du'an is most largely represented with members of the families of as Safi, Bazara, Bā 'Ashin, Bā Shanfar, Bā Sūdān, Bā Quhum, Bā Suleimi, Bā Tawīl, Bā Sindua, Bā Sam, Bā Hakīm, Bā Hamish, and Bā Juneid. From Shibam the families of Bā 'Ubeid and Bā Jarash are amongst those represented. Other families are Bā Fadhl, al Haddād, Bā 'Abbād, Bā Yusuf, az Zūeidi, and Barahīm. Of the Seiyids represented the principal family is the Āl 'Aidarus. The greater number of these important Hadhramis are merchants and traders.

There is a small but important community of Hadhramis in Abyssinia where the Seiyids of Bā Harūn and al Bār from Du'an have business connections.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

## INTRODUCTION

To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable antiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade. The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

| State | Title of ruler | Population | Area in sq. miles | Annual revenue | Police | Salute |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Qu'aiti (Mukalla) .. | H.H. the Sultan of | 197,000 | 30,000 | Rs 27,50,078 | Unlisted | 11 guns |
| Kathiri (Seiyun) ... | Sultan of | 60,000 | 6,000 | Rs 4,80,000 | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Wahidi (Balhaf) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 5,000 | Rs 1,02,448 | Unlisted | None |
| Mahri (Socotra & Qishn) ..... | Sultan of | 22,000 | 13,000 | Unlisted | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Haura ..... | Shaykh of | 500 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| 'Irqa ..... | Shaykh of | 350 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Abdali (Lahej) ..... | H.H. the Sultan of | 41,400 | 4,500 | Unlisted | 380 | 11 guns |
| Fadhli (Shuqra) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 2,500 | Rs 4,17,697 | 120 | 9 guns |
| Amiri (Dhala) ..... | Amir of | 27,000 | 1,050 | Rs 1,50,000 | 75 | 9 guns |
| Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara) ..... | Sultan of | 23,000 | 700 | Rs 1,65,000 | 30 | 9 guns |
| Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba) ..... | Sultan of | 89,000 | 900 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar) ..... | Sultan of | 12,000 | 2,500 | Rs 49,000 | 40 | None |
| Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab) ..... | Sultan of | 53,000 | 1,800 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Beihan (Beihan Qasb) .... | Amir of | 13,000 | 4,000 | Unlisted | 40 | None |
| Audhali (Lodar) .... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 1,000 | Unlisted | 30 | None |
| Haushabi (Musaimir) ..... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 350 | Unlisted | 29 | None |
| Alawi (Al Qash'a) .. | Shaykh of | 1,200 | 89 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed). | Shaykh of | 2,000 | 101 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds 439
remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business 167
holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over 171
a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.[9]

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is 177
virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common 198
tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Ka- 291
thiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be 552
incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, 185
Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf 177
family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In [491]
1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, [509]
Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

[9] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut*. London: Colonial Office, 1936.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



however. The floor of the Hadhramaut Valley rises at a slope of 1 in 900 or 1000 from an altitude of 2000 feet at Tarim to about 3000 feet in the latitude of Shabwa and the west end of the tableland. 133

The observer in the Hadhramaut is impressed by the vast amount of rapid erosion that has taken place and the inadequacy of the rain-

FIG. 1—The Hadhramaut, Aden Protectorate, in its wider strategic relations. Scale 1:40,000,000.

fall of today to explain it. Not only topographical but also cultural evidence points toward increasing aridity in the Hadhramaut. The numerous visible ruins, not to mention those buried by sand or disintegrated past recognition, are indicative of a greater population than now exists. A large number of the present-day inhabitants emigrate; and, according to Mr. Ingrams, they have been doing so at an increasing rate during the last fifty years.[1] It is suggested that the Hadhramaut area supports about the maximum population under the prevailing conditions of rainfall. 167 161

Each of the canyons excavated by the Wadi Hadhramaut and its tributaries in the vast South Arabian plateau suggests to the traveler a miniature Grand Canyon. The walls rise steeply for a full thousand feet throughout the deepest part of the drainage system and remain perpendicular, although decreasing in height, even to the heads of the smallest tributaries. To the observer on the ground the plateau 133

[1] W. H. Ingrams: Hadhramaut: A Journey to the Sei'ar Country and through the Wadi Masila. Geogr. Journ., Vol. 88, 1936, pp. 519–531; reference on p. 527. 113

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other 492
tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, 438
sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not 439
self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

[291
411]
[177

FIG. 22—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councillors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well turned features and general attire, especially the turning, which has been introduced by Hadhramaut emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to pro- 457
vide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands 167
who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan 484
and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, [437]
packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from
248 Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where
438 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager
283 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in
[342] this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have
186 caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the
191 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a
185 more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley,
48 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was
491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal
728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the
185 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



its own language, and in its trade, which is dhow-borne, unlike that of Mukalla, which is largely steamer-borne in normal times, it deals with Muscat, the Persian Gulf and India, and to some extent with East Africa, for the coastal Mahris are great seafarers. The Mahris, unlike the Hadhramis, do not settle abroad, so by reason of their habits and their speech they are an even more exclusive and secluded people than the Hadhramis. But in effect little is seen or heard of the Mahris, and their territory is considered part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and they have their contacts with His Majesty's Government through the Residency at Mukalla. 631 [167]

### The Western Aden Protectorate

To me the outstanding features of the political set-up of the Western Protectorate are the position of His Highness the Sultan of Lahej, the large number of treaty chiefs, and the general tribal atmosphere of the country. A glance at the map will show why the Sultan of Lahej is the most important chief in the protectorate, for his territory stands at the door of Aden, and through it land traffic from the Yemen and from a great deal of the protectorate must pass. It is the transit dues on goods that have made Lahej the richest state of the Western Protectorate, and with the money His Highness has managed to develop Lahej territory as a sort of private estate, which pays because it grows so much fruit and vegetables which are consumed in Aden. For he has water, and a good deal of the spate of Yemen pass with the Wadi al Kabir and the Wadi as Saghir, which flow through his territory. 622 643 439 651

So that geography has played a great part in determining the part that Lahej should play in the protectorate. But much of the prestige that the Sultan enjoys to-day is due to his own wisdom. While strenuously guarding the internal affairs of his own Sultanate from external interference, His Highness has consistently given every possible help to His Majesty's Government in matters of defence and so on, and has also co-operated so wholeheartedly in the settling of disputes and political matters generally that he is almost universally accepted as an impartial arbitrator with no axe to grind. This personal achievement of Sultan 'Abdul Karim has made him the leader of the Western Protectorate, and it is really remarkable, as the general tendency of tribal chiefs in the protectorate is not to brook interference in their affairs from others. 643 648

There are in the Western Protectorate twenty chiefs in direct treaty relationship with His Majesty's Government, and seven others who have agreements. There are about thirty-five all told who correspond directly with Government. The "nine cantons" are the 'Abdali, the Amiri, the Haushabi, the Fadhli, the Yafa'i, the Subeihi, the 'Aqrabi, the 'Aulaqi, and the 'Alawi—the original tribes with whom treaties were made. The other tribes in the Western Protectorate—the Audhali and the Beihani—did not come into treaty relations until later. But the Yafa'i, the 'Aulaqi, and the Subeihi are divided. In the Upper Yafa'i confederation there are treaties with the Upper Yafa'i Sultan, the Naqibs of Mausatta, the Dhubi Sheikh, the Maflahi Sheikh, the Hadhrami Sheikh, and the Shaibi Sheikh. In Lower Yafa' there is only one treaty, with the Sultan. In 'Aulaqi there are treaties with the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, and 622 631 648

731 getting food from abroad in war-time, the loss of money from the Far East, and the drought, famine ensued. I am thankful to say that owing to the generous help of His Majesty's Government and to the breaking of the drought, conditions are now much better, but from the point of view of this survey the thing to be remembered is that in all probability the produce of the country cannot sustain much more than a quarter of the population and that it is very largely dependent on money from abroad. Of old, the ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade, so that the Mediterranean countries provided the cash. When the incense went by sea the Hadhramis learnt to emigrate, and the present Hadhramaut has drawn its cash from the Far East, East Africa, Egypt, the Sudan, Abyssinia [67] —the countries to which the people migrate. One out of every three or four Hadhramis lives and works abroad. Emigration or means to earn money abroad is an absolute essential to the Hadhramaut, and there are grounds for fearing it is not going to be so easy in the future as it has been in the past.

So much for the gloomier side of the picture. In 1938 I described to the Royal Central Asian Society how a three-year peace embracing the whole of the Hadhramaut had been made and how the organization of government had started. To my mind the brightest thing about the Hadhramaut is the way the Government of the Qu'aiti State has advanced and developed social services, and, serious as the famine was, principally in part of the Inner Hadhramaut, out of it has grown a number of educational and medical developments which would probably not have matured if there had been no famine. The State Government had so far advanced by the time it came, that it was able to cope with difficulties and there developed a real spirit of service. It could not have managed on its own resources if His Majesty's Government had not helped so generously, but what the state could do in a financial way it did and the service its officials gave could not have been provided without it.

652 178 At the time when reorganization of the Government[1] started about seven years ago the revenue was about Rs. 6,30,000, of which Rs. 3,10,000 were spent on Government services; Rs. 2,25,000 of that went to irregular soldiers and to slaves. This year the revenue is estimated at just under Rs. 15,00,000. On April 1, 1939, there was a general deficit of Rs. 40,000, because the late Sultan used to take all the cash he could to India. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit balance of Rs. 14,00,000. In this year the Government is preparing to spend Rs. 16,00,000, of which Rs. 4,00,000 goes to the maintenance of security forces. There are forts, with soldiers or gendarmerie, and garrison towns all round the country, so that security is very greatly improved. The Budget also includes, under various heads, about Rs. 300,000 for relief work direct and indirect. The amount paid on education has risen from Rs. 6,000 in 1934 to Rs. 154,000 in 1944. Only Rs. 5,550 was spent on medical work in 1934; in 1944 the sum was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary services.

641 178 It seems to me that these figures indicate, more clearly than anything else can, progress and the will to progress. I cannot give many details of new developments, but I will mention some of them quite briefly. One of the most striking things is the growth of reciprocal confidence between

1 [of the Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Yemen ML1



the better-class houses there is a great deal of comfort. I do not think there is any oppression of the Jewish community, and within the limits of the sumptuary laws they are properly treated. There is a natural feeling of resentment on the part of the Jews against the sumptuary laws. On the other hand, they are much more lightly taxed than are the Arabs as Muslims. The reason why they are popular as immigrants into Palestine is no doubt that they fit in well and are welcome as very good citizens. In the western area of the Hadhramaut, too, they are felt to be very valuable citizens. In Yemen, like all other citizens, they lose their property if they leave the country. The law is that only Yemeni subjects can own immovable property in the country, and if anyone leaves the country with the intention of acquiring another domicile he ceases to be a Yemeni subject.

ANOTHER MEMBER: I have been told that King Ibn Sa'ud got teachers to supply his schools from the University of el Azhar in Cairo. Can the lecturer tell us whether it has been possible to follow a similar plan in the Hadhramaut? It seems a pity that a Westernized form of education should be brought in.

Mr. INGRAMS: In the Hadhramaut the improvement in education has been due to local enthusiasm and to several teachers from the Sudan. Great care has been taken in drawing up the educational programme to make it conform with the natural cultural traditions of the country. The seiyids are nervous of Westernized education, and it is all under the direction of Arabs in an attempt to strengthen the old culture of the Arab world while assimilating what is useful from the West.

Dr. HUZZAYYIN: Although time has not allowed the lecturer to develop that side of his subject, Aden has great possibilities as a meeting place. If we could build up an Arab centre there, we could have a wedding of Arab and British culture.

The CHAIRMAN then expressed the very warm appreciation of the audience and their thanks to Mr. Ingrams for his lecture and the really beautiful photographs by which it was illustrated.

# A JOURNEY IN HADRAMAUT

This article, originally printed by the Royal Geographical Society of the Netherlands, has been translated from the Dutch.—*Ed.*

101 Hadramaut is a part of Arabia about which very little is yet known. It was celebrated in antiquity as the land of frankincense and myrrh, and the great trade route from India to the ports of South Arabia and thence through Hadramaut, Yemen and Nejran to Egypt and Syria, brought prosperity and culture. Lying on the border of the Sabæan and Minæan kingdoms, Hadramaut appears to have adopted many of their civilizing elements, and yet to have maintained its own independence. After the decline of the Sabæan kingdom and the civilization which flourished there, Hadramaut also sank into poverty and ignorance. In this respect Islam appears to have brought but little change. After the destruction of 167 the irrigation works, the poverty became terrible, and 735 the country was scarcely able to provide a meagre subsistence even for a very small population. Even centuries ago this led the most enterprising of the men to seek for themselves a better livelihood in foreign lands. 167 The men of Hadramaut wandered off to the east coast 186 of Africa, to the countries around the Red Sea as far as Egypt, to British India and to the Dutch East Indies. Their women never went with them, and the men remained firmly attached to their poor, dry and intensely hot native land. In foreign lands the people of Hadramaut have preserved their own characteristics up to the present day, and have never become assimilated to the peoples among whom they lived, endeavoring to return at some time to their native land, and sending their male children to Hadramaut for their education, if they could

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



afford to do so. It is difficult to understand what it is 167
that binds them so firmly to their poor, monotonous and 186
scorching rocks and deserts. Their fanatical Mohammedanism is certainly an important factor, but so is also their love for their ill-favored country, and the intuitive perception that the preservation of their group and of its characteristic attributes is closely connected with the hard, frugal and primitive ways of living in their native land.

In those regions to which the people of Hadramaut 167
emigrate they usually have a much larger part in the economic life of the people than their numbers would justify. This is particularly the case in the Dutch East Indies, where they have an increasingly important place as business men and as owners of land and houses, as well as being students of religion and promoters of orthodox Islam.

It was very natural that about the year 1880 the 114
government of the Netherlands Indies recommended the agent for Arabian and Mohammedan affairs to make a special study of Hadramaut and of the people who had come from that part of Arabia to the East Indies. The book written by this officer, Dr. L. W. C. van den Berg, "Le Hadhramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien," was published in 1886 at government expense. This year the Department for Foreign Affairs urged its representative at Jeddah to attempt a journey in Hadramaut for a diplomatic and economic survey. This preliminary report is the result of that request.

Dr. van den Berg wrote his book in Batavia, and never went to Hadramaut, but he got his information with the help of intelligent men from Hadramaut with whom he had intimate connections. He even made a sketch-map of the country, which was printed with his book, and for this the information these men supplied was of course indispensable. This sketch-map of course had many defects, but Hadramaut has been visited so little by scientific explorers that even this year van den

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited. 508

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation. 509 205 206

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden. 131 161 162

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north. 311

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir. From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possessing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations 439 226 241 1821 [167]

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



out to meet you. Many people prefer to walk down the *'aqaba*, and in any case the drivers stop at the top to tie up the brakes. I have only walked down once, and that was on the morning of the New Year. I sat for a short time at the top and it really was a most beautiful sight watching the day break over the minarets and white houses of Tarim.

"Tarim and thou desirest no more" is a local saying, and in truth I know of no happier places to live in than Tarim and Seiyun. I shall never forget our first impressions of Tarim nor I think does anybody else forget his, but the charm of these places grows with knowledge and they have a hospitable and cultured society. There is little literary learning in Mukalla or Shihr: Mukalla can be difficult to live in, but Shihr is always friendly and welcoming. Seiyun and Tarim are not only that, but can talk of affairs, of history, and of philosophy. The whole country is full of poets, and not only quotes the old poets but records constantly current history in *qasidas*, and that is how much of it survives. At a Shabwani dance the poets assemble and in turn compose extempore couplets, which are repeated by the choir leaders and taken up by a hundred throats.

Tarim and its rich suburb of 'Aidid, where there are several beautiful Riviera villas, are of course under Kathiri rule, but they and the small village of Al Ghuraf are in Tamimi country. One interesting fact about Tarim that I have learnt recently is that it contains a state within its walls. This enclosure, which contains a few houses inhabited by the Seiyids of Al Haddad, is ruled by their *mansab* under some ancient right. His subjects are completely under his jurisdiction, and even if they commit offences in the city of Tarim are not tried by the Sultan but handed over to him. The intelligentsia of Tarim call him the *Baba* (the Pope) and his state the *Fatikana*. Tarim and Seiyun both have old religious academies (*Rubats*) to which students come from considerable distances in the west of the Protectorate and from the Yemen. I remember wh .1 I first passed the Tarim Rubat a long time ago there was a rush to exclude the contaminating influence, and all the doors and window shutters were hastily banged. Life gets more pleasant when crowds of children and adult hangers on cease to follow you shouting *Nasrani* (Christian). When I returned to Mukalla from the interior in March 1937 one small boy did shout Nasrani, but was immediately corrected by a friend who said "*That's* not a Nasrani, that's Ingrams."

The Tamimis, who stretch several miles on the way to Seiyun, and down the Wadi Maseila to below Qasm, the Tamimi capital, are a Qu'aiti tribe, so that Tarim and Al Ghuraf form islands in their territory. There are no Badu sections to the Tamimis, and they all live in the wadi and emigrate largely to East Africa and the East Indies. They are however an astonishingly disunited tribe whose sections were constantly warring against each other, mostly over land questions. In this way they are a great contrast to their neighbours, the Manahil, who belong to the same Confederation, the Beni Dhanna. The Manahil are all Badus but are completely united in following their young chief 'Aidha bin Tannaf, a very fine lad of about twenty-five. I thought at first that the Manahil were not going to join in the truce, but after holding back for a little while they came and signed, and have never caused the slightest trouble, though 'Aidha had considerable difficulty in restraining

663 fence round the country and then to leave it to anarchy. On the other hand, there was no wish to introduce direct British rule over a people who are tenaciously attached to their independence. Our policy is therefore to support the treaty chiefs and to lead them and their subjects to appreciate the advantages of the suppression of lawlessness and the maintenance, in collaboration with the British Government, of internal peace and security. At the same time it was laid down as a general principle that the main trade routes through the Protectorate must be kept safe, and that the Government would enforce this decision.

The medium through which this policy was to be carried into effect was a number of political officers centred on Aden, but working in the Protectorate, and I, as Governor at the time, was fortunate in the appointment by the Colonial Office of a group of young men who threw themselves wholeheartedly and devotedly into the work of gaining the confidence and friendship of the Arab tribes and their chiefs, and in promoting the policy upon which the Government had embarked.

712 This work would not have been possible without the collaboration of the Royal Air Force. Aden had become an Air Command in 1928, and the first action of the strengthened Air Force was the ejection of the Yemenis from Dhala, to which I have already referred. This was followed by the construction of landing-grounds. There are now between thirty and forty of these in various parts of the Protectorate, including the Hadhramaut Valley, which had until lately been almost a *terra incognita* except to a few adventurous travellers. Flights by the Royal Air Force over the Hadhramaut were followed by invitations from the local Arabs to land, and the pioneer work of two young Air Force officers, Cochrane and Rickards, led to the establishment of closer contact. The first visit of a Resident of Aden to this strange and most interesting district was paid by myself in the early part of 1933.

556 I have already referred to this remarkable valley of the Hadhramaut,
• 167 and readers of Miss Freya Stark's delightful and graphic descriptions of her travels in Southern Arabia will be familiar with its peculiar characteristics. Its wealthy seyyids and merchants have generally amassed their fortunes in Java or Singapore, to which countries the Hadhramis emigrate in large numbers, and in which many of them are
[186] owners of valuable house property. They do not, however, lose their
342 love for their original home in Arabia, and many of them eventually return to the Hadhramaut, and there build for themselves the luxurious

the South coast and separated from it by a mountain range, 131
the country of Ḥaḍramaut. The name occurs already in the 101
Book of Genesis; in ancient times Ḥaḍramaut was famous for its exports of incense and myrrh; ruins and inscriptions from pre-Muhammadan days bear witness to a past greatness and prosperity.

This prosperity of bygone days has, through all manner 721
of unfavourable circumstances, given way, centuries ago, to 167
a pitiable decline. It is true that Islam found an early entrance here and that Muhammadan science has, amongst a certain class of the population, zealous devotees, but the political discipline of this religion has not succeeded in creating Ḥaḍramaut into a realm of peace. The endless tribal wars, which divide the people, make the land practically inaccessible to foreign visitors, even if they are Muhammadans, and at the same time prevent the inhabitants themselves from extracting from their native soil what it could yield to a peacefully labouring population. Because the Ḥaḍramīs are not lacking in ability, which often attains rich maturity under more orderly conditions, many of them have for centuries swarmed to the Yemen, Egypt, Syria and, during the last three centuries especially, also to India and Netherlands India. Of all parts of the Arabian peninsula, Ḥaḍramaut is pre-eminently the land of emigration.

In Netherlands India they have even, in earlier times, 167
succeeded in founding sultanates (e. g. Siak, Pontianak), but 14
now they content themselves with trade and money transactions. Some of them, having become wealthy, return to their own country, but others prefer to enjoy, away from the disturbances of Ḥaḍramaut, the pleasures that are there unattainable. Millionaires are also to be found amongst this fluctuating population of Netherlands India, which numbers seventy to eighty thousand souls. Mr. L. W. C. Van den Berg, adviser to the Netherlands India Government, in 1886, published a book, which, besides statistics of the Ḥaḍramī settlement in the East Indian Archipelago, contained also a description of the native land of these immigrants, compiled from information collected from them in Java. In the 19th

167 114 century, attempts to become acquainted with this remarkable land, through personal investigation, were not lacking, but these efforts did not yield the desired results.

114 In his chapter on the exploration of the "Southern Borderlands" Hogarth calls Ḥaḍramaut "the most important part of the borderland, the ill-known inner region of the centre" and says of it that it "long remained the despair of the curious in the history and geography of Arabia". Intrepid travellers such as Von Wrede, Hirsch and the Bents have contributed much to our knowledge of the littoral with its roadsteads of el-Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, which has to be passed in order to penetrate into Ḥaḍramaut Proper; here has developed lately a fairly vigorous autocracy, which is practically under British protectorate and which puts no great difficulties in the way of European visitors. But though the authority of the Sultan of al-Makalla also extends over a small part of the hinterland, Ḥaḍramaut Proper falls outside its scope, and most of the princes and princelings there, who are at loggerheads with one another, are not very kindly disposed towards him. The aforementioned travellers therefore scarcely, if at all, managed to cast a hurried glance over a small section of that mysterious valley-complex. He who succeeded in reaching a Ḥaḍramī town, was speedily ejected and might deem himself lucky to have escaped with his life. A quiet visit to the inhabited part of the country being thus beset with difficulties, it was even more out of the question for them to investigate the secrets of the Well of Barhūt, that accursed, temporary resting-place of the souls of the Unbelievers, from which, so it was fabled, poisonous gasses belched forth; or to make a pilgrimage to the pre-Muhammadan sanctuary, which is regarded by the Ḥaḍramīs as the tomb of the pre-historic prophet Hūd.

After faithfully reviewing what Von Wrede, Hirsch and the Bents did and what they did not accomplish, Hogarth was right in concluding with the observation that "Hadramaut has yet to be visited by any one so well protected and so

24:Meulen and Wismann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# CHAPTER I.

## THE DEPARTURE.

### ADEN—MAKALLA.

We owe our journey to Ḥaḍramaut to a mission entrusted to us by the Netherlands Government. Later it will become clear how deep-lying the contact is between Ḥaḍramaut and Netherlands India, and how self-evident it is that the Dutch Government should wish to make itself accurately acquainted with the social and political conditions in the native land of the tens of thousands of Arabs, who form such an important element in the social fabric of that country. The Ḥaḍramis are not absorbed into the union of Indonesian peoples, and many of them keep a firm hold on the connection with their own country, in the hope that some day they may be able to return there, to await the Day of Resurrection and Judgment in that hallowed ground. The charge entrusted to Dr. van den Berg to write his book, which was published by the Government of Netherlands India, resulted from the practical needs of that Government with regard to the heterogeneous peoples of Indonesia. So also with the mission entrusted to me.

Although I knew how difficult it had been made, until now, for a Christian and Westerner to penetrate into the land of the fanatical Ḥaḍrami, yet I had some hope of success in the attempt, and this for two reasons.

The years that I had spent in the civil service of Netherlands India had given me the conviction that the Ḥaḍrami is grateful for the treatment which he receives there from our Government and for the opportunities which he has to save money and to get op in the world. As a government official of Netherlands India I had not reckoned in vain on finding a welcome among the Ḥaḍrami families having relations with Indo-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr was quite official in character; 647
there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been mono- [463]
polised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramīs have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramīs are Dutch subjects and as I was con- 648
sidered to be their partisan, an impression which had been 641
still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ᶜAluwī el-ᶜAṭṭās, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer 162
told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramīs come from Java every year 167
and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. 272
Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export 439
figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity, will rapidly increase in the future.

### 8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we 135
clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



system of drinking- and at the same time cooling-bowls, among poor and rich alike. 271

Our host spoke with longing of beautiful, rich Java and of the good years that he had passed there, and it was obvious that he would have liked to return there but for leaving his family behind, for the Ḥaḍramī woman does not leave her country with her husband. It was clear, from the friendly farewell, that I had not been wrong in thinking that my years passed as a civil servant in Netherlands India would facilitate my travels in Ḥaḍramaut. 167

They all went a little way with us to see us off and were photographed at their own request. We followed the broad *sēl*-bed [1] crossing the plateau surrounded by terraces of about 300 feet high. There, where the plateau ends, lies, at a height of 50 feet the village of Ḥimem on a hill at the edge of the wādī to which it gives its name. At the foot of the hill, there are very tall coco-nut trees, the last that we shall see for the time being, for the altitude is already 3000 feet. A conduit full of water, fed by little springs at the edge of the wādī, irrigates fields of *dhura* and of neatly-planted and well-cultivated tobacco. It is true that it is not first-class Ḥumūmī tobacco that is raised here, but even so it commands a good market price. 138 312

The evening falls and we are obliged to camp soon after leaving Ḥimem. The valley has here penetrated into the sandstone and the conglomerates under the eocene limestone. Here at a height of 3000 feet the nights are already cold. According to our Bedouins, who are good water-tasters, the water also improves in proportion as one gets further away from the coast; all salt and bitterness gradually disappears from it. 133 271

In our bivouac at Ḥimem we had to put away again a great harvest of plants and insects; the swallow-tail butterfly was also found here. 136

The mayor of Ḥimem came to visit us in our camp. He told us that his village of 200 to 300 inhabitants grows tobacco, 249

[1] The bed through which the water flows for a short time after rain.

622 At the castle we found Bā Ṣurra again seated between two
627 sons, in the midst of his counsellors and the Bedouin chiefs;
162 there are also present some soldiers somewhat in the background, the grandsons and other offspring in our vicinity, and the slave who makes the tea.

The old *Ḥākim* and his family are photographed in a large group on the terrace close to the *madjlis*. Then begin long conversations in which our endless questions are patiently answered. Bā Ṣurra himself tells us that the whole of Wādī Dōʿan and its tributary, Wādī el-Ēsar, are under his jurisdiction. In about fifty villages there are 20.000 inhabi-
871 tants. There are only two small schools, both of them founded and maintained by that remarkable sayyid of Terīm, Abū Bakr bin Shēkh el-Kāf. It is certainly extraordinary that this leading personage of the Āl Kathīr district should be the founder and supporter of most of the schools in the territory of el-Qeʿēṭī. Many of the schools in Makalla and esh-Shiḥr are also due to el-Kāf's generosity. Khurēba, the old centre of Wādī Dōʿan, has a school with seventy to eighty pupils, and the other is in Qēdūn, with from twenty to fifty pupils.

346 There are in Bā Ṣurra's province nearly 200 mosques, some
167 among them very fine ones, which are often the property of
556 rich sayyids and connected with their houses. The fortunes of these rich men are always made in foreign lands. Every district of Ḥaḍramaut has its own particular countries to which its people emigrate in swarms to make money; from Wādī Dōʿan they go to Abyssinia, the coast towns of the Red Sea, and the coast of East Africa. Barely a hundred have gone out from here to Java, though from Wādī el-Ēsar, on the other hand, quite 500 have done so.

162 There are also 1500 Bedouins under Bā Ṣurra's jurisdiction,
622 among them the whole Sēbān tribe from the Qibla region (*i. e.* from the North). The chief of the Deyyin tribe, ʿUthmān bin Muḥammad el-ʿAmūdī, the ruler in Rēdet ed-Deyyin, is

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



for themselves in each other's unwashed cups. Our host devotes himself entirely to us; he frequently absents himself to see that preparations are made for a meal without delay. Sounds of music and song reach us from the women, who are making merry in the adjoining room. In spite of the sweltering heat, the song with its refrain, the concerted clapping of hands and dancing to the monotonous music are carried on with great enthusiasm. Our host invites us urgently and repeatedly to spend the night with him. Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, who is with us, has, however, so great a longing to see his family in his own country that, on his account, we decide to start for el-Meshhed in the afternoon. Meanwhile our delicately solicitous host has quietly had a room made ready in a distant corner of the great double house. He sees how tired we are and whispers to us to follow him so as to escape from the interest and curiosity of the constantly changing visitors. These fellow townsmen, against whom one cannot protect oneself, will not penetrate into this quiet room; we can stretch ourselves out on the floor on the simple mats and rugs, and our host will see to it that we are not disturbed for an hour. Then the meal is brought up to us without a sound, and we are only awakened when the yellow-coloured rice awaits us, ready served in flat dishes, on the round eating-mat, along with dishes of boiled mutton and gravy. A round flat bread-cake lies in front of each of our places on the mat. Our host apologizes for the scarcity and simplicity of the food offered to us, but we fall to with a thankful "In the name of Allah." The practice of spicing the rice and meat very strongly must have been introduced from Java and India. They overdo the seasoning to such an extent for foreign guests that, after the first pangs of hunger have been appeased, it is a real effort to continue eating.

Our host speaks Malay by preference and likes to talk about Cheribon on the north coast of Java, where his family rose to prominence and where he hopes to return in a few months, after the date harvest. His father possesses 20 houses

169 there. He knows as many as 150 men who have gone from
556 Hadjarēn to seek their fortunes in Java. The little town has now at most 3000 inhabitants. Before we leave, I have to look at the Dutch passports of our host and his relations, make a note of their adresses, and promise to look them up later on in Cheribon. They have fully earned any small attention from our side; we stand amazed over the simple, genuine kindness that we received in this house, especially after our sad experience in Ṣīf.

609 At our departure all sorts of Malay speaking Hadjarēners endeavour to exchange a few words with the white government official from their second fatherland. And, instead of being surrounded by faces with expressions of hate and contempt, and malicious, insulting remarks about *Naṣrānīs*, who should not be allowed to pollute the land, our exodus here is a small triumphal procession, crowded round as we are by the exuberant youth of the streets, all trying to air their knowledge of the Malay language.

## 4. ACROSS THE NEUTRAL ZONE BETWEEN EL-QEʿĒṬĪ AND ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

622 Guides of the el-ʿAṭṭās clan have offered themselves to
172 take us to el-Meshhed, the first place in the domain of the
131 Āl Kathīr, which is, however, actually under the supervision of the el-ʿAṭṭās family. Our caravan divides, as Von Wissmann, with a couple of young sayyids, the Yāfiʿ soldiers, one of our *ʿabīd* (slave soldiers), and a whole band of street-arabs sets out to ascend Djebel Hadjarēn to see whether the ruins, of which we have been told, are really to be found, to take photographs and to survey. The territory of the Qeʿēṭis ends just beyond Hadjarēn. Further up, in the midst of Ḥaḍramaut Proper, there lie, like islands, the districts of Ḥōra and el-Qaṭn-Shībām, which are subject to the Qeʿēṭī régime. The neutral zone, which we now enter, is an ideal hunting-ground for robbers and thieves.

going to erect a house for himself here and, in accordance 346
with the good custom, begins with the mosque. There are
some fine houses in Ḥurēḍa whose owners live in Djohore, 167
Singapore, or Java. The actual inhabitants seem to be very 511
poor. Outside the town there are some fine date-plantations,
it is true, but the total impression is one of decline. Everything
that is fine and prosperous owes its existence to money that is
earned abroad. The tie between a Ḥaḍramī and his birth-place [181]
is very close, and if he is doing well, he returns from time to
time, and when he sees the evening of his life approaching
he longs to spend it in the little mud town where he was born,
and, finally, to await the Day of Resurrection in Ḥaḍramī soil,
which for him is consecrated ground. This is why there are
here palaces and country-seats of sayyids and mighty castles
of sultans, whilst the Bedouins live in rock-caves or lean-to
shelters, always on the verge of starvation, and the home-
staying town-dweller does not rise beyond a very poverty-
stricken existence. We are only just at the portal of actual
Ḥaḍramaut and soon shall see contrasts so moving, that it will
sometimes be difficult to grasp the fact that we are in a real
world, and are not dreaming after reading a centuries-old story
from the "Arabian Nights".

### 3. THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE TOWN.

On May 21st we intended to see something of the surround- 000
ings of Ḥurēḍa. Therefore, we asked Sayyid ʿAlī, the Bedouin
member of the el-ʿAṭṭās family, to go with us. Most sayyids
are not to be tempted for walks in the country at this time of
the year! At the request of some of the notables we go to a
spring which flows from out the mountain-wall a mile south-
west of Ḥurēḍa, just at the spot where the limestone stratum
rests on sandstone. Enemy Bedouins are said to have stopped
up this spring, which formerly flowed much more copiously.
The foreigners, held to be so proficient in all technical matters [609]
must say how the spring is to be put right. If there were

162 According to my informant, Ḥurēḍa has now about
581 2000 inhabitants. There are some 4000 people living in Java who originally came thence. During the last 20 years from 300 to 400 men have left Ḥurēḍa to try their luck in Java. The successful ones come back occasionally for short periods and then return again to their business in the Indies. When they can afford it, they send their sons to Ḥaḍramaut, where they remain for five or six years to become intimate with their family, language, religion and traditions. The daughters *never* come from Java to Ḥaḍramaut just as the women here *never* go to Java. Consequently the children born there are always of mixed race. Sayyid Ḥasan could only remember one Ḥaḍramī woman who had succeeded in carrying through her wish of accompanying her husband to Batavia. Generally the wives do not wish, nor have they the courage, to do so.
167 I learned later on that Javanese and Chinese women are, how-
463 ever, brought to Ḥaḍramaut. They are said to be very much
162 sought after as housekeepers and cooks. Purely Javanese boys, who have come to study the religion and language, are not to be found in Ḥurēḍa, and only a few in other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Ḥasan estimates the number of Ḥaḍramīs living in Hyderabad to be at least 13.000, for the greater part serving as men and officers of the *Niẓām*'s Arabian regiment. Many of the families of note here have Hyderabad officers among their ancestors.

[162] In Shibām, Sēwūn, Terīm and ᶜĒnāt there are, according
565 to my informant, 6000 sayyids, and another 4000 in Wādī Dōᶜan, Wādī ᶜAmd, Wādī Rakhīya, and Djibāl Hadjaz. Three divisions of the Ḥumūmī Bedouins are sayyids. Originally their leaders were sayyids, who were gradually absorbed into the tribe of which they have come to form a part. All sayyids in Ḥaḍramaut belong to the ᶜAluwī branch. The founder of the family was ᶜAluwī binᶜUbēd Allāh bin Aḥmed (who came from ᶜIrāq) bin ᶜĪsā bin ᶜAlī el-ᶜUrēḍī bin Djaᶜfar eṣ-Ṣādiq bin Muḥammad el-Bāqir bin Zain el-ᶜĀbidīn bin Ḥusēn bin ᶜAlī bin Abī Ṭālib. In Ḥaḍramaut Proper the sayyids have still an in-

000 then stay with him in el-Qaṭn, and, whilst there, visit with him the Ḥimyaritic antiquities in the vicinity. He will then arrange for camels and donkeys, and we shall be able to return to Makalla through Wādī Ḥuwēre in six or seven days. What Sultan ʿAlī says coincides with the advice given us by the Vizier in Makalla and represents the standpoint of el-Qeʿēṭī. We do not wish to make an immediate decision, for we should prefer to return by a different route, but, on the other hand, wish to keep open the possibility of making the return journey through Qeʿēṭī territory, so as not to cut ourselves off from the support of the authorities here.

### 5. SHIBĀM "EL-DJARĪMA, THE GRAND".

162 Shibām has as many as 500 towering houses and about
●167 8000 inhabitants. The number reaches 9000 if one includes
361 the whole garden suburb and the workmen's quarter outside
471 the walls of the town. There is a school with about 250 pupils, which was founded and is maintained by our hosts. In the town itself there are five large, fine mosques, almost the only low buildings and also the only entirely white ones. Outside the town, but belonging to it, there are seven more. A quarter of the masculine population is travelling constantly abroad to make money, the greater part going to Makalla and Aden. About 100 are in Java and 50 in Singapore. The Āl Ṭuwēy, for example, have house property in Singapore, Batavia and Surabaya, and when times are good they also carry on trade. Altogether about 30 households live on this family property. All the house property of the Laʿdjam brothers is at Singapore. The well-known capitalist Bā Swēdān, who is a great landowner and has hundreds of houses in Singapore and Batavia, also comes from Shibām. Sēwūn and Terīm, however, are the centres where the Ḥaḍramīs live who have made riches in Java, and there are a great number of Dutch subjects in these towns.

000 In Shibām no poll-tax is paid by the population as is the

In the middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One can see that we are nearing Terim with its refinements of civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many Ḥaḍramis who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the *ṣalāt* and by meals. As the Sultan[1] has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[1] ['Alī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin āL Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn -- Analist]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



493 in the saddle, for the camel sees obstacles on the ground, which escape my searching eye, so that unexpected sweryes are the result. It is a fantastic and most exhausting ride, which only comes to an end when, close to the little town of ʿAmd, we reach the house in which we are to be lodged. The rest of the caravan arrives after us in dribblets, and before long we are sitting together on the spacious roof of our guest-house, onto which crowds of inquisitive folk are flocking.

511 Nowhere, so far, had so much Malay been spoken and
●169 nowhere was conversation so frank and open. ʿAmd appears
191 to be a town on the decline and very poor and to suffer
186 much from protracted warfare. This condition of things leads the young men to seek their fortunes out of the country, Java attracting the bulk of them. The consequence is that a great many wives and children remain behind in poverty. The number of boys who are sent from Java to be brought up in ʿAmd is relatively large. They can be distinguished at once from among their dirty little comrades by their better dress and greater cleanliness. They form a part of our visitors that night and begin with great boldness to talk in Malay, to show off their knowledge. These youngsters look upon their sojourn in ʿAmd as a real period of exile and pine for Java.

000 The discussions over plans for our further journey were disappointing. It was considered to be out of the question for us to go to Niṣāb, but they could certainly bring us to the coast towns of Bal-Ḥāf or Bīr ʿAlī. Everyone deserted us at this point, even our own Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās, but we held on to Niṣāb. Before we retired to a roof-terrace higher up, we had Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf's letter of introduction and those from the Sultans of Sēwūn and Shibām read aloud, which made a noticeable impression. I added thereto that we were determined to go to Niṣāb and that we wished to leave on the morrow. So we bade farewell to this company, which was to carry on its consultations until deep into the night.

132 It is appreciably cooler at ʿAmd than it is further in Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm being the hottest place. The altitude of

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadramaut MN2



133 vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Never-
132 theless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in
244 normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley, and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the
[315] highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from
132 wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the
241 pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supple-
439 mented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until
167 recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from
262 the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

161 The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952
631 was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of
648 some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of
443 varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Government and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 37–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 103; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

throughout MM2
Aden MM1

H there are still slaves in the Protectorate but
504 sweeper class, they are not untouchables unlike the
The Arabian attitude toward the slave is not unkind: the slave has certain customary rights, and is better fed and clothed than many who are free.

Y These mountaineers hardly resemble the Arab of popular imagination, nor do they wear
140 headbands and flowing robes. The Yemenite Arabs are usually of slight stature, dark-skinned and beardless, though there are so many types that it is impossible to generalise.
000 They are a charming people, and civilised. Their condition would be much improved had they lasting peace and good government, though the complete opening-up of the country to outside influence and commerce would spell disaster for an economic system which has worked with success for two or three thousand
Y years. To an ever-increasing degree the Pro-
H tectorate and South Yemen have become
A economically dependent on the port of
● 167 Aden. Labour is drawn from the up-country
464 villages. The villager will go to Aden and
465 earn £1 : 10 : 6 a month at coolie work, live on 7s. 6d. out of that sum, and save the rest
A to return to his village. There he will remain until necessity drives him to earn more. A
162 large proportion of the inhabitants of Aden must be composed of these floating elements of population.

Internally the motor-lorry has made com-
H munications between the towns much easier;
494 the aeroplane, too, has made a difference
509 to the Protectorate and is a familiar sight in some places. It is now possible to control
178 areas with a handful of planes where formerly thousands of ground troops were necessary to penetrate.

Y
346

R. B. Seafield

*The Turkish mosque in San'a, capital of the Yemen*

P 72 (B)

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# ADEN PROTECTORATE

## PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

THE poor rainfall of 1948 was repeated in 1949; but the rains of 1950 were in almost all areas exceptionally good and the economic situation is generally better than it has been for a long period. The new forms of administration in Shaib and Beihan progressed slowly but satisfactorily and up to the end of the period the political situation was generally improved, especially in Lower Yafa'i, where more friendly relations were restored between Government and the Sultan. At the very end of the period, on Christmas Eve, the attempted assassination of the British Agent in Shairi country in the Amiri State made a punitive expedition necessary; but order was being restored by the end of 1950. [132] 618

In August, 1949, Yemeni troops began to build a fort on Protectorate soil near Najd Marqad in Beihan State. It was eventually found necessary to destroy this fort by air action. This serious incident resulted in an Anglo-Yemeni conference in London in the autumn of 1950 for the purpose of discussing a means of finally clearing away points of misunderstanding between the two Governments.

A number of clashes made it necessary to re-enter the northern part of the lower Awlaqi State. Order was restored by the end of 1950 with a show of force but no actual fighting.

It is hoped that the erection of a fort, now completed, on the main road will put a final stop to trade route incidents in Qutebi country.

A large number of Jews passed through the Protectorate on their way to Aden to be flown to Israel. This operation passed off without a single incident in which a Jew suffered any physical harm. [167]

The development of the Abyan scheme greatly raised the revenues of the Fadhli and Lower Yafa'i states and social services are improving as a result.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

*Political*

The settlement of the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary dispute and the general prevalence of peace in tribal areas and throughout the country allowed efforts to be concentrated on development of agriculture and improvement of the administrative machinery. 631

More responsibility was given to Naibs (local Arab District Com-

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hathrawat MM2

# Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the
167 Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. All the Jews in Wahidi State emigrated to Israel in 1950, and there are now no Jews in the Eastern Protectorate.

# Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½. Working hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March.
467 There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

# Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western Aden Protectorate's expenditure for the years 1949-50 and 1950-51:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

| | 1949–50 | 1950–51 |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Staff and Miscellaneous .. .. .. | 45,313 | 64,026 |
| Government Guards (includes Wireless Telegraphy establishment) .. .. | 60,754 | 75,051 |
| Subsidies to local forces .. .. .. | 5,257 | 3,638 |
| Medical .. .. .. .. .. | 6,964 | 7,005 |
| Education .. .. .. .. .. | 3,030 | 3,926 |
| Aden Protectorate College .. .. | 3,614 | 3,681 |
| Agriculture .. .. .. .. .. | 10,245 | 11,172 |
| | 135,177 | 168,499 |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# PART V

## Chapter 1: Population

161 THE population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. There are no
• 167 Jews now in the Eastern and Western Protectorates as they have all emigrated to Israel.

## Chapter 2: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from *Shs.*1.50 to *Shs.*3 per day. Working
467 hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably shorter from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 3: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of Her Majesty's Government's expenditure in the Protectorates for the years 1951–52 and 1952–53:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

| | 1951–52 | 1952–53 |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 40,706 | 51,054 |
| Government Guards (including W/T establishments) | 68,602 | 84,858 |
| Subsidies to Local Forces | 3,411 | 2,801 |
| Health | 7,315 | 16,110 |
| Education | 3,213 | 7,753 |
| Aden Protectorate College | 2,229 | — |
| Agriculture | 10,158 | 14,083 |
| | 135,624 | 176,659 |

lying fishing villages on the coast and the second peninsula of Little Aden.

The Protectorate population is not accurately known, but estimates for 1948 place the total for Western Aden Protectorate at about 150,000, and for Eastern Aden Protectorate at 300,000. The local governments are tribal, and range in organization from sultanates to smaller autonomous units of varying size and complexity. The principal state in the western protectorate is the Abdali Sultanate of Lahej, with its capital in the oasis town of Lahej, about 20 miles inland from Aden. The Qu'aiti Sultanate of Mukalla and Shihr and the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra are the largest and the most influential states in the east. Probably about three quarters of the inhabitants in Eastern Aden Protectorate dwell in the Hadhramaut, the region of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the adjacent coastlands. The term is often loosely applied to the entire central portion of the Protectorate, but politically it is restricted to the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri Sultanates. Several middle and important towns are found on the slopes of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the connecting valleys, while Mukalla, the seat of government of the Qu'aiti, and Ash Shihr are prominent ports on the eastern coast. In addition to the settled peoples, numerous nomadic Bedouin tribes roam the steppes with their flocks. The residence of the Mahri Sultan is on Socotra, a rocky island with a population of about 3,000.

The inhabitants of the Protectorate are mainly of south Arabian stock, but Malay admixtures are encountered in many parts of the Hadhramaut. Small colonies of Indians and Somalis are settled along the coast. Jewish communities of ancient origin are located in scattered villages in the western highlands and the Hadhramaut. They totaled only about 1,500 in 1948, and their numbers have since been depleted by emigration to Israel. The Hadhramis have long tended to emigrate to the islands of southeastern Asia, to East Africa and to countries bordering on the Red Sea, and many sub-

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
MI Middle East
ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2
H
[102
361]

sequently return to their home settlements with their savings. Arabic is the language of the indigenous peoples, but Malay tongues are widely used in the towns of the Hadhramaut. Swahili, the *franca lingua* of East Africa, is understood throughout most of the area, while English is extensively employed in Aden proper. The majority of Arabs are Moslems, belonging to branches of the Sunni sect. Other religions are found chiefly among the different racial groups in the Colony and in the coast towns of the Protectorate.

Education has made considerable progress in the Colony, and is gradually being introduced into the Protectorate. Primary schools for both sexes are supported by the government in the Colony, and by mission and private organizations. The Colonial authorities also operate secondary and vocational schools for boys. There are no post-secondary institutions, but government scholarships are available for the training of teachers and various professional personnel in the Anglo-Egytian Sudan or in the United Kingdom. The literacy rate among children of 6 to 12 years of age is estimated at 90 per cent, in contrast with 20 to 25 per cent in the general population. A program for the expansion of education

N 167 H 191 A H 795 A H 871 H 658 871 N 212 185 658

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathīri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

### Domestic Life and Appliances

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of

ADEN MMI

urban communities in the Middle East. Pulmonary infections predominate, but other forms of the disease are also observed. A 164 837 861 659

Tuberculosis is widespread in the immigrant populations in Aden, as shown by the fact that 58 to 70 per cent of the cases of pulmonary tuberculosis recorded in the three years 1948-50 were in nonresidents. Among the 550 cases reported in 1950, Aden was the place of origin in 152, Yemen in 193, Western Aden Protectorate in 99, Eastern Aden Protectorate in 12, and Somaliland, India and other countries in the remainder. In the decade 1941-50, the number of deaths attributed to pulmonary tuberculosis ranged from 113 to 261 a year, with peaks of prevalance associated with large migrations of immigrants. H A 164 167

Although tuberculosis has long been regarded as a major cause of sickness and death in the Colony, few facilities for diagnosis and treatment existed before 1945. In that year, the health authorities initiated a campaign for the reduction of tuberculosis in all ecopomic groups of the population. The diagnostic services were reorganized and X-ray equipment provided. Special wards were also added to the civilian hospitals; the number of beds available for the treatment of tuberculosis was increased from 18 in 1945 to 150 in 1951. As a further preventive measure, a program of supervised domiciliary treatment was introduced in 1947 to furnish care to persons who could not be hospitalized. A 164 758 744

Following the organization of the anti-tuberculosis campaign, there was a decrease in the specific death rates from around 29.3 per 10,000 population in the period 1931-44 to 11.3 in 1950. In the latter year, the corrected rate for the local population alone was 8.4 per 10,000. A tuberculin testing and BCG inoculation program was planned for 1952 by the Medical and Health Department, in co-operation with the World Health Organization. A 164 165 744 758

Smallpox. In spite of the fact that localized epidemics of smallpox are recurrent in the Protectorate, no outbreaks have been H A 164

p. 247(B)

A 164 reported from the Colony of Aden since 1929. A few cases are treated almost every A 758 year in the Colony hospitals, but, with rare 167 exceptions, they have occurred among im- 751 migrant families or among persons arriving from other ports. Vaccination against smallpox is compulsory for all residents of the A Colony. In addition, intensive revaccination 751 campaigns are undertaken by the health authorities whenever cases are discovered, or when outbreaks are reported from adjacent areas, as at the time of the epidemic in Mukalla in 1949. Although visitors to the Colony are required to possess valid certificates of vaccination, enforcement is sometimes difficult because of the large numbers of dhows and other small vessels which ply between Aden and Indian or African ports. Vaccination posts are established along the land frontiers on caravan routes from Yemen and Western Aden Protectorate, at which immigrants are examined, and, if necessary, vaccinated.

A 11 **Other Infections.** Pneumonia is widespread, ranking among the leading causes 164 of death in both the Colony and the Pro- ● 167 tectorate. The fatality rate among the im- 165 migrant community in the Colony is unusually high, since many of the individuals who flock to the port in search of work or medical attention arrive in a debilitated condition. Sporadic cases of diphtheria are reported each year from the Colony. Chickenpox, measles, mumps and poliomyelitis are endemic. Localized outbreaks of meningococcus meningitis are recorded occasionally.

### Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Contact

A 164 **Venereal Diseases.** All forms of venereal diseases are observed among the civilian populations in Aden Colony. Syphilis and gonorrhea are reportable, but the statistics probably fail to give a true picture of the relative frequency of the different venereal infections. In 1948 and 1949, following the inauguration of a campaign for better re-

p. 248(A)

73 per cent in Shoqra. In most localities, the infection rates ranged from 27 to 88 per cent among children under 15 years of age and from zero to 48 per cent in persons over 15 years of age. The Fadhli and the Abdali tribal districts were the most seriously affected regions visited. H 164 659

Diseases of the Skin. Favus, ringworm and other mycotic skin infections are widely distributed. Madura foot is common in the Protectorate, and cases are seen in the Colony hospitals each year among patients from the interior. Phagedenic ulcers are responsible for considerable disability among laborers in the Colony and in all parts of the Protectorate. Several thousand cases are treated each year in the hospitals and the dispensaries in Aden Colony, where they are usually designated as "Yemen ulcers." The ankle is the most frequent site of infection, and amputation is often necessary in neglected cases. A H 164 167 A 758

Scabies and impetigo are prevalent, especially among the children of inland towns and villages who live under congested, insanitary conditions. By contrast, surprisingly few cases of scabies are encountered among the children seen in the schools in Aden township. A H 164 511 515

Leprosy. Leprosy is endemic in the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been reported from the Colony within recent years. The infection is probably not extensive, although foci of the disease are known to exist in the Hadhramaut and in the Lahej, the Dhala' and the Abyen areas in the western protectorate. As lepers are not discriminated against socially, some difficulty is encountered in controlling the movement of infected individuals in the Colony. A small leper hospital is located at Sheikh Othman: it receives patients not only from Aden territory but also from Yemen. Eighteen of the 29 patients in residence in 1939[18] were open nodular or lepromatous cases. A H 164 A H 743 164 183

Other Infections. Tetanus is endemic, but reported cases are rare. A H 164

p. 249 (A)

year for evidence of plague. The disease has not been reported from the Protectorate. A 744

**Other Infections.** Localized outbreaks of louse-borne relapsing fever have been recorded from the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been encountered in Aden. Cases of relapsing fever were frequently discovered at the time of the typhus outbreaks in 1944-45. H A 164

Occasional cases of kala-azar are seen in the Colony hospitals, usually among immigrants from Yemen. Two cases, in which the diagnosis of kala-azar was confirmed by spleen puncture, were recently reported from the Civil Hospital.[20] Both originated in southern Yemen, one from the vicinity of Ta'izz and the other from a village near the border of Western Aden Protectorate. Sporadic cases of Oriental sore are also treated in Aden, but the extent of infection in the interior is uncertain. H A 167 164

Cases suspected of being sandfly fever are common. The vector, *Phlebotomus papatasii*, is widely distributed. Guinea worm infection is endemic in the Hadhramaut and in certain coastal districts in the Protectorate. Imported cases are often observed in Aden Colony. Travelers from endemic centers in Africa thought to be suffering from yellow fever are sometimes admitted to the Colony hospitals, but no indigenous cases have been reported.

### Nutritional Diseases

Undernutrition is prevalent, particularly among the immigrant laborers in Aden and the poorer villagers and the Bedouin in the interior. Few studies of the prevalence of nutritional diseases have been made, but, in view of the inadequate diet of large sections of the population, deficiency conditions are probably numerous, particularly as regards protein and vitamins C, A and riboflavin of the B complex. Rickets is common in the Protectorate, while minor symptoms of the disease were detected in 17 per cent of 264 schoolchildren examined in Aden township in 1945. Spongy gums, gingivitis and other signs of vitamin C de- A 146 464 511 361 A H 146 164

p. 251 (A)

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Historical South Arabia ML2



H 805

as a general rule only the Muhammadan calendar is used. As it is used in internal affairs of Government, it appears in this report. I left Aden for the Hadhramaut on 29th October 1934, which is equivalent to 20th Rajab, 1353, and returned on 1st January, 1935, or 26th Ramadhan, 1353.

H 805 177

In Mukalla and Shihr the time is officially considered to be half-an-hour in advance of Aden, and is announced by the beating of gongs, somewhat erratically it must be confessed, at police posts. This is a familiar kind of public clock to those who know East Africa. The hours are marked in these towns in the European way, but in the interior the Arab reckoning is followed, and the day ends at sunset which is 12 o'clock. Thus our Wednesday night is the "night of Thursday" and 7 p.m. or 7 a.m. is one o'clock. It is curious that in most other parts of the Protectorate the Arabs have adopted the European reckoning of the hours, learnt of course from Aden.

H [71]

## CHAPTER II.

## HISTORY IN INSCRIPTION AND TRADITION.

### 1. The Early History of the Hadhramaut.

SA 127

"What a famous man believes as to his remote ancestral origins is often of more import than the dry, literal truth." With these words a great biographer began his biography of a great man. They apply perhaps with almost equal force to a country. What the people believe of their early history is often more important in the shaping of their future history than the forgotten truth. Certainly it has seemed so to me with the history of the Hadhramaut. For this reason I have summarized in some detail the traditional, and often orthodox, account of its origins, continuing it in one narrative to modern times, and leaving it to the reader to decide at which point he cares to accept it as a record of actual happening.

I propose to preface to the narrative a short summary of the history of the country, as far as it has been gleaned to date, from the South Arabian, commonly called Himyaritic, inscriptions. Before these inscriptions, of which comparatively few have as yet been published, were discovered and deciphered, knowledge of ancient South Arabian history was derived from a few scripture texts and some treasured references in Greek and Latin authors. Apart from this, there were only Arab sources. The witness of the monuments and modern exploration have abundantly confirmed the former and seriously impeached the latter.

SA 101 438

The amount of information to be gleaned from the classical geographers can be written in a very few lines. Strabo, after mentioning the Sabaeans and the Katabanaeans, says "lastly furthest to the east are the Chatramotitae, having the city of Sabata." He also says "Kattabania produces incense, but Chatramotitis myrrh." Theophrastus in his *History of Plants* says

643 "If the representative disobeys the ruler, or shows any opposition, or does not maintain justice and oppresses the people, or gives no account of his administration, the ruler may dismiss him and appoint another in his place. If the ruler wishes to give him another appointment and does not desire that he should act as a representative he may be discharged and another appointed in his stead. The ruler is at liberty to appoint or dismiss whom he likes from the cities.

"The ruler must provide his successors, their sons and relatives, with an adequate allowance of food, clothing, riding animals, etc., and he must provide a settled allowance of food, clothing, etc., on the sons of the sons of his brother 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti, and on his descendants from generation to generation; also on the sons of the sons of Ghalib and descendants from generation to generation. He must also provide for those living in the ports of Shihr and Mukalla and their dependencies, or in the Hadhramaut, Shibam, and Haura, and for their descendants from generation to generation, and consider them as his sons.

"Every ruler who reigns over the ports of Shihr or Mukalla and their dependencies, as well as Shibam, Hadhramaut, etc., should provide such an allowance as is possible to all those related to our late father, 'Umar bin 'Awadh, and the sons of their sons who reside at Shihr or Mukalla and their dependencies, Hadhramaut, or Shibam, provided they are under his command, and obey, comply, and submit to him and are his supporters and assistants.

"If the ruler becomes insane, or be a minor his successor should act on his behalf until his recovery or until he is of age. This is all that should be followed."

[648] It does not appear that British approval was given to this will, nor indeed is it clear that it was required, though the Government had apparently already intervened in questions of the succession. It will be seen that the will in effect laid down a constitution for the Qu'aiti state, though it is not in practice being followed at the present day, and that the ordinary methods of election of a Sultan do not apply.

643 171 'Umar bin 'Awadh could never have founded the present Qu'aiti dynasty if he had remained in the Hadhramaut. The fortunes of that dynasty were laid in India, and ever since 'Umar took service under the Nizam of Hyderabad and made his name and fortune in that service, the connection with Hyderabad has been maintained. His descendants are hereditary Jemadars in the Nizam's forces, but the connection with India became more than one of service in a foreign army for several members of the family married Indian ladies, so that there is now much Indian blood in the family. Apart from the fact that they consider their Hadhramaut possessions as a private estate, they have other private estates which in his will

[i.e., of 'Umar bin Awadh al Qu'aiti, founder of the Qu'aiti dynasty; see pp. 80-82, category 643 -- Analyst]

Sultan 'Awadh dealt with on the same footing as those of the Hadhramaut. 643 171

Although the Indian connection is not a popular one with the indigenous inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, the dominant Yafa'i section of the population finds no objection to it, and it has in fact been the means of the introduction of a more advanced system of Government than any to be found elsewhere in the Protectorate, with the possible exception of Lahej where the enlightened rule of the 'Abdali dynasty again owes much to external influence, namely, to its close proximity to Aden. It has already been sufficiently indicated that Sultan 'Umar and his brother have been largely responsible for many of these improvements. After travelling in the western part of the Protectorate the contrast between the conditions in the Lower Yemen and those in the Hadhramaut are indeed remarkable. I do not think that anywhere else in the Protectorate the power of one authority is to be found extended over such a large area of country. There is a more than embryonic 642 show of good order and organized Government in Qu'aiti territory 185 on the coast, in the Mukalla and Shihr provinces, and up through the Du'an province to the Shibam province. This much I have seen with my own eyes and have observed the close contact between Provincial and Central Governments. From all accounts the condition is the same in the Hajr province. By his system of political arrangements with the tribes in and around Qu'aiti territory the Sultan has done much to make travel secure and easy. He has an army and police force in which discipline and administration are not lacking.

Apart from this comparatively satisfactory policing of the country, there is a growing tendency to promote educational and other social services in the Qu'aiti dominions, especially in Mukalla and Shihr, and there is in those parts a very colourable imitation of the machinery of western Government.

Although the rule over the Hadhramaut has thus been influenced 642 to a large extent by Indian ideas, and although excessive Indianisation is unpopular with the pure Hadhramaut elements, nevertheless 177 the administration escapes a great deal of unpopularity by its 186 employment of local Arabs and slaves throughout the interior of 643 the country. Even in the Kathiri camp I found that Sultan 'Umar was personally popular, and during his tour through the country he was very well received.

The interior of the Qu'aiti territory is now fast catching up with the coast in its connection with the outside world. Recent 669 years have seen far more visitors enter the interior then ever before and they are universally well received. In addition there are connections in the Shibam province with the East Indies, and in the Du'an province with Egypt, Sudan, and Abyssinia. Everywhere there are connections with East Africa, and these are extensive among the Tamimis where I found some indication of a desire for settled administration.

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648 lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

439 That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri
167 State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya
171 is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

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TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

| State | Title of ruler | Population | Area in sq. miles | Annual revenue | Police | Salute |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Qu'aiti (Mukalla) .. | H.H. the Sultan of | 197,000 | 30,000 | Rs 27,50,078 | Unlisted | 11 guns |
| Kathiri (Seiyun) ... | Sultan of | 60,000 | 6,000 | Rs 4,80,000 | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Wahidi (Balhaf) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 5,000 | Rs 1,02,448 | Unlisted | None |
| Mahri (Socotra & Qishn) ..... | Sultan of | 22,000 | 13,000 | Unlisted | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Haura ..... | Shaykh of | 300 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| 'Irqa ..... | Shaykh of | 350 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Abdali (Lahej) ..... | H.H. the Sultan of | 41,400 | 4,500 | Unlisted | 380 | 11 guns |
| Fadhli (Shuqra) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 2,500 | Rs 4,17,697 | 120 | 9 guns |
| Amiri (Dhala) ..... | Amir of | 27,000 | 1,050 | Rs 1,50,000 | 75 | 9 guns |
| Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara) ..... | Sultan of | 23,000 | 700 | Rs 1,65,000 | 30 | 9 guns |
| Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba) ..... | Sultan of | 89,000 | 900 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar) ..... | Sultan of | 12,000 | 2,500 | Rs 49,000 | 40 | None |
| Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab) ..... | Sultan of | 53,000 | 1,800 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Beihan (Beihan Qasb) .... | Amir of | 13,000 | 4,000 | Unlisted | 40 | None |
| Audhali (Lodar) .... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 1,000 | Unlisted | 30 | None |
| Haushabi (Museimir) ..... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 350 | Unlisted | 29 | None |
| Alawi (Al Qash'a) .. | Shaykh of | 1,200 | 89 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed). | Shaykh of | 2,000 | 101 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazeteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

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together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds 439
remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business 167
holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over 171
a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.*

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is 177
virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common 198
tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Ka- 291
thiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be 556
incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, 185
Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf 177
family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In [491]
1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, [509]
Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

* W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut.* London: Colonial Office, 1936.

# ARAB AND SWAHILI DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

By R. Skene.

## The Razha Dance.

535 The Razha was originally a war dance practised by the Arabs in Arabia prior to
171 starting out on a raid. It originated at Manga in Muscat, and is danced with naked
702 swords, the object being to get the muscles of the sword arm into training. The
562 Hatharmut or Hadramaut Arabs also dance it, but use daggers instead of swords.

The dancers, who of course are all men, stand in two rows facing each other, or in one row. They advance slowly a few inches at each step, keeping time to the drumming. The sword is held perpendicularly in the right hand, the fore-arm being at a right angle with the body. While holding the hilt of the sword in a perfect balance between the thumb and the first and second fingers, the base of the hilt is given a smart blow with the wrist so as to make the blade of the sword quiver. Being highly polished and made of fine supple steel, the quivering blade reflects the light in a most effective manner. This can only be done with the long straight double-edged sword of Southern Arabia and not with the scimitar-like blade used further north, owing to the thickness of the latter weapon.

535 The music for the Razha dance is supplied by a drum called a *chapuo*,
534 cylindrical in shape, covered with goat skin on both ends. It is about eighteen inches long by eight in diameter, and is played on both ends with the hands, while hung across the waist of the drummer by a cord round the neck. A bass drum is also used, called a *vumi* of the same shape as the *chapuo*, but larger, being two to three feet long and fifteen inches in diameter. It is beaten in the same manner as the *chapuo*.

Anyone who knows how to dance can join in. No refreshments are served.

## The Shebwani Dance.

535 This is danced by the Arabs of Mkelle or Makulla, without any weapons, and by
562 men only, who attend by invitation. It usually takes place at a wedding festival, in
585 which case food and coffee are served round, or at any other general rejoicing. The dancers stand in two lines facing each other about eight or ten paces apart. They bend the knee and bow the body slightly forward to each other in unison and in time to the beating of the drums. They also sing a chorus song and keep time by clapping their hands together.

535 171 The dance itself resembles the Arab Razha dance, the men standing in a row and jerking sticks in the same manner that the Arabs jerk their swords, one of which may sometimes be seen in the hand of a Swahili dancer of the Chama.

536 534 517 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* drum, a *chapuo* drum, a pair of cymbals or *vitasa*, a *zumari* or clarionet, all of which are described above (see Razha dance, Shebwani dance and Sherha dance), also a tambourine called a *tari* or *pari*. This is sometimes ornamented with loose brass discs that jingle together, as in the Spanish tambourine. The goat-skin is pegged to the wooden frame and is tightened by stuffing a more or less thick cord between the skin and the frame.

The Chama is usually danced in a public place and no invitation is necessary. Anyone may join in who feels so inclined. No refreshments are served nowadays in the Malindi District at a Chama dance, which has no mystical significance.

### THE SHANGWI DANCE.

535 562 578 554 The dance is identical with the Chama and is danced by the winning faction in the Chama competition, which is judged by the "*wazee wa Ngoma*," or elders of the dance, men who are accustomed to take the lead in dances, in other words "masters of the ceremonies." The winning faction proceed to the house of the organizer of the opposition dance and dance the Shangwi in front of it. He is supposed to take this as a compliment, and passes round a scent bottle and sometimes takes part in the dancing himself. The Shangwi has no mystical significance and is usually danced at night with the same orchestra as for the Chama.

### NGOMA YA FIMBO. (Walking-stick dance.)

535 585 852 562 The Ngoma Ya Fimbo is danced at Swahili wedding feasts, and at Swahili circumcision feasts. The dancers, all men, assemble by invitation and form a ring in the open near the house of the host, all carrying sticks, hence the name of the dance. While those in the ring balance themselves slowly and rhythmically from one foot to the other, two of their number go into the centre and make passes at each other with their sticks as if they were swords, in time to the drumming. After a few minutes of this, another pair go into the centre of the circle and perform in the same manner while the first two retire, and so on to the end of the dance, which usually takes place by day.

535 534 Cigarettes and betel nuts are passed round to the dancers. The music is supplied by *vumi* and *chapuo* drums described above (see Razha dance) by *vitasa* or cymbals (see Shebwani dance), and by a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). In a temporary pavilion of palm-thatch erected close by, a number of young slave women generally stand holding buffalo horns in their left hands, which they strike with small sticks in time to the drumming.

This dance has no mystic significance and is merely a form of rejoicing.

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## THE MWARIBE DANCE.

A dance for women only, which takes place indoors if danced by free women, and out of doors if the dancers are slaves. The women stand in a circle singing songs and clapping their hands in time to a triangle described above (see Shebwani dance). One dancer then advances, executing various fancy steps, towards another dancer in front of whom she stamps her foot and then retires, still executing fancy steps, to her place in the ring. The person in front of whom the first dancer stamped her foot then advances from her place in the ring in the same manner as the first dancer and stamps her foot in front of a third, who comes out in her turn, and so on. 535 562 567

The songs are led by one of the women, who sings the solo while the remainder join in the chorus. No drums are used. 535 585 796

This dance often takes place at wedding festivals when betel nut and cigarettes are handed round with tea. Then towards the end of the entertainment meat and rice are eaten. It may also be danced on the occasion of other rejoicings, the special time of year for having it being the first week of the North-east monsoon, that is, in November and December.

This Mwaribe dance has no mystic meaning.

## THE MWASHA DANCE.

This is also a woman's dance and is of Bajuni origin, its introduction to the Malindi District from Witu having begun about four years ago. If the dancers are free women they dance indoors; if they are slaves the dance takes place in the open, but always by invitation. 535 562 171 567

The guests line up in two or three rows, one behind the other, and move forward slowly an inch or two at each step, while they jerk their chins forward and move their shoulders in time to the drums. When the front row gets up to the wall of the room, or to the limits of the dancing-floor, all the dancers face about and move slowly as before in the opposite direction, the front row becoming the back one.

If it takes place indoors, no men are allowed to be present except the orchestra, consisting of the performers on a *vumi* described above (see Razha dance) on a tari or tambourine (see Chama dance), and on a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). 535 562 534

This dance, which has an undoubted touch of savagery about it, may perhaps be derived from the Somalis, and tends to work the dancers up into a nervous state. It is often danced in competition with another dance faction. No refreshments are served. 535 171 578

It has no mystic significance and appears to be indulged in when the general physical condition of the performers calls for a nervous outlet of some sort.

## THE DANDARO DANCE.

535 This is rarely if ever danced by free men, and is considered essentially a slaves
567 dance. In a convenient open space, men and women stand in a circle facing inwards,
562 the drums being in the middle. The men stand together, occupying one part of the circle and the women the other. The dancers place the right hand on the left shoulder and the left hand under the right elbow, and in this position they bend the knees slightly and sway the body in time to the music while progressing very slowly sideways
535 round the circle to the right. A *zumari* or clarionet described above (see Sherha
534 dance) plays the tune to which the dancers sing the words of a song, or rather a chorus repeated over and over again at short intervals which are filled by the clarionet solo. The accompanying drums consist of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* (see Razha dance), also a *kurugo* drum, about two feet high and ten inches in diameter, with a goat-skin on one end only which is beaten with a stick, the drum resting on the ground in an upright position.

The Dandaro may be danced during the daytime as well as at night. Occasionally food may be cooked and partaken of towards the end of the dance. In the larger townships no invitation is necessary, and anybody may join in.

## THE KI-NYASA DANCE.

535 As its name indicates, this dance is an importation from Nyasaland, introduced
171 first to Zanzibar and then to the coast of the mainland by slaves captured in Nyasa-
567 land and brought here by the Arabs. Consequently it is a dance practised only by
562 slaves and people of humble origin.

It is danced in the open either by day or by night. Men and women, arranged in no special order as to sex, form a circle standing one behind the other and go round in a direction opposite to the hands of a clock, moving in quick time but taking very short steps and bending the knee considerably at each step. The arms are held in the position of a person running, that is to say with the elbow bent and the fore-arm at right angles to the body, which is bent slightly forward. Some of the dancers jerk their shoulders up and down occasionally. The leader of the dance sings a solo and the others take up the chorus. The men wear a string of small iron bells known as *njuga* strung round their knees, and stamp their foot at each step so as to make them jingle.

535 One large drum is used, called a *msondo*, and fashioned somewhat after the drum
534 of the Washambala. It is rather a high-toned drum in spite of its size, which is about
782 six feet in length and twelve to fifteen inches in diameter. One end only is covered with goat-skin, struck with the player's hands. The open end of the drum rests on the ground while the drummer stands astride the other end which is supported by a cloth round his waist, and he plays it in that position. This dance has no mystical meaning, and is merely an expression of a superabundance of animal spirits which

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The names of the *fundis* now practising in Malindi are as follows :— 776 756

Mohamed bin Mhaji
Make Chocho
Habiba wa Jora
Biasha wa Ali
Shaibu wa Saburi
Fundi Ali
Fundi Matano
Said wa Famao
Hussein (a police constable)
Kiranja Mhaji
Mwalim Kai

When a *fundi* has recognised a *pepo* as one of his own, and when the bargain as to the fees to be paid has been made, he sends round to all the other *fundis* and invites them to witness his efforts to exorcise the *pepo*.

New clothes must be bought for the *pepo* in all cases, and they are worn by the patient in the manner of the tribe to which the *pepo* belongs.

The following are detailed descriptions of the procedure followed in exorcising the various kinds of *pepo* who are believed to seize people in Malindi :— 776 756 782 757 171

### PEPO YA KI-GALLA.

On being called to see a sick person the *fundi* examines the patient and decides whether he is suffering from *pepo* or not. As a rule the decision is in the affirmative. He then orders a "*sadaka*" or sacrifice of food to be made. This varies according to circumstances of the patient and his relations, but it usually consists of boiled rice and goats' meat or fowl. The relations and friends of the sick person partake of this, as well as the *fundi* and his drummers. But before the meal begins, a *mwalim* or person versed in the prayers of the Koran is called in and the *fathiha—Illa hathrati el habibi Muhamad Nabbi al mustafa* is read over three times. Both prayers and feast take place just outside the house of the patient. But the women remain inside, and the food is taken in to them.

The *fundi* then goes and gets the native medicine necessary to make the *pepo* come into the head of the patient, and state what it wants as propitiation in order to induce it to leave the body of the patient. The medicine used consists of the leaves and small roots of certain trees to be found in the bush. The special kinds of trees used are professional secrets of the *fundis*, each of whom has his own prescription. Certain kinds of sea-weed gathered from coral rocks at low water are sometimes used, and these together with the roots and leaves are pounded together so as to form a paste which is mixed with water and placed in a pot to boil over a fire in the sick-room. The patient is then made to sit on a stool or native bed

776 756 782 over the pot, or as close as possible, and is entirely covered over with a sheet so as to receive all the vapour from the pot and the heat from the fire.

757 171 While this primitive method of giving a Turkish bath is being carried out, the *fundi* chants an appropriate song of praise to the *pepo*, and the women, if they know the song, join in and clap their hands in time to the tune. This ceremony takes place soon after sunrise, at mid-day, and in the evening from about 7 p.m. to 8.30 or 9 p.m., each session lasting about an hour to an hour and a half, more or less. After each session the *fundi* questions the *pepo* to ascertain what *pepo* he has to deal with and what propitiation it requires, but the *pepo* may refuse to speak at once, and the same ceremonial is repeated every day up to seven days. If by that time the *pepo* has not spoken, the *fundi* usually comes to the conclusion that the *pepo* in question is not one of his clientele, and he suggests that some other *fundi* be called in.

If, however, success is attained in making the *pepo* speak through the lips of the patient, which is very often the case owing to leading questions being asked by the *fundi*, and perhaps to a certain amount of mental ascendancy on his part, to which a hypnotic element may not be foreign, arrangements are then made to fulfil the desires of the *pepo*, which invariably take the form of an *ngoma* or dance repeated [illegible]ay for seven days, with or without a *pepo* feast, and a male goat to be ri[illegible] the *pepo* on the last day of the dance.

776 535 756 171 Before the dancing begins, new clothes are bought for the *pepo*, and the patient puts them o[illegible]. If the latter is a man, a white cloth is tied round his chest and hangs down to his feet and another white cloth is put over the head and shoulders in such a manner as to leave only the face visible, the head and neck being covered. A pair of white cotton trousers tight at the ankle are also worn. If the patient is a woman the same clothes are worn, but the first-mentioned cloth is tied round her waist, and not round the chest as in the case of the man.

Guests are invited, both men and women, but the majority of the dancers at an *ngoma ya pepo* are women. The latter are the only ones allowed to enter the sick room, except the *fundi* and his drummers, and one or two male guests by request of the relations of the patient. The *fundi* and his drummers may also sit in the *ukumbi*, or entrance to the house, according to the wishes of the relations.

The dancing begins at eight or nine o'clock in the morning and lasts for two or three hours, or until the patient, impelled by the *pepo*, lifts his hands as a sign of having had enough for the time being. A second session takes place the same day from about 6 p.m. till 9 p.m., and so on every day till the seventh day.

535 755 171 *Pepo ya ki-galla* generally begins to take part in the dancing on the third day of the dance. The patient, while still seated, begins to jerk his shoulders backwards and forwards and up and down, in time to the drumming. Then he gradually rises from his seat. A fly-switch, made from the tail of any wild animal which could be used for the purpose is placed in one hand, and a small calabash filled with leaves

supposed to have medicinal properties is placed in the other. A string of oval iron bells (*njuga*) with a pebble inside is tied just below his right knee, and he then shuffles forward alone, dragging his feet. He takes up his position between the two lines of dancers, one at each end of the room, and shuffles backwards and forwards between the two lines of dancers while waving the fly-switch and the calabash, and still jerking his shoulders as described above. The two lines of dancers move their shoulders in the same manner, but remain in the same place.

These proceedings are repeated twice a day, morning and evening, until the evening of the seventh day, when the session is prolonged through the night well on into the next day, sometimes even until mid-day.

During the last dance, the cloth over the head of the patient is allowed to drop on to his shoulders, and another white cloth is put on his head and is kept on by a cord being wound round the temples after the manner of the Beduins.

If the *pepo* has required the production of a goat amongst other things to be done for his propitiation, a male goat is now produced and brought to the door of the house. The patient comes out and strokes the goat, passing his right hand three times from its head along its back to its tail. He then gets astride of it and pretends to ride it like a horse, jumping up and down, and jerking his shoulders as before in time to the drumming.

If at any time the *pepo* calls for food, a small piece of bread is produced, on which is placed a speck of ambergris and musk, and it is then placed in the mouth of the patient, who eats it. A few raisins are also given, and a lump or two of sugar candy.

After the patient has got tired of riding the goat, the *fundi* asks the *pepo* in the presence of the assembled guests if he has received all he had asked for. The *pepo* says "yes." The *fundi* then asks him if he will ever seize the patient again, to which the *pepo* replies, "I will not seize him again," and thereupon he is considered to have taken his departure, and the patient goes to bed to sleep off his fatigue, and awakes later to find himself quite cured.

There are about fifty propitiatory songs for the *pepo ya ki-galla* known in Malindi.

The names of some of the *pepo ya ki-galla* who are believed to possess people in Malindi are as follows:—Guyo, Barsa, Godana, and Galgalo. All these are common Galla names.

The drums used are two *Vumi* drums, one *Chapuo* drum, and *Vitasa* cymbals, all described in the Shebwani dance.

### PEPO YA KI-SANYE.

The ceremonies and medicines used to cast out a *pepo* of the Sanye tribe are exactly similar to those used in connection with a *pepo* of the Galla tribe. The only difference is that the pepo speaks the Sanye language through the medium

171 776 782 755 of the patient, and the propitiatory songs are also in the Sanye language, although Galla songs may also be sung effectively.

The names of the *pepo ya ki-sanye* who are believed to frequent Malindi are merely common Sanye names.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla.*

### PEPO YA KI-SHAKINI.

171 776 755 The people of Malindi[1] do not know here where the Shakini country is. They tell one vaguely that it is *mbarani mbali sana*, that is somewhere in the distant interior of Africa. The Shakini language is said to be understood by the Zigula people. The *pepo ya ki-shakini* is thought to have been introduced to Malindi by slaves brought from the interior, but very little is known of its origin.

The ceremonies which take place at the casting out of a *pepo ya ki-shakini* are exactly the same as those of the *pepo ya ki-galla*; the roots and leaves which make up the ingredients of the medicine used to make the *pepo* speak are, however, different, but the medicine is applied in the same way, that is by means of a Turkish bath.

The clothes worn by the patient when the dancing begins are similar to those worn by a person possessed of a *pepo ya ki-galla*, only the clothes are made of a dark blue cotton (*kaniki*) instead of white cotton (*amerikani*). The trousers worn may be made of blue cotton cloth or red cotton cloth (*bendera*). On the last day of the dance the white cloth worn on the head of the patient suffering from *pepo ya ki-galla* is replaced by a red or blue cloth secured on the head in the same way, by a cord bound round the temples. Formerly, when colobus monkey skins were obtainable, the head-dress consisted of a conical hat made from these skins, about a foot to fifteen inches high, in the shape of a dunce's cap with a peak to it in front, and the monkey's handsome tail hanging down behind. A leather breast-plate and back-plate connected by straps that hang over the shoulders are also worn as an ornament, being profusely decorated with beads and kauri shells. This is called a *torosi* (a Ki-rima word), and is worn on the last day of the dance.

171 776 755 535 782 The dancers of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* form a circle, one behind the other, and move round and round with short jerky steps in a direction opposite to that of the hands of a clock, and stamp their feet in time to the drums. They move the upper part of the body by alternatively throwing the chest forward and the shoulders back and then the shoulders forward and the chest in. The patient dances along with the others, and waves a fly-switch made from the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The *pepo* of the Shakini tribe are believed to be very fond of tembo, and the patient is given frequent libations of this drink. But he cannot tolerate the smell of mutton, and all cooking of this meat must be done at a distance while the patient is possessed of this *jin*.

On the last day of the dance a male goat may be produced if the

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

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*pepo* so desires, and the same ceremony is gone through as for the *pepo ya ki-galla*. 171 776

The songs of praise of the *pepo* [illegible] sung in Malindi amount to about twenty-five. 755 535 782

Some names of *pepos* of the Shak[illegible] known here are, Shinga Kamba wa Goshi, Hotea, Shingwa Rambo wa S[illegible]wa wa Mwenne Panganga Waso wa Jentangu.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-RIMA.

The origin of these *pepo*, as their name indicates, is of course well known, but their introduction to the Malindi District dates only to nineteen years back. 171 776 535

The ceremonial followed is the same as that of the *pepo ya ki-galla*, and of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The head-dress is, however, different, and consists of what is called a *shumburere*, which is of exactly the same shape as a Mexican hat with a tall conical crown and a very wide brim. It is woven from the split fronds of the dom palm or the *mkindu* palm, the wild date. From the outer edge of the brim is suspended a fringe composed of strips of coloured cloth which hang down to the pit of the stomach in front, and to the same level at the back. The head and face of the patient are consequently completely hidden. 755 782

As in the Shakini *pepo* dance, the dancers follow each other round and round in a direction opposite to the hands of the clock, and perform the same steps and antics as in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The patient also waves in the same manner a fly-switch made out of the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The patient is anointed with castor oil as soon as he shows signs by jerks and twitches that he is about to begin to dance.

The *torosi* breast-plate and back-plate of leather are also worn by the patient in this dance, and a male goat is produced if so required by the *pepo*, and is ridden and danced round in the same manner as described in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

There are some forty songs known in Malindi sung in praise of the *pepo ya ki-rima*.

Some names of these *pepo* known here are, Lairan wa Laitua, Laitoni wa Laimoran, Lukwalla wa Lugawane. They remind one of Nandi or Masai names.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-NYIKA.

This is considered a benign form of *pepo* who does not cause the patient any great pain or ill, nothing more serious than a headache or a cough, which do not incapacitate the person possessed. 753 755 535 782

Native medicine is not usually given in order to make the spirit speak and say who he is and what he wants. He is generally recognised by the ache or pain he 776

753 causes to the patient, and he is not exacting in his requirements of propitiation.
755 Generally two or three days' dancing will satisfy him together with a large
535 supply of boiled mealie-meal served with grilled fowl or goat. Sometimes as a
782 special treat some *kunde* beans are mixed with the meal. This is given as a
776 farewell dinner to the *pepo* after the dancing is finished. All the guests partake of it as well as the patient.

The dancing begins about 9 a.m., and lasts about an hour and a half. The patient then goes about his work as usual. In the evening the dancers reassemble and dance through the night with the patient. A line is formed, and one dancer at a time advances to where the drums are being played, jerks his shoulders about while bending over one of the drums for a few minutes, then suddenly stamping his foot he retires with a shuffling step back to his place in the line and another dancer goes forward and repeats the performance, and so on. The patient dances with the others, but is distinguished by having a fly-switch in one hand and a live fowl in the other, both of which he waves about.

The patient is dressed in two new dark blue cotton cloths (*kanikí*), worn as a Swahili woman wears her *leso*. No head-dress is worn. On the second day of the dance, if the patient is a woman, she exchanges her two dark blue cloths for a kilt such as the Nyika women wear.

During the dancing, the patient goes occasionally to a pot of cold water in which leaves of wild trees believed to have certain properties have been pounded and mixed up. He puts both hands into the pot and raises some of the liquid to his mouth and drinks. Having quenched his thirst he throws some of the liquid over each shoulder on to his back, and also pours some on his chest as if he were taking a bath.

At the end of the dance on the third day a meal is partaken of as stated above and the *pepo* departs.

The names of *pepo ya ki-nyika* known in Malindi are without number, and are similar to ordinary names at present heard amongst the various Nyika tribes. The songs of praise sung in honour of these *pepo* in Malindi are also numberless.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-PEMBA.

171
776 As their name indicates, these "*pepo*" are supposed to come from the island of
755 Pemba.
534 In order to make the *pepo* declare himself, the usual native medicine and Turkish bath are given. The patient is then dressed in two white cloths after the fashion of the *pepo ya ki-galla*. He is placed on a stool, and as soon as the drumming begins he sways his body about in time to it, and ultimately jerks the stool which he sits on round the room. A *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance) is also played to the accompaniment of the drums. This jerking about on the stool goes on for seven days, and on the eighth day matting is laid on the floor. The

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If the patient can afford it, a white bull is produced and, dressed in his best turban with dagger and sword, the patient mounts it like a horse. It is then led round and round the dancing ring in the open, while he flourishes his sword and shows off generally. If the patient is a woman, the dagger and sword are dispensed with. 755 776

Some names of Arab *pepo* known in Malindi are, Maruhani bin Kaftan, Luranni bin Dervess, Rikh bin Zariha, Duban bin Dabran, Amir Ghaish bin Sudian, Jinwa bin Jinan, Hodeida binti Jabal Duhan, Sharua binti Haruta, Saida binti Saida, Saida binti Kisti, Zilzalla binti Harun bin Alwan.

The patriarch Noah is said to have had great ascendancy over Arab *pepo*, and each time his name is mentioned the *pepo* will give a start.

The *pepo ya ki-arabu* are the only *pepo* who appear to have sex distinction. All the other seem to be sexless.

*Tari*, or tambourines, described in the Chama dance, and a *vumi* drum, described in the Shebwani dance, are used.

## PEPO YA KI-NUBI.

This *pepo* is unknown in Malindi, but used frequently to seize people in Takaungu, and does still occasionally. His introduction to that town took place at the time when Said Barghash, Sultan of Zanzibar, maintained a garrison there under Liwali Salim bin Hamis, father of the present titular chief of the Mazrui tribe, Rashid bin Salim. Some of the *askaris* of the garrison were Sudanese, and the introduction of the *pepo ya ki-nubi* is without doubt due to them. 171 776 755 535

This *jin* is a Moslem, and the preliminary ceremonies carried out to make him speak are the same as for the *pepo ya Ki-arabu*. He is not an exacting spirit, and two or three days' dancing and drumming will satisfy him. He does not require any *sadaka* to induce him to speak, but will eat ordinary food, and in the matter of raiment, any clothes will do. In fact he is a mild fellow, and is rarely the cause of any serious ailment.

On the arrival of the guests, a ring is formed in the open, the dancers facing inward with the sick person amongst them. They move round and round the circle in the opposite direction to the hands of the clock, jumping and jerking their shoulders about. The drums, consisting of three *msondo* (described in the Ki-Nyasa dance), are played in the centre of the ring, together with the *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance). The dancing begins at 3 p.m. and goes on well into the middle of the night. This is repeated for two or three days.

The last dance continues right through the night to the next morning, when the dancers disperse. As the dance is just about to break up, the sick person makes a rush to a cauldron placed a few paces away from the dancing ring, and filled with water. He plunges his head and shoulders into the water, and the *fundi* and several muscular friends hold his head under water until he begins to struggle from loss of breath. They let him struggle for a minute or so, and then release him.

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patient sits on the matting at one end, and proceeds to jerk himself forward to the other end. On reaching this he jerks backwards without turning round. This is a very laborious business and takes a good deal of effort. 171 776 755

On the eleventh day the patient assumes an upright position, and dances, standing up between two lines of dancers. He advances with short shuffling steps to the line of people in front of him. On getting within a couple of feet of them he begins to retire, shuffling backwards without turning round, and keeping his body bent forwards almost at a right angle with his lower limbs. He is followed by the line of dancers facing him, who dance the same shuffling step, and who keep within a couple of feet of him. On reaching the line of dancers behind him, he straightens his body and starts forward again, the line facing him then retiring and the line behind him following him. He waves a fly-switch in his hand, and a string of small oval iron bells, *njuga*, with pebbles inside, is tied round his right ankle. 534 535 755 782

No head-dress is worn by the patient, but a paste is made by pounding to a powder a certain scented wood called *udi*, and mixing it with water. This is applied all over the head. If no *udi* wood is available, the wood of the *muhuhu* is used. A black line about half an inch wide is also painted from the tip of the nose over the head to the back of the neck.

On the last day of the dance, fruits and delicacies in very small quantities are laid before the patient, who eats a little of each for the benefit of the *pepo*.

If the *pepo* demands it, and the financial position of the patient will allow of it, a white bull or a male goat is produced on the last day, and is ridden and danced round by the patient as described in the ceremonies which take place to expel a *pepo ya ki-galla*, after which the *pepo* departs from the sick person.

The names of some of the *pepo* known in Malindi are, Mwana Mashungi wa Ukulu, Kekecha wa Mawamba, Makata wa Mapinga, Maungua wa Maamba. A great many propitiatory songs are also known at Malindi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-HABSHI.

171

The Abyssinian spirit is not believed to have seized anyone at Malindi yet, and very little is known about it here. It is, however, believed to have possessed people in Zanzibar and Kismayu. 776

### PEPO YA KI-ARABU.

The ceremonies which are gone through to expel a *pepo* of this variety constitute a type which is followed with slight variations in exorcising almost all the *jins* believed to belong to Moslem tribes. 776 755

The fundamental difference between the method of treating heathen *pepo* and Moslem *pepo* consists in the substitution of strong perfumes for the Turkish bath method, in order to induce the *pepo* to declare himself.

171 776 755 635 Instantly he makes a dash back to the dancing ring and prostrates himself on the ground near the drums, probably from exhaustion. But he is not given much time to consider what ails him, for he is closely followed by the *fundi* armed with a *bakora* or cane, who rouses him with a smart cut across the shoulders. The patient jumps up in fear of receiving another blow of the *bakora* and is surprised to find himself quite cured. He returns home to sleep off his fatigue.

Some names of *pepo ya ki-nubi* are Fatuma wa Abdalla, Abdeh wa Hamdeh, Tai wa Yusuf, Saida wa Abana.

There are no *fundis* of *pepo ya ki-nubi* at Malindi, and it is doubtful if any remain at Takaungu.

## PEPO YA KI-SOMALI.

776 535 755 This *pepo* being a Moslem, the preliminary ceremonies are exactly the same as those which take place in connection with the *pepo ya ki-arabu*.

The dancing is also similar to that of the Arab *pepo*, but is much more rapid.

When the sick man is able to get up and dance he puts on Somali clothes instead of Arab clothes. He also flourishes two small flags with sacred words on them. If he rides a bull on the last day of the dance, he flourishes a spear instead of a sword as the Arab *pepo* does.

[534] The drums used are the *tari* (described in the Chama dance), and they are beaten in very quick time.

The names of the Somali *pepo* are the same as modern names common to Somalis.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-arabu* dance.

## PEPO NG'OMBE.

776 755 This *pepo* is said to make the unfortunate person who gets it low like a cow. It is considered a dangerous *pepo*, and many people do not get rid of it without paralysis of some of their limbs or of one whole side of the body.

The procedure followed to make the *pepo* speak is the same as that in cases of *pepo ya ki-galla*, that is to say the Turkish bath.

The *pepo ng'ombe* speaks Swahili, but in a hesitating manner, and interlarded with bovine noises. Grass must be cut and brought in to him to eat. If no grass is given he will try to get out of the house to go and graze. Water must be given to him to drink in a bucket or other large receptacle, into which he puts his face and drinks like a cow. Some of the water must be thrown over the body of the patient, for, if this is not done, rigidity of the limbs is believed to set in.

If the patient's mouth begins to twist to one side, the case is considered to have entered a very serious phase, and another Turkish bath is given. The patient is rubbed with castor oil, but no other sort of grease must be brought near him, nor any kind of perfume or scent.

776 which then emanates acrid smoke with an appalling smell. This is supposed to
955 relieve the patient.

Natives do not know the origin of the *pepo punda*, and are extremely afraid of it. Happily it is not very frequent in Malindi.

114 171 NOTE.—The description of the above dances has been compiled by a civil officer of experience who has a thorough knowledge of Swahili. Many of the dances have undoubtedly been brought from Arabia by the Muscat Arabs, others were probably brought in by the Nabahans and the Vumba chiefs who came from Shiraz in Persia about A.D. 1100. The hypnotic seizures described in some of the ceremonies are well known in Africa, particularly among the Akamba people; the phenomena would well repay investigation by a medical psychologist.—C. W. HOBLEY. Mombasa.

## NOTES BY A. WERNER.

p. 415, l. 33.—This, or some similar event, followed by faction-fighting, has been celebrated by Muhamadi bin Abubakari Kijuma, of Lamu, in a poem called *Utendi wa Mkonumbi*.

171 113 p. 419.—The Kinyago. This (called *unyago* by the Yaos and *chinyao* by the Anyanja) takes place at the initiation of young people in Nyasaland. For particulars, see Rattray, *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 178, 179.

p. 420.—A list of *pepo*, with the appropriate exorcisms, songs, etc., as used in the Mrima region (the mainland opposite Zanzibar) is given in Velten's *Desturi za Waswahili*, pp. 149–167. The Arab *zar*, described for Mecca by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (The Hague, 1889), vol. ii, pp. 124–128), belongs to the same category.

p. 426.—The Wasanye in the Malindi district all speak Galla, but they say their old language is still spoken by the Waboni in the Witu territory.

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172 fact that geometric microliths, which in Europe and the Mediterranean area existed long before 3000 B.C., were still flourishing in South Arabia at this late date.

[171] If analogy may be trusted, as I think here it may, the little trapezoids were used as arrow-tips, of a form well known in prehistoric Denmark at least six thousand years ago, and common (whether in flint, chert, chalcedony, or obsidian is immaterial) over large parts of Europe and the Mediterranean, including predynastic and dynastic Egypt, at various dates down to 2000 B.C., or in the Sudan over a thousand years later. In Mesopotamia Sir Leonard Woolley has recorded a variant of the type in the royal tomb of Mes-Kalam-Dug at Ur. Dr. Grahame Clark in drawing attention to this discovery [1] suggested the possibility that the type, being of such antiquity, was used for symbolical purposes in a royal grave only, and not in the other, contemporary, burials. Be that as it may, the little arrow-tips were noticeably associated with the burials we examined in South-west Arabia, though not to the exclusion of the other types, amongst which the rectangles are almost certainly sickle-blades.

That these obsidian implements in the Hadhramaut owe their appearance to African influence I have little doubt. In East Africa their progenitors, the third of the three great culture groups referred to above, are strongly entrenched, and range back uninterruptedly into Upper Palaeolithic times. In South Arabia on the contrary they appear to have no ancestry. Until analyses have been made it cannot be certain from whence the obsidian came, and perhaps not even then; for it is likely that the eruptive areas of South-west Arabia yield a volcanic glass indistinguishable from the East African variety. Local Badawin asserted that obsidian was to be found "in the mountains," pointing south-west from Hureidha. But how far away they meant remained an unanswered question.

Our excavations have been recorded in brief outline in *Nature* (vol. 142, 23 July 1938), and the results will eventually be fully published. They were confined to a spot in the Wadi 'Amd near Hureidha, which Miss Gardner and I reached on December 20.[2] The little town, about 850 m. above sea-level, compactly nestles, in approved Hadhramaut fashion, on the steep scree of a snout of cliff projecting at the confluence of a lateral wadi with the Wadi 'Amd (Plate 3). December 22 and 23 were given up to the absorbing task of examination of the ruin-field, skirted by von Wissmann and Van der Meulen in 1931.[3] It lay about an hour's donkey pace from the town, on the barren plain of aeolian silt filling the main valley, and proved to be a scattered and unenticing affair covering about 10 sq. km., and giving little hope of depth of deposit. Small evenly spaced stone-rubble heaps, at first sight puzzling, sprang from bare wind-swept ground. These, thanks to Miss Gardner's subsequent mapping, proved to be the vestiges of an old irrigation system; here also the outlines of ancient fields and boundaries could be traced. My decision to excavate rested on small beginnings. Across the plain, nearing the opposite cliffs, a sudden heaping up of consolidated and stationary sand-

[1] *Antiquity*, June 1935, pp. 210-15.
[2] Miss Stark was then in hospital at Aden, but rejoined us.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

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133 ocean escarpment, but in the Hadhramaut they intrude for over 120 miles to the northwards. Beyond them and between them and the southern edge of the sands is a wedge-shaped plain narrowing westwards and falling from south to north and from west to east. The edge of the sands at Mugshin is about 490 ft., at Shisur about 935 ft., at Shuait 950 ft., and to the west not improbably rising to 2,000 ft. or more in the neighbourhood of the Najran. This plain is crossed by dry wadi beds, or what Burton calls "fiumura." They take their rise in ravines deeply eroded in the limestone of the mountains and they become more shallow as they run northwards, until, as they approach the sands, they are almost indistinguishable from the steppe in which they are merely shallow depressions marked here and there by scrub. These wadis [132] are the arteries of approach for Badus journeying from the mountains northwards. They are evidence of a very different climate from what now prevails, the deep gorges are doubtless the result of torrential rain action. To-day the country is extremely arid, and rainfall is slight or negligible.

Arabia is said never to have had an ice age, so that when the territories of the higher latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere lay beneath an ice cap, Arabia must have enjoyed a pluvial period, and it is from this time that these great gorges running northwards on the desert side of the South Arabia escarpment possibly date. I picked up many fossils on the edge of the sands, which must have been washed down in bygone ages. These were of limestone formation and have all been identified as belonging to the Middle Eocene period. The tradition of ancient trade routes across what is now almost a prohibitive barrier of sands, should not therefore be dismissed as unreasonable: it may connote that a very early civilization 172 existed in this region. Indeed caravan tracks of great antiquity were pointed out to me in 138 lat. 18° 30′, long. 52° on the very edge of the sands and leading on a bearing of 325° into what is now a drought-stricken waste of sands. The Badus called this "the road to Ubar," a town which they say lies buried, according to their tradition, beneath the sands that are ever encroaching southwards. Whether the words "Ubar" and "Ophir" have any sort of connection it is impossible to say, but the alleged site of this buried city is on a direct line from the frankincense country of Dhufar to the most probable site of Gerrha on the Persian Gulf, and to Petra in Nabathaea, the great marts of the classical geographers.

[171] Other archæological remains are the old ruined townships of the plain of Dhufar and the trilith monuments I discovered in the frankincense country just over the Divide.[1] The former would appear to preserve a link with ancient Abyssinia, for the characteristic architectural feature is a monolithic column which, according to Bent, is common to that area, but is nowhere found being made to-day in Arabia. As regards the significance of the trilith monument, accurate memory of it has faded from the tribal mind. This brings us to the inhabitants themselves.

101 The nomadic tribes living in the Southern Steppe are Bait Kathir, elements of the Mahra, 619 Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai (Bal'Ubaid). In the mountains in northern Hadhramaut 000 and the hinterland of Aden are two other interesting types, Hamumi and Yaf'i. With the

[1] For a detailed account see "Among Some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xiv, 1921, pp. 107 *seq.*

191 exception of the Mahra all these tribes speak Arabic and Arabic alone, and yet some are types
141 clearly distinguishable from the northern Arab, and indeed those I measured are all brachycephals. The very word "Arab" is used in the desert to denote "people" instead of having the particular racial connotation which we give to it. More than once I have been asked "From what Arabs are you?" by a native, who was conscious that I was of a different race from himself.

144 Whether these Arabic-speaking South Arabians are indigenous or come from elsewhere is a question for anthropologists. In this connection, the Preface to Wyman Bury's book *Land of Uz* is of interest. That Preface, written by Maj.-Gen. Maitland who was British Resident at Aden at the beginning of the present century, declares the writer's opinion as follows:—

> "The people of Arabia belong to two distinct and apparently quite different races. The common idea of the Arab type is tall bearded men with clean-cut, hawk-like faces. The Arabs of South Arabia are smaller, darker, coarser featured and nearly beardless. All authorities agree that the Southern Arabs are nearly related by origin to the Abyssinian. Yet strange to say it is the Egypto-African race who are the original and 'pure' Arabs, while the stately Semitic of the North is *Mustareb* . . . one who is Arab by adoption and residence, rather than by descent."

101 But I am concerned here with a group of non-Arabic speaking tribes more distant in habit
361 of life still from the familiar Arab, tribes of whom neither Burton nor Maitland could have had any personal knowledge, tribes whose members have seldom made the pilgrimage to Mecca, tribes for the most part settled in the Qara and Al Qamr mountains of the Central South
619 where they breed cows and gather frankincense. To the list given in my previous paper, viz., Qara, Mahra, Shahara, Bauthāra and Harasīs should be added Barahama, Bil Haf, Afar, and Bit Istait (Bait ash Shaikh). Except for those elements of the Mahra that are nomadic, and for the nomadic Harasīs and Afar and the fishing tribe of Bautāhara, the remainder form a *bloc* of settled mountain society with a common and a unique culture.

191 The four languages of this group have been mentioned in the paper under reference. Of the additional tribes the Afar speak a language which is a variant of Mahri, called Aforit, and is said to be the same as that spoken by the Harasīs. The Bait ash Shaikh (Insakht) use the Shahara tongue and are thought to be collateral with the Shahara and once to have co-inhabited the great port, now a heap of ruins, of Rubat (Ariyot). Balhaf, a rather nondescript tribe, owes allegiance to no faction but is Mahri in speech.

## DRESS AND DYE CUSTOMS.

291 The men wear a single sheet wound round to form a skirt short to the knees and then brought diagonally across their bodies and thrown over one shoulder; women a single loose-falling black gown usually green with age and black muslin head-wrap which falls about
301 shoulders and neck; they are mostly unveiled. The use of indigo for smearing their bodies
302 and impregnating their clothes is common to both sexes. It gives their faces a purple hue.
77 There is a local dye from a tree called *huwair*, but much of the indigo comes from India.

[Bait Kathir, Mahra, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai -- Analyst]

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Indigo is in common use throughout South-West Arabia as far as Aden, more especially amongst the settled elements. (In Oman I remember it only in the Bani Ali–Bani Kalban area where it is grown.) A black dye used in tattooing their gums is derived from the coconut. This is used down through the centre of the woman's hair parting, too. Anklets, affected by coastal women, are not found amongst these tribes, but many bracelets and necklaces (mostly beads) and ear-rings; the men often wear a single bangle above one elbow and a single ear-ring, generally in the right ear. 301 302 171

*Wars*, another vegetable product which stains a canary yellow, is not met with at all in the Dhufar area, probably it is too expensive. The Ja'alan and Hajar districts of Oman use it extensively, not elsewhere, except amongst women. But no ill is thought of a man amongst them who emerges with a patch on his shoulder or sleeve come by in an embrace with his wife, but for such to appear on an unmarried man would cause derision. In the western Hadhramaut where it is grown it is also not extensively used except amongst women. *Henna*, the only other dye is common on festive occasions but generally limited to hands and feet. Red and green face paint, not permitted in Oman, is in everyday use in the Dhufar province.

Girls throughout these tribes wear a nose-ring in the right nostril. When approaching puberty the edge of their ears is pierced in six or seven places from which charms or rings depend. Women adorn their faces also with black paint: over eyebrows, round nostrils and a straight line to ears from nostrils, around edge of chin, black bands around throat, red lips, green brow. The Mahra ladies also on special occasions paint their faces red. With the greenish dye *subur* they smear their faces indiscriminately, also their arms from the elbow downward; their legs from the knee downward, and the upper part of the breasts to the neck. In the Hadhramaut a headband dyed with indigo woven around the head is affected instead of a *Mahafif* (a local variant of the *agal*) (see my paper under reference). 881 301 302

## CIRCUMCISION AND HAIR CUSTOMS.

Circumcision and hair customs have been dealt with exhaustively in my previous paper, but one or two corrections in detail need stating.[1] The scalping system of *munzerot* usually synchronizes with the first third of the month of married life, the shaving of the boy's lock with circumcision. The Mahra were said to have at one time carried on male circumcision on the night before marriage. Great festivities accompany male circumcision still, in contrast to the private untalked-of female circumcisions. For the former some eight or ten of the most presentable females in the neighbourhood line up. The men select who is the most beautiful amongst them—the other ladies protesting No! No! No! No! With the Qara the festivities of male circumcision are attended by women opening their garments to disclose the upper parts of their breasts. Camp fires are the centre of dancing and merry-making by both sexes. 304 852

[1] The pursuit, immediately after the operation, of the circumcised youth by his sister does not now take place. The milking of animals from behind is nowhere practised.

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The tribes of the Central South have a poor reputation as regards the *radud-as-salaam*.[1] 576
The *radud-as-salaam* merely means that when two persons meet, between whose tribes there 577
is blood or other enmity, and one says to the other—" Peace be upon you " and the other replies " And upon you be peace," they have buried the hatchet for the nonce. For one now to take advantage of the other and slay him in his sleep, for instance, would in any other part of Arabia be the deepest treachery. Not so amongst this lawless brood, however. That it may happen elsewhere is possible, but normally the offender would be hounded out of his own tribe or be required to make some requital and his name would be for ever smirched. These non-Arabic speaking tribes of the Central South have no such regard for the elsewhere universal law. They also observe in the breach what is elsewhere a fixed canon, the *thamn-al-batn* or " stomach 574
price." This is an elaboration of the law of three days' hospitality. If a Badu has eaten the 171
salt of a man his goods are safe for a period of four days and four nights, the time for the last 576
vestige of food to have passed from his body. If the Badu's tribe unwittingly raids the man 671
during these four days they must and do return the loot. This *thamn-al-batn* is sacred with the other tribes of the southern fringe but not with the non-Arab group. Who and whence are these tribes ? Indigenous ? Of African origin ? or have they a common origin with African tribes, or are none of these hypotheses tenable ? Here is an almost black race of brachycephals, and brachycephaly properly belongs to Asia. The answer is for you to decide. History sheds but little light.

In the year A.D. 1325 Ibn Batuta, the great Moorish traveller and theologian, set out on 175
his 25 years' travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia and elsewhere. He sojourned 144
in Dhufar and amongst what he wrote of it was this :—" Another thing is that its people closely resemble the people of North-West Africa in their customs. . . . The outlying population is not Arab, but of a Sudanic type." Does Ibn Batuta help us ?

The following discussion took place after the paper :—

Sir Arthur Keith said that Capt. Bertram Thomas had thrown light on one of the darkest anthropological 144
corners of the world. It was now clear that the Southern Arabs were very different from the Northern Arabs —in almost every respect. If one sought to trace the affinities of the Southern Arabs by judging from their 142
external appearances—as revealed in Capt. Thomas's photographs—one was immediately reminded of the native type of North-Eastern Africa. To his eye the Southern Arabs showed in their fuzzy hair and black—or dark brown—pigmentation of hair and skin, as well as in their facial features, distinct Hamitic or Somali-like affinities. On the other hand, Capt. Thomas's measurements of heads proved that the Southern Arabs differed from the Hamitic peoples of Africa and also from the Arabs of Northern Arabia in having skulls which were short and wide. The width of the heads of Southern Arabs was between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. of the length. The Southern Arabs were distinctly and highly round-headed—or brachycephalic. Hamitic peoples and the Badawin (Arab) type of Northern and North-Western Arabia were usually long-headed or dolichocephalic. Thus Capt. Thomas's observations confirmed the data collected by Professor C. G. Seligman fourteen years ago that the people of Southern Arabia are round-headed or brachycephalic.

Although the Southern Arabs—who were of low stature, the men being usually about 64 inches in height —showed certain Hamitic traits in their features, yet these were overshadowed by others which proclaimed an affinity to the Caucasian or white stock of mankind. They were less fully bearded than the Northern Arab and yet more so than among Hamites. In some respects the South Arabian type bridged the difference between Semite and Hamite.

[1] It is only within comparatively recent times that the Bauthara would recognize the *rabia* at all.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



for themselves in each other's unwashed cups. Our host devotes himself entirely to us; he frequently absents himself to see that preparations are made for a meal without delay. Sounds of music and song reach us from the women, who are making merry in the adjoining room. In spite of the sweltering heat, the song with its refrain, the concerted clapping of hands and dancing to the monotonous music are carried on with great enthusiasm. Our host invites us urgently and repeatedly to spend the night with him. Sayyid ᶜAluwī el-ᶜAṭṭās, who is with us, has, however, so great a longing to see his family in his own country that, on his account, we decide to start for el-Meshhed in the afternoon. Meanwhile our delicately solicitous host has quietly had a room made ready in a distant corner of the great double house. He sees how tired we are and whispers to us to follow him so as to escape from the interest and curiosity of the constantly changing visitors. These fellow townsmen, against whom one cannot protect oneself, will not penetrate into this quiet room; we can stretch ourselves out on the floor on the simple mats and rugs, and our host will see to it that we are not disturbed for an hour. Then the meal is brought up to us without a sound, and we are only awakened when the yellow-coloured rice awaits us, ready served in flat dishes, on the round eating-mat, along with dishes of boiled mutton and gravy. A round flat bread-cake lies in front of each of our places on the mat. Our host apologizes for the scarcity and simplicity of the food offered to us, but we fall to with a thankful "In the name of Allah." The practice of spicing the rice and meat very strongly must have been introduced from Java and India. They overdo the seasoning to such an extent for foreign guests that, after the first pangs of hunger have been appeased, it is a real effort to continue eating.

Our host speaks Malay by preference and likes to talk about Cheribon on the north coast of Java, where his family rose to prominence and where he hopes to return in a few months, after the date harvest. His father possesses 20 houses

133 a second miracle happens. There is a cleft in the great basalt plateau and
311 a beautiful green valley opens abruptly in the flat tableland—a valley running from east to west, joining the sea some 150 miles further on. This is a fertile valley with gardens and palm groves, millet fields and white palaces. An underground river continually provides water for the wells and the little irrigation channels. There are crops up to three times per year. In this lovely setting very civilized and well-dressed townsfolk live in large mud-built towns on the valley cliff sides. Recently they have laid aside their arms and ceased their blood feuds and tribal wars which raged from town to town, from tribe to tribe, from family to family. With the aid of the British adviser they have established law and order and made their foreign trade, which is their livelihood, flourish unhindered.

172 When we go back into history to find out where this miracle has sprung
341 from, we discover that there were the old Sabean and Hymyaritic civilizations of 1,000 or 2,000 years B.C., of which Mr. Ingrams spoke. Perhaps it started with the Minean Empire, on the eastern border of Yemen, and its capital, Ma'in. Later came the Sabeans with their capital a little south, at Marib; followed by the Katabaneans, whose centre, Timna, was at the south-eastern corner of the great desert. And lastly, perhaps, the Hadhramis, whose early capital may have been the much disputed Shabwa. These people built in stone, and their buildings were several storeys high and of very fine dry masonry. Many are the ruins covering the western territory between Aden and Hadhramaut and to the north in Yemen. But also in Hadhramaut itself, further east, there are vestiges of towns and temples, in the main valley and the side valleys; great plans of garrison cities, and remains of castle and palace walls in beautifully executed stonework, all erected perhaps some 2,000 years ago.

341 With such a tradition it is not surprising that something is still found
333 in the present day, and although the Hadhramis have not continued the stone masonry and have turned mainly to sun-dried mud bricks, their achievements are of remarkable interest.

101 Reviewing the various groups of the population, there are the bedouin
342 who still live by camel transport, the sand bedouin of the desert who live in simple black camelhair tents, and the bedouin mountain tribesmen who live on the arid plateaux. The latter are rugged and tough, like the country round them. Their life is hard; it is scorching hot without any shade in the day, bitterly cold at night at 6,000 feet. They still build their low windowless huts with brushwood roofs with the stones of the plateaux in dry walling. They carry on in their primitive way the stone tradition which has been lost elsewhere in the eastern area.

361 The next class of inhabitants we meet are the remote valley bedouin,
311 who live in rather better circumstances. They do have a little grazing, cultivate a little land where they grow millet called dharrah and a sort of
342 little cucumber-tomato called faguws. They live in the earthen beds of long-dried-up rivers that have a flood from the hills about once a year. They have grown lazy like everyone else, and they build their little castles
342 of mud bricks with a base of rough stones from the river-bed. A passage down the centre leads from the entrance door with almost windowless rooms for storage either side to a stair leading to a sheltered roof terrace.

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FIG. 13—Hureidha, in the Wadi 'Amd. Like a majority of the Hadhramaut cities, it is situated in a semi-protected spot. Both used and abandoned agricultural areas may be observed throughout the broad valley. This view over the tableland looks southward toward the sea and illustrates the steep-walled nature of the drainage system among even the smaller streams.

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FIG. 14—Recently discovered ruins along Wadi Hajr, near Asaan, dating from the time of the pre-Islamic Himyaritic kingdom.

P.639

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



172

FIG. 17—Ruins of a pre-Islamic city in the Wadi Masella. The site was chosen for defensive purposes and each house was in itself a fortress.

## HOT SPRINGS

133 [135] Hot sulphurous springs are widely scattered in the coastal zone, and fairly accurate accounts of many of them are available. They commonly deposit gypsum in quantity. Some of the deposits are so large as to suggest either that activity was more general in the past or that the position of the spring outlets has shifted. The springs may be attributed to the same subterranean conditions that prevail in Yellowstone Park, where descending waters become superheated through close association with uncooled rocks and rise again to the surface.

312 241 361 [271] Within half a mile of the coast of Hami, east of Mukalla, several hot springs are utilized by the natives for irrigation of date palms and millet and also for drinking. Neither here nor elsewhere does the

[312] FIG. 18—A view in the Wadi Masella where water is present during most of the year. The edge of the Jol appears in the background.

172 More than a hundred new Sabaitic inscriptions were copied and photographed. At three sites in the Aden and Hadhramaut protectorate, particularly the ruins of Reiboun (near Mach-had) there is, on the other hand, contacts with East Africa. Here we found an industry of obsidian (with some flint) in definite association with pottery and with Sabaito-Himyaritic inscriptions, all found in shallow kitchen middens like remains and amongst ruins of ancient buildings and habitations. Some of the characters were actually inscribed on the pottery both before and after baking. The obsidian industry includes practically all the types and sub-types of the so-called final Palaeolithic and Neolithic cultures of East Africa—Wilton, Elmenteitan and Gumban. There are small nuclei, simple and retouched blades, truncated and notched ones, small backed knives, trapezoidal forms (in abundance), true lunates (less abundant), chisel-ended tools or *pièces écaillées* ('sinew-frayers' of Dr. L. S. B. Leakey), borers, medium-size and small burins (but not the micro-burin proper) and scrapers of various descriptions (nucleiform, round, at end of blade, etc.). Yet there can be no doubt about the Sabaito-Himyarite date of this industry in south-west Arabia (the few centuries centring round the beginning of the Christian era).

Apart from inscriptions (on stone and on pottery) there are metal elements and beads of dating value. The pottery here is much more developed and varied than in East Africa, but this is to be expected in a country with more progressive civilisation. One cannot argue from the evidence we have for the separation of the obsidian industry from the rest of the datable remains which must all have belonged at least to one and the same culture phase*. If this be so, the dates assigned by Dr. Leakey and others to the so-called final Palaeolithic and Neolithic industries of East Africa will have to be revised. It would be unreasonable to argue for a 'survival' into historic times of an obsidian and flint technique in south-west Arabia after it had been introduced from the African side at a final Palaeolithic date. It would be rather in this latter region (East Africa), which produced no such highly progressive civilisations as we know from south-west Arabia, that we should expect such 'persistence'. Perhaps many of the Microlithic elements of industries in East Africa may ultimately prove to be of comparatively recent historic date (Christian era).

We have also discovered, at a number of rock shelters in the Middle Wadi Hadhramaut, rock drawings (both animals and men) of both naturalistic and schematic styles. The former were associated with Himyaritic inscriptions (mostly names and cartouches), while the latter were of much more recent appearance. At the base of some of the rock shelters we found a flake and blade industry of flint which we have reason to associate with the first series of drawings.

## Anthropology

141 Anthropometrical measurements were made of 1,350
144 male individuals, of whom 800 were studied in Yemen and 550 in Hadhramaut. More than 400 individuals were photographed full face and profile. The individuals are representative of the great majority of the tribes inhabiting the area, and useful light may be expected to be shed both on local distribution of anthropological features and types and on similarities and connexions with neighbouring areas in Asia and

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133 soft silt could be carried to the middle courses of the streams. The two cycles were separated by a phase which was marked by extensive volcanic activity, especially in north-east Yaman, where the lava spreads always cover the old gravels and underlie the silts. The second cycle was followed by erosion, during which new torrential beds were cut into the silts (sometimes producing a series of erosional terraces). There has also been a still more recent (historical) outburst of volcanic activity (on a much more limited scale), the accompanying features of which are still noticeable in hot springs, etc.

We were able to associate the two physiographic cycles (or at least their depositional phases) with pluvial episodes. During Quaternary times this corner of Arabia seems to have had two major Pluvials separated by an Interpluvial. It was not possible to work out the stages of the first Pluvial, which was a prolonged one, and which must have had more than one sub-maximum (as shown by terraces); but there is presumptive evidence from one or two places that the second Pluvial may have had two sub-maxima separated by an Intrapluvial. In recent times there was a new wet phase (shown by archæological and other evidence), which we believe to have continued well into the Christian era (perhaps to the fifth century A.D.).

## Archæology

172 The south-west plateau of Arabia proved to be singularly poor in prehistoric remains. Perhaps the great height (mainly above 1,500 m.) and the unfavourable climatic conditions during pluvial episodes contributed to this. It is to be recalled that very few remains have thus far been found at the high altitudes (above 6,000 ft.) of the opposite coasts of East Africa. We have carefully examined gravel exposures and have carried out experimental excavations at no fewer than fifteen caves and rock shelters in Yaman and Hadhramaut, but the results were largely negative. Surface specimens were looked for all along the route, but they were found only in very limited numbers and in particularly favourable localities; they belong typologically to Lower and Middle Palæolithic and rarely to the Upper Palæolithic. Whatever may have been the reasons, the scarcity of even surface finds shows that even if remains of prehistoric man may some day be forthcoming from this region, they will never be comparable in quantity with those from the African side. This reflects rather unfavourably on recent views put forward with regard to East Africa as a centre of cultural diffusion in Lower Palæolithic times.

Remains relating to the early historic phase of the area were, on the other hand, particularly abundant. Work and excavations at a number of places in Yaman and Hadhramaut have yielded fairly illuminating results. New light is thrown on relations between south-west Arabia on one hand and the Hellenistic East and Græco-Roman Egypt on the other, during the early centuries of the Christian era.

p. 513 (c)

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 The Cretaceous bed is particularly massive and juts out beyond the overlying strata to form bold headlands between the lateral wadis. The more gentle slope below to the wadi floor is due to soft red sandstones, with occasional shaly layers towards the top. They are probably the local representatives of the Nubian sandstone. Owing to their softness they are being eroded rapidly and consequent undercutting of the superposed limestone causes huge falls of rock. The result is a thick mantle of scree, consolidated in places to a breccia which almost hides the sandstones. The formation of this scree must have begun far back in the wadi's history, for not only have the talus slopes been cut into "semi-detached" hillocks, but they appear to plunge under the valley filling. Numbers of chert implements of Levallois type lie in and on the scree and argue a *status quo* as far back as the middle [172] or later Pleistocene. In historic times also these screes and breccias were put to practical use, for tomb entrances of the pre-Islamic inhabitants of these valleys were cut through them, and sepulchral caves hollowed out in the soft sandstone slopes beneath.

Travelling along the main wadi and up its tributaries, the beds in the bounding cliffs appear to remain at a constant level above the wadi floor. The strata cannot therefore be truly horizontal, but must rise gradually both west and south. To one used to the valley systems of Egypt a striking feature of the Wadi Hadhramaut is the monotonous flatness and uniformity of its floor (Plate 3). No great prehistoric gravel terraces mark higher water-levels, and the present flood-channel or "*seil*-bed" is a relatively insignificant feature. Obviously the most important episode in the wadi's history, after its actual cutting, was the deposition of material which filled it and its tributaries to some unplumbed depth. The upper part of this fill is a fine sandy silt, which will be described later, but there is reason to believe that gravels underlie it, for farther down the main wadi they come to light. Moreover in the Wadi 'Adim, an important tributary coming in from the south near Tarim, the 15-m. section of the wadi bank shows 4–8 m. of silt overlying thick gravel bands (Plate 5). These gravels fade out before the mouth of the wadi is reached, and have presumably plunged deeply down and may join similar deposits in the main valley.

The Wadi Hadhramaut shows a curious reversal of the normal valley form in being wider towards the source than the mouth. In the narrower stretch below Tarim, known as the Wadi Maseila, Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams found lava-flows which, it has been suggested, may once have blocked the course. Air photographs show the position of this lava, but have not conclusively corroborated the idea. The narrowing, moreover, begins before this point for no apparent petrological reason, and the cause more probably lies in the wadi's history, and is conceivably due to complicated river capture. Unfortunately time and tribal conditions prevented an examination of this area.

[361] All the detailed work of the expedition was done from the small town of Hureidha in the Wadi 'Amd, 24 km. from its junction with the Wadi Hadhramaut. Here one of the most important tributary systems enters from the south. It consists of two big valleys which divide, 10 km. from their common outlet, into the Wadi Du'an running due south for 80 km., and the Wadi 'Amd running south-south-west for over 120 km. Near the junction of the

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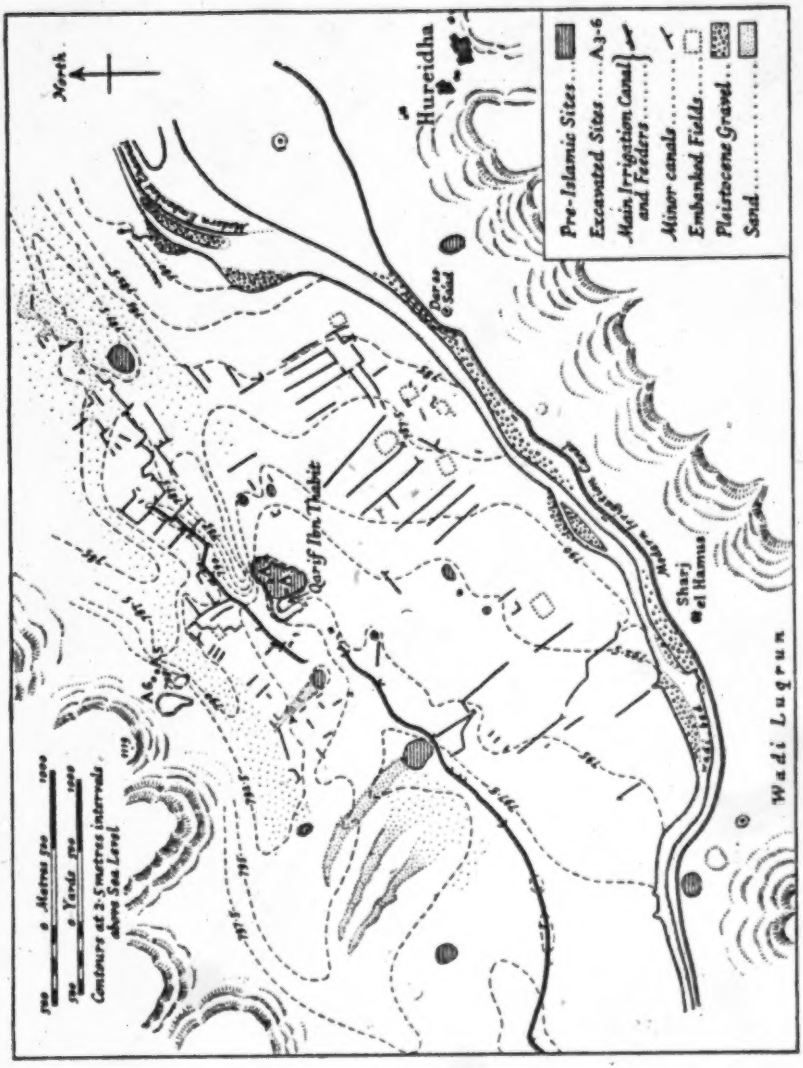


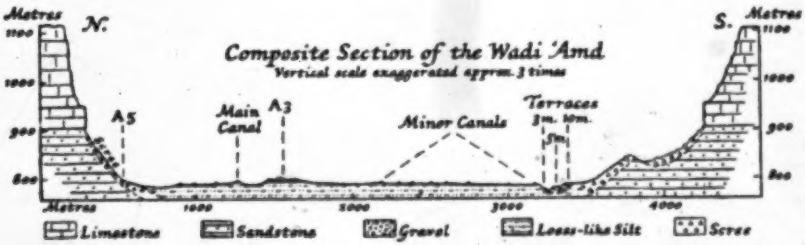


Fig. 2 p. 24

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



two great wadis the silty deposit, which we propose to name "aeolian silt," has been eroded into hillocks reminiscent of those on the floor of Kharga Oasis, except that they are larger and not so stream-lined by wind. The subordinance of wind erosion in the Hadhramaut is in striking contrast to conditions in Kharga, and emphasizes the difference between a true desert-belt and one under the influence, however incompletely, of the monsoons. 133

The work around Hureidha consisted of the examination of the geologically recent deposits, and the detailed mapping of a small area around the ruin field (Fig. 2). The section, Fig. 2, shows that the structure of the valley is the same as that in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

The valley filling is the dominant deposit. It is on the whole a fine-grained material, largely arenaceous but with a certain amount of clay. Structurally it shows the prominent vertical jointing so characteristic of loess and aeolian deposits in general. Yet this is not the only guide to its origin, for clay bands and occasional scattered lines of pebbles point also to water action. It seems therefore convenient to use the term "aeolian silt" for this deposit to represent its composite character, part wind, part water-laid. Water action would seem to have played a greater rôle here than in Kharga, where wind bedding, absent in the Hadhramaut, is common. A good section was examined in the banks of the flood channel north of Hureidha (Plate 6). Two darker banks can be seen running nearly horizontally 1 and 2 m. from the top of the section. These are formed of more argillaceous material, and clay balls were common in the sandy layers. Here and there a pocket of land shells lying at all angles was found. These were mostly *Zootecus insularis* Ehrn, but a few *Obeliscella bentiae* M. and P. and *Pupoides* sp. also occurred. The full depth of the filling could nowhere be ascertained. The wells in the floor of the Wadi Hadhramaut are shallow, and in the Wadi 'Amd, though very deep,[1] they are in the rising sides of the valley. In discussing the age of the aeolian silt we can therefore speak only of the upper layers. 134

In the Wadi 'Amd good dating evidence was obtained in the north bank of the flood channel opposite the Wadi Luqrun, a tributary wadi entering from the south near the village of Sharj el Hamus (see Fig. 2). Here a magnificent section is exposed in a cliff 10–8 m. high (Plate 7). It is capped by four or more metres of aeolian silt which stretches away northwards and forms the whole floor of Wadi 'Amd. This is underlaid by two gravel bands separated by more aeolian silt, which in turn underlies the lowest gravel and forms the floor of the flood channel. The gravel bands are about 1·5 m. thick, and consist of medium to small limestone pebbles with occasional ones of chert or tufa. Both bands contain chert implements but they are particularly abundant in the lower. In the sides of the erosion channels the gravels are seen to tail out northwards and eventually disappear. They obviously represent the outwash fans of the Wadi Luqrun, which seems to have been capable of carrying gravels while the main wadi was bringing down silt only. The tools in these gravels are of Levalloisian flake type, and date the uppermost layers of silt in the Wadi 'Amd. Confirmation was obtained by finding a good unworn tortoise core embedded in the silt at another spot. 133 134 172

[1] Van der Meulen and von Wissmann state (*op. cit.*, p. 98) that some are about 300 feet deep.

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



muddy tufa still being deposited. No living thing was seen in the pool, but dead shells of *Bulinus*, probably *truncatus*, were collected from the muddy edge. They are small and distorted, probably owing to the excess of lime. 133

In a wadi still farther up the lateral valley, the Wadi Sam'ua, a series of pools occurs at the foot of successive steps in the ravine bed above the Cretaceous limestone. These pools were not so deep as El Bahr and had abundant [136] life: fish, frogs, beetles were all seen, and two univalves (a *Planorbis* and a new species of *Ancylus*).[1] The wadi narrows to a steep-sided ravine in its upper reaches; yet clinging to the side above the first pool was a mass of tufa 4 m. high. Other pools, backed by tufa cliffs with suspended stalactites, lie at still higher levels. Here exploration had to stop, but enough had been seen to establish the interest of the terrace tufa in these upper reaches.

From the above account it may be deduced that the main events in the wadi's history are as follows:

Major erosional phase, when the great Wadi Hadhramaut and its main tributaries were cut. This in all probability took place in stages. From the amount of erosion and the many changes in the wadi since its development, the time of cutting must be at least as early as late Tertiary or early Pleistocene, and may well be far older. It cannot, as has been suggested, be synchronous with the Glacial Age in Europe.

Major depositional phase, also probably subdivided into minor episodes. The valleys were filled to some unknown depth with deposits. The upper part of these is aeolian silt of palaeolithic age, which is known to overlie gravel in some areas. In the lateral wadis tufa formation had begun.

Minor erosional phase, represented by the cutting of the aeolian silt and deposition of gravel in place of silt. This can be subdivided into three parts, the 10, 5, and 3-m. terraces, also of palaeolithic age. The flood channel then followed the same restricted course as now.

It is interesting to note that these three main phases were traced in Kharga Oasis; but there, the evidence being more complete and varied, and the time of study far longer, they could be subdivided and dated with more certainty than in the Hadhramaut. No sign of a historic pluvial was seen in that part of the country which we examined.

*Archaeological notes*

Quaternary palaeoliths have, in the foregoing pages, been noted: on the 133
Mukalla gravel plain; on the spurs of the *jol* near the south edge overlooking 172
the Wadi Hadhramaut above Tarim, in positions recalling their distribution on desert cliffs overlooking the Nile valley; on and in cliff screes of the Wadis Hadhramaut and 'Amd; and in the 10, 5, and 3-m. gravel terraces of the Wadi 'Amd near Hureidha, and in the somewhat earlier aeolian silt of the valley's main filling. These discoveries of palaeoliths were no novelty, for Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams had already noted them in many places,[2] but they had not, I believe, been previously found in geological deposits. Nor must our restricted 172

[1] All shells from the Hadhramaut have been given to the British Museum. Major Connolly is kindly identifying them and will publish the results in his forthcoming work on the shells of the Yemen collected by Dr. Scott, of the British Museum.

[2] *Geogr. J.* 92 (1938) 306.

172 distribution list be taken to indicate more than the limitations of our wanderings, not those of palaeolithic man, who doubtless ranged over the whole area wherever water, game, and raw material for his tools and weapons could be found.

The technique of the implements collected, though falling well within the recognized limits of a specific palaeolithic culture—the Levalloisian—is almost uniformly crude compared with African, North Arabian, and Palestinian specimens of similar types. This may be due in part to the very bad quality of chert yielded by the local limestones; but since in other countries primitive man frequently triumphed over refractory rock, and succeeded in making from it symmetrical and serviceable implements in forms traditional to his peculiar culture, the excuse here is not wholly valid. It represents also, one may surmise, a genuinely low ebb in contemporary palaeolithic standards, indicative possibly of an over harsh and impoverished environment, but perhaps due in still greater measure to absence of contact with more progressive groups. This last postulate presupposes the separation at an early date in the Pleistocene, or before, of South-west Arabia from East Africa; for East Africa was, throughout the entire span of the palaeolithic period, in a position to provide just the technical stimulus lacking, apparently, in Southern Arabia.

In East Equatorial Africa an unbroken succession of Stone Age industries, made known in the first instance by Mr. E. J. Wayland and by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, begin in Lower Pleistocene deposits and progress steadily through a series of vast physiographical happenings, which include rifting, uplift, vulcanicity, reversals of drainage, eustatic, and climatic changes, until the end of Upper Pleistocene times. No attempt can possibly be made without vastly more prolonged specialist work in South-west Arabia, and the accumulation of a store of comprehensive and independent data, to correlate the two areas. It is legitimate only to note that uplift, vulcanicity, eustatic, and climatic changes are all registered in the Hadhramaut (and also, as shown by Dr. Huzayyin, in the Yemen), though neither their geo-chronological relation to each other, nor to human history, can yet be ascertained.

But another line of reasoning reinforces the likelihood of the early marine separation of the two continents. Palaeolithic industries, legion in number and distressing in nomenclature,[1] are morphologically classified by prehistorians into three main culture groups, irrespective of relative age. They comprise hand-axe industries, flake industries, and blade industries.

The distribution of the first of these, the hand-axe culture group and its derivatives, includes practically all Africa—certainly all East Africa from north to south. Yet it failed, as far as the evidence goes, to reach South-west Arabia. In the Hadhramaut, though it is perhaps still too early to be conclusive, neither we nor Dr. Huzayyin's party found a single specimen; and the solitary example recorded by him in the Yemen [2] seems far more likely to have reached it from the north, where, in Palestine, Syria, and Transjordan, the type, in certain phases, is well entrenched.

A crude flake industry of Levalloisian type belonging to the second class

[1] In East Africa for instance at least ten distinct palaeolithic industries are known, with some two dozen subdivisions.

[2] *Op. cit.*

A crude flake-industry of levallosian type belonging to the second class

mentioned above would seem alone to represent palaeolithic man in the Hadhramaut, where it was free from the development which in N.W. Europe has necessitated seven subdivisions. The earliest appearance we could trace was *in situ* near the top of the aeolian silt of the Wadi 'Amd infilling. In chronological succession follow the 10, 5, and 3-m. gravel terraces laid in a stream-bed cut in this silt. The scarce contents of the 3-m. terrace are derived from the two higher ones, which however show no variation in type *inter se*. 172 138

Eventual discovery of the palaeolithic contents of the older, deeply buried silt levels and gravels would be of great interest; but we may risk already the conclusion that the flake industry found *in situ* continued, isolated and unchanged, throughout a very long geological period, which we tapped at only one or two points. It would be rash on existing evidence to place its probable position in the Pleistocene, though it may well prove to lie in the middle: typology alone is insufficient, and archaeological stratigraphy will need first to be established in cave or man-favoured geological deposit, if such exist, and our failure to find a single fossil animal bone in the gravels rectified.

So much for the first of the archaeological objectives. The second of them —namely contacts with the chalcolithic east—drew a complete blank. I myself found, was shown by natives, or observed in the miscellaneous antiquities gathered together in Aden no single object which indicated any such early contacts with the Hadhramaut. Of later antiquities however there was no scarcity. Though the Wadi Hadhramaut itself in the stretch examined around Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam yielded little except rock graffiti pecked in South Arabian characters, and accompanying animal engravings in restricted numbers, the major lateral wadis seem to offer better prospects to the excavator. 172

The fairly extensive pre-Islamic ruins at Sune in the Wadi 'Adim were visited for a few hours from Tarim, and sherds and other samples collected from the surface for comparison later with more westerly sites. Here too were lying numbers of the microlithic obsidian flakes in geometric forms—trapezoids, triangles, rectangles, and crescents, neatly retouched on their lateral edges—which Miss Stark had also collected in 1935 on the ruin-field of Gheibun near Meshhed in the Wadi Du'an, and had kindly shown to me.[1] I had then recognized their kinship with the latest microlithic obsidian industries in Kenya, and was prepared, in the absence of the necessary corroborative evidence from other archaeological factors, for a date considerably earlier—possibly in the second millennium—than anything hitherto known from the ruins of the old South Arabian kingdoms. Their occurrence also at Sune, amongst the dusty rubble heaps of the stone-built ruins, though suggestive of true contemporaneity could not, without excavations, be conclusive.[2] Any doubts there might be vanished later at Hureidha in the Wadi 'Amd, where my excavations of a pre-Islamic temple and its contemporary tombs, no part of which could be earlier than about the sixth century B.C. and which were mainly or entirely some centuries later, established beyond question the

[1] 'The southern gates of Arabia,' p. 166. Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams had also collected them there in 1934 (*Geogr. J.* 88 (1936) 524–51), but not, I think, the crucial types.

[2] Dr. Huzayyin in 1936 also collected these obsidian tools at Gheibun, and felt assured their date was that of the ruins.

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



172 fact that geometric microliths, which in Europe and the Mediterranean area existed long before 3000 B.C., were still flourishing in South Arabia at this late date.

[171] If analogy may be trusted, as I think here it may, the little trapezoids were used as arrow-tips, of a form well known in prehistoric Denmark at least six thousand years ago, and common (whether in flint, chert, chalcedony, or obsidian is immaterial) over large parts of Europe and the Mediterranean, including predynastic and dynastic Egypt, at various dates down to 2000 B.C., or in the Sudan over a thousand years later. In Mesopotamia Sir Leonard Woolley has recorded a variant of the type in the royal tomb of Mes-Kalam-Dug at Ur. Dr. Grahame Clark in drawing attention to this discovery [1] suggested the possibility that the type, being of such antiquity, was used for symbolical purposes in a royal grave only, and not in the other, contemporary, burials. Be that as it may, the little arrow-tips were noticeably associated with the burials we examined in South-west Arabia, though not to the exclusion of the other types, amongst which the rectangles are almost certainly sickle-blades.

That these obsidian implements in the Hadhramaut owe their appearance to African influence I have little doubt. In East Africa their progenitors, the third of the three great culture groups referred to above, are strongly entrenched, and range back uninterruptedly into Upper Palaeolithic times. In South Arabia on the contrary they appear to have no ancestry. Until analyses have been made it cannot be certain from whence the obsidian came, and perhaps not even then; for it is likely that the eruptive areas of South-west Arabia yield a volcanic glass indistinguishable from the East African variety. Local Badawin asserted that obsidian was to be found "in the mountains," pointing south-west from Hureidha. But how far away they meant remained an unanswered question.

Our excavations have been recorded in brief outline in *Nature* (vol. 142, 23 July 1938), and the results will eventually be fully published. They were confined to a spot in the Wadi 'Amd near Hureidha, which Miss Gardner and I reached on December 20.[2] The little town, about 850 m. above sea-level, compactly nestles, in approved Hadhramaut fashion, on the steep scree of a snout of cliff projecting at the confluence of a lateral wadi with the Wadi 'Amd (Plate 3). December 22 and 23 were given up to the absorbing task of examination of the ruin-field, skirted by von Wissmann and Van der Meulen in 1931.[3] It lay about an hour's donkey pace from the town, on the barren plain of aeolian silt filling the main valley, and proved to be a scattered and unenticing affair covering about 10 sq. km., and giving little hope of depth of deposit. Small evenly spaced stone-rubble heaps, at first sight puzzling, sprang from bare wind-swept ground. These, thanks to Miss Gardner's subsequent mapping, proved to be the vestiges of an old irrigation system; here also the outlines of ancient fields and boundaries could be traced. My decision to excavate rested on small beginnings. Across the plain, nearing the opposite cliffs, a sudden heaping up of consolidated and stationary sand-

[1] *Antiquity*, June 1935, pp. 210–15.
[2] Miss Stark was then in hospital at Aden, but rejoined us.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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dunes called for explanation. The sand must have been immobilized by something, we argued. With a first recruitment of six local men and four boys, soundings were made the following day, and we soon struck the foundations of a large stone building. Thus was discovered the temple of the Moon God, Sîn,[1] the first of its kind recorded in Arabia. It provided the complete ground-plan of a pagan semitic sanctuary, over fifty dedicatory inscriptions, and accessory details of baetyllic cult. The temple must have stood, unprotected and conspicuous, on a slight eminence overlooking in both directions the length of the level plain, then diligently watered and cultivated (Plate 10). Its enlargement, at two later periods, and the gradual rise in pavement levels, imply security over a very considerable length of time. No village appears to have flourished in the immediate vicinity, and the secular habitations on the plain around seem to have consisted of isolated farmsteads which lie buried beneath mounds. One such was excavated,[2] and proved, by the pottery, to be contemporary with the temple.

These discoveries went far to fulfil the third of my archaeological objectives. But the collection of more utilitarian material than a sacred edifice normally produces became urgent, and time was short. The paramount importance of common things is axiomatic in archaeology, eclipsing in value all the rarities beloved by the uninitiated; and never more so than at the beginning of research as in South Arabia, where even the pre-Islamic pottery was virtually unknown.

The temple deposits were singularly poor in potsherds: these were moreover in small fragments, and not a single complete vessel was found. The scarcity also of pottery in the farmstead site suggested that we were dealing with a people, then as now, making and using little earthenware, and relying on skin, wood, and stone for their domestic receptacles. To remedy perhaps these deficiencies, as well as to obtain facts concerning the physical types of these early South Arabians,[3] the discovery of graves was essential. A sedentary Badu in possession of a few ancient beads and a stone incense burner volunteered non-committal information, and Miss Gardner went off to report. It became clear that tombs existed in the lower scree slopes of the northern cliffs, only 1 km. from the temple; indeed our informant lived, comfortably and apparently unsuspectingly, with his family in an anciently robbed one.

The excavation of two in this vicinity[4]—a lengthy affair, as they were large collective sepulchral caves about 8 m. in diameter hollowed out by hand in the sandstone underlying breccia—occupied the remainder of the season, and yielded besides beads and other trinkets a big group of the required pots intact, which will form the essential basis of a South Arabian *corpus*. The skulls are uniformly long-headed. Seals derived from probably Achaemenid

[1] Position is marked A3 on the map, Fig. 2.

[2] Position is marked A4 on the map, Fig. 2.

[3] The generalization has been made that North Arabians are predominantly long-headed, the Southerners round-headed (Hitti, 'History of the Arabs,' p. 30). See also Professor Seligman's remarks (*Geogr. J.* 87, 88 (1931) 34, 239) regarding Mr. Bertram Thomas's anthropometric data from S.E. Arabia.

[4] Marked A5 and A6 on the map, Fig. 2. Further tomb work was sadly abbreviated by a long bout of fever in February.

172 prototypes give a *terminus a quo* in the sixth to fourth centuries B.C., and suggest the probability of a later local date extending into Roman times.

The jumbled rubble mounds, some 2 m. high, scattered over a wide area of the Hureidha ruin-field, when mapped in detail, fell into orderly lines. They were, in fact, the remnants of an extensive irrigation system which surrounded the pre-Islamic valley sites. The clue to their origin was first found north of A3 and A4. Here in sand-covered ground a parallel line of stones 16–20 m. apart was traced east and west for some distance. Small channels took off from it at an acute angle, always directed eastwards. The broad parallel was clearly a main canal feeding the land on either side. At intervals the stone-covered mounds branched off at right-angles to the main line and to each other, and an examination of their structure quickly showed that they too had been integral parts of the system, placed at nodal points or junctions. The main canal was finally traced continuously for 1200 m. in the immediate neighbourhood of A3, and mapped for more than 3 km. west, or upstream, from that site.

It will be seen from the map, Fig. 2, that the main canal follows the highest ground of the wadi floor and has a fall of 1 m. in 455 m. for the westerly portion. In this part it is ill-defined and marked only by a concentration of pebbles as a 20-m. band along its course. Its nature however is clear from the presence of the minor channels which take off on either side. Just west of A3, near the stone foundations of a house, the line is lost altogether, and is next picked up 250 m. farther north after a fall in level of nearly 2 m. It is probable that erosion has destroyed all traces of this connecting stretch.

From the lower level the main canal runs along a narrow ridge, possibly partly artificial, enclosed by the 792·5 m. contour. It maintains a fairly constant width throughout this stretch of 800 m. and makes two pronounced right-angle bends about half-way along. Just after the most westerly one on the N.–S. leg there is a sudden narrowing to 6 m. for a distance of 10 m., then the full 20-m. width recommences. This probably marks a contrivance for measuring the flow of water. At the eastern end of the 800-m. stretch the 20-m. canal stops, and a pair of 8-m. channels branch off north and south at right-angles. The system then becomes obscured by sand, but it seems to branch into ever narrower channels. Beyond that point no canals were seen, but a settlement or farmstead lies 1 km. beyond the last one mapped and probably was served by the same system. To the south of A3 there is a smooth even slope for 50 m. or more with few or no traces of canals. Then the network begins again. The N.–S. components are the strongest, which is natural, since not only are they the most important but the E.–W. ones would lie right across the drainage line and therefore suffer most from erosion.

It seems probable that the sections of canals now missing were made, as are their modern equivalents, by silt thrown up from the valley floor. Only the important points such as junctions and crossings were stone-built, and these have been left by erosion on isolated mounds, which have themselves been severely reduced.

There seem, then, to have been three types of channels: the main canal which led water from farther afield into the area, and a dependent secondary and tertiary system. The secondary channels are those which took off at right-

16. Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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*10. Platform of the Moon God temple near Hureidha*

*11. Ruin of irrigation dam revetment in Wadi 'Amd*

facing P. 34 (B)

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



172 angles to the main one, and which distributed the water to the field-plots: these are from 4 to 8 m. broad and approximately 2 m. above the general ground-level. The irrigation of the fields themselves was directly controlled by the tertiary system, which consists of short narrow 1-m. ditches, taking off at an acute angle either from the main or secondary channels. The total area covered by this network was about 7 sq. km., and its various parts can be paralleled in the modern irrigation system.

Near the southern edge of this system there are several fields bounded by high silt banks. These are marked on the map by strong dotted lines, and some can be faintly distinguished in Plate 3 on the edge of the valley floor beyond the flood channel. They may be later in date, but in one case a stone inlet and outlet channel was found similar in all respects to the ancient work. The ground-level was here about RL 787 m., the inlet channel at 788·2 m., and the outlet at 787·7 m. Many of these fields have been intermittently cultivated in modern times by means of rainfall only.[1] A scatter of sickle flints and microlithic obsidians was found over the entire irrigated area. It may be noted that obsidian implements were absent on all the Islamic sites examined.

312 At the present day the flood waters are led off the flood channel several kilometres above Hureidha and are carried down by a 4-m. channel running [245] on the south side of the wadi (see Fig. 2) till they reach the palm groves of the town, where they divide and water many thousand palms. As the ancient 172 system was so similar to the modern it seems probable that it resembled it in this respect also. Within the area mapped there was no sign of a supply from the flood channel. The main canal never approached it and the minor ones were actually truncated by it. A day was therefore spent in riding up the wadi in the hopes of finding the take-off of the main pre-Islamic canal. Traces of it were followed for 16 km. but nowhere did it approach the present flood channel till the latter swings across the valley floor towards the north cliffs (Plate 3). Here a well-defined ancient canal is truncated by the wadi bed. It has 2 m. high gravel-covered banks, 30 m. apart, and can be clearly traced for 80 m. or so in an eastward direction. Beyond this point there is no sign of it, and here may therefore be the actual take-off of the flood waters which fed the ancient supply.

Possible confirmatory evidence was obtained about 1 km. upstream. Here there is a remnant of a V-shaped dam which projected from the southern bank part-way across the stream and would have served to divert the current to the entrance of the channel (Plate 11). In the bed itself only the foundations of this dam remain as a band of stones 3½ m. broad, wedged on both sides by larger, more regularly laid material. The downstream arm is 40 m. long and the upstream one 63 m., with a base of 81 m. along the wadi bank. The upstream branch springs from a base that wedges into the gravel of the bank for 2·6 m. The sloping sides are composed of wedge-shaped limestone blocks: eighteen courses high, probably the full number, are preserved on the downstream side and fourteen on the upstream. The infilling is of gravel. No sign of inscriptions or well-dressed stones were seen, and the age must therefore remain conjectural; but local tradition knows nothing of its history.

[1] Mr. Ingrams notes that in the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed—'Hadhramaut' (Colonial Office Report No. 123, 1937, p. 59).

them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

and there was a general desire for peace in order to get on with the work in the fields.

My wife was accompanied by Seiyid 'Alawi al 'Attas and Jemila, a devoted maid servant of the family, who perched precariously on the back of my wife's camel singing Badawin war songs. My wife learnt some of them and they proceeded up the wadi singing duets. Besides being an amusing companion Jemila was a very useful one, for she proved an excellent lady's maid and a masseuse as well. Seiyid 'Alawi has married a tribeswoman, so the party stayed at Zeila in the house of his brother-in-law, one of the principal Ja'da chiefs. Like many Ja'dis their host had been to Java, but the only sign of his travels was a bicycle which he had brought back with him and which he said he preferred to a camel. From Zeila they rode through many small villages to 'Anaq belonging to the Al ash Shaibi, who are credited with possessing the Evil Eye and consequently shunned as much as possible. Seiyid 'Alawi thought it prudent not to mount his camel till the village had been left well behind, in case he was made to fall off by some evilly disposed person. They spent a night at 'Amd, which is almost at the end of Ja'da territory, for a little farther up the wadi the Madhi tribe have their habitat. All the villages in the wadi are much alike with a few three- and four-storeyed houses set amongst smaller ones, and most of them have well-built tanks for catching rain-water. Particularly in the left bank there are many dug-out caves, largely used now for habitation and grain stores. Miss Caton-Thompson says that these were probably all Himyaritic tombs. I think some cave dwellers she met were rather put out when she told them they were living in tombs. Many of the Al 'Attas family, who have much influence over the Ja'dis, have been canonized and their domed tombs are objects of veneration in several villages. My wife's appearance was taken for granted at 'Amd, where she spent a night with women who had been to Java and had seen European women before. They had brought back a few momentos of their travels and impelled by the same spirit that makes us hang Eastern curios on our walls they had hung up a pair of cheap European high-heeled slippers for the admiration of their untravelled friends.

From 'Amd they returned down the wadi following the left bank and passed many ruins, most of which covered low spurs jutting out from the cliffs. At Husn Ba Qasm there are ruins known as 'Adiya Qudha'a which may indicate the site of what was once the principal town in the wadi, as in the days before Islam it was called Wadi Qudha'a. Near the large village of Bateh they passed the time of day with a man who spoke to them from a second-storey window of his house as he dared not go out, for he was carrying on single-handed a war with all his neighbours. Like many others with whom my wife talked he asked for peace. Another had said "We want peace, we're sick of fighting. A man works in his fields and is shot dead—what's the use of it?" And another stopped them and said: "A country without a government is not a country. Bring us peace and settled government."

Returning to Shibam, which is of course the principal Qu'aiti town of the interior, there is west of it past Al Qatn and as far as the junction of the Wadi Du'an a bloc of Yafa'is, with a few Kathiris surviving in such places as Ajlania on the junction itself and also in the Wadi 'Amd. These Yafa'is have been

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



that of the Sultanates of the West, though I was interested to find that there was a small Jewish community, and this is the nearest that any Jews have got to the Hadhramaut. The Balhaf Sultan, an intelligent young man whom I have known for a long time, came to see me in Seiyun and asked us to help in extending peaceful arrangements to his country. Though most of the sections have signed the truce the situation is still far from settled, as Miss Stark, who arrived at 'Azzan from the Wadi 'Amd shortly after my first visit, will tell.

A short distance down the Wadi Meifa'a from 'Azzan are the ruins of Naqab al Hajar described by Wellstead a hundred years ago. This is Meepha Metropolis. I have only seen the ruins from the air, though Miss Stark has recently visited them. There are inscriptions also at Husn Gharab on the coast which Mr. Martens, one of this winter's visitors, has recently seen. He too was well received.

Bir 'Ali is the other Wahidi Sultanate and, though the old Sultan has no claim to rule outside his wedge-shaped little walled town, he is unfortunately at present unwilling to compose his long-standing differences with the Balhaf and 'Azzan relatives, which makes settlement more difficult. I have lately had both Sultans in Mukalla and tried to get them to bury the hatchet.

I have had little opportunity in this last tour to do more for the Mahras than visit Qishn, their capital, occasionally, and Socotra I have not visited since 1935. It may perhaps be remembered that the Bin Zueidi section of the Mahras did not exactly welcome us when we arrived at the coast through the Wadi Maseila in 1934, and a couple of months ago for the first time the Mahras asked for intervention in their internal affairs, as the Zueidi tyranny in Seihut had become acute. We are now trying in the normal political way of advice and exhortation to induce them to cease their exactions on unarmed merchants and peaceful citizens in a town in which they have no lawful concern, and I paid my last visit to Qishn a day or two before I left Mukalla.

I had intended to visit Gheidha, the most eastern landing-ground in the Aden Protectorate, but we did not get so far and made a landing at Haswein just west of Cape Fartak. The inhabitants said it was the first time that Europeans had been there, though they called me by my name as soon as I stepped out of the machine. These coastal Mahras are a peaceful folk engaging mostly in fishing, and they have pleasant breeze-swept villages of a simple style of architecture, unlike the Hadhramaut but which reminded Mr. Figgis, who was with me, very much of the Arab dwellings in Northern Nigeria. I do not believe we could really have been the first Europeans to visit the place as there is quite an adequate account of it in the Red Sea Pilot, perhaps derived from a visit of Captain Haines in the *Palinurus* over a hundred years ago. Perhaps too there had been a much earlier European visitor, for authorities on classical geography usually identify Ras Fartak, Cape Syragrus, the Boar's Head, as the point from which Hippolus set forth in about A.D. 45 when he discovered the changes of the monsoons. I have long had a wish to put up on this majestic cape of Fartak a simple obelisk with the inscription, a quotation from the *Periplus*, "Hippolus discovered the changes of the

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



467 this reduction should be made, issued a decree (taḳrīr) defining the
466 wages of the various categories of people engaged in building. The workmen still refused to accept the revised wages, and some left Tarīm and went to the independent Ḥawṭah of Thibī, outside it and beyond Kathīrī jurisdiction. Some however stayed in Tarīm, but worked at collecting firewood, and refused to undertake building. A *modus vivendi* was established through the good offices of Saiyid Bū Bakr al-Kāf, but whereas, before, the wage of the builders had been two three Āl Kāf ḍarībahs per day, which the wealthy had attempted to reduce to one ḍarībah only, after the dispute all the workmen received three ḍarībahs [10].

172 To revert to the sacrifice on the sās, I noticed in the fine archaeo-
782 logical site of the town known as Am-'Ādīyah [11] that on some buildings an inscription was located at the *corner* of the sās which was constructed of the typical lozenge-backed Himyarite hewn stone, and that it stood about three feet from the ground. Possibly therefore it was sometimes a custom to place inscriptions in the sās about the place of the sacrifice; they could not be placed higher as the wall above this point is of adobe. These particular Am-'Ādīyah inscriptions are very weather-beaten, and to the best of my knowledge no attempt has been made to copy them.

322 An interesting feature of Ḥaḍramī building is the shape of the
342 columns, generally carved from 'ilb wood, which strikes one immediately as descended from an ancient tradition. In the Ḥawṭah of
531 Thibī near Tarīm, I first saw the curious capital sketched (fig. C.) from below, with its little round pendants underneath the rectangular blocks. Later I realised that this was a very stylized type of capital, derived from a prototype somewhat resembling the examples in figs. A & B., sketched in my field-book at 'Azzān and

436 [10] Reproductions of the ḍarībah in J. A. S. Bucknill, *A note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia, Journ. of the Malay of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, 1925), III, 1. It is the coin which has the number 16 written on it. There were about five to six ḍarībahs to the riyāl (kirš franzāwī).

[11] For notes on this town see S. Piprowicz, *'Im'adiya and Beihan, Aden, Antiquity* (London), xiii (1939), p. 50. The author confuses the name امادية with عادية, but it is really the South Arabian article Am = Al, followed by the word 'Ādīyah. It is therefore « the 'Ādite city » which means little more really than « the ancient city ». I visited it in 1941.

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 ocean escarpment, but in the Hadhramaut they intrude for over 120 miles to the northwards. Beyond them and between them and the southern edge of the sands is a wedge-shaped plain narrowing westwards and falling from south to north and from west to east. The edge of the sands at Mugshin is about 490 ft., at Shisur about 935 ft., at Shuait 950 ft., and to the west not improbably rising to 2,000 ft. or more in the neighbourhood of the Najran. This plain is crossed by dry wadi beds, or what Burton calls "fiumura." They take their rise in ravines deeply eroded in the limestone of the mountains and they become more shallow as they run northwards, until, as they approach the sands, they are almost indistinguishable from the steppe in which they are merely shallow depressions marked here and there by scrub. These wadis [132] are the arteries of approach for Badus journeying from the mountains northwards. They are evidence of a very different climate from what now prevails, the deep gorges are doubtless the result of torrential rain action. To-day the country is extremely arid, and rainfall is slight or negligible.

Arabia is said never to have had an ice age, so that when the territories of the higher latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere lay beneath an ice cap, Arabia must have enjoyed a pluvial period, and it is from this time that these great gorges running northwards on the desert side of the South Arabia escarpment possibly date. I picked up many fossils on the edge of the sands, which must have been washed down in bygone ages. These were of limestone formation and have all been identified as belonging to the Middle Eocene period. The tradition of ancient trade routes across what is now almost a prohibitive barrier of sands, should not therefore be dismissed as unreasonable: it may connote that a very early civilization 172 existed in this region. Indeed caravan tracks of great antiquity were pointed out to me in 138 lat. 18° 30′, long. 52° on the very edge of the sands and leading on a bearing of 325° into what is now a drought-stricken waste of sands. The Badus called this "the road to Ubar," a town which they say lies buried, according to their tradition, beneath the sands that are ever encroaching southwards. Whether the words "Ubar" and "Ophir" have any sort of connection it is impossible to say, but the alleged site of this buried city is on a direct line from the frankincense country of Dhufar to the most probable site of Gerrha on the Persian Gulf, and to Petra in Nabathaea, the great marts of the classical geographers.

[171] Other archæological remains are the old ruined townships of the plain of Dhufar and the trilith monuments I discovered in the frankincense country just over the Divide.[1] The former would appear to preserve a link with ancient Abyssinia, for the characteristic architectural feature is a monolithic column which, according to Bent, is common to that area, but is nowhere found being made to-day in Arabia. As regards the significance of the trilith monument, accurate memory of it has faded from the tribal mind. This brings us to the inhabitants themselves.

101 619 000 The nomadic tribes living in the Southern Steppe are Bait Kathir, elements of the Mahra, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai (Bal'Ubaid). In the mountains in northern Hadhramaut and the hinterland of Aden are two other interesting types, Hamumi and Yafi. With the

[1] For a detailed account see "Among Some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xiv, 1921, pp. 107 *seq.*

133

Trekking over the *djôl*.

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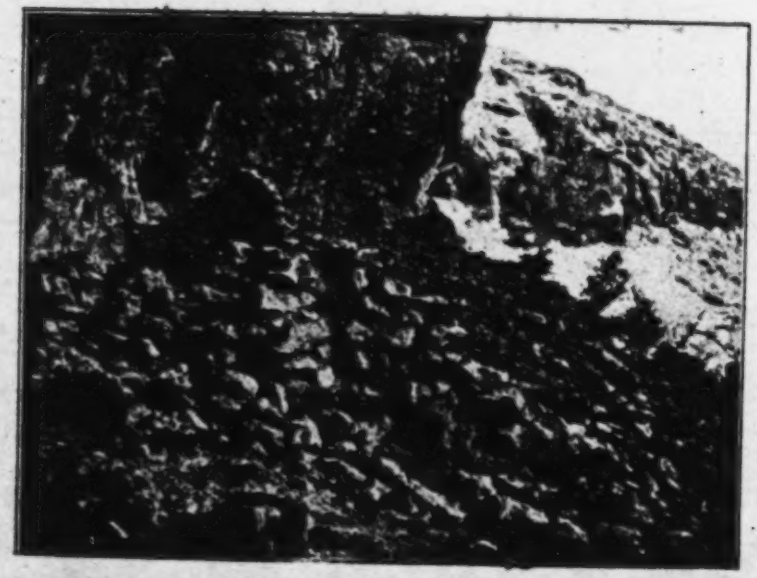

The Dār 'Ād, ruins dating probably from Sabaean times.

[facing p. 86]

that is to say, small piles of stones on which a fire is made till they are hot and on which meat can be roasted.

The number of people in this village who seemed to be afflicted with blindness or with other diseases of the eye was startling. The cemetery, which lies outside the village, is large; rows of graves covered with little hillocks of stones give the impression of not yet being old. Dahma has, apparently, been decimated by an epidemic. The neatly cultivated fields lie awaiting the rain. Two date-palms as well as some *nibq* trees increase the parched and barren impression of the place.

Apparently we are over the watershed here and in the river-basin of Ḥaḍramaut Proper. The landscape looks dryer and emptier of vegetation. The *euphorbia* bushes have neither fruit nor blossom, and the few grasses are dried up. After passing Dahma we saw an artificial pond, at present dry, made at the cost of much labour, which is intended to hold the water after rain.

Half an hour after sunset we reached Bureyyira, our quarters for the night, situated close by a small village.

## 7. AN EXCURSION TO THE RUINS OF THE PEOPLE OF ʿĀD.

There were great things on the programme for May 14th. We had often questioned our Bedouins about ruins and inscriptions, and they understood what we meant, for all of them knew about the remains of the towns and graves of the people of ʿĀd and Thamūd, the original inhabitants of the land, whom Allah had swept from the face of the earth, in punishment for their many sins. The groups of ruins are actually situated more towards Ḥaḍramaut Proper, with their centre in the direction of the Yemen. Probably we were setting foot here on the borderland of Sabaean civilisation. Old Aḥmad, one of our Sēbānī Bedouins, attracted by the promised reward, said that he had pondered well over it and remembered that there were inscriptions, painted by the people of ʿĀd, on a wall of rock in Wādī Thiqbe, not far to the north-east of our route, and that, besides

this, there were the remains of the houses which these people had inhabited in the days of the preaching of Hūd, the prophet of Allah. It was arranged for the caravan to go ahead as usual and for us to rise early and set out on a rapid excursion to the ʿĀd remains, without losing a day of the time on our schedule.

The night in Bureyyira seemed very cold, yet in the morning the temperature was only 18° C. The night-wind and the great contrast with the heat of the day make one feel the cold very much. We set out at 5 o'clock under the leadership of Aḥmad and the protection of the soldier ʿUbēd. We went first by the road on donkeys for some hours and then, leaving the animals with their attendants behind us, we struck into a side-path that led over massive rocks to the source of Wādī Ghār. The wādī is very soon deeply hollowed out and we climb with difficulty high up along its steep wall, but luckily that does not last long, and we approach the wādī-bed. Occasionally our way is blocked by great, greyish-white boulders. All sorts of interesting plants grow against the wall of rock as, for example, *anisotes*, which is also to be found at el-Ḥisī. We followed the bed of this narrow, deep wādī for a long time, and our eyes were refreshed by the colour of many an acacia. After strenuous climbing we reached the broader Wādī Thiqbe, where we had to circumvent immense blocks of rock. The *sēls* must have formed waterfalls here by which deep basins have been hollowed out of the rock, which in several places still held some water, though rather thick and brown. Now that the sun is so high that its rays reach the bed of the wādī, the temperature rises very quickly, and the prolonged and hard exertion makes us very thirsty. The water-supply that we brought with us is soon exhausted, but these basins of brown water arouse aversion. There is some shadow given by a number of trees, among which are some large *nibqs*, and that is the spot where we rest. Aḥmad really knows the way well. He brings us to a deep pool, hidden from sight by rocks, which has straight walls and is quite full of brown water. Though we dare not

drink it, we will, at least, swim in it! Our guide urgently advises against doing so: according to him, there are large snakes in the water. We do not see the dangerous reptiles and do not believe the story, but wish to treat with respect the superstitious awe with which the Bedouins have shown us this beautiful bit of nature, so we forego our bathe.

Not far from this place there rises a high rocky precipice which, more than has been the case hitherto, makes the wādī like a real cañon. The people of ᶜĀd must have had their dwellings up there, where the perpendicular part begins. Some climbing along the steep rock débris at the foot brings us into the Dār ᶜĀd, the region of ᶜĀd. We see, clinging to the base of the partly overhanging wall of rock, the remains of very simple dwellings about ten feet long by six feet high. Holes in the rock-wall are, in places, closed up with stones, but in others are open. They go fairly deep into the wall, but, on examination, have nothing remarkable to show. They attain a height of about one foot. One can see also a row of small holes where the rafters of the roof were supported. There are drawings in red paint in several places higher up on the wall of rock, which look like alphabetic characters, and some can be recognised as Sabaean. They are only in a state of preservation in such places where neither sun nor rain can touch them.

The copies which we made were deciphered by Professor Mordtmann of Berlin, who found that these inscriptions consisted exclusively of proper names.

The houses can be identified over a space of about 450 feet. The walls which still stand are made of natural stones bound together by means of mud; they do not look very old and can well be of later date than the drawings.

The Dār ᶜĀd lies just at the junction of Wādī Menwe with Wādī Thiqbe. We continue our climbing along the rock-wall of the former to the noon halting place of our caravan, by the Murabbaᶜa Bā Khemīs, where we arrive an hour after midday.

361

A part of Hadjarēn.

172

Along the ruins of Ghēbūn, near el-Meshhed.

[facing p 80]

See pages 78 and 83.

169 there. He knows as many as 150 men who have gone from
556 Hadjarēn to seek their fortunes in Java. The little town has now at most 3000 inhabitants. Before we leave, I have to look at the Dutch passports of our host and his relations, make a note of their adresses, and promise to look them up later on in Cheribon. They have fully earned any small attention from our side; we stand amazed over the simple, genuine kindness that we received in this house, especially after our sad experience in Ṣīf.

609 At our departure all sorts of Malay speaking Hadjarēners endeavour to exchange a few words with the white government official from their second fatherland. And, instead of being surrounded by faces with expressions of hate and contempt, and malicious, insulting remarks about *Naṣrānīs*, who should not be allowed to pollute the land, our exodus here is a small triumphal procession, crowded round as we are by the exuberant youth of the streets, all trying to air their knowledge of the Malay language.

## 4. ACROSS THE NEUTRAL ZONE BETWEEN EL-QEᶜĒṬĪ AND ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

622 Guides of the el-ᶜAṭṭās clan have offered themselves to
172 take us to el-Meshhed, the first place in the domain of the
131 Āl Kathīr, which is, however, actually under the supervision of the el-ᶜAṭṭās family. Our caravan divides, as Von Wissmann, with a couple of young sayyids, the Yāfiᶜ soldiers, one of our *ᶜabīd* (slave soldiers), and a whole band of street-arabs sets out to ascend Djebel Hadjarēn to see whether the ruins, of which we have been told, are really to be found, to take photographs and to survey. The territory of the Qeᶜēṭīs ends just beyond Hadjarēn. Further up, in the midst of Ḥaḍramaut Proper, there lie, like islands, the districts of Ḥōra and el-Qaṭn-Shibām, which are subject to the Qeᶜēṭī régime. The neutral zone, which we now enter, is an ideal hunting-ground for robbers and thieves.

662 fine young men, who represent their father in the duties of host most admirably. The el-ᶜAṭṭās family has a big well-kept guest-house for relations passing through el-Meshhed. The roof-storey has been recently whitewashed, the mud staircases and passages, the bathroom, lavatories and everything are clean. It is a luxury for us to be able to have a bath and to put up our camp-beds on the clean, white roof-terrace, high up above the dirty smells, which pervade every Arab town. What a difference from the stable-roof at Ṣīf!

●172 212 On Tuesday, May 19th, we begin a detailed examination of the inscriptions at el-Meshhed and of the ruins of Ghĕbūn, which are near by, to the south and south-west. We were shown stones with Sabaean inscriptions, built into houses, saints' graves, mosques, *siqāyas* and into the large, very deep village well. The material is not favourable; the limestone which is used is taken from the neighbouring mountains and is brittle, and, consequently, there remain only fragments of most of the inscriptions. A longer and more minute research than we could undertake would most certainly bring a great deal more to light. Ten minutes' walk out of el-Meshhed to the south-west lies the group of ruins of Ghĕbūn. They are ascribed by the inhabitants to the fabulous people of the ᶜĀdites and are probably on the site of a Ḥimyaritic city. One sees hillocks as much as thirty feet in height, and on their tops the remains of walls built up of great, hewn blocks of stone, which have been bound with a sort of cement. On one of the first hills we see the remains of four stone foundations with square impressions, probably the bases of pillars. Towards the slopes we find many fragments of stone with characters inscribed on them. On the next hillock there is an old well, thirty feet in diameter and quite sixty feet deep. The upper part of its wall consists of a layer of piled-up stone, while the lower part is of mud. The well is partly filled with rubbish and was probably much deeper originally than it is now. The subsoil water-level here is quite 180 feet below the surface of the earth. Many fragments of simple pottery lie

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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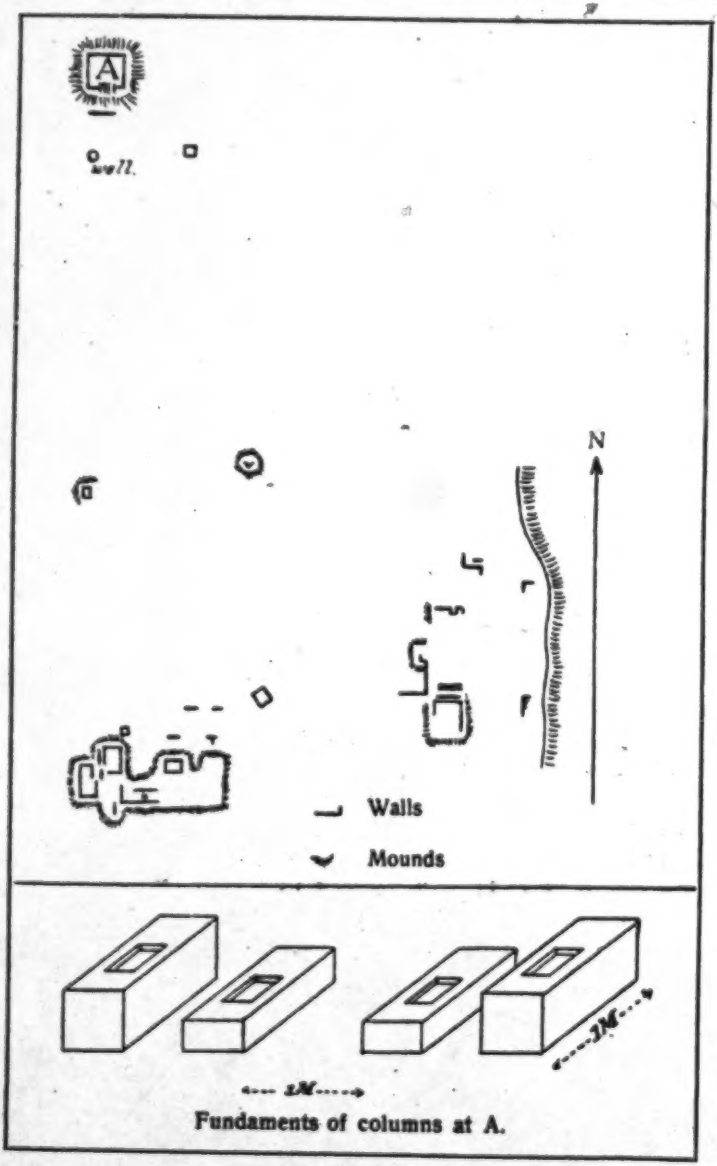



RUINS OF GHĒBŪN. NORTHERN BUILDINGS.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



172 amongst the broken stones of the ruins, also little bits of
212 rough, dark glass.

A quarter of an hour's walk distant there is another group of ruins that they call here "the Graves of the Kings". All those who are following us out of curiosity drop behind, when we go on through the suffocating heat between sand- and loam hills on the way to the Graves of the Kings, which lie in a great square S. S. W. of el-Meshhed. We find few inscriptions here. The hills are separated from each other, and have on their tops the foundations of solid walls forming a thirty feet square enclosure. The stones are not very large and are well and smoothly hewn. The ruins here are generally covered with piles of loam, very possibly the remains of the mud upper parts of the buildings. Many red-brown fragments of pottery lie among the stones.

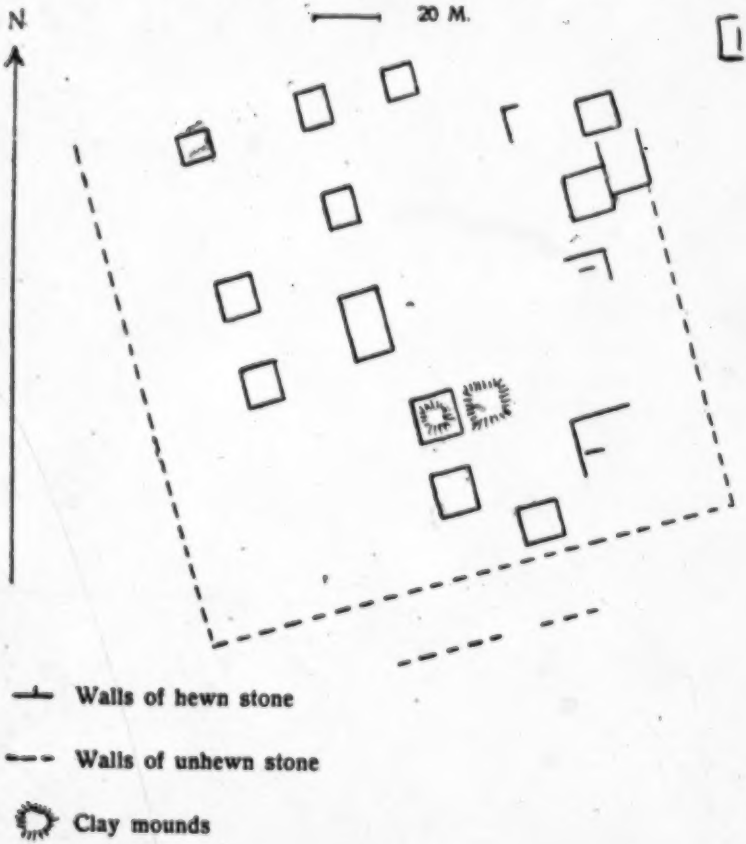
172 The assumption made by the Bents [1], that the ground has
114 been raised more than thirty feet by drifting sand and that thus the old buildings are to a great extent buried, seems to be incorrect. The opposite supposition is more likely, namely, that the *sēl*-bed became more deeply washed away when the barrages and irrigation canals were no longer kept in repair. The ruins now all lie upon the hill-tops, the loess around them having been all washed away.

609 Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās, the eldest brother now in Ḥaḍramaut of our companion Sayyid ᶜAluwī and the energetic head of the family in Ḥurēḍa, came from el-Meshhed to meet us. The father in Batavia had sent telegraphic instructions to give a good reception to the first envoy of the Netherlands to Ḥaḍramaut. Directly he received news of our approach, Sayyid Ḥasan mounted a *hadjīn* (riding camel) and set out to meet us. Being in his own country he dared to wear the khaki sun-
000 helmet of the *Efrendjīs*, when riding. Everything, later on, showed his progressiveness, his energy and daring. Sayyid Ḥasan acted henceforth as our host, and we had a good time under his guidance. Had he had enough time to accompany

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 104 *sq.*

us on the return journey, many disappointments would most certainly have been spared us.

Our help had been asked for by several sick old women




RUINS OF GHĒBŪN. SOUTHERN BUILDINGS.

and men in el-Meshhed, and we now returned there. There is much surprise when we refuse to give medicine for a *sherīfa* (the daughter of a sayyid), because we are not allowed to see the patient.

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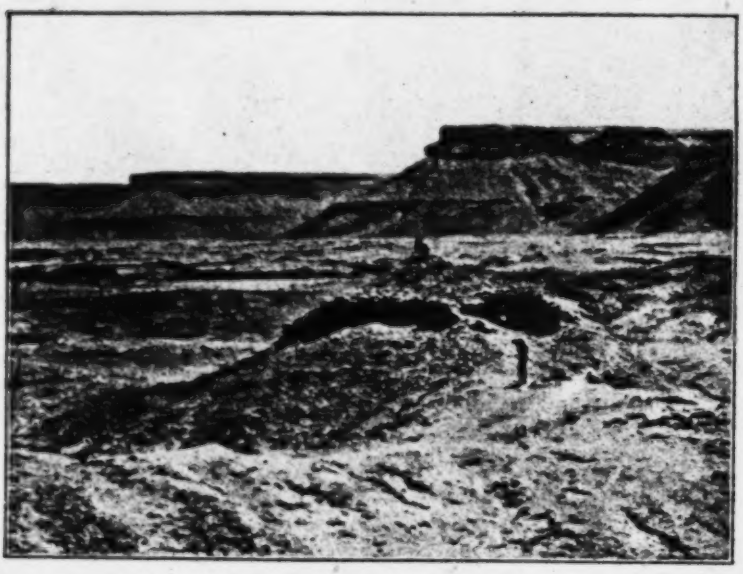
•172



The "Graves of the Kings".

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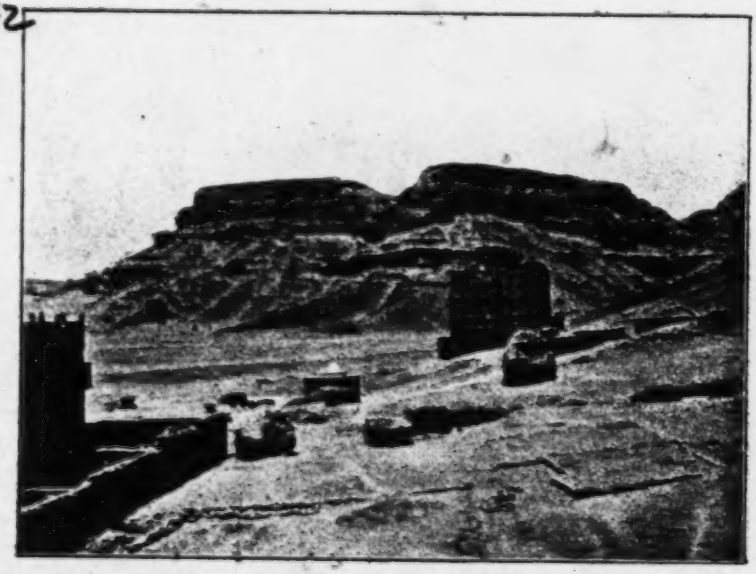


The el-ʿAṭṭās house in Ḥurēḍa.

p88 (B)

See pages 86 and 90.

000 a chance of success some money could be spared for it. Close
172 to this spring[1] lie against the mountain-wall the ruins of Khurēḍa, the town from which Ḥurēḍa is said to have taken its name. It may be presumed that these ruins date from well into pre-Islamic times, in spite of the fact that we found no inscriptions to prove it. There are remains of houses, namely foundations of stone, two wells, which are still very deep, and a cistern, which is plastered with a kind of cement. A fragment of an aqueduct of mason-work leading to the spring is still to be seen.

312 Tins of water are carried on donkeys from the spring to Ḥurēḍa. We advised that the spring and the rocky basin in front of it should be cleaned out right up to the massive rock, then cemented, and the water brought at least as far as the valley by means of a conduit of iron piping, thus saving much output of energy and minimizing the possibility of pollution and the spilling of water.

After this, under the guidance of the Bedouin Sayyid ʿAlī, we go through the palm-groves and over the dry irrigation canals to the other wall of the wādī, where, in a fissure of the rock, there is said to be a little pool which always has water. Sayyid ʿAlī does not much like the hot climbing, but we
529 persevere in it. After energetic scrambling over fields of stone and up slopes of rock we actually arrive at el-Baḥr, "the sea", a deep, rocky basin, full of water, with high, cavernous walls from which, after rain, the water must fall in spray into the basin. It is a splendid place for a swim. The temperature of the water is certainly high, but it is so broiling hot in the chasm that the contrast is refreshing. The basin is so deep that we cannot dive to the bottom. Sayyid ʿAlī performed one of his great feats, on the occasion of a picnic, by climbing up the high wall of rock and diving thence into the basin. That nearly all these men of the desert are good swimmers and daring divers certainly points to the natural giftedness of the race. Ḥaḍramīs who have never seen the sea enlist as pearl-divers or go as stokers on long voyages.

1 [ONE MILE S.W. OF HURĒḌA -- ANALYST]

312 (that is a little more than 300 feet). Groups of sturdy male and female slaves, singing in unison the while, raised the water-bags by a pulley and emptied the contents into a conduit which led to a cemented basin. Cheap labour on the one hand and capital earned abroad on the other make it possible to keep such places as Ḥurēḍa in condition. The palm-groves are kept alive by the *sēl,* but seem to be on the decline and, on their borders, to be giving way to accumulating heaps of sand.

648 On the evening of the 21st of May, I was officially received in the simple dwelling of the Governor of Ḥurēḍa. The Governor of el-Meshhed and Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās, however, acted as hosts and leaders of the meeting. The Governor is a quiet, friendly, young man and the whole atmosphere is particularly gentle and kind. A youthful poet of the el-ᶜAṭṭās family had composed a song of welcome. Sayyid Ḥasan makes a speech in which the poem is recited and in which he welcomes us as the first Europeans to visit Ḥurēḍa. As Dutch subjects, they are very much delighted that one of us is an envoy of the Netherlands Government. In my reply I said that it seemed right and fair to me that the Dutchman has preceded the Briton in Ḥurēḍa, for with the Dutch in Java exist the more long-standing and intimate relations. In Ḥaḍramaut, along with agreeable surprises, I also found disappointing conditions. We considered the energetic Ḥaḍramīs, whom we know in Java, to be capable of improving the backward conditions which exist in their fatherland.

I seized every opportunity that was offered to me to point to the necessity of independent activity and thus to answer the repeated requests for Dutch or other foreign help for the achieving of better conditions.

172 My companion, with the Bedouin Sayyid ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās, climbed Djebel Ghumdān to investigate the wonders that are told of this historic summit. There should be ruins, and a deep well on the top was said to have a subterranean connection with Bīr ᶜAlī on the coast. The ruins of defensive towers on

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the Ghumdān appear to be of recent date. The well is also found, and plucky Sayyid ʿAlī has the daring to go down into it, in spite of the gruesome tales of snakes and other monsters which are said to haunt its depths. The pit appears to be a shaft of karst about 90 feet in depth; in the lower part of it there is a transverse passage into which Sayyid ʿAlī penetrates over a few yards, with a loaded revolver in his hand. Then the squeaking of bats fluttering around him becomes too much for him and he returns to the shaft, where Von Wissmann has followed him. No traces of human activity nor of hidden treasures can be detected by the light of their electric torches. Both of them climb up again out of the pit without mishap, but with great effort. 172

Henceforth Sayyid ʿAlī feels drawn to Von Wissmann by the friendship of admiration. Of course he wishes to go with us into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut to the great Sayyid el-Kāf in Terīm and then to accompany us further to Qabr Hūd, there, with his friend "Ḥarmal" (corruption of Hermann, see p. 47), to explore the mysterious Bīr Barhūt. He who dared the descent of Bīr Ghumdān shall also venture the hell's mouth of Barhūt, and the name of Sayyid ʿAlī shall be handed down in honour for generations in the annals of Ḥaḍramaut. Drunken with pride and joy Sayyid ʿAlī accompanies Von Wissmann through the darkness back to Ḥurēḍa. He relates his tale, which grows ever finer in the telling, until deep into the night. My companion's fame precedes him into Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid ʿAlī will introduce him with pride: "Ḥarmal, the German airman (look at his knee that has been shot away), the man who fears no height nor depth." 000

On the morning of May 22nd we have another invitation, this time to take tea with Sayyid Ṭālib, who is introduced as the Sindbad of Ḥaḍramaut. He has travelled pretty well all over the Islamic world, where as a sayyid and son of a race of theologians he was everywhere welcome, and he has returned wealthy from his travels. This Sindbad's beautiful house is jestingly called "the little Yildiz". He is old by now, but listens 484 595 431

helped by the motor-car in his great work of pacifying and 721
opening up Ḥaḍramaut.

We depart in two fine cars belonging to the Sultan of 114
Sêwûn for Terîm, the city to which Leo Hirsch has preceded us and from which nearly forty years ago the sayyids with their fanaticism and hatred of Christianity forced him to flee within a few hours of his arrival. An Englishman, Mr. Boscawen, reached there also a full year in advance of us, but he did not publish a description of his journey and, according to report, only came for sport. Aeroplanes of the R. A. F. at Aden, with Colonels Cochrane and Lake and Flight-Lieutenant Rickards on board, also once flew high above the town, but they were only making an aerial reconnaissance, although the scouts themselves felt a growing desire within them to set foot for once in this wonderful town. The Ḥaḍramis say of it: "Terîm — and then thou desirest nothing else." [186]

The cars take us through winding mud lanes between palm- 241
groves to the hilly stretch of sand and loam outside the town. 172
The palm-trees are planted well apart from each other in the sand; the fields of *dhura* come to an end but the little dykes of the area that can only be cultivated when the rains are sufficient are to be seen for long afterwards. Quite soon we pass the ruins of a town, Maryama, probably of great antiquity. The castle and the town were laid waste in a local war, and, of the cultivation of the land, only the little dykes, which divided the fields into squares, still remain. Close to Maryama there was an old road which crossed southwards over the mountain-wall. My companion climbed this *ʿaqaba* called Duqm el-Aswad and found on the rock-wall close to the *djôl* scrollings and grafitti probably made, many centuries ago, by the Bedouins of passing caravans. Some distance further on the villages and palm-groves at the foot of the southern mountain-wall come to an end. The loam vanishes under an ever thicker layer of 493
sand and sand-dunes, and the cars stall several times. In 491
accordance with the instructions of the Sultan we do not go by the normal way, through the plain, to Terîm, but follow

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



entrusted by his uncle Sayyid Abū Bakr with the carrying out of these aviation plans.

On the morning after our arrival we were, first of all, shown the so-called "wild cow" [1], a present to Sayyid Abū Bakr from some Bedouins who had caught it young on the border of the Rub° el-Khālī (the "Empty Quarter"). The wild cow appears to be a white antelope with black marks and two very long, straight horns. The beautiful, big creature has already lived in captivity for twelve years and looks well on it, except that its hoofs, owing to lack of abrasion, have grown too long.

On the ground floor of Sayyid Abū Bakr's house, where he has his stables, we found some stones with inscriptions on them, brought by Bedouins from the ruins of Sūne. This drew our attention towards that district of ruins, and our host promised that he would organize an excursion for us there.

### 3. THE PALACES OF TERĪM.

Later we pay a visit to Sayyid ᶜUmar bin Shēkh el-Kāf, the younger brother of our host, already mentioned, whose house, just restored, is said to be the most beautiful in all Terīm, and that is saying a great deal in this city of palaces. His house is chiefly conspicuous for its dimensions and colour. The outside is painted deep blue, and the stately rows of tall windows are bordered with a design in yellow. There is, also, no sparing use of pink and green. The style is more Indian than Ḥaḍramī.

All the great houses of Terīm have a character quite of their own that one does not see in the other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. They are massive, square buildings, with regular rows of tall windows, with few extensions on the roofs and few decorative designs on the top of the walls or on the parapets. The lower floor, which is very lofty, has generally two wide, high entrances, closed by doors of teak, and with broad

[1] *Baqarat el-waḥsh* (بقرة الوحش).

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



on a hill. Whilst we photograph, survey and sketch, we feel as if our narrow standing-place were swaying gently to and fro. It is unpleasant to contemplate that we are so high above the level of the ground, standing on a slender tower made of almost nothing but dried mud.

## 5. SMALL RUINS OUTSIDE TERĪM.

In the evening, during the family motor drive, when the el-Kāfs and their set ride in slow procession through the gardens of Terīm and the baked plains of stone that lie outside it, a hill in the midst of Wādī ʿĒdīd is pointed out to us, which is said to have associations dating from the ʿĀd epoch. From a certain distance an old, paved high road is clearly visible, leading to the summit of the hill, where a temple must have stood. Only loose stones with mortar between them are now to be seen on the hill; at its base there are the remains of foundations of buildings, which seem to point to a guest-house with many small rooms. For the people of Terīm these ruins have an odour of sanctity; a similar hill, close by, is used by childless women as a place of worship, where they have to perform certain nocturnal rites by means of which they hope to have children.

## 6. A WALK THROUGH THE TOWN.

On the following day, May 28th, we go with the doctor to see his house and clinic. This pioneer of western medical science has no easy time here; the people still cling to their own ideas as to the functions of the human body and the causes of illness. They think that there are three chief causes of sickness, namely *riyāḥ* (gasses in the blood), *burūda* (cold), and *ḥarāra* (heat). They say of foods that they make the body cold or hot, or cause or disperse flatulence. Even the men of standing talk about their ailments in this terminology

172

Ruined remains of a stone-built dam from pre-Islamic days, near Sūne.

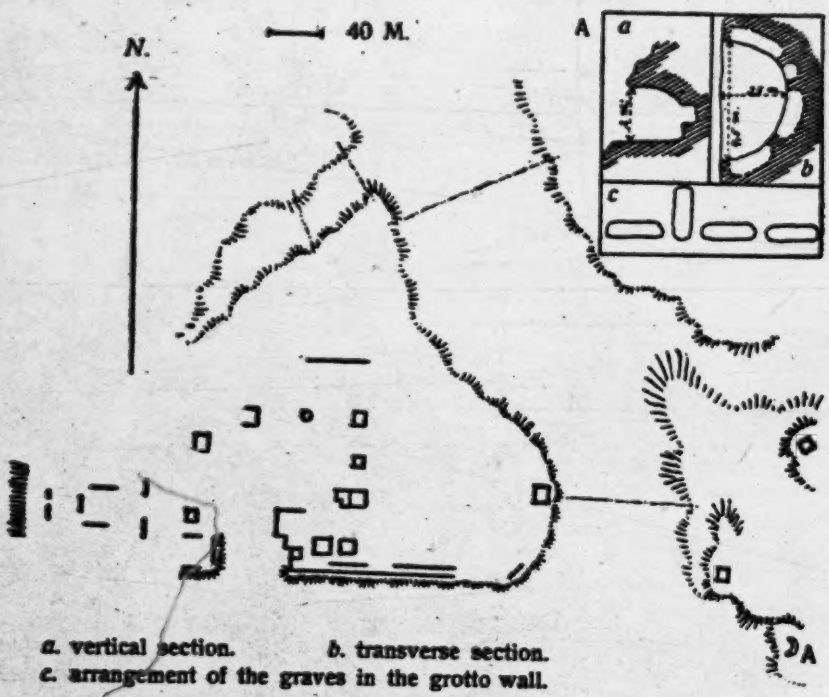
Some of the ruin mounds near Sūne.

facing p. 144

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



We succeed in getting the cars close to the site of the ruins at Ḥedbet el-Ghuṣn, near the village of Sūne. Shortly before arriving there we passed a massive piece of wall made of natural stone and certainly joined to the rock-wall in former




*a.* vertical section. *b.* transverse section.
*c.* arrangement of the graves in the grotto wall.

SKETCH OF RUINS AT ḤEDBET EL-GHUṢN NEAR SŪNE.

times. It is presumably the remains of a dam built across the wādī, dating from pre-Islamic times.

The ruins near Sūne have much in common with those of Ghēbūn. The square foundations of buildings, made of huge pieces of uncut stone, are still to be seen on the tops of mounds. Lying on top of and around the ruins are smaller stones, being the remains of a kind of mortar, and many

●172 potsherds. We find but few inscriptions and then only in fragments. Von Wissmann wriggled with difficulty into a grotto in the mountain-wall and there found five empty sepulchral niches. It is unbearably hot and none of our company helps us in our investigations. The sun forces us to retreat after we have first taken some photographs and made some sketches.

728 The return journey is laboriously accomplished, again the cars stall repeatedly in the scorching sand of the wādīs and the body of the car is so hot that one burns oneself when touching it to push. Back at Ruḍēḥ, we seek shelter from the sun's heat in the house of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, where the midday meal is awaiting us. Long negotiations have been necessary to achieve this arrangement, for up to a short time ago he was at war with the adherents of Sayyid Abū Bakr. The occasion of our visit is used as a first, cautious attempt at friendship, following on the conclusion of peace a year ago. Ruḍēḥ is a village falling into decline, in a landscape drying up through lack of workers for its irrigation.

ooo Back at Terīm we make a detailed report to our much interested host. The fragments with inscriptions found by us are handed over to him with the request that he will add them to the other pieces from Sūne that are already in his possession. We strongly advise the founding of a museum at Terīm, where antiquities could be preserved; this would prevent their being used in building wells and houses and being made unrecognizable by a layer of plaster, or their being disposed of outside the country.

Preparations have been completed meanwhile for the trip to Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhūt and we can leave on the second day. It is urgent now to make fixed plans for our return journey as that also will require time to arrange. The route Terīm—esh-Shiḥr is open to us; notwithstanding the bad reports concerning this route current in the Qeᶜēṭī territory, Sayyid Abū Bakr takes full responsibility for our safety, should we wish to travel that way. For me personally this is

●172 To expedite matters we take the risk of starting off in
312 advance on our donkeys. As we pass we see at a great dis-
231 tance some villages almost entirely in ruins, and also castles of the type of that of Qasam. There is water here and there in the deep and by no means wide *sēl*-bed. It appeared soon after we left ʿĒnāt and it increased further towards the east. This water is pretty bitter, though in some places it is sweet enough to be drinkable. The inhabitants prefer the well-water, which is better, but the pack-animals drink the water of the river. It is running and every now and then disappears to continue its course underground. Beyond Qasam the wādī is still wide and the soil consists of a thick layer of
136 loess. The broad path winds between bushes of fresh green *rāk* covered with bluish-red berries, which are being gathered here and there by children. When we heard that they were eatable we tasted them; they have the taste of cress, sweet but hot as pepper. They have a strong laxative action as have the leaves for which camels and donkeys have a liking. Where *rāk* grows the animals are given nothing else, although they get diarrhoea from it. In journeying through *rāk* districts one sees the rumps of the camels smeared with greenish pap, whilst their leaders and riders are not free from splashes sprinkled round by their animals' tails. At these times a very unpleasant smell clings night and day to the caravan.

172 The further we go, the more barren becomes the bed of the wādī, which is still very wide. The layer of loam is covered with sand; mounds of loam rise up out of it, some of them covered with vegetation. Shortly before sunset we enter a region of many and magnificent ruins. It is too late to examine them closely, and we pass the smaller mounds by so as to go on to the central ruin of el-ʿUrr. This is visible when we are still far from it. Massive remains of walls, towering high against the evening sky, stand on a lonely mass of rock, right in the midst of the wādī level. The rocky hill extends some distance and is very steep, and it is difficult to clamber over the rubble of the building, which has

172

The ruins of Ḥuṣn el-'Urr seen from the North-west.

facing p 152

See page 152.

172

The ruins of Ḥuṣn el-ʿUrr seen from the South-east.

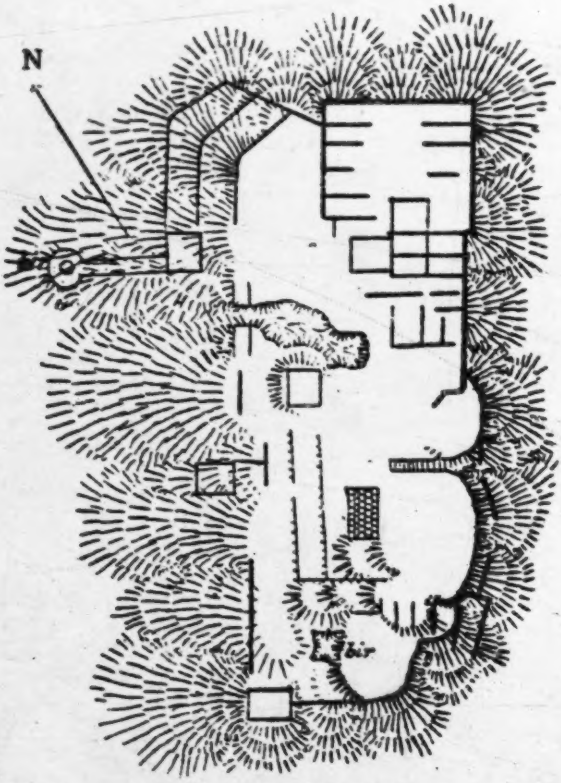
facing p.153

See page 153.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



fallen down it. This site justifies the conclusion that we have here a fortress which once commanded the surrounding country. At the foot is a well of mason-work, now partly filled up with débris. Traces of a path leading from the well to the




RUINS OF ḤUṢN EL-ʿURR. 1:1000

summit are still discernable. Remains of the buildings are strewn around and on top of the hill. Strong, high walls have been erected of well-hewn stone, and remnants of them still stand to a height of from 45 to 50 feet. There is a steep, narrow passage in the middle of the south-eastern side of the rock,

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



172 where the vestiges of steps are still to be seen: this must have been the principal entrance to the castle. We were not successful in finding inscriptions of any importance, but we did discover some carved capitals of pillars. These we buried in the sand with the object of picking them up on our return journey when we hoped to have time for a more leisurely examination of the ruins of this imposing castle.

### 4. A NIGHT IN ES-SŌM.

000 For the moment the setting sun forced us to go on further to es-Sōm, where we intended to spend the night. The last and most tiring hours of travel were made even more wearisome by a hot sand-storm, which delayed us so long that darkness had set in several hours before we reached the sēl-bed in which, at this spot, there is a wide, shallow strip of water. The donkeys and camels have found their way in the darkness and now get through the tepid water without difficulty, but my donkey refuses to budge an inch. The caravan vanishes into the darkness of the night; I hear it, far away, climbing up the bank of the wādī, and then all is still. Weary with beating my unwilling beast, I sit down waiting to see whether the others will miss me and send help. It is not long before three men with electric torches come back for me. Our united efforts push the donkey into the water and, once in it, he puts his best foot foremost to reach the other side. We follow barefoot to where the caravan awaits us. No one, however, takes any notice of us; they are all standing in a crowd round my cook, Ṣāliḥ, who has trodden on a scorpion and been stung by the insect. He is groaning with pain. We can do nothing for him here, but must endeavour to get to es-Sōm as quickly as possible.

This small, dying place makes a poverty-stricken, gloomy impression; we stumble, tired and disheartened, through the winding streets; the only sound is Ṣāliḥ's groaning. Will they be ready, in this miserable village, to take us in immediately

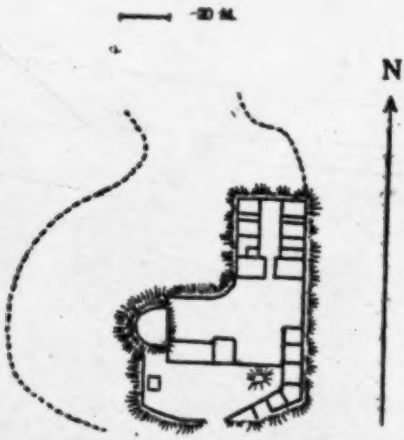
is always water in the *sēl*-bed, *rāk* bushes and tamarisks grow 000
in plenty. We soon pass the wide delta of the "Seven Wādīs" which debouch into the main wādī.

After two and a half hours steady walking we arrive in pitch darkness at Fughma and knock at the door of the house where, on our outward journey, we have spent some hours during the heat of the day. Although the master of the house 609
has already retired with his family for the night's rest on the roof, he comes at once to open the door to us, and we also are assigned a part of a roof, a coverlet of goat's hair and a few greasy cushions. When everyone has settled down again to rest our caravan looms up out of the darkness, and the men, in their turn, are received with great hospitality and given quarters on another roof.

On the following day, June 3rd, we leave Fughma by break 000
of day and, before it becomes very hot, reach es-Sōm, where we again call on our host of the journey out. We are received with particular friendliness and are all allowed into the great reception-room, the *madjlis*. We want to write and rest, and we put out feelers to see whether there is, perhaps, a separate, small room for us; the living-room is immediately emptied and placed at our disposal. We wish to leave early in the afternoon to see the groups of ruins at el-Mekēnūn, Thōbe and el-ᶜUrr before sundown.

The group of ruins known as el-Mekēnūn lies near es- 172
Sōm and towards the northern wall of the wādī. The remains of old buildings stand out above the plain like mounds of débris, with a well now partly filled in with stones, lying between them. Our search for stones with inscriptions is *not* rewarded. Connected with these mounds there is a large open space that is regarded as a cemetery by the people of the district; stones have been placed in circles and ellipses and are said to indicate the graves. According to tradition, the people of ᶜĀd were a race of giants and the dimensions of these circles and ellipses do not clash with this conception. We have no time to excavate; there are more groups of ruins to inspect. Against

172 our will we turn our backs on el-Mekēnūn and follow our guide into Wādī Sekhōre. In the distance we can already see, rising upon a precipitous, high hill, the remains of what must once have been a fortress. The position points to this and has much in common with that of the ruins of the castle at el-ʿUrr, which stand on a similar hill rising out of the main wādī, only half an hour's walk westwards.




RUINS OF EL-MEKĒNŪN.

Ḥuṣn Thōbe is the name of the ruined castle at the mouth of Wādī Sekhōre. The steep slopes of the huge rock, which is nearly 300 feet high, are covered with débris. At its foot there is a well, at the top we find fairly high remains of walls, but no inscriptions.

174 The scarcity of inscriptions found here, in contrast with the multiplicity of those found in the mountainous land of the Yemen, is explicable if we look upon Ḥaḍramaut as the borderland of the Sabaean and Minaean Kingdoms. Professor J. H. Mordtmann of Berlin, who studied and deciphered the inscriptions that we brought home, is of opinion that the people of

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



been the borderland of two kingdoms, which naturally would not be the most favourable place for setting up inscriptions. Frontier defences are never centres of culture. Furthermore the stone here is not favourable for incising: it is too brittle. All the texts deciphered for us by Mordtmann are votary inscriptions (proskynemas) to the national god, Sīn.

From Ḥuṣn Thōbe we walked back to the main wādī, in whose midst, on a great lonely rock, remains of the walls of Ḥuṣn el-ᶜUrr still rise to a considerable height. We met the *caravan here and, uniting our forces, tried to get at a piece* of cut stone that was cemented into the upper part of the remains of the walls. After much effort we succeeded. It turned out that we had detached a capital of whitish sandstone, particularly well-hewn on its four planes. The capital was too heavy for transport on our camels, so Von Wissmann made the drawing reproduced here.[1] The skill of the artist who, in ancient times, made this head of a column is clearly shown in the undamaged portions. The sculptor seems to have depicted hunting scenes. Mounted men fighting with lions are represented on one plane; on another are very good reproductions of the ibex (*wiᶜl*), an animal which plays a great part in the folklore of Ḥaḍramaut. The *wiᶜl* hunt is still the favourite sport of the Ḥaḍramīs, although strongly disapproved of by their religious leaders on account of the ceremonies of evidently heathen origin accompanying it. The heavy, notched horns of the ibex, gracefully bending backwards, are, up to this day, to be found as trophies decorating the façade of many a house in Ḥaḍramaut.

The smaller hewn stone that we had found in the ruins on the outward journey was dug up again. This stone, flat and of the same white sandstone as the capital, appeared to bear on front and back an identical sculpture, representing a bunch of grapes with a few leaves, a motive that also occurs here and there on the decorated surfaces of the capital. We wished to take this stone with us to Terīm as an addition

[1] See p. 178.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

●172
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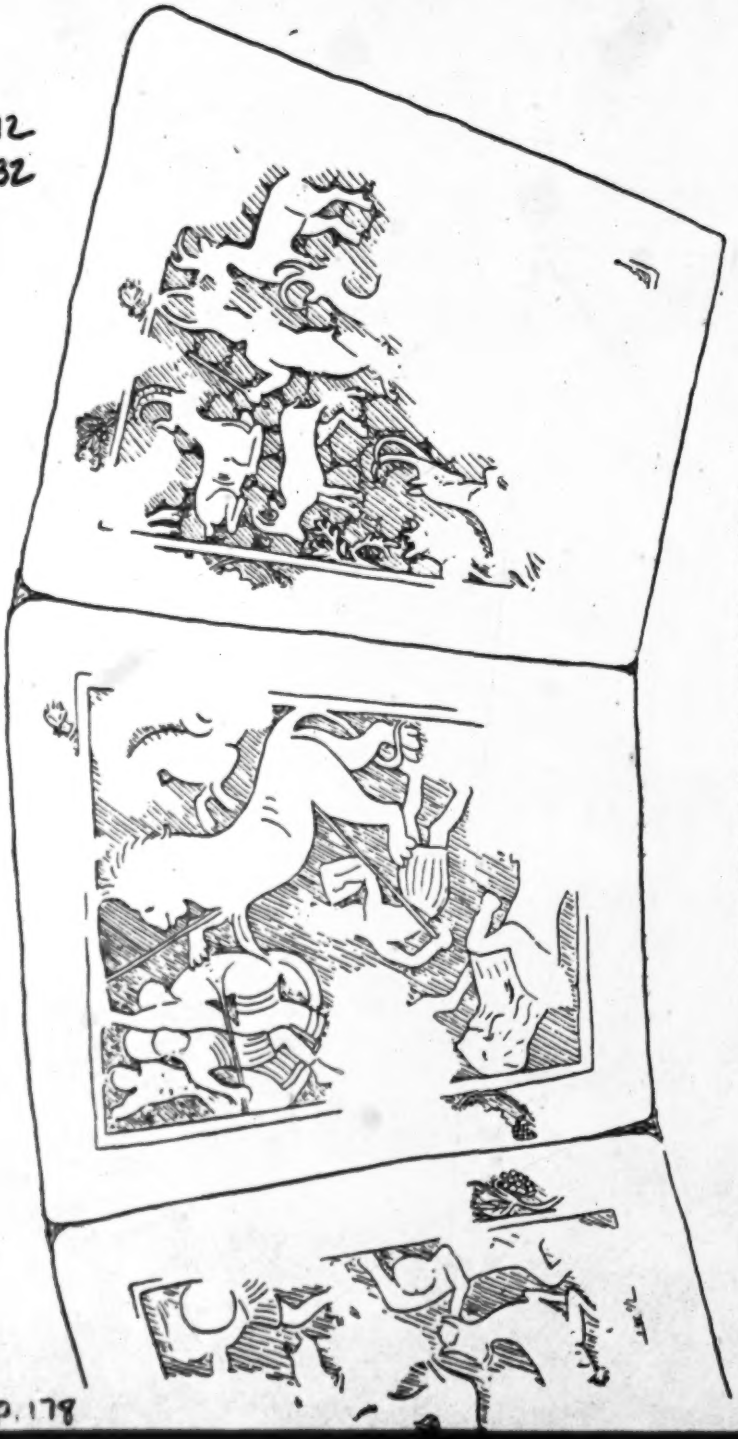

THE CARVED CAPITAL OF ḤUṢN EL-ʿURR.

P.178

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



361 the tombs of holy men. The Āl el-ᶜĒderūs, one of the families
778 of sayyids whose riches are made in Java, come from ᶜĒnāt
788 and are, moreover, the ruling family in this pious city, which owes the few houses that are kept in repair, the beautiful white mosques and the fine school for boys to these sayyids and to those of the Āl Ḥāmid. At the seven *qubbas* we meet Sayyid ᶜAlī bin el-ᶜĒderūs, who feels an exile from his people who live in Surabaya, but his place here will be taken by another member of the family in a few years' time. He is glad to meet someone who knows Java and invites us to take a cup of tea with him. We learn from him that ᶜĒnāt can
312 boast of thirteen mosques and has, at the present time,
● 172 5000 inhabitants. Water for drinking has to be brought from
[162] a great distance, as the local supply is not fit for it. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh Āl Ḥāmid, who lived for ten years in Dār es-Salām, is also glad to have an opportunity of talking once more with Europeans and comes to Sayyid ᶜAlī's *madjlis*. He has some acquaintance with the early history of his country and tells us of the great dam which is said to have existed in pre-Islamic times between Qabr Hūd and the sea. The destruction of this dam ushered in the decline of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh has his own theory of the means by which the great stones of the buildings in the pre-Islamic period were piled one upon the other; he asserts that he has seen representations of elephants on the ruins and assumes that it was by them that these heavy stones were dragged to their places. I doubt whether this supposition is correct, although it is true that elephants play a part in the historical traditions of Arabia. The great castles are built on high, rocky hills, whose slopes are barely practicable even for man.

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000 bands of white and grey, against the dark green of the palms. The soldiers and children of the garrison stood crowded together to enjoy to the last this short variation in the monotony of their life as a besieged people. Then, through plantations of young palms and, after that, over uncultivated stretches of sand, our way led to that last outpost of el-Qeᶜēṭī in Ḥaḍramaut, Shibām. As had been arranged, we announced our arrival directly to our friends Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam at their garden home. Once again we stay in this Arabian Nights' palace, bathe in the clear, lukewarm swimming-pool, and enjoy the luxury offered us here by our hospitable friends.

Early on the following day we go to Shibām to take photographs of Ḥimyaritic inscriptions and sculptures, which are to be found in the shop of a local dealer in antiquities. It is already unbearably hot in the narrow lanes between the tall houses, where, moreover, market is being held. We are thankful to turn our backs on this unhygienic but wonderful New York of Ḥaḍramaut and to go by car to the Sultan's palace in el-Qaṭn.

609 Sultan ᶜAlī bin Ṣalāḥ bin Muḥammad bin ᶜUmar bin ᶜAwaḍ
● 172 bin ᶜAbdallāh el-Qeᶜēṭī gives us a hearty reception. He places an escort at Von Wissmann's disposal to show him some rock inscriptions and ruins on the southern bank of the wādī. It is very hot and the rocks are steep and high; the guides' interest in this inexplicable hobby of the Christians is extremely small, and Von Wissmann returns rather disappointed with the results of his excursion. We then go together in the Sultan's car to ᶜUqrān, a village about half-way back to Shibām, at the entrance to the short side-wādī of the name, 114 in the southern wall of the main wādī. Hirsch[1] and the 172 Bents[2] have been here. Hirsch gives a detailed description from which it would seem that there was more to be

[1] L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 192.

[2] Th. and Mrs. Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 124 and 135. They call it Al Agran and Al Gran.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



seen at that time than there is now. The people inform us that the late Sultan had a stone, bearing an inscription, removed from the *masdjid* into which it was built and that he presented it to one of the *Efrendjīs*.[1] There are still a few mounds of ruins to be seen in ᶜUqrān and, further, several of the simple mud houses of the place are built on foundations dating from pre-Islamic times. Walls and evenly made stairs leading to the inhabited storeys of the houses have been put together of stones, excellently hewn and bound with a kind of mortar unknown at the present time.

After having had our meal with the Sultan at el-Qaṭn we go on in two cars to Hēnin. Vegetation ceases near el-Furṭ, then we drive for a short time over the layer of loess, but after that the drift-sand gets the upper hand. Sand-storms always arise in the afternoon in this region; they are caused by the sand becoming greatly heated and by the rise of columns of hot air. Before long we were absorbed into a burning shroud of sand and were fighting our lonely way onwards. Occasionally a bit of the rock-wall can be seen through the mist, and that has to suffice for the drivers to take their bearings by. After some groping and going astray we really do arrive at Hēnin. One of the cars has motor trouble and, after vain attempts to repair it, has to be left behind. Our friend Bin Martaᶜ is unfortunately away and his car with him. Wādī Ḥaḍramaut begins here and is six miles wide, but still we venture the crossing in one overburdened car from Hēnin on the north bank to el-Qaᶜūẓa on the south side, at the point where Wādī Rakhīya, Wādī 'l-Kasr and Wādī ᶜAmd unite and form the great Ḥaḍramaut Valley. Then we drive on over the clay layer and then again over drift-sand, going as fast as possible so as to avoid stalling. The high promontory of rock behind el-Qaᶜūẓa is a good landmark.

Shortly before sunset we emerge out of the fog of sand just in front of the closed gates of the castle, to the speechless

[1] This *Efrendjī* was Mr. Bent, who reproduces the stone opposite p. 145 of his book.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



At midday we reached Ḥurēḍa, where, unfortunately, we had to change camels. This generally takes up more than a day, but our el-ʿAṭṭās friends knew how to get things done for us more quickly, and by that same afternoon of June 9th we were on our way again into Wādī ʿAmd.

Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, who had been our companion since Makalla, remained behind here. On long, wearying journeys one becomes intimately acquainted with the weak spots in one another's characters and so learns to value the good points all the more. Sayyid ʿAluwī had been a patient, good-humoured comrade to us two restless Westerners, with our endless questions and desire to investigate. By his introduction the houses and hearts of Ḥurēḍa were opened to us and Ḥurēḍa had been the key to Ḥaḍramaut for us. Our thankful recollections of that country can be summed up in the names el-ʿAṭṭās and el-Kāf.

## 2. POOR AND DRY—BUT RICH IN RUINS.

We stroll through Ḥurēḍa, attended by a goodly retinue, and not till we are outside the town do we mount our camels and say farewell. Von Wrede is the only European who claims to have travelled through Wādī ʿAmd, but it is a claim that we must call in question. Anyone who will go to the trouble of comparing Von Wrede's geographical descriptions of Wādī ʿAmd with Von Wissmann's map appended to the present work will probably experience the same feelings of doubt regarding that part of Von Wrede's accounts of his travels.

Just after leaving Ḥurēḍa we passed the largest area of ruins that we saw in Ḥaḍramaut. The mounds extend for a distance of about two and a half miles. A great quantity of small stones from the *sēl*-bed were at hand on the spot for building purposes, and this is, doubtless, the reason why so small a remnant of the walls still stands and why no inscriptions were found. Further up the wādī we constantly passed groups of ruins mostly crowning the hills lying in front of the mountain-wall.

621 We had not received favourable reports of Wādī ʿAmd. The el-Aṭṭās family, nevertheless, maintained the contrary; it is their wādī and the Djaʿdī Bedouins who inhabit it are allied with them and are, in a certain sense, under their control, but it is hard to discover how far this control goes. We got the impression that the wādī was very much armed and ready for war. The landscape is barren and, at first, monotonous; the *sēl*-bed is broad and filled with bluish-white, small boulders. Conditions must have been much better in the old days, for the numerous ruins suggest a dense population.

361 It is long after sunset before we reach Nukhr, where the el-
231 ʿAṭṭās family own a house. The place consists of a few huts
243 and a half tumble-down mud house, in which a room has been prepared for us. It is too warm to spend the night indoors, but the staircase leading to the roof has collapsed. In the middle of the hamlet there is a storehouse for fodder, half below and half above the ground. Its roof is about three feet above the ground and has a parapet about one and a half feet high. The basin thus formed is smoothly plastered with mud, and the grain is thrashed in it after harvesting. It makes a hard but safe sleeping place.

172 On the following day, June 10th, we set off again south-
312 westwards. At first the wādī is very monotonous and barren
241 and the *sēl*-bed widens considerably. After two hours' riding Wādī ʿAmd makes a bend towards the south and then very soon one comes across date plantations. There are an increasing number of ruins of what, presumably, were defence works, situated on hill-tops. The palm plantations have suffered much from the drought in recent years, as for two years there was neither rain nor *sēl* of any considerable quantity. The subsoil water is far from the surface and wells are 300 to 450 feet in depth so that they are not used for purposes of irrigation but only for supplying drinking-water. Groups of men hoist up the water, singing monotonously the while.

241 Further southwards the plantations increase and form an un-
312 broken girdle between the broad, wild *sēl*-bed and the wes-

always has to be on one's guard against treachery. In answer to my question whether he likes being here, he replies that he does not. Separated as he is from wife and children in Java, he is only here to defend his family's honour and position, and as soon as he can be spared he will return to his mother-land. 701 722

The master of the house himself conducts us to a place where Ḥimyaritic characters have been scratched on a rock and where are also as many as five long, though fairly narrow, basins beside the path. They were, of course, dry for the time being, but appear to be quite serviceable, and were plastered on the inside with a kind of mortar. 212 172

## 4. THE TOWN OF ʿAMD, DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS AND HARD DECEPTIONS.

The way continues for the greater part over the boulders in the *sēl*-bed, which evoke many a groan from our camels. The beasts are weary from the long march in the hot wādī, yet we are ready to stake everything on the attempt to reach ʿAmd before the day ends so that, in the evening, negotiations for our further journey may be started, and then perhaps we may have the luck to get off again after no more than a day's delay. To our pleasant surprise, the great man of Wādī ʿAmd, Shēkh ʿAwaḍ bin Saʿūd bin Shamlān el-Djaʿdī, overtakes us on our way. He is a tough greybeard, who is still lithe enough to mount onto his camel's back while it is standing. His greeting is friendly and he insists on my mounting his camel. The Shēkh's right hand, Sālim bin Sallūm el-Djaʿdī, a very loquacious man with a heart-rending voice, sits behind me. We go on at a trot. As we approach ʿAmd the date plantations grow thicker. It is already dark when we pass the big village of Ḥebeb. Our caravan has got somewhat separated through my riding-companion's insistence on keeping our racing camel perpetually at the trot. I am carried along helplessly and in the darkness it is quite an art to keep my seat 493

[NOTE 65 – SEE 12 -- ANALYST]

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden MM1
Hadhramaut MM2



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505

| 1950 | | |
|---|---|---|
| British .. .. .. .. .. | 2,428 | 10,890,157 |
| French .. .. .. .. .. | 118 | 550,895 |
| Italian .. .. .. .. .. | 268 | 785,461 |
| American .. .. .. .. .. | 69 | 306,707 |
| Others .. .. .. .. .. | 1,400 | 5,451,664 |
| | 4,283 | 17,984,884 |

Port facilities are described on pages 54–5.

# Chapter 12: Archæology

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172
[114]

An expedition sponsored by the American Foundation for the study of Man carried out archaeological excavations in March and April, 1950, in the territory of the Sharif of Beihan in the Western Aden Protectorate. The expedition was under the leadership of Mr. Wendell Phillips and the archaeological work was directed by Professor W. F. Albright of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

The main excavation took place on the mound of Hagr Kohlan at the northern end of Wadi Beihan. This site has been known by hearsay to scholars for a number of years and is identified by inscriptions with the ancient city of Timna or Thamna mentioned by classical geographers as the capital of the kingdom of Katabania or Qataban. It had not, however, been previously examined by an archaeological party.

A survey showed that the city within the walls, apart from suburbs and cemeteries, covered an area of some 70 acres. Traces of large buildings of very heavy stone construction were visible on the surface.

Excavations at the south gate and in an adjoining street showed that the city was defended in that part by a stone wall and a sloping stone revetment. The gate towers were of very heavy, but rough, construction and were marked by a large number of inscriptions, some of them texts of considerable length. These inscriptions were of different dates and the series probably covered several centuries. In the street some of the buildings were preserved to an average height of over ten feet above the street level. The city had been destroyed by a general conflagration probably in the first half of the first century B.C.

A small number of fragments of pottery of Mediterranean origin were found among the ruins. The most striking find was a pair of hollow cast bronze lions, ridden by cupids. The figures, which were some 30 inches in length and had originally been fixed to the exterior wall of a building, were Hellenistic in style but made, as was shown by inscriptions on the bases, in Southern Arabia.

A very considerable number of inscriptions were found in the excavations and elsewhere, including some graffiti in a very primitive form of the South Arabian alphabetic script.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden MM1
Hadhramaut MM2



H 172

A subsidiary excavation was carried out on the smaller mound of Hagr Bin Humeid, nine miles south of Timna, for the purpose of establishing a pottery sequence.

The objects found were divided between the expedition and the Amir of Beihan, and the latter's share will be exhibited in the Aden Museum on loan in due course.

The expedition returned for a further season's work in December, 1950.

H 172 113

A brief account of the first season's work has been published by Prof. W. F. Albright under the title of "The Chronology of Ancient South Arabia in the Light of the First Campaign of Excavation in Qataban" in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 119.

## Chapter 13: The British Council

A 648

In spite of the fact that the number of United Kingdom appointed staff has been cut from three to one, the work of the British Institute, both men's and women's branches, has continued, and membership has increased to over 400 men and over 200 women. Lectures have been given on a variety of subjects, and the sporting and social activities of the Institute have been developed. Affiliated societies have included the Aden Discussion Group and the Aden Arts Club.

The British Council Library, which contains over 7,000 volumes, has retained its popularity. A scheme for providing boxes of books to readers living outside the range of the main library has been inaugurated. A large number of periodicals have been made available.

Extra-mural activities have been carried on in various parts of the Colony. As it is not easy for those who live outside Crater to attend British Institute functions, lectures have been given, films shown, and discussions held about life in Britain on the premises of local societies and clubs of non-political character. Unfortunately, owing to the shortage of staff, it has not been possible to extend this service as much as had been hoped.

With the object of enabling the ordinary citizens of Aden to meet their counterparts in Britain, an electrician, a fisherman, an Assistant Political Officer, a printer, and a telephone engineer visited Britain during 1949 and 1950 on British Council bursaries.

1:Ingrams C-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## 2. The Deluge and the Giants.

124 I proceed now to the narrative of Hadhramaut history as it
126 is told and believed in the country. Unless otherwise stated, the narrative is as given verbally by local authorities and taken down
[115] in writing at the time. The principal authority for the period from the disappearance of the 'Adites to modern times is Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir, private secretary to the Qu'aiti *Wazir*.

173 "In the time of our Father Nuh," said a Du'an historian, "the whole of this land and of every land was covered with water.[1] Nuh and his family built a big ship and lived in it while the flood lasted. When the waters subsided there were of course large rivers, and that is how the Wadis of the Hadhramaut were cut out, and that is why you find sea shells in them and on the Jōl."

"After the flood came the children of 'Ad, the first men to live in the Hadhramaut. They were great in stature, fifty cubits high. That was why they could use these great stones for building their houses. The tooth you have in your hand is the tooth of one of the sons of 'Ad, not of a sheep, as you thought." Thus said Muhammad the son of Seiyid Ahmed bin Hussein al 'Attas, the *Mansab* of Meshhed, as we stood among the ruins of Gheibun.

The children of 'Ad built towns and villages all over the Hadhramaut.[2] Some of them were big places and well built, and some of them were just rude dry stone shelters such as the Beduins build to-day.[3]

Nebi Allah Salih, peace be upon him, was a prophet of the people of 'Ad,[4] and he died and was buried in the Wadi Khonab, and his son was Nebi Allah Hud, peace be upon him. And in his day the people of 'Ad did evil in the sight of Allah and they listened not to the warnings of the Prophet, and they were destroyed, except a few, and Allah received the Prophet and his grave is in the Wadi Maseila.

And the son of Nebi Allah Hud was Nebi Hudūn, and his grave is in the mosque of Hudūn in the Wadi Du'an. And there were other Nebis in the Hadhramaut, Mola Matar (whom some say is Seiyidna 'Ali bin 'Abitalib), and Molana Nebi Sodaf whose grave is in the Wadi Sodaf, and others.[5]

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[1] Hadhramaut "history" begins with the Flood. The very nature of the Wadis makes it appear so vivid that it often seems quite a recent memory. The more scientific theory is, I believe, that the Wadis are due to the last Ice Age.

[2] If you wonder at the extent of their activities, reflect that 'Ad lived 1,200 years, had a thousand wives, and sired four thousand sons and daughters. Masudi, V, III, p. 80.

[3] Any sign of human activity going beyond the knowledge of man is the work of the people of 'Ad. As Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir said to me, "the people of the interior attribute everything old to 'Ad and those of the coast to the Portuguese. Neither are right."

[4] This is not of course the orthodox view. Salih preached to Thamud and is not generally believed to be the father of Hud.

[5] The grave of the giant Mola Matar is not far from the Kor Seiban. It, and the other giants' tombs, may have been sanctuaries of the old religion. Possibly Mola Matar was a rain-god. Sodaf may be Sadaf, the descendant, according to Arab genealogists, of Hadhramaut.

Thus runs the earliest history of the Hadhramaut as I heard it there: it may be of interest to give Masudi's version. 173

After Noah the empire passed to the first 'Adites at a remote period and before all the Arab principalities . . . Sam established himself in the centre of the earth from the sacred territory (Mecca and Medina) as far as the Hadhramaut, Oman, and Alij. Amongst his descendants are quoted Aram, and Arfakhshad, both of them sons of Sam; amongst those of Aram, 'Ad, the son of 'Aus the son of Aram.[1]

God has revealed to us the existence of the empire of the 'Adites; He has described their violence; He has spoken of the high buildings which they built, and which, in spite of the passing of centuries, are still called by their name Al 'Adiya.

The 'Adites were gigantic men, as tall as palm trees; the length of their lives was proportionate to the enormous size of their figures. Of a very superior character, they had hard hearts. There were no people on earth who could compare with them in strength, greatness of works, vigour of mind, and strength of character. Destruction had no hold on their bodies, so strongly constituted had nature made them, so solid was their structure, so perfect were their forms, as God himself has revealed.

'Ad worshipped the moon. His kingdom was contiguous to the Yemen: it comprised the country of Al 'Ahqaf and of Sohar, that is to say Oman to Hadhramaut. Having reached the zenith of his career, surrounded by the multitude of his children and the children of his children, contemplating his prosperity to the tenth generation, seeing the solidity and prosperity of his empire grow with his family, he extended his good deeds to all men and generously exercised hospitality.

After his death the crown fell to the eldest of his sons, Shedīd. This prince reigned for five hundred and eighty years, or more or less, according to others. His successor was his brother, Sheddād son of 'Ad, who preserved the power for nine hundred years. It is said that he extended his rule over all the kingdoms of the earth. It was he who founded the town of 'Iram dhat al 'Imad.

At a later date the 'Adites, who then had for king Al Khuljān son of Al Wahm (he was the last king of the First 'Adites) gave themselves up to every excess. They worshipped three idols which were Samūdā, Sadā, and Al Habā. God sent Hud to them, son of 'Abdulla, son of Riāh, son of Khalid, son of Al Khalūd, son of 'Ad, and they treated him as a liar. The people of 'Ad were composed of ten tribes. Hud invoked the celestial vengeance against them; they were deprived of rain for three years, their earth dried up, and they did not know what would become of them.

They sent to Mecca to ask for rain from heaven. The Amalekites were then inhabiting this territory. The deputies, having arrived at Mecca, gave themselves up to drinking and amusing themselves, to such a point that the two slave courtesans of Muawiya, son of Bekr, sang verses to them in which this prince urged them to execute the undertaking for which they had come. On hearing his exhortation, the envoys, shaking off their torpor, hastened to

[1] See Genesis X, 21-31.

173 implore the water of heaven for their compatriots. No one is ignorant of what happened when the clouds arrived and the envoys went to choose the one which seemed preferable to them.

God sent against the 'Adites the devastating wind which fell upon them from one of their valleys. At the sight of the storm, they said to themselves, "Here is a cloud which will give us rain," and they rejoiced in this good news. Hud, hearing them speak thus, said to them: "That which you call upon with all your prayers is a wind which encloses a terrible punishment." (Quran, XLVI. 23.) The tempest unleashed itself on the fourth day of the week, not a single 'Adite remained alive. It was following this event that Wednesday is reputed unlucky and that it is not employed in the calculation of the days[1]. Hud the Prophet, after having seen with his own eyes the extermination of his people, retired with those believers who followed him.

Speaking of the Second 'Adites, Ibn Khaldun tells us that "It is said that (the Banu) 'Ad were led to the Arabian Peninsula (to Hadhramaut?) by Rukaym son of Aram (Rukaym son of 'Abir son of 'Ad?), who had formerly visited the country in company with the Prophet Hud. He returned to the people of 'Ad and led them in ships to the country and to its invasion. They wrested it from the hands of its inhabitants, but they were themselves subsequently conquered by the Banu Ya'rub son of Qahtan. Qahtan ruled over the country, and it was governed by his son Hadhramaut, after whom it was named."

But this last remark is rather anticipating. Of the time of the disappearance of the 'Adites, Masudi says "One knows all that Ishmael and Hagar suffered until the moment when God caused the water of Zemzem to spring up out of the earth for them, whilst the country of ash-Shihr and the Yemen were afflicted with drought. It was then that the Amalekites, the Jorhumites and the remains of the 'Adites established in these countries, dispersed."

### 3. The Sons of Qahtan.

When the children of 'Ad had passed away, there arose in the valley the children of Hadhramaut the son of Qahtan.[2] The name of Hadhramaut was 'Āmr, but he was nicknamed "Death is present" from the troublous times in which he lived. The first of the tribes of Hadhramaut was the tribe of Sadaf which was divided into four sections, the Saberāt (who are found to this day in the Āl Bā Sabera, a section of the Āl Bā Dubīān clan in Hajr), the Beni Sa'd, the Beni Haritha, and the Tijib.

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[1] Lane says that the twenty-fifth of the month on which the suffocating wind was sent upon the people of Hud is an unfortunate day.

[2] Yarub son of Qahtan is said to have established himself as ruler of all Yemen, which included Hejaz, Hadhramaut, and Oman. He appointed his brothers to rule over these provinces, and Hadhramaut became Governor of the province which bears his name. Under Yarub's feeble son Yashjub, the provinces became independent, but the kingdom was again consolidated by 'Abdi Shems Saba.

Then there came into the Hadhramaut tribes of Kinda.[1] Two of 173
these tribes were the Saqsaq and the Sukun of the posterity of Asherash bin Thor.[2] They lived in Tarim and in Husn an Nujeir which was east of Tarim as you go to 'Einat, but it no longer exists. There were four Kindi kings in Hadhramaut, in Wadi 'Amd, in Wadi Henin, in Wadi Hajr, and in Wadi Jerdan and Shabwa. The tribes of Kinda worshipped an idol named Haslad and all Hadhramaut paid it reverence as their god.

There was always strife between the tribes of Hadhramaut and the tribes of Kinda. At first the tribes of Hadhramaut prevailed and the tribes of Kinda went away, but later they came back and left Lower Hadhramaut, that is to say, Hadara below Henin. and went to Upper Hadhramaut,[3] that is to say, from Henin to Shabwa and beyond. But most of them left Hadhramaut and went to Nejd. From the time of their going to Nejd they became well known; but the Hadhramaut tribes became Beduins and there were no famous men among them.

In Nejd the tribes of Kinda set up a king and his name was Marta' the son of Mu'awiya the son of Thor.[4] And Marta' reigned for 20 years and died and Thor his son reigned in his stead. And he reigned but a little while and Mu'awiya his son reigned after him. And he too reigned but a little while and slept with his fathers. And after him reigned his son Al Hārith for 40 years. And after Al Hārith his son Wahab reigned for 20 years. And when he died there reigned Hajr the son of 'Āmr the brother of his father Al Hārith. And he ruled for 23 years. During his reign and the reign of his son the tribes of Kinda waxed stronger and allied themselves with the tribes of Rabi'a in Nejd. And after Hajr ruled his son 'Āmr for 40 years when together with his allies the Rabi'a he attacked Syria and was killed.

After 'Āmr reigned his son al Hārith[5] and when he died his

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[1] The tribe to which the philosopher 'Abu Yusuf Yakut belonged. His great grandfather Al Ashath was one of the companions of Muhammad (*vide infra*). Al Ashath's father, Qeis, was Kinda's greatest ruler, while his grandfather, Madi Karib, ruled in Hadhramaut over a section of the tribe called Banu al Harib al Ashghar.

The Kinda are said to have migrated from Bahrein to the Hadhramaut to the number of 30,000 about the time of Muhammad's birth. Some say they attached themselves to the Sadaf or Sadf.

[2] A third was Tujib. (Kay's Omarah, p. 218).

[3] The people of Shibam and neighbourhood are to-day called Ahl 'Alwa and those of Seiyun and Tarim Ahl Hadra. Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir's use of higher and lower seems slightly different.

[4] The Marta' family of Henin and Java claim descent from him.

[5] Hārith bin 'Āmr king of Kinda invaded 'Iraq some time between A.D. 505 and A.D. 529, defeating and temporarily supplanting Mundhir III, King of Hir. Mundhir slaughtered some fifty or sixty of the house of Kinda, and Hārith himself was defeated and slain by Mundhir in 529. Then, as the story given above records, the power of Kinda sank and they were forced back to the Hadhramaut. (*Vide* Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 42).

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173 kingdom was divided amongst his four sons. Hajr 'Aqīl al Murār[1] took the Beni Asad and the Beni Kinana, Sharhīl took the Beni Ghanima and the Beni Tai (from whom came Hatim Tai) and the Beni Rubāb, Salma took the Beni Taghlib and the Beni Nimr Bin Qāsut, and Ma'di Karib had the Qeis bin Gheitan.

Now the kingdoms of the sons of al Hārith lay over against the country of Nu'man bin al Mundhir,[2] the king of Hira in 'Iraq whose kingdom was under the protection of Anushirwan the king of Persia. And Nu'man knew that the sons of al Hārith wished to take his country from him and he sowed discord amongst them.[3] And the way that the son of Al Mundhir prevailed in his design was in this wise.

Hajr 'Aqīl al Murār dwelt in Dammūn,[4] which is to the east of Hajarein, and he was renowned for his bravery. When he received the news of his share of his father's kingdom, he left his son Imra'al-Qeis[5] in Dammūn and went to Nejd, but the Beni Asad knew him not and killed him. When they learnt who he was they went to Imra'al-Qeis and said that his father had been slain in error and that they were willing to receive him as their king. But

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[1] So my informant, but he appears to be wrong: It was Hajr bin 'Āmr mentioned above who was surnamed 'Aqil al Murār. He was the moving spirit in the extension of Kinda sway to Central and North Arabia (as is in fact indicated in the narrative) about A.D. 480. On his death the Kindite Confederation was broken up but re-established for a short while by his grandson Hārith bin 'Āmr. (*Vide* Nicholson, *ib.* p. 42).

Hajr 'Aqil al Murār married Hind al Hinud of the same stock between 460 and 480. From this union arose the al Hind tribe known in Oman. (Sahil ibn Razik, p. 29).

[2] Imra'al-Qeis III king of Hira from A.D. 503 to 513 carried off on a raid into Arabia Ma al Sama, who bore to him Mundhir III (513–562). Mundhir had three sons, 'Āmr, Qabus and Mundhir IV who succeeded him in turn as king of Hira. 'Āmr was the son of Hind, daughter of Harith bin 'Āmr whose marriage to Mundhir III had settled the feud started by Imra'al-Qeis III's rape of Ma al Sama. To Mundhir IV succeeded his son Nu'man III (here referred to), who reigned from A.D. 580 to 602 or from A.D. 585 to 607. Nu'man was brought up by a Christian family and probably became a Christian. His daughter Hind certainly was. (*Vide* Nicholson, *ib.* p. 44 *seq.* and Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, 1st Ed., Vol. I, p. clxxiii, *et. seq.*)

[3] The hatred of the Lakhmite kings of Hira and the Kings of Kinda dated from the affair of Mundhir III and Harith recounted above. It is sung by Imra'al-Qeis. (*Vide infra*) (Nicholson, *ib.* p. 43).

[4] "The country of the Banu Kindah is in the portion of the highlands of Yaman that borders upon Hadhramaut and upon Abjar and ar-Raml. The Ban Kindah were ruled by a dynasty of kings, and their capital was Dammūn, which is mentioned by Imru'l-Kays in his poems." (Ibn Khaldun. Kay's 'Omārah, p. 177.)

[5] This is the poet Imra'al-Qeis, the famous author of the first of the Muallaqat. On the death of his grandfather, Hārith, the confederacy he had built up was divided by his sons as recorded in the narrative. Hajr, the poet's father, ruled over the Beni Asad, "but finally they revolted and put him to death." Imra'al-Qeis' efforts to punish them failed and he resorted to Justinian, who appointed him Phylarch of Palestine. He died on his way there from Constantinople at Angora (c.A.D.540.) He is said to have perished from putting on a poisoned robe which Justinian sent him on account of an intrigue he had had with Justinian's daughter. (Nicholson, *Ibid.* pp. 103–104).

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Imra'al-Qeis refused and gathered together the tribes of Midhij,[1] who were another Qahtani tribe, and the tribe of Kinda and set out to attack the Beni Asad. By mistake he attacked the Kinana tribes instead of the Beni Asad, killing many of them, whereupon he cried out that he had revenged his father's death. When told of his mistake he was filled with remorse and returned to Dammūn. Then Nu'man bin al Mundhir, king of Hira in 'Iraq, who, as has been said, had been sowing discord among the tribes in Hadhramaut. brought an army against Imra'al-Qeis, causing all the tribes to follow him and declaring that if Imra'al-Qeis were captured, he must be killed, and if he ran away, no one was to render him assistance. As the tribes in the Hadhramaut were against him Imra'al-Qeis left and went to Syria. From Syria he went among the Arab tribes, but none would accept him. He then took refuge with the Emperor of Constantinople, who brought an army and marched against Nu'man at Angora. But the Beni Nu'man and the Beni Asad sent word to the Emperor that all the Arabs were against Imra'al-Qeis, whereupon the Emperor had him poisoned. His grave is at Angora and bears an inscription. 173

The Kinda tribes returned to Upper Hadhramaut and their kingdom extended no further than this territory. Between them and the Hadhramaut tribes there was always discord. The Saqsaq and Sukun tribes were in the Lower Hadhramaut. All these tribes were under petty chiefs, each in his own territory, and there was continual fighting between them.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE MIDDLE AGES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

### 1. The Coming of Islam.

Then Islam came to the Hadhramaut. The Prophet Muhammad, on whom be peace, sent Ziad bin Dhubed in the eighth year of the Hejira[2] and he converted the Kinda and Hadhramaut tribes without 792 797 175

[1] The Midhij (or Madhagi) still exist as a clan of Upper 'Aulaqi and a son of the house is a pupil in the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs. They claim to be descended from a son of 'Abd Shems Saba named Mizzah or Madhig. They came from the north and once opposed Aelius Gallus' expedition. Wyman Bury. *Arabia Infelix*, p. 3.

[2] So Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir whose story is here continued. But Ziad does not appear to have come to the Hadhramaut at this date.

In the tenth year of the Hejira among the missions that came to Muhammed was one from the Hadhramaut. Wa'il bin Hoji, the coastal chief, and Al Ash'ath, chief of the interior, and both of the Beni Kinda arrived in Mecca and made their submission. Wa'il, the Prophet confirmed in his rights, subject to the payment of tithes, and Al Ash'ath was married to Um Farwa, the sister of Abubekr. He was not, however, allowed to take his bride home as her parents thought the Hadhramaut too far away. Some idea of Hadhramaut manners then prevailing can be gleaned from Wa'il's behaviour to the host to whom he had been allotted. Though the ground was scorching hot, Wa'il would neither allow his host to ride on his camel with him nor even lend him his sandals, declaring it was unheard of in the Yemen for a common man to wear the sandals of the king. Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 462.

643 Henin and the Nahd tribe. During his tour he arranged the
484 following truces: At 'Einat, on 26th August, a two years' truce between the Seiyids of Āl Hussein and Āl al Hamed; at Al Qatn on 5th September a truce between all the Yafa'i tribesmen and their clans and sections to last five years; on 6th September at the same place, a 10 years' truce between the tribesmen of Āl Makhashin of the Nahd, and another of five years between the clan of Āl Mahfudh, and, again at Al Qatn, on 7th September, an eight months' truce between the Nahd tribesmen; on 9th September in Wadi al 'Ain a truce of five years between the tribesmen of Āl Batati, and another of five years between the Āl Batati and Āl Mahfudh.

643 His Highness left for India on 15th October 1934 for medical reasons. He did not return to Mukalla again, for he died in India of cancer, after a long and painful illness, in March 1936. Recognition has now been given to his nephew and successor, His Highness Sultan Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, who has been accorded a salute of 11 guns.

## CHAPTER V.

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

173 I have already drawn attention to the importance of a knowledge of traditional history, and there is one aspect of history in par-
829 ticular of which any one dealing with Arabs must have some knowledge, and that is genealogy. Arabs would regard families going back to the Conquest as mushroom growths, and many can carry their own trees back to Adam. Each one will at least know the main lines of his descent, and though in its earlier stages it is legendary, this is of no importance to others than purists, for it is believed. Wherever known, the origin of each tribe is indicated in this report, and genealogical trees show the accepted descent of tribal ancestors from Shem.

829 Racially, the Arabs divide themselves into four categories, of which three are represented in the Hadhramaut, the Baida or ex-
173 tinct Arabs represented by the sons of 'Ad, the 'Ariba or descend-
162 ants of Qahtan or Joktan embracing all the remaining Arabs except
565 the Seiyids and a few sons of Ma'ad who, being descended from Ishmael, are Musta 'Ariba.

The population of the Hadhramaut may be divided into seven social classes, almost castes. They are not all represented in every part of the country, and the order in which they appear below is partly historical and partly represents the order of their importance.

### SEIYIDS.

162 The Seiyids of the Hadhramaut derive their descent from Ahmed
565 bin 'Isa al Mohajir who migrated to the Hadhramaut from Basra and died there about 1,050 years ago. His grave is on the right bank of the main Wadi Hadhramaut at Al Haslsa, a few miles

Jābir living below Shibam, Āl Bā Sūdān at Du'an, Bā Humeid at Madūda and Seiyun, Āl Bureik at Shabwa, Bā Khatib at Tarim, Bā Wa'l at Tarim, and Āl Bā 'Umar at 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn. 565 162

## Yafa'is.

The Yafa'is are the *'asākir* or soldiers and the actual rulers of Qu'aiti territory. Their introduction as mercenaries, described in the historical chapters, has led to the foundation of two dynasties, that of the Kasadis of Lower Yafa' and that of the Qu'aitis who drove out the Kasadis. The places in which some of the Yafa'is live will appear later when the inhabitants of the various provinces of Qu'aiti territory are enumerated. I have also given in an appendix a list of the various Yafa'i tribes with their sections, strength and situation. 565 162 463

The Qu'aiti dynasty springs from a section of the Mausata tribe and is historically quite recent. Although the Sultan and his relations have had no personal contacts with their country they exercise some influence in Upper Yafa', and the Yafa'i connection is still a live one, as a great many Upper Yafa'is regularly go to the Hadhramaut to take service in the Qu'aiti forces, returning after a few years to their own country. Other Yafa'is have become settled in the Hadhramaut and form a powerful party on whom the Qu'aiti could depend in the case of disturbances. [73]

The following are amongst Yafa'i tribes and sections represented in the Hadhramaut, the sections being shown in brackets after each tribe: Adh Dhubi (Al Mosilli, Al Kasadi, Ash Shanāthira, Al Jahāwisha), Al Bu'si (Al Gharama, Az Zaghālida, Al Homām, Al Mattash), Al Mausata (Ar Robak, Āl Yazid, Āl Batati). 565 162

## Tribesmen.

The history of the tribes of the Hadhramaut has been, generally speaking, sufficiently indicated in the historical instruction, and their location and strength will be dealt with in the description of the various provinces. 000

There are only four words used in the Hadhramaut for the nomenclature of the divisions of a tribe. *Az Zei* is a confederation of tribes with a single leader. There are only three *Zeis* in the Hadhramaut, the Seibani, the Nūwah, and the Hamumi. The Shenafir Confederation is not a *Zei*, for while the leaders of the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris are Sultans, they do not head the whole confederation of tribes. A tribe, *Qabila*, is sub-divided into a *Beit*, and a *Beit* into a *Fara'*. I cannot claim any particular merit for the divisions I have used, namely, Tribe, Clan, Section, and Sub-section, except that by using the word Clan I have avoided the clumsy term sub-sub-section which I found used in some statements of the other tribes of the Protectorate. 619 565 162 621

The Hadhrami tribesmen, like those of the rest of the Protectorate, are extremely conservative and "never depart from their tribal customs." Most of them are nomads moving over their areas 181 000

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
463 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a
577 pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on
behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks
refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and
not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are
payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man
kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own
death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated,
a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kins-
folk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a
charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves
with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods
or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are
never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father
had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a
claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western.
There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible
that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be,
as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western
neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood,
sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more
reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

### Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
and the following are the principal families.

[173] *In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

*In Seiyun:* Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

[The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

*In Shibam:* Āl Bā Dīb, head, Muhammad bin Ahmed Bā Dīb; important members, 30, total, 50. Āl Bā 'Ubeid, head, Muhammad Salim Bā 'Ubeid; important members, 15, total, 20. Āl Shamākh; important members, 10, total, 40. Āl Ma'āshir, head, Bekr 'Ali Ma'ashir; important members, 24, total, 100. Āl Bā Jarsh, head, 'Abdur Rahman Bā Jarsh; important members, 20, total, 60. Āl at Tōwei, head, 'Ali at Tōwei; important members, 4, total, 20. The families of Qatn, Jabr, Bilfaqih, and Āl Khātib are said to possess authority. 565 162 [73]

*In Al Ghurfa:* Āl Bā Abbad; important members, 15, total, 80. Āl Msellem, head, Salim Msellem; one important member, total, 20. Āl Tarmum, head, 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman Tarmum; important members, 20, total, 90. Āl Sheiban, head, Sheikh 'Umar Sheiban; important members, 5, total, 30.

*In Du'an:* Āl Bā Shanfar, residence 'Aura; important members, 5, total, 80. Āl Bā Ya'shut, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 90. Āl Bā Mad-han, residence Al Qurein; important members, 160, total, 200. Āl Bā Lakma, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 80. Āl Bā Barahīm, residence Al Qurein; important members, 60, total 110. Āl Bā Basut, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 100, total, 200. Āl Bā Hanshal, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 30, total, 150. Āl Bā Khashwein, residence Hudūn; important members, 150, total, 300. The families of Bā Shameila, Bā Samad, Bā 'Ubeid, Bahawal, and Bā Baheir all possess authority, but those of Bazara, Bā 'Ashin, and Bā Sālih have none.

*In Bur:* Bā Sharāhil, who possess no authority.

The townsmen are divisible into four classes; merchants, artificers, labourers, and servants. The economic life of the country depends to a large extent on them. They live in the towns, do not bear arms, and are the principal taxpayers. It is from them that the people obtain the necessaries of life, and they form the main link with the outside world. Many of them are wealthy and they exercise a considerable influence in the country, and might well exercise more. The leading merchants to some extent govern the affairs of their towns, and have developed more than a germ of municipal organization. There are also signs of a kind of trades unionism, or rather of the mediaeval guild system, among the various artificers, and professions are usually, though not exclusively, hereditary. 565 162 556 [441]

### Slaves.

The Qu'aiti and Kathīri Governments are the biggest slave-holders in the country, and I should imagine that there is comparatively little private ownership. Apart from the fact that the slaves are slaves, there is very little to distinguish them, except their African countenances, from other classes of the country, and 567

567 I never heard a suggestion ~~from masters~~ or slaves that they were anything but exceedingly well treated. They include principally the *Nizam*, the most trusted part of the forces of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri, and receive very exceptional treatment compared with other servants of the State. They can rise to the highest positions, and the present Governor of the Shibam province is a slave. I also met a slave Governor of the town of Hajarein in the Du'an province, and I believe there are others. The town magistrate of Mukalla is also a slave. The young slaves belonging to the Mukalla Government are given especial care and training, and are formed into companies of cadets. They gave us a very creditable drill display in Mukalla.

It is possible that there may be a very occasional case of slave trading, and some women may have been introduced in recent years to the main valley, but this is not done with the approval or cognizance of the Mukalla Government.

### Subians.

565 The Subians form definitely the lowest class of the population.
162 Some of them are agricultural labourers receiving wages or paid
in kind, and there are settlements of them outside coastal towns like
463 Mukalla and Shihr. When they are settled next door to a town they do the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and perform such sanitary services as are carried out by sweepers in other eastern countries.

565 I was informed that the word "*Subian*" comes from "*Sabi*",
173 a boy. In the Hadhramaut they originate from the Wadi Hajr, and for this reason in the western part of the Protectorate are known as Hajris. They are said to be the descendants of the Abyssinian invaders of the third to sixth centuries A.D., and to have been reduced to their present lowly estate after the Abyssinians had been routed by the Persians on the intervention of Seif bin Dhi Yazan. This is the tale told in the Hadhramaut, and d'Arnaud recounts a similar story as the origin of the Khadims of Yemen
[608] and Aden. Neither slaves nor Subians can be the subjects of blood feuds.

### Immigration.

167 Apart from these classes of the population, there are a number of immigrants settled, or partially settled, in the country. There are 300 British Indians in Mukalla and Shihr, and a few British Somalis. There are also some Italian Somalis. The total number of Somalis in the country is said to be about 1,200, of whom 1,000 reside in Mukalla. Owing to extensive migration to the East Indies,
[144] which will be further described later in the report, there has been a considerable infiltration of Malayan blood, and very East Indian types of countenances are to be observed in some of the up-country towns. The type is not uncommon in Tarim and Seiyun, but I found it very marked in the towns of Badra and Haura.

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Zanzibar FM1



OOW H 285

tirelessness as in the heavier labour connected with shipping. They also make all the matting bags, baskets and coverings required for the packing of cloves.

Z 563

"The Mshihiri community possesses its own mosque and burial ground in Zanzibar. In religious views they differ from the Oman Arab by adherence to the Sunni belief."

H 167 Z 167

My friend, Mr. G. H. Shelswell-White, has written a long and detailed account of the Hadhramis in Zanzibar which has been forwarded by the Zanzibar Government. He begins his note with a historical introduction and after touching on the earliest times already covered above, proceeds as follows, quoting Dr. Krapf (*Travels in Eastern Africa*, 1860).

> "Among the most important phenomena in the early history of Eastern Africa must have been the intercourse kept up with it by the inhabitants of the Arabian sea-board. The southern coast of Arabia must from the earliest period have been necessarily connected with Eastern Africa by the wants of its inhabitants. From Eastern Africa the Arab of the coast derived his corn, his rice, his Durra, his wood, his ivory and especially his slaves."

Although, as has already been stated, there appear to be few specific references to the Hadhramis, their connexion with East Africa must have been at least as intimate and as long-standing as that of any of the other inhabitants of Arabia. Zanzibar Hadhramis, indeed, claim that their ancestors were the pioneers of colonization in East Africa, although according to the Chronicles of Kilwa the first Arab settlers were the Āmmu Zeid, the followers of Zeid, son of Hussein, great-grandson of the Prophet. The Hadhramis also claim to have been responsible for the spread of the Sunni sect in these regions.[1]

H [173]

H 567

Throughout their long connexion with East Africa, the Hadhramis doubtless took a large share in the great slave trade in regard to which the Report of the Select Committee on the Slave Trade of the East Coast of Africa, 1871, stated :—

> "The whole slave trade by sea, whether for the supply of the Sultan's African dominions or the markets in Arabia and Persia, is carried on by Arabs from Muscat and other parts of the Arabian Coast."

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[1] Remembering the South Arabian states of the "Waqt al Jahiliya" the claim to pioneership is justified. I have seen a reference to the conversion of the East African Coast at a very early date, but on this subject see Guillain, Vol. I, p. 161, and my *Zanzibar*, p. 77.

It must be remembered that according to Masudi the Hadhramaut was still Ibadhi in A.D. 944 and until Al Mehajir's descendants established themselves, the country was always backsliding.

The Hadhrami has never been a too exacting missionary abroad, which is probably one reason why he gets on so well.

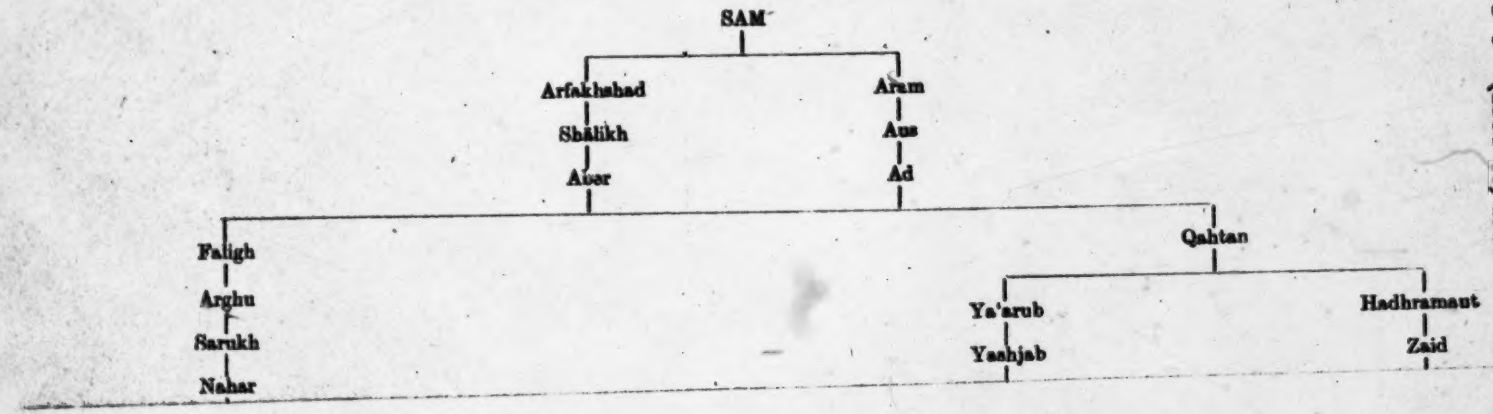
The Āmmu Zeid were of course Shiites and the Zeidis still rule in Yemen.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35) 1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## APPENDIX III.

### THE PROGENY OF SHEM TO SHOW THE DESCENT OF THE TRIBES OF HADHRAMAUT AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.



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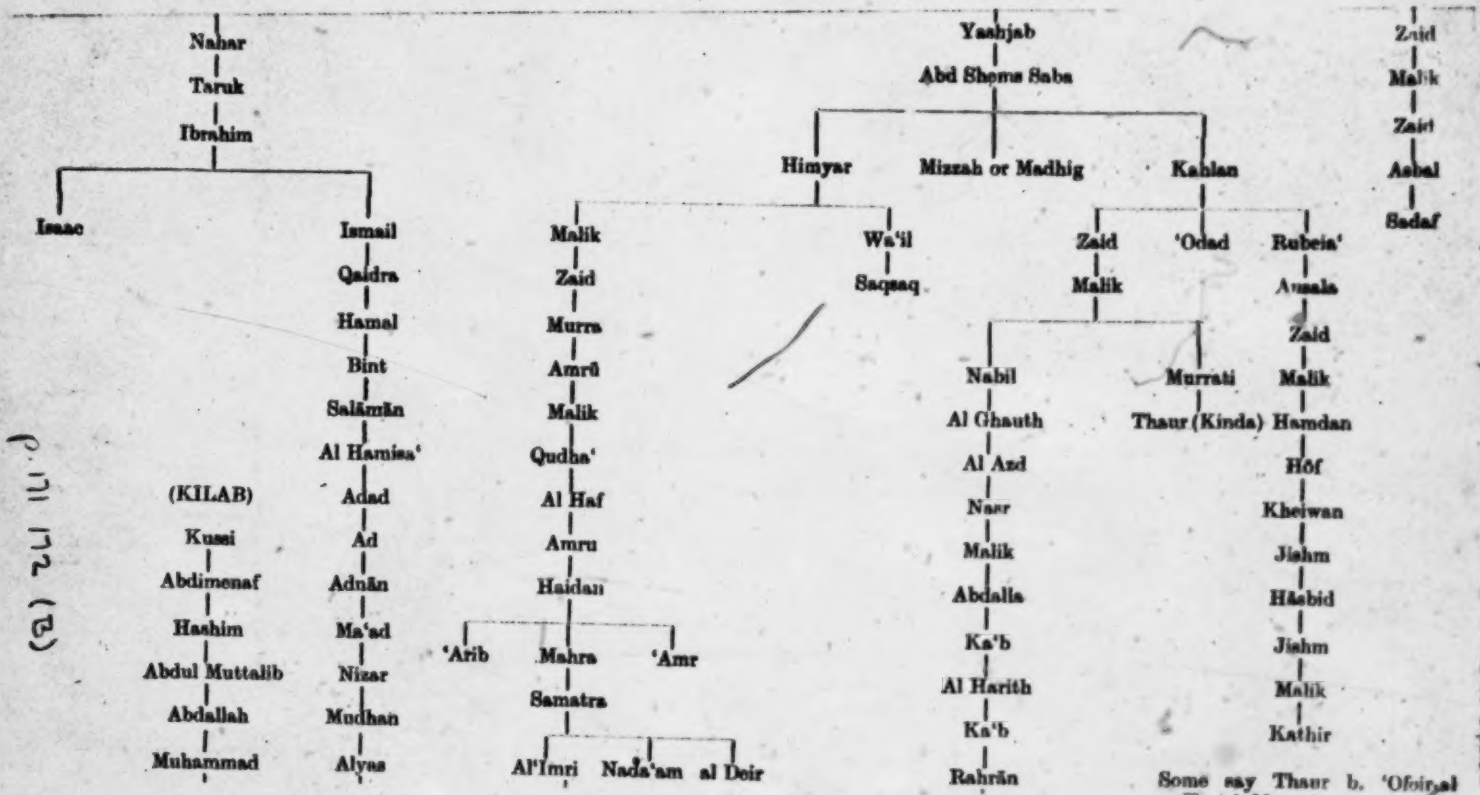
1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2




p. 171 172 (B)

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Muhammad | Alyas | Al'Imri Nada'am al Dair | Rahrân | Some say Thaur b. 'Ofeir-al Harith-Man-'Adad. |
| Fatuma | Muderikah | al Qamr al Masalla al Maatika | Abdalla | |
| Hussein | Huzeimah | | 'Adthan | |
| Ali Zain al Abidin | Kinana | | Dôs | |
| Muhammad al Baqir | Nither | | Ghanim | |
| Jaffar as Sadiq | Malik | | Fahm | |
| Ali al Oraidhi | Fihri | | Malik | |
| Muhammad an Naqib | Ghalib | | | |
| Isa | Luri | | | |
| Ahmed | Kiabu | | | |
| | Murra | | | |
| | Kilab | | | |

Seiyid Abdulla bin Muhammad as Saqqaf in his Lives of the Hadhramaut poets gives the poet 'Amr al Qeis Genealogy as follows :—'Amr al Qeis bin Hujr bin al Harith bin 'Amr al Maqsûr bin al Harith bin 'Amru bin Hujr b. 'Amru Akil al Mûrar b. Muawiya al Akramin b. al Harith b. Muawiya b. Thor b. Marta' b. Kinda b. 'Ofeir b. 'Adi b. al Harith b. 'Mura b. Ādad b. Zaid b. Yashjub b. 'Ariba b. Zeid b. Rabia b. Kahlan b. Saba b. Yashjub b. Ya 'Arub b. Yahtan.

37875

P 171 172 (C)

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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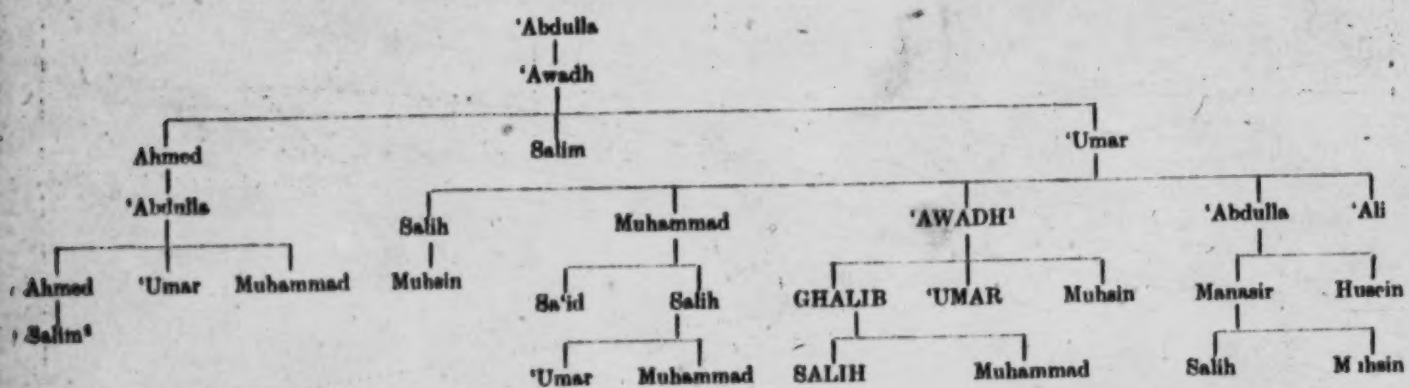
174

## GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE QU'AITI DYNASTY OF HADHRAMAUT.



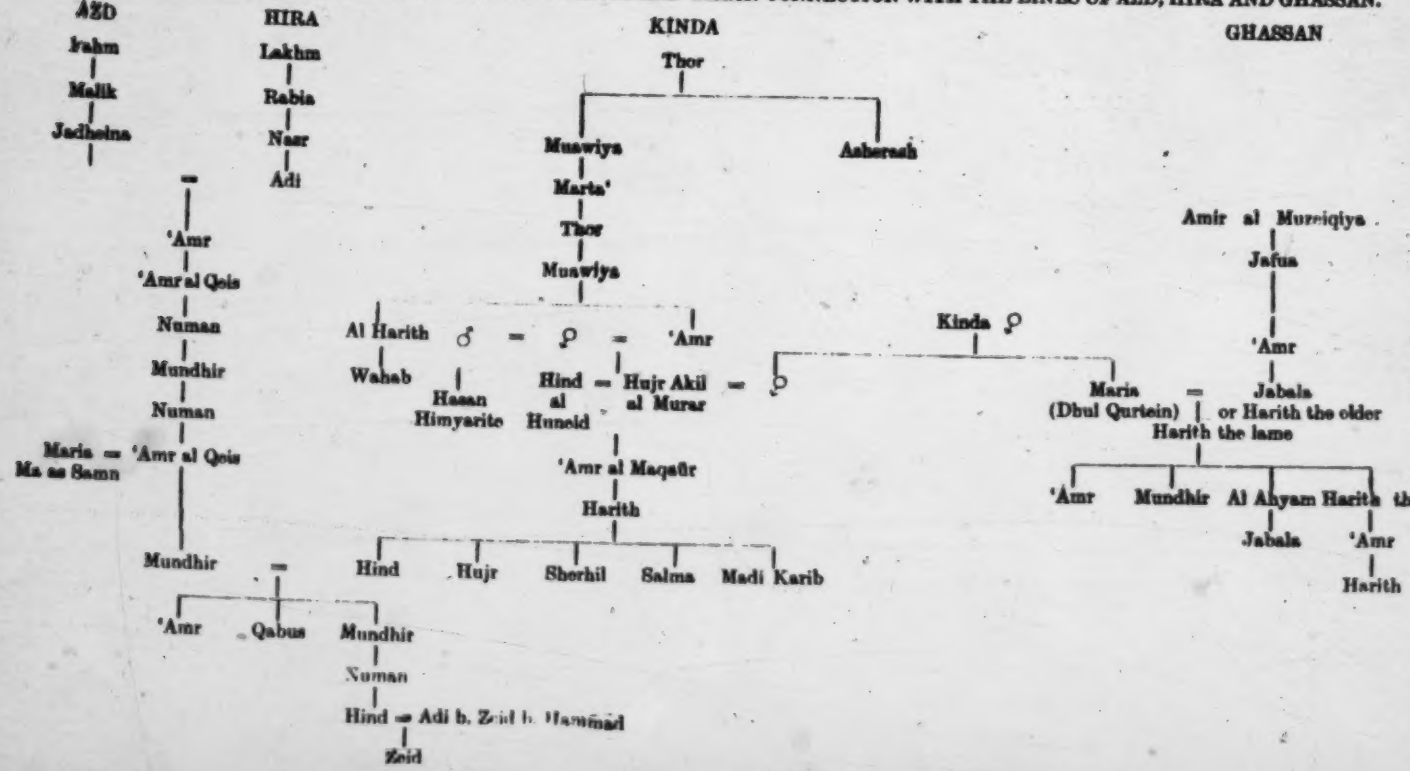

[1] Sultans marked in Capitals.

[2] The *Wazir* in 1934–35.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



TREE SHOWING THE DESCENT OF THE KINDA KINGS AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE LINES OF AZD, HIRA AND GHASSAN.




Further genealogical details of these families may be found in Maqrizi, *Mamalik Dhahab*

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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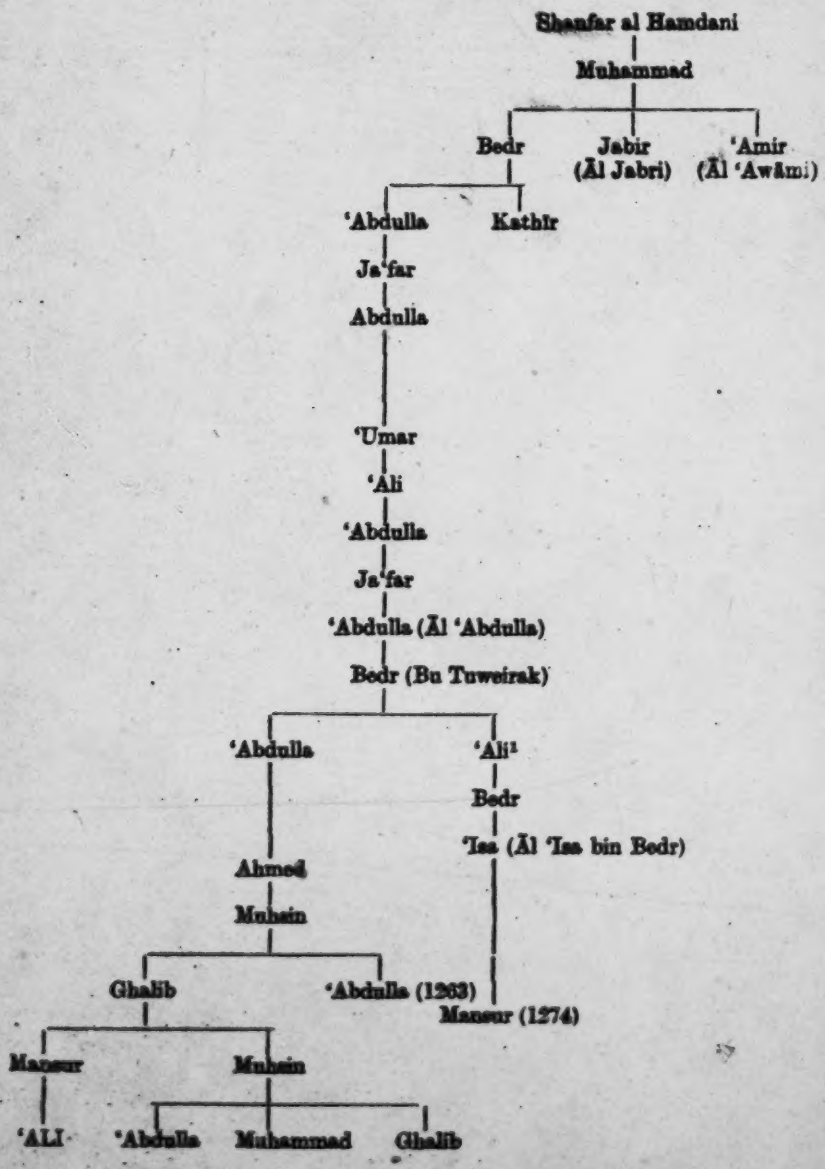
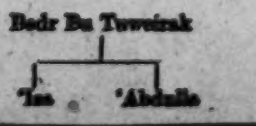
GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE KATHĪRI DYNASTY OF HADHRAMAUT.




[1] Van den Berg gives :—



A section of the Āl Yamāni of the Āl Tamim then fought with the Ar Rashid and finally occupied Tarim in A.H. 745 (A.D. 1344), after taking and losing it many times. They then ruled in Tarim and over the neighbouring country, while at this period the Saberāt tribe were ruling in Tarba, Būr, and Al Hasīsa, and the Nahd tribe were ruling over Shibam and the neighbouring country, so that the Hadhramaut was then divided under three ruling tribes, the Tamimi, the Saberāt, and the Nahd. This continued until A.H. 894 (A.D. 1489) when the Kathīris began to rise to power.[1] 175

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN HADHRAMAUT.

### 1. The Rise of the Kathīris.

The Kathīris originated from Dhufar[2] where they were Sultans. They had been living in the Hadhramaut but were of little importance and had no name given to them until they began to make themselves felt. In this year, 894 (A.D. 1489). Sultan 'Abdulla bin Ja'fer al Kathīr became Governor of Shihr (he was the man from whom the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīri took their name), but he did not live long and in 910 A.H. (A.D. 1504) was succeeded by his son Bedr Bu Tuweirak bin 'Abdulla[3] who reigned for sixty years and was well known in and out of the Hadhramaut. But the [174]

[1] The next item of information in chronological order is given by Al Khazraji In the month of Rabi'l 'Awal A.H. 768 (A.D. 1366–7) Melik Mudhaffer, son of Sultan Melik Mujāhid of the Rasuli dynasty, and the son of the Yemenite ('Ibnu'l-Yemaniyy) went against Shihr; but the lord thereof went out to meet them with his forces, when they were defeated and returned frustrated in the month of Jumad al 'Awal in this year 768 (January, 1367) . . . . The 'Amir Sārimu'd Dīn Dāu'd son of Musa son of Hanajir was appointed Governor of Shahr.

[2] The origin of the suggested connection of Dhufar with the Hadhramaut is sufficiently indicated above, but according to Miles (Vol. II, p. 515) the Kathīris came from the Hadhramaut at the close of the eighth century and invaded Dhufar. Hirsch says that 10,000 of the Kathīri came from the neighbourhood of San'ā about A.D. 1494. See also the Genealogy of the Kathīris in an Appendix.

[3] This famous Kathīri leader was born in A.H. 902 (A.D. 1497). His pedigree was bin 'Abdulla bin Ja'fer bin 'Abdulla bin 'Ali bin 'Umar. Miles states "The Shaikh Bedr, who is usually spoken of by the Katheeris as Bedr-ba-Towarek, is said to have been Mucoadam of Seyoon. He became Lord of Hadhramaut and Dhofar and extended his conquests as far east as Ras Sherbetat. It must be observed that Carter (H. J. Carter, Trans. Bombay As. Soc., 2845, 1847, 1851) makes no mention of Bedr, but was informed that the founder of the Katheeri Dynasty was Ali bin Omar al-Katheeri. Subsequently the Katheeris appear to have been overpowered by others, but ultimately regained supremacy, which they have maintained throughout the vicissitudes of successive years to the present day."

Further, Miles states, in connection with the geography of Dhufar, that the inhabitants of the plain mostly belong to the Kathīri tribe, who, with varying fortunes, have remained the predominant tribe in the plain ever since their invasion of Dhufar in the beginning of the ninth century of the Hejira. They are, he says, always at feud with the Qaras, by whom they are often attacked and harassed. The Kathīris, he states, are in two divisions, the 'Umar bin Kathīr and the 'Āmr bin Kathīr, both of which are represented in Dhufar, where they may number 2,500, occupying seven villages. He also mentions Dareez as having been once the capital of the Kathīris.

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# THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TRIBES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

By MAJOR THE HON. R. A. B. HAMILTON

Lecture given on September 23, 1942, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., in the Chair.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Hamilton is a Political Officer, following in the great tradition. He knows the needs and the minds of his Arabs, and he also will tell us, and indeed emphasize, what a Political Officer should know before he goes among them.

At the same time the Council feels that this tribal question stretches far beyond Southern Arabia into India, Africa and other parts of the British Empire. This, therefore, is the first of several lectures on backward tribes. We hope very much to get as much information as we can on this subject, and we trust that Political Officers who are not able to come to these lectures will give us the benefit of their experience in writing, so that we may put their views in the Journal. Naturally one's inclination is to hedge round these tribes, if it were possible, but there is no question that as time goes on they must be fitted in to the civilized world. The study of their ancient social organizations and of their heritage is absolutely necessary, so that, if it is possible to collect as much information as is available, we may perhaps induce the powers that be to take a line which will protect them from exploitation by civilization, by big business, and possibly by their more advanced neighbours.

THE organization of the social classes in the small area of the Aden Protectorate is complicated. Few people have given much thought to it, and those who have, have usually erred in accepting generalizations.

In the organization one may still trace the ancient divisions of the territory as it was some two thousand or more years ago. It was then divided into four main states, which we can call kingdoms: that of Saba, which is supposed to be the ancient Sheba, in the Yemen; Qataba in south-east Yemen; Ma'an, a confederation ruled by the "Grand Council," between Eastern Yemen and Hadhramaut; and the kingdom of Hadhramaut.

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To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101 776

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

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YEMENITE JEWS ML4
YEMEN ML1



they are a race apart and are much respected, frequently attaining positions of high rank. A man will trust his slave before his brother. Tribesmen will eat with a slave when the slave has attained a position of eminence, such as governor of a village or commander of a post, but never with a Doshan or with a Heiq. A Chief's responsibility for his slaves is a very real one, and should he sell a slave or part with one he will be considered to have committed a shame. The slaves that I have met in the territory upheld the reputation slaves have always had for loyalty and courage.

We next come to two curious races, the Akhdam and the Hajur. I am satisfied that these are quite separate races, although there are a few instances of intermarriage in the major settlements. Akhdam is the plural of Khadim, which means "servant." This race is of African origin, but I can make no guess at the date at which they came to Arabia. Whenever it was, they appear to have left no relations or traces behind them in Africa. Their main settlement is at Zabid in the Western Yemen. They are of the Shafa'i sect, but practise witchcraft, make phalli and hold snakes and snake-charmers in great respect. In appearance they are small and their skin is a dull dark brown, not a glossy East African black. The only race in the country which will do filthy work, the Akhdam are in great demand and are employed as sweepers. They have their own headman in their small communities, successful wizards appointing themselves to the post without election.

The second foreign race is the Hajur. They appear to be South-west Abyssinians and are very like the Galla. Like the Akhdam, they have long ago lost any linguistic connection with Africa and speak Arabic. They are hardy and well-built and live in grass-hut settlements on the coastal belt between Lahej and Abyan. Some, on occasion, bear arms, but they are on the whole un-warlike and seek casual labour at harvest time. The 'Abdali tribes of Lajeh have intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and for this reason the 'Abdalis are darker than most coast Arabs and many villages in their territory are occupied by settled Hajur. In a few generations the Hajur and the 'Abdali will be indistinguishable, and I think this mingling of the two races must be very recent, and probably began during or just before the Turkish occupation of Lahej in 1916.

East of Aden, for some hundred miles, the coastal fishing communities are of Hajur or mixed Hajur stock. They elect their headmen as the Arabs do and are of the Shafa'i sect, but, like the Akhdam, they incline towards witchcraft and phallic worship. The observant traveller on the Lahej road will see plenty of evidence for this close to their settlements.

It is possible that these two African races came to Arabia during the second and third centuries A.D. as camp-followers to Abyssinian armies. But this is pure conjecture.

Finally, we come to the Jews. Jewish settlements exist all over the Protectorate. The principal settlement is in San'a, and all Jews of South Arabia claim inter-relationship and have many family connections in Palestine. They claim to be descended from the Jews of Kheybar. It is more probable, however, that the original Yemeni Jews are of South Arab race. Before the rise of Islam the people of South-west Arabia were

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But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west. 142

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration. 778

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting. 181 291 576

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy. 619 631 643

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it. [144]

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe. 576

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 101 174 619

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101 174 619

remnant of the Minæan State. Dr. Scott asked whether the names MA'AN and MA'IN were from the same root. He remarked that the ruins of Ma'in lie in the district of Jauf, roughly seventy to a hundred miles north-east of San'a, and that Ma'in and other remains in the vicinity had been regarded as the centre of Minæan culture. If this were so, the descendants of the Minæans are now a long way south-east of their ancient centre. He was particularly interested in this question because it seemed to him, when summarizing recently such information as is available on the pre-Islamic states of South-West Arabia, that there had been a tendency for states or kingdoms to move in succession in a southerly direction, either under pressure of invaders from the north or in search of better, less arid, country.

Major HAMILTON replied (in writing) that, while it would be risky to attempt too positive an answer in the present state of knowledge, his views were as follows:

"The names MA'AN and MA'IN are from the same root and, I fancy, refer to the same people. The name of the Transjordanian district of Ma'an, near Medāin Sālih, is the same word. I think you are certainly right in supposing that the trend of all peoples in the peninsula has been from north to south, whether in search of better land or—which seems more likely—because of pressure from the north.

"The rise of Saba will have been at the expense of other kingdoms, and I think the assumption is justified that the Sabæans forced Ma'an out of Jauf and also out of the district of Wadi Harib, near Beihan, from which several inscriptions referring to the 'Grand Council of Ma'an' have been collected; and that the remnant of the Minæans, if any, is to be found south and east of their original place. They could not have gone south-west because, by the time Saba became powerful, Qataba appears to have held the south-western spurs of the Yemen mountains and to have owned both Harib and Beihan. My own opinion, on the existing evidence only of modern tribal names and distribution, is that Ma'an was swamped by later rivals and is earlier than the other kingdoms. It is interesting that the name Ma'an is borne by the central tribe of a confederation with such marked peculiarities as the 'Aulaqi, in just the place where one would expect to find it. I think, therefore, that these Ma'ani 'Aulaqis are the remnant of the Minæan State forced from Jauf, and perhaps from further north, by the rise and the southward march of more powerful neighbours, and that they were eventually swamped in the struggles for the important 'Beihan Triangle.'"

Major Hamilton expressed the hope that the map accompanying his lecture entitled "Six Weeks in Shabwa," to be published shortly in the *Geographical Journal*, would show the very great local importance of that little triangle of territory (since published in Vol. 100, No. 3, September, 1942, pp. 107-123).

From the above it seems that Major Hamilton's views are in accordance with the usually accepted chronology—namely, that the Minæans were the oldest of the South-West Arabian kingdoms named, and were succeeded (but not entirely obliterated) by Saba and Qataba. These two were in part contemporaneous. (Later, Himyar became predominant.) It also appears that Major Hamilton considers the movement of peoples to have been from

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



north to south, not only in South-West Arabia, but in the peninsula as a whole. Incidentally, while the name MA'AN is not given on some maps, it is printed on the folding map at the end of Wyman Bury's *Land of Uz* (1911). It is there placed just above the eastern end of the Qaur ranges and below the words "Upper 'Aulaqi."

The CHAIRMAN: What a remarkable experiment in Empire building has been exposed to us this afternoon. The thought that is uppermost in my mind is how absolutely essential it is that not only we should have very carefully selected Political Officers to carry on this experiment, but that they should be most carefully instructed in what they have to expect before they take up their duties. That seems to me to be of the utmost importance.

You will agree, I know, that we have had a most happy and fortunate send-off to the beginning of our tribal lectures. Indeed, Mr. Hamilton, we were more than happy and lucky to have you. Then, too, we had Sir Bernard Reilly with his great experience, both of them masters of their subject. We thank you too, Sir Bernard, for what you have told us.

May I ask you now to thank Mr. Hamilton most sincerely for his admirable lecture.

*A demand for this lecture, together with the discussion, has led to this reprint.*

YEMENMLI

The NAME



is the name of a PAGAN DEITY AND IN THE ABSENCE,

Y 101 174 778 622 of histories, we may take it that the confederation is pre-Islamic in date. Apart from the name, the only other obviously pre-Islamic possession of the tribe is the sacred drum, the "Tabble an Nahas," which is kept by the Beni Qasid and which is accorded sacred honours by the tribe of Yafa' only. It is possible that before Islam the Beni Qasid were the keepers of the drum, and I am going to suggest that the present Sultans of Yafa' are in reality Priest-Chiefs, whose functions as such have ceased with the introduction of a new religion, although their hereditary position remains as heads of the people who once worshipped Yafa'.

H 101 619 622 Let us examine another confederation of tribes. About sixty miles north of Adén live the Qateibi tribe, surrounded by the confederation of the Ja'ud. At first sight the tribes here seem to be disorganized and unrelated, but careful study of dialect, of local stories, of the Qasidas or epic poems, and of such things as star lore and magical beliefs, shows that these tribes are closely allied in thought, dialect and custom and form a true confederation, the organization of which becomes clear in times of danger. Of this confederation the Qateibi are the central tribe, and their sheikhly family is the Akhram, from which the Qateibi Sheikh is elected. As was shown in 1904, a Qateibi Sheikh with a strong personality can have considerable influence on the whole confederation, but he is not expected to rule, as we understand the word, even within his own family.

H 619 [623] 174 622 With the strong 'Aulaqi Confederation we find a more complicated organization, but a similar one. Ma'an is here the central tribe, in all probability the ancient Ma'an of the inscriptions, a pre-Sabian kingdom of South Arabia. Ancient Ma'an was ruled by a "Grand Council," as we find from the inscriptions, and this system still exists to-day.

The 'Aulaqi Confederation is divided into three parts—the Upper and Lower sub-Confederations of attached tribes and the tribe of Ma'an—and each of these three is ruled by a Chief of the tribe of Ma'an, elected by Ma'an only. Again we have the sheikhly family within the central tribe, surrounded by the attached tribes of the confederation. Again the name, *but this time it is the name of the central tribe, is pre-Islamic.* If we look [671] for further proof that the confederation is of pre-Islamic origin, we find an ancient legal system—that of the Manaqid, which I have already described—strongly attached to it.

H 619 We could continue to find examples of the organization from other confederations, but these three will suffice. The basis of the organization is clear: there is a central tribe containing a sheikhly family, forming the centre of a confederation of tribes.

H 174 Y 643 How did such an organization evolve? How is it that Chiefs, elected according to ancient custom, are not expected to rule their electors? What is the origin of such Chiefs, and of the sheikhly families from which they come? Our answers must be mainly guesswork, but we may well begin by seeing some of the conditions under which an Imam of Sana'a is elected, for I think they point the way to our understanding of the whole problem.

The first condition is that the Imam must be whole in body. No Imam may be elected if he limps, is blind in one or both eyes, has a stammer, squints, is a leper or has any other physical disabilities. If, once

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
YEMEN ML!



elected Imam, he goes outside the acknowledged boundaries of his kingdom (the present Imam acknowledges no boundaries, nor have any of his predecessors) he ceases to be Imam, and a new Imam must be elected. The Imam is usually elected during the lifetime of his predecessor, so that when one dies the country is not without an Imam.

H 174 Y 643

Now all these conditions are those pertaining to divine Kings. There is little doubt that they are ancient pre-Islamic conditions, and it is possible that they are taken from the conditions under which the Tobbas of Himyar became King and which governed the ancient kingship of Sheba. Some inscriptions made by the Tobbas, who ruled over Axum in Abyssinia, as well as Saba and Eastern Yemen, are countersigned, as it were, by a Minister who styles himself "The Sacrifice"—in itself a very significant title. These conditions must have been accepted by the Persian and Abyssinian rulers of the Yemen, and both they and subsequent rulers must have thought it as well to assume the kingship in its ancient form.

In the same way as the Imam is elected and proclaimed, so under him each confederation elects its Chiefs and petty Chiefs within their tribes and families. The central tribes elect their Chiefs, who become the heads of confederations, and each tribe elects its leaders within itself; only in the case of the smaller units, from the confederation downwards, there appear to be no such conditions as I have mentioned regarding the Imamate. All these Chiefs are figureheads who can exert a strong influence but who are not expected to rule.

H 622

The scene thus represented is one of the greatest interest to anthropologists and to sociologists. It is a stage in the development of nations. Before the formation of kingdoms and before Islam, Arabia was a land of many gods. Each of these gods was the particular god of a tribe, and his worship was in the hands of a priestly tribe who elected a Priest-Chief. He was, as it were, a divine Chief, and doubtless it was his main duty to ensure fertility, which entails all the priestly functions of bringing rain, guarding against disease and supervising agriculture. Both the magic and the custom were higher than him. He could not change either but was himself ruled by both. In inter-tribal disputes he spoke for the tribe and not for himself as ruler of the tribe. When Islam came, the tribal god vanished, but the Priest-Chief was left as a figurehead, with a vague aura of holiness but with nevertheless a considerable loss of his power, which was never very great. This is the position of the elected hereditary Chief in the Aden Protectorate to-day.

H 174 622 793

It is obvious that such Chiefs cannot be expected to rule their confederations and tribes unless they obtain military power. For the most part they are reluctant to do this. At one time it was the policy of the Government to give arms and ammunition to the Chiefs so as to strengthen their hands against their more unruly tribesmen. The hereditary elected Chiefs, however, did not respond to this policy as they were supposed to do, but gave the arms away to brigands in the form of bribes. The Suzerains avidly accepted these presents from the Government, for they understood rule as we do, and have held their positions through this understanding. This, by contrast between the two types of Chief, throws a strong light on the accepted position of the hereditary Chiefs. There is,

H 622 643 648

342 552 174 212 In Ṭarīm many houses belonging to the wealthy saiyids seem to have a name chosen by the owner, and Saiyid 'Umar b. Šaiḫ Āl Kāf, our neighbour in Tarīm, called his house al-'Iššah, or 'the nest', but others seem to be called after the name ot the locality, or as the Ḥaḍramī says, after the name of the well, such as the house Ḥamṭūṭ, our neighbour to the east. Houses in Tarīm often have chronograms over the door, generally some pious phrase, worked in the plaster and painted. In Šibām the Maṣna'ah or fort has inscriptions, including dates, in the woodwork. I am convinced that herein lies the explanation of why so very few pre-Islamic and early Islamic inscriptions have been found in Ḥaḍramawt. On dams, on buildings, even in the mosques, the inscriptions which today record the foundation, or repairs effected to a construction, are all drawn in the plaster. The only two Kufic inscriptions I saw in Ḥaḍramawt were on the grave-stones at Ḳabr Nabī Allāh Hūd, and the strange shrine of Mawlā Maṭar. Pre-Islamic stone inscriptions will of course be discovered when excavation is made in the mud mounds which represent the ancient towns and villages of the country.

782 342 The sacrificial rites described here are probably general to South-West Arabia. (In the Ṣubaiḥī village of Am-Fadjarah, west of Aden I came across very similar practices. A ewe (ganamah) was slaughtered at the foundation (sās). In the space under the stairs called ḳuṭb, when it was made, another was slaughtered, and on completion of the building a third ewe, called the iklīl or 'crown', was also immolated. As the occupier of the house in question I was asked to defray the cost of these. This is some hundreds of miles from Ḥaḍramawt.) Comparisons with ritual in the ancient world may be made by scholars.

463 342 According to my early notes in Tarīm, every craft seems to have different categories of workmen, perhaps graded, but I did not explore this possibility. A fully trained craftsman is called a mu'allim, and if you want to have a house built, you go to the mu'allim. Tarīm once had fifty to sixty mu'allims, but now (1947) there are probably only about thirty. Other categories are, the musawwis who builds the dry stone foundation of your house, and the bānī who builds with the clay bricks (madar) and clay (ṭīn). A bānī in Ḥaḍramawt is also a potter (syn. in Yemen, maddār). I heard of an architect in Tarīm who bore the name 'Umar Ya'mur

# THE QUARTERS OF TARĪM
## AND THEIR TANṢŪRAHS

621 361 Like Šiḥr and Mukallā, the city of Tarīm is divided into a number of quarters. I have already given the names of the quarters in Šiḥr elsewhere[1], and those of Mukallā are marked on H. von Wissmann's map[2] where Hafd el-'Abī should be corrected to [567] Ḥāfat al-'Abīd, i.e. the quarter of the Slaves. It may be recalled that when W. H. Ingrams arrived in Ḥaḍramawt these slaves were very powerful indeed just as they were amongst the Rwala chiefs[3] of N. Arabia. As in Mecca, the city quarters form an important part of the social structure of the community, and they have their own peculiar organisation upon which I have remarked previously[4]. [174] There seems to be evidence from the inscriptions that cities in South Arabia, sometimes at least, were split up into quarters [161] before Islam. In Tarīm there are no less than eleven quarters, though, as will be seen, only five of them are really independent, but even this is a large number for a city of approximately 15,000 inhabitants.

621 361 104 The five quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Sūḳ, Ḥārat al-Ḥilaīl, Ḥārat al-Saḥīl, Ḥārat al-Nuwaidarah, and Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī. Of these the largest is Ḥārat al-Sūḳ. A saḥīl is a strip of land underneath a mountain, and including the mountain-side up to the base of the perpendicular Djol cliff[5], a word of frequent occurence. The town of Šibām which is not sub-divided into quarters, has a suburb

113 [1] *Materials for South Arabian History* I, Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies (London, 1950), XIII, II, p. 296.

[2] D. Van der Meulen & H. v. Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leiden, 1932).

[3] Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), index *Slaves*.

[4] *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, Le Muséon, LXII, 1-2, p. 159.

[5] For the peculiar cliff formation of Wādī sides, see *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*.

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21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



# ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN SOUTH ARABIA.

By Bertram Thomas, O.B.E.

[With Plates XI and XII.]

## Introduction.

114 I have already been privileged to contribute a paper to the *Journal*.[1] "Among some unknown Tribes of South Arabia" was published after my first journey in those parts in January–February, 1928. Since then I have made two more visits to the Central South and have continued my investigations. On the last occasion I took head callipers, a small cinema camera and a still camera with me. I made some forty-five head measurements and took full-face and profile portraits of the various types I measured.

## Curious Tribes.

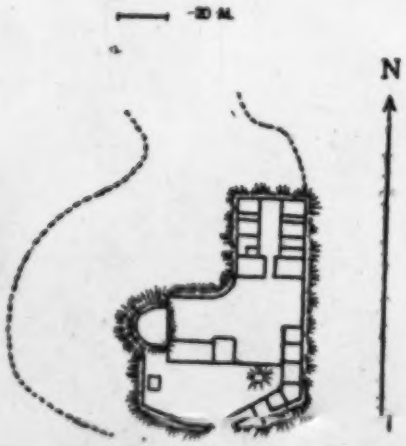
144 In my previous paper I said that there was a *bloc* of tribes in the Central South that I
174 believed to be non-Arab remainders, tribes at least who were physically, culturally, linguistically distinguishable from the familiar tall and hawk-faced Arab of the North. I am confirmed in that view. After an experience of fifteen years' service in Arabia, living on close terms of intimacy with its people in Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordan and the Persian Gulf, I am struck by the peculiarities of the inhabitants of the Central South. The Sultan of Muscat shared that opinion. I was not consciously aware at the time of the speculations of Richard Burton which also support it. That Arabian traveller had written in the middle of the last century (vide "Pilgrimage to Al Medina and Mecca")—

> "I was desirous to try by actual observation the truth of a theory proposed by Colonel Sykes, namely, that if tradition be true in the population of the vast peninsula there must exist certain physiological differences sufficient to warrant our questioning the common origin of the Arab family." . . . And later . . . "I have found proof . . . for believing in three distinct races, (1) the aborigines, driven into the Eastern and South-Eastern wilds, (2) a Syrian or Mesopotamian Stock that drove the indigenes from the choicest tracts of country . . . (3) an impure Syro-Egyptian clan . . ."

133 Before passing to a consideration of these strange tribes I lived amongst, it is necessary to say something about the land in which they live. The south coast of Arabia west of long. 53° (Ras Nus) is very mountainous and very wild. It is a natural asylum for early races driven before invaders. At Dhufar in the Central South, these mountains form a crescent-shaped arm which encloses a prosperous and fertile plain. To the westward the mountains form an

[1] Vol. lii, 1928, January to June, p. 97.

172 our will we turn our backs on el-Mekēnūn and follow our guide into Wādī Sekhōre. In the distance we can already see, rising upon a precipitous, high hill, the remains of what must once have been a fortress. The position points to this and has much in common with that of the ruins of the castle at el-ᶜUrr, which stand on a similar hill rising out of the main wādī, only half an hour's walk westwards.




RUINS OF EL-MEKĒNŪN.

Ḥuṣn Thōbe is the name of the ruined castle at the mouth of Wādī Sekhōre. The steep slopes of the huge rock, which is nearly 300 feet high, are covered with débris. At its foot there is a well, at the top we find fairly high remains of walls, but no inscriptions.

●174 The scarcity of inscriptions found here, in contrast with the multiplicity of those found in the mountainous land of the Yemen, is explicable if we look upon Ḥaḍramaut as the borderland of the Sabaean and Minaean Kingdoms. Professor J. H. Mordtmann of Berlin, who studied and deciphered the inscriptions that we brought home, is of opinion that the people of

Ḥaḍramaut were famed for their warlike qualities at a quite 174
early period. According to him, mention is made of the country and its kings in the most ancient Sabaean inscriptions, and again in the later texts. A great deal is told about wars with Ḥaḍramaut. There are no data which suggest that the Ḥaḍramīs were ever subdued by their neighbours, the Sabaeans and Minaeans. In the time of the Alexandrian scholars

RUINS OF THE ANCIENT ḤUṢN THŌBE.

they had a separate kingdom; this is unanimously and credibly reported. They had their national God, Sin, just as the Minaeans had ᶜAthtar, the Sabaeans Ilmaqah, and the people of Qatabān, ᶜAmm and Anbay. So also they preserved their own dialect until as late as the sixth century of our era.

In any case, there would seem to have been many wars, 174
and the castles of Thōbe and el-ᶜUrr have, unquestionably, 212
been military fortifications; this points to the country having

TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 177 --
ANALYST

been the borderland of two kingdoms, which naturally would 174
not be the most favourable place for setting up inscriptions. 212
Frontier defences are never centres of culture. Furthermore the stone here is not favourable for incising: it is too brittle. All the texts deciphered for us by Mordtmann are votary inscriptions (proskynemas) to the national god, Sīn.

From Ḥuṣn Thōbe we walked back to the main wādī, in 172
whose midst, on a great lonely rock, remains of the walls of 532
Ḥuṣn el-ʿUrr still rise to a considerable height. We met the caravan here and, uniting our forces, tried to get at a piece of cut stone that was cemented into the upper part of the remains of the walls. After much effort we succeeded. It turned out that we had detached a capital of whitish sandstone, particularly well-hewn on its four planes. The capital was too heavy for transport on our camels, so Von Wissmann made the drawing reproduced here.[1] The skill of the artist who, in ancient times, made this head of a column is clearly shown in the undamaged portions. The sculptor seems to have depicted hunting scenes. Mounted men fighting with lions are represented on one plane; on another are very good reproductions of the ibex (*wlʿl*), an animal which plays a great part in the folklore of Ḥaḍramaut. The *wlʿl* hunt is [224]
still the favourite sport of the Ḥaḍramīs, although strongly disapproved of by their religious leaders on account of the ceremonies of evidently heathen origin accompanying it. The heavy, notched horns of the ibex, gracefully bending backwards, are, up to this day, to be found as trophies decorating the façade of many a house in Ḥaḍramaut.

The smaller hewn stone that we had found in the ruins on the outward journey was dug up again. This stone, flat and of the same white sandstone as the capital, appeared to bear on front and back an identical sculpture, representing a bunch of grapes with a few leaves, a motive that also occurs here and there on the decorated surfaces of the capital. We wished to take this stone with us to Terim as an addition 000

[1] See p. 178.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Imra'al-Qeis refused and gathered together the tribes of Midhij,[1] who were another Qahtani tribe, and the tribe of Kinda and set out to attack the Beni Asad. By mistake he attacked the Kinana tribes instead of the Beni Asad, killing many of them, whereupon he cried out that he had revenged his father's death. When told of his mistake he was filled with remorse and returned to Dammūn. Then Nu'man bin al Mundhir, king of Hira in 'Iraq, who, as has been said, had been sowing discord among the tribes in Hadhramaut, brought an army against Imra'al-Qeis, causing all the tribes to follow him and declaring that if Imra'al-Qeis were captured, he must be killed, and if he ran away, no one was to render him assistance. As the tribes in the Hadhramaut were against him Imra'al-Qeis left and went to Syria. From Syria he went among the Arab tribes, but none would accept him. He then took refuge with the Emperor of Constantinople, who brought an army and marched against Nu'man at Angora. But the Beni Nu'man and the Beni Asad sent word to the Emperor that all the Arabs were against Imra'al-Qeis, whereupon the Emperor had him poisoned. His grave is at Angora and bears an inscription. 173

The Kinda tribes returned to Upper Hadhramaut and their kingdom extended no further than this territory. Between them and the Hadhramaut tribes there was always discord. The Saqsaq and Sukun tribes were in the Lower Hadhramaut. All these tribes were under petty chiefs, each in his own territory, and there was continual fighting between them.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE MIDDLE AGES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

### 1. The Coming of Islam.

Then Islam came to the Hadhramaut. The Prophet Muhammad, on whom be peace, sent Ziad bin Dhubed in the eighth year of the Hejira[2] and he converted the Kinda and Hadhramaut tribes without 792 797 175

[1] The Midhij (or Madhagi) still exist as a clan of Upper 'Aulaqi and a son of the house is a pupil in the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs. They claim to be descended from a son of 'Abd Shems Saba named Mizah or Madhig. They came from the north and once opposed Aelius Gallus' expedition. Wyman Bury. *Arabia Infelix*, p. 3.

[2] So Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir whose story is here continued. But Ziad does not appear to have come to the Hadhramaut at this date.

In the tenth year of the Hejira among the missions that came to Muhammad was one from the Hadhramaut. Wa'il bin Hoji, the coastal chief, and Al Ash'ath, chief of the interior, and both of the Beni Kinda arrived in Mecca and made their submission. Wa'il, the Prophet confirmed in his rights, subject to the payment of tithes, and Al Ash'ath was married to Um Farwa, the sister of Abubekr. He was not, however, allowed to take his bride home as her parents thought the Hadhramaut too far away. Some idea of Hadhramaut manners then prevailing can be gleaned from Wa'il's behaviour to the host to whom he had been allotted. Though the ground was scorching hot, Wa'il would neither allow his host to ride on his camel with him nor even lend him his sandals, declaring it was unheard of in the Yemen for a common man to wear the sandals of the king. Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 462.

175 bloodshed, but they were only nominally converted. At that time
792 there were five rulers, four kings and a queen, Jemid, Manhûs,
797 Maahera, Abdh'a, and their sister Al 'Amureda.' (The Prophet corresponded with these rulers as he corresponded with other sovereigns.)

When Abu Bekr became Caliph the tribes in the Hadhramaut fell away from Islam, so Ziad[2] brought an army from Yemen and the Hejaz and killed the five rulers, after which Hadhramaut tribes again became followers of Islam and were loyal to the other Caliphs and at first to their successors the Omeiyads. But in A.H. 128 (A.D. 746) the tribes revolted against the Omeiyads as the ruler of Yemen, 'Amr Qasim Bin 'Umar Ath Thaqafi, tyrannized over them.

175 Hadhramaut tribes then became Ibadhis[3] under Yahya bin 'Abdulla, known as Talib Al Haqq, from Kinda, who ruled the tribes after their revolt against the Omeiyads. All Hadhramaut was then Ibadhi and for twelve years recognized no outside authority, killing anyone who came to rule over them. But in A.H. 140 (A.D. 757) when the Abbasides were in power, Ma'n bin Zaida Ash Sheibani brought a large army from Yemen against them. He passed Henin and came to Furt al Hussein which lay between Henin and Qatn. Here the men of Hadhramaut met him and gave battle. They were defeated, 15,000 being killed including their ruler Talib al Haqq. Ma'n bin Zaida then ruled over the Hadhramaut under the Abbasides. Ma'n was a tyrant, and he

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[1] The princes of the Hadhramaut bore the title of 'Abâhila.

[2] Ziad was the Governor of the Hadhramaut under Al Muhâjir. About a year after the prophet's death, Al Muhâjir set forth for South Arabia and in due course met 'Akrima, who had been sent to subdue the Mahra, at Ma'rib. The two chiefs then proceeded to the Hadhramaut where Ziad was holding the country with difficulty. He had made himself unpopular with the Beni Kinda by his exactions of tithes, and in one of his raids had carried off the families of a tribe. Al Ash'ath gathered the clans and rescued the prisoners after which, being compromised, he raised the whole country against Ziad. At this moment Muhâjir and 'Akrima arrived and routed Al Ash'ath. At last in a desperate bid for personal safety Al Ash'ath offered to betray the remnant of his force. His terms were accepted and he was sent to Abubekr at Mecca. The Caliph spared his life and even allowed him to fulfil his marriage contract with his sister.

[3] In the reign of the second Merwan. At this time the Khawarij had spread extensively over South Arabia and 'Iraq and were often strong enough to paralyse the Government. 'Abdulla bin Ibadh, founder of the Ibadhis, whose only date we know is A.D. 744, was active in Merwan's reign. He belonged to the Tamimi tribe. To-day the Ibadhis are still the rulers of 'Oman and of Zanzibar and there is a community of them in Morocco.

Masudi says, (VI, 67) that Merwan gave command of an army to fight the Ibadhis to 'Abdul Malik bin Muhammad bin 'Atia as Sa'adi. "Abdul Malik marched the Syrian troops of Merwan against the Yemen. 'Abdulla bin Yahya al Kindi set out from San'a and the two parties met in the district of Taif in the territory of Jorsh. There was a terrible battle which cost their lives to 'Abdulla and to the majority of the Ibadhis whom he commanded. The rest of the heretics took refuge in the Hadhramaut of which the population is almost all Ibadhi still in 332 of the Hejira. It does not differ in the way of beliefs from the Khawarij of Oman."

compelled all the people of the Hadhramaut to wear the black dress of the Abbasides.[1] 175

Hadhramaut remained loyal to the Abbasides to the year A.H. 263 (A.D. 877). During this time there had been about 53 Governors in the Hadhramaut. When the reign of the Abbasides came to an end, Hadhramaut became independent once again.[2]

## 2. Yemeni Domination.

We learn from Omārah[3] that the authority of Ibn Ziad, the Yemeni ruler who acquired the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by the Tubbas, extended to the provinces of Hadhramaut, ash Shihr, and Dīār Kinda. East of the Hadhramaut he was master of Merbat, and west, of Abyan, Lahej, and Aden, as well as the Red Sea coast as far as Hali. After the death of Muhammad ibn Ziad, his son 'Ibrahim and his grandson Ziyad followed. Ziyad was succeeded by his brother 'Abu'l Jeish Ishaq whose reign endured for a long time, according to Ibn Khaldun, until he had reached the age of eighty, though Omārah says he reigned eighty years over "Yemen, Hadhramaut and the maritime islands."

In A.H. 259 (A.D. 873) Muhammad ibn Ya'far succeeded to his father, and was invested by the Caliph al Mutamed, with the Government of San'ā. Hadhramaut was included in his dominions, "but he owed allegiance to the Ziyadites and paid them tributes."

The Ziyadite rule lasted a long time, and in A.H. 409 (A.D. 1018) their great Wazir, Ibn Salama, carried out one of his greatest public works. "Among the splendid works executed by Husayn ibn Salāmah must be reckoned the construction of great mosques and lofty minarets along the road from Hadhramaut to the city of Mecca (may God Most High guard it). The distance extends over sixty days' journey. He dug wells and channels with running water in solitary wildernesses, and he erected along the road constructions on which were indicated the distances in miles, in *parasangs*, and in stages. Some of these works I have seen, either in good order or in ruins, and of the remainder I have received descriptions from other persons, all agreeing with one another. The first stations were at Shibam and Tarim, two cities of Hadhramaut. (A footnote adds, "Of Tarim, al-Hamdāni merely says that it was a 491 175

[1] The Beduins still wear the black of the Abbasides, though they think it was imposed upon them as a punishment. Unlike the townswomen who wear their dresses short in front and long behind, the women of the Beduins wear their dresses long all round, and it is thought that this too is a survival of the Abbasides. 291

[2] It is apparent that the Hadhramaut took hardly to Islam. After several vicissitudes the country shook down to orthodox Shafi'ism, but from the time of the Abbasides paid no more than lip service to the Caliphate. To-day, while there are mosques almost everywhere, one may suspect that the Beduins are more attached to their patron saints, whom they have adopted into Islam, than to orthodox worship. Laxity like this may have not a little to do with the bigotry of the conservative Saiyid party. 771

[3] See Kay's Omārah, pp. 5, 141-2, 224.

175 large city" (p. 87, I. 17)). A series of mosques was built extending thence to Aden, to Abyan, and to Lahj, a distance of
491 twenty days' journey. At each interval of one day's journey, there stood a mosque with a minaret and a well. As to Aden, it contained a mosque built by (the Khalīfah) 'Omar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz, which was restored by Husayn ibn Salāmah." (Kay's Omārah, p. 9.)

175 In A.H. 410 (A.D. 1019) the Beni Ma'n captured Aden and they also took the Hadhramaut.[1] In A.H. 460 (A.D. 1067) the tribes of the As Sulehi[2] took Aden and the Hadhramaut, but their power weakened and in A.H. 480 (A.D. 1087) Hadhramaut was once more independent. The tribe of Ar Rashid of Kinda governed from 'Aqad to Tarim, and at this time the Beni Ayub were ruling in Aden and Yemen.

In A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178) Othman Zingari, governor of the Beni Ayub, brought an army from Aden to the Hadhramaut and occupied all Hadhramaut, taking the Sultan of Ar Rashid of Kinda, Rashid bin Shijn'a, to Aden together with his two sons, 'Abdulla and Shijn'a. However, Yemen and Aden revolted against the Beni Ayub and returned the Sultan of Kinda with his sons to Hadhramaut where they ruled again.[3]

In A.H. 677 (A.D. 1278)[4] the Beni Rasul al Ghasanin occupied Yemen, and the Hadhramaut was under their protection with a ruler[5] 'Abdur Rahman bin Rashid of the Beni Rashid of Kinda, Sultan in Shihr, whose authority extended as far as Tarim.

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[1] The Beni Ma'n took Aden, Abyan, Lahej, Ash Shihr and Hadhramaut at this time. Of the ancestry of the Beni Ma'n there is no very clear account. "They established their power over Aden, in the days of Al Ma'mūn according to Ibn Khaldūn or according to 'Omārah, on the downfall of the Ziyadite dynasty." (Kay's Omārah, p. 308). Ibn Khaldun mentions that the Beni Ma'n claim descent from Ma'n bin Za'ida, governor of Yemen from A.H. 145–151 (A.D. 762–768), but this is contradicted by al Khazraji and 'Omārah.

[2] 'Ali bin Muhammad as Sulehi allowed the Beni Ma'n to remain in possession of their territories as governors under his authority.

[3] Here Al Khazraji fills a few gaps. In Muharram of A.H. 658 (A.D. 1259–60) the 'Amir 'Ezedu'd Dīn Muhammad bin Hassan bin 'Ali bin Rasul demanded of the Yemeni Sultan, Melik Mudhaffer, Sultan Shemsu'd Dīn Yusuf bin 'Umar bin 'Ali bin Rasul (A.D.1250–1295), that he should be equipped with an army to invade the Hadhramaut. The Sultan complied, but the Hadhramaut was saved for twenty years from the Beni Rasul because of internal troubles in the Yemen which prevented the 'Amir from proceeding to the Hadhramaut.

[4] Al Khazraji relates that in A.D. 1278 the people of Hadhramaut appealed to Salim bin Idris lord of Dhufar, originally from Habuda near Shibam, for assistance in a great famine that afflicted the country, offering him their fortresses in exchange. He agreed to the terms, went to the Hadhramaut, gave the assistance needed, and returned to Dhufar. But when his back was turned the people "inclined with one sole inclination to their fortresses" and took them back. So Salim was "nearly killed with his regret for having wasted his goods to no purpose."

Salim then, as compensation for what he had lost in Hadhramaut, raided an envoy of the Yemeni Sultan Melik Mudhaffer who was driven ashore at Dhufar by unfavourable winds on his way to Persia. The result was a war with the Yemen in which Salim was killed. After capturing Dhufar the Yemeni forces proceeded to Shibam and took possession of it on the 8th of Ramadhan (30th January, 1279). Hadhramaut became submissive and the Sultan appointed as 'Amir, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Naji, who adopted a conciliatory policy and thus avoided trouble.

A section of the Āl Yamāni of the Āl Tamim then fought with the Ar Rashid and finally occupied Tarim in A.H. 745 (A.D. 1344), after taking and losing it many times. They then ruled in Tarim and over the neighbouring country, while at this period the Saberāt tribe were ruling in Tarba, Būr, and Al Hasīsa, and the Nahd tribe were ruling over Shibam and the neighbouring country, so that the Hadhramaut was then divided under three ruling tribes, the Tamimi, the Saberāt, and the Nahd. This continued until A.H. 894 (A.D. 1489) when the Kathīris began to rise to power.[1] 175

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN HADHRAMAUT.

### 1. The Rise of the Kathīris.

The Kathīris originated from Dhufar[2] where they were Sultans. They had been living in the Hadhramaut but were of little importance and had no name given to them until they began to make themselves felt. In this year, 894 (A.D. 1489), Sultan 'Abdulla bin Ja'fer al Kathīr became Governor of Shihr (he was the man from whom the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīri took their name), but he did not live long and in 910 A.H. (A.D. 1504) was succeeded by his son Bedr Bu Tuweirak bin 'Abdulla[3] who reigned for sixty years and was well known in and out of the Hadhramaut. But the [174]

[1] The next item of information in chronological order is given by Al Khazraji In the month of Rabi'l 'Awal A.H. 768 (A.D. 1366-7) Melik Mudhaffer, son of Sultan Melik Mujāhid of the Rasuli dynasty, and the son of the Yemenite ('Ibnu'l-Yemaniyy) went against Shihr; but the lord thereof went out to meet them with his forces, when they were defeated and returned frustrated in the month of Jumad al 'Awal in this year 768 (January, 1367) . . . . The 'Amir Sārimu'd Dīn Dāu'd son of Musa son of Hanajir was appointed Governor of Shahr.

[2] The origin of the suggested connection of Dhufar with the Hadhramaut is sufficiently indicated above, but according to Miles (Vol. II, p. 515) the Kathīris came from the Hadhramaut at the close of the eighth century and invaded Dhufar. Hirsch says that 10,000 of the Kathīri came from the neighbourhood of San'ā about A.D. 1494. See also the Genealogy of the Kathīris in an Appendix.

[3] This famous Kathīri leader was born in A.H. 902 (A.D. 1497). His pedigree was bin 'Abdulla bin Ja'fer bin 'Abdulla bin 'Ali bin 'Umer. Miles states "The Shaikh Bedr, who is usually spoken of by the Katheeris as Bedr-ba-Towarek, is said to have been Mucadam of Seyoon. He became Lord of Hadhramaut and Dhofar and extended his conquests as far east as Ras Sherbetat. It must be observed that Carter (H. J. Carter, Trans. Bombay As. Soc., 2845, 1847, 1851) makes no mention of Bedr, but was informed that the founder of the Katheeri Dynasty was Ali bin Omar al-Katheeri. Subsequently the Katheeris appear to have been overpowered by others, but ultimately regained supremacy, which they have maintained throughout the vicissitudes of successive years to the present day."

Further, Miles states, in connection with the geography of Dhufar, that the inhabitants of the plain mostly belong to the Kathīri tribe, who, with varying fortunes, have remained the predominant tribe in the plain ever since their invasion of Dhufar in the beginning of the ninth century of the Hejira. They are, he says, always at feud with the Qarsa, by whom they are often attacked and harassed. The Kathīris, he states, are in two divisions, the 'Umar bin Kathīr and the 'Āmr bin Kathīr, both of which are represented in Dhufar, where they may number 2,800, occupying seven villages. He also mentions Darsa as having been once the capital of the Kathīris.

175 Hadhramaut tribes were not loyal to him, nor was his own tribe the Shenafir, so he brought in men of the Zeidis, the Yafa'is, and also Turks from Suleiman the Magnificent.[1] There was continual fighting and at different periods the 'Amūdi and the Seibani occupied Shihr. In his time, also, the Portuguese came and fought at Shihr. Bu Tuweirak captured some of them and sent them to Jidda, for he was in alliance with the Turks.[2] His hold became very weak, and he could not even pay the wages of his Zeidis and Yafa'is who were able to take control of those places in which they were stationed. Bu Tuweirak's son, 'Abdulla, took his father prisoner and he was in prison for about two years when he died in A.H. 972 (A.D. 1565).[3] At his death his sons divided, one in Shihr, one in Shibam, and so on, and for two and a-half centuries there was continual trouble. It was owing to this division that 'Isa bin Bedr,[4] the founder of the Āl 'Isa bin Bedr Kathīris, took Shibam and established himself there.

'Abdulla bin Bu Tuweirak, however, had no real kingdom, and there was continual warfare. After much internal trouble some of the Āl 'Abdulla went to the Zeidis and Hadhramaut came under the Zeidis. This regime, however, did not last long, for Bedr bin Muhammad of the Āl 'Abdulla headed a revolution supported by 'Ali bin Ahmed bin Sheikh Bubekr of 'Einat. In A.H. 1116 (A.D. 1704) he brought an army of 6,000 Yafa'is under 'Umar bin Salih of the Beni Harbara, and turned out the Zeidis. The Kathīri tribe were much weakened and Tarim, Seiyun, and Taris became Yafa'i, but the Āl 'Isa bin Bedr Kathīris still retained Shibam, though apart from this they were reduced to joining their Beduins. The Āl 'Abdulla of the Kathīris were in Tarba, and one of them, Ghalib bin Muhsin, left Hadhramaut and went to India where he became a soldier under the Nizam and was promoted to the rank of Jemadar.

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[1] Another version states that it was 'Āmr bin Bedr who sought Yafa'i assistance, and with their aid was proclaimed ruler of Hadhramaut with the exception of the seaports which the Yafa'is retained.

[2] Another (Kathīri) historian tells me that besides expelling the Portuguese from Shihr, he defended the Hadhramaut from a Turkish occupation, insisting that the country, though under Turkish protection, was not a Turkish dependency. He sent presents to Constantinople and in 944 (A.D. 1537) received a firman and two robes of honour from Sultan Suleiman. From this time the Sultan's name as Caliph was recited in the Juma mosque at Shihr.

[3] Others say A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569).

[4] 'Isa bin Bedr bin 'Ali bin as Sultan Bedr Bu Tuweirak. 'Isa bin Bedr was always in trouble in Shibam because of internal dissension. The Zeidis occupied Hadhramaut with the help of his uncle 'Umar bin 'Ali, after which he left the country for Mocha, where he died. His sons succeeded him but they were not very strong and there was trouble at home and abroad. After them the sons of their uncles ruled and the ascendancy varied between 'Isa bin Bedr's family and 'Umar bin 'Ali's family, but until the Qu'aiti occupied the country the Hadhramaut was always unsettled, after that it became safe and calm. (Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir).

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## 2. The Foundation of the Qu'aiti Fortunes.

In A.H. 1246 (A.D. 1830) there were with Ghalib in the Nizam's army 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti and 'Abdulla bin 'Ali al 'Aulaqi.[1] Ghalib was under the 'Aulaqi. Ghalib became rich and used to send money to his father's servants and also to his brother in Tarba. He then bought a village called Ghurf and a *husn* at Heid Qāsim which gave him the key to Tarim. His brother brought in 2,000 'Aulaqi soldiers and then requested Bin Gherāma, the Yafa'i ruler of Tarim, to sell him half the town, to which Bin Gherāma agreed; thus the Kathīris held half Tarim and the Yafa'is the other half. But Bin Gherāma with the support of the Tamimis revolted against the Kathīris, until at last the Āl 'Abdulla al Kathīri obtained more assistance from the 'Aulaqis and finally occupied all Tarim in A.H. 1263 (A.D. 1847), and took Seiyun and Taris in A.H. 1264 (A.D. 1848).[2] Bin Gherāma at first fled to Seiyun, then went to the Naqib of the Kasadi[3] at Mukalla to request his help, which was refused.

Meanwhile the family of Hajj 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti was living at Qatn. He had been born in Shibam but went to Hyderabad where he achieved fame in the Nizam's service.[4] He had three sons, 'Ali, Muhammad, and 'Awadh,[5] who were born in India but he sent them to live at Al Qatn in the charge of two slaves, Al Ma's and Amba. At this time all the small villages round Qatn were Yafa'i, but Shibam was under the Āl 'Isa bin Bedr Kathīris, ruled over by Sultan Mansur, who, however, had no money so he sold half the town to the Qu'aitis of Qatn, and in A.H. 1246 (A.D. 1830) both were ruling in Shibam. At the 'Id al Fitr the Yafa'is went to Qatn to visit their relations, and Mansur the Kathīri killed those Yafa'is who remained in the town, declaring that the country was his. This was the beginning of the Qu'aiti—Kathīri trouble.

Fighting was continual, but the Kathīris were more powerful. Some of the Yafa'is sent a mission to Hajj 'Umar bin 'Awadh, who was then in India, and it was for this reason that he sent his

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[1] He married an Indian lady and had two sons, 'Ali and Muhsin, who were both dead by 1909. Muhsin was known at Hyderabad as Muqaddam Jung.

[2] The Yafa'is retook Seiyun in 1265 (A.D. 1849) but lost it again to the Kathīris in the same year. (Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir).

[3] The Kasadis were also from Yafa'. They are a section of the Dī Nakhīb of Lower Yafa'. (Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir).

[4] The "locals" of Shibam recount the following story to account for 'Umar's departure to India: There is an old mosque in the town and in the old days vegetable oil was used in the lamps. The people were surprised to find that every morning the oil had all gone, so a trap was laid for the thief, fish oil being put in the lamps instead of vegetable oil. Next day when 'Umar bin 'Awadh walked abroad it was found that he was reeking of fish oil, having been in the habit of using the oil for his hair. To avoid the scandal he agreed to exile himself to India.

[5] Actually five. Muhammad who died early, 'Awadh who became Jemadar Nawab Jung under the Nizam and was Sultan of Shihr, 'Abdulla who represented the family in Hadhramaut, Salih, known as Parak Jung, who looked after the family interests at Hyderabad and died in 1890, and 'Ali who lived apart from his brothers at the Nizam's court.

175 three sons, mentioned before, to Qatn. He also sent soldiers who besieged Shibam for 16 years, during which time the inhabitants were reduced to eating leather. At last the Seiyids of Āl 'Aidarus were called in to arbitrate. They decided that the Qu'aitis should have one half of Shibam and the Kathīris the other half. To this they agreed, and in A.H. 1274 (A.D. 1858) Shibam was divided. Mansur, however, was not satisfied. After preparing a certain house for a feast and placing gunpowder in the building he invited the Yafa'is to dinner, including 'Ali, Muhammad, and 'Awadh, the sons of 'Umar bin 'Awadh, and their two slaves Al Ma's and Amba. But they were warned of what was to happen, so 'Awadh sent an excuse saying that they had received good news from their father and were celebrating the occasion with a "fantazīa". However he sent small groups of Yafa'is at different times to attend Mansur's feast; they would eat quickly and then excuse themselves. Afterwards 'Awadh invited Mansur to his house, and when he came, alone, they cut his throat. Then they killed all the Āl 'Isa Kathīris they found until the whole place was Qu'aiti.[1]

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[1] The following is a version, from the Kathīri side, of Hadhramaut history from the introduction of Yafa'is by Bedr down to the incident which established the Qu'aitis as lords of Shibam.

Until after 900 of the Hejira (A.D. 1204) the descendants of Rashid bin Qahtan were rulers of the Hadhramaut. Bedr bin 'Abdulla enlisted Yafa'is as mercenaries in order to strengthen his position. They settled in the Hadhramaut as soldiers under him and his successors and are still known as 'asākir. In the course of time they attached themselves to the Seiyids of Āl Sheikh Bubekr bin Salim and secured a share in the country. In A.H. 1119 (A.D. 1707) they revolted against the Kathīris, over-ran Tarim and Seiyun, and expelled their former masters from most of the Hadhramaut towns. In 1165 (A.D. 1752) the Āl Bureik established themselves in Shihr with the help of the Āl 'Attas Seiyids. About the year 1222 (A.D. 1807) the Wahābis succeeded in occupying the Hadhramaut, and in 1231 (A.D. 1816) captured Shihr, but they were turned out of the country.

Presently the oppression of the Yafa'is induced many of the Kathīris to emigrate to Java and Singapore where they attained great wealth. In their new country the exiles pondered over the disturbed state of their home, and in 1250 (A.D. 1834) Seiyid 'Abdulla bin 'Umar bin Yahya conceived plans for expelling the Yafa'is. Sultan Ghalib bin Muhsin al Kathīri, who was in the army of the Nizam of Hyderabad, sent his brother 'Abdulla as regent of the Hadhramaut, and the Yafa'is were expelled from Tarim, Seiyun, and the neighbouring villages. In the month of Rajab 1263 (A.D. 1847) Sultan 'Abdulla and the Seiyids concluded a pact of co-operation for the establishment of an era of peace and justice in the Hadhramaut.

In 1266 (A.D. 1850) Seiyid Ishaq bin 'Aqil bin Yahya al Hadhrami came from Hejaz in a ship with 400 soldiers lent by the Sharif. His aim was to assist the Kathīris, but with the help of the Kasadi Naqib the Āl Bureik succeeded in preventing their landing at Shihr.

The Yafa'is now sought revenge, and those in India persuaded Hajj 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti to help them. 'Umar sent his slave, Hajj Al Ma's al Habshi, as his representative to the Hadhramaut with considerable funds. On arrival Al Ma's declared his loyalty to the Seiyids and offered to assist in matters concerning the welfare of the country. He then purchased half of the town of Shibam for his master from Sultan Mansur al Kathīri, but, acting under instructions from his master, he deceived Mansur and murdered him. In this way the Qu'aitis obtained sole control of Shibam in 1274 (A.D. 1858).

### 3. The Kasadis, and the Qu'aiti Rise to Power.

In 1842 'Abdur Rab, the Kasadi Naqib of Mukalla, died, and his son Salih was forcibly dispossessed of his inheritance by his cousin Muhammad 'Abdul Habib. Like many usurpers Muhammad disturbed everybody, and in a few months had starved his *Wazir*, Seiyid Abreidi, to death on suspicion of treachery, and caused all whom he could find of his late uncle's issue to be murdered. Two sons and a grandson escaped and fled to Aden, but the Government of India declined to interfere though it gave them a small donation. Such was Britain's first official contact with the Hadhramaut. 175

In 1850 the Turks sent a force of some 800 men to annex Shihr and Mukalla, but they were defeated at an engagement at Burum and fled to Sharma whence the chief of Shihr dislodged them. The next year the Naqib offered Mukalla to the British as he feared further Turkish activities, but the offer was declined. Shortly afterwards Muhammad 'Abdul Habib died and was succeeded by his son Salih. In 1867 a Turkish warship made a further endeavour to annex Mukalla, Shihr, and the whc'e coast, but the Turkish pretension of sovereignty was evaded by the chiefs who were anxious for British protection. Naqib Salih, like his father, offered Mukalla to the British, and it was again refused, though some steps were taken towards dissuading the Turks from further interference. Four years after this offer (1873) Salih died and was succeeded by his feebleminded son 'Umar. His reign had been marked by the conclusion of two treaties with the British, in 1863 and 1873, for the abolition of the Slave Trade.

Meanwnile the old struggle of Kathiri *versus* Yafa'i had continued, both sides being subsidized by their friends and relations in India. The Yafa'i had prevailed to the extent, as has been related, of capturing and holding Shibam. 'Abdulla bin 'Ali the 'Aulaqi, too, had staked a small claim in the country, for he had purchased Sidda or Hazm, close to Shihr, from the Āl Bureik who possessed that town.[1]

In 1866 the Kathiri captured Shihr and 'Ali Naji, the Bureiki ruler, fled to Aden. The Āl Bureik now appealed to the Qu'aiti for help, and 'Awadh, with a party of armed Arabs left Bombay, and attacking Shihr by sea and land drove out the Kathiris. However, they did not restore it to the Āl Bureik, but kept it. Kasadi and Qu'aiti now united for the last time when 'Awadh and Salih attacked the Kathiri and were beaten. Shortly after the two fell out and the struggle in the Hadhramaut became Qu'aiti *versus* Kathiri and Qu'aiti *versus* Kasadi.

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[1] The Āl Bureik of Hadhramaut and Shabwa occupied Shihr for 150 years, then the Āl 'Abdulla Kathiris held it.

175 'Awadh was quick to perceive that 'Umar, Salih's son and successor, was a weak-minded youth, and, seizing his opportunity, set out again from India whither he had retired after his recent reverse. Arrived in the Hadhramaut, he sent a claim for 160,000 dollars for assistance rendered eight years previously by the Qu'aiti to the Kasadi against the Kathiri Sultan, Ghalib bin Muhsin. 'Awadh followed up this demand with an apparently friendly visit to the Naqib, taking in his train 500 soldiers. 'Umar received him with all honour, and while he was in Mukalla, 'Awadh increased the number of his followers by constant accessions. The greater part of the Naqib's forces were absent at this time subduing a revolt in Du'an, and when 'Awadh deemed himself sufficiently strong he demanded payment of the debt or, as an alternative, that he should buy the half of Mukalla and Burum for 240,000 dollars. As 'Umar was helpless he accepted the alternative (1290 A.H.—A.D. 1873) and 'Awadh paid him 80,000 dollars, the balance due after deducting the debt. Having pocketed his dollars 'Umar recalled his troops from Du'an and captured 'Awadh at Mukalla, but eventually allowed him to depart unconditionally.

'Umar then allied himself with his late enemies the Kathiri and with 'Abdulla 'Ali the 'Aulaqi. With their help he captured al Gheil, Reiyan, and Mesajida, but was repulsed from Shihr. 'Awadh, the Qu'aiti, attacked Burum, but was repulsed and in 1874 chartered a ship at Bombay in an attempt to transfer troops from Shihr to some point where he could attack the Naqib. The ship, however, was detained at Aden and not allowed to proceed. The Qu'aiti then sought aid from the Yemen but without receiving any substantial assistance. Further attempts by the Qu'aiti and the Kasadi to purchase ships to move their troops also proved fruitless, and during 1874-5 hostilities were continued with varying success, though it gradually became clear that the Qu'aiti was the more powerful chief. They blockaded each other's ports, but the blockades being utterly ineffective were forbidden by the British Government.

In 1876 the Qu'aiti attacked the Kathiris in Tarim and captured al Gheil, which had practically been evacuated by the Kathiris in order to relieve Tarim. Supplies began to fail the Kasadi and they had to evacuate Reiyan and Mesajida which were at once occupied by the Qu'aiti. In the same year the Sharif of Mecca offered the Naqib to mediate, but he was advised by the Aden Residency not to accept, and shortly afterwards the Government of India took a turn in the dispute by trying to bring hostilities to an end and then to offer mediation. Both sides were, however, obstinate, and the Government declared that it would only mediate when both parties consented to stop fighting.

At the end of 1876 the Resident succeeded in concluding a two years' truce between the parties, and early the following year the Qu'aiti showed some signs of willingness to accept the Resident's

arbitration, then, in the usual way, complicated the case by claims to the sovereignty of Dis, and said that even if that question were settled his claim to 240,000 dollars must also be acknowledged by Government. 175

In 1877 the Naqib's chances became extremely slender, as the Qu'aiti had concluded a ten years' truce with the Kathîri in consideration of the evacuation of Tarim, and the Naqib had quarrelled with his brother Muhammad. In 1878 Dis, Sharma, and al Qarn fell to the Qu'aitis, and the Naqib appealed to the Sultan of Muscat to intervene, but the Government considered this undesirable.

Meanwhile the truce ran out and with much difficulty was renewed for a few months, while Government started consideration of the action that should be taken. It was not until January, 1881, that they decided that both chiefs should be persuaded to accept an agreement for the repayment of the debt and the cancellation of the transfer of Mukalla and Burum from the Kasadi to the Qu'aiti. As the Naqib continued to press for a British protectorate, failing which he proposed to hand over his territory to anybody that would take it, the Turks, Italians, French, Kathîris, and Zanzibar. Being mentioned, he was to be warned of the consequences of disposing of his country without the consent of Government, though Government declined to announce its final intentions until the chiefs had accepted its proposals. The Naqib accepted at once, but the Qu'aiti declined on several pretexts. Pending further orders, a 15 days' truce was arranged, followed by another for nine days, during which time, Government, having already stopped hostilities by sea, decided to stop them by land.

In February both parties signed the alternative agreements presented to them which provided, one, for half Mukalla and Burum becoming the Qu'aiti's property with a British Officer appointed at Mukalla, the second, which provided for Mukalla and Burum being handed over to the Qu'aiti for 300,000 dollars, and the third for the repayment of the 240,000 dollars. Government now decided on the second alternative, and the Qu'aiti agreed to pay the money, but the Naqib declined to sell Mukalla outright and refused to cede it to the British unless they undertook not to hand it to the Qu'aiti, and he came to Aden to impress his views.

Government, however, decided to support the Qu'aiti, and after various proceedings, political and naval, lasting from May to November of 1881, the Qu'aiti obtained full possession of Mukalla. The Naqib, after handing over his forts to H.M.S. *Dragon*, left Mukalla for ever and arrived in Aden with 2,800 followers. Some of these subsequently returned to Mukalla, others went to Lahej, and the Naqib, with about a thousand men, left Aden in December and in January 1882 landed in Zanzibar.

The balance of the price of Mukalla was paid in due course by the Qu'aiti and invested for the benefit of the ex-Naqib, who was also granted an income of 1,000 dollars a month by Seiyid Barghash

175 bin Said, Sultan of Zanzibar. It was not until 1888 that he consented to use the interest on the sum invested, which had then amounted to 230,000 rupees, for his own use.[1]

148 In 1882 a treaty was entered into with 'Abdulla and 'Awadh, the
143 Qu'aiti Jemadars, whereby due provision was made for the ex-Naqib and for the payment of an annual sum by the British Government to the Qu'aiti of 360 dollars a year. The Qu'aiti bound themselves not to dispose of any of the Hadhramaut territories to any person or power other than the British Government, and in 1888 a Protectorate treaty was concluded. Jemadar 'Abdulla died a few months later and 'Awadh became sole ruler. In 1900 the Qu'aiti dominions were further extended by the purchase, from the Wahidi,
554 of Meifa, and in 1902 the Sultan's old title of Jemadar was finally abolished and he was recognised by the title of Sultan.[2] Sultan

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[1] To-day Naqib 'Abdur Rab, 'Umar's son, the present head of the family, is a respected member of Zanzibar society. He has lived in a quiet and unobtrusive fashion, and he and his people have been absorbed into the population in which they are an indistinguishable element. The Naqib has adopted the fashions of dress and living of the Omani section of the population, while the rest of the large Hadhramaut element in Zanzibar forms a very distinct community of its own.

[2] The following is a continuation of the Kathiri narrative of Hadhramaut history, from the same source as before.

In 1283 (A.D. 1866), at the suggestion of Seiyid Ishaq bin 'Aqil, Sultan Ghalib bin Muhsin al Kathiri succeeded in occupying Shihr. He then marched against Mukalla but was defeated by the Naqib bin Sala's forces at Harshiat. The next year Jemadar 'Awadh bin 'Umar al Qu'aiti arrived from India with Indian and Yafa'i troops to attack Shihr. He landed with his forces at Hami, proceeded to Shihr, and with the assistance of the Kasadis captured the place and expelled the Kathiris. In 1287 (A.D. 1870) Seiyid Is'haq bin 'Aqil went to Hyderabad and proposed to the Qu'aitis, Salih and 'Awadh, and to the Kathiris, that they should retain those parts of the Hadhramaut which they respectively ruled and that they should co-operate with the Seiyids in the establishment of justice, the improvement in the condition of the country, and the maintenance of security on the routes. He also proposed that the Qu'aiti should pay to the Āl 'Abdulla $50,000 on entering into an agreement with him, and an annual sum of $20,000, to be paid from Shihr customs revenue, for the upkeep of the garrison of Tarim and Seiyun. The Kathiris, however, declined these terms and made preparations for investing Shihr. To achieve this object the Kathiris enlisted the assistance of the 'Aulaqi and the Āl 'Umar Bā 'Umar, the respective rulers of Ghail and Soda. The 'Aulaqi was able to supply them with considerable funds from India, as he too, held a position similar to that of the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri in the Government of the Nizam.

Hearing of this alliance, 'Awadh immediately started hostilities against the 'Aulaqi and the Āl Bā 'Umar. At the end of a year he had defeated them and annexed Ghail and Soda. 'Awadh now entered into an agreement with the Kasadi Naqib, 'Umar Salih, for invading the Hadhramaut. Leaving Shihr and Mukalla respectively, the united forces marched against the Āl 'Abdulla, but the Kathiris beat off their attacks and forced them to retire. The Naqib 'Umar Salih then died and 'Awadh left for India.

'Umar was succeeded by his son Salih. Jemadar 'Awadh now returned from India, and, taking advantage of the despatch of soldiers by the Naqib to Du'an to fight against the Āl 'Amudi, sent some of his troops to Mukalla, and demanded from the Naqib half of the expenditure incurred in the expedition against the Hadhramaut which he had undertaken with 'Umar Salih. The Yafa'i chiefs then intervened and decided that the Naqib should surrender half Mukalla.

000 pools built by the rich and progressive class of Seyyeds, whose many innovations have re-made the face of this ancient land of the Queen of Sheba.

131 The political frontiers of the Kathiri State describe a finger pointed downward from the Rub-al-Khali into the heart of [161] Hadhramaut. They enclose an area of some six thousand square miles and a population of sixty thousand, a third of whom dwell 652 in the city of Seiyun. The state's current average annual revenue runs close to $100,000.[1]

175 Early Kathiri history is obscure. Forebears of the present sultan once controlled all of Hadhramaut, but in the eighteenth century the al-Quaiti, an immigrant tribe of Yemeni origin, wrested control of the coastal region from their Kathiri overlords at Seiyun and gradually established hegemony over interior tribes until today the Quaiti State comprises nearly the whole of Hadhramaut. Until the "Peace of Ingrams,"[2] modern Kathiri history was dominated by constant and costly warfare between Seiyun and the parvenu Quaiti power at Mukalla.

643 The present Kathiri ruler, His Highness Sultan Husayn Ali Ibn Mansur, succeeded to the throne on May 22, 1950, and was one of the five Aden chiefs selected to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth.[3] It is through Sultan Husayn's generous and patient correspondence that much of this statistical information concerning his far-off land has been gathered.

643 Political organization in the Kathiri State is patterned closely 645 after administrative machinery in Malaya.[4] Executive authority is vested in the sultan assisted by a Council of State of which the ruler is president and the British Resident an ex-officio member. The Council's remaining members include: the Kathiri State Secretary (*Wazir*) and heads of the departments of the Treasury, Customs, Education and Judiciary, in addition to four un-

456 [1] In 1952 the East African shilling, worth about $0.14, replaced the Indian rupee as legal tender in the Protectorate.

[2] William Harold Ingrams, last of the old-style empire-builders, did much to pacify and organize modern Hadhramaut in the years 1934-44. He was the first Resident Adviser to the states of Hadhramaut and the Eastern Aden Protectorate. To him, Hadhramis have given the name, "Peace-maker of the Desert."

[3] Others invited: the sultans of Mukalla, Lahej, Shaqra and the Amir of Dhala, the latter three, prominent chiefs of the Western Aden Protectorate.

[4] Ingrams visited Singapore in 1940 to study the operation of local governments in the Malay States for ways of stepping-up efficiency in native rule in the Hadhramaut.

S. Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 241 361

mineral content of the water seem to affect agriculture adversely. A striking example is seen about five miles north of Shihr where a series of springs depositing sulphur and gypsum have built an impressive mound, on which the village of Tabala stands. Their abundant and continued flow enables extensive irrigation by hand-dug canals and aqueducts and affords a means of livelihood for several hundred

[487 302]

FIG. 19—A caravan settling down for the night on the cold and stony Jol in the lengthening shadows of the setting sun. A caravan stops wherever night may overtake it and with little or no cover the Bedouins find a place to rest among the stones and shiver themselves to sleep. A coating of indigo stain with which the Bedouins not unusually paint themselves is said to be some defense against the night air.

people. The temperature of these springs on emergence is not far below boiling point, and they are reported to be the hottest on the coast.

At the small village of Harshiat, 3½ miles north of Mukalla, a few tepid sulphurous springs likewise are valuable for their yield. At the village of Gheil ba Wazir, on the inland road between Mukalla and Shihr, is an extensive gypsum flat and also a group of gypsum-depositing springs. Here a tobacco-raising community has sprung up. A part of the arable land is devoted to the growing of dates and millet and the remainder to tobacco, for which, owing to a quality unsurpassed in Southern Arabia, demand exceeds supply.

The small community of Husn Baquidran depends on a limited but constant supply of nongypsiferous sulphur water in the mountains of the Wadi Hajr, 30 miles from the coast. Irrigation is practiced on a small scale. The sites of Sidara and Mahamda, on the Wadi Hajr above Husn Baquidran, were determined by the presence of several groups of sulphur springs that are used for irrigation and consumption.

## VEGETATION

132 37 175

Today only the seaward fringe of the Dhufar Coast region, which during the pre-Islamic empires of the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Himyarites was an important export center for incense and myrrh, has enough rainfall to support a thin growth of vegetation, largely incense trees. From this area and the surrounding country, at one time more abundantly watered, the priceless gum was most extensively collected in the past. It is still gathered today in small amounts, according to demand. The gum, which adheres to the bark, is harvested from varieties of the Burseraceae family, *Boswellia Carterii* and *B. Bhau-Dajiana*, divided by the Arabs into four grades.[4] Its value, which ranges from £80 to £10 a ton, depends on such qualities as color (red, green, and brown), size of the gum particles, and degree of adulteration. Just as the rubber gatherers of the Amazon debased latex with pebbles and gravel, so did the Arabs in the heyday of the incense trade, and to some extent even now, admix varying amounts of fine sand with the gum to increase its weight. Between March and August the trees are tapped by knife incision and a milky juice is extracted, which dries in three to five days.

FIG. 90 Caravan loading. The three men at the right are arguing about the disposition of loads.

Besides incense trees, a thin and scattered growth of bunch grass, camel's-thorn, and a cedarlike evergreen abundant in some dry wadies is found in the Hadhramaut. Date-palm groves, which cover many square miles, are mainly dependent on irrigation.

### Sources of Water Supply

In addition to artesian water and the water obtained from wells, other sources of supply are available. One of these is the *siquaya*, a small, rectangular, concrete tank with a capacity of 20 or 25 gallons erected along caravan routes near towns and maintained by them as a public service. Another is the well or cistern excavated at the base

[4] Freya Stark: The Southern Gates of Arabia. [New York], 1936. pp. 10-11.

9. Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



121 present condition. It is not easy to illustrate that with lantern slides, but I wanted to use the illustrations mainly to enable you to see some of the differences between each division, something of the nature of the country, the appearance of the people and, above all, the architecture.

### The Divisions of South-West Arabia

101 175 From an Arab point of view, in geography and history South-West Arabia consists of two countries, the Yemen and the Hadhramaut, but actually to-day its four distinct areas are the Kingdom of the Yemen, the Western Aden Protectorate, the Hadhramaut or Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Colony of Aden.

175 631 In Islamic times and until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Western Aden Protectorate and Aden were part of the Kingdom of the Yemen, but various governors and sheikhs of the Western Aden Protectorate only held an uneasy allegiance to the Yemen and broke away as practically independent units. They remained independent until they concluded treaties with His Majesty's Government, mostly last century. Thus the Aden Protectorate gradually grew up. What is now the Colony of Aden was captured from Lahej in 1839 or ceded at later dates. Towards the end of the nineteenth century treaties were made with the coastal chiefs of the Hadhramaut. In 1914 a British sphere of influence in South-West and South-East Arabia was arranged with the Turks. The Turks had twice occupied but never fully conquered the Yemen, and their insecure rule came to an end after the last war, when the Imam became independent.

In pre-Islamic times the Hadhramaut was for a period an independent kingdom. From the time of the Prophet's mission until the ninth century it submitted uneasily to the rule of the Caliphate, and then became independent again, though for periods during succeeding centuries—until the thirteenth century—it was claimed by the Yemen. There was a final short period of Yemeni domination at the end of the seventeenth century, but the Zeidis were finally turned out in 1704. The Hadhramaut remained independent until 1888, when the British Protectorate over the Qu'aiti started.

Down to 1937 the Aden Protectorate, often known as the Nine Cantons, and the Hadhramaut were treated as two ill-defined entities, but as the treaties with the chiefs of both were similar, the two were united as one protectorate by Order in Council that year. When, however, a forward policy in the Hadhramaut was started in that same year, they were again considered separate for administrative purposes, and the old Aden Protectorate was called the Western Protectorate and the Hadhramaut and Mahra country the Eastern.

631 There are such great differences between the Western Aden Protectorate and the Eastern Aden Protectorate that they should be considered separate areas when one is thinking of the divisions of South-West Arabia. Indeed, the Eastern Aden Protectorate could well be considered as two areas itself—the Hadhramaut in the west, and in the east, linked with Socotra, the Mahri country, much more primitive than the Hadhramaut and probably more primitive than the Western Aden Protectorate. It has

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 HD-12 Hadhramaut MM 2



The tribes of the Central South have a poor reputation as regards the *rabad-as-salam*.[1] 576
The *rabad-as-salam* merely means that when two persons meet, between whose tribes there 577
is blood or other enmity, and one says to the other—" Peace be upon you " and the other replies " And upon you be peace," they have buried the hatchet for the nonce. For one now to take advantage of the other and slay him in his sleep, for instance, would in any other part of Arabia be the deepest treachery. Not so amongst this lawless brood, however. That it may happen elsewhere is possible, but normally the offender would be hounded out of his own tribe or be required to make some requital and his name would be for ever smirched. These non-Arabic speaking tribes of the Central South have no such regard for the elsewhere universal law. They also observe in the breach what is elsewhere a fixed canon, the *thamn-al-hata* or " stomach 574
price." This is an elaboration of the law of three days' hospitality. If a Badu has eaten the 171
salt of a man his goods are safe for a period of four days and four nights, the time for the last 576
vestige of food to have passed from his body. If the Badu's tribe unwittingly raids the man 671
during these four days they must and do return the loot. This *thamn-al-hata* is sacred with the other tribes of the southern fringe but not with the non-Arab group. Who and whence are these tribes? Indigenous? Of African origin? or have they a common origin with African tribes, or are none of these hypotheses tenable? Here is an almost black race of brachycephals, and brachycephaly properly belongs to Asia. The answer is for you to decide. History sheds but little light.

In the year A.D. 1325 Ibn Batuta, the great Moorish traveller and theologian, set out on 175
his 25 years' travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia and elsewhere. He sojourned 144
in Dhofar and amongst what he wrote of it was this :—" Another thing is that its people closely resemble the people of North-West Africa in their customs. . . . The outlying population is not Arab, but of a Sudanic type." Does Ibn Batuta help us?

The following discussion took place after the paper :—

Sir Arthur Keith said that Capt. Bertram Thomas had thrown light on one of the darkest anthropological 144
mysteries of the world. It was now clear that the Southern Arabs were very different from the Northern Arabs 142
—in almost every respect. If one sought to trace the affinities of the Southern Arabs by judging from their external appearance—as revealed in Capt. Thomas's photographs—one was immediately reminded of the native type of North-Eastern Africa. To his eye the Southern Arabs showed in their fuzzy hair and black—or dark brown—pigmentation of hair and skin, as well as in their facial features, distinct Hamitic or Somali-like affinities. On the other hand, Capt. Thomas's measurements of heads proved that the Southern Arabs differed from the Hamitic peoples of Africa and also from the Arabs of Northern Arabia in having skulls which were short and wide. The width of the heads of Southern Arabs was between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. of the length. The Southern Arabs were distinctly and highly round-headed—or brachycephalic. Hamitic peoples and the Badawin (Arab) type of Northern and North-Western Arabia were usually long-headed or dolichocephalic. Thus Capt. Thomas's observations confirmed the data collected by Professor C. G. Seligman fourteen years ago that the people of Southern Arabia are round-headed or brachycephalic.

Although the Southern Arabs—who were of low stature, the men being usually about 64 inches in height—showed certain Hamitic traits in their features, yet these were overshadowed by others which proclaimed an affinity to the Caucasian or white stock of mankind. They were less fully bearded than the Northern Arab and yet more so than among Hamites. In some respects the South Arabian type bridged the difference between Semite and Hamite.

[1] It is only within comparatively recent times that the Southern would recognize the rabie at all.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



443 passed through this unknown world, and the desire and hope, until now cautiously suppressed, grew unconsciously within us, to enter the land that lay behind the town and to learn to know its people.

## 2. THE VIZIER SAYYID ABŪ BAKR BIN ḤUSĒN EL-MIḤḌĀR.

645 We made acquaintance, the morning after our arrival, with
[643] the Vizier, who, in the absence of the Sultan, deals with state affairs. Sayyid Abū Bakr bin Ḥusēn el-Miḥḍār is a man in the prime of life; he is energetic, has a congenial, alert personality, and shows absolutely no sign of opposition to the *Naṣrānīs*, the *Efrendjīs*. The heavy task of governing the Qe-
645 ᶜēṭī Sultanate falls chiefly upon his solid shoulders. His popu-
565 larity is supported doubly by tradition: in the first place, as
175 sayyid he belongs to the class of spiritual and worldly leaders, for he is a direct descendant of the Prophet, and, in the second place, the house of Abū Bakr was, six generations ago, the most influential family of Ḥaḍramaut.[1] In an evil hour, in their struggle against the Bedouin tribes, they called in the help of the Yāfiᶜ, a tribe noted for its fighting qualities. Its Sultan sent help under one Qeᶜēṭī, who, after having delivered the sayyids of the el-Miḥḍār family from their enemies, took the leadership into his own hands. The power of his family expanded. In 1874 the Qeᶜēṭīs asked the British Government in Aden to intervene for the purpose of reaching a settlement in a war, which had arisen over the refusal of the Āl Kathīr to repay a sum of money which had been lent to them. On this occasion Makalla and esh-Shiḥr were, with the help of the British, taken away from the Kathīrī Sultan and handed over to the Qeᶜēṭī, but the family of el-Miḥḍār had remained the leading one of that region.

701 The Vizier declared that he had *no* objection to our journey
567 into the interior. The route via Wādī Dōᶜan was safe, provided

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 75; *A Handbook of Arabia*, i. (London, 1920), p. 542 *sq.*

5:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), 133
with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably 361
Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting 631
of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been [648]
for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., [643]
Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it 175
came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. 438
The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 161
100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is 133
mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital 361
is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a 648
small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be 619
recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete 622
control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

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The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts:

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

S:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultivation is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields. 132 312

## Chapter 2: History

For a time in the eighteenth century, the Western Protectorate formed part of the domain of the Imam of Sana'a in the Yemen and several of the rulers of the tribal districts were the Imam's "wakils" or governors until his power declined and they declared their independence. 175

After the occupation of Aden by the British in 1839, some of the neighbouring chiefs entered into protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. Others followed suit as time went on, the last to do so being the Audhali Sultan in 1914. 648

In July, 1915, during the first World War, the Turks, who had conquered the Yemen in the course of the previous century, occupied the Abdali, Haushabi and Amiri districts of the Protectorate until the Armistice of 1918.

In 1934 a Treaty of Friendship was signed between His Majesty's Government and the Kingdom of Yemen. There was an Exchange of Notes in 1950 when it was agreed to establish reciprocal diplomatic missions and to set up a Frontier Commission.

In 1944 and 1945 five Western Aden Protectorate Chiefs (the Fadhli, the Lower Aulaqi and the Lower Yafa'i Sultans, the Sharif of Beihan and the Amir of Dhala) entered into closer relations with His Majesty's Government by new treaties in which they agreed, *inter alia*, to abide by the advice of the Governor of Aden in the improvement of their administrations. Similar treaties were signed by the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and the Audhali Sultan in 1952. In 1952 the newly elected Sultan of Lahej accepted a Political Officer as adviser and signed an advisory treaty.

The most important aspect of recent history in the Eastern Protectorate has been the decline of the traditional power of the Kathiri Sultans and the rise of the Qu'aiti—a new Yafa'i dynasty which gained power and wealth from military and other services rendered by its members abroad to the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Qu'aiti rulers first entered into a treaty with Her Majesty's Government in 1882. This was strengthened in 1888 by the conclusion of a Protectorate treaty in the common form of the treaties with other Protectorate chiefs. In 1918 the Kathiri Sultan made an agreement with the Qu'aiti Sultan acknowledging this treaty as binding on them also. In 1937 and 1939 respectively the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans signed treaties undertaking to accept the advice of a British Resident Adviser in all matters except those concerning Mohammedan religion and custom. The Wahidi Sultan of Belhaf signed an Advisory Treaty in 1949. 643 648

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 Mil Saud: Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



[622] 619 leader, though at ordinary times he may be little more than a figurehead.

619 The British Government has no troops, in normal times, outside a ten-mile radius from the Aden fortress, and does not interfere in tribal or inter-tribal politics. The different confederations are 648 under British influence in varying degrees, but though they have entered into certain treaty obligations they preserve their own autonomy. It may be remarked, broadly, that the obligations are observed—when not inconvenient—in inverse ratio to the protected tribe's distance from Aden. None of the confederations renders tribute to the British Government, either in money or men; none has a standing army in the usually accepted sense, but every adult male is a soldier when occasion requires. Most of the chiefs receive annual stipends from the British Government, and the following are entitled to salutes: the 'Abdāli, the Fadhli, the Ka'aiti (Hadhramaut), and the Amīri, as well as the Sultans of Qishn and Socotra. It should be added that the individual attitude of some of the confederations towards the British has been temporarily disturbed by recent events.

### Recent History and Present Politics

175 After being in various hands, Aden was definitely captured by the British from the Sultan of the 'Abdāli in January 1839. The 648 Sultan fled to Lahej. From the very first it was evident that the occupation of the town would be of little use unless a good understanding were arrived at with the neighbouring tribes, in whose hands lay the power of interfering with the land-borne trade and the supplies on which, in those early days, the place was so largely dependent. Treaties were therefore concluded successively with the Azzeibi (a branch of the 'Abdāli), the 'Aqrabi, Subeihi, Fadhli, Yāfa', Amīri, and other tribes; but, in spite of treaties, the first years of occupation show a turbulent record with a good deal of fighting. Four unsuccessful attempts to retake Aden by the 'Abdāl, in conjunction with the Fadhli, were made between the years 1839 and 1846; but, since the latter date, only offensive military operations of a minor character have occasionally been necessary against individual offending tribes.

Relations with Turkey, our most powerful neighbour, have been more troublesome. Having relinquished the Yemen for a long period, the Turks found their opportunity to intervene once more, after the evacuation of the district by the Egyptians in 1840. In 1849 a Turkish expedition from Jiddah captured the port of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 Mil Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MH2



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Hodeidah and obtained possession of the Tihāmah; and during the succeeding years the Turks gradually extended their conquests inland from the coast, until, in 1873, they had reached the limits of the tribes under British influence. Thenceforward, aided by intrigue on the part of disaffected tribes or tribal sections, and taking advantage of intertribal feuds, they began to make encroachments, often temporarily successful, on Aden territory, particularly on that occupied by the 'Abdāli, Haushabi, and Amīri confederations. In 1873 occurred the Turkish occupation of Dhāla, the stronghold of the Amīri, which was continued in a greater or less degree until 1903; and in the earlier year the Turks even occupied for a time the fortified house of the 'Abdāli Sultan at Lahej. Though Turkish aggression subsequently made itself felt to some extent all along the Aden–Yemen frontier, it has always been particularly active in the Amīri and Haushabi country. In 1900 trouble occurred between the Turkish tribe of Humar and the Haushabi. The representative of Turkish authority, Mohammed Nāsir Muqbil, an Arab of Humar origin, came to an understanding with the 'Abdāli Sultan and erected a tower at Kafūf, about two miles north-west of Darajah, well within Haushabi limits, from which he and his Humar following were able to cause considerable annoyance to the Haushabi. Representations to the Turkish authority having failed to obtain more than promises of evacuation, a British force was dispatched to help the Haushabi in ejecting them. In the meanwhile Nāsir, by representing to the Turkish authorities at Ta'izz that the British force intended to commit wanton aggression on Turkish territory, induced them to dispatch a force of 400 men, who proceeded to Kafūf and occupied the tower. The Humar, who held the heights of Darajah, were, however, put to flight and the Turks evacuated the place.

As a consequence of this incident, the Porte, which had previously rejected offers of demarcation of the frontier, itself proposed it. The offer was accepted and British and Turkish Commissioners met at Dhāla in January 1902. Negotiations proceeded slowly owing to obstruction by the Turks and to the fact that they persisted in occupying Jallīlah within the Aden border. Eventually it was found necessary to exert pressure. A strong British supporting column was dispatched to Dhāla, and, after some time, the Turks withdrew to Qa'tabah and the work of delimitation proceeded. It was completed in May 1904, and since that date until the present war our relations with the Turks in this region have not been unfriendly.

On the outbreak of war with Turkey, on October 31st, 1914, reports indicated that the Turks were in some strength in the Sheikh

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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Sa'īd Peninsula and that they were preparing to dispatch troops to act against the Aden Protectorate. Consequently early in November three Indian infantry battalions, then on the voyage to Suez, were ordered to capture Sheikh Sa'īd and destroy the Turkish works, armaments, and wells at that place. On November 10th the transports conveying the force arrived off the coast of the Sheikh Sa'īd Peninsula; but adverse weather conditions prevented a landing at the point first selected. Covered by the fire of naval guns, a landing was effected elsewhere, all opposition encountered was overcome, and the enemy was driven inland, abandoning his field guns. On November 11th Turbah Fort and other Turkish works in the neighbourhood were destroyed by the troops with the assistance of a naval demolition party.

For some time after these operations the Turks showed no signs of advancing with a view to attacking Aden; but their presence on the northern boundary of the Protectorate rendered it desirable to strengthen the garrison at Aden. Sheikh Sa'īd was again occupied by them, and on the night of June 14th–15th, 1915, they endeavoured to effect a landing on the north coast of Perim; but this attack was successfully driven off by the garrison of the island. During the latter half of that month reports indicated a possible Turkish advance on Lahej from Māwiyah. On definite information being received that such an advance was about to be made, the Aden movable column was ordered to move out to Sheikh 'Othmān on the evening of July 3rd. Early the following morning the advance was continued to Lahej, to which place the Aden troops had previously been dispatched. The intense heat, sand, and shortage of water rendered the march and the subsequent operations most trying, but, in spite of these hindrances, the advance guard reached their objective and engaged the Turks just beyond Lahej on the evening of July 4th. But the desertion of the hired camels and the severe climatic conditions so delayed and distressed the main body as to necessitate, on July 5th, a withdrawal from Lahej to Khōr Maksar. After the withdrawal the Turks occupied Sheikh 'Othmān, and it was decided to increase temporarily the Aden garrison.

On July 20th, after reinforcements had been received, the Aden troops with two batteries of artillery moved out of the town to attack the enemy next morning. The Turks, completely surprised, were expelled from Sheikh 'Othmān with considerable loss, and several hundred prisoners, mostly Arabs, were taken. In August a small column engaged the garrison of the Turkish post of Fiyūsh, eight miles north of Sheikh 'Othmān, and forced the enemy to retire on Lahej; and a few days later another successful reconnaissance

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was made towards Waht. On the receipt of reports in September that the Turks were preparing to retire from Lahej, a column surprised the enemy, estimated at 700 Turks with eight guns and 1,000 Arabs, and seized and occupied Waht. In October and again in December our cavalry had small affairs with hostile reconnoitring parties, in which the latter were driven off with loss; and in December friendly Arabs, supported by a small infantry detachment, drove off a hostile Turkish and Arab force which was advancing on 'Imād.

Owing to the Turks dispatching troops to coerce the tribes in the east of the Aden Protectorate, a demonstration in support of these tribes was made by the Aden movable column on January 12th, 1916, in the direction of Subar. The column located a Turkish force near Subar, about 4 m. SSE. of Lahej, and engaged it, inflicting considerable losses on it. As a result of this action the Turkish pressure on the Arab tribes is reported to have been relieved. Since then there has been little change.

The strength of the principal tribal units and the political attitude of their rulers are described in the sections on the Tribal Confederations (pp. 206 ff.).

## DISTRICTS AND TOWNS

### I. Aden Settlement

The Settlement of Aden comprises the following divisions: (1) the peninsula and isthmus, or Aden proper, which has an area of about 21 square miles and a population, in 1915, of 36,900; (2) Sheikh 'Othmān and the district round, inclusive of the villages of 'Imād and Hiswah, which has an area of 39 square miles and a population of 7,700; (3) Little Aden peninsula, with 15 square miles of area and population 330; and (4) the island of Perim, with 5 square miles of area and population 1,300. The total area of the Settlement is therefore about 80 square miles, with a total population of just over 46,000 souls.

The British territory was at first limited to the peninsula of Aden proper, and extended only to Khōr Maksar creek, which forms the neck of the peninsula two miles north of the defensive works across the isthmus. In 1868 the peninsula of Little Aden, or Jebel Ihsan, was acquired by purchase from the Sultan of the 'Aqrabi. In 1882, owing to the increasing population of Aden town, a further small tract of territory was acquired by purchase, from the Sultan of Lahej, beyond the Khōr Maksar creek, extending to just beyond the small village of 'Imād on the north and just beyond the town

by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have 179
stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old 185
order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern
conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen.

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth [369
to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves
with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement 182]
to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who 185
prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread.

The surprising modern developments in the Kathîri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increas- 185
ingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and 177 ●
otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to
the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular 648
and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres. The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of good
will and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this [167]
the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion 178
of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions 185
of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut 182
appears to be changing almost despite itself.

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathîri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of Qu'aiti and Kathîri rule in their respective countries. I could 000
not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti

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KATHIRI SULTANATE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Towns ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 36,700 |
| Tribesmen, 4,900 ... ... ... ... ... | say | 14,700 |
| | | 51,400 |
| | say | 51,500 |
| Total ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 230,500 |
| Add for Seiyids (see Chapter V) not elsewhere enumerated | | 5,000 |
| | | 235,500 |
| | say | 200,000 |

**Languages used in the Hadhramaut.**

197 There appear always to have been peculiarities in the language of the Hadhramaut. It may be of interest to record here that on the fragment of inscriptions found near Meshhed the third "S", the Hebrew *Samekh*, rare in other dialects of South Arabian, occurs frequently, and this is a distinctive feature of the Hadhramaut dialect. Another feature is the replacement of the modern "th" (*thā*) by "sh", thus *Shalasa* (the latter "s" being *samekh*) is "three" in Hadhramaut. The Mahri language, which, as it is spoken in the lower reaches of the Hadhramaut valley and westwards as far as Museina'a, may be included in the languages of the Hadhramaut, is said to be a modern representative of the ancient South Arabian.

But of more practical modern interest it is worth drawing attention to the difficulty of recording place and tribal names correctly when one's informants are illiterate, and there are eccentricities in accent and in the pronunciation of letters. In certain areas of the western part of the Protectorate the letter *jīm* becomes the *gīm* of Egypt. This sound also occurs in parts of the Hadhramaut, but so also do *jīm* and another variant *yīm*. Thus the village of Al Juwada in the Wadi Ser is called Al Yuwāda. *Qāf* is universally *gāf* in the Hadhramaut and indistinguishable from *gīm*.

191 It is of political interest to emphasize the spread of two introduced languages—Malay and Swahili. It would be possible to travel
177 over the whole country with either. Malay is in many cases almost more a mother-tongue than Arabic. There are many children of mixed blood, and many Malay or Javanese wives seem to have been introduced into the country. I was often told that there are children who speak Malay with more facility than Arabic, and Malay is a language regularly spoken in many homes.

Swahili has not attained this standard, but owing to the large numbers of people who go to East Africa it is very widely known as a second language. The great majority of those who speak it are of course Arabs, but there are a few slaves who speak it as a mother-tongue. I did not experience or hear of many cases like this in the Hadhramaut, but noticed a remarkable number further east in Merbat. Hindustani is a well-known language in certain

Yafa'i circles in the Hadhramaut. Some of the Seiyids of the Hadhramaut have an enigmatical way of speaking Arabic amongst themselves. 191 177

## Currency.

The currency consists of rupees and Maria Theresa dollars. The exchange value of the latter depends on the price of silver, and in November 1934, when much of the information contained in this report was collected, the dollar was practically equivalent to a rupee. For this reason the two denominations were often used indifferently. By mid-May 1935, the rate was Rs.149 to $100 in Aden and Rs.150 to $100 in Mukalla. 486 [35]

Small change is almost entirely British Indian, though there are a few Mukalla pice, a little Javanese money, and some Italian lire from Somaliland. Indian notes circulate fairly freely in Mukalla. The copper coins are called *bess* and the other Indian change *shauli bauli*. Generally speaking, any known money will be exchanged. In the towns of the main Wadi many ancient coins pass for small change, and there are also a number of small coins struck by the Al Kaf family. Small change is given for dollars according to their relative value with rupees.

## Weights and Measures. 804

The weights and measures in use in Mukalla are as follows:—

1 Qofa.—The weight of 4 annas.

1 Waqia.—1 English ounce.

1 Ratl.—¾ English pound.

1 Frasila.—20 lb. of fish or 32 lb. of shells.

1 Gubban.—25 lb. for gum.

1 Bahar.—10¾ Aden maunds or 300 English lb. of tobacco, or 360 lb. of dates, but dates from the interior 300 lb.

1 Qosra.—180 lb. of Basra dates. Trucial Oman dates are in packages of 70-80 lb. They are of an inferior quality.

1 Ma'bar.—A basket of 30-40 lb. of *Wazif* (dried *'aid* fish).

In Shibam the pound is of 12 ounces; 28 lb. equal 1 *frasila*, and 14 *frasilas* 8 lb. equal one *bahar*.

### Measures of Length.

1 Banan—1 finger's breadth.

2 Shubrs—1 Dhirra.

2 Dhirras—1 Wara.

1 Wara—1 Yard.

### Measures of Capacity.

As a general rule liquids are sold by weight; there is however a small measure used for oil called a *Baura*. Such a quantity is sold for one or two pice.

## Calendar. 805

For official and sometimes for business purposes, when dealing with Europeans, the date is expressed A.D. as well as A.H., but

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H 805

as a general rule only the Muhammadan calendar is used. As it is used in internal affairs of Government, it appears in this report. I left Aden for the Hadhramaut on 29th October 1934, which is equivalent to 20th Rajab, 1353, and returned on 1st January, 1935, or 26th Ramadhan, 1353.

H 805 177 H [171]

In Mukalla and Shihr the time is officially considered to be half-an-hour in advance of Aden, and is announced by the beating of gongs, somewhat erratically it must be confessed, at police posts. This is a familiar kind of public clock to those who know East Africa. The hours are marked in these towns in the European way, but in the interior the Arab reckoning is followed, and the day ends at sunset which is 12 o'clock. Thus our Wednesday night is the "night of Thursday" and 7 p.m. or 7 a.m. is one o'clock. It is curious that in most other parts of the Protectorate the Arabs have adopted the European reckoning of the hours, learnt of course from Aden.

## CHAPTER II.

## HISTORY IN INSCRIPTION AND TRADITION.

### 1. The Early History of the Hadhramaut.

SA 127

"What a famous man believes as to his remote ancestral origins is often of more import than the dry, literal truth." With these words a great biographer began his biography of a great man. They apply perhaps with almost equal force to a country. What the people believe of their early history is often more important in the shaping of their future history than the forgotten truth. Certainly it has seemed so to me with the history of the Hadhramaut. For this reason I have summarized in some detail the traditional, and often orthodox, account of its origins, continuing it in one narrative to modern times, and leaving it to the reader to decide at which point he cares to accept it as a record of actual happening.

I propose to preface to the narrative a short summary of the history of the country, as far as it has been gleaned to date, from the South Arabian, commonly called Himyaritic, inscriptions. Before these inscriptions, of which comparatively few have as yet been published, were discovered and deciphered, knowledge of ancient South Arabian history was derived from a few scripture texts and some treasured references in Greek and Latin authors. Apart from this, there were only Arab sources. The witness of the monuments and modern exploration have abundantly confirmed the former and seriously impeached the latter.

SA 101 438

The amount of information to be gleaned from the classical geographers can be written in a very few lines. Strabo, after mentioning the Sabaeans and the Katabanaeans, says "lastly furthest to the east are the Chatramotitae, having the city of Sabata." He also says "Kattabania produces incense, but Chatramotitis myrrh." Theophrastus in his *History of Plants* says

105 more popular and provides the something of excitement which has given a zest to raiding. It should not be forgotten that some of our own games were war games.

The Beduin proletariat and the capitalist townsmen are mutually necessary to each other. The Beduins do all the carrying trade and supply the firewood and their other scanty products to the towns, and the merchants sell to the Beduins what they require of food, clothing, and other necessaries of life. The brokers of the Beduins to be found in all the towns supply the link between the two. They live on helping the Beduins to sell their produce to, and buy their requirements from, the merchants, and on helping the merchants to obtain the transport they need.

## Housing.

343 Each town in the Hadhramaut has its own individual charac-
362 teristics as regards housing. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Mukalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not six feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces. Away from the coast, mud is the almost universal building medium, and sun-dried mud bricks are used alike in building the palaces of the rich and the simple *dars* of the poor.

342 In the Wadi Du'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks
353 of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Du'an houses, the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb*[1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide
[531] heavily-carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, two inches across the heads, burnished with lead till they shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development in Du'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living-room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring bone pattern.

342 In Tarim the principal feature is the large number of enormous
177 dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks.

[1] Other Arabic names are *sidr* and *nebk*. *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*. L.

bricks. The cost of building the house in which we stayed in Tarim 000 was $60,000. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, [435] green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors 342 are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and 531 fans, telephones, ice-plants, and European modern conveniences in 352 the bathrooms, wash-basins with running water and shower-baths. 354 Whereas in Du'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be 177 found, these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Large and comfortable chairs and sofas decorate the drawing-rooms, and there are English carpets, masses of gilt mirrors, chandeliers and glass cupboards full of marmalade dishes, egg-cups and so on. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel-back over the mountains for six days.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim 313 and Seiyun have to contend with in their building operations is the 341 difficulty of procuring long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree grows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees (*Conocarpus erectus*, Jacq.) growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseila, they cannot be transported by camels. The difficulty is being surmounted to some extent by experiments in the making of reinforced concrete pillars of which I saw two in construction at Seiyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seiyids training their masons. The 342 interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such 353 as gold crowns and coloured flowers, are covered with a lime plaster polished with smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, 361 which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area 500 houses built on a slight eminence in the Wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There 362 is no further building room in the town and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. By general consent, houses in Shibam are not now to be built 342 more than six storeys high in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher, but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this type of house which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost [435] more than 20,000 dollars. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together. The life of a house is said to be 200 to 250 years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done, the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits, necessitating demolition.

361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Sebeil there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
342 of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Had-
● 177 hramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

**Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.**

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

511 For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
651 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
435 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes :—

"The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

"Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

"Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

## Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [258] [582] [70]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

Sultan 'Awadh dealt with on the same footing as those of the Hadhramaut. 643 171

Although the Indian connection is not a popular one with the indigenous inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, the dominant Yafa'i section of the population finds no objection to it, and it has in fact been the means of the introduction of a more advanced system of Government than any to be found elsewhere in the Protectorate, with the possible exception of Lahej where the enlightened rule of the 'Abdali dynasty again owes much to external influence, namely, to its close proximity to Aden. It has already been sufficiently indicated that Sultan 'Umar and his brother have been largely responsible for many of these improvements. After travelling in the western part of the Protectorate the contrast between the conditions in the Lower Yemen and those in the Hadhramaut are indeed remarkable. I do not think that anywhere else in the Protectorate the power of one authority is to be found extended over such a large area of country. There is a more than embryonic show of good order and organized Government in Qu'aiti territory on the coast, in the Mukalla and Shihr provinces, and up through the Du'an province to the Shibam province. This much I have seen with my own eyes and have observed the close contact between Provincial and Central Governments. From all accounts the condition is the same in the Hajr province. By his system of political arrangements with the tribes in and around Qu'aiti territory the Sultan has done much to make travel secure and easy. He has an army and police force in which discipline and administration are not lacking. 642 185

Apart from this comparatively satisfactory policing of the country, there is a growing tendency to promote educational and other social services in the Qu'aiti dominions, especially in Mukalla and Shihr, and there is in those parts a very colourable imitation of the machinery of western Government.

Although the rule over the Hadhramaut has thus been influenced to a large extent by Indian ideas, and although excessive Indianisation is unpopular with the pure Hadhramaut elements, nevertheless the administration escapes a great deal of unpopularity by its employment of local Arabs and slaves throughout the interior of the country. Even in the Kathiri camp I found that Sultan 'Umar was personally popular, and during his tour through the country he was very well received. 642 177 186 643

The interior of the Qu'aiti territory is now fast catching up with the coast in its connection with the outside world. Recent years have seen far more visitors enter the interior then ever before and they are universally well received. In addition there are connections in the Shibam province with the East Indies, and in the Du'an province with Egypt, Sudan, and Abyssinia. Everywhere there are connections with East Africa, and these are extensive among the Tamimis where I found some indication of a desire for settled administration. 609

year, without considering special expenditure. It is fortunate that these families give attention to the affairs of Government and have been able to help to place the administration of the town of Tarim, for example, on a business footing. The families include men of considerable wealth who have made fortunes in Singapore where they own a lot of property acquired and developed in two generations. The Al Kaf family, who, by the way, are mostly British subjects, pay (I give the figure from memory) 120,000 Straits dollars a year in taxation in Singapore, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman, the head of the family, is a Justice of the Peace.

But it is not only among the wealthiest members of the community that there are signs of a growing desire for peace and progress. I have recorded elsewhere that, as well as in Qu'aiti territory, there are tribesmen of the Shenafir who have expressed a desire for settled administration and stated their willingness to pay taxes. As a whole the Kathīri people are the most wealthy of the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut. Their wealth is very largely derived from the East Indies, and principally from the Dutch colonies; but, as will be seen in the part of this report dealing with emigration, the Hadhrami wherever he settles is always a Hadhrami, and he looks on his beloved valley as a home to which he wishes to return. Abroad under a British or Dutch aegis he acquires a taste for peace and security. The money he makes he sends home, and, as stated elsewhere, the amount remitted from the East Indies is about seven lakhs of rupees a month. Once he has acquired property he ceases to be a Beduin with nothing to lose and becomes a landed proprietor with a large and expensive residence which he does not wish to see destroyed.

I have said that the Qu'aiti need guidance in their very creditable schemes of progress, the Kathīri want it in order to achieve peace and security.

## CHAPTER XII.

### QU'AITI-KATHĪRI RELATIONS.

Between Qu'aiti and Kathīri there is, unhappily, profound mistrust. This, however, can be well understood when the history of the country is understood, and when it is remembered that old hates in the East generally remain fresh long after the events which gave rise to them have passed. The Kathīri, not unnaturally, has cherished a grudge against the people who deprived him of what was once his country. The Qu'aiti retains a fear that he may yet lose what he has so hardly won. He realizes no doubt that except for British backing, which has sometimes been erratic in its application, it might well be possible for the Kathīris, original owners of the country, to call to their aid the other indigenous people of the Hadhramaut, including their old allies, and drive out the invader. The Qu'aiti also cherishes, perhaps, the hate that one party often bears towards the party it has wronged.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

## Nature of the People and Country

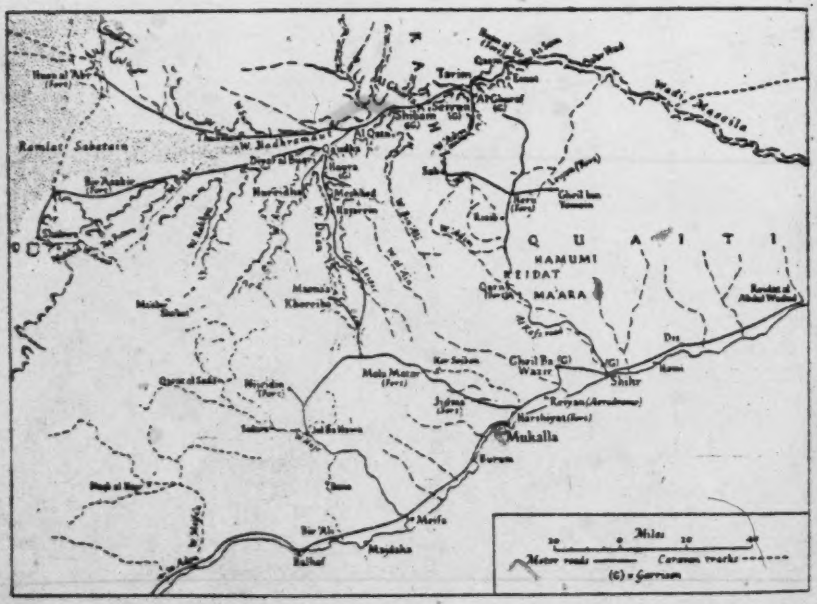
Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



serfs whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells. The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.




*Reproduced by courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society*

The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from considerable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft, however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds 439
remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business 167
holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over 171
a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.[9]

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is 177
virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common 198
tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Ka- 291
thiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be 556
incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, 185
Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf 177
family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In [491]
1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, [509]
Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

[9] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut*. London: Colonial Office, 1936.

370

# HOUSE BUILDING IN THE HADHRAMAUT

W. H. INGRAMS

342 361 363 DURING a recent tour in the Hadhramaut my wife and I collected some notes on the building of houses. Each town in the country has its own individual characteristics. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type, built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Makalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not 6 feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces.

361 342 353 In the Wadi Do'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and ruddy red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Do'an houses the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb* [1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, 2 inches across the heads, burnished with lead, which shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development of Do'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring-bone pattern.

361 342 177 352 492 493 In Terim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice plants, and modern European conveniences in the bathrooms. Whereas in Do'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel back over the mountains for six days, and while I mention this it is worth recording that there are sixty cars in Terim itself, each of which has been transported in parts by twelve camels from the coast.

313 333 353 The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seyyids of Terim and Seyyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of getting long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree trows to no great height, and although we found *'eriata* trees growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Masilah, they cannot be transported by

[1] The commonest Arabic name is *sidr*, *Rhamnus nubeca*.

7: Stanler-Rasmiseben T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MMZ Hadhramaut MMZ



Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently 679
killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not 131
more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. 186
Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through 114
or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, 177
and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to 773
Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaveth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became [101]
"Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along 131
a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and 133
deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, 133
one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent 311
moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is [504]
Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

7: Stutler-Rasmackers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost. 342 531

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby. 341 531 177

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away. 342 353 177

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms. 361 565

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely. 565 292 561

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one 665 342

usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other 492
tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, 438
sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not 439
self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

[291
411]
[177

FIG. 22—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general attire, especially the sarong, which has been introduced by Hadhrami emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to pro- 457
vide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands 167
who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan 484
and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, [437]
packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

622 the Dutchman by the hand, and Sayyid Ḥasan walks on
609 his other side. Von Wissmann is accompanied in the same way by two notables, and then begins the slow entry into the town. A splendid white mosque looms up out of the darkness and then vanishes into it again; for the rest, there are brown mud houses, which seem to have been built without much order. After about five minutes we have passed through the place and see, against the slopes of rock débris, the great el-ᶜAṭṭās house with its many small windows lighted up. The house has just been rebuilt and enlarged, and, therefore, the upper storey has not yet been whitewashed. A brother of Ḥasan and ᶜAluwī comes with an uncle to greet us. This brother has had a Dutch, ᶜAluwī an Egyptian, and Ḥasan an Indian education. The uncle was an officer in the Ḥaḍramī regiment of the *Niẓām* of Hyderabad. The reception in the great *madjlis* is of short duration, and we then go upstairs to have a meal on the spacious roof-terrace in company with the nearest male members of the family.

## 2. SOME GOOD DAYS IN ḤUREḌA.

554 A fine, clean guest-house is assigned to us for our quarters during our stay in Ḥurēḍa. This has the great advantage of giving us a place of privacy and rest, as we only meet visitors in the family-house of the el-ᶜAṭṭās. On the next morning (May 20th) a gathering takes place there to introduce us to the inhabitants of Ḥurēḍa. These things are done democratically here. High and low, old and young are present at such a meeting, even the Bedouins of the caravan, the guard of soldiers belonging to the house, our slave soldiers, and the younger members of the family. The only thing is that the young people and the subordinates keep somewhat in the background and take care not to make any noise that might
575 disturb their elders. The old and wise men of the place are
177 together. The young men's group has, however, an important
554 place, being organized by the driving power of Sayyid Ḥasan

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



into an association of the el-ʿAṭṭās family. The idea of the association is an importation from Aligarh, where Sayyid Ḥasan studied at the Muslim University; it brings a modern element into the public life of Ḥurēḍa.

There is much discussion over the political situation in Egypt, the Yemen, the Hedjaz, Netherlands India, and in the country itself. This last subject is the most painful. Of course the question is put, under general attention, whether Holland is prepared to appoint a consul in Ḥaḍramaut. My answer to this is that Holland would like nothing better, but cannot do so. She would wish it, in order to strengthen the bonds which have existed for centuries past with the most distinguished families of Ḥaḍramaut, and also for the extension of the trade of Java and Holland with Southern Arabia. But it cannot be, because there is no unity here and no responsible ultimate authority. To whom should our Queen turn and who would be able to take the responsibility for her representative? This argument is well understood and it is a matter of grave pre-occupation to them. To relieve the painful situation thus created, I express my appreciation of the unexpectedly favourable conditions that I have found here after two weeks' journeying through very primitive regions. One observes here the influence of men who have seen something of the world. And yet I cannot help saying that those people achieve more in other countries, for example in Netherlands India, than in their own land. It is with great circumspection that we advise them to concentrate on reaching harmony amongst themselves and to devote their attention and energy to their own country. The "Hip! hip! hurrah!" mood is somewhat lowered by these conversations, but our contact with the large circle of attentively listening visitors is strengthened.

In the afternoon the notables come to show us the town. In front and hand in hand with the Governor of el-Meshhed, who seems to be the most influential man here, and followed by Von Wissmann conducted by Sayyid Ḥasan, we saunter to the great mosque which is rightly the pride of the people

## 4. A WONDERFUL RECEPTION IN THE GARDEN CITY SEHĒL SHIBĀM.

491 The families of Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam are on the best of
493 friendly terms with the Sultan and arrange matters with him. A little later the great dark-red cars buzz through the gate and cross the *sēl*-bed in the direction of the palm-groves, called Seḥēl Shibām. Only in the last few years has the motor-car penetrated as far as Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has made this possible by the construction of motor roads. Motor-cars can, with great difficulty, be brought from the port of esh-Shiḥr to Terīm. The separate parts of the cars have to be transported on camels for a great part of the way.
562 From the road one can see very little of the palm-groves
529 and the summer pavilions in their midst; high mud walls shut
576 off the gardens from the gaze of passers-by. There is one exception to this, where the central point is formed by a new building in modern style. This is the club of the young men of Shibām; no women come here and so there is nothing to shut
312 off. A little further on the cars turn into the gateway that
342 gives entrance to the garden of the Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam.
177 This summer abode of their joint families is still uninhabited;
351 the time for moving from town to country has only just come. There is a well behind the house, from which oxen and donkeys draw up the water, clear as crystal, though tasting somewhat bitter. All around there are banana and papaya trees, pomegranate and lemon bushes as well as date-palms. The new summer pavilion is in the depths of the garden; our host has devoted his leisure to building it. It is a product of Ḥaḍramī imagination influenced by Singapore and Java. For the outer walls chaste, simple white has been abandoned and is replaced by soft green, rose and sky-blue. The great windows are framed by coloured ornamentation. Connected with the villa is a swimming-bath with a high parapet. One has a great longing for colour in this sunny land, where it is so lacking, and this fairy palace strikes a happy note among

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the grey-green tops of the date-palms with the unchanging yellow-brown rocks in the background. The contrast between this part of Ḥaḍramaut and the desert of burning loam and sand, which scorches up the small, dying villages, is certainly great. To our regret we are only able to make a short stay in this land of enchantment, as the Sultan expects us at the palace for the evening meal. Our hosts take us back to the town and ask the Sultan whether he is willing for us to stay with them in their garden villa for the night. Permission is given and the Sultan even promises to spend the next day with us there. We eat alone in the palace; the Sultan retires after inviting us to draw up to the dining mat and to fall to. Afterwards by moonlight we return to the garden. Tea and pomegranates are served on a terrace. The conversation, carried on in Malay, is not fatiguing; our hosts make us feel how welcome we are and how much they appreciate this break in their very monotonous existence. When we wish to bathe in the swimming-pool we are provided not only with spotlessly clean bathing-gear but also with combs and scent. The moon shines in calm, silent splendour on the dark crowns of the date-palms, the water is clear and lukewarm. We ask ourselves over and over again: "Is this real? Is this actually Ḥaḍramaut, the secluded, the fanatical, the poor?"

Sultan ʿAlī bin Ṣalāḥ came, as arranged, on the following morning. He at once made searching inquiries as to our further plan of travel. We are here on the farthermost limits of the Qeʿēṭī territory and naturally the question arises: "What will await us among the Āl Kathīr?" We told the Sultan that our experiences would determine our return route. We should now go first to see the famous Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm; if he approves and thinks it justifiable to take the risk, then I, at least, shall have to return by the shortest route, and that will be direct through the Ḥumūm territory to esh-Shiḥr. Sultan ʿAlī's advice is strongly against this, the road is dangerous and Sayyid Abū Bakr has only financial influence and no governmental authority. No, we must return to Shibām,

middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all 342
sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One 167
can see that we are nearing Terīm with its refinements of 177
civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in 641
huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many 191
Ḥaḍramīs who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals [262] served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of [144] races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the 648
*ṣalāt* and by meals. As the Sultan[1] has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional 578
question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the 648
Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[1] ['Alī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin āl Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn -- ANAL(ist)]

000 The heat of the sun drives us away, however, from our bare hillock, but the Sultan promises to give us the pleasure of another similar excursion in the evening. We shall meet again at lunch in the palace of the Sultan of Terim, who is to entertain us to-day.

353 It is exceedingly hot when, some hours later, we leave the
342 garden city and proceed to the palace. We are received in a broad corridor, the only place where there is some breeze and, thus, some degree of coolness. The corridor is spread with beautiful carpets; at one end is a table with chairs placed round it, at the other end cushions lie on the carpets. The reception begins on chairs, but that does not last long. We are soon all seated on the floor, leaning against the cushions as is the custom here. The meal is served in a hall where there are two rows of pillars. Long and strong supporting beams cannot be obtained here, where wood is scarce and short; thus all large rooms have pillars to support the roof construction. A long table-cloth is laid over the carpets in the middle
[177] of the room. Seated around it with their legs crossed under
[264] them the great company, with few words and in a rapid tempo, feast upon the excellently prepared Javanese "rice meal" (*rijsttafel*) laid before them.

353 The mural decorations of the otherwise empty room consist of mirrors, old English prints, photographs of Java and Singapore and two large hanging clocks with musical chimes.

Tea is served in a small drawing-room with modern furniture. In Ḥaḍramaut, the new is less practical and less beautiful than the old and indigenous. It is so hot in here, with its coloured glass windows, that all are thankful when the meeting is adjourned.

508 In the afternoon the Sultan takes us by car to a broad plain
489 where the mountain-wall recedes. He would like to make an aerodrome here and wants therefore to have our opinion. The aeroplane would be an ideal means of transport for the whole of Arabia, and especially for Ḥaḍramaut. Not only are distances great, the communications difficult and whole stretches

24:Meulen and Wamzun T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The great cleanliness of the houses of the rich is very noticeable. The drainage from lavatories and kitchens runs down wide, square shafts into spaces destined for it in the lower floor, into which however, unfortunately, light penetrates so that they become good breeding places for flies. Bathrooms and also lavatories are partly fitted out as in the East Indies. Sometimes there are douches, and generally there are large brick cisterns for the bath water, which one scoops out to pour over oneself. Our host has a large refrigerator by means of which cold drinking-water is provided for the numerous guests and dwellers in the house, and fruits and sweetmeats become the refinement of pleasure.

Cooking in Terīm, as in Sēwūn, is very much influenced by Singapore and Java. Chinese cooks are responsible for the extensive rice meals that are enjoyed daily by dozens of guests. Many dried or tinned foods are imported from Java. Some kinds of vegetables are grown in the gardens of Terīm; the fresh fruits which are served at table are large oval melons and the first ripe dates. As the latter are rather scarce, last years' dates come to table prepared as paste, in cakes, sweet bread, etc.

Sayyid ʿUmar el-Kāf's house, like that of our host, is furnished in half-European style. Old-fashioned Indian rocking-chairs stand on the beautiful carpets. A bed, rigged up in the Javanese manner, decorates the great reception-room. The bed linen is not white, but pink. There are many mirrors on the walls and also photographs of the family's estates in the Indies. Sayyid ʿUmar is the owner of the great Europe Hotel in Singapore; he shows us with pride — and no wonder — the model of the new hotel, which makes an impression magnificently American. The walls are further decorated with Mausers and American repeating rifles, which are hard to obtain in this country and, consequently, are worth a great deal.

It had already struck us that the Kathīrī soldiers were better clad than those of the Qeʿēṣī. The number of pro-

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1
Yemen ML1



## Conclusion

If Aden were to exert itself to become the cultural capital of the area of which it is the centre, it could attract all that is best in that area to it, and they could take back the best that British culture could offer them. For in Aden, if anywhere, is the chance for Arab culture and British culture to mix on equal terms and to produce something worth while.

I think it is apparent from what we have seen of South-West Arabia that British culture and Western education alone are not going to make a strong appeal to the principal elements in the country, and in many ways it would be dangerous to give too much of it undiluted. It is by no means clear how many people with a Western education the W.A.P. is going to be able to absorb, and discontented educated people unsuitably employed can very well create trouble and discontent by no means divine. The Yemen is afraid of too much Western education and a Zeidi Government will do all it can to discourage it.

Taking the country as a whole, there are first of all the very fertile highlands of the Yemen, where almost any temperate crop could be grown; lower down are the mountains of the 4,000- to 6,000-foot level, mostly barren but with good cultivable areas; and then there is the huge area of desert mountain and coastal plain with only occasional oases. The Yemeni highlands are the preserve of the Zeidis, a most exclusive people. The rest of the country is mostly populated by settled and nomadic tribesmen of Shafi'i persuasion, with here and there in the Yemen and the Hadhramaut large towns with an urban population and commercial or cultural interests. About a fifth of the population of the Hadhramaut are seiyids. The whole of this area, whether independent Yemen or protected chiefdoms, is independent minded and places Islamic culture far above any other, and we for our part have no desire to threaten its independence or its culture.

The academies of the Yemen and Hadhramaut are poorly endowed, but they are always full with students, who live on a starvation diet in order to get their education. As another pointer to the demand for Arab culture, look at the three bookshops of Aden. In them it is possible to buy most of the great Arab classics of the Abbasid period and Arab Spain. All the shopkeepers tell me they find their best buyers among up-country visitors; the young men of Aden buy, when they buy anything, modern books and translations of novels from the Cairo presses.

If we provided Western education only, it would in the end attract people to it, but the risks of doing this are considerable. Has Western education been an unqualified success elsewhere in the East? There is no space to discuss this much-discussed question here, but I think on the whole it is safe to say that there are a good many who would agree that there are aspects of what we have done which are open to criticism and that the results of it all have not on the whole been too happy.

Considering, therefore, what was achieved by the culture centres of old, such as Cairo, Baghdad, and Damascus, and that the south has never had a cultural centre to compare with them, and considering that there is much we can offer of our own culture which need not be destructive of Arab

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
HADHRAMAUT mm2
Aden mm1



H 439 314 Two products of southern Arabia are frankincense and myrrh, which are both obtained from the sap of trees that grow on the damper hill slopes above 3,000 feet. The sap is collected in late spring and early summer, before the onset of the rains, mainly by migrant Somalis and other Africans. At one time there was a considerable trade in these products with the north, and tradition speaks of an 'Incense Route' somewhere in south-west Arabia, along which caravans moved northwards to Medina and the Levant. Nowadays the output of frankincense and myrrh is very much smaller, most coming from the uplands of Dhofar.

H 224 Towards the east, as relief declines and rainfall diminishes, cultivation becomes more and more precarious, and fishing is the main occupation. Large quantities of shark, tunny, and sardines are caught (Chapter X), most of which are dried as food both for humans and for camels. In addition, an oil is prepared from the fish for use in woodworking. Mukhala and Shihr are the chief fishing centres, and in these towns rows of fish drying in the sun for food, and rotting in heaps to produce oil, are prominent, and according to some visitors, unforgettable, features.

H 439 With a barren hinterland, many activities in southern Arabia centre on the sea; and, in addition to fishing, trading by dhow is important. The Arabs of the south are the Greeks of the Indian Ocean, and cargoes are carried between East Africa, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and India—even, at times, the East Indies. From their sea-trading, the natives of Aden and the Hadhramaut derive a livelihood that allows the import of foodstuffs into the country—as it is, local production of food is quite insufficient to maintain the existing population, and part must come from the outside. A cosmopolitan H 177 outlook, and wide commercial contacts, strongly contrasting with conditions in the Yemen, are strikingly indicated by the architectural styles in southern Arabia, which are very greatly influenced by East Indian models. Many storied houses, with elaborate woodwork and carving, are most characteristic. After a life of trading, perhaps with many years spent away from his country, the southern Arab often returns to Aden or the Hadhramaut with a small fortune that will keep him in comfort for the rest of his life.

A 504 Aden is the principal town of the region, and its harbour, the only good one along the entire coast, from Bab el Mandeb to Muscat, is formed by a deep bay partially enclosed by two volcanic necks. The town, of 40,000 inhabitants, owes its development to British

Il: Melamid S-3 (no date) 1954 MLI Yemen MLI
HADHRAMAUT MM2

a tannery, and a textile plant. This preference for German firms is rather remarkable.[4] However, Yemen authorities claim that American and British firms were not interested in these concessions.

The terms of the oil concession are reported to be based on a capital and profit division of 75 per cent to Yemen, and 25 per cent to the concessionaire. This may explain the lack of interest of American and British firms whose oil concessions in other petroleum-producing countries are on a 50/50 profit-sharing basis, without local capital participation. Furthermore, the Yemen concession is to run for only twenty years (compared with sixty-six years for the Saudi Arabian concessions), provided oil is found within five years. According to the available geological information, the outlook for finding oil is not too encouraging as the highlands of Yemen consist primarily of rocks which are geologically devoid of oil. However, the narrow coastal strip and the lowland deserts do offer possibilities. Here there is a complication. Because of the absence of definite boundaries, the eastern deserts may be claimed either by Saudi Arabia or by the Aden protectorate.

Yemen also has hopes of discovering commercially utilizable quantities of gold, silver, copper and iron ore, which were all formerly mined in the highlands.[5] Considerable areas in the wadis below the highlands are reported to be suitable for the cultivation of cotton, provided modern methods of irrigation are introduced. Even if no oil is discovered, the change in the attitude towards foreigners and towards innovations may bring about far-reaching economic and political changes in this state.

In 1938, a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Company (in which British, Dutch, French, American and other capital participates) obtained exploratory oil concessions in the Aden protectorate. So far no discoveries have been reported. The sheiks and sultans of the area have lately opened their territories to a limited number of foreign travellers, mostly surveyors. Emigrants who had settled in India, Malaya, and Indonesia and who have returned, particularly to Mukalla and the Hadhramaut, have contributed not only experience gained overseas, but some capital as well. Regular motor and air transportation[6] is now available. Several irrigation schemes have been established in the western Aden protectorate, at Abyan, where crops of high quality cotton are grown. The greater internal security resulting from the organization of regular police protection against tribal raiders (a combination of the British Royal Air Force and local jeep patrols) has also contributed to economic development. Local fisheries have

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[4] The oil concession was granted to Deilmann Bergbau, German oil producers who also have a concession in Spain.

[5] United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East, 1951-53*, E/2353/Add. 1, ST/ECA/19, Add. 1 (New York, 1953), 126.

[6] At least one foreign trading firm in Aden flies its own plane regularly to various points in the territories to pick up local products and deliver imports.

## INTRODUCTION.

131 The coast line of the Aden Protectorate starts in the west from Ras Murad opposite the island of Perim, and runs eastward to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates it from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Roughly speaking, the Protectorate is bounded in the interior on the west and the north by the Kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. It also includes the island of Soqotra. The Hadhramaut lies in the east of the Protectorate between the Wahidi and 'Aulaqi countries on the west and the Mahra country on the east. North, it reaches to the Empty Quarter.

642 631 The two principal chiefs of the Protectorate are Their Highnesses the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej and the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla. The capital of the former lies about 20 miles north of Aden and that of the latter some 300 miles east. It will be easily realized that these two chiefs are by their geographical positions the natural leaders of the western and eastern parts of the Protectorate, and the 'Abdali Sultan, who is the premier chief of the Protectorate, has established his hegemony over the western portion. In some ways the Qu'aiti Sultan is perhaps the most important ruler of the Protectorate, for he controls, or has direct influence over, a larger population than any other chief, and, except for the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, whose nominal kingdom extends over a much wider area, he rules the largest tract of territory in the Protectorate. Although he is acknowledged by the Kathīri Sultan as having precedence in the Hadhramaut, he has not yet secured recognition by the Wahidi Sultans, or by the Mahra Sultan, as their natural leader.

643 648 636 The whole of the Aden Protectorate is ruled by its own chiefs, who are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned. Their relations with the Protecting Power are for the most part regulated by treaty, and while their foreign affairs are entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, interference in matters of domestic concern is generally limited to advice.

121 This report offers a survey of the social and political organization of the Hadhramis and of the resources of their country as seen by the writer. The object of this introduction is to give a brief indication of the present trend of development as it appears to him.

178 185 There is an extraordinary complexity of social and governmental organization in the Hadhramaut. The country is in a transition period between the disappearance or modification of the earlier social organization, which has itself evolved with the centuries, and the development of Government more or less on modern lines.

The various classes of society in the Hadhramaut are described in the report, and the interplay of some of them, one with another, has, in the course of time, as in other countries, given rise to abuses which, as the life and thought of the Middle Ages is influenced

by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen. 178 185

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread. [369 182] 185

The surprising modern developments in the Kathīri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increasingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres. The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of good will and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut appears to be changing almost despite itself. 185 177 648 [167] 178 185 182

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathīri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of Qu'aiti and Kathīri rule in their respective countries. I could not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti 000

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Historical South Arabia ML2



SA 433 in the civilized world. The ancients could not do without it, for
427 they required it in the performance of their religion, and when the Egyptians took to embalming their dead the demand increased. Pliny speaks with disapproval of the vast quantities used for secular purposes, and believed that the incense country of Arabia did not produce in a whole year so large a quantity of perfume as was burnt by Nero at the funeral of Poppaea.

H We gather also from Pliny and other writers that the organization
178 of the country in ancient times was much as it is to-day. When
439 the trade of Europe and the East began to go by sea, the succession
137 of old South Arabian kingdoms came to an end. Nature stepping
SA in put an end to the incense trade by a process of desiccation, and
178 nowadays incense-bearing trees are rare objects in the Hadhramaut
439 proper.

SA Before I record the scant references to Hadhramaut history to be gleaned from the inscriptions, it will be well to bear in mind the names and approximate locations of the tribes of South Arabia. Eratosthenes says that proceeding in order down the Red Sea coast of Arabia were the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and Katabanaeans. To the east was Chatramotitae. Schoff gives the order on the South Arabian coast from west to east as Himyarites, Sabaeans, Qataban, Hadhramaut, and Habashat. Pliny remarks that the Minaeans were neighbours of Hadhramaut in the interior. Not later than the seventh century B.C. the state of Ausan was paramount in South Arabia. After Ausan fell, the principal power devolved on first Qataban, then Saba, and lastly Himyar.

In point of time the first reference to Hadhramaut is that which occurs in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis, but to pursue
SA the passage beyond the mere name would soon involve us in legend.
643 There were kings of Hadhramaut contemporary with those of Saba, and Saba may have risen to power about 800 B.C. There were fifteen rulers of Saba called *mukarib* (priest) who were followed by seventeen kings of Saba, and then by twenty-six kings of Saba and possessors of Reidan (Zafar near Yerim). Some of the later inscriptions are dated according to a Sabaean era which is presumed to have started about 115 or 114 B.C., from which time begin the kings of Saba and Reidan. How the change took place is not entirely clear, but an inscription which reads "Ilsharh Yahdib and his brother Ya'zil Bayyin the two kings of Saba and Reidan sons of Fara' king of Saba" suggests that the change of title
SA was a peaceful affair perhaps due to the need of being by the sea.

648 There appear to have been close relations between Hadhramaut
643 and the Minaeans, as a son of the Minaean king was king of Hadhramaut. There is an inscription in Ma'in recording the building of some towers dedicated to 'Athtar Dhu Qabd by the king of the Hadhramaut, in which he refers to the son of his brother, the king of Ma'in, which also indicates a close connection between the two people.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
[Straits Settlements] Malaya AN1
[Kenya] Kenya FL1


close relations with the Hadhramaut. One Hadhramaut-born Arab, Sheikh Salim bin Muhammad Bin Talib al Kathīri, is a Justice of the Peace. M 563 H 186

The younger generation of Singapore-born Hadhramis are said to take more interest in local social life than in business. They are more interested in merry making than in money making and do not possess much character nor love for their country of origin. Like the young Arabs in other countries they appear to have fallen victims to the easier side of modern influence, and have become Malayanised and not of much use either to the country of their origin or to that of their adoption. Amongst them of course are members of an older, pre-War generation, born in Singapore and like the old Hadhrami-born Arabs maintaining a proper loyalty to both countries. Two of these are Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Sheikh al Kaf and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Juneid al Juneid, both of whom are Justices of the Peace. M 563 178 H 186 178

## CHAPTER XXV.

## HADHRAMIS IN EAST AFRICA.

*Kenya Colony and Protectorate.*—The Kenya Non-Native Census Report for 1921 stated that Arab settlement in the country had gone on for centuries and that there was still a steady influx of Hadhramaut Arabs which was to be encouraged. "They are", says the report, "a virile, industrious, and thrifty race, and some authorities maintain that the regeneration of the coast is dependent on their efforts." Nine hundred and twenty Arabs, or 8·7 per cent. of the Arab population of Kenya, of whom 688 were males and 232 females, returned themselves as Hadhramis, but 1,347 other gave Arabia as birthplace. It was considered safe to assume that practically all of them were from the Hadhramaut or born in Kenya. As regards their occupation the Arabs showed themselves the most independent of any non-European race, for 67 per cent. of them were working on their own account. More than half the Arab males were traders and such women as were employed were classified Industrial. Many Hadhramis were employed on *hamali* transport and as water sellers. Commenting on this the report says the two trades beloved of the Shihiri Arabs still survive in spite of the competition of the motor lorry in the former case, and in the latter of the installation of a water supply. H 167 K 167 464

The District Commissioner of Mombasa states that there are today approximately 5,000 natives of Hadhramaut and Shihr in this district. There has been no change in their numbers during the past five or six years. Their principal occupations are water-carrying, coolie work, and petty trading. There is practically no trade with Hadhramaut. A number of them intermarry with other communities, and some families are permanently settled in the country. There was a time when they monopolised coolie work, but i very many cases they have been replaced by Africans. K 162 464 H 167

731 getting food from abroad in war-time, the loss of money from the Far East, and the drought, famine ensued. I am thankful to say that owing to the generous help of His Majesty's Government and to the breaking of the drought, conditions are now much better, but from the point of view of this survey the thing to be remembered is that in all probability the produce of the country cannot sustain much more than a quarter of the population and that it is very largely dependent on money from abroad. Of old, the ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade, so that the Mediterranean countries provided the cash. When the incense went by sea the Hadhramis learnt to emigrate, and the present Hadhramaut has drawn its cash from the Far East, East Africa, Egypt, the Sudan, Abyssinia [67] —the countries to which the people migrate. One out of every three or four Hadhramis lives and works abroad. Emigration or means to earn money abroad is an absolute essential to the Hadhramaut, and there are grounds for fearing it is not going to be so easy in the future as it has been in the past.

So much for the gloomier side of the picture. In 1938 I described to the Royal Central Asian Society how a three-year peace embracing the whole of the Hadhramaut had been made and how the organization of government had started. To my mind the brightest thing about the Hadhramaut is the way the Government of the Qu'aiti State has advanced and developed social services, and, serious as the famine was, principally in part of the Inner Hadhramaut, out of it has grown a number of educational and medical developments which would probably not have matured if there had been no famine. The State Government had so far advanced by the time it came, that it was able to cope with difficulties and there developed a real spirit of service. It could not have managed on its own resources if His Majesty's Government had not helped so generously, but what the state could do in a financial way it did and the service its officials gave could not have been provided without it.

652 178 At the time when reorganization of the Government[1] started about seven years ago the revenue was about Rs. 6,30,000, of which Rs. 3,10,000 were spent on Government services; Rs. 2,25,000 of that went to irregular soldiers and to slaves. This year the revenue is estimated at just under Rs. 15,00,000. On April 1, 1939, there was a general deficit of Rs. 40,000, because the late Sultan used to take all the cash he could to India. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit balance of Rs. 14,00,000. In this year the Government is preparing to spend Rs. 16,00,000, of which Rs. 4,00,000 goes to the maintenance of security forces. There are forts, with soldiers or gendarmerie, and garrison towns all round the country, so that security is very greatly improved. The Budget also includes, under various heads, about Rs. 300,000 for relief work direct and indirect. The amount paid on education has risen from Rs. 6,000 in 1934 to Rs. 154,000 in 1944. Only Rs. 5,550 was spent on medical work in 1934; in 1944 the sum was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary services.

641 178 It seems to me that these figures indicate, more clearly than anything else can, progress and the will to progress. I cannot give many details of new developments, but I will mention some of them quite briefly. One of the most striking things is the growth of reciprocal confidence between

1 [of the Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Government and beduin. Many beduin tribes who were inveterate foes of the Qu'aitis have now declared permanent peace with the Government and said they are "sons of government." The State Government has now a beduin affairs department staffed entirely by local tribesmen, and there is a system of tribal courts. There are many tribesmen in Government service, and the greater number of the soldiers and police are now tribesmen and beduin. In the old days, Hadhrami tribesmen were hardly ever employed in Government and there were very few in the forces. The only effective soldiers were Yafa'is, irregular mercenaries and slaves. Even the Government slaves have now disappeared. There is an African company in the regular army which consists of ex-slaves and Somalis and is employed on guarding an R.A.F. station, and others are employed as Government servants on the same footing as Arabs; the old slaves have been pensioned. All soldiers and police are taught to read and write, and by passing examinations in the military school can and do secure promotion. Enlistment is popular now because of the amenities provided and because a soldier can definitely expect to be more fitted for civil life when he leaves the forces. The status of a military life is very definitely advanced.

Another thing that attracts attention is the development in education. The coastal elementary schools have 1,700 boys in them instead of 300, and the education department is rapidly extending over the interior. There is an intermediate boarding school for 80 boys which opened last year. There is a boarding school attached to the Hadhrami Beduin Legion with 100 beduin boys in it, and another with 24 beduin girls. There are several town girls' schools, the biggest and best being in Mukalla with 150 girls, who learn not only to read and write, but to sew, embroider, wash, and cook. A most interesting experiment has lately been started with a whole village organized as a school, where 300 boys and girls of the serf class—a class which works hard but does very little thinking for itself—are being trained to run their own village and to learn various industries and crafts. Teachers of the Mukalla Government and other volunteers are also teaching adults of the serf class to read and write the language they speak and trying to induce in them some public health consciousness.

On the medical side a hospital is being built in Mukalla, and the sanitary state of the town—which may shortly have a municipality—has been greatly improved.

Of old, Government[1] was mainly carried on by a handful of officials with a Sultan generally in India, but the present Sultan has spent most of his reign in his state and has a state council of officials and unofficials to help him. The executive work of Government is in charge of a state secretary and twenty organized departments.

In the Kathiri State progress has not been nearly so spectacular. The revenue is much smaller and the Wadi Hadhramaut is so divided by the jealousies of Sultans and tribesmen, and handicapped by the unwillingness or inability of the bulk of the seiyids to get together and co-operate, that the Government is not nearly so alive. There is, however, a state secretary at Seiyun and a good deal of the work of a government has been organized.

1 [Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

178. 65 The Wahidi Sultanate of Balhaf asked for advisory arrangements in 1939 and that of Bir 'Ali in 1943. The former was making very reasonable progress on its modest means till the war upset its Customs receipts, and security forces and schools were established. Bir 'Ali has only just started, but the town has been cleaned up, the Customs organized, and a school and dispensary provided for.

491 178 Much extension of motorable tracks has been made, and all places of importance in Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory can now be reached by car. Bir 'Ali and Balhaf soon will be, as a motor road towards Aden had passed its most difficult stretch and was getting on towards the agricultural region of Meifa in June, 1944.

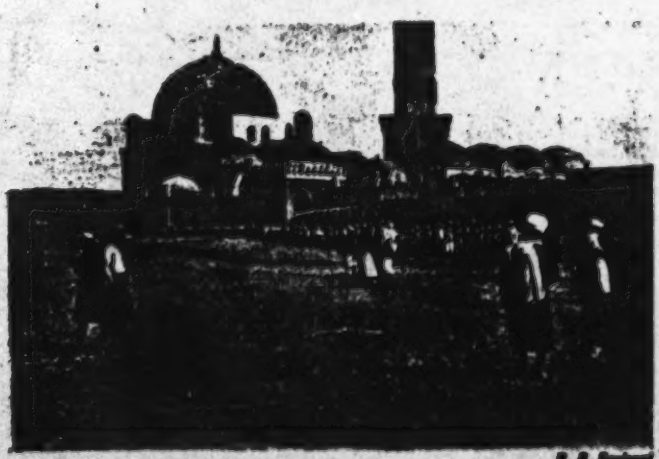
178 So that on the whole, despite the famine, the picture is one of progress rather more than one would at first sight expect of a rather unpromising 565 country. For beyond the handicaps of nature have been the handicaps the inhabitants have made for themselves: the chronic insecurity, the everlasting divisions, and the unsound social system of the Inner Hadhramaut, with a number of classes so acutely separated as more to resemble the castes of India than social grades in the brotherhood of Islam. And there was, on the whole, so much desire for independence on the part of all—though almost all classes interpreted it differently—that it was difficult to see how a few foreigners could get over the suspicion and help the 000 people to achieve something. But I think that now the Qu'aiti State, at least, could stand to some extent on its own legs and would be unlikely to collapse entirely if it was left to itself, for its stability does not entirely depend on its ruler alone, although he has been such a tower of strength in promoting progress. I think the thing that would be mostly lacking 648 if it were left to itself would be initiative. The best thing that could happen to the Hadhramaut now would be a federation of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States and the Wahidi Sultanates. I think this could be achieved, but it is not very easy. On the Qu'aiti side the objection is to spending money in Kathiri territory, although the old hatred between the two has died out, and in Kathiri territory the difficulty is the disunion between the various sections of the Wadi Hadhramaut. It is, however, fair that the Qu'aiti State should help in Kathiri territory, as much of its Customs revenue comes from goods imported by the Kathiri State, which has no ports. Between the Wahidi Sultanates there is still intense hatred, which was fanned up a couple of years ago by the murder of the Balhaf Regent in a plot hatched by the Bir 'Ali Sultans. But as the Bir 'Ali Sultans have now turned respectable and accepted advisory arrangements, some federation could probably be brought about. Bir 'Ali, having the better harbour, will have better revenue than Balhaf, which has a larger population to provide for. One would hope for a federation which left autonomy in local matters to the constituent parts of the country, but shared the cost of social services, communications, and so on. If the Hadhramis can emigrate and if they can govern themselves with a sound federal Government, they will have something to thank us for of lasting worth, and no doubt those abroad will give a good report of the British connection.

000 Buried under all the politics the Hadhramaut is a cultured country.

there are still slaves in the Hadramaut but unlike the sweeper class, they are not untouchables. The Arabian attitude toward the slave is not unkind: the slave has certain customary rights, and is better fed and clothed than many who are free.

These mountaineers hardly resemble the Arab of popular imagination, nor do they wear headbands and flowing robes. The Yemenite Arabs are usually of slight stature, dark-skinned and beardless, though there are so many types that it is impossible to generalize. They are a charming people, and civilized. Their condition would be much improved had they lasting peace and good government, though the complete opening-up of the country to outside influence and commerce would spell disaster for an economic system which has worked with success for two or three thousand years. To an ever-increasing degree the Protectorate and South Yemen have become economically dependent on the port of Aden. Labour is drawn from the up-country villages. The villager will go to Aden and earn £1 : 10 : 6 a month at coolie work, live on 7s. 6d. out of that sum, and save the rest to return to his village. There he will remain until necessity drives him to earn more. A large proportion of the inhabitants of Aden must be composed of these floating elements of population.

Internally the motor-lorry has made communications between the towns much easier; the aeroplane, too, has made a difference to the Protectorate and is a familiar sight in some places. It is now possible to control areas with a handful of planes where formerly thousands of ground troops were necessary to penetrate.



*The Turkish mosque in San'a, capital of the Yemen*

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of 000
religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past 178
in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protec- 771
torate. Any development of education initiated by Government had
therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, 212
there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people 875
who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom
this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and
obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the
people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply
of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the
biggest problem in Protectorate education to-day.

## HEALTH

### *Western Aden Protectorate*

The development of the Protectorate Medical Service was rather 759
upset in the past three years by numerous changes of senior medical
staff. However, one advantage came from this, namely that in the
drawing up of a plan for future development, co-operative help and
advice was given by every doctor and nurse who ever worked in the
Protectorate.

At the beginning of the year, a three-month course was given for new
tribal dressers, who were posted to work under senior dressers in the
Protectorate.

It is estimated that in the course of the year 50,000 patients were 743
treated in the 18 dispensaries. Malaria, dysentery, schistosomiasis and 164
tuberculosis were the four most prevalent diseases. Obstetrical problems
and gynaecology offer a very large field for research. Owing to customs [562]
necessitating the seclusion of women any estimate of these problems is
pure conjecture. In spite of these restrictions, the Medical Officer
attended a great many during his visits, especially in Beihan at the very
edge of "the empty quarter" of Arabia. A number of those who other-
wise would never receive surgical treatment were flown down to the
hospital at Aden. Venereal disease was unfortunately on the increase in
Abyan, where crowds of people of all kinds came to find work in the
agricultural project there.

Many visits including some of several days duration were paid by
the Medical Officer to the various dispensaries in the Protectorate during
which between 4,000 and 5,000 selected patients were treated. Besides
those patients who found their own way down to hospital in Aden,
150 or more were brought down on the Protectorate Medical Officer's
recommendation.

## HOUSING

The settled Western Aden Protectorate population is housed for the 342
main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under
camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm
huts, and even under matting placed over
vegetation or trees.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



form, geographically and socially, a remarkably homogeneous whole. It may be said, in brief, that the districts of the Hadhramaut are singularly fertile and self-sufficing, and so situated geographically as to hang closely together and to be isolated socially, as a whole, from the rest of Arabia; while, at the same time, they lie within reach of ports which are in constant communication with mid-eastern Africa and India. To the north stretches unbroken the most terrible waste of sand-dunes in the peninsula; to the east the district is practically isolated from the Oman provinces by the almost waterless desert of Mahrah; while to the west it is difficult of access from the Yemen and its outlying provinces on account of a mountainous and sterile desert-steppe which, up to the present, remains almost entirely unexplored.

Possessing more frequent and easy communication with Moslem communities outside Arabia than within it, the population of the Hadhramaut has had ample opportunity to develop particularism in its social organization as well as in its religious spirit. The fertility of its lands makes its farmers self-sufficient and jealous with the jealousy of men who have much to lose; and, while their relations with Africa have given them unusual wealth of slaves, their relations with India and other parts of the East, greatly enhancing their material civilization, have at the same time made them fully aware of the nature of European rule and the danger of giving free entrance to members of a race which condemns slavery. For long they succeeded in barring the way to the encroachments of all foreigners, and it is only within comparatively recent times that travellers, few in number, have succeeded in acquiring information, and that only to a very limited extent, about the social organization, customs, and manners of this interesting and highly exclusive people.

The population may be divided into four more or less distinct classes:

1. The Seyyids.
2. The Tribesmen.
3. The Townsmen.
4. The Servile classes, or slaves.

The *Seyyids*, descendants of Husein, grandson of Mohammed, form a numerous and highly respected aristocracy. They are divided into families, the heads of which are known as 'Munsibs', who are looked upon as the religious leaders of the people and are in some cases venerated as saints. They do not bear arms, nor occupy themselves in trade or manual labour, or even agriculture;

Jābir living below Shibam, Āl Bā Sūdān at Du'an, Bā Humeid at Madūda and Seiyun, Āl Bureik at Shabwa, Bā Khatib at Tarim, Bā Wa'l at Tarim, and Āl Bā 'Umar at 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qain. 565 162

YAFA'IS.

The Yafa'is are the *'asākir* or soldiers and the actual rulers of Qu'aiti territory. Their introduction as mercenaries, described in the historical chapters, has led to the foundation of two dynasties, that of the Kasadis of Lower Yafa' and that of the Qu'aitis who drove out the Kasadis. The places in which some of the Yafa'is live will appear later when the inhabitants of the various provinces of Qu'aiti territory are enumerated. I have also given in an appendix a list of the various Yafa'i tribes with their sections, strength and situation. 565 162 463

The Qu'aiti dynasty springs from a section of the Mausata tribe and is historically quite recent. Although the Sultan and his relations have had no personal contacts with their country they exercise some influence in Upper Yafa', and the Yafa'i connection is still a live one, as a great many Upper Yafa'is regularly go to the Hadhramaut to take service in the Qu'aiti forces, returning after a few years to their own country. Other Yafa'is have become settled in the Hadhramaut and form a powerful party on whom the Qu'aiti could depend in the case of disturbances. [73]

The following are amongst Yafa'i tribes and sections represented in the Hadhramaut, the sections being shown in brackets after each tribe: Adh Dhubi (Al Mosilli, Al Kasadi, Ash Shanāthira, Al Jahāwisha), Al Bu'si (Al Gharama, Az Zaghālida, Al Homām, Al Mattash), Al Mausata (Ar Robak, Āl Yazid, Āl Batati). 565 162

TRIBESMEN.

The history of the tribes of the Hadhramaut has been, generally speaking, sufficiently indicated in the historical instruction, and their location and strength will be dealt with in the description of the various provinces. 000

There are only four words used in the Hadhramaut for the nomenclature of the divisions of a tribe. *Az Zei* is a confederation of tribes with a single leader. There are only three *Zeis* in the Hadhramaut, the Seibani, the Nūwah, and the Hamumi. The Shenafir Confederation is not a *Zei*, for while the leaders of the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris are Sultans, they do not head the whole confederation of tribes. A tribe, *Qabila*, is sub-divided into a *Beit*, and a *Beit* into a *Fara'*. I cannot claim any particular merit for the divisions I have used, namely, Tribe, Clan, Section, and Sub-section, except that by using the word Clan I have avoided the clumsy term sub-sub-section which I found used in some statements of the other tribes of the Protectorate. 619 565 162 621

The Hadhrami tribesmen, like those of the rest of the Protectorate, are extremely conservative and "never depart from their tribal customs." Most of them are nomads moving over their areas 181 000

None of these foreign dynasties appears to be so old as the Yafa'i connection with the Hadhramaut which dates back some four hundred years. It has been seen that the Yafa'is were brought in by the Kathîris as mercenaries about that time ago, and gradually two Yafa'i dynasties arose which became predominant in the country. The passing of the Kasadis in modern times has been already noticed, and so has the establishment of the Qu'aitis as far and away the strongest element in the country. It has also been noticed that other foreigners who established complete or partial authority, such as the Zeidis and the 'Aulaqis, have also passed away. 642

Amongst the western states above the Yafa'is are not mentioned for they appear never to have been subjected to the Imam of San'ā. They are probably the oldest dynasty in the Protectorate and have jealously guarded their inheritance without foreign interference. Although they are exclusive people and dislike any foreign intrusion into their country, they themselves migrate readily, and apart from indulging in business undertakings many of them become mercenaries under foreign Governments, although they usually retain connection with their own country. They are extremely [181] independent individually, and perhaps from this fact arises the anarchical state of Upper Yafa' where every tribesman wishes to be a Sultan. In Lower Yafa', though, the family of the Afifi appear to have succeeded in establishing themselves as really paramount, perhaps on account of the almost superstitious veneration in which the Sultan is held by his tribesmen. But the general tendency of the Yafa'i in his own country is towards disintegration. In their own mountains they appear to be unable to submit themselves to authority. It seems strange at first sight, therefore, that when they go abroad they should be able to achieve success in their undertakings. In their own country they are miserably poor, and yet the country is in many respects more fertile than many parts of Arabia where the people are more prosperous. Not only do they achieve fortune abroad but they reach positions of authority, and, as has been seen, have established one of the strongest dynasties of the Protectorate over a comparatively vast area of country. Perhaps the reason for this success lies in the very fact of almost every Yafa'i considering himself subject to no man but anxious to assert his superiority over others.

Considering, as I have remarked, that many dynasties of the Protectorate are originally foreign, and were foreign at no great distance of time, it is strange that while they have become assimilated to a large extent with the people of their states, the Qu'aitis of the Hadhramaut have remained foreign. While the dynasty itself is modern, I think that the reason is, at any rate partly, again to be found in the character of the Yafa'i. While 'Abdalis, 'Amiris, Fadhlis, and all the rest have long ceased to look on the places of their origin as their homes, the Yafa'i of the Hadhramaut still looks to his mountains.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The following is the order of importance of the four paramount Chiefs of the Sei'ar tribe : Yeslam bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a of the Āl Hātim, Tanāf bin Seheil bin Rumeidān of the Āl Hudeib, the Āl Qarwān, and the Āl 'Ali, 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī of the Āl Mulhī, and 'Ali bin 'Aita bin Tarim of the Āl Bā Rūh and the Āl Bāqi Msellem. Yeslam bin Muhammad is said to be far and away the most powerful of the Sei'ar chiefs. 619 622

The Sei'ar are descended from the tribe of Kinda and they claim Aswad al Kindi as their ancestor. On account of this descent the Āl Mahfudh are sometimes included with them. Their country, an inhospitable waste of barren plateaux scored with unfertile wadis, lies north of the main wadi and stretches west to Wadi 'Abr. It is called simply Reidat as Sei'ar. 619

They told me their neighbours are, on the east, 'Awāmir and Kathīr, Manāhil and Mahra, Zabeini, on the north, Kathīri as Suflan, Harawiz, Mahra, Zabeini, Rawashid, Murra, Yām, and on the west, Daham, 'Abīda, Marādā, Hammām, Bal 'Ubeid, Kurab. The very names tell how far afield they roam and raid. They are the wolves of the desert and steppe, and parialis to the wadi folk living south of them, for they raid into the Minhali country on the east and the Hamumi and 'Awābitha on the south. Philby mentions them raiding far into the sands to Bir Fadhil, to Sharma, and possibly going to Hadbat abu Khasba. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Qutun, a section of the Qara tribe, and raiding a Mahra encampment at the waterhole of Andhaur. He also says they raided as far north as the region of Umm Malissa and that Sei'ar is a word of terror to the Rashid and the southern Murra. The Nahd let them visit their markets through fear only, and they are an ever present danger to small unguarded parties of travellers, whom they have interrupted up to Ghadīr al Milib in the Wadi Du'an. Having no settled habitat they are hard to punish and have always proved elusive and wary. When travelling in small numbers outside their own country they choose the byways and travel by night, for owing to their habits every man's hand is against them. The only places at which they appear openly are Shibam where they behave themselves, and Meshhed during the time of the annual *ziyara* in the month of Rabi'l Awal when they sell their camels. But their hardier neighbours do not let them have it all their own way and the Manāhil, for instance, give them as good as they get. If they raid far they are also raided from afar, as witness the case of a young warrior of the Southern Ajman from the neighbourhood of Kuweit, who, proceeding to Nejran in the winter of 1934-5 to espouse a Yām damsel, raided the Sei'ar on the Hadhramaut borders on his way home and took five of their camels to Kuweit. 617 721 578 L181

They have monthly truces among themselves, never longer; sometimes they will make new ones, sometimes they fight. I was

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

## Nature of the People and Country

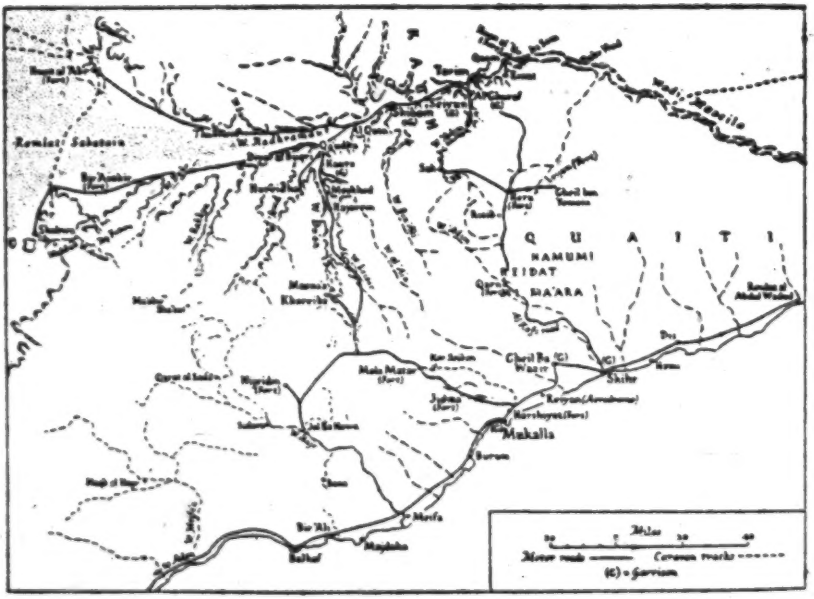
Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



serfs whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells. The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.




*Reproduced by courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society*

The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from considerable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft, however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and the people are natural Muslims having learnt in a hard school absolute submission to the will of God. Religious fanaticism is strongest where the seiyids are strongest. In other places there is greater tolerance and, among the bedouins, it is what a man is rather than what his religion is that counts.

When we started everybody wanted independence. Many of the old secluded seiyids, whose ideas of independence merely amounted to the exclusion of infidels, had sons and relations who read the Egyptian papers and their ideas of independence were based on grandiose schemes of complete self-government. Some of them, who thought themselves moderate, demanded no more than independence on the Egyptian and Iraqi models and talked airily of Parliaments and so on. In Singapore and Java in 1939 I had petitions presented to me three times demanding this sort of independence. Once at Solo the deputation was pointed out to me as representative: it contained seiyids, tribesmen and a Sultan of the Kathiri family. Only the last had ever been in the Hadhramaut. He asked me if he might see me privately after the meeting and then asked me to arrange independence for Jahiz. Jahiz was his village in the Wadi 'Amd and consists of five houses. The tribesmen, settled and bedouin, wanted independence; the bedouin claim was at least easy to understand for all it amounted to was that their freedom in the hills and deserts should be undisturbed. The settled tribesmen were and are more difficult. Every little section considered itself independent, and the more powerful, who could afford not only to arm themselves but to buy and arm private forces of slaves, did all they could to extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbours.

The strangest example of this kind of campaign was that of the Bin 'Abdat section of the Kathiri tribe, who own much landed property in Singapore and Java. The treaty chief of the Kathiris is the Kathiri Sultan whose capital is Seiyun. About 1928 the head of the Bin 'Abdat section forcibly occupied the walled town of Al Ghurfa, belonging to some unarmed sheikhs. This brought him into conflict with the Kathiri Sultan, who was supported by the Qu'aiti Sultan, and with the neighbouring heads of other Kathiri sections. War ensued which carried on with little interruption till 1937. Bin 'Abdat built up a respectable force of slaves and tribesmen of his own and constructed an elaborate system of forts and trenches which extended right across the Wadi Hadhramaut some three miles or more, and almost to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary at Shibam. In the course of the fighting, a curious armoured vehicle was imported from Java, which was intended to be towed by a motor car into the enemy camp. Bin 'Abdat acquired a very large stock of ammunition and really good rifles at very high prices. The Qu'aiti Sultan brought artillery, ancient and modern, to the aid of the Kathiri, but no decision was ever reached.

When I came to the Hadhramaut in 1936 Bin 'Abdat instructed his lawyer in Singapore to address a letter to the Government in which he claimed to be an "independent rajah." He was informed that the only recognized treaty chiefs in the main Hadhramaut were the Qu'aiti and

648 is your friendship and I will pay my way.' A little later on, they say, 'I would like to hang up my hat here, it won't be in your way.' Then they say, 'my coat also.'" Said another, "and then it is their trousers and then they cannot leave." A few months later when the Governor of Aden was telling a meeting in the Hadhramaut of the very generous help His Majesty's Government was offering for famine relief, an address thanking him asked for an assurance that there was not more than charity behind it. This he readily gave, but the point is that the Arabs of South Arabia know well enough what peaceful penetration has meant in the past, in such places as Zanzibar, and they fear us even when we bring gifts.

000 I do feel, however, that, given the right type of adviser or political officer, it is possible to improve administration, security and social services in such areas by such means as I have described, and I am quite sure that the resultant dividend of good will in the area itself and in neighbouring areas is far greater than you would get by applying the more efficient methods of direct or indirect rule.

Seeing my own successes and failures and watching those of others over the course of years has given me some ideas of what an officer working in [181] these countries should be and do. As Arabs are individualists and will at best only treat you as an equal, a man they feel to be a leader can handle them better than another. So that personality counts for a lot, but it must not be aggressive. Tact, judgment, self-reliance and balance are indispensable, and without patience and hope many a good man might give up. But beyond these things an officer working with such people should not feel and must never show that he is a superior being to those amongst whom he works. They will expect him to have a greater knowledge of outside things than they have, for he would not be there if he had not, but he must be careful how he uses it. In social matters it is not merely a question of having no colour prejudice. Administrative officers of the Colonial Service rarely have colour prejudice in an acute form, but they generally set bounds between themselves and the people in social intercourse. The officer living amongst the Arabs cannot do this, and must be prepared for long periods at a time to live and share the life of the people while at the same time keeping his own virtue and preserving a sense 186 of proportion. The Arabs believe as an article of faith that they are the noblest of races, and it should not be over-looked that they have a civilization and a literature of their own so that it is not for us to impose a culture on them or to build a culture for them. A kindly condescension to a less fortunate race is therefore out of place when dealing with them. They take our so-called insularity not as a peculiarity for which allowances should be made, but as a criticism of them and their manner of life. In this, of course, they are not peculiar. They call our insularity and condescension *kibr inglis*. The French in Mauritius used to call them *orgueil anglais* and they are perhaps the things above all others which make us unpopular.

181 Simplicity of life and manner are in many circumstances a valuable

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



qualification. Pomp and circumstance mean little to a tribesman and nothing at all if they are only window dressing. It is worth while quoting what Tabari says of the Khalif Umar's instructions to governors: "Whenever he appointed a governor he used to draw up in writing a certificate of investiture. It contained the following instructions: That he must not ride on horseback, nor eat white bread, nor wear fine clothes, not set up a door between himself and those who had aught to ask of him."[1]

An officer living in many of these countries must not expect a life of ease and comfort, and he must be ready to do without the sort of things that he considers the ordinary amenities of life, such as games, clubs, European society and its distractions. If he cannot find interest and entertainment in local society and its diversions, he is better elsewhere. The same applies to his wife. Freya Stark once wrote that the British are always popular until they bring their wives. This is exaggerated but there is a great deal of truth in it, and I have often heard the complaint that wives caused the lack of understanding between British officers and their people by keeping their husbands away from the people.

Apart from personal qualities an officer must have not only a knowledge of the language of the country but a knowledge of and sympathy with its religious customs. He must know its history and the more he knows of its literature the better. Without these he cannot speak with the enemy within the gates. Finally, he must have a general grounding of administrative or technical knowledge and experience. When he sees a suitable opening and can get the requisite co-operation he should be in a position to help to put finances on a sound basis, and to help in the development of medical services, education and agriculture. He should be of an inventive turn of mind and should be able to make a little money do the work of a lot. He should be able to make bricks without straws.

I cannot, of course, pretend to speak for any area of which I have not direct experience, but from what I have seen and heard of the rest of the Middle East I have the feeling that it is qualifications of this kind that are needed there also.

It may be to some extent a counsel of perfection to ask for officers of these qualifications, but I find it difficult to believe that candidates with many or all of them and with the necessary missionary spirit cannot be found; and I think there would be a far greater chance of finding them if there were a recognized unified political service from which political officers and advisers could be selected for the various posts which we have or may have to fill in this area. If there were such a service it should be possible to attract better candidates to it as there would be a cadre large enough to offer a reasonable career.

Of course that is not enough by itself to ensure a settled, or at any rate a more settled, Middle East. There is the importance of adequately garrisoning the area (of showing force as Lyautey, often quoted by Brigadier

[1]R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs* (London, Cambridge University Press, 1930).

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west. 142

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration. 778

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting. 181 291 576

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy. 619 631 643

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it. [144]

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe. 576

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 101 174 619

# CHAPTER I.

## THE DEPARTURE.

### ADEN—MAKALLA.

We owe our journey to Ḥaḍramaut to a mission entrusted 121
to us by the Netherlands Government. Later it will become 167
clear how deep-lying the contact is between Ḥaḍramaut and 181
Netherlands India, and how self-evident it is that the Dutch Government should wish to make itself accurately acquainted with the social and political conditions in the native land of the tens of thousands of Arabs, who form such an important element in the social fabric of that country. The Ḥaḍramīs are not absorbed into the union of Indonesian peoples, and many of them keep a firm hold on the connection with their own country, in the hope that some day they may be able to return there, to await the Day of Resurrection and Judgment in that hallowed ground. The charge entrusted to Dr. van den Berg to write his book, which was published by the Government of Netherlands India, resulted from the practical needs of that Government with regard to the heterogeneous peoples of Indonesia. So also with the mission entrusted to me.

Although I knew how difficult it had been made, until now, 114
for a Christian and Westerner to penetrate into the land of the fanatical Ḥaḍramī, yet I had some hope of success in the attempt, and this for two reasons.

The years that I had spent in the civil service of Netherlands India had given me the conviction that the Ḥaḍramī is grateful for the treatment which he receives there from our Government and for the opportunities which he has to save money and to get on in the world. As a government official of 114
Netherlands India I had not reckoned in vain on finding a wel- 191
come among the Ḥaḍramī families having relations with Indo-

P.9

its fine strategic position once commanded the great route from the coast to Ḥaḍramaut. Within the gate the streets also mount steeply. The town gives an impression of decay; there are few tall or fine houses, the white colour of prosperity is to be seen on hardly a single one of them; the town is grey-brown as the mountain against which it stands.

We stop in front of a double house that is built over a small side-street. Sayyid Muḥammad bin Sālim bin ʿAbdarraḥmān Āl Qāf, the man to whom we were given an introduction by our host in Dōʿan, is said to live here. The letter is taken in, the door closed again, and we wait in the shadow of the narrow, overarched street. Time passes and we ask ourselves anxiously whether the *Efrendjīs* are perhaps not welcome in this house. No, that is not the case, but a double wedding is being celebrated at this moment, and the house is therefore full of women, who have to be removed and shut up, before our company can be allowed to enter. At last this stage is reached and we are taken to an apartment which shows signs of having been very much inhabited. It is warm there and not clean, and, although we already fill the room, a number of inquisitive people force themselves in. The master of the house himself as well as his snivelling small son appear to have economised water for all other purposes than washing. But his friendly glance and hearty welcome make everything all right at once.

It is perhaps here timely to pay grateful tribute to the wonderful hospitality of the Arabs. Who, in the West, would hide his disappointment at having a wedding feast broken in upon by a whole caravan of tired and hungry men? Who amongst us would immediately throw open his whole house to the travellers, "the sons of the road", himself bring water to slake their thirst, and immediately prepare food to strengthen them?

Life is democratic here. In the reception-room, which is chock-full, sit slaves, servants, children and master all together, who drink out of the same bowl and pour out coffee

for themselves in each other's unwashed cups. Our host devotes himself entirely to us; he frequently absents himself to see that preparations are made for a meal without delay. Sounds of music and song reach us from the women, who are making merry in the adjoining room. In spite of the sweltering heat, the song with its refrain, the concerted clapping of hands and dancing to the monotonous music are carried on with great enthusiasm. Our host invites us urgently and repeatedly to spend the night with him. Sayyid ᶜAluwī el-ᶜAṭṭās, who is with us, has, however, so great a longing to see his family in his own country that, on his account, we decide to start for el-Meshhed in the afternoon. Meanwhile our delicately solicitous host has quietly had a room made ready in a distant corner of the great double house. He sees how tired we are and whispers to us to follow him so as to escape from the interest and curiosity of the constantly changing visitors. These fellow townsmen, against whom one cannot protect oneself, will not penetrate into this quiet room; we can stretch ourselves out on the floor on the simple mats and rugs, and our host will see to it that we are not disturbed for an hour. Then the meal is brought up to us without a sound, and we are only awakened when the yellow-coloured rice awaits us, ready served in flat dishes, on the round eating-mat, along with dishes of boiled mutton and gravy. A round flat bread-cake lies in front of each of our places on the mat. Our host apologizes for the scarcity and simplicity of the food offered to us, but we fall to with a thankful "In the name of Allah." The practice of spicing the rice and meat very strongly must have been introduced from Java and India. They overdo the seasoning to such an extent for foreign guests that, after the first pangs of hunger have been appeased, it is a real effort to continue eating.

Our host speaks Malay by preference and likes to talk about Cheribon on the north coast of Java, where his family rose to prominence and where he hopes to return in a few months, after the date harvest. His father possesses 20 houses

going to erect a house for himself here and, in accordance 346
with the good custom, begins with the mosque. There are
some fine houses in Ḥurēḍa whose owners live in Djohore, 167
Singapore, or Java. The actual inhabitants seem to be very 511
poor. Outside the town there are some fine date-plantations,
it is true, but the total impression is one of decline. Everything
that is fine and prosperous owes its existence to money that is
earned abroad. The tie between a Ḥaḍramī and his birth-place [181]
is very close, and if he is doing well, he returns from time to
time, and when he sees the evening of his life approaching
he longs to spend it in the little mud town where he was born,
and, finally, to await the Day of Resurrection in Ḥaḍramī soil,
which for him is consecrated ground. This is why there are
here palaces and country-seats of sayyids and mighty castles
of sultans, whilst the Bedouins live in rock-caves or lean-to
shelters, always on the verge of starvation, and the home-
staying town-dweller does not rise beyond a very poverty-
stricken existence. We are only just at the portal of actual
Ḥaḍramaut and soon shall see contrasts so moving, that it will
sometimes be difficult to grasp the fact that we are in a real
world, and are not dreaming after reading a centuries-old story
from the "Arabian Nights".

### 3. THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE TOWN.

On May 21st we intended to see something of the surround- 000
ings of Ḥurēḍa. Therefore, we asked Sayyid ʿAlī, the Bedouin
member of the el-ʿAṭṭās family, to go with us. Most sayyids
are not to be tempted for walks in the country at this time of
the year! At the request of some of the notables we go to a
spring which flows from out the mountain-wall a mile south-
west of Ḥurēḍa, just at the spot where the limestone stratum
rests on sandstone. Enemy Bedouins are said to have stopped
up this spring, which formerly flowed much more copiously.
The foreigners, held to be so proficient in all technical matters [609]
must say how the spring is to be put right. If there were

Z2: Reilly G-3 (1939-41) 1941 MM? Hadhramaut MM?
Middle East Islands (12)
Socotra.



Socotra has also a
good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his 181
friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came 577
to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a 795
strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They 102
belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their 276
neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African [144]
blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an 567
institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, 648
when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from 631
attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



361 The town stands at the head of an open, high-lying valley extending about ten miles from north to south and having an average width of three miles. Much of the valley is well watered and wooded, and the ground, right up to the town, is terraced for cultivation. The place is the centre of a great number of caravan routes and minor tracks. Many of these, however, are steep and difficult, especially towards the north, and the approaches to the town, in general, are far from easy.

2. **Jalilah** is a village of tall, clean, solid, stone-built houses, some running to four storeys, and is one of the most populous settlements of the district. It is poised on a hill over 300 ft. above the surrounding plain, and is an important caravan halt on routes between Aden and Yemen. An indigo-dye industry is carried on. It has a fort and round tower, near the Turkish frontier.

619 vii. *'Alawi*, a small tribe occupying territory between that of the Amīri on the north and the Haushabi on the south. The whole
361 tract does not, probably, exceed 40 sq. miles in extent, and the population is estimated at 1,500. In January 1916 they are said to have submitted to the Turks, together with their neighbours, the Quteibi, with whom they are on unfriendly terms. **Suleiq**, 55 miles north of Aden, is their chief town, and comprises two villages, one on the right bank of the Hardaba, below a defensible 'serai' generally known as Fort Suleiq, and another on a ridge about 400 yards away and situated considerably higher than the fort.

619 With regard to the character of the tribes of the maritime hills, as a whole, contrasted with those of the littoral, a recent traveller
• 181 says: 'They are the scourge of the lowlands and the pariahs of the more organized races farther north. Treacherous, dishonest, and covetous—without the courage and cohesion for open raids driven home by the force of arms, they waylay and murder the defenceless travellers, and will even betray the guest they have undertaken to protect. They steal cattle and other stock at night—preferring speedy beasts such as saddle-camels, and, lacking in expert horsemanship, rely on stealth and cunning rather than dash and boldness. All the same they are stubborn fighters, especially if the day is going against them—fighting desperately and with judgement when cornered, and are skilful skirmishers and possess remarkable mobility. They carry on guerilla warfare with effect, harass troops by incessant sniping, but decline open engagement and are clever at ambuscade. They are difficult for ordinary Europeans to handle and are not a reliable type or satisfactory for alien service.'

619 (*b*) Tribal Confederations beyond the limits of the Aden Protec-

by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have 178
stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old
order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern 175
conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen.

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth [369
to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves 182]
with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement
to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who 185
prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread.

The surprising modern developments in the Kathīri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increas- 185
ingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and 177
otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to
the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular 648
and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres. The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of good
will and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this [167]
the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant
an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion 178
of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions 185
of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut 182
appears to be changing almost despite itself.

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathīri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of
Qu'aiti and Kathīri rule in their respective countries. I could 000
not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them[1] are nomads[12] moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
463 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a
577 pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on
behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks
refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and
not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are
payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man
kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own
death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated,
a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kins-
folk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a
charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves
with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods
or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are
never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father
had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a
claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western.
There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible
that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be,
as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western
neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood,
sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more
reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

## TOWNSMEN.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

*In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

*In Seiyun:* Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

1 [The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

year, without considering special expenditure. It is fortunate that 000
these families give attention to the affairs of Government and have 185
been able to help to place the administration of the town of Tarim, 565
for example, on a business footing. The families include men of considerable wealth who have made fortunes in Singapore where they own a lot of property acquired and developed in two generations. The Al Kaf family, who, by the way, are mostly British subjects, pay (I give the figure from memory) 120,000 Straits dollars a year in taxation in Singapore, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman, the head of the family, is a Justice of the Peace.

But it is not only among the wealthiest members of the community that there are signs of a growing desire for peace and progress. I have recorded elsewhere that, as well as in Qu'aiti territory, there are tribesmen of the Shenafir who have expressed a desire for settled administration and stated their willingness to pay taxes. As a whole the Kathīri people are the most wealthy of the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut. Their wealth is very largely derived from the East Indies, and principally from the Dutch colonies; but, as will be seen in the part of this report dealing with emigration, the Hadhrami wherever he settles is always a Hadhrami, and he looks on his beloved valley as a home to which he wishes to return. Abroad under a British or Dutch aegis he acquires a taste for peace and security. The money he makes he sends home, and, as stated elsewhere, the amount remitted from the East Indies is about seven lakhs of rupees a month. Once he has acquired property he ceases to be a Beduin with nothing to lose and becomes a landed proprietor with a large and expensive residence which he does not wish to see destroyed. 185 565 177 [186]

I have said that the Qu'aiti need guidance in their very creditable schemes of progress, the Kathīri want it in order to achieve peace and security. 186

## CHAPTER XII.

### QU'AITI-KATHĪRI RELATIONS.

Between Qu'aiti and Kathīri there is, unhappily, profound mistrust. This, however, can be well understood when the history of the country is understood, and when it is remembered that old hates in the East generally remain fresh long after the events which gave rise to them have passed. The Kathīri, not unnaturally, has cherished a grudge against the people who deprived him of what was once his country. The Qu'aiti retains a fear that he may yet lose what he has so hardly won. He realizes no doubt that except for British backing, which has sometimes been erratic in its application, it might well be possible for the Kathīris, original owners of the country, to call to their aid the other indigenous people of the Hadhramaut, including their old allies, and drive out the invader. The Qu'aiti also cherishes, perhaps, the hate that one party often bears towards the party it has wronged. 578 182

578 These sentiments I believe to be at the back of the unsatisfactory
182 state of affairs between the two parties. They became accentuated by the Kathīris losing a seaport. Once they became land-locked, they felt themselves even more at the mercy of those who control the ways in and out of the country. The Qu'aitis, on their side, felt that with the seaports they could prevent the Kathīris from again becoming a menace. The inevitable result of this policy on the part of the Qu'aitis was intensified dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of the Kathīris.

185 Some 20 or 25 years ago they came to the conclusion that
661 the state of affairs could no longer be borne. It was resulting in a neglected condition of the country and increased anarchy in the
648 interior. All the revenue went into the pockets of the authority holding the seaports, and nothing was done in the way of improvements to the roads or to the development of the country. At this time there was little or no intercourse between the British and the Kathīri. The Qu'aiti had long been under British protection and had proved a loyal and faithful friend. Not unnaturally he was given support and in the usual way dealings with a tribe not in treaty relations were eschewed. Nevertheless the Kathīri would have preferred British assistance. As it was not forthcoming it is said that at different times he made advances to other powers, and the Turks, Dutch, Italians and French have been mentioned to me.

648 In due course we began to take an interest in the matter, and finally the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 was negotiated with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I do not propose to comment on this treaty (which is reproduced for convenience sake in an appendix) except to say that it seems to me admirable in its sentiments, particularly in its requiring the parties to co-operate in measures for the common benefit of the Hadhramaut. As far as the British Government was concerned its effect was to bring the Kathīris under British protection through the medium of the Protectorate treaty with the Qu'aitis. It also provides for the settlement of disputes between the two parties by the British. If the treaty could have been fulfilled in letter and spirit, all would have been well.

Apart from the fact that the Qu'aiti had been a loyal friend to the British, and that it would on that ground have been a mistake to upset his paramount authority in the Hadhramaut, any arrangement which set up two independent authorities in the Hadhramaut would be a mistake. The evil consequences of splitting up a country by means of separate treaties sought or granted on insufficient information are well exemplified in the case of Upper Yafa'. The Hadhramaut is economically and geographically a single unit, and its prosperity depends on the fullest co-operation between the party that controls the ports and the party that is paramount in the
000 interior. It has often been said that co-operation of this sort is not in the Arab genius, but economic forces are often more potent

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



tribe who are now very weak, though the wadi is still called after them Wadi Hajr Bin Daghār. To-day the wadi belongs to the Qu'aiti and it is said that in time it will be known as Wadi Hajr Qu'aiti.

The capital of the province is now Kanina, said to have about 300 to 400 houses and an estimated population of 1,500. Other important villages are Yuwan, the old capital, As Sadaka, Husn Bā Suleiman, Husn Ba'ba', Al 'Asala, Al Qima, Al Hussein, Husun Bā Raghab, Jōl Bā Hāwa, Leswa and Muhrin. The Governor is Sa'id Marzuk Salah. Hajr is an agricultural province, and it is estimated that the number of tribesmen is 5,000. As I did not visit the Hajr province during my tour, the information given is even more at second hand than in other cases.

The tribes living in the province or dependent on it are the Bin Daghār, Nūwah, Āl Deiyeb, Āl Bā Bekr and Āl Zaghīb, Āl Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Khāshia al Murqashi. The following is a description of these tribes together with others connected with Hajr.

NŪWAH.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Sub-section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nūwah Hajr ... | Āl Bā Rashid | — | Al Qeima, Libna | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Sheiba | — | Libna | 150 |
| | Āl Bā Shuqūr | — | — | 80 |
| | 'Ayāl Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Hajām | — | — | 40 |
| | Āl Bā Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Faqqās | — | Qazein, Yuwan | 200 |
| | Āl Bā Dubīān | Āl Bā Sabera | Jōl Bā Hāwa, Al Qāsima, Yuwan, Muhammada, Kanina. | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Mas'ud | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Dabeis | | Yuwan | 100 |
| | As Sumahi | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Sara | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Qarwān | — | Muhammada | 250 |
| | Āl Bā Rajāsh | — | Kanina, Sherij Bā Jamum, Husun Āl Bā Rajāsh. | 400 |
| | Bā Museita | | — | 100 |
| Nūwah Du'an | Āl Bā Hakīm | — | Al Qarn | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Sam | — | — | 120 |
| | Āl Bā Khamīs | — | — | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Ma'as | — | — | 150 |
| | Bu Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Bā Safr | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl Bā Shihab | — | — | — |
| Nūwah Lajrāt Du'an. | Āl Bā Batīn | — | — | 70 |
| | Āl Bā Sūeid | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl 'Afif | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Meis | — | — | — |
| | | | | 2,760 |

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who 000
nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators.

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all 619
cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked 182
on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the 'Thula' triibes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more 421
complicated than in most places in the Protectorate.

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell 427
land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. 565
It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession 792
of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for 651
wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the 619
extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued 692
disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their 182
centres.

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the 182
down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms 628
broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood fued, and there is little 411
doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of 436
the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to

182 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last
628 quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras
411 carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease
436 of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some
[792] years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by
182 Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small
671 thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the
576 gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

183 Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

182 I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into
643 their confederations and have shown the course which these confedera-
728 tions are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of
671 Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts,
[625] whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when
000 nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the 508
seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited.

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls 509
of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air 205
service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. 206
There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation.

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet 131
fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent 161
with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on 162
the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden.

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development 311
of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north.

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly 439
commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to 226
the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount 241
of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir.
From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possess- 182
ing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the
making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local [167]
opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



182 in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

162 438 361 In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main wadi system, there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *badu* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently OOO we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

361 [643 645] 504 364 Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government, and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

364 164 731 The climate of Mukalla is on the whole pleasant enough, and with the gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year we had a particularly bad

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

75 per cent in Shuqra. In most localities, the infection rates ranged from 27 to 88 per cent among children under 15 years of age and from zero to 48 per cent in persons over 15 years of age. The Fadhli and the Abdali tribal districts were the most seriously affected regions visited. H 164 659

**Diseases of the Skin.** Favus, ringworm and other mycotic skin infections are widely distributed. Madura foot is common in the Protectorate, and cases are seen in the Colony hospitals each year among patients from the interior. Phagedenic ulcers are responsible for considerable disability among laborers in the Colony and in all parts of the Protectorate. Several thousand cases are treated each year in the hospitals and the dispensaries in Aden Colony, where they are usually designated as "Yemen ulcers." The ankle is the most frequent site of infection, and amputation is often necessary in neglected cases. A H 164 167 A 758

Scabies and impetigo are prevalent, especially among the children of inland towns and villages who live under congested, insanitary conditions. By contrast, surprisingly few cases of scabies are encountered among the children seen in the schools in Aden township. A H 164 511 515

**Leprosy.** Leprosy is endemic in the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been reported from the Colony within recent years. The infection is probably not extensive, although foci of the disease are known to exist in the Hadhramaut and in the Lahej, the Dhala' and the Abyen areas in the western protectorate. As lepers are not discriminated against socially, some difficulty is encountered in controlling the movement of infected individuals in the Colony. A small leper hospital is located at Sheikh Othman: it receives patients not only from Aden territory but also from Yemen. Eighteen of the 29 patients in residence in 1939[18] were open nodular or lepromatous cases. A H 164 A H 743 164 183

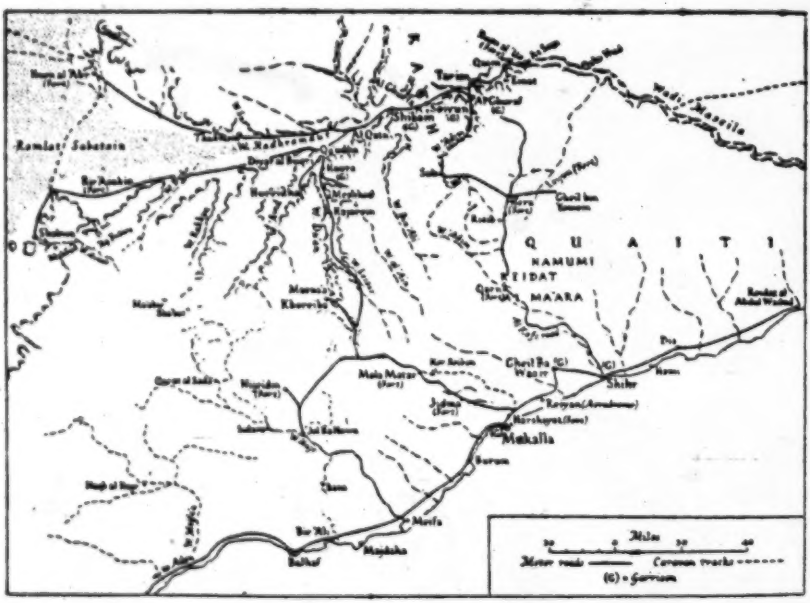
**Other Infections.** Tetanus is endemic, but reported cases are rare. A H 164

p. 249 (A)

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



62 peris whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost
56 fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells.
56 The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some
56 of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished
[177] their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is
778 also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.

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184 The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization
511 ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from con-
181 siderable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft,
771 however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there
181 are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## INTRODUCTION.

131 The coast line of the Aden Protectorate starts in the west from Ras Murad opposite the island of Perim, and runs eastward to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates it from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Roughly speaking, the Protectorate is bounded in the interior on the west and the north by the Kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. It also includes the island of Soqotra. The Hadhramaut lies in the east of the Protectorate between the Wahidi and 'Aulaqi countries on the west and the Mahra country on the east. North, it reaches to the Empty Quarter.

643 631 The two principal chiefs of the Protectorate are Their Highnesses the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej and the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla. The capital of the former lies about 20 miles north of Aden and that of the latter some 300 miles east. It will be easily realized that these two chiefs are by their geographical positions the natural leaders of the western and eastern parts of the Protectorate, and the 'Abdali Sultan, who is the premier chief of the Protectorate, has established his hegemony over the western portion. In some ways the Qu'aiti Sultan is perhaps the most important ruler of the Protectorate, for he controls, or has direct influence over, a larger population than any other chief, and, except for the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, whose nominal kingdom extends over a much wider area, he rules the largest tract of territory in the Protectorate. Although he is acknowledged by the Kathīri Sultan as having precedence in the Hadhramaut, he has not yet secured recognition by the Wahidi Sultans, or by the Mahra Sultan, as their natural leader.

643 648 636 The whole of the Aden Protectorate is ruled by its own chiefs, who are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned. Their relations with the Protecting Power are for the most part regulated by treaty, and while their foreign affairs are entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, interference in matters of domestic concern is generally limited to advice.

121 This report offers a survey of the social and political organization of the Hadhramis and of the resources of their country as seen by the writer. The object of this introduction is to give a brief indication of the present trend of development as it appears to him.

176 185 There is an extraordinary complexity of social and governmental organization in the Hadhramaut. The country is in a transition period between the disappearance or modification of the earlier social organization, which has itself evolved with the centuries, and the development of Government more or less on modern lines.

The various classes of society in the Hadhramaut are described in the report, and the interplay of some of them, one with another, has, in the course of time, as in other countries, given rise to abuses which, as the life and thought of the Middle Ages is influenced

by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen. 178 185

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread. [369 182] 185

The surprising modern developments in the Kathīri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increasingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres. The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of good-will and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut appears to be changing almost despite itself. 185 177 648 [167] 178 185 182

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathīri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of Qu'aiti and Kathīri rule in their respective countries. I could not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti 000

Sultan 'Awadh dealt with on the same footing as those of the Hadhramaut. 643 171

Although the Indian connection is not a popular one with the indigenous inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, the dominant Yafa'i section of the population finds no objection to it, and it has in fact been the means of the introduction of a more advanced system of Government than any to be found elsewhere in the Protectorate, with the possible exception of Lahej where the enlightened rule of the 'Abdali dynasty again owes much to external influence, namely, to its close proximity to Aden. It has already been sufficiently indicated that Sultan 'Umar and his brother have been largely responsible for many of these improvements. After travelling in the western part of the Protectorate the contrast between the conditions in the Lower Yemen and those in the Hadhramaut are indeed remarkable. I do not think that anywhere else in the Protectorate the power of one authority is to be found extended over such a large area of country. There is a more than embryonic show of good order and organized Government in Qu'aiti territory on the coast, in the Mukalla and Shihr provinces, and up through the Du'an province to the Shibam province. This much I have seen with my own eyes and have observed the close contact between Provincial and Central Governments. From all accounts the condition is the same in the Hajr province. By his system of political arrangements with the tribes in and around Qu'aiti territory the Sultan has done much to make travel secure and easy. He has an army and police force in which discipline and administration are not lacking. 642 185

Apart from this comparatively satisfactory policing of the country, there is a growing tendency to promote educational and other social services in the Qu'aiti dominions, especially in Mukalla and Shihr, and there is in those parts a very colourable imitation of the machinery of western Government.

Although the rule over the Hadhramaut has thus been influenced to a large extent by Indian ideas, and although excessive Indianisation is unpopular with the pure Hadhramaut elements, nevertheless the administration escapes a great deal of unpopularity by its employment of local Arabs and slaves throughout the interior of the country. Even in the Kathīri camp I found that Sultan 'Umar was personally popular, and during his tour through the country he was very well received. 642 177 186 643

The interior of the Qu'aiti territory is now fast catching up with the coast in its connection with the outside world. Recent years have seen far more visitors enter the interior then ever before and they are universally well received. In addition there are connections in the Shibam province with the East Indies, and in the Du'an province with Egypt, Sudan, and Abyssinia. Everywhere there are connections with East Africa, and these are extensive among the Tamimis where I found some indication of a desire for settled administration. 601

185 In all this evident progress which is being made one is conscious of a certain amount of wasted energy. There is certainly some indication of the will to give the people of the country those amenities and services which we consider the right of all people, but the achievement falls considerably short of what it should be, not because the will to achieve is not there, but because of lack of knowledge. It is obvious that education is eagerly desired, such facilities as exist are more than taken advantage of, but the few and crowded schools, although they attempt to model their system on that of Aden, are lacking in many things that could be provided without much extra expenditure. Their shoddiness, no less than the fact that the instruction, despite the enthusiasm of the staffs, lacks enlightenment, seems to me to be due to the want of a guiding hand. In the same way though the necessity of a good water-supply is realized the lack of protection to the water-supply argues only an absence of expert advice. These are but samples of the need for help which one can see in every aspect of the Mukalla administration.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE KATHĪRI STATE.

642 The condition of that part of the Hadhramaut remaining under Kathīri influence is in marked contrast to the large extent of survey under Qu'aiti rule or influence. We have to begin our survey of the situation with an entirely different set of premises. It will already have been sufficiently seen that the Kathīris are probably indigenous to the Hadhramaut, or at any rate so long settled there as to have become in every sense of the word sons of the land in which they live. Their dynasty is therefore a native one. At one time they were far and away the predominant people of the whole country and their influence extended beyond its bounds. Gradually, owing to their introduction of mercenaries, it has become less and less, though the present landlocked position of the Sultanate dates from only recent times.

643 Among the Kathīris we find the usual tribal system of election of a Sultan from the members of a family which has gradually become the predominant one of the whole Confederation. The way in which the tribes of the Shenafir Confederation are related to each other and descended from a common ancestor is shown in an appendix.

642 643 A Sultan who is head of his tribe but not its ruler is unfortunately only too common an occurrence in Arabia, and the position of the Kathīri Sultan is no anomaly. With the gradual curtailment of Kathīri power, differences between the various tribes and clans of the Confederation have tended to become more acute, and nowadays the actual rule of the Āl 'Abdulla is, as will be seen, confined to a couple of towns and a few villages. But this does not

715 and is offered for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet, presumably, other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

[726] The situation sounds almost incredible, but the war continued for 728 several years. At last Sultan 'Ali supported by the Al Kaf Seiyids, 669 the strongest influence for peace in Kathīri territory, thought matters had gone far enough, and invited the disputants to Seiyun to conclude a peace. The terms suggested were agreed to on all points except for one requiring Bin 'Abdat to demolish two small forts. The matter appeared to have reached a deadlock when a Seiyid of Aden, of Hadhramaut origin, Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman al Jifri, proceeded to the Hadhramaut and offered his services in the settlement of the trouble. He is a friend of Bin 'Abdat's, and Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman and Bubekr al Kaf sent him to Bin 'Abdat to advise him not to hold out on account of the two small forts. Matters were probably ripe for a settlement as everybody was tired of hostilities, but Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman very creditably brought the feud to a satisfactory conclusion. What was even more satisfactory was that a gathering of more than a hundred representatives of all sections of the Shenafir was held at Seiyun, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman succeeded in assisting Sultan 'Ali, backed by the Al Kaf Seiyids, to negotiate a truce between all the Shenafir tribes. This agreement, which takes effect from the 1st of Sha'bān 1353 (9th November 1934) provides for a truce of two years and two months in all matters relating to blood feuds between the various tribes, and gives also a guarantee of five years security for travellers on the routes.

643 It may thus be that the foundations have now been laid for an 185 era of peace in Kathīri land, and the time seems to be propitious 565 for the establishment of a greater solidarity in Kathīri rule. There are certainly strong elements in favour of peace. Foremost of all is Sultan 'Ali himself. He is a man of culture and very charming personality with that kind of magnetism which inspires instinctive respect and affection. I do not think anybody who has met him can fail to receive the impression that he is a good man in the best sense of the word, nor can anyone who has discussed the situation with him fail to be impressed with the earnestness of his desire for peace. In this desire he is warmly and ably supported by many of the leading families, of whom the most important are the Al Kaf and Saqqaf Seiyids. Although they are Seiyids the measures of reform which these families support are many of them in flagrant opposition to the old conservative policy of the Seiyids, which for long maintained that body as the most powerful and the most desperately retrogressive party in the Hadhramaut. These families have shown that they can still play a very important part in the destinies of the country, and have in fact earned the right to speak in common voice with the Sultan in pressing reforms. It may also be observed that they are the heaviest, as well as the most willing, [651] taxpayers in the country. Their annual contributions on Government and charitable undertakings amount to at least $70,000 a year, without considering special expenditure.

year, without considering special expenditure. It is fortunate that these families give attention to the affairs of Government and have been able to help to place the administration of the town of Tarim, for example, on a business footing. The families include men of considerable wealth who have made fortunes in Singapore where they own a lot of property acquired and developed in two generations. The Al Kaf family, who, by the way, are mostly British subjects, pay (I give the figure from memory) 120,000 Straits dollars a year in taxation in Singapore, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman, the head of the family, is a Justice of the Peace.

But it is not only among the wealthiest members of the community that there are signs of a growing desire for peace and progress. I have recorded elsewhere that, as well as in Qu'aiti territory, there are tribesmen of the Shenafir who have expressed a desire for settled administration and stated their willingness to pay taxes. As a whole the Kathīri people are the most wealthy of the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut. Their wealth is very largely derived from the East Indies, and principally from the Dutch colonies; but, as will be seen in the part of this report dealing with emigration, the Hadhrami wherever he settles is always a Hadhrami, and he looks on his beloved valley as a home to which he wishes to return. Abroad under a British or Dutch aegis he acquires a taste for peace and security. The money he makes he sends home, and, as stated elsewhere, the amount remitted from the East Indies is about seven lakhs of rupees a month. Once he has acquired property he ceases to be a Beduin with nothing to lose and becomes a landed proprietor with a large and expensive residence which he does not wish to see destroyed.

I have said that the Qu'aiti need guidance in their very creditable schemes of progress, the Kathīri want it in order to achieve peace and security.

## CHAPTER XII.

### QU'AITI-KATHĪRI RELATIONS.

Between Qu'aiti and Kathīri there is, unhappily, profound mistrust. This, however, can be well understood when the history of the country is understood, and when it is remembered that old hates in the East generally remain fresh long after the events which gave rise to them have passed. The Kathīri, not unnaturally, has cherished a grudge against the people who deprived him of what was once his country. The Qu'aiti retains a fear that he may yet lose what he has so hardly won. He realizes no doubt that except for British backing, which has sometimes been erratic in its application, it might well be possible for the Kathīris, original owners of the country, to call to their aid the other indigenous people of the Hadhramaut, including their old allies, and drive out the invader. The Qu'aiti also cherishes, perhaps, the hate that one party often bears towards the party it has wronged.

578 These sentiments I believe to be at the back of the unsatisfactory
182 state of affairs between the two parties. They became accentuated by the Kathīris losing a seaport. Once they became land-locked, they felt themselves even more at the mercy of those who control the ways in and out of the country. The Qu'aitis, on their side, felt that with the seaports they could prevent the Kathīris from again becoming a menace. The inevitable result of this policy on the part of the Qu'aitis was intensified dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of the Kathīris.

185 Some 20 or 25 years ago they came to the conclusion that
the state of affairs could no longer be borne. It was resulting in
661 a neglected condition of the country and increased anarchy in the
648 interior. All the revenue went into the pockets of the authority holding the seaports, and nothing was done in the way of improvements to the roads or to the development of the country. At this time there was little or no intercourse between the British and the Kathīri. The Qu'aiti had long been under British protection and had proved a loyal and faithful friend. Not unnaturally he was given support and in the usual way dealings with a tribe not in treaty relations were eschewed. Nevertheless the Kathīri would have preferred British assistance. As it was not forthcoming it is said that at different times he made advances to other powers, and the Turks, Dutch, Italians and French have been mentioned to me.

648 In due course we began to take an interest in the matter, and finally the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 was negotiated with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I do not propose to comment on this treaty (which is reproduced for convenience sake in an appendix) except to say that it seems to me admirable in its sentiments, particularly in its requiring the parties to co-operate in measures for the common benefit of the Hadhramaut. As far as the British Government was concerned its effect was to bring the Kathīris under British protection through the medium of the Protectorate treaty with the Qu'aitis. It also provides for the settlement of disputes between the two parties by the British. If the treaty could have been fulfilled in letter and spirit, all would have been well.

Apart from the fact that the Qu'aiti had been a loyal friend to the British, and that it would on that ground have been a mistake to upset his paramount authority in the Hadhramaut, any arrangement which set up two independent authorities in the Hadhramaut would be a mistake. The evil consequences of splitting up a country by means of separate treaties sought or granted on insufficient information are well exemplified in the case of Upper Yafa'. The Hadhramaut is economically and geographically a single unit, and its prosperity depends on the fullest co-operation between the party that controls the ports and the party that is paramount in the
000 interior. It has often been said that co-operation of this sort is not in the Arab genius, but economic forces are often more potent

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



than purely ethnographical considerations, and I certainly believe that with some assistance the present trend of progress in Qu'aiti territory and desire for peace and development in Kathīri territory could be co-ordinated to a common end.

So much for the treaty.* Unfortunately the spirit of it has not as yet been carried into effect. Mistrust still reigns supreme. This mistrust insists on the fulfilment of such a condition as correspondence by the Kathīris with the British being conducted through Qu'aiti channels. If the mistrust did not exist, this provision would be a natural one tending to the facility of the conduct of public business. On the other hand, such provisions as that requiring co-operation remains a dead letter, and any attempts to secure progress by the Kathīris seem doomed to obstruction by the Qu'aitis.

In October 1927, and May 1928, conferences were held at Singapore in which measures were discussed which might lead to the improvement of the two states, and proposals were even brought forward for the institution of an assembly composed of representatives of both states to " scrutinize the budget ", and concern itself with the interstate co-ordination of certain departmental activities. These conferences were of course not likely to have any far-reaching result, but they were interesting as showing the ideas that were being imbibed by Kathīri emigrants in the advanced environment of the Straits Settlements. Such democratic concepts, however, were not likely to find favour at the present stage of development of thought in the Hadhramaut.

In 1929 the Kathīri Sultan drew attention to the lack of co-operation and the difficulty of introducing schemes of reform, and he proposed that a conference should be assembled to discuss the matter. The Qu'aiti to whom the matter was referred expressed his readiness to hold such a conference, but although the idea was encouraged it subsequently came to nothing and was eventually postponed *sine die*.

Shortly before my visit to the Hadhramaut Sultan 'Umar made his state tour of his domains and of Kathīri territory. He was received everywhere with acclamation and appears to have played the role of beneficent prince. He was presented with a petition asking for reforms. Certain abuses were mentioned in the petition, and, in particular, attention was called to the fact that although taxes were heavy they were not applied to the benefit of the subjects. There were also complaints of insecurity and the unrestricted traffic in arms. The petition recited the conclusion of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 and several others since concluded by Qu'aitis and Kathīris. The part of the petition dealing with these further documents is as follows :—

> " The next treaty between both Governments was concluded on 10th Shawāl 1336 (1918). There followed also a third pact, which was concluded on 30th Dhu'l Qada 1336, between the Qu'aiti Government on the one part and the Āl Tamim on the

* [Qu'aiti – Kathiri agreement of 1918 – Analyst]

664 other concerning the protection of goods belonging to the sub-
185 jects. There is also a fourth pact wherein Your Highness undertook to take action against any party that should transgress against another party, to punish the offenders, restore looted property, and check the transgressors, according to this treaty, until such time as God wills. This treaty is dated 13th Jumād ath Thani 1342 (1923). It also embodies other conditions which have not been carried into effect.

"A fifth treaty was likewise concluded between Seiyid Hussein bin Hāmid al Mihdhār, representative of the Qu'aiti Government, on the one part, and the Sultan of the Āl Abdulla on the other, on 25th Ramadhan 1344 (1925). Thereafter an agreement was concluded between both the Governments, the Qu'aiti and the Āl 'Abdulla, on the one part, and the Āl 'Awāmir on the other. This pact is dated 12th Rajab 1345 (1926), and in it the Āl 'Awāmir undertook not to interfere with travellers belonging to either Government, or with other travellers, within their respective boundaries, even though they might happen to be in a state of war. This is the sixth pact.

"There is also a seventh treaty between Sultan Salih bin Ghalib bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti on the one part, and the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla on the other. The first Article provides that: 'Both Governments should co-operate to bring about a settlement, and maintain peace and security, and set at rest all agitations and disturbances by any means which will lead to conciliation. In the event of the said measures not being successful they should use all possible power to enforce the same.' In the fourth Article it is laid down that 'Both Governments shall endeavour to take the necessary measures for the security of the routes, and the protection of the poor and others from the effect of the strife and fighting which invariably occur between the tribesmen.'"

The petition bore sixty signatures of the leading inhabitants of the Kathīri part of the valley, and purported to speak on behalf of the "Hadhrami nation". It was addressed to the Qu'aiti and Kathīri Sultans. I do not think that the petition was intended to be on behalf of the inhabitants of the Qu'aiti domain but it was rather directed against the working of Qu'aiti policy *vis à vis* the Kathīri. It was rejected by Sultan 'Umar on the ground that the petitioners were not representative, but it was supported by the Kathīri Sultan.

651 As regards taxation, the position is that goods entering the country
653 are taxed at Mukalla. If they are intended for the Kathīri part of the valley they are often taken by sea to Shihr where they are taxed again. None of this money is used in maintaining security on the road from Shihr to Tarim, and none of it is used to improve communications for the people by whom it is paid. The Al Kaf Seiyids have spent $180,000 in attempting to build a Tarim-Shihr

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without 721
quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a
period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be 114
appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to 185
build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in
both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building 121
up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order
to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti 631
State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest
revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other
areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete
that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five 131
*liwas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the 631
capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the 161
largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital 361
was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why
the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness 643
Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

### Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty 648
of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr
and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty
the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain
from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the
sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by
any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a
treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to
appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the
welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those con-
cerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on
those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly
signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan
a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained
first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Govern-
ment to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear
that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with
Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material
disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the
advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would
be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of
His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the
Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It
said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

## Nature of the People and Country

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and the people are natural Muslims having learnt in a hard school absolute submission to the will of God. Religious fanaticism is strongest where the seiyids are strongest. In other places there is greater tolerance and, among the bedouins, it is what a man is rather than what his religion is that counts.

When we started everybody wanted independence. Many of the old secluded seiyids, whose ideas of independence merely amounted to the exclusion of infidels, had sons and relations who read the Egyptian papers and their ideas of independence were based on grandiose schemes of complete self-government. Some of them, who thought themselves moderate, demanded no more than independence on the Egyptian and Iraqi models and talked airily of Parliaments and so on. In Singapore and Java in 1939 I had petitions presented to me three times demanding this sort of independence. Once at Solo the deputation was pointed out to me as representative: it contained seiyids, tribesmen and a Sultan of the Kathiri family. Only the last had ever been in the Hadhramaut. He asked me if he might see me privately after the meeting and then asked me to arrange independence for Jahiz. Jahiz was his village in the Wadi 'Amd and consists of five houses. The tribesmen, settled and bedouin, wanted independence; the bedouin claim was at least easy to understand for all it amounted to was that their freedom in the hills and deserts should be undisturbed. The settled tribesmen were and are more difficult. Every little section considered itself independent, and the more powerful, who could afford not only to arm themselves but to buy and arm private forces of slaves, did all they could to extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbours.

The strangest example of this kind of campaign was that of the Bin 'Abdat section of the Kathiri tribe, who own much landed property in Singapore and Java. The treaty chief of the Kathiris is the Kathiri Sultan whose capital is Seiyun. About 1928 the head of the Bin 'Abdat section forcibly occupied the walled town of Al Ghurfa, belonging to some unarmed sheikhs. This brought him into conflict with the Kathiri Sultan, who was supported by the Qu'aiti Sultan, and with the neighbouring heads of other Kathiri sections. War ensued which carried on with little interruption till 1937. Bin 'Abdat built up a respectable force of slaves and tribesmen of his own and constructed an elaborate system of forts and trenches which extended right across the Wadi Hadhramaut some three miles or more, and almost to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary at Shibam. In the course of the fighting, a curious armoured vehicle was imported from Java, which was intended to be towed by a motor car into the enemy camp. Bin 'Abdat acquired a very large stock of ammunition and really good rifles at very high prices. The Qu'aiti Sultan brought artillery, ancient and modern, to the aid of the Kathiri, but no decision was ever reached.

When I came to the Hadhramaut in 1936 Bin 'Abdat instructed his lawyer in Singapore to address a letter to the Government in which he claimed to be an "independent rajah." He was informed that the only recognised treaty chiefs in the main Hadhramaut were the Qu'aiti and

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



669 Kathiri Sultans and that he was the recognized head of a Kathiri section
648 subordinate to the latter. In 1937 after a lot of persuasion he subscribed to the three years truce. This chief loyally kept the peace and helped in maintaining peace till his death early in 1939, when he was succeeded by an irresponsible nephew who after visiting Java and Singapore to collect his inheritance, returned to Hadhramaut determined to extend his boundaries and influence.

In 1939 my wife and I also visited the East Indies and while in Batavia were entertained by the Bin 'Abdat family at a tea and cocktail party at the Hôtel des Galleries, a large modern hotel belonging to the family. Round the walls of the room in which the reception was held were pictures of Al Ghurfa labelled "Al Ghurfa in the Hadhramaut over which this family has fought so long."

Late in 1939 the new Bin 'Abdat started fresh operations. He extended his fortifications and subsidized a large bedouin tribe, the Hamumis, amongst whom the Government was trying to make peace, to make the then one motor road unsafe and to oppose the Government in every possible way. A good deal of fighting ensued in which both the Hamumis and the Qu'aiti troops had casualties. He also brought Hamumi bedouins as his soldiers into the Wadi Hadhramaut itself where they made the road unsafe for travellers. He arrested and maltreated persons who had recourse to the Sultan in their troubles. The Sultans were supported by His Majesty's Government and action was taken against him. He submitted in May 1940, but did not observe the condition he had accepted and until the fall of Singapore and Java eventually caused his funds to dry up, was always a source of trouble. For it was the profits of the hotel and rents of his properties in the Far East which had enabled the family to keep their wars going. Many Hadhrami chiefs did the same thing, but none on the
627 Bin 'Abdat scale. And when litigants in Java lost their cases in the Java Courts it was not unusual for them to repay their opponents in the Hadhramaut by having their families shot or their homes burnt.

631 There were supposed to be only two Governments in Hadhramaut, the
619 Qu'aiti and Kathiri, but in fact there were about two thousand—the fourteen hundred tribes and sections who had signed the truce and several hundreds more of independent villages ruled by mansabs and sheikhs.

• 185 It was considerations such as these that I had to bear in mind when I thought of the kind of organization which would be most likely to succeed in the Hadhramaut. The only things that seemed to offer a favourable opening were a widespread desire for peace and a genuine anxiety on the part of the Sultan for improvements in Governmental and social services. Apart from these factors I had the instruments I have referred to, and the general indication that one should try to follow as far as possible the methods adopted in the Unfederated Malay States, to guide me in forming an organization.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds 439
remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business 167
holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over 171
a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.[9]

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is 177
virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common 198
tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Ka- 291
thiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be 556
incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, 185
Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf 177
family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In [491]
1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, [509]
Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

[9] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut.* London: Colonial Office, 1936.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from
245 Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where
438 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager
283 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in
[342] this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have
186 caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the
191 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a
185 more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley,
485 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was
491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal
728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the
185 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

# THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

701 DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

579 721 643 Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

648 728 Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

648 At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

185 625 701 From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls. [871]

113 * Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

cost was paid by him. The way across the mountains is 491
fantastically dangerous, but an expert chauffeur with a first class auto seems to be able to pass over it without any accident. I made up my mind, however, not to risk it again, and on the way back to follow the longer way round through the *wādī*. The mountain road was constructed at a time when it was impossible, owing to hostilities, to pass through the level country.

From the 27th of May until the 7th of June we were 741
in Terīm as the guests of Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf 871
As a Sayyid he has no official part in the government of 185
his country, but actually he is the man who is now doing most for his country and people. It was he who founded the schools at Makalla, at ash-Shihr, at Dō'an and in the towns of the Wādī Hadramaut, and it is he who supports them; it was he who made possible the transport of the first automobiles from the coast to Terīm, along the great road which he is now engaged in constructing. He is the man who constructed the automobile road from Terīm to Sēwun, and it is he who gives generously to thousands of the poor, to whom he has food supplied every Thursday evening. Terīm is the town for religion and learn- 361
ing; once it was the most important town of Hadramaut, and it is again on the road to become that. It is a town with a multitude of mosques and dozens of palaces, in which are living those families the members of which were able to amass millions of money in Java and at Singapore. The home of Sayyid Abu Bakr is the place where religious and political leaders meet one another, and where the future of the country is discussed.

Thanks to the help of our host, we were able to make 778
a trip to Sūne, the center for archæology, and finally to [792]
attain our most distant goal by being able to visit the 788
central sanctuary of Hadramaut, namely, the grave of the prophet of Allah, Hūd, and to explore the mythical abode of the souls of the unbelievers, Bīr Barhūt. The tomb of Hūd (Qabr Hūd) is the Mecca of Hadramaut and of the surrounding countries. For three days in

houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the [186] austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These 342 well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign 578 countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them 185 among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem 648 presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination 157 before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, 578 and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same 648 demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section 185 of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with 643 the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at 625 Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in 185 a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage.

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
ADEN MM1



long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage. An energetic Agricultural Officer appointed by the Colonial Office has initiated experiments that are producing very promising results on the Audhali plateau to the north-east of Aden, and in other districts where water is available for irrigation. Medical and educational progress is as yet only in its initial stage, but a beginning has been made in the establishment of local dispensaries, and the institution at Aden of a Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs has met with encouraging success.

It is a fundamental principle of our policy in the Aden Protectorate that the Arab character of the country must be preserved. In this respect the Protectorate differs from the colony of Aden, which it adjoins. The colony is a small territory comprising the town and port of Aden; and, although the majority of its inhabitants are Arabs, it has long been a cosmopolitan community, in which Europeans, Indians, Jews, and Somalis mingle with the Arabs in friendly co-operation and a common loyalty to the British Crown and administration. The Protectorate, on the other hand, is recognized to be wholly Arab country. There is no intention on the part of the British Government to annex any part of it or to introduce any direct British administration. Our ambition and our hope are to produce in Southern Arabia an example of friendly and willing British and Arab co-operation, in which we give the best we can in the shape of advice and technical help without disturbing the national characteristics of the people. All efforts at reform are fated to meet with opposition from some quarters, and especially from those that are interested in the maintenance of old abuses, and our experience in the Aden Protectorate is no exception in this respect. On the whole, however, we have received a cordial, and often an eager, response. British officers working in Aden and the Protectorate have been rewarded not only with understanding and support, but also with liking and friendship that have bound them by personal ties to these Arabs, who have so much in common with the British in their individualism, their adventurousness, their humour, and their love of freedom. Now, when the Empire is at war and is passing through critical days, it is a pleasure and an encouragement to see the spontaneous loyalty and affection that have been displayed by the people of Aden reflected also in the Protectorate that we so long neglected but are now at last trying sincerely to befriend. In the towns and in remote villages in the mountains the people have gathered in their mosques to pray for British victory. Their friendship did not falter in the dark days of last summer, and now that victories have

# CHAPTER X.

## TO TERÎM, THE HOPE OF ALL ḤAḌRAMAUT.

871 In the Qeᶜēṭī country, already, we heard the name of Sayyid
487 Abū Bakr el-Kāf invariably pronounced with respect, and here
491 we have entered the land of his activity. Sayyid el-Kāf has plac-
741 ed his energy, his love, and all his possessions at the service of
493 his country and of his people. His example is an impressive
185 call to unity and to the setting aside of personal interests and
susceptibilities for the general good. Schools, endowed and maintained by him, are scattered all over the country. The Qeᶜēṭī Sultans and Governors have them in their residences, and the influence of these little schools will slowly penetrate through the whole land. His other sensational enterprise, which may become of the greatest significance for the country's future, is the construction of a motor road from the Ḥaḍramaut valley to the coast. Although the road is not yet completed, its influence is already making itself felt. The most difficult *ᶜaqabas* have been conquered so that it is possible to bring cars into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut, though the transport of these is still expensive. There, where the first car passes, others will soon follow, and in a country where travelling is very tiring and very slow, the motor-car will be particularly appreciated. The Ḥaḍramīs who have been successful abroad do not lack money. The motor-car having arrived will not disappear again, and conditions within the borders of Ḥaḍramaut will be entirely changed thereby. The construction of roads in the valley itself has been started without delay, and drivers and mechanics have already found their way there.
721 The inconvenience of intertribal warfare makes itself felt more and more forcibly, but Sayyid Abū Bakr will be greatly
p 128

000 721 185 509 finished a stretch of three days by camel. Sayyid Abū Bakr foresees, nevertheless, much bickering with the Bedouins in the future and therefore is meditating upon the possibility of inaugurating an air service between Terīm and esh-Shiḥr. Since he saw British military aeroplanes manoeuvring above Terīm and heard what a deep impression those unknown, gigantic birds made on the Bedouins, the conviction has grown within him that the aeroplane would be the conclusive way of bringing the Bedouins under discipline and keeping them there. An aeroplane cannot be opposed with dagger and gun, the wādīs are no hindrance to it, and there is no spot on the barren *djōls* where one can escape the searching eye of the airman. Sayyid Abū Bakr considers that a single demonstration, to show the terrible effects wrought by a bomb dropped from one such aeroplane, would suffice to make an end to the Bedouin warfare, which has been going on for centuries, and that this would be the first step on the way towards the real advancement of the country. We advise them — although they know the Dutch Fokker aeroplanes in Java and the kindred type, the Junkers, in the Yemen, — to consult the British authorities at Aden and to procure the same type of aeroplane as is used by them.

506 On the afternoons of the ensuing days motor drives were made in the neighbourhood of Terīm, to show us the ground considered suitable for an aerodrome. My expert companion chooses the site indicated on the ground-plan of Terīm, eastward of el-Ḥāwī, of which only a small part would need levelling; it is close to and connected with the town, and is not so near to the precipitous mountain-wall as the other terrains under review. At the request of Sayyid Abū Bakr, Von Wissmann draws a sketch map of the proposed landing ground with its surroundings, to show to the Governor of Aden when consulting him as to whether the R. A. F. would allow their machines to land on such a ground. Our energetic friend, Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās of Ḥurēḍa, has worked with the Junkers commission in the Yemen and will, eventually, be

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



## ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

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*Estimate of Livestock in* 1952

| | *Western Protectorate* | *Eastern Protectorate* |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 35,000 | 45,000 |
| Cattle | 60,000 | 8,000 |
| Goats | 500,000 | 355,000 |
| Sheep | 150,000 | 50,000 |
| Donkeys | 3,500 | 3,500 |

Most of the animals are kept by peasant farmers who depend on animal products for an important part of their diet. Away from the less settled areas pastoral, nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes own large numbers of livestock and depend on stock products for food and for sale and barter to obtain other requirements.

Towards the end of 1952 drought conditions affected the production and general condition of livestock. No serious animal disease was recorded during the year.

There is no separate Veterinary Department in the Protectorate but the Director of Agriculture undertakes preventive measures to control important diseases such as rinderpest and horse-sickness. 647 232

A herd of Ongole (Nellore) cattle is maintained by the Abyan Board. It is proposed to test the productivity of this breed and the suitability of animals raised locally from the breed for draught purposes in Abyan.

## FORESTRY

No true forest exists in the Protectorate. Trees and shrubs common to arid regions in this latitude are found, while a dense growth of Tamarisk and Salvadora is found as "corridor forest" on the sides of the larger flood courses. Acacia is the most important species at all altitudes ; a semi-cultivated species of great value for timber and for honey-gathering bees is the Elb (*Ziziphus spina christi*). 137

A general dearth of forest products for timber, building materials and for browse for livestock is apparent. In many parts of the Protectorate, and particularly in areas close to Aden, the coastal towns of the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut towns, destruction of vegetation for charcoal production and for fuel has devastated large areas. So far no satisfactory measures have been taken to regenerate such areas. Large amounts of capital and firm action by local Governments are needed for this. 185

## CO-OPERATION

The Beihan Farmers' Association, now in its fifth year, continued to benefit the Beihan district. This Association provides its members with seed stocks and grain supplies on credit. At the end of the year the assets were estimated at £14,850 and liabilities at £8,779. 476

The Audhali-Kaur Farmers' Association has made moderate progress since its formation in 1950. It is primarily concerned with the organisation of vegetable production, transport and marketing for its members who farm with the aid of lift irrigation in the mid-altitude area of the "Audhali-Kaur".

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

H 212 185 658 in the Protectorate has recently been undertaken by the British authorities, while in some areas, particularly in the Qu'aiti Sultanate, schools are now supported by the local governments. Scattered primary and Koranic schools, and at least one postprimary school, are found in each of the protectorates. In the course of a medical survey H 212 565 in Western Aden Protectorate in 1939-40,[30] the degree of literacy was found to average 20 per cent among the men and practically zero among the women. The highest literacy rates were encountered among the Seiyids, a group recognized as the social and the H [873] religious leaders. A college for the sons of chiefs from Western Aden Protectorate is located at Aden.

## Vital Statistics

A 659 163 165 Registration of births and deaths is compulsory in the Colony. In the 5 years 1946-50, the birth rate, calculated on the basis of the census returns for 1946, ranged from 26.6 to 31.7 per 1,000 population; the A 165 164 death rate, from 20.1 to 23.5 per 1,000 population. The significance of the mortality statistics is influenced adversely by the continuous movement of laborers between the Colony and their homes in Yemen and the Protectorate, and the influx of sick individuals from the interior to Aden hospitals, many of whom are in a seriously debilitated condition on arrival. In 1950, for example, the recorded deaths totaled 1,644, of which 511 were among nonresidents. The death rate, as reported, was 20.1 per 1,000 of the 1946 census population, but, eliminating the nonresident deaths, it is reduced to 14.2 per 1,000 population. Corrected to the estimated population for that year, the crude death rate figured at 16.4 per 1,000 and the resident rate at 11.3 per 1,000 population.

A 165 731 The infant mortality rate has declined appreciably within recent years. It had been less than 200 per 1,000 live births for several decades, but it reached a peak of 239 per 1,000 in 1943, when famine conditions prevailed throughout much of southwestern Arabia. The annual rates averaged 176 per

p. 238 (A)

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2
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sequently return to their home settlements with their savings. Arabic is the language of the indigenous peoples, but Malay tongues are widely used in the towns of the Hadhramaut. Swahili, the *franca lingua* of East Africa, is understood throughout most of the area, while English is extensively employed in Aden proper. The majority of Arabs are Moslems, belonging to branches of the Sunni sect. Other religions are found chiefly among the different racial groups in the Colony and in the coast towns of the Protectorate.

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Education has made considerable progress in the Colony, and is gradually being introduced into the Protectorate. Primary schools for both sexes are supported by the government in the Colony, and by mission and private organizations. The Colonial authorities also operate secondary and vocational schools for boys. There are no post-secondary institutions, but government scholarships are available for the training of teachers and various professional personnel in the Anglo-Egytian Sudan or in the United Kingdom. The literacy rate among children of 6 to 12 years of age is estimated at 90 per cent, in contrast with 10 to 25 per cent in the general population. A program for the expansion of education

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p. 237 (8)

Sultan 'Awadh dealt with on the same footing as those of the Hadhramaut. 643 171

Although the Indian connection is not a popular one with the indigenous inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, the dominant Yafa'i section of the population finds no objection to it, and it has in fact been the means of the introduction of a more advanced system of Government than any to be found elsewhere in the Protectorate, with the possible exception of Lahej where the enlightened rule of the 'Abdali dynasty again owes much to external influence, namely, to its close proximity to Aden. It has already been sufficiently indicated that Sultan 'Umar and his brother have been largely responsible for many of these improvements. After travelling in the western part of the Protectorate the contrast between the conditions in the Lower Yemen and those in the Hadhramaut are indeed remarkable. I do not think that anywhere else in the Protectorate the power of one authority is to be found extended over such a large area of country. There is a more than embryonic show of good order and organized Government in Qu'aiti territory on the coast, in the Mukalla and Shihr provinces, and up through the Du'an province to the Shibam province. This much I have seen with my own eyes and have observed the close contact between Provincial and Central Governments. From all accounts the condition is the same in the Hajr province. By his system of political arrangements with the tribes in and around Qu'aiti territory the Sultan has done much to make travel secure and easy. He has an army and police force in which discipline and administration are not lacking. 642 185

Apart from this comparatively satisfactory policing of the country, there is a growing tendency to promote educational and other social services in the Qu'aiti dominions, especially in Mukalla and Shihr, and there is in those parts a very colourable imitation of the machinery of western Government.

Although the rule over the Hadhramaut has thus been influenced to a large extent by Indian ideas, and although excessive Indianisation is unpopular with the pure Hadhramaut elements, nevertheless the administration escapes a great deal of unpopularity by its employment of local Arabs and slaves throughout the interior of the country. Even in the Kathiri camp I found that Sultan 'Umar was personally popular, and during his tour through the country he was very well received. 642 177 186 643

The interior of the Qu'aiti territory is now fast catching up with the coast in its connection with the outside world. Recent years have seen far more visitors enter the interior then ever before and they are universally well received. In addition there are connections in the Shibam province with the East Indies, and in the Du'an province with Egypt, Sudan, and Abyssinia. Everywhere there are connections with East Africa, and these are extensive among the Tamimis where I found some indication of a desire for settled administration. [601]

year, without considering special expenditure. It is fortunate that these families give attention to the affairs of Government and have been able to help to place the administration of the town of Tarim, for example, on a business footing. The families include men of considerable wealth who have made fortunes in Singapore where they own a lot of property acquired and developed in two generations. The Al Kaf family, who, by the way, are mostly British subjects, pay (I give the figure from memory) 120,000 Straits dollars a year in taxation in Singapore, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman, the head of the family, is a Justice of the Peace.

But it is not only among the wealthiest members of the community that there are signs of a growing desire for peace and progress. I have recorded elsewhere that, as well as in Qu'aiti territory, there are tribesmen of the Shenafir who have expressed a desire for settled administration and stated their willingness to pay taxes. As a whole the Kathīri people are the most wealthy of the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut. Their wealth is very largely derived from the East Indies, and principally from the Dutch colonies; but, as will be seen in the part of this report dealing with emigration, the Hadhrami, wherever he settles is always a Hadhrami, and he looks on his beloved valley as a home to which he wishes to return. Abroad under a British or Dutch aegis he acquires a taste for peace and security. The money he makes he sends home, and, as stated elsewhere, the amount remitted from the East Indies is about seven lakhs of rupees a month. Once he has acquired property he ceases to be a Beduin with nothing to lose and becomes a landed proprietor with a large and expensive residence which he does not wish to see destroyed.

I have said that the Qu'aiti need guidance in their very creditable schemes of progress, the Kathīri want it in order to achieve peace and security.

## CHAPTER XII.

### QU'AITI-KATHĪRI RELATIONS.

Between Qu'aiti and Kathīri there is, unhappily, profound mistrust. This, however, can be well understood when the history of the country is understood, and when it is remembered that old hates in the East generally remain fresh long after the events which gave rise to them have passed. The Kathīri, not unnaturally, has cherished a grudge against the people who deprived him of what was once his country. The Qu'aiti retains a fear that he may yet lose what he has so hardly won. He realizes no doubt that except for British backing, which has sometimes been erratic in its application, it might well be possible for the Kathīris, original owners of the country, to call to their aid the other indigenous people of the Hadhramaut, including their old allies, and drive out the invader. The Qu'aiti also cherishes, perhaps, the hate that one party often bears towards the party it has wronged.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB1
Arabs



H 563 582 871 I 563 658

4. *Coalescence with other members of the community in the Netherlands-Indies.*—The method of living and the language among Arab families in the Netherlands-Indies and particularly in the Netherlands-Indian Arabic families, are practically the same as among the Netherlands-Indian population of corresponding kind and position. In the Hadhramaut women do not travel abroad according to the customs of their country. Arabs who wish to found a family in the Netherlands-Indies are thus obliged to look for a wife among the native population, or among the daughters of their own country-men who have been born and brought up in the Netherlands-Indies. The more well-to-do aim at sending their sons to the Hadhramaut or to the private Arabic schools existing here to complete their education. This helps to keep up their knowledge of the Arabic language and Arabic customs. The sons of those who are less well-to-do for the most part receive no Arabic education, and thus know little of their own language and customs. The establishment by the Government of the H.A.S. (Holland-Arabic School) at Sole in recent years provides an opportunity for the Arabs to give their children also a Western education.

H 798 I 798 671

5. *The part they play in the life of their adopted country.*

The principal part played by the Arabs in this country in the life of the community is of a religious nature. The Hadhramis, once they have been established in the Netherlands-Indies, generally take care to moderate the fanaticism ruling their fatherland. But some of them have shown a keen proselytising spirit in their own localities. Above all the law scholars in the Arabic community have had a steadying and by no means inconsiderable influence on Islam in the Netherlands-Indies, through their teaching, their pupils and their widely distributed writings. These law scholars are consulted by their native colleagues in cases concerning Mohamedan law and several " fatwas " or expert judgments exist thanks to them.

H 167 641 186 I 641

6. *What proportion permanently sever their connections with the Hadhramaut.*

None of the Arabs in this country who have been born in the Hadhramaut completely sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. Many of them are so attached to the land of their birth that they have only one wish and that is to spend the last days of their lives in the Hadhramaut. Some of them who have grown rich here return from time to time to the Hadhramaut to visit members of their families and for a short change. Now and then one will leave the Netherlands-Indies to establish himself once more for good in the Hadhramaut. Lately a group of Netherlands-Indian Arabs have been trying to establish connections with the native populations. These Arabs desire to consider the Netherlands-Indies as their fatherland. They will also try to adapt their

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
[Straits Settlements] Malaya AN1


H 167 12,000 at 50, and more than 12,000 at 15. To-day the estimated number of the community in Singapore is 580, made up as follows :—

M 162 167

| Born in Hadhramaut | | Born in Singapore. | | Children above 10 years |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. | say |
| 120 | 20 | 160 | 180 | 100 |

M [163] The females born in Singapore are of mixed race with Arab, Malay, Javanese, Bugis, and Chinese blood. It may be presumed that this remark applies to some of the males born in Singapore and most of the children.

H 167 463 M 162 167 563 The number of Hadhramaut Arabs in Singapore to-day is about 10 per cent. less than in 1925. This reduction is attributed chiefly to the slump which caused some members of the community formerly resident in Singapore to move to neighbouring countries, and principally Java. The Hadhramis in Singapore are principally occupied as

1. House, land, and estate proprietors.
2. Kain Batik (cloth) dealers.
3. Miscellaneous professions including importers of merchandise from Arabia.
4. Brokers.
5. Religious teachers and *Imams*.

M 563 H 167 The community for its size is the wealthiest in Singapore owing to its large holdings in house, land, and estate property. Lee Warner (Geographical Journal, March 1931) says that "whole streets in Singapore and Penang are owned by wealthy Hadhramis, mainly of the Kathīri tribes." The community, probably owing to the religious objection to interest, invests its profits in land and house property.

The 13 principal individuals or families represented in Singapore own property valued at 21,800,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to about £2,544,000. Out of this amount the wealth of one family is estimated alone at 10,000,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to nearly £1,170,000. Two other fortunes also run into millions of dollars.

M 439 H 439 Trade with the Hadhramaut, or more accurately with Arabia, is not carried on on a large scale. It is confined to: *Exports:* cloth (Kain Batik), sandalwood, incense, crockery, and brassware. *Imports:* ghee, honey, Arab incense, native medicines and herbs, rosaries, and Arab coffee.

M 563 H 186 Regarding the part played by the Hadhramis in local affairs the information given is that the Hadhrami-born element does not take much interest in local social life or politics, but confines itself to its own groups. These people are conservative, good business men, respectable, dignified, and patriotic to their own country of origin and law-abiding to their country of adoption. They confine their interests to money making and religious exercises and maintain

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Malaya AN1
Kenya FL1

close relations with the Hadhramaut. One Hadhramaut-born Arab, Sheikh Salim bin Muhammad Bin Talib al Kathīri, is a Justice of the Peace. M 563 H 186

The younger generation of Singapore-born Hadhramis are said to take more interest in local social life than in business. They are more interested in merry making than in money making and do not possess much character nor love for their country of origin. Like the young Arabs in other countries they appear to have fallen victims to the easier side of modern influence, and have become Malayanised and not of much use either to the country of their origin or to that of their adoption. Amongst them of course are members of an older, pre-War generation, born in Singapore and like the old Hadhrami-born Arabs maintaining a proper loyalty to both countries. Two of these are Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Sheikh al Kaf and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Juneid al Juneid, both of whom are Justices of the Peace. M 563 178 H 186 178

## CHAPTER XXV.

## HADHRAMIS IN EAST AFRICA.

*Kenya Colony and Protectorate.*—The Kenya Non-Native Census Report for 1921 stated that Arab settlement in the country had gone on for centuries and that there was still a steady influx of Hadhramaut Arabs which was to be encouraged. "They are", says the report, "a virile, industrious, and thrifty race, and some authorities maintain that the regeneration of the coast is dependent on their efforts." Nine hundred and twenty Arabs, or 8·7 per cent. of the Arab population of Kenya, of whom 688 were males and 232 females, returned themselves as Hadhramis, but 1,347 other gave Arabia as birthplace. It was considered safe to assume that practically all of them were from the Hadhramaut or born in Kenya. As regards their occupation the Arabs showed themselves the most independent of any non-European race, for 67 per cent. of them were working on their own account. More than half the Arab males were traders and such women as were employed were classified Industrial. Many Hadhramis were employed on *hamali* transport and as water sellers. Commenting on this the report says the two trades beloved of the Shihiri Arabs still survive in spite of the competition of the motor lorry in the former case, and in the latter of the installation of a water supply. H 167 K 167 464

The District Commissioner of Mombasa states that there are today approximately 5,000 natives of Hadhramaut and Shihr in this district. There has been no change in their numbers during the past five or six years. Their principal occupations are water-carrying, coolie work, and petty trading. There is practically no trade with Hadhramaut. A number of them intermarry with other communities, and some families are permanently settled in the country. There was a time when they monopolised coolie work, but i very many cases they have been replaced by Africans. K 162 464 H 167

1:Ingra.. s G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Kenya FL 1
Tanganyika FN 1



H 167 It is a pity, he says, that for some years past almost all immigrants from Hadhramaut and Shihr have not been of the type that could be said to be of any economic value to the country. Many K 167 are professional beggars and almost all are of the type that only remain in the country to earn a few shillings and then return to their country.

H 167 457 K 167 Particularly undesirable temporary immigrants are the "Sheriffs."[1] These people visit the country once a year and besides collecting as much money as they can from their people, they are a positive danger inasmuch as they invariably foment discontent and ill-feeling between their own communities. Some settle down and live on others, doing no work themselves.

457 The families permanently settled here are loyal and law-abiding. They own property and keep their money in the country. There was a time when very good families used to immigrate to the country. The immigration of natives of Hadhramaut and Shihr dates back to the time when the Sultan of Zanzibar used to import them as soldiers guarding the Forts.

K 162 167 182 439 H 167 The District Commissioner of Lamu reports that the number of Hadhramis in the district is approximately 1,500. There does not appear to be any increase apart from the natural internal increase which is not very large. They find employment in most walks of life, particularly as cultivators and petty traders. They seem to be very hard working and ambitious and undertake most work with the object of eventually owning a small shop. They have no trade with the Hadhramaut. They coalesce readily with other members of the community and share the general life of the Arab population of Lamu. They are more recent arrivals in Lamu than the other Arabs but they exercise a definite influence on the community and are gradually becoming more and more prominent in the general life and institutions of Lamu. It is estimated that over 90 per cent. of them have permanently severed their connection with the Hadhramaut.

T 162 167 H 167 *Tanganyika Territory.*—There are said to be at present from 2,000 to 3,000 Hadhramis living in Tanganyika. They are scattered amongst the coastal towns of the Territory chiefly, and are mostly engaged in trade as small shopkeepers and sellers of dried fish, etc. A number of them intermarry with local Africans, but otherwise they do not coalesce with other members of the community.

● 186 H 167 186 So far as can be ascertained, only a very small proportion of them have permanently severed their connection with the Had-

[1] This probably refers to tithe collecting Seiyids as all the Prophet's descendants in the Hadhramaut are of the line of Hussein. It is interesting to note that they follow their flocks so far afield. I met a *mansab* of this nature in Seihut who had been to Mombasa.

hramaut, and even though they may live in the Territory for many years, they visit their own country when possible and send their children there to school. H 167 186

*Zanzibar.*—Writing of his visit to Zanzibar in 1857 Burton (*Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast*, Vol. 1, p. 378) says, " the poorer Arabs who flock to Zanzibar during the season are Hazramis, and they work and live hard as the Hammals of Stamboul. These men club and mess together in gangs under an Akidah (head man), who supplies them with rice, ghi and scones, and who keeps the accounts so skilfully, that the labourer receives annually about $35, though he may gain four times that sum." Z 167 464 H 167 464

Speaking of the same period Colonel Rigby, His Britannic Majesty's Consul and Honourable Company's Agent, says in his report on Zanzibar for 1860, " a considerable number of Arabs from the Hadhramaut coast also come to labour as porters and carriers, they are a patient, industrious people, and most useful to the merchants in loading and unloading ships."

This was high praise from Rigby who was critical, and contrasts in a remarkable manner with his next statement about immigrants from Sur further along the coast. " The Arabs from the coast of Omān called ' Soorees ' are also numerous; they are a troublesome, turbulent, plundering race always ready for any mischief. They are filthy, squalid, ill featured savages and arrant cowards."

Major F. B. Pearce, a late British Resident at Zanzibar, wrote in 1919 that the Hadhramis formed an important section of the Arab population of Zanzibar. " In physical appearance, pursuits and mode of life they differ somewhat from the Oman Arab. The Mshihiri[1] is a thin, spare man of medium height, without an ounce of superflous flesh on his body. His face is long and thin and generally hairless; and those of them who have not resided sufficiently long in Zanzibar to become enervated by its softening climate and surroundings possess a marked glitter of the eye, indicative of hidden fires within, which might burst forth on little provocation. H 142 167 Z 167

" Under the normal conditions of life in Zanzibar they are hard and willing workers, keeping much to themselves, and living together in a special quarter of the town. H 167 186

" While some of the more influential and wealthier Mshihiris have made Zanzibar their permanent home, the majority come to the Sultanate for a period in order to earn money, and they then return to their own home in Arabia. When in Zanzibar they work in the port loading and unloading ships, and they are in great demand as stevedores up and down the coast. The lighter forms of labour sought for by the Mshihiri is water carrying from house to house, and they perform this work with the same assiduity and ~~tiredness as in the heavier labour connected with shipping~~. 464 Z 464 167

[1] The singular of the Swahiliized form of Shihiri, the plural is Washihiri.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar— FM1



The affairs of the community are managed by two associations— that of the Hadhramis (Junia' al Hadhramia) and that of the Shihiris (Juania' Ahl as Sahil)—which also endeavour, as far as possible, to compose differences between individuals. The leading personalities in the associations at present are Muhsin bin Ghalib al Yafa' of the Hadhramis and Muhammad Sa'id 'Abūd al Humeid of the Shihiris. Both are semi-officially recognised by Government as the heads of their community. Z 162 579 563 H 167 579

The clannish feeling of the Hadhrami prevents him, in Zanzibar as in other countries, from mixing with the members of the other communities any more than is necessary for the purpose of his trade or calling. He keeps much to himself and, as a rule, takes little part in local life, political, sporting or social. Even his intercourse with his cousin from Oman is restricted. The language difficulty is no doubt partly responsible in the case of those who are not permanently settled in the Protectorate, but even those who have made Zanzibar their home appear to learn the local language less readily than other foreign elements of the population, and they exhibit the same disinclination for social intercourse with their neighbours. Hardworking and thrifty, unlike their cousins from Omān, and absorbed in their own occupations, they appear to have few forms of entertainment even amongst themselves, dancing and sitting in coffee-shops being almost the sole manner in which they seek relaxation, at any rate in public. H 167 186 Z 563

In Zanzibar there is an increasing tendency, especially amongst the younger Arabs and Africans, to adopt European clothing. The Hadhramis, however, are little affected by the prevailing fashion, and it is rare to see one of the community attired in anything but his own national dress. As in the case of clothes, so in his manner of living; the Hadhrami, preferring his own customs, does not easily adopt the manners and ways of those around him. H 186 Z 563

The women of the Hadhramaut have always felt a striking aversion to emigrate and, as has already been noticed, it is but rarely that the Hadhrami will bring his wife or female relations to Zanzibar. Even girls who are born in Zanzibar and are taken back to their homes in Arabia seldom return to the Protectorate after attaining puberty. Few of the children born locally, therefore, are of pure stock. As a rule, marriages are not contracted in Zanzibar by those who are not settled on the islands, although liaisons of a temporary kind are frequently entered into, particularly with African women. Those who are more or less permanently settled normally marry members of their own community, but they occasionally seek brides from amongst the Muscat Arabs, the Comorians and sometimes even the Africans. H 167 Z 563 582

The diet of the Zanzibar Hadhramis naturally consists, as far as possible, of those articles of food to which they are accustomed in Z 563 262 H 167 186

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



Z 563 262 H 167 186 Z 778

their own homes. It includes fresh and salted fish and shark, wheat porridge (*Shurba* and *Haris*) millet, rice, meat, dates, bread, milk, coffee, and tea.

Places of worship are normally shared by both Hadhramis and Shihiris alike, but in practice the Hadhramis mostly congregate in and largely control the Juma's and Mzaham Mosques and the Shihiris the Malindi Mnara Mosque. One burial ground is, on the other hand, used by both sections.

## APPENDIX

H 439

TRADE BETWEEN ZANZIBAR AND ADEN FOR THE PERIOD 1932–1934.

| | Trade Imports and Direct Transhipment Total. | | Domestic Exports, Re-Exports and Direct Transhipment Total. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quantity. | Value. Rs. | Quantity. | Value. Rs. |
| Cloves ... ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 3,486 | 117,768 |
| Clove Stems ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 44 | 188 |
| Fish, dried ... ... ... cwts. | 9,325 | 67,454 | 75 | 600 |
| Fruit, fresh ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 2,295 | 8,697 |
| Ghee ... ... ... lbs.... | 3,520 | 1,420 | ... | ... |
| Salt ... ... ... lbs. | 1,295,802 | 8,917 | ... | ... |
| Tobacco, manufactured ... lbs. | ... | ... | 125 | 337 |
| Tobacco, Native ... ... lbs. | 3,920 | 1,471 | ... | ... |
| Coconuts ... ... ... ... | ... | ... | 12,865 | 276 |
| Sim Sim ... ... ... lbs. | ... | ... | 156,535 | 9,777 |
| Miscellaneous ... ... ... | ... | 433 | ... | ... |
| Instruments, Scientific and Surgical, etc. ... ... ... | ... | ... | 1 | 628 |
| Cotton, manufactured ... ... | ... | 1,404 | ... | ... |
| Silk, manufactured ... ... | ... | 7 | ... | ... |
| Mats, etc. ... ... ... ... | ... | 133 | ... | ... |
| Chemicals ... ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 72 | 6,600 |
| Medicines ... ... ... ... | ... | 6 | ... | ... |
| Stationery ... ... ... cwts. | 4 | 341 | ... | ... |
| Books ... ... ... ... | ... | 4 | ... | ... |
| Goods, manufactured ... ... | ... | 66 | ... | 50 |
| Sugar ... ... ... cwts. | 27 | 386 | ... | ... |
| Food and Drinks ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | 152 |
| Coconut oil ... ... lbs.... | ... | ... | 27,313 | 4,584 |
| Garlic ... ... ... cwts. | 18 | 172 | ... | ... |
| Iron and Steel, manufactured tons | ... | ... | ... | 428 |
| Bags and Sacks ... ... doz. | ... | ... | 16 | 80 |
| Colour materials ... ... cwts. | 2 | 117 | ... | ... |
| | | 82,331 | | 150,105 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Imports ... ... | Rs. | 82,331 |
| Exports ... ... | „ | 150,105 |
| Total Trade ... | Rs. | 232,436 |

AS 162 167 H 167

Port Sudan, Suakin and Tokar, with small groups at Halaib, Akik and Karora. Approximate figures are as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Port Sudan ... ... ... ... ... ... | 180 |
| Suakin ... ... ... ... ... ... | 228 |
| Tokar ... ... ... ... ... ... | 294 |
| Halaib ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| Akik ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 30 |
| Karora ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6 |
| | 742 |

AS 563 464 H 167

They fall roughly into two categories, namely the permanently settled, who have been in these parts since the old days of Suakin, and have to all intents and purposes severed their connection with Hadhramaut, and the visitors, who normally spend about three years in the Sudan between visits of about a year's duration to their homes. The division between the categories is roughly half and half. In the towns, the Hadhramis are primarily shopkeepers or shop assistants. A few work as cooks, bakers and labourers, and in Tokar Delta many have taken up cultivation. Some have become allottees of Government land, that is virtually land owners. There are 37 of these. Others, numbering about 150, work as " nusf " cultivators, that is they work another's land in return for half the profits and hope in due course to become allottees themselves.

AS 563 H 167

They do not coalesce to any noticeable degree with the local population. The settled Hadhramis principally intermarry among themselves, and show a small natural increase. The visitors occasionally intermarry with local inhabitants, principally the girls of the " Khasa ", that is the rank and file of the Beni Amer whose social status both before and after marriage is low. The majority either have wives in the Hadhramaut or are unmarried. There is a surprisingly large number of bachelors. None of the 30 residents of Akik is married. The visitors, therefore, as applications for entry to the Sudan are only granted very sparingly, show no noticeable increase. Relations with the Hadhramaut are virtually non-existent among the settled Hadhramis. The visitors, as stated, frequently visit their homes and many like to return and spend the evening of their days there. Commercial relations with the Hadhramaut are negligible if not non-existent.

H [457] 186 AS 563

The Hadhramis are an industrious and economical people and their profits, which are probably considerable, are taken out of the country[1] by those who return home. They do not use banks but hoard silver or (if they can get it) gold, and carry it out in this form. They are a quiet and law-abiding people and give little trouble to anybody. They are clannish in the extreme and never employ a native if they can find a fellow-countryman. They have a local reputation for meanness, in which respect they certainly

1 [i.e., the Sudan -- Analyst]

H 186 AS 563 compare unfavourably with the Hedjazi and the Yemani. All are on the make, and quite prepared to start at the bottom and work up.

H 167 SA 555 426 *Saudi Arabia.*—Writing about the year 1885, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje (Mecca, Leiden, 1931) says that the Hadhramis in Mecca are among the most serious competitors of the Indians in the money-lending business. " These come to Mekka almost invariably without money, but endowed with great adaptability and endless endurance. No sense of honour hinders them from making their choice of trade or situation accord solely with the advantages that circumstances offer. Many have begun as heavy porters in Jeddah where the guild of porters carries on the whole traffic between town and harbour : some of these porters become rich men. In Mekka, they, in the first place, seek situations as day labourers in some trade. Thus they gain local and technical knowledge of which they as soon as possible make the most on their own account ; a 14-year old boy who has earned some 25 dollars at once puts 20 of them out at interest, and such small loans often bring in one hundred per cent. even though the time for which the money is lent is only a few months."

H 871 167 But the dubiously respectable profession of disguised money-lending was not the only occupation of Hadhramis in the Hejaz. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramaut supplied many professors and quotes as eminent amongst them the " almost dwarfish Muhammad Sa'id Ba Beseil " who acted as Amin al Fatwa to the Sheikh al Ulema. At that time the Hadhramis had " from of old " their own Sheikh who transacted business between the local government and his countrymen. Generally speaking the learned doctor gave it as his opinion that religion plays no part in the wanderlust of the Hadhramis, and other observers have made the same comment.

Emigration to the Hejaz, however, was, and no doubt is, for some, in a different category. Many students go there to study and Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramis being brought up in a poor, cultureless land regard the great town of Mecca as a modern Babylon. Those who have a taste for learning derive from the holiness of Mecca blessings not to be found in the Hadhramaut. Immigrants soon adapt themselves to Meccan customs and consider the change a progress.

SA 162 167 H 167 Captain Seager estimates that there are about 5,000 Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia to-day. They live mainly in Jedda and Mecca. A few are to be found in Medina but it is doubtful whether they exceed a total of 30 souls. It would be true to say that since 1930 the Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia are decreasing in numbers. This decrease is no accident. Since the advent of the general economic depression, Hadhramis have found it more and more difficult to earn a living in Saudi Arabia. The finances of the country have been shaky for the past four years and money is naturally scarce. This has badly hit the shopkeeper class and by far the greatest

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



648 is your friendship and I will pay my way.' A little later on, they say, 'I would like to hang up my hat here, it won't be in your way.' Then they say, 'my coat also.'" Said another, "and then it is their trousers and then they cannot leave." A few months later when the Governor of Aden was telling a meeting in the Hadhramaut of the very generous help His Majesty's Government was offering for famine relief, an address thanking him asked for an assurance that there was not more than charity behind it. This he readily gave, but the point is that the Arabs of South Arabia know well enough what peaceful penetration has meant in the past, in such places as Zanzibar, and they fear us even when we bring gifts.

800 I do feel, however, that, given the right type of adviser or political officer, it is possible to improve administration, security and social services in such areas by such means as I have described, and I am quite sure that the resultant dividend of good will in the area itself and in neighbouring areas is far greater than you would get by applying the more efficient methods of direct or indirect rule.

Seeing my own successes and failures and watching those of others over the course of years has given me some ideas of what an officer working in [181] these countries should be and do. As Arabs are individualists and will at best only treat you as an equal, a man they feel to be a leader can handle them better than another. So that personality counts for a lot, but it must not be aggressive. Tact, judgment, self-reliance and balance are indispensable, and without patience and hope many a good man might give up. But beyond these things an officer working with such people should not feel and must never show that he is a superior being to those amongst whom he works. They will expect him to have a greater knowledge of outside things than they have, for he would not be there if he had not, but he must be careful how he uses it. In social matters it is not merely a question of having no colour prejudice. Administrative officers of the Colonial Service rarely have colour prejudice in an acute form, but they generally set bounds between themselves and the people in social intercourse. The officer living amongst the Arabs cannot do this, and must be prepared for long periods at a time to live and share the life of the people while at the same time keeping his own virtue and preserving a sense • 186 of proportion. The Arabs believe as an article of faith that they are the noblest of races, and it should not be over-looked that they have a civilization and a literature of their own so that it is not for us to impose a culture on them or to build a culture for them. A kindly condescension to a less fortunate race is therefore out of place when dealing with them. They take our so-called insularity not as a peculiarity for which allowances should be made, but as a criticism of them and their manner of life. In this, of course, they are not peculiar. They call our insularity and condescension *kibr inglis*. The French in Mauritius used to call them *orgueil anglais* and they are perhaps the things above all others which make us unpopular.

181 Simplicity of life and manner are in many circumstances a valuable

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



official members serving as consultative representatives of the "popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public services consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educational facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the state's own postage stamps[5] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, appears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements[8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

[5] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

[8] The Anglo-Kathiri treaty engagement of 1918 was merely an extension of the terms of a previous Anglo-Quaiti treaty to those parts of the Hadhramaut interior controlled by the Kathiri sultan. By terms of the Anglo-Kathiri agreement the Kathiri State was placed under British protectorate. The 1939 Adviser Agreement provided for the appointment of a British Resident Adviser to the court of the Kathiri sultan.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



648 lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

439 That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri
167 State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya
171 is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

162
131
652
625
186
631

TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

| State | Title of ruler | Population | Area in sq. miles | Annual revenue | Police | Salute |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Qu'aiti (Mukalla) .. | H.H. the Sultan of | 197,000 | 30,000 | Rs 27,50,078 | Unlisted | 11 guns |
| Kathiri (Seiyun) ... | Sultan of | 60,000 | 6,000 | Rs 4,80,000 | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Wahidi (Balhaf) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 5,000 | Rs 1,02,448 | Unlisted | None |
| Mahri (Socotra & Qishn) ..... | Sultan of | 22,000 | 13,000 | Unlisted | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Haura ..... | Shaykh of | 300 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| 'Irqa ..... | Shaykh of | 350 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Abdali (Lahej) ..... | H.H. the Sultan of | 41,400 | 4,500 | Unlisted | 380 | 11 guns |
| Fadhli (Shuqra) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 2,500 | Rs 4,17,697 | 120 | 9 guns |
| Amiri (Dhala) ..... | Amir of | 27,000 | 1,050 | Rs 1,50,000 | 75 | 9 guns |
| Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara) ..... | Sultan of | 23,000 | 700 | Rs 1,65,000 | 30 | 9 guns |
| Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba) ..... | Sultan of | 89,000 | 900 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar) ..... | Sultan of | 12,000 | 2,500 | Rs 49,000 | 40 | None |
| Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab) ..... | Sultan of | 55,000 | 1,800 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Beihan (Beihan Qasb) .... | Amir of | 13,000 | 4,000 | Unlisted | 40 | None |
| Audhali (Lodar) .... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 1,000 | Unlisted | 30 | None |
| Haushabi (Museimir) ..... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 350 | Unlisted | 29 | None |
| Alawi (Al Qash'a) .. | Shaykh of | 1,200 | 19 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed). | Shaykh of | 2,000 | 101 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazeteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from
245 Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where
438 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager
283 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in
[342] this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have
186 caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the
191 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a
185 more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley,
485 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was
491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal
728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the
185 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently
killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not 579
more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. 131
Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through 186
or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. 114
There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, 177
and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to 773
Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaveth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became [101]
"Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along 131
a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and 133
deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, 133
one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent 311
moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is [504]
Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1
Yemen ML1



## Conclusion

A 177 If Aden were to exert itself to become the cultural capital of the area of which it is the centre, it could attract all that is best in that area to it, H 177 and they could take back the best that British culture could offer them. For in Aden, if anywhere, is the chance for Arab culture and British culture to mix on equal terms and to produce something worth while.

I think it is apparent from what we have seen of South-West Arabia that British culture and Western education alone are not going to make a strong appeal to the principal elements in the country, and in many ways it would be dangerous to give too much of it undiluted. It is by no means clear how many people with a Western education the W.A.P. is going to be able to absorb, and discontented educated people unsuitably employed can very well create trouble and discontent by no means divine. The Yemen is afraid of too much Western education and a Zeidi Government will do all it can to discourage it.

Y 133 162 Taking the country as a whole, there are first of all the very fertile highlands of the Yemen, where almost any temperate crop could be grown; lower down are the mountains of the 4,000- to 6,000-foot level, mostly barren but with good cultivable areas; and then there is the huge area of desert mountain and coastal plain with only occasional oases. The Yemeni highlands are the preserve of the Zeidis, a most exclusive people. The rest of the country is mostly populated by settled and nomadic tribesmen of Shafi'i persuasion, with here and there in the Yemen and the Hadhramaut large towns with an urban population and commercial or H 162 cultural interests. About a fifth of the population of the Hadhramaut are seiyids. The whole of this area, whether independent Yemen or pro- 186 tected chiefdoms, is independent minded and places Islamic culture far Y 186 above any other, and we for our part have no desire to threaten its independence or its culture.

Y 871 212 The academies of the Yemen and Hadhramaut are poorly endowed, but they are always full with students, who live on a starvation diet in order to get their education. As another pointer to the demand for Arab H 871 culture, look at the three bookshops of Aden. In them it is possible to buy most of the great Arab classics of the Abbasid period and Arab Spain. 212 All the shopkeepers tell me they find their best buyers among up-country visitors; the young men of Aden buy, when they buy anything, modern books and translations of novels from the Cairo presses.

000 If we provided Western education only, it would in the end attract people to it, but the risks of doing this are considerable. Has Western education been an unqualified success elsewhere in the East? There is no space to discuss this much-discussed question here, but I think on the whole it is safe to say that there are a good many who would agree that there are aspects of what we have done which are open to criticism and that the results of it all have not on the whole been too happy.

Considering, therefore, what was achieved by the culture centres of old, such as Cairo, Baghdad, and Damascus, and that the south has never had a cultural centre to compare with them, and considering that there is much we can offer of our own culture which need not be destructive of Arab

# A JOURNEY IN HADRAMAUT

This article, originally printed by the Royal Geographical Society of the Netherlands, has been translated from the Dutch.—*Ed.*

101 Hadramaut is a part of Arabia about which very little is yet known. It was celebrated in antiquity as the land of frankincense and myrrh, and the great trade route from India to the ports of South Arabia and thence through Hadramaut, Yemen and Nejran to Egypt and Syria, brought prosperity and culture. Lying on the border of the Sabæan and Minæan kingdoms, Hadramaut appears to have adopted many of their civilizing elements, and yet to have maintained its own independence. After the decline of the Sabæan kingdom and the civilization which flourished there, Hadramaut also sank into poverty and ignorance. In this respect Islam appears to have brought but little change. After the destruction of
167 the irrigation works, the poverty became terrible, and
735 the country was scarcely able to provide a meagre subsistence even for a very small population. Even centuries ago this led the most enterprising of the men to seek for themselves a better livelihood in foreign lands.
167 The men of Hadramaut wandered off to the east coast
186 of Africa, to the countries around the Red Sea as far as Egypt, to British India and to the Dutch East Indies. Their women never went with them, and the men remained firmly attached to their poor, dry and intensely hot native land. In foreign lands the people of Hadramaut have preserved their own characteristics up to the present day, and have never become assimilated to the peoples among whom they lived, endeavoring to return at some time to their native land, and sending their male children to Hadramaut for their education, if they could

afford to do so. It is difficult to understand what it is 167 that binds them so firmly to their poor, monotonous and 186 scorching rocks and deserts. Their fanatical Mohammedanism is certainly an important factor, but so is also their love for their ill-favored country, and the intuitive perception that the preservation of their group and of its characteristic attributes is closely connected with the hard, frugal and primitive ways of living in their native land.

In those regions to which the people of Hadramaut 167 emigrate they usually have a much larger part in the economic life of the people than their numbers would justify. This is particularly the case in the Dutch East Indies, where they have an increasingly important place as business men and as owners of land and houses, as well as being students of religion and promoters of orthodox Islam.

It was very natural that about the year 1880 the 114 government of the Netherlands Indies recommended the agent for Arabian and Mohammedan affairs to make a special study of Hadramaut and of the people who had come from that part of Arabia to the East Indies. The book written by this officer, Dr. L. W. C. van den Berg, "Le Hadhramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien," was published in 1886 at government expense. This year the Department for Foreign Affairs urged its representative at Jeddah to attempt a journey in Hadramaut for a diplomatic and economic survey. This preliminary report is the result of that request.

Dr. van den Berg wrote his book in Batavia, and never went to Hadramaut, but he got his information with the help of intelligent men from Hadramaut with whom he had intimate connections. He even made a sketch-map of the country, which was printed with his book, and for this the information these men supplied was of course indispensable. This sketch-map of course had many defects, but Hadramaut has been visited so little by scientific explorers that even this year van den

663 fence round the country and then to leave it to anarchy. On the other hand, there was no wish to introduce direct British rule over a people who are tenaciously attached to their independence. Our policy is therefore to support the treaty chiefs and to lead them and their subjects to appreciate the advantages of the suppression of lawlessness and the maintenance, in collaboration with the British Government, of internal peace and security. At the same time it was laid down as a general principle that the main trade routes through the Protectorate must be kept safe, and that the Government would enforce this decision.

The medium through which this policy was to be carried into effect was a number of political officers centred on Aden, but working in the Protectorate, and I, as Governor at the time, was fortunate in the appointment by the Colonial Office of a group of young men who threw themselves wholeheartedly and devotedly into the work of gaining the confidence and friendship of the Arab tribes and their chiefs, and in promoting the policy upon which the Government had embarked.

712 This work would not have been possible without the collaboration of the Royal Air Force. Aden had become an Air Command in 1928, and the first action of the strengthened Air Force was the ejection of the Yemenis from Dhala, to which I have already referred. This was followed by the construction of landing-grounds. There are now between thirty and forty of these in various parts of the Protectorate, including the Hadhramaut Valley, which had until lately been almost a *terra incognita* except to a few adventurous travellers. Flights by the Royal Air Force over the Hadhramaut were followed by invitations from the local Arabs to land, and the pioneer work of two young Air Force officers, Cochrane and Rickards, led to the establishment of closer contact. The first visit of a Resident of Aden to this strange and most interesting district was paid by myself in the early part of 1933.

556 I have already referred to this remarkable valley of the Hadhramaut,
167 and readers of Miss Freya Stark's delightful and graphic descriptions of her travels in Southern Arabia will be familiar with its peculiar characteristics. Its wealthy seyyids and merchants have generally amassed their fortunes in Java or Singapore, to which countries the Hadhramis emigrate in large numbers, and in which many of them are
[186] owners of valuable house property. They do not, however, lose their
342 love for their original home in Arabia, and many of them eventually return to the Hadhramaut, and there build for themselves the luxurious

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the [186] austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These 342 well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign 578 countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them 185 among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem 648 presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination 157 before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, 578 and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same 648 demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section 185 of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with 643 the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at 625 Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in 185 a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage.

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
ADEN MM1



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long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage. An energetic Agricultural Officer appointed by the Colonial Office has initiated experiments that are producing very promising results on the Audhali plateau to the north-east of Aden, and in other districts where water is available for irrigation. Medical and educational progress is as yet only in its initial stage, but a beginning has been made in the establishment of local dispensaries, and the institution at Aden of a Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs has met with encouraging success.

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It is a fundamental principle of our policy in the Aden Protectorate that the Arab character of the country must be preserved. In this respect the Protectorate differs from the colony of Aden, which it adjoins. The colony is a small territory comprising the town and port of Aden; and, although the majority of its inhabitants are Arabs, it has long been a cosmopolitan community, in which Europeans, Indians, Jews, and Somalis mingle with the Arabs in friendly co-operation and a common loyalty to the British Crown and administration. The Protectorate, on the other hand, is recognized to be wholly Arab country. There is no intention on the part of the British Government to annex any part of it or to introduce any direct British administration.

H 648

Our ambition and our hope are to produce in Southern Arabia an example of friendly and willing British and Arab co-operation, in which we give the best we can in the shape of advice and technical help without disturbing the national characteristics of the people. All efforts at reform are fated to meet with opposition from some quarters, and especially from those that are interested in the maintenance of old abuses, and our experience in the Aden Protectorate is no exception in this respect. On the whole, however, we have received a cordial, and often an eager, response. British officers working in Aden and the Protectorate have been rewarded not only with understanding and support, but also with liking and friendship that have bound them by personal ties to these Arabs, who have so much in common with the British in their individualism, their adventurousness, their humour, and their love of freedom. Now, when the Empire is at war and is passing through critical days, it is a pleasure and an encouragement to see the spontaneous loyalty and affection that have been displayed by the people of Aden reflected also in the Protectorate that we so long neglected but are now at last trying sincerely to befriend. In the towns and in remote villages in the mountains the people have gathered in their mosques to pray for British victory. Their friendship did not falter in the dark days of last summer, and now that victories have

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come they are united with us in a common rejoicing. That is the kind 609
of recompense that gladdens the hearts of those who have worked for 648
these people and have striven to make British protection a real benefit 186
to them. It encourages our belief that our pioneer work in this country has been undertaken on the right lines, and that we may hope to add another success to those that have been achieved by our predecessors and contemporaries in other parts of the Empire. A great deal remains to be done in the Aden Protectorate, but with patience and perseverance and with the right principles to guide us we may be confident that it will be accomplished.

Colonel TOD: I do not know whether you would like to hear any- 000
thing of the earlier history of the Protectorate, but the time I spent in the Aden Protectorate was before even Sir Bernard Reilly's time, forty years ago, when I was a member of the Anglo-Turkish Mandate Commission. At that time the Protectorate consisted of only nine tribes. Since then it has been considerably extended. Hadhramaut was a *terra incognita* in those days and was certainly not part of the Protectorate.

I think the Sultan of Lahej owes his preponderance chiefly to the 643
fact that all roads from the interior lead through his capital, of which 491
he has taken advantage at different times.

You mentioned the incursion of the Turks in 1915. That was by 721
no means their first incursion into the Protectorate. When they re- 648
conquered the Yemen in about 1870 they gradually pushed their rule south until they penetrated many miles into the British Protectorate. When the British Commission went up there in 1901, intending to open friendly relations with the Turks about the demarcation of the frontier, they found the Turks had brought down a considerable force, had taken military possession of that part of the Protectorate, only just leaving the town of Dhala itself outside the militarily occupied area, and had seized the heads of the passes that led down to Aden; so the position of the Commission was a most difficult one. The Turks simply put their foot down and said, "J'y suis, j'y reste," and we had no power to turn them out. There was just an insignificant escort of Indian troops with the Commission. It took a very long time indeed to persuade the home Government that they must intervene with force, and it was only when a force stronger than the Turkish force was sent up there in 1902 that the Turks were compelled to withdraw. That means that Dhala was occupied by the Turks for about thirty years. It

In Shibām no poll tax is paid by the population as is the case in Sēwūn and Terīm. A tax of a quarter of a *riyāl*[1] is levied on every camel load that enters the gate of Shibām; also 4 % on sales of houses or land is due to the Sultan. Of the produce of the fields which depend on rain, 1 % is earmarked for the state treasury, *i. e.* the Sultan's pocket. The Government levies no tax on lands that are irrigated by their owners' efforts. The Qeᶜēṭī Sultan of Makalla owns much land in his kingdom: his tobacco fields at Ghēl Bā Wazīr, near Sheḥēr, bring in about 30.000 *riyāl* a year, and he owns many palm-groves in Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. Yet the greater part of his income comes from Bombay and Hyderabad, where he has extensive land and house property, and he receives 1500 *rupees* a month from the Niẓām of Hyderabad for his services as commander of the troops.

These great riches of the Qeᶜēṭīs are the source of their power. The existence of a central authority is, in spite of many abuses, noticeable in their territory. It makes itself felt whenever urgently necessary and has no difficulty in holding its own against the Āl Kathīr, who are divided amongst themselves and are lacking in strong financial support.

The Sultan of Shibām only receives a salary from the Sultan of Makalla, to whom he is bound by family ties.

The military forces of the Qeᶜēṭī consist, in peace time, of 5000 soldiers, of whom 2000 are negro slave soldiers. In Shibām only 100 of them are in regular service, whilst some 500 are on reserve in case of need. These latter live, as a rule, in good houses all around el-Qaṭn.

The Sultan estimates the number of souls in Shibām, el-Qaṭn and the villages between them, at 20.000. These are all the inhabitants of the State of Shibām, exclusive, however, of the Bedouin tribes who are allied by treaty with his Government.

We showed Sultan ᶜAlī the books about Ḥaḍramaut that we had brought with us and a few English air photographs. It was then apparent how little the ruler and his entourage knew

[1] At the time of our visit a *riyāl* had about the same value as an Indian *rupee*.

•186 about the land outside their own small territory. The Sultan knows neither Sēwūn nor Terīm; Hadjarēn was recognized by none of those present.

361 342 On this same day, before proceeding further, we return to Shibām to have a good look over this wonderful city. The streets form narrow, dark tunnels between high, grey houses built in rows. In the middle of the street there is a drain of masonry into which runs the dirty water from the houses, which splashes down into the street from many gutters made of the trunks of date-palms. Cats, donkeys and chickens are doing themselves well on the reeking brew. We are obliged to look upwards constantly to see whether an evil-smelling rain is not beginning to spatter down from one of the gutters. The houses are five or six storeys high; only the top storey is whitewashed and that cannot be seen from the street. The mosques stand in the open spaces and look indeed like toys made of sugar amongst the many tall, gloomy houses surrounding them. In the bazaar streets is a great crowd of buyers and sellers. These latter have either miniature shops or booths on the streets. The doors and windows in the houses of the rich are of magnificently carved wood. The keyhole for the huge wooden keys, which with their many wooden pegs look like brushes, is close to the door, about 4½ feet from the ground, and is usually shut off by a little shutter, neatly decorated. The dim obscurity, the stifling heat and the extremely foul streets offer, of course, good conditions of existence for flies, mosquitoes and other spreaders of disease germs.

often very poor in water, but, over and above this, countless internal wars make traffic dangerous and force travellers to go by very circuitous routes. This is why the Ḥaḍramī seldom knows his own country well. A learned Ḥaḍramī whom I knew formerly said to me quite truly: "I know all the volcanoes of Java and all the stations on its main railway lines, but I cannot give you any information about the wādīs and mountains a few hours distant from my home." The Sultan of Sēwūn is a relatively favourable exception to this rule in that he has seen Aden; he went there to attend a conference convened by the British authorities, where an attempt was made to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Qeᶜēṭī and Kathīrī rulers. He desires to see more of the world, including Java, the land in which three quarters of his subjects have interests. The great difficulty, however, is to get over the Qeᶜēṭī barrier, and for that an aeroplane is necessary. The site for the future aerodrome which was shown to us seemed quite suitable.

In the evening there is again a gathering on the roof-terrace at ᶜIzz ed-Dīn. The subject brought forward for discussion is the poverty of Ḥaḍramaut and how relief from it may be obtained. In and around Sēwūn the water-level is not deep, which fact accounts for the prosperous palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. But the water-supply would have to be enlarged if it is to help the people really forward. This cannot be done by motor pumps, because they are too expensive in practice. The pump at Hēnin has to work eight hours a day to keep in existence a few acres of *dhura* and 200 small palm-trees, and that costs more in kerosene and lubricating oil than can ever be made from the produce of the irrigated land. The soil in Sēwūn is better and water nearer to the surface, and yet experience has taught that here also the motor pump does not pay. Can matters not be improved by means of artesian wells? The Sultan asks us to help by sending an expert with the necessary instruments. He says that at one time, in the days of the Ḥimyaritic kingdom, Ḥaḍramaut must have been

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



helped by the motor-car in his great work of pacifying and 721
opening up Ḥaḍramaut.

We depart in two fine cars belonging to the Sultan of 114
Sewūn for Terîm, the city to which Leo Hirsch has preceded us and from which nearly forty years ago the sayyids with their fanaticism and hatred of Christianity forced him to flee within a few hours of his arrival. An Englishman, Mr. Boscawen, reached there also a full year in advance of us, but he did not publish a description of his journey and, according to report, only came for sport. Aeroplanes of the R. A. F. at Aden, with Colonels Cochrane and Lake and Flight-Lieutenant Rickards on board, also once flew high above the town, but they were only making an aerial reconnaissance, although the scouts themselves felt a growing desire within them to set foot for once in this wonderful town. The Ḥaḍramîs say of it: "Terîm — and then thou desirest nothing else." [186]

The cars take us through winding mud lanes between palm- 241
groves to the hilly stretch of sand and loam outside the town. 172
The palm-trees are planted well apart from each other in the sand; the fields of *dhura* come to an end but the little dykes of the area that can only be cultivated when the rains are sufficient are to be seen for long afterwards. Quite soon we pass the ruins of a town, Maryama, probably of great antiquity. The castle and the town were laid waste in a local war, and, of the cultivation of the land, only the little dykes, which divided the fields into squares, still remain. Close to Maryama there was an old road which crossed southwards over the mountain-wall. My companion climbed this *ʿaqaba* called Duqm el-Aswad and found on the rock-wall close to the *djōl* scrollings and grafitti probably made, many centuries ago, by the Bedouins of passing caravans. Some distance further on the villages and palm-groves at the foot of the southern mountain-wall come to an end. The loam vanishes under an ever thicker layer of 493
sand and sand-dunes, and the cars stall several times. In 491
accordance with the instructions of the Sultan we do not go by the normal way, through the plain, to Terîm, but follow

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



when the gate is pushed open and a group of soldiers rush out with their guns at the attack. Our people are petrified with fright and call out that we belong to the *Dōla* (the Government). Then the guns drop and the sound of a greeting reaches us, but our chauffeurs drive on as fast as possible, so as to escape from this hostile place.

We now enter the district belonging to the third party, with el-ᶜUqda as its headquarters, where the rich Shēkh Sālim bin Djaᶜfar bin Ṭālib lives. We are to pay a call upon him. He gave us a pressing invitation to do so on the outward journey, but, at that time, the Sultan of Shibām, who had undertaken our transport arrangements, gave orders to avoid the war zone. Shēkh Sālim is a Dutch subject; he possesses a great fortune, amassed in Surabaya, and was one of the well-known Ḥaḍramīs of that city.

The country round el-ᶜUqda is a paradise of beauty. White and light-grey palaces, with rows of big windows and fine points and pinnacles along the edges of the roofs, are scattered among the plantations of young palm-trees. Behind this gay green and white colouring is the yellowish-brown of the rock. In the gardens are also many bushes of lemon and pomegranate and papayas. The buildings in which Shēkh Sālim lives are surrounded by a high wall, with a colossal wooden gate covered with sheet iron, which gives entrance to a courtyard. The outposts here have done their duty and given notive of our arrival, and the gate has been thrown wide open and Shēkh Sālim himself, surrounded by soldiers and children, stands there to give us welcome. The pro-Dutch sentiments of the grey-headed Shēkh are well known, and we have no need to doubt for one moment that our welcome here comes from the heart. Conversation is carried on in the Malay language, in compliment to the presence of a government official of Netherlands India. This creates an intimate atmosphere and offers the advantage that the soldiers and children cannot follow what is said. The great *madjlis* of this imposing building becomes speedily filled with a crowd of inter-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



493 in the saddle, for the camel sees obstacles on the ground, which escape my searching eye, so that unexpected swerves are the result. It is a fantastic and most exhausting ride, which only comes to an end when, close to the little town of ʿAmd, we reach the house in which we are to be lodged. The rest of the caravan arrives after us in dribblets, and before long we are sitting together on the spacious roof of our guest-house, onto which crowds of inquisitive folk are flocking.

511 167 191 186 Nowhere, so far, had so much Malay been spoken and nowhere was conversation so frank and open. ʿAmd appears to be a town on the decline and very poor and to suffer much from protracted warfare. This condition of things leads the young men to seek their fortunes out of the country, Java attracting the bulk of them. The consequence is that a great many wives and children remain behind in poverty. The number of boys who are sent from Java to be brought up in ʿAmd is relatively large. They can be distinguished at once from among their dirty little comrades by their better dress and greater cleanliness. They form a part of our visitors that night and begin with great boldness to talk in Malay, to show off their knowledge. These youngsters look upon their sojourn in ʿAmd as a real period of exile and pine for Java.

000 The discussions over plans for our further journey were disappointing. It was considered to be out of the question for us to go to Niṣāb, but they could certainly bring us to the coast towns of Bal-Ḥāf or Bīr ʿAlī. Everyone deserted us at this point, even our own Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās, but we held on to Niṣāb. Before we retired to a roof-terrace higher up, we had Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf's letter of introduction and those from the Sultans of Sēwūn and Shibām read aloud, which made a noticeable impression. I added thereto that we were determined to go to Niṣāb and that we wished to leave on the morrow. So we bade farewell to this company, which was to carry on its consultations until deep into the night.

132 It is appreciably cooler at ʿAmd than it is further in Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm being the hottest place. The altitude of

# CHAPTER XVII.

## WĀDĪ ḤADJR — A BIT OF ARABIA FELIX.

### 1. ṢIDĀRA, ITS CHIEF SETTLEMENT.

361 Ṣidāra gave us the impression of being dirty, yet fairly
131 prosperous. The stone houses are scattered wide apart; they
621 have generally two storeys and are built square and strong so as to hold their own in case of hostilities. Ṣidāra is independent; the farthest frontier post of the Qeᶜēṭī Government is a good two hours' march south-east. Much fighting has been carried on for the possession of this very fertile Wādī Ḥadjr, and in the days which followed we saw many traces of this strife.

609 Here we stood at last in front of the village-
● 186 chief, wondering how we were to be received. A roof-terrace was rapidly prepared for us and, after that, the master of the house came to bid us welcome and invite us to enter. We recall him gratefully to mind, for we owe it to him that the people left us more or less in peace, although here again they did not exactly sympathize with foreigners. Our host had performed the *ḥadjdj* and had brought back with him two very favourable recollections of Europeans: when passing through Aden he had become acquainted with the Mission Hospital at Shēkh ᶜUthmān and spoke with great respect of the Mission doctor whom he had met there; and then again, in the Holy Land itself he had met a Dutchman who had become a Muḥammadan; after the *ḥadjdj* was over he had seen the latter again in Djedda and had been treated by him as if he were his own brother. I told him that the Dutchman at Djedda was a good friend of mine, and with that we were in friendly touch at once.

000 The roof-terrace was soon full of people and hand-shaking and questions began as usual. The youth of the village was

p.224

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



KATHIRI SULTANATE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Towns ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 36,700 |
| Tribesmen, 4,900 ... ... ... ... ... | say | 14,700 |
| | | 51,400 |
| | say | 51,500 |
| Total ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 250,500 |
| Add for Seiyids (see Chapter V) not elsewhere enumerated | | 5,000 |
| | | 255,500 |
| | say | 260,000 |

## Languages used in the Hadhramaut.

197 There appear always to have been peculiarities in the language of the Hadhramaut. It may be of interest to record here that on the fragment of inscriptions found near Meshhed the third "S", the Hebrew *Samekh*, rare in other dialects of South Arabian, occurs frequently, and this is a distinctive feature of the Hadhramaut dialect. Another feature is the replacement of the modern "th" (*thā*) by "sh", thus *Shalasa* (the latter "s" being *samekh*) is "three" in Hadhramaut. The Mahri language, which, as it is spoken in the lower reaches of the Hadhramaut valley and westwards as far as Museina'a, may be included in the languages of the Hadhramaut, is said to be a modern representative of the ancient South Arabian.

But of more practical modern interest it is worth drawing attention to the difficulty of recording place and tribal names correctly when one's informants are illiterate, and there are eccentricities in accent and in the pronunciation of letters. In certain areas of the western part of the Protectorate the letter *jīm* becomes the *gīm* of Egypt. This sound also occurs in parts of the Hadhramaut, but so also do *jīm* and another variant *yīm*. Thus the village of Al Juwada in the Wadi Sér is called Al Yuwāda. *Qāf* is universally *gāf* in the Hadhramaut and indistinguishable from *gīm*.

191 It is of political interest to emphasize the spread of two introduced languages—Malay and Swahili. It would be possible to travel
177 over the whole country with either. Malay is in many cases almost more a mother-tongue than Arabic. There are many children of mixed blood, and many Malay or Javanese wives seem to have been introduced into the country. I was often told that there are children who speak Malay with more facility than Arabic, and Malay is a language regularly spoken in many homes.

Swahili has not attained this standard, but owing to the large numbers of people who go to East Africa it is very widely known as a second language. The great majority of those who speak it are of course Arabs, but there are a few slaves who speak it as a mother-tongue. I did not experience or hear of many cases like this in the Hadhramaut, but noticed a remarkable number further east in Merbat. Hindustani is a well-known language in certain

Yafa'i circles in the Hadhramaut. Some of the Seiyids of the Hadhramaut have an enigmatical way of speaking Arabic amongst themselves. 191 177

**Currency.**

The currency consists of rupees and Maria Theresa dollars. The exchange value of the latter depends on the price of silver, and in November 1934, when much of the information contained in this report was collected, the dollar was practically equivalent to a rupee. For this reason the two denominations were often used indifferently. By mid-May 1935, the rate was Rs.149 to $100 in Aden and Rs.150 to $100 in Mukalla. 436 [435]

Small change is almost entirely British Indian, though there are a few Mukalla pice, a little Javanese money, and some Italian lire from Somaliland. Indian notes circulate fairly freely in Mukalla. The copper coins are called *besa* and the other Indian change *shauli bauli*. Generally speaking, any known money will be exchanged. In the towns of the main Wadi many ancient coins pass for small change, and there are also a number of small coins struck by the Al Kaf family. Small change is given for dollars according to their relative value with rupees.

**Weights and Measures.** 804

The weights and measures in use in Mukalla are as follows:—

1 Qofia.—The weight of 4 annas.

1 Waqia.—1 English ounce.

1 Ratl.—1 English pound.

1 Frasila.—20 lb. of fish or 32 lb. of shells.

1 Gubban.—25 lb. for gum.

1 Bahar.—10¾ Aden maunds or 300 English lb. of tobacco, or 360 lb. of dates, but dates from the interior 300 lb.

1 Qosra.—180 lb. of Basra dates. Trucial Oman dates are in packages of 70-80 lb. They are of an inferior quality.

1 Ma'bar.—A basket of 30-40 lb. of *Wazif* (dried *'aid* fish).

In Shibam the pound is of 12 ounces; 28 lb. equal 1 *frasila*, and 14 *frasilas* 8 lb. equal one *bahar*.

MEASURES OF LENGTH.

1 Banan—1 finger's breadth.

2 Shubrs—1 Dhirra.

2 Dhirras—1 Wara.

1 Wara—1 Yard.

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

As a general rule liquids are sold by weight; there is however a small measure used for oil called a *Baura*. Such a quantity is sold for one or two pice.

**Calendar.** 805

For official and sometimes for business purposes, when dealing with Europeans, the date is expressed A.D. as well as A.H., but

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The Bājrī live on the left bank of the main wadi at a distance of about ten miles north-east of Seiyun. They are surrounded by the tribes of Āl Kathīr and 'Awāmir. It is not universally admitted that the Bājrī are a true Shanfari tribe, but they nevertheless recognize the Sultan of Seiyun as their chief. There is a story that the Bājrī are the original inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, but that in course of time they became absorbed by stronger immigrant tribes. They are all agriculturists but their cultivation being on the left bank is very poor. 631 619 101

The *Mansabs* of the Āl Quseiyer are 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and Qadir adh Dhibab. Hussein bin 'Aidarus Āl Salīla also has influence over the tribe. [622]

## CHAPTER XXIII

### EMIGRATION: COLONIES OF HADHRAMIS ABROAD

There are probably few countries in the world where a larger proportion of the population lives abroad than the Hadhramaut. Between 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. of the estimated population of the Hadhramaut lives in the East Indies, East Africa, or Egypt and the countries bordering the Red Sea. 167

A great number of these emigrants do not proceed abroad for good, but expect to return when they have made their fortunes and die in their native land. Fortune with them is a relative term, for while some of them amass amounts that would not be despised in America the ambition of others is far more modest, and many run only to a few hundred or a few thousand Maria Theresa dollars. [556]

Apart from the 90,000 to 100,000 Hadhramis now living abroad there are a very large number in the country itself who have been abroad, and I have already commented on the fact that Malay and Swahili have really become naturalized languages in the country. [191]

It is not only of recent years that the Hadhramis have learnt the habit of leaving their native homes to seek their fortunes abroad. As Schoff points out, we learn from the *Periplus* that since the earliest time they have had a view beyond their own borders. Then as now, he says, " the outlook of Hadhramaut was towards India by sea and towards Egypt by land. Bent found the same conditions: the capital full of Parsee merchants, the natives going to India, the Straits and Java, and returning when they had amassed a competence; the English protectorate accepted because of England's domination of India, in the face of the religious convictions of rulers and people (*Geographical Journal*, IV, 322). Maltzan described the Hadhrami traders in Cairo as the keenest of the lot, and spoke of their activities in the East; while the Dutch Government, finding the islands of Java and Sumatra overrun with Hadhramaut Arabs, stimulated inquiries of them in Batavia."

361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from
245 Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where
438 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager
283 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in
[342] this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have
186 caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the
191 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a
185 more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley,
485 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was
491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal
728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the
185 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



On the 19th of May we reached Horēda, the tribal village of the family al-'Attās, where we had a fine reception. Horēda can thank the wealth accumulated in Java and at Singapore for its beautiful houses and mosques. There is a large number of Dutch subjects there, and so many of them speak Malay that one even frequently hears it spoken on the streets.

On the 20th and 21st of May we remained at Horēda. The mosques and schools were carefully examined, and some short excursions were made in that neighborhood.

Horēda lies in the Wādī 'Amd, which branches off from the main *Wādī* of Hadramaut, to which we now returned, leaving Horēda on the 22nd of May. Bin Marta' from Soerabaya, a large dealer in building materials, took us in his auto, which was the first that ever came to Horēda, to the place where he lives, Hēnan. It was a difficult task among the endless sand-hills to find a track on which it was possible for the auto to travel, and when a sandstorm came up we had to flee to the Diyār-āl-Buqri, certain high castles in the midst of the broad sandy *wādī,* which were the center of a warfare which had been going on there for years. The fighting captains and their soldiers received us very well; they appear to have close family relationships with Java. Elsewhere, in a description of the political situation, I will deal minutely with the Diyār-āl-Buqri and their inhabitants. Hēnan is a little place which is lost in the sand. By installing a motor pump, our friend Bin Marta' is trying to arouse his village to new life.

On the 23rd of May, Bin Marta' took us in his auto to al-Qatn, the residence of the sultan of Shibām. We were here once more in the āl-Qa'ētī jurisdiction. At al-Qatn the Wādī Hadramaut changes completely, and beautiful date-palm plantations begin here. In the shadow of these palms lie the luxurious green *dhura* fields (maize). The sultan did not appear to be at al-Qatn, and we were received by a member of the family. Through a severe sandstorm we drove on to Shibām, the

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



191 exception of the Mahra all these tribes speak Arabic and Arabic alone, and yet some are types
141 clearly distinguishable from the northern Arab, and indeed those I measured are all brachycephals. The very word "Arab" is used in the desert to denote "people" instead of having the particular racial connotation which we give to it. More than once I have been asked "From what Arabs are you?" by a native, who was conscious that I was of a different race from himself.

144 Whether these Arabic-speaking South Arabians are indigenous or come from elsewhere is a question for anthropologists. In this connection, the Preface to Wyman Bury's book *Land of Uz* is of interest. That Preface, written by Maj.-Gen. Maitland who was British Resident at Aden at the beginning of the present century, declares the writer's opinion as follows :—

> "The people of Arabia belong to two distinct and apparently quite different races. The common idea of the Arab type is tall bearded men with clean-cut, hawk-like faces. The Arabs of South Arabia are smaller, darker, coarser featured and nearly beardless. All authorities agree that the Southern Arabs are nearly related by origin to the Abyssinian. Yet strange to say it is the Egypto-African race who are the original and 'pure' Arabs, while the stately Semitic of the North is *Mustareb* . . . one who is Arab by adoption and residence, rather than by descent."

101 But I am concerned here with a group of non-Arabic speaking tribes more distant in habit
361 of life still from the familiar Arab, tribes of whom neither Burton nor Maitland could have had any personal knowledge, tribes whose members have seldom made the pilgrimage to Mecca, tribes for the most part settled in the Qara and Al Qamr mountains of the Central South
619 where they breed cows and gather frankincense. To the list given in my previous paper, viz., Qara, Mahra, Shahara, Bauthāra and Harasīs should be added Barahama, Bil Haf, Afar, and Bit Istait (Bait ash Shaikh). Except for those elements of the Mahra that are nomadic, and for the nomadic Harasīs and Afar and the fishing tribe of Bautāhara, the remainder form a *bloc* of settled mountain society with a common and a unique culture.

191 The four languages of this group have been mentioned in the paper under reference. Of the additional tribes the Afar speak a language which is a variant of Mahri, called Aforit, and is said to be the same as that spoken by the Harasīs. The Bait ash Shaikh (Insakht) use the Shahara tongue and are thought to be collateral with the Shahara and once to have co-inhabited the great port, now a heap of ruins, of Rubat (Ariyot). Balhaf, a rather nondescript tribe, owes allegiance to no faction but is Mahri in speech.

### DRESS AND DYE CUSTOMS.

291 The men wear a single sheet wound round to form a skirt short to the knees and then brought diagonally across their bodies and thrown over one shoulder; women a single loose-falling black gown usually green with age and black muslin head-wrap which falls about
301 shoulders and neck; they are mostly unveiled. The use of indigo for smearing their bodies
302 and impregnating their clothes is common to both sexes. It gives their faces a purple hue.
177 There is a local dye from a tree called *hussair*, but much of the indigo comes from India.

2 [Bait Kathir, Mahra, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai -- Analyst]

# CHAPTER I.

## THE DEPARTURE.

### ADEN—MAKALLA.

We owe our journey to Ḥaḍramaut to a mission entrusted 121
to us by the Netherlands Government. Later it will become 167
clear how deep-lying the contact is between Ḥaḍramaut and 181
Netherlands India, and how self-evident it is that the Dutch Government should wish to make itself accurately acquainted with the social and political conditions in the native land of the tens of thousands of Arabs, who form such an important element in the social fabric of that country. The Ḥaḍramīs are not absorbed into the union of Indonesian peoples, and many of them keep a firm hold on the connection with their own country, in the hope that some day they may be able to return there, to await the Day of Resurrection and Judgment in that hallowed ground. The charge entrusted to Dr. van den Berg to write his book, which was published by the Government of Netherlands India, resulted from the practical needs of that Government with regard to the heterogeneous peoples of Indonesia. So also with the mission entrusted to me.

Although I knew how difficult it had been made, until now, 114
for a Christian and Westerner to penetrate into the land of the fanatical Ḥaḍramī, yet I had some hope of success in the attempt, and this for two reasons.

The years that I had spent in the civil service of Netherlands India had given me the conviction that the Ḥaḍramī is grateful for the treatment which he receives there from our Government and for the opportunities which he has to save money and to get on in the world. As a government official of 114
Netherlands India I had not reckoned in vain on finding a wel- 191
come among the Ḥaḍramī families having relations with Indo-

P.9

24:Meulen and Wissmann 1-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



114 nesia, and a conversation carried on in the Malay language
191 often worked wonders.

114 My second advantage lay in the fact that I had represented my country for several years at Djedda, the seaport of Mecca, the Exalted. My knowledge of conditions in the sacred land of Islam and of the Wahhābī régime, only recently established there by that great Arab Bin Saʿūd, procured for me willing listeners in circles where there was no connection with the East Indies.

114 In order that the journey should serve not only a diplomatic,
121 but also a scientific purpose, it was necessary to have a travelling companion who would take upon himself that side of the work. Dr. Hermann von Wissmann accepted the offer to share the Ḥaḍramaut adventure. We had already met in Djedda and learned to appreciate each other. He had gained experience of travel and research with Dr. C. Rathjens of Hamburg in exploration in the Hedjaz and the Yemen. The large map of the district over which we travelled, the sketch maps, the ground-plans, and the geographical, geological, and botanical information, contained in the present book, are his work.

114 At the end of April 1931 we met in Aden. Our plans could not have succeeded without the cooperation of the British authorities. The Bents in their book write very gloomily over the attitude of the Aden Government towards them.[1] Hirsch had a better experience[2], and we perhaps, the best of all.
The Resident, Colonel Reilly, promised help and, instead of speaking with discouragement of our chances, as had been done up to now both by Arabs and Europeans, he considered that we were by no means without chance of success. He saw the greatest difficulty in the hot season that would be sure

[1] Th. Bent and Mrs. Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London, 1900, p. 72 *sq.*

[2] Leo Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-land und Hadramūt*, Leiden, 1897, p. 2, 109.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



for themselves in each other's unwashed cups. Our host devotes himself entirely to us; he frequently absents himself to see that preparations are made for a meal without delay. Sounds of music and song reach us from the women, who are making merry in the adjoining room. In spite of the sweltering heat, the song with its refrain, the concerted clapping of hands and dancing to the monotonous music are carried on with great enthusiasm. Our host invites us urgently and repeatedly to spend the night with him. Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, who is with us, has, however, so great a longing to see his family in his own country that, on his account, we decide to start for el-Meshhed in the afternoon. Meanwhile our delicately solicitous host has quietly had a room made ready in a distant corner of the great double house. He sees how tired we are and whispers to us to follow him so as to escape from the interest and curiosity of the constantly changing visitors. These fellow townsmen, against whom one cannot protect oneself, will not penetrate into this quiet room; we can stretch ourselves out on the floor on the simple mats and rugs, and our host will see to it that we are not disturbed for an hour. Then the meal is brought up to us without a sound, and we are only awakened when the yellow-coloured rice awaits us, ready served in flat dishes, on the round eating-mat, along with dishes of boiled mutton and gravy. A round flat bread-cake lies in front of each of our places on the mat. Our host apologizes for the scarcity and simplicity of the food offered to us, but we fall to with a thankful "In the name of Allah." The practice of spicing the rice and meat very strongly must have been introduced from Java and India. They overdo the seasoning to such an extent for foreign guests that, after the first pangs of hunger have been appeased, it is a real effort to continue eating.

Our host speaks Malay by preference and likes to talk about Cheribon on the north coast of Java, where his family rose to prominence and where he hopes to return in a few months, after the date harvest. His father possesses 20 houses

We march on for hours under a gorgeous heaven of stars. The great promontory towards which we are setting our course is Djebel Ghumdān. Only when we have passed it do we see the lights of Ḥurēḍa. The nearer we approach the more messengers with lamps, and people filled with curiosity come out to meet us. Youth especially is well in evidence, handsome, frank youngsters, who accompany us pushing each other aside and talking busily. Quite soon the boys try to put a few questions in Malay. When the answers come also in that language, questions follow thick upon each other, and these wordly-wise youths, born in Java and sent here to get a real Arabian education, become objects of admiration and envy to their fellows.

"Do you find it pleasant here?"

"No, not at all. It is much finer in Java. This is a dreadful country of poverty, heat and boredom."

They are home-sick for Java, where their parents are and where they would like to return at once.

We dismount at the entrance to Ḥurēḍa, which is unwalled, for we see, by the light of many gasoline lamps, the white figures of the notabilities of the town awaiting us. The Governor of el-Meshhed comes forward as spokesman. He says that the people of Ḥurēḍa are grateful for, and feel themselves honoured by, the first official Dutch visit. It is not so long ago that foreigners were denied entrance to Ḥurēḍa, but now opinion has become much more modern. In the whole of Ḥaḍramaut there is sympathy for Holland and gratitude to that country for the hospitality and good treatment enjoyed by the Ḥaḍramīs in the lands under her rule. Hope is expressed that an enduring contact between Ḥaḍramaut and Holland may spring from this visit.

The many lanterns light up fantastically this unusual spectacle on the outskirts of Ḥurēḍa, where the first Europeans, weary and dirty, with limbs stiff from long riding, make their entry into the little town, hand in hand with its notables in their clean, white garments. The Governor has solemnly taken

In the middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One can see that we are nearing Terīm with its refinements of civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many Ḥaḍramīs who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the *ṣalāt* and by meals. As the Sultan[1] has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[1] ['Alī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin al Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn -- ANALYST]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-S (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



when the gate is pushed open and a group of soldiers rush out with their guns at the attack. Our people are petrified with fright and call out that we belong to the *Dōla* (the Government). Then the guns drop and the sound of a greeting reaches us, but our chauffeurs drive on as fast as possible, so as to escape from this hostile place.

We now enter the district belonging to the third party, with el-ᶜUqda as its headquarters, where the rich Shēkh Sālim bin Djaᶜfar bin Ṭālib lives. We are to pay a call upon him. He gave us a pressing invitation to do so on the outward journey, but, at that time, the Sultan of Shibām, who had undertaken our transport arrangements, gave orders to avoid the war zone. Shēkh Sālim is a Dutch subject; he possesses a great fortune, amassed in Surabaya, and was one of the well-known Ḥaḍramīs of that city.

The country round el-ᶜUqda is a paradise of beauty. White and light-grey palaces, with rows of big windows and fine points and pinnacles along the edges of the roofs, are scattered among the plantations of young palm-trees. Behind this gay green and white colouring is the yellowish-brown of the rock. In the gardens are also many bushes of lemon and pomegranate and papayas. The buildings in which Shēkh Sālim lives are surrounded by a high wall, with a colossal wooden gate covered with sheet iron, which gives entrance to a courtyard. The outposts here have done their duty and given notive of our arrival, and the gate has been thrown wide open and Shēkh Sālim himself, surrounded by soldiers and children, stands there to give us welcome. The pro-Dutch sentiments of the grey-headed Shēkh are well known, and we have no need to doubt for one moment that our welcome here comes from the heart. Conversation is carried on in the Malay language, in compliment to the presence of a government official of Netherlands India. This creates an intimate atmosphere and offers the advantage that the soldiers and children cannot follow what is said. The great *madjlis* of this imposing building becomes speedily filled with a crowd of inter-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



493 in the saddle, for the camel sees obstacles on the ground, which escape my searching eye, so that unexpected swerves are the result. It is a fantastic and most exhausting ride, which only comes to an end when, close to the little town of ʿAmd, we reach the house in which we are to be lodged. The rest of the caravan arrives after us in dribblets, and before long we are sitting together on the spacious roof of our guest-house, onto which crowds of inquisitive folk are flocking.

511 Nowhere, so far, had so much Malay been spoken and
167 nowhere was conversation so frank and open. ʿAmd appears
● 191 to be a town on the decline and very poor and to suffer
186 much from protracted warfare. This condition of things leads the young men to seek their fortunes out of the country, Java attracting the bulk of them. The consequence is that a great many wives and children remain behind in poverty. The number of boys who are sent from Java to be brought up in ʿAmd is relatively large. They can be distinguished at once from among their dirty little comrades by their better dress and greater cleanliness. They form a part of our visitors that night and begin with great boldness to talk in Malay, to show off their knowledge. These youngsters look upon their sojourn in ʿAmd as a real period of exile and pine for Java.

000 The discussions over plans for our further journey were disappointing. It was considered to be out of the question for us to go to Niṣāb, but they could certainly bring us to the coast towns of Bal-Ḥāf or Bīr ʿAlī. Everyone deserted us at this point, even our own Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās, but we held on to Niṣāb. Before we retired to a roof-terrace higher up, we had Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf's letter of introduction and those from the Sultans of Sēwūn and Shibām read aloud, which made a noticeable impression. I added thereto that we were determined to go to Niṣāb and that we wished to leave on the morrow. So we bade farewell to this company, which was to carry on its consultations until deep into the night.

132 It is appreciably cooler at ʿAmd than it is further in Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm being the hottest place. The altitude of

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2
H
[102
561]

sequently return to their home settlements with their savings. Arabic is the language of the indigenous peoples, but Malay tongues are widely used in the towns of the Hadhramaut. Swahili, the *franca lingua* of East Africa, is understood throughout most of the area, while English is extensively employed in Aden proper. The majority of Arabs are Moslems, belonging to branches of the Sunni sect. Other religions are found chiefly among the different racial groups in the Colony and in the coast towns of the Protectorate.

H 467
H 191
A H 795

Education has made considerable progress in the Colony, and is gradually being introduced into the Protectorate. Primary schools for both sexes are supported by the government in the Colony, and by mission and private organizations. The Colonial authorities also operate secondary and vocational schools for boys. There are no post-secondary institutions, but government scholarships are available for the training of teachers and various professional personnel in the Anglo-Egytian Sudan or in the United Kingdom. The literacy rate among children of 6 to 12 years of age is estimated at 90 per cent, in contrast with 20 to 25 per cent in the general population. A program for the expansion of education

A H 871
H 658 871
H 312 185 658

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



195 Cries for assistance have also their own fixed forms. Should
192 anything happen to a man he shouts for help with the phrase Yā
576 Labbaik, yā labbaik [19], known to the classical tongue. Let it also be remarked that labbaik is the normal interjection used when asking a word or phrase to be repeated, equivalent to plaît-il. The reply to such a call by those coming to the assistance of a man in trouble of danger of any sort is Yā marḥīb, yā marḥīb. When in distress the 'Awāmir tribe shout out 'Āmir, yā wulīd 'Āmir, to which the reply is Labbaik, yā labbaik. The 'Abīd in similar circumstances cry 'Īk, 'Īk, and those coming to their help reply with zāmils.

It seems that when one gives the tribal cry (ṣarkhah) amongst the tribes of Raidat al-Daiyin, the words Yā Ḥimyarāh are shouted [20].

R. B. Serjeant.

113 [19] For an interesting use of labbaik see C. A. Storey, *The Fākhir of al-Mufaḍḍal On Islama* (Leiden, 1915), p. 224.

[20] Al-Rābiṭat al-'Alawīyah, (Batavia, 1347 H.), I, p. 354.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



KATHIRI SULTANATE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Towns ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 36,700 |
| Tribesmen, 4,900 ... ... ... ... ... | say | 14,700 |
| | | 51,400 |
| | say | 51,500 |
| Total ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 250,500 |
| Add for Seiyids (see Chapter V) not elsewhere enumerated | | 5,000 |
| | | 255,500 |
| | say | 260,000 |

## Languages used in the Hadhramaut.

197 There appear always to have been peculiarities in the language of the Hadhramaut. It may be of interest to record here that on the fragment of inscriptions found near Meshhed the third "S", the Hebrew *Sâmekh*, rare in other dialects of South Arabian, occurs frequently, and this is a distinctive feature of the Hadhramaut dialect. Another feature is the replacement of the modern "th" (*thā*) by "sh", thus *Shalasa* (the latter "s" being *sâmekh*) is "three" in Hadhramaut. The Mahri language, which, as it is spoken in the lower reaches of the Hadhramaut valley and westwards as far as Museina'a, may be included in the languages of the Hadhramaut, is said to be a modern representative of the ancient South Arabian.

But of more practical modern interest it is worth drawing attention to the difficulty of recording place and tribal names correctly when one's informants are illiterate, and there are eccentricities in accent and in the pronunciation of letters. In certain areas of the western part of the Protectorate the letter *jīm* becomes the *gīm* of Egypt. This sound also occurs in parts of the Hadhramaut, but so also do *jīm* and another variant *yīm*. Thus the village of Al Juwada in the Wadi Ser is called Al Yuwāda. *Qāf* is universally *gāf* in the Hadhramaut and indistinguishable from *gīm*.

191 It is of political interest to emphasize the spread of two introduced
177 languages—Malay and Swahili. It would be possible to travel over the whole country with either. Malay is in many cases almost more a mother-tongue than Arabic. There are many children of mixed blood, and many Malay or Javanese wives seem to have been introduced into the country. I was often told that there are children who speak Malay with more facility than Arabic, and Malay is a language regularly spoken in many homes.

Swahili has not attained this standard, but owing to the large numbers of people who go to East Africa it is very widely known as a second language. The great majority of those who speak it are of course Arabs, but there are a few slaves who speak it as a mother-tongue. I did not experience or hear of many cases like this in the Hadhramaut, but noticed a remarkable number further east in Merbat. Hindustani is a well-known language in certain

5 .Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadramaut MM 21
YEMENITE JEWS ML4
YEMEN ML1



they are a race apart and are much respected, frequently attaining positions of high rank. A man will trust his slave before his brother. Tribesmen will eat with a slave when the slave has attained a position of eminence, such as governor of a village or commander of a post, but never with a Doshan or with a Heiq. A Chief's responsibility for his slaves is a very real one, and should he sell a slave or part with one he will be considered to have committed a shame. The slaves that I have met in the territory upheld the reputation slaves have always had for loyalty and courage.

We next come to two curious races, the Akhdam and the Hajur. I am satisfied that these are quite separate races, although there are a few instances of intermarriage in the major settlements. Akhdam is the plural of Khadim, which means "servant." This race is of African origin, but I can make no guess at the date at which they came to Arabia. Whenever it was, they appear to have left no relations or traces behind them in Africa. Their main settlement is at Zabid in the Western Yemen. They are of the Shafa'i sect, but practise witchcraft, make phalli and hold snakes and snake-charmers in great respect. In appearance they are small and their skin is a dull dark brown, not a glossy East African black. The only race in the country which will do filthy work, the Akhdam are in great demand and are employed as sweepers. They have their own headman in their small communities, successful wizards appointing themselves to the post without election.

The second foreign race is the Hajur. They appear to be South-west Abyssinians and are very like the Galla. Like the Akhdam, they have long ago lost any linguistic connection with Africa and speak Arabic. They are hardy and well-built and live in grass-hut settlements on the coastal belt between Lahej and Abyan. Some, on occasion, bear arms, but they are on the whole un-warlike and seek casual labour at harvest time. The 'Abdali tribes of Lajeh have intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and for this reason the 'Abdalis are darker than most coast Arabs and many villages in their territory are occupied by settled Hajur. In a few generations the Hajur and the 'Abdali will be indistinguishable, and I think this mingling of the two races must be very recent, and probably began during or just before the Turkish occupation of Lahej in 1916.

East of Aden, for some hundred miles, the coastal fishing communities are of Hajur or mixed Hajur stock. They elect their headmen as the Arabs do and are of the Shafa'i sect, but, like the Akhdam, they incline towards witchcraft and phallic worship. The observant traveller on the Lahej road will see plenty of evidence for this close to their settlements.

It is possible that these two African races came to Arabia during the second and third centuries A.D. as camp-followers to Abyssinian armies. But this is pure conjecture.

Finally, we come to the Jews. Jewish settlements exist all over the Protectorate. The principal settlement is in San'a, and all Jews of South Arabia claim inter-relationship and have many family connections in Palestine. They claim to be descended from the Jews of Kheybar. It is more probable, however, that the original Yemeni Jews are of South Arab race. Before the rise of Islam the people of South-west Arabia were

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



As regards dialects, Captain Acworth asked whether the tribesmen of one tribe understand the tribesmen of another. Undoubtedly yes. There is no great divergence of language. There are slight differences of pronunciation and accent. I have heard the men of one tribe mimicking the speech of those of another tribe, but fundamentally their language is the same. I should imagine that the differences in matters of speech are rather less than those between different parts of England.

Of course, there is a great difference between the Arabic spoken in the south of Arabia and Arabic spoken in Palestine or Egypt, but there are no great distinctions inside the country itself.

Dr. Hugh Scott acknowledged his indebtedness to Sir Bernard Reilly and the officers of the Aden Protectorate during the British Museum Expedition to South-West Arabia in 1937. Dr. Scott added some interesting remarks on the peoples of the country, which are amplified in his article (see p. 146).

The Chairman: When Sir John Shea wrote and asked whether I would take the chair at this meeting, I said I should be very pleased to do that because I knew that Sir Bernard Reilly would give us an interesting talk. I think you will bear me out that I was right in that prophecy.

Naturally, I have been listening to his talk from the Colonial Office angle. The Colonial Office was associated with Aden even before the colony was established in April, 1937, because by a division of work the Government of India had continued to deal with the settlement of Aden, but the Colonial Office had been made responsible, as part of H.M. Government here, for the Aden Protectorate. For instance, when Sir Bernard went to Sana to negotiate that treaty, in which he was so successful, the Colonial Office was in charge at this end.

When the colony was formed, as I dare say you know, there was quite a lot of fear in Aden on the part of the Indian community. They thought that Customs would be imposed to raise revenue to spend on the Protectorate. Well, Aden is still a free port. They were afraid their Indian law was going to be put aside by a Colonial Office which had no interest in Indian law. The Indian code still remains. They were afraid their Indian currency would go. The rupee is still there. They were afraid we should waste money. But a Budget deficit has become a Budget surplus. They were afraid that they would lose their salt trade. There the Colonial Office is not actually in control. It depends upon the Government of India whether or not Aden's salt

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds 439
remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business 167
holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over 171
a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.[9]

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is 177
virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common 198
tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Ka- 291
thiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be 556
incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, 185
Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf 177
family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In [491]
1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, [509]
Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

[9] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut*. London: Colonial Office, 1936.

Shihr who forward their letters by caravan or special messenger. 205
Outward mails are disposed of in a similar manner. At Shibam I noticed a box inside the gate of the city in charge of one of the merchant's men in which letters were being placed for despatch to Aden by aeroplane. Runners can cover the distance from Mukalla to Du'an in 24 hours, and Mukalla to Shibam in three [481] days.

**Harbours.**

The only harbours for steamers are Mukalla and Shihr. Mukalla 504
promontory extends about 1¾ miles south-eastward. Ras Marbat is its south-western extremity, and Ras Kodar, eight cables eastward of Ras Marbat, is the southern extremity. Ras Mukalla, about three cables north-eastward of Ras Kodar, is the eastern extremity of the promontory.

Mukalla bay is the north-eastern part of the bight between Fuwa and Ras Marbat. About 1½ miles north-westward of Ras Marbat are two small bays, separated by a projection, extending about three cables south-westward, on which stands part of Mukalla town. The western of these two bays is the more frequented by boats. The eastern bay is seldom used owing to the swell which rolls in during the north-east monsoon. The shore bank in Mukalla bay, on which anchorage can be obtained, extends about half-a-mile offshore near the town, increasing westward to a width of nearly a mile off Fuwa. A stone jetty close to the Customs House is the usual landing place. There is no lighthouse, but a single lamp fixed on a pole in a small boat gives the only guiding light into the harbour. During the south-west monsoon dhows anchor at Bandar Burum where there is anchorage in depths of from five to seven fathoms, good holding ground, south-eastward of Burum village, but a ground swell rolls in.

Shihr roadstead is open with anchorage in depths of from 7 to 12 fathoms, sand and shells, from seven cables to one mile offshore.

Besides Mukalla, Burum, and Shihr the dhow harbours along the Hadhramaut coast are: Bandar Ruweini, about two miles northward from Ras Mukalla, has depths of from four to six fathoms, and native craft shelter here during the south-west monsoon; Hami, where there is anchorage off Hami village in depths of seven to eight fathoms about a mile offshore; Sharma bay, with a good anchorage in depths of from four to five fathoms; Al Qarn, an anchorage where small vessels can lie safely in depths of from two to four fathoms (Sharma bay and Al Qarn lie close to the town of Dis; Al Qarn is the more frequented harbour); and Ras Qus'eir, a mile southward of Qus'eir, where there is anchorage, but without shelter, in depths of from 12 to 14 fathoms.

**Shipping.**

There are two Lines calling frequently but not regularly. Usually 505
each calls twice a month. One is the Halal Shipping Company—Agent, Yusuf Sherif; and the other Cowasjee Dinshaw and Bros.—

18:Ingrams G-S (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited. 508

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation. 509 205 206

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden. 131 161 162

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north. 311

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir. From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possessing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations 439 226 241 182 [167]

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



653 Their chief function is the construction and maintenance of state buildings and roads throughout the territories. In the main towns in the Qu'aiti State the department is responsible for the upkeep of the conduits bringing in water from springs outside. All air landing grounds, except Riyan, are maintained by the Public Works Department of the two States.

# Chapter 10: Communications

## WESTERN PROTECTORATE

494 491 Increasing use is being made of motor vehicles. These are for the most part driven along sandy beaches, dry river beds or across open desert, but in some places tracks have been improved and in a few cases new roads cut through difficult country. Nearly all roads are extremely rough and surfaces are rarely repaired.

The following routes are open for motor traffic :

| | Miles |
|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman to Lahej | 16 |
| " " " Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " " Museimir | 61 |
| " " " Dhala | 88 |
| Aden to Zinjibar | 40 |
| Zinjibar to Ja'ar | 6 |
| " " Al Husn | 16 |
| " " Dirjaj | 17 |
| " " Sheikh Abdulla | 6 |
| " " Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra to Am Surra | 30 |
| " " Lodar | 50 |
| " " Mudia | 68 |
| " " Am Quleita | 78 |
| " " Mahfid | 145 |
| " " Habban (Eastern Protectorate) | 195 |
| " " Said | 196 |
| " " Nisab | 253 |
| " " Beihan al Qasab | 373 |
| " " Ahwar | 76 |
| " " Irqa (Eastern Protectorate) | 124 |

509 712 A regular air service by Aden Airways is maintained between Aden and Mukeiras. Other landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala, Beihan, Qoban (Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom) and Sah (Upper Aulaqi Sultanate).

492 Where no motors can yet penetrate, the traffic of the country is carried on camel caravans which still travel to Aden in large numbers; in the more mountainous districts small donkeys are employed for both passengers and goods.

205 There are no post offices in the Western Protectorate.

Hadhramaut MM2

## COMMUNICATIONS



### EASTERN PROTECTORATE

491
494
509
205
206

The following roads exist :

| | Miles | |
|---|---|---|
| Mukalla to Sai'un (East Road) . . | 180 | |
| " " Sai'un (West Road) . . | 200 | |
| " " Western Protectorate boundary | 140 | (partly on the beach) |
| " " Museina'a (near Mahra border) | 80 | |
| Various branch roads . . . . | 200 | |
| | 800 miles | |

No licensing system has yet been introduced into the Eastern Protectorate States. The number of vehicles on the roads, including Residency and State owned, is approximately 170.

The main airport is at Riyan which is an R.A.F. station. Landing grounds exist at Qatn, Ghuraf, Gheil bin Yumein, Al Abr, and Asakir.

Aden Airways run a twice weekly service from Aden to Riyan with extensions to Qatn and Ghuraf in alternate weeks. The Ghuraf strip is also frequently used for private charter flights.

There are two post offices in the Eastern Protectorate, at one of which money order business is transacted. There are also 21 postal agencies.

Cable and Wireless Ltd. operate a telegraph service at Mukalla and Sai'un.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-39)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2



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206

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30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



361 the sights of Aden is the tunnel, about 350 yards in length, which runs under the Mansūri hills and connects the town with the isthmus. *Tawāhi*, the port, lies immediately to the east of Steamer Point, and is practically a new and prosperous-looking town consisting largely of fair-sized stone houses, nearly all of which are double or treble storied. Here are good hotels, a police station, a court-house, a local post and telegraph office, military establishments of various kinds, a hospital, the offices of the great steamship companies, and the offices of the port authorities, and here also are situated the great coal wharves and the landing and other piers. On a conical hill about a quarter of a mile from the post office stands the station flagstaff, and near this the road crosses the spur on which the barracks are situated. After traversing a plain of about 500 yards in extent in a south-westerly direction, the road terminates on Ras Tarshein, the most westerly point of the peninsula, on which are built the Residency and the quarters of the officers of the Royal Artillery.

Aden has two hospitals and three dispensaries for the civilian part of the population. Separate military hospitals are maintained for 421 the garrison. Until recently land in the Settlement was not sold: sites for building and gardens were granted in perpetuity, and sites for stacking coal and salt, for beaching boats, for ships, workshops, &c., were given on leases for a term of 99 years on payment of quit rent. Since 1911, land for building, agricultural, or other purposes is ordinarily to be granted on lease, but may be disposed of otherwise at the discretion of the Resident. Land on the foreshore of the harbour can be granted only with the sanction of the Government and on such terms as it may prescribe in each case.

491 The roads in and around Aden are not good in general; they are narrow with steep gradients, and though there is plenty of rock in 496 Aden, good stone for metalling purposes is difficult to obtain and there is but little soil for binding purposes. They are, therefore, • 206 very gritty and easily crumble. Aden has no railways, but it is unrivalled for its telegraphic facilities with all parts: there are direct cables with Bombay, Zanzibar, Perim, and Suez, and indirectly therefore with all parts of the world. The telegraph station is on Ras Boradli.

361 2. **Sheikh 'Othmān** is a thriving and populous town, situated six miles north by west of Aden and two miles beyond the Aden troop lines at Khōr Maksar: it is reached by a broad carriage-road. The town contains several large caravanserais, some European houses, and some bungalows and gardens. There are about 15 wells of brackish water and of unlimited supply, some of which

G: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM



or whether it would be necessary for the British to go into some of the lawless districts and administer them more directly. In connection with this point Major Hamilton had given them much food for thought.

A question about broadcasting was referred by Major Hamilton to [207] Mr. J. Goepel. Mr. Goepel said there was a certain amount of broadcasting from Aden. The Navy maintained about twelve wireless sets in the chief centres, but from the ordinary person's point of view there was no broadcasting. Taking England as a comparison, it would mean that there would be half a dozen sets in Westminster, four sets in Edinburgh, and perhaps one at York and Ely, and that was all.

The Chairman emphasized the point made by Major Hamilton and Dr. Scott that peoples went forward or backward; they were not static. That was true of all civilizations, but it was especially true of some peoples who were not, so far, as civilized as others. He himself was an optimist with regard to the Arabs of those countries where he had lived and worked, and he believed they were going forward rather than backward. He hoped this would also be true of both the Arabs and the non-Arabs in the Aden Protectorate.

He thought Major Hamilton's remarks with regard to tribal customs were extremely interesting. If tribal customs were taken away the whole foundation would disintegrate. If the customs of civilized peoples were destroyed, the same would happen to them; only the law would remain to hold them together; and these tribal people had not even the law.

On the question of women, he and his wife were once talking to a British Consul in Syria about work among Moslems in Arab countries, and the Consul had said to his wife: "I assure you that a woman—the right kind of woman—can do more in three months than her husband as political officer can do in three years."

They had listened to an extremely interesting lecture, for which they were most grateful to Major Hamilton; this was his second lecture, and he was sure they would all agree when he said that he hoped some day Major Hamilton would give them a third.

(*A few slides were shown illustrating the different types of men and apparel.*)

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



hospitality in the new house during the past year, and last hot weather nothing was more delightful than to sit in the swimming pool in the evening and listen to the strains of the B.B.C. Empire Orchestra. Since then the Arabic broadcasts have started and they are extremely popular throughout the Hadhramaut, which now sets its watches by Big Ben. Bathing over, dinner would be laid on carpets by the side of the bathing pool. One rarely sits down less than twenty at meals in Seiyid Bubekr's house and very often it is forty. The average daily consumption runs into about 30 to 40 lb. of rice, three or four dozen eggs, half a dozen chickens, and one or two sheep, and several pounds of vegetables. We went up for the wedding of his daughter, and then over five thousand people were fed for three days.

Seiyun has been our principal headquarters in the wadi, and from it I have continually visited all the neighbouring places, staying at Shibam, Al Qatn, Henin, Qa'udha, and Hureidha. You never get to Hureidha without stopping for a meal at Diyar al Buqri, where the people are so hospitable that they have been known to fire on those who have attempted to pass in cars without stopping to have a meal. The Buqri are Nahd, and although they are settled they are still rather Badu. On my first visit they offered us a large house if we would but stay and rule the country, and it was then I learned that they had imported a first-class cook from Java in the hope of being able to entertain Europeans. Great as is the hospitality and kindness of all the Nahd, the meals at Diyar al Buqri are as fine and as varied as anything you could get anywhere. Their ideas even of afternoon tea are on the most lavish scale. I have had it with them three times and on each occasion they have produced cakes, honey, and halwa, several varieties of tinned fruit, British biscuits, and super-cream toffees.

Beyond Diyar al Buqri, as you enter the Wadi 'Amd, stands a little fort with a sentry for ever gazing out. It was some time before I discovered that the sentry was a dummy, a lump of clay artistically draped with a black cloth, but in recent months I notice he has fallen into disrepair. The Nahd extend down into the Wadi 'Amd almost as far as Hureidha, of which the population consists entirely of Seiyids of the Al 'Attas family and their dependants. Here, too, I have several times stayed, and there is now a landing-ground. There is no need for me to say much about Hureidha as it is here that Miss Stark, Miss Caton-Thompson and Miss Gardner have been wintering. One interesting fact about Hureidha may however be too trivial for their notice, and that is that one of the mosques has two large town clocks, one with a face 6 feet in diameter and the other 3 feet. Only the latter works, and they are of course at the top of the high minaret. But they are inside the minaret, and you have to walk up sixty or seventy steps to see the time.

Up the wadi from Hureidha is the Ja'da tribe. I have not travelled farther up the wadi than Hureidha on foot, but before I went there for peace negotiations my wife did the journey on camel. The wadi is thickly populated and has numerous small villages which at that time were nearly all at war with each other. My wife took down particulars of thirty-two major feuds going on between sections and even between houses a few yards apart. There were trench systems, similar to those at Qa'udha, leading from the houses to the fields, but owing to the disturbed conditions cultivation had suffered badly

AND THERE WAS A GENERAL DESIRE FOR PEACE IN ORDER TO GET ON WITH THE WORK IN THE FIELDS.

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes :—

"The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

"Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

"Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

## Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [258] [582] [20]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

448 to advise him in his rule so as to establish confidence in him as a ruler, to help in agriculture, medical work, and schools. The work done so far has been of an experimental nature, but a measure of success has been achieved in the Beihan and Ahwar areas, and work in other areas, such as Shaibi country, has been started. I have not been in close touch with the work, but I believe the experiment is distinctly promising. If there is a weakness about it, it may be that there is not sufficient promise of continuity—that is to say, it may be it is too dependent on one man, the chief. The areas are small, there is no government establishment. If you have an establishment one man may fail and you can put another in, but the thing continues. If you have only one man, and he dies, there is no guarantee that his successor will be like him. Even if a political officer is permanently in the country he is dependent on there being a co-operative chief, unless he is to run the country himself.

871 212 The W.A.P. is almost entirely tribal, as I have said; there is therefore little culture. Indigenous schools are rare and there are none beyond the Quran school stage. Illiteracy is very general. But there is little doubt that schools, if provided, will be quickly filled. The main question is 000 what will the newly educated do in their own countries? Certainly there is room for educated chiefs and for the comparatively few who are, or will be, required to help them in governing or providing social services. But the opportunities there will only absorb a few and there are no mercantile communities worth mentioning. There may be scope for some technical training and even agricultural training, but it is not easy to see how the tribesman already expert at the cultivation of oases, terrace cultivation in the comparatively few parts where agriculture is possible, is going to be given an education which will greatly assist him. There are few areas where over-education could cause more trouble with discontented literates than the protectorate. So that a question that to my mind still requires much thought is—what sort of education can be given which will help the advancement of the country and not upset it? And I don't think that a satisfactory answer is yet forthcoming as to what can be the future of the W.A.P. Until it is answered it is difficult to decide on the lines education should follow, for there is nothing old to build on.

### The Eastern Aden Protectorate

133 So much for the W.A.P. The Eastern Aden Protectorate provides a great contrast. Perhaps it may be helpful to catalogue the contrasts briefly. In the first place, the area of the E.A.P. is between 70,000 and 80,000 squares miles, while that of the W.A.P. is between 30,000 and [161] 40,000. The estimated population of both is about 300,000, so that the E.A.P. is much more sparsely inhabited. But the bulk of the population lives on the coast and in the Wadis Du'an and Hadhramaut 100 to 150 miles inland. So that there are vast areas which are practically uninhabited. Therefore there are bigger distances to cover between communities. In the second place, as I have already said, the total acreage of cultivable land is very much less than the W.A.P., and the people who own it are much less agriculturally minded than the farmer-owners of the W.A.P. It is an essentially desert country, with the Rub'al Khali just

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Government and beduin. Many beduin tribes who were inveterate foes of the Qu'aitis have now declared permanent peace with the Government and said they are "sons of government." The State Government has now a beduin affairs department staffed entirely by local tribesmen, and there is a system of tribal courts. There are many tribesmen in Government service, and the greater number of the soldiers and police are now tribesmen and beduin. In the old days, Hadhrami tribesmen were hardly ever employed in Government and there were very few in the forces. The only effective soldiers were Yafa'is, irregular mercenaries and slaves. Even the Government slaves have now disappeared. There is an African company in the regular army which consists of ex-slaves and Somalis and is employed on guarding an R.A.F. station, and others are employed as Government servants on the same footing as Arabs; the old slaves have been pensioned. All soldiers and police are taught to read and write, and by passing examinations in the military school can and do secure promotion. Enlistment is popular now because of the amenities provided and because a soldier can definitely expect to be more fitted for civil life when he leaves the forces. The status of a military life is very definitely advanced.

Another thing that attracts attention is the development in education. The coastal elementary schools have 1,700 boys in them instead of 300, and the education department is rapidly extending over the interior. There is an intermediate boarding school for 80 boys which opened last year. There is a boarding school attached to the Hadhrami Beduin Legion with 100 beduin boys in it, and another with 24 beduin girls. There are several town girls' schools, the biggest and best being in Mukalla with 150 girls, who learn not only to read and write, but to sew, embroider, wash, and cook. A most interesting experiment has lately been started with a whole village organized as a school, where 300 boys and girls of the serf class—a class which works hard but does very little thinking for itself—are being trained to run their own village and to learn various industries and crafts. Teachers of the Mukalla Government and other volunteers are also teaching adults of the serf class to read and write the language they speak and trying to induce in them some public health consciousness.

On the medical side a hospital is being built in Mukalla, and the sanitary state of the town—which may shortly have a municipality—has been greatly improved.

Of old, Government was mainly carried on by a handful of officials with a Sultan generally in India, but the present Sultan has spent most of his reign in his state and has a state council of officials and unofficials to help him. The executive work of Government is in charge of a state secretary and twenty organized departments.

In the Kathiri State progress has not been nearly so spectacular. The revenue is much smaller and the Wadi Hadhramaut is so divided by the jealousies of Sultans and tribesmen, and handicapped by the unwillingness or inability of the bulk of the seiyids to get together and co-operate, that the Government is not nearly so alive. There is, however, a state secretary at Seiyun and a good deal of the work of a government has been organized.

[Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MMI
Yemen MLI



A 177 H 177

## Conclusion

If Aden were to exert itself to become the cultural capital of the area of which it is the centre, it could attract all that is best in that area to it, and they could take back the best that British culture could offer them. For in Aden, if anywhere, is the chance for Arab culture and British culture to mix on equal terms and to produce something worth while.

I think it is apparent from what we have seen of South-West Arabia that British culture and Western education alone are not going to make a strong appeal to the principal elements in the country, and in many ways it would be dangerous to give too much of it undiluted. It is by no means clear how many people with a Western education the W.A.P. is going to be able to absorb, and discontented educated people unsuitably employed can very well create trouble and discontent by no means divine. The Yemen is afraid of too much Western education and a Zeidi Government will do all it can to discourage it.

Y 133 162

Taking the country as a whole, there are first of all the very fertile highlands of the Yemen, where almost any temperate crop could be grown; lower down are the mountains of the 4,000- to 6,000-foot level, mostly barren but with good cultivable areas; and then there is the huge area of desert mountain and coastal plain with only occasional oases. The Yemeni highlands are the preserve of the Zeidis, a most exclusive people. The rest of the country is mostly populated by settled and nomadic tribesmen of Shafi'i persuasion, with here and there in the Yemen and the Hadhramaut large towns with an urban population and commercial or cultural interests. About a fifth of the population of the Hadhramaut are seiyids. The whole of this area, whether independent Yemen or protected chiefdoms, is independent minded and places Islamic culture far above any other, and we for our part have no desire to threaten its independence or its culture.

H 162 186 Y 186

Y 871 212 H 871 212

The academies of the Yemen and Hadhramaut are poorly endowed, but they are always full with students, who live on a starvation diet in order to get their education. As another pointer to the demand for Arab culture, look at the three bookshops of Aden. In them it is possible to buy most of the great Arab classics of the Abbasid period and Arab Spain. All the shopkeepers tell me they find their best buyers among up-country visitors; the young men of Aden buy, when they buy anything, modern books and translations of novels from the Cairo presses.

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If we provided Western education only, it would in the end attract people to it, but the risks of doing this are considerable. Has Western education been an unqualified success elsewhere in the East? There is no space to discuss this much-discussed question here, but I think on the whole it is safe to say that there are a good many who would agree that there are aspects of what we have done which are open to criticism and that the results of it all have not on the whole been too happy.

Considering, therefore, what was achieved by the culture centres of old, such as Cairo, Baghdad, and Damascus, and that the south has never had a cultural centre to compare with them, and considering that there is much we can offer of our own culture which need not be destructive of Arab

As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000. 701 702 648 [212]

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambiyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870. 702 142 291 302 142 411 304 751

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamīs*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turban-wise round his head. 714 [291]

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This, 702 701

702 taking into consideration rations and clothing, is good money in the
701 Hadhramaut, and is sufficient for a soldier's tobacco and personal needs and, to maintain a wife and family. Unlike his British counterpart, he does not have to undergo a rigid medical examination, nor is he likely to suffer from the dentist, but if he should fall ill he is treated by the unit medical orderly or a civilian doctor, and provision is made for his admittance to the civil hospital in Mukalla if need arises.

712 At the end of recruit training a soldier will be sent to one of the posts
701 in the interior, and here the discipline and character-training already undergone will be continued. Some of these posts are sited where desert tracks cross, others near disputed wells or in areas where the tribes have
[342] proved recalcitrant. Sometimes local houses are requisitioned, and as Hadhrami architecture derives from the need for security these high, small-based, mud-brick houses are not unlike forts in themselves. In other localities proper small-scale forts have been built, square in shape and enclosing a well in the courtyard, resembling the smaller Palestine police posts or Arab Legion forts. Usually built with towers at two diagonally opposite corners, they have an imposing entrance gate, storerooms and sleeping quarters below, and above two rooms and a balcony encircling the fort. In commanding position, they would fill admirably the requirements of a producer of the *Beau Geste* type of film. From their posts the H.B.L. patrol on foot, perform guard duties, and if necessary provide escorts. Life in an outpost may appear dull, but reliefs are
[212] regular, and in his spare time a soldier is wise to learn to read and write, as without these accomplishments he is debarred from promotion above the rank of corporal. Any day a row of four or five soldiers may be observed at the unusual task of laborious reading or writing under the guidance of an officer or N.C.O.

701 Generally the presence of soldiers in an area has a deterrent effect on
721 any potential law-breakers or tribal raiders, and by mixing with the local Bedouin, and by reason of being themselves Bedouin, they do much to assist Government by explanation and advice. When trouble does occur, minor operations may have to be undertaken to deal with the offenders. During these infrequent periods the soldier receives his best training, and the prospect of more active duty always appeals to him. Although a natural fighter in his own type of warfare and country, the Bedouin is no match for his brother in the H.B.L., who has the advantage of superior leadership, better weapons, and a plentiful supply of ammunition. The expenditure of rounds, which do not have to be accounted for individually,
[619] is one of the soldier's greatest joys and entertainments. It may be wondered, if, on occasion, men enlisted from tribes which are hostile to each other carry this enmity with them into the force. Such is not the case, and once in the army they seem to lose their civilian opinions and prejudices and to forget past feuds. However, care is taken that soldiers of a tribe against which force is used are not employed on that task.

702 Militarily speaking, the Hadhrami Bedouin soldier is quick at drill, and, as practically all of them are born with a rifle in their hands, weapon training, even with light machine-guns, comes easily to them. They are not, however, such good shots as might be expected and have a universal

Tendency to fire high.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



out to meet you. Many people prefer to walk down the *'aqaba*, and in any 000
case the drivers stop at the top to tie up the brales. I have only walked down once, and that was on the morning of the New Year. I sat for a short time at the top and it really was a most beautiful sight watching the day break over the minarets and white houses of Tarim.

"Tarim and thou desirest no more" is a loca saying, and in truth I know of no happier places to live in than Tarim and Seiyun. I shall never forget our first impressions of Tarim nor I think doe anybody else forget his, but the charm of these places grows with knowledge and they have a hospitable and cultured society. There is little literary learning in Mukalla or Shihr: 212
Mukalla can be difficult to live in, but Shihr is always friendly and welcoming. 538
Seiyun and Tarim are not only that, but can talk of affairs, of history, and of philosophy. The whole country is full of poets, and not only quotes the old poets but records constantly current history in *qasidas*, and that is how much of it survives. At a Shabwani dance the poets assemble and in turn compose extempore couplets, which are repeated by the choir leaders and taken up by a hundred throats.

Tarim and its rich suburb of 'Aidid, where there are several beautiful Riviera 631
villas, are of course under Kathiri rule, but they and the small village of Al [361]
Ghuraf are in Tamimi country. One interesting fact about Tarim that I have learnt recently is that it contains a state within its walls. This enclosure, which contains a few houses inhabited by the Seiyids of Al Haddad, is ruled by their *mansab* under some ancient right. His subjects are completely under his jurisdiction, and even if they commit offences in the city of Tarim are not tried by the Sultan but handed over to him. The intelligentsia of Tarim call him the *Baba* (the Pope) and his state the *Fatikana*. Tarim and Seiyun both have old religious academies (*Rubats*) to which students come from considerable distances in the west of the Protectorate and from the Yemen. 874
I remember when I first passed the Tarim Rubat a long time ago there was 609
a rush to exclude the contaminating influence, and all the doors and window shutters were hastily banged. Life gets more pleasant when crowds of children and adult hangers on cease to follow you shouting *Nasrani* (Christian). When I returned to Mukalla from the interior in March 1937 one small boy did shout Nasrani, but was immediately corrected by a friend who said "*That's* not a Nasrani, that's Ingrams."

The Tamimis, who stretch several miles on the way to Seiyun, and down 619
the Wadi Maseila to below Qasm, the Tamimi capital, are a Qu'aiti tribe, so that Tarim and Al Ghuraf form islands in their territory. There are no Badu [167]
sections to the Tamimis, and they all live in the wadi and emigrate largely to East Africa and the East Indies. They are however an astonishingly disunited tribe whose sections were constantly warring against each other, mostly over land questions. In this way they are a great contrast to their neighbours, the Manahil, who belong to the same Confederation, the Beni Dhanna. The Manahil are all Badus but are completely united in following their young chief 'Aidha bin Tannaf, a very fine lad of about twenty-five. I thought at first that the Manahil were not going to join in the truce, but after holding back for a little while they came and signed, and have never caused the slightest trouble, though 'Aidha had considerable difficulty in restraining

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 In Tarīm many houses belonging to the wealthy saiyids seem
552 to have a name chosen by the owner, and Saiyid 'Umar b. Šaiḫ
174 Āl Kāf, our neighbour in Tarīm, called his house al-'Iššah, or 'the
212 nest', but others seem to be called after the name of the locality, or as the Ḥaḍramī says, after the name of the well, such as the house Ḥamṭūṭ, our neighbour to the east. Houses in Tarīm often have chronograms over the door, generally some pious phrase, worked in the plaster and painted. In Šibām the Maṣna'ah or fort has inscriptions, including dates, in the woodwork. I am convinced that herein lies the explanation of why so very few pre-Islamic and early Islamic inscriptions have been found in Ḥaḍramawt. On dams, on buildings, even in the mosques, the inscriptions which today record the foundation, or repairs effected to a construction, are all drawn in the plaster. The only two Kufic inscriptions I saw in Ḥaḍramawt were on the grave-stones at Ḳabr Nabī Allāh Hūd, and the strange shrine of Mawlā Maṭar. Pre-Islamic stone inscriptions will of course be discovered when excavation is made in the mud mounds which represent the ancient towns and villages of the country.

782 The sacrificial rites described here are probably general to South-
342 West Arabia. (In the Ṣubaiḥī village of Am-Fadjarah, west of Aden I came across very similar practices. A ewe (ġanamah) was slaughtered at the foundation (sās). In the space under the stairs called ḳuṭb, when it was made, another was slaughtered, and on completion of the building a third ewe, called the iklīl or 'crown', was also immolated. As the occupier of the house in question I was asked to defray the cost of these. This is some hundreds of miles from Ḥaḍramawt.) Comparisons with ritual in the ancient world may be made by scholars.

463 According to my early notes in Tarīm, every craft seems to
342 have different categories of workmen, perhaps graded, but I did not explore this possibility. A fully trained craftsman is called a mu'allim, and if you want to have a house built, you go to the mu'allim. Tarīm once had fifty to sixty mu'allims, but now (1947) there are probably only about thirty. Other categories are, the musawwis who builds the dry stone foundation of your house, and the bānī who builds with the clay bricks (madar) and clay (ṭīn). A bānī in Ḥaḍramawt is also a potter (syn. in Yemen, maddār). I heard of an architect in Tarīm who bore the name 'Umar Ya'mur

662 fine young men, who represent their father in the duties of host most admirably. The el-ᶜAṭṭās family has a big well-kept guest-house for relations passing through el-Meshhed. The roof-storey has been recently whitewashed, the mud staircases and passages, the bathroom, lavatories and everything are clean. It is a luxury for us to be able to have a bath and to put up our camp-beds on the clean, white roof-terrace, high up above the dirty smells, which pervade every Arab town. What a difference from the stable-roof at Ṣif!

172 212 On Tuesday, May 19th, we begin a detailed examination of the inscriptions at el-Meshhed and of the ruins of Ghēbūn, which are near by, to the south and south-west. We were shown stones with Sabaean inscriptions, built into houses, saints' graves, mosques, *siqāyas* and into the large, very deep village well. The material is not favourable; the limestone which is used is taken from the neighbouring mountains and is brittle, and, consequently, there remain only fragments of most of the inscriptions. A longer and more minute research than we could undertake would most certainly bring a great deal more to light. Ten minutes' walk out of el-Meshhed to the south-west lies the group of ruins of Ghēbūn. They are ascribed by the inhabitants to the fabulous people of the ᶜĀdites and are probably on the site of a Ḥimyaritic city. One sees hillocks as much as thirty feet in height, and on their tops the remains of walls built up of great, hewn blocks of stone, which have been bound with a sort of cement. On one of the first hills we see the remains of four stone foundations with square impressions, probably the bases of pillars. Towards the slopes we find many fragments of stone with characters inscribed on them. On the next hillock there is an old well, thirty feet in diameter and quite sixty feet deep. The upper part of its wall consists of a layer of piled-up stone, while the lower part is of mud. The well is partly filled with rubbish and was probably much deeper originally than it is now. The subsoil water-level here is quite 180 feet below the surface of the earth. Many fragments of simple pottery lie

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



172 amongst the broken stones of the ruins, also little bits of
●212 rough, dark glass.

A quarter of an hour's walk distant there is another group of ruins that they call here "the Graves of the Kings". All those who are following us out of curiosity drop behind, when we go on through the suffocating heat between sand- and loam hills on the way to the Graves of the Kings, which lie in a great square S. S. W. of el-Meshhed. We find few inscriptions here. The hills are separated from each other, and have on their tops the foundations of solid walls forming a thirty feet square enclosure. The stones are not very large and are well and smoothly hewn. The ruins here are generally covered with piles of loam, very possibly the remains of the mud upper parts of the buildings. Many red-brown fragments of pottery lie among the stones.

172 The assumption made by the Bents [1], that the ground has
114 been raised more than thirty feet by drifting sand and that thus the old buildings are to a great extent buried, seems to be incorrect. The opposite supposition is more likely, namely, that the *sēl*-bed became more deeply washed away when the barrages and irrigation canals were no longer kept in repair. The ruins now all lie upon the hill-tops, the loess around them having been all washed away.

609 Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās, the eldest brother now in Ḥaḍramaut of our companion Sayyid ᶜAluwī and the energetic head of the family in Ḥurēḍa, came from el-Meshhed to meet us. The father in Batavia had sent telegraphic instructions to give a good reception to the first envoy of the Netherlands to Ḥaḍramaut. Directly he received news of our approach, Sayyid Ḥasan mounted a *hadjīn* (riding camel) and set out to meet us. Being in his own country he dared to wear the khaki sun-
000 helmet of the *Efrendjīs*, when riding. Everything, later on, showed his progressiveness, his energy and daring. Sayyid Ḥasan acted henceforth as our host, and we had a good time under his guidance. Had he had enough time to accompany

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 104 *sq.*

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Ḥaḍramaut were famed for their warlike qualities at a quite 174
early period. According to him, mention is made of the country and its kings in the most ancient Sabaean inscriptions, and again in the later texts. A great deal is told about wars with Ḥaḍramaut. There are no data which suggest that the Ḥaḍramis were ever subdued by their neighbours, the Sabaeans and Minaeans. In the time of the Alexandrian scholars

RUINS OF THE ANCIENT ḤUṢN THŌBE.

they had a separate kingdom; this is unanimously and credibly reported. They had their national God, Sīn, just as the Minaeans had ʿAthtar, the Sabaeans Ilmaqah, and the people of Qatabān, ʿAmm and Anbay. So also they preserved their own dialect until as late as the sixth century of our era.

In any case, there would seem to have been many wars, 174
and the castles of Thōbe and el-ʿUrr have, unquestionably, 212
been military fortifications; this points to the country having

TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 177 --
ANALYST

●212

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8: FRAGMENTS OF INSCRIPTIONS AND CARVED STONES FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF SAYYID ABŪ BAKR EL-KĀF IN TERĪM, BROUGHT BY BEDOUINS CHIEFLY FROM THE SŪNE RUINS.

A, B, C: INSCRIPTIONS COPIED IN AND AROUND EL-MESHHED.

D: ROCK-WALL PAINTINGS IN RED, FROM DĀR ʿĀD IN WĀDĪ THIQBE.

p. 176

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



been the borderland of two kingdoms, which naturally would not be the most favourable place for setting up inscriptions. Frontier defences are never centres of culture. Furthermore the stone here is not favourable for incising: it is too brittle. All the texts deciphered for us by Mordtmann are votary inscriptions (proskynemas) to the national god, Sīn.

From Ḥuṣn Thōbe we walked back to the main wādī, in whose midst, on a great lonely rock, remains of the walls of Ḥuṣn el-ʿUrr still rise to a considerable height. We met the caravan here and, uniting our forces, tried to get at a piece of cut stone that was cemented into the upper part of the remains of the walls. After much effort we succeeded. It turned out that we had detached a capital of whitish sandstone, particularly well-hewn on its four planes. The capital was too heavy for transport on our camels, so Von Wissmann made the drawing reproduced here.[1] The skill of the artist who, in ancient times, made this head of a column is clearly shown in the undamaged portions. The sculptor seems to have depicted hunting scenes. Mounted men fighting with lions are represented on one plane; on another are very good reproductions of the ibex (*wiʿl*), an animal which plays a great part in the folklore of Ḥaḍramaut. The *wiʿl* hunt is still the favourite sport of the Ḥaḍramīs, although strongly disapproved of by their religious leaders on account of the ceremonies of evidently heathen origin accompanying it. The heavy, notched horns of the ibex, gracefully bending backwards, are, up to this day, to be found as trophies decorating the façade of many a house in Ḥaḍramaut.

The smaller hewn stone that we had found in the ruins on the outward journey was dug up again. This stone, flat and of the same white sandstone as the capital, appeared to bear on front and back an identical sculpture, representing a bunch of grapes with a few leaves, a motive that also occurs here and there on the decorated surfaces of the capital. We wished to take this stone with us to Terīm as an addition

[1] See p. 178.

always has to be on one's guard against treachery. In answer to my question whether he likes being here, he replies that he does not. Separated as he is from wife and children in Java, he is only here to defend his family's honour and position, and as soon as he can be spared he will return to his mother-land. 701 722

The master of the house himself conducts us to a place where Ḥimyaritic characters have been scratched on a rock and where are also as many as five long, though fairly narrow, basins beside the path. They were, of course, dry for the time being, but appear to be quite serviceable, and were plastered on the inside with a kind of mortar. 212 172

## 4. THE TOWN OF ʿAMD, DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS AND HARD DECEPTIONS.

The way continues for the greater part over the boulders in the *sēl*-bed, which evoke many a groan from our camels. The beasts are weary from the long march in the hot wādī, yet we are ready to stake everything on the attempt to reach ʿAmd before the day ends so that, in the evening, negotiations for our further journey may be started, and then perhaps we may have the luck to get off again after no more than a day's delay. To our pleasant surprise, the great man of Wādī ʿAmd, Shēkh ʿAwaḍ bin Saʿūd bin Shamlān el-Djaʿdī, overtakes us on our way. He is a tough greybeard, who is still lithe enough to mount onto his camel's back while it is standing. His greeting is friendly and he insists on my mounting his camel. The Shēkh's right hand, Sālim bin Sallūm el-Djaʿdī, a very loquacious man with a heart-rending voice, sits behind me. We go on at a trot. As we approach ʿAmd the date plantations grow thicker. It is already dark when we pass the big village of Ḥebeb. Our caravan has got somewhat separated through my riding-companion's insistence on keeping our racing camel perpetually at the trot. I am carried along helplessly and in the darkness it is quite an art to keep my seat 493

1/4 [NOAH 65 – SEIR -- ANALYST]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



He cannot resist the wishes of his guests and very soon there is again a crowd of inquisitive people in the sweltering upper room, staring at us and hampering us with questions and loud conversation.

## 2. PROSE AND POETRY IN WĀDĪ ḤADJR.

We manage, by exercising much insistence, to get off at four o'clock that afternoon. There are two roads to Makalla: one goes direct through the mountains, the other makes a great circuit by following the main wādī as far as the sea and then going up the coast to Makalla. The mountain route is the shortest but the hardest; we are told that it is *too* hard for our camels, who are not strong. Moreover, it would be unsafe for our little company in the mountains, in the absence of an armed escort. Considering that even Little, with a big military escort, was attacked in this country — a sayyid who was acting as his guide was killed in an engagement — we accepted the assertions of the people in Ṣidāra as reasonable and therefore chose the detour by way of the wādī, which however has a bad name for malaria. Little had to contend much with this illness: his escort had to be almost entirely renewed after a short sojourn in Wādī Ḥadjr. We tried to avoid risk by sleeping away from human habitation and, as far as possible, on high-lying, dry ground.

The caravan was under the leadership of a strong, slight Arab, of the name of Dhēb. He had spent his youth as hostage in the Sultan's palace at Makalla. This shows that Ṣidāra some twenty years ago was still a part of the Qeᶜēṭī territory, but that the Sultan considered it necessary to strengthen his hold on the country by bringing up the sons of the leading families in his palace. It was to this circumstance that Dhēb owed his education — for this country a very good one — and he was much more cultivated than the other young men of Ṣidāra. In spite of his long hair, his face was handsomer and gentler in expression than is usually the case here. We also had

with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.* Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānū . . . ā . . . ā . . . ā!"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf*, *i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2



248 1950–1, with a quality considered equal to that of the Sudan, and a contract lasting until 1955–6 has been secured with the British Raw Cotton Commission. This irrigation has, however, [136] created a new problem in the establishment of a semi-permanent population of desert locusts where they were formerly sparse.[1]

*Education*

871 Until the opening of the Aden Protectorate College for the
658 Sons of Chiefs in 1935 there had been no government provision for education. In the Hadramaut, and especially in the towns
872 of Sayun and Tarim, traditional Islamic education had reached a highly advanced stage about a century ago and produced a
[212] body of Islamic scholars; but in other parts of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate. Present educational policy is that, as each state becomes sufficiently advanced, it should be helped to set up a self-supporting department of education with village schools, central primary schools, and intermediary or secondary schools in the larger states. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by government or local government authorities had risen from not more than 100 in 1939 to about 6,700 by 1951. The total expenditure on education in 1949–50 was about £39,000, of which the Quaiti state contributed 54 per cent, the British Government 36 per cent, and the remaining states about 10 per cent. There were then 74 primary boys' schools, varying from the small Koran school to those of full primary status; about half received British financial help. The Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs was being closed down as the newer primary schools reached the desired level. There were seven girls' primary schools in the Eastern Protectorate and one in the Western, with a total attendance of about 800. In each Protectorate there was one post-primary school, with Egyptian and Sudanese teachers on the staff. A junior secondary school at Ghail ba-Wazir near Mukalla was completed in 1950 to provide a two-years' course for the local administrative service, the police, and the army. Full secondary education in Aden Protectorate is unlikely for some years, but the new Aden College, a secondary school opened in 1951, receives boys from the Protectorate as well as from the Colony and will it is hoped eventually be developed to university standard. In 1950 ten Protectorate boys held scholarships in the Sudan, and some twenty from the Eastern Protectorate were studying in other Arab countries.

[1] Dr B. P. Uvarov, director of the Anti-Locust Research Centre, reported in *The Times*, 27 September 1952.

6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Literacy*

873 Measures to deal with adult illiteracy are extremely meagre. In the Western Protectorate there are none; in the Eastern Protectorate 17 centres were opened in 1947, but these dwindled to eight during 1948 on account of non-attendance of pupils. They represent an average attendance of 230.

212

It is impossible to estimate the number of literates turned out by the small independent Quranic schools which exist throughout the Protectorates. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by Government or local government authorities was in the region of 4,300 in 1948; in 1939 it was not more than 100.

*Expenditure*

652 The total amount of money expended on education in the Protectorates (including scholarships abroad) was in the region of £38,110. It comprised the following approximate amounts:

| | £ |
|---|---|
| From His Majesty's Government funds, including £1,664 on scholarships in the Sudan . . . | 13,200 |
| Mukalla Government (including about £760 on scholarships in the Sudan. This is 10 per cent of the total state expenditure) . . . . . | 18,190 |
| Lahej State, including considerable financial assistance from Egypt . . . . . | 5,500 |
| Other local governments in the Western Aden Protectorate . . . . . | 1,220 |
| | £38,110 |

*Summary*

871 From this brief review it will be gathered that educational provision in the Protectorates is extremely meagre and development over the whole area apparently slow. It is therefore only fair to point out that until 1937, with the exception of the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs started in 1935, there was no Government provision or supervision of education in the Protectorates. It would not be true to say that there was no education in the Protectorates before that time. It existed rather haphazardly, maintained by private individuals, trusts and associations and by a few local chiefs; but its bias was almost always entirely religious, just as the mosque was nearly always the village school and the Imam of the mosque the village schoolmaster.

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In the part of the Eastern Protectorate loosely called the Hadhramaut, and particularly in the towns of Seiyun and Tarim, this traditional religious education reached a highly advanced stage about a century ago. It produced a body of men, drawn mainly from the Seiyid class, who were well read in Quranic studies, Sharia law and in the Arabic language. These men travelled widely in surrounding countries, spreading Islamic

Culture and winning a reputation for The Hadhramaut as a Center of religious education.

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of 000
religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past 178
in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protec- 771
torate. Any development of education initiated by Government had
therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, 212
there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people 875
who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom
this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and
obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the
people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply
of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the
biggest problem in Protectorate education to-day.

## HEALTH

*Western Aden Protectorate*

The development of the Protectorate Medical Service was rather 759
upset in the past three years by numerous changes of senior medical
staff. However, one advantage came from this, namely that in the
drawing up of a plan for future development, co-operative help and
advice was given by every doctor and nurse who ever worked in the
Protectorate.

At the beginning of the year, a three-month course was given for new
tribal dressers, who were posted to work under senior dressers in the
Protectorate.

It is estimated that in the course of the year 50,000 patients were 743
treated in the 18 dispensaries. Malaria, dysentery, schistosomiasis and 164
tuberculosis were the four most prevalent diseases. Obstetrical problems
and gynaecology offer a very large field for research. Owing to customs [562]
necessitating the seclusion of women any estimate of these problems is
pure conjecture. In spite of these restrictions, the Medical Officer
attended a great many during his visits, especially in Beihan at the very
edge of "the empty quarter" of Arabia. A number of those who other-
wise would never receive surgical treatment were flown down to the
hospital at Aden. Venereal disease was unfortunately on the increase in
Abyan, where crowds of people of all kinds came to find work in the
agricultural project there.

Many visits including some of several days duration were paid by
the Medical Officer to the various dispensaries in the Protectorate during
which between 4,000 and 5,000 selected patients were treated. Besides
those patients who found their own way down to hospital in Aden,
150 or more were brought down on the Protectorate Medical Officer's
recommendation.

## HOUSING

The settled Western Aden Protectorate population is housed for the 342
main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under
camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm
huts, and even under matting placed over
vegetation or trees.

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2
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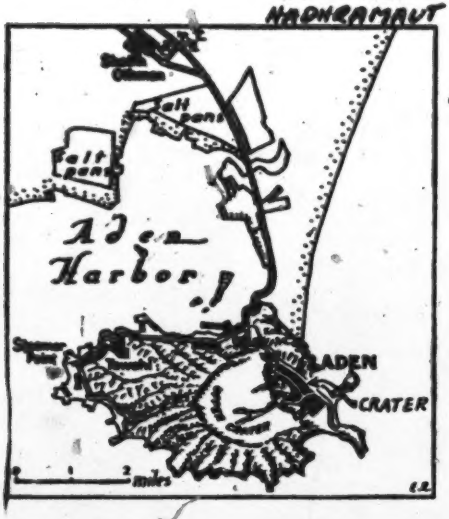


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equently return to their home settlements with their savings. Arabic is the language of the indigenous peoples, but Malay tongues are widely used in the towns of the Hadhramaut. Swahili, the *franca lingua* of East Africa, is understood throughout most of the area, while English is extensively employed in Aden proper. The majority of Arabs are Moslems, belonging to branches of the Sunni sect. Other religions are found chiefly among the different racial groups in the Colony and in the coast towns of the Protectorate.

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Education has made considerable progress in the Colony, and is gradually being introduced into the Protectorate. Primary schools for both sexes are supported by the government in the Colony, and by mission and private organizations. The Colonial authorities also operate secondary and vocational schools for boys. There are no post-secondary institutions, but government scholarships are available for the training of teachers and various professional personnel in the Anglo-Egytian Sudan or in the United Kingdom. The literacy rate among children of 6 to 12 years of age is estimated at 90 per cent, in contrast with 20 to 25 per cent in the general population. A program for the expansion of education

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p. 237 (8)

N 212 185 658 in the Protectorate has recently been undertaken by the British authorities, while in some areas, particularly in the Qu'aiti Sultanate, schools are now supported by the local governments. Scattered primary and Koranic schools, and at least one postprimary school, are found in each of the protectorates. In the course of a medical survey H 212 565 in Western Aden Protectorate in 1939-40,[20] the degree of literacy was found to average 20 per cent among the men and practically zero among the women. The highest literacy rates were encountered among the Seiyids, a group recognized as the social and the religious leaders. H [873] A college for the sons of chiefs from Western Aden Protectorate is located at Aden.

## Vital Statistics

A 659 163 165 Registration of births and deaths is compulsory in the Colony. In the 5 years 1946-50, the birth rate, calculated on the basis of the census returns for 1946, ranged from 26.6 to 31.7 per 1,000 population; the death rate, from 20.1 to 23.5 per 1,000 population. A 165 464 The significance of the mortality statistics is influenced adversely by the continuous movement of laborers between the Colony and their homes in Yemen and the Protectorate, and the influx of sick individuals from the interior to Aden hospitals, many of whom are in a seriously debilitated condition on arrival. In 1950, for example, the recorded deaths totaled 1,644, of which 511 were among nonresidents. The death rate, as reported, was 20.1 per 1,000 of the 1946 census population, but, eliminating the nonresident deaths, it is reduced to 14.2 per 1,000 population. Corrected to the estimated population for that year, the crude death rate figured at 16.4 per 1,000 and the resident rate at 11.3 per 1,000 population.

A 165 731 The infant mortality rate has declined appreciably within recent years. It had been less than 200 per 1,000 live births for several decades, but it reached a peak of 239 per 1,000 in 1943, when famine conditions prevailed throughout much of southwestern Arabia. The annual rates averaged 176 per

[Western Protectorate]



565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

### Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

*In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

*In Seiyun:* Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

1 [The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

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b. Metre : Ramal type, ||—|——∪—|——∪—

شَيْخنَا ٱلْمِخضَار يَطفِى ٱلنَّار

« Our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār puts out the fire. »

This is a radjaz or zāmil known as radjaz ḫābbah, or « jingle used by a party of men at the trot ». It would be sung after a fire had been extinguished. It should be noted that extinguishing of the fire is attributed to the patron saint of the quarter, and one can with justification see in this the survival of some ancient pagan ceremony.

c. Metre : Basīṭ type,

||—|—∪—|—∪—|—∪—|—∪—

وَٱلشَّيْخ وَٱللهْ عُمَرْ يَا سَعْد مِنْ كَانْ شَيْخَهْ

« By the Šaiḫ, by God, ʻUmar, O the good fortune of him whose šaiḫ he is. »

This radjaz (jingle) is also used in trotting.

d. Metre : Banī Mighrāh [10],

||——∪|——∪|——∪|——∪

عُمَرْ مِخضَار فِى كُلِّ حِجَّهْ نَهْتَرِى بَهْ

وَرَاسَ ٱلْخَصْم لِى قَدْ عَصَبْنَا بَيْن جِيَهْ

« ʻUmar al-Miḥḍār, in every matter we shout for assistence to him.

And the head of the foe whom we have made up our mind (to attack) we shall bring [11]. »

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10 I have named this metre Banī Mighrā because it seems to be invariably used in the poems which begin with this phrase. The Banī Mighrāh poem is the traditional hunting song of Ḥaḍramawt; it is discussed at length in my *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramout.*

11 اهترى LANDBERG, *Glossaire*, « prononcer le cri de ralliement de la tribu, crialiler ». My informant said it meant « to seek assistance from. » For عصب he gave the synonym اراد. One can say عصبنا السبيله equivalent to نبينا السبيله « We want to go to the Masīlah ». In the « oath of denial » *infra*, I think that the first two verbs must have the fundamental sense of « binding and loosing » بين جيه is equivalent to بنينا نحيه .

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b. Metre :

Perhaps ‖ — — ∪ | — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — فَاعِلْ مُسْتَفْعِلْ فَعُولْ

قَدْ قَنَصْنَا ٱلصَّيْدْ فِى رُبُوعَهْ [13]

شَيْخَنَا عَلِىْ بِنْ مُحَمَّدْ

« We have hunted the game in its lairs (or mountain-sides). Our šaiḫ is 'Alī bin Miḥimmid. »

This tanṣūrah has no small interest when it is recalled that the ritual hunt played an important part in the pre-Islamic religion of this part of Arabia, especially the hunting of the ibex [14]. The first half-verse is commonly sung by *all* the quarters of Tarīm, and is even used by the people of the ḥawṭah of Thibī not far away. [792] Šaiḫ 'Alī bin Muḥammad is a saint of the Āl Ḫaṭīb family, known as Ṣāḥib al-Wi'il, i.e. « He of the Ibex ». Once, on the occasion of a feast, either the lesser or the greater 'Īd, he had no animal to slaughter by way of celebration, but on returning home from the mosque he found an ibex standing by his door. This was evidently a miracle performed on his behalf. Šaiḫ 'Alī is the patron saint of al-Ḫilaif, and is buried in the cemetery of al-Furaiṭ [15]. [346 361] The chief mosque of the quarter is Misdjid al-Wi'il, and at one time when, owing to the dissension between three sections of the Yāfi'ī rulers, Tarīm was divided into three territories with three separate djāmi' mosques, the Misdjid al-Wi'il was used for the Friday prayer; this took place about a century ago.

No doubt this tanṣūrah would be used by parties of hunters returning from the ibex-hunt as I have described in the preface to my book on Ḥaḍrami popular verse.

3. Ḥārat al-Saḥīl

[792] The people of this quarter mention their saint, an 'Aidarūs saiyid who is buried in Tāribah, but I have no further particulars about their tanṣūrahs. They shout
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[13] Variant شَعُوبَهْ.

[14] Cf. A. Beeston, *The Ritual Hunt*, Le Muséon, LXI, 3-4, pp. 183-96.

[15] For this cemetery see *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, *op. cit.*

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



been the borderland of two kingdoms, which naturally would not be the most favourable place for setting up inscriptions. Frontier defences are never centres of culture. Furthermore the stone here is not favourable for incising: it is too brittle. All the texts deciphered for us by Mordtmann are votary inscriptions (proskynemas) to the national god, Sīn.

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[1] See p. 178.

strangers were assumed to be enemy scouts, the advance guard of a larger fighting force behind some distant dune. 721 484

The "ambushed" caravan comprised sixteen Bedouins, only twelve of them armed. This fact, however, the theoretically opposing force was supposed not to know, since it is an unwritten law of the desert that every Bedouin travels with rifle and ammunition. Without hesitation the leader selected three armed men to act as scouts and an unarmed messenger. Hastily the four men washed down a few mouthfuls of food, since they did not know when they would be able to eat again, filled with water from the large reservoir skins some small ones suitable for short, flying trips, and then slipped swiftly off across the sand in a peculiar bowlegged glide. Under cover of a near-by dune the caravan men scrambled to its summit, at once opened fire, and drove the two intruders from view. They then dashed ahead to the dune on which their adversaries had stood and later advanced from hilltop to hilltop parallel to the caravan route and between it and "enemy" territory. In the meantime the camels had been hastily packed and started on the march along the now protected trail, which they followed without intermission until sundown. [411]

The two "enemy" tribesmen were not seen again, and it was concluded that their actions had been misinterpreted. Freedom from molestation during the remainder of the day did not, however, cause the caravan leader to relinquish vigilance. The party was scheduled to pass at about 3.00 p. m. a water hole to one side of the trail and hidden from it by a dune. As a method of precaution an advance guard of four went ahead and, just as the caravan came abreast of this spot, converged on the well from four directions. Although the strategy displayed by the Bedouins and their chief was happily unnecessary, the "shadow" campaign showed how fearless and cautious these men of the desert can be.

## Fishers and Ropemakers

During certain of the winter months sardines abound along the Hadhramaut coast, traveling in large schools, which can be seen from the shore as black patches on the surface of the sea. Natives wade out with hand nets or cast from small canoes, making enormous hauls with considerable ease. The sardines are much appreciated by the Bedouins as an addition to their diet of dates, millet, and goat or sheep meat and are eaten either raw or cooked. The fish are taken from the nets, tossed up on the beach to dry, and then packed into large bundles for transport to the interior, where they are used for camel fodder or fertilizer. Fish oil is obtained from that part of the catch which is dumped into pits and allowed to decompose. Sting rays, sharks, porpoises, and lobsters are also taken from the sea; but as the use of lobster is unknown, it is cast back from the nets. 136 226 237 [262]

Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited. 508

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation. 509 205 206

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden. 131 161 162

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north. 311

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir. From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possessing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations 439 226 241 182 [167]

that of the Sultanates of the West, though I was interested to find that there was a small Jewish community, and this is the nearest that any Jews have got to the Hadhramaut. The Balhaf Sultan, an intelligent young man whom I have known for a long time, came to see me in Seiyun and asked us to help in extending peaceful arrangements to his country. Though most of the sections have signed the truce the situation is still far from settled, as Miss Stark, who arrived at 'Azzan from the Wadi 'Amd shortly after my first visit, will tell.

A short distance down the Wadi Meifa'a from 'Azzan are the ruins of Naqab al Hajar described by Wellstead a hundred years ago. This is Meepha Metropolis. I have only seen the ruins from the air, though Miss Stark has recently visited them. There are inscriptions also at Husn Gharab on the coast which Mr. Martens, one of this winter's visitors, has recently seen. He too was well received.

Bir 'Ali is the other Wahidi Sultanate and, though the old Sultan has no claim to rule outside his wedge-shaped little walled town, he is unfortunately at present unwilling to compose his long-standing differences with the Balhaf and 'Azzan relatives, which makes settlement more difficult. I have lately had both Sultans in Mukalla and tried to get them to bury the hatchet.

I have had little opportunity in this last tour to do more for the Mahras than visit Qishn, their capital, occasionally, and Socotra I have not visited since 1935. It may perhaps be remembered that the Bin Zueidi section of the Mahras did not exactly welcome us when we arrived at the coast through the Wadi Maseila in 1934, and a couple of months ago for the first time the Mahras asked for intervention in their internal affairs, as the Zueidi tyranny in Seihut had become acute. We are now trying in the normal political way of advice and exhortation to induce them to cease their exactions on unarmed merchants and peaceful citizens in a town in which they have no lawful concern, and I paid my last visit to Qishn a day or two before I left Mukalla.

I had intended to visit Gheidha, the most eastern landing-ground in the Aden Protectorate, but we did not get so far and made a landing at Haswein just west of Cape Fartak. The inhabitants said it was the first time that Europeans had been there, though they called me by my name as soon as I stepped out of the machine. These coastal Mahras are a peaceful folk engaging mostly in fishing, and they have pleasant breeze-swept villages of a simple style of architecture, unlike the Hadhramaut but which reminded Mr. Figgis, who was with me, very much of the Arab dwellings in Northern Nigeria. I do not believe we could really have been the first Europeans to visit the place as there is quite an adequate account of it in the Red Sea Pilot, perhaps derived from a visit of Captain Haines in the *Palinurus* over a hundred years ago. Perhaps too there had been a much earlier European visitor, for authorities on classical geography usually identify Ras Fartak, Cape Syragrus, the Boar's Head, as the point from which Hippolus set forth in about A.D. 45 when he discovered the changes of the monsoons. I have long had a wish to put up on this majestic cape of Fartak a simple obelisk with the inscription, a quotation from the *Periplus*, "Hippolus discovered the changes of the

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



disturb us with questions. It was a disappointment to find that there was, apparently, no food to be bought, but . . . we hoped to be back again in the palace of the hospitable Sultan of Makalla on the morrow!

June 21st was to be the last day of our travels and the fifteenth since leaving Terīm. We were on the march at twenty past four, going round the village towards the sea, where a few fishermen were already busy with their nets. Burūm has barely a few hundreds of inhabitants and has known better days. There are only soldiers now in the white palace of the Sultan. A white mosque, as well as a few white stone houses, give it an attractive appearance when seen from a distance. A date plantation and *dhura* fields lie between the village and the mountain-wall, but there is no room for them to spread out in this narrow coastal plain shut in by rocks. Makalla controls Burūm by means of fiscal regulations. The fishing trade is the only source of income left to the people. We saw good-sized, dried shark's heads thrown into a heap, amongst them those of the hammer-head.

From the beach the path mounts to the rock-wall beside the sea. On the rocky cape the remains of a fort and a few rusty cannon are to be seen. For a part of the way the path is hewn out of the precipice. Little Muḥammad, who has never seen the sea, lags behind constantly, quite lost in wonder over this new marvel. At one time our way ascends high up onto the rocks, then, at another, leads over a beach of glittering white sand. The farther we go the farther the mountains recede and, at last, one is walking along the flat sandy beach. The way is much travelled and there are plenty of *siqāyas*. Fūwa, our last stopping place before Makalla, comes in sight. The white town, encircled by an extensive district under cultivation, lies at the mouth of Wādī Fūwa. We pass through fresh green fields towards a group of shady trees, our chosen halting place, but it proves to be too warm and we are forced to seek human neighbourhood. Hospitality will be readily offered us in the high, white houses, but there we shall neither

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
HADHRAMAUT mm2
Aden MM1



H 439 314 Two products of southern Arabia are frankincense and myrrh, which are both obtained from the sap of trees that grow on the damper hill slopes above 3,000 feet. The sap is collected in late spring and early summer, before the onset of the rains, mainly by migrant Somalis and other Africans. At one time there was a considerable trade in these products with the north, and tradition speaks of an 'Incense Route' somewhere in south-west Arabia, along which caravans moved northwards to Medina and the Levant. Nowadays the output of frankincense and myrrh is very much smaller, most coming from the uplands of Dhofar.

H 226 Towards the east, as relief declines and rainfall diminishes, cultivation becomes more and more precarious, and fishing is the main occupation. Large quantities of shark, tunny, and sardines are caught (Chapter X), most of which are dried as food both for humans and for camels. In addition, an oil is prepared from the fish for use in woodworking. Mukhala and Shihr are the chief fishing centres, and in these towns rows of fish drying in the sun for food, and rotting in heaps to produce oil, are prominent, and according to some visitors, unforgettable, features.

H 439 With a barren hinterland, many activities in southern Arabia centre on the sea; and, in addition to fishing, trading by dhow is important. The Arabs of the south are the Greeks of the Indian Ocean, and cargoes are carried between East Africa, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and India—even, at times, the East Indies. From their sea-trading, the natives of Aden and the Hadhramaut derive a livelihood that allows the import of foodstuffs into the country—as it is, local production of food is quite insufficient to maintain the existing population, and part must come from the outside. H 177 A cosmopolitan outlook, and wide commercial contacts, strongly contrasting with conditions in the Yemen, are strikingly indicated by the architectural styles in southern Arabia, which are very greatly influenced by East Indian models. Many storied houses, with elaborate woodwork and carving, are most characteristic. After a life of trading, perhaps with many years spent away from his country, the southern Arab often returns to Aden or the Hadhramaut with a small fortune that will keep him in comfort for the rest of his life.

A 504 Aden is the principal town of the region, and its harbour, the only good one along the entire coast, from Bab el Mandeb to Muscat, is formed by a deep bay partially enclosed by two volcanic necks. The town, of 40,000 inhabitants, owes its development to British

5: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



are generally of good-quality alluvium. In high-altitude districts less fertile soils are found and they are generally light in texture, except in some limestone areas where they are heavy and intractable.

(*b*) *Water supplies* are generally good and sufficient for the needs of cultivators who tend to concentrate in the river-valley areas or in the highland areas where some rainfall can be expected. Water becomes scarce in the Eastern districts where the settled country emerges into the Empty Quarter. Domestic water supplies are obtained from springs, wells, dams, tanks and cisterns.

(*c*) *Irrigation and drainage systems* are highly developed. At high altitudes the run-off is led to terraces in order to boost the rainfall which is insufficient in itself for crop production. Flood irrigation systems are found in the river valleys and on the coastal plain. Irrigation from permanent streams and springs is highly developed. Artificial irrigation is from open wells. Animal power lifts are worked at depths of 10 to 60 feet and in the most favourable districts command up to 10 per cent. of the total arable area.

(*d*) *Mechanical cultivation* is confined to one small unit used by the Abyan Board in the Abyan district. Elsewhere the simple Arabian plough, combined levelling-board and scraper, harrow and a drill attachment for the plough comprise the implements used by the cultivator.

(*e*) *Application of fertilisers.* Organic fertilisers only are used. Farmyard manure is commonly used in all mid-altitude and highland districts. Farmyard manure, human excreta and town wastes are used in the Hadhramaut. Fish and guano are commonly used in the Eastern Protectorate coastal areas.

*Land Tenure*

(*a*) Customary tribal law and Shari'a law affect land tenure.

(*b*) Individual ownership is the common and most-desired form of tenancy; share tenancy is the usual form of leashold tenure.

(*c*) His Majesty's Government owns no land in the Aden Protectorate. Some of the Arab states hold extensive tracts of land as state domain. All the land is held by indigenous inhabitants except for a very small percentage held by Yemeni settlers and a few Indians and Somalis.

*Agricultural Credit*

There are no banks in the Aden Protectorate. One small Farmers' Association giving credit assistance to its members was formed during the year. The Department of Agriculture, the local Governments, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut a Relief Organisation afforded assistance to farmers with interest-free loans.

## FISHERIES

A visit in February by the Fisheries Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies resulted in the arrival of a fisheries research party in

5:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



November. They began testing fish livers for vitamin-A content and also canning samples. Meanwhile several local merchants showed interest and applied for permission to set up canneries and the like. A board to consider such applications and fisheries development in general was set up. 654 226

### FORESTRY

No true forests exist. Bush products exploited are timber, fuel, charcoal, fibres, gum incense and dragon blood. 313 314

# Chapter 8: Social Services

### EDUCATION

*General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education inspects schools, gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates so far as is possible educational development throughout the whole territory. 658

*Policy*

The general education policy in the Protectorates has been to build up self-supporting state Departments of Education as the states become sufficiently advanced for this to be possible. The intention has been that these departments should organise and control a system of village schools, central primary schools and, in the case of the larger states, intermediate schools.

*Education Departments*

Two such Education Departments are already in existence. One under the Mukalla Government in the Eastern Protectorate, with a Sudanese Director of Education (who is also Education Adviser to the British Agent), and an inspectorate of five local Arab inspectors. The other is at Lahej, 25 miles inland from Aden in the Western Protectorate, where Emir Ali, brother of the Sultan, performs the duties of Director of Education. 647

*Higher Education*

There is no higher education in the Protectorate, and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come. It is thus necessary to send abroad selected scholars who reach the required standard. There is at present one boy at Gordon College in the Sudan, and three there are at secondary schools. 873

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



241 the management of irrigation farming on some 5,000 acres. The value
242 of the Board's quarter-share of the net crop obtained, after paying harvesting and threshing expenses in kind, was estimated at over Rs. 1,25,000.

Farming in Abyan, largely influenced by the Board's operations, proved important to the economy of the Western Aden Protectorate. In the production of millet alone, it is estimated that a 30,000 bag crop, equal to 3,000 metric tons, was raised. A large portion of this was held as a reserve, or had been marketed to the easterly districts at the end of the year. General control on the export of this grain to Aden itself was maintained, and the flow of the crop to the districts to the east was encouraged.

*The Wadi Hadhramaut Rehabilitation Scheme*

654 This was wound up by Government at the end of the 1947–48 financial
426 year. Farmers with outstanding loans were given ten years in which to repay, the basis of repayment being at the rate of 2 per cent of the total loan from the spring crop, 3 per cent from the autumn crop, and 5 per cent from the winter crop grown. By the end of the year, it was apparent that this system of deferred repayment was not proving satis-
[452] factory. Moneylenders had again become active, while late planting and reduced acreage were noticeable in many districts. This undoubtedly resulted from lack of foresight on the part of many farmers, who had failed to reserve sufficient seed and fodder and preferred to resort to moneylenders for obtaining their needs on credit.

406 At the end of the year, proposals were on hand for the introduction of numbers of diesel-driven irrigation pumps for use in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

*Co-operation*

476 The Beihan Farmers' Association, formed in the previous year, progressed in a satisfactory manner, and much useful experience was gained by the officials of the association. A good *saif* season helped the members, but this was followed by an almost complete lack of water in the *kharif*. In spite of these difficulties, the association was able to help its members in their requirements of seed, stock, and cash needed for well equipment and for concentrates for feeding livestock. At the end of the year, the association had acquired some Rs. 12,000 from members' subscriptions and from interest charged on loans.

476 This association cannot be termed a co-operative society in the true
659 sense of the word. It is an association which has the full support of the local Government, and which at present makes use of Government offices and storehouses for its activities. In the present stage of development this is considered to be the most desirable form of association for Beihan.

*Western Aden Protectorate*

226 The Western Aden Protectorate fisheries are of minor importance
361 compared with those of the Eastern Protectorate. Shuqra, the seat of
439 the Fadhli Sultan, is, however, a fishing port with a considerable export trade in dried fish

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MN2



trade in dried fish. Other fishing communities are small and the greater part of their population nomadic for part of the year. 226 [361]

Apart from the occurrence in summer of large migratory fish as described under the Aden Colony fisheries, there is a considerable cast-net fishery for sardines along the sand beaches east of Aden. West of Aden, sardines are rare but a small anchovy supports a fishery during the winter months.

Craft and gear are as described under Aden Colony fisheries.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

The fisheries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate are primitive but very productive. Previous observers have estimated the annual catch as over 50,000 tons of wet fish.

Sardines belonging to several species of Sardinella and Dussumieria normally abound on certain stretches of coast east of Mukalla all winter, when they support a very extensive cast-net and beach-sein fishery. Utilisation is wasteful, the fish being either sun-dried for fertiliser and animal fodder or else rotted in order to free a putrid oil. The winter of 1948–49 has unfortunately been the worst sardine season within living memory. [228]

Kingfish (*Scomberomorus*) abound in the vicinity of the sardine shoals and are taken in large quantities in nets and on handlines. They are exported either wet-salted as " maleh " or salted and sun-dried as " safif ". [439]

Three species of tunny and several other large pelagic fishes are caught in considerable numbers and salted.

Sharks are taken in moderate numbers. The town of Qu'sair specialises in this fishery and sends small dhows to the Somali coast for the purpose. In general, the Somali coast is reckoned to be a better shark ground than South Arabia.

These fisheries are worked from huris, sambuks and small dhows as described under Aden Colony fisheries, using the most primitive gear. So great is the abundance at high and low tide close inshore, however, that even by these means the catch per man-hour exceeds that of many fully mechanised fisheries elsewhere.

During 1948 the fisheries of the Gulf of Aden, and particularly those of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, were surveyed under a Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme, with a view to promoting their more efficient exploitation. The original schedule was unfortunately upset by failure to get two vessels equipped in time at Aden, but, although this hampered the work, experimental canning was carried out and liver oils tested for Vitamin " A " content early in 1948. Towards the end of the year, a taxonomist was appointed to confirm the identity of the commercial species. A full report on the survey will be published during 1949. 654 647

Following on the early findings of the Survey Party representatives of the Colonial Development Corporation arrived on the Eastern Protectorate coast towards the end of the year in order to go more fully into commercial possibilities. Unfortunately their visit coincided with a particularly poor sardine season.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



476 The Ahwar Farmers' Association was started with the nomination by the Regent of a chairman and managing committee of 12, assisted by a secretary. The committee functioned during 1952 as a kind of Agricultural Board to deal with local irrigation arrangements, cotton growing and marketing, and development work. It provided a useful link between the Department of Agriculture and the farming community.

## FISHERIES

226 The same type of fishing is carried out in the Protectorates as in the Colony with more emphasis on beach seines. The most extensive fishery is the coast from Mukalla eastwards to beyond Qishn. In the winter months sardine of the Sardinella and Dussumreria types are found together with *Scomberomerus spp.* and tunny. The Western Protectorate coast in winter generally supports an intensive fishery for anchovy (*Stolephorus indicus*) by beach seines. In addition a small shrimp is also caught by this method. The fisheries are localised but seasonal fishermen tend to follow the shoals along the coast.

Encircling gill nets, bottom nets and lift nets are little used in the Protectorate as local opinion is strongly opposed to methods of increasing yields for fear that the fish will become extinct.

439 Fishing is financed in the same way as in Colony by merchants.
226 Fish, surplus to normal requirements, is salted and dried for export to India, Africa and Ceylon but there is considerable local consumption
255 inland. Dried sardines are used for camel fodder, tobacco fertiliser
254 and human consumption. One fish factory for canning tunny and sardines, which was established in Mukalla in 1950 and which used an Italian trawler for supplies, has had to close down owing to lack of capital. Fish meal was also produced at this factory. No cold storage or ice-making plants exist.

435 Marketing arrangements are the same as in the Colony : fish prices
226 are about 50 per cent lower for the consumer in the Protectorate.

The sardine fishery which had failed for three years showed signs of revival in the early winter of 1951 along the Eastern Protectorate coast. Shoals of larger fish were also abundant and the upward trend has again been noticed in the winter of 1952.

654 The Fisheries Department is described on page 27. It has surveyed
226 little of the Protectorate waters except by Danish seine netting. The results have been exceptionally poor owing to the rough nature of the bottom. Plans for extensive and intensive work in the Protectorates have been delayed because of schemes in the Colony. A certain amount of work has been done in Western Protectorate waters from Perim to beyond Shuqra but only one area showed signs of promise with Danish seine nets : half a ton of *Lethrinus spp.* was the best single individual haul. The fishermen from Aden Colony range into the Western Protectorate and on three nights at the end of the Shamal of 1952, with assistance from the Fisheries Department vessel, secured 14½ tons of *Scomberomerus spp.* from the west of Aden. These co-operative efforts will be resumed in the Shamal of 1953.

137 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north
246 of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khuweira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

**Manufacturing Industries.**

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
262 mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden
249 machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
438 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to
353 the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
346 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

**Fisheries.**

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They
231 are :—

438 *Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazīf* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

by men and also serve for fodder. It is sold by *ma'bar*, a basket of about 30 to 40 lb. The price for eight baskets is from one to three dollars.

*Hanīt* (cooked and dried *tamad* fish). About fifteen to twenty *baḥars* of this are made a day in Mukalla and sold for local and up country consumption.

*Safīf* (dried *tarnak* and *tamad* fish). This used to be made only from the *tarnak* but now includes *tamad* as well.

*Lakhm* (dried shark). A great deal is prepared in Mukalla and one *frasila* costs one and a half to two and a-half dollars.

*Rīsh* (shark fins). A certain amount of these are exported to China.

The fish manufactories have been removed from the town of Mukalla, a sanitary measure for which credit is due to Sultan 'Umar. The drying-grounds and godowns for *wazīf* are situated beyond Therb, the camel park, outside the western gate. Here too there are old fish-oil tanks. The drying of fish for human consumption takes place at Al Khalf, east of the town, and here large godowns for storage and export are in process of completion. Dried fish forms a staple article of diet of the population. It is also a valuable manure and a widely-used fodder for animals. The extent of this coastal industry may be judged by the millions of gulls lining the seashore and the ever-pervading smell in the coastal towns.

Mr. Heald, referring to the fish-curing industry, writes " Along the coast in the various villages, a primitive fish-curing industry was carried on for sale in the interior, which consisted merely of digging a hole about one yard deep and half a yard broad, lined with stone; in this, wood was burnt and then the large-sized fish were placed in the hot ashes and covered over and left for 24 hours, afterwards taken out and sent up to the interior for sale. I was informed that the cured fish would keep for a considerable length of time, but, as a word of warning to intending travellers in this country, I strongly advise them not to allow any of their luggage especially bedding to be put on the same camel carrying the fish, as the smell was abominable and tainted everything it came into contact with. The Beduins on the journey fed their camels with the small sun dried fish and also partook of the same themselves without any attempt at cooking."

## Visit of Agricultural and Geological Experts in 1919.

### Agricultural Report.

At the request of the Sultan, then Sir Ghalib bin 'Awadh, K.C.I.E., experts were obtained from Egypt to examine and report on the agricultural and mineral possibilities of certain parts of his territory

228 From the tongue of land we pass the
443 fish-market, where a lively trade in the dwellers of the sea, here so multifarious, is carried on from early morning till late in the evening. The shark seems to be the commonest fish. Sacks full of dried and salted shark's flesh are sent into the interior, where, in times of prosperity, the Bedouins and townsfolk enjoy a piece of it with their frugal meal of bread and rice. The smell of badly dried and, consequently, somewhat decaying fish accompanies the traveller far into the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut.

443 The bazaar of Makalla has more penetrating odours than is
386 usual elsewhere. Not far from the fish-market are the workshops where loin-cloths and head-cloths are dyed a dull blue-black with indigo, and this trade also has sickening, nauseating smell. The workers and their houses are covered with a layer of indigo.

443 A more attractive trade than these is plied in this long
286 street of the bazaar — that of the weavers and lace-makers. They weave narrow lengths of cloth with brightly coloured stripes and with very attractive fringes, which are woven separately.

443 All sorts of sweets were offered for sale at the booths; also
438 the first bright-yellow or deep-red dates, not yet quite ripe,
439 tuberous fruits, spices, the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco in big bundles consisting of whole dried plants; broad waist-bands, Japanese, Indian and Dutch piece-goods, sugar-loaves and rice, coffee-beans and dried coffee-husks, ginger-root and tea from Ceylon and Java, various kinds of grain, meal and *samn*, sesame oil and kerosene, matches and coffee-cups, *djambiyas* [1] and cartridges.

443- We wandered through this storehouse of Ḥaḍramaut. The salesmen had lighted their reeking lamps and torches stuck in bottles; one could only pass slowly through the swarming crowd with the smoke of the lamps mingling with the heavy odour emanating from men and things. As in a dream we

104 [1] *Djambiya*, correctly spelled *djanbīya* (جنبية), is a broad, curved dagger worn in the waist-band in front of the body.

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



312 the north-east Yemen Plateau, but local rain was sufficient and caused damage to the wheat and barley crops when at the harvest stage.

312 In the districts west of the Bana *kharif* conditions in Lahej and Subeihi
731 country were good, but in the highland districts rainfall was insufficient for crop production over most of the year. In Abyan which is watered
291 by the Bana and the Hassan rivers where they enter the coastal plain, a weak flood season was experienced, but this resulted in effective flood control, and on the balance, in satisfactory crops. East of the Bana and the Abyan district, conditions in the *kharif* were bad. Lack of rain in most districts reduced crop production based on a rain and flood irrigation system to nothing. Fodder supplies needed for sustaining the animals working the water lifts in permanently irrigated areas were reduced, and lowered production from what should normally be a reliable source.

231 Livestock suffered and were reduced in numbers as a result of poor flood conditions caused by insufficient rain. A secondary factor which
● 228 seriously affected camel owners and transporters in the Eastern Protectorate was a dearth of the sardines which are usually caught in great quantities on the Hadhramaut coast and used in a dry state as fodder for livestock.

241 *Crop Production*

| | Acres | Tons |
|---|---|---|
| ***Western Aden Protectorate*** | | |
| Millet—sorghum | 40,000 | 8,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 7,500 | 1,125 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 |
| Sesame | 5,500 | 550 |
| ***Eastern Aden Protectorate*** | | |
| Millet—sorghum | 5,000 | 1,700 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 1,000 | 200 |
| Wheat and barley | 3,500 | 2,500 |
| Date palms | 10,000 | 4,500 |

*Pests and Diseases*

No report of locust activity was received during the year.

Rust is probably the most important plant disease in the Aden Protectorate. In 1948, little damage was recorded from this disease.

*Animal Health*

232 No rinderpest was recorded during the year. Goat virus was im-
231 ported from Kenya and used for the immunisation of cattle in Abyan. Horse-sickness vaccine was used in Beihan, Abyan and Lahej.

| | Western Aden Protectorate | Eastern Aden Protectorate |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 30,000 | 45,000 |
| Cattle | 50,000 | 8,000 |
| Goats | 400,000 | 320,000 |
| Sheep | 110,000 | 50,000 |

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



trade in dried fish. Other fishing communities are small and the greater part of their population nomadic for part of the year, 226 [361]

Apart from the occurrence in summer of large migratory fish as described under the Aden Colony fisheries, there is a considerable cast-net fishery for sardines along the sand beaches east of Aden. West of Aden, sardines are rare but a small anchovy supports a fishery during the winter months.

Craft and gear are as described under Aden Colony fisheries.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

The fisheries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate are primitive but very productive. Previous observers have estimated the annual catch as over 50,000 tons of wet fish.

Sardines belonging to several species of Sardinella and Dussumieria normally abound on certain stretches of coast east of Mukalla all winter, when they support a very extensive cast-net and beach-sein fishery. Utilisation is wasteful, the fish being either sun-dried for fertiliser and animal fodder or else rotted in order to free a putrid oil. The winter of 1948–49 has unfortunately been the worst sardine season within living memory. [228]

Kingfish (*Scomberomorus*) abound in the vicinity of the sardine shoals and are taken in large quantities in nets and on handlines. They are exported either wet-salted as " maleh " or salted and sun-dried as " safif ". [439]

Three species of tunny and several other large pelagic fishes are caught in considerable numbers and salted.

Sharks are taken in moderate numbers. The town of Qu'sair specialises in this fishery and sends small dhows to the Somali coast for the purpose. In general, the Somali coast is reckoned to be a better shark ground than South Arabia.

These fisheries are worked from huris, sambuks and small dhows as described under Aden Colony fisheries, using the most primitive gear. So great is the abundance at high and low tide close inshore, however, that even by these means the catch per man-hour exceeds that of many fully mechanised fisheries elsewhere.

During 1948 the fisheries of the Gulf of Aden, and particularly those of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, were surveyed under a Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme, with a view to promoting their more efficient exploitation. The original schedule was unfortunately upset by failure to get two vessels equipped in time at Aden, but, although this hampered the work, experimental canning was carried out and liver oils tested for Vitamin " A " content early in 1948. Towards the end of the year, a taxonomist was appointed to confirm the identity of the commercial species. A full report on the survey will be published during 1949. 654 647

Following on the early findings of the Survey Party representatives of the Colonial Development Corporation arrived on the Eastern Protectorate coast towards the end of the year in order to go more fully into commercial possibilities. Unfortunately their visit coincided with a particularly poor sardine season.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



311 471 Inhabitants of Wadi Du'an, an area with an ever-present threat of famine, were persuaded to purchase some of the large tracts of good arable land and shallow wells lying fallow and idle in the main Wadi Hadhramaut in the hope that they will gradually move from their over-populated wadi. Three companies were formed by Duanis, with a capital of well over Rs. 1,00,000 for the purpose of cultivating hitherto dead lands at Dar-Assab, Aqad and the area at Hautat Ahmed bin Zein in the main wadi, while Du'an merchants began to take an interest in existing date palm groves in the area. The local States were empowered to allot dead lands to farmers if the owners failed to cultivate them.

An agricultural syndicate formed to develop the Meifa area of Wadi Hajr with a capital of Rs. 4,00,000 has been active during 1950. The planting of date palms in the area has started and the syndicate [164] allotted lands and gave advances to some 240 Subians—but up to now there is some reluctance on the part of agriculturists from other areas to settle down and work in Meifa owing to the prevalence of malaria there.

In November, 1950, two windmills were imported for experimental use in irrigation, one being installed at Buweish in the coastal area, the other being sent to Sai'un.

*Co-operation*

474 The Beihan Farmers' Association had a difficult year. A large proportion of the barley crop had been sown early and, in January and February, frost damaged the heading crop, seriously reducing yield and quality. As a result the Association deferred collection of up to 50 per cent of the outstanding loans which were carried over to the Saif and Kharif crops and to the winter crop of the 1949-50 season. Excellent conditions at the end of the year gave the Association full confidence in its operations.

The credit facilities for seed and cash given by the Association enabled the cultivators to carry on without much recourse to merchants and moneylenders.

## FISHERIES

228 The Fishery Department did not begin work on a permanent basis until the end of 1949. During 1950 activity has been mostly exploratory. Unfortunately, winch trouble in the fishery vessel severely limited the amount and nature of the trial fishing that could be done, but practically every fishing village in both Protectorates was visited, and also the islands of Kamaran in the Red Sea and Kuria Muria, 700 miles east of Aden off the Muscat coast. The information obtained about the fishing population and its activities forms a valuable basis for development plans.

In general, the observations made in the 1948 report still hold good. The winter sardine seasons of 1949–50 and 1950–51 have, unfortunately, been little better than 1948–49. There has been a definite but slight improvement, but catches of sardines and their attendant predators are

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



still far below anything within living memory prior to 1948–49. In consequence there has been no surplus for export from the Qu'aiti coast, the Qu'aiti merchants having had, in fact, to import much of the small surplus from the Mahra coast for consumption inland. 228

Six fishery statistical posts have been established on the Qu'aiti coast in the Eastern Aden Protectorate and three in the Abyan area of the Western Aden Protectorate. They are financed by His Majesty's Government through the Fishery Department, but are administered by the states in which they are situated.

Because of the poor fishing seasons plans for promoting the export trade have been postponed. Preliminary trials are in hand for salt-curing sardines on the Eastern Aden Protectorate coast, to provide a cheap protein food for the agricultural labourers in the Wadi Hadhramaut and the Abyan area. The first small batches of fish were very well received. Now larger quantities are being tested for keeping qualities, as the most acute shortage of cured fish occurs during the summer when no sardines are being caught. At present the poorest people eat the dirty and rancid sun-dried sardines in the wadi and semi-putrid small fishes in Abyan. 228 258 262

A scheme is in preparation at Shihr, on the Qu'aiti coast, for mechanising the local fishing sambuks with outboard motors. These craft are sewn together with coir twine and are too flexible to take a normal inboard installation, but by fitting a flat hog in place of the keel, it is possible to ship an outboard motor through a trunk. The Qu'aiti State has financed a loan to a selected fisherman with which he will purchase the first sambuk and outboard. The sambuk is now being altered under Fishery Department supervision, and the Aden agents have the engine waiting. 501 228 654

An interesting development on the Qu'aiti coast is the building at Mukalla, for a local merchant, by Italian engineers and technicians, of a cannery with a capacity of from 500 to 1,500 yellow-fin tunny per day. This merchant has also recently brought an 80-ft. diesel-engined fishing vessel from Italy as well as two small motor launches. The cannery is in operation and samples opened have proved to be excellent. It is to be hoped that the project succeeds, as it is not only a bold step deserving of success as such, but also a source of local employment and of exports, both of which are needed in that area. 255 228

# Chapter 8: Social Services

## EDUCATION

*General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout 871

established to supply the local market—for the processing of soaps, pressed aluminum utensils, cigarettes, pottery and textiles, the extraction of sesame oil, the cutting of buttons from trochas shells and the building of dhows. Fishing is of potential importance, but its development is handicapped by primitive methods of procurement and handling and inadequate local transport facilities. The agricultural resources of the Colony are limited to market gardens and date groves on the oasis of Sheikh Othman. A 471 A 228 244

Agriculture and fishing are the principal occupations of the tribesmen of the Protectorate. The fisheries of the eastern districts are reputed to be among the richest in the Middle East, while the drying and salting of fish and the manufacture of fish oils, fodder and manure are valuable industries in the coast towns. A large proportion of the people in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut engage in agriculture, although the tribes of the steppe country are mainly nomadic pastoralists. The expansion of farming is curtailed by uncertain rainfall and shortage of water supply. In the Eastern Aden Protectorate, cultivation is restricted mainly to the middle portions of the Hadhramaut valley, where the river flows for part of the year. This region is historically famous as a source of frankincense and myrrh. Elaborate terracing and irrigation are employed in many areas for the conservation and the utilization of the limited water resources available. It was estimated in 1948 that less than 0.5 per cent of the total land area was suitable for farming, but the relative extent of pasturage and desert has not been determined. Systems of peasant ownership, tenancy farming and tribal land tenure prevail in different localities. The improvement of agriculture and expansion of irrigation are prominent among the development programs for the Protectorate. A co-operative project for the cultivation of cotton and other crops by modern methods has recently been initiated on 5,000 acres in the Abyan area in Western Aden Protectorate. Little H 228 241 H 241 361 H 241 311 [a 45] H 423 654 880

p. 239(A)

N 262 ably meager. The basic foods are usually breads, dates and milk products, supplemented by vegetables and fruits in season and by varying amounts of meat and fish. Although breads are most frequently prepared from sorghum millet (durra), other forms of millet, as well as maize, wheat N [439] and barley are widely used. Rice is generally popular, and large amounts are im- 241 ported. Dates constitute one of the main 262 food items throughout this region; date palms flourish along some wadies, but the annual crop is inadequate. Numerous types of vegetables and fruits are available in the A agricultural areas.

N 233 Sheep and goats are raised in both the 262 Colony and the Protectorate. Their milk is used extensively, but only the pastoral tribes are apt to have a sufficient supply. Cow's milk is also consumed in the Colony and in some inland districts, particularly in Western Aden Protectorate, where the grazing conditions are suitable for cattle. Camel's milk is a staple food among certain Bedouin tribes. Ghee, or clarified butter, is employed in the wealthier families. The fat from the tail tissues of the local breed of sheep, which is an important substitute in the Colony and among the eastern tribes, A is almost unknown in Western Aden Pro- H 241 tectorate. Sesame is cultivated in many 262 areas, and the oil constitutes another source 511 of fats. Meat is seldom consumed more than 228 once a weeк, except in the more prosperous households. Fish are plentiful along the coast, and both fresh and dried fish are commonly used in the diet.

### Housing

A 862 Several different types of dwellings are 342 found in Aden Colony. In general, the standards of housing are higher than in the neighboring territories. All variations are encountered between the multistoried stone houses of the wealthy Arabs, the modern style villas of the European and official communities, and the one- or two- A story structures of stone or mud brick in 342 which most of the people live. Regardless

## Honey Industry.

231 The only other product of economic consequence is the celebrated
263 Du'an honey. Honey from Jerdan has an even greater local renown
438 but is not produced in such quantities. At places like Tarim it is not considered possible to grow honey owing to the depradations
[134] of the Blue-cheeked Bee eater (*Merops persicus persicus*), one of the most common, as well as most beautiful, birds in the Hadhramaut. We did not observe this bird at all in the Wadi Du'an, where it is shot on sight.

● 231 The hives are tunnel-like structures fitted into the walls of the
263 houses, and consist of circular sections about a foot in diameter. In the outside wall is a small hole through which the bees enter and leave the hives. Du'an enjoys two honey crops in a year; that of June, July and August being regarded as the best, for in it the bees collect the honey from the blossoms of the *'elb* trees. The honey obtained during the second crop, from November to March, is gathered from a small bush called *Qarmala*, and while it is
[843] highly esteemed it is considered very heating and may not be eaten by pregnant women. If there is much rain during April and May, the bees make a black honey called *helb*, and they are said to grow much stronger, for they consume this honey themselves. The swarming of the bees was thus described by a bee-keeper: A second queen bee, whom they call *āb* or father, sometimes leaves the hive and goes a short distance away followed by some of the others. The bee-owner takes a mat and rolls it up in the shape of a hive, closing one end, and sprinkling inside a perfume of the perfumes used by the ladies. Approaching the swarm, he gently takes the queen in his fingers out of it and puts her into a small cage made for the purpose. The cage is then put inside the rolled mat. An assistant beats a tin or copper tray and the bees leave the place where they have swarmed and come to the queen. The swarm is now carried to a hive, the queen bee and her cage put into the hive, and in go the bees after her.

The bees collect the crop in 12 to 20 days, and when the owner sees the hive is full he fits on more sections until they have finished. Thirty to 40 pounds of honey are collected from a single hive at each crop. The honey is gathered by smoking the bees out from behind. When they have left, the exit hole is stopped up and the honey is taken, one section being left for the bees. In times of drought, honey is put into the hives for the bees to eat. The honey
251 is packed in comb and as liquid. In the former case two sizes of round tins are used, containing 4 lb. and 7 lb. respectively. An inside cover is soldered to the tins in Mukalla. Liquid honey is packed in cases of two kerosene tins. The value of the honey
435 in Mukalla is one rupee a pound. The total production is 90,000 to 100,000 pounds.

ooo In view of the great renown which Du'an honey enjoys in South Arabia and the East Indies, and in view of the fact that it is much appreciated by Europeans, I had hoped that there might be

000 product of the "honeydew" type,[1] which would account for its unusual taste and odour.

*Commercial Value.*—The honey was submitted to two firms of merchants in London who reported respectively as follows :—

(1) "We thank you for your letter and sample of honey, which we have examined. Although the body is quite good, we think you will agree that it leaves much to be desired with regard to flavour.

"At the moment England is so well served with honey of agreeable flavour that it seems doubtful if this honey could be imported to any material benefit. We can buy Jamaica honey, which is good both in colour and flavour, at 26s. per cwt. landed London, so you will appreciate that the value of the present honey would have to be decidedly below this figure. We think you will be well advised to inform your friend that there is little likelihood of an opening on the London market."

(2) "This honey appears to be of a good flavour, but at the present moment there is such a large stock of honey available of all kinds that it would be difficult to find a market for a fresh quality from a new origin."

The latter firm mentioned that Colonial honey was currently selling on the London market at prices ranging from 25s. to 40s. per cwt., according to quality. It will be observed that there is a difference of opinion with regard to the flavour of the honey, but it may be pointed out that the taste is undoubtedly such as would not appeal to the ordinary consumer in this country.

439 263 *Remarks.*—From the trade reports quoted above it will be seen that the possibility of disposing of this honey in the United Kingdom is very doubtful, in view of the large supplies of ordinary honey of good quality available on the market. Furthermore, it is probable that such dextro-rotatory honey would be regarded with suspicion, whilst its unattractive flavour and odour would be further obstacles to its sale.

## Livestock.

556 231 The wealth of the Beduins lies principally in their livestock, consisting of camels, donkeys, cattle, sheep, goats and poultry. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes. The selling of animals is a regular feature of the fairs which are held all over the country at the many shrines of saints. The Qu'aiti Government estimates the number of camels in the country at 20,000.

231 232 Sheep and goats are raised for milk and meat. Cattle, though not plentiful, are not uncommon. An outbreak of rinderpest had killed 60 head of cattle at Hajerein at the time of our visit, and this was considered a very heavy loss. Heald states a decoction of

[1] This is not ordinary honey originating in floral nectar, but is produced by the bee from secretions of leaves and sometimes from secretions deposited by insects.

boiled radishes is given to cattle with "cattle plague". Donkeys are said to be susceptible to a very fatal disease.

Both cattle and camels are used in ploughing, the former usually in pairs and the latter singly. For the working of the wells, camels, cattle, donkeys, men and women, all combine, frequently in mixed teams, the animals being generally given a bunch of fodder at the top of the incline each time they reach it. Camels are also employed in turning the machines for extracting the simsim oil. The fact that fodder and water become more scarce north of the main Wadi necessitates a greater use of camels and donkeys are few and far between. Donkeys are uncommon also in the Wadi Maseila, for there is a three-day stretch without water in the middle of the Wadi, and below Buzun the flow is not perennial. Sheep and goats, however, are to be found everywhere, seeking their pasture under the care of women or girls.

Heald in his report states that no attention is paid to selection during the breeding season—which is usually in the early summer. With the sheep, one lamb is generally the average—although higher up in the Hadhramaut, amongst better pasture, ewes give two lambs. The sheep in the Meifa valley had black fleeces with the curly fat tails, although smaller than the Egyptian sheep. The goats are also smaller than in Egypt and originally came from the Yemen.

It was particularly noticeable in the Wadi Maseila that the livestock were very much smaller than those elsewhere. The cows are little larger than a normal-sized calf, and the sheep and goats are also smaller than those in Du'an or to the north. The cattle are similar in size to those of Soqotra. The breeds of goats and sheep appeared to vary considerably over the whole country, but a black-and-white variety was the most common. His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan has a few horses, both for riding and carriage work, and I saw one at Meshhed. There are probably not a dozen in the whole country.

**Minor agricultural products.**

Dates in the Hadhramaut are merely a hobby, and the entire local crop is consumed fresh during a season of two months, June and July. It may be recorded that a single date-tree in the Du'an valley sells from 400 to 1,000 dollars, many times its economic price. Dates form a staple article of diet and are therefore imported in large quantities.

The principal grain and other food crops are millet—*dirra* (great millet, *Sorghum vulgar*), *dukhn* (bullrush millet, *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and *keneb* or *msebeli* (Italian millet, *Setana italica*); lucerne; *jil jil* (sesame, not eaten by donkeys); *dijar* (a kind of bean); wheat (not eaten by donkeys or goats); and a little maize. The stalks are generically known as *qusab*, and the grain as *ta'm*. Hashish or grass is also grown for animals. The principal garden crops are sweet potatoes, onions, garlic, pumpkins, carrots, egg

137 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north
246 of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khuweira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

**Manufacturing Industries.**

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
262 mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden
249 machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of
Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
438 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to
353 the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
326 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

**Fisheries.**

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They are :—
231

*Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla
438 or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazīf* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

619 given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir
721 for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on
578 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Seheil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathīri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathīri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a " B " agreement with them.

• 231 The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: " The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and
438 Manahil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have, of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell *saf* leaves for making mats, *'elb* trunks, and charcoal.

609 Bertram Thomas records the following description of them:
771 " The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. 'They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them!' " We learned from the
582 Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

622 The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and Ahmed
619 bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

[See pg 92 CATigory 116 Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## Āl 'Imran.

A tribe allied to the Tamimi. The *mansab* is Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. 619 631 101

### Manahil.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beit Kasim ... | Beit Ghānim | An Neid | 40 | 'Aidha bin Tanāf. |
| | Beit al Batīn | do. | 60 | do. |
| | Beit Rasf'a | do. | 150 | do. |
| | Beit al Hamādī | do. | 28 | do. |
| | Beit Naiāt | An Neid and As Sōm | 80 | do. |
| | Beit Barakāt | As Sōm and Fughma | 30 | do. |
| | Beit Nas'ūd | do. | 15 | do. |
| Beit Mu'ashini | Beit Nōkhat | — | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Bāqīya | Sena and An Neid | 100 | Yeslam bin Salim. |
| | Beit Sālmīn | do. do. | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Qūeinisa | do. do. | 60 | do. |
| | Tammān | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | Hushhūsh | do. do. | 300 | do. |
| | Muzābbar | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | 'Atūmī | An Neid | 100 | do. |
| Al Bawāqī ... | — | do. | 100 | — |
| As Samāh ... | Samāh ar Raqāa | Near the coast | 100 | — |
| | Samāh al Ghuthma | — | 50 | — |
| | Samāh Beit Khafr | At Al Masīa | 180 | — |
| | 'Adūl | — | 100 | — |
| Tha'in and Beit Farād. | — | — | 250 | — |
| Beit Dahein ... | — | — | 50 | — |
| Beit Qumsīt ... | — | — | 500 | — |
| Beni Sa'id ... | — | — | — | — |
| Beni Ujeil ... | — | Near Qabr Hud | — | — |
| | | | 2,593 | |

The Manahil are a strong nomad tribe occupying the country east and north of the Hamumi and up into the Rub'al Khali. The southern part of Reida and the country from Damakh to upper Hadhramaut belong to them, and they have a few small settlements east of Qasm. They have an " A 'Ṭ agreement with the Qu'aiti.

They breed camels extensively like their neighbours in the south-east, the Mahras, both for sale and for hire. Their camels are said to be finer and stronger than those of the Sei'ar, and the average price is estimated at about 200 rupees a camel. Female camels are seldom sold and are used both for breeding and riding. Women do not milk camels among the Manahil. 231 435 [563]

The tribe are said to raid as far as the Central Nejd and sometimes to the outskirts of Kuweit, passing the sandy stretch by routes known only to themselves. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Mahras in the steppe. We found that when passing through Mahra territory they declare themselves Tamimis. Bertram Thomas also says that " Bin Tannaf is the hereditary title of the 619 721

[See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

## Nature of the People and Country

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

361 a mound, is seven storeys and rises above the rest, the whole, like all
342 others, built in mud bricks.

In the centre, the space that is left, lie huddled the one-storeyed shops of the suq and the many-storeyed flat houses of the poor. Shibam seemed the only town where houses were occupied in flats. Elsewhere I saw almost exclusively one-family houses even if the family had many groups within it.

342 All houses in Hadhramaut have a strong inward slant from bottom to
333 top, which gives them a look of strength mingled with grace. There are no basements and barely foundations, but the ground floor is an almost solid base, so thick are the walls that taper towards the top. They may be almost 3 feet thick at the base for a tall castle, and a foot at the top.

In Shibam, the houses forming a solid rampart wall have windows at the two ends only, and a small light-well to light the stairs in the centre of the deep building. The ground floor usually contains granaries and stores. The straight flights of the stairs rise between thick walls with a very heavy
342 central block. On the first floor the Shibam citizen keeps his goats and
231 rabbits in the outside rooms, while the centre is occupied by more stores. About the second floor begin the living quarters—that is, the office and rooms of the men, stores in the centre again, and often with kitchen,
342 washroom, and lavatory. These washrooms and lavatories are systemati-
336 cally built over a central shaft, though water is mostly allowed to run from a gutter into the centre of the street. But there are "back" streets for the
342 sanitation and "front" streets for doors. About the third floor the private quarters begin. They would be men's living quarters, with the ladies on the floor above, the fourth, with kitchen and washrooms again; right on top, often little private quarters for the owner of the house where he may enjoy most fresh air. Each floor has a double set of windows, a large one down to the floor and a small square one for ventilation above, up against the ceiling, so that there are continual draughts running through the top of the room. Practically all rooms have windows on two sides, and with this and the thick walls and the smooth plaster they remain pleasantly cool.

342 The lower floors are usually the loftiest; even the ground floor store
353 rooms are up to 12 and 13 feet high. The house often has two entrances—
531 a large door for the men and a little one for the ladies, with separate stairs in the larger houses, even in Shibam where land is scarce. The façades are in rough mud brick, a uniform brown colour with a white plaster smooth base and white ornaments round windows and parapet, getting richer towards the top of the house, which is the best part of it.

Their plasterwork is one of their great arts. It is extraordinarily hard. To obtain this it is presumed to be mixed with date juice. When polished with a piece of flint and rubbed with a cloth for hours it acquires a lustre that makes it shine like marble. This is chiefly done inside the main rooms and in the washrooms and stairs. Outside it is only polished at the base, for water to run off. The ornamentation of the upper storeys is left
342 rough white. But as people's wealth increased they have abandoned this
531 form of very characteristic decoration, which divided the tall buildings in broad brown bands alternating with narrow white bands at window level.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 of the city. Before the gate is the Wādī Seded, where the sea
484 has penetrated far inland and formed an inlet. Here on the
361 beach the caravans camp as they travel to and from the
231 interior. Hundreds of camels are kneeling in great circles,
492 eating the food that lies in the centre. Other camels are being bathed and scrubbed down with sea-water, while still others are protesting with gurgling snarls against the treatment of some skin trouble or of big open wounds. There are donkeys here and there amongst them. Bedouins lie asleep wrapped
[264] about in their cloaks or sit round a small fire eating out of wooden bowls their porridge of crumbled bread mixed up with a little fat. Some are busy with the difficult work of loading: after the freights have been weighed by lifting and then
[372] divided, they are fastened on to the pack-saddles. Children are collecting into baskets the camel's dung which is of great value as fuel. The ground is swarming with the so-called camel-louse, which is really a sort of tick. The penetrating odour of the camels' urine and sweat hangs over this wide-spread, permanent bivouac.

487 We go inland along the bank of the Wādī Seded, which is
312 here filled with sea-water, so as to cross, by making a big bend, behind the 1800 feet high rocky ridge of Makalla. On the left of the road, only a few miles from Makalla, there are groves of palm, with the white summer quarters of the Vizier and of the Sultan. Here is a spring from which, by means of a thin, iron pipe lying on the ground, water is carried to Makalla to provide the town with drink.

361 Two hamlets, el-Baqrēn and Baqērēn, with some cultivated
578 fields, lie close to the frontier of the Sultanate of Makalla. There are two fortified towers on the road manned by soldiers, and not far beyond Baqērēn there stands a whitewashed piece of rock. Against the high wall of primary rock, rising up each side of the road, two white marks have been made to show even in the mountain region, where the land is at peace and where at war. No vendetta may be carried on nor ancient feuds settled by arms in or around the town.

000 grown banks; we saw it no more after we had passed the grotto in the rock-wall to the left, where it made its appearance. The vegetation, however, continued rich and varied, and we could see from the little springs at the foot of the rocky wall that there was still a great quantity of water. Great blocks of rock had fallen here into the wādī from the steep sloping walls. In some places these walls were completely hollowed out by wind and water, and only a crust remained.

*487 From Lubēb Von Wissmann had begun to survey the route.
114 Up to that point we were able to use the excellent map made by Little on his geological survey of the mountainous country of Makalla in 1919—'20.[1]

●231 The valley now rises more rapidly, and it requires much patience and skill to lead the loaded camels and donkeys over the great blocks of rock. The mountain camel knows this sort of ground, passes neatly through the blocks, and as he steps aside and turns thinks of the load projecting on either side of his body. On a warning call from the leaders: "Take care left!" or "Look out right!" the animal goes cautiously a little further away from the place where its load is threatened.

241 At the end of the wādī, about two miles beyond Ḥōṭat el-
*487 Laṣb, there is a little plateau to which a short ascent leads
361 us. There is a plantation of date-palms and *dhura*, which is still within the boundary of Ḥōṭat el-Laṣb. At the end of this small plateau lies the village of Lubēb. We leave it on our left and descend towards Wadī Ḥimem, which, again, is shut in by high walls of limestone. The farther we advance the narrower becomes this wādī. The camel path along the steep cliffs to the right is blocked here and there with boulders. Some miles after Lubēb, the now narrow rock ravine makes a bend. Here is a splendid spring with a drinking-trough of masonry for the animals. The place is named el-Ḥallāf. On account of the road survey we are compelled to camp as soon as darkness falls. Indeed it would be difficult to march further in this valley of boulders.

[1] O. H. Little, *The Geography and Geology of Makalla*, Cairo, 1925.

1 [at Lubeb -- ANALYST]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## 3. BIVOUAC LIFE.

We pitch our second camp by el-Ḥallāf although our Bedouins are not quite at ease in their minds as to its safety. Mautor, the leader, climbs up towards the almost perpendicular rock-wall on our right and sends a few others to climb the less steep wall on our left. They remain away for a long time, reconnoitring and examining.

Meanwhile, down below also every one is busy. The camels and donkeys are unloaded and led to the water-trough. Some of the Bedouins go out to search along the rock-walls for camel-fodder, cutting it up with their crooked *djambīyas*. They know exactly which shrubs are good for the beasts and which are not. They roll great bundles of green down the slopes, and before long the camels are kneeling in a circle with a supply in their midst. The donkeys are standing a little apart, tethered to shrubs or to points of rock, content to chew dreamily at their rations. Quarrelling among the animals will only begin a few hours hence, when provisions are exhausted. More than once shall we be startled out of our first sleep by stamping, braying, and the grunting of camels, and shall see the Bedouins running like black devils after the runaway brawlers, in order to prevent the animals from getting hurt.

We ourselves join in the hard work of getting the bivouac into order. With the help of Ṣāliḥ we drag in our camp-beds, chests of instruments, the box of cooking utensils, the camp table and chairs. We choose a suitable spot for the beds and put them up; we unpack the meteorological instruments, the chest with plant-presses; the bivouac lamps are lighted. Whilst Ṣāliḥ prepares a simple meal, we begin that part of our task which always calls for the greatest output of energy; the harvest of plants and flowers has been rich and the bag of plants is full and bulging. Hours pass before we have the flora lying between sheets of paper and firmly pressed in thick bundles between the pressing-boards. Then the contents of the

water is too far below the surface to serve for the regular 245
irrigation of a plantation, the *nibq* can still live quite well, 262
and even if there is no rain for some years it does not die. The fruit of the *nibq* is as large as a marble and has a stone of the size of a pea. The taste is sour-sweet and refreshing. The fruit can be dried and kept for a long time: it is then crushed fine, stone and all, and with the meal bread is baked or a sort of porridge made. This small fruit is the chief food supply of many in times of drought, and in times of scarcity many Bedouins live on *nibq* and milk and do not look ill on the diet. The shepherdesses carry the *nibqs* with them in small oval, prettily woven baskets.

The wood of the *nibq* tree is reddish-brown and hard, and [313]
is used for beams and supporting pillars in the big, many- 314
storied, mud houses of the rich. The branches, thick with 262
thorns, are used in the date plantations when the bunches of 231
dates approach ripeness. They are bound in a wreath round the trunk just below the clusters of fruit, to prevent the dates from being stolen. Finally the green leaves of the *nibq* are also useful: when, during a long drought, there is hardly any more food to be found for the sheep and goats one sees the agile shepherdesses, in spite of their flowing, black garments, clambering up to the top of the *nibq* tree and knocking off the leaves from the branches with long, thin sticks. The flock stands below the tree in expectation of the godsend of food to come. We have only a mild admiration for the *nibq* fruit: one must do much chewing for little nourishment and for little taste.

They also brought us from el-Ḥisī a few handfuls of the 262
roasted larvae of white ants. The taste was not bad; Von Wissmann ate up a whole helping with the result that, shortly afterwards, he had a pain in his throat and could not utter a sound, a condition that lasted for about two hours.

El-Ḥisī lies about 4500 feet above sea-level, and the 133
evenings are quite cold. While there, we examined the bundles 000
of plants which we had already collected and pressed. Great

361 district called el-Qaṭn, now stands out clearly against the foot of the rock-wall. The ground grows flat; the loam emerges freed from the layer of sand; rectangular patches point to occasional cultivation of the land during a favourable rainy season. There is a low-growing plant in the fields; it is a weed that is used as fodder for cattle.

361 Furṭ el-Qaṭn is only a hamlet, but a continuous series of
241 palm-groves and fields of *dhura*, lucerne and sesame stretches from here until beyond Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn, where the Sultan is resident. All actual cultivation is due to irrigation by means of wells. A broad strip of ground which is cultivated when there is sufficient rainfall stretches outside the date plantations. The level of the subsoil water is nearer to the surface here, as the wādī descends more rapidly than does the subterranean river. Beyond Terīm it comes above the surface for considerable stretches.

312 The wells and the tracks along which beasts and men go to
231 draw up water are mostly situated in the shade of the date-
241 palms. Where shadow is lacking, long strips of jute or other
564 material sewn together are stretched over the track to make
571 shade for men and animals. Donkeys and cattle are used for haulage, but mostly with the help of man's labour. The poor, hard-working and little honoured caste of the *ḍaᶜfā* (the peasants)[1] have as their chief occupation this irrigation work[2], which really goes on almost all the year round. The *ḍaᶜīf* walks backwards beside his cow or donkey, pushing at the hauling rope with the back of his thighs, in which way his weight has most effect. By the time they reach the end of the hauling track, the bag full of water, which is generally leaking considerably, has appeared at the rim of the well. The *sānī* draws the bag of water (*gharb*) to the rim by a thin rope,

104 [1] *Ḍaᶜfā* is the plural of *ḍaᶜīf* (ضعيف), which name is given in Haḍramaut to the agricultural labourer class, cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii, p. 220 and v. p. 406.

104 [2] Here called *senāwa* (سناوة); the man who works it is the *sānī*. Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *loc. cit.*

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where it empties itself into a little mud basin, out of which the irrigation conduits lead to the cultivated ground. Work at the well occupies the whole family: father and son guide the animals and walk with them in hauling ropes and mother and daughters relieve them at this work. Two old dames sit in the shade making ready food for the beasts, which consists of dry straw bound round with fresh green into bundles, that are pushed into the animals' mouths whenever they arrive at the top or bottom. I saw women continuing their mat-plaiting whilst, at the same time, walking backwards in the traces down the slope of the track. The work is very tiring: pulling whilst going down hill and then climbing up again. The path, on which their walk begins at sunrise, is as long as the well is deep.

## 2. TO THE SULTAN'S PALACE IN EL-QAṬN.

One sees the tall buildings of Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn even from afar rising above its walls and the tops of the date-palms. The place is not large and is situated, like the townlets in Wādī Dōʿan, stretched out and closed in between date-groves and the rock-barrier. It is surrounded by a mud wall kept in good repair. At the gate of the town we see our caravan; it is on its way to Shibām with the baggage and is resting here during the heat of the day. Although we are informed that the Sultan is staying in Shibām, we wish to pay a visit of courtesy to his deputy at the palace; possibly he may allow us to make a survey and to photograph from the roof of this very high building. The palace has just been partially renovated and, consequently, has not yet the gay outside decoration of whitewash. A broad staircase leads to a large, finely carved door. There we give our letter of introduction to the guard and after some time we are invited to follow him upstairs. By way of broad passages and endless stairs, both plastered with dried mud, we arrive at the reception-room, which has just been finished. Much of the beautiful old Arabian style is spoiled here by

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



172 To expedite matters we take the risk of starting off in
312 advance on our donkeys. As we pass we see at a great dis-
231 tance some villages almost entirely in ruins, and also castles of the type of that of Qasam. There is water here and there in the deep and by no means wide *sēl*-bed. It appeared soon after we left ʿĒnāt and it increased further towards the east. This water is pretty bitter, though in some places it is sweet enough to be drinkable. The inhabitants prefer the well-water, which is better, but the pack-animals drink the water of the river. It is running and every now and then disappears to continue its course underground. Beyond Qasam the wādī is still wide and the soil consists of a thick layer of
136 loess. The broad path winds between bushes of fresh green *rāk* covered with bluish-red berries, which are being gathered here and there by children. When we heard that they were eatable we tasted them; they have the taste of cress, sweet but hot as pepper. They have a strong laxative action as have the leaves for which camels and donkeys have a liking. Where *rāk* grows the animals are given nothing else, although they get diarrhoea from it. In journeying through *rāk* districts one sees the rumps of the camels smeared with greenish pap, whilst their leaders and riders are not free from splashes sprinkled round by their animals' tails. At these times a very unpleasant smell clings night and day to the caravan.

172 The further we go, the more barren becomes the bed of the wādī, which is still very wide. The layer of loam is covered with sand; mounds of loam rise up out of it, some of them covered with vegetation. Shortly before sunset we enter a region of many and magnificent ruins. It is too late to examine them closely, and we pass the smaller mounds by so as to go on to the central ruin of el-ʿUrr. This is visible when we are still far from it. Massive remains of walls, towering high against the evening sky, stand on a lonely mass of rock, right in the midst of the wādī level. The rocky hill extends some distance and is very steep, and it is difficult to clamber over the rubble of the building, which has

621 We had not received favourable reports of Wādī ʿAmd. The el-Aṭṭās family, nevertheless, maintained the contrary; it is their wādī and the Djaʿdī Bedouins who inhabit it are allied with them and are, in a certain sense, under their control, but it is hard to discover how far this control goes. We got the impression that the wādī was very much armed and ready for war. The landscape is barren and, at first, monotonous; the *sēl*-bed is broad and filled with bluish-white, small boulders. Conditions must have been much better in the old days, for the numerous ruins suggest a dense population.

361 It is long after sunset before we reach Nukhr, where the el-
● 231 ʿAṭṭās family own a house. The place consists of a few huts
243 and a half tumble-down mud house, in which a room has been prepared for us. It is too warm to spend the night indoors, but the staircase leading to the roof has collapsed. In the middle of the hamlet there is a storehouse for fodder, half below and half above the ground. Its roof is about three feet above the ground and has a parapet about one and a half feet high. The basin thus formed is smoothly plastered with mud, and the grain is thrashed in it after harvesting. It makes a hard but safe sleeping place.

172 On the following day, June 10th, we set off again south-
312 westwards. At first the wādī is very monotonous and barren
241 and the *sēl*-bed widens considerably. After two hours' riding Wādī ʿAmd makes a bend towards the south and then very soon one comes across date plantations. There are an increasing number of ruins of what, presumably, were defence works, situated on hill-tops. The palm plantations have suffered much from the drought in recent years, as for two years there was neither rain nor *sēl* of any considerable quantity. The subsoil water is far from the surface and wells are 300 to 450 feet in depth so that they are not used for purposes of irrigation but only for supplying drinking-water. Groups of men hoist up the water, singing monotonously the while.

241 Further southwards the plantations increase and form an un-
312 broken girdle between the broad, wild *sēl*-bed and the wes-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



place consists of a few small houses and sheds, built of stone 361
and mud and with flat mud roofs. There are still some green leaves left on the few *nibq* trees growing between the cultivated acres, and these, to the last leaf, are gathered for the goats. The latter, with outstretched necks, stand watching the movements of a shepherdess who, armed with a long stick, was climbing about at the top of the tree to knock off the foliage. Only one family lived in the hamlet; an empty house
was offered to us as a lodging. No eggs, no flour, no rice, no 262
milk were to be bought here, the only thing obtainable being large quantities of the dried fruit of the *nibq* tree, which help one to stave off starvation. These are ground to powder and then made into porridge or bread. When eaten raw only the thin rind of dried pulp is edible; the seed, which is as hard
as stone, is then thrown away. The *nibq* menu is eked out occa- [231] ●
sionally with a little goat's milk or camel's milk, and when the date harvest is gathered in Wādī Dōʿan a portion of it will find its way to the Deyyin Bedouins, who, in return, protect the inhabitants of the wādī against enemies. All the same, a long hard training is necessary in order to live on such a minimum of food as these Bedouins seem able to do in times of drought. The few shepherds and shepherdesses whom we met later in similar depressions of the ground and in wādīs where some bushes and trees were growing had as their only food-supply small round woven baskets filled with dried *nibq* fruit.

Thanks to the ready tongue of our *siyāra*, Sayyid el-ʿEde- 562
rūs, as well as to the respect accorded to all sayyids among these simple folk, we succeeded in photographing the female inhabitants of the hamlet consisting of a mother, two daughters and a friend.

The women go unveiled and are much more free and open in their manner than in Wādī ʿAmd. They seem to feel quite safe, for we met them far away from their homes, alone with their flocks or on their way to some business in another hamlet
hours distant. Maryam, encouraged by her mother, even yield- ooo

He cannot resist the wishes of his guests and very soon there is again a crowd of inquisitive people in the sweltering upper room, staring at us and hampering us with questions and loud conversation.

## 2. PROSE AND POETRY IN WĀDĪ ḤADJR.

We manage, by exercising much insistence, to get off at four o'clock that afternoon. There are two roads to Makalla: one goes direct through the mountains, the other makes a great circuit by following the main wādī as far as the sea and then going up the coast to Makalla. The mountain route is the shortest but the hardest; we are told that it is *too* hard for our camels, who are not strong. Moreover, it would be unsafe for our little company in the mountains, in the absence of an armed escort. Considering that even Little, with a big military escort, was attacked in this country — a sayyid who was acting as his guide was killed in an engagement — we accepted the assertions of the people in Ṣidāra as reasonable and therefore chose the detour by way of the wādī, which however has a bad name for malaria. Little had to contend much with this illness: his escort had to be almost entirely renewed after a short sojourn in Wādī Ḥadjr. We tried to avoid risk by sleeping away from human habitation and, as far as possible, on high-lying, dry ground.

The caravan was under the leadership of a strong, slight Arab, of the name of Dhēb. He had spent his youth as hostage in the Sultan's palace at Makalla. This shows that Ṣidāra some twenty years ago was still a part of the Qeᶜēṭī territory, but that the Sultan considered it necessary to strengthen his hold on the country by bringing up the sons of the leading families in his palace. It was to this circumstance that Dhēb owed his education — for this country a very good one — and he was much more cultivated than the other young men of Ṣidāra. In spite of his long hair, his face was handsomer and gentler in expression than is usually the case here. We also had

661 with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of
012 being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of
533 the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way
857 he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the
463 *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.*
231 Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā . . . ā . . . ā . . . āl"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

292 The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

241 Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the
311 palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water
137 and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

114 Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf*, *i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

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231

| *Annual Husbandry* | *Western Aden Protectorate* | *Eastern Aden Protectorate* |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 30,000 | 50,000 |
| Cattle | 45,000 | 10,000 |
| Goats | 500,000 | 420,000 |
| Sheep | 150,000 | 80,000 |

*Soil Conservation*

In Southern Arabia the rainfall is in general too low for an efficient 312 natural vegetation to cover the slopes and act as a check to run-off. Only 654 by the efficient use of all sources of water, particularly flood water, can cultivation continue. In these circumstances an effective system of soil and water conservation forms an integral part of traditional cultivation, and although there is a constant movement of the soil from the slopes to the flats, efficient run-off control results in comparatively little silt-laden water reaching the sea. Soil erosion occurs where flood waters are not [134] controlled and in some areas overstocking has led to soil degradation.

The agricultural staff is at present very small but steps have been taken to improve the position.

The general view is that efforts to conserve soil should be directed to the maintenance and extension of flood-control systems. The districts of Abyan, Beihan and Ahwar and the Hadhramaut, which depend largely on a system of flood-water irrigation, have been selected as areas for improvement. In past years flood waters have gone to waste owing to local insecurity and poverty which resulted in the neglect of the deflectors and canals required for flood control. During the past few seasons active measures have been taken to remedy this state of affairs following an improvement in political conditions and by a system of advances to cultivators willing to undertake the restoration of their irrigation systems. Such flood-water control works must naturally go hand in hand with increased production measures. Special attention has been paid to Abyan where a Development Scheme is in operation.

On the Audhali plateau a system of advances to farmers who are willing to improve or sink wells or recondition terraces proved successful. Particular interest has been stimulated in areas where political difficulties have in the past caused neglect of such opportunities for the improvement of the natural resources.

Wind erosion is a factor of importance in the alluvial areas such as 134 on the coastal plain where it affects areas which have been withheld from cultivation for long periods. In such situations dessication of the soil is followed by wind erosion. The remedy is to irrigate such soils and bring them back into cultivation

*Study of Agricultural Techniques*

(*a*) *Soils* are mainly alluvial. In the Eastern Protectorate they are almost everywhere derived from limestone. In the Western Protectorate soils in high-altitude districts are derived from the granite and elsewhere from the limestone series or from volcanic rock. Soils in irrigated areas

6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM1



the north-east Yemen Plateau, but local rain was sufficient and caused damage to the wheat and barley crops when at the harvest stage.

In the districts west of the Bana *kharif* conditions in Lahej and Subeihi country were good, but in the highland districts rainfall was insufficient for crop production over most of the year. In Abyan which is watered by the Bana and the Hassan rivers where they enter the coastal plain, a weak flood season was experienced, but this resulted in effective flood control, and on the balance, in satisfactory crops. East of the Bana and the Abyan district, conditions in the *kharif* were bad. Lack of rain in most districts reduced crop production based on a rain and flood irrigation system to nothing. Fodder supplies needed for sustaining the animals working the water lifts in permanently irrigated areas were reduced, and lowered production from what should normally be a reliable source.

Livestock suffered and were reduced in numbers as a result of poor flood conditions caused by insufficient rain. A secondary factor which seriously affected camel owners and transporters in the Eastern Protectorate was a dearth of the sardines which are usually caught in great quantities on the Hadhramaut coast and used in a dry state as fodder for livestock.

*Crop Production*

| | Acres | Tons |
|---|---|---|
| ***Western Aden Protectorate*** | | |
| Millet—sorghum | 40,000 | 8,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 7,500 | 1,125 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 |
| Sesame | 5,500 | 550 |
| ***Eastern Aden Protectorate*** | | |
| Millet—sorghum | 5,000 | 1,700 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 1,000 | 200 |
| Wheat and barley | 3,500 | 2,500 |
| Date palms | 10,000 | 4,500 |

*Pests and Diseases*

No report of locust activity was received during the year.

Rust is probably the most important plant disease in the Aden Protectorate. In 1948, little damage was recorded from this disease.

*Animal Health*

No rinderpest was recorded during the year. Goat virus was imported from Kenya and used for the immunisation of cattle in Abyan. Horse-sickness vaccine was used in Beihan, Abyan and Lahej.

| | Western Aden Protectorate | Eastern Aden Protectorate |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 30,000 | 45,000 |
| Cattle | 50,000 | 8,000 |
| Goats | 400,000 | 320,000 |
| Sheep | 110,000 | 50,000 |

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



EXPORTS

439

| | | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tobacco, native .. .. | cwt. | 22,341 | 23,59,700 |
| Honey, in combs .. .. | lb. | 15,348 | 61,390 |
| Honey, cleaned .. .. | " | 2,160 | 7,560 |
| Dates, local .. .. .. | cwt. | 299 | 7,530 |
| Lime .. .. .. .. | " | 8,643 | 43,220 |
| Sheep and Goat skins .. | scores | 326 | 1,140 |
| Lemons, dried .. .. | cwt. | 651 | 37,070 |
| Fish oil .. .. .. | gal. | 2,924 | 7,310 |
| Miscellaneous .. .. | | | 2,48,920 |
| TOTAL VALUE OF EXPORTS .. | | Rs. | 27,73,840 |

# Chapter 7; Production

AGRICULTURE

241

*Principal Products*

*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | Acres | Tons |
|---|---|---|
| Sorghum Millet .. .. .. .. | 62,000 | 12,400 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small Millets.. | 9,500 | 1,900 |
| Wheat .. .. .. .. .. | 1,500 | 750 *a.* |
| Barley .. .. .. .. .. | 4,500 | 3,000 *a.* |
| Sesame .. .. .. .. .. | 8,500 | 850 |

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sorghum Millet .. .. .. .. | 20,000 | 4,000 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small Millets.. | 2,000 | 400 |
| Wheat .. .. .. .. .. | 2,000 | 1,000 *a.* |
| Date palms.. .. .. .. .. | 10,000 | 3,500 |

(*a*)—Crops sown in previous year, harvested in 1949.

*Estimate of the Numbers of Principal Classes of Livestock* 231

| *Western Aden Protectorate* | | *Eastern Aden Protectorate* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Camels .. .. | 30,000 | Camels .. .. | 40,000 |
| Cattle .. .. | 50,000 | Cattle .. .. | 7,000 |
| Goats .. .. | 400,000 | Goats .. .. | 250,000 |
| Sheep .. .. | 100,000 | Sheep .. .. | 30,000 |
| Donkeys .. .. | 3,500 | Donkeys .. .. | 3,000 |

The year 1949 opened with drought conditions in almost all districts, but early Saif rains, followed by good late Saif and good Kharif rains, and an exceptional fall of rain in the early part of the winter combined 132

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



to the Hadhramaut. This winter rainfall enormously improved the range conditions over the mountain areas of the Protectorate and produced exceptionally good pasturage for the desert tribes in the north-east. 132

Large acreages of winter cereals and fodder crops were grown. The year finished with the whole of the Protectorate in good condition. 241

Livestock started the year in many areas in a starved condition, and in the east with their numbers greatly reduced. At the end of 1949 their condition was restored, but numbers, particularly of small stock, were low. 231

*Plant Pests and Diseases*

As a result of the favourable rains and the continuance of sorghum cultivation through the Saif season, to the flood crop of the Kharif, and into the lift irrigated crops planted in autumn, 1949, there was a serious increase in the stalk borer population, and an estimated loss of up to 50 per cent of the crop resulted in the Hadhramaut lift irrigated areas. 731 242

*Animal Health*

No outbreak of rinderpest or other serious animal disease was recorded during 1949. 731

*Market Conditions*

With the devaluation of the pound the value of the Maria Theresa dollar rose nearly 30 per cent in relation to rupee currency. Produce prices remained high until autumn, 1949, when a sharp drop occurred in many districts following the good harvests. Sorghum grain on the Aden market averaged about £35 per ton throughout 1949. 435 455

*Demonstration and Experiment*

A field trial with X1730A cotton grown from Abyan raised seed was very successful in 1949 ; some 1,750 lbs. of seed cotton per acre was obtained from scattered plots totalling 82 acres which had received one watering only before planting. The crop was planted in the months of September and October, and grew rapidly. In some fields plants reached a height of over 6 feet and carried an enormous crop. No important pests or diseases were seen. 242

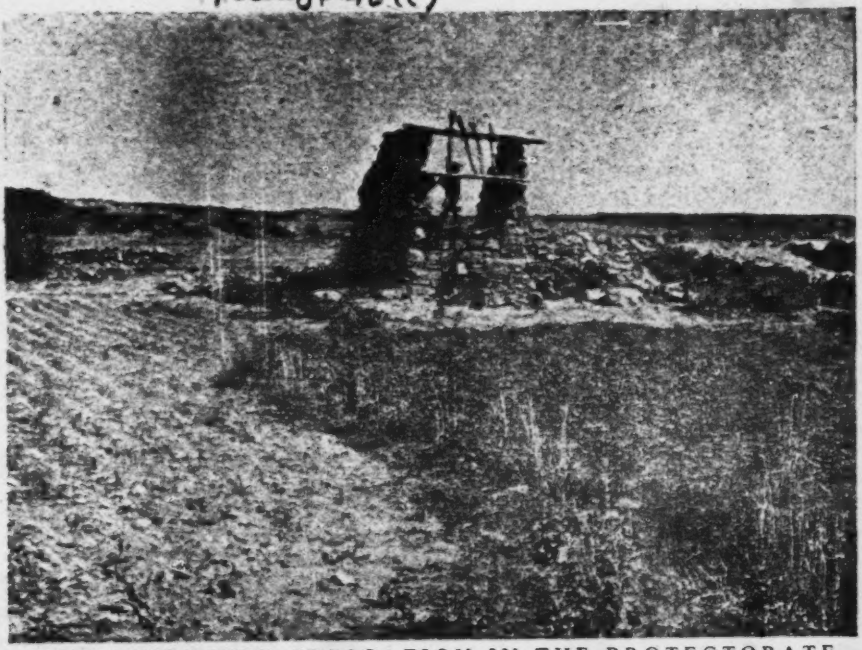
The crop was classified by the Chief Classifier of the Sudan Plantation Syndicate, who was flown over for the purpose ; he placed about half the crop in grades 3 and 4, and the balance in grades 5 and 6, basing his classification on Sudan Gezira standard for L type cottons. The graded crop was sold to the Raw Cotton Commission.

Varieties of cane, introduced in small quantities from Mauritius in the previous season, were cut in September, 1949, and planted out in observation plots.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

Facing p. 46 (c)

312



HAND-OPERATED IRRIGATION IN THE PROTECTORATE

[23]

ANIMAL-OPERATED IRRIGATION IN THE PROTECTORATE

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 6 : Production

## LAND UTILISATION AND TENURE

*Utilisation of agricultural land*

Land for crop production is prepared for irrigation farming by flow or by lift, and for dry farming, where there is a low rainfall and some runoff water, the land is terraced. The great bulk of the land in the Protectorates affords range conditions of light carrying capacity, particularly suited to camels, sheep and goats. 312 241 231

*Land and water conservation and utilisation*

All farming practices in the Aden Protectorates depend on a highly developed system of conservation of land and water. In the highest areas, land is terraced for crop production and runoff water is led to these terraced fields in order to augment the water provided by actual precipitation ; in the mid-altitude areas, mountain torrents are diverted to bunded land laboriously reclaimed and made along the valley sides ; below, where the river systems reach wider valley areas and plains, larger diversion works and miles of canal may be used to carry flood water to bunded lands. 312

This process of water spreading, which is carried on in the lowest lying parts of the coastal plain, results in abundant supplies of underground water. Lift irrigation is practised in many areas and is, of course, of the greatest importance to the more arid north-easterly districts of the Protectorate. At present only supplies drawn from open wells, tapping the "phreatic" zone of water, are used.

Utilisation of land and water is governed by varying systems of tribal and customary law. Where development schemes are now progressing, local authorities are being invited to modify such laws, where necessary, to meet the changing conditions. 423

*Land Ownership*

The policy, laws and regulations of each State vary but in general it may be said that the policy of the State is to reserve land ownership for the tribe and generally to tend to favour individual ownership as against State ownership. Land ownership is subject to tribal law and Mohammedan law.

Except for a small area in one district, land in the Protectorate is held by the indigenous inhabitants. The local State Governments are, in some cases, important owners of land.

Land is held in absolute ownership (Mulk), in trusts (Waqf), as dedicatory gifts (Nadr) and in a form of usufructuary tenure (Manh), with near to freehold rights granted in one or two areas to those who have rendered outstanding service to the State.

Payment of a fixed rent in money is only found in a very few specialised systems. Fixed payments in kind, found usually in areas where a high value is placed on land and water, are not general. The 427

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



231

## ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

*Estimate of Livestock in 1952*

| | *Western Protectorate* | *Eastern Protectorate* |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 35,000 | 45,000 |
| Cattle | 60,000 | 8,000 |
| Goats | 500,000 | 355,000 |
| Sheep | 150,000 | 50,000 |
| Donkeys | 3,500 | 3,500 |

Most of the animals are kept by peasant farmers who depend on animal products for an important part of their diet. Away from the less settled areas pastoral, nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes own large numbers of livestock and depend on stock products for food and for sale and barter to obtain other requirements.

Towards the end of 1952 drought conditions affected the production and general condition of livestock. No serious animal disease was recorded during the year.

There is no separate Veterinary Department in the Protectorate but the Director of Agriculture undertakes preventive measures to control important diseases such as rinderpest and horse-sickness. 647 232

A herd of Ongole (Nellore) cattle is maintained by the Abyan Board. It is proposed to test the productivity of this breed and the suitability of animals raised locally from the breed for draught purposes in Abyan.

## FORESTRY

No true forest exists in the Protectorate. Trees and shrubs common to arid regions in this latitude are found, while a dense growth of Tamarisk and Salvadora is found as "corridor forest" on the sides of the larger flood courses. Acacia is the most important species at all altitudes ; a semi-cultivated species of great value for timber and for honey-gathering bees is the Elb (*Ziziphus spina christi*). 137

A general dearth of forest products for timber, building materials and for browse for livestock is apparent. In many parts of the Protectorate, and particularly in areas close to Aden, the coastal towns of the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut towns, destruction of vegetation for charcoal production and for fuel has devastated large areas. So far no satisfactory measures have been taken to regenerate such areas. Large amounts of capital and firm action by local Governments are needed for this. 185

## CO-OPERATION

The Beihan Farmers' Association, now in its fifth year, continued to benefit the Beihan district. This Association provides its members with seed stocks and grain supplies on credit. At the end of the year the assets were estimated at £14,850 and liabilities at £8,779. 476

The Audhali-Kaur Farmers' Association has made moderate progress since its formation in 1950. It is primarily concerned with the organisation of vegetable production, transport and marketing for its members who farm with the aid of lift irrigation in the mid-altitude area of the "Audhali-Kaur".

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



plain. The town has an imposing mosque, that of Sīdi Mohammed, a fine piece of typical Arab architecture, with a handsome minaret and a spacious courtyard; it is capped by innumerable white pinnacles. There are broad tracts of cultivation above the wādi confluence, notably of indigo and cotton, the latter being a bush of small growth. Cotton fabrics are made and dyed for tribal shawls, turbans, &c. 361

Nisāb is the residence of the Naqīb or governor, who represents the Sultan and is responsible for the maintenance of order and the collection of the custom dues of this important inland caravan centre. The Sultan himself resides at **Medāq**, a few miles to the south-east, where he has a castellated house crowning a prominent hill.

2. **Wasat** (or Wāsit) is not a town in the ordinary sense of the word, but a series of small separate settlements strung out along Wādi Markhah, with a *sūq*, about 15 miles north-west of Nisāb. It is an important trading centre and is protected by forts.

3. **Markhah** is a large commercial town in the broad fertile wādi of the same name, with a main stronghold and minor towers that guard the outlying portions of the settlement. It is second to Nisāb in importance as a centre of the dyeing industry.

4. **Yeshbum**, or Yeshbum Sūq, stands on a low isolated hill on the right bank of the wādi of the same name, which sweeps boldly above and below the town in opposing curves forming a huge letter S. The town is walled, and is the market and nucleus of an extensive valley settlement. There is a small dyeing industry, and cotton, imported raw from Nisāb, is spun here. By far the most important and characteristic product of Yeshbum valley is its honey, which it exports all over Arabia, and even to Zanzibar and India. The bees collect the honey chiefly from the blossoms and honey-dew covered leaves of the *'elb*, or jujube-tree, for which the valley is famous. The fruit of this tree is the staple fruit of the valley, where it ripens in March and is dried and pounded, stone and all, for food. [231]

The chief settlement of the Lower 'Aulaqi is

5. **Ahwar**, the principal residence of the Sultan, which is said to have a pop. of 5,000, and lies about five miles from the coast up the Wādi Ahwar (Hūwar). The settlement consists of a straggling township or series of villages, adjoining the Sultan's castle. It is a backward place without industries, but stands in the centre of a large and well-watered tract of arable land; large numbers of bullocks are reared in the district.

iii. *Beida*. This Sultanate occupies the plateau country north

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither the rains nor the variable streams are in general adequate to this purpose, and watering of the soil is mainly carried on from wells. These may be sunk practically everywhere in the valleys. As in many other parts of Arabia, the water is drawn up in a leather hoist by animals, usually cows, attached to a cord which passes over a pulley supported on wooden struts; the water thus obtained is received in a large wooden trough whence it is spread over the land by means of little runnels. 241 312 [406]

Cattle-rearing is the principal occupation of the Bedouins. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes; sheep for killing and for milk; cows only for milk and irrigation work; oxen exclusively for ploughing. Horses are very rare and are considered as animals *de luxe*. Bees are numerous, and much honey is produced. The wild animals most largely found are the rabbit, gazelle, wild goat, jerboa, hyena, hedgehog, a large species of lizard (permitted as food to Mussulmans), and the panther, wolf, and monkey (not permitted as food). 231 136

## Trade and Commerce

The only ports of importance commercially are Makalla (see p. 232), Shiheir (see p. 232), and Seihūt (see p. 230), and even at these the trade carried on is purely coastal, with the near coast of Africa, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the southern coast of Arabia, and above all with Aden and Muscat. Trade by caravan is carried on from these ports with the whole of the interior of the Hadhramaut and with the southern Arabian littoral as far as Yemen on the west and Oman on the east. Burūm (see p. 233) and Qusei'ir are small fishing villages. 504 439

There are no made roads; the routes follow the courses of the wādis or natural paths. Transport by wheeled vehicles is impossible everywhere; all is carried on by camels or donkeys. It is, however, relatively cheap; e. g. a camel from Shiheir or Makalla to Seyyūn costs only 5 florins in the good season; in summer, when forage is scarce, it is higher, but never above 10 florins. 487 494

The chief exports are dates, stuffs dyed with indigo, a superior quality of wheat, and honey; smaller exports are shells and fins of fish, the latter exported to India and China. Imports: wheat, butter, coco-nuts, coffee, sugar, rice, cotton and cotton stuffs, pottery, bars of iron and worked iron, sesame oil, petroleum, and tin-ware. 439

000 product of the " honeydew " type,[1] which would account for its unusual taste and odour.

*Commercial Value.*—The honey was submitted to two firms of merchants in London who reported respectively as follows :—

(1) " We thank you for your letter and sample of honey, which we have examined. Although the body is quite good, we think you will agree that it leaves much to be desired with regard to flavour.

" At the moment England is so well served with honey of agreeable flavour that it seems doubtful if this honey could be imported to any material benefit. We can buy Jamaica honey, which is good both in colour and flavour, at 26s. per cwt. landed London, so you will appreciate that the value of the present honey would have to be decidedly below this figure. We think you will be well advised to inform your friend that there is little likelihood of an opening on the London market."

(2) " This honey appears to be of a good flavour, but at the present moment there is such a large stock of honey available of all kinds that it would be difficult to find a market for a fresh quality from a new origin."

The latter firm mentioned that Colonial honey was currently selling on the London market at prices ranging from 25s. to 40s. per cwt., according to quality. It will be observed that there is a difference of opinion with regard to the flavour of the honey, but it may be pointed out that the taste is undoubtedly such as would not appeal to the ordinary consumer in this country.

439 263 *Remarks.*—From the trade reports quoted above it will be seen that the possibility of disposing of this honey in the United Kingdom is very doubtful, in view of the large supplies of ordinary honey of good quality available on the market. Furthermore, it is probable that such dextro-rotatory honey would be regarded with suspicion, whilst its unattractive flavour and odour would be further obstacles to its sale.

## Livestock.

556 231 The wealth of the Beduins lies principally in their livestock, consisting of camels, donkeys, cattle, sheep, goats and poultry. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes. The selling of animals is a regular feature of the fairs which are held all over the country at the many shrines of saints. The Qu'aiti Government estimates the number of camels in the country at 20,000.

231 232 Sheep and goats are raised for milk and meat. Cattle, though not plentiful, are not uncommon. An outbreak of rinderpest had killed 60 head of cattle at Hajarein at the time of our visit, and this was considered a very heavy loss. Heald states a decoction of

[1] This is not ordinary honey originating in floral nectar, but is produced by the bee from secretions of leaves and sometimes from secretions deposited by insects.

boiled radishes is given to cattle with " cattle plague ". Donkeys are said to be susceptible to a very fatal disease. 231 232

Both cattle and camels are used in ploughing, the former usually in pairs and the latter singly. For the working of the wells, camels, cattle, donkeys, men and women, all combine, frequently in mixed teams, the animals being generally given a bunch of fodder at the top of the incline each time they reach it. Camels are also employed in turning the machines for extracting the simsim oil. The fact that fodder and water become more scarce north of the main Wadi necessitates a greater use of camels and donkeys are few and far between. Donkeys are uncommon also in the Wadi Maseila, for there is a three-day stretch without water in the middle of the Wadi, and below Buzun the flow is not perennial. Sheep and goats, however, are to be found everywhere, seeking their pasture under the care of women or girls. 231 492

Heald in his report states that no attention is paid to selection during the breeding season—which is usually in the early summer. With the sheep, one lamb is generally the average—although higher up in the Hadhramaut, amongst better pasture, ewes give two lambs. The sheep in the Meifa valley had black fleeces with the curly fat tails, although smaller than the Egyptian sheep. The goats are also smaller than in Egypt and originally came from the Yemen. 231

It was particularly noticeable in the Wadi Maseila that the livestock were very much smaller than those elsewhere. The cows are little larger than a normal-sized calf, and the sheep and goats are also smaller than those in Du'an or to the north. The cattle are similar in size to those of Soqotra. The breeds of goats and sheep appeared to vary considerably over the whole country, but a black-and-white variety was the most common. His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan has a few horses, both for riding and carriage work, and I saw one at Meshhed. There are probably not a dozen in the whole country. 643 412

**Minor agricultural products.**

Dates in the Hadhramaut are merely a hobby, and the entire local crop is consumed fresh during a season of two months, June and July. It may be recorded that a single date-tree in the Du'an valley sells from 400 to 1,000 dollars, many times its economic price. Dates form a staple article of diet and are therefore imported in large quantities. 245 262 435

The principal grain and other food crops are millet—*dirra* (great millet, *Sorghum vulgar*), *dukhn* (bullrush millet, *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and *keneb* or *msebeli* (Italian millet, *Setana italica*); lucerne; *jil jil* (sesame, not eaten by donkeys); *dijar* (a kind of bean); wheat (not eaten by donkeys or goats); and a little maize. The stalks are generically known as *qusab*, and the grain as *ta'm*. Hashish or grass is also grown for animals. The principal garden crops are sweet potatoes, onions, garlic, pumpkins, carrots, egg 241

there was also no large supply of fodder[1]; we could only buy thirty bundles of dried *dhura* stalks, which cost us one *riyāl*. The *riyāl* seemed to be the only coin in use; for a half *riyāl* one could buy nothing. Our help was asked for a sick camel which, we were told, had been bitten by a snake. The local camel doctor had smeared the animal with a black salve and had cut off half of its ears. A sick man, who was obviously suffering from elephantiasis, told us that he had been hissed at by a snake. With regret we had to explain that we travelled without our medicine-chest and were unprovided with means for helping against the dangerous snakes of the country.

### 3. ʿRĒDET ED-DEYYIN.

We went on our way very soon, in the hope of reaching er-Rēda, the central point of the settlements of the Deyyin Bedouins, that evening. There lives the chief whose acquaintance we had made at Bā Ṣurra's castle. It was long after sundown when we approached Shēkh ʿUthmān's village, Nejjēdēn. We stumbled on through the darkness, following the camels, till we came to cultivated land with a few dried-up *nibq* trees dotted about here and there. The village showed no sign of a friendly, inviting light; the fortress-like houses resembled nothing but black cubes. Directly the watch-dogs heard us they proceeded to attack us, barking furiously, and this noise roused life in the houses: first there were questioning voices and then a few lights. We kept the dogs at bay with stones and, aided by information proceeding from the closed houses, found our way to Shēkh ʿUthmān's dwelling, which was a miserable-looking, low building with nothing attractive about it. We awakened the inhabitants by our shouts and, with distrustful aversion, they admitted us to a large room with an earthen floor where we sat down on our travelling rugs. Our hopes of a speedy sleep after this very tiring day

[1] [at a time of drought --Analyst]

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



312 the north-east Yemen Plateau, but local rain was sufficient and caused damage to the wheat and barley crops when at the harvest stage.

312 In the districts west of the Bana *kharif* conditions in Lahej and Subeihi
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8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



## ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231

*Estimate of Livestock in* 1952

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| Donkeys | 3,500 | 3,500 |

Most of the animals are kept by peasant farmers who depend on animal products for an important part of their diet. Away from the less settled areas pastoral, nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes own large numbers of livestock and depend on stock products for food and for sale and barter to obtain other requirements.

Towards the end of 1952 drought conditions affected the production and general condition of livestock. No serious animal disease was recorded during the year.

There is no separate Veterinary Department in the Protectorate but the Director of Agriculture undertakes preventive measures to control important diseases such as rinderpest and horse-sickness. 647 232

A herd of Ongole (Nellore) cattle is maintained by the Abyan Board. It is proposed to test the productivity of this breed and the suitability of animals raised locally from the breed for draught purposes in Abyan.

## FORESTRY

No true forest exists in the Protectorate. Trees and shrubs common to arid regions in this latitude are found, while a dense growth of Tamarisk and Salvadora is found as "corridor forest" on the sides of the larger flood courses. Acacia is the most important species at all altitudes ; a semi-cultivated species of great value for timber and for honey-gathering bees is the Elb (*Ziziphus spina christi*). 137

A general dearth of forest products for timber, building materials and for browse for livestock is apparent. In many parts of the Protectorate, and particularly in areas close to Aden, the coastal towns of the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut towns, destruction of vegetation for charcoal production and for fuel has devastated large areas. So far no satisfactory measures have been taken to regenerate such areas. Large amounts of capital and firm action by local Governments are needed for this. 185

## CO-OPERATION

The Beihan Farmers' Association, now in its fifth year, continued to benefit the Beihan district. This Association provides its members with seed stocks and grain supplies on credit. At the end of the year the assets were estimated at £14,850 and liabilities at £8,779. 476

The Audhali-Kaur Farmers' Association has made moderate progress since its formation in 1950. It is primarily concerned with the organisation of vegetable production, transport and marketing for its members who farm with the aid of lift irrigation in the mid-altitude area of the "Audhali-Kaur".

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bis snails have been described from some of the affected foci. H A 136

Ancylostomiasis. Hookworm infection occurs in Lahej and a few agricultural centers in Western Aden Protectorate. *Necator americanus* has been identified in the cases treated at the Civil Hospital in Aden.[20]

Other Helminth Infections. Infections with one or more types of intestinal worms are prevalent, particularly among the peoples of the Protectorate. Ascariasis is widespread. Trichuriasis and, to a lesser extent, enterobiasis are common. Hydatid disease is reported among individuals from the Colony and from the interior. Infection with the beef tapeworm, *Taenia saginata*, is enzootic among the cattle in the tribal districts, and human infections are undoubtedly frequent. Cases are occasionally encountered among immigrant families in the Colony. The pork tapeworm, *T. solium*, is rare, but infections are sometimes seen in the Aden hospitals. H 164 136 232 A 164 167 136

Other Infections. *Brucella melitensis* is enzootic amopg the goats in this area, and Malta fever is diagnosed from time to time in the Colony hospitals and dispensaries. A 232 136

### Diseases Spread Chiefly Through the Respiratory Tract

Tuberculosis. Tuberculosis is one of th most prominent diseases affecting the inhabitants of southern Arabia, but no precise information is available, except for Aden Colony. The high degree of undernutrition and overcrowding, and the low standards of personal hygiene and sanitation prevailing among large sections of the population, favor the spread of the infection. The disease is probably prevalent among the women who are confined to close quarters by the *purdah* system and among the young children in close contact with them. In a small tuberculin test survey covering 95 Aden township schoolboys of 7 to 12 years of age, in 1945,[2] positive reactions were obtained in 56 per cent—a rate which ranks high among those usually found in A 164 146 515 364 A 164 837 361 659

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484 pasture lies beyond a certain point; or at noonday halts the camels become "temporarily lost."

Moonlit nights are considered most desirable for travel. Camels ●233 are grazed wherever pasture is most abundant, regardless of the time of day—the heat may be intense—or the progress of the journey. This would not be necessary if small quantities of fodder, such as millet and hay, were carried. This practice, however, is not popular, owing either to custom or to what may be considered unwarranted expense, despite the fact that the animals could be maintained in superior condition and at the same time be worked harder to a degree that would more than offset the cost of purchased fodder.

[262] On the march camelmen provide for their own maintenance with small amounts of dates, bread, coffee, and tea, which add little to 484 the burden a caravan can transport. Therefore, provided the equipment of a traveling group is not too cumbersome and the personnel not too large, the unit can maintain itself on the march four or five weeks without replenishing supplies. Speed of travel will be governed by local grazing, water supply, and terrain, the condition of the camels, and the "temperament" of the caravan leader—an unknown usually capable of "adjustment."

492 In the caravans of those not strictly limited in resources, the 436 donkey is invariably included because it is comparatively easy to ride and a more comfortable mount than a camel. Camels can be hired for 1.00 to 1.25 Maria Theresa dollars (the standard currency in the interior) a day and donkeys for about 1.00 dollar.

## Bedouin "Warfare"

721 It is common knowledge that caravans have been both successfully 484 and unsuccessfully raided; but just what tactics the Bedouins employ on such occasions is somewhat of a mystery. At 4.00 a. m. one day a small party was plodding silently through bushes and mist along a broad wadi bottom leading to the sea. Through a knowledge of the prevailing wind as revealed by ripple marks in the sand, the leader cautiously picked his way and at length found a faint trail incised [233] in the bank. About 10.00 a. m. the caravan came to rest in the spotted shade of a leafless camel's-thorn for the customary noontime forage; and while the camels fed on the sharp, crunchy thorns, the Bedouins reclined on the sand in the meager shade of the dry branches.

Without apparent warning the whole camp was suddenly alive, for downwind had come a faint call, which one man had been alert enough to catch. The sharp-eyed Bedouins soon discovered two minute figures on the crest of a distant dune overlooking the caravan route ahead; and it was at once recalled that this route followed a tribal boundary between two groups now rumored to be unfriendly. The

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the 361
sixteenth century Bedr Bu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, 101
whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found, for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and 311
it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi 619
green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern [233] ●
part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Badus keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim 622
Mbaruk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dis- 701
pensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom 728
there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali 619
is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 721
and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signa- 725
tories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in 000
October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

137 In little valleys, green, juicy euphorbias grow to a height of six feet. Their fresh green colour and red tuberiferous flowers at the ends of their branches give them, in these colourless surroundings, the air of bouquets.

### 4. FIRST CONTACT WITH A HAḌRAMĪ NOMAD TRIBE.

●233 A broad plain lower down has a clay soil where grass grows
361 fairly well. Goats, sheep, donkeys and camels graze here, at
342 distances widely apart from each other. Bedouin girls watch over them from a hill-top. This is the *Rēda* [1] of Sheḥēr where are the pastures and headquarters of the wandering Bedouins of these parts. Their temporary camp is on a rocky plateau to the right above the road. We walk with our cameras in their direction, without much hope of success. They do not see us, and the malicious watch-dogs, which elsewhere in Arabia make it impossible to slip past the Bedouin camps, are conspicuous by their absence. The Bedouins of Ḥaḍramaut appear to have no tents; they live in caves, or houses, or huts, or, as in this case, almost without shelter. A space of about five feet square is made by four sticks of about three feet high with other sticks connecting them and over which are spread bunches of long, hard grass, which do not really, however, keep out much sun. There are about ten of these "dwellings" scattered around. Some are even more primitive and consist of bushes cut down, with a few rags stretched over them, thus making a little shade. There is an acacia tree in the camp; its top is made shadier by extra bits of scrub hung between its own thorny branches. A camel with a horribly swollen, inflamed leg lies there; a few men, women and children are sitting around, watching the poor beast's agony.

609 Our arrival arouses some commotion, but they seem tolerant of us and answer our questions with an air of curiosity.

104 [1] A *rēda* (ريدة) is the centre of the territory of a Bedouin tribe, where many of them dwell together. Generally it is a depression in the rocky plateau with some vegetation and agriculture.

N 262 ably meager. The basic foods are usually breads, dates and milk products, supplemented by vegetables and fruits in season and by varying amounts of meat and fish. Although breads are most frequently prepared from sorghum millet (durra), other forms of millet, as well as maize, wheat and barley are widely used. Rice is generally popular, and large amounts are imported. Dates constitute one of the main food items throughout this region; date palms flourish along some wadies, but the annual crop is inadequate. Numerous types of vegetables and fruits are available in the agricultural areas.

N [439] 241 262

A N 233 262

Sheep and goats are raised in both the Colony and the Protectorate. Their milk is used extensively, but only the pastoral tribes are apt to have a sufficient supply. Cow's milk is also consumed in the Colony and in some inland districts, particularly in Western Aden Protectorate, where the grazing conditions are suitable for cattle. Camel's milk is a staple food among certain Bedouin tribes. Ghee, or clarified butter, is employed in the wealthier families. The fat from the tail tissues of the local breed of sheep, which is an important substitute in the Colony and among the eastern tribes, is almost unknown in Western Aden Protectorate. Sesame is cultivated in many areas, and the oil constitutes another source of fats. Meat is seldom consumed more than once a week, except in the more prosperous households. Fish are plentiful along the coast, and both fresh and dried fish are commonly used in the diet.

A H 241 262 511 228

## Housing

A 862 342

Several different types of dwellings are found in Aden Colony. In general, the standards of housing are higher than in the neighboring territories. All variations are encountered between the multistoried stone houses of the wealthy Arabs, the modern style villas of the European and official communities, and the one- or two-story structures of stone or mud brick in which most of the people live. Regardless

A 342

strangers were assumed to be enemy scouts, the advance guard of a larger fighting force behind some distant dune. 721 484

The "ambushed" caravan comprised sixteen Bedouins, only twelve of them armed. This fact, however, the theoretically opposing force was supposed not to know, since it is an unwritten law of the desert that every Bedouin travels with rifle and ammunition. Without hesitation the leader selected three armed men to act as scouts and an unarmed messenger. Hastily the four men washed down a few mouthfuls of food, since they did not know when they would be able to eat again, filled with water from the large reservoir skins some small ones suitable for short, flying trips, and then slipped swiftly off across the sand in a peculiar bowlegged glide. Under cover of a near-by dune the caravan men scrambled to its summit, at once opened fire, and drove the two intruders from view. They then dashed ahead to the dune on which their adversaries had stood and later advanced from hilltop to hilltop parallel to the caravan route and between it and "enemy" territory. In the meantime the camels had been hastily packed and started on the march along the now protected trail, which they followed without intermission until sundown. [411]

The two "enemy" tribesmen were not seen again, and it was concluded that their actions had been misinterpreted. Freedom from molestation during the remainder of the day did not, however, cause the caravan leader to relinquish vigilance. The party was scheduled to pass at about 3.00 p. m. a water hole to one side of the trail and hidden from it by a dune. As a method of precaution an advance guard of four went ahead and, just as the caravan came abreast of this spot, converged on the well from four directions. Although the strategy displayed by the Bedouins and their chief was happily unnecessary, the "shadow" campaign showed how fearless and cautious these men of the desert can be.

## Fishers and Ropemakers

During certain of the winter months sardines abound along the Hadhramaut coast, traveling in large schools, which can be seen from the shore as black patches on the surface of the sea. Natives wade out with hand nets or cast from small canoes, making enormous hauls with considerable ease. The sardines are much appreciated by the Bedouins as an addition to their diet of dates, millet, and goat or sheep meat and are eaten either raw or cooked. The fish are taken from the nets, tossed up on the beach to dry, and then packed into large bundles for transport to the interior, where they are used for camel fodder or fertilizer. Fish oil is obtained from that part of the catch which is dumped into pits and allowed to decompose. Sting rays, sharks, porpoises, and lobsters are also taken from the sea; but as the use of lobster is unknown, it is cast back from the nets. 136 226 237 [262]

at intervals of some 20 feet a series of shafts similar to those 312
described in connection with the Mukalla water-supply. Humat al Harth is temporarily not giving water, as the level has fallen below the channel. At Al Quf itself there are a number of wells, and round each are nursery beds where the tobacco seedlings are 249
grown. The beds are divided into patches three or four feet square and the seed close sown, so close that even where seed does not germinate the workers cut small scratches in the ground and plant fresh seed. When the seedlings are grown to a height of about three or four inches they are taken from Al Quf to Al Harth, about a mile and a-half away, and planted out in rows with intervals of a foot, or three-quarters of a *dhirra*, in beds of a size dependent on the amount of water. A bed is called *mutr*, plural *mutira*, and each is surrounded by a ridge to keep in the irrigation water. In due course the crop is gathered and dried. Drying barns are unknown.

The crop[1] is financed by the merchants who advance the money to 454
the cultivators and are paid back either monthly or after the crop. 427
In the case of the Government lands at Gheil some cultivators pay 655
their rent in advance and some after the crop. The rent of the whole area of the Sultan's land at Gheil is assessed before each season and the figure required communicated to his representative there. This official then rents out the land at a figure per acre based on the total sum required.

The total annual value of the crop is now estimated at five lakhs 433
of which the Sultan receives Rs.120,000 in duty and ground rent. 651
Production costs are estimated at three lakhs, so that the profit to 434
the cultivators is Rs.80,000. In order to foster the local consumption of tobacco, there is a monopoly of imported cigarettes and pipe 655
tobacco.

Of tobacco, Mr. H. M. Heald in his report of the Agricultural 249
Mission to Mukalla says that in the Meifa valley " the cultivation of the tobacco received more attention than any other crop. . . . The seed was sown in a small plot of land which, in the large villages, had been heavily manured with sheep dung mixed with fine earth. [241]
When 40 days old the plants were transplanted into the small beds at distances of one foot apart, and again manured with fish ; irrigation varied in the villages but generally every seven days.

" Topping of the terminal buds took place after all the leaves had been formed and the plants were ripe for cutting in four or five months, according to district and season. The plants were dried on the ground first singly and then in small bundles, and afterwards hung up in rows. After drying again in bundles, they were covered with sacks to promote fermentation, and then the plants were taken into the houses for further drying in the dark, and ready for transporting to the coast in a week or so. Practically no grading was done . . . and I am sure " he writes, " better prices would be obtained if more attention were paid to selection."

1 [Tobacco -- Anahpt]

boiled radishes is given to cattle with " cattle plague ". Donkeys are said to be susceptible to a very fatal disease. 231 232

Both cattle and camels are used in ploughing, the former usually in pairs and the latter singly. For the working of the wells, camels, cattle, donkeys, men and women, all combine, frequently in mixed teams, the animals being generally given a bunch of fodder at the top of the incline each time they reach it. Camels are also employed in turning the machines for extracting the simsim oil. The fact that fodder and water become more scarce north of the main Wadi necessitates a greater use of camels and donkeys are few and far between. Donkeys are uncommon also in the Wadi Maseila, for there is a three-day stretch without water in the middle of the Wadi, and below Buzun the flow is not perennial. Sheep and goats, however, are to be found everywhere, seeking their pasture under the care of women or girls. 231 492

Heald in his report states that no attention is paid to selection during the breeding season—which is usually in the early summer. With the sheep, one lamb is generally the average—although higher up in the Hadhramaut, amongst better pasture, ewes give two lambs. The sheep in the Meifa valley had black fleeces with the curly fat tails, although smaller than the Egyptian sheep. The goats are also smaller than in Egypt and originally came from the Yemen. 231

It was particularly noticeable in the Wadi Maseila that the livestock were very much smaller than those elsewhere. The cows are little larger than a normal-sized calf, and the sheep and goats are also smaller than those in Du'an or to the north. The cattle are similar in size to those of Soqotra. The breeds of goats and sheep appeared to vary considerably over the whole country, but a black-and-white variety was the most common. His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan has a few horses, both for riding and carriage work, and I saw one at Meshhed. There are probably not a dozen in the whole country. 613 492

**Minor agricultural products.**

Dates in the Hadhramaut are merely a hobby, and the entire local crop is consumed fresh during a season of two months, June and July. It may be recorded that a single date-tree in the Du'an valley sells from 400 to 1,000 dollars, many times its economic price. Dates form a staple article of diet and are therefore imported in large quantities. 245 262 435

The principal grain and other food crops are millet—*dirra* (great millet, *Sorghum vulgar*), *dukhn* (bullrush millet, *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and *kneb* or *mesbeli* (Italian millet, *Setana italica*); lucerne; *jil jil* (sesame, not eaten by donkeys); *dijar* (a kind of bean); wheat (not eaten by donkeys or goats); and a little maize. The stalks are generically known as *quasb*, and the grain as *ta'm*. Hashish or grass is also grown for animals. The principal garden crops are sweet potatoes, onions, garlic, pumpkins, carrots, egg 241

241 plants, chillies, *faquz* (a kind of gourd, *Cucumis prophetarum* L.), and lubia. The fruits include limes, bananas, dates, pawpaws and a few grapes and pomegranates.

Speaking of the Meifa district, Heald states that "near the river the main cultivation was the date crops. The sesame did not receive any special cultivation than that given for the millets; the land was ploughed or broken up by the hoe and, after levelling down with a board, the seed was sown in holes at a distance of 18 inches apart; the crop being sown generally in September. The crop was manured with dung or fish, if available, and good results were obtained from liberal manuring; four or five waterings were generally given. The crop was ready for harvest in 3½ months, when the plants were cut down close to the ground and laid out in rows to dry; the plants were then shaken for the seed to fall out on a mat." Speaking of crops generally, Heald says, "All the crops, being from seed bred in and in, had become very poor as one might expect, and unless they import fresh seed from abroad, nothing can prevent the crops from becoming even poorer than they are at present."

## Methods of Agriculture.

134 *Soil.*—Mr. Heald's remarks on the lahd in Asfal al 'Ain apply pretty generally to much of the land in the Hadhramaut. He says, "The soil was of an alluvial nature, and in general very light loam, devoid of humus and requiring heavy manure to produce good yields. The soil in most of the villages in the Meifa valley was alluvial; very thin and with a stony subsoil." In parts of the Wadi Maseila owing to the heavy vegetation there is more humus.

805 241 *Seasons.*—The seasons are arranged by the stars and called Summer (*Seif*), Autumn (*Kharif*), Winter (*Sheita*) and Spring (*Rabia*). From an agricultural point of view it is difficult to distinguish. Crops are often to be seen in all stages, sowing, grown and harvested. According to Heald, the summer crops are Italian and bullrush millet and tobacco, which is sown towards the end of the summer for transplanting in early winter. The winter crops are great millet, maize, lucerne, wheat, barley and all the vegetables.

241 492 412 *Implements.*—The implements are few and primitive. A small plough is used for breaking up the surface of the soil. It consists of a sharpened piece of wood with an upright for the farmer to hold and press the "share" into the soil. It is pulled by oxen or a camel. The hoe used has a pear-shaped head; sometimes the soil is levelled after ploughing by dragging a small board over the surface. Small curved knives are used in the tobacco nurseries for scratching up the soil. Heald saw a "weeder" which was very much like a chisel.

241 *Manures.*—Tobacco beds are occasionally treated with sheep dung, but the principal manure in the lower Hadhramaut is fish manure. As many as three small fish are put on the soil round each plant.

Guano, brought from the small islands of Sikka or Jibus and Jazirat Bureika near Bir 'Ali west of Mukalla, is used when obtainable, but it is expensive. In the heavily-wooded parts of the Wadi Maseila the bush is burnt when cut. This provides a potash dressing the value of which is appreciated by the cultivators. 241

*Terrace cultivation.*—" The villages had very little cultivable soil and in many cases the small terraces had been made by bringing soil from a distance and then built up with rubble revetments, the area varying from 5 square yards to ¼ acre. These terraces were always built on the sides of the hills to avoid destruction by floods, and the houses generally on a higher level." Of the Meifa valley, Mr. Heald says that the cultivated terrace areas which were in bulge-like shape along the stream were irrigated by taking the small canals off from the rivers or springs at varying heights and bringing them down at great distances to the terraces. Although all the terraces I saw were generally above flood-level, there are none built high up the Wadi walls. 311 241

*Irrigation.*—Land is irrigated from springs, wells, or rivers. When wells and rivers are used, cattle, or camels, or donkeys, or men and women, or a combined team, pull up one or two leathern buckets attached to a rope running on a wooden pulley. The water then flows down a mortar or mud channel and is finally distributed to the land by small canals. The quantity delivered from a well by this method does not exceed 500 gallons an hour. When the land is irrigated from springs, the water is conducted by channels to the various terraces. In order to supply all the various levels, these small canals take off at great distances and there is consequently considerable loss by percolation and evaporation before the water reaches the land. 241 312

Occasionally hollowed-out halves of date palms are used as water channels for crossing hollows, and the cultivators of the Wadi Maseila display considerable ingenuity in bringing the water from the river to the land they are working. The river is usually at some distance from the foot of the steep bank above which the land is cultivated. Channels are dug from the river and a deep hole made at the foot of the bank. A scaffolding is erected over the hole to carry the usual well machinery, and a mud aqueduct supported by tree trunks and branches carries the water on to the higher level ground where it is distributed by canals in the usual way. A sloping walk of timber covered with earth is also provided for the team of animals and humans. Dams to raise the level of the water, and made principally of brushwood, are a common feature of the Wadi Maseila. In other places we saw a number of stone dams.

In most villages irrigated from springs the water is shut off at sunset, and the spring fills a cistern made from stone and mortar designed to hold the spring water running during the night. The springs naturally vary in volume, but Mr. Heald states that they generally range about 5,000 gallons an hour. Of Meifa he states, 312

312 "The quantities of water differed very much and ranged between 100 gallons and 10,000 gallons per hour in the springs, whereas only about 400 gallons per hour were obtained from the wells, but this quantity naturally depended on the amount of work done by the cattle. The stream in the Meifa valley was rather difficult to estimate on account of its underground sources and losses by evaporation, but, after several calculations, the quantity was decided on 1 m.³ per second and the fall averaged generally 5 feet per mile. This refers only to the stream in open country; as many portions of it poured down through narrow gorges, where it was impossible to calculate."

241 *Dry-farming.*—Heald states that in the villages of Kanina and Jol ar Rakh, or generally the district lying between the Meifa valley and Asfal al 'Ain, he discovered a system of dry-farming worked in connection with the flood irrigation. The flood water, which unfortunately could not be depended upon, poured down the wadis, and by a very good system of canals was conducted on to the land, and the seed sown in the mud—the surplus water being sent down to villages lower in the wadi. In some years the cultivators managed to sow two crops, spring and summer, if the floods permitted, but they only relied on the spring water. In the village of Kanina the cultivators sometimes left the roots of the millet in the soil after harvest, and thereby obtained a second, but very poor, crop.

After the harvest, the land was continually ploughed to retain the moisture ready for the next year, and the cultivators were quite aware of the importance of treating the surface oil in the dry-farming principles; however, where possible, irrigation was done from the springs and wells.

*Cultivation.*—After ploughing or hoeing the surface, the seed is either broadcasted or sown in holes. The great millet is generally sown thickly in a small plot and transplanted when about 12 inches high, but the other millets are merely broadcasted. As the stalks of great millet are too thin to carry the heads, about a dozen of the plants are tied together by the heads as soon as the seed begins to form. *Dijar* is planted between rows of millet in order to shade it from the sun. It is harvested after two months.

In some parts of the Hadhramaut, as in Africa, men, women and children sit on platforms built above the crop and use a small sling and stones to scare away the birds.

*Harvesting.*—When ripe, the great millet is cut close to the ground with a small sickle. After a few days' drying, the heads are cut off and beaten by [illegible]s. The heads of other grain are generally cut first and then the stalks pulled up for the cattle, and the stubble burnt on the ground. The grain is put into shallow winnowing fans of a common eastern and African type, and thrown into the air for the wind to separate the chaff from the grain. I saw at least two patterns of quern used for grinding.

[654] 311 241 Mr. H. M. Heald, the agriculturist, visited Asfal Al 'Ain, the Sultan's estate at Fuwa, and the Wadi Meifa. As regards Asfal Al 'Ain, he reported that the whole country along the Wadis through which he travelled consisted of hills and wastes, and from an agricultural point of view was very disappointing. In this rocky region, land is scarce. In a few small hamlets, terraces have been made with soil collected in the wadis, and a few acres of these are cultivated, producing millets, sweet potatoes, dates, and tobacco on a poor scale. These terraces are irrigated from springs and wells, but the latter give very little water. No definite seasons are followed for sowing and harvesting of crops. In one village Mr. Heald saw a crop in three stages of growth, viz., newly-sown, half-grown, and harvested. The soil is generally a light shallow loam of alluvial nature, devoid of humus, and, cultivated as it is by the most primitive methods, is becoming more impoverished year by year. Very little manuring is done owing to the cost of transporting fish and the scarcity of dung.

At Fuwa he saw 250 acres of millet and tobacco cultivated by the Sultan's slaves. Owing to the poor soil and bad cultivation, the produce was but small and none of it marketed. The villages along the coast to the entrance of the valley near Ras Al Kalb are similar to those in Asfal Al 'Ain district, but the cultivation is poorer.

Mr. Heald estimated the total area of the soil in Sidara, cultivated and capable of being brought under cultivation, at about 14,000 acres, of which considerably more than one half consists of swampy or salty land at the mouth of the river at Hali. The total area of all the land fit for cultivation in the country he saw, he estimated at under 20,000 acres.

[312] Owing to insufficiency of water for irrigation purposes, Heald considered it would be difficult to reclaim any large area of land at the mouth of the river at Hali, as most of this land is either swampy or bad salty soil due to the river changing its mouth frequently after heavy rains coming down the valley from the interior. The water is also very salty. Another obstacle to developing this area, and, at present a very big one, is the unhealthy climate and the impure drinking water.

000 Mr. Heald concludes:

> "As regards settlers, it would, on account of the scarcity of land and the unhealthy climate at Meifa, be quite wrong to try and induce people to emigrate from India on a large scale, but a few could be settled at Fuwa and higher up the valley at Jol and Giswal. The present inhabitants, the Sybians, who are acclimatized, could then be sent to the mouth. As, however, this would only affect a very few thousands of acres, perhaps the expense would not be worth the trouble, and the

631
101
619

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nahd Āl Maqārīm | — | Diyār al Maqārīm | 30 |
| | Āl Tāhir | Bā Hasān | 20 |
| | Āl Muhanna | Al Juwa | 20 |
| | Āl Nuheid | Ash Shi'b | 30 |
| | do. | Mad-har | 40 |
| | Āl Muhammad bin 'Āmr. | 'Uneibida and Zukeika | 50 |
| | Āl Kuleib | Manwab and Al Ghatāa | 70 |
| | Āl Bedr Muhammad | Manwab and Al Ghatāa | 40 |
| | Āl Rabbā' | Sadba | 50–70 |
| | do. | Badra, Al 'Ardh, Sirāj, Diyār Āl Nāsir. | 160 |
| | Āl Makhāshin | Al 'Ardh, 'Arūdh al Makhāshin. | 70 |
| | Āl 'Umar bin Ja'far (Sultans). | Al 'Ajlānia | 17–30 |
| | Āl Najjar | — | — |
| Bā Bakr | 4 sections. | | |
| Āl Hukman | | | |
| Āl Shabbal | | | |
| Āl Hatra | | | |
| | | | 2,087–2,160 |

The Nahd live on the left bank of the Wadi Hadhramaut starting from a point opposite the confluence of the Wadis Du'an and 'Amd due north of Haura. They are Qahtanis and claim descent from Kinda. Ibn Khaldun states that the Beni Nahd are derived from Qudha'ā and that they settled in Yemen in the neighbourhood of the Beni Khath'am. He says they are like wild beasts and that the vulgar call them *As Sarwa*. Most of them are a mixed race, partly descended from the Beni Khath'am and Bajīla. Hamdani, who calls the Nahd a sub-tribe of the Beni 'Ans, mentions the Beni Harām as being the principal sub-division of the Beni Nahd.

The Nahd generally are usually on bad terms with the Sei'ar, though the latter visit their markets in the main wadi. Some of the Nahd are allied to the Qu'aitis and some to the Kathīris. The Qu'aiti has an "A" agreement with the Āl Makhāshin and "B"* agreements with the Āl Bā Bakr and the Nahd Rōdhān, though the former are also claimed as allies and followers of the Kathīris.

619 631 [463] 241 ● 000

The majority of the tribe are agriculturists and grow dates, jowari, and some wheat. The Nahd Dhulfan, whose country is mostly arid and cultivated only after rainfall, live principally by selling firewood and stones in Qu'aiti towns. About three-quarters of the Nahd al Maqārīm are agriculturists and many of them grow wheat on well irrigation; the rest of the clan are Beduins who rear camels and sheep. The Āl Kuleib and Āl Nuheid, who are poor, possess little more than a few date trees; they sell firewood and other things in the Qu'aiti towns. The Āl Makhāshin are settled

*[See page 92, Category 116 - - Analyst]

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FIG. 17—Ruins of a pre-Islamic city in the Wadi Maseila. The site was chosen for defensive purposes and each house was in itself a fortress.

## HOT SPRINGS

133 [135] Hot sulphurous springs are widely scattered in the coastal zone, and fairly accurate accounts of many of them are available. They commonly deposit gypsum in quantity. Some of the deposits are so large as to suggest either that activity was more general in the past or that the position of the spring outlets has shifted. The springs may be attributed to the same subterranean conditions that prevail in Yellowstone Park, where descending waters become superheated through close association with uncooled rocks and rise again to the surface.

312 241 361 [271] Within half a mile of the coast of Hami, east of Mukalla, several hot springs are utilized by the natives for irrigation of date palms and millet and also for drinking. Neither here nor elsewhere does the

[312] FIG. 18—A view in the Wadi Maseila where water is present during most of the year. The edge of the Jol appears in the background.

8: Fike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 mineral content of the water seem to affect agriculture adversely.
● 241 A striking example is seen about five miles north of Shihr where a
361 series of springs depositing sulphur and gypsum have built an impressive mound, on which the village of Tabala stands. Their abundant and continued flow enables extensive irrigation by hand-dug canals and aqueducts and affords a means of livelihood for several hundred

[487 302] FIG. 10—A caravan settling down for the night on the cold and stony Jol in the lengthening shadows of the setting sun. A caravan stops wherever night may overtake it and with little or no cover the Bedouins find a place to rest among the stones and shiver themselves to sleep. A coating of indigo stain with which the Bedouins not uncommonly paint themselves is said to be some defense against the night air.

people. The temperature of these springs on emergence is not far below boiling point, and they are reported to be the hottest on the coast.

At the small village of Harshiat, 3½ miles north of Mukalla, a few tepid sulphurous springs likewise are valuable for their yield. At the village of Gheil ba Wazir, on the inland road between Mukalla and Shihr, is an extensive gypsum flat and also a group of gypsum-depositing springs. Here a tobacco-raising community has sprung up. A part of the arable land is devoted to the growing of dates and millet and the remainder to tobacco, for which, owing to a quality unsurpassed in Southern Arabia, demand exceeds supply.

The small community of Husn Baquidran depends on a limited but constant supply of nongypsiferous sulphur water in the mountains of the Wadi Hajr, 30 miles from the coast. Irrigation is practiced on a small scale. The sites of Sidara and Mahamda, on the Wadi Hajr above Husn Baquidran, were determined by the presence of several groups of sulphur springs that are used for irrigation and consumption.

## VEGETATION

132 Today only the seaward fringe of the Dhufar Coast region, which
137 during the pre-Islamic empires of the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and
175

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Audhalis, 'Aulaqis, and Beihanis are too far away, and it is doubtful if any federation with them could be very real. The Yafa'is, though they are excellent outside their own mountains, are at present a very difficult problem from the point of view of good order and government in them. I had almost forgotten the 'Aqrabis, but as that kingdom consists in effect of only one village on the borders of Aden and Lahej they hardly constitute a problem. But it is possible that some day steps towards the federation of the protectorate by areas may come to pass.

If, however, the political outlook is not very promising, experience of recent years has shown that in potential agricultural resources the Western Protectorate is far better off than the Eastern. It is true that its total area is not much more than half that of the Eastern and that by far the greater proportion of it is barren mountains or arid desert, but none the less the cultivable acreage is greater than that of the Eastern and the people are on the whole better agriculturists. There are fewer beduin, and the tribesmen, unlike those of the Eastern Protectorate, are many of them tillers of the land on which they live, rather than employers or financiers of a peasant class with the idea that manual work is unbecoming to dignity. On the coastal area there are large and useful oases at Lahej, Abyan—by far the biggest—and Ahwar. These oases are sure of regular spates from the Yemen highlands behind, and can grow useful crops of grain, principally millet, and vegetables and fruits of the coarser tropical kinds. There are good patches of soil in the Dhala and Yafa'i mountains, and the latter grow the best coffee in Arabia, but at Mukeiras in Audhali country there is a really important fertile area at over 7,000 feet where temperate crops are grown and which is now producing in fair abundance European vegetables and fruits of excellent quality which include potatoes, tomatoes, lettuces and so on, apples, peaches, plums, and apricots. The main difficulty in disposing of these good things, for which a ready market exists in Aden for local consumption and for shipping, is communication and transport. The Audhali plateau is over a hundred miles from Aden and is cut off from the maritime plain and the foothills by a 4,000-foot, almost perpendicular bluff, the picturesque Kaur al Audilla. So road-making is difficult and expensive, and the bad tracks play havoc with the lorries used for transporting the produce to Aden from the foot of the bluff, down which it is transported on animals. If ever the Yemen is developed agriculturally it will have great advantages over Audhali country, for roads can be better made. The main agricultural produce that now comes by caravan and lorry from the Yemen is the highly perishable and iniquitous qat, and the qat traffic is probably centuries old. Better communication and better agriculture in the Yemen would therefore make it difficult for the Audhali country to be economically worth while. Beyond the Audhalis and descending towards the heat of the desert is Beihan country, which drains to the Rub'al Khali. Having high mountains behind it, it is reasonably watered, and millet cultivation is being extended there.

The present tendency in the improvement of conditions in the Western Aden Protectorate is to select an area where conditions are favourable and send a political officer to assist the chief to establish control over his people,

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



behind it, and not the high mountains of the Yemen. Its height above the sea-level nowhere exceeds 6,000 feet and is generally not more than 3,500. It has therefore no regular rainfall. 133

Then, as regards treaties, while the W.A.P. has a total of about thirty-five chiefs in direct relation with His Majesty's Government, the E.A.P. has only seven, of which one, the Kathiri, is comparatively recent. The reason is that in the E.A.P. all that was required was to keep foreign powers off the coast. All the six original treaties with E.A.P. rulers were with coastal chiefs. Starting from the west, 'Irqa and Haura are only small villages. The two Wahidi Sultans come next, then the Qu'aiti, the largest of them all, whose state to-day covers some 50,000 square miles, and then the Mahra, which includes Socotra Island. While the W.A.P. is historically part of the Yemen, and has now a new and natural capital in Aden which supplies it with all its requirements, the E.A.P. is historically and geographically detached and has a local commercial capital in Mukalla, but looks to India, Singapore, and Java for its cultural and social contacts. 648

The Hadhramaut is historically and geographically a country in itself, and consists of the Wahidi Sultanates, with the two little Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, which are really ports in the country of the Dhiyeibi tribe, who are a Wahidi tribe, and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. I propose not to say anything more of the Mahra country because as yet little is known about it, though in the last year or two more has been learnt of Socotra. 101

You will have gathered, I think, that, owing to its desert nature and lack of rainfall, the prospects of the development of agriculture in the Hadhramaut are not very promising, and as the various explorations that have taken place to date have not discovered any mineral resources, it does not look as though the economic future is very bright. The best agricultural areas are Gheil Ba Wazir, on the coast, where Hamumi tobacco is very successfully grown, and this brings in a revenue of about Rs. 200,000 a year to the state, and Meifa, in which conditions have been considerably improved in the last few years and where some further development is possible. It was hoped that the alluvial silt of the Wadi Hadhramaut would prove a fertile area for wide development if water could be found, but experiment has shown that it is largely brackish and, bearing in mind the desert surroundings, it is probable that any further supplies of water which boring might discover would not be sufficient to wash out the salt. It is unfortunate, too, that the bulk of the population, the seiyids and tribesmen, do not take to working on the land themselves, as do the tribesmen of the W.A.P., but rely on dhafa, a class of poor townsmen who are almost in the position of serfs. These dhafa lived by building the palaces of the rich and working their wells, but the fall of Singapore and Java cut off the supplies of money from the Far East so that the rich could no longer maintain them. The beduin had lived by carrying supplies from the coast to the interior, but with the falling off of imports they too suffered. On top of this catastrophe there was a seven-year drought from 1937 to 1944, which meant the loss of crops, flocks, and 50 per cent. of the working camels, so that between the difficulties of 241 311 565 463 731

On the 19th of May we reached Horēda, the tribal village of the family al-'Attās, where we had a fine reception. Horēda can thank the wealth accumulated in Java and at Singapore for its beautiful houses and mosques. There is a large number of Dutch subjects there, and so many of them speak Malay that one even frequently hears it spoken on the streets.

On the 20th and 21st of May we remained at Horēda. The mosques and schools were carefully examined, and some short excursions were made in that neighborhood.

Horēda lies in the Wādī 'Amd, which branches off from the main *Wādī* of Hadramaut, to which we now returned, leaving Horēda on the 22nd of May. Bin Marta' from Soerabaya, a large dealer in building materials, took us in his auto, which was the first that ever came to Horēda, to the place where he lives, Hēnan. It was a difficult task among the endless sand-hills to find a track on which it was possible for the auto to travel, and when a sandstorm came up we had to flee to the Diyār-āl-Buqri, certain high castles in the midst of the broad sandy *wādī,* which were the center of a warfare which had been going on there for years. The fighting captains and their soldiers received us very well; they appear to have close family relationships with Java. Elsewhere, in a description of the political situation, I will deal minutely with the Diyār-āl-Buqri and their inhabitants. Hēnan is a little place which is lost in the sand. By installing a motor pump, our friend Bin Marta' is trying to arouse his village to new life.

On the 23rd of May, Bin Marta' took us in his auto to al-Qatn, the residence of the sultan of Shibām. We were here once more in the āl-Qa'ētī jurisdiction. At al-Qatn the Wādī Hadramaut changes completely, and beautiful date-palm plantations begin here. In the shadow of these palms lie the luxurious green *dhura* fields (maize). The sultan did not appear to be at al-Qatn, and we were received by a member of the family. Through a severe sandstorm we drove on to Shibām, the

133 the amount of evaporation. Accordingly we find in the north–south wadis a
311 continuous belt of cultivations with hamlets of a few houses every mile and towns about 15 miles or an easy day's walk apart. As opposed to this the cultivations in the Wadi Hadhramaut, which runs west–east, are to be found mainly in belts along the northern and southern sides, the south belt being wider than the north, due to the increasing evaporation and lower water table towards the centre of the wadi.

311 Except for the hamlets which occur among the fields, the buildings make
361 use of unproductive land, and perch up against the cliff side on the talus slope. This position also carries the advantages of shade together with good siting for defence. Where land is at a premium, villages may be so sited as to become inaccessible even to the draught and load-carrying beasts used in agriculture, and the stables and grainstores are found at the edges of the fields and at the foot of the narrow winding path leading up to the village (Plate 3).

[104] Water for the permanent cultivations of *dhurra* (*Sorghum* sp.), *dukhn*
312 (*Pennisetum typhoideum* et spp.), lucerne and date palm has until the last few
406 years been drawn by man or animal power, raising a leather bag of water by
241 walking down a ramp away from the well shaft. Nowadays greater use is being made of diesel- and petrol-driven pumps, increasing both the yield and the area it is economical to cultivate. The effect of these pumps, which are available on deferred terms, in lowering the water table will be watched with care. New crops such as potatoes, the brassicas, and sugar cane are also being introduced under the agriculture scheme in an attempt to make the Hadhramaut, if not entirely self-supporting, at least less dependent on its "extra-territorial population."

241 This limitation does not apply to the flood crops which are snatched
312 wherever possible. Throughout the lower wadi systems there exists a com-
361 plicated network of deflector dams which have the object of spreading the floodwaters over as large an area as possible, and leading a certain part of them into irrigation channels. Many retaining dams have been attempted, but usually unsuccessfully, as the major structure has been an earthwork with only the spillway of durable construction. In the shallow beds of the wadis running north from the secondary watershed there are many small cultivated patches and groups of two or three fortified houses are often situated where camel tracks converge on water cisterns cut into the rock.

*The transition belt.*

133 The transition zone between the mountain systems and the sand desert takes a number of forms. North of the Ramlat[1] al Mundafan the Kaukab sandstone plateau overlies the crystalline rocks to the west, and to the east has eroded to become an area of minor plateaus and blocks. Through the wide flat valleys between these minor plateaus runs the main Najran–Dawasir track, roughly north–south in longitude 44° 45′ E. at a general height of a little under 3000 feet. To the east of this track lies the southern section of the Nafud Dahi, running parallel with the road, and rising to a height of 100 feet

104 [1] Ramla(t): a general name for any sand feature. Thus the Ramlat al Mundafan means literally "the buried sands."

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited. 508

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation. 509 205 206

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden. 131 161 162

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north. 311

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir. From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possessing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations 439 226 241 182 [167]

hospitality in the new house during the past year, and last hot weather nothing 000
was more delightful than to sit in the swimming pool in the evening and listen
to the strains of the B.B.C. Empire Orchestra. Since then the Arabic broad-
casts have started and they are extremely popular throughout the Hadhramaut, [207]
which now sets its watches by Big Ben. Bathing over, dinner would be laid
on carpets by the side of the bathing pool. One rarely sits down less than
twenty at meals in Seiyid Bubekr's house and very often it is forty. The
average daily consumption runs into about 30 to 40 lb. of rice, three or four
dozen eggs, half a dozen chickens, and one or two sheep, and several pounds
of vegetables. We went up for the wedding of his daughter, and then over
five thousand people were fed for three days.

Seiyun has been our principal headquarters in the wadi, and from it I
have continually visited all the neighbouring places, staying at Shibam,
Al Qatn, Henin, Qa'udha, and Hureidha. You never get to Hureidha without [609]
stopping for a meal at Diyar al Buqri, where the people are so hospitable that
they have been known to fire on those who have attempted to pass in cars
without stopping to have a meal. The Buqri are Nahd, and although they
are settled they are still rather Badu. On my first visit they offered us a large
house if we would but stay and rule the country, and it was then I learned
that they had imported a first-class cook from Java in the hope of being able
to entertain Europeans. Great as is the hospitality and kindness of all the
Nahd, the meals at Diyar al Buqri are as fine and as varied as anything you
could get anywhere. Their ideas even of afternoon tea are on the most lavish
scale. I have had it with them three times and on each occasion they have
produced cakes, honey, and halwa, several varieties of tinned fruit, British
biscuits, and super-cream toffees.

Beyond Diyar al Buqri, as you enter the Wadi 'Amd, stands a little fort 712
with a sentry for ever gazing out. It was some time before I discovered that 619
the sentry was a dummy, a lump of clay artistically draped with a black
cloth, but in recent months I notice he has fallen into disrepair. The Nahd
extend down into the Wadi 'Amd almost as far as Hureidha, of which the
population consists entirely of Seiyids of the Al 'Attas family and their
dependants. Here, too, I have several times stayed, and there is now a land- 080
ing-ground. There is no need for me to say much about Hureidha as it is
here that Miss Stark, Miss Caton-Thompson and Miss Gardner have been
wintering. One interesting fact about Hureidha may however be too trivial
for their notice, and that is that one of the mosques has two large town clocks,
one with a face 6 feet in diameter and the other 3 feet. Only the latter works,
and they are of course at the top of the high minaret. But they are inside
the minaret, and you have to walk up sixty or seventy steps to see the time.

Up the wadi from Hureidha is the Ja'da tribe. I have not travelled farther 619
up the wadi than Hureidha on foot, but before I went there for peace negotia- 361
tions my wife did the journey on camel. The wadi is thickly populated and 628
has numerous small villages which at that time were nearly all at war with 241
each other. My wife took down particulars of thirty-two major feuds going
on between sections and even between houses a few yards apart. There were
trench systems, similar to those at Qa'udha, leading from the houses to the
fields, but owing to the disturbed conditions cultivation had suffered badly
AND THERE WAS A GENERAL DESIRE FOR PEACE IN ORDER TO GET ON
WITH THE WORK IN THE FIELDS.

Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hill are terraced by the industrious inhabitants to grow crops and, in the higher altitudes, the excellent Mocha coffee for which Southern Arabia is famous. Villages appear in unexpected places, built of mud brick in the low country and of stone on the mountain-sides and hill-tops. Among these habitations are seen always the square towers, or *dars*, and the little mosques or whitewashed shrines that are characteristic of the Arab villages.

The aspect of the country varies in its different parts. Immediately to the north of Aden is the large and fertile oasis in which stands the capital of the Sultan of Lahej. It is irrigated from the bifurcation of the Wadi Tiban that brings water from the mountains and then disappears in the sands near Aden. To the east and west of Lahej are desert strips, but beyond are the Subeihi hills and valleys to the north-west, the rugged Haushabi country, and the pleasant district of Dhala in the Amiri highlands to the north, and the lofty mountains of Yafa to the north-east. Thence to the eastward a steep escarpment spans the country like a rampart; and is crowned by the fertile Audhali plateau 7,000 feet above sea-level. Farther east, beyond another stretch of rough, mountainous country, is the fantastic and barren *jol*, reminiscent of pictures of the surface of the moon. To the north of this strange and desolate area, and in striking contrast to it, is the wide valley of the Hadhramaut, with its chain of towns and villages, its skyscrapers, country houses, palace and gardens. Beyond again, away to the north, lies the edge of the Rub' al Khali, the Empty Quarter, with its sea of tumbled terra-cotta coloured sand dunes stretching into the distant interior.

On the sea coast of the Protectorate there are at intervals fishing villages and little ports, and about 300 miles to the east of Aden stands the picturesque town and port of Mukalla, the capital of the Quaiti Sultan. Protected by a steep background of rock, its white houses cling to the shore, and its appearance from the sea is singularly attractive. The town of Shehr lies on the coast beyond it, and eastward again there are more coastal villages, of which Qishn, the capital of the mainland territory of the Sultan of Socotra, is the most important.

The large island of Socotra, situated about 500 miles to the east of Aden, forms part of the Protectorate. It, too, is a mountainous country, but, owing to its greater rainfall, it is much less bleak than the neighbouring mainland. It has a good deal of varied vegetation, and is noted for its so-called dragon's-blood tree, the sap of which is exported to India and elsewhere to make a rich purple dye. Socotra has also a

000 grown banks; we saw it no more after we had passed the grotto in the rock-wall to the left, where it made its appearance. The vegetation, however, continued rich and varied, and we could see from the little springs at the foot of the rocky wall that there was still a great quantity of water. Great blocks of rock had fallen here into the wādī from the steep sloping walls. In some places these walls were completely hollowed out by wind and water, and only a crust remained.

x487 From Lubēb Von Wissmann had begun to survey the route.
114 Up to that point we were able to use the excellent map made by Little on his geological survey of the mountainous country of Makalla in 1919—'20.[1]

231 The valley now rises more rapidly, and it requires much patience and skill to lead the loaded camels and donkeys over the great blocks of rock. The mountain camel knows this sort of ground, passes neatly through the blocks, and as he steps aside and turns thinks of the load projecting on either side of his body. On a warning call from the leaders: "Take care left!" or "Look out right!" the animal goes cautiously a little further away from the place where its load is threatened.

241 At the end of the wādī, about two miles beyond Ḥōṭat el-
x487 Laṣb, there is a little plateau to which a short ascent leads
361 us. There is a plantation of date-palms and *dhura*, which is still within the boundary of Ḥōṭat el-Laṣb. At the end of this small plateau lies the village of Lubēb. We leave it on our left and descend towards Wadī Ḥimem, which, again, is shut in by high walls of limestone. The farther we advance the narrower becomes this wādī. The camel path along the steep cliffs to the right is blocked here and there with boulders. Some miles after Lubēb, the now narrow rock ravine makes a bend. Here is a splendid spring with a drinking-trough of masonry for the animals. The place is named el-Ḥallāf. On account of the road survey we are compelled to camp as soon as darkness falls. Indeed it would be difficult to march further in this valley of boulders.

[1] O. H. Little, *The Geography and Geology of Makalla*, Cairo, 1925.

1/1 [at Lubeb -- ANALYST]

245 and is only important as part of the food supply of the common
262 people. The slave and the Bedouin consider the Dōʿan date as the really good one; the imported one, from Baṣra, they regard as inferior. The sayyids and notabilities who have made money abroad do not set much value on the date as an article of daily food. They keep on their date-groves in order to have a summer pavilion and a swimming-bath and to enjoy the shadow, the twittering of birds, and the old, familiar squeaking and creaking of the wooden wheels over which run the ropes drawing the water for irrigation from the wells to the surface. The family domestic staff and slaves with their wives and children find work in the date-groves, where they earn the food from which they chiefly subsist. The date plantations of the rich in this country are under present conditions no longer a source of income.

245 The fields which are dependent on the *sēl* go on beyond
●241 the tract where the date-palms come to an end. They lie, well tilled, waiting for the rains higher up. Sometimes there is only one *sēl* in the year, but if it is a good one, its supply of water suffices for a successful harvest of dates. In the open spaces between the dates *dhura* is grown in summer, and *burr*[1] in winter. Most of the *sēls* occur in autumn.

There are fortunately plenty of *siqāyas* on the way to Ṣīf; it is true, the water is not always clear or odourless, but we are so tormented by thirst that we pay no attention to that.

Already long before Ṣīf cultivation ceases in the broad bed of the wādī, and our narrow path winds over bare stones.

361 Towards sunset we see Ṣīf lying on a broad slope of rock débris just where the wādī is very wide and the rocky bank is broken and retreats. The little, walled-in village looks rather poverty-stricken; the houses are not high, and only a few of their inhabitants appear to be well enough off to allow of their dwelling-floors being whitewashed, and of having a gay border to the balustrades of the roof-terraces.

104 [1] *Burr* (بُرّ), *triticum vulgare* Vill., cf. Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 172, 175.

After descending the slope on which the town lies, we enter a wonderfully ploughed area of loam soil. The brown hills of loam rise up, completely bare, out of the deep green palm-groves and the fields of *dhura*. An extensive system of irrigation canals with their side-channels provides for the distribution of the *sēl* water over all the cultivated land lying between the hill-ridges. The further we go beyond Hadjarēn the larger grows the number of defence and watch towers on the hill-tops beside the groves. The number of date-palms decreases, the fields are, at first, green, but, at last, only the loam dykes indicate that, given sufficient water and adequate safety, one can sow here as elsewhere. A stretch of half an hour's going forms the neutral zone between the Qeᶜēṭī and the Kathīrī territories. From now on, in view of the risk of being held up, the caravan must keep together. The bed of the wādī remains wide, yet becomes wild and devoid of vegetation. Here and there the loess is covered by sand and stones. There must have been a large town here in ancient times, for the way to el-Meshhed runs between ruin mounds. The sun is setting and we are to reach el-Meshhed before darkness falls. The donkeys are sent back to fetch the tired party who have climbed Djebel Hadjarēn.

## 5. EL-MESHHED, A CENTRE OF RUINS.

El-Meshhed is an extinct small town situated in the midst of the plantless, desert wādī. The meaning of the name el-Meshhed is "the place where a martyr died". It is important for a yearly fair and as a place of pilgrimage. During the days in the month of Muḥarram, fixed for that purpose, the place must be full of buyers and sellers lodging in the houses and temporary shacks; now most of the houses are empty.

The Governor of el-Meshhed is not in town, he prefers residence in the larger, more prosperous Ḥurēḍa, where he has also a house, a family, and groves of date-palms. His sons are

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



721 and the police better in the Dutch colonial territories. This
648 same question was repeated again in the evening, in the reception-room of our host at Hēnin. However pleasing I may have found these signs of appreciation for western colonial government on the part of an eastern Muḥammadan people, I continued to answer with evasions and urged them to take the matter into their own hands and to achieve unity, forced on by necessity.

## 2. THE OLD DYING TOWN OF HĒNIN.

It cost us much pains to decline the pressing invitations to stay longer and to continue the journey to Hēnin in the afternoon.

The hot wind is still filling the wādī with a thick, high-driven mist of sand and dust. The Buqrīs, with their numerous soldiers crowding round them, accompany us till we are outside the gate on the side away from the enemy. Obviously they are all sorry we are leaving so soon and that this variation in their monotonous life comes to so early an end. Before our departure we promise, gladly and faithfully, should we return by this route, to spend the night in their high, beautiful castle. Before long Diyār Āl Buqrī has disappeared in the haze of sand and we travel in absolute solitude amongst the hillocks of loam. Bin ʿAwaḍ Martaʿ, steering a very twisting course, seeks those places where his car can pass between the line of hills. The lower parts are filled with fine sand that lies piled up by the wind so that we have to go by way of the slopes at the foot of the loam-hills. We pass a few tumble-down villages; of vegetation there is hardly a trace.

361 The number of settlements increases as we approach the
●241 neighbourhood of Hēnin. They are situated partly at the foot
134 of the mountain-wall which forms the northern bank of Wādī el-Kasr, and partly close by, in the bed of the wādī. Little dykes, which make rectangular divisions in the loam, are a sure proof that agriculture was once carried on here. It does not

look as though this is still possible in any way; the drifting 361
sand has killed the date-palms and reduced to a minimum the 241
cultivation of *dhura* and the like. The hamlets are partially 134
deserted and the mud houses fallen in.

The very ancient town of Hēnin[1] has shared this fate. The 361
place lies like a long line at the foot of the rock-wall. Castles 134
and defence turrets higher up have fallen into ruin as have most of the houses of this once important town on the road to the Yemen.

Bin ᶜAwaḍ Martaᶜ has returned to his fatherland from Sura- 241
baya with the resolve to try to check its decay. The family 134
house has been restored by him and a new storey built on to it. 312
He has brought from Java a motor pump which has been set up on the 70 feet deep well. The pump supplies 30 gallons of water for irrigation per minute so that, if it works for eight hours a day, it just suffices to wrench a few acres of *dhura* from the sandy desert and to keep alive the 200 young date-palms which are planted between.

Bin Martaᶜ himself now also realizes that this is but a service 361
of love at a death-bed and that his motor pump cannot save 134
Hēnin from decay and from the engulfing sea of sand. Hēnin is like a little town destroyed by storm on the rocky coast of an interminable sea of sand which has first swallowed up its palm-groves and is now submerging the place itself. We have seen nothing of the Bā ᶜAṭwah, the poet beggars of Hēnin.[2] They have been driven by poverty to the prosperous parts of the valley of Ḥaḍramaut and to Java.

Hēnin is nominally under Qeᶜēṭī rule; the Sultan of Shibām 622
and el-Qaṭn protects the place and the insignificant little 511
villages surrounding it. That evening, in the great *madjlis* of Bin Martaᶜ's house, we met the poor, simple shēkhs of the

[1] Cf. el-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 85, l. 19*sqq.*, 86, l. 20 *sq.*, 88, l. 10 *sqq.*; De Goeje, *Hadhramaut*, in *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, ii. (1886), p. 110.

[2] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Zur Dichtkunst der Bâ ᶜAṭwah in Ḥadhramôt*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, v. (Bonn, 1925), p. 393 *sqq.*

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361 district called el-Qaṭn, now stands out clearly against the foot of the rock-wall. The ground grows flat; the loam emerges freed from the layer of sand; rectangular patches point to occasional cultivation of the land during a favourable rainy season. There is a low-growing plant in the fields; it is a weed that is used as fodder for cattle.

361 Furṭ el-Qaṭn is only a hamlet, but a continuous series of
●241 palm-groves and fields of *dhura*, lucerne and sesame stretches from here until beyond Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn, where the Sultan is resident. All actual cultivation is due to irrigation by means of wells. A broad strip of ground which is cultivated when there is sufficient rainfall stretches outside the date plantations. The level of the subsoil water is nearer to the surface here, as the wādī descends more rapidly than does the subterranean river. Beyond Terīm it comes above the surface for considerable stretches.

312 The wells and the tracks along which beasts and men go to
231 draw up water are mostly situated in the shade of the date-
241 palms. Where shadow is lacking, long strips of jute or other
564 material sewn together are stretched over the track to make
571 shade for men and animals. Donkeys and cattle are used for haulage, but mostly with the help of man's labour. The poor, hard-working and little honoured caste of the *ḍaᶜfā* (the peasants) [1] have as their chief occupation this irrigation work [2], which really goes on almost all the year round. The *ḍaᶜīf* walks backwards beside his cow or donkey, pushing at the hauling rope with the back of his thighs, in which way his weight has most effect. By the time they reach the end of the hauling track, the bag full of water, which is generally leaking considerably, has appeared at the rim of the well. The *sānī* draws the bag of water (*gharb*) to the rim by a thin rope,

104 [1] *Ḍaᶜfā* is the plural of *ḍaᶜīf* (ضعيف), which name is given in Haḍramaut to the agricultural labourer class, cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii, p. 220 and v. p. 406.

104 [2] Here called *senāwa* (سناوة); the man who works it is the *sānī*. Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *loc. cit.*

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where it empties itself into a little mud basin, out of which the irrigation conduits lead to the cultivated ground. Work at the well occupies the whole family: father and son guide the animals and walk with them in hauling ropes and mother and daughters relieve them at this work. Two old dames sit in the shade making ready food for the beasts, which consists of dry straw bound round with fresh green into bundles, that are pushed into the animals' mouths whenever they arrive at the top or bottom. I saw women continuing their mat-plaiting whilst, at the same time, walking backwards in the traces down the slope of the track. The work is very tiring: pulling whilst going down hill and then climbing up again. The path, on which their walk begins at sunrise, is as long as the well is deep.

## 2. TO THE SULTAN'S PALACE IN EL-QAṬN.

One sees the tall buildings of Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn even from afar rising above its walls and the tops of the date-palms. The place is not large and is situated, like the townlets in Wādī Dōʿan, stretched out and closed in between date-groves and the rock-barrier. It is surrounded by a mud wall kept in good repair. At the gate of the town we see our caravan; it is on its way to Shibām with the baggage and is resting here during the heat of the day. Although we are informed that the Sultan is staying in Shibām, we wish to pay a visit of courtesy to his deputy at the palace; possibly he may allow us to make a survey and to photograph from the roof of this very high building. The palace has just been partially renovated and, consequently, has not yet the gay outside decoration of whitewash. A broad staircase leads to a large, finely carved door. There we give our letter of introduction to the guard and after some time we are invited to follow him upstairs. By way of broad passages and endless stairs, both plastered with dried mud, we arrive at the reception-room, which has just been finished. Much of the beautiful old Arabian style is spoiled here by

# CHAPTER IX.

## SĒWŪN, THE HEART OF HADRAMAUT PROPER.

### 1. PENETRATING INTO THE ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

The border of the Qeᶜēṭī territory is a quarter of an hour's walk to the east of Shibām. There, high up at the edge of the mountain, is a fort and an observation post; there are also mud block-houses in the plain. Somewhat further along the mountain's ridge the white military posts of the Āl Kathīr are visible.

On the afternoon of May 24th, immediately after leaving Shibām, we cross the sandy wādī diagonally towards the northern side, where there is least vegetation, but also least warfare. The whole southern side has the name of being unsafe. But even here on the north, soldiers dog our footsteps whenever we stop to take photographs. The villages are built up against the mountain foot, and on higher points are the ruins of fortifications. Following the margin we again enter date plantations, which are, however, very thin and finally perish in the engulfing sand. Then we go on through sand-dunes overgrown with a kind of beach-grass. Close by Sēwūn we again have to cross the bed of the wādī, as this place is situated on the southern side. There is water, here and there, in the *sēl*-bed; it is, however, very bitter. The soil close to those stagnant pools is covered with a crust of white salt.

Sēwūn lies within a wide belt of magnificent palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. The water-level is only eighteen to twenty-one feet below the surface; the water has a saltish taste, but appears to be exceptionally suitable for the irrigation of the gardens. We had not so far seen such vigorous date-palms and such luxuriant, tall-growing *dhura* as in this part of the country. The hot wind has already ripened the bunches of dates, which are comfortably hidden away by this time in their

241 protecting baskets. Sēwūn is said to be the finest and largest town in Ḥaḍramaut. It well deserves its appellation "eṭ-Ṭawīla, [103] the Long", but it could also be called "the Clean" or "the 342 Beautiful". The houses are lower and smaller and stand wider 361 apart than those of Shibām. Also dirty water and other iniquities do not simply rain down into the streets. They flow through open or covered gutters along the outer walls of the houses into closed-in cesspools of masonry. It is true, the streets are also narrow; our cars, from time to time, could only just pass through them, but there is plenty of light and no bad smells. At the gate of the massive palace of the Sultan we learn that the authorities are awaiting us in the summer residence ʿIzz ed-Dīn. Sēwūn and this garden city have quite grown into one; many of the wealthy families live in their garden palaces the whole year round. Passing through a gate in a mud wall we drive up a great courtyard which is flanked by a long white building, only one storey high. The tops of the palm-trees overhang the edge of the spacious roof-terrace, which for the greater part is carpeted and where the Sultans of Sēwūn and Terīm await us, surrounded by their counsellors.

## 2. THE SULTANS OF SĒWŪN AND TERĪM AND THEIR SURROUNDINGS.

643 ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn, is a short, thick-set man, with one eye, with which, however, he looks at his guests with double friendliness. His brother and his two little sons are also among the great gathering there assembled; likewise his nephew, the Sultan of Terīm, a tall, slim, very dark-complexioned young man, whose name is Muḥammad bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr. The Sultan of Terīm is generally in Sēwūn with his uncle; his small, graceful, white palace is almost opposite that of the latter; it is much more beautiful than the one in his official place of residence.

000 In the middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all

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241

Sewūn's garden city.

p120 (c)

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helped by the motor-car in his great work of pacifying and opening up Ḥaḍramaut.

We depart in two fine cars belonging to the Sultan of Sewūn for Terîm, the city to which Leo Hirsch has preceded us and from which nearly forty years ago the sayyids with their fanaticism and hatred of Christianity forced him to flee within a few hours of his arrival. An Englishman, Mr. Boscawen, reached there also a full year in advance of us, but he did not publish a description of his journey and, according to report, only came for sport. Aeroplanes of the R. A. F. at Aden, with Colonels Cochrane and Lake and Flight-Lieutenant Rickards on board, also once flew high above the town, but they were only making an aerial reconnaissance, although the scouts themselves felt a growing desire within them to set foot for once in this wonderful town. The Ḥaḍramis say of it: "Terîm — and then thou desirest nothing else."

The cars take us through winding mud lanes between palm-groves to the hilly stretch of sand and loam outside the town. The palm-trees are planted well apart from each other in the sand; the fields of *dhura* come to an end but the little dykes of the area that can only be cultivated when the rains are sufficient are to be seen for long afterwards. Quite soon we pass the ruins of a town, Maryama, probably of great antiquity. The castle and the town were laid waste in a local war, and, of the cultivation of the land, only the little dykes, which divided the fields into squares, still remain. Close to Maryama there was an old road which crossed southwards over the mountain-wall. My companion climbed this *ʿaqaba* called Duqm el-Aswad and found on the rock-wall close to the *djōl* scrollings and grafitti probably made, many centuries ago, by the Bedouins of passing caravans. Some distance further on the villages and palm-groves at the foot of the southern mountain-wall come to an end. The loam vanishes under an ever thicker layer of sand and sand-dunes, and the cars stall several times. In accordance with the instructions of the Sultan we do not go by the normal way, through the plain, to Terîm, but follow

621 We had not received favourable reports of Wādī ᶜAmd. The el-Aṭṭās family, nevertheless, maintained the contrary; it is their wādī and the Djaᶜdī Bedouins who inhabit it are allied with them and are, in a certain sense, under their control, but it is hard to discover how far this control goes. We got the impression that the wādī was very much armed and ready for war. The landscape is barren and, at first, monotonous; the *sēl*-bed is broad and filled with bluish-white, small boulders. Conditions must have been much better in the old days, for the numerous ruins suggest a dense population.

361 It is long after sunset before we reach Nukhr, where the el-
231 ᶜAṭṭās family own a house. The place consists of a few huts
243 and a half tumble-down mud house, in which a room has been prepared for us. It is too warm to spend the night indoors, but the staircase leading to the roof has collapsed. In the middle of the hamlet there is a storehouse for fodder, half below and half above the ground. Its roof is about three feet above the ground and has a parapet about one and a half feet high. The basin thus formed is smoothly plastered with mud, and the grain is thrashed in it after harvesting. It makes a hard but safe sleeping place.

172 On the following day, June 10th, we set off again south-
312 westwards. At first the wādī is very monotonous and barren
● 241 and the *sēl*-bed widens considerably. After two hours' riding Wādī ᶜAmd makes a bend towards the south and then very soon one comes across date plantations. There are an increasing number of ruins of what, presumably, were defence works, situated on hill-tops. The palm plantations have suffered much from the drought in recent years, as for two years there was neither rain nor *sēl* of any considerable quantity. The subsoil water is far from the surface and wells are 300 to 450 feet in depth so that they are not used for purposes of irrigation but only for supplying drinking-water. Groups of men hoist up the water, singing monotonously the while.

241 Further southwards the plantations increase and form an un-
312 broken girdle between the broad, wild *sēl*-bed and the wes-

tern bank of the wādī. The fields are bone-dry and trimly 241
cultivated, rain being expected this month. One substantial 812
downpour of rain or a good inundation caused by rain elsewhere is said to be enough for this loam soil, which holds water for so long. Great pains have been taken over the irrigation system; the dams, made of piled-up stones and plastered with an inner lining of mud, suffer much from the *sēls*. Groups of inquisitive people come running towards us out of the villages and ask all sorts of questions of our escort. A grey-headed village-chief turns to us with the inquiry how to put an end to the repeatedly recurring destruction of the stone dykes through the *sēl*. We answer that it would probably suffice if they were to use lime as cement for the boulders: the initial cost of this would be considerable, but it would be a great economy in the long run.

All the women of this district are veiled, even the poor 834
women working in the fields. When working in the sun they 291
wear straw hats with very wide brims. They are not so 301
frightened of us as women were elsewhere and are quite ready for a chat or even to be photographed. The young girls, at the request of the men, climb like cats right up to the crowns of the palm-trees, to pick the ripe fruit from the bunches of dates. Their wide black garments hang untidily about them, the only pretty thing in their dress is the broad girdle ornamented with large and small silver buttons, which encircles the waist. An attempt to buy one of these fails, as the women are all too modest to think of selling a part of their clothing. Many 857
children run all over the place with little bows made of the rib of a palm-leaf, and sharp-pointed arrows of the same, with which they try to kill the few birds that alight on the ripening fruit. Occasionally, as we pass, some relative of one of our escort will present us with a handful of the first really ripe dates.

661 with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of
912 being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of
533 the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way
857 he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the
463 *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.*
231 Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā . . . ā . . . ā . . . āl"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

292 The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

• 241 Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the
311 palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water
137 and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

114 Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf*, *i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

312 The way ran by the river all the time now, through an un-
361 interrupted grove of date-palms. At one time the path follows
511 the left bank, then at another the right. At regular intervals
241 we pass long, low dams made of boulders; these store up the water which is conducted through channels for the irrigation of the palm-gardens. The fringe of palm-trees is not, as a rule, wide and above it, against the rocky slopes, where no shade falls, villages swelter in the heat of the sun. They are always in a good strategic position, for this fertile Wādī Ḥadjr has been a much disputed territory until a short time ago. To this must be attributed the low degree of prosperity and the lack of intensive cultivation of all the arable land here. In this respect Wādī Dōᶜan is on a much higher level.

361 After a few hours the wādī becomes narrower, the rocky
342 slopes approach the river, and the cultivated strips of land grow narrower and, at last, cease entirely. Our way goes over a plain strewn with sharp, reddish-brown stones, where lies the village of Ḥuṣn Mṣēneᶜ, which consists entirely of houses with neither front nor back walls; they are like short tunnels of stone with their further end towards the rock-wall and their front facing the river. When we asked the reasons for this way of building we were told that they were poverty and the great heat; in this way advantage is taken of the breeze which blows through the tunnels. Its inhabitants belong to a kind of gypsy tribe living apart from other people. Further on they dwell in large villages of straw-huts; they are half-nomads and are despised by the settled inhabitants.

312 The wādī narrows until it becomes a rocky gorge through which the river flows underground. Its narrow bed is full of boulders; probably the *sēl* after rain rushes through here above ground as well. The path rises steeply up the rocky slope, and it is a real feat on the part of the camels to climb up, with their heavy loads, over the slippery boulders and then to descend again into the wādī where it widens out. Halfway through the gorge the river comes to the surface again, showing a beautiful greenish-blue colour.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadramout MM2



133 vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Never-
132 theless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in
• 241 normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley, and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the
[312] highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from
132 wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the
241 pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supple-
439 mented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until
167 recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from
262 the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

161 The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952
631 was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of
648 varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have
643 one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Government and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 37–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 103; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 M1 Middle East :
Hadhramaut MM2

# CHAPTER VIII

# COTTON IN ARABIA

Arabia is divided into numerous groups, most of which are 000
actually principalities. The boundaries of the subdivisions are indefinite and so is the authority of the local rulers in most cases. Some of these groups like to call themselves independent countries. One is called a kingdom. Some are called protectorates. The British have exercised the major influence over all these groups for 50 years and still do but in varying ways. One small spot of land actually belongs to the British Crown.

## ADEN PROTECTORATE

The narrow strip of land along the southwestern tip of the Arabian 101
Peninsula includes a number of territories and dependencies of Arab chiefs which have been organized under a protectorate treaty with the British, and is called the Protectorate of Aden.

The Protectorate is about the size of Arizona. It has about 660,000 133
people, many of whom are nomads. The country is mostly mountainous 311
though there are a few valleys and flood plains capable of cultivation. The [161]
Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that there are about 270,000 acres actually in cultivation at the present time. As the plains receive only about four inches of rainfall annually, irrigation is required. Considerable water is available as rainfall in the mountains is rather heavy, approaching 40 inches annually, but facilities are inadequate for catching and directing the water.

The economy of the protectorate rests almost solely on agriculture. The 241
principal crops are grains and some fruits, principally dates. While a small quantity of coarse grains is normally exported, the country usually imports about half its bread grain requirements.

### COTTON

Cotton has been grown in this area in small quantities for hundreds of 248
years, but never in commercial quantities until very recent years when British interests began promoting production.

The following article on the present status and prospects of cotton pro- 114
duction in the Protectorate was written especially for this report by the research staff of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, London, with the collaboration of Major Congdon, Manager of the Abyan Board in the Aden Protectorate.

### RECENT HISTORY

241
"During the last war to increase the production of food, the old Abyan 248
irrigation system was reopened and the headworks were partially restored under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. The reclaimed areas were used mainly for sorghum, bulrush millet and simsim, but it soon became

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 Ml Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2



248 [241] evident that a cash crop was needed to exploit fully the potentialities of the area and to make it self-supporting.

"A small quantity of X1730 A cottonseed was therefore introduced from Tokar in the Sudan in the 1946-47 season and though this was not successful in the first year, when tried again in 1948-49 it gave an average yield of some 1,750 lbs. of seed cotton per acre from an area of 80 acres. Production thereafter increased rapidly, reaching 1,500 bales of 400 lb. in the following year (1949-50) and 9,900 bales in 1950-1951.

## METHOD OF CULTIVATION

"The system of irrigation used in Abyan resembles most closely, but is not identical with, that of the Gash and Tokar in the Sudan. After the rains in July-September the water flows down from the mountains in two wadis, the Bana and the Hassan, and is held by slightly bow-shaped bunds about 30 feet high with a base of some 50 feet. From these the water is directed by means of deflectors into rough canals and thence into the fields. Later the upper-most bund is broken and the water goes down to the next bund where the process is repeated. This is continued until eventually the unused water finds its way to the sea.

"Cotton is planted about 10 days after watering, in furrows made by an ox plough and is later thinned to leave single plants at a spacing of 1 metre by 1 metre. The plants, which rely entirely on the moisture in the soil at the time of planting, often grow to a height of 12-13 feet, and produce a good crop, with lint which is little, if any, inferior to that spun from similar cotton grown in the Sudan.

## ABYAN BOARD

473 248 "In order to develop the irrigation system in Abyan, an Abyan Board was formed in 1947 representing the interests of the Department of Agriculture and the states concerned. The crops are grown on a cooperative basis, as in the Sudan, the proceeds being divided between the cultivator, the Abyan Board and the landowner. At present 50 per cent goes to the cultivator, 25 per cent to the Board and 25 per cent to the landowner. State taxes of 5 or 10 per cent are payable by the landlords, depending on the status of the land.

"The Board purchases the seed cotton from the cultivator at a fixed price, gins the seed cotton and sells the lint at present to the Raw Cotton Commission with whom a five-year agreement has been made. Any profit resulting from the sale of lint is used to continue the development and expansion of the scheme.

## OTHER AREAS

248 "Cotton is also grown in the Ahwar, Lodar and Yeramis districts, and in Lahej, where a small cotton growing industry has existed for a long time, with asiatic and punctatum types predominating. These types are a potential source of danger to the improved types grown in Abyan, both on account of the risk of deterioration in seed through accidental crossing and the introduction of pests such as pink bollworm. Attempts are now being made to bring cotton cultivation in Lahej under control in order to minimize these dangers.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East

Hadhramaut MM2
Oman MK1
Trucial Oman MK4
Qatar MK3
Kuwait MI1



a plateau. Except for a few oases the land is not cultivatable without the use of expensive irrigation facilities. The hills are not as high or as numerous and rainfall is not as heavy as in the areas to the west. The agriculture now consists mostly of grain and fruit crops and grazing. The half million people have not been able to subsist on the land, and they normally import substantial quantities of grain as well as staples against exports of fruits. No significant development is expected here in the near future.

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## THE TRUCIAL COAST

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The land area along the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf from the Oman Gulf to the Qatar Peninsula known as the Trucial Coast is owned by a group of independent sheiks who have various treaties with the United Kingdom giving the British virtual control over the area. This coastline is over 400 miles long, but the country is very hot, arid, and sparsely settled. Agriculture presently is negligible and opportunities for future development are thought to be extremely limited. The great hope is that oil will be found along this coast as it has been in adjacent areas.

## QATAR

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Qatar, another sheikdom on the Persian Gulf which has a rather exclusive treaty with the British, is one of the oil kingdoms that has become immensely rich overnight. For this reason Qatar may become a thriving community but not an agricultural economy. The Qatar Peninsula is not very large (about 5 million acres) and is very hot, arid, sparsely settled, and, like the rest of the coast, not susceptible to any extensive agricultural development.

## KUWAIT

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Kuwait, the other independent coastal area on the Persian Gulf under British protectorate, is another newly-rich oil community. In fact, this is one of the largest of the oil-producing areas. Proven reserves are thought to be half as large as proven reserves in the United States. Oil royalties ($200 million annually) are being used for many community development projects including some in the agricultural field. But the small arid area (5 million acres) and limited population preclude any extensive agricultural development.

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### Table 48

**ADEN PROTECTORATE: Acreage and Production of Principal Crops**
*1948 and 1949*

| District and Crops | 1948 Acreage | 1948 Production | 1949 Acreage | 1949 Production |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Acres | Metric Tons | Acres | Metric Tons |
| **West Aden** | | | | |
| Millet and Sorghums | 60,000 | 12,000 | 62,000 | 12,000 |
| Other Small Millets | 10,000 | 1,500 | 9,500 | 1,900 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 | 1,500 | 750 |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 | 4,500 | 3,000 |
| Sesame | 10,000 | 1,000 | 8,500 | 800 |
| **East Aden** | | | | |
| Millet and Sorghums | 20,000 | 4,000 | 20,000 | 4,000 |
| Other Small Millets | 2,000 | 500 | 2,000 | 500 |
| Wheat | 3,500 | 2,500 | 2,000 | 2,500 |
| Dates | 10,000 | 5,500 | 10,000 | 5,500 |

SOURCE: Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, United States Department of Agriculture.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



315 A party from Petroleum Concessions Ltd. arrived in November and, after visiting Hadhramaut, went east along the coast to prospect the Mahra area.

# Chapter 7: Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry

## AGRICULTURE

*General*

132 There was rain in the west of the Hadhramaut and in the Eastern coastal [312] area in February, and in June and August good rains in the Hadhramaut formed a new lake above the recently finished Nuqra dam. The spring 243 wheat and barley crops were satisfactory. Efforts to persuade the farmers to grow barley rather than wheat continued and towards the end of the year some effect was noticed, partly owing to the discovery of a way of cooking the barley so as to make it acceptable as food; experiments in machine grinding were also started.

*Staff*

647 The staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a Director, two Agricultural Officers, an Agricultural Assistant, an Engineer Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors.

*Land Utilisation*

Lack of rainfall imposes a severe limitation on crop production in 312 the Protectorate. Highly developed conservation measures, run-off control, flood irrigation and artificial irrigation are employed to secure 311 arable land production. The percentage of arable land to the desert and range is estimated at 0·33 per cent. Established pastures and meadows are unknown. Dry forest scrub is found on the Island of Socotra and in the far Eastern Mahra Coast.

*Crop Production*

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*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | Acres | Tons |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 60,000 | 12,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 10,000 | 1,500 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 |
| Sesame | 10,000 | 1,000 |

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 20,000 | 4,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 3,000 | 500 |
| Wheat | 3,500 | 2,500 |
| Date palms | 10,000 | 5,500 |

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office (3-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



134 are generally of good-quality alluvium. In high-altitude districts less fertile soils are found and they are generally light in texture, except in some limestone areas where they are heavy and intractable.

312 (*b*) *Water supplies* are generally good and sufficient for the needs of cultivators who tend to concentrate in the river-valley areas or in the highland areas where some rainfall can be expected. Water becomes scarce in the Eastern districts where the settled country emerges into the Empty Quarter. Domestic water supplies are obtained from springs, wells, dams, tanks and cisterns.

(*c*) *Irrigation and drainage systems* are highly developed. At high altitudes the run-off is led to terraces in order to boost the rainfall which is insufficient in itself for crop production. Flood irrigation systems are found in the river valleys and on the coastal plain. Irrigation from permanent streams and springs is highly developed. Artificial irrigation is from open wells. Animal power lifts are worked at depths of 10 to 60 feet and in the most favourable districts command up to 10 per cent. of the total arable area.

241 (*d*) *Mechanical cultivation* is confined to one small unit used by the Abyan Board in the Abyan district. Elsewhere the simple Arabian plough, combined levelling-board and scraper, harrow and a drill attachment for the plough comprise the implements used by the cultivator.

(*e*) *Application of fertilisers.* Organic fertilisers only are used. Farmyard manure is commonly used in all mid-altitude and highland districts. Farmyard manure, human excreta and town wastes are used in the Hadhramaut. Fish and guano are commonly used in the Eastern Protectorate coastal areas.

*Land Tenure*

423 (*a*) Customary tribal law and Shari'a law affect land tenure.

(*b*) Individual ownership is the common and most-desired form of tenancy; share tenancy is the usual form of leashold tenure.

(*c*) His Majesty's Government owns no land in the Aden Protectorate. Some of the Arab states hold extensive tracts of land as state domain. All the land is held by indigenous inhabitants except for a very small percentage held by Yemeni settlers and a few Indians and Somalis.

*Agricultural Credit*

452 There are no banks in the Aden Protectorate. One small Farmers' Association giving credit assistance to its members was formed during
453 the year. The Department of Agriculture, the local Governments, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut a Relief Organisation afforded assistance to farmers with interest-free loans.

## FISHERIES

654 A visit in February by the Fisheries Adviser to the Secretary of State
226 for the Colonies resulted in the arrival of a fisheries research party in

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



509 no regular steamer service, but the R.A.F. continued the carrying of mail and Government passengers, while in May Ethiopian Air Lines, an American company, received permission to run a fortnightly service, Aden-Riyan and return, which they continued to do throughout the year.

# Chapter 11 : Geography and Climate

## SITUATION AND AREA

131 The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily stabilised by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

## CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject
133 to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadhramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol", extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultiva-
[241] tion is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into: the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



(B) EXPORTS

| No. | Commodity | No. of packages | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Tobacco, native | 13,236 bdls. | 16,858 cwt. | 8,93,650 |
| 2. | Honey in comb | — | 5,200 lb. | 5,6001 |
| 3. | „ cleaned | — | 1,020 „ | 2,550 |
| 4. | Dates, country | — | 900 „ | 220 |
| 5. | Lime | 3,879 bags | 4,000 cwt. | 15,500 |
| 6. | Sheep and Goats' skins, tanned | — | 10 scores | 1,000 |
| 7. | Dried lemons | 229 bdls. | 581 cwt. | 33,000 |
| 8. | Fish oil | 17,049 tins | 68,195 gln. | 1,27,860 |
| 9. | Miscellaneous | — | — | 2,93,380 |
| | | | TOTAL | 13,82,760 |

# Chapter 7: Agriculture and Fisheries

## AGRICULTURE

In 1948 farming conditions were generally poor in the Aden Protectorate. 241
Conditions of 1947 were reversed in the areas west of the Bana river, 132
which had a poor 1947 season, received fair rainfall and flood conditions, 731
while east of the Bana erratic and poor rainfall over large areas reduced 157
food production to a low level. This was particularly true of the Hadhramaut and other eastern districts where complete drought returned to the country, causing famine conditions to reappear at the end of the year. The shortage of food was accentuated in those areas where the economy of the country is largely dependent on remittances from abroad. Famine appeared particularly in the Wadi Amd and in Rakhya, where food production is not secured by any irrigation from underground supplies, but is dependent entirely on rain and runoff control. These districts are also partly dependent on remittances from Hyderabad and became particularly affected when India invaded Hyderabad, and currency decrees in Hyderabad cut off the flow of remittances. The scarcity of food was further aggravated by the ban on exports of grain from the Yemen. 439

*Staff*

The technical staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a 347
Director, two Agricultural Officers (to be increased to four), an Agricultural Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors. 242

The Abyan Development Scheme has the part-time services of an Irrigation Adviser.

*Rainfall Crop and Livestock Conditions*

In the districts west of the Bana river *saif* rains were fair, particularly 212
in the highland areas. East of the Bana river *saif* conditions were poor in many districts, but in Beihan conditions were good and the Wadi ran no less than eleven floods. Most of this water was from the runoff of

6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
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312 the north-east Yemen Plateau, but local rain was sufficient and caused damage to the wheat and barley crops when at the harvest stage.

312 In the districts west of the Bana *kharif* conditions in Lahej and Subeihi
731 country were good, but in the highland districts rainfall was insufficient for crop production over most of the year. In Abyan which is watered
241 by the Bana and the Hassan rivers where they enter the coastal plain, a weak flood season was experienced, but this resulted in effective flood control, and on the balance, in satisfactory crops. East of the Bana and the Abyan district, conditions in the *kharif* were bad. Lack of rain in most districts reduced crop production based on a rain and flood irrigation system to nothing. Fodder supplies needed for sustaining the animals working the water lifts in permanently irrigated areas were reduced, and lowered production from what should normally be a reliable source.

231 Livestock suffered and were reduced in numbers as a result of poor
228 flood conditions caused by insufficient rain. A secondary factor which seriously affected camel owners and transporters in the Eastern Protectorate was a dearth of the sardines which are usually caught in great quantities on the Hadhramaut coast and used in a dry state as fodder for livestock.

241 *Crop Production*

| | *Acres* | *Tons* |
|---|---|---|
| ***Western Aden Protectorate*** | | |
| Millet—sorghum | 40,000 | 8,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 7,500 | 1,125 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 |
| Sesame | 5,500 | 550 |
| ***Eastern Aden Protectorate*** | | |
| Millet—sorghum | 5,000 | 1,700 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 1,000 | 200 |
| Wheat and barley | 3,500 | 2,500 |
| Date palms | 10,000 | 4,500 |

*Pests and Diseases*

No report of locust activity was received during the year.

Rust is probably the most important plant disease in the Aden Protectorate. In 1948, little damage was recorded from this disease.

*Animal Health*

232 No rinderpest was recorded during the year. Goat virus was im-
231 ported from Kenya and used for the immunisation of cattle in Abyan. Horse-sickness vaccine was used in Beihan, Abyan and Lahej.

| | *Western Aden Protectorate* | *Eastern Aden Protectorate* |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 30,000 | 45,000 |
| Cattle | 50,000 | 8,000 |
| Goats | 400,000 | 320,000 |
| Sheep | 110,000 | 50,000 |

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Market Conditions*

Food grain prices showed no reduction during the year. Prices at the main coastal centres of Aden and Mukalla fluctuated between £25 and £37 per ton, the higher rates being recorded in Mukalla towards the end of the year, when famine conditions were confirmed in the Hadhramaut. 435

The price of sesame seed fell from the high levels of 1947, and the price during the year varied between £60 and £70 per ton.

The Maria Theresa dollar exchange dropped 23½ per cent at the end of the year, Rs. 186 being asked for 100 dollars.

*Demonstration and Experiment*

In the Hadhramaut the introduction of barley passed the third season; it may be claimed that the crop has found favour and that it is most likely to become well established in the economy of the country. The object of this introduction was to obtain a more dependable crop for winter sowing. Wheat was in the past the winter crop, and always a risky one owing to the danger of rust attacks. Barley in southern Arabia is regarded as a safer crop in all respects, but for some reason it escaped the attention of farmers in the Wadi Hadhramaut. 242 243 248

In Abyan cotton variety X1730A was grown on a field scale on Abyan Board tenants' land. The crop was sown on land inundated in August with approximately three feet of water. No other water was applied after sowing. At the end of the year, the crop appeared most promising.

*Plant Introduction*

Three-hundred and fifty apricot, 350 Japanese plum, and 24 peach trees were imported from South Africa, for sale to farmers on the Audhali Plateau.

One hundred citrus trees were imported from Eritrea, for planting and distribution in Abyan.

*Development Schemes: The Abyan Board*

Work on improvement of the systems of the Na'aza and Ba Tes canals was carried out in the first nine months of the year. A stone regulator at Ba Tes head an ' a series of stone drops and regulators were installed on this system and on part of the Na'aza system. Much work remains to be done, and in a manner which will allow of the improvement to be incorporated in the general plan of development [illegible] the area. 242 241

Following further examination of the area by Mr. N. Simansky, Irrigation Adviser, it was possible to submit an application for a loan of £250,375 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Sanction for this loan was obtained in July, and work started in the last quarter of the year. Machinery and cement were ordered, while local purchases were made from ex-War Department stocks held in Aden. At the end of the year, two Agricultural Officers, one of whom acted as manager to the Board, one British and three Italian surveyors, and one British accountant, together with a large Arab staff were employed on the scheme.

The development programme of the Board continued side by side with

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut 1948



241 the management of irrigation farming on some 5,000 acres. The value
242 of the Board's quarter-share of the net crop obtained, after paying harvesting and threshing expenses in kind, was estimated at over Rs. 1,25,000.

Farming in Abyan, largely influenced by the Board's operations, proved important to the economy of the Western Aden Protectorate. In the production of millet alone, it is estimated that a 30,000 bag crop, equal to 3,000 metric tons, was raised. A large portion of this was held as a reserve, or had been marketed to the easterly districts at the end of the year. General control on the export of this grain to Aden itself was maintained, and the flow of the crop to the districts to the east was encouraged.

*The Wadi Hadhramaut Rehabilitation Scheme*

654 This was wound up by Government at the end of the 1947–48 financial
426 year. Farmers with outstanding loans were given ten years in which to repay, the basis of repayment being at the rate of 2 per cent of the total loan from the spring crop, 3 per cent from the autumn crop, and 5 per cent from the winter crop grown. By the end of the year, it was apparent that this system of deferred repayment was not proving satis-
[452] factory. Moneylenders had again become active, while late planting and reduced acreage were noticeable in many districts. This undoubtedly resulted from lack of foresight on the part of many farmers, who had failed to reserve sufficient seed and fodder and preferred to resort to moneylenders for obtaining their needs on credit.

406 At the end of the year, proposals were on hand for the introduction of numbers of diesel-driven irrigation pumps for use in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

*Co-operation*

476 The Beihan Farmers' Association, formed in the previous year, progressed in a satisfactory manner, and much useful experience was gained by the officials of the association. A good *saif* season helped the members, but this was followed by an almost complete lack of water in the *kharif*. In spite of these difficulties, the association was able to help its members in their requirements of seed, stock, and cash needed for well equipment and for concentrates for feeding livestock. At the end of the year, the association had acquired some Rs. 12,000 from members' subscriptions and from interest charged on loans.

476 This association cannot be termed a co-operative society in the true sense of the word. It is an association which has the full support of the
659 local Government, and which at present makes use of Government offices and storehouses for its activities. In the present stage of development this is considered to be the most desirable form of association for Beihan.

*Western Aden Protectorate*

226 The Western Aden Protectorate fisheries are of minor importance
361 compared with those of the Eastern Protectorate. Shuqra, the seat of
439 the Fadhli Sultan, is, however, a fishing port with a considerable export trade in dried fish

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



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EXPORTS

| | | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tobacco, native .. .. | cwt. | 22,341 | 23,59,700 |
| Honey, in combs .. .. | lb. | 15,348 | 61,390 |
| Honey, cleaned .. .. | " | 2,160 | 7,560 |
| Dates, local .. .. .. | cwt. | 299 | 7,530 |
| Lime .. .. .. .. | " | 8,643 | 43,220 |
| Sheep and Goat skins .. | scores | 326 | 1,140 |
| Lemons, dried .. .. | cwt. | 651 | 37,070 |
| Fish oil .. .. .. | gal. | 2,924 | 7,310 |
| Miscellaneous .. .. | | | 2,48,920 |
| TOTAL VALUE OF EXPORTS .. | | Rs. | 27,73,840 |

# Chapter 7; Production

## AGRICULTURE

241

*Principal Products*

*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | Acres | Tons |
|---|---|---|
| Sorghum Millet .. .. .. .. | 62,000 | 12,400 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small Millets.. | 9,500 | 1,900 |
| Wheat .. .. .. .. .. | 1,500 | 750 *a.* |
| Barley .. .. .. .. .. | 4,500 | 3,000 *a.* |
| Sesame .. .. .. .. .. | 8,500 | 850 |

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sorghum Millet .. .. .. .. | 20,000 | 4,000 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small Millets.. | 2,000 | 400 |
| Wheat .. .. .. .. .. | 2,000 | 1,000 *a.* |
| Date palms.. .. .. .. .. | 10,000 | 3,500 |

(*a*)—Crops sown in previous year, harvested in 1949.

*Estimate of the Numbers of Principal Classes of Livestock* 231

| *Western Aden Protectorate* | | *Eastern Aden Protectorate* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Camels .. .. | 30,000 | Camels .. .. | 40,000 |
| Cattle .. .. | 50,000 | Cattle .. .. | 7,000 |
| Goats .. .. | 400,000 | Goats .. .. | 250,000 |
| Sheep .. .. | 100,000 | Sheep .. .. | 30,000 |
| Donkeys .. .. | 3,500 | Donkeys .. .. | 3,000 |

The year 1949 opened with drought conditions in almost all districts, but early Saif rains, followed by good late Saif and good Kharif rains, and an exceptional fall of rain in the early part of the winter combined 132

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
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132 to make it one of the most favourable for many years. The rains of November and December were judged to have been the heaviest seen for thirty years.

731 Unfortunately the cultivator was in many areas, particularly the eastern districts, unable to make full use of these favourable conditions. This was the result of the bad season of 1948 which had caused famine in the Wadis 'Amd and Rakhya of the Hadhramaut, and continued to cause famine for the first four months of 1949. Famine relief and rehabilitation measures were largely responsible for getting farmers in these western Hadhramaut districts back to work, and by the end of the year there was little indication that a famine had existed in the early months of the year. In the Hadramaut important famine relief and famine prevention measures were adopted ; of outstanding importance was the introduction of a pump scheme financed by the States, and by the end of the year considerable progress had been made with this scheme. Conditions were severe in the 'Aulaqi districts of the Western Protectorate, but other districts, notably Abyan, had surplus grain stocks, and the districts which were short were able to draw on these supplies and move them, mainly by camel transport, to where needed.

653 248 The year 1949 saw great expansion in the Abyan scheme ; offices and staff buildings were built, supplies were accumulated, and important irrigation work was extended, particularly in the region of the Wadi Hassan. The year saw the emergence of Abyan as a successful producer of long staple cotton, and the harvest from some 82 acres (which averaged 1,750 lb. of seed cotton to the acre) was ginned on a roller gin in Abyan, pressed on a hand press in Aden, and exported to Liverpool for sale to the Raw Cotton Commission. Planting for the 1949–50 crop was extended to over 1,000 acres.

*Rainfall, Crop and Livestock Conditions*

132 731 *Saif Rains Season.* An abundant Saif rain was received in almost all districts of the Protectorate in 1949. In parts of the Eastern Protectorate the rains came late, but were heavy ; and in the Hadhramaut considerable destruction was caused to irrigation works from the resulting floods. The great Nuqra Dam, which had stood successfully for the previous two flood seasons, received the full weight of the combined floods of the Wadi 'Idim and Wadi Ser and was breached owing to a blow-up of the apron caused by excessive up-stream pressure.

241 The Saif rains were badly needed. They gave the cultivator, hard pressed through the previous bad season, a chance to grow grain and fodder crops with which to build up his condition in readiness for cultivation in the Kharif season.

132 *Kharif Rains Season.* Rain followed close on the finish of the Saif, and in almost all districts the rainfall was sufficient for the needs of the cultivator. In November, 1949, the Protectorate was blessed with that rare visitation, a general winter rainfall, which fell with exceptional heaviness, particularly in the north-eastern areas from Beihan across

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut min2



to the Hadhramaut. This winter rainfall enormously improved the range conditions over the mountain areas of the Protectorate and produced exceptionally good pasturage for the desert tribes in the north-east. 132

Large acreages of winter cereals and fodder crops were grown. The year finished with the whole of the Protectorate in good condition. 241

Livestock started the year in many areas in a starved condition, and in the east with their numbers greatly reduced. At the end of 1949 their condition was restored, but numbers, particularly of small stock, were low. 231

*Plant Pests and Diseases*

As a result of the favourable rains and the continuance of sorghum cultivation through the Saif season, to the flood crop of the Kharif, and into the lift irrigated crops planted in autumn, 1949, there was a serious increase in the stalk borer population, and an estimated loss of up to 50 per cent of the crop resulted in the Hadhramaut lift irrigated areas. 731 242

*Animal Health*

No outbreak of rinderpest or other serious animal disease was recorded during 1949. 731

*Market Conditions*

With the devaluation of the pound the value of the Maria Theresa dollar rose nearly 30 per cent in relation to rupee currency. Produce prices remained high until autumn, 1949, when a sharp drop occurred in many districts following the good harvests. Sorghum grain on the Aden market averaged about £35 per ton throughout 1949. 155

*Demonstration and Experiment*

A field trial with X1730A cotton grown from Abyan raised seed was very successful in 1949; some 1,750 lbs. of seed cotton per acre was obtained from scattered plots totalling 82 acres which had received one watering only before planting. The crop was planted in the months of September and October, and grew rapidly. In some fields plants reached a height of over 6 feet and carried an enormous crop. No important pests or diseases were seen. 242

The crop was classified by the Chief Classifier of the Sudan Plantation Syndicate, who was flown over for the purpose; he placed about half the crop in grades 3 and 4, and the balance in grades 5 and 6, basing his classification on Sudan Gezira standard for L type cottons. The graded crop was sold to the Raw Cotton Commission.

Varieties of cane, introduced in small quantities from Mauritius in the previous season, were cut in September, 1949, and planted out in observation plots.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 6: Production

## LAND UTILISATION AND TENURE

*Utilisation of agricultural land*

Land for crop production is prepared for irrigation farming by flow or by lift, and for dry farming, where there is a low rainfall and some runoff water, the land is terraced. The great bulk of the land in the Protectorates affords range conditions of light carrying capacity, particularly suited to camels, sheep and goats. 312 241 231

*Land and water conservation and utilisation*

All farming practices in the Aden Protectorates depend on a highly developed system of conservation of land and water. In the highest areas, land is terraced for crop production and runoff water is led to these terraced fields in order to augment the water provided by actual precipitation; in the mid-altitude areas, mountain torrents are diverted to bunded land laboriously reclaimed and made along the valley sides; below, where the river systems reach wider valley areas and plains, larger diversion works and miles of canal may be used to carry flood water to bunded lands. 312

This process of water spreading, which is carried on in the lowest lying parts of the coastal plain, results in abundant supplies of underground water. Lift irrigation is practised in many areas and is, of course, of the greatest importance to the more arid north-easterly districts of the Protectorate. At present only supplies drawn from open wells, tapping the "phreatic" zone of water, are used.

Utilisation of land and water is governed by varying systems of tribal and customary law. Where development schemes are now progressing, local authorities are being invited to modify such laws, where necessary, to meet the changing conditions. 423

*Land Ownership*

The policy, laws and regulations of each State vary but in general it may be said that the policy of the State is to reserve land ownership for the tribe and generally to tend to favour individual ownership as against State ownership. Land ownership is subject to tribal law and Mohammedan law.

Except for a small area in one district, land in the Protectorate is held by the indigenous inhabitants. The local State Governments are, in some cases, important owners of land.

Land is held in absolute ownership (Mulk), in trusts (Waqf), as dedicatory gifts (Nadr) and in a form of usufructuary tenure (Manh), with near to freehold rights granted in one or two areas to those who have rendered outstanding service to the State.

Payment of a fixed rent in money is only found in a very few specialised systems. Fixed payments in kind, found usually in areas where a high value is placed on land and water, are not general. The 427

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427 principal system involves some form of share-tenancy in which the partners divide the crop after harvesting, threshing and winnowing charges and tithes and taxes have been paid in kind. In more fertile areas half of the crop is demanded of the tenant of flood irrigated land, while in the mountain terrace-farming areas a share of one-third is normally levied. In the arid eastern districts shares of one-tenth only may be asked. On lift irrigation systems share-tenancy arrangements vary greatly. In the East, the owner of the land and the well may take a one-tenth share. In the West, the owner of the land and the well may take up to one-half of the crop, though often a share of the seed used and a share in the labour working on the lift irrigation is pro-
423 vided by the landowner. The Qua'iti and Kathiri States have secured legal powers by an agricultural administrative order to further the consolidation of plots round suitable irrigation points, but so far it has been unnecessary to apply such orders.

647 The Department of Agriculture has initiated important programmes
654 for the development of land and water resources. Of particular note is the Abyan Scheme in the Western Protectorate and the pump scheme in the Wadi Hadhramaut in the Eastern Protectorate. At the same time encouragement and organisation in the better use of the excellent indigenous systems of irrigation farming have been the main preoccupation in many districts.

423 Little satisfactory progress has been made in land settlement in the Abyan area. In the Eastern Protectorate, the States, advised by the
406 Residency, are actively encouraging groups of farmers to combine their holdings formerly watered by animal lift in order to make the co-operative use of the mechanical pump lifts an economic proposition.

241.

## AGRICULTURE

*Principal Crops*, 1952

| | *Acres* | *Tons* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Western Protectorate** | | | |
| Sorghum Millet | 23,333 | 4,333 | |
| Bullrush Millet and other small millets | 9,000 | 1,286 | |
| Wheat | 3,000 | 2,000* | |
| Barley | 6,000 | 4,000* | |
| Sesame | 4,250 | 425 | |
| Cotton (long staple) | 9,830 | 7,206 | bales of 400 lb. lint* |
| Coffee | 400 | 100 | |
| **Eastern Protectorate** | | | |
| Sorghum Millet (lift and permanent flow irrigated) | 3,000 | 2,400 | |
| Sorghum (flood irrigated) | 4,000 | 400 | |
| Bullrush Millet and other small millets | 1,500 | 300 | |
| Wheat | 2,600 | 3,000 | |
| Date Palms | 10,500 | 7,000 | |

* Crops sown in 1951 and harvested in 1952.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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The above figures are derived from estimates checked by sampling, except in the case of the long-staple cotton for which actual figures are available. 241

Outstanding yields of long-staple cotton have been obtained ; yields of one ton of seed cotton with a ginning out-turn of 36 per cent often occur. Yields of irrigated wheat and barley are generally high : wheat yields of 1½ tons per acre are common in the lift-irrigated districts.

*Crop Processing*

*Cotton Ginneries.* Long-staple cotton is ginned in two ginneries operated by the Abyan Board, and the total output in the 1951–52 season was 7,206 bales. At the end of 1952 plans were in hand to combine ginning equipment at one ginnery in Lower Abyan. 248 249

*Oil Mills.* Throughout the Protectorate sesame is crushed in primitive pestle and mortar crushers worked by camel power.

*Marketing*

Crops for domestic consumption are sold direct by the producer to the consumer, or through merchants, or at markets which are often weekly events in the villages and towns of the Protectorate. 443

Tobacco is exported from the Protectorate by merchants who trade in the Colony of Aden and Middle East markets. 439

Substantial quantities of fresh produce, vegetables and fruit are exported from the Protectorate to the Colony to be sold in the Colony markets.

No marketing boards for export crops exist, but the Abyan Board is at the moment in sole control of the grading, ginning and export of long-staple cotton grown in the Protectorate. 248

*Research*

Research on cotton and cotton breeding is carried on by the Abyan Board. 242

In the Hadhramaut, the Hadhramaut States contribute funds to an experimental area supervised by an officer of the Department of Agriculture. In this area, which was opened in 1952, investigations on crop production, crop varieties, treatments and water duties have been started.

In the Western Protectorate many varieties of deciduous fruits and citrus have been introduced over the past 14 years, and it is considered that there are sufficient trees in bearing to start on nursery propagation of suitable types. Initial trials have been made at a high-altitude demonstration area on the Audhali Plateau.

*Control of Pests and Diseases*

Since 1942 efforts have been made, generally with success, to control locust breeding in the Protectorate, which is subject to constant invasions by locusts from other areas. The control of covered smut of sorghum by the use of sulphur for seed treatment has been introduced to areas where damage from this plant disease is common.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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*Agricultural Extension and Improvement Schemes*

654 The main development scheme for irrigated land use is that in Abyan. A note on the scheme is given in Appendix I, page 84.

248 The extension work of the Department of Agriculture is carried on 406 through departmental staff and through State agricultural departments 241 where these exist. Extension work at the moment is mainly confined to a few selected subjects such as cotton growing, fruit and vegetable growing, and lift irrigation by pump.

*Cotton Growing Schemes (other than at Abyan).* Long-staple X.1730A cotton was introduced for cultivation to the Yeramis district, and from an area of approximately 400 acres some 472,665 lb. of seed cotton were marketed.

In Ahwar, where X.1730A cotton was grown for the second season, 436,311 lb. of seed cotton were marketed from an effective area of 400 acres.

*The Hadhramaut Pump Scheme.* In the Hadhramaut there has been considerable development of lift irrigation by diesel-engine pumping units since 1948. It is claimed that 389 pump units with an estimated total horse-power of 3,640 have now been introduced. A large percentage of the units have been sold by the Hadhramaut States to local farmers on a deferred payment scheme.

In 1952 pump units irrigated 37 per cent of the total area under lift irigation in the Hadhramaut. The average area irrigated per pump unit is estimated at 8.3 acres as compared with 2 acres by animal lift. The yield from pump irrigated crops in nearly all cases is found to exceed comparable animal lift irrigated crops. The schemes may be criticised on account of the high horse-power used for the irrigated area, but on the other hand with less working hours per day the machinery should theoretically last longer.

*Credit Facilities*

452 In the Western Protectorate advances have been made through Farmers' Associations, through the Abyan Board and through local States to assist farmers. In the Eastern Protectorate, particularly the Hadhramaut, large sums of money have been advanced since 1944 to enable farmers, or groups of farmers, to maintain local irigation systems and to help farmers to buy pumping machinery by hire purchase. Little or no progress can be made in the development of agriculture without credit facilities.

*Agricultural Department*

647 The staff comprises the Director of Agriculture, four Agricultural Officers, one Assistant Agricultural Officer and nine Agricultural Instructors.

The Department is responsible for giving advice on agriculture and, in many areas, for the organisation and administration of agricultural development projects. During the financial year 1952–53 it budgetted to spend £19,000.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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654 which carry the water to bunded fields where the land is inundated to
312 approximately one metre in depth. In the lower part of the district complete diversion of the flood is made by larger earth dams built
241 across the river bed. Generally one metre depth of water is sufficient to raise the crops of sorghum, sesame and cotton, though summer planted crops which have to grow when water is low are given one or two supplementary irrigations.

The date of arrival of the floods is uncertain and the pattern of crop production may alter considerably according to the date of irrigation. For instance, early summer floods will only be used for sorghum fodder, grain, melons and sesame. Later summer irrigations are particularly required for cotton planting and for the autumn sown sorghum crop.

*The Farming System*

Skilled cultivation is carried on by settlers from many South Arabian tribes who have come to the area since the start of the scheme. Bunding of land, construction of field channels, ploughing and sowing are carried out by draught animals, mainly oxen though camels are brought in to help occasionally. No fertilisers are used at present ; the flood brings with it a heavy burden of silt which reaches the land and maintains its fertile state.

The basic problems concern the farming system. One is largely an irrigation problem caused by a rapid rise in the water-table which has taken place since irrigation was resumed. This rise in the water-table has caused an accumulation of salts in the upper layers of the soil, and has already made crop production on 2,000 acres practically impossible by flood irrigation methods. The other problem is weed control. As a gross area of 100,000 acres may be commanded in the future, and within this area an annual average of 30,000 acres may be cropped, it should be possible to afford long periods of fallow to land in order to reduce the dangers which may arise from heavy irrigation ; but individual ownership of land will greatly complicate such arrangements.

248 At the present time the cotton variety X.1730A, a derivative of
243 Sakel, is the main cash crop grown. All other cash crops in the scheme are common to those of other irrigation tracts of a similar
246 type in South Arabia though there are experimental crops, of which sugar is one. An important feature of the scheme is the need for a large area of sorghum for grain and fodder production. The draught animals depend almost entirely on sorghum fodder for their sustenance and the main food of the people is sorghum millet. It is expected that for some time two-thirds of the area will be maintained under sorghum and one-third under cotton.

*Mechanical Equipment*

406 The Board owns earth-moving machinery powered by diesel-engined
242 crawler tractors with carry-all scrapers, bulldozers, a ripper and grader and two drag-line scrapers. The policy of the Board is to increase the

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established to supply the local market—for the processing of soaps, pressed aluminum utensils, cigarettes, pottery and textiles, the extraction of sesame oil, the cutting of buttons from trochas shells and the building of dhows. Fishing is of potential importance, but its development is handicapped by primitive methods of procurement and handling and inadequate local transport facilities. The agricultural resources of the Colony are limited to market gardens and date groves on the oasis of Sheikh Othman.

A 471

A 228 241

Agriculture and fishing are the principal occupations of the tribesmen of the Protectorate. The fisheries of the eastern districts are reputed to be among the richest in the Middle East, while the drying and salting of fish and the manufacture of fish oils, fodder and manure are valuable industries in the coast towns. A large proportion of the people in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut engage in agriculture, although the tribes of the steppe country are mainly nomadic pastoralists. The expansion of farming is curtailed by uncertain rainfall and shortage of water supply. In the Eastern Aden Protectorate, cultivation is restricted mainly to the middle portions of the Hadhramaut valley, where the river flows for part of the year. This region is historically famous as a source of frankincense and myrrh. Elaborate terracing and irrigation are employed in many areas for the conservation and the utilization of the limited water resources available. It was estimated in 1948 that less than 0.5 per cent of the total land area was suitable for farming, but the relative extent of pasturage and desert has not been determined. Systems of peasant ownership, tenancy farming and tribal land tenure prevail in different localities. The improvement of agriculture and expansion of irrigation are prominent among the development programs for the Protectorate. A co-operative project for the cultivation of cotton and other crops by modern methods has recently been initiated on 5,000 acres in the Abyan area in Western Aden Protectorate. Little

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N 262 ably meager. The basic foods are usually breads, dates and milk products, supplemented by vegetables and fruits in season and by varying amounts of meat and fish. Although breads are most frequently prepared from sorghum millet (durra), other forms of millet, as well as maize, wheat and barley are widely used. Rice is generally popular, and large amounts are imported. Dates constitute one of the main food items throughout this region; date palms flourish along some wadies, but the annual crop is inadequate. Numerous types of vegetables and fruits are available in the agricultural areas.

N [439] 241 262

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Sheep and goats are raised in both the Colony and the Protectorate. Their milk is used extensively, but only the pastoral tribes are apt to have a sufficient supply. Cow's milk is also consumed in the Colony and in some inland districts, particularly in Western Aden Protectorate, where the grazing conditions are suitable for cattle. Camel's milk is a staple food among certain Bedouin tribes. Ghee, or clarified butter, is employed in the wealthier families. The fat from the tail tissues of the local breed of sheep, which is an important substitute in the Colony and among the eastern tribes, is almost unknown in Western Aden Protectorate. Sesame is cultivated in many areas, and the oil constitutes another source of fats. Meat is seldom consumed more than once a week, except in the more prosperous households. Fish are plentiful along the coast, and both fresh and dried fish are commonly used in the diet.

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## Housing

A 862 342

Several different types of dwellings are found in Aden Colony. In general, the standards of housing are higher than in the neighboring territories. All variations are encountered between the multistoried stone houses of the wealthy Arabs, the modern style villas of the European and official communities, and the one- or two-story structures of stone or mud brick in which most of the people live. Regardless

A 342

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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133 the greater part of the year, in certain places. These interruptions are due to the entire volume of water—which in dry seasons is not very considerable—being led off into the cultivation and returned again lower down. It is said that the waters of the Tiban, like those of the Bana, occasionally reach the sea after abnormal floods. The Bana River runs continuously from May to October.

The coast-line generally is low and sandy and devoid of promontories or inlets of any size, except at Aden, where craterous promontories rise to about 1,700 ft. above sea-level, forming sheltered bays, and at a point some sixty miles west of Aden, where a spur of the Yemen highlands approaches the coast at Khōr 'Umeirah.

### Climate

132 In the first zone—the littoral—the heat in general is excessive, but the climate is not unhealthy for those who can stand the fierce heat of the day, and the nights are cool. The cultivated oases and [164] river-beds, however, which afford grateful shade by day, should be avoided as fever traps, and the Tiban valley and Lahej oasis •241 in general have an ill name for malaria of a malignant type. The only rainfall is afforded by a few showers in mid-winter. Cultiva- 311 tion depends chiefly on irrigation from the wādi water-courses, and consists almost entirely of millet, *jowari*, and tall fodder crops such as *kirbi*.

In the second zone—the maritime hills—the rainfall is as in the first zone; but there is no opportunity for wādi irrigation, and in consequence scarcely any crops are raised. The air is stifling by day and damp at night.

In the third zone—the intramontane plains—the rainfall takes place during the summer in occasional thunderstorms. The crops are millet and maize, and they become more abundant and fertile as the main watershed is approached. The heat here, again, is very great.

In the fourth zone—the main watershed—there is a considerable rainfall during the summer months, and a bracing and fairly equable climate with sometimes a degree or so of frost at night. Cultivation is scanty, chiefly barley and a few light fodder crops.

In the fifth zone—the plateau—water lies within ten feet or so of the surface, and there is a good deal of irrigation from wells, besides the regular rainfall. This is small, but from October to March the region is liable to dense white fogs which fall after dark and lie thick to 9 a.m. They will wet one through in an hour, but are invaluable to the farmer as they alone keep the crops alive till

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



the summer thunderstorms are due. These latter are often extremely violent, even terrifying. Hail occasionally falls. Harvesting of one crop or another goes on throughout the year—chiefly bearded wheat, barley, maize, lucerne, and coffee (but the latter is less frequent than over the Yemen border). Indigo and cotton (a very small bush) are grown in the Nisāb district and grapes on the Yemen border.

In the sixth zone—the Empty Quarter or Great Red Desert—the population is pastoral and follows the grazing according to the rainfall, which is irregular and scanty. Along the principal wādis, which lead north towards the desert, there are permanent settlements and cereal crops are raised, chiefly millet, the stalks of which make useful fodder when grazing is scarce. The semi-nomadic part of the population returns to the settlements to await the next grazing-season in the desert.

In the Aden Interior as a whole the prevailing diseases are small-pox, fever (especially malarial), and, to some extent, consumption. The 'Yemen ulcer' is also common among the tribes.

## Population

The population of the Aden Interior (considered as a whole, and including that portion known strictly as the Aden Protectorate), settled and nomadic, may be computed at about half a million. The district is composed of a number of Tribal Confederations or Sultanates, some lying within the limits of the Protectorate proper, some without.

The limits of the Aden Protectorate proper are the delimitation line, previously mentioned, from Ras Turbah to a point some few miles north of Dhāla, and thence a somewhat vaguely defined line continuing at first in a south-easterly direction and then in a generally easterly direction to the coast of the Gulf of Aden near the small settlement of Maqātīn. They enclose an area of about 4,200 sq. miles, having a population of 100,000. The tribal confederations lying within this boundary are: the Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, Haushabi, Amīri, 'Alawi, 'Aqrabi, and other smaller tribes; and without are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and 'Audillah ('Audali). The tribes of the Protectorate have a larger proportion of non-combatants and are more settled than those of the remoter interior; the bulk are to be found in the towns and villages of the littoral belt, the chief centres being Lahej, Waht, Shūghrah, and the Abiyān district.

In dealing with a variety of tribes with such different characteristics it is difficult to generalize; broadly they may be divided

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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frenzy on religious matters, and ever ready to accuse any one, whose actions are not readily explained, of being an infidel, are apt to be rather slack in their devotions. Some even shirk their prayers at sunset, when such exercises are obligatory. Much of this attitude, however, has to do with their turbulent mode of life and illiteracy, for the most nonchalant are always ready to "fall in" behind any man who has the gift of prayer and follow his attitude and genuflexions, giving the responses with devout accuracy and attention. As to the religious self-denial with which they observe the fast of Ramadan (refusing to avail themselves of the exemption extended by the Koran to all travellers, sick persons, &c.) their austerity would shame more civilized Mussulmans.' 771

## Products and Industries

The products of this region are so similar to those of the Yemen that they need no special treatment; and the crops are referred to in detail in the section on climate. The staple food-stuff of the country is either *dhura* or *dukhn*. Of *dhura* there are two chief varieties: white and red. The staple fodder for animals is, universally, the stalks and leaves of *dhura* and *dukhn*. As to the native industries they are not of any great importance, but attention may be called to the following: 241 246

Boat-building is carried on to a limited extent. Though a very great number of native craft of very varied type ply in Aden harbour and around the coast of this district, only 'jolly-boats' are built at Aden; they are after the model of an English rowing-boat, with heavier and stronger frames, and of very rough workmanship. Mat-making and string-making are carried on chiefly in the neighbourhood of Aden. Dry leaves of the *dom* and date-palms are imported from the ports of the Dankali and from Musawwa', and are manufactured into mats. String is also made by twisting the leaves together with the hand; this is called 'Aden string'. To make mats the leaves are divided into small strips, which are plaited into a ribbon three or four inches wide and of great length. The ribbon is stitched or spliced spirally into a cylindrical shape, the circumference representing the required breadth, and the axis the necessary length; this hollow cylinder is then cut down with a knife parallel to the axis, and the broken edges are bound. Somali women are exceedingly expert in the manufacture of such mats, which are in great request for sleeping purposes. The coarser kinds are largely used for the construction of sheds and the roofing of houses. Plates, baskets, sacks, and many other articles are made of such strips of matting. 396 501 285

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM24



291 either with a plain piece of stuff (*dismāl*) worn turban-like, or with a fringed head-cloth (*jibāl*) falling over the shoulders. The
302 Bedouins wear the same type of costume as the other members of their race, but of poorer material; they rarely wear sandals, and have their bodies bare above the waistband and below the knees.

The garments of the women are very similar to those of the men, and, excepting in small particulars, resemble the dress in other districts of Arabia. They ordinarily wear, not sandals, but boots of a yellow or red colour; they dress their hair in short tresses to the number of from 50 to 60, and married women, in addition, have a fringe over the forehead. The better classes go veiled, but the lower classes cover the head with a form of kerchief (*nuqbah*) which they can use as a veil to cover the forehead and mouth, if need be. Young girls do not cover the face.

## Industries and Agriculture

433 Of great industries there are naturally none in the Hadhramaut. A small amount of weaving is carried on in the houses, especially at Terīm, but the quantity is decreasing owing to the importation of stuffs from abroad. Formerly the cultivation and preparation of indigo for the dyeing of locally woven stuffs were carried on to a considerable extent, but that industry too has greatly declined except in the more remote districts of the interior. Boat-building, fishing, and the salting of fish are the occupations of many along the littoral. It has been remarked that the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut mountains become the most intrepid sailors; not only the Arabs of Shiheir and Makalla, but also those of the mountain regions show an innate disposition for navigation, even those who may never have seen a boat before.

•241 For the most part the land in the settled centres is in the hands of the Seyyids or of other influential members of a tribe. The chief agricultural products are wheat, maize, millet, indigo, tobacco, sesame, dates, and coco-nuts, the latter grown only on the littoral. Cotton is cultivated here and there, but in insufficient quantities to supply the needs of the district; lucerne is much grown for fodder. A kind of tobacco, known as Humuni, is grown round Ghail Ba Wazīr and has a great local reputation. There are plantations of *ithl* (tamarisk) and *'elb*, two kinds of wood suitable for making utensils and for building purposes. The seasons are determined by the stars. Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither
[805]

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither the rains nor the variable streams are in general adequate to this purpose, and watering of the soil is mainly carried on from wells. These may be sunk practically everywhere in the valleys. As in many other parts of Arabia, the water is drawn up in a leather hoist by animals, usually cows, attached to a cord which passes over a pulley supported on wooden struts; the water thus obtained is received in a large wooden trough whence it is spread over the land by means of little runnels. 241 312 [406]

Cattle-rearing is the principal occupation of the Bedouins. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes; sheep for killing and for milk; cows only for milk and irrigation work; oxen exclusively for ploughing. Horses are very rare and are considered as animals *de luxe*. Bees are numerous, and much honey is produced. The wild animals most largely found are the rabbit, gazelle, wild goat, jerboa, hyena, hedgehog, a large species of lizard (permitted as food to Mussulmans), and the panther, wolf, and monkey (not permitted as food). 231 136

## Trade and Commerce

The only ports of importance commercially are Makalla (see p. 232), Shiheir (see p. 232), and Seihūt (see p. 230), and even at these the trade carried on is purely coastal, with the near coast of Africa, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the southern coast of Arabia, and above all with Aden and Muscat. Trade by caravan is carried on from these ports with the whole of the interior of the Hadhramaut and with the southern Arabian littoral as far as Yemen on the west and Oman on the east. Burūm (see p. 233) and Qusei'ir are small fishing villages. 504 439

There are no made roads; the routes follow the courses of the wādis or natural paths. Transport by wheeled vehicles is impossible everywhere; all is carried on by camels or donkeys. It is, however, relatively cheap; e. g. a camel from Shiheir or Makalla to Seyyūn costs only 5 florins in the good season; in summer, when forage is scarce, it is higher, but never above 10 florins. 487 494

The chief exports are dates, stuffs dyed with indigo, a superior quality of wheat, and honey; smaller exports are shells and fins of fish, the latter exported to India and China. Imports: wheat, butter, coco-nuts, coffee, sugar, rice, cotton and cotton stuffs, pottery, bars of iron and worked iron, sesame oil, petroleum, and tin-ware. 439

*Rotation.*—Heald states that mixed and overlapping rotations were found in Meifa and Asfal al 'Ain but, from careful enquiries, the following appeared to be the most popular :—Lucerne two years, followed by millet and the fourth year tobacco. If tobacco was not sown, the land was planted with another variety of millet. In some villages where lucerne was not grown, the rotation simply included tobacco and millet with sesame the third year. 242

In the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed. One year a certain part of the wadi bed will be cultivated, stick huts and erections for drawing up the water built, and when the crop is harvested the Beduins move on elsewhere, returning again another season. Thus we frequently passed remains of cultivation, disused mud aqueducts and tumbled-down huts.

*Diseases.*—Heald states, " Excepting for the caterpillar attacking the young millet and tobacco, the crops were remarkably free from pests and disease ; I carefully searched for stem borer in the millet but could find none, and also for the scale in the few citrus trees."

**Trees and other vegetation of economic importance.**

The *'elb* (*Sidr. Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.) has many uses. Apart from its blossoms, which are said to give the good taste to the Du'an honey, its fruit called *dōm* is eaten extensively by the Beduins when dates are lacking. The beams, pillars and doors of Hadhramaut houses are made from the timber, and the supply and carriage of the trunks give much employment to the Beduins. It also supplies good firewood. It is a fodder tree, and the leaves are also used as a substitute for soap. 137 262 313 242 [388]

*Sār*, a palm tree (*Hyphaene thebaica* (L.) Mart.), from which the Beduins gather the leaves called *sāf* for transport to the towns, where they are made into mats, baskets, country string, etc. A popular drink called *nebidh* is also procured from this tree. 137 314 285 272

The long-thorned *sumr* (*Acacia spirocarpa* Hochst.) is perhaps the commonest tree in the Hadhramaut. It is a popular fodder for camels and is likewise eaten by goats. It supplies good firewood and a substance taken from the roots called *futukh* is used by fishermen for greasing their lines in order to make them strong. Another thorny tree, the *geradh* (*Acacia senegal* Willd.), is also a common fodder. Its leaves are used for tanning skins and it is said that the Beduins make a drink from them which they liken to tea. 137 246 314 272

The *musht* tree (*Grewia erythraea* Schweinf.), is used extensively for firewood and camel fodder. The leaves of the *ariata* tree (*Conocarpus erectus* Jacq.), which grows in the Wadi Maseila where it sometimes reaches a height of 50 to 70 feet, are dried for fodder, and the timber probably has its economic uses. I was told in Tarim of a large tree growing in Wadi Maseila the strong wood of which is used by carpenters; this may have been the *ariata*. 137 314 24. 272

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East

Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1

# COTTON IN ARABIA

H 248 136 242

## PESTS AND DISEASES

"At first, as was to be expected, the cotton crop as a whole was remarkably free from major pests and diseases, but these are now beginning to appear. Bacterial blight *(X. malvacearum)*, has not so far been evident, the land having started clean and the seed having been introduced from Tokar where the disease is not prevalent. The almost complete absence of rain during the growing season also makes any secondary spread of the disease unlikely.

"Jassids are present in small numbers and may tend to increase, and American bollworm *(Heliothis armigera)* is beginning to appear in quite large numbers in Abyan.

"At Lahej the most serious pests are the red bollworm *(Diparopsis castanea)* and the pink bollworm *(Platyedra gossypiella)*.

H 248

## PROSPECTS

"It is unlikely that production of cotton in the Aden Protectorate will ever be on a very large scale as the area of land which can conveniently be flooded is limited. At present some 30,000 acres are in use in Abyan, of which 9,000 are under cotton and the target, when all proposed canals are finished, is about 50,000 acres, with cotton on about 20,000 acres in a good flood year. With developments in other areas the total area under cotton may be extended to 30,000 acres.

H 654 242

## RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTATION

"The Senior Entomologist of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, at the request of the Director of Agriculture, visited Aden in January 1951 to make a survey of the insect pest position, and the Corporation's senior officer in the Sudan is now spending half his time in Aden pending full time employment by the Abyan Board later. He has started selection work on the X1730 A seed from the Sudan and is arranging for regular supplies of pure seed to be produced in the area. In addition other strains are being tested in the variety trials and observation plots, including a strain of Wilds which matures very early and occupies the land for only six months. If this proves successful it might enable a food crop to be grown in the same year as the cotton crop.

"A Colonial office mission also visited Aden early in 1951 to examine the technical, agricultural and financial problems involved and to make recommendations for the development of the scheme and the establishment of any research work that may be needed."

A 101 [161]

## ADEN

The crown colony of Aden located on a tiny peninsula on the coast of the protectorate actually dominates the area. Though the colony is only 75 square miles in area it has almost 100,000 people. The port of Aden has been an important trading center since the time of the ancients. This was the crossing point for the Abyssinians as early as 3,000 B.C. It was the final port of call for the Indian traders in the same century. It was also a chief port on the Indian trade route during the Roman times. Today Aden is the principal port and the commercial center for the entire Arabian Peninsula and one of the main crossing points for the African Moslems trekking to Mecca.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21

# ADEN PROTECTORATE

## PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

647 During 1947 the Western Aden Protectorate continued to suffer from a shortage of experienced Political Officers. This position was aggravated by the murder in April of Mr. P. C. Davey, an officer of exceptional ability and experience. In consequence most districts were inadequately manned, with the result that it proved difficult to consolidate the progress of the past few years and in some cases there was some deterioration. The Arab Assistant Political Officers, of whom there are at present seven, have of necessity been the backbone of the Western Aden Protectorate administration during the past three years owing to the shortage of experienced British Political Staff.

631 The Fadhli, Dathina and Subeihi administrations carried on with very little change. The two former show a very much-improved financial position. The Amiri country started the year with the removal after a show of force of Amir Haidera and, after an unhappy year of strife and intrigue, ended it with the establishment of a constitutional form of government.

643 In the Abdali State the death of the Sultan, His Highness Sir Abdul Karim Fadhl bin Ali, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who has been succeeded by
642 his eldest son, Fadhl Abdul Karim, and who was a sincere and experienced ruler, was much regretted by his people. On the acclamation of his successor a new constitution setting up a State Council was established and is now in operation.

721 In Beihan the Sultan encountered difficulties with the Balharithi tribe in the far north, and the situation had to be settled by air action.

There were trade-route incidents in Quteibi country, in Wadi Hardaba (Radfan), in Mansuri country (Manqa'a), in Marqashi country (Fadhli) and in Rujeili country (Wadi Teim in Radfan), involving losses of life and heavy lootings. Lootings in the Quteibi territory assumed such proportions that it was necessary to restore normality by air operations. The incidents in Marqashi were satisfactorily settled by administrative action. The other incidents still remain to be settled.

242 On the other side of the picture agricultural development in Abyan has had a most beneficial effect in this southern area in spite of the uncooperative attitude of the Lower Yafa'i Sultan. This attitude led finally to his suspension from office in the Yafa'i as Sahil area of his territory. In contrast, the willing co-operation of the Fadhli authorities in fostering

S.Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



the development of agriculture and irrigation in Abyan has been much 242 appreciated.

During the latter part of 1947 it was possible to station a Political Officer in the Abyan and Ahwar areas. His presence and the benefit of increased production in the area have contributed to the appreciable success of the Abyan experiment during the year.

## EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate considerable political activity was 615 shown by various sections of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states. In the former, two parties were formed in March, one the National party and the other the Hadhrami party. The latter is for Hadhrami unity, in which it agrees with the Seiyid party of the Kathiri state, which also showed some liveliness at the start of the year. Later, however, the Seiyids began to concentrate less on the general question of Hadhrami unity and more on the immediate question of escaping from paying double taxation. Several committees were formed with this object and in April a deputation waited on the Resident Adviser, whose answer to them was that it was for the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states to co-operate in the matter of lightening the burden of taxation of their subjects. Later the Seiyids sent a telegraphic plea to the Governor and Secretary of State.

Meanwhile the National party remained anti-Seiyid and, on the whole, anti-unity. In April they published a manifesto of their aims on the front page of the Aden newspaper, *Fatat-al-Jezira*.

The Arab cause in Palestine continued to arouse considerable sympathy 664 in the Eastern Aden Protectorate. This came to a head in December after the United Nations Assembly had recommended partition and took the form of processions (without violence) and the opening of subscription lists. Telegrams were sent to the Secretary of State and there was a one-day strike in Mukalla and Sai'un.

In both Qu'aiti and Kathiri states democratic changes were made in 646 the administration. In the latter a State Council was formed in April 642 and met for the first time in May: it consists at present of three *ex-officio*, three official and three unofficial members. In June the Qu'aiti State Council Decree was amended to allow the representation of provincial communities with the intention of improving relations between the Government and the provinces. These communities were not previously represented.

Outstanding boundary disputes between the Qu'aiti and Kathiri 731 states remained unsettled throughout the year.

Security continued to be disturbed throughout the year in the north- 721 west on the boundaries with the Yemen and Sa'udi Arabia and to a 619 lesser extent in the Wahidi area on the boundaries of the Western Aden Protectorate. In January the Kazimis looted a caravan on its way to Habban. In March there was a big raid by the Dahm and Abida (Yemeni) on the eastern coastal area. In May the Upper Aulaqi (who owe allegiance to no one) attacked Amaqin in Wahidi; in that month also the Sei'ar

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



(B) EXPORTS

| No. | Commodity | No. of packages | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Tobacco, native | 13,236 bdls. | 16,858 cwt. | 8,93,650 |
| 2. | Honey in comb | — | 5,200 lb. | 5,6001 |
| 3. | " cleaned | — | 1,020 " | 2,550 |
| 4. | Dates, country | — | 900 " | 220 |
| 5. | Lime | 3,879 bags | 4,000 cwt. | 15,500 |
| 6. | Sheep and Goats' skins, tanned | — | 10 scores | 1,000 |
| 7. | Dried lemons | 229 bdls. | 581 cwt. | 33,000 |
| 8. | Fish oil | 17,049 tins | 68,195 gln. | 1,27,860 |
| 9. | Miscellaneous | — | — | 2,93,380 |
| | | | TOTAL | 13,82,760 |

# Chapter 7: Agriculture and Fisheries

## AGRICULTURE

In 1948 farming conditions were generally poor in the Aden Protectorate. 241
Conditions of 1947 were reversed in the areas west of the Bana river, 132
which had a poor 1947 season, received fair rainfall and flood conditions, 731
while east of the Bana erratic and poor rainfall over large areas reduced 457
food production to a low level. This was particularly true of the Hadhramaut and other eastern districts where complete drought returned to the country, causing famine conditions to reappear at the end of the year. The shortage of food was accentuated in those areas where the economy of the country is largely dependent on remittances from abroad. Famine appeared particularly in the Wadi Amd and in Rakhya, where food production is not secured by any irrigation from underground supplies, but is dependent entirely on rain and runoff control. These districts are also partly dependent on remittances from Hyderabad and became particularly affected when India invaded Hyderabad, and currency decrees in Hyderabad cut off the flow of remittances. The scarcity of food was further aggravated by the ban on exports of grain from the Yemen. [439]

*Staff*

The technical staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a 47
Director, two Agricultural Officers (to be increased to four), an Agricultural Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors. 242

The Abyan Development Scheme has the part-time services of an Irrigation Adviser. /

*Rainfall Crop and Livestock Conditions*

In the districts west of the Bana river *saif* rains were fair, particularly 312
in the highland areas. East of the Bana river *saif* conditions were poor in many districts, but in Beihan conditions were good and the Wadi ran no less than eleven floods. Most of this water was from the runoff of

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Market Conditions*

Food grain prices showed no reduction during the year. Prices at the main coastal centres of Aden and Mukalla fluctuated between £25 and £37 per ton, the higher rates being recorded in Mukalla towards the end of the year, when famine conditions were confirmed in the Hadhramaut. 438

The price of sesame seed fell from the high levels of 1947, and the price during the year varied between £60 and £70 per ton.

The Maria Theresa dollar exchange dropped 23½ per cent at the end of the year, Rs. 186 being asked for 100 dollars.

*Demonstration and Experiment*

In the Hadhramaut the introduction of barley passed the third season; it may be claimed that the crop has found favour and that it is most likely to become well established in the economy of the country. The object of this introduction was to obtain a more dependable crop for winter sowing. Wheat was in the past the winter crop, and always a risky one owing to the danger of rust attacks. Barley in southern Arabia is regarded as a safer crop in all respects, but for some reason it escaped the attention of farmers in the Wadi Hadhramaut. 242 243 248

In Abyan cotton variety X1730A was grown on a field scale on Abyan Board tenants' land. The crop was sown on land inundated in August with approximately three feet of water. No other water was applied after sowing. At the end of the year, the crop appeared most promising.

*Plant Introduction*

Three-hundred and fifty apricot, 350 Japanese plum, and 24 peach trees were imported from South Africa, for sale to farmers on the Audhali Plateau.

One hundred citrus trees were imported from Eritrea, for planting and distribution in Abyan.

*Development Schemes: The Abyan Board*

Work on improvement of the systems of the Na'aza and Ba Tes canals was carried out in the first nine months of the year. A stone regulator at Ba Tes head and a series of stone drops and regulators were installed on this system and on part of the Na'aza system. Much work remains to be done, and in a manner which will allow of the improvement to be incorporated in the general plan of development . . . the area. 242 241

Following further examination of the area by Mr. N. Simansky, Irrigation Adviser, it was possible to submit an application for a loan of £250,375 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Sanction for this loan was obtained in July, and work started in the last quarter of the year. Machinery and cement were ordered, while local purchases were made from ex-War Department stocks held in Aden. At the end of the year, two Agricultural Officers, one of whom acted as manager to the Board, one British and three Italian surveyors, and one British accountant, together with a large Arab staff were employed on the scheme.

The development programme of the Board continued side by side with

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut 1 of 1 42



241 the management of irrigation farming on some 5,000 acres. The value
242 of the Board's quarter-share of the net crop obtained, after paying harvesting and threshing expenses in kind, was estimated at over Rs. 1,25,000.

Farming in Abyan, largely influenced by the Board's operations, proved important to the economy of the Western Aden Protectorate. In the production of millet alone, it is estimated that a 30,000 bag crop, equal to 3,000 metric tons, was raised. A large portion of this was held as a reserve, or had been marketed to the easterly districts at the end of the year. General control on the export of this grain to Aden itself was maintained, and the flow of the crop to the districts to the east was encouraged.

*The Wadi Hadhramaut Rehabilitation Scheme*

654 This was wound up by Government at the end of the 1947–48 financial
426 year. Farmers with outstanding loans were given ten years in which to repay, the basis of repayment being at the rate of 2 per cent of the total loan from the spring crop, 3 per cent from the autumn crop, and 5 per cent from the winter crop grown. By the end of the year, it was apparent that this system of deferred repayment was not proving satis-
[452] factory. Moneylenders had again become active, while late planting and reduced acreage were noticeable in many districts. This undoubtedly resulted from lack of foresight on the part of many farmers, who had failed to reserve sufficient seed and fodder and preferred to resort to moneylenders for obtaining their needs on credit.

406 At the end of the year, proposals were on hand for the introduction of numbers of diesel-driven irrigation pumps for use in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

*Co-operation*

476 The Beihan Farmers' Association, formed in the previous year, progressed in a satisfactory manner, and much useful experience was gained by the officials of the association. A good *saif* season helped the members, but this was followed by an almost complete lack of water in the *kharif*. In spite of these difficulties, the association was able to help its members in their requirements of seed, stock, and cash needed for well equipment and for concentrates for feeding livestock. At the end of the year, the association had acquired some Rs. 12,000 from members' subscriptions and from interest charged on loans.

476 This association cannot be termed a co-operative society in the true
659 sense of the word. It is an association which has the full support of the local Government, and which at present makes use of Government offices and storehouses for its activities. In the present stage of development this is considered to be the most desirable form of association for Beihan.

*Western Aden Protectorate*

226 The Western Aden Protectorate fisheries are of minor importance
361 compared with those of the Eastern Protectorate. Shuqra, the seat of
439 the Fadhli Sultan, is, however, a fishing port with a considerable export trade in dried fish

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



to the Hadhramaut. This winter rainfall enormously improved the range conditions over the mountain areas of the Protectorate and produced exceptionally good pasturage for the desert tribes in the north-east. 132

Large acreages of winter cereals and fodder crops were grown. The year finished with the whole of the Protectorate in good condition. 241

Livestock started the year in many areas in a starved condition, and in the east with their numbers greatly reduced. At the end of 1949 their condition was restored, but numbers, particularly of small stock, were low. 231

*Plant Pests and Diseases*

As a result of the favourable rains and the continuance of sorghum cultivation through the Saif season, to the flood crop of the Kharif, and into the lift irrigated crops planted in autumn, 1949, there was a serious increase in the stalk borer population, and an estimated loss of up to 50 per cent of the crop resulted in the Hadhramaut lift irrigated areas. 731 242

*Animal Health*

No outbreak of rinderpest or other serious animal disease was recorded during 1949. 731

*Market Conditions*

With the devaluation of the pound the value of the Maria Theresa dollar rose nearly 30 per cent in relation to rupee currency. Produce prices remained high until autumn, 1949, when a sharp drop occurred in many districts following the good harvests. Sorghum grain on the Aden market averaged about £35 per ton throughout 1949. 455 155

*Demonstration and Experiment*

A field trial with X1730A cotton grown from Abyan raised seed was very successful in 1949; some 1,750 lbs. of seed cotton per acre was obtained from scattered plots totalling 82 acres which had received one watering only before planting. The crop was planted in the months of September and October, and grew rapidly. In some fields plants reached a height of over 6 feet and carried an enormous crop. No important pests or diseases were seen. 242

The crop was classified by the Chief Classifier of the Sudan Plantation Syndicate, who was flown over for the purpose; he placed about half the crop in grades 3 and 4, and the balance in grades 5 and 6, basing his classification on Sudan Gezira standard for L type cottons. The graded crop was sold to the Raw Cotton Commission.

Varieties of cane, introduced in small quantities from Mauritius in the previous season, were cut in September, 1949, and planted out in observation plots.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



*Plant Introductions*

137 Sann hemp and Dolichus beans were introduced from the Sudan.
242 Tepary beans, bunch-type groundnuts, and velvet beans were introduced from Uganda. These new introductions were planted in observation plots in the Abyan district.

The introduction of deciduous fruits and of citrus for planting in the Audhali Sultanate continued.

*Development Schemes*

654 *The Avyan Board.* During 1949 the scheme, now furnished with sufficient capital to embark on its work as a proving scheme, developed at a satisfactory rate in all fields where adequate staff, machinery, and materials could be mustered.

406 A rebuilt D.7 Caterpillar tractor complete with bulldozer and carry-
654 all scraper, and three D.4 Caterpillars, one with bulldozer attachment, were obtained through the Crown Agents. These rebuilt tractors were
332 delivered without any spares and gave a certain amount of trouble, but were responsible, together with a D.6 Caterpillar already in the hands of the Board, for great progress in irrigation construction.

Important extensions were made to the Ba Tes and Na'aza systems, while two new diversion systems were opened on the Wadi Hassan.

The tractors were generally worked as a fleet, with a mass of ox power owned or hired by the Board. Often 200 yokes of oxen—each with a scraper attached and each yoke with its driver/scraper operator in attendance—worked alongside the tractors. These were used for ripping and drawing masses of earth close to the dykes, which were then finished off by the oxen.

The value of the D.7 was judged to be equal to 150 to 200 yokes of oxen in earth-moving capacity, but for finishing off work and consolidation the use of oxen has been found to pay. Earth-moving costs have been low, and on short hauls of work of moderate height costs have not exceeded 6 annas per cubic metre.

654 Survey work has accelerated and a staff of 6 surveyors was at work in the field at the end of 1949.

A great deal of the Board's effort was devoted to the construction of offices, workshops and staff houses. At the end of 1949 substantial progress had been made and building, apart from some additions to staff houses and a projected pilot ginnery, had been completed.

The Board staff was increased considerably. On irrigation matters the Board continued to receive advice from Mr. N. Simansky, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of Jordan, who visited Abyan twice during the year. In September the staff was strengthened by the addition of an Irrigation Engineer, Mr. Douglas Hall, who joined the Board as Chief Engineer. In November Mr. B. May joined the Board on secondment, as Chief Accountant, the office having remained vacant since the resignation of the first Accountant Officer at the end of March. These two appointments were long overdue, and serious arrears of work had to be faced by both officers on taking up their appointments. In the

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



accounts section the position was particularly serious ; but equally important was the lack of essential hydrological data on such matters as river discharges, the availability of suitable storage sites, studies on percolation and so on. Without such information progress must be delayed. 654

As mentioned earlier, the X1730A type of cotton planted on 82 acres in 1948, proved a great success. The crop was ginned and marketed by the Board, and arrangements with cultivators for the new season's planting resulted in an extension of the acreage to 1,097 acres. At the end of 1949 the crop showed great promise, and in many areas appeared even better than the previous year's crop. 248 242 654

Grain, oil-seed and fodder production was satisfactory, though grain yields were reduced in many areas through double-cropping the land with a sorghum fodder crop in the Saif season and then a grain crop in the Kharif.

A great deal of the land in Abyan which has been well irrigated for the past five years is now becoming heavily infested with weeds, mainly the weed grass *Desmostachya bipinnata*. The introduction of cotton as a cleaning crop and the "drying up" and resting with or without cultivation, of these heavily infested lands is now recognised as an urgent matter. In order to tackle the weed problem the Board increased its tractor strength by the purchase of three Fowler Diesel crawler tractors in the last quarter of 1949. 654 137 242

Another problem which came to notice towards the end of 1949 was the rapid rise in the height of the water table in certain areas. The area involved does not exceed 300 acres, but already in this area (where in places the water table has risen to within six feet of the surface) salts are appearing in the upper layers of the soil, and vegetation, particularly in the seedling stage, has been affected. It was noticed that cotton, once established, flourished and appeared exceedingly healthy on these salt-impregnated soils. 133 242

*Anti-Famine Measures*

In the first four-and-a-half months of 1949 until general rains fell over the Eastern Protectorate, famine again threatened human life in the Hadhramaut. Relief measures were introduced, as in the previous famine, but this time so promptly that practically no deaths from famine occurred. Again aircraft of the Royal Air Force came to the rescue and dropped grain supplies to the worst affected areas. Large quantities of grain were moved inland by motor transport and any camel transport that could be mustered ; at the same time large numbers of the destitute, particularly women and children, were brought down or walked down to the coastal towns, where they were accommodated in refugee camps and fed. To employ labour on relief works an extensive programme of road construction, and irrigation repair works and new construction was undertaken. 731 [653]

When rain fell, it was again found necessary to issue loans to

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



There has been close co-operation between the two States; they jointly operate a workshop in Sai'un for repairs of pumps and agricultural machinery and maintain an Agricultural Department in the Wadi. 654 647

In the Wahidi Country an administration has been set up under the advice of a Political Officer. Progress in extending the administration to outlying areas has continued and a start has been made in local government in the few small towns of the area. Experiments have been carried out in cotton and sugar cultivation. 631 [242]

The Sultan of Mahra and Socôtra died in February, 1952. In Socotra Sultan Isabin Ahmed Afrar has been elected his successor but he has not been given formal recognition by Government as his election has not yet been confirmed by the mainland chiefs.

Details of Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes in progress during the period are given in Appendix II at the end of the report.

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The above figures are derived from estimates checked by sampling, except in the case of the long-staple cotton for which actual figures are available. 241

Outstanding yields of long-staple cotton have been obtained ; yields of one ton of seed cotton with a ginning out-turn of 36 per cent often occur. Yields of irrigated wheat and barley are generally high : wheat yields of 1½ tons per acre are common in the lift-irrigated districts.

*Crop Processing*

*Cotton Ginneries.* Long-staple cotton is ginned in two ginneries operated by the Abyan Board, and the total output in the 1951-52 season was 7,206 bales. At the end of 1952 plans were in hand to combine ginning equipment at one ginnery in Lower Abyan. 248 249

*Oil Mills.* Throughout the Protectorate sesame is crushed in primitive pestle and mortar crushers worked by camel power.

*Marketing*

Crops for domestic consumption are sold direct by the producer to the consumer, or through merchants, or at markets which are often weekly events in the villages and towns of the Protectorate. 443

Tobacco is exported from the Protectorate by merchants who trade in the Colony of Aden and Middle East markets. 439

Substantial quantities of fresh produce, vegetables and fruit are exported from the Protectorate to the Colony to be sold in the Colony markets.

No marketing boards for export crops exist, but the Abyan Board is at the moment in sole control of the grading, ginning and export of long-staple cotton grown in the Protectorate. 248

*Research*

Research on cotton and cotton breeding is carried on by the Abyan Board. 242

In the Hadhramaut, the Hadhramaut States contribute funds to an experimental area supervised by an officer of the Department of Agriculture. In this area, which was opened in 1952, investigations on crop production, crop varieties, treatments and water duties have been started.

In the Western Protectorate many varieties of deciduous fruits and citrus have been introduced over the past 14 years, and it is considered that there are sufficient trees in bearing to start on nursery propagation of suitable types. Initial trials have been made at a high-altitude demonstration area on the Audhali Plateau.

*Control of Pests and Diseases*

Since 1942 efforts have been made, generally with success, to control locust breeding in the Protectorate, which is subject to constant invasions by locusts from other areas. The control of covered smut of sorghum by the use of sulphur for seed treatment has been introduced to areas where damage from this plant disease is common.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# APPENDIX 1

## THE ABYAN SCHEME

*Purpose*

2424 (a) To utilise all surface flow and suitable underground supplies of water in order to develop and maintain irrigation farming in the Abyan district.

(b) To organise and develop the production of food crops and cash crops, and to assist in their marketing.

(c) To increase the wealth and prosperity of the people and the Governments of the local States and of the Protectorate.

*Background*

The Abyan district is one of ancient development for irrigation farming. Centuries of insecurity made the area derelict, until the settlement of a feud and the entry of H.M. Government to maintain law and order.

From 1941 to 1943 efforts were made to restore, by traditional methods, irrigation of the southern part of the district. In 1943 654 Government entered the derelict areas of the southern and central sections and a four-year development plan was started to restore and maintain irrigation systems on traditional lines. Control was in the hands of the Department of Agriculture; funds were provided by the [651] Colony of Aden as part of the increased food production campaign; irrigation charges of one-quarter share of the crop were levied.

In 1947 the Abyan Board was formed by an administrative order of 2442 the Governor of Aden. The Board was accepted by the two States whose territories were covered by the schemes. In December, 1948, a 476 loan of £20,000 was approved from Colonial Development and Welfare funds. In August, 1948, a further £250,000 was approved. With these funds the Board embarked on the initial stages of its plan of development.

*Organisation*

Development was on a partnership basis between:

(a) Landowners (the States, private individuals or trusts) who provide land;

(b) owner occupiers and tenant farmers who provide the working animals, implements, general farming capital, and the labour for crop production; and

(c) the Board, a development authority, which undertakes the construction of irrigation works, maintains the irrigation system, and regulates the distribution of irrigation water. The Board also maintains special control over the cotton crop which is sold to the Board at agreed prices, processed in the Board's ginneries, and sold to the Raw Cotton Commission.

2,43,000 Up to 1949–50 agricultural production was primarily concerned with the cultivation of sorghum and sesame. Trials with long-staple

S:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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APPENDIX I

cotton, introduced in 1946, proved successful and this crop has now been chosen as the main crop for the area.

Payment for irrigation services has always been based on a crop share of 25 per cent payable to the Board. The present crop share and taxation on the crop, as laid down in an agreement dated 1st April, 1950, is as follows :

| PARTY | LIVE LAND (*Land developed and cultivated for 5 years*) | DEAD LAND (*New land opened for cultivation*) |
|---|---|---|
| | % | % |
| State (Taxation) . . | 5 | 10 |
| Landlord . . . | 20 | 15 |
| Tenant . . . | 50 | 50 |
| Board . . . | 25 | 25 |

To secure rapid development, traditional methods have been used while the land has been surveyed and existing canal systems aligned and new canals of improved design have been constructed. Diversion is still by traditional methods but regulators have been constructed in the upper part of the district.

*Land and Water Rights*

The Board does not own or control any land except building sites and experimental areas loaned from the local States and, in one case, rented from a landowner.

The Board controls the diversion and distribution of all flood water in the district. In the winter season the Board purchases the permanent flow of the Bana River from the Lower Yafai Sultan and his relatives and distributes this supply through the canal system to farmers who pay the customary crop share to the Board.

Tribal boundaries and settlements of title to the area have been ill defined in the past years of insecurity, but in 1951 final decisions were taken regarding tribal boundaries.

*Survey*

Since 1948 an area of 100,000 acres has been contour surveyed to a one metre interval. Geophysical surveys, the first as a reconnaissance and the second in fairly detailed form, have been made.

*Irrigation Development*

Development is in various stages. An area of approximately 50,000 acres of land is now controlled for irrigation farming, mainly on traditional lines. The normal flood flow to the area is expected to be sufficient to crop 30,000 acres yearly. In the 1951 flood a discharge of 224,000,000 cubic metre was observed to reach Abyan in the Bana River and this quantity, if correctly controlled, would have been sufficient for the irrigation of 50,000 acres. In actual fact only 30,000 acres were irrigated. The system is to direct flood water at speed, by diversion weirs made of brushwood and stone, into canals

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



654 which carry the water to bunded fields where the land is inundated to
312 approximately one metre in depth. In the lower part of the district complete diversion of the flood is made by larger earth dams built
241 across the river bed. Generally one metre depth of water is sufficient to raise the crops of sorghum, sesame and cotton, though summer planted crops which have to grow when water is low are given one or two supplementary irrigations.

The date of arrival of the floods is uncertain and the pattern of crop production may alter considerably according to the date of irrigation. For instance, early summer floods will only be used for sorghum fodder, grain, melons and sesame. Later summer irrigations are particularly required for cotton planting and for the autumn sown sorghum crop.

*The Farming System*

Skilled cultivation is carried on by settlers from many South Arabian tribes who have come to the area since the start of the scheme. Bunding of land, construction of field channels, ploughing and sowing are carried out by draught animals, mainly oxen though camels are brought in to help occasionally. No fertilisers are used at present ; the flood brings with it a heavy burden of silt which reaches the land and maintains its fertile state.

The basic problems concern the farming system. One is largely an irrigation problem caused by a rapid rise in the water-table which has taken place since irrigation was resumed. This rise in the water-table has caused an accumulation of salts in the upper layers of the soil, and has already made crop production on 2,000 acres practically impossible by flood irrigation methods. The other problem is weed control. As a gross area of 100,000 acres may be commanded in the future, and within this area an annual average of 30,000 acres may be cropped, it should be possible to afford long periods of fallow to land in order to reduce the dangers which may arise from heavy irrigation ; but individual ownership of land will greatly complicate such arrangements.

248 At the present time the cotton variety X.1730A, a derivative of
243 Sakel, is the main cash crop grown. All other cash crops in the
246 scheme are common to those of other irrigation tracts of a similar type in South Arabia though there are experimental crops, of which sugar is one. An important feature of the scheme is the need for a large area of sorghum for grain and fodder production. The draught animals depend almost entirely on sorghum fodder for their sustenance and the main food of the people is sorghum millet. It is expected that for some time two-thirds of the area will be maintained under sorghum and one-third under cotton.

*Mechanical Equipment*

406 The Board owns earth-moving machinery powered by diesel-engined
242 crawler tractors with carry-all scrapers, bulldozers, a ripper and grader and two drag-line scrapers. The policy of the Board is to increase the

8:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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mechanical equipment required for irrigation construction and maintenance in order to release work oxen for field operations. Up to the present shortage of equipment, break-downs and delays in obtaining spares have made it necessary to employ large numbers of working cattle on earth-moving and general irrigation works. 406 242

The Board also owns a fleet of twelve diesel-engined crawler tractors for ploughing work. Considerable difficulties have been encountered in maintaining this tractor fleet.

*Administration of the Scheme* 242

The present composition of the Board is :

| | |
|---|---|
| British Agent, Western Aden Protectorate | Chairman |
| Director of Agriculture, Aden Protectorate | Managing Director. |
| Senior Political Officer, Southern Area | Director. |
| Two Representatives, (Fadhli State) | Members. |
| Two Representatives, (Yafa'i State) | Members. |
| Manager, Abyan Board | Secretary. |

The Board is responsible for the construction and maintenance of capital works and of main and minor canals ; the development of new land for irrigation ; the delivery of water to the land ; provision of marketing and credit facilities to farmers, when necessary.

The Board receives one-quarter share of the crops grown. This is now based on a cash payment of *Shs.*40 per effectively cropped acre for all crops other than cotton. The assessed amount is deducted from the cash payment made for the cotton crop. 242 437

The Board in the 1952-53 season made a cultivation advance of *Shs.*90 per acre of effectively established, thinned and cleaned cotton.

The Board provides seed-cotton packs and conducts weekly markets at convenient centres throughout the area. The cotton is classified at the markets by an expert cotton classifier. Each pack carries the grower's identification number, the weight as recorded at the sale and the market identification letter. A record is made of quantities sold at each market by growers and cash is paid after deduction of the Board's share. The cotton is ginned and baled in a ginnery equipped and run by the Board. The whole of the graded lint is sold under a long-term contract with the Raw Cotton Commission. The Abyan X.1739A is regarded by buyers as equal to Sudan grown crop of similar type. 242 442 248

Tenants make up and maintain bunds and field channels, cultivate specified crops as the Board directs, pay the crop share due, and deliver crops such as cotton to markets as directed. 242 [439]

Landlords, if owner occupiers, cultivate their own land and follow

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2



242 [426] conditions as for tenants. If not owner occupiers, they take responsibility for debts incurred by tenants, to whose settlement or eviction they must agree.

*Finance*

| | *Sales* | |
|---|---|---|
| | *bale of* 400 *lb.* | *Value* £ |
| 1949 . . . . | 100 | 5,270 |
| 1950 . . . . | 1,587 | 121,450 |
| 1951 . . . . | 9,890 | 867,088 |
| 1952 . . . . | 6,300 | 725,810 |

The contract with the Raw Cotton Commission extends to the season 1955–56.

Seed was sold to the value of £86,500 in 1951 and £54,870 in 1952.

Expenditure of approximately £20,000 loaned by the Colony Government on the first stage of the scheme in 1943–46 was refunded in part, and the balance handed over in the form of improvements and working capital to the Abyan Board on its formation.

Capital liabilities for loans stood at £278,307 at 30th September, 1952.

At the same date, after disposal of the current season's cotton crop, there were fixed assets worth £324,693. Cash and investment funds were available for the provision of £400,000 to a general development reserve ; £180,000 to a revenue stabilisation fund ; and £25,000 to a sinking fund.

*Social Effects*

The Scheme has had great beneficial influence on the general economy of the Aden Protectorate.

728 Peace and security have been extended to an area formerly insecure and the area has been settled by members of many tribes formerly at feud with each other in the Protectorate.

164 742 242 The Scheme has also been responsible for the virtual eradication of malaria in the district. This work conducted by the Protectorate Medical Service has been assisted by the Board which has guaranteed to provide a minimum of £26,000 per annum to a joint States' Medical Service ; it has also agreed to provide £20,000 for the building of a hospital.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

621 We had not received favourable reports of Wādī ʿAmd. The el-Aṭṭās family, nevertheless, maintained the contrary; it is their wādī and the Djaʿdī Bedouins who inhabit it are allied with them and are, in a certain sense, under their control, but it is hard to discover how far this control goes. We got the impression that the wādī was very much armed and ready for war. The landscape is barren and, at first, monotonous; the *sēl*-bed is broad and filled with bluish-white, small boulders. Conditions must have been much better in the old days, for the numerous ruins suggest a dense population.

341 It is long after sunset before we reach Nukhr, where the el-
231 ʿAṭās family own a house. The place consists of a few huts
243 and a half tumble-down mud house, in which a room has been prepared for us. It is too warm to spend the night indoors, but the staircase leading to the roof has collapsed. In the middle of the hamlet there is a storehouse for fodder, half below and half above the ground. Its roof is about three feet above the ground and has a parapet about one and a half feet high. The basin thus formed is smoothly plastered with mud, and the grain is thrashed in it after harvesting. It makes a hard but safe sleeping place.

172 On the following day, June 10th, we set off again south-
312 westwards. At first the wādī is very monotonous and barren
241 and the *sēl*-bed widens considerably. After two hours' riding Wādī ʿAmd makes a bend towards the south and then very soon one comes across date plantations. There are an increasing number of ruins of what, presumably, were defence works, situated on hill-tops. The palm plantations have suffered much from the drought in recent years, as for two years there was neither rain nor *sēl* of any considerable quantity. The subsoil water is far from the surface and wells are 300 to 450 feet in depth so that they are not used for purposes of irrigation but only for supplying drinking-water. Groups of men hoist up the water, singing monotonously the while.

241 Further southwards the plantations increase and form an un-
312 broken girdle between the broad, wild *sēl*-bed and the wes-

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



315 A party from Petroleum Concessions Ltd. arrived in November and, after visiting Hadhramaut, went east along the coast to prospect the Mahra area.

# Chapter 7: Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry

## AGRICULTURE

### *General*

132 There was rain in the west of the Hadhramaut and in the Eastern coastal [312] area in February, and in June and August good rains in the Hadhramaut formed a new lake above the recently finished Nuqra dam. The spring 243 wheat and barley crops were satisfactory. Efforts to persuade the farmers to grow barley rather than wheat continued and towards the end of the year some effect was noticed, partly owing to the discovery of a way of cooking the barley so as to make it acceptable as food; experiments in machine grinding were also started.

### *Staff*

647 The staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a Director, two Agricultural Officers, an Agricultural Assistant, an Engineer Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors.

### *Land Utilisation*

Lack of rainfall imposes a severe limitation on crop production in 312 the Protectorate. Highly developed conservation measures, run-off control, flood irrigation and artificial irrigation are employed to secure 311 arable land production. The percentage of arable land to the desert and range is estimated at 0·33 per cent. Established pastures and meadows are unknown. Dry forest scrub is found on the Island of Socotra and in the far Eastern Mahra Coast.

### *Crop Production*

241

*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | *Acres* | *Tons* |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 60,000 | 12,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 10,000 | 1,500 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 |
| Sesame | 10,000 | 1,000 |

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 20,000 | 4,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 3,000 | 500 |
| Wheat | 3,500 | 2,500 |
| Date palms | 10,000 | 5,500 |

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Market Conditions*

Food grain prices showed no reduction during the year. Prices at the main coastal centres of Aden and Mukalla fluctuated between £25 and £37 per ton, the higher rates being recorded in Mukalla towards the end of the year, when famine conditions were confirmed in the Hadhramaut. 435

The price of sesame seed fell from the high levels of 1947, and the price during the year varied between £60 and £70 per ton.

The Maria Theresa dollar exchange dropped 23½ per cent at the end of the year, Rs. 186 being asked for 100 dollars.

*Demonstration and Experiment*

In the Hadhramaut the introduction of barley passed the third season; it may be claimed that the crop has found favour and that it is most likely to become well established in the economy of the country. The object of this introduction was to obtain a more dependable crop for winter sowing. Wheat was in the past the winter crop, and always a risky one owing to the danger of rust attacks. Barley in southern Arabia is regarded as a safer crop in all respects, but for some reason it escaped the attention of farmers in the Wadi Hadhramaut. 242 243 248

In Abyan cotton variety X1730A was grown on a field scale on Abyan Board tenants' land. The crop was sown on land inundated in August with approximately three feet of water. No other water was applied after sowing. At the end of the year, the crop appeared most promising.

*Plant Introduction*

Three-hundred and fifty apricot, 350 Japanese plum, and 24 peach trees were imported from South Africa, for sale to farmers on the Audhali Plateau.

One hundred citrus trees were imported from Eritrea, for planting and distribution in Abyan.

*Development Schemes: The Abyan Board*

Work on improvement of the systems of the Na'aza and Ba Tes canals was carried out in the first nine months of the year. A stone regulator at Ba Tes head an ' a series of stone drops and regulators were installed on this system and on part of the Na'aza system. Much work remains to be done, and in a manner which will allow of the improvement to be incorporated in the general plan of development [illegible] the area. 242 241

Following further examination of the area by Mr. N. Simansky, Irrigation Adviser, it was possible to submit an application for a loan of £250,375 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Sanction for this loan was obtained in July, and work started in the last quarter of the year. Machinery and cement were ordered, while local purchases were made from ex-War Department stocks held in Aden. At the end of the year, two Agricultural Officers, one of whom acted as manager to the Board, one British and three Italian surveyors, and one British accountant, together with a large Arab staff were employed on the scheme.

The development programme of the Board continued side by side with

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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boiled radishes is given to cattle with " cattle plague ". Donkeys are said to be susceptible to a very fatal disease. 231 232

Both cattle and camels are used in ploughing, the former usually in pairs and the latter singly. For the working of the wells, camels, cattle, donkeys, men and women, all combine, frequently in mixed teams, the animals being generally given a bunch of fodder at the top of the incline each time they reach it. Camels are also employed in turning the machines for extracting the simsim oil. The fact that fodder and water become more scarce north of the main Wadi necessitates a greater use of camels and donkeys are few and far between. Donkeys are uncommon also in the Wadi Maseila, for there is a three-day stretch without water in the middle of the Wadi, and below Buzun the flow is not perennial. Sheep and goats, however, are to be found everywhere, seeking their pasture under the care of women or girls. 231 492

Heald in his report states that no attention is paid to selection during the breeding season—which is usually in the early summer. With the sheep, one lamb is generally the average—although higher up in the Hadhramaut, amongst better pasture, ewes give two lambs. The sheep in the Meifa valley had black fleeces with the curly fat tails, although smaller than the Egyptian sheep. The goats are also smaller than in Egypt and originally came from the Yemen. 231

It was particularly noticeable in the Wadi Maseila that the livestock were very much smaller than those elsewhere. The cows are little larger than a normal-sized calf, and the sheep and goats are also smaller than those in Du'an or to the north. The cattle are similar in size to those of Soqotra. The breeds of goats and sheep appeared to vary considerably over the whole country, but a black-and-white variety was the most common. His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan has a few horses, both for riding and carriage work, and I saw one at Meshhed. There are probably not a dozen in the whole country. 643 492

**Minor agricultural products.**

Dates in the Hadhramaut are merely a hobby, and the entire local crop is consumed fresh during a season of two months, June and July. It may be recorded that a single date-tree in the Du'an valley sells from 400 to 1,000 dollars, many times its economic price. Dates form a staple article of diet and are therefore imported in large quantities. 245 262 435

The principal grain and other food crops are millet—*dirra* (great millet, *Sorghum vulgar*), *dukhn* (bullrush millet, *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and *keneb* or *msebeli* (Italian millet, *Setana italica*); lucerne; *jil jil* (sesame, not eaten by donkeys); *dijar* (a kind of bean); wheat (not eaten by donkeys or goats); and a little maize. The stalks are generically known as *qusab*, and the grain as *ta'm*. Hashish or grass is also grown for animals. The principal garden crops are sweet potatoes, onions, garlic, pumpkins, carrots, egg 241

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FIG. 3—The Wadi Hadhramaut at Tarim, looking eastward, i.e., downstream. Tarim, surrounded by its wall, is at the left. Trees in the broad alluvial-filled valley are date palms, irrigated by water hand-drawn from wells. The dissected character and even summit levels of the Jol (plateau) are clearly seen. Canyon walls along the wadi are 500 to 1000 feet high. Irrigation ditches to divert occasional floods are discernible everywhere on the wadi floor.

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FIG. 4—A caravan carrying wood to the market in Tarim.

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FIG. 11—Hajareiin, the largest city in Wadi Du'an, is on one of the principal caravan routes between Mukalla and the Wadi Hadhramaut. Its site was obviously chosen with an eye to defense. Groves of cultivated date palms and millet fields may be seen amid a series of earthen retaining walls and irrigation ditches. As in other cities of the Hadhramaut, adobe brick is the building material.

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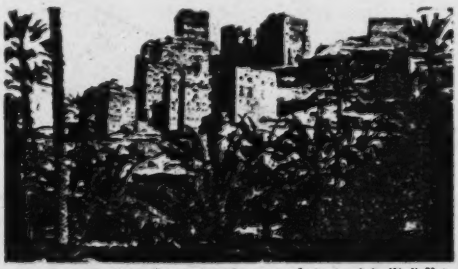

FIG. 12—A typical, fortified, Arab settlement on the banks of the Wadi Hajr. The irrigated groves of date palms furnish the main foodstuff.

P. 638

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Himyarites was an important export center for incense and myrrh, has enough rainfall to support a thin growth of vegetation, largely incense trees. From this area and the surrounding country, at one time more abundantly watered, the priceless gum was most extensively collected in the past. It is still gathered today in small amounts, according to demand. The gum, which adheres to the bark, is harvested from varieties of the Burseraceae family, *Boswellia Carterii* and *B. Bhua-Dajiana*, divided by the Arabs into four grades.[4] Its value, which ranges from £80 to £10 a ton, depends on such qualities as color (red, green, and brown), size of the gum particles, and degree of adulteration. Just as the rubber gatherers of the Amazon debased latex with pebbles and gravel, so did the Arabs in the heyday of the incense trade, and to some extent even now, admix varying amounts of fine sand with the gum to increase its weight. Between March and August the trees are tapped by knife incision and a milky juice is extracted, which dries in three to five days.

FIG. 20 Caravan loading. The three men at the right are arguing about the disposition of loads.

Besides incense trees, a thin and scattered growth of bunch grass, camel's-thorn, and a cedarlike evergreen abundant in some dry wadies is found in the Hadhramaut. Date-palm groves, which cover many square miles, are mainly dependent on irrigation.

## Sources of Water Supply

In addition to artesian water and the water obtained from wells, other sources of supply are available. One of these is the *siquaya*, a small, rectangular, concrete tank with a capacity of 20 or 25 gallons erected along caravan routes near towns and maintained by them as a public service. Another is the well or cistern excavated at the base

[4] Freya Stark: The Southern Gates of Arabia. [New York], 1936, pp. 10–11.

361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from
245 Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where
438 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager
283 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in
[342] this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have
186 caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the
191 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a
185 more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley,
485 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was
491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal
728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the
185 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

133 During the daytime the heat was stifling, and at night it
was so cold that for hours before the sun rose I was no
longer able to sleep. The interminable, barren plain was
covered all over with sharp, loose fragments of stone,
and among these wound the narrow path along which
from morning to night we steadily wended our way.
312 Drinking water is here to be found in *negābas,* which
are cisterns hewn out of the rock some three meters below
the surface, with a narrow opening. Low ridges lead the
scanty rainfall to the *negāba.* Owing to the narrow
opening there is very little evaporation, and if one has
no rope at hand with a vessel to draw water, this open-
ing is just large enough to admit a man to dip it out.
485 Near the *negāba* there is usually a little square building
made by piling up rough stones in clay, this is called
*murabba,* and here the midday hours with their scorch-
486 ing heat may be spent. For the sake of safety, our
609 Bedouins avoided the *negābas* as places for passing the
night. In the evening the neighborhood of the bivouac
was carefully reconnoitred, and usually sentries were
posted at night. The authorities at Makalla had given us
for our personal protection two negro soldiers belonging
133 to the famous slave army of the āl-Qa'ētī sultan. On
May 15 we reached the wonderfully beautiful valley
Wādī Dō'an. The descent of hundreds of meters of this
almost perpendicular wall of rock with loaded camels
was a difficult feat causing some anxiety; but the
Bedouins and their camels reached the valley below with-
245 out a single mishap. As we looked upon this *wādī,*
hemmed in by its high walls of rock, it looked like a
land of magic with its deep-green groves of date palms
[361] and its clay villages with great castles and high houses.
A glowing heat as dry as dust prevailed in Wādī Dō'an
night and day. The bright yellow and deep red bunches
of dates were hanging ripening in the hot wind. In the
shade of the magnificent and remarkably well kept trees
the population were quietly waiting for the harvest time.
144 A great deal of mixture with negro blood (of slaves) has

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



172 angles to the main one, and which distributed the water to the field-plots: these are from 4 to 8 m. broad and approximately 2 m. above the general ground-level. The irrigation of the fields themselves was directly controlled by the tertiary system, which consists of short narrow 1-m. ditches, taking off at an acute angle either from the main or secondary channels. The total area covered by this network was about 7 sq. km., and its various parts can be paralleled in the modern irrigation system.

Near the southern edge of this system there are several fields bounded by high silt banks. These are marked on the map by strong dotted lines, and some can be faintly distinguished in Plate 3 on the edge of the valley floor beyond the flood channel. They may be later in date, but in one case a stone inlet and outlet channel was found similar in all respects to the ancient work. The ground-level was here about RL 787 m., the inlet channel at 788·2 m., and the outlet at 787·7 m. Many of these fields have been intermittently cultivated in modern times by means of rainfall only.[1] A scatter of sickle flints and microlithic obsidians was found over the entire irrigated area. It may be noted that obsidian implements were absent on all the Islamic sites examined.

312 . At the present day the flood waters are led off the flood channel several kilometres above Hureidha and are carried down by a 4-m. channel running [245] on the south side of the wadi (see Fig. 2) till they reach the palm groves of the town, where they divide and water many thousand palms. As the ancient 172 system was so similar to the modern it seems probable that it resembled it in this respect also. Within the area mapped there was no sign of a supply from the flood channel. The main canal never approached it and the minor ones were actually truncated by it. A day was therefore spent in riding up the wadi in the hopes of finding the take-off of the main pre-Islamic canal. Traces of it were followed for 16 km. but nowhere did it approach the present flood channel till the latter swings across the valley floor towards the north cliffs (Plate 3). Here a well-defined ancient canal is truncated by the wadi bed. It has 2 m. high gravel-covered banks, 30 m. apart, and can be clearly traced for 80 m. or so in an eastward direction. Beyond this point there is no sign of it, and here may therefore be the actual take-off of the flood waters which fed the ancient supply.

Possible confirmatory evidence was obtained about 1 km. upstream. Here there is a remnant of a V-shaped dam which projected from the southern bank part-way across the stream and would have served to divert the current to the entrance of the channel (Plate 11). In the bed itself only the foundations of this dam remain as a band of stones 3½ m. broad, wedged on both sides by larger, more regularly laid material. The downstream arm is 40 m. long and the upstream one 63 m., with a base of 81 m. along the wadi bank. The upstream branch springs from a base that wedges into the gravel of the bank for 2·6 m. The sloping sides are composed of wedge-shaped limestone blocks: eighteen courses high, probably the full number, are preserved on the downstream side and fourteen on the upstream. The infilling is of gravel. No sign of inscriptions or well-dressed stones were seen, and the age must therefore remain conjectural; but local tradition knows nothing of its history.

[1] Mr. Ingrams notes that in the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed—'Hadhramaut' (Colonial Office Report No. 123, 1937, p. 59).

184 438 passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the [463 Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and 312] irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

361 438 Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the 529 principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the [504] principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

619 438 Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

487 101 438 142 When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan [244] Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hill are terraced by the industrious inhabitants to grow crops and, in the higher altitudes, the excellent Mocha coffee for which Southern Arabia is famous. Villages appear in unexpected places, built of mud brick in the low country and of stone on the mountain-sides and hill-tops. Among these habitations are seen always the square towers, or *tars*, and the little mosques or whitewashed shrines that are characteristic of the Arab villages.

The aspect of the country varies in its different parts. Immediately to the north of Aden is the large and fertile oasis in which stands the capital of the Sultan of Lahej. It is irrigated from the bifurcation of the Wadi Tiban that brings water from the mountains and then disappears in the sands near Aden. To the east and west of Lahej are desert strips, but beyond are the Subeihi hills and valleys to the north-west, the rugged Haushabi country, and the pleasant district of Dhala in the Amiri highlands to the north, and the lofty mountains of Yafa to the north-east. Thence to the eastward a steep escarpment spans the country like a rampart and is crowned by the fertile Audhali plateau 7,000 feet above sea-level. Farther east, beyond another stretch of rough, mountainous country, is the fantastic and barren *jol*, reminiscent of pictures of the surface of the moon. To the north of this strange and desolate area, and in striking contrast to it, is the wide valley of the Hadhramaut, with its chain of towns and villages, its skyscrapers, country houses, palace and gardens. Beyond again, away to the north, lies the edge of the Rub' al Khali, the Empty Quarter, with its sea of tumbled terra-cotta coloured sand dunes stretching into the distant interior.

On the sea coast of the Protectorate there are at intervals fishing villages and little ports, and about 300 miles to the east of Aden stands the picturesque town and port of Mukalla, the capital of the Quaiti Sultan. Protected by a steep background of rock, its white houses cling to the shore, and its appearance from the sea is singularly attractive. The town of Shehr lies on the coast beyond it, and eastward again there are more coastal villages, of which Qishn, the capital of the mainland territory of the Sultan of Socotra, is the most important.

The large island of Socotra, situated about 500 miles to the east of Aden, forms part of the Protectorate. It, too, is a mountainous country, but, owing to its greater rainfall, it is much less bleak than the neighbouring mainland. It has a good deal of varied vegetation, and is noted for its so-called dragon's-blood tree, the sap of which is exported to India and elsewhere to make a rich purple dye. Socotra has also a

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



A little way beyond the boundary-marks, about 20 Bedouins have made a bivouac under an overhanging wall of rock. On the top of the rock on the other side of the road are their outposts, who keep a sharp look-out for caravans passing along the high road. One caravan that had carried out a vendetta is now in safety in Makalla, a willing prisoner. We only realized later that we should be the ones to free it from that imprisonment.

The road winds through steep rocks and at last zigzags up to a plateau which seems to be of coral limestone formation. The hamlet of Maʿōṣ lies in a rocky valley a little in front of the plateau; further up, in a longer valley, there is a larger village called el-Ḥarshīyāt. From the plateau one can see, far away to the left, the village of el-Ḥawwāʾ. We are soon past the rock massif of Makalla, and the road descends to an inlet of the sea which has run far inland, whereon lies the village of Buwēsh. Papaya, bēdān and bananas are planted here along the edge of fields of lucerne. In the wādī that runs into the sea near Buwēsh there are, higher up, more date-palms and other fruit-trees, plantations which are the property of the Vizier and of other rich men of Makalla. The wells from which the fields are irrigated are not deep here, only 20 feet. On the coast between Buwēsh and Makalla lies Rūkeb. The road mounts again, runs for some time over coral formations, and then again drops to the Wādī Feleq, into which, far inland, the sea-water runs and which, consequently, is more like a small river. Baṣra lies a little higher up this wādī. At the edge of the stream we find much *asal*[1] growing. The coral limestone terraces on both sides are fairly high. The road runs farther over level land where jathropha shrubs grow; whole patches, also, are covered with incense bushes, which are recognizable by their scent and have either no leaves or very small ones. Some tall acacia bushes with elongated blossoms stand out here and there amidst the brownish shrubs which grow upon the bare rocky ground, strewn with pieces of coral.

[1] A kind of big reed.

000 the fairly steep slope of Wādī Ḥimem, high above the *sēl*-bed. We looked down on the fresh green of small trees and shrubs; a shepherdess with her flock of goats was occasionally to be seen amongst them. The path then dropped down towards the wādī; walking over the grey-white boulders and under small acacias with scanty foliage, we made our weary way to the end of Wādī Ḥimem, in and beside which we had been journeying for days past.

### 4. THROUGH WĀDĪ LUṢŪB TO THE GREAT ROCK PLATEAU. THE CAMP AT EL-ḤISĪ.

133 361 312 We came out onto a high plateau, but soon entered the wide, shallow bed of Wādī Luṣūb, which was fairly well covered with vegetation. Small, poor houses lie scattered here, like cubes of stone, with very primitive little gardens. The people live principally by breeding sheep and goats. We made our quarters for the night just beyond the houses, forming the hamlet of el-Ḥisī, beside a large well of masonry within which one descends by stone steps to the surface of the water. The well had been dug in the *sēl*-bed and was therefore protected by a thick wall, as high as a man, against the water floods which appear after rain. In el-Ḥisī lived the family of Mautor, the leader of our caravan, and hence the dawdling which characterised this day; on no account were they prepared to go beyond el-Ḥisī.

246 262 All bickering was forgotten now and our Bedouins radiated contentment and willingness. The people of el-Ḥisī set to work cutting up food for our animals, all the inhabitants came to have a look at our camp, and, afterwards, Mautor took all his comrades with him to feast in his village. He brought us, beforehand, a cloth full of *nibq* fruit. The *nibq* tree, also called *sidr* or *dōm*, is of intrinsic importance in those parts of Ḥaḍramaut where there is too little water for the cultivation of the date-palm. There, wherever one is dependent on the *sēl*, the water which only comes after rain, and where the subsoil

water is too far below the surface to serve for the regular 245
irrigation of a plantation, the *nibq* can still live quite well, 262
and even if there is no rain for some years it does not die. The fruit of the *nibq* is as large as a marble and has a stone of the size of a pea. The taste is sour-sweet and refreshing. The fruit can be dried and kept for a long time: it is then crushed fine, stone and all, and with the meal bread is baked or a sort of porridge made. This small fruit is the chief food supply of many in times of drought, and in times of scarcity many Bedouins live on *nibq* and milk and do not look ill on the diet. The shepherdesses carry the *nibqs* with them in small oval, prettily woven baskets.

The wood of the *nibq* tree is reddish-brown and hard, and [3/3]
is used for beams and supporting pillars in the big, many- 3/4
storied, mud houses of the rich. The branches, thick with 262
thorns, are used in the date plantations when the bu[illegible] of 231
dates approach ripeness. They are bound in a wreath round the trunk just below the clusters of fruit, to prevent the dates from being stolen. Finally the green leaves of the *nibq* are also useful: when, during a long drought, there is hardly any more food to be found for the sheep and goats one sees the agile shepherdesses, in spite of their flowing, black garments, clambering up to the top of the *nibq* tree and knocking off the leaves from the branches with long, thin sticks. The flock stands below the tree in expectation of the godsend of food to come. We have only a mild admiration for the *nibq* fruit: one must do much chewing for little nourishment and for little taste.

They also brought us from el-Ḥisī a few handfuls of the 262
roasted larvae of white ants. The taste was not bad; Von Wissmann ate up a whole helping with the result that, shortly afterwards, he had a pain in his throat and could not utter a sound, a condition that lasted for about two hours.

El-Ḥisī lies about 4500 feet above sea-level, and the 133
evenings are quite cold. While there, we examined the bundles 000
of plants which we had already collected and pressed. Great

tinually along the wall of rock. They move slowly and very cautiously, and the whole caravan reaches the bottom of the wādī without mishap.

The advance guard with the donkeys has long since arrived. A crowd of boys stands waiting for us, and in the background, in the shadow of the date-palms, there are a number of women, who do not wish to let slip this chance of seeing Naṣrānīs. The Governor, Bā Ṣurra, has sent a few soldiers to show us the way to his castle. They look like Yemenīs and, indeed, come from the western highlands. The villages and towns are situated close up against the slopes of débris above the cultivated fields. The houses are high and well built, often against steep inclines. Only a few of the rich have allowed themselves the luxury of a whitewashed top storey. The path winds through date-groves to the *maṣnaʿa*, the castle of the *Dōla* (Government). The date-palms are strong, fine trees; heavy clusters of yellow and red dates hang downwards from their crowns. Each tree is surrounded by a mud wall, so that, when the *sēl* comes, the roots are not washed bare, and a considerable amount of water is kept inside the little wall. Even in the deeply shaded plantations our feet sink in a thick layer of dust as fine as powder, for there has been no *sēl* for a long time.

## 2. BĀ ṢURRA, THE GOVERNOR OF WĀDĪ DŌʿAN.

The path leads steeply upwards through the village of el-Maṣnaʿa to the castle, which stands on the top of a rock high above all the other houses. It looks like a great mediaeval fortress with corner-towers, heavy triple gates, with stables, soldiers' quarters, halls and living-rooms. The stout wooden gates are magnificently carved, and decorated with metal plates and nail-heads. The first gate is opened by a guard of soldiers. We pass through a passage to the second gate, and then through a stable, past some calves, to the third. Then we are led through a hall, full of soldiers, to a narrower one, really

# CHAPTER V.

## THROUGH THE WĀDĪ TO HADRAMAUT PROPER.

### 1. ṢĪF THE INHOSPITABLE.

It is warm, — 39.5° C. — even in the shadow of the date-palms through which our way now leads for hours to come. We go on in the direction of Ṣīf, alternately up over the dyke and through the dried-up bed of the irrigation canal. Finally vegetation grows less and less and so does the number of villages on the slopes of rock débris. As time goes on one sees in place of date-palms more and more *nibq* trees. Their thorny branches are dragged in bundles to the date plantations, where they are bound to the trunks of the trees below the bunches of fruit, so that it is very difficult to get at the ripening fruit. In order to protect the dates, now becoming soft, against birds and other animals, bags made of plaited palm-leaves are pulled over the large clusters of fruit and then tied round their quite long and strong stems. On our way we meet donkeys laden with these bags, and also men and boys dragging after them bundles of branches of the *nibq* tree. The date-palms are excellently cared for. The dry leaves are cut away close to the trunk, and the clusters of fruit hang almost immediately underneath the crown of leaves. The date harvest is the great, happy event of the wādī. The fortunate possessors of date-trees drop down into the plantations from the *djōls* and side-wādīs. Those who are earning their living out of the country try to return home in time for the date harvest, and they all postpone their departure abroad until it is over. Yet this is more an affair of reverence and tradition than of economic importance. The local date is of no consequence as an article of commerce,

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p. 73

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



245 and is only important as part of the food supply of the
262 people. The slave and the Bedouin consider the Dō[illegible] as the really good one; the imported one, from Baṣra, they regard as inferior. The sayyids and notabilities who have made money abroad do not set much value on the date as an article of daily food. They keep on their date-groves in order to have a summer pavilion and a swimming-bath and to enjoy the shadow, the twittering of birds, and the old, familiar squeaking and creaking of the wooden wheels over which run the ropes drawing the water for irrigation from the wells to the surface. The family domestic staff and slaves with their wives and children find work in the date-groves, where they earn the food from which they chiefly subsist. The date plantations of the rich in this country are under present conditions no longer a source of income.

245 The fields which are dependent on the *sēl* go on beyond
241 the tract where the date-palms come to an end. They lie, well tilled, waiting for the rains higher up. Sometimes there is only one *sēl* in the year, but if it is a good one, its supply of water suffices for a successful harvest of dates. In the open spaces between the dates *dhura* is grown in summer, and *burr*[1] in winter. Most of the *sēls* occur in autumn.

There are fortunately plenty of *siqāyas* on the way to Ṣīf; it is true, the water is not always clear or odourless, but we are so tormented by thirst that we pay no attention to that.

Already long before Ṣīf cultivation ceases in the broad bed of the wādī, and our narrow path winds over bare stones.

361 Towards sunset we see Ṣīf lying on a broad slope of rock débris just where the wādī is very wide and the rocky bank is broken and retreats. The little, walled-in village looks rather poverty-stricken; the houses are not high, and only a few of their inhabitants appear to be well enough off to allow of their dwelling-floors being whitewashed, and of having a gay border to the balustrades of the roof-terraces.

104 [1] *Burr* (بُرّ), *triticum vulgare* Vill., cf. Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 172, 173.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The youth of the village was
diverting itself in the street below us, when suddenly we 825
heard a great noise and saw people running from all directions and bombarding the house opposite ours with stones. We thought that a general fight was about to ensue. Then came some men carrying burning palm-leaves and the house which was a target for the stones was fantastically lit up. To our great relief we discovered the cause of the disturbance: a large snake was trying to escape along the front of the house. Some of the stones hit their mark, the twistings and writhings grew slower and then the creature fell into the street as if broken. One of the most daring in the crowd approached and cut off the end of its tail; with that the danger was ended and peace was soon restored.

When we were thoroughly tired of answering the numer- 000
ous questions put to us and of greeting those who put them, we asked permission to retire to rest. The whole assembly gave its approval; our host announced that we were to sleep on this same terrace, but no one moved an inch for us to be alone. So there was nothing for it but to stretch ourselves out between our visitors, who were packed as close as sardines. A little later on we were awakened for a meal; every one was still sitting in the same place. We ate and then at once went to sleep again, but were awakened before the sun rose by the loud voices of our visitors, who had already come back.

That day was to be devoted to getting our caravan ready for the journey to Makalla. Stammering Saʿīd, who had been such a trusty helper to us all the way from Rēdet ed-Deyyin, would give his exhausted camels a good feed and rest and then return with them to his boundless, hard rock-plateau. The taciturn black slave from el-Qarn in the Yebʿeth district had been a good guide; he went his way homewards well pleased with a thank-offering for the faithfulness, of which we had had so much doubt at first.

A reconnaissance of the neighbourhood showed that several 312
hot springs water the date-gardens and cultivated fields near 273
245

312 Ṣidāra. The high temperature of the water does no harm
273 to the vegetation as can be seen by the thick and almost
●245 tropical growth even at the sources of these hot streams. The picture made by this landscape in the midst of the deserts of rock was quite new to us. New to us also was the custom, which exists here, of tapping sap from the palm-trees: this sap soon ferments and produces a by no means innocent
[538] drink which is consumed in large quantities. Artless tales were told us of many a man who had become a regular slave of the wine of the date-palm. That this abuse of the date-palm, so strongly condemned by orthodox Muḥammadan opinion, does not seem to exist in other districts through which we travelled, is probably due rather to poverty than to religious conscientiousness. The people only indulge in the luxury of this sin in the well-watered country of Wādī Ḥadjr, where date plantations succeed each other continuously for hours and even days.

312 We had a bathe in one of the warm springs, a comfort
133 lacking since Diyār Āl Buqrī; but the crowded circle of critical and youthful spectators and their mocking remarks, added to the somewhat too high temperature of the water, prevented complete enjoyment of the event.

These hot springs point to volcanic action. Ṣidāra lies on the edge of the coastal chain of mountains, which is full of clear traces of volcanism. The monotonous similarity of the *djōl* and *wādī* formation of the interior has disappeared. The geological strata are no longer horizontal, nor do they consist any longer of limestone and sandstone and loam. Fantastically folded and broken strata, high precipices and peaks of archaic rock, between which extinct volcanoes can be recognised, characterize the landscape between Ṣidāra and Makalla.

000 The necessary waiting for camels and escort gives us the opportunity to write up our diaries, which has been pushed aside lately by other and more urgent affairs; but although our host does his best to give us the chance of a few hours' quiet work in a room upstairs, he does not succeed in doing so.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

*ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1 : General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

642 THE years 1951 and 1952 were marked by (a) Government penetration
648 into the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom (Maan) at the invitation of the Ruler and the subsequent formation of the United Administration of Maan and Khalifa ; (b) the conclusion of two Advisory Treaties with the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and Audhali Sultan (May and July, 1952)
647 and a joint Advisory and Protectorate Treaty with His Highness the Sultan of Lahej ; (c) the formation of the Fadhli—Lower Yafa' Health Board ; and (d) the formation of the Lower Aulaqi Regency Council in Ahwar (August, 1952).

Politically the period under review was one of consolidation and development of the administrations of the various States in the Protectorate.

438 The Abyan Board did well in 1951 when it sold 9,890 bales of cotton for £867,088. In 1952 the rains were not so plentiful with the result that only 6,300 bales were sold for £725,810.

648 Relations with the neighbouring Kingdom of the Yemen remained difficult in spite of the Modus Vivendi Agreement concluded with it in London in January, 1951. Interference in affairs well inside the Protectorate boundary was a cause of friction.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

622 In the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States the main constitutional advance has been in the setting up of town and village councils to deal with local affairs.

659 Of necessity both Administrations have been preoccupied with measures to combat the threat of food shortage which must always be
654 faced in this region of uncertain rainfall. The States and local author-
653 ities have maintained dumps of grain, which are designed to tide over a period of scarcity before imports can arrive from the coast, and a
245 periodical check is made on resources of motor transport to ensure that distribution of supplies is not held up by failure of camel traffic in an emergency. Positive measures have been taken to increase local food supplies. Funds have been allocated for loans to farmers to purchase pumps to increase areas of cultivation. Schemes for the rebuilding of dams and for flood control have been put into effect. Particular attention has been paid to the rehabilitation of date palms.

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

established to supply the local market—for the processing of soaps, pressed aluminum utensils, cigarettes, pottery and textiles, the extraction of sesame oil, the cutting of buttons from trochas shells and the building of dhows. Fishing is of potential importance, but its development is handicapped by primitive methods of procurement and handling and inadequate local transport facilities. The agricultural resources of the Colony are limited to market gardens and date groves on the oasis of Sheikh Othman. A 471 A 228 241

Agriculture and fishing are the principal occupations of the tribesmen of the Protectorate. The fisheries of the eastern districts are reputed to be among the richest in the Middle East, while the drying and salting of fish and the manufacture of fish oils, fodder and manure are valuable industries in the coast towns. A large proportion of the people in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut engage in agriculture, although the tribes of the steppe country are mainly nomadic pastoralists. The expansion of farming is curtailed by uncertain rainfall and shortage of water supply. In the Eastern Aden Protectorate, cultivation is restricted mainly to the middle portions of the Hadhramaut valley, where the river flows for part of the year. This region is historically famous as a source of frankincense and myrrh. Elaborate terracing and irrigation are employed in many areas for the conservation and the utilization of the limited water resources available. It was estimated in 1948 that less than 0.5 per cent of the total land area was suitable for farming, but the relative extent of pasturage and desert has not been determined. Systems of peasant ownership, tenancy farming and tribal land tenure prevail in different localities. The improvement of agriculture and expansion of irrigation are prominent among the development programs for the Protectorate. A co-operative project for the cultivation of cotton and other crops by modern methods has recently been initiated on 5,000 acres in the Abyan area in Western Aden Protectorate. Little H 228 241 H 241 361 H 241 311 [245] H 423 654 880

p. 239(A)

*Rotation.*—Heald states that mixed and overlapping rotations were found in Meifa and Asfal al 'Ain but, from careful enquiries, the following appeared to be the most popular :—Lucerne two years, followed by millet and the fourth year tobacco. If tobacco was not sown, the land was planted with another variety of millet. In some villages where lucerne was not grown, the rotation simply included tobacco and millet with sesame the third year. 242

In the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed. One year a certain part of the wadi bed will be cultivated, stick huts and erections for drawing up the water built, and when the crop is harvested the Beduins move on elsewhere, returning again another season. Thus we frequently passed remains of cultivation, disused mud aqueducts and tumbled-down huts.

*Diseases.*—Heald states, " Excepting for the caterpillar attacking the young millet and tobacco, the crops were remarkably free from pests and disease; I carefully searched for stem borer in the millet but could find none, and also for the scale in the few citrus trees."

**Trees and other vegetation of economic importance.**

The '*elb* (*Sidr. Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.) has many uses. Apart from its blossoms, which are said to give the good taste to the Du'an honey, its fruit called *dōm* is eaten extensively by the Beduins when dates are lacking. The beams, pillars and doors of Hadhramaut houses are made from the timber, and the supply and carriage of the trunks give much employment to the Beduins. It also supplies good firewood. It is a fodder tree, and the leaves are also used as a substitute for soap. 137 262 313 242 [388]

*Sār*, a palm tree (*Hyphaene thebaica* (L.) Mart.), from which the Beduins gather the leaves called *sāf* for transport to the towns, where they are made into mats, baskets, country string, etc. A popular drink called *nebidh* is also procured from this tree. 137 314 285 272

The long-thorned *sumr* (*Acacia spirocarpa* Hochst.) is perhaps the commonest tree in the Hadhramaut. It is a popular fodder for camels and is likewise eaten by goats. It supplies good firewood and a substance taken from the roots called *futukh* is used by fishermen for greasing their lines in order to make them strong. Another thorny tree, the *geradh* (*Acacia senegal* Willd.), is also a common fodder. Its leaves are used for tanning skins and it is said that the Beduins make a drink from them which they liken to tea. 137 246 314 372 272

The *musht* tree (*Grewia erythraea* Schweinf.), is used extensively for firewood and camel fodder. The leaves of the *ariata* tree (*Conocarpus erectus* Jacq.), which grows in the Wadi Maseila where it sometimes reaches a height of 50 to 70 feet, are dried for fodder, and the timber probably has its economic uses. I was told in Tarim of a large tree growing in Wadi Maseila the strong wood of which is used by carpenters; this may have been the *ariata*. 137 314 246 372

197 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north
●246 of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with
their favourite toothsticks.

*Khawcira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

## Manufacturing Industries.

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
262 mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
249 ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden
machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil
extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food
that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of
438 Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
353 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to
the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it
resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is
exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using
Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The
dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor
industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
346 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil
ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

## Fisheries.

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They
231 are :—
438

*Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazif* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



which carry the water to bunded fields where the land is inundated to approximately one metre in depth. In the lower part of the district complete diversion of the flood is made by larger earth dams built across the river bed. Generally one metre depth of water is sufficient to raise the crops of sorghum, sesame and cotton, though summer planted crops which have to grow when water is low are given one or two supplementary irrigations.

The date of arrival of the floods is uncertain and the pattern of crop production may alter considerably according to the date of irrigation. For instance, early summer floods will only be used for sorghum fodder, grain, melons and sesame. Later summer irrigations are particularly required for cotton planting and for the autumn sown sorghum crop.

*The Farming System*

Skilled cultivation is carried on by settlers from many South Arabian tribes who have come to the area since the start of the scheme. Bunding of land, construction of field channels, ploughing and sowing are carried out by draught animals, mainly oxen though camels are brought in to help occasionally. No fertilisers are used at present ; the flood brings with it a heavy burden of silt which reaches the land and maintains its fertile state.

The basic problems concern the farming system. One is largely an irrigation problem caused by a rapid rise in the water-table which has taken place since irrigation was resumed. This rise in the water-table has caused an accumulation of salts in the upper layers of the soil, and has already made crop production on 2,000 acres practically impossible by flood irrigation methods. The other problem is weed control. As a gross area of 100,000 acres may be commanded in the future, and within this area an annual average of 30,000 acres may be cropped, it should be possible to afford long periods of fallow to land in order to reduce the dangers which may arise from heavy irrigation ; but individual ownership of land will greatly complicate such arrangements.

At the present time the cotton variety X.1730A, a derivative of Sakel, is the main cash crop grown. All other cash crops in the scheme are common to those of other irrigation tracts of a similar type in South Arabia though there are experimental crops, of which sugar is one. An important feature of the scheme is the need for a large area of sorghum for grain and fodder production. The draught animals depend almost entirely on sorghum fodder for their sustenance and the main food of the people is sorghum millet. It is expected that for some time two-thirds of the area will be maintained under sorghum and one-third under cotton.

*Mechanical Equipment*

The Board owns earth-moving machinery powered by diesel-engined crawler tractors with carry-all scrapers, bulldozers, a ripper and grader and two drag-line scrapers. The policy of the Board is to increase the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



frenzy on religious matters, and ever ready to accuse any one, whose actions are not readily explained, of being an infidel, are apt to be rather slack in their devotions. Some even shirk their prayers at sunset, when such exercises are obligatory. Much of this attitude, however, has to do with their turbulent mode of life and illiteracy, for the most nonchalant are always ready to "fall in" behind any man who has the gift of prayer and follow his attitude and genuflexions, giving the responses with devout accuracy and attention. As to the religious self-denial with which they observe the fast of Ramadan (refusing to avail themselves of the exemption extended by the Koran to all travellers, sick persons, &c.) their austerity would shame more civilized Mussulmans.' 771

## Products and Industries

The products of this region are so similar to those of the Yemen that they need no special treatment; and the crops are referred to in detail in the section on climate. The staple food-stuff of the country is either *dhura* or *dukhn*. Of *dhura* there are two chief varieties: white and red. The staple fodder for animals is, universally, the stalks and leaves of *dhura* and *dukhn*. As to the native industries they are not of any great importance, but attention may be called to the following: 241 246

Boat-building is carried on to a limited extent. Though a very great number of native craft of very varied type ply in Aden harbour and around the coast of this district, only 'jolly-boats' are built at Aden; they are after the model of an English rowing-boat, with heavier and stronger frames, and of very rough workmanship. Mat-making and string-making are carried on chiefly in the neighbourhood of Aden. Dry leaves of the *dom* and date-palms are imported from the ports of the Dankali and from Musawwa', and are manufactured into mats. String is also made by twisting the leaves together with the hand; this is called 'Aden string'. To make mats the leaves are divided into small strips, which are plaited into a ribbon three or four inches wide and of great length. The ribbon is stitched or spliced spirally into a cylindrical shape, the circumference representing the required breadth, and the axis the necessary length; this hollow cylinder is then cut down with a knife parallel to the axis, and the broken edges are bound. Somali women are exceedingly expert in the manufacture of such mats, which are in great request for sleeping purposes. The coarser kinds are largely used for the construction of sheds and the roofing of houses. Plates, baskets, sacks, and many other articles are made of such strips of matting. 396 501 285

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut 1112



Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar 161
of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited 631
largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved 648
a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in Decem- 668
ber 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn
and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser 643
strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his
mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of
his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most im- 625
portant ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of
Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of
lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal
guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British
Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 721
1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate,
and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami
Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of
what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his 648
staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial
help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial
Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend
£410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only
£23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder
to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a 731
serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less
serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly 651
helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami 312
emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political 311
changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have
adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have
had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-
engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development
of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40
miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from
Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was
becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the
Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns,
the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the
board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple 248
cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 62–5.
[4] See above, p. 112.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2



248 1950–1, with a quality considered equal to that of the Sudan, and a contract lasting until 1955–6 has been secured with the British Raw Cotton Commission. This irrigation has, however, [136] created a new problem in the establishment of a semi-permanent population of desert locusts where they were formerly sparse.[1]

*Education*

871 Until the opening of the Aden Protectorate College for the
658 Sons of Chiefs in 1935 there had been no government provision
872 for education. In the Hadramaut, and especially in the towns of Sayun and Tarim, traditional Islamic education had reached
[212] a highly advanced stage about a century ago and produced a body of Islamic scholars; but in other parts of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate. Present educational policy is that, as each state becomes sufficiently advanced, it should be helped to set up a self-supporting department of education with village schools, central primary schools, and intermediary or secondary schools in the larger states. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by government or local government authorities had risen from not more than 100 in 1939 to about 6,700 by 1951. The total expenditure on education in 1949–50 was about £39,000, of which the Quaiti state contributed 54 per cent, the British Government 36 per cent, and the remaining states about 10 per cent. There were then 74 primary boys' schools, varying from the small Koran school to those of full primary status; about half received British financial help. The Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs was being closed down as the newer primary schools reached the desired level. There were seven girls' primary schools in the Eastern Protectorate and one in the Western, with a total attendance of about 800. In each Protectorate there was one post-primary school, with Egyptian and Sudanese teachers on the staff. A junior secondary school at Ghail ba-Wazir near Mukalla was completed in 1950 to provide a two-years' course for the local administrative service, the police, and the army. Full secondary education in Aden Protectorate is unlikely for some years, but the new Aden College, a secondary school opened in 1951, receives boys from the Protectorate as well as from the Colony and will it is hoped eventually be developed to university standard. In 1950 ten Protectorate boys held scholarships in the Sudan, and some twenty from the Eastern Protectorate were studying in other Arab countries.

[1] Dr B. P. Uvarov, director of the Anti-Locust Research Centre, reported in *The Times*, 27 September 1952.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 Ml Middle East :
Hadhramaut MM2

# CHAPTER VIII

# COTTON IN ARABIA

Arabia is divided into numerous groups, most of which are 000
actually principalities. The boundaries of the subdivisions are indefinite and so is the authority of the local rulers in most cases. Some of these groups like to call themselves independent countries. One is called a kingdom. Some are called protectorates. The British have exercised the major influence over all these groups for 50 years and still do but in varying ways. One small spot of land actually belongs to the British Crown.

## ADEN PROTECTORATE

The narrow strip of land along the southwestern tip of the Arabian 101
Peninsula includes a number of territories and dependencies of Arab chiefs which have been organized under a protectorate treaty with the British, and is called the Protectorate of Aden.

The Protectorate is about the size of Arizona. It has about 660,000 133
people, many of whom are nomads. The country is mostly mountainous 311
though there are a few valleys and flood plains capable of cultivation. The [161]
Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that there are about 270,000 acres actually in cultivation at the present time. As the plains receive only about four inches of rainfall annually, irrigation is required. Considerable water is available as rainfall in the mountains is rather heavy, approaching 40 inches annually, but facilities are inadequate for catching and directing the water.

The economy of the protectorate rests almost solely on agriculture. The 241
principal crops are grains and some fruits, principally dates. While a small quantity of coarse grains is normally exported, the country usually imports about half its bread grain requirements.

### COTTON

Cotton has been grown in this area in small quantities for hundreds of 248
years, but never in commercial quantities until very recent years when British interests began promoting production.

The following article on the present status and prospects of cotton pro- 114
duction in the Protectorate was written especially for this report by the research staff of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, London, with the collaboration of Major Congdon, Manager of the Abyan Board in the Aden Protectorate.

### RECENT HISTORY

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"During the last war to increase the production of food, the old Abyan 248
irrigation system was reopened and the headworks were partially restored under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. The reclaimed areas were used mainly for sorghum, bulrush millet and simsim, but it soon became

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2



248 [241]

evident that a cash crop was needed to exploit fully the potentialities of the area and to make it self-supporting.

"A small quantity of X1730 A cottonseed was therefore introduced from Tokar in the Sudan in the 1946-47 season and though this was not successful in the first year, when tried again in 1948-49 it gave an average yield of some 1,750 lbs. of seed cotton per acre from an area of 80 acres. Production thereafter increased rapidly, reaching 1,500 bales of 400 lb. in the following year (1949-50) and 9,900 bales in 1950-1951.

## METHOD OF CULTIVATION

"The system of irrigation used in Abyan resembles most closely, but is not identical with, that of the Gash and Tokar in the Sudan. After the rains in July-September the water flows down from the mountains in two wadis, the Bana and the Hassan, and is held by slightly bow-shaped bunds about 30 feet high with a base of some 50 feet. From these the water is directed by means of deflectors into rough canals and thence into the fields. Later the upper-most bund is broken and the water goes down to the next bund where the process is repeated. This is continued until eventually the unused water finds its way to the sea.

"Cotton is planted about 10 days after watering, in furrows made by an ox plough and is later thinned to leave single plants at a spacing of 1 metre by 1 metre. The plants, which rely entirely on the moisture in the soil at the time of planting, often grow to a height of 12-13 feet, and produce a good crop, with lint which is little, if any, inferior to that spun from similar cotton grown in the Sudan.

## ABYAN BOARD

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"In order to develop the irrigation system in Abyan, an Abyan Board was formed in 1947 representing the interests of the Department of Agriculture and the states concerned. The crops are grown on a cooperative basis, as in the Sudan, the proceeds being divided between the cultivator, the Abyan Board and the landowner. At present 50 per cent goes to the cultivator, 25 per cent to the Board and 25 per cent to the landowner. State taxes of 5 or 10 per cent are payable by the landlords, depending on the status of the land.

"The Board purchases the seed cotton from the cultivator at a fixed price, gins the seed cotton and sells the lint at present to the Raw Cotton Commission with whom a five-year agreement has been made. Any profit resulting from the sale of lint is used to continue the development and expansion of the scheme.

## OTHER AREAS

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"Cotton is also grown in the Ahwar, Lodar and Yeramis districts, and in Lahej, where a small cotton growing industry has existed for a long time, with asiatic and punctatum types predominating. These types are a potential source of danger to the improved types grown in Abyan, both on account of the risk of deterioration in seed through accidental crossing and the introduction of pests such as pink bollworm. Attempts are now being made to bring cotton cultivation in Lahej under control in order to minimize these dangers.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 Ml Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1.

# COTTON IN ARABIA

## PESTS AND DISEASES

H 248 136 242

"At first, as was to be expected, the cotton crop as a whole was remarkably free from major pests and diseases, but these are now beginning to appear. Bacterial blight *(X. malvacearum)*, has not so far been evident, the land having started clean and the seed having been introduced from Tokar where the disease is not prevalent. The almost complete absence of rain during the growing season also makes any secondary spread of the disease unlikely.

"Jassids are present in small numbers and may tend to increase, and American bollworm *(Heliothis armigera)* is beginning to appear in quite large numbers in Abyan.

"At Lahej the most serious pests are the red bollworm *(Diparopsis castanea)* and the pink bollworm *(Platyedra gossypiella)*.

## PROSPECTS

H 248

"It is unlikely that production of cotton in the Aden Protectorate will ever be on a very large scale as the area of land which can conveniently be flooded is limited. At present some 30,000 acres are in use in Abyan, of which 9,000 are under cotton and the target, when all proposed canals are finished, is about 50,000 acres, with cotton on about 20,000 acres in a good flood year. With developments in other areas the total area under cotton may be extended to 30,000 acres.

## RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTATION

H 654 242

"The Senior Entomologist of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, at the request of the Director of Agriculture, visited Aden in January 1951 to make a survey of the insect pest position, and the Corporation's senior officer in the Sudan is now spending half his time in Aden pending full time employment by the Abyan Board later. He has started selection work on the X1730 A seed from the Sudan and is arranging for regular supplies of pure seed to be produced in the area. In addition other strains are being tested in the variety trials and observation plots, including a strain of Wilds which matures very early and occupies the land for only six months. If this proves successful it might enable a food crop to be grown in the same year as the cotton crop.

"A Colonial office mission also visited Aden early in 1951 to examine the technical, agricultural and financial problems involved and to make recommendations for the development of the scheme and the establishment of any research work that may be needed."

## ADEN

A 101 [161]

The crown colony of Aden located on a tiny peninsula on the coast of the protectorate actually dominates the area. Though the colony is only 75 square miles in area it has almost 100.000 people. The port of Aden has been an important trading center since the time of the ancients. This was the crossing point for the Abyssinians as early as 3,000 B.C. It was the final port of call for the Indian traders in the same century. It was also a chief port on the Indian trade route during the Roman times. Today Aden is the principal port and the commercial center for the entire Arabian Peninsula and one of the main crossing points for the African Moslems trekking to Mecca.

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Market Conditions*

Food grain prices showed no reduction during the year. Prices at the main coastal centres of Aden and Mukalla fluctuated between £25 and £37 per ton, the higher rates being recorded in Mukalla towards the end of the year, when famine conditions were confirmed in the Hadhramaut. 435

The price of sesame seed fell from the high levels of 1947, and the price during the year varied between £60 and £70 per ton.

The Maria Theresa dollar exchange dropped 23½ per cent. at the end of the year, Rs. 186 being asked for 100 dollars.

*Demonstration and Experiment*

In the Hadhramaut the introduction of barley passed the third season; it may be claimed that the crop has found favour and that it is most likely to become well established in the economy of the country. The object of this introduction was to obtain a more dependable crop for winter sowing. Wheat was in the past the winter crop, and always a risky one owing to the danger of rust attacks. Barley in southern Arabia is regarded as a safer crop in all respects, but for some reason it escaped the attention of farmers in the Wadi Hadhramaut. 242 243 248

In Abyan cotton variety X1730A was grown on a field scale on Abyan Board tenants' land. The crop was sown on land inundated in August with approximately three feet of water. No other water was applied after sowing. At the end of the year, the crop appeared most promising.

*Plant Introduction*

Three-hundred and fifty apricot, 350 Japanese plum, and 24 peach trees were imported from South Africa, for sale to farmers on the Audhali Plateau.

One hundred citrus trees were imported from Eritrea, for planting and distribution in Abyan.

*Development Schemes: The Abyan Board*

Work on improvement of the systems of the Na'aza and Ba Tes canals was carried out in the first nine months of the year. A stone regulator at Ba Tes head an ' a series of stone drops and regulators were installed on this system and on part of the Na'aza system. Much work remains to be done, and in a manner which will allow of the improvement to be incorporated in the general plan of development . . the area. 242 241

Following further examination of the area by Mr. N. Simansky, Irrigation Adviser, it was possible to submit an application for a loan of £250,375 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Sanction for this loan was obtained in July, and work started in the last quarter of the year. Machinery and cement were ordered, while local purchases were made from ex-War Department stocks held in Aden. At the end of the year, two Agricultural Officers, one of whom acted as manager to the Board, one British and three Italian surveyors, and one British accountant, together with a large Arab staff were employed on the scheme.

The development programme of the Board continued side by side with

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



132 to make it one of the most favourable for many years. The rains of November and December were judged to have been the heaviest seen for thirty years.

731 Unfortunately the cultivator was in many areas, particularly the eastern districts, unable to make full use of these favourable conditions. This was the result of the bad season of 1948 which had caused famine in the Wadis 'Amd and Rakhya of the Hadhramaut, and continued to cause famine for the first four months of 1949. Famine relief and rehabilitation measures were largely responsible for getting farmers in these western Hadhramaut districts back to work, and by the end of the year there was little indication that a famine had existed in the early months of the year. In the Hadramaut important famine relief and famine prevention measures were adopted ; of outstanding importance was the introduction of a pump scheme financed by the States, and by the end of the year considerable progress had been made with this scheme. Conditions were severe in the 'Aulaqi districts of the Western Protectorate, but other districts, notably Abyan, had surplus grain stocks, and the districts which were short were able to draw on these supplies and move them, mainly by camel transport, to where needed.

653 248 The year 1949 saw great expansion in the Abyan scheme ; offices and staff buildings were built, supplies were accumulated, and important irrigation work was extended, particularly in the region of the Wadi Hassan. The year saw the emergence of Abyan as a successful producer of long staple cotton, and the harvest from some 82 acres (which averaged 1,750 lb. of seed cotton to the acre) was ginned on a roller gin in Abyan, pressed on a hand press in Aden, and exported to Liverpool for sale to the Raw Cotton Commission. Planting for the 1949–50 crop was extended to over 1,000 acres.

*Rainfall, Crop and Livestock Conditions*

132 731 *Saif Rains Season.* An abundant Saif rain was received in almost all districts of the Protectorate in 1949. In parts of the Eastern Protectorate the rains came late, but were heavy ; and in the Hadhramaut considerable destruction was caused to irrigation works from the resulting floods. The great Nuqra Dam, which had stood successfully for the previous two flood seasons, received the full weight of the combined floods of the Wadi 'Idim and Wadi Ser and was breached owing to a blow-up of the apron caused by excessive up-stream pressure.

241 The Saif rains were badly needed. They gave the cultivator, hard pressed through the previous bad season, a chance to grow grain and fodder crops with which to build up his condition in readiness for cultivation in the Kharif season.

132 *Kharif Rains Season.* Rain followed close on the finish of the Saif, and in almost all districts the rainfall was sufficient for the needs of the cultivator. In November, 1949, the Protectorate was blessed with that rare visitation, a general winter rainfall, which fell with exceptional heaviness, particularly in the north-eastern areas from Beihan across

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramout mm2



accounts section the position was particularly serious ; but equally important was the lack of essential hydrological data on such matters as river discharges, the availability of suitable storage sites, studies on percolation and so on. Without such information progress must be delayed. 654

As mentioned earlier, the X1730A type of cotton planted on 82 acres in 1948, proved a great success. The crop was ginned and marketed by the Board, and arrangements with cultivators for the new season's planting resulted in an extension of the acreage to 1,097 acres. At the end of 1949 the crop showed great promise, and in many areas appeared even better than the previous year's crop. 248 242 654

Grain, oil-seed and fodder production was satisfactory, though grain yields were reduced in many areas through double-cropping the land with a sorghum fodder crop in the Saif season and then a grain crop in the Kharif.

A great deal of the land in Abyan which has been well irrigated for the past five years is now becoming heavily infested with weeds, mainly the weed grass *Desmostachya bipinnata*. The introduction of cotton as a cleaning crop and the " drying up " and resting with or without cultivation, of these heavily infested lands is now recognised as an urgent matter. In order to tackle the weed problem the Board increased its tractor strength by the purchase of three Fowler Diesel crawler tractors in the last quarter of 1949. 654 137 242

Another problem which came to notice towards the end of 1949 was the rapid rise in the height of the water table in certain areas. The area involved does not exceed 300 acres, but already in this area (where in places the water table has risen to within six feet of the surface) salts are appearing in the upper layers of the soil, and vegetation, particularly in the seedling stage, has been affected. It was noticed that cotton, once established, flourished and appeared exceedingly healthy on these salt-impregnated soils. 133 242

*Anti-Famine Measures*

In the first four-and-a-half months of 1949 until general rains fell over the Eastern Protectorate, famine again threatened human life in the Hadhramaut. Relief measures were introduced, as in the previous famine, but this time so promptly that practically no deaths from famine occurred. Again aircraft of the Royal Air Force came to the rescue and dropped grain supplies to the worst affected areas. Large quantities of grain were moved inland by motor transport and any camel transport that could be mustered ; at the same time large numbers of the destitute, particularly women and children, were brought down or walked down to the coastal towns, where they were accommodated in refugee camps and fed. To employ labour on relief works an extensive programme of road construction, and irrigation repair works and new construction was undertaken. 731 [653]

When rain fell, it was again found necessary to issue loans to

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



The above figures are derived from estimates checked by sampling, except in the case of the long-staple cotton for which actual figures are available. 241

Outstanding yields of long-staple cotton have been obtained ; yields of one ton of seed cotton with a ginning out-turn of 36 per cent often occur. Yields of irrigated wheat and barley are generally high : wheat yields of 1½ tons per acre are common in the lift-irrigated districts.

*Crop Processing*

*Cotton Ginneries.* Long-staple cotton is ginned in two ginneries operated by the Abyan Board, and the total output in the 1951-52 season was 7,206 bales. At the end of 1952 plans were in hand to combine ginning equipment at one ginnery in Lower Abyan. 248 249

*Oil Mills.* Throughout the Protectorate sesame is crushed in primitive pestle and mortar crushers worked by camel power.

*Marketing*

Crops for domestic consumption are sold direct by the producer to the consumer, or through merchants, or at markets which are often weekly events in the villages and towns of the Protectorate. 443

Tobacco is exported from the Protectorate by merchants who trade in the Colony of Aden and Middle East markets. 439

Substantial quantities of fresh produce, vegetables and fruit are exported from the Protectorate to the Colony to be sold in the Colony markets.

No marketing boards for export crops exist, but the Abyan Board is at the moment in sole control of the grading, ginning and export of long-staple cotton grown in the Protectorate. 248

*Research*

Research on cotton and cotton breeding is carried on by the Abyan Board. 242

In the Hadhramaut, the Hadhramaut States contribute funds to an experimental area supervised by an officer of the Department of Agriculture. In this area, which was opened in 1952, investigations on crop production, crop varieties, treatments and water duties have been started.

In the Western Protectorate many varieties of deciduous fruits and citrus have been introduced over the past 14 years, and it is considered that there are sufficient trees in bearing to start on nursery propagation of suitable types. Initial trials have been made at a high-altitude demonstration area on the Audhali Plateau.

*Control of Pests and Diseases*

Since 1942 efforts have been made, generally with success, to control locust breeding in the Protectorate, which is subject to constant invasions by locusts from other areas. The control of covered smut of sorghum by the use of sulphur for seed treatment has been introduced to areas where damage from this plant disease is common.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Agricultural Extension and Improvement Schemes*

654 The main development scheme for irrigated land use is that in Abyan. A note on the scheme is given in Appendix I, page 84.

248 The extension work of the Department of Agriculture is carried on 406 through departmental staff and through State agricultural departments 241 where these exist. Extension work at the moment is mainly confined to a few selected subjects such as cotton growing, fruit and vegetable growing, and lift irrigation by pump.

*Cotton Growing Schemes (other than at Abyan).* Long-staple X.1730A cotton was introduced for cultivation to the Yeramis district, and from an area of approximately 400 acres some 472,665 lb. of seed cotton were marketed.

In Ahwar, where X.1730A cotton was grown for the second season, 436,311 lb. of seed cotton were marketed from an effective area of 400 acres.

*The Hadhramaut Pump Scheme.* In the Hadhramaut there has been considerable development of lift irrigation by diesel-engine pumping units since 1948. It is claimed that 389 pump units with an estimated total horse-power of 3,640 have now been introduced. A large percentage of the units have been sold by the Hadhramaut States to local farmers on a deferred payment scheme.

In 1952 pump units irrigated 37 per cent of the total area under lift irigation in the Hadhramaut. The average area irrigated per pump unit is estimated at 8.3 acres as compared with 2 acres by animal lift. The yield from pump irrigated crops in nearly all cases is found to exceed comparable animal lift irrigated crops. The schemes may be criticised on account of the high horse-power used for the irrigated area, but on the other hand with less working hours per day the machinery should theoretically last longer.

*Credit Facilities*

452 In the Western Protectorate advances have been made through Farmers' Associations, through the Abyan Board and through local States to assist farmers. In the Eastern Protectorate, particularly the Hadhramaut, large sums of money have been advanced since 1944 to enable farmers, or groups of farmers, to maintain local irigation systems and to help farmers to buy pumping machinery by hire purchase. Little or no progress can be made in the development of agriculture without credit facilities.

*Agricultural Department*

647 The staff comprises the Director of Agriculture, four Agricultural Officers, one Assistant Agricultural Officer and nine Agricultural Instructors.

The Department is responsible for giving advice on agriculture and, in many areas, for the organisation and administration of agricultural development projects. During the financial year 1952–53 it budgetted to spend £19,000.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



Trials with long staple

cotton, introduced in 1946, proved successful and this crop has now been chosen as the main crop for the area.

Payment for irrigation services has always been based on a crop share of 25 per cent payable to the Board. The present crop share and taxation on the crop, as laid down in an agreement dated 1st April, 1950, is as follows :

| PARTY | LIVE LAND (*Land developed and cultivated for 5 years*) | DEAD LAND (*New land opened for cultivation*) |
|---|---|---|
| | % | % |
| State (Taxation) . . | 5 | 10 |
| Landlord . . . | 20 | 15 |
| Tenant . . . | 50 | 50 |
| Board . . . | 25 | 25 |

To secure rapid development, traditional methods have been used while the land has been surveyed and existing canal systems aligned and new canals of improved design have been constructed. Diversion is still by traditional methods but regulators have been constructed in the upper part of the district.

*Land and Water Rights*

The Board does not own or control any land except building sites and experimental areas loaned from the local States and, in one case, rented from a landowner.

The Board controls the diversion and distribution of all flood water in the district. In the winter season the Board purchases the permanent flow of the Bana River from the Lower Yafai Sultan and his relatives and distributes this supply through the canal system to farmers who pay the customary crop share to the Board.

Tribal boundaries and settlements of title to the area have been ill defined in the past years of insecurity, but in 1951 final decisions were taken regarding tribal boundaries.

*Survey*

Since 1948 an area of 100,000 acres has been contour surveyed to a one metre interval. Geophysical surveys, the first as a reconnaissance and the second in fairly detailed form, have been made.

*Irrigation Development*

Development is in various stages. An area of approximately 50,000 acres of land is now controlled for irrigation farming, mainly on traditional lines. The normal flood flow to the area is expected to be sufficient to crop 30,000 acres yearly. In the 1951 flood a discharge of 224,000,000 cubic metre was observed to reach Abyan in the Bana River and this quantity, if correctly controlled, would have been sufficient for the irrigation of 50,000 acres. In actual fact only 30,000 acres were irrigated. The system is to direct flood water at speed, by diversion weirs made of brushwood and stone, into canals

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



which carry the water to bunded fields where the land is inundated to approximately one metre in depth. In the lower part of the district complete diversion of the flood is made by larger earth dams built across the river bed. Generally one metre depth of water is sufficient to raise the crops of sorghum, sesame and cotton, though summer planted crops which have to grow when water is low are given one or two supplementary irrigations.

The date of arrival of the floods is uncertain and the pattern of crop production may alter considerably according to the date of irrigation. For instance, early summer floods will only be used for sorghum fodder, grain, melons and sesame. Later summer irrigations are particularly required for cotton planting and for the autumn sown sorghum crop.

*The Farming System*

Skilled cultivation is carried on by settlers from many South Arabian tribes who have come to the area since the start of the scheme. Bunding of land, construction of field channels, ploughing and sowing are carried out by draught animals, mainly oxen though camels are brought in to help occasionally. No fertilisers are used at present ; the flood brings with it a heavy burden of silt which reaches the land and maintains its fertile state.

The basic problems concern the farming system. One is largely an irrigation problem caused by a rapid rise in the water-table which has taken place since irrigation was resumed. This rise in the water-table has caused an accumulation of salts in the upper layers of the soil, and has already made crop production on 2,000 acres practically impossible by flood irrigation methods. The other problem is weed control. As a gross area of 100,000 acres may be commanded in the future, and within this area an annual average of 30,000 acres may be cropped, it should be possible to afford long periods of fallow to land in order to reduce the dangers which may arise from heavy irrigation ; but individual ownership of land will greatly complicate such arrangements.

At the present time the cotton variety X.1730A, a derivative of Sakel, is the main cash crop grown. All other cash crops in the scheme are common to those of other irrigation tracts of a similar type in South Arabia though there are experimental crops, of which sugar is one. An important feature of the scheme is the need for a large area of sorghum for grain and fodder production. The draught animals depend almost entirely on sorghum fodder for their sustenance and the main food of the people is sorghum millet. It is expected that for some time two-thirds of the area will be maintained under sorghum and one-third under cotton.

*Mechanical Equipment*

The Board owns earth-moving machinery powered by diesel-engined crawler tractors with carry-all scrapers, bulldozers, a ripper and grader and two drag-line scrapers. The policy of the Board is to increase the

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



mechanical equipment required for irrigation construction and maintenance in order to release work oxen for field operations. Up to the present shortage of equipment, break-downs and delays in obtaining spares have made it necessary to employ large numbers of working cattle on earth-moving and general irrigation works. 406 242

The Board also owns a fleet of twelve diesel-engined crawler tractors for ploughing work. Considerable difficulties have been encountered in maintaining this tractor fleet.

*Administration of the Scheme* 242

The present composition of the Board is :

| | |
|---|---|
| British Agent, Western Aden Protectorate | Chairman. |
| Director of Agriculture, Aden Protectorate | Managing Director. |
| Senior Political Officer, Southern Area | Director. |
| Two Representatives, (Fadhli State) | Members. |
| Two Representatives, (Yafa'i State) | Members. |
| Manager, Abyan Board | Secretary. |

The Board is responsible for the construction and maintenance of capital works and of main and minor canals ; the development of new land for irrigation ; the delivery of water to the land ; provision of marketing and credit facilities to farmers, when necessary.

The Board receives one-quarter share of the crops grown. This is now based on a cash payment of *Shs.*40 per effectively cropped acre for all crops other than cotton. The assessed amount is deducted from the cash payment made for the cotton crop. 242 437

The Board in the 1952–53 season made a cultivation advance of *Shs.*90 per acre of effectively established, thinned and cleaned cotton.

The Board provides seed-cotton packs and conducts weekly markets at convenient centres throughout the area. The cotton is classified at the markets by an expert cotton classifier. Each pack carries the grower's identification number, the weight as recorded at the sale and the market identification letter. A record is made of quantities sold at each market by growers and cash is paid after deduction of the Board's share. The cotton is ginned and baled in a ginnery equipped and run by the Board. The whole of the graded lint is sold under a long-term contract with the Raw Cotton Commission. The Abyan X.1730A is regarded by buyers as equal to Sudan grown crop of similar type. 242 442 248

Tenants make up and maintain bunds and field channels, cultivate specified crops as the Board directs, pay the crop share due, and deliver crops such as cotton to markets as directed. 242 [437]

Landlords, if owner occupiers, cultivate their own land and follow

462 roaming far afield in search of water and pasture. They work in the fields, milk the animals (with the exception, in some cases, of camels), gather the firewood, and fetch the water. They are not [562] so careful to keep themselves veiled, finding it sufficient to draw their head cloths in front of their mouths. If she belongs to a nomadic tribe a woman will follow her husband in his search for grazing, carrying the household utensils, usually one large saucepan, on her head and the baby on her back. Only very occasionally do the women emigrate with their husbands, but we travelled with such a family on the start of their journey to Zanzibar to seek a fortune.

562 The remaining women are those of the poor townspeople, the 462 female servants, slaves, or Subians. The last two are least particular about veiling. The others, no matter how poor, will always cover at least the lower part of their faces. Toil is the portion of all of them: they labour in the gardens, help the men and animals [482] to draw water from the wells, and in many towns they are the principal water carriers, bearing their burden in skins slung across their backs. The servants and slave women in well-to-do houses lead an easier existence. They cook the food, do such cleaning as is ever done, and fetch and carry for the ladies of the household. Slaves may be taken as concubines, but find their husbands among their own class. They are much favoured, being brought up as members of the family, and, like many privileged retainers, usually become somewhat outspoken and domineering in their old age.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PRODUCTION AND RESOURCES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

311 The natural resources of the Hadhramaut, such as they are, are principally agricultural. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize that only a very small proportion of the total area of the country, [131] which may amount to 35,000 or 40,000 square miles, is suitable for the growing of crops. As a general rule only wadis can be so used and the bulk of the land surface consists of the barren rock of mountains and steppes.

### Tobacco.

249 The principal crop of economic importance is the well-known 438 Hamumi tobacco, and Gheil ba Wazir is the principal centre where it is grown. Practically speaking the production in that place is 465 entirely Government-directed and all the land is State land.

The nurseries are situated about three miles from Gheil at Al 312 Quf. Here there is an apparently inexhaustible, somewhat brackish, water supply at depths to about 30 feet from the surface. There are three deep pools which are tapped by subterranean channels for Gheil and Al Harth, the source of the Gheil water supply being called Humat al Farath, and that for Al Harth being called Humat al Harth. Along the line of channels from these pools there are

at intervals of some 20 feet a series of shafts similar to those described in connection with the Mukalla water-supply. Humat al Harth is temporarily not giving water, as the level has fallen below the channel. At Al Quf itself there are a number of wells, and round each are nursery beds where the tobacco seedlings are grown. The beds are divided into patches three or four feet square and the seed close sown, so close that even where seed does not germinate the workers cut small scratches in the ground and plant fresh seed. When the seedlings are grown to a height of about three or four inches they are taken from Al Quf to Al Harth, about a mile and a-half away, and planted out in rows with intervals of a foot, or three-quarters of a *dhirra*, in beds of a size dependent on the amount of water. A bed is called *mutr*, plural *mutira*, and each is surrounded by a ridge to keep in the irrigation water. In due course the crop is gathered and dried. Drying barns are unknown. 312 249

The crop[1] is financed by the merchants who advance the money to the cultivators and are paid back either monthly or after the crop. In the case of the Government lands at Gheil some cultivators pay their rent in advance and some after the crop. The rent of the whole area of the Sultan's land at Gheil is assessed before each season and the figure required communicated to his representative there. This official then rents out the land at a figure per acre based on the total sum required. 454 427 655

The total annual value of the crop is now estimated at five lakhs of which the Sultan receives Rs.120,000 in duty and ground rent. Production costs are estimated at three lakhs, so that the profit to the cultivators is Rs.80,000. In order to foster the local consumption of tobacco, there is a monopoly of imported cigarettes and pipe tobacco. 433 651 434 655

Of tobacco, Mr. H. M. Heald in his report of the Agricultural Mission to Mukalla says that in the Meifa valley " the cultivation of the tobacco received more attention than any other crop. . . . The seed was sown in a small plot of land which, in the large villages, had been heavily manured with sheep dung mixed with fine earth. [241] When 40 days old the plants were transplanted into the small beds at distances of one foot apart, and again manured with fish ; irrigation varied in the villages but generally every seven days. 249

" Topping of the terminal buds took place after all the leaves had been formed and the plants were ripe for cutting in four or five months, according to district and season. The plants were dried on the ground first singly and then in small bundles, and afterwards hung up in rows. After drying again in bundles, they were covered with sacks to promote fermentation, and then the plants were taken into the houses for further drying in the dark, and ready for transporting to the coast in a week or so. Practically no grading was done . . . and I am sure " he writes, " better prices would be obtained if more attention were paid to selection."

1 [Tobacco -- Analyst]

137 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north
246 of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khuweira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

## Manufacturing Industries.

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
262 mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
249 ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
438 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to
353 the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
326 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

## Fisheries.

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They
231 are :—

438 *Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazīf* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

631 grazing lands, belong to them, and they range from Shihr to
101 Seihut and up to the Manahil and Jabri. The Man[illegible] country
619 lies to the north and east of them, and the 'Awābitha and Al Heik live to their west.

619 The tribe* had a defensive and offensive alliance with the Kathīri, and were always a great source of trouble to the Qu'aiti. They were a byword for murder and robbery, owing to their systematic pillaging of travellers, until the Qu'aiti put an end to these activities by stringent measures some years ago. He now pays them an annual subsidy and has a " B " agreement with them and they
[589] have ceased to be troublesome. Since coming to heel the tribesmen regularly load goods from Shihr for Shibam, Seiyun and Tarim, and continually visit Shihr, Hami, Dis, Qus'eir and Reida. They are mainly nomads and own about 3,000 loading camels but no riding animals.

They are the worst enemies of the Seibani, with whom they are continually at war: Inter-tribal feuds exist between several of their own clans, but all unite in the face of a common foe under the leadership of the Beit 'Ali clan, whose chief, 'Ali bin Salim Habrish, lives at Gheil Bā Yamīn and Wadi 'Arf and is the
[623] *Muqaddam* of the Zei. A " Council of Elders " is summoned at Gheil Bā Yamīn to decide matters of tribal importance, and the tribesmen of the various clans offer their rifles to prove their goodwill in acceptance of the decision of the Elders. The Mansabs of the tribe are Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il of the Āl 'Aidarus, but the Bā Shamakha clan are under the influence of 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and 'Abdul Qadir Āl Shibab of the Āl as Saqqaf. These Mansabs interfere in cases of serious tribal disputes or for the accomplishment of truces between fighting clans or tribes.

631 The clans of the Hamumi live in two districts, Al Ma'rab (the
101 Western) which is the smaller district and is situated to the North of Shihr, and Al Mashqās (the Eastern) which lies to the North
619 East of Shihr. The Bahasan at Tanbūl and the Yamīni are the clans living in Al Ma'rab, but also included in the district are their allies the Sha'āmila, the Bā Habān, and the Meseilīyin. The Yamīni, who are allied to the Seibani and live under their pro-
[249] tection, possess 200 camels, and the Bahasan own 100. The latter cultivate *tanbuli* leaf, which is chewed by the people of Shihr and Mukalla, and they have accordingly been nicknamed " at Tanbuli " The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

The other clans mentioned in the list live in the district of Al Mashqās, consisting of deserts, fields, and wadis. [illegible] to the Seiyids of Beit Hamūda inclu[illegible] clans have a special system and their chief is the head of the Beit 'Ali. From the Beit Ghatnīn to the 'Udūl inclusive all the clans have their own

* [Hamumi Zei -- Analyst] ♀ [See p. 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

to this rich domain, lies at the edge of the plateau of coral stone. As one approaches from the coast one barely sees the gardens of palms; soon one finds oneself in front of a high, white wall, with a great, fortified gate, which, apparently, is kept closed even during the day. The traveller, as he waits, can only see, close to the wall and rising boldly up above it, the Sultan's massive palace which now serves as barracks for soldiers.

We were obliged to wait at a respectful distance from the menacing, fortified gateway until our letter of introduction had been taken to the palace, read and deemed satisfactory enough to admit us into the tobacco town. Ghēl Bā Wazīr, as a city, has not many beauties except for the large and ancient palace and a few mosques, and we were glad to accept the invitation of one of the authorities of the place to proceed at once to the gardens and to the Sultan's country-house in the cultivated district behind the town. We, therefore, drove without pausing through the place, which reeked of tobacco. The valley side of the town, that is the north side, has less defences than the south, whence start the great thoroughfares to Makalla and esh-Shiḥr. Nowadays motor lorries convey the bales of tobacco, which are two yards long, from el-Ghēl to Makalla. Manure for the tobacco fields is brought from the coast on camels.

A richly cultivated area begins immediately behind the town. The Sultan owns much tobacco-growing land, which is said to be a great source of income to him. Close behind the town are two gardens, in each of which is a newly-built summer residence. We enter the first garden with the smaller house which is set aside for the use of the male members of the household. In the other garden is a much larger building for the wives and their female attendants.

The gate is immediately shut behind us, our following of inquisitive youths remains outside, and we stand in the silence of the luxuriant garden, trying to accustom our eyes to the deep shade under the blossoming fruit-trees. It looks just as

351 if we had been transported bodily into a bit of the Indies. The fruit-trees best known in that country are represented here, and a sultry, moist heat permeates the shadows of this richly watered garden.

529 In front of the garden villa,[1] built in a modern style, but not yet quite finished, is a cemented swimming-pool about 300 feet long and of the same width as the building. It joins onto the stairs of the terrace, and a trim rowing-boat lies motionless on the crystal clear water. To do us honour the basin has been filled by means of an engine-pump, and, although the water is warm, we show our appreciation at once by enjoying a bathe, and a row in the boat.

● 249 277 367 Our host, who is acting for the Sultan, is a tobacco-grower as well as an official. He says that the Ḥumūmī tobacco can only be grown here. They are trying to cultivate the same kind in Lahadj, behind Aden, and in the Yemen; as the climate and the soil are not similar the result is a product which in perfume and taste is inferior to that grown here. Cultivation in el-Ghēl is carried to a very high pitch of refinement. The tobacco-plants are manured three times: with guano, with fish, and with the dung of beasts and men. Pure water is used for irrigation, not too much and not too little. Each kind of dung is applied to the plant at the right time. The best guano comes from an island on the coast of Somaliland, for which the British authorities have given a concession. A second kind of guano is found on islands near Bīr ʿAlī, to the west of Makalla, and near Aden. The entire harvest of tobacco is exported to Egypt, and from there a part of it goes to Syria and to the countries on the Red Sea. The Ḥumūmī tobacco is broken up and cut into wide strips, and is smoked in water-pipes. The stalks can be used at the same time and for this reason the plants are dried whole, not the leaves alone. They are then bound into large bundles an packed into oblong bales, the weight of a camel's load, that is to say 300 lbs. The price of such a bale is nowadays 120 to 130 rupees.

[1] [of the SULTAN at GAEI BE WEZIR — ANALYST]

system of drinking- and at the same time cooling-bowls, 271
among poor and rich alike.

Our host spoke with longing of beautiful, rich Java and of 167
the good years that he had passed there, and it was obvious that he would have liked to return there but for leaving his family behind, for the Ḥaḍramī woman does not leave her country with her husband. It was clear, from the friendly farewell, that I had not been wrong in thinking that my years passed as a civil servant in Netherlands India would facilitate my travels in Ḥaḍramaut.

They all went a little way with us to see us off and were 133
photographed at their own request. We followed the broad 312
*sēl*-bed [1] crossing the plateau surrounded by terraces of about 300 feet high. There, where the plateau ends, lies, at a height of 50 feet the village of Ḥimem on a hill at the edge of the wādī to which it gives its name. At the foot of the hill, there are very tall coco-nut trees, the last that we shall see for the time being, for the altitude is already 3000 feet. A conduit full of water, fed by little springs at the edge of the wādī, irrigates fields of *dhura* and of neatly-planted and well-cultivated tobacco. It is true that it is not first-class Ḥumūmī tobacco that is raised here, but even so it commands a good market price.

The evening falls and we are obliged to camp soon after 133
leaving Ḥimem. The valley has here penetrated into the sand- 271
stone and the conglomerates under the eocene limestone. Here at a height of 3000 feet the nights are already cold. According to our Bedouins, who are good water-tasters, the water also improves in proportion as one gets further away from the coast; all salt and bitterness gradually disappears from it.

In our bivouac at Ḥimem we had to put away again a great 136
harvest of plants and insects; the swallow-tail butterfly was also found here.

The mayor of Ḥimem came to visit us in our camp. He told 249
us that his village of 200 to 300 inhabitants grows tobacco,

[1] The bed through which the water flows for a short time after rain.

249 which is its chief source of livelihood. Only three of his men have emigrated to Java, but he has heard so much good of that land of promise that he wishes to go there himself, though it would mean leaving a family of six children behind. To my question as to whether he had performed the *ḥadjdj*[1] his answer was in the negative.

000 We have met very few travellers on the way from Makalla to Ḥimem — only a few camels and donkeys laden with bananas and other fruits for the Makalla market.

On the 11th of May, directly after breaking camp in the morning, we began by ascending a long *ʿaqaba*[2] and it was two hours before we reached the top. A little farther on we passed a place called Kubr, which our Bedouins pretended was the last spot for hours ahead, where we should find water, and they urged us strongly to take the afternoon's rest here. Immediately after I had agreed to this, it dawned upon me that the story about the water had only been invented in order to call a halt. The spot was very unfavourable, for water had to be fetched from some distance away out of the 20 feet deep bed of the wādī, where there was a well. We were obliged to seek shelter from the sun, in a fissure of the rocks which hardly gave room enough.

133 Von Wissmann used the opportunity to climb the steep precipice leading up to the plateau, in company with one of the slave soldiers. The eocene limestone, of which the 60 feet thick upper stratum is formed, falls away everywhere in a perpendicular drop, so that it is difficult to find a scaleable 000 spot in it. Our Bedouins did not believe that the *Efrendjī* could get up it in his shoes, and his attempts were watched with curiosity from our bivouac. When Von Wissmann, born and bred among the rock-mountains of Styria, conquered a very hazardous bit of wall and his soldier could only follow

104 [1] The *ḥadjdj* is the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five pillars of the religion of Islam.

[2] *ʿAqaba* (عَقَبَة) is a road over or up, or down, or over some part of, a mountain; cf. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



The above figures are derived from estimates checked by sampling, except in the case of the long-staple cotton for which actual figures are available. 241

Outstanding yields of long-staple cotton have been obtained ; yields of one ton of seed cotton with a ginning out-turn of 36 per cent often occur. Yields of irrigated wheat and barley are generally high : wheat yields of 1½ tons per acre are common in the lift-irrigated districts.

*Crop Processing*

*Cotton Ginneries.* Long-staple cotton is ginned in two ginneries operated by the Abyan Board, and the total output in the 1951-52 season was 7,206 bales. At the end of 1952 plans were in hand to combine ginning equipment at one ginnery in Lower Abyan. 248 249

*Oil Mills.* Throughout the Protectorate sesame is crushed in primitive pestle and mortar crushers worked by camel power.

*Marketing*

Crops for domestic consumption are sold direct by the producer to the consumer, or through merchants, or at markets which are often weekly events in the villages and towns of the Protectorate. 443

Tobacco is exported from the Protectorate by merchants who trade in the Colony of Aden and Middle East markets. 439

Substantial quantities of fresh produce, vegetables and fruit are exported from the Protectorate to the Colony to be sold in the Colony markets.

No marketing boards for export crops exist, but the Abyan Board is at the moment in sole control of the grading, ginning and export of long-staple cotton grown in the Protectorate. 248

*Research*

Research on cotton and cotton breeding is carried on by the Abyan Board. 242

In the Hadhramaut, the Hadhramaut States contribute funds to an experimental area supervised by an officer of the Department of Agriculture. In this area, which was opened in 1952, investigations on crop production, crop varieties, treatments and water duties have been started.

In the Western Protectorate many varieties of deciduous fruits and citrus have been introduced over the past 14 years, and it is considered that there are sufficient trees in bearing to start on nursery propagation of suitable types. Initial trials have been made at a high-altitude demonstration area on the Audhali Plateau.

*Control of Pests and Diseases*

Since 1942 efforts have been made, generally with success, to control locust breeding in the Protectorate, which is subject to constant invasions by locusts from other areas. The control of covered smut of sorghum by the use of sulphur for seed treatment has been introduced to areas where damage from this plant disease is common.

## Honey Industry.

231 The only other product of economic consequence is the celebrated
263 Du'an honey. Honey from Jerdan has an even greater local renown
438 but is not produced in such quantities. At places like Tarim it is not considered possible to grow honey owing to the depradations
[134] of the Blue-cheeked Bee eater (*Merops persicus persicus*), one of the most common, as well as most beautiful, birds in the Hadhramaut. We did not observe this bird at all in the Wadi Du'an, where it is shot on sight.

231 The hives are tunnel-like structures fitted into the walls of the
263 houses, and consist of circular sections about a foot in diameter. In the outside wall is a small hole through which the bees enter and leave the hives. Du'an enjoys two honey crops in a year; that of June, July and August being regarded as the best, for in it the bees collect the honey from the blossoms of the *'elb* trees. The honey obtained during the second crop, from November to March, is gathered from a small bush called *Qarmala*, and while it is
[343] highly esteemed it is considered very heating and may not be eaten by pregnant women. If there is much rain during April and May, the bees make a black honey called *helb*, and they are said to grow much stronger, for they consume this honey themselves. The swarming of the bees was thus described by a bee-keeper: A second queen bee, whom they call *ab* or father, sometimes leaves the hive and goes a short distance away followed by some of the others. The bee-owner takes a mat and rolls it up in the shape of a hive, closing one end, and sprinkling inside a perfume of the perfumes used by the ladies. Approaching the swarm, he gently takes the queen in his fingers out of it and puts her into a small cage made for the purpose. The cage is then put inside the rolled mat. An assistant beats a tin or copper tray and the bees leave the place where they have swarmed and come to the queen. The swarm is now carried to a hive, the queen bee and her cage put into the hive, and in go the bees after her.

The bees collect the crop in 12 to 20 days, and when the owner sees the hive is full he fits on more sections until they have finished. Thirty to 40 pounds of honey are collected from a single hive at each crop. The honey is gathered by smoking the bees out from behind. When they have left, the exit hole is stopped up and the honey is taken, one section being left for the bees. In times of drought, honey is put into the hives for the bees to eat. The honey
251 is packed in comb and as liquid. In the former case two sizes of round tins are used, containing 4 lb. and 7 lb. respectively. An inside cover is soldered to the tins in Mukalla. Liquid honey is packed in cases of two kerosene tins. The value of the honey
435 in Mukalla is one rupee a pound. The total production is 20,000 to 100,000 pounds.

000 In view of the great renown which Du'an honey enjoys in South Arabia and the East Indies, and in view of the fact that it is much appreciated by Europeans, I had hoped that there might be

137 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north
246 of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khuweira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

**Manufacturing Industries.**

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
262 mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden
249 machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
438 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to
353 the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
326 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

**Fisheries.**

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They
231 are :—

438 *Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazif* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

by men and also serve for fodder. It is sold by *ma'bar*, a basket of about 30 to 40 lb. The price for eight baskets is from one to three dollars.

*Hanīt* (cooked and dried *tamad* fish). About fifteen to twenty *bahars* of this are made a day in Mukalla and sold for local and up country consumption.

*Safīf* (dried *tarnak* and *tamad* fish). This used to be made only from the *tarnak* but now includes *tamad* as well.

*Lakhm* (dried shark). A great deal is prepared in Mukalla and one *frasila* costs one and a half to two and a-half dollars.

*Rīsh* (shark fins). A certain amount of these are exported to China.

The fish manufactories have been removed from the town of Mukalla, a sanitary measure for which credit is due to Sultan 'Umar. The drying-grounds and godowns for *wazīf* are situated beyond Therb, the camel park, outside the western gate. Here too there are old fish-oil tanks. The drying of fish for human consumption takes place at Al Khalf, east of the town, and here large godowns for storage and export are in process of completion. Dried fish forms a staple article of diet of the population. It is also a valuable manure and a widely-used fodder for animals. The extent of this coastal industry may be judged by the millions of gulls lining the seashore and the ever-pervading smell in the coastal towns.

Mr. Heald, referring to the fish-curing industry, writes " Along the coast in the various villages, a primitive fish-curing industry was carried on for sale in the interior, which consisted merely of digging a hole about one yard deep and half a yard broad, lined with stone; in this, wood was burnt and then the large-sized fish were placed in the hot ashes and covered over and left for 24 hours, afterwards taken out and sent up to the interior for sale. I was informed that the cured fish would keep for a considerable length of time, but, as a word of warning to intending travellers in this country, I strongly advise them not to allow any of their luggage especially bedding to be put on the same camel carrying the fish, as the smell was abominable and tainted everything it came into contact with. The Beduins on the journey fed their camels with the small sun dried fish and also partook of the same themselves without any attempt at cooking."

## Visit of Agricultural and Geological Experts in 1919.

### Agricultural Report.

At the request of the Sultan, then Sir Ghalib bin 'Awadh, K.C.I.E., experts were obtained from Egypt to examine and report on the agricultural and mineral possibilities of certain parts of his territory

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2.



The great cleanliness of the houses of the rich is very 336
noticeable. The drainage from lavatories and kitchens runs 271
down wide, square shafts into spaces destined for it in the lower floor, into which however, unfortunately, light penetrates so that they become good breeding places for flies. Bathrooms and also lavatories are partly fitted out as in the East Indies. Sometimes there are douches, and generally there are large brick cisterns for the bath water, which one scoops out to pour over oneself. Our host has a large refrigerator by means of which cold drinking-water is provided for the numerous guests and dwellers in the house, and fruits and sweetmeats become the refinement of pleasure.

Cooking in Terīm, as in Sēwūn, is very much influenced 252
by Singapore and Java. Chinese cooks are responsible for 177
the extensive rice meals that are enjoyed daily by dozens of guests. Many dried or tinned foods are imported from Java. Some kinds of vegetables are grown in the gardens of Terīm; the fresh fruits which are served at table are large oval melons and the first ripe dates. As the latter are rather scarce, last years' dates come to table prepared as paste, in cakes, sweet bread, etc.

Sayyid ʿUmar el-Kāf's house, like that of our host, is 352
furnished in half-European style. Old-fashioned Indian rocking-chairs stand on the beautiful carpets. A bed, rigged up in the Javanese manner, decorates the great reception-room. The bed linen is not white, but pink. There are many mirrors on the walls and also photographs of the family's estates in the Indies. Sayyid ʿUmar is the owner of the great Europe Hotel in Singapore; he shows us with pride — and no wonder — the model of the new hotel, which makes an impression magnificently American. The walls are further decorated with Mausers and American repeating rifles, which are hard to obtain in this country and, consequently, are worth a great deal.

It had already struck us that the Kathīrī soldiers were 714
better clad than those of the Qeʿēṭī. The number of pro- 411 565

rock, in shape like a toadstool, and the whole caravan could find protection in its shade. The river was not far away and green bushes from which the camels might feed grew along its banks.

Our supply of dates and biscuits was beginning to run short. Our Bedouin companions were very frugal eaters: they had two meals a day, one during the afternoon rest and one at the night bivouac, when they baked a few underdone bread-cakes with a yellow flour of some sort. The taste of these was none too attractive and, what was worse, they lay heavy on the chest like an indigestible stone. Von Wissmann had always drunk the milk of our she-camel in the evening, but I had refused the drink, which had the penetrating odour of the animal's sweat. We were getting underfed and overexhausted. The inner tension and self-control demanded for the long negotiations and conversations at ʿAmd, in the Deyyin country, at Yebʿeth and Ṣidāra were beginning to take their revenge on my digestion. But we were obliged to go on and that day we marched till half past six in the evening and spent the night on a little plateau of rock among the granite mountains. During the day the Bedouins collect branches and dry shrubs and parched-up plants for the evening fire, on whose ashes they bake their bread and over which we make our tea. It is the best hour of the day; it brings us all together in a mood of good fellowship and of thankfulness for the completion of the day's hot and tiring journey. It was also the moment when our Bedouins smeared themselves carefully — arms, breast and neck — with *samn*. Their hair also was kept well greased. It struck us that the skin of our bodies, which perspired continuously and were seldom washed, felt stiff and grainy from the salt of evaporated perspiration. The Bedouins get rid of this unpleasant feeling by rubbing themselves with grease; moreover, the practice makes their skin more resistant against the sun's heat and the sudden coldness of the air in the evening. They told us that the skin became so pleasantly "moist" from the grease.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



446 The Ahwar Farmers' Association was started with the nomination by the Regent of a chairman and managing committee of 12, assisted by a secretary. The committee functioned during 1952 as a kind of Agricultural Board to deal with local irrigation arrangements, cotton growing and marketing, and development work. It provided a useful link between the Department of Agriculture and the farming community.

## FISHERIES

226 The same type of fishing is carried out in the Protectorates as in the Colony with more emphasis on beach seines. The most extensive fishery is the coast from Mukalla eastwards to beyond Qishn. In the winter months sardine of the Sardinella and Dussumreria types are found together with *Scomberomerus spp.* and tunny. The Western Protectorate coast in winter generally supports an intensive fishery for anchovy (*Stolephorus indicus*) by beach seines. In addition a small shrimp is also caught by this method. The fisheries are localised but seasonal fishermen tend to follow the shoals along the coast.

Encircling gill nets, bottom nets and lift nets are little used in the Protectorate as local opinion is strongly opposed to methods of increasing yields for fear that the fish will become extinct.

439 Fishing is financed in the same way as in Colony by merchants.
226 Fish, surplus to normal requirements, is salted and dried for export to India, Africa and Ceylon but there is considerable local consumption
255 inland. Dried sardines are used for camel fodder, tobacco fertiliser
254 and human consumption. One fish factory for canning tunny and sardines, which was established in Mukalla in 1950 and which used an Italian trawler for supplies, has had to close down owing to lack of capital. Fish meal was also produced at this factory. No cold storage or ice-making plants exist.

435 Marketing arrangements are the same as in the Colony : fish prices
226 are about 50 per cent lower for the consumer in the Protectorate.

The sardine fishery which had failed for three years showed signs of revival in the early winter of 1951 along the Eastern Protectorate coast. Shoals of larger fish were also abundant and the upward trend has again been noticed in the winter of 1952.

654 The Fisheries Department is described on page 27. It has surveyed
226 little of the Protectorate waters except by Danish seine netting. The results have been exceptionally poor owing to the rough nature of the bottom. Plans for extensive and intensive work in the Protectorates have been delayed because of schemes in the Colony. A certain amount of work has been done in Western Protectorate waters from Perim to beyond Shuqra but only one area showed signs of promise with Danish seine nets : half a ton of *Lethrinus spp.* was the best single individual haul. The fishermen from Aden Colony range into the Western Protectorate and on three nights at the end of the Shamal of 1952, with assistance from the Fisheries Department vessel, secured 14½ tons of *Scomberomerus spp.* from the west of Aden. These co-operative efforts will be resumed in the Shamal of 1953.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



still far below anything within living memory prior to 1948–49. In consequence there has been no surplus for export from the Qu'aiti coast, the Qu'aiti merchants having had, in fact, to import much of the small surplus from the Mahra coast for consumption inland. 228

Six fishery statistical posts have been established on the Qu'aiti coast in the Eastern Aden Protectorate and three in the Abyan area of the Western Aden Protectorate. They are financed by His Majesty's Government through the Fishery Department, but are administered by the states in which they are situated.

Because of the poor fishing seasons plans for promoting the export trade have been postponed. Preliminary trials are in hand for salt-curing sardines on the Eastern Aden Protectorate coast, to provide a cheap protein food for the agricultural labourers in the Wadi Hadhramaut and the Abyan area. The first small batches of fish were very well received. Now larger quantities are being tested for keeping qualities, as the most acute shortage of cured fish occurs during the summer when no sardines are being caught. At present the poorest people eat the dirty and rancid sun-dried sardines in the wadi and semi-putrid small fishes in Abyan. 228 258 262

A scheme is in preparation at Shihr, on the Qu'aiti coast, for mechanising the local fishing sambuks with outboard motors. These craft are sewn together with coir twine and are too flexible to take a normal inboard installation, but by fitting a flat hog in place of the keel, it is possible to ship an outboard motor through a trunk. The Qu'aiti State has financed a loan to a selected fisherman with which he will purchase the first sambuk and outboard. The sambuk is now being altered under Fishery Department supervision, and the Aden agents have the engine waiting. 501 228 654

An interesting development on the Qu'aiti coast is the building at Mukalla, for a local merchant, by Italian engineers and technicians, of a cannery with a capacity of from 500 to 1,500 yellow-fin tunny per day. This merchant has also recently brought an 80-ft. diesel-engined fishing vessel from Italy as well as two small motor launches. The cannery is in operation and samples opened have proved to be excellent. It is to be hoped that the project succeeds, as it is not only a bold step deserving of success as such, but also a source of local employment and of exports, both of which are needed in that area. 255 228

# Chapter 8: Social Services

## EDUCATION

### *General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout 871

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 That night a wolf came near our bivouac. The Bedouins heard his call in the encircling mountains and rose in haste to gather the camels together inside the camp.

On the following morning, June 19th, we rose very early, for it was growing important to reach Makalla as soon as possible. The caravan was in motion at a quarter past four and we made a straight line for the sea coast, scrambling 361 laboriously over granite boulders. By ten past eight we had reached Mĕfa$^{c}$, a forlorn little village by the sea at the mouth of Wādī Ḥadjr.

312 The river here has shrunk till it is no more than a swiftly flowing stream. No doubt the major portion of the water flows underground to the sea.

361 The population of Mĕfa$^{c}$ dwells for the greater part in 164 miserable shacks; the few mud houses are dilapidated and poor and dirty. The house where the soldiers live was opened for us; it was the best to be had, but still miserable enough. Only one soldier still remained; his companions had died of the fevers for which Mĕfa$^{c}$ has an unenviable reputation. Yāfi$^{c}$ soldiers from the healthy highlands are among the least resistant to the fever of the damp, hot coast. When this soldier's last comrade died, he had fled from the house, not daring to live there any longer. No food was to be had from the villagers for love or money, but the soldier shared some of his provisions of rice and eggs with us. He told us that the people of the place are desperately poor and unhealthy. Emigrants come here, it is true, but they do not stand it for long, and only a portion of the arable land is under cultivation. The Qe$^{c}$ēṭī soldiers regard transference to Mĕfa$^{c}$ as equivalent to a death sentence. Their constitutions are not resistant against the endemic fever, they have not enough pay to feed themselves well, and the people of the village are so poor and miserable that nothing can be got from them.

257 Whilst lying in a corner of a little room, which smelt of indigo, I got a violent attack of cramp in the stomach, and it looked as if I should not be able to go further. Luckily the

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



still far below anything within living memory prior to 1948–49. In consequence there has been no surplus for export from the Qu'aiti coast, the Qu'aiti merchants having had, in fact, to import much of the small surplus from the Mahra coast for consumption inland. 228

Six fishery statistical posts have been established on the Qu'aiti coast in the Eastern Aden Protectorate and three in the Abyan area of the Western Aden Protectorate. They are financed by His Majesty's Government through the Fishery Department, but are administered by the states in which they are situated.

Because of the poor fishing seasons plans for promoting the export trade have been postponed. Preliminary trials are in hand for salt-curing sardines on the Eastern Aden Protectorate coast, to provide a cheap protein food for the agricultural labourers in the Wadi Hadhramaut and the Abyan area. The first small batches of fish were very well received. Now larger quantities are being tested for keeping qualities, as the most acute shortage of cured fish occurs during the summer when no sardines are being caught. At present the poorest people eat the dirty and rancid sun-dried sardines in the wadi and semi-putrid small fishes in Abyan. 228 258 262

A scheme is in preparation at Shihr, on the Qu'aiti coast, for mechanising the local fishing sambuks with outboard motors. These craft are sewn together with coir twine and are too flexible to take a normal inboard installation, but by fitting a flat hog in place of the keel, it is possible to ship an outboard motor through a trunk. The Qu'aiti State has financed a loan to a selected fisherman with which he will purchase the first sambuk and outboard. The sambuk is now being altered under Fishery Department supervision, and the Aden agents have the engine waiting. 501 228 654

An interesting development on the Qu'aiti coast is the building at Mukalla, for a local merchant, by Italian engineers and technicians, of a cannery with a capacity of from 500 to 1,500 yellow-fin tunny per day. This merchant has also recently brought an 80-ft. diesel-engined fishing vessel from Italy as well as two small motor launches. The cannery is in operation and samples opened have proved to be excellent. It is to be hoped that the project succeeds, as it is not only a bold step deserving of success as such, but also a source of local employment and of exports, both of which are needed in that area. 255 228

# Chapter 8: Social Services

## EDUCATION

*General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout 871

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes :—

" The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

" Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

" Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

## Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [858 552] [212]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

boiled radishes is given to cattle with " cattle plague ". Donkeys are said to be susceptible to a very fatal disease. 231 232

Both cattle and camels are used in ploughing, the former usually in pairs and the latter singly. For the working of the wells, camels, cattle, donkeys, men and women, all combine, frequently in mixed teams, the animals being generally given a bunch of fodder at the top of the incline each time they reach it. Camels are also employed in turning the machines for extracting the simsim oil. The fact that fodder and water become more scarce north of the main Wadi necessitates a greater use of camels and donkeys are few and far between. Donkeys are uncommon also in the Wadi Maseila, for there is a three-day stretch without water in the middle of the Wadi, and below Buzun the flow is not perennial. Sheep and goats, however, are to be found everywhere, seeking their pasture under the care of women or girls. 231 492

Heald in his report states that no attention is paid to selection during the breeding season—which is usually in the early summer. With the sheep, one lamb is generally the average—although higher up in the Hadhramaut, amongst better pasture, ewes give two lambs. The sheep in the Meifa valley had black fleeces with the curly fat tails, although smaller than the Egyptian sheep. The goats are also smaller than in Egypt and originally came from the Yemen. 231

It was particularly noticeable in the Wadi Maseila that the livestock were very much smaller than those elsewhere. The cows are little larger than a normal-sized calf, and the sheep and goats are also smaller than those in Du'an or to the north. The cattle are similar in size to those of Socotra. The breeds of goats and sheep appeared to vary considerably over the whole country, but a black-and-white variety was the most common. His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan has a few horses, both for riding and carriage work, and I saw one at Meshhed. There are probably not a dozen in the whole country. 643 492

**Minor agricultural products.**

Dates in the Hadhramaut are merely a hobby, and the entire local crop is consumed fresh during a season of two months, June and July. It may be recorded that a single date-tree in the Du'an valley sells from 400 to 1,000 dollars, many times its economic price. Dates form a staple article of diet and are therefore imported in large quantities. 245 262 435

The principal grain and other food crops are millet—*dirra* (great millet, *Sorghum vulgar*), *dukhn* (bullrush millet, *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and *keneb* or *msebeli* (Italian millet, *Setana italica*); lucerne; *jil jil* (sesame, not eaten by donkeys); *dijar* (a kind of bean); wheat (not eaten by donkeys or goats); and a little maize. The stalks are generically known as *qusab*, and the grain as *ta'm*. Hashish or grass is also grown for animals. The principal garden crops are sweet potatoes, onions, garlic, pumpkins, carrots, egg 241

*Rotation.*—Heald states that mixed and overlapping rotations were found in Meifa and Asfal al 'Ain but, from careful enquiries, the following appeared to be the most popular :—Lucerne two years, followed by millet and the fourth year tobacco. If tobacco was not sown, the land was planted with another variety of millet. In some villages where lucerne was not grown, the rotation simply included tobacco and millet with sesame the third year. 242

In the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed. One year a certain part of the wadi bed will be cultivated, stick huts and erections for drawing up the water built, and when the crop is harvested the Beduins move on elsewhere, returning again another season. Thus we frequently passed remains of cultivation, disused mud aqueducts and tumbled-down huts.

*Diseases.*—Heald states, " Excepting for the caterpillar attacking the young millet and tobacco, the crops were remarkably free from pests and disease; I carefully searched for stem borer in the millet but could find none, and also for the scale in the few citrus trees."

**Trees and other vegetation of economic importance.**

The *'elb* (*Sidr. Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.) has many uses. Apart from its blossoms, which are said to give the good taste to the Du'an honey, its fruit called *dōm* is eaten extensively by the Beduins when dates are lacking. The beams, pillars and doors of Hadhramaut houses are made from the timber, and the supply and carriage of the trunks give much employment to the Beduins. It also supplies good firewood. It is a fodder tree, and the leaves are also used as a substitute for soap. 137 262 313 242 [388]

*Sār*, a palm tree (*Hyphaene thebaica* (L.) Mart.), from which the Beduins gather the leaves called *sāf* for transport to the towns, where they are made into mats, baskets, country string, etc. A popular drink called *nebidh* is also procured from this tree. 137 314 285 272

The long-thorned *sumr* (*Acacia spirocarpa* Hochst.) is perhaps the commonest tree in the Hadhramaut. It is a popular fodder for camels and is likewise eaten by goats. It supplies good firewood and a substance taken from the roots called *futukh* is used by fishermen for greasing their lines in order to make them strong. Another thorny tree, the *geradh* (*Acacia senegal* Willd.), is also a common fodder. Its leaves are used for tanning skins and it is said that the Beduins make a drink from them which they liken to tea. 137 246 314 372 272

The *musht* tree (*Grewia erythraea* Schweinf.), is used extensively for firewood and camel fodder. The leaves of the *ariata* tree (*Conocarpus erectus* Jacq.), which grows in the Wadi Maseila where it sometimes reaches a height of 50 to 70 feet, are dried for fodder, and the timber probably has its economic uses. I was told in Tarim of a large tree growing in Wadi Maseila the strong wood of which is used by carpenters; this may have been the *ariata*. 137 314 246 372

137 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north
246 of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khuweira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

**Manufacturing Industries.**

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
●262 ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden
249 machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
438 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to
353 the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
326 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

**Fisheries.**

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They
231 are :—

438 *Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazif* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

by men and also serve for fodder. It is sold by *ma'bar*, a basket of about 30 to 40 lb. The price for eight baskets is from one to three dollars.

*Hanīt* (cooked and dried *tamad* fish). About fifteen to twenty *bahars* of this are made a day in Mukalla and sold for local and up country consumption.

*Safīf* (dried *tarnak* and *tamad* fish). This used to be made only from the *tarnak* but now includes *tamad* as well.

*Lakhm* (dried shark). A great deal is prepared in Mukalla and one *frasila* costs one and a half to two and a-half dollars.

*Rish* (shark fins). A certain amount of these are exported to China.

The fish manufactories have been removed from the town of Mukalla, a sanitary measure for which credit is due to Sultan 'Umar. The drying-grounds and godowns for *wazīf* are situated beyond Therb, the camel park, outside the western gate. Here too there are old fish-oil tanks. The drying of fish for human consumption takes place at Al Khalf, east of the town, and here large godowns for storage and export are in process of completion. Dried fish forms a staple article of diet of the population. It is also a valuable manure and a widely-used fodder for animals. The extent of this coastal industry may be judged by the millions of gulls lining the seashore and the ever-pervading smell in the coastal towns.

Mr. Heald, referring to the fish-curing industry, writes "Along the coast in the various villages, a primitive fish-curing industry was carried on for sale in the interior, which consisted merely of digging a hole about one yard deep and half a yard broad, lined with stone; in this, wood was burnt and then the large-sized fish were placed in the hot ashes and covered over and left for 24 hours, afterwards taken out and sent up to the interior for sale. I was informed that the cured fish would keep for a considerable length of time, but, as a word of warning to intending travellers in this country, I strongly advise them not to allow any of their luggage especially bedding to be put on the same camel carrying the fish, as the smell was abominable and tainted everything it came into contact with. The Beduins on the journey fed their camels with the small sun dried fish and also partook of the same themselves without any attempt at cooking."

## Visit of Agricultural and Geological Experts in 1919.

### Agricultural Report.

At the request of the Sultan, then Sir Ghalib bin 'Awadh, K.C.I.E., experts were obtained from Egypt to examine and report on the agricultural and mineral possibilities of certain parts of his territory

T: Stutler-Rasmussen T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk. 342

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm. 361

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anis go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices. 311 312 511 262 439 291

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space. 342 361 531

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut. 361 342

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on [441]

484 pasture lies beyond a certain point; or at noonday halts the camels become "temporarily lost."

Moonlit nights are considered most desirable for travel. Camels 233 are grazed wherever pasture is most abundant, regardless of the time of day—the heat may be intense—or the progress of the journey. This would not be necessary if small quantities of fodder, such as millet and hay, were carried. This practice, however, is not popular, owing either to custom or to what may be considered unwarranted expense, despite the fact that the animals could be maintained in superior condition and at the same time be worked harder to a degree that would more than offset the cost of purchased fodder.

[262] On the march camelmen provide for their own maintenance with small amounts of dates, bread, coffee, and tea, which add little to 484 the burden a caravan can transport. Therefore, provided the equipment of a traveling group is not too cumbersome and the personnel not too large, the unit can maintain itself on the march four or five weeks without replenishing supplies. Speed of travel will be governed by local grazing, water supply, and terrain, the condition of the camels, and the "temperament" of the caravan leader—an unknown usually capable of "adjustment."

492 In the caravans of those not strictly limited in resources, the 436 donkey is invariably included because it is comparatively easy to ride and a more comfortable mount than a camel. Camels can be hired for 1.00 to 1.25 Maria Theresa dollars (the standard currency in the interior) a day and donkeys for about 1.00 dollar.

## Bedouin "Warfare"

721 It is common knowledge that caravans have been both successfully 484 and unsuccessfully raided; but just what tactics the Bedouins employ on such occasions is somewhat of a mystery. At 4.00 a. m. one day a small party was plodding silently through bushes and mist along a broad wadi bottom leading to the sea. Through a knowledge of the prevailing wind as revealed by ripple marks in the sand, the leader cautiously picked his way and at length found a faint trail incised [233] in the bank. About 10.00 a. m. the caravan came to rest in the spotted shade of a leafless camel's-thorn for the customary noontime forage; and while the camels fed on the sharp, crunchy thorns, the Bedouins reclined on the sand in the meager shade of the dry branches.

Without apparent warning the whole camp was suddenly alive, for downwind had come a faint call, which one man had been alert enough to catch. The sharp-eyed Bedouins soon discovered two minute figures on the crest of a distant dune overlooking the caravan route ahead; and it was at once recalled that this route followed a tribal boundary between two groups now rumored to be unfriendly. The

strangers were assumed to be enemy scouts, the advance guard of a larger fighting force behind some distant dune. 721 484

The "ambushed" caravan comprised sixteen Bedouins, only twelve of them armed. This fact, however, the theoretically opposing force was supposed not to know, since it is an unwritten law of the desert that every Bedouin travels with rifle and ammunition. Without hesitation the leader selected three armed men to act as scouts and an unarmed messenger. Hastily the four men washed down a few mouthfuls of food, since they did not know when they would be able to eat again, filled with water from the large reservoir skins some small ones suitable for short, flying trips, and then slipped swiftly off across the sand in a peculiar bowlegged glide. Under cover of a near-by dune the caravan men scrambled to its summit, at once opened fire, and drove the two intruders from view. They then dashed ahead to the dune on which their adversaries had stood and later advanced from hilltop to hilltop parallel to the caravan route and between it and "enemy" territory. In the meantime the camels had been hastily packed and started on the march along the now protected trail, which they followed without intermission until sundown. [411]

The two "enemy" tribesmen were not seen again, and it was concluded that their actions had been misinterpreted. Freedom from molestation during the remainder of the day did not, however, cause the caravan leader to relinquish vigilance. The party was scheduled to pass at about 3.00 p. m. a water hole to one side of the trail and hidden from it by a dune. As a method of precaution an advance guard of four went ahead and, just as the caravan came abreast of this spot, converged on the well from four directions. Although the strategy displayed by the Bedouins and their chief was happily unnecessary, the "shadow" campaign showed how fearless and cautious these men of the desert can be.

## Fishers and Ropemakers

During certain of the winter months sardines abound along the Hadhramaut coast, traveling in large schools, which can be seen from the shore as black patches on the surface of the sea. Natives wade out with hand nets or cast from small canoes, making enormous hauls with considerable ease. The sardines are much appreciated by the Bedouins as an addition to their diet of dates, millet, and goat or sheep meat and are eaten either raw or cooked. The fish are taken from the nets, tossed up on the beach to dry, and then packed into large bundles for transport to the interior, where they are used for camel fodder or fertilizer. Fish oil is obtained from that part of the catch which is dumped into pits and allowed to decompose. Sting rays, sharks, porpoises, and lobsters are also taken from the sea; but as the use of lobster is unknown, it is cast back from the nets. 136 226 237 [262]

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



lunch, also in true Arabian Nights' style, as we had lamb stuffed with pistachio nuts, almonds, and raisins, and many other good things, we started off for a round of afternoon calls. Many old friends had come to see us and all wanted us to visit them. However we managed to weed them down to four and thought we would take the farthest first, so we went off through the date palms to Robat where we had an enormous tea, and then came back through Khoreiba, where we had two more and a fourth, just after sunset, at Ar Rashid. Then we staggered back for dinner to Masna'a, Mr. Figgis rather under the weather and wondering how he was going to cope with Hadhrami hospitality after the more modest repasts of Northern Nigeria.

My wife re-visited Du'an at the beginning of 1937, journeying up the well-known caravan road from Mukalla. She travelled with two Seiyids of the Mihdhar family returning to their homes after a long absence, and they took seven days on donkeys from the coast to Wadi Du'an. The nights were spent in the *murabba'as* and towards sunset each evening they raced with an old shepherd taking a flock of Somaliland sheep over the *jols* to Du'an, for he was determined that his sheep should sleep in the stone hut and the Seiyids were equally determined that my wife and they should. There was always a long midday halt for about eleven o'clock the Seiyids felt they needed their ginger coffee, and it was after noon before the large meal of rice and dried fish was ready.

Except for the preparation of two large meals a day everything was very simple. The Seiyids each had a folding iron camp bed and the Badawin, two of whom acted as chief cook and butler-valet, usually slept curled up underneath the beds. The Seiyids had put on clean clothes at the beginning of the journey, and these they wore night and day until they reached the top of the *'aqaba* leading to Du'an, when they unpacked their boxes and put on new clothes to arrive in. Crowds quickly came from their homes to meet them, and from the Ba Surra's house to meet my wife. She spent two nights with the ladies in Masna'a, who were very anxious to know all about Miss Stark, and if she had quite recovered from the illness that attacked her in Du'an. My wife also visited Robat and Khoreiba, and had tea in one house and spent the night in another house in which a crowd of self-invited guests gathered after dinner to hear the wireless, at that time the only set in the wadi. The reception was not too good, but they heard Big Ben and switched from Egypt to Rome, from Palestine to Germany, and back to London.

With the usual Du'an hospitality she was given two breakfasts in different houses, visited many women, and returned to Masna'a for a gay evening party with drums and dancing in the harem. She left Masna'a for Quweira, where she stayed with the Mihdhar family, whose stronghold it is. This clan of Seiyids is very large but firmly united under its chief, Seiyid Mustafa, a very old man who was amazingly ignorant of any matters outside his valley and had never before descended to shaking hands with a European woman. He had evidently seen pictures of them however for he frankly expressed his approval of my wife's dress, which had long sleeves and was not cut short above the knees as he had imagined it would be. She quite lost count of the number of houses she visited in Quweira, and in all of which she was taken straight up to see the women. It is a curiosity of Du'an that all the women dress

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 the fairly steep slope of Wādī Ḥimem, high above the *sēl*-bed. We looked down on the fresh green of small trees and shrubs; a shepherdess with her flock of goats was occasionally to be seen amongst them. The path then dropped down towards the wādī; walking over the grey-white boulders and under small acacias with scanty foliage, we made our weary way to the end of Wādī Ḥimem, in and beside which we had been journeying for days past.

### 4. THROUGH WĀDĪ LUṢŪB TO THE GREAT ROCK PLATEAU. THE CAMP AT EL-ḤISĪ.

133 361 312 We came out onto a high plateau, but soon entered the wide, shallow bed of Wādī Luṣūb, which was fairly well covered with vegetation. Small, poor houses lie scattered here, like cubes of stone, with very primitive little gardens. The people live principally by breeding sheep and goats. We made our quarters for the night just beyond the houses, forming the hamlet of el-Ḥisī, beside a large well of masonry within which one descends by stone steps to the surface of the water. The well had been dug in the *sēl*-bed and was therefore protected by a thick wall, as high as a man, against the water floods which appear after rain. In el-Ḥisī lived the family of Mautor, the leader of our caravan, and hence the dawdling which characterised this day; on no account were they prepared to go beyond el-Ḥisī.

245 262 All bickering was forgotten now and our Bedouins radiated contentment and willingness. The people of el-Ḥisī set to work cutting up food for our animals, all the inhabitants came to have a look at our camp, and, afterwards, Mautor took all his comrades with him to feast in his village. He brought us, beforehand, a cloth full of *nibq* fruit. The *nibq* tree, also called *sidr* or *dōm*, is of intrinsic importance in those parts of Ḥaḍramaut where there is too little water for the cultivation of the date-palm. There, wherever one is dependent on the *sēl*, the water which only comes after rain, and where the subsoil

water is too far below the surface to serve for the regular 245
irrigation of a plantation, the *nibq* can still live quite well, 262
and even if there is no rain for some years it does not die. The fruit of the *nibq* is as large as a marble and has a stone of the size of a pea. The taste is sour-sweet and refreshing. The fruit can be dried and kept for a long time: it is then crushed fine, stone and all, and with the meal bread is baked or a sort of porridge made. This small fruit is the chief food supply of many in times of drought, and in times of scarcity many Bedouins live on *nibq* and milk and do not look ill on the diet. The shepherdesses *carry the nibqs with them in small* oval, prettily woven baskets.

The wood of the *nibq* tree is reddish-brown and hard, and [3/3]
is used for beams and supporting pillars in the big, many- 3/4
storied, mud houses of the rich. The branches, thick with 262
thorns, are used in the date plantations when the bunches of 231
dates approach ripeness. They are bound in a wreath round the trunk just below the clusters of fruit, to prevent the dates from being stolen. Finally the green leaves of the *nibq* are also useful: when, during a long drought, there is hardly any more food to be found for the sheep and goats one sees the agile shepherdesses, in spite of their flowing, black garments, clambering up to the top of the *nibq* tree and knocking off the leaves from the branches with long, thin sticks. The flock stands below the tree in expectation of the godsend of food to come. We have only a mild admiration for the *nibq* fruit: one must do much chewing for little nourishment and for little taste.

They also brought us from el-Ḥisī a few handfuls of the 262
roasted larvae of white ants. The taste was not bad; Von Wissmann ate up a whole helping with the result that, shortly afterwards, he had a pain in his throat and could not utter a sound, a condition that lasted for about two hours.

El-Ḥisī lies about 4500 feet above sea-level, and the 133
evenings are quite cold. While there, we examined the bundles 000
of plants which we had already collected and pressed. Great

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



ing by having to toil along in the tormenting heat. There was no need for hard climbing and descending, the way lay smoothly over gently sloping plateaus, allowing a view on low, flat table-mountains and not very deep wādīs. In the surrounding mountains we saw many horizontal lines, ancient plateaus or geological strata. Vegetation became scantier and scantier as we went further. We only passed by two small villages with an insignificant bit of cultivated ground, entirely dependent upon rain-water. At the first village, Dahma, we rested for the afternoon in a *murabbaʿa*. Here a few people from the village came to ask us for medicines. Kneeling beside the medicine-chest in the burning sun, I tried to doctor the patients: eyes closed up tight by inflammation were cleansed with cotton-wool and boracic water, after which I used protargol, drop by drop; aspirin was given, in a cup of hot tea with lemon, for headaches and fever; festering wounds were cleaned and then bound up with Peruvian balsam; castor oil, worm-cakes and quinine were also dispensed more than once. The population as a whole gave an impression of health. Although they wash their bodies but seldom and smear them with *samn* and indigo, it is surprising how little one sees of itch and other skin troubles. The only malaria which occurs on the *djōl* is brought in from the lower-lying districts.

The Bedouins are mostly small and slightly built, but they have great powers of endurance and do not give the impression of being underfed. The boys who belonged to our caravan ran the whole day long, helped energetically morning and evening, and ate only two meals a day (some dates, rice and a piece of dried shark's meat, sometimes unleavened bread baked in hot ashes).

Dahma appears to consist of twenty or so small houses, the lower parts of which are built of rough stones, and the upper parts of dried mud. A large, square tower, entirely built of stone, serves as a defence for the village and as the residence of its mayor. On the border of the village is a mud-built, communal threshing-floor; there are also ovens for baking meat,

finest house in all Wādī Dō'an and that we must come and see it without fail. They were born in Addis Abeba of Abyssinian mothers; there, by trading in skins, their father had made the money with which he had built his house. The boys refused to be sent away until they had extracted a promise that we would come on the morrow.

### 3. THE DAYS SPENT IN WĀDĪ DŌ'AN.

The nights in Wādī Dō'an are said to be cool; 34.2° C. is certainly not cold, but the atmosphere is dry and we can all sleep on the roof though mosquito-nets are necessary. The bathrooms and lavatories in the houses make good breeding-places for insects. Flies also, during the day-time, are more numerous than we could wish.

On the following morning, May 16th, Bā Ṣurra sends us a real Arabian breakfast: a heavy bunch of fine dates in a basket, a tin entirely filled with honey in the comb, the famous honey of this country and one of its few articles of export, further, pine-apple in water made in a Chinese fruit-preserving factory at Singapore and, in a flat basket, a pile of Ḥaḍramī bread, thick pancakes of flour, just baked and still warm from the fire. This bread is saltless and rather heavy, but has a clean taste, but when cold it is as tough as leather. It tastes better and is more digestible than the bread which the Bedouins make, and bake in hot ashes. This latter is of the size and shape of a man's hand (thus about an inch thick) and is generally burnt outside and underbaked inside. It looks red or yellow according to the kind of *dhura* or *dukhn* of which it is made. After breakfast we go together to the *maṣna'a* to negotiate arrangements for our further journey and to collect, in the course of our talk, information about this region. Our Sēbānī people will remain here with their camels and donkeys, for we must take with us animals accustomed to go through the wide, level wādīs.

farewell to Bā Ṣurra, his sons and grandsons, and then we start off again on donkeys through the glorious groves of date-palms to Huwēbiya, three quarters of an hour distant, where the Vizier of Makalla has estates, now managed by his son Sālim. 000

We ride most of the way on the tops of the mud dykes which lie alongside of the irrigation canals. The palm-groves are intersected by many deep channels which distribute the water from the *sēl* over the land under cultivation, and whose high, though narrow, mud dykes are made to protect the plantations from damage by the swiftly flowing water. The actual *sēl*-bed is dammed, here and there, between barrages of piled-up boulders. 312

The Vizier has a fine house, well situated close to the green wādī. The cream-coloured mosque near by it has a minaret, which is a beautiful bit of Ḥaḍramī architecture. 000

The old Sayyid Muṣṭafā puts in his appearance soon after, and there is also a Ḥaḍramī who has done well as a merchant in Djedda. Conversation turns on the World War and the events resulting from it. One feels them, as always, groping for the weak spot in the West, for the seed of destruction in the wordly and spiritual power which dominates and enslaves the lands of Islam. It comes out clearly how positively our listeners count upon a vigorous recovery of Germany, who will revenge herself for defeat in a new world war which will put an end for good to the dominating position of the whole West. They are all aflame for war from so-called pure sympathy for Germany or antipathy for Albion. It is difficult, not only to run directly counter to that kind of anticipation of the future, but also to bring forward some arguments for the love of peace and of mankind, transcending differences in religion, in such a way that, at least, they will not be immediately forgotten again. 609

After a breakfast of hot bread-cakes, *samn* mixed with honey, poached eggs with onions, tinned pine-apple and pears, the conversation is taken up again with renewed vigour. We 262 000

# CHAPTER V.

## THROUGH THE WĀDĪ TO ḤADRAMAUT PROPER.

### 1. ṢĪF THE INHOSPITABLE.

It is warm, — 39.5° C. — even in the shadow of the date-palms through which our way now leads for hours to come. We go on in the direction of Ṣīf, alternately up over the dyke and through the dried-up bed of the irrigation canal. Finally vegetation grows less and less and so does the number of villages on the slopes of rock débris. As time goes on one sees in place of date-palms more and more *nibq* trees. Their thorny branches are dragged in bundles to the date plantations, where they are bound to the trunks of the trees below the bunches of fruit, so that it is very difficult to get at the ripening fruit. In order to protect the dates, now becoming soft, against birds and other animals, bags made of plaited palm-leaves are pulled over the large clusters of fruit and then tied round their quite long and strong stems. On our way we meet donkeys laden with these bags, and also men and boys dragging after them bundles of branches of the *nibq* tree. The date-palms are excellently cared for. The dry leaves are cut away close to the trunk, and the clusters of fruit hang almost immediately underneath the crown of leaves. The date harvest is the great, happy event of the wādī. The fortunate possessors of date-trees drop down into the plantations from the *djōls* and side-wādīs. Those who are earning their living out of the country try to return home in time for the date harvest, and they all postpone their departure abroad until it is over. Yet this is more an affair of reverence and tradition than of economic importance. The local date is of no consequence as an article of commerce,

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p. 73

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



245 and is only important as part of the food supply of the common
262 people. The slave and the Bedouin consider the Dōʿan date as the really good one; the imported one, from Baṣra, they regard as inferior. The sayyids and notabilities who have made money abroad do not set much value on the date as an article of daily food. They keep on their date-groves in order to have a summer pavilion and a swimming-bath and to enjoy the shadow, the twittering of birds, and the old, familiar squeaking and creaking of the wooden wheels over which run the ropes drawing the water for irrigation from the wells to the surface. The family domestic staff and slaves with their wives and children find work in the date-groves, where they earn the food from which they chiefly subsist. The date plantations of the rich in this country are under present conditions no longer a source of income.

245 The fields which are dependent on the *sēl* go on beyond
241 the tract where the date-palms come to an end. They lie, well tilled, waiting for the rains higher up. Sometimes there is only one *sēl* in the year, but if it is a good one, its supply of water suffices for a successful harvest of dates. In the open spaces between the dates *dhura* is grown in summer, and *burr*[1] in winter. Most of the *sēls* occur in autumn.

There are fortunately plenty of *siqāyas* on the way to Ṣīf; it is true, the water is not always clear or odourless, but we are so tormented by thirst that we pay no attention to that.

Already long before Ṣīf cultivation ceases in the broad bed of the wādī, and our narrow path winds over bare stones.

361 Towards sunset we see Ṣīf lying on a broad slope of rock débris just where the wādī is very wide and the rocky bank is broken and retreats. The little, walled-in village looks rather poverty-stricken; the houses are not high, and only a few of their inhabitants appear to be well enough off to allow of their dwelling-floors being whitewashed, and of having a gay border to the balustrades of the roof-terraces.

104 [1] *Burr* (بُرّ), *triticum vulgare* Vill., cf. Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 172, 175.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



for themselves in each other's unwashed cups. Our host devotes himself entirely to us; he frequently absents himself to see that preparations are made for a meal without delay. Sounds of music and song reach us from the women, who are making merry in the adjoining room. In spite of the sweltering heat, the song with its refrain, the concerted clapping of hands and dancing to the monotonous music are carried on with great enthusiasm. Our host invites us urgently and repeatedly to spend the night with him. Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, who is with us, has, however, so great a longing to see his family in his own country that, on his account, we decide to start for el-Meshhed in the afternoon. Meanwhile our delicately solicitous host has quietly had a room made ready in a distant corner of the great double house. He sees how tired we are and whispers to us to follow him so as to escape from the interest and curiosity of the constantly changing visitors. These fellow townsmen, against whom one cannot protect oneself, will not penetrate into this quiet room; we can stretch ourselves out on the floor on the simple mats and rugs, and our host will see to it that we are not disturbed for an hour. Then the meal is brought up to us without a sound, and we are only awakened when the yellow-coloured rice awaits us, ready served in flat dishes, on the round eating-mat, along with dishes of boiled mutton and gravy. A round flat bread-cake lies in front of each of our places on the mat. Our host apologizes for the scarcity and simplicity of the food offered to us, but we fall to with a thankful "In the name of Allah." The practice of spicing the rice and meat very strongly must have been introduced from Java and India. They overdo the seasoning to such an extent for foreign guests that, after the first pangs of hunger have been appeased, it is a real effort to continue eating.

Our host speaks Malay by preference and likes to talk about Cheribon on the north coast of Java, where his family rose to prominence and where he hopes to return in a few months, after the date harvest. His father possesses 20 houses

middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all 342
sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One 167
can see that we are nearing Terīm with its refinements of 177
civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in 641
huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many 191
Ḥaḍramīs who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals [262] served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of [144] races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the 648
*ṣalāt* and by meals. As the Sultan[1] has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional 578
question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the 648
Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[1] ['Alī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin al Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn -- Anal(ist)]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



place consists of a few small houses and sheds, built of stone 361
and mud and with flat mud roofs. There are still some green leaves left on the few *nibq* trees growing between the cultivated acres, and these, to the last leaf, are gathered for the goats. The latter, with outstretched necks, stand watching the movements of a shepherdess who, armed with a long stick, was climbing about at the top of the tree to knock off the foliage. Only one family lived in the hamlet; an empty house
was offered to us as a lodging. No eggs, no flour, no rice, no 262
milk were to be bought here, the only thing obtainable being large quantities of the dried fruit of the *nibq* tree, which help one to stave off starvation. These are ground to powder and then made into porridge or bread. When eaten raw only the thin rind of dried pulp is edible; the seed, which is as hard as stone, is then thrown away. The *nibq* menu is eked out occa- [231]
sionally with a little goat's milk or camel's milk, and when the date harvest is gathered in Wādī Dōʿan a portion of it will find its way to the Deyyin Bedouins, who, in return, protect the inhabitants of the wādī against enemies. All the same, a long hard training is necessary in order to live on such a minimum of food as these Bedouins seem able to do in times of drought. The few shepherds and shepherdesses whom we met later in similar depressions of the ground and in wādīs where some bushes and trees were growing had as their only food-supply small round woven baskets filled with dried *nibq* fruit.

Thanks to the ready tongue of our *siyāra*, Sayyid el-ʿEde- 562
rūs, as well as to the respect accorded to all sayyids among these simple folk, we succeeded in photographing the female inhabitants of the hamlet consisting of a mother, two daughters and a friend.

The women go unveiled and are much more free and open in their manner than in Wādī ʿAmd. They seem to feel quite safe, for we met them far away from their homes, alone with their flocks or on their way to some business in another hamlet hours distant. Maryam, encouraged by her mother, even yield- 000

rock, in shape like a toadstool, and the whole caravan could find protection in its shade. The river was not far away and green bushes from which the camels might feed grew along its banks.

Our supply of dates and biscuits was beginning to run short. Our Bedouin companions were very frugal eaters: they had two meals a day, one during the afternoon rest and one at the night bivouac, when they baked a few underdone bread-cakes with a yellow flour of some sort. The taste of these was none too attractive and, what was worse, they lay heavy on the chest like an indigestible stone. Von Wissmann had always drunk the milk of our she-camel in the evening, but I had refused the drink, which had the penetrating odour of the animal's sweat. We were getting underfed and overexhausted. The inner tension and self-control demanded for the long negotiations and conversations at ʿAmd, in the Deyyin country, at Yebʿeth and Ṣidāra were beginning to take their revenge on my digestion. But we were obliged to go on and that day we marched till half past six in the evening and spent the night on a little plateau of rock among the granite mountains. During the day the Bedouins collect branches and dry shrubs and parched-up plants for the evening fire, on whose ashes they bake their bread and over which we make our tea. It is the best hour of the day; it brings us all together in a mood of good fellowship and of thankfulness for the completion of the day's hot and tiring journey. It was also the moment when our Bedouins smeared themselves carefully — arms, breast and neck — with *samn*. Their hair also was kept well greased. It struck us that the skin of our bodies, which perspired continuously and were seldom washed, felt stiff and grainy from the salt of evaporated perspiration. The Bedouins get rid of this unpleasant feeling by rubbing themselves with grease; moreover, the practice makes their skin more resistant against the sun's heat and the sudden coldness of the air in the evening. They told us that the skin became so pleasantly "moist" from the grease.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



352 rugs or mats, or on cushions placed around or under the windows. A very low table, or a special circular mat, is put in the middle of the room for meals. Rough but solidly made coffers and cupboards are much used for clothes, silver, books, or domestic utensils. 354 Lighting is by lamps of a very primitive form, which burn petroleum or, more commonly, sesame oil. The walls carry little or nothing 353 of ornament, though the tribesmen sometimes adorn them with 515 their arms, banners, or hunting equipment. A bathroom is usually found on each floor of a house, all being situated one above the other, the waste water running off by pipes through the wall; the apparatus consisting merely of a vessel from which water is poured over the body.

262 Wheaten or maize bread, dried dates, eggs, and meat (of sheep or poultry), taken in meagre amounts and usually in some form of soup or stew, form the staple foods; rice is not largely eaten; the people on the coast consume much fish; but only the Bedouin ever eat game. Butter, oil, and honey are much used; also spices, onions, and garlic, and much salad and green vegetables. Fruits, with the exception of the date, are considered as delicacies. Coffee 272 is much drunk in the houses between meals, but there are no public cafés. It is customary for all persons paying visits to bring along 574 with them some coffee-beans wrapped in the turban or plaid (*rādi*); when the party is complete these are collected by the host, and the coffee is prepared in the manner common to all the East. Before drinking, the name of Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Omar esh-Shadhli, whose tomb is at Mocha, is invoked, he being reputed to have been the first to discover the stimulating properties of the berry.

357 Very few servants are kept in most houses, even in those of the well-to-do; the housework and cooking are done by the housewife 567 and the daughters, with the aid, in case of stress, of help called in from other branches of the family, friends, or neighbours. Only the very rich have slaves, and these are treated more as members of the household than as property; for this reason slaves rarely desire to be freed. All slaves in the Hadhramaut are Moslems; even if they come from a Christian or pagan country, they are forced to embrace Islam. But marriage between free persons and slaves is extremely rare.

[534] Dancing is regarded in the Hadhramaut as permissible, but never among persons of two sexes, and the Seyyids and towns- 52 men usually abstain from it. The music is made by a primitive form of guitar (*qanbus*), a large oblong drum, and three or four 533 small drums, the players often accompanying their music with

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadramout MM2



133 vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Never-
132 theless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in
244 normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley, and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the
[312] highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from
132 wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the
241 pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supple-
439 mented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until
167 recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from
262 the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

161 The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952
631 was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of
648 varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have
643 one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Government and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 37–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 103; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



still far below anything within living memory prior to 1948–49. In consequence there has been no surplus for export from the Qu'aiti coast, the Qu'aiti merchants having had, in fact, to import much of the small surplus from the Mahra coast for consumption inland. 228

Six fishery statistical posts have been established on the Qu'aiti coast in the Eastern Aden Protectorate and three in the Abyan area of the Western Aden Protectorate. They are financed by His Majesty's Government through the Fishery Department, but are administered by the states in which they are situated.

Because of the poor fishing seasons plans for promoting the export trade have been postponed. Preliminary trials are in hand for salt-curing sardines on the Eastern Aden Protectorate coast, to provide a cheap protein food for the agricultural labourers in the Wadi Hadhramaut and the Abyan area. The first small batches of fish were very well received. Now larger quantities are being tested for keeping qualities, as the most acute shortage of cured fish occurs during the summer when no sardines are being caught. At present the poorest people eat the dirty and rancid sun-dried sardines in the wadi and semi-putrid small fishes in Abyan. 228 258 262

A scheme is in preparation at Shihr, on the Qu'aiti coast, for mechanising the local fishing sambuks with outboard motors. These craft are sewn together with coir twine and are too flexible to take a normal inboard installation, but by fitting a flat hog in place of the keel, it is possible to ship an outboard motor through a trunk. The Qu'aiti State has financed a loan to a selected fisherman with which he will purchase the first sambuk and outboard. The sambuk is now being altered under Fishery Department supervision, and the Aden agents have the engine waiting. 501 228 654

An interesting development on the Qu'aiti coast is the building at Mukalla, for a local merchant, by Italian engineers and technicians, of a cannery with a capacity of from 500 to 1,500 yellow-fin tunny per day. This merchant has also recently brought an 80-ft. diesel-engined fishing vessel from Italy as well as two small motor launches. The cannery is in operation and samples opened have proved to be excellent. It is to be hoped that the project succeeds, as it is not only a bold step deserving of success as such, but also a source of local employment and of exports, both of which are needed in that area. 255 228

# Chapter 8: Social Services

## EDUCATION

### *General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout 871

ADEN HM1
LITTLE HADHRAMAUT HM2

is known of the mineral reserves of this region, and most of the local industries are small and primitive. Salt is the chief export of the Colony; tobacco, honey and fish products, of the Protectorates. H 135 438 A 439

The port of Aden is visited regularly by ships from all parts of the world. Within the last few years, the Colony has also become a regional center for air services to Cairo and other cities in the Near East and East Africa. Communications between the Colony and the interior are mainly by roads and caravan trails, supplemented by a coastwise dhow trade. Camels and donkeys are the primary means of transport, but the use of motor vehicles is increasing along the main routes. Roads suitable for motor traffic link Aden Colony with certain population centers in Western Aden Protectorate, and Mukalla with the larger towns of the Hadhramaut and adjacent coastlands. Access to the interior is also provided by military air services. A 514 589 A 491 492 H A 491 H [509]

## Food and Nutrition

Aden Colony is a cosmopolitan community, in which a variety of food habits is found among the peoples of different racial and economic groups. With the exception of fish, milk and limited supplies of garden vegetables, all foodstuffs are imported. Undernutrition is prevalent among the poorer inhabitants, and particularly among the transient laborers from the interior. A 262 439 146 464

Food supplies are never abundant in the Protectorate, where cultivation is restricted by the nature of the terrain and the scarcity of water in many areas. Anything which interferes with normal production, such as droughts or an invasion of locusts, may result in local food shortages, often approaching famine conditions. The Hadhramaut was seriously affected during the widespread drought in 1943, and children were evacuated from some of the famine areas to relief camps in Mukalla. H 511 433 731

The average Arab diet is simple, while that of the pastoral tribes is almost invari- H 262

p. 239(B)

N 262 ably meager. The basic foods are usually breads, dates and milk products, supplemented by vegetables and fruits in season and by varying amounts of meat and fish. Although breads are most frequently prepared from sorghum millet (durra), other forms of millet, as well as maize, wheat and barley are widely used. Rice is generally popular, and large amounts are imported. Dates constitute one of the main food items throughout this region; date palms flourish along some wadies, but the annual crop is inadequate. Numerous types of vegetables and fruits are available in the agricultural areas.

N [439] 241 262

A N 235 262 Sheep and goats are raised in both the Colony and the Protectorate. Their milk is used extensively, but only the pastoral tribes are apt to have a sufficient supply. Cow's milk is also consumed in the Colony and in some inland districts, particularly in Western Aden Protectorate, where the grazing conditions are suitable for cattle. Camel's milk is a staple food among certain Bedouin tribes. Ghee, or clarified butter, is employed in the wealthier families. The fat from the tail tissues of the local breed of sheep, which is an important substitute in the Colony and among the eastern tribes, is almost unknown in Western Aden Protectorate. Sesame is cultivated in many areas, and the oil constitutes another source of fats. Meat is seldom consumed more than once a week, except in the more prosperous households. Fish are plentiful along the coast, and both fresh and dried fish are commonly used in the diet.

A H 241 262 511 228

## Housing

A 862 342 Several different types of dwellings are found in Aden Colony. In general, the standards of housing are higher than in the neighboring territories. All variations are encountered between the multistoried stone houses of the wealthy Arabs, the modern style villas of the European and official communities, and the one- or two-story structures of stone or mud brick in which most of the people live. Regardless

A 342

p. 240(A)

**Honey Industry.**

231 The only other product of economic consequence is the celebrated
263 Du'an honey. Honey from Jerdan has an even greater local renown
438 but is not produced in such quantities. At places like Tarim it is not considered possible to grow honey owing to the depradations
[134] of the Blue-cheeked Bee eater (*Merops persicus persicus*), one of the most common, as well as most beautiful, birds in the Hadhramaut. We did not observe this bird at all in the Wadi Du'an, where it is shot on sight.

231 The hives are tunnel-like structures fitted into the walls of the
263 houses, and consist of circular sections about a foot in diameter. In the outside wall is a small hole through which the bees enter and leave the hives. Du'an enjoys two honey crops in a year; that of June, July and August being regarded as the best, for in it the bees collect the honey from the blossoms of the *'elb* trees. The honey obtained during the second crop, from November to March, is gathered from a small bush called *Qarnala*, and while it is
[843] highly esteemed it is considered very heating and may not be eaten by pregnant women. If there is much rain during April and May, the bees make a black honey called *helb*, and they are said to grow much stronger, for they consume this honey themselves. The swarming of the bees was thus described by a bee-keeper: A second queen bee, whom they call *ab* or father, sometimes leaves the hive and goes a short distance away followed by some of the others.* The bee-owner takes a mat and rolls it up in the shape of a hive, closing one end, and sprinkling inside a perfume of the perfumes used by the ladies. Approaching the swarm, he gently takes the queen in his fingers out of it and puts her into a small cage made for the purpose. The cage is then put inside the rolled mat. An assistant beats a tin or copper tray and the bees leave the place where they have swarmed and come to the queen. The swarm is now carried to a hive, the queen bee and her cage put into the hive, and in go the bees after her.

The bees collect the crop in 12 to 20 days, and when the owner sees the hive is full he fits on more sections until they have finished. Thirty to 40 pounds of honey are collected from a single hive at each crop. The honey is gathered by smoking the bees out from behind. When they have left, the exit hole is stopped up and the honey is taken, one section being left for the bees. In times of drought, honey is put into the hives for the bees to eat. The honey
251 is packed in comb and as liquid. In the former case two sizes of round tins are used, containing 4 lb. and 7 lb. respectively. An inside cover is soldered to the tins in Mukalla. Liquid honey is packed in cases of two kerosene tins. The value of the honey
435 in Mukalla is one rupee a pound. The total production is 90,000 to 100,000 pounds.

000 In view of the great renown which Du'an honey enjoys in South Arabia and the East Indies, and in view of the fact that it is much appreciated by Europeans, I had hoped that there might be

possibilities of a market being found for it as a luxury honey in England, and through the help of the Colonial Office a tin was sent to the Imperial Institute for examination. The result, however, is disappointing, and it seems that the honey would not be likely to be popular in England.

The following is the report which the Imperial Institute was good enough to prepare :—

REPORT ON HONEY FROM ARABIA.

The sample of honey which is the subject of this report was forwarded to the Imperial Institute by the Colonial Office and is referred to in a letter dated 28th February from that department. It had been received from a Political Officer in the Aden Protectorate, who had obtained it during a tour in the Hadhramaut. It was desired to have the honey analysed and to learn its market possibilities.

*Description.*—The sample weighed about 2½ lb. and consisted of honey in the comb. The honey, after separation from the comb by straining, was of a rather dark golden brown colour, and possessed a very sweet taste and a peculiar, aromatic odour. The odour and taste were both different from those of the honey commonly marketed in the United Kingdom.

*Results of Examination.*—The strained honey was found to be dextro-rotatory, whereas ordinary honey is laevo-rotatory. It was accordingly examined in comparison with the figures recorded for dextro-rotatory honey, and the following results were obtained :—

| | *Present sample.* Per cent. | *Recorded Figures.* Per cent. |
|---|---|---|
| Moisture ... ... ... ... ... ... | 13·6 | 13·6 to 17·8 |
| Ash ... ... ... ... ... ... | 0·06 | 0·3 to 1·3 |
| Ready-formed reducing sugars, expressed as invert sugar ... ... ... ... ... | 47·9 | 64·8 to 71·7 |
| Sugars reducing only after inversion, expressed as sucrose ... ... ... ... ... ... | 27·3[1] | 0·6 to 5·3 |
| | °*Ventzke.* | °*Ventzke.* |
| Immediate direct polarization at 20° C. ... | + 29·6 | + 6·7 to + 24·9 |
| Constant direct polarization at 20° C. ... | + 17·9 | + 3·6 to + 17·8 |
| Direct polarization at 87° C.... ... ... | + 24·7 | + 28·5 to + 35·8 |
| Polarization at 20° C. after inversion ... | − 10·0 | − 2·5 to + 15·0 |
| Polarization at 87° C. after inversion ... | + 18·4 | + 20·9 to + 35·0 |

The honey consumed in the United Kingdom and other Western countries is of the laevo-rotatory type, the sugars of which consist principally of dextrose and laevolose, with only from 1 to 4 per cent. of sucrose. The foregoing results show that the present sample is a dextro-rotatory honey with a high "apparent sucrose" content, and suggest that it is a

[1] This figure would include other polysaccharides in addition to sucrose.

000 product of the "honeydew" type,[1] which would account for its unusual taste and odour.

*Commercial Value.*—The honey was submitted to two firms of merchants in London who reported respectively as follows :—

(1) "We thank you for your letter and sample of honey, which we have examined. Although the body is quite good, we think you will agree that it leaves much to be desired with regard to flavour.

"At the moment England is so well served with honey of agreeable flavour that it seems doubtful if this honey could be imported to any material benefit. We can buy Jamaica honey, which is good both in colour and flavour, at 26s. per cwt. landed London, so you will appreciate that the value of the present honey would have to be decidedly below this figure. We think you will be well advised to inform your friend that there is little likelihood of an opening on the London market."

(2) "This honey appears to be of a good flavour, but at the present moment there is such a large stock of honey available of all kinds that it would be difficult to find a market for a fresh quality from a new origin."

The latter firm mentioned that Colonial honey was currently selling on the London market at prices ranging from 25s. to 40s. per cwt., according to quality. It will be observed that there is a difference of opinion with regard to the flavour of the honey, but it may be pointed out that the taste is undoubtedly such as would not appeal to the ordinary consumer in this country.

439 263 *Remarks.*—From the trade reports quoted above it will be seen that the possibility of disposing of this honey in the United Kingdom is very doubtful, in view of the large supplies of ordinary honey of good quality available on the market. Furthermore, it is probable that such dextro-rotatory honey would be regarded with suspicion, whilst its unattractive flavour and odour would be further obstacles to its sale.

## Livestock.

556 231 The wealth of the Beduins lies principally in their livestock, consisting of camels, donkeys, cattle, sheep, goats and poultry. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes. The selling of animals is a regular feature of the fairs which are held all over the country at the many shrines of saints. The Qu'aiti Government estimates the number of camels in the country at 20,000.

231 232 Sheep and goats are raised for milk and meat. Cattle, though not plentiful, are not uncommon. An outbreak of rinderpest had killed 60 head of cattle at Hajarein at the time of our visit, and this was considered a very heavy loss. Heald states a decoction of

[1] This is not ordinary honey originating in floral nectar, but is produced by the bee from secretions of leaves and sometimes from secretions deposited by insects.

000 of the city. Before the gate is the Wādī Seded, where the sea
484 has penetrated far inland and formed an inlet. Here on the
361 beach the caravans camp as they travel to and from the
231 interior. Hundreds of camels are kneeling in great circles,
492 eating the food that lies in the centre. Other camels are being bathed and scrubbed down with sea-water, while still others are protesting with gurgling snarls against the treatment of some skin trouble or of big open wounds. There are donkeys here and there amongst them. Bedouins lie asleep wrapped
● [264] about in their cloaks or sit round a small fire eating out of wooden bowls their porridge of crumbled bread mixed up with a little fat. Some are busy with the difficult work of loading: after the freights have been weighed by lifting and then
[372] divided, they are fastened on to the pack-saddles. Children are collecting into baskets the camel's dung which is of great value as fuel. The ground is swarming with the so-called camel-louse, which is really a sort of tick. The penetrating odour of the camels' urine and sweat hangs over this wide-spread, permanent bivouac.

487 We go inland along the bank of the Wādī Seded, which is
312 here filled with sea-water, so as to cross, by making a big bend, behind the 1800 feet high rocky ridge of Makalla. On the left of the road, only a few miles from Makalla, there are groves of palm, with the white summer quarters of the Vizier and of the Sultan. Here is a spring from which, by means of a thin, iron pipe lying on the ground, water is carried to Makalla to provide the town with drink.

361 Two hamlets, el-Baqrēn and Baqērēn, with some cultivated
578 fields, lie close to the frontier of the Sultanate of Makalla. There are two fortified towers on the road manned by soldiers, and not far beyond Baqērēn there stands a whitewashed piece of rock. Against the high wall of primary rock, rising up each side of the road, two white marks have been made to show even in the mountain region, where the land is at peace and where at war. No vendetta may be carried on nor ancient feuds settled by arms in or around the town.

a passage, opening onto roof-terraces where, at this time of the day, one is conscious of a breeze. The old blind Bā Ṣurra sits there surrounded by his counsellors and the chiefs of the allied Bedouin tribes. Bā Ṣurra rises with difficulty and gropes his way forward in order to greet us. He is a stately figure with a long, white beard, and his mind is still active and his voice clear. We are very tired and warm, and gratefully enjoy the small cups of bitter coffee and the endless glasses of hot, sweet tea which succeed them. The young slave, who makes the tea in a samovar, asks whether we wish for Ceylon or Java tea. Lumps are broken off a sugar loaf with iron pincers and are dropped into the glasses. Afterwards we are offered dates and tinned pine-apple. Bā Ṣurra gives us the choice between lodging in the castle or in a house in the town. We decide upon the latter and go there in procession, accompanied by soldiers and by grandsons and grand-nephews of the *Ḥākim.*[1]

The house is five storeys high and stands at the edge of the village of ʿOra, and from our roof we look down upon the crowns of date-palms. Our quarters are uninhabited and clean; Bā Ṣurra has had carpets laid in the room, which we share with Sayyid ʿAluwī. All our hangers-on follow us upstairs and remain to watch and see what wonderful things emerge from our luggage. The fine, clever-looking descendants of the Governor put many questions to us and tell us much, and seem to be quite comfortable in the packed and stuffily hot room. It is with difficulty that we get rid of the crowd. The boys help in this, but, having accomplished it, do not dream of taking their own departure! They only stroll off at last under the promise that they may return in a couple of hours' time.

After the lapse of an hour three little boys come and will not be denied; they have an urgent message for us, they say, and with self-assurance they relate that their father has the

[1] *Ḥākim* (حاكم), governor, magistrate.

000 The heat of the sun drives us away, however, from our bare hillock, but the Sultan promises to give us the pleasure of another similar excursion in the evening. We shall meet again at lunch in the palace of the Sultan of Terim, who is to entertain us to-day.

353 It is exceedingly hot when, some hours later, we leave the
342 garden city and proceed to the palace. We are received in a broad corridor, the only place where there is some breeze and, thus, some degree of coolness. The corridor is spread with beautiful carpets; at one end is a table with chairs placed round it, at the other end cushions lie on the carpets. The reception begins on chairs, but that does not last long. We are soon all seated on the floor, leaning against the cushions as is the custom here. The meal is served in a hall where there are two rows of pillars. Long and strong supporting beams cannot be obtained here, where wood is scarce and short; thus all large rooms have pillars to support the roof construction. A long table-cloth is laid over the carpets in the middle
[177] of the room. Seated around it with their legs crossed under
[264] them the great company, with few words and in a rapid tempo, feasts upon the excellently prepared Javanese "rice meal" (*rijsttafel*) laid before them.

353 The mural decorations of the otherwise empty room consist of mirrors, old English prints, photographs of Java and Singapore and two large hanging clocks with musical chimes.

Tea is served in a small drawing-room with modern furniture. In Ḥaḍramaut, the new is less practical and less beautiful than the old and indigenous. It is so hot in here, with its coloured glass windows, that all are thankful when the meeting is adjourned.

508 In the afternoon the Sultan takes us by car to a broad plain
489 where the mountain-wall recedes. He would like to make an aerodrome here and wants therefore to have our opinion. The aeroplane would be an ideal means of transport for the whole of Arabia, and especially for Ḥaḍramaut. Not only are distances great, the communications difficult and whole stretches

565 half for the men and one for the women, each with their entrance, kitchen,
342 store rooms and granary on the ground floor, reception rooms and wash-rooms on the first floor, and more private apartments with washrooms on the second floor. There may be a third floor with terrace rooms, but usually not more.

342 Although the span of the ceiling beams is quite small, as everywhere
353 else (about six feet, determined by the maximum size of timber available), many of the rooms in these houses are very large, being divided up by
565 two, four, six or nine pillars. They have rows of three or four windows, some even more, on two sides. The floors are covered with carpets, and cushions against the walls are the only form of furnishing. There will be niches with cups, silver samovars and brass trays; other niches with some books; and a few large flat basket-trays hung on the walls, from which one eats. But that is absolutely all that is needed. There are large wall closets for clothing and for bedding, the normal place to sleep being the floor. But there is no difference between a living-room and a sleeping apartment. Each room serves for either purpose in turn, the men and the women
[291 being separate. Nor are there clothes for the night and clothes for the day, though the men wear beautifully laundered clothes, frequently
515] changed.

342 Washrooms consist of a spacious compartment, with glazed plaster walls with niches and pegs for clothing. Near the window stands a tall
515 jar with water and a scoop for showering oneself. The water runs out under the window through a runnel and gutter. Some washrooms have a shower tank. The washroom may contain a lavatory of the south continental, foot-rest type, or this may be in an entirely separate spacious compartment. Each floor has at least two. Besides this the Saywun and Terim house has a little " roman " bath for complete ablution about 10 feet square, and which is usually near the private prayer-room.

342 Another pleasant characteristic of the Saywun house is that in the large
● 271 corridor that runs from one side of the house to the other; in front of the window at the coolest end there is usually a corner for drinking-water skins to hang up in a cooling draught. Niches for cups are at hand, and again there is a runnel for the water dripping from the skin to run outside. The same arrangement is found on most terraces. Upper rooms are used in summer, lower rooms in winter for warmth, for there is no glass in the windows and only ill-fitting wood shutters to keep out the night air.

342 All these amenities will be found on a small scale in the most modest houses. The house of the dhobbi had three floors. It contained about four living-rooms, two washrooms, a kitchen and a store. So that where space is concerned the Hadhrami house does not compare unfavourably with European standards.

000 A film showing Hadhramaut buildings was followed by a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

172

FIG. 17—Ruins of a pre-Islamic city in the Wadi Masila. The site was chosen for defensive purposes and each house was in itself a fortress.

## HOT SPRINGS

133 [135] Hot sulphurous springs are widely scattered in the coastal zone, and fairly accurate accounts of many of them are available. They commonly deposit gypsum in quantity. Some of the deposits are so large as to suggest either that activity was more general in the past or that the position of the spring outlets has shifted. The springs may be attributed to the same subterranean conditions that prevail in Yellowstone Park, where descending waters become superheated through close association with uncooled rocks and rise again to the surface.

312 241 361 [271] Within half a mile of the coast of Hami, east of Mukalla, several hot springs are utilized by the natives for irrigation of date palms and millet and also for drinking. Neither here nor elsewhere does the

[312] FIG. 18—A view in the Wadi Masila where water is present during most of the year. The edge of the Jol appears in the background.

The way winds upwards out of the wādī; the mountains here are no longer so precipitous and it had been possible to cut out a path on the slope about 300 feet above the bed of the wādī. It is a primitive path, but it has been improved here and there. We are going north-east and have the sun obliquely in front of us; it is a hot, constantly ascending stretch of road. Already at half past seven the Bedouins wanted to make a halt, but we prevented this by vigorous opposition, and it was postponed till 11 o'clock. We have passed a large well of water, el-Ghuḍūḍa, and see Zemān el-Kebīr on our right, lying close to the mountain slope. There are date and coco-nut palms, papaya and banana trees in the midst of neatly cultivated fields of tobacco. We make a halt at the next village, Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr, and find shelter against the merciless glare of the sun, in an empty stone building that seems to be intended for passing caravans.

Here we first made acquaintance with those pious institutions for the protection of travellers against thirst, the *siqāyas*. Later on we were to travel from *siqāya* to *siqāya* and learn to look on these white, beneficent landmarks in nearly waterless stretches of country, with a greater thankfulness than at the beginning. We were only just at the edge of the dry, rocky table-land and could still give ourselves the luxury of a hygienic, critical standard in the matter of drinking-water. The *siqāyas* are small buildings, generally five feet square and six feet high, with a dome-shaped roof, made of natural stone or dried mud and whitewashed. About five feet from the ground there are square or triangular holes, through which by means of a cup one can scoop water out of the masonwork cistern, about six inches deep, which has been placed at that height in the *siqāya*. The filling of the cistern is attended to daily by one who is paid for doing so by the pious foundation (*waqf*) endowed for that purpose. In one of the openings in the walls of the *siqāya*, there is to be found the half of a coco-nut shell, a rusty tin, or an oblong wooden cup, with which one scoops out the water and from which one

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 drinks. One must accustom oneself as soon as possible to the
●271 fixed habit in this country, of drinking one after the other out
485 of the same cup or bowl. Even among the very rich and the Sultans, the big earthenware drinking cups are passed from guest to guest. One sees the soldiers and slaves drink out of them too. The water in the *siqāyas* is often dirty, with a variety of odours and tastes; it also swarms with larvae and the like, but thirst soon teaches one not to notice them and the aversion diminishes in course of time!

In Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr we were able to buy milk, buttermilk (here called *rūb*), lemons, coco-nuts and bananas, but at high prices.

361 In the afternoon we proceeded and in a short time arrived
311 on a plateau, fairly thickly covered with tufts of grass and low shrubs, where two villages, el-Ghēḍa and el-Ghiyāḍa, lie among well-cultivated fields of tobacco, surrounded by a small
342 grove of date-palms. The mayor of el-Ghiyāḍa is related to the
439 family of el-ʿAṭṭās; we were therefore desirous of calling upon him. The door of his simple, mud, mayoral residence was decorated with particularly fine carving. We were received in a little, dimly-lighted room that served both as a place for storing tobacco and as a reception-room. The mayor had been in Batavia for seven years and had there acquired some wealth in the *batik*[1] trade, which a son is now continuing. As soon as I was informed of this, I proposed to converse in Malay instead of in Arabic. Our host eagerly agreed and we were
[272] soon deep in reminiscences of Java. Meantime coffee was
271 prepared, consisting for three quarters of ginger and for one quarter of coffee, and a great earthen bowl of cold water passed from mouth to mouth. These porous, unglazed bowls filled with water are placed in the small window openings, and the hot outer air causes the water which exudes through them to evaporate, thus cooling their contents. One finds the same

[1] *Batik* is the name of the specially Javanese art of decorating and dyeing pieces of cloth used as garments. The thus decorated pieces are also called *batik*.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



system of drinking- and at the same time cooling-bowls, 271
among poor and rich alike.

Our host spoke with longing of beautiful, rich Java and of 167
the good years that he had passed there, and it was obvious that he would have liked to return there but for leaving his family behind, for the Ḥaḍramī woman does not leave her country with her husband. It was clear, from the friendly farewell, that I had not been wrong in thinking that my years passed as a civil servant in Netherlands India would facilitate my travels in Ḥaḍramaut.

They all went a little way with us to see us off and were 133
photographed at their own request. We followed the broad 312
*sēl*-bed [1] crossing the plateau surrounded by terraces of about 300 feet high. There, where the plateau ends, lies, at a height of 50 feet the village of Ḥimem on a hill at the edge of the wādī to which it gives its name. At the foot of the hill, there are very tall coco-nut trees, the last that we shall see for the time being, for the altitude is already 3000 feet. A conduit full of water, fed by little springs at the edge of the wādī, irrigates fields of *dhura* and of neatly-planted and well-cultivated tobacco. It is true that it is not first-class Ḥumūmī tobacco that is raised here, but even so it commands a good market price.

The evening falls and we are obliged to camp soon after 133
leaving Ḥimem. The valley has here penetrated into the sand- 271
stone and the conglomerates under the eocene limestone. Here at a height of 3000 feet the nights are already cold. According to our Bedouins, who are good water-tasters, the water also improves in proportion as one gets further away from the coast; all salt and bitterness gradually disappears from it.

In our bivouac at Ḥimem we had to put away again a great 136
harvest of plants and insects; the swallow-tail butterfly was also found here.

The mayor of Ḥimem came to visit us in our camp. He told 249
us that his village of 200 to 300 inhabitants grows tobacco,

[1] The bed through which the water flows for a short time after rain.

000 *nibq* trees are scattered over the wādī. Shepherdesses with their little herds of goats seek shelter in their shadow from the heat of the sun. Sometimes we see them, with long sticks, busily hitting off the leaves, which the goats eagerly nibble.

After a march of quite two hours, two irreproachably dressed sayyids approach us, messengers for Sayyid ᶜAluwī el-ᶜAṭṭās, who is of our party, to inform him that his relations in the valley of Ḥaḍramaut had heard of our coming arrival, but had expected us to be already further on our way, and that Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has sent two cars for us in the direction of Ḥurēḍa, the town of the ᶜAṭṭās family, as they expected this to be our first goal. We now go on with fresh courage. We cross the wādī again to the left bank, the side on which Ṣīf lies. Our Yāfiᶜ soldiers insist that it is not safe here, and they beg us to wait for the camels and then proceed further in company. It is very hot, 39° C. in the shade, and the mountain against whose slopes Hadjarēn is built is still not in sight. In silence we trudge on over the hillocks of loess, which are higher than those we have passed. The rain-water has washed many channels into them. At last Djebel Hadjarēn, with its peculiar, sharp-edged, flat ridge comes into sight, and in a shimmering haze lie the palm-groves, like a green ribbon, at its foot. We push on now with fresh determination, in spite of the oppressive heat and the exhaustion of our animals. We think we are already there when we reach the edge of the cultivated land, but there is still a good distance to be covered, and walking through the dry irrigation canal is exceedingly hot and close.

● 271 At the first houses we ask for a cool drink; a porous earthenware bowl is handed to us, which we pass round and lift to our mouths with both hands, enjoying its cold contents 000 in long, greedy draughts. For a long time the way lies on top of the dyke, and then again through the dry irrigation canal. The donkeys can barely keep going any longer and we dismount. One of our Yāfiᶜ soldiers takes my beast by the bridle and leads it along in our rear-guard, but, once there,

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2.



The great cleanliness of the houses of the rich is very 336
noticeable. The drainage from lavatories and kitchens runs 271
down wide, square shafts into spaces destined for it in the lower floor, into which however, unfortunately, light penetrates so that they become good breeding places for flies. Bathrooms and also lavatories are partly fitted out as in the East Indies. Sometimes there are douches, and generally there are large brick cisterns for the bath water, which one scoops out to pour over oneself. Our host has a large refrigerator by means of which cold drinking-water is provided for the numerous guests and dwellers in the house, and fruits and sweetmeats become the refinement of pleasure.

Cooking in Terīm, as in Sēwūn, is very much influenced 252
by Singapore and Java. Chinese cooks are responsible for 177
the extensive rice meals that are enjoyed daily by dozens of guests. Many dried or tinned foods are imported from Java. Some kinds of vegetables are grown in the gardens of Terīm; the fresh fruits which are served at table are large oval melons and the first ripe dates. As the latter are rather scarce, last years' dates come to table prepared as paste, in cakes, sweet bread, etc.

Sayyid ʿUmar el-Kāf's house, like that of our host, is 352
furnished in half-European style. Old-fashioned Indian rocking-chairs stand on the beautiful carpets. A bed, rigged up in the Javanese manner, decorates the great reception-room. The bed linen is not white, but pink. There are many mirrors on the walls and also photographs of the family's estates in the Indies. Sayyid ʿUmar is the owner of the great Europe Hotel in Singapore; he shows us with pride — and no wonder — the model of the new hotel, which makes an impression magnificently American. The walls are further decorated with Mausers and American repeating rifles, which are hard to obtain in this country and, consequently, are worth a great deal.

It had already struck us that the Kathīrī soldiers were 714
better clad than those of the Qeʿēṭī. The number of pro- 411 565

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes :—

" The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

" Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

" Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

## Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [858 552] [212]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

*Rotation.*—Heald states that mixed and overlapping rotations were found in Meifa and Asfal al 'Ain but, from careful enquiries, the following appeared to be the most popular :—Lucerne two years, followed by millet and the fourth year tobacco. If tobacco was not sown, the land was planted with another variety of millet. In some villages where lucerne was not grown, the rotation simply included tobacco and millet with sesame the third year. 242

In the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed. One year a certain part of the wadi bed will be cultivated, stick huts and erections for drawing up the water built, and when the crop is harvested the Beduins move on elsewhere, returning again another season. Thus we frequently passed remains of cultivation, disused mud aqueducts and tumbled-down huts.

*Diseases.*—Heald states, " Excepting for the caterpillar attacking the young millet and tobacco, the crops were remarkably free from pests and disease; I carefully searched for stem borer in the millet but could find none, and also for the scale in the few citrus trees."

**Trees and other vegetation of economic importance.**

The *'elb* (*Sidr. Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.) has many uses. Apart from its blossoms, which are said to give the good taste to the Du'an honey, its fruit called *dōm* is eaten extensively by the Beduins when dates are lacking. The beams, pillars and doors of Hadhramaut houses are made from the timber, and the supply and carriage of the trunks give much employment to the Beduins. It also supplies good firewood. It is a fodder tree, and the leaves are also used as a substitute for soap. 137 262 313 242 [388]

*Sār*, a palm tree (*Hyphaene thebaica* (L.) Mart.), from which the Beduins gather the leaves called *sāf* for transport to the towns, where they are made into mats, baskets, country string, etc. A popular drink called *nebidh* is also procured from this tree. 137 314 285 272

The long-thorned *sumr* (*Acacia spirocarpa* Hochst.) is perhaps the commonest tree in the Hadhramaut. It is a popular fodder for camels and is likewise eaten by goats. It supplies good firewood and a substance taken from the roots called *futukh* is used by fishermen for greasing their lines in order to make them strong. Another thorny tree, the *geradh* (*Acacia senegal* Willd.), is also a common fodder. Its leaves are used for tanning skins and it is said that the Beduins make a drink from them which they liken to tea. 137 246 314 372 272

The *musht* tree (*Grewia erythraea* Schweinf.), is used extensively for firewood and camel fodder. The leaves of the *ariata* tree (*Conocarpus erectus* Jacq.), which grows in the Wadi Maseila where it sometimes reaches a height of 50 to 70 feet, are dried for fodder, and the timber probably has its economic uses. I was told in Tarim of a large tree growing in Wadi Maseila the strong wood of which is used by carpenters; this may have been the *ariata*. 137 314 246 372

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM21



Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court. 778 796 782 792 [21 721]

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer. 778 735

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed. 693 671 [692]

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of 671 693 577 626

576 but it is a hard and fast rule that no news shall be given. The sheikh and ten men may have been killed in a blood feud the day before, but the answer to the question : ' Any news ? '—which is invariably asked—is always given in the formula —' There is no news, and nothing has been ' started, and nothing has been destroyed, and ' no one has said anything to anybody.'

This flat denial of news ends the ceremony. The visitors, if they are staying, hand over their rifles to their hosts, and are led by the left hand
• [272] into the village, where they drink the bitter infusion of coffee-husk, flavoured with ginger. Conversation then becomes normal, and news is exchanged.

576 This greeting ceremony, as performed by the
537 Aulaqi tribesmen, with its long and rather

p. 89 (D)
[text continued on p. 90(A)]

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended[5]) for the carpenter (nadjdjār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥaśwān of the Āl Bā Ḥaśwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two[6]. One says for instance, Dī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'. 782 342 335

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah[7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee[8]. The people of the Quarter[9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian tašt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present. 342 574 [415]

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement. 335

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or 466 461 467

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥakk al-salīṭ, ḥakk al-ḳahwah. 661

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. Andree, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers, Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍramī coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices. 272

[9] See my article in *Le Muséon* cited above.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr was quite official in character; 647
there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been mono- [463]
polised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramīs have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramīs are Dutch subjects and as I was con- 648
sidered to be their partisan, an impression which had been 641
still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ᶜAluwī el-ᶜAṭṭās, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer 162
told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramīs come from Java every year 167
and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. 272
Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export 439
figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity, will rapidly increase in the future.

## 8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we 133
clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 drinks. One must accustom oneself as soon as possible to the
271 fixed habit in this country, of drinking one after the other out
485 of the same cup or bowl. Even among the very rich and the Sultans, the big earthenware drinking cups are passed from guest to guest. One sees the soldiers and slaves drink out of them too. The water in the *siqāyas* is often dirty, with a variety of odours and tastes; it also swarms with larvae and the like, but thirst soon teaches one not to notice them and the aversion diminishes in course of time!

In Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr we were able to buy milk, buttermilk (here called *rūb*), lemons, coco-nuts and bananas, but at high prices.

361 In the afternoon we proceeded and in a short time arrived
311 on a plateau, fairly thickly covered with tufts of grass and low shrubs, where two villages, el-Ghēḍa and el-Ghiyāḍa, lie among well-cultivated fields of tobacco, surrounded by a small
342 grove of date-palms. The mayor of el-Ghiyāḍa is related to the
439 family of el-ᶜAṭṭās; we were therefore desirous of calling upon him. The door of his simple, mud, mayoral residence was decorated with particularly fine carving. We were received in a little, dimly-lighted room that served both as a place for storing tobacco and as a reception-room. The mayor had been in Batavia for seven years and had there acquired some wealth in the *batik*[1] trade, which a son is now continuing. As soon as I was informed of this, I proposed to converse in Malay instead of in Arabic. Our host eagerly agreed and we were
[272] soon deep in reminiscences of Java. Meantime coffee was
271 prepared, consisting for three quarters of ginger and for one quarter of coffee, and a great earthen bowl of cold water passed from mouth to mouth. These porous, unglazed bowls filled with water are placed in the small window openings, and the hot outer air causes the water which exudes through them to evaporate, thus cooling their contents. One finds the same

[1] *Batik* is the name of the specially Javanese art of decorating and dyeing pieces of cloth used as garments. The thus decorated pieces are also called *batik*.

On the way back through the oasis we pass by a hamlet, called esh-Sherdj, where we ask for water at a poor cottage. The familiar earthenware cooling-bowl is handed round, but, at the same time, we are so pressingly invited to stay for a cup of coffee that we all sit down together in a circle in the simple room, to watch the host at the solemn business of roasting a few coffee-beans, pounding root-ginger, and then bringing the concoction to the boil in a brass kettle with a long spout, on a fire fed with some sprigs of dried weeds. It is grillingly hot out of doors and equally so indoors, but here we are protected against the fierce light. Our eyes gradually accustom themselves to the twilight in the brown, mud-walled room, where dark men sit quietly along the wall and where, from time to time, a naked, chubby child disturbs the subdued conversation. Our help is asked for a comrade who, a few days ago, was shot in the leg and whose wound has now festered. Warfare amongst the tribes continues thus right up to the stronghold of the el-ʿAṭṭās Sayyids.

## 4. HOME LIFE IN A ḤADRAMĪ TOWN.

In the afternoon I had the opportunity of a long talk with Sayyid Ḥasan el-ʿAṭṭās, the energetic eldest son and, with his father's brother, the leader of the el-ʿAṭṭās family in Ḥurēḍa. In his boyhood he and his father did not get on well together and for this reason, quite early in life, he tried to make his own way in the world. He studied at the Muslim University of ʿAligarh, living in poor circumstances and supporting himself by manual labour. When Imām Yaḥyā of the Yemen, with the co-operation of the German firm of Junkers, started an air-service in his country, Sayyid Ḥasan, at his own request, was taken into his service. Under German leadership he learned still better how to go the right way about things and to take risks. When the Junkers' experiment came to grief, Sayyid Ḥasan returned from Ṣanʿāʾ to Ḥurēḍa by way of the dangerous overland route.

with amusement while his younger guests relate how, every year, he marries the prettiest girl to be found in Ḥurēḍa. We perfume ourselves with incense, the host doing so the most thoroughly of us all. He keeps the smoking censer under the wide folds of his garment. The tea with dishes of a confection of ginger is served. Sindbad, with his crafty face framed in a white beard, the extreme points of which are dyed orange with *ḥinnāʾ*, tells about his travels. The youthful audience feasts upon the witty tales of this enjoyer of life — a vanishing figure of the typical sayyid society of Ḥaḍramaut.

We exchange keepsakes with Sayyid Ḥasan el-ʿAṭṭās in lasting remembrance of our visit to Ḥurēḍa. The lavish, kind welcome given us and the friendly feeling shown us here have smoothed the way for us through Ḥaḍramaut.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



352 rugs or mats, or on cushions placed around or under the windows. A very low table, or a special circular mat, is put in the middle of the room for meals. Rough but solidly made coffers and cupboards are much used for clothes, silver, books, or domestic utensils. 354 Lighting is by lamps of a very primitive form, which burn petroleum or, more commonly, sesame oil. The walls carry little or nothing 353 of ornament, though the tribesmen sometimes adorn them with 515 their arms, banners, or hunting equipment. A bathroom is usually found on each floor of a house, all being situated one above the other, the waste water running off by pipes through the wall; the apparatus consisting merely of a vessel from which water is poured over the body.

262 Wheaten or maize bread, dried dates, eggs, and meat (of sheep or poultry), taken in meagre amounts and usually in some form of soup or stew, form the staple foods; rice is not largely eaten; the people on the coast consume much fish; but only the Bedouin ever eat game. Butter, oil, and honey are much used; also spices, onions, and garlic, and much salad and green vegetables. Fruits, with the exception of the date, are considered as delicacies. Coffee 272 is much drunk in the houses between meals, but there are no public cafés. It is customary for all persons paying visits to bring along 574 with them some coffee-beans wrapped in the turban or plaid (*rādi*); when the party is complete these are collected by the host, and the coffee is prepared in the manner common to all the East. Before drinking, the name of Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Omar esh-Shadhli, whose tomb is at Mocha, is invoked, he being reputed to have been the first to discover the stimulating properties of the berry.

357 Very few servants are kept in most houses, even in those of the well-to-do; the housework and cooking are done by the housewife 567 and the daughters, with the aid, in case of stress, of help called in from other branches of the family, friends, or neighbours. Only the very rich have slaves, and these are treated more as members of the household than as property; for this reason slaves rarely desire to be freed. All slaves in the Hadhramaut are Moslems; even if they come from a Christian or pagan country, they are forced to embrace Islam. But marriage between free persons and slaves is extremely rare.

[634] Dancing is regarded in the Hadhramaut as permissible, but never among persons of two sexes, and the Seyyids and towns- 53 men usually abstain from it. The music is made by a primitive form of guitar (*qanbus*), a large oblong drum, and three or four 533 small drums, the players often accompanying their music with

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making. The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys: district schools have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dispensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school. A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a community which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The youth of the village was
diverting itself in the street below us, when suddenly we 825
heard a great noise and saw people running from all directions and bombarding the house opposite ours with stones. We thought that a general fight was about to ensue. Then came some men carrying burning palm-leaves and the house which was a target for the stones was fantastically lit up. To our great relief we discovered the cause of the disturbance: a large snake was trying to escape along the front of the house. Some of the stones hit their mark, the twistings and writhings grew slower and then the creature fell into the street as if broken. One of the most daring in the crowd approached and cut off the end of its tail; with that the danger was ended and peace was soon restored.

When we were thoroughly tired of answering the numer- 000
ous questions put to us and of greeting those who put them, we asked permission to retire to rest. The whole assembly gave its approval; our host announced that we were to sleep on this same terrace, but no one moved an inch for us to be alone. So there was nothing for it but to stretch ourselves out between our visitors, who were packed as close as sardines. A little later on we were awakened for a meal; every one was still sitting in the same place. We ate and then at once went to sleep again, but were awakened before the sun rose by the loud voices of our visitors, who had already come back.

That day was to be devoted to getting our caravan ready for the journey to Makalla. Stammering Saʿīd, who had been such a trusty helper to us all the way from Rēdet ed-Deyyin, would give his exhausted camels a good feed and rest and then return with them to his boundless, hard rock-plateau. The taciturn black slave from el-Qarn in the Yebʿeth district had been a good guide; he went his way homewards well pleased with a thank-offering for the faithfulness, of which we had had so much doubt at first.

A reconnaissance of the neighbourhood showed that several 312
hot springs water the date-gardens and cultivated fields near 273 245

312 Ṣidāra. The high temperature of the water does no harm
●273 to the vegetation as can be seen by the thick and almost
245 tropical growth even at the sources of these hot streams. The picture made by this landscape in the midst of the deserts of rock was quite new to us. New to us also was the custom, which exists here, of tapping sap from the palm-trees: this sap soon ferments and produces a by no means innocent
[538] drink which is consumed in large quantities. Artless tales were told us of many a man who had become a regular slave of the wine of the date-palm. That this abuse of the date-palm, so strongly condemned by orthodox Muḥammadan opinion, does not seem to exist in other districts through which we travelled, is probably due rather to poverty than to religious conscientiousness. The people only indulge in the luxury of this sin in the well-watered country of Wādī Ḥadjr, where date plantations succeed each other continuously for hours and even days.

312 We had a bathe in one of the warm springs, a comfort
133 lacking since Diyār Āl Buqrī; but the crowded circle of critical and youthful spectators and their mocking remarks, added to the somewhat too high temperature of the water, prevented complete enjoyment of the event.

These hot springs point to volcanic action. Ṣidāra lies on the edge of the coastal chain of mountains, which is full of clear traces of volcanism. The monotonous similarity of the *djōl* and *wādī* formation of the interior has disappeared. The geological strata are no longer horizontal, nor do they consist any longer of limestone and sandstone and loam. Fantastically folded and broken strata, high precipices and peaks of archaic rock, between which extinct volcanoes can be recognised, characterize the landscape between Ṣidāra and Makalla.

000 The necessary waiting for camels and escort gives us the opportunity to write up our diaries, which has been pushed aside lately by other and more urgent affairs; but although our host does his best to give us the chance of a few hours' quiet work in a room upstairs, he does not succeed in doing so.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



286 Spinning, weaving, and dyeing are also common industries. Cotton is spun into thread by hand-spindles and then woven in hand-looms, and sometimes machine-made yarns or twists are used in the same way; the looms are of the very simplest construction. The industry is still carried on to a small extent at Aden, and somewhat more extensively at a few centres in the interior, notably at Nisāb and Markhah, which are situated in the cotton and indigo growing district of the 'Aulaqi country; here a large amount of cotton fabrics for tribal shawls and turbans is made. The stuffs, when required, are dyed with locally prepared indigo. Sauma'ah, a town in the Beida country, is famous for a special make of goat-hair carpets.

314 Charcoal burning is an industry carried on at several places in the interior, among the wooded slopes of the hilly districts. Potash is also manufactured from a product known as 'Aden balsam'; this is not found in any quantity in Aden itself, but is prepared in the 'Abdāli and Fadhli districts. The balsam is thrown into small pits about two feet wide and one deep, and wood is added; the mass is then set fire to, and as the sap exudes from the plant it mingles with the ashes; the mixture is stirred and allowed to cool; then it is dug up and sent into Aden on camels, for sale. The price is about 8 annas per maund of 28 lb., and the potash is • 274 exported to Bombay for washing purposes. A primitive form of distilling is also in vogue, the natives producing a liquor from dates which have been placed in water and allowed to disintegrate. The industry is carried on at Aden (under certain restrictions) and other places.

## Trade

438 Practically the whole of the trade of this region is centred in Aden—local trade as well as general. The trade of the only other 504 notable port of this littoral, Shūghrah (and even that of Makalla in Hadhramaut), is restricted and purely local in character, and is entirely subservient to that of Aden.

439 The total value of the trade of Aden (import and export), in round numbers, for the last two years has been:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1913–14 | £8,530,000 |
| 1914–15 | £6,940,000. |

This falls into two categories: Transhipment trade, and Inland (or local) trade. Comparative figures for the year 1914–15, were:

| | |
|---|---|
| Transhipment | £6,682,000 |
| Inland | £258,000. |

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes :—

" The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

" Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

" Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare— the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

## Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [258] [582] [20]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his 181
friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came 577
to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a 795
strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They 102
belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their 276
neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African [144]
blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an 567
institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, 648
when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from 631
attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth

351 If we had been transported bodily into a bit of the Indies. The fruit-trees best known in that country are represented here, and a sultry, moist heat permeates the shadows of this richly watered garden.

529 In front of the garden villa,[1] built in a modern style, but not yet quite finished, is a cemented swimming-pool about 300 feet long and of the same width as the building. It joins onto the stairs of the terrace, and a trim rowing-boat lies motionless on the crystal clear water. To do us honour the basin has been filled by means of an engine-pump, and, although the water is warm, we show our appreciation at once by enjoying a bathe, and a row in the boat.

249 277 387 Our host, who is acting for the Sultan, is a tobacco-grower as well as an official. He says that the Ḥumûmī tobacco can only be grown here. They are trying to cultivate the same kind in Lahadj, behind Aden, and in the Yemen; as the climate and the soil are not similar the result is a product which in perfume and taste is inferior to that grown here. Cultivation in el-Ghēl is carried to a very high pitch of refinement. The tobacco-plants are manured three times: with guano, with fish, and with the dung of beasts and men. Pure water is used for irrigation, not too much and not too little. Each kind of dung is applied to the plant at the right time. The best guano comes from an island on the coast of Somaliland, for which the British authorities have given a concession. A second kind of guano is found on islands near Bir ʿAlī, to the west of Makalla, and near Aden. The entire harvest of tobacco is exported to Egypt, and from there a part of it goes to Syria and to the countries on the Red Sea. The Ḥumûmī tobacco is broken up and cut into wide strips, and is smoked in water-pipes. The stalks can be used at the same time and for this reason the plants are dried whole, not the leaves alone. They are then bound into large bundles an packed into oblong bales, the weight of a camel's load, that is to say 300 lbs. The price of such a bale is nowadays 120 to 130 rupees.

[1] [of the SULTAN at GAZI BE VEZIR — ANKARA]

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



As soon as the patient is strong enough, dark blue cotton clothes are put on him as in the manner of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*, and he then sits up, and ultimately as he gets stronger he takes part in the dancing, which is of the same style as that of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. He also wears a *shumburere* hat and a *torosi* (described in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*), and waves a fly-switch. The dance may be protracted to three weeks, as the illness is sometimes very stubborn. A person who has once suffered from *pepo ng'ombe* can never again tolerate the sight or smell of beef, whether raw or cooked, and sometimes even faints at the sight of it. 776 755 535

On being questioned as to where they come from, the *pepo ngombe* state that their home is in Guran at Bwana Manolo's. There is no country known in Malindi by this name.

Some of the names of *pepo ngombe* known in Malindi are: Darsheh wa Losinga, Darsan wa Bwana Manolo, Darwesh wa Bwana Msija, Lisiji wa Mpinde, Suta wa Bwana Darwasi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

## PEPO YA PUNDA.

This is a most serious illness, the majority of cases proving fatal. The name *pepo punda* is due to the noises which the patient makes, and which may be assimilated, with a good stretch of imagination, to the braying of a donkey. There is, however, no similarity at all, the noises made by the patient being merely hollow groans of pain, for the disease is extremely painful, and from the symptoms there is no doubt whatever that the *pepo punda* is tetanus. 776 755

The patient cannot speak. No drumming or dancing is allowed. Native medicine only is given to drive out the *pepo*. This medicine consists of a mixture of the following ingredients: *koto* (a root imported from Arabia), *udi-il-karah* (an astringent wood from Arabia), *arkisus* (a wood with a taste like pepper, from Arabia), *kabbasada* (a small seed like a cummin seed, but black, from Arabia), *khardal-filfil* (a root from Arabia with a taste like mustard), common black pepper, *yuyi lusi* (a seed like blasting powder with a bitter taste, from Arabia), mustard seed, garlic, *shimari* (a seed like cummin seed), *zatari* (dried aromatic leaves imported from Arabia), also the horn or hoof of a black cow pounded up to powder. All these ingredients are boiled together and given to the unfortunate patient to drink. 278 767

A piece of hard wood scraped clean is placed between the teeth so as to allow of his being given medicine after the lower jaw has become rigid. 776 755

As soon as the spine of the sick person becomes arched, a fire is lighted in the sick room. A mixture is then made from donkey's dung, dog's excreta, garlic, *mvuge*, (asafœtida), sulphur and *sunduna* (a black kind of seaweed). All this is made into a paste by the addition of castor-oil, and lumps of it are cast on to the fire, from

137 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
246 common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khuweira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

**Manufacturing Industries.**

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
262 mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
249 ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of
438 Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
353 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

● 28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
326 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

**Fisheries.**

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They
231 are :—

438 *Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazif* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where 245 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager 438 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in 283 this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They [342] are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have 186 caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the 191 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a 185 more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley, 485 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was 491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal 728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the 185 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

*Rotation.*—Heald states that mixed and overlapping rotations were found in Meifa and Asfal al 'Ain but, from careful enquiries, the following appeared to be the most popular :—Lucerne two years, followed by millet and the fourth year tobacco. If tobacco was not sown, the land was planted with another variety of millet. In some villages where lucerne was not grown, the rotation simply included tobacco and millet with sesame the third year. 242

In the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed. One year a certain part of the wadi bed will be cultivated, stick huts and erections for drawing up the water built, and when the crop is harvested the Beduins move on elsewhere, returning again another season. Thus we frequently passed remains of cultivation, disused mud aqueducts and tumbled-down huts.

*Diseases.*—Heald states, " Excepting for the caterpillar attacking the young millet and tobacco, the crops were remarkably free from pests and disease; I carefully searched for stem borer in the millet but could find none, and also for the scale in the few citrus trees."

**Trees and other vegetation of economic importance.**

The *'elb* (*Sidr. Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.) has many uses. Apart from its blossoms, which are said to give the good taste to the Du'an honey, its fruit called *dōm* is eaten extensively by the Beduins when dates are lacking. The beams, pillars and doors of Hadhramaut houses are made from the timber, and the supply and carriage of the trunks give much employment to the Beduins. It also supplies good firewood. It is a fodder tree, and the leaves are also used as a substitute for soap. 137 262 313 242 [383]

*Sār*, a palm tree (*Hyphaene thebaica* (L.) Mart.), from which the Beduins gather the leaves called *sāf* for transport to the towns, where they are made into mats, baskets, country string, etc. A popular drink called *nebidh* is also procured from this tree. 137 314 285 272

The long-thorned *sumr* (*Acacia spirocarpa* Hochst.) is perhaps the commonest tree in the Hadhramaut. It is a popular fodder for camels and is likewise eaten by goats. It supplies good firewood and a substance taken from the roots called *futukh* is used by fishermen for greasing their lines in order to make them strong. Another thorny tree, the *geradh* (*Acacia senegal* Willd.), is also a common fodder. Its leaves are used for tanning skins and it is said that the Beduins make a drink from them which they liken to tea. 137 246 314 372 272

The *musht* tree (*Grewia erythraea* Schweinf.), is used extensively for firewood and camel fodder. The leaves of the *ariata* tree (*Conocarpus erectus* Jacq.), which grows in the Wadi Maseila where it sometimes reaches a height of 50 to 70 feet, are dried for fodder, and the timber probably has its economic uses. I was told in Tarim of a large tree growing in Wadi Maseila the strong wood of which is used by carpenters; this may have been the *ariata*. 137 314 246 372

Hingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



GWO H 285

tirelessness as in the heavier labour connected with shipping. They also make all the matting bags, baskets and coverings required for the packing of cloves.

Z 563

"The Mshihiri community possesses its own mosque and burial ground in Zanzibar. In religious views they differ from the Oman Arab by adherence to the Sunni belief."

H 167 Z 167

My friend, Mr. G. H. Shelswell-White, has written a long and detailed account of the Hadhramis in Zanzibar which has been forwarded by the Zanzibar Government. He begins his note with a historical introduction and after touching on the earliest times already covered above, proceeds as follows, quoting Dr. Krapf (*Travels in Eastern Africa*, 1860).

> "Among the most important phenomena in the early history of Eastern Africa must have been the intercourse kept up with it by the inhabitants of the Arabian sea-board. The southern coast of Arabia must from the earliest period have been necessarily connected with Eastern Africa by the wants of its inhabitants. From Eastern Africa the Arab of the coast derived his corn, his rice, his Durra, his wood, his ivory and especially his slaves."

H [179]

Although, as has already been stated, there appear to be few specific references to the Hadhramis, their connexion with East Africa must have been at least as intimate and as long-standing as that of any of the other inhabitants of Arabia. Zanzibar Hadhramis, indeed, claim that their ancestors were the pioneers of colonization in East Africa, although according to the Chronicles of Kilwa the first Arab settlers were the Ammu Zeid, the followers of Zeid, son of Hussein, great-grandson of the Prophet. The Hadhramis also claim to have been responsible for the spread of the Sunni sect in these regions.[1]

H 567

Throughout their long connexion with East Africa, the Hadhramis doubtless took a large share in the great slave trade in regard to which the Report of the Select Committee on the Slave Trade of the East Coast of Africa, 1871, stated :—

> "The whole slave trade by sea, whether for the supply of the Sultan's African dominions or the markets in Arabia and Persia, is carried on by Arabs from Muscat and other parts of the Arabian Coast."

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[1] Remembering the South Arabian states of the "Waqt al Jahiliya," the claim to pioneership is justified. I have seen a reference to the conversion of the East African Coast at a very early date, but on this subject see Guillain, Vol. I, p. 161, and my *Zanzibar*, p. 77.

It must be remembered that according to Masudi the Hadhramaut was still Ibadhi in A.D. 944 and until Al Mehajir's descendants established themselves, the country was always backsliding.

The Hadhrami has never been a too exacting missionary abroad, which is probably one reason why he gets on so well.

The Ammu Zeid were of course Shiites and the Zeidis still rule in Yemen.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



frenzy on religious matters, and ever ready to accuse any one, whose actions are not readily explained, of being an infidel, are apt to be rather slack in their devotions. Some even shirk their prayers at sunset, when such exercises are obligatory. Much of this attitude, however, has to do with their turbulent mode of life and illiteracy, for the most nonchalant are always ready to "fall in" behind any man who has the gift of prayer and follow his attitude and genuflexions, giving the responses with devout accuracy and attention. As to the religious self-denial with which they observe the fast of Ramadan (refusing to avail themselves of the exemption extended by the Koran to all travellers, sick persons, &c.) their austerity would shame more civilized Mussulmans.' 771

## Products and Industries

The products of this region are so similar to those of the Yemen that they need no special treatment; and the crops are referred to in detail in the section on climate. The staple food-stuff of the country is either *dhura* or *dukhn*. Of *dhura* there are two chief varieties: white and red. The staple fodder for animals is, universally, the stalks and leaves of *dhura* and *dukhn*. As to the native industries they are not of any great importance, but attention may be called to the following: 241 246

Boat-building is carried on to a limited extent. Though a very great number of native craft of very varied type ply in Aden harbour and around the coast of this district, only 'jolly-boats' are built at Aden; they are after the model of an English rowing-boat, with heavier and stronger frames, and of very rough workmanship. Mat-making and string-making are carried on chiefly in the neighbourhood of Aden. Dry leaves of the *dom* and date-palms are imported from the ports of the Dankali and from Musawwa', and are manufactured into mats. String is also made by twisting the leaves together with the hand; this is called 'Aden string'. To make mats the leaves are divided into small strips, which are plaited into a ribbon three or four inches wide and of great length. The ribbon is stitched or spliced spirally into a cylindrical shape, the circumference representing the required breadth, and the axis the necessary length; this hollow cylinder is then cut down with a knife parallel to the axis, and the broken edges are bound. Somali women are exceedingly expert in the manufacture of such mats, which are in great request for sleeping purposes. The coarser kinds are largely used for the construction of sheds and the roofing of houses. Plates, baskets, sacks, and many other articles are made of such strips of matting. 396 501 285.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



228 From the tongue of land we pass the
443 fish-market, where a lively trade in the dwellers of the sea, here so multifarious, is carried on from early morning till late in the evening. The shark seems to be the commonest fish. Sacks full of dried and salted shark's flesh are sent into the interior, where, in times of prosperity, the Bedouins and townsfolk enjoy a piece of it with their frugal meal of bread and rice. The smell of badly dried and, consequently, somewhat decaying fish accompanies the traveller far into the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut.

443 The bazaar of Makalla has more penetrating odours than is
382 usual elsewhere. Not far from the fish-market are the workshops where loin-cloths and head-cloths are dyed a dull blue-black with indigo, and this trade also has sickening, nauseating smell. The workers and their houses are covered with a layer of indigo.

443 A more attractive trade than these is plied in this long
286 street of the bazaar — that of the weavers and lace-makers. They weave narrow lengths of cloth with brightly coloured stripes and with very attractive fringes, which are woven separately.

443 All sorts of sweets were offered for sale at the booths; also
438 the first bright-yellow or deep-red dates, not yet quite ripe,
439 tuberous fruits, spices, the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco in big bundles consisting of whole dried plants; broad waist-bands, Japanese, Indian and Dutch piece-goods, sugar-loaves and rice, coffee-beans and dried coffee-husks, ginger-root and tea from Ceylon and Java, various kinds of grain, meal and *samn*, sesame oil and kerosene, matches and coffee-cups, *djambiyas*[1] and cartridges.

443- We wandered through this storehouse of Ḥaḍramaut. The salesmen had lighted their reeking lamps and torches stuck in bottles; one could only pass slowly through the swarming crowd with the smoke of the lamps mingling with the heavy odour emanating from men and things. As in a dream we

104 [1] *Djambiya*, correctly spelled *djanbiya* (جنبيّة), is a broad, curved dagger worn in the waist-band in front of the body.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



286 Spinning, weaving, and dyeing are also common industries. Cotton is spun into thread by hand-spindles and then woven in hand-looms, and sometimes machine-made yarns or twists are used in the same way; the looms are of the very simplest construction. The industry is still carried on to a small extent at Aden, and somewhat more extensively at a few centres in the interior, notably at Nisāb and Markhah, which are situated in the cotton and indigo growing district of the 'Aulaqi country; here a large amount of cotton fabrics for tribal shawls and turbans is made. The stuffs, when required, are dyed with locally prepared indigo. Sauma'ah, a town in the Beida country, is famous for a special make of goat-hair carpets.

314 Charcoal burning is an industry carried on at several places in the interior, among the wooded slopes of the hilly districts. Potash is also manufactured from a product known as 'Aden balsam'; this is not found in any quantity in Aden itself, but is prepared in the 'Abdāli and Fadhli districts. The balsam is thrown into small pits about two feet wide and one deep, and wood is added; the mass is then set fire to, and as the sap exudes from the plant it mingles with the ashes; the mixture is stirred and allowed to cool; then it is dug up and sent into Aden on camels, for sale. The price is about 8 annas per maund of 28 lb., and the potash is
274 exported to Bombay for washing purposes. A primitive form of distilling is also in vogue, the natives producing a liquor from dates which have been placed in water and allowed to disintegrate. The industry is carried on at Aden (under certain restrictions) and other places.

## Trade

438 Practically the whole of the trade of this region is centred in Aden—local trade as well as general. The trade of the only other
504 notable port of this littoral, Shūghrah (and even that of Makalla in Hadhramaut), is restricted and purely local in character, and is entirely subservient to that of Aden.

439 The total value of the trade of Aden (import and export), in round numbers, for the last two years has been:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1913–14 | £8,530,000 |
| 1914–15 | £6,940,000. |

This falls into two categories: Transhipment trade, and Inland (or local) trade. Comparative figures for the year 1914–15, were:

| | |
|---|---|
| Transhipment | £6,682,000 |
| Inland | £258,000. |

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mna

ADEN AIRWAYS AIRCRAFT AT MUKEIRAS, ADEN PROTECTORATE

29
50

Cfr. p. 48(4)

compelled all the people of the Hadhramaut to wear the black dress of the Abbasides.[1] 175

Hadhramaut remained loyal to the Abbasides to the year A.H. 263 (A.D. 877). During this time there had been about 53 Governors in the Hadhramaut. When the reign of the Abbasides came to an end, Hadhramaut became independent once again.[2]

## 2. Yemeni Domination.

We learn from Omārah[3] that the authority of Ibn Ziad, the Yemeni ruler who acquired the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by the Tubbas, extended to the provinces of Hadhramaut, ash Shihr, and Dīār Kinda. East of the Hadhramaut he was master of Merbat, and west, of Abyan, Lahej, and Aden, as well as the Red Sea coast as far as Hali. After the death of Muhammad ibn Ziad, his son 'Ibrahim and his grandson Ziyad followed. Ziyad was succeeded by his brother 'Abu'l Jeish Ishaq whose reign endured for a long time, according to Ibn Khaldun, until he had reached the age of eighty, though Omārah says he reigned eighty years over "Yemen, Hadhramaut and the maritime islands."

In A.H. 259 (A.D. 873) Muhammad ibn Ya'far succeeded to his father, and was invested by the Caliph al Mutamed, with the Government of San'ā. Hadhramaut was included in his dominions, "but he owed allegiance to the Ziyadites and paid them tributes."

The Ziyadite rule lasted a long time, and in A.H. 409 (A.D. 1018) their great Wazir, Ibn Salama, carried out one of his greatest public works. "Among the splendid works executed by Husayn ibn Salāmah must be reckoned the construction of great mosques and lofty minarets along the road from Hadhramaut to the city of Mecca (may God Most High guard it). The distance extends over sixty days' journey. He dug wells and channels with running water in solitary wildernesses, and he erected along the road constructions on which were indicated the distances in miles, in *parasangs*, and in stages. Some of these works I have seen, either in good order or in ruins, and of the remainder I have received descriptions from other persons, all agreeing with one another. The first stations were at Shibam and Tarim, two cities of Hadhramaut. (A footnote adds, "Of Tarim, al-Hamdāni merely says that it was a 491 175

[1] The Beduins still wear the black of the Abbasides, though they think it was imposed upon them as a punishment. Unlike the townswomen who wear their dresses short in front and long behind, the women of the Beduins wear their dresses long all round, and it is thought that this too is a survival of the Abbasides. 291

[2] It is apparent that the Hadhramaut took hardly to Islam. After several vicissitudes the country shook down to orthodox Shafi'ism, but from the time of the Abbasides paid no more than lip service to the Caliphate. To-day, while there are mosques almost everywhere, one may suspect that the Beduins are more attached to their patron saints, whom they have adopted into Islam, than to orthodox worship. Larity like this may have not a little to do with the bigotry of the conservative Seiyid party. 771

[3] See Kay's Omārah, pp. 5, 141-2, 234.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The 648
women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: 185
and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems
too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss 731
of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven
years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of
50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had [231]
a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior
rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by
voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for
grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to
record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and
the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief,
both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary
cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government
servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a
fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided
at the coast for refugees from the interior.

## Nature of the People and Country

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti adminis- 131
tration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their
country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut
is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the
most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its
people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have
had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country 311
is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more
than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know 177
Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them.
They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them 291
aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist
cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of 181
the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred
in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to
anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the
horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the
people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the
towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has 621
grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of 565
classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert 566
bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of
descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds 439
remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business 167
holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over 171
a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.[9]

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is 177
virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common 198
tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Ka- 291
thiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be 556
incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, 185
Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf 177
family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In [491]
1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, [509]
Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

[9] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut*. London: Colonial Office, 1936.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the 142 western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west.

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. 778 At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration.

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protec- 181 torate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The 291 only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore 576 indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting.

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present 619 tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of 631 Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole 643 Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy.

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the [144] western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it.

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there 576 again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe.

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in 101 writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 174 619

7: Sturler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk. 342

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm. 361

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anis go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices. 311 312 511 262 439 291

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space. 342 361 531

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut. 361 342

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on [441]

565 half for the men and one for the women, each with their entrance, kitchen,
342 store rooms and granary on the ground floor, reception rooms and wash-rooms on the first floor, and more private apartments with washrooms on the second floor. There may be a third floor with terrace rooms, but usually not more.

342 Although the span of the ceiling beams is quite small, as everywhere
353 else (about six feet, determined by the maximum size of timber available), many of the rooms in these houses are very large, being divided up by
565 two, four, six or nine pillars. They have rows of three or four windows, some even more, on two sides. The floors are covered with carpets, and cushions against the walls are the only form of furnishing. There will be niches with cups, silver samovars and brass trays; other niches with some books; and a few large flat basket-trays hung on the walls, from which one eats. But that is absolutely all that is needed. There are large wall closets for clothing and for bedding, the normal place to sleep being the floor. But there is no difference between a living-room and a sleeping apartment. Each room serves for either purpose in turn, the men and the women
• [291 being separate. Nor are there clothes for the night and clothes for the
515] day, though the men wear beautifully laundered clothes, frequently changed.

342 Washrooms consist of a spacious compartment, with glazed plaster
515 walls with niches and pegs for clothing. Near the window stands a tall jar with water and a scoop for showering oneself. The water runs out under the window through a runnel and gutter. Some washrooms have a shower tank. The washroom may contain a lavatory of the south continental, foot-rest type, or this may be in an entirely separate spacious compartment. Each floor has at least two. Besides this the Saywun and Terim house has a little " roman " bath for complete ablution about 10 feet square, and which is usually near the private prayer-room.

342 Another pleasant characteristic of the Saywun house is that in the large
271 corridor that runs from one side of the house to the other; in front of the window at the coolest end there is usually a corner for drinking-water skins to hang up in a cooling draught. Niches for cups are at hand, and again there is a runnel for the water dripping from the skin to run outside. The same arrangement is found on most terraces. Upper rooms are used in summer, lower rooms in winter for warmth, for there is no glass in the windows and only ill-fitting wood shutters to keep out the night air.

342 All these amenities will be found on a small scale in the most modest houses. The house of the dhobbi had three floors. It contained about four living-rooms, two washrooms, a kitchen and a store. So that where space is concerned the Hadhrami house does not compare unfavourably with European standards.

000 A film showing Hadhramaut buildings was followed by a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

B. Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 of a broad, gently sloping bedrock drainage surface. The plateau abounds in suitable rock surfaces, and they serve as catchment areas for occasional cloudbursts. Walls, six to eight inches high, fashioned of closely packed but uncemented rock fragments and slabs, are

[291 411 362]

FIG. 21—Bedouins of Wadi Hajr. Note the attire and appearance: bare feet or sandals; short sarong; cartridge belt; curved dagger; long, black, glistening, oily hair; ever present musket. To the stocks of their antiquated guns, goat skulls are frequently attached, as these are thought to provide greater comfort than the original design.

laid out radially from the well so that surface drainage will converge on it from a wide area.

415 401 483 To transport water, Bedouins use bags of uncut goat skins, tied firmly at the leg and neck openings. For drawing well water, the skin is fashioned into a bucket and attached to a rope passing over a pulley in a crudely constructed scaffolding of palm logs lashed together with coconut-fiber cord. The bucket is raised and lowered by donkeys, cattle, or slaves, with the assistance of an appropriate harness. To augment the lifting power applied to each bucket, it is customary to excavate an incline downward from the mouth of the well, equal in length to the depth of the water table, and it is along such a trench that man and beast plod long, weary hours each day. When a bulging and leaking skin has been lifted slightly above the welltop, it is pulled over and lowered into a catchment basin connected with the local irrigation system.

## THE CARAVANS

492 438 439 Many Bedouins, not engaged in agriculture or herding, find occupation in the camel transport system of the Hadhramaut. A man

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

FIG. 29—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general attire, especially the sarong, which has been introduced by Hadhrami emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to provide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000. 701 702 648 [212]

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambiyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870. 702 142 291 302 142 411 304 751

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamīs*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turban-wise round his head. 714 [291]

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This, 702 701

484 and we were in country with which there had been practically no contact
It must really have been alarming to the Badawin: a noisy party in lorries
which they had not seen before, and ourselves in cars, shouting directions to
each other in the night and firing Verey lights to show each other the way;
[486] but the Badawin materialized out of the darkness, most surprisingly without
rifles, directed us time and again on our way, and pushed our cars out of
the sand.

680 After Thukmein, which we left about half-past eleven, we had no great
difficulty in moving on as the moon was up. We drove on for some hours
and then stopped to let the rest of the party come up. It was bitterly cold and
the keen wind cut through us as we huddled together trying to sleep on the
sand, but we did sleep and woke to a marvellous dawn. The sunset of the
night before, the brilliant moon, and the sunrise are three enduring memories
of that night.

The four flat-topped hills of Al 'Abr lay about 10 miles ahead of us, and
although only one of the lorries had come on, the other having had one of its
many breakdowns, we decided to go on. It was marvellous hard sand on
which a speed of fifty was easy and we had quickly left the lorry behind.
We made our way into the wadi bed, myself acting as guide as I was the only
one who knew the country even from the air. There were one or two Bureiki
Sheikhs about with camels, and rather reluctantly they told us that the
'Abdulla bin 'Aun were also there with the camels. A few minutes' driving
up the hard wadi brought us to the ruins of the fort, said by the Al 'Abdulla
bin 'Aun to have been built by them.

619 The dozen or so Badawin round the well looked extremely surprised when
[291] the car drew up. I suppose they were hardly awake, as the morning was still
chilly and they were all wearing their sheepskin coats. A few Bureiki Sheikhs
came down and bade us welcome. All the rest of the Badawin claimed to
belong to every tribe except the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun. Some said they were
Sheikhs, some claimed to be Daham, a Yemeni tribe, and some Nahd, but
there were a good many shifty looks and in the course of the morning we
sorted out nine who had given themselves away and who finally admitted to
belonging to this raiding section. There are only forty-three males all told
of the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun, but from the amount of trouble they had given in
619 the past it was well worth getting them under control. They have no houses
36/ or settled habitation and are about the only people of the Hadhramaut who
342 have goatskin tents. They are part of the Al Hatim, but Bin Mulhi, their
chief, says he has no control over them and the Sei'ar themselves were delighted
when we took hostages from them and put in a garrison, whose function is
to protect the travellers and not to interfere in other ways.

Presently the lorries came up and I installed the wireless and settled the
342 garrison into temporary quarters. There was nothing at Al 'Abr except the
764 ruined fort of which only one wall still stood, a small stone *murabba'a*, one of
the dark cube-shaped shelters used by travellers all over the Hadhramaut,
and a hut built of branches of trees and grass of which there was a great
profusion. There was also a new *weli's* tomb decorated with ibex horns, and
one of the Bureiki Sheikhs took us there and slapping the tomb addressed its
680 lately canonised occupant and introduced us. We put the garrison into the

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



lunch, also in true Arabian Nights' style, as we had lamb stuffed with pistachio nuts, almonds, and raisins, and many other good things, we started off for a round of afternoon calls. Many old friends had come to see us and all wanted us to visit them. However we managed to weed them down to four and thought we would take the farthest first, so we went off through the date palms to Robat where we had an enormous tea, and then came back through Khoreiba, where we had two more and a fourth, just after sunset, at Ar Rashid. Then we staggered back for dinner to Masna'a, Mr. Figgis rather under the weather and wondering how he was going to cope with Hadhrami hospitality after the more modest repasts of Northern Nigeria.

My wife re-visited Du'an at the beginning of 1937, journeying up the well-known caravan road from Mukalla. She travelled with two Seiyids of the Mihdhar family returning to their homes after a long absence, and they took seven days on donkeys from the coast to Wadi Du'an. The nights were spent in the *marabba'as* and towards sunset each evening they raced with an old shepherd taking a flock of Somaliland sheep over the *jols* to Du'an, for he was determined that his sheep should sleep in the stone hut and the Seiyids were equally determined that my wife and they should. There was always a long midday halt for about eleven o'clock the Seiyids felt they needed their ginger coffee, and it was after noon before the large meal of rice and dried fish was ready.

Except for the preparation of two large meals a day everything was very simple. The Seiyids each had a folding iron camp bed and the Badawin, two of whom acted as chief cook and butler-valet, usually slept curled up underneath the beds. The Seiyids had put on clean clothes at the beginning of the journey, and these they wore night and day until they reached the top of the 'aqaba leading to Du'an, when they unpacked their boxes and put on new clothes to arrive in. Crowds quickly came from their homes to meet them, and from the Ba Surra's house to meet my wife. She spent two nights with the ladies in Masna'a, who were very anxious to know all about Miss Stark, and if she had quite recovered from the illness that attacked her in Du'an. My wife also visited Robat and Khoreiba, and had tea in one house and spent the night in another house in which a crowd of self-invited guests gathered after dinner to hear the wireless, at that time the only set in the wadi. The reception was not too good, but they heard Big Ben and switched from Egypt to Rome, from Palestine to Germany, and back to London.

With the usual Du'an hospitality she was given two breakfasts in different houses, visited many women, and returned to Masna'a for a gay evening party with drums and dancing in the harem. She left Masna'a for Quweira, where she stayed with the Mihdhar family, whose stronghold it is. This clan of Seiyids is very large but firmly united under its chief, Seiyid Mustafa, a very old man who was amazingly ignorant of any matters outside his valley and had never before descended to shaking hands with a European woman. He had evidently seen pictures of them however for he frankly expressed his approval of my wife's dress, which had long sleeves and was not cut short above the knees as he had imagined it would be. She quite lost count of the number of houses she visited in Quweira, and in all of which she was taken straight up to see the women. It is a curiosity of Du'an that all the women dress

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



IT IS A CURIOSITY OF DU'AN THAT ALL WOMEN DRESS
291 alike in long black dresses with coloured patches inserted in front and orange
301 scarves over their heads. They are, too, the only women who affect nose rings similar to those usually worn on the fingers. Very few of them have ever left their valley, but many of them bemoaned the absence of husbands who frequently left them for years at a time.

179 The Seiyids lent her a magnificent white donkey to go on to Sif where we had stayed before, and the following day she was met by a friend and a car just before reaching Meshhed. Thence she rejoined me in Seiyun.

From Du'an Mr. Figgis and I flew across to 'Azzan over the upper reaches of the Wadi Hajr, which like the Wadi Maseila has perennial water nearly all its length. I had been to 'Azzan before, but this visit was very short, as the machine crashed on the landing-ground. It was a very artistic crash, and in Air Force parlance a complete write-off. Luckily none of the three of us in the machine were in the least hurt and the crash was far more alarming for Mr. Figgis and his pilot still up above, as it was some time before we found a comfortable way of climbing out of the ruins. I hope that in every crash I have I shall have as skilful a pilot as on that occasion. The crash was due to misguided zeal of the locals, for it was their own home-made landing-ground and they had raked up all the stones off the ground into a ridge along its edge, and it was this we hit as we landed. As ours was the machine with the wireless in it we swapped over into the other, which had landed safely, and flew back to Mukalla to organize assistance.

361 'Azzan is the capital of the Balhaf Sultan and is most picturesquely situated
609 on a citadel rock by the side of the wadi. I was given a great reception on my
411 first visit there with the firing of rifles and war whooping, which is much more a feature of welcomes in the Western Aden Protectorate than in the Eastern. As we walked from the landing-ground to the village the Artillery, a fine old bronze gun marked "A. Wilson. Cossipore. 1841," was brought into play. Our path led below it and it was really rather alarming, because with each discharge a shower of burning shirts and other old clothes, which had been used as wadding, was fired over us.

411 'Azzan is the only place where I have seen spears surviving, though my wife
435 saw them in the Wadi 'Amd. One or two aged warriors came out with spears which they shook in martial fashion, threw into the air and caught again. Quite a number of old weapons survive in the Hadhramaut, for my wife also saw crossbows in the Wadi 'Amd and there are more of the old matchlocks in the country, some of them still in use, than in any other part of the Protectorate. The Hadhramaut seems to have turned over to modern weapons much more recently than the Western Protectorate, for most of the rifles, modern weapons, have wooden butts covered with goatskin fastened over them to take the recoil, a precaution far more necessary with matchlocks. It is worth recording perhaps that there is a heavy slump in the price of firearms. The ordinary Badawin rifle can be bought for as little as eight dollars with some ammunition thrown in, and the most modern rifles of continental manufacture, which eighteen months ago fetched an easy six hundred or more dollars when brought in from the Yemen, are now not bought at all and offers have been made of them for as little as fifty dollars.

619 The atmosphere of the Balhaf court is completely tribal; much more like
162

21: Thomas 7-8 (no date) 1932 MMII Hadhramaut MM2



191 exception of the Mahra all these tribes speak Arabic and Arabic alone, and yet some are types
141 clearly distinguishable from the northern Arab, and indeed those I measured are all brachycephals. The very word "Arab" is used in the desert to denote "people" instead of having the particular racial connotation which we give to it. More than once I have been asked "From what Arabs are you?" by a native, who was conscious that I was of a different race from himself.

144 Whether these Arabic-speaking South Arabians are indigenous or come from elsewhere is a question for anthropologists. In this connection, the Preface to Wyman Bury's book *Land of Uz* is of interest. That Preface, written by Maj.-Gen. Maitland who was British Resident at Aden at the beginning of the present century, declares the writer's opinion as follows :—

> "The people of Arabia belong to two distinct and apparently quite different races. The common idea of the Arab type is tall bearded men with clean-cut, hawk-like faces. The Arabs of South Arabia are smaller, darker, coarser featured and nearly beardless. All authorities agree that the Southern Arabs are nearly related by origin to the Abyssinian. Yet strange to say it is the Egypto-African race who are the original and 'pure' Arabs, while the stately Semitic of the North is *Mustaarib* . . . one who is Arab by adoption and residence, rather than by descent."

101 But I am concerned here with a group of non-Arabic speaking tribes more distant in habit
361 of life still from the familiar Arab, tribes of whom neither Burton nor Maitland could have had any personal knowledge, tribes whose members have seldom made the pilgrimage to Mecca, tribes for the most part settled in the Qara and Al Qamr mountains of the Central South
619 where they breed cows and gather frankincense. To the list given in my previous paper, viz., Qara, Mahra, Shahara, Bauthâra and Harasîs should be added Barahama, Bil Haf, Afar, and Bit Istait (Bait ash Shaikh). Except for those elements of the Mahra that are nomadic, and for the nomadic Harasîs and Afar and the fishing tribe of Bautâhara, the remainder form a *bloc* of settled mountain society with a common and a unique culture.

191 The four languages of this group have been mentioned in the paper under reference. Of the additional tribes the Afar speak a language which is a variant of Mahri, called Aforit, and is said to be the same as that spoken by the Harasîs. The Bait ash Shaikh (Inaakht) use the Shahara tongue and are thought to be collateral with the Shahara and once to have co-inhabited the great port, now a heap of ruins, of Rubat (Ariyot). Balhaf, a rather non-descript tribe, owes allegiance to no faction but is Mahri in speech.

## DRESS AND DYE CUSTOMS.

● 291 The men wear a single sheet wound round to form a skirt short to the knees and then brought diagonally across their bodies and thrown over one shoulder; women a single loose-falling black gown usually green with age and black muslin head-wrap which falls about
301 shoulders and neck; they are mostly unveiled. The use of indigo for smearing their bodies
302 and impregnating their clothes is common to both sexes. It gives their faces a purple hue.
177 There is a local dye from a tree called *hurair*, but much of the indigo comes from India.

1 [Bait Kathir, Mahra, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai -- Analyst]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās had come to Makalla from Java some months previously, with the object of importing motor-cars and other commodities, through the intermediary of his family living there. He would have to visit the interior shortly, so what could be more obvious than that we should try to establish a community of interests, and join forces for the journey? Sayyid ʿAluwī was born in Java and had spent some years in Cairo for his education. He had seen something of England and France, and it looked as if he had grown out of touch with the stern frugal life of the land of his fathers. We have to thank him for the introduction to his relatives at Ḥurēḍa, from whom we had a support and sympathy exceeding our most sanguine expectations.

## 1. BAZAAR LIFE.

361 Well contented with the favourable prospects which were
142 opening out before us, we sauntered through the main street,
●291 which runs like a human river along the sea front, the whole
302 length of the town from West to East. One sees representatives of almost all the tribes of the interior gathered here in groups along the rows of booths. Most of them are dark-brown men, with the naked upper part of their bodies, as well as their faces and arms, smeared with indigo. They are bare-headed and barefoot and have only a short, but thickly rolled loin-cloth round their waists; their unkempt, half-long, jet-black, curly hair is tied up into a round knot at the back of the head, or held in place by a plaited leathern band or greased rag wound round the head. They have had to give up their inseparable guns and cartridge-belts to the watchman at the gates of the town and, consequently, feel unclothed and unsafe. Their hair shines with *samn*[1]; the upper part of their bodies is also rubbed with it, over the layer of indigo, and a strong odour of indigo and *samn* hangs about them.

000 On the way back from the tongue of land we pass the

104 [1] *Samn* (سمن) is melted butter of the milk of sheep, goats or cows.

# CHAPTER III.

## FROM MAKALLA TO WĀDĪ DŌʿAN.

### 1. A DIFFICULT START.

The outfitting of the caravan lasted several days. The Vizier and his officials showed great interest, and during our visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr, much necessary information and advice was given us by him. Then we also made acquaintance with the leader of our caravan, who appeared to have the original and very modern honorary name of Mautor [1], because he can run the distance from Wādī Dōʿan to Makalla in two days and nights, when urgent dispatches have to be carried for the Government. He has the full confidence of the Vizier and declares in a gentle voice and calling the while upon Allah that he will risk his life for us and that, with Allah's help, he will deliver us and our belongings safe and sound to Bā Ṣūrra, the Governor of Wādī Dōʿan. Mautor is small and slight, his curly, greasy, black hair is held together round his head by a narrow plaited leather band. He wears a little cord round his neck from which hangs a silver ring set with a round, brownish coloured stone, which has the shape and measurements of a thumb nail. A short dark-blue loin-cloth, in which is stuck the sheath of a dagger (*djambīya*), is his only garment. We declare our trust in Mautor's leadership and protection, and the agreement is sealed with a hand-clasp. Provision will be made for camels fit for the mountains, which in Dōʿan will have to be exchanged for others suitable for the plains. We ourselves shall ride on donkeys as being less tiring and more comfortable if one has to dismount frequently to survey the route, to take photographs, and to collect plants and insects. We have also to provide food for the Bedouins who

[1] "Mautor" is the Bedouin pronunciation of "motor".

142 291 104 p.35

•291
142

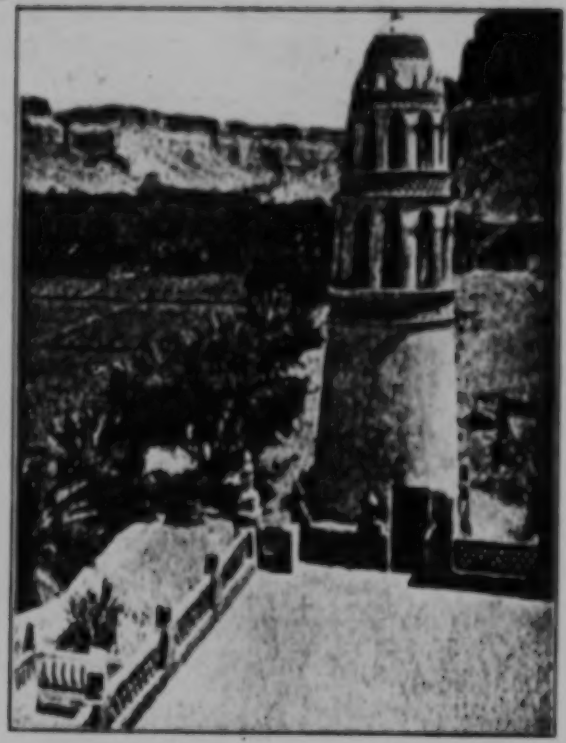
Sayyid el-Bārr with some of his children and servants.

137

Sun and shade in the palm-groves of Wādī Dō'an.

p 64 (D)

The authors as the guests of Sayyid Muṣṭafā bin Aḥmad Āl el-Miḥḍār.



The mosque of the Āl el-Miḥḍār in Huwēbiya, Wādī Dō'an.

See pages 69 and 71.

[facing p 72]

291

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



he tries to mount it unnoticed. We have seen, however, and call out to him to get off, because we have just dismounted out of pity for the animal. His Yāfiʿ comrade, who is walking in front of me, calls to him *not* to obey. I angrily bid him be silent, with the remark that I have paid for the donkeys and that, consequently, the command over them lies with me. At his insolent reply: "Hold your tongue!", he gets without further ado a box on his ears. He turns in fury, his rifle clenched in his hands. 000

"Shall I let myself be struck by you?"

"You shall obey me, you are under my command."

ʿAbdallāh sulkily vanishes into the rear-guard, while we all keep our eyes on his rifle. His comrade comes to me before long to ask forgiveness for him. "Do not be angry with him, he is a little mad." Who can be angry for long with these rough children of nature? Towards evening, when the heat is over and thirst and fatigue no longer torment, both Yāfiʿ soldiers get their so much desired remuneration and part with the two *Naṣrānīs* as the best of friends.

Close to Hadjarēn we passed a mosque at a saint's grave, and all sought the cool shadow of this place, forbidden to unbelievers. We were allowed to stand for a breathing-space in the porch. There is an earthenware jar full of water in the building, but we may not go inside, so our Makalla soldiers fetch water for us. A few peasant women who are passing by also come for the sake of the shelter. Their wide, dark-blue, rough, cotton garments leave their faces uncovered. However, as soon as they see strangers, they draw their head-cloths over their faces. They wear straw hats, with pointed crowns and wide brims, as a protection against the sun. 778 784 291 834

### 3. AN UNFORGETTABLE RECEPTION IN HADJARĒN.

From here the way mounts towards the foot of the mountain close up against which lies Hadjarēn. A steep, paved, zigzag path leads at last to the gate of this town, which by 000

We march on for hours under a gorgeous heaven of stars. The great promontory towards which we are setting our course is Djebel Ghumdān. Only when we have passed it do we see the lights of Ḥurēḍa. The nearer we approach the more messengers with lamps, and people filled with curiosity come out to meet us. Youth especially is well in evidence, handsome, frank youngsters, who accompany us pushing each other aside and talking busily. Quite soon the boys try to put a few questions in Malay. When the answers come also in that language, questions follow thick upon each other, and these wordly-wise youths, born in Java and sent here to get a real Arabian education, become objects of admiration and envy to their fellows.

"Do you find it pleasant here?"

"No, not at all. It is much finer in Java. This is a dreadful country of poverty, heat and boredom."

They are home-sick for Java, where their parents are and where they would like to return at once.

We dismount at the entrance to Ḥurēḍa, which is unwalled, for we see, by the light of many gasoline lamps, the white figures of the notabilities of the town awaiting us. The Governor of el-Meshhed comes forward as spokesman. He says that the people of Ḥurēḍa are grateful for, and feel themselves honoured by, the first official Dutch visit. It is not so long ago that foreigners were denied entrance to Ḥurēḍa, but now opinion has become much more modern. In the whole of Ḥaḍramaut there is sympathy for Holland and gratitude to that country for the hospitality and good treatment enjoyed by the Ḥaḍramīs in the lands under her rule. Hope is expressed that an enduring contact between Ḥaḍramaut and Holland may spring from this visit.

The many lanterns light up fantastically this unusual spectacle on the outskirts of Ḥurēḍa, where the first Europeans, weary and dirty, with limbs stiff from long riding, make their entry into the little town, hand in hand with its notables in their clean, white garments. The Governor has solemnly taken

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The hot air penetrates to the furthest and highest parts of the cave and does not cool down much there. In the whole region of Ḥaḍramaut, after the broken mountainous strata of the coast, we saw no further trace of volcanism.

When our eyes had grown accustomed once more to the light and we had had a drink, we descended again into the wādī. The sun shone right into it and it was suffocatingly hot, nor could we escape from the heat until we reached Qabr Hūd, so we walked as fast as we could and in two hours arrived at the well at the beginning of the wādī. Our escort were unable to keep up with us, but two young Minhālī Bedouins, with the slender suppleness and strength of the ibex, offered their society and were entertaining companions. We were thoroughly exhausted by the time we got to the well, but they were absolutely fresh. They drew water for us and, afterwards, drank themselves but once. We drank the water — warm, but clear — again and again, and had it poured over our backs and chests, so getting a long needed bath. One of the two spoke Swahili; he had spent five years in Nairobi where he had had a shop and had saved 600 *riyāls*. Now he was the happy possessor of ten camels and a young wife. The other was still unable to marry, as the marriage portion here is from 150 to 200 *riyāls* and, for the moment, he had not this amount. He would like us to take him abroad, there to try his luck as his comrade had done. The Minhālīs wear necklaces of plaited leathern straps and red and white coral, and round their waists, under the cartridge-belt, I saw similar, very artistic bands. They are bare-headed, with a strap round their greasy hair, which is waved and worn half-length, and they wear small loin-cloths over which the cartridge-belt is buckled. Many of them have still muzzle-loading guns. It is obvious from their primitive appearance that the lands where they rove lie along the southern border of the Rubʿ el-Khālī, the extreme northern limit of Ḥaḍramaut.

In the house in the ravine of Qabr Hūd it was also unbearably hot, the indoor temperature reaching from 40° to

tern bank of the wādī. The fields are bone-dry and trimly 241
cultivated, rain being expected this month. One substantial 312
downpour of rain or a good inundation caused by rain elsewhere is said to be enough for this loam soil, which holds water for so long. Great pains have been taken over the irrigation system; the dams, made of piled-up stones and plastered with an inner lining of mud, suffer much from the *sēls*. Groups of inquisitive people come running towards us out of the villages and ask all sorts of questions of our escort. A grey-headed village-chief turns to us with the inquiry how to put an end to the repeatedly recurring destruction of the stone dykes through the *sēl*. We answer that it would probably suffice if they were to use lime as cement for the boulders: the initial cost of this would be considerable, but it would be a great economy in the long run.

All the women of this district are veiled, even the poor 834
women working in the fields. When working in the sun they 291
wear straw hats with very wide brims. They are not so 301
frightened of us as women were elsewhere and are quite ready for a chat or even to be photographed. The young girls, at the request of the men, climb like cats right up to the crowns of the palm-trees, to pick the ripe fruit from the bunches of dates. Their wide black garments hang untidily about them, the only pretty thing in their dress is the broad girdle ornamented with large and small silver buttons, which encircles the waist. An attempt to buy one of these fails, as the women are all too modest to think of selling a part of their clothing. Many 857
children run all over the place with little bows made of the rib of a palm-leaf, and sharp-pointed arrows of the same, with which they try to kill the few birds that alight on the ripening fruit. Occasionally, as we pass, some relative of one of our escort will present us with a handful of the first really ripe dates.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



yet afford to offer pensionable service. Conditions of employment 875
for a qualified teacher are therefore inferior to those obtainable, even in teaching, in the Colony.

*Principal Events*

The greatest change in the period under review was the closing down 873
in March, 1952, of the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs, a boarding school of primary standard which has been running for 17 years in the Colony. The College served a useful purpose and gained a high reputation in its time but was too small to be run economically. It has now been superseded by the primary schools in the various districts of the Western Protectorate.

Work on an intermediate boarding school at Zinjibar in the Western Protectorate began about the same time. The new intermediate school, which will take another three years to complete, forms a vital link between the primary schools and the Aden and Technical Colleges.

## HEALTH

*General*

Protectorate health statistics are not yet available, though in places 165
such as Tarim recent local studies show an infantile mortality rate of 439 per 1,000 live births, a rate rather greater than those previously reported for Mukalla and parts of the Western Protectorate.

*Diseases*

Important causes of sickness in the population are malaria, the 164
dysenteries, ulcers, trachoma and conjunctivitis. Less obtrusive are pulmonary tuberculosis, bilharzia of both urinary and intestinal types, guineaworm (in patchy distribution), leprosy, dermal leishmaniasis and the common venereal diseases with, in places, what appears to be either yaws or bejel. In areas where night-soil is used as manure for salad vegetables round-worm infection is common. Where, as in the Hadhramaut towns, rigid purdah still obtains, ostemalacia, obstructed [291]
labour and puerperal fever are of relatively frequent occurrence. Through failure of the capricious rainfall or floods in the winter months, famine and its associated subnutrition are an ever present threat. In certain Western States the consumption of qat (*Catha edulis*) is a cause of subnutrition and affections of the digestive tract.

Important causes of death in both young and adults are malaria and the dysenteries, and in adults pulmonary tuberculosis.

Prevention and treatment are provided by mobile health units, 743
static health units (previously called dispensaries) and hospitals. 744
Prevention is furthered by lectures, demonstrations and film shows to teachers and local administrators, and by emphasis in the training of subordinate technical staff on the preventive aspects of medicine, more particularly cleanliness, insect control, balanced feeding and the values of local foodstuffs. A series of propaganda leaflets has been planned and the first one—on malaria—issued to the public. An effort is being made among communities remote from hospitals and health units to market at controlled prices insecticides, malarial remedies and sulphamezathine in small containers with instructions in Arabic.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



a monotonous chant. The dance is usually executed by two persons, each dancing by himself, who, while turning all the time, alternately approach and withdraw from the orchestra, but always keep at the same distance from each other; when the first two are exhausted their places are taken by two others, and so on for many hours at a stretch.

The status of women in the Hadhramaut appears to be superior to that in many Mussulman countries. The wife lives in the same part of the house as her husband, but she receives her visitors in her own rooms. Divorce is very rare, the repudiation of a wife without very good cause being held in high contempt; if an individual did so repudiate his wife he would certainly fail to obtain another wife of the same social scale. Polygamy is very uncommon; there are no eunuchs; in the event of the husband taking another wife, the first quits his roof immediately and returns to her parents. Amongst the Bedouins of the Hadhramaut polygamy is absolutely unknown. If a man definitively leaves his town to seek his fortune elsewhere, the wife may, and usually does, refuse to follow him. In this contingency it is considered legitimate for him to take another wife, and he is not expected to continue to support the first.

The marriage dowry is of a double character; there is, first of all, a legal tariff varying from 20 to 2½ florins according to the social status of the fiancée; and secondly, there is the nuptial gift, the amount of which varies according to her personal qualities: the first may be reclaimed in the case of a dissolution of marriage, the latter not.

In the Hadhramaut the poor and the rich dress much alike, the quality of the material, the jewels worn, and the arms carried being the only indications of status. The clothes worn by the townsmen resemble, in many respects, those of most orientals. Sandals with thin shoes, but no stockings, are worn; when out of doors a kind of plaid (*rādi*), made locally, about seven yards long and a little short of a yard wide, is invariably carried or thrown over the shoulders. The head is shaven.

The garments of the tribesmen are similar in the main to those of the townsmen, except that they are shorter, are worn somewhat differently, and the material is usually woven in diamond 'check'; the *jubbah*, or robe, is replaced by a shorter buttoned jacket; and the tribesmen carry their arms, a straight sword, a two-edged poniard, &c. The *rādi* is also worn. The hair is grown long and falls over the shoulders, and the head is covered

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM24



291 either with a plain piece of stuff (*dismāl*) worn turban-like, or with a fringed head-cloth (*jibāl*) falling over the shoulders. The
302 Bedouins wear the same type of costume as the other members of their race, but of poorer material; they rarely wear sandals, and have their bodies bare above the waistband and below the knees.

The garments of the women are very similar to those of the men, and, excepting in small particulars, resemble the dress in other districts of Arabia. They ordinarily wear, not sandals, but boots of a yellow or red colour; they dress their hair in short tresses to the number of from 50 to 60, and married women, in addition, have a fringe over the forehead. The better classes go veiled, but the lower classes cover the head with a form of kerchief (*nuqbah*) which they can use as a veil to cover the forehead and mouth, if need be. Young girls do not cover the face.

## Industries and Agriculture

433 Of great industries there are naturally none in the Hadhramaut. A small amount of weaving is carried on in the houses, especially at Terīm, but the quantity is decreasing owing to the importation of stuffs from abroad. Formerly the cultivation and preparation of indigo for the dyeing of locally woven stuffs were carried on to a considerable extent, but that industry too has greatly declined except in the more remote districts of the interior. Boat-building, fishing, and the salting of fish are the occupations of many along the littoral. It has been remarked that the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut mountains become the most intrepid sailors; not only the Arabs of Shiheir and Makalla, but also those of the mountain regions show an innate disposition for navigation, even those who may never have seen a boat before.

241 For the most part the land in the settled centres is in the hands of the Seyyids or of other influential members of a tribe. The chief agricultural products are wheat, maize, millet, indigo, tobacco, sesame, dates, and coco-nuts, the latter grown only on the littoral. Cotton is cultivated here and there, but in insufficient quantities to supply the needs of the district; lucerne is much grown for fodder. A kind of tobacco, known as Humuni, is grown round Ghail Ba Wazīr and has a great local reputation. There are plantations of *ithl* (tamarisk) and *'elb*, two kinds of wood suitable for
[805] making utensils and for building purposes. The seasons are determined by the stars. Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither

7: Stutter-Raemaeken T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost. 342 531

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby. 341 531 177

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away. 342 353 177

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms. 361 565

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely. 565 292 561

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one 665 342

661 with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of
212 being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of
533 the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way
857 he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the
463 *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.*
221 Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā... ā... ā... ā!"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

● 292 The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

241 Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the
311 palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water
137 and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

114 Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf, i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

IT IS A CURIOSITY OF DU'AN THAT ALL WOMEN DRESS
291 alike in long black dresses with coloured patches inserted in front and orange
301 scarves over their heads. They are, too, the only women who affect nose rings similar to those usually worn on the fingers. Very few of them have ever left their valley, but many of them bemoaned the absence of husbands who frequently left them for years at a time.

The Seiyids lent her a magnificent white donkey to go on to Sif where we had stayed before, and the following day she was met by a friend and a car just before reaching Meshhed. Thence she rejoined me in Seiyun.

From Du'an Mr. Figgis and I flew across to 'Azzan over the upper reaches of the Wadi Hajr, which like the Wadi Maseila has perennial water nearly all its length. I had been to 'Azzan before, but this visit was very short, as the machine crashed on the landing-ground. It was a very artistic crash, and in Air Force parlance a complete write-off. Luckily none of the three of us in the machine were in the least hurt and the crash was far more alarming for Mr. Figgis and his pilot still up above, as it was some time before we found a comfortable way of climbing out of the ruins. I hope that in every crash I have I shall have as skilful a pilot as on that occasion. The crash was due to misguided zeal of the locals, for it was their own home-made landing-ground and they had raked up all the stones off the ground into a ridge along its edge, and it was this we hit as we landed. As ours was the machine with the wireless in it we swapped over into the other, which had landed safely, and flew back to Mukalla to organize assistance.

361 'Azzan is the capital of the Balhaf Sultan and is most picturesquely situated
609 on a citadel rock by the side of the wadi. I was given a great reception on my first visit there with the firing of rifles and war whooping, which is much more a feature of welcomes in the Western Aden Protectorate than in the Eastern. As we walked from the landing-ground to the village the Artillery, a fine old bronze gun marked "A. Wilson. Cossipore. 1841," was brought into play. Our path led below it and it was really rather alarming, because with each discharge a shower of burning shirts and other old clothes, which had been used as wadding, was fired over us.

411 'Azzan is the only place where I have seen spears surviving, though my wife
435 saw them in the Wadi 'Amd. One or two aged warriors came out with spears which they shook in martial fashion, threw into the air and caught again. Quite a number of old weapons survive in the Hadhramaut, for my wife also saw crossbows in the Wadi 'Amd and there are more of the old matchlocks in the country, some of them still in use, than in any other part of the Protectorate. The Hadhramaut seems to have turned over to modern weapons much more recently than the Western Protectorate, for most of the rifles, modern weapons, have wooden butts covered with goatskin fastened over them to take the recoil, a precaution far more necessary with matchlocks. It is worth recording perhaps that there is a heavy slump in the price of firearms. The ordinary Badawin rifle can be bought for as little as eight dollars with some ammunition thrown in, and the most modern rifles of continental manufacture, which eighteen months ago fetched an easy six hundred or more dollars when brought in from the Yemen, are now not bought at all and offers have been made of them for as little as fifty dollars.

619 The atmosphere of the Balhaf court is completely tribal; much more like
162

21. Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



With the

191 exception of the Mahra all these tribes speak Arabic and Arabic alone, and yet some are types
141 clearly distinguishable from the northern Arab, and indeed those I measured are all brachycephals. The very word "Arab" is used in the desert to denote "people" instead of having the particular racial connotation which we give to it. More than once I have been asked "From what Arabs are you?" by a native, who was conscious that I was of a different race from himself.

144 Whether these Arabic-speaking South Arabians are indigenous or come from elsewhere is a question for anthropologists. In this connection, the Preface to Wyman Bury's book *Land of Uz* is of interest. That Preface, written by Maj.-Gen. Maitland who was British Resident at Aden at the beginning of the present century, declares the writer's opinion as follows :—

> "The people of Arabia belong to two distinct and apparently quite different races. The common idea of the Arab type is tall bearded men with clean-cut, hawk-like faces. The Arabs of South Arabia are smaller, darker, coarser featured and nearly beardless. All authorities agree that the Southern Arabs are nearly related by origin to the Abyssinian. Yet strange to say it is the Egypto-African race who are the original and 'pure' Arabs, while the stately Semitic of the North is *Mustareb* . . . . one who is Arab by adoption and residence, rather than by descent."

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## DRESS AND DYE CUSTOMS.

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302 and impregnating their clothes is common to both sexes. It gives their faces a purple hue.
177 There is a local dye from a tree called *hunair*, but much of the indigo comes from India.

2 [Bait Kathir, Mahra, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai -- Analyst]

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 732 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Indigo is in common use throughout South-West Arabia as far as Aden, more especially amongst the settled elements. (In Oman I remember it only in the Bani Ali–Bani Kalban area where it is grown.) A black dye used in tattooing their gums is derived from the coconut. This is used down through the centre of the woman's hair parting, too. Anklets, affected by coastal women, are not found amongst these tribes, but many bracelets and necklaces (mostly beads) and ear-rings; the men often wear a single bangle above one elbow and a single ear-ring, generally in the right ear.

*Wars*, another vegetable product which stains a canary yellow, is not met with at all in the Dhufar area, probably it is too expensive. The Ja'alan and Hajar districts of Oman use it extensively, not elsewhere, except amongst women. But no ill is thought of a man amongst them who emerges with a patch on his shoulder or sleeve come by in an embrace with his wife, but for such to appear on an unmarried man would cause derision. In the western Hadhramaut where it is grown it is also not extensively used except amongst women. *Henna*, the only other dye, is common on festive occasions but generally limited to hands and feet. Red and green face paint, not permitted in Oman, is in everyday use in the Dhufar province.

Girls throughout these tribes wear a nose-ring in the right nostril. When approaching puberty the edge of their ears is pierced in six or seven places from which charms or rings depend. Women adorn their faces also with black paint: over eyebrows, round nostrils and a straight line to ears from [illegible] around edge of chin, black bands around throat, red lips, green brow. The Mahra ladies [illegible] cial occasions paint their faces red. With the greenish dye *subur* they smear their faces indiscriminately, also their arms from the elbow downward; their legs from the knee downward, and the upper part of the breasts to the neck. In the Hadhramaut a headband dyed with indigo woven around the head is affected instead of a *Mahafif* (a local variant of the *aqal*) (see my paper under reference).

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[1] The pursuit, immediately after the operation, of the circumcised youth by his sister does not now take place. The milking of animals from behind is nowhere practised.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-8 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



609 "No, we eat the same things that you do."

"Stay with us and we will dance for you to-night with clapping of hands" — and our merry questioner danced and clapped her hands to the great diversion of the other women.

"We would gladly stay, but we have no time; we must go further."

837 "No, stay here! We will give you a wife."

Here I could not help glancing critically round the circle of my anything but beautiful questioners. They read my thoughts.

"No, the young girls are with the flocks, but they come home towards nightfall."

● 301 However poor and primitive may be the life of a Bedouin
302 woman, she will go to great pains to make herself beautiful. She learns when quite young that she who wishes to be beautiful must suffer. At an early age, 8 to 10 fine round holes are pierced all the way round the rims of the ears and through these, later on, silver rings of the average size of a crown piece or small silver chains will be hung and the poor little ears dragged downwards. Then the nails of both hands and feet are coloured brown with *ḥinnā*[1], the tips of the fingers and toes are blackened, and the inside of the hand made brown. The face, the hands and forearms, and the legs and feet are coloured yellow with curry. The rims of the eyelids are smeared with *kuḥl*[2]; even the men do this, as it is said to make the eyes strong.

The women and girls paint their faces with all sorts of figures, and their necks, breasts and shoulders and the upper surface of the hands and feet with a network of lines, mostly with some blue or black dye, but also sometimes with red or

137 [1] *Ḥinnā* (حنّاء), *lawsonia inermis*, is a plant used for dyeing brown hands and feet. Cf. G. Schweinfurth, *op cit.*, p. 167, 181; E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1865.

[2] *Kuḥl* (كحل), antimony powder, which usually mixed with grease makes a cosmetic for the rims of the eyelids.

green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The hot air pe[illegible] the furthest and highest parts of the cave and does n[illegible] cool down much there. In the whole region of Ḥaḍramaut, after the broken mountainous strata of the coast, we saw no further trace of volcanism.

When our eyes had grown accustomed once more to the light and we had had a drink, we descended again into the wādī. The sun shone right into it and it was suffocatingly hot, nor could we escape from the heat until we reached Qabr Hūd, so we walked as fast as we could and in two hours arrived at the well at the beginning of the wādī. Our escort were unable to keep up with us, but two young Minhālī Bedouins, with the slender suppleness and strength of the ibex, offered their society and were entertaining companions. We were thoroughly exhausted by the time we got to the well, but they were absolutely fresh. They drew water for us and, afterwards, drank themselves but once. We drank the water — warm, but clear — again and again, and had it poured over our backs and chests, so getting a long needed bath. One of the two spoke Swahili; he had spent five years in Nairobi where he had had a shop and had saved 600 *riyāls*. Now he was the happy possessor of ten camels and a young wife. The other was still unable to marry, as the marriage portion here is from 150 to 200 *riyāls* and, for the moment, he had not this amount. He would like us to take him abroad, there to try his luck as his comrade had done. The Minhālīs wear necklaces of plaited leathern straps and red and white coral, and round their waists, under the cartridge-belt, I saw similar, very artistic bands. They are bare-headed, with a strap round their greasy hair, which is waved and worn half-length, and they wear small loin-cloths over which the cartridge-belt is buckled. Many of them have still muzzle-loading guns. It is obvious from their primitive appearance that the lands where they rove lie along the southern border of the Rubᶜ el-Khālī, the extreme northern limit of Ḥaḍramaut.

In the house in the ravine of Qabr Hūd it was also unbearably hot, the indoor temperature reaching from 40° to

tern bank of the wādī. The fields are bone-dry and trimly 241
cultivated, rain being expected this month. One substantial 312
downpour of rain or a good inundation caused by rain elsewhere is said to be enough for this loam soil, which holds water for so long. Great pains have been taken over the irrigation system; the dams, made of piled-up stones and plastered with an inner lining of mud, suffer much from the *sēls*. Groups of inquisitive people come running towards us out of the villages and ask all sorts of questions of our escort. A grey-headed village-chief turns to us with the inquiry how to put an end to the repeatedly recurring destruction of the stone dykes through the *sēl*. We answer that it would probably suffice if they were to use lime as cement for the boulders: the initial cost of this would be considerable, but it would be a great economy in the long run.

All the women of this district are veiled, even the poor 834
women working in the fields. When working in the sun they 291
wear straw hats with very wide brims. They are not so 301●
frightened of us as women were elsewhere and are quite ready for a chat or even to be photographed. The young girls, at the request of the men, climb like cats right up to the crowns of the palm-trees, to pick the ripe fruit from the bunches of dates. Their wide black garments hang untidily about them, the only pretty thing in their dress is the broad girdle ornamented with large and small silver buttons, which encircles the waist. An attempt to buy one of these fails, as the women are all too modest to think of selling a part of their clothing. Many 857
children run all over the place with little bows made of the rib of a palm-leaf, and sharp-pointed arrows of the same, with which they try to kill the few birds that alight on the ripening fruit. Occasionally, as we pass, some relative of one of our escort will present us with a handful of the first really ripe dates.

MARYAM, ENCOURAGED BY HER MOTHER, EVEN YIELD-
301 ed up to us her graceful girdle of copper wire with fine silver wire twisted round it, in return for good payment, as well as her necklace of oval silver beads. Having made a success of this transaction, Maryam at once made her way with a part of the proceeds to the goldsmith, living in a village hours away, to buy a new girdle and necklace!

361 We continued our way through the monotonous stony levels in the burning heat of the afternoon. In the distance we saw a few scattered hamlets belonging to the Dēyyin territory. These villages generally have a piece of cultivated land and a few trees, and the well-ploughed land lies waiting now for the rain, which will make sowing possible. The trees are burnt up, brownish-grey, dead as in a northern winter.

721 On our left we passed the ruins of el-Khamīs. Our sayyid told us that this had been the dwelling-place of a Ḥaḍramī, who had amassed a fortune in Java and, when he returned to his fatherland, had tried to conquer a kingdom. With the money he had made in Java he recruited soldiers, made raids into the fertile lands of Wādī Dōʿan and destroyed its gardens of date-palms. In place of buying him off with a piece of land, the Qeʿēṭī Sultan raised an army against him and even transported a few cannon to his village. The man, who was out for a kingdom, was not prepared for this development; he was taken prisoner, his village was razed to the ground and a heavy ransom was exacted from his wealthy family in Java. The family petitioned the Netherlands Government on behalf of the captive adventurer, basing their appeal on his Dutch nationality. It was then that the desirability of being accurately informed as to conditions in the land of origin of a considerable number of its subjects became evident to the Netherlands Government.

312 A little further on we came to the village of Khalīfet Bā Suwēde. There we made a halt to beg water for man and beast and to try to purchase some food for the animals. It appeared that there was not much water left in the *neqābas*, and doubtless this accounted for our none too friendly reception. There

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312 241 361

mineral content of the water seem to affect agriculture adversely. A striking example is seen about five miles north of Shihr where a series of springs depositing sulphur and gypsum have built an impressive mound, on which the village of Tabala stands. Their abundant and continued flow enables extensive irrigation by hand-dug canals and aqueducts and affords a means of livelihood for several hundred

[487 302]

FIG. 19—A caravan settling down for the night on the cold and stony Jol in the lengthening shadows of the setting sun. A caravan stops wherever night may overtake it and with little or no cover the Bedouins find a place to rest among the stones and shiver themselves to sleep. A coating of indigo stain with which the Bedouins not uncommonly paint themselves is said to be some defense against the night air.

people. The temperature of these springs on emergence is not far below boiling point, and they are reported to be the hottest on the coast.

At the small village of Harshiat, 3½ miles north of Mukalla, a few tepid sulphurous springs likewise are valuable for their yield. At the village of Gheil ba Wazir, on the inland road between Mukalla and Shihr, is an extensive gypsum flat and also a group of gypsum-depositing springs. Here a tobacco-raising community has sprung up. A part of the arable land is devoted to the growing of dates and millet and the remainder to tobacco, for which, owing to a quality unsurpassed in Southern Arabia, demand exceeds supply.

The small community of Husn Baquidran depends on a limited but constant supply of nongypsiferous sulphur water in the mountains of the Wadi Hajr, 30 miles from the coast. Irrigation is practiced on a small scale. The sites of Sidara and Mahamda, on the Wadi Hajr above Husn Baquidran, were determined by the presence of several groups of sulphur springs that are used for irrigation and consumption.

## VEGETATION

132 137 175

Today only the seaward fringe of the Dhufar Coast region, which during the pre-Islamic empires of the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and

As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000.

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambīyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870.

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamīs*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turban-wise round his head.

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This,

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302 Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.[1]

[771] The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan
754 cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under reference explained the details of Ra'aba Hamra spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the
755 imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the
752 spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work, however, and was followed by another next day. This, called Habil, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

754 These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally
755 for their flocks and herds. The ceasing of lactation is invariably ascribed to *Ain Balis*. The cure is frankincense. I witnessed the ceremony on occasion and made a cinema film of it, though it is usually performed at sunrise or at sunset. The incense burner was brought and wood introduced and lighted. The practitioner, the cow-owner, broke a fragment of frankincense about the size of a walnut into three pieces. Then spitting upon it three times he introduced it into the burner. While two other witnesses held the afflicted animal by head and leg respectively, he waved about its head the burning frankincense, chanting a set sacrificial chant.

782 For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

753 A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify
776 *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinns*, *jinnyat* and *Zars*. *Zars*[2] are the most accommodating, *jinns* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

782 The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the
556 deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

[1] Detailed descriptions will be found in my *Arabia Felix* (Jonathan Cape, 1932).

[2] A detailed description of the "Zar" cult as practised in Oman is given in my *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

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000 Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās had come to Makalla from Java some months previously, with the object of importing motor-cars and other commodities, through the intermediary of his family living there. He would have to visit the interior shortly, so what could be more obvious than that we should try to establish a community of interests, and join forces for the journey? Sayyid ʿAluwī was born in Java and had spent some years in Cairo for his education. He had seen something of England and France, and it looked as if he had grown out of touch with the stern frugal life of the land of his fathers. We have to thank him for the introduction to his relatives at Ḥurēḍa, from whom we had a support and sympathy exceeding our most sanguine expectations.

## 1. BAZAAR LIFE.

361 Well contented with the favourable prospects which were
142 opening out before us, we sauntered through the main street,
291 which runs like a human river along the sea front, the whole
● 302 length of the town from West to East. One sees representa-
tives of almost all the tribes of the interior gathered here in groups along the rows of booths. Most of them are dark-brown men, with the naked upper part of their bodies, as well as their faces and arms, smeared with indigo. They are bare-headed and barefoot and have only a short, but thickly rolled loin-cloth round their waists; their unkempt, half-long, jet-black, curly hair is tied up into a round knot at the back of the head, or held in place by a plaited leathern band or greased rag wound round the head. They have had to give up their inseparable guns and cartridge-belts to the watchman at the gates of the town and, consequently, feel unclothed and unsafe. Their hair shines with *samn* [1]; the upper part of their bodies is also rubbed with it, over the layer of indigo, and a strong odour of indigo and *samn* hangs about them.

000 On the way back from the tongue of land we pass the

104 [1] *Samn* (سمن) is melted butter of the milk of sheep, goats or cows.

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609 "No, we eat the same things that you do."

"Stay with us and we will dance for you to-night with clapping of hands" — and our merry questioner danced and clapped her hands to the great diversion of the other women.

"We would gladly stay, but we have no time; we must go further."

837 "No, stay here! We will give you a wife."

Here I could not help glancing critically round the circle of my anything but beautiful questioners. They read my thoughts.

"No, the young girls are with the flocks, but they come home towards nightfall."

301 However poor and primitive may be the life of a Bedouin
302 woman, she will go to great pains to make herself beautiful. She learns when quite young that she who wishes to be beautiful must suffer. At an early age, 8 to 10 fine round holes are pierced all the way round the rims of the ears and through these, later on, silver rings of the average size of a crown piece or small silver chains will be hung and the poor little ears dragged downwards. Then the nails of both hands and feet are coloured brown with *ḥinnā*[1], the tips of the fingers and toes are blackened, and the inside of the hand made brown. The face, the hands and forearms, and the legs and feet are coloured yellow with curry. The rims of the eyelids are smeared with *kuḥl*[2]; even the men do this, as it is said to make the eyes strong.

The women and girls paint their faces with all sorts of figures, and their necks, breasts and shoulders and the upper surface of the hands and feet with a network of lines, mostly with some blue or black dye, but also sometimes with red or

137 [1] *Ḥinnā'* (حنّاء), *lawsonia inermis*, is a plant used for dyeing brown hands and feet. Cf. G. Schweinfurth, *op cit.*, p. 167, 181; E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1865.

[2] *Kuḥl* (كحل), antimony powder, which usually mixed with grease makes a cosmetic for the rims of the eyelids.

green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

with amusement while his younger guests relate how, every year, he marries the prettiest girl to be found in Ḥurēḍa. We perfume ourselves with incense, the host doing so the most thoroughly of us all. He keeps the smoking censer under the wide folds of his garment. The tea with dishes of a confection of ginger is served. Sindbad, with his crafty face framed in a white beard, the extreme points of which are dyed orange with *ḥinnā*ᵓ, tells about his travels. The youthful audience feasts upon the witty tales of this enjoyer of life — a vanishing figure of the typical sayyid society of Ḥaḍramaut.

We exchange keepsakes with Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās in lasting remembrance of our visit to Ḥurēḍa. The lavish, kind welcome given us and the friendly feeling shown us here have smoothed the way for us through Ḥaḍramaut.

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The hot air penetrates to the furthest and highest parts of the 778
cave and does not cool down much there. In the whole region of Ḥaḍramaut, after the broken mountainous strata of the coast, we saw no further trace of volcanism.

When our eyes had grown accustomed once more to the 000
light and we had had a drink, we descended again into the wādī. The sun shone right into it and it was suffocatingly hot, nor could we escape from the heat until we reached Qabr Hūd, so we walked as fast as we could and in two hours arrived at the well at the beginning of the wādī. Our escort were unable to keep up with us, but two young Minhālī Bedouins, with the slender suppleness and strength of the ibex, offered their society and were entertaining companions. We were thoroughly exhausted by the time we got to the well, but they were absolutely fresh. They drew water for us and, afterwards, drank themselves but once. We drank the water — warm, but clear — again and again, and had it poured over our backs and chests, so getting a long needed bath. One of the two spoke Swahili; he had spent five years in Nairobi where he had had a shop and had saved 600 *riyāls*. Now he was the happy possessor of ten camels and a young 583
wife. The other was still unable to marry, as the marriage 291
portion here is from 150 to 200 *riyāls* and, for the moment, 301
he had not this amount. He would like us to take him abroad, 302
there to try his luck as his comrade had done. The Minhālīs wear necklaces of plaited leathern straps and red and white coral, and round their waists, under the cartridge-belt, I saw similar, very artistic bands. They are bare-headed, with a strap round their greasy hair, which is waved and worn half-length, and they wear small loin-cloths over which the cartridge-belt is buckled. Many of them have still muzzle-loading guns. It is obvious from their primitive appearance that the lands where they rove lie along the southern border of the Rubᶜ el-Khālī, the extreme northern limit of Ḥaḍramaut.

In the house in the ravine of Qabr Hūd it was also un- 000
bearably hot, the indoor temperature reaching from 40° to

rock, in shape like a toadstool, and the whole caravan could find protection in its shade. The river was not far away and green bushes from which the camels might feed grew along its banks.

Our supply of dates and biscuits was beginning to run short. Our Bedouin companions were very frugal eaters: they had two meals a day, one during the afternoon rest and one at the night bivouac, when they baked a few underdone bread-cakes with a yellow flour of some sort. The taste of these was none too attractive and, what was worse, they lay heavy on the chest like an indigestible stone. Von Wissmann had always drunk the milk of our she-camel in the evening, but I had refused the drink, which had the penetrating odour of the animal's sweat. We were getting underfed and overexhausted. The inner tension and self-control demanded for the long negotiations and conversations at ʿAmd, in the Deyyin country, at Yebʿeth and Ṣidāra were beginning to take their revenge on my digestion. But we were obliged to go on and that day we marched till half past six in the evening and spent the night on a little plateau of rock among the granite mountains. During the day the Bedouins collect branches and dry shrubs and parched-up plants for the evening fire, on whose ashes they bake their bread and over which we make our tea. It is the best hour of the day; it brings us all together in a mood of good fellowship and of thankfulness for the completion of the day's hot and tiring journey. It was also the moment when our Bedouins smeared themselves carefully — arms, breast and neck — with *samn*. Their hair also was kept well greased. It struck us that the skin of our bodies, which perspired continuously and were seldom washed, felt stiff and grainy from the salt of evaporated perspiration. The Bedouins get rid of this unpleasant feeling by rubbing themselves with grease; moreover, the practice makes their skin more resistant against the sun's heat and the sudden coldness of the air in the evening. They told us that the skin became so pleasantly "moist" from the grease.

H ances in kind—perhaps corn or an annual
701 gift of cloth—though their pay is more often
714 than not in arrears. The soldiers wear no
● 302 uniform apart from the indigo-dyed *futahs*
713 (kilts) and turban and a coating of indigo over
702 the body which is supposed to keep out the cold, but their rifles are supplied by the Sultans and so many rounds of ammunition per annum. They have no military training except where partially controlled by Aden.

Y The same system obtains in the independent Arab state of the Yemen, except that, instead
634 of petty Sultans, there are governors of
643 districts owing allegiance, at least in theory, to the Imam. Taxation in the Yemen is perhaps
651 more irksome on the peasant than in the Aden
433 Protectorate and a 10 per cent tax is exacted
461 from every Yemeni bringing back money to his native village. In the interior of this part
178 of Arabia enterprise is only too often stamped out by the Sultans who crush all attempts at betterment, or new concerns, by uneconomic taxation. It is to this that we must attribute the decay of trade and agriculture in Arab countries such as Palestine and Iraq and not to lack of initiative on the part of the Arab himself. One has only to see the great terrace systems of the Yemen to be assured of the potentiality of Arab enterprise.

Y Most towns of any size have a market on a fixed day of the week, often a Thursday (*Suq*
438 *al-Khamis*), when those who wish to buy or sell
439 flock to the little town. The country people bring grain, fruit and vegetables, sheep, goats
366 and cattle, and the beautiful woollen carpet-
[651] strips woven by the women. The Sultan usually has a market tax of 10 per cent on sales. Here the countryman can buy Japanese enamel-ware, German lamps, Turkish or Indian matches, kerosene, old beer bottles from the messes in Aden, etc. Cotton futahs from Japan, or the fine Javanese sarongs which may have been imported as early as A.D. 1500 are displayed along with local weaves. It is a curious thing that these Japanese futahs are made in a number of different patterns, of which certain kinds seem to be preferred by individual tribes, though there seems to be no fixed rule.

Y From the East Indies come tea and the
439 spices, ginger and cardamom. Tea is the more honourable drink, though coffee-husk ground and infused with ginger is drunk the
●●● more commonly. The peasant can buy the

[Text continued on p. 70 (B)]

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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a monotonous chant. The dance is usually executed by two persons, each dancing by himself, who, while turning all the time, alternately approach and withdraw from the orchestra, but always keep at the same distance from each other; when the first two are exhausted their places are taken by two others, and so on for many hours at a stretch.

The status of women in the Hadhramaut appears to be superior to that in many Mussulman countries. The wife lives in the same part of the house as her husband, but she receives her visitors in her own rooms. Divorce is very rare, the repudiation of a wife without very good cause being held in high contempt; if an individual did so repudiate his wife he would certainly fail to obtain another wife of the same social scale. Polygamy is very uncommon; there are no eunuchs; in the event of the husband taking another wife, the first quits his roof immediately and returns to her parents. Amongst the Bedouins of the Hadhramaut polygamy is absolutely unknown. If a man definitively leaves his town to seek his fortune elsewhere, the wife may, and usually does, refuse to follow him. In this contingency it is considered legitimate for him to take another wife, and he is not expected to continue to support the first.

The marriage dowry is of a double character; there is, first of all, a legal tariff varying from 20 to 2½ florins according to the social status of the fiancée; and secondly, there is the nuptial gift, the amount of which varies according to her personal qualities: the first may be reclaimed in the case of a dissolution of marriage, the latter not.

In the Hadhramaut the poor and the rich dress much alike, the quality of the material, the jewels worn, and the arms carried being the only indications of status. The clothes worn by the townsmen resemble, in many respects, those of most orientals. Sandals with thin shoes, but no stockings, are worn; when out of doors a kind of plaid (*rādi*), made locally, about seven yards long and a little short of a yard wide, is invariably carried or thrown over the shoulders. The head is shaven.

The garments of the tribesmen are similar in the main to those of the townsmen, except that they are shorter, are worn somewhat differently, and the material is usually woven in diamond 'check'; the *jubbah*, or robe, is replaced by a shorter buttoned jacket; and the tribesmen carry their arms, a straight sword, a two-edged poniard, &c. The *rādi* is also worn. The hair is grown long and falls over the shoulders, and the head is covered

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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291 either with a plain piece of stuff (*dismāl*) worn turban-like, or with a fringed head-cloth (*jibāl*) falling over the shoulders. The
• 302 Bedouins wear the same type of costume as the other members of their race, but of poorer material; they rarely wear sandals, and have their bodies bare above the waistband and below the knees.

The garments of the women are very similar to those of the men, and, excepting in small particulars, resemble the dress in other districts of Arabia. They ordinarily wear, not sandals, but boots of a yellow or red colour; they dress their hair in short tresses to the number of from 50 to 60, and married women, in addition, have a fringe over the forehead. The better classes go veiled, but the lower classes cover the head with a form of kerchief (*nuqbah*) which they can use as a veil to cover the forehead and mouth, if need be. Young girls do not cover the face.

## Industries and Agriculture

433 Of great industries there are naturally none in the Hadhramaut. A small amount of weaving is carried on in the houses, especially at Terīm, but the quantity is decreasing owing to the importation of stuffs from abroad. Formerly the cultivation and preparation of indigo for the dyeing of locally woven stuffs were carried on to a considerable extent, but that industry too has greatly declined except in the more remote districts of the interior. Boat-building, fishing, and the salting of fish are the occupations of many along the littoral. It has been remarked that the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut mountains become the most intrepid sailors; not only the Arabs of Shiheir and Makalla, but also those of the mountain regions show an innate disposition for navigation, even those who may never have seen a boat before.

241 For the most part the land in the settled centres is in the hands of the Seyyids or of other influential members of a tribe. The chief agricultural products are wheat, maize, millet, indigo, tobacco, sesame, dates, and coco-nuts, the latter grown only on the littoral. Cotton is cultivated here and there, but in insufficient quantities to supply the needs of the district; lucerne is much grown for fodder. A kind of tobacco, known as Humuni, is grown round Ghail Ba Wazīr and has a great local reputation. There are plantations of *ithl* (tamarisk) and *'elb*, two kinds of wood suitable for
[80F] making utensils and for building purposes. The seasons are determined by the stars. Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither

As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000.

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa,* black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambīyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870.

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamīs,* a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafīyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl,* and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafīyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turban-wise round his head.

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This,

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Indigo is in common use throughout South-West Arabia as far as Aden, more especially amongst the settled elements. (In Oman I remember it only in the Bani Ali–Bani Kalban area where it is grown.) A black dye used in tattooing their gums is derived from the coconut. This is used down through the centre of the woman's hair parting, too. Anklets, affected by coastal women, are not found amongst these tribes, but many bracelets and necklaces (mostly beads) and ear-rings; the men often wear a single bangle above one elbow and a single ear-ring, generally in the right ear. 301 302 171

*Wars*, another vegetable product which stains a canary yellow, is not met with at all in the Dhufar area, probably it is too expensive. The Ja'alan and Hajar districts of Oman use it extensively, not elsewhere, except amongst women. But no ill is thought of a man amongst them who emerges with a patch on his shoulder or sleeve come by in an intimacy with his wife, but for such to appear on an unmarried man would cause derision. In the western Hadhramaut where it is grown it is also not extensively used except amongst women. *Henna*, the only other dye, is common on festive occasions but generally limited to hands and feet. Red and green face paint, not permitted in Oman, is in everyday use in the Dhufar province.

Girls throughout these tribes wear a nose-ring in the right nostril. When approaching puberty the edge of their ears is pierced in six or seven places from which charms or rings depend. Women adorn their faces also with black paint: over eyebrows, round nostrils and a straight line to ears from nostrils, around edge of chin, black bands around throat, red lips, green brow. The Mahra ladies also on special occasions paint their faces red. With the greenish dye *subur* they smear their faces indiscriminately, also their arms from the elbow downward; their legs from the knee downward, and the upper part of the breasts to the neck. In the Hadhramaut a headband dyed with indigo woven around the head is affected instead of a *Mahafif* (a local variant of the *aqal*) (see my paper under reference). 281 301 302

## CIRCUMCISION AND HAIR CUSTOMS.

Circumcision and hair customs have been dealt with exhaustively in my previous paper, but one or two corrections in detail need stating.[1] The scalping system of *munzerot* usually synchronizes with the first third of the month of married life, the shaving of the boy's lock with circumcision. The Mahra were said to have at one time carried on male circumcision on the night before marriage. Great festivities accompany male circumcision still, in contrast to the private untalked-of female circumcisions. For the former some eight or ten of the most presentable females in the neighbourhood line up. The men select who is the most beautiful amongst them—the other ladies protesting No! No! No! No! With the Qara the festivities of male circumcision are attended by women opening their garments to disclose the upper parts of their breasts. Camp fires are the centre of dancing and merry-making by both sexes. 304 852

[1] The pursuit, immediately after the operation, of the circumcised youth by his sister does not now take place. The milking of animals from behind is nowhere practised.

462 roaming far afield in search of water and pasture. They work in the fields, milk the animals (with the exception, in some cases, of camels), gather the firewood, and fetch the water. They are not [562] so careful to keep themselves veiled, finding it sufficient to draw their head cloths in front of their mouths. If she belongs to a nomadic tribe a woman will follow her husband in his search for grazing, carrying the household utensils, usually one large saucepan, on her head and the baby on her back. Only very occasionally do the women emigrate with their husbands, but we travelled with such a family on the start of their journey to Zanzibar to seek a fortune.

562 The remaining women are those of the poor townspeople, the 462 female servants, slaves, or Subians. The last two are least particular about veiling. The others, no matter how poor, will always cover at least the lower part of their faces. Toil is the portion of all of them: they labour in the gardens, help the men and animals to draw water from the wells, and in many towns they are the [482] principal water carriers, bearing their burden in skins slung across their backs. The servants and slave women in well-to-do houses lead an easier existence. They cook the food, do such cleaning as is ever done, and fetch and carry for the ladies of the household. Slaves may be taken as concubines, but find their husbands among their own class. They are much favoured, being brought up as members of the family, and, like many privileged retainers, usually become somewhat outspoken and domineering in their old age.

## CHAPTER VII.

### PRODUCTION AND RESOURCES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

311 The natural resources of the Hadhramaut, such as they are, are principally agricultural. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize that only a very small proportion of the total area of the country, [131] which may amount to 35,000 or 40,000 square miles, is suitable for the growing of crops. As a general rule only wadis can be so used and the bulk of the land surface consists of the barren rock of mountains and steppes.

#### Tobacco.

249 The principal crop of economic importance is the well-known 438 Hamumi tobacco, and Gheil ba Wazir is the principal centre where it is grown. Practically speaking the production in that place is 655 entirely Government-directed and all the land is State land.

The nurseries are situated about three miles from Gheil at Al 312 Quf. Here there is an apparently inexhaustible, somewhat brackish, water supply at depths to about 30 feet from the surface. There are three deep pools which are tapped by subterranean channels for Gheil and Al Harth, the source of the Gheil water supply being called Humat al Farath, and that for Al Harth being called Humat al Harth. Along the line of channels from these pools there are

Guano, brought from the small islands of Sikka or Jibus and Jazirat 241
Bureika near Bir 'Ali west of Mukalla, is used when obtainable, but it is expensive. In the heavily-wooded parts of the Wadi Maseila the bush is burnt when cut. This provides a potash dressing the value of which is appreciated by the cultivators.

*Terrace cultivation.*—" The villages had very little cultivable soil 311
and in many cases the small terraces had been made by bringing 241
soil from a distance and then built up with rubble revetments, the area varying from 5 square yards to ¼ acre. These terraces were always built on the sides of the hills to avoid destruction by floods, and the houses generally on a higher level." Of the Meifa valley, Mr. Heald says that the cultivated terrace areas which were in bulge-like shape along the stream were irrigated by taking the small canals off from the rivers or springs at varying heights and bringing them down at great distances to the terraces. Although all the terraces I saw were generally above flood-level, there are none built high up the Wadi walls.

*Irrigation.*—Land is irrigated from springs, wells, or rivers. 241
When wells and rivers are used, cattle, or camels, or donkeys, or 312
men and women, or a combined team, pull up one or two leathern buckets attached to a rope running on a wooden pulley. The water then flows down a mortar or mud channel and is finally distributed to the land by small canals. The quantity delivered from a well by this method does not exceed 500 gallons an hour. When the land is irrigated from springs, the water is conducted by channels to the various terraces. In order to supply all the various levels, these small canals take off at great distances and there is consequently considerable loss by percolation and evaporation before the water reaches the land.

Occasionally hollowed-out halves of date palms are used as water channels for crossing hollows, and the cultivators of the Wadi Maseila display considerable ingenuity in bringing the water from the river to the land they are working. The river is usually at some distance from the foot of the steep bank above which the land is cultivated. Channels are dug from the river and a deep hole made at the foot of the bank. A scaffolding is erected over the hole to carry the usual well machinery, and a mud aqueduct supported by tree trunks and branches carries the water on to the higher level ground where it is distributed by canals in the usual way. A sloping walk of timber covered with earth is also provided for the team of animals and humans. Dams to raise the level of the water, and made principally of brushwood, are a common feature of the Wadi Maseila. In other places we saw a number of stone dams.

In most villages irrigated from springs the water is shut off 312
at sunset, and the spring fills a cistern made from stone and mortar designed to hold the spring water running during the night. The springs naturally vary in volume, but Mr. Heald states that they generally range about 5,000 gallons an hour. Of Meifa he states,

[654] Mr. H. M. Heald, the agriculturist, visited Asfal Al 'Ain, the
311 Sultan's estate at Fuwa, and the Wadi Meifa. As regards Asfal
241 Al 'Ain, he reported that the whole country along the Wadis through which he travelled consisted of hills and wastes, and from an agricultural point of view was very disappointing. In this rocky region, land is scarce. In a few small hamlets, terraces have been made with soil collected in the wadis, and a few acres of these are cultivated, producing millets, sweet potatoes, dates, and tobacco on a poor scale. These terraces are irrigated from springs and wells, but the latter give very little water. No definite seasons are followed for sowing and harvesting of crops. In one village Mr. Heald saw a crop in three stages of growth, viz., newly-sown, half-grown, and harvested. The soil is generally a light shallow loam of alluvial nature, devoid of humus, and, cultivated as it is by the most primitive methods, is becoming more impoverished year by year. Very little manuring is done owing to the cost of transporting fish and the scarcity of dung.

At Fuwa he saw 250 acres of millet and tobacco cultivated by the Sultan's slaves. Owing to the poor soil and bad cultivation, the produce was but small and none of it marketed. The villages along the coast to the entrance of the valley near Ras Al Kalb are similar to those in Asfal Al 'Ain district, but the cultivation is poorer.

Mr. Heald estimated the total area of the soil in Sidara, cultivated and capable of being brought under cultivation, at about 14,000 acres, of which considerably more than one half consists of swampy or salty land at the mouth of the river at Hali. The total area of all the land fit for cultivation in the country he saw, he estimated at under 20,000 acres.

[312] Owing to insufficiency of water for irrigation purposes, Heald considered it would be difficult to reclaim any large area of land at the mouth of the river at Hali, as most of this land is either swampy or bad salty soil due to the river changing its mouth frequently after heavy rains coming down the valley from the interior. The water is also very salty. Another obstacle to developing this area, and, at present a very big one, is the unhealthy climate and the impure drinking water.

000 Mr. Heald concludes:

> "As regards settlers, it would, on account of the scarcity of land and the unhealthy climate at Meifa, be quite wrong to try and induce people to emigrate from India on a large scale, but a few could be settled at Fuwa and higher up the valley at Jol and Giswal. The present inhabitants, the Sybians, who are acclimatized, could then be sent to the mouth. As, however, this would only affect a very few thousands of acres, perhaps the expense would not be worth the trouble, and the

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqīl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 619 Bin Yamāni and their slaves ... | — | Qasm | 50 | 'Ali bin Ahmed bin Imani. |
| 631 101 Āl Sa'id, Bin 'Uthmān, and Āl Dahnān. | — | Al Khōn | 50 | 'Umar bin 'Awadh bin Sa'id. |
| Āl Qafla, Āl Barakeiz, Āl Heithwa, and Āl Nuheid. | — | As Sōm | 50 | Kharīf |
| Āl as Sa'd ... ... ... | — | 'Asum | 45 | 'Isa |
| Samāh al 'Usba ... ... | — | Al 'Usba | 15 | 'Aidha bin 'Atūfa. |
| Beit Bal Hateish ... ... | — | Fughma | 35 | — |
| Āl Bin Kōb ... ... ... | — | Sha'b Hud | 15 | 'Awadh bin al 'Ahīdī. |
| Bin Marsaf ... ... ... | Al Fahd | — | 120 | — |
| Ash Sheiban ... ... ... | 5 sections | — | — | — |
| | | | 847 | |

The Tamimi are a part nomad, part settled tribe, living in the main wadi from the neighbourhood of Tarim to beyond Qasm. They have been allied to the Qu'aiti, with whom they have an "A 7 agreement, for a long time, and have had a long-standing feud with the 'Awāmir and Kathīris which was terminated by the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The Kathīri Sultans have no jurisdiction over them but it is said that the Tamimis are allied to them for purposes [628] of defence. Disputes between the Tarim Government and the Tamimis are settled by negotiation or Qu'aiti interference.

167 The Tamimis emigrate to Java and the East African Coast, but they are a poor tribe. They grow wheat, lucern, vegetables, jowari, ● 311 and other crops, on well irrigation. A large amount of land in the 369 Tamimi territory is the property of the rich townsmen of Tarim 438 and Dammūn which the Bin Silma cultivate, and they are generally safe and honest. At harvest time, however, Beduins come from across the northern hills, which are quite close to the cultivation here, settle in the groves, and do a certain amount of damage. Like most wadi dwellers from Tarim eastwards the Tamimis obtain their supplies from Shihr rather than Seihut, though Seihut sends regular caravans as far as 'Einat.

619 The Bin Qasīr clan is sometimes considered as divided into four sections, the Āl Kibl, Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar, Bin Dahdūh, and 631 Beit Bal Hateish. The Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed 101 clan is sometimes called a section of the Ash Sheiban clan; the latter is said to be divided into five sections. The Bin Silma is said to be the strongest clan and is stated to have four sections.

619 The *mansabs* of the Tamimi are 'Umar bin Zein Āl 'Abdulla bin 622 ash Sheikh for the Āl Yamāni, Hasan bin 'Alawi al 'Aqīl, Ahmed bin 'Aqīl, Āl Matabar, Tahir bin Bubekr Āl Tahir for the Balheij, and 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shibab for the Bin Silma.

7 [See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

## Nature of the People and Country

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

7: Stuzler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently 679
killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not 131
more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. 186
Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through 114
or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, 177
and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to 773
Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaveth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became [101]
"Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along 131
a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and 133
deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, 133
one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent 311
moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is [504]
Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

133 a second miracle happens. There is a cleft in the great basalt plateau and
311 a beautiful green valley opens abruptly in the flat tableland—a valley running from east to west, joining the sea some 150 miles further on. This is a fertile valley with gardens and palm groves, millet fields and white palaces. An underground river continually provides water for the wells and the little irrigation channels. There are crops up to three times per year. In this lovely setting very civilized and well-dressed townsfolk live in large mud-built towns on the valley cliff sides. Recently they have laid aside their arms and ceased their blood feuds and tribal wars which raged from town to town, from tribe to tribe, from family to family. With the aid of the British adviser they have established law and order and made their foreign trade, which is their livelihood, flourish unhindered.

172 When we go back into history to find out where this miracle has sprung
341 from, we discover that there were the old Sabean and Hymyaritic civilizations of 1,000 or 2,000 years B.C., of which Mr. Ingrams spoke. Perhaps it started with the Minean Empire, on the eastern border of Yemen, and its capital, Ma'in. Later came the Sabeans with their capital a little south, at Marib; followed by the Katabaneans, whose centre, Timna, was at the south-eastern corner of the great desert. And lastly, perhaps, the Hadhramis, whose early capital may have been the much disputed Shabwa. These people built in stone, and their buildings were several storeys high and of very fine dry masonry. Many are the ruins covering the western territory between Aden and Hadhramaut and to the north in Yemen. But also in Hadhramaut itself, further east, there are vestiges of towns and temples, in the main valley and the side valleys; great plans of garrison cities, and remains of castle and palace walls in beautifully executed stonework, all erected perhaps some 2,000 years ago.

341 With such a tradition it is not surprising that something is still found
333 in the present day, and although the Hadhramis have not continued the stone masonry and have turned mainly to sun-dried mud bricks, their achievements are of remarkable interest.

101 Reviewing the various groups of the population, there are the bedouin
342 who still live by camel transport, the sand bedouin of the desert who live in simple black camelhair tents, and the bedouin mountain tribesmen who live on the arid plateaux. The latter are rugged and tough, like the country round them. Their life is hard; it is scorching hot without any shade in the day, bitterly cold at night at 6,000 feet. They still build their low windowless huts with brushwood roofs with the stones of the plateaux in dry walling. They carry on in their primitive way the stone tradition which has been lost elsewhere in the eastern area.

361 The next class of inhabitants we meet are the remote valley bedouin,
311 who live in rather better circumstances. They do have a little grazing, cultivate a little land where they grow millet called dharrah and a sort of
342 little cucumber-tomato called faguwa. They live in the earthen beds of long-dried-up rivers that have a flood from the hills about once a year. They have grown lazy like everyone else, and they build their little castles
342 of mud bricks with a base of rough stones from the river-bed. A passage down the centre leads from the entrance door with almost windowless rooms for storage either side to a stair leading to a sheltered roof terrace.

7: Sturler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk. 342

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm. 361

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anis go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices. 311 312 511 262 439 291

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space. 342 361 531

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut. 361 342

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on [941]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Audhalis, 'Aulaqis, and Beihanis are too far away, and it is doubtful if any federation with them could be very real. The Yafa'is, though they are excellent outside their own mountains, are at present a very difficult problem from the point of view of good order and government in them. I had almost forgotten the 'Aqrabis, but as that kingdom consists in effect of only one village on the borders of Aden and Lahej they hardly constitute a problem. But it is possible that some day steps towards the federation of the protectorate by areas may come to pass.

If, however, the political outlook is not very promising, experience of recent years has shown that in potential agricultural resources the Western Protectorate is far better off than the Eastern. It is true that its total area is not much more than half that of the Eastern and that by far the greater proportion of it is barren mountains or arid desert, but none the less the cultivable acreage is greater than that of the Eastern and the people are on the whole better agriculturists. There are fewer beduin, and the tribesmen, unlike those of the Eastern Protectorate, are many of them tillers of the land on which they live, rather than employers or financiers of a peasant class with the idea that manual work is unbecoming to dignity. On the coastal area there are large and useful oases at Lahej, Abyan—by far the biggest—and Ahwar. These oases are sure of regular spates from the Yemen highlands behind, and can grow useful crops of grain, principally millet, and vegetables and fruits of the coarser tropical kinds. There are good patches of soil in the Dhala and Yafa'i mountains, and the latter grow the best coffee in Arabia, but at Mukeiras in Audhali country there is a really important fertile area at over 7,000 feet where temperate crops are grown and which is now producing in fair abundance European vegetables and fruits of excellent quality which include potatoes, tomatoes, lettuces and so on, apples, peaches, plums, and apricots. The main difficulty in disposing of these good things, for which a ready market exists in Aden for local consumption and for shipping, is communication and transport. The Audhali plateau is over a hundred miles from Aden and is cut off from the maritime plain and the foothills by a 4,000-foot, almost perpendicular bluff, the picturesque Kaur al Audilla. So road-making is difficult and expensive, and the bad tracks play havoc with the lorries used for transporting the produce to Aden from the foot of the bluff, down which it is transported on animals. If ever the Yemen is developed agriculturally it will have great advantages over Audhali country, for roads can be better made. The main agricultural produce that now comes by caravan and lorry from the Yemen is the highly perishable and iniquitous qat, and the qat traffic is probably centuries old. Better communication and better agriculture in the Yemen would therefore make it difficult for the Audhali country to be economically worth while. Beyond the Audhalis and descending towards the heat of the desert is Beihan country, which drains to the Rub'al Khali. Having high mountains behind it, it is reasonably watered, and millet cultivation is being extended there.

The present tendency in the improvement of conditions in the Western Aden Protectorate is to select an area where conditions are favourable and send a political officer to assist the chief to establish control over his people,

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



behind it, and not the high mountains of the Yemen. Its height above the sea-level nowhere exceeds 6,000 feet and is generally not more than 3,500. It has therefore no regular rainfall. 133

Then, as regards treaties, while the W.A.P. has a total of about thirty-five chiefs in direct relation with His Majesty's Government, the E.A.P. has only seven, of which one, the Kathiri, is comparatively recent. The reason is that in the E.A.P. all that was required was to keep foreign powers off the coast. All the six original treaties with E.A.P. rulers were with coastal chiefs. Starting from the west, 'Irqa and Haura are only small villages. The two Wahidi Sultans come next, then the Qu'aiti, the largest of them all, whose state to-day covers some 50,000 square miles, and then the Mahra, which includes Socotra Island. While the W.A.P. is historically part of the Yemen, and has now a new and natural capital in Aden which supplies it with all its requirements, the E.A.P. is historically and geographically detached and has a local commercial capital in Mukalla, but looks to India, Singapore, and Java for its cultural and social contacts. 648

The Hadhramaut is historically and geographically a country in itself, and consists of the Wahidi Sultanates, with the two little Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, which are really ports in the country of the Dhiyeibi tribe, who are a Wahidi tribe, and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. I propose not to say anything more of the Mahra country because as yet little is known about it, though in the last year or two more has been learnt of Socotra. 101

You will have gathered, I think, that, owing to its desert nature and lack of rainfall, the prospects of the development of agriculture in the Hadhramaut are not very promising, and as the various explorations that have taken place to date have not discovered any mineral resources, it does not look as though the economic future is very bright. The best agricultural areas are Gheil Ba Wazir, on the coast, where Hamumi tobacco is very successfully grown, and this brings in a revenue of about Rs. 200,000 a year to the state, and Meifa, in which conditions have been considerably improved in the last few years and where some further development is possible. It was hoped that the alluvial silt of the Wadi Hadhramaut would prove a fertile area for wide development if water could be found, but experiment has shown that it is largely brackish and, bearing in mind the desert surroundings, it is probable that any further supplies of water which boring might discover would not be sufficient to wash out the salt. It is unfortunate, too, that the bulk of the population, the seiyids and tribesmen, do not take to working on the land themselves, as do the tribesmen of the W.A.P., but rely on dhafa, a class of poor townsmen who are almost in the position of serfs. These dhafa lived by building the palaces of the rich and working their wells, but the fall of Singapore and Java cut off the supplies of money from the Far East so that the rich could no longer maintain them. The beduin had lived by carrying supplies from the coast to the interior, but with the falling off of imports they too suffered. On top of this catastrophe there was a seven-year drought from 1937 to 1944, which meant the loss of crops, flocks, and 50 per cent. of the working camels, so that between the difficulties of 241 311 565 463 731

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



taken place here, and there are still many slaves for 144
agricultural work.

The old blind governor, Bā Surra, received us in his 609
castle with oriental hospitality. The only thing we had to complain of in our lodgings was that there were too many interested in us! Our animals for mountain transport had to be exchanged here for others which were accustomed to traveling in the hot sand of the level *wādīs*.

On the 17th of May we resumed our journey, after having been entertained first in the summer residence of the vizier of Makalla, where his son acted as host. As 361
the evening shadows fell we reached Sēf, a miserable and squalid village where nearly a century ago von Wrede was recognized as a Christian, and barely escaped a miserable death. We also had unpleasant experiences at Sēf. Long before Sēf the *wādī* had lost its splendid 311
datepalm cultivation, and had become a broad valley of 137
sand and stones, with here and there some lotus trees (*nibq*). After the excellent reception we had had at 609
Dō'an, Sēf was a grievous disappointment. The governor was supposed to be away, but it appeared later that because of his embarrassment and poverty he had sought an excuse to be relieved of the duty of conferring hospitality upon us. In a very primitive manner we were installed upon the roof of a stable by the governor's soldiers, who took his place as our hosts. We were not left alone for a moment, for interested visitors were continually jostling one another on our roof. We had to secure fresh donkeys at Sēf, and the troublesome negotiations about this began that evening.

The next day the governor appeared, but he seemed to have absolutely no influence. We had to wait for hours before the necessary donkeys and camels were brought. A large escort of soldiers eager for *baksheesh* wished to accompany us, but I vigorously opposed this, and succeeded in reducing their number to two. Much too late, weary of all the negotiations and disgusted with the obvious opposition and antipathy of everybody here

133 maut, and not with their beheaded remnants north of the subsidiary watershed, then the similarity becomes obvious. As would be expected from this theory, the south-flowing tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut have heads even deeper than those on the main watershed. Given a short eastward displacement in the courses of the original rivers, then it is possible that the Du'an and 'Amd drainages originally fed into the Hizar and Jinab respectively.

The completion of the present phase of river capture occurred when the headwaters of the Hadhramaut cut right back and out of the western edge of the *jol*, and formed the unusual and almost unique feature of the wide upper reaches in a line from Husn al 'Abr to Shabwa. The headwaters cut back rapidly across the plain which had been formed by the wadis 'Arma, Jirdan, Baihan, etc., and carried all the waters from them down to the Maseilah and the Gulf of Aden, whereas before they had drained towards the Persian Gulf. This capture has left a vast dry plain, the Khudsif–Mulais basin, with dry watercourses up to 2 miles wide. Several such courses may be seen in the Wudiya'a area, and have banks 20 feet or more deep, and floors of heavy fluvial gravels.

A series of levels carried out in early 1951 showed river capture still occurring around Husn al 'Abr. Here short, steep-profiled tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut are cutting back into the headwaters of the Wadi Hudhi, which flows north-eastwards past Zamakh with the cliff edge of the *jol* forming its right bank. Hills such as the Misair group have been isolated from the rest of the *jol*, and both Misair and Rubah retain the flat-topped character of the *jol*. The cliff face of Rubah is only some 200 feet high on the north where it descends to the Hudhi, but on the south it drops 500 feet to the Hadhramaut. Levels were also carried out in the Minwakh area and showed the capture of the lower waters of the Hudhi and the waters of the Sibr, Kor, Sulhaba, etc., which had been tributary to it. The point of capture of these rivers by the Aiwat as Sei'ar is at Shasun, about 10 miles downstream from Minwakh

*The pattern of settlements*

361 The siting of settlements in the mountain areas is dependent on agriculture
133 with its requirement of a workable tilth and water at a manageable depth.
491 Among the crystalline hills these conditions are best fulfilled at the foot of the torrent course, where the first patches of riverine plain appear. Thus there is a series of settlements from Ranya through Bisha, Tathlith, Hamdha, Safwa, Najran, Shudaif, Marib, Baihan, and Ansab to Al Hadhinah, and all these settlements can be reached by motor transport from the inland plain by driving up the wadi bed. Penetration upstream of the settlements is frequently difficult as the bed becomes stony and boulder-strewn, and all pretence of riverine plain ceases.

133 In the *jol* the wadis descend in a series of steps which are caused by strata
311 more resistant to erosion. The horizontal section of each of these steps has retained sufficient silt for agriculture and water is also available. Moreover the vertical cliff faces, sometimes higher than the width of the valleys they contain, cut off the morning and afternoon sun, thereby considerably reducing

133 the amount of evaporation. Accordingly we find in the north–south wadis a
311 continuous belt of cultivations with hamlets of a few houses every mile and towns about 15 miles or an easy day's walk apart. As opposed to this the cultivations in the Wadi Hadhramaut, which runs west–east, are to be found mainly in belts along the northern and southern sides, the south belt being wider than the north, due to the increasing evaporation and lower water table towards the centre of the wadi.

311 Except for the hamlets which occur among the fields, the buildings make
361 use of unproductive land, and perch up against the cliff side on the talus slope. This position also carries the advantages of shade together with good siting for defence. Where land is at a premium, villages may be so sited as to become inaccessible even to the draught and load-carrying beasts used in agriculture, and the stables and grainstores are found at the edges of the fields and at the foot of the narrow winding path leading up to the village (Plate 3).

[104] Water for the permanent cultivations of *dhurra* (*Sorghum* sp.), *dukhn*
312 (*Pennisetum typhoideum* et spp.), lucerne and date palm has until the last few
406 years been drawn by man or animal power, raising a leather bag of water by
241 walking down a ramp away from the well shaft. Nowadays greater use is being made of diesel- and petrol-driven pumps, increasing both the yield and the area it is economical to cultivate. The effect of these pumps, which are available on deferred terms, in lowering the water table will be watched with care. New crops such as potatoes, the brassicas, and sugar cane are also being introduced under the agriculture scheme in an attempt to make the Hadhramaut, if not entirely self-supporting, at least less dependent on its "extra-territorial population."

241 This limitation does not apply to the flood crops which are snatched
312 wherever possible. Throughout the lower wadi systems there exists a com-
361 plicated network of deflector dams which have the object of spreading the floodwaters over as large an area as possible, and leading a certain part of them into irrigation channels. Many retaining dams have been attempted, but usually unsuccessfully, as the major structure has been an earthwork with only the spillway of durable construction. In the shallow beds of the wadis running north from the secondary watershed there are many small cultivated patches and groups of two or three fortified houses are often situated where camel tracks converge on water cisterns cut into the rock.

*The transition belt.*

133 The transition zone between the mountain systems and the sand desert takes a number of forms. North of the Ramlat[1] al Mundafan the Kaukab sandstone plateau overlies the crystalline rocks to the west, and to the east has eroded to become an area of minor plateaus and blocks. Through the wide flat valleys between these minor plateaus runs the main Najran–Dawasir track, roughly north–south in longitude 44° 45′ E. at a general height of a little under 3000 feet. To the east of this track lies the southern section of the Nafud Dahi, running parallel with the road, and rising to a height of 100 feet

104 [1] Ramla(t): a general name for any sand feature. Thus the Ramlat al Mundafan means literally "the buried sands."

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the 508
seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited.

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls 589
of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air 205
service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. 206
There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation.

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet 131
fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent 161
with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on 162
the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden.

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development 311
of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north.

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly 439
commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to 226
the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount 241
of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir.
From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possess- 182
ing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the
making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local [167]
opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations

settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century Bedr Bu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found, for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Badus keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim Mbaruk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dispensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signatories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

Shibam to the entrance of the Wadi Ser took us three minutes; this journey had taken us exactly two hours on camels, and twenty minutes by car. After sighting the tomb of the Prophet Salih in the Wadi Khonab we turned into the Wadi Ser and at the mouth of the Wadi Latakh I recognized the Bents' Himyaritic caravan signpost. Then we went up the Wadi Sodaf and from Qa' al Fadhul on the *jol* at its head took directions previously given to me by Badawins for Ba Rumeidan, which we found. This is the residence of Tannaf, the principal chief of the Al Baqi Msellem of the Sei'ar. From the air I saw plainly that just before Qa' al Fadhul we were over the northern watershed, from which deep-cut short wadis run south-south-west to the Hadhramaut, and long shallow ones in an east-north-easterly direction to the sands. There was very little habitation over this part of the country, and most of the inhabitants live in caves. After just over forty minutes' flying from Shibam we found ourselves between two short wadis running out into a broad channel of sand which it took us two minutes to cross, and beyond it was a broken mass of rock stretching away to the north-east. The channel itself ran out into the desert just west of the course of the flight, and the distance from Shibam to this point is calcuated at 69 miles. The visibility was perfect. Air Commodore McClaughry, who was with the flight, noted the high mass of the Seiban mountains at least 100 miles away to the south, so that one could also see at least that distance to the north. An unbroken sea of sand stretched wave on wave far away to the horizon. Looking north it was the most remarkable rosy red colour, quite unforgettable and quite unbelievable if an attempt were made to paint it. It was about three-quarters of an hour short of noon local time, so that the colour owed nothing to early morning light. After a few minutes over the desert, which seemed all too short, we came back to Shibam a bit to the west of Wadi Qubhudh.

Next morning we left Seiyun at a quarter to nine on an almost due northerly course. On this outward flight the same facts were observed, deep short ravines running nearly south to the Hadhramaut, and past the paler coloured *jols* of the watershed more shallow wadis running almost east-north-easterly to the sands. In the upper reaches of the southern system we saw a few poor settlements of the 'Awamir and a caravan of some fifty camels plodding its way southward. The whole *jol* from west to east is heavily scored with well-marked tracks, and it is worth noting, as I have also noted on aeroplane journeys over the Wadi Maseila, that east of our course and some 50 miles north of the wadi as it goes towards Qabr Hud there is a considerable rise in the ground, almost a range of mountains. This is probably the Jebel al Wuti of Von Wissmann's map.

After exactly an hour and a quarter's flying we passed over the edge of the steppe and the desert, just by a conspicuous large white patch of sand, the distance from Seiyun being calculated at 112 miles. Again there was the same wonderful sight of endless rosy waves of sand, though when we were directly over the sand I noticed that it was a rich ochre. Just west of the white patch a channel of desert sand opened into the steppe. This proved to be the eastern end of yesterday's channel, separating a long broken up island *jol* from the mainland. Its situation and shape were sufficiently like Madagascar for us to call it that, and the name seems to have stuck in local usage. The flight

coasted westwards along the line just dividing the desert from the steppe; where the larger wadis run out into the sand there were wide stretches of scattered vegetation which made the land look as if there was a green scum on it.

At the western end of the "island," much broken with gulfs and with small islands lying off it in the desert, the flight turned to the south-west, a little to the west of the point which had been reached on the previous day's reconnaissance, and explored the western part of the Sei'ar country, the territory of the Al Hatim of which Bin Jerbu'a and Bin Mulhi are the chiefs. This is the heart of Reidat as Sei'ar, and turned out to be surprisingly thickly populated and cultivated. On almost every bank of the wadis were villages consisting of the usual type of Hadhrami Badawin conglomerate *dars*, with a tall tower in the centre, and small contiguous quarters, each called a *Beit*, clustered round it. Subsequent flights made this country very familiar, and with the aid of a Sei'ar, one of the most intelligent Badawin guides, I was able to identify almost all these *dars*. On several occasions we flew beyond Reidat as Sei'ar over uninhabited steppe to Husn Al 'Abr, seeing on clear days Shabwa away in the distance.

These reconnaissances seemed to us very interesting, not only politically but geographically, for the watershed and the fall of the land, steep towards the Hadhramaut and gradual towards the sands, were clearly visible. Up on this watershed I recorded altitudes of 3600, while 300 miles to the east Mr. Thomas states that the altitude remained fairly constant at about 950 feet. This northern steppe is bounded on three sides by sand and has cliff-walls all round it, highest on the wadi side and lowest on the northern or desert side. At a conservative estimate in some 20 square miles there are not less than fifty to sixty Sei'ar villages which have scarcely even been visited by Arabs other than the Sei'ar and the Al Ishaq Sheikhs who live among them.

Some time after these reconnaissances my wife and I visited Al 'Abr on the ground, though she in fact went rather farther and drove some 20 miles towards Shabwa, a day and a half's camel ride from Al 'Abr. We have thus seen the whole of the Wadi Hadhramaut from its source to the sea, and the more you see of it the more extraordinary it is, for it must be at least 40 miles from its northern or left to its southern or right banks at Al 'Abr. This of course narrows very rapidly to 4 miles or so at Henin. It was from Henin that Seiyid Bubekr and I set out for Al 'Abr, following for a start the tracks which Dr. Pike, on a geological survey, had made in that direction. The tracks made by Mr. Philby had of course disappeared.

Our object was to obtain the looted camels of the Manahils, held by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun of the Sei'ar at Al 'Abr. We had with us the fifteen slave soldiers of the Qu'aiti Regular Army who were to be installed there as a garrison, and as we did not want the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to abscond into the desert with the camels, we had kept our movements secret. Seiyid Bubekr said his sunset prayers at Henin. The lorries had gone ahead and had made very slow progress as they had had heavy sand to negotiate. It was difficult finding the way in the dark, but we caught them up at half-past eight, and all of us sat down to dine together, just near the village of Sur and under the two mountains called Thukmein which form a conspicuous landmark from the air for a radius of 70 or 80 miles around. This was 27 miles from Henin,

We reached the little village of Laṣb within an hour. It lies just at the point where the gap narrows and the mountains on either side of the wādī become higher. In the perpendicular wall of rock has been cut a conduit, by which the water of a rivulet, which soon vanishes again, is carried to the palm-groves and *dhura* fields of the villages. We leave the path to seek refreshment among the *dhura* grown to more than a man's height. At the edges of the fields bananas and papayas are planted. The inhabitants of the village do not show themselves. The castle-like dwellings of mud stand high above the cultivated land, against the mountain-wall; perhaps our movements are being spied upon from behind the small, dark window openings.

Beyond the village, Wādī el-Laṣb narrows and the walls become steeper. The water-conduit looks like a thick, green roll clinging to the wall, with maidenhair fern and other moisture-loving plants growing in abundance. The brook with its crystal-clear water soon appears; where the water is dammed up in basins we see shoals of little black fish and many black frogs. The rocks are full of deep holes. The piled-up strata slope down towards us. The rock-wall hangs over us as we go further up the valley, and a thick, hard crust projects high above our heads over its edge so that we could walk in its shadow. Here we decided to wait for the camels; our companions immediately fell asleep, while we sought out a spot in the rivulet where it had widened out to form a pool and we bathed there. It is true, the little fishes came to see whether we were edible, but that did not spoil the unexpected, deep satisfaction of a bath in the wilderness of Southern Arabia. The water, certainly, is warm, but the dry wind has a refreshing effect as soon as one is out of the water and lets oneself be blown dry. Further inland the water was so warm that it was only enjoyable to bathe in it at night.

When the camels and the donkeys were at last to be seen, we went on further into the rapidly ascending wādī. We soon had to do without the pleasure of the brook and its thickly-

312 drinks. One must accustom oneself as soon as possible to the
271 fixed habit in this country, of drinking one after the other out
485 of the same cup or bowl. Even among the very rich and the Sultans, the big earthenware drinking cups are passed from guest to guest. One sees the soldiers and slaves drink out of them too. The water in the *siqāyas* is often dirty, with a variety of odours and tastes; it also swarms with larvae and the like, but thirst soon teaches one not to notice them and the aversion diminishes in course of time!

In Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr we were able to buy milk, buttermilk (here called *rūb*), lemons, coco-nuts and bananas, but at high prices.

361 In the afternoon we proceeded and in a short time arrived
● 311 on a plateau, fairly thickly covered with tufts of grass and low shrubs, where two villages, el-Ghēḍa and el-Ghiyāḍa, lie among well-cultivated fields of tobacco, surrounded by a small
342 grove of date-palms. The mayor of el-Ghiyāḍa is related to the
439 family of el-ʿAṭṭās; we were therefore desirous of calling upon him. The door of his simple, mud, mayoral residence was decorated with particularly fine carving. We were received in a little, dimly-lighted room that served both as a place for storing tobacco and as a reception-room. The mayor had been in Batavia for seven years and had there acquired some wealth in the *batik*[1] trade, which a son is now continuing. As soon as I was informed of this, I proposed to converse in Malay instead of in Arabic. Our host eagerly agreed and we were
[272] soon deep in reminiscences of Java. Meantime coffee was
271 prepared, consisting for three quarters of ginger and for one quarter of coffee, and a great earthen bowl of cold water passed from mouth to mouth. These porous, unglazed bowls filled with water are placed in the small window openings, and the hot outer air causes the water which exudes through them to evaporate, thus cooling their contents. One finds the same

[1] *Batik* is the name of the specially Javanese art of decorating and dyeing pieces of cloth used as garments. The thus decorated pieces are also called *batik*.

661 with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of
912 being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of
533 the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way
857 he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the
463 *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.*
231 Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā . . . ā . . . ā . . . ā!"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

292 The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

241 Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the
● 311 palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water
137 and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

114 Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf, i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut 1112



Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar 161
of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited 631
largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved 648
a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in Decem- 668
ber 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn
and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser 643
strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his
mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of
his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most im- 625
portant ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of
Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of
lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal
guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British
Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 721
1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate,
and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami
Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of
what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his 648
staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial
help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial
Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend
£410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only
£23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder
to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a 731
serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less
serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly 651
helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami 312
emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political 311
changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have
adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have
had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-
engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development
of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40
miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from
Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was
becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the
Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns,
the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the
board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple 248
cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 62–5.
[4] See above, p. 112.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 Ml Middle East :
Hadhramaut MM2

# CHAPTER VIII

# COTTON IN ARABIA

Arabia is divided into numerous groups, most of which are actually principalities. The boundaries of the subdivisions are indefinite and so is the authority of the local rulers in most cases. Some of these groups like to call themselves independent countries. One is called a kingdom. Some are called protectorates. The British have exercised the major influence over all these groups for 50 years and still do but in varying ways. One small spot of land actually belongs to the British Crown. 000

## ADEN PROTECTORATE

The narrow strip of land along the southwestern tip of the Arabian Peninsula includes a number of territories and dependencies of Arab chiefs which have been organized under a protectorate treaty with the British, and is called the Protectorate of Aden. 101

The Protectorate is about the size of Arizona. It has about 660,000 people, many of whom are nomads. The country is mostly mountainous though there are a few valleys and flood plains capable of cultivation. The Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that there are about 270,000 acres actually in cultivation at the present time. As the plains receive only about four inches of rainfall annually, irrigation is required. Considerable water is available as rainfall in the mountains is rather heavy, approaching 40 inches annually, but facilities are inadequate for catching and directing the water. 133 311 [161]

The economy of the protectorate rests almost solely on agriculture. The principal crops are grains and some fruits, principally dates. While a small quantity of coarse grains is normally exported, the country usually imports about half its bread grain requirements. 241

### COTTON

Cotton has been grown in this area in small quantities for hundreds of years, but never in commercial quantities until very recent years when British interests began promoting production. 248

The following article on the present status and prospects of cotton production in the Protectorate was written especially for this report by the research staff of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, London, with the collaboration of Major Congdon, Manager of the Abyan Board in the Aden Protectorate. 114

### RECENT HISTORY

"During the last war to increase the production of food, the old Abyan irrigation system was reopened and the headworks were partially restored under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. The reclaimed areas were used mainly for sorghum, bulrush millet and simsim, but it soon became 241 248

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



315 A party from Petroleum Concessions Ltd. arrived in November and, after visiting Hadhramaut, went east along the coast to prospect the Mahra area.

# Chapter 7: Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry

## AGRICULTURE

*General*

132 There was rain in the west of the Hadhramaut and in the Eastern coastal [312] area in February, and in June and August good rains in the Hadhramaut formed a new lake above the recently finished Nuqra dam. The spring 243 wheat and barley crops were satisfactory. Efforts to persuade the farmers to grow barley rather than wheat continued and towards the end of the year some effect was noticed, partly owing to the discovery of a way of cooking the barley so as to make it acceptable as food; experiments in machine grinding were also started.

*Staff*

647 The staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a Director, two Agricultural Officers, an Agricultural Assistant, an Engineer Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors.

*Land Utilisation*

Lack of rainfall imposes a severe limitation on crop production in 312 the Protectorate. Highly developed conservation measures, run-off control, flood irrigation and artificial irrigation are employed to secure 311 arable land production. The percentage of arable land to the desert and range is estimated at 0·33 per cent. Established pastures and meadows are unknown. Dry forest scrub is found on the Island of Socotra and in the far Eastern Mahra Coast.

*Crop Production*

241

*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | Acres | Tons |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 60,000 | 12,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 10,000 | 1,500 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 |
| Sesame | 10,000 | 1,000 |

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 20,000 | 4,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 3,000 | 500 |
| Wheat | 3,500 | 2,500 |
| Date palms | 10,000 | 5,500 |

311 471 Inhabitants of Wadi Du'an, an area with an ever-present threat of famine, were persuaded to purchase some of the large tracts of good arable land and shallow wells lying fallow and idle in the main Wadi Hadhramaut in the hope that they will gradually move from their over-populated wadi. Three companies were formed by Duanis, with a capital of well over Rs. 1,00,000 for the purpose of cultivating hitherto dead lands at Dar-Assab, Aqad and the area at Hautat Ahmed bin Zein in the main wadi, while Du'an merchants began to take an interest in existing date palm groves in the area. The local States were empowered to allot dead lands to farmers if the owners failed to cultivate them.

An agricultural syndicate formed to develop the Meifa area of Wadi Hajr with a capital of Rs. 4,00,000 has been active during 1950. The planting of date palms in the area has started and the syndicate [164] allotted lands and gave advances to some 240 Subians—but up to now there is some reluctance on the part of agriculturists from other areas to settle down and work in Meifa owing to the prevalence of malaria there.

In November, 1950, two windmills were imported for experimental use in irrigation, one being installed at Buweish in the coastal area, the other being sent to Sai'un.

*Co-operation*

474 The Beihan Farmers' Association had a difficult year. A large proportion of the barley crop had been sown early and, in January and February, frost damaged the heading crop, seriously reducing yield and quality. As a result the Association deferred collection of up to 50 per cent of the outstanding loans which were carried over to the Saif and Kharif crops and to the winter crop of the 1949-50 season. Excellent conditions at the end of the year gave the Association full confidence in its operations.

The credit facilities for seed and cash given by the Association enabled the cultivators to carry on without much recourse to merchants and moneylenders.

## FISHERIES

228 The Fishery Department did not begin work on a permanent basis until the end of 1949. During 1950 activity has been mostly exploratory. Unfortunately, winch trouble in the fishery vessel severely limited the amount and nature of the trial fishing that could be done, but practically every fishing village in both Protectorates was visited, and also the islands of Kamaran in the Red Sea and Kuria Muria, 700 miles east of Aden off the Muscat coast. The information obtained about the fishing population and its activities forms a valuable basis for development plans.

In general, the observations made in the 1948 report still hold good. The winter sardine seasons of 1949–50 and 1950–51 have, unfortunately, been little better than 1948–49. There has been a definite but slight improvement, but catches of sardines and their attendant predators are

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



### CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night ; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol," extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

132 There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills ; here cultiva-
312 tion is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth ; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level ; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high ; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

311 The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Sai'un, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

631 The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting
648 of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of
649 Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

648 The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly
631 area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



133 the greater part of the year, in certain places. These interruptions are due to the entire volume of water—which in dry seasons is not very considerable—being led off into the cultivation and returned again lower down. It is said that the waters of the Tiban, like those of the Bana, occasionally reach the sea after abnormal floods. The Bana River runs continuously from May to October.

The coast-line generally is low and sandy and devoid of promontories or inlets of any size, except at Aden, where craterous promontories rise to about 1,700 ft. above sea-level, forming sheltered bays, and at a point some sixty miles west of Aden, where a spur of the Yemen highlands approaches the coast at Khōr 'Umeirah.

### Climate

132 In the first zone—the littoral—the heat in general is excessive, but the climate is not unhealthy for those who can stand the fierce heat of the day, and the nights are cool. The cultivated oases and [164] river-beds, however, which afford grateful shade by day, should be avoided as fever traps, and the Tiban valley and Lahej oasis 241 in general have an ill name for malaria of a malignant type. The only rainfall is afforded by a few showers in mid-winter. Cultiva- •311 tion depends chiefly on irrigation from the wādi water-courses, and consists almost entirely of millet, *jowari*, and tall fodder crops such as *kirbi*.

In the second zone—the maritime hills—the rainfall is as in the first zone; but there is no opportunity for wādi irrigation, and in consequence scarcely any crops are raised. The air is stifling by day and damp at night.

In the third zone—the intramontane plains—the rainfall takes place during the summer in occasional thunderstorms. The crops are millet and maize, and they become more abundant and fertile as the main watershed is approached. The heat here, again, is very great.

In the fourth zone—the main watershed—there is a considerable rainfall during the summer months, and a bracing and fairly equable climate with sometimes a degree or so of frost at night. Cultivation is scanty, chiefly barley and a few light fodder crops.

In the fifth zone—the plateau—water lies within ten feet or so of the surface, and there is a good deal of irrigation from wells, besides the regular rainfall. This is small, but from October to March the region is liable to dense white fogs which fall after dark and lie thick to 9 a.m. They will wet one through in an hour, but are invaluable to the farmer as they alone keep the crops alive till

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



the summer thunderstorms are due. These latter are often extremely violent, even terrifying. Hail occasionally falls. Harvesting of one crop or another goes on throughout the year—chiefly bearded wheat, barley, maize, lucerne, and coffee (but the latter is less frequent than over the Yemen border). Indigo and cotton (a very small bush) are grown in the Nisāb district and grapes on the Yemen border.

In the sixth zone—the Empty Quarter or Great Red Desert—the population is pastoral and follows the grazing according to the rainfall, which is irregular and scanty. Along the principal wādis, which lead north towards the desert, there are permanent settlements and cereal crops are raised, chiefly millet, the stalks of which make useful fodder when grazing is scarce. The semi-nomadic part of the population returns to the settlements to await the next grazing-season in the desert.

In the Aden Interior as a whole the prevailing diseases are small-pox, fever (especially malarial), and, to some extent, consumption. The 'Yemen ulcer' is also common among the tribes.

## Population

The population of the Aden Interior (considered as a whole, and including that portion known strictly as the Aden Protectorate), settled and nomadic, may be computed at about half a million. The district is composed of a number of Tribal Confederations or Sultanates, some lying within the limits of the Protectorate proper, some without.

The limits of the Aden Protectorate proper are the delimitation line, previously mentioned, from Ras Turbah to a point some few miles north of Dhāla, and thence a somewhat vaguely defined line continuing at first in a south-easterly direction and then in a generally easterly direction to the coast of the Gulf of Aden near the small settlement of Maqātīn. They enclose an area of about 4,200 sq. miles, having a population of 100,000. The tribal confederations lying within this boundary are: the Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, Haushabi, Amīri, 'Alawi, 'Aqrabi, and other smaller tribes; and without are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and 'Audillah ('Audali). The tribes of the Protectorate have a larger proportion of non-combatants and are more settled than those of the remoter interior; the bulk are to be found in the towns and villages of the littoral belt, the chief centres being Lahej, Waht, Shūghrah, and the Abiyān district.

In dealing with a variety of tribes with such different characteristics it is difficult to generalize; broadly they may be divided

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



form, geographically and socially, a remarkably homogeneous whole. It may be said, in brief, that the districts of the Hadhramaut are singularly fertile and self-sufficing, and so situated geographically as to hang closely together and to be isolated socially, as a whole, from the rest of Arabia; while, at the same time, they lie within reach of ports which are in constant communication with mid-eastern Africa and India. To the north stretches unbroken the most terrible waste of sand-dunes in the peninsula; to the east the district is practically isolated from the Oman provinces by the almost waterless desert of Mahrah; while to the west it is difficult of access from the Yemen and its outlying provinces on account of a mountainous and sterile desert-steppe which, up to the present, remains almost entirely unexplored.

Possessing more frequent and easy communication with Moslem communities outside Arabia than within it, the population of the Hadhramaut has had ample opportunity to develop particularism in its social organization as well as in its religious spirit. The fertility of its lands makes its farmers self-sufficient and jealous with the jealousy of men who have much to lose; and, while their relations with Africa have given them unusual wealth of slaves, their relations with India and other parts of the East, greatly enhancing their material civilization, have at the same time made them fully aware of the nature of European rule and the danger of giving free entrance to members of a race which condemns slavery. For long they succeeded in barring the way to the encroachments of all foreigners, and it is only within comparatively recent times that travellers, few in number, have succeeded in acquiring information, and that only to a very limited extent, about the social organization, customs, and manners of this interesting and highly exclusive people.

The population may be divided into four more or less distinct classes:

1. The Seyyids.
2. The Tribesmen.
3. The Townsmen.
4. The Servile classes, or slaves.

The *Seyyids*, descendants of Husein, grandson of Mohammed, form a numerous and highly respected aristocracy. They are divided into families, the heads of which are known as 'Munsibs', who are looked upon as the religious leaders of the people and are in some cases venerated as saints. They do not bear arms, nor occupy themselves in trade or manual labour, or even agriculture;

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

established to supply the local market—for the processing of soaps, pressed aluminum utensils, cigarettes, pottery and textiles, the extraction of sesame oil, the cutting of buttons from trochas shells and the building of dhows. Fishing is of potential importance, but its development is handicapped by primitive methods of procurement and handling and inadequate local transport facilities. The agricultural resources of the Colony are limited to market gardens and date groves on the oasis of Sheikh Othman.

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Agriculture and fishing are the principal occupations of the tribesmen of the Protectorate. The fisheries of the eastern districts are reputed to be among the richest in the Middle East, while the drying and salting of fish and the manufacture of fish oils, fodder and manure are valuable industries in the coast towns. A large proportion of the people in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut engage in agriculture, although the tribes of the steppe country are mainly nomadic pastoralists. The expansion of farming is curtailed by uncertain rainfall and shortage of water supply. In the Eastern Aden Protectorate, cultivation is restricted mainly to the middle portions of the Hadhramaut valley, where the river flows for part of the year. This region is historically famous as a source of frankincense and myrrh. Elaborate terracing and irrigation are employed in many areas for the conservation and the utilization of the limited water resources available. It was estimated in 1948 that less than 0.5 per cent of the total land area was suitable for farming, but the relative extent of pasturage and desert has not been determined. Systems of peasant ownership, tenancy farming and tribal land tenure prevail in different localities. The improvement of agriculture and expansion of irrigation are prominent among the development programs for the Protectorate. A co-operative project for the cultivation of cotton and other crops by modern methods has recently been initiated on 5,000 acres in the Abyan area in Western Aden Protectorate. Little

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1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



462 roaming far afield in search of water and pasture. They work in the fields, milk the animals (with the exception, in some cases, of camels), gather the firewood, and fetch the water. They are not [562] so careful to keep themselves veiled, finding it sufficient to draw their head cloths in front of their mouths. If she belongs to a nomadic tribe a woman will follow her husband in his search for grazing, carrying the household utensils, usually one large saucepan, on her head and the baby on her back. Only very occasionally do the women emigrate with their husbands, but we travelled with such a family at the start of their journey to Zanzibar to seek a fortune.

562 The remaining women are those of the poor townspeople, the 462 female servants, slaves, or Subians. The last two are least particular about veiling. The others, no matter how poor, will always cover at least the lower part of their faces. Toil is the portion of all of them: they labour in the gardens, help the men and animals to draw water from the wells, and in many towns they are the [482] principal water carriers, bearing their burden in skins slung across their backs. The servants and slave women in well-to-do houses lead an easier existence. They cook the food, do such cleaning as is ever done, and fetch and carry for the ladies of the household. Slaves may be taken as concubines, but find their husbands among their own class. They are much favoured, being brought up as members of the family, and, like many privileged retainers, usually become somewhat outspoken and domineering in their old age.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PRODUCTION AND RESOURCES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

311 The natural resources of the Hadhramaut, such as they are, are principally agricultural. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize that only a very small proportion of the total area of the country, [131] which may amount to 35,000 or 40,000 square miles, is suitable for the growing of crops. As a general rule only wadis can be so used and the bulk of the land surface consists of the barren rock of mountains and steppes.

### Tobacco.

249 The principal crop of economic importance is the well-known 438 Hamumi tobacco, and Gheil ba Wazir is the principal centre where it is grown. Practically speaking the production in that place is 465 entirely Government-directed and all the land is State land.

The nurseries are situated about three miles from Gheil at Al 312 Qof. Here there is an apparently inexhaustible, somewhat brackish, water supply at depths to about 30 feet from the surface. There are three deep pools which are tapped by subterranean channels for Gheil and Al Harth, the source of the Gheil water supply being called Humat al Farath, and that for Al Harth being called Humat al Harth. Along the line of channels from these pools there are

at intervals of some 20 feet a series of shafts similar to those 312
described in connection with the Mukalla water-supply. Humat al Harth is temporarily not giving water, as the level has fallen below the channel. At Al Quf itself there are a number of wells, and round each are nursery beds where the tobacco seedlings are 249
grown. The beds are divided into patches three or four feet square and the seed close sown, so close that even where seed does not germinate the workers cut small scratches in the ground and plant fresh seed. When the seedlings are grown to a height of about three or four inches they are taken from Al Quf to Al Harth, about a mile and a-half away, and planted out in rows with intervals of a foot, or three-quarters of a *dhirra*, in beds of a size dependent on the amount of water. A bed is called *mutr*, plural *mutira*, and each is surrounded by a ridge to keep in the irrigation water. In due course the crop is gathered and dried. Drying barns are unknown.

The crop[1] is financed by the merchants who advance the money to 454
the cultivators and are paid back either monthly or after the crop. 427
In the case of the Government lands at Gheil some cultivators pay 655
their rent in advance and some after the crop. The rent of the whole area of the Sultan's land at Gheil is assessed before each season and the figure required communicated to his representative there. This official then rents out the land at a figure per acre based on the total sum required.

The total annual value of the crop is now estimated at five lakhs 432
of which the Sultan receives Rs.120,000 in duty and ground rent. 651
Production costs are estimated at three lakhs, so that the profit to 434
the cultivators is Rs.80,000. In order to foster the local consumption of tobacco, there is a monopoly of imported cigarettes and pipe 655
tobacco.

Of tobacco, Mr. H. M. Heald in his report of the Agricultural 249
Mission to Mukalla says that in the Meifa valley " the cultivation of the tobacco received more attention than any other crop. . . . The seed was sown in a small plot of land which, in the large villages, had been heavily manured with sheep dung mixed with fine earth. [241]
When 40 days old the plants were transplanted into the small beds at distances of one foot apart, and again manured with fish ; irrigation varied in the villages but generally every seven days.

" Topping of the terminal buds took place after all the leaves had been formed and the plants were ripe for cutting in four or five months, according to district and season. The plants were dried on the ground first singly and then in small bundles, and afterwards hung up in rows. After drying again in bundles, they were covered with sacks to promote fermentation, and then the plants were taken into the houses for further drying in the dark, and ready for transporting to the coast in a week or so. Practically no grading was done . . . and I am sure " he writes, " better prices would be obtained if more attention were paid to selection."

1 [Tobacco -- Analpt]

Guano, brought from the small islands of Sikka or Jibus and Jazirat Bureika near Bir 'Ali west of Mukalla, is used when obtainable, but it is expensive. In the heavily-wooded parts of the Wadi Maseila the bush is burnt when cut. This provides a potash dressing the value of which is appreciated by the cultivators. 241

*Terrace cultivation.*—" The villages had very little cultivable soil and in many cases the small terraces had been made by bringing soil from a distance and then built up with rubble revetments, the area varying from 5 square yards to ¼ acre. These terraces were always built on the sides of the hills to avoid destruction by floods, and the houses generally on a higher level." Of the Meifa valley, Mr. Heald says that the cultivated terrace areas which were in bulge-like shape along the stream were irrigated by taking the small canals off from the rivers or springs at varying heights and bringing them down at great distances to the terraces. Although all the terraces I saw were generally above flood-level, there are none built high up the Wadi walls. 311 241

*Irrigation.*—Land is irrigated from springs, wells, or rivers. When wells and rivers are used, cattle, or camels, or donkeys, or men and women, or a combined team, pull up one or two leathern buckets attached to a rope running on a wooden pulley. The water then flows down a mortar or mud channel and is finally distributed to the land by small canals. The quantity delivered from a well by this method does not exceed 500 gallons an hour. When the land is irrigated from springs, the water is conducted by channels to the various terraces. In order to supply all the various levels, these small canals take off at great distances and there is consequently considerable loss by percolation and evaporation before the water reaches the land. 241 312

Occasionally hollowed-out halves of date palms are used as water channels for crossing hollows, and the cultivators of the Wadi Maseila display considerable ingenuity in bringing the water from the river to the land they are working. The river is usually at some distance from the foot of the steep bank above which the land is cultivated. Channels are dug from the river and a deep hole made at the foot of the bank. A scaffolding is erected over the hole to carry the usual well machinery, and a mud aqueduct supported by tree trunks and branches carries the water on to the higher level ground where it is distributed by canals in the usual way. A sloping walk of timber covered with earth is also provided for the team of animals and humans. Dams to raise the level of the water, and made principally of brushwood, are a common feature of the Wadi Maseila. In other places we saw a number of stone dams.

In most villages irrigated from springs the water is shut off at sunset, and the spring fills a cistern made from stone and mortar designed to hold the spring water running during the night. The springs naturally vary in volume, but Mr. Heald states that they generally range about 5,000 gallons an hour. Of Meifa he states, 312

312 "The quantities of water differed very much and ranged between 100 gallons and 10,000 gallons per hour in the springs, whereas only about 400 gallons per hour were obtained from the wells, but this quantity naturally depended on the amount of work done by the cattle. The stream in the Meifa valley was rather difficult to estimate on account of its underground sources and losses by evaporation, but, after several calculations, the quantity was decided on 1 m.³ per second and the fall averaged generally 5 feet per mile. This refers only to the stream in open country; as many portions of it poured down through narrow gorges, where it was impossible to calculate."

241 *Dry-farming.*—Heald states that in the villages of Kanina and Jol ar Rakh, or generally the district lying between the Meifa valley and Asfal al 'Ain, he discovered a system of dry-farming worked in connection with the flood irrigation. The flood water, which unfortunately could not be depended upon, poured down the wadis, and by a very good system of canals was conducted on to the land, and the seed sown in the mud—the surplus water being sent down to villages lower in the wadi. In some years the cultivators managed to sow two crops, spring and summer, if the floods permitted, but they only relied on the spring water. In the village of Kanina the cultivators sometimes left the roots of the millet in the soil after harvest, and thereby obtained a second, but very poor, crop.

After the harvest, the land was continually ploughed to retain the moisture ready for the next year, and the cultivators were quite aware of the importance of treating the surface oil in the dry-farming principles; however, where possible, irrigation was done from the springs and wells.

*Cultivation.*—After ploughing or hoeing the surface, the seed is either broadcasted or sown in holes. The great millet is generally sown thickly in a small plot and transplanted when about 12 inches high, but the other millets are merely broadcasted. As the stalks of great millet are too thin to carry the heads, about a dozen of the plants are tied together by the heads as soon as the seed begins to form. *Dijar* is planted between rows of millet in order to shade it from the sun. It is harvested after two months.

In some parts of the Hadhramaut, as in Africa, men, women and children sit on platforms built above the crop and use a small sling and stones to scare away the birds.

*Harvesting.*—When ripe, the great millet is cut close to the ground with a small sickle. After a few days' drying, the heads are cut off and beaten by flails. The heads of other grain are generally cut first and then the stalks pulled up for the cattle, and the stubble burnt on the ground The grain is put into shallow winnowing fans of a common eastern and African type, and thrown into the air for the wind to separate the chaff from the grain. I saw at least two patterns of quern used for grinding.

[654] 311 241 Mr. H. M. Heald, the agriculturist, visited Asfal Al 'Ain, the Sultan's estate at Fuwa, and the Wadi Meifa. As regards Asfal Al 'Ain, he reported that the whole country along the Wadis through which he travelled consisted of hills and wastes, and from an agricultural point of view was very disappointing. In this rocky region, land is scarce. In a few small hamlets, terraces have been made with soil collected in the wadis, and a few acres of these are cultivated, producing millets, sweet potatoes, dates, and tobacco on a poor scale. These terraces are irrigated from springs and wells, but the latter give very little water. No definite seasons are followed for sowing and harvesting of crops. In one village Mr. Heald saw a crop in three stages of growth, viz., newly-sown, half-grown, and harvested. The soil is generally a light shallow loam of alluvial nature, devoid of humus, and, cultivated as it is by the most primitive methods, is becoming more impoverished year by year. Very little manuring is done owing to the cost of transporting fish and the scarcity of dung.

At Fuwa he saw 250 acres of millet and tobacco cultivated by the Sultan's slaves. Owing to the poor soil and bad cultivation, the produce was but small and none of it marketed. The villages along the coast to the entrance of the valley near Ras Al Kalb are similar to those in Asfal Al 'Ain district, but the cultivation is poorer.

Mr. Heald estimated the total area of the soil in Sidara, cultivated and capable of being brought under cultivation, at about 14,000 acres, of which considerably more than one half consists of swampy or salty land at the mouth of the river at Hali. The total area of all the land fit for cultivation in the country he saw, he estimated at under 20,000 acres.

[312] Owing to insufficiency of water for irrigation purposes, Heald considered it would be difficult to reclaim any large area of land at the mouth of the river at Hali, as most of this land is either swampy or bad salty soil due to the river changing its mouth frequently after heavy rains coming down the valley from the interior. The water is also very salty. Another obstacle to developing this area, and, at present a very big one, is the unhealthy climate and the impure drinking water.

000 Mr. Heald concludes:

"As regards settlers, it would, on account of the scarcity of land and the unhealthy climate at Meifa, be quite wrong to try and induce people to emigrate from India on a large scale, but a few could be settled at Fuwa and higher up the valley at Jol and Giswal. The present inhabitants, the Sybians, who are acclimatized, could then be sent to the mouth. As, however, this would only affect a very few thousands of acres, perhaps the expense would not be worth the trouble, and the

135 of lignite in the detritus on the slopes and in the wadis are very rare; this he considered to be probably due to the very heavy rains which fall in the mountains every few years, which produce such floods that enormous rocks are moved along the wadi beds.

464 Mr. Little stated that the difficulties of working the deposits had
312 been pointed out by Mr. Beeby-Thompson and Dr. Ball (who visited Mukalla in 1918). They thought that cheap unskilled labour
135 could be produced locally, but for working on a large scale Mr. Little expressed the opinion that the local supply would prove unreliable and that labour would have to be imported. On the other hand, Messrs. Beeby-Thompson and Ball were not aware that a river (the water of which is slightly saline) flows through the oil-shale district near Neifa. Above Neifa the water is potable when boiled, but below Neifa it is very tainted by the petroliferous deposits through which it passes. Supplies of water might also be obtained by conserving the flood-water which flows down the wadis from the interior. There is generally a small flood every rainy season, with bigger floods every few years.

135 The heat of the sun in summer in the Hadhramaut is so great that rocks near the surface must lose most of their volatile constituents, and, to get a true indication of the amount of these it is necessary to take samples from a greater depth than has been done hitherto. The improvement which may take place with increasing depth is shown by the results of the analysis of two samples from Asfal Al 'Ain. The first was collected from different parts of the face of the seam which had been exposed for over a month, and the second was obtained by driving a hole 5 feet into the seam and taking it from the last portion removed. The calorific value of the latter sample, from Asfal Al 'Ain being 11,466 B.T.Us. and of those from Kasai and Wadi Howeri over 10,000 B.T.Us., show that in a country where fuel supplies are very scanty the lignite deposits would prove an important source of fuel. The oil-shales probably extend to south-west much beyond the area visited and mapped, and if at some distance below the surface they are richer than the sample brought by Messrs. Beeby-Thompson and Ball, they could be distilled near the river. In the economic exploitation of the fuel resources of the Sultanate, the possibility of finding oil fuel in the As Sidara district should be considered, as if oil exists there the pipe-line could be brought down the river to Wadi Arus and Neifa and thence to the coast. The river at Wadi Arus is 15 miles and at Neifa 10 miles in a straight line from the lignite deposits at Ad Da'liya, from which the fuel for the distillation of the oil-shales might be obtained. The danger of pipe-lines and railways being swept away by the big floods which occur every few years would have to be borne in mind when laying them. There is an anchorage for dhows at Mersa Riqeima just east of the river mouth, which Mr. Little thought might be suitable for small steamers except during the monsoon period.

The sanitary systems, if any, vary throughout the large towns of the Hadhramaut. There are no drainage or sewerage systems in Mukalla. The houses for the most part are equipped with pit-latrines cleared every six months or a year. Waste water runs out from gullies projecting from the walls of the houses. At the time of my first visit there were 25 sweepers in charge of a *muqaddam* who were said to work from early morning till noon, and from two till six, but, apart from the main market street, there appeared to be little evidence of their activities. Since that time the number has been slightly increased, and, under the doctor's superintendence, the streets are somewhat cleaner. 364

In Shihr the waste water is allowed to settle into pools. As a consequence mosquitoes are a serious pest, but there is said to be little fever. There were no anopheles amongst specimens I captured. In Shibam there is a system of narrow gutters running down the middle of the streets. These become congested with rubbish and are rarely cleaned out, but when they are the refuse is sold.

**Water Supply.**

The water supply of Mukalla is brought from a reservoir at Baqrein, about four miles distant. The source is a mile further away at Bakezebur where there is a long series of deep wells, mostly protected by a stone coping but with no covering. These wells were constructed by labourers brought from Gheil ba Wazir where there are men " who know how to make waterworks ". The wells are connected at the bottom by a subterranean passage, used by those who clean the channel, along which the water flows till it emerges into an open cement channel leading to the reservoir at Baqrein. This reservoir is divided into compartments and the water passes through them into a delivery pipe. The outfall to the delivery pipe is partially protected from debris by a wire trap, and just outside the reservoir there is a covered manhole. There is no filter system and for the greater part of its length the supply is entirely unprotected, but the water is clear and apparently clean. It is conducted in pipes to the side of the mountain, along which it runs in a covered masonry channel, except where it is carried across gaps in pipes supported by piles. In the town there are reservoirs fitted with taps from which the water carriers draw their supply. Water supply is only laid on to the palaces and a few mosques. 365 312

The work was planned and begun by Sultan 'Awadh as a *Waqf* and was completed by Sultan 'Umar. It reflects great credit on the Mukalla administration, and if some protective measures were adopted would be, I should imagine, an unimpeachable supply. It is fortunate that cholera and typhoid are apparently unknown in Mukalla as it would be extraordinarily easy to contaminate the supply which, as I say, is unprotected, unfiltered, and not chlorinated. 365 653 164

There are several wells in Mukalla in which the water is brackish. The palaces, the Wazir's house, and the guest-house are fitted with 312 000

The palaces, the Wazir's house, and the guest house are fitted with
365 electric light generated by a petrol engine. The system is continued along the water front as far as Sultan 'Umar's mosque.

365 The town water supply in Shihr is brought in a covered aqueduct
312 from Tubala, 6·7 miles away. There are many springs at Tubala, most of which are hot, and a number are heavily impregnated with sulphur. The reservoir for the Shihr water supply consists of a large open tank which is fed by an open channel from the spring. As in the case of Mukalla there is no sort of protection. Shibam draws its water supply from wells, for the most part in the suburb of Seheil. The water is slightly brackish. The rest of the country depends on wells, springs, rivers, and rain cisterns.

**Educational Activities.**

658 In Mukalla there are three Government schools (two Arab and
871 one English), and at least three private schools. In addition to these Arab schools Yusuf Sherif, the principal Indian merchant and
794 Collector of Customs, maintains a private Gujerati school in which there are 42 boys and eight girls at present. There used to be schools in every mosque, but Sultan 'Umar suppressed them and ordered the boys to attend the Government schools. However, despite this prohibition I understand that a few maintain a precarious existence.

871 The larger of the Arabic schools, Al Madrassa al Khariya as Sultanja had been in existence for four years at the time of my visit and had twelve classes: *Hijar*, or Elementary, four classes; *Tahdir*, two classes; *Daraja Awal*, First standard, three classes; *Daraja ath Thani*, Second standard, one class; *Daraja ath Thalath*, Third standard, one class, *Daraja al Arb'a* Fourth standard, one class. A Fifth standard was to be added shortly.

On the register there were 290 to 300 boys aged from six to 14 and even 16, and perhaps older. On inspection the attendance at the various classes was as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Hijar* ... ... ... ... ... ... | 56 |
| *Tahdir* 1 ... ... ... ... ... | 20 |
| 2 ... ... ... ... ... | 31 |
| *Daraja* I.—1 ... ... ... ... | 32 |
| 2 ... ... ... ... | 20 |
| 3 ... ... ... ... | 27 |
| *Daraja* II ... ... ... ... ... | 12 |
| *Daraja* III ... ... ... ... ... | 13 |
| Total exclusive of the Fourth standard ... | 211 |

The staff consists of a *Mudir* or Principal, a *Murakib*, who is responsible for the discipline of teachers and boys, and 12 teachers. There are nine class rooms, the four classes of *Hijar* sitting in one room. Up to *Daraja* I the boys sit on the floor, after which they are at desks. The school is closed on Fridays and on the 'Id days which are as follows: 'Id al Hajj, five days, 'Id al Fitr, five days, 12th Rabi' Awal, Maulad an Nebi, one day, 29th Ramadhan,

631 The Kathīri claims the Hamumi, Nahd, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar tribes as his allies. The agreement with the Nahd, which is said to be similar to those with the Hamumi, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar, is included in an appendix. It is stated that these tribes would join the Kathīris if there was trouble with the Qu'aitis.

*Kathīri Towns.*

101 The country ruled by the Kathīris was formerly of vast extent and stretched from the 'Aulaqi country on the west to the Mahri on the east, including the country of Dhufar beyond. The history of the circumscription of the territory to its present limits appears sufficiently in an earlier chapter of this report.

631 Of the six towns or villages mentioned as being included in the
632 Kathīri dominions Seiyun and Tarim are the largest. Seiyun, the capital of the Āl 'Abdulla Sultans, is a walled town of over 1,500
361 houses and about 50 mosques. The suburbs, which are all to the east of the town, are extending fairly rapidly with the building of pleasant looking residencies, most of them with their own gardens. The population is said to be about 20,000. Tarim is also a growing town with an estimated population of 15,000. Its walls, which are over five miles in length and are furnished with five gates and 25 forts, enclose a great deal of open space so that most of the better class houses have their own gardens. There are over 2,000 houses, and there are said to be 300 mosques, one of which, built by the Al Kafs, has the highest minaret in the Hadhramaut and is of an unusual pattern. The principal shrine in Tarim is that of Muaddam Faqih. There are growing suburbs outside the walls such as 'Aidīd, but some of the suburbs such as Thibi, Dammūn, and Beit Jabīr, belong to the Tamimis and are under
342 Qu'aiti influence. Tarim and Seiyun are striking for their many
365 palaces, equipped in modern style, to which reference has already been made. These houses have a water supply laid on and pumped
312 up by small petrol engines. The towns are well supplied with wells, and Tarim is remarkable for being the only town in the Hadhramaut with public conveniences, which, however, are rough mud erections and very insanitary.

361 Taris is a village lying to the west of Seiyun, and its inhabitants
529 do not exceed 700. Mariama is a small village to the east of Seiyun with a population of about 300. Al Ghurf, also a small village, lies to the north of Tarim and has a population not exceeding 250. Gheil bin Yomein is said to be a popular place of resort during the autumn. It is a small village of which the majority of the inhabitants are Beduins.

565 A great deal of wealth comes into the Kathīri towns from the East Indies, and the towns of Tarim and Seiyun, which are considered centres of culture and learning, include many wealthy inhabitants whose fortunes have been made in the East Indies.

000 The whole of the Kathīri part of the wadi is accessible by motor

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

## INTRODUCTION

131 To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South
114 Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

631 Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and
643 Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

133 The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and
132 uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable antiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their
● 312 limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an
439 enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade.
167 The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

721 Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

7: Stuzler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk. 342

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm. 361

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anis go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices. 311 312 511 262 439 291

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space. 342 361 531

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut. 361 342

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on [941]

133 presents the appearance of an undissected plain stretching to the horizon, broken here and there by flat-topped, isolated hills and extensive rock terraces. Only by a campaign of "trial and error" can one find where the drainage divides are and the limitations the drainage imposes on freedom of movement in this treeless and apparently obstacle-free terrain. Even the smallest wadi constitutes a formidable obstacle; for should descent be possible, the chances of finding a route to scramble up the opposite wall are small. With 487 almost limitless time at their disposal, the Bedouins have obtained a comprehensive picture of the stream system and have adjusted their caravan routes accordingly, utilizing the relatively few suitable passes from wadi level to plateau level. From a distance these century-old trails appear as inconspicuous paths; yet along the passes and narrow parts of present caravan routes, some of which are thought to be identical with the incense roads of antiquity, one may observe that once-jagged rocks have been rounded and polished by the passage of countless unshod men and soft-footed camels during several thousand years.

## Hadhramaut–Maseila Drainage System

133 The drainage of the Hadhramaut is divisible into four systems: (1) Wadi Hadhramaut–Wadi Maseila; (2) streams flowing north to the interior basin of the Rub' al Khali desert; (3) eastward-flowing streams entering the sea on the Hafif coast; (4) small and short streams tributary to the Gulf of Aden.

To the west of Tarim the main stream is known as the Wadi Hadhramaut, to the east as the Wadi Maseila. It has been explored on foot by Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams for 360 miles from its mouth to the longitude of Shabwa, where the valley walls, 1000 feet high, diverge and flare off to the north and south, leaving a sandy, featureless plain, studded with low dunes and occasional salt-incrusted flats, stretching westward toward the mountains of Yemen, 200 miles away.

For much of the distance below Tarim the water flows above ground; but upstream the bed is dry and water must be obtained [312 from wells 30 to 45 feet deep. The supply seems adequate for present-132] day domestic and irrigation requirements, and acute water shortages are uncommon. During the summer there is some rain in the interior, especially in the mountains of Yemen, and water then flows down the valley all the way to the coast, at times becoming a flood. It is suggested that the present direction of flow of the Wadi Hadhramaut may have been achieved in recent time through piracy by a rapidly eroding stream flowing south to the coast, which has succeeded in diverting drainage that formerly flowed westward into the Rub' al Khali via the broad western part of the valley.

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FIG. 3—The Wadi Hadhramaut at Tarim, looking eastward, i.e., downstream. Tarim, surrounded by its wall, is at the left. Trees in the broad alluvial-filled valley are date palms, irrigated by water hand-drawn from wells. The dissected character and even summit levels of the Jol (plateau) are clearly seen. Canyon walls along the wadi are 900 to 1000 feet high. Irrigation ditches to direct occasional floods are discernible everywhere on the wadi floor.

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FIG. 4—A caravan carrying wood to the market in Tarim.

P. 632

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FIG. 5—This view is practically panoramic with Figure 3. Along the crest of the nearest plateau spur may be seen a sinuous white streak, which is the Al Kaf road to the coast, distant 100 miles as the crow flies, 170 by speedometer. It may be observed that in this direction there is less stream dissection and greater expanse of unbroken plateau. The narrowing of the wadi downstream should be noticed.

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FIG. 6—Wadi irrigation. Note the rude palm log scaffolding.

p. 633

enter the main stream normally, i.e. the angle between main and tributary streams is acute. This suggests that the present drainage prevailed during the period of tributary incision and contradicts the hypothesis of stream reversal. On the other hand, tributaries in the area thought to be that of the former headwaters of westward drainage join the main wadi as if it once flowed in the opposite direction. 133

The apparently normal direction at which the tributaries west of Tarim join the main wadi cannot readily be explained from the data in hand; the problem requires critical study. However, it is felt that the evidence of abnormal stream profile and the relatively small amount of erosion in the central part of the valley outweigh any argument against change in the direction of flow.

### Streams Tributary to the Rub' al Khali

Northward from the east-west drainage divide of the Hadhramaut–Maseila and Hafif systems innumerable slightly incised wadies, in a former extensive tableland, carry intermittent runoff toward the Rub' al Khali desert, where the water is absorbed and the stream channels become choked. The drainage pattern is dendritic; but the main streams, although broadly meandering, maintain a rather uniform direction down the steepest gradient of the plateau surface.

Although little is known of this region and not until recently was it observed by members of the Royal Air Force to be inhabited, it can safely be said that aridity is higher than in the Hadhramaut–Maseila basin, which is favored with annual floods from Yemen, and in the coastal zone, where a number of springs exist.

### Streams Tributary to the Coast at Hafif

Eastward from the point where the Wadi Hadhramaut swerves from its east-west course toward the coast a drainage basin of similar trend carries runoff to the Gulf of Aden in the vicinity of Hafif. This drainage area is bounded on the south by steep-gradient streams to the sea, on the west by the Hadhramaut basin, and on the north by the drainage province tributary to the Rub' al Khali. It measures some 140 miles in length from east to west by 80 miles in width; the area is some 11,200 square miles.

The watercourses of the Hafif area are thought to be intermittent. Nowhere is the water table known to reach the surface. Undoubtedly water is obtainable, as in certain parts of the Hadhramaut, by means of wells favorably located in the main drainage lines; for no other source of supply for the people of this sparsely inhabited area is apparent. 312

The drainage pattern exhibits both rectangular and dendritic characteristics, the former being most evident along the main streams. 133

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FIG. 21—Hajarain, the largest city in Wadi Du'an, is on one of the principal caravan routes between Mukalla and the Wadi Hadhramaut. Its site was obviously chosen with an eye to defense. Groves of cultivated date palms and millet fields may be seen amid a series of earthen retaining walls and irrigation ditches. As in other cities of the Hadhramaut, adobe brick is the building material.

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FIG. 19—A typical, fortified, Arab settlement on the banks of the Wadi Hajr. The irrigated groves of date palms furnish the main foodstuff.

P. 638

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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FIG. 17—Ruins of a pre-Islamic city in the Wadi Masella. The site was chosen for defensive purposes and each house was in itself a fortress.

## HOT SPRINGS

133 [135] Hot sulphurous springs are widely scattered in the coastal zone, and fairly accurate accounts of many of them are available. They commonly deposit gypsum in quantity. Some of the deposits are so large as to suggest either that activity was more general in the past or that the position of the spring outlets has shifted. The springs may be attributed to the same subterranean conditions that prevail in Yellowstone Park, where descending waters become superheated through close association with uncooled rocks and rise again to the surface.

312 241 361 [271] Within half a mile of the coast of Hami, east of Mukalla, several hot springs are utilized by the natives for irrigation of date palms and millet and also for drinking. Neither here nor elsewhere does the

[312] FIG. 18—A view in the Wadi Masella where water is present during most of the year. The edge of the Jol appears in the background.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 241 361

mineral content of the water seem to affect agriculture adversely. A striking example is seen about five miles north of Shihr where a series of springs depositing sulphur and gypsum have built an impressive mound, on which the village of Tabala stands. Their abundant and continued flow enables extensive irrigation by hand-dug canals and aqueducts and affords a means of livelihood for several hundred

[487 302]

FIG. 19—A caravan settling down for the night on the cold and stony Jol in the lengthening shadows of the setting sun. A caravan stops wherever night may overtake it and with little or no cover the Bedouins find a place to rest among the stones and shiver themselves to sleep. A coating of indigo stain with which the Bedouins not uncommonly paint themselves is said to be some defense against the night air.

people. The temperature of these springs on emergence is not far below boiling point, and they are reported to be the hottest on the coast.

At the small village of Harshiat, 3½ miles north of Mukalla, a few tepid sulphurous springs likewise are valuable for their yield. At the village of Gheil ba Wazir, on the inland road between Mukalla and Shihr, is an extensive gypsum flat and also a group of gypsum-depositing springs. Here a tobacco-raising community has sprung up. A part of the arable land is devoted to the growing of dates and millet and the remainder to tobacco, for which, owing to a quality unsurpassed in Southern Arabia, demand exceeds supply.

The small community of Husn Baquidran depends on a limited but constant supply of nongypsiferous sulphur water in the mountains of the Wadi Hajr, 30 miles from the coast. Irrigation is practiced on a small scale. The sites of Sidara and Mahamda, on the Wadi Hajr above Husn Baquidran, were determined by the presence of several groups of sulphur springs that are used for irrigation and consumption.

## VEGETATION

132 137 175

Today only the seaward fringe of the Dhufar Coast region, which during the pre-Islamic empires of the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and

B: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Himyarites was an important export center for incense and myrrh, has enough rainfall to support a thin growth of vegetation, largely incense trees. From this area and the surrounding country, at one time more abundantly watered, the priceless gum was most extensively collected in the past. It is still gathered today in small amounts, according to demand. The gum, which adheres to the bark, is harvested from varieties of the Burseraceae family, *Boswellia Carterii* and *B. Bhua-Dajiana*, divided by the Arabs into four grades.[4] Its value, which ranges from £80 to £10 a ton, depends on such qualities as color (red, green, and brown), size of the gum particles, and degree of adulteration. Just as the rubber gatherers of the Amazon debased latex with pebbles and gravel, so did the Arabs in the heyday of the incense trade, and to some extent even now, admix varying amounts of fine sand with the gum to increase its weight. Between March and August the trees are tapped by knife incision and a milky juice is extracted, which dries in three to five days.

FIG. 20 Caravan loading. The three men at the right are arguing about the disposition of loads.

Besides incense trees, a thin and scattered growth of bunch grass, camel's-thorn, and a cedarlike evergreen abundant in some dry wadies is found in the Hadhramaut. Date-palm groves, which cover many square miles, are mainly dependent on irrigation.

## Sources of Water Supply

In addition to artesian water and the water obtained from wells, other sources of supply are available. One of these is the *siquaya*, a small, rectangular, concrete tank with a capacity of 20 or 25 gallons erected along caravan routes near towns and maintained by them as a public service. Another is the well or cistern excavated at the base

[4] Freya Stark: The Southern Gates of Arabia. [New York]. 1936. pp. 10-11.

B. Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 of a broad, gently sloping bedrock drainage surface. The plateau abounds in suitable rock surfaces, and they serve as catchment areas for occasional cloudbursts. Walls, six to eight inches high, fashioned of closely packed but uncemented rock fragments and slabs, are

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FIG. 21—Bedouins of Wadi Hajr. Note the attire and appearance: bare feet or sandals; short sarong; cartridge belt; curved dagger; long, black, glistening, oily hair; ever present musket. To the stocks of their antiquated guns, goat skulls are frequently attached, as these are thought to provide greater comfort than the original design.)

laid out radially from the well so that surface drainage will converge on it from a wide area.

415 To transport water, Bedouins use bags of uncut goat skins, tied
401 firmly at the leg and neck openings. For drawing well water, the
skin is fashioned into a bucket and attached to a rope passing over
483 a pulley in a crudely constructed scaffolding of palm logs lashed together with coconut-fiber cord. The bucket is raised and lowered by donkeys, cattle, or slaves, with the assistance of an appropriate harness. To augment the lifting power applied to each bucket, it is customary to excavate an incline downward from the mouth of the well, equal in length to the depth of the water table, and it is along such a trench that man and beast plod long, weary hours each day. When a bulging and leaking skin has been lifted slightly above the welltop, it is pulled over and lowered into a catchment basin connected with the local irrigation system.

## THE CARAVANS

492 Many Bedouins, not engaged in agriculture or herding, find occu-
438 pation in the camel transport system of the Hadhramaut. A man
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133 During the daytime the heat was stifling, and at night it was so cold that for hours before the sun rose I was no longer able to sleep. The interminable, barren plain was covered all over with sharp, loose fragments of stone, and among these wound the narrow path along which from morning to night we steadily wended our way.
312 Drinking water is here to be found in *negābas,* which are cisterns hewn out of the rock some three meters below the surface, with a narrow opening. Low ridges lead the scanty rainfall to the *negāba.* Owing to the narrow opening there is very little evaporation, and if one has no rope at hand with a vessel to draw water, this opening is just large enough to admit a man to dip it out.
485 Near the *negāba* there is usually a little square building made by piling up rough stones in clay, this is called *murabba,* and here the midday hours with their scorch-
486 ing heat may be spent. For the sake of safety, our
609 Bedouins avoided the *negābas* as places for passing the night. In the evening the neighborhood of the bivouac was carefully reconnoitred, and usually sentries were posted at night. The authorities at Makalla had given us for our personal protection two negro soldiers belonging
133 to the famous slave army of the āl-Qa'ētī sultan. On May 15 we reached the wonderfully beautiful valley Wādī Dō'an. The descent of hundreds of meters of this almost perpendicular wall of rock with loaded camels was a difficult feat causing some anxiety; but the Bedouins and their camels reached the valley below with-
245 out a single mishap. As we looked upon this *wādī,* hemmed in by its high walls of rock, it looked like a land of magic with its deep-green groves of date palms
[361] and its clay villages with great castles and high houses. A glowing heat as dry as dust prevailed in Wādī Dō'an night and day. The bright yellow and deep red bunches of dates were hanging ripening in the hot wind. In the shade of the magnificent and remarkably well kept trees the population were quietly waiting for the harvest time.
144 A great deal of mixture with negro blood (of slaves) has

every year pilgrims assemble there from all those regions, and both before and after that a Truce of God prevails during an appointed period, in this country which is rent asunder by mutual warfare. Never before had a Christian been able to get further than Terīm in the direction of this sanctuary, and without the protection and the planning of the powerful Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf we should not have succeeded. On the way to Qabr Hūd we passed the magnificent ruined castles of el-'Urr and Thōbe, and the remains of houses and a cemetery at Makēnun. Qabr Hūd seemed to be a silent and defunct little town, with great houses which are only occupied for three days in a year. In the bed of the *wādī* there appeared to be water here, but before it reaches the sea it is said to disappear underground or else to dry up. The grave of Hūd, the great preacher of repentance in Hadramaut, is adorned with a dome which impresses one by its simplicity and beauty. The other sacred buildings are equally beautiful and are well kept. Where we had expected to find a Bedouin sanctuary which was neglected and primitive and surrounded by mud huts for the pilgrims, we found instead on the border of Arabia's "empty quarter," far away from the world, a sanctuary built and cared for with devotion and great talent.

We entered still further into the branch valley of Barhūt, and at the end of this *wādī* we saw at a height of about one hundred meters above the bottom of the valley the dark yawning chasm of the Bīr Barhūt, of which even the ancient geographers furnished descriptions, and definitely anticipated that there must be here the crater of a great volcano. After an investigation of two hours in the dark passages, arches and tunnels of Bīr Barhūt we were able to determine that we have here to deal with an ordinary limestone cave. Nowhere in this region did we see any trace of volcanic action. It was only in the broken ridge of mountains on the coast that we saw many traces of volcanic action. Further north the strata are horizontal; a layer of limestone about

133 the amount of evaporation. Accordingly we find in the north–south wadis a
311 continuous belt of cultivations with hamlets of a few houses every mile and towns about 15 miles or an easy day's walk apart. As opposed to this the cultivations in the Wadi Hadhramaut, which runs west–east, are to be found mainly in belts along the northern and southern sides, the south belt being wider than the north, due to the increasing evaporation and lower water table towards the centre of the wadi.

311 Except for the hamlets which occur among the fields, the buildings make
361 use of unproductive land, and perch up against the cliff side on the talus slope. This position also carries the advantages of shade together with good siting for defence. Where land is at a premium, villages may be so sited as to become inaccessible even to the draught and load-carrying beasts used in agriculture, and the stables and grainstores are found at the edges of the fields and at the foot of the narrow winding path leading up to the village (Plate 3).

[104] Water for the permanent cultivations of *dhurra* (*Sorghum* sp.), *dukhn*
● 312 (*Pennisetum typhoideum* et spp.), lucerne and date palm has until the last few
406 years been drawn by man or animal power, raising a leather bag of water by
241 walking down a ramp away from the well shaft. Nowadays greater use is being made of diesel- and petrol-driven pumps, increasing both the yield and the area it is economical to cultivate. The effect of these pumps, which are available on deferred terms, in lowering the water table will be watched with care. New crops such as potatoes, the brassicas, and sugar cane are also being introduced under the agriculture scheme in an attempt to make the Hadhramaut, if not entirely self-supporting, at least less dependent on its "extra-territorial population."

241 This limitation does not apply to the flood crops which are snatched
312 wherever possible. Throughout the lower wadi systems there exists a com-
361 plicated network of deflector dams which have the object of spreading the floodwaters over as large an area as possible, and leading a certain part of them into irrigation channels. Many retaining dams have been attempted, but usually unsuccessfully, as the major structure has been an earthwork with only the spillway of durable construction. In the shallow beds of the wadis running north from the secondary watershed there are many small cultivated patches and groups of two or three fortified houses are often situated where camel tracks converge on water cisterns cut into the rock.

*The transition belt.*

133 The transition zone between the mountain systems and the sand desert takes a number of forms. North of the Ramlat[1] al Mundafan the Kaukab sandstone plateau overlies the crystalline rocks to the west, and to the east has eroded to become an area of minor plateaus and blocks. Through the wide flat valleys between these minor plateaus runs the main Najran–Dawasir track, roughly north–south in longitude 44° 45′ E. at a general height of a little under 3000 feet. To the east of this track lies the southern section of the Nafud Dahi, running parallel with the road, and rising to a height of 100 feet

104 [1] Ramla(t): a general name for any sand feature. Thus the Ramlat al Mundafan means literally "the buried sands."

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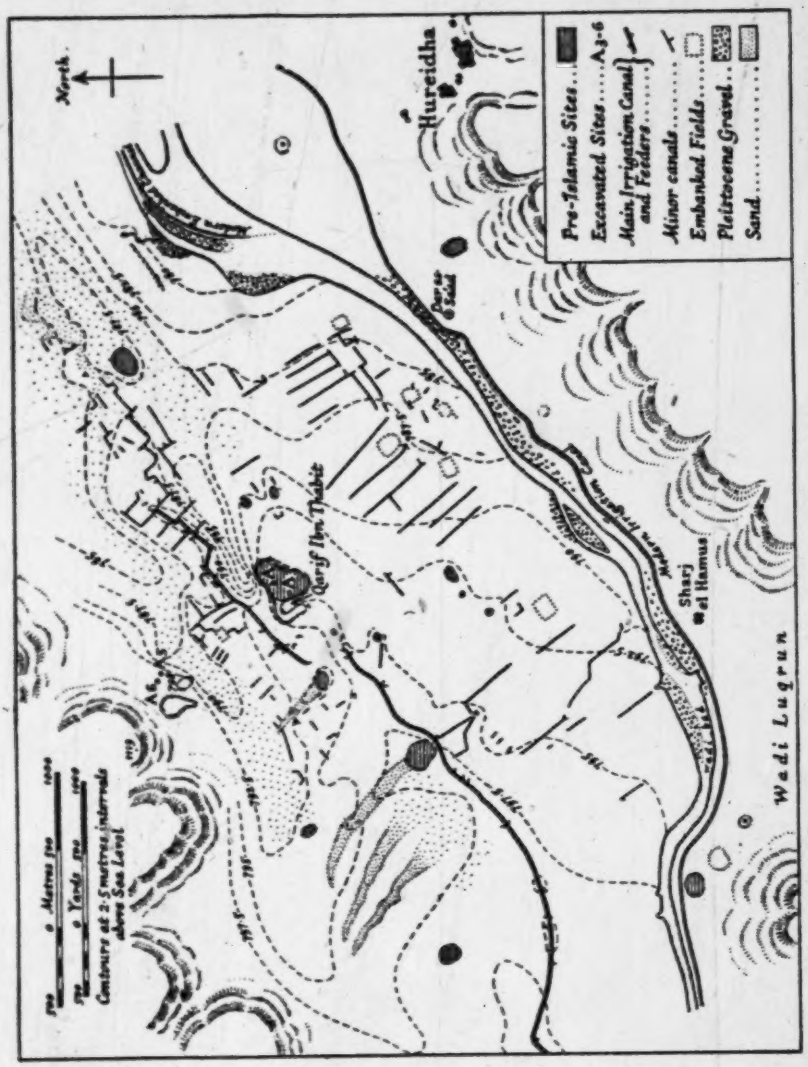


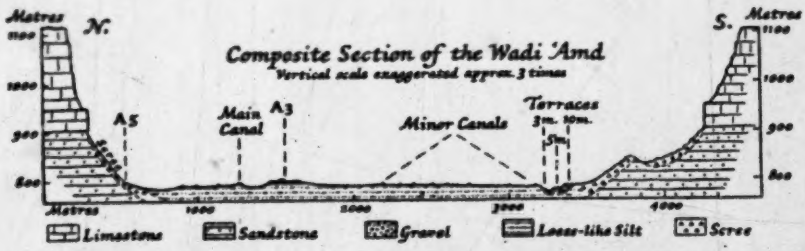


*Fig. 2* p·24

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



172 angles to the main one, and which distributed the water to the field-plots: these are from 4 to 8 m. broad and approximately 2 m. above the general ground-level. The irrigation of the fields themselves was directly controlled by the tertiary system, which consists of short narrow 1-m. ditches, taking off at an acute angle either from the main or secondary channels. The total area covered by this network was about 7 sq. km., and its various parts can be paralleled in the modern irrigation system.

Near the southern edge of this system there are several fields bounded by high silt banks. These are marked on the map by strong dotted lines, and some can be faintly distinguished in Plate 3 on the edge of the valley floor beyond the flood channel. They may be later in date, but in one case a stone inlet and outlet channel was found similar in all respects to the ancient work. The ground-level was here about RL 787 m., the inlet channel at 788·2 m., and the outlet at 787·7 m. Many of these fields have been intermittently cultivated in modern times by means of rainfall only.[1] A scatter of sickle flints and microlithic obsidians was found over the entire irrigated area. It may be noted that obsidian implements were absent on all the Islamic sites examined.

312 At the present day the flood waters are led off the flood channel several kilometres above Hureidha and are carried down by a 4-m. channel running [245] on the south side of the wadi (see Fig. 2) till they reach the palm groves of the town, where they divide and water many thousand palms. As the ancient 172 system was so similar to the modern it seems probable that it resembled it in this respect also. Within the area mapped there was no sign of a supply from the flood channel. The main canal never approached it and the minor ones were actually truncated by it. A day was therefore spent in riding up the wadi in the hopes of finding the take-off of the main pre-Islamic canal. Traces of it were followed for 16 km. but nowhere did it approach the present flood channel till the latter swings across the valley floor towards the north cliffs (Plate 3). Here a well-defined ancient canal is truncated by the wadi bed. It has 2 m. high gravel-covered banks, 30 m. apart, and can be clearly traced for 80 m. or so in an eastward direction. Beyond this point there is no sign of it, and here may therefore be the actual take-off of the flood waters which fed the ancient supply.

Possible confirmatory evidence was obtained about 1 km. upstream. Here there is a remnant of a V-shaped dam which projected from the southern bank part-way across the stream and would have served to divert the current to the entrance of the channel (Plate 11). In the bed itself only the foundations of this dam remain as a band of stones 3½ m. broad, wedged on both sides by larger, more regularly laid material. The downstream arm is 40 m. long and the upstream one 63 m., with a base of 81 m. along the wadi bank. The upstream branch springs from a base that wedges into the gravel of the bank for 2·6 m. The sloping sides are composed of wedge-shaped limestone blocks: eighteen courses high, probably the full number, are preserved on the downstream side and fourteen on the upstream. The infilling is of gravel. No sign of inscriptions or well-dressed stones were seen, and the age must therefore remain conjectural; but local tradition knows nothing of its history.

[1] Mr. Ingrams notes that in the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed—'Hadhramaut' (Colonial Office Report No. 123, 1937, p. 59).

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



484 438 [463 312] passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

361 438 529 Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the [504] principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

619 438 Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

487 101 438 142 When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan [244] Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



we first went up there they charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

[THE BA HASAN TRIBULIS -- ANALYST.]

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-39)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



WE PUT THE GARRISON INTO THE

grass hut, as the *murabba'a* was occupied by a woman who had been bitten 752
by a snake and the Sheikh asked us not to disturb her: it was part of her treatment that she should not be seen. A thin trail of ash had been sprinkled round the building to keep other snakes away.

During the day we collected other 'Abdulla bin 'Aun who came and watched 000
us from a distance in little groups. Somehow they seemed to be fascinated by us, for although they would not come when we shouted to them, they made no attempt to move or to resist when we walked over to them and told them to come along with us. Few of them were armed, and neither were we until the garrison came along. There were a couple of wells in commission, and I was told that at one time there had been as many as eighty-one. Some of the Badawin showed us on the wall of a cliff little columns of holes bored in soft stone. You counted up the holes and then stepping that number of paces from the column found yourself on a buried well.

Having explored the neighbourhood of the fort we went to see the site for a landing-ground which had been previously decided on from the air. Unfortunately it had to be at some little distance from the fort—2 or 3 miles—but it was a marvellous landing-ground and greatly pleased the Royal Air Force when they came along later in the day and flew Seiyid Bubekr and myself back to Seiyun.

On later visits I had the opportunity of seeing all the surrounding country from the air, and I was struck by the truth of the saying that Al 'Abr is the "Key of the Hadhramaut," for behind the mountains tracks radiated out in all directions to Nejran, the Yemen, and Shabwa and the Western Aden Protectorate. From Al 'Abr eastwards there was only the one track. I have visited Al 'Abr five times on the ground and passed over it many times by air, and on each occasion I have been struck by the large number of caravans which halt there for water. For a week or two after our occupation there was some falling off, as the Badawin were not certain of our intentions, but now it seems that far more come than before; they have a sense of security which was previously lacking when the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun were constantly looting them. My own belief, which is shared by responsible opinion in the Hadhramaut, is that before long a town will spring up there, as it forms an ideal place for a market and there is plenty of good water. The wells are not much [8124] more than 20 feet deep, cut through the soft limestone, and as soon as you draw the water out it runs in again in such a way as to give you the impression that there must be an underground river. On the first visit I took there a party of skilled builders from Tarim and they set to work at once to rebuild the fort. They also opened another well or two, and if we can find the money we shall open more, for these increased facilities are much appreciated by the Badawin.

Amongst the visitors who come are a large number of women. Thereabouts 562
they are unveiled and talk fearlessly and freely with you. I found these girls very charming and full of courage. They thought nothing of journeys alone with camels across the desert, from the Jof for instance, and it is the women throughout the Hadhramaut who appreciate the peace more than any one. They have often said that in the old days they always lived in fear that when their menfolk parted from them they might not see them again.

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



exceeding 40 cows, 20 cows are the limit, may be a camel and a few sheep as well. In the case of a poor man, perhaps a single cow or sheep. Two cows are slaughtered near the grave of the deceased on the day of burial (*i.e.* death generally), if overnight, a third cow. Two nights are allowed to pass and on the third night a cow is slaughtered. This is called *khutum*. A further period elapses varying according to the economic condition of the deceased's relatives. It may be so little as a fortnight or so much as three months when the big sacrifice takes place, may be of 10, 15 or 20 cows respresenting half of the deceased man's herds. This is called *yom el nahaira*. Both *khutum* and *nahaira* are performed at the place where the man lived and not upon his grave. More cows will be sacrificed by relatives and friends of the deceased towards whose families in his lifetime he has acted similarly. This vast slaughter attracts the whole neighbourhood and the sectional tribe of the dead man divide up the flesh for themselves, and go away under their great burdens. Visitors from other tribes have no such rights, but partake of the feast of cooked meat for which one cow will have been roasted for the occasion. 782 556

There is a widespread belief in *Subiro*, *i.e.* spirits of the departed and their power for good and evil. In the Wadi Rizat I came upon scraps of food and tobacco in the pool beneath where the spring comes gushing out of a cavern. The locals emerge at night to throw morsels on the ground or into the pool shouting, "We are your sons and your daughters—don't harm us. Be awake so that we are not harmed by *Jins* (human kind) or *Jinns*." 769 776

*Nughush* they call this casting of bread upon the waters. In theory these spirits brood over running water only: they are amenable to kind treatment and treat mankind in the same way that they are treated by mankind.

The people of Jurbaib, lower down, sacrifice a cow before the harvest after it has made a circuit of the crops—its blood being drained into the irrigation ducts. Bits of its flesh are cast amongst the growing grass. 782 769

This spring of Rizat was in old days the subject of a notorious government case. Bait Zaiyan, a section of the Shahara, claimed the exclusive right to practise *nughush* in it. The Qara overlords who wished to share in the benefits of ghostly grace demanded to go "fifty-fifty" in the sacrifice. The government wali, in order to make government itself a partner in the scheme and share in the crops of the plains, decided that both parties would receive exactly equal quantities of food from government so that there should be no cheating. But in later years the slave soldiers of government, becoming overbearing in their treatment of Bait Zaiyan, the latter called upon the departed spirits of their forefathers who promptly made the water run up hill, so that the crops in the plains withered and died, whereupon government's share lapsed. 312 [619]

Cases of virtue held to be latent in certain dying animals I met with on several occasions. The highly valued contents of the antelope's bladder for man, and its stomach for camels, may be purely a rational custom, but that cannot be said of a raven I had shot. While it lay dying a Badu asked for its heart, which he proposed thus to eat raw and palpitating. This was, he said, a protection to his own heart from evil influence, its bile also which he proposed mixing with kohl with which to annoint his eyelids. The Shahari who killed my biggest cobra, 825 789 754

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Middle East Islands MI1
Socotra



Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hill are terraced by the industrious inhabitants to grow crops and, in the higher altitudes, the excellent Mocha coffee for which Southern Arabia is famous. Villages appear in unexpected places, built of mud brick in the low country and of stone on the mountain-sides and hill-tops. Among these habitations are seen always the square towers; or *dars*, and the little mosques or whitewashed shrines that are characteristic of the Arab villages.

The aspect of the country varies in its different parts. Immediately to the north of Aden is the large and fertile oasis in which stands the capital of the Sultan of Lahej. It is irrigated from the bifurcation of the Wadi Tiban that brings water from the mountains and then disappears in the sands near Aden. To the east and west of Lahej are desert strips, but beyond are the Subeihi hills and valleys to the north-west, the rugged Haushabi country, and the pleasant district of Dhala in the Amiri highlands to the north, and the lofty mountains of Yafa to the north-east. Thence to the eastward a steep escarpment spans the country like a rampart; and is crowned by the fertile Audhali plateau 7,000 feet above sea-level. Farther east, beyond another stretch of rough, mountainous country, is the fantastic and barren *jol*, reminiscent of pictures of the surface of the moon. To the north of this strange and desolate area, and in striking contrast to it, is the wide valley of the Hadhramaut, with its chain of towns and villages, its skyscrapers, country houses, palace and gardens. Beyond again, away to the north, lies the edge of the Rub' al Khali, the Empty Quarter, with its sea of tumbled terra-cotta coloured sand dunes stretching into the distant interior.

On the sea coast of the Protectorate there are at intervals fishing villages and little ports, and about 300 miles to the east of Aden stands the picturesque town and port of Mukalla, the capital of the Quaiti Sultan. Protected by a steep background of rock, its white houses cling to the shore, and its appearance from the sea is singularly attractive. The town of Shehr lies on the coast beyond it, and eastward again there are more coastal villages, of which Qishn, the capital of the mainland territory of the Sultan of Socotra, is the most important.

The large island of Socotra, situated about 500 miles to the east of Aden, forms part of the Protectorate. It, too, is a mountainous country, but, owing to its greater rainfall, it is much less bleak than the neighbouring mainland. It has a good deal of varied vegetation, and is noted for its so-called dragon's-blood tree, the sap of which is exported to India and elsewhere to make a rich purple dye. Socotra has also a

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 of the city. Before the gate is the Wādī Seded, where the sea
484 has penetrated far inland and formed an inlet. Here on the
361 beach the caravans camp as they travel to and from the
231 interior. Hundreds of camels are kneeling in great circles,
492 eating the food that lies in the centre. Other camels are being bathed and scrubbed down with sea-water, while still others are protesting with gurgling snarls against the treatment of some skin trouble or of big open wounds. There are donkeys here and there amongst them. Bedouins lie asleep wrapped
[264] about in their cloaks or sit round a small fire eating out of wooden bowls their porridge of crumbled bread mixed up with a little fat. Some are busy with the difficult work of loading: after the freights have been weighed by lifting and then
[372] divided, they are fastened on to the pack-saddles. Children are collecting into baskets the camel's dung which is of great value as fuel. The ground is swarming with the so-called camel-louse, which is really a sort of tick. The penetrating odour of the camels' urine and sweat hangs over this wide-spread, permanent bivouac.

487 We go inland along the bank of the Wādī Seded, which is
312 here filled with sea-water, so as to cross, by making a big bend, behind the 1800 feet high rocky ridge of Makalla. On the left of the road, only a few miles from Makalla, there are groves of palm, with the white summer quarters of the Vizier and of the Sultan. Here is a spring from which, by means of a thin, iron pipe lying on the ground, water is carried to Makalla to provide the town with drink.

361 Two hamlets, el-Baqrēn and Baqērēn, with some cultivated
578 fields, lie close to the frontier of the Sultanate of Makalla. There are two fortified towers on the road manned by soldiers, and not far beyond Baqērēn there stands a whitewashed piece of rock. Against the high wall of primary rock, rising up each side of the road, two white marks have been made to show even in the mountain region, where the land is at peace and where at war. No vendetta may be carried on nor ancient feuds settled by arms in or around the town.

A little way beyond the boundary-marks, about 20 Bedouins have made a bivouac under an overhanging wall of rock. On the top of the rock on the other side of the road are their outposts, who keep a sharp look-out for caravans passing along the high road. One caravan that had carried out a vendetta is now in safety in Makalla, a willing prisoner. We only realized later that we should be the ones to free it from that imprisonment. 578

The road winds through steep rocks and at last zigzags up to a plateau which seems to be of coral limestone formation. The hamlet of Ma<sup>c</sup>ōṣ lies in a rocky valley a little in front of the plateau; further up, in a longer valley, there is a larger village called el-Ḥarshīyāt. From the plateau one can see, far away to the left, the village of el-Ḥawwā<sup>ᵓ</sup>. We are soon past the rock massif of Makalla, and the road descends to an inlet of the sea which has run far inland, whereon lies the village of Buwēsh. Papaya, bēdān and bananas are planted here along the edge of fields of lucerne. In the wādī that runs into the sea near Buwēsh there are, higher up, more date-palms and other fruit-trees, plantations which are the property of the Vizier and of other rich men of Makalla. The wells from which the fields are irrigated are not deep here, only 20 feet. On the coast between Buwēsh and Makalla lies Rūkeb. The road mounts again, runs for some time over coral formations, and then again drops to the Wādī Feleq, into which, far inland, the sea-water runs and which, consequently, is more like a small river. Baṣra lies a little higher up this wādī. At the edge of the stream we find much *asal*[1] growing. The coral limestone terraces on both sides are fairly high. The road runs farther over level land where jathropha shrubs grow; whole patches, also, are covered with incense bushes, which are recognizable by their scent and have either no leaves or very small ones. Some tall acacia bushes with elongated blossoms stand out here and there amidst the brownish shrubs which grow upon the bare rocky ground, strewn with pieces of coral. 361 245 312 487 137 487

[1] A kind of big reed.

We reached the little village of Laṣb within an hour. It lies just at the point where the gap narrows and the mountains on either side of the wādī become higher. In the perpendicular wall of rock has been cut a conduit, by which the water of a rivulet, which soon vanishes again, is carried to the palm-groves and *dhura* fields of the villages. We leave the path to seek refreshment among the *dhura* grown to more than a man's height. At the edges of the fields bananas and papayas are planted. The inhabitants of the village do not show themselves. The castle-like dwellings of mud stand high above the cultivated land, against the mountain-wall; perhaps our movements are being spied upon from behind the small, dark window openings.

Beyond the village, Wādī el-Laṣb narrows and the walls become steeper. The water-conduit looks like a thick, green roll clinging to the wall, with maidenhair fern and other moisture-loving plants growing in abundance. The brook with its crystal-clear water soon appears; where the water is dammed up in basins we see shoals of little black fish and many black frogs. The rocks are full of deep holes. The piled-up strata slope down towards us. The rock-wall hangs over us as we go further up the valley, and a thick, hard crust projects high above our heads over its edge so that we could walk in its shadow. Here we decided to wait for the camels; our companions immediately fell asleep, while we sought out a spot in the rivulet where it had widened out to form a pool and we bathed there. It is true, the little fishes came to see whether we were edible, but that did not spoil the unexpected, deep satisfaction of a bath in the wilderness of Southern Arabia. The water, certainly, is warm, but the dry wind has a refreshing effect as soon as one is out of the water and lets oneself be blown dry. Further inland the water was so warm that it was only enjoyable to bathe in it at night.

When the camels and the donkeys were at last to be seen, we went on further into the rapidly ascending wādī. We soon had to do without the pleasure of the brook and its thickly-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The way winds upwards out of the wādī; the mountains here are no longer so precipitous and it had been possible to cut out a path on the slope about 300 feet above the bed of the wādī. It is a primitive path, but it has been improved here and there. We are going north-east and have the sun obliquely in front of us; it is a hot, constantly ascending stretch of road. Already at half past seven the Bedouins wanted to make a halt, but we prevented this by vigorous opposition, and it was postponed till 11 o'clock. We have passed a large well of water, el-Ghuḍūḍa, and see Zemān el-Kebīr on our right, lying close to the mountain slope. There are date and coco-nut palms, papaya and banana trees in the midst of neatly cultivated fields of tobacco. We make a halt at the next village, Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr, and find shelter against the merciless glare of the sun, in an empty stone building that seems to be intended for passing caravans.

Here we first made acquaintance with those pious institutions for the protection of travellers against thirst, the *siqāyas*. Later on we were to travel from *siqāya* to *siqāya* and learn to look on these white, beneficent landmarks in nearly waterless stretches of country, with a greater thankfulness than at the beginning. We were only just at the edge of the dry, rocky table-land and could still give ourselves the luxury of a hygienic, critical standard in the matter of drinking-water. The *siqāyas* are small buildings, generally five feet square and six feet high, with a dome-shaped roof, made of natural stone or dried mud and whitewashed. About five feet from the ground there are square or triangular holes, through which by means of a cup one can scoop water out of the masonwork cistern, about six inches deep, which has been placed at that height in the *siqāya*. The filling of the cistern is attended to daily by one who is paid for doing so by the pious foundation (*waqf*) endowed for that purpose. In one of the openings in the walls of the *siqāya*, there is to be found the half of a coco-nut shell, a rusty tin, or an oblong wooden cup, with which one scoops out the water and from which one

312 drinks. One must accustom oneself as soon as possible to the
271 fixed habit in this country, of drinking one after the other out
485 of the same cup or bowl. Even among the very rich and the Sultans, the big earthenware drinking cups are passed from guest to guest. One sees the soldiers and slaves drink out of them too. The water in the *siqāyas* is often dirty, with a variety of odours and tastes; it also swarms with larvae and the like, but thirst soon teaches one not to notice them and the aversion diminishes in course of time!

In Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr we were able to buy milk, buttermilk (here called *rūb*), lemons, coco-nuts and bananas, but at high prices.

361 In the afternoon we proceeded and in a short time arrived
311 on a plateau, fairly thickly covered with tufts of grass and low shrubs, where two villages, el-Ghēḍa and el-Ghiyāḍa, lie among well-cultivated fields of tobacco, surrounded by a small
342 grove of date-palms. The mayor of el-Ghiyāḍa is related to the
439 family of el-ᶜAṭṭās; we were therefore desirous of calling upon him. The door of his simple, mud, mayoral residence was decorated with particularly fine carving. We were received in a little, dimly-lighted room that served both as a place for storing tobacco and as a reception-room. The mayor had been in Batavia for seven years and had there acquired some wealth in the *batik*[1] trade, which a son is now continuing. As soon as I was informed of this, I proposed to converse in Malay instead of in Arabic. Our host eagerly agreed and we were
[272] soon deep in reminiscences of Java. Meantime coffee was
271 prepared, consisting for three quarters of ginger and for one quarter of coffee, and a great earthen bowl of cold water passed from mouth to mouth. These porous, unglazed bowls filled with water are placed in the small window openings, and the hot outer air causes the water which exudes through them to evaporate, thus cooling their contents. One finds the same

[1] *Batik* is the name of the specially Javanese art of decorating and dyeing pieces of cloth used as garments. The thus decorated pieces are also called *batik*.

system of drinking- and at the same time cooling-bowls, 271
among poor and rich alike.

Our host spoke with longing of beautiful, rich Java and of 167
the good years that he had passed there, and it was obvious that he would have liked to return there but for leaving his family behind, for the Ḥaḍramī woman does not leave her country with her husband. It was clear, from the friendly farewell, that I had not been wrong in thinking that my years passed as a civil servant in Netherlands India would facilitate my travels in Ḥaḍramaut.

They all went a little way with us to see us off and were 138
photographed at their own request. We followed the broad 312
*sēl*-bed [1] crossing the plateau surrounded by terraces of about 300 feet high. There, where the plateau ends, lies, at a height of 50 feet the village of Ḥimem on a hill at the edge of the wādī to which it gives its name. At the foot of the hill, there are very tall coco-nut trees, the last that we shall see for the time being, for the altitude is already 3000 feet. A conduit full of water, fed by little springs at the edge of the wādī, irrigates fields of *dhura* and of neatly-planted and well-cultivated tobacco. It is true that it is not first-class Ḥumūmī tobacco that is raised here, but even so it commands a good market price.

The evening falls and we are obliged to camp soon after 133
leaving Ḥimem. The valley has here penetrated into the sand- 271
stone and the conglomerates under the eocene limestone. Here at a height of 3000 feet the nights are already cold. According to our Bedouins, who are good water-tasters, the water also improves in proportion as one gets further away from the coast; all salt and bitterness gradually disappears from it.

In our bivouac at Ḥimem we had to put away again a great 136
harvest of plants and insects; the swallow-tail butterfly was also found here.

The mayor of Ḥimem came to visit us in our camp. He told 249
us that his village of 200 to 300 inhabitants grows tobacco,

[1] The bed through which the water flows for a short time after rain.

000 the fairly steep slope of Wādī Ḥimem, high above the *sēl*-bed. We looked down on the fresh green of small trees and shrubs; a shepherdess with her flock of goats was occasionally to be seen amongst them. The path then dropped down towards the wādī; walking over the grey-white boulders and under small acacias with scanty foliage, we made our weary way to the end of Wādī Ḥimem, in and beside which we had been journeying for days past.

### 4. THROUGH WĀDĪ LUṢŪB TO THE GREAT ROCK PLATEAU. THE CAMP AT EL-ḤISĪ.

133 361 ●312 We came out onto a high plateau, but soon entered the wide, shallow bed of Wādī Luṣūb, which was fairly well covered with vegetation. Small, poor houses lie scattered here, like cubes of stone, with very primitive little gardens. The people live principally by breeding sheep and goats. We made our quarters for the night just beyond the houses, forming the hamlet of el-Ḥisī, beside a large well of masonry within which one descends by stone steps to the surface of the water. The well had been dug in the *sēl*-bed and was therefore protected by a thick wall, as high as a man, against the water floods which appear after rain. In el-Ḥisī lived the family of Mautor, the leader of our caravan, and hence the dawdling which characterised this day; on no account were they prepared to go beyond el-Ḥisī.

246 262 All bickering was forgotten now and our Bedouins radiated contentment and willingness. The people of el-Ḥisī set to work cutting up food for our animals, all the inhabitants came to have a look at our camp, and, afterwards, Mautor took all his comrades with him to feast in his village. He brought us, beforehand, a cloth full of *nibq* fruit. The *nibq* tree, also called *sidr* or *dōm*, is of intrinsic importance in those parts of Ḥaḍramaut where there is too little water for the cultivation of the date-palm. There, wherever one is dependent on the *sēl*, the water which only comes after rain, and where the subsoil

• 312

Bēn el-Djibāl. Our party resting at the first *murabba'a* alongside the first *neqāba*.

137

On the top of the Kōr Sēbān .... a solitary dragon's blood tree.

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137 globular shrub, an *euphorbia* which is *not* succulent, but has a green bark. Although this plant had flowers and fruit, it had, at the moment, no leaves. It occurs frequently.

●312 From the top of Kōr Sēbān there stretches westwards
104 a slightly-furrowed plateau, intersected by good camel paths, and where cisterns for catching rain-water, called *neqābas*, have been made. The *neqābas* are cellars cut out of the limestone rock, with a narrow, round opening, three feet in diameter, and a shaft which soon broadens out to an underground cavity nine to ten feet deep and fifteen to eighteen feet in diameter. The rain-water is led there by means of low dykes. The narrow opening prevents much evaporation, and the water in the cellar remains cool. In suitable places, where there is much traffic, one finds as many as six to ten *neqābas* close together. The water in them can remain there for quite three years, but the disadvantage is that it generally has a brackish taste. There are also often simple, small, square buildings close to the *neqābas*, with walls of natural stones, loosely put together, and with flat mud roofs. They are called *murabbaʿas* and serve as shelter for travellers and their animals against the fierce sun by day and the cold wind by night. Moreover, one often finds ramparts and fortified observation posts close to the *neqābas*, recalling the many wars taking place in this barren and unpopulated land.

The *neqābas* make it possible to travel over the dry, stony plateaus. Were they not present one would have to follow the winding bed of boulders in the wādīs or else descend into them frequently and with difficulty to fetch water. Now one journeys from *neqāba* to *neqāba*. Occasionally one is found empty owing to the long-continued drought and that causes great disappointment, but one always comes upon another before long. The Bedouins of these districts generally know quite well what the condition of the different *neqābas* is and settle their route accordingly. The *neqābas* take the place of the *siqāyas* in the wādīs and in the mountains not of table

formation. They belong to the plateau called *djōl* (جول), lying between the mountainous coast region and the great depressions of inner Ḥaḍramaut.

## 6. THE DJŌL.

Our way now led over the *djōl* as far as Wādī Dō'an. The *djōl* consists of vast table-lands of reddish-brown limestone, where flat-topped, horizontal mountains, the remains of old, still higher plateaus, stretch like long wings. The wādīs are cut deep into them. We also often descend into flat, basin-shaped wide depressions, passing over the crumbling edges of the plateaus, and afterwards have to climb laboriously up again, towards the boulders at the edge of the opposite plateau, quite half an hour away. Wherever one looks one sees the same long, horizontal lines of the table-mountains, with everywhere the forked, precipitous incisions made by the wādīs. The plain is strewn with sharp fragments of limestone, dark-brown and black in colour, which ring like metal whenever the passer-by kicks pieces of them together with his foot. Vegetation is almost absent. Towards the edges of the plateaus, against which clouds sometimes seem to break, there are a few shrubs of small, crooked, gnarled acacias. One finds no trace of animal life except a few lizards and sometimes a solitary bird. It is very warm on the *djōl* during the day, the sun scorches, and the wind is hot and dry. During the night this same wind is cold and penetrating, so that one wakes up and remains awake longing for the warmth of the sun hours before it rises; then an hour later it is torment again from the heat.

The endless monotony is the great enemy of the traveller over the *djōl*. The light is fierce and is reflected a thousand times in the metallic shining stones. The narrow camel path winds like a smooth and shining ribbon through the unruffled and almost unchanging expanse. The stones have been pushed aside by the feet of the camels which, in the course of so many years, have passed that way. The limestone of the plateau

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this, there were the remains of the houses which these people had inhabited in the days of the preaching of Hūd, the prophet of Allah. It was arranged for the caravan to go ahead as usual and for us to rise early and set out on a rapid excursion to the ᶜĀd remains, without losing a day of the time on our schedule.

The night in Bureyyira seemed very cold, yet in the morning the temperature was only 18° C. The night-wind and the great contrast with the heat of the day make one feel the cold very much. We set out at 5 o'clock under the leadership of Aḥmad and the protection of the soldier ᶜUbēd. We went first by the road on donkeys for some hours and then, leaving the animals with their attendants behind us, we struck into a side-path that led over massive rocks to the source of Wādī Ghār. The wādī is very soon deeply hollowed out and we climb with difficulty high up along its steep wall, but luckily that does not last long, and we approach the wādī-bed. Occasionally our way is blocked by great, greyish-white boulders. All sorts of interesting plants grow against the wall of rock as, for example, *anisotes*, which is also to be found at el-Ḥisī. We followed the bed of this narrow, deep wādī for a long time, and our eyes were refreshed by the colour of many an acacia. After strenuous climbing we reached the broader Wādī Thiqbe, where we had to circumvent immense blocks of rock. The *sēls* must have formed waterfalls here by which deep basins have been hollowed out of the rock, which in several places still held some water, though rather thick and brown. Now that the sun is so high that its rays reach the bed of the wādī, the temperature rises very quickly, and the prolonged and hard exertion makes us very thirsty. The water-supply that we brought with us is soon exhausted, but these basins of brown water arouse aversion. There is some shadow given by a number of trees, among which are some large *nibqs*, and that is the spot where we rest. Aḥmad really knows the way well. He brings us to a deep pool, hidden from sight by rocks, which has straight walls and is quite full of brown water. Though we dare not

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farewell to Bā Ṣurra, his sons and grandsons, and then we 000
start off again on donkeys through the glorious groves of date-palms to Huwēbiya, three quarters of an hour distant, where the Vizier of Makalla has estates, now managed by his son Sālim.

We ride most of the way on the tops of the mud dykes 312
which lie alongside of the irrigation canals. The palm-groves are intersected by many deep channels which distribute the water from the *sēl* over the land under cultivation, and whose high, though narrow, mud dykes are made to protect the plantations from damage by the swiftly flowing water. The actual *sēl*-bed is dammed, here and there, between barrages of piled-up boulders.

The Vizier has a fine house, well situated close to the 000
green wādī. The cream-coloured mosque near by it has a minaret, which is a beautiful bit of Ḥaḍramī architecture.

The old Sayyid Muṣṭafā puts in his appearance soon after, 609
and there is also a Ḥaḍramī who has done well as a merchant in Djedda. Conversation turns on the World War and the events resulting from it. One feels them, as always, groping for the weak spot in the West, for the seed of destruction in the wordly and spiritual power which dominates and enslaves the lands of Islam. It comes out clearly how positively our listeners count upon a vigorous recovery of Germany, who will revenge herself for defeat in a new world war which will put an end for good to the dominating position of the whole West. They are all aflame for war from so-called pure sympathy for Germany or antipathy for Albion. It is difficult, not only to run directly counter to that kind of anticipation of the future, but also to bring forward some arguments for the love of peace and of mankind, transcending differences in religion, in such a way that, at least, they will not be immediately forgotten again.

After a breakfast of hot bread-cakes, *samn* mixed with 262
honey, poached eggs with onions, tinned pine-apple and pears, the conversation is taken up again with renewed vigour. We 000

000 172 a chance of success some money could be spared for it. Close to this spring[1] lie against the mountain-wall the ruins of Khurēḍa, the town from which Ḥurēḍa is said to have taken its name. It may be presumed that these ruins date from well into pre-Islamic times, in spite of the fact that we found no inscriptions to prove it. There are remains of houses, namely foundations of stone, two wells, which are still very deep, and a cistern, which is plastered with a kind of cement. A fragment of an aqueduct of mason-work leading to the spring is still to be seen.

312 Tins of water are carried on donkeys from the spring to Ḥurēḍa. We advised that the spring and the rocky basin in front of it should be cleaned out right up to the massive rock, then cemented, and the water brought at least as far as the valley by means of a conduit of iron piping, thus saving much output of energy and minimizing the possibility of pollution and the spilling of water.

After this, under the guidance of the Bedouin Sayyid ᶜAlī, we go through the palm-groves and over the dry irrigation canals to the other wall of the wādī, where, in a fissure of the rock, there is said to be a little pool which always has water. Sayyid ᶜAlī does not much like the hot climbing, but we 529 persevere in it. After energetic scrambling over fields of stone and up slopes of rock we actually arrive at el-Baḥr, "the sea", a deep, rocky basin, full of water, with high, cavernous walls from which, after rain, the water must fall in spray into the basin. It is a splendid place for a swim. The temperature of the water is certainly high, but it is so broiling hot in the chasm that the contrast is refreshing. The basin is so deep that we cannot dive to the bottom. Sayyid ᶜAlī performed one of his great feats, on the occasion of a picnic, by climbing up the high wall of rock and diving thence into the basin. That nearly all these men of the desert are good swimmers and daring divers certainly points to the natural giftedness of the race. Ḥaḍramīs who have never seen the sea enlist as pearl-divers or go as stokers on long voyages.

1 [ONE MILE S.W. OF HURĒḌA -- ANALYST]

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fluential, privileged position, though abroad this position is 565
constantly attacked, and with increasing violence. Western colonial governments make no distinction between the *sāda* (plural of *sayyid*) and those who are not descended from the Prophet, but here this kind of democracy is neither understood nor respected by the *sāda*. It was the only objection that I heard raised against the Netherlands' Colonial Government. 565

In their own land they are the maintainers of religion, and in 782
no other Muḥammadan country are there so many and such 554
beautiful mosques. Also I have seldom seen the *ṣalāt* performed with so much devotion as among the *sāda* in Ḥaḍramaut. Their influence on the government of their land is great: the Sultans are financially dependent on them, the Bedouin tribes are governed by them both by means of money and by religious influence. If they were not so hopelessly disunited among themselves, the political conditions in the "country of the *sāda*" would be much better. It will be seen from what follows how distressingly bad these are at the present time.

The place of honour is given to the sayyid in daily life; 565
he takes the lead during the performance of the *ṣalāt* and sees 554
that it is duly carried out. He is greeted with a respectful kiss on the hand, a salute which even the Sultan does not evade, at least in appearance; the sayyid shows his appreciation of this by drawing back his hand and making as if he will kiss that of the Sultan. This game of make-believe is carried on for quite a little time, for people in Ḥaḍramaut have plenty of time to spare and cling with great respect to the decorum of life. For the non-sayyid of distinction it also suffices if he makes a pretence of kissing the hand.

In Ḥurēḍa all worldly authority is subordinate to that of the sayyids. The Governor is a poor young man who is completely dependent, financially, on the el-ʿAṭṭās family. The schools, mosques, wells and other objects of public utility are maintained by the sayyids.

Water-supply for Ḥurēḍa is a matter of difficulty. We saw 312
great wells lined with masonry, which are about 55 *qāma* deep

312 (that is a little more than 300 feet). Groups of sturdy male and female slaves, singing in unison the while, raised the water-bags by a pulley and emptied the contents into a conduit which led to a cemented basin. Cheap labour on the one hand and capital earned abroad on the other make it possible to keep such places as Ḥurēḍa in condition. The palm-groves are kept alive by the *sēl,* but seem to be on the decline and, on their borders, to be giving way to accumulating heaps of sand.

648 On the evening of the 21st of May, I was officially received in the simple dwelling of the Governor of Ḥurēḍa. The Governor of el-Meshhed and Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās, however, acted as hosts and leaders of the meeting. The Governor is a quiet, friendly, young man and the whole atmosphere is particularly gentle and kind. A youthful poet of the el-ᶜAṭṭās family had composed a song of welcome. Sayyid Ḥasan makes a speech in which the poem is recited and in which he welcomes us as the first Europeans to visit Ḥurēḍa. As Dutch subjects, they are very much delighted that one of us is an envoy of the Netherlands Government. In my reply I said that it seemed right and fair to me that the Dutchman has preceded the Briton in Ḥurēḍa, for with the Dutch in Java exist the more long-standing and intimate relations. In Ḥaḍramaut, along with agreeable surprises, I also found disappointing conditions. We considered the energetic Ḥaḍramīs, whom we know in Java, to be capable of improving the backward conditions which exist in their fatherland.

I seized every opportunity that was offered to me to point to the necessity of independent activity and thus to answer the repeated requests for Dutch or other foreign help for the achieving of better conditions.

172 My companion, with the Bedouin Sayyid ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās, climbed Djebel Ghumdān to investigate the wonders that are told of this historic summit. There should be ruins, and a deep well on the top was said to have a subterranean connection with Bīr ᶜAlī on the coast. The ruins of defensive towers on

look as though this is still possible in any way; the drifting 361
sand has killed the date-palms and reduced to a minimum the 241
cultivation of *dhura* and the like. The hamlets are partially 134
deserted and the mud houses fallen in.

The very ancient town of Hēnin[1] has shared this fate. The 361
place lies like a long line at the foot of the rock-wall. Castles 134
and defence turrets higher up have fallen into ruin as have most of the houses of this once important town on the road to the Yemen.

Bin ᶜAwaḍ Martaᶜ has returned to his fatherland from Sura- 241
baya with the resolve to try to check its decay. The family 134
house has been restored by him and a new storey built on to it. 312
He has brought from Java a motor pump which has been set up on the 70 feet deep well. The pump supplies 30 gallons of water for irrigation per minute so that, if it works for eight hours a day, it just suffices to wrench a few acres of *dhura* from the sandy desert and to keep alive the 200 young date-palms which are planted between.

Bin Martaᶜ himself now also realizes that this is but a service 361
of love at a death-bed and that his motor pump cannot save 134
Hēnin from decay and from the engulfing sea of sand. Hēnin is like a little town destroyed by storm on the rocky coast of an interminable sea of sand which has first swallowed up its palm-groves and is now submerging the place itself. We have seen nothing of the Bā ᶜAṭwah, the poet beggars of Hēnin.[2] They have been driven by poverty to the prosperous parts of the valley of Ḥaḍramaut and to Java.

Hēnin is nominally under Qeᶜēṭī rule; the Sultan of Shibām 622
and el-Qaṭn protects the place and the insignificant little 511
villages surrounding it. That evening, in the great *madjlis* of Bin Martaᶜ's house, we met the poor, simple shēkhs of the

[1] Cf. el-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 85, l. 19*sqq.*, 86, l. 20 *sq.*, 88, l. 10 *sqq.*; De Goeje, *Hadhramaut*, in *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, ii. (1886), p. 110.

[2] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Zur Dichtkunst der Bâ ᶜAṭwah in Ḥadhramôt*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, v. (Bonn, 1925), p. 393 *sqq.*

361 district called el-Qaṭn, now stands out clearly against the foot of the rock-wall. The ground grows flat; the loam emerges freed from the layer of sand; rectangular patches point to occasional cultivation of the land during a favourable rainy season. There is a low-growing plant in the fields; it is a weed that is used as fodder for cattle.

361 Furṭ el-Qaṭn is only a hamlet, but a continuous series of
241 palm-groves and fields of *dhura*, lucerne and sesame stretches from here until beyond Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn, where the Sultan is resident. All actual cultivation is due to irrigation by means of wells. A broad strip of ground which is cultivated when there is sufficient rainfall stretches outside the date plantations. The level of the subsoil water is nearer to the surface here, as the wādī descends more rapidly than does the subterranean river. Beyond Terīm it comes above the surface for considerable stretches.

212 The wells and the tracks along which beasts and men go to
231 draw up water are mostly situated in the shade of the date-
241 palms. Where shadow is lacking, long strips of jute or other
564 material sewn together are stretched over the track to make
571 shade for men and animals. Donkeys and cattle are used for haulage, but mostly with the help of man's labour. The poor, hard-working and little honoured caste of the *ḍaᶜfā* (the peasants) [1] have as their chief occupation this irrigation work [2], which really goes on almost all the year round. The *ḍaᶜīf* walks backwards beside his cow or donkey, pushing at the hauling rope with the back of his thighs, in which way his weight has most effect. By the time they reach the end of the hauling track, the bag full of water, which is generally leaking considerably, has appeared at the rim of the well. The *sānī* draws the bag of water (*gharb*) to the rim by a thin rope,

104 [1] *Ḍaᶜfā* is the plural of *ḍaᶜīf* (ضعيف), which name is given in Haḍramaut to the agricultural labourer class, cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii, p. 220 and v. p. 406.

104 [2] Here called *senāwa* (سناوة); the man who works it is the *sānī*. Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *loc. cit.*

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where it empties itself into a little mud basin, out of which the irrigation conduits lead to the cultivated ground. Work at the well occupies the whole family: father and son guide the animals and walk with them in hauling ropes and mother and daughters relieve them at this work. Two old dames sit in the shade making ready food for the beasts, which consists of dry straw bound round with fresh green into bundles, that are pushed into the animals' mouths whenever they arrive at the top or bottom. I saw women continuing their mat-plaiting whilst, at the same time, walking backwards in the traces down the slope of the track. The work is very tiring: pulling whilst going down hill and then climbing up again. The path, on which their walk begins at sunrise, is as long as the well is deep.

## 2. TO THE SULTAN'S PALACE IN EL-QAṬN.

One sees the tall buildings of Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn even from afar rising above its walls and the tops of the date-palms. The place is not large and is situated, like the townlets in Wādī Dōʿan, stretched out and closed in between date-groves and the rock-barrier. It is surrounded by a mud wall kept in good repair. At the gate of the town we see our caravan; it is on its way to Shibām with the baggage and is resting here during the heat of the day. Although we are informed that the Sultan is staying *in Shibām, we wish to pay a visit* of courtesy to his deputy at the palace; possibly he may allow us to make a survey and to photograph from the roof of this very high building. The palace has just been partially renovated and, consequently, has not yet the gay outside decoration of whitewash. A broad staircase leads to a large, finely carved door. There we give our letter of introduction to the guard and after some time we are invited to follow him upstairs. By way of broad passages and endless stairs, both plastered with dried mud, we arrive at the reception-room, which has just been finished. Much of the beautiful old Arabian style is spoiled here by

## 4. A WONDERFUL RECEPTION IN THE GARDEN CITY SEḤĒL SHIBĀM.

491 The families of Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam are on the best of
493 friendly terms with the Sultan and arrange matters with him. A little later the great dark-red cars buzz through the gate and cross the *sēl*-bed in the direction of the palm-groves, called Seḥēl Shibām. Only in the last few years has the motor-car penetrated as far as Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has made this possible by the construction of motor roads. Motor-cars can, with great difficulty, be brought from the port of esh-Shiḥr to Terīm. The separate parts of the cars have to be transported on camels for a great part of the way.
562 From the road one can see very little of the palm-groves
529 and the summer pavilions in their midst; high mud walls shut
576 off the gardens from the gaze of passers-by. There is one exception to this, where the central point is formed by a new building in modern style. This is the club of the young men of Shibām; no women come here and so there is nothing to shut
312 off. A little further on the cars turn into the gateway that
342 gives entrance to the garden of the Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam.
177 This summer abode of their joint families is still uninhabited;
351 the time for moving from town to country has only just come. There is a well behind the house, from which oxen and donkeys draw up the water, clear as crystal, though tasting somewhat bitter. All around there are banana and papaya trees, pomegranate and lemon bushes as well as date-palms. The new summer pavilion is in the depths of the garden; our host has devoted his leisure to building it. It is a product of Ḥaḍramī imagination influenced by Singapore and Java. For the outer walls chaste, simple white has been abandoned and is replaced by soft green, rose and sky-blue. The great windows are framed by coloured ornamentation. Connected with the villa is a swimming-bath with a high parapet. One has a great longing for colour in this sunny land, where it is so lacking, and this fairy palace strikes a happy note among

the grey-green tops of the date-palms with the unchanging yellow-brown rocks in the background. The contrast between this part of Ḥaḍramaut and the desert of burning loam and sand, which scorches up the small, dying villages, is certainly great. To our regret we are only able to make a short stay in this land of enchantment, as the Sultan expects us at the palace for the evening meal. Our hosts take us back to the town and ask the Sultan whether he is willing for us to stay with them in their garden villa for the night. Permission is given and the Sultan even promises to spend the next day with us there. We eat alone in the palace; the Sultan retires after inviting us to draw up to the dining mat and to fall to. Afterwards by moonlight we return to the garden. Tea and pomegranates are served on a terrace. The conversation, carried on in Malay, is not fatiguing; our hosts make us feel how welcome we are and how much they appreciate this break in their very monotonous existence. When we wish to bathe in the swimming-pool we are provided not only with spotlessly clean bathing-gear but also with combs and scent. The moon shines in calm, silent splendour on the dark crowns of the date-palms, the water is clear and lukewarm. We ask ourselves over and over again: "Is this real? Is this actually Ḥaḍramaut, the secluded, the fanatical, the poor?"

Sultan ʿAlī bin Ṣalāḥ came, as arranged, on the following morning. He at once made searching inquiries as to our further plan of travel. We are here on the farthermost limits of the Qeʿēṭī territory and naturally the question arises: "What will await us among the Āl Kathīr?" We told the Sultan that our experiences would determine our return route. We should now go first to see the famous Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm; if he approves and thinks it justifiable to take the risk, then I, at least, shall have to return by the shortest route, and that will be direct through the Ḥumūm territory to esh-Shiḥr. Sultan ʿAlī's advice is strongly against this, the road is dangerous and Sayyid Abū Bakr has only financial influence and no governmental authority. No, we must return to Shibām,

# CHAPTER IX.

## SĒWŪN, THE HEART OF HADRAMAUT PROPER.

### 1. PENETRATING INTO THE ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

The border of the Qeᶜēṭī territory is a quarter of an hour's walk to the east of Shibām. There, high up at the edge of the mountain, is a fort and an observation post; there are also mud block-houses in the plain. Somewhat further along the mountain's ridge the white military posts of the Āl Kathīr are visible.

On the afternoon of May 24th, immediately after leaving Shibām, we cross the sandy wādī diagonally towards the northern side, where there is least vegetation, but also least warfare. The whole southern side has the name of being unsafe. But even here on the north, soldiers dog our footsteps whenever we stop to take photographs. The villages are built up against the mountain foot, and on higher points are the ruins of fortifications. Following the margin we again enter date plantations, which are, however, very thin and finally perish in the engulfing sand. Then we go on through sand-dunes overgrown with a kind of beach-grass. Close by Sēwūn we again have to cross the bed of the wādī, as this place is situated on the southern side. There is water, here and there, in the *sēl*-bed; it is, however, very bitter. The soil close to those stagnant pools is covered with a crust of white salt.

Sēwūn lies within a wide belt of magnificent palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. The water-level is only eighteen to twenty-one feet below the surface; the water has a saltish taste, but appears to be exceptionally suitable for the irrigation of the gardens. We had not so far seen such vigorous date-palms and such luxuriant, tall-growing *dhura* as in this part of the country. The hot wind has already ripened the bunches of dates, which are comfortably hidden away by this time in their

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often very poor in water, but, over and above this, countless internal wars make traffic dangerous and force travellers to go by very circuitous routes. This is why the Ḥaḍramī seldom knows his own country well. A learned Ḥaḍramī whom I knew formerly said to me quite truly: "I know all the volcanoes of Java and all the stations on its main railway lines, but I cannot give you any information about the wādīs and mountains a few hours distant from my home." The Sultan of Sēwūn is a relatively favourable exception to this rule in that he has seen Aden; he went there to attend a conference convened by the British authorities, where an attempt was made to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Qeᶜēṭī and Kathīrī rulers. He desires to see more of the world, including Java, the land in which three quarters of his subjects have interests. The great difficulty, however, is to get over the Qeᶜēṭī barrier, and for that an aeroplane is necessary. The site for the future aerodrome which was shown to us seemed quite suitable.

In the evening there is again a gathering on the roof-terrace at ᶜIzz ed-Dīn. The subject brought forward for discussion is the poverty of Ḥaḍramaut and how relief from it may be obtained. In and around Sēwūn the water-level is not deep, which fact accounts for the prosperous palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. But the water-supply would have to be enlarged if it is to help the people really forward. This cannot be done by motor pumps, because they are too expensive in practice. The pump at Hēnin has to work eight hours a day to keep in existence a few acres of *dhura* and 200 small palm-trees, and that costs more in kerosene and lubricating oil than can ever be made from the produce of the irrigated land. The soil in Sēwūn is better and water nearer to the surface, and yet experience has taught that here also the motor pump does not pay. Can matters not be improved by means of artesian wells? The Sultan asks us to help by sending an expert with the necessary instruments. He says that at one time, in the days of the Ḥimyaritic kingdom, Ḥaḍramaut must have been

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735 prosperous. Great irrigation works for collecting and distri-
312 buting water were constructed. There is no longer united action,
653 the reservoirs have gone to wrack and ruin, and now, every year, quantities of life-giving water stream down to the sea and are wasted. This matter was discussed again thoroughly later in Terīm.

000 May 26th is the day fixed for our departure for Terīm. In the morning, cars are placed at our disposal to enable us to make a tour through the city and its surroundings for taking photographs. We thankfully seize this opportunity of making a pictorial record of some of the fine houses and views of this city in a forest of palms in the midst of the desert. In photographing the es-Saqqāf town house it is impossible to evade the pressing invitation of Sayyid Hūd es-Saqqāf to come in and have a glass of tea, so we promise to do so as soon as we have finished photographing. We cannot pass the cemetery without taking snapshots of some graves with light-green cupolas with unostentatious, beautiful, open-work borders. There are also several small mosques in picturesque situations. The Sultan kindly allowed us to admire the city of Sēwūn from the roof of his palace. Noticeable here in this great palace are the order and cleanliness which literally gleam out at the visitor. It is especially in the palaces, with the many soldiers quartered in them and with the many guests, that the contrary is often the case. It takes some time before the women in the corridors and on the staircases, where we have to pass, can be warned of our approach. When this has been successfully done we saunter through deserted passages of mud and ascend by well-constructed even staircases to the shining white roof. Here we stand on the most beautiful site in Ḥaḍramaut. Terīm does its best to equal it and has more to show in great palaces, but here is grace, here is the happy variation of deep-green, luxuriant gardens and fine summer residences, here the Ḥaḍramī style, pure and harmonious, has been adhered to.

In the house of the namesake of Hūd, Ḥaḍramaut's great prophet, the promised glass of tea is awaiting us. The grey-

753 and our doctor has had to adapt himself temporarily to it and
758 to fixed wishes regarding diet, in anticipation of the growth of better understanding and more trust. The result of his work as the first and only doctor in all Ḥaḍramaut is not as great as one would expect. Sayyid Abū Bakr himself is not yet sufficiently convinced of the value of western medical art to allow the never ending outlay on medicines and instruments for the expert help of the doctor. The first nurse in Terīm was an Arab from one of the African coast towns, who missed his cinema and café so much that he speedily fled from the place of banishment, to return to the towns where he could enjoy the blessings of western civilization. Thus the doctor has all the work again on his own hands.

743 An enormous mud building has been placed at his disposal. In it he lives, has his pharmacy, the polyclinic and the beginnings of an operating-room. Further, one of the young el-Kāfs, who was assistant to an Egyptian dentist who formerly worked here for some months, has a room where, equipped with modern instruments, he practises dentistry.

164 According to the doctor, Ḥaḍramaut seems to be a healthy country. Among the lower classes there is, however, a good deal of eye disease, and it is also true that malaria makes its appearance in the autumn. What will be the eventual outcome of this beginning of medical help will depend on the tact and devotion and staying-power of the young doctor.

● 312 After this we go with the doctor on a walking tour to see the sights of the town of Terīm. First of all, naturally, we visit the remains of old Terīm, on the borders of the residential area of the town; it consists of a bare low hill on whose top stand the ruins of the once great and mighty castle. There are always wells for drinking-water in castles of this kind. These wells are very deep as they are in the inner courtyard of the castles and are, consequently, dug from the summit of the hill. From this ruined castle one had a good view over
346 Terīm so rich in mosques, palaces and . . . graves. The popular report in Ḥaḍramaut is that the town possesses 360 mos-

of pilgrims who used to come and worship here. ʿĒnāt is well situated for this: nearly *all* pilgrims to the tomb of God's Prophet Hūd must pass through it. Now its greatness has fallen, and everyone in Ḥaḍramaut knows the *nuqra*[1], the cause of its gradual ruin. Since the disappearance of the dams periodic strong currents of water have worn out and deepened the *sēl*-bed. This erosion has moved slowly up-stream. By a dam nearly a mile in length Shibām has had to protect its palm plantations against this action, which lays bare the roots of the trees. ʿĒnāt is situated further down-stream than any town in Ḥaḍramaut, so that it gets the full force of the torrents and the erosion occurs here first and makes itself most seriously felt. The *sēl* is very much strengthened at times by water from various side-wādīs, and in the thick layer of loess covering the valley here its bed is washed out deeper and deeper.

The roots of the palm-trees are washed bare and, consequently, the crop becomes smaller. Finally the tree falls; it goes on living and still bears fruit, but its death is near. The broad zone of palms around ʿĒnāt is slowly perishing through the *nuqra*. The palms are doomed; the sun penetrates through the many open spaces, the works for distributing water are destroyed, and everything is covered by a layer of white sand. We only visited ʿĒnāt on the way back, keeping now to the northern bank, which soon rises high up above the bed of the wādī. The loess wall is becoming more and more undermined by the water and it is therefore difficult for our drivers to find a safe way along it. This danger proved real on the way back; one of the two cars overturned and was badly damaged. An attempt has been made to divert the *sēl*-bed to the foot of the mountains on the north by constructing a dam. A great sum was raised for this, but the dam was repeatedly destroyed by the water so that the undertaking was, at last, abandoned. The plan to construct a dam was due to the initiative of one

[1] *Nuqra* is the gradual erosion by the water.

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312 of the best known of the sayyids of Ḥaḍramaut, Sayyid Muḥammad bin ʿAqīl bin Yaḥyā, who made a journey east of Terīm in 1913. After his death in September 1931 there was found among his papers a detailed account of this journey, which was published in Java in the weekly paper *Ḥaḍramaut*.[1]

## 2. QASAM AND ITS OLD CASTLE

361 The land down-stream from ʿEnāt has suffered even more from the *nuqra*; date culture has disappeared and many of the people have departed. The little town of Qasam gives a clear illustration of this decline. The town, still surrounded by a wall, lies half in ruins; only a few hundred people live there now, whereas formerly there were thousands. Outside the wall there is a vast cemetery, which is bounded on the other side by a mediaeval castle and its accessory buildings. Part of it has fallen in, but, with its simple, powerful lines, it is still a fine building. The conical corner towers have a thickening at the level of the second storey. The white bands on a line with the rows of windows have almost disappeared; bit by bit the building will become a grey mass of mud in the midst of
622 a land whose inhabitants have left it. The old *muqaddam*[2]
567 welcomes us in the great reception-room; he is very deaf and his slave soldiers are his spokesmen. His father was a mighty and widely feared ruler, while he has carried on a hopeless struggle against the forces of nature. His land has dried up, his subjects have departed, he has become poor, so poor that he can no longer pay his soldiers. Warfare was no match for the drought. His five score of slave soldiers have remained faithful to him; in turn they go in groups to their paternal country on the African coast or elsewhere to earn something by trading or by manual labour and then return to their old master, to share the money that they have saved, with him and their fellows.

[1] Published at Surabaya, 9th year, Nos. 303 and 304.
[2] Cf. p. 67, foot-note.

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172 To expedite matters we take the risk of starting off in
●312 advance on our donkeys. As we pass we see at a great dis-
231 tance some villages almost entirely in ruins, and also castles of the type of that of Qasam. There is water here and there in the deep and by no means wide *sēl*-bed. It appeared soon after we left ʿEnāt and it increased further towards the east. This water is pretty bitter, though in some places it is sweet enough to be drinkable. The inhabitants prefer the well-water, which is better, but the pack-animals drink the water of the river. It is running and every now and then disappears to continue its course underground. Beyond Qasam the wādī is still wide and the soil consists of a thick layer of
136 loess. The broad path winds between bushes of fresh green *rāk* covered with bluish-red berries, which are being gathered here and there by children. When we heard that they were eatable we tasted them; they have the taste of cress, sweet but hot as pepper. They have a strong laxative action as have the leaves for which camels and donkeys have a liking. Where *rāk* grows the animals are given nothing else, although they get diarrhoea from it. In journeying through *rāk* districts one sees the rumps of the camels smeared with greenish pap, whilst their leaders and riders are not free from splashes sprinkled round by their animals' tails. At these times a very unpleasant smell clings night and day to the caravan.

172 The further we go, the more barren becomes the bed of the wādī, which is still very wide. The layer of loam is covered with sand; mounds of loam rise up out of it, some of them covered with vegetation. Shortly before sunset we enter a region of many and magnificent ruins. It is too late to examine them closely, and we pass the smaller mounds by so as to go on to the central ruin of el-ʿUrr. This is visible when we are still far from it. Massive remains of walls, towering high against the evening sky, stand on a lonely mass of rock, right in the midst of the wādī level. The rocky hill extends some distance and is very steep, and it is difficult to clamber over the rubble of the building, which has

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000 from our roof how they begin to stir on the other roofs close to us and then go down to the kitchen to light a fire for a cup of ginger coffee. There is a small grove of date-palms round es-Sōm, on either side of the *sēl*-bed, which is full of water. We wash and drink our fill at one of the wells before resuming our journey in the heat.

After about three hours we arrive at the village of Fughma, which consists of a few mud houses encircled by huts. It is scorchingly hot although still early in the day. Our escort declare that we must rest and eat here, as there is no other village and no water to be met with for the next four or five hours. We do not believe this and insist that we must go on, but they, as one man, refuse, warning us of the consequences of such folly, and promise to set out again after an hour's rest. We give in against our will, with the unpleasant feeling that we are being taken in and that we could quite well take the risk of going further. A kid is purchased from our host and is carefully prepared for a splendid meal. Fughma is the last stopping-place before Qabr Hūd, and a four hours' walk through barren country still awaits us.

312 133 With great difficulty we get the caravan going again at two o'clock. We continue to follow the bed of the wādī, where we find water nearly everywhere! It is now the middle of the dry season; after the scanty rains or when the *sēls* rush down from the western mountains, then, at this point, the *mesīla*[1] of Wādī Ḥaḍramaut must have the aspect of a real river. Thus the British airmen from Aden reported truly when they said they had seen a river running through the wādī beyond Qabr Hūd. The river disappears under the surface of the soil, however, long before it reaches the Indian Ocean.

796 Close to Fughma we pass through small groves of palms with groups of miserable huts. This is the spot where the Bedouins of the neighbourhood come together once a year, to feast in pious memory of a holy man. Those are days of truce dedicated to God and trade. In Fughma we could hear

104 [1] A *mesīla* (مسيلة) is the bed of a *sēl*, a torrent, a streaming water.

the tomb of Hūd, are written here and there on the walls. 000
The sun is sinking as we go from the pillared hall of the 346
cupola to the terrace built round it and look out over the long wādī through which we have come. There is water in the *sēl*-bed, which shines like gold in the light of the setting sun. The bushes and trees along its banks have taken on a violet colour. The shapes of the stern rock-walls are becoming blurred and have lost their look of sombre menace. This is the solemn moment when desert, *djōl* and wādī are movingly beautiful. The silence and infinity oppress, nevertheless, and man deeply realizes his littleness and finiteness.

We descend the steps to the silent town in the ravine. In 782
the mosque of the *nāqa*, between the white pillars, we 346
see pilgrims at prayer in rows, prostrating themselves and standing up again. Their prayer of supplication has a moving sound in the great silence of the evening. The mosque is quite new; a great block of rock which is said to be the petrified camel projects from the mountain-side above the building. A great white terrace, on which are straight rows of simple, round pillars supporting a flat roof, and a broad white stairway leading down to the town, complete a sober, beautiful whole.

We have been able to enter one of the great houses of the 000
el-Kāf family by a small backdoor. The rock-walls and the houses are radiating the heat that they have absorbed during the day; gusts of hot air pass from time to time through the ravine. We climb up to the roof-terrace. The caravan has arrived shortly before us and our companions have lain down to rest on the roof. No one has energy left to attend to us, no one provides for food or for drink, and yet we are dying of thirst and must have water. One of the Bedouins who followed the caravan is persuaded by the promise of a meal to go in search of water. The wells in the town do not supply good 8120
drinking-water; the water in the wādī is bitter and is only drunk by the pilgrims, who also bathe in it, ascribing a purifying power to it, but there is a well with sweet water in
Wādī Barhūt, at least half an hour's walk 11
from the town.

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361 778 788 the tombs of holy men. The Āl el-ᶜĒderūs, one of the families of sayyids whose riches are made in Java, come from ᶜĒnāt and are, moreover, the ruling family in this pious city, which owes the few houses that are kept in repair, the beautiful white mosques and the fine school for boys to these sayyids and to those of the Āl Ḥāmid. At the seven *qubbas* we meet Sayyid ᶜAlī bin el-ᶜĒderūs, who feels an exile from his people who live in Surabaya, but his place here will be taken by another member of the family in a few years' time. He is glad to meet someone who knows Java and invites us to take a cup of tea with him. We learn from him that ᶜĒnāt can boast of thirteen mosques and has, at the present time, 5000 inhabitants. Water for drinking has to be brought from a great distance, as the local supply is not fit for it. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh Āl Ḥāmid, who lived for ten years in Dār es-Salām, is also glad to have an opportunity of talking once more with Europeans and comes to Sayyid ᶜAlī's *madjlis*. He has some acquaintance with the early history of his country and tells us of the great dam which is said to have existed in pre-Islamic times between Qabr Hūd and the sea. The destruction of this dam ushered in the decline of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh has his own theory of the means by which the great stones of the buildings in the pre-Islamic period were piled one upon the other; he asserts that he has seen representations of elephants on the ruins and assumes that it was by them that these heavy stones were dragged to their places. I doubt whether this supposition is correct, although it is true that elephants play a part in the historical traditions of Arabia. The great castles are built on high, rocky hills, whose slopes are barely practicable even for man.

312 172 [142]

# CHAPTER XIII.

## OUR LAST DAYS IN TERÎM.

On our return to Terim we were met with a storm of questions and had to give a detailed account of our experiences in Bîr Barhût. They were all very much surprised to hear that it really is *not* a crater. In reply to the question what it actually is we answer that it is one of the many caves which Allāh is wont to create in mountains of limestone formation. Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās gives to an attentive audience a dramatic account of what he saw and heard and experienced in the cave into which no man before him had ventured.

The following day, June 5th, was a Friday. In the morning of that day the learned men and notables of the place meet in the el-Kāf house. This time the meeting was very animated; many questions were put about the ruins and about Bîr Barhût, and interesting views expressed on the subject. A brother of Muḥammad bin ʿAqīl, the Ḥaḍramī traveller, told of the remains of the supposed great dam of the Ḥimyarites, which were investigated and described by his brother. He estimates that 600 years have elapsed since the destruction of the dam, which must have been accomplished not by floods but by the hand of man. The dam must have been made entirely of mud, as no fragments of stones remain. According to other informants, many well-hewn, massive stones are to be met with down-stream from the dam. Muḥammad bin ʿAqīl in his paper says that the dam could easily be reconstructed, as it has a very favourable position. The side-wādī *a* was filled by the damming-up of the water; *a* is connected with side-wādī *b*, as an existing, low sill of stone forms no real hindrance. So the surplus water found an outlet through these side-wādīs. Thus too heavy pressure was never exercised

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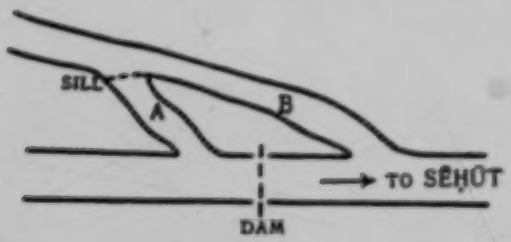
upon the dam. Bin ʿAqīl has made much propaganda all his life long for the restoration of the dam. Three tribes have a direct interest in the matter, namely: the Āl Djābir, who dwell up-stream in Wādī ʿAdim, the Manāhīl, in whose territory is the site of the ancient dam, and the Banū Tamīm dwelling between the two former tribes. According to Bin ʿAqīl, the Manāhīl have promised the half of the loam soil and the whole waste land of their territory to those who will put the dam into working order again.

The obvious question is put why this work, presumably so important for Ḥaḍramaut, has not yet been undertaken.




It is the great, urgent question which is coming more and more under consideration and discussion in the advanced circles of those who have lived abroad and who feel with sorrow the backwardness of their fatherland. These painful questions are brought once more to our attention before we take farewell of this group of men who feel themselves responsible for the future of Ḥaḍramaut. They want to hear our reply although they know it quite well. The fundamental weakness here is the lack of unity. They have realized from experience that they cannot attain this unity by themselves. Therefore they regard as necessary the coming of a compelling power which shall be stronger than all the little groups with conflicting interests in the country, a power which shall impose unity and which, by a curt command, shall put an end to the suicidal intertribal warfare. But that is merely shifting the difficult task, that is flight. True change for the

621 We had not received favourable reports of Wādī ʿAmd. The el-Aṭṭās family, nevertheless, maintained the contrary; it is their wādī and the Djaʿdī Bedouins who inhabit it are allied with them and are, in a certain sense, under their control, but it is hard to discover how far this control goes. We got the impression that the wādī was very much armed and ready for war. The landscape is barren and, at first, monotonous; the *sēl*-bed is broad and filled with bluish-white, small boulders. Conditions must have been much better in the old days, for the numerous ruins suggest a dense population.

361 It is long after sunset before we reach Nukhr, where the el-
281 ʿAṭṭās family own a house. The place consists of a few huts
243 and a half tumble-down mud house, in which a room has been prepared for us. It is too warm to spend the night indoors, but the staircase leading to the roof has collapsed. In the middle of the hamlet there is a storehouse for fodder, half below and half above the ground. Its roof is about three feet above the ground and has a parapet about one and a half feet high. The basin thus formed is smoothly plastered with mud, and the grain is thrashed in it after harvesting. It makes a hard but safe sleeping place.

172 On the following day, June 10th, we set off again south-
● 312 westwards. At first the wādī is very monotonous and barren
241 and the *sēl*-bed widens considerably. After two hours' riding Wādī ʿAmd makes a bend towards the south and then very soon one comes across date plantations. There are an increasing number of ruins of what, presumably, were defence works, situated on hill-tops. The palm plantations have suffered much from the drought in recent years, as for two years there was neither rain nor *sēl* of any considerable quantity. The subsoil water is far from the surface and wells are 300 to 450 feet in depth so that they are not used for purposes of irrigation but only for supplying drinking-water. Groups of men hoist up the water, singing monotonously the while.

241 Further southwards the plantations increase and form an un-
312 broken girdle between the broad, wild *sēl*-bed and the wes-

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tern bank of the wādī. The fields are bone-dry and trimly 241
cultivated, rain being expected this month. One substantial 312
downpour of rain or a good inundation caused by rain elsewhere is said to be enough for this loam soil, which holds water for so long. Great pains have been taken over the irrigation system; the dams, made of piled-up stones and plastered with an inner lining of mud, suffer much from the *sēls*. Groups of inquisitive people come running towards us out of the villages and ask all sorts of questions of our escort. A grey-headed village-chief turns to us with the inquiry how to put an end to the repeatedly recurring destruction of the stone dykes through the *sēl*. We answer that it would probably suffice if they were to use lime as cement for the boulders: the initial cost of this would be considerable, but it would be a great economy in the long run.

All the women of this district are veiled, even the poor 834
women working in the fields. When working in the sun they 291
wear straw hats with very wide brims. They are not so 301
frightened of us as women were elsewhere and are quite ready for a chat or even to be photographed. The young girls, at the request of the men, climb like cats right up to the crowns of the palm-trees, to pick the ripe fruit from the bunches of dates. Their wide black garments hang untidily about them, the only pretty thing in their dress is the broad girdle ornamented with large and small silver buttons, which encircles the waist. An attempt to buy one of these fails, as the women are all too modest to think of selling a part of their clothing. Many 857
children run all over the place with little bows made of the rib of a palm-leaf, and sharp-pointed arrows of the same, with which they try to kill the few birds that alight on the ripening fruit. Occasionally, as we pass, some relative of one of our escort will present us with a handful of the first really ripe dates.

312

The first watering station on the *djôl* of the Deyyin.

133

The *djôl* of the Deyyin Bedouins.

facing p. 209

153 We mounted our camels on reaching the *djōl* and made as fast as possible for the first halting place, where there was drinking-water to be found. This *djōl* differed little in character from that which we had crossed on our way to Wādī Dōʿan. It is again the same flat, limestone plateau, thickly strewn with sharp fragments of stone; through this winds a similar narrow camel path. The view is limitless in every direction; the characteristic, long chains of table-mountains are absent here. Here and there we pass some dwarf trees, crooked and gnarled. Deep silence reigns in this motionless region. After some hours marching we saw, in a fold in the land, a fortification built of rough stones with strong, square towers at each corner. Some people are living in it, so there must be water at hand, and it is high time, for our thirst is becoming a torture. Not a living soul was to be seen, nothing but a wall enclosing a square space, with towers rising up out of it. Close by rain had conveyed some earth to a depression in the ground, where there were some dried-up fields and a few *nibq* trees, leafless and grey, with not a sign of green; everything was monotonously grey and lifeless like the rocky plain all around us. As we neared the settlement we saw a few large *neqābas* and people drawing water from them. There had been no rain for a long time and, consequently, the water-supply in some of the *neqābas* was exhausted, whilst, in the others, the water which had been stored in them for so long had a brackish taste; in spite of this, we slaked our thirst with it and filled our water-skins and thermos flasks. We dealt out biscuits from our store to the poor, friendly inhabitants, who were experiencing extra hard times on account of the long drought. A small caravan from Makalla was also resting there. Dried fish, principally small sharks, and rice were being carried to Wādī ʿAmd, but the cost of transport appears to exceed the market value of these articles in Makalla.

361 Our way continued over the *djōl* until we reached Sherdj el-Abyaḍēn Bā Manṣūr, where we rested for the afternoon. Here we saw the same picture of drought and poverty. The

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



301 MARYAM, ENCOURAGED BY HER MOTHER, EVEN YIELD-
ed up to us her graceful girdle of copper wire with fine silver wire twisted round it, in return for good payment, as well as her necklace of oval silver beads. Having made a success of this transaction, Maryam at once made her way with a part of the proceeds to the goldsmith, living in a village hours away, to buy a new girdle and necklace!

361 We continued our way through the monotonous stony levels in the burning heat of the afternoon. In the distance we saw a few scattered hamlets belonging to the Deyyin territory. These villages generally have a piece of cultivated land and a few trees, and the well-ploughed land lies waiting now for the rain, which will make sowing possible. The trees are burnt up, brownish-grey, dead as in a northern winter.

721 On our left we passed the ruins of el-Khamīs. Our sayyid told us that this had been the dwelling-place of a Ḥaḍramī, who had amassed a fortune in Java and, when he returned to his fatherland, had tried to conquer a kingdom. With the money he had made in Java he recruited soldiers, made raids into the fertile lands of Wādī Dōʿan and destroyed its gardens of date-palms. In place of buying him off with a piece of land, the Qeʿēṭī Sultan raised an army against him and even transported a few cannon to his village. The man, who was out for a kingdom, was not prepared for this development; he was taken prisoner, his village was razed to the ground and a heavy ransom was exacted from his wealthy family in Java. The family petitioned the Netherlands Government on behalf of the captive adventurer, basing their appeal on his Dutch nationality. It was then that the desirability of being accurately informed as to conditions in the land of origin of a considerable number of its subjects became evident to the Netherlands Government.

• 312 A little further on we came to the village of Khalīfet Bā Suwēde. There we made a halt to beg water for man and beast and to try to purchase some food for the animals. It appeared that there was not much water left in the *neqābas*, and doubt-
•• less this accounted for our none too friendly reception. There

000 air that we were nearing the coast and Wādī Ḥadjr, where there is always water. Our clothes and other things were already damp by the time the sun rose.

Not till twelve o'clock did we halt in a sweltering wādī under the shade of a boulder which radiated heat. An effort of will was necessary to get us under way again, towards half past two. We went on in silence, avoiding speech with each other, as the energy which makes for friendliness and gaiety
133 was lacking. We pass through a region very interesting from a geological and botanical point of view. The *djôl* ends here and a broken, uneven area of rock and wādī takes its place. The direction of the strata, until now uniformly horizontal, is disturbed and new strata of coal-black rock formation break a way through the layers of limestone and sandstone and sometimes rise up above them like solitary cones. There is more water, but it contains a high percentage of salt. We go through jungles of grass, several feet high. Here and there the ground is swampy and covered with a crust of salt; a tall, slender palm-tree of a kind we have not hitherto come across grows in this salty marsh land. Later on we come again to
361 barren stretches covered with boulders. To our amazement
● 312 we found no human settlements here: we only saw people when much farther on, by the thickly-grown banks of a shallow but swift-flowing river. This turned out to be the upper reaches of Wādī Ḥadjr. The water was very warm and bitter. The sun was already setting when we crossed the stream and hastened on to reach Ṣidāra before nightfall, but before long we saw the scattered stone houses of this large village lying on the hilly banks of the wādī. Here cultivation begins again: fields of sesame and *dhura* alternate rapidly with gardens of date-palms. Vigorous springs throw up water which is nearly boiling; this water is carried to the fields and date plantations. The conduits have been made of such a length that the water is sufficiently cool by the time it reaches the plants, but even so it is still very warm. We noticed a white deposit in the conduits.

•312

The hot springs of Wādī Hadjr.

Wādī Hadjr, the only everflowing river in the neighbourhood of Hadramaut

facing p 225

The youth of the village was
diverting itself in the street below us, when suddenly we 825
heard a great noise and saw people running from all directions and bombarding the house opposite ours with stones. We thought that a general fight was about to ensue. Then came some men carrying burning palm-leaves and the house which was a target for the stones was fantastically lit up. To our great relief we discovered the cause of the disturbance: a large snake was trying to escape along the front of the house. Some of the stones hit their mark, the twistings and writhings grew slower and then the creature fell into the street as if broken. One of the most daring in the crowd approached and cut off the end of its tail; with that the danger was ended and peace was soon restored.

When we were thoroughly tired of answering the numer- 000
ous questions put to us and of greeting those who put them, we asked permission to retire to rest. The whole assembly gave its approval; our host announced that we were to sleep on this same terrace, but no one moved an inch for us to be alone. So there was nothing for it but to stretch ourselves out between our visitors, who were packed as close as sardines. A little later on we were awakened for a meal; every one was still sitting in the same place. We ate and then at once went to sleep again, but were awakened before the sun rose by the loud voices of our visitors, who had already come back.

That day was to be devoted to getting our caravan ready for the journey to Makalla. Stammering Sa'īd, who had been such a trusty helper to us all the way from Rēdet ed-Deyyin, would give his exhausted camels a good feed and rest and then return with them to his boundless, hard rock-plateau. The taciturn black slave from el-Qarn in the Yeb'eth district had been a good guide; he went his way homewards well pleased with a thank-offering for the faithfulness, of which we had had so much doubt at first.

A reconnaissance of the neighbourhood showed that several 312
hot springs water the date-gardens and cultivated fields near 273

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312 273 245 Ṣidāra. The high temperature of the water does no harm to the vegetation as can be seen by the thick and almost tropical growth even at the sources of these hot streams. The picture made by this landscape in the midst of the deserts of rock was quite new to us. New to us also was the custom, which exists here, of tapping sap from the palm-trees: this sap soon ferments and produces a by no means innocent [58] drink which is consumed in large quantities. Artless tales were told us of many a man who had become a regular slave of the wine of the date-palm. That this abuse of the date-palm, so strongly condemned by orthodox Muḥammadan opinion, does not seem to exist in other districts through which we travelled, is probably due rather to poverty than to religious conscientiousness. The people only indulge in the luxury of this sin in the well-watered country of Wādī Ḥadjr, where date plantations succeed each other continuously for hours and even days.

312 133 We had a bathe in one of the warm springs, a comfort lacking since Diyār Āl Buqrī; but the crowded circle of critical and youthful spectators and their mocking remarks, added to the somewhat too high temperature of the water, prevented complete enjoyment of the event.

These hot springs point to volcanic action. Ṣidāra lies on the edge of the coastal chain of mountains, which is full of clear traces of volcanism. The monotonous similarity of the *djōl* and *wādī* formation of the interior has disappeared. The geological strata are no longer horizontal, nor do they consist any longer of limestone and sandstone and loam. Fantastically folded and broken strata, high precipices and peaks of archaic rock, between which extinct volcanoes can be recognised, characterize the landscape between Ṣidāra and Makalla.

000 The necessary waiting for camels and escort gives us the opportunity to write up our diaries, which has been pushed aside lately by other and more urgent affairs; but although our host does his best to give us the chance of a few hours' quiet work in a room upstairs, he does not succeed in doing so.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 The way ran by the river all the time now, through an un-
361 interrupted grove of date-palms. At one time the path follows
511 the left bank, then at another the right. At regular intervals
241 we pass long, low dams made of boulders; these store up the water which is conducted through channels for the irrigation of the palm-gardens. The fringe of palm-trees is not, as a rule, wide and above it, against the rocky slopes, where no shade falls, villages swelter in the heat of the sun. They are always in a good strategic position, for this fertile Wādī Ḥadjr has been a much disputed territory until a short time ago. To this must be attributed the low degree of prosperity and the lack of intensive cultivation of all the arable land here. In this respect Wādī Dōᶜan is on a much higher level.

361 After a few hours the wādī becomes narrower, the rocky
342 slopes approach the river, and the cultivated strips of land grow narrower and, at last, cease entirely. Our way goes over a plain strewn with sharp, reddish-brown stones, where lies the village of Ḥuṣn Mṣēneᶜ, which consists entirely of houses with neither front nor back walls; they are like short tunnels of stone with their further end towards the rock-wall and their front facing the river. When we asked the reasons for this way of building we were told that they were poverty and the great heat; in this way advantage is taken of the breeze which blows through the tunnels. Its inhabitants belong to a kind of gypsy tribe living apart from other people. Further on they dwell in large villages of straw-huts; they are half-nomads and are despised by the settled inhabitants.

312 The wādī narrows until it becomes a rocky gorge through which the river flows underground. Its narrow bed is full of boulders; probably the *sēl* after rain rushes through here above ground as well. The path rises steeply up the rocky slope, and it is a real feat on the part of the camels to climb up, with their heavy loads, over the slippery boulders and then to descend again into the wādī where it widens out. Halfway through the gorge the river comes to the surface again, showing a beautiful greenish-blue colour.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



After the descent no one could resist the temptation of the shady trees and shining white sand by the river, which has here broadened out into a deep pond. But it is a case of deceptive appearances. Burning heat soon made this afternoon camp untenable, for it is only the date-palm, in Arabia, that gives satisfactory shade. Other trees are illusive on account of their apparent shade, as their leaves generally take an upright position in the heat of the day to protect themselves from the sun's rays.

At the point where the river runs against rock and makes a bend of 90°, it has hollowed out a basin so deep that we could not reach the bottom by diving. The sand on its margin and also the rock were so hot that one could not stand or sit on them without one's clothes on. The water also was warm. The dry desert wind alone brought coolness, and that only as long as one's body was still wet. The succeeding hours spent in that bivouac were a martyrdom. Ants and camel's ticks gave us no peace, and the piercing rays of the sun, together with the high temperature, made us fear for sunstroke.

Quite early in the afternoon we went on our way. The path wound from one bank of the river to the other. The wādī is still narrow here and the arable strip of land inconsiderable. At long intervals we saw an occasional field of *dhura* with a hut for its guards. Otherwise the wādī is uninhabited in this part.

Before sunset we reached el-Ghabara, where our road was to leave the wādī and cross the mountains for some distance. Our Bedouins asserted that we should be without water there for two days and that therefore it was necessary for us to bivouac here, where it was still to be found. Of course what they were after was to give their camels yet another opportunity of eating their fill from the *rāk* bushes. We went to sleep as good friends, having obtained the promise to break camp at half past three the next morning. The camels, who had strayed far away, were however not to be found in the darkness before the dawn, and it was nearly five o'clock

before we got our caravan on the move. A disappointment of this kind does not improve the mental atmosphere, especially before one has learnt to know one's followers. Distrust of the honesty of their promise to do all in their power, and the overwhelming desire to go quickly forward on account of the scantiness and bad quality of our food bred in us a mood of tension and exhaustion.

The mountain scenery through which we passed became gorgeous. The geological strata were clearly visible in the walls of the dry river-beds through which our path ran. Before us was a lofty chain of granite mountains like a huge wall with sharp peaks and jagged tops. It grew very warm among those bare rock-walls where we had to climb laboriously over sharp, slippery ground. To one side of the path was a brackish spring of whose water even the animals refused to drink. We mounted towards the high mountain-pass which our people called Hūta. The remains of a strongly fortified wall built of fragments of uncut stone stand in the pass. Heavy fighting took place there ten years ago when el-Qeʿēṭī sent an expedition to conquer Wādī Ḥadṛ. The graves of the slain are marked by simple heaps of stones, on either side of the mountain path. After a long descent we reached the wādī again at just about the hottest time of day. Its banks here are steep and so we could not get at the enticing water or the green *rāk* bushes, but our Bedouins went in search of a place where it would be possible to descend. We had made up our minds to rest for the afternoon, not here in el-Qulēta, but further on at Nēfa. The intense desire to hurry on at all costs and to get to the end made Von Wissmann and me decide foolishly to force matters and, if need be, to walk alone to Nēfa without the caravan. The path wound on through a region of sand-hills and the heat was so great that we became uneasy over our decision. Luckily Dhēb had the magnanimity to give way and gave the order to follow us. Nor had we trusted in vain to little's map, for Nēfa was close at hand. Near the path was a great

342

Ḥuṣn Mṣ̄ene', the gypsy village with the tunnel-shaped houses.

312

Our hot swimming-pool, past 'Aqabat Sf̄ye.

facing p 232

000 That night a wolf came near our bivouac. The Bedouins heard his call in the encircling mountains and rose in haste to gather the camels together inside the camp.

On the following morning, June 19th, we rose very early, for it was growing important to reach Makalla as soon as possible. The caravan was in motion at a quarter past four and we made a straight line for the sea coast, scrambling laboriously over granite boulders. By ten past eight we had reached Mēfa', a forlorn little village by the sea at the mouth of Wādī Ḥadjr.

361

312 The river here has shrunk till it is no more than a swiftly flowing stream. No doubt the major portion of the water flows underground to the sea.

361 The population of Mēfa' dwells for the greater part in miserable shacks; the few mud houses are dilapidated and poor and dirty. The house where the soldiers live was opened for us; it was the best to be had, but still miserable enough. Only one soldier still remained; his companions had died of the fevers for which Mēfa' has an unenviable reputation. Yāfi' soldiers from the healthy highlands are among the least resistant to the fever of the damp, hot coast. When this soldier's last comrade died, he had fled from the house, not daring to live there any longer. No food was to be had from the villagers for love or money, but the soldier shared some of his provisions of rice and eggs with us. He told us that the people of the place are desperately poor and unhealthy. Emigrants come here, it is true, but they do not stand it for long, and only a portion of the arable land is under cultivation. The Qe'ēṭī soldiers regard transference to Mēfa' as equivalent to a death sentence. Their constitutions are not resistant against the endemic fever, they have not enough pay to feed themselves well, and the people of the village are so poor and miserable that nothing can be got from them.

257 Whilst lying in a corner of a little room, which smelt of indigo, I got a violent attack of cramp in the stomach, and it looked as if I should not be able to go further. Luckily the

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadramout MN2



133 vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Never-
132 theless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in
248 normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley, and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the
[312] highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from
132 wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the
241 pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supple-
439 mented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until
167 recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from
262 the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

161 The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952
631 was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of
648 varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have
643 one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Government and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 37–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 103; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in December 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most important ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate, and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend £410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only £23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40 miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns, the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 62–5.
[4] See above, p. 112.

61: Caponera S-4 (no date) 1954 M1 Middle East
NAHRANAUT MAR

# APPLIED CUSTOM LAW

## ADEN PROTECTORATE

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The only codification of water laws ever attempted in Arab countries is that found in the Mejelle Code of the Ottoman Empire. That codification, however, has no influence in the Aden Protectorate.

No general water legislation is operative over the area known as the Aden Protectorate. In each state, local custom and conditions are followed for handling the water on traditional lines. The general principle observed in the handling of flow irrigation of the flood type derived from monsoon rains is that of "first come - first served". In the case of perennial water supplies, the tendency is for the flow to be owned by the state or by individuals and for ab antiquo rights to be followed.

In the coastal areas of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, underground water is extracted through gallery systems known locally as mayans which are similar to the Persian qanat, the Baluchi karez and the Omani falaj. Following the development of such water supplies on state land, the Quaiti State retains a one-third share in the water. The location of these mayans often presents a serious problem for the judge who has to decide if any interference results or is likely to result from the construction of new systems. In all cases the ab antiquo right is given precedence.

In certain areas in the Aden Protectorate the control of runoff water which is led to terraced fields is of vital importance, and each field area has runoff water rights. In the Dathina area it has been found necessary for the local administration to prohibit the development of new lands to avoid increased competition for the available supplies of run-off water.

Recently, state decrees in the Quaiti and Kathiri States, which are advised by a British Resident Adviser, require persons who wish to extract underground water for lift irrigation by mechanical means to obtain a license to do so. This is to prevent over-pumping from the water table and to encourage the correct location of pumping units brought into the country. It is anti-

/For an account of sources of water throughout Saudi Arabia and adjacent territory in 1920--location, adequacy, purity, etc.--see 30: Great Britain, Saudi Arabia MJ1, category 116, entire source./

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



433 The chief local industries are: salt preparing; the unhusking of coffee; and cigarette making. The first is obtained, as elsewhere, by evaporating sea-water in shallow pans, in a stretch of ground situated near Sheikh 'Othmān, and the industry, which is considerable (over 100 tons were exported in 1915), is in the hands of the Italian Salt Company. The unhusking of the coffee berries is done almost entirely in Aden, before transhipment and export.

312 The water-supply forms, perhaps, the most important problem at Aden: it is obtained from four sources—wells, aqueducts, tanks or reservoirs, and condensers. It has been found that the most reliable means of supply is by condensing, and but little drinking water is now drawn from wells and aqueducts. Of *wells* there are many, both within and without the British limits: the former are sunk in the solid rock of the peninsula often to a depth of from 120 to 190 ft. and the water is of good quality; the latter are around Sheikh 'Othmān and Hiswah and the water is of only fair quality, but brought largely into Aden for domestic purposes among the natives. In 1867 the British Government obtained permission from the Sultan of Lahej to construct an *aqueduct* from two of his best wells in the village of Sheikh 'Othmān. The water is received in large reserve tanks inside the fortifications and is thence distributed to the troops and establishments and to the public in limited quantities at one rupee per 100 gallons. It is of indifferent quality and fit only for purposes of ablution.

The expediency of constructing *reservoirs* in which to store rain-water was recognized in Arabia at a very early date; they are widely found in districts devoid of springs, which depend on the winter rains for a supply of water during drought (cp. Yemen, Chap. VI). The most remarkable instance on record is perhaps the great dam at Mareb (see p. 176). There is no trustworthy record of the construction of the Aden reservoirs, but they are supposed to have been begun at the time of the second Persian invasion of Yemen, about A.D. 600. In the early part of the nineteenth century, though some few were in a tolerably perfect state of preservation, many had been partially destroyed by the people, who carried away the stones for building purposes; others had been filled with débris washed down from the hills by the rain. In 1856 the restoration of these magnificent public works was begun, and thirteen have been completed, capable of holding nearly 8 million gallons of water. A very moderate fall of rain suffices to send down the numerous steep rocky ravines, by which the peninsula is intersected, stupendous torrents of water, and it is to intercept and store this water that the reservoirs have been constructed. They are so arranged

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 M11 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



in series that the overflow of one reservoir may be conducted into the succeeding one, and thus a complete chain has been formed. Of late years it has been the practice to put the tanks up to auction for a definite period, the highest bidder trusting to a good fall of rain to recoup his outlay. The water collected used to be sold at R. 1 per 100 gallons, and, when the tanks are full, the annual revenue amounts to Rs. 30,000; but when the rain fails, and the tanks are exhausted, a skin containing 5 gallons of brackish well-water has at times sold for 8 annas. 512.

Shortly before the opening of the Suez Canal the Government foresaw the necessity of obtaining a plentiful and unfailing supply of good water, and in 1867 several *condensers*, on the most approved principle, were ordered out from England. Six condensers are now worked by the Government and private companies, capable of yielding 52,000 gallons a day, or a sufficient supply for 10,400 Europeans at 5 gallons per head. In 1903–4 condensed water was sold at about R. 1¼ per 100 gallons.

The following are the principal towns of the district, with adjacent islands: 361

1. **Aden Town** comprises *Aden proper*, situated on the eastern side of the peninsula, with a population of some 20,000; and *Tawāhi*, the port at Steamer Point on the western side of the peninsula, containing some 700 to 800 houses. The two parts are separated by a distance of about four miles and connected by a good carriage-road. Half-way between them lies the important village of *Ma'la*, consisting partly of stone houses but chiefly of mat huts occupied largely by Somalis; here the local craft anchor, and nearly all the native trade of the Aden interior is shipped and loaded. Aden proper faces north-east and consists of some 2,000 or more whitewashed houses of stone or mud, few of which are noteworthy for their architecture. The streets are regularly laid out, and the whole town has been practically rebuilt since the British occupation. The dry bed of a water-course runs down to the sea from the valley in which the reservoirs are situated, and divides the town into two nearly equal parts; it serves to carry off the surplus of water when the reservoirs happen to overflow.

The only building of any pretension in Aden proper contains the court-house and treasury office; the barracks are commodious but not handsome; the Protestant church, erected in 1869, is situated on a hill; and there is a Roman Catholic convent, which, among its other activities, gives shelter to emancipated slave-girls. The bazaars are extensive, and are notable for the medley of strange peoples, in gorgeous and varied costumes, to be seen there. One of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither the rains nor the variable streams are in general adequate to this purpose, and watering of the soil is mainly carried on from wells. These may be sunk practically everywhere in the valleys. As in many other parts of Arabia, the water is drawn up in a leather hoist by animals, usually cows, attached to a cord which passes over a pulley supported on wooden struts; the water thus obtained is received in a large wooden trough whence it is spread over the land by means of little runnels. 244 312 406

Cattle-rearing is the principal occupation of the Bedouins. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes; sheep for killing and for milk; cows only for milk and irrigation work; oxen exclusively for ploughing. Horses are very rare and are considered as animals *de luxe*. Bees are numerous, and much honey is produced. The wild animals most largely found are the rabbit, gazelle, wild goat, jerboa, hyena, hedgehog, a large species of lizard (permitted as food to Mussulmans), and the panther, wolf, and monkey (not permitted as food). 231 136

## Trade and Commerce

The only ports of importance commercially are Makalla (see p. 232), Shiheir (see p. 232), and Seihūt (see p. 230), and even at these the trade carried on is purely coastal, with the near coast of Africa, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the southern coast of Arabia, and above all with Aden and Muscat. Trade by caravan is carried on from these ports with the whole of the interior of the Hadhramaut and with the southern Arabian littoral as far as Yemen on the west and Oman on the east. Burūm (see p. 233) and Qusei'ir are small fishing villages. 504 439

There are no made roads; the routes follow the courses of the wādis or natural paths. Transport by wheeled vehicles is impossible everywhere; all is carried on by camels or donkeys. It is, however, relatively cheap; e. g. a camel from Shiheir or Makalla to Seyyūn costs only 5 florins in the good season; in summer, when forage is scarce, it is higher, but never above 10 florins. 487 494

The chief exports are dates, stuffs dyed with indigo, a superior quality of wheat, and honey; smaller exports are shells and fins of fish, the latter exported to India and China. Imports: wheat, butter, coco-nuts, coffee, sugar, rice, cotton and cotton stuffs, pottery, bars of iron and worked iron, sesame oil, petroleum, and tin-ware. 439

61: Capones S-4 (no date) 1954 M1 Middle East
HADHRAMAUT MM2
ALGERIA MV1

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cipated that its operation will be extended to any development of deep-seated water supplies.

## ALGERIA

### The Oasis of Tolga

*Springs and Wells*

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The system of distribution is on a time basis. The rotation period, which varies from one spring to another, is generally 14 days, and the unit of time measurement is the oudja or noubs which corresponds to the use of water for a 24-hour day. To correct the difference in the length of days and nights, alternate turns are taken.

The noubs is divided into hours, calculated from the length of the shadow cast by a human being as compared to the height of the same individual. At night, the mechkouda is used. This is a copper vase in the form of a truncated cone with a hole pierced in the lower portion and sometimes fitted with a regulatory mechanism. The mechkouda is placed in the water, and the time it takes to fill up measures an invariable unit of time. To correct seasonal differences in the length of the night, it is accepted that in the spring and autumn a time unit will correspond to eight successive immersions of the mechkouda, in the summer to seven immersions and in the winter to nine.

For the wells, the same system of time distribution is employed along with the 14-day rotation period. The unit of measurement and time selected expresses both the water rights of each proprietor and the period of time during which each owner is entitled to use the water. This time unit is independent of the physical quantity of water supplied, and even if the flow is small, the number of noubas or the right to 24 hours of water use remain the same.

### The Purchase, Sale and Distribution of Water

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423

Such transactions are made on the basis of fictitious units and are independent of any accurate gauging of the flow or supply. Each owner or his share-cropper tenants (khammas),

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315 A party from Petroleum Concessions Ltd. arrived in November and, after visiting Hadhramaut, went east along the coast to prospect the Mahra area.

# Chapter 7: Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry

## AGRICULTURE

*General*

132 There was rain in the west of the Hadhramaut and in the Eastern coastal [312] area in February, and in June and August good rains in the Hadhramaut formed a new lake above the recently finished Nuqra dam. The spring 243 wheat and barley crops were satisfactory. Efforts to persuade the farmers to grow barley rather than wheat continued and towards the end of the year some effect was noticed, partly owing to the discovery of a way of cooking the barley so as to make it acceptable as food; experiments in machine grinding were also started.

*Staff*

647 The staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a Director, two Agricultural Officers, an Agricultural Assistant, an Engineer Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors.

*Land Utilisation*

Lack of rainfall imposes a severe limitation on crop production in 312 the Protectorate. Highly developed conservation measures, run-off 311 control, flood irrigation and artificial irrigation are employed to secure arable land production. The percentage of arable land to the desert and range is estimated at 0·33 per cent. Established pastures and meadows are unknown. Dry forest scrub is found on the Island of Socotra and in the far Eastern Mahra Coast.

*Crop Production*

241

*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | Acres | Tons |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 60,000 | 12,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 10,000 | 1,500 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 |
| Sesame | 10,000 | 1,000 |

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 20,000 | 4,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 3,000 | 500 |
| Wheat | 3,500 | 2,500 |
| Date palms | 10,000 | 5,500 |

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MMR



231

| *Annual Husbandry* | *Western Aden Protectorate* | *Eastern Aden Protectorate* |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 30,000 | 50,000 |
| Cattle | 45,000 | 10,000 |
| Goats | 500,000 | 420,000 |
| Sheep | 150,000 | 80,000 |

*Soil Conservation*

In Southern Arabia the rainfall is in general too low for an efficient natural vegetation to cover the slopes and act as a check to run-off. Only by the efficient use of all sources of water, particularly flood water, can cultivation continue. In these circumstances an effective system of soil and water conservation forms an integral part of traditional cultivation, and although there is a constant movement of the soil from the slopes to the flats, efficient run-off control results in comparatively little silt-laden water reaching the sea. Soil erosion occurs where flood waters are not controlled and in some areas overstocking has led to soil degradation. 312 654 [134]

The agricultural staff is at present very small but steps have been taken to improve the position.

The general view is that efforts to conserve soil should be directed to the maintenance and extension of flood-control systems. The districts of Abyan, Beihan and Ahwar and the Hadhramaut, which depend largely on a system of flood-water irrigation, have been selected as areas for improvement. In past years flood waters have gone to waste owing to local insecurity and poverty which resulted in the neglect of the deflectors and canals required for flood control. During the past few seasons active measures have been taken to remedy this state of affairs following an improvement in political conditions and by a system of advances to cultivators willing to undertake the restoration of their irrigation systems. Such flood-water control works must naturally go hand in hand with increased production measures. Special attention has been paid to Abyan where a Development Scheme is in operation.

On the Audhali plateau a system of advances to farmers who are willing to improve or sink wells or recondition terraces proved successful. Particular interest has been stimulated in areas where political difficulties have in the past caused neglect of such opportunities for the improvement of the natural resources.

Wind erosion is a factor of importance in the alluvial areas such as on the coastal plain where it affects areas which have been withheld from cultivation for long periods. In such situations dessication of the soil is followed by wind erosion. The remedy is to irrigate such soils and bring them back into cultivation 134

*Study of Agricultural Techniques*

(*a*) *Soils* are mainly alluvial. In the Eastern Protectorate they are almost everywhere derived from limestone. In the Western Protectorate soils in high-altitude districts are derived from the granite and elsewhere from the limestone series or from volcanic rock. Soils in irrigated areas

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



134 are generally of good-quality alluvium. In high-altitude districts less fertile soils are found and they are generally light in texture, except in some limestone areas where they are heavy and intractable.

312 (*b*) *Water supplies* are generally good and sufficient for the needs of cultivators who tend to concentrate in the river-valley areas or in the highland areas where some rainfall can be expected. Water becomes scarce in the Eastern districts where the settled country emerges into the Empty Quarter. Domestic water supplies are obtained from springs, wells, dams, tanks and cisterns.

(*c*) *Irrigation and drainage systems* are highly developed. At high altitudes the run-off is led to terraces in order to boost the rainfall which is insufficient in itself for crop production. Flood irrigation systems are found in the river valleys and on the coastal plain. Irrigation from permanent streams and springs is highly developed. Artificial irrigation is from open wells. Animal power lifts are worked at depths of 10 to 60 feet and in the most favourable districts command up to 10 per cent. of the total arable area.

241 (*d*) *Mechanical cultivation* is confined to one small unit used by the Abyan Board in the Abyan district. Elsewhere the simple Arabian plough, combined levelling-board and scraper, harrow and a drill attachment for the plough comprise the implements used by the cultivator.

(*e*) *Application of fertilisers.* Organic fertilisers only are used. Farmyard manure is commonly used in all mid-altitude and highland districts. Farmyard manure, human excreta and town wastes are used in the Hadhramaut. Fish and guano are commonly used in the Eastern Protectorate coastal areas.

*Land Tenure*

423 (*a*) Customary tribal law and Shari'a law affect land tenure.

(*b*) Individual ownership is the common and most-desired form of tenancy; share tenancy is the usual form of leashold tenure.

(*c*) His Majesty's Government owns no land in the Aden Protectorate. Some of the Arab states hold extensive tracts of land as state domain. All the land is held by indigenous inhabitants except for a very small percentage held by Yemeni settlers and a few Indians and Somalis.

*Agricultural Credit*

452 There are no banks in the Aden Protectorate. One small Farmers' Association giving credit assistance to its members was formed during
453 the year. The Department of Agriculture, the local Governments, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut a Relief Organisation afforded assistance to farmers with interest-free loans.

## FISHERIES

654 A visit in February by the Fisheries Adviser to the Secretary of State
226 for the Colonies resulted in the arrival of a fisheries research party in

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



*Liaison*

In the first half of 1947 the post of Protectorate Education Officer was filled, a post which had been vacant for a year. This Officer's duties include tours of inspection throughout the Protectorate, and advice and assistance, through the British Agents, where required. 647

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate advance was somewhat hampered by the absence of the Sudani Adviser for the greater part of the year on leave. However, estimates for grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act were prepared and despatched; these include schemes for enlarging the Intermediate School at Gheil Ba Wazir and for primary schools for the Kathiri State and Wahidi area. A number of scholarships for Hadhramis were given by the Governments of Syria, Egypt and Iraq. 658 648

## HEALTH

*Medical Report for the Western Aden Protectorate*

His Majesty's Government finance a small medical service in the Western Aden Protectorate. The area covered is large, communications are poor and access to many parts is difficult. In consequence only a small proportion of the population, who are in great need of health services, can be visited and treated. Nevertheless, 16 dispensaries are maintained at strategic points in the Protectorate. New dressers are given instruction in hygiene and elementary medicine and nursing care, and are then sent out to open up new areas or to work with more senior dressers in the established dispensaries. They have to deal with diseases common to all races. Certain tropical diseases such as schistosomiasis and dysentery are very prevalent. 743 759 164

Drought and the vagaries of the climate also play their part in undermining the health of the inhabitants. The third year of drought in Sublihi country undoubtedly had an effect on the prevalence of tuberculosis, dental caries and vitamin deficiency diseases in that area. 731

Apart from the dispensaries in the Protectorate, the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital in Sheik Othman which trains the dispensers also welcomes up-country patients. More would come than do at present if ignorance and superstition did not prevail in the Protectorate. Again, for many the road to the hospital is physically difficult and it is certain that they come only as a last resort and after long deliberation. In consequence doctors do all they can to visit the dispensaries as frequently as possible and to spend adequate time at each one to treat the sick, and to give instructions to dressers to keep them up to date. 743

*Famine Relief*

During 1947 the situation in the Hadhramaut continued to improve. At the beginning of the year there were 1,112 persons being fed in the kitchens, which were closed by the end of March, leaving only Maljs—a relief centre for those incapable of work—whose 716 inmates in March were gradually reduced to 227 in December. Nuqra dam, the major famine relief work undertaken, was finished in June. Remittances 735 [312] 006

G.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 190 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



(B) EXPORTS

| No. | Commodity | No. of packages | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Tobacco, native | 13,236 bdls. | 16,158 cwt. | 8,93,650 |
| 2. | Honey in comb | — | 5,00 lb. | 5,6001 |
| 3. | " cleaned | — | 1,020 " | 2,550 |
| 4. | Dates, country | — | 100 " | 220 |
| 5. | Lime | 3,879 bags | 4,00 cwt. | 15,500 |
| 6. | Sheep and Goats' skins, tanned | — | 10 scores | 1,000 |
| 7. | Dried lemons | 229 bdls. | 81 cwt. | 33,000 |
| 8. | Fish oil | 17,049 tins | 68,95 gln. | 1,27,860 |
| 9. | Miscellaneous | — | — | 2,93,380 |
| | | | TOTAL | 13,82,760 |

# Chapter 7: Agriculture and Fisheries

## AGRICULTURE

In 1948 farming conditions were generally poor in the Aden Protectorate. 241
Conditions of 1947 were reversed in the areas west of the Bana river, 132
which had a poor 1947 season, received fair rainfall and flood conditions, 731
while east of the Bana erratic and poor rainfall over large areas reduced 457
food production to a low level. This was particularly true of the Hadhramaut and other eastern districts where complete drought returned to the country, causing famine conditions to reappear at the end of the year. The shortage of food was accentuated in those areas where the economy of the country is largely dependent on remittances from abroad. Famine appeared particularly in the Wadi Amd and in Rahya, where food production is not secured by any irrigation from underground supplies, but is dependent entirely on rain and runoff control. These districts are also partly dependent on remittances from Hyderabad and became particularly affected when India invaded Hyderabad, and currency decrees in Hyderabad cut off the flow of remittances. The scarcity of food was further aggra- [439]
vated by the ban on exports of grain from the Yemen.

*Staff*

The technical staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a 247
Director, two Agricultural Officers (to be increased to four), an Agricul- 242
tural Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors.

The Abyan Development Scheme has the part-time services of an Irrigation Adviser.

*Rainfall Crop and Livestock Conditions*

In the districts west of the Bana river *saif* rains were fair, particularly 312
in the highland areas. East of the Bana river *saif* conditions were poor in many districts, but in Beihan conditions were good and the Wadi ran no less than eleven floods. Most of this water was from the runoff of

G.Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MMI Aden



the north-east Yemen Plateau, but local rain was sufficient and caused damage to the wheat and barley crops when at the harvest stage.

In the districts west of the Bana *kharif* conditions in Lahej and Subeihi country were good, but in the highland districts rainfall was insufficient for crop production over most of the year. In Abyan which is watered by the Bana and the Hassan rivers where they enter the coastal plain, a weak flood season was experienced, but this resulted in effective flood control, and on the balance, in satisfactory crops. East of the Bana and the Abyan district, conditions in the *kharif* were bad. Lack of rain in most districts reduced crop production based on a rain and flood irrigation system to nothing. Fodder supplies needed for sustaining the animals working the water lifts in permanently irrigated areas were reduced, and lowered production from what should normally be a reliable source.

Livestock suffered and were reduced in numbers as a result of poor flood conditions caused by insufficient rain. A secondary factor which seriously affected camel owners and transporters in the Eastern Protectorate was a dearth of the sardines which are usually caught in great quantities on the Hadhramaut coast and used in a dry state as fodder for livestock.

*Crop Production*

| | Acres | Tons |
|---|---|---|
| ***Western Aden Protectorate*** | | |
| Millet—sorghum | 40,000 | 8,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 7,500 | 1,125 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 |
| Sesame | 5,500 | 550 |
| ***Eastern Aden Protectorate*** | | |
| Millet—sorghum | 5,000 | 1,700 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 1,000 | 200 |
| Wheat and barley | 3,500 | 2,500 |
| Date palms | 10,000 | 4,500 |

*Pests and Diseases*

No report of locust activity was received during the year.

Rust is probably the most important plant disease in the Aden Protectorate. In 1948, little damage was recorded from this disease.

*Animal Health*

No rinderpest was recorded during the year. Goat virus was imported from Kenya and used for the immunisation of cattle in Abyan. Horse-sickness vaccine was used in Beihan, Abyan and Lahej.

| | Western Aden Protectorate | Eastern Aden Protectorate |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 30,000 | 45,000 |
| Cattle | 50,000 | 8,000 |
| Goats | 400,000 | 320,000 |
| Sheep | 110,000 | 50,000 |

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



731 cultivators to get them back to their villages and re-establish them in time to sow their crops.

The famine of 1948–49 struck the western districts of Hadhramaut, where the situation was complicated by the dependence of these districts on rain and run-off water and flow irrigation from the wadis for crop production, and where large sections of the population relied on remittances from Hyderabad, which had been absorbed into the Indian Union, and from which transfers of currency had become difficult. Finally the repatriation of several thousand Southern Arabians, many of them from the tribes most seriously affected by the famine, brought further hardship.

Little could be done to improve agricultural conditions rapidly in these western areas of the Hadhramaut. It was therefore necessary to look to the lower areas of the main wadi where water is obtainable at easy levels, and farming can be secured by permanent irrigation.

Animal power for use on lift irrigation, and dependent on fodder crops cheaply produced only from the flood-irrigated areas, was now judged to have reached its maximum use. The Famine Relief Commissioner—in this case the Acting Resident Adviser—was advised that a large-scale pump scheme, using diesel-engined units, was the only measure which appeared to show promise of quick improvement in food production. The Commissioner and the States accepted this advice in detail and made important decisions in council which were framed to abolish all taxes on diesel engine and pumps for use on irrigation work, and on diesel oil (gas oil), and to purchase and supply cultivators with machinery for cash or for deferred payments.

731 The States further caused revision of an important agreement with
459 Beduin tribes regarding the transport of fuel. In the past all trade goods, including petrol, kerosene oil, and lubricating oil, had been carried by camel caravans owned by Beduin tribes occupying the country between the coastal plain and the great wadis of the interior. With the opening of the road to the interior some fourteen years ago it was agreed that motor transport should carry only passengers and small quantities of personal luggage. In the present emergency the Beduin leaders were told of the need for motor transport to carry diesel oil for a famine relief scheme and were shown that the normal system of supplying diesel oil was in 44-gallon drums which have to be broken and repacked in drums of a size convenient for camel transport. The Beduins agreed to waive their rights, and so, for the first time in Hadhramaut history, a truly mechanised scheme, independent of the camel caravans—which are entirely dependent on fodder grazing and water supplies, which may fail in a drought—was evolved.

653 It was decided to spend up to £36,000 on a pump scheme. The
406 Famine Relief Commission, acting on behalf of the States, arranged to purchase the machinery and to sell outright for cash or on a deferred
312 payment system, in which case 25 per cent was added to the price for repayment over a four-year period. Speed was essential, and quotations and prices were examined for nearly every type of diesel-engined

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



### CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol," extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

132 There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultivation is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses.
312 In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

311 The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Sai'un, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

631 The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting
648 of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of
649 Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

648 The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly
631 area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the

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HAND-OPERATED IRRIGATION IN THE PROTECTORATE

[23]

ANIMAL-OPERATED IRRIGATION IN THE PROTECTORATE

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Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 6: Production

## LAND UTILISATION AND TENURE

*Utilisation of agricultural land*

Land for crop production is prepared for irrigation farming by flow or by lift, and for dry farming, where there is a low rainfall and some runoff water, the land is terraced. The great bulk of the land in the Protectorates affords range conditions of light carrying capacity, particularly suited to camels, sheep and goats. 312 241 231

*Land and water conservation and utilisation*

All farming practices in the Aden Protectorates depend on a highly developed system of conservation of land and water. In the highest areas, land is terraced for crop production and runoff water is led to these terraced fields in order to augment the water provided by actual precipitation; in the mid-altitude areas, mountain torrents are diverted to bunded land laboriously reclaimed and made along the valley sides; below, where the river systems reach wider valley areas and plains, larger diversion works and miles of canal may be used to carry flood water to bunded lands. 312

This process of water spreading, which is carried on in the lowest lying parts of the coastal plain, results in abundant supplies of underground water. Lift irrigation is practised in many areas and is, of course, of the greatest importance to the more arid north-easterly districts of the Protectorate. At present only supplies drawn from open wells, tapping the "phreatic" zone of water, are used.

Utilisation of land and water is governed by varying systems of tribal and customary law. Where development schemes are now progressing, local authorities are being invited to modify such laws, where necessary, to meet the changing conditions. 423

*Land Ownership*

The policy, laws and regulations of each State vary but in general it may be said that the policy of the State is to reserve land ownership for the tribe and generally to tend to favour individual ownership as against State ownership. Land ownership is subject to tribal law and Mohammedan law.

Except for a small area in one district, land in the Protectorate is held by the indigenous inhabitants. The local State Governments are, in some cases, important owners of land.

Land is held in absolute ownership (Mulk), in trusts (Waqf), as dedicatory gifts (Nadr) and in a form of usufructuary tenure (Manh), with near to freehold rights granted in one or two areas to those who have rendered outstanding service to the State.

Payment of a fixed rent in money is only found in a very few specialised systems. Fixed payments in kind, found usually in areas where a high value is placed on land and water, are not general. The 427

8;Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultivation is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields. 132 312

## Chapter 2: History

For a time in the eighteenth century, the Western Protectorate formed part of the domain of the Imam of Sana'a in the Yemen and several of the rulers of the tribal districts were the Imam's "wakils" or governors until his power declined and they declared their independence. 175

After the occupation of Aden by the British in 1839, some of the neighbouring chiefs entered into protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. Others followed suit as time went on, the last to do so being the Audhali Sultan in 1914. 648

In July, 1915, during the first World War, the Turks, who had conquered the Yemen in the course of the previous century, occupied the Abdali, Haushabi and Amiri districts of the Protectorate until the Armistice of 1918.

In 1934 a Treaty of Friendship was signed between His Majesty's Government and the Kingdom of Yemen. There was an Exchange of Notes in 1950 when it was agreed to establish reciprocal diplomatic missions and to set up a Frontier Commission.

In 1944 and 1945 five Western Aden Protectorate Chiefs (the Fadhli, the Lower Aulaqi and the Lower Yafa'i Sultans, the Sharif of Beihan and the Amir of Dhala) entered into closer relations with His Majesty's Government by new treaties in which they agreed, *inter alia*, to abide by the advice of the Governor of Aden in the improvement of their administrations. Similar treaties were signed by the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and the Audhali Sultan in 1952. In 1952 the newly elected Sultan of Lahej accepted a Political Officer as adviser and signed an advisory treaty.

The most important aspect of recent history in the Eastern Protectorate has been the decline of the traditional power of the Kathiri Sultans and the rise of the Qu'aiti—a new Yafa'i dynasty which gained power and wealth from military and other services rendered by its members abroad to the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Qu'aiti rulers first entered into a treaty with Her Majesty's Government in 1882. This was strengthened in 1888 by the conclusion of a Protectorate treaty in the common form of the treaties with other Protectorate chiefs. In 1918 the Kathiri Sultan made an agreement with the Qu'aiti Sultan acknowledging this treaty as binding on them also. In 1937 and 1939 respectively the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans signed treaties undertaking to accept the advice of a British Resident Adviser in all matters except those concerning Mohammedan religion and custom. The Wahidi Sultan of Belhaf signed an Advisory Treaty in 1949. 643 648

B:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



Trials with long staple

cotton, introduced in 1946, proved successful and this crop has now been chosen as the main crop for the area.

Payment for irrigation services has always been based on a crop share of 25 per cent payable to the Board. The present crop share and taxation on the crop, as laid down in an agreement dated 1st April, 1950, is as follows :

| PARTY | LIVE LAND (*Land developed and cultivated for 5 years*) | DEAD LAND (*New land opened for cultivation*) |
|---|---|---|
| | % | % |
| State (Taxation) . . | 5 | 10 |
| Landlord . . . | 20 | 15 |
| Tenant . . . | 50 | 50 |
| Board . . . | 25 | 25 |

To secure rapid development, traditional methods have been used while the land has been surveyed and existing canal systems aligned and new canals of improved design have been constructed. Diversion is still by traditional methods but regulators have been constructed in the upper part of the district.

*Land and Water Rights*

The Board does not own or control any land except building sites and experimental areas loaned from the local States and, in one case, rented from a landowner.

The Board controls the diversion and distribution of all flood water in the district. In the winter season the Board purchases the permanent flow of the Bana River from the Lower Yafai Sultan and his relatives and distributes this supply through the canal system to farmers who pay the customary crop share to the Board.

Tribal boundaries and settlements of title to the area have been ill defined in the past years of insecurity, but in 1951 final decisions were taken regarding tribal boundaries.

*Survey*

Since 1948 an area of 100,000 acres has been contour surveyed to a one metre interval. Geophysical surveys, the first as a reconnaissance and the second in fairly detailed form, have been made.

*Irrigation Development*

Development is in various stages. An area of approximately 50,000 acres of land is now controlled for irrigation farming, mainly on traditional lines. The normal flood flow to the area is expected to be sufficient to crop 30,000 acres yearly. In the 1951 flood a discharge of 224,000,000 cubic metre was observed to reach Abyan in the Bana River and this quantity, if correctly controlled, would have been sufficient for the irrigation of 50,000 acres. In actual fact only 30,000 acres were irrigated. The system is to direct flood water at speed, by diversion weirs made of brushwood and stone, into canals

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



654 which carry the water to bunded fields where the land is inundated to
312 approximately one metre in depth. In the lower part of the district complete diversion of the flood is made by larger earth dams built
241 across the river bed. Generally one metre depth of water is sufficient to raise the crops of sorghum, sesame and cotton, though summer planted crops which have to grow when water is low are given one or two supplementary irrigations.

The date of arrival of the floods is uncertain and the pattern of crop production may alter considerably according to the date of irrigation. For instance, early summer floods will only be used for sorghum fodder, grain, melons and sesame. Later summer irrigations are particularly required for cotton planting and for the autumn sown sorghum crop.

*The Farming System*

Skilled cultivation is carried on by settlers from many South Arabian tribes who have come to the area since the start of the scheme. Bunding of land, construction of field channels, ploughing and sowing are carried out by draught animals, mainly oxen though camels are brought in to help occasionally. No fertilisers are used at present ; the flood brings with it a heavy burden of silt which reaches the land and maintains its fertile state.

The basic problems concern the farming system. One is largely an irrigation problem caused by a rapid rise in the water-table which has taken place since irrigation was resumed. This rise in the water-table has caused an accumulation of salts in the upper layers of the soil, and has already made crop production on 2,000 acres practically impossible by flood irrigation methods. The other problem is weed control. As a gross area of 100,000 acres may be commanded in the future, and within this area an annual average of 30,000 acres may be cropped, it should be possible to afford long periods of fallow to land in order to reduce the dangers which may arise from heavy irrigation ; but individual ownership of land will greatly complicate such arrangements.

248 At the present time the cotton variety X.1730A, a derivative of
243 Sakel, is the main cash crop grown. All other cash crops in the scheme are common to those of other irrigation tracts of a similar
246 type in South Arabia though there are experimental crops, of which sugar is one. An important feature of the scheme is the need for a large area of sorghum for grain and fodder production. The draught animals depend almost entirely on sorghum fodder for their sustenance and the main food of the people is sorghum millet. It is expected that for some time two-thirds of the area will be maintained under sorghum and one-third under cotton.

*Mechanical Equipment*

406 The Board owns earth-moving machinery powered by diesel-engined
240 crawler tractors with carry-all scrapers, bulldozers, a ripper and grader and two drag-line scrapers. The policy of the Board is to increase the

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

boreholes near Sheikh Othman. It is pumped to tanks, from which it flows through open conduits to a storage reservoir on the isthmus. The supply for the township of Aden is pumped from the reservoir to storage tanks located on the hills above Crater and the modern harbor suburb of Tawahi. It is then distributed to individual house connections and to filling stations, from which camel carts peddle water to the older sections of the town. A portion of the supply is diverted at Sheikh Othman for irrigation purposes, while the remainder is chlorinated at the isthmus reservoir before being distributed to the towns. The domestic supply is subjected to weekly bacteriologic examinations in the laboratories of the government hospital. In spite of frequent inspections, however, numerous possibilities for contamination are connected with the sale of household supplies from camel carts. In the summer months, the temperature of the water at the tap often reaches 95° to 98° F., and cooling devices are necessary. Supplementary supplies are obtained from numerous shallow wells, but in the majority the the water is brackish and unpotable. The historic Aden "tanks" or cisterns, which date from pre-Islamic times, are rarely filled and have little value as a means of water supply.

A 312
A 312 364

The sources of water vary in different parts of the Protectorate. While perennial streams and springs abound in sections of the southwestern highlands, in most areas the rivers and the wadies are seasonal, and flow only for brief periods after the rains. Wells are the most frequent source of supply, but, depending upon the region, water is also procured from streams, springs or rain-water cisterns. In some localities in Eastern Aden Protectorate, it is brought to the towns from distant springs or wells in underground conduits which are comparable with the *qanats* of Iran. The water for Mukalla is obtained from a series of wells at Bakezebur and collected in a reservoir about 4 miles from the town. It is piped to individual outlets in the palaces and the

H 312

p. 241 (A)

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

mosques and to storage tanks from which the commercial carriers draw water for sale to the inhabitants. Most well supplies are unprotected and exposed to subsoil and surface contamination. The ablution pools in the mosques are often heavily polluted and serve as vehicles for the transmission of intestinal infections. They also provide conditions favorable for the breeding of anopheline and other mosquitoes; also of Planorbis and Bulinus snails.

H 312
N 312 364 164 136

There are numerous small irrigation projects in the agricultural districts, especially in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut, many of which have been in use for decades. They depend upon water from streams or wells and, in some parts of the highlands, from spring-fed cisterns. Pumps have been introduced in the modern developments, but in most instances water is drawn from streams and wells in the traditional manner, namely, in leather buckets by means of ropes pulled over wooden pulleys by men or animals.

H 312

### Waste Disposal

A 364

The methods of sewage disposal are primitive. Septic tanks, which discharge into the main drainage system, are connected with some of the newer houses in Aden Colony, but pail privies provide the usual means of sewage disposal in both Aden and Sheikh Othman townships. In old buildings with several stories, soil pipes which may be 40 feet in length lead from the privies on the upper floors to containers below. The night soil is collected regularly from private and public latrines by the town authorities and conveyed to incineration plants. Pit latrines are employed in some quarters, but they are being abolished wherever possible. In the congested districts, the latrines are located along concrete passages between the rears of the houses and are drained to storm sewers or to soakpits. The construction of a modern sewerage system for the Colony is under consideration.

A 364 185

The "long drop" method, in which closed

N 364

p. 241 (B)

H 744 Responsibility for the health of the people in the Colony resides in its Medical and Health Department, which is administered by a Director of Medical Services, with headquarters in Aden. There are no organized public health services in the Protectorate. Medical facilities are supported mainly by the British authorities in Western Aden Protectorate and by the local rulers in Eastern Aden Protectorate. As of A 743 1950, there were 4 hospitals, with an aggregate capacity of about 600 beds, in the Colony which served the local residents and accessible portions of the Protectorate. In addition, several government, mission or private dispensaries, 2 venereal disease treatment centers and a maternity and child welfare clinic were in operation. The Pro- A 743 tectorate facilities included 2 small hospitals, a child welfare center and 15 dispensaries in Eastern Aden Protectorate: 18 dispensaries in Western Aden Protectorate.

H A 312 Water supplies are scarce throughout this region, except in portions of the western highlands. The water supply for the Colony is derived from boreholes and treated by chlorination. Supplies in the Protectorate are obtained from streams, springs, wells or rain-water cisterns. The methods of sewA H 364 944 age disposal are primitive in the Colony, as well as in the Protectorate. Limited sanitary controls over the production and the distribution of foodstuffs exist only in THE COLONY.

p. 252 (A)

bricks. The cost of building the house in which we stayed in Tarim was $60,000. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice-plants, and European modern conveniences in the bathrooms, wash-basins with running water and shower-baths. Whereas in Du'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found, these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Large and comfortable chairs and sofas decorate the drawing-rooms, and there are English carpets, masses of gilt mirrors, chandeliers and glass cupboards full of marmalade dishes, egg-cups and so on. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel-back over the mountains for six days.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of procuring long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree grows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees (*Conocarpus erectus*, Jacq.) growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseila, they cannot be transported by camels. The difficulty is being surmounted to some extent by experiments in the making of reinforced concrete pillars of which I saw two in construction at Seiyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seiyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, are covered with a lime plaster polished with smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area 500 houses built on a slight eminence in the Wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. By general consent, houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher, but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this type of house which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together. The life of a house is said to be 200 to 250 years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done, the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits, necessitating demolition.

*Rotation.*—Heald states that mixed and overlapping rotations were found in Meifa and Asfal al 'Ain but, from careful enquiries, the following appeared to be the most popular :—Lucerne two years, followed by millet and the fourth year tobacco. If tobacco was not sown, the land was planted with another variety of millet. In some villages where lucerne was not grown, the rotation simply included tobacco and millet with sesame the third year. 242

In the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed. One year a certain part of the wadi bed will be cultivated, stick huts and erections for drawing up the water built, and when the crop is harvested the Beduins move on elsewhere, returning again another season. Thus we frequently passed remains of cultivation, disused mud aqueducts and tumbled-down huts.

*Diseases.*—Heald states, "Excepting for the caterpillar attacking the young millet and tobacco, the crops were remarkably free from pests and disease; I carefully searched for stem borer in the millet but could find none, and also for the scale in the few citrus trees."

**Trees and other vegetation of economic importance.**

The *'elb* (*Sidr. Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.) has many uses. Apart from its blossoms, which are said to give the good taste to the Du'an honey, its fruit called *dōm* is eaten extensively by the Beduins when dates are lacking. The beams, pillars and doors of Hadhramaut houses are made from the timber, and the supply and carriage of the trunks give much employment to the Beduins. It also supplies good firewood. It is a fodder tree, and the leaves are also used as a substitute for soap. 137 262 313 242 [388]

*Sār*, a palm tree (*Hyphaene thebaica* (L.) Mart.), from which the Beduins gather the leaves called *sāf* for transport to the towns, where they are made into mats, baskets, country string, etc. A popular drink called *nebidh* is also procured from this tree. 137 314 285 272

The long-thorned *sumr* (*Acacia spirocarpa* Hochst.) is perhaps the commonest tree in the Hadhramaut. It is a popular fodder for camels and is likewise eaten by goats. It supplies good firewood and a substance taken from the roots called *futukh* is used by fishermen for greasing their lines in order to make them strong. Another thorny tree, the *geradh* (*Acacia senegal* Willd.), is also a common fodder. Its leaves are used for tanning skins and it is said that the Beduins make a drink from them which they liken to tea. 137 246 314 372 272

The *musht* tree (*Grewia erythraea* Schweinf.), is used extensively for firewood and camel fodder. The leaves of the *ariata* tree (*Conocarpus erectus* Jacq.), which grows in the Wadi Maseila where it sometimes reaches a height of 50 to 70 feet, are dried for fodder, and the timber probably has its economic uses. I was told in Tarim of a large tree growing in Wadi Maseila the strong wood of which is used by carpenters; this may have been the *ariata*. 137 314 246 372

370

# HOUSE BUILDING IN THE HADHRAMAUT

W. H. INGRAMS

342 361 363 DURING a recent tour in the Hadhramaut my wife and I collected some notes on the building of houses. Each town in the country has its own individual characteristics. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type, built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Makalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not 6 feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces.

361 342 353 In the Wadi Do'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Do'an houses the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb* [1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, 2 inches across the heads, burnished with lead, which shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development of Do'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring-bone pattern.

361 342 177 352 492 493 In Terim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice plants, and modern European conveniences in the bathrooms. Whereas in Do'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel back over the mountains for six days, and while I mention this it is worth recording that there are sixty cars in Terim itself, each of which has been transported in parts by twelve camels from the coast.

● 313 333 353 The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seyyids of Terim and Seyyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of getting long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree trows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseilah, they cannot be transported by

[1] The commoner Arabic name is *sidr*, *Rhamnus nabeca*.

camels. The difficulty is being got over to some extent by experiments in making reinforced-concrete pillars, of which we saw two in construction at Seyyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seyyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, consist of a lime plaster polished by smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area five hundred houses built on a slight eminence in the wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud-built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town, and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. The area of land required to build a house 45 *dhirras* in width by 35 in depth (a *dhirra*, or cubit, equals 1·5 foot) will cost 10,000 dollars, and having acquired the land the prospective builder will have to submit the specifications of his house for the approval of a committee of the townspeople who consider the position of windows and of gutters carrying water to the street. Subsequent alterations to a house must also be similarly approved. By general consent houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high, in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this house, which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars.

The foundations are dug 2 *dhirras* deep below the surface of the earth and 3 *dhirras* wide. Stones are used for the foundation mortared together with a mixture of wood ash and lime. In places where there is any doubt as to the solidity of the ground on which the house is to stand long pieces of *'elb* wood are laid in pairs lengthwise in the foundations. Wood for this purpose must be cut in the winter; if this is done it is said never to rot. The stone foundation or *sās* is continued for 2 *dhirras* above the level of the ground. When the building operations have reached this stage a foundation sacrifice of a goat or sheep is made on the walls. The house is centred round a solid pillar built on the same foundation as the walls. For a house of the dimensions proposed this pillar or *'arus el beit* will be 3½ by 3 *dhirras* wide and of the same thickness from top to bottom. The stairs of the house invariably go up round the *'arus*. The bricks are made of clay mixed with straw, the standard size being 1¼ *dhirras* in length by ⅔ in breadth by 4 *banan* or fingers' widths in thickness. When the clay of the required consistency and thickness for making the bricks has been laid out they are cut out by a wooden frame which makes two bricks at a time. The bricks cost five dollars a thousand.

The thickness of the walls of the first storey is 1⅞ *dhirras*, of the second 1½, of the third 1¼, of the fourth 1 *dhirra*, of the fifth ¾, of the sixth ⅝, and of the seventh ½ a *dhirra*. The bricks are mortared together with wet clay. As *'elb* wood grows to no great length the size of the room is determined to some extent by the length of the pieces available as girders. The girders are usually very short and supported by carved pillars each costing about twenty dollars.

water is too far below the surface to serve for the regular 245
irrigation of a plantation, the *nibq* can still live quite well, 262
and even if there is no rain for some years it does not die. The fruit of the *nibq* is as large as a marble and has a stone of the size of a pea. The taste is sour-sweet and refreshing. The fruit can be dried and kept for a long time: it is then crushed fine, stone and all, and with the meal bread is baked or a sort of porridge made. This small fruit is the chief food supply of many in times of drought, and in times of scarcity many Bedouins live on *nibq* and milk and do not look ill on the diet. The shepherdesses carry the *nibqs* with them in small oval, prettily woven baskets.

The wood of the *nibq* tree is reddish-brown and hard, and [313] ●
is used for beams and supporting pillars in the big, many- 314
storied, mud houses of the rich. The branches, thick with 262
thorns, are used in the date plantations when the bunches of 231
dates approach ripeness. They are bound in a wreath round the trunk just below the clusters of fruit, to prevent the dates from being stolen. Finally the green leaves of the *nibq* are also useful: when, during a long drought, there is hardly any more food to be found for the sheep and goats one sees the agile shepherdesses, in spite of their flowing, black garments, clambering up to the top of the *nibq* tree and knocking off the leaves from the branches with long, thin sticks. The flock stands below the tree in expectation of the godsend of food to come. We have only a mild admiration for the *nibq* fruit: one must do much chewing for little nourishment and for little taste.

They also brought us from el-Ḥisī a few handfuls of the 262
roasted larvae of white ants. The taste was not bad; Von Wissmann ate up a whole helping with the result that, shortly afterwards, he had a pain in his throat and could not utter a sound, a condition that lasted for about two hours.

El-Ḥisī lies about 4500 feet above sea-level, and the 133
evenings are quite cold. While there, we examined the bundles 600
of plants which we had already collected and pressed. Great

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



November. They began testing fish livers for vitamin-A content and also canning samples. Meanwhile several local merchants showed interest and applied for permission to set up canneries and the like. A board to consider such applications and fisheries development in general was set up. 654 226

FORESTRY

No true forests exist. Bush products exploited are timber, fuel, charcoal, fibres, gum incense and dragon blood. 313 314

# Chapter 8: Social Services

EDUCATION

*General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education inspects schools, gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates so far as is po[illegible] educational development throughout the whole territory. 658

*Policy*

The general education policy in the Protectorates has been to build up self-supporting state Departments of Education as the states become sufficiently advanced for this to be possible. The intention has been that these departments should organise and control a system of village schools, central primary schools and, in the case of the larger states, intermediate schools.

*Education Departments*

Two such Education Departments are already in existence. One under the Mukalla Government in the Eastern Protectorate, with a Sudanese Director of Education (who is also Education Adviser to the British Agent), and an inspectorate of five local Arab inspectors. The other is at Lahej, 25 miles inland from Aden in the Western Protectorate, where Emir Ali, brother of the Sultan, performs the duties of Director of Education. 647

*Higher Education*

There is no higher education in the Protectorate, and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come. It is thus necessary to send abroad selected scholars who reach the required standard. There is at present one boy at Gordon College in the Sudan, and three there are at secondary schools. 873

*Rotation.*—Heald states that mixed and overlapping rotations were found in Meifa and Asfal al 'Ain but, from careful enquiries, the following appeared to be the most popular :—Lucerne two years, followed by millet and the fourth year tobacco. If tobacco was not sown, the land was planted with another variety of millet. In some villages where lucerne was not grown, the rotation simply included tobacco and millet with sesame the third year. 242

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**Trees and other vegetation of economic importance.**

The *'elb* (*Sidr. Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.) has many uses. Apart from its blossoms, which are said to give the good taste to the Du'an honey, its fruit called *dōm* is eaten extensively by the Beduins when dates are lacking. The beams, pillars and doors of Hadhramaut houses are made from the timber, and the supply and carriage of the trunks give much employment to the Beduins. It also supplies good firewood. It is a fodder tree, and the leaves are also used as a substitute for soap. 137 262 313 242 [388]

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60

137 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
246 common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. [illegible] provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khawcira*, a small plant ([illegible] *ata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. [illegible] of course many other plants on which they graze.

**Manufacturing Industries.**

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
262 mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
249 ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
438 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to
353 the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
326 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

**Fisheries.**

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They
231 are :—

*Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla
438 or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazīf* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

Himyarites was an important export center for incense and myrrh, has enough rainfall to support a thin growth of vegetation, largely incense trees. From this area and the surrounding country, at one time more abundantly watered, the priceless gum was most extensively collected in the past. It is still gathered today in small amounts, according to demand. The gum, which adheres to the bark, is har-

FIG. 20—Caravan loading. The three men at the right are arguing about the disposition of loads.

vested from varieties of the Burseraceae family, *Boswellia Carterii* and *B. Bhua-Dajiana*, divided by the Arabs into four grades.[4] Its value, which ranges from £80 to £10 a ton, depends on such qualities as color (red, green, and brown), size of the gum particles, and degree of adulteration. Just as the rubber gatherers of the Amazon debased latex with pebbles and gravel, so did the Arabs in the heyday of the incense trade, and to some extent even now, admix varying amounts of fine sand with the gum to increase its weight. Between March and August the trees are tapped by knife incision and a milky juice is extracted, which dries in three to five days.

Besides incense trees, a thin and scattered growth of bunch grass, camel's-thorn, and a cedarlike evergreen abundant in some dry wadies is found in the Hadhramaut. Date-palm groves, which cover many square miles, are mainly dependent on irrigation.

## Sources of Water Supply

In addition to artesian water and the water obtained from wells, other sources of supply are available. One of these is the *siquaya*, a small, rectangular, concrete tank with a capacity of 20 or 25 gallons erected along caravan routes near towns and maintained by them as a public service. Another is the well or cistern excavated at the base

[4] Freya Stark: The Southern Gates of Arabia. [New York], 1936, pp. 10–11.

water is too far below the surface to serve for the regular 245
irrigation of a plantation, the *nibq* can still live quite well, 262
and even if there is no rain for some years it does not die. The fruit of the *nibq* is as large as a marble and has a stone of the size of a pea. The taste is sour-sweet and refreshing. The fruit can be dried and kept for a long time: it is then crushed fine, stone and all, and with the meal bread is baked or a sort of porridge made. This small fruit is the chief food supply of many in times of drought, and in times of scarcity many Bedouins live on *nibq* and milk and do not look ill on the diet. The shepherdesses carry the *nibqs* with them in small oval, prettily woven baskets.

The wood of the *nibq* tree is reddish-brown and hard, and [313]
is used for beams and supporting pillars in the big, many- 314
storied, mud houses of the rich. The branches, thick with 262
thorns, are used in the date plantations when the bunches of 231
dates approach ripeness. They are bound in a wreath round the trunk just below the clusters of fruit, to prevent the dates from being stolen. Finally the green leaves of the *nibq* are also useful: when, during a long drought, there is hardly any more food to be found for the sheep and goats one sees the agile shepherdesses, in spite of their flowing, black garments, clambering up to the top of the *nibq* tree and knocking off the leaves from the branches with long, thin sticks. The flock stands below the tree in expectation of the godsend of food to come. We have only a mild admiration for the *nibq* fruit: one must do much chewing for little nourishment and for little taste.

They also brought us from el-Ḥisī a few handfuls of the 262
roasted larvae of white ants. The taste was not bad; Von Wissmann ate up a whole helping with the result that, shortly afterwards, he had a pain in his throat and could not utter a sound, a condition that lasted for about two hours.

El-Ḥisī lies about 4500 feet above sea-level, and the 133
evenings are quite cold. While there, we examined the bundles 000
of plants which we had already collected and pressed. Great

H 439 214 Two products of southern Arabia are frankincense and myrrh, which are both obtained from the sap of trees that grow on the damper hill slopes above 3,000 feet. The sap is collected in late spring and early summer, before the onset of the rains, mainly by migrant Somalis and other Africans. At one time there was a considerable trade in these products with the north, and tradition speaks of an 'Incense Route' somewhere in south-west Arabia, along which caravans moved northwards to Medina and the Levant. Nowadays the output of frankincense and myrrh is very much smaller, most coming from the uplands of Dhofar.

H 226 Towards the east, as relief declines and rainfall diminishes, cultivation becomes more and more precarious, and fishing is the main occupation. Large quantities of shark, tunny, and sardines are caught (Chapter X), most of which are dried as food both for humans and for camels. In addition, an oil is prepared from the fish for use in woodworking. Mukhala and Shihr are the chief fishing centres, and in these towns rows of fish drying in the sun for food, and rotting in heaps to produce oil, are prominent, and according to some visitors, unforgettable, features.

H 439 With a barren hinterland, many activities in southern Arabia centre on the sea; and, in addition to fishing, trading by dhow is important. The Arabs of the south are the Greeks of the Indian Ocean, and cargoes are carried between East Africa, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and India—even, at times, the East Indies. From their sea-trading, the natives of Aden and the Hadhramaut derive a livelihood that allows the import of foodstuffs into the country—as it is, local production of food is quite insufficient to maintain the existing population, and part must come from the outside. A cosmopolitan outlook, and wide commercial contacts, strongly contrasting with conditions in the Yemen, are strikingly indicated by the architectural styles in southern Arabia, which are very greatly influenced by East Indian models. Many storied houses, with elaborate woodwork and carving, are most characteristic. After a life of trading, perhaps with many years spent away from his country, the southern Arab often returns to Aden or the Hadhramaut with a small fortune that will keep him in comfort for the rest of his life.

H 177

A 504 Aden is the principal town of the region, and its harbour, the only good one along the entire coast, from Bab el Mandeb to Muscat, is formed by a deep bay partially enclosed by two volcanic necks. The town, of 40,000 inhabitants, owes its development to British

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



November. They began testing fish livers for vitamin-A content and also canning samples. Meanwhile several local merchants showed interest and applied for permission to set up canneries and the like. A board to consider such applications and fisheries development in general was set up. 654 226

FORESTRY

No true forests exist. Bush products exploited are timber, fuel, charcoal, fibres, gum incense and dragon blood. 313 314

# Chapter 8: Social Services

EDUCATION

*General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education inspects schools, gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates so far as is possible educational development throughout the whole territory. 658

*Policy*

The general education policy in the Protectorates has been to build up self-supporting state Departments of Education as the states become sufficiently advanced for this to be possible. The intention has been that these departments should organise and control a system of village schools, central primary schools and, in the case of the larger states, intermediate schools.

*Education Departments*

Two such Education Departments are already in existence. One under the Mukalla Government in the Eastern Protectorate, with a Sudanese Director of Education (who is also Education Adviser to the British Agent), and an inspectorate of five local Arab inspectors. The other is at Lahej, 25 miles inland from Aden in the Western Protectorate, where Emir Ali, brother of the Sultan, performs the duties of Director of Education. 647

*Higher Education*

There is no higher education in the Protectorate, and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come. It is thus necessary to send abroad selected scholars who reach the required standard. There is at present one boy at Gordon College in the Sudan, and three there are at secondary schools. 873

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



286 Spinning, weaving, and dyeing are also common industries. Cotton is spun into thread by hand-spindles and then woven in hand-looms, and sometimes machine-made yarns or twists are used in the same way; the looms are of the very simplest construction. The industry is still carried on to a small extent at Aden, and somewhat more extensively at a few centres in the interior, notably at Nisāb and Markhah, which are situated in the cotton and indigo growing district of the 'Aulaqi country; here a large amount of cotton fabrics for tribal shawls and turbans is made. The stuffs, when required, are dyed with locally prepared indigo. Sauma'ah, a town in the Beida country, is famous for a special make of goat-hair carpets.

314 Charcoal burning is an industry carried on at several places in the interior, among the wooded slopes of the hilly districts. Potash is also manufactured from a product known as 'Aden balsam'; this is not found in any quantity in Aden itself, but is prepared in the 'Abdāli and Fadhli districts. The balsam is thrown into small pits about two feet wide and one deep, and wood is added; the mass is then set fire to, and as the sap exudes from the plant it mingles with the ashes; the mixture is stirred and allowed to cool; then it is dug up and sent into Aden on camels, for sale. The price is about 8 annas per maund of 28 lb., and the potash is 274 exported to Bombay for washing purposes. A primitive form of distilling is also in vogue, the natives producing a liquor from dates which have been placed in water and allowed to disintegrate. The industry is carried on at Aden (under certain restrictions) and other places.

## Trade

438 Practically the whole of the trade of this region is centred in Aden—local trade as well as general. The trade of the only other 504 notable port of this littoral, Shūghrah (and even that of Makalla in Hadhramaut), is restricted and purely local in character, and is entirely subservient to that of Aden.

439 The total value of the trade of Aden (import and export), in round numbers, for the last two years has been:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1913–14 | £8,530,000 |
| 1914–15 | £6,940,000. |

This falls into two categories: Transhipment trade, and Inland (or local) trade. Comparative figures for the year 1914–15, were:

| | |
|---|---|
| Transhipment | £6,682,000 |
| Inland | £258,000. |

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



315 A party from Petroleum Concessions Ltd. arrived in November and, after visiting Hadhramaut, went east along the coast to prospect the Mahra area.

# Chapter 7: Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry

## AGRICULTURE

*General*

132 There was rain in the west of the Hadhramaut and in the Eastern coastal [312] area in February, and in June and August good rains in the Hadhramaut formed a new lake above the recently finished Nuqra dam. The spring 243 wheat and barley crops were satisfactory. Efforts to persuade the farmers to grow barley rather than wheat continued and towards the end of the year some effect was noticed, partly owing to the discovery of a way of cooking the barley so as to make it acceptable as food; experiments in machine grinding were also started.

*Staff*

647 The staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a Director, two Agricultural Officers, an Agricultural Assistant, an Engineer Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors.

*Land Utilisation*

Lack of rainfall imposes a severe limitation on crop production in 312 the Protectorate. Highly developed conservation measures, run-off 311 control, flood irrigation and artificial irrigation are employed to secure arable land production. The percentage of arable land to the desert and range is estimated at 0·33 per cent. Established pastures and meadows are unknown. Dry forest scrub is found on the Island of Socotra and in the far Eastern Mahra Coast.

*Crop Production*

241

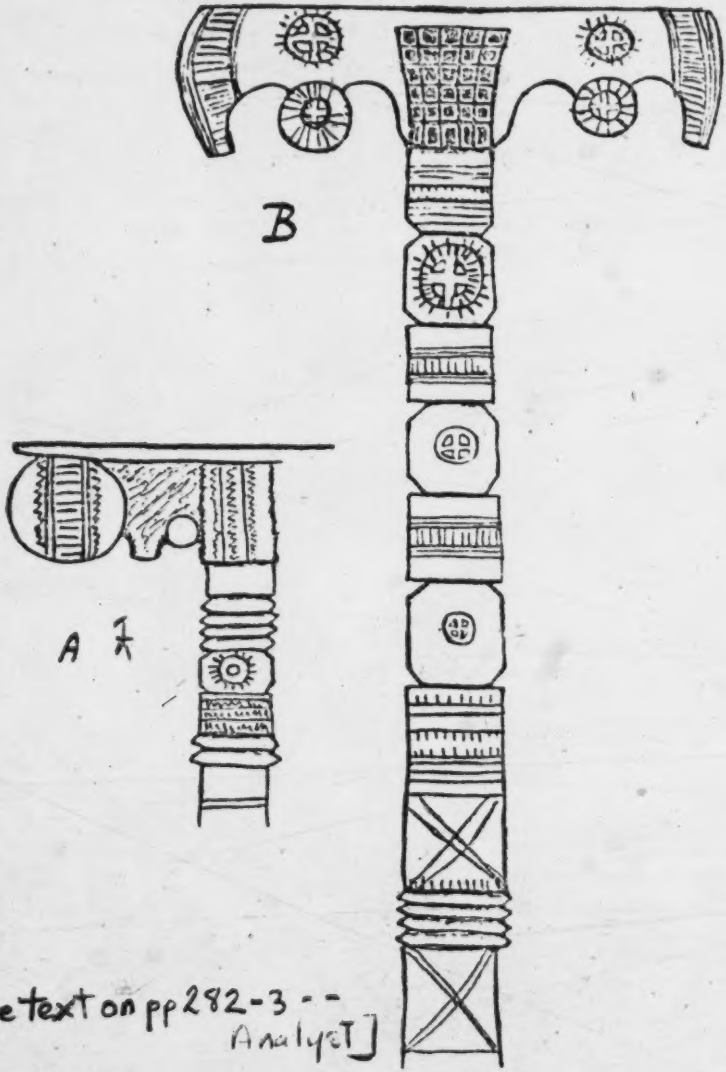
*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | *Acres* | *Tons* |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 60,000 | 12,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 10,000 | 1,500 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 |
| Sesame | 10,000 | 1,000 |

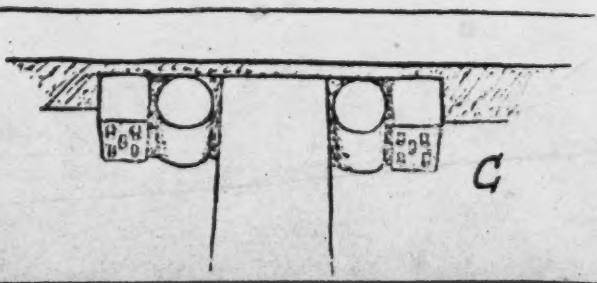
*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 20,000 | 4,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 3,000 | 500 |
| Wheat | 3,500 | 2,500 |
| Date palms | 10,000 | 5,500 |

322
342
531




[See text on pp 282-3 -- Analyst]



19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



467 this reduction should be made, issued a decree (taḳrīr) defining the
466 wages of the various categories of people engaged in building. The workmen still refused to accept the revised wages, and some left Tarīm and went to the independent Ḥawṭah of Thibī, outside it and beyond Kathīrī jurisdiction. Some however stayed in Tarīm, but worked at collecting firewood, and refused to undertake building. A *modus vivendi* was established through the good offices of Saiyid Bū Bakr al-Kāf, but whereas, before, the wage of the builders had been two three Āl Kāf ḍarībahs per day, which the wealthy had attempted to reduce to one ḍarībah only, after the dispute all the workmen received three ḍarībahs [10].

172 To revert to the sacrifice on the sās, I noticed in the fine archaeo-
782 logical site of the town known as Am-'Ādīyah [11] that on some buildings an inscription was located at the *corner* of the sās which was constructed of the typical lozenge-backed Himyarite hewn stone, and that it stood about three feet from the ground. Possibly therefore it was sometimes a custom to place inscriptions in the sās about the place of the sacrifice; they could not be placed higher as the wall above this point is of adobe. These particular Am-'Ādīyah inscriptions are very weather-beaten, and to the best of my knowledge no attempt has been made to copy them.

322 An interesting feature of Ḥaḍramī building is the shape of the
342 columns, generally carved from 'ilb wood, which strikes one immediately as descended from an ancient tradition. In the Ḥawṭah of
531 Thibī near Tarīm, I first saw the curious capital sketched (fig. C.) from below, with its little round pendants underneath the rectangular blocks. Later I realised that this was a very stylized type of capital, derived from a prototype somewhat resembling the examples in figs. A & B., sketched in my field-book at 'Azzān and

436 [10] Reproductions of the ḍarībah in J. A. S. BUCKNILL, *A note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia, Journ. of the Malay of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, 1925), III, 1. It is the coin which has the number 16 written on it. There were about five to six ḍarībahs to the riyāl (kirš franzāwī).

[11] For notes on this town see S. PEROWNE, *'Im'adiya and Beihan, Aden, Antiquity* (London), xiii (1939), p. 50. The author confuses the name امادية with عادية, but it is really the South Arabian article Am = Al, followed by the word 'Ādīyah. It is therefore « the 'Ādite city » which means little more really than « the ancient city ». I visited it in 1941.

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Ṣa'īd respectively, both in the Wāḥidī, Ḥimyar territory. The Ṣa'īd house had in its clay construction that pattern of recessed surfaces one so often sees in fragments of pre-Islamic architectural ornament. Both of these columns are obviously representations of the palmtree, the capital representing the leaves on the outside, and the bunch of dates in its fibre bag (ḫubrah) on the inside. In all cases the capital which is carved out of a single block of wood, is called kabš or ram, a term which brings to mind the bull-headed columns of Persepolis. The room in which I saw fig. B. was the main reception room of the house called rakaiz (which Landberg gives as the general name for the second storey of a house), and the column was called rakīzah. 322 342 531

The following terms, most not mentioned by Landberg, may be of interest; the list makes no pretence at being near exhaustive, and these only apply to the Tarīm area. 342 104

*manwar* (pl. manāwir), a little oriel window set high in the wall.

*mizyāb* (pl. mazāyīb), a hole in the wall at floor-level and the spout to which it leads, projecting outside for drainage (class.).

*sawāri*, pillars (class.).

*safan* (pl. asfān & sufūn), a stone base under a wooden column, or round column-drums, roughly six inches in height.

*sahm* (pl. suhūm & ishum), wooden column, (class.).

*kabš* (pl. kibāš), a horizontal piece of wood, about three feet in length, placed on the top of a column to serve as a capital, below the beam, (class.).

*ḳāsim* (pl. ḳawāsim), wooden beam lyving on the top of the kabš (cf. Landberg).

*širḳah* (pl. širḳ), a beam running from wall to wall.

*ḳubl* (new plur. aḳbāl), Landberg's « solive ».

*'akf* (pl. 'ukūf), arch (Landberg). Bait mu'akkaf, a house with an arched roof (i.e. holding up the first floor).

*ṭāḳ*, any arched hole in a wall used as a shelf, and an arch over a window with a wooden shelf in it.

*'ammārah* (pl. 'ammarīyāt), cupboard.

*mirfa'* (pl. marāfi'), shelf. Syn. riff (class.).

*ḳawām* (pl. ḳiwām), a wooden frame in which a door is set. In Tarīm the sides of it are known as lānah.

*ḳafā'ah* (or ḳafā'at al-ṭāli'), the jamb over the top of the door.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



than Makalla and was, indeed, an important trading centre before that city even existed.[1]

Under the east wall there is a large open plain, over which the cemetery extends, with some *qubbas*[2] and many mosques at the edge of it. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has, close to it, a large piece of ground, where he has built a palatial guest-house for relations and friends travelling to and fro between Java and Terīm via esh-Shiḥr. El-Kāf is busy constructing a motor road from Terīm to esh-Shiḥr, which is complete but for the last stretch as far as the coast, a matter of three days by camel. If this junction can be effected, in spite of the aversion to it of the warlike Ḥumūmī Bedouins, through whose territory it passes for the greater part, then perhaps esh-Shiḥr will grow again to fit into her walls.

Before we left the town we made another call on the Governor in charge, who, with the help of the tax-farmer, a well-educated Indian, gave us a hearty, friendly reception. We were conducted past a strong guard of soldiers to an old-fashioned *madjlis*, where the shutters of the windows and the wooden supporting pillars were beautifully carved, and the ceiling painted white, red and black. With grateful relish we partook of tea and a great variety of sweets and of fresh and tinned fruits.

The population of esh-Shiḥr is officially estimated at 9000. It did not seem to us that it could be more than 6000. Yet, as the Westerner does not get to know how densely peopled the big Arabian houses are, our calculations remain fairly uncertain. The town has 36 mosques.

We were compelled to beat a hasty retreat before the rising tide. For safety's sake we were given an extra Ford car and some soldiers. The coral rocks were still just passable, but we stuck in the bed of the wādī. Finally, after much delay and much fruitless exertion, we got free, but there was no time left for the promised meal with our host of Sheḥēr, who

[1] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *al-Shiḥr*.

[2] *Qubba* (قبة), is a dome, a cupola, or a cupola-shaped building.

137 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north
246 of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khuweira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

**Manufacturing Industries.**

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
262 ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden
249 machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
438 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to
353 the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
● 323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
326 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

**Fisheries.**

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They are :—
231

438 *Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazīf* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 mud steps leading up to them. Signs of intimate contact with foreign countries, Singapore as well as Java, may be noticed
439 both in the exteriors and interiors of these palaces. For instance, it appears to be the existing fashion to have the doors sent ready-made from Java and Singapore. Transport of these very heavy doors and window-frames is certainly expensive and difficult, for the strongest and largest camels have to be selected for it, but the supply of wood in Ḥaḍramaut is small and poor in quality and could not have provided for the many great new buildings of Terīm in so short a time.
[438] This extra expense is permissible because the rest of the
465 building costs in Ḥaḍramaut is small. Manual labour is very
● 331 cheap in this desperately poor and overpopulated country.
342 Even first-rate professional men, architects included, do not earn more than a very moderate daily wage. The chief building material is mud, which can be dug up everywhere close by the house that is to be built. As everything is covered with a plaster of mud, the most crooked branches of *nibq* and desert shrubs can be used for roof construction and similar details. The trunks of date-palms are chiefly in use for ceilings and supporting pillars. We only saw wooden pillars with wooden capitals and cross-beams in the very old, dilapidated castles; the carved, dark-brown wood found in these, with their ceilings of split and interwoven branches, painted in rust-red, white, and black, are certainly very beautiful; yet, owing to the scarcity of wood, one must make shift with the trunks of date-palms. Ceilings, pillars and cross-beams are nowadays covered with a plaster of mud, and this, again, is painted over in fresh, soft colours. The new buildings, consequently, make a gayer and lighter impression, both without and within, and they are more cleanly, but something of the old beauty has vanished. Present-day builders have become real masters in modelling mud and in whitewash work. Pillars made of palm-trunks are transformed by them, as if by magic, into vigorous-looking, round columns with fine capitals.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



*Plant Introductions*

137 Sann hemp and Dolichus beans were introduced from the Sudan.
242 Tepary beans, bunch-type groundnuts, and velvet beans were introduced from Uganda. These new introductions were planted in observation plots in the Abyan district.

The introduction of deciduous fruits and of citrus for planting in the Audhali Sultanate continued.

*Development Schemes*

654 *The Avyan Board.* During 1949 the scheme, now furnished with sufficient capital to embark on its work as a proving scheme, developed at a satisfactory rate in all fields where adequate staff, machinery, and materials could be mustered.

406 A rebuilt D.7 Caterpillar tractor complete with bulldozer and carry-
654 all scraper, and three D.4 Caterpillars, one with bulldozer attachment,
332 were obtained through the Crown Agents. These rebuilt tractors were delivered without any spares and gave a certain amount of trouble, but were responsible, together with a D.6 Caterpillar already in the hands of the Board, for great progress in irrigation construction.

Important extensions were made to the Ba Tes and Na'aza systems, while two new diversion systems were opened on the Wadi Hassan.

The tractors were generally worked as a fleet, with a mass of ox power owned or hired by the Board. Often 200 yokes of oxen—each with a scraper attached and each yoke with its driver/scraper operator in attendance—worked alongside the tractors. These were used for ripping and drawing masses of earth close to the dykes, which were then finished off by the oxen.

The value of the D.7 was judged to be equal to 150 to 200 yokes of oxen in earth-moving capacity, but for finishing off work and consolidation the use of oxen has been found to pay. Earth-moving costs have been low, and on short hauls of work of moderate height costs have not exceeded 6 annas per cubic metre.

654 Survey work has accelerated and a staff of 6 surveyors was at work in the field at the end of 1949.

A great deal of the Board's effort was devoted to the construction of offices, workshops and staff houses. At the end of 1949 substantial progress had been made and building, apart from some additions to staff houses and a projected pilot ginnery, had been completed.

The Board staff was increased considerably. On irrigation matters the Board continued to receive advice from Mr. N. Simansky, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of Jordan, who visited Abyan twice during the year. In September the staff was strengthened by the addition of an Irrigation Engineer, Mr. Douglas Hall, who joined the Board as Chief Engineer. In November Mr. B. May joined the Board on secondment, as Chief Accountant, the office having remained vacant since the resignation of the first Accountant Officer at the end of March. These two appointments were long overdue, and serious arrears of work had to be faced by both officers on taking up their appointments. In the

370

# HOUSE BUILDING IN THE HADHRAMAUT

W. H. INGRAMS

342 361 363 DURING a recent tour in the Hadhramaut my wife and I collected some notes on the building of houses. Each town in the country has its own individual characteristics. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type, built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Makalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not 6 feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces.

361 342 353 In the Wadi Do'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Do'an houses the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb* [1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, 2 inches across the heads, burnished with lead, which shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development of Do'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring-bone pattern.

361 342 177 352 492 493 In Terim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice plants, and modern European conveniences in the bathrooms. Whereas in Do'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel back over the mountains for six days, and while I mention this it is worth recording that there are sixty cars in Terim itself, each of which has been transported in parts by twelve camels from the coast.

313 333 353 The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seyyids of Terim and Seyyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of getting long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree trows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseilah, they cannot be transported by

[1] The commoner Arabic name is *sidr*, *Rhamnus nabeca*.

4: Ingrams G-3 (no date) 1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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*Later stage in house-building, Do'an*

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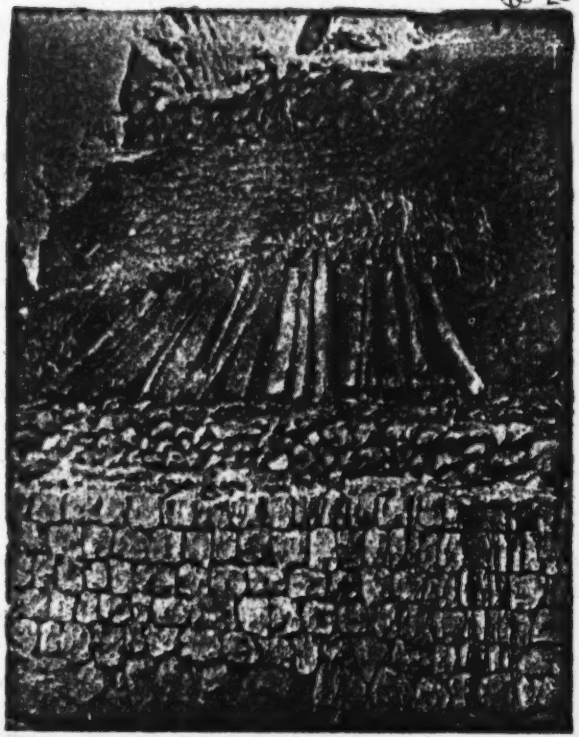
333



*Foundations of a house in Do'an, showing blood of the sacrifice*

Following p. 370

313 camels. The difficulty is being got over to some extent by experiments in
333 making reinforced-concrete pillars, of which we saw two in construction at
353 Seyyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seyyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, consist of a lime plaster polished by smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

361 Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in
342 the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area five hundred houses built on
423 a slight eminence in the wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears
623 to be one enormous brown mud-built construction with a whitewashed top
344 storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town, and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. The area of land required to build a house 45 *dhirras* in width by 35 in depth (a *dhirra*, or cubit, equals 1·5 foot) will cost 10,000 dollars, and having acquired the land the prospective builder will have to submit the specifications of his house for the approval of a committee of the townspeople who consider the position of windows and of gutters carrying water to the street. Subsequent alterations to a house must also be similarly approved. By general consent houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high, in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this house, which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars.

333 The foundations are dug 2 *dhirras* deep below the surface of the earth and
342 3 *dhirras* wide. Stones are used for the foundation mortared together with a mixture of wood ash and lime. In places where there is any doubt as to the solidity of the ground on which the house is to stand long pieces of *'elb* wood are laid in pairs lengthwise in the foundations. Wood for this purpose must be cut in the winter; if this is done it is said never to rot. The stone foundation or *sās* is continued for 2 *dhirras* above the level of the ground. When the building operations have reached this stage a foundation sacrifice of a goat or sheep is made on the walls. The house is centred round a solid pillar built on the same foundation as the walls. For a house of the dimensions proposed this pillar or *'arus el beit* will be $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 *dhirras* wide and of the same thickness from top to bottom. The stairs of the house invariably go up round the *'arus*. The bricks are made of clay mixed with straw, the standard size being $1\frac{1}{4}$ *dhirras* in length by $\frac{2}{3}$ in breadth by 4 *banan* or fingers' widths in thickness. When the clay of the required consistency and thickness for making the bricks has been laid out they are cut out by a wooden frame which makes two bricks
[435] at a time. The bricks cost five dollars a thousand.

The thickness of the walls of the first storey is $1\frac{7}{8}$ *dhirras*, of the second $1\frac{1}{2}$, of the third $1\frac{1}{4}$, of the fourth 1 *dhirra*, of the fifth $\frac{3}{4}$, of the sixth $\frac{5}{8}$, and of the seventh $\frac{1}{2}$ a *dhirra*. The bricks are mortared together with wet clay. As *'elb* wood grows to no great length the size of the room is determined to some
[435] extent by the length of the pieces available as girders. The girders are usually very short and supported by carved pillars each costing about twenty dollars.

7: Sturler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# TOWNS AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE HADHRAMAUT

By MRS. M. DE STURLER-RAEMAEKERS

000 Report of a lecture illustrated by a film delivered to the Society on Thursday, May 21, 1953, Mr. W. H. Ingrams, C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: As you can well imagine, it is a great pleasure to me to take the chair this afternoon for Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers, because I have spent ten years in the country which she is about to describe. Unfortunately, ever since I left it in 1944 time has done nothing but take me somewhere else in the world. I have just returned from a tour of the United States, Mexico, Central America and the West Indies. Most of my time seems to be taken up in Africa and it is difficult to get an opportunity of looking again at the Hadhramaut. Hence it is a great pleasure to be able to see Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers' slides and to hear her account this afternoon.

341 I expect that in some respects at least the architecture of the Hadhramaut is
113 familiar to many of you through Freya Stark's books, perhaps particularly the illustrations in her book *Seen in the Hadhramaut*; also Mr. Osbert Lankaster, an architect who many may know better as a cartoonist, wrote an article on the architecture of the Hadhramaut some years ago which appeared, I believe, in the *Architectural Journal*.

341 There is a very long tradition of architecture in the Hadhramaut. One wonders
773 how long this wonderful working in mud has gone on. In ancient days the ancient Hadhraumauti used to go in for monumental stone masonry on a large scale. I
●333 remember seeing huge stones lying on the old Hadhramauti ruins and being told by the local people that the stones had been transported to the early buildings by the Adites, who were formerly giants. Hadhraumaut is a country which has always recognized the Book of Genesis, that there were giants in the land in those days.

114 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers was born in Holland and came to England as a child, first, during the first World War. Here she was educated, so we can at least claim part of her. Then she went to France and later came back to England to study architecture for three years at the Architectural Association. She took her degree in Brussels and practised there. Then she travelled a good deal in Europe. She returned to England again at the outbreak of the recent World War and has been here ever since except for her travelling. In 1948 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers thought she would go further afield and, fortunately for us and for Arabia, she chose to go there, but before doing so she took the precaution of studying Arabic for two years at London University.

Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers spent ten months in the Hadhramaut in 1950-51 and was there again in 1952 for five months. She has told me, very modestly, that that is a very inadequate time in which to study the Hadhramaut, but I think we shall discover that she found out a great deal of much interest while she was there.

MY experience of the Middle East is, as you have heard, somewhat brief, being only three years. I therefore feel a little embarrassed when speaking before a gathering in which there may be many who have probably travelled there for much longer periods. I trust they will show some indulgence towards anything I may say which may not be either new or just as they saw it; I have at least specialized knowledge in
121 one subject which took me there, and that is architecture. I went to study the buildings of Hadhramaut and make measured drawings of them. I do not intend to give a technical discourse on exactly how the buildings are constructed or how the bricks are made, because I do not think that this is

133 a second miracle happens. There is a cleft in the great basalt plateau and
311 a beautiful green valley opens abruptly in the flat tableland—a valley running from east to west, joining the sea some 150 miles further on. This is a fertile valley with gardens and palm groves, millet fields and white palaces. An underground river continually provides water for the wells and the little irrigation channels. There are crops up to three times per year. In this lovely setting very civilized and well-dressed townsfolk live in large mud-built towns on the valley cliff sides. Recently they have laid aside their arms and ceased their blood feuds and tribal wars which raged from town to town, from tribe to tribe, from family to family. With the aid of the British adviser they have established law and order and made their foreign trade, which is their livelihood, flourish unhindered.

172 When we go back into history to find out where this miracle has sprung
341 from, we discover that there were the old Sabean and Hymyaritic civilizations of 1,000 or 2,000 years B.C., of which Mr. Ingrams spoke. Perhaps it started with the Minean Empire, on the eastern border of Yemen, and its capital, Ma'in. Later came the Sabeans with their capital a little south, at Marib; followed by the Katabaneans, whose centre, Timna, was at the south-eastern corner of the great desert. And lastly, perhaps, the Hadhramis, whose early capital may have been the much disputed Shabwa. These people built in stone, and their buildings were several storeys high and of very fine dry masonry. Many are the ruins covering the western territory between Aden and Hadhramaut and to the north in Yemen. But also in Hadhramaut itself, further east, there are vestiges of towns and temples, in the main valley and the side valleys; great plans of garrison cities, and remains of castle and palace walls in beautifully executed stonework, all erected perhaps some 2,000 years ago.

341 With such a tradition it is not surprising that something is still found
● 333 in the present day, and although the Hadhramis have not continued the stone masonry and have turned mainly to sun-dried mud bricks, their achievements are of remarkable interest.

101 Reviewing the various groups of the population, there are the bedouin
342 who still live by camel transport, the sand bedouin of the desert who live in simple black camelhair tents, and the bedouin mountain tribesmen who live on the arid plateaux. The latter are rugged and tough, like the country round them. Their life is hard; it is scorching hot without any shade in the day, bitterly cold at night at 6,000 feet. They still build their low windowless huts with brushwood roofs with the stones of the plateaux in dry walling. They carry on in their primitive way the stone tradition which has been lost elsewhere in the eastern area.

361 The next class of inhabitants we meet are the remote valley bedouin,
311 who live in rather better circumstances. They do have a little grazing, cultivate a little land where they grow millet called dharrah and a sort of
342 little cucumber-tomato called faguws. They live in the earthen beds of long-dried-up rivers that have a flood from the hills about once a year. They have grown lazy like everyone else, and they build their little castles
342 of mud bricks with a base of rough stones from the river-bed. A passage down the centre leads from the entrance door with almost windowless rooms for storage either side to a stair leading to a sheltered roof terrace.

361 a mound, is seven storeys and rises above the rest, the whole, like all
342 others, built in mud bricks.

In the centre, the space that is left, lie huddled the one-storeyed shops of the suq and the many-storeyed flat houses of the poor. Shibam seemed the only town where houses were occupied in flats. Elsewhere I saw almost exclusively one-family houses even if the family had many groups within it.

342 All houses in Hadhramaut have a strong inward slant from bottom to
333 top, which gives them a look of strength mingled with grace. There are no basements and barely foundations, but the ground floor is an almost solid base, so thick are the walls that taper towards the top. They may be almost 3 feet thick at the base for a tall castle, and a foot at the top.

In Shibam, the houses forming a solid rampart wall have windows at the two ends only, and a small light-well to light the stairs in the centre of the deep building. The ground floor usually contains granaries and stores. The straight flights of the stairs rise between thick walls with a very heavy
342 central block. On the first floor the Shibam citizen keeps his goats and
231 rabbits in the outside rooms, while the centre is occupied by more stores. About the second floor begin the living quarters—that is, the office and rooms of the men, stores in the centre again, and often with kitchen,
342 washroom, and lavatory. These washrooms and lavatories are systemati-
336 cally built over a central shaft, though water is mostly allowed to run from a gutter into the centre of the street. But there are "back" streets for the
342 sanitation and "front" streets for doors. About the third floor the private quarters begin. They would be men's living quarters, with the ladies on the floor above, the fourth, with kitchen and washrooms again; right on top, often little private quarters for the owner of the house where he may enjoy most fresh air. Each floor has a double set of windows, a large one down to the floor and a small square one for ventilation above, up against the ceiling, so that there are continual draughts running through the top of the room. Practically all rooms have windows on two sides, and with this and the thick walls and the smooth plaster they remain pleasantly cool.

342 The lower floors are usually the loftiest; even the ground floor store
363 rooms are up to 12 and 13 feet high. The house often has two entrances—
531 a large door for the men and a little one for the ladies, with separate stairs in the larger houses, even in Shibam where land is scarce. The façades are in rough mud brick, a uniform brown colour with a white plaster smooth base and white ornaments round windows and parapet, getting richer towards the top of the house, which is the best part of it.

Their plasterwork is one of their great arts. It is extraordinarily hard. To obtain this it is presumed to be mixed with date juice. When polished with a piece of flint and rubbed with a cloth for hours it acquires a lustre that makes it shine like marble. This is chiefly done inside the main rooms and in the washrooms and stairs. Outside it is only polished at the base, for water to run off. The ornamentation of the upper storeys is left
342 rough white. But as people's wealth increased they have abandoned this
531 form of very characteristic decoration, which divided the tall buildings in broad brown bands alternating with narrow white bands at window level.

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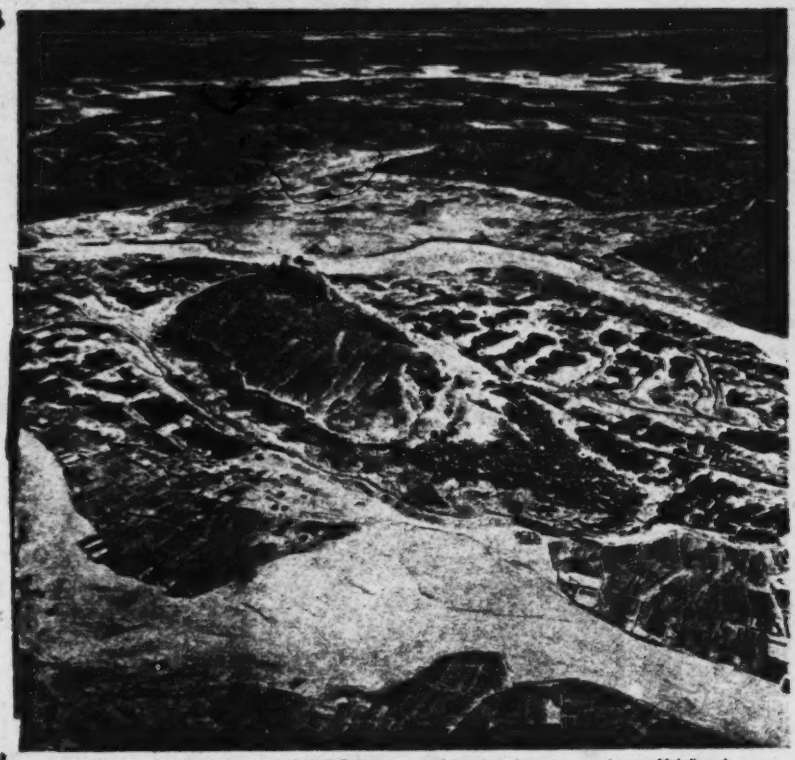

FIG. 11—Hajarein, the largest city in Wadi Du'an, is on one of the principal caravan routes between Mukalla and the Wadi Hadhramaut. Its site was obviously chosen with an eye to defense. Groves of cultivated date palms and millet fields may be seen amid a series of earthen retaining walls and irrigation ditches. As in other cities of the Hadhramaut, adobe brick is the building material.

361
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[487
● 335]

FIG. 12—A typical, fortified, Arab settlement on the banks of the Wadi Hajr. The irrigated groves of date palms furnish the main foodstuff.

P. 638

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



782 Tarīm are the Ahl Bā Ḥuraiš, also the Tarīm grave-diggers [2], and
342 two fifths to the other ḫaddāmīn. The owner of the house customarily gives some of his portion away, but my informant did not remember exactly how much this is, or to whom it is given. Apart from the foundation sacrifice, the owner will also make a separate ḍiyāfah or entertainment in his own house, killing a sheep or two there.

When you have finished setting in position the beams which act as lintels to the windows, exits, cupboards, etc., on the ground floor, and which are known as taisūrah (pl. tayāsīr) or mafḳir), a sheep
[574] is usually slaughtered on the corner tayāsīr. The feast given at this point is known as Ġadā al-Tayāsīr [3]. The blood lies on the tayāsīr, and the Djinn drink. Being grateful to the lord of the house, they leave him alone, and protect him from the other Djinn [4]. If however you should happen to be a poor man, you may not be able to afford to slaughter an animal on this occasion, but you give the workmen a meal. At least, in the past you gave the workmen a meal, but as they brought their children etc., with them, you used to find yourself giving thirty a meal, instead of ten or twelve. So this practice has now ceased, and a bargain is made that the men get food in kind, and money to buy meat, instead of having a meal provided for them.

782 At the placing of the cross-beams on top of the wooden or stone
342 columns (tarkūb ishum, or ta'ḳīd ishum), the master of the new
335 house provides a ḍiyāfah known as Ġadā Tarkūb Ishum, and also

[2] Cf. my article in *Le Muséon*, 62 (1949), p. 159.

[3] Ġadā is used in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt and Wāḥidī territory to denote food provided in kind for an employee as part of his contract.

[4] I have a pamphlet by 'Abd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥ. al-Šiblī of Ḥabbān where it was given me, entitled Toko « Singapore » (Singapore, 1352 H.) which mentions slaughtering on ('alā) the feet of the bride and groom at the Lailat al-Zafāf when the bride comes to her husband's house. Those who cannot buy a beast to sacrifice (ḏabīḥah) brek eggs at their feet, a custom common enough in Ḥaḍramawt where I have often seen eggs lying broken outside rooms in which newly-born children lay. An opinion on the practice is cited. « If the ḏabīḥah is slaughtered at the feet of the bride and groom, its religious injuriousness is known, for it is slaughtering out of fear of something other than God, such as the Djinn or the Šaiṭān. » This arises from the belief that if the ḏabīḥah is not slaughtered, then a touching (mass) from the Djinn will befall them. Slaughtering at that time is therefore forbidden. »

19; Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MAIZ Hadhramaut MAIZ



a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended [5]) for the carpenter (naǧǧār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥaśwān of the Āl Bā Ḥaśwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two [6]. One says for instance, Dī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah [7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee [8]. The people of the Quarter [9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian taśt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥakk al-salām, ḥakk al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. Andree, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers*, *Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍrami coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my article in *Le Muséon* cited above.

535 466 fall out with him, or find that he is not doing his work properly, 461 you give him ḳuṣū'ah, and then dismiss him. Unless you do so, 467 you will find that another carpenter will not come and work for you. If you tried to employ a different carpenter the latter would ask about the first carpenter and make sure that he obtained his ḳuṣū'ah before he left you. The Bā Sumbul (or Sumbil) who make 324 stone querns, pestles, and work stone of all kinds, and the Baḳḳārah 463 (cattlemen, ploughmen) will not allow you to change the particular 461 member of their group who works for you at all. The only exception 467 made is if you have had to dismiss the man you were employing, for laziness, incompetence, or disobedience; then you inform the next man you wish to employ of your reason for dismissing his predecessor. The new employee in turn ascertains from the man you have just dismissed that what you say is true, and if your case is just, he will come and work for you. This system is however [538] confined to the two classes last mentioned only. The poet 'Askūl says : —

Wa'rdja' takhabbar 'ala 'l-waḳḳār
Lī šāll mawḳaruh li-'l-aḥdjār
Bā Šumbil illī yabī' al-sufūn.

Come ask about the stone worker
Who to the stones bears his hammer
Ba Sumbil who sells column-drums.

This faḫīdah of the Bā Sumbil has the moropoly in making stones for columns (safan), pestles (ḳuṣrah), etc. They live in the suburb known as 'Aidīd. They do not allow any one else to carry on this work, and I am informed that they can even take people to court for infringing on their monopoly. The Baḳḳārah too have a similar monopoly in their profession.

467 As evidence of the power of the guilds of workmen in Tārīm 466 the following incident is relevant. Some time before the advent of the British to Ḥaḍramawt, the Sultans of Tarīm, some of the wealthier saiyids, and others who were then constructing the large palaces for which it is famous, determined to lower the wages of the builders there. So they brought them together, and told them that they had resolved to make a reduction (nuḳúān) in their wages. The builders refused. The Kathīrī Sultan however, consenting that

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The great cleanliness of the houses of the rich is very noticeable. The drainage from lavatories and kitchens runs down wide, square shafts into spaces destined for it in the lower floor, into which however, unfortunately, light penetrates so that they become good breeding places for flies. Bathrooms and also lavatories are partly fitted out as in the East Indies. Sometimes there are douches, and generally there are large brick cisterns for the bath water, which one scoops out to pour over oneself. Our host has a large refrigerator by means of which cold drinking-water is provided for the numerous guests and dwellers in the house, and fruits and sweetmeats become the refinement of pleasure. 336 271

Cooking in Terīm, as in Sĕwūn, is very much influenced by Singapore and Java. Chinese cooks are responsible for the extensive rice meals that are enjoyed daily by dozens of guests. Many dried or tinned foods are imported from Java. Some kinds of vegetables are grown in the gardens of Terīm; the fresh fruits which are served at table are large oval melons and the first ripe dates. As the latter are rather scarce, last years' dates come to table prepared as paste, in cakes, sweet bread, etc. 252 177

Sayyid ʿUmar el-Kāf's house, like that of our host, is furnished in half-European style. Old-fashioned Indian rocking-chairs stand on the beautiful carpets. A bed, rigged up in the Javanese manner, decorates the great reception-room. The bed linen is not white, but pink. There are many mirrors on the walls and also photographs of the family's estates in the Indies. Sayyid ʿUmar is the owner of the great Europe Hotel in Singapore; he shows us with pride — and no wonder — the model of the new hotel, which makes an impression magnificently American. The walls are further decorated with Mausers and American repeating rifles, which are hard to obtain in this country and, consequently, are worth a great deal. 352

It had already struck us that the Kathīrī soldiers were better clad than those of the Qeʿĕṭī. The number of pro- 714 411 565

197 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north
246 of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khuweira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

**Manufacturing Industries.**

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
262 mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden
249 machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
438 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to
353 the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
326 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

**Fisheries.**

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They
231 are :—

438 *Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazīf* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

bricks. The cost of building the house in which we stayed in Tarim 000 was $60,000. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, [435] green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors 342 are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and 531 fans, telephones, ice-plants, and European modern conveniences in 352 the bathrooms, wash-basins with running water and shower-baths. 354 Whereas in Du'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be 177 found, these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Large and comfortable chairs and sofas decorate the drawing-rooms, and there are English carpets, masses of gilt mirrors, chandeliers and glass cupboards full of marmalade dishes, egg-cups and so on. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel-back over the mountains for six days.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim 313 and Seiyun have to contend with in their building operations is the 341 difficulty of procuring long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree grows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees (*Conocarpus erectus*, Jacq.) growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseila, they cannot be transported by camels. The difficulty is being surmounted to some extent by experiments in the making of reinforced concrete pillars of which I saw two in construction at Seiyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seiyids training their masons. The 342 interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such 353 as gold crowns and coloured flowers, are covered with a lime plaster polished with smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, 361 which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area 500 houses built on a slight eminence in the Wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There 362 is no further building room in the town and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. By general consent, houses in Shibam are not now to be built 342 more than six storeys high in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher, but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this type of house which, [435] when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together. The life of a house is said to be 200 to 250 years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done, the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits, necessitating demolition.

7: Sturler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1963 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# TOWNS AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE HADHRAMAUT

By MRS. M. DE STURLER-RAEMAEKERS

000 Report of a lecture illustrated by a film delivered to the Society on Thursday, May 21, 1953, Mr. W. H. Ingrams, C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: As you can well imagine, it is a great pleasure to me to take the chair this afternoon for Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers, because I have spent ten years in the country which she is about to describe. Unfortunately, ever since I left it in 1944 time has done nothing but take me somewhere else in the world. I have just returned from a tour of the United States, Mexico, Central America and the West Indies. Most of my time seems to be taken up in Africa and it is difficult to get an opportunity of looking again at the Hadhramaut. Hence it is a great pleasure to be able to see Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers' slides and to hear her account this afternoon.

341 I expect that in some respects at least the architecture of the Hadhramaut is
113 familiar to many of you through Freya Stark's books, perhaps particularly the illustrations in her book *Seen in the Hadhramaut*; also Mr. Osbert Lankaster, an architect who many may know better as a cartoonist, wrote an article on the architecture of the Hadhramaut some years ago which appeared, I believe, in the *Architectural Journal*.

341 There is a very long tradition of architecture in the Hadhramaut. One wonders
773 how long this wonderful working in mud has gone on. In ancient days the ancient Hadhraumauti used to go in for monumental stone masonry on a large scale. I
333 remember seeing huge stones lying on the old Hadhramauti ruins and being told by the local people that the stones had been transported to the early buildings by the Adites, who were formerly giants. Hadhraumaut is a country which has always recognized the Book of Genesis, that there were giants in the land in those days.

114 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers was born in Holland and came to England as a child, first, during the first World War. Here she was educated, so we can at least claim part of her. Then she went to France and later came back to England to study architecture for three years at the Architectural Association. She took her degree in Brussels and practised there. Then she travelled a good deal in Europe. She returned to England again at the outbreak of the recent World War and has been here ever since except for her travelling. In 1948 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers thought she would go further afield and, fortunately for us and for Arabia, she chose to go there, but before doing so she took the precaution of studying Arabic for two years at London University.

Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers spent ten months in the Hadhramaut in 1950-51 and was there again in 1952 for five months. She has told me, very modestly, that that is a very inadequate time in which to study the Hadhramaut, but I think we shall discover that she found out a great deal of much interest while she was there.

MY experience of the Middle East is, as you have heard, somewhat brief, being only three years. I therefore feel a little embarrassed when speaking before a gathering in which there may be many who have probably travelled there for much longer periods. I trust they will show some indulgence towards anything I may say which may not be either new or just as they saw it; I have at least specialized knowledge in
121 one subject which took me there, and that is architecture. I went to study the buildings of Hadhramaut and make measured drawings of them. I do not intend to give a technical discourse on exactly how the buildings are constructed or how the bricks are made, because I do not think that this is

133 a second miracle happens. There is a cleft in the great basalt plateau and
311 a beautiful green valley opens abruptly in the flat tableland—a valley running from east to west, joining the sea some 150 miles further on. This is a fertile valley with gardens and palm groves, millet fields and white palaces. An underground river continually provides water for the wells and the little irrigation channels. There are crops up to three times per year. In this lovely setting very civilized and well-dressed townsfolk live in large mud-built towns on the valley cliff sides. Recently they have laid aside their arms and ceased their blood feuds and tribal wars which raged from town to town, from tribe to tribe, from family to family. With the aid of the British adviser they have established law and order and made their foreign trade, which is their livelihood, flourish unhindered.

172 When we go back into history to find out where this miracle has sprung
341 from, we discover that there were the old Sabean and Hymyaritic civilizations of 1,000 or 2,000 years B.C., of which Mr. Ingrams spoke. Perhaps it started with the Minean Empire, on the eastern border of Yemen, and its capital, Ma'in. Later came the Sabeans with their capital a little south, at Marib; followed by the Katabaneans, whose centre, Timna, was at the south-eastern corner of the great desert. And lastly, perhaps, the Hadhramis, whose early capital may have been the much disputed Shabwa. These people built in stone, and their buildings were several storeys high and of very fine dry masonry. Many are the ruins covering the western territory between Aden and Hadhramaut and to the north in Yemen. But also in Hadhramaut itself, further east, there are vestiges of towns and temples, in the main valley and the side valleys; great plans of garrison cities, and remains of castle and palace walls in beautifully executed stonework, all erected perhaps some 2,000 years ago.

341 With such a tradition it is not surprising that something is still found
333 in the present day, and although the Hadhramis have not continued the stone masonry and have turned mainly to sun-dried mud bricks, their achievements are of remarkable interest.

101 Reviewing the various groups of the population, there are the bedouin
342 who still live by camel transport, the sand bedouin of the desert who live in simple black camelhair tents, and the bedouin mountain tribesmen who live on the arid plateaux. The latter are rugged and tough, like the country round them. Their life is hard; it is scorching hot without any shade in the day, bitterly cold at night at 6,000 feet. They still build their low windowless huts with brushwood roofs with the stones of the plateaux in dry walling. They carry on in their primitive way the stone tradition which has been lost elsewhere in the eastern area.

361 The next class of inhabitants we meet are the remote valley bedouin,
311 who live in rather better circumstances. They do have a little grazing, cultivate a little land where they grow millet called dharrah and a sort of
342 little cucumber-tomato called faguws. They live in the earthen beds of long-dried-up rivers that have a flood from the hills about once a year. They have grown lazy like everyone else, and they build their little castles
342 of mud bricks with a base of rough stones from the river-bed. A passage down the centre leads from the entrance door with almost windowless rooms for storage either side to a stair leading to a sheltered roof terrace.

7: Stutler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost. 342 531

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby. 341 531 177

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away. 342 353 177

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms. 361 565

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely. 565 292 561

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one 565 342

terrace of ʿIzz ed-Dīn, with the moon-lit tops of the palm-trees all around and the star-lit sky of Arabia above, are unforgettable.

On May 25th the Sultan invites us to a motor drive through the gardens of Sēwūn. The two cars pass slowly between mud walls enclosing gardens; the white summer residences in the midst of palm-trees are hidden from the gaze of the inquisitive. Then, in order to get a good view of beautiful Sēwūn, we were taken as far as the mountain-wall, where we climbed a hill on the slopes of the rock débris. The city, which lies at the foot of the mountain-wall, gleams white and thus gives a prosperous impression. On the highest point stands, wide and tall, the palace of the Sultan, one of the best examples of Ḥaḍramī palace architecture that we came across. Only the roof-terraces, with the rooms built upon them, are entirely white. The rest of the buildings has two white bands on a line with the windows, whilst the ventilation openings are framed in white. The corners of the edifice, which is long and rectangular, are fortified by round turrets. The heavy mud walls are thinner above than below and, consequently, the outer walls are not perpendicular, but slope inwards, which strengthens the impression of power and beauty in the building. The palace rises up from walled-in terraces, on which are gatehouses, powder magazines, stables and soldiers' quarters. At a little distance lies the graceful palace, entirely white, but somewhat smaller, of the Sultan of Terīm.

The cemetery is situated nearly in the centre of the town and has five graves of *walīs* with graceful *qubbas* in their honour. Several white minarets rise out of the sea of houses of the city, reminding us that Sēwūn was once famous as a seat of religion and learning. Schools were habitually connected with the mosques and that is still the case with their scanty remnants. Surrounding the city is a wide border of palm-groves, with the white of summer residences dotting it here and there. Those of the es-Saqqāf family are noticeable for their number and their size.

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

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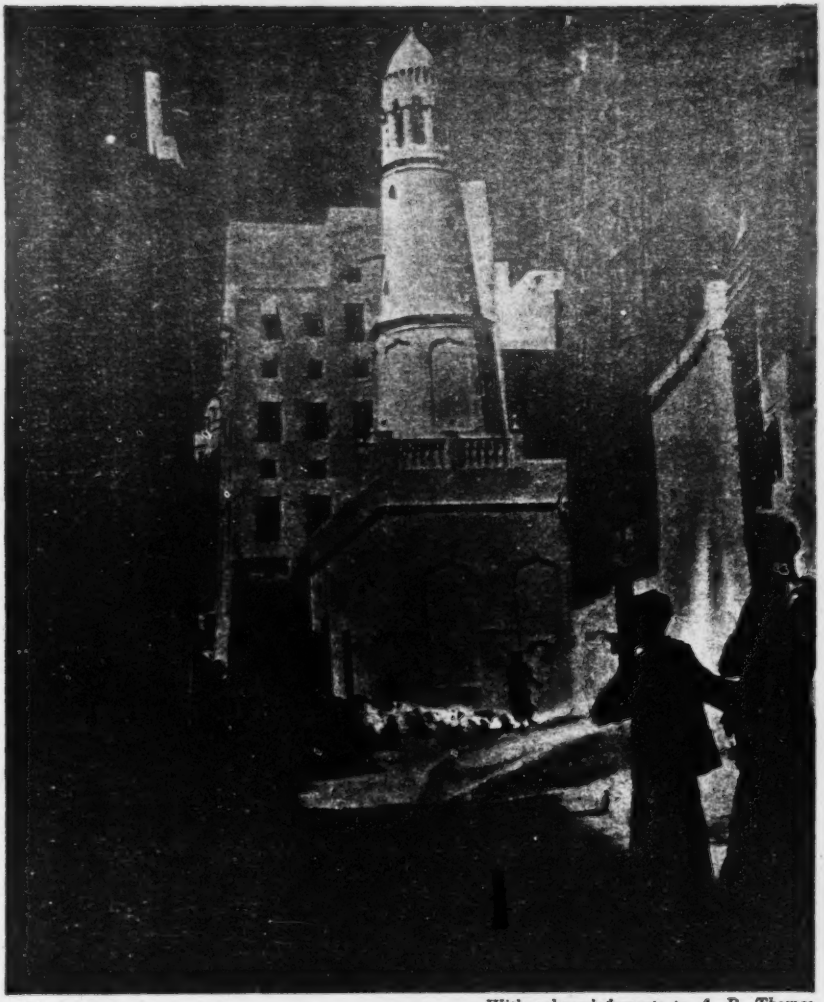

*With acknowledgments to A. R. Thomas*

SHIBAM, ADEN PROTECTORATE

Facing P. 40 (A)

105 more popular and provides the something of excitement which has given a zest to raiding. It should not be forgotten that some of our own games were war games.

The Beduin proletariat and the capitalist townsmen are mutually necessary to each other. The Beduins do all the carrying trade and supply the firewood and their other scanty products to the towns, and the merchants sell to the Beduins what they require of food, clothing, and other necessaries of life. The brokers of the Beduins to be found in all the towns supply the link between the two. They live on helping the Beduins to sell their produce to, and buy their requirements from, the merchants, and on helping the merchants to obtain the transport they need.

## Housing.

342 Each town in the Hadhramaut has its own individual charac-
362 teristics as regards housing. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Mukalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not six feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces. Away from the coast, mud is the almost universal building medium, and sun-dried mud bricks are used alike in building the palaces of the rich and the simple *dars* of the poor.

342 In the Wadi Du'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks
353 of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Du'an houses, the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb*[1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide
[531] heavily-carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, two inches across the heads, burnished with lead till they shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development in Du'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living-room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring bone pattern.

342 In Tarim the principal feature is the large number of enormous
177 dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks.

[1] Other Arabic names are *sidr* and *nebk*. *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*. L.

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1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil
342 there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
177 of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

**Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.**

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

511 For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
651 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
435 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

631 The Kathīri claims the Hamumi, Nahd, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar tribes as his allies. The agreement with the Nahd, which is said to be similar to those with the Hamumi, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar, is included in an appendix. It is stated that these tribes would join the Kathīris if there was trouble with the Qu'aitis.

*Kathīri Towns.*

101 The country ruled by the Kathīris was formerly of vast extent and stretched from the 'Aulaqi country on the west to the Mahri on the east, including the country of Dhufar beyond. The history of the circumscription of the territory to its present limits appears sufficiently in an earlier chapter of this report.

631 Of the six towns or villages mentioned as being included in the Kathīri dominions Seiyun and Tarim are the largest. Seiyun, the 632 capital of the Āl 'Abdulla Sultans, is a walled town of over 1,500 361 houses and about 50 mosques. The suburbs, which are all to the east of the town, are extending fairly rapidly with the building of pleasant looking residencies, most of them with their own gardens. The population is said to be about 20,000. Tarim is also a growing town with an estimated population of 15,000. Its walls, which are over five miles in length and are furnished with five gates and 25 forts, enclose a great deal of open space so that most of the better class houses have their own gardens. There are over 2,000 houses, and there are said to be 300 mosques, one of which, built by the Al Kafs, has the highest minaret in the Hadhramaut and is of an unusual pattern. The principal shrine in Tarim is that of Maqaddam Faqih. There are growing suburbs outside the walls such as 'Aidīd, but some of the suburbs such as Thibi, Dammūn, and Beit Jabīr, belong to the Tamimis and are under Qu'aiti influence. Tarim and Seiyun are striking for their many 342 palaces, equipped in modern style, to which reference has already 365 been made. These houses have a water supply laid on and pumped 312 up by small petrol engines. The towns are well supplied with wells, and Tarim is remarkable for being the only town in the Hadhramaut with public conveniences, which, however, are rough mud erections and very insanitary.

361 Taris is a village lying to the west of Seiyun, and its inhabitants 521 do not exceed 700. Mariama is a small village to the east of Seiyun with a population of about 300. Al Ghurf, also a small village, lies to the north of Tarim and has a population not exceeding 250. Gheil bin Yomein is said to be a popular place of resort during the autumn. It is a small village of which the majority of the inhabitants are Beduins.

565 A great deal of wealth comes into the Kathīri towns from the East Indies, and the towns of Tarim and Seiyun, which are considered centres of culture and learning, include many wealthy inhabitants whose fortunes have been made in the East Indies.

000 The whole of the Kathīri part of the wadi is accessible by motor

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*Later stage in house-building, Do'an*

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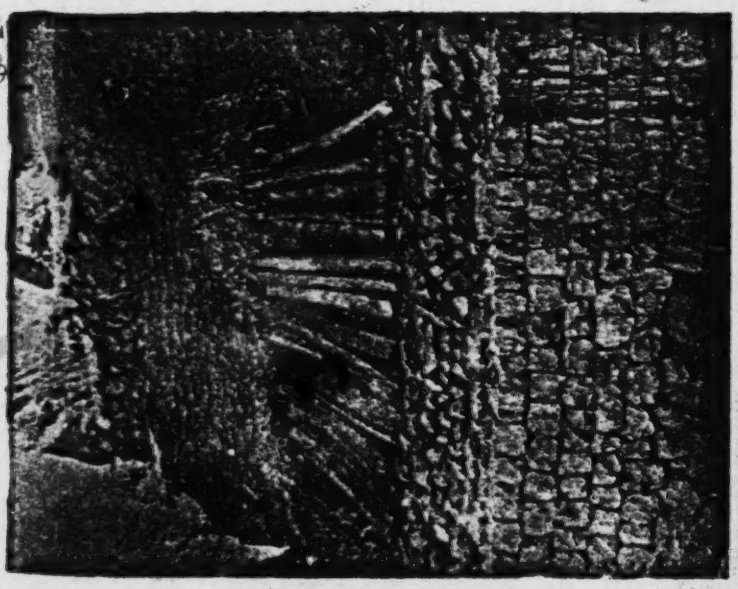

*Foundations of a house in Do'an, showing blood of the sacrifice*

Facing p. 370

370

# HOUSE BUILDING IN THE HADHRAMAUT

W. H. INGRAMS

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DURING a recent tour in the Hadhramaut my wife and I collected some notes on the building of houses. Each town in the country has its own individual characteristics. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type, built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Makalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not 6 feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces.

361 342 353

In the Wadi Do'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Do'an houses the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb* [1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, 2 inches across the heads, burnished with lead, which shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development of Do'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring-bone pattern.

361 342 177 352 492 493

In Terim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice plants, and modern European conveniences in the bathrooms. Whereas in Do'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel back over the mountains for six days, and while I mention this it is worth recording that there are sixty cars in Terim itself, each of which has been transported in parts by twelve camels from the coast.

313 333 353

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seyyids of Terim and Seyyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of getting long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree trows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseilah, they cannot be transported by

[1] The commoner Arabic name is *sidr*, *Rhamnus nabeca*.

313 camels. The difficulty is being got over to some extent by experiments in
333 making reinforced-concrete pillars, of which we saw two in construction at
353 Seyyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seyyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, consist of a lime plaster polished by smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

361 Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area five hundred houses built on
342 a slight eminence in the wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears
485 to be one enormous brown mud-built construction with a whitewashed top
623 storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town, and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild.
344 The area of land required to build a house 45 *dhirras* in width by 35 in depth (a *dhirra*, or cubit, equals 1·5 foot) will cost 10,000 dollars, and having acquired the land the prospective builder will have to submit the specifications of his house for the approval of a committee of the townspeople who consider the position of windows and of gutters carrying water to the street. Subsequent alterations to a house must also be similarly approved. By general consent houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high, in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this house, which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars.

333 The foundations are dug 2 *dhirras* deep below the surface of the earth and
342 3 *dhirras* wide. Stones are used for the foundation mortared together with a mixture of wood ash and lime. In places where there is any doubt as to the solidity of the ground on which the house is to stand long pieces of *'elb* wood are laid in pairs lengthwise in the foundations. Wood for this purpose must be cut in the winter; if this is done it is said never to rot. The stone foundation or *sās* is continued for 2 *dhirras* above the level of the ground. When the building operations have reached this stage a foundation sacrifice of a goat or sheep is made on the walls. The house is centred round a solid pillar built on the same foundation as the walls. For a house of the dimensions proposed this pillar or *'arus el beit* will be $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 *dhirras* wide and of the same thickness from top to bottom. The stairs of the house invariably go up round the *'arus*. The bricks are made of clay mixed with straw, the standard size being $1\frac{1}{4}$ *dhirras* in length by $\frac{2}{3}$ in breadth by 4 *banan* or fingers' widths in thickness. When the clay of the required consistency and thickness for making the bricks has been laid out they are cut out by a wooden frame which makes two bricks
[435] at a time. The bricks cost five dollars a thousand.

The thickness of the walls of the first storey is $1\frac{7}{8}$ *dhirras*, of the second $1\frac{1}{2}$, of the third $1\frac{1}{4}$, of the fourth 1 *dhirra*, of the fifth $\frac{3}{4}$, of the sixth $\frac{5}{8}$, and of the seventh $\frac{1}{2}$ a *dhirra*. The bricks are mortared together with wet clay. As *'elb* wood grows to no great length the size of the room is determined to some
[435] extent by the length of the pieces available as girders. The girders are usually very short and supported by carved pillars each costing about twenty dollars.

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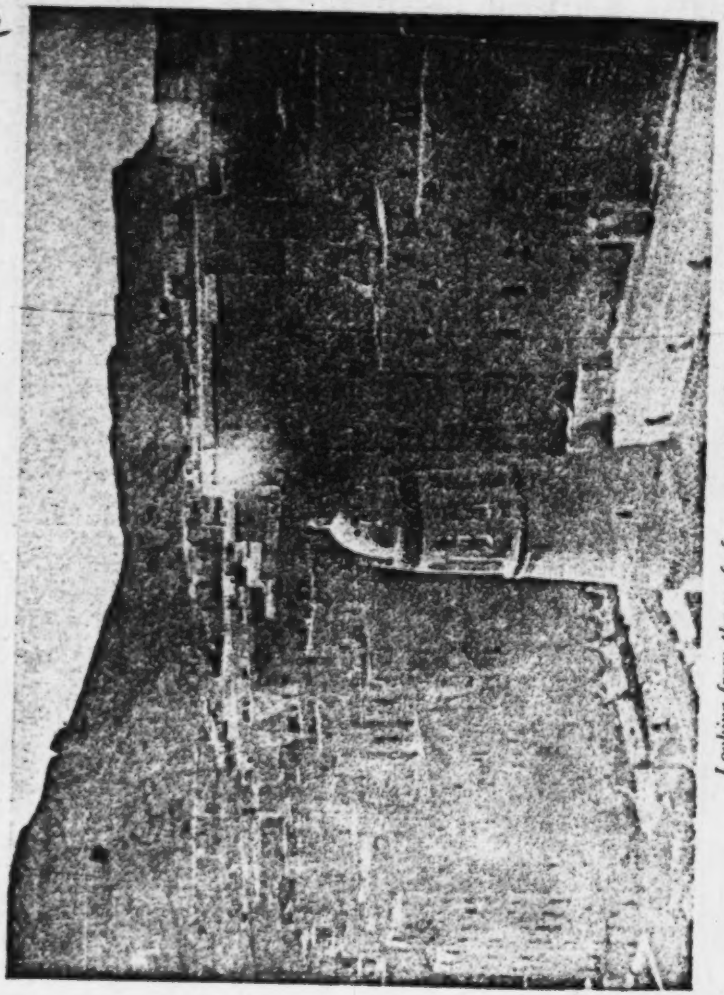

*Looking from the roof of a seven-storey house in Shibam.*

Facing P. 371

●342 361 The ground floor of the house is usually the highest and the others are all about the same. Some of the houses in Shibam are built on the slope of the hill and are therefore provided with cellars. The height of the wall facing the outside of the city in these circumstances is about 70 *dhirras* or 105 feet high. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together.

The life of a house is said to be two hundred to two hundred and fifty years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits necessitating demolition. Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in [402] these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, it may be interesting to record that in one wadi through which we travelled to the north of the main wadi towards the desert we found troglodyte Badawin living in caves in the walls of the wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseilah between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than 5 feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents.

121 what people want to hear. In this short talk I would like to deal more with the feeling of these buildings as related to the people who live in them and who have created them. If time allows I hope to show a short colour film I made there and which portrays general scenes of life in Hadhramaut.

122 There is one thing I can say without any hesitation or doubt, and that is to give expression to my great gratitude to those who helped me to go on these journeys. I could not possibly mention by name all those to whom I am indebted, but at least I wish to speak of Sir Bernard Reilly of the Colonial Office, who made it possible for me to go to Hadhramaut and gave me the necessary introductions. I also want to thank Dr. Serjeant of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, who taught me for two years and who showed me everything I had to know in order to travel in that strange and isolated country he had himself visited. Finally, I am most grateful to Colonel Hugh Boustead, Resident Adviser of the East Aden Protectorate, who facilitated my journey in every possible way. He was my kind host and gave me travel facilities and permits to go where many people had difficulty in going.

131 To plunge into my subject, I might say that one does in fact almost plunge into the Hadhramaut from above. It is one of those rare countries which cannot be reached by rail or by road and hardly by sea except on a little native dhow; so that since the British Protectorate authorities started to develop the country it has been habitual to go to Hadhramaut by plane, and one does indeed drop into it from the sky. Such isolation is rare in our times and needs some explanation for those not familiar with the geography of Southern Arabia.

131 Arabia has always been one of the most difficult countries of access to
133 Europeans, for geographical as well as religious reasons. In the centre of the peninsula is one of the largest deserts in the world, and it is surrounded by forbidding coastal ranges from halfway up the Red Sea coast, down to the "barren rocks of Aden" and eastward along the southern coast, almost three-quarters of its length before there is any break in the mountains.

But for small valleys, these mountains and the interior are absolutely barren. With the exception of the Yemen, to all intents and purposes, little or nothing grows in that vast area. There is no water. There is little earth, and in the relentless mountain ranges and plateaux along the coast there is often not even sand—just rock and flint and granite. Yet these coastal ranges are crossed in all directions by ageless tracks made by camel trains of the bedouin traders who have followed them for two thousand, perhaps three thousand years, bringing the incense from Dhufar beyond Hadhramaut.

101 The people who now live in the interior highlands are the bedouin,
[342] the descendants of the traders of old, who dwell in small stone-built villages or mud castles. This south-western corner is still largely a tribal area where there are different little bedouin sultanates. Some of them are being gradually brought into the confederation and some even accept complete British protection; others live entirely in their own ancient way of
000 life of blood feuds and strife. Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently

133 a second miracle happens. There is a cleft in the great basalt plateau and
311 a beautiful green valley opens abruptly in the flat tableland—a valley running from east to west, joining the sea some 150 miles further on. This is a fertile valley with gardens and palm groves, millet fields and white palaces. An underground river continually provides water for the wells and the little irrigation channels. There are crops up to three times per year. In this lovely setting very civilized and well-dressed townsfolk live in large mud-built towns on the valley cliff sides. Recently they have laid aside their arms and ceased their blood feuds and tribal wars which raged from town to town, from tribe to tribe, from family to family. With the aid of the British adviser they have established law and order and made their foreign trade, which is their livelihood, flourish unhindered.

172 When we go back into history to find out where this miracle has sprung
341 from, we discover that there were the old Sabean and Hymyaritic civilizations of 1,000 or 2,000 years B.C., of which Mr. Ingrams spoke. Perhaps it started with the Minean Empire, on the eastern border of Yemen, and its capital, Ma'in. Later came the Sabeans with their capital a little south, at Marib; followed by the Katabaneans, whose centre, Timna, was at the south-eastern corner of the great desert. And lastly, perhaps, the Hadhramis, whose early capital may have been the much disputed Shabwa. These people built in stone, and their buildings were several storeys high and of very fine dry masonry. Many are the ruins covering the western territory between Aden and Hadhramaut and to the north in Yemen. But also in Hadhramaut itself, further east, there are vestiges of towns and temples, in the main valley and the side valleys; great plans of garrison cities, and remains of castle and palace walls in beautifully executed stonework, all erected perhaps some 2,000 years ago.

341 With such a tradition it is not surprising that something is still found
333 in the present day, and although the Hadhramis have not continued the stone masonry and have turned mainly to sun-dried mud bricks, their achievements are of remarkable interest.

101 Reviewing the various groups of the population, there are the bedouin
342 who still live by camel transport, the sand bedouin of the desert who live in simple black camelhair tents, and the bedouin mountain tribesmen who live on the arid plateaux. The latter are rugged and tough, like the country round them. Their life is hard; it is scorching hot without any shade in the day, bitterly cold at night at 6,000 feet. They still build their low windowless huts with brushwood roofs with the stones of the plateaux in dry walling. They carry on in their primitive way the stone tradition which has been lost elsewhere in the eastern area.

361 The next class of inhabitants we meet are the remote valley bedouin,
311 who live in rather better circumstances. They do have a little grazing,
342 cultivate a little land where they grow millet called dharrah and a sort of little cucumber-tomato called faguws. They live in the earthen beds of long-dried-up rivers that have a flood from the hills about once a year. They have grown lazy like everyone else, and they build their little castles
342 of mud bricks with a base of rough stones from the river-bed. A passage down the centre leads from the entrance door with almost windowless rooms for storage either side to a stair leading to a sheltered roof terrace.

7: Stutler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk. 342

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm. 361

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anîs go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices. 311 312 511 262 439 291

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space. 342 361 531

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut. 361 342

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on [941]

361 a mound, is seven storeys and rises above the rest, the whole, like all
342 others, built in mud bricks.

In the centre, the space that is left, lie huddled the one-storeyed shops of the suq and the many-storeyed flat houses of the poor. Shibam seemed the only town where houses were occupied in flats. Elsewhere I saw almost exclusively one-family houses even if the family had many groups within it.

342 All houses in Hadhramaut have a strong inward slant from bottom to
333 top, which gives them a look of strength mingled with grace. There are no basements and barely foundations, but the ground floor is an almost solid base, so thick are the walls that taper towards the top. They may be almost 3 feet thick at the base for a tall castle, and a foot at the top.

In Shibam, the houses forming a solid rampart wall have windows at the two ends only, and a small light-well to light the stairs in the centre of the deep building. The ground floor usually contains granaries and stores. The straight flights of the stairs rise between thick walls with a very heavy
342 central block. On the first floor the Shibam citizen keeps his goats and
231 rabbits in the outside rooms, while the centre is occupied by more stores. About the second floor begin the living quarters—that is, the office and rooms of the men, stores in the centre again, and often with kitchen,
342 washroom, and lavatory. These washrooms and lavatories are systemati-
336 cally built over a central shaft, though water is mostly allowed to run from a gutter into the centre of the street. But there are "back" streets for the
342 sanitation and "front" streets for doors. About the third floor the private quarters begin. They would be men's living quarters, with the ladies on the floor above, the fourth, with kitchen and washrooms again; right on top, often little private quarters for the owner of the house where he may enjoy most fresh air. Each floor has a double set of windows, a large one down to the floor and a small square one for ventilation above, up against the ceiling, so that there are continual draughts running through the top of the room. Practically all rooms have windows on two sides, and with this and the thick walls and the smooth plaster they remain pleasantly cool.

342 The lower floors are usually the loftiest; even the ground floor store
353 rooms are up to 12 and 13 feet high. The house often has two entrances—
531 a large door for the men and a little one for the ladies, with separate stairs in the larger houses, even in Shibam where land is scarce. The façades are in rough mud brick, a uniform brown colour with a white plaster smooth base and white ornaments round windows and parapet, getting richer towards the top of the house, which is the best part of it.

Their plasterwork is one of their great arts. It is extraordinarily hard. To obtain this it is presumed to be mixed with date juice. When polished with a piece of flint and rubbed with a cloth for hours it acquires a lustre that makes it shine like marble. This is chiefly done inside the main rooms and in the washrooms and stairs. Outside it is only polished at the base, for water to run off. The ornamentation of the upper storeys is left
342 rough white. But as people's wealth increased they have abandoned this
531 form of very characteristic decoration, which divided the tall buildings in broad brown bands alternating with narrow white bands at window level.

7: Stutler-Raemaeken T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost. 342 531

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby. 341 531 177

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away. 342 353 177

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms. 361 565

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely. 565 292 561

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one 565 342

565 half for the men and one for the women, each with their entrance, kitchen,
342 store rooms and granary on the ground floor, reception rooms and wash-
rooms on the first floor, and more private apartments with washrooms on the second floor. There may be a third floor with terrace rooms, but usually not more.

342 Although the span of the ceiling beams is quite small, as everywhere
else (about six feet, determined by the maximum size of timber available),
353 many of the rooms in these houses are very large, being divided up by
565 two, four, six or nine pillars. They have rows of three or four windows, some even more, on two sides. The floors are covered with carpets, and cushions against the walls are the only form of furnishing. There will be niches with cups, silver samovars and brass trays; other niches with some books; and a few large flat basket-trays hung on the walls, from which one eats. But that is absolutely all that is needed. There are large wall closets for clothing and for bedding, the normal place to sleep being the floor. But there is no difference between a living-room and a sleeping apartment. Each room serves for either purpose in turn, the men and the women
[291 being separate. Nor are there clothes for the night and clothes for the
day, though the men wear beautifully laundered clothes, frequently
515] changed.

342 Washrooms consist of a spacious compartment, with glazed plaster
walls with niches and pegs for clothing. Near the window stands a tall
515 jar with water and a scoop for showering oneself. The water runs out under the window through a runnel and gutter. Some washrooms have a shower tank. The washroom may contain a lavatory of the south continental, foot-rest type, or this may be in an entirely separate spacious compartment. Each floor has at least two. Besides this the Saywun and Terim house has a little " roman " bath for complete ablution about 10 feet square, and which is usually near the private prayer-room.

342 Another pleasant characteristic of the Saywun house is that in the large
corridor that runs from one side of the house to the other; in front of the
271 window at the coolest end there is usually a corner for drinking-water skins to hang up in a cooling draught. Niches for cups are at hand, and again there is a runnel for the water dripping from the skin to run outside. The same arrangement is found on most terraces. Upper rooms are used in summer, lower rooms in winter for warmth, for there is no glass in the windows and only ill-fitting wood shutters to keep out the night air.

342 All these amenities will be found on a small scale in the most modest houses. The house of the dhobbi had three floors. It contained about four living-rooms, two washrooms, a kitchen and a store. So that where space is concerned the Hadhrami house does not compare unfavourably with European standards.

000 A film showing Hadhramaut buildings was followed by a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

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FIG. 9—Shibam, looking down the Wadi Hadhramaut toward Seiyun (see Fig. 7). Shibam is built on a low hill at the tip of a plateau spur and, for lack of space, grew upward: the buildings are eight to ten stories high. The landlord occupies the upper stories and these parts are whitewashed: the more whitewash, the wealthier the owner. Note the abandoned fields embanked to prevent runoff of water. The upper right-hand margin shows the plateau topography in the direction of the sea, a hundred miles distant.

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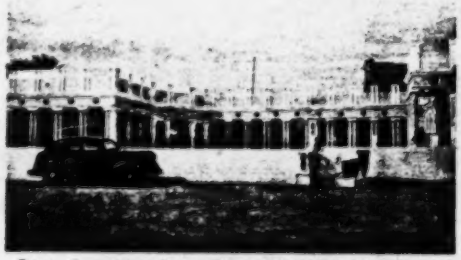

FIG. 10—European guest house at Seiyun. Only one half of the mansion is in view. Most of the courtyard above the steps is occupied by a swimming pool.

p. 637

361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from
245 Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where
438 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager
283 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in
this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They
[342] are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock
ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making
coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully
pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market
comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim,
and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have
caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the
186 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate,
191 with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence
with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that
today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay
has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a
more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family
185 acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut
with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status
of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor,
city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles,
transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley,
485 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in
Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture,
and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might
know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was
491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between
Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by
the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of
many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more
advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal
728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the
185 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination
of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago
brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

702 taking into consideration rations and clothing, is good money in the
701 Hadhramaut, and is sufficient for a soldier's tobacco and personal needs and, to maintain a wife and family. Unlike his British counterpart, he does not have to undergo a rigid medical examination, nor is he likely to suffer from the dentist, but if he should fall ill he is treated by the unit medical orderly or a civilian doctor, and provision is made for his admittance to the civil hospital in Mukalla if need arises.

712 At the end of recruit training a soldier will be sent to one of the posts
701 in the interior, and here the discipline and character-training already undergone will be continued. Some of these posts are sited where desert tracks cross, others near disputed wells or in areas where the tribes have proved recalcitrant. Sometimes local houses are requisitioned, and as [342] Hadhrami architecture derives from the need for security these high, small-based, mud-brick houses are not unlike forts in themselves. In other localities proper small-scale forts have been built, square in shape and enclosing a well in the courtyard, resembling the smaller Palestine police posts or Arab Legion forts. Usually built with towers at two diagonally opposite corners, they have an imposing entrance gate, storerooms and sleeping quarters below, and above two rooms and a balcony encircling the fort. In commanding position, they would fill admirably the requirements of a producer of the *Beau Geste* type of film. From their posts the H.B.L. patrol on foot, perform guard duties, and if necessary provide escorts. Life in an outpost may appear dull, but reliefs are [212] regular, and in his spare time a soldier is wise to learn to read and write, as without these accomplishments he is debarred from promotion above the rank of corporal. Any day a row of four or five soldiers may be observed at the unusual task of laborious reading or writing under the guidance of an officer or N.C.O.

701 Generally the presence of soldiers in an area has a deterrent effect on
721 any potential law-breakers or tribal raiders, and by mixing with the local Bedouin, and by reason of being themselves Bedouin, they do much to assist Government by explanation and advice. When trouble does occur, minor operations may have to be undertaken to deal with the offenders. During these infrequent periods the soldier receives his best training, and the prospect of more active duty always appeals to him. Although a natural fighter in his own type of warfare and country, the Bedouin is no match for his brother in the H.B.L., who has the advantage of superior leadership, better weapons, and a plentiful supply of ammunition. The expenditure of rounds, which do not have to be accounted for individually, [619] is one of the soldier's greatest joys and entertainments. It may be wondered, if, on occasion, men enlisted from tribes which are hostile to each other carry this enmity with them into the force. Such is not the case, and once in the army they seem to lose their civilian opinions and prejudices and to forget past feuds. However, care is taken that soldiers of a tribe against which force is used are not employed on that task.

702 Militarily speaking, the Hadhrami Bedouin soldier is quick at drill, and, as practically all of them are born with a rifle in their hands, weapon training, even with light machine-guns, comes easily to them. They are not, however, such good shots as might be expected and have a universal tendency to fire high.

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and there was a general desire for peace in order to get on with the work in the fields.

My wife was accompanied by Seiyid 'Alawi al 'Attas and Jemila, a devoted maid servant of the family, who perched precariously on the back of my wife's camel singing Badawin war songs. My wife learnt some of them and they proceeded up the wadi singing duets. Besides being an amusing companion Jemila was a very useful one, for she proved an excellent lady's maid and a masseuse as well. Seiyid 'Alawi has married a tribeswoman, so the party stayed at Zeila in the house of his brother-in-law, one of the principal Ja'da chiefs. Like many Ja'dis their host had been to Java, but the only sign of his travels was a bicycle which he had brought back with him and which he said he preferred to a camel. From Zeila they rode through many small villages to 'Anaq belonging to the Al ash Shaibi, who are credited with possessing the Evil Eye and consequently shunned as much as possible. Seiyid 'Alawi thought it prudent not to mount his camel till the village had been left well behind, in case he was made to fall off by some evilly disposed person. They spent a night at 'Amd, which is almost at the end of Ja'da territory, for a little farther up the wadi the Madhi tribe have their habitat. All the villages in the wadi are much alike with a few three- and four-storeyed houses set amongst smaller ones, and most of them have well-built tanks for catching rain-water. Particularly in the left bank there are many dug-out caves, largely used now for habitation and grain stores. Miss Caton-Thompson says that these were probably all Himyaritic tombs. I think some cave dwellers she met were rather put out when she told them they were living in tombs. Many of the Al 'Attas family, who have much influence over the Ja'dis, have been canonized and their domed tombs are objects of veneration in several villages. My wife's appearance was taken for granted at 'Amd, where she spent a night with women who had been to Java and had seen European women before. They had brought back a few momentos of their travels and impelled by the same spirit that makes us hang Eastern curios on our walls they had hung up a pair of cheap European high-heeled slippers for the admiration of their untravelled friends.

From 'Amd they returned down the wadi following the left bank and passed many ruins, most of which covered low spurs jutting out from the cliffs. At Husn Ba Qasm there are ruins known as 'Adiya Qudha'a which may indicate the site of what was once the principal town in the wadi, as in the days before Islam it was called Wadi Qudha'a. Near the large village of Bateh they passed the time of day with a man who spoke to them from a second-storey window of his house as he dared not go out, for he was carrying on single-handed a war with all his neighbours. Like many others with whom my wife talked he asked for peace. Another had said "We want peace, we're sick of fighting. A man works in his fields and is shot dead—what's the use of it?" And another stopped them and said: "A country without a government is not a country. Bring us peace and settled government."

Returning to Shibam, which is of course the principal Qu'aiti town of the interior, there is west of it past Al Qatn and as far as the junction of the Wadi Du'an a bloc of Yafa'is, with a few Kathiris surviving in such places as Ajlania on the junction itself and also in the Wadi 'Amd. These Yafa'is have been

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Shibam to the entrance of the Wadi Ser took us three minutes; this journey had taken us exactly two hours on camels, and twenty minutes by car. After sighting the tomb of the Prophet Salih in the Wadi Khonab we turned into the Wadi Ser and at the mouth of the Wadi Latakh I recognized the Bents' Himyaritic caravan signpost. Then we went up the Wadi Sodaf and from Qa' al Fadhul on the *jol* at its head took directions previously given to me by Badawins for Ba Rumeidan, which we found. This is the residence of Tannaf, the principal chief of the Al Baqi Msellem of the Sei'ar. From the air I saw plainly that just before Qa' al Fadhul we were over the northern watershed, from which deep-cut short wadis run south-south-west to the Hadhramaut, and long shallow ones in an east-north-easterly direction to the sands. There was very little habitation over this part of the country, and most of the inhabitants live in caves. After just over forty minutes' flying from Shibam we found ourselves between two short wadis running out into a broad channel of sand which it took us two minutes to cross, and beyond it was a broken mass of rock stretching away to the north-east. The channel itself ran out into the desert just west of the course of the flight, and the distance from Shibam to this point is calcuated at 69 miles. The visibility was perfect. Air Commodore McClaughry, who was with the flight, noted the high mass of the Seiban mountains at least 100 miles away to the south, so that one could also see at least that distance to the north. An unbroken sea of sand stretched wave on wave far away to the horizon. Looking north it was the most remarkable rosy red colour, quite unforgettable and quite unbelievable if an attempt were made to paint it. It was about three-quarters of an hour short of noon local time, so that the colour owed nothing to early morning light. After a few minutes over the desert, which seemed all too short, we came back to Shibam a bit to the west of Wadi Qubhudh.

Next morning we left Seiyun at a quarter to nine on an almost due northerly course. On this outward flight the same facts were observed, deep short ravines running nearly south to the Hadhramaut, and past the paler coloured *jols* of the watershed more shallow wadis running almost east-north-easterly to the sands. In the upper reaches of the southern system we saw a few poor settlements of the 'Awamir and a caravan of some fifty camels plodding its way southward. The whole *jol* from west to east is heavily scored with well-marked tracks, and it is worth noting, as I have also noted on aeroplane journeys over the Wadi Maseila, that east of our course and some 50 miles north of the wadi as it goes towards Qabr Hud there is a considerable rise in the ground, almost a range of mountains. This is probably the Jebel al Wuti of Von Wissmann's map.

After exactly an hour and a quarter's flying we passed over the edge of the steppe and the desert, just by a conspicuous large white patch of sand, the distance from Seiyun being calculated at 112 miles. Again there was the same wonderful sight of endless rosy waves of sand, though when we were directly over the sand I noticed that it was a rich ochre. Just west of the white patch a channel of desert sand opened into the steppe. This proved to be the eastern end of yesterday's channel, separating a long broken up island *jol* from the mainland. Its situation and shape were sufficiently like Madagascar for us to call it that, and the name seems to have stuck in local usage. The flight

484 and we were in country with which there had been practically no contact It must really have been alarming to the Badawin: a noisy party in lorries, which they had not seen before, and ourselves in cars, shouting directions to
[486] each other in the night and firing Verey lights to show each other the way; but the Badawin materialized out of the darkness, most surprisingly without rifles, directed us time and again on our way, and pushed our cars out of the sand.

880 After Thukmein, which we left about half-past eleven, we had no great difficulty in moving on as the moon was up. We drove on for some hours and then stopped to let the rest of the party come up. It was bitterly cold and the keen wind cut through us as we huddled together trying to sleep on the sand, but we did sleep and woke to a marvellous dawn. The sunset of the night before, the brilliant moon, and the sunrise are three enduring memories of that night.

The four flat-topped hills of Al 'Abr lay about 10 miles ahead of us, and although only one of the lorries had come on, the other having had one of its many breakdowns, we decided to go on. It was marvellous hard sand on which a speed of fifty was easy and we had quickly left the lorry behind. We made our way into the wadi bed, myself acting as guide as I was the only one who knew the country even from the air. There were one or two Bureiki Sheikhs about with camels, and rather reluctantly they told us that the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun were also there with the camels. A few minutes' driving up the hard wadi brought us to the ruins of the fort, said by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to have been built by them.

619 The dozen or so Badawin round the well looked extremely surprised when
[291] the car drew up. I suppose they were hardly awake, as the morning was still chilly and they were all wearing their sheepskin coats. A few Bureiki Sheikhs came down and bade us welcome. All the rest of the Badawin claimed to belong to every tribe except the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun. Some said they were Sheikhs, some claimed to be Daham, a Yemeni tribe, and some Nahd, but there were a good many shifty looks and in the course of the morning we sorted out nine who had given themselves away and who finally admitted to belonging to this raiding section. There are only forty-three males all told of the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun, but from the amount of trouble they had given in
619 the past it was well worth getting them under control. They have no houses
361 or settled habitation and are about the only people of the Hadhramaut who
342 have goatskin tents. They are part of the Al Hatim, but Bin Mulhi, their chief, says he has no control over them and the Sei'ar themselves were delighted when we took hostages from them and put in a garrison, whose function is to protect the travellers and not to interfere in other ways.

Presently the lorries came up and I installed the wireless and settled the
342 garrison into temporary quarters. There was nothing at Al 'Abr except the
724 ruined fort of which only one wall still stood, a small stone *murabba'a*, one of the dark cube-shaped shelters used by travellers all over the Hadhramaut, and a hut built of branches of trees and grass of which there was a great profusion. There was also a new *weli's* tomb decorated with ibex horns, and one of the Bureiki Sheikhs took us there and slapping the tomb addressed its
880 lately canonized occupant and introduced us. We put the garrison into the

that of the Sultanates of the West, though I was interested to find that there was a small Jewish community, and this is the nearest that any Jews have got to the Hadhramaut. The Balhaf Sultan, an intelligent young man whom I have known for a long time, came to see me in Seiyun and asked us to help in extending peaceful arrangements to his country. Though most of the sections have signed the truce the situation is still far from settled, as Miss Stark, who arrived at 'Azzan from the Wadi 'Amd shortly after my first visit, will tell.

A short distance down the Wadi Meifa'a from 'Azzan are the ruins of Naqab al Hajar described by Wellstead a hundred years ago. This is Meepha Metropolis. I have only seen the ruins from the air, though Miss Stark has recently visited them. There are inscriptions also at Husn Gharab on the coast which Mr. Martens, one of this winter's visitors, has recently seen. He too was well received.

Bir 'Ali is the other Wahidi Sultanate and, though the old Sultan has no claim to rule outside his wedge-shaped little walled town, he is unfortunately at present unwilling to compose his long-standing differences with the Balhaf and 'Azzan relatives, which makes settlement more difficult. I have lately had both Sultans in Mukalla and tried to get them to bury the hatchet.

I have had little opportunity in this last tour to do more for the Mahras than visit Qishn, their capital, occasionally, and Socotra I have not visited since 1935. It may perhaps be remembered that the Bin Zueidi section of the Mahras did not exactly welcome us when we arrived at the coast through the Wadi Maseila in 1934, and a couple of months ago for the first time the Mahras asked for intervention in their internal affairs, as the Zueidi tyranny in Seihut had become acute. We are now trying in the normal political way of advice and exhortation to induce them to cease their exactions on unarmed merchants and peaceful citizens in a town in which they have no lawful concern, and I paid my last visit to Qishn a day or two before I left Mukalla.

I had intended to visit Gheidha, the most eastern landing-ground in the Aden Protectorate, but we did not get so far and made a landing at Haswein just west of Cape Fartak. The inhabitants said it was the first time that Europeans had been there, though they called me by my name as soon as I stepped out of the machine. These coastal Mahras are a peaceful folk engaging mostly in fishing, and they have pleasant breeze-swept villages of a simple style of architecture, unlike the Hadhramaut but which reminded Mr. Figgis, who was with me, very much of the Arab dwellings in Northern Nigeria. I do not believe we could really have been the first Europeans to visit the place as there is quite an adequate account of it in the Red Sea Pilot, perhaps derived from a visit of Captain Haines in the *Palinurus* over a hundred years ago. Perhaps too there had been a much earlier European visitor, for authorities on classical geography usually identify Ras Fartak, Cape Syragrus, the Boar's Head, as the point from which Hippolus set forth in about A.D. 45 when he discovered the changes of the monsoons. I have long had a wish to put up on this majestic cape of Fartak a simple obelisk with the inscription, a quotation from the *Periplus*, "Hippolus discovered the changes of the

342 In Ṭarīm many houses belonging to the wealthy saiyids seem
552 to have a name chosen by the owner, and Saiyid 'Umar b. Šaiḫ
174 Āl Kāf, our neighbour in Tarīm, called his house al-'Iššah, or 'the
212 nest', but others seem to be called after the name ot the locality, or as the Ḥaḍramī says, after the name of the well, such as the house Ḥamṭūṭ, our neighbour to the east. Houses in Tarīm often have chronograms over the door, generally some pious phrase, worked in the plaster and painted. In Šibām the Maṣna'ah or fort has inscriptions, including dates, in the woodwork. I am convinced that herein lies the explanation of why so very few pre-Islamic and early Islamic inscriptions have been found in Ḥaḍramawt. On dams, on buildings, even in the mosques, the inscriptions which today record the foundation, or repairs effected to a construction, are all drawn in the plaster. The only two Kufic inscriptions I saw in Ḥaḍramawt were on the grave-stones at Ḳabr Nabī Allāh Hūd, and the strange shrine of Mawlā Maṭar. Pre-Islamic stone inscriptions will of course be discovered when excavation is made in the mud mounds which represent the ancient towns and villages of the country.

782 The sacrificial rites described here are probably general to South-
342 West Arabia. (In the Ṣubaiḥī village of Am-Fadjarah, west of Aden I came across very similar practices. A ewe (ġanamah) was slaughtered at the foundation (sās). In the space under the stairs called ḳuṭb, when it was made, another was slaughtered, and on completion of the building a third ewe, called the iklīl or 'crown', was also immolated. As the occupier of the house in question I was asked to defray the cost of these. This is some hundreds of miles from Ḥaḍramawt.) Comparisons with ritual in the ancient world may be made by scholars.

463 According to my early notes in Tarīm, every craft seems to
342 have different categories of workmen, perhaps graded, but I did not explore this possibility. A fully trained craftsman is called a mu'allim, and if you want to have a house built, you go to the mu'allim. Tarīm once had fifty to sixty mu'allims, but now (1947) there are probably only about thirty. Other categories are, the musawwis who builds the dry stone foundation of your house, and the bānī who builds with the clay bricks (madar) and clay (ṭīn). A bānī in Ḥaḍramawt is also a potter (syn. in Yemen, maddār). I heard of an architect in Tarīm who bore the name 'Umar Ya'mur

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which is interesting, because the name for a builder in other parts of South-West Arabia is 'ammār (verb, 'ammar yi'ammir). 463 342

When you start to put the first clay brick (madrah) on the stone foundation of your house, you slaughter a sheep or two, or more if you are a rich man. You invite one of the Ṣāliḥīn (pious) such as a saiyid or manṣab to lay the first madrah; a cermony is made out of the entire proceeding, and an entertainment given known as the ḍiyāfah of the laying of the brick (ṭarḥ al-madrah). A sheep is slaughtered on one of the corners (ḫuṯm pl. ḫiṯam), probably the first to be completed. You then take the sheep's head and lay it on each corner for about a minute or so, in order that the blood may be scattered on each corner. This is done to stop the Djinn from entering the house. Sometimes, if you are slaughtering two head of sheep, you kill on one ḫuṯm and anoint a second, then you kill again, and blood the remaining two. If it is a large house like al-Munaiṣūrah, the Āl Yaḥyā house in which we were living, one may slaughter eight to ten sheep. A photograph of the sās of a house building in Daw'an stained with the blood of a sacrifice is shown by Ingrams [1]. 782 342

As the sheep is slaughtered, one of the ḫaddāmīn (i.e. the workers on the building) gets on top of the foundation (sās) and halloos (yiḫawwil), and all the other other ḫaddāmīn do the same. (This hallooing is also performed when the rain-flood is coming down the Wādī, and by the Bedouin on the Djōls when rain comes.) They then repeat a number of formulae for good luck, such as the following : —

> Ṣallū 'alā Muḥammad — wa-ṭawwil 'umr filān bin filān —
> Allāh ya'ṭīh min 'aṭā' — wa-yrazziḳuh māl wa-'ayāl, etc.
>
> Bless Muḥammad — and make long the life of so and so (the master of the house) — God give him sustenance — and provide him with money and off-spring.

The sheep's carcase is then taken to a house and divided, one quarter goes to the owner of the house which is being built, one fifth of the remainder goes to the Dawlah (Sultan), two fifths go to Ahl al-Sās, i.e. the builders of the foundations who in

[1] See art. noted in the bibliography.

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782 342 Tarīm are the Ahl Bā Ḥuraiš, also the Tarīm grave-diggers [2], and two fifths to the other ḥaddāmīn. The owner of the house customarily gives some of his portion away, but my informant did not remember exactly how much this is, or to whom it is given. Apart from the foundation sacrifice, the owner will also make a separate ḍiyāfah or entertainment in his own house, killing a sheep or two there.

When you have finished setting in position the beams which act as lintels to the windows, exits, cupboards, etc., on the ground floor, and which are known as taisūrah (pl. tayāsīr) or mafkir), a sheep is usually slaughtered on the corner tayāsīr. The feast given at this point is known as Ġadā al-Tayāsīr [3]. The blood lies on the tayāsīr, and the Djinn drink. Being grateful to the lord of the house, they leave him alone, and protect him from the other Djinn [4]. If however you should happen to be a poor man, you may not be able to afford to slaughter an animal on this occasion, but you give the workmen a meal. At least, in the past you gave the workmen a meal, but as they brought their children etc., with them, you used to find yourself giving thirty a meal, instead of ten or twelve. So this practice has now ceased, and a bargain is made that the men get food in kind, and money to buy meat, instead of having a meal provided for them.

[574]

782 342 335 At the placing of the cross-beams on top of the wooden or stone columns (tarkūb ishum, or ta'kīd ishum), the master of the new house provides a ḍiyāfah known as Ġadā Tarkūb Ishum, and also

[2] Cf. my article in *Le Muséon*, 62 (1949), p. 159.

[3] Ġadā is used in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt and Wāḥidī territory to denote food provided in kind for an employee as part of his contract.

[4] I have a pamphlet by 'Abd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥ. al-Šiblī of Ḥabbān where it was given me, entitled Toko « Singapore » (Singapore, 1352 H.) which mentions slaughtering on ('alā) the feet of the bride and groom at the Lailat al-Zafāf when the bride comes to her husband's house. Those who cannot buy a beast to sacrifice (ḏabīḥah) break eggs at their feet, a custom common enough in Ḥaḍramawt where I have often seen eggs lying broken outside rooms in which newly-born children lay. An opinion on the practice is cited. « If the ḏabīḥah is slaughtered at the feet of the bride and groom, its religious injuriousness is known, for it is slaughtering out of fear of something other than God, such as the Djinn or the Šaiṭān. This arises from the belief that if the ḏabīḥah is not slaughtered, then a touching (mass) from the Djinn will befall them. Slaughtering at that time is therefore forbidden. »

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a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended [5]) for the carpenter (nadjdjār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥaśwān of the Āl Bā Ḥaśwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two [6]. One says for instance, Dī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah [7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee [8]. The people of the Quarter [9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian tašt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥakk al-salīṭ, hakk al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. Andree, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers*, *Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍrami coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my article in *Le Muséon* cited above.

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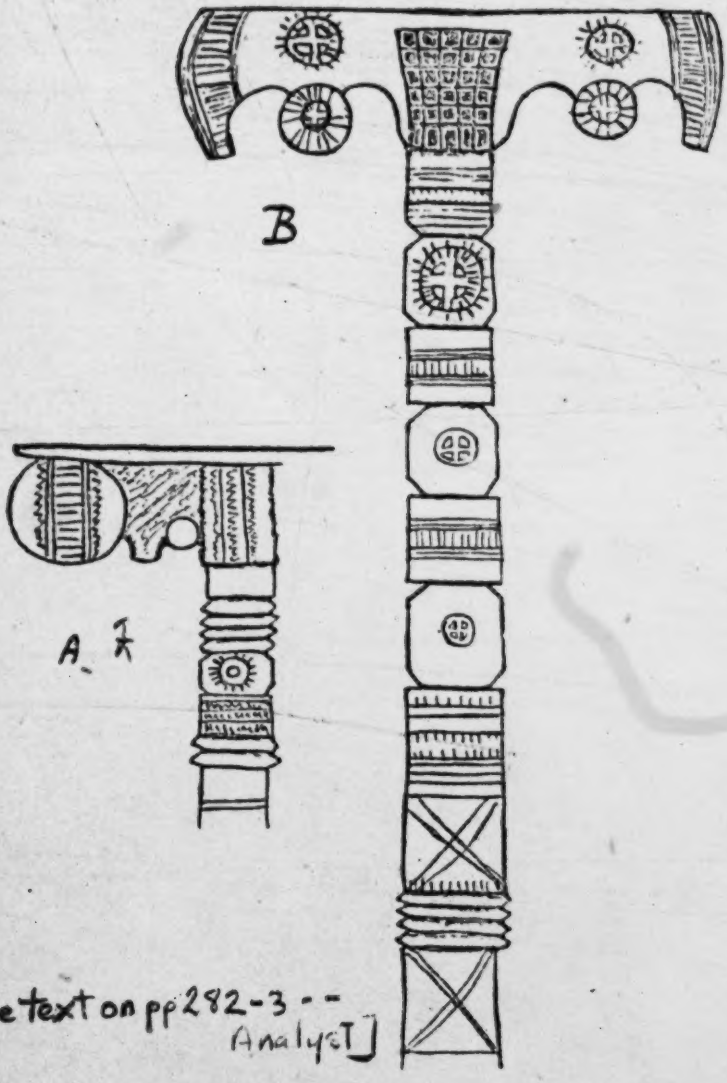
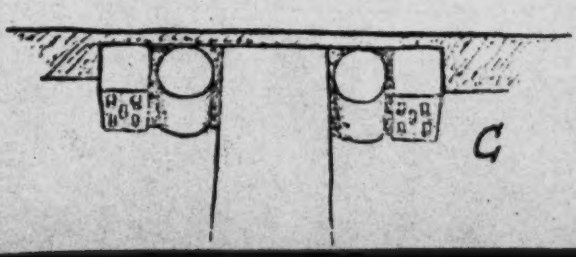



* [See text on pp 282-3 -- Analyst]



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467 this reduction should be made, issued a decree (taḳrīr) defining the
466 wages of the various categories of people engaged in building. The workmen still refused to accept the revised wages, and some left Tarīm and went to the independent Ḥawṭah of Thibī, outside it and beyond Kathīrī jurisdiction. Some however stayed in Tarīm, but worked at collecting firewood, and refused to undertake building. A *modus vivendi* was established through the good offices of Saiyid Bū Bakr al-Kāf, but whereas, before, the wage of the builders had been two three Āl Kāf ḍarībahs per day, which the wealthy had attempted to reduce to one ḍarībah only, after the dispute all the workmen received three ḍarībahs [10].

172 To revert to the sacrifice on the sās, I noticed in the fine archaeo-
782 logical site of the town known as Am-'Ādīyah [11] that on some buildings an inscription was located at the *corner* of the sās which was constructed of the typical lozenge-backed Himyarite hewn stone, and that it stood about three feet from the ground. Possibly therefore it was sometimes a custom to place inscriptions in the sās about the place of the sacrifice; they could not be placed higher as the wall above this point is of adobe. These particular Am-'Ādīyah inscriptions are very weather-beaten, and to the best of my knowledge no attempt has been made to copy them.

322 An interesting feature of Ḥaḍramī building is the shape of the
342 columns, generally carved from 'ilb wood, which strikes one immediately as descended from an ancient tradition. In the Ḥawṭah of
531 Thibī near Tarīm, I first saw the curious capital sketched (fig. C.) from below, with its little round pendants underneath the rectangular blocks. Later I realised that this was a very stylized type of capital, derived from a prototype somewhat resembling the examples in figs. A & B., sketched in my field-book at 'Azzān and

436 [10] Reproductions of the ḍarībah in J. A. S. Bucknill, *A note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia, Journ. of the Malay of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, 1925), III, 1. It is the coin which has the number 16 written on it. There were about five to six ḍarībahs to the riyāl (kirš franzāwī).

[11] For notes on this town see S. Piroweze, *'Im'adiya and Beihan, Aden, Antiquity* (London), xiii (1939), p. 50. The author confuses the name امادية with عادية, but it is really the South Arabian article Am = Al, followed by the word 'Ādīyah. It is therefore « the 'Ādite city » which means little more really than « the ancient city ». I visited it in 1941.

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Ṣa'īd respectively, both in the Wāḥidī, Ḥimyar territory. The Ṣa'īd house had in its clay construction that pattern of recessed surfaces one so often sees in fragments of pre-Islamic architectural ornament. Both of these columns are obviously representations of the palmtree, the capital representing the leaves on the outside, and the bunch of dates in its fibre bag (ḫubrah) on the inside. In all cases the capital which is carved out of a single block of wood, is called kabš or ram, a term which brings to mind the bull-headed columns of Persepolis. The room in which I saw fig. B. was the main reception room of the house called rakaiz (which Landberg gives as the general name for the second storey of a house), and the column was called rakīzah. 322 342 531

The following terms, most not mentioned by Landberg, may be of interest; the list makes no pretence at being near exhaustive, and these only apply to the Tarīm area. 342 104

*manwar* (pl. manāwir), a little oriel window set high in the wall.
*mizyāb* (pl. mazāyīb), a hole in the wall at floor-level and the spout to which it leads, projecting outside for drainage (class.).
*sawārī*, pillars (class.).
*safan* (pl. asfān & sufūn), a stone base under a wooden column, or round column-drums, roughly six inches in height.
*sahm* (pl. suhūm & ishum), wooden column, (class.).
*kabš* (pl. kibāš), a horizontal piece of wood, about three feet in length, placed on the top of a column to serve as a capital, below the beam, (class.).
*ḳāsim* (pl. ḳawāsim), wooden beam lyving on the top of the kabš (cf. Landberg).
*širḳah* (pl. širḳ), a beam running from wall to wall.
*ḳubl* (new plur. aḳbāl), Landberg's « solive ».
*'akf* (pl. 'ukūf), arch (Landberg). Bait mu'akkaf, a house with an arched roof (i.e. holding up the first floor).
*ṭāḳ*, any arched hole in a wall used as a shelf, and an arch over a window with a wooden shelf in it.
*'ammārah* (pl. 'ammarīyāt), cupboard.
*mirfa'* (pl. marāfi'), shelf. Syn. riff (class.).
*ḳawām* (pl. ḳiwām), a wooden frame in which a door is set. In Tarīm the sides of it are known as lānah.
*ḳafā'ah* (or ḳafā'at al-ṭāli'), the jamb over the top of the door.

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*mardam* (pl. marādim), Landberg's « seuil ».

*darf*, a door with one leaf.

*muslif* (pl. masālif), a door with one leaf, a small door in the outer wall of a court for the use of the women of the household.

*warakatain*, two halves of a door with two leaves.

*zāfir* (pl. zawāfir), horizontal wooden bars on a door, part of its construction (Landberg).

*miḳaṣṣ* al-dawār (pl. muḳaṣṣah), hinge of tinned iron, with a flange resembling scissors.

*ḳuṣf* (pl. ḳuṣūf), an ordinary hinge, not specially an architectural term.

*madjarr*, a chain or rope in an upper room, stretching down to the main door of the house. It can be opened by someone upstairs who is able to view the arrival from an upper window.

*maḳbaḍ*, a door handle.

*sukkāṭah* (pl. saḳāḳīṭ), a bolt from a window-shutter into the base of the window-frame (class.).

*zawḳ* (pl. azwāḳ), decoration in embossed and painted plaster, or a line of plaster moulding. A synonym is said to be 'aḳf (pl. 'uḳūf).

*ḫaiš*, a metal grille.

Landberg also gives a list of the names of the different storeys of a Ḥaḍramī house, but the Tarīmī names given below differ slightly.

*muraiya'ah* (pl. āt), a ground-floor room with two to six pillars.

*maisamah* (pl. mayāsim), a narrow ground-floor room with no pillars.

*ġailah* (pl. ġiyal), a room on the first storey (ḳaṣr), said to be a synonym of the more usual maḥḍarah (pl. maḥāḍir). I knew the latter as a large reception room.

*miruwāḥ* (pl. marāwīḥ), a room on the second storey.

*ġulb* (pl. ġulūb), I have registered these as third storey rooms, but Landberg gives them as a belvedere on the roof.

*ḏjanāḥ* (pl. aḏjniḥah), a fourth storep room.

*saṭḥ* (pl. suṭūḥ), syn. raim (pl. ruyūm), a roof (Landberg).

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21; Thomas T5 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 576 832

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes, and very charming they sounded. 562

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire of his wife and say *Talaq* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper, ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representatives, father or brother, descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of circumcision. 585 586 583 [782]

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is generally fit for work the next day. 844

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword. 848 837 684 [628]

## CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342 [754] 782 342

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 782 a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hens' [784 609] eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

## LAW AND DISPUTES.

671 692 As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al hauz*, or a code of ancient sanctions, is the law. The *hauz* is a wise man of the tribe. Not infrequently his is an hereditary office, occasionally the *hauz* is the shaikh of his tribe. Shara law, *i.e.* holy law in Oman and elsewhere, is the law of the coastal townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony, and sometimes of divorce and inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. That is the province of the *hauz*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara or holy law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed even along the coast by government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing 683 696 evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye-for-an-eye idea, the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali of Dhufar as having taken place last year is as follows: "X" was going on a journey into the "Y's" country and took a *rabia* from "Y." On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and "X" found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. A *hauz* heard the case and decided that "Y," the innocent party but member of the offending tribe, must submit to the infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

671 692 721 682 628 In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *hauz*, when he would receive from the offenders *Laum-al-wijh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at 400 dollars. Murder, which in Arab tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood-money which varies between 400 and 1,000 dollars (or rather its equivalent in kind), in these Qara mountains is assessed prodigiously high, in theory something like 5,000 dollars, which may take a lifetime to pay off, but is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom, must bear the brunt.

663 fence round the country and then to leave it to anarchy. On the other hand, there was no wish to introduce direct British rule over a people who are tenaciously attached to their independence. Our policy is therefore to support the treaty chiefs and to lead them and their subjects to appreciate the advantages of the suppression of lawlessness and the maintenance, in collaboration with the British Government, of internal peace and security. At the same time it was laid down as a general principle that the main trade routes through the Protectorate must be kept safe, and that the Government would enforce this decision.

The medium through which this policy was to be carried into effect was a number of political officers centred on Aden, but working in the Protectorate, and I, as Governor at the time, was fortunate in the appointment by the Colonial Office of a group of young men who threw themselves wholeheartedly and devotedly into the work of gaining the confidence and friendship of the Arab tribes and their chiefs, and in promoting the policy upon which the Government had embarked.

712 This work would not have been possible without the collaboration of the Royal Air Force. Aden had become an Air Command in 1928, and the first action of the strengthened Air Force was the ejection of the Yemenis from Dhala, to which I have already referred. This was followed by the construction of landing-grounds. There are now between thirty and forty of these in various parts of the Protectorate, including the Hadhramaut Valley, which had until lately been almost a *terra incognita* except to a few adventurous travellers. Flights by the Royal Air Force over the Hadhramaut were followed by invitations from the local Arabs to land, and the pioneer work of two young Air Force officers, Cochrane and Rickards, led to the establishment of closer contact. The first visit of a Resident of Aden to this strange and most interesting district was paid by myself in the early part of 1933.

556 I have already referred to this remarkable valley of the Hadhramaut,
167 and readers of Miss Freya Stark's delightful and graphic descriptions of her travels in Southern Arabia will be familiar with its peculiar characteristics. Its wealthy seyyids and merchants have generally amassed their fortunes in Java or Singapore, to which countries the Hadhramis emigrate in large numbers, and in which many of them are
[186] owners of valuable house property. They do not, however, lose their love for their original home in Arabia, and many of them eventually
342 return to the Hadhramaut, and there build for themselves the luxurious

houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the [186] austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These 342 well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign 578 countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them 185 among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem 648 presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination 157 before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, 578 and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same 648 demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section 185 of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with 643 the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at 625 Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in 185 a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage.

# CHAPTER II.

## MAKALLA.

361 The gate to mysterious Ḥaḍramaut, so long closed to
342 foreigners, is of overwhelming beauty. Makalla stretches like a white ribbon along the margin of the blue sea, at the foot of the steep, reddish-brown rocky wall. The waves beat against the town, the white houses stand straight and strong, and many-storied. The balustrades surrounding the flat roofs are cut in filagree and are as white as lace. The minarets have here already the simple, strong, conical form characteristic of the Ḥaḍramī style. To the extreme left is the new and, behind it, the old palace of the Sultan. The new palace, cream-coloured with brick-red shutters and windows, and light-green verandas, stands on the black rocks close to the sea. The frame-work of the picture, formed by coco-nut and date-palms, mango and papaya trees, is of such a jubilant beauty in this world of rock and sea that the critical sense is lulled: the colouring makes everything, even the absence of style in the buildings, beautiful.

To the extreme right, some way out of the town, there is a third palace, belonging to the Sultan. About half way between these princely buildings is the tongue of land, on which is the old centre of the city of Makalla. There the Sultan originally lived, there stands the ancient mosque and there, on the point, the sturdy bastions of the old fort.

504 On one side of this short tongue of land is the harbour, where the graceful sailing-ships ride at anchor. Small rowing-boats and broad sambooks[1] pass to and fro to discharge passengers and merchandise on the broad stone steps, that

104 [1] A *sambook* is an Arab sailing-boat. It should be spelled *sanbūq* (سنبوق), but has nearly got citizenship in the English language, spelled as it is pronounced.

p. 14

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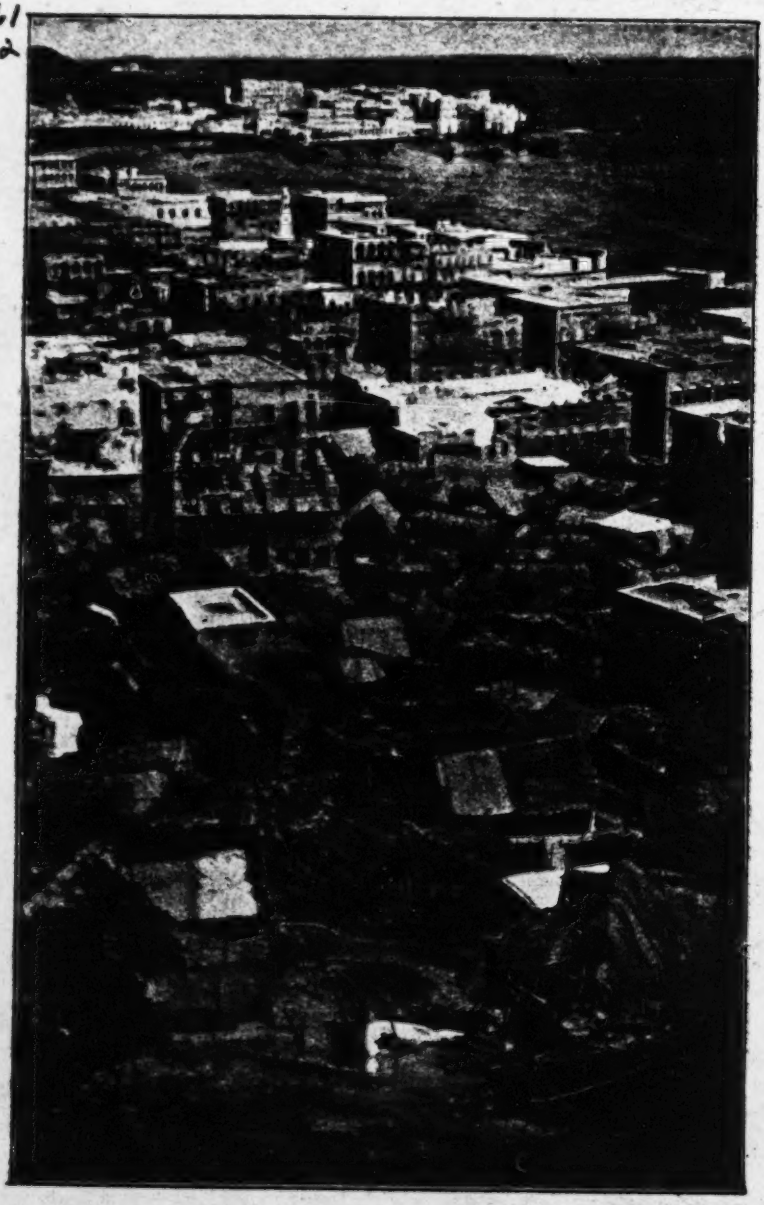


Makalla, seen from the west.

P 16 (B)

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

342

Makalla. The Sultan's palaces. To the left the black slave quarter.

P.16 (C)

137 In little valleys, green, juicy euphorbias grow to a height of six feet. Their fresh green colour and red tuberiferous flowers at the ends of their branches give them, in these colourless surroundings, the air of bouquets.

### 4. FIRST CONTACT WITH A HAḌRAMĪ NOMAD TRIBE.

233 A broad plain lower down has a clay soil where grass grows
361 fairly well. Goats, sheep, donkeys and camels graze here, at
342 distances widely apart from each other. Bedouin girls watch over them from a hill-top. This is the *Rēda* [1] of Sheḥēr where are the pastures and headquarters of the wandering Bedouins of these parts. Their temporary camp is on a rocky plateau to the right above the road. We walk with our cameras in their direction, without much hope of success. They do not see us, and the malicious watch-dogs, which elsewhere in Arabia make it impossible to slip past the Bedouin camps, are conspicuous by their absence. The Bedouins of Ḥaḍramaut appear to have no tents; they live in caves, or houses, or huts, or, as in this case, almost without shelter. A space of about five feet square is made by four sticks of about three feet high with other sticks connecting them and over which are spread bunches of long, hard grass, which do not really, however, keep out much sun. There are about ten of these "dwellings" scattered around. Some are even more primitive and consist of bushes cut down, with a few rags stretched over them, thus making a little shade. There is an acacia tree in the camp; its top is made shadier by extra bits of scrub hung between its own thorny branches. A camel with a horribly swollen, inflamed leg lies there; a few men, women and children are sitting around, watching the poor beast's agony.

609 Our arrival arouses some commotion, but they seem tolerant of us and answer our questions with an air of curiosity.

104 [1] A *rēda* (ريدة) is the centre of the territory of a Bedouin tribe, where many of them dwell together. Generally it is a depression in the rocky plateau with some vegetation and agriculture.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Women, with little children, or decrepit, sick old men are sitting under the rough shelters. The babies lie in very practical cradles, which look just like gaping oyster-shells with little feet. The little one lies in the lower shell whilst the upper slants over him as a protection against sun and wind. When mother has to go away she takes the cradle and its contents with her, carrying it with the open side against her. The infant lies on woven rushes or on a skin, and, in the latter case, a round hole four inches in diameter is cut in it so that thus diapers are dispensed with! The mothers stand in great dread of the evil eye, so one must not show too much interest in the babies.

We distributed some small coin among the children and old men, and, as we talked, the uneasiness of the others gave way. A woman discovered a gold tooth in the mouth of one of us, and we both had to submit our mouths to a detailed examination. Outcries of amazement and, thereupon, great and general merriment!

Then they found more strange things about these *Efrendjīs*. The most forward among the women, after having examined our mouths, went further. She began to rub vigorously with her dark, hard fingers on the white inner side of my arm. They all watched in suspense: it remained white! Then she pulled my khaki shirt a little wider open at the neck: again white. All the bystanders burst into laughter, and the examination was continued. My shirt was pulled out of my breeches, and a long-drawn "Ah! Ah!" of amazement went up when it appeared that my abdomen was also quite white. The black hand was passed admiringly over that part of my anatomy.

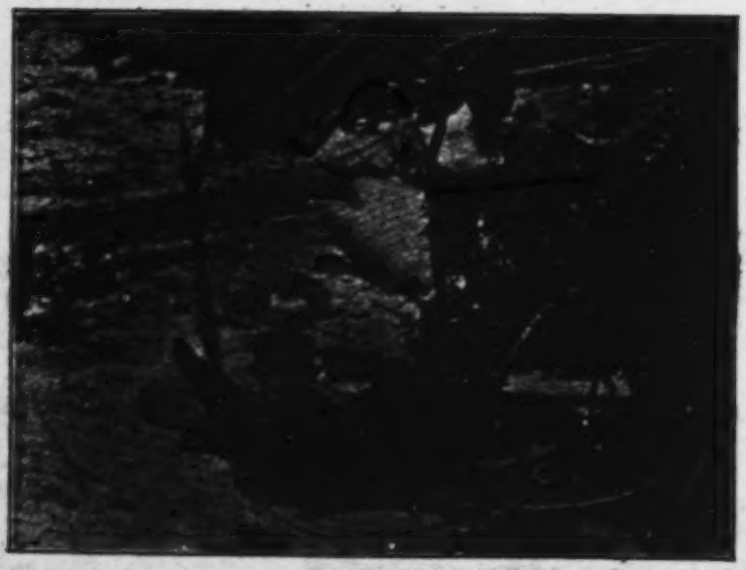
When my examiner wished to continue her exploration, I assured her that the rest was really all the same colour. "Had we done it with soap?" They had heard that the *Efrendjīs* were in the habit of rubbing it into themselves.

"No, God has made us so."

"Doubtless you live in houses so that the sun cannot make you black as we are? Doubtless you only live on milk?"

137

Euphorbia candelabra, on the coastal terrace between Makalla and esh-Shiḥr.



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Dwelling of Ḥaiqī Bedouins at Rēdet Shehēr. In the foreground a Bedouin cradle.

[facing p. 24]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted 301
in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased 302
stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and 609
with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a 508
landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions 137
aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were 136
swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky 133
ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said 361
to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent [342]
position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the 622
same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. 712
A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is 342
to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], 574
and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come 104
to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 have moved out to make room for us and the way is quite
574 clear. Our host himself makes an inspection, to make sure that the feminine inhabitants are shut in behind closed doors before we are invited to follow him upstairs. It is glorious on the roof. We are free there from vermin, and mosquitoes, also, do not seem to come.

We beg urgently that no sheep be killed for us. It is difficult to persuade our generous host to accede to our unusual request, but he does at last realize that we have more desire for tea and fruit. A tray with glasses of tea is brought up to us and a second one with slices of melon, fresh figs, dates and sweets. Shēkh Elmās has seen something of the world; he is related to the Sultan's family and is not without a trace of Indian blood. His brother, the *ʿāmil*[1] of Ghēl Bā Wazīr, the headquarters for the cultivation of the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco, is staying with him and gives us a pressing invitation to visit that prosperous and beautiful bit of Arabia. We promised to try and touch at Ghēl Bā Wazīr on our return journey.

## 5. AN EXCURSION TO GHĒL BĀ WAZĪR.

000 Our way back to the coast from Terīm was so planned that we were unable to keep our promise to our host's brother. Yet we *did* visit Ghēl Bā Wazīr, but not until after our return to Makalla, when we had to wait several days for our boat to Aden. On June 24th we started for Ghēl Bā Wazīr, via Sheḥēr, in a car placed at our disposal, as before, by the Vizier of Makalla, Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Miḥḍār.

138 Behind the plateaus of coral formation along the coast is
361 a shallow, extensive loess basin which is watered by a little stream, the Ghēl, having its source in the mountains lying behind the coast terraces. This basin with the strip of land suitable for irrigation, which lies by the banks of the Ghēl, is the chief area for the cultivation of the famous Ḥumūmī tobacco. The little town, which guards the entrance

104 [1] *ʿĀmil* (عامل), governor.

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to this rich domain, lies at the edge of the plateau of coral 133
stone. As one approaches from the coast one barely sees the 361
gardens of palms; soon one finds oneself in front of a high, white wall, with a great, fortified gate, which, apparently, is kept closed even during the day. The traveller, as he waits, can only see, close to the wall and rising boldly up above it, the Sultan's massive palace which now serves as barracks for soldiers.

We were obliged to wait at a respectful distance from the 361
menacing, fortified gateway until our letter of introduction 249
had been taken to the palace, read and deemed satisfactory enough to admit us into the tobacco town. Ghēl Bā Wazīr, as a city, has not many beauties except for the large and ancient palace and a few mosques, and we were glad to accept the invitation of one of the authorities of the place to proceed at once to the gardens and to the Sultan's country-house in the cultivated district behind the town. We, therefore, drove without pausing through the place, which reeked of tobacco. The 361
valley side of the town, that is the north side, has less defences 249
than the south, whence start the great thoroughfares to 489
Makalla and esh-Shiḥr. Nowadays motor lorries convey the bales of tobacco, which are two yards long, from el-Ghēl to Makalla. Manure for the tobacco fields is brought from the coast on camels.

A richly cultivated area begins immediately behind the town. 249
The Sultan owns much tobacco-growing land, which is said 361
to be a great source of income to him. Close behind the town 342
are two gardens, in each of which is a newly-built summer 471
residence. We enter the first garden with the smaller house which is set aside for the use of the male members of the household. In the other garden is a much larger building for the wives and their female attendants.

The gate is immediately shut behind us, our following of 351
inquisitive youths remains outside, and we stand in the silence of the luxuriant garden, trying to accustom our eyes to the deep shade under the blossoming fruit-trees. It looks just as

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than Makalla and was, indeed, an important trading centre before that city even existed.[1]

Under the east wall there is a large open plain, over which the cemetery extends, with some *qubbas*[2] and many mosques at the edge of it. Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf of Terîm has, close to it, a large piece of ground, where he has built a palatial guest-house for relations and friends travelling to and fro between Java and Terîm via esh-Shiḥr. El-Kâf is busy constructing a motor road from Terîm to esh-Shiḥr, which is complete but for the last stretch as far as the coast, a matter of three days by camel. If this junction can be effected, in spite of the aversion to it of the warlike Ḥumûmî Bedouins, through whose territory it passes for the greater part, then perhaps esh-Shiḥr will grow again to fit into her walls.

Before we left the town we made another call on the Governor in charge, who, with the help of the tax-farmer, a well-educated Indian, gave us a hearty, friendly reception. We were conducted past a strong guard of soldiers to an old-fashioned *madjlis*, where the shutters of the windows and the wooden supporting pillars were beautifully carved, and the ceiling painted white, red and black. With grateful relish we partook of tea and a great variety of sweets and of fresh and tinned fruits.

The population of esh-Shiḥr is officially estimated at 9000. It did not seem to us that it could be more than 6000. Yet, as the Westerner does not get to know how densely peopled the big Arabian houses are, our calculations remain fairly uncertain. The town has 36 mosques.

We were compelled to beat a hasty retreat before the rising tide. For safety's sake we were given an extra Ford car and some soldiers. The coral rocks were still just passable, but we stuck in the bed of the wâdî. Finally, after much delay and much fruitless exertion, we got free, but there was no time left for the promised meal with our host of Sheḥêr, who

[1] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *al-Shiḥr*.

[2] *Qubba* (قبة), is a dome, a cupola, or a cupola-shaped building.

312 drinks. One must accustom oneself as soon as possible to the
271 fixed habit in this country, of drinking one after the other out
485 of the same cup or bowl. Even among the very rich and the Sultans, the big earthenware drinking cups are passed from guest to guest. One sees the soldiers and slaves drink out of them too. The water in the *siqāyas* is often dirty, with a variety of odours and tastes; it also swarms with larvae and the like, but thirst soon teaches one not to notice them and the aversion diminishes in course of time!

In Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr we were able to buy milk, buttermilk (here called *rūb*), lemons, coco-nuts and bananas, but at high prices.

361 In the afternoon we proceeded and in a short time arrived
311 on a plateau, fairly thickly covered with tufts of grass and low shrubs, where two villages, el-Ghēḍa and el-Ghiyāḍa, lie among well-cultivated fields of tobacco, surrounded by a small
● 342 grove of date-palms. The mayor of el-Ghiyāḍa is related to the
439 family of el-ʿAṭṭās; we were therefore desirous of calling upon him. The door of his simple, mud, mayoral residence was decorated with particularly fine carving. We were received in a little, dimly-lighted room that served both as a place for storing tobacco and as a reception-room. The mayor had been in Batavia for seven years and had there acquired some wealth in the *batik*[1] trade, which a son is now continuing. As soon as I was informed of this, I proposed to converse in Malay instead of in Arabic. Our host eagerly agreed and we were
[272] soon deep in reminiscences of Java. Meantime coffee was
271 prepared, consisting for three quarters of ginger and for one quarter of coffee, and a great earthen bowl of cold water passed from mouth to mouth. These porous, unglazed bowls filled with water are placed in the small window openings, and the hot outer air causes the water which exudes through them to evaporate, thus cooling their contents. One finds the same

[1] *Batik* is the name of the specially Javanese art of decorating and dyeing pieces of cloth used as garments. The thus decorated pieces are also called *batik*.

tinually along the wall of rock. They move slowly and very 484
cautiously, and the whole caravan reaches the bottom of the wādī without mishap.

The advance guard with the donkeys has long since arrived. 000
A crowd of boys stands waiting for us, and in the background, in the shadow of the date-palms, there are a number of women, who do not wish to let slip this chance of seeing Naṣrānīs. The Governor, Bā Ṣurra, has sent a few soldiers to show us the way to his castle. They look like Yemenīs and, indeed, come from the western highlands. The villages and towns are 361
situated close up against the slopes of débris above the cultivated fields. The houses are high and well built, often against steep inclines. Only a few of the rich have allowed themselves the luxury of a whitewashed top storey. The path winds through date-groves to the *naṣnaʿa*, the castle of the *Dōla* (Government). The date-palms are strong, fine trees; 245
heavy clusters of yellow and red dates hang downwards from their crowns. Each tree is surrounded by a mud wall, so that, when the *sēl* comes, the roots are not washed bare, and a considerable amount of water is kept inside the little wall. Even in the deeply shaded plantations our feet sink in a thick layer of dust as fine as powder, for there has been no *sēl* for a long time.

## 2. BĀ ṢURRA, THE GOVERNOR OF WĀDĪ DŌʿAN.

The path leads steeply upwards through the village of 342
el-Maṣnaʿa to the castle, which stands on the top of a rock high above all the other houses. It looks like a great mediaeval fortress with corner-towers, heavy triple gates, with stables, soldiers' quarters, halls and living-rooms. The stout wooden gates are magnificently carved, and decorated with metal plates and nail-heads. The first gate is opened by a guard of soldiers. We pass through a passage to the second gate, and then through a stable, past some calves, to the third. Then we are led through a hall, full of soldiers, to a narrower one, really

much with Bā Ṣurra and is present now. The Deyyin are 162
said to be a wild and primitive tribe, but their chief makes 622
a congenial impression. We did not know at the time that we should pass through his territory on the return journey, otherwise we should have used this opportunity to make some arrangements in advance. The *Muqaddam*[1] of the Deyyin claimed to rule over 2500 Bedouins and maintained that to him who stood under his protection no harm from man could come, but only that which came from God.

The unbroken groves of palms in Wādī Dōʿan appear to 439
produce only enough dates for home consumption and for the use of the neighbouring Bedouins. The export of dates does not exist. Barely 400 to 500 camel-loads of honey are sent every year to the coast. There is much import trade, however, *e. g.*, in rice, sugar, flour, kerosene, coffee, tobacco, materials for clothing, etc. The trade balance is consequently rather unfavourable. The situation can, however, be maintained, thanks to the money earned abroad, much of which is sent into the country.

The rest of the morning we spent in sauntering through 342
the plantations of date-palms and the little villages which lie beside them, standing out against the sunny hill-side. When we passed by el-Qarrēn the young sons of Sayyid Muḥammad bin ʿAbdallāh bin Ṭāhā el-Bārr el-Munṣib dashed up to lead us in triumph to their father's house. It is, indeed, worth the trouble of a visit. Although it is new, the fine old style has been adhered to. The wood-carving on doors and windows and the ornamentation of tin-coated iron plates and nail-heads is true Ḥaḍramaut. The house is built of mud on a foundation of boulders bound with mud. The inhabited floors are white-washed as are also the filagree, stone-work balustrades of the flat roofs and their corners and decorative borders. Built close to these rich houses there is nearly always a mosque with a minaret, both of them dazzlingly white. In such a case,

[1] *Muqaddam* (مقدّم), the first, the chief, the leader. 104

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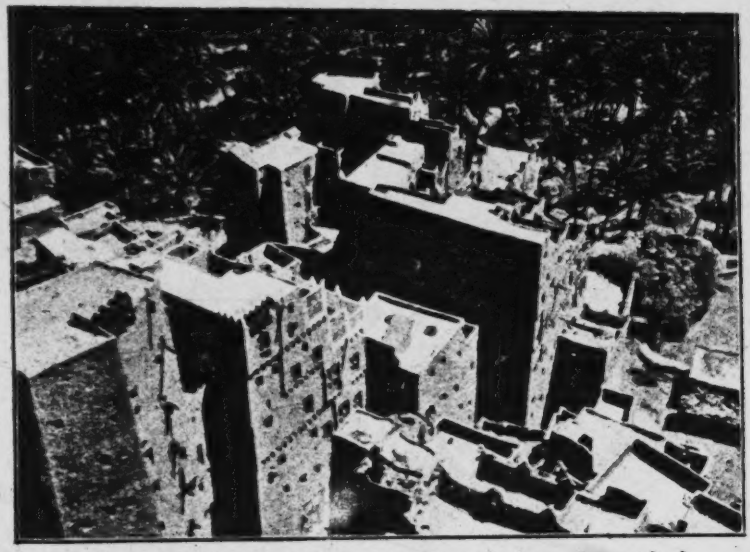
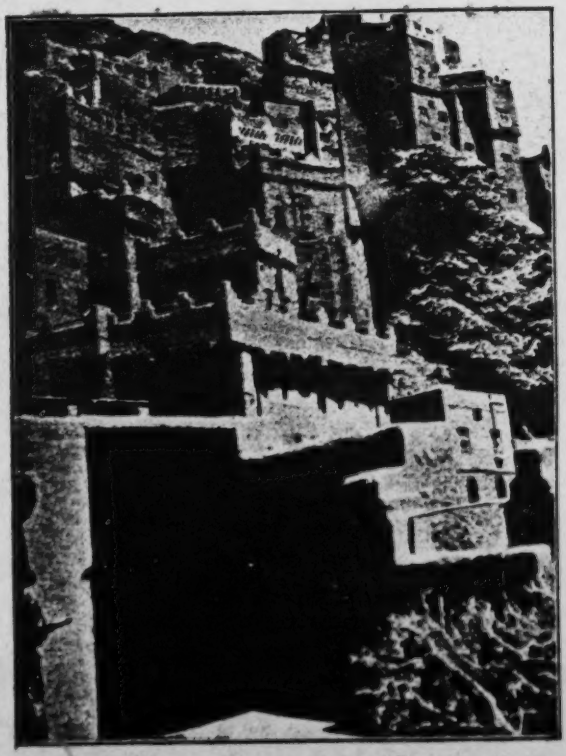
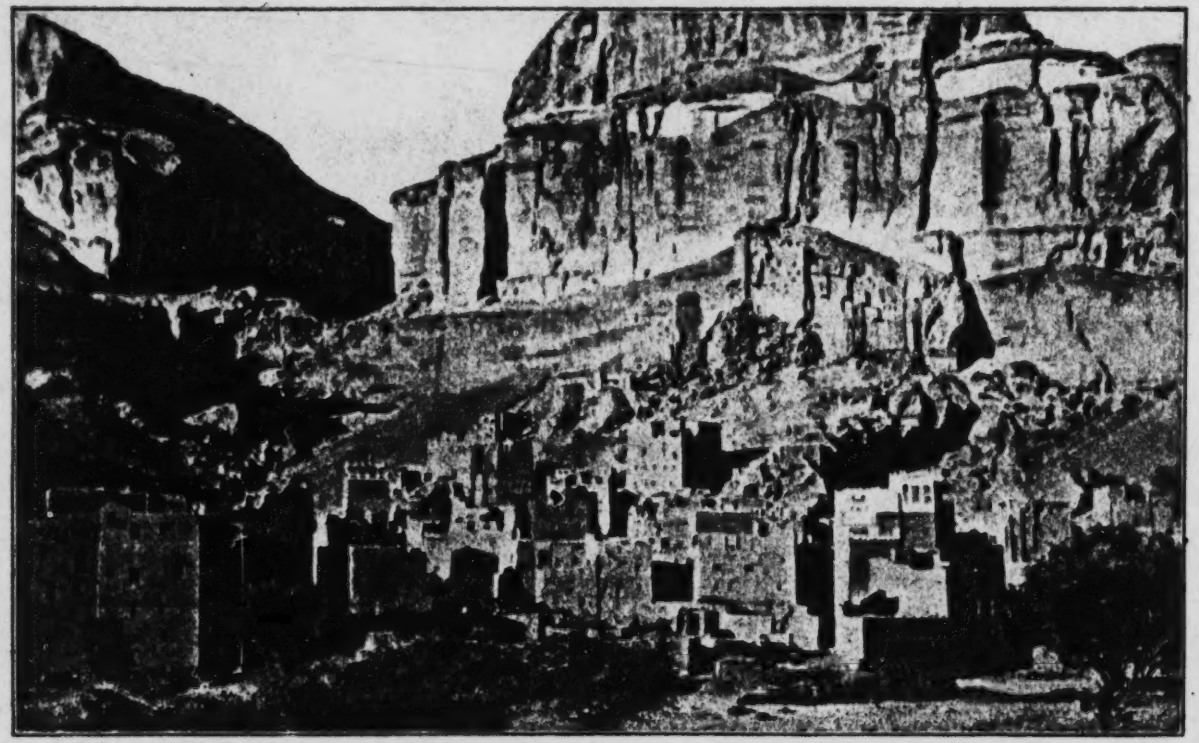


'Ōra the village where we stayed, seen from the roof of Bā Ṣurra's castle.



From the roof of our house at 'Ōra, looking up to the Governor's castle.

p64 (A)



The Maṣna'a of Bā Ṣurra, standing like a mediaeval castle high up against the rock-wall.

342

See page 63.

p64(c)

a passage, opening onto roof-terraces where, at this time of the day, one is conscious of a breeze. The old blind Bā Ṣurra sits there surrounded by his counsellors and the chiefs of the allied Bedouin tribes. Bā Ṣurra rises with difficulty and gropes his way forward in order to greet us. He is a stately figure with a long, white beard, and his mind is still active and his voice clear. We are very tired and warm, and gratefully enjoy the small cups of bitter coffee and the endless glasses of hot, sweet tea which succeed them. The young slave, who makes the tea in a samovar, asks whether we wish for Ceylon or Java tea. Lumps are broken off a sugar loaf with iron pincers and are dropped into the glasses. Afterwards we are offered dates and tinned pine-apple. Bā Ṣurra gives us the choice between lodging in the castle or in a house in the town. We decide upon the latter and go there in procession, accompanied by soldiers and by grandsons and grand-nephews of the *Ḥākim.*[1]

The house is five storeys high and stands at the edge of the village of ʿOra, and from our roof we look down upon the crowns of date-palms. Our quarters are uninhabited and clean; Bā Ṣurra has had carpets laid in the room, which we share with Sayyid ʿAluwī. All our hangers-on follow us upstairs and remain to watch and see what wonderful things emerge from our luggage. The fine, clever-looking descendants of the Governor put many questions to us and tell us much, and seem to be quite comfortable in the packed and stuffily hot room. It is with difficulty that we get rid of the crowd. The boys help in this, but, having accomplished it, do not dream of taking their own departure! They only stroll off at last under the promise that they may return in a couple of hours' time.

After the lapse of an hour three little boys come and will not be denied; they have an urgent message for us, they say, and with self-assurance they relate that their father has the

[1] *Ḥākim* (حاكم), governor, magistrate.

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342 passages connect the house with the lower portion as well as with the flat roof of the mosque. In the hot season the sunset and evening ritual prayers are always performed on the roof, and the *ʿālim*[1] sits here in the evenings, teaching the
556 recitation of the Koran to a circle of lads. A sayyid who has
782 made his fortune abroad will first build a mosque in his native
771 village and afterwards a big house for himself. For does he not owe the privileged position in his own country to religion, and to Allah's help the riches that he has successfully amassed in foreign lands? The abnormally large number of fine mosques in the poor country of Ḥaḍramaut is the result.

353 As in the other houses, the passages and stairs in Sayyid el-Bārr's house are plastered with light-brown mud mixed with finely chopped straw. The floor is always ribbed in a design of waving lines imprinted into the mud whilst it is wet. There are wooden pillars in the large rooms as there are no strong supporting beams for the construction of the roofs, which are always made of the split trunks of date-palms. The fibrous, brown stem of the tree is often plastered over with mud or covered with a wattle-work made of the split ribs of the leaves of the date-palm. Rust-red, black or white are the tasteful colours used in such wattle-work and, indeed, also on the layer of mud.

353 One usually enters the *madjlis* or reception-room by a door
352 in the middle of the shortest wall. On either side of the door there are great wooden chests, in which the sleeping-mattresses and pillows are hidden away during the day-time. These heavy, finely carved chests, decorated with tin-plated iron, are frequently the only ornament of the room. The window openings are small and close to the ground. In the houses of the rich, the wooden shutters and framework of the windows are carved. The floors are covered with simple mats of plaited palm-leaves over which the rich people lay carpets.

104 [1] *ʿĀlim* (عالم), a learned man, in this case, a man who thoroughly knows the religion.

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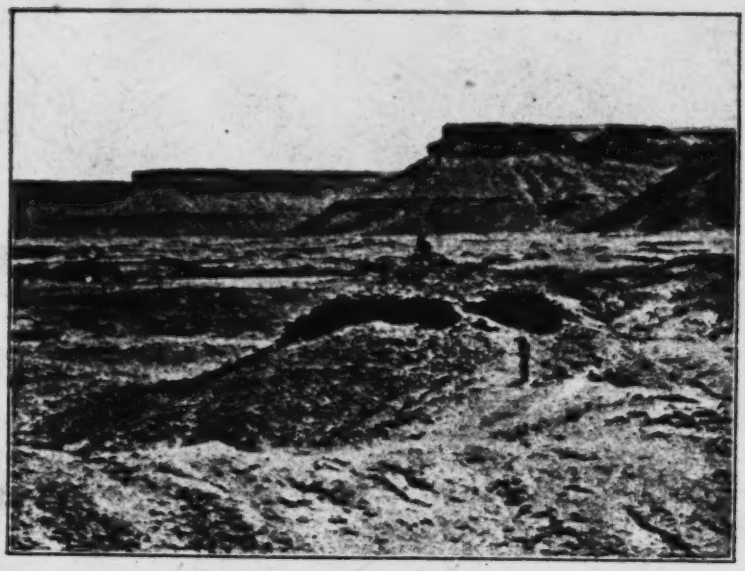

The "Graves of the Kings".

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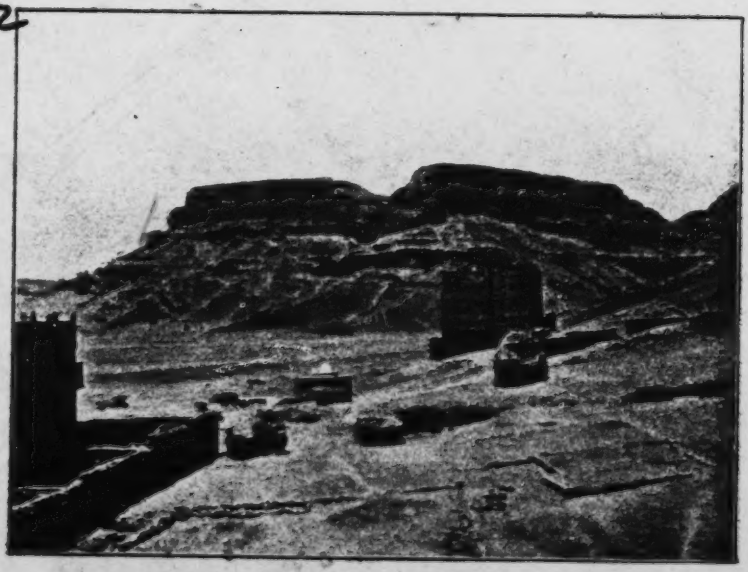

The el-ʿAṭṭās house in Ḥureḍa.

p88 (6)

See pages 86 and 90.

721 are the centre point of a country at war, for two groups of villages have been fighting each other here for the last eleven years. The brothers Āl Buqrī are the commanders on one side. The castles are very high and armed at every point against possible assault. The gardens are surrounded by mud walls, in which are gates made of strong wood with iron-wrought, ornamental plates. We are yearning for a drink and for a place of shelter against the sand-storm. Soldiers' heads appear over the balustrade on the roof in reply to the tooting of our car, and they call out that we must turn to the other side of the castle, as in this side we are liable to be hit by enemy bullets. The enemy villages are about half a mile away. The gate on the safe side is opened and we see the brothers Āl Buqrī standing in the midst of their soldiers. They bid us a friendly welcome and, crowded round by soldiers and children, we are conducted to a large *madjlis* on the third floor.
●342 The house is one of the largest and, above all, one of the tallest that we have seen here so far. It is still new and finely constructed, and is plastered all over with white, inside and out. The outside is ornamented with dark-grey edges to the windows and terraces, giving an effect which shows very good
721 taste. The martial individual who is the general is a tall, thin, broad-shouldered man with piercing grey eyes and an aquiline nose: a typical soldier. When we are seated and the phrases of welcome are at an end, the General says: "War is a man's business". This is his answer to our inquiring glances along the walls on which rifles and cartridge-belts are hanging, whilst below them, in close-packed rows, his soldiers are sitting. Upon this follows a conversation from which we learn that our host served with the British in East Africa, where he learned his "man's business". He can, however, take in good part a flat contradiction from us. After an argument, followed with attention by the soldiers, the two Buqrī brothers jump to the other extreme and express their weariness of war and their longing for the end of this cap-
000 tivity in their own house. Fighting is stopped by mutual

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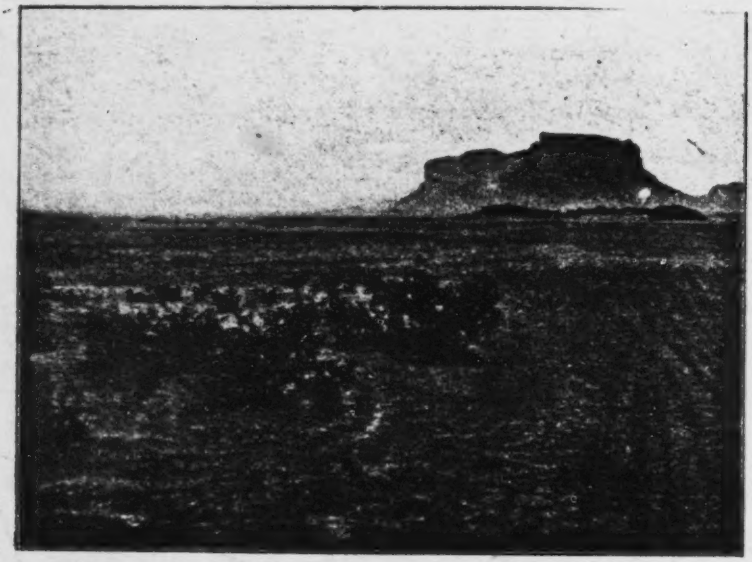

A sand-storm blowing up in Wādī 'l-Kasr.

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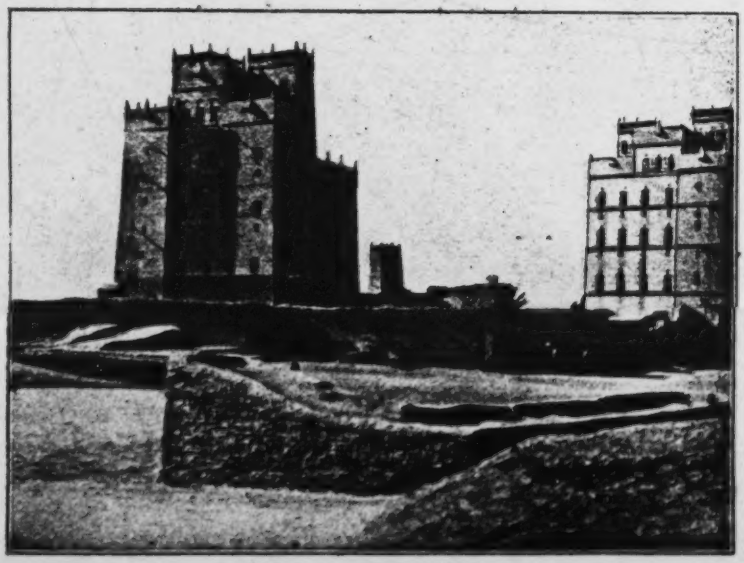

A war centre at the portal of Ḥaḍramaut Proper:
Diyār Āl Buqrī.

P 104 (A)

See pages 101 and 102.

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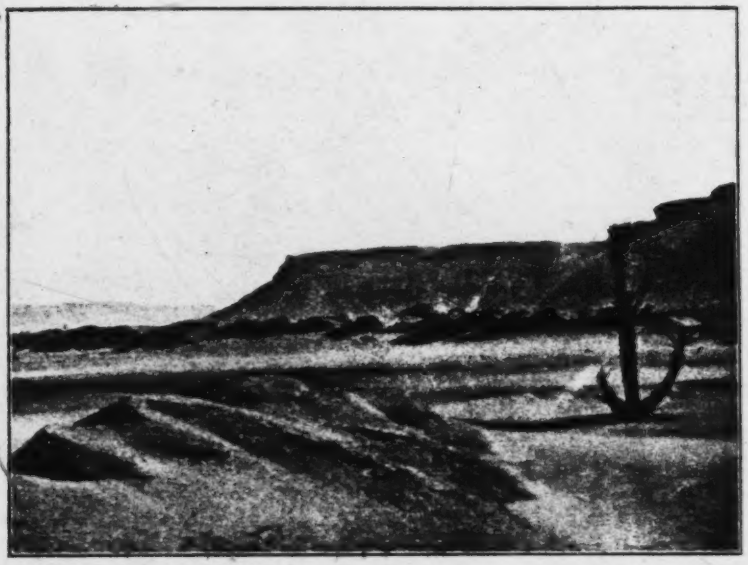

Hillocks of loam and sand near Diyār Al Buqrī.

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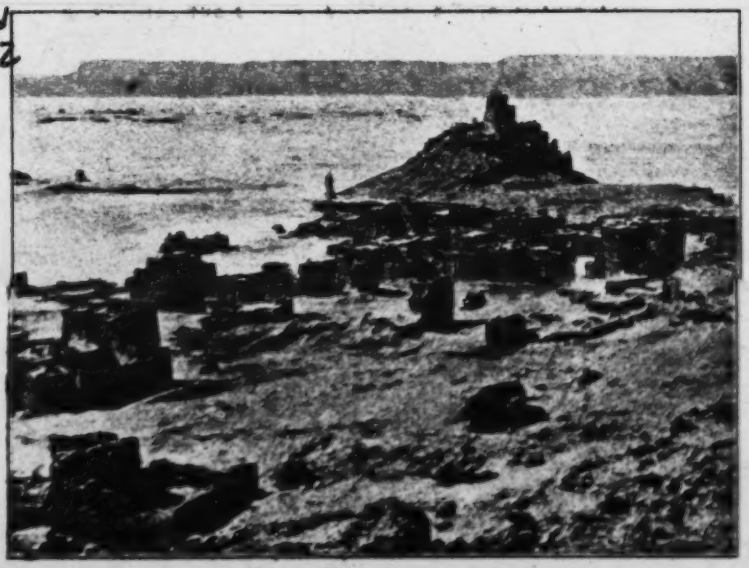

The old dying town of Hēnin.

p104(D)

See pages 104 and 105.

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where it empties itself into a little mud basin, out of which the irrigation conduits lead to the cultivated ground. Work at the well occupies the whole family: father and son guide the animals and walk with them in hauling ropes and mother and daughters relieve them at this work. Two old dames sit in the shade making ready food for the beasts, which consists of dry straw bound round with fresh green into bundles, that are pushed into the animals' mouths whenever they arrive at the top or bottom. I saw women continuing their mat-plaiting whilst, at the same time, walking backwards in the traces down the slope of the track. The work is very tiring: pulling whilst going down hill and then climbing up again. The path, on which their walk begins at sunrise, is as long as the well is deep.

## 2. TO THE SULTAN'S PALACE IN EL-QAṬN.

One sees the tall buildings of Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn even from afar rising above its walls and the tops of the date-palms. The place is not large and is situated, like the townlets in Wādī Dōʿan, stretched out and closed in between date-groves and the rock-barrier. It is surrounded by a mud wall kept in good repair. At the gate of the town we see our caravan; it is on its way to Shibām with the baggage and is resting here during the heat of the day. Although we are informed that the Sultan is staying in Shibām, we wish to pay a visit of courtesy to his deputy at the palace; possibly he may allow us to make a survey and to photograph from the roof of this very high building. The palace has just been partially renovated and, consequently, has not yet the gay outside decoration of whitewash. A broad staircase leads to a large, finely carved door. There we give our letter of introduction to the guard and after some time we are invited to follow him upstairs. By way of broad passages and endless stairs, both plastered with dried mud, we arrive at the reception-room, which has just been finished. Much of the beautiful old Arabian style is spoiled here by

342 western importations. Genuine oriental carpets have been
353 replaced in part by others from European factories. The wood-carving is painted. The aristocratic old colours of brown, red and white are crowded out by more glaring and less harmonizing dyes of western manufacture. Coloured glass has been applied as an ornament above the doors and windows. Though the old be more beautiful, the new is more cheerful, lighter and cleaner.

701 A shy relative of the Sultan, of Indian appearance, receives us. Sayyid ᶜAluwī had not had our visit announced long enough in advance and, consequently, we took him somewhat by surprise. Our request to take photographs from the roof is complied with. Our host even climbs with us up the many remaining stairs, and he appreciates our unfeigned admiration as we gaze around us over the magnificent country of el-Qaṭn. There is a large grove of date-palms behind the palace. The Sultan's mosque, completely white, stands out finely against the grey-green tops of the palms. Beyond, we see, walled off apart, the large palm-groves and the white country-houses of Yāfiᶜ soldiers and officers enriched by service under the Qeᶜēṭī Government. Soldiers and officers of former Sultans have been rewarded with grants of land. Some of them have become men of means, and they have founded a whole colony of Yāfiᶜ here; they are under the obligation to give their help to the Sultan against his enemies in times of danger. The town, in which are some large, opulent-looking houses, lies close up against the rock-wall. We cannot stay too long on the roof, for, in so doing, we should oblige our host to stand with us in the burning heat of the sun. After Wādī ᶜAmd and the journey through plains of loam-hills and sand, and the halting places of Diyār Āl Buqrī and Hēnin, this first acquaintance with the real, true Ḥaḍramaut is certainly a great surprise. Wādī Dōᶜan was very beautiful, but this is grander and more spacious. Wādī Ḥaḍramaut reaches a breadth of five miles here.

000 We notice, when passing through the lower floors of the

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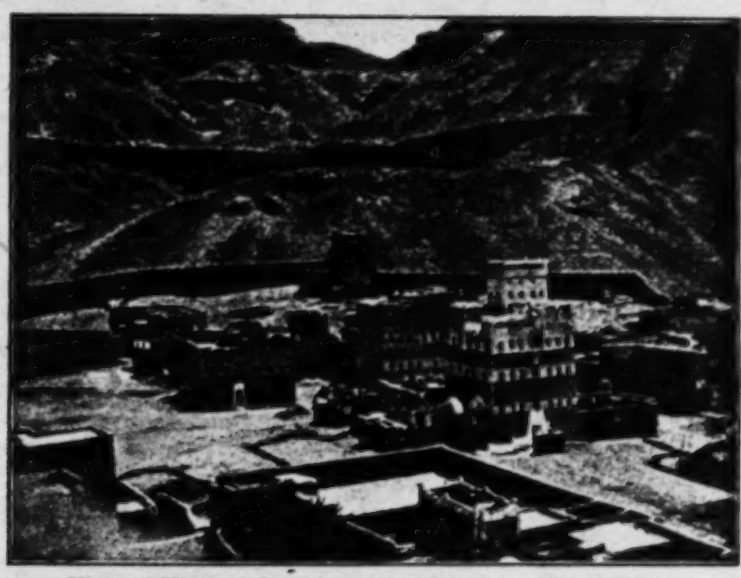
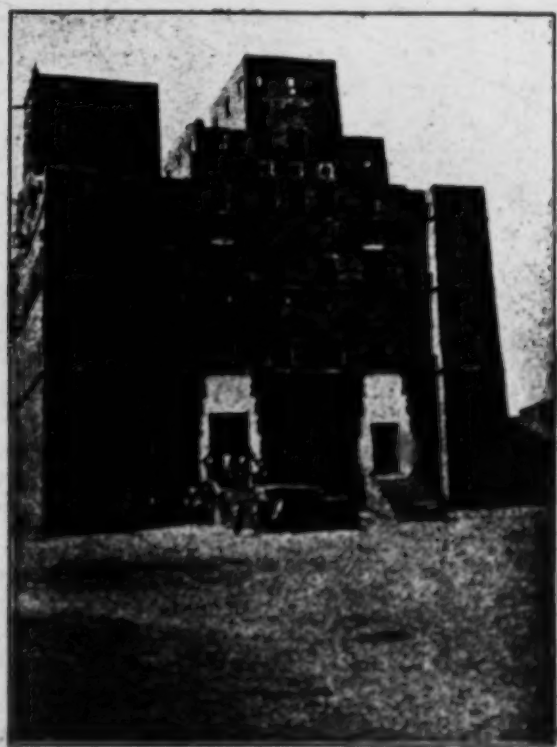


View of Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn from the roof of the Sultan's palace.



The Sultan's palace at el-Qaṭn p.112 (A)

●342

The Sultan's palace in Shibām.

p 112 (D)

See page 113.

## 4. A WONDERFUL RECEPTION IN THE GARDEN CITY SEḤĒL SHIBĀM.

491 The families of Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam are on the best of
493 friendly terms with the Sultan and arrange matters with him. A little later the great dark-red cars buzz through the gate and cross the *sēl*-bed in the direction of the palm-groves, called Seḥēl Shibām. Only in the last few years has the motor-car penetrated as far as Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has made this possible by the construction of motor roads. Motor-cars can, with great difficulty, be brought from the port of esh-Shiḥr to Terīm. The separate parts of the cars have to be transported on camels for a great part of the way.
562 From the road one can see very little of the palm-groves
529 and the summer pavilions in their midst; high mud walls shut
576 off the gardens from the gaze of passers-by. There is one exception to this, where the central point is formed by a new building in modern style. This is the club of the young men of Shibām; no women come here and so there is nothing to shut
312 off. A little further on the cars turn into the gateway that
342 gives entrance to the garden of the Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam.
177 This summer abode of their joint families is still uninhabited;
351 the time for moving from town to country has only just come. There is a well behind the house, from which oxen and donkeys draw up the water, clear as crystal, though tasting somewhat bitter. All around there are banana and papaya trees, pomegranate and lemon bushes as well as date-palms. The new summer pavilion is in the depths of the garden; our host has devoted his leisure to building it. It is a product of Ḥaḍramī imagination influenced by Singapore and Java. For the outer walls chaste, simple white has been abandoned and is replaced by soft green, rose and sky-blue. The great windows are framed by coloured ornamentation. Connected with the villa is a swimming-bath with a high parapet. One has a great longing for colour in this sunny land, where it is so lacking, and this fairy palace strikes a happy note among

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the grey-green tops of the date-palms with the unchanging yellow-brown rocks in the background. The contrast between this part of Ḥaḍramaut and the desert of burning loam and sand, which scorches up the small, dying villages, is certainly great. To our regret we are only able to make a short stay in this land of enchantment, as the Sultan expects us at the palace for the evening meal. Our hosts take us back to the town and ask the Sultan whether he is willing for us to stay with them in their garden villa for the night. Permission is given and the Sultan even promises to spend the next day with us there. We eat alone in the palace; the Sultan retires after inviting us to draw up to the dining mat and to fall to. Afterwards by moonlight we return to the garden. Tea and pomegranates are served on a terrace. The conversation, carried on in Malay, is not fatiguing; our hosts make us feel how welcome we are and how much they appreciate this break in their very monotonous existence. When we wish to bathe in the swimming-pool we are provided not only with spotlessly clean bathing-gear but also with combs and scent. The moon shines in calm, silent splendour on the dark crowns of the date-palms, the water is clear and lukewarm. We ask ourselves over and over again: "Is this real? Is this actually Ḥaḍramaut, the secluded, the fanatical, the poor?"

Sultan ʿAlī bin Ṣalāḥ came, as arranged, on the following morning. He at once made searching inquiries as to our further plan of travel. We are here on the farthermost limits of the Qeʿēṭī territory and naturally the question arises: "What will await us among the Āl Kathīr?" We told the Sultan that our experiences would determine our return route. We should now go first to see the famous Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm; if he approves and thinks it justifiable to take the risk, then I, at least, shall have to return by the shortest route, and that will be direct through the Ḥumūm territory to esh-Shiḥr. Sultan ʿAlī's advice is strongly against this, the road is dangerous and Sayyid Abū Bakr has only financial influence and no governmental authority. No, we must return to Shibām,

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186 about the land outside their own small territory. The Sultan knows neither Sēwūn nor Terīm; Hadjarēn was recognized by none of those present.

361 On this same day, before proceeding further, we return to
●342 Shibām to have a good look over this wonderful city. The streets form narrow, dark tunnels between high, grey houses built in rows. In the middle of the street there is a drain of masonry into which runs the dirty water from the houses, which splashes down into the street from many gutters made of the trunks of date-palms. Cats, donkeys and chickens are doing themselves well on the reeking brew. We are obliged to look upwards constantly to see wheth an evil-smelling rain is not beginning to spatter down from one of the gutters. The houses are five or six storeys high; only the top storey is whitewashed and that cannot be seen from the street. The mosques stand in the open spaces and look indeed like toys made of sugar amongst the many tall, gloomy houses surrounding them. In the bazaar streets is a great crowd of buyers and sellers. These latter have either miniature shops or booths on the streets. The doors and windows in the houses of the rich are of magnificently carved wood. The keyhole for the huge wooden keys, which with their many wooden pegs look like brushes, is close to the door, about 4½ feet from the ground, and is usually shut off by a little shutter, neatly decorated. The dim obscurity, the stifling heat and the extremely foul streets offer, of course, good conditions of existence for flies, mosquitoes and other spreaders of disease germs.

241 protecting baskets. Sēwūn is said to be the finest and largest town in Ḥaḍramaut. It well deserves its appellation "eṭ-Ṭawīla, [103] the Long", but it could also be called "the Clean" or "the ●342 Beautiful". The houses are lower and smaller and stand wider 361 apart than those of Shibām. Also dirty water and other iniquities do not simply rain down into the streets. They flow through open or covered gutters along the outer walls of the houses into closed-in cesspools of masonry. It is true, the streets are also narrow; our cars, from time to time, could only just pass through them, but there is plenty of light and no bad smells. At the gate of the massive palace of the Sultan we learn that the authorities are awaiting us in the summer residence ʿIzz ed-Dīn. Sēwūn and this garden city have quite grown into one; many of the wealthy families live in their garden palaces the whole year round. Passing through a gate in a mud wall we drive up a great courtyard which is flanked by a long white building, only one storey high. The tops of the palm-trees overhang the edge of the spacious roof-terrace, which for the greater part is carpeted and where the Sultans of Sēwūn and Terīm await us, surrounded by their counsellors.

## 2. THE SULTANS OF SĒWŪN AND TERĪM AND THEIR SURROUNDINGS.

643 ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn, is a short, thick-set man, with one eye, with which, however, he looks at his guests with double friendliness. His brother and his two little sons are also among the great gathering there assembled; likewise his nephew, the Sultan of Terīm, a tall, slim, very dark-complexioned young man, whose name is Muḥammad bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr. The Sultan of Terīm is generally in Sēwūn with his uncle; his small, graceful, white palace is almost opposite that of the latter; it is much more beautiful than the one in his official place of residence.

000 In the middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all

•342

A carved door in Shibām.

p 120 (D)

See page 118

middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all 342
sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One 167
can see that we are nearing Terīm with its refinements of 177
civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in 641
huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many 191
Ḥaḍramīs who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals [262]
served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of [144]
races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the 648
*ṣalāt* and by meals. As the Sultan[1] has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional 578
question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the 648
Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[1] ['Alī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin al-Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn -- Analist]

000 The heat of the sun drives us away, however, from our bare hillock, but the Sultan promises to give us the pleasure of another similar excursion in the evening. We shall meet again at lunch in the palace of the Sultan of Terim, who is to entertain us to-day.

353 It is exceedingly hot when, some hours later, we leave the
● 342 garden city and proceed to the palace. We are received in a broad corridor, the only place where there is some breeze and, thus, some degree of coolness. The corridor is spread with beautiful carpets; at one end is a table with chairs placed round it, at the other end cushions lie on the carpets. The reception begins on chairs, but that does not last long. We are soon all seated on the floor, leaning against the cushions as is the custom here. The meal is served in a hall where there are two rows of pillars. Long and strong supporting beams cannot be obtained here, where wood is scarce and short; thus all large rooms have pillars to support the roof construction. A long table-cloth is laid over the carpets in the middle
[177] of the room. Seated around it with their legs crossed under
[264] them the great company, with few words and in a rapid tempo, feast upon the excellently prepared Javanese "rice meal" (*rijsttafel*) laid before them.

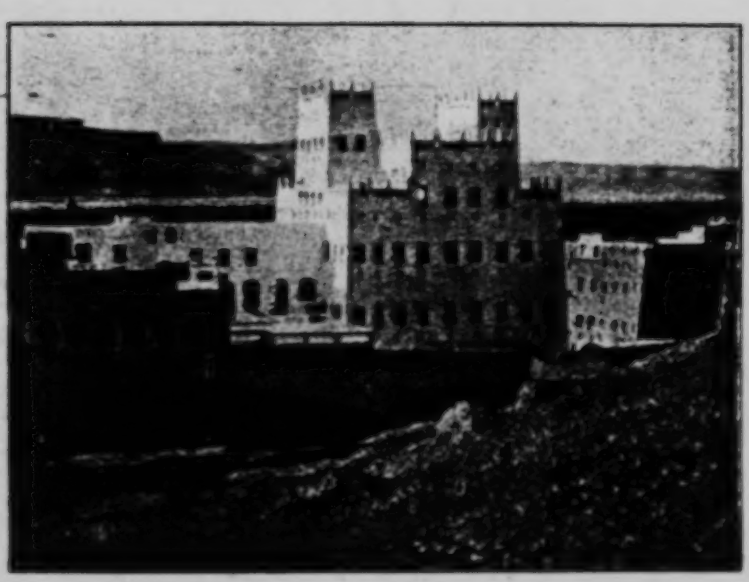
353 The mural decorations of the otherwise empty room consist of mirrors, old English prints, photographs of Java and Singapore and two large hanging clocks with musical chimes.

Tea is served in a small drawing-room with modern furniture. In Ḥaḍramaut, the new is less practical and less beautiful than the old and indigenous. It is so hot in here, with its coloured glass windows, that all are thankful when the meeting is adjourned.

508 In the afternoon the Sultan takes us by car to a broad plain
489 where the mountain-wall recedes. He would like to make an aerodrome here and wants therefore to have our opinion. The aeroplane would be an ideal means of transport for the whole of Arabia, and especially for Ḥaḍramaut. Not only are distances great, the communications difficult and whole stretches

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

342



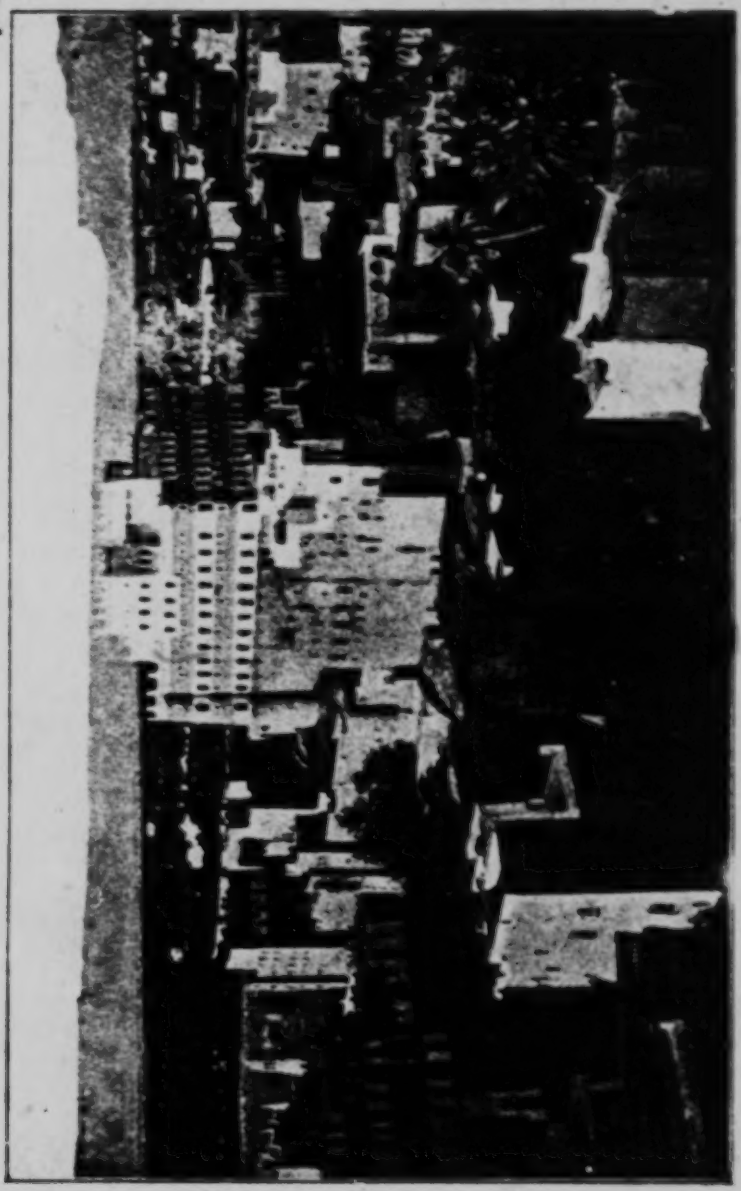
The white palace of the Sultan of Terim in the centre of Seiwun.

p 124 (A)

See page 124.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

●342



The Sultan's palace in Sewûn.

p124 (B)

493 the mountain road made by Sayyid el-Kāf. Some years ago,
491 when the motor-car was first introduced into Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm was at war with villages in the wādī, and this stretch across the plains was then, consequently, impassable. But Sayyid el-Kāf would not yield to any war whatever and, at great expense and effort, he made a road over the two rocky spurs which separate Terīm from Sēwūn.

491 The Sultan of Sēwūn was so proud of this piece of Ḥaḍramī engineering that he insisted on our following this route. It is very difficult for the drivers to cross the wādī at this point, to avoid hillocks and pitfalls, and to come out finally onto the beginning of the zigzag mountain road at the base of the rock. The road, narrow and very steep, goes up and up against the slopes of rock débris, and only short cars can manoeuvre the sharp corners. Half way up, the engines have to cool off and the drivers take a breathing-space, while we too need to recover from the tension! Descent on the other side of the steep ridge seems to be even more difficult than the ascent. Our drivers have to depend only on the brakes and do not seem able to lessen speed by letting the motor run on the lowest gear without giving gas. They do not trust our suggestions, and the brakes get hot so quickly that they have to be cooled with the water that we have brought with us in skins. The second spur of rock too is conquered without mishap; however, I preferred to make the descent on foot. It was indeed in this case quicker than in a car the brake-bands of which catch fire.

### 1. "TERĪM — AND THEN THOU DESIREST NOTHING ELSE".

361 We get the first view of Terīm from the second rocky ridge.
• 342 It lies in an absolutely barren stony plain. The cultivated tract of land is narrower than at Sēwūn and does not look so luxuriant and fertile, but the great number of large, square palaces is at once noticeable. They are not grey and white here as in Sēwūn, but of all manner of striking colours. One of

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



them is entirely blue and is, consequently, the most conspicuous; in others yellow or pink is predominant. A very high minaret, not round but square, and also plastered in a shade of blue, rises high above palm-groves and houses. Terîn, as a city, is a thing by itself. It is a town of many rich men: one can see that even from a distance.

The mountain path debouches into a plain covered with small boulders. A good road, apparently much used, runs right across the plain direct to the gate of Terîm. An evidently new mud wall, with gatehouses and defence turrets in good condition, encloses the town with its gardens and cemetery and runs high up the mountain-wall on either side. War is a familiar phenomenon round about Terîm, and the city is worth strong protection. Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf has organised the building and maintenance of the defence works of the town, and has borne the lion's share of the expense.

As soon as we have passed the gate, the road passes through a well-kept burial ground, where there are three *qubbas* in honour of holy men buried there [1], and also a small mosque. Then, through narrow, winding streets, we come to the house of the widely famed Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf. The house is large but has not yet been completed. We pass through a mud gateway into the garden, where masons are working with their building material of mud, where poor men are waiting for alms, where visitors come and go. We are conducted to the new wing, where, in the reception-room furnished in western style, we make acquaintance with our host and his habitual male entourage.

## 2. GOOD DAYS WITH SAYYID ABÛ BAKR EL-KÂF HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS.

Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf is of middle age; he is more simply dressed than his guests and relatives. He does not like coming

[1] Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Sa'd ḥa-Sawbaṭ, ein seltsamer Vali in Ḥadhramôt*, *op. cit.*, v., p. 403 sqq.

entrusted by his uncle Sayyid Abū Bakr with the carrying out of these aviation plans.

On the morning after our arrival we were, first of all, shown the so-called "wild cow" [1], a present to Sayyid Abū Bakr from some Bedouins who had caught it young on the border of the Rubᶜ el-Khālī (the "Empty Quarter"). The wild cow appears to be a white antelope with black marks and two very long, straight horns. The beautiful, big creature has already lived in captivity for twelve years and looks well on it, except that its hoofs, owing to lack of abrasion, have grown too long.

On the ground floor of Sayyid Abū Bakr's house, where he has his stables, we found some stones with inscriptions on them, brought by Bedouins from the ruins of Sūne. This drew our attention towards that district of ruins, and our host promised that he would organize an excursion for us there.

### 3. THE PALACES OF TERĪM.

Later we pay a visit to Sayyid ᶜUmar bin Shēkh el-Kāf, the younger brother of our host, already mentioned, whose house, just restored, is said to be the most beautiful in all Terīm, and that is saying a great deal in this city of palaces. His house is chiefly conspicuous for its dimensions and colour. The outside is painted deep blue, and the stately rows of tall windows are bordered with a design in yellow. There is, also, no sparing use of pink and green. The style is more Indian than Ḥaḍramī.

All the great houses of Terīm have a character quite of their own that one does not see in the other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. They are massive, square buildings, with regular rows of tall windows, with few extensions on the roofs and few decorative designs on the top of the walls or on the parapets. The lower floor, which is very lofty, has generally two wide, high entrances, closed by doors of teak, and with broad

[1] *Baqarat el-waḥsh* (بقرة الوحش).

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 mud steps leading up to them. Signs of intimate contact with foreign countries, Singapore as well as Java, may be noticed
439 both in the exteriors and interiors of these palaces. For instance, it appears to be the existing fashion to have the doors sent ready-made from Java and Singapore. Transport of these very heavy doors and window-frames is certainly expensive and difficult, for the strongest and largest camels have to be selected for it, but the supply of wood in Ḥaḍramaut is small and poor in quality and could not have provided for the many great new buildings of Terīm in so short a time.
[435] This extra expense is permissible because the rest of the
465 building costs in Ḥaḍramaut is small. Manual labour is very
331 cheap in this desperately poor and overpopulated country.
342 Even first-rate professional men, architects included, do not earn more than a very moderate daily wage. The chief building material is mud, which can be dug up everywhere close by the house that is to be built. As everything is covered with a plaster of mud, the most crooked branches of *nibq* and desert shrubs can be used for roof construction and similar details. The trunks of date-palms are chiefly in use for ceilings and supporting pillars. We only saw wooden pillars with wooden capitals and cross-beams in the very old, dilapidated castles; the carved, dark-brown wood found in these, with their ceilings of split and interwoven branches, painted in rust-red, white, and black, are certainly very beautiful; yet, owing to the scarcity of wood, one must make shift with the trunks of date-palms. Ceilings, pillars and cross-beams are nowadays covered with a plaster of mud, and this, again, is painted over in fresh, soft colours. The new buildings, consequently, make a gayer and lighter impression, both without and within, and they are more cleanly, but something of the old beauty has vanished. Present-day builders have become real masters in modelling mud and in whitewash work. Pillars made of palm-trunks are transformed by them, as if by magic, into vigorous-looking, round columns with fine capitals.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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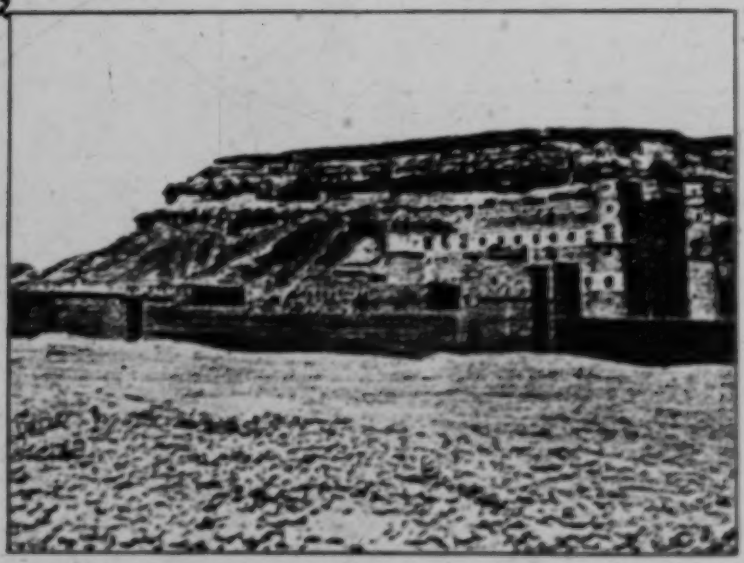
The palaces of Terim.

facing page 136

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

●342



The old castle of Qasam.

facing p 145

See page 150

24.Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



when the gate is pushed open and a group of soldiers rush out with their guns at the attack. Our people are petrified with fright and call out that we belong to the *Dōla* (the Government). Then the guns drop and the sound of a greeting reaches us, but our chauffeurs drive on as fast as possible, so as to escape from this hostile place.

We now enter the district belonging to the third party, with el-ʿUqda as its headquarters, where the rich Shēkh Sālim bin Djaʿfar bin Ṭālib lives. We are to pay a call upon him. He gave us a pressing invitation to do so on the outward journey, but, at that time, the Sultan of Shibām, who had undertaken our transport arrangements, gave orders to avoid the war zone. Shēkh Sālim is a Dutch subject; he possesses a great fortune, amassed in Surabaya, and was one of the well-known Ḥaḍramīs of that city.

The country round el-ʿUqda is a paradise of beauty. White and light-grey palaces, with rows of big windows and fine points and pinnacles along the edges of the roofs, are scattered among the plantations of young palm-trees. Behind this gay green and white colouring is the yellowish-brown of the rock. In the gardens are also many bushes of lemon and pomegranate and papayas. The buildings in which Shēkh Sālim lives are surrounded by a high wall, with a colossal wooden gate covered with sheet iron, which gives entrance to a courtyard. The outposts here have done their duty and given notive of our arrival, and the gate has been thrown wide open and Shēkh Sālim himself, surrounded by soldiers and children, stands there to give us welcome. The pro-Dutch sentiments of the grey-headed Shēkh are well known, and we have no need to doubt for one moment that our welcome here comes from the heart. Conversation is carried on in the Malay language, in compliment to the presence of a government official of Netherlands India. This creates an intimate atmosphere and offers the advantage that the soldiers and children cannot follow what is said. The great *madjlis* of this imposing building becomes speedily filled with a crowd of inter-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

•342

The beleaguered white castles of el-'Uqde.

facing p 193

24;Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 The way ran by the river all the time now, through an un-
361 interrupted grove of date-palms. At one time the path follows
511 the left bank, then at another the right. At regular intervals
241 we pass long, low dams made of boulders; these store up the water which is conducted through channels for the irrigation of the palm-gardens. The fringe of palm-trees is not, as a rule, wide and above it, against the rocky slopes, where no shade falls, villages swelter in the heat of the sun. They are always in a good strategic position, for this fertile Wādī Ḥadjr has been a much disputed territory until a short time ago. To this must be attributed the low degree of prosperity and the lack of intensive cultivation of all the arable land here. In this respect Wādī Dōʿan is on a much higher level.

361 After a few hours the wādī becomes narrower, the rocky
342 slopes approach the river, and the cultivated strips of land grow narrower and, at last, cease entirely. Our way goes over a plain strewn with sharp, reddish-brown stones, where lies the village of Ḥuṣn Maṣēneʿ, which consists entirely of houses with neither front nor back walls; they are like short tunnels of stone with their further end towards the rock-wall and their front facing the river. When we asked the reasons for this way of building we were told that they were poverty and the great heat; in this way advantage is taken of the breeze which blows through the tunnels. Its inhabitants belong to a kind of gypsy tribe living apart from other people. Further on they dwell in large villages of straw-huts; they are half-nomads and are despised by the settled inhabitants.

312 The wādī narrows until it becomes a rocky gorge through which the river flows underground. Its narrow bed is full of boulders; probably the *sēl* after rain rushes through here above ground as well. The path rises steeply up the rocky slope, and it is a real feat on the part of the camels to climb up, with their heavy loads, over the slippery boulders and then to descend again into the wādī where it widens out. Halfway through the gorge the river comes to the surface again, showing a beautiful greenish-blue colour.

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

342

Huṣn Miṣṣne', the gypsy village with the tunnel-shaped houses.

312

Our hot swimming-pool, past 'Aqabat Sifye.

facing p 232.

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM21 Remittances



457 of money from the Far East—the basis of Hadramaut's economy—began to arrive to a certain extent, at least from Singapore. From Java and the Dutch possessions there, is, however, little hope as yet of any but very limited sums being released.

### HOUSING

●342 The fixed population are housed for the main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees. The poorer sections live in mud-brick houses, one-storeyed stone huts and straw huts.

## Chapter 9: Law and Order

### JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts are of two kinds: (*a*) Shari'a Courts (which administers the Shari'a or Quranic Law), and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Shari'a Courts.

798 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate there has been a revival of religious intolerance. A most unfortunate development in Mukalla during the year was the formation of a religious committee whose activities have been something between those of a vigilance committee and the inquisition. It selects those whom it considers have committed offences against Islam, condemns them and sentences them. The local Government carries out its sentences and there is no appeal. This being a matter of religion, the [643] Resident Adviser has under the treaty no power to interfere. Hadramaut has never been the home of religious tolerance, but it was hoped that the fires of fanaticism were dying.

### GOVERNMENT GUARDS

*Strength*

704 The force of Government Guards operates in the Western Aden Protectorate. The most outstanding event for the Government Guards 712 in 1947 was the transfer of the Headquarters from the Hindu garden in Sheikh Othman to the Champion Lines, Khormaksar, in the early part of the year.

The task of adapting the camp to meet the needs of this force was not completed for several months, but in its present form provides ample living and store accommodation for the approved establishment which has now been brought up to full strength.

*Tribal Guards*

The arrival of the Depot Officer in May has permitted the calling in of Tribal Guard units for training in drill and musketry, and up to

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of 000
religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past 178
in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protec- 771
torate. Any development of education initiated by Government had
therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, 212
there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people 875
who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom
this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and
obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the
people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply
of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the
biggest problem in Protectorate education to-day.

## HEALTH

### *Western Aden Protectorate*

The development of the Protectorate Medical Service was rather 759
upset in the past three years by numerous changes of senior medical
staff. However, one advantage came from this, namely that in the
drawing up of a plan for future development, co-operative help and
advice was given by every doctor and nurse who ever worked in the
Protectorate.

At the beginning of the year, a three-month course was given for new
tribal dressers, who were posted to work under senior dressers in the
Protectorate.

It is estimated that in the course of the year 50,000 patients were 743
treated in the 18 dispensaries. Malaria, dysentery, schistosomiasis and 164
tuberculosis were the four most prevalent diseases. Obstetrical problems
and gynaecology offer a very large field for research. Owing to customs [562]
necessitating the seclusion of women any estimate of these problems is
pure conjecture. In spite of these restrictions, the Medical Officer
attended a great many during his visits, especially in Beihan at the very
edge of "the empty quarter" of Arabia. A number of those who other-
wise would never receive surgical treatment were flown down to the
hospital at Aden. Venereal disease was unfortunately on the increase in
Abyan, where crowds of people of all kinds came to find work in the
agricultural project there.

Many visits including some of several days duration were paid by
the Medical Officer to the various dispensaries in the Protectorate during
which between 4,000 and 5,000 selected patients were treated. Besides
those patients who found their own way down to hospital in Aden,
150 or more were brought down on the Protectorate Medical Officer's
recommendation.

## HOUSING

The settled Western Aden Protectorate population is housed for the 342
main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under
camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm
huts, and even under matting placed over
vegetation or trees.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



A case of smallpox in Audhali area was immediately and effectively dealt with by Dr. Affara, also from the Keith Falconer Scottish Mission Hospital, and 4,500 people were vaccinated. 744 751

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

In the Eastern Protectorate, advances in medical and public health services were retarded in early 1949 by lack of staff. It was not until late in 1950 that the staff situation was relieved by the arrival of a medical officer from India for the Kathiri State and of a German lady doctor from Germany for Shibam. 744

With the obvious exception of cases of scurvy and malnutrition during the famine of 1949, there was a very mild outbreak of small-pox in Mukalla in February and March, 1949, and sporadic outbreaks of malaria in particular in the coastal areas, and the health of the population has been reasonably good in the past two years. [164]

Stringent and vigorous anti-malarial measures were started in January, 1950. All pools, including the source of water supply in the vicinity of Mukalla and Shihr were oiled or stocked with larvae-consuming fish, and water collecting tanks were closed and cleaned out weekly.

An additional sanitary inspector in Mukalla was appointed during 1950.

In October, 1950, Dr. R. B. Smith, Acting Protectorate Medical Officer, was invited to visit Eastern Aden Protectorate and his recommendations on the best methods of improving and safe-guarding public health are being implemented.

In November, 1950, four soldiers of the Mukalla Regular Army and two of the Kathiri Armed Constabulary proceeded to the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital, Sheikh Othman, on an anti-malarial course for three months. 744 759

## HOUSING

No greater contrast could be imagined than exists in the houses of the Aden Protectorate. 342

The most elementary are the goat-hair tents of the nomadic people, and the even more primitive shelters of some shepherds, consisting only of a mat hung on poles, or spread over a branch of a bush.

The simplest form of house for the settled population, or those who stay for some period in a place to work at harvest time, is a kind of inverted nest of brush-wood, with a little matting incorporated in places. This provides privacy and shelter from the sun, though not of course from rain if it falls, or from the all-pervading dust storms.

The most common type of permanent house is built of mud-brick in the plains and rough stones bound with mud in the hill districts, and more rarely of squared stones. Rooms are generally small (long timber being very scarce) and dark, affording a relief from the glare outside; ventilation is usually adequate and the thick walls provide

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



342 insulation against the heat. Roofs are universally flat, and used for the recreation of the women, who keep purdah, and for sleeping in the summer.

342 The farm-house of the tribesmen is little removed from its earlier function of a fort, and even in large towns it is unusual for the ground
531 floor (often used as a stable) to have more than loop-holes, windows being reserved for the upper storeys. But the upper part of a house is frequently decorated with whitewash, and in some cases most intricate and delicate patterns are created in plaster-work and whitewash, occasionally touched with blue or other colours. Sanitation is primitive.

342 The cities of the Hadhramaut have tall mud-brick buildings, nearly every house in Shibam is from five to seven storeys high, and the wealthy Seiyids and Sultans live in veritable palaces which are remarkable not only for their size and cost but for their taste and beauty.

# Chapter 9: Law and Order

## JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (*a*) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts.

625 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate security is primarily a responsibility of the states themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces.

## PRISONS

697 There is no recognised prison service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of states have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff in controlled areas.

625 WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE SECURITY FORCES

*Government Guards*

The establishment was as follows:

| *British Officers* | *Arab Officers* | *Other Ranks* | *Specialists, etc.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 18 | 582 | 82 |

Posts were maintained in the Dhala district at Dhala, Safra, Jabel, Jihaf, Lazaric and Awabil; in Abyan district at Ja'ar (Khanfar), El Husn, Ba Teis and Hitat; in Ahwar district at Ahwar and El Oqma; in Beihan at Beihan, El Ain, Asailan, Najd Maizar and Najd Merqad; in Dathina district at Am Surra, Mudia, Am Khudeira and Am Quleita; at Thumeir in the Quteibi area and at Mahfad and El Irq in the Manqas district.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Staff Institutions and Development*

Health Service staff, expenditure on health, and the number of hospitals and health units are shown in the appendix to this chapter. 000

Preventive measures are being more widely used. Prominence in malaria control is given to residual spraying of habitations with water dispersible BHC and, in prevention of bowel infections, to waste matter disposal and rebuilding of privies. Propaganda is also being increasingly used. 744

Research has been limited to finding out certain local food values and the distribution of certain vectors of disease. *Bulinus* and *Planorbis* foci are being searched for and plotted. Important mosquito species are *A. gambiae* on the littoral and *A. sergenti* in the highlands. *Aedes aegypti* is found widely distributed.

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The cities of the Hadhramaut have tall mud-brick buildings; nearly every house in Shibam is from five to seven storeys high; and the wealthy Seiyids and Sultans live in veritable palaces which are remarkable not only for their size and cost but for their taste and beauty.

A 342 of size and construction, the houses usually have flat roofs, which can be utilized during the summer months for sleeping purposes. The increase in population within recent years has led to the growth of settlements of *hatche* huts, made of reeds, palm leaves or corrugated iron, in the outlying districts. A 361 Some of the laborers employed in handling 362 cargo or coal are quartered in barracks, but 511 many live in crude hut settlements in which the sanitary conditions are a menace to both townships. Slum clearance was started in 1943, and housing programs have since been undertaken in Crater and Sheikh Othman. They are financed by the Colonial government and subsidized by grants from the British Colonial Development and Welfare funds.

H 342 Stone, mud brick and brushwood are uti- 361 lized for building purposes in the Protectorate. The type of housing and the character of the villages in different areas are governed by the materials available and the need for making them defensible. Walled settlements predominate, but scattered dwellings surrounded by brushwood stockades are frequent in Western Aden Protectorate. In the towns the larger houses of stone or mud brick have from 3 to 6 H stories, with accommodations for the live- 342 stock on the ground floor. In contrast with 511 the elaborate dwellings of the wealthy, the 361 homes of the tribesmen are small and rarely of more than one story. They are typically overcrowded, dark and insanitary, while the animals are often kept in close association with the family. The Bedouin in the interior use the traditional camel-hair tents, but the nomadic tribes and fisherfolk near the coast live in huts of straw, thatched palm or matting.

## ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

### Water Supplies

A 512 Water is usually scarce, except in parts of the western highlands which benefit from a heavier rainfall. The main water supply for Aden Colony is derived from 10 deep

p. 240 (6)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



565 792

though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

565 619

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

565 465 [651]

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

567

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

484 167

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathîri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

## Domestic Life and Appliances

342

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



sun-dried brick on a foundation of one or two stories of hewn stone, clay being used instead of mortar. The upper storeys are usually whitewashed on the exterior, and this practice gives the towns a striking and bright appearance when seen from a distance. The house is usually approached through a courtyard surrounded by a wall six feet or so in height. The entrance door is often very solid and ornamented with carvings in arabesque, or with iron nails or polished brass, and it usually carries a knocker. The door leads into a passage, with cellars and storerooms to right and left, and conducts to a courtyard at the back around which are the kitchen and other domestic offices; in the case of the larger houses, a private well is found here. 342

The building narrows and the walls become thinner at each succeeding storey; there is usually a balcony to each floor, on the right and left, surrounded by a low wall of masonry, but rarely covered in as is usual in most Mohammedan countries. The living and sleeping rooms of the upper storeys all have many windows, unglazed, but invariably shuttered. Fireplaces are unknown; when the weather is cold, the rooms are heated by a brazier of burning wood around which the occupants sit; wood which gives off as little smoke as possible is burnt, and what smoke there is escapes by the windows. All doors are closed from the inside by rough locks of wood or, very exceptionally, of iron. The main doorway is closed by a huge wooden latch which can be raised by a cord leading to the story above, thus obviating the necessity of going downstairs to open it. The houses of the lower classes differ but little from those of most parts of Arabia. The Bedouins shelter themselves in caves or huts of clay; tents are never used by them as in most other parts of Arabia owing to the violent storms and general uncertainty of the weather prevalent at some seasons. 342 354 414 342

The so-called castles of the Hadhramaut are constructed in much the same fashion as the houses, only on a larger scale, some of them being of vast size and not infrequently covering an acre or more of ground. They have at the angles fortified towers (often furnished with antiquated mortars), either square or round, similar to those of mediaeval castles in Europe, and above the uppermost floor smaller square loopholed watch-towers or look-outs. There are often smaller isolated towers (*kūt*), little constructions of one or two floors, occupied by the guard. A raised terrace generally extends the whole length of the front of the building.

All the houses, even those of the rich, are furnished most sparely and simply. It is usual to sit on the floor, which is covered with 352

4: Ingrams G-3 (no date) 1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



313 camels. The difficulty is being got over to some extent by experiments in
333 making reinforced-concrete pillars, of which we saw two in construction at
353 Seyyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seyyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, consist of a lime plaster polished by smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

861 Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in
342½ the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area five hundred houses built on
485 a slight eminence in the wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud-built construction with a whitewashed top
625 storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town, and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild.
344 The area of land required to build a house 45 *dhirras* in width by 35 in depth (1 *dhirra*, or cubit, equals 1·5 foot) will cost 10,000 dollars, and having acquired the land the prospective builder will have to submit the specifications of his house for the approval of a committee of the townspeople who consider the position of windows and of gutters carrying water to the street. Subsequent alterations to a house must also be similarly approved. By general consent houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high, in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this house, which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars.

333 The foundations are dug 2 *dhirras* deep below the surface of the earth and
342 3 *dhirras* wide. Stones are used for the foundation mortared together with a mixture of wood ash and lime. In places where there is any doubt as to the solidity of the ground on which the house is to stand long pieces of *'elb* wood are laid in pairs lengthwise in the foundations. Wood for this purpose must be cut in the winter; if this is done it is said never to rot. The stone foundation or *sâs* is continued for 2 *dhirras* above the level of the ground. When the building operations have reached this stage a foundation sacrifice of a goat or sheep is made on the walls. The house is centred round a solid pillar built on the same foundation as the walls. For a house of the dimensions proposed this pillar or *'arus el beit* will be 3½ by 3 *dhirras* wide and of the same thickness from top to bottom. The stairs of the house invariably go up round the *'arus*. The bricks are made of clay mixed with straw, the standard size being 1¼ *dhirras* in length by ⅔ in breadth by 4 *banan* or fingers' widths in thickness. When the clay of the required consistency and thickness for making the bricks has been laid out they are cut out by a wooden frame which makes two bricks
[435] at a time. The bricks cost five dollars a thousand.

The thickness of the walls of the first storey is 1⅞ *dhirras*, of the second 1½, of the third 1¼, of the fourth 1 *dhirra*, of the fifth ¾, of the sixth ⅝, and of the seventh ½ a *dhirra*. The bricks are mortared together with wet clay. As *'elb* wood grows to no great length the size of the room is determined to some
[435] extent by the length of the pieces available as girders. The girders are usually very short and supported by carved pillars each costing about twenty dollars.

133

FIG. 5—Seiyun, looking southwards up the Wadi Hadhramaut toward Shibam (see Fig. 6). The large white building with a dark oval in the foreground is the madrasah with swimming pool shown in Figure 10. The magnificent palace of the Sultan (Fig. 8) is below and to the right of the rocky promontory against which the town lies. The upper right-hand margin of the photograph shows the dissected plateau in the direction of the Rub' al Khali desert about ten miles to the north.

● 344

FIG. 8—Palace of the Sultan in Seiyun. This beautiful building dominates the central plain and is among the most pretentious to be found in the Hadhramaut.

P. 636

34:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 M042 Hadhramaut M042



387 is only a narrow one, is broken in some places by breaches
136 through which at high tide the sea water streams. These gaps
487 have doubtless been made by the rainfall from the mountains farther inland seaking an outlet to the sea. Close by esh-Shiḥr coral rocks jut out above the level of the sand, and the passage there is narrow and vanishes completely when the tide is at flood.

361 Esh-Shiḥr lies on a wide flat sea coast, which slopes only very gradually so that steamers have to anchor far out at sea. At the moment several sambooks are lying there and fishermen are plying their trade till far away to the horizon. The track runs through deep, loose sand from the beach to the gate, which is new, but lacking in taste architecturally. The wall is also new and is strengthened on the inner side with buttresses of mud bricks, but the garment is too large for what it has to cover, and a half-dead town is pining away within the walls. Many blocks of houses are uninhabited, some have even fallen in. One crosses great open spaces on the way from the west to the east gate. The streets are dirty and even the inhabited houses have a neglected look. Over the whole town, and stronger even than the sewage smell of the streets, hangs
● 314 the stench of drying, half-decayed fish. The Government
361 buildings are in a square situated in the western part of the town. The castle stands on a sandy eminence by the sea; the
346 building has just been restored and, with its simple, strong lines makes a good impression. The bottom floor is being used temporarily as a school for three to four hundred boys. On the hill near the fortress some old, big cannon are lying, and a solitary signal-mast stands there. The Governor's house, a large, tall, well-constructed building, whose many roof-terraces are well suited to the sweltering, damp climate of esh-Shiḥr, stands on the land side of the square. The Governor is not at home, for we have met him on the beach in his fine, American motor-car. He looks Indian, and too modern for his town, nearly cut off as it is from the outside world and still dreaming of former glories. At one time, esh-Shiḥr was larger

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)2932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



than Makalla and was, indeed, an important trading centre before that city even existed.[1]

Under the east wall there is a large open plain, over which the cemetery extends, with some *qubbas*[2] and many mosques at the edge of it. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terim has, close to it, a large piece of ground, where he has built a palatial guest-house for relations and friends travelling to and fro between Java and Terim via esh-Shiḥr. El-Kāf is busy constructing a motor road from Terim to esh-Shiḥr, which is complete but for the last stretch as far as the coast, a matter of three days by camel. If this junction can be effected, in spite of the aversion to it of the warlike Ḥumūmī Bedouins, through whose territory it passes for the greater part, then perhaps esh-Shiḥr will grow again to fit into her walls.

Before we left the town we made another call on the Governor in charge, who, with the help of the tax-farmer, a well-educated Indian, gave us a hearty, friendly reception. We were conducted past a strong guard of soldiers to an old-fashioned *madjlis*, where the shutters of the windows and the wooden supporting pillars were beautifully carved, and the ceiling painted white, red and black. With grateful relish we partook of tea and a great variety of sweets and of fresh and tinned fruits.

The population of esh-Shiḥr is officially estimated at 9000. It did not seem to us that it could be more than 6000. Yet, as the Westerner does not get to know how densely peopled the big Arabian houses are, our calculations remain fairly uncertain. The town has 36 mosques.

We were compelled to beat a hasty retreat before the rising tide. For safety's sake we were given an extra Ford car and some soldiers. The coral rocks were still just passable, but we stuck in the bed of the wādī. Finally, after much delay and much fruitless exertion, we got free, but there was no time left for the promised meal with our host of Sheḥēr, who

[1] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *al-Shiḥr*.

[2] *Qubba* (قبة), is a dome, a cupola, or a cupola-shaped building.

Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



792 582 423 tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

792 778 346 The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

778 651 423 792 794 Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

792 778 In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We [776] must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

792 [622] 778 796 782 All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

every year pilgrims assemble there from all those regions, and both before and after that a Truce of God prevails during an appointed period, in this country which is rent asunder by mutual warfare. Never before had a Christian been able to get further than Terīm in the direction of this sanctuary, and without the protection and the planning of the powerful Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf we should not have succeeded. On the way to Qabr Hūd we passed the magnificent ruined castles of el-'Urr and Thōbe, and the remains of houses and a cemetery at Makēnun. Qabr Hūd seemed to be a silent and defunct little town, with great houses which are only occupied for three days in a year. In the bed of the *wādī* there appeared to be water here, but before it reaches the sea it is said to disappear underground or else to dry up. The grave of Hūd, the great preacher of repentance in Hadramaut, is adorned with a dome which impresses one by its simplicity and beauty. The other sacred buildings are equally beautiful and are well kept. Where we had expected to find a Bedouin sanctuary which was neglected and primitive and surrounded by mud huts for the pilgrims, we found instead on the border of Arabia's "empty quarter," far away from the world, a sanctuary built and cared for with devotion and great talent.

We entered still further into the branch valley of Barhūt, and at the end of this *wādī* we saw at a height of about one hundred meters above the bottom of the valley the dark yawning chasm of the Bīr Barhūt, of which even the ancient geographers furnished descriptions, and definitely anticipated that there must be here the crater of a great volcano. After an investigation of two hours in the dark passages, arches and tunnels of Bīr Barhūt we were able to determine that we have here to deal with an ordinary limestone cave. Nowhere in this region did we see any trace of volcanic action. It was only in the broken ridge of mountains on the coast that we saw many traces of volcanic action. Further north the strata are horizontal; a layer of limestone about

539
533
621
224

b. Metre :

Perhaps ‖ — — ∪ | — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — فَاعِلْ مُسْتَفْعِلْ فَعُولْ

قَدْ قَنَصْنَا ٱلصَّيْدَ فِي رَبُوعَهْ [13]

شَيْخُنَا عَلِيْ بْنْ مُحَمَّدْ

« We have hunted the game in its lairs (or mountain-sides). Our šaiḫ is 'Alī bin Muḥammad. »

This tanṣūrah has no small interest when it is recalled that the ritual hunt played an important part in the pre-Islamic religion of this part of Arabia, especially the hunting of the ibex [14]. The first half-verse is commonly sung by all the quarters of Tarim, and is even used by the people of the ḥawṭah of Thibī not far away.

[792] Šaiḫ 'Alī bin Muḥammad is a saint of the Āl Ḫaṭīb family, known as Ṣāḥib al-Wi'il, i.e. « He of the Ibex ». Once, on the occasion of a feast, either the lesser or the greater 'Īd, he had no animal to slaughter by way of celebration, but on returning home from the mosque he found an ibex standing by his door. This was evidently a miracle performed on his behalf. Šaiḫ 'Alī is the patron saint

●[346 361] of al-Ḫilaif, and is buried in the cemetery of al-Furaiṭ [15]. The chief mosque of the quarter is Misdjid al-Wi'il, and at one time when, owing to the dissension between three sections of the Yāfi'ī rulers, Tarim was divided into three territories with three separate djāmi' mosques, the Misdjid al-Wi'il was used for the Friday prayer; this took place about a century ago.

No doubt this tanṣūrah would be used by parties of hunters returning from the ibex-hunt as I have described in the preface to my book on Ḥaḍramī popular verse.

3. Ḥārat al-Saḥīl

[792] The people of this quarter mention their saint, an 'Aidarūs saiyid
539 who is buried in Tāribah, but I have no further particulars about
621 their tanṣūrahs. They shout
533

[13] Variant شَمُّوبَهْ.

[14] Cf. A. Bertron, *The Ritual Hunt*, Le Muséon, LXI, 3-4, pp. 183-96.

[15] For this cemetery see *The Cemeteries of Tarim*, *op. cit.*

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314 the stench of drying, half-decayed fish. The Government
361 buildings are in a square situated in the western part of the town. The castle stands on a sandy eminence by the sea; the
● 346 building has just been restored and, with its simple, strong lines makes a good impression. The bottom floor is being used temporarily as a school for three to four hundred boys. On the hill near the fortress some old, big cannon are lying, and a solitary signal-mast stands there. The Governor's house, a large, tall, well-constructed building, whose many roof-terraces are well suited to the sweltering, damp climate of esh-Shiḥr, stands on the land side of the square. The Governor is not at home, for we have met him on the beach in his fine, American motor-car. He looks Indian, and too modern for his town, nearly cut off as it is from the outside world and still dreaming of former glories. At one time, esh-Shiḥr was larger

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than Makalla and was, indeed, an important trading centre before that city even existed.[1]

Under the east wall there is a large open plain, over which the cemetery extends, with some *qubbas*[2] and many mosques at the edge of it. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has, close to it, a large piece of ground, where he has built a palatial guest-house for relations and friends travelling to and fro between Java and Terīm via esh-Shiḥr. El-Kāf is busy constructing a motor road from Terīm to esh-Shiḥr, which is complete but for the last stretch as far as the coast, a matter of three days by camel. If this junction can be effected, in spite of the aversion to it of the warlike Ḥumūmī Bedouins, through whose territory it passes for the greater part, then perhaps esh-Shiḥr will grow again to fit into her walls.

Before we left the town we made another call on the Governor in charge, who, with the help of the tax-farmer, a well-educated Indian, gave us a hearty, friendly reception. We were conducted past a strong guard of soldiers to an old-fashioned *madjlis*, where the shutters of the windows and the wooden supporting pillars were beautifully carved, and the ceiling painted white, red and black. With grateful relish we partook of tea and a great variety of sweets and of fresh and tinned fruits.

The population of esh-Shiḥr is officially estimated at 9000. It did not seem to us that it could be more than 6000. Yet, as the Westerner does not get to know how densely peopled the big Arabian houses are, our calculations remain fairly uncertain. The town has 36 mosques.

We were compelled to beat a hasty retreat before the rising tide. For safety's sake we were given an extra Ford car and some soldiers. The coral rocks were still just passable, but we stuck in the bed of the wādī. Finally, after much delay and much fruitless exertion, we got free, but there was no time left for the promised meal with our host of Sheḥēr, who

[1] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *al-Shiḥr*.

[2] *Qubba* (قبة), is a dome, a cupola, or a cupola-shaped building.

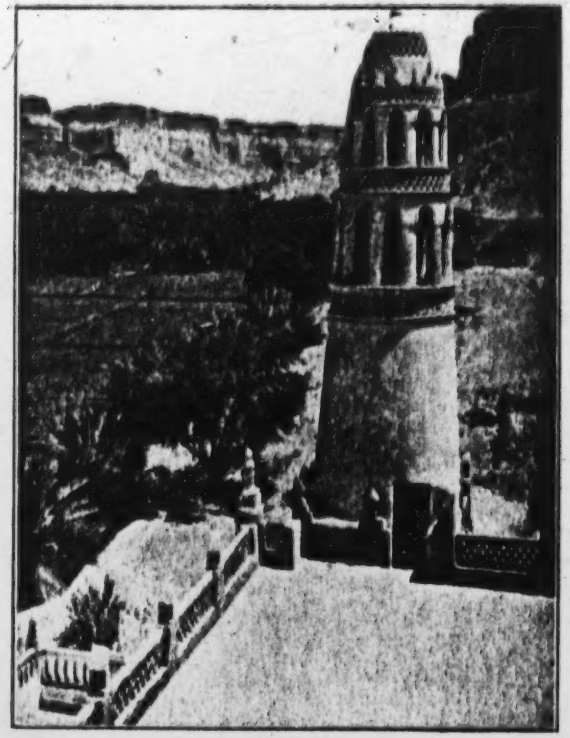
622 At the castle we found Bā Ṣurra again seated between two
628 sons, in the midst of his counsellors and the Bedouin chiefs;
162 there are also present some soldiers somewhat in the background, the grandsons and other offspring in our vicinity, and the slave who makes the tea.

The old *Ḥākim* and his family are photographed in a large group on the terrace close to the *madjlis*. Then begin long conversations in which our endless questions are patiently answered. Bā Ṣurra himself tells us that the whole of Wādī Dōʿan and its tributary, Wādī el-Ēsar, are under his jurisdiction. In about fifty villages there are 20.000 inhabi-
871 tants. There are only two small schools, both of them founded and maintained by that remarkable sayyid of Terīm, Abū Bakr bin Shēkh el-Kāf. It is certainly extraordinary that this leading personage of the Āl Kathīr district should be the founder and supporter of most of the schools in the territory of el-Qeʿēṭī. Many of the schools in Makalla and esh-Shiḥr are also due to el-Kāf's generosity. Khurēba, the old centre of Wādī Dōʿan, has a school with seventy to eighty pupils, and the other is in Qēdūn, with from twenty to fifty pupils.

● 346 There are in Bā Ṣurra's province nearly 200 mosques, some
167 among them very fine ones, which are often the property of
556 rich sayyids and connected with their houses. The fortunes of these rich men are always made in foreign lands. Every district of Ḥaḍramaut has its own particular countries to which its people emigrate in swarms to make money; from Wādī Dōʿan they go to Abyssinia, the coast towns of the Red Sea, and the coast of East Africa. Barely a hundred have gone out from here to Java, though from Wādī el-Ēsar, on the other hand, quite 500 have done so.

162 There are also 1500 Bedouins under Bā Ṣurra's jurisdiction,
622 among them the whole Sēbān tribe from the Qibla region (*i. e.* from the North). The chief of the Deyyin tribe, ʿUthmān bin Muḥammad el-ʿAmūdī, the ruler in Rēdet ed-Deyyin, is

The authors as the guests of Sayyid Muṣṭafā bin Aḥmad Āl el-Miḥḍār.



The mosque of the Āl el-Miḥḍār in Huwēbiya, Wādī Dō'an.

See pages [illegible] and 71.

[facing p 72]
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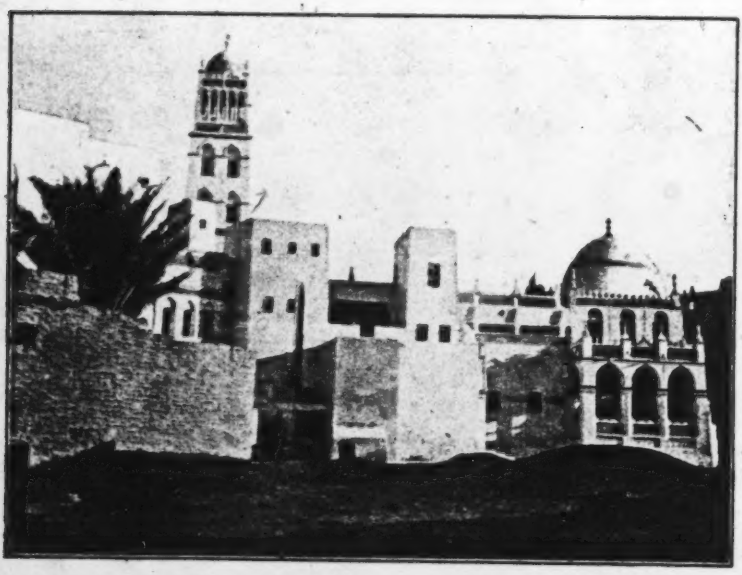

The principal mosque of Ḥurēḍa.

764

38. The cemetery of Ḥurēḍa.

p88(c)

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



of Ḥurēḍa. There are eight large, fine mosques in this little town of not more than 2000 inhabitants. Two of these are connected with excellent school-buildings, where the male youth of the place gets elementary instruction, followed by training in the recitation of the Koran and some dogmatical tuition. The mosques and schools have been erected at the expense of men of Ḥurēḍa who have become rich in foreign lands and who also supply the funds for their maintenance. The first mosque they showed us was the work of an Indian architect. To our great amazement we were invited to take off our shoes and to enter: this is the first occasion on Arabian soil that I have been permitted to enter a mosque. We hear criticism among many bystanders and murmurs of disapprobation, but our escort give but short replies to these and simply take us in with them. The great, open space in the centre is entirely paved, in places with Italian marble. Behind it there is a closed room where the *ṣalāt* is performed in winter. Behind that again is the space containing the tomb of the donor of the building. The coffin as well as the doors and beams are of beautifully carved *nibq* wood. This at least is true native art in this building of non-Arabian architecture. The tomb stands underneath a separate, cupola-shaped roof which is attached to the mosque. The donor's wish was that there should be a library and study for theological sciences above his grave: thus, under the cupola-roof and above the grave, there is a roomy, cool hall, where there are books indeed, but where students, however, are generally lacking! Nothing is omitted in our inspection. We are allowed to see the arrangements for performing the ablutions. We ascend to the minaret passing by two large, expensive English clocks. From the mosque a door gives access to the school, where there are at present no pupils, as it is holiday time on account of the date harvest.

We go on in procession to the second, older mosque of Ḥurēḍa built by a local architect and, thus, in the beautiful, severe Ḥaḍramī style. Then we go round the town to a lovely, brand-new mosque built for a plutocrat from Djohore, who is

going to erect a house for himself here and, in accordance 346
with the good custom, begins with the mosque. There are
some fine houses in Ḥurēḍa whose owners live in Djohore, 167
Singapore, or Java. The actual inhabitants seem to be very 511
poor. Outside the town there are some fine date-plantations,
it is true, but the total impression is one of decline. Everything
that is fine and prosperous owes its existence to money that is
earned abroad. The tie between a Ḥaḍramī and his birth-place [181]
is very close, and if he is doing well, he returns from time to
time, and when he sees the evening of his life approaching
he longs to spend it in the little mud town where he was born,
and, finally, to await the Day of Resurrection in Ḥaḍramī soil,
which for him is consecrated ground. This is why there are
here palaces and country-seats of sayyids and mighty castles
of sultans, whilst the Bedouins live in rock-caves or lean-to
shelters, always on the verge of starvation, and the home-
staying town-dweller does not rise beyond a very poverty-
stricken existence. We are only just at the portal of actual
Ḥaḍramaut and soon shall see contrasts so moving, that it will
sometimes be difficult to grasp the fact that we are in a real
world, and are not dreaming after reading a centuries-old story
from the "Arabian Nights".

### 3. THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE TOWN.

On May 21st we intended to see something of the surround- 000
ings of Ḥurēḍa. Therefore, we asked Sayyid ʿAlī, the Bedouin
member of the el-ʿAṭṭās family, to go with us. Most sayyids
are not to be tempted for walks in the country at this time of
the year! At the request of some of the notables we go to a
spring which flows from out the mountain-wall a mile south-
west of Ḥurēḍa, just at the spot where the limestone stratum
rests on sandstone. Enemy Bedouins are said to have stopped
up this spring, which formerly flowed much more copiously.
The foreigners, held to be so proficient in all technical matters [609]
must say how the spring is to be put right. If there were

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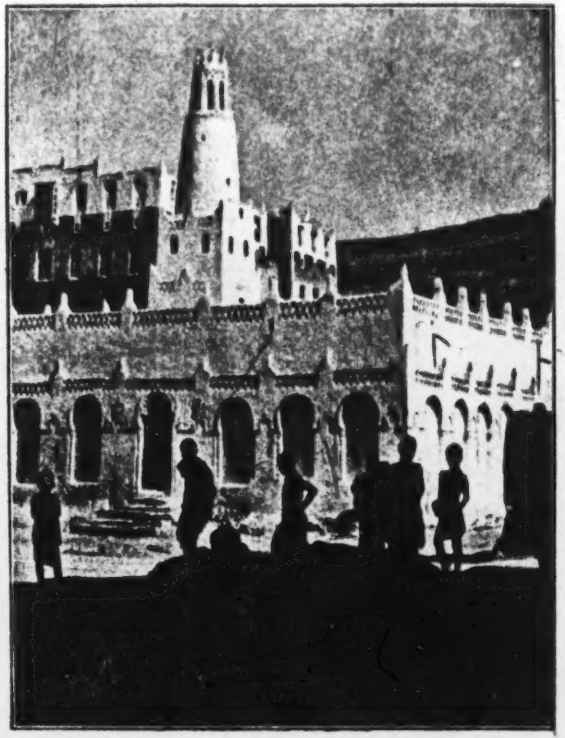
Street-scene in Shibām.



A gleaming-white mosque in gloomy Shibām.

See page 118.

p. 112 (c)
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714 fessional soldiers is much smaller here, and the black slave
411 element is entirely absent. The sayyids of Ḥaḍramaut them-
565 selves are not armed, but they set great store on the possession of a few good Mausers (here called *Mēser*) and of large quantities of munition.

## 4. THE HIGHEST MINARET OF HAḌRAMAUT.

346 In the afternoon, accompanied by our host's son and the doctor, we climb the highest minaret of Ḥaḍramaut. No one knows the exact height; we estimate it at 150 feet. It is a pity that this minaret is built in modern style. The true Ḥaḍramaut minaret is round, tapering a little towards the top, with a single band of lattice-work as the only decoration; on the top are small round pillars supporting the cupola. The colour, cream, stands out very effectively against a hard blue sky and above the grey-green of the date-palms. But *this* minaret is square and the colour is blue and white; it has many small window openings with grey borders. It also tapers towards the top, where the spiral staircase of mud is only practicable for slim people. At the top is again the little cupola with pillars supporting the roof.

361 A striking panorama is spread out from here before our eyes. Standing in the midst of the luscious, green oasis, with its gaily coloured palaces, we gaze out towards the wide, scorched plains of sand of the wādī and the dark, crumbled walls of the *djōl*. One can see clearly from here that Ṭerīm is a town of some extension, with many great houses of which the greater number are kept in good condition, and that many new ones are in process of building. The cemetery, with its three cupolas marking the graves of *walīs* (saints) [1], makes a large open space. There are many mosques, recognisable by their high or low, round or square minarets. The ruins of a great castle, the centre point of the old city, stand on a hill.

[1] See p. 131, foot-note.

753 and our doctor has had to adapt himself temporarily to it and
758 to fixed wishes regarding diet, in anticipation of the growth of better understanding and more trust. The result of his work as the first and only doctor in all Ḥaḍramaut is not as great as one would expect. Sayyid Abū Bakr himself is not yet sufficiently convinced of the value of western medical art to allow the never ending outlay on medicines and instruments for the expert help of the doctor. The first nurse in Terīm was an Arab from one of the African coast towns, who missed his cinema and café so much that he speedily fled from the place of banishment, to return to the towns where he could enjoy the blessings of western civilization. Thus the doctor has all the work again on his own hands.

743 An enormous mud building has been placed at his disposal. In it he lives, has his pharmacy, the polyclinic and the beginnings of an operating-room. Further, one of the young el-Kāfs, who was assistant to an Egyptian dentist who formerly worked here for some months, has a room where, equipped with modern instruments, he practises dentistry.

164 According to the doctor, Ḥaḍramaut seems to be a healthy country. Among the lower classes there is, however, a good deal of eye disease, and it is also true that malaria makes its appearance in the autumn. What will be the eventual outcome of this beginning of medical help will depend on the tact and devotion and staying-power of the young doctor.

312 After this we go with the doctor on a walking tour to see the sights of the town of Terīm. First of all, naturally, we visit the remains of old Terīm, on the borders of the residential area of the town; it consists of a bare low hill on whose top stand the ruins of the once great and mighty castle. There are always wells for drinking-water in castles of this kind. These wells are very deep as they are in the inner courtyard of the castles and are, consequently, dug from the summit of the hill. From this ruined castle one had a good view over
● 346 Terīm so rich in mosques, palaces and . . . graves. The popular report in Ḥaḍramaut is that the town possesses 360 mos-

ques. One of the el-Kāfs told us that there are 200 in use and 160 falling into disrepair. My friend Sayyid Hāshim makes it 60 in use and 300 falling into disrepair; this is, doubtless, nearer to the truth. 346

The number of the inhabitants of Terīm is almost certainly 12000, for our host has lists of names in connection with the distributions of food made by him to the masses. Sēwūn must then have rather more, that is, between 12000 and 15000. 162

There are two elementary schools here with about 400 pupils, and one school for more advanced religious instruction with some 200 students. 871

After the visit to the castle we go to New Terīm. There a completely new suburb is being built, partly for people who are in the service of the el-Kāfs. In none of the places that we had visited up to now was there so much life and expansion as here. In Terīm a conscious and well-considered effort is being made to become, within a short time, the foremost town of Ḥaḍramaut. El-Kāf and Terīm are the names that we heard everywhere whenever new undertakings or plans were under discussion. 361

We pass through the new suburb till we strike the wall of the city, which ascends the slope of the mountain at this spot until it becomes unclimbable. Two forts manned by soldiers strengthen this starting point of the defence works of the town. From their high position they overlook quite half of the well-maintained and solid wall which encloses the town and the palm-groves in straight lines. 712

It is Thursday, the day for the distribution of food to the poor. As we return home, the street and square before our host's house are black with women, children and greybeards, awaiting the portions of rice and flour that are destined for them. The work of distribution lasts for hours. Servants hand out the portions; others check and sign long lists of names. The soldiers and Bedouins from the Qeᶜēṭī territory who accompany us gaze in dumb amazement at this lavish charitableness. Soon when they return to their country, they will 735 554

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



preserved and cared for. The town with its solidly built, large houses looks well-kept and attractive. We had expected to see a great camp with tumble-down huts and certainly not a town with cupolas and mosques, with tall houses of many storeys with whitewashed roofs and high windows. In earlier times it was indeed different. Qabr Nebī Allāh Hūd has been the headquarters of a religious cult, belonging to and destined for Bedouins, dating from pre-Muḥammadan times. Wealth, amassed abroad, has been partly used to show gratitude to Allāh, the Giver. Thus, a full ten years ago, a rich member of the el-Kāf family left a large sum of money for the restoration of this sanctuary; only the cupola of the tomb is old, the other religious buildings being new. The tomb lies higher than the rest against the steep rock-wall. I will recall here the popular story of the Prophet Hūd, the man of God of pagan times, who called his people to repentance and conversion, yet, like many another prophet, was not honoured in his own country. He ended his earthly career in this place, hunted down by his enemies. Allāh opened the rock for him and his pursuers saw him no more. The faithful she-camel (the *nāqa*) that Hūd rode and the milk of which he drank died close by his master's grave. When Islām had penetrated into Ḥaḍramaut, the cult of the Prophet Hūd arose and the pilgrimage to his tomb was incorporated into that Faith.

Hūd must have been a very big man, for his grave is about 120 feet long. The *qubba* is built on the spot where his head is said to rest, the place where, also, the rock was cleft open. The building is in pure Ḥaḍramī style, simple and lovely. In the narrow ravine encircled by threatening, dark precipices and rude, brownish-black blocks of stone, this gay, white edifice with its beautiful simplicity and its sober ornamentation is like the voice of all that is finest and highest in man in a world of harshness and want. This voice, speaking in the eternal silence of this out-of-the-way, motionless corner of the world, is heard and understood even by us, the first Christian pilgrims from the West. We understand how the

Bedouin, calling himself a Muslim, yet still a heathen, approaches this spot with holy dread. Here, for three days, he knows peace with his fellows and brotherly intercourse; here fear is banished; here he stands, in very truth, on the threshold of holy ground. He, with his life's great need, approaches the miracle-working tomb of his Prophet like a hopeful and trustful child. He, or more often she, carries a wooden wedge and a coloured thread of wool with a little stone attached to it, lightly in the hand. The wedge has to be driven into the outer wall of the *qubba* or into the rounded border of stone, plastered with white, which marks the place where the body lies. It does not seem to be permitted to drive wedges into the inside of the cupola. The threads of wool are chewed into lumps and, well-moistened with saliva, are stuck on to the walls and ceiling. The walls are decorated in this way so profusely that they look as though hung with a many-coloured wall-paper or enriched with a gaily painted design.

We have approached the sanctuary warily and noiselessly. No one comes to forbid our entrance, so we venture to go in. Fortunately there is no one inside either. Below us, in the *nāqa* mosque, there are a few pilgrims, and if there are keepers of the buildings they will be with them teaching them how to recite the special prayers. The sound of litanies said in unison rises up to us; they are repeated with monotonous persistance and increasing urgency. In the *qubba* of Nebī Hūd we see, in the middle, a round piece of masonry like the base of a very thick pillar. It is built upon the protruding rock, which has a wide, deep fissure in it just here. This is the place where the rock, at Allāh's command, must have opened for His servant to enter and never closed again completely. The rock and, in particular, the edges of the cleft, are polished smooth by the thousands of hands that have stroked them gently in prayer and by the lips that have kissed this sacred spot. Verses from the Koran in which the Prophet Hūd is mentioned, or sayings of Muḥammad handed down by word of mouth, extolling the merits of the pilgrimage to the tomb of Hūd, are written here and there on the walls.

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The national sanctuary, the tomb of Allāh's Prophet Hūd.

p160 (B)

See page 158.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (193)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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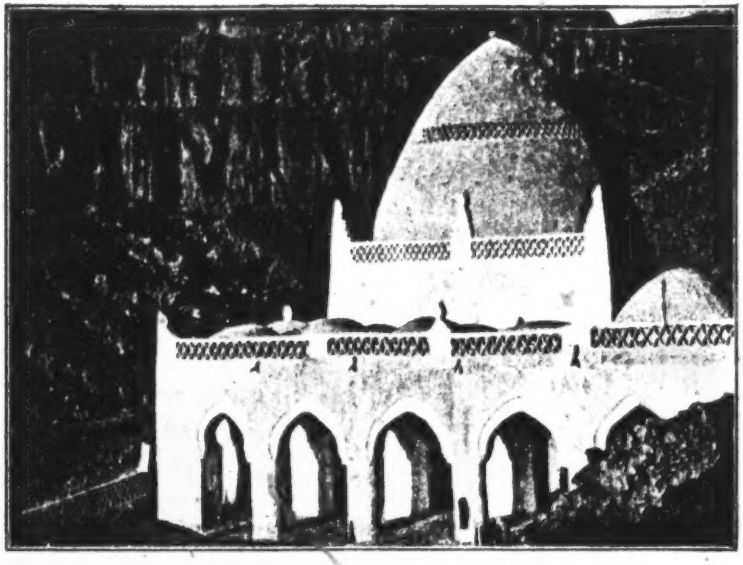
p 160 (D)



The heart's desire of every Ḥaḍramī, the cupola of Nebī Hūd.

See page 16n.

the tomb of Hūd, are written here and there on the walls. 000
The sun is sinking as we go from the pillared hall of the 346
cupola to the terrace built round it and look out over the long wādī through which we have come. There is water in the *sēl*-bed, which shines like gold in the light of the setting sun. The bushes and trees along its banks have taken on a violet colour. The shapes of the stern rock-walls are becoming blurred and have lost their look of sombre menace. This is the solemn moment when desert, *djōl* and wādī are movingly beautiful. The silence and infinity oppress, nevertheless, and man deeply realizes his littleness and finiteness.

We descend the steps to the silent town in the ravine. In 782
the mosque of the *nāqa*, between the white pillars, we 346
see pilgrims at prayer in rows, prostrating themselves and standing up again. Their prayer of supplication has a moving sound in the great silence of the evening. The mosque is quite new; a great block of rock which is said to be the petrified camel projects from the mountain-side above the building. A great white terrace, on which are straight rows of simple, round pillars supporting a flat roof, and a broad white stairway leading down to the town, complete a sober, beautiful whole.

We have been able to enter one of the great houses of the 000
el-Kāf family by a small backdoor. The rock-walls and the houses are radiating the heat that they have absorbed during the day; gusts of hot air pass from time to time through the ravine. We climb up to the roof-terrace. The caravan has arrived shortly before us and our companions have lain down to rest on the roof. No one has energy left to attend to us, no one provides for food or for drink, and yet we are dying of thirst and must have water. One of the Bedouins who followed the caravan is persuaded by the promise of a meal to go in search of water. The wells in the town do not supply good 812
drinking-water; the water in the wādī is bitter and is only drunk by the pilgrims, who also bathe in it, ascribing a purifying power to it, but there is a well with sweet water in
wādī Barhūt, at least half an hour's walk 11
from the town.

00 ans. The camp-beds which, from being small packages, became long, large objects drew from them a cry of amazement. When we undressed, the amazement frequently turned into great merriment. We hoped to put an end to the visitation by suddenly switching on the beams of an electric torch. Giggling and scrambling to hide behind each other they crept away, and for a moment we were anxious lest any one of them, in her fright, should jump off the roof. Before long the girls and young women were sitting hidden away behind the backs of the old ones and so they sustained the glare in their eyes and the roars of laughter of the men and boys. When I fell asleep the gossiping black figures were still sitting there.

511 On June 4th, we were awakened by the rising sun. All around is wrapped in slumber and the women have disappeared. I gaze out across the little wādī with its miserable hovels. On the sand around our house I see shapeless, black forms lying. Then one of them begins to stir and, drunk with sleep, a woman sits up. She gets up, totters, shakes some dust and sand off the black rags that she wraps round herself, and treads silently away to her hut to resume her monotonous life of poverty. Another soon follows and gradually one after the other vanishes. Here we had for a moment a glimpse of the grey poverty and the monotonous life of hunger in a village of this part of Ḥaḍramaut, where the inhabitants have been decimated and their energies sapped by war, the surviving men have fled from its misery to foreign lands, and the long-suffering Ḥaḍramī women, who never leave their country, alone remain. The world of women and of family life always remained a closed book to us.

## 10. A VISIT TO ʿENĀT.

361 The distance from Bā Ḥafār to Qasam is not great, and we
● 346 arrived in that dead little town quite early in the day, to
511 find the car promised by el-Kāf awaiting us. We drive then through the town, which is half in ruins; yet, a sayyid who

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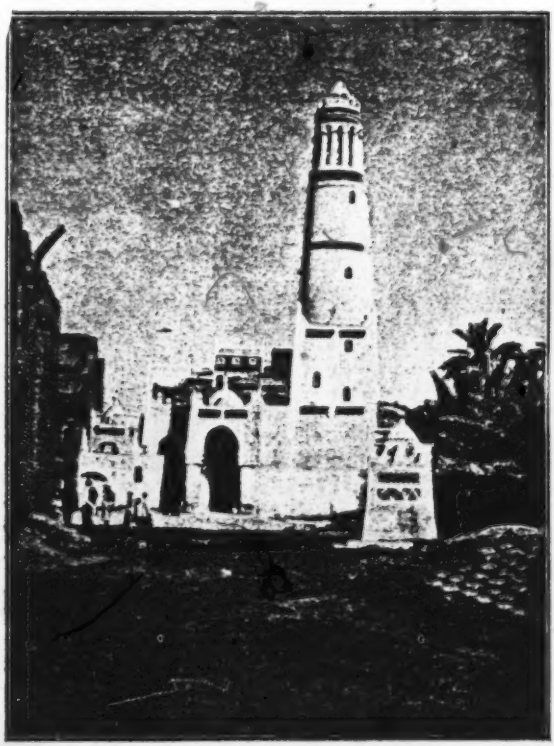

A mosque in 'Enāt.

facing p. 180

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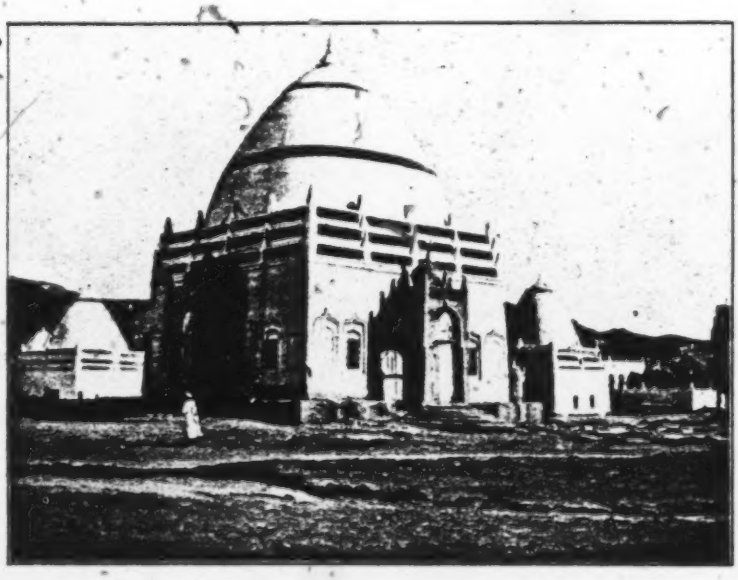

Some of the seven cupolas in memory of saints in 'Enāt.

facing p 181

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



has made his fortune abroad has built here a princely house for himself. He has, of course, not forgotten to render thanks to Allah at the same time by building a mosque, a glittering white masterpiece of Ḥaḍramī architecture. The contrast between the great wealth of many sayyids and the poverty of the great mass of the people does not seem to be poignantly felt here. The palaces of the rich stand right in the midst of dying towns; their children, frequently overdressed, play with the almost naked black children of slaves. The rich return of their own accord from lands of culture and prosperity to their own land of appalling poverty, to enjoy within its borders the wealth they have accumulated. Allah has willed that there be rich men in the world and poor men to whom they should be able to give alms. It is fit and proper that there should be beggars in every good Muslim society and especially a plentiful supply of them in places of pilgrimage, so that the pious may have ample opportunity to practise the generosity commanded by Allah. We have noticed little jealousy or class conflict in Ḥaḍramaut. This is certainly due partly to the democratic way of living. The privileges of the sayyid class have a religious and not a money basis. Soldiers, household slaves and the free citizens of the village meet in the *madjlis* of the rich and all eat there in company, drink from the same bowl and join in the same converse.

From Qasam we go by car along the high clay bank of the *masīla* (the bed of the wādī), which has been eroded by the *nuqra*. Having reached a point opposite ʿĒnāt we attempt to cross the wide sandy bed of the *masīla* to reach the town. The palm plantations have been growing progressively thinner and the soil here is entirely covered by a layer of sand. We stall constantly in this sand in the *masīla* and have difficulty in reaching ʿĒnāt, where everything speaks of vanished glory. The town is scattered over a wide area; great open spaces give one the impression that the population was formerly much larger than it is now. At one time many pilgrims were attracted here by the seven *qubbas* which adorn

G.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
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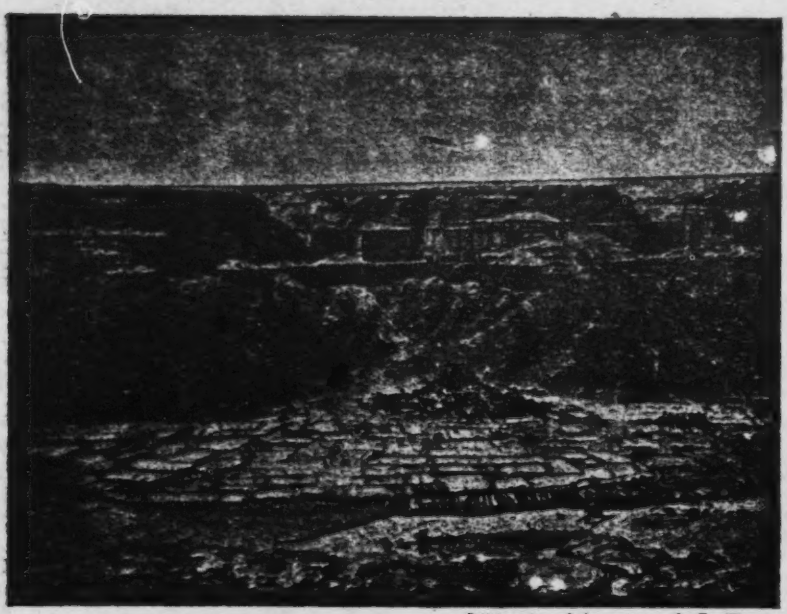

*With acknowledgments to A. R. Thomas*

WADI AMD, HADHRAMAUT

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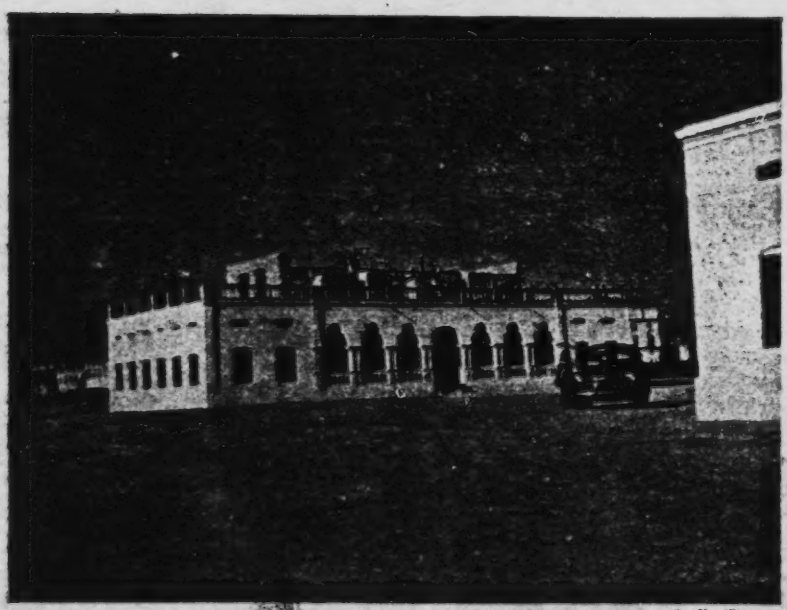

*With acknowledgments to A. R. Thomas*

NEW TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOL, GHEIL BA WAZIR,
ADEN PROTECTORATE

Facing P. 40 (B)

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



*Secondary and Higher Education*

There is no higher education and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come, but there is one teacher-training college at Gheil ba Wazir in the Eastern Protectorate. The new Aden College which is under construction in Sheikh Othman will provide full secondary education for Protectorate as well as Colony boys, having boarding facilities for the former. Teacher training will be an important part of its work. In the meantime it is necessary to send abroad selected scholars who have reached the required standard. There are at present 10 boys on scholarships in the Sudan, one of whom is at Gordon Memorial College, as well as some 20 boys from the Eastern Protectorate attending schools in Egypt, Iraq and Syria. 873

*Buildings*

The scheme for the building of some 11 primary schools in the Western Protectorate from the £16,000 Colonial Development and Welfare grant has been going ahead. There are now eight new schools and six more are nearing completion. 346

The building of new schools with Colonial Development and Welfare grants went on apace in the Eastern Protectorate. A new primary school at Hajr (Meifa) was completed, while the new Sai'un boys' school was almost ready at the end of 1950. The junior secondary school was completed at Gheil ba Wazir. New schools are being built at Shibam and Haura.

*Female Education*

There are eight primary schools for girls in the Protectorate with an attendance of just over 800 and a staff of 31. Of these one is in the Western Protectorate, the remainder in the Eastern. The school in the Western Protectorate was opened at Zinjibar in 1949, and marks a great advance in this territory where there was previously no education for girls. 872

*Literacy*

Measures to deal with adult illiteracy are extremely meagre. In the Eastern Protectorate they are confined to eleven classes which are conducted for members of the Quaiti State Forces and two for inmates of the Mukalla prison. 212 871

It is impossible to estimate the number of literates turned out by the small independent Quranic schools which exist throughout the Protectorates. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by Government or local government authorities was in the region of 6,500 in 1950; in 1939 it was not more than 100.

*Expenditure*

The total expenditure on education in the financial year 1949–50 was in the region of £38,937 comprising: 658 871

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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the interior Hadhramaut towns; and all the houses are gathered within the walls, since there is no security outside on account of the neighbourhood of the Kathīri. 361

(*b*) The principal towns of the Kathīri are the following:

5. **Seyyūn,** built on the slopes of Jebel Seyyūn, at the edge of a very extensive and fertile area, which stretches away to the lower ground of the wādi and is dominated by the castle of the ruling Sultan. The town is surrounded by walls of mud, embracing, within the enceinte, a great number of gardens; it is entered by a low gateway. The streets are broader and cleaner than most of the Hadhramaut towns; and the place has some pretensions to a drainage system, many of the houses having outlets for this purpose to walled pits.

Seyyūn is a town of many mosques, their number being reputed to exceed 300: the principal one, the Grand Mosque, stands on one side of the great square. The town is the intellectual centre of the Hadhramaut, the so-called Academy (*Ribāt*), an annexe of the grand mosque, being the place of assemblage of a great number of reputed savants. The market is said to be the busiest in the whole country, and is held in the square on Fridays at the termination of noon-day prayers, merchants coming to it from all parts. Hirsch, however, states that, when he was there (1893), 'there seemed to be but little trade carried on, and there were only a few stalls in the market'. The population is estimated at about 4,500. 346 [73] 443

The Seyyids of Seyyūn are very powerful and wealthy, and many of them have large castle-like houses. The palace of the ruling head of the Kathīri stands on an elevated site, and is surrounded by its own wall fortified with bastions and outstanding watch-towers. The main block of the palace is surmounted by three very conspicuous look-outs, the middle one being higher than the other two. The chief is reputed to have two or three field-pieces and some old cannon in his possession. 165 792

6. **Terīm,** some 19 miles NE. of Seyyūn, is a considerable and straggling town built along a mountain slope above a broad belt of cultivation and palm-groves which stretches away towards the east. Its population, according to Hirsch (probably the only European who has succeeded in visiting it, but who, owing to the hostility of the Seyyids, was obliged to return precipitately before he had very thoroughly explored it), was about 4,000 in 1893, and was declining. A low gate, with a large ruined fortress close by, gives entrance to the town on the Shibām side, and just within this is the main square, where the market is held: one side of the square is occupied by the principal mosque. It does not appear, however, 361

Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hill are terraced by the industrious inhabitants to grow crops and, in the higher altitudes, the excellent Mocha coffee for which Southern Arabia is famous. Villages appear in unexpected places, built of mud brick in the low country and of stone on the mountain-sides and hill-tops. Among these habitations are seen always the square towers, or *ḥars*, and the little mosques or whitewashed shrines that are characteristic of the Arab villages.

The aspect of the country varies in its different parts. Immediately to the north of Aden is the large and fertile oasis in which stands the capital of the Sultan of Lahej. It is irrigated from the bifurcation of the Wadi Tiban that brings water from the mountains and then disappears in the sands near Aden. To the east and west of Lahej are desert strips, but beyond are the Subeihi hills and valleys to the north-west, the rugged Haushabi country, and the pleasant district of Dhala in the Amiri highlands to the north, and the lofty mountains of Yafa to the north-east. Thence to the eastward a steep escarpment spans the country like a rampart and is crowned by the fertile Audhali plateau 7,000 feet above sea-level. Farther east, beyond another stretch of rough, mountainous country, is the fantastic and barren *jol*, reminiscent of pictures of the surface of the moon. To the north of this strange and desolate area, and in striking contrast to it, is the wide valley of the Hadhramaut, with its chain of towns and villages, its skyscrapers, country houses, palace and gardens. Beyond again, away to the north, lies the edge of the Rub' al Khali, the Empty Quarter, with its sea of tumbled terra-cotta coloured sand dunes stretching into the distant interior.

On the sea coast of the Protectorate there are at intervals fishing villages and little ports, and about 300 miles to the east of Aden stands the picturesque town and port of Mukalla, the capital of the Quaiti Sultan. Protected by a steep background of rock, its white houses cling to the shore, and its appearance from the sea is singularly attractive. The town of Shehr lies on the coast beyond it, and eastward again there are more coastal villages, of which Qishn, the capital of the mainland territory of the Sultan of Socotra, is the most important.

The large island of Socotra, situated about 500 miles to the east of Aden, forms part of the Protectorate. It, too, is a mountainous country, but, owing to its greater rainfall, it is much less bleak than the neighbouring mainland. It has a good deal of varied vegetation, and is noted for its so-called dragon's-blood tree, the sap of which is exported to India and elsewhere to make a rich purple dye. Socotra has also a

to this rich domain, lies at the edge of the plateau of coral 133
stone. As one approaches from the coast one barely sees the 361
gardens of palms; soon one finds oneself in front of a high, white wall, with a great, fortified gate, which, apparently, is kept closed even during the day. The traveller, as he waits, can only see, close to the wall and rising boldly up above it, the Sultan's massive palace which now serves as barracks for soldiers.

We were obliged to wait at a respectful distance from the 361
menacing, fortified gateway until our letter of introduction 249
had been taken to the palace, read and deemed satisfactory enough to admit us into the tobacco town. Ghēl Bā Wazīr, as a city, has not many beauties except for the large and ancient palace and a few mosques, and we were glad to accept the invitation of one of the authorities of the place to proceed at once to the gardens and to the Sultan's country-house in the cultivated district behind the town. We, therefore, drove without pausing through the place, which reeked of tobacco. The 361
valley side of the town, that is the north side, has less defences 249
than the south, whence start the great thoroughfares to 487
Makalla and esh-Shiḥr. Nowadays motor lorries convey the bales of tobacco, which are two yards long, from el-Ghēl to Makalla. Manure for the tobacco fields is brought from the coast on camels.

A richly cultivated area begins immediately behind the town. 249
The Sultan owns much tobacco-growing land, which is said 361
to be a great source of income to him. Close behind the town 342
are two gardens, in each of which is a newly-built summer 471
residence. We enter the first garden with the smaller house which is set aside for the use of the male members of the household. In the other garden is a much larger building for the wives and their female attendants.

The gate is immediately shut behind us, our following of 351
inquisitive youths remains outside, and we stand in the silence of the luxuriant garden, trying to accustom our eyes to the deep shade under the blossoming fruit-trees. It looks just as

351 if we had been transported bodily into a bit of the Indies. The fruit-trees best known in that country are represented here, and a sultry, moist heat permeates the shadows of this richly watered garden.

529 In front of the garden villa, built in a modern style, but not yet quite finished, is a cemented swimming-pool about 300 feet long and of the same width as the building. It joins onto the stairs of the terrace, and a trim rowing-boat lies motionless on the crystal clear water. To do us honour the basin has been filled by means of an engine-pump, and, although the water is warm, we show our appreciation at once by enjoying a bathe, and a row in the boat.

249 277 387 Our host, who is acting for the Sultan, is a tobacco-grower as well as an official. He says that the Ḥumūmī tobacco can only be grown here. They are trying to cultivate the same kind in Lahadj, behind Aden, and in the Yemen; as the climate and the soil are not similar the result is a product which in perfume and taste is inferior to that grown here. Cultivation in el-Ghēl is carried to a very high pitch of refinement. The tobacco-plants are manured three times: with guano, with fish, and with the dung of beasts and men. Pure water is used for irrigation, not too much and not too little. Each kind of dung is applied to the plant at the right time. The best guano comes from an island on the coast of Somaliland, for which the British authorities have given a concession. A second kind of guano is found on islands near Bīr ʿAlī, to the west of Makalla, and near Aden. The entire harvest of tobacco is exported to Egypt, and from there a part of it goes to Syria and to the countries on the Red Sea. The Ḥumūmī tobacco is broken up and cut into wide strips, and is smoked in water-pipes. The stalks can be used at the same time and for this reason the plants are dried whole, not the leaves alone. They are then bound into large bundles an packed into oblong bales, the weight of a camel's load, that is to say 300 lbs. The price of such a bale is nowadays 120 to 130 rupees.

1/4 [OF THE SULTAN AL GAZI BE WZIR -- MALKSI]

## 4. A WONDERFUL RECEPTION IN THE GARDEN CITY SEḤĒL SHIBĀM.

491 The families of Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam are on the best of
493 friendly terms with the Sultan and arrange matters with him. A little later the great dark-red cars buzz through the gate and cross the *sēl*-bed in the direction of the palm-groves, called Seḥēl Shibām. Only in the last few years has the motor-car penetrated as far as Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has made this possible by the construction of motor roads. Motor-cars can, with great difficulty, be brought from the port of esh-Shiḥr to Terīm. The separate parts of the cars have to be transported on camels for a great part of the way.
562 From the road one can see very little of the palm-groves
529 and the summer pavilions in their midst; high mud walls shut
576 off the gardens from the gaze of passers-by. There is one exception to this, where the central point is formed by a new building in modern style. This is the club of the young men of Shibām; no women come here and so there is nothing to shut
312 off. A little further on the cars turn into the gateway that
342 gives entrance to the garden of the Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam.
177 This summer abode of their joint families is still uninhabited;
● 351 the time for moving from town to country has only just come. There is a well behind the house, from which oxen and donkeys draw up the water, clear as crystal, though tasting somewhat bitter. All around there are banana and papaya trees, pomegranate and lemon bushes as well as date-palms. The new summer pavilion is in the depths of the garden; our host has devoted his leisure to building it. It is a product of Ḥaḍramī imagination influenced by Singapore and Java. For the outer walls chaste, simple white has been abandoned and is replaced by soft green, rose and sky-blue. The great windows are framed by coloured ornamentation. Connected with the villa is a swimming-bath with a high parapet. One has a great longing for colour in this sunny land, where it is so lacking, and this fairy palace strikes a happy note among

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the grey-green tops of the date-palms with the unchanging yellow-brown rocks in the background. The contrast between this part of Ḥaḍramaut and the desert of burning loam and sand, which scorches up the small, dying villages, is certainly great. To our regret we are only able to make a short stay in this land of enchantment, as the Sultan expects us at the palace for the evening meal. Our hosts take us back to the town and ask the Sultan whether he is willing for us to stay with them in their garden villa for the night. Permission is given and the Sultan even promises to spend the next day with us there. We eat alone in the palace; the Sultan retires after inviting us to draw up to the dining mat and to fall to. Afterwards by moonlight we return to the garden. Tea and pomegranates are served on a terrace. The conversation, carried on in Malay, is not fatiguing; our hosts make us feel how welcome we are and how much they appreciate this break in their very monotonous existence. When we wish to bathe in the swimming-pool we are provided not only with spotlessly clean bathing-gear but also with combs and scent. The moon shines in calm, silent splendour on the dark crowns of the date-palms, the water is clear and lukewarm. We ask ourselves over and over again: "Is this real? Is this actually Ḥaḍramaut, the secluded, the fanatical, the poor?"

Sultan ʿAlī bin Ṣalāḥ came, as arranged, on the following morning. He at once made searching inquiries as to our further plan of travel. We are here on the farthermost limits of the Qeʿēṭī territory and naturally the question arises: "What will await us among the Āl Kathīr?" We told the Sultan that our experiences would determine our return route. We should now go first to see the famous Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm; if he approves and thinks it justifiable to take the risk, then I, at least, shall have to return by the shortest route, and that will be direct through the Ḥumūm territory to esh-Shiḥr. Sultan ʿAlī's advice is strongly against this, the road is dangerous and Sayyid Abū Bakr has only financial influence and no governmental authority. No, we must return to Shibām,

bricks. The cost of building the house in which we stayed in Tarim was $60,000. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice-plants, and European modern conveniences in the bathrooms, wash-basins with running water and shower-baths. Whereas in Du'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found, these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Large and comfortable chairs and sofas decorate the drawing-rooms, and there are English carpets, masses of gilt mirrors, chandeliers and glass cupboards full of marmalade dishes, egg-cups and so on. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel-back over the mountains for six days.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of procuring long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree grows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees (*Conocarpus erectus*, Jacq.) growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseila, they cannot be transported by camels. The difficulty is being surmounted to some extent by experiments in the making of reinforced concrete pillars of which I saw two in construction at Seiyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seiyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, are covered with a lime plaster polished with smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area 500 houses built on a slight eminence in the Wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. By general consent, houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher, but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this type of house which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together. The life of a house is said to be 200 to 250 years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done, the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits, necessitating demolition.

370

# HOUSE BUILDING IN THE HADHRAMAUT

W. H. INGRAMS

342 361 363 DURING a recent tour in the Hadhramaut my wife and I collected some notes on the building of houses. Each town in the country has its own individual characteristics. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type, built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Makalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not 6 feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces.

361 342 353 In the Wadi Do'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Do'an houses the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb* [1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, 2 inches across the heads, burnished with lead, which shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development of Do'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring-bone pattern.

361 342 177 352 492 493 In Terim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice plants, and modern European conveniences in the bathrooms. Whereas in Do'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel back over the mountains for six days, and while I mention this it is worth recording that there are sixty cars in Terim itself, each of which has been transported in parts by twelve camels from the coast.

313 333 353 The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seyyids of Terim and Seyyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of getting long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree trows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseilah, they cannot [illegible]nsported by

[1] The commoner Arabic name is *sidr*, *Rhamnus nab*[illegible]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 passages connect the house with the lower portion as well as with the flat roof of the mosque. In the hot season the sunset and evening ritual prayers are always performed on the roof, and the ʿālim[1] sits here in the evenings, teaching the 556 recitation of the Koran to a circle of lads. A sayyid who has 782 made his fortune abroad will first build a mosque in his native 791 village and afterwards a big house for himself. For does he not owe the privileged position in his own country to religion, and to Allah's help the riches that he has successfully amassed in foreign lands? The abnormally large number of fine mosques in the poor country of Ḥaḍramaut is the result.

353 As in the other houses, the passages and stairs in Sayyid el-Bārr's house are plastered with light-brown mud mixed with finely chopped straw. The floor is always ribbed in a design of waving lines imprinted into the mud whilst it is wet. There are wooden pillars in the large rooms as there are no strong supporting beams for the construction of the roofs, which are always made of the split trunks of date-palms. The fibrous, brown stem of the tree is often plastered over with mud or covered with a wattle-work made of the split ribs of the leaves of the date-palm. Rust-red, black or white are the tasteful colours used in such wattle-work and, indeed, also on the layer of mud.

353 One usually enters the *madjlis* or reception-room by a door ● 352 in the middle of the shortest wall. On either side of the door there are great wooden chests, in which the sleeping-mattresses and pillows are hidden away during the day-time. These heavy, finely carved chests, decorated with tin-plated iron, are frequently the only ornament of the room. The window openings are small and close to the ground. In the houses of the rich, the wooden shutters and framework of the windows are carved. The floors are covered with simple mats of plaited palm-leaves over which the rich people lay carpets.

104 [1] *ʿĀlim* (عالم), a learned man, in this case, a man who thoroughly knows the religion.

Against the walls there are cushions on which to recline. The ugly modernity of mirrors fixed into the ceiling has been introduced into el-Bārr's house. Also, the old Ḥaḍramī colours of rust-red, black and white, which harmonize so well with the brown wood and with the lighter brown mud, have had some ugly new ones added to them. 353 352

In order to give pleasure to the family we take some more photographs of grown-ups and children. The household slaves and their jet-black children are with us in the *madjlis*; they serve round coffee and tea and many sweets, and talk with us, but nevertheless remain modestly in the background. 567

One can see from the many negro types in the streets and plantations that there are a great many slaves in Wādī Dō'an. They are employed for work on the land and as domestic servants.

In the afternoon we did what we could to treat a great number of patients, who came to us to ask for medicines or to have wounds and ulcers attended to. We could do little, however; and what, in any case, is the use of but one treatment? In all Ḥaḍramaut and its surroundings there is only one doctor with a western training. It is again the progressive Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf who has got this young Indian doctor to come here, but his work lies in far-away Terīm. The rich go sometimes to Aden to consult a doctor, and the Mission Hospital at Shēkh 'Uthmān near Aden is also known to a few. 000 759

Towards evening I stroll with Sayyid 'Aluwī to Qāret Āl el-Miḥḍār, half an hour distant, where lives Sayyid Muṣṭafā bin Aḥmad el-Miḥḍār, to whom we have a letter from the Vizier at Makalla. Our reception is particularly friendly. The old sayyid has seen something of the world, and he compares life in Wādī Dō'an to sleep, which is something like death. I am urged to talk constantly and the atmosphere grows so friendly that he takes me with him to his other and larger house and shows me all over it, having first, with his own hands, shut in his young wives behind bolted doors and hung the keys on his belt. The wives take their revenge by having 834 609 595

a good look at the stranger from the flat roof

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The great cleanliness of the houses of the rich is very noticeable. The drainage from lavatories and kitchens runs down wide, square shafts into spaces destined for it in the lower floor, into which however, unfortunately, light penetrates so that they become good breeding places for flies. Bathrooms and also lavatories are partly fitted out as in the East Indies. Sometimes there are douches, and generally there are large brick cisterns for the bath water, which one scoops out to pour over oneself. Our host has a large refrigerator by means of which cold drinking-water is provided for the numerous guests and dwellers in the house, and fruits and sweetmeats become the refinement of pleasure.

Cooking in Terīm, as in Sēwūn, is very much influenced by Singapore and Java. Chinese cooks are responsible for the extensive rice meals that are enjoyed daily by dozens of guests. Many dried or tinned foods are imported from Java. Some kinds of vegetables are grown in the gardens of Terīm; the fresh fruits which are served at table are large oval melons and the first ripe dates. As the latter are rather scarce, last years' dates come to table prepared as paste, in cakes, sweet bread, etc.

Sayyid ʿUmar el-Kāf's house, like that of our host, is furnished in half-European style. Old-fashioned Indian rocking-chairs stand on the beautiful carpets. A bed, rigged up in the Javanese manner, decorates the great reception-room. The bed linen is not white, but pink. There are many mirrors on the walls and also photographs of the family's estates in the Indies. Sayyid ʿUmar is the owner of the great Europe Hotel in Singapore; he shows us with pride — and no wonder — the model of the new hotel, which makes an impression magnificently American. The walls are further decorated with Mausers and American repeating rifles, which are hard to obtain in this country and, consequently, are worth a great deal.

It had already struck us that the Kathīrī soldiers were better clad than those of the Qeʿēṭī. The number of pro-

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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sun-dried brick on a foundation of one or two stories of hewn stone, clay being used instead of mortar. The upper storeys are usually whitewashed on the exterior, and this practice gives the towns a striking and bright appearance when seen from a distance. The house is usually approached through a courtyard surrounded by a wall six feet or so in height. The entrance door is often very solid and ornamented with carvings in arabesque, or with iron nails or polished brass, and it usually carries a knocker. The door leads into a passage, with cellars and storerooms to right and left, and conducts to a courtyard at the back around which are the kitchen and other domestic offices; in the case of the larger houses, a private well is found here. 342

The building narrows and the walls become thinner at each succeeding storey; there is usually a balcony to each floor, on the right and left, surrounded by a low wall of masonry, but rarely covered in as is usual in most Mohammedan countries. The living and sleeping rooms of the upper storeys all have many windows, unglazed, but invariably shuttered. Fireplaces are unknown; when the weather is cold, the rooms are heated by a brazier of burning wood around which the occupants sit; wood which gives off as little smoke as possible is burnt, and what smoke there is escapes by the windows. All doors are closed from the inside by rough locks of wood, very exceptionally, of iron. The main doorway is closed by a huge wooden latch which can be raised by a cord leading to the story above, thus obviating the necessity of going downstairs to open it. The houses of the lower classes differ but little from those of most parts of Arabia. The Bedouins shelter themselves in caves or huts of clay; tents are never used by them as in most other parts of Arabia owing to the violent storms and general uncertainty of the weather prevalent at some seasons. 342 354 414 342

The so-called castles of the Hadhramaut are constructed in much the same fashion as the houses, only on a larger scale, some of them being of vast size and not infrequently covering an acre or more of ground. They have at the angles fortified towers (often furnished with antiquated mortars), either square or round, similar to those of mediaeval castles in Europe, and above the uppermost floor smaller square loopholed watch-towers or look-outs. There are often smaller isolated towers (*kūt*), little constructions of one or two floors, occupied by the guard. A raised terrace generally extends the whole length of the front of the building.

All the houses, even those of the rich, are furnished most sparely and simply. It is usual to sit on the floor, which is covered with 352

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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rugs or mats, or on cushions placed around or under the windows. A very low table, or a special circular mat, is put in the middle of the room for meals. Rough but solidly made coffers and cupboards are much used for clothes, silver, books, or domestic utensils. Lighting is by lamps of a very primitive form, which burn petroleum or, more commonly, sesame oil. The walls carry little or nothing of ornament, though the tribesmen sometimes adorn them with their arms, banners, or hunting equipment. A bathroom is usually found on each floor of a house, all being situated one above the other, the waste water running off by pipes through the wall; the apparatus consisting merely of a vessel from which water is poured over the body.

Wheaten or maize bread, dried dates, eggs, and meat (of sheep or poultry), taken in meagre amounts and usually in some form of soup or stew, form the staple foods; rice is not largely eaten; the people on the coast consume much fish; but only the Bedouin ever eat game. Butter, oil, and honey are much used; also spices, onions, and garlic, and much salad and green vegetables. Fruits, with the exception of the date, are considered as delicacies. Coffee is much drunk in the houses between meals, but there are no public cafés. It is customary for all persons paying visits to bring along with them some coffee-beans wrapped in the turban or plaid (*rādi*); when the party is complete these are collected by the host, and the coffee is prepared in the manner common to all the East. Before drinking, the name of Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Omar esh-Shadhli, whose tomb is at Mocha, is invoked, he being reputed to have been the first to discover the stimulating properties of the berry.

Very few servants are kept in most houses, even in those of the well-to-do; the housework and cooking are done by the housewife and the daughters, with the aid, in case of stress, of help called in from other branches of the family, friends, or neighbours. Only the very rich have slaves, and these are treated more as members of the household than as property; for this reason slaves rarely desire to be freed. All slaves in the Hadhramaut are Moslems; even if they come from a Christian or pagan country, they are forced to embrace Islam. But marriage between free persons and slaves is extremely rare.

Dancing is regarded in the Hadhramaut as permissible, but never among persons of two sexes, and the Seyyids and townsmen usually abstain from it. The music is made by a primitive form of guitar (*qanbus*), a large oblong drum, and three or four small drums, the players often accompanying their music with

more popular and provides the something of excitement which has given a zest to raiding. It should not be forgotten that some of our own games were war games.

The Beduin proletariat and the capitalist townsmen are mutually necessary to each other. The Beduins do all the carrying trade and supply the firewood and their other scanty products to the towns, and the merchants sell to the Beduins what they require of food, clothing, and other necessaries of life. The brokers of the Beduins to be found in all the towns supply the link between the two. They live on helping the Beduins to sell their produce to, and buy their requirements from, the merchants, and on helping the merchants to obtain the transport they need.

## Housing.

Each town in the Hadhramaut has its own individual characteristics as regards housing. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Mukalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not six feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces. Away from the coast, mud is the almost universal building medium, and sun-dried mud bricks are used alike in building the palaces of the rich and the simple *dars* of the poor.

In the Wadi Du'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Du'an houses, the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of '*elb*' wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily-carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, two inches across the heads, burnished with lead till they shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development in Du'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living-room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained '*elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of '*elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring bone pattern.

In Tarim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud

[1] Other Arabic names are *sidr* and *nebk*. *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.

bricks. The cost of building the house in which we stayed in Tarim was $60,000. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice-plants, and European modern conveniences in the bathrooms, wash-basins with running water and shower-baths. Whereas in Du'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found, these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Large and comfortable chairs and sofas decorate the drawing-rooms, and there are English carpets, masses of gilt mirrors, chandeliers and glass cupboards full of marmalade dishes, egg-cups and so on. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel-back over the mountains for six days.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of procuring long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree grows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees (*Conocarpus erectus*, Jacq.) growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseila, they cannot be transported by camels. The difficulty is being surmounted to some extent by experiments in the making of reinforced concrete pillars of which I saw two in construction at Seiyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seiyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, are covered with a lime plaster polished with smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area 500 houses built on a slight eminence in the Wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. By general consent, houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher, but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this type of house which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together. The life of a house is said to be 200 to 250 years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done, the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits, necessitating demolition.

137 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
246 common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khuweira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

**Manufacturing Industries.**

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
262 mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
249 ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
438 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to
353 the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
326 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

**Fisheries.**

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They
231 are :—

438 *Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazif* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

370

# HOUSE BUILDING IN THE HADHRAMAUT

W. H. INGRAMS

342 361 363 DURING a recent tour in the Hadhramaut my wife and I collected some notes on the building of houses. Each town in the country has its own individual characteristics. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type, built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Makalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not 6 feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces.

361 342 353 In the Wadi Do'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Do'an houses the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb* [1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, 2 inches across the heads, burnished with lead, which shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development of Do'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring-bone pattern.

361 342 177 352 492 493 In Terim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice plants, and modern European conveniences in the bathrooms. Whereas in Do'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel back over the mountains for six days, and while I mention this it is worth recording that there are sixty cars in Terim itself, each of which has been transported in parts by twelve camels from the coast.

313 333 353 The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seyyids of Terim and Seyyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of getting long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree trows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseilah, they cannot be transported by

[1] The commoner Arabic name is *sidr*, *Rhamnus nabeca*.

313 camels. The difficulty is being got over to some extent by experiments in
333 making reinforced-concrete pillars, of which we saw two in construction at
353 Seyyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seyyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, consist of a lime plaster polished by smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

361 Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area five hundred houses built on
342 a slight eminence in the wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears
485 to be one enormous brown mud-built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town, and the only
623 way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild.
344 The area of land required to build a house 45 *dhirras* in width by 35 in depth (a *dhirra*, or cubit, equals 1·5 foot) will cost 10,000 dollars, and having acquired the land the prospective builder will have to submit the specifications of his house for the approval of a committee of the townspeople who consider the position of windows and of gutters carrying water to the street. Subsequent alterations to a house must also be similarly approved. By general consent houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high, in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this house, which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars.

333 The foundations are dug 2 *dhirras* deep below the surface of the earth and
342 3 *dhirras* wide. Stones are used for the foundation mortared together with a mixture of wood ash and lime. In places where there is any doubt as to the solidity of the ground on which the house is to stand long pieces of *'elb* wood are laid in pairs lengthwise in the foundations. Wood for this purpose must be cut in the winter; if this is done it is said never to rot. The stone foundation or *sās* is continued for 2 *dhirras* above the level of the ground. When the building operations have reached this stage a foundation sacrifice of a goat or sheep is made on the walls. The house is centred round a solid pillar built on the same foundation as the walls. For a house of the dimensions proposed this pillar or *'arus el beit* will be $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 *dhirras* wide and of the same thickness from top to bottom. The stairs of the house invariably go up round the *'arus*. The bricks are made of clay mixed with straw, the standard size being $1\frac{1}{4}$ *dhirras* in length by $\frac{2}{3}$ in breadth by 4 *banan* or fingers' widths in thickness. When the clay of the required consistency and thickness for making the bricks has been laid out they are cut out by a wooden frame which makes two bricks
[435] at a time. The bricks cost five dollars a thousand.

The thickness of the walls of the first storey is $1\frac{7}{8}$ *dhirras*, of the second $1\frac{1}{2}$, of the third $1\frac{1}{4}$, of the fourth 1 *dhirra*, of the fifth $\frac{3}{4}$, of the sixth $\frac{5}{8}$, and of the seventh $\frac{1}{2}$ a *dhirra*. The bricks are mortared together with wet clay. As *'elb* wood grows to no great length the size of the room is determined to some
[435] extent by the length of the pieces available as girders. The girders are usually very short and supported by carved pillars each costing about twenty dollars.

361 a mound, is seven storeys and rises above the rest, the whole, like all
342 others, built in mud bricks.

In the centre, the space that is left, lie huddled the one-storeyed shops of the suq and the many-storeyed flat houses of the poor. Shibam seemed the only town where houses were occupied in flats. Elsewhere I saw almost exclusively one-family houses even if the family had many groups within it.

342 All houses in Hadhramaut have a strong inward slant from bottom to
333 top, which gives them a look of strength mingled with grace. There are no basements and barely foundations, but the ground floor is an almost solid base, so thick are the walls that taper towards the top. They may be almost 3 feet thick at the base for a tall castle, and a foot at the top.

In Shibam, the houses forming a solid rampart wall have windows at the two ends only, and a small light-well to light the stairs in the centre of the deep building. The ground floor usually contains granaries and stores. The straight flights of the stairs rise between thick walls with a very heavy
342 central block. On the first floor the Shibam citizen keeps his goats and
231 rabbits in the outside rooms, while the centre is occupied by more stores. About the second floor begin the living quarters—that is, the office and rooms of the men, stores in the centre again, and often with kitchen,
342 washroom, and lavatory. These washrooms and lavatories are systemati-
336 cally built over a central shaft, though water is mostly allowed to run from a gutter into the centre of the street. But there are "back" streets for the
342 sanitation and "front" streets for doors. About the third floor the private quarters begin. They would be men's living quarters, with the ladies on the floor above, the fourth, with kitchen and washrooms again; right on top, often little private quarters for the owner of the house where he may enjoy most fresh air. Each floor has a double set of windows, a large one down to the floor and a small square one for ventilation above, up against the ceiling, so that there are continual draughts running through the top of the room. Practically all rooms have windows on two sides, and with this and the thick walls and the smooth plaster they remain pleasantly cool.

342 The lower floors are usually the loftiest; even the ground floor store
● 353 rooms are up to 12 and 13 feet high. The house often has two entrances—
531 a large door for the men and a little one for the ladies, with separate stairs in the larger houses, even in Shibam where land is scarce. The façades are in rough mud brick, a uniform brown colour with a white plaster smooth base and white ornaments round windows and parapet, getting richer towards the top of the house, which is the best part of it.

Their plasterwork is one of their great arts. It is extraordinarily hard. To obtain this it is presumed to be mixed with date juice. When polished with a piece of flint and rubbed with a cloth for hours it acquires a lustre that makes it shine like marble. This is chiefly done inside the main rooms and in the washrooms and stairs. Outside it is only polished at the base, for water to run off. The ornamentation of the upper storeys is left
342 rough white. But as people's wealth increased they have abandoned this
531 form of very characteristic decoration, which divided the tall buildings in broad brown bands alternating with narrow white bands at window level.

Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost. 342 531

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby. 341 531 177

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away. 342 353 177

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms. 361 565

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely. 565 292 561

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one 665 342

565 half for the men and one for the women, each with their entrance, kitchen,
342 store rooms and granary on the ground floor, reception rooms and wash-rooms on the first floor, and more private apartments with washrooms on the second floor. There may be a third floor with terrace rooms, but usually not more.

342 Although the span of the ceiling beams is quite small, as everywhere else (about six feet, determined by the maximum size of timber available),
● 353 many of the rooms in these houses are very large, being divided up by
565 two, four, six or nine pillars. They have rows of three or four windows, some even more, on two sides. The floors are covered with carpets, and cushions against the walls are the only form of furnishing. There will be niches with cups, silver samovars and brass trays; other niches with some books; and a few large flat basket-trays hung on the walls, from which one eats. But that is absolutely all that is needed. There are large wall closets for clothing and for bedding, the normal place to sleep being the floor. But there is no difference between a living-room and a sleeping apartment. Each room serves for either purpose in turn, the men and the women
[291 being separate. Nor are there clothes for the night and clothes for the
515] day, though the men wear beautifully laundered clothes, frequently changed.

342 Washrooms consist of a spacious compartment, with glazed plaster walls with niches and pegs for clothing. Near the window stands a tall
515 jar with water and a scoop for showering oneself. The water runs out under the window through a runnel and gutter. Some washrooms have a shower tank. The washroom may contain a lavatory of the south continental, foot-rest type, or this may be in an entirely separate spacious compartment. Each floor has at least two. Besides this the Saywun and Terim house has a little " roman " bath for complete ablution about 10 feet square, and which is usually near the private prayer-room.

342 Another pleasant characteristic of the Saywun house is that in the large
271 corridor that runs from one side of the house to the other; in front of the window at the coolest end there is usually a corner for drinking-water skins to hang up in a cooling draught. Niches for cups are at hand, and again there is a runnel for the water dripping from the skin to run outside. The same arrangement is found on most terraces. Upper rooms are used in summer, lower rooms in winter for warmth, for there is no glass in the windows and only ill-fitting wood shutters to keep out the night air.

342 All these amenities will be found on a small scale in the most modest houses. The house of the dhobbi had three floors. It contained about four living-rooms, two washrooms, a kitchen and a store. So that where space is concerned the Hadhrami house does not compare unfavourably with European standards.

000 A film showing Hadhramaut buildings was followed by a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 passages connect the house with the lower portion as well as with the flat roof of the mosque. In the hot season the sunset and evening ritual prayers are always performed on the roof, and the ʿālim[1] sits here in the evenings, teaching the 556 recitation of the Koran to a circle of lads. A sayyid who has 782 made his fortune abroad will first build a mosque in his native 791 village and afterwards a big house for himself. For does he not owe the privileged position in his own country to religion, and to Allah's help the riches that he has successfully amassed in foreign lands? The abnormally large number of fine mosques in the poor country of Ḥaḍramaut is the result.

●353 As in the other houses, the passages and stairs in Sayyid el-Bārr's house are plastered with light-brown mud mixed with finely chopped straw. The floor is always ribbed in a design of waving lines imprinted into the mud whilst it is wet. There are wooden pillars in the large rooms as there are no strong supporting beams for the construction of the roofs, which are always made of the split trunks of date-palms. The fibrous, brown stem of the tree is often plastered over with mud or covered with a wattle-work made of the split ribs of the leaves of the date-palm. Rust-red, black or white are the tasteful colours used in such wattle-work and, indeed, also on the layer of mud.

353 One usually enters the *madjlis* or reception-room by a door 352 in the middle of the shortest wall. On either side of the door there are great wooden chests, in which the sleeping-mattresses and pillows are hidden away during the day-time. These heavy, finely carved chests, decorated with tin-plated iron, are frequently the only ornament of the room. The window openings are small and close to the ground. In the houses of the rich, the wooden shutters and framework of the windows are carved. The floors are covered with simple mats of plaited palm-leaves over which the rich people lay carpets.

104 [1] ʿĀlim (عالم), a learned man, in this case, a man who thoroughly knows the religion.

Against the walls there are cushions on which to recline. The ugly modernity of mirrors fixed into the ceiling has been introduced into el-Bārr's house. Also, the old Ḥaḍramī colours of rust-red, black and white, which harmonize so well with the brown wood and with the lighter brown mud, have had some ugly new ones added to them.

In order to give pleasure to the family we take some more photographs of grown-ups and children. The household slaves and their jet-black children are with us in the *madjlis*; they serve round coffee and tea and many sweets, and talk with us, but nevertheless remain modestly in the background.

One can see from the many negro types in the streets and plantations that there are a great many slaves in Wādī Dōʿan. They are employed for work on the land and as domestic servants.

In the afternoon we did what we could to treat a great number of patients, who came to us to ask for medicines or to have wounds and ulcers attended to. We could do little, however; and what, in any case, is the use of but one treatment? In all Ḥaḍramaut and its surroundings there is only one doctor with a western training. It is again the progressive Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf who has got this young Indian doctor to come here, but his work lies in far-away Terīm. The rich go sometimes to Aden to consult a doctor, and the Mission Hospital at Shēkh ʿUthmān near Aden is also known to a few.

Towards evening I stroll with Sayyid ʿAluwī to Qāret Āl el-Miḥḍār, half an hour distant, where lives Sayyid Muṣṭafā bin Aḥmad el-Miḥḍār, to whom we have a letter from the Vizier at Makalla. Our reception is particularly friendly. The old sayyid has seen something of the world, and he compares life in Wādī Dōʿan to sleep, which is something like death. I am urged to talk constantly and the atmosphere grows so friendly that he takes me with him to his other and larger house and shows me all over it, having first, with his own hands, shut in his young wives behind bolted doors and hung the keys on his belt. The wives take their revenge by having a good look at the stranger from the flat roof.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



where it empties itself into a little mud basin, out of which the irrigation conduits lead to the cultivated ground. Work at the well occupies the whole family: father and son guide the animals and walk with them in hauling ropes and mother and daughters relieve them at this work. Two old dames sit in the shade making ready food for the beasts, which consists of dry straw bound round with fresh green into bundles, that are pushed into the animals' mouths whenever they arrive at the top or bottom. I saw women continuing their mat-plaiting whilst, at the same time, walking backwards in the traces down the slope of the track. The work is very tiring: pulling whilst going down hill and then climbing up again. The path, on which their walk begins at sunrise, is as long as the well is deep.

## 2. TO THE SULTAN'S PALACE IN EL-QAṬN.

One sees the tall buildings of Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn even from afar rising above its walls and the tops of the date-palms. The place is not large and is situated, like the townlets in Wādī Dōʿan, stretched out and closed in between date-groves and the rock-barrier. It is surrounded by a mud wall kept in good repair. At the gate of the town we see our caravan; it is on its way to Shibām with the baggage and is resting here during the heat of the day. Although we are informed that the Sultan is staying in Shibām, we wish to pay a visit of courtesy to his deputy at the palace; possibly he may allow us to make a survey and to photograph from the roof of this very high building. The palace has just been partially renovated and, consequently, has not yet the gay outside decoration of whitewash. A broad staircase leads to a large, finely carved door. There we give our letter of introduction to the guard and after some time we are invited to follow him upstairs. By way of broad passages and endless stairs, both plastered with dried mud, we arrive at the reception-room, which has just been finished. Much of the beautiful old Arabian style is spoiled here by

342 western importations. Genuine oriental carpets have been
● 353 replaced in part by others from European factories. The wood-carving is painted. The aristocratic old colours of brown, red and white are crowded out by more glaring and less harmonizing dyes of western manufacture. Coloured glass has been applied as an ornament above the doors and windows. Though the old be more beautiful, the new is more cheerful, lighter and cleaner.

701 A shy relative of the Sultan, of Indian appearance, receives us. Sayyid ᶜAluwī had not had our visit announced long enough in advance and, consequently, we took him somewhat by surprise. Our request to take photographs from the roof is complied with. Our host even climbs with us up the many remaining stairs, and he appreciates our unfeigned admiration as we gaze around us over the magnificent country of el-Qaṭn. There is a large grove of date-palms behind the palace. The Sultan's mosque, completely white, stands out finely against the grey-green tops of the palms. Beyond, we see, walled off apart, the large palm-groves and the white country-houses of Yāfiᶜ soldiers and officers enriched by service under the Qeᶜēṭī Government. Soldiers and officers of former Sultans have been rewarded with grants of land. Some of them have become men of means, and they have founded a whole colony of Yāfiᶜ here; they are under the obligation to give their help to the Sultan against his enemies in times of danger. The town, in which are some large, opulent-looking houses, lies close up against the rock-wall. We cannot stay too long on the roof, for, in so doing, we should oblige our host to stand with us in the burning heat of the sun. After Wādī ᶜAmd and the journey through plains of loam-hills and sand, and the halting places of Diyār Āl Buqrī and Hēnin, this first acquaintance with the real, true Ḥaḍramaut is certainly a great surprise. Wādī Dōᶜan was very beautiful, but this is grander and more spacious. Wādī Ḥaḍramaut reaches a breadth of five miles here.

000 We notice, when passing through the lower floors of the

000 The heat of the sun drives us away, however, from our bare hillock, but the Sultan promises to give us the pleasure of another similar excursion in the evening. We shall meet again at lunch in the palace of the Sultan of Terīm, who is to entertain us to-day.

353 It is exceedingly hot when, some hours later, we leave the
342 garden city and proceed to the palace. We are received in a broad corridor, the only place where there is some breeze and, thus, some degree of coolness. The corridor is spread with beautiful carpets; at one end is a table with chairs placed round it, at the other end cushions lie on the carpets. The reception begins on chairs, but that does not last long. We are soon all seated on the floor, leaning against the cushions as is the custom here. The meal is served in a hall where there are two rows of pillars. Long and strong supporting beams cannot be obtained here, where wood is scarce and short; thus all large rooms have pillars to support the roof construction. A long table-cloth is laid over the carpets in the middle
[177] of the room. Seated around it with their legs crossed under
[264] them the great company, with few words and in a rapid tempo, feasts upon the excellently prepared Javanese "rice meal" (*rijsttafel*) laid before them.

353 The mural decorations of the otherwise empty room consist of mirrors, old English prints, photographs of Java and Singapore and two large hanging clocks with musical chimes.

Tea is served in a small drawing-room with modern furniture. In Ḥaḍramaut, the new is less practical and less beautiful than the old and indigenous. It is so hot in here, with its coloured glass windows, that all are thankful when the meeting is adjourned.

508 In the afternoon the Sultan takes us by car to a broad plain
489 where the mountain-wall recedes. He would like to make an aerodrome here and wants therefore to have our opinion. The aeroplane would be an ideal means of transport for the whole of Arabia, and especially for Ḥaḍramaut. Not only are distances great, the communications difficult and whole stretches

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rugs or mats, or on cushions placed around or under the windows. A very low table, or a special circular mat, is put in the middle of the room for meals. Rough but solidly made coffers and cupboards are much used for clothes, silver, books, or domestic utensils. Lighting is by lamps of a very primitive form, which burn petroleum or, more commonly, sesame oil. The walls carry little or nothing of ornament, though the tribesmen sometimes adorn them with their arms, banners, or hunting equipment. A bathroom is usually found on each floor of a house, all being situated one above the other, the waste water running off by pipes through the wall; the apparatus consisting merely of a vessel from which water is poured over the body.

Wheaten or maize bread, dried dates, eggs, and meat (of sheep or poultry), taken in meagre amounts and usually in some form of soup or stew, form the staple foods; rice is not largely eaten; the people on the coast consume much fish; but only the Bedouin ever eat game. Butter, oil, and honey are much used; also spices, onions, and garlic, and much salad and green vegetables. Fruits, with the exception of the date, are considered as delicacies. Coffee is much drunk in the houses between meals, but there are no public cafés. It is customary for all persons paying visits to bring along with them some coffee-beans wrapped in the turban or plaid (*rādi*); when the party is complete these are collected by the host, and the coffee is prepared in the manner common to all the East. Before drinking, the name of Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Omar esh-Shadhli, whose tomb is at Mocha, is invoked, he being reputed to have been the first to discover the stimulating properties of the berry.

Very few servants are kept in most houses, even in those of the well-to-do; the housework and cooking are done by the housewife and the daughters, with the aid, in case of stress, of help called in from other branches of the family, friends, or neighbours. Only the very rich have slaves, and these are treated more as members of the household than as property; for this reason slaves rarely desire to be freed. All slaves in the Hadhramaut are Moslems; even if they come from a Christian or pagan country, they are forced to embrace Islam. But marriage between free persons and slaves is extremely rare.

Dancing is regarded in the Hadhramaut as permissible, but never among persons of two sexes, and the Seyyids and townsmen usually abstain from it. The music is made by a primitive form of guitar (*qanbus*), a large oblong drum, and three or four small drums, the players often accompanying their music with

bricks. The cost of building the house in which we stayed in Tarim was $60,000. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice-plants, and European modern conveniences in the bathrooms, wash-basins with running water and shower-baths. Whereas in Du'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found, these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Large and comfortable chairs and sofas decorate the drawing-rooms, and there are English carpets, masses of gilt mirrors, chandeliers and glass cupboards full of marmalade dishes, egg-cups and so on. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel-back over the mountains for six days.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of procuring long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree grows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees (*Conocarpus erectus*, Jacq.) growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseila, they cannot be transported by camels. The difficulty is being surmounted to some extent by experiments in the making of reinforced concrete pillars of which I saw two in construction at Seiyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seiyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, are covered with a lime plaster polished with smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area 500 houses built on a slight eminence in the Wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. By general consent, houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher, but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this type of house which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together. The life of a house is said to be 200 to 250 years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done, the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits, necessitating demolition.

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sun-dried brick on a foundation of one or two stories of hewn stone, clay being used instead of mortar. The upper storeys are usually whitewashed on the exterior, and this practice gives the towns a striking and bright appearance when seen from a distance. The house is usually approached through a courtyard surrounded by a wall six feet or so in height. The entrance door is often very solid and ornamented with carvings in arabesque, or with iron nails or polished brass, and it usually carries a knocker. The door leads into a passage, with cellars and storerooms to right and left, and conducts to a courtyard at the back around which are the kitchen and other domestic offices; in the case of the larger houses, a private well is found here. 342

The building narrows and the walls become thinner at each succeeding storey; there is usually a balcony to each floor, on the right and left, surrounded by a low wall of masonry, but rarely covered in as is usual in most Mohammedan countries. The living and sleeping rooms of the upper storeys all have many windows, unglazed, but invariably shuttered. Fireplaces are unknown; when the weather is cold, the rooms are heated by a brazier of burning wood around which the occupants sit; wood which gives off as little smoke as possible is burnt, and what smoke there is escapes by the windows. All doors are closed from the inside by rough locks of wood or, very exceptionally, of iron. The main doorway is closed by a huge wooden latch which can be raised by a cord leading to the story above, thus obviating the necessity of going downstairs to open it. The houses of the lower classes differ but little from those of most parts of Arabia. The Bedouins shelter themselves in caves or huts of clay; tents are never used by them as in most other parts of Arabia owing to the violent storms and general uncertainty of the weather prevalent at some seasons. 342 354 414 342

The so-called castles of the Hadhramaut are constructed in much the same fashion as the houses, only on a larger scale, some of them being of vast size and not infrequently covering an acre or more of ground. They have at the angles fortified towers (often furnished with antiquated mortars), either square or round, similar to those of mediaeval castles in Europe, and above the uppermost floor smaller square loopholed watch-towers or look-outs. There are often smaller isolated towers (*kūt*), little constructions of one or two floors, occupied by the guard. A raised terrace generally extends the whole length of the front of the building.

All the houses, even those of the rich, are furnished most sparely and simply. It is usual to sit on the floor, which is covered with 352

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Hadhramaut MM2



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361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil
342 there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
177 of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

**Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.**

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

511 For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
651 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
435 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

# CHAPTER XV.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

### I.—SHIHR PROVINCE.

635 The Shihr *liwa* is the first province of the Qu'aiti dominions. I
361 was informed that its boundaries were, east to west, " from the
131 extreme borders of the mountains of Damakh Hisāl up to the port of Shiheir ", and south to north, " from the sea to the mountains which separate the plateau from the lowlands ". The most easterly settlement of the province is Reidat al Qu'aiti, and the other coastal towns and villages of importance are Qus'eir (with Qurein), Baghashwa, Hami, and Al Qarn which is the port of Dis, a walled town a couple of miles inland with a population of about 5,000.

361 Shihr was once the most important town on the Hadhramaut
162 coast, but it has been gradually decaying. Many of its houses have disappeared and its 45 mosques now serve a diminishing population. This is estimated at from 6,000 to 10,000, but I have no doubt the latter figure is excessive. Shihr, however, is still an important port: it is the principal port for Kathīri territory and the main distributing centre for the eastern part of the Hadhramaut. A landing-ground has been constructed, but is not in serviceable condition.

438 The principal industries are the drying and curing of fish and the dyeing and weaving of cloth. The water-supply, as has been mentioned, comes from Tubala where there are also hot sulphur springs and gardens. There are other gardens at Dufeigha and at Habis where the *Wazir* has a house.

635 At the time of my visit the Governor of Shihr was Sheikh Salih
438 bin 'Ali al Qu'aiti. The tribes living in the *liwa*, or dependent on the town as their market, are: Ath Tha'yani, Manahil, Hamumi,
361 Al Qarzi, Ash Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Al 'Asārina, Al Meseillyin, Al 'Awābitha, Al Ma'āra and Al Jōhi. Of these, the Qarzi and the Bahasan are sometimes considered as clans of the Hamumi Zei. Although the 'Awābitha have considerable connections with Shihr and Mukalla they own no land in the province and live beyond its boundaries. Shihr is also an important market for the Mahras, to whom, centuries ago, as Masudi recalls, it belonged. Apart from those towns of the interior such as Seiyun and Tarim which obtain many of their supplies from Shihr, and have trading connections with it, the 'Awāmir, Al Jābir, and Al Jābir of Āl Sāh (which are all Kathīri tribes) depend on it for their food supply.

000 The Manahil and the Kathīri tribes will be described elsewhere, and the Mahra, of course, are not a Hadhramaut tribe, but the

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# CHAPTER XVI.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 2. MUKALLA PROVINCE.

Although the town of Mukalla is the Qu'aiti capital the province is considered as ranking after Shihr. It is defined as extending from east to west "from the port of Shiheir to Meifa", and south to north "from the sea to the low hills as far as the source of the river Hajr, but excluding the Hajr valley itself". Apart from Mukalla the principal towns and villages on the coast are Shiheir with an estimated population of 1,500, Fuwa and Burum. The only inland town of any importance is Gheil Bā Wazīr, but there are a number of large villages such as Harshiat, Tila, Lusb and Lubeib. The population of Gheil Bā Wazīr, where the Sultan has a house, is estimated at from 6,000 to 7,000. It is a walled town, and the seat of an important tobacco industry.

Estimates of the population of the town of Mukalla vary from 10,000 to 30,000; the actual figure is probably 15,000 to 16,000. It is a compact, closely populated place, with 13 mosques, and it appears to be growing as building operations are continually in progress. It has several minor industries, of which the principal is fish-drying. West of the town, fish manure and fish fodder are prepared, and outside to the east fish is cured for human consumption. Other small industries are the crushing of simsim for oil and cake, lime-burning—the best quality lime used in Aden comes from Mukalla—and tanning. Apart from the fact of its being the seat of Government, Mukalla owes its importance to its being the principal port of entry for the Hadhramaut and the principal market for the interior. The landing-ground for Mukalla is at Fuwa and the province is well served with motor-tracks. The water-supply comes from Baqrein, where there are good gardens, and other garden suburbs are Dis al Mukalla, An Naq'a where the Sultan has a house, Manāwara, Lermi, Kherba and Khaba.

The Governor of the Mukalla province at the time of my visit was the *Wazir* of the state, Jemadar, or Sultan, Salim bin Ahmed bin 'Abdulla al Qu'aiti. The following tribes live in or are dependent on the Mukalla province: Seibani, Hālka, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadīyin, Sumūh, Hāmdi, Buheish and the Āl Heik. As will be seen in Chapter XVII, the Hālka and the Sumūh, sometimes considered as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani. The Bin Daghār and the Nūwah of the Wadi Hajr (see Chapter XVIII) have working and trading connections with Mukalla, as have the tribes of the Wadi 'Amd, the Ma'di, the Ja'da, Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed and Āl Salima; the last two, though sometimes considered to be separate tribes, are included with the Ja'da (Chapter XX). The tribesmen of the Wadi Reidat ad Deiyin and other tribes to the west of Du'an, Beina and Wadi 'Amd, also trade with Mukalla. Shibam and the tribes in and around it

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### Āl Heik.

619 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the
631 sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan
101 they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shiheir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct
433 route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of
438 the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me
465 as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being
162 an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures
361 appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and
651 villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns
652 and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

635 most of them are exempted from taxation: Al Qurha, estimated
162 number of men 300, estimated number of rifles 50, the inhabitants
361 are tribesmen. Husn Bā Sam, men 150, rifles 25, tribesmen. Ar
651 Rubāt, men 800, rifles 100, revenue $1,600, expenditure $1,800; the
652 inhabitants are soldiers. Al Qarn, men 500, rifles 100, inhabitants are tribesmen of Bā Hakīm, a clan of the Nūwah. Al Khoreiba, men 1,500, rifles 50, revenue $1,500, expenditure $1,800, inhabitants are soldiers and sheikhs. Sharq, men 300, rifles 50, revenue $300, expenditure $360, tribesmen and soldiers. Ar Rashīd, men 400, rifles 150, revenue $1,200, expenditure $1,400, tribesmen. 'Aura, men 80, revenue $400. Al Qurein, men 800, rifles 10, revenue $200, expenditure $600.

631 The following towns and villages are under the authority of the
361 Mihdhār family, and the Government derives no revenue from them.
651 Their annual produce is valued at approximately $10,000: Al
162 Quweira, men 400. Halibūn, men 80. Rihāb, men 400, rifles 30. Hudūn, men 200, rifles 50. Khasūfar, men 100. Dhāhir, men 300, rifles 15. Matrūh, men 250, rifles 30. Al Jubeil, men 400, rifles 100. Quweirat al Khozab, men 25. Gheil Bal Kheir, men 40.

The towns under the authority of the Sheikhs of al 'Amūdi are: Husn Bā 'Abd as Somad, men 100. Budha, men 1,000, rifles 200. Bilad al Ma', men 100, rifles 10. Khudeish, men 70, rifles 12. Qarn Mājid, men 50, rifles 8.

635 The remaining towns of the Wadi Du'an between Al Qurha and
361 Hajarein are again under the direct authority of the Governors of
162 Du'an: Sīf, men 400, rifles 30; Sīf has a garrison of 15 Yafa'is of whom five live in the Husn ad Dōla and 10 in the town. Those I saw were all of the Beni Sa'd Lower Yafa'is. Feil, men 30. Al 'Āddiya, men 30. Ghār as Sūdān, men 30, rifles 5. Nasara, men 10. Naseira, men 10. Seil'a, men 30, rifles 10. Hajarein, men 500, rifles 10. There is a garrison of Yafa'is in Hajarein.

The towns and villages of Wadi Leisar included in the Du'an province are: Al 'Arsama, men 500, rifles 20. Al Jahi, men 300, rifles 150. Al 'Ardh, men 40. Al Jadīda, men 150, rifles 10. Ad Dūfa, men 250, rifles 20. Jureif, men 150, rifles 10. Subeikh, men 400, rifles 30. Tūlaba, men 500, rifles 35. Dharī, men 600, rifles 30. Hūfa, men 500, rifles 70. Heid al Jazīl, men 150, rifles 10.

635 The following tribes live in the province or are dependent on the
631 wadi: Seibani and its branches, Deiyin, al Hālka, al Marāshida,
619 Khamikha, Bā Hakīm, Bā Sam, and al 'Amūdi. The Beni Hasan and the 'Akābira (see Chapter XVI) deal equally with Mukalla and Du'an. The Hālka and the Marāshida, sometimes considered as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani, and the Bā Hakīm and the Bā Sam, also sometimes treated as separate tribes, are included with the Nūwah (see Chapter XVIII).

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tribe who are now very weak, though the wadi is still called after them Wadi Hajr Bin Daghār. To-day the wadi belongs to the Qu'aiti and it is said that in time it will be known as Wadi Hajr Qu'aiti.

The capital of the province is now Kanina, said to have about 300 to 400 houses and an estimated population of 1,500. Other important villages are Yuwan, the old capital, As Sadaka, Husn Bā Suleiman, Husn Ba'ba', Al 'Asala, Al Qima, Al Hussein, Husun Bā Raghab, Jōl Bā Hāwa, Leswa and Muhrin. The Governor is Sa'id Marzuk Salah. Hajr is an agricultural province, and it is estimated that the number of tribesmen is 5,000. As I did not visit the Hajr province during my tour, the information given is even more at second hand than in other cases.

The tribes living in the province or dependent on it are the Bin Daghār, Nūwah, Āl Deiyeb, Āl Bā Bekr and Āl Zaghīb, Āl Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Khāshia al Murqashi. The following is a description of these tribes together with others connected with Hajr.

NŪWAH.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Sub-section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nūwah Hajr ... | Āl Bā Rashid | — | Al Qeima, Libna | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Sheiba | — | Libna | 150 |
| | Āl Bā Shuqūr | — | — | 80 |
| | 'Ayāl Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Hajām | — | — | 40 |
| | Āl Bā Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Faqqās | — | Qazein, Yuwan | 200 |
| | Āl Bā Dubīān | Āl Bā Sabera | Jōl Bā Hāwa, Al Qāsima, Yuwan, Muhammada, Kanina. | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Mas'ud | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Dabeis | | Yuwan | 100 |
| | As Sumahi | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Sara | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Qarwān | — | Muhammada | 250 |
| | Āl Bā Rajāsh | — | Kanina, Sherij Bā Jamum, Husun Āl Bā Rajāsh. | 400 |
| | Bā Museita | | — | 100 |
| Nūwah Du'an | Āl Bā Hakīm | — | Al Qarn | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Sam | — | — | 120 |
| | Āl Bā Khamis | — | — | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Ma'as | — | — | 150 |
| | Bu Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Bā Safr | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl Bā Shihab | — | — | — |
| Nūwah Lajrāt Du'an. | Āl Bā Batīn | — | — | 70 |
| | Āl Bā Sūeid | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl 'Afif | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Meis | — | — | — |
| | | | | 2,760 |

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ĀL HĀJIB BENI SA'D.

This tribe also live at Jerdan and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

AN NAMĀRA BENI HILĀL.

The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with this tribe who live at Wadi Yeb'uth beyond Wadi 'Amd.

ĀL SENAD AL MURQASHI.

This tribe live beyond Hajr and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

THE BEDUINS OF ASH SHĀŪLA.

This small tribe, who were originally of Hajr, now live to the west of Jerdan. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

NU'MĀN.

The clans of the Nu'mān are Āl Baheith and Āl Bā Qātmi living at Sidāra and Wadi Salmun, and Āl Bā Suleiman living at Husn Bā Suleiman. The tribe is said to number about 2,000, and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the Āl Baheith clan.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 5. SHIBAM PROVINCE.

The Shibam province, which is described by the Qu'aiti as being the eye and the backbone of the Hadhramaut, includes the towns and villages up the Wadi Hajarein from, but excluding, Hajarein as far as the Wadi Hadhramaut, and eastward along the Wadi Hadhramaut to just east of Shibam. The capital of the province is Shibam, a tightly-packed walled city of 500 houses, seven mosques, and an estimated population of 7,000. The other towns and villages of the province after Hajarein are: Jidfera, belonging to the Āl Jābri (a clan of the Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 50 armed men; Al Jahi, belonging to the Bin Musā'id with 35 armed men, (on enquiry as to which tribe the Bin Musā'id belonged I was informed that they were a clan of the Sei'ar, but this should be treated with reserve); Nahūla, belonging to the Āl 'Umar Mahfudh with 85 armed men; Al Manīdhara, the inhabitants of which are full subjects of the Qu'aiti Government; Al Hauta and Meshhed belonging to the Seiyids of Al 'Attas; Marāwih, Al Aqlāt, and 'Adab belonging to the Bā Wazīr townsmen; Qabdhein ar Rōdha with 30 armed men under the *Mansab* of Meshhed; Sadba belonging to the Rabbā (a section of the Nahd) with 50 armed men; Qarn Āl Sharāh belonging to the Āl Manif (a section of the Nahd) with 70 armed men; Badra, Al 'Ardh, Dīār Āl Nāsir, and Siraj with 45, 50, 35, and 30 armed men respectively, belong also to the Rabbā; Bahrān belonging to the Nahd Āl Thābit with 60 armed men; Haura, with a population of 1,500, all subjects of the Qu'aiti

635 Government; 'Arūdh al Makhāshin belonging to the Makhāshin
162 section of the Nahd, with a population of 300, all subjects of the
631 Qu'aiti Government; An Naq'a belonging to the Bā Wazīr towns-
611 men with a population of 500; Al 'Ajlānia, belonging to the Āl Kathīr with 17 armed men; Al Man'at, belonging to the Nahd with 35 armed men; and Al Marāti', a village between Al Man'at and Henin, with 200 armed tribesmen of Kinda, and 50 of the Nahd.

At Al 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn are the houses of the Bā 'Umar Sheikhs with 15 armed men; the town of Mad-har bin Nahīd in the Wadi Manūb with 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shabīb (a section of the Nahd), and Dīār al Maqārīm with 30 armed Nahd tribesmen.

Between Al Qatn and Shibam are: 'Ardh Masrūr belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl 'Ali bin Ahmed (Yafa'is) with 60 armed men; Huweila belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl Salim bin 'Ali (Yafa'is) with 40 armed men; Khashāmir belonging to the Bin 'Ali Jābir (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 80 armed men; Al 'Iqad, situated at the end of Al Qatn and the beginning of Wadi Beni Rashīd, belonging to the Āl Qu'ata (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 75 armed men; 'Ikāba and Al Husn belonging to the Hamdhān (of the Nahd) with 30 armed men; Husūn at Al Qatn belonging to the Āl az Zu' (of the Nahd) with 40 armed men; Husūn belonging to the Bal'alā (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 30 armed men; and Husūn belonging to the Āl Jābri (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 25 armed men.

438 Shibam is the most important advanced market of the Hadhra-
361 maut, and has a large inward traffic from Mukalla. It is also a buying market for the products of the country north and west, and the products of these parts are consumed in the town. Caravans come from San'ā in about 15 days. The tribesmen bringing these caravans are Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Rabi', Āl Khalifa, and 'Abīda. The principal inland traffic, however, is from Merkha, Hadhina, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. These caravans, mainly carrying maize, wheat, barley, ghee, oil, oilcakes, cotton, honey, blankets, and spinning cloth, are brought by 'Aulaqis, Hamām, Āl Ruba'ia, Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Maradi'a, Āl Khalifa, Dohum, Karab, Nahd and Āl Bureik tribesmen.

361 There is no regular communication with Nejd although occasional visitors come skirting the desert. Members of the Rashidi tribe also come to Shibam now and then. There is a landing ground at Shibam, and apart from its being a large caravan station it is in touch with towns between Hajarein and Qasm by car. It has no great industries, but makes mats and dyes cloths and skins.

635 The Governor of the Shibam province is Ferai Sa'id, a slave
567 who has held high positions and who has previously served at Shibam. He has also been Governor of 'Einat. He was appointed in October 1934, in succession to Sultan 'Ali bin Salah al Qu'aiti.

619 and have allied themselves to the Ja'da. The Āl Salima have an
'Attas Seiyid as their *Mansab*; the 'Amūdi Sheikhs also have great
631 influence in the Wadi 'Amd.
101

ĀL MA'DI.

The clans of the tribe are Āl Sūeidan, Āl Sa'id, Āl 'Umar and Diba. The Āl Ma'di, said to be originally of the Beni Hilāl, live at Tamham, Hibra, Wajr and Diba in the upper part of the Wadi 'Amd. They are at feud with the Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed and Āl Salima clans of the Ja'da tribe who occupy the central and lower sections of the wadi.

AD DOHM.

An independent tribe living in Wadi 'Amd. Attached to them is the Shof, a small tribe with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement.

Details of the tribesmen of Beidat ad Deiyin, on the tableland between Wadis Du'an and 'Amd, were given me in Du'an, and as they are said to depend on that province, and as they are near to it, I have included them in Chapter XVII.

The Qu'aiti himself refers to certain districts as not belonging to any province but as being under his control. These are: (1) the tribesmen of Hajr close to the borders of Bir 'Ali "from the south side"; (2) the country of Sāh; (3) Gheil 'Umar; and (4) 'Einat to Qabr Hud including the Tamimi and Manahil tribes.

Of the first and third territories mentioned in this list, I have been unable to find anything, though outlying tribes connected with the Hajr province are described under that heading. The country of the Āl Sāh clan of the Āl Jābir tribe is due south of Seiyun on the tableland between the Wadis Bin 'Ali and 'Adim. The Āl Jābir are one of the principal tribes of the Shenafir Confederation which is led by the Kathīri Sultan, and it is admitted in the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement that the Āl Jābir are his followers. On these grounds the Kathīris claimed Sāh and the Qu'aiti Regent informed me that Sultan 'Umar agreed to let them have half. The inhabitants themselves, however, are said to have protested against this arrangement and stated that they preferred to be under the Qu'aitis. So presumably the matter stands. But it certainly seems that in law at any rate they should be considered as Kathīris. In this connection it has to be remembered that the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement apparently includes a recognition of Qu'aiti suzerainty over many tribes which are old Kathīri allies. Two tribes of the Wadi Bin 'Ali, the Beni Sa'd and Āl Seif, are said to decline Kathīri allegiance.

631 As regards the district 'Einat to Qabr Hud, Kathīri dominion ends outside the eastern walls of Tarim. The country beyond is ~~Tamimi and beyond the Tamimi come the~~ Manāhil, both of whom
[632] are Qu'aiti allies. 'Einat, a city of Seiyids, is definitely Qu'aiti
361 and has a Qu'aiti Governor as well as a *Mansab* of the Seiyids. The
[See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

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town, which is said to have 13 mosques and about 5,000 inhabitants, is a place of sanctuary. It shows signs of modern influences, and amongst other things which surprised me was a fairly well constructed incinerator at work. 361

The principal Tamimi towns are Dammūn, Qōz, Qāhir, Qasm, As Sōm, 'Asum, and Fughma. The Manāhil have no towns worth the name, though they have sections living in As Sōm and Fughma. The villages of Sena, An Neid, and Tabūrkum are their principal headquarters, and Qabr Hud is in their territory, but the little village is unoccupied except at the time of the pilgrimage on the 15th Sha'ban. Rich families from all over the Hadhramaut have houses there which are locked up for the greater part of the year. 631

The Tamimi and the Manāhil, together with a small tribe called the Āl as Sumāh, form the Beni Dhanna Confederation. Hamdani mentions the Beni Dhanna as a sub-tribe of the Beni 'Udhra, derived from Qudha'a, and elsewhere as descendents of the Beni Numeir, an Ishmaelite tribe. The following is a description of the Beni Dhanna Confederation: 619 631 101

### Āl as Sumāh.

A nomadic tribe in the mountains to the north of the valley of 'Einat.

### Tamimi.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Muhammad Yamāni bin 'Āli and bin Suleiman. | — | Bā 'Alāl | 35 | Suleiman |
| Balheij, Balhindi, and Bin Zeidān. | — | Below al Ghurfa. | 12 | Balheij |
| Al Qaramis and their slaves ... | — | do. | 20 | Mubarek bin 'Umar |
| Āl Shamlān and their slaves ... | — | As Sūeirī | 45 | Ahmed bin Karama. |
| Bin Qasīr ... ... ... | Āl Kibl Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar. | Beit Jubeir | 25 | Salih 'Ali |
| Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed. | — | Husn Fallūqa | 45 | Sa'id bin Salih. |
| Al 'Urān and Al Habārisa ... | — | Mustakhirat | 25 | Salim bin Faraj. |
| Bin 'Amhar and Bin Sa'id bin 'Umar. | — | Jarra | 15 | Sa'id bin 'Umar. |
| Bin Āl Mubarek bin 'Umar... | — | Al Husn | 20 | 'Aidha |
| Bin 'Ali bin Ahmed ... ... | — | Al Bada' | 10 | Ahmed bin 'Awadh. |
| Bin Silma ... ... ... | — | Dammūn | 100 | Salim bin 'Awadh. |
| Bin Dabdūh and their slaves... | — | Khabāya | 10 | Sa'id bin 'Abdulla. |
| Āl 'Isa and Āl Marsān ... | — | Al Qōz | 70 | Sālmīn |
| Āl 'Abd ash Sheikh ... ... | — | Bā 'Uteir | 35 | 'Umar bin Al 'Abd. |

631 The Kathīri claims the Hamumi, Nahd, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar tribes as his allies. The agreement with the Nahd, which is said to be similar to those with the Hamumi, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar, is included in an appendix. It is stated that these tribes would join the Kathīris if there was trouble with the Qu'aitis.

*Kathīri Towns.*

101 The country ruled by the Kathīris was formerly of vast extent and stretched from the 'Aulaqi country on the west to the Mahri on the east, including the country of Dhufar beyond. The history of the circumscription of the territory to its present limits appears sufficiently in an earlier chapter of this report.

631 Of the six towns or villages mentioned as being included in the
632 Kathīri dominions Seiyun and Tarim are the largest. Seiyun, the capital of the Āl 'Abdulla Sultans, is a walled town of over 1,500
● 361 houses and about 50 mosques. The suburbs, which are all to the east of the town, are extending fairly rapidly with the building of pleasant looking residencies, most of them with their own gardens. The population is said to be about 20,000. Tarim is also a growing town with an estimated population of 15,000. Its walls, which are over five miles in length and are furnished with five gates and 25 forts, enclose a great deal of open space so that most of the better class houses have their own gardens. There are over 2,000 houses, and there are said to be 300 mosques, one of which, built by the Al Kafs, has the highest minaret in the Hadhramaut and is of an unusual pattern. The principal shrine in Tarim is that of Maqaddam Faqih. There are growing suburbs outside the walls such as 'Aidīd, but some of the suburbs such as Thibi, Dammūn, and Beit Jabīr, belong to the Tamimis and are under
342 Qu'aiti influence. Tarim and Seiyun are striking for their many
365 palaces, equipped in modern style, to which reference has already been made. These houses have a water supply laid on and pumped
312 up by small petrol engines. The towns are well supplied with wells, and Tarim is remarkable for being the only town in the Hadhramaut with public conveniences, which, however, are rough mud erections and very insanitary.

361 Taris is a village lying to the west of Seiyun, and its inhabitants
524 do not exceed 700. Mariama is a small village to the east of Seiyun with a population of about 300. Al Ghurf, also a small village, lies to the north of Tarim and has a population not exceeding 250. Gheil bin Yomein is said to be a popular place of resort during the autumn. It is a small village of which the majority of the inhabitants are Beduins.

565 A great deal of wealth comes into the Kathīri towns from the East Indies, and the towns of Tarim and Seiyun, which are considered centres of culture and learning, include many wealthy inhabitants whose fortunes have been made in the East Indies.
000 The whole of the Kathīri part of the wadi is accessible by motor

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and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *liwas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

### Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

370

# HOUSE BUILDING IN THE HADHRAMAUT

W. H. INGRAMS

342 361 363 DURING a recent tour in the Hadhramaut my wife and I collected some notes on the building of houses. Each town in the country has its own individual characteristics. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type, built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Makalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not 6 feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces.

361 342 353 In the Wadi Do'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Do'an houses the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb* [1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, 2 inches across the heads, burnished with lead, which shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development of Do'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring-bone pattern.

361 342 177 352 492 493 In Terim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice plants, and modern European conveniences in the bathrooms. Whereas in Do'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel back over the mountains for six days, and while I mention this it is worth recording that there are sixty cars in Terim itself, each of which has been transported in parts by twelve camels from the coast.

313 333 353 The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seyyids of Terim and Seyyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of getting long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree trows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseilah, they cannot be transported by

[1] The commoner Arabic name is *sidr*, *Rhamnus nabeca*.

313 camels. The difficulty is being got over to some extent by experiments in
333 making reinforced-concrete pillars, of which we saw two in construction at
353 Seyyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seyyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, consist of a lime plaster polished by smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

● 361 Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in
342 the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area five hundred houses built on
485 a slight eminence in the wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud-built construction with a whitewashed top
623 storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town, and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild.
344 The area of land required to build a house 45 *dhirras* in width by 35 in depth (a *dhirra*, or cubit, equals 1·5 foot) will cost 10,000 dollars, and having acquired the land the prospective builder will have to submit the specifications of his house for the approval of a committee of the townspeople who consider the position of windows and of gutters carrying water to the street. Subsequent alterations to a house must also be similarly approved. By general consent houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high, in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this house, which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars.

333 The foundations are dug 2 *dhirras* deep below the surface of the earth and
342 3 *dhirras* wide. Stones are used for the foundation mortared together with a mixture of wood ash and lime. In places where there is any doubt as to the solidity of the ground on which the house is to stand long pieces of *'elb* wood are laid in pairs lengthwise in the foundations. Wood for this purpose must be cut in the winter; if this is done it is said never to rot. The stone foundation or *sās* is continued for 2 *dhirras* above the level of the ground. When the building operations have reached this stage a foundation sacrifice of a goat or sheep is made on the walls. The house is centred round a solid pillar built on the same foundation as the walls. For a house of the dimensions proposed this pillar or *'arus el beit* will be $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 *dhirras* wide and of the same thickness from top to bottom. The stairs of the house invariably go up round the *'arus*. The bricks are made of clay mixed with straw, the standard size being $1\frac{1}{4}$ *dhirras* in length by $\frac{2}{3}$ in breadth by 4 *banan* or fingers' widths in thickness. When the clay of the required consistency and thickness for making the bricks has been laid out they are cut out by a wooden frame which makes two bricks
[435] at a time. The bricks cost five dollars a thousand.

The thickness of the walls of the first storey is $1\frac{7}{8}$ *dhirras*, of the second $1\frac{1}{2}$, of the third $1\frac{1}{4}$, of the fourth 1 *dhirra*, of the fifth $\frac{3}{4}$, of the sixth $\frac{5}{8}$, and of the seventh $\frac{1}{2}$ a *dhirra*. The bricks are mortared together with wet clay. As *'elb* wood grows to no great length the size of the room is determined to some
[435] extent by the length of the pieces available as girders. The girders are usually very short and supported by carved pillars each costing about twenty dollars.

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361

The ground floor of the house is usually the highest and the others are all about the same. Some of the houses in Shibam are built on the slope of the hill and are therefore provided with cellars. The height of the wall facing the outside of the city in these circumstances is about 70 *dhirras* or 105 feet high. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together.

The life of a house is said to be two hundred to two hundred and fifty years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits necessitating demolition. Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

[402]

The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, it may be interesting to record that in one wadi through which we travelled to the north of the main wadi towards the desert we found troglodyte Badawin living in caves in the walls of the wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseilah between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than 5 feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents.

5 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadramaut MM 21
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they are a race apart and are much respected, frequently attaining positions of high rank. A man will trust his slave before his brother. Tribesmen will eat with a slave when the slave has attained a position of eminence, such as governor of a village or commander of a post, but never with a Doshan or with a Heiq. A Chief's responsibility for his slaves is a very real one, and should he sell a slave or part with one he will be considered to have committed a shame. The slaves that I have met in the territory upheld the reputation slaves have always had for loyalty and courage.

We next come to two curious races, the Akhdam and the Hajur. I am satisfied that these are quite separate races, although there are a few instances of intermarriage in the major settlements. Akhdam is the plural of Khadim, which means "servant." This race is of African origin, but I can make no guess at the date at which they came to Arabia. Whenever it was, they appear to have left no relations or traces behind them in Africa. Their main settlement is at Zabid in the Western Yemen. They are of the Shafa'i sect, but practise witchcraft, make phalli and hold snakes and snake-charmers in great respect. In appearance they are small and their skin is a dull dark brown, not a glossy East African black. The only race in the country which will do filthy work, the Akhdam are in great demand and are employed as sweepers. They have their own headman in their small communities, successful wizards appointing themselves to the post without election.

The second foreign race is the Hajur. They appear to be South-west Abyssinians and are very like the Galla. Like the Akhdam, they have long ago lost any linguistic connection with Africa and speak Arabic. They are hardy and well-built and live in grass-hut settlements on the coastal belt between Lahej and Abyan. Some, on occasion, bear arms, but they are on the whole un-warlike and seek casual labour at harvest time. The 'Abdali tribes of Lajeh have intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and for this reason the 'Abdalis are darker than most coast Arabs and many villages in their territory are occupied by settled Hajur. In a few generations the Hajur and the 'Abdali will be indistinguishable, and I think this mingling of the two races must be very recent, and probably began during or just before the Turkish occupation of Lahej in 1916.

East of Aden, for some hundred miles, the coastal fishing communities are of Hajur or mixed Hajur stock. They elect their headmen as the Arabs do and are of the Shafa'i sect, but, like the Akhdam, they incline towards witchcraft and phallic worship. The observant traveller on the Lahej road will see plenty of evidence for this close to their settlements.

It is possible that these two African races came to Arabia during the second and third centuries A.D. as camp-followers to Abyssinian armies. But this is pure conjecture.

Finally, we come to the Jews. Jewish settlements exist all over the Protectorate. The principal settlement is in San'a, and all Jews of South Arabia claim inter-relationship and have many family connections in Palestine. They claim to be descended from the Jews of Kheybar. It is more probable, however, that the original Yemeni Jews are of South Arab race. Before the rise of Islam the people of South-west Arabia were

133 a second miracle happens. There is a cleft in the great basalt plateau and
a beautiful green valley opens abruptly in the flat tableland—a valley run-
311 ning from east to west, joining the sea some 150 miles further on. This is a fertile valley with gardens and palm groves, millet fields and white palaces. An underground river continually provides water for the wells and the little irrigation channels. There are crops up to three times per year. In this lovely setting very civilized and well-dressed townsfolk live in large mud-built towns on the valley cliff sides. Recently they have laid aside their arms and ceased their blood feuds and tribal wars which raged from town to town, from tribe to tribe, from family to family. With the aid of the British adviser they have established law and order and made their foreign trade, which is their livelihood, flourish unhindered.

172 When we go back into history to find out where this miracle has sprung
341 from, we discover that there were the old Sabean and Hymyaritic civilizations of 1,000 or 2,000 years B.C., of which Mr. Ingrams spoke. Perhaps it started with the Minean Empire, on the eastern border of Yemen, and its capital, Ma'in. Later came the Sabeans with their capital a little south, at Marib; followed by the Katabaneans, whose centre, Timna, was at the south-eastern corner of the great desert. And lastly, perhaps, the Hadhramis, whose early capital may have been the much disputed Shabwa. These people built in stone, and their buildings were several storeys high and of very fine dry masonry. Many are the ruins covering the western territory between Aden and Hadhramaut and to the north in Yemen. But also in Hadhramaut itself, further east, there are vestiges of towns and temples, in the main valley and the side valleys; great plans of garrison cities, and remains of castle and palace walls in beautifully executed stonework, all erected perhaps some 2,000 years ago.

341 With such a tradition it is not surprising that something is still found
333 in the present day, and although the Hadhramis have not continued the stone masonry and have turned mainly to sun-dried mud bricks, their achievements are of remarkable interest.

101 Reviewing the various groups of the population, there are the bedouin
342 who still live by camel transport, the sand bedouin of the desert who live in simple black camelhair tents, and the bedouin mountain tribesmen who live on the arid plateaux. The latter are rugged and tough, like the country round them. Their life is hard; it is scorching hot without any shade in the day, bitterly cold at night at 6,000 feet. They still build their low windowless huts with brushwood roofs with the stones of the plateaux in dry walling. They carry on in their primitive way the stone tradition which has been lost elsewhere in the eastern area.

361 The next class of inhabitants we meet are the remote valley bedouin,
311 who live in rather better circumstances. They do have a little grazing, cultivate a little land where they grow millet called dharrah and a sort of
342 little cucumber-tomato called faguws. They live in the earthen beds of long-dried-up rivers that have a flood from the hills about once a year. They have grown lazy like everyone else, and they build their little castles
342 of mud bricks with a base of rough stones from the river-bed. A passage down the centre leads from the entrance door with almost windowless rooms for storage either side to a stair leading to a sheltered roof terrace.

7: Sturler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk. 342

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm. 361

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anis go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices. 311 312 511 262 439 291

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space. 342 361 531

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut. 361 342

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on [941]

361 a mound, is seven storeys and rises above the rest, the whole, like all
342 others, built in mud bricks.

In the centre, the space that is left, lie huddled the one-storeyed shops of the suq and the many-storeyed flat houses of the poor. Shibam seemed the only town where houses were occupied in flats. Elsewhere I saw almost exclusively one-family houses even if the family had many groups within it.

342 All houses in Hadhramaut have a strong inward slant from bottom to
333 top, which gives them a look of strength mingled with grace. There are no basements and barely foundations, but the ground floor is an almost solid base, so thick are the walls that taper towards the top. They may be almost 3 feet thick at the base for a tall castle, and a foot at the top.

In Shibam, the houses forming a solid rampart wall have windows at the two ends only, and a small light-well to light the stairs in the centre of the deep building. The ground floor usually contains granaries and stores. The straight flights of the stairs rise between thick walls with a very heavy
342 central block. On the first floor the Shibam citizen keeps his goats and
231 rabbits in the outside rooms, while the centre is occupied by more stores. About the second floor begin the living quarters—that is, the office and rooms of the men, stores in the centre again, and often with kitchen,
342 washroom, and lavatory. These washrooms and lavatories are systemati-
336 cally built over a central shaft, though water is mostly allowed to run from a gutter into the centre of the street. But there are "back" streets for the
342 sanitation and "front" streets for doors. About the third floor the private quarters begin. They would be men's living quarters, with the ladies on the floor above, the fourth, with kitchen and washrooms again; right on top, often little private quarters for the owner of the house where he may enjoy most fresh air. Each floor has a double set of windows, a large one down to the floor and a small square one for ventilation above, up against the ceiling, so that there are continual draughts running through the top of the room. Practically all rooms have windows on two sides, and with this and the thick walls and the smooth plaster they remain pleasantly cool.

342 The lower floors are usually the loftiest; even the ground floor store
353 rooms are up to 12 and 13 feet high. The house often has two entrances—
531 a large door for the men and a little one for the ladies, with separate stairs in the larger houses, even in Shibam where land is scarce. The façades are in rough mud brick, a uniform brown colour with a white plaster smooth base and white ornaments round windows and parapet, getting richer towards the top of the house, which is the best part of it.

Their plasterwork is one of their great arts. It is extraordinarily hard. To obtain this it is presumed to be mixed with date juice. When polished with a piece of flint and rubbed with a cloth for hours it acquires a lustre that makes it shine like marble. This is chiefly done inside the main rooms and in the washrooms and stairs. Outside it is only polished at the base, for water to run off. The ornamentation of the upper storeys is left
342 rough white. But as people's wealth increased they have abandoned this
531 form of very characteristic decoration, which divided the tall buildings in broad brown bands alternating with narrow white bands at window level.

7: Stuefer-Rasmussen T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MMB Hadhramaut MMB



Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost. 342 531

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby. 341 531 177

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away. 342 353 177

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms. 361 565

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely. 565 292 561

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one 665 342

# LAND AND PEOPLES OF THE HADHRAMAUT, ADEN PROTECTORATE

Ruthven W. Pike

131 ALTHOUGH Southern Arabia borders on the much-traveled route to India and ocean liners daily touch its shore at the port of Aden, it has been little reconnoitered, far less than
114 the northern part of the peninsula. A chronological account of exploration in the part of Southern Arabia known as the Hadhramaut, by Mr. W. H. Ingrams (now Chief Secretary in Aden), appeared in the *Geographical Review* for October, 1938. It is entirely due to the tactful and untiring efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, who, with the coöperation of Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf, member of the wealthiest family in the Hadhramaut, have succeeded in establishing peace and understanding among the many tribes of the region, that it is now possible for a European to journey unmolested within prescribed regions.

[63] The boundaries of the Aden Protectorate, of which the Hadhramaut is a part, extend into heretofore unexplored territory and have
131 not been surveyed in the manner customary in settled areas. The limits are well understood, however. They are formed by the Gulf of Aden on the south, the district of Dhufar on the east, the southern margin of the great interior sandy desert of Rub' al Khali on the north, and a line running N 45° E from Perim Island to the Rub' al Khali on the west.

162 The population is densest near Aden and its mountainous hinter-
161 land. There are, however, a great many people to the east of Aden, who live along the coast and in the interior of the Hadhramaut; Mr. Ingrams estimates their number at 260,000. There are also many towns and villages between the mouth of the Wadi Maseila and the Dhufar Coast, with a population thought to be about 25,000. Mukalla,
361 with 16,000 inhabitants, is the chief port of the Hadhramaut and seat
[63] of the British Colonial Administration for the surrounding area.

## Climate

132 The climate at sea level between October and April is healthful and agreeable to one accustomed to living in temperate regions. On the interior plateau, or Jol, at altitudes of 3000 to 4000 feet, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut, at 2000 feet, the nights are cool, with minimum temperatures reaching 50° F., and are apt to be windy. At such times ordinary summer clothing and light bedding do not afford enough protection.

From April on, the average and maximum daily temperatures

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8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

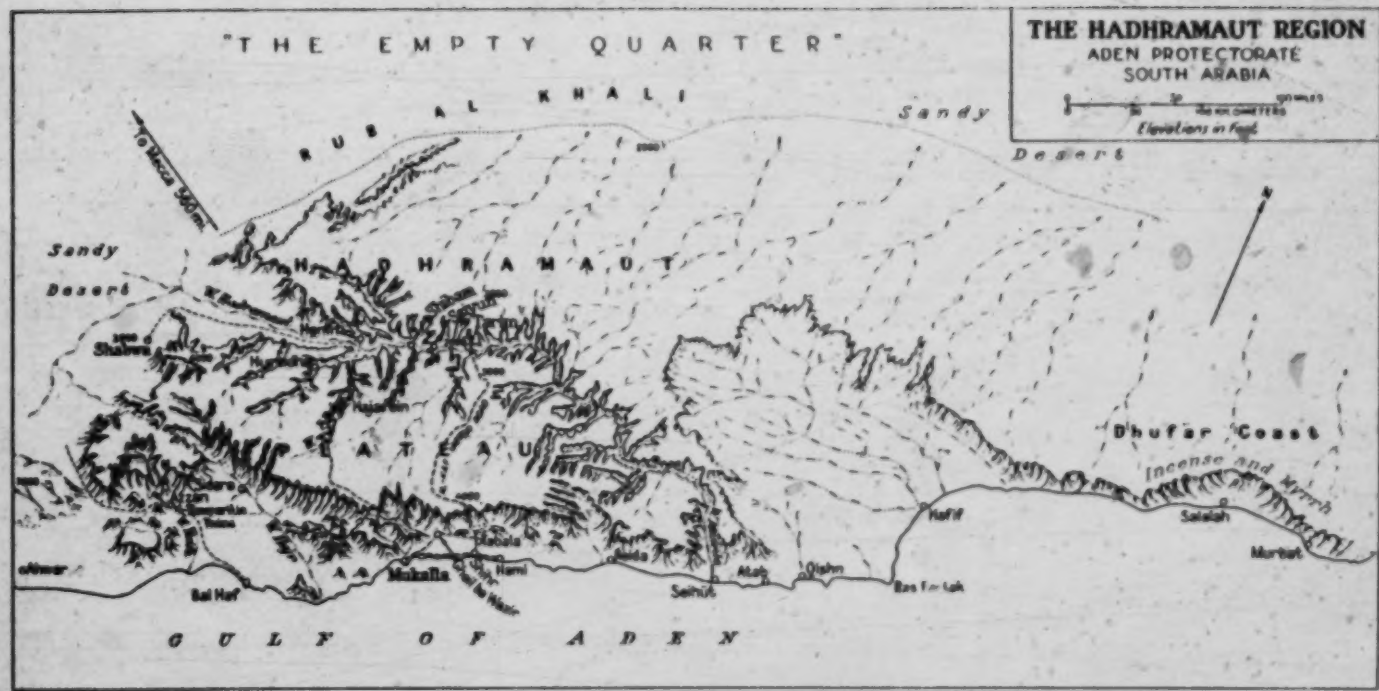


FIG. 9—Diagrammatic sketch of the Hadhramaut illustrating the dissection of the plateau by the main wadi and its tributaries and the relation to other drainage systems. Mukalla is about 300 miles east-northeast of Aden, in 14° 32′ N. and 49° 07′ E. (See Fig. 1).

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FIG. 9—Shibam, looking down the Wadi Hadhramaut toward Seiyun (see Fig. 7). Shibam is built on a low hill at the tip of a plateau spur and, for lack of space, grew upward; the buildings are eight to ten stories high. The landlord occupies the upper stories and these parts are whitewashed; the more whitewash, the wealthier the owner. Note the abandoned fields embanked to prevent runoff of water. The upper right-hand margin shows the plateau topography in the direction of the sea, a hundred miles distant.

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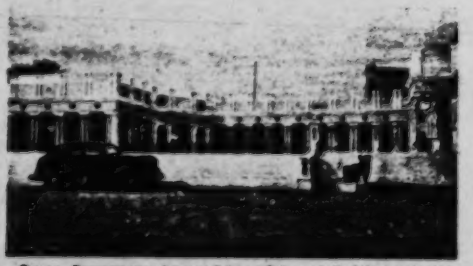

FIG. 10—Kathiri guest house at Seiyun. Only one half of the mansion is in view. Most of the courtyard above the steps is occupied by a swimming pool.

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8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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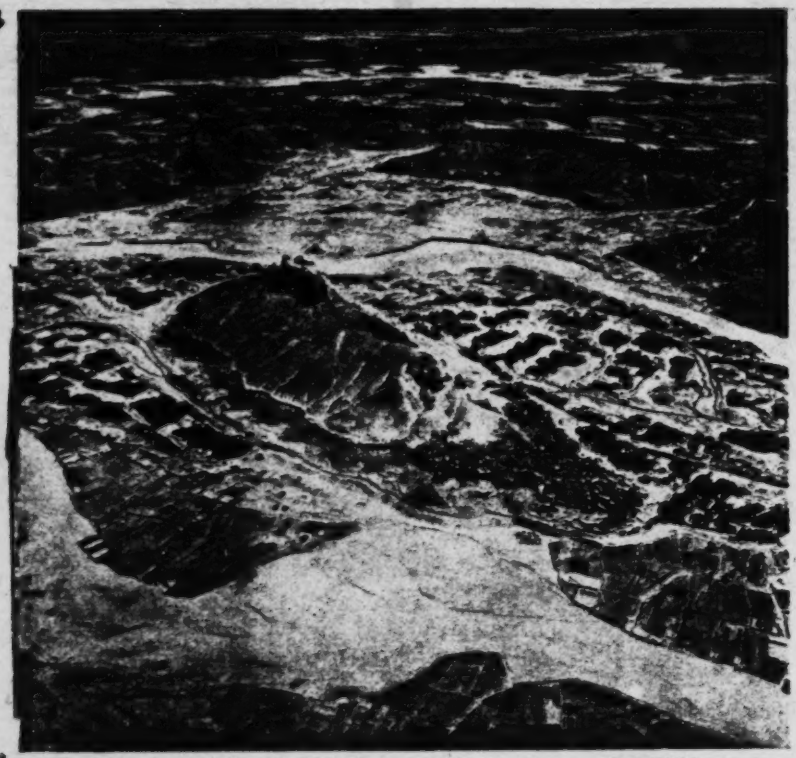

FIG. 11—Hajorein, the largest city in Wadi Du'an, is on one of the principal caravan routes between Mukalla and the Wadi Hadhramaut. Its site was obviously chosen with an eye to defense. Groves of cultivated date palms and millet fields may be seen amid a series of earthen retaining walls and irrigation ditches. As in other cities of the Hadhramaut, adobe brick is the building material.

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FIG. 12—A typical, fortified, Arab settlement on the banks of the Wadi Hajr. The irrigated groves of date palms furnish the main foodstuff.

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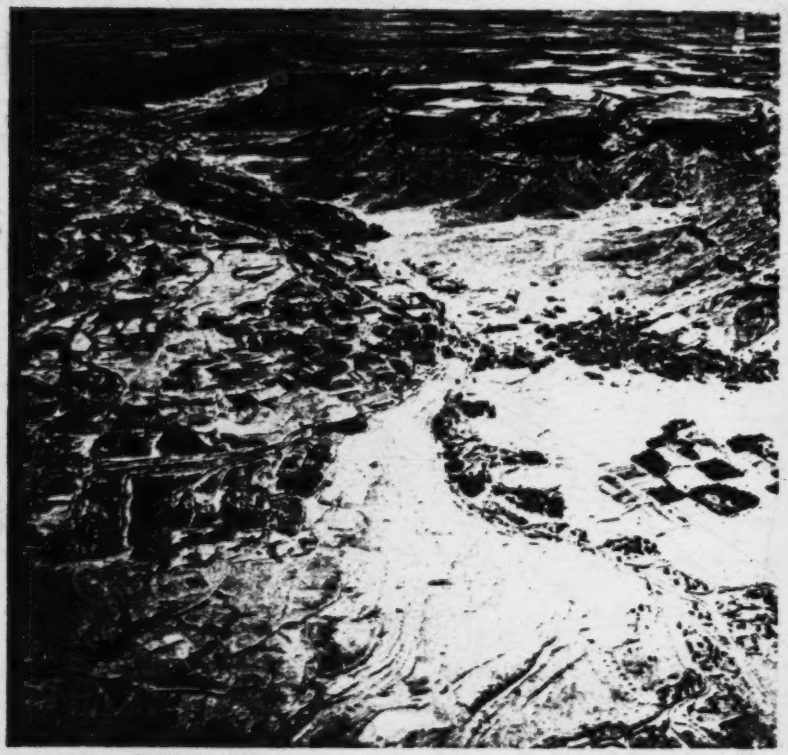

FIG. 13—Hureidha, in the Wadi 'Amd. Like a majority of the Hadhramaut cities, it is situated in a semi-protected spot. Both used and abandoned agricultural areas may be observed throughout the broad valley. This view over the tableland looks southward toward the sea and illustrates the steep-walled nature of the drainage system among even the smallest streams.

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FIG. 14—Recently discovered ruins along Wadi Majr, near Azzan, dating from the time of the pre-Islamic Himyaritic kingdom.

p.639

8. Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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FIG. 15—Mukalla from the sea. The skyline of the second largest settlement and commercial center on the south coast of Arabia.

133 Gradients are low, not more than 1 in 500 and very probably averaging about 1 in 750.

## STREAMS NEAR THE COAST

The area between the coast and the southern margin of the Hadhramaut-Maseila and Hafif basins, some 500 miles long, is drained by short, intermittent, steep-gradient mountain streams, few of which, except certain sections of the Maseila, are perennial. The best known of these is the Wadi Hajr, which enters the Gulf of Aden at Ras al Kalb, 50 miles southwest of Mukalla. Another is the Wadi Meifa, about the same distance beyond Hajr. Both of them, although they have not been traced to their sources, are reasonably reported to be fed by springs.

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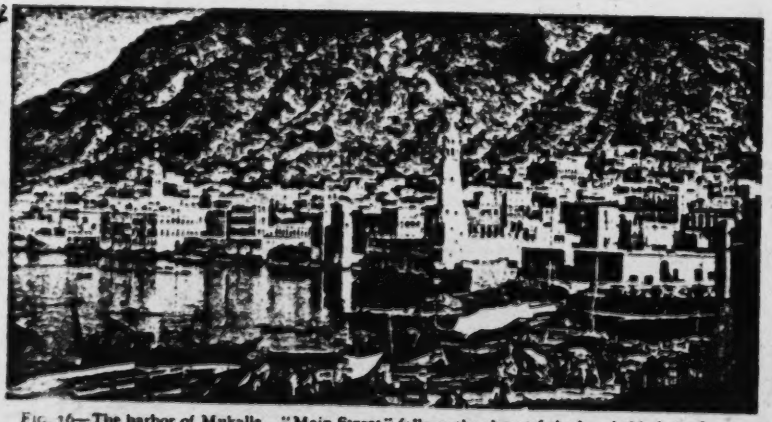

FIG. 16—The harbor of Mukalla. "Main Street" follows the shore of the bay behind the first row of buildings. Mukalla builds most of the locally-owned dhows.

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FIG. 17—Ruins of a pre-Islamic city in the Wadi Masila. The site was chosen for defensive purposes and each house was in itself a fortress.

## HOT SPRINGS

133 [135] Hot sulphurous springs are widely scattered in the coastal zone, and fairly accurate accounts of many of them are available. They commonly deposit gypsum in quantity. Some of the deposits are so large as to suggest either that activity was more general in the past or that the position of the spring outlets has shifted. The springs may be attributed to the same subterranean conditions that prevail in Yellowstone Park, where descending waters become superheated through close association with uncooled rocks and rise again to the surface.

312 241 361 [271] Within half a mile of the coast of Hami, east of Mukalla, several hot springs are utilized by the natives for irrigation of date palms and millet and also for drinking. Neither here nor elsewhere does the

[312] FIG. 18—A view in the Wadi Masila where water is present during most of the year. The edge of the Jol appears in the background.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 mineral content of the water seem to affect agriculture adversely.
241 A striking example is seen about five miles north of Shihr where a
361 series of springs depositing sulphur and gypsum have built an impressive mound, on which the village of Tabala stands. Their abundant and continued flow enables extensive irrigation by hand-dug canals and aqueducts and affords a means of livelihood for several hundred

[487 FIG. 19—A caravan settling down for the night on the cold and stony Jol in the lengthening shadows of the setting sun. A caravan stops wherever night may overtake it and with little or no cover the
302] Bedouins find a place to rest among the stones and shiver themselves to sleep. A coating of indigo stain with which the Bedouins not uncommonly paint themselves is said to be some defense against the night air.

people. The temperature of these springs on emergence is not far below boiling point, and they are reported to be the hottest on the coast.

At the small village of Harshiat, 3½ miles north of Mukalla, a few tepid sulphurous springs likewise are valuable for their yield. At the village of Gheil ba Wazir, on the inland road between Mukalla and Shihr, is an extensive gypsum flat and also a group of gypsum-depositing springs. Here a tobacco-raising community has sprung up. A part of the arable land is devoted to the growing of dates and millet and the remainder to tobacco, for which, owing to a quality unsurpassed in Southern Arabia, demand exceeds supply.

The small community of Husn Baquidran depends on a limited but constant supply of nongypsiferous sulphur water in the mountains of the Wadi Hajr, 30 miles from the coast. Irrigation is practiced on a small scale. The sites of Sidara and Mahamda, on the Wadi Hajr above Husn Baquidran, were determined by the presence of several groups of sulphur springs that are used for irrigation and consumption.

## VEGETATION

132 Today only the seaward fringe of the Dhufar Coast region, which
37 during the pre-Islamic empires of the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and
175

361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from
245 Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where
438 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager
283 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in
[342] this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have
186 caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the
191 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a
185 more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley,
485 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was
491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and e cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterla the more advanced and better-developed and more easily a e coastal
728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achiev ent in the
185 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

133 During the daytime the heat was stifling, and at night it was so cold that for hours before the sun rose I was no longer able to sleep. The interminable, barren plain was covered all over with sharp, loose fragments of stone, and among these wound the narrow path along which from morning to night we steadily wended our way.
312 Drinking water is here to be found in *negābas,* which are cisterns hewn out of the rock some three meters below the surface, with a narrow opening. Low ridges lead the scanty rainfall to the *negāba.* Owing to the narrow opening there is very little evaporation, and if one has no rope at hand with a vessel to draw water, this opening is just large enough to admit a man to dip it out.
485 Near the *negāba* there is usually a little square building made by piling up rough stones in clay, this is called *murabba,* and here the midday hours with their scorch-
486 ing heat may be spent. For the sake of safety, our
609 Bedouins avoided the *negābas* as places for passing the night. In the evening the neighborhood of the bivouac was carefully reconnoitred, and usually sentries were posted at night. The authorities at Makalla had given us for our personal protection two negro soldiers belonging
133 to the famous slave army of the āl-Qa'ētī sultan. On May 15 we reached the wonderfully beautiful valley Wādī Dō'an. The descent of hundreds of meters of this almost perpendicular wall of rock with loaded camels was a difficult feat causing some anxiety; but the Bedouins and their camels reached the valley below with-
245 out a single mishap. As we looked upon this *wādī,* hemmed in by its high walls of rock, it looked like a land of magic with its deep-green groves of date palms
[361] and its clay villages with great castles and high houses. A glowing heat as dry as dust prevailed in Wādī Dō'an night and day. The bright yellow and deep red bunches of dates were hanging ripening in the hot wind. In the shade of the magnificent and remarkably well kept trees the population were quietly waiting for the harvest time.
144 A great deal of mixture with negro blood (of slaves) has

taken place here, and there are still many slaves for 144
agricultural work.

The old blind governor, Bā Surra, received us in his 609
castle with oriental hospitality. The only thing we had to complain of in our lodgings was that there were too many interested in us! Our animals for mountain transport had to be exchanged here for others which were accustomed to traveling in the hot sand of the level *wādīs*.

On the 17th of May we resumed our journey, after having been entertained first in the summer residence of the vizier of Makalla, where his son acted as host. As 361
the evening shadows fell we reached Sēf, a miserable and squalid village where nearly a century ago von Wrede was recognized as a Christian, and barely escaped a miserable death. We also had unpleasant experiences at Sēf. Long before Sēf the *wādī* had lost its splendid 311
datepalm cultivation, and had become a broad valley of 137
sand and stones, with here and there some lotus trees (*nibq*). After the excellent reception we had had at 609
Dō'an, Sēf was a grievous disappointment. The governor was supposed to be away, but it appeared later that because of his embarrassment and poverty he had sought an excuse to be relieved of the duty of conferring hospitality upon us. In a very primitive manner we were installed upon the roof of a stable by the governor's soldiers, who took his place as our hosts. We were not left alone for a moment, for interested visitors were continually jostling one another on our roof. We had to secure fresh donkeys at Sēf, and the troublesome negotiations about this began that evening.

The next day the governor appeared, but he seemed to have absolutely no influence. We had to wait for hours before the necessary donkeys and camels were brought. A large escort of soldiers eager for *baksheesh* wished to accompany us, but I vigorously opposed this, and succeeded in reducing their number to two. Much too late, weary of all the negotiations and disgusted with the obvious opposition and antipathy of everybody here

609 against the two non-Moslem travelers, we started in the direction of Hajarēn. It was a silent struggle against thirst and heat. At last we were standing at the foot of
361 the mountain on which Hajarēn lies. It must be a very old town. For a land of warfare its position is also very favorable. In the midst of the broad valley, on the top of a steep rocky hill, which stands there alone and commands the entire valley, they naturally preferred to build a town in former times. We were at the end of our strength as we worked our way up, in through the gate of Hajarēn, and by many narrow, steep streets to a plain house where a friend of the Dutch was said to be living.
609 He might well have been startled when he saw the caravan of his unexpected visitors. It was a long time before the doors were opened. Luck was not with us.
[585] A double wedding feast was just being celebrated, and the women had to vacate the room in which we were to be received. Our host was not rich, but he put himself and all that he had at our disposal. When he saw how weary we were and how we longed for rest, a room was made ready for us higher up, where we could sleep until the meal was ready. We were under the roof of a Dutch subject. I remember with deep gratitude the oriental hospitality which cannot be praised enough, and of which we saw here a brilliant example. Thoroughly refreshed
361 we started in the afternoon for Meshed. We had to
609 close our ranks in doing this, for here was the neutral
721 zone between the regions of the āl-Qa'ētī and the āl-
609 Kathīr. Everything here indicated warfare and highway robbery. Meshed is a little place built in the midst of the desert, solely for the purpose of preventing highway robbery. The trade route from the Wādī Hadramaut through the Wādī Dō'an to the coast is safe since Meshed was established. Here we came into the jurisdiction of the family al-'Attās, and our troubles and anxieties came to an end. We were taken into a beautiful, spotlessly clean guest house, and were welcomed as honored guests by the cultured son of the absent governor.

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



On the 19th of May we reached Horēda, the tribal village of the family al-'Attās, where we had a fine reception. Horēda can thank the wealth accumulated in Java and at Singapore for its beautiful houses and mosques. There is a large number of Dutch subjects there, and so many of them speak Malay that one even frequently hears it spoken on the streets.

On the 20th and 21st of May we remained at Horēda. The mosques and schools were carefully examined, and some short excursions were made in that neighborhood.

Horēda lies in the Wādī 'Amd, which branches off from the main *Wādī* of Hadramaut, to which we now returned, leaving Horēda on the 22nd of May. Bin Marta' from Soerabaya, a large dealer in building materials, took us in his auto, which was the first that ever came to Horēda, to the place where he lives, Hēnan. It was a difficult task among the endless sand-hills to find a track on which it was possible for the auto to travel, and when a sandstorm came up we had to flee to the Diyār-āl-Buqri, certain high castles in the midst of the broad sandy *wādī,* which were the center of a warfare which had been going on there for years. The fighting captains and their soldiers received us very well; they appear to have close family relationships with Java. Elsewhere, in a description of the political situation, I will deal minutely with the Diyār-āl-Buqri and their inhabitants. Hēnan is a little place which is lost in the sand. By installing a motor pump, our friend Bin Marta' is trying to arouse his village to new life.

On the 23rd of May, Bin Marta' took us in his auto to al-Qatn, the residence of the sultan of Shibām. We were here once more in the āl-Qa'ētī jurisdiction. At al-Qatn the Wādī Hadramaut changes completely, and beautiful date-palm plantations begin here. In the shadow of these palms lie the luxurious green *dhura* fields (maize). The sultan did not appear to be at al-Qatn, and we were received by a member of the family. Through a severe sandstorm we drove on to Shibām, the

361 609 New York of Hadramaut. The city consists of very high houses built close together. One drives into the city through a heavy double gate, and then up a square in front of the ancient but beautiful palace, which is at the same time a castle. The young and sympathetic sultan received us cordially, but was very much displeased about our guides of the al-'Attās, who had not taken care that His Highness was properly informed beforehand about our coming. The situation was relieved by some rich merchants of Singapore with an invitation for us to take an auto ride to their plantations, and by their asking the sultan's permission to invite us to stay at the house in their plantation. This the sultan permitted, on condition that we should first take a meal with him, and that on the way back we should make it possible for him to prepare a worthy reception for us. The gentlemen at at-Tuwayy and La'jam had a house like a fairy tale, where we afterwards stayed in the atmosphere of the Arabian nights. In front of this house, which was decorated in fantastic colors, there was a small swimming pool, and here in the soft moonlight we forgot all about the sandstorm.

We spent the morning of the 24th of May with our hosts and the sultan at the house in the plantation, and at midday we went further on to Sēwun in the sultan's automobiles. There they had been properly informed as to our coming. The sultan, surrounded by all his retinue, was awaiting us in a white guesthouse, situated in the plantation quarter. In this little town, which is the most beautiful in Hadramaut, we spent several interesting days. The sultan of Terīm also has his palace at Sēwun, and is generally at the last-named place, since at Terīm Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf is the dominant person. In his palace we spent one forenoon.

491 On May the 26th we went in two of the sultan's automobiles to Terīm. At the express desire of His Highness we drove along the mountain road, which was constructed by Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf, and the entire

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



cost was paid by him. The way across the mountains is 491
fantastically dangerous, but an expert chauffeur with a first class auto seems to be able to pass over it without any accident. I made up my mind, however, not to risk it again, and on the way back to follow the longer way round through the *wādī*. The mountain road was constructed at a time when it was impossible, owing to hostilities, to pass through the level country.

From the 27th of May until the 7th of June we were 741
in Terīm as the guests of Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf 871
As a Sayyid he has no official part in the government of 185
his country, but actually he is the man who is now doing most for his country and people. It was he who founded the schools at Makalla, at ash-Shihr, at Dō'an and in the towns of the Wādī Hadramaut, and it is he who supports them; it was he who made possible the transport of the first automobiles from the coast to Terīm, along the great road which he is now engaged in constructing. He is the man who constructed the automobile road from Terīm to Sēwun, and it is he who gives generously to thousands of the poor, to whom he has food supplied every Thursday evening. Terīm is the town for religion and learn- 361
ing; once it was the most important town of Hadramaut, and it is again on the road to become that. It is a town with a multitude of mosques and dozens of palaces, in which are living those families the members of which were able to amass millions of money in Java and at Singapore. The home of Sayyid Abu Bakr is the place where religious and political leaders meet one another, and where the future of the country is discussed.

Thanks to the help of our host, we were able to make 778
a trip to Sūne, the center for archæology, and finally to [782]
attain our most distant goal by being able to visit the 788
central sanctuary of Hadramaut, namely, the grave of the prophet of Allah, Hūd, and to explore the mythical abode of the souls of the unbelievers, Bīr Barhūt. The tomb of Hūd (Qabr Hūd) is the Mecca of Hadramaut and of the surrounding countries. For three days in

every year pilgrims assemble there from all those regions, and both before and after that a Truce of God prevails during an appointed period, in this country which is rent asunder by mutual warfare. Never before had a Christian been able to get further than Terīm in the direction of this sanctuary, and without the protection and the planning of the powerful Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf we should not have succeeded. On the way to Qabr Hūd we passed the magnificent ruined castles of el-'Urr and Thōbe, and the remains of houses and a cemetery at Makēnun. Qabr Hūd seemed to be a silent and defunct little town, with great houses which are only occupied for three days in a year. In the bed of the *wādī* there appeared to be water here, but before it reaches the sea it is said to disappear underground or else to dry up. The grave of Hūd, the great preacher of repentance in Hadramaut, is adorned with a dome which impresses one by its simplicity and beauty. The other sacred buildings are equally beautiful and are well kept. Where we had expected to find a Bedouin sanctuary which was neglected and primitive and surrounded by mud huts for the pilgrims, we found instead on the border of Arabia's "empty quarter," far away from the world, a sanctuary built and cared for with devotion and great talent.

We entered still further into the branch valley of Barhūt, and at the end of this *wādī* we saw at a height of about one hundred meters above the bottom of the valley the dark yawning chasm of the Bīr Barhūt, of which even the ancient geographers furnished descriptions, and definitely anticipated that there must be here the crater of a great volcano. After an investigation of two hours in the dark passages, arches and tunnels of Bīr Barhūt we were able to determine that we have here to deal with an ordinary limestone cave. Nowhere in this region did we see any trace of volcanic action. It was only in the broken ridge of mountains on the coast that we saw many traces of volcanic action. Further north the strata are horizontal; a layer of limestone about

a hundred meters in thickness lies on a likewise horizontal layer of sandstone. Owing to this, the valley profiles throughout Hadramaut are monotonously uniform.

On the 7th of June we left Terīm. With some difficulty we had succeeded in securing the sympathy and coöperation of Sayyid Abu Bakr for our plan of trying to reach Aden overland. The baggage would be sent direct to ash-Shihr, and thence by sea to Aden. We could take with us only as much as we could carry with us on our riding camels. With a small escort and fast camels we should then perhaps be able to pass unnoticed through the region where there was war. This plan fell through. We were continually coming upon territory through which we could not pass. By way of Horēda we passed through the Wādī 'Amd to a place where, beyond 'Amd, the territory between two contending parties compelled us to make a circuitous movement through the country of the Deyyin Bedouins. Even though we traveled rapidly with a small party we were continually compelled to make new detours. In so doing we got still further away from our original goal, namely, Nisāb (or Ansāb), which is the furthest English outpost in the hinterland of Aden. At Yeb'ith, where the attitude of the population was antagonistic, and where our food supply seemed to be extremely limited, we gave up the Aden plan, and decided to make rapid marches direct to Makalla. At Sidāra we entered the Wādī Hajr, the only *wādī* in South Arabia where there is always running water. At Mēfa'a we reached the coast. Through the difficult mountain range along the coast we went as far as the fishing town of Borūm. Then we followed the coast to Makalla, where we arrived safe on the afternoon of June 21.

The return journey had been partly through territory never yet traveled. Von Wissmann was thus in a position to put on his map the exact connection between Hadramaut and the hinterland of Aden. By this conclusion of

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*3. A typical town on unproductive land in the Wadi Du'an*

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*4. Part of the "Assoda" scarp seen from the Uruq az Zaza dunes. The scarp can be seen as a black line on horizon level. Vegetation is largely Calligonum comosum, Dipterygium glaucum and Cyperus sp.*

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133 maut, and not with their beheaded remnants north of the subsidiary watershed, then the similarity becomes obvious. As would be expected from this theory, the south-flowing tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut have heads even deeper than those on the main watershed. Given a short eastward displacement in the courses of the original rivers, then it is possible that the Du'an and 'Amd drainages originally fed into the Hizar and Jinab respectively.

The completion of the present phase of river capture occurred when the headwaters of the Hadhramaut cut right back and out of the western edge of the *jol*, and formed the unusual and almost unique feature of the wide upper reaches in a line from Husn al 'Abr to Shabwa. The headwaters cut back rapidly across the plain which had been formed by the wadis 'Arma, Jirdan, Baihan, etc., and carried all the waters from them down to the Maseilah and the Gulf of Aden, whereas before they had drained towards the Persian Gulf. This capture has left a vast dry plain, the Khudaif–Mulais basin, with dry watercourses up to 2 miles wide. Several such courses may be seen in the Wudiya'a area, and have banks 20 feet or more deep, and floors of heavy fluvial gravels.

A series of levels carried out in early 1951 showed river capture still occurring around Husn al 'Abr. Here short, steep-profiled tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut are cutting back into the headwaters of the Wadi Hudhi, which flows north-eastwards past Zamakh with the cliff edge of the *jol* forming its right bank. Hills such as the Misair group have been isolated from the rest of the *jol*, and both Misair and Rubah retain the flat-topped character of the *jol*. The cliff face of Rubah is only some 200 feet high on the north where it descends to the Hudhi, but on the south it drops 500 feet to the Hadhramaut. Levels were also carried out in the Minwakh area and showed the capture of the lower waters of the Hudhi and the waters of the Sibr, Kor, Sulhaba, etc., which had been tributary to it. The point of capture of these rivers by the Aiwat as Sei'ar is at Shasun, about 10 miles downstream from Minwakh

*The pattern of settlements*

361 The siting of settlements in the mountain areas is dependent on agriculture
133 with its requirement of a workable tilth and water at a manageable depth.
491 Among the crystalline hills these conditions are best fulfilled at the foot of the torrent course, where the first patches of riverine plain appear. Thus there is a series of settlements from Ranya through Bisha, Tathlith, Hamdha, Salwa, Najran, Shudaif, Marib, Baihan, and Ansab to Al Hadhinah, and all these settlements can be reached by motor transport from the inland plain by driving up the wadi bed. Penetration upstream of the settlements is frequently difficult as the bed becomes stony and boulder-strewn, and all pretence of riverine plain ceases.

133 In the *jol* the wadis descend in a series of steps which are caused by strata
311 more resistant to erosion. The horizontal section of each of these steps has retained sufficient silt for agriculture and water is also available. Moreover the vertical cliff faces, sometimes higher than the width of the valleys they contain, cut off the morning and afternoon sun, thereby considerably reducing

133 the amount of evaporation. Accordingly we find in the north–south wadis a
311 continuous belt of cultivations with hamlets of a few houses every mile and towns about 15 miles or an easy day's walk apart. As opposed to this the cultivations in the Wadi Hadhramaut, which runs west–east, are to be found mainly in belts along the northern and southern sides, the south belt being wider than the north, due to the increasing evaporation and lower water table towards the centre of the wadi.

311 Except for the hamlets which occur among the fields, the buildings make
361 use of unproductive land, and perch up against the cliff side on the talus slope. This position also carries the advantages of shade together with good siting for defence. Where land is at a premium, villages may be so sited as to become inaccessible even to the draught and load-carrying beasts used in agriculture, and the stables and grainstores are found at the edges of the fields and at the foot of the narrow winding path leading up to the village (Plate 3).

[104] Water for the permanent cultivations of *dhurra* (*Sorghum* sp.), *dukhn*
312 (*Pennisetum typhoideum* et spp.), lucerne and date palm has until the last few
406 years been drawn by man or animal power, raising a leather bag of water by
241 walking down a ramp away from the well shaft. Nowadays greater use is being made of diesel- and petrol-driven pumps, increasing both the yield and the area it is economical to cultivate. The effect of these pumps, which are available on deferred terms, in lowering the water table will be watched with care. New crops such as potatoes, the brassicas, and sugar cane are also being introduced under the agriculture scheme in an attempt to make the Hadhramaut, if not entirely self-supporting, at least less dependent on its "extra-territorial population."

241 This limitation does not apply to the flood crops which are snatched
312 wherever possible. Throughout the lower wadi systems there exists a com-
361 plicated network of deflector dams which have the object of spreading the floodwaters over as large an area as possible, and leading a certain part of them into irrigation channels. Many retaining dams have been attempted, but usually unsuccessfully, as the major structure has been an earthwork with only the spillway of durable construction. In the shallow beds of the wadis running north from the secondary watershed there are many small cultivated patches and groups of two or three fortified houses are often situated where camel tracks converge on water cisterns cut into the rock.

*The transition belt.*

133 The transition zone between the mountain systems and the sand desert takes a number of forms. North of the Ramlat[1] al Mundafan the Kaukab sandstone plateau overlies the crystalline rocks to the west, and to the east has eroded to become an area of minor plateaus and blocks. Through the wide flat valleys between these minor plateaus runs the main Najran–Dawasir track, roughly north–south in longitude 44° 45′ E. at a general height of a little under 3000 feet. To the east of this track lies the southern section of the Nafud Dahi, running parallel with the road, and rising to a height of 100 feet

104 [1] Ramla(t): a general name for any sand feature. Thus the Ramlat al Mundafan means literally "the buried sands."

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 The Cretaceous bed is particularly massive and juts out beyond the overlying strata to form bold headlands between the lateral wadis. The more gentle slope below to the wadi floor is due to soft red sandstones, with occasional shaly layers towards the top. They are probably the local representatives of the Nubian sandstone. Owing to their softness they are being eroded rapidly and consequent undercutting of the superposed limestone causes huge falls of rock. The result is a thick mantle of scree, consolidated in places to a breccia which almost hides the sandstones. The formation of this scree must have begun far back in the wadi's history, for not only have the talus slopes been cut into "semi-detached" hillocks, but they appear to plunge under the valley filling. Numbers of chert implements of Levallois type lie in and on the scree and argue a *status quo* as far back as the middle [172] or later Pleistocene. In historic times also these screes and breccias were put to practical use, for tomb entrances of the pre-Islamic inhabitants of these valleys were cut through them, and sepulchral caves hollowed out in the soft sandstone slopes beneath.

Travelling along the main wadi and up its tributaries, the beds in the bounding cliffs appear to remain at a constant level above the wadi floor. The strata cannot therefore be truly horizontal, but must rise gradually both west and south. To one used to the valley systems of Egypt a striking feature of the Wadi Hadhramaut is the monotonous flatness and uniformity of its floor (Plate 3). No great prehistoric gravel terraces mark higher water-levels, and the present flood-channel or "*seil*-bed" is a relatively insignificant feature. Obviously the most important episode in the wadi's history, after its actual cutting, was the deposition of material which filled it and its tributaries to some unplumbed depth. The upper part of this fill is a fine sandy silt, which will be described later, but there is reason to believe that gravels underlie it, for farther down the main wadi they come to light. Moreover in the Wadi 'Adim, an important tributary coming in from the south near Tarim, the 15-m. section of the wadi bank shows 4–8 m. of silt overlying thick gravel bands (Plate 5). These gravels fade out before the mouth of the wadi is reached, and have presumably plunged deeply down and may join similar deposits in the main valley.

The Wadi Hadhramaut shows a curious reversal of the normal valley form in being wider towards the source than the mouth. In the narrower stretch below Tarim, known as the Wadi Maseila, Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams found lava-flows which, it has been suggested, may once have blocked the course. Air photographs show the position of this lava, but have not conclusively corroborated the idea. The narrowing, moreover, begins before this point for no apparent petrological reason, and the cause more probably lies in the wadi's history, and is conceivably due to complicated river capture. Unfortunately time and tribal conditions prevented an examination of this area.

[361] All the detailed work of the expedition was done from the small town of Hureidha in the Wadi 'Amd, 24 km. from its junction with the Wadi Hadhramaut. Here one of the most important tributary systems enters from the south. It consists of two big valleys which divide, 10 km. from their common outlet, into the Wadi Du'an running due south for 80 km., and the Wadi 'Amd running south-south-west for over 120 km. Near the junction of the

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main wadi system; there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *badu* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government, and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

The climate of Mukalla is on the whole pleasant enough, and with the gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year we had a particularly bad

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, 364
according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to 164
see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for 731
rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in 361
its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia 484
and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans. One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors 563
and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily. We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla 100
have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations. The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency, the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish. Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light 373
has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible 701
far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganize and train his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on 517
the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago, for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The 20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, 491
for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hill-sides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extraordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the 414
beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which 438

passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of such hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and these heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

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out to meet you. Many people prefer to walk down the *'aqaba*, and in any case the drivers stop at the top to tie up the brakes. I have only walked down once, and that was on the morning of the New Year. I sat for a short time at the top and it really was a most beautiful sight watching the day break over the minarets and white houses of Tarim.

"Tarim and thou desirest no more" is a local saying, and in truth I know of no happier places to live in than Tarim and Seiyun. I shall never forget our first impressions of Tarim nor I think does anybody else forget his, but the charm of these places grows with knowledge and they have a hospitable and cultured society. There is little literary learning in Mukalla or Shihr: Mukalla can be difficult to live in, but Shihr is always friendly and welcoming. Seiyun and Tarim are not only that, but can talk of affairs, of history, and of philosophy. The whole country is full of poets, and not only quotes the old poets but records constantly current history in *qasidas*, and that is how much of it survives. At a Shabwani dance the poets assemble and in turn compose extempore couplets, which are repeated by the choir leaders and taken up by a hundred throats.

Tarim and its rich suburb of 'Aidid, where there are several beautiful Riviera villas, are of course under Kathiri rule, but they and the small village of Al Ghuraf are in Tamimi country. One interesting fact about Tarim that I have learnt recently is that it contains a state within its walls. This enclosure, which contains a few houses inhabited by the Seiyids of Al Haddad, is ruled by their *mansab* under some ancient right. His subjects are completely under his jurisdiction, and even if they commit offences in the city of Tarim are not tried by the Sultan but handed over to him. The intelligentsia of Tarim call him the *Baba* (the Pope) and his state the *Fatikana*. Tarim and Seiyun both have old religious academies (*Rubats*) to which students come from considerable distances in the west of the Protectorate and from the Yemen. I remember when I first passed the Tarim Rubat a long time ago there was a rush to exclude the contaminating influence, and all the doors and window shutters were hastily banged. Life gets more pleasant when crowds of children and adult hangers on cease to follow you shouting *Nasrani* (Christian). When I returned to Mukalla from the interior in March 1937 one small boy did shout Nasrani, but was immediately corrected by a friend who said "*That's* not a Nasrani, that's Ingrams."

The Tamimis, who stretch several miles on the way to Seiyun and down the Wadi Maseila to below Qasm, the Tamimi capital, are a Qu'aiti tribe, so that Tarim and Al Ghuraf form islands in their territory. There are no Badu sections to the Tamimis, and they all live in the wadi and emigrate largely to East Africa and the East Indies. They are however an astonishingly disunited tribe whose sections were constantly warring against each other, mostly over land questions. In this way they are a great contrast to their neighbours, the Manahil, who belong to the same Confederation, the Beni Dhanna. The Manahil are all Badus but are completely united in following their young chief 'Aidha bin Tannaf, a very fine lad of about twenty-five. I thought at first that the Manahil were not going to join in the truce, but after holding back for a little while they came and signed, and have never caused the slightest trouble, though 'Aidha had considerable difficulty in restraining

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hospitality in the new house during the past year, and last hot weather nothing was more delightful than to sit in the swimming pool in the evening and listen to the strains of the B.B.C. Empire Orchestra. Since then the Arabic broadcasts have started and they are extremely popular throughout the Hadhramaut, which now sets its watches by Big Ben. Bathing over, dinner would be laid on carpets by the side of the bathing pool. One rarely sits down less than twenty at meals in Seiyid Bubekr's house and very often it is forty. The average daily consumption runs into about 30 to 40 lb. of rice, three or four dozen eggs, half a dozen chickens, and one or two sheep, and several pounds of vegetables. We went up for the wedding of his daughter, and then over five thousand people were fed for three days.

Seiyun has been our principal headquarters in the wadi, and from it I have continually visited all the neighbouring places, staying at Shibam, Al Qatn, Henin, Qa'udha, and Hureidha. You never get to Hureidha without stopping for a meal at Diyar al Buqri, where the people are so hospitable that they have been known to fire on those who have attempted to pass in cars without stopping to have a meal. The Buqri are Nahd, and although they are settled they are still rather Badu. On my first visit they offered us a large house if we would but stay and rule the country, and it was then I learned that they had imported a first-class cook from Java in the hope of being able to entertain Europeans. Great as is the hospitality and kindness of all the Nahd, the meals at Diyar al Buqri are as fine and as varied as anything you could get anywhere. Their ideas even of afternoon tea are on the most lavish scale. I have had it with them three times and on each occasion they have produced cakes, honey, and halwa, several varieties of tinned fruit, British biscuits, and super-cream toffees.

Beyond Diyar al Buqri, as you enter the Wadi 'Amd, stands a little fort with a sentry for ever gazing out. It was some time before I discovered that the sentry was a dummy, a lump of clay artistically draped with a black cloth, but in recent months I notice he has fallen into disrepair. The Nahd extend down into the Wadi 'Amd almost as far as Hureidha, of which the population consists entirely of Seiyids of the Al 'Attas family and their dependants. Here, too, I have several times stayed, and there is now a landing-ground. There is no need for me to say much about Hureidha as it is here that Miss Stark, Miss Caton-Thompson and Miss Gardner have been wintering. One interesting fact about Hureidha may however be too trivial for their notice, and that is that one of the mosques has two large town clocks, one with a face 6 feet in diameter and the other 3 feet. Only the latter works, and they are of course at the top of the high minaret. But they are inside the minaret, and you have to walk up sixty or seventy steps to see the time.

Up the wadi from Hureidha is the Ja'da tribe. I have not travelled farther up the wadi than Hureidha on foot, but before I went there for peace negotiations my wife did the journey on camel. The wadi is thickly populated and has numerous small villages which at that time were nearly all at war with each other. My wife took down particulars of thirty-two major feuds going on between sections and even between houses a few yards apart. There were trench systems, similar to those at Qa'udha, leading from the houses to the fields, but owing to the disturbed conditions cultivation had suffered badly

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000 My wife was accompanied by Seiyid 'Alawi al 'Attas and Jemila, a devoted maid servant of the family, who perched precariously on the back of my wife's camel singing Badawin war songs. My wife learnt some of them and they proceeded up the wadi singing duets. Besides being an amusing companion Jemila was a very useful one, for she proved an excellent lady's maid and a masseuse as well. Seiyid 'Alawi has married a tribeswoman, so the party stayed at Zeila in the house of his brother-in-law, one of the principal Ja'da chiefs. Like many Ja'dis their host had been to Java, but the only sign of his travels was a bicycle which he had brought back with him and which he said he
619 preferred to a camel. From Zeila they rode through many small villages to
754 'Anaq belonging to the Al ash Shaibi, who are credited with possessing the Evil
361 Eye and consequently shunned as much as possible. Seiyid 'Alawi thought
342 it prudent not to mount his camel till the village had been left well behind,
778 in case he was made to fall off by some evilly disposed person. They spent a night at 'Amd, which is almost at the end of Ja'da territory, for a little farther up the wadi the Madhi tribe have their habitat. All the villages in the wadi are much alike with a few three- and four-storeyed houses set amongst smaller ones, and most of them have well-built tanks for catching rain-water. Particularly in the left bank there are many dug-out caves, largely used now for habitation and grain stores. Miss Caton-Thompson says that these were probably all Himyaritic tombs. I think some cave dwellers she met were rather put out when she told them they were living in tombs. Many of the Al 'Attas family, who have much influence over the Ja'dis, have been canonized and their domed tombs are objects of veneration in several villages. My
000 wife's appearance was taken for granted at 'Amd, where she spent a night with women who had been to Java and had seen European women before. They had brought back a few momentos of their travels and impelled by the same spirit that makes us hang Eastern curios on our walls they had hung up a pair of cheap European high-heeled slippers for the admiration of their untravelled friends.

172 From 'Amd they returned down the wadi following the left bank and passed
578 many ruins, most of which covered low spurs jutting out from the cliffs. At Husn Ba Qasm there are ruins known as 'Adiya Qudha'a which may indicate the site of what was once the principal town in the wadi, as in the days before Islam it was called Wadi Qudha'a. Near the large village of Bateh they passed the time of day with a man who spoke to them from a second-storey window of his house as he dared not go out, for he was carrying on single-handed a war with all his neighbours. Like many others with whom my wife talked he asked for peace. Another had said "We want peace, we're sick of fighting. A man works in his fields and is shot dead—what's the use of it?" And another stopped them and said: "A country without a government is not a country. Bring us peace and settled government."

361 Returning to Shibam, which is of course the principal Qu'aiti town of the
101 interior, there is west of it past Al Qatn and as far as the junction of the Wadi Du'an a bloc of Yafa'is, with a few Kathiris surviving in such places as Ajlania on the junction itself and also in the Wadi 'Amd. These Yafa'is have been

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settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century Bedr Bu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found; for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Badus keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim Mbaruk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dispensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signatories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

Shibam to the entrance of the Wadi Ser took us three minutes; this journey had taken us exactly two hours on camels, and twenty minutes by car. After sighting the tomb of the Prophet Salih in the Wadi Khonab we turned into the Wadi Ser and at the mouth of the Wadi Latakh I recognized the Bents' Himyaritic caravan signpost. Then we went up the Wadi Sodaf and from Qa' al Fadhul on the *jol* at its head took directions previously given to me by Badawins for Ba Rumeidan, which we found. This is the residence of Tannaf, the principal chief of the Al Baqi Msellem of the Sei'ar. From the air I saw plainly that just before Qa' al Fadhul we were over the northern watershed, from which deep-cut short wadis run south-south-west to the Hadhramaut, and long shallow ones in an east-north-easterly direction to the sands. There was very little habitation over this part of the country, and most of the inhabitants live in caves. After just over forty minutes' flying from Shibam we found ourselves between two short wadis running out into a broad channel of sand which it took us two minutes to cross, and beyond it was a broken mass of rock stretching away to the north-east. The channel itself ran out into the desert just west of the course of the flight, and the distance from Shibam to this point is calcuated at 69 miles. The visibility was perfect. Air Commodore McClaughry, who was with the flight, noted the high mass of the Seiban mountains at least 100 miles away to the south, so that one could also see at least that distance to the north. An unbroken sea of sand stretched wave on wave far away to the horizon. Looking north it was the most remarkable rosy red colour, quite unforgettable and quite unbelievable if an attempt were made to paint it. It was about three-quarters of an hour short of noon local time, so that the colour owed nothing to early morning light. After a few minutes over the desert, which seemed all too short, we came back to Shibam a bit to the west of Wadi Qubhudh.

Next morning we left Seiyun at a quarter to nine on an almost due northerly course. On this outward flight the same facts were observed, deep short ravines running nearly south to the Hadhramaut, and past the paler coloured *jols* of the watershed more shallow wadis running almost east-north-easterly to the sands. In the upper reaches of the southern system we saw a few poor settlements of the 'Awamir and a caravan of some fifty camels plodding its way southward. The whole *jol* from west to east is heavily scored with well-marked tracks, and it is worth noting, as I have also noted on aeroplane journeys over the Wadi Maseila, that east of our course and some 50 miles north of the wadi as it goes towards Qabr Hud there is a considerable rise in the ground, almost a range of mountains. This is probably the Jebel al Wuti of Von Wissmann's map.

After exactly an hour and a quarter's flying we passed over the edge of the steppe and the desert, just by a conspicuous large white patch of sand, the distance from Seiyun being calculated at 112 miles. Again there was the same wonderful sight of endless rosy waves of sand, though when we were directly over the sand I noticed that it was a rich ochre. Just west of the white patch a channel of desert sand opened into the steppe. This proved to be the eastern end of yesterday's channel, separating a long broken up island *jol* from the mainland. Its situation and shape were sufficiently like Madagascar for us to call it that, and the name seems to have stuck in local usage. The flight

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coasted westwards along the line just dividing the desert from the steppe; where the larger wadis run out into the sand there were wide stretches of scattered vegetation which made the land look as if there was a green scum on it.

At the western end of the "island," much broken with gulfs and with small islands lying off it in the desert, the flight turned to the south-west, a little to the west of the point which had been reached on the previous day's reconnaissance, and explored the western part of the Sei'ar country, the territory of the Al Hatim of which Bin Jerbu'a and Bin Mulhi are the chiefs. This is the heart of Reidat as Sei'ar, and turned out to be surprisingly thickly populated and cultivated. On almost every bank of the wadis were villages consisting of the usual type of Hadhrami Badawin conglomerate *dars*, with a tall tower in the centre, and small contiguous quarters, each called a *Beit*, clustered round it. Subsequent flights made this country very familiar, and with the aid of a Sei'ar, one of the most intelligent Badawin guides, I was able to identify almost all these *dars*. On several occasions we flew beyond Reidat as Sei'ar over uninhabited steppe to Husn Al 'Abr, seeing on clear days Shabwa away in the distance.

These reconnaissances seemed to us very interesting, not only politically but geographically, for the watershed and the fall of the land, steep towards the Hadhramaut and gradual towards the sands, were clearly visible. Up on this watershed I recorded altitudes of 3600, while 300 miles to the east Mr. Thomas states that the altitude remained fairly constant at about 950 feet. This northern steppe is bounded on three sides by sand and has cliff-walls all round it, highest on the wadi side and lowest on the northern or desert side. At a conservative estimate in some 20 square miles there are not less than fifty to sixty Sei'ar villages which have scarcely even been visited by Arabs other than the Sei'ar and the Al Ishaq Sheikhs who live among them.

Some time after these reconnaissances my wife and I visited Al 'Abr on the ground, though she in fact went rather farther and drove some 20 miles towards Shabwa, a day and a half's camel ride from Al 'Abr. We have thus seen the whole of the Wadi Hadhramaut from its source to the sea, and the more you see of it the more extraordinary it is, for it must be at least 40 miles from its northern or left to its southern or right banks at Al 'Abr. This of course narrows very rapidly to 4 miles or so at Henin. It was from Henin that Seiyid Bubekr and I set out for Al 'Abr, following for a start the tracks which Dr. Pike, on a geological survey, had made in that direction. The tracks made by Mr. Philby had of course disappeared.

Our object was to obtain the looted camels of the Manahils, held by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun of the Sei'ar at Al 'Abr. We had with us the fifteen slave soldiers of the Qu'aiti Regular Army who were to be installed there as a garrison, and as we did not want the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to abscond into the desert with the camels, we had kept our movements secret. Seiyid Bubekr said his sunset prayers at Henin. The lorries had gone ahead and had made very slow progress as they had had heavy sand to negotiate. It was difficult finding the way in the dark, but we caught them up at half-past eight, and all of us sat down to dine together, just near the village of Sur and under the two mountains called Thukmein which form a conspicuous landmark from the air for a radius of 70 or 80 miles around. This was 27 miles from Henin,

484 and we were in country with which there had been practically no contact
It must really have been alarming to the Badawin: a noisy party in lorries,
which they had not seen before, and ourselves in cars, shouting directions to
each other in the night and firing Verey lights to show each other the way;
[486] but the Badawin materialized out of the darkness, most surprisingly without
rifles, directed us time and again on our way, and pushed our cars out of
the sand.

680 After Thukmein, which we left about half-past eleven, we had no great
difficulty in moving on as the moon was up. We drove on for some hours
and then stopped to let the rest of the party come up. It was bitterly cold and
the keen wind cut through us as we huddled together trying to sleep on the
sand, but we did sleep and woke to a marvellous dawn. The sunset of the
night before, the brilliant moon, and the sunrise are three enduring memories
of that night.

The four flat-topped hills of Al 'Abr lay about 10 miles ahead of us, and
although only one of the lorries had come on, the other having had one of its
many breakdowns, we decided to go on. It was marvellous hard sand on
which a speed of fifty was easy and we had quickly left the lorry behind.
We made our way into the wadi bed, myself acting as guide as I was the only
one who knew the country even from the air. There were one or two Bureiki
Sheikhs about with camels, and rather reluctantly they told us that the
'Abdulla bin 'Aun were also there with the camels. A few minutes' driving
up the hard wadi brought us to the ruins of the fort, said by the Al 'Abdulla
bin 'Aun to have been built by them.

619 The dozen or so Badawin round the well looked extremely surprised when
[291] the car drew up. I suppose they were hardly awake, as the morning was still
chilly and they were all wearing their sheepskin coats. A few Bureiki Sheikhs
came down and bade us welcome. All the rest of the Badawin claimed to
belong to every tribe except the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun. Some said they were
Sheikhs, some claimed to be Daham, a Yemeni tribe, and some Nahd, but
there were a good many shifty looks and in the course of the morning we
sorted out nine who had given themselves away and who finally admitted to
belonging to this raiding section. There are only forty-three males all told
of the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun, but from the amount of trouble they had given in
619 the past it was well worth getting them under control. They have no houses
361 or settled habitation and are about the only people of the Hadhramaut who
342 have goatskin tents. They are part of the Al Hatim, but Bin Mulhi, their
chief, says he has no control over them and the Sei'ar themselves were delighted
when we took hostages from them and put in a garrison, whose function is
to protect the travellers and not to interfere in other ways.

Presently the lorries came up and I installed the wireless and settled the
342 garrison into temporary quarters. There was nothing at Al 'Abr except the
714 ruined fort of which only one wall still stood, a small stone *murabba'a*, one of
the dark cube-shaped shelters used by travellers all over the Hadhramaut,
and a hut built of branches of trees and grass of which there was a great
profusion. There was also a new *weli's* tomb decorated with ibex horns, and
one of the Bureiki Sheikhs took us there and slapping the tomb addressed its
680 lately canonized occupant and introduced us. We put the garrison into the

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



IT IS A CURIOSITY OF DU'AN THAT ALL WOMEN DRESS
291 alike in long black dresses with coloured patches inserted in front and orange
301 scarves over their heads. They are, too, the only women who affect nose rings similar to those usually worn on the fingers. Very few of them have ever left their valley, but many of them bemoaned the absence of husbands who frequently left them for years at a time.

179 The Seiyids lent her a magnificent white donkey to go on to Sif where we had stayed before, and the following day she was met by a friend and a car just before reaching Meshhed. Thence she rejoined me in Seiyun.

From Du'an Mr. Figgis and I flew across to 'Azzan over the upper reaches of the Wadi Hajr, which like the Wadi Maseila has perennial water nearly all its length. I had been to 'Azzan before, but this visit was very short, as the machine crashed on the landing-ground. It was a very artistic crash, and in Air Force parlance a complete write-off. Luckily none of the three of us in the machine were in the least hurt and the crash was far more alarming for Mr. Figgis and his pilot still up above, as it was some time before we found a comfortable way of climbing out of the ruins. I hope that in every crash I have I shall have as skilful a pilot as on that occasion. The crash was due to misguided zeal of the locals, for it was their own home-made landing-ground and they had raked up all the stones off the ground into a ridge along its edge, and it was this we hit as we landed. As ours was the machine with the wireless in it we swapped over into the other, which had landed safely, and flew back to Mukalla to organize assistance.

361 'Azzan is the capital of the Balhaf Sultan and is most picturesquely situated
609 on a citadel rock by the side of the wadi. I was given a great reception on my
411 first visit there with the firing of rifles and war whooping, which is much more a feature of welcomes in the Western Aden Protectorate than in the Eastern. As we walked from the landing-ground to the village the Artillery, a fine old bronze gun marked "A. Wilson. Cossipore. 1841," was brought into play. Our path led below it and it was really rather alarming, because with each discharge a shower of burning shirts and other old clothes, which had been used as wadding, was fired over us.

411 'Azzan is the only place where I have seen spears surviving, though my wife
435 saw them in the Wadi 'Amd. One or two aged warriors came out with spears which they shook in martial fashion, threw into the air and caught again. Quite a number of old weapons survive in the Hadhramaut, for my wife also saw crossbows in the Wadi 'Amd and there are more of the old matchlocks in the country, some of them still in use, than in any other part of the Protectorate. The Hadhramaut seems to have turned over to modern weapons much more recently than the Western Protectorate, for most of the rifles, modern weapons, have wooden butts covered with goatskin fastened over them to take the recoil, a precaution far more necessary with matchlocks. It is worth recording perhaps that there is a heavy slump in the price of firearms. The ordinary Badawin rifle can be bought for as little as eight dollars with some ammunition thrown in, and the most modern rifles of continental manufacture, which eighteen months ago fetched an easy six hundred or more dollars when brought in from the Yemen, are now not bought at all and offers have been made of them for as little as fifty dollars.

619 The atmosphere of the Balhaf court is completely tribal; much more like
162

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



that of the Sultanates of the West, though I was interested to find that there was a small Jewish community, and this is the nearest that any Jews have got to the Hadhramaut. The Balhaf Sultan, an intelligent young man whom I have known for a long time, came to see me in Seiyun and asked us to help in extending peaceful arrangements to his country. Though most of the sections have signed the truce the situation is still far from settled, as Miss Stark, who arrived at 'Azzan from the Wadi 'Amd shortly after my first visit, will tell.

A short distance down the Wadi Meifa'a from 'Azzan are the ruins of Naqab al Hajar described by Wellstead a hundred years ago. This is Meepha Metropolis. I have only seen the ruins from the air, though Miss Stark has recently visited them. There are inscriptions also at Husn Gharab on the coast which Mr. Martens, one of this winter's visitors, has recently seen. He too was well received.

Bir 'Ali is the other Wahidi Sultanate and, though the old Sultan has no claim to rule outside his wedge-shaped little walled town, he is unfortunately at present unwilling to compose his long-standing differences with the Balhaf and 'Azzan relatives, which makes settlement more difficult. I have lately had both Sultans in Mukalla and tried to get them to bury the hatchet.

I have had little opportunity in this last tour to do more for the Mahras than visit Qishn, their capital, occasionally, and Socotra I have not visited since 1935. It may perhaps be remembered that the Bin Zueidi section of the Mahras did not exactly welcome us when we arrived at the coast through the Wadi Maseila in 1934, and a couple of months ago for the first time the Mahras asked for intervention in their internal affairs, as the Zueidi tyranny in Seihut had become acute. We are now trying in the normal political way of advice and exhortation to induce them to cease their exactions on unarmed merchants and peaceful citizens in a town in which they have no lawful concern, and I paid my last visit to Qishn a day or two before I left Mukalla.

I had intended to visit Gheidha, the most eastern landing-ground in the Aden Protectorate, but we did not get so far and made a landing at Haswein just west of Cape Fartak. The inhabitants said it was the first time that Europeans had been there, though they called me by my name as soon as I stepped out of the machine. These coastal Mahras are a peaceful folk engaging mostly in fishing, and they have pleasant breeze-swept villages of a simple style of architecture, unlike the Hadhramaut but which reminded Mr. Figgis, who was with me, very much of the Arab dwellings in Northern Nigeria. I do not believe we could really have been the first Europeans to visit the place as there is quite an adequate account of it in the Red Sea Pilot, perhaps derived from a visit of Captain Haines in the *Palinurus* over a hundred years ago. Perhaps too there had been a much earlier European visitor, for authorities on classical geography usually identify Ras Fartak, Cape Syragrus, the Boar's Head, as the point from which Hippolus set forth in about A.D. 45 when he discovered the changes of the monsoons. I have long had a wish to put up on this majestic cape of Fartak a simple obelisk with the inscription, a quotation from the *Periplus*, "Hippolus discovered the changes of the

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



monsoon." Perhaps now that I have visited Haswein this ambition is nearer fulfilment for I do not think the inhabitants would have any objection.

Flying back from Qishn on one occasion we flew inland a good deal and it was most interesting to see some of the Mahra villages of the interior, as they were quite different from anything I had seen before. They were surrounded by thick low walls perhaps between 4 and 5 feet high and 3 feet thick. These walls not only surrounded the villages but their fields as well. It seemed to me that they said very little for security in the Mahra country. We crossed over the Wadi Maseila about half-way up it and its great deep gorge was most impressive from the air.

I hope I have succeeded in giving some idea of this fascinating country in which my lot is for the present cast, and in reaching which I have achieved a desire now fifteen years old. There is still much to be done in the Hadhramaut, but I think it is mainly by specialist surveys that we can help the people to make the most of it. Something has already been done in this direction, for in 1935 Dr. Storm of Bahrein made a leprosy survey, and at the same time Mr. Maxwell Darling investigated the locust question. This last winter we have been fortunate in having two very able American geologists, Dr. Pike and Mr. Wofford, who covered an incredible area on the ground and the whole country by air. It is hoped that most useful additions to the map will result from their work. It was good to have them there, for not only did they thoroughly enjoy the country but the country has thoroughly enjoyed them.

In the last couple of months Mr. V. L. Griffiths, Principal of Bakht er Ruda College in the Sudan, has travelled through the country and made a survey of the present educational resources and future needs. I believe his report will be of great value to us in this all-important matter. Next will come the investigation of the agricultural and water possibilities for which I believe we shall not have long to wait.

Apart from severely utilitarian investigations such as these there has been the visit of Miss Caton-Thompson, Miss Gardner, and Miss Stark, and one may expect that much light on the history and geology of the country will be forthcoming as a result of their researches. I do not know whether the Hadhramaut is likely to be so attractive in this regard as some people have thought in the past, for I believe that Miss Caton-Thompson is inclined to agree with an idea that I have long had that in the times of the old South Arabian kingdoms the Hadhramaut was rather on the fringe of things and that the most interesting area is probably that between Beihan and Marib.

I must not omit to mention that the Hadhramaut has twice had the honour of welcoming the Governor during the last year. On the first occasion when he opened the Al Kaf road he travelled all round the country for ten days, largely by car. He was so much entertained that he came to the conclusion that social life there was even more stremuous than in Aden. On the second occasion he brought with him Lord Dufferin, the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and with the honour of this visit the country may well claim to be "on the map." Lord Dufferin could only spare a day and a half, but visited Mukalla, Shihr, and Seiyun, and saw a good deal from the air.

There has been a good deal of reference to air travel in this paper, and I

# THE QUARTERS OF TARĪM
## AND THEIR TANṢŪRAHS

621 361 Like Šiḥr and Mukallā, the city of Tarīm is divided into a number of quarters. I have already given the names of the quarters in Šiḥr elsewhere[1], and those of Mukallā are marked on H. von Wissmann's map[2] where Hafd el-'Abī should be corrected to [567] Ḥāfat al-'Abīd, i.e. the quarter of the Slaves. It may be recalled that when W. H. Ingrams arrived in Ḥaḍramawt these slaves were very powerful indeed just as they were amongst the Rwala chiefs[3] of N. Arabia. As in Mecca, the city quarters form an important part of the social structure of the community, and they have their own peculiar organisation upon which I have remarked previously[4]. [174] There seems to be evidence from the inscriptions that cities in South Arabia, sometimes at least, were split up into quarters [161] before Islam. In Tarīm there are no less than eleven quarters, though, as will be seen, only five of them are really independent, but even this is a large number for a city of approximately 15,000 inhabitants.

621 361 104 The five quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Sūḳ, Ḥārat al-Ḥilaif, Ḥārat al-Saḥīl, Ḥārat al-Nuwaidarah, and Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī. Of these *the largest is Ḥārat al-Sūḳ. A saḥīl is a strip of land underneath* a mountain, and including the mountain-side up to the base of the perpendicular Ḏjol cliff[5], a word of frequent occurence. The town of Šibām which is not sub-divided into quarters, has a suburb

113 1 *Materials for South Arabian History* I, Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies (London, 1950), XIII, II, p. 296.

2 D. Van der Meulen & H. v. Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leiden, 1932).

3 Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), index *Slaves*.

4 *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, Le Muséon, LXII, 1-2, p. 159.

5 For the peculiar cliff formation of Wādī sides, see *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*.

P. 277

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621
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b. Metre :

Perhaps ||— — ∪ | — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — فَاعِلْ مُسْتَفْعِلْ فَعُولْ

قَدْ قَنَصْنَا ٱلصَّيْد فِي رُبُوعَهْ [13]

شَيْخَنَا عَلِيّ بِنْ مُحَمَّدْ

« We have hunted the game in its lairs (or mountain-sides). Our šaiḫ is 'Alī bin Niḥimmid. »

This tanṣūrah has no small interest when it is recalled that the ritual hunt played an important part in the pre-Islamic religion of this part of Arabia, especially the hunting of the ibex [14]. The first half-verse is commonly sung by *all* the quarters of Tarīm, and is even used by the people of the ḥawṭah of Thibī not far away. [792] Šaiḫ 'Alī bin Muḥammad is a saint of the Āl Ḫaṭīb family, known as Ṣāḥib al-Wi'il, i.e. « He of the Ibex ». Once, on the occasion of a feast, either the lesser or the greater 'Īd, he had no animal to slaughter by way of celebration, but on returning home from the mosque he found an ibex standing by his door. This was evidently a miracle performed on his behalf. Šaiḫ 'Alī is the patron saint of al-Ḫilaif, and is buried in the cemetery of al-Furaiṭ [15]. The chief mosque of the quarter is Misdjid al-Wi'il, and at one time when, owing to the dissension between three sections of the Yāfi'ī rulers, Tarīm was divided into three territories with three separate djāmi' mosques, the Misdjid al-Wi'il was used for the Friday prayer; *this took place* about a century ago. [346 361]

No doubt this tanṣūrah would be used by parties of hunters returning from the ibex-hunt as I have described in the preface to my book on Ḥaḍramī popular verse.

3. Ḥārat al-Saḥīl

[792] The people of this quarter mention their saint, an 'Aidarūs saiyid who is buried in Tārībah, but I have no further particulars about their tanṣūrahs. They shout 539 621 533

[13] Variant شَمُوعَهْ.

[14] Cf. A. Bertron, *The Ritual Hunt*, Le Muséon, LXI, 3-4, pp. 183-96.

[15] For this cemetery see *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, op. cit.

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



191 exception of the Mahra all these tribes speak Arabic and Arabic alone, and yet some are types
141 clearly distinguishable from the northern Arab, and indeed those I measured are all brachycephals. The very word "Arab" is used in the desert to denote "people" instead of having the particular racial connotation which we give to it. More than once I have been asked "From what Arabs are you?" by a native, who was conscious that I was of a different race from himself.

144 Whether these Arabic-speaking South Arabians are indigenous or come from elsewhere is a question for anthropologists. In this connection, the Preface to Wyman Bury's book *Land of Uz* is of interest. That Preface, written by Maj.-Gen. Maitland who was British Resident at Aden at the beginning of the present century, declares the writer's opinion as follows:—

> "The people of Arabia belong to two distinct and apparently quite different races. The common idea of the Arab type is tall bearded men with clean-cut, hawk-like faces. The Arabs of South Arabia are smaller, darker, coarser featured and nearly beardless. All authorities agree that the Southern Arabs are nearly related by origin to the Abyssinian. Yet strange to say it is the Egypto-African race who are the original and 'pure' Arabs, while the stately Semitic of the North is *Mustareb* . . . one who is Arab by adoption and residence, rather than by descent."

101 But I am concerned here with a group of non-Arabic speaking tribes more distant in habit
● 361 of life still from the familiar Arab, tribes of whom neither Burton nor Maitland could have had any personal knowledge, tribes whose members have seldom made the pilgrimage to Mecca, tribes for the most part settled in the Qara and Al Qamr mountains of the Central South
619 where they breed cows and gather frankincense. To the list given in my previous paper, viz., Qara, Mahra, Shahara, Bauthāra and Harasīs should be added Barahama, Bil Haf, Afar, and Bit Istait (Bait ash Shaikh). Except for those elements of the Mahra that are nomadic, and for the nomadic Harasīs and Afar and the fishing tribe of Bautāhara, the remainder form a *bloc* of settled mountain society with a common and a unique culture.

191 The four languages of this group have been mentioned in the paper under reference. Of the additional tribes the Afar speak a language which is a variant of Mahri, called Aforit, and is said to be the same as that spoken by the Harasīs. The Bait ash Shaikh (Insakht) use the Shahara tongue and are thought to be collateral with the Shahara and once to have co-inhabited the great port, now a heap of ruins, of Rubat (Ariyot). Balhaf, a rather nondescript tribe, owes allegiance to no faction but is Mahri in speech.

### DRESS AND DYE CUSTOMS.

291 The men wear a single sheet wound round to form a skirt short to the knees and then brought diagonally across their bodies and thrown over one shoulder; women a single loose-falling black gown usually green with age and black muslin head-wrap which falls about
301 shoulders and neck; they are mostly unveiled. The use of indigo for smearing their bodies
302 and impregnating their clothes is common to both sexes. It gives their faces a purple hue.
171 There is a local dye from a tree called *kusuir*, but much of the indigo comes from India.

2 [Bait Kathir, Mahra, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai -- Analyst]

Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hill are terraced by the industrious inhabitants to grow crops and, in the higher altitudes, the excellent Mocha coffee for which Southern Arabia is famous. Villages appear in unexpected places, built of mud brick in the low country and of stone on the mountain-sides and hill-tops. Among these habitations are seen always the square towers, or *dars*, and the little mosques or whitewashed shrines that are characteristic of the Arab villages.

The aspect of the country varies in its different parts. Immediately to the north of Aden is the large and fertile oasis in which stands the capital of the Sultan of Lahej. It is irrigated from the bifurcation of the Wadi Tiban that brings water from the mountains and then disappears in the sands near Aden. To the east and west of Lahej are desert strips, but beyond are the Subeihi hills and valleys to the north-west, the rugged Haushabi country, and the pleasant district of Dhala in the Amiri highlands to the north, and the lofty mountains of Yafa to the north-east. Thence to the eastward a steep escarpment spans the country like a rampart; and is crowned by the fertile Audhali plateau 7,000 feet above sea-level. Farther east, beyond another stretch of rough, mountainous country, is the fantastic and barren *jol*, reminiscent of pictures of the surface of the moon. To the north of this strange and desolate area, and in striking contrast to it, is the wide valley of the Hadhramaut, with its chain of towns and villages, its skyscrapers, country houses, palace and gardens. Beyond again, away to the north, lies the edge of the Rub' al Khali, the Empty Quarter, with its sea of rumbled terra-cotta coloured sand dunes stretching into the distant interior.

On the sea coast of the Protectorate there are at intervals fishing villages and little ports, and about 300 miles to the east of Aden stands the picturesque town and port of Mukalla, the capital of the Quaiti Sultan. Protected by a steep background of rock, its white houses cling to the shore, and its appearance from the sea is singularly attractive. The town of Shehr lies on the coast beyond it, and eastward again there are more coastal villages, of which Qishn, the capital of the mainland territory of the Sultan of Socotra, is the most important.

The large island of Socotra, situated about 500 miles to the east of Aden, forms part of the Protectorate. It, too, is a mountainous country, but, owing to its greater rainfall, it is much less bleak than the neighbouring mainland. It has a good deal of varied vegetation, and is noted for its so-called dragon's-blood tree, the sap of which is exported to India and elsewhere to make a rich purple dye. Socotra has also a

# CHAPTER II.

## MAKALLA.

361 The gate to mysterious Ḥaḍramaut, so long closed to 342 foreigners, is of overwhelming beauty. Makalla stretches like a white ribbon along the margin of the blue sea, at the foot of the steep, reddish-brown rocky wall. The waves beat against the town, the white houses stand straight and strong, and many-storied. The balustrades surrounding the flat roofs are cut in filagree and are as white as lace. The minarets have here already the simple, strong, conical form characteristic of the Ḥaḍramī style. To the extreme left is the new and, behind it, the old palace of the Sultan. The new palace, cream-coloured with brick-red shutters and windows, and light-green verandas, stands on the black rocks close to the sea. The frame-work of the picture, formed by coco-nut and date-palms, mango and papaya trees, is of such a jubilant beauty in this world of rock and sea that the critical sense is lulled: the colouring makes everything, even the absence of style in the buildings, beautiful.

To the extreme right, some way out of the town, there is a third palace, belonging to the Sultan. About half way between these princely buildings is the tongue of land, on which is the old centre of the city of Makalla. There the Sultan originally lived, there stands the ancient mosque and there, on the point, the sturdy bastions of the old fort.

504 On one side of this short tongue of land is the harbour, where the graceful sailing-ships ride at anchor. Small rowing-boats and broad sambooks[1] pass to and fro to discharge passengers and merchandise on the broad stone steps, that

109 [1] A sambook is an Arab sailing-boat. It should be spelled *sanbūq* (سنبوق), but has nearly got citizenship in the English language, spelled as it is pronounced.

p. 14

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās had come to Makalla from Java some months previously, with the object of importing motor-cars and other commodities, through the intermediary of his family living there. He would have to visit the interior shortly, so what could be more obvious than that we should try to establish a community of interests, and join forces for the journey? Sayyid ʿAluwī was born in Java and had spent some years in Cairo for his education. He had seen something of England and France, and it looked as if he had grown out of touch with the stern frugal life of the land of his fathers. We have to thank him for the introduction to his relatives at Ḥurēḍa, from whom we had a support and sympathy exceeding our most sanguine expectations.

## 1. BAZAAR LIFE.

361 142 291 302 Well contented with the favourable prospects which were opening out before us, we sauntered through the main street, which runs like a human river along the sea front, the whole length of the town from West to East. One sees representatives of almost all the tribes of the interior gathered here in groups along the rows of booths. Most of them are dark-brown men, with the naked upper part of their bodies, as well as their faces and arms, smeared with indigo. They are bare-headed and barefoot and have only a short, but thickly rolled loin-cloth round their waists; their unkempt, half-long, jet-black, curly hair is tied up into a round knot at the back of the head, or held in place by a plaited leathern band or greased rag wound round the head. They have had to give up their inseparable guns and cartridge-belts to the watchman at the gates of the [illegible]d, consequently, feel unclothed and unsafe. Their h[illegible]es with *samn*[1]; the upper part of their bodies is also [illegible]ed with it, over the layer of indigo, and a strong odour of indigo and *samn* hangs about them.

000 On the way back from the tongue of land we pass the

104 [1] *Samn* (سمن) is melted butter of the milk of sheep, goats or cows.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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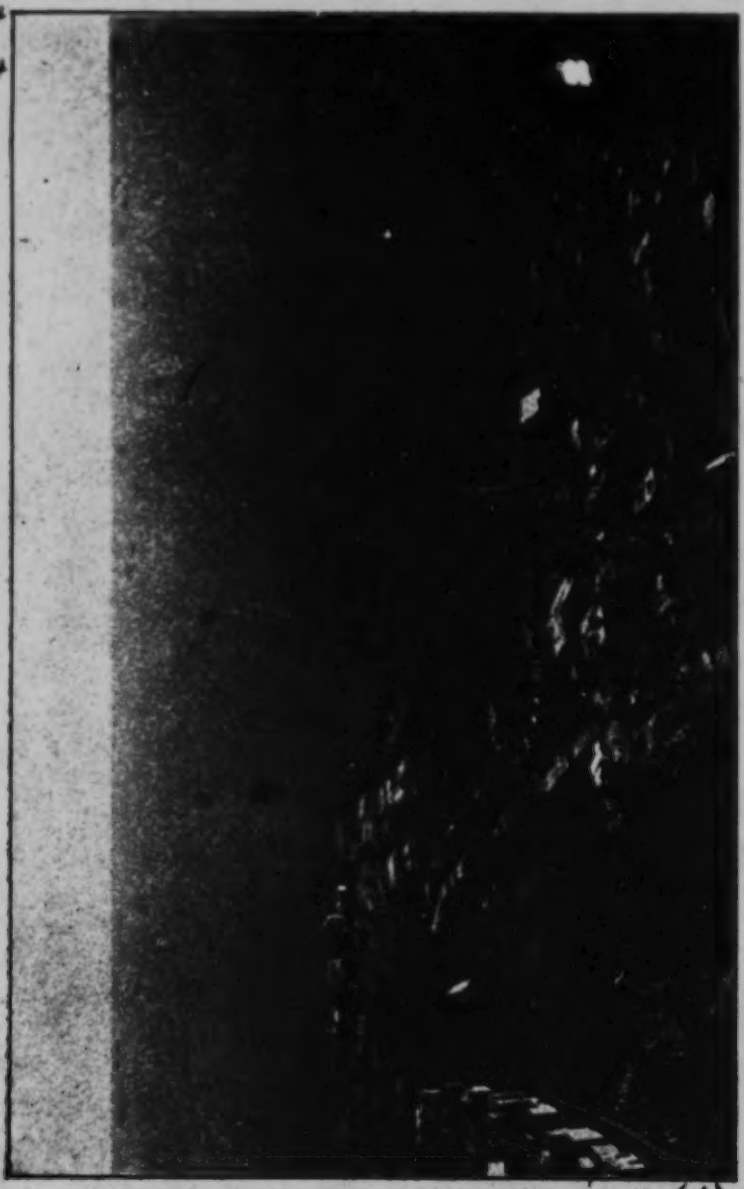


Makalla. The tongue of land with the cemetery.

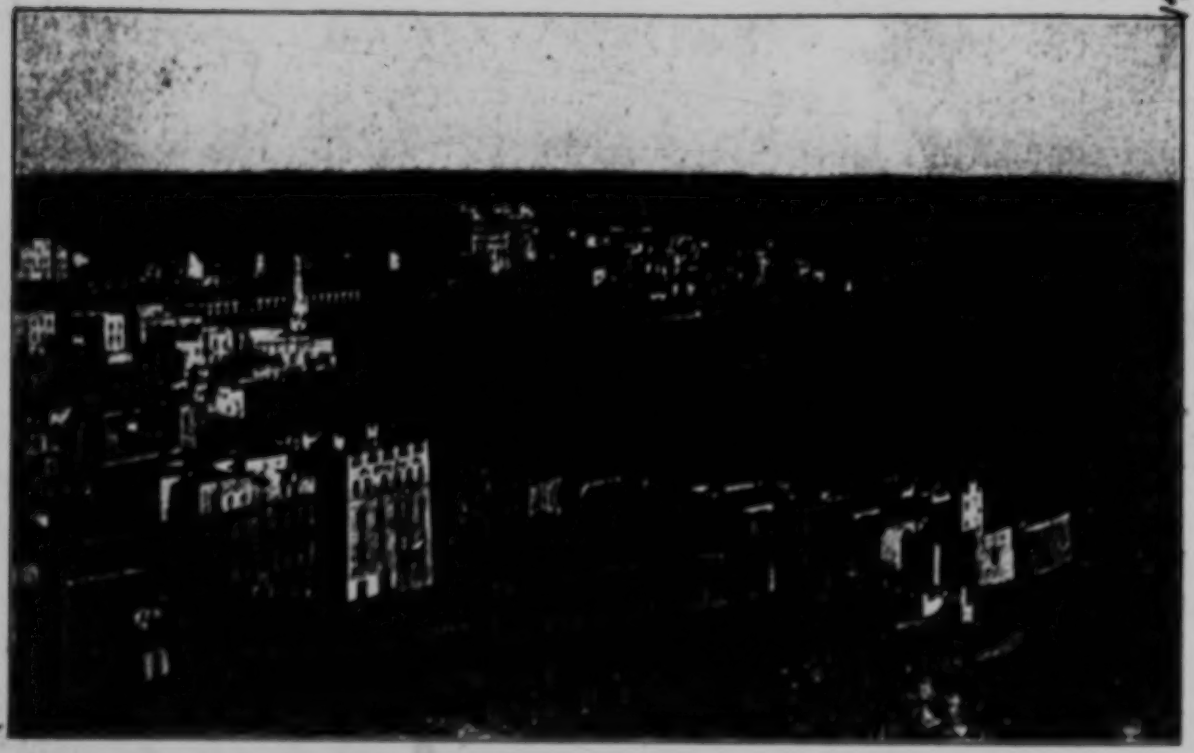
p. 16 (A)

See page 13.

•361
342

Makalla, seen from the west.

P 16 (B)



Makalla, twenty years ago. Photographed by a member of an unsuccessful Austrian expedition.

Pic (D)

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



that we travelled with an escort of slave soldiers[1] of the *Dōla*.[2]

Nevertheless, as dangers threatened in the Āl Kathīr region, he strongly advised us not to go farther than Shibām and, under no condition, to attempt to return to esh-Shiḥr by way of Terīm. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm was certainly a rich and influential man, but he had no ruling power and could only obtain the favour of the Bedouins by means of money, and could give us no armed protection against them. El-Qeʿēṭī's power was great and a slave soldier of his would be a "flag of protection" for us.

The preparations for our departure would take at least four days, but then we should have reliable guides and good transport. We might make an excursion to esh-Shiḥr during our days of waiting, but it would have to be by way of the sea-coast as the route by the mountains was too tiring — "tiring" in this case meaning "unsafe". The Ḥumūmī tribe had been at war for a long time with el-Qeʿēṭī, and the latter's soldiers are being constantly ambushed and shot down. This even occurs on the coast road. We were quite willing to follow this route although we should have preferred to go one way and to return the other.

### 3. A TRIP TO ESH-SHIḤR VIA SHEḤĒR.

The next day the Vizier sent a motor-bus with two drivers and five soldiers for us. We were not to go further that day than Sheḥēr (little Shiḥr). It was afternoon before we drove out of the very high and strongly fortified and guarded gate of the city.

[1] We saw in Makalla negro soldiers and Arab soldiers from the YHH tribe in the hinterland of Aden. The negroes are slaves. Their numbers are decreasing in modern times of anti-slavery action. The Kathīrī Sultans have slave soldiers too, but we saw only a few in their territory.

[2] *Dōla* (دولة) means „dynasty, governing family, kingdom, state". In Ḥaḍramaut people generally speak of the *dōla* in the Qeʿēṭī territory and of the *saiḥān* in the Āl Kathīr region.

000 of the city. Before the gate is the Wādī Seded, where the sea
484 has penetrated far inland and formed an inlet. Here on the
● 361 beach the caravans camp as they travel to and from the
231 interior. Hundreds of camels are kneeling in great circles,
492 eating the food that lies in the centre. Other camels are being bathed and scrubbed down with sea-water, while still others are protesting with gurgling snarls against the treatment of some skin trouble or of big open wounds. There are donkeys here and there amongst them. Bedouins lie asleep wrapped
[264] about in their cloaks or sit round a small fire eating out of wooden bowls their porridge of crumbled bread mixed up with a little fat. Some are busy with the difficult work of loading: after the freights have been weighed by lifting and then
[372] divided, they are fastened on to the pack-saddles. Children are collecting into baskets the camel's dung which is of great value as fuel. The ground is swarming with the so-called camel-louse, which is really a sort of tick. The penetrating odour of the camels' urine and sweat hangs over this wide-spread, permanent bivouac.

487 We go inland along the bank of the Wādī Seded, which is
312 here filled with sea-water, so as to cross, by making a big bend, behind the 1800 feet high rocky ridge of Makalla. On the left of the road, only a few miles from Makalla, there are groves of palm, with the white summer quarters of the Vizier and of the Sultan. Here is a spring from which, by means of a thin, iron pipe lying on the ground, water is carried to Makalla to provide the town with drink.

361 Two hamlets, el-Baqrēn and Baqērēn, with some cultivated
578 fields, lie close to the frontier of the Sultanate of Makalla. There are two fortified towers on the road manned by soldiers, and not far beyond Baqērēn there stands a whitewashed piece of rock. Against the high wall of primary rock, rising up each side of the road, two white marks have been made to show even in the mountain region, where the land is at peace and where at war. No vendetta may be carried on nor ancient feuds settled by arms in or around the town.

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A little way beyond the boundary-marks, about 20 Bedouins have made a bivouac under an overhanging wall of rock. On the top of the rock on the other side of the road are their outposts, who keep a sharp look-out for caravans passing along the high road. One caravan that had carried out a vendetta is now in safety in Makalla, a willing prisoner. We only realized later that we should be the ones to free it from that imprisonment.

The road winds through steep rocks and at last zigzags up to a plateau which seems to be of coral limestone formation. The hamlet of Maʿōṣ lies in a rocky valley a little in front of the plateau; further up, in a longer valley, there is a larger village called el-Ḥarshīyāt. From the plateau one can see, far away to the left, the village of el-Ḥawwā'. We are soon past the rock massif of Makalla, and the road descends to an inlet of the sea which has run far inland, whereon lies the village of Buwēsh. Papaya, bēdān and banānas are planted here along the edge of fields of lucerne. In the wādī that runs into the sea near Buwēsh there are, higher up, more date-palms and other fruit-trees, plantations which are the property of the Vizier and of other rich men of Makalla. The wells from which the fields are irrigated are not deep here, only 20 feet. On the coast between Buwēsh and Makalla lies Rūkeb. The road mounts again, runs for some time over coral formations, and then again drops to the Wādī Feleq, into which, far inland, the sea-water runs and which, consequently, is more like a small river. Baṣra lies a little higher up this wādī. At the edge of the stream we find much *asal*[1] growing. The coral limestone terraces on both sides are fairly high. The road runs farther over level land where jathropha shrubs grow; whole patches, also, are covered with incense bushes, which are recognizable by their scent and have either no leaves or very small ones. Some tall acacia bushes with elongated blossoms stand out here and there amidst the brownish shrubs which grow upon the bare rocky ground, strewn with pieces of coral.

[1] A kind of big reed.

137 In little valleys, green, juicy euphorbias grow to a height of six feet. Their fresh green colour and red tuberiferous flowers at the ends of their branches give them, in these colourless surroundings, the air of bouquets.

### 4. FIRST CONTACT WITH A HAḌRAMĪ NOMAD TRIBE.

233 A broad plain lower down has a clay soil where grass grows
361 fairly well. Goats, sheep, donkeys and camels graze here, at
342 distances widely apart from each other. Bedouin girls watch over them from a hill-top. This is the *Rēda* [1] of Sheḥēr where are the pastures and headquarters of the wandering Bedouins of these parts. Their temporary camp is on a rocky plateau to the right above the road. We walk with our cameras in their direction, without much hope of success. They do not see us, and the malicious watch-dogs, which elsewhere in Arabia make it impossible to slip past the Bedouin camps, are conspicuous by their absence. The Bedouins of Ḥaḍramaut appear to have no tents; they live in caves, or houses, or huts, or, as in this case, almost without shelter. A space of about five feet square is made by four sticks of about three feet high with other sticks connecting them and over which are spread bunches of long, hard grass, which do not really, however, keep out much sun. There are about ten of these "dwellings" scattered around. Some are even more primitive and consist of bushes cut down, with a few rags stretched over them, thus making a little shade. There is an acacia tree in the camp; its top is made shadier by extra bits of scrub hung between its own thorny branches. A camel with a horribly swollen, inflamed leg lies there; a few men, women and children are sitting around, watching the poor beast's agony.

609 Our arrival arouses some commotion, but they seem tolerant of us and answer our questions with an air of curiosity.

104 [1] A *rēda* (ريدة) is the centre of the territory of a Bedouin tribe, where many of them dwell together. Generally it is a depression in the rocky plateau with some vegetation and agriculture.

green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted 301
in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased 302
stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and 609
with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānis*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a 508
landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions 137
aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were 136
swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky 135
ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādi, where fresh water from the Ghīl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥḥr lies on the further shore and is said 36
to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent [342]
position above it stands the sheikh's house, which is, at the 22
same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. 712
A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is 342
to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], 574
and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come 104
to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

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have moved out to make room for us and the way is quite clear. Our host himself makes an inspection, to make sure that the feminine nhabitants are shut in behind closed doors before we are invited to follow him upstairs. It is glorious on the roof. We are free there from vermin, and mosquitoes, also, do not seem to come.

We beg urgently that no sheep be killed for us. It is difficult to persuade our generous host to accede to our unusual request, but he does at last realize that we have more desire for tea and fruit. A ray with glasses of tea is brought up to us and a second one with slices of melon, fresh figs, dates and sweets. Shēkh Elmās has seen something of the world; he is related to the Sultan's family and is not without a trace of Indian blood. His brother, the *ʿāmil*[1] of Ghēl Bā Wazīr, the headquarters for the cultivation of the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco, is staying with him and gives us a pressing invitation to visit that prosperous and beautiful bit of Arabia. We promised to try and touch at Ghēl Bā Wazīr on our return journey.

### 5. AN EXCURSION TO GHĒL BĀ WAZĪR

Our way back to the coast from Terīm was so planned that we were unable to keep our promise to our host's brother. Yet we *did* visit Ghēl Bā Wazīr, but not until after our return to Makalla, when we had to wait several days for our boat to Aden. On June 24th we started for Ghēl Bā Wazīr, via Sheḥēr, in a car placed at our disposal, as before, by the Vizier of Makalla, Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Miḥḍār.

Behind the plateaus of coral formation along the coast is a shallow, extensive loess basin which is watered by a little stream, the Ghēl, having its source in the mountains lying behind the coast terraces. This basin with the strip of land suitable for irrigation, which lies by the banks of the Ghēl, is the chief area for the cultivation of the famous Ḥumūmī tobacco. The little town, which guards the entrance

[1] *ʿĀmil* (عامل), governor.

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to this rich domain, lies at the edge of the plateau of coral 133
stone. As one approaches from the coast one barely sees the 361
gardens of [illegible] noon one finds oneself in front of a high, white wall, [illegible] great, fortified gate, which, apparently, is kept closed [illegible] during the day. The traveller, as he waits, can only see, close to the wall and rising boldly up above it, the Sultan's massive palace which now serves as barracks for soldiers.

We were obliged to wait at a respectful distance from the 361
menacing, fortified gateway until our letter of introduction 249
had been taken to the palace, read and deemed satisfactory enough to admit us into the tobacco town. Ghêl Bâ Wazîr, as a city, has not many beauties except for the large and ancient palace and a few mosques, and we were glad to accept the invitation of one of the authorities of the place to proceed at once to the gardens and to the Sultan's country-house in the cultivated district behind the town. We, therefore, drove without pausing through the place, which reeked of tobacco. The 361
valley side of the town, that is the north side, has less defences 249
than the south, whence start the great thoroughfares to 489
Makalla and esh-Shihr. Nowadays motor lorries convey the bales of tobacco, which are two yards long, from el-Ghêl to Makalla. Manure for the tobacco fields is brought from the coast on camels.

A richly cultivated area begins immediately behind the town. 249
The Sultan owns much tobacco-growing land, which is said 361
to be a great source of income to him. Close behind the town 342
are two gardens, in each of which is a newly-built summer 471
residence. We enter the first garden with the smaller house which is set aside for the use of the male members of the household. In the other garden is a much larger building for the wives and their female attendants.

The gate is immediately shut behind us, our following of 361
inquisitive youths remains outside, and we stand in the silence of the luxuriant garden, trying to accustom our eyes to the deep shade under the blossoming fruit-trees. It looks just as

387 is only a narrow one, is broken in some places by breaches
136 through which at high tide the sea water streams. These gaps
487 have doubtless been made by the rainfall from the mountains farther inland seaking an outlet to the sea. Close by esh-Shiḥr coral rocks jut out above the level of the sand, and the passage there is narrow and vanishes completely when the tide is at flood.

●361 Esh-Shiḥr lies on a wide flat sea coast, which slopes only very gradually so that steamers have to anchor far out at sea. At the moment several sambooks are lying there and fishermen are plying their trade till far away to the horizon. The track runs through deep, loose sand from the beach to the gate, which is new, but lacking in taste architecturally. The wall is also new and is strengthened on the inner side with buttresses of mud bricks, but the garment is too large for what it has to cover, and a half-dead town is pining away within the walls. Many blocks of houses are uninhabited, some have even fallen in. One crosses great open spaces on the way from the west to the east gate. The streets are dirty and even the inhabited houses have a neglected look. Over the whole town, and stronger even than the sewage smell of the streets, hangs
344 the stench of drying, half-decayed fish. The Government
361 buildings are in a square situated in the western part of the town. The castle stands on a sandy eminence by the sea; the
346 building has just been restored and, with its simple, strong lines makes a good impression. The bottom floor is being used temporarily as a school for three to four hundred boys. On the hill near the fortress some old, big cannon are lying, and a solitary signal-mast stands there. The Governor's house, a large, tall, well-constructed building, whose many roof-terraces are well suited to the sweltering, damp climate of esh-Shiḥr, stands on the land side of the square. The Governor is not at home, for we have met him on the beach in his fine, American motor-car. He looks Indian, and too modern for his town, nearly cut off as it is from the outside world and still dreaming of former glories. At one time, esh-Shiḥr was larger

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than Makalla and was, indeed, an important trading centre before that city even existed.[1]

Under the east wall there is a large open plain, over which the cemetery extends, with some *qubbas*[2] and many mosques at the edge of it. Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf of Terîm has, close to it, a large piece of ground, where he has built a palatial guest-house for relations and friends travelling to and fro between Java and Terîm via esh-Shiḥr. El-Kâf is busy constructing a motor road from Terîm to esh-Shiḥr, which is complete but for the last stretch as far as the coast, a matter of three days by camel. If this junction can be effected, in spite of the aversion to it of the warlike Ḥumûmî Bedouins, through whose territory it passes for the greater part, then perhaps esh-Shiḥr will grow again to fit into her walls.

Before we left the town we made another call on the Governor in charge, who, with the help of the tax-farmer, a well-educated Indian, gave us a hearty, friendly reception. We were conducted past a strong guard of soldiers to an old-fashioned *madjlis*, where the shutters of the windows and the wooden supporting pillars were beautifully carved, and the ceiling painted white, red and black. With grateful relish we partook of tea and a great variety of sweets and of fresh and tinned fruits.

The population of esh-Shiḥr is officially estimated at 9000. It did not seem to us that it could be more than 6000. Yet, as the Westerner does not get to know how densely peopled the big Arabian houses are, our calculations remain fairly uncertain. The town has 36 mosques.

We were compelled to beat a hasty retreat before the rising tide. For safety's sake we were given an extra Ford car and some soldiers. The coral rocks were still just passable, but we stuck in the bed of the wâdî. Finally, after much delay and much fruitless exertion, we got free, but there was no time left for the promised meal with our host of Sheḥr, who

[1] Cf. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, art. *al-Shiḥr*.

[2] *Qubba* (قبة), is a dome, a cupola, or a cupola-shaped building.

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We reached the little village of Laṣb within an hour. It lies just at the point where the gap narrows and the mountains on either side of the wādī become higher. In the perpendicular wall of rock has been cut a conduit, by which the water of a rivulet, which soon vanishes again, is carried to the palm-groves and *dhura* fields of the villages. We leave the path to seek refreshment among the *dhura* grown to more than a man's height. At the edges of the fields bananas and papayas are planted. The inhabitants of the village do not show themselves. The castle-like dwellings of mud stand high above the cultivated land, against the mountain-wall; perhaps our movements are being spied upon from behind the small, dark window openings. 361 311

Beyond the village, Wādī el-Laṣb narrows and the walls become steeper. The water-conduit looks like a thick, green roll clinging to the wall, with maidenhair fern and other moisture-loving plants growing in abundance. The brook with its crystal-clear water soon appears; where the water is dammed up in basins we see shoals of little black fish and many black frogs. The rocks are full of deep holes. The piled-up strata slope down towards us. The rock-wall hangs over us as we go further up the valley, and a thick, hard crust projects high above our heads over its edge so that we could walk in its shadow. Here we decided to wait for the camels; our companions immediately fell asleep, while we sought out a spot in the rivulet where it had widened out to form a pool and we bathed there. It is true, the little fishes came to see whether we were edible, but that did not spoil the unexpected, deep satisfaction of a bath in the wilderness of Southern Arabia. The water, certainly, is warm, but the dry wind has a refreshing effect as soon as one is out of the water and lets oneself be blown dry. Further inland the water was so warm that it was only enjoyable to bathe in it at night. 361 312

When the camels and the donkeys were at last to be seen, we went on further into the rapidly ascending wādī. We soon had to do without the pleasure of the brook and its thickly-

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grown banks; we saw it no more after we had passed the grotto in the rock-wall to the left, where it made its appearance. The vegetation, however, continued rich and varied, and we could see from the little springs at the foot of the rocky wall that there was still a great quantity of water. Great blocks of rock had fallen here into the wādī from the steep sloping walls. In some places these walls were completely hollowed out by wind and water, and only a crust remained.

From Lubēb Von Wissmann had begun to survey the route. Up to that point we were able to use the excellent map made by Little on his geological survey of the mountainous country of Makalla in 1919—'20.[1]

The valley now rises more rapidly, and it requires much patience and skill to lead the loaded camels and donkeys over the great blocks of rock. The mountain camel knows this sort of ground, passes neatly through the blocks, and as he steps aside and turns thinks of the load projecting on either side of his body. On a warning call from the leaders: "Take care left!" or "Look out right!" the animal goes cautiously a little further away from the place where its load is threatened.

At the end of the wādī, about two miles beyond Ḥōṭat el-Laṣb, there is a little plateau to which a short ascent leads us. There is a plantation of date-palms and *dhura*, which is still within the boundary of Ḥōṭat el-Laṣb. At the end of this small plateau lies the village of Lubēb. We leave it on our left and descend towards Wādī Ḥimem, which, again, is shut in by high walls of limestone. The farther we advance the narrower becomes this wādī. The camel path along the steep cliffs to the right is blocked here and there with boulders. Some miles after Lubēb, the now narrow rock ravine makes a bend. Here is a splendid spring with a drinking-trough of masonry for the animals. The place is named el-Ḥallāl. On account of the road survey we are compelled to camp as soon as darkness falls. Indeed it would be difficult to march further in this valley of boulders.

[1] G. H. Little, *The Geography and Geology of Makalla*, Cairo, 1925.

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The way winds upwards out of the wādī; the mountains here are no longer so precipitous and it had been possible to cut out a path on the slope about 300 feet above the bed of the wādī. It is a primitive path, but it has been improved here and there. We are going north-east and have the sun obliquely in front of us; it is a hot, constantly ascending stretch of road. Already at half past seven the Bedouins wanted to make a halt, but we prevented this by vigorous opposition, and it was postponed till 11 o'clock. We have passed a large well of water, el-Ghuḍūḍa, and see Zemān el-Kebīr on our right, lying close to the mountain slope. There are date and coco-nut palms, papaya and banana trees in the midst of neatly cultivated fields of tobacco. We make a halt at the next village, Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr, and find shelter against the merciless glare of the sun, in an empty stone building that seems to be intended for passing caravans.

Here we first made acquaintance with those pious institutions for the protection of travellers against thirst, the *siqāyas*. Later on we were to travel from *siqāya* to *siqāya* and learn to look on these white, beneficent landmarks in nearly waterless stretches of country, with a greater thankfulness than at the beginning. We were only just at the edge of the dry, rocky table-land and could still give ourselves the luxury of a hygienic, critical standard in the matter of drinking-water. The *siqāyas* are small buildings, generally five feet square and six feet high, with a dome-shaped roof, made of natural stone or dried mud and whitewashed. About five feet from the ground there are square or triangular holes, through which by means of a cup one can scoop water out of the masonwork cistern, about six inches deep, which has been placed at that height in the *siqāya*. The filling of the cistern is attended to daily by one who is paid for doing so by the pious foundation (*waqf*) endowed for that purpose. In one of the openings in the walls of the *siqāya*, there is to be found the half of a coco-nut shell, a rusty tin, or an oblong wooden cup, with which one scoops out the water and from which one

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312 drinks. One must accustom oneself as soon as possible to the
271 fixed habit in this country, of drinking one after the other out
488 of the same cup or bowl. Even among the very rich and the Sultans, the big earthenware drinking cups are passed from guest to guest. One sees the soldiers and slaves drink out of them too. The water in the *siqāyas* is often dirty, with a variety of odours and tastes; it also swarms with larvae and the like, but thirst soon teaches one not to notice them and the aversion diminishes in course of time!

In Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghir we were able to buy milk, buttermilk (here called *rūb*), lemons, coco-nuts and bananas, but at high prices.

● 361 In the afternoon we proceeded and in a short time arrived
311 on a plateau, fairly thickly covered with tufts of grass and low shrubs, where two villages, el-Ghēḍa and el-Ghiyāḍa, lie among well-cultivated fields of tobacco, surrounded by a small
342 grove of date-palms. The mayor of el-Ghiyāḍa is related to the
439 family of el-ʿAṭṭās; we were therefore desirous of calling upon him. The door of his simple, mud, mayoral residence was decorated with particularly fine carving. We were received in a little, dimly-lighted room that served both as a place for storing tobacco and as a reception-room. The mayor had been in Batavia for seven years and had there acquired some wealth in the *batik*[1] trade, which a son is now continuing. As soon as I was informed of this, I proposed to converse in Malay instead of in Arabic. Our host eagerly agreed and we were
[292] soon deep in reminiscences of Java. Meantime coffee was
271 prepared, consisting for three quarters of ginger and for one quarter of coffee, and a great earthen bowl of cold water passed from mouth to mouth. These porous, unglazed bowls filled with water are placed in the small window openings, and the hot outer air causes the water which exudes through them to evaporate, thus cooling their contents. One finds the same

[1] *Batik* is the name of the specially Javanese art of decorating and dyeing pieces of cloth used as garments. The thus decorated pieces are also called *batik*.

000 the fairly steep slope of Wādī Ḥimem, high above the *sēl*-bed. We looked down on the fresh green of small trees and shrubs; a shepherdess with her flock of goats was occasionally to be seen amongst them. The path then dropped down towards the wādī; walking over the grey-white boulders and under small acacias with scanty foliage, we made our weary way to the end of Wādī Ḥimem, in and beside which we had been journeying for days past.

### 4. THROUGH WĀDĪ LUṢŪB TO THE GREAT ROCK PLATEAU. THE CAMP AT EL-ḤISĪ.

133 We came out onto a high plateau, but soon entered the wide,
● 361 shallow bed of Wādī Luṣūb, which was fairly well covered
312 with vegetation. Small, poor houses lie scattered here, like cubes of stone, with very primitive little gardens. The people live principally by breeding sheep and goats. We made our quarters for the night just beyond the houses, forming the hamlet of el-Ḥisī, beside a large well of masonry within which one descends by stone steps to the surface of the water. The well had been dug in the *sēl*-bed and was therefore protected by a thick wall, as high as a man, against the water floods which appear after rain. In el-Ḥisī lived the family of Mautor, the leader of our caravan, and hence the dawdling which characterised this day; on no account were they prepared to go beyond el-Ḥisī.

246 All bickering was forgotten now and our Bedouins radiated
262 contentment and willingness. The people of el-Ḥisī set to work cutting up food for our animals, all the inhabitants came to have a look at our camp, and, afterwards, Mautor took all his comrades with him to feast in his village. He brought us, beforehand, a cloth full of *nibq* fruit. The *nibq* tree, also called *sidr* or *dōm*, is of intrinsic importance in those parts of Ḥaḍramaut where there is too little water for the cultivation of the date-palm. There, wherever one is dependent on the *sēl*, the water which only comes after rain, and where the subsoil

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explanation of the facts. More rainfall on this bare table-land, 138
where all water immediately streams away, must have caused mighty floods streaming with elementary force through the wādīs to the sea. In this way wide, deep ravines in the plateau can have come into existence. The monotonous likeness in their outlines is to be ascribed to the fact that the ground, in which the erosion takes place, always shows the same composition and that the climatic conditions of the interior are invariable. A horizontal stratum of limestone, 50—100 yards thick, lies on a similar horizontal sandstone stratum. The limestone layer has, at the edge of the wādī, an almost perpendicular incline as has the sandstone layer also at first, but it then merges into the slopes of rock débris, which reach quite high up the walls of the wādī. The little towns and villages lie, in the [361] narrow wādīs, on these slopes of débris, while in the broad wādīs, as also in Ḥaḍramaut Proper, the towns and villages are built in front of the débris.

Kōr Sēbān is the highest mountain of Ḥaḍramaut though its altitude is not more than 7088 feet. The summit is a gradual elevation, rising out of the high-lying plateau surrounding it. The eocene limestone strata are 1200 feet higher than the plateau, yet fairly horizontal, as is the case with Djebel Ghurēba, visible in the distance. Violent tectonic disturbances must have taken place here. A camel path leads upwards to the flat top of Kōr Sēbān, from where one has a fine view over the Wādī Ḥuwēre, which makes a deep cutting on the further side of Kōr Sēbān and lies quite 3000 feet lower than Wādī Ḥimem. Djebel Ghurēba, which is certainly not much lower than Kōr Sēbān, also appears to be separated from the latter range by a deep valley on its southern side. Djebel Baraka, two days' march distant, must be about the same height.

On one of the highest points of Kōr Sēbān there was 139
growing an *arab*, apparently a *dracaena*, with large clusters of reddish blossoms. The trunk had been mutilated by the removal of pieces of bark, and living boughs had also been hacked off. On the summit plateau there was seen for the first time a semi-

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ing by having to toil along in the tormenting heat. There was no need for hard climbing and descending, the way lay smoothly over gently sloping plateaus, allowing a view on low, flat table-mountains and not very deep wādīs. In the surrounding mountains we saw many horizontal lines, ancient plateaus or geological strata. Vegetation became scantier and scantier as we went further. We only passed by two small villages with an insignificant bit of cultivated ground, entirely dependent upon rain-water. At the first village, Dahma, we rested for the afternoon in a *murabbaʿa*. Here a few people from the village came to ask us for medicines. Kneeling beside the medicine-chest in the burning sun, I tried to doctor the patients: eyes closed up tight by inflammation were cleansed with cotton-wool and boracic water, after which I used protargol, drop by drop; aspirin was given, in a cup of hot tea with lemon, for headaches and fever; festering wounds were cleaned and then bound up with Peruvian balsam; castor oil, worm-cakes and quinine were also dispensed more than once. The population as a whole gave an impression of health. Although they wash their bodies but seldom and smear them with *samn* and indigo, it is surprising how little one sees of itch and other skin troubles. The only malaria which occurs on the *djōl* is brought in from the lower-lying districts.

The Bedouins are mostly small and slightly built, but they have great powers of endurance and do not give the impression of being underfed. The boys who belonged to our caravan ran the whole day long, helped energetically morning and evening, and ate only two meals a day (some dates, rice and a piece of dried shark's meat, sometimes unleavened bread baked in hot ashes).

Dahma appears to consist of twenty or so small houses, the lower parts of which are built of rough stones, and the upper parts of dried mud. A large, square tower, entirely built of stone, serves as a defence for the village and as the residence of its mayor. On the border of the village is a mud-built, communal threshing-floor; there are also ovens for baking meat,

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that is to say, small piles of stones on which a fire is made till they are hot and on which meat can be roasted.

The number of people in this village who seemed to be afflicted with blindness or with other diseases of the eye was startling. The cemetery, which lies outside the village, is large; rows of graves covered with little hillocks of stones give the impression of not yet being old. Dahma has, apparently, been decimated by an epidemic. The neatly cultivated fields lie awaiting the rain. Two date-palms as well as some *nibq* trees increase the parched and barren impression of the place.

Apparently we are over the watershed here and in the river-basin of Ḥaḍramaut Proper. The landscape looks dryer and emptier of vegetation. The *euphorbia* bushes have neither fruit nor blossom, and the few grasses are dried up. After passing Dahma we saw an artificial pond, at present dry, made at the cost of much labour, which is intended to hold the water after rain.

Half an hour after sunset we reached Bureyyira, our quarters for the night, situated close by a small village.

## 7. AN EXCURSION TO THE RUINS OF THE PEOPLE OF ʿĀD.

There were great things on the programme for May 14th. We had often questioned our Bedouins about ruins and inscriptions, and they understood what we meant, for all of them knew about the remains of the towns and graves of the people of ʿĀd and Thamūd, the original inhabitants of the land, whom Allah had swept from the face of the earth, in punishment for their many sins. The groups of ruins are actually situated more towards Ḥaḍramaut Proper, with their centre in the direction of the Yemen. Probably we were setting foot here on the borderland of Sabaean civilisation. Old Aḥmad, one of our Sēbānī Bedouins, attracted by the promised reward, said that he had pondered well over it and remembered that there were inscriptions, painted by the people of ʿĀd, on a wall of rock in Wādī Thiqbe, not far to the north-east of our route, and that, besides

361 Small towns, little more than groups of tall mud houses, of the same brown colour as the ground beneath them, stand close up against the steep slopes of rock débris. No sound from below rises to us, no trace of life can be espied; Wādi Dōʿan lies there between its high rocky banks, safely shut off from the world, like an unreal, forgotten bit of paradise waiting for the Day of Judgment. This is the reward of weary travellers in the desert. We are filled with joy. We stand, lost in admiration, on the borders of our "land of promise". We have not dared, nor been able, to think of it as being so beautiful. And this is not yet Ḥaḍramaut Proper, although it is, in fact, its outer gateway. Alone we stand on the border of the precipice and silently work our cameras. In spite of the heat, we cannot tear ourselves away from the spell cast by this valley full of fertility and beauty, in the midst of an endless desert of barren rock and stone.

484 Meanwhile the camels have arrived at the *ʿaqaba* and have been unloaded. The beasts must be thoroughly rested before the difficult descent can be risked. Seen from above, it looks impossible for animals, whose feet seem to have been created for the plains, to be able to climb down, especially when burdened with heavy loads. Nevertheless, the Sēbān Bedouins know their high table-lands and *ʿaqabas* and the capacity of their camels. It is not often that a camel has an accident on an *ʿaqaba*. The animals are now divided into groups of three with a Bedouin in front. They seem to know what awaits them, for the plaintive, anxious, guttural sounds continue without stopping. Many cries and, finally, many scoldings from the leader are required to induce them to move. Traffic between Makalla and Ḥaḍramaut passes for a great part over this *ʿaqaba*. There are other ways and there is also a direct route from Shibām, but it is easy to see on this path that the feet of thousands and thousands of camels have helped to polish the rock. When the path becomes very narrow and steep and the camels hesitate, the leader speaks words of encouragement to them: their singsong cries of warning and of cheer echo con-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



tinually along the wall of rock. They move slowly and very cautiously, and the whole caravan reaches the bottom of the wādī without mishap.

The advance guard with the donkeys has long since arrived. A crowd of boys stands waiting for us, and in the background, in the shadow of the date-palms, there are a number of women, who do not wish to let slip this chance of seeing Naṣrānis. The Governor, Bā Ṣurra, has sent a few soldiers to show us the way to his castle. They look like Yemenis and, indeed, come from the western highlands. The villages and towns are situated close up against the slopes of débris above the cultivated fields. The houses are high and well built, often against steep inclines. Only a few of the rich have allowed themselves the luxury of a whitewashed top storey. The path winds through date-groves to the *maṣna'a*, the castle of the *Dōla* (Government). The date-palms are strong, fine trees; heavy clusters of yellow and red dates hang downwards from their crowns. Each tree is surrounded by a mud wall, so that, when the *sēl* comes, the roots are not washed bare, and a considerable amount of water is kept inside the little wall. Even in the deeply shaded plantations our feet sink in a thick layer of dust as fine as powder, for there has been no *sēl* for a long time.

## 2. BĀ ṢURRA, THE GOVERNOR OF WĀDĪ DŌ'AN.

The path leads steeply upwards through the village of el-Maṣna'a to the castle, which stands on the top of a rock high above all the other houses. It looks like a great mediaeval fortress with corner-towers, heavy triple gates, with stables, soldiers' quarters, halls and living-rooms. The stout wooden gates are magnificently carved, and decorated with metal plates and nail-heads. The first gate is opened by a guard of soldiers. We pass through a passage to the second gate, and then through a stable, past some calves, to the third. Then we are led through a hall, full of soldiers, to a narrower one, really

Schlenke and Wiseman T-3 (28)552 NO42 Hadhramaut NO42

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Khurēba, the principal town of Wādī Dō'an.

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 a good look at the stranger from the flat roof! The roomy, high and well-lighted kitchen is a sign that this house has many inhabitants. Dinner is served on a roof-terrace, after the sayyid and the male members of his household have returned from the *ṣalāt el-ᶜishā'* [1] in his own adjacent mosque. The son of the Vizier at Makalla is sent for by his old uncle. We have also a letter for him and he, after having read it, invites us to be his guests on the following day. We accept for breakfast, after which we must go on to our next stopping place, Ṣīf.

Whilst I was making these visits, Von Wissmann had made an excursion via Khurēba, to climb the *ᶜaqaba* which is opposite the spot where we had descended.

● 361 103 Khurēba is a little town with a small, narrow bazaar-street and four large, and twenty small mosques. It is the largest and, probably, also the oldest town of Wādī Dōᶜan. As the meaning of Khurēba is "ruins", some geographers [2] have assumed that the original site of the town of Dōᶜan, after which the whole wādī must surely have been named, lay here. We find mention of this town as early as Ptolemy; Pliny speaks of the Toani. [3] The heretical Ibāḍites had their centre here and it is certain that the town was destroyed when they were exterminated.

701 The way by the western *ᶜaqaba* leads to Wādī ᶜAmd. Two fortified towers guard this entrance to Wādī Dōᶜan. These towers are always manned by guards of Yāfiᶜ soldiers as the wādī at this point borders on land outside the Qeᶜēṭī domain.

000 On May 17th our day begins early. We take leave of our Sābānī Bedouins and of Mautor, who takes with him a bag of letters for Makalla. The baggage must be got ready, to go ahead by camel to Ṣīf. Afterwards, in the *maṣnaᶜa*, we bid

104 [1] The late evening ritual prayer.

[2] Cf. M. J. de Goeje, *Hadramaut, Revue Coloniale Internationale*, ii. (1886), p. 106.

[3] Cf. A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern, 1875, p. 163.

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295 and is only important as part of the food supply of the common
262 people. The slave and the Bedouin consider the Dōʿan date as the really good one; the imported one, from Baṣra, they regard as inferior. The sayyids and notabilities who have made money abroad do not set much value on the date as an article of daily food. They keep on their date-groves in order to have a summer pavilion and a swimming-bath and to enjoy the shadow, the twittering of birds, and the old, familiar squeaking and creaking of the wooden wheels over which run the ropes drawing the water for irrigation from the wells to the surface. The family domestic staff and slaves with their wives and children find work in the date-groves, where they earn the food from which they chiefly subsist. The date plantations of the rich in this country are under present conditions no longer a source of income.

245 The fields which are dependent on the *sēl* go on beyond
241 the tract where the date-palms come to an end. They lie, well tilled, waiting for the rains higher up. Sometimes there is only one *sēl* in the year, but if it is a good one, its supply of water suffices for a successful harvest of dates. In the open spaces between the dates *dhura* is grown in summer, and *burr*[1] in winter. Most of the *sēls* occur in autumn.

There are fortunately plenty of *siqāyas* on the way to Ṣīf; it is true, the water is not always clear or odourless, but we are so tormented by thirst that we pay no attention to that.

Already long before Ṣīf cultivation ceases in the broad bed of the wādī, and our narrow path winds over bare stones.

●361 Towards sunset we see Ṣīf lying on a broad slope of rock débris just where the wādī is very wide and the rocky bank is broken and retreats. The little, walled-in village looks rather poverty-stricken; the houses are not high, and only a few of their inhabitants appear to be well enough off to allow of their dwelling-floors being whitewashed, and of having a gay border to the balustrades of the roof-terraces.

104 [1] *Burr* (بُرّ), *triticum vulgare* Vill., cf. Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 172, 173.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

A part of Hadjarēn.

Along the ruins of Ghēbūn, near el-Meshhed.

See pages 78 and 83.

34:Minsins and Wimmers T-3 (TS3)1932 MOZ Hafbrasset MOZ

A panorama of the cultivated fields of Hadjarên.

Facing p. 81

After descending the slope on which the town lies, we enter a wonderfully ploughed area of loam soil. The brown hills of loam rise up, completely bare, out of the deep green palm-groves and the fields of *dhura*. An extensive system of irrigation canals with their side-channels provides for the distribution of the *sēl* water over all the cultivated land lying between the hill-ridges. The further we go beyond Hadjarēn the larger grow the number of defence and watch towers on the hill-tops beside the groves. The number of date-palms decreases, the fields are, at first, green, but, at last, only the loam dykes indicate that, given sufficient water and adequate safety, one can sow here as elsewhere. A stretch of half an hour's going forms the neutral zone between the Qeʿēṭī and the Kathīrī territories. From now on, in view of the risk of being held up, the caravan must keep together. The bed of the wādī remains wide, yet becomes wild and devoid of vegetation. Here and there the loess is covered by sand and stones. There must have been a large town here in ancient times, for the way to el-Meshhed runs between ruin mounds. The sun is setting and we are to reach el-Meshhed before darkness falls. The donkeys are sent back to fetch the tired party who have climbed Djebel Hadjarēn. 241 361

## 5. EL-MESHHED, A CENTRE OF RUINS.

El-Meshhed is an extinct small town situated in the midst of the plantless, desert wādī. The meaning of the name el-Meshhed is "the place where a martyr died". It is important for a yearly fair and as a place of pilgrimage. During the days in the month of Muḥarram, fixed for that purpose, the place must be full of buyers and sellers lodging in the houses and temporary shacks; now most of the houses are empty. 361 103 438

The Governor of el-Meshhed is not in town, he prefers residence in the larger, more prosperous Ḥurēḍa, where he has also a house, a family, and groves of date-palms. His sons are 662

# CHAPTER VI.

## ḤUREḌA, THE CENTRE OF THE EL-ʿAṬṬĀS CLAN.

### 1. FROM EL-MESHHED TO ḤUREḌA.

133 In the afternoon we leave el-Meshhed under the guidance
•361 of Sayyid Ḥasan, and travel through the great, wide, plantless wādī to the mouth of Wādī ʿAmd. The bed of the wādī is here called Baḥrān, "the two streams", as the *sēl*-beds of Wādī Dōʿan and of Wādī el-ʿĒn, to the left and the right respectively, separated from each other by a plateau of sand and loam, meet at this point. The villages of Sidbe, which lie like tall castles at the foot of the mountain, get the water for their palm-groves from Wādī el-ʿĒn. To the right in the far distance there lies the village of Ḥōra with a great castle and a watch-tower on a hill. It is a small Qeʿēṭī island in the midst of an Āl Kathīr sea.

When we reach the mouth of Wādī ʿAmd and there take an inward bend in a south-westerly direction, the sun is setting in a magnificent glow of light. We feel diminutively small in the broad river-beds of sand with their far-away high banks. We have passed from one *siqāya* to another. We enter Wādī ʿAmd, following closely the rock-wall on its south-western side. High up against that wall, which is in a somewhat crumbling condition here, we see a few fortifications and towers. In the wādī there are some tilled, but still bare, fields in the midst of the sand; *nibq* trees and bushes grow
[609] scattered here and there. Sometimes also we pass a few date-palms and little settlements, the inhabitants of which call out to us in suspicion as we go by. As soon as they hear that *sāda* (*i. e.* sayyids) of the el-ʿAṭṭās family are with our party, the words of salutation ring out *"Yā ḥayya!"*, an abbreviation for "May Allah give you life!"

p 88

●361

Hurßja.

p88 (D)

See page 89

721 and the police better in the Dutch colonial territories. This
648 same question was repeated again in the evening, in the reception-room of our host at Hēnin. However pleasing I may have found these signs of appreciation for western colonial government on the part of an eastern Muḥammadan people, I continued to answer with evasions and urged them to take the matter into their own hands and to achieve unity, forced on by necessity.

## 2. THE OLD DYING TOWN OF HĒNIN.

It cost us much pains to decline the pressing invitations to stay longer and to continue the journey to Hēnin in the afternoon.

The hot wind is still filling the wādī with a thick, high-driven mist of sand and dust. The Buqrīs, with their numerous soldiers crowding round them, accompany us till we are outside the gate on the side away from the enemy. Obviously they are all sorry we are leaving so soon and that this variation in their monotonous life comes to so early an end. Before our departure we promise, gladly and faithfully, should we return by this route, to spend the night in their high, beautiful castle. Before long Diyār Al Buqrī has disappeared in the haze of sand and we travel in absolute solitude amongst the hillocks of loam. Bin ʿAwaḍ Martaʿ, steering a very twisting course, seeks those places where his car can pass between the line of hills. The lower parts are filled with fine sand that lies piled up by the wind so that we have to go by way of the slopes at the foot of the loam-hills. We pass a few tumble-down villages; of vegetation there is hardly a trace.

361 The number of settlements increases as we approach the
241 neighbourhood of Hēnin. They are situated partly at the foot
134 of the mountain-wall which forms the northern bank of Wādī el-Kasr, and partly close by, in the bed of the wādī. Little dykes, which make rectangular divisions in the loam, are a sure proof that agriculture was once carried on here. It does not

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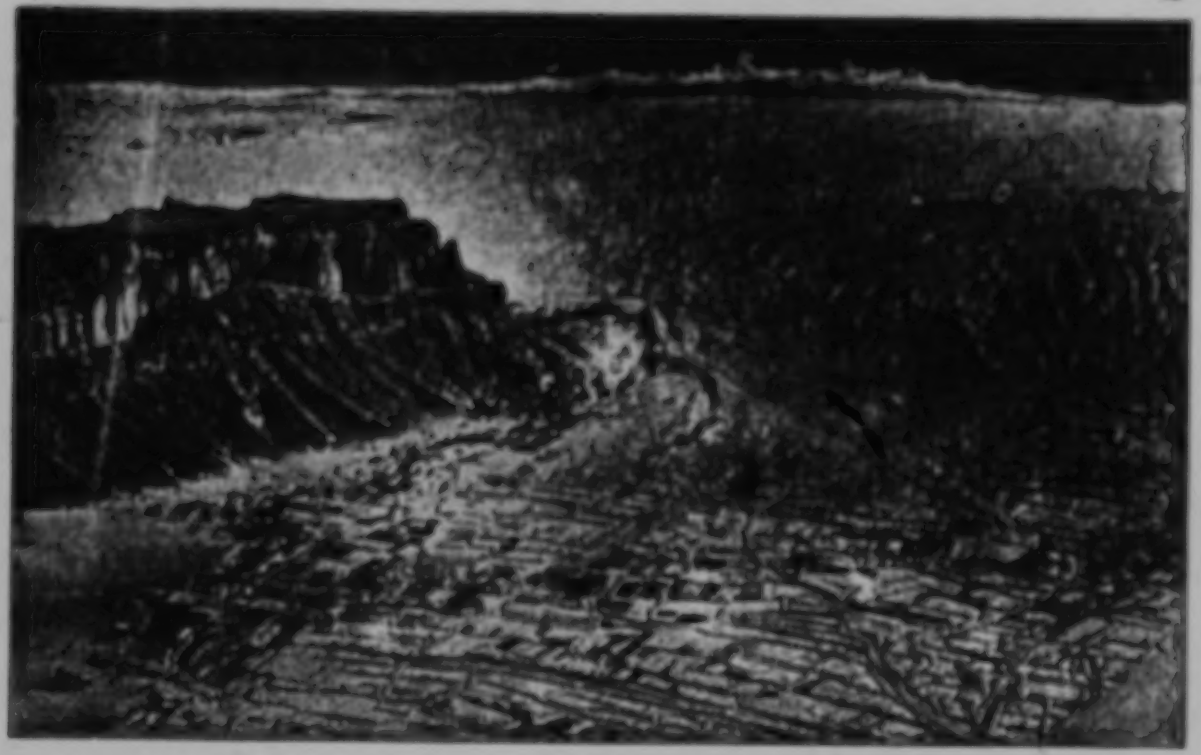

The entrance to Hadramaut Proper. An ocean of sand engulfing the plantations and the town of Hinin.

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Hillocks of loam and sand near Diyār Al Buqrī.

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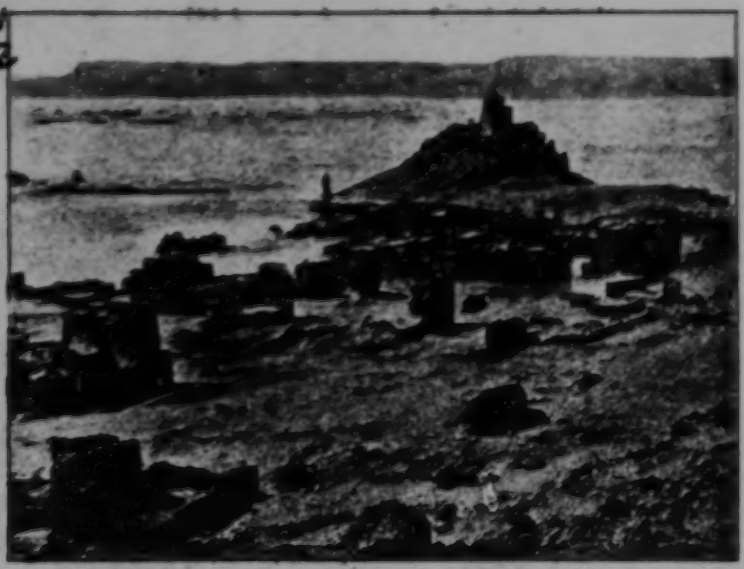

The old dying town of Hēnin.

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See pages 104 and 105.

look as though this is still possible in any way; the drifting 361
sand has killed the date-palms and reduced to a minimum the 241
cultivation of *dhura* and the like. The hamlets are partially 134
deserted and the mud houses fallen in.

The very ancient town of Hēnin[1] has shared this fate. The 361
place lies like a long line at the foot of the rock-wall. Castles 134
and defence turrets higher up have fallen into ruin as have most of the houses of this once important town on the road to the Yemen.

Bin ʿAwaḍ Martaʿ has returned to his fatherland from Sura- 241
baya with the resolve to try to check its decay. The family 134
house has been restored by him and a new storey built on to it. 242
He has brought from Java a motor pump which has been set up on the 70 feet deep well. The pump supplies 30 gallons of water for irrigation per minute so that, if it works for eight hours a day, it just suffices to wrench a few acres of *dhura* from the sandy desert and to keep alive the 200 young date-palms which are planted between.

Bin Martaʿ himself now also realizes that this is but a service 361
of love at a death-bed and that his motor pump cannot save 134
Hēnin from decay and from the engulfing sea of sand. Hēnin is like a little town destroyed by storm on the rocky coast of an interminable sea of sand which has first swallowed up its palm-groves and is now submerging the place itself. We have seen nothing of the Bā ʿAṭwah, the poet beggars of Hēnin.[2] They have been driven by poverty to the prosperous parts of the valley of Ḥaḍramaut and to Java.

Hēnin is nominally under Qeʿēṭī rule; the Sultan of Shibām 622
and el-Qaṭn protects the place and the insignificant little 511
villages surrounding it. That evening, in the great *madjlis* of Bin Martaʿ's house, we met the poor, simple shēkhs of the

[1] Cf. el-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 85, l. 19 *sqq.*, 86, l. 20 *sq.*, 88, l. 10 *sqq.*; De Goeje, *Hadhramaut*, in *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, ii. (1886), p. 110.

[2] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Zur Dichtkunst der Bā ʿAṭwah in Hadhramōt*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, v. (Bonn, 1925), p. 393 *sqq.*

# CHAPTER VIII.

## ENTERING OUR "LAND OF PROMISE".

### 1. EL-QAṬN AND SHIBĀM.

On May 23rd our host would not allow us to depart until we had partaken of the first of the two daily meals with him. There is no apparent objection to this, as Bin Marta[c] will take us himself in his car to el-Qaṭn. The heat and the sand-storm are very unpleasant. It is now the time when the dates ripen. The heavy, bright-yellow or deep-red bunches of fruit, sometimes as many as ten on one tree, need those hot winds to bring them to ripeness. Travelling in the sandy plain is not only unpleasant at this time, but it is also difficult to keep in the right direction. It is true, Bin Marta[c] will look after that, but Von Wissmann has great difficulty in making a drawing of our route, surveying the mountain-wall, which is just visible from time to time, and sketching in the villages. 000

After Hēnin we enter a real desert of sand. The soil is loess, but a thick layer of sand has drifted over it in the lower-lying places. A few bushes of *rāk*[1] grow here and there on the loam-hills. The wādī is seven miles wide here, the villages on the other side of it disappear in the sand-storm. We shape our direction towards the S. W. wall of the wādī, to the spot where Wādī Menwab debouches into it. Soon after the rocks come in sight we also see the tops of the date-palms shining through the leaden-coloured curtain of dust. 133

Furṭ[2] el-Qaṭn, the beginning of the inhabited, cultivated 361

[1] Classical *arāk* (أراك), *salvadora persica* Garcin, cf. Landberg *Arabica*, N°. v. (Leiden, 1898), p. 39 *sq.*; L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 211, 306. 137

[2] A *furṭ* (فرط) is a prominent top at the border of a mountain range. 104

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361 district called el-Qaṭn, now stands out clearly against the foot of the rock-wall. The ground grows flat; the loam emerges freed from the layer of sand; rectangular patches point to occasional cultivation of the land during a favourable rainy season. There is a low-growing plant in the fields; it is a weed that is used as fodder for cattle.

361 Furṭ el-Qaṭn is only a hamlet, but a continuous series of
241 palm-groves and fields of *dhura*, lucerne and sesame stretches from here until beyond Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn, where the Sultan is resident. All actual cultivation is due to irrigation by means of wells. A broad strip of ground which is cultivated when there is sufficient rainfall stretches outside the date plantations. The level of the subsoil water is nearer to the surface here, as the wādī descends more rapidly than does the subterranean river. Beyond Terīm it comes above the surface for considerable stretches.

312 The wells and the tracks along which beasts and men go to
231 draw up water are mostly situated in the shade of the date-
241 palms. Where shadow is lacking, long strips of jute or other
564 material sewn together are stretched over the track to make
571 shade for men and animals. Donkeys and cattle are used for haulage, but mostly with the help of man's labour. The poor, hard-working and little honoured caste of the *ḍaᶜfā* (the peasants) [1] have as their chief occupation this irrigation work [2], which really goes on almost all the year round. The *ḍaᶜīf* walks backwards beside his cow or donkey, pushing at the hauling rope with the back of his thighs, in which way his weight has most effect. By the time they reach the end of the hauling track, the bag full of water, which is generally leaking considerably, has appeared at the rim of the well. The *sānī* draws the bag of water (*gharb*) to the rim by a thin rope,

104 [1] *Ḍaᶜfā* is the plural of *ḍaᶜīf* (ضعيف), which name is given in Haḍramaut to the agricultural labourer class, cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii, p. 220 and v. p. 406.

104 [2] Here called *senāwa* (سناوة); the man who works it is the *sānī*. Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *loc. cit.*

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



where it empties itself into a little mud basin, out of which the irrigation conduits lead to the cultivated ground. Work at the well occupies the whole family: father and son guide the animals and walk with them in hauling ropes and mother and daughters relieve them at this work. Two old dames sit in the shade making ready food for the beasts, which consists of dry straw bound round with fresh green into bundles, that are pushed into the animals' mouths whenever they arrive at the top or bottom. I saw women continuing their mat-plaiting whilst, at the same time, walking backwards in the traces down the slope of the track. The work is very tiring: pulling whilst going down hill and then climbing up again. The path, on which their walk begins at sunrise, is as long as the well is deep.

## 2. TO THE SULTAN'S PALACE IN EL-QAṬN.

One sees the tall buildings of Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn even from afar rising above its walls and the tops of the date-palms. The place is not large and is situated, like the townlets in Wādī Dōʿan, stretched out and closed in between date-groves and the rock-barrier. It is surrounded by a mud wall kept in good repair. At the gate of the town we see our caravan; it is on its way to Shibām with the baggage and is resting here during the heat of the day. Although we are informed that the Sultan is staying in Shibām, we wish to pay a visit of courtesy to his deputy at the palace; possibly he may allow us to make a survey and to photograph from the roof of this very high building. The palace has just been partially renovated and, consequently, has not yet the gay outside decoration of whitewash. A broad staircase leads to a large, finely carved door. There we give our letter of introduction to the guard and after some time we are invited to follow him upstairs. By way of broad passages and endless stairs, both plastered with dried mud, we arrive at the reception-room, which has just been finished. Much of the beautiful old Arabian style is spoiled here by

palace, that a school is carried on there, in which some hundred and fifty boys receive elementary secular and religious instruction. The silent, but friendly representative of the Sultan shows us out as far as our car and allows us to photograph him with his own surroundings in front of the house.

## 3. THROUGH A SAND-STORM TO "THE TOWN" OF ḤADRAMAUT.

We now drive through the cultivated tract of land to its sandy, outer margin. The sand-storm meanwhile has increased in violence and Bin Marta$^{c}$ loses the way from time to time so that we make but slow progress towards Shibām. It is fortunate that we had clear weather in which to see this part of our route on the return journey and so were able to fill in the necessary details in describing it. Not far from Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn the fertile strip of land becomes very narrow and later on quite vanishes. The villages look then like small green islands in the otherwise bare land at the foot of the mountain. Our way goes through sand-hills grown over with a kind of reed.

Not far from Shibām we pass through the fields of *dhura* and small palm-groves belonging to the villages of el-Hēme and Āl Shēkh $^{c}$Alī.

At this point the cultivated ground reaches the bank of the deep *sēl*-bed. During the rains the *sēl* here threatened to degenerate from a blessing into a danger: rushing torrents of water forced their way through to the valuable palm plantations of Shibām and washed bare the roots of the trees. A cemented stone dam with sluices has been made in the *sēl*-bed to keep down the rush of water; it is quite half a mile long. Earlier dams have been destroyed, over and over again, by the *sēl*; this one has been made at great expense, and it seems to be capable of holding up and conducting the water.

The last part of the way to Shibām goes again over a plain, bare of vegetation, where the hot sand-storm has full play. On

133 the right are fields and some groves of date-palms which seem
361 to be dependent on rain, hiding themselves behind the wide curtain of dust. Suddenly we see before us something that resembles *fata morgana*: a square, grey mass rises high up above the desert, and its upper side looks as if it were
361 covered with snow. There lies Shibām, the New York of Ḥaḍramaut, one of her three great cities and the centre of her commerce for centuries past. It was probably an important town even in pre-Islamic times.[1] High walls protect the palm plantations against the drifting sand; they are therefore invisible and the marvel of the great city looming up out of the desert breaks forcibly upon the stranger as he approaches Shibām from the direction of el-Qaṭn for the first time. No town of Ḥaḍramaut is built so compactly and of such high houses as Shibām. Nearly all the houses have a white-washed roof-storey, which gives that wonderful effect of a brown cake powdered with sugar. The city is straitly enclosed by a high, strong wall which, to a great extent, is incorporated into the back of the houses. Just at a short distance from the wall the road passes over a bridge made of the trunks of palm-trees, which spans a waterless irrigation canal, and enters the date plantation. Everything is covered with a layer of dust. The drought has been so great this year that these palms, which are dependent on the *sēl*, have been unable to produce fruit. The road follows the wall round the city, then descends to the broad, level sandy bed of the *sēl*, in the middle of which is a series of wells from which the people of the town draw water. From here a wide slope leads to the high, double gate of the town. The car gets up the bumpily paved ascent with difficulty, and we pass through the first gate to another one, 90 feet further on. We are then in a square where camels are resting, which, terrified by our car, rear on their hind legs and try to run away, in spite of their being hobbled and their heavy loads. The square is shut in on the right side by the

[1] Cf. el-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 86, l. 24, 25; 87, l. 3, 25; *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Art. *Shibām*, 4.

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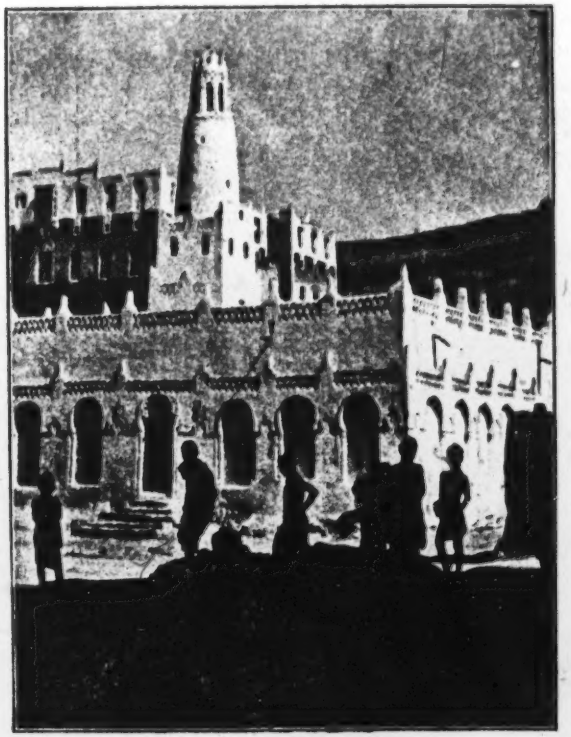

A gleaming-white mosque in gloomy Shibām.

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See page 118.

Street-scene in Shibām.

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p. 112 (c)

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Sultan's huge, high palace. The car stops before the comparatively small gate and our escort discharge their guns. The gate opens and soldiers accompany us up a long staircase running across the front of the building and behind the outer wall to the entrance proper. The impression made by the palace is one of neglect and dirt. This is because the Sultan lives in Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn and only comes to stay in this palace for a few days from time to time to attend to affairs of state. At all other times it is entrusted to the very indifferent care of the soldiers who are lodged within it.

We are conducted to a simple room, where the carpets are old and dusty and where, on an European travelling rug, sits a tall, very thin young man, the Sultan of Shibām, ᶜAlī bin Ṣalāḥ bin Muḥammad bin ᶜUmar bin ᶜAwaḍ bin ᶜAbdallāh el-Qeᶜēṭī, the grand-nephew of the Sultan of Makalla. We are quietly and kindly received. The Sultan is very much displeased that our escort has not given him due notice of our arrival; if he had known in time he would have received us in his palace at el-Qaṭn, which is suitably furnished for receptions. Sayyid ᶜAluwī tries to apologize, but without success. In the meanwhile chairs have been borrowed in the town and placed in a large room. We can at last retire and try to wash the coating of clinging dust from our weary bodies. During these private operations we are not left alone: attentive soldiers keep watch and even allow immaculately dressed notables of Shibām to enter. These have heard of the arrival of foreigners and are on the spot at once to learn all about them. They have come in their magnificent new cars and with Arabian hospitality invite us to drive with them to the garden city in front of Shibām and to have a cup of tea with them in their garden pavilions. It has an incredible sound to our ears, when, to add to the attractiveness of their invitation, they also say that we can swim in the mason-work swimming-pool in their garden. We accept with gratitude, on condition that the Sultan makes no objection to our leaving his hospitable roof for the time being.

then stay with him in el-Qaṭn, and, whilst there, visit with him the Ḥimyaritic antiquities in the vicinity. He will then arrange for camels and donkeys, and we shall be able to return to Makalla through Wādī Ḥuwēre in six or seven days. What Sultan ᶜAlī says coincides with the advice given us by the Vizier in Makalla and represents the standpoint of el-Qeᶜēṭī. We do not wish to make an immediate decision, for we should prefer to return by a different route, but, on the other hand, wish to keep open the possibility of making the return journey through Qeᶜēṭī territory, so as not to cut ourselves off from the support of the authorities here.

### 5. SHIBĀM "EL-DJARĪMA, THE GRAND".

Shibām has as many as 500 towering houses and about 8000 inhabitants. The number reaches 9000 if one includes the whole garden suburb and the workmen's quarter outside the walls of the town. There is a school with about 250 pupils, which was founded and is maintained by our hosts. In the town itself there are five large, fine mosques, almost the only low buildings and also the only entirely white ones. Outside the town, but belonging to it, there are seven more. A quarter of the masculine population is travelling constantly abroad to make money, the greater part going to Makalla and Aden. About 100 are in Java and 50 in Singapore. The Āl Ṭuwēy, for example, have house property in Singapore, Batavia and Surabaya, and when times are good they also carry on trade. Altogether about 30 households live on this family property. All the house property of the Laᶜdjam brothers is at Singapore. The well-known capitalist Bā Swēḍān, who is a great landowner and has hundreds of houses in Singapore and Batavia, also comes from Shibām. Sēwūn and Terīm, however, are the centres where the Ḥaḍramīs live who have made riches in Java, and there are a great number of Dutch subjects in these towns.

In Shibām no poll-tax is paid by the population as is the

186 about the land outside their own small territory. The Sultan knows neither Sēwūn nor Terīm; Hadjarēn was recognized by none of those present.

361 342 On this same day, before proceeding further, we return to Shibām to have a good look over this wonderful city. The streets form narrow, dark tunnels between high, grey houses built in rows. In the middle of the street there is a drain of masonry into which runs the dirty water from the houses, which splashes down into the street from many gutters made of the trunks of date-palms. Cats, donkeys and chickens are doing themselves well on the reeking brew. We are obliged to look upwards constantly to see whether an evil-smelling rain is not beginning to spatter down from one of the gutters. The houses are five or six storeys high; only the top storey is whitewashed and that cannot be seen from the street. The mosques stand in the open spaces and look indeed like toys made of sugar amongst the many tall, gloomy houses surrounding them. In the bazaar streets is a great crowd of buyers and sellers. These latter have either miniature shops or booths on the streets. The doors and windows in the houses of the rich are of magnificently carved wood. The keyhole for the huge wooden keys, which with their many wooden pegs look like brushes, is close to the door, about 4½ feet from the ground, and is usually shut off by a little shutter, neatly decorated. The dim obscurity, the stifling heat and the extremely foul streets offer, of course, good conditions of existence for flies, mosquitoes and other spreaders of disease germs.

# CHAPTER IX.

## SĒWŪN, THE HEART OF HADRAMAUT PROPER.

### 1. PENETRATING INTO THE ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

The border of the Qeᶜēṭī territory is a quarter of an hour's walk to the east of Shibām. There, high up at the edge of the mountain, is a fort and an observation post; there are also mud block-houses in the plain. Somewhat further along the mountain's ridge the white military posts of the Āl Kathīr are visible.

On the afternoon of May 24th, immediately after leaving Shibām, we cross the sandy wādī diagonally towards the northern side, where there is least vegetation, but also least warfare. The whole southern side has the name of being unsafe. But even here on the north, soldiers dog our footsteps whenever we stop to take photographs. The villages are built up against the mountain foot, and on higher points are the ruins of fortifications. Following the margin we again enter date plantations, which are, however, very thin and finally perish in the engulfing sand. Then we go on through sand-dunes overgrown with a kind of beach-grass. Close by Sēwūn we again have to cross the bed of the wādī, as this place is situated on the southern side. There is water, here and there, in the *sēl*-bed; it is, however, very bitter. The soil close to those stagnant pools is covered with a crust of white salt.

Sēwūn lies within a wide belt of magnificent palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. The water-level is only eighteen to twenty-one feet below the surface; the water has a saltish taste, but appears to be exceptionally suitable for the irrigation of the gardens. We had not so far seen such vigorous date-palms and such luxuriant, tall-growing *dhura* as in this part of the country. The hot wind has already ripened the bunches of dates, which are comfortably hidden away by this time in their

241 protecting baskets. Sēwūn is said to be the finest and largest town in Ḥaḍramaut. It well deserves its appellation "eṭ-Ṭawīla, [103] the Long", but it could also be called "the Clean" or "the 342 Beautiful". The houses are lower and smaller and stand wider ●361 apart than those of Shibām. Also dirty water and other iniquities do not simply rain down into the streets. They flow through open or covered gutters along the outer walls of the houses into closed-in cesspools of masonry. It is true, the streets are also narrow; our cars, from time to time, could only just pass through them, but there is plenty of light and no bad smells. At the gate of the massive palace of the Sultan we learn that the authorities are awaiting us in the summer residence ʿIzz ed-Dīn. Sēwūn and this garden city have quite grown into one; many of the wealthy families live in their garden palaces the whole year round. Passing through a gate in a mud wall we drive up a great courtyard which is flanked by a long white building, only one storey high. The tops of the palm-trees overhang the edge of the spacious roof-terrace, which for the greater part is carpeted and where the Sultans of Sēwūn and Terīm await us, surrounded by their counsellors.

## 2. THE SULTANS OF SĒWŪN AND TERĪM AND THEIR SURROUNDINGS.

643 ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn, is a short, thick-set man, with one eye, with which, however, he looks at his guests with double friendliness. His brother and his two little sons are also among the great gathering there assembled; likewise his nephew, the Sultan of Terīm, a tall, slim, very dark-complexioned young man, whose name is Muḥammad bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr. The Sultan of Terīm is generally in Sēwūn with his uncle; his small, graceful, white palace is almost opposite that of the latter; it is much more beautiful than the one in his official place of residence.

000 In the middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all

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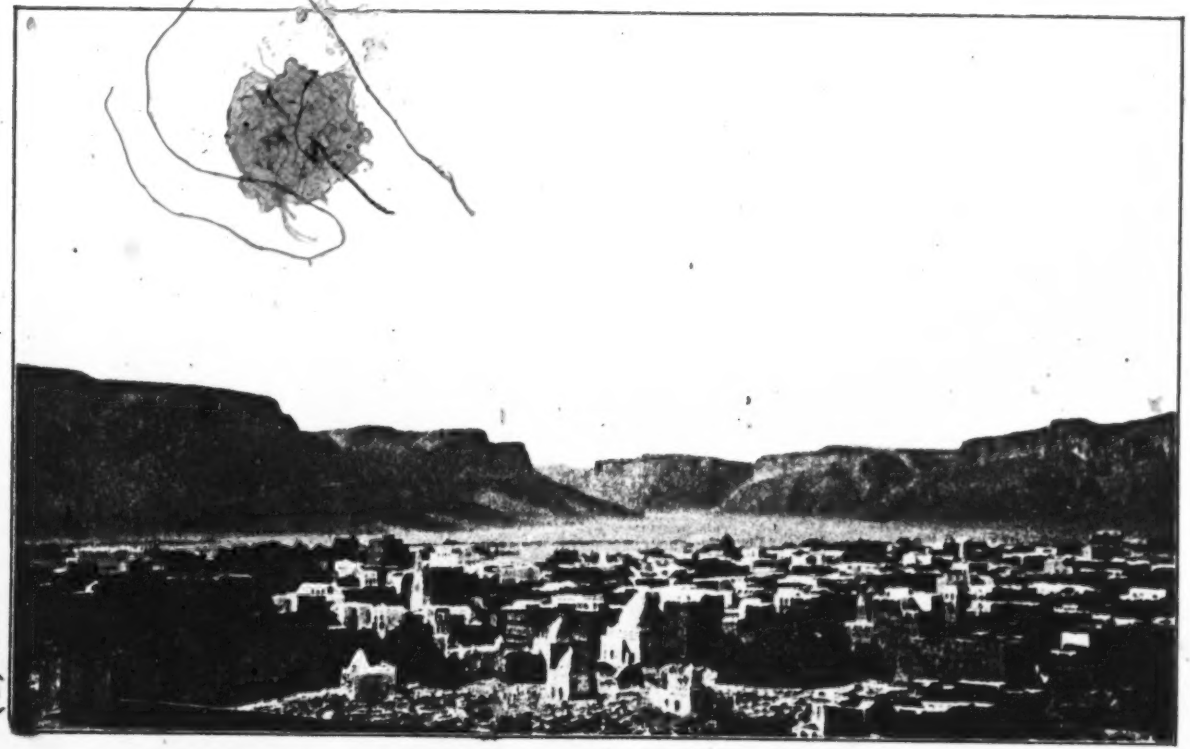
terrace of ʿIzz ed-Dīn, with the moon-lit tops of the palm-trees all around and the star-lit sky of Arabia above, are unforgettable.

On May 25th the Sultan invites us to a motor drive through the gardens of Sēwūn. The two cars pass slowly between mud walls enclosing gardens; the white summer residences in the midst of palm-trees are hidden from the gaze of the inquisitive. Then, in order to get a good view of beautiful Sēwūn, we were taken as far as the mountain-wall, where we climbed a hill on the slopes of the rock débris. The city, which lies at the foot of the mountain-wall, gleams white and thus gives a prosperous impression. On the highest point stands, wide and tall, the palace of the Sultan, one of the best examples of Ḥaḍramī palace architecture that we came across. Only the roof-terraces, with the rooms built upon them, are entirely white. The rest of the buildings has two white bands on a line with the windows, whilst the ventilation openings are framed in white. The corners of the edifice, which is long and rectangular, are fortified by round turrets. The heavy mud walls are thinner above than below and, consequently, the outer walls are not perpendicular, but slope inwards, which strengthens the impression of power and beauty in the building. The palace rises up from walled-in terraces, on which are gatehouses, powder magazines, stables and soldiers' quarters. At a little distance lies the graceful palace, entirely white, but somewhat smaller, of the Sultan of Terīm.

The cemetery is situated nearly in the centre of the town and has five graves of *walīs* with graceful *qubbas* in their honour. Several white minarets rise out of the sea of houses of the city, reminding us that Sēwūn was once famous as a seat of religion and learning. Schools were habitually connected with the mosques and that is still the case with their scanty remnants. Surrounding the city is a wide border of palm-groves, with the white of summer residences dotting it here and there. Those of the es-Saqqāf family are noticeable for their number and their size.



Sēwūn with the cemetery in the foreground.

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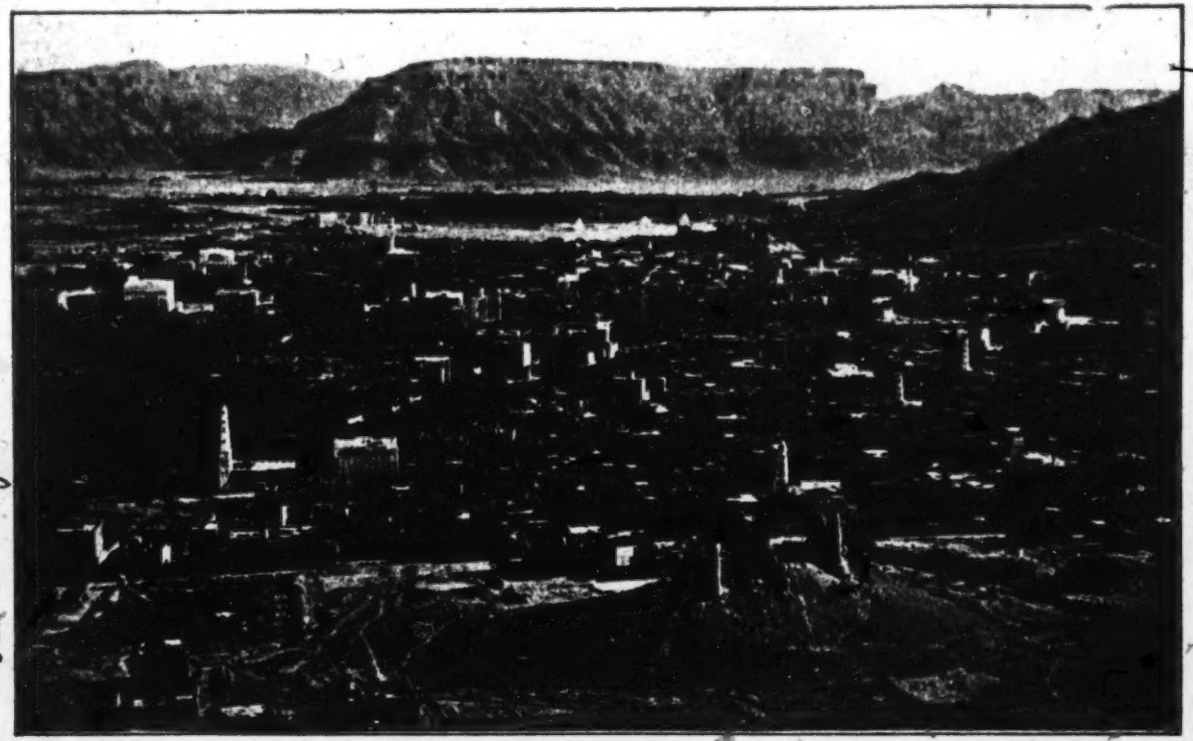

Terim, the town of wisdom and religion.

361

See page 130/131.

facing p 128

493 the mountain road made by Sayyid el-Kāf. Some years ago,
491 when the motor-car was first introduced into Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm was at war with villages in the wādī, and this stretch across the plains was then, consequently, impassable. But Sayyid el-Kāf would not yield to any war whatever and, at great expense and effort, he made a road over the two rocky spurs which separate Terīm from Sēwūn.

491 The Sultan of Sēwūn was so proud of this piece of Ḥaḍramī engineering that he insisted on our following this route. It is very difficult for the drivers to cross the wādī at this point, to avoid hillocks and pitfalls, and to come out finally onto the beginning of the zigzag mountain road at the base of the rock. The road, narrow and very steep, goes up and up against the slopes of rock débris, and only short cars can manoeuvre the sharp corners. Half way up, the engines have to cool off and the drivers take a breathing-space, while we too need to recover from the tension! Descent on the other side of the steep ridge seems to be even more difficult than the ascent. Our drivers have to depend only on the brakes and do not seem able to lessen speed by letting the motor run on the lowest gear without giving gas. They do not trust our suggestions, and the brakes get hot so quickly that they have to be cooled with the water that we have brought with us in skins. The second spur of rock too is conquered without mishap; however, I preferred to make the descent on foot. It was indeed in this case quicker than in a car the brake-bands of which catch fire.

### 1. "TERĪM — AND THEN THOU DESIREST NOTHING ELSE".

361 We get the first view of Terīm from the second rocky ridge.
342 It lies in an absolutely barren stony plain. The cultivated tract of land is narrower than at Sēwūn and does not look so luxuriant and fertile, but the great number of large, square palaces is at once noticeable. They are not grey and white here as in Sēwūn, but of all manner of striking colours. One of

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them is entirely blue and is, consequently, the most conspicuous; in others yellow or pink is predominant. A very high minaret, not round but square, and also plastered in a shade of blue, rises high above palm-groves and houses. Terîm, as a city, is a thing by itself. It is a town of many rich men: one can see that even from a distance.

The mountain path debouches into a plain covered with small boulders. A good road, apparently much used, runs right across the plain direct to the gate of Terîm. An evidently new mud wall, with gatehouses and defence turrets in good condition, encloses the town with its gardens and cemetery and runs high up the mountain-wall on either side. War is a familiar phenomenon round about Terîm, and the city is worth strong protection. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf has organised the building and maintenance of the defence works of the town, and has borne the lion's share of the expense.

As soon as we have passed the gate, the road passes through a well-kept burial ground, where there are three *qubbas* in honour of holy men buried there [1], and also a small mosque. Then, through narrow, winding streets, we come to the house of the widely famed Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf. The house is large but has not yet been completed. We pass through a mud gateway into the garden, where masons are working with their building material of mud, where poor men are waiting for alms, where visitors come and go. We are conducted to the new wing, where, in the reception-room furnished in western style, we make acquaintance with our host and his habitual male entourage.

## 2. GOOD DAYS WITH SAYYID ABŪ BAKR EL-KĀF, HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS.

Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf is of middle age; he is more simply dressed than his guests and relatives. He does not like coming

[1] Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Sa'd ès-Suwêni, ein seltsamer Walî in Ḥadhramôt*, *op. cit.*, v., p. 403 *sqq.*

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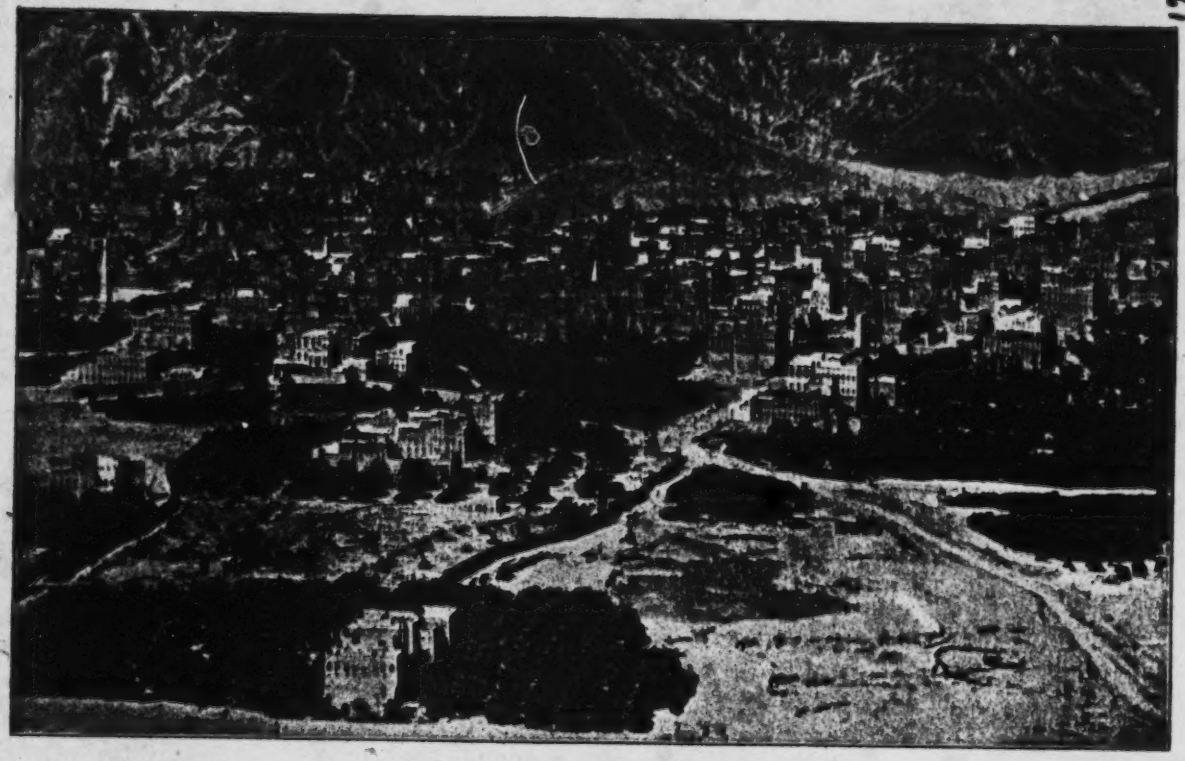

"Terim and then thou desirest nothing else".

See page 138.

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facing p 137

714 fessional soldiers is much smaller here, and the black slave
411 element is entirely absent. The sayyids of Ḥaḍramaut them-
565 selves are not armed, but they set great store on the possession of a few good Mausers (here called *Mēser*) and of large quantities of munition.

## 4. THE HIGHEST MINARET OF ḤAḌRAMAUT.

346 In the afternoon, accompanied by our host's son and the doctor, we climb the highest minaret of Ḥaḍramaut. No one knows the exact height; we estimate it at 150 feet. It is a pity that this minaret is built in modern style. The true Ḥaḍramaut minaret is round, tapering a little towards the top, with a single band of lattice-work as the only decoration; on the top are small round pillars supporting the cupola. The colour, cream, stands out very effectively against a hard blue sky and above the grey-green of the date-palms. But *this* minaret is square and the colour is blue and white; it has many small window openings with grey borders. It also tapers towards the top, where the spiral staircase of mud is only practicable for slim people. At the top is again the little cupola with pillars supporting the roof.

●361 A striking panorama is spread out from here before our eyes. Standing in the midst of the luscious, green oasis, with its gaily coloured palaces, we gaze out towards the wide, scorched plains of sand of the wādī and the dark, crumbled walls of the *djōl*. One can see clearly from here that Terīm is a town of some extension, with many great houses of which the greater number are kept in good condition, and that many new ones are in process of building. The cemetery, with its three cupolas marking the graves of *walīs* (saints) [1], makes a large open space. There are many mosques, recognisable by their high or low, round or square minarets. The ruins of a great castle, the centre point of the old city, stand on a hill.

[1] See p. 131, foot-note.

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ques. One of the el-Kāfs told us that there are 200 in use and 346
160 falling into disrepair. My friend Sayyid Hāshim makes it
60 in use and 300 falling into disrepair; this is, doubtless,
nearer to the truth.

The number of the inhabitants of Terīm is almost certainly 162
12000, for our host has lists of names in connection with the
distributions of food made by him to the masses. Sēwūn must
then have rather more, that is, between 12000 and 15000.

There are two elementary schools here with about 400 871
pupils, and one school for more advanced religious instruction with some 200 students.

After the visit to the castle we go to New Terīm. There 361
a completely new suburb is being built, partly for people who
are in the service of the el-Kāfs. In none of the places that we
had visited up to now was there so much life and expansion
as here. In Terīm a conscious and well-considered effort is
being made to become, within a short time, the foremost
town of Ḥaḍramaut. El-Kāf and Terīm are the names that we
heard everywhere whenever new undertakings or plans were
under discussion.

We pass through the new suburb till we strike the wall of 712
the city, which ascends the slope of the mountain at this spot
until it becomes unclimbable. Two forts manned by soldiers
strengthen this starting point of the defence works of the
town. From their high position they overlook quite half of the
well-maintained and solid wall which encloses the town and
the palm-groves in straight lines.

It is Thursday, the day for the distribution of food to the 735
poor. As we return home, the street and square before our 554
host's house are black with women, children and greybeards,
awaiting the portions of rice and flour that are destined for
them. The work of distribution lasts for hours. Servants hand
out the portions; others check and sign long lists of names.
The soldiers and Bedouins from the Qeᶜēṭī territory who
accompany us gaze in dumb amazement at this lavish charitableness. Soon when they return to their country, they will

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doctor, for whom Friday is a holiday. The car which follows is filled with armed Bedouins, members of the tribes through whose land we shall pass. The district of Terīm ends just outside the city. Mud defence turrets and fortifications are pointed out to us, where, up to a year ago, shooting still went on. The aspect of the villages and neglected plantations shows that prosperity has been here disturbed by warfare. Some of these villages are under the rule of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, others are independent, that is to say, they belong to the tribes in whose territories they are situated and are not under a *dōla* (a government), as the expression goes here.

The road runs over a sandy plain to the deep Wādī ᶜAdim, which seems to be fairly well watered, to judge from the thick vegetation along its banks and from its fine groves of palms. Here lies the village of el-Mesīle, the birth-place of our learned Javanese Ḥaḍramī, Sayyid Hāshim. The village chief had received instructions from Sayyid Abū Bakr to provide a midday meal for us, so he stands ready waiting with his pots and the sheep which is to be killed. We stop just long enough to pick him up with his sheep and cooking-pots and then on we go again through a hilly, sandy region with here and there villages and plantations. The further we go the poorer become the villages; the gardens are partly dried up and half of the houses are in ruins. The male population has been decimated by intertribal warfare, and now poverty and starvation are killing the rest.

The drivers have difficulty in finding a practicable track between the sand-hills. At last we reach Ruḍēḥ, the village of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, where donkeys are waiting for us. The drivers are of the opinion that the cars can go on still further if we will all help by pushing from time to time. We are again obliged to go through the sandy bed of the *sēl*. Great exertion is necessary to get the cars through the loose sand, but after that it is good going over loam plains and through wādīs. Sometimes a descent or ascent has to be dug, but we are prepared for that: pickaxes and spades have been brought.

# CHAPTER XII.

## THE AIM OF EVERY HAḌRAMAUT EXPLORER: QABR HŪD AND BĪR BARHŪT.

000 Very early on May 31st we depart in two cars for the journey to the tomb of Allah's prophet Hūd and for Bīr Barhūt. None of the family or their intimates have any desire to join this tiring, hot expedition and only Sayyid ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās el-Badawī, who made the descent of Bīr Ghumdān near Ḥurēḍa, remains faithful to us. He wishes to be the first Ḥaḍramī to go down into the mysterious depths of Bīr Barhūt [1], so that thereafter his name may be immortalized in his country's history.

For companions we have Ṣāliḥ, our cook, and further, Bedouins and soldiers of Sayyid Abū Bakr. We first pass large villages, palm-groves and fields of *dhura*, as we drive through the wādī. One can see from the outward appearance of the villages and gardens that we are going through a district that is on the decline. This becomes very clear as we approach ᶜĒnāt which lies on the right bank of the wādī-bed.

### 1. THE NUQRA.

●361 778 ᶜĒnāt was once one of the largest and most famous towns in Ḥaḍramaut. The great *qubba* of Shēkh Abū Bakr bin Sālim, as well as the tombs of six other holy men, attracted great numbers of pilgrims to it. The approach to the town was made a pleasure by a large wood of palms. The white cupolas and numerous mosques, real gems of the pure Ḥaḍramaut style of architecture, drew the admiring glances of the thousands

[1] Later on (pp. 150 and 165) we shall see that one Ḥaḍramī, the late Sayyid Muḥammad bin ᶜAqīl, penetrated into Bīr Barhūt, twenty years ago, but gave up the endeavour after some hundred yards.

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of pilgrims who used to come and worship here. ᶜĒnāt is well situated for this: nearly *all* pilgrims to the tomb of God's Prophet Hūd must pass through it. Now its greatness has fallen, and everyone in Ḥaḍramaut knows the *nuqra*[1], the cause of its gradual ruin. Since the disappearance of the dams periodic strong currents of water have worn out and deepened the *sēl*-bed. This erosion has moved slowly up-stream. By a dam nearly a mile in length Shibām has had to protect its palm plantations against this action, which lays bare the roots of the trees. ᶜĒnāt is situated further down-stream than any town in Ḥaḍramaut, so that it gets the full force of the torrents and the erosion occurs here first and makes itself most seriously felt. The *sēl* is very much strengthened at times by water from various side-wādīs, and in the thick layer of loess covering the valley here its bed is washed out deeper and deeper.

The roots of the palm-trees are washed bare and, consequently, the crop becomes smaller. Finally the tree falls; it goes on living and still bears fruit, but its death is near. The broad zone of palms around ᶜĒnāt is slowly perishing through the *nuqra*. The palms are doomed; the sun penetrates through the many open spaces, the works for distributing water are destroyed, and everything is covered by a layer of white sand. We only visited ᶜĒnāt on the way back, keeping now to the northern bank, which soon rises high up above the bed of the wādī. The loess wall is becoming more and more undermined by the water and it is therefore difficult for our drivers to find a safe way along it. This danger proved real on the way back; one of the two cars overturned and was badly damaged. An attempt has been made to divert the *sēl*-bed to the foot of the mountains on the north by constructing a dam. A great sum was raised for this, but the dam was repeatedly destroyed by the water so that the undertaking was, at last, abandoned. The plan to construct a dam was due to the initiative of one

[1] *Nuqra* is the gradual erosion by the water.

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312 of the best known of the sayyids of Ḥaḍramaut, Sayyid Muḥammad bin ᶜAqīl bin Yaḥyā, who made a journey east of Terīm in 1913. After his death in September 1931 there was found among his papers a detailed account of this journey, which was published in Java in the weekly paper *Ḥaḍramaut*.[1]

## 2. QASAM AND ITS OLD CASTLE.

●361 The land down-stream from ᶜĒnāt has suffered even more from the *nuqra*; date culture has disappeared and many of the people have departed. The little town of Qasam gives a clear illustration of this decline. The town, still surrounded by a wall, lies half in ruins; only a few hundred people live there now, whereas formerly there were thousands. Outside the wall there is a vast cemetery, which is bounded on the other side by a mediaeval castle and its accessory buildings. Part of it has fallen in, but, with its simple, powerful lines, it is still a fine building. The conical corner towers have a thickening at the level of the second storey. The white bands on a line with the rows of windows have almost disappeared; bit by bit the building will become a grey mass of mud in the midst of
622 a land whose inhabitants have left it. The old *muqaddam*[2]
567 welcomes us in the great reception-room; he is very deaf and his slave soldiers are his spokesmen. His father was a mighty and widely-feared ruler, while he has carried on a hopeless struggle against the forces of nature. His land has dried up, his subjects have departed, he has become poor, so poor that he can no longer pay his soldiers. Warfare was no match for the drought. His five score of slave soldiers have remained faithful to him; in turn they go in groups to their paternal country on the African coast or elsewhere to earn something by trading or by manual labour and then return to their old master, to share the money that they have saved, with him and their fellows.

[1] Published at Surabaya, 9th year, Nos. 303 and 304.
[2] Cf. p. 67, foot-note.

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## 6. THE TOMB OF THE PROPHET HŪD AND THE SILENT PILGRIMS' TOWN.

778 At last we see the white domes of Qabr Hūd and the buildings belonging to it, against the dark rock-wall. The wādī bends at a right angle towards the north; from the distance it almost looks as if it had no outlet and ends in a steep chasm between black rocks. About half an hour before we reach Qabr Hūd we come upon a square mud building on a flat-topped hill, in which a guard is posted. Our *muqaddam* maintains that we may only enter the town under the protection of this guard. We manage to arrange for our protectors to await the caravan and to go with it to the house in Shaᶜb Hūd (the Chasm of Hūd) where we are to spend the night.

778 133 And now we are making our way unaccompanied to the goal which we had hardly dared to hope to reach. It is only thanks to Sayyid Abū Bakr that we, as the first Christian visitors, are allowed to enter this renowned sanctuary of Ḥaḍramaut. To approach it, my companion and I leave the road and go across country, each following what he thinks to be the shortest and best way. Wādī Barhūt here leads into Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. The thick layer of loess is, in many unexpected places, deeply cut into by water flowing away after rain. The banks of these dry *sēl*-beds are so steep that it costs time and effort to get through. The hills between them are covered with a layer of fine dust more than eight inches thick. A great number of bushes of *ᶜushar, rāk* and *ithl* make the landscape a charming picture of fresh green.

●361 778 But our eyes turn towards the wonderful white buildings that lie there before us, up against a grey-black precipice of rock, and towards the dead town lower down in the narrow ravine — the town which is only inhabited for three days in the year. The whole scene is much greater and more beautiful than we had ventured to picture it in our thoughts. The pure white buildings, destined for the cult of the saint, give the impression of being brand-new, and of being most devotedly

preserved and cared for. The town with its solidly built, large 361
houses looks well-kept and attractive. We had expected to see 778
a great camp with tumble-down huts and certainly not a town with cupolas and mosques, with tall houses of many storeys with whitewashed roofs and high windows. In earlier times it was indeed different. Qabr Nebī Allāh Hūd has been the headquarters of a religious cult, belonging to and destined for Bedouins, dating from pre-Muḥammadan times. Wealth, amassed abroad, has been partly used to show gratitude to Allāh, the Giver. Thus, a full ten years ago, a rich member of the el-Kāf family left a large sum of money for the restoration of this sanctuary; only the cupola of the tomb is old, the other religious buildings being new. The tomb lies higher than the rest against the steep rock-wall. I will recall here the 792
popular story of the Prophet Hūd, the man of God of pagan times, who called his people to repentance and conversion, yet, like many another prophet, was not honoured in his own country. He ended his earthly career in this place, hunted down by his enemies. Allāh opened the rock for him and his pursuers saw him no more. The faithful she-camel (the *nāqa*) that Hūd rode and the milk of which he drank died close by his master's grave. When Islām had penetrated into Ḥaḍramaut, the cult of the Prophet Hūd arose and the pilgrimage to his tomb was incorporated into that Faith.

Hūd must have been a very big man, for his grave is about [792]
120 feet long. The *qubba* is built on the spot where his head 774
is said to rest, the place where, also, the rock was cleft open. 346
The building is in pure Ḥaḍramī style, simple and lovely. In the narrow ravine encircled by threatening, dark precipices and rude, brownish-black blocks of stone, this gay, white edifice with its beautiful simplicity and its sober ornamentation is like the voice of all that is finest and highest in man in a world of harshness and want. This voice, speaking in the eternal silence of this out-of-the-way, motionless corner of the world, is heard and understood even by us, the first Christian pilgrims from the West. We understand how the

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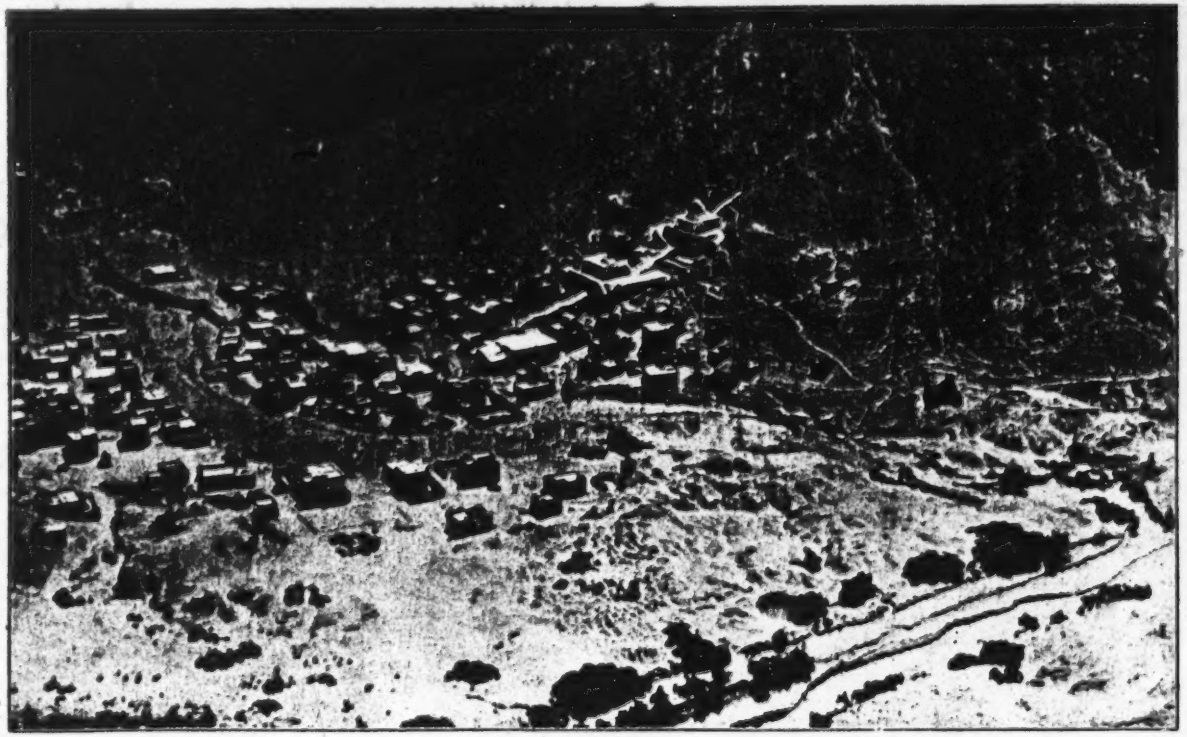

The Chasm of Nebī Hūd.



361

p 160 (A)

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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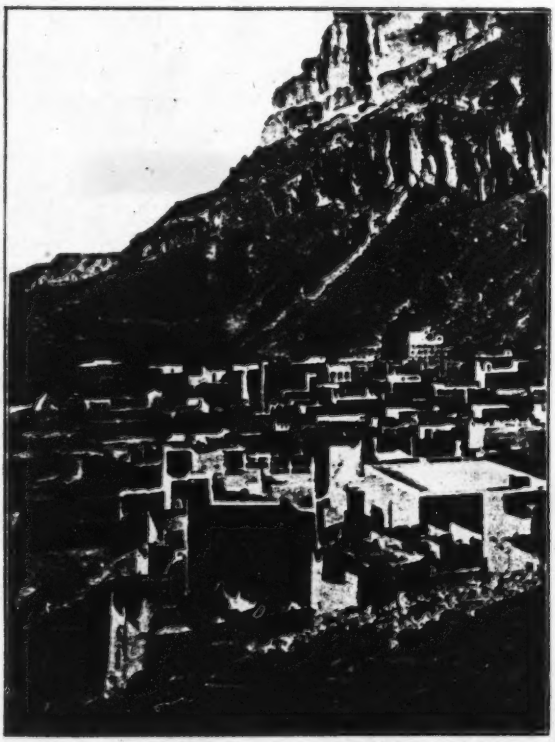

The silent city of the pilgrims.

p 160(c)

See page 361.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



to our host's little collection. After much insistence the caravan leader agreed to this, but when falling darkness forced us to leave el-ʿUrr, we noticed that the owner of our camels, who had come with us in person, was carrying the stone on his shoulder. He thought that it would injure his camels, although they were very lightly laden, and he demonstrated by running fast, jumping, and so forth, that it was no hindrance to himself!

## 9. AN EXTRAORDINARY NIGHT.

It was pitch-dark as we approached Bā Ḥafār, lying at the entrance of Wādī el-Khūn, which runs from the north. We had to follow the *sēl*-bed, which was full of water, after having ridden for some time through a narrow date plantation beside the bank. My donkey caused great consternation when, having had a long drink, he lay down at his ease in the middle of the lukewarm pool. Everyone rushed, in answer to our cry of distress, to rescue the instruments and photographic material from the saddle-bags; the donkey's bath ended however without doing any damage.

Bā Ḥafār is a miserable village, with inhabitants as poor as Job and living in huts. Its mud houses have been destroyed in tribal warfare; the remaining population is too weak in numbers and strength to rebuild them. Only one mud house had been restored, and on its roof we pitched our camp for the night in brotherly company. Very soon a number of inquisitive men came to the roof to enjoy the unexpected sight. Here something happened that we had never experienced before: the women-folk also came, a little later, to satisfy their curiosity. They sat down, huddled against each other, in a corner of the roof opposite to that which we had chosen for sleeping, with only the stairway space between us. As they had no thought of going away again and were enjoying intensely the novelty of what they saw, we were obliged to go on with our business without letting their presence disturb

00 ous. The camp-beds which, from being small packages, became long, large objects drew from them a cry of amazement. When we undressed, the amazement frequently turned into great merriment. We hoped to put an end to the visitation by suddenly switching on the beams of an electric torch. Giggling and scrambling to hide behind each other they crept away, and for a moment we were anxious lest any one of them, in her fright, should jump off the roof. Before long the girls and young women were sitting hidden away behind the backs of the old ones and so they sustained the glare in their eyes and the roars of laughter of the men and boys. When I fell asleep the gossiping black figures were still sitting there.

511 On June 4th, we were awakened by the rising sun. All around is wrapped in slumber and the women have disappeared. I gaze out across the little wādī with its miserable hovels. On the sand around our house I see shapeless, black forms lying. Then one of them begins to stir and, drunk with sleep, a woman sits up. She gets up, totters, shakes some dust and sand off the black rags that she wraps round herself, and treads silently away to her hut to resume her monotonous life of poverty. Another soon follows and gradually one after the other vanishes. Here we had for a moment a glimpse of the grey poverty and the monotonous life of hunger in a village of this part of Ḥaḍramaut, where the inhabitants have been decimated and their energies sapped by war, the surviving men have fled from its misery to foreign lands, and the long-suffering Ḥaḍramī women, who never leave their country, alone remain. The world of women and of family life always remained a closed book to us.

## 10. A VISIT TO ʿENĀT.

361 The distance from Bā Ḥafār to Qasam is not great, and we
346 arrived in that dead little town quite early in the day, to
511 find the car promised by el-Kāf awaiting us. We drive then through the town, which is half in ruins; yet, a sayyid who

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



has made his fortune abroad has built here a princely house 361
for himself. He has, of course, not forgotten to render thanks 346
to Allah at the same time by building a mosque, a glittering 511
white masterpiece of Ḥaḍramī architecture. The contrast between the great wealth of many sayyids and the poverty of the great mass of the people does not seem to be poignantly felt here. The palaces of the rich stand right in the midst of 565
dying towns; their children, frequently overdressed, play with 735
the almost naked black children of slaves. The rich return 511
of their own accord from lands of culture and prosperity to their own land of appalling poverty, to enjoy within its borders the wealth they have accumulated. Allah has willed that there be rich men in the world and poor men to whom they should be able to give alms. It is fit and proper that there should be beggars in every good Muslim society and especially a plentiful supply of them in places of pilgrimage, so that the pious may have ample opportunity to practise the generosity commanded by Allah. We have noticed little jealousy or class conflict in Ḥaḍramaut. This is certainly due partly to the democratic way of living. The privileges of the sayyid class have a religious and not a money basis. Soldiers, household slaves and the free citizens of the village meet in the *madjlis* of the rich and all eat there in company, drink from the same bowl and join in the same converse.

From Qasam we go by car along the high clay bank of the 361
*masīla* (the bed of the wādī), which has been eroded by 758
the *nuqra*. Having reached a point opposite ʿĒnāt we attempt 778
to cross the wide sandy bed of the *masīla* to reach the town. The palm plantations have been growing progressively thinner and the soil here is entirely covered by a layer of sand. We stall constantly in this sand in the *masīla* and have difficulty in reaching ʿĒnāt, where everything speaks of vanished glory. The town is scattered over a wide area; great open spaces give one the impression that the population was formerly much larger than it is now. At one time many pilgrims were attracted here by the seven *qubbas* which adorn

361 778 788 the tombs of holy men. The Āl el-ᶜĒderūs, one of the families of sayyids whose riches are made in Java, come from ᶜĒnāt and are, moreover, the ruling family in this pious city, which owes the few houses that are kept in repair, the beautiful white mosques and the fine school for boys to these sayyids and to those of the Āl Ḥāmid. At the seven *qubbas* we meet Sayyid ᶜAlī bin el-ᶜĒderūs, who feels an exile from his people who live in Surabaya, but his place here will be taken by another member of the family in a few years' time. He is glad to meet someone who knows Java and invites us to take a cup of tea with him. We learn from him that ᶜĒnāt can boast of thirteen mosques and has, at the present time, 5000 inhabitants. Water for drinking has to be brought from a great distance, as the local supply is not fit for it. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh Āl Ḥāmid, who lived for ten years in Dār es-Salām, is also glad to have an opportunity of talking once more with Europeans and comes to Sayyid ᶜAlī's *madjlis*. He has some acquaintance with the early history of his country and tells us of the great dam which is said to have existed in pre-Islamic times between Qabr Hūd and the sea. The destruction of this dam ushered in the decline of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh has his own theory of the means by which the great stones of the buildings in the pre-Islamic period were piled one upon the other; he asserts that he has seen representations of elephants on the ruins and assumes that it was by them that these heavy stones were dragged to their places. I doubt whether this supposition is correct, although it is true that elephants play a part in the historical traditions of Arabia. The great castles are built on high, rocky hills, whose slopes are barely practicable even for man.

312 172 [162]

361 Of course we follow this advice. The road runs almost without interruption through magnificent palm plantations and by villages with curious grey-brown mud-built castles, flanked by spotlessly white houses of fine architecture. It is the most prosperous and finest district in Ḥaḍramaut Proper. Its chief centre is el-Ghurfa, a town well-known and important in ancient times, but now reduced to secondary rank by constant wars. We enter the war zone a little way out of Sēwūn. No danger threatens us, however, as the Sultan is neutral in a struggle between groups of families who consider themselves to be independent and who fight amongst themselves for domination in this borderland between the Āl el-Qeᶜēṭī and the Āl Kathīr. A deathly silence reigns in the pretty villages lying close together among gardens of palms. It seems as if we alone are on the road in an enchanted land, whose inhabitants have either vanished or are asleep. Our drivers do not expect the cars to be fired at, but all the same, they keep out of the way of the villages, whence unseen watchers are certainly following our every movement. Before long we come upon trenches cut across the road, which force us to make long detours. The Sultan's soldiers who accompany us point out the villages of three parties at war. Soon they are so mixed up that we can no longer distinguish which is which. The trenches are deep and numerous, and only through them can the people enter and leave their villages and houses and get to their gardens. As all three parties are equally dependent on these magnificent gardens they have agreed amongst themselves that necessary work therein must be kept going.

We approach the town of el-Ghurfa; it is entirely surrounded by a wall with closed gates, and encircled by broad, deep trenches. The palm gardens extend as far as the wall of the town. The silence is oppressive. In order to avoid a trench we have to go out of our way close by one of the corner gates. The sentries appear to have been asleep, for directly the sound of our motors is audible, cries of alarm reach us from behind the gate. We are only a little further

[on the South bank of the Wādī between Sēwūn and Shibām — ANALYST]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



when the gate is pushed open and a group of soldiers rush out with their guns at the attack. Our people are petrified with fright and call out that we belong to the *Dōla* (the Government). Then the guns drop and the sound of a greeting reaches us, but our chauffeurs drive on as fast as possible, so as to escape from this hostile place.

We now enter the district belonging to the third party, with el-ᶜUqda as its headquarters, where the rich Shēkh Sālim bin Djaᶜfar bin Ṭālib lives. We are to pay a call upon him. He gave us a pressing invitation to do so on the outward journey, but, at that time, the Sultan of Shibām, who had undertaken our transport arrangements, gave orders to avoid the war zone. Shēkh Sālim is a Dutch subject; he possesses a great fortune, amassed in Surabaya, and was one of the well-known Ḥaḍramīs of that city.

The country round el-ᶜUqda is a paradise of beauty. White and light-grey palaces, with rows of big windows and fine points and pinnacles along the edges of the roofs, are scattered among the plantations of young palm-trees. Behind this gay green and white colouring is the yellowish-brown of the rock. In the gardens are also many bushes of lemon and pomegranate and papayas. The buildings in which Shēkh Sālim lives are surrounded by a high wall, with a colossal wooden gate covered with sheet iron, which gives entrance to a courtyard. The outposts here have done their duty and given notive of our arrival, and the gate has been thrown wide open and Shēkh Sālim himself, surrounded by soldiers and children, stands there to give us welcome. The pro-Dutch sentiments of the grey-headed Shēkh are well known, and we have no need to doubt for one moment that our welcome here comes from the heart. Conversation is carried on in the Malay language, in compliment to the presence of a government official of Netherlands India. This creates an intimate atmosphere and offers the advantage that the soldiers and children cannot follow what is said. The great *madjlis* of this imposing building becomes speedily filled with a crowd of inter-

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24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

facing p 192

El-Ghurfa, since years the bone of contention between branches of the Al 'Umar family.

301

*See page 188.*

621 We had not received favourable reports of Wādī ʿAmd. The el-Aṭṭās family, nevertheless, maintained the contrary; it is their wādī and the Djaʿdī Bedouins who inhabit it are allied with them and are, in a certain sense, under their control, but it is hard to discover how far this control goes. We got the impression that the wādī was very much armed and ready for war. The landscape is barren and, at first, monotonous; the *sēl*-bed is broad and filled with bluish-white, small boulders. Conditions must have been much better in the old days, for the numerous ruins suggest a dense population.

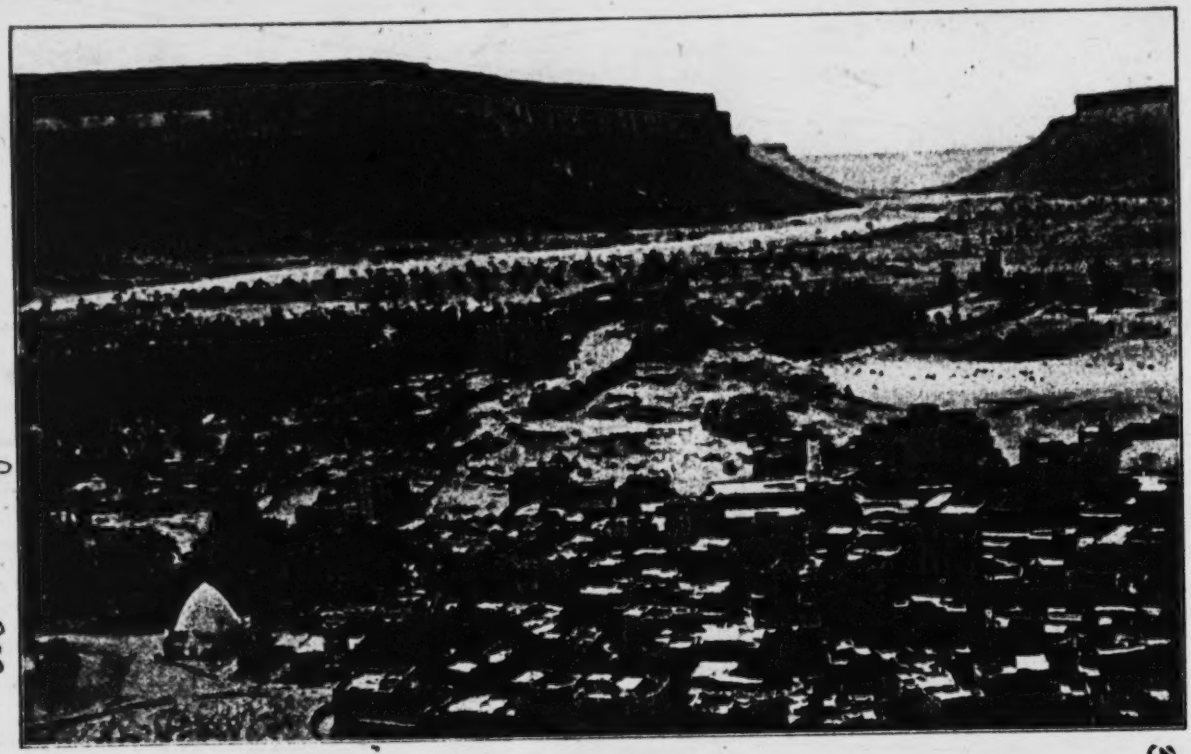
361 231 243 It is long after sunset before we reach Nukhr, where the el-ʿAṭṭās family own a house. The place consists of a few huts and a half tumble-down mud house, in which a room has been prepared for us. It is too warm to spend the night indoors, but the staircase leading to the roof has collapsed. In the middle of the hamlet there is a storehouse for fodder, half below and half above the ground. Its roof is about three feet above the ground and has a parapet about one and a half feet high. The basin thus formed is smoothly plastered with mud, and the grain is thrashed in it after harvesting. It makes a hard but safe sleeping place.

172 312 241 On the following day, June 10th, we set off again southwestwards. At first the wādī is very monotonous and barren and the *sēl*-bed widens considerably. After two hours' riding Wādī ʿAmd makes a bend towards the south and then very soon one comes across date plantations. There are an increasing number of ruins of what, presumably, were defence works, situated on hill-tops. The palm plantations have suffered much from the drought in recent years, as for two years there was neither rain nor *sēl* of any considerable quantity. The subsoil water is far from the surface and wells are 300 to 450 feet in depth so that they are not used for purposes of irrigation but only for supplying drinking-water. Groups of men hoist up the water, singing monotonously the while.

241 312 Further southwards the plantations increase and form an unbroken girdle between the broad, wild *sēl*-bed and the wes-

### 3. A KIND RECEPTION BY A ḤAḌRAMĪ-JAVANESE SHĒKH.

361 Towards eleven o'clock we arrive at es-Sēla, where there are a few tall mud houses but no more palm plantations. Everything is grey-brown again — the soil of the wādī, the houses, 622 the mountain-wall. Shēkh Ḥāmid bin ʿAlī el-Djaʿdī and his brother are the heads of the richest and most prominent family of the village. We had already made acquaintance, at Ḥurēḍa, with these high-spirited young men, whose outward appearance is more Javanese than Arab. They were born in Java of a Javanese mother and were brought up in the beautiful highland of the Preanger district. To Ḥurēḍa, where we met them, they had gone specially to welcome us. The mixture of Arab and Javanese blood has, in this instance, produced men with the proud, beautiful physique of the Arab and the fine, cultivated and modest manners of the Javanese. We are with Dutch subjects here, with whom we feel particularly in 701 sympathy. The armed men of the neighbourhood were 722 summoned to their chiefs' house by a few rifle-shots; one by one they come hurrying, all armed, into the *madjlis*, asking what is the matter. Their minds are set at rest as soon as they are told that it is only a question of doing honour to two guests. Among the soldiers are boys of about twelve years of age; they are reckoned to be full-grown soldiers as soon as they are able to carry a gun. As they sit squatting in the circle, the long, bent points of their *djambīyas* almost stick into their boyish faces. This preparedness for war impresses us and makes us suspect that fighting is of frequent occurrence here, which is indeed the case. Our host tells us that he cannot go outside his house for five minutes without a gun and an armed escort. Only a short time ago his half-brother was shot down beside him whilst they were inspecting their date-gardens; he himself shot down three of their assailants, but the actual culprit got off with a trifling wound in his foot. It is true that peace has just been concluded, but one



The town of 'Amd and a view in Wādī 'Amd, looking northward.

See page 204.



facing p. 208

183 We mounted our camels on reaching the *djōl* and made as fast as possible for the first halting place, where there was drinking-water to be found. This *djōl* differed little in character from that which we had crossed on our way to Wādī Dōᶜan. It is again the same flat, limestone plateau, thickly strewn with sharp fragments of stone; through this winds a similar narrow camel path The view is limitless in every direction; the characteristic, long chains of table-mountains are absent here. Here and there we pass some dwarf trees, crooked and gnarled. Deep silence reigns in this motionless region. After some hours marching we saw, in a fold in the land, a fortification built of rough stones with strong, square towers at each corner. Some people are living in it, so there must be water at hand, and it is high time, for our thirst is becoming a torture. Not a living soul was to be seen, nothing but a wall enclosing a square space, with towers rising up out of it. Close by rain had conveyed some earth to a depression in the ground, where there were some dried-up fields and a few *nibq* trees, leafless and grey, with not a sign of green; everything was monotonously grey and lifeless like the rocky plain all around us. As we neared the settlement we saw a few large *neqābas* and people drawing water from them. There had been no rain for a long time and, consequently, the water-supply in some of the *neqābas* was exhausted, whilst, in the others, the water which had been stored in them for so long had a brackish taste; in spite of this, we slaked our thirst with it and filled our water-skins and thermos flasks. We dealt out biscuits from our store to the poor, friendly inhabitants, who were experiencing extra hard times on account of the long drought. A small caravan from Makalla was also resting there. Dried fish, principally small sharks, and rice were being carried to Wādī ᶜAmd, but the cost of transport appears to exceed the market value of these articles in Makalla.

361 312 438

361 Our way continued over the *djōl* until we reached Sherdj el-Abyaḍēn Bā Manṣūr, where we rested for the afternoon. Here we saw the same picture of drought and poverty. The

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



place consists of a few small houses and sheds, built of stone and mud and with flat mud roofs. There are still some green leaves left on the few *nibq* trees growing between the cultivated acres, and these, to the last leaf, are gathered for the goats. The latter, with outstretched necks, stand watching the movements of a shepherdess who, armed with a long stick, was climbing about at the top of the tree to knock off the foliage. Only one family lived in the hamlet; an empty house was offered to us as a lodging. No eggs, no flour, no rice, no milk were to be bought here, the only thing obtainable being large quantities of the dried fruit of the *nibq* tree, which help one to stave off starvation. These are ground to powder and then made into porridge or bread. When eaten raw only the thin rind of dried pulp is edible; the seed, which is as hard as stone, is then thrown away. The *nibq* menu is eked out occasionally with a little goat's milk or camel's milk, and when the date harvest is gathered in Wādī Dōʿan a portion of it will find its way to the Deyyin Bedouins, who, in return, protect the inhabitants of the wādī against enemies. All the same, a long hard training is necessary in order to live on such a minimum of food as these Bedouins seem able to do in times of drought. The few shepherds and shepherdesses whom we met later in similar depressions of the ground and in wādīs where some bushes and trees were growing had as their only food-supply small round woven baskets filled with dried *nibq* fruit.

Thanks to the ready tongue of our *siyāra*, Sayyid el-ʿEderūs, as well as to the respect accorded to all sayyids among these simple folk, we succeeded in photographing the female inhabitants of the hamlet consisting of a mother, two daughters and a friend.

The women go unveiled and are much more free and open in their manner than in Wādī ʿAmd. They seem to feel quite safe, for we met them far away from their homes, alone with their flocks or on their way to some business in another hamlet hours distant. Maryam, encouraged by her mother, even yield-

301 MARYAM, ENCOURAGED BY HER MOTHER, EVEN YIELD-
ed up to us her graceful girdle of copper wire with fine silver wire twisted round it, in return for good payment, as well as her necklace of oval silver beads. Having made a success of this transaction, Maryam at once made her way with a part of the proceeds to the goldsmith, living in a village hours away, to buy a new girdle and necklace!

361 We continued our way through the monotonous stony levels in the burning heat of the afternoon. In the distance we saw a few scattered hamlets belonging to the Deyyin territory. These villages generally have a piece of cultivated land and a few trees, and the well-ploughed land lies waiting now for the rain, which will make sowing possible. The trees are burnt up, brownish-grey, dead as in a northern winter.

721 On our left we passed the ruins of el-Khamīs. Our sayyid told us that this had been the dwelling-place of a Ḥaḍramī, who had amassed a fortune in Java and, when he returned to his fatherland, had tried to conquer a kingdom. With the money he had made in Java he recruited soldiers, made raids into the fertile lands of Wādī Dōʿan and destroyed its gardens of date-palms. In place of buying him off with a piece of land, the Qeʿēṭī Sultan raised an army against him and even transported a few cannon to his village. The man, who was out for a kingdom, was not prepared for this development; he was taken prisoner, his village was razed to the ground and a heavy ransom was exacted from his wealthy family in Java. The family petitioned the Netherlands Government on behalf of the captive adventurer, basing their appeal on his Dutch nationality. It was then that the desirability of being accurately informed as to conditions in the land of origin of a considerable number of its subjects became evident to the Netherlands Government.

312 A little further on we came to the village of Khalīfet Bā Suwēde. There we made a halt to beg water for man and beast and to try to purchase some food for the animals. It appeared that there was not much water left in the *neqābas*, and doubt-
less this accounted for our none too friendly reception. There

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One of the strongly built stone villages in Wādī Yeb'eth.

p. 216 (c)

See page 218.

000 camels for the expedition to el-Ḥōṭa. The heat keeps people indoors during the day-time, now that there is nothing to be done in the gardens. Yebᶜeth seems to suffer badly from the long-continued drought. The date-palms had had too little water and had borne no fruit; the grove of vigourous *nibq* trees on the well-tilled fields was bare and colourless. The
361 light-brown loam soil of the wādī must be very fertile. The villages[1] built on hills at the base of the gently sloping bank of the wādī, have an appearance of prosperity. The houses are built of pieces of rough stone, dark, almost black in colour and bound with mud; there is generally one high square
484 house which can do service as a tower for defence. Saᶜīd took us to el-Qarn, to the house of Shēkh Abū Bakr, for whom we had a letter of introduction from the sons of Shēkh ᶜUthmān at Rēdet ed-Deyyin. His house was shabby, but he gave us a kind reception, set before us dates, some bread and a little piece of salt fish, but informed us at the same time that we should have to wait for at least two or three days for camels and, especially, for *siyāras* (responsible guides) to accompany us to el-Ḥōṭa. The district through which we were to pass was very dangerous: quite recently people had been robbed and murdered there. Not until a caravan had come in and was ready to leave again could we join it and go on our way, as no one would run the risk of guiding us through
000 that region without the protection of a caravan. We could not afford to wait for days on such an uncertain chance. For a few hours we deliberated and sought other advice, but no one made a satisfactory proposal, and meanwhile Ṣāliḥ had come to me whispering that we ought not to stay, as the people of the place were *not* well disposed towards us. A sojourn of days in this miserable dwelling, where we were already in the day-time plagued by bugs, was not attractive. The faithful Saᶜīd, who seemed convinced that we were in danger here, offered to take us on as far as Ṣidāra, in Wādī Ḥadjr, with his own camels, if we could find just one guide to show us the way. It was at this stage that we gave up the

1 [of Yeb'eth -- Analyst]

000 air that we were nearing the coast and Wādī Ḥadjr, where there is always water. Our clothes and other things were already damp by the time the sun rose.

Not till twelve o'clock did we halt in a sweltering wādī under the shade of a boulder which radiated heat. An effort of will was necessary to get us under way again, towards half past two. We went on in silence, avoiding speech with each other, as the energy which makes for friendliness and gaiety
133 was lacking. We pass through a region very interesting from a geological and botanical point of view. The *djōl* ends here and a broken, uneven area of rock and wādī takes its place. The direction of the strata, until now uniformly horizontal, is disturbed and new strata of coal-black rock formation break a way through the layers of limestone and sandstone and sometimes rise up above them like solitary cones. There is more water, but it contains a high percentage of salt. We go through jungles of grass, several feet high. Here and there the ground is swampy and covered with a crust of salt; a tall, slender palm-tree of a kind we have not hitherto come across grows in this salty marsh land. Later on we come again to
● 361 barren stretches covered with boulders. To our amazement
312 we found no human settlements here: we only saw people when much farther on, by the thickly-grown banks of a shallow but swift-flowing river. This turned out to be the upper reaches of Wādī Ḥadjr. The water was very warm and bitter. The sun was already setting when we crossed the stream and hastened on to reach Ṣidāra before nightfall, but before long we saw the scattered stone houses of this large village lying on the hilly banks of the wādī. Here cultivation begins again: fields of sesame and *dhura* alternate rapidly with gardens of date-palms. Vigorous springs throw up water which is nearly boiling; this water is carried to the fields and date plantations. The conduits have been made of such a length that the water is sufficiently cool by the time it reaches the plants, but even so it is still very warm. We noticed a white deposit in the conduits.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## WĀDĪ ḤADJR — A BIT OF ARABIA FELIX.

### 1. ṢIDĀRA, ITS CHIEF SETTLEMENT.

361 Ṣidāra gave us the impression of being dirty, yet fairly
131 prosperous. The stone houses are scattered wide apart; they
621 have generally two storeys and are built square and strong so as to hold their own in case of hostilities. Ṣidāra is independent; the farthest frontier post of the Qeᶜēṭī Government is a good two hours' march south-east. Much fighting has been carried on for the possession of this very fertile Wādī Ḥadjr, and in the days which followed we saw many traces of this strife.

609 Here we stood at last in front of the house of the village-
186 chief, wondering how we were to be received. A roof-terrace was rapidly prepared for us and, after that, the master of the house came to bid us welcome and invite us to enter. We recall him gratefully to mind, for we owe it to him that the people left us more or less in peace, although here again they did not exactly sympathize with foreigners. Our host had performed the *ḥadjdj* and had brought back with him two very favourable recollections of Europeans: when passing through Aden he had become acquainted with the Mission Hospital at Shēkh ᶜUthmān and spoke with great respect of the Mission doctor whom he had met there; and then again, in the Holy Land itself he had met a Dutchman who had become a Muḥammadan; after the *ḥadjdj* was over he had seen the latter again in Djedda and had been treated by him as if he were his own brother. I told him that the Dutchman at Djedda was a good friend of mine, and with that we were in friendly touch at once.

000 The roof-terrace was soon full of people and hand-shaking and questions began as usual. The youth of the village was

p.224

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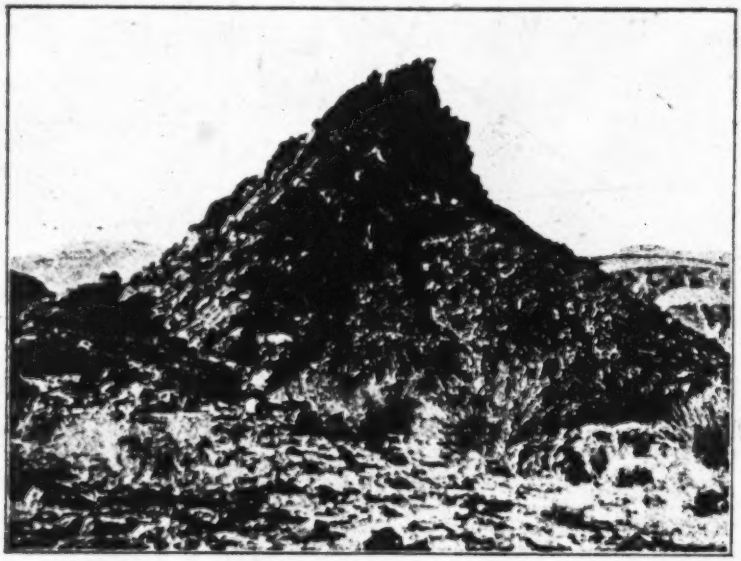

Peaks of black stone piercing the lime- and sandstone strata near Wādī Ḥadjr.

361

Ṣidāra, situated at the beginning of the cultivated area in Wādī Ḥadjr.

facing p. 224

See pages 222 and 22

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



of the route and we are free to travel in the darkness, that is to say, after sunset and before sunrise.

Some two hours after starting, we arrive at the Qeᶜēṭī frontier. Here, besides a castle named Ḥuṣn Bin Dighāl and manned by the inhabitants of the wādī, we find the first stronghold occupied by a garrison of Yāfiᶜ soldiers of the *Dōla* (*i. e.* Government); it bears the name of Bedaᶜ Qeᶜār. We pass by this lonely castle; the soldiers, who are weakened by malaria, stare inquisitively after us, crowding each other aside to get a view of us from the little windows near the roof. We have come nearer to the river again at this point, and before long our path goes through fertile date-gardens, beside and across irrigation canals full of water. It is already growing dark as we approach Ḥūte, the first village on Little's map. We had decided not to spend the nights in villages and houses, if it were at all possible to avoid it, so as to have no bother from inquisitive visitors; we let the camels kneel down for the night where the slopes of a hill began a little way beyond Ḥūte.

We had not been able to replenish our stock of food at Ṣidāra, and here also the men we send out to do so come back empty-handed. The rocky slope was unpleasant to lie on and the proximity of the river and irrigated fields makes the atmosphere very damp, which is oppressive at night. Mosquitoes, the tormentors of mankind in hot, damp countries, make their appearance here again. In the middle of the night we were startled by a hyena that was snuffling round us but ran away like a hare when some of our company awoke and got to their feet.

On the following morning, June 17th, we did not succeed in making an early start. The camels had to be generously watered; then we were told that one of them had strayed, though in reality our men were only trying to give the animals plenty of time to feed from the *rāk* bushes which grow around. Bedouins invariably do everything they can to keep their camels in the best possible condition.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 The way ran by the river all the time now, through an un-
361 interrupted grove of date-palms. At one time the path follows
511 the left bank, then at another the right. At regular intervals
241 we pass long, low dams made of boulders; these store up the water which is conducted through channels for the irrigation of the palm-gardens. The fringe of palm-trees is not, as a rule, wide and above it, against the rocky slopes, where no shade falls, villages swelter in the heat of the sun. They are always in a good strategic position, for this fertile Wādī Ḥadjr has been a much disputed territory until a short time ago. To this must be attributed the low degree of prosperity and the lack of intensive cultivation of all the arable land here. In this respect Wādī Dōᶜan is on a much higher level.

361 After a few hours the wādī becomes narrower, the rocky
342 slopes approach the river, and the cultivated strips of land grow narrower and, at last, cease entirely. Our way goes over a plain strewn with sharp, reddish-brown stones, where lies the village of Ḥuṣn Mṣēneᶜ, which consists entirely of houses with neither front nor back walls; they are like short tunnels of stone with their further end towards the rock-wall and their front facing the river. When we asked the reasons for this way of building we were told that they were poverty and the great heat; in this way advantage is taken of the breeze which blows through the tunnels. Its inhabitants belong to a kind of gypsy tribe living apart from other people. Further on they dwell in large villages of straw-huts; they are half-nomads and are despised by the settled inhabitants.

312 The wādī narrows until it becomes a rocky gorge through which the river flows underground. Its narrow bed is full of boulders; probably the *sēl* after rain rushes through here above ground as well. The path rises steeply up the rocky slope, and it is a real feat on the part of the camels to climb up, with their heavy loads, over the slippery boulders and then to descend again into the wādī where it widens out. Half-way through the gorge the river comes to the surface again, showing a beautiful greenish-blue colour.

000 That night a wolf came near our bivouac. The Bedouins heard his call in the encircling mountains and rose in haste to gather the camels together inside the camp.

On the following morning, June 19th, we rose very early, for it was growing important to reach Makalla as soon as possible. The caravan was in motion at a quarter past four and we made a straight line for the sea coast, scrambling laboriously over granite boulders. By ten past eight we had reached Mēfaᶜ, a forlorn little village by the sea at the mouth of Wādī Ḥadjr.

312 The river here has shrunk till it is no more than a swiftly flowing stream. No doubt the major portion of the water flows underground to the sea.

361 164 The population of Mēfaᶜ dwells for the greater part in miserable shacks; the few mud houses are dilapidated and poor and dirty. The house where the soldiers live was opened for us; it was the best to be had, but still miserable enough. Only one soldier still remained; his companions had died of the fevers for which Mēfaᶜ has an unenviable reputation. Yāfiᶜ soldiers from the healthy highlands are among the least resistant to the fever of the damp, hot coast. When this soldier's last comrade died, he had fled from the house, not daring to live there any longer. No food was to be had from the villagers for love or money, but the soldier shared some of his provisions of rice and eggs with us. He told us that the people of the place are desperately poor and unhealthy. Emigrants come here, it is true, but they do not stand it for long, and only a portion of the arable land is under cultivation. The Qeᶜēṭī soldiers regard transference to Mēfaᶜ as equivalent to a death sentence. Their constitutions are not resistant against the endemic fever, they have not enough pay to feed themselves well, and the people of the village are so poor and miserable that nothing can be got from them.

757 Whilst lying in a corner of a little room, which smelt of indigo, I got a violent attack of cramp in the stomach, and it looked as if I should not be able to go further. Luckily the

# CHAPTER XVII.

## ALONG THE COAST BACK TO OUR STARTING POINT.

We now turned back in the direction of the mountains, crossing a broad rocky plain covered with small stones. When darkness fell we lay down on a granite plateau and were lulled to sleep by the sound of the waves swept against the coast by the monsoon, which was now gradually breaking.

On June 20th, we were up by half past two and left our last mountain camp at three o'clock. At el-Ghabar, where the wādī of that name flows into the sea, we took a rest and had food and drink. There was well-water a few yards below the surface of the wādī-bed, but the water is brackish, which is not to be wondered at, as the well is only a few hundred yards away from the sea. We dozed under some bushes, but the sun, rising high in the heavens, soon drove us on our way.

The afternoon's rest was taken close to a well of sweet water at the mouth of another wādī. Here, in the shadow of an overhanging rock, rest was turned into torture by swarms of camel-ticks; we found however on the beach a cave which the waves had hollowed out. There, free from ticks we dreamed — to the booming of the surf and splashed with its spray — that we were sailing on a choppy sea, making for Aden.

In the evening at eight o'clock we arrived at Burūm. This is the famous harbour of refuge for steamers which cannot pass the nights in the roadsteads of Makalla and esh-Shiḥr during the S. W. monsoon and which lie at anchor here, protected from the wind by Rās Burūm.

We set up our bivouac for the night on a rocky level outside the town. None of the inhabitants ventured to leave the protection of the village at night to satisfy their curiosity and

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



disturb us with questions. It was a disappointment to find that there was, apparently, no food to be bought, but . . . we hoped to be back again in the palace of the hospitable Sultan of Makalla on the morrow!

June 21st was to be the last day of our travels and the fifteenth since leaving Terīm. We were on the march at twenty past four, going round the village towards the sea, where a few fishermen were already busy with their nets. Burūm has barely a few hundreds of inhabitants and has known better days. There are only soldiers now in the white palace of the Sultan. A white mosque, as well as a few white stone houses, give it an attractive appearance when seen from a distance. A date plantation and *dhura* fields lie between the village and the mountain-wall, but there is no room for them to spread out in this narrow coastal plain shut in by rocks. Makalla controls Burūm by means of fiscal regulations. The fishing trade is the only source of income left to the people. We saw good-sized, dried shark's heads thrown into a heap, amongst them those of the hammer-head.

From the beach the path mounts to the rock-wall beside the sea. On the rocky cape the remains of a fort and a few rusty cannon are to be seen. For a part of the way the path is hewn out of the precipice. Little Muḥammad, who has never seen the sea, lags behind constantly, quite lost in wonder over this new marvel. At one time our way ascends high up onto the rocks, then, at another, leads over a beach of glittering white sand. The farther we go the farther the mountains recede and, at last, one is walking along the flat sandy beach. The way is much travelled and there are plenty of *siqāyas*. Fūwa, our last stopping place before Makalla, comes in sight. The white town, encircled by an extensive district under cultivation, lies at the mouth of Wādī Fūwa. We pass through fresh green fields towards a group of shady trees, our chosen halting place, but it proves to be too warm and we are forced to seek human neighbourhood. Hospitality will be readily offered us in the high, white houses, but there we shall neither

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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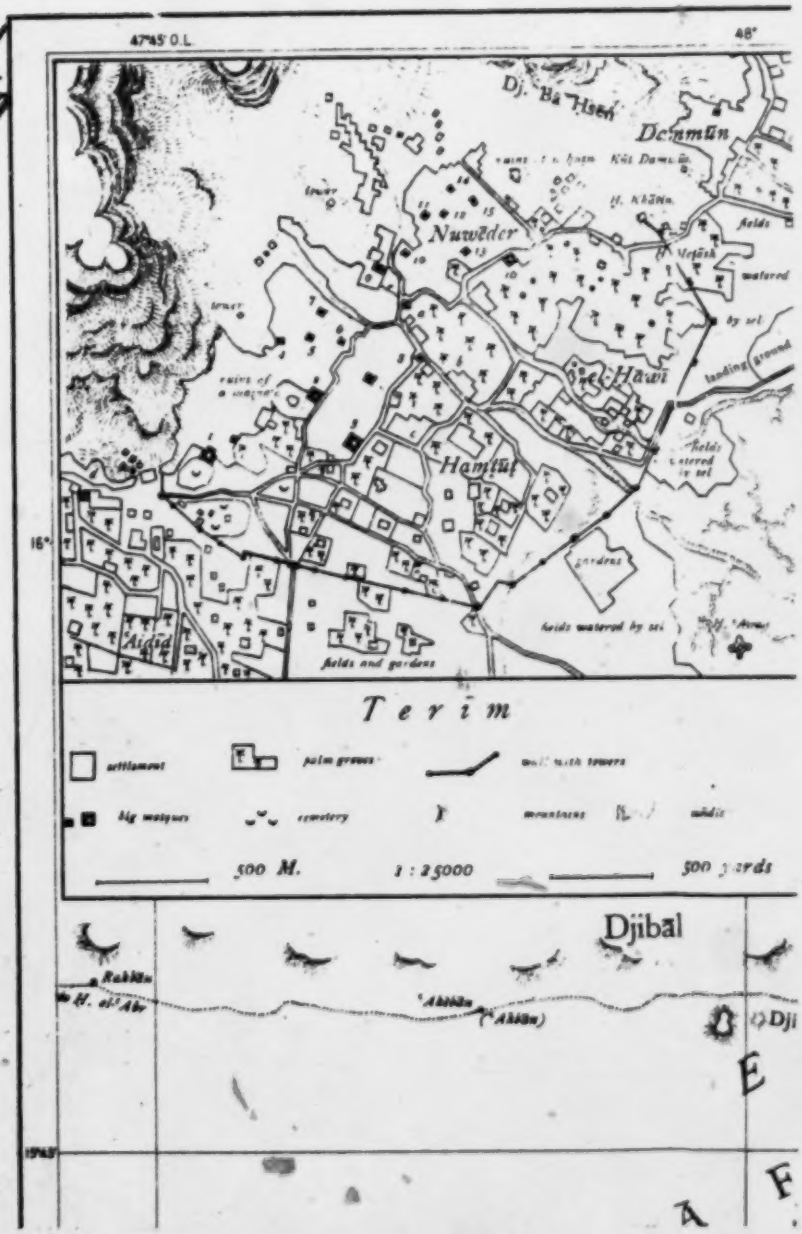


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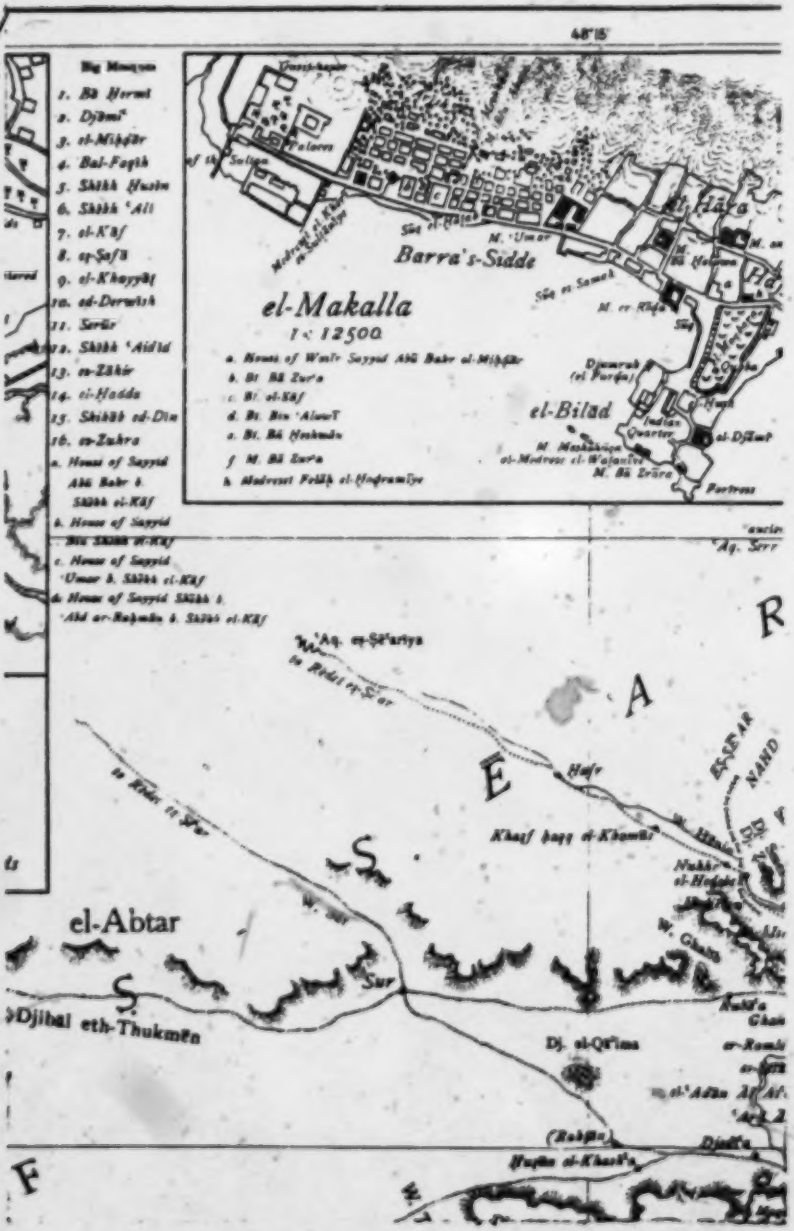

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8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), 133
with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably 361
Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12 : Administration

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting 631
of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates [648]
of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., [643]
Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it 175
came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. 438
The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 161
100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is 133
mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital 361
is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a 648
small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be 619
recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete 622
control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them

5. Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



619 has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative
622 machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have tribal guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under
701 the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden
625 Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

619 The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal
634 districts:

[643] ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej,* the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

• 361 AMIRI: Amir Nast bin Shaif Seif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION: Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. *Capital*: Mahjaba. Mausatta, Sheikh Ahmed Bubakr 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Muhsin 'Askar. *Capital*: Al Qudma. Dhubi, Sheikh Abdurehman bin Salih (under age). *Regent*: Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital*: Dhi Sura. Maflahi, Sheikh Qasim 'Abdurrahman. *Capital*: Al Jurba. Hadrami, Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital*: Ash Shibr.

SHAIB: Sheikh Muhammad Muqbil As Saqladi. *Capital*: Awabil.

QUTEIBI: Sheikh Hassan 'Ali. *Capital*: Ath Thumeir.

ALAWI: Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital*: Al Qash'a.

AQRABI: Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl ba 'Abdullah. *Capital*: Bir Ahmed.

AUDHALI: Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital*: Lodar.

UPPER 'AULAQI: Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital*: Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital*: As-Said.

LOWER 'AULAQI: Sultan Nasir bin Aidrus bin Ali bin Abdullah (under age). *Regent*: Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. *Capital*: Ahwar.

BEIHAN: Sharif Salih bin Husein. *Regent*: Sharif Husein bin Ahmed. *Capital*: An Nuqub.

SUBEIHI: Sheikh Muhammad 'Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah ba Sa'id of the 'Atifi.

* His Highness Sultan Sir Abdul Karim Fadhl, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., died on 18th June, 1947.

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6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
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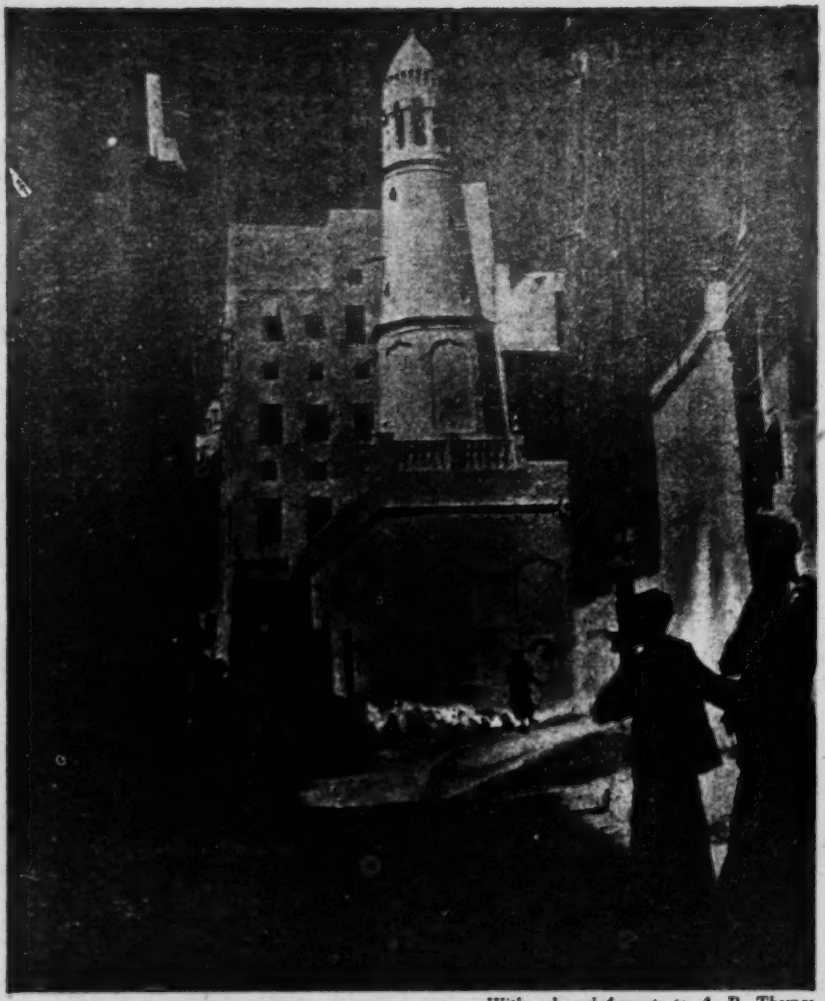

*With acknowledgments to A. R. Thomas*

SHIBAM, ADEN PROTECTORATE

Facing p. 40 (A)

6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut M.H.2



241 the management of irrigation farming on some 5,000 acres. The value
242 of the Board's quarter-share of the net crop obtained, after paying harvesting and threshing expenses in kind, was estimated at over Rs. 1,25,000.

Farming in Abyan, largely influenced by the Board's operations, proved important to the economy of the Western Aden Protectorate. In the production of millet alone, it is estimated that a 30,000 bag crop, equal to 3,000 metric tons, was raised. A large portion of this was held as a reserve, or had been marketed to the easterly districts at the end of the year. General control on the export of this grain to Aden itself was maintained, and the flow of the crop to the districts to the east was encouraged.

*The Wadi Hadhramaut Rehabilitation Scheme*

654 This was wound up by Government at the end of the 1947–48 financial
426 year. Farmers with outstanding loans were given ten years in which to repay, the basis of repayment being at the rate of 2 per cent of the total loan from the spring crop, 3 per cent from the autumn crop, and 5 per cent from the winter crop grown. By the end of the year, it was apparent that this system of deferred repayment was not proving satis-
[452] factory. Moneylenders had again become active, while late planting and reduced acreage were noticeable in many districts. This undoubtedly resulted from lack of foresight on the part of many farmers, who had failed to reserve sufficient seed and fodder and preferred to resort to moneylenders for obtaining their needs on credit.

406 At the end of the year, proposals were on hand for the introduction of numbers of diesel-driven irrigation pumps for use in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

*Co-operation*

476 The Beihan Farmers' Association, formed in the previous year, progressed in a satisfactory manner, and much useful experience was gained by the officials of the association. A good *saif* season helped the members, but this was followed by an almost complete lack of water in the *kharif*. In spite of these difficulties, the association was able to help its members in their requirements of seed, stock, and cash needed for well equipment and for concentrates for feeding livestock. At the end of the year, the association had acquired some Rs. 12,000 from members' subscriptions and from interest charged on loans.

476 This association cannot be termed a co-operative society in the true sense of the word. It is an association which has the full support of the
659 local Government, and which at present makes use of Government offices and storehouses for its activities. In the present stage of development this is considered to be the most desirable form of association for Beihan.

*Western Aden Protectorate*

226 The Western Aden Protectorate fisheries are of minor importance
361 compared with those of the Eastern Protectorate. Shuqra, the seat of
439 the Fadhli Sultan, is, however, a fishing port with a considerable export trade in dried fish

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



trade in dried fish. Other fishing communities are small and the greater part of their population nomadic for part of the year. 226 [361]

Apart from the occurrence in summer of large migratory fish as described under the Aden Colony fisheries, there is a considerable cast-net fishery for sardines along the sand beaches east of Aden. West of Aden, sardines are rare but a small anchovy supports a fishery during the winter months.

Craft and gear are as described under Aden Colony fisheries.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

The fisheries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate are primitive but very productive. Previous observers have estimated the annual catch as over 50,000 tons of wet fish.

Sardines belonging to several species of Sardinella and Dussumieria normally abound on certain stretches of coast east of Mukalla all winter, when they support a very extensive cast-net and beach-sein fishery. Utilisation is wasteful, the fish being either sun-dried for fertiliser and animal fodder or else rotted in order to free a putrid oil. The winter of 1948–49 has unfortunately been the worst sardine season within living memory. [228]

Kingfish (*Scomberomorus*) abound in the vicinity of the sardine shoals and are taken in large quantities in nets and on handlines. They are exported either wet-salted as " maleh " or salted and sun-dried as " safif ". [439]

Three species of tunny and several other large pelagic fishes are caught in considerable numbers and salted.

Sharks are taken in moderate numbers. The town of Qu'sair specialises in this fishery and sends small dhows to the Somali coast for the purpose. In general, the Somali coast is reckoned to be a better shark ground than South Arabia.

These fisheries are worked from huris, sambuks and small dhows as described under Aden Colony fisheries, using the most primitive gear. So great is the abundance at high and low tide close inshore, however, that even by these means the catch per man-hour exceeds that of many fully mechanised fisheries elsewhere.

During 1948 the fisheries of the Gulf of Aden, and particularly those of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, were surveyed under a Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme, with a view to promoting their more efficient exploitation. The original schedule was unfortunately upset by failure to get two vessels equipped in time at Aden, but, although this hampered the work, experimental canning was carried out and liver oils tested for Vitamin " A " content early in 1948. Towards the end of the year, a taxonomist was appointed to confirm the identity of the commercial species. A full report on the survey will be published during 1949. 654 647

Following on the early findings of the Survey Party representatives of the Colonial Development Corporation arrived on the Eastern Protectorate coast towards the end of the year in order to go more fully into commercial possibilities. Unfortunately their visit coincided with a particularly poor sardine season.

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



131 tanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khail (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the status quo as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

### CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadhramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol", extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultivation is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and 361 cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

631 The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting 648 of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun),

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the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate. 631 648 643

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida. 631 622 175 438 161 133 361

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. 645

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government. 619 701 625 621

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts: 631 361

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej. [643]

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

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631 361 UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION: Sultan Muhammad bin Salih, *Capital*: Mahjaba.

Mausatta, Sheikh Ahmed Bubaker 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Musin 'Askar. *Capital*: Al Qudma.

Dhubi, Sheikh 'Abdurahman bin Salih (under age). Regent: Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital*: Dhi Sura.

Maflahi, Sheikh Qasim 'Abdurahman. *Capital*: Al Jurba.

Hadrami, Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital*: Ash Shibr.

SHAIB: Sheikh Ahmed Mana As Saqladi. *Capital*: Awabil.

QUTELIBI: Sheikh Hassan 'Ali. *Capital*: Ath Thumeir.

ALAWI: Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital*: Al Qash'a.

AQRABI: Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl ba 'Abdullah. *Capital*: Bir Ahmed.

AUDHALI: Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital*: Lodar.

UPPER 'AULAQI: Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital*: Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital*: As-Said.

LOWER 'AULAQI: Sultan Nasir bin Aidrus bin Ali bin 'Abdullah (under age). Regent: Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. *Capital*: Ahwar.

BEIHAN: Amir Salih bin Husein. Regent: Sharif Husein bin Ahmed. *Capital*: Beihan Qasb.

SUBEIHI: Sheikh Muhammad 'Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah ba Sa'id of the Atifi.

## Chapter 13: Weights and Measures

804 These vary considerably from place to place, but the tendency of late has been towards standardisation. Generally speaking, liquids are weighed and grain is measured. The measures of weight most used are the pound, the frasila = 28 lb. and the khandi = 24 frasilas. The keila, a cubic measure for grain, varies from place to place, but the one mostly used is equivalent to about 40 lb. of grain. The qadah = 200 lb. and the qasa = 2½ lb. are also in use. Linear measurement is mostly in qamas, one equalling 5 feet 6 inches approximately, or else the dra = 1½ feet approximately.

Areas are generally quoted in dhumd or fadan, which is equivalent to the area ploughable by a yoke of oxen in a working day of about eight hours. It is roughly an acre or 4,840 square yards.

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# PART VI

## Chapter 1 : Geography and Climate

### GEOGRAPHY

131 The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described
648 administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the Kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

133 The Western Protectorate is divided into the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth ; the maritime ranges about 1,000—2,000 feet above sea-level ; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high ; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt and the intramontane plains and the plateau is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and
361 cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Sai'un, the capital of the Kathiri State.

### CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night ; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol", extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

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648 The island of Socotra was occupied by the East India Company in 1834 and came under British protection together with the neighbouring Abd Alkuri and Brothers Islands when the treaty with the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Socotra was concluded in 1866.

## Chapter 3 : Administration

631 The Eastern Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting of the
648 Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Sai'un), the Mahra Sultanate of the Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates
643 of Belhaf and Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. A British Agent is stationed at Mukalla who advises the Rulers of the Eastern Protectorate on matters of administration.

The interests of the Western Protectorate are looked after similarly by a small cadre of British Political Officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since Her Majesty's
619 Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by
622 the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over
701 their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been
625 greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards mainly (paid for by Her Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate ; they are stationed inland at fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

631 The Protectorate consists of the following states :

• 361

WESTERN PROTECTORATE

[643] 'ABDALI : His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin 'Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej until April, 1952, and thereafter His Highness Sultan 'Ali bin 'Abdul Karim, the premier chief of the Western Protectorate. Capital : Lahej.

'AMIRI : Amir Nasir bin Shaif, C.M.G. Capital : Dhala.

FADHLI : Sultan 'Abdullah bin 'Uthman. Capital : Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I : Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. Capital : Al Qara.

HAUSHABI : Sultan Muhammad bin Sarur. Capital : Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I : Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. Capital : Mahjaba.

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MAUSATTA : Sheikh Ahmad Bubakr 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Hussein Salih Muhsin 'Askar. Capital: Al Qudma. 631 361

DHUBI : Sheikh 'Abdulrahman bin Salih (under age). Regent: Sheikh Salih Salim. Capital : Dhi Sura.

MAFLAHI : Sheikh Qasim 'Abdulrahman. Capital : Al Juba.

HADRAMI : Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. Capital : Al Shibr.

SHAIB : Vacant. Capital : Awabil.

QUTEIBI : Sheikh Hasan 'Ali. Capital : Al Thumeir.

'ALAWI : Sheikh Salih Sayid. Capital : Al Qash'a.

'AQRABI : Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl Ba 'Abdulla. Capital : Bir Ahmad.

'AUDHALI : Sultan Salih bin Hussein. Capital : Lodar.

UPPER 'AULAQI : Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin 'Abdullah. Capital : Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. Capital: Al Said.

LOWER 'AULAQI : Sultan Nasir bin 'Aidrus bin Ali bin 'Abdullah (under age). Regent : Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. Capital : Ahwar.

BEIHAN : Amir Salih bin Hussein. Capital : Beihan Qasb.

EASTERN PROTECTORATE

QU'AITI : His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib Al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla. Capital: Mukalla. 631 643

KATHIRI : Sultan Hussein bin 'Ali bin Mansur Al Kathiri. Capital : Sai'un. 361

MAHRA (Qishn and Socotra) : Successor to Sultan 'Ahmed bin 'Abdulla bin 'Isa bin 'Afrar not yet elected. Capital : Hadibu (Socotra).

BALHAF : Sultan Nasir bin 'Abdullah Al Wahidi. Capital : Azzan.

BIR 'ALI : Sultan 'Alawi bin Muhsin Al Wahidi. Capital : Bir 'Ali.

## Chapter 4 : Weights and Measures

These vary considerably from place to place, but the tendency of late has been towards standardisation. Generally speaking, liquids are weighed and grain is measured. The measures of weights most used are the pound, the frasila = 28 lb. and the khandi = 24 frasilas. The keila, a cubic measure for grain, varies from place to place, but the one mostly used is equivalent to about 50 lb. of grain. The qadah = 200 lb. and the qasa = 2½ lb. are also in use. Linear measurement is mostly in qamas, one equalling 5 feet 6 inches approximately, or else the dra = 1½ feet approximately. 804

Areas are generally quoted in dhund or fadan, which is equivalent to the area ploughable by a yoke of oxen in a working day of about eight hours. It is roughly an acre or 4,840 square yards.

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the summer thunderstorms are due. These latter are often extremely violent, even terrifying. Hail occasionally falls. Harvesting of one crop or another goes on throughout the year—chiefly bearded wheat, barley, maize, lucerne, and coffee (but the latter is less frequent than over the Yemen border). Indigo and cotton (a very small bush) are grown in the Nisāb district and grapes on the Yemen border.

In the sixth zone—the Empty Quarter or Great Red Desert—the population is pastoral and follows the grazing according to the rainfall, which is irregular and scanty. Along the principal wādis, which lead north towards the desert, there are permanent settlements and cereal crops are raised, chiefly millet, the stalks of which make useful fodder when grazing is scarce. The semi-nomadic part of the population returns to the settlements to await the next grazing-season in the desert.

In the Aden Interior as a whole the prevailing diseases are small-pox, fever (especially malarial), and, to some extent, consumption. The 'Yemen ulcer' is also common among the tribes.

## Population

The population of the Aden Interior (considered as a whole, and including that portion known strictly as the Aden Protectorate), settled and nomadic, may be computed at about half a million. The district is composed of a number of Tribal Confederations or Sultanates, some lying within the limits of the Protectorate proper, some without.

The limits of the Aden Protectorate proper are the delimitation line, previously mentioned, from Ras Turbah to a point some few miles north of Dhāla, and thence a somewhat vaguely defined line continuing at first in a south-easterly direction and then in a generally easterly direction to the coast of the Gulf of Aden near the small settlement of Maqātīn. They enclose an area of about 4,200 sq. miles, having a population of 100,000. The tribal confederations lying within this boundary are: the Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, Haushabi, Amīri, 'Alawi, 'Aqrabi, and other smaller tribes; and without are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and 'Audillah ('Audali). The tribes of the Protectorate have a larger proportion of non-combatants and are more settled than those of the remoter interior; the bulk are to be found in the towns and villages of the littoral belt, the chief centres being Lahej, Waht, Shūghrah, and the Abiyān district.

In dealing with a variety of tribes with such different characteristics it is difficult to generalize; broadly they may be divided

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was made towards Waht. On the receipt of reports in September that the Turks were preparing to retire from Lahej, a column surprised the enemy, estimated at 700 Turks with eight guns and 1,000 Arabs, and seized and occupied Waht. In October and again in December our cavalry had small affairs with hostile reconnoitring parties, in which the latter were driven off with loss; and in December friendly Arabs, supported by a small infantry detachment, drove off a hostile Turkish and Arab force which was advancing on 'Imād.

Owing to the Turks dispatching troops to coerce the tribes in the east of the Aden Protectorate, a demonstration in support of these tribes was made by the Aden movable column on January 12th, 1916, in the direction of Subar. The column located a Turkish force near Subar, about 4 m. SSE. of Lahej, and engaged it, inflicting considerable losses on it. As a result of this action the Turkish pressure on the Arab tribes is reported to have been relieved. Since then there has been little change.

The strength of the principal tribal units and the political attitude of their rulers are described in the sections on the Tribal Confederations (pp. 206 ff.).

## DISTRICTS AND TOWNS

### I. Aden Settlement

The Settlement of Aden comprises the following divisions: (1) the peninsula and isthmus, or Aden proper, which has an area of about 21 square miles and a population, in 1915, of 36,900; (2) Sheikh 'Othmān and the district round, inclusive of the villages of 'Imād and Hiswah, which has an area of 39 square miles and a population of 7,700; (3) Little Aden peninsula, with 15 square miles of area and population 330; and (4) the island of Perim, with 5 square miles of area and population 1,300. The total area of the Settlement is therefore about 80 square miles, with a total population of just over 46,000 souls.

The British territory was at first limited to the peninsula of Aden proper, and extended only to Khōr Maksar creek, which forms the neck of the peninsula two miles north of the defensive works across the isthmus. In 1868 the peninsula of Little Aden, or Jebel Ihsan, was acquired by purchase from the Sultan of the 'Aqrabi. In 1882, owing to the increasing population of Aden town, a further small tract of territory was acquired by purchase, from the Sultan of Lahej, beyond the Khōr Maksar creek, extending to just beyond the small village of 'Imād on the north and just beyond the town

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361 of Sheikh 'Othmān and small village of Hiswah on the north-east, at a radius roughly of ten miles from Aden town. The island of Socotra, in the Arabian Sea, passed under the protection of the British Government in virtue of a treaty concluded with the Sultan of Mahrah in 1886 (p. 205).

133 The peninsula of Aden proper is an irregular oval, 15 miles in circumference, with a diameter of from 3 to 5 miles, connected with the mainland by a neck of land about 1,350 yards wide, but at one place nearly covered at high spring tides. The causeway and aqueduct, however, are always above, although at some seasons only just above, water level. The peninsula consists of a huge crater walled round by precipices, the highest point being 1,775 feet above the sea; and rugged spurs, with valleys between, radiate from the centre. A great gap in the circumference of the crater has been rent on its eastern sea-face by some later volcanic disturbance. The town of Aden and part of the military cantonment lie within the crater, and consequently are surrounded on all sides by rocky hills. Lavas, spongy breccias, and tufas form the materials of this volcanic fortress. The natural vegetation is very scanty and resembles that of Arabia Petræa.

132 The average shade temperature of Aden is 87°—the mean monthly range being from 75° in January to 98° in June, with occasional variations up to or exceeding 102°. The lulls between the monsoon periods, in May and September, are specially oppressive. The [165] mortality among Europeans, although greatly increased by the sick or dying from the passengers and crews of ships, amounts to only [164] 7·2 per thousand. Aden, in fact, ranks as a rather healthy station for troops, though on first arrival they are subject to sandfly-fever, and it is a well-ascertained fact that long residence impairs the faculties and undermines the constitution of Europeans. The climate during the north-east monsoon, or from October to April, is cool and pleasant, particularly in November, December, and January. During the remainder of the year (the period of the south-west monsoon), hot sandy winds, known as *Shamāl* (north), prevail within the crater, but on the western or Steamer Point side the breezes come directly off the sea and are fairly cool. The rainfall may be said to vary from ¼ inch to 8½ inches, with an irregular average of about 3 inches; the irregularity and smallness of the yearly rainfall is borne out by the fact that the tanks, since their restoration in 1856, have only been filled six times—in May 1866 and 1870, and September 1877, 1889, 1893, and 1897. The 164 Settlement is exceptionally free from infectious diseases and epidemics. The absence of vegetation, the dryness of the soil, and the

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in series that the overflow of one reservoir may be conducted into the succeeding one, and thus a complete chain has been formed. Of late years it has been the practice to put the tanks up to auction for a definite period, the highest bidder trusting to a good fall of rain to recoup his outlay. The water collected used to be sold at R. 1 per 100 gallons, and, when the tanks are full, the annual revenue amounts to Rs. 30,000; but when the rain fails, and the tanks are exhausted, a skin containing 5 gallons of brackish well-water has at times sold for 8 annas. 312

Shortly before the opening of the Suez Canal the Government foresaw the necessity of obtaining a plentiful and unfailing supply of good water, and in 1867 several *condensers*, on the most approved principle, were ordered out from England. Six condensers are now worked by the Government and private companies, capable of yielding 52,000 gallons a day, or a sufficient supply for 10,400 Europeans at 5 gallons per head. In 1903–4 condensed water was sold at about R. 1½ per 100 gallons.

The following are the principal towns of the district, with adjacent islands: 361

1. **Aden Town** comprises *Aden proper*, situated on the eastern side of the peninsula, with a population of some 20,000; and *Tawāhi*, the port at Steamer Point on the western side of the peninsula, containing some 700 to 800 houses. The two parts are separated by a distance of about four miles and connected by a good carriage-road. Half-way between them lies the important village of *Ma'la*, consisting partly of stone houses but chiefly of mat huts occupied largely by Somalis; here the local craft anchor, and nearly all the native trade of the Aden interior is shipped and loaded. Aden proper faces north-east and consists of some 2,000 or more whitewashed houses of stone or mud, few of which are noteworthy for their architecture. The streets are regularly laid out, and the whole town has been practically rebuilt since the British occupation. The dry bed of a water-course runs down to the sea from the valley in which the reservoirs are situated, and divides the town into two nearly equal parts; it serves to carry off the surplus of water when the reservoirs happen to overflow.

The only building of any pretension in Aden proper contains the court-house and treasury office; the barracks are commodious but not handsome; the Protestant church, erected in 1869, is situated on a hill; and there is a Roman Catholic convent, which, among its other activities, gives shelter to emancipated slave-girls. The bazaars are extensive, and are notable for the medley of strange peoples, in gorgeous and varied costumes, to be seen there. One of

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361 the sights of Aden is the tunnel, about 350 yards in length, which runs under the Mansūri hills and connects the town with the isthmus. *Tawāhi*, the port, lies immediately to the east of Steamer Point, and is practically a new and prosperous-looking town consisting largely of fair-sized stone houses, nearly all of which are double or treble storied. Here are good hotels, a police station, a court-house, a local post and telegraph office, military establishments of various kinds, a hospital, the offices of the great steamship companies, and the offices of the port authorities, and here also are situated the great coal wharves and the landing and other piers. On a conical hill about a quarter of a mile from the post office stands the station flagstaff, and near this the road crosses the spur on which the barracks are situated. After traversing a plain of about 500 yards in extent in a south-westerly direction, the road terminates on Ras Tarshein, the most westerly point of the peninsula, on which are built the Residency and the quarters of the officers of the Royal Artillery.

Aden has two hospitals and three dispensaries for the civilian part of the population. Separate military hospitals are maintained for
421 the garrison. Until recently land in the Settlement was not sold: sites for building and gardens were granted in perpetuity, and sites for stacking coal and salt, for beaching boats, for ships, workshops, &c., were given on leases for a term of 99 years on payment of quit rent. Since 1911, land for building, agricultural, or other purposes is ordinarily to be granted on lease, but may be disposed of otherwise at the discretion of the Resident. Land on the foreshore of the harbour can be granted only with the sanction of the Government and on such terms as it may prescribe in each case.

491 The roads in and around Aden are not good in general; they are narrow with steep gradients, and though there is plenty of rock in
496 Aden, good stone for metalling purposes is difficult to obtain and there is but little soil for binding purposes. They are, therefore,
206 very gritty and easily crumble. Aden has no railways, but it is unrivalled for its telegraphic facilities with all parts: there are direct cables with Bombay, Zanzibar, Perim, and Suez, and indirectly therefore with all parts of the world. The telegraph station is on Ras Boradli.

361 2. **Sheikh 'Othmān** is a thriving and populous town, situated six miles north by west of Aden and two miles beyond the Aden troop lines at Khōr Maksar; it is reached by a broad carriage-road. The town contains several large caravanserais, some European houses, and some bungalows and gardens. There are about 15 wells of brackish water and of unlimited supply, some of which

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are tapped for Aden, an aqueduct leading from them along the peninsula into the town (see p. 202). There are very large camping-grounds round the town, the place forming the terminus of many caravan routes from the Aden interior. Sheikh 'Othmān was purchased with the object of settling there the surplus population of the peninsula, but, owing to its inaccessibility and the unhealthiness due to its contaminated water-supply and want of a drainage system, it has so far failed to become a popular settlement. 361

3. **'Imād,** a miserable village of about 40 reed huts, marks the extreme eastern limit of Aden; it is peopled by the Salum, a small independent tribe.

4. **Perim** and **Socotra.** These two islands are attached to the settlement of Aden. *Perim* is a volcanic island in the straits of Bāb el-Mandeb, 1½ miles from the Arabian coast; it was occupied by the British in 1799, subsequently abandoned, and reoccupied in 1857 on the opening of the overland route. In 1883 a company (the Perim Coal Company) was formed, which obtained a concession on the south-western side of the island as a site for a coaling-station. The company maintains here a stock of Welsh coal varying from 5,000 to 10,000 tons, and a large number of vessels now call annually for supplies. There is a good harbour with a powerful flashing light, elevated 266 ft. and with a range of over 22 miles. The population in 1901 was about 1,200, and no one is allowed to reside on the island without the permission of the Resident. The island is bare and rocky, rather flat in appearance, and about 3 miles long by 2 wide. *Socotra* is distant about 130 miles from the nearest point of the Arabian coast, and some 500 miles from Aden. It is about 70 miles in length and 18 miles in width, and has an unbroken coast on the southern side. The interior may be described as a tableland from 700 to 1,900 ft. high (with rugged peaks rising to nearly 5,000 ft.), surrounded by a coast plain averaging from two to four miles in width; total area about 1,400 square miles; population about 12,000. Its principal products are gum and resin-producing plants and aloes; the island has been famous for the latter from the earliest times. The natives look for their chief means of support to their flocks and date-groves; melons, beans, and a little tobacco are also grown. The trade of the island is small, the chief exports being aloes and *ghi*. The capital is Tamrīda, situated on the northern shore. The island was formally placed under British protection in 1886, and the Sultan receives a stipend from the Government of 360 dollars, undertaking to enter into no arrangement with any foreign power without the sanction of the British Government. The *Kuria Muria Islands*, near the South Arabian coast, in long. 56° E., were

361 471 505 504 [162] 361 438 [162] 361

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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361 ceded to the British by the Sultan of Muscat in 1854, and were valuable only for the guano deposits found upon them, since exhausted (see further, Ch. VIII, p. 283).

## II. The Tribal Confederations

619 Many of these occupy very considerable territory, but their limits and extent are vague and in no sense clearly defined; they 622 are, further, subject to local variation with the changes in tribal power and the ebb and flow of politics. The system of internal tribal administration varies greatly, both in nature and degree, in the different districts. In the majority of the Confederations the ruler's authority over most of his subjects, with the exception of his personal retainers and entourage, is very slight. The Sultan of the *'Abdāli* exercises a more absolute authority over his tribe than other rulers, with the exception, perhaps, of the Sultan of the *Ka'aiti*. The chief of the *Haushabi*, if a ruler of strong will, would, both from the nature of his country and the character of his people, wield much the same authority over the majority of his tribe. In the *Amīri* country, which is a confederacy of various small tribes, the Emir's authority is only absolute over a comparatively small proportion. The *Upper Yāfa'* Sultan has little or no authority over his tribe so far as administration is concerned. Of the *Fadhli*, several of the sub-tribes are independent. The *'Aulaqi* have several rulers, while many of the outlying and nomadic tribes are practically beyond the control of their Sultans. The *Subeihi* are a law unto themselves. It will be seen, therefore, that the term 'administration' cannot be strictly applied to so heterogeneous a collection of peoples.

651 In the matter of revenue, that derived from the tribesmen is mainly from two sources—the collection of *'ushūr* or tithes, and dues on market sales—both payable to the Sultan or Emir. Beyond this, revenue in some districts is derived from dues on passing caravans. The scale of charges varies with the nature of the commodity carried: two dollars per camel load would, for example, be exacted for the passage of a caravan carrying coffee from Ta'izz to Aden through 'Abdāli territory.

• 361 The towns and settlements are built in general with provision for defence, but of fortresses, properly speaking, there are none in the interior. Nearly all Arab villages in the mountains consist of solidly built stone towers, almost invariably placed in commanding positions, and, when occasion requires, necessitating destruction by artillery or demolition by gun-cotton. The towers are invariably

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loopholed for musketry, and, if stubbornly held, an attack without artillery would prove costly. They are generally square in shape and are sometimes so built as to provide flanking fire on the door; and they are usually two or three stories in height with a flat roof protected by a parapet. The villages are not surrounded by walls, but the erection of *sangars* would quickly convert them into positions very difficult for infantry to capture unsupported by artillery. Villages in the plains are occasionally strengthened by a mud wall. The coast towns of Makalla and Shiheir are fortified, chiefly against attacks by Bedouins from the land side, and are quite open to artillery fire from the sea. 361

(*a*) Confederations within the limits of the Aden Protectorate are described in the following order. *Littoral*: Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, and 'Aqrabi; *Interior*: Haushabi, Dhāmbari, Amīri, and 'Alawi. 619 621

i. *Subeihi*. This tribe occupies an extensive littoral tract in the south-west corner of Arabia. Although covering a large area, their territory is but sparsely inhabited and consists mainly of sandy wastes with an occasional well and a little cultivation here and there. The Subeihi are consequently nomadic: they have no Sultan nor head Sheikh, and are divided into a large number of petty clans, among which may be mentioned the Mansūri and Rujei. The clans have very little cohesion, and blood-feuds frequently occur between them: of all the tribes in the neighbourhood of Aden the Subeihi approach nearest to the typical Bedouin character. The Sultan of the 'Abdāli sometimes exercises a certain amount of influence on the clans of the eastern section of the Subeihi, and those in proximity to the Yemen border come under Turkish influence. Many members of the tribe earn a livelihood as *muqaddams*, or leaders of caravans which pass from other districts through the Subeihi country *en route* for Aden.

The population is estimated at 19,500. Though they are mainly pastoral and nomadic, they are reputed to be able to muster a large number of fighting men, expert raiders but unsteady in battle. The people as a whole are treacherous and untrustworthy and much given to interference with caravans passing through their territory. When the Turks advanced against Aden, the Subeihi lost no time in joining them and took part in the attack on Lahej in July 1915.

Their settlements are few; **Rija**, a small fortified village, 20 miles west of Lahej, is the centre of the Rujei. [361]

ii. *'Abdāli*. This tribe occupies the country immediately around and behind Aden, its boundary extending about 35 miles inland

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619 to the territory of the Haushabi and having the Subeihi on the west and the Fadhli on the east. The chief of the tribe is the
621 Sultan of Lahej, who, normally, possesses great influence in the interior and exercises sovereignty over certain sections of the Subeihi. He receives a yearly subsidy of Rs. 12,984 from the British Government for its occupation of the town of Sheikh 'Othmān.

The estimated population is 14,500, including about 2,000 men of doubtful fighting value. The people are agricultural rather than warlike, and, occupying one of the most fertile tracts of southern Arabia, are by far the wealthiest of the tribes bordering on Aden. They and the Fadhli breed camels that are noted for their fleetness and carrying powers. They possess more settled habitations than most of their neighbours of the littoral.

•361 The chief towns and settlements of the 'Abdāli district are:

438 1. **Lahej**, 21 miles from Aden, with a population estimated variously at from 10,000 to 15,000, is a town with narrow irregular streets, nearly all the houses being surrounded by zaribas into which the cattle are driven at night. The most notable feature of the town is the market, Lahej being the most important commercial centre, outside Aden, of the whole district. The town forms an advanced market for fabrics and manufactured articles from Aden, and, in return, supplies Aden with fodder, vegetables, and firewood. Transit dues are levied here on the Yemen trade, the chief articles being coffee and *kat*. There is an important community of native blacksmiths and craftsmen in metal-work, who turn out daggers, sword-blades, spear-heads, matchlocks, and domestic hardware and utensils, of rough workmanship, especially the decorative work in silver. The bazaars are covered in and one is set apart for the workers in metals. The town stands amid date plantations and groves of lime, orange, banana, and coco-nut palms, which extend for miles, and in consequence the climate is particularly damp and malarial. The water is very bad.

The palace of the Sultan, on the southern edge of the town, is the most imposing building on the littoral belt. It is of mixed architecture, from Italian stucco to Arab, built partly of sun-dried brick and partly of cement and stone masonry, and it is constantly being added to. It overlooks a large open square where the Sultan reviews his troops and has a saluting battery holding two guns of Crimean pattern.

2. **Dār el-Amir**, situated a little to the north of Sheikh 'Othmān, is the 'Abdāli customs post for the Aden traffic.

619 iii. *Fadhli*. A large tribe, of warlike and independent character,
621 inhabiting the sea-board from the British frontier post at 'Imād to

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Maqātīn, and extending inland to the maritime ranges. The population is estimated at under 20,000, with a high proportion of fighting men, who are probably well armed owing to their large sea-board and resources. The people are agricultural as well as pastoral, their territory including the extensive tract of fertile land known as the Abiyān; they are noted for breeding swift camels of good carrying capabilities. Relations between the Fadhli and Yāfa' are often strained, as the latter sometimes cut off the water-supply of the Bana River, while, on their side, the Fadhli have established customs posts and levy dues on Yāfa' caravans. 619 621

The ruling Sultan, Husein ibn Hamīd, an old man of 90, visited Aden late in 1915; in January 1916 he was summoned to Lahej by 'Ali Sa'īd Pasha, given a guard of honour and salute of guns, and promised a bribe if he would support the Turks. But the attitude of this Sultan, apart from Turkish pressure, has been Anglophile. 6221

The chief towns and settlements of the Sultanate of Fadhli are: 3610

1. **Shūghrah** (Shuqrah), the capital and the principal port between Aden and Makalla, is situated about 100 miles north-east of Aden, and occupies an important position on the convergence of several caravan routes from north and east, which enables it to collect considerable transit dues, and, if the Sultan so desires, to hamper trade generally. The town is divided into two parts, the palace and other chief buildings being in the easterly portion, which lies about half a mile from the fishing and commercial quarter. It has a large fishing industry and constitutes a focus of trade between Aden and the Upper Yāfa' and 'Aulaqi districts. The population is about 5,000. There is a small harbour, with a depth of from 1 to 2½ fathoms, formed by a break in the reef which fronts the shore at about five cables' distance; outside the reef is good anchorage in 7 to 9 fathoms. The exports are chiefly ambergris, coffee, *jowari*, and *ghi*. The Wādi Mathwan finds an outlet to the sea just east of the town, and, though it is generally dry, flood-water sometimes comes down at very short notice. Jowari is cultivated in considerable quantities, and there is a large date-grove not far from the town. On the left bank of the wādi are salt-works. The Sultan of Fadhli has a country residence at *Suriyah*, about 20 miles east and 4 miles inland.

2. **Maqātīn** (es-Saghīr, a little distance inland; and el-Kebīr, on the coast) is composed mainly of ruins. There is now no permanent settlement there, but only a shrine with a small cemetery and a ruined tower. The site marks the eastern limit of the Fadhli tribe. Fisher folk, who use the place as a base for their

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361 operations at certain seasons of the year, have constructed a few crude shelters.

3. **Nā'ib** (Naab) is a considerable collection of settlements, comprising Old and New Nā'ib, Suwat, Nujat, and other villages. They are situated in a highly cultivated plain irrigated by a system of water-channels from a more or less permanent stream in the fertile Wādi Yerāmis, a tributary of Wādi Hasan. Old Nā'ib, on the left side of the wādi, has a mosque with a conspicuous minaret. New Nā'ib, on the right bank, sometimes known as Raudhah, stands on a low plateau of earth cliffs; it is an important centre of traffic, and has several shops, a fine old house falling into ruin, and a custom-house for the collection of dues on merchandise passing to and from the Yāfa' country. The immediate approach to the village is by a roundabout way through narrow gullies.

619 iv. *'Aqrabi*, a small, peaceably disposed tribe occupying the coastal district north-west of Aden Lagoon. Their territory, poor
621 for cultivation, is separated by a desert tract from that of the 'Abdāli, under whose influence they are. It is impossible to give an estimate of their population, but, though they are mainly pastoral, they are considered capable of furnishing some 250 fighting men. The district contains no town of any importance. **Bir Ahmed**, the tribal capital, is situated about one mile west of Wādi Kebīr and due west of Sheikh 'Othmān, and the tall tower of the Sultan's residence can be plainly seen from Aden harbour. During the recent operations it would appear that pressure from their powerful northern neighbours, the Subeihi, and from the Turks, forced the 'Aqrabi temporarily to side with the latter.

v. *Haushabi*. This is a powerful tribe whose territory extends from near the Anglo-Turkish frontier to Nūbat Dakīm and the 'Abdāli territory. They are, generally, peaceably disposed, and, although of late years they have done a good deal of fighting with their neighbours, they do not come under the heading of warlike tribes. They control the Tiban valley and consequently the waters of the Lahej oasis, and have on several occasions, in time of war, been known to divert the course of the water: but relations between the Haushabi and the 'Abdāli have been for the most part friendly. The population is estimated at from 6,000 to 7,000 (including 1,800 fighting men); they are mostly nomads, but a few are engaged in agriculture and camel-driving.

The tribe is under the nominal rule of a Sultan, who claims, also, suzerainty over the *Dhāmbari*, a troublesome hill tribe on the east, who are given to raiding, and admit his control only when it suits them. The Haushabi Sultan threw in his lot with the Turks, when

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they appeared in 1915, and accompanied them in their attack on Aden. 619 621

The towns and villages of the Haushabi country are small and badly built, each consisting of one or two towers and a cluster of stone hovels. The following are the chief settlements : 361

1. **Musemir** (Mus'aimīr), the capital, about 60 miles north by west of Aden and 12 miles from the Yemen border, lies on a small plateau overlooking the left bank of the Wādi Tiban, and is a centre of important caravan tracks. The residence of the Sultan is a large tower of stone and mud, some 75 ft. square and 40 ft. high. With the exception of one other tower, the only other habitations are a cluster of reed huts where his soldiers and slaves live. The district is most unhealthy.

2. **'Anad,** in the fork between the Wādis Tiban and Bilih, is a frontier town of the Haushabi. The fort is a large square mud building, two storeys in height.

vi. *Amīri.* The territory of this tribe, about 750 sq. miles in extent, lies between Wādis Tiban and Bana, to the north-east of that of the Haushabi. It extends to the frontier of Yemen, and is of a very mountainous and rugged character. The Emir also claims suzerainty over the Quteibi to the south-east, but he cannot enforce it. The population is estimated at 6,000, and is mostly pastoral and agricultural. Though the tribe is said to be able to muster 1,000 fighting men (this seems excessive), they are of doubtful value as combatants. In 1915 the Turks deprived the Emir of his position for a time ; later they summoned him to Lahej, and, keeping his son there as a hostage, reinstated him and gave him fifty rifles. 619 621

The chief settlements of the Amīri district are : 361

1. **Dhāla,** which has a population of about 2,400, and is by far the most important town of this tribe. The residence of the Emir, called Dār el-Hā'id, consists of a small group of *dārs*, or square stone towers, and stands on the top of a rocky hill. The town itself clusters at the northern foot of the hill, and partly up its slopes, about 200 ft. below. It is compactly built and consists of about 325 houses, most of which are solidly constructed stone *dārs*, three or four storeys in height ; the streets are narrow, dirty, and irregular. On the western side of the town is an open space where a market, attended by people from the neighbouring district, is held on Thursdays ; on the eastern side is a smaller space where skins are dried and cured. The Jews, who have two separate quarters of unpretentious houses, spin thread for weaving. On the northern side of the town is the principal mosque, with a white-topped minaret ; and there are several outlying *dārs* on slight eminences.

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361 The town stands at the head of an open, high-lying valley extending about ten miles from north to south and having an average width of three miles. Much of the valley is well watered and wooded, and the ground, right up to the town, is terraced for cultivation. The place is the centre of a great number of caravan routes and minor tracks. Many of these, however, are steep and difficult, especially towards the north, and the approaches to the town, in general, are far from easy.

2. **Jalilah** is a village of tall, clean, solid, stone-built houses, some running to four storeys, and is one of the most populous settlements of the district. It is poised on a hill over 300 ft. above the surrounding plain, and is an important caravan halt on routes between Aden and Yemen. An indigo-dye industry is carried on. It has a fort and round tower, near the Turkish frontier.

619 vii. *'Alawi*, a small tribe occupying territory between that of the Amiri on the north and the Haushabi on the south. The whole
361 tract does not, probably, exceed 40 sq. miles in extent, and the population is estimated at 1,500. In January 1916 they are said to have submitted to the Turks, together with their neighbours, the Quteibi, with whom they are on unfriendly terms. **Suleiq**, 55 miles north of Aden, is their chief town, and comprises two villages, one on the right bank of the Hardaba, below a defensible 'serai' generally known as Fort Suleiq, and another on a ridge about 400 yards away and situated considerably higher than the fort.

619 With regard to the character of the tribes of the maritime hills, as a whole, contrasted with those of the littoral, a recent traveller
181 says: 'They are the scourge of the lowlands and the pariahs of the more organized races farther north. Treacherous, dishonest, and covetous—without the courage and cohesion for open raids driven home by the force of arms, they waylay and murder the defenceless travellers, and will even betray the guest they have undertaken to protect. They steal cattle and other stock at night—preferring speedy beasts such as saddle-camels, and, lacking in expert horsemanship, rely on stealth and cunning rather than dash and boldness. All the same they are stubborn fighters, especially if the day is going against them—fighting desperately and with judgement when cornered, and are skilful skirmishers and possess remarkable mobility. They carry on guerilla warfare with effect, harass troops by incessant sniping, but decline open engagement and are clever at ambuscade. They are difficult for ordinary Europeans to handle and are not a reliable type or satisfactory for alien service.'

619 (*b*) Tribal Confederations beyond the limits of the Aden Protec-

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torate proper are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and the 'Audillah (or 'Audali). 619

i. *Yāfa'*. This warlike confederation, consisting of the Upper and Lower Yāfa', holds a very extensive inland territory, north of the Fadhli, immediately to the east of the Protectorate boundary, and having the Beida Sultanate to the north-east. The Upper Yāfa' occupy the northern, and the Lower the southern portion of the territory, the former being the more extensive. The Yāfa' country is watered by the Bana and Hasan rivers. The interior is mountainous, but there are many fertile valleys producing coffee, gums, madder, and cereals. The five powerful clans of the Upper Yāfa' are the Mausata, Dhubi, Maflahi, Bo'si, and Dā'ūdi; the chief clans of the Lower Yāfa' are the Kaladi, Yahari, Sadi, and Yazīdi. 619 621

The population of the Confederation is estimated at 108,000: the Upper Yāfa' have a fighting strength of some 15,000 men; and the Lower Yāfa' a total pop. of 28,000, with 6,600 fighting men. The people are hardy mountaineers, always ready for active service, which they often seek in other parts of the Islamic world, e.g. at Haidarabad, Zanzibar, &c. The tribe, however, falls short of the political importance which might be expected of so large a confederation, as it lacks cohesion and uniform policy. The Confederation has, in fact, no one paramount Sultan, but several chieftains, each urging paramount claims. The Lower Yāfa', alone, may be considered as a separate sultanate, but their present chief lives much in seclusion, being dissatisfied with the attitude towards himself of certain sections of the Upper Yāfa' (over whom he is inclined to assert a claim to general suzerainty) and with the dignity and precedence assigned to him. The Upper Yāfa' have held aloof from the Turks up to the present and have refused to entertain advances which have been made both by them and by the Imam of Yemen.

The following are some of the chief towns of the Yāfa': 361.

1. **Yāfa'**, said to be 'the principal capital town'.

2. **Gharrah**, one hundred miles inland from Shūghrah, and the principal residence of the Sultan of the Lower Yāfa'.

3. **Khanfar** is a well-to-do town in the Abiyān district, situated on a very ancient site a mile or so east of the Wādi Bana, on large mounds near some dilapidated forts and an old ruined castle. The Sultan possesses another castle at a short distance from the town. Khanfar has a powder factory of a primitive kind, saltpetre being plentiful in the district. Jebel Jabeil, a neighbouring hill about 200 ft. high, is the acropolis of ancient Khanfar and is surmounted by a large double-walled fort, the outer wall being built of large hewn stones. The fort commands the town.

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361 4. **Bir Lamas,** having a plentiful supply of water in a district where it is otherwise very scarce, is an important and very dirty halting-place for caravans between Shūghrah and Nisāb. The place itself is a picturesque spot, with acacia-trees overhung with creepers. Mis-hāl and many other villages are supplied with drinking-water from here, the labour of carrying it being confined to the women.

619 ii. *'Aulaqi.* This is a very large tribal confederation whose territory extends from the coast of the Gulf of Aden to the Ruba' el-
621 Khāli; it is bounded on the west by the Fadhli (where the frontier reaches to within 30 miles of Shūghrah), the 'Audillah, and the Beida territories, and on the east by the Wahīdi Sultanate. The country is divided for political purposes into the Sultanates of the Upper and the Lower 'Aulaqi, but these maintain close intertribal relationship and unite in the event of aggression from outside. The Upper 'Aulaqi are again subdivided, part of them being under the Sultan, and part under a Sheikh who is almost as powerful. The Lower 'Aulaqi territory, which is the more thickly populated, is composed almost entirely of the Ba Kāzim and Lakmūsh tribes with their numerous subdivisions. The political attitude, of the Upper 'Aulaqi at least, is Anglophile.

No estimate of the population of the Upper 'Aulaqi can be given, though the tribe is said to include good fighting men; that of the Lower 'Aulaqi may be roughly estimated at 15,000 souls. The Upper 'Aulaqi are inclined to be predatory, while the Lower are a hardy, turbulent race, always engaged in petty feuds among themselves or raids on their immediate neighbours, and they have a bad reputation on account of their fondness for drink and their slackness in religious observance. In ordinary circumstances they are mainly pastoral and semi-nomadic, but they possess large tracts of arable land, and there is a considerable settled population in the main wādis. Among the special products of the 'Aulaqi territory are honey and the fruit of the jujube-tree. The district includes a strip of very flat coast, without harbours, extending for some 55 miles from near Maqātīn to Wādi Sanam, and its territory extends about 200 miles inland.

The chief towns of the Upper 'Aulaqi are:

361 1. **Nisāb,** the capital, pop. 4,000, situated in a broad and fertile plain encircled by foot-hills, at the junction of Wādis Dhura (Durra) and 'Abdān, about 100 miles crow-fly inland of Shūghrah. It is an unwalled town of white minarets and clay-dressed houses, some of the latter being of solid construction. Though there is no wall, a number of warden towers are dotted here and there about the

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plain. The town has an imposing mosque, that of Sīdi Mohammed, a fine piece of typical Arab architecture, with a handsome minaret and a spacious courtyard; it is capped by innumerable white pinnacles. There are broad tracts of cultivation above the wādi confluence, notably of indigo and cotton, the latter being a bush of small growth. Cotton fabrics are made and dyed for tribal shawls, turbans, &c. 361

Nisāb is the residence of the Naqīb or governor, who represents the Sultan and is responsible for the maintenance of order and the collection of the custom dues of this important inland caravan centre. The Sultan himself resides at **Medāq**, a few miles to the south-east, where he has a castellated house crowning a prominent hill.

2. **Wasat** (or Wāsit) is not a town in the ordinary sense of the word, but a series of small separate settlements strung out along Wādi Markhah, with a *sūq*, about 15 miles north-west of Nisāb. It is an important trading centre and is protected by forts.

3. **Markhah** is a large commercial town in the broad fertile wādi of the same name, with a main stronghold and minor towers that guard the outlying portions of the settlement. It is second to Nisāb in importance as a centre of the dyeing industry.

4. **Yeshbum**, or Yeshbum Sūq, stands on a low isolated hill on the right bank of the wādi of the same name, which sweeps boldly above and below the town in opposing curves forming a huge letter S. The town is walled, and is the market and nucleus of an extensive valley settlement. There is a small dyeing industry, and cotton, imported raw from Nisāb, is spun here. By far the most important and characteristic product of Yeshbum valley is its honey, which it exports all over Arabia, and even to Zanzibar and India. The bees collect the honey chiefly from the blossoms and honey-dew covered leaves of the *'elb*, or jujube-tree, for which the valley is famous. The fruit of this tree is the staple fruit of the valley, where it ripens in March and is dried and pounded, stone and all, for food. [231]

The chief settlement of the Lower 'Aulaqi is

5. **Ahwar**, the principal residence of the Sultan, which is said to have a pop. of 5,000, and lies about five miles from the coast up the Wādi Ahwar (Hūwar). The settlement consists of a straggling township or series of villages, adjoining the Sultan's castle. It is a backward place without industries, but stands in the centre of a large and well-watered tract of arable land; large numbers of bullocks are reared in the district.

iii. *Beida*. This Sultanate occupies the plateau country north

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•361 of the Kaur, reaching northward to Beihān ed-Daulah; it is bounded by the Upper Yāfa'i on the south-east and by the Upper 'Aulaqi on the east. It comprises a great number of sub-tribes, of which the chief are the Ahl Bunyar, Beni Yūb, and Azani. The total population is not precisely known, but the Sultanate is reputed to muster from 4,000 to 5,000 fighting men.

The few important towns of the Beida are the following:

1. **Beihān Umm Rusās,** the residence of the Sultan of Beida.

2. **Dhimrah,** a fortress on the Dahr Plateau, the capital of the chief of the Ahl Bunyar, the principal tribe of the Sultanate. It possesses a number of outlying towers to guard it and the neighbouring town of Sauma'ah from attack. The town, like Sauma'ah, is noted for the manufacture of goat-hair carpets.

3. **Sauma'ah** (Soma), a thriving town of about 3,000 inhabitants, perhaps the most populous in the Sultanate, and the capital of the Azzani tribe, lies on the Dahr plateau, and forms the commercial centre of this upland district.

iv. *Oleh.* This is a powerful confederation of scattered tribes occupying a district known as Dathīnah, a vague term given to a high ridge which is an offshoot of the main Kaur. The limits of the tribal territory are rather obscure, the people being of a migratory habit; but they have the Upper 'Aulaqi on the north, the Markashi (the chief tribal branch of the Fadhli confederation) on the south, the Lower 'Aulaqi on the east, and, on the west and north-west, the 'Audillah, with whom they have a hereditary feud. The Markashi claim suzerainty over the Oleh, but this is not admitted. The confederation has no paramount chief, and it is reputed to have about 3,000 men of good fighting qualities but undisciplined and lacking in cohesion.

The principal settlements of the Oleh are:

1. **Mis-hāl,** situated on the tableland of the same name, over 7,000 ft. in altitude. It is a considerable village, consisting of a low square *dār* and several collections of brushwood huts. The Tarīq el-Arqob from Shūghrah (about 15 miles distant) passes here, and an important road goes east to the Hadhramaut.

2. **Jiblah,** a village which contains some large houses with white towers. It is surrounded by mud walls and guard-towers, and lies in the middle of an extensive tract of arable land. Close by the village is the square guard-tower of Kafl, constructed of solid masonry and with heavy stones piled loosely round the base to thwart the tribal sapper. This tower confronts the township of **Jiblat el-Waznat,** the main settlement of the Hasani, a branch of the Oleh Confederation whose borders approach here. Waznat is

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a market town, engirdled by fighting towers. **Jiblat el-Qarn**, near by, is the stronghold of the El-Qarn branch, and is built on a little knoll commanding the Hasani border. 361

3. **Mijdah**, in Wādi Ruqub, a tributary wādi of the Ahwar, is a large village of some 600 inhabitants, mostly non-combatants, and is situated on the south-western spur of the Maran ridge. The shrine of Sīdi 'Amr ibn Sa'īd is close to the village and is a prominent landmark and a centre of pilgrimage from all parts. A spring of good water comes out near the shrine and runs through an artificially covered channel past the village.

v. '*Audillah* (or 'Audali). A tribe of predatory habits and abrupt manners, under a Sultan, which inhabits the Kaur el-'Audillah, west and north-west of the territory of the Oleh. The population is not known with any exactitude, but the tribe is reputed to muster 4,000 fighting men (Bent). The people, the women in particular, decorate their faces in a very grotesque manner with a red earth dye, called *hisn*, and some of the women dye their faces red all over. 619 621

The chief town is Laudar (Loder), the capital, a white unwalled town situated on the Sa'īdi plain at the foot of the Kaur el-'Audillah, and said to be 'more populous than Shibām'. It is an important centre for the littoral and highland trade of a wide region. A market is held every Wednesday, and is attended by all the outlying tribes of the neighbouring confederations, who, though they may be at feud, agree on that day to declare a truce. 361

## B. THE HADHRAMAUT

### Area

In its broader sense, this region may be said to extend inland from the coast of the Arabian Sea to about lat. 17° N.; and from long. 47° E. to long. 53° E. Its frontiers are in no sense defined, but roughly it is bounded on the W. by the 'Aulaqi territory, N. by the great Ahqāf tract of desert, and E. by the Dhofār province of Oman. Thus considered, the region measures about 400 miles from E. to W. and has a depth N. and S. varying from about 220 miles in the west to about 50 miles in the east. 131

In its more restricted sense, the term Hadhramaut refers to the broad valley running for some hundreds of miles more or less parallel to the coast, by which the waters of the many valleys in a large portion of the southern Arabian tableland probably drain into the sea, between Seihūt and Qishn.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



619 The other principal tribes, comparatively much less powerful than the two foregoing, are: the *'Amūdi*, in Wādi Dō'an; the
101 *Nahad*, in the upper Central Hadhramaut; the *Jābiri*, in the southern side of the main wādi; the *'Awāmir* and *Tamīmi*, in the lower Central Hadhramaut, east of the Jābiri; the *Hamumi* and *Manāhil*, in the plateau region and the lower Hadhramaut; the *Mahrah*, east of the lower Hadhramaut; and the *Wahīdi*. The Mahrah country, which is a coastal tract, links the Hadhramaut proper, on the west, with the Qara territory in the western confines of Oman. The pop. is estimated at about 50,000. Inland, the country is believed to consist of sandy steppes, but its boundaries
[643] are unknown. The Sultan of Mahrah, who is also ruler of Socotra, lives at **Qishn,** a rather poor fishing village about 36 miles
• 361 west of Ras Fartak. **Seihūt,** situated near the mouth of the main Hadhramaut valley, is a well-built town with many houses of stone, and is said to have a population of 10,000. **Hafāt** is another thriving village on the coast from which 9,000 cwt. of frankincense is exported annually, principally to Bombay.

[643] The Wahīdi, under one principal Sultan and several subordinate chiefs, occupy the south-western district of the Hadhramaut which
619 stretches from the coast inland to the plateau. They are one of the least aggressive tribes in the country and have, for the most part, settled down into peaceful tillers of the soil or herdsmen. They control 50 miles of coast from Ras el-Kelb to **Bālhāf** (a small Wahīdi port), and carry on a little local sea-borne trade, having several good but small harbours, all, however, open to the monsoons. The total pop. is estimated at over 9,000 souls, including a few Jews.
361 The chief towns are **Habbān,** with some 250 houses and 2,500 inhabitants, a mercantile settlement situated some 12 miles east of Yeshbum; **Hautah,** 2,000 inhabitants; **Raidah,** with some 1,000 people; and **Izzān** (Hisān), a large village, with a pop. of about 300.

701 The combatant portion of the population of the Hadhramaut is composed of bands of irregulars, and consists generally of the members of the tribes and their families, who all know the use of arms. Some chiefs have in addition a special and more disciplined guard and corps of armed slaves. Thus the Sultan of the Ka'aiti has an army, though somewhat irregular, of from 3,000–4,000 men and 1,500 slaves, which is mainly in garrison in the different towns under his authority, including 1,000 maintained at Shiheir; they are lodged and nourished at his expense and receive a little pay. The Sultan of the Kathīri is supposed to be able to muster some 7,000 fighting-men and has also about 1,000 armed slaves. There is no cavalry in the Hadhramaut.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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622 by the law of the strongest; but if blood is spilt there generally arises
628 a vendetta of long duration—there are examples of vendetta of from 20 to 30 years' duration for puerile reasons—and these sometimes involve and draw in whole tribes.

000 The political conditions of the Hadhramaut are referred to under the section Aden (see p. 193).

## Towns

•361 The larger towns in the Hadhramaut are not disagreeable in appearance. In general they are open and spacious, and comparatively clean; the streets are never paved, but, on account of the favourable climatic conditions and of the stony and porous nature of the soil, this is no serious drawback. Along the wider streets little streams of water (*mija*) frequently run. The principal towns have bastioned ramparts and gates, and these usually have a permanent guard and are shut at night; many towns in addition are flanked by towers (*kūt*) or castles (*hisn*, plur. *husūn*), whose garrisons are composed of armed slaves under the command of the dominant tribe. Some towns, and notably Terīm, have an extraordinary number of such exterior fortresses, distributed over a wide area, and occupying every commanding position available.

(*a*) The principal towns of the Ka'aiti clan are the following:

1. **Shiheir,** once the chief commercial port between Aden and Muscat, is now largely superseded by Makalla. The town, which is triangular in form, extends for about one mile along the shore, and on an eminence there is a fortified castle, the residence of the Jemadar, head of the Ka'aiti, which is visible from seaward before any other object in the town. A high, bastioned wall surrounds Shiheir, and among the prominent buildings are the Custom House and a picturesque mosque with white domes. The dwellings are much scattered and the population is about 6,000. The water is bad, but good supplies of sheep and vegetables may always be obtained. Bent describes Shiheir as 'a detestable place by the sea set in a wilderness of sand'. There is only an open roadstead, with no real harbour, good anchorage being obtained in seven or eight fathoms at about seven cables or upwards from the shore. The trade is mainly in dried fish; and the industries of the town are restricted principally to the manufacture of coarse cotton cloths and gunpowder.

2. **Makalla,** next to Aden the principal port on the southern coast of Arabia, is situated about 2¼ miles NW. of Ras Makalla. It is built partly on a rocky point between two bays and partly in terraces

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



(like a miniature Genoa) on a slope at the foot of a reddish limestone cliff, which rises to a height of about 300 feet immediately at the back of the town, and carries four conspicuous towers for the protection of the place. The town is guarded on the western side by a wall, which extends from the cliff to the shore and has only one entrance gate. The Governor's house is a large prominent square building; the other houses are chiefly huts intermingled with a few stone structures, but the houses on the point are of stone, and of a more modern and substantial character. In this quarter is the bazaar, which is well stocked with all the requirements of Arab life. There are two main mosques. The immediate neighbourhood of Makalla is particularly barren, but about one mile inland, to westward, is an oasis of gardens, belonging to the Governor, irrigated by a good stream of water. The water-supply of the town is obtained by means of an iron pipe from the source of this same stream. The climate is very trying, and the heat on shore is often excessive; but land and sea breezes, with showers of rain occasionally, mitigate it from October to April and again in June and July. The population, which is a very mixed one, was estimated by Hirsch 'at about the same as that of Shiheir', viz. 6,000; but the Aden Military Report gives 12,000. 361

Makalla is the only place between Aden and Muscat with any pretensions to a port. The harbour, having a fixed light elevated 25 feet at the extreme end of the promontory, is not available for anchorage during the south-west monsoons, and then a considerable portion of the trade is diverted to *Burūm*, a place about 16 miles to south-westward, where good anchorage is found all the year round. A very considerable trade is carried on with India, the Somali Coast, the Red Sea, and Muscat. The exports are chiefly gums, hides, senna, and a small quantity of coffee; the imports, cotton stuffs, metals, and crockery from Bombay, dates and dried fruits from Muscat, coffee from Aden, and sheep, aloes, and frankincense from African ports. Steam vessels call here, and steamers run to Aden; but the coasting trade is carried on mainly by native sailing craft of from 100 to 300 tons, the greater number arriving during the date season. 504 439 505

3. **Qatan,** or **Hautah,** a very clean and prosperous Ka'aiti town, lies among extensive palm-groves and gardens at the head of the main Hadhramaut Wādi, properly so called. It is described by Hirsch as 'a collection of fortresses and castellated houses, among which the palace of the ruling head of the Ka'aiti tribe, with its battlemented towers, stands out most conspicuously'. From here the latter controls the numerous settlements of the Wādis 361

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361 Dō'an, 'Amd, and 'Adam, and the large towns of the main wādi. Speaking of this palace, Bent says, 'Like a fairy palace of the Arabian Nights, white as a wedding cake, and with as many battlements and pinnacles, with its windows painted red, the colour being made from red sandstone, and its balustrades decorated with the inevitable chevron pattern, the castle of El-Qatan rears its battlemented towers above the neighbouring brown houses and expanse of palm-groves; and behind it rise the steep red rocks of the encircling mountains.'

There are several mosques and a busy bazaar; the houses are built largely of stone. The town is surrounded by mud walls, which wind over the hill-side, beginning and ending at the palace of the Jemadar; they are protected at the most elevated point by a strong fortress. The population of Qatan is probably well over 2,000. The water-supply is good and abundant, and is derived almost entirely from very numerous wells. A special kind of date called 'Hajar', which is much prized, seems almost peculiar to this district.

[778] The Wādi Sirr is within easy reach of Qatan, in the recesses of which is *Qabr Sālih*, the tomb of Sālih, of no architectural pretensions, but looked upon as one of the principal sacred places of the Hadhramaut.

4. **Shibām** is built on an extensive knoll, in the midst of what is probably the largest agricultural settlement of the whole Hadhramaut system of wādis. The town is surrounded by a wall, about 20 feet in height, of sun-dried brick, with bastions and turrets at intervals; it occupies a very strong strategical position, being situated in the very middle of the wādi, so narrow here that the cliffs on either side are within gunshot of the citadel. On the side of the wādi, immediately opposite the citadel, is a fort with some cannon, and all the lower hills around are dotted with smaller fortresses. The town is entered by a high double main gate on the eastern side, and just inside is a large square, on one side of which stands the lofty palace of the Jemadar. Near by are other large houses of wealthy Seyyids or townsmen, many of them rivalling the palace in height and size, and whitened and adorned with domes and spires. It is to be remarked that many of these houses communicate by subterranean passages. Most of the streets are very narrow and steep, with occasional runnels of dirty water. In strong contrast to the quarter of the notables, some parts of the town are entirely in ruins: Hirsch says, 'in fact, all around speaks ruin; houses falling to pieces; miserable collections of huts and heaps of rubble'. Shibām, with a population of 6,000 souls (Van den Berg puts it much lower than this), is perhaps the largest of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



the interior Hadhramaut towns; and all the houses are gathered within the walls, since there is no security outside on account of the neighbourhood of the Kathīri. 361

(*b*) The principal towns of the Kathīri are the following:

5. **Seyyūn,** built on the slopes of Jebel Seyyūn, at the edge of a very extensive and fertile area, which stretches away to the lower ground of the wādi and is dominated by the castle of the ruling Sultan. The town is surrounded by walls of mud, embracing, within the enceinte, a great number of gardens; it is entered by a low gateway. The streets are broader and cleaner than most of the Hadhramaut towns; and the place has some pretensions to a drainage system, many of the houses having outlets for this purpose to walled pits.

Seyyūn is a town of many mosques, their number being reputed to exceed 300: the principal one, the Grand Mosque, stands on one side of the great square. The town is the intellectual centre of the Hadhramaut, the so-called Academy (*Ribāt*), an annexe of the grand mosque, being the place of assemblage of a great number of reputed savants. The market is said to be the busiest in the whole country, and is held in the square on Fridays at the termination of noon-day prayers, merchants coming to it from all parts. Hirsch, however, states that, when he was there (1893), 'there seemed to be but little trade carried on, and there were only a few stalls in the market'. The population is estimated at about 4,500. 346 [73] 443

The Seyyids of Seyyūn are very powerful and wealthy, and many of them have large castle-like houses. The palace of the ruling head of the Kathīri stands on an elevated site, and is surrounded by its own wall fortified with bastions and outstanding watch-towers. The main block of the palace is surmounted by three very conspicuous look-outs, the middle one being higher than the other two. The chief is reputed to have two or three field-pieces and some old cannon in his possession. 165 792

6. **Terim,** some 19 miles NE. of Seyyūn, is a considerable and straggling town built along a mountain slope above a broad belt of cultivation and palm-groves which stretches away towards the east. Its population, according to Hirsch (probably the only European who has succeeded in visiting it, but who, owing to the hostility of the Seyyids, was obliged to return precipitately before he had very thoroughly explored it), was about 4,000 in 1893, and was declining. A low gate, with a large ruined fortress close by, gives entrance to the town on the Shibām side, and just within this is the main square, where the market is held: one side of the square is occupied by the principal mosque. It does not appear, however, 361

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361 that the town is wholly surrounded by walls, but it certainly has a ring of numerous *husūn* (castles) around it. A small pebbly stream, called the Kheilah (Hirsch, 'Chēle'), runs through it. The town is divided into five quarters—Nuweidarah, Sahīl, Hautah, Radheimah, and Khalīf, some of them, according to Hirsch, being 'full of ruined houses'.

[643] The Sultan, at the time of Hirsch's visit, only wielded a nominal power, and was entirely in the hands of the Seyyids, who were the virtual rulers. The houses of some of the Seyyids have a more commanding appearance than the palace of the Sultan, that of one being described as 'like a castle surrounded by an arcaded wall, and having a large forecourt towards the street, and very extensive gardens'. Van den Berg says, 'In ancient times Terīm was the most important town of the Hadhramaut, not only on account of its size, but also in commerce, industry, and intellectual culture; in our days, however, it is surpassed by Seyyūn in all respects. Many houses are in ruins, and whole streets have a deserted aspect, especially in the south-western quarter, and a great number of mosques have also fallen into ruin, and are no longer frequented. The decadence of the town dates back to about half a century ago, and was caused by the continual wars between the tribes (mainly the Ka'aiti and the Kathīri) in its environs.' In days gone by Terīm was the centre of the weaving industry, which then was reputed to have been carried on in almost every house; the town was also the centre of higher instruction, but in this respect also it now takes second place to Seyyūn.

For brief descriptions of the town of **Seihūt** and of the villages **Qishn** and **Hafāt**, all three on the Mahrah coast between Hadhramaut proper and Dhofār, see above, p. 230.

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

lying fishing villages on the coast and the second peninsula of Little Aden. A 632 162

The Protectorate population is not accurately known, but estimates for 1948 place the total for Western Aden Protectorate at about 350,000, and for Eastern Aden Protectorate at 300,000. The local governments are tribal, and range in organization from sultanates to smaller autonomous units of varying size and complexity. The principal state in the western protectorate is the Abdali Sultanate of Lahej, with its capital in the oasis town of Lahej, about 20 miles inland from Aden. The Qu'aiti Sultanate of Mukalla and Shihr and the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra are the largest and the most influential states in the east. Probably about three quarters of the inhabitants in Eastern Aden Protectorate dwell in the Hadhramaut, the region of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the adjacent coastlands. The term is often loosely applied to the entire central portion of the Protectorate, but politically it is restricted to the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri Sultanates. Several sizable and important towns are found on the slopes of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the connecting valleys, while Mukalla, the seat of government of the Qu'aiti, and Ash Shihr are prominent ports on the eastern coast. In addition to the settled peoples, numerous nomadic Bedouin tribes roam the steppes with their flocks. The residence of the Mahri Sultan is on Socotra, a rocky island with a population of about 5,000.

H 161 641 H 635 H 361 632 H [162]

The inhabitants of the Protectorate are mainly of south Arabian stock, but Malay admixtures are encountered in many parts of the Hadhramaut. Small colonies of Indians and Somalis are settled along the coast. Jewish communities of ancient origin are located in scattered villages in the western highlands and the Hadhramaut. They totaled only about 1,500 in 1948, and their numbers have since been depleted by emigration to Israel. The Hadhramis have long tended to emigrate to the islands of southeastern Asia, to East Africa and to countries bordering on the Red Sea, and many sub-

H 563 H [162] H 167

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2
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[102
361]

sequently return to their home settlements with their savings. Arabic is the language of the indigenous peoples, but Malay tongues are widely used in the towns of the Hadhramaut. Swahili, the *franca lingua* of East Africa, is understood throughout most of the area, while English is extensively employed in Aden proper. The majority of Arabs are Moslems, belonging to branches of the Sunni sect. Other religions are found chiefly among the different racial groups in the Colony and in the coast towns of the Protectorate.

H 167 H 191 A H 795

Education has made considerable progress in the Colony, and is gradually being introduced into the Protectorate. Primary schools for both sexes are supported by the government in the Colony, and by mission and private organizations. The Colonial authorities also operate secondary and vocational schools for boys. There are no post-secondary institutions, but government scholarships are available for the training of teachers and various professional personnel in the Anglo-Egytian Sudan or in the United Kingdom. The literacy rate among children of 6 to 12 years of age is estimated at 90 per cent, in contrast with 10 to 25 per cent in the general population. A program for the expansion of education

A H 871 H 658 871 H 212 185 658

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established to supply the local market—for the processing of soaps, pressed aluminum utensils, cigarettes, pottery and textiles, the extraction of sesame oil, the cutting of buttons from trochas shells and the building of dhows. Fishing is of potential importance, but its development is handicapped by primitive methods of procurement and handling and inadequate local transport facilities. The agricultural resources of the Colony are limited to market gardens and date groves on the oasis of Sheikh Othman.

A 471
A 228 241

Agriculture and fishing are the principal occupations of the tribesmen of the Protectorate. The fisheries of the eastern districts are reputed to be among the richest in the Middle East, while the drying and salting of fish and the manufacture of fish oils, fodder and manure are valuable industries in the coast towns. A large proportion of the people in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut engage in agriculture, although the tribes of the steppe country are mainly nomadic pastoralists. The expansion of farming is curtailed by uncertain rainfall and shortage of water supply. In the Eastern Aden Protectorate, cultivation is restricted mainly to the middle portions of the Hadhramaut valley, where the river flows for part of the year. This region is historically famous as a source of frankincense and myrrh. Elaborate terracing and irrigation are employed in many areas for the conservation and the utilization of the limited water resources available. It was estimated in 1948 that less than 0.5 per cent of the total land area was suitable for farming, but the relative extent of pasturage and desert has not been determined. Systems of peasant ownership, tenancy farming and tribal land tenure prevail in different localities. The improvement of agriculture and expansion of irrigation are prominent among the development programs for the Protectorate. A co-operative project for the cultivation of cotton and other crops by modern methods has recently been initiated on 5,000 acres in the Abyan area in Western Aden Protectorate. Little

H 228 241
H 241 361
H 241 311 [2 415]
H 423 654
880

p. 239(A)

A 342 of size and construction, the houses usually have flat roofs, which can be utilized during the summer months for sleeping purposes. The increase in population within recent years has led to the growth of settlements of *kutcha* huts, made of reeds, palm leaves or corrugated iron, in the outlying districts. A 361 Some of the laborers employed in handling 362 cargo or coal are quartered in barracks, but 511 many live in crude hut settlements in which the sanitary conditions are a menace to both townships. Slum clearance was started in 1943, and housing programs have since been undertaken in Crater and Sheikh Othman. They are financed by the Colonial government and subsidized by grants from the British Colonial Development and Welfare funds.

H 342 Stone, mud brick and brushwood are uti- 361 lized for building purposes in the Protectorate. The type of housing and the character of the villages in different areas are governed by the materials available and the need for making them defensible. Walled settlements predominate, but scattered dwellings surrounded by brushwood stockades are frequent in Western Aden Protectorate. In the towns the larger houses of stone or mud brick have from 3 to 6 H stories, with accommodations for the live- 342 stock on the ground floor. In contrast with 511 the elaborate dwellings of the wealthy, the 361 homes of the tribesmen are small and rarely of more than one story. They are typically overcrowded, dark and insanitary, while the animals are often kept in close association with the family. The Bedouin in the interior use the traditional camel-hair tents, but the nomadic tribes and fisherfolk near the coast live in huts of straw, thatched palm or matting.

## ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

### Water Supplies

A 312 Water is usually scarce, except in parts of the western highlands which benefit from a heavier rainfall. The main water supply for Aden Colony is derived from 10 deep

p. 240 (B)

H 136 164 Africa, are found in the coastal area. Numerous species of *Culex* are present, including *C. quinquefasciatus* (— *C. fatigans*), a potential vector of filariasis. A species of *Taeniorhynchus* has been described from Western Aden Protectorate.

A 744 136 Mosquito control measures have been carried on by the health authorities in the Colony for several decades. They involve weekly inspections of all premises to eliminate breeding sites, the protection and the larvicidal treatment of permanent bodies of water, the reclamation of swamps and low-lying lands in the vicinity of the towns, and the supervision of the dhows using the port. The Aedes index was 0.014 per cent in 1950, in contrast with 4 per cent in 1930.

A H 136 361 511 Flies. Flies are abundant in towns and villages, where the insanitary conditions around markets, cattlesheds and dwellings favor prolific breeding. They are most numerous between November and March. The house flies, *Musca domestica* and related species, are ubiquitous and undoubtedly play a role in the spread of intestinal and eye infections. The stable fly, *Stomoxys calcitrans*, is prevalent. Sandflies are numerous, among which *Phlebotomus papatasii* is presumably of primary medical concern. The tsetse fly, *Glossina tachinoides*, was reported early in the century from the Haushabi and the Subeihi tribal districts in Western Aden Protectorate.[9] It has not been collected in recent surveys, however, and the original observations remain the only record of its appearance outside Africa.[29] Campaigns against flies, employing DDT, Gammexane and other insecticidal sprays in markets and public buildings, are undertaken periodically by the health authorities in the two townships of the Colony.

A H 136 164 Lice. All forms of human lice are found, particularly among the inhabitants of towns and villages in the interior. *Pediculus humanus corporis* is prevalent in the highland villages, where it is the vector of louse-borne typhus and louse-borne relapsing fever.

Fleas. Both *Xenopsylla cheopis* and *X. astia* parasitise the rats in this region.

p. 242 (6)

more popular and provides the something of excitement which has given a zest to raiding. It should not be forgotten that some of our own games were war games.

The Beduin proletariat and the capitalist townsmen are mutually necessary to each other. The Beduins do all the carrying trade and supply the firewood and their other scanty products to the towns, and the merchants sell to the Beduins what they require of food, clothing, and other necessaries of life. The brokers of the Beduins to be found in all the towns supply the link between the two. They live on helping the Beduins to sell their produce to, and buy their requirements from, the merchants, and on helping the merchants to obtain the transport they need.

## Housing.

Each town in the Hadhramaut has its own individual characteristics as regards housing. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Mukalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not six feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces. Away from the coast, mud is the almost universal building medium, and sun-dried mud bricks are used alike in building the palaces of the rich and the simple *dars* of the poor.

In the Wadi Du'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Du'an houses, the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of '*elb*[1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily-carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, two inches across the heads, burnished with lead till they shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development in Du'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living-room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained '*elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of '*elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring bone pattern.

In Tarim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks.

[1] Other Arabic names are *sidr* and *nebk*. *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*. L.

bricks. The cost of building the house in which we stayed in Tarim 000 was $60,000. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, [435] green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors 342 are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and 531 fans, telephones, ice-plants, and European modern conveniences in 352 the bathrooms, wash-basins with running water and shower-baths. 354 Whereas in Du'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be 177 found, these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Large and comfortable chairs and sofas decorate the drawing-rooms, and there are English carpets, masses of gilt mirrors, chandeliers and glass cupboards full of marmalade dishes, egg-cups and so on. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel-back over the mountains for six days.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim 313 and Seiyun have to contend with in their building operations is the 341 difficulty of procuring long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree grows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees (*Conocarpus erectus*, Jacq.) growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseila, they cannot be transported by camels. The difficulty is being surmounted to some extent by experiments in the making of reinforced-concrete pillars of which I saw two in construction at Seiyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seiyids training their masons. The 342 interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such 353 as gold crowns and coloured flowers, are covered with a lime plaster polished with smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, 361 which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area 500 houses built on a slight eminence in the Wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There 362 is no further building room in the town and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. By general consent, houses in Shibam are not now to be built 342 more than six storeys high in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher, but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this type of house which, [435] when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together. The life of a house is said to be 200 to 250 years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done, the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits, necessitating demolition.

B. Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 of a broad, gently sloping bedrock drainage surface. The plateau abounds in suitable rock surfaces, and they serve as catchment areas for occasional cloudbursts. Walls, six to eight inches high, fashioned of closely packed but uncemented rock fragments and slabs, are

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411]
362]

FIG. 21—Bedouins of Wadi Hajr. Note the attire and appearance: bare feet or sandals; short sarong; cartridge belt; curved dagger; long, black, glistening, oily hair; ever present musket. To the stocks of their antiquated guns, goat skulls are frequently attached, as these are thought to provide greater comfort than the original design.

laid out radially from the well so that surface drainage will converge on it from a wide area.

415 To transport water, Bedouins use bags of uncut goat skins, tied
401 firmly at the leg and neck openings. For drawing well water, the
483 skin is fashioned into a bucket and attached to a rope passing over a pulley in a crudely constructed scaffolding of palm logs lashed together with coconut-fiber cord. The bucket is raised and lowered by donkeys, cattle, or slaves, with the assistance of an appropriate harness. To augment the lifting power applied to each bucket, it is customary to excavate an incline downward from the mouth of the well, equal in length to the depth of the water table, and it is along such a trench that man and beast plod long, weary hours each day. When a bulging and leaking skin has been lifted slightly above the welltop, it is pulled over and lowered into a catchment basin connected with the local irrigation system.

## THE CARAVANS

492 Many Bedouins, not engaged in agriculture or herding, find occu-
438 pation in the camel transport system of the Hadhramaut. A man
439

370

# HOUSE BUILDING IN THE HADHRAMAUT

W. H. INGRAMS

342 361 363 DURING a recent tour in the Hadhramaut my wife and I collected some notes on the building of houses. Each town in the country has its own individual characteristics. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type, built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Makalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not 6 feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces.

361 342 353 In the Wadi Do'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Do'an houses the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb* [1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, 2 inches across the heads, burnished with lead, which shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development of Do'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring-bone pattern.

361 342 177 352 491 493 In Terim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice plants, and modern European conveniences in the bathrooms. Whereas in Do'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel back over the mountains for six days, and while I mention this it is worth recording that there are sixty cars in Terim itself, each of which has been transported in parts by twelve camels from the coast.

313 333 353 The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seyyids of Terim and Seyyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of getting long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree trows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseilah, they cannot be transported by

[1] The commoner Arabic name is *sidr*, *Rhamnus nubeca*.

them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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In Shihr the waste water is allowed to settle into pools. As a consequence mosquitoes are a serious pest, but there is said to be little fever. There were no anopheles amongst specimens I captured. In Shibam there is a system of narrow gutters running down the middle of the streets. These become congested with rubbish and are rarely cleaned out, but when they are the refuse is sold.

**Water Supply.**

The water supply of Mukalla is brought from a reservoir at Baqrein, about four miles distant. The source is a mile further away at Bakezebur where there is a long series of deep wells, mostly protected by a stone coping but with no covering. These wells were constructed by labourers brought from Gheil ba Wazir where there are men " who know how to make waterworks ". The wells are connected at the bottom by a subterranean passage, used by those who clean the channel, along which the water flows till it emerges into an open cement channel leading to the reservoir at Baqrein. This reservoir is divided into compartments and the water passes through them into a delivery pipe. The outfall to the delivery pipe is partially protected from debris by a wire trap, and just outside the reservoir there is a covered manhole. There is no filter system and for the greater part of its length the supply is entirely unprotected, but the water is clear and apparently clean. It is conducted in pipes to the side of the mountain, along which it runs in a covered masonry channel, except where it is carried across gaps in pipes supported by piles. In the town there are reservoirs fitted with taps from which the water carriers draw their supply. Water supply is only laid on to the palaces and a few mosques. 365 312

The work was planned and begun by Sultan 'Awadh as a *Waqf* and was completed by Sultan 'Umar. It reflects great credit on the Mukalla administration, and if some protective measures were adopted would be, I should imagine, an unimpeachable supply. It is fortunate that cholera and typhoid are apparently unknown in Mukalla as it would be extraordinarily easy to contaminate the supply which, as I say, is unprotected, unfiltered, and not chlorinated. 365 653 164

There are several wells in Mukalla in which the water is brackish. The palaces, the Wazir's house, and the guest-house are fitted with 312 000

182 in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

162 438 361 In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main wadi system, there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *badu* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently OOO we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

361 [643 645] 504 364 Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government, and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

364 164 781 The climate of Mukalla is on the whole pleasant enough, and with the gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year we had a particularly bad

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, 364
according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to 164
see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for 731
rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in 361
its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia 484
and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans. One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors [563]
and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily. We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla 100
have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations. The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency, the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish. Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light 373
has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible 701
far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganize and train his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on 517
the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago, for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The 20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, 491
for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hill-sides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extra-ordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the 414
beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which 431

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

mosques and to storage tanks from which the commercial carriers draw water for sale to the inhabitants. Most well supplies are unprotected and exposed to subsoil and surface contamination. The ablution pools in the mosques are often heavily polluted and serve as vehicles for the transmission of intestinal infections. They also provide conditions favorable for the breeding of anopheline and other mosquitoes; also of Planorbis and Bulinus snails. H 312 H 312 364 164 136

There are numerous small irrigation projects in the agricultural districts, especially in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut, many of which have been in use for decades. They depend upon water from streams or wells and, in some parts of the highlands, from spring-fed cisterns. Pumps have been introduced in the modern developments, but in most instances water is drawn from streams and wells in the traditional manner, namely, in leather buckets by means of ropes pulled over wooden pulleys by men or animals. H 312

### Waste Disposal

A 364

The methods of sewage disposal are primitive. Septic tanks, which discharge into the main drainage system, are connected with some of the newer houses in Aden Colony, but pail privies provide the usual means of sewage disposal in both Aden and Sheikh Othman townships. In old buildings with several stories, soil pipes which may be 40 feet in length lead from the privies on the upper floors to containers below. The night soil is collected regularly from private and public latrines by the town authorities and conveyed to incineration plants. Pit latrines are employed in some quarters, but they are being abolished wherever possible. In the congested districts, the latrines are located along concrete passages between the rears of the houses and are drained to storm sewers or to soakpits. The construction of a modern sewerage system for the Colony is under consideration. A 364 185

The "long drop" mentioned, in which disposal A 364

p. 244 (B)

H 364 shafts lead from lavatories in the upper stories to a reception chamber on the ground floor, is widely used in the larger houses in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut. Pit or surface privies are sometimes found in the courtyards of the smaller houses, but the majority have no facilities for the disposal of sewage wastes. Indiscriminate pollution of the soil is a general practice.

### Fauna and Flora

A 659 Few entomologic surveys have been made in this region, and data regarding the insect vectors and animal hosts of human disease are fragmentary. It is probable, however, that the species identified in the neighboring territories are present in Aden Protectorate under similar physiogeographic conditions.

A 136 164 Arthropoda. Mosquitoes. *Anopheles adenensis* (— *A. culicifacies adenensis*) is the most important anopheline mosquito in Aden Colony. Although it has been eradicated from Aden and Sheikh Othman townships, it persists in near-by oases, and is a major vector of malaria wherever it is encountered. In the last local outbreak in the *kutcha* hut district of Sheikh Othman, *A. adenensis* was found breeding in large numbers in the soakpits. It normally breeds A [744] in wells, shallow cisterns, irrigation canals and sluggish streams, and, before the institution of effective control measures, had become adapted to the high salinity of the saltpan seepages.

H 136 164 *A. gambiae* is widely distributed in the Protectorate, where it probably acts as the principal vector of malaria. It breeds along the edges of pools and streams, in irrigation canals, in wells and in numerous other collections of water. *A. turkhudi*, *A. coustani*, *A. d'thali*, *A. pretoriensis* and *A. barbirostris* have also been reported from various localities.

*Aedes aegypti*, the usual urban vector of yellow fever elsewhere, and *A. vittatus*, a tree-hole breeder implicated in the transmission of yellow fever in endemic foci in

H 744 Responsibility for the health of the people in the Colony resides in its Medical and Health Department, which is administered by a Director of Medical Services, with headquarters in Aden. There are no organized public health services in the Protectorate. Medical facilities are supported mainly by the British authorities in Western Aden Protectorate and by the local rulers in Eastern Aden Protectorate. As of A 743 1950, there were 4 hospitals, with an aggregate capacity of about 600 beds, in the Colony which served the local residents and accessible portions of the Protectorate. In addition, several government, mission or private dispensaries, 2 venereal disease treatment centers and a maternity and child welfare clinic were in operation. The Pro- A 743 tectorate facilities included 2 small hospitals, a child welfare center and 15 dispensaries in Eastern Aden Protectorate: 18 dispensaries in Western Aden Protectorate.

H A 312 Water supplies are scarce throughout this region, except in portions of the western highlands. The water supply for the Colony is derived from boreholes and treated by chlorination. Supplies in the Protectorate are obtained from streams, springs, wells or rain-water cisterns. The methods of sew- A H 364 944 age disposal are primitive in the Colony, as well as in the Protectorate. Limited sanitary controls over the production and the distribution of foodstuffs exist only in THE COLONY.

p. 252 (A)

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The palaces, the Wazir's house, and the guest house are fitted with electric light generated by a petrol engine. The system is continued along the water front as far as Sultan 'Umar's mosque.

The town water supply in Shihr is brought in a covered aqueduct from Tubala, 6·7 miles away. There are many springs at Tubala, most of which are hot, and a number are heavily impregnated with sulphur. The reservoir for the Shihr water supply consists of a large open tank which is fed by an open channel from the spring. As in the case of Mukalla there is no sort of protection. Shibam draws its water supply from wells, for the most part in the suburb of Seheil. The water is slightly brackish. The rest of the country depends on wells, springs, rivers, and rain cisterns.

**Educational Activities.**

In Mukalla there are three Government schools (two Arab and one English), and at least three private schools. In addition to these Arab schools Yusuf Sherif, the principal Indian merchant and Collector of Customs, maintains a private Gujerati school in which there are 42 boys and eight girls at present. There used to be schools in every mosque, but Sultan 'Umar suppressed them and ordered the boys to attend the Government schools. However, despite this prohibition I understand that a few maintain a precarious existence.

The larger of the Arabic schools, Al Madrassa al Khariya as Sultanja had been in existence for four years at the time of my visit and had twelve classes: *Hijar*, or Elementary, four classes; *Tahdir*, two classes; *Daraja Awal*, First standard, three classes; *Daraja ath Thani*, Second standard, one class; *Daraja ath Thalath*, Third standard, one class, *Daraja al Arb'a* Fourth standard, one class. A Fifth standard was to be added shortly.

On the register there were 290 to 300 boys aged from six to 14 and even 16, and perhaps older. On inspection the attendance at the various classes was as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Hijar* ... ... ... ... ... ... | 56 |
| *Tahdir* 1 ... ... ... ... ... | 20 |
| 2 ... ... ... ... ... | 31 |
| *Daraja* I.—1 ... ... ... ... | 32 |
| 2 ... ... ... ... | 20 |
| 3 ... ... ... ... | 27 |
| *Daraja* II ... ... ... ... ... | 12 |
| *Daraja* III ... ... ... ... ... | 13 |
| Total exclusive of the Fourth standard ... | 211 |

The staff consists of a *Mudir* or Principal, a *Murakib*, who is responsible for the discipline of teachers and boys, and 12 teachers. There are nine class rooms, the four classes of *Hijar* sitting in one room. Up to *Daraja* I the boys sit on the floor, after which they are at desks. The school is closed on Fridays and on the 'Id days which are as follows: 'Id al Hajj, five days, 'Id al Fitr, five days, 12th Rabi' Awal, Maulad an Nebi, one day, 29th Ramadhan,

631 The Kathiri claims the Hamumi, Nahd, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar tribes as his allies. The agreement with the Nahd, which is said to be similar to those with the Hamumi, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar, is included in an appendix. It is stated that these tribes would join the Kathiris if there was trouble with the Qu'aitis.

*Kathiri Towns.*

101 The country ruled by the Kathiris was formerly of vast extent and stretched from the 'Aulaqi country on the west to the Mahri on the east, including the country of Dhufar beyond. The history of the circumscription of the territory to its present limits appears sufficiently in an earlier chapter of this report.

631 Of the six towns or villages mentioned as being included in the
632 Kathiri dominions Seiyun and Tarim are the largest. Seiyun, the capital of the Al 'Abdulla Sultans, is a walled town of over 1,500
361 houses and about 50 mosques. The suburbs, which are all to the east of the town, are extending fairly rapidly with the building of pleasant looking residencies, most of them with their own gardens. The population is said to be about 20,000. Tarim is also a growing town with an estimated population of 15,000. Its walls, which are over five miles in length and are furnished with five gates and 25 forts, enclose a great deal of open space so that most of the better class houses have their own gardens. There are over 2,000 houses, and there are said to be 300 mosques, one of which, built by the Al Kafs, has the highest minaret in the Hadhramaut and is of an unusual pattern. The principal shrine in Tarim is that of Maqaddam Faqih. There are growing suburbs outside the walls such as 'Aidid, but some of the suburbs such as Thibi, Dammūn, and Beit Jabir, belong to the Tamimis and are under
342 Qu'aiti influence. Tarim and Seiyun are striking for their many palaces, equipped in modern style, to which reference has already
365 been made. These houses have a water supply laid on and pumped
312 up by small petrol engines. The towns are well supplied with wells, and Tarim is remarkable for being the only town in the Hadhramaut with public conveniences, which, however, are rough mud erections and very insanitary.

361 Taris is a village lying to the west of Seiyun, and its inhabitants
521 do not exceed 700. Mariama is a small village to the east of Seiyun with a population of about 300. Al Ghurf, also a small village, lies to the north of Tarim and has a population not exceeding 250. Gheil bin Yomein is said to be a popular place of resort during the autumn. It is a small village of which the majority of the inhabitants are Beduins.

565 A great deal of wealth comes into the Kathiri towns from the East Indies, and the towns of Tarim and Seiyun, which are considered centres of culture and learning, include many wealthy inhabitants whose fortunes have been made in the East Indies.
000 The whole of the Kathiri part of the wadi is accessible by motor

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden Hadramaut MN2



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mukalla Regular Army (paid by Qu'aiti State) | 17 Officers 332 other ranks | Security in the Qu'aiti State. |

701

In addition there are the following police forces. 625

| *State* | *Force* | *Establishment* | *Notes* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Qu'aiti | Mukalla Police | 101 | Paid by Qu'aiti State. |
| | Qu'aiti Armed Constabulary | 530 | Paid by Qu'aiti State for rural districts. |
| Kathiri | Civil Police | 25 | For towns of Sai'un, Tarim and Hautaf Ahmed bin Zain. Paid by Kathiri State. |
| | Kathiri Armed Constabulary | 112 | For rural districts. 18 paid by Kathiri State, balance by Her Majesty's Government. |
| Wahidi | Wahidi Tribal Guards | 232 | These carry out police duties, in addition to garrison and security roles. 93 paid by Wahidi States, remainder by Her Majesty's Government. |

# Chapter 9: Public Utilities and Public Works

## WESTERN PROTECTORATE

There are small electric power plants run by the Lahej Sultanate for a few domestic consumers and by the Abyan Board for its own domestic and workshop requirements. 365 653

There are no gas installations or public water supplies other than the irrigation projects described in Chapter 6.

There are organised Public Works Departments in the Lahej and Fadhli States which are mainly occupied in the maintenance and construction of public buildings and roads.

## EASTERN PROTECTORATE

There is a small power-house in Mukalla publicly administered and owned. The voltage is 240 volts, 3 phase, 50 cycles, A.C., driven by three engines with a capacity of 49, 110 and 220 B.H.P. respectively. The total number of consumers is 700 and the annual output is 114,268 units.

Public Works Departments exist in the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. 653

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghuria is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

When there is a fire the people in the streets should cut « Wa-'n-nâr wa-'n-nâr », or, if there has been an accident when some one has fallen into a well, « Wa-'l-bir ». At this all of the males of the quarter come running out at a trot, leaving their occupations. If it is a fire they take tanaks (tins) and fill them at the mosque cistern (djâbiyah). Only the Masâkîn perform these duties of course, not the saiyids or mallâ'ih. Apart from the occasions cited in a previous article[8] another time when the quarter turns out is when a clay-bank (djurf) of a water-channel or water-course has fallen on top of some person or persons. The latter are dug out by the quarter.

Each quarter has a tanṣûrah (pl. tanâṣîr), a kind of rallying-song or theme special to each quarter, and doubtless each with its special tune. These tanṣûrahs are used on all sorts of occasions, festal or otherwise, and probably, indeed, whenever a body of men from the quarter assemble together. The tanṣûrah may be compared in some respects with the tribal ṣarḫah and 'arwah[9] examples of which are given by Landberg. The following are examples of some of the themes used by the principal quarters of Tarîm.

1. Ahl al-Sûk

a. Metre : Wâfir type, ‖—|———∪|———∪

لَنَا ٱلزَّايِدْ وَفِينَا ٱلزَّايِدْ

Metre : Radjaz type, ‖—|—∪——|—∪—∪

وَشَيْخَنَا ٱلْمِحْضَار مَعْنَا

« We have the most, and amongst us lies the most.
And our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍâr is with us. »

As the metre of these two pieces differs I assume they are independent of each other though given me as a single tanṣûrah. The sense is that the Ahl al-Sûk is greater in numbers than any other quarter, it being the largest of all. Al-Miḥḍâr is the celebrated Tarîmî saint.

[8] *The Cemeteries of Tarîm*, op. cit.
[9] C. de Landberg, *Arabica IV* (Leiden, 1897), pp. 18, 20, etc.

by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen.

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread.

The surprising modern developments in the Kathiri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increasingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres. The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of good-will and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut appears to be changing almost despite itself.

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathiri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of Qu'aiti and Kathiri rule in their respective countries. I could not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti

635 619 [162] The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely connected with the province :—

SEIBANI.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 101 Marṯahida ... | | Living round the province of Du'an. | 400—500 |
| | Bá Dabeiduh | | |
| | Bá Beitar | | |
| | Bá Dhrus | — | |
| | Bá Kardas | | |
| | Bá Sara | | |
| Khâmá ... ... | | — | 300—900 |
| | Bá Surra | | |
| | Bá Kadim | | |
| | Bá Salhum | | |
| | Bá Rashíd | | |
| Hálka ... ... | | Hûfa in Wadi Leisar | 300—800 |
| | Bá Dajeil | | |
| | Bá Sa'd | | |
| | Bá Nakhar | | |
| | Al Biadha | | |
| | Bá Khashwein | | |
| As Sumûh ... ... | | | 500—1,000 |
| | Shaka'i | | 200 |
| | Bá Wasim | | |
| | Jodani | | |
| | Jahnami | | |
| | Bá Buteiya | | |
| | Ghoth | | |
| Al Meshájir ... ... | — | Husn Ba'ba', Wadi Yeb'uth. | 250 |
| Al Qathm ... ... | — | — | 100 |
| Al Hamidi ... ... | — | — | 400 |
| [162] | | | 2,450—4,150 |

619 631 369 The Seibani Zei are said to be part of a Confederation which includes the 'Awâbitha and Âl Heik tribes. They extend from the Hamumi country on the east to the Nûwah on the west. The Nahd and Kathîri tribes bound them on the north, and the Beni Hasan on the south. The tribe are partly nomad and partly settled and they own villages round Mukalla and in Wadis Du'an, Leisar, and Huweira; many of them live in 'Aura and Qurein in Wadi Du'an. The settled Seibanis, like other townsmen land-owners, are subject to taxation on their date groves by the Qu'aiti whom they acknowledge in full sovereignty. The nomads acknowledge Qu'aiti suzerainty but pay no taxes. Their country is at present the safest for travelling and a *siyar* is unnecessary. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an " A 'agreement with them.

619 622 638 Muhammad bin 'Umar and Ahmed bin 'Umar Bá Surra of the Khâmá clan of the Seibani, the Qu'aiti Governors of the Du'an province, are also the paramount *Muqaddams* of the tribe. Inter-tribal disputes are settled by reference to the heads of neutral clans, more important cases being carried to the Bá Surra and the Shatiri Seiyid who is their *Mansab*. The Mihdhâr family of Seiyids descended from Sheikh Abubekr, also have great influence

1 [illegible] — Analyst]

| Clan. | Section. | Place. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 619 Bin Yamāni and their slaves ... | — | Qasm | 80 | 'Ali bin Ahmed bin Imani. |
| 631 101 Āl Sa'id, Bin 'Uthmān, and Āl Dahnān. | — | Al Khōn | 50 | 'Umar bin 'Awadh bin Sa'id. |
| Āl Qafa, Āl Barakrin, Āl Heithwa, and Āl Nubeid. | — | As Sōm | 50 | Kharfī |
| Āl as Sa'd ... ... ... | — | 'Asum | 45 | 'Isa |
| Samāh al 'Uebe ... ... | — | Al 'Uebe | 15 | 'Aidha bin 'Atūfa. |
| Beit Bal Hateish ... ... | — | Fughma | 35 | — |
| Āl Bin Kōb ... ... ... | — | Sha'b Hud | 15 | 'Awadh bin al 'Akbfi. |
| Bin Marsaf ... ... ... | Al Fahd | — | 120 | — |
| Ash Sheiban ... ... ... | 5 sections | — | — | — |
| | | | 847 | |

The Tamimi are a part nomad, part settled tribe, living in the main wadi from the neighbourhood of Tarim to beyond Qasm. They have been allied to the Qu'aiti, with whom they have an " A agreement, for a long time, and have had a long-standing feud with the 'Awāmir and Kathiris which was terminated by the Qu'aiti-Kathiri agreement. The Kathiri Sultans have no jurisdiction over them but it is said that the Tamimis are allied to them for purposes [628] of defence. Disputes between the Tarim Government and the Tamimis are settled by negotiation or Qu'aiti interference.

167 The Tamimis emigrate to Java and the East African Coast, but they are a poor tribe. They grow wheat, lucern, vegetables, jowari, 311 and other crops, on well irrigation. A large amount of land in the 369 Tamimi territory is the property of the rich townsmen of Tarim 458 and Dammūn which the Bin Silma cultivate, and they are generally safe and honest. At harvest time, however, Beduins come from across the northern hills, which are quite close to the cultivation here, settle in the groves, and do a certain amount of damage. Like most wadi dwellers from Tarim eastwards the Tamimis obtain their supplies from Shihr rather than Seihut, though Seihut sends regular caravans as far as 'Einat.

619 The Bin Qasir clan is sometimes considered as divided into four 631 sections, the Āl Kibl, Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar, Bin Dahdūh, and 101 Beit Bal Hateish. The Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed clan is sometimes called a section of the Ash Sheiban clan; the latter is said to be divided into five sections. The Bin Silma is said to be the strongest clan and is stated to have four sections.

619 The *mansabs* of the Tamimi are 'Umar bin Zein Āl 'Abdulla bin 620 Ash Sheikh for the Āl Yamāni, Hasan bin 'Alawi al 'Aqil, Ahmed bin 'Aqil, Āl Matahar, Tahir bin Bubekr Āl Tahir for the Balheij, and 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shihab for the Bin Silma.

[See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

Middle East Islands (Sq)
Socotra



Socotra has also a

good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea route to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

*Rotation.*—Heald states that mixed and overlapping rotations were found in Meifa and Asfal al 'Ain but, from careful enquiries, the following appeared to be the most popular :—Lucerne two years, followed by millet and the fourth year tobacco. If tobacco was not sown, the land was planted with another variety of millet. In some villages where lucerne was not grown, the rotation simply included tobacco and millet with sesame the third year. 242

In the Wadi Mascila the fields are constantly changed. One year a certain part of the wadi bed will be cultivated, stick huts and erections for drawing up the water built, and when the crop is harvested the Beduins move on elsewhere, returning again another season. Thus we frequently passed remains of cultivation, disused mud aqueducts and tumbled-down huts.

*Diseases.*—Heald states, " Excepting for the caterpillar attacking the young millet and tobacco, the crops were remarkably free from pests and disease; I carefully searched for stem borer in the millet but could find none, and also for the scale in the few citrus trees."

**Trees and other vegetation of economic importance.**

The *'elb* (*Sidr. Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.) has many uses. Apart from its blossoms, which are said to give the good taste to the Du'an honey, its fruit called *dôm* is eaten extensively by the Beduins when dates are lacking. The beams, pillars and doors of Hadhramaut houses are made from the timber, and the supply and carriage of the trunks give much employment to the Beduins. It also supplies good firewood. It is a fodder tree, and the leaves are also used as a substitute for soap. 137 262 313 242 [388]

*Sâr*, a palm tree (*Hyphaene thebaica* (L.) Mart.), from which the Beduins gather the leaves called *sif* for transport to the towns, where they are made into mats, baskets, country string, etc. A popular drink called *nebîdh* is also procured from this tree. 137 314 285 272

The long-thorned *sumr* (*Acacia spirocarpa* Hochst.) is perhaps the commonest tree in the Hadhramaut. It is a popular fodder for camels and is likewise eaten by goats. It supplies good firewood and a substance taken from the roots called *futukh* is used by fishermen for growing their lines in order to make them strong. Another thorny tree, the *gerdh* (*Acacia senegal* Willd.), is also a common fodder. Its leaves are used for tanning skins and it is said that the Beduins make a drink from them which they liken to tea. 137 246 314 372 272

The *mukht* tree (*Grewia erythraea* Schweinf.), is used extensively for firewood and camel fodder. The leaves of the *arista* tree (*Conocarpus erectus* Jacq.), which grows in the Wadi Mascila where it sometimes reaches a height of 50 to 70 feet, are dried for fodder, and the timber probably has its economic uses. I was told in Tarim of a large tree growing in Wadi Mascila the strong wood of which is used by carpenters; this may have been the *arista*. 137 314 246 372

000 of the city. Before the gate is the Wādī Seded, where the sea
484 has penetrated far inland and formed an inlet. Here on the
361 beach the caravans camp as they travel to and from the
231 interior. Hundreds of camels are kneeling in great circles,
492 eating the food that lies in the centre. Other camels are being bathed and scrubbed down with sea-water, while still others are protesting with gurgling snarls against the treatment of some skin trouble or of big open wounds. There are donkeys here and there amongst them. Bedouins lie asleep wrapped
[264] about in their cloaks or sit round a small fire eating out of wooden bowls their porridge of crumbled bread mixed up with a little fat. Some are busy with the difficult work of loading: after the freights have been weighed by lifting and then
[372] divided, they are fastened on to the pack-saddles. Children are collecting into baskets the camel's dung which is of great value as fuel. The ground is swarming with the so-called camel-louse, which is really a sort of tick. The penetrating odour of the camels' urine and sweat hangs over this wide-spread, permanent bivouac.

487 We go inland along the bank of the Wādī Seded, which is
312 here filled with sea-water, so as to cross, by making a big bend, behind the 1800 feet high rocky ridge of Makalla. On the left of the road, only a few miles from Makalla, there are groves of palm, with the white summer quarters of the Vizier and of the Sultan. Here is a spring from which, by means of a thin, iron pipe lying on the ground, water is carried to Makalla to provide the town with drink.

361 Two hamlets, el-Baqrēn and Baqērēn, with some cultivated
578 fields, lie close to the frontier of the Sultanate of Makalla. There are two fortified towers on the road manned by soldiers, and not far beyond Baqērēn there stands a whitewashed piece of rock. Against the high wall of primary rock, rising up each side of the road, two white marks have been made to show even in the mountain region, where the land is at peace and where at war. No vendetta may be carried on nor ancient feuds settled by arms in or around the town.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



rock, in shape like a toadstool, and the whole caravan could find protection in its shade. The river was not far away and green bushes from which the camels might feed grew along its banks.

Our supply of dates and biscuits was beginning to run short. Our Bedouin companions were very frugal eaters: they had two meals a day, one during the afternoon rest and one at the night bivouac, when they baked a few underdone bread-cakes with a yellow flour of some sort. The taste of these was none too attractive and, what was worse, they lay heavy on the chest like an indigestible stone. Von Wissmann had always drunk the milk of our she-camel in the evening, but I had refused the drink, which had the penetrating odour of the animal's sweat. We were getting underfed and overexhausted. The inner tension and self-control demanded for the long negotiations and conversations at ʿAmd, in the Deyyin country, at Yebʿeth and Ṣidāra were beginning to take their revenge on my digestion. But we were obliged to go on and that day we marched till half past six in the evening and spent the night on a little plateau of rock among the granite mountains. During the day the Bedouins collect branches and dry shrubs and parched-up plants for the evening fire, on whose ashes they bake their bread and over which we make our tea. It is the best hour of the day; it brings us all together in a mood of good fellowship and of thankfulness for the completion of the day's hot and tiring journey. It was also the moment when our Bedouins smeared themselves carefully — arms, breast and neck — with *samn*. Their hair also was kept well greased. It struck us that the skin of our bodies, which perspired continuously and were seldom washed, felt stiff and grainy from the salt of evaporated perspiration. The Bedouins get rid of this unpleasant feeling by rubbing themselves with grease; moreover, the practice makes their skin more resistant against the sun's heat and the sudden coldness of the air in the evening. They told us that the skin became so pleasantly "moist" from the grease.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, 364
according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to 164
see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for 731
rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in 361
its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia 404
and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans. One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors 565
and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily. We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla 170
have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations. The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency, the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish. Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light 373
has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible 701
far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganise and train his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on 517
the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago, for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The 20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, 491
for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hill-sides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extraordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the 114
beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which 438

Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



do not remain for any length of time on one plot of land, but take up all kinds of casual labour as well as farm labour. Among such one may find carpenters, gunsmiths, builders and tradesmen. The manufacture of indigo dye, with which the Mushreqi tribesman dyes himself and his clothes, and the sale of indigo-dyed cotton is, to a large extent, in their hands. Large families of this class are to be found throughout the territory in the market towns. Unlike the Raya, they do not bear arms.

The Heiq class is almost indistinguishable from the Dha'if, but there is a distinction in that the Heiq can be described as the lower third of the Dha'if class. That is, that the whole class of artisans and casual labourers can be described, in a generalization, as Dha'if, but the poorer, unskilled casual labourer is of the Heiq class. As an example, a rich shopkeeper is Dha'if, but, because of his possessions, is not Heiq. It is not a very important distinction. Dha'if in Arabic means "weak." I am unable to discover the derivation of Heiq, but we can take it to mean "of low quality."

The Asakar, or hired soldier class, are a class in themselves. They are of two kinds—freed slaves still in the service of their master and tribesmen who have lost their lands and their status and entered the service of their Chief. Once this happens to a tribesman, he or his descendants can never return again to the status of tribesmen, but remain ever afterwards Askari, whether they still serve master or not. They have dropped below the aristocratic classes and can no longer intermarry with tribesmen. I have heard of no exceptions to this hard rule.

The next class is that of the Doshan, plural Doashin. I can find no derivation to the name. They are of two kinds—wandering singers and dancers, and settled singing-men who have attached themselves to a particular tribe. Their origin is a mystery. The wanderings ones, who give the most dismal performances of what they call dancing, can always be driven out of camp. It is best, however, to be polite to the settled ones. They are skilled versifiers, and those who treat them with contempt must submit afterwards to unmerciful lampooning. On public holidays in up-country towns one of them frequently appoints himself as Amir Al 'Id, or "Amir of the Holiday." Supported by his friends and anyone who wants some fun, he calls upon the local Chief and demands a present and entertainment. This the Chief refuses, and receives an ultimatum challenging him to war in a few minutes. The war which ensues is conducted for the most part with fireworks, blank ammunition, water and balls of dung. The Chief's fort is the centre of attack. Eventually the Chief will ask for a truce, ambassadors are exchanged and all ends in an entertainment and a present to the "Amir." At other times they will institute rhyming competitions, or will compose and sing long Qasidas on the local political situation. Some of these settled Doashin become men of mark, but they have, for all their poems and lampoons, little effect on tribal policy and no say whatever in tribal affairs.

Slaves need no introduction. The slave trade in the south is dead, but the descendants of Abyssinian slaves still serve their original masters. It would be absurd to free them; they are completely free, but slavery is their only niche in the community. Take that away and they would be homeless and workless. As in the rest of Arabia, except the Zeidi Yemen,

228 From the tongue of land we pass the
443 fish-market, where a lively trade in the dwellers of the sea, here so multifarious, is carried on from early morning till late in the evening. The shark seems to be the commonest fish. Sacks full of dried and salted shark's flesh are sent into the interior, where, in times of prosperity, the Bedouins and townsfolk enjoy a piece of it with their frugal meal of bread and rice. The smell of badly dried and, consequently, somewhat decaying fish accompanies the traveller far into the wādis of Ḥaḍramaut.

443 The bazaar of Makalla has more penetrating odours than is
386 usual elsewhere. Not far from the fish-market are the workshops where loin-cloths and head-cloths are dyed a dull blue-black with indigo, and this trade also has sickening, nauseating smell. The workers and their houses are covered with a layer of indigo.

443 A more attractive trade than these is plied in this long
286 street of the bazaar — that of the weavers and lace-makers. They weave narrow lengths of cloth with brightly coloured stripes and with very attractive fringes, which are woven separately.

443 All sorts of sweets were offered for sale at the booths; also
438 the first bright-yellow or deep-red dates, not yet quite ripe,
439 tuberous fruits, spices, the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco in big bundles consisting of whole dried plants; broad waist-bands, Japanese, Indian and Dutch piece-goods, sugar-loaves and rice, coffee-beans and dried coffee-husks, ginger-root and tea from Ceylon and Java, various kinds of grain, meal and *samn*, sesame oil and kerosene, matches and coffee-cups, *djambiyas*[1] and cartridges.

443- We wandered through this storehouse of Ḥaḍramaut. The salesmen had lighted their reeking lamps and torches stuck in bottles; one could only pass slowly through the swarming crowd with the smoke of the lamps mingling with the heavy odour emanating from men and things. As in a dream we

104 [1] *Djambiya*, correctly spelled *djanbiya* (جنبية), is a broad, curved dagger worn in the waist-band in front of the body.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



351 if we had been transported bodily into a bit of the Indies. The fruit-trees best known in that country are represented here, and a sultry, moist heat permeates the shadows of this richly watered garden.

529 In front of the garden villa, built in a modern style, but not yet quite finished, is a cemented swimming-pool about 300 feet long and of the same width as the building. It joins onto the stairs of the terrace, and a trim rowing-boat lies motionless on the crystal clear water. To do us honour the basin has been filled by means of an engine-pump, and, although the water is warm, we show our appreciation at once by enjoying a bathe, and a row in the boat.

219 277 367 Our host, who is acting for the Sultan, is a tobacco-grower as well as an official. He says that the Ḥumûmî tobacco can only be grown here. They are trying to cultivate the same kind in Lahadj, behind Aden, and in the Yemen; as the climate and the soil are not similar the result is a product which in perfume and taste is inferior to that grown here. Cultivation in el-Ghêl is carried to a very high pitch of refinement. The tobacco-plants are manured three times: with guano, with fish, and with the dung of beasts and men. Pure water is used for irrigation, not too much and not too little. Each kind of dung is applied to the plant at the right time. The best guano comes from an island on the coast of Somaliland, for which the British authorities have given a concession. A second kind of guano is found on islands near Bir ʿAlî, to the west of Makalla, and near Aden. The entire harvest of tobacco is exported to Egypt, and from there a part of it goes to Syria and to the countries on the Red Sea. The Ḥumûmî tobacco is broken up and cut into wide strips, and is smoked in water-pipes. The stalks can be used at the same time and for this reason the plants are dried whole, not the leaves alone. They are then bound into large bundles as packed into oblong bales, the weight of a camel's load, that is to say 300 lbs. The price of such a bale is nowadays 120 to 130 rupees.

[illegible]

94:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MD42 Hadhramaut MD42



## 6. ALONG THE BEACH TO ESH-SHIHR.

That night in Shehr there was not much sleep, for a wedding was being celebrated in the village square below us. Several houses are lighted up, and, from our vantage-point high up above them, we can see the feasting that is going on there. Afterwards by the light of gasoline lamps there is dancing in the square; the men and women stand facing each other in long rows, which approach each other with rythmical stamping of feet and clapping of hands and then again retreat. All unite in the singing of a monotonous refrain, the constant repetition of one and the same melody. The actual song is recited by a single person. They all know the old songs and enjoy taking part in them and joining in the rising enthusiasm caused by their refrain. Sweat pours down the naked chests of the men, but it is nearly morning before their energy is exhausted and the festal joy quietens down.

Our driver wakes us up with a toot from his horn in front of the castle, before it is yet light. He knows that we must do the journey to esh-Shihr and back, by way of the coast, before high tide.

Our host accompanies us. The road runs along the east bank of the wâdi right up to the coast, which is at a distance of only a few miles. On the beach lie the heavy boats of the fishermen and of the men who collect guano. There are drying-places for fish close to some huts: we could smell them that night in Shehr. The guano is conveyed by camel from here to Ghâl Bâ Wazîr, there to be used for manuring the fields. The shore is very like the sandy beach of Holland and there are even dunes with some vegetation, which are, however, not more than 20—30 feet in height. On the beach there are armies of crabs, which, at our approach, try to escape either in the direction of the sea or towards the sand-dunes, where cone-shaped heaps of sand flank the entrance to their long spiral passages, which lead underground. The ridge of dunes, which

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



387 is only a narrow one, is broken in some places by breaches
136 through which at high tide the sea water streams. These gaps
487 have doubtless been made by the rainfall from the mountains farther inland seaking an outlet to the sea. Close by esh-Shiḥr coral rocks jut out above the level of the sand, and the passage there is narrow and vanishes completely when the tide is at flood.

361 Esh-Shiḥr lies on the flat sea coast, which slopes only very gradually so that steamers have to anchor far out at sea. At the moment several sambooks are lying there and fishermen are plying their trade till far away to the horizon. The track runs through deep, loose sand from the beach to the gate, which is new, but lacking in taste architecturally. The wall is also new and is strengthened on the inner side with buttresses of mud bricks, but the garment is too large for what it has to cover, and a half-dead town is pining away within the walls. Many blocks of houses are uninhabited, some have even fallen in. One crosses great open spaces on the way from the west to the east gate. The streets are dirty and even the inhabited houses have a neglected look. Over the whole town, and stronger even than the sewage smell of the streets, hangs the stench of drying, half-decayed fish. The Government
344 buildings are in a square situated in the western part of the
361 town. The castle stands on a sandy eminence by the sea; the
346 building has just been restored and, with its simple, strong lines makes a good impression. The bottom floor is being used temporarily as a school for three to four hundred boys. On the hill near the fortress some old, big cannon are lying, and a solitary signal-mast stands there. The Governor's house, a large, tall, well-constructed building, whose many roof-terraces are well suited to the sweltering, damp climate of esh-Shiḥr, stands on the land side of the square. The Governor is not at home, for we have met him on the beach in his fine, American motor-car. He looks Indian, and too modern for his town, nearly cut off as it is from the outside world and still dreaming of former glories. At one time, esh-Shiḥr was larger

*Rotation.*—Heald states that mixed and overlapping rotations were found in Meifa and Asfal al 'Ain but, from careful enquiries, the following appeared to be the most popular :—Lucerne two years, followed by millet and the fourth year tobacco. If tobacco was not sown, the land was planted with another variety of millet. In some villages where lucerne was not grown, the rotation simply included tobacco and millet with sesame the third year. 242

In the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed. One year a certain part of the wadi bed will be cultivated, stick huts and erections for drawing up the water built, and when the crop is harvested the Beduins move on elsewhere, returning again another season. Thus we frequently passed remains of cultivation, disused mud aqueducts and tumbled-down huts.

*Diseases.*—Heald states, " Excepting for the caterpillar attacking the young millet and tobacco, the crops were remarkably free from pests and disease ; I carefully searched for stem borer in the millet but could find none, and also for the scale in the few citrus trees."

**Trees and other vegetation of economic importance.**

The *'elb* (*Sidr. Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.) has many uses. Apart from its blossoms, which are said to give the good taste to the Du'an honey, its fruit called *dôm* is eaten extensively by the Beduins when dates are lacking. The beams, pillars and doors of Hadhramaut houses are made from the timber, and the supply and carriage of the trunks give much employment to the Beduins. It also supplies good firewood. It is a fodder tree, and the leaves are also used as a substitute for soap. 137 262 313 242 [381]

*Sâr*, a palm tree (*Hyphaene thebaica* (L.) Mart.), from which the Beduins gather the leaves called *sif* for transport to the towns, where they are made into mats, baskets, country string, etc. A popular drink called *nebidh* is also procured from this tree. 137 314 A285 272

The long-thorned *sumr* (*Acacia spirocarpa* Hochst.) is perhaps the commonest tree in the Hadhramaut. It is a popular fodder for camels and is likewise eaten by goats. It supplies good firewood and a substance taken from the roots called *futukh* is used by fishermen for greasing their lines in order to make them strong. Another thorny tree, the *geradh* (*Acacia senegal* Willd.), is also a common fodder. Its leaves are used for tanning skins and it is said that the Beduins make a drink from them which they liken to tea. 137 246 314 382 272

The *mukht* tree (*Grewia erythraea* Schweinf.), is used extensively for firewood and camel fodder. The leaves of the *ariata* tree (*Conocarpus erectus* Jacq.), which grows in the Wadi Maseila where it sometimes reaches a height of 50 to 70 feet, are dried for fodder, and the timber probably has its economic uses. I was told in Tarim of a large tree growing in Wadi Maseila the strong wood of which is used by carpenters ; this may have been the *ariata*. 137 314 24. 272

S. Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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FIG. 19—Mukalla from the sea. The skyline of the second largest settlement and commercial center on the south coast of Arabia.

133 Gradients are low, not more than 1 in 500 and very probably averaging about 1 in 750.

## STREAMS NEAR THE COAST

The area between the coast and the southern margin of the Hadhramaut-Maseila and Hafif basins, some 500 miles long, is drained by short, intermittent, steep-gradient mountain streams, few of which, except certain sections of the Maseila, are perennial. The best known of these is the Wadi Hajr, which enters the Gulf of Aden at Ras al Kalb, 50 miles southwest of Mukalla. Another is the Wadi Meifa, about the same distance beyond Hajr. Both of them, although they have not been traced to their sources, are reasonably reported to be fed by springs.

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FIG. 20—The harbor of Mukalla. "Main Street" follows the shore of the bay behind the first row of buildings. Mukalla builds most of the locally-owned dhows.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



frenzy on religious matters, and ever ready to accuse any one, whose actions are not readily explained, of being an infidel, are apt to be rather slack in their devotions. Some even shirk their prayers at sunset, when such exercises are obligatory. Much of this attitude, however, has to do with their turbulent mode of life and illiteracy, for the most nonchalant are always ready to "fall in" behind any man who has the gift of prayer and follow his attitude and genuflexions, giving the responses with devout accuracy and attention. As to the religious self-denial with which they observe the fast of Ramadan (refusing to avail themselves of the exemption extended by the Koran to all travellers, sick persons, &c.) their austerity would shame more civilized Mussulmans.' 771

## Products and Industries

The products of this region are so similar to those of the Yemen that they need no special treatment; and the crops are referred to in detail in the section on climate. The staple food-stuff of the country is either *dhura* or *dukhn*. Of *dhura* there are two chief varieties: white and red. The staple fodder for animals is, universally, the stalks and leaves of *dhura* and *dukhn*. As to the native industries they are not of any great importance, but attention may be called to the following: 241 246

Boat-building is carried on to a limited extent. Though a very great number of native craft of very varied type ply in Aden harbour and around the coast of this district, only 'jolly-boats' are built at Aden; they are after the model of an English rowing-boat, with heavier and stronger frames, and of very rough workmanship. Mat-making and string-making are carried on chiefly in the neighbourhood of Aden. Dry leaves of the *dom* and date-palms are imported from the ports of the Dankali and from Musawwa', and are manufactured into mats. String is also made by twisting the leaves together with the hand; this is called 'Aden string'. To make mats the leaves are divided into small strips, which are plaited into a ribbon three or four inches wide and of great length. The ribbon is stitched or spliced spirally into a cylindrical shape, the circumference representing the required breadth, and the axis the necessary length; this hollow cylinder is then cut down with a knife parallel to the axis, and the broken edges are bound. Somali women are exceedingly expert in the manufacture of such mats, which are in great request for sleeping purposes. The coarser kinds are largely used for the construction of sheds and the roofing of houses. Plates, baskets, sacks, and many other articles are made of such strips of matting. 396 501 285

P. Fike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 of a broad, gently sloping bedrock drainage surface. The plateau abounds in suitable rock surfaces, and they serve as catchment areas for occasional cloudbursts. Walls, six to eight inches high, fashioned of closely packed but uncemented rock fragments and slabs, are

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FIG. 21—Bedouins of Wadi Hajr. Note the attire and appearance: bare feet or sandals, short sarong, cartridge belt; curved dagger, long, black, glistening, oily hair; ever present musket. To the stocks of their antiquated guns, goat skulls are frequently attached, as these are thought to provide greater comfort than the original design.

laid out radially from the well so that surface drainage will converge on it from a wide area.

415 401 483 To transport water, Bedouins use bags of uncut goat skins, tied firmly at the leg and neck openings. For drawing well water, the skin is fashioned into a bucket and attached to a rope passing over a pulley in a crudely constructed scaffolding of palm logs lashed together with coconut-fiber cord. The bucket is raised and lowered by donkeys, cattle, or slaves, with the assistance of an appropriate harness. To augment the lifting power applied to each bucket, it is customary to excavate an incline downward from the mouth of the well, equal in length to the depth of the water table, and it is along such a trench that man and beast plod long, weary hours each day. When a bulging and leaking skin has been lifted slightly above the welltop, it is pulled over and lowered into a catchment basin connected with the local irrigation system.

## THE CARAVANS

492 438 429 Many Bedouins, not engaged in agriculture or herding, find occupation in the camel transport system of the Hadhramaut. A man

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The ground floor of the house is usually the highest and the others are all about the same. Some of the houses in Shibam are built on the slope of the hill and are therefore provided with cellars. The height of the wall facing the outside of the city in these circumstances is about 70 *dhiras* or 105 feet high. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together.

The life of a house is said to be two hundred to two hundred and fifty years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits necessitating demolition. Outside the walls of Shibam and the rich man's suburb of Seheil there are villas, some of them built in Eastern Indian style but none of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines. [402]

The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, it may be interesting to record that in one wadi through which we travelled to the north of the main wadi towards the desert we found troglodyte Badawin living in caves in the walls of the wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Masailah between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than 5 feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents.

133 the amount of evaporation. Accordingly we find in the north-south wadis a
311 continuous belt of cultivations with hamlets of a few houses every mile and towns about 15 miles or an easy day's walk apart. As opposed to this the cultivations in the Wadi Hadhramaut, which runs west-east, are to be found mainly in belts along the northern and southern sides, the south belt being wider than the north, due to the increasing evaporation and lower water table towards the centre of the wadi.

311 Except for the hamlets which occur among the fields, the buildings make
361 use of unproductive land, and perch up against the cliff side on the talus slope. This position also carries the advantages of shade together with good siting for defence. Where land is at a premium, villages may be so sited as to become inaccessible even to the draught and load-carrying beasts used in agriculture, and the stables and grainstores are found at the edges of the fields and at the foot of the narrow winding path leading up to the village (Plate 3).

[104] Water for the permanent cultivations of *dhurra* (*Sorghum* sp.), *dukhn*
312 (*Pennisetum typhoideum* et spp.), lucerne and date palm has until the last few
406 years been drawn by man or animal power, raising a leather bag of water by
241 walking down a ramp away from the well shaft. Nowadays greater use is being made of diesel- and petrol-driven pumps, increasing both the yield and the area it is economical to cultivate. The effect of these pumps, which are available on deferred terms, in lowering the water table will be watched with care. New crops such as potatoes, the brassicas, and sugar cane are also being introduced under the agriculture scheme in an attempt to make the Hadhramaut, if not entirely self-supporting, at least less dependent on its "extra-territorial population."

241 This limitation does not apply to the flood crops which are snatched
312 wherever possible. Throughout the lower wadi systems there exists a com-
361 plicated network of deflector dams which have the object of spreading the floodwaters over as large an area as possible, and leading a certain part of them into irrigation channels. Many retaining dams have been attempted, but usually unsuccessfully, as the major structure has been an earthwork with only the spillway of durable construction. In the shallow beds of the wadis running north from the secondary watershed there are many small cultivated patches and groups of two or three fortified houses are often situated where camel tracks converge on water cisterns cut into the rock.

*The transition belt.*

133 The transition zone between the mountain systems and the sand desert takes a number of forms. North of the Ramlat[1] al Mundafan the Kaukab sandstone plateau overlies the crystalline rocks to the west, and to the east has eroded to become an area of minor plateaus and blocks. Through the wide flat valleys between these minor plateaus runs the main Najran–Dawasir track, roughly north–south in longitude 44° 45′ E. at a general height of a little under 3000 feet. To the east of this track lies the southern section of the Nafud Dahi, running parallel with the road, and rising to a height of 100 feet

104 [1] Ramla(t): a general name for any sand feature. Thus the Ramlat al Mundafan means literally "the buried sands."

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the management of irrigation farming on some 5,000 acres. The value of the Board's quarter-share of the net crop obtained, after paying harvesting and threshing expenses in kind, was estimated at over Rs. 1,25,000.

Farming in Abyan, largely influenced by the Board's operations, proved important to the economy of the Western Aden Protectorate. In the production of millet alone, it is estimated that a 30,000 bag crop, equal to 3,000 metric tons, was raised. A large portion of this was held as a reserve, or had been marketed to the easterly districts at the end of the year. General control on the export of this grain to Aden itself was maintained, and the flow of the crop to the districts to the east was encouraged.

*The Wadi Hadhramaut Rehabilitation Scheme*

This was wound up by Government at the end of the 1947–48 financial year. Farmers with outstanding loans were given ten years in which to repay, the basis of repayment being at the rate of 2 per cent of the total loan from the spring crop, 3 per cent from the autumn crop, and 5 per cent from the winter crop grown. By the end of the year, it was apparent that this system of deferred repayment was not proving satisfactory. Moneylenders had again become active, while late planting and reduced acreage were noticeable in many districts. This undoubtedly resulted from lack of foresight on the part of many farmers, who had failed to reserve sufficient seed and fodder and preferred to resort to moneylenders for obtaining their needs on credit.

At the end of the year, proposals were on hand for the introduction of numbers of diesel-driven irrigation pumps for use in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

*Co-operation*

The Beihan Farmers' Association, formed in the previous year, progressed in a satisfactory manner, and much useful experience was gained by the officials of the association. A good *saif* season helped the members, but this was followed by an almost complete lack of water in the *kharif*. In spite of these difficulties, the association was able to help its members in their requirements of seed, stock, and cash needed for well equipment and for concentrates for feeding livestock. At the end of the year, the association had acquired some Rs. 12,000 from members' subscriptions and from interest charged on loans.

This association cannot be termed a co-operative society in the true sense of the word. It is an association which has the full support of the local Government, and which at present makes use of Government offices and storehouses for its activities. In the present stage of development this is considered to be the most desirable form of association for Beihan.

*Western Aden Protectorate*

The Western Aden Protectorate fisheries are of minor importance compared with those of the Eastern Protectorate. Shuqra, the seat of the Fadhli Sultan, is, however, a fishing port with a considerable export trade in dried fish

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*Plant Introductions*

137 Sann hemp and Dolichos beans were introduced from the Sudan.
242 Tepary beans, bunch-type groundnuts, and velvet beans were introduced from Uganda. These new introductions were planted in observation plots in the Abyan district.

The introduction of deciduous fruits and of citrus for planting in the Audhali Sultanate continued.

*Development Schemes*

654 *The Abyan Board.* During 1949 the scheme, now furnished with sufficient capital to embark on its work as a proving scheme, developed at a satisfactory rate in all fields where adequate staff, machinery, and materials could be mustered.

406 A rebuilt D.7 Caterpillar tractor complete with bulldozer and carry-
654 all scraper, and three D.4 Caterpillars, one with bulldozer attachment,
332 were obtained through the Crown Agents. These rebuilt tractors were delivered without any spares and gave a certain amount of trouble, but were responsible, together with a D.6 Caterpillar already in the hands of the Board, for great progress in irrigation construction.

Important extensions were made to the Be Tes and Na'aza systems, while two new diversion systems were opened on the Wadi Hassan.

The tractors were generally worked as a fleet, with a mass of ox power owned or hired by the Board. Often 200 yokes of oxen—each with a scraper attached and each yoke with its driver/scraper operator in attendance—worked alongside the tractors. These were used for ripping and drawing masses of earth close to the dykes, which were then finished off by the oxen.

The value of the D.7 was judged to be equal to 150 to 200 yokes of oxen in earth-moving capacity, but for finishing off work and consolidation the use of oxen has been found to pay. Earth-moving costs have been low, and on short hauls of work of moderate height costs have not exceeded 6 annas per cubic metre.

654 Survey work has accelerated and a staff of 6 surveyors was at work in the field at the end of 1949.

A great deal of the Board's effort was devoted to the construction of offices, workshops and staff houses. At the end of 1949 substantial progress had been made and building, apart from some additions to staff houses and a projected pilot ginnery, had been completed.

The Board staff was increased considerably. On irrigation matters the Board continued to receive advice from Mr. N. Simansky, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of Jordan, who visited Abyan twice during the year. In September the staff was strengthened by the addition of an Irrigation Engineer, Mr. Douglas Hall, who joined the Board as Chief Engineer. In November Mr. B. May joined the Board on secondment, as Chief Accountant, the office having remained vacant since the resignation of the first Accountant Officer at the end of March. These two appointments were long overdue, and serious arrears of work had to be faced by both officers on taking up their appointments. In the

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1981 MM1 Aden



731 cultivators to get them back to their villages and re-establish them in time to sow their crops.

The famine of 1948–49 struck the western districts of Hadhramaut, where the situation was complicated by the dependence of these districts on rain and run-off water and flow irrigation from the wadis for crop production, and where large sections of the population relied on remittances from Hyderabad, which had been absorbed into the Indian Union, and from which transfers of currency had become difficult. Finally the repatriation of several thousand Southern Arabians, many of them from the tribes most seriously affected by the famine, brought further hardship.

Little could be done to improve agricultural conditions rapidly in these western areas of the Hadhramaut. It was therefore necessary to look to the lower areas of the main wadi where water is obtainable at easy levels, and farming can be secured by permanent irrigation.

Animal power for use on lift irrigation, and dependent on fodder crops cheaply produced only from the flood-irrigated areas, was now judged to have reached its maximum use. The Famine Relief Commissioner—in this case the Acting Resident Adviser—was advised that a large-scale pump scheme, using diesel-engined units, was the only measure which appeared to show promise of quick improvement in food production. The Commissioner and the States accepted this advice in detail and made important decisions in council which were framed to abolish all taxes on diesel engine and pumps for use on irrigation work, and on diesel oil (gas oil), and to purchase and supply cultivators with machinery for cash or for deferred payments.

731 489 The States further caused revision of an important agreement with Beduin tribes regarding the transport of fuel. In the past all trade goods, including petrol, kerosene oil, and lubricating oil, had been carried by camel caravans owned by Beduin tribes occupying the country between the coastal plain and the great wadis of the interior. With the opening of the road to the interior some fourteen years ago it was agreed that motor transport should carry only passengers and small quantities of personal luggage. In the present emergency the Beduin leaders were told of the need for motor transport to carry diesel oil for a famine relief scheme and were shown that the normal system of supplying diesel oil was in 44-gallon drums which have to be broken and repacked in drums of a size convenient for camel transport. The Beduins agreed to waive their rights, and so, for the first time in Hadhramaut history, a truly mechanised scheme, independent of the camel caravans—which are entirely dependent on fodder grazing and water supplies, which may fail in a drought—was evolved.

653 406 312 It was decided to spend up to £36,000 on a pump scheme. The Famine Relief Commission, acting on behalf of the States, arranged to purchase the machinery and to sell outright for cash or on a deferred payment system, in which case 25 per cent was added to the price for repayment over a four-year period. Speed was essential, and quotations and prices were examined for nearly every type of diesel-engined

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-8 (1951-52)1954 M041 Aden
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427 principal system involves some form of share-tenancy in which the partners divide the crop after harvesting, threshing and winnowing charges and tithes and taxes have been paid in kind. In more fertile areas half of the crop is demanded of the tenant of flood irrigated land, while in the mountain terrace-farming areas a share of one-third is normally levied. In the arid eastern districts shares of one-tenth only may be asked. On lift irrigation systems share-tenancy arrangements vary greatly. In the East, the owner of the land and the well may take a one-tenth share. In the West, the owner of the land and the well may take up to one-half of the crop, though often a share of the seed used and a share in the labour working on the lift irrigation is pro-
423 vided by the landowner. The Qua'iti and Kathiri States have secured legal powers by an agricultural administrative order to further the consolidation of plots round suitable irrigation points, but so far it has been unnecessary to apply such orders.

647 The Department of Agriculture has initiated important programmes
664 for the development of land and water resources. Of particular note is the Abyan Scheme in the Western Protectorate and the pump scheme in the Wadi Hadhramaut in the Eastern Protectorate. At the same time encouragement and organisation in the better use of the excellent indigenous systems of irrigation farming have been the main preoccupation in many districts.

423 Little satisfactory progress has been made in land settlement in the Abyan area. In the Eastern Protectorate, the States, advised by the
406 Residency, are actively encouraging groups of farmers to combine their holdings formerly watered by animal lift in order to make the co-operative use of the mechanical pump lifts an economic proposition.

241.

## AGRICULTURE

*Principal Crops, 1952*

| | *Acres* | *Tons* |
|---|---|---|
| **Western Protectorate** | | |
| Sorghum Millet | 23,333 | 4,,333 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small millets | 9,000 | 1,,286 |
| Wheat | 3,000 | 2,,000* |
| Barley | 6,000 | 4,,000* |
| Sesame | 4,250 | 425 |
| Cotton (long staple) | 9,830 | 7,,206 bales of 400 lb. lint* |
| Coffee | 400 | 100 |
| **Eastern Protectorate** | | |
| Sorghum Millet (lift and permanent flow irrigated) | 3,000 | 2,,400 |
| Sorghum (flood irrigated) | 4,000 | 400 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small millets | 1,500 | 300 |
| Wheat | 2,600 | 3,,000 |
| Date Palms | 10,500 | 7,,000 |

* Crops sown in 1951 and harvested in 1952.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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*Agricultural Extension and Improvement Schemes*

654 The main development scheme for irrigated land use is that in Abyan. A note on the scheme is given in Appendix I, page 84.

248 The extension work of the Department of Agriculture is carried on 406 through departmental staff and through State agricultural departments 241 where these exist. Extension work at the moment is mainly confined to a few selected subjects such as cotton growing, fruit and vegetable growing, and lift irrigation by pump.

*Cotton Growing Schemes (other than at Abyan).* Long-staple X.1730A cotton was introduced for cultivation to the Yeramis district, and from an area of approximately 400 acres some 472,665 lb. of seed cotton were marketed.

In Ahwar, where X.1730A cotton was grown for the second season, 436,311 lb. of seed cotton were marketed from an effective area of 400 acres.

*The Hadhramaut Pump Scheme.* In the Hadhramaut there has been considerable development of lift irrigation by diesel-engine pumping units since 1948. It is claimed that 389 pump units with an estimated total horse-power of 3,640 have now been introduced. A large percentage of the units have been sold by the Hadhramaut States to local farmers on a deferred payment scheme.

In 1952 pump units irrigated 37 per cent of the total area under lift irigation in the Hadhramaut. The average area irrigated per pump unit is estimated at 8.3 acres as compared with 2 acres by animal lift. The yield from pump irrigated crops in nearly all cases is found to exceed comparable animal lift irrigated crops. The schemes may be criticised on account of the high horse-power used for the irrigated area, but on the other hand with less working hours per day the machinery should theoretically last longer.

*Credit Facilities*

452 In the Western Protectorate advances have been made through Farmers' Associations, through the Abyan Board and through local States to assist farmers. In the Eastern Protectorate, particularly the Hadhramaut, large sums of money have been advanced since 1944 to enable farmers, or groups of farmers, to maintain local irigation systems and to help farmers to buy pumping machinery by hire purchase. Little or no progress can be made in the development of agriculture without credit facilities.

*Agricultural Department*

647 The staff comprises the Director of Agriculture, four Agricultural Officers, one Assistant Agricultural Officer and nine Agricultural Instructors.

The Department is responsible for giving advice on agriculture and, in many areas, for the organisation and administration of agricultural development projects. During the financial year 1952–53 it budgetted to spend £19,000.

G.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 M3d1 Aden
Hadhramaut M.N.2.



654 which carry the water to bunded fields where the land is inundated to
312 approximately one metre in depth. In the lower part of the district complete diversion of the flood is made by larger earth dams built
241 across the river bed. Generally one metre depth of water is sufficient to raise the crops of sorghum, sesame and cotton, though summer planted crops which have to grow when water is low are given one or two supplementary irrigations.

The date of arrival of the floods is uncertain and the pattern of crop production may alter considerably according to the date of irrigation. For instance, early summer floods will only be used for sorghum fodder, grain, melons and sesame. Later summer irrigations are particularly required for cotton planting and for the autumn sown sorghum crop.

*The Farming System*

Skilled cultivation is carried on by settlers from many South Arabian tribes who have come to the area since the start of the scheme. Bunding of land, construction of field channels, ploughing and sowing are carried out by draught animals, mainly oxen though camels are brought in to help occasionally. No fertilisers are used at present; the flood brings with it a heavy burden of silt which reaches the land and maintains its fertile state.

The basic problems concern the farming system. One is largely an irrigation problem caused by a rapid rise in the water-table which has taken place since irrigation was resumed. This rise in the water-table has caused an accumulation of salts in the upper layers of the soil, and has already made crop production on 2,000 acres practically impossible by flood irrigation methods. The other problem is weed control. As a gross area of 100,000 acres may be commanded in the future, and within this area an annual average of 30,000 acres may be cropped, it should be possible to afford long periods of fallow to land in order to reduce the dangers which may arise from heavy irrigation; but individual ownership of land will greatly complicate such arrangements.

248 At the present time the cotton variety X.1730A, a derivative of
243 Sakel, is the main cash crop grown. All other cash crops in the scheme are common to those of other irrigation tracts of a similar
246 type in South Arabia though there are experimental crops, of which sugar is one. An important feature of the scheme is the need for a large area of sorghum for grain and fodder production. The draught animals depend almost entirely on sorghum fodder for their sustenance and the main food of the people is sorghum millet. It is expected that for some time two-thirds of the area will be maintained under sorghum and one-third under cotton.

*Mechanical Equipment*

● 406 The Board owns earth-moving machinery powered by diesel-engined
242 crawler tractors with carry-all scrapers, bulldozers, a ripper and grader and two drag-line scrapers. The policy of the Board is to increase the

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MMI Aden
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mechanical equipment required for irrigation construction and maintenance in order to release work oxen for field operations. Up to the present shortage of equipment, break-downs and delays in obtaining spares have made it necessary to employ large numbers of working cattle on earth-moving and general irrigation works. 406 242

The Board also owns a fleet of twelve diesel-engined crawler tractors for ploughing work. Considerable difficulties have been encountered in maintaining this tractor fleet.

*Administration of the Scheme* 2421

The present composition of the Board is:

| | |
|---|---|
| British Agent, Western Aden Protectorate | Chairman |
| Director of Agriculture, Aden Protectorate | Managing Director. |
| Senior Political Officer, Southern Area | Director. |
| Two Representatives, (Fadhli State) | Members. |
| Two Representatives, (Yafa'i State) | Members. |
| Manager, Abyan Board | Secretary. |

The Board is responsible for the construction and maintenance of capital works and of main and minor canals; the development of new land for irrigation; the delivery of water to the land; provision of marketing and credit facilities to farmers, when necessary.

The Board receives one-quarter share of the crops grown. This is now based on a cash payment of *Shs.*40 per effectively cropped acre for all crops other than cotton. The assessed amount is deducted from the cash payment made for the cotton crop. 242 437

The Board in the 1952-53 season made a cultivation advance of *Shs.*90 per acre of effectively established, thinned and cleaned cotton.

The Board provides seed-cotton packs and conducts weekly markets at convenient centres throughout the area. The cotton is classified at the markets by an expert cotton classifier. Each pack carries the grower's identification number, the weight as recorded at the sale and the market identification letter. A record is made of quantities sold at each market by growers and cash is paid after deduction of the Board's share. The cotton is ginned and baled in a ginnery equipped and run by the Board. The whole of the graded lint is sold under a long-term contract with the Raw Cotton Commission. The Abyan X.1730A is regarded by buyers as equal to Sudan grown crop of similar type. 242 442 248

Tenants make up and maintain bunds and field channels, cultivate specified crops as the Board directs, pay the crop share due, and deliver crops such as cotton to markets as directed. 242 [437]

Landlords, if owner occupiers, cultivate their own land and follow

30; Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 NJI Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither the rains nor the variable streams are in general adequate to this purpose, and watering of the soil is mainly carried on from wells. These may be sunk practically everywhere in the valleys. As in many other parts of Arabia, the water is drawn up in a leather hoist by animals, usually cows, attached to a cord which passes over a pulley supported on wooden struts; the water thus obtained is received in a large wooden trough whence it is spread over the land by means of little runnels. 241 312 406

Cattle-rearing is the principal occupation of the Bedouins. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes; sheep for killing and for milk; cows only for milk and irrigation work; oxen exclusively for ploughing. Horses are very rare and are considered as animals *de luxe*. Bees are numerous, and much honey is produced. The wild animals most largely found are the rabbit, gazelle, wild goat, jerboa, hyena, hedgehog, a large species of lizard (permitted as food to Mussulmans), and the panther, wolf, and monkey (not permitted as food). 231 136

## Trade and Commerce

The only ports of importance commercially are Makalla (see p. 232), Shiheir (see p. 232), and Seihût (see p. 230), and even at these the trade carried on is purely coastal, with the near coast of Africa, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the southern coast of Arabia, and above all with Aden and Muscat. Trade by caravan is carried on from these ports with the whole of the interior of the Hadhramaut and with the southern Arabian littoral as far as Yemen on the west and Oman on the east. Burûm (see p. 233) and Qusei'ir are small fishing villages. 504 439

There are no made roads; the routes follow the courses of the wâdis or natural paths. Transport by wheeled vehicles is impossible everywhere; all is carried on by camels or donkeys. It is, however, relatively cheap; e. g. a camel from Shiheir or Makalla to Seyyûn costs only 5 florins in the good season; in summer, when forage is scarce, it is higher, but never above 10 florins. 487 494

The chief exports are dates, stuffs dyed with indigo, a superior quality of wheat, and honey; smaller exports are shells and fins of fish, the latter exported to India and China. Imports: wheat, butter, coco-nuts, coffee, sugar, rice, cotton and cotton stuffs, pottery, bars of iron and worked iron, sesame oil, petroleum, and tin-ware. 439

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole tribe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

● 411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

### Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

*In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

*In Seiyun:* Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

[The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

8: Hamilton G-S (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who 000
nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators.

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all 619
cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked 182
on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more 421
complicated than in most places in the Protectorate.

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell 427
land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. 565
It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession 792
of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for 651
wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the 619
extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued 692
disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their 182
centres.

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the 182
down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms 628
broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood fued, and there is little 411
doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of 436
the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to

182 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last
628 quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras
411 carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease
436 of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some
[772] years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by
182 Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small
671 thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the
576 gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

182 Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

182 I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into
643 their confederations and have shown the course which these confedera-
728 tions are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of
671 Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts,
[625] whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when
000 nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

312 of a broad, gently sloping bedrock drainage surface. The plateau abounds in suitable rock surfaces, and they serve as catchment areas for occasional cloudbursts. Walls, six to eight inches high, fashioned of closely packed but uncemented rock fragments and slabs, are

[291
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FIG. 21—Bedouins of Wadi Hajr. Note the attire and appearance: bare feet or sandals; short sarong; cartridge belt; curved dagger; long, black, glistening, oily hair; ever present musket. To the stocks of their antiquated guns, goat skulls are frequently attached, as these are thought to provide greater comfort than the original design.

laid out radially from the well so that surface drainage will converge on it from a wide area.

415 To transport water, Bedouins use bags of uncut goat skins, tied
401 firmly at the leg and neck openings. For drawing well water, the
483 skin is fashioned into a bucket and attached to a rope passing over a pulley in a crudely constructed scaffolding of palm logs lashed together with coconut-fiber cord. The bucket is raised and lowered by donkeys, cattle, or slaves, with the assistance of an appropriate harness. To augment the lifting power applied to each bucket, it is customary to excavate an incline downward from the mouth of the well, equal in length to the depth of the water table, and it is along such a trench that man and beast plod long, weary hours each day. When a bulging and leaking skin has been lifted slightly above the welltop, it is pulled over and lowered into a catchment basin connected with the local irrigation system.

## THE CARAVANS

492 Many Bedouins, not engaged in agriculture or herding, find occu-
438 pation in the camel transport system of the Hadhramaut. A man
439

usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

FIG. 22—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general attire, especially the sarong, which has been introduced by Hadhrami emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to provide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

strangers were assumed to be enemy scouts, the advance guard of a larger fighting force behind some distant dune. 721 484

The "ambushed" caravan comprised sixteen Bedouins, only twelve of them armed. This fact, however, the theoretically opposing force was supposed not to know, since it is an unwritten law of the desert that every Bedouin travels with rifle and ammunition. Without hesitation the leader selected three armed men to act as scouts and an unarmed messenger. Hastily the four men washed down a few mouthfuls of food, since they did not know when they would be able to eat again, filled with water from the large reservoir skins some small ones suitable for short, flying trips, and then slipped swiftly off across the sand in a peculiar bowlegged glide. Under cover of a near-by dune the caravan men scrambled to its summit, at once opened fire, and drove the two intruders from view. They then dashed ahead to the dune on which their adversaries had stood and later advanced from hilltop to hilltop parallel to the caravan route and between it and "enemy" territory. In the meantime the camels had been hastily packed and started on the march along the now protected trail, which they followed without intermission until sundown. [411]

The two "enemy" tribesmen were not seen again, and it was concluded that their actions had been misinterpreted. Freedom from molestation during the remainder of the day did not, however, cause the caravan leader to relinquish vigilance. The party was scheduled to pass at about 3.00 p. m. a water hole to one side of the trail and hidden from it by a dune. As a method of precaution an advance guard of four went ahead and, just as the caravan came abreast of this spot, converged on the well from four directions. Although the strategy displayed by the Bedouins and their chief was happily unnecessary, the "shadow" campaign showed how fearless and cautious these men of the desert can be.

## Fishers and Ropemakers

During certain of the winter months sardines abound along the Hadhramaut coast, traveling in large schools, which can be seen from the shore as black patches on the surface of the sea. Natives wade out with hand nets or cast from small canoes, making enormous hauls with considerable ease. The sardines are much appreciated by the Bedouins as an addition to their diet of dates, millet, and goat or sheep meat and are eaten either raw or cooked. The fish are taken from the nets, tossed up on the beach to dry, and then packed into large bundles for transport to the interior, where they are used for camel fodder or fertilizer. Fish oil is obtained from that part of the catch which is dumped into pits and allowed to decompose. Sting rays, sharks, porpoises, and lobsters are also taken from the sea; but as the use of lobster is unknown, it is cast back from the nets. 136 226 237 [262]

As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000.

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambīyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870.

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamīs*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafīyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafīyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turban-wise round his head.

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This,

**PROTECTORATE.** *By Major the Honourable*

576 When the visitors come near they dismount, form a line with the most important men in the centre, advance to a distance of about fifty yards [411] from the 'home side,' and halt. They then load their rifles, adjust their garments, and wait for the ceremony to begin. The men of the 'home side' now spring forward, usually in couples holding hands, and, uttering war cries, form themselves into a long column, with the most important men in front. The column moves towards the visitors, but it is led in wheels and circles, so that at no time is it directly approaching them. If the principal men are not in front, it indicates that some at least are not disposed to give the visitors a very cordial welcome.

576 greatest interest in them is displayed by the
533 visitors, not only because they must soon reply in kind, but also because upon them may depend whether the visitors remain to feast and spend the night or whether, with unpleasant smiles and covert insults, they will move off to sleep elsewhere. On one occasion in Hâdhina the greeting song opened with the words—'It is only through 'our politeness that you have crossed the boun-'daries of Hâdhina.' These words, and a rapid count which showed that over half the 'home side' were in the forts, led to suspicion, and caused the visitors to extend their line until all semblance of ceremony was lost. But if the words are pleasant, an atmosphere of friendliness
576 is quickly established. The men of the 'home
[411] side' eventually file past the principal visitors, often firing their rifles and 'salaaming', and wheel back into their original line.

1933. In these last eighteen months however, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and otherwise, runs into over one hundred, in fact, into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included, for Mukalla has recently had the fresh experience of seeing bus loads of tourists from steamers driving through its street.

The more frequent and more intensive incursion of European visitors is of course in itself a great contrast with the recent past, but I think that the contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country in the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every Badawin and tribesman in the country carried his rifle with him, even to walk across the street. Blood feuds were widespread, and even harmless travellers of the unarmed classes were at times likely to lose not only their property but their lives. Travellers by motor car had to take with them an escort when passing from village to village. In places there were extensive systems of trenches to pass from the villages to the fields, and I know of people who have spent as much as twenty years without getting beyond their own doors.

Now however all this has passed and it is comparatively rarely that you see a tribesman carrying a rifle, indeed many of them do not even carry the *jambiyas* or curved daggers which are almost as much a part of their dress as a walking-stick was of ours. How all this has come to pass is more a matter of the history of the Hadhramaut than its geography, but I should simply like to say that it was largely through the will of the people who have a genuine desire for peace and for the following of peaceful pursuits.

This new peace has resulted in a much greater contact between tribes and between different parts of the country and has made possible a great extension in communications. Eighteen months ago there were about half a dozen motors on the coast and about sixty in the interior, carried up by camels. By the completion of the Al Kaf road Tarim has been linked with Shihr and passenger-carrying lorries ply almost daily between the coast and the interior. When I left the country a couple of months ago there were at least two hundred motor vehicles in it and every ship was bringing one or two. Many more car tracks have been made and cars now go to almost all parts of the Hadhramaut, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is also constructing another remarkably good motor road to the Hadhramaut which is being built northwards from Mukalla and southwards from Du'an. Something over 20 miles of the former and 10 of the latter had been completed when I left; about 60 miles remains to be done, of which the greater part is over the flat *jols* and offers no particular difficulties of construction. Starting from Mukalla you can now motor at least 300 miles in the Hadhramaut without recrossing your tracks, and there are over 500 miles of tracks altogether.

The possibilities of air transport have also been greatly improved. There were, eighteen months ago, eight landing-grounds in the five Sultanates in the eastern part of the Protectorate of which only three, Mukalla, Shibam, and Qishn, were used at all frequently. New landing-grounds have been constructed at Tarim, Seiyun, Hureidha, Al 'Abr, 'Azzan, Balhaf, Risib,

we first went up there they charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

[THE BA HASAN TONGUES -- ANALYST.]

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

*Hamumi tribesmen at Shihr*

*Crossbows in Wadi 'Amd*

*Wahidi tribesmen at 'Azzan*

[FACING P. 306(A)]

IT IS A CURIOSITY OF DU'AN THAT ALL WOMEN DRESS
291 alike in long black dresses with coloured patches inserted in front and orange
301 scarves over their heads. They are, too, the only women who affect nose rings similar to those usually worn on the fingers. Very few of them have ever left their valley, but many of them bemoaned the absence of husbands who frequently left them for years at a time.

The Seiyids lent her a magnificent white donkey to go on to Sif where we had stayed before, and the following day she was met by a friend and a car just before reaching Meshhed. Thence she rejoined me in Seiyun.

From Du'an Mr. Figgis and I flew across to 'Azzan over the upper reaches of the Wadi Hajr, which like the Wadi Maseila has perennial water nearly all its length. I had been to 'Azzan before, but this visit was very short, as the machine crashed on the landing-ground. It was a very artistic crash, and in Air Force parlance a complete write-off. Luckily none of the three of us in the machine were in the least hurt and the crash was far more alarming for Mr. Figgis and his pilot still up above, as it was some time before we found a comfortable way of climbing out of the ruins. I hope that in every crash I have I shall have as skilful a pilot as on that occasion. The crash was due to misguided zeal of the locals, for it was their own home-made landing-ground and they had raked up all the stones off the ground into a ridge along its edge, and it was this we hit as we landed. As ours was the machine with the wireless in it we swapped over into the other, which had landed safely, and flew back to Mukalla to organize assistance.

361 'Azzan is the capital of the Balhaf Sultan and is most picturesquely situated
609 on a citadel rock by the side of the wadi. I was given a great reception on my
411 first visit there with the firing of rifles and war whooping, which is much more a feature of welcomes in the Western Aden Protectorate than in the Eastern. As we walked from the landing-ground to the village the Artillery, a fine old bronze gun marked "A. Wilson. Cossipore. 1841," was brought into play. Our path led below it and it was really rather alarming, because with each discharge a shower of burning shirts and other old clothes, which had been used as wadding, was fired over us.

411 'Azzan is the only place where I have seen spears surviving, though my wife
435 saw them in the Wadi 'Amd. One or two aged warriors came out with spears which they shook in martial fashion, threw into the air and caught again. Quite a number of old weapons survive in the Hadhramaut, for my wife also saw crossbows in the Wadi 'Amd and there are more of the old matchlocks in the country, some of them still in use, than in any other part of the Protectorate. The Hadhramaut seems to have turned over to modern weapons much more recently than the Western Protectorate, for most of the rifles, modern weapons, have wooden butts covered with goatskin fastened over them to take the recoil, a precaution far more necessary with matchlocks. It is worth recording perhaps that there is a heavy slump in the price of firearms. The ordinary Badawin rifle can be bought for as little as eight dollars with some ammunition thrown in, and the most modern rifles of continental manufacture, which eighteen months ago fetched an easy six hundred or more dollars when brought in from the Yemen, are now not bought at all and offers have been made of them for as little as fifty dollars.

619 The atmosphere of the Balhaf court is completely tribal; much more like
162

The great cleanliness of the houses of the rich is very noticeable. The drainage from lavatories and kitchens runs down wide, square shafts into spaces destined for it in the lower floor, into which however, unfortunately, light penetrates so that they become good breeding places for flies. Bathrooms and also lavatories are partly fitted out as in the East Indies. Sometimes there are douches, and generally there are large brick cisterns for the bath water, which one scoops out to pour over oneself. Our host has a large refrigerator by means of which cold drinking-water is provided for the numerous guests and dwellers in the house, and fruits and sweetmeats become the refinement of pleasure. 336 271

Cooking in Terīm, as in Sēwūn, is very much influenced by Singapore and Java. Chinese cooks are responsible for the extensive rice meals that are enjoyed daily by dozens of guests. Many dried or tinned foods are imported from Java. Some kinds of vegetables are grown in the gardens of Terīm; the fresh fruits which are served at table are large oval melons and the first ripe dates. As the latter are rather scarce, last years' dates come to table prepared as paste, in cakes, sweet bread, etc. 252 177

Sayyid ʿUmar el-Kāf's house, like that of our host, is furnished in half-European style. Old-fashioned Indian rocking-chairs stand on the beautiful carpets. A bed, rigged up in the Javanese manner, decorates the great reception-room. The bed linen is not white, but pink. There are many mirrors on the walls and also photographs of the family's estates in the Indies. Sayyid ʿUmar is the owner of the great Europe Hotel in Singapore; he shows us with pride — and no wonder — the model of the new hotel, which makes an impression magnificently American. The walls are further decorated with Mausers and American repeating rifles, which are hard to obtain in this country and, consequently, are worth a great deal. 352

It had already struck us that the Kathīrī soldiers were better clad than those of the Qeʿēṭī. The number of pro- 714 411 565

714 fessional soldiers is much smaller here, and the black slave
411 element is entirely absent. The sayyids of Ḥaḍramaut them-
565 selves are not armed, but they set great store on the possession of a few good Mausers (here called *Mēser*) and of large quantities of munition.

## 4. THE HIGHEST MINARET OF HAḌRAMAUT.

346 In the afternoon, accompanied by our host's son and the doctor, we climb the highest minaret of Ḥaḍramaut. No one knows the exact height; we estimate it at 150 feet. It is a pity that this minaret is built in modern style. The true Ḥaḍramaut minaret is round, tapering a little towards the top, with a single band of lattice-work as the only decoration; on the top are small round pillars supporting the cupola. The colour, cream, stands out very effectively against a hard blue sky and above the grey-green of the date-palms. But *this* minaret is square and the colour is blue and white; it has many small window openings with grey borders. It also tapers towards the top, where the spiral staircase of mud is only practicable for slim people. At the top is again the little cupola with pillars supporting the roof.

361 A striking panorama is spread out from here before our eyes. Standing in the midst of the luscious, green oasis, with its gaily coloured palaces, we gaze out towards the wide, scorched plains of sand of the wādī and the dark, crumbled walls of the *djōl*. One can see clearly from here that Terīm is a town of some extension, with many great houses of which the greater number are kept in good condition, and that many new ones are in process of building. The cemetery, with its three cupolas marking the graves of *walīs* (saints) [1], makes a large open space. There are many mosques, recognisable by their high or low, round or square minarets. The ruins of a great castle, the centre point of the old city, stand on a hill.

[1] See p. 131, foot-note.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2

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701

Facing P.38 (A)

A SOLDIER OF THE ADEN TRIBAL GUARDS

5: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



181 and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided 721 Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite 619 an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

[651] Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June 721 disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was 619 not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, [647] ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to resore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The [712] difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled 620 at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Mansab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

619 There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the 411 carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba 701 Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

000 Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

## Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



a monotonous chant. The dance is usually executed by two persons, each dancing by himself, who, while turning all the time, alternately approach and withdraw from the orchestra, but always keep at the same distance from each other; when the first two are exhausted their places are taken by two others, and so on for many hours at a stretch.

The status of women in the Hadhramaut appears to be superior to that in many Mussulman countries. The wife lives in the same part of the house as her husband, but she receives her visitors in her own rooms. Divorce is very rare, the repudiation of a wife without very good cause being held in high contempt; if an individual did so repudiate his wife he would certainly fail to obtain another wife of the same social scale. Polygamy is very uncommon; there are no eunuchs; in the event of the husband taking another wife, the first quits his roof immediately and returns to her parents. Amongst the Bedouins of the Hadhramaut polygamy is absolutely unknown. If a man definitively leaves his town to seek his fortune elsewhere, the wife may, and usually does, refuse to follow him. In this contingency it is considered legitimate for him to take another wife, and he is not expected to continue to support the first.

The marriage dowry is of a double character; there is, first of all, a legal tariff varying from 20 to 2½ florins according to the social status of the fiancée; and secondly, there is the nuptial gift, the amount of which varies according to her personal qualities: the first may be reclaimed in the case of a dissolution of marriage, the latter not.

In the Hadhramaut the poor and the rich dress much alike, the quality of the material, the jewels worn, and the arms carried being the only indications of status. The clothes worn by the townsmen resemble, in many respects, those of most orientals. Sandals with thin shoes, but no stockings, are worn; when out of doors a kind of plaid (*rādi*), made locally, about seven yards long and a little short of a yard wide, is invariably carried or thrown over the shoulders. The head is shaven.

The garments of the tribesmen are similar in the main to those of the townsmen, except that they are shorter, are worn somewhat differently, and the material is usually woven in diamond 'check'; the *jubbah*, or robe, is replaced by a shorter buttoned jacket; and the tribesmen carry their arms, a straight sword, a two-edged poniard, &c. The *rādi* is also worn. The hair is grown long and falls over the shoulders, and the head is covered

241 plants, chillies, *faquz* (a kind of gourd, *Cucumis prophetarum* L.), and lubia. The fruits include limes, bananas, dates, pawpaws and a few grapes and pomegranates.

Speaking of the Meifa district, Heald states that "near the river the main cultivation was the date crops. The sesame did not receive any special cultivation than that given for the millets; the land was ploughed or broken up by the hoe and, after levelling down with a board, the seed was sown in holes at a distance of 18 inches apart; the crop being sown generally in September. The crop was manured with dung or fish, if available, and good results were obtained from liberal manuring; four or five waterings were generally given. The crop was ready for harvest in 3½ months, when the plants were cut down close to the ground and laid out in rows to dry; the plants were then shaken for the seed to fall out on a mat." Speaking of crops generally, Heald says, "All the crops, being from seed bred in and in, had become very poor as one might expect, and unless they import fresh seed from abroad, nothing can prevent the crops from becoming even poorer than they are at present."

## Methods of Agriculture.

134 *Soil.*—Mr. Heald's remarks on the land in Asfal al 'Ain apply pretty generally to much of the land in the Hadhramaut. He says, "The soil was of an alluvial nature, and in general very light loam, devoid of humus and requiring heavy manure to produce good yields. The soil in most of the villages in the Meifa valley was alluvial; very thin and with a stony subsoil." In parts of the Wadi Maseila owing to the heavy vegetation there is more humus.

805 241 *Seasons.*—The seasons are arranged by the stars and called Summer (*Seif*), Autumn (*Kharif*), Winter (*Sheita*) and Spring (*Rabia*). From an agricultural point of view it is difficult to distinguish. Crops are often to be seen in all stages, sowing, grown and harvested. According to Heald, the summer crops are Italian and bullrush millet and tobacco, which is sown towards the end of the summer for transplanting in early winter. The winter crops are great millet, maize, lucerne, wheat, barley and all the vegetables.

241 492 412 *Implements.*—The implements are few and primitive. A small plough is used for breaking up the surface of the soil. It consists of a sharpened piece of wood with an upright for the farmer to hold and press the "share" into the soil. It is pulled by oxen or a camel. The hoe used has a pear-shaped head; sometimes the soil is levelled after ploughing by dragging a small board over the surface. Small curved knives are used in the tobacco nurseries for scratching up the soil. Heald saw a "weeder" which was very much like a chisel.

241 *Manures.*—Tobacco beds are occasionally treated with sheep dung, but the principal manure in the lower Hadhramaut is fish manure. As many as three small fish are put on the soil round each plant.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



sun-dried brick on a foundation of one or two stories of hewn stone, clay being used instead of mortar. The upper storeys are usually whitewashed on the exterior, and this practice gives the towns a striking and bright appearance when seen from a distance. The house is usually approached through a courtyard surrounded by a wall six feet or so in height. The entrance door is often very solid and ornamented with carvings in arabesque, or with iron nails or polished brass, and it usually carries a knocker. The door leads into a passage, with cellars and storerooms to right and left, and conducts to a courtyard at the back around which are the kitchen and other domestic offices; in the case of the larger houses, a private well is found here. 342

The building narrows and the walls become thinner at each succeeding storey; there is usually a balcony to each floor, on the right and left, surrounded by a low wall of masonry, but rarely covered in as is usual in most Mohammedan countries. The living and sleeping rooms of the upper storeys all have many windows, unglazed, but invariably shuttered. Fireplaces are unknown; when the weather is cold, the rooms are heated by a brazier of burning wood around which the occupants sit; wood which gives off as little smoke as possible is burnt, and what smoke there is escapes by the windows. All doors are closed from the inside by rough locks of wood or, very exceptionally, of iron. The main doorway is closed by a huge wooden latch which can be raised by a cord leading to the story above, thus obviating the necessity of going downstairs to open it. The houses of the lower classes differ but little from those of most parts of Arabia. The Bedouins shelter themselves in caves or huts of clay; tents are never used by them as in most other parts of Arabia owing to the violent storms and general uncertainty of the weather prevalent at some seasons. 342 354 414 342

The so-called castles of the Hadhramaut are constructed in much the same fashion as the houses, only on a larger scale, some of them being of vast size and not infrequently covering an acre or more of ground. They have at the angles fortified towers (often furnished with antiquated mortars), either square or round, similar to those of mediaeval castles in Europe, and above the uppermost floor smaller square loopholed watch-towers or look-outs. There are often smaller isolated towers (*kūt*), little constructions of one or two floors, occupied by the guard. A raised terrace generally extends the whole length of the front of the building.

All the houses, even those of the rich, are furnished most sparely and simply. It is usual to sit on the floor, which is covered with 352

8. Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 of a broad, gently sloping bedrock drainage surface. The plateau abounds in suitable rock surfaces, and they serve as catchment areas for occasional cloudbursts. Walls, six to eight inches high, fashioned of closely packed but uncemented rock fragments and slabs, are

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FIG. 21—Bedouins of Wadi Hajr. Note the attire and appearance: bare feet or sandals; short sarong; cartridge belt; curved dagger; long, black, glistening, oily hair; ever present musket. To the stocks of their antiquated guns, goat skulls are frequently attached, as these are thought to provide greater comfort than the original design.

laid out radially from the well so that surface drainage will converge on it from a wide area.

415 To transport water, Bedouins use bags of uncut goat skins, tied
401 firmly at the leg and neck openings. For drawing well water, the
483 skin is fashioned into a bucket and attached to a rope passing over a pulley in a crudely constructed scaffolding of palm logs lashed together with coconut-fiber cord. The bucket is raised and lowered by donkeys, cattle, or slaves, with the assistance of an appropriate harness. To augment the lifting power applied to each bucket, it is customary to excavate an incline downward from the mouth of the well, equal in length to the depth of the water table, and it is along such a trench that man and beast plod long, weary hours each day. When a bulging and leaking skin has been lifted slightly above the welltop, it is pulled over and lowered into a catchment basin connected with the local irrigation system.

## THE CARAVANS

491 Many Bedouins, not engaged in agriculture or herding, find occu-
438 pation in the camel transport system of the Hadhramaut. A man
439

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended[5]) for the carpenter (nadjdjār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥašwān of the Āl Bā Ḥašwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two[6]. One says for instance, Dī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah[7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee[8]. The people of the Quarter[9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian tašt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥakk al-salīṭ, ḥakk al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. Andree, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers, Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍrami coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my article in *Le Muséon* cited above.

Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut + MM2



693 tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had
671 touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt
577 or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's
626 own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

565 This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and
631 tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

565 We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past
463 incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will
465 therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of
421 those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The
792 Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

421 Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of
565 the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

565 Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen
144 and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

565 Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class.
463 The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who 000
nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators.

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all 619
cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked 182
on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more 421
complicated than in most places in the Protectorate.

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell 427
land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. 565
It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession 792
of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for 651
wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the 619
extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence
of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued [692]
disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their 182
centres.

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the 182
down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms 628
broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood fued, and there is little 411
doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of
the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to 436

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



361 the sights of Aden is the tunnel, about 350 yards in length, which runs under the Mansūri hills and connects the town with the isthmus. *Tawāhi*, the port, lies immediately to the east of Steamer Point, and is practically a new and prosperous-looking town consisting largely of fair-sized stone houses, nearly all of which are double or treble storied. Here are good hotels, a police station, a court-house, a local post and telegraph office, military establishments of various kinds, a hospital, the offices of the great steamship companies, and the offices of the port authorities, and here also are situated the great coal wharves and the landing and other piers. On a conical hill about a quarter of a mile from the post office stands the station flagstaff, and near this the road crosses the spur on which the barracks are situated. After traversing a plain of about 500 yards in extent in a south-westerly direction, the road terminates on Ras Tarshein, the most westerly point of the peninsula, on which are built the Residency and the quarters of the officers of the Royal Artillery.

Aden has two hospitals and three dispensaries for the civilian part of the population. Separate military hospitals are maintained for 421 the garrison. Until recently land in the Settlement was not sold: sites for building and gardens were granted in perpetuity, and sites for stacking coal and salt, for beaching boats, for ships, workshops, &c., were given on leases for a term of 99 years on payment of quit rent. Since 1911, land for building, agricultural, or other purposes is ordinarily to be granted on lease, but may be disposed of otherwise at the discretion of the Resident. Land on the foreshore of the harbour can be granted only with the sanction of the Government and on such terms as it may prescribe in each case.

491 The roads in and around Aden are not good in general; they are narrow with steep gradients, and though there is plenty of rock in 496 Aden, good stone for metalling purposes is difficult to obtain and there is but little soil for binding purposes. They are, therefore, 206 very gritty and easily crumble. Aden has no railways, but it is unrivalled for its telegraphic facilities with all parts: there are direct cables with Bombay, Zanzibar, Perim, and Suez, and indirectly therefore with all parts of the world. The telegraph station is on Ras Boradli.

361 2. **Sheikh 'Othmān** is a thriving and populous town, situated six miles north by west of Aden and two miles beyond the Aden troop lines at Khōr Maksar; it is reached by a broad carriage-road. The town contains several large caravanserais, some European houses, and some bungalows and gardens. There are about 15 wells of brackish water and of unlimited supply, some of which

631 men, and occupying the Wadi al 'Ain (south-east of Haura), the
101 Wadi 'Adim, and the country to the east as far as Wadi Bin 'Ali.
They also extend to the neighbourhood of Gheil Bā Wazir and at
619 places border the Hamumi. The village of Ghurb, which is the headquarters of the Bā 'Anis clan, consists of about 250 houses. The tribe are independent, part settled, part nomad, and they ply their camels for hire between Mukalla, Shiheir, and Shihr, and the Wadi Hadhramaut via Wadi al 'Ain. They possess about 800 [423] camels. The settled 'Awābitha owned many date trees in Wadi al 'Ain, but they have sold or mortgaged a large number of them to the wealthy inhabitants of Du'an. The Qu'aiti Sultan also owns date groves in the wadi which used to be looked after by his slaves, but owing to a quarrel between the tribe and the slaves the latter were removed and the property entrusted to the care of the Bin Mujashar clan.

At one time the tribe had a defensive alliance with the Kathīri against the Qu'aiti, but they are said now to be loyally allied to the latter who pays them an annual subsidy and with whom they have an " A " agreement. Though not actually under the Qu'aiti they acknowledge his suzerainty owing to his control of the ports, of which they greatly stand in need for the employment of their camels. They are not on terms with the Sei'ar, and they are allied to the Seibani against the Hamumi, their inveterate foes. Their *Mansab* is the Sheikh of the Bā Wazir living at Bawerqat in Wadi al 'Ain, where there are also other Bā Wazir villages, including Safīl which is the headquarters of the chief Bā Wazir *Mansabs*.

### Al Ma'ara.

The clans of the Ma'āra are Bin Thabit, Bā Surra, Bin Hateish, Bil Aḥwal, Bā Bil Heiz, Bin Basut, Bā Ajban, Bā Hasan, Bā Awahab, Bā Haneish, Bā Tha'lab, Bin Joshum and Bin Shamemi. The tribe, whose habitat is Hirū and ar Reida, are often considered a clan of the Hamumi, but they are independent although they are closely attached to the Qarzi clan of the Hamumi. Their fighting men number some 400, and they possess houses and grazing lands in the upper part of the Shihr province; but they have no running water and their cultivation depends on rain. They breed camels and sheep, and they ply for hire between Shihr and the Wadi Hadhramaut via their own country, but they also go into Mukalla in order to obtain loads. They are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aiti who has a " B " agreement with them.

### Al Jōhī.

This tribe, who were originally part of the Seibani but are now independent, have houses and grazing lands in the upper part of the Shihr province, and Reida belongs to them. It is said that they are in the pay of the Qu'aiti, who has a " B " agreement with them.

[See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

The elected hereditary tribal Chiefs form the third type. In each tribal 622 confederation there is a central tribe. Of this central tribe one family only provides Chiefs to the confederation. Normally the election of a Chief is the concern, not of his family only, but of the central tribe, while powerful petty Chiefs of other tribes within the confederation have a considerable say in it. Such Chiefs are, by virtue of the conditions of their election, truly democratic. By ancient tradition, however, they are held in great respect and are referred to invariably, as is their family, as the "Dola," or dynasty. They are accorded high-sounding titles by the Government and by other Chiefs, but their tribesmen address them by their names, and it would appear that the high-sounding titles are of recent adoption in the country. The Imam of San'a rarely uses them. Government correspondence is, for this reason, often a source of merriment.

It will be seen that all Chiefs are, whatever their type, elected in a 643 greater or lesser degree—the Suzerains within their family circle and the 622 hereditary Chiefs within their tribe. The main difference between the types is that, whereas the Suzerains are of foreign descent to the tribes over which they rule, the hereditary Chiefs are of the tribe and, as such, do not need to surround themselves with the trappings of imposed authority. In appearance the Suzerains are more imposing, and this has misled officials into supposing that they are of more consequence socially than other Chiefs are. This is, of course, not so.

In all these types of Chief, when the Chief dies his eldest son would appear, by custom, to have less right to succeed than others. Suzerains always try to impose their eldest or their favourite son as accepted heir during their lifetimes. This has happened in Lahej, where it led to a revolt among the Sultan's relations, and in Makalla by arrangement. The Sharifs of Beihan have been exceptions to this, and have abided by custom. When Sharif Ahmad died, they held discussions among themselves. The eldest son was Sharif Hussein, but he was appointed Regent to his own eldest son, a young boy, who was elected Sharif. The reason given for this was that the grandson of the dead Chief had longer to live than his father and that frequent change in leadership was a bad thing. As a rule, however, Chiefly families pass the Chiefdoms from branch to branch, and, when the Chief dies, a nephew will usually succeed. Among the 'Audhali 628 recently, the Chief was murdered by his cousin. The tribe was split in two by feud, but one half elected the murderer's son, a boy of eight years old, to the Chiefdom. This boy was accepted in 1934, when the feud ceased, as Sultan of the tribe.

We next come to the holy classes. The first of these are the Sharifs 792 and Seyyids, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. They live in settlements and elect among themselves in each family a headman. They have great influence in the community, but it varies, of course, with [556] the amount of their riches. Most Seyyids—the only Sharifs are those in 824 Beihan—do not bear arms and take no part in tribal warfare. They are 423 peacemakers, and derive considerable income as such, and as dispensers of the Sharia or holy law of Islam. They are treated with veneration and respect and, after death, are frequently treated as saints. They marry

Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM 2 Hadhramaut MM 2



792 582 tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are
● 423 given tithes of other land by ancient right.

792 The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a
778 white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs
346 are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

778 Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls
651 on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land
423 or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the
792 title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best
754 description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

792 In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets.
778 They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We
[776] must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

792 All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at
[622] Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who
778 derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of
792 villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or
782 Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office (3-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
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134 are generally of good-quality alluvium. In high-altitude districts less fertile soils are found and they are generally light in texture, except in some limestone areas where they are heavy and intractable.

312 (*b*) *Water supplies* are generally good and sufficient for the needs of cultivators who tend to concentrate in the river-valley areas or in the highland areas where some rainfall can be expected. Water becomes scarce in the Eastern districts where the settled country emerges into the Empty Quarter. Domestic water supplies are obtained from springs, wells, dams, tanks and cisterns.

(*c*) *Irrigation and drainage systems* are highly developed. At high altitudes the run-off is led to terraces in order to boost the rainfall which is insufficient in itself for crop production. Flood irrigation systems are found in the river valleys and on the coastal plain. Irrigation from permanent streams and springs is highly developed. Artificial irrigation is from open wells. Animal power lifts are worked at depths of 10 to 60 feet and in the most favourable districts command up to 10 per cent. of the total arable area.

241 (*d*) *Mechanical cultivation* is confined to one small unit used by the Abyan Board in the Abyan district. Elsewhere the simple Arabian plough, combined levelling-board and scraper, harrow and a drill attachment for the plough comprise the implements used by the cultivator.

(*e*) *Application of fertilisers.* Organic fertilisers only are used. Farmyard manure is commonly used in all mid-altitude and highland districts. Farmyard manure, human excreta and town wastes are used in the Hadhramaut. Fish and guano are commonly used in the Eastern Protectorate coastal areas.

*Land Tenure*

423 (*a*) Customary tribal law and Shari'a law affect land tenure.

(*b*) Individual ownership is the common and most-desired form of tenancy; share tenancy is the usual form of leashold tenure.

(*c*) His Majesty's Government owns no land in the Aden Protectorate. Some of the Arab states hold extensive tracts of land as state domain. All the land is held by indigenous inhabitants except for a very small percentage held by Yemeni settlers and a few Indians and Somalis.

*Agricultural Credit*

452 There are no banks in the Aden Protectorate. One small Farmers' Association giving credit assistance to its members was formed during
453 the year. The Department of Agriculture, the local Governments, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut a Relief Organisation afforded assistance to farmers with interest-free loans.

## FISHERIES

654 A visit in February by the Fisheries Adviser to the Secretary of State
226 for the Colonies resulted in the arrival of a fisheries research party in

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 6: Production

## LAND UTILISATION AND TENURE

*Utilisation of agricultural land*

Land for crop production is prepared for irrigation farming by flow or by lift, and for dry farming, where there is a low rainfall and some runoff water, the land is terraced. The great bulk of the land in the Protectorates affords range conditions of light carrying capacity, particularly suited to camels, sheep and goats. 312 241 231

*Land and water conservation and utilisation*

All farming practices in the Aden Protectorates depend on a highly developed system of conservation of land and water. In the highest areas, land is terraced for crop production and runoff water is led to these terraced fields in order to augment the water provided by actual precipitation; in the mid-altitude areas, mountain torrents are diverted to bunded land laboriously reclaimed and made along the valley sides; below, where the river systems reach wider valley areas and plains, larger diversion works and miles of canal may be used to carry flood water to bunded lands. 312

This process of water spreading, which is carried on in the lowest lying parts of the coastal plain, results in abundant supplies of underground water. Lift irrigation is practised in many areas and is, of course, of the greatest importance to the more arid north-easterly districts of the Protectorate. At present only supplies drawn from open wells, tapping the "phreatic" zone of water, are used.

Utilisation of land and water is governed by varying systems of tribal and customary law. Where development schemes are now progressing, local authorities are being invited to modify such laws, where necessary, to meet the changing conditions. 423

*Land Ownership*

The policy, laws and regulations of each State vary but in general it may be said that the policy of the State is to reserve land ownership for the tribe and generally to tend to favour individual ownership as against State ownership. Land ownership is subject to tribal law and Mohammedan law.

Except for a small area in one district, land in the Protectorate is held by the indigenous inhabitants. The local State Governments are, in some cases, important owners of land.

Land is held in absolute ownership (Mulk), in trusts (Waqf), as dedicatory gifts (Nadr) and in a form of usufructuary tenure (Manh), with near to freehold rights granted in one or two areas to those who have rendered outstanding service to the State.

Payment of a fixed rent in money is only found in a very few specialised systems. Fixed payments in kind, found usually in areas where a high value is placed on land and water, are not general. The 427

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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427 principal system involves some form of share-tenancy in which the partners divide the crop after harvesting, threshing and winnowing charges and tithes and taxes have been paid in kind. In more fertile areas half of the crop is demanded of the tenant of flood irrigated land, while in the mountain terrace-farming areas a share of one-third is normally levied. In the arid eastern districts shares of one-tenth only may be asked. On lift irrigation systems share-tenancy arrangements vary greatly. In the East, the owner of the land and the well may take a one-tenth share. In the West, the owner of the land and the well may take up to one-half of the crop, though often a share of the seed used and a share in the labour working on the lift irrigation is pro-
423 vided by the landowner. The Qua'iti and Kathiri States have secured legal powers by an agricultural administrative order to further the consolidation of plots round suitable irrigation points, but so far it has been unnecessary to apply such orders.

647 The Department of Agriculture has initiated important programmes
654 for the development of land and water resources. Of particular note is the Abyan Scheme in the Western Protectorate and the pump scheme in the Wadi Hadhramaut in the Eastern Protectorate. At the same time encouragement and organisation in the better use of the excellent indigenous systems of irrigation farming have been the main preoccupation in many districts.

423 Little satisfactory progress has been made in land settlement in the Abyan area. In the Eastern Protectorate, the States, advised by the
406 Residency, are actively encouraging groups of farmers to combine their holdings formerly watered by animal lift in order to make the co-operative use of the mechanical pump lifts an economic proposition.

241.

## AGRICULTURE

### *Principal Crops*, 1952

| | *Acres* | *Tons* |
|---|---|---|
| **Western Protectorate** | | |
| Sorghum Millet | 23,333 | 4,333 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small millets | 9,000 | 1,286 |
| Wheat | 3,000 | 2,000* |
| Barley | 6,000 | 4,000* |
| Sesame | 4,250 | 425 |
| Cotton (long staple) | 9,830 | 7,206 bales of 400 lb. lint* |
| Coffee | 400 | 100 |
| **Eastern Protectorate** | | |
| Sorghum Millet (lift and permanent flow irrigated) | 3,000 | 2,400 |
| Sorghum (flood irrigated) | 4,000 | 400 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small millets | 1,500 | 300 |
| Wheat | 2,600 | 3,000 |
| Date Palms | 10,500 | 7,000 |

* Crops sown in 1951 and harvested in 1952.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

APPENDIX I

Trials with long-staple cotton, introduced in 1946, proved successful and this crop has now been chosen as the main crop for the area.

Payment for irrigation services has always been based on a crop share of 25 per cent payable to the Board. The present crop share and taxation on the crop, as laid down in an agreement dated 1st April, 1950, is as follows :

| PARTY | LIVE LAND (*Land developed and cultivated for 5 years*) | DEAD LAND (*New land opened for cultivation*) |
|---|---|---|
| | % | % |
| State (Taxation) . . | 5 | 10 |
| Landlord . . . | 20 | 15 |
| Tenant . . . | 50 | 50 |
| Board . . . | 25 | 25 |

To secure rapid development, traditional methods have been used while the land has been surveyed and existing canal systems aligned and new canals of improved design have been constructed. Diversion is still by traditional methods but regulators have been constructed in the upper part of the district.

*Land and Water Rights*

The Board does not own or control any land except building sites and experimental areas loaned from the local States and, in one case, rented from a landowner.

The Board controls the diversion and distribution of all flood water in the district. In the winter season the Board purchases the permanent flow of the Bana River from the Lower Yafai Sultan and his relatives and distributes this supply through the canal system to farmers who pay the customary crop share to the Board.

Tribal boundaries and settlements of title to the area have been ill defined in the past years of insecurity, but in 1951 final decisions were taken regarding tribal boundaries.

*Survey*

Since 1948 an area of 100,000 acres has been contour surveyed to a one metre interval. Geophysical surveys, the first as a reconnaissance and the second in fairly detailed form, have been made.

*Irrigation Development*

Development is in various stages. An area of approximately 50,000 acres of land is now controlled for irrigation farming, mainly on traditional lines. The normal flood flow to the area is expected to be sufficient to crop 30,000 acres yearly. In the 1951 flood a discharge of 224,000,000 cubic metre was observed to reach Abyan in the Bana River and this quantity, if correctly controlled, would have been sufficient for the irrigation of 50,000 acres. In actual fact only 30,000 acres were irrigated. The system is to direct flood water at speed, by diversion weirs made of brushwood and stone, into canals

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established to supply the local market—for the processing of soaps, pressed aluminum utensils, cigarettes, pottery and textiles, the extraction of sesame oil, the cutting of buttons from trochas shells and the building of dhows. Fishing is of potential importance, but its development is handicapped by primitive methods of procurement and handling and inadequate local transport facilities. The agricultural resources of the Colony are limited to market gardens and date groves on the oasis of Sheikh Othman.

A 471
A 228 241

Agriculture and fishing are the principal occupations of the tribesmen of the Protectorate. The fisheries of the eastern districts are reputed to be among the richest in the Middle East, while the drying and salting of fish and the manufacture of fish oils, fodder and manure are valuable industries in the coast towns. A large proportion of the people in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut engage in agriculture, although the tribes of the steppe country are mainly nomadic pastoralists. The expansion of farming is curtailed by uncertain rainfall and shortage of water supply. In the Eastern Aden Protectorate, cultivation is restricted mainly to the middle portions of the Hadhramaut valley, where the river flows for part of the year. This region is historically famous as a source of frankincense and myrrh. Elaborate terracing and irrigation are employed in many areas for the conservation and the utilization of the limited water resources available. It was estimated in 1948 that less than 0.5 per cent of the total land area was suitable for farming, but the relative extent of pasturage and desert has not been determined. Systems of peasant ownership, tenancy farming and tribal land tenure prevail in different localities. The improvement of agriculture and expansion of irrigation are prominent among the development programs for the Protectorate. A co-operative project for the cultivation of cotton and other crops by modern methods has recently been initiated on 5,000 acres in the Abyan area in Western Aden Protectorate. Little

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5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



643 The Sultan of Lahej rules over the territory of the 'Abdali tribe, and
425 his frontier marches with the northern frontier of Aden Colony. He is descended from a Yafa'i family, who were appointed as Governors of Lahej by an Imam of San'a. Later they revolted against the Imams and declared their independence. By purchase, Imamic grants and seizure they own a considerable portion of the Lahej lands; they are of foreign origin to the tribe over which they rule.

The Amirs of Dhala' were appointed Governors of the Dhala' province, including the lands of the tribes of Halumein, Ahmad, Azraq and Shu'Ar, by the Imamas of San'a, and, later, of the lands of Sha'ib by a Sultan of Turkey. I see that the official handbook describes the Amirs of Dhala' as descendants from slaves. It is surprising how such obvious in-
567 accuracies persist. To see that they have no slave blood in them requires
795 no more than ordinary eyesight, and it would be impossible for an Imam of
144 San'a to appoint a slave to any post, since there are no slaves in the Yemen at all, slavery being forbidden by the tenets of the Zeidi sect. The Amirs are of typical Central Yemeni type, such as is found on the Yemen plateau.

643 Later, they rebelled against the Imams and established their independence. Thus they rule over a confederation of small tribes, while belonging to none of them.

These appointed Suzerains, of whom the Sultan of Makalla is one, form a distinct class among Arab Chiefs. They do not mix with their tribesmen in the usual democratic Arab way, but stand apart, as it were, and are addressed by titles of exaggerated respect. Not being tribesmen of the tribe they rule, they have no traditional and family holds over the people and their attitudes towards their tribesmen are those of foreign rulers. They do not, as a rule, favour elected hereditary headmen in their villages, but prefer to appoint outsiders as headmen, whom they pay as retainers.

When a Suzerain dies, the election of the new Chief is held by the family only and the tribesmen are not consulted.

622 The accepted Suzerains are represented by one example only—the
792 Sharifs of Beihan. It is, however, an interesting example.

628 In Beihan there are settlements of Sharifs and of Seyyids. There are
648 also two tribes among whom these holy men live. Both the Sharifs and the Seyyids are arms-bearing families, and for some time were divided by a feud. Before the Great War, the elected Chief of the Sharifs, a far-sighted man called Ahmad, negotiated a treaty of protection and friendship with Great Britain. In this he gained the support of the lower tribe and of half the upper tribe, which was divided by a feud. After the Great War he concluded a truce with the Seyyids, and consolidated his relationships with his supporters among the tribesmen, who amounted to three-quarters of the population of Beihan. They accepted him as Suzerain and as their general agent for dealing with their foreign affairs. Thus, while he is undoubtedly a Suzerain, he is one of limited authority. He does not claim taxes from the land or the trade except in his own settlements, and is, consequently, very poor. But, for all that, the influence of the Sharifs is considerable in all the Beihan area. Their position is not, of course, unique in Arabia, but it is doubtful if any others than holy men could find themselves in a similar one.

436 but never less, though sometimes they are equal. Transfer of
439 bullion is more common from Mukalla to Aden than from Aden
457 to Mukalla.

## Interest.

452 Money can be had at 10 per cent. interest on mortgages, and
a few of the big Arabs obtain their wealth from this source. Goods
426 are sold on a period of one month's credit and a percentage is calculated on this basis. Sometimes when cultivators have been unable to sell their tobacco the merchants have to wait for their payment for two to six months, and charge four to eight annas per cent. on the goods, or one rupee on people who are unable to pay for a long time. In Shibam 5 per cent. interest is charged on borrowed money. Interest transactions are of course disguised in order to avoid the Quranic precepts against usury.

## Foreign Trade.

439 The total value of the foreign trade (in merchandise) of the Hadhramaut in 1352 is estimated at over Rs.6,000,000. The chief exports are: tobacco, honey and fish products. The chief imports are: dates, flour, rice, goats and sheep, piece goods, simsim, jowari and kerosene.

### Imports of Merchandise.

| | *Quantity.* | *Rate.* | *Value.* (1353 prices.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fish products: *Sermai* (split and salted fish) pieces. | 10,000 to 15,000 | $28 to 60 per 100 | $2,800 to $4,200 |
| Goats and sheep, Nos. ... | 20,000 to 30,000 | Rs. 6 or 7 each | Rs. 120,000. |
| Dates. Basra. *Qosra* ... | 20,000 to 30,000 | Rs. 4/8 to Rs. 6/8 | Rs. 110,000 |
| Oman, *Jerab* (six *frasilas*) | 1,000 | Rs. 6 | Rs. 6,000 |
| Flour, bags ... ... | 10,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | French Rs. 10/4 Karachi Rs. 10/8 to Rs. 11/- | Rs. 102,500 |
| Rice, bags ... ... | 75,000 to 85,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 11/- | Rs. 825,000 |
| Building Poles (*boritics*), scores. | 400 to 500 | Rs. 7–25 a score according to quality. | * |
| Simsim, bags ... ... | 15,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 60–67 a *bahar* of 570 lbs. | Rs. 900,000 |
| Jowari, bags ... ... | 70,000 to 80,000 | Rs. 6–8·8 | Rs. 420,000 |
| Piece Goods Japanese bales | 1,000 | Rs. 130 | Rs. 130,000 |
| Others ... | Very few | | |
| Kerosene, cases ... ... | 26,000 to 30,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 6 | Rs. 156,000 |
| Petrol, cases ... ... | 1,200 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 9 | Rs. 10,800. |
| Tea, cases of 90 to 100 lb. | 1,200 to 1,300 Mukalla & Shihr. | Up to Rs. 3 a lb. | Rs. 125,000 |
| Coffee, bags of 5–10 *frasilas* | 1,500 | Jelal, Rs. 7 Majbura, Rs. 2–3 | Rs. 30,000 |

* None imported in 1353.

## Justice.

In Mukalla there are three courts. (1) The Sharia court, which is presided over by three Qadhis. It has also an appellate jurisdiction from other Qadhis in the country. They try all cases according to Sharia law and certain criminal cases are therefore excepted from their jurisdiction, as mutilation and some other Quranic penalties have been abolished. (2) The Hakm as Suq, which is presided over by a police magistrate who is also in charge of the slave police. He tries small cases and can imprison up to twelve days. These sentences are served in the court building which is also the station of the slave police. (3) The Hakm ad Dola, the *Wazir's* court. Here are heard important criminal cases, important civil cases, bankruptcy cases, and cases in which there is not sufficient evidence for the Sharia court. 695 692

There is no commercial court, but if a merchant goes bankrupt his creditors among the merchants gather together to arrange a settlement. In important civil cases the *Wazir* selects a committee of merchants as assessors who examine the cases and report to him. There are no pleaders before the courts. Provincial governors have jurisdiction to settle all cases in their *liwas* but there is an appeal to Mukalla. There are Qadhis at the bigger towns of the interior such as Shibam. 426 692 635

## Police.

### Organization.

In Mukalla the total strength of the uniformed police is 60; that of the plain clothes slave police is 33. The uniform consists of a dark blue tunic and shorts with a leather belt bearing a brass buckle in front, and a red fez. They are equipped with rifles, but only the actual sentry outside a station carries one. The slave police wear a police belt over their ordinary clothes and carry daggers. There is a Jemadar, one Havildar, one Corporal, and two Lance-Corporals. The headquarters of the uniformed police are at the Customs end of the bazaar. There are several other small police-stations in the town. 625

### Distribution.

In Mukalla 30 uniformed police are on duty by day and 10 at night, these latter being reinforced by 20 plain clothes slave police. The uniformed police man the Customs where a detachment is on duty for seven days, each man being relieved every 24 hours. Thirteen of the slave police are on duty at the station of the Hakm as Suq. The peculiar function of the slave police is to deal with armed offenders. Otherwise both bodies of police appear to have the usual functions. There are a few police in Shihr but none in the interior.

## Crime.

From information obtained it would appear that murder cases are now practically non-existent. Murderers are executed with a dagger plunged into the supra sternal notch. 682

6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut 11/12



the management of irrigation farming on some 5,000 acres. The value of the Board's quarter-share of the net crop obtained, after paying harvesting and threshing expenses in kind, was estimated at over Rs. 1,25,000.

Farming in Abyan, largely influenced by the Board's operations, proved important to the economy of the Western Aden Protectorate. In the production of millet alone, it is estimated that a 30,000 bag crop, equal to 3,000 metric tons, was raised. A large portion of this was held as a reserve, or had been marketed to the easterly districts at the end of the year. General control on the export of this grain to Aden itself was maintained, and the flow of the crop to the districts to the east was encouraged.

*The Wadi Hadhramaut Rehabilitation Scheme*

This was wound up by Government at the end of the 1947–48 financial year. Farmers with outstanding loans were given ten years in which to repay, the basis of repayment being at the rate of 2 per cent of the total loan from the spring crop, 3 per cent from the autumn crop, and 5 per cent from the winter crop grown. By the end of the year, it was apparent that this system of deferred repayment was not proving satisfactory. Moneylenders had again become active, while late planting and reduced acreage were noticeable in many districts. This undoubtedly resulted from lack of foresight on the part of many farmers, who had failed to reserve sufficient seed and fodder and preferred to resort to moneylenders for obtaining their needs on credit.

At the end of the year, proposals were on hand for the introduction of numbers of diesel-driven irrigation pumps for use in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

*Co-operation*

The Beihan Farmers' Association, formed in the previous year, progressed in a satisfactory manner, and much useful experience was gained by the officials of the association. A good *saif* season helped the members, but this was followed by an almost complete lack of water in the *kharif*. In spite of these difficulties, the association was able to help its members in their requirements of seed, stock, and cash needed for well equipment and for concentrates for feeding livestock. At the end of the year, the association had acquired some Rs. 12,000 from members' subscriptions and from interest charged on loans.

This association cannot be termed a co-operative society in the true sense of the word. It is an association which has the full support of the local Government, and which at present makes use of Government offices and storehouses for its activities. In the present stage of development this is considered to be the most desirable form of association for Beihan.

*Western Aden Protectorate*

The Western Aden Protectorate fisheries are of minor importance compared with those of the Eastern Protectorate. Shuqra, the seat of the Fadhli Sultan, is, however, a fishing port with a considerable export trade in dried fish

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



242 [426] conditions as for tenants. If not owner occupiers, they take responsibility for debts incurred by tenants, to whose settlement or eviction they must agree.

*Finance*

| | *Sales* | |
|---|---|---|
| | *bale of 400 lb.* | *Value £* |
| 1949 . . . . . | 100 | 5,270 |
| 1950 . . . . . | 1,587 | 121,450 |
| 1951 . . . . . | 9,890 | 867,088 |
| 1952 . . . . . | 6,300 | 725,810 |

The contract with the Raw Cotton Commission extends to the season 1955–56.

Seed was sold to the value of £86,500 in 1951 and £54,870 in 1952.

Expenditure of approximately £20,000 loaned by the Colony Government on the first stage of the scheme in 1943–46 was refunded in part, and the balance handed over in the form of improvements and working capital to the Abyan Board on its formation.

Capital liabilities for loans stood at £278,307 at 30th September, 1952.

At the same date, after disposal of the current season's cotton crop, there were fixed assets worth £324,693. Cash and investment funds were available for the provision of £400,000 to a general development reserve ; £180,000 to a revenue stabilisation fund ; and £25,000 to a sinking fund.

*Social Effects*

The Scheme has had great beneficial influence on the general economy of the Aden Protectorate.

728 Peace and security have been extended to an area formerly insecure and the area has been settled by members of many tribes formerly at feud with each other in the Protectorate.

164 The Scheme has also been responsible for the virtual eradication of malaria in the district. This work conducted by the Protectorate 742 Medical Service has been assisted by the Board which has guaranteed 242 to provide a minimum of £26,000 per annum to a joint States' Medical Service ; it has also agreed to provide £20,000 for the building of a hospital.

at intervals of some 20 feet a series of shafts similar to those 312
described in connection with the Mukalla water-supply. Hunat al Harth is temporarily not giving water, as the level has fallen below the channel. At Al Quf itself there are a number of wells, and round each are nursery beds where the tobacco seedlings are 249
grown. The beds are divided into patches three or four feet square and the seed close sown, so close that even where seed does not germinate the workers cut small scratches in the ground and plant fresh seed. When the seedlings are grown to a height of about three or four inches they are taken from Al Quf to Al Harth, about a mile and a-half away, and planted out in rows with intervals of a foot, or three-quarters of a *dhirra*, in beds of a size dependent on the amount of water. A bed is called *mutr*, plural *mutira*, and each is surrounded by a ridge to keep in the irrigation water. In due course the crop is gathered and dried. Drying barns are unknown.

The crop is financed by the merchants who advance the money to 454
the cultivators and are paid back either monthly or after the crop. 427
In the case of the Government lands at Gheil some cultivators pay 655
their rent in advance and some after the crop. The rent of the whole area of the Sultan's land at Gheil is assessed before each season and the figure required communicated to his representative there. This official then rents out the land at a figure per acre based on the total sum required.

The total annual value of the crop is now estimated at five lakhs 432
of which the Sultan receives Rs.120,000 in duty and ground rent. 651
Production costs are estimated at three lakhs, so that the profit to 434
the cultivators is Rs.80,000. In order to foster the local consumption of tobacco, there is a monopoly of imported cigarettes and pipe 655
tobacco.

Of tobacco, Mr. H. M. Heald in his report of the Agricultural 249
Mission to Mukalla says that in the Meifa valley " the cultivation of the tobacco received more attention than any other crop. . . . The seed was sown in a small plot of land which, in the large villages, had been heavily manured with sheep dung mixed with fine earth. [241]
When 40 days old the plants were transplanted into the small beds at distances of one foot apart, and again manured with fish : irrigation varied in the villages but generally every seven days.

" Topping of the terminal buds took place after all the leaves had been formed and the plants were ripe for cutting in four or five months, according to district and season. The plants were dried on the ground first singly and then in small bundles, and afterwards hung up in rows. After drying again in bundles, they were covered with sacks to promote fermentation, and then the plants were taken into the houses for further drying in the dark, and ready for transporting to the coast in a week or so. Practically no grading was done . . . and I am sure " he writes, " better prices would be obtained if more attention were paid to selection."

[Tobacco -- Analyst]

in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who 000
nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators.

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all 619
cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked 182
on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more 421
complicated than in most places in the Protectorate.

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell 427
land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. 565
It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession 792
of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for 651
wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the 619
extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued [692]
disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their 182
centres.

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the 182
down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms 628
broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood fued, and there is little 411
doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of 436
the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 6 : Production

## LAND UTILISATION AND TENURE

*Utilisation of agricultural land*

Land for crop production is prepared for irrigation farming by flow or by lift, and for dry farming, where there is a low rainfall and some runoff water, the land is terraced. The great bulk of the land in the Protectorates affords range conditions of light carrying capacity, particularly suited to camels, sheep and goats. 312 241 231

*Land and water conservation and utilisation*

All farming practices in the Aden Protectorates depend on a highly developed system of conservation of land and water. In the highest areas, land is terraced for crop production and runoff water is led to these terraced fields in order to augment the water provided by actual precipitation ; in the mid-altitude areas, mountain torrents are diverted to bunded land laboriously reclaimed and made along the valley sides ; below, where the river systems reach wider valley areas and plains, larger diversion works and miles of canal may be used to carry flood water to bunded lands. 312

This process of water spreading, which is carried on in the lowest lying parts of the coastal plain, results in abundant supplies of underground water. Lift irrigation is practised in many areas and is, of course, of the greatest importance to the more arid north-easterly districts of the Protectorate. At present only supplies drawn from open wells, tapping the "phreatic" zone of water, are used.

Utilisation of land and water is governed by varying systems of tribal and customary law. Where development schemes are now progressing, local authorities are being invited to modify such laws, where necessary, to meet the changing conditions. 423

*Land Ownership*

The policy, laws and regulations of each State vary but in general it may be said that the policy of the State is to reserve land ownership for the tribe and generally to tend to favour individual ownership as against State ownership. Land ownership is subject to tribal law and Mohammedan law.

Except for a small area in one district, land in the Protectorate is held by the indigenous inhabitants. The local State Governments are, in some cases, important owners of land.

Land is held in absolute ownership (Mulk), in trusts (Waqf), as dedicatory gifts (Nadr) and in a form of usufructuary tenure (Manh), with near to freehold rights granted in one or two areas to those who have rendered outstanding service to the State.

Payment of a fixed rent in money is only found in a very few specialised systems. Fixed payments in kind, found usually in areas where a high value is placed on land and water, are not general. The 427

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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427 principal system involves some form of share-tenancy in which the partners divide the crop after harvesting, threshing and winnowing charges and tithes and taxes have been paid in kind. In more fertile areas half of the crop is demanded of the tenant of flood irrigated land, while in the mountain terrace-farming areas a share of one-third is normally levied. In the arid eastern districts shares of one-tenth only may be asked. On lift irrigation systems share-tenancy arrangements vary greatly. In the East, the owner of the land and the well may take a one-tenth share. In the West, the owner of the land and the well may take up to one-half of the crop, though often a share of the seed used and a share in the labour working on the lift irrigation is pro-
423 vided by the landowner. The Qua'iti and Kathiri States have secured legal powers by an agricultural administrative order to further the consolidation of plots round suitable irrigation points, but so far it has been unnecessary to apply such orders.

647 The Department of Agriculture has initiated important programmes
654 for the development of land and water resources. Of particular note is the Abyan Scheme in the Western Protectorate and the pump scheme in the Wadi Hadhramaut in the Eastern Protectorate. At the same time encouragement and organisation in the better use of the excellent indigenous systems of irrigation farming have been the main preoccupation in many districts.

423 Little satisfactory progress has been made in land settlement in the Abyan area. In the Eastern Protectorate, the States, advised by the
406 Residency, are actively encouraging groups of farmers to combine their holdings formerly watered by animal lift in order to make the co-operative use of the mechanical pump lifts an economic proposition.

241.

## AGRICULTURE

*Principal Crops*, 1952

| | *Acres* | *Tons* |
|---|---|---|
| **Western Protectorate** | | |
| Sorghum Millet | 23,333 | 4,333 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small millets | 9,000 | 1,286 |
| Wheat | 3,000 | 2,000* |
| Barley | 6,000 | 4,000* |
| Sesame | 4,250 | 425 |
| Cotton (long staple) | 9,830 | 7,206 bales of 400 lb. lint* |
| Coffee | 400 | 100 |
| **Eastern Protectorate** | | |
| Sorghum Millet (lift and permanent flow irrigated) | 3,000 | 2,400 |
| Sorghum (flood irrigated) | 4,000 | 400 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small millets | 1,500 | 300 |
| Wheat | 2,600 | 3,000 |
| Date Palms | 10,500 | 7,000 |

* Crops sown in 1951 and harvested in 1952.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

APPENDIX I

Trials with long-staple cotton, introduced in 1946, proved successful and this crop has now been chosen as the main crop for the area.

Payment for irrigation services has always been based on a crop share of 25 per cent payable to the Board. The present crop share and taxation on the crop, as laid down in an agreement dated 1st April, 1950, is as follows :

| PARTY | LIVE LAND (*Land developed and cultivated for 5 years*) | DEAD LAND (*New land opened for cultivation*) |
|---|---|---|
| | % | % |
| State (Taxation) . . | 5 | 10 |
| Landlord . . . | 20 | 15 |
| Tenant . . . | 50 | 50 |
| Board . . . | 25 | 25 |

To secure rapid development, traditional methods have been used while the land has been surveyed and existing canal systems aligned and new canals of improved design have been constructed. Diversion is still by traditional methods but regulators have been constructed in the upper part of the district.

*Land and Water Rights*

The Board does not own or control any land except building sites and experimental areas loaned from the local States and, in one case, rented from a landowner.

The Board controls the diversion and distribution of all flood water in the district. In the winter season the Board purchases the permanent flow of the Bana River from the Lower Yafai Sultan and his relatives and distributes this supply through the canal system to farmers who pay the customary crop share to the Board.

Tribal boundaries and settlements of title to the area have been ill defined in the past years of insecurity, but in 1951 final decisions were taken regarding tribal boundaries.

*Survey*

Since 1948 an area of 100,000 acres has been contour surveyed to a one metre interval. Geophysical surveys, the first as a reconnaissance and the second in fairly detailed form, have been made.

*Irrigation Development*

Development is in various stages. An area of approximately 50,000 acres of land is now controlled for irrigation farming, mainly on traditional lines. The normal flood flow to the area is expected to be sufficient to crop 30,000 acres yearly. In the 1951 flood a discharge of 224,000,000 cubic metre was observed to reach Abyan in the Bana River and this quantity, if correctly controlled, would have been sufficient for the irrigation of 50,000 acres. In actual fact only 30,000 acres were irrigated. The system is to direct flood water at speed, by diversion weirs made of brushwood and stone, into canals

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



825 a 5 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
789 impart virtue to his sight.

754 I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

## INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
[782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

## LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

582 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere
583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
832 the ~~triple~~ nose-kiss, ~~left, right~~, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

645 of a Municipal Council composed of merchants and notabilities being formed in Mukalla, but it did not seem likely that it would eventuate.

635 The Sultanate is divided into five *liwas* or provinces. Shihr, the oldest, Mukalla, Du'an, Hajr, and Shibam. Each of these provinces is ruled on behalf of the Sultan by a salaried Governor or *Muqaddam*, who has at least one paid clerk. He has direct control over the Qu'aiti towns in his province, and in important ones which are not autonomous there is a sub-Governor responsible to the Governor of the province. Subject to the general orders of His Highness the *Muqaddam* has power to settle any case in the province, but there is an appeal to the *Wazir* and Governor of Mukalla. From the judgments and decisions of the *Wazir* appeal lies to His Highness.

631 There are a number of autonomous towns throughout the Hadhra-
632 maut governed by particular tribes or families, and the Central
635 Government does not interfere in their internal affairs. Relations with the tribes over the country are conducted principally through
642 the Governors on whose towns they economically depend. The Sultan has the two following types of agreements with the various tribes: A. Engagements containing an undertaking to respond to the call of the Sultan in any matter and at any time, and B. Engagements of *bon voisinage* and friendship containing an undertaking to co-operate in matters of mutual interest. These agreements are all written.

The following tribes have A. agreements: Tamimi, Manahil, Ath Tha'yani, Awābitha, Seibani, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadīyin, Sumūh, Al Bab Sura, Hālka, Nūwah, Mahfudh, Makhashin, the Hadhrami Yafa'is, Hāmdi, Beni Daghār, and Buheish.

The following tribes have B. agreements: Hamumi, Qarzi, Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Ma'āra, Jōhi, 'Awāmir, Ash Shenafir al Kathīr, Mahra, Nahd Rodhān, Sei'ar, Ad Deiyin, Ja'da, Baheith, Namāra Beni Hilāl, 'Awāleq, Hājib Beni Sa'd, Bahanaf, Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Senad al Murqashi, Ba Habāb, Meseiliyin, 'Asārina, Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Beni 'Utheiman, Bā Babekr and Āl Zaghīb, tribesmen of Sadf, Al 'Amūdi, Ash Shof, Beduins of Shāūla, Āl Beihan al 'Awāmir, Al Khashia al Murqashi, Deiyeb, Qumeish, and Bā Bekr.

661 When there is any doubt as to the loyalty of a particular tribe,
●431 hostages have to be provided who are kept in Mukalla prison, at Du'an, and sometimes at Shihr. Hostages may be changed every
642 month. Presents are given and subsidies paid to some of the tribes, and on the visits of tribal *'Aqīls* to provincial headquarters they are given presents, and in some cases entertained.

642 The Qu'aiti administration makes no attempt to interfere with
632 tribal usages, but tribal usage does not run in the Qu'aiti towns
and within the area round them demarcated by white pillars

the Ghumdān appear to be of recent date. The well is also 172
found, and plucky Sayyid ʿAlī has the daring to go down into it, in spite of the gruesome tales of snakes and other monsters which are said to haunt its depths. The pit appears to be a shaft of karst about 90 feet in depth; in the lower part of it there is a transverse passage into which Sayyid ʿAlī penetrates over a few yards, with a loaded revolver in his hand. Then the squeaking of bats fluttering around him becomes too much for him and he returns to the shaft, where Von Wissmann has followed him. No traces of human activity nor of hidden treasures can be detected by the light of their electric torches. Both of them climb up again out of the pit without mishap, but with great effort.

Henceforth Sayyid ʿAlī feels drawn to Von Wissmann by the 000
friendship of admiration. Of course he wishes to go with us into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut to the great Sayyid el-Kāf in Terīm and then to accompany us further to Qabr Hūd, there, with his friend "Ḥarmal" (corruption of Hermann, see p. 47), to explore the mysterious Bīr Barhūt. He who dared the descent of Bīr Ghumdān shall also venture the hell's mouth of Barhūt, and the name of Sayyid ʿAlī shall be handed down in honour for generations in the annals of Ḥaḍramaut. Drunken with pride and joy Sayyid ʿAlī accompanies Von Wissmann through the darkness back to Ḥurēḍa. He relates his tale, which grows ever finer in the telling, until deep into the night. My companion's fame precedes him into Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid ʿAlī will introduce him with pride: "Ḥarmal, the German airman (look at his knee that has been shot away), the man who fears no height nor depth."

On the morning of May 22nd we have another invitation, 484
this time to take tea with Sayyid Ṭālib, who is introduced as 595
the Sindbad of Ḥaḍramaut. He has travelled pretty well all 431
over the Islamic world, where as a sayyid and son of a race of theologians he was everywhere welcome, and he has returned wealthy from his travels. This Sindbad's beautiful house is jestingly called "the little Yildiz". He is old by now, but listens

with amusement while his younger guests relate how, every year, he marries the prettiest girl to be found in Ḥurēḍa. We perfume ourselves with incense, the host doing so the most thoroughly of us all. He keeps the smoking censer under the wide folds of his garment. The tea with dishes of a confection of ginger is served. Sindbad, with his crafty face framed in a white beard, the extreme points of which are dyed orange with *ḥinnā*ᵓ, tells about his travels. The youthful audience feasts upon the witty tales of this enjoyer of life — a vanishing figure of the typical sayyid society of Ḥaḍramaut.

We exchange keepsakes with Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās in lasting remembrance of our visit to Ḥurēḍa. The lavish, kind welcome given us and the friendly feeling shown us here have smoothed the way for us through Ḥaḍramaut.

at intervals of some 20 feet a series of shafts similar to those 312
described in connection with the Mukalla water-supply. Humat al Harth is temporarily not giving water, as the level has fallen below the channel. At Al Quf itself there are a number of wells, and round each are nursery beds where the tobacco seedlings are 249
grown. The beds are divided into patches three or four feet square and the seed close sown, so close that even where seed does not germinate the workers cut small scratches in the ground and plant fresh seed. When the seedlings are grown to a height of about three or four inches they are taken from Al Quf to Al Harth, about a mile and a-half away, and planted out in rows with intervals of a foot, or three-quarters of a *dhirra*, in beds of a size dependent on the amount of water. A bed is called *mutr*, plural *mutira*, and each is surrounded by a ridge to keep in the irrigation water. In due course the crop is gathered and dried. Drying barns are unknown.

The crop[1] is financed by the merchants who advance the money to 454
the cultivators and are paid back either monthly or after the crop. 427
In the case of the Government lands at Gheil some cultivators pay 655
their rent in advance and some after the crop. The rent of the whole area of the Sultan's land at Gheil is assessed before each season and the figure required communicated to his representative there. This official then rents out the land at a figure per acre based on the total sum required.

The total annual value of the crop is now estimated at five lakhs 433
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Production costs are estimated at three lakhs, so that the profit to 434
the cultivators is Rs.80,000. In order to foster the local consump- 655
tion of tobacco, there is a monopoly of imported cigarettes and pipe tobacco.

Of tobacco, Mr. H. M. Heald in his report of the Agricultural 249
Mission to Mukalla says that in the Meifa valley " the cultivation of the tobacco received more attention than any other crop. . . . The seed was sown in a small plot of land which, in the large villages, had been heavily manured with sheep dung mixed with fine earth. [241]
When 40 days old the plants were transplanted into the small beds at distances of one foot apart, and again manured with fish; irrigation varied in the villages but generally every seven days.

" Topping of the terminal buds took place after all the leaves had been formed and the plants were ripe for cutting in four or five months, according to district and season. The plants were dried on the ground first singly and then in small bundles, and afterwards hung up in rows. After drying again in bundles, they were covered with sacks to promote fermentation, and then the plants were taken into the houses for further drying in the dark, and ready for transporting to the coast in a week or so. Practically no grading was done . . . and I am sure " he writes, " better prices would be obtained if more attention were paid to selection."

1 [Tobacco -- Analyst]

### Āl Heik.

619 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the
631 sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan
101 they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shiheir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct
433 route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of
438 the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me
465 as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being
162 an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures
361 appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and
651 villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns
652 and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

167 At this time, too, they had their connection with the East African coast for the *Periplus* says that it was governed "under some ancient right that subjects it to the sovereignty of the state that is become first in Arabia."[1]

Even in the Arabian Nights do we find reference to this emigration of the Hadhramis. As will be seen the Hadhramis almost universally maintain a connection with and an affection for their native land so that it will be of interest to give the following quotation :

"In time he reached Lahej where he found a ship ready to sail for India ; so he shipped on board and made Calicut of Malabar. Here he met with many Arabs, especially Hazramis, who recommended him to the King ; and this King (who was a Kafir) trusted him and advanced him to the captainship of his bodyguard. He remained ten years in all solace and delight of life ; at the end of which time he was seized with home-sickness ; and the longing to behold his native land was that of a lover pining for his beloved ; and he came near to die of yearning desire. But his appointed day had not dawned ; so, after taking the first bath of health, he left the King without leave, and in due course landed at Makalla of Hazramaut." (Burton, Vol. V, p. 136.)

Commenting on the passage Burton relates the story of a man who, flying from "Hazrami" society, reached the uttermost parts of China where he thought himself safe, but as he was about to pass the night in some ruin he heard a voice hard by him exclaim, "Oh 'Imad ad Din,"[2] the name of the patron saint of Hazramaut. "Thereupon he arose and fled and he is, they say, flying still."

The emigration of Hadhramis to foreign parts is therefore no new phenomenon, but its long continuance and the steady expansion of the Hadhrami communities in other countries, to which probably the brake applied by the recent depression is only temporary, is not without significance in considering the future of the country. Not only is it probably responsible for the more open and receptive atmosphere in the Hadhramaut but it is also probable that it has a considerable bearing on the growing desire in the country for peace and good government.

[433] There is a further point. Although the Hadhramaut could no doubt produce more under proper guidance the resources of the soil can never make it wealthy, and the item of invisible exports to the extent of £630,000 annually represented by remittances of money into the country is not to be neglected.

114 The first systematic attempt to examine the position of Hadhramaut colonies abroad was made by Professor Van den Berg in his noteworthy study on the Hadhramaut and the Arab colonies

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[1] Stigand says (*Land of Zinj*) that the Arabs call Pate, Bata and derive the word from a tribe named Batawe which left Hadhramaut and settled in Pate.

[2] Probably 'Amud ad Din *vide* Chapter XVII.

ll: Melamid S-3 (no date) 1954 MLI Yemen MLI
HADHRAMAUT MM 2

Y 471 609

a tannery, and a textile plant. This preference for German firms is rather remarkable.[4] However, Yemen authorities claim that American and British firms were not interested in these concessions.

Y 471 651

The terms of the oil concession are reported to be based on a capital and profit division of 75 per cent to Yemen, and 25 per cent to the concessionaire. This may explain the lack of interest of American and British firms whose oil concessions in other petroleum-producing countries are on a 50/50 profit-sharing basis, without local capital participation. Furthermore, the Yemen concession is to run for only twenty years (compared with sixty-six years for the Saudi Arabian concessions), provided oil is found within five years. According to the available geological information, the outlook for finding oil is not too encouraging as the highlands of Yemen consist primarily of rocks which are geologically devoid of oil. However, the narrow coastal strip and the lowland deserts do offer possibilities. Here there is a complication. Because of the absence of definite boundaries, the eastern deserts may be claimed either by Saudi Arabia or by the Aden protectorate.

Y 135 Y [131]

Yemen also has hopes of discovering commercially utilizable quantities of gold, silver, copper and iron ore, which were all formerly mined in the highlands.[5] Considerable areas in the wadis below the highlands are reported to be suitable for the cultivation of cotton, provided modern methods of irrigation are introduced. Even if no oil is discovered, the change in the attitude towards foreigners and towards innovations may bring about far-reaching economic and political changes in this state.

Y [609]

H 471 609 177

In 1938, a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Company (in which British, Dutch, French, American and other capital participates) obtained exploratory oil concessions in the Aden protectorate. So far no discoveries have been reported. The sheiks and sultans of the area have lately opened their territories to a limited number of foreign travellers, mostly surveyors. Emigrants who had settled in India, Malaya, and Indonesia and who have returned, particularly to Mukalla and the Hadhramaut, have contributed not only experience gained overseas, but some capital as well. Regular motor and air transportation[6] is now available. Several irrigation schemes have been established in the western Aden protectorate, at Abyan, where crops of high quality cotton are grown. The greater internal security resulting from the organization of regular police protection against tribal raiders (a combination of the British Royal Air Force and local jeep patrols) has also contributed to economic development. Local fisheries have

H 433 439

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[4] The oil concession was granted to Deilmann Bergbau, German oil producers who also have a concession in Spain.

[5] United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East, 1951-52*, E/2353/Add. 1, ST/ECA/19, Add. 1 (New York, 1953), 126.

[6] At least one foreign trading firm in Aden flies its own plane regularly to various points in the territories to pick up local products and deliver imports.

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HADHRAMAUT MM2
ADEN MM1
OMAN MK1

expanded and dried fish and fish oils are now exported regularly. The new exports have more than compensated for the decline in the revenues from incense, the supply of which has suffered from excess cutting and tapping of the few forested areas.

Indirectly, Aden colony has been a beneficiary of the Iranian oil dispute. The former concessionaire in Iran has begun construction of a 100,000 barrel per day petroleum refinery in Aden which is to supply the general area of the Indian Ocean with petroleum products formerly supplied by the now expropriated and shut-down refinery at Abadan. The estimated cost of this project is about $140 million. At present over 12,000 workers are employed on various construction jobs connected with the refinery, including over 8,000 natives and nearly 1,000 Indian nationals. Some 3,000 local inhabitants and about 200 Europeans will be permanently employed in this largest industrial establishment in southern Arabia.

To build and operate this refinery an entirely new town, complete with all modern services, has been established at Little Aden, about six miles from the old port city of Aden. Sufficient water for the domestic requirements of the new town was discovered ten miles away; sweet water for industrial purposes must be obtained by distillation of sea water. A hospital, the largest in Arabia, has also been set up. In general, local trade is benefiting tremendously from the activities of the new oil company. A new port for the discharge and loading of oil tankers is also being built.

Because of the decline in incense production in the Aden territories, Dhofar is now the most important exporter of this commodity. A petroleum concession in this province has been granted to two American oil companies (Cities Service and Richfield) which have hitherto not participated in Middle East oil development.[7] A large airfield for supplies, etc. has been established near Salala and thorough exploration of the area is to commence within a few months. The outlook for the discovery of oil is reported to be very favorable, since the oil-rich geological strata of the Saudi Arabian or Qatar oil fields may extend into Dhofar.

[7] A concession for the area was formerly held by a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Co.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



purity of the drinking water constitute efficient safeguards against many maladies common to tropical countries. 164

The harbour of Aden—the Bandar Tawīyah, or Aden West Bay, but more generally known as Aden Back Bay—lies between the two lofty peninsulas, very like in appearance, of Jebel Shamshan (east) and Jebel Ihsan (west); it extends eight miles from east to west and four from north to south, and is divided into two bays by a spit of land. The depth of water in the western bay is from 3 to 4 fathoms, and, across the entrance, from 4½ to 5 fathoms. There are several islands in the inner bay, notably Jezīrah Sawāyih (Slave Island), which culminates in a peak 300 ft. in altitude. 504

The port of Aden is a great coaling-station and place of call for vessels passing to and from the Suez Canal. Large vessels lie off Steamer Point, the western extremity of Jebel Ihsan. The Peninsular and Oriental Navigation Company's steamers call weekly at the port to receive, tranship, or land passengers and mails, and it is a port of call for a number of other important lines. There are numerous lights and lightships, the chief being the Aden Cape Light at Ras Marshag, on the east of the Ihsan peninsula, visible for 20 miles, and the Elephant's Back Light on the summit of a headland, visible also for 20 miles; the Aden Lightship, not far from Steamer Point, is visible for 10 miles, and fires a gun whenever a vessel enters the harbour at night. 504 505

Of the total population of the Aden Settlement (46,000), about 23,000 are returned as Arabs and there is a large number of Somalis. These two sections do the hard work of the port, but among the Arabs there are a few merchants of substance. Almost every nationality is also represented: Hindus, Parsees, Persians, Chinese, Abyssinians, Jews, &c. The Parsees have annexed a very considerable portion of the trade, for they act as agents and shopkeepers, and their business talent equals that of the Jews. Classified otherwise, European residents and Christians number from 2,000 to 3,000; Mohammedans, 34,000; and Jews, 3,700. The natives have an untidy makeshift air which contrasts with the personal cleanliness of an Indian population, and this arises partly from the scarcity of water, and partly from the temporary nature of their residence and outdoor life. 162

As far as the Settlement is concerned, there are no natural products whatever with the exception of salt. The food of the whole population, civil and military, is imported, Aden producing not even a blade of grain. Rice comes from Calcutta, Bombay, and Malabar; *jowari*, *bajri*, and maize are brought on camels from the interior; fodder and firewood come from the Lahej and Fadhli districts. 433 439

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



433 The chief local industries are: salt preparing; the unhusking of coffee; and cigarette making. The first is obtained, as elsewhere, by evaporating sea-water in shallow pans, in a stretch of ground situated near Sheikh 'Othmān, and the industry, which is considerable (over 100 tons were exported in 1915), is in the hands of the Italian Salt Company. The unhusking of the coffee berries is done almost entirely in Aden, before transhipment and export.

312 The water-supply forms, perhaps, the most important problem at Aden: it is obtained from four sources—wells, aqueducts, tanks or reservoirs, and condensers. It has been found that the most reliable means of supply is by condensing, and but little drinking water is now drawn from wells and aqueducts. Of *wells* there are many, both within and without the British limits: the former are sunk in the solid rock of the peninsula often to a depth of from 120 to 190 ft. and the water is of good quality; the latter are around Sheikh 'Othmān and Hiswah and the water is of only fair quality, but brought largely into Aden for domestic purposes among the natives. In 1867 the British Government obtained permission from the Sultan of Lahej to construct an *aqueduct* from two of his best wells in the village of Sheikh 'Othmān. The water is received in large reserve tanks inside the fortifications and is thence distributed to the troops and establishments and to the public in limited quantities at one rupee per 100 gallons. It is of indifferent quality and fit only for purposes of ablution.

The expediency of constructing *reservoirs* in which to store rain-water was recognized in Arabia at a very early date; they are widely found in districts devoid of springs, which depend on the winter rains for a supply of water during drought (cp. Yemen, Chap. VI). The most remarkable instance on record is perhaps the great dam at Māreb (see p. 176). There is no trustworthy record of the construction of the Aden reservoirs, but they are supposed to have been begun at the time of the second Persian invasion of Yemen, about A.D. 600. In the early part of the nineteenth century, though some few were in a tolerably perfect state of preservation, many had been partially destroyed by the people, who carried away the stones for building purposes; others had been filled with débris washed down from the hills by the rain. In 1856 the restoration of these magnificent public works was begun, and thirteen have been completed, capable of holding nearly 8 million gallons of water. A very moderate fall of rain suffices to send down the numerous steep rocky ravines, by which the peninsula is intersected, stupendous torrents of water, and it is to intercept and store this water that the reservoirs have been constructed. They are so arranged

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



291 either with a plain piece of stuff (*dismāl*) worn turban-like, or with a fringed head-cloth (*jibāl*) falling over the shoulders. The
302 Bedouins wear the same type of costume as the other members of their race, but of poorer material; they rarely wear sandals, and have their bodies bare above the waistband and below the knees.

The garments of the women are very similar to those of the men, and, excepting in small particulars, resemble the dress in other districts of Arabia. They ordinarily wear, not sandals, but boots of a yellow or red colour; they dress their hair in short tresses to the number of from 50 to 60, and married women, in addition, have a fringe over the forehead. The better classes go veiled, but the lower classes cover the head with a form of kerchief (*nuqbah*) which they can use as a veil to cover the forehead and mouth, if need be. Young girls do not cover the face.

## Industries and Agriculture

•433 Of great industries there are naturally none in the Hadhramaut. A small amount of weaving is carried on in the houses, especially at Terīm, but the quantity is decreasing owing to the importation of stuffs from abroad. Formerly the cultivation and preparation of indigo for the dyeing of locally woven stuffs were carried on to a considerable extent, but that industry too has greatly declined except in the more remote districts of the interior. Boat-building, fishing, and the salting of fish are the occupations of many along the littoral. It has been remarked that the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut mountains become the most intrepid sailors; not only the Arabs of Shiheir and Makalla, but also those of the mountain regions show an innate disposition for navigation, even those who may never have seen a boat before.

241 For the most part the land in the settled centres is in the hands of the Seyyids or of other influential members of a tribe. The chief agricultural products are wheat, maize, millet, indigo, tobacco, sesame, dates, and coco-nuts, the latter grown only on the littoral. Cotton is cultivated here and there, but in insufficient quantities to supply the needs of the district; lucerne is much grown for fodder. A kind of tobacco, known as Humuni, is grown round Ghail Ba Wazīr and has a great local reputation. There are plantations of *ithl* (tamarisk) and *'elb*, two kinds of wood suitable for
[80a] making utensils and for building purposes. The seasons are determined by the stars. Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

LITTLE is known of the mineral reserves of this region, and most of the local industries are small and primitive. Salt is the chief export of the Colony; tobacco, honey and fish products, of the Protectorates.

The port of Aden is visited regularly by ships from all parts of the world. Within the last few years, the Colony has also become a regional center for air services to Cairo and other cities in the Near East and East Africa. Communications between the Colony and the interior are mainly by roads and caravan trails, supplemented by a coastwise dhow trade. Camels and donkeys are the primary means of transport, but the use of motor vehicles is increasing along the main routes. Roads suitable for motor traffic link Aden Colony with certain population centers in Western Aden Protectorate, and Mukalla with the larger towns of the Hadhramaut and adjacent coastlands. Access to the interior is also provided by military air services.

### Food and Nutrition

Aden Colony is a cosmopolitan community, in which a variety of food habits is found among the peoples of different racial and economic groups. With the exception of fish, milk and limited supplies of garden vegetables, all foodstuffs are imported. Undernutrition is prevalent among the poorer inhabitants, and particularly among the transient laborers from the interior.

Food supplies are never abundant in the Protectorate, where cultivation is restricted by the nature of the terrain and the scarcity of water in many areas. Anything which interferes with normal production, such as droughts or an invasion of locusts, may result in local food shortages, often approaching famine conditions. The Hadhramaut was seriously affected during the widespread drought in 1943, and children were evacuated from some of the famine areas to relief camps in Mukalla.

The average Arab diet is simple, while that of the pastoral tribes is almost invari-

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[Tobacco -- Anakpt]

Yafa'i circles in the Hadhramaut. Some of the Seiyids of the Hadhramaut have an enigmatical way of speaking Arabic amongst themselves. 191 177

**Currency.**

The currency consists of rupees and Maria Theresa dollars. The exchange value of the latter depends on the price of silver, and in November 1934, when much of the information contained in this report was collected, the dollar was practically equivalent to a rupee. For this reason the two denominations were often used indifferently. By mid-May 1935, the rate was Rs.149 to $100 in Aden and Rs.150 to $100 in Mukalla. 486 [35]

Small change is almost entirely British Indian, though there are a few Mukalla pice, a little Javanese money, and some Italian lire from Somaliland. Indian notes circulate fairly freely in Mukalla. The copper coins are called *besa* and the other Indian change *shauli bauli*. Generally speaking, any known money will be exchanged. In the towns of the main Wadi many ancient coins pass for small change, and there are also a number of small coins struck by the Al Kaf family. Small change is given for dollars according to their relative value with rupees.

**Weights and Measures.** 804

The weights and measures in use in Mukalla are as follows:—

1 Qofla.—The weight of 4 annas.
1 Waqia.—1 English ounce.
1 Ratl.—1 English pound.
1 Frasila.—20 lb. of fish or 32 lb. of shells.
1 Gubban.—25 lb. for gum.
1 Bahar.—10¾ Aden maunds or 300 English lb. of tobacco, or 360 lb. of dates, but dates from the interior 300 lb.
1 Qosra.—180 lb. of Basra dates. Trucial Oman dates are in packages of 70-80 lb. They are of an inferior quality.
1 Ma'bar.—A basket of 30-40 lb. of *Wazif* (dried *'aid* fish).

In Shibam the pound is of 12 ounces; 28 lb. equal 1 *frasila*, and 14 *frasilas* 8 lb. equal one *bahar*.

MEASURES OF LENGTH.

1 Banan—1 finger's breadth.
2 Shubrs—1 Dhirra.
2 Dhirras—1 Wara.
1 Wara—1 Yard.

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

As a general rule liquids are sold by weight; there is however a small measure used for oil called a *Baura*. Such a quantity is sold for one or two pice.

**Calendar.** 805

For official and sometimes for business purposes, when dealing with Europeans, the date is expressed A.D. as well as A.H., but

bricks. The cost of building the house in which we stayed in Tarim was $60,000. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice-plants, and European modern conveniences in the bathrooms, wash-basins with running water and shower-baths. Whereas in Du'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found, these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Large and comfortable chairs and sofas decorate the drawing-rooms, and there are English carpets, masses of gilt mirrors, chandeliers and glass cupboards full of marmalade dishes, egg-cups and so on. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel-back over the mountains for six days.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of procuring long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree grows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees (*Conocarpus erectus*, Jacq.) growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseila, they cannot be transported by camels. The difficulty is being surmounted to some extent by experiments in the making of reinforced concrete pillars of which I saw two in construction at Seiyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seiyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, are covered with a lime plaster polished with smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area 500 houses built on a slight eminence in the Wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. By general consent, houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher, but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this type of house which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together. The life of a house is said to be 200 to 250 years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done, the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits, necessitating demolition.

361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil
342 there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
177 of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

**Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.**

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

511 For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
651 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
435 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

## Honey Industry.

231 The only other product of economic consequence is the celebrated
263 Du'an honey. Honey from Jerdan has an even greater local renown
438 but is not produced in such quantities. At places like Tarim it is not considered possible to grow honey owing to the depradations
[136] of the Blue-cheeked Bee eater (*Merops persicus persicus*), one of the most common, as well as most beautiful, birds in the Hadhramaut. We did not observe this bird at all in the Wadi Du'an, where it is shot on sight.

231 The hives are tunnel-like structures fitted into the walls of the
263 houses, and consist of circular sections about a foot in diameter. In the outside wall is a small hole through which the bees enter and leave the hives. Du'an enjoys two honey crops in a year; that of June, July and August being regarded as the best, for in it the bees collect the honey from the blossoms of the *'elb* trees. The honey obtained during the second crop, from November to March, is gathered from a small bush called *Qarmala*, and while it is
[843] highly esteemed it is considered very heating and may not be eaten by pregnant women. If there is much rain during April and May, the bees make a black honey called *helb*, and they are said to grow much stronger, for they consume this honey themselves. The swarming of the bees was thus described by a bee-keeper: A second queen bee, whom they call *ab* or father, sometimes leaves the hive and goes a short distance away followed by some of the others. The bee-owner takes a mat and rolls it up in the shape of a hive, closing one end, and sprinkling inside a perfume of the perfumes used by the ladies. Approaching the swarm, he gently takes the queen in his fingers out of it and puts her into a small cage made for the purpose. The cage is then put inside the rolled mat. An assistant beats a tin or copper tray and the bees leave the place where they have swarmed and come to the queen. The swarm is now carried to a hive, the queen bee and her cage put into the hive, and in go the bees after her.

The bees collect the crop in 12 to 20 days, and when the owner sees the hive is full he fits on more sections until they have finished. Thirty to 40 pounds of honey are collected from a single hive at each crop. The honey is gathered by smoking the bees out from behind. When they have left, the exit hole is stopped up and the honey is taken, one section being left for the bees. In times of drought, honey is put into the hives for the bees to eat. The honey
251 is packed in comb and as liquid. In the former case two sizes of round tins are used, containing 4 lb. and 7 lb. respectively. An inside cover is soldered to the tins in Mukalla. Liquid honey is packed in cases of two kerosene tins. The value of the honey
435 in Mukalla is one rupee a pound. The total production is 90,000 to 100,000 pounds.

000 In view of the great renown which Du'an honey enjoys in South Arabia and the East Indies, and in view of the fact that it is much appreciated by Europeans, I had hoped that there might be

boiled radishes is given to cattle with " cattle plague ". Donkeys are said to be susceptible to a very fatal disease. 231 232

Both cattle and camels are used in ploughing, the former usually in pairs and the latter singly. For the working of the wells, camels, cattle, donkeys, men and women, all combine, frequently in mixed teams, the animals being generally given a bunch of fodder at the top of the incline each time they reach it. Camels are also employed in turning the machines for extracting the simsim oil. The fact that fodder and water become more scarce north of the main Wadi necessitates a greater use of camels and donkeys are few and far between. Donkeys are uncommon also in the Wadi Maseila, for there is a three-day stretch without water in the middle of the Wadi, and below Buzun the flow is not perennial. Sheep and goats, however, are to be found everywhere, seeking their pasture under the care of women or girls. 231 492

Heald in his report states that no attention is paid to selection during the breeding season—which is usually in the early summer. With the sheep, one lamb is generally the average—although higher up in the Hadhramaut, amongst better pasture, ewes give two lambs. The sheep in the Meifa valley had black fleeces with the curly fat tails, although smaller than the Egyptian sheep. The goats are also smaller than in Egypt and originally came from the Yemen. 231

It was particularly noticeable in the Wadi Maseila that the livestock were very much smaller than those elsewhere. The cows are little larger than a normal-sized calf, and the sheep and goats are also smaller than those in Du'an or to the north. The cattle are similar in size to those of Soqotra. The breeds of goats and sheep appeared to vary considerably over the whole country, but a black-and-white variety was the most common. His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan has a few horses, both for riding and carriage work, and I saw one at Meshhed. There are probably not a dozen in the whole country. 643 492

**Minor agricultural products.**

Dates in the Hadhramaut are merely a hobby, and the entire local crop is consumed fresh during a season of two months, June and July. It may be recorded that a single date-tree in the Du'an valley sells from 400 to 1,000 dollars, many times its economic price. Dates form a staple article of diet and are therefore imported in large quantities. 245 262 435

The principal grain and other food crops are millet—*dirra* (great millet, *Sorghum vulgar*), *dukhn* (bullrush millet, *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and *keneb* or *msebeli* (Italian millet, *Setana italica*); lucerne; *jil jil* (sesame, not eaten by donkeys); *dijar* (a kind of bean); wheat (not eaten by donkeys or goats); and a little maize. The stalks are generically known as *qusab*, and the grain as *ta'm*. Hashish or grass is also grown for animals. The principal garden crops are sweet potatoes, onions, garlic, pumpkins, carrots, egg 241

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



by men and also serve for fodder. It is sold by *ma'bar*, a basket of about 30 to 40 lb. The price for eight baskets is from one to three dollars.

*Hanīt* (cooked and dried *tamad* fish). About fifteen to twenty *baḥars* of this are made a day in Mukalla and sold for local and up country consumption.

*Safīf* (dried *tarnak* and *tamad* fish). This used to be made only from the *tarnak* but now includes *tamad* as well.

*Lakhm* (dried shark). A great deal is prepared in Mukalla and one *frasila* costs one and a half to two and a-half dollars.

*Rish* (shark fins). A certain amount of these are exported to China.

The fish manufactories have been removed from the town of Mukalla, a sanitary measure for which credit is due to Sultan 'Umar. The drying-grounds and godowns for *wazīf* are situated beyond Therb, the camel park, outside the western gate. Here too there are old fish-oil tanks. The drying of fish for human consumption takes place at Al Khalf, east of the town, and here large godowns for storage and export are in process of completion. Dried fish forms a staple article of diet of the population. It is also a valuable manure and a widely-used fodder for animals. The extent of this coastal industry may be judged by the millions of gulls lining the seashore and the ever-pervading smell in the coastal towns.

Mr. Heald, referring to the fish-curing industry, writes "Along the coast in the various villages, a primitive fish-curing industry was carried on for sale in the interior, which consisted merely of digging a hole about one yard deep and half a yard broad, lined with stone; in this, wood was burnt and then the large-sized fish were placed in the hot ashes and covered over and left for 24 hours, afterwards taken out and sent up to the interior for sale. I was informed that the cured fish would keep for a considerable length of time, but, as a word of warning to intending travellers in this country, I strongly advise them not to allow any of their luggage especially bedding to be put on the same camel carrying the fish, as the smell was abominable and tainted everything it came into contact with. The Beduins on the journey fed their camels with the small sun dried fish and also partook of the same themselves without any attempt at cooking."

## Visit of Agricultural and Geological Experts in 1919.

### Agricultural Report.

At the request of the Sultan, then Sir Ghalib bin 'Awadh, K.C.I.E., experts were obtained from Egypt to examine and report on the agricultural and mineral possibilities of certain parts of his territory

484 It is four days journey from Shibam to Husn al 'Abr and five days from Husn al 'Abr to Nejran.

485 Routes from the coast are well provided with *siqayas*, or public fountains, near villages, and *qarifs* and *naqbas*, artificial pools and cisterns for rain-water, in the desert places. There are also of course many natural springs and water holes in the wadis. There are *muraba'as* (rest houses, called *madharab* in the low country and *sira* in the upper) at intervals approximately of a few hours' journey all over the principal routes crossing barren country. There are no definitely appointed stages, but caravans halt at places where they can graze and water their camels. They travel an average of six or seven hours a day.

412 From fifty to fifty-three thousand camels leave the camel park
439 called Therb outside the west gate of Mukalla every year for the interior. From Shihr the number is from 30,000 to 32,000. These figures include 5,000 to 8,000 in the former case and 2,000 in the latter of camels *carrying food for the camel-men*. Camels for this purpose are provided at the rate of about two to ten loaded camels.

Departures from and to the coast take place almost daily except during the month of Ramadhan. During that month caravans leave Mukalla and Shihr in order to arrive at their destinations by the feast day. Departures from and arrivals at Shibam for and from the interior are not so frequent.

From four hundred to a thousand loaded camels a month enter Shibam alone from the coast. It is estimated that a thousand annually come from San'ā in three or four caravans, but, as stated elsewhere, there is an increase if there is a demand.

An estimate given of the number of camels from other parts of the Protectorate and other parts of the Yemen is fourteen caravans of 1,000 camels each arriving mostly during the winter and spring. Caravans from Nejran are rare.

494 The 1934 fares from Mukalla to Du'an were as follows :—

484 435

1. By donkey, *watā* and *'aser*, that is to say, riding over level country and over the rough and hilly places, standard rate. 15 to 16 dollars, but with variation according to weight, the limits each way being from 12 to 20 dollars.

2. By donkey, *watā*, i.e., riding only over the level country, standard fare, 10 to 11 dollars with limits according to weight of from 8 to 15 dollars.

Each passenger is allowed free transport of up to three *frasilas* (1 *frasila* = 20 lb.) of food.

3. By camel, *watā* and *'aser*, 10 dollars.

4. By camel, *watā*, 5 dollars.

There is no allowance for weight by camel but there is a free allowance of up to three *frasilas* of food.

The freight rates are : By camel, 10 dollars for 1 *bahar* of 20 *frasilas*; by donkey, 1½ dollars a *frasila*.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Besides the payment of fares, rations have to be provided for the men at the rate of one man for one animal in the case of donkeys, and one man for up to three animals for camels. For donkey-men the rations cost from ½ to 1½ dollars a head according to whether they eat with the passengers or not. For camel men the cost of the rations is 2 dollars a head as they take eight days over the journey instead of six. 414 484 435

Other normal fares are: Shibam to Ba Rumeidan 5 dollars a camel, the normal fare, but I was asked 25 dollars a camel, 5 dollars for the *muqaddam*, and 30 dollars for the Beduins' broker to accompany the caravan. Tarim to Seihut 20 dollars a camel. This route necessitated two *siyaras*, each costing 10 dollars, and a Seiyid who had to be given 60 dollars.

The Du'an route is worked by the Marāshida and Khāmā. The *Wadi Leisar route by the Hālka*, and the Wadi al 'Ain route by the 'Awābitha.

**Motor Transport.**

The following tracks are passable and regularly used by cars :— 491 487

| | Miles. |
|---|---|
| *Mukalla*—seashore—Wadi Tifat—Landing ground—Fuwwa ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 9 |
| *Mukalla*—shore—Wadi Mubekha—Sherij Bashhar—Wadi Tifat—Fuwwa—Lermi—Kherba ... ... | 15·2 |
| *Mukalla*—along the shore—Hali ... ... ... | 12 |
| *Mukalla*—Manawarih—Sherij Bashhar—Fuwwa—Lermi—Kherba ... ... ... ... ... ... | 16·75 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Baqrein—Bakezebur ... ... ... ... . ... | 4 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Wadi Seded—Wadi Rukub—Buweish—Wadi al Feleq—Reida landing ground—Wadi Huweira—Shiheir—Wadi Ghasam—Gheil Ba Wazir ... ... ... ... | 33·6 |
| *Mukalla*—Khalf—Ras Mukalla—shore—Shihr (this route passes close to Shiheir and is an alternative route to Gheil Ba Wazir from either Mukalla or Shihr) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 42·1 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Bir Ba Zambur—Harshiat—Tila as Sufla ... ... ... | 10·4 |
| *Shihr*—Dufeigha ... ... ... ... ... | 2·7 |
| *Shihr*—Wadi Rahba—Tubala ... ... ... | 5·6 |
| *Shihr*—Wadi Karangahem—Habis—Gheil Ba Wazir (to Habis 12 miles) ... ... ... ... | 24 |
| *Shihr*—Dis—Ras al Qarn ... ... ... ... | |
| *Shibam*—Hauta (al Qatn)—Haura—Meshhed—Hajarein ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | |
| *Shibam*—Hedhira—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Farudh—Hezin (this route continues to Hureidha) ... ... | 25 |

ĀL 'IMRAN.

A tribe allied to the Tamimi. The *mansab* is Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. 619 631 101

MANAHIL.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beit Kasim ... | Beit Ghānim | An Neid | 40 | 'Aidha bin Tanāf. |
| | Beit al Batīn | do. | 60 | do. |
| | Beit Rasī'a | do. | 150 | do. |
| | Beit al Hamādī | do. | 28 | do. |
| | Beit Nahāi | An Neid and As Sōm | 80 | do. |
| | Beit Barakāt | As Sōm and Fughma | 30 | do. |
| | Beit Nas'ūd | do. | 15 | do. |
| | Beit Nōkhat | — | 50 | do. |
| Beit Mu'ashini | Beit al Bāqīya | Sena and An Neid | 100 | Yeslam bin Salim. |
| | Beit Sālmīn | do. do. | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Qūeinisa | do. do. | 60 | do. |
| | Tammān | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | Hushhūsh | do. do. | 300 | do. |
| | Muzābbar | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | 'Atūnī | An Neid | 100 | do. |
| Al Bawāqī ... | — | do. | 100 | — |
| As Samāh ... | Samāh ar Raqāa | Near the coast | 100 | — |
| | Samāh al Ghuthma | — | 50 | — |
| | Samāh Beit Khafr | At Al Masīla | 180 | — |
| | 'Adūl | — | 100 | — |
| Tha'in and Beit Farād. | — | — | 250 | — |
| Beit Dahein ... | — | — | 50 | — |
| Beit Qumsīt ... | — | — | 500 | — |
| Beni Sa'id ... | — | — | — | — |
| Beni Ujeil ... | — | Near Qabr Hud | — | — |
| | | | 2,593 | |

The Manahil are a strong nomad tribe occupying the country east and north of the Hamumi and up into the Rub'al Khali. The southern part of Reida and the country from Damakh to upper Hadhramaut belong to them, and they have a few small settlements east of Qasm. They have an " A 'ǂ agreement with the Qu'aiti.

They breed camels extensively like their neighbours in the south-east, the Mahras, both for sale and for hire. Their camels are said to be finer and stronger than those of the Sei'ar, and the average price is estimated at about 200 rupees a camel. Female camels are seldom sold and are used both for breeding and riding. Women do not milk camels among the Manahil. 231 435 [562]

The tribe are said to raid as far as the Central Nejd and sometimes to the outskirts of Kuweit, passing the sandy stretch by routes known only to themselves. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Mahras in the steppe. We found that when passing through Mahra territory they declare themselves Tamimis. Bertram Thomas also says that " Bin Tannaf is the hereditary title of the 619 721 622

ǂ [See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

313 camels. The difficulty is being got over to some extent by experiments in
333 making reinforced-concrete pillars, of which we saw two in construction at
353 Seyyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seyyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, consist of a lime plaster polished by smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

361 Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in
342 the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area five hundred houses built on
a slight eminence in the wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears
435 to be one enormous brown mud-built construction with a whitewashed top
623 storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town, and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild.
344 The area of land required to build a house 45 *dhirras* in width by 35 in depth (a *dhirra*, or cubit, equals 1·5 foot) will cost 10,000 dollars, and having acquired the land the prospective builder will have to submit the specifications of his house for the approval of a committee of the townspeople who consider the position of windows and of gutters carrying water to the street. Subsequent alterations to a house must also be similarly approved. By general consent houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high, in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this house, which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars.

333 The foundations are dug 2 *dhirras* deep below the surface of the earth and
342 3 *dhirras* wide. Stones are used for the foundation mortared together with a mixture of wood ash and lime. In places where there is any doubt as to the solidity of the ground on which the house is to stand long pieces of *'elb* wood are laid in pairs lengthwise in the foundations. Wood for this purpose must be cut in the winter; if this is done it is said never to rot. The stone foundation or *sās* is continued for 2 *dhirras* above the level of the ground. When the building operations have reached this stage a foundation sacrifice of a goat or sheep is made on the walls. The house is centred round a solid pillar built on the same foundation as the walls. For a house of the dimensions proposed this pillar or *'arus el beit* will be $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 *dhirras* wide and of the same thickness from top to bottom. The stairs of the house invariably go up round the *'arus*. The bricks are made of clay mixed with straw, the standard size being $1\frac{1}{4}$ *dhirras* in length by $\frac{2}{3}$ in breadth by 4 *banan* or fingers' widths in thickness. When the clay of the required consistency and thickness for making the bricks has been laid out they are cut out by a wooden frame which makes two bricks
[435] at a time. The bricks cost five dollars a thousand.

The thickness of the walls of the first storey is $1\frac{7}{8}$ *dhirras*, of the second $1\frac{1}{2}$, of the third $1\frac{1}{4}$, of the fourth 1 *dhirra*, of the fifth $\frac{3}{4}$, of the sixth $\frac{5}{8}$, and of the seventh $\frac{1}{2}$ a *dhirra*. The bricks are mortared together with wet clay. As *'elb* wood grows to no great length the size of the room is determined to some
[435] extent by the length of the pieces available as girders. The girders are usually very short and supported by carved pillars each costing about twenty dollars.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Himyarites was an important export center for incense and myrrh, has enough rainfall to support a thin growth of vegetation, largely incense trees. From this area and the surrounding country, at one time more abundantly watered, the priceless gum was most extensively collected in the past. It is still gathered today in small amounts, according to demand. The gum, which adheres to the bark, is har-

FIG. 20 Caravan loading. The three men at the right are arguing about the disposition of loads.

vested from varieties of the Burseraceae family, *Boswellia Carterii* and *B. Bhua-Dajiana*, divided by the Arabs into four grades.[4] Its value, which ranges from £80 to £10 a ton, depends on such qualities as color (red, green, and brown), size of the gum particles, and degree of adulteration. Just as the rubber gatherers of the Amazon debased latex with pebbles and gravel, so did the Arabs in the heyday of the incense trade, and to some extent even now, admix varying amounts of fine sand with the gum to increase its weight. Between March and August the trees are tapped by knife incision and a milky juice is extracted, which dries in three to five days.

Besides incense trees, a thin and scattered growth of bunch grass, camel's-thorn, and a cedarlike evergreen abundant in some dry wadies is found in the Hadhramaut. Date-palm groves, which cover many square miles, are mainly dependent on irrigation.

## Sources of Water Supply

In addition to artesian water and the water obtained from wells, other sources of supply are available. One of these is the *siquaya*, a small, rectangular, concrete tank with a capacity of 20 or 25 gallons erected along caravan routes near towns and maintained by them as a public service. Another is the well or cistern excavated at the base

[4] Freya Stark: The Southern Gates of Arabia, [New York], 1936, pp. 10–11.

we first went up there they charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

[SIR HASAN TONGUE IS -- ANALYST.]

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



IT IS A CURIOSITY OF DU'AN THAT ALL WOMEN DRESS
241 alike in long black dresses with coloured patches inserted in front and orange
301 scarves over their heads. They are, too, the only women who affect nose rings similar to those usually worn on the fingers. Very few of them have ever left their valley, but many of them bemoaned the absence of husbands who frequently left them for years at a time.

The Seiyids lent her a magnificent white donkey to go on to Sif where we had stayed before, and the following day she was met by a friend and a car just before reaching Meshhed. Thence she rejoined me in Seiyun.

From Du'an Mr. Figgis and I flew across to 'Azzan over the upper reaches of the Wadi Hajr, which like the Wadi Maseila has perennial water nearly all its length. I had been to 'Azzan before, but this visit was very short, as the machine crashed on the landing-ground. It was a very artistic crash, and in Air Force parlance a complete write-off. Luckily none of the three of us in the machine were in the least hurt and the crash was far more alarming for Mr. Figgis and his pilot still up above, as it was some time before we found a comfortable way of climbing out of the ruins. I hope that in every crash I have I shall have as skilful a pilot as on that occasion. The crash was due to misguided zeal of the locals, for it was their own home-made landing-ground and they had raked up all the stones off the ground into a ridge along its edge, and it was this we hit as we landed. As ours was the machine with the wireless in it we swapped over into the other, which had landed safely, and flew back to Mukalla to organize assistance.

361 'Azzan is the capital of the Balhaf Sultan and is most picturesquely situated
609 on a citadel rock by the side of the wadi. I was given a great reception on my
411 first visit there with the firing of rifles and war whooping, which is much more a feature of welcomes in the Western Aden Protectorate than in the Eastern. As we walked from the landing-ground to the village the Artillery, a fine old bronze gun marked "A. Wilson. Cossipore. 1841," was brought into play. Our path led below it and it was really rather alarming, because with each discharge a shower of burning shirts and other old clothes, which had been used as wadding, was fired over us.

411 'Azzan is the only place where I have seen spears surviving, though my wife
435 saw them in the Wadi 'Amd. One or two aged warriors came out with spears which they shook in martial fashion, threw into the air and caught again. Quite a number of old weapons survive in the Hadhramaut, for my wife also saw crossbows in the Wadi 'Amd and there are more of the old matchlocks in the country, some of them still in use, than in any other part of the Protectorate. The Hadhramaut seems to have turned over to modern weapons much more recently than the Western Protectorate, for most of the rifles, modern weapons, have wooden butts covered with goatskin fastened over them to take the recoil, a precaution far more necessary with matchlocks. It is worth recording perhaps that there is a heavy slump in the price of firearms. The ordinary Badawin rifle can be bought for as little as eight dollars with some ammunition thrown in, and the most modern rifles of continental manufacture, which eighteen months ago fetched an easy six hundred or more dollars when brought in from the Yemen, are now not bought at all and offers have been made of them for as little as fifty dollars.

419 The atmosphere of the Balhaf court is completely tribal; much more like
162

no poll tax is paid by the population as is the 651
case in Sēwūn and Terīm. A tax of a quarter of a *riyāl*[1] is 643
levied on every camel load that enters the gate of Shibām; also 4 % on sales of houses or land is due to the Sultan. Of the produce of the fields which depend on rain, 1 % is earmarked for the state treasury, *i. e.* the Sultan's pocket. The Government levies no tax on lands that are irrigated by their owners' efforts. The Qeᶜēṭī Sultan of Makalla owns much land in his kingdom: his tobacco fields at Ghēl Bā Wazīr, near Sheḥēr, bring in about 30.000 *riyāl* a year, and he owns many palm-groves in Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. Yet the greater part of his income comes from Bombay and Hyderabad, where he has extensive land and house property, and he receives 1500 *rupees* a month from the Niẓām of Hyderabad for his services as commander of the troops.

These great riches of the Qeᶜēṭīs are the source of their 643
power. The existence of a central authority is, in spite of many abuses, noticeable in their territory. It makes itself felt whenever urgently necessary and has no difficulty in holding its own against the Āl Kathīr, who are divided amongst themselves and are lacking in strong financial support.

The Sultan of Shibām only receives a salary from the Sultan of Makalla, to whom he is bound by family ties.

The military forces of the Qeᶜēṭī consist, in peace time, of 701
5000 soldiers, of whom 2000 are negro slave soldiers. In Shibām only 100 of them are in regular service, whilst some 500 are on reserve in case of need. These latter live, as a rule, in good houses all around el-Qaṭn.

The Sultan estimates the number of souls in Shibām, el-Qaṭn 162
and the villages between them, at 20.000. These are all the inhabitants of the State of Shibām, exclusive, however, of the Bedouin tribes who are allied by treaty with his Government.

We showed Sultan ᶜAlī the books about Ḥaḍramaut that we 186
had brought with us and a few English air photographs. It was then apparent how little the ruler and his entourage knew

[1] At the time of our visit a *riyāl* had about the same value as an Indian *rupee*. 435

342 mud steps leading up to them. Signs of intimate contact with foreign countries, Singapore as well as Java, may be noticed
439 both in the exteriors and interiors of these palaces. For instance, it appears to be the existing fashion to have the doors sent ready-made from Java and Singapore. Transport of these very heavy doors and window-frames is certainly expensive and difficult, for the strongest and largest camels have to be selected for it, but the supply of wood in Ḥaḍramaut is small and poor in quality and could not have provided for the many great new buildings of Terīm in so short a time.
[435] This extra expense is permissible because the rest of the
465 building costs in Ḥaḍramaut is small. Manual labour is very
331 cheap in this desperately poor and overpopulated country.
342 Even first-rate professional men, architects included, do not earn more than a very moderate daily wage. The chief building material is mud, which can be dug up everywhere close by the house that is to be built. As everything is covered with a plaster of mud, the most crooked branches of *nibq* and desert shrubs can be used for roof construction and similar details. The trunks of date-palms are chiefly in use for ceilings and supporting pillars. We only saw wooden pillars with wooden capitals and cross-beams in the very old, dilapidated castles; the carved, dark-brown wood found in these, with their ceilings of split and interwoven branches, painted in rust-red, white, and black, are certainly very beautiful; yet, owing to the scarcity of wood, one must make shift with the trunks of date-palms. Ceilings, pillars and cross-beams are nowadays covered with a plaster of mud, and this, again, is painted over in fresh, soft colours. The new buildings, consequently, make a gayer and lighter impression, both without and within, and they are more cleanly, but something of the old beauty has vanished. Present-day builders have become real masters in modelling mud and in whitewash work. Pillars made of palm-trunks are transformed by them, as if by magic, into vigorous-looking, round columns with fine capitals.

was also no large supply of fodder; we could only buy thirty bundles of dried *dhura* stalks, which cost us one *riyāl*. The *riyāl* seemed to be the only coin in use; for a half *riyāl* one could buy nothing. Our help was asked for a sick camel which, we were told, had been bitten by a snake. The local camel doctor had smeared the animal with a black salve and had cut off half of its ears. A sick man, who was obviously suffering from elephantiasis, told us that he had been hissed at by a snake. With regret we had to explain that we travelled without our medicine-chest and were unprovided with means for helping against the dangerous snakes of the country.

### 3. ʿRĒDET ED-DEYYIN.

We went on our way very soon, in the hope of reaching ar-Rēda, the central point of the settlements of the Deyyin Bedouins, that evening. There lives the chief whose acquaintance we had made at Bā Ṣurra's castle. It was long after sundown when we approached Shēkh ʿUthmān's village, Nedjēdēn. We stumbled on through the darkness, following the camels, till we came to cultivated land with a few dried-up *nibq* trees dotted about here and there. The village showed no sign of a friendly, inviting light; the fortress-like houses resembled nothing but black cubes. Directly the watch-dogs heard us they proceeded to attack us, barking furiously, and this noise roused life in the houses: first there were questioning voices and then a few lights. We kept the dogs at bay with stones and, aided by information proceeding from the closed houses, found our way to Shēkh ʿUthmān's dwelling, which was a miserable-looking, low building with nothing attractive about it. We awakened the inhabitants by our shouts and, with distrustful aversion, they admitted us to a large room with an earthen floor where we sat down on our travelling rugs. Our hopes of a speedy sleep after this very tiring day

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM21



651 Revenue and expenditure of local governments in the Eastern Aden Protectorate which have adopted regular accounting methods are as follows:

*Revenue*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (*a*) Mukalla Government | . . . . . | Rs. 21,47,767 |
| (*b*) Sai'un " | . . . . . | 2,36,895 |
| (*c*) Wahidi " | . . . . . | 78,333 |

*Expenditure*

652

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (*a*) Mukalla Government | . . . . . | Rs. 22,24,947 |
| (*b*) Sai'un " | . . . . . | 1,91,199 |
| (*c*) Wahidi " | . . . . . | 69,376 |

*Assets and Liabilities*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Investments Mukalla Government. | . . . | Rs. 35,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | . | 46,783 |
| Investment Sai'un Government | . . . | 3,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | . | 34,540 |
| Investment Wahidi Government | . . . | 60,000 |
| Savings Banks and Co-operative Societies | . | Nil |

[453 474]

## Chapter 5: Currency and Banking

435 Indian rupees and riyals (or Maria Theresa dollars) are the currency used, the 1947 rate of exchange being Rs. 2.6.0. to the M.T. Dollar.

## Chapter 6: Commerce

439 The principal imports are grains, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth and cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap, glassware, etc.; the principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, etc.

Imports and exports for the Eastern Aden Protectorate during 1947 were as follows:

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Market Conditions*

Food grain prices showed no reduction during the year. Prices at the main coastal centres of Aden and Mukalla fluctuated between £25 and £37 per ton, the higher rates being recorded in Mukalla towards the end of the year, when famine conditions were confirmed in the Hadhramaut. 435

The price of sesame seed fell from the high levels of 1947, and the price during the year varied between £60 and £70 per ton.

The Maria Theresa dollar exchange dropped 23½ per cent at the end of the year, Rs. 186 being asked for 100 dollars.

*Demonstration and Experiment*

In the Hadhramaut the introduction of barley passed the third season; it may be claimed that the crop has found favour and that it is most likely to become well established in the economy of the country. The object of this introduction was to obtain a more dependable crop for winter sowing. Wheat was in the past the winter crop, and always a risky one owing to the danger of rust attacks. Barley in southern Arabia is regarded as a safer crop in all respects, but for some reason it escaped the attention of farmers in the Wadi Hadhramaut. 242 243 248

In Abyan cotton variety X1730A was grown on a field scale on Abyan Board tenants' land. The crop was sown on land inundated in August with approximately three feet of water. No other water was applied after sowing. At the end of the year, the crop appeared most promising.

*Plant Introduction*

Three-hundred and fifty apricot, 350 Japanese plum, and 24 peach trees were imported from South Africa, for sale to farmers on the Audhali Plateau.

One hundred citrus trees were imported from Eritrea, for planting and distribution in Abyan.

*Development Schemes: The Abyan Board*

Work on improvement of the systems of the Na'aza and Ba Tes canals was carried out in the first nine months of the year. A stone regulator at Ba Tes head and a series of stone drops and regulators were installed on this system and on part of the Na'aza system. Much work remains to be done, and in a manner which will allow of the improvement to be incorporated in the general plan of development for the area. 242 241

Following further examination of the area by Mr. N. Simansky, Irrigation Adviser, it was possible to submit an application for a loan of £250,375 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Sanction for this loan was obtained in July, and work started in the last quarter of the year. Machinery and cement were ordered, while local purchases were made from ex-War Department stocks held in Aden. At the end of the year, two Agricultural Officers, one of whom acted as manager to the Board, one British and three Italian surveyors, and one British accountant, together with a large Arab staff were employed on the scheme.

The development programme of the Board continued side by side with

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut min2



to the Hadhramaut. This winter rainfall enormously improved the range conditions over the mountain areas of the Protectorate and produced exceptionally good pasturage for the desert tribes in the north-east. 132

Large acreages of winter cereals and fodder crops were grown. The year finished with the whole of the Protectorate in good condition. 241

Livestock started the year in many areas in a starved condition, and in the east with their numbers greatly reduced. At the end of 1949 their condition was restored, but numbers, particularly of small stock, were low. 231

*Plant Pests and Diseases*

As a result of the favourable rains and the continuance of sorghum cultivation through the Saif season, to the flood crop of the Kharif, and into the lift irrigated crops planted in autumn, 1949, there was a serious increase in the stalk borer population, and an estimated loss of up to 50 per cent of the crop resulted in the Hadhramaut lift irrigated areas. 731 242

*Animal Health*

No outbreak of rinderpest or other serious animal disease was recorded during 1949. 731

*Market Conditions*

With the devaluation of the pound the value of the Maria Theresa dollar rose nearly 30 per cent in relation to rupee currency. Produce prices remained high until autumn, 1949, when a sharp drop occurred in many districts following the good harvests. Sorghum grain on the Aden market averaged about £35 per ton throughout 1949. 435 435

*Demonstration and Experiment*

A field trial with X1730A cotton grown from Abyan raised seed was very successful in 1949 ; some 1,750 lbs. of seed cotton per acre was obtained from scattered plots totalling 82 acres which had received one watering only before planting. The crop was planted in the months of September and October, and grew rapidly. In some fields plants reached a height of over 6 feet and carried an enormous crop. No important pests or diseases were seen. 242

The crop was classified by the Chief Classifier of the Sudan Plantation Syndicate, who was flown over for the purpose ; he placed about half the crop in grades 3 and 4, and the balance in grades 5 and 6, basing his classification on Sudan Gezira standard for L type cottons. The graded crop was sold to the Raw Cotton Commission.

Varieties of cane, introduced in small quantities from Mauritius in the previous season, were cut in September, 1949, and planted out in observation plots.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



498 The Ahwar Farmers' Association was started with the nomination by the Regent of a chairman and managing committee of 12, assisted by a secretary. The committee functioned during 1952 as a kind of Agricultural Board to deal with local irrigation arrangements, cotton growing and marketing, and development work. It provided a useful link between the Department of Agriculture and the farming community.

## FISHERIES

226 The same type of fishing is carried out in the Protectorates as in the Colony with more emphasis on beach seines. The most extensive fishery is the coast from Mukalla eastwards to beyond Qishn. In the winter months sardine of the Sardinella and Dussumreria types are found together with *Scomberomerus spp.* and tunny. The Western Protectorate coast in winter generally supports an intensive fishery for anchovy (*Stolephorus indicus*) by beach seines. In addition a small shrimp is also caught by this method. The fisheries are localised but seasonal fishermen tend to follow the shoals along the coast.

Encircling gill nets, bottom nets and lift nets are little used in the Protectorate as local opinion is strongly opposed to methods of increasing yields for fear that the fish will become extinct.

439 Fishing is financed in the same way as in Colony by merchants.
226 Fish, surplus to normal requirements, is salted and dried for export to India, Africa and Ceylon but there is considerable local consumption
255 inland. Dried sardines are used for camel fodder, tobacco fertiliser
254 and human consumption. One fish factory for canning tunny and sardines, which was established in Mukalla in 1950 and which used an Italian trawler for supplies, has had to close down owing to lack of capital. Fish meal was also produced at this factory. No cold storage or ice-making plants exist.

435 Marketing arrangements are the same as in the Colony : fish prices
226 are about 50 per cent lower for the consumer in the Protectorate.

The sardine fishery which had failed for three years showed signs of revival in the early winter of 1951 along the Eastern Protectorate coast. Shoals of larger fish were also abundant and the upward trend has again been noticed in the winter of 1952.

654 The Fisheries Department is described on page 27. It has surveyed
226 little of the Protectorate waters except by Danish seine netting. The results have been exceptionally poor owing to the rough nature of the bottom. Plans for extensive and intensive work in the Protectorates have been delayed because of schemes in the Colony. A certain amount of work has been done in Western Protectorate waters from Perim to beyond Shuqra but only one area showed signs of promise with Danish seine nets : half a ton of *Lethrinus spp.* was the best single individual haul. The fishermen from Aden Colony range into the Western Protectorate and on three nights at the end of the Shamal of 1952, with assistance from the Fisheries Department vessel, secured 14½ tons of *Scomberomerus spp.* from the west of Aden. These co-operative efforts will be resumed in the Shamal of 1953.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



### Currency

436 The coins in use, according to Van den Berg, are :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Copper. | Rub' Khamsīyah | = ±0·005 florin. |
| " | Khamsīyah | = ±0·02 " |
| Silver. | Haraf | = 8 Khamsīyah. |
| " | Oqīyah | = 2 Haraf. |
| " | Qarsh | = 7½ Oqīyah. |
| Gold. | None. | |

There is also a coin, current in some districts, called Buqshah, worth ⅓ Khamsīyah ; and a copper coin, current only at Shiheir, the Diwani, worth ⅛ Khamsīyah.

The five-franc piece, in place of the Qarsh, is popularly current all over the Hadhramaut, and the 10-cent pieces of the Dutch East Indies are largely in use.

435 556 Money has a high purchasing power in the Hadhramaut, or, in other words, everything of native production is incredibly cheap ; the only dear articles are horses and arms. There are no great fortunes in the Hadhramaut, with the exception of that of the Jemadar of Shiheir ; his resources may be placed at several millions of florins, invested mostly, however, in India. The Sultan of Seyyūn possesses a fortune of some hundreds of thousands, mainly property in the country, and there are some few individuals with fortunes nearing 100,000 florins. Amongst the Bedouins money is rare.

### Weights and Measures

804 The weights are as follows :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Qaflah | = ± | 2½ grammes. |
| Oqīyah | = | 10 Qaflah. |
| Rotl | = | 12 Oqīyah (16 Oqīyah at Makalla and Shiheir). |
| Raf'ah | = | 12 Rotl. |
| Farāsilah | = | 2 Raf'ah. |
| Bahār | = | 12½ Farāsilah. |
| Jābir | = | 2 Bahār. |

The measures of length are :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shibr | = ± | 16 centimetres. |
| Dhrā' | = | 3 Shibr. |
| Sāqit | = | 5 Dhrā'. |
| Farsakh | = | 80 Sāqit. |

Yafa'i circles in the Hadhramaut. Some of the Seiyids of the Hadhramaut have an enigmatical way of speaking Arabic amongst themselves. 191 177

**Currency.**

The currency consists of rupees and Maria Theresa dollars. The exchange value of the latter depends on the price of silver, and in November 1934, when much of the information contained in this report was collected, the dollar was practically equivalent to a rupee. For this reason the two denominations were often used indifferently. By mid-May 1935, the rate was Rs.149 to $100 in Aden and Rs.150 to $100 in Mukalla. 436 [435]

Small change is almost entirely British Indian, though there are a few Mukalla pice, a little Javanese money, and some Italian lire from Somaliland. Indian notes circulate fairly freely in Mukalla. The copper coins are called *besa* and the other Indian change *shauli bauli*. Generally speaking, any known money will be exchanged. In the towns of the main Wadi many ancient coins pass for small change, and there are also a number of small coins struck by the Al Kaf family. Small change is given for dollars according to their relative value with rupees.

**Weights and Measures.** 804

The weights and measures in use in Mukalla are as follows:—

1 Qofla.—The weight of 4 annas.

1 Waqia.—1 English ounce.

1 Ratl.—1 English pound.

1 Frasila.—20 lb. of fish or 32 lb. of shells.

1 Gubban.—25 lb. for gum.

1 Bahar.—10¾ Aden maunds or 300 English lb. of tobacco, or 360 lb. of dates, but dates from the interior 300 lb.

1 Qosra.—180 lb. of Basra dates. Trucial Oman dates are in packages of 70-80 lb. They are of an inferior quality.

1 Ma'bar.—A basket of 30-40 lb. of *Wazif* (dried *'aid* fish).

In Shibam the pound is of 12 ounces; 28 lb. equal 1 *frasila*, and 14 *frasilas* 8 lb. equal one *bahar*.

MEASURES OF LENGTH.

1 Banan—1 finger's breadth.

2 Shubrs—1 Dhirra.

2 Dhirras—1 Wara.

1 Wara—1 Yard.

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

As a general rule liquids are sold by weight; there is however a small measure used for oil called a *Baura*. Such a quantity is sold for one or two pice.

**Calendar.** 805

For official and sometimes for business purposes, when dealing with Europeans, the date is expressed A.D. as well as A.H., but

505 Agent, 'Abdulla Lalljee. These Lines call at both Mukalla and Shihr on the line Aden—Mukalla—Shihr—Mukalla—Aden. Apart from these two Lines the principal cargo traffic is taken by dhows. The normal number of dhows entering and leaving Mukalla a year is 300-400 which includes 70 or 80 big buggalows from Bombay. Dhows come from Gulf ports, Oman, Basra, Sur, Utubi, Kuweit, Hindi Kwati, Karachi, Bombay, Aden, Red Sea ports, Zanzibar, and the Somali coast, and leave for the same places. When there is much grain the number increases to 400 or 500.

A combined service of the Rotterdam Lloyd, Netherland M.V.S., and Blue Funnel Line provides eight calls a year each way on the line Suez—Singapore and Singapore—Suez. The ships call each way once a month except during the south-west monsoon when big ships cannot anchor. Ships of the Bombay—Persia line call on the route Calcutta—Bombay—Jedda about eight times each way except during the pilgrim season when they only call on the homeward voyage from Red Sea ports. The agent for both these services is 'Abdulla Lalljee.

During the last three years one Russian ship has called, and Italian ships call occasionally when the Bombay—Persia line ships cannot.

## CHAPTER IX.

## COMMERCE OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

### Finance.

431 All finance is in the hands of the merchants. Seven lakhs of
439 rupees come from Java every month direct or via Aden. The
457 greater part of this is in drafts on Bombay which are sold in Mukalla for cash. Indian and the more important Arab merchants deal in them, and ordinarily charge no commission as the drafts form an easy and cheap method of remittance. If, however, money is scarce locally, about four annas per cent. of rupees is charged. Money goes out to Aden and Bombay and is remitted through the merchants, who write letters to their agents at those places to obtain drafts. Dollars move freely to the interior and, if the exchange is good, come from there. The caravans which take the goods to the interior bring the dollars back, and this, apart from honey, firewood, and fodder, is about all that is carried from the interior to Mukalla. The dollars are exported from Mukalla to Aden if the exchange is more favourable there, and on the other hand if there is a shortage of dollars in Mukalla, or if the dollar is cheaper in Aden than in Mukalla, they are brought in. Omani and other dhow traders bring goods and take out money in cash. When the Imam imposed a duty on dollars imported to the Yemen there was a flow of dollars from Mukalla to Shibam and thence along the caravan route to San'ā. Dollars in Mukalla are usually two pice or upwards more than in Aden,

436 but never less, though sometimes they are equal. Transfer of
439 bullion is more common from Mukalla to Aden than from Aden
457 to Mukalla.

## Interest.

1152 Money can be had at 10 per cent. interest on mortgages, and
426 a few of the big Arabs obtain their wealth from this source. Goods are sold on a period of one month's credit and a percentage is calculated on this basis. Sometimes when cultivators have been unable to sell their tobacco the merchants have to wait for their payment for two to six months, and charge four to eight annas per cent. on the goods, or one rupee on people who are unable to pay for a long time. In Shibam 5 per cent. interest is charged on borrowed money. Interest transactions are of course disguised in order to avoid the Quranic precepts against usury.

## Foreign Trade.

439 The total value of the foreign trade (in merchandise) of the Hadhramaut in 1352 is estimated at over Rs.6,000,000. The chief exports are: tobacco, honey and fish products. The chief imports are: dates, flour, rice, goats and sheep, piece goods, simsim, jowari and kerosene.

### Imports of Merchandise.

| | *Quantity.* | *Rate.* | *Value.* (1353 prices.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fish products: *Sermai* (split and salted fish) pieces. | 10,000 to 15,000 | $28 to 60 per 100 | $2,800 to $4,200 |
| Goats and sheep, Nos. ... | 20,000 to 30,000 | Rs. 6 or 7 each | Rs. 120,000. |
| Dates. Basra. *Qosra* ... | 20,000 to 30,000 | Rs. 4/8 to Rs. 6/8 | Rs. 110,000 |
| Oman, *Jerab* (six *frasilas*) | 1,000 | Rs. 6 | Rs. 6,000 |
| Flour, bags ... ... | 10,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | French Rs. 10/4 Karachi Rs. 10/8 to Rs. 11/- | Rs. 102,500 |
| Rice, bags ... ... | 75,000 to 85,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 11/- | Rs. 825,000 |
| Building Poles (*boriles*), scores. | 400 to 500 | Rs. 7–25 a score according to quality. | * |
| Simsim, bags ... ... | 15,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 60–67 a *bahar* of 570 lbs. | Rs. 900,000 |
| Jowari, bags ... ... | 70,000 to 80,000 | Rs. 6–8·8 | Rs. 420,000 |
| Piece Goods Japanese bales | 1,000 | Rs. 130 | Rs. 130,000 |
| Others ... | Very few | | |
| Kerosene, cases ... ... | 26,000 to 30,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 6 | Rs. 156,000 |
| Petrol, cases ... ... | 1,200 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 9 | Rs. 10,800. |
| Tea, cases of 90 to 100 lb. | 1,200 to 1,300 Mukalla & Shihr. | Up to Rs. 3 a lb. | Rs. 125,000 |
| Coffee, bags of 5–10 *frasilas* | 1,500 | Jelal, Rs. 7 Majbura, Rs. 2–3 | Rs. 30,000 |

* None imported in 1353.

000 pools built by the rich and progressive class of Seyyeds, whose many innovations have re-made the face of this ancient land of the Queen of Sheba.

131 The political frontiers of the Kathiri State describe a finger pointed downward from the Rub-al-Khali into the heart of [161] Hadhramaut. They enclose an area of some six thousand square miles and a population of sixty thousand, a third of whom dwell 652 in the city of Seiyun. The state's current average annual revenue runs close to $100,000.[1]

175 Early Kathiri history is obscure. Forebears of the present sultan once controlled all of Hadhramaut, but in the eighteenth century the al-Quaiti, an immigrant tribe of Yemeni origin, wrested control of the coastal region from their Kathiri overlords at Seiyun and gradually established hegemony over interior tribes until today the Quaiti State comprises nearly the whole of Hadhramaut. Until the "Peace of Ingrams,"[2] modern Kathiri history was dominated by constant and costly warfare between Seiyun and the parvenu Quaiti power at Mukalla.

643 The present Kathiri ruler, His Highness Sultan Husayn Ali Ibn Mansur, succeeded to the throne on May 22, 1950, and was one of the five Aden chiefs selected to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth.[3] It is through Sultan Husayn's generous and patient correspondence that much of this statistical information concerning his far-off land has been gathered.

643 Political organization in the Kathiri State is patterned closely 645 after administrative machinery in Malaya.[4] Executive authority is vested in the sultan assisted by a Council of State of which the ruler is president and the British Resident an ex-officio member. The Council's remaining members include: the Kathiri State Secretary (*Wazir*) and heads of the departments of the Treasury, Customs, Education and Judiciary, in addition to four un-

436 [1] In 1951 the East African shilling, worth about $0.14, replaced the Indian rupee as legal tender in the Protectorate.

[2] William Harold Ingrams, last of the old-style empire-builders, did much to pacify and organize modern Hadhramaut in the years 1934–44. He was the first Resident Adviser to the states of Hadhramaut and the Eastern Aden Protectorate. To him, Hadhramis have given the name, "Peace-maker of the Desert."

[3] Others invited: the sultans of Mukalla, Lahej, Shuqra and the Amir of Dhala, the latter three, prominent chiefs of the Western Aden Protectorate.

[4] Ingrams visited Singapore in 1940 to study the operation of local governments in the Malay States for ways of stepping-up efficiency in native rule in the Hadhramaut.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



official members serving as consultative representatives of the "popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public services consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educational facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the state's own postage stamps[5] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, appears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements[8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

[5] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

[8] The Anglo-Kathiri treaty engagement of 1918 was merely an extension of the terms of a previous Anglo-Quaiti treaty to those parts of the Hadhramaut interior controlled by the Kathiri sultan. By terms of the Anglo-Kathiri agreement the Kathiri State was placed under British protectorate. The 1939 Adviser Agreement provided for the appointment of a British Resident Adviser to the court of the Kathiri sultan.

in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators. 000

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more complicated than in most places in the Protectorate. 619 182 421

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their centres. 427 565 792 651 619 692 182

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood fued, and there is little doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to 182 628 411 436

182 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last
628 quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras
411 carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease
436 of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some
[792] years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by
182 Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small
671 thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the
576 gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

183 Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

182 I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into
673 their confederations and have shown the course which these confedera-
728 tions are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in
671 about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts,
[625] whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when
000 nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

484 pasture lies beyond a certain point; or at noonday halts the camels become "temporarily lost."

Moonlit nights are considered most desirable for travel. Camels 233 are grazed wherever pasture is most abundant, regardless of the time of day—the heat may be intense—or the progress of the journey. This would not be necessary if small quantities of fodder, such as millet and hay, were carried. This practice, however, is not popular, owing either to custom or to what may be considered unwarranted expense, despite the fact that the animals could be maintained in superior condition and at the same time be worked harder to a degree that would more than offset the cost of purchased fodder.

[262] On the march camelmen provide for their own maintenance with small amounts of dates, bread, coffee, and tea, which add little to 484 the burden a caravan can transport. Therefore, provided the equipment of a traveling group is not too cumbersome and the personnel not too large, the unit can maintain itself on the march four or five weeks without replenishing supplies. Speed of travel will be governed by local grazing, water supply, and terrain, the condition of the camels, and the "temperament" of the caravan leader—an unknown usually capable of "adjustment."

492 In the caravans of those not strictly limited in resources, the donkey is invariably included because it is comparatively easy to ● 436 ride and a more comfortable mount than a camel. Camels can be hired for 1.00 to 1.25 Maria Theresa dollars (the standard currency in the interior) a day and donkeys for about 1.00 dollar.

## Bedouin "Warfare"

721 It is common knowledge that caravans have been both successfully 484 and unsuccessfully raided; but just what tactics the Bedouins employ on such occasions is somewhat of a mystery. At 4.00 a. m. one day a small party was plodding silently through bushes and mist along a broad wadi bottom leading to the sea. Through a knowledge of the prevailing wind as revealed by ripple marks in the sand, the leader cautiously picked his way and at length found a faint trail incised [233] in the bank. About 10.00 a. m. the caravan came to rest in the spotted shade of a leafless camel's-thorn for the customary noontime forage; and while the camels fed on the sharp, crunchy thorns, the Bedouins reclined on the sand in the meager shade of the dry branches.

Without apparent warning the whole camp was suddenly alive, for downwind had come a faint call, which one man had been alert enough to catch. The sharp-eyed Bedouins soon discovered two minute figures on the crest of a distant dune overlooking the caravan route ahead; and it was at once recalled that this route followed a tribal boundary between two groups now rumored to be unfriendly. The

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



467 466 this reduction should be made, issued a decree (taḳrīr) defining the wages of the various categories of people engaged in building. The workmen still refused to accept the revised wages, and some left Tarīm and went to the independent Ḥawṭah of Thibī, outside it and beyond Kathīrī jurisdiction. Some however stayed in Tarīm, but worked at collecting firewood, and refused to undertake building. A *modus vivendi* was established through the good offices of Saiyid Bū Bakr al-Kāf, but whereas, before, the wage of the builders had been two three Āl Kāf ḍarībahs per day, which the wealthy had attempted to reduce to one ḍarībah only, after the dispute all the workmen received three ḍarībahs [10].

172 782 To revert to the sacrifice on the sās, I noticed in the fine archaeological site of the town known as Am-'Ādīyah [11] that on some buildings an inscription was located at the *corner* of the sās which was constructed of the typical lozenge-backed Himyarite hewn stone, and that it stood about three feet from the ground. Possibly therefore it was sometimes a custom to place inscriptions in the sās about the place of the sacrifice; they could not be placed higher as the wall above this point is of adobe. These particular Am-'Ādīyah inscriptions are very weather-beaten, and to the best of my knowledge no attempt has been made to copy them.

322 342 531 An interesting feature of Ḥaḍramī building is the shape of the columns, generally carved from 'ilb wood, which strikes one immediately as descended from an ancient tradition. In the Ḥawṭah of Thibī near Tarīm, I first saw the curious capital sketched (fig. C.) from below, with its little round pendants underneath the rectangular blocks. Later I realised that this was a very stylized type of capital, derived from a prototype somewhat resembling the examples in figs. A & B., sketched in my field-book at 'Azzān and

● 436 [10] Reproductions of the ḍarībah in J. A. S. Bucknill, *A note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia, Journ. of the Malay of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, 1925), III, 1. It is the coin which has the number 16 written on it. There were about five to six ḍarībahs to the riyāl (ḳirš franzāwī).

[11] For notes on this town see S. Pirowne, *'Im'adiya and Beihan, Aden, Antiquity* (London), xiii (1939), p. 50. The author confuses the name امادية with عمادية, but it is really the South Arabian article Am = Al, followed by the word 'Ādīyah. It is therefore « the 'Ādite city » which means little more really than « the ancient city ». I visited it in 1941.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



was also no large supply of fodder; we could only buy thirty bundles of dried *dhura* stalks, which cost us one *riyāl*. The *riyāl* seemed to be the only coin in use; for a half *riyāl* one could buy nothing. Our help was asked for a sick camel which, we were told, had been bitten by a snake. The local camel doctor had smeared the animal with a black salve and had cut off half of its ears. A sick man, who was obviously suffering from elephantiasis, told us that he had been hissed at by a snake. With regret we had to explain that we travelled without our medicine-chest and were unprovided with means for helping against the dangerous snakes of the country.

### 3. ʿRĒDET ED-DEYYIN.

We went on our way very soon, in the hope of reaching er-Rēda, the central point of the settlements of the Deyyin Bedouins, that evening. There lives the chief whose acquaintance we had made at Bā Ṣurra's castle. It was long after sundown when we approached Shēkh ʿUthmān's village, Nedjēdēn. We stumbled on through the darkness, following the camels, till we came to cultivated land with a few dried-up *nibq* trees dotted about here and there. The village showed no sign of a friendly, inviting light; the fortress-like houses resembled nothing but black cubes. Directly the watch-dogs heard us they proceeded to attack us, barking furiously, and this noise roused life in the houses: first there were questioning voices and then a few lights. We kept the dogs at bay with stones and, aided by information proceeding from the closed houses, found our way to Shēkh ʿUthmān's dwelling, which was a miserable-looking, low building with nothing attractive about it. We awakened the inhabitants by our shouts and, with distrustful aversion, they admitted us to a large room with an earthen floor where we sat down on our travelling rugs. Our hopes of a speedy sleep after this very tiring day

6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 5 : Currency and Banking

436 In the Protectorate, as a whole, rupees and riyals (Maria Theresa dollars) are the currency used, the average rate of exchange during the year being about Rs. 2.2.0 to the M.T. dollar.

# Chapter 6 : Commerce

439 The principal imports are grain, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth, cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap, glassware, etc. The principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, etc.

Imports and exports for the Eastern Aden Protectorate during 1948 were as follows:

(A) IMPORTS

| No. | Commodity | No. of packages | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Wheat . . . | 1,732 bags | 3,373 cwt. | 87,690 |
| 2. | Millet, Yemani . | 7,478 attals | 18,975 „ | 4,07,960 |
| 3. | „ other sorts . | 29,737 bags | 57,245 „ | 13,16,630 |
| 4. | Maize . . . | 5,515 „ | 10,896 „ | 1,79,780 |
| 5. | Flour, wheat . . | 6,760 „ | 9,489 „ | 3,13,130 |
| 6. | Rice, all sorts . . | 12,280 „ | 20,595 „ | 11,32,720 |
| 7. | Dates, Basrah . . | 11,452 baskets | 17,178 „ | 2,63,390 |
| 8. | „ other sorts . | 72 jerabs | 96 „ | 1,920 |
| 9. | Sugar, refined . . | 8,058 bags | 15,530 „ | 7,45,460 |
| 10. | Sim Sim . . | 5,881 „ | 10,220 „ | 4,59,900 |
| 11. | Tea, black . . | — | 82,305 lb. | 2,36,620 |
| 12. | Coffee . . . | — | 2,795 cwt. | 1,28,630 |
| 13. | Sheep and goats . | 4,289 heads | — | 98,640 |
| 14. | Ghee (butter clarified) | 5,458 tins | 1,827 „ | 3,07,010 |
| 15. | Oil, Sim Sim and Coconut . . | 10,205 „ | 3,417 „ | 5,74,030 |
| 16. | Kerosene and Petrol | 47,930 „ | 191,710 gln. | 2,87,580 |
| 17. | Spices and Condiments | — | — | 12,27,100 |
| 18. | Cotton piece-goods, grey sheetings . | — | 483,504 yds. | 6,64,810 |
| 19. | Cotton piece-goods, other sorts . . | — | — | 5,00,180 |
| 20. | Cotton twist . . | — | 1,009 cwt. | 3,39,150 |
| 21. | Cigarettes and tobacco | — | — | 81,730 |
| 22. | Wood and timber . | — | — | 61,120 |
| 23. | Miscellaneous . . | — | — | 34,68,190 |
| | | | TOTAL | 12,88,3370 |

## Chapter 5: Currency and Banking

436 652 In the Protectorate rupees and riyals (Maria Theresa dollars) are the currency used. The devaluation of the rupee caused a sudden rise of the M.T. dollar to Rs. 2/8/0 followed by a slower rise, which is still going on. At the end of 1950 it had risen to just over Rs. 3.

453 There are no banks in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 6: Commerce

439 The principal imports are grain, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth, cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap, glassware, etc. The principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, etc.

The great bulk of trade with the Western Aden Protectorate goes by land from the town of Aden.

Principal imports and exports which passed through the Mukalla Customs for the Eastern Aden Protectorate during 1950 were as follows:

IMPORTS

| | | *Quantity* | *Value* Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wheat .. .. .. | cwt. | 5,296 | 1,37,700 |
| Millet, Yemeni .. .. | „ | 2,393 | 47,860 |
| „ other sorts .. .. | „ | 80,933 | 1,74,060 |
| Maize .. .. .. .. | „ | 9,101 | 1,45,620 |
| Flour, wheat .. .. .. | „ | 21,250 | 6,80,000 |
| Rice, all sorts.. .. .. | „ | 62,051 | 29,78,450 |
| Other Grains .. .. .. | „ | 3,154 | 1,26,160 |
| Dates, Busrah .. .. | „ | 31,290 | 58,40,800 |
| „ other sorts .. .. | „ | 3,245 | 64,900 |
| Sugar, refined .. .. | „ | 20,732 | 10,36,600 |
| „ other sorts .. .. | „ | 1,505 | 97,830 |
| Joggery—Mollasses .. .. | „ | 3,272 | 1,30,880 |
| Sim Sim .. .. .. | „ | 7,670 | 10,73,800 |
| Tea .. .. .. .. | lb. | 125,547 | 3,76,640 |
| Coffee .. .. .. .. | cwt. | 5,131 | 2,46,340 |
| Sheep and Goats .. .. | | | 1,91,350 |
| Ghee (clarified butter) .. | cwt. | 2,438 | 4,87,600 |
| Oil, all sorts .. .. .. | „ | 5,185 | 6,22,200 |
| Kerosene and Petrol.. .. | gal. | 286,764 | 4,30,150 |
| Spices .. .. .. .. | | | 9,14,800 |
| Cotton Piece-goods, Grey Sheetings .. .. .. | yards | 548,169 | 5,48,170 |
| Cotton pce./goods, other sorts | | | 6,99,270 |
| Cotton twist .. .. .. | | | 1,49,400 |
| Cigarettes and Tobacco .. | | | 2,63,340 |
| Wool and Timber .. .. | | | 1,88,510 |
| Miscellaneous .. .. | | | 39,05,550 |
| TOTAL VALUE OF IMPORTS .. | | | Rs. 1,78,67,260 |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

652

| | 1951–52 | 1952–53 |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 31,892 | 38,227 |
| Hadhrami Beduin Legion | 27,872 | 33,555 |
| Subsidies to Local Forces | 8,658 | 11,357 |
| Education | 4,767 | 5,326 |
| Health | 6,721 | * |
| Agriculture | — | 50 |
| Miscellaneous Services and Subsidies | 501 | 671 |
| Famine Relief | 183 | 246 |
| Information Services | — | 188 |
| | 80,594 | 89,620 |

* The Health Services are now common to both Protectorates and are shown under Western Aden Protectorate.

Revenue and expenditure of States in the Protectorates which have adopted regular accounting methods are as follows :

| | 1951–52 | | 1952–53 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Revenue* | *Expenditure* | *Revenue* | *Expenditure* |
| *Western Protectorate* : | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Fadhli | 54,660 | 40,228 | 43,090 | 47,709 |
| Lower Yafa'i | 24,995 | 9,670 | 18,562 | 20,703 |
| Dathina | 7,369 | 8,630 | 10,663 | 8,795 |
| Lower Aulaqi | 3,604 | 2,933 | 4,836 | 4,141 |
| Amiri | 8,788 | 6,574 | 8,334 | 9,275 |
| Audhali | 13,210 | 11,827 | 17,505 | 13,129 |
| Upper Aulaqi (Sheikhdom) | 749 | 572 | 7,117 | 7,026 |
| Subeihi | 3,651 | 2,098 | 2,324 | 2,967 |
| *Eastern Protectorate* : | | | | |
| Qu'aiti | 286,941 | 220,587 | 245,824 | 244,547 |
| Kathiri | 39,240 | 28,186 | 30,810 | 32,126 |
| Wahidi (Balhaf and Bin Ali) | 11,375 | 10,213 | 9,235 | 11,031 |

## Chapter 4: Currency and Banking

In the Protectorate East African shillings and riyals (Maria Theresa dollars) are used as currency. 836

There are no banks. 453

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



to the growth of the coffee bush. Food-stuffs are imported from India and from the African coast, as well as from the interior of Arabia. Sheep and goats are shipped weekly in large numbers from Berbera, Bulhar, and Zeila; while oxen, fodder, vegetables, and fuel come in mostly by caravan from Lahej and the surrounding country. Ostrich feathers reach Aden from the Somali and Danakil country; mother-of-pearl shells from the Persian Gulf and Red Sea fisheries; ivory from Somaliland and Abyssinia. 439

## Currency

Aden Town, as a part of the British Indian Administration, has a rupee currency, and since January 1898 the sterling value of the rupee has been nearly steady at 1*s.* 4*d.* or thereabouts, and the British sovereign is legal tender at about 15 rupees. The other coins in use are as follows:— 436

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Gold.* | Napoleon<br>Turkish pound of 100 piastres<br>Turkish dollar of 25 piastres | value varying with the rate of exchange. |
| *Silver.* | Maria Theresa dollar<br>Spanish Theresa dollar<br>Netherlands Theresa dollar<br>French 5-franc piece | value varying with the rate of exchange. |

The smaller silver coins of foreign countries have no fixed value, and are taken at about their nominal value in Indian currency.

The favourite coin in use in this part of Arabia is the Maria Theresa dollar (*riyāl*), the value of which is affected by the local demand.

The value of all gold and silver coins other than the above is fixed by the bullion merchants, in accordance with information received by telegraph from Bombay. In default of advices from Bombay, foreign coins are sold by weight and touch.

*Exchange.* The rate of exchange on Europe is regulated in Aden by advices from Bombay.

The above information regarding currency applies in the main to the Aden Settlement and its vicinity. For the remoter parts of the interior little information is available; but it appears that the Maria Theresa dollar is current almost everywhere, and the Indian four-anna piece, locally called a *baula*, has come to be the standard unit of division. For the Hadhramaut currency see p. 228.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



### Currency

436 The coins in use, according to Van den Berg, are :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Copper. | Rub' Khamsīyah | = ±0·005 florin. |
| " | Khamsīyah | = ±0·02 " |
| Silver. | Haraf | = 8 Khamsīyah. |
| " | Oqīyah | = 2 Haraf. |
| " | Qarsh | = 7½ Oqīyah. |
| Gold. | None. | |

There is also a coin, current in some districts, called Buqshah, worth ⅕ Khamsīyah ; and a copper coin, current only at Shiheir, the Diwani, worth ⅛ Khamsīyah.

The five-franc piece, in place of the Qarsh, is popularly current all over the Hadhramaut, and the 10-cent pieces of the Dutch East Indies are largely in use.

435 556 Money has a high purchasing power in the Hadhramaut, or, in other words, everything of native production is incredibly cheap ; the only dear articles are horses and arms. There are no great fortunes in the Hadhramaut, with the exception of that of the Jemadar of Shiheir ; his resources may be placed at several millions of florins, invested mostly, however, in India. The Sultan of Seyyūn possesses a fortune of some hundreds of thousands, mainly property in the country, and there are some few individuals with fortunes nearing 100,000 florins. Amongst the Bedouins money is rare.

### Weights and Measures

804 The weights are as follows :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Qaflah | = | ± 2½ grammes. |
| Oqīyah | = | 10 Qaflah. |
| Rotl | = | 12 Oqīyah (16 Oqīyah at Makalla and Shiheir). |
| Raf'ah | = | 12 Rotl. |
| Farāsilah | = | 2 Raf'ah. |
| Bahār | = | 12½ Farāsilah. |
| Jābir | = | 2 Bahār. |

The measures of length are :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shibr | = | ± 16 centimetres. |
| Dhrā' | = | 3 Shibr. |
| Sāqit | = | 5 Dhrā'. |
| Farsakh | = | 80 Sāqit. |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB1
Arabs



This is not merely a phenomenon of recent times; formerly also Arab immigrants for the most part settled for good in the Netherlands-Indies. Thus there are now many Arab families who have lived in the Netherlands-Indies for generations and have proportionately become more numerous. In this " nucleus " group and amongst the children of new-comers' families there is a natural equality of men and women. These groups are so large that the entire Arab community, " nucleus " immigrants' children together with the almost solely male immigrants, has a lesser shortage of women than the other non-indigenous population groups in the Netherlands-Indies, and this has also been the case in former years. Among the European population the excess of males over females was only reduced in 1930 by the recently increased immigration of European women.

The gradually rising birth-rate for immigrants' children and for children of Arabs themselves born here, has produced a very large group of minors who will, in due course, when they become adult, greatly exceed the present numbers of middle-aged adults. An increase in the procreative capacity of the Arab population group is therefore to be expected and thus also, after some time, a corresponding increase in the Arab population group.

2. *Occupations.*—The Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies come almost without exception from the Hadhramaut. The principal means of subsistence of most Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies is trade, in various forms, and principally trading in batiks and sarongs. Pekalongan and Sole are the centres of their batik trade. Some, like the Chinese, do business in haberdashery in Middle and East Java. Like the Chinese they also form a link between the European retailer and the native. They try to hawk various goods for large profits amongst the native population. This, however, is usually very risky for them. They deliver goods generally to the less substantial buyers on easy payment terms. Bankruptcies occur often among the Arabs. Then their insolvent estates must be saved by the College for the Administration of Intestate Estates (Wees- and Boedelkamer). Many Arabs are money-lenders either openly or in a disguised form. The coastal trade with sailing ships was formerly largely in Arab hands; but this now means little to them. Agriculture, handicrafts and occupations for which a certain education is essential, are only in exceptional cases carried out by them. There are also among the Arabs some wholesale merchants, landowners and estate-owners; the latter own extensive landed property and tea estates.

3. *Trade with the Hadhramaut.*—So far as we know there are, generally speaking, no trade relations between the Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies and the Hadhramaut. The only close contact with the Hadhramaut is through their families there; they regularly send money and other necessities for their maintenance.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

FIG. 22—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general attire, especially the sarong, which has been introduced by Hadhrami emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to provide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



Trials with long-staple 85

cotton, introduced in 1946, proved successful and this crop has now 248
been chosen as the main crop for the area.

Payment for irrigation services has always been based on a crop 651
share of 25 per cent payable to the Board. The present crop share 427
and taxation on the crop, as laid down in an agreement dated 1st April, 437
1950, is as follows :

| PARTY | LIVE LAND (*Land developed and cultivated for 5 years*) | DEAD LAND (*New land opened for cultivation*) |
|---|---|---|
| | % | % |
| State (Taxation) . . | 5 | 10 |
| Landlord . . . | 20 | 15 |
| Tenant . . . | 50 | 50 |
| Board . . . | 25 | 25 |

To secure rapid development, traditional methods have been used 242
while the land has been surveyed and existing canal systems aligned 312
and new canals of improved design have been constructed. Diversion is still by traditional methods but regulators have been constructed in the upper part of the district.

*Land and Water Rights*

The Board does not own or control any land except building sites 423
and experimental areas loaned from the local States and, in one case, 312
rented from a landowner.

The Board controls the diversion and distribution of all flood water 437
in the district. In the winter season the Board purchases the permanent flow of the Bana River from the Lower Yafai Sultan and his relatives and distributes this supply through the canal system to farmers who pay the customary crop share to the Board.

Tribal boundaries and settlements of title to the area have been ill defined in the past years of insecurity, but in 1951 final decisions were taken regarding tribal boundaries.

*Survey*

Since 1948 an area of 100,000 acres has been contour surveyed to a 654
one metre interval. Geophysical surveys, the first as a reconnaissance 312
and the second in fairly detailed form, have been made.

*Irrigation Development*

Development is in various stages. An area of approximately 50,000 acres of land is now controlled for irrigation farming, mainly on traditional lines. The normal flood flow to the area is expected to be sufficient to crop 30,000 acres yearly. In the 1951 flood a discharge of 224,000,000 cubic metre was observed to reach Abyan in the Bana River and this quantity, if correctly controlled, would have been sufficient for the irrigation of 50,000 acres. In actual fact only 30,000 acres were irrigated. The system is to direct flood water at speed, by diversion weirs made of brushwood and stone, into canals

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



mechanical equipment required for irrigation construction and maintenance in order to release work oxen for field operations. Up to the present shortage of equipment, break-downs and delays in obtaining spares have made it necessary to employ large numbers of working cattle on earth-moving and general irrigation works. 406 242

The Board also owns a fleet of twelve diesel-engined crawler tractors for ploughing work. Considerable difficulties have been encountered in maintaining this tractor fleet.

*Administration of the Scheme* 242-21

The present composition of the Board is :

| | |
|---|---|
| British Agent, Western Aden Protectorate | Chairman. |
| Director of Agriculture, Aden Protectorate | Managing Director. |
| Senior Political Officer, Southern Area | Director. |
| Two Representatives, (Fadhli State) | Members. |
| Two Representatives, (Yafa'i State) | Members. |
| Manager, Abyan Board | Secretary. |

The Board is responsible for the construction and maintenance of capital works and of main and minor canals ; the development of new land for irrigation ; the delivery of water to the land ; provision of marketing and credit facilities to farmers, when necessary.

The Board receives one-quarter share of the crops grown. This is now based on a cash payment of *Shs.*40 per effectively cropped acre for all crops other than cotton. The assessed amount is deducted from the cash payment made for the cotton crop. 242 437

The Board in the 1952–53 season made a cultivation advance of *Shs.*90 per acre of effectively established, thinned and cleaned cotton.

The Board provides seed-cotton packs and conducts weekly markets at convenient centres throughout the area. The cotton is classified at the markets by an expert cotton classifier. Each pack carries the grower's identification number, the weight as recorded at the sale and the market identification letter. A record is made of quantities sold at each market by growers and cash is paid after deduction of the Board's share. The cotton is ginned and baled in a ginnery equipped and run by the Board. The whole of the graded lint is sold under a long-term contract with the Raw Cotton Commission. The Abyan X.1730A is regarded by buyers as equal to Sudan grown crop of similar type. 242 442 248

Tenants make up and maintain bunds and field channels, cultivate specified crops as the Board directs, pay the crop share due, and deliver crops such as cotton to markets as directed. 242 [437]

Landlords, if owner occupiers, cultivate their own land and follow

462 roaming far afield in search of water and pasture. They work in the fields, milk the animals (with the exception, in some cases, of camels), gather the firewood, and fetch the water. They are not 562 so careful to keep themselves veiled, finding it sufficient to draw their head cloths in front of their mouths. If she belongs to a nomadic tribe a woman will follow her husband in his search for grazing, carrying the household utensils, usually one large saucepan, on her head and the baby on her back. Only very occasionally do the women emigrate with their husbands, but we travelled with such a family on the start of their journey to Zanzibar to seek a fortune.

562 The remaining women are those of the poor townspeople, the 462 female servants, slaves, or Subians. The last two are least particular about veiling. The others, no matter how poor, will always cover at least the lower part of their faces. Toil is the portion of all of them: they labour in the gardens, help the men and animals to draw water from the wells, and in many towns they are the [483] principal water carriers, bearing their burden in skins slung across their backs. The servants and slave women in well-to-do houses lead an easier existence. They cook the food, do such cleaning as is ever done, and fetch and carry for the ladies of the household. Slaves may be taken as concubines, but find their husbands among their own class. They are much favoured, being brought up as members of the family, and, like many privileged retainers, usually become somewhat outspoken and domineering in their old age.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PRODUCTION AND RESOURCES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

311 The natural resources of the Hadhramaut, such as they are, are principally agricultural. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize that only a very small proportion of the total area of the country, which may amount to 35,000 or 40,000 square miles, is suitable for [131] the growing of crops. As a general rule only wadis can be so used and the bulk of the land surface consists of the barren rock of mountains and steppes.

### Tobacco.

249 The principal crop of economic importance is the well-known 438 Hamumi tobacco, and Gheil ba Wazir is the principal centre where it is grown. Practically speaking the production in that place is 455 entirely Government-directed and all the land is State land.

The nurseries are situated about three miles from Gheil at Al 312 Quf. Here there is an apparently inexhaustible, somewhat brackish, water supply at depths to about 30 feet from the surface. There are three deep pools which are tapped by subterranean channels for Gheil and Al Harth, the source of the Gheil water supply being called Humat al Farath, and that for Al Harth being called Humat al Harth. Along the line of channels from these pools there are

## Honey Industry.

231 The only other product of economic consequence is the celebrated
263 Du'an honey. Honey from Jerdan has an even greater local renown
438 but is not produced in such quantities. At places like Tarim it is
not considered possible to grow honey owing to the depradations
[136] of the Blue-cheeked Bee eater (*Merops persicus persicus*), one of the most common, as well as most beautiful, birds in the Hadhramaut. We did not observe this bird at all in the Wadi Du'an, where it is shot on sight.

231 The hives are tunnel-like structures fitted into the walls of the
263 houses, and consist of circular sections about a foot in diameter. In the outside wall is a small hole through which the bees enter and leave the hives. Du'an enjoys two honey crops in a year; that of June, July and August being regarded as the best, for in it the bees collect the honey from the blossoms of the *'elb* trees. The honey obtained during the second crop, from November to March, is gathered from a small bush called *Qarmala*, and while it is
[843] highly esteemed it is considered very heating and may not be eaten by pregnant women. If there is much rain during April and May, the bees make a black honey called *helb*, and they are said to grow much stronger, for they consume this honey themselves. The swarming of the bees was thus described by a bee-keeper: A second queen bee, whom they call *ab* or father, sometimes leaves the hive and goes a short distance away followed by some of the others. The bee-owner takes a mat and rolls it up in the shape of a hive, closing one end, and sprinkling inside a perfume of the perfumes used by the ladies. Approaching the swarm, he gently takes the queen in his fingers out of it and puts her into a small cage made for the purpose. The cage is then put inside the rolled mat. An assistant beats a tin or copper tray and the bees leave the place where they have swarmed and come to the queen. The swarm is now carried to a hive, the queen bee and her cage put into the hive, and in go the bees after her.

The bees collect the crop in 12 to 20 days, and when the owner sees the hive is full he fits on more sections until they have finished. Thirty to 40 pounds of honey are collected from a single hive at each crop. The honey is gathered by smoking the bees out from behind. When they have left, the exit hole is stopped up and the honey is taken, one section being left for the bees. In times of drought, honey is put into the hives for the bees to eat. The honey
251 is packed in comb and as liquid. In the former case two sizes of round tins are used, containing 4 lb. and 7 lb. respectively. An inside cover is soldered to the tins in Mukalla. Liquid honey is packed in cases of two kerosene tins. The value of the honey
435 in Mukalla is one rupee a pound. The total production is 90,000 to 100,000 pounds.

000 In view of the great renown which Du'an honey enjoys in South Arabia and the East Indies, and in view of the fact that it is much appreciated by Europeans, I had hoped that there might be

137 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north
246 of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khuweira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

**Manufacturing Industries.**

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
262 mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden
249 machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
438 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to
353 the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
326 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

**Fisheries.**

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They
231 are :—

438 *Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazīf* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM 1



## Exports of Merchandise.

H 439

| | | Quantity. | Rate. | Value. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fish products: (dried shark). | *Lakhm* | Little only | Rs. 1/6 a *frasila* | (1353 *prices*) |
| *Safif* (dried *Tarnak* and *Tamad* fish), cases of 2 cwt. | | 2,000 to 3,000 | $15 a case | $30,000 to $45,000 |
| *Rish* (shark fins) *frasilas* of 30 lb. | | 1,500 | $4 a *frasila* | $6,000 |
| Tobacco (Hamumi) | *Bahars* | *5,000 to 6,000 | Rs. 25–80 according to quality. | Rs. 500,000 |
| Honey, lb. | ... | 60,000 | | Rs. 100,000 |

* Not all exported, but the bulk.

H 438 439 The great bulk of the Hadhramaut trade is sea-borne. Shibam is the principal centre for land-borne trade into the Hadhramaut. The goods that come into that town from the interior are, ghee, jowari, wheat, barley, coffee berries, honey, oil, oilcakes, raisins, almonds, cotton, blankets, spinning cloth and animals. Most of these are domestic products and products of other parts of the Aden Protectorate, but coffee berries come from Yafa' and San'ā, and raisins and almonds particularly from San'ā. There is not a great deal of traffic from San'ā, but if the Shibam crops are not good the traffic increases. A moderate number of firearms and ammunition enter the Hadhramaut from the Yemen and Nejran through Shibam.

H 439 A 439 As the bulk of the trade of the Hadhramaut is with Aden, the following tables provided by the Trade Registration Office are of interest. Unfortunately the figures for the Hadhramaut ports and districts are not separated from other places under the heading Arabian Gulf Ports. These "ports" are, Hadhramaut: Mukalla, Shihr, Du'an, Dis, Gheil Ba Wazir, Qus'eir, Burum, Hami, Meifa and Hajr; and other ports: Shuqra, Habban, Seihūt, Dhofar, 'Irqa, Maqatein, Bir 'Ali, Ahwar, Balihaf, Qishn, Soqotra Island, Ras Seilan and Murbat.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



# CHAPTER XV.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

### I.—SHIHR PROVINCE.

635 361 131 The Shihr *liwa* is the first province of the Qu'aiti dominions. I was informed that its boundaries were, east to west, " from the extreme borders of the mountains of Damakh Hisāī up to the port of Shiheir ", and south to north, " from the sea to the mountains which separate the plateau from the lowlands ". The most easterly settlement of the province is Reidat al Qu'aiti, and the other coastal towns and villages of importance are Qus'eir (with Qurein), Baghashwa, Hami, and Al Qarn which is the port of Dis, a walled town a couple of miles inland with a population of about 5,000.

361 162 Shihr was once the most important town on the Hadhramaut coast, but it has been gradually decaying. Many of its houses have disappeared and its 45 mosques now serve a diminishing population. This is estimated at from 6,000 to 10,000, but I have no doubt the latter figure is excessive. Shihr, however, is still an important port: it is the principal port for Kathīri territory and the main distributing centre for the eastern part of the Hadhramaut. A landing-ground has been constructed, but is not in serviceable condition.

438 The principal industries are the drying and curing of fish and the dyeing and weaving of cloth. The water-supply, as has been mentioned, comes from Tubala where there are also hot sulphur springs and gardens. There are other gardens at Dufeigha and at Habis where the *Wazir* has a house.

635 438 361 At the time of my visit the Governor of Shihr was Sheikh Salih bin 'Ali al Qu'aiti. The tribes living in the *liwa*, or dependent on the town as their market, are: Ath Tha'yani, Manahil, Hamumi, Al Qarzi, Ash Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Al 'Asārina, Al Meseilīyin, Al 'Awābitha, Al Ma'āra and Al Jōhi. Of these, the Qarzi and the Bahasan are sometimes considered as clans of the Hamumi Zei. Although the 'Awābitha have considerable connections with Shihr and Mukalla they own no land in the province and live beyond its boundaries. Shihr is also an important market for the Mahras, to whom, centuries ago, as Masudi recalls, it belonged. Apart from those towns of the interior such as Seiyun and Tarim which obtain many of their supplies from Shihr, and have trading connections with it, the 'Awāmir, Al Jābir, and Al Jābir of Āl Sāh (which are all Kathīri tribes) depend on it for their food supply.

000 The Manahil and the Kathīri tribes will be described elsewhere, and the Mahra, of course, are not a Hadhramaut tribe, but the

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



# CHAPTER XVI.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 2. MUKALLA PROVINCE.

Although the town of Mukalla is the Qu'aiti capital the province is considered as ranking after Shihr. It is defined as extending from east to west " from the port of Shiheir to Meifa ", and south to north " from the sea to the low hills as far as the source of the river Hajr, but excluding the Hajr valley itself ". Apart from Mukalla, the principal towns and villages on the coast are Shiheir with an estimated population of 1,500, Fuwa and Burum. The only inland town of any importance is Gheil Bā Wazīr, but there are a number of large villages such as Harshiat, Tila, Lusb and Lubeib. The population of Gheil Bā Wazīr, where the Sultan has a house, is estimated at from 6,000 to 7,000. It is a walled town, and the seat of an important tobacco industry.

Estimates of the population of the town of Mukalla vary from 10,000 to 30,000; the actual figure is probably 15,000 to 16,000. It is a compact, closely populated place, with 13 mosques, and it appears to be growing as building operations are continually in progress. It has several minor industries, of which the principal is fish-drying. West of the town, fish manure and fish fodder are prepared, and outside to the east fish is cured for human consumption. Other small industries are the crushing of simsim for oil and cake, lime-burning—the best quality lime used in Aden comes from Mukalla—and tanning. Apart from the fact of its being the seat of Government, Mukalla owes its importance to its being the principal port of entry for the Hadhramaut and the principal market for the interior. The landing-ground for Mukalla is at Fuwa and the province is well served with motor-tracks. The water-supply comes from Baqrein, where there are good gardens, and other garden suburbs are Dis al Mukalla, An Naq'a where the Sultan has a house, Manāwara, Lermi, Kherba and Khaba.

The Governor of the Mukalla province at the time of my visit was the *Wazir* of the state, Jemadar, or Sultan, Salim bin Ahmed bin 'Abdulla al Qu'aiti. The following tribes live in or are dependent on the Mukalla province: Seibani, Hālka, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadīyin, Sumūh, Hāmdi, Buheish and the Āl Heik. As will be seen in Chapter XVII, the Hālka and the Sumūh, sometimes considered as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani. The Bin Daghār and the Nūwah of the Wadi Hajr (see Chapter XVIII) have working and trading connections with Mukalla, as have the tribes of the Wadi 'Amd, the Ma'di, the Ja'da, Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed and Āl Salima; the last two, though sometimes considered to be separate tribes, are included with the Ja'da (Chapter XX). The tribesmen of the Wadi Reidat ad Deiyin and other tribes to the west of Du'an, Beina and Wadi 'Amd, also trade with Mukalla. Shibam and the tribes in and around it

### Āl Heik.

619 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the
631 sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan
101 they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shiheir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct
433 route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the
438 inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me
465 as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being
162 an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures
361 appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and
631 villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns
652 and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



tribe who are now very weak, though the wadi is still called after them Wadi Hajr Bin Daghār. To-day the wadi belongs to the Qu'aiti and it is said that in time it will be known as Wadi Hajr Qu'aiti.

The capital of the province is now Kanina, said to have about 300 to 400 houses and an estimated population of 1,500. Other important villages are Yuwan, the old capital, As Sadaka, Husn Bā Suleiman, Husn Ba'ba', Al 'Asala, Al Qima, Al Hussein, Husun Bā Raghab, Jōl Bā Hāwa, Leswa and Muhrin. The Governor is Sa'id Marzuk Salah. Hajr is an agricultural province and it is estimated that the number of tribesmen is 5,000. As I did not visit the Hajr province during my tour, the information given is even more at second hand than in other cases.

The tribes living in the province or dependent on it are the Bin Daghār, Nūwah, Āl Deiyeb, Āl Bā Bekr and Āl Zaghīb, Āl Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Khāshia al Murqashi. The following is a description of these tribes together with others connected with Hajr.

NŪWAH.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Sub-section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nūwah Hajr ... | Āl Bā Rashid | — | Al Qeima, Libna | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Sheiba | — | Libna | 150 |
| | Āl Bā Shuqūr | — | — | 80 |
| | 'Ayāl Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Hajām | — | — | 40 |
| | Āl Bā Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Faqqās | — | Qazein, Yuwan | 200 |
| | Āl Bā Dubīān | Āl Bā Sabera | Jōl Bā Hāwa, Al Qāsima, Yuwan, Muhammada, Kanina. | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Mas'ud | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Dabeis | | Yuwan | 100 |
| | As Sumahi | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Sara | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Qarwān | — | Muhammada | 250 |
| | Āl Bā Rajāsh | — | Kanina, Sherij Bā Jamum, Husun Āl Bā Rajāsh. | 400 |
| | Bā Museita | | — | 100 |
| Nūwah Du'an | Āl Bā Hakīm | — | Al Qarn | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Sam | — | — | 120 |
| | Āl Bā Khamīs | — | — | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Ma'as | — | — | 150 |
| | Bu Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Bā Safr | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl Bā Shihab | — | — | — |
| Nūwah Lajrāt Du'an. | Āl Bā Batīn | — | — | 70 |
| | Āl Bā Sūeid | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl 'Afif | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Meis | — | — | — |
| | | | | 2,760 |

635 Government; 'Arūdh al Makhāshin belonging to the Makhāshin
162 section of the Nahd, with a population of 300, all subjects of the
631 Qu'aiti Government; An Naq'a belonging to the Bā Wazīr towns-
611 men with a population of 500; Al 'Ajlānia, belonging to the Āl Kathīr with 17 armed men; Al Man'at, belonging to the Nahd with 35 armed men; and Al Marāti', a village between Al Man'at and Henin, with 200 armed tribesmen of Kinda, and 50 of the Nahd.

At Al 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn are the houses of the Bā 'Umar Sheikhs with 15 armed men; the town of Mad-har bin Nahīd in the Wadi Manūb with 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shabīb (a section of the Nahd), and Dīār al Maqārīm with 30 armed Nahd tribesmen.

Between Al Qatn and Shibam are: 'Ardh Masrūr belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl 'Ali bin Ahmed (Yafa'is) with 60 armed men; Huweila belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl Salim bin 'Ali (Yafa'is) with 40 armed men; Khashāmir belonging to the Bin 'Ali Jābir (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 80 armed men; Al 'Iqad, situated at the end of Al Qatn and the beginning of Wadi Beni Rashīd, belonging to the Āl Qu'ata (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 75 armed men; 'Ikāba and Al Husn belonging to the Hamdhān (of the Nahd) with 30 armed men; Husūn at Al Qatn belonging to the Āl az Zu' (of the Nahd) with 40 armed men; Husūn belonging to the Bal'alā (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 30 armed men; and Husūn belonging to the Āl Jābri (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 25 armed men.

438 Shibam is the most important advanced market of the Hadhra-
361 maut, and has a large inward traffic from Mukalla It is also a buying market for the products of the country north and west, and the products of these parts are consumed in the town. Caravans come from San'ā in about 15 days. The tribesmen bringing these caravans are Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Rabi', Āl Khalifa, and 'Abīda. The principal inland traffic, *however, is from* Merkha, Hadhina, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. These caravans, mainly carrying maize, wheat, barley, ghee, oil, oilcakes, cotton, honey, blankets, and spinning cloth, are brought by 'Aulaqis, Hamām, Āl Ruba'ia, Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Maradi'a, Āl Khalifa, Dohum, Karab, Nahd and Āl Bureik tribesmen.

361 There is no regular communication with Nejd although occasional visitors come skirting the desert. Members of the Rashidi tribe also come to Shibam now and then. There is a landing ground at Shibam, and apart from its being a large caravan station it is in touch with towns between Hajarein and Qasm by car. It has no great industries, but makes mats and dyes cloths and skins.

635 The Governor of the Shibam province is Ferai Sa'id, a slave
567 who has held high positions and who has previously served at Shibam. He has also been Governor of 'Einat. He was appointed in October 1934, in succession to Sultan 'Ali bin Salah al Qu'aiti.

619 given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My
721 first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir
578 for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Seheil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathīri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathīri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a " B " agreement with them.

231 The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: " The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and
438 Manahil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have, of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell *saf* leaves for making mats, *'elb* trunks, and charcoal.

609 Bertram Thomas records the following description of them:
771 " The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. ' They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them! ' " We learned from the
582 Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

622 The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and Ahmed
619 bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

[See page 92 Category 116 Analyst]

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TRIBES CONNECTED WITH THE 'AWALIQ.

| Tribe. | Clan. | Places. |
|---|---|---|
| Āl Bureik ... ... | Āl Bin Bureik<br>Āl Nabāhim | Shabwa. |
| Āl Karab ... ... | — | The neighbourhood of Rakban and further to the west. |
| Āl Hammām ... | — | The desert of Nisab. |

These tribes, which are not really Hadhramaut tribes but are included on account of their dependence on Shibam for a market, are practically independent though very nominally the Āl Bureik and the Āl Karab are under the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh, and the Āl Hammām are more or less under the authority of the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan.

The Āl Bureik are Sheikhs, and at one time the Āl Bin Bureik were masters of Shihr but now the whole of the small tribe are settled in Shabwa.

[631] The Qu'aiti has " B " agreements with the 'Awaliq generally.

619
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THE HADHRAMI YAFA'IS AND THEIR SECTIONS.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Dhubi ... | Āl al Bakrī | Zarqāna and Bā Bakr | 25 |
| | Bin Dāūd and Al 'Afif | Husūn | 25 |
| | Āl al Hadhārim | As Sāha | 20 |
| Āl Mausata | Āl Qu'ata | Al 'Iqad | 75 |
| | Āl 'Ali al Hāj | As Sāha | 50 |
| | Āl al Hadādin | Hadha and Al Ghalin | 20 |
| | Āl al Jahāwira | ..s Sāha | 20 |
| | Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl 'Ab bin Ahmed. | 'Ardh Masrūr | 60 |
| | Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl Salim bin 'Ali. | Huweila | 40 |
| | Bin 'Ali Jābir. | Khashāmir | 80 |
| Beni 'Ardh | | Al Fardh | 100 |
| Āl Rashid ... | — | Hautat Jābir | 15 |
| Āl an Nuqabā | — | Bukria | 15 |
| Āl al Madāshina ... | — | Āl 'Anin | 20 |
| Āl Beni Naqīb ... | — | Al 'Uqda | 20 |
| Āl Ahmed ... | — | Daqiqa | 85 |
| Āl Āsa'd ... | — | Al Kharāba | 30 |
| Āl Jabri ... | — | Husun | 25 |
| Āl Bal'ala ... | — | Jidfera | 50 |
| | | | 775 |

[712
701] Haura, Al Qatn and Shibam have garrisons of Yafa'is. At the first of these places I saw a small fort at the south of the town occupied by five Yafa'i soldiers, and there are probably more. Shibam has 40 Yafa'i soldiers, and the number round Qatn and Shibam is said to be all together about 500 armed men. Those actually employed in garrisons are paid, but the other irregulars only receive pay if called up for service. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the Hadhrami Yafa'is and their sections. The Āl

[See page 92, cate[illegible] 116 - - Analyst]

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 619 Bin Yamāni and their slaves ... | — | Qasm | 50 | 'Ali bin Ahmed bin Imani. |
| 631 101 Āl Sa'id, Bin 'Uthmān, and Āl Dahnān. | — | Al Khōn | 50 | 'Umar bin 'Awadh bin Sa'id. |
| Āl Qafia, Āl Barakeiz, Āl Heithwa, and Āl Nuheid. | — | As Sōm | 50 | Kharīf |
| Āl as Sa'd ... ... ... | — | 'Asum | 45 | 'Isa |
| Samāh al 'Usba ... ... | — | Al 'Usba | 15 | 'Aidha bin 'Atūfa. |
| Beit Bal Hateish ... ... | — | Fughma | 35 | — |
| Āl Bin Kōb ... ... ... | — | Sha'b Hud | 15 | 'Awadh bin al 'Ahidl.' |
| Bin Marsaf ... ... ... | Al Fahd | — | 120 | — |
| Ash Sheiban ... ... ... | 5 sections | — | — | — |
| | | | 847 | |

The Tamimi are a part nomad, part settled tribe, living in the main wadi from the neighbourhood of Tarim to beyond Qasm. They have been allied to the Qu'aiti, with whom they have an "A" agreement, for a long time, and have had a long-standing feud with the 'Awāmir and Kathīris which was terminated by the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The Kathīri Sultans have no jurisdiction over them but it is said that the Tamimis are allied to them for purposes [628] of defence. Disputes between the Tarim Government and the Tamimis are settled by negotiation or Qu'aiti interference.

167 The Tamimis emigrate to Java and the East African Coast, but they are a poor tribe. They grow wheat, lucern, vegetables, jowari, 311 and other crops, on well irrigation. A large amount of land in the 369 Tamimi territory is the property of the rich townsmen of Tarim 438 and Dammūn which the Bin Silma cultivate, and they are generally safe and honest. At harvest time, however, Beduins come from across the northern hills, which are quite close to the cultivation here, settle in the groves, and do a certain amount of damage. Like most wadi dwellers from Tarim eastwards the Tamimis obtain their supplies from Shihr rather than Seihut, though Seihut sends regular caravans as far as 'Einat.

619 The Bin Qasīr clan is sometimes considered as divided into four 631 sections, the Āl Kibl, Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar, Bin Dahdūh, and 101 Beit Bal Hateish. The Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed clan is sometimes called a section of the Ash Sheiban clan; the latter is said to be divided into five sections. The Bin Silma is said to be the strongest clan and is stated to have four sections.

619 The *mansabs* of the Tamimi are 'Umar bin Zein Āl 'Abdulla bin 622 Ash Sheikh for the Āl Yamāni, Hasan bin 'Alawi al 'Aqil, Ahmed bin 'Aqil, Āl Matahar, Tahir bin Bubekr Āl Tahir for the Balheij, and 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shibab for the Bin Silma.

[See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

The whole of the Kathiri part of the wadi is accessible by motor cars and actually there are more cars in Kathīri territory than the rest of the Hadhramaut put together. 414 504

Shihr is the principal port for the Kathīri country and Tarim is almost exclusively supplied from it. Seiyun is reached indifferently from Shihr-Tarim or Mukalla-Shibam. Shibam is an important market for the Kathīris who depend on it for their daily requirements of grain, coffee, timber, salt, cotton, almonds, raisins, and ghee. 436 508

There is no landing ground in Kathīri territory.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE SHENAFIR CONFEDERATION.

The strength of the Shenafir Confedesation has been variously estimated at 4,470 armed men, at 7,650 armed men and at 20,000 souls. The total number of the Shenafir and their followers, excluding Nahd and Sel'ar, is said to be 8,720 armed men. The following is a description of the tribes of the Confederation. 631 619 101

#### Al Kathīr.

| Clan. | Section. | Sub-Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Al 'Umar | — | — | As Salil Haju, Wadi Bin 'Ali, Wadi Ghanima, Wadi Ser, Wadi Farā and Dhoilam | — | — |
| | Āl Tālib | | | | Sālim bin Ja'fer and Bedr bin 'Ādha. |
| | | Āl Mar'i bin Tālib. | Jifil | 220 | |
| | | Āl Ja'fer bin Tālib. | Ash Sh'ib, (Qarīfā). | 120 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Tālib. | Bā Raf'a | 35 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Sa'id. | Al Wajīr | 40 | |
| | | Āl Bin 'Aun | Near Al Ghurfa | 20 | |
| | | Āl Bin Mahraq | Near Al Hauta | 10 | |
| | Āl Falhūm | | | | 'Āmr bin Ja'fer Balfas. |
| | | Āl al Fīe | Yarqaq near Al Ghurfa. | 80 | |
| | | Āl al 'Ās | Yarqaq | 15 | |
| | | Āl Fahetha | Al Hāwī | 25 | |
| | | Āl Barqi | Al Hōl | 20 | |
| | | Bin Kahil | do. | 10 | |
| | | Bin Tanfira | Near Al Hauta | 6 | |
| | | Bin as Sanafi | An Noid | 15 | |
| | | Āl Wī'i | Al Hauta | 17 | |
| | Āl 'Umar bin Bedr. | Bin 'Umar bin Bedr. | Al Ghīyel | 25 | |
| | | Bin Mahrī | Yarqaq | 40 | |
| | | Bin Bedr bin 'Abdulla | An Noid | 15 | |
| | | Bin ash Shein | do. | 80 | |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM2



## Trade and Occupations.

In the Appendix to this note will be found statistics in regard to the trade between Zanzibar and Aden during the years 1932-4. No separate record is kept in respect of the merchandise with which these notes are mainly concerned (i.e., merchandise transported by Hadhramis themselves in dhows), but the following table furnished by the Comptroller of Customs gives a very rough estimate :— H 439

| *Imports.* | Per cent. | *Exports.* | Per cent. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fish, dried ... ... | 90 | Clove and clove stems ... | 20 |
| Ghee ... ... ... | 100 | Coconuts ... ... | 100 |
| Salt ... ... ... | 75 | Simsim (re-export) ... | 95 |
| Tobacco, native ... | 50 | Coconut oil ... ... | 100 |
| Cotton manufactures ... | 60 | Iron and Steel manufactures ... ... | 100 |
| Medicines ... ... | 100 | | |
| Sugar ... ... ... | 100 | | |
| Colour materials ... | 100 | | |

As, however, it is understood that most of the dhows plying between Zanzibar and the Hadhramaut enter and leave the ports of Mukalla, Seihut and Shihr (imports and exports in respect of which are presumably included under the separate and general head "Arabia") without touching the port of Aden, the foregoing information can be of little value.

It may be said generally, however, that the non-settled elements of the Hadhrami population, who move backwards and forwards between their homes and the Protectorate for the purpose of trading, bring with them, when they arrive in the north-east monsoon, such articles as clothes (loin cloths, etc.), honey, henna, dried fish, salt, ghee, livestock, dates and shark oil (sifa), some of which are obtained en route on the Somaliland coast. A number of the visitors, having disposed of their goods, return to the Hadhramaut a few months later in the south-west monsoon taking with them locally grown millet; others, finding employment, stay on for two or three years or more until they have accumulated sufficient money—two or three hundred rupees or so—to return to their homes. H 166 438

The latest Zanzibar Census (1931) does not include statistics in regard to the occupation of the people, but the directions in which the Hadhramis find employment are indicated in the 1924 Census, relevant extracts from which are contained in the Appendix to this note. It will be observed that the commonest occupations were the following, in the order mentioned: General traders, labourers, water carriers, private servants (no occupation), other occupations, Government employees, fishermen, and gold and silversmiths. Included in the list are of course the Hadhrami coolies, stevedores, H 167 463 Z 463

5 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



do not remain for any length of time on one plot of land, but take up all 565
kinds of casual labour as well as farm labour. Among such one may find 463
carpenters, gunsmiths, builders and tradesmen. The manufacture of 386
indigo dye, with which the Mushreqi tribesman dyes himself and his 458
clothes, and the sale of indigo-dyed cotton is, to a large extent, in their hands. Large families of this class are to be found throughout the territory in the market towns. Unlike the Raya, they do not bear arms.

The Heiq class is almost indistinguishable from the Dha'if, but there 575
is a distinction in that the Heiq can be described as the lower third of the Dha'if class. That is, that the whole class of artisans and casual labourers can be described, in a generalization, as Dha'if, but the poorer, unskilled casual labourer is of the Heiq class. As an example, a rich shopkeeper is Dha'if, but, because of his possessions, is not Heiq. It is not a very important distinction. Dha'if in Arabic means "weak." I am unable to discover the derivation of Heiq, but we can take it to mean "of low quality."

The Asakar, or hired soldier class, are a class in themselves. They 565
are of two kinds—freed slaves still in the service of their master and 567
tribesmen who have lost their lands and their status and entered the ser- 568
vice of their Chief. Once this happens to a tribesman, he or his descend- 582
ants can never return again to the status of tribesmen, but remain ever afterwards Askari, whether they still serve master or not. They have dropped below the aristocratic classes and can no longer intermarry with tribesmen. I have heard of no exceptions to this hard rule.

The next class is that of the Doshan, plural Doashin. I can find no 575
derivation to the name. They are of two kinds—wandering singers and 527
dancers, and settled singing-men who have attached themselves to a particular tribe. Their origin is a mystery. The wanderings ones, who give the most dismal performances of what they call dancing, can always be driven out of camp. It is best, however, to be polite to the settled ones. They are skilled versifiers, and those who treat them with contempt must submit afterwards to unmerciful lampooning. On public holidays in up-country towns one of them frequently appoints himself as Amir Al 'Id, or "Amir of the Holiday." Supported by his friends and anyone who wants some fun, he calls upon the local Chief and demands a present and entertainment. This the Chief refuses, and receives an ultimatum challenging him to war in a few minutes. The war which ensues is conducted for the most part with fireworks, blank ammunition, water and balls of dung. The Chief's fort is the centre of attack. Eventually the Chief will ask for a truce, ambassadors are exchanged and all ends in an entertainment and a present to the "Amir." At other times they will institute rhyming competitions, or will compose and sing long Qasidas on the local political situation. Some of these settled Doashin become men of mark, but they have, for all their poems and lampoons, little effect on tribal policy and no say whatever in tribal affairs.

Slaves need no introduction. The slave trade in the south is dead, but 567
the descendants of Abyssinian slaves still serve their original masters. It would be absurd to free them; they are completely free, but slavery is their only niche in the community. Take that away and they would be homeless and workless. As in the rest of Arabia, except the Zeidi Yemen,

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FIG. 5—The Wadi Hadhramaut at Tarim, looking eastward, i.e., downstream. Tarim, surrounded by its wall, is at the left. Trees in the broad alluvial-filled valley are date palms, irrigated by water hand-drawn from wells. The dissected character and even datum levels of the *Jol* (plateau) are clearly seen. Canyon walls along the wadi are one to two feet high. Irrigation ditches to divert occasional floods are discernible everywhere on the wadi floor.

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FIG. 6—A caravan carrying wood to the market in Tarim.

P. 632

312 of a broad, gently sloping bedrock drainage surface. The plateau abounds in suitable rock surfaces, and they serve as catchment areas for occasional cloudbursts. Walls, six to eight inches high, fashioned of closely packed but uncemented rock fragments and slabs, are

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FIG. 21—Bedouins of Wadi Hajr. Note the attire and appearance: bare feet or sandals; short sarong; cartridge belt; curved dagger; long, black, glistening, oily hair; ever present musket. To the stocks of their antiquated guns, goat skulls are frequently attached, as these are thought to provide greater comfort than the original design.

laid out radially from the well so that surface drainage will converge on it from a wide area.

415 To transport water, Bedouins use bags of uncut goat skins, tied
401 firmly at the leg and neck openings. For drawing well water, the
483 skin is fashioned into a bucket and attached to a rope passing over a pulley in a crudely constructed scaffolding of palm logs lashed together with coconut-fiber cord. The bucket is raised and lowered by donkeys, cattle, or slaves, with the assistance of an appropriate harness. To augment the lifting power applied to each bucket, it is customary to excavate an incline downward from the mouth of the well, equal in length to the depth of the water table, and it is along such a trench that man and beast plod long, weary hours each day. When a bulging and leaking skin has been lifted slightly above the welltop, it is pulled over and lowered into a catchment basin connected with the local irrigation system.

### THE CARAVANS

492 Many Bedouins, not engaged in agriculture or herding, find occu-
438 pation in the camel transport system of the Hadhramaut. A man
439

usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other 492
tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, 438
sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not 439
self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

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[177

FIG. 22—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general attire, especially the sarong, which has been introduced by Hadhrami emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to pro- 457
vide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands 167
who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan 484
and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, [437]
packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from
245 Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where
● 438 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager
283 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in
[342] this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have
186 caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the
191 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a
185 more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley,
48 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was
491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal
728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the
185 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

182 in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

162 In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main
438 wadi system, there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally
361 minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *badu* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently
000 we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

361 Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here
[643 the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government,
645] and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political
504 relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla
364 is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

364 The climate of Mukalla is on the whole pleasant enough, and with the
164 gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken
731 to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year we had a particularly bad

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, 364
according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to 164
see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for 731
rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in 361
its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia 484
and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans. One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors [563]
and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily. We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla 180
have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations. The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency, the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish. Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light 373
has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible 701
far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganize and train his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on 517
the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago, for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The 20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, 491
for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hill-sides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extraordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the 484
beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which 438

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



484 438 passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the
[463 Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and
312] irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

361 Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been
438 a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the
529 principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the
[504] principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

619 Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe,
438 which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

487 When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road
101 was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr
438 there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the
142 country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan
[244] Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

228 From the tongue of land we pass the
443 fish-market, where a lively trade in the dwellers of the sea, here so multifarious, is carried on from early morning till late in the evening. The shark seems to be the commonest fish. Sacks full of dried and salted shark's flesh are sent into the interior, where, in times of prosperity, the Bedouins and townsfolk enjoy a piece of it with their frugal meal of bread and rice. The smell of badly dried and, consequently, somewhat decaying fish accompanies the traveller far into the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut.

443 The bazaar of Makalla has more penetrating odours than is
386 usual elsewhere. Not far from the fish-market are the workshops where loin-cloths and head-cloths are dyed a dull blue-black with indigo, and this trade also has sickening, nauseating smell. The workers and their houses are covered with a layer of indigo.

443 A more attractive trade than these is plied in this long
286 street of the bazaar — that of the weavers and lace-makers. They weave narrow lengths of cloth with brightly coloured stripes and with very attractive fringes, which are woven separately.

443 All sorts of sweets were offered for sale at the booths; also
•438 the first bright-yellow or deep-red dates, not yet quite ripe,
439 tuberous fruits, spices, the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco in big bundles consisting of whole dried plants; broad waist-bands, Japanese, Indian and Dutch piece-goods, sugar-loaves and rice, coffee-beans and dried coffee-husks, ginger-root and tea from Ceylon and Java, various kinds of grain, meal and *samn*, sesame oil and kerosene, matches and coffee-cups, *djambiyas*[1] and cartridges.

443- We wandered through this storehouse of Ḥaḍramaut. The salesmen had lighted their reeking lamps and torches stuck in bottles; one could only pass slowly through the swarming crowd with the smoke of the lamps mingling with the heavy odour emanating from men and things. As in a dream we

109 [1] *Djambiya*, correctly spelled *ǰanbīya* (جنبية), is a broad, curved dagger worn in the waist-band in front of the body.

After descending the slope on which the town lies, we enter a wonderfully ploughed area of loam soil. The brown hills of loam rise up, completely bare, out of the deep green palm-groves and the fields of *dhura*. An extensive system of irrigation canals with their side-channels provides for the distribution of the *sēl* water over all the cultivated land lying between the hill-ridges. The further we go beyond Hadjarēn the larger grows the number of defence and watch towers on the hill-tops beside the groves. The number of date-palms decreases, the fields are, at first, green, but, at last, only the loam dykes indicate that, given sufficient water and adequate safety, one can sow here as elsewhere. A stretch of half an hour's going forms the neutral zone between the Qeʿēṭī and the Kathīrī territories. From now on, in view of the risk of being held up, the caravan must keep together. The bed of the wādī remains wide, yet becomes wild and devoid of vegetation. Here and there the loess is covered by sand and stones. There must have been a large town here in ancient times, for the way to el-Meshhed runs between ruin mounds. The sun is setting and we are to reach el-Meshhed before darkness falls. The donkeys are sent back to fetch the tired party who have climbed Djebel Hadjarēn.

## 5. EL-MESHHED, A CENTRE OF RUINS.

El-Meshhed is an extinct small town situated in the midst of the plantless, desert wādī. The meaning of the name el-Meshhed is "the place where a martyr died". It is important for a yearly fair and as a place of pilgrimage. During the days in the month of Muḥarram, fixed for that purpose, the place must be full of buyers and sellers lodging in the houses and temporary shacks; now most of the houses are empty.

The Governor of el-Meshhed is not in town, he prefers residence in the larger, more prosperous Ḥurēḍa, where he has also a house, a family, and groves of date-palms. His sons are

24:Meulen and Wissmann Γ-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 We mounted our camels on reaching the *djōl* and made as fast as possible for the first halting place, where there was drinking-water to be found. This *djōl* differed little in character from that which we had crossed on our way to Wādī Dōʿan. It is again the same flat, limestone plateau, thickly strewn with sharp fragments of stone; through this winds a similar narrow camel path. The view is limitless in every direction; the characteristic, long chains of table-mountains are absent here. Here and there we pass some dwarf trees, crooked and gnarled. Deep silence reigns in this motionless region. After some hours marching we saw, in a fold in the land, a fortification built of rough stones with strong, square towers at each corner. Some people are living in it, so there must be water at hand, and it is high time, for our thirst is becoming a torture. Not a living soul was to be seen, nothing but a wall enclosing a square space, with towers rising up out of it. Close by rain had conveyed some earth to a depression in the ground, where there were some dried-up fields and a few *nibq* trees, leafless and grey, with not a sign of green; everything was monotonously grey and lifeless like the rocky plain all around us. As we neared the settlement we saw a few large *neqābas* and people drawing water from them. There had been no rain for a long time and, consequently, the water-supply in some of the *neqābas* was exhausted, whilst, in the others, the water which had been stored in them for so long had a brackish taste; in spite of this, we slaked our thirst with it and filled our water-skins and thermos flasks. We dealt out biscuits from our store to the poor, friendly inhabitants, who were experiencing extra hard times on account of the long drought. A small caravan from Makalla was also resting there. Dried fish, principally small sharks, and rice were being carried to Wādī ʿAmd, but the cost of transport appears to exceed the market value of these articles in Makalla.

361 312 438

361 Our way continued over the *djōl* until we reached Sherdj el-Abyaḍēn Bā Manqūr, where we rested for the afternoon. Here we saw the same picture of drought and poverty. The

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), 133
with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably 361
Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12 : Administration

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting 631
of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been [648]
for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., [643]
Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it 175
came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. 438
The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 161
100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is 133
mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital 361
is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a 648
small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be 619
recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete 622
control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them

6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate. 631 648 643

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The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government. 619 701 625 624

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts: 631 361

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej. [643]

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramout MM2

*ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1 : General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

642 THE years 1951 and 1952 were marked by (a) Government penetration
648 into the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom (Maan) at the invitation of the Ruler and the subsequent formation of the United Administration of Maan and Khalifa ; (b) the conclusion of two Advisory Treaties with the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and Audhali Sultan (May and July, 1952)
647 and a joint Advisory and Protectorate Treaty with His Highness the Sultan of Lahej ; (c) the formation of the Fadhli—Lower Yafa' Health Board ; and (d) the formation of the Lower Aulaqi Regency Council in Ahwar (August, 1952).

Politically the period under review was one of consolidation and development of the administrations of the various States in the Protectorate.

438 The Abyan Board did well in 1951 when it sold 9,890 bales of cotton for £867,088. In 1952 the rains were not so plentiful with the result that only 6,300 bales were sold for £725,810.

648 Relations with the neighbouring Kingdom of the Yemen remained difficult in spite of the Modus Vivendi Agreement concluded with it in London in January, 1951. Interference in affairs well inside the Protectorate boundary was a cause of friction.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

622 In the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States the main constitutional advance has been in the setting up of town and village councils to deal with local affairs.

659 Of necessity both Administrations have been preoccupied with measures to combat the threat of food shortage which must always be
654 faced in this region of uncertain rainfall. The States and local author-
653 ities have maintained dumps of grain, which are designed to tide over a period of scarcity before imports can arrive from the coast, and a
245 periodical check is made on resources of motor transport to ensure that distribution of supplies is not held up by failure of camel traffic in an emergency. Positive measures have been taken to increase local food supplies. Funds have been allocated for loans to farmers to purchase pumps to increase areas of cultivation. Schemes for the rebuilding of dams and for flood control have been put into effect. Particular attention has been paid to the rehabilitation of date palms.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



286 Spinning, weaving, and dyeing are also common industries. Cotton is spun into thread by hand-spindles and then woven in hand-looms, and sometimes machine-made yarns or twists are used in the same way; the looms are of the very simplest construction. The industry is still carried on to a small extent at Aden, and somewhat more extensively at a few centres in the interior, notably at Nisāb and Markhah, which are situated in the cotton and indigo growing district of the 'Aulaqi country; here a large amount of cotton fabrics for tribal shawls and turbans is made. The stuffs, when required, are dyed with locally prepared indigo. Sauma'ah, a town in the Beida country, is famous for a special make of goat-hair carpets.

314 Charcoal burning is an industry carried on at several places in the interior, among the wooded slopes of the hilly districts. Potash is also manufactured from a product known as 'Aden balsam'; this is not found in any quantity in Aden itself, but is prepared in the 'Abdāli and Fadhli districts. The balsam is thrown into small pits about two feet wide and one deep, and wood is added; the mass is then set fire to, and as the sap exudes from the plant it mingles with the ashes; the mixture is stirred and allowed to cool; then it is dug up and sent into Aden on camels, for sale. The price is about 8 annas per maund of 28 lb., and the potash is 274 exported to Bombay for washing purposes. A primitive form of distilling is also in vogue, the natives producing a liquor from dates which have been placed in water and allowed to disintegrate. The industry is carried on at Aden (under certain restrictions) and other places.

### Trade

•438 Practically the whole of the trade of this region is centred in Aden—local trade as well as general. The trade of the only other 504 notable port of this littoral, Shūghrah (and even that of Makalla in Hadhramaut), is restricted and purely local in character, and is entirely subservient to that of Aden.

439 The total value of the trade of Aden (import and export), in round numbers, for the last two years has been:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1913–14 | £8,530,000 |
| 1914–15 | £6,940,000. |

This falls into two categories: Transhipment trade, and Inland (or local) trade. Comparative figures for the year 1914–15, were:

| | |
|---|---|
| Transhipment | £6,682,000 |
| Inland | £258,000. |

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918)1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



are tapped for Aden, an aqueduct leading from them along the peninsula into the town (see p. 202). There are very large camping-grounds round the town, the place forming the terminus of many caravan routes from the Aden interior. Sheikh 'Othmān was purchased with the object of settling there the surplus population of the peninsula, but, owing to its inaccessibility and the unhealthiness due to its contaminated water-supply and want of a drainage system, it has so far failed to become a popular settlement. 361

3. **'Imād**, a miserable village of about 40 reed huts, marks the extreme eastern limit of Aden; it is peopled by the Salum, a small independent tribe.

4. **Perim** and **Socotra**. These two islands are attached to the settlement of Aden. *Perim* is a volcanic island in the straits of Bāb el-Mandeb, 1½ miles from the Arabian coast; it was occupied by the British in 1799, subsequently abandoned, and reoccupied in 1857 on the opening of the overland route. In 1883 a company (the Perim Coal Company) was formed, which obtained a concession on the south-western side of the island as a site for a coaling-station. The company maintains here a stock of Welsh coal varying from 5,000 to 10,000 tons, and a large number of vessels now call annually for supplies. There is a good harbour with a powerful flashing light, elevated 266 ft. and with a range of over 22 miles. The population in 1901 was about 1,200, and no one is allowed to reside on the island without the permission of the Resident. The island is bare and rocky, rather flat in appearance, and about 3 miles long by 2 wide. *Socotra* is distant about 130 miles from the nearest point of the Arabian coast, and some 500 miles from Aden. It is about 70 miles in length and 18 miles in width, and has an unbroken coast on the southern side. The interior may be described as a tableland from 700 to 1,900 ft. high (with rugged peaks rising to nearly 5,000 ft.), surrounded by a coast plain averaging from two to four miles in width; total area about 1,400 square miles; population about 12,000. Its principal products are gum and resin-producing plants and aloes; the island has been famous for the latter from the earliest times. The natives look for their chief means of support to their flocks and date-groves; melons, beans, and a little tobacco are also grown. The trade of the island is small, the chief exports being aloes and *ghi*. The capital is Tamrida, situated on the northern shore. The island was formally placed under British protection in 1886, and the Sultan receives a stipend from the Government of 360 dollars, undertaking to enter into no arrangement with any foreign power without the sanction of the British Government. The *Kuria Muria Islands*, near the South Arabian coast, in long. 56° E., were

361 471 505 504 [162] 361 438 [162] 361

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



619 to the territory of the Haushabi and having the Subeihi on the west and the Fadhli on the east. The chief of the tribe is the
621 Sultan of Lahej, who, normally, possesses great influence in the interior and exercises sovereignty over certain sections of the Subeihi. He receives a yearly subsidy of Rs. 12,984 from the British Government for its occupation of the town of Sheikh 'Othmān.

The estimated population is 14,500, including about 2,000 men of doubtful fighting value. The people are agricultural rather than warlike, and, occupying one of the most fertile tracts of southern Arabia, are by far the wealthiest of the tribes bordering on Aden. They and the Fadhli breed camels that are noted for their fleetness and carrying powers. They possess more settled habitations than most of their neighbours of the littoral.

The chief towns and settlements of the 'Abdāli district are:

361 1. **Lahej,** 21 miles from Aden, with a population estimated
438 variously at from 10,000 to 15,000, is a town with narrow irregular streets, nearly all the houses being surrounded by zaribas into which the cattle are driven at night. The most notable feature of the town is the market, Lahej being the most important commercial centre, outside Aden, of the whole district. The town forms an advanced market for fabrics and manufactured articles from Aden, and, in return, supplies Aden with fodder, vegetables, and firewood. Transit dues are levied here on the Yemen trade, the chief articles being coffee and *kat*. There is an important community of native blacksmiths and craftsmen in metal-work, who turn out daggers, sword-blades, spear-heads, matchlocks, and domestic hardware and utensils, of rough workmanship, especially the decorative work in silver. The bazaars are covered in and one is set apart for the workers in metals. The town stands amid date plantations and groves of lime, orange, banana, and coco-nut palms, which extend for miles, and in consequence the climate is particularly damp and malarial. The water is very bad.

The palace of the Sultan, on the southern edge of the town, is the most imposing building on the littoral belt. It is of mixed architecture, from Italian stucco to Arab, built partly of sun-dried brick and partly of cement and stone masonry, and it is constantly being added to. It overlooks a large open square where the Sultan reviews his troops and has a saluting battery holding two guns of Crimean pattern.

2. **Dār el-Amīr,** situated a little to the north of Sheikh 'Othmān, is the 'Abdāli customs post for the Aden traffic.

619 iii. *Fadhli*. A large tribe, of warlike and independent character,
621 inhabiting the sea-board from the British frontier post at 'Imād to

ADEN HM1 HM2
LITTLE HADHRAMAUT

is known of the mineral reserves of this region, and most of the local industries are small and primitive. Salt is the chief export of the Colony; tobacco, honey and fish products, of the Protectorates. N 135 437 A 439

The port of Aden is visited regularly by ships from all parts of the world. Within the last few years, the Colony has also become a regional center for air services to Cairo and other cities in the Near East and East Africa. Communications between the Colony and the interior are mainly by roads and caravan trails, supplemented by a coastwise dhow trade. Camels and donkeys are the primary means of transport, but the use of motor vehicles is increasing along the main routes. Roads suitable for motor traffic link Aden Colony with certain population centers in Western Aden Protectorate, and Mukalla with the larger towns of the Hadhramaut and adjacent coastlands. Access to the interior is also provided by military air services. A 514 509 A 491 492 H A 491 N [509]

## Food and Nutrition

Aden Colony is a cosmopolitan community, in which a variety of food habits is found among the peoples of different racial and economic groups. With the exception of fish, milk and limited supplies of garden vegetables, all foodstuffs are imported. Undernutrition is prevalent among the poorer inhabitants, and particularly among the transient laborers from the interior. A 262 439 146 464

Food supplies are never abundant in the Protectorate, where cultivation is restricted by the nature of the terrain and the scarcity of water in many areas. Anything which interferes with normal production, such as droughts or an invasion of locusts, may result in local food shortages, often approaching famine conditions. The Hadhramaut was seriously affected during the widespread drought in 1943, and children were evacuated from some of the famine areas to relief camps in Mukalla. N 511 433 731

The average Arab diet is simple, while that of the pastoral tribes is almost invari- H 262

p. 239(B)

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Historical South Arabia ML2



SA 433 in the civilized world. The ancients could not do without it, for 421 they required it in the performance of their religion, and when the Egyptians took to embalming their dead the demand increased. Pliny speaks with disapproval of the vast quantities used for secular purposes, and believed that the incense country of Arabia did not produce in a whole year so large a quantity of perfume as was burnt by Nero at the funeral of Poppaea.

H 178 439 137 SA 178 439 We gather also from Pliny and other writers that the organization of the country in ancient times was much as it is to-day. When the trade of Europe and the East began to go by sea, the succession of old South Arabian kingdoms came to an end. Nature stepping in put an end to the incense trade by a process of desiccation, and nowadays incense-bearing trees are rare objects in the Hadhramaut proper.

SA 10 Before I record the scant references to Hadhramaut history to be gleaned from the inscriptions, it will be well to bear in mind the names and approximate locations of the tribes of South Arabia. Eratosthenes says that proceeding in order down the Red Sea coast of Arabia were the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and Katabanaeans. To the east was Chatramotitae. Schoff gives the order on the South Arabian coast from west to east as Himyarites, Sabaeans, Qataban, Hadhramaut, and Habashat. Pliny remarks that the Minaeans were neighbours of Hadhramaut in the interior. Not later than the seventh century B.C. the state of Ausan was paramount in South Arabia. After Ausan fell, the principal power devolved on first Qataban, then Saba, and lastly Himyar.

In point of time the first reference to Hadhramaut is that which occurs in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis, but to pursue SA the passage beyond the mere name would soon involve us in legend. 613 There were kings of Hadhramaut contemporary with those of Saba, and Saba may have risen to power about 800 B.C. There were fifteen rulers of Saba called *mukarib* (priest) who were followed by seventeen kings of Saba, and then by twenty-six kings of Saba and possessors of Reidan (Zafar near Yerim). Some of the later inscriptions are dated according to a Sabaean era which is presumed to have started about 115 or 114 B.C., from which time begin the kings of Saba and Reidan. How the change took place is not entirely clear, but an inscription which reads "Ilsharh Yahdib and his brother Ya'zil Bayyin the two kings of Saba and Reidan sons of Fara' king of Saba" suggests that the change of title SA was a peaceful affair perhaps due to the need of being by the sea.

648 643 There appear to have been close relations between Hadhramaut and the Minaeans, as a son of the Minaean king was king of Hadhramaut. There is an inscription in Ma'in recording the building of some towers dedicated to 'Athtar Dhu Qabd by the king of the Hadhramaut, in which he refers to the son of his brother, the king of Ma'in, which also indicates a close connection between the two people.

000 product of the " honeydew " type,[1] which would account for its unusual taste and odour.

*Commercial Value.*—The honey was submitted to two firms of merchants in London who reported respectively as follows :—

(1) " We thank you for your letter and sample of honey, which we have examined. Although the body is quite good, we think you will agree that it leaves much to be desired with regard to flavour.

" At the moment England is so well served with honey of agreeable flavour that it seems doubtful if this honey could be imported to any material benefit. We can buy Jamaica honey, which is good both in colour and flavour, at 26s. per cwt. landed London, so you will appreciate that the value of the present honey would have to be decidedly below this figure. We think you will be well advised to inform your friend that there is little likelihood of an opening on the London market."

(2) " This honey appears to be of a good flavour, but at the present moment there is such a large stock of honey available of all kinds that it would be difficult to find a market for a fresh quality from a new origin."

The latter firm mentioned that Colonial honey was currently selling on the London market at prices ranging from 25s. to 40s. per cwt., according to quality. It will be observed that there is a difference of opinion with regard to the flavour of the honey, but it may be pointed out that the taste is undoubtedly such as would not appeal to the ordinary consumer in this country.

439 263 *Remarks.*—From the trade reports quoted above it will be seen that the possibility of disposing of this honey in the United Kingdom is very doubtful, in view of the large supplies of ordinary honey of good quality available on the market. Furthermore, it is probable that such dextro-rotatory honey would be regarded with suspicion, whilst its unattractive flavour and odour would be further obstacles to its sale.

## Livestock.

556 231 The wealth of the Beduins lies principally in their livestock, consisting of camels, donkeys, cattle, sheep, goats and poultry. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes. The selling of animals is a regular feature of the fairs which are held all over the country at the many shrines of saints. The Qu'aiti Government estimates the number of camels in the country at 20,000.

231 232 Sheep and goats are raised for milk and meat. Cattle, though not plentiful, are not uncommon. An outbreak of rinderpest had killed 60 head of cattle at Hajarein at the time of our visit, and this was considered a very heavy loss. Heald states a decoction of

[1] This is not ordinary honey originating in floral nectar, but is produced by the bee from secretions of leaves and sometimes from secretions deposited by insects.

by men and also serve for fodder. It is sold by *ma'bar*, a basket of about 30 to 40 lb. The price for eight baskets is from one to three dollars.

*Hanīt* (cooked and dried *tamad* fish). About fifteen to twenty *bahars* of this are made a day in Mukalla and sold for local and up country consumption.

*Safīf* (dried *tarnak* and *tamad* fish). This used to be made only from the *tarnak* but now includes *tamad* as well.

*Lakhm* (dried shark). A great deal is prepared in Mukalla and one *frasila* costs one and a half to two and a-half dollars.

*Rīsh* (shark fins). A certain amount of these are exported to China.

The fish manufactories have been removed from the town of Mukalla, a sanitary measure for which credit is due to Sultan 'Umar. The drying-grounds and godowns for *wazīf* are situated beyond Therb, the camel park, outside the western gate. Here too there are old fish-oil tanks. The drying of fish for human consumption takes place at Al Khalf, east of the town, and here large godowns for storage and export are in process of completion. Dried fish forms a staple article of diet of the population. It is also a valuable manure and a widely-used fodder for animals. The extent of this coastal industry may be judged by the millions of gulls lining the seashore and the ever-pervading smell in the coastal towns.

Mr. Heald, referring to the fish-curing industry, writes " Along the coast in the various villages, a primitive fish-curing industry was carried on for sale in the interior, which consisted merely of digging a hole about one yard deep and half a yard broad, lined with stone; in this, wood was burnt and then the large-sized fish were placed in the hot ashes and covered over and left for 24 hours, afterwards taken out and sent up to the interior for sale. I was informed that the cured fish would keep for a considerable length of time, but, as a word of warning to intending travellers in this country, I strongly advise them not to allow any of their luggage especially bedding to be put on the same camel carrying the fish, as the smell was abominable and tainted everything it came into contact with. The Beduins on the journey fed their camels with the small sun dried fish and also partook of the same themselves without any attempt at cooking."

## Visit of Agricultural and Geological Experts in 1919.

### Agricultural Report.

At the request of the Sultan, then Sir Ghalib bin 'Awadh, K.C.I.E., experts were obtained from Egypt to examine and report on the agricultural and mineral possibilities of certain parts of his territory

505 Agent, 'Abdulla Lalljee. These Lines call at both Mukalla and Shihr on the line Aden—Mukalla—Shihr—Mukalla—Aden. Apart from these two Lines the principal cargo traffic is taken by dhows. The normal number of dhows entering and leaving Mukalla a year is 300-400 which includes 70 or 80 big buggalows from Bombay. Dhows come from Gulf ports, Oman, Basra, Sur, Utubi, Kuweit, Hindi Kwati, Karachi, Bombay, Aden, Red Sea ports, Zanzibar, and the Somali coast, and leave for the same places. When there is much grain the number increases to 400 or 500.

A combined service of the Rotterdam Lloyd, Netherland M.V.S., and Blue Funnel Line provides eight calls a year each way on the line Suez—Singapore and Singapore—Suez. The ships call each way once a month except during the south-west monsoon when big ships cannot anchor. Ships of the Bombay—Persia line call on the route Calcutta—Bombay—Jedda about eight times each way except during the pilgrim season when they only call on the homeward voyage from Red Sea ports. The agent for both these services is 'Abdulla Lalljee.

During the last three years one Russian ship has called, and Italian ships call occasionally when the Bombay—Persia line ships cannot.

## CHAPTER IX.

## COMMERCE OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

### Finance.

431. All finance is in the hands of the merchants. Seven lakhs of rupees come from Java every month direct or via Aden. The 439 greater part of this is in drafts on Bombay which are sold in 457 Mukalla for cash. Indian and the more important Arab merchants deal in them, and ordinarily charge no commission as the drafts form an easy and cheap method of remittance. If, however, money is scarce locally, about four annas per cent. of rupees is charged. Money goes out to Aden and Bombay and is remitted through the merchants, who write letters to their agents at those places to obtain drafts. Dollars move freely to the interior and, if the exchange is good, come from there. The caravans which take the goods to the interior bring the dollars back, and this, apart from honey, firewood, and fodder, is about all that is carried from the interior to Mukalla. The dollars are exported from Mukalla to Aden if the exchange is more favourable there, and on the other hand if there is a shortage of dollars in Mukalla, or if the dollar is cheaper in Aden than in Mukalla, they are brought in. Omani and other dhow traders bring goods and take out money in cash. When the Imam imposed a duty on dollars imported to the Yemen there was a flow of dollars from Mukalla to Shibam and thence along the caravan route to San'ā. Dollars in Mukalla are usually two pice or upwards more than in Aden,

436 but never less, though sometimes they are equal. Transfer of
439 bullion is more common from Mukalla to Aden than from Aden
457 to Mukalla.

## Interest.

1152 Money can be had at 10 per cent. interest on mortgages, and
426 a few of the big Arabs obtain their wealth from this source. Goods are sold on a period of one month's credit and a percentage is calculated on this basis. Sometimes when cultivators have been unable to sell their tobacco the merchants have to wait for their payment for two to six months, and charge four to eight annas per cent. on the goods, or one rupee on people who are unable to pay for a long time. In Shibam 5 per cent. interest is charged on borrowed money. Interest transactions are of course disguised in order to avoid the Quranic precepts against usury.

## Foreign Trade.

439 The total value of the foreign trade (in merchandise) of the Hadhramaut in 1352 is estimated at over Rs.6,000,000. The chief exports are: tobacco, honey and fish products. The chief imports are: dates, flour, rice, goats and sheep, piece goods, simsim, jowari and kerosene.

### Imports of Merchandise.

| | *Quantity.* | *Rate.* | *Value.* (1353 prices.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fish products: *Sermai* (split and salted fish) pieces. | 10,000 to 15,000 | $28 to 60 per 100 | $2,800 to $4,200 |
| Goats and sheep, Nos. ... | 20,000 to 30,000 | Rs. 6 or 7 each | Rs. 120,000. |
| Dates. Basra. *Qosra* ... | 20,000 to 30,000 | Rs. 4/8 to Rs. 6/8 | Rs. 110,000 |
| Oman, *Jerab* (six *frasilas*) | 1,000 | Rs. 6 | Rs. 6,000 |
| Flour, bags ... ... | 10,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | French Rs. 10/4 Karachi Rs. 10/8 to Rs. 11/- | Rs. 102,500 |
| Rice, bags ... ... | 75,000 to 85,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 11/- | Rs. 825,000 |
| Building Poles (*boriffes*), scores. | 400 to 500 | Rs. 7–25 a score according to quality. | * |
| Simsim, bags ... ... | 15,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 60–67 a *bahar* of 570 lbs. | Rs. 900,000 |
| Jowari, bags ... ... | 70,000 to 80,000 | Rs. 6–8·8 | Rs. 420,000 |
| Piece Goods Japanese bales | 1,000 | Rs. 130 | Rs. 130,000 |
| Others ... | Very few | | |
| Kerosene, cases ... ... | 26,000 to 30,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 6 | Rs. 156,000 |
| Petrol, cases ... ... | 1,200 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 9 | Rs. 10,800. |
| Tea, cases of 90 to 100 lb. | 1,200 to 1,300 Mukalla & Shihr. | Up to Rs. 3 a lb. | Rs. 125,000 |
| Coffee, bags of 8–10 *frasilas* | 1,500 | Jelal, Rs. 7 Majbura, Rs. 2–3 | Rs. 80,000 |

* None imported in 1353.

## Exports of Merchandise.

| | | Quantity. | Rate. | Value. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| H 431 Fish products: (dried shark). | *Lakhs* | Little only | Rs. 1/6 a *frasila* | (1353 *prices*) |
| *Safif* (dried *Tarnak* and *Tamad* fish), cases of 2 cwt. | | 2,000 to 3,000 | $15 a case | $30,000 to $45,000 |
| *Rish* (shark fins) *frasilas* of 30 lb. | | 1,500 | $4 a *frasila* | $6,000 |
| Tobacco (Hamumi) *Bahars* | | *5,000 to 6,000 | Rs. 25–80 according to quality. | Rs. 500,000 |
| Honey, lb. | ... | 60,000 | | Rs. 100,000 |

* Not all exported, but the bulk.

H 438 431 The great bulk of the Hadhramaut trade is sea-borne. Shibam is the principal centre for land-borne trade into the Hadhramaut. The goods that come into that town from the interior are, ghee, jowari, wheat, barley, coffee berries, honey, oil, oilcakes, raisins, almonds, cotton, blankets, spinning cloth and animals. Most of these are domestic products and products of other parts of the Aden Protectorate, but coffee berries come from Yafa' and San'ā, and raisins and almonds particularly from San'ā. There is not a great deal of traffic from San'ā, but if the Shibam crops are not good the traffic increases. A moderate number of firearms and ammunition enter the Hadhramaut from the Yemen and Nejran through Shibam.

H 431 A 439 As the bulk of the trade of the Hadhramaut is with Aden, the following tables provided by the Trade Registration Office are of interest. Unfortunately the figures for the Hadhramaut ports and districts are not separated from other places under the heading Arabian Gulf Ports. These " ports " are, Hadhramaut: Mukalla, Shihr, Du'an, Dis, Gheil Ba Wazir, Qus'eir, Burum, Hami, Meifa and Hajr; and other ports: Shuqra, Habban, Seihūt, Dhofar, 'Irqa, Maqatein, Bir 'Ali, Ahwar, Balihaf, Qishn, Soqotra Island, Ras Seilan and Murbat.

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STATEMENT SHOWING THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF GOODS IMPORTED INTO ADEN FROM ARABIAN GULF PORTS FOR THE PAST FIVE YEARS.

| Articles. | Denomination. | 1929-30. | | 1930-31. | | 1931-32. | | 1932-33. | | 1933-34. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. |
| | | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. |
| Animals, living ... ... | Nos. | — | — | — | — | 860 | 2,796 | — | — | — | — |
| Books and printed matters | Cwt. | 31 | 1,068 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Chalk and Lime ... | " | 6,882 | 9,123 | 13,680 | 18,841 | 17,581 | [illegible] | 7,707 | 7,498 | 7,889 | 9,736 |
| Coffee ... ... ... | " | — | — | 63 | 1,138 | 82 | 1,544 | 167 | 1,826 | — | — |
| Cordage and Rope ... | " | — | — | — | — | — | — | 272 | 4,161 | — | — |
| Drugs, etc., Aloes ... | " | — | — | 116 | 2,022 | 89 | 1,574 | 136 | 2,131 | 212 | 3,916 |
| " " Asafoetida | " | 54 | 1,800 | 31 | 1,240 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Drugs, other sorts ... | Value | — | — | — | — | — | 1,308 | — | — | — | — |
| Dyeing, other sorts ... | Cwt. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 37 | 1,800 |
| Fish, dry, unsalted ... | " | 6,800 | 46,960 | 6,377 | 39,453 | 3,960 | 31,144 | 7,019 | 38,779 | 11,389 | 89,270 |
| " " salted ... | " | 2,080 | 19,232 | 3,661 | 36,994 | 1,827 | 20,482 | 2,730 | 19,307 | 2,987 | 22,719 |
| " Maws and Shark-fins. | " | 1,143 | 44,519 | 1,277 | 39,637 | 1,134 | 36,386 | 1,146 | 28,128 | 1,066 | 31,944 |
| Datum, wet ... ... | Tons | 90 | 13,267 | 242 | 17,209 | 18 | 1,861 | 72 | 5,488 | 194 | 10,000 |
| Furniture of wood ... | Value | — | — | — | — | — | 2,714 | — | — | — | — |
| Grain, Jowari and Bajri | Tons | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 23 | 1,174 |
| Grain, Rice ... ... | " | 6 | 1,189 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Gum Arabic ... ... | Cwt. | — | — | 85 | 2,636 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| " Incense ... ... | " | 6,864 | 143,743 | 10,819 | 180,435 | 6,316 | 68,900 | 2,521 | 18,165 | 4,616 | 41,508 |
| " other sorts ... ... | " | 2,914 | 71,248 | 431 | 8,344 | 690 | 11,806 | 235 | 3,611 | 886 | 7,075 |
| Hides, raw ... ... | Tons | 4 | 1,770 | 7 | 2,633 | 11 | 3,860 | — | — | — | — |
| Skins, raw ... ... | " | 17 | 21,082 | 6 | 6,082 | 9 | 6,721 | 6 | 3,116 | 6 | 4,297 |
| Jewellery, Plate of Gold and Silver ... ... | Value | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2,025 |
| Leather, manufactured other sorts ... ... | Cwt. | 32 | 1,610 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Manures ... ... | Tons | 33 | 1,262 | — | — | — | — | 162 | 1,482 | — | — |
| Mats and Mattings ... | Sq. Yds. | 30,160 | 9,[illegible]10 | 34,490 | 8,175 | 39,320 | 9,721 | 23,040 | 5,594 | 25,300 | 6,230 |
| Fish Oil ... ... ... | Gls. | — | — | — | — | 2,532 | 1,433 | 2,021 | 1,346 | 13,172 | 6,703 |
| Perfumery ... ... | Value | — | — | — | 1,030 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Provisions—Olive ... | Cwt. | 87 | 5,120 | 26 | 1,069 | — | — | — | — | 34 | 1,255 |
| " Vinegar ... | Gls. | 4,312 | 4,236 | 8,072 | 4,861 | 4,434 | 4,047 | 8,187 | 3,794 | 3,066 | 2,314 |

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STATEMENT SHOWING THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF GOODS IMPORTED INTO ADEN FROM ARABIAN GULF PORTS FOR THE PAST FIVE YEARS—*continued.*

| *Articles.* | *Denomination.* | *1929–30.* | | *1930–31.* | | *1931–32.* | | *1932–33.* | | *1933–34.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* |
| | | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. |
| Provisions—other sorts ... | Cwt. | 278 | 9,027 | 302 | 14,287 | 218 | 11,877 | 186 | 8,059 | 220 | 9,191 |
| Shells, Mother of Pearl ... | " | 404 | 14,476 | 200 | 6,146 | 369 | 7,987 | 420 | 8,968 | 507 | 5,542 |
| Spices—Dry Ginger ... | " | 70 | 1,993 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| " —Black Pepper ... | " | — | — | — | — | 35 | 1,200 | — | — | — | — |
| Stones and Marble ... | Tons | 51 | 1,050 | 176 | 4,780 | 187 | 3,368 | — | — | — | — |
| Cotton, Raw ... ... | " | 7 | 4,047 | 3 | 1,802 | 10 | 1,789 | 4 | 1,515 | — | — |
| " Twist ... ... | Lb. | 3,600 | 2,700 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| " Canvas ... | Yds. | 1,600 | 1,000 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Dyed Piece Goods ... | " | 111,270 | 48,140 | 146,970 | 55,835 | 167,310 | 39,915 | 168,490 | 30,716 | 144,674 | 23,335 |
| Jute Gunny Bags ... | No. | 13,540 | 3,824 | 8,560 | 2,069 | 6,320 | 1,350 | — | — | — | — |
| Wool Blankets ... ... | " | 3,528 | 1,650 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| " Carpets and Rugs... | " | 2,800 | 10,398 | 1,120 | 2,480 | — | — | — | — | 2,660 | 1,950 |
| Artificial silk piece goods | Yds. | 3,300 | 1,600 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Tobacco, unmanufactured | Lb. | 2,301,600 | 758,215 | 1,672,496 | 514,982 | 2,150,708 | 536,263 | 2,023,271 | 368,148 | 1,557,360 | 252,527 |
| Toys, other sorts... ... | Value | — | — | — | — | — | 2,128 | — | — | — | — |
| Motor-cars ... ... | Nos. | 8 | 7,200 | 4 | 8,800 | 3 | 4,065 | 1 | 1,900 | 2 | 1,600 |
| Ships, and parts of ... | Value | — | 3,620 | — | 3,475 | — | 4,795 | — | 1,135 | — | 1,160 |
| Wood, other timber ... | C. Tons | 149 | 4,452 | 121 | 3,695 | — | — | 121 | 6,780 | 73 | 3,131 |
| Firewood ... ... ... | Tons | 2,165 | 29,092 | 1,814 | 23,793 | 1,342 | 15,158 | 2,176 | 24,177 | 1,737 | 18,635 |
| Wood, manufactured ... | Value | — | 3,021 | — | 2,268 | — | — | — | 1,407 | — | — |
| All other articles ... | " | — | 4,446 | — | 6,810 | — | 4,269 | — | 2,033 | — | 1,313 |
| Total Merchandise ... | Rs. | | 1,305,228 | | 980,241 | | 846,457 | | 598,092 | | 523,466 |
| Treasure, Gold ... ... | " | | 88,665 | | 55,130 | | 95,925 | | 75,465 | | 32,685 |
| " Silver ... ... | " | | 463,758 | | 493,078 | | 594,471 | | 359,231 | | 368,765 |
| Total Treasure ... ... | " | | 552,423 | | 548,208 | | 690,396 | | 434,696 | | 401,450 |
| GRAND TOTAL IMPORTS | " | | 1,857,651 | | 1,528,449 | | 1,536,853 | | 1,032,788 | | 924,616 |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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STATEMENT SHOWING THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF GOODS EXPORTED FROM ADEN TO ARABIAN GULF PORTS FOR THE PAST FIVE YEARS.

| Articles. | Denomination. | 1929–30. | | 1930–31. | | 1931–32. | | 1932–33. | | 1933–34. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. |
| | | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. |
| Animals, living ... | Nos. | 3,980 | 77,239 | 2,022 | 25,540 | 6,531 | 61,278 | 7,533 | 63,010 | 5,677 | 42,952 |
| Apparel ... ... ... | Value | — | 2,317 | — | 1,315 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Arms and ammunition ... | " | — | 5,495 | — | 23,718 | — | 29,924 | — | 19,533 | — | 29,409 |
| Building materials ... | Cwt. | — | — | 536 | 2,025 | 411 | 1,536 | 699 | 2,029 | 551 | 1,874 |
| Books and printed matters | " | 46 | 1,813 | 51 | 2,200 | 75 | 3,035 | 41 | 1,669 | 37 | 1,971 |
| Chemicals, etc. ... ... | Value | — | 3,106 | — | 8,845 | — | 3,079 | — | 1,954 | — | 2,619 |
| Coffee ... ... ... | Cwt. | 2,960 | 122,035 | 4,667 | 123,951 | 3,507 | 74,806 | 3,385 | 63,956 | 4,538 | 91,774 |
| Cordage and Rope ... | " | — | — | — | — | — | — | 87 | 1,068 | — | — |
| Drugs and Medicines ... | Value | — | 5,569 | — | 5,045 | — | 4,288 | — | 5,463 | — | 5,069 |
| Dyeing and Tanning substances ... ... | Cwt. | 956 | 51,411 | 1,399 | 56,246 | 1,161 | 48,464 | 1,206 | 57,218 | 1,311 | 71,449 |
| Earthenware and Porcelain | Value | — | 5,834 | — | 5,947 | — | 6,638 | — | 8,616 | — | 7,455 |
| Fish, dry, unsalted ... | Cwt. | 744 | 7,932 | 1,148 | 9,828 | 2,206 | 14,359 | 746 | 3,225 | — | — |
| Fodder, Bran and Pollards | Tons | 15 | 1,125 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Vegetables, fresh onions | Cwt. | 1,244 | 7,442 | 872 | 4,397 | 655 | 3,315 | 549 | 2,301 | 1,539 | 4,835 |
| Fruit and Vegetables, dried, salted, etc. ... | Tons | 191 | 28,195 | 158 | 14,127 | 163 | 13,751 | 182 | 13,332 | 86 | 8,369 |
| Furniture ... ... | Value | — | - | — | — | — | — | — | 2,551 | — | 1,616 |
| Glassware ... ... | " | — | 11,611 | — | 6,112 | — | 6,643 | — | 7,721 | — | 6,124 |
| Grain and Pulse ... ... | Tons | 6,610 | 1,034,800 | 5,235 | 667,720 | 3,487 | 342,915 | 3,630 | 271,113 | 3,507 | 275,268 |
| Gum and Resins ... | Cwt. | — | — | 26 | 1,021 | — | — | 123 | 2,560 | 144 | 3,585 |
| Hardware and Cutlery ... | Value | — | 39,405 | — | 26,364 | — | 26,987 | — | 37,769 | — | 30,350 |
| Instruments ... ... | " | — | 16,995 | — | 2,969 | — | 2,110 | — | 4,350 | — | 2,196 |
| Machinery ... ... | " | — | 5,299 | — | 52,831 | — | 5,000 | — | 24,127 | — | 8,135 |
| Fish manures ... ... | Tons | 38 | 2,764 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Metals, Brass wrought ... | Cwt. | 55 | 2,360 | 34 | 1,182 | — | — | — | — | — | — |

H 439 A 439

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2 Aden MMI



STATEMENT SHOWING THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF GOODS EXPORTED FROM ADEN TO ARABIAN GULF PORTS FOR THE PAST FIVE YEARS—*continued.*

| *Articles.* | *Denomination.* | *1929–30.* | | *1930–31.* | | *1931–32.* | | *1932–33.* | | *1933–34.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* | *Quantity.* | *Value.* |
| | | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. |
| Metals, Copper wrought... | Cwt. | 41 | 1,370 | — | — | 47 | 1,707 | 115 | 5,677 | 95 | 3,451 |
| " Iron wrought ... | Tons | 24 | 14,118 | 28 | 15,628 | 55 | 17,618 | 59 | 22,822 | 71 | 29,212 |
| Oils ... ... ... | Gls. | 180,721 | 206,596 | 126,319 | 171,293 | 91,679 | 131,275 | 1,114,731 | 153,360 | 112,676 | 126,152 |
| Oil cakes ... ... | Tons | 14 | 1,771 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Paints and Painters' materials ... ... | Cwt. | 38 | 1,504 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 33 | 1,345 |
| Paper and pasteboard ... | " | 1,443 | 9,643 | 980 | 6,137 | 1,673 | 9,759 | 1,191 | 7,119 | 1,645 | 9,049 |
| Perfumery ... ... | Value | — | 1,757 | — | 3,325 | — | 5,044 | — | 4,739 | — | 4,720 |
| Provisions and Oilmen's Stores ... ... | Cwt. | 8,313 | 263,017 | 7,482 | 190,747 | 8,333 | 212,028 | 8,248 | 215,932 | 8,162 | 197,420 |
| Rubber, manufactured | Value | — | 7,047 | — | 4,415 | — | 4,790 | — | 2,982 | — | 2,467 |
| Seeds ... ... ... | Tons | 447 | 129,509 | 603 | 146,345 | 436 | 76,785 | 411 | 77,494 | 396 | 49,362 |
| Soap ... ... ... | Cwt. | 740 | 16,877 | 826 | 15,881 | 795 | 15,344 | 1,169 | 18,875 | 819 | 11,670 |
| Spices ... ... ... | " | 3,951 | 126,776 | 5,631 | 161,362 | 4,929 | 82,203 | 4,836 | 72,408 | 3,774 | 51,907 |
| Stationery ... ... | Value | — | 8,091 | — | 2,308 | — | 3,197 | — | 2,605 | — | 2,930 |
| Sugar ... ... ... | Tons | 1,151 | 243,194 | 1,212 | 189,344 | 1,247 | 182,832 | 914 | 120,144 | 1,304 | 157,408 |
| Tallows ... ... ... | Cwt. | 90 | 1,394 | 179 | 3,240 | 291 | 3,477 | 98 | 1,367 | 79 | 1,023 |
| Tea ... ... ... | Lb. | 11,197 | 10,420 | 12,791 | 10,873 | 21,730 | 15,670 | 12,327 | 9,341 | 8,156 | 4,522 |
| Cotton, Raw ... ... | Tons | — | — | — | — | — | — | 5 | 2,136 | — | — |
| Cotton Twist and Yarn ... | Lb. | 175,170 | 181,179 | 285,808 | 218,447 | 241,298 | 133,775 | 314,191 | 139,109 | 189,366 | 71,263 |
| Cotton Piece goods, gray | Yds. | 1,064,087 | 259,666 | 1,288,556 | 221,183 | 1,823,873 | 241,066 | 1,500,720 | 203,303 | 1,101,546 | 139,425 |
| " " white | " | 21,086 | 6,469 | 35,400 | 8,490 | 42,240 | 8,314 | 32,410 | 5,660 | 19,430 | 2,606 |
| " " dyed | " | 835,496 | 312,897 | 787,701 | 261,855 | 892,452 | 223,528 | 1,456,897 | 301,104 | 1,392,115 | 259,298 |
| Cotton Thread ... ... | Lb. | 4,610 | 3,958 | 2,880 | 1,727 | 6,602 | 3,277 | 7,650 | 3,424. | 6,178 | 2,638 |
| Cotton, manufactured ... | " | 3,458 | 1,822 | 5,410 | 3,221 | 2,688 | 1,637 | 3,579 | 2,256 | 3,570 | 2,890 |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Haberdashery ... ... | Value | — | 14,280 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Jute, manufactured ... | " | — | 5,077 | — | 1,853 | — | 2,889 | — | 1,996 | — | 1,356 |
| Silk mixed with other materials ... ... | Yds. | — | — | 2,700 | 2,160 | — | — | — | — | 3,900 | 1,025 |
| Silk Piece goods ... ... | " | 12,550 | 14,100 | 2,012 | 1,518 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Wool carpets and Rugs | Lb. | 3,864 | 6,710 | 1,624 | 2,260 | 2,408 | 5,620 | 4,270 | 7,655 | 3,360 | 6,432 |
| Wool, manufactured ... | " | 1,848 | 1,720 | 4,410 | 1,720 | 3,584 | 1,939 | — | — | 5,950 | 2,448 |
| Tobacco, unmanufactured | " | 121,912 | 21,761 | 98,616 | 18,935 | 160,832 | 17,138 | 98,336 | 17,259 | 80,612 | 12,364 |
| " manufactured | " | 8,554 | 10,239 | 6,535 | 9,056 | 7,308 | 7,652 | 11,735 | 9,773 | 9,331 | 10,700 |
| Toys ... ... ... | Value | — | 1,104 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Motor-cars, etc. ... ... | No. | 39 | 56,925 | 17 | 22,623 | 19 | 32,135 | 19 | 26,555 | 17 | 18,154 |
| Parts of Motor-cars ... | Value | — | 12,514 | — | 13,797 | — | 5,841 | — | 8,809 | — | 3,726 |
| Wood, other timber ... | C. Tons | 84 | 7,668 | 132 | 5,424 | 260 | 6,955 | 64 | 2,900 | 121 | 3,958 |
| Wood manufacture ... | Value | — | 1,705 | — | — | — | 1,243 | — | 1,071 | — | 2,734 |
| All other articles ... | " | — | 35,743 | — | 47,185 | — | 29,829 | — | 35,215 | — | 22,995 |
| Total merchandise ... | Rs. | | 3,429,438 | | 2,803,733 | | 2,132,395 | | 2,074,655 | | 1,812,400 |
| Treasure, silver ... ... | " | | 1,658,441 | | 2,198,410 | | 1,341,733 | | 985,787 | | 853,024 |
| " currency notes | | | — | | 3,000 | | — | | — | | — |
| Total Treasure ... ... | Rs. | | 1,658,441 | | 2,201,410 | | 1,341,733 | | 985,787 | | 853,024 |
| GRAND TOTAL ... | Rs. | | 5,087,879 | | 5,005,143 | | 3,474,128 | | 3,060,442 | | 2,665,424 |

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



**Distribution of Trade.**

IMPORTS.

439 *British Empire.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Aden ... ... ... .. | Bulk of imports. |
| Berbera ... ... ... | 30,000 goats and sheep. |
| East African Coast ... ... | Building poles, simsim, jowari. |
| Zanzibar ... ... ... | Building poles, simsim, jowari. |
| Karachi ... ... ... | Flour. |
| Bombay ... ... ... | Rice. |
| Mahri Coast ... ... ... | *Wazif, sermai* 10,000 to 15,000 *per annum.* |

*Persian Gulf.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Basra ... ... ... .. | Dates, jowari. |
| Oman ... ... ... ... | Dates. |

EXPORTS.

*British Empire.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Aden ... ... ... ... | Tobacco, 98 per cent., honey, fish products (a little). |
| Zanzibar ... ... ... | Fish products, *lakhm.* |
| East Africa ... ... ... | *Safif.* |
| Mauritius ... ... ... | *Safif* (little). |
| India ... ... ... ... | *Safif.* |
| Colombo ... ... ... | *Hanit* (very little now), *safif.* |
| Bombay ... ... ... | Honey, fish products. |

*Foreign countries.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Java ... ... ... ... | Greatest part of honey crop. |
| Red Sea Ports ... ... | Tobacco, 2 per cent. |
| China ... ... ... ... | Shark fins. |

## CHAPTER X.

### THE INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

442 In most of the western states of the Protectorate the ruling family is originally of foreign extraction. The 'Abdali Sultan, the Haushabi Sultan, the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, the 'Amir of Dhāla, all belong to dynasties founded by men who were originally Governors on behalf of the Imam of San'ā and who succeeded in throwing off their allegiance and establishing their independence. The 'Alawi Sheikh, too, is said to be descended from a Governor of the Imam, subordinate to the ancestor of the Haushabi. The Fadhli dynasty is said to be about three hundred years old and Turkish in origin. The Wāhidi Sultan is, according to local account, descended from a member of the Qureish who settled in the country, and the 'Irqa Sheikh is descended from a holy man who settled at 'Irqa and became "canonized" after his death.

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## Description of the main heads of Taxation and their yield.

### Customs.

*Export duties* :—

Honey.—Rs. 12,000 *per annum*.

Fish products (exports and imports).—Rs. 4,000 to Rs.5,000 *per annum*.

*Tobacco Excise*.—Until a year or two ago the collection of excise at Gheil ba Wazir was farmed for $85,000, the equivalent to Rs.1,70,000. The lessee became bankrupt and present revenue is equivalent to Rs.80,000.

*Rent of tobacco lands*.—Two or three years ago Rs.60,000, present yield Rs.40,000.

*Imported tobacco monopoly*.—Rs. 1,200 *per annum*.

*Internal transit dues on loaded camels*, Mukalla and Shihr.—Rs.73,000 to Rs.75,000 *per annum*.

*Internal transit dues on loaded camels*, Shibam (farmed) $12,000.

*Revenues of Du'an province*.—$15,000.

*Total Receipts.*

| Mukalla. | | Shihr[2]. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1348 ... ... ... | Rs. 3,50,000[1] | 1348 ... ... ... | Rs. 82,000 |
| 1349 ... ... ... | „ 2,87,000 | 1349 ... ... ... | „ 82,000 |
| 1350 ... ... ... | „ 2,80,000 | 1350 ... ... ... | „ 82,000 |
| 1351 ... ... ... | „ 2,75,000 | 1351 ... ... ... | „ 82,000 |
| 1352 ... ... ... | „ 2,65,000 | 1352 ... ... ... | „ 82,000 |

*Note*—[1]. Up to 1348 inclusive the Mukalla Customs were farmed at a yearly rental of Rs. 3,50,000 of which Rs. 50,000 was paid in advance and the rest in twelve equal monthly instalments.

[2]. The Customs at Shihr are farmed. As from 1st Muharram 1353 the rental has been increased to Rs. 11,000 *per mensem* as it was realized that the lessee was making a large profit.

### *Customs Tariff.*

The following shows the rates of duty on the principal imports and exports at Mukalla on the 29th Dhu'l Hijja 1352 :—

*Imports.*

Foodstuffs.—8 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Other articles.—5 per cent. *ad valorem*.

The following tariff was brought into force on the 1st Muharram 1353 :

*Imports.*

Foodstuffs, piece-goods, dates, firewood, building wood, passengers' new goods, etc. General rate of 8 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Sugar in addition to *ad valorem* duty of 8 per cent. : Re.1 per cwt. or Rs. 2 per bag.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM Hadhramaut MM2



Ghee : Rs.2 per kerosene tin of 4-gallon capacity. 651

Gingli, ground nut and other oils : Re.1 per kerosene tin of 4 gallon capacity. 439

Kerosene and petrol : Re.1 per case.

Qurans and religious works : free.

Fish products :

*Lakhm* (dried shark) : 8 per cent. *ad valorem*.

*Wazif* (dried fish for manure and cattle food) from beyond Qu'aiti dominions (i.e., Mahri coast) : 20 per cent. *ad valorem*.

*Sermai* (split and salted fish) : 10 per cent. *ad valorem*.

At Shihr there are no specific duties but a uniform *ad valorem* rate of 8 per cent.

*Exports.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Honey in comb ... ... | Annas 4 per *Qasa* of about 4 lb.<br>Annas 8 per *Qasa* of about 7 lb. |
| Honey, liquid ... ... ... | Rs.8 per case of two tins of about 60 lb. weight (*Sabib*). |
| Fish products : | |
| *Sifa* (Fish oil) ... ... | Annas 4 per four-gallon tin. |
| *Safif* (dried *ternak* and *tamad* fish). | Annas 8 per cwt. or Re.1 per case of about 2 cwt. |
| *Rish* (shark fins) ... ... | Annas 4 per *frasila* of 20 lb. |
| Lime ... ... ... ... | Annas 8-12 per bag of three *frasilas*. |

*Excise Duties.*

Hamumi tobacco (Gheil ba Wazir) : Rs. 17 per *bahar* of 300 English pounds.

Hamumi tobacco (other places) : duty farmed.

*Wharfage Duties.*

On every package imported or exported at Mukalla : Anna 1.

*Registration Duties.*

On every deed of sale of house property in Mukalla : 6 per cent. of price. 651

*Municipal Dues.*

*Mukalla.*

| | |
|---|---|
| On each shop in bazaar streets, Scavenging tax ... ... ... | As.8 *per mensem*. |
| On each stall in vegetable market | Rs.5 *per mensem*. |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB1
Arabs



This is not merely a phenomenon of recent times; formerly also Arab immigrants for the most part settled for good in the Netherlands-Indies. Thus there are now many Arab families who have lived in the Netherlands-Indies for generations and have proportionately become more numerous. In this "nucleus" group and amongst the children of new-comers' families there is a natural equality of men and women. These groups are so large that the entire Arab community, "nucleus" immigrants' children together with the almost solely male immigrants, has a lesser shortage of women than the other non-indigenous population groups in the Netherlands-Indies, and this has also been the case in former years. Among the European population the excess of males over females was only reduced in 1930 by the recently increased immigration of European women.

The gradually rising birth-rate for immigrants' children and for children of Arabs themselves born here, has produced a very large group of minors who will, in due course, when they become adult, greatly exceed the present numbers of middle-aged adults. An increase in the procreative capacity of the Arab population group is therefore to be expected and thus also, after some time, a corresponding increase in the Arab population group.

2. *Occupations.*—The Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies come almost without exception from the Hadhramaut. The principal means of subsistence of most Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies is trade, in various forms, and principally trading in batiks and sarongs. Pekalongan and Sole are the centres of their batik trade. Some, like the Chinese, do business in haberdashery in Middle and East Java. Like the Chinese they also form a link between the European retailer and the native. They try to hawk various goods for large profits amongst the native population. This, however, is usually very risky for them. They deliver goods generally to the less substantial buyers on easy payment terms. Bankruptcies occur often among the Arabs. Then their insolvent estates must be saved by the College for the Administration of Intestate Estates (Wees- and Boedelkamer). Many Arabs are money-lenders either openly or in a disguised form. The coastal trade with sailing ships was formerly largely in Arab hands; but this now means little to them. Agriculture, handicrafts and occupations for which a certain education is essential, are only in exceptional cases carried out by them. There are also among the Arabs some wholesale merchants, landowners and estate-owners; the latter own extensive landed property and tea estates.

3. *Trade with the Hadhramaut.*—So far as we know there are, generally speaking, no trade relations between the Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies and the Hadhramaut. The only close contact with the Hadhramaut is through their families there; they regularly send money and other necessities for their maintenance.

H 167 12,000 at 50, and more than 12,000 at 15. To-day the estimated number of the community in Singapore is 580, made up as follows :—

M 162 167

| *Born in Hadhramaut* | | *Born in Singapore:* | | *Children above 10 years* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Males.* | *Females.* | *Males.* | *Females.* | *say* |
| 120 | 20 | 160 | 180 | 100 |

M [163] The females born in Singapore are of mixed race with Arab, Malay, Javanese, Bugis, and Chinese blood. It may be presumed that this remark applies to some of the males born in Singapore and most of the children.

H 167 463 M 162 The number of Hadhramaut Arabs in Singapore to-day is about 10 per cent. less than in 1925. This reduction is attributed chiefly to the slump which caused some members of the community formerly resident in Singapore to move to neighbouring countries, and principally Java. The Hadhramis in Singapore are principally occupied as

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1. House, land, and estate proprietors.
2. Kain Batik (cloth) dealers.
3. Miscellaneous professions including importers of merchandise from Arabia.
4. Brokers.
5. Religious teachers and *Imams*.

M 563 H 167 The community for its size is the wealthiest in Singapore owing to its large holdings in house, land, and estate property. Lee Warner (Geographical Journal, March 1931) says that "whole streets in Singapore and Penang are owned by wealthy Hadhramis, mainly of the Kathiri tribes." The community, probably owing to the religious objection to interest, invests its profits in land and house property.

The 13 principal individuals or families represented in Singapore own property valued at 21,800,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to about £2,544,000. Out of this amount the wealth of one family is estimated alone at 10,000,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to nearly £1,170,000. Two other fortunes also run into millions of dollars.

M 439 H 439 Trade with the Hadhramaut, or more accurately with Arabia, is not carried on on a large scale. It is confined to: *Exports:* cloth (Kain Batik), sandalwood, incense, crockery, and brassware. *Imports:* ghee, honey, Arab incense, native medicines and herbs, rosaries, and Arab coffee.

M 563 H 186 Regarding the part played by the Hadhramis in local affairs the information given is that the Hadhrami-born element does not take much interest in local social life or politics, but confines itself to its own groups. These people are conservative, good business men, respectable, dignified, and patriotic to their own country of origin and law-abiding to their country of adoption. They confine their interests to money making and religious exercises and maintain

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35) 1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar MM2



## Trade and Occupations.

In the Appendix to this note will be found statistics in regard to the trade between Zanzibar and Aden during the years 1932-4. No separate record is kept in respect of the merchandise with which these notes are mainly concerned (i.e., merchandise transported by Hadhramis themselves in dhows), but the following table furnished by the Comptroller of Customs gives a very rough estimate :— H 439

| *Imports.* | Per cent. | *Exports.* | Per cent. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fish, dried ... ... | 90 | Clove and clove stems ... | 20 |
| Ghee ... ... ... | 100 | Coconuts ... ... | 100 |
| Salt ... ... ... | 75 | Simsim (re-export) ... | 95 |
| Tobacco, native ... | 50 | Coconut oil ... ... | 100 |
| Cotton manufactures ... | 60 | Iron and Steel manufactures ... ... | 100 |
| Medicines ... ... | 100 | | |
| Sugar ... ... ... | 100 | | |
| Colour materials ... | 100 | | |

As, however, it is understood that most of the dhows plying between Zanzibar and the Hadhramaut enter and leave the ports of Mukalla, Seihut and Shihr (imports and exports in respect of which are presumably included under the separate and general head "Arabia") without touching the port of Aden, the foregoing information can be of little value.

It may be said generally, however, that the non-settled elements of the Hadhrami population, who move backwards and forwards between their homes and the Protectorate for the purpose of trading, bring with them, when they arrive in the north-east monsoon, such articles as clothes (loin cloths, etc.), honey, henna, dried fish, salt, ghee, livestock, dates and shark oil (sifa), some of which are obtained en route on the Somaliland coast. A number of the visitors, having disposed of their goods, return to the Hadhramaut a few months later in the south-west monsoon taking with them locally grown millet; others, finding employment, stay on for two or three years or more until they have accumulated sufficient money—two or three hundred rupees or so—to return to their homes. H 166 438

The latest Zanzibar Census (1931) does not include statistics in regard to the occupation of the people, but the directions in which the Hadhramis find employment are indicated in the 1924 Census, relevant extracts from which are contained in the Appendix to this note. It will be observed that the commonest occupations were the following, in the order mentioned: General traders, labourers, water carriers, private servants (no occupation), other occupations, Government employees, fishermen, and gold and silversmiths. Included in the list are of course the Hadhrami coolies, stevedores, H 167 463 Z 463

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



Z 563 262 H 167 186

their own homes. It includes fresh and salted fish and shark, wheat porridge (*Shurba* and *Haris*) millet, rice, meat, dates, bread, milk, coffee, and tea.

Z 778

Places of worship are normally shared by both Hadhramis and Shihiris alike, but in practice the Hadhramis mostly congregate in and largely control the Juma's and Mzaham Mosques and the Shihiris the Malindi Mnara Mosque. One burial ground is, on the other hand, used by both sections.

## APPENDIX

H 439

TRADE BETWEEN ZANZIBAR AND ADEN FOR THE PERIOD 1932–1934.

| | Trade Imports and Direct Transhipment Total. | | Domestic Exports, Re-Exports and Direct Transhipment Total. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quantity. | Value. Rs. | Quantity. | Value. Rs. |
| Cloves ... ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 3,486 | 117,768 |
| Clove Stems ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 44 | 188 |
| Fish, dried ... ... ... cwts. | 9,325 | 67,454 | 75 | 600 |
| Fruit, fresh ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 2,295 | 8,697 |
| Ghee ... ... ... lbs.... | 3,520 | 1,420 | ... | ... |
| Salt ... ... ... lbs. | 1,295,802 | 8,917 | ... | ... |
| Tobacco, manufactured ... lbs. | ... | ... | 125 | 337 |
| Tobacco, Native ... ... lbs. | 3,920 | 1,471 | ... | ... |
| Coconuts ... ... ... ... | ... | ... | 12,865 | 276 |
| Sim Sim ... ... ... lbs. | ... | ... | 156,535 | 9,777 |
| Miscellanoous ... ... ... | ... | 433 | ... | ... |
| Instruments, Scientific and Surgical, etc. ... ... ... | ... | ... | 1 | 628 |
| Cotton, manufactured ... ... | ... | 1,404 | ... | ... |
| Silk, manufactured ... ... | ... | 7 | ... | ... |
| Mats, etc. ... ... ... ... | ... | 133 | ... | ... |
| Chemicals ... ... ... cwts. | ... | ... | 72 | 6,600 |
| Medicines ... ... ... ... | ... | 6 | ... | ... |
| Stationery ... ... ... cwts. | 4 | 341 | ... | ... |
| Books ... ... ... ... | ... | 4 | ... | ... |
| Goods, manufactured ... ... | ... | 66 | ... | 50 |
| Sugar ... ... ... cwts. | 27 | 386 | ... | ... |
| Food and Drinks ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | 152 |
| Coconut oil ... ... lbs..... | ... | ... | 27,313 | 4,584 |
| Garlic ... ... ... cwts. | 18 | 172 | ... | ... |
| Iron and Steel, manufactured tons | ... | ... | ... | 428 |
| Bags and Sacks ... ... doz. | ... | ... | 16 | 80 |
| Colour materials ... ... cwts. | 2 | 117 | ... | ... |
| | | 82,331 | | 150,105 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Imports ... ... | Rs. | 82,331 |
| Exports ... ... | „ | 150,105 |
| Total Trade ... | Rs. | 232,436 |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1
Egypt MR1



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162
563
464

1924 Census: Hadhrami population of Zanzibar by occupations.

| | Zanzibar Island. | Pemba Island. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| General Traders ... ... ... ... | 387 | 19 | 406 |
| Labourers ... ... ... ... ... | 203 | 5 | 208 |
| Water carriers ... ... ... ... | 200 | 5 | 205 |
| Private servants ... ... ... | 172 | 3 | 175 |
| No occupations ... ... ... ... | 112 | 13 | 125 |
| Other occupations ... ... ... | 56 | 6 | 62 |
| Government employees ... ... ... | 43 | 2 | 45 |
| Fishermen ... ... ... ... ... | 41 | 2 | 43 |
| Tailors ... ... ... ... ... | 37 | 4 | 41 |
| Cultivators ... ... ... ... | 2 | 25 | 27 |
| Landowners (clove and coconut properties only) ... ... ... ... ... | 16 | 7 | 23 |
| Masons ... ... ... ... ... | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Carpenters ... ... ... ... | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| Overseers ... ... ... ... | 8 | 1 | 9 |
| Sailors ... ... ... ... ... | 8 | — | 8 |
| Brokers ... ... ... ... ... | 6 | — | 6 |
| Gold and Silver Smiths ... ... | — | 3 | 3 |
| Weeders ... ... ... ... ... | — | 3 | 3 |
| | 1,300 | 108 | 1,408 |
| Females[1] ... ... ... ... ... | 443 | 97 | |
| Boys under 12 ... ... ... ... | 210 | 63 | |
| Girls under 12[1] ... ... ... ... | 139 | 46 | |
| | 2,092 | 314 | |
| Total for Protectorate ... | 2,406 | | |

[1] Probably almost entirely of mixed blood (see page 155).

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### HADHRAMIS IN EGYPT AND THE COUNTRIES BORDERING THE RED SEA.

*Egypt.*—Most of the Hadhramis in Egypt settled there over half a century ago, starting business in a very small way. Being by nature a prudent and thrifty race they gradually became successful merchants and accumulated fortunes. Formerly they were the only wholesale merchants in Egypt dealing in South Arabian produce.

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It is estimated that there are between 400 and 500 Hadhramis in Egypt, including women and children. The community is rather smaller now than in the past. In Cairo the Hadhrami colony lives for the most part in the Gamaliya District near Sayedna El-Hussein Mosque. They are for the most part well-to-do people trading in the produce of Aden and the Hadhramaut, coffee from Yemen, and Syrian soap. The principal occupation is that of coffee or incense merchant. No Egyptian goods are exported by the community to the Hadhramaut, but sums of money representing profits and other

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167
[439]
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2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

## INTRODUCTION

131 To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South
114 Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

631 Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali
643 and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

133 The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and
132 uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable antiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their
312 limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an
439 enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade.
167 The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

721 Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



648 lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

439 That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri
167 State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya
171 is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

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TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

| State | Title of ruler | Population | Area in sq. miles | Annual revenue | Police | Salute |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Qu'aiti (Mukalla) .. | H.H. the Sultan of | 197,000 | 30,000 | Rs 27,50,078 | Unlisted | 11 guns |
| Kathiri (Seiyun) ... | Sultan of | 60,000 | 6,000 | Rs 4,80,000 | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Wahidi (Balhaf) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 5,000 | Rs 1,02,448 | Unlisted | None |
| Mahri (Socotra & Qishn) ..... | Sultan of | 22,000 | 13,000 | Unlisted | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Haura ..... | Shaykh of | 300 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| 'Irqa ..... | Shaykh of | 350 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Abdali (Lahej) ..... | H.H. the Sultan of | 41,400 | 4,500 | Unlisted | 380 | 11 guns |
| Fadhli (Shuqra) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 2,500 | Rs 4,17,697 | 120 | 9 guns |
| Amiri (Dhala) ..... | Amir of | 27,000 | 1,050 | Rs 1,50,000 | 75 | 9 guns |
| Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara) ..... | Sultan of | 23,000 | 700 | Rs 1,65,000 | 30 | 9 guns |
| Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba) ..... | Sultan of | 89,000 | 900 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar) ..... | Sultan of | 12,000 | 2,500 | Rs 49,000 | 40 | None |
| Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab) ..... | Sultan of | 53,000 | 1,800 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Beihan (Beihan Qasb) .... | Amir of | 13,000 | 4,000 | Unlisted | 40 | None |
| Audhali (Lodar) .... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 1,000 | Unlisted | 30 | None |
| Haushabi (Museimir) ..... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 350 | Unlisted | 29 | None |
| Alawi (Al Qash'a) .. | Shaykh of | 1,200 | 89 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed). | Shaykh of | 2,000 | 101 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazeteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds 439
remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business 167
holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over 171
a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.[9]

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is 177
virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common 198
tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Ka- 291
thiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be 556
incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, 185
Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf 177
family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In [491]
1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, [509]
Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

[9] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut*. London: Colonial Office, 1936.

It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk. 342

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm. 361

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anis go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices. 311 312 511 262 439 291

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space. 342 361 531

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut. 361 342

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on [441]

8 Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 of a broad, gently sloping bedrock drainage surface. The plateau abounds in suitable rock surfaces, and they serve as catchment areas for occasional cloudbursts. Walls, six to eight inches high, fashioned of closely packed but uncemented rock fragments and slabs, are

[291 411 362]

FIG. 21—Bedouins of Wadi Hajr. Note the attire and appearance: bare feet or sandals; short sarong; cartridge belt; curved dagger; long, black, glistening, oily hair; ever-present musket. To the stocks of their antiquated guns, goat skulls are frequently attached, as these are thought to provide greater comfort than the original design.

laid out radially from the well so that surface drainage will converge on it from a wide area.

415 401 483 To transport water, Bedouins use bags of uncut goat skins, tied firmly at the leg and neck openings. For drawing well water, the skin is fashioned into a bucket and attached to a rope passing over a pulley in a crudely constructed scaffolding of palm logs lashed together with coconut-fiber cord. The bucket is raised and lowered by donkeys, cattle, or slaves, with the assistance of an appropriate harness. To augment the lifting power applied to each bucket, it is customary to excavate an incline downward from the mouth of the well, equal in length to the depth of the water table, and it is along such a trench that man and beast plod long, weary hours each day. When a bulging and leaking skin has been lifted slightly above the welltop, it is pulled over and lowered into a catchment basin connected with the local irrigation system.

## THE CARAVANS

492 438 439 Many Bedouins, not engaged in agriculture or herding, find occupation in the camel transport system of the Hadhramaut. A man

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

FIG. 22—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general attire, especially the sarong, which has been introduced by Hadhrami emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to provide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

9. Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



its own language, and in its trade, which is dhow-borne, unlike that of Mukalla, which is largely steamer-borne in normal times, it deals with Muscat, the Persian Gulf and India, and to some extent with East Africa, for the coastal Mahris are great seafarers. The Mahris, unlike the Hadhramis, do not settle abroad, so by reason of their habits and their speech they are an even more exclusive and secluded people than the Hadhramis. But in effect little is seen or heard of the Mahris, and their territory is considered part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and they have their contacts with His Majesty's Government through the Residency at Mukalla.

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### The Western Aden Protectorate

To me the outstanding features of the political set-up of the Western Protectorate are the position of His Highness the Sultan of Lahej, the large number of treaty chiefs, and the general tribal atmosphere of the country. A glance at the map will show why the Sultan of Lahej is the most important chief in the protectorate, for his territory stands at the door of Aden, and through it land traffic from the Yemen and from a great deal of the protectorate must pass. It is the transit dues on goods that have made Lahej the richest state of the Western Protectorate, and with the money His Highness has managed to develop Lahej territory as a sort of private estate, which pays because it grows so much fruit and vegetables which are consumed in Aden. For he has water, and a good deal of the spate of Yemen pass with the Wadi al Kabir and the Wadi as Saghir, which flow through his territory.

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So that geography has played a great part in determining the part that Lahej should play in the protectorate. But much of the prestige that the Sultan enjoys to-day is due to his own wisdom. While strenuously guarding the internal affairs of his own Sultanate from external interference, His Highness has consistently given every possible help to His Majesty's Government in matters of defence and so on, and has also co-operated so wholeheartedly in the settling of disputes and political matters generally that he is almost universally accepted as an impartial arbitrator with no axe to grind. This personal achievement of Sultan 'Abdul Karim has made him the leader of the Western Protectorate, and it is really remarkable, as the general tendency of tribal chiefs in the protectorate is not to brook interference in their affairs from others.

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There are in the Western Protectorate twenty chiefs in direct treaty relationship with His Majesty's Government, and seven others who have agreements. There are about thirty-five all told who correspond directly with Government. The "nine cantons" are the 'Abdali, the Amiri, the Haushabi, the Fadhli, the Yafa'i, the Subeihi, the 'Aqrabi, the 'Aulaqi, and the 'Alawi—the original tribes with whom treaties were made. The other tribes in the Western Protectorate—the Audhali and the Beihani—did not come into treaty relations until later. But the Yafa'i, the 'Aulaqi, and the Subeihi are divided. In the Upper Yafa'i confederation there are treaties with the Upper Yafa'i Sultan, the Naqibs of Mausatta, the Dhubi Sheikh, the Maflahi Sheikh, the Hadhrami Sheikh, and the Shaibi Sheikh. In Lower Yafa' there is only one treaty, with the Sultan. In 'Aulaqi there are treaties with the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, and

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Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited. 508

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation. 509 205 206

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden. 131 161 162

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north. 311

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir. From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possessing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations 439 226 241 182 [167]

## Regulation No. III of 1910.

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A Regulation to amend the law relating to restrictions on the sea-traffic in arms, ammunition, military stores and explosives between Aden and places in the Gulf of Aden.

Whereas it is expedient to amend the law relating to restrictions on the sea-traffic in arms, ammunition, military stores and explosives between Aden and places in the Gulf of Aden; It is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. This Regulation may be called the Aden Arms (Sea-traffic) Regulation, 1910. Short title.

2. In this Regulation, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,— Definitions.

(a) "Resident" means the Political Resident at Aden; and

(b) all words and expressions defined in the Indian Arms Act, 1878, or the Indian Explosives Act, 1884, and used in this Regulation shall be deemed to have the meanings respectively assigned to them by those Acts. XI of 1878. IV of 1884.

3. No vessel shall depart or proceed from Aden on a voyage to any place in the Gulf of Aden without obtaining a port-clearance from such officer as the Resident may appoint in this behalf. Vessels not to leave Aden without port-clearance.

4. Subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council, the Resident may from time to time prepare and publish a list of selected ports in the Gulf of Aden and declare that the master of any vessel arriving in Aden from any such selected port must produce a port-clearance, granted by the proper authority at such port, authorizing the vessel to depart or proceed from such port direct to Aden. Power to require production of port-clearance for vessels arriving at Aden from selected ports.

5. Subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council, the Resident may from time to time, by published order, declare that any port included in a list published under section 4 shall be deemed to be a "pres- Power to declare any of such ports to be "prescribed ports".

23: British Gov't. G-8 (1877-1937) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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cribed port" for the purposes of this Regulation, in respect of any specified portion of the coast-line of the Gulf of Aden.

Power to prohibit grant of port-clearance at Aden for voyages to other than prescribed ports.

6. (1) When any port has been declared under section 5 to be a prescribed port in respect of any portion of the coast-line of the Gulf of Aden, the Resident may, subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council, prohibit the grant of port-clearance at Aden for voyages to any port on such portion of the coast-line other than a prescribed port.

(2) When port-clearance is granted for a voyage to a prescribed port, it shall only authorise the vessel to depart or proceed from Aden direct to such port.

Penalties for leaving Aden without port-clearance or touching at place on way to prescribed port.

7. If any vessel—

(a) departs or proceeds from Aden on a voyage to any place in the Gulf of Aden without obtaining a port-clearance as required by section 3, or,

(b) in the case of a voyage to a prescribed port, after leaving Aden and before arriving at the prescribed port, touches at any other place otherwise than by reason of the perils of the sea or other unavoidable accident,

the master and the owner shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punishable with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with both.

Penalties for unlawfully carrying arms, ammunition, military stores or explosives.

8. If any vessel has, within a period of one year immediately before the institution of a prosecution under this section in respect of the vessel, carried arms, ammunition, military stores or explosives between any places in the Gulf of Aden without, or in contravention of the terms of,—

(a) a license granted at Aden by such officer as the Resident may appoint in this behalf, or

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(b) a pass granted elsewhere by a public official whose designation is included in a list to be prepared and published from time to time by the Resident subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council,

the master and the owner shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punishable with fine which may extend to five thousand rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, or with both.

Penalties for arriving in Aden without port-clearance or touching at place on way from prescribed port.

9. If any vessel arrives in Aden from any port mentioned in a list published under section 4,—

(a) without having a port-clearance granted by the proper authority at such port, or

(b) having touched after leaving any such port and before arriving in Aden, at any other place otherwise than by reason of the perils of the sea or other unavoidable accident,

the master and the owner shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punishable with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with both.

Detention, realisation and confiscation.

10. (1) Where the owner or master of a vessel is charged with any offence punishable under section 7, section 8 or section 9, the Resident may, by order in writing, direct such vessel to be detained, and where such owner or master is sentenced to pay a fine for any such offence, and the fine is not paid at the time and in the manner prescribed by the order of payment, the Court may, in addition to any other means prescribed by law for enforcing payment, direct that the amount remaining unpaid be levied by distress and sale of such vessel, and the tackle, apparel and furniture thereof, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

(2) Where the owner or master is convicted of any offence punishable under section 8, the Resident may further, by order in writing, direct that the vessel be confiscated.

Searching-posts.

11. The Resident, with the previous sanction of the Governor of Bombay in Council, may, on or near such pub-

23: British Gov't. G-5 (1877-1937) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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lic or private wharves or other landing-places as he may deem expedient, establish searching-posts at which all boxes, bales and packages landed or in transit may be detained and searched for arms, ammunition, military stores and explosives by any officer appointed by the Resident in this behalf.

Power for Resident to make rules.

12. (1) Subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council, the Resident may make rules to provide for all or any of the following matters, namely :—

(a) prohibiting the master or owner of a native vessel trading from and to Aden to and from ports in the British Protectorates of Aden and Somaliland from carrying any arms on such vessel, except under a license and in the manner and to the extent permitted by such license ;

(b) determining the officers by whom, the form in which, and the terms and conditions on and subject to which, any such license shall be granted; and

(c) generally, the carrying out of the purposes and objects of this Regulation.

(2) In particular, and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, the rules under clause (b) of sub-section (1) may—

(a) fix the fee to be charged for any such license ;

(b) limit the time during which any such license is to continue in force ;

(c) provide for the renewal of any such license, and its cancellation or suspension in the case of any breach of the terms and conditions on and subject to which it is granted;

(d) provide for ascertaining the quantity and description of any arms on board any native vessel ;

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(e) provide for the marking for the purpose of identification, and the registering, of any arms covered by any such license;

(f) require the person holding or acting under any such license to produce the same, and to produce or account for the arms covered by the same when called upon by an officer of Government so to do; and

(g) provide for the deposit and custody on shore of any arms covered by any such license, while the vessel is in port.

(3) In making any rule under this section, the Resident may direct that a breach of it shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to three hundred rupees, or with both.

(4) All rules under this section shall be published locally in such manner as the Resident, subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council, may direct.

Explanation.—For the purposes of this section, "native vessel" means a vessel fulfilling one of the two following conditions, namely :—

(a) it must present the outward appearance of native build or rig; or

(b) it must be manned by a crew of whom the master and the majority of the seamen belong by origin to a country having a sea-coast on the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf.

**Exemption.**

13. Subject to the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council, the Resident may declare that all or any of the provisions of this Regulation shall not apply in the case of any vessel or class of vessels, and may from time to time alter or vary any such declaration.

**Repeal.**

III of 1902.

14. The Aden Sea-traffic in Arms Regulation, 1902, is hereby repealed.

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Prohibition of import into Aden of certain goods not covered by export passes.

No. **4902-62**, dated the 7th June, 1907.—In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 19 of the Sea Customs Act, 1878 (VIII of 1878), the Governor General in Council is pleased to prohibit the bringing by sea or land into Aden of any Goods specified in the annexed schedule, except such as are imported under cover of an export pass note issued in respect of them by an officer of customs at the place of export.

## SCHEDULE.

1. Ostrich eggs.

2. Heads, horns, skins, feathers, or flesh of any of the undermentioned animals :—

(1) Zebra,
(2) Giraffe,
(3) Eland,
(4) White-tailed gnu,
(5) Wild ass,
(6) Buffalo,
(7) Elephant,
(8) Vulture,
(9) Secretary bird,
(10) Owl,
(11) Rhinoceros-bird or beef-eater (Buphaga), any species.
(12) X X
(13) Rhinoceros,
(14) All antelopes and gazelles,
(15) Cheeta (Cynoclurus),
(16) Aard-wolf,
(17) Smaller monkeys of each species,
(18) Morabous,
(19) Egret,
(20) Wild pig,
(21) Smaller cats,
(22) Wart hog (Phacocharus),
(23) Greater Bustard.

228 From the tongue of land we pass the
443 fish-market, where a lively trade in the dwellers of the sea, here so multifarious, is carried on from early morning till late in the evening. The shark seems to be the commonest fish. Sacks full of dried and salted shark's flesh are sent into the interior, where, in times of prosperity, the Bedouins and townsfolk enjoy a piece of it with their frugal meal of bread and rice. The smell of badly dried and, consequently, somewhat decaying fish accompanies the traveller far into the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut.

443 The bazaar of Makalla has more penetrating odours than is
386 usual elsewhere. Not far from the fish-market are the workshops where loin-cloths and head-cloths are dyed a dull blue-black with indigo, and this trade also has sickening, nauseating smell. The workers and their houses are covered with a layer of indigo.

443 A more attractive trade than these is plied in this long
286 street of the bazaar — that of the weavers and lace-makers. They weave narrow lengths of cloth with brightly coloured stripes and with very attractive fringes, which are woven separately.

443 All sorts of sweets were offered for sale at the booths; also
438 the first bright-yellow or deep-red dates, not yet quite ripe, tuberous fruits, spices, the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco in big
439 bundles consisting of whole dried plants; broad waist-bands, Japanese, Indian and Dutch piece-goods, sugar-loaves and rice, coffee-beans and dried coffee-husks, ginger-root and tea from Ceylon and Java, various kinds of grain, meal and *samn*, sesame oil and kerosene, matches and coffee-cups, *djambiyas*[1] and cartridges.

443 We wandered through this storehouse of Ḥaḍramaut. The salesmen had lighted their reeking lamps and torches stuck in bottles; one could only pass slowly through the swarming crowd with the smoke of the lamps mingling with the heavy odour emanating from men and things. As in a dream we

104 [1] *Djambiya*, correctly spelled *djanbīya* (جنبيّة), is a broad, curved dagger worn in the waist-band in front of the body.

The visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr was quite official in character; there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been monopolised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramīs have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramīs are Dutch subjects and as I was considered to be their partisan, an impression which had been still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ᶜAluwī el-ᶜAṭṭās, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramīs come from Java every year and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity, will rapidly increase in the future.

## 8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 drinks. One must accustom oneself as soon as possible to the
271 fixed habit in this country, of drinking one after the other out
485 of the same cup or bowl. Even among the very rich and the Sultans, the big earthenware drinking cups are passed from guest to guest. One sees the soldiers and slaves drink out of them too. The water in the *siqāyas* is often dirty, with a variety of odours and tastes; it also swarms with larvae and the like, but thirst soon teaches one not to notice them and the aversion diminishes in course of time!

In Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr we were able to buy milk, buttermilk (here called *rūb*), lemons, coco-nuts and bananas, but at high prices.

361 In the afternoon we proceeded and in a short time arrived
311 on a plateau, fairly thickly covered with tufts of grass and low shrubs, where two villages, el-Ghēḍa and el-Ghiyāḍa, lie among well-cultivated fields of tobacco, surrounded by a small
342 grove of date-palms. The mayor of el-Ghiyāḍa is related to the
● 439 family of el-ᶜAṭṭās; we were therefore desirous of calling upon him. The door of his simple, mud, mayoral residence was decorated with particularly fine carving. We were received in a little, dimly-lighted room that served both as a place for storing tobacco and as a reception-room. The mayor had been in Batavia for seven years and had there acquired some wealth in the *batik*[1] trade, which a son is now continuing. As soon as I was informed of this, I proposed to converse in Malay instead of in Arabic. Our host eagerly agreed and we were
[272] soon deep in reminiscences of Java. Meantime coffee was
271 prepared, consisting for three quarters of ginger and for one quarter of coffee, and a great earthen bowl of cold water passed from mouth to mouth. These porous, unglazed bowls filled with water are placed in the small window openings, and the hot outer air causes the water which exudes through them to evaporate, thus cooling their contents. One finds the same

[1] *Batik* is the name of the specially Javanese art of decorating and dyeing pieces of cloth used as garments. The thus decorated pieces are also called *batik*.

finest house in all Wādī Dōʿan and that we must come and see it without fail. They were born in Addis Abeba of Abyssinian mothers; there, by trading in skins, their father had made the money with which he had built his house. The boys refused to be sent away until they had extracted a promise that we would come on the morrow.

## 3. THE DAYS SPENT IN WĀDĪ DŌʿAN.

The nights in Wādī Dōʿan are said to be cool; 34.2° C. is certainly not cold, but the atmosphere is dry and we can all sleep on the roof though mosquito-nets are necessary. The bathrooms and lavatories in the houses make good breeding-places for insects. Flies also, during the day-time, are more numerous than we could wish.

On the following morning, May 16th, Bā Ṣurra sends us a real Arabian breakfast: a heavy bunch of fine dates in a basket, a tin entirely filled with honey in the comb, the famous honey of this country and one of its few articles of export, further, pine-apple in water made in a Chinese fruit-preserving factory at Singapore and, in a flat basket, a pile of Ḥaḍramī bread, thick pancakes of flour, just baked and still warm from the fire. This bread is saltless and rather heavy, but has a clean taste, but when cold it is as tough as leather. It tastes better and is more digestible than the bread which the Bedouins make, and bake in hot ashes. This latter is of the size and shape of a man's hand (thus about an inch thick) and is generally burnt outside and underbaked inside. It looks red or yellow according to the kind of *dhura* or *dukhn* of which it is made. After breakfast we go together to the *maṣnaʿa* to negotiate arrangements for our further journey and to collect, in the course of our talk, information about this region. Our Sēbānī people will remain here with their camels and donkeys, for we must take with us animals accustomed to go through the wide, level wādīs.

much with Bā Ṣurra and is present now. The Deyyin are said to be a wild and primitive tribe, but their chief makes a congenial impression. We did not know at the time that we should pass through his territory on the return journey, otherwise we should have used this opportunity to make some arrangements in advance. The *Muqaddam*[1] of the Deyyin claimed to rule over 2500 Bedouins and maintained that to him who stood under his protection no harm from man could come, but only that which came from God.

The unbroken groves of palms in Wādī Dō'an appear to produce only enough dates for home consumption and for the use of the neighbouring Bedouins. The export of dates does not exist. Barely 400 to 500 camel-loads of honey are sent every year to the coast. There is much import trade, however, *e. g.*, in rice, sugar, flour, kerosene, coffee, tobacco, materials for clothing, etc. The trade balance is consequently rather unfavourable. The situation can, however, be maintained, thanks to the money earned abroad, much of which is sent into the country.

The rest of the morning we spent in sauntering through the plantations of date-palms and the little villages which lie beside them, standing out against the sunny hill-side. When we passed by el-Qarrēn the young sons of Sayyid Muḥammad bin 'Abdallāh bin Ṭāhā el-Bārr el-Munṣib dashed up to lead us in triumph to their father's house. It is, indeed, worth the trouble of a visit. Although it is new, the fine old style has been adhered to. The wood-carving on doors and windows and the ornamentation of tin-coated iron plates and nail-heads is true Ḥaḍramaut. The house is built of mud on a foundation of boulders bound with mud. The inhabited floors are white-washed as are also the filagree, stone-work balustrades of the flat roofs and their corners and decorative borders. Built close to these rich houses there is nearly always a mosque with a minaret, both of them dazzlingly white. In such a case,

[1] *Muqaddam* (مقدّم), the first, the chief, the leader.

342 mud steps leading up to them. Signs of intimate contact with foreign countries, Singapore as well as Java, may be noticed
● 439 both in the exteriors and interiors of these palaces. For instance, it appears to be the existing fashion to have the doors sent ready-made from Java and Singapore. Transport of these very heavy doors and window-frames is certainly expensive and difficult, for the strongest and largest camels have to be selected for it, but the supply of wood in Ḥaḍramaut is small and poor in quality and could not have provided for the many great new buildings of Terīm in so short a time.
[438] This extra expense is permissible because the rest of the
465 building costs in Ḥaḍramaut is small. Manual labour is very
331 cheap in this desperately poor and overpopulated country.
342 Even first-rate professional men, architects included, do not earn more than a very moderate daily wage. The chief building material is mud, which can be dug up everywhere close by the house that is to be built. As everything is covered with a plaster of mud, the most crooked branches of *nibq* and desert shrubs can be used for roof construction and similar details. The trunks of date-palms are chiefly in use for ceilings and supporting pillars. We only saw wooden pillars with wooden capitals and cross-beams in the very old, dilapidated castles; the carved, dark-brown wood found in these, with their ceilings of split and interwoven branches, painted in rust-red, white, and black, are certainly very beautiful; yet, owing to the scarcity of wood, one must make shift with the trunks of date-palms. Ceilings, pillars and cross-beams are nowadays covered with a plaster of mud, and this, again, is painted over in fresh, soft colours. The new buildings, consequently, make a gayer and lighter impression, both without and within, and they are more cleanly, but something of the old beauty has vanished. Present-day builders have become real masters in modelling mud and in whitewash work. Pillars made of palm-trunks are transformed by them, as if by magic, into vigorous-looking, round columns with fine capitals.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadramout MM2



133 vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Never-
132 theless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in
241 normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley, and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the
[312] highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from
132 wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the
241 pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supple-
439 mented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until
167 recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from
262 the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

161 The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952
631 was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of
648 varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have
643 one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Government and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 37–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 103; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
HADHRAMAUT mm2
Aden mm1



H 439 314 Two products of southern Arabia are frankincense and myrrh, which are both obtained from the sap of trees that grow on the damper hill slopes above 3,000 feet. The sap is collected in late spring and early summer, before the onset of the rains, mainly by migrant Somalis and other Africans. At one time there was a considerable trade in these products with the north, and tradition speaks of an 'Incense Route' somewhere in south-west Arabia, along which caravans moved northwards to Medina and the Levant. Nowadays the output of frankincense and myrrh is very much smaller, most coming from the uplands of Dhofar.

H 226 Towards the east, as relief declines and rainfall diminishes, cultivation becomes more and more precarious, and fishing is the main occupation. Large quantities of shark, tunny, and sardines are caught (Chapter X), most of which are dried as food both for humans and for camels. In addition, an oil is prepared from the fish for use in woodworking. Mukhala and Shihr are the chief fishing centres, and in these towns rows of fish drying in the sun for food, and rotting in heaps to produce oil, are prominent, and according to some visitors, unforgettable, features.

H 439 With a barren hinterland, many activities in southern Arabia centre on the sea; and, in addition to fishing, trading by dhow is important. The Arabs of the south are the Greeks of the Indian Ocean, and cargoes are carried between East Africa, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and India—even, at times, the East Indies. From their sea-trading, the natives of Aden and the Hadhramaut derive a livelihood that allows the import of foodstuffs into the country—as it is, local production of food is quite insufficient to maintain the existing H 177 population, and part must come from the outside. A cosmopolitan outlook, and wide commercial contacts, strongly contrasting with conditions in the Yemen, are strikingly indicated by the architectural styles in southern Arabia, which are very greatly influenced by East Indian models. Many storied houses, with elaborate woodwork and carving, are most characteristic. After a life of trading, perhaps with many years spent away from his country, the southern Arab often returns to Aden or the Hadhramaut with a small fortune that will keep him in comfort for the rest of his life.

A 504 Aden is the principal town of the region, and its harbour, the only good one along the entire coast, from Bab el Mandeb to Muscat, is formed by a deep bay partially enclosed by two volcanic necks. The town, of 40,000 inhabitants, owes its development to British

5: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



651 Revenue and expenditure of local governments in the Eastern Aden Protectorate which have adopted regular accounting methods are as follows:

*Revenue*

| | |
|---|---|
| (a) Mukalla Government | Rs. 21,47,767 |
| (b) Sai'un " | 2,36,895 |
| (c) Wahidi " | 78,333 |

*Expenditure*

652

| | |
|---|---|
| (a) Mukalla Government | Rs. 22,24,947 |
| (b) Sai'un " | 1,91,199 |
| (c) Wahidi " | 69,376 |

*Assets and Liabilities*

| | |
|---|---|
| Investments Mukalla Government | Rs. 35,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 46,783 |
| Investment Sai'un Government | 3,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 34,540 |
| Investment Wahidi Government | 60,000 |
| Savings Banks and Co-operative Societies | Nil |

[453 474]

# Chapter 5: Currency and Banking

435 Indian rupees and riyals (or Maria Theresa dollars) are the currency used, the 1947 rate of exchange being Rs. 2.6.0. to the M.T. Dollar.

# Chapter 6: Commerce

439 The principal imports are grains, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth and cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap, glassware, etc.; the principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, etc.

Imports and exports for the Eastern Aden Protectorate during 1947 were as follows:

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



IMPORTS

| | No. of packages | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wheat | 1,750 bags | 3,332 cwt. | 83,300 |
| Millet, Yemani | 8,185 attals | 19,440 ,, | 4,08,240 |
| ,, other sorts | 28,950 bags | 52,045 ,, | 11,40,810 |
| Maize | 3,670 ,, | 7,248 ,, | 1,30,460 |
| Flour, wheat | 7,145 ,, | 7,051 ,, | 2,46,780 |
| Rice all sorts | 10,908 ,, | 17,774 ,, | 10,66,440 |
| Dates, Basrah | 14,730 baskets | 22,095 ,, | 4,27,170 |
| ,, other sorts | 1,692 jerabs | 2,266 ,, | 45,320 |
| Sugar, refined | 7,457 bags | 9,868 ,, | 4,93,400 |
| Sim Sim | 350 ,, | 612 ,, | 30,600 |
| Tea, black | — | 84,317 lb. | 2,52,950 |
| Coffee | — | 1,547 cwt. | 86,630 |
| Sheep and goats | 11,237 heads | — | 2,52,830 |
| Ghee (butter oil) | 4,665 tins | 1,562 cwt. | 3,49,870 |
| Oil, Sim Sim and Cocoa-nut | 7,942 ,, | 2,659 ,, | 5,21,190 |
| Kerosine and Petrol | 37,897 ,, | 151,588 gln. | 2,27,380 |
| Spices and condiments | — | — | 10,19,290 |
| Cotton piece-goods, grey sheetings | — | 411,330 yds. | 6,17,000 |
| Cotton piece-goods, other sorts | — | — | 4,75,530 |
| Cotton twist | — | 870 cwt. | 3,89,560 |
| Cigarettes and tobacco | — | — | 60,830 |
| Wood and timber | — | — | 79,530 |
| Miscellaneous | — | — | 23,12,210 |
| | | TOTAL VALUE OF IMPORTS | 1,07,17,320 |

EXPORTS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tobacco | — | 15,090 cwt. | 6,08,560 |
| Honey in comb | 4,240–4 lb. | 16,980 lb. | 33,960 |
| ,, cleaned | 124–4 gln. | 7,440 ,, | 14,880 |
| Dates, country | — | 29,200 ,, | 7,300 |
| Lime | — | 3,650 bags | 10,950 |
| Sheep and goats' skins, tanned | — | 230 scores | 17,450 |
| Dried lemons | — | 590 cwt. | 33,200 |
| Fish oil | 2,440 tins | 9,760 gln. | 19,520 |
| Miscellaneous | — | — | 2,21,840 |
| | | TOTAL VALUE OF EXPORTS | 9,67,660 |

6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 5 : Currency and Banking

436 In the Protectorate, as a whole, rupees and riyals (Maria Theresa dollars) are the currency used, the average rate of exchange during the year being about Rs. 2.2.0 to the M.T. dollar.

# Chapter 6 : Commerce

439 The principal imports are grain, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth, cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap, glassware, etc. The principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, etc.

Imports and exports for the Eastern Aden Protectorate during 1948 were as follows :

(A) IMPORTS

| No. | Commodity | No. of packages | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Wheat . . . | 1,732 bags | 3,373 cwt. | 87,690 |
| 2. | Millet, Yemani . | 7,478 attals | 18,975 „ | 4,07,960 |
| 3. | „ other sorts . | 29,737 bags | 57,245 „ | 13,16,630 |
| 4. | Maize . . . | 5,515 „ | 10,896 „ | 1,79,780 |
| 5. | Flour, wheat . . | 6,760 „ | 9,489 „ | 3,13,130 |
| 6. | Rice, all sorts . . | 12,280 „ | 20,595 „ | 11,32,720 |
| 7. | Dates, Basrah . . | 11,452 baskets | 17,178 „ | 2,63,390 |
| 8. | „ other sorts . | 72 jerabs | 96 „ | 1,920 |
| 9. | Sugar, refined . . | 8,058 bags | 15,530 „ | 7,45,460 |
| 10. | Sim Sim . . | 5,881 „ | 10,220 „ | 4,59,900 |
| 11. | Tea, black . . | — | 82,305 lb. | 2,36,620 |
| 12. | Coffee . . . | — | 2,795 cwt. | 1,28,630 |
| 13. | Sheep and goats . | 4,289 heads | — | 98,640 |
| 14. | Ghee (butter clarified) | 5,458 tins | 1,827 „ | 3,07,010 |
| 15. | Oil, Sim Sim and Coconut . . | 10,205 „ | 3,417 „ | 5,74,030 |
| 16. | Kerosene and Petrol | 47,930 „ | 191,710 gln. | 2,87,580 |
| 17. | Spices and Condiments | — | — | 12,27,100 |
| 18. | Cotton piece-goods, grey sheetings . | — | 483,504 yds. | 6,64,810 |
| 19. | Cotton piece-goods, other sorts . . | — | — | 5,00,180 |
| 20. | Cotton twist . . | — | 1,009 cwt. | 3,39,150 |
| 21. | Cigarettes and tobacco | — | — | 81,730 |
| 22. | Wood and timber . | — | — | 61,120 |
| 23. | Miscellaneous . . | — | — | 34,68,190 |
| | | | TOTAL | 12,88,3370 |

6:Gt. Brit.-Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



(B) EXPORTS

| No. | Commodity | No. of packages | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Tobacco, native | 13,236 bdls. | 16,858 cwt. | 8,93,650 |
| 2. | Honey in comb | — | 5,200 lb. | 5,6001 |
| 3. | " cleaned | — | 1,020 " | 2,550 |
| 4. | Dates, country | — | 900 " | 220 |
| 5. | Lime | 3,879 bags | 4,000 cwt. | 15,500 |
| 6. | Sheep and Goats' skins, tanned | — | 10 scores | 1,000 |
| 7. | Dried lemons | 229 bdls. | 581 cwt. | 33,000 |
| 8. | Fish oil | 17,049 tins | 68,195 gln. | 1,27,860 |
| 9. | Miscellaneous | — | — | 2,93,380 |
| | | | TOTAL | 13,82,760 |

# Chapter 7: Agriculture and Fisheries

## AGRICULTURE

In 1948 farming conditions were generally poor in the Aden Protectorate. 241
Conditions of 1947 were reversed in the areas west of the Bana river, 132
which had a poor 1947 season, received fair rainfall and flood conditions, 731
while east of the Bana erratic and poor rainfall over large areas reduced 457
food production to a low level. This was particularly true of the Hadhramaut and other eastern districts where complete drought returned to the country, causing famine conditions to reappear at the end of the year. The shortage of food was accentuated in those areas where the economy of the country is largely dependent on remittances from abroad. Famine appeared particularly in the Wadi Amd and in Rakhya, where food production is not secured by any irrigation from underground supplies, but is dependent entirely on rain and runoff control. These districts are also partly dependent on remittances from Hyderabad and became particularly affected when India invaded Hyderabad, and currency decrees in Hyderabad cut off the flow of remittances. The scarcity of food was further aggravated by the ban on exports of grain from the Yemen. [439]

*Staff*

The technical staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a 1 47
Director, two Agricultural Officers (to be increased to four), an Agricultural Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors. 2 42

The Abyan Development Scheme has the part-time services of an Irrigation Adviser.

*Rainfall Crop and Livestock Conditions*

In the districts west of the Bana river *saif* rains were fair, particularly 3'2
in the highland areas. East of the Bana river *saif* conditions were poor in many districts, but in Beihan conditions were good and the Wadi ran no less than eleven floods. Most of this water was from the runoff of

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut v.1 #2



241 the management of irrigation farming on some 5,000 acres. The value
242 of the Board's quarter-share of the net crop obtained, after paying harvesting and threshing expenses in kind, was estimated at over Rs. 1,25,000.

Farming in Abyan, largely influenced by the Board's operations, proved important to the economy of the Western Aden Protectorate. In the production of millet alone, it is estimated that a 30,000 bag crop, equal to 3,000 metric tons, was raised. A large portion of this was held as a reserve, or had been marketed to the easterly districts at the end of the year. General control on the export of this grain to Aden itself was maintained, and the flow of the crop to the districts to the east was encouraged.

*The Wadi Hadhramaut Rehabilitation Scheme*

654 This was wound up by Government at the end of the 1947–48 financial
426 year. Farmers with outstanding loans were given ten years in which to repay, the basis of repayment being at the rate of 2 per cent of the total loan from the spring crop, 3 per cent from the autumn crop, and 5 per cent from the winter crop grown. By the end of the year, it was apparent that this system of deferred repayment was not proving satis-
[452] factory. Moneylenders had again become active, while late planting and reduced acreage were noticeable in many districts. This undoubtedly resulted from lack of foresight on the part of many farmers, who had failed to reserve sufficient seed and fodder and preferred to resort to moneylenders for obtaining their needs on credit.

406 At the end of the year, proposals were on hand for the introduction of numbers of diesel-driven irrigation pumps for use in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

*Co-operation*

476 The Beihan Farmers' Association, formed in the previous year, progressed in a satisfactory manner, and much useful experience was gained by the officials of the association. A good *saif* season helped the members, but this was followed by an almost complete lack of water in the *kharif*. In spite of these difficulties, the association was able to help its members in their requirements of seed, stock, and cash needed for well equipment and for concentrates for feeding livestock. At the end of the year, the association had acquired some Rs. 12,000 from members' subscriptions and from interest charged on loans.

476 This association cannot be termed a co-operative society in the true
659 sense of the word. It is an association which has the full support of the local Government, and which at present makes use of Government offices and storehouses for its activities. In the present stage of development this is considered to be the most desirable form of association for Beihan.

*Western Aden Protectorate*

226 The Western Aden Protectorate fisheries are of minor importance
361 compared with those of the Eastern Protectorate. Shuqra, the seat of
439 the Fadhli Sultan, is, however, a fishing port with a considerable export trade in dried fish

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



trade in dried fish. Other fishing communities are small and the greater part of their population nomadic for part of the year. 226 [360]

Apart from the occurrence in summer of large migratory fish as described under the Aden Colony fisheries, there is a considerable cast-net fishery for sardines along the sand beaches east of Aden. West of Aden, sardines are rare but a small anchovy supports a fishery during the winter months.

Craft and gear are as described under Aden Colony fisheries.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

The fisheries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate are primitive but very productive. Previous observers have estimated the annual catch as over 50,000 tons of wet fish.

Sardines belonging to several species of Sardinella and Dussumieria normally abound on certain stretches of coast east of Mukalla all winter, when they support a very extensive cast-net and beach-sein fishery. Utilisation is wasteful, the fish being either sun-dried for fertiliser and animal fodder or else rotted in order to free a putrid oil. The winter of 1948–49 has unfortunately been the worst sardine season within living memory. [228]

Kingfish (*Scomberomorus*) abound in the vicinity of the sardine shoals and are taken in large quantities in nets and on handlines. They are exported either wet-salted as " maleh " or salted and sun-dried as " safif ". [439]

Three species of tunny and several other large pelagic fishes are caught in considerable numbers and salted.

Sharks are taken in moderate numbers. The town of Qu'sair specialises in this fishery and sends small dhows to the Somali coast for the purpose. In general, the Somali coast is reckoned to be a better shark ground than South Arabia.

These fisheries are worked from huris, sambuks and small dhows as described under Aden Colony fisheries, using the most primitive gear. So great is the abundance at high and low tide close inshore, however, that even by these means the catch per man-hour exceeds that of many fully mechanised fisheries elsewhere.

During 1948 the fisheries of the Gulf of Aden, and particularly those of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, were surveyed under a Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme, with a view to promoting their more efficient exploitation. The original schedule was unfortunately upset by failure to get two vessels equipped in time at Aden, but, although this hampered the work, experimental canning was carried out and liver oils tested for Vitamin " A " content early in 1948. Towards the end of the year, a taxonomist was appointed to confirm the identity of the commercial species. A full report on the survey will be published during 1949. 654 647

Following on the early findings of the Survey Party representatives of the Colonial Development Corporation arrived on the Eastern Protectorate coast towards the end of the year in order to go more fully into commercial possibilities. Unfortunately their visit coincided with a particularly poor sardine season.

## Chapter 5: Currency and Banking

436
652

In the Protectorate rupees and riyals (Maria Theresa dollars) are the currency used. The devaluation of the rupee caused a sudden rise of the M.T. dollar to Rs. 2/8/0 followed by a slower rise, which is still going on. At the end of 1950 it had risen to just over Rs. 3.

453

There are no banks in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 6: Commerce

439

The principal imports are grain, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth, cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap, glassware, etc. The principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, etc.

The great bulk of trade with the Western Aden Protectorate goes by land from the town of Aden.

Principal imports and exports which passed through the Mukalla Customs for the Eastern Aden Protectorate during 1950 were as follows:

IMPORTS

| | | *Quantity* | *Value* Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wheat .. .. .. | cwt. | 5,296 | 1,37,700 |
| Millet, Yemeni .. .. | ,, | 2,393 | 47,860 |
| ,, other sorts .. .. | ,, | 80,933 | 1,74,060 |
| Maize .. .. .. .. | ,, | 9,101 | 1,45,620 |
| Flour, wheat .. .. .. | ,, | 21,250 | 6,80,000 |
| Rice, all sorts.. .. .. | ,, | 62,051 | 29,78,450 |
| Other Grains .. .. .. | ,, | 3,154 | 1,26,160 |
| Dates, Busrah .. .. | ,, | 31,290 | 58,40,800 |
| ,, other sorts .. .. | ,, | 3,245 | 64,900 |
| Sugar, refined .. .. | ,, | 20,732 | 10,36,600 |
| ,, other sorts .. .. | ,, | 1,505 | 97,830 |
| Joggery—Mollasses .. .. | ,, | 3,272 | 1,30,880 |
| Sim Sim .. .. .. | ,, | 7,670 | 10,73,800 |
| Tea .. .. .. .. | lb. | 125,547 | 3,76,640 |
| Coffee .. .. .. .. | cwt. | 5,131 | 2,46,340 |
| Sheep and Goats .. .. | | | 1,91,350 |
| Ghee (clarified butter) .. | cwt. | 2,438 | 4,87,600 |
| Oil, all sorts .. .. .. | ,, | 5,185 | 6,22,200 |
| Kerosene and Petrol.. .. | gal. | 286,764 | 4,30,150 |
| Spices .. .. .. .. | | | 9,14,800 |
| Cotton Piece-goods, Grey Sheetings .. .. .. | yards | 548,169 | 5,48,170 |
| Cotton pce./goods, other sorts | | | 6,99,270 |
| Cotton twist .. .. .. | | | 1,49,400 |
| Cigarettes and Tobacco .. | | | 2,63,340 |
| Wool and Timber .. .. | | | 1,88,510 |
| Miscellaneous .. .. | | | 39,05,550 |
| TOTAL VALUE OF IMPORTS .. | | | Rs. 1,78,67,260 |

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



439

EXPORTS

| | | Quantity | | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tobacco, native | cwt. | 22,341 | | 23,59,700 |
| Honey, in combs | lb. | 15,348 | | 61,390 |
| Honey, cleaned | ,, | 2,160 | | 7,560 |
| Dates, local | cwt. | 299 | | 7,530 |
| Lime | ,, | 8,643 | | 43,220 |
| Sheep and Goat skins | scores | 326 | | 1,140 |
| Lemons, dried | cwt. | 651 | | 37,070 |
| Fish oil | gal. | 2,924 | | 7,310 |
| Miscellaneous | | | | 2,48,920 |
| TOTAL VALUE OF EXPORTS | | | Rs. | 27,73,840 |

# Chapter 7: Production

## AGRICULTURE

241

*Principal Products*

*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | Acres | Tons |
|---|---|---|
| Sorghum Millet | 62,000 | 12,400 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small Millets | 9,500 | 1,900 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 *a.* |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 *a.* |
| Sesame | 8,500 | 850 |

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sorghum Millet | 20,000 | 4,000 |
| Bullrush Millet and other small Millets | 2,000 | 400 |
| Wheat | 2,000 | 1,000 *a.* |
| Date palms | 10,000 | 3,500 |

(*a*)—Crops sown in previous year, harvested in 1949.

*Estimate of the Numbers of Principal Classes of Livestock* 231

| *Western Aden Protectorate* | | *Eastern Aden Protectorate* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Camels | 30,000 | Camels | 40,000 |
| Cattle | 50,000 | Cattle | 7,000 |
| Goats | 400,000 | Goats | 250,000 |
| Sheep | 100,000 | Sheep | 30,000 |
| Donkeys | 3,500 | Donkeys | 3,000 |

The year 1949 opened with drought conditions in almost all districts, but early Saif rains, followed by good late Saif and good Kharif rains, and an exceptional fall of rain in the early part of the winter combined 132

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8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 5 : Commerce

439 The principal imports are grain, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth, cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap and glassware. The principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats and fish. All trading in both Protectorates is conducted by local traders.

The great bulk of trade with the Western Aden Protectorate goes by land through the town of Aden.

The only trade statistics available for the Eastern Aden Protectorate are those for trade passing through the port of Mukalla.

The value of imports passing through the Mukalla Customs during 1952 was *Shs*.26,598,960, and the value of exports was *Shs*.2,676,820 ; the quantity and value of main imports and exports were as follows :

IMPORTS

| | | *Quantity* | *Value* *Shs.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Grain | cwt. | 168,333 | 8,923,630 |
| Dates | " | 31,568 | 696,720 |
| Sugar | " | 19,776 | 1,599,340 |
| Molasses | " | 6,087 | 378,800 |
| Sim Sim | " | 9,005 | 756,950 |
| Tea | lb. | 102,055 | 510,200 |
| Coffee and Husks | cwt. | 5,565 | 473,350 |
| Sheep and Goats | head | 10,239 | 511,950 |
| Ghee and Edible Oil | cwt. | 8,873 | 1,828,900 |
| Kerosene | gall. | 186,376 | 512,500 |
| Petrol | " | 267,580 | 668,700 |
| Cotton piece-goods | | | 1,365,200 |
| Cigarettes and Tobacco | | | 156,570 |
| Wood and Timber | | | 427,860 |
| Motor Vehicles and Accessories | | | 526,250 |

EXPORTS

| | | | *Shs.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tobacco | cwt. | 12,235 | 1,674,530 |
| Honey | lb. | 30,790 | 227,940 |
| Dates | cwt. | 463 | 15,570 |
| Lime | " | 17,400 | 156,600 |
| Dried Fish | " | 6,026 | 361,560 |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



The above figures are derived from estimates checked by sampling, except in the case of the long-staple cotton for which actual figures are available. 241

Outstanding yields of long-staple cotton have been obtained ; yields of one ton of seed cotton with a ginning out-turn of 36 per cent often occur. Yields of irrigated wheat and barley are generally high : wheat yields of 1½ tons per acre are common in the lift-irrigated districts.

*Crop Processing*

*Cotton Ginneries.* Long-staple cotton is ginned in two ginneries operated by the Abyan Board, and the total output in the 1951–52 season was 7,206 bales. At the end of 1952 plans were in hand to combine ginning equipment at one ginnery in Lower Abyan. 248 249

*Oil Mills.* Throughout the Protectorate sesame is crushed in primitive pestle and mortar crushers worked by camel power.

*Marketing*

Crops for domestic consumption are sold direct by the producer to the consumer, or through merchants, or at markets which are often weekly events in the villages and towns of the Protectorate. 443

Tobacco is exported from the Protectorate by merchants who trade in the Colony of Aden and Middle East markets. 439

Substantial quantities of fresh produce, vegetables and fruit are exported from the Protectorate to the Colony to be sold in the Colony markets.

No marketing boards for export crops exist, but the Abyan Board is at the moment in sole control of the grading, ginning and export of long-staple cotton grown in the Protectorate. 248

*Research*

Research on cotton and cotton breeding is carried on by the Abyan Board. 242

In the Hadhramaut, the Hadhramaut States contribute funds to an experimental area supervised by an officer of the Department of Agriculture. In this area, which was opened in 1952, investigations on crop production, crop varieties, treatments and water duties have been started.

In the Western Protectorate many varieties of deciduous fruits and citrus have been introduced over the past 14 years, and it is considered that there are sufficient trees in bearing to start on nursery propagation of suitable types. Initial trials have been made at a high-altitude demonstration area on the Audhali Plateau.

*Control of Pests and Diseases*

Since 1942 efforts have been made, generally with success, to control locust breeding in the Protectorate, which is subject to constant invasions by locusts from other areas. The control of covered smut of sorghum by the use of sulphur for seed treatment has been introduced to areas where damage from this plant disease is common.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



476 The Ahwar Farmers' Association was started with the nomination by the Regent of a chairman and managing committee of 12, assisted by a secretary. The committee functioned during 1952 as a kind of Agricultural Board to deal with local irrigation arrangements, cotton growing and marketing, and development work. It provided a useful link between the Department of Agriculture and the farming community.

## FISHERIES

226 The same type of fishing is carried out in the Protectorates as in the Colony with more emphasis on beach seines. The most extensive fishery is the coast from Mukalla eastwards to beyond Qishn. In the winter months sardine of the Sardinella and Dussumreria types are found together with *Scomberomerus spp.* and tunny. The Western Protectorate coast in winter generally supports an intensive fishery for anchovy (*Stolephorus indicus*) by beach seines. In addition a small shrimp is also caught by this method. The fisheries are localised but seasonal fishermen tend to follow the shoals along the coast.

Encircling gill nets, bottom nets and lift nets are little used in the Protectorate as local opinion is strongly opposed to methods of increasing yields for fear that the fish will become extinct.

439 Fishing is financed in the same way as in Colony by merchants. Fish, surplus to normal requirements, is salted and dried for export to
226 India, Africa and Ceylon but there is considerable local consumption
255 inland. Dried sardines are used for camel fodder, tobacco fertiliser
254 and human consumption. One fish factory for canning tunny and sardines, which was established in Mukalla in 1950 and which used an Italian trawler for supplies, has had to close down owing to lack of capital. Fish meal was also produced at this factory. No cold storage or ice-making plants exist.

435 Marketing arrangements are the same as in the Colony : fish prices
226 are about 50 per cent lower for the consumer in the Protectorate.

The sardine fishery which had failed for three years showed signs of revival in the early winter of 1951 along the Eastern Protectorate coast. Shoals of larger fish were also abundant and the upward trend has again been noticed in the winter of 1952.

654 The Fisheries Department is described on page 27. It has surveyed
226 little of the Protectorate waters except by Danish seine netting. The results have been exceptionally poor owing to the rough nature of the bottom. Plans for extensive and intensive work in the Protectorates have been delayed because of schemes in the Colony. A certain amount of work has been done in Western Protectorate waters from Perim to beyond Shuqra but only one area showed signs of promise with Danish seine nets : half a ton of *Lethrinus spp.* was the best single individual haul. The fishermen from Aden Colony range into the Western Protectorate and on three nights at the end of the Shamal of 1952, with assistance from the Fisheries Department vessel, secured 14½ tons of *Scomberomerus spp.* from the west of Aden. These co-operative efforts will be resumed in the Shamal of 1953.

ll: Melamid S-3 (no date) 1954 MLl Yemen MLI
HADHRAMAUT MM2

Y 471 609

a tannery, and a textile plant. This preference for German firms is rather remarkable.[4] However, Yemen authorities claim that American and British firms were not interested in these concessions.

Y 471 651

The terms of the oil concession are reported to be based on a capital and profit division of 75 per cent to Yemen, and 25 per cent to the concessionaire. This may explain the lack of interest of American and British firms whose oil concessions in other petroleum-producing countries are on a 50/50 profit-sharing basis, without local capital participation. Furthermore, the Yemen concession is to run for only twenty years (compared with sixty-six years for the Saudi Arabian concessions), provided oil is found within five years. According to the available geological information, the outlook for finding oil is not too encouraging as the highlands of Yemen consist primarily of rocks which are geologically devoid of oil. However, the narrow coastal strip and the lowland deserts do offer possibilities. Here there is a complication. Because of the absence of definite boundaries, the eastern deserts may be claimed either by Saudi Arabia or by the Aden protectorate.

Y 135 Y [131]

Yemen also has hopes of discovering commercially utilizable quantities of gold, silver, copper and iron ore, which were all formerly mined in the highlands.[5] Considerable areas in the wadis below the highlands are reported to be suitable for the cultivation of cotton, provided modern methods of irrigation are introduced. Even if no oil is discovered, the change in the attitude towards foreigners and towards innovations may bring about far-reaching economic and political changes in this state.

Y [609]

H 471 609 177

In 1938, a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Company (in which British, Dutch, French, American and other capital participates) obtained exploratory oil concessions in the Aden protectorate. So far no discoveries have been reported. The sheiks and sultans of the area have lately opened their territories to a limited number of foreign travellers, mostly surveyors. Emigrants who had settled in India, Malaya, and Indonesia and who have returned, particularly to Mukalla and the Hadhramaut, have contributed not only experience gained overseas, but some capital as well. Regular motor and air transportation[6] is now available. Several irrigation schemes have been established in the western Aden protectorate, at Abyan, where crops of high quality cotton are grown. The greater internal security resulting from the organization of regular police protection against tribal raiders (a combination of the British Royal Air Force and local jeep patrols) has also contributed to economic development. Local fisheries have

H 433 439

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[4] The oil concession was granted to Deilmann Bergbau, German oil producers who also have a concession in Spain.

[5] United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East, 1951-52*, E/2353/Add. 1, ST/ECA/19, Add. 1 (New York, 1953), 126.

[6] At least one foreign trading firm in Aden flies its own plane regularly to various points in the territories to pick up local products and deliver imports.

Il: Melamid S-3 (no date) 1954 MLI Yemen ML I
HADHRAMAUT MM 2
ADEN MM I
OMAN MK I

expanded and dried fish and fish oils are now exported regularly. The new exports have more than compensated for the decline in the revenues from incense, the supply of which has suffered from excess cutting and tapping of the few forested areas.

Indirectly, Aden colony has been a beneficiary of the Iranian oil dispute. The former concessionaire in Iran has begun construction of a 100,000 barrel per day petroleum refinery in Aden which is to supply the general area of the Indian Ocean with petroleum products formerly supplied by the now expropriated and shut-down refinery at Abadan. The estimated cost of this project is about $140 million. At present over 12,000 workers are employed on various construction jobs connected with the refinery, including over 8,000 natives and nearly 1,000 Indian nationals. Some 3,000 local inhabitants and about 200 Europeans will be permanently employed in this largest industrial establishment in southern Arabia.

To build and operate this refinery an entirely new town, complete with all modern services, has been established at Little Aden, about six miles from the old port city of Aden. Sufficient water for the domestic requirements of the new town was discovered ten miles away; sweet water for industrial purposes must be obtained by distillation of sea water. A hospital, the largest in Arabia, has also been set up. In general, local trade is benefiting tremendously from the activities of the new oil company. A new port for the discharge and loading of oil tankers is also being built.

Because of the decline in incense production in the Aden territories, Dhofar is now the most important exporter of this commodity. A petroleum concession in this province has been granted to two American oil companies (Cities Service and Richfield) which have hitherto not participated in Middle East oil development.[7] A large airfield for supplies, etc. has been established near Salala, and thorough exploration of the area is to commence within a few months. The outlook for the discovery of oil is reported to be very favorable, since the oil-rich geological strata of the Saudi Arabian or Qatar oil fields may extend into Dhofar.

[7] A concession for the area was formerly held by a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Co.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



286 Spinning, weaving, and dyeing are also common industries. Cotton is spun into thread by hand-spindles and then woven in hand-looms, and sometimes machine-made yarns or twists are used in the same way; the looms are of the very simplest construction. The industry is still carried on to a small extent at Aden, and somewhat more extensively at a few centres in the interior, notably at Nisāb and Markhah, which are situated in the cotton and indigo growing district of the 'Aulaqi country; here a large amount of cotton fabrics for tribal shawls and turbans is made. The stuffs, when required, are dyed with locally prepared indigo. Sauma'ah, a town in the Beida country, is famous for a special make of goat-hair carpets.

314 Charcoal burning is an industry carried on at several places in the interior, among the wooded slopes of the hilly districts. Potash is also manufactured from a product known as 'Aden balsam'; this is not found in any quantity in Aden itself, but is prepared in the 'Abdāli and Fadhli districts. The balsam is thrown into small pits about two feet wide and one deep, and wood is added; the mass is then set fire to, and as the sap exudes from the plant it mingles with the ashes; the mixture is stirred and allowed to cool; then it is dug up and sent into Aden on camels, for sale. The price is about 8 annas per maund of 28 lb., and the potash is 274 exported to Bombay for washing purposes. A primitive form of distilling is also in vogue, the natives producing a liquor from dates which have been placed in water and allowed to disintegrate. The industry is carried on at Aden (under certain restrictions) and other places.

## Trade

438 Practically the whole of the trade of this region is centred in Aden—local trade as well as general. The trade of the only other 504 notable port of this littoral, Shūghrah (and even that of Makalla in Hadhramaut), is restricted and purely local in character, and is entirely subservient to that of Aden.

The total value of the trade of Aden (import and export), in 439 round numbers, for the last two years has been:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1913–14 | £8,530,000 |
| 1914–15 | £6,940,000. |

This falls into two categories: Transhipment trade, and Inland (or local) trade. Comparative figures for the year 1914–15, were:

| | |
|---|---|
| Transhipment | £6,682,000 |
| Inland | £258,000. |

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



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From these figures it may be noted how greatly the transhipment trade exceeds the local in amount and importance. The following are the details of the two categories taken separately.

(1) *Transhipment trade.* The principal articles of import, in 1914–15, taken in their order of value were: Cotton goods of various kinds, £580,000; hides and skins, £520,000; grains and pulse (including flour), £490,000; coffee, £320,000; coal, £210,000; tobacco, £150,000; sugar and confectionery, £90,000; provisions, £70,000; oils, gums and resins, silk goods, and ivory.

The principal articles of export were: Hides and skins, £640,000; cotton goods, £530,000; coffee, £380,000; grains and pulse, £360,000; tobacco, £110,000; salt, £76,000; sugar, £75,000; gums and resins, £35,000; provisions, £30,000; dyeing and tanning materials, shells, and ivory.

The movement and distribution of the trade of Aden with different countries and localities was as follows in 1914–15: total trade with India, £1,180,000; Jibuti and Obok (French Somaliland), £780,000; the United Kingdom, £700,000; the United States, £600,000; Arabian Red Sea ports (chiefly Hodeidah, Jiddah, and Mocha), £400,000; Somaliland, £340,000; Arabian Sea ports (Muscat, Makalla, Shiheir, &c.), £260,000; France, £190,000; Italian Red Sea ports (Musawwa', Assab), £140,000; Abyssinia, £130,000; Independent Somali ports, £115,000; Egypt, £80,000; Mozambique, £35,000, &c.

(2) *Inland trade.* Though the foregoing facts are instructive in a general way, it is more essential, for the particular purpose of this book, to consider in detail the trade of Aden with the interior. The movement in 1914–15 was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Imports from the interior . . . . | £140,000 |
| Exports to the interior . . . . | £120,000. |

The principal articles that passed out, arranged in the order of their value, were: coffee, £30,000; fodder, £29,000; drugs (*kat*, almost entirely), £21,000; raw hides and skins, £18,000; firewood and charcoal, £14,000; animals (chiefly bullocks, sheep, and goats, and, in a less degree, camels), £6,000; provisions (including native food products such as *ghi*, eggs, and honey), £8,000; vegetables and fruits (the latter chiefly d .tes), £5,000; oils (chiefly *jinjili* or sesame-oil), £3,000; dyeing and tanning materials (including saffron and henna), £1,000; and other less important products such as reeds (for building purposes and mats), sesame, madder, wax, potash, and rose-water.

The principal articles which passed into the interior were:

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



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Cotton (piece-goods and yarns), £30,000; grains (jowari, bajri, rice, and wheat flour), £30,000; tobacco (unmanufactured), £25,000; spices, £16,000; seeds, £6,000; provisions (including dates), £5,000; sugar, £4,000; oils (chiefly petroleum and *jinjili*), £1,900; metals (wrought iron and copper), £1,000; turmeric and indigo, soap, and matches.

From the figures of the *total* trade of Aden, given at the outset, it will be noted that there was a considerable decline in 1914–15 as compared with 1913–14, mostly due to prohibitions and restrictions consequent on the war. Trade has in fact been temporarily thrown back five years, the total value of trade in 1909–10 having been £6,900,000.

Aden was made a free port in 1850. Previous to that year the average total yearly trade of the town was about £120,000; in 1903–4 it had risen to just under £6,000,000; in 1913–14 (the most recent normal year) it had attained more than £8,500,000. On the opening of the port in 1850 much of the valuable trade between Arabia and the eastern coast of Africa, formerly monopolized by Hodeidah and Mocha, was attracted to it; but this marvellously rapid development has, undoubtedly, been mainly due to the opening of the Suez Canal. During the seventy odd years of British rule, the population of the town has multiplied sevenfold, and Aden now forms, normally, not only the chief centre of the Arabian trade with Africa, but an entrepôt and distributing centre for an ever increasing European and Asiatic commerce.

In the year ending March 31, 1915, 2,481 vessels, of an aggregate tonnage of about 3,100,000, entered the port, including 1,300 local craft of 38,000 aggregate tonnage—as compared with 3,000 vessels of just under 4,000,000 aggregate tonnage in 1913–14. Of the 1,181 merchant vessels cleared in 1914–15 about 660, with an aggregate tonnage of 1½ millions (or about half the total tonnage) were British; the rest were of foreign nationality and native craft.

The coffee trade, which now finds its principal outlet at Aden, was formerly almost entirely in the hands of the Hodeidah merchants: but the heavy dues of the Turkish authorities at the latter place, coupled with the insecurity of the routes under Turkish control, have diverted a large part of the coffee to Aden. Much is shipped from Hodeidah to Aden direct by sea; the coffee which reaches Aden direct is brought down by caravans from the highlands of the interior. A very considerable quantity is also brought across from the African coast, being shipped from Zeila, one of the Somali ports; it is carried thither on camels from the highlands of Harrar and the Galla country, which, like the Yemen highlands, are suitable

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



to the growth of the coffee bush. Food-stuffs are imported from India and from the African coast, as well as from the interior of Arabia. Sheep and goats are shipped weekly in large numbers from Berbera, Bulhar, and Zeila; while oxen, fodder, vegetables, and fuel come in mostly by caravan from Lahej and the surrounding country. Ostrich feathers reach Aden from the Somali and Danakil country; mother-of-pearl shells from the Persian Gulf and Red Sea fisheries; ivory from Somaliland and Abyssinia. 439

## Currency

Aden Town, as a part of the British Indian Administration, has a rupee currency, and since January 1898 the sterling value of the rupee has been nearly steady at 1*s.* 4*d.* or thereabouts, and the British sovereign is legal tender at about 15 rupees. The other coins in use are as follows:— 436

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Gold.* | Napoleon<br>Turkish pound of 100 piastres<br>Turkish dollar of 25 piastres | value varying with the rate of exchange. |
| *Silver.* | Maria Theresa dollar<br>Spanish Theresa dollar<br>Netherlands Theresa dollar<br>French 5-franc piece | value varying with the rate of exchange. |

The smaller silver coins of foreign countries have no fixed value, and are taken at about their nominal value in Indian currency.

The favourite coin in use in this part of Arabia is the Maria Theresa dollar (*riyāl*), the value of which is affected by the local demand.

The value of all gold and silver coins other than the above is fixed by the bullion merchants, in accordance with information received by telegraph from Bombay. In default of advices from Bombay, foreign coins are sold by weight and touch.

*Exchange.* The rate of exchange on Europe is regulated in Aden by advices from Bombay.

The above information regarding currency applies in the main to the Aden Settlement and its vicinity. For the remoter parts of the interior little information is available; but it appears that the Maria Theresa dollar is current almost everywhere, and the Indian four-anna piece, locally called a *baula*, has come to be the standard unit of division. For the Hadhramaut currency see p. 228.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



purity of the drinking water constitute efficient safeguards against many maladies common to tropical countries. 164

The harbour of Aden—the Bandar Tawīyah, or Aden West Bay, but more generally known as Aden Back Bay—lies between the two lofty peninsulas, very like in appearance, of Jebel Shamshan (east) and Jebel Ihsan (west); it extends eight miles from east to west and four from north to south, and is divided into two bays by a spit of land. The depth of water in the western bay is from 3 to 4 fathoms, and, across the entrance, from 4½ to 5 fathoms. There are several islands in the inner bay, notably Jezīrah Sawāyih (Slave Island), which culminates in a peak 300 ft. in altitude. 504

The port of Aden is a great coaling-station and place of call for vessels passing to and from the Suez Canal. Large vessels lie off Steamer Point, the western extremity of Jebel Ihsan. The Peninsular and Oriental Navigation Company's steamers call weekly at the port to receive, tranship, or land passengers and mails, and it is a port of call for a number of other important lines. There are numerous lights and lightships, the chief being the Aden Cape Light at Ras Marshag, on the east of the Ihsan peninsula, visible for 20 miles, and the Elephant's Back Light on the summit of a headland, visible also for 20 miles; the Aden Lightship, not far from Steamer Point, is visible for 10 miles, and fires a gun whenever a vessel enters the harbour at night. 504 505

Of the total population of the Aden Settlement (46,000), about 23,000 are returned as Arabs and there is a large number of Somalis. These two sections do the hard work of the port, but among the Arabs there are a few merchants of substance. Almost every nationality is also represented: Hindus, Parsees, Persians, Chinese, Abyssinians, Jews, &c. The Parsees have annexed a very considerable portion of the trade, for they act as agents and shopkeepers, and their business talent equals that of the Jews. Classified otherwise, European residents and Christians number from 2,000 to 3,000; Mohammedans, 34,000; and Jews, 3,700. The natives have an untidy makeshift air which contrasts with the personal cleanliness of an Indian population, and this arises partly from the scarcity of water, and partly from the temporary nature of their residence and outdoor life. 162

As far as the Settlement is concerned, there are no natural products whatever with the exception of salt. The food of the whole population, civil and military, is imported, Aden producing not even a blade of grain. Rice comes from Calcutta, Bombay, and Malabar; *jowari*, *bajri*, and maize are brought on camels from the interior; fodder and firewood come from the Lahej and Fadhli districts. 433 439

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither the rains nor the variable streams are in general adequate to this purpose, and watering of the soil is mainly carried on from wells. These may be sunk practically everywhere in the valleys. As in many other parts of Arabia, the water is drawn up in a leather hoist by animals, usually cows, attached to a cord which passes over a pulley supported on wooden struts; the water thus obtained is received in a large wooden trough whence it is spread over the land by means of little runnels. 241 312 [406]

Cattle-rearing is the principal occupation of the Bedouins. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes; sheep for killing and for milk; cows only for milk and irrigation work; oxen exclusively for ploughing. Horses are very rare and are considered as animals *de luxe*. Bees are numerous, and much honey is produced. The wild animals most largely found are the rabbit, gazelle, wild goat, jerboa, hyena, hedgehog, a large species of lizard (permitted as food to Mussulmans), and the panther, wolf, and monkey (not permitted as food). 231 136

## Trade and Commerce

The only ports of importance commercially are Makalla (see p. 232), Shiheir (see p. 232), and Seihūt (see p. 230), and even at these the trade carried on is purely coastal, with the near coast of Africa, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the southern coast of Arabia, and above all with Aden and Muscat. Trade by caravan is carried on from these ports with the whole of the interior of the Hadhramaut and with the southern Arabian littoral as far as Yemen on the west and Oman on the east. Burūm (see p. 233) and Qusei'ir are small fishing villages. 504 439.

There are no made roads; the routes follow the courses of the wādis or natural paths. Transport by wheeled vehicles is impossible everywhere; all is carried on by camels or donkeys. It is, however, relatively cheap; e. g. a camel from Shiheir or Makalla to Seyyūn costs only 5 florins in the good season; in summer, when forage is scarce, it is higher, but never above 10 florins. 487 494

The chief exports are dates, stuffs dyed with indigo, a superior quality of wheat, and honey; smaller exports are shells and fins of fish, the latter exported to India and China. Imports: wheat, butter, coco-nuts, coffee, sugar, rice, cotton and cotton stuffs, pottery, bars of iron and worked iron, sesame oil, petroleum, and tin-ware. 439

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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(like a miniature Genoa) on a slope at the foot of a reddish limestone cliff, which rises to a height of about 300 feet immediately at the back of the town, and carries four conspicuous towers for the protection of the place. The town is guarded on the western side by a wall, which extends from the cliff to the shore and has only one entrance gate. The Governor's house is a large prominent square building; the other houses are chiefly huts intermingled with a few stone structures, but the houses on the point are of stone, and of a more modern and substantial character. In this quarter is the bazaar, which is well stocked with all the requirements of Arab life. There are two main mosques. The immediate neighbourhood of Makalla is particularly barren, but about one mile inland, to westward, is an oasis of gardens, belonging to the Governor, irrigated by a good stream of water. The water-supply of the town is obtained by means of an iron pipe from the source of this same stream. The climate is very trying, and the heat on shore is often excessive; but land and sea breezes, with showers of rain occasionally, mitigate it from October to April and again in June and July. The population, which is a very mixed one, was estimated by Hirsch 'at about the same as that of Shiheir', viz. 6,000; but the Aden Military Report gives 12,000. 361

Makalla is the only place between Aden and Muscat with any pretensions to a port. The harbour, having a fixed light elevated 25 feet at the extreme end of the promontory, is not available for anchorage during the south-west monsoons, and then a considerable portion of the trade is diverted to *Burūm*, a place about 16 miles to south-westward, where good anchorage is found all the year round. A very considerable trade is carried on with India, the Somali Coast, the Red Sea, and Muscat. The exports are chiefly gums, hides, senna, and a small quantity of coffee; the imports, cotton stuffs, metals, and crockery from Bombay, dates and dried fruits from Muscat, coffee from Aden, and sheep, aloes, and frankincense from African ports. Steam vessels call here, and steamers run to Aden; but the coasting trade is carried on mainly by native sailing craft of from 100 to 300 tons, the greater number arriving during the date season. 504 439 505

3. **Qatan**, or **Hautah**, a very clean and prosperous Ka'aiti town, lies among extensive palm-groves and gardens at the head of the main Hadhramaut Wādi, properly so called. It is described by Hirsch as 'a collection of fortresses and castellated houses, among which the palace of the ruling head of the Ka'aiti tribe, with its battlemented towers, stands out most conspicuously'. From here the latter controls the numerous settlements of the Wādis 361

N 262 ably meager. The basic foods are usually breads, dates and milk products, supplemented by vegetables and fruits in season and by varying amounts of meat and fish. Although breads are most frequently prepared from sorghum millet (durra), other forms of millet, as well as maize, wheat and barley are widely used. Rice is generally popular, and large amounts are imported. Dates constitute one of the main food items throughout this region; date palms flourish along some wadies, but the annual crop is inadequate. Numerous types of vegetables and fruits are available in the agricultural areas.

N [439] 241 262

A

Sheep and goats are raised in both the Colony and the Protectorate. Their milk is used extensively, but only the pastoral tribes are apt to have a sufficient supply. Cow's milk is also consumed in the Colony and in some inland districts, particularly in Western Aden Protectorate, where the grazing conditions are suitable for cattle. Camel's milk is a staple food among certain Bedouin tribes. Ghee, or clarified butter, is employed in the wealthier families. The fat from the tail tissues of the local breed of sheep, which is an important substitute in the Colony and among the eastern tribes, is almost unknown in Western Aden Protectorate. Sesame is cultivated in many areas, and the oil constitutes another source of fats. Meat is seldom consumed more than once a week, except in the more prosperous households. Fish are plentiful along the coast, and both fresh and dried fish are commonly used in the diet.

N 235 262

A H 241 262 511 228

## Housing

A 862 342

Several different types of dwellings are found in Aden Colony. In general, the standards of housing are higher than in the neighboring territories. All variations are encountered between the multistoried stone houses of the wealthy Arabs, the modern style villas of the European and official communities, and the one- or two-story structures of stone or mud brick in which most of the people live. Regardless

A 342

*In Shibam:* Āl Bā Dīb, head, Muhammad bin Ahmed Bā Dīb; important members, 30, total, 50. Āl Bā 'Ubeid, head, Muhammad Salim Bā 'Ubeid; important members, 15, total, 20. Āl Shamākh; important members, 10, total, 40. Āl Ma'āshir, head, Bekr 'Ali Ma'ashir; important members, 24, total, 100. Āl Bā Jarsh, head, 'Abdur Rahman Bā Jarsh; important members, 20, total, 60. Āl at Tōwei, head, 'Ali at Tōwei; important members, 4, total, 20. The families of Qatn, Jabr, Bilfaqih, and Āl Khātib are said to possess authority. 565 162 [173]

*In Al Ghurfa:* Āl Bā Abbad; important members, 15, total, 80. Āl Msellem, head, Salim Msellem; one important member, total, 20. Āl Tarmum, head, 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman Tarmum; important members, 20, total, 90. Āl Sheiban, head, Sheikh 'Umar Sheiban; important members, 5, total, 30.

*In Du'an:* Āl Bā Shanfar, residence 'Aura; important members, 5, total, 80. Āl Bā Ya'shut, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 90. Āl Bā Mad-han, residence Al Qurein; important members, 160, total, 200. Āl Bā Lakma, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 80. Āl Bā Barahīm, residence Al Qurein; important members, 60, total 110. Āl Bā Basut, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 100, total, 200. Āl Bā Hanshal, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 30, total, 150. Āl Bā Khashwein, residence Hudūn; important members, 150, total, 300. The families of Bā Shameila, Bā Samad, Bā 'Ubeid, Bahawal, and Bā Baheir all possess authority, but those of Bazara, Bā 'Ashin, and Bā Sālih have none.

*In Bur:* Bā Sharāhil, who possess no authority.

The townsmen are divisible into four classes; merchants, artificers, labourers, and servants. The economic life of the country depends to a large extent on them. They live in the towns, do not bear arms, and are the principal taxpayers. It is from them that the people obtain the necessaries of life, and they form the main link with the outside world. Many of them are wealthy and they exercise a considerable influence in the country, and might well exercise more. The leading merchants to some extent govern the affairs of their towns, and have developed more than a germ of municipal organization. There are also signs of a kind of trades unionism, or rather of the mediaeval guild system, among the various artificers, and professions are usually, though not exclusively, hereditary. 565 162 556 [141]

### Slaves.

The Qu'aiti and Kathīri Governments are the biggest slave-holders in the country, and I should imagine that there is comparatively little private ownership. Apart from the fact that the slaves are slaves, there is very little to distinguish them, except their African countenances, from other classes of the country, and 567

It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk. 342

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm. 361

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anis go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices. 311 312 511 262 439 291

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space. 342 361 531

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut. 361 342

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on [441] •

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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mechanical equipment required for irrigation construction and maintenance in order to release work oxen for field operations. Up to the present shortage of equipment, break-downs and delays in obtaining spares have made it necessary to employ large numbers of working cattle on earth-moving and general irrigation works. 406 242

The Board also owns a fleet of twelve diesel-engined crawler tractors for ploughing work. Considerable difficulties have been encountered in maintaining this tractor fleet.

242-21

*Administration of the Scheme*

The present composition of the Board is :

| | |
|---|---|
| British Agent, Western Aden Protectorate | Chairman. |
| Director of Agriculture, Aden Protectorate | Managing Director. |
| Senior Political Officer, Southern Area | Director. |
| Two Representatives, (Fadhli State) | Members. |
| Two Representatives, (Yafa'i State) | Members. |
| Manager, Abyan Board | Secretary. |

The Board is responsible for the construction and maintenance of capital works and of main and minor canals ; the development of new land for irrigation ; the delivery of water to the land ; provision of marketing and credit facilities to farmers, when necessary.

The Board receives one-quarter share of the crops grown. This is now based on a cash payment of *Shs.*40 per effectively cropped acre for all crops other than cotton. The assessed amount is deducted from the cash payment made for the cotton crop. 242 437

The Board in the 1952–53 season made a cultivation advance of *Shs.*90 per acre of effectively established, thinned and cleaned cotton.

The Board provides seed-cotton packs and conducts weekly markets at convenient centres throughout the area. The cotton is classified at the markets by an expert cotton classifier. Each pack carries the grower's identification number, the weight as recorded at the sale and the market identification letter. A record is made of quantities sold at each market by growers and cash is paid after deduction of the Board's share. The cotton is ginned and baled in a ginnery equipped and run by the Board. The whole of the graded lint is sold under a long-term contract with the Raw Cotton Commission. The Abyan X.1730A is regarded by buyers as equal to Sudan grown crop of similar type. 242 442 248

Tenants make up and maintain bunds and field channels, cultivate specified crops as the Board directs, pay the crop share due, and deliver crops such as cotton to markets as directed. 242 [437]

Landlords, if owner occupiers, cultivate their own land and follow

228 From the tongue of land we pass the
443 fish-market, where a lively trade in the dwellers of the sea, here so multifarious, is carried on from early morning till late in the evening. The shark seems to be the commonest fish. Sacks full of dried and salted shark's flesh are sent into the interior, where, in times of prosperity, the Bedouins and townsfolk enjoy a piece of it with their frugal meal of bread and rice. The smell of badly dried and, consequently, somewhat decaying fish accompanies the traveller far into the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut.

443 The bazaar of Makalla has more penetrating odours than is
386 usual elsewhere. Not far from the fish-market are the workshops where loin-cloths and head-cloths are dyed a dull blue-black with indigo, and this trade also has sickening, nauseating smell. The workers and their houses are covered with a layer of indigo.

443 A more attractive trade than these is plied in this long
286 street of the bazaar — that of the weavers and lace-makers. They weave narrow lengths of cloth with brightly coloured stripes and with very attractive fringes, which are woven separately.

443 All sorts of sweets were offered for sale at the booths; also
438 the first bright-yellow or deep-red dates, not yet quite ripe,
439 tuberous fruits, spices, the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco in big bundles consisting of whole dried plants; broad waist-bands, Japanese, Indian and Dutch piece-goods, sugar-loaves and rice, coffee-beans and dried coffee-husks, ginger-root and tea from Ceylon and Java, various kinds of grain, meal and *samn*, sesame oil and kerosene, matches and coffee-cups, *djambiyas* [1] and cartridges.

443- We wandered through this storehouse of Ḥaḍramaut. The salesmen had lighted their reeking lamps and torches stuck in bottles; one could only pass slowly through the swarming crowd with the smoke of the lamps mingling with the heavy odour emanating from men and things. As in a dream we

104 [1] *Djambiya*, correctly spelled *djanbīya* (جنبيّة), is a broad, curved dagger worn in the waist-band in front of the body.

443 passed through this unknown world, and the desire and hope, until now cautiously suppressed, grew unconsciously within us, to enter the land that lay behind the town and to learn to know its people.

## 2. THE VIZIER SAYYID ABŪ BAKR BIN ḤUSĒN EL-MIḤḌĀR.

645 We made acquaintance, the morning after our arrival, with
[643] the Vizier, who, in the absence of the Sultan, deals with state affairs. Sayyid Abū Bakr bin Ḥusēn el-Miḥḍār is a man in the prime of life; he is energetic, has a congenial, alert personality, and shows absolutely no sign of opposition to the *Naṣrānīs*, the *Efrendjīs*. The heavy task of governing the Qe-
645 ᶜēṭī Sultanate falls chiefly upon his solid shoulders. His popu-
565 larity is supported doubly by tradition: in the first place, as
175 sayyid he belongs to the class of spiritual and worldly leaders, for he is a direct descendant of the Prophet, and, in the second place, the house of Abū Bakr was, six generations ago, the most influential family of Ḥaḍramaut.[1] In an evil hour, in their struggle against the Bedouin tribes, they called in the help of the Yāfiᶜ, a tribe noted for its fighting qualities. Its Sultan sent help under one Qeᶜēṭī, who, after having delivered the sayyids of the el-Miḥḍār family from their enemies, took the leadership into his own hands. The power of his family expanded. In 1874 the Qeᶜēṭīs asked the British Government in Aden to intervene for the purpose of reaching a settlement in a war, which had arisen over the refusal of the Āl Kathīr to repay a sum of money which had been lent to them. On this occasion Makalla and esh-Shiḥr were, with the help of the British, taken away from the Kathīrī Sultan and handed over to the Qeᶜēṭī, but the family of el-Miḥḍār had remained the leading one of that region.

701 The Vizier declared that he had *no* objection to our journey
567 into the interior. The route via Wādī Dōᶜan was safe, provided

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 75; *A Handbook of Arabia*, i. (London, 1920), p. 542 *sq.*

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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The above figures are derived from estimates checked by sampling, except in the case of the long-staple cotton for which actual figures are available. 241

Outstanding yields of long-staple cotton have been obtained ; yields of one ton of seed cotton with a ginning out-turn of 36 per cent often occur. Yields of irrigated wheat and barley are generally high : wheat yields of 1½ tons per acre are common in the lift-irrigated districts.

*Crop Processing*

*Cotton Gineries.* Long-staple cotton is ginned in two ginneries operated by the Abyan Board, and the total output in the 1951-52 season was 7,206 bales. At the end of 1952 plans were in hand to combine ginning equipment at one ginnery in Lower Abyan. 248 249

*Oil Mills.* Throughout the Protectorate sesame is crushed in primitive pestle and mortar crushers worked by camel power.

*Marketing*

Crops for domestic consumption are sold direct by the producer to the consumer, or through merchants, or at markets which are often weekly events in the villages and towns of the Protectorate. 443

Tobacco is exported from the Protectorate by merchants who trade in the Colony of Aden and Middle East markets. 439

Substantial quantities of fresh produce, vegetables and fruit are exported from the Protectorate to the Colony to be sold in the Colony markets.

No marketing boards for export crops exist, but the Abyan Board is at the moment in sole control of the grading, ginning and export of long-staple cotton grown in the Protectorate. 248

*Research*

Research on cotton and cotton breeding is carried on by the Abyan Board. 242

In the Hadhramaut, the Hadhramaut States contribute funds to an experimental area supervised by an officer of the Department of Agriculture. In this area, which was opened in 1952, investigations on crop production, crop varieties, treatments and water duties have been started.

In the Western Protectorate many varieties of deciduous fruits and citrus have been introduced over the past 14 years, and it is considered that there are sufficient trees in bearing to start on nursery propagation of suitable types. Initial trials have been made at a high-altitude demonstration area on the Audhali Plateau.

*Control of Pests and Diseases*

Since 1942 efforts have been made, generally with success, to control locust breeding in the Protectorate, which is subject to constant invasions by locusts from other areas. The control of covered smut of sorghum by the use of sulphur for seed treatment has been introduced to areas where damage from this plant disease is common.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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the interior Hadhramaut towns; and all the houses are gathered within the walls, since there is no security outside on account of the neighbourhood of the Kathīri. 361

(*b*) The principal towns of the Kathīri are the following:

5. **Seyyūn,** built on the slopes of Jebel Seyyūn, at the edge of a very extensive and fertile area, which stretches away to the lower ground of the wādi and is dominated by the castle of the ruling Sultan. The town is surrounded by walls of mud, embracing, within the enceinte, a great number of gardens; it is entered by a low gateway. The streets are broader and cleaner than most of the Hadhramaut towns; and the place has some pretensions to a drainage system, many of the houses having outlets for this purpose to walled pits.

Seyyūn is a town of many mosques, their number being reputed to exceed 300: the principal one, the Grand Mosque, stands on one side of the great square. The town is the intellectual centre of the Hadhramaut, the so-called Academy (*Ribāt*), an annexe of the grand mosque, being the place of assemblage of a great number of reputed savants. The market is said to be the busiest in the whole country, and is held in the square on Fridays at the termination of noon-day prayers, merchants coming to it from all parts. Hirsch, however, states that, when he was there (1893), 'there seemed to be but little trade carried on, and there were only a few stalls in the market'. The population is estimated at about 4,500. 346 [73] 443

The Seyyids of Seyyūn are very powerful and wealthy, and many of them have large castle-like houses. The palace of the ruling head of the Kathīri stands on an elevated site, and is surrounded by its own wall fortified with bastions and outstanding watch-towers. The main block of the palace is surmounted by three very conspicuous look-outs, the middle one being higher than the other two. The chief is reputed to have two or three field-pieces and some old cannon in his possession. 165 792

6. **Terīm,** some 19 miles NE. of Seyyūn, is a considerable and straggling town built along a mountain slope above a broad belt of cultivation and palm-groves which stretches away towards the east. Its population, according to Hirsch (probably the only European who has succeeded in visiting it, but who, owing to the hostility of the Seyyids, was obliged to return precipitately before he had very thoroughly explored it), was about 4,000 in 1893, and was declining. A low gate, with a large ruined fortress close by, gives entrance to the town on the Shibām side, and just within this is the main square, where the market is held: one side of the square is occupied by the principal mosque. It does not appear, however, 361

436 but never less, though sometimes they are equal. Transfer of
439 bullion is more common from Mukalla to Aden than from Aden
457 to Mukalla.

## Interest.

●452 Money can be had at 10 per cent. interest on mortgages, and
a few of the big Arabs obtain their wealth from this source. Goods
426 are sold on a period of one month's credit and a percentage is calculated on this basis. Sometimes when cultivators have been unable to sell their tobacco the merchants have to wait for their payment for two to six months, and charge four to eight annas per cent. on the goods, or one rupee on people who are unable to pay for a long time. In Shibam 5 per cent. interest is charged on borrowed money. Interest transactions are of course disguised in order to avoid the Quranic precepts against usury.

## Foreign Trade.

439 The total value of the foreign trade (in merchandise) of the Hadhramaut in 1352 is estimated at over Rs.6,000,000. The chief exports are: tobacco, honey and fish products. The chief imports are: dates, flour, rice, goats and sheep, piece goods, simsim, jowari and kerosene.

IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE.

| | *Quantity.* | *Rate.* | *Value.* (1353 prices.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fish products: *Sermai* (split and salted fish) pieces. | 10,000 to 15,000 | $28 to 60 per 100 | $2,800 to $4,200 |
| Goats and sheep, Nos. ... | 20,000 to 30,000 | Rs. 6 or 7 each | Rs. 120,000. |
| Dates. Basra. *Qosra* ... | 20,000 to 30,000 | Rs. 4/8 to Rs. 6/8 | Rs. 110,000 |
| Oman, *Jerab* (six *frasilas*) | 1,000 | Rs. 6 | Rs. 6,000 |
| Flour, bags ... ... | 10,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | French Rs. 10/4 Karachi Rs. 10/8 to Rs. 11/- | Rs. 102,500 |
| Rice, bags ... ... | 75,000 to 85,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 11/- | Rs. 825,000 |
| Building Poles (*borities*), scores. | 400 to 500 | Rs. 7–25 a score according to quality. | * |
| Simsim, bags ... ... | 15,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 60–67 a *bahar* of 570 lbs. | Rs. 900,000 |
| Jowari, bags ... ... | 70,000 to 80,000 | Rs. 6–8·8 | Rs. 420,000 |
| Piece Goods Japanese bales | 1,000 | Rs. 130 | Rs. 130,000 |
| Others ... | Very few | | |
| Kerosene, cases ... ... | 26,000 to 30,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 6 | Rs. 156,000 |
| Petrol, cases ... ... | 1,200 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 9 | Rs. 10,800. |
| Tea, cases of 90 to 100 lb. | 1,200 to 1,300 Mukalla & Shihr. | Up to Rs. 3 a lb. | Rs. 125,000 |
| Coffee, bags of 5–10 *frasilas* | 1,500 | Jelal, Rs. 7 Majburs, Rs. 2–3 | Rs. 30,000 |

* None imported in 1353.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office (3)-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



134 are generally of good-quality alluvium. In high-altitude districts less fertile soils are found and they are generally light in texture, except in some limestone areas where they are heavy and intractable.

312 (*b*) *Water supplies* are generally good and sufficient for the needs of cultivators who tend to concentrate in the river-valley areas or in the highland areas where some rainfall can be expected. Water becomes scarce in the Eastern districts where the settled country emerges into the Empty Quarter. Domestic water supplies are obtained from springs, wells, dams, tanks and cisterns.

(*c*) *Irrigation and drainage systems* are highly developed. At high altitudes the run-off is led to terraces in order to boost the rainfall which is insufficient in itself for crop production. Flood irrigation systems are found in the river valleys and on the coastal plain. Irrigation from permanent streams and springs is highly developed. Artificial irrigation is from open wells. Animal power lifts are worked at depths of 10 to 60 feet and in the most favourable districts command up to 10 per cent. of the total arable area.

241 (*d*) *Mechanical cultivation* is confined to one small unit used by the Abyan Board in the Abyan district. Elsewhere the simple Arabian plough, combined levelling-board and scraper, harrow and a drill attachment for the plough comprise the implements used by the cultivator.

(*e*) *Application of fertilisers.* Organic fertilisers only are used. Farmyard manure is commonly used in all mid-altitude and highland districts. Farmyard manure, human excreta and town wastes are used in the Hadhramaut. Fish and guano are commonly used in the Eastern Protectorate coastal areas.

*Land Tenure*

423 (*a*) Customary tribal law and Shari'a law affect land tenure.

(*b*) Individual ownership is the common and most-desired form of tenancy; share tenancy is the usual form of leasehold tenure.

(*c*) His Majesty's Government owns no land in the Aden Protectorate. Some of the Arab states hold extensive tracts of land as state domain. All the land is held by indigenous inhabitants except for a very small percentage held by Yemeni settlers and a few Indians and Somalis.

*Agricultural Credit*

452 There are no banks in the Aden Protectorate. One small Farmers' Association giving credit assistance to its members was formed during
453 the year. The Department of Agriculture, the local Governments, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut a Relief Organisation afforded assistance to farmers with interest-free loans.

## FISHERIES

654 A visit in February by the Fisheries Adviser to the Secretary of State
226 for the Colonies resulted in the arrival of a fisheries research party in

6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut 11 1 42



the management of irrigation farming on some 5,000 acres. The value of the Board's quarter-share of the net crop obtained, after paying harvesting and threshing expenses in kind, was estimated at over Rs. 1,25,000.

Farming in Abyan, largely influenced by the Board's operations, proved important to the economy of the Western Aden Protectorate. In the production of millet alone, it is estimated that a 30,000 bag crop, equal to 3,000 metric tons, was raised. A large portion of this was held as a reserve, or had been marketed to the easterly districts at the end of the year. General control on the export of this grain to Aden itself was maintained, and the flow of the crop to the districts to the east was encouraged.

*The Wadi Hadhramaut Rehabilitation Scheme*

This was wound up by Government at the end of the 1947–48 financial year. Farmers with outstanding loans were given ten years in which to repay, the basis of repayment being at the rate of 2 per cent of the total loan from the spring crop, 3 per cent from the autumn crop, and 5 per cent from the winter crop grown. By the end of the year, it was apparent that this system of deferred repayment was not proving satisfactory. Moneylenders had again become active, while late planting and reduced acreage were noticeable in many districts. This undoubtedly resulted from lack of foresight on the part of many farmers, who had failed to reserve sufficient seed and fodder and preferred to resort to moneylenders for obtaining their needs on credit.

At the end of the year, proposals were on hand for the introduction of numbers of diesel-driven irrigation pumps for use in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

*Co-operation*

The Beihan Farmers' Association, formed in the previous year, progressed in a satisfactory manner, and much useful experience was gained by the officials of the association. A good *saif* season helped the members, but this was followed by an almost complete lack of water in the *kharif*. In spite of these difficulties, the association was able to help its members in their requirements of seed, stock, and cash needed for well equipment and for concentrates for feeding livestock. At the end of the year, the association had acquired some Rs. 12,000 from members' subscriptions and from interest charged on loans.

This association cannot be termed a co-operative society in the true sense of the word. It is an association which has the full support of the local Government, and which at present makes use of Government offices and storehouses for its activities. In the present stage of development this is considered to be the most desirable form of association for Beihan.

*Western Aden Protectorate*

The Western Aden Protectorate fisheries are of minor importance compared with those of the Eastern Protectorate. Shuqra, the seat of the Fadhli Sultan, is, however, a fishing port with a considerable export trade in dried fish

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Agricultural Extension and Improvement Schemes*

654 The main development scheme for irrigated land use is that in Abyan. A note on the scheme is given in Appendix I, page 84.

248 The extension work of the Department of Agriculture is carried on
406 through departmental staff and through State agricultural departments
241 where these exist. Extension work at the moment is mainly confined to a few selected subjects such as cotton growing, fruit and vegetable growing, and lift irrigation by pump.

*Cotton Growing Schemes (other than at Abyan).* Long-staple X.1730A cotton was introduced for cultivation to the Yeramis district, and from an area of approximately 400 acres some 472,665 lb. of seed cotton were marketed.

In Ahwar, where X.1730A cotton was grown for the second season, 436,311 lb. of seed cotton were marketed from an effective area of 400 acres.

*The Hadhramaut Pump Scheme.* In the Hadhramaut there has been considerable development of lift irrigation by diesel-engine pumping units since 1948. It is claimed that 389 pump units with an estimated total horse-power of 3,640 have now been introduced. A large percentage of the units have been sold by the Hadhramaut States to local farmers on a deferred payment scheme.

In 1952 pump units irrigated 37 per cent of the total area under lift irigation in the Hadhramaut. The average area irrigated per pump unit is estimated at 8.3 acres as compared with 2 acres by animal lift. The yield from pump irrigated crops in nearly all cases is found to exceed comparable animal lift irrigated crops. The schemes may be criticised on account of the high horse-power used for the irrigated area, but on the other hand with less working hours per day the machinery should theoretically last longer.

*Credit Facilities*

452 In the Western Protectorate advances have been made through Farmers' Associations, through the Abyan Board and through local States to assist farmers. In the Eastern Protectorate, particularly the Hadhramaut, large sums of money have been advanced since 1944 to enable farmers, or groups of farmers, to maintain local irigation systems and to help farmers to buy pumping machinery by hire purchase. Little or no progress can be made in the development of agriculture without credit facilities.

*Agricultural Department*

647 The staff comprises the Director of Agriculture, four Agricultural Officers, one Assistant Agricultural Officer and nine Agricultural Instructors.

The Department is responsible for giving advice on agriculture and, in many areas, for the organisation and administration of agricultural development projects. During the financial year 1952–53 it budgetted to spend £19,000.

5: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



651 Revenue and expenditure of local governments in the Eastern Aden Protectorate which have adopted regular accounting methods are as follows:

*Revenue*

| | |
|---|---|
| (a) Mukalla Government | Rs. 21,47,767 |
| (b) Sai'un " | 2,36,895 |
| (c) Wahidi " | 78,333 |

*Expenditure*

652

| | |
|---|---|
| (a) Mukalla Government | Rs. 22,24,947 |
| (b) Sai'un " | 1,91,199 |
| (c) Wahidi " | 69,376 |

*Assets and Liabilities*

| | |
|---|---|
| Investments Mukalla Government | Rs. 35,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 46,783 |
| Investment Sai'un Government | 3,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 34,540 |
| Investment Wahidi Government | 60,000 |
| Savings Banks and Co-operative Societies | Nil |

[453 474]

## Chapter 5: Currency and Banking

435 Indian rupees and riyals (or Maria Theresa dollars) are the currency used, the 1947 rate of exchange being Rs. 2.6.0. to the M.T. Dollar.

## Chapter 6: Commerce

439 The principal imports are grains, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth and cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap, glassware, etc.; the principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, etc.

Imports and exports for the Eastern Aden Protectorate during 1947 were as follows:

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office (3)-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



are generally of good-quality alluvium. In high-altitude districts less fertile soils are found and they are generally light in texture, except in some limestone areas where they are heavy and intractable.

(*b*) *Water supplies* are generally good and sufficient for the needs of cultivators who tend to concentrate in the river-valley areas or in the highland areas where some rainfall can be expected. Water becomes scarce in the Eastern districts where the settled country emerges into the Empty Quarter. Domestic water supplies are obtained from springs, wells, dams, tanks and cisterns.

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*Land Tenure*

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(*b*) Individual ownership is the common and most-desired form of tenancy; share tenancy is the usual form of leashold tenure.

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*Agricultural Credit*

There are no banks in the Aden Protectorate. One small Farmers' Association giving credit assistance to its members was formed during the year. The Department of Agriculture, the local Governments, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut a Relief Organisation afforded assistance to farmers with interest-free loans.

## FISHERIES

A visit in February by the Fisheries Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies resulted in the arrival of a fisheries research party in

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

## Chapter 5: Currency and Banking

436 652 In the Protectorate rupees and riyals (Maria Theresa dollars) are the currency used. The devaluation of the rupee caused a sudden rise of the M.T. dollar to Rs. 2/8/0 followed by a slower rise, which is still going on. At the end of 1950 it had risen to just over Rs. 3.

453 There are no banks in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 6: Commerce

439 The principal imports are grain, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth, cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap, glassware, etc. The principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, etc.

The great bulk of trade with the Western Aden Protectorate goes by land from the town of Aden.

Principal imports and exports which passed through the Mukalla Customs for the Eastern Aden Protectorate during 1950 were as follows:

IMPORTS

| | | *Quantity* | *Value* Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wheat .. .. .. | cwt. | 5,296 | 1,37,700 |
| Millet, Yemeni .. .. | ,, | 2,393 | 47,860 |
| ,, other sorts .. .. | ,, | 80,933 | 1,74,060 |
| Maize .. .. .. .. | ,, | 9,101 | 1,45,620 |
| Flour, wheat .. .. .. | ,, | 21,250 | 6,80,000 |
| Rice, all sorts.. .. .. | ,, | 62,051 | 29,78,450 |
| Other Grains .. .. .. | ,, | 3,154 | 1,26,160 |
| Dates, Busrah .. .. | ,, | 31,290 | 58,40,800 |
| ,, other sorts .. .. | ,, | 3,245 | 64,900 |
| Sugar, refined .. .. | ,, | 20,732 | 10,36,600 |
| ,, other sorts .. .. | ,, | 1,505 | 97,830 |
| Joggery—Mollasses .. .. | ,, | 3,272 | 1,30,880 |
| Sim Sim .. .. .. | ,, | 7,670 | 10,73,800 |
| Tea .. .. .. .. | lb. | 125,547 | 3,76,640 |
| Coffee .. .. .. .. | cwt. | 5,131 | 2,46,340 |
| Sheep and Goats .. .. | | | 1,91,350 |
| Ghee (clarified butter) .. | cwt. | 2,438 | 4,87,600 |
| Oil, all sorts .. .. .. | ,, | 5,185 | 6,22,200 |
| Kerosene and Petrol.. .. | gal. | 286,764 | 4,30,150 |
| Spices .. .. .. .. | | | 9,14,800 |
| Cotton Piece-goods, Grey Sheetings .. .. .. | yards | 548,169 | 5,48,170 |
| Cotton pce./goods, other sorts | | | 6,99,270 |
| Cotton twist .. .. .. | | | 1,49,400 |
| Cigarettes and Tobacco .. | | | 2,63,340 |
| Wool and Timber .. .. | | | 1,88,510 |
| Miscellaneous .. .. | | | 39,05,550 |
| TOTAL VALUE OF IMPORTS .. | | | Rs. 1,78,67,260 |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

652

| | 1951–52 | 1952–53 |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 31,892 | 38,227 |
| Hadhrami Beduin Legion | 27,872 | 33,555 |
| Subsidies to Local Forces | 8,658 | 11,357 |
| Education | 4,767 | 5,326 |
| Health | 6,721 | * |
| Agriculture | — | 50 |
| Miscellaneous Services and Subsidies | 501 | 671 |
| Famine Relief | 183 | 246 |
| Information Services | — | 188 |
| | 80,594 | 89,620 |

* The Health Services are now common to both Protectorates and are shown under Western Aden Protectorate.

Revenue and expenditure of States in the Protectorates which have adopted regular accounting methods are as follows :

| | 1951–52 | | 1952–53 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Revenue* | *Expenditure* | *Revenue* | *Expenditure* |
| *Western Protectorate* : | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Fadhli | 54,660 | 40,228 | 43,090 | 47,709 |
| Lower Yafa'i | 24,995 | 9,670 | 18,562 | 20,703 |
| Dathina | 7,369 | 8,630 | 10,663 | 8,795 |
| Lower Aulaqi | 3,604 | 2,933 | 4,836 | 4,141 |
| Amiri | 8,788 | 6,574 | 8,334 | 9,275 |
| Audhali | 13,210 | 11,827 | 17,505 | 13,129 |
| Upper Aulaqi (Sheikhdom) | 749 | 572 | 7,117 | 7,026 |
| Subeihi | 3,651 | 2,098 | 2,324 | 2,967 |
| *Eastern Protectorate* : | | | | |
| Qu'aiti | 286,941 | 220,587 | 245,824 | 244,547 |
| Kathiri | 39,240 | 28,186 | 30,810 | 32,126 |
| Wahidi (Balhaf and Bin Ali) | 11,375 | 10,213 | 9,235 | 11,031 |

## Chapter 4 : Currency and Banking

In the Protectorate East African shillings and riyals (Maria Theresa dollars) are used as currency. 136

There are no banks. 453

at intervals of some 20 feet a series of shafts similar to those 312
described in connection with the Mukalla water-supply. Hunnat al Harth is temporarily not giving water, as the level has fallen below the channel. At Al Quf itself there are a number of wells, and round each are nursery beds where the tobacco seedlings are 249
grown. The beds are divided into patches three or four feet square and the seed close sown, so close that even where seed does not germinate the workers cut small scratches in the ground and plant fresh seed. When the seedlings are grown to a height of about three or four inches they are taken from Al Quf to Al Harth, about a mile and a-half away, and planted out in rows with intervals of a foot, or three-quarters of a *dhirra*, in beds of a size dependent on the amount of water. A bed is called *mutr*, plural *mutira*, and each is surrounded by a ridge to keep in the irrigation water. In due course the crop is gathered and dried. Drying barns are unknown.

The crop[1] is financed by the merchants who advance the money to 454
the cultivators and are paid back either monthly or after the crop. 427
In the case of the Government lands at Gheil some cultivators pay their rent in advance and some after the crop. The rent of the 655
whole area of the Sultan's land at Gheil is assessed before each season and the figure required communicated to his representative there. This official then rents out the land at a figure per acre based on the total sum required.

The total annual value of the crop is now estimated at five lakhs 433
of which the Sultan receives Rs.120,000 in duty and ground rent. 651
Production costs are estimated at three lakhs, so that the profit to 434
the cultivators is Rs.80,000. In order to foster the local consumption of tobacco, there is a monopoly of imported cigarettes and pipe 655
tobacco.

Of tobacco, Mr. H. M. Heald in his report of the Agricultural 249
Mission to Mukalla says that in the Meifa valley " the cultivation of the tobacco received more attention than any other crop. . . . The seed was sown in a small plot of land which, in the large villages, had been heavily manured with sheep dung mixed with fine earth. [241]
When 40 days old the plants were transplanted into the small beds at distances of one foot apart, and again manured with fish ; irrigation varied in the villages but generally every seven days.

" Topping of the terminal buds took place after all the leaves had been formed and the plants were ripe for cutting in four or five months, according to district and season. The plants were dried on the ground first singly and then in small bundles, and afterwards hung up in rows. After drying again in bundles, they were covered with sacks to promote fermentation, and then the plants were taken into the houses for further drying in the dark, and ready for transporting to the coast in a week or so. Practically no grading was done . . . and I am sure " he writes, " better prices would be obtained if more attention were paid to selection."

1 [Tobacco -- Analyst]

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



to the Hadhramaut. This winter rainfall enormously improved the range conditions over the mountain areas of the Protectorate and produced exceptionally good pasturage for the desert tribes in the north-east. 132

Large acreages of winter cereals and fodder crops were grown. The year finished with the whole of the Protectorate in good condition. 241

Livestock started the year in many areas in a starved condition, and in the east with their numbers greatly reduced. At the end of 1949 their condition was restored, but numbers, particularly of small stock, were low. 231

*Plant Pests and Diseases*

As a result of the favourable rains and the continuance of sorghum cultivation through the Saif season, to the flood crop of the Kharif, and into the lift irrigated crops planted in autumn, 1949, there was a serious increase in the stalk borer population, and an estimated loss of up to 50 per cent of the crop resulted in the Hadhramaut lift irrigated areas. 731 242

*Animal Health*

No outbreak of rinderpest or other serious animal disease was recorded during 1949. 731

*Market Conditions*

With the devaluation of the pound the value of the Maria Theresa dollar rose nearly 30 per cent in relation to rupee currency. Produce prices remained high until autumn, 1949, when a sharp drop occurred in many districts following the good harvests. Sorghum grain on the Aden market averaged about £35 per ton throughout 1949. 455 455

*Demonstration and Experiment*

A field trial with X1730A cotton grown from Abyan raised seed was very successful in 1949; some 1,750 lbs. of seed cotton per acre was obtained from scattered plots totalling 82 acres which had received one watering only before planting. The crop was planted in the months of September and October, and grew rapidly. In some fields plants reached a height of over 6 feet and carried an enormous crop. No important pests or diseases were seen. 242

The crop was classified by the Chief Classifier of the Sudan Plantation Syndicate, who was flown over for the purpose; he placed about half the crop in grades 3 and 4, and the balance in grades 5 and 6, basing his classification on Sudan Gezira standard for L type cottons. The graded crop was sold to the Raw Cotton Commission.

Varieties of cane, introduced in small quantities from Mauritius in the previous season, were cut in September, 1949, and planted out in observation plots.

505 Agent, 'Abdulla Lalljee. These Lines call at both Mukalla and Shihr on the line Aden—Mukalla—Shihr—Mukalla—Aden. Apart from these two Lines the principal cargo traffic is taken by dhows. The normal number of dhows entering and leaving Mukalla a year is 300-400 which includes 70 or 80 big buggalows from Bombay. Dhows come from Gulf ports, Oman, Basra, Sur, Utubi, Kuweit, Hindi Kwati, Karachi, Bombay, Aden, Red Sea ports, Zanzibar, and the Somali coast, and leave for the same places. When there is much grain the number increases to 400 or 500.

A combined service of the Rotterdam Lloyd, Netherland M.V.S., and Blue Funnel Line provides eight calls a year each way on the line Suez—Singapore and Singapore—Suez. The ships call each way once a month except during the south-west monsoon when big ships cannot anchor. Ships of the Bombay—Persia line call on the route Calcutta—Bombay—Jedda about eight times each way except during the pilgrim season when they only call on the homeward voyage from Red Sea ports. The agent for both these services is 'Abdulla Lalljee.

During the last three years one Russian ship has called, and Italian ships call occasionally when the Bombay—Persia line ships cannot.

## CHAPTER IX.

## COMMERCE OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

### Finance.

431. All finance is in the hands of the merchants. Seven lakhs of rupees come from Java every month direct or via Aden. The 439 greater part of this is in drafts on Bombay which are sold in 457 Mukalla for cash. Indian and the more important Arab merchants deal in them, and ordinarily charge no commission as the drafts form an easy and cheap method of remittance. If, however, money is scarce locally, about four annas per cent. of rupees is charged. Money goes out to Aden and Bombay and is remitted through the merchants, who write letters to their agents at those places to obtain drafts. Dollars move freely to the interior and, if the exchange is good, come from there. The caravans which take the goods to the interior bring the dollars back, and this, apart from honey, firewood, and fodder, is about all that is carried from the interior to Mukalla. The dollars are exported from Mukalla to Aden if the exchange is more favourable there, and on the other hand if there is a shortage of dollars in Mukalla, or if the dollar is cheaper in Aden than in Mukalla, they are brought in. Omani and other dhow traders bring goods and take out money in cash. When the Imam imposed a duty on dollars imported to the Yemen there was a flow of dollars from Mukalla to Shibam and thence along the caravan route to San'ā. Dollars in Mukalla are usually two pice or upwards more than in Aden,

436 439 457 but never less, though sometimes they are equal. Transfer of bullion is more common from Mukalla to Aden than from Aden to Mukalla.

## Interest.

452 426 Money can be had at 10 per cent. interest on mortgages, and a few of the big Arabs obtain their wealth from this source. Goods are sold on a period of one month's credit and a percentage is calculated on this basis. Sometimes when cultivators have been unable to sell their tobacco the merchants have to wait for their payment for two to six months, and charge four to eight annas per cent. on the goods, or one rupee on people who are unable to pay for a long time. In Shibam 5 per cent. interest is charged on borrowed money. Interest transactions are of course disguised in order to avoid the Quranic precepts against usury.

## Foreign Trade.

439 The total value of the foreign trade (in merchandise) of the Hadhramaut in 1352 is estimated at over Rs.6,000,000. The chief exports are: tobacco, honey and fish products. The chief imports are: dates, flour, rice, goats and sheep, piece goods, simsim, jowari and kerosene.

### Imports of Merchandise.

| | *Quantity.* | *Rate.* | *Value.* (1353 prices.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fish products: *Sermai* (split and salted fish) pieces. | 10,000 to 15,000 | $28 to 60 per 100 | $2,800 to $4,200 |
| Goats and sheep, Nos. ... | 20,000 to 30,000 | Rs. 6 or 7 each | Rs. 120,000. |
| Dates. Basra. *Qosra* ... | 20,000 to 30,000 | Rs. 4/8 to Rs. 6/8 | Rs. 110,000 |
| Oman, *Jerab* (six *frasilas*) | 1,000 | Rs. 6 | Rs. 6,000 |
| Flour, bags ... ... | 10,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | French Rs. 10/4 Karachi Rs. 10/8 to Rs. 11/- | Rs. 102,500 |
| Rice, bags ... ... | 75,000 to 85,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 11/- | Rs. 825,000 |
| Building Poles (*borities*), scores. | 400 to 500 | Rs. 7–25 a score according to quality. | * |
| Simsim, bags ... ... | 15,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 60–67 a *bahar* of 570 lbs. | Rs. 900,000 |
| Jowari, bags ... ... | 70,000 to 80,000 | Rs. 6–8·8 | Rs. 420,000 |
| Piece Goods Japanese bales | 1,000 | Rs. 130 | Rs. 130,000 |
| Others ... | Very few | | |
| Kerosene, cases ... ... | 26,000 to 30,000 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 6 | Rs. 156,000 |
| Petrol, cases ... ... | 1,200 Mukalla & Shihr. | Rs. 9 | Rs. 10,800. |
| Tea, cases of 90 to 100 lb. | 1,200 to 1,300 Mukalla & Shihr. | Up to Rs. 3 a lb. | Rs. 125,000 |
| Coffee, bags of 5–10 *frasilas* | 1,500 | Jeial, Rs. 7 Majburs, Rs. 2–3 | Rs. 30,000 |

* None imported in 1353.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB1
Arabs



This is not merely a phenomenon of recent times; formerly also Arab immigrants for the most part settled for good in the Netherlands-Indies. Thus there are now many Arab families who have lived in the Netherlands-Indies for generations and have proportionately become more numerous. In this " nucleus " group and amongst the children of new-comers' families there is a natural equality of men and women. These groups are so large that the entire Arab community, " nucleus " immigrants' children together with the almost solely male immigrants, has a lesser shortage of women than the other non-indigenous population groups in the Netherlands-Indies, and this has also been the case in former years. Among the European population the excess of males over females was only reduced in 1930 by the recently increased immigration of European women. I [163]

The gradually rising birth-rate for immigrants' children and for children of Arabs themselves born here, has produced a very large group of minors who will, in due course, when they become adult, greatly exceed the present numbers of middle-aged adults. An increase in the procreative capacity of the Arab population group is therefore to be expected and thus also, after some time, a corresponding increase in the Arab population group.

2. *Occupations.*—The Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies come almost without exception from the Hadhramaut. The principal means of subsistence of most Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies is trade, in various forms, and principally trading in batiks and sarongs. Pekalongan and Sole are the centres of their batik trade. Some, like the Chinese, do business in haberdashery in Middle and East Java. Like the Chinese they also form a link between the European retailer and the native. They try to hawk various goods for large profits amongst the native population. This, however, is usually very risky for them. They deliver goods generally to the less substantial buyers on easy payment terms. Bankruptcies occur often among the Arabs. Then their insolvent estates must be saved by the College for the Administration of Intestate Estates (Wees- and Boedelkamer). Many Arabs are money-lenders either openly or in a disguised form. The coastal trade with sailing ships was formerly largely in Arab hands; but this now means little to them. Agriculture, handicrafts and occupations for which a certain education is essential, are only in exceptional cases carried out by them. There are also among the Arabs some wholesale merchants, landowners and estate-owners; the latter own extensive landed property and tea estates. H 167 437 I 563 441 426 423

3. *Trade with the Hadhramaut.*—So far as we know there are, generally speaking, no trade relations between the Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies and the Hadhramaut. The only close contact with the Hadhramaut is through their families there; they regularly send money and other necessities for their maintenance. H 439 457 I 439

1:Ingra.. s G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Kenya FL 1
Tanganyika FN 1



H 167 K 167 It is a pity, he says, that for some years past almost all immigrants from Hadhramaut and Shihr have not been of the type that could be said to be of any economic value to the country. Many are professional beggars and almost all are of the type that only remain in the country to earn a few shillings and then return to their country.

H 167 457 K 167 Particularly undesirable temporary immigrants are the "Sheriffs."[1] These people visit the country once a year and besides collecting as much money as they can from their people, they are a positive danger inasmuch as they invariably foment discontent and ill-feeling between their own communities. Some settle down and live on others, doing no work themselves.

457 The families permanently settled here are loyal and law-abiding. They own property and keep their money in the country. There was a time when very good families used to immigrate to the country. The immigration of natives of Hadhramaut and Shihr dates back to the time when the Sultan of Zanzibar used to import them as soldiers guarding the Forts.

K 162 167 182 439 H 167 The District Commissioner of Lamu reports that the number of Hadhramis in the district is approximately 1,500. There does not appear to be any increase apart from the natural internal increase which is not very large. They find employment in most walks of life, particularly as cultivators and petty traders. They seem to be very hard working and ambitious and undertake most work with the object of eventually owning a small shop. They have no trade with the Hadhramaut. They coalesce readily with other members of the community and share the general life of the Arab population of Lamu. They are more recent arrivals in Lamu than the other Arabs but they exercise a definite influence on the community and are gradually becoming more and more prominent in the general life and institutions of Lamu. It is estimated that over 90 per cent. of them have permanently severed their connection with the Hadhramaut.

T 162 167 H 167 *Tanganyika Territory.*—There are said to be at present from 2,000 to 3,000 Hadhramis living in Tanganyika. They are scattered amongst the coastal towns of the Territory chiefly, and are mostly engaged in trade as small shopkeepers and sellers of dried fish, etc. A number of them intermarry with local Africans, but otherwise they do not coalesce with other members of the community.

186 H 167 186 So far as can be ascertained, only a very small proportion of them have permanently severed their connection with the Had-

[1] This probably refers to tithe collecting Seiyids as all the Prophet's descendants in the Hadhramaut are of the line of Hussein. It is interesting to note that they follow their flocks so far afield. I met a *mansab* of this nature in Seihut who had been to Mombasa.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1
Egypt MR1



1924 Census: Hadhrami population of Zanzibar by occupations.

| | Zanzibar Island. | Pemba Island. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| General Traders ... ... ... ... | 387 | 19 | 406 |
| Labourers ... ... ... ... ... | 203 | 5 | 208 |
| Water carriers ... ... ... ... | 200 | 5 | 205 |
| Private servants ... ... ... | 172 | 3 | 175 |
| No occupations ... ... ... ... | 112 | 13 | 125 |
| Other occupations ... ... ... | 56 | 6 | 62 |
| Government employees ... ... ... | 43 | 2 | 45 |
| Fishermen ... ... ... ... ... | 41 | 2 | 43 |
| Tailors ... ... ... ... ... | 37 | 4 | 41 |
| Cultivators ... ... ... ... | 2 | 25 | 27 |
| Landowners (clove and coconut properties only) ... ... ... ... ... | 16 | 7 | 23 |
| Masons ... ... ... ... ... | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Carpenters ... ... ... ... | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| Overseers ... ... ... ... | 8 | 1 | 9 |
| Sailors ... ... ... ... ... | 8 | — | 8 |
| Brokers ... ... ... ... ... | 6 | — | 6 |
| Gold and Silver Smiths ... ... | — | 3 | 3 |
| Weeders ... ... ... ... ... | — | 3 | 3 |
| | 1,300 | 108 | 1,408 |
| Females[1] ... ... ... ... ... | 443 | 97 | |
| Boys under 12 ... ... ... ... | 210 | 63 | |
| Girls under 12[1] ... ... ... ... | 139 | 46 | |
| | 2,092 | 314 | |
| Total for Protectorate ... | 2,406 | | |

[1] Probably almost entirely of mixed blood (see page 155).

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## HADHRAMIS IN EGYPT AND THE COUNTRIES BORDERING THE RED SEA.

*Egypt.*—Most of the Hadhramis in Egypt settled there over half a century ago, starting business in a very small way. Being by nature a prudent and thrifty race they gradually became successful merchants and accumulated fortunes. Formerly they were the only wholesale merchants in Egypt dealing in South Arabian produce.

It is estimated that there are between 400 and 500 Hadhramis in Egypt, including women and children. The community is rather smaller now than in the past. In Cairo the Hadhrami colony lives for the most part in the Gamaliya District near Sayedna El-Hussein Mosque. They are for the most part well-to-do people trading in the produce of Aden and the Hadhramaut, coffee from Yemen, and Syrian soap. The principal occupation is that of coffee or incense merchant. No Egyptian goods are exported by the community to the Hadhramaut, but sums of money representing profits and other

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Egypt MR1
Arab Sudan MQ1



E 162 surplus funds are remitted there annually. In this way the
H 167 members of the community maintain a very real connection with
457 their country of origin. A good deal of real property is owned by the community.

H 167 The number of heads of families resident in Cairo is estimated at from ten to twelve, mostly merchants. There are also about half a dozen students. The numbers are understood to have
E 162 decreased in recent years, as, owing to business depression, several of the merchants have returned to the Hadhramaut. There
167 appears to be no organisation of the community as such in Cairo, there having been no officially recognised Sheikh for many years. The members therefore tend to mingle with other Arabic-speaking communities and frequently marry Egyptian wives. The children of such marriages born in Egypt are naturally brought up in Egyptian ways and thus become scarcely distinguishable from Egyptians. But although they are much Egyptianised the Hadhramis in Egypt do not appear to be much concerned with political matters. Amongst others the al Kaf, Bazara, Baghafar and Banaga families are represented.

Hadhramis registered at the British Consulate General are as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of heads of families ... ... ... | 9 |
| Total number of children in these families ... | 11 |
| Total number of single men ... ... ... | 18 |

All the children were born in Cairo, and all the wives are of Egyptian origin, except one from the Hadhramaut and one from British Malaya.

The professions given include :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchant ... ... ... ... ... ... | 15 |
| Estate Manager ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Technical Student ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |

H 167 *Sudan.*—There does not appear to be an extensive Hadhrami community in the interior of the Sudan. It seems that there is only one in Khartoum who is permanently settled there and runs an eating house. In Omdurman there are two from the Hadhramaut and six from places like Nisab and Balhaf on the western borders of the Hadhramaut. In this small community there are representatives of all the professions undertaken by Hadhramis abroad. There is a merchant who lives on the rentals of his property, there are small traders and there is a porter. About a third of them have definitely severed their connection with the Hadhramaut.

AS 162 167 At Port Sudan there is an important Hadhrami merchant of the Safi family who has offices in Port Sudan and Suakin. The Acting Commissioner states that Colonies of Hadhramis exist at

H 167

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Arab Sudan MQ 1



Port Sudan, Suakin and Tokar, with small groups at Halaib, Akik and Karora. Approximate figures are as follows :— AS 162 167

| | |
|---|---|
| Port Sudan ... ... ... ... ... ... | 180 |
| Suakin ... ... ... ... ... ... | 228 |
| Tokar ... ... ... ... ... ... | 294 |
| Halaib ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| Akik ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 30 |
| Karora ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6 |
| | 742 |

H 167

They fall roughly into two categories, namely the permanently settled, who have been in these parts since the old days of Suakin, and have to all intents and purposes severed their connection with Hadhramaut, and the visitors, who normally spend about three years in the Sudan between visits of about a year's duration to their homes. The division between the categories is roughly half and half. In the towns, the Hadhramis are primarily shopkeepers or shop assistants. A few work as cooks, bakers and labourers, and in Tokar Delta many have taken up cultivation. Some have become allottees of Government land, that is virtually land owners. There are 37 of these. Others, numbering about 150, work as " nusf " cultivators, that is they work another's land in return for half the profits and hope in due course to become allottees themselves. AS 563 464 H 167

They do not coalesce to any noticeable degree with the local population. The settled Hadhramis principally intermarry among themselves, and show a small natural increase. The visitors occasionally intermarry with local inhabitants, principally the girls of the " Khasa ", that is the rank and file of the Beni Amer whose social status both before and after marriage is low. The majority either have wives in the Hadhramaut or are unmarried. There is a surprisingly large number of bachelors. None of the 30 residents of Akik is married. The visitors, therefore, as applications for entry to the Sudan are only granted very sparingly, show no noticeable increase. Relations with the Hadhramaut are virtually non-existent among the settled Hadhramis. The visitors, as stated, frequently visit their homes and many like to return and spend the evening of their days there. Commercial relations with the Hadhramaut are negligible if not non-existent. AS 563 H 167

The Hadhramis are an industrious and economical people and their profits, which are probably considerable, are taken out of the country[1] by those who return home. They do not use banks but hoard silver or (if they can get it) gold, and carry it out in this form. They are a quiet and law-abiding people and give little trouble to anybody. They are clannish in the extreme and never employ a native if they can find a fellow-countryman. They have a local reputation for meanness, in which respect they certainly H [457] 186 AS 563

1 [i.e., the Sudan -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Saudi Arabia MJ 1



number of Hadhramis are shopkeepers with the result that increasing numbers have elected to return home or emigrate to countries where prospects are somewhat brighter. SA 167 H 167

In normal circumstances a number of them are annually attracted to India and a greater number to the Straits Settlements and Dutch East Indies. A lesser but increasing number proceed to Massawa and Mogadisho.

The Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia are almost exclusively (*a*) shopkeepers, (*b*) merchants either in a big or small way, (*c*) money-changers and money-lenders, or (*d*) domestic servants. The shopkeepers are by far the most numerous and it can be said with a degree of accuracy that every other shop (usually stocking cigarettes, matches, spices, cereals, paraffin, etc.) is owned by a Hadhrami who somehow manages to live on next to nothing, and gradually, over a period of years, collects a sum of money which will enable him to return to the Hadhramaut and live in peace and comfort from three months to four years. After this period the Hadhrami will bestir himself and return to his occupation once again. In his absence, a brother, cousin, relative or fellow tribesman will act for him. H 167 457 SA 441

The merchant class is divided into two categories: (1) the big and well-to-do merchant with substantial capital, and (2) the smaller merchants with very limited capital. Category (1) with very few exceptions have taken up their abode permanently in Saudi Arabia. and for the most part have taken up Saudi nationality. This class generally invests its money in immovable property in Saudi Arabia. One Hadhrami in Jedda, for instance, owns about 120 houses, some of which are quite imposing buildings. Category (2) rarely take up their permanent abode in Saudi Arabia and do not change their nationality. They try to make a living in a small way, and, like the shopkeeper proceed on leave to the Hadhramaut when they have collected enough money for themselves and bought presents for their relatives. The Hadhrami money-lenders and money-changers did a roaring trade up to 1930 but the Government then stepped in and clipped their wings. A number of them went out of business and took up shopkeeping and trading. SA 441 SA [421]

The domestic servants are the poorest class. The domestic Hadhrami stays in Saudi Arabia from one to ten years. His wages are small, but like the shopkeeper he saves, scrapes and economises until he is in a position to proceed on furlough to the Hadhramaut. Some of the domestic servants are luckier but they are in the minority: if it should happen that they are employed by persons of means their future is well nigh assured. Their employers allow them to trade in a small way and eventually in the course of years they separate from their masters and set up on their own with quite a substantial capital. It occasionally happens that prominent Hadhramis are given official posts. During the Hashmite regime a Hadhrami (whose family is permanently domiciled in Saudi Arabia) was King Hussein's Minister of Finance. The Saudi Government SA 463 H 167 000

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

FIG. 22—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general attire, especially the sarong, which has been introduced by Hadhrami emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to provide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden



457 of money from the Far East—the basis of Hadramaut's economy—began to arrive to a certain extent, at least from Singapore. From Java and the Dutch possessions there, is, however, little hope as yet of any but very limited sums being released.

### HOUSING

342 The fixed population are housed for the main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees. The poorer sections live in mud-brick houses, one-storeyed stone huts and straw huts.

## Chapter 9: Law and Order

### JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts are of two kinds: (*a*) Shari'a Courts (which administers the Shari'a or Quranic Law), and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Shari'a Courts.

798 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate there has been a revival of religious intolerance. A most unfortunate development in Mukalla during the year was the formation of a religious committee whose activities have been something between those of a vigilance committee and the inquisition. It selects those whom it considers have committed offences against Islam, condemns them and sentences them. The local Government carries out its sentences and there is no appeal. This being a matter of religion, the [643] Resident Adviser has under the treaty no power to interfere. Hadramaut has never been the home of religious tolerance, but it was hoped that the fires of fanaticism were dying.

### GOVERNMENT GUARDS

*Strength*

704 The force of Government Guards operates in the Western Aden Protectorate. The most outstanding event for the Government Guards 712 in 1947 was the transfer of the Headquarters from the Hindu garden in Sheikh Othman to the Champion Lines, Khormaksar, in the early part of the year.

The task of adapting the camp to meet the needs of this force was not completed for several months, but in its present form provides ample living and store accommodation for the approved establishment which has now been brought up to full strength.

*Tribal Guards*

The arrival of the Depot Officer in May has permitted the calling in of Tribal Guard units for training in drill and musketry, and up to

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



(B) EXPORTS

| No. | Commodity | No. of packages | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Tobacco, native | 13,236 bdls. | 16,858 cwt. | 8,93,650 |
| 2. | Honey in comb | — | 5,200 lb. | 5,6001 |
| 3. | " cleaned | — | 1,020 " | 2,550 |
| 4. | Dates, country | — | 900 " | 220 |
| 5. | Lime | 3,879 bags | 4,000 cwt. | 15,500 |
| 6. | Sheep and Goats' skins, tanned | — | 10 scores | 1,000 |
| 7. | Dried lemons | 229 bdls. | 581 cwt. | 33,000 |
| 8. | Fish oil | 17,049 tins | 68,105 gln. | 1,27,860 |
| 9. | Miscellaneous | — | — | 2,93,380 |
| | | | TOTAL | 13,82,760 |

# Chapter 7: Agriculture and Fisheries

## AGRICULTURE

In 1948 farming conditions were generally poor in the Aden Protectorate. 241
Conditions of 1947 were reversed in the areas west of the Bana river, 132
which had a poor 1947 season, received fair rainfall and flood conditions, 731
while east of the Bana erratic and poor rainfall over large areas reduced 457
food production to a low level. This was particularly true of the Hadhramaut and other eastern districts where complete drought returned to the country, causing famine conditions to reappear at the end of the year. The shortage of food was accentuated in those areas where the economy of the country is largely dependent on remittances from abroad. Famine appeared particularly in the Wadi Amd and in Rakhya, where food production is not secured by any irrigation from underground supplies, but is dependent entirely on rain and runoff control. These districts are also partly dependent on remittances from Hyderabad and became particularly affected when India invaded Hyderabad, and currency decrees in Hyderabad cut off the flow of remittances. The scarcity of food was further aggra- [439]
vated by the ban on exports of grain from the Yemen.

*Staff*

The technical staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a 647
Director, two Agricultural Officers (to be increased to four), an Agricul- 242
tural Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors.

The Abyan Development Scheme has the part-time services of an Irrigation Adviser.

*Rainfall Crop and Livestock Conditions*

In the districts west of the Bana river *saif* rains were fair, particularly 312
in the highland areas. East of the Bana river *saif* conditions were poor in many districts, but in Beihan conditions were good and the Wadi ran no less than eleven floods. Most of this water was from the runoff of

565 Seiyids do not carry arms,[1] nor have they troops to support
554 them, so that instead of relying on the sanction of arms to main-
461 tain their authority they rely on their descent from the Prophet and the reverence which is given to them on account of their ancestry. They are extremely jealous of their privileges as Seiyids; realizing that their influence depends on the respect shown to them, they adhere keenly to such customs as the kissing of their hands and avoid any form of manual labour. They are usually comparatively well educated, and exercise influence on this account.

OOO Some years ago a movement started in the East Indies to restrict the power of the Seiyids. It is said to have had its origin in a squabble over a school, but its roots were deeply set in the growing contact of the Hadhrami immigrants with western influence which produced a liberal class keen on modernisation. The Seiyids were innately conservative and mistrusted the encroachment of western civilization. It cannot be said that the struggle between the church and the laity is yet over, but it is apparent that the victory will ultimately be with liberal tendencies rather than diehard conservatism. According to most accounts the 'Irshadis, as the rebels against ecclesiastical predominance termed themselves, never set up actual organizations in the Hadhramaut itself, but there is no doubt that their tenets have made considerable headway there.

565 In Qu'aiti territory the influence of the Seiyids has officially gone.
554 They are not allowed to interfere in politics though they are given respect for their descent. As long as the majority of them adhere to their mediaeval ecclesiasticism it is clearly right that they should be out of power. Unofficially, however, some of the best of them still play an important and indeed essential part in those districts not yet under direct Government control. In Kathīri territory they have more influence, but the leading families have moved with the advancing tide of progress, allied themselves with the forces of law and order, and are amongst the keenest advocates of modern methods in the country.

### Sheikhs.

793 Before the advent of Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa in the ninth century
565 and the gradual growth of the religious influence of the Seiyids,
554 the Sheikhs were the principal ecclesiastical influence in the country.
162 They probably took the place of an earlier ecclesiastical hierarchy formed by the priesthood of the old religion. Though they definitely take precedence after the Seiyids, they resemble them in that they exercise much the same privileges. Like them, they are a very much respected class, are better educated than the tribesmen, and do not as a rule bear arms.

565 The principal families are: Al 'Amūdi living in Du'an, Āl Is-hāq,
162 Āl Bā Wazīr living at Gheil, Wadi al 'Ain, and other places, Bā

[1] There are in fact a few families of Seiyids who do carry arms and are indistinguishable from Beduins.

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended [5]) for the carpenter (nadjdjār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥaśwān of the Āl Bā Ḥaśwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two [6]. One says for instance, Dī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah [7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee [8]. The people of the Quarter [9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian tašt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥakk al-salīṭ, ḥakk al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. Andree, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers*, *Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍrami coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my article in *Le Muséon* cited above.

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



535 466 fall out with him, or find that he is not doing his work properly, 461 you give him ḳuṣū'ah, and then dismiss him. Unless you do so, 467 you will find that another carpenter will not come and work for you. If you tried to employ a different carpenter the latter would ask about the first carpenter and make sure that he obtained his ḳuṣū'ah before he left you. The Bā Sumbul (or Sumbil) who make 324 stone querns, pestles, and work stone of all kinds, and the Baḳḳārah 463 (cattlemen, ploughmen) will not allow you to change the particular 461 member of their group who works for you at all. The only exception 467 made is if you have had to dismiss the man you were employing, for laziness, incompetence, or disobedience; then you inform the next man you wish to employ of your reason for dismissing his predecessor. The new employee in turn ascertains from the man you have just dismissed that what you say is true, and if your case is just, he will come and work for you. This system is however [538] confined to the two classes last mentioned only. The poet 'Askūl says : —

Wa'rdja' takhabbar 'ala 'l-waḳḳār
Lī šāll mawḳaruh li-'l-aḥdjār
Bā Šumbil illī yabī' al-sufūn.

Come ask about the stone worker
Who to the stones bears his hammer
Ba Sumbil who sells column-drums.

This faḥīdah of the Bā Sumbil has the moropoly in making stones for columns (safan), pestles (ḳuṣrah), etc. They live in the suburb known as 'Aidīd. They do not allow any one else to carry on this work, and I am informed that they can even take people to court for infringing on their monopoly. The Baḳḳārah too have a similar monopoly in their profession.

467 As evidence of the power of the guilds of workmen in Tārīm 466 the following incident is relevant. Some time before the advent of the British to Ḥaḍramawt, the Sultans of Tarīm, some of the wealthier saiyids, and others who were then constructing the large palaces for which it is famous, determined to lower the wages of the builders there. So they brought them together, and told them that they had resolved to make a reduction (nuḳṣān) in their wages. The builders refused. The Kathīrī Sultan however, consenting that

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes:—

"The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

"Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

"Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

## Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [258] [582] [270]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

462 roaming far afield in search of water and pasture. They work in the fields, milk the animals (with the exception, in some cases, of camels), gather the firewood, and fetch the water. They are not [562] so careful to keep themselves veiled, finding it sufficient to draw their head cloths in front of their mouths. If she belongs to a nomadic tribe a woman will follow her husband in his search for grazing, carrying the household utensils, usually one large saucepan, on her head and the baby on her back. Only very occasionally do the women emigrate with their husbands, but we travelled with such a family on the start of their journey to Zanzibar to seek a fortune.

562 The remaining women are those of the poor townspeople, the 462 female servants, slaves, or Subians. The last two are least particular about veiling. The others, no matter how poor, will always cover at least the lower part of their faces. Toil is the portion of all of them: they labour in the gardens, help the men and animals to draw water from the wells, and in many towns they are the [482] principal water carriers, bearing their burden in skins slung across their backs. The servants and slave women in well-to-do houses lead an easier existence. They cook the food, do such cleaning as is ever done, and fetch and carry for the ladies of the household. Slaves may be taken as concubines, but find their husbands among their own class. They are much favoured, being brought up as members of the family, and, like many privileged retainers, usually become somewhat outspoken and domineering in their old age.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PRODUCTION AND RESOURCES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

311 The natural resources of the Hadhramaut, such as they are, are principally agricultural. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize that only a very small proportion of the total area of the country, [131] which may amount to 35,000 or 40,000 square miles, is suitable for the growing of crops. As a general rule only wadis can be so used and the bulk of the land surface consists of the barren rock of mountains and steppes.

### Tobacco.

249 The principal crop of economic importance is the well-known 438 Hamumi tobacco, and Gheil ba Wazir is the principal centre where it is grown. Practically speaking the production in that place is 655 entirely Government-directed and all the land is State land.

The nurseries are situated about three miles from Gheil at Al 312 Quf. Here there is an apparently inexhaustible, somewhat brackish, water supply at depths to about 30 feet from the surface. There are three deep pools which are tapped by subterranean channels for Gheil and Al Harth, the source of the Gheil water supply being called Humat al Farath, and that for Al Harth being called Humat al Harth. Along the line of channels from these pools there are

Jābir living below Shibam, Āl Bā Sūdān at Du'an, Bā Humeid at Madūda and Seiyun, Āl Bureik at Shabwa, Bā Khatib at Tarim, Bā Wa'l at Tarim, and Āl Bā 'Umar at 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn. 565 162

YAFA'IS.

The Yafa'is are the *'asākir* or soldiers and the actual rulers of Qu'aiti territory. Their introduction as mercenaries, described in the historical chapters, has led to the foundation of two dynasties, that of the Kasadis of Lower Yafa' and that of the Qu'aitis who drove out the Kasadis. The places in which some of the Yafa'is live will appear later when the inhabitants of the various provinces of Qu'aiti territory are enumerated. I have also given in an appendix a list of the various Yafa'i tribes with their sections, strength and situation. 565 162 463

The Qu'aiti dynasty springs from a section of the Mausata tribe and is historically quite recent. Although the Sultan and his relations have had no personal contacts with their country they exercise some influence in Upper Yafa', and the Yafa'i connection is still a live one, as a great many Upper Yafa'is regularly go to the Hadhramaut to take service in the Qu'aiti forces, returning after a few years to their own country. Other Yafa'is have become settled in the Hadhramaut and form a powerful party on whom the Qu'aiti could depend in the case of disturbances. [73]

The following are amongst Yafa'i tribes and sections represented in the Hadhramaut, the sections being shown in brackets after each tribe: Adh Dhubi (Al Mosilli, Al Kasadi, Ash Shanāthira, Al Jahāwisha), Al Bu'si (Al Gharama, Az Zaghālida, Al Homām, Al Mattash), Al Mausata (Ar Robak, Āl Yazid. Āl Batati). 565 162

TRIBESMEN.

The history of the tribes of the Hadhramaut has been, generally speaking, sufficiently indicated in the historical instruction, and their location and strength will be dealt with in the description of the various provinces. 600

There are only four words used in the Hadhramaut for the nomenclature of the divisions of a tribe. *Az Zei* is a confederation of tribes with a single leader. There are only three *Zeis* in the Hadhramaut, the Seibani, the Nūwah, and the Hamumi. The Shenafir Confederation is not a *Zei*, for while the leaders of the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris are Sultans, they do not head the whole confederation of tribes. A tribe, *Qabila*, is sub-divided into a *Beit*, and a *Beit* into a *Fara'*. I cannot claim any particular merit for the divisions I have used, namely, Tribe, Clan, Section, and Sub-section, except that by using the word Clan I have avoided the clumsy term sub-sub-section which I found used in some statements of the other tribes of the Protectorate. 619 565 162 621

The Hadhrami tribesmen, like those of the rest of the Protectorate, are extremely conservative and "never depart from their tribal customs." Most of them are nomads moving over their areas 181 560

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
463 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a
577 pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on
behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks
refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and
not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are
payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man
kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own
death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated,
a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kins-
folk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a
charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves
with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods
or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are
never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father
had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a
claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western.
There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible
that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be,
as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western
neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood,
sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more
reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

### TOWNSMEN.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
and the following are the principal families.

[173] *In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

*In Seiyun:* Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

1/[The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

567 I never heard a suggestion ~~from masters~~ or slaves that they were anything but exceedingly well treated. They include principally the *Nizam*, the most trusted part of the forces of the Qu'aiti and Kathīri, and receive very exceptional treatment compared with other servants of the State. They can rise to the highest positions, and the present Governor of the Shibam province is a slave. I also met a slave Governor of the town of Hajarein in the Du'an province, and I believe there are others. The town magistrate of Mukalla is also a slave. The young slaves belonging to the Mukalla Government are given especial care and training, and are formed into companies of cadets. They gave us a very creditable drill display in Mukalla.

It is possible that there may be a very occasional case of slave trading, and some women may have been introduced in recent years to the main valley, but this is not done with the approval or cognizance of the Mukalla Government.

### SUBIANS.

565 The Subians form definitely the lowest class of the population.
162 Some of them are agricultural labourers receiving wages or paid
in kind, and there are settlements of them outside coastal towns like
●413 Mukalla and Shihr. When they are settled next door to a town they do the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and perform such sanitary services as are carried out by sweepers in other eastern countries.

565 I was informed that the word "*Subian*" comes from "*Sabi*",
173 a boy. In the Hadhramaut they originate from the Wadi Hajr, and for this reason in the western part of the Protectorate are known as Hajris. They are said to be the descendants of the Abyssinian invaders of the third to sixth centuries A.D., and to have been reduced to their present lowly estate after the Abyssinians had been routed by the Persians on the intervention of Seif bin Dhi Yazan. This is the tale told in the Hadhramaut, and d'Arnaud recounts a similar story as the origin of the Khadims of Yemen
[608] and Aden. Neither slaves nor Subians can be the subjects of blood feuds.

### Immigration.

167 Apart from these classes of the population, there are a number of immigrants settled, or partially settled, in the country. There are 300 British Indians in Mukalla and Shihr, and a few British Somalis. There are also some Italian Somalis. The total number of Somalis in the country is said to be about 1,200, of whom 1,000 reside in Mukalla. Owing to extensive migration to the East Indies,
[144] which will be further described later in the report, there has been a considerable infiltration of Malayan blood, and very East Indian types of countenances are to be observed in some of the up-country towns. The type is not uncommon in Tarim and Seiyun, but I found it very marked in the towns of Badra and Haura.

631
121
619

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nahd Āl Maqārīm | — | Diyār al Maqārīm | 30 |
| | Āl Tāhir | Bā Hasān | 20 |
| | Āl Muhanna | Al Juwa | 20 |
| | Āl Nuheid | Ash Shi'b | 30 |
| | do. | Mad-har | 40 |
| | Āl Muhammad bin 'Āmr. | 'Uneibida and Zukeika | 50 |
| | Āl Kuleib | Manwab and Al Ghatāa | 70 |
| | Āl Bedr Muhammad | Manwab and Al Ghatāa | 40 |
| | Āl Rabbā' | Sadba | 50–70 |
| | do. | Badra, Al 'Ardh, Sirāj, Diyār Āl Nāsir. | 160 |
| | Āl Makhāshin | Al 'Ardh, 'Arūdh al Makhāshin. | 70 |
| | Āl 'Umar bin Ja'far (Sultans). | Al 'Ajlānia | 17–30 |
| | Āl Najjar 4 sections. | — | — |
| Bā Bekr | | | |
| Āl Hukman | | | |
| Āl Shabbal | | | |
| Āl Hatra | | | |
| | | | 2,087–2,160 |

The Nahd live on the left bank of the Wadi Hadhramaut starting from a point opposite the confluence of the Wadis Du'an and 'Amd due north of Haura. They are Qahtanis and claim descent from Kinda. Ibn Khaldun states that the Beni Nahd are derived from Qudha'ā and that they settled in Yemen in the neighbourhood of the Beni Khath'am. He says they are like wild beasts and that the vulgar call them *As Sarwa*. Most of them are a mixed race, partly descended from the Beni Khath'am and Bajīla. Hamdani, who calls the Nahd a sub-tribe of the Beni 'Ans, mentions the Beni Harām as being the principal sub-division of the Beni Nahd.

The Nahd generally are usually on bad terms with the Sei'ar, though the latter visit their markets in the main wadi. Some of the Nahd are allied to the Qu'aitis and some to the Kathīris. The Qu'aiti has an "A" agreement with the Āl Makhāshin and "B"[1] agreements with the Āl Bā Bakr and the Nahd Rōdhān, though the former are also claimed as allies and followers of the Kathīris.

619 The majority of the tribe are agriculturists and grow dates,
631 jowari, and some wheat. The Nahd Dhulfan, whose country is mostly arid and cultivated only after rainfall, live principally by
● [463] selling firewood and stones in Qu'aiti towns. About three-quarters of the Nahd al Maqārīm are agriculturists and many of them grow
241 wheat on well irrigation; the rest of the clan are Beduins who rear camels and sheep. The Āl Kuleib and Āl Nuheid, who are poor, possess little more than a few date trees; they sell firewood and
000 other things in the Qu'aiti towns. The Āl Makhāshin are settled

1 [See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
[Straits Settlements] Malaya AN1


H 167 12,000 at 50, and more than 12,000 at 15. To-day the estimated number of the community in Singapore is 580, made up as follows :—

M 162 167

| Born in Hadhramaut | | Born in Singapore. | | Children above 10 years say |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. | |
| 120 | 20 | 160 | 180 | 100 |

M [163] The females born in Singapore are of mixed race with Arab, Malay, Javanese, Bugis, and Chinese blood. It may be presumed that this remark applies to some of the males born in Singapore and most of the children.

H 167 ●463 M 162 167 563 The number of Hadhramaut Arabs in Singapore to-day is about 10 per cent. less than in 1925. This reduction is attributed chiefly to the slump which caused some members of the community formerly resident in Singapore to move to neighbouring countries, and principally Java. The Hadhramis in Singapore are principally occupied as

1. House, land, and estate proprietors.
2. Kain Batik (cloth) dealers.
3. Miscellaneous professions including importers of merchandise from Arabia.
4. Brokers.
5. Religious teachers and *Imams*.

M 563 H 167 The community for its size is the wealthiest in Singapore owing to its large holdings in house, land, and estate property. Lee Warner (Geographical Journal, March 1931) says that "whole streets in Singapore and Penang are owned by wealthy Hadhramis, mainly of the Kathiri tribes." The community, probably owing to the religious objection to interest, invests its profits in land and house property.

The 13 principal individuals or families represented in Singapore own property valued at 21,800,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to about £2,544,000. Out of this amount the wealth of one family is estimated alone at 10,000,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to nearly £1,170,000. Two other fortunes also run into millions of dollars.

M 439 H 439 Trade with the Hadhramaut, or more accurately with Arabia, is not carried on on a large scale. It is confined to: *Exports:* cloth (Kain Batik), sandalwood, incense, crockery, and brassware. *Imports:* ghee, honey, Arab incense, native medicines and herbs, rosaries, and Arab coffee.

M 563 H 186 Regarding the part played by the Hadhramis in local affairs the information given is that the Hadhrami-born element does not take much interest in local social life or politics, but confines itself to its own groups. These people are conservative, good business men, respectable, dignified, and patriotic to their own country of origin and law-abiding to their country of adoption. They confine their interests to money making and religious exercises and maintain

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



In 1876 the Hadhramis were described (Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa*) as being the largest slave holders in Zanzibar and it is stated that they were entirely dependent upon them for their livelihood. It was, in fact, amongst the slaves in the household of a Hadhrami living in the quarter of Malindi that the great cholera epidemic, which subsequently swept over the island and thence to East Africa, began in 1869. H 567

But it was not only in trading that the Hadhramis occupied themselves. From at least the first half of the nineteenth century until comparatively recent times many of them entered the service of the Sultans as soldiers and Government officials (especially treasurers, clerks, Liwalis and Qadhis). Guillain, writing in 1856, says that the Sultan maintained a fairly large number of Hadhramis in the garrisons of Africa and Omān, while in 1877, at the time when Lieutenant (later General) Lloyd Matthews was called in by Sultan Seiyid Barghash to reorganise his army, the Seiyid's forces consisted almost entirely of Persians and Hadhramis (Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*, 1905). In modern times the Hadhramis have maintained their reputation as soldiers, for a large number from Zanzibar joined the Arab Rifles during the Great War. Guillain also mentions that Hadhramis were very largely employed as porters ("*hamalis*") and estimated their floating population in Zanzibar at three or four hundred. In addition, Shihiris were employed for many years as captains and officers in the Sultans' ships. H 463 701 Z 701 463

**Vital Statistics.**

The 1931 Census gives the total Hadhrami[1] population of the Protectorate as 2,797 made up as follows :— Z 162 167 H 167

| | *Zanzibar Island.* | *Pemba Island.* |
|---|---|---|
| Zanzibar Town and Native Quarter | 1,313 | 1,333 |
| Districts ... ... ... ... | 151 | |
| | 1,464 | 1,333 |
| Total for Protectorate ... ... ... | | 2,797 |

Of the population in the Island of Zanzibar, 621 are recorded as having been born in the Protectorate and 843 elsewhere. Corresponding figures for the Island of Pemba are not given. It seems clear, however, that the returns are inaccurate for, by common consent, it is not likely that the population in Pemba exceeded two or three hundred (see also 1924 Census, in the Appendix to this note). It should be remembered that as their women rarely emigrate, Hadhramis who settle in the islands mostly marry local

[1] Both in the 1924 and the 1931 Census Reports the only relevant classifications used are "Arabs" and "Shihiris." As, however, the term "Shihiri" when used in Zanzibar frequently denotes the up-country native as well as the coastal inhabitant, it is assumed that the term, as used in the Reports, includes all natives of the Hadhramaut.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



## Trade and Occupations.

In the Appendix to this note will be found statistics in regard to the trade between Zanzibar and Aden during the years 1932-4. No separate record is kept in respect of the merchandise with which these notes are mainly concerned (i.e., merchandise transported by Hadhramis themselves in dhows), but the following table furnished by the Comptroller of Customs gives a very rough estimate :— H 439

| *Imports.* | Per cent. | *Exports.* | Per cent. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fish, dried ... ... | 90 | Clove and clove stems ... | 20 |
| Ghee ... ... ... | 100 | Coconuts ... ... | 100 |
| Salt ... ... ... | 75 | Simsim (re-export) ... | 95 |
| Tobacco, native ... | 50 | Coconut oil ... ... | 100 |
| Cotton manufactures ... | 60 | Iron and Steel manufactures ... ... | 100 |
| Medicines ... ... | 100 | | |
| Sugar ... ... ... | 100 | | |
| Colour materials ... | 100 | | |

As, however, it is understood that most of the dhows plying between Zanzibar and the Hadhramaut enter and leave the ports of Mukalla, Seihut and Shihr (imports and exports in respect of which are presumably included under the separate and general head "Arabia") without touching the port of Aden, the foregoing information can be of little value.

It may be said generally, however, that the non-settled elements of the Hadhrami population, who move backwards and forwards between their homes and the Protectorate for the purpose of trading, bring with them, when they arrive in the north-east monsoon, such articles as clothes (loin cloths, etc.), honey, henna, dried fish, salt, ghee, livestock, dates and shark oil (sifa), some of which are obtained en route on the Somaliland coast. A number of the visitors, having disposed of their goods, return to the Hadhramaut a few months later in the south-west monsoon taking with them locally grown millet; others, finding employment, stay on for two or three years or more until they have accumulated sufficient money—two or three hundred rupees or so—to return to their homes. H 166 438

The latest Zanzibar Census (1931) does not include statistics in regard to the occupation of the people, but the directions in which the Hadhramis find employment are indicated in the 1924 Census, relevant extracts from which are contained in the Appendix to this note. It will be observed that the commonest occupations were the following, in the order mentioned: General traders, labourers, water carriers, private servants (no occupation), other occupations, Government employees, fishermen, and gold and silversmiths. Included in the list are of course the Hadhrami coolies, stevedores, H 167 463 Z 463

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



H 167 463 Z 463

coffee-shop and small store keepers, and itinerant coffee vendors who are so much in evidence, while particular mention should also be made of the shark and dried fish dealers, the dealers in baskets (*vikapo*) and mats (*majamvi* and *makanda*), and those engaged in the meat trade between Zanzibar and the African mainland ports (especially Kismayu, Lamu and Dar-es-Salaam), in all of which occupations the Hadhramis have almost a monopoly. It is of interest to notice here that the meat trade was almost exclusively in the hands of the Hadhramis as long ago as 1876 (Christie). Fishing and hawking are practised by the Shihiris alone, while basket and mat making is confined to the up-country natives. Fitzgerald writing in 1898 (*Travels in B.E.A., Zanzibar and Pemba*), states that the making of mats (*makanda*), which were used for the exporting of grain, was confined to the Shihiris and the Gunias (Bajunis).

Although, formerly, the Hadhramis owned many clove and coconut plantations and much house property in the Town of Zanzibar, they now have little property of either kind. It is probable that much of it has passed into the hands of Indians.

## Political and Social.

Z 162 579 563 H 167 579

Absorbed in trade and the accumulation of money, the members of the Hadhrami community are comparatively indifferent to politics and are therefore not important factors in the political life of the Protectorate. Although hot-tempered by nature, they are as a rule law-abiding and loyal, giving little trouble to Government and seldom appearing in the Courts. During the years 1923 to 1928, however, a series of affrays occurred in most, if not all, of which the Hadhramis are known to have been the aggressors. The victims of their attacks were successively the Baluchis, the Khoja and Hindu Indians, and the Muscat and Suri Arabs. The last and most serious disturbance occurred in 1928 when fighting between the Hadhramis and the Omani Arabs continued intermittently for four days during the course of which four persons were killed and some 30 wounded. Nasir bin 'Abdulla al Kathīri,[1] the chief ringleader, and others were subsequently deported. There has been no further trouble.

In 1926 a split occurred in the community, the majority following Nasir bin 'Abdulla (Hadhrami, see above) and the minority Sa'id 'Abūd al Humeid (Shihiri). The rival factions were only prevented from coming to blows by the intervention of the Sultan.

[1] Nasir 'Abdulla is an example of a Hadhrami who emigrates to more than one of the people's favourite hunting grounds abroad. After he and his deported companions had appealed, with the support of His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan, but unsuccessfully, against their removal from Zanzibar he migrated to Java, whither migrating Kathiris mostly direct their steps, and returned to Mukalla in December, 1934. He has now gone back to his tribe.

Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



693 tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had
671 touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt
577 or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's
626 own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

565 This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and
631 tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

565 We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past
463 incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will
465 therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of
421 those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The
792 Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

421 Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of
565 the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

565 Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen
144 and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

565 Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class.
463 The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



do not remain for any length of time on one plot of land, but take up all kinds of casual labour as well as farm labour. Among such one may find carpenters, gunsmiths, builders and tradesmen. The manufacture of indigo dye, with which the Mushreqi tribesman dyes himself and his clothes, and the sale of indigo-dyed cotton is, to a large extent, in their hands. Large families of this class are to be found throughout the territory in the market towns. Unlike the Raya, they do not bear arms.

The Heiq class is almost indistinguishable from the Dha'if, but there is a distinction in that the Heiq can be described as the lower third of the Dha'if class. That is, that the whole class of artisans and casual labourers can be described, in a generalization, as Dha'if, but the poorer, unskilled casual labourer is of the Heiq class. As an example, a rich shopkeeper is Dha'if, but, because of his possessions, is not Heiq. It is not a very important distinction. Dha'if in Arabic means "weak." I am unable to discover the derivation of Heiq, but we can take it to mean "of low quality."

The Asakar, or hired soldier class, are a class in themselves. They are of two kinds—freed slaves still in the service of their master and tribesmen who have lost their lands and their status and entered the service of their Chief. Once this happens to a tribesman, he or his descendants can never return again to the status of tribesmen, but remain ever afterwards Askari, whether they still serve master or not. They have dropped below the aristocratic classes and can no longer intermarry with tribesmen. I have heard of no exceptions to this hard rule.

The next class is that of the Doshan, plural Doashin. I can find no derivation to the name. They are of two kinds—wandering singers and dancers, and settled singing-men who have attached themselves to a particular tribe. Their origin is a mystery. The wanderings ones, who give the most dismal performances of what they call dancing, can always be driven out of camp. It is best, however, to be polite to the settled ones. They are skilled versifiers, and those who treat them with contempt must submit afterwards to unmerciful lampooning. On public holidays in up-country towns one of them frequently appoints himself as Amir Al 'Id, or "Amir of the Holiday." Supported by his friends and anyone who wants some fun, he calls upon the local Chief and demands a present and entertainment. This the Chief refuses, and receives an ultimatum challenging him to war in a few minutes. The war which ensues is conducted for the most part with fireworks, blank ammunition, water and balls of dung. The Chief's fort is the centre of attack. Eventually the Chief will ask for a truce, ambassadors are exchanged and all ends in an entertainment and a present to the "Amir." At other times they will institute rhyming competitions, or will compose and sing long Qasidas on the local political situation. Some of these settled Doashin become men of mark, but they have, for all their poems and lampoons, little effect on tribal policy and no say whatever in tribal affairs.

Slaves need no introduction. The slave trade in the south is dead, but the descendants of Abyssinian slaves still serve their original masters. It would be absurd to free them; they are completely free, but slavery is their only niche in the community. Take that away and they would be homeless and workless. As in the rest of Arabia, except the Zeidi Yemen,

behind it, and not the high mountains of the Yemen. Its height above the sea-level nowhere exceeds 6,000 feet and is generally not more than 3,500. It has therefore no regular rainfall. 133

Then, as regards treaties, while the W.A.P. has a total of about thirty-five chiefs in direct relation with His Majesty's Government, the E.A.P. has only seven, of which one, the Kathiri, is comparatively recent. The reason is that in the E.A.P. all that was required was to keep foreign powers off the coast. All the six original treaties with E.A.P. rulers were with coastal chiefs. Starting from the west, 'Irqa and Haura are only small villages. The two Wahidi Sultans come next, then the Qu'aiti, the largest of them all, whose state to-day covers some 50,000 square miles, and then the Mahra, which includes Socotra Island. While the W.A.P. is historically part of the Yemen, and has now a new and natural capital in Aden which supplies it with all its requirements, the E.A.P. is historically and geographically detached and has a local commercial capital in Mukalla, but looks to India, Singapore, and Java for its cultural and social contacts. 648

The Hadhramaut is historically and geographically a country in itself, and consists of the Wahidi Sultanates, with the two little Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, which are really ports in the country of the Dhiyeibi tribe, who are a Wahidi tribe, and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. I propose not to say anything more of the Mahra country because as yet little is known about it, though in the last year or two more has been learnt of Socotra. 101

You will have gathered, I think, that, owing to its desert nature and lack of rainfall, the prospects of the development of agriculture in the Hadhramaut are not very promising, and as the various explorations that have taken place to date have not discovered any mineral resources, it does not look as though the economic future is very bright. The best agricultural areas are Gheil Ba Wazir, on the coast, where Hamumi tobacco is very successfully grown, and this brings in a revenue of about Rs. 200,000 a year to the state, and Meifa, in which conditions have been considerably improved in the last few years and where some further development is possible. It was hoped that the alluvial silt of the Wadi Hadhramaut would prove a fertile area for wide development if water could be found, but experiment has shown that it is largely brackish and, bearing in mind the desert surroundings, it is probable that any further supplies of water which boring might discover would not be sufficient to wash out the salt. It is unfortunate, too, that the bulk of the population, the seiyids and tribesmen, do not take to working on the land themselves, as do the tribesmen of the W.A.P., but rely on dhafa, a class of poor townsmen who are almost in the position of serfs. These dhafa lived by building the palaces of the rich and working their wells, but the fall of Singapore and Java cut off the supplies of money from the Far East so that the rich could no longer maintain them. The beduin had lived by carrying supplies from the coast to the interior, but with the falling off of imports they too suffered. On top of this catastrophe there was a seven-year drought from 1937 to 1944, which meant the loss of crops, flocks, and 50 per cent. of the working camels, so that between the difficulties of 241 311 565 463 731

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



484 438 [463 512] passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

361 438 529 Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the [504] principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

619 438 Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

487 101 438 142 When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan [244] Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 In Ṭarīm many houses belonging to the wealthy saiyids seem
552 to have a name chosen by the owner, and Saiyid 'Umar b. Šaiḫ
174 Āl Kāf, our neighbour in Tarīm, called his house al-'Iššah, or 'the
212 nest', but others seem to be called after the name ot the locality, or as the Ḥaḍramī says, after the name of the well, such as the house Ḥamṭūṭ, our neighbour to the east. Houses in Tarīm often have chronograms over the door, generally some pious phrase, worked in the plaster and painted. In Šibām the Maṣna'ah or fort has inscriptions, including dates, in the woodwork. I am convinced that herein lies the explanation of why so very few pre-Islamic and early Islamic inscriptions have been found in Ḥaḍramawt. On dams, on buildings, even in the mosques, the inscriptions which today record the foundation, or repairs effected to a construction, are all drawn in the plaster. The only two Kufic inscriptions I saw in Ḥaḍramawt were on the grave-stones at Ḳabr Nabī Allāh Hūd, and the strange shrine of Mawlā Maṭar. Pre-Islamic stone inscriptions will of course be discovered when excavation is made in the mud mounds which represent the ancient towns and villages of the country.

782 The sacrificial rites described here are probably general to South-
342 West Arabia. (In the Ṣubaiḥī village of Am-Fadjarah, west of Aden I came across very similar practices. A ewe (ġanamah) was slaughtered at the foundation (sās). In the space under the stairs called ḳuṭb, when it was made, another was slaughtered, and on completion of the building a third ewe, called the iklīl or 'crown', was also immolated. As the occupier of the house in question I was asked to defray the cost of these. This is some hundreds of miles from Ḥaḍramawt.) Comparisons with ritual in the ancient world may be made by scholars.

463 According to my early notes in Tarīm, every craft seems to
342 have different categories of workmen, perhaps graded, but I did not explore this possibility. A fully trained craftsman is called a mu'allim, and if you want to have a house built, you go to the mu'allim. Tarīm once had fifty to sixty mu'allims, but now (1947) there are probably only about thirty. Other categories are, the musawwis who builds the dry stone foundation of your house, and the bānī who builds with the clay bricks (madar) and clay (ṭīn). A bānī in Ḥaḍramawt is also a potter (syn. in Yemen, maddār). I heard of an architect in Tarīm who bore the name 'Umar Ya'mur

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



which is interesting, because the name for a builder in other parts of South-West Arabia is 'ammār (verb, 'ammar yi'ammir).

When you start to put the first clay brick (madrah) on the stone foundation of your house, you slaughter a sheep or two, or more if you are a rich man. You invite one of the Ṣāliḥīn (pious) such as a saiyid or manṣab to lay the first madrah; a cermony is made out of the entire proceeding, and an entertainment given known as the ḍiyāfah of the laying of the brick (ṭarḥ al-madrah). A sheep is slaughtered on one of the corners (ḫuṯm pl. ḫiṯam), probably the first to be completed. You then take the sheep's head and lay it on each corner for about a minute or so, in order that the blood may be scattered on each corner. This is done to stop the Djinn from entering the house. Sometimes, if you are slaughtering two head of sheep, you kill on one ḫuṯm and anoint a second, then you kill again, and blood the remaining two. If it is a large house like al-Munaiṣūrah, the Āl Yaḥyā house in which we were living, one may slaughter eight to ten sheep. A photograph of the sās of a house building in Daw'an stained with the blood of a sacrifice is shown by Ingrams [1].

As the sheep is slaughtered, one of the ḫaddāmīn (i.e. the workers on the building) gets on top of the foundation (sās) and halloos (yiḥawwil), and all the other other ḫaddāmīn do the same. (This hallooing is also performed when the rain-flood is coming down the Wādī, and by the Bedouin on the Djōls when rain comes.) They then repeat a number of formulae for good luck, such as the following : —

> Ṣallū 'alā Muḥammad — wa-ṭuwwil 'umr filān bin filān — Allāh ya'ṭīh min 'aṭā' — wa-yrazziḳuh māl wa-'ayāl, etc.
>
> Bless Muḥammad — and make long the life of so and so (the master of the house) — God give him sustenance — and provide him with money and off-spring.

The sheep's carcase is then taken to a house and divided, one quarter goes to the owner of the house which is being built, one fifth of the remainder goes to the Dawlah (Sultan), two fifths go to Ahl al-Sās, i.e. the builders of the foundations who in

[1] See art. noted in the bibliography.

fall out with him, or find that he is not doing his work properly, you give him ḳuṣū'ah, and then dismiss him. Unless you do so, you will find that another carpenter will not come and work for you. If you tried to employ a different carpenter the latter would ask about the first carpenter and make sure that he obtained his ḳuṣū'ah before he left you. The Bā Sumbul (or Sumbil) who make stone querns, pestles, and work stone of all kinds, and the Baḳḳārah (cattlemen, ploughmen) will not allow you to change the particular member of their group who works for you at all. The only exception made is if you have had to dismiss the man you were employing, for laziness, incompetence, or disobedience; then you inform the next man you wish to employ of your reason for dismissing his predecessor. The new employee in turn ascertains from the man you have just dismissed that what you say is true, and if your case is just, he will come and work for you. This system is however confined to the two classes last mentioned only. The poet 'Askūl says : —

> Wa'rdja' takhabbar 'ala 'l-wakkār
> Lī šāll mawḳaruh li-'l-aḥdjār
> Bā Šumbil illī yabī' al-sufūn.
>
> Come ask about the stone worker
> Who to the stones bears his hammer
> Ba Sumbil who sells column-drums.

This faḫīdah of the Bā Sumbil has the moropoly in making stones for columns (safan), pestles (ḳuṣrah), etc. They live in the suburb known as 'Aidīd. They do not allow any one else to carry on this work, and I am informed that they can even take people to court for infringing on their monopoly. The Baḳḳārah too have a similar monopoly in their profession.

As evidence of the power of the guilds of workmen in Tārīm the following incident is relevant. Some time before the advent of the British to Ḥaḍramawt, the Sultans of Tarīm, some of the wealthier saiyids, and others who were then constructing the large palaces for which it is famous, determined to lower the wages of the builders there. So they brought them together, and told them that they had resolved to make a reduction (nuḳṣān) in their wages. The builders refused. The Kathīrī Sultan however, consenting that

known as al-Saḥīl, lying to the south of it. Al-Ḥāwī is a ḥawṭah or sacred enclave, the property of the Āl Ḥaddād saiyids. Amongst other ḥawṭahs in Tarīm are Ḥawṭat al-Šaiḫ (Ḥusain b. 'Abdullāh al-'Aidarūs), (this saint being the brother of al-'Adanī), lying to the west of the Djāmi' mosque, and Ḥawṭat Bā 'Alawī, the capital of the 'Alawī saiyids. Perhaps at one time these ḥawṭahs had an independent organisation of their own, distinct from that of the rest of Tarīm as al-Ḥāwī has to this day. Raḥaiyam Bā Faḍl indeed remarked that the city contained many old ḥawṭahs which are no longer treated as ḥawṭahs, but have become only quarters (ḥārah). The Masākīn of al-Ḥāwī are independent of the other quarters of Tarīm, and follow the Manṣab who is, of course, an Āl Ḥaddād saiyid.

The other quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Ruḍaimah which follows the Sūḳ quarter (tābi'ah li-Ḥārat al-Sūḳ); that is to say that the Masākīn of the quarter follow those of the Sūḳ quarter on ceremonial occasions, join with them in defence of their rights, and probably use the same tanṣūrahs. Then there is the suburb *extra muros* of Tarīm, Ḥārat 'Aidīd which follows Ḥārat al-Ḫilaif. There is Ḥārat al-Midjaff which follows the Sūḳ quarter; according to al-Fawā'id al-Sanīyah[6] this quarter was once known as Ḥārat al-Ḳaṣṣārīn, though not in the author's day, presumably because laundering was done there, though it may have been the quarter where the periodical dying of clothes with indigo was performed. The remaining quarters are Āl al-Siddah, i.e. the Gate Section who follow the Sūḳ quarter, Āl al-Fidjir who are ḍu'afā al-Sūḳ, and the Āl al-Ḫalīf who are ḍu'afā following the Saḥīl quarter.

621 565 463 Those who follow the Sūḳ quarter follow the dallāls[7] and the carpenters (nadjar, pl. of nadjdjār) of the Sūḳ; they go with them on the pilgrimage to Hūd, and accompany them to put out fires, etc.

[6] Composed in 1203 H. (1789 A.D.), see my *Materials, op. cit.*, p. 296. This source also mentions another quarter known as حارة الازرة which is said by some in that day to have been the old town from which building had spread out especially towards the north, but this old part of the city was not apparently on the main road from East to West.

[7] The dallāl is the intermediary between the tribesman and the shop-keeper. He is an important and interesting figure in the economic life of the country, but is of course of the Miskīn class.

When there is a fire the people in the streets should out « Wa-'n-nār wa-'n-nār », or, if there has been an accident when some one has fallen into a well, « Wa-'l-bīr ». At this all of the males of the quarter come running out at a trot, leaving their occupations. If it is a fire they take tanaks (tins) and fill them at the mosque cistern (djābiyah). Only the Masākīn perform these duties of course, not the saiyids or mašā'iḫ. Apart from the occasions cited in a previous article[8] another time when the quarter turns out is when a clay-bank (djurf) of a water-channel or water-course has fallen on top of some person or persons. The latter are dug out by the quarter.

Each quarter has a tanṣūrah (pl. tanāṣīr), a kind of rallying-song or theme special to each quarter, and doubtless each with its special tune. These tanṣūrahs are used on all sorts of occasions, festal or otherwise, and probably, indeed, whenever a body of men from the quarter assemble together. The tanṣūrah may be compared in some respects with the tribal ṣarḫah and 'azwah[9] examples of which are given by Landberg. The following are examples of some of the themes used by the principal quarters of Tarīm.

1. Ahl al-Sūḳ

a. Metre : Wāfir type, ||—|———∪|———∪

لَنَا ٱلزَّايِدْ وَفِينَا ٱلزَّايِدْ

Metre : Radjaz type, ||—|—∪——|—∪—∪

وَشَيْخنَا ٱلْمحضَار مَعْنا

« We have the most, and amongst us lies the most.
And our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār is with us. »

As the metre of these two pieces differs I assume they are independent of each other though given me as a single tanṣūrah. The sense is that the Ahl al-Sūḳ is greater in numbers than any other quarter, it being the largest of all. Al-Miḥḍār is the celebrated Tarīmī saint.

[8] *The Cemeteries of Tarīm, op. cit.*
[9] C. DE LANDBERG, *Arabica IV* (Leiden, 1897), pp. 18, 20, etc.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr was quite official in character; 647
there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been mono- [463]
polised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramīs have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramīs are Dutch subjects and as I was con- 648
sidered to be their partisan, an impression which had been 641
still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ᶜAluwī el-ᶜAṭṭās, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer 162
told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramīs come from Java every year 167
and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. 272
Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export 439
figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so *cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity*, will rapidly increase in the future.

## 8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we 133
clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

162 According to my informant, Ḥurēḍa has now about
581 2000 inhabitants. There are some 4000 people living in Java who originally came thence. During the last 20 years from 300 to 400 men have left Ḥurēḍa to try their luck in Java. The successful ones come back occasionally for short periods and then return again to their business in the Indies. When they can afford it, they send their sons to Ḥaḍramaut, where they remain for five or six years to become intimate with their family, language, religion and traditions. The daughters *never* come from Java to Ḥaḍramaut just as the women here *never* go to Java. Consequently the children born there are always of mixed race. Sayyid Ḥasan could only remember one Ḥaḍramī woman who had succeeded in carrying through her wish of accompanying her husband to Batavia. Generally the wives do not wish, nor have they the courage, to do so.
167 I learned later on that Javanese and Chinese women are, how-
463 ever, brought to Ḥaḍramaut. They are said to be very much
162 sought after as housekeepers and cooks. Purely Javanese boys, who have come to study the religion and language, are not to be found in Ḥurēḍa, and only a few in other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Ḥasan estimates the number of Ḥaḍramīs living in Hyderabad to be at least 13.000, for the greater part serving as men and officers of the *Niẓām*'s Arabian regiment. Many of the families of note here have Hyderabad officers among their ancestors.

[162] In Shibām, Sēwūn, Terīm and ᶜĒnāt there are, according
565 to my informant, 6000 sayyids, and another 4000 in Wādī Dōᶜan, Wādīᶜ Amd, Wādī Rakhīya, and Djibāl Hadjaz. Three divisions of the Ḥumūmī Bedouins are sayyids. Originally their leaders were sayyids, who were gradually absorbed into the tribe of which they have come to form a part. All sayyids in Ḥaḍramaut belong to the ᶜAluwī branch. The founder of the family was ᶜAluwī binᶜUbēd Allāh bin Aḥmed (who came from ᶜIrāq) bin ᶜĪsā bin ᶜAlī el-ᶜUrēḍī bin Djaᶜfar eṣ-Ṣādiq bin Muḥammad el-Bāqir bin Zain el-ᶜĀbidīn bin Ḥusēn bin ᶜAlī bin Abī Ṭālib. In Ḥaḍramaut Proper the sayyids have still an in-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



He cannot resist the wishes of his guests and very soon there is again a crowd of inquisitive people in the sweltering upper room, staring at us and hampering us with questions and loud conversation.

## 2. PROSE AND POETRY IN WĀDĪ ḤADJR.

We manage, by exercising much insistence, to get off at four o'clock that afternoon. There are two roads to Makalla: one goes direct through the mountains, the other makes a great circuit by following the main wādī as far as the sea and then going up the coast to Makalla. The mountain route is the shortest but the hardest; we are told that it is *too* hard for our camels, who are not strong. Moreover, it would be unsafe for our little company in the mountains, in the absence of an armed escort. Considering that even Little, with a big military escort, was attacked in this country — a sayyid who was acting as his guide was killed in an engagement — we accepted the assertions of the people in Ṣidāra as reasonable and therefore chose the detour by way of the wādī, which however has a bad name for malaria. Little had to contend much with this illness: his escort had to be almost entirely renewed after a short sojourn in Wādī Ḥadjr. We tried to avoid risk by sleeping away from human habitation and, as far as possible, on high-lying, dry ground.

The caravan was under the leadership of a strong, slight Arab, of the name of Dhēb. He had spent his youth as hostage in the Sultan's palace at Makalla. This shows that Ṣidāra some twenty years ago was still a part of the Qeᶜēṭī territory, but that the Sultan considered it necessary to strengthen his hold on the country by bringing up the sons of the leading families in his palace. It was to this circumstance that Dhēb owed his education — for this country a very good one — and he was much more cultivated than the other young men of Ṣidāra. In spite of his long hair, his face was handsomer and gentler in expression than is usually the case here. We also had

661 with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of
212 being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of
533 the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way
857 he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the
463 *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.*
231 Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā . . . ā . . . ā . . . ā!"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

292 The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

241 Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the
311 palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water
137 and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

114 Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf, i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

65:Landshut S-4 (no date)1950 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2



000 It is hard to reach any considered opinion on the significance of these events, and on the general position of the Bahrein community owing to the scantiness of available information.

## HADHRAMAUT

563 A large proportion of the population of Hadhramaut is nomadic; and the Jews in the area fit in to the tribal pattern of life. A number of tribes have groups of Jews under their protection. Generally speaking, each tribe relies on its Jews for craftsmen and artisans. Thus, the Jews, while being a tolerated minority inferior in status to the Muslims, are also a valuable minority; and if a Jew belonging to one tribe should be harmed by a member of another tribe, then the Muslims of his own tribe would at once be up in arms in his defence. On the other hand, for the Muslim the Jew is an object of complete contempt and treated accordingly. It is an archaic pattern of existence, hard for the Western mind to appreciate. But it would be wrong to assume that the status of the Hadhrami Jews—who have never known anything better—is an intolerable burden for them.

A typical example of a Jewish community in the Hadhramaut is that of Habban, a small town lying about 225 miles, as the crow flies, north-east of Aden, and about 150 miles west of Mukalla.

According to local legend, the Habbani Jews settled in the area before the destruction of the Second Temple. The surrounding country being wild and undeveloped, the community is isolated. None the less, religious tradition and the knowledge of Hebrew are kept alive. Thus the Habban Jewish community has in its possession copies of the *Mishnah*, the *Talmud*, and even the *Shulkhan Arukh*.

[413] As elsewhere in the Hadhramaut, the Habbani Jews are the craftsmen and artisans of the tribe. Among them the silversmiths are particularly prized. The Muslim tribesmen bring them silver in rings or in the form of coins to have it smelted or worked into ornaments. Few Habbani Jews go in for breeding livestock—an important occupation in the area. When their services are called for in the surrounding villages and encampments, the Jewish craftsmen use the normal means of transport in this remote district—camels, mules, or donkeys.

The Habbani Jews observe Jewish ritual strictly in accordance with the practices and customs of Judaism in Arabia. They are polygamous and have Arabic names. Jewish women, like their Muslim sisters, go about veiled; and, of course, never leave home unaccompanied. The handful who have succeeded in making their way to Israel say that in the past the Jews have lived in peace with the Muslims and been on good terms with them. More recently, however, their position appears to have deteriorated considerably. The present ruler of the Habban tribe has imposed upon the local Jews discriminatory taxation and other forms of financial extortion. He has even gone so far as to demand their conversion to Islam. Whether this deterioration is confined to Habban or is general in the Hadhramaut is not known. Van den

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls. 000

## Chapter 3 : Occupations and Wages

By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture involving about 90 per cent. of the population. Other occupations are dyeing, weaving and the preparation of hides and skins. Wages vary greatly from 12 as. to Rs. 1.8.0. Working hours vary, being about 60 hours a week from April to October and less from November to March. 463 465

## Chapter 4 : Public Finance and Taxation

The following are summaries of expenditure in the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorate budgets (1947–48): 652

*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 26,346 |
| Government Guards | 42,322 |
| Subsidies to local forces | 5,474 |
| Medical | 5,373 |
| Education | 2,121 |
| Aden Protectorate College | 3,795 |
| Agriculture | 12,641 |
| W/T Establishment | 981 |
| TOTAL | 99,053 |

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 18,598 |
| Military Hospital | 887 |
| Hadhrami Bedouin Legion | 15,397 |
| Subsidies to local forces | 7,761 |
| Medical | 445 |
| Education | 3,384 |
| Agriculture | 750 |
| Miscellaneous Services Subsidies | 720 |
| Relief Works | 84,037 |
| TOTAL | 131,979 |

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut NM2



721 648 Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al Abr. Proposals were made and agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

648 619 In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

578 721 619 In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Mansab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

000 The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

[648] The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring. Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

## Chapter 2: Population

162 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

## Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 467 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

# Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the
167 Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. All the Jews in Wahidi State emigrated to Israel in 1950, and there are now no Jews in the Eastern Protectorate.

# Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

●463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½. Working hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March.
467 There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

# Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western Aden Protectorate's expenditure for the years 1949-50 and 1950-51:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

| | 1949–50 | 1950–51 |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Staff and Miscellaneous .. .. .. | 45,313 | 64,026 |
| Government Guards (includes Wireless Telegraphy establishment) .. .. | 60,754 | 75,051 |
| Subsidies to local forces .. .. .. | 5,257 | 3,638 |
| Medical .. .. .. .. .. | 6,964 | 7,005 |
| Education .. .. .. .. .. | 3,030 | 3,926 |
| Aden Protectorate College .. .. | 3,614 | 3,681 |
| Agriculture .. .. .. .. .. | 10,245 | 11,172 |
| | 135,177 | 168,499 |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# PART V

## Chapter 1: Population

161 THE population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. There are no
167 Jews now in the Eastern and Western Protectorates as they have all emigrated to Israel.

## Chapter 2: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from *Shs.*1.50 to *Shs.*3 per day. Working
467 hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably shorter from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 3: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of Her Majesty's Government's expenditure in the Protectorates for the years 1951–52 and 1952–53:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

| | 1951–52 £ | 1952–53 £ |
|---|---|---|
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 40,706 | 51,054 |
| Government Guards (including W/T establishments) | 68,602 | 84,858 |
| Subsidies to Local Forces | 3,411 | 2,801 |
| Health | 7,315 | 16,110 |
| Education | 3,213 | 7,753 |
| Aden Protectorate College | 2,229 | — |
| Agriculture | 10,158 | 14,083 |
| | 135,624 | 176,659 |

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathīri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

### Domestic Life and Appliances

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of

135 of lignite in the detritus on the slopes and in the wadis are very rare; this he considered to be probably due to the very heavy rains which fall in the mountains every few years, which produce such floods that enormous rocks are moved along the wadi beds.

464 Mr. Little stated that the difficulties of working the deposits had
312 been pointed out by Mr. Beeby-Thompson and Dr. Ball (who visited Mukalla in 1918). They thought that cheap unskilled labour
135 could be produced locally, but for working on a large scale Mr. Little expressed the opinion that the local supply would prove unreliable and that labour would have to be imported. On the other hand, Messrs. Beeby-Thompson and Ball were not aware that a river (the water of which is slightly saline) flows through the oil-shale district near Neifa. Above Neifa the water is potable when boiled, but below Neifa it is very tainted by the petroliferous deposits through which it passes. Supplies of water might also be obtained by conserving the flood-water which flows down the wadis from the interior. There is generally a small flood every rainy season, with bigger floods every few years.

135 The heat of the sun in summer in the Hadhramaut is so great that rocks near the surface must lose most of their volatile constituents, and, to get a true indication of the amount of these it is necessary to take samples from a greater depth than has been done hitherto. The improvement which may take place with increasing depth is shown by the results of the analysis of two samples from Asfal Al 'Ain. The first was collected from different parts of the face of the seam which had been exposed for over a month, and the second was obtained by driving a hole 5 feet into the seam and taking it from the last portion removed. The calorific value of the latter sample, from Asfal Al 'Ain being 11,466 B.T.Us. and of those from Kasai and Wadi Howeri over 10,000 B.T.Us., show that in a country where fuel supplies are very scanty the lignite deposits would prove an important source of fuel. The oil-shales probably extend to south-west much beyond the area visited and mapped, and if at some distance below the surface they are richer than the sample brought by Messrs. Beeby-Thompson and Ball, they could be distilled near the river. In the economic exploitation of the fuel resources of the Sultanate, the possibility of finding oil fuel in the As Sidara district should be considered, as if oil exists there the pipe-line could be brought down the river to Wadi Arus and Neifa and thence to the coast. The river at Wadi Arus is 15 miles and at Neifa 10 miles in a straight line from the lignite deposits at Ad Da'liya, from which the fuel for the distillation of the oil-shales might be obtained. The danger of pipe-lines and railways being swept away by the big floods which occur every few years would have to be borne in mind when laying them. There is an anchorage for dhows at Mersa Riqeima just east of the river mouth, which Mr. Little thought might be suitable for small steamers except during the monsoon period.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 ~~Hadhramaut MM2~~
Zanzibar MM1



hramaut, and even though they may live in the Territory for many years, they visit their own country when possible and send their children there to school. H 167 186

*Zanzibar.*—Writing of his visit to Zanzibar in 1857 Burton (*Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast*, Vol. 1, p. 378) says, " the poorer Arabs who flock to Zanzibar during the season are Hazramis, and they work and live hard as the Hammals of Stamboul. These men club and mess together in gangs under an Akidah (head man), who supplies them with rice, ghi and scones, and who keeps the accounts so skilfully, that the labourer receives annually about $35, though he may gain four times that sum." Z 167 464 H 167 464

Speaking of the same period Colonel Rigby, His Britannic Majesty's Consul and Honourable Company's Agent, says in his report on Zanzibar for 1860, " a considerable number of Arabs from the Hadhramaut coast also come to labour as porters and carriers, they are a patient, industrious people, and most useful to the merchants in loading and unloading ships."

This was high praise from Rigby who was critical, and contrasts in a remarkable manner with his next statement about immigrants from Sur further along the coast. " The Arabs from the coast of Omān called ' Soorees ' are also numerous; they are a troublesome, turbulent, plundering race always ready for any mischief. They are filthy, squalid, ill featured savages and arrant cowards."

Major F. B. Pearce, a late British Resident at Zanzibar, wrote in 1919 that the Hadhramis formed an important section of the Arab population of Zanzibar. " In physical appearance, pursuits and mode of life they differ somewhat from the Oman Arab. The Mshihiri[1] is a thin, spare man of medium height, without an ounce of superflous flesh on his body. His face is long and thin and generally hairless; and those of them who have not resided sufficiently long in Zanzibar to become enervated by its softening climate and surroundings possess a marked glitter of the eye, indicative of hidden fires within, which might burst forth on little provocation. H 142 167 Z 167

" Under the normal conditions of life in Zanzibar they are hard and willing workers, keeping much to themselves, and living together in a special quarter of the town. H 167 186

" While some of the more influential and wealthier Mshihiris have made Zanzibar their permanent home, the majority come to the Sultanate for a period in order to earn money, and they then return to their own home in Arabia. When in Zanzibar they work in the port loading and unloading ships, and they are in great demand as stevedores up and down the coast. The lighter forms of labour sought for by the Mshihiri is water carrying from house to house, and they perform this work with the same assiduity and ~~tireless~~ ness, as in the heavier labour connected with stevedoring. 461 Z 464 167

[1] The singular of the Swahiliised form of Shihiri, the plural is Washihiri.

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

N 164 of which are almost invariably associated with widespread undernutrition.

### Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Intestinal or Urinary Tract

H A 164 **Typhoid and Paratyphoid Fevers.** Typhoid fever is sporadic, and 10 to 35 cases are reported from the Colony each year. Over one half of the known cases occur usually among nonresident laborers. Paratyphoid fevers are grouped with typhoid in the morbidity statistics. The rate of infection is not known, but both paratyphoid A and paratyphoid B fevers are undoubtedly present. Typhoid fever is apparently endemic in the Protectorate, although recognized cases are reputedly rare in the Hadhramaut.

H A 164 515 **Dysenteries.** Dystentery is prevalent throughout this region, where the unhygienic habits of the people and the abundance of flies promote the spread of intestinal infections. From 500 to 1,300 cases are treated annually in the civilian hospitals and dispensaries in the Colony. Amebic dysentery predominates among the few cases in which the differential diagnosis is established, but a large proportion of the remainder are probably bacillary infections. Of the 589 cases recorded in 1949, 1 was diagnosed as bacillary dysentery and 48 as amebic, while 540 were unclassified. The percentage of carriers of *Endamoeba histolytica* is believed to be high: it has been estimated at 40 to 50 per cent among immigrants from Yemen, many of whom are engaged in the handling of foodstuffs in the Colony.

H A 164 A 165 167 854 146 Amebic and bacillary dysentery, as well as diarrhea and enteritis, are grouped together as "dysentery" in the official statistics. In each of the 5 years 1946-50, the dysentery deaths numbered 334 to 406, or approximately 20 to 25 per cent of the recorded mortality in the Colony. Among the 393 deaths reported in 1950 as due to dysentery, 107 were among the immigrant population. The younger age groups are most seriously affected, and the local au-

p. 246 (A)

there are still slaves in the Protectorate but
prosper class, they are not unmechanical, unlike the
The Arabian attitude toward the slave is not unkind: the slave has certain customary rights, and is better fed and clothed than many who are free.

These mountaineers hardly resemble the Arab of popular imagination, nor do they wear headbands and flowing robes. The Yemenite Arabs are usually of slight stature, dark-skinned and beardless, though there are so many types that it is impossible to generalize. They are a charming people, and civilized. Their condition would be much improved had they lasting peace and good government, though the complete opening-up of the country to outside influence and commerce would spell disaster for an economic system which has worked with success for two or three thousand years. To an ever-increasing degree the Protectorate and South Yemen have become economically dependent on the port of Aden. Labour is drawn from the up-country villages. The villager will go to Aden and earn £1 : 10 : 6 a month at coolie work, live on 7s. 6d. out of that sum, and save the rest to return to his village. There he will remain until necessity drives him to earn more. A large proportion of the inhabitants of Aden must be composed of these floating elements of population.

Internally the motor-lorry has made communications between the towns much easier; the aeroplane, too, has made a difference to the Protectorate and is a familiar sight in some places. It is now possible to control areas with a handful of planes where formerly thousands of ground troops were necessary to penetrate.

*The Turkish mosque in San'a, capital of the Yemen*

P 72 (B)

361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil
there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
342 of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Had-
177 hramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

**Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.**

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

511 For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
651 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
435 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes:—

"The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

"Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

"Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

## Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [358 552] [212]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



car road. The really difficult part of the construction has been completed, from Tarim onwards towards Gheil. Much of the money was paid out to the Beduins, and in particular the Hamumis agreed that the road should be safe. At the request of the Qu'aiti the route of the road was changed as he was afraid that the Hamumis would have increased facilities for movement and raiding. Large sums of money were then disbursed on the Ma'di tribes through whose territory the Qu'aiti asked that the road should go. There is no doubt that the road could have been successfully completed, and the Al Kaf Seiyids were, and still are, willing to bear the whole cost. Sufficient support, however, was not received from the Qu'aitis and the work was stopped by Sultan 'Umar. 651 653

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

Mukal' is the seat of Government of the Qu'aiti state. His Highness the Sultan, who is an absolute monarch in so far as the internal affairs of his state are concerned, has his principal palace there. The old palace of the Kasadis near the Customs in the centre of the old part of the town has now been turned into Government offices where the *Wazir* and other officials are in daily attendance. 643

The *Wazir* has a general superintendence over all departments of Government and presides over the *Wazir's* Court (*Hakm ad Dola.*) He is also the Governor of the Mukalla Province. The Treasurer superintends the schools, the dispensary, the passport work, and registration of sales and transfers of land. He sees to all disbursements on behalf of the state and collects certain of the internal revenue. The Mukalla Customs, which were formerly farmed, as the Shihr and other customs still are, is a Government department with a paid staff. The Chief of Customs also superintends the work of the port, though there is a special shipping clerk who prepares shipping papers for the *Wazir's* signature, and there are the usual manifest clerks employed by the Customs. The Commander of the Forces, who is more of a Minister for War, also controls the prison. The uniformed police are under the command of a Shaush, and the slave police are under a slave who is also the police magistrate. The medical officer has charge of the dispensary and in addition performs port health work. He is assisted by a qualified compounder who also has certain municipal duties. 646

As examples of the monthly salaries paid to officials of the Qu'aiti state, the following may be cited: *Wazir*, $1,000; Chief of Customs, Rs.225; Doctor, Rs.200; Treasurer, Rs.100; Commander of the Forces, Rs.100; English Master, Rs.80; State Photographer, Rs.60. Most of the officials are given quarters. [465]

There was at one time a species of State Council in Mukalla, but it was dissolved by the present *Wazir* and a Council of Qadhis instituted instead. The function of this Council is not immediately apparent. At the time of my visit there was some talk 645

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



### Āl Heik.

619 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the
631 sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan
101 they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shibeir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct
433 route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the
438 inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me
465 as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being
162 an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures
361 appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and
651 villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns
652 and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

5 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hathramaut + MM2



693 tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had
671 touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt
577 or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's
626 own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

565 This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and
631 tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

565 We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past
443 incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will
465 therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of
421 those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The
792 Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

421 Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of
565 the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

565 Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen
144 and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

566 Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class.
443 The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 mud steps leading up to them. Signs of intimate contact with foreign countries, Singapore as well as Java, may be noticed
439 both in the exteriors and interiors of these palaces. For instance, it appears to be the existing fashion to have the doors sent ready-made from Java and Singapore. Transport of these very heavy doors and window-frames is certainly expensive and difficult, for the strongest and largest camels have to be selected for it, but the supply of wood in Ḥaḍramaut is small and poor in quality and could not have provided for the many great new buildings of Terîm in so short a time.
[436] This extra expense is permissible because the rest of the
465 building costs in Ḥaḍramaut is small. Manual labour is very
331 cheap in this desperately poor and overpopulated country.
342 Even first-rate professional men, architects included, do not earn more than a very moderate daily wage. The chief building material is mud, which can be dug up everywhere close by the house that is to be built. As everything is covered with a plaster of mud, the most crooked branches of *nibq* and desert shrubs can be used for roof construction and similar details. The trunks of date-palms are chiefly in use for ceilings and supporting pillars. We only saw wooden pillars with wooden capitals and cross-beams in the very old, dilapidated castles; the carved, dark-brown wood found in these, with their ceilings of split and interwoven branches, painted in rust-red, white, and black, are certainly very beautiful; yet, owing to the scarcity of wood, one must make shift with the trunks of date-palms. Ceilings, pillars and cross-beams are nowadays covered with a plaster of mud, and this, again, is painted over in fresh, soft colours. The new buildings, consequently, make a gayer and lighter impression, both without and within, and they are more cleanly, but something of the old beauty has vanished. Present-day builders have become real masters in modelling mud and in whitewash work. Pillars made of palm-trunks are transformed by them, as if by magic, into vigorous-looking, round columns with fine capitals.

there are still slaves in the Protectorate but not in Aden M42

H there are still slaves in the Protectorate but
557 sweeper class, they are not untouchables unlike the

The Arabian attitude toward the slave is not unkind: the slave has certain customary rights, and is better fed and clothed than many who are free.

Y These mountaineers hardly resemble the Arab of popular imagination, nor do they wear
142 headbands and flowing robes. The Yemenite Arabs are usually of slight stature, dark-skinned and beardless, though there are so many types that it is impossible to generalise.
000 They are a charming people, and civilised. Their condition would be much improved had they lasting peace and good government, though the complete opening-up of the country to outside influence and commerce would spell disaster for an economic system which has worked with success for two or three thousand
Y years. To an ever-increasing degree the Pro-
H tectorate and South Yemen have become
A economically dependent on the port of
167 Aden. Labour is drawn from the up-country
464 villages. The villager will go to Aden and
465 earn £1 : 10 : 6 a month at coolie work, live on 7s. 6d. out of that sum, and save the rest
A to return to his village. There he will remain until necessity drives him to earn more. A
162 large proportion of the inhabitants of Aden must be composed of these floating elements of population.

Internally the motor-lorry has made com-
H munications between the towns much easier;
494 the aeroplane, too, has made a difference
509 to the Protectorate and is a familiar sight in some places. It is now possible to control
178 areas with a handful of planes where formerly thousands of ground troops were necessary to penetrate.

Y
346

*The Turkish mosque in San'a, capital of the Yemen*

P 72 (2)

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls. 000

## Chapter 3 : Occupations and Wages

By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture involving about 90 per cent. of the population. Other occupations are dyeing, weaving and the preparation of hides and skins. Wages vary greatly from 12 as. to Rs. 1.8.0. Working hours vary, being about 60 hours a week from April to October and less from November to March. 463 465

## Chapter 4 : Public Finance and Taxation

The following are summaries of expenditure in the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorate budgets (1947–48): 652

*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 26,346 |
| Government Guards | 42,322 |
| Subsidies to local forces | 5,474 |
| Medical | 5,373 |
| Education | 2,121 |
| Aden Protectorate College | 3,795 |
| Agriculture | 12,641 |
| W/T Establishment | 981 |
| TOTAL | 99,053 |

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 18,598 |
| Military Hospital | 887 |
| Hadhrami Bedouin Legion | 15,397 |
| Subsidies to local forces | 7,761 |
| Medical | 445 |
| Education | 3,384 |
| Agriculture | 750 |
| Miscellaneous Services Subsidies | 720 |
| Relief Works | 84,037 |
| TOTAL | 131,979 |

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut NM2



721 648 Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al Abr. Proposals were made and agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

648 619 In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

578 721 619 In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Mansab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

000 The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

[648] The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring. Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

## Chapter 2: Population

162 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

## Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 467 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

# Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the
167 Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. All the Jews in Wahidi State emigrated to Israel in 1950, and there are now no Jews in the Eastern Protectorate.

# Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

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467 There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

# Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western Aden Protectorate's expenditure for the years 1949-50 and 1950-51:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

| | 1949–50 | 1950–51 |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Staff and Miscellaneous .. .. .. | 45,313 | 64,026 |
| Government Guards (includes Wireless Telegraphy establishment) .. .. | 60,754 | 75,051 |
| Subsidies to local forces .. .. .. | 5,257 | 3,638 |
| Medical .. .. .. .. .. | 6,964 | 7,005 |
| Education .. .. .. .. .. | 3,030 | 3,926 |
| Aden Protectorate College .. .. | 3,614 | 3,681 |
| Agriculture .. .. .. .. .. | 10,245 | 11,172 |
| | 135,177 | 168,499 |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# PART V

## Chapter 1: Population

161 THE population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. There are no
167 Jews now in the Eastern and Western Protectorates as they have all emigrated to Israel.

## Chapter 2: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from *Shs.*1.50 to *Shs.*3 per day. Working
467 hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably shorter from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 3: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of Her Majesty's Government's expenditure in the Protectorates for the years 1951–52 and 1952–53:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

| | 1951–52 £ | 1952–53 £ |
|---|---|---|
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 40,706 | 51,054 |
| Government Guards (including W/T establishments) | 68,602 | 84,858 |
| Subsidies to Local Forces | 3,411 | 2,801 |
| Health | 7,315 | 16,110 |
| Education | 3,213 | 7,753 |
| Aden Protectorate College | 2,229 | — |
| Agriculture | 10,158 | 14,083 |
| | 135,624 | 176,659 |

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended[5]) for the carpenter (naǧǧār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥaśwān of the Āl Bā Ḥaśwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two[6]. One says for instance, Ḏī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah[7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee[8]. The people of the Quarter[9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian taśt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥaḳḳ al-sallī, haḳḳ al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. Andree, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers*, *Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍramī coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my art'-'s in *Le Muséon* cited above.

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461 you give him ḳuṣū'ah, and then dismiss him. Unless you do so,
467 you will find that another carpenter will not come and work for
you. If you tried to employ a different carpenter the latter would
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324 ḳuṣū'ah before he left you. The Bā Sumbul (or Sumbil) who make
463 stone querns, pestles, and work stone of all kinds, and the Baḳḳārah
461 (cattlemen, ploughmen) will not allow you to change the particular
member of their group who works for you at all. The only exception
467 made is if you have had to dismiss the man you were employing,
for laziness, incompetence, or disobedience; then you inform the
next man you wish to employ of your reason for dismissing his
predecessor. The new employee in turn ascertains from the man
you have just dismissed that what you say is true, and if your
case is just, he will come and work for you. This system is however
[538] confined to the two classes last mentioned only. The poet 'Askūl
says : —

Wa'rdja' takhabbar 'ala 'l-wakkār
Li šāll mawḳaruh li-'l-aḥdjār
Bā Šumbil illī yabī' al-sufūn.

Come ask about the stone worker
Who to the stones bears his hammer
Ba Sumbil who sells column-drums.

This faḫīdah of the Bā Sumbil has the moropoly in making stones for columns (safan), pestles (ḳuṣrah), etc. They live in the suburb known as 'Aidīd. They do not allow any one else to carry on this work, and I am informed that they can even take people to court for infringing on their monopoly. The Baḳḳārah too have a similar monopoly in their profession.

467 As evidence of the power of the guilds of workmen in Tārīm
466 the following incident is relevant. Some time before the advent of the British to Ḥaḍramawt, the Sultans of Tārīm, some of the wealthier saiyids, and others who were then constructing the large palaces for which it is famous, determined to lower the wages of the builders there. So they brought them together, and told them that they had resolved to make a reduction (nuḳṣān) in their wages. The builders refused. The Kathīrī Sultan however, consenting that

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



467 this reduction should be made, issued a decree (taḳrīr) defining the
466 wages of the various categories of people engaged in building. The workmen still refused to accept the revised wages, and some left Tarīm and went to the independent Ḥawṭah of Thibī, outside it and beyond Kathīrī jurisdiction. Some however stayed in Tarīm, but worked at collecting firewood, and refused to undertake building. A *modus vivendi* was established through the good offices of Saiyid Bū Bakr al-Kāf, but whereas, before, the wage of the builders had been two three Āl Kāf ḍarībahs per day, which the wealthy had attempted to reduce to one ḍarībah only, after the dispute all the workmen received three ḍarībahs [10].

172 To revert to the sacrifice on the sās, I noticed in the fine archaeo-
782 logical site of the town known as Am-ʿĀdīyah [11] that on some buildings an inscription was located at the *corner* of the sās which was constructed of the typical lozenge-backed Himyarite hewn stone, and that it stood about three feet from the ground. Possibly therefore it was sometimes a custom to place inscriptions in the sās about the place of the sacrifice; they could not be placed higher as the wall above this point is of adobe. These particular Am-ʿĀdīyah inscriptions are very weather-beaten, and to the best of my knowledge no attempt has been made to copy them.

322 An interesting feature of Ḥaḍramī building is the shape of the
342 columns, generally carved from ʿilb wood, which strikes one immediately as descended from an ancient tradition. In the Ḥawṭah of
581 Thibī near Tarīm, I first saw the curious capital sketched (fig. C.) from below, with its little round pendants underneath the rectangular blocks. Later I realised that this was a very stylized type of capital, derived from a prototype somewhat resembling the examples in figs. A & B., sketched in my field-book at ʿAzzān and

436 [10] Reproductions of the ḍarībah in J. A. S. Buckhill, *A note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia, Journ. of the Malay of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, 1925), III, 1. It is the coin which has the number 16 written on it. There were about five to six ḍarībahs to the riyāl (kirś franzāwī).

[11] For notes on this town see S. Piemonte, *'Im'adiya and Bedhan, Aden, Antiquity* (London), xiii (1939), p. 50. The author confuses the name امادية with عمادية, but it is really the South Arabian article Am = Al, followed by the word ʿĀdīyah. It is therefore « the ʿĀdite city » which means little more really than « the ancient city ». I visited it in 1941.

19: Surjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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To revert to the sacrifice on the sās, I noticed in the fine archaeological site of the town known as Am-'Ādīyah [11] that on some buildings an inscription was located at the *corner* of the sās which was constructed of the typical lozenge-backed Himyarite hewn stone, and that it stood about three feet from the ground. Possibly therefore it was sometimes a custom to place inscriptions in the sās about the place of the sacrifice; they could not be placed higher as the wall above this point is of adobe. These particular Am-'Ādīyah inscriptions are very weather-beaten, and to the best of my knowledge no attempt has been made to copy them.

An interesting feature of Ḥaḍramī building is the shape of the columns, generally carved from 'ilb wood, which strikes one immediately as descended from an ancient tradition. In the Ḥawṭah of Thibī near Tarīm, I first saw the curious capital sketched (fig. C.) from below, with its little round pendants underneath the rectangular blocks. Later I realised that this was a very stylized type of capital, derived from a prototype somewhat resembling the examples in figs. A & B., sketched in my field-book at 'Azzān and

[10] Reproductions of the ḍarībah in J. A. S. BUCKNILL, *A note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia, Journ. of the Malay of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, 1925), III, 1. It is the coin which has the number 16 written on it. There were about five to six ḍarībahs to the riyāl (ṭirī franzāwī).

[11] For notes on this town see S. PEROWNE, *'Im'adiya and Beihan, Aden, Antiquity* (London), xiii (1939), p. 50. The author confuses the name امادية with عمادية, but it is really the South Arabian article Am = Al, followed by the word 'Ādīyah. It is therefore « the 'Ādite city » which means little more really than « the ancient city ». I visited it in 1941.

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut NM2



Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al Abr. Proposals were made and agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Mansab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring. Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

## Chapter 2: Population

The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

## Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

## Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the
167 Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. All the Jews in Wahidi State emigrated to Israel in 1950, and there are now no Jews in the Eastern Protectorate.

## Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

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## Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western Aden Protectorate's expenditure for the years 1949-50 and 1950-51:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

| | 1949–50 | 1950–51 |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Staff and Miscellaneous .. .. .. | 45,313 | 64,026 |
| Government Guards (includes Wireless Telegraphy establishment) .. .. | 60,754 | 75,051 |
| Subsidies to local forces .. .. .. | 5,257 | 3,638 |
| Medical .. .. .. .. .. | 6,964 | 7,005 |
| Education .. .. .. .. .. | 3,030 | 3,926 |
| Aden Protectorate College .. .. | 3,614 | 3,681 |
| Agriculture .. .. .. .. .. | 10,245 | 11,172 |
| | 135,177 | 168,499 |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MMS

# PART V

## Chapter 1: Population

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167 Jews now in the Eastern and Western Protectorates as they have all emigrated to Israel.

## Chapter 2: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from *Shs.*1.50 to *Shs.*3 per day. Working
467 hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably shorter from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 3: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of Her Majesty's Government's expenditure in the Protectorates for the years 1951–52 and 1952–53:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

| | 1951–52 | 1952–53 |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 40,706 | 51,054 |
| Government Guards (including W/T establishments) | 68,602 | 84,858 |
| Subsidies to Local Forces | 3,411 | 2,801 |
| Health | 7,315 | 16,110 |
| Education | 3,213 | 7,753 |
| Aden Protectorate College | 2,229 | — |
| Agriculture | 10,158 | 14,083 |
| | 135,624 | 176,659 |

Il: Melamid S-3 (no date) 1954 MLI Yemen MLI
HADHRAMAUT MM2

a tannery, and a textile plant. This preference for German firms is rather remarkable.[4] However, Yemen authorities claim that American and British firms were not interested in these concessions.

The terms of the oil concession are reported to be based on a capital and profit division of 75 per cent to Yemen, and 25 per cent to the concessionaire. This may explain the lack of interest of American and British firms whose oil concessions in other petroleum-producing countries are on a 50/50 profit-sharing basis, without local capital participation. Furthermore, the Yemen concession is to run for only twenty years (compared with sixty-six years for the Saudi Arabian concessions), provided oil is found within five years. According to the available geological information, the outlook for finding oil is not too encouraging as the highlands of Yemen consist primarily of rocks which are geologically devoid of oil. However, the narrow coastal strip and the lowland deserts do offer possibilities. Here there is a complication. Because of the absence of definite boundaries, the eastern deserts may be claimed either by Saudi Arabia or by the Aden protectorate.

Yemen also has hopes of discovering commercially utilizable quantities of gold, silver, copper and iron ore, which were all formerly mined in the highlands.[5] Considerable areas in the wadis below the highlands are reported to be suitable for the cultivation of cotton, provided modern methods of irrigation are introduced. Even if no oil is discovered, the change in the attitude towards foreigners and towards innovations may bring about far-reaching economic and political changes in this state.

In 1938, a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Company (in which British, Dutch, French, American and other capital participates) obtained exploratory oil concessions in the Aden protectorate. So far no discoveries have been reported. The sheiks and sultans of the area have lately opened their territories to a limited number of foreign travellers, mostly surveyors. Emigrants who had settled in India, Malaya, and Indonesia and who have returned, particularly to Mukalla and the Hadhramaut, have contributed not only experience gained overseas, but some capital as well. Regular motor and air transportation[6] is now available. Several irrigation schemes have been established in the western Aden protectorate, at Abyan, where crops of high quality cotton are grown. The greater internal security resulting from the organization of regular police protection against tribal raiders (a combination of the British Royal Air Force and local jeep patrols) has also contributed to economic development. Local fisheries have

[4] The oil concession was granted to Deilmann Bergbau, German oil producers who also have a concession in Spain.

[5] United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East, 1951-52*, E/2353/Add. 1, ST/ECA/19, Add. 1 (New York, 1953), 126.

[6] At least one foreign trading firm in Aden flies its own plane regularly to various points in the territories to pick up local products and deliver imports.

to this rich domain, lies at the edge of the plateau of coral 133
stone. As one approaches from the coast one barely sees the 361
gardens of palms; soon one finds oneself in front of a high, white wall, with a great, fortified gate, which, apparently, is kept closed even during the day. The traveller, as he waits, can only see, close to the wall and rising boldly up above it, the Sultan's massive palace which now serves as barracks for soldiers.

We were obliged to wait at a respectful distance from the 361
menacing, fortified gateway until our letter of introduction 249
had been taken to the palace, read and deemed satisfactory enough to admit us into the tobacco town. Ghēl Bā Wazīr, as a city, has not many beauties except for the large and ancient palace and a few mosques, and we were glad to accept the invitation of one of the authorities of the place to proceed at once to the gardens and to the Sultan's country-house in the cultivated district behind the town. We, therefore, drove without pausing through the place, which reeked of tobacco. The 361
valley side of the town, that is the north side, has less defences 249
than the south, whence start the great thoroughfares to 489
Makalla and esh-Shiḥr. Nowadays motor lorries convey the bales of tobacco, which are two yards long, from el-Ghēl to Makalla. Manure for the tobacco fields is brought from the coast on camels.

A richly cultivated area begins immediately behind the town. 249
The Sultan owns much tobacco-growing land, which is said 361
to be a great source of income to him. Close behind the town 342
are two gardens, in each of which is a newly-built summer 471 ●
residence. We enter the first garden with the smaller house which is set aside for the use of the male members of the household. In the other garden is a much larger building for the wives and their female attendants.

The gate is immediately shut behind us, our following of 351
inquisitive youths remains outside, and we stand in the silence of the luxuriant garden, trying to accustom our eyes to the deep shade under the blossoming fruit-trees. It looks just as

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 then stay with him in el-Qaṭn, and, whilst there, visit with him the Ḥimyaritic antiquities in the vicinity. He will then arrange for camels and donkeys, and we shall be able to return to Makalla through Wādī Ḥuwēre in six or seven days. What Sultan ᶜAlī says coincides with the advice given us by the Vizier in Makalla and represents the standpoint of el-Qeᶜēṭī. We do not wish to make an immediate decision, for we should prefer to return by a different route, but, on the other hand, wish to keep open the possibility of making the return journey through Qeᶜēṭī territory, so as not to cut ourselves off from the support of the authorities here.

## 5. SHIBĀM "EL-DJARĪMA, THE GRAND".

162 Shibām has as many as 500 towering houses and about
167 8000 inhabitants. The number reaches 9000 if one includes
361 the whole garden suburb and the workmen's quarter outside
●471 the walls of the town. There is a school with about 250 pupils, which was founded and is maintained by our hosts. In the town itself there are five large, fine mosques, almost the only low buildings and also the only entirely white ones. Outside the town, but belonging to it, there are seven more. A quarter of the masculine population is travelling constantly abroad to make money, the greater part going to Makalla and Aden. About 100 are in Java and 50 in Singapore. The Āl Ṭuwēy, for example, have house property in Singapore, Batavia and Surabaya, and when times are good they also carry on trade. Altogether about 30 households live on this family property. All the house property of the Laᶜdjam brothers is at Singapore. The well-known capitalist Bā Swēdān, who is a great landowner and has hundreds of houses in Singapore and Batavia, also comes from Shibām. Sēwūn and Terīm, however, are the centres where the Ḥaḍramīs live who have made riches in Java, and there are a great number of Dutch subjects in these towns.

000 In Shibām no poll-tax is paid by the population as is the

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



311 471 Inhabitants of Wadi Du'an, an area with an ever-present threat of famine, were persuaded to purchase some of the large tracts of good arable land and shallow wells lying fallow and idle in the main Wadi Hadhramaut in the hope that they will gradually move from their over-populated wadi. Three companies were formed by Duanis, with a capital of well over Rs. 1,00,000 for the purpose of cultivating hitherto dead lands at Dar-Assab, Aqad and the area at Hautat Ahmed bin Zein in the main wadi, while Du'an merchants began to take an interest in existing date palm groves in the area. The local States were empowered to allot dead lands to farmers if the owners failed to cultivate them.

An agricultural syndicate formed to develop the Meifa area of Wadi Hajr with a capital of Rs. 4,00,000 has been active during 1950. The planting of date palms in the area has started and the syndicate [164] allotted lands and gave advances to some 240 Subians—but up to now there is some reluctance on the part of agriculturists from other areas to settle down and work in Meifa owing to the prevalence of malaria there.

In November, 1950, two windmills were imported for experimental use in irrigation, one being installed at Buweish in the coastal area, the other being sent to Sai'un.

*Co-operation*

474 The Beihan Farmers' Association had a difficult year. A large proportion of the barley crop had been sown early and, in January and February, frost damaged the heading crop, seriously reducing yield and quality. As a result the Association deferred collection of up to 50 per cent of the outstanding loans which were carried over to the Saif and Kharif crops and to the winter crop of the 1949-50 season. Excellent conditions at the end of the year gave the Association full confidence in its operations.

The credit facilities for seed and cash given by the Association enabled the cultivators to carry on without much recourse to merchants and moneylenders.

## FISHERIES

228 The Fishery Department did not begin work on a permanent basis until the end of 1949. During 1950 activity has been mostly exploratory. Unfortunately, winch trouble in the fishery vessel severely limited the amount and nature of the trial fishing that could be done, but practically every fishing village in both Protectorates was visited, and also the islands of Kamaran in the Red Sea and Kuria Muria, 700 miles east of Aden off the Muscat coast. The information obtained about the fishing population and its activities forms a valuable basis for development plans.

In general, the observations made in the 1948 report still hold good. The winter sardine seasons of 1949–50 and 1950–51 have, unfortunately, been little better than 1948–49. There has been a definite but slight improvement, but catches of sardines and their attendant predators are

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918)1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



are tapped for Aden, an aqueduct leading from them along the peninsula into the town (see p. 202). There are very large camping-grounds round the town, the place forming the terminus of many caravan routes from the Aden interior. Sheikh 'Othmān was purchased with the object of settling there the surplus population of the peninsula, but, owing to its inaccessibility and the unhealthiness due to its contaminated water-supply and want of a drainage system, it has so far failed to become a popular settlement. 361

3. **'Imād**, a miserable village of about 40 reed huts, marks the extreme eastern limit of Aden; it is peopled by the Salum, a small independent tribe.

4. **Perim** and **Socotra**. These two islands are attached to the settlement of Aden. *Perim* is a volcanic island in the straits of Bāb el-Mandeb, 1½ miles from the Arabian coast; it was occupied by the British in 1799, subsequently abandoned, and reoccupied in 1857 on the opening of the overland route. In 1883 a company (the Perim Coal Company) was formed, which obtained a concession on the south-western side of the island as a site for a coaling-station. The company maintains here a stock of Welsh coal varying from 5,000 to 10,000 tons, and a large number of vessels now call annually for supplies. There is a good harbour with a powerful flashing light, elevated 266 ft. and with a range of over 22 miles. The population in 1901 was about 1,200, and no one is allowed to reside on the island without the permission of the Resident. The island is bare and rocky, rather flat in appearance, and about 3 miles long by 2 wide. *Socotra* is distant about 130 miles from the nearest point of the Arabian coast, and some 500 miles from Aden. It is about 70 miles in length and 18 miles in width, and has an unbroken coast on the southern side. The interior may be described as a tableland from 700 to 1,900 ft. high (with rugged peaks rising to nearly 5,000 ft.), surrounded by a coast plain averaging from two to four miles in width; total area about 1,400 square miles; population about 12,000. Its principal products are gum and resin-producing plants and aloes; the island has been famous for the latter from the earliest times. The natives look for their chief means of support to their flocks and date-groves; melons, beans, and a little tobacco are also grown. The trade of the island is small, the chief exports being aloes and *ghi*. The capital is Tamrīda, situated on the northern shore. The island was formally placed under British protection in 1886, and the Sultan receives a stipend from the Government of 360 dollars, undertaking to enter into no arrangement with any foreign power without the sanction of the British Government. The *Kuria Muria Islands*, near the South Arabian coast, in long. 56° E., were 361 471 505 504 [162] 361 438 [162] 361

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



n the Indian Archipelago, published in 1886. In this work, which in Part 1 contains a remarkably full account of the country and the people by one who had never set foot in it but had learnt more about it than anyone who had, the author examined in great detail the Arab colonies in the East Indies. He comments on the fact that when an Arab established in the Indian Archipelago sees that one alone no longer suffices for his business, he engages in preference a young man of his family or of his tribe. This is the reason why in all the Arab colonies the majority of the immigrants are from the same part of the Hadhramaut. Thus he says the greater number of Arabs in the Indian Archipelago originally hail from the main wadi between Shibam and Tarim. The inhabitants of the Wadi Du'an prefer to go to the colonies in Aden, Jedda, Suakin, or Cairo. The people of the coast choose British India, above all the coast of Malabar and Hyderabad. The Beduins, he says, rarely leave their country. 114 167 472

The situation is much the same to-day. As regards the East Indies the majority of the emigrants to Java are from the Āl Kathīr, though the inhabitants of Tarim and Wadi Hajarein (particularly the towns of Badra and Haura), and the tribes of Nahd and Ja'da are also represented. The Singapore community originates principally from the towns of Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, and the Nahd tribesmen. Turning to East Africa the majority of the immigrants are from the Tamimi tribe, the Bā Haidera, and the tribes of Hajr. Zanzibar has a close connection with the ancient town of Shihr, and for this reason Hadhramis in the Protectorate are almost universally referred to as Shihiris. The Red Sea contingent is recruited mainly from the Wadi Du'an, and Du'anis are found in Egypt, Jedda, Abyssinia, and the Sudan. There are also a few from the Wadi Hajr in Jedda and from Shibam and the Nahd in Abyssinia and Sudan. 167

Although the general tendency is for the Hadhramaut colonies abroad to be recruited from particular places in the home country it will be observed that there is some overlapping, and this is due to the great extension of emigration and to the fact that there is nowadays more movement in the interior of the Hadhramaut. The Nahd tribesmen, notably, have many of them become almost townsmen, and living largely in the main wadi are in frequent touch with different parts of it.

There is yet another important contingent of Hadhramis abroad to be mentioned and this consists of those in the service of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Qu'aiti authorities informed me that this contingent amounts to 5,000 or 6,000 in number, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are Yafa'is, mostly with Hadhramaut connections. There are also many Hadhramaut tribes represented such as the Nūwah, the Ja'da, and even the Sei'ar. The command of the Nizam's bodyguard is held by the Sultan of Mukalla as hereditary Jemadar. This does not exhaust the list

29:Dunn S-4 (1952) 1952 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2



248 [241]

evident that a cash crop was needed to exploit fully the potentialities of the area and to make it self-supporting.

"A small quantity of X1730 A cottonseed was therefore introduced from Tokar in the Sudan in the 1946-47 season and though this was not successful in the first year, when tried again in 1948-49 it gave an average yield of some 1,750 lbs. of seed cotton per acre from an area of 80 acres. Production thereafter increased rapidly, reaching 1,500 bales of 400 lb. in the following year (1949-50) and 9,900 bales in 1950-1951.

## METHOD OF CULTIVATION

"The system of irrigation used in Abyan resembles most closely, but is not identical with, that of the Gash and Tokar in the Sudan. After the rains in July-September the water flows down from the mountains in two wadis, the Bana and the Hassan, and is held by slightly bow-shaped bunds about 30 feet high with a base of some 50 feet. From these the water is directed by means of deflectors into rough canals and thence into the fields. Later the upper-most bund is broken and the water goes down to the next bund where the process is repeated. This is continued until eventually the unused water finds its way to the sea.

"Cotton is planted about 10 days after watering, in furrows made by an ox plough and is later thinned to leave single plants at a spacing of 1 metre by 1 metre. The plants, which rely entirely on the moisture in the soil at the time of planting, often grow to a height of 12-13 feet, and produce a good crop, with lint which is little, if any, inferior to that spun from similar cotton grown in the Sudan.

## ABYAN BOARD

473 248

"In order to develop the irrigation system in Abyan, an Abyan Board was formed in 1947 representing the interests of the Department of Agriculture and the states concerned. The crops are grown on a cooperative basis, as in the Sudan, the proceeds being divided between the cultivator, the Abyan Board and the landowner. At present 50 per cent goes to the cultivator, 25 per cent to the Board and 25 per cent to the landowner. State taxes of 5 or 10 per cent are payable by the landlords, depending on the status of the land.

"The Board purchases the seed cotton from the cultivator at a fixed price, gins the seed cotton and sells the lint at present to the Raw Cotton Commission with whom a five-year agreement has been made. Any profit resulting from the sale of lint is used to continue the development and expansion of the scheme.

## OTHER AREAS

248

"Cotton is also grown in the Ahwar, Lodar and Yeramis districts, and in Lahej, where a small cotton growing industry has existed for a long time, with asiatic and punctatum types predominating. These types are a potential source of danger to the improved types grown in Abyan, both on account of the risk of deterioration in seed through accidental crossing and the introduction of pests such as pink bollworm. Attempts are now being made to bring cotton cultivation in Lahej under control in order to minimize these dangers.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



651 Revenue and expenditure of local governments in the Eastern Aden Protectorate which have adopted regular accounting methods are as follows:

*Revenue*

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Mukalla Government | Rs. 21,47,767 |
| (*b*) Sai'un " | 2,36,895 |
| (*c*) Wahidi " | 78,333 |

*Expenditure*

652

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Mukalla Government | Rs. 22,24,947 |
| (*b*) Sai'un " | 1,91,199 |
| (*c*) Wahidi " | 69,376 |

*Assets and Liabilities*

| | |
|---|---|
| Investments Mukalla Government | Rs. 35,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 46,783 |
| Investment Sai'un Government | 3,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 34,540 |
| Investment Wahidi Government | 60,000 |
| Savings Banks and Co-operative Societies | Nil |

[453 474]

## Chapter 5: Currency and Banking

435 Indian rupees and riyals (or Maria Theresa dollars) are the currency used, the 1947 rate of exchange being Rs. 2.6.0. to the M.T. Dollar.

## Chapter 6: Commerce

439 The principal imports are grains, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth and cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap, glassware, etc.; the principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, etc.

Imports and exports for the Eastern Aden Protectorate during 1947 were as follows:

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



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6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MMI Aden

Hadhramaut



the management of irrigation farming on some 5,000 acres. The value of the Board's quarter-share of the net crop obtained, after paying harvesting and threshing expenses in kind, was estimated at over Rs. 1,25,000.

Farming in Abyan, largely influenced by the Board's operations, proved important to the economy of the Western Aden Protectorate. In the production of millet alone, it is estimated that a 30,000 bag crop, equal to 3,000 metric tons, was raised. A large portion of this was held as a reserve, or had been marketed to the easterly districts at the end of the year. General control on the export of this grain to Aden itself was maintained, and the flow of the crop to the districts to the east was encouraged.

*The Wadi Hadhramaut Rehabilitation Scheme*

This was wound up by Government at the end of the 1947–48 financial year. Farmers with outstanding loans were given ten years in which to repay, the basis of repayment being at the rate of 2 per cent of the total loan from the spring crop, 3 per cent from the autumn crop, and 5 per cent from the winter crop grown. By the end of the year, it was apparent that this system of deferred repayment was not proving satisfactory. Moneylenders had again become active, while late planting and reduced acreage were noticeable in many districts. This undoubtedly resulted from lack of foresight on the part of many farmers, who had failed to reserve sufficient seed and fodder and preferred to resort to moneylenders for obtaining their needs on credit.

At the end of the year, proposals were on hand for the introduction of numbers of diesel-driven irrigation pumps for use in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

*Co-operation*

The Beihan Farmers' Association, formed in the previous year, progressed in a satisfactory manner, and much useful experience was gained by the officials of the association. A good *saif* season helped the members, but this was followed by an almost complete lack of water in the *kharif*. In spite of these difficulties, the association was able to help its members in their requirements of seed, stock, and cash needed for well equipment and for concentrates for feeding livestock. At the end of the year, the association had acquired some Rs. 12,000 from members' subscriptions and from interest charged on loans.

This association cannot be termed a co-operative society in the true sense of the word. It is an association which has the full support of the local Government, and which at present makes use of Government offices and storehouses for its activities. In the present stage of development this is considered to be the most desirable form of association for Beihan.

*Western Aden Protectorate*

The Western Aden Protectorate fisheries are of minor importance compared with those of the Eastern Protectorate. Shuqra, the seat of the Fadhli Sultan, is, however, a fishing port with a considerable export trade in dried fish

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



## PRODUCTION

### ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231

*Estimate of Livestock in 1952*

| | *Western Protectorate* | *Eastern Protectorate* |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 35,000 | 45,000 |
| Cattle | 60,000 | 8,000 |
| Goats | 500,000 | 355,000 |
| Sheep | 150,000 | 50,000 |
| Donkeys | 3,500 | 3,500 |

Most of the animals are kept by peasant farmers who depend on animal products for an important part of their diet. Away from the less settled areas pastoral, nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes own large numbers of livestock and depend on stock products for food and for sale and barter to obtain other requirements.

Towards the end of 1952 drought conditions affected the production and general condition of livestock. No serious animal disease was recorded during the year.

There is no separate Veterinary Department in the Protectorate but the Director of Agriculture undertakes preventive measures to control important diseases such as rinderpest and horse-sickness. 647 232

A herd of Ongole (Nellore) cattle is maintained by the Abyan Board. It is proposed to test the productivity of this breed and the suitability of animals raised locally from the breed for draught purposes in Abyan.

### FORESTRY

No true forest exists in the Protectorate. Trees and shrubs common to arid regions in this latitude are found, while a dense growth of Tamarisk and Salvadora is found as "corridor forest" on the sides of the larger flood courses. Acacia is the most important species at all altitudes ; a semi-cultivated species of great value for timber and for honey-gathering bees is the Elb (*Ziziphus spina christi*). 137

A general dearth of forest products for timber, building materials and for browse for livestock is apparent. In many parts of the Protectorate, and particularly in areas close to Aden, the coastal towns of the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut towns, destruction of vegetation for charcoal production and for fuel has devastated large areas. So far no satisfactory measures have been taken to regenerate such areas. Large amounts of capital and firm action by local Governments are needed for this. 185

### CO-OPERATION

The Beihan Farmers' Association, now in its fifth year, continued to benefit the Beihan district. This Association provides its members with seed stocks and grain supplies on credit. At the end of the year the assets were estimated at £14,850 and liabilities at £8,779. 476

The Audhali-Kaur Farmers' Association has made moderate progress since its formation in 1950. It is primarily concerned with the organisation of vegetable production, transport and marketing for its members who farm with the aid of lift irrigation in the mid-altitude area of the "Audhali-Kaur".

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office 3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



476 The Ahwar Farmers' Association was started with the nomination by the Regent of a chairman and managing committee of 12, assisted by a secretary. The committee functioned during 1952 as a kind of Agricultural Board to deal with local irrigation arrangements, cotton growing and marketing, and development work. It provided a useful link between the Department of Agriculture and the farming community.

## FISHERIES

226 The same type of fishing is carried out in the Protectorates as in the Colony with more emphasis on beach seines. The most extensive fishery is the coast from Mukalla eastwards to beyond Qishn. In the winter months sardine of the Sardinella and Dussumreria types are found together with *Scomberomerus spp.* and tunny. The Western Protectorate coast in winter generally supports an intensive fishery for anchovy (*Stolephorus indicus*) by beach seines. In addition a small shrimp is also caught by this method. The fisheries are localised but seasonal fishermen tend to follow the shoals along the coast.

Encircling gill nets, bottom nets and lift nets are little used in the Protectorate as local opinion is strongly opposed to methods of increasing yields for fear that the fish will become extinct.

439 Fishing is financed in the same way as in Colony by merchants.
226 Fish, surplus to normal requirements, is salted and dried for export to India, Africa and Ceylon but there is considerable local consumption
255 inland. Dried sardines are used for camel fodder, tobacco fertiliser
254 and human consumption. One fish factory for canning tunny and sardines, which was established in Mukalla in 1950 and which used an Italian trawler for supplies, has had to close down owing to lack of capital. Fish meal was also produced at this factory. No cold storage or ice-making plants exist.

435 Marketing arrangements are the same as in the Colony: fish prices
226 are about 50 per cent lower for the consumer in the Protectorate.

The sardine fishery which had failed for three years showed signs of revival in the early winter of 1951 along the Eastern Protectorate coast. Shoals of larger fish were also abundant and the upward trend has again been noticed in the winter of 1952.

654 The Fisheries Department is described on page 27. It has surveyed
226 little of the Protectorate waters except by Danish seine netting. The results have been exceptionally poor owing to the rough nature of the bottom. Plans for extensive and intensive work in the Protectorates have been delayed because of schemes in the Colony. A certain amount of work has been done in Western Protectorate waters from Perim to beyond Shuqra but only one area showed signs of promise with Danish seine nets: half a ton of *Lethrinus spp.* was the best single individual haul. The fishermen from Aden Colony range into the Western Protectorate and on three nights at the end of the Shamal of 1952, with assistance from the Fisheries Department vessel, secured 14½ tons of *Scomberomerus spp.* from the west of Aden. These co-operative efforts will be resumed in the Shamal of 1953.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# APPENDIX 1

## THE ABYAN SCHEME

*Purpose*

2421 (a) To utilise all surface flow and suitable underground supplies of water in order to develop and maintain irrigation farming in the Abyan district.

(b) To organise and develop the production of food crops and cash crops, and to assist in their marketing.

(c) To increase the wealth and prosperity of the people and the Governments of the local States and of the Protectorate.

*Background*

The Abyan district is one of ancient development for irrigation farming. Centuries of insecurity made the area derelict, until the settlement of a feud and the entry of H.M. Government to maintain law and order.

From 1941 to 1943 efforts were made to restore, by traditional methods, irrigation of the southern part of the district. In 1943 654 Government entered the derelict areas of the southern and central sections and a four-year development plan was started to restore and maintain irrigation systems on traditional lines. Control was in the hands of the Department of Agriculture; funds were provided by the [651] Colony of Aden as part of the increased food production campaign; irrigation charges of one-quarter share of the crop were levied.

In 1947 the Abyan Board was formed by an administrative order of 2442 the Governor of Aden. The Board was accepted by the two States whose territories were covered by the schemes. In December, 1948, a 476 loan of £20,000 was approved from Colonial Development and Welfare funds. In August, 1948, a further £250,000 was approved. With these funds the Board embarked on the initial stages of its plan of development.

*Organisation*

Development was on a partnership basis between:

(a) Landowners (the States, private individuals or trusts) who provide land;

(b) owner occupiers and tenant farmers who provide the working animals, implements, general farming capital, and the labour for crop production; and

(c) the Board, a development authority, which undertakes the construction of irrigation works, maintains the irrigation system, and regulates the distribution of irrigation water. The Board also maintains special control over the cotton crop which is sold to the Board at agreed prices, processed in the Board's ginneries, and sold to the Raw Cotton Commission.

2 43 000 Up to 1949–50 agricultural production was primarily concerned with the cultivation of sorghum and sesame. Trials with long-staple

Shihr who forward their letters by caravan or special messenger. 205
Outward mails are disposed of in a similar manner. At Shibam I noticed a box inside the gate of the city in charge of one of the merchant's men in which letters were being placed for despatch to Aden by aeroplane. Runners can cover the distance from Mukalla to Du'an in 24 hours, and Mukalla to Shibam in three [481] days.

**Harbours.**

The only harbours for steamers are Mukalla and Shihr. Mukalla 504
promontory extends about 1¾ miles south-eastward. Ras Marbat is its south-western extremity, and Ras Kodar, eight cables eastward of Ras Marbat, is the southern extremity. Ras Mukalla, about three cables north-eastward of Ras Kodar, is the eastern extremity of the promontory.

Mukalla bay is the north-eastern part of the bight between Fuwa and Ras Marbat. About 1½ miles north-westward of Ras Marbat are two small bays, separated by a projection, extending about three cables south-westward, on which stands part of Mukalla town. The western of these two bays is the more frequented by boats. The eastern bay is seldom used owing to the swell which rolls in during the north-east monsoon. The shore bank in Mukalla bay, on which anchorage can be obtained, extends about half-a-mile offshore near the town, increasing westward to a width of nearly a mile off Fuwa. A stone jetty close to the Customs House is the usual landing place. There is no lighthouse, but a single lamp fixed on a pole in a small boat gives the only guiding light into the harbour. During the south-west monsoon dhows anchor at Bandar Burum where there is anchorage in depths of from five to seven fathoms, good holding ground, south-eastward of Burum village, but a ground swell rolls in.

Shihr roadstead is open with anchorage in depths of from 7 to 12 fathoms, sand and shells, from seven cables to one mile offshore.

Besides Mukalla, Burum, and Shihr the dhow harbours along the Hadhramaut coast are: Bandar Ruweini, about two miles northward from Ras Mukalla, has depths of from four to six fathoms, and native craft shelter here during the south-west monsoon; Hami, where there is anchorage off Hami village in depths of seven to eight fathoms about a mile offshore; Sharma bay, with a good anchorage in depths of from four to five fathoms; Al Qarn, an anchorage where small vessels can lie safely in depths of from two to four fathoms (Sharma bay and Al Qarn lie close to the town of Dis; Al Qarn is the more frequented harbour); and Ras Qus'eir, a mile southward of Qus'eir, where there is anchorage, but without shelter, in depths of from 12 to 14 fathoms.

**Shipping.**

There are two Lines calling frequently but not regularly. Usually 505
each calls twice a month. One is the Halal Shipping Company—Agent, Yusuf Sherif; and the other Cowasjee Dinshaw and Bros.—

462 roaming far afield in search of water and pasture. They work in the fields, milk the animals (with the exception, in some cases, of camels), gather the firewood, and fetch the water. They are not [562] so careful to keep themselves veiled, finding it sufficient to draw their head cloths in front of their mouths. If she belongs to a nomadic tribe a woman will follow her husband in his search for grazing, carrying the household utensils, usually one large saucepan, on her head and the baby on her back. Only very occasionally do the women emigrate with their husbands, but we travelled with such a family on the start of their journey to Zanzibar to seek a fortune.

567 The remaining women are those of the poor townspeople, the 462 female servants, slaves, or Subians. The last two are least particular about veiling. The others, no matter how poor, will always cover at least the lower part of their faces. Toil is the portion of all of them: they labour in the gardens, help the men and animals to draw water from the wells, and in many towns they are the [482] principal water carriers, bearing their burden in skins slung across their backs. The servants and slave women in well-to-do houses lead an easier existence. They cook the food, do such cleaning as is ever done, and fetch and carry for the ladies of the household. Slaves may be taken as concubines, but find their husbands among their own class. They are much favoured, being brought up as members of the family, and, like many privileged retainers, usually become somewhat outspoken and domineering in their old age.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PRODUCTION AND RESOURCES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

311 The natural resources of the Hadhramaut, such as they are, are principally agricultural. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize that only a very small proportion of the total area of the country, [131] which may amount to 35,000 or 40,000 square miles, is suitable for the growing of crops. As a general rule only wadis can be so used and the bulk of the land surface consists of the barren rock of mountains and steppes.

### Tobacco.

249 The principal crop of economic importance is the well-known 438 Hamumi tobacco, and Gheil ba Wazir is the principal centre where it is grown. Practically speaking the production in that place is 655 entirely Government-directed and all the land is State land.

The nurseries are situated about three miles from Gheil at Al 312 Quf. Here there is an apparently inexhaustible, somewhat brackish, water supply at depths to about 30 feet from the surface. There are three deep pools which are tapped by subterranean channels for Gheil and Al Harth, the source of the Gheil water supply being called Humat al Farath, and that for Al Harth being called Humat al Harth. Along the line of channels from these pools there are

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 of a broad, gently sloping bedrock drainage surface. The plateau abounds in suitable rock surfaces, and they serve as catchment areas for occasional cloudbursts. Walls, six to eight inches high, fashioned of closely packed but uncemented rock fragments and slabs, are

[291 411 362]

FIG. 21—Bedouins of Wadi Hajr. Note the attire and appearance: bare feet or sandals; short sarong; cartridge belt; curved dagger; long, black, glistening, oily hair; ever present musket. To the stocks of their antiquated guns, goat skulls are frequently attached, as these are thought to provide greater comfort than the original design.

laid out radially from the well so that surface drainage will converge on it from a wide area.

415 401 483 To transport water, Bedouins use bags of uncut goat skins, tied firmly at the leg and neck openings. For drawing well water, the skin is fashioned into a bucket and attached to a rope passing over a pulley in a crudely constructed scaffolding of palm logs lashed together with coconut-fiber cord. The bucket is raised and lowered by donkeys, cattle, or slaves, with the assistance of an appropriate harness. To augment the lifting power applied to each bucket, it is customary to excavate an incline downward from the mouth of the well, equal in length to the depth of the water table, and it is along such a trench that man and beast plod long, weary hours each day. When a bulging and leaking skin has been lifted slightly above the welltop, it is pulled over and lowered into a catchment basin connected with the local irrigation system.

## THE CARAVANS

492 438 439 Many Bedouins, not engaged in agriculture or herding, find occupation in the camel transport system of the Hadhramaut. A man

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM: Hadhramaut MM2



Sultan
Awadh died in 1909 and was succeeded by his son Ghalib, a man of advanced views, who was extremely anxious for the development of his country in which he established peace and good order. His application for, and financing of, a mission to investigate agricultural and mineral resources of his country deserves special mention. He approached the High Commissioner for Egypt, and in 1919 Mr. O. H. Little was sent to report on the mineral resources and Mr. H. M. Heald on the agriculture. Mr. Little's report appeared in 1925, "The Geography and Geology of Mukalla," and the results of the agricultural survey appear in Mr. Heald's official report. 643 654

Sultan Ghalib died, universally regretted, in 1922, and was succeeded by his brother 'Umar, whose achievements will sufficiently appear elsewhere in this report. The present Sultan, whose accession to the Mukalla state was determined by the will of Sultan Ghalib, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. 643

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The late Qu'aiti Sultan was absent from the country during my visit, and in fact the greater part of his reign was spent in India. Just prior to my visit, however, he had performed a tour of the Hadhramaut, and this was the first occasion on which a reigning Sultan had undertaken the journey. Leaving Mukalla on 29th July His Highness, who was accompanied by his *Wazir*, other officials 200 soldiers and a brass band, arrived at Wadi Du'an on 4th August. He stayed in Du'an six days and left for Hajarein on the 10th August. The party reached Hajarein on the evening of the 11th, and next day left by car for Meshhed. On the 14th, Hureidha was reached and Haura the same evening. On the 15th, His Highness proceeded to Al Qatn where he spent two days, and left on the 17th for Shibam where he stayed seven days, during which the Kathīri Sultan visited him with a large retinue and invited him to the Kathīri part of the wadi. Sultan 'Umar arrived at Seiyun on the 24th and was well received. He proceeded next day to Tarim, and on the 26th visited 'Einat, returning to Tarim the same day. On the 27th he returned to Shibam, where he stayed a further week before going to Al Qatn on 3rd September. On his way back to Mukalla, which he reached on the 14th, Sultan 'Umar visited 643 484 [644]

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The Naqib succeeded in procrastinating until his troops returned from Du'an, when war ensued and the Qu'aitis were defeated. This war was known as the Nusfa or struggle for half the share. 648 643

The Qu'aiti then had resort to the British Government who ordered the Naqib to pay the amount claimed. On his failure he was removed from Mukalla, and thus in al Hijja 1299 (A.D. 1882) Mukalla and its dependencies came into the possession of 'Abdulla and 'Awadh bin 'Umar.

In Muharram 1307 (1888) the Qu'aiti entered into a treaty with the British, and was recognised as Sultan of Mukalla and its dependencies. When 'Abdulla died, there was a dispute between 'Awadh and the sons of 'Abdulla as to the paramountcy. The British Government intervened and ordered the removal of 'Abdulla's sons in consideration of compensation to be paid. Then Sultan 'Awadh and his descendants became the rulers of the whole country.

643 Henin and the Nahd tribe. During his tour he arranged the
484 following truces: At 'Einat, on 26th August, a two years' truce between the Seiyids of Āl Hussein and Āl al Hamed; at Al Qatn on 5th September a truce between all the Yafa'i tribesmen and their clans and sections to last five years; on 6th September at the same place, a 10 years' truce between the tribesmen of Āl Makhashin of the Nahd, and another of five years between the clan of Āl Mahfudh, and, again at Al Qatn, on 7th September, an eight months' truce between the Nahd tribesmen; on 9th September in Wadi al 'Ain a truce of five years between the tribesmen of Āl Batati, and another of five years between the Āl Batati and Āl Mahfudh.

643 His Highness left for India on 15th October 1934 for medical reasons. He did not return to Mukalla again, for he died in India of cancer, after a long and painful illness, in March 1936. Recognition has now been given to his nephew and successor, His Highness Sultan Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, who has been accorded a salute of 11 guns.

## CHAPTER V.

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

173 I have already drawn attention to the importance of a knowledge of traditional history, and there is one aspect of history in par-
829 ticular of which any one dealing with Arabs must have some knowledge, and that is genealogy. Arabs would regard families going back to the Conquest as mushroom growths, and many can carry their own trees back to Adam. Each one will at least know the main lines of his descent, and though in its earlier stages it is legendary, this is of no importance to others than purists, for it is believed. Wherever known, the origin of each tribe is indicated in this report, and genealogical trees show the accepted descent of tribal ancestors from Shem.

829 Racially, the Arabs divide themselves into four categories, of which three are represented in the Hadhramaut, the Baida or ex-
173 tinct Arabs represented by the sons of 'Ad, the 'Ariba or descend-
162 ants of Qahtan or Joktan embracing all the remaining Arabs except
565 the Seiyids and a few sons of Ma'ad who, being descended from Ishmael, are Musta 'Ariba.

The population of the Hadhramaut may be divided into seven social classes, almost castes. They are not all represented in every part of the country, and the order in which they appear below is partly historical and partly represents the order of their importance.

### SEIYIDS.

162 The Seiyids of the Hadhramaut derive their descent from Ahmed
565 bin 'Isa al Mohajir who migrated to the Hadhramaut from Basra and died there about 1,050 years ago. His grave is on the right bank of the main Wadi Hadhramaut at Al Hasisa, a few miles

# CHAPTER VIII.

## COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

### Roads and Road Transport.

Despite the fact that of late years the motor-car has become a familiar object in parts of the Hadhramaut, the camel and the ass are still the principal means of conveyance for man and goods in the country, and although the tracks suitable for cars are certain to be increased, the bulk of the interior trade will continue to be carried in the traditional Arabian fashion. Increase of motor tracks will, in fact, probably mean increased earnings to caravan men, as there will be more goods to distribute over short carries off the main routes. 492 493

The principal caravan routes are :— 487

*Mukalla* (donkey route)—Tila—Zemen as Saghir—Hisi—Dahma—Jol Ubeid—Wadi Du'an—Sif—Hajarein—Meshhed—Haura—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Shibam.

*Mukalla* (camel route)—Rashnid—Haj Bal Qabrein—Kheila—Wadi Du'an—Sif—Hajarein—Meshhed—Haura—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Shibam.

*Mukalla*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Sufeila—Nihār—Sāh—Shibam—Seiyun.

*Mukalla*—Harshiat — Tokhm — Bagha — Jirwit—Batha—Marsa Mukalla—'Umn 'Ainein—Bawerqat—Haura—Hauta—Shibam—Seiyun—Seheil Qibli—Tarim—'Einat.

*Mukalla*—Fuwwa—Kherba—Bahth—Yuwan.

*Mukalla*—Fuwwa—Kherba—Bahth—Kamina—Sidara.

*Shihr*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Ma'di—Reida—Had al Jabir—Herū—Mesenda—Tarim—Maseilat as Silma—Qahir—'Einat.

*Shihr*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Ma'di—Reida—Had al Jabir—Herū—Mesenda—Tarim—Seiyun.

*Shihr*—Ras 'Aqabat al 'Arsha—'Abul—'Ais—Gheil bin Yamīn—Herū—Wadi Na'r—Husn bin Dhoban—Tarim.

*Seihut* (camels only)—Al 'Ais—Semarma—Al Gheil—Buzūn—Teheir—Maqrat—Al Qoz—Bin Qora—Morheih—Hanun—Bin Sheikh Nān—Hamir—Tabūrkum—Sena—'Qabr Hud—Fughma—As Som—Qasm—'Einat—Tarim.

*Shibam*—Husn al 'Abr—Nejran—San'a.

*Shibam*—Shabwa—San'a.

*Shibam*—Yab'uth—San'a.

There are also caravans to and from Merkha, Hadhina, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. 484

Caravans from Mukalla reach Du'an in about six days, and from Shihr and Mukalla arrive at the principal towns of the Wadi Hadhramaut in up to ten days. Caravans from Mukalla to Hajr take three days. Caravans travelling between Shibam and San'ā take fourteen or fifteen days over the journey with loaded camels.

481 It is four days journey from Shibam to Husn al 'Abr and five days from Husn al 'Abr to Nejran.

485 Routes from the coast are well provided with *siqayas*, or public fountains, near villages, and *qarifs* and *naqbas*, artificial pools and cisterns for rain-water, in the desert places. There are also of course many natural springs and water holes in the wadis. There are *muraba'as* (rest houses, called *madharab* in the low country and *sira* in the upper) at intervals approximately of a few hours' journey all over the principal routes crossing barren country. There are no definitely appointed stages, but caravans halt at places where they can graze and water their camels. They travel an average of six or seven hours a day.

412 From fifty to fifty-three thousand camels leave the camel park
489 called Therb outside the west gate of Mukalla every year for the interior. From Shihr the number is from 30,000 to 32,000. These figures include 5,000 to 8,000 in the former case and 2,000 in the latter of camels carrying food for the camel-men. Camels for this purpose are provided at the rate of about two to ten loaded camels.

Departures from and to the coast take place almost daily except during the month of Ramadhan. During that month caravans leave Mukalla and Shihr in order to arrive at their destinations by the feast day. Departures from and arrivals at Shibam for and from the interior are not so frequent.

From four hundred to a thousand loaded camels a month enter Shibam alone from the coast. It is estimated that a thousand annually come from San'ā in three or four caravans, but, as stated elsewhere, there is an increase if there is a demand.

An estimate given of the number of camels from other parts of the Protectorate and other parts of the Yemen is fourteen caravans of 1,000 camels each arriving mostly during the winter and spring. Caravans from Nejran are rare.

494 The 1934 fares from Mukalla to Du'an were as follows:—

484
435

1. By donkey, *wa'ā* and *'aser*, that is to say, riding over level country and over the rough and hilly places, standard rate, 15 to 16 dollars, but with variation according to weight, the limits each way being from 12 to 20 dollars.

2. By donkey, *watā*, i.e., riding only over the level country, standard fare, 10 to 11 dollars with limits according to weight of from 8 to 15 dollars.

Each passenger is allowed free transport of up to three *frasilas* (1 *frasila* = 20 lb.) of food.

3. By camel, *watā* and *'aser*, 10 dollars.

4. By camel, *watā*, 5 dollars.

There is no allowance for weight by camel but there is a free allowance of up to three *frasilas* of food.

The freight rates are: By camel, 10 dollars for 1 *bahar* of 20 *frasilas*; by donkey, 1½ dollars a *frasila*.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Besides the payment of fares, rations have to be provided for the men at the rate of one man for one animal in the case of donkeys, and one man for up to three animals for camels. For donkey-men the rations cost from ½ to 1½ dollars a head according to whether they eat with the passengers or not. For camel men the cost of the rations is 2 dollars a head as they take eight days over the journey instead of six.

Other normal fares are: Shibam to Ba Rumeidan 5 dollars a camel, the normal fare, but I was asked 25 dollars a camel, 5 dollars for the *muqaddam*, and 30 dollars for the Beduins' broker to accompany the caravan. Tarim to Seihut 20 dollars a camel. This route necessitated two *siyaras*, each costing 10 dollars, and a Seiyid who had to be given 60 dollars.

The Du'an route is worked by the Marāshida and Khāmā. The Wadi Leisar route by the Hālka, and the Wadi al 'Ain route by the 'Awābitha.

**Motor Transport.**

The following tracks are passable and regularly used by cars:—

| | Miles. |
|---|---|
| *Mukalla*—seashore—Wadi Tifat—Landing ground—Fuwwa ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 9 |
| *Mukalla*—shore—Wadi Mubekha—Sherij Bashhar—Wadi Tifat—Fuwwa—Lermi—Kherba ... ... | 15·2 |
| *Mukalla*—along the shore—Hali ... ... ... | 12 |
| *Mukalla*—Manawarih—Sherij Bashhar—Fuwwa—Lermi—Kherba ... ... ... ... ... ... | 16·75 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Baqrein—Bakezebur ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Wadi Seded—Wadi Rukub—Buweish—Wadi al Feleq—Reida landing ground—Wadi Huweira—Shiheir—Wadi Ghasam—Gheil Ba Wazir ... ... ... ... | 33·6 |
| *Mukalla*—Khalf—Ras Mukalla—shore—Shihr (this route passes close to Shiheir and is an alternative route to Gheil Ba Wazir from either Mukalla or Shihr) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 42·1 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Bir Ba Zambur—Harshiat—Tila as Sufla ... ... ... | 10·4 |
| *Shihr*—Dufeigha ... ... ... ... ... | 2·7 |
| *Shihr*—Wadi Rahba—Tubala ... ... ... | 5·6 |
| *Shihr*—Wadi Karangahem—Habis—Gheil Ba Wazir (to Habis 12 miles) ... ... ... ... | 24 |
| *Shihr*—Dis—Ras al Qarn ... ... ... ... | |
| *Shibam*—Hauta (al Qatn)—Haura—Meshhed—Hajarein ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | |
| *Shibam*—Hedhira—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Farudh—Hepin (this route continues to Hureidha) ... ... | 25 |

mean that his position *vis à vis* the Confederation is wholly negli- 643
gible. The influence that an individual ruler exerts over a con-
federation of tribesmen depends to a large extent on the personality 642
of the individual and I found plenty of evidence that Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur is universally respected, admired, and held in affection amongst the Shenafir tribesmen. Even though his word is not universally law his services are much sought in mediation between different factions, and there is no lack of factions in the Confederation. Along the length of the valley from the east of Shibam [484]
to the east of Tarim, which is considered Kathīri, village after village is a small city-state on its own. It is difficult to pass from one to another, even now that the motor-car has come, without the traditional *siyar* or escort.

Typical of the situation has been the state of war that has existed 578
for some time between the Āl 'Umar and Āl 'Āmr clans. They 669
have centred round the respectably-sized town of Al Ghurfa between Shibam and Seiyun. Five or six years ago some of the tribesmen of the Āl 'Umar started interfering with the inhabitants of Al Ghurfa. Bin 'Abdat, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Āmr, protested to Salim bin Ja'fer, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Umar, and proposed that they should unite to make peace in Al Ghurfa. Hitherto disputes in the town [692]
were commonly referred to the settlement of one Sheikh Bā Abūd, but this arrangement appears to have broken down. Bin 'Abdat informed Bin Ja'fer that if he would not help him, he (Bin 'Abdat) would establish control in the town himself. As Bin Ja'fer did not give him support he took action himself and established order. The new state of affairs was not popular, and probably resulted in some further disorder which had its repercussions beyond local limits. At this juncture the Qu'aiti *wazir* came to Shibam and brought pressure on Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur to unite with him and Salim bin Ja'fer in compelling Bin 'Abdat to vacate Al Ghurfa, and retire to his original place outside. Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur marched against Bin 'Abdat with one gun and some troops; Seiyid Hussein, the Qu'aiti *wazir*, also brought a gun and some troops from Shibam, Salim bin Ja'fer brought his own men, and the three forces collected at Al Ghiyel. The town of Al Ghurfa was bombarded, and, as it was described to me, " they had a good battle but without success ".

Seiyid Hussein, the *wazir*, retired after having successfully com- 669
plicated the issue, and Sultan 'Ali immediately followed suit, leaving 725
Bin 'Abdat and Bin Ja'fer to fight it out together. Both sides entrenched themselves. The elaborate system of fortifications and communication trenches, still visible at Al Ghurfa, reminded me strongly of France. They extend over nearly a mile, and in this small patch of the valley both sides lived an uncomfortable life for several years. Any cultivation that was done was done [722]
under difficulties, and the fields could only be approached through trenches. Salim bin Ja'fer enlivened the proceedings by 715
importing a sort of armoured car from Java. This is now derelict

B: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



132 mount steadily, until travel at midday becomes unpleasant and is not even practiced by the thoroughly accustomed Bedouins. At the peak of summer, travel is reduced to a minimum, and that undertaken only at night, probably more out of consideration for the Bedouin's valued beast of burden than for himself. A period of extreme heat lasting about forty days, known as the "arbainia" (*arba*, Arabic for "four"), usually begins about May 4, and there is another period of eight days later in the year.

The atmosphere, especially on the Jol, is exceptionally clear, save when an occasional dust storm darkens the sky. The dust storms affect large areas, for the wind-borne material is fine and easily distributed; but they do not extend to high altitudes. Fliers over the Jol report that at a few thousand feet above ground level the air normally remains clear. When moisture-laden winds are blowing landward from the Gulf of Aden, cloud banks cover the narrow coastal zone between the sea and the precipitous margin of the interior plateau.

Few or no instrumental data are at hand regarding rainfall in this part of Arabia. Heald, who reported on the agriculture of the Hadhramaut in 1921, says:

> The rain-fall along the coast is practically nil, some years they have one or two inches, but useless for agriculture, the floods being from the interior rain a long distance from Mukalla; when we were in the district from December to April, we had two or three showers, but every time too small for the rain gauge to measure.[1]

## The Plateau and Its Borders

133 In the Hadhramaut the narrow, sandy coast is bordered by a belt of mountains 30 miles wide. At the western edge of the Hadhramaut, about 100 miles east of Aden, rugged coast ranges rise to 7000 or 8000 feet. They are succeeded on the east by slightly lower table-topped and scarp-bounded mountains, whose height gradually decreases to about 2000 feet at Ras Fartak.

Between these mountains and the interior desert of Rub' al Khali, the southern border of which runs parallel to the coast at a distance of 200 miles, stretches a highly dissected and terraced tableland, sloping very gently to the north and east. Dissection is greatest in the Hadhramaut, Maseila, and Hafif drainage basins; the fringe of the interior desert shows considerably less erosion. The eastward slope of the plateau has an average gradient of 1 in 500 (in the 610 kilometers between Hafif and Shabwa the surface rises from sea level to 1200 meters). The over-all northward component of slope is less, perhaps 1 in 1000; it cannot be determined because the altitude of the Rub' al Khali is not known. The gradient is not uniform,

113 [1] Quoted by W. H. Ingrams: A Report on the Social, Economic and Political Condition of the Hadhramaut, *Colonial No. 123*, London, 1936, p. 8.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other 492
[illegible] in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, 438
[illegible] tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not 439
[illegible], are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

[291
411]
[177

FIG. 22—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general attire, especially the sarong, which has been introduced by Hadhrami emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to pro- 457
vide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands 167
who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan 484
and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, [437]
packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

484 pasture lies beyond a certain point; or at noonday halts the camels become "temporarily lost."

Moonlit nights are considered most desirable for travel. Camels 233 are grazed wherever pasture is most abundant, regardless of the time of day—the heat may be intense—or the progress of the journey. This would not be necessary if small quantities of fodder, such as millet and hay, were carried. This practice, however, is not popular, owing either to custom or to what may be considered unwarranted expense, despite the fact that the animals could be maintained in superior condition and at the same time be worked harder to a degree that would more than offset the cost of purchased fodder.

[262] On the march camelmen provide for their own maintenance with small amounts of dates, bread, coffee, and tea, which add little to 484 the burden a caravan can transport. Therefore, provided the equipment of a traveling group is not too cumbersome and the personnel not too large, the unit can maintain itself on the march four or five weeks without replenishing supplies. Speed of travel will be governed by local grazing, water supply, and terrain, the condition of the camels, and the "temperament" of the caravan leader—an unknown usually capable of "adjustment."

492 In the caravans of those not strictly limited in resources, the 436 donkey is invariably included because it is comparatively easy to ride and a more comfortable mount than a camel. Camels can be hired for 1.00 to 1.25 Maria Theresa dollars (the standard currency in the interior) a day and donkeys for about 1.00 dollar.

## Bedouin "Warfare"

721 It is common knowledge that caravans have been both successfully 484 and unsuccessfully raided; but just what tactics the Bedouins employ on such occasions is somewhat of a mystery. At 4.00 a. m. one day a small party was plodding silently through bushes and mist along a broad wadi bottom leading to the sea. Through a knowledge of the prevailing wind as revealed by ripple marks in the sand, the leader cautiously picked his way and at length found a faint trail incised [233] in the bank. About 10.00 a. m. the caravan came to rest in the spotted shade of a leafless camel's-thorn for the customary noontime forage; and while the camels fed on the sharp, crunchy thorns, the Bedouins reclined on the sand in the meager shade of the dry branches.

Without apparent warning the whole camp was suddenly alive, for downwind had come a faint call, which one man had been alert enough to catch. The sharp-eyed Bedouins soon discovered two minute figures on the crest of a distant dune overlooking the caravan route ahead; and it was at once recalled that this route followed a tribal boundary between two groups now rumored to be unfriendly. The

strangers were assumed to be enemy scouts, the advance guard of a larger fighting force behind some distant dune. 721 484

The "ambushed" caravan comprised sixteen Bedouins, only twelve of them armed. This fact, however, the theoretically opposing force was supposed not to know, since it is an unwritten law of the desert that every Bedouin travels with rifle and ammunition. Without hesitation the leader selected three armed men to act as scouts and an unarmed messenger. Hastily the four men washed down a few mouthfuls of food, since they did not know when they would be able to eat again, filled with water from the large reservoir skins some small ones suitable for short, flying trips, and then slipped swiftly off across the sand in a peculiar bowlegged glide. Under cover of a near-by dune the caravan men scrambled to its summit, at once opened fire, and drove the two intruders from view. They then dashed ahead to the dune on which their adversaries had stood and later advanced from hilltop to hilltop parallel to the caravan route and between it and "enemy" territory. In the meantime the camels had been hastily packed and started on the march along the now protected trail, which they followed without intermission until sundown. [411]

The two "enemy" tribesmen were not seen again, and it was concluded that their actions had been misinterpreted. Freedom from molestation during the remainder of the day did not, however, cause the caravan leader to relinquish vigilance. The party was scheduled to pass at about 3.00 p. m. a water hole to one side of the trail and hidden from it by a dune. As a method of precaution an advance guard of four went ahead and, just as the caravan came abreast of this spot, converged on the well from four directions. Although the strategy displayed by the Bedouins and their chief was happily unnecessary, the "shadow" campaign showed how fearless and cautious these men of the desert can be.

## Fishers and Ropemakers

During certain of the winter months sardines abound along the Hadhramaut coast, traveling in large schools, which can be seen from the shore as black patches on the surface of the sea. Natives wade out with hand nets or cast from small canoes, making enormous hauls with considerable ease. The sardines are much appreciated by the Bedouins as an addition to their diet of dates, millet, and goat or sheep meat and are eaten either raw or cooked. The fish are taken from the nets, tossed up on the beach to dry, and then packed into large bundles for transport to the interior, where they are used for camel fodder or fertilizer. Fish oil is obtained from that part of the catch which is dumped into pits and allowed to decompose. Sting rays, sharks, porpoises, and lobsters are also taken from the sea; but as the use of lobster is unknown, it is cast back from the nets. 136 226 237 [262]

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



114 Berg's book written in 1886 was recommended to me by the governor of Aden as the best source of information they had at the government office at Aden. I also found that at that time the Royal Air Force was making use of Van den Berg's sketch-map in the scouting flights which they made over Hadramaut, and had corrected but few serious faults in it.

114 484 The attention of travelers in Arabia has been directed chiefly to the Hejaz and to what is known as Arabia Felix (Yemen), the center of civilization in former times. For this reason Hadramaut has been somewhat neglected, and also because it was so difficult to get into the interior. This was a closed land, not only for Christians but for strangers in general. The first explorer of Hadramaut was Adolph von Wrede, who made his memorable journey in 1843, disguised as an Egyptian Moslem. He was able to penetrate only as far as the entrance to Hadramaut itself, but he brought back with him very valuable material in regard to the region between the shore of the Indian Ocean and the actual valley of Hadramaut. However, in his native land (Germany) he was considered as an impostor, and it was not until 1873 that his "Reise in Hadhramaut" was published by von Maltzan.

It was not until January, 1893, that a second traveler attempted to follow the illustrious example of von Wrede. After months of futile efforts and journeys along the coast, it was Leo Hirsch's good fortune to get into the country and to penetrate to the interior. He reached the town of Terīm, but had to leave that place immediately, owing to the threats of the Sayyids and the populace. In 1897 he published his very accurate reports on his journey.

Shortly after Hirsch, in December, 1893, an English married couple, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent, tried to visit the Hadramaut valley. They did not get as far as Hirsch, and had to turn back from Shibām. The Hadramaut sanctuary of the tomb of the prophet Hūd, and the mysterious well, Bīr Barhūt, would continue for

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



some decades longer to be exempt from the visit of a Christian. 114 484

This ends the list of the explorers of Hadramaut. The Royal Air Force did indeed make several scouting flights from Aden over Hadramaut, but they never made a landing, and sometimes had to fly very high. To these flights, however, we are indebted for a very important series of photographs, which provide valuable geographical material (see *The Geographical Journal*, vol. lxxvii, No. 3, March, 1931).

When I was given the task of visiting this country, which is so little known, and so important to us (Hollanders) in view of the tens of thousands of people from Hadramaut who live in the Netherlands Indies, I took steps to make more of the journey than could be accomplished by one government official who is not in any way an expert. I sent an invitation to Dr. H. von Wissmann of the Geographical Institute connected with the University of Vienna, asking him to venture with me upon the hazardous journey to Hadramaut. I had become acquainted with von Wissmann through his exploration work in the Hejaz and Yemen. He was to make the survey of the journey, and to carry out all instrumental and scientific observations, and we would work together on the collections of plants and insects and in taking photographs. Moreover I was able to offer him the assistance of an official introduction from the Dutch government, my knowledge of the Arabic and Malay languages, and that special help which a former government official from the Dutch Indies might hope for in the country of the Hadramaut people. 121 114

When I met von Wissmann at Aden in April of this year (1931), I had just completed a trip along the shores of the Red Sea. Both of us had received very unfavorable information in regard to present conditions in Hadramaut. Practically no one gave us any hope of success. However, the English authorities at Aden

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



boundary of the region of the āl-Qa'ētī, and were advised 090
to trust to the āl-Kathīr. About five days were considered necessary to get our caravan together, and these days were made use of for making a botanical collection on the limestone hills behind Makalla.

Von Wissmann made profile sketches of the hills, and 484
made observations to get a good base for his road survey. 486
We were thankful to make use of the permission granted 721
us by the authorities to make a trip for two days along the coast to ash-Shihr, which was formerly the most important harbor. Even a short distance inland from Makalla the country becomes unsafe. We were taken in a sort of auto-bus belonging to the sultan round the inland side of the mass of rock at Makalla, after that close along the shore, and finally even along the flat sandy shore. The bus was quite full of armed guards. We were forbidden to go by the road over the mountains, since on that road some soldiers had been killed from an ambush a short time before.

We were thankful when, after many negotiations with the leaders of our caravan, the signal for departure could be given on the afternoon of May 8. From early morning until the afternoon the vizier had had to negotiate with a group of Bedouins, who were waiting for our caravan among the rocks near the road, just outside the whitewashed boundary marks of the town of Makalla, in order to satisfy a blood-feud. The vizier knew how to bargain for a safe passage, but to be quite safe he had us taken in a government auto to a point beyond the border. In the darkness of night we were set down by the side of the road to wait for our donkeys!

The journey to the inaccessible and fanatical land of 133
Hadramaut was now begun. From the 9th to the 15th of May we traveled northwards,—first through the Wādī Himim. Finally we came to the terrible, monotonous plateau with table-mountains, known as *jōl*. For many days we marched over this limestone plateau with its basin-like depressions and its very scant vegetation.

every year pilgrims assemble there from all those regions, and both before and after that a Truce of God prevails during an appointed period, in this country which is rent asunder by mutual warfare. Never before had a Christian been able to get further than Terīm in the direction of this sanctuary, and without the protection and the planning of the powerful Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf we should not have succeeded. On the way to Qabr Hūd we passed the magnificent ruined castles of ṣl-'Urr and Thōbe, and the remains of houses and a cemetery at Makēnun. Qabr Hūd seemed to be a silent and defunct little town, with great houses which are only occupied for three days in a year. In the bed of the *wādī* there appeared to be water here, but before it reaches the sea it is said to disappear underground or else to dry up. The grave of Hūd, the great preacher of repentance in Hadramaut, is adorned with a dome which impresses one by its simplicity and beauty. The other sacred buildings are equally beautiful and are well kept. Where we had expected to find a Bedouin sanctuary which was neglected and primitive and surrounded by mud huts for the pilgrims, we found instead on the border of Arabia's "empty quarter," far away from the world, a sanctuary built and cared for with devotion and great talent.

We entered still further into the branch valley of Barhūt, and at the end of this *wādī* we saw at a height of about one hundred meters above the bottom of the valley the dark yawning chasm of the Bīr Barhūt, of which even the ancient geographers furnished descriptions, and definitely anticipated that there must be here the crater of a great volcano. After an investigation of two hours in the dark passages, arches and tunnels of Bīr Barhūt we were able to determine that we have here to deal with an ordinary limestone cave. Nowhere in this region did we see any trace of volcanic action. It was only in the broken ridge of mountains on the coast that we saw many traces of volcanic action. Further north the strata are horizontal; a layer of limestone about

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



188 1933. In these last eighteen months however, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and otherwise, runs into over one hundred, in fact, into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included, for Mukalla has recently had the fresh experience of seeing bus loads of tourists from steamers driving through its street.

628 The more frequent and more intensive incursion of European visitors is
484 of course in itself a great contrast with the recent past, but I think that the
486 contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country in the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every Badawin and tribesman in the country carried his rifle with him, even to walk across the street. Blood feuds were widespread, and even harmless travellers of the unarmed classes were at times likely to lose not only their property but their lives. Travellers by motor car had to take with them an escort when passing from village to village. In places there were extensive systems of trenches to pass from the villages to the fields, and I know of people who have spent as much as twenty years without getting beyond their own doors.

411 Now however all this has passed and it is comparatively rarely that you see a tribesman carrying a rifle, indeed many of them do not even carry the *jambiyas* or curved daggers which are almost as much a part of their dress as
100 a walking-stick was of ours. How all this has come to pass is more a matter of the history of the Hadhramaut than its geography, but I should simply like to say that it was largely through the will of the people who have a genuine desire for peace and for the following of peaceful pursuits.

619 This new peace has resulted in a much greater contact between tribes
494 and between different parts of the country and has made possible a great
493 extension in communications. Eighteen months ago there were about half a dozen motors on the coast and about sixty in the interior, carried up by camels. By the completion of the Al Kaf road Tarim has been linked with Shihr and passenger-carrying lorries ply almost daily between the coast and the interior. When I left the country a couple of months ago there were at least two hundred motor vehicles in it and every ship was bringing one or two. Many more car tracks have been made and cars now go to almost all parts of the Hadhramaut, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as
653 well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is also constructing another remarkably good motor road to the Hadhramaut which is being built northwards from Mukalla and southwards from Du'an. Something over 20 miles of the former and 10 of the latter had been completed when I left; about 60 miles remains to be done, of which the greater part is over the flat *jols* and offers no particular difficulties of construction. Starting from Mukalla you can now motor at least 300 miles in the Hadhramaut without recrossing your tracks, and there are over 500 miles of tracks altogether.

508 The possibilities of air transport have also been greatly improved. There were, eighteen months ago, eight landing-grounds in the five Sultanates in the eastern part of the Protectorate of which only three, Mukalla, Shibam, and Qishn, were used at all frequently. New landing-grounds have been constructed at Tarim, Seiyun, Hureidha, Al 'Abr, 'Azzan, Balhaf, Risib,

epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, 364
according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to 164
see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for 731
rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in 361
its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia 484
and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans. One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors [563]
and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily. We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla 100
have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations. The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency, the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish. Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light 373
has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible 701
far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganize and train his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on 517
the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago, for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The 20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, 491
for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hill-sides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extraordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the 434
beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which 438

484 438 [463 512] passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

361 438 529 Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 9 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the [504] principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

619 438 Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

487 101 438 142 When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan [244] Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

coasted westwards along the line just dividing the desert from the steppe; where the larger wadis run out into the sand there were wide stretches of scattered vegetation which made the land look as if there was a green scum on it.

At the western end of the "island," much broken with gulfs and with small islands lying off it in the desert, the flight turned to the south-west, a little to the west of the point which had been reached on the previous day's reconnaissance, and explored the western part of the Sei'ar country, the territory of the Al Hatim of which Bin Jerbu'a and Bin Mulhi are the chiefs. This is the heart of Reidat as Sei'ar, and turned out to be surprisingly thickly populated and cultivated. On almost every bank of the wadis were villages consisting of the usual type of Hadhrami Badawin conglomerate *dars*, with a tall tower in the centre, and small contiguous quarters, each called a *Beit*, clustered round it. Subsequent flights made this country very familiar, and with the aid of a Sei'ar, one of the most intelligent Badawin guides, I was able to identify almost all these *dars*. On several occasions we flew beyond Reidat as Sei'ar over uninhabited steppe to Husn Al 'Abr, seeing on clear days Shabwa away in the distance.

These reconnaissances seemed to us very interesting, not only politically but geographically, for the watershed and the fall of the land, steep towards the Hadhramaut and gradual towards the sands, were clearly visible. Up on this watershed I recorded altitudes of 3600, while 300 miles to the east Mr. Thomas states that the altitude remained fairly constant at about 950 feet. This northern steppe is bounded on three sides by sand and has cliff-walls all round it, highest on the wadi side and lowest on the northern or desert side. At a conservative estimate in some 20 square miles there are not less than fifty to sixty Sei'ar villages which have scarcely even been visited by Arabs other than the Sei'ar and the Al Ishaq Sheikhs who live among them.

Some time after these reconnaissances my wife and I visited Al 'Abr on the ground, though she in fact went rather farther and drove some 20 miles towards Shabwa, a day and a half's camel ride from Al 'Abr. We have thus seen the whole of the Wadi Hadhramaut from its source to the sea, and the more you see of it the more extraordinary it is, for it must be at least 40 miles from its northern or left to its southern or right banks at Al 'Abr. This of course narrows very rapidly to 4 miles or so at Henin. It was from Henin that Seiyid Bubekr and I set out for Al 'Abr, following for a start the tracks which Dr. Pike, on a geological survey, had made in that direction. The tracks made by Mr. Philby had of course disappeared.

Our object was to obtain the looted camels of the Manahils, held by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun of the Sei'ar at Al 'Abr. We had with us the fifteen slave soldiers of the Qu'aiti Regular Army who were to be installed there as a garrison, and as we did not want the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to abscond into the desert with the camels, we had kept our movements secret. Seiyid Bubekr said his sunset prayers at Henin. The lorries had gone ahead and had made very slow progress as they had had heavy sand to negotiate. It was difficult finding the way in the dark, but we caught them up at half-past eight, and all of us sat down to dine together, just near the village of Sur and under the two mountains called Thukmein which form a conspicuous landmark from the air for a radius of 70 or 80 miles around. This was 27 miles from Henin,

484 and we were in country with which there had been practically no contact
It must really have been alarming to the Badawin: a noisy party in lorries,
which they had not seen before, and ourselves in cars, shouting directions to
each other in the night and firing Verey lights to show each other the way;
[486] but the Badawin materialized out of the darkness, most surprisingly without
rifles, directed us time and again on our way, and pushed our cars out of
the sand.

880 After Thukmein, which we left about half-past eleven, we had no great
difficulty in moving on as the moon was up. We drove on for some hours
and then stopped to let the rest of the party come up. It was bitterly cold and
the keen wind cut through us as we huddled together trying to sleep on the
sand, but we did sleep and woke to a marvellous dawn. The sunset of the
night before, the brilliant moon, and the sunrise are three enduring memories
of that night.

The four flat-topped hills of Al 'Abr lay about 10 miles ahead of us, and
although only one of the lorries had come on, the other having had one of its
many breakdowns, we decided to go on. It was marvellous hard sand on
which a speed of fifty was easy and we had quickly left the lorry behind.
We made our way into the wadi bed, myself acting as guide as I was the only
one who knew the country even from the air. There were one or two Bureiki
Sheikhs about with camels, and rather reluctantly they told us that the
'Abdulla bin 'Aun were also there with the camels. A few minutes' driving
up the hard wadi brought us to the ruins of the fort, said by the Al 'Abdulla
bin 'Aun to have been built by them.

619 The dozen or so Badawin round the well looked extremely surprised when
[291] the car drew up. I suppose they were hardly awake, as the morning was still
chilly and they were all wearing their sheepskin coats. A few Bureiki Sheikhs
came down and bade us welcome. All the rest of the Badawin claimed to
belong to every tribe except the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun. Some said they were
Sheikhs, some claimed to be Daham, a Yemeni tribe, and some Nahd, but
there were a good many shifty looks and in the course of the morning we
sorted out nine who had given themselves away and who finally admitted to
belonging to this raiding section. There are only forty-three males all told
of the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun, but from the amount of trouble they had given in
619 the past it was well worth getting them under control. They have no houses
361 or settled habitation and are about the only people of the Hadhramaut who
342 have goatskin tents. They are part of the Al Hatim, but Bin Mulhi, their
chief, says he has no control over them and the Sei'ar themselves were delighted
when we took hostages from them and put in a garrison, whose function is
to protect the travellers and not to interfere in other ways.

Presently the lorries came up and I installed the wireless and settled the
342 garrison into temporary quarters. There was nothing at Al 'Abr except the
714 ruined fort of which only one wall still stood, a small stone *murabba'a*, one of
the dark cube-shaped shelters used by travellers all over the Hadhramaut,
and a hut built of branches of trees and grass of which there was a great
profusion. There was also a new *weli's* tomb decorated with ibex horns, and
one of the Bureiki Sheikhs took us there and slapping the tomb addressed its
880 lately canonized occupant and introduced us. We put the garrison into the

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 of the city. Before the gate is the Wādī Seded, where the sea
●484 has penetrated far inland and formed an inlet. Here on the
361 beach the caravans camp as they travel to and from the
231 interior. Hundreds of camels are kneeling in great circles,
492 eating the food that lies in the centre. Other camels are being bathed and scrubbed down with sea-water, while still others are protesting with gurgling snarls against the treatment of some skin trouble or of big open wounds. There are donkeys here and there amongst them. Bedouins lie asleep wrapped
[264] about in their cloaks or sit round a small fire eating out of wooden bowls their porridge of crumbled bread mixed up with a little fat. Some are busy with the difficult work of loading: after the freights have been weighed by lifting and then
[372] divided, they are fastened on to the pack-saddles. Children are collecting into baskets the camel's dung which is of great value as fuel. The ground is swarming with the so-called camel-louse, which is really a sort of tick. The penetrating odour of the camels' urine and sweat hangs over this wide-spread, permanent bivouac.

487 We go inland along the bank of the Wādī Seded, which is
312 here filled with sea-water, so as to cross, by making a big bend, behind the 1800 feet high rocky ridge of Makalla. On the left of the road, only a few miles from Makalla, there are groves of palm, with the white summer quarters of the Vizier and of the Sultan. Here is a spring from which, by means of a thin, iron pipe lying on the ground, water is carried to Makalla to provide the town with drink.

361 Two hamlets, el-Baqrēn and Baqērēn, with some cultivated
578 fields, lie close to the frontier of the Sultanate of Makalla. There are two fortified towers on the road manned by soldiers, and not far beyond Baqērēn there stands a whitewashed piece of rock. Against the high wall of primary rock, rising up each side of the road, two white marks have been made to show even in the mountain region, where the land is at peace and where at war. No vendetta may be carried on nor ancient feuds settled by arms in or around the town.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## 8. APPROACHING WĀDĪ DŌ'AN.

We notice that we are approaching the great *'aqaba* leading to Wādī Dō'an; some long caravans with rice from Makalla pass us, and about twenty villagers on donkeys, bound for Makalla, come towards us. We start off again at half past three, crossing the dry, high table-land, with a distant horizon vanishing into a blue mist, against which are outlined the low, far-stretching mountain plateaus — an extraordinarily monotonous, colourless and formless landscape. The next day, when we descend into Wādī Dō'an, we shall take leave of it for a while. Thus it will be the last night of bivouac with our Sēbānī people.

At Ḥumḥār we camped behind the edge of a plateau, where there was some shelter from the wind. On the way, after some bargaining, our men have bought a sheep. The prospect of the feast reduces them to such confusion of mind that they unload the camels some distance from us. We notice this too late, but try to insist that they shall reload them; however, we have finally to content ourselves with the promise that they will carry to our camping place the pieces of luggage that we need. They let us wait: the sheep is killed and made ready and they all go out to collect the firewood and it almost seems as if they will take no further trouble about us. To avoid this, Ṣāliḥ and the soldiers carry all the Bedouins' food away to the spot where we have established ourselves. We wait in suspense to see what will happen! The Sēbānīs return from all directions, throw their wood in a great pile and light a fire, which is to heat the stones upon which the meat will shortly be roasted. Meanwhile, when they want to prepare the dough for the bread, they discover that all the food has disappeared. The merry excitement abruptly ceases, and, after a moment of amazement, indignation bursts forth in effervescence. Mautor approaches us with two companions to demand the return of their food supplies. They speak first with our soldiers and with Ṣāliḥ, who treat them to a torrent of reproaches, but

361 Small towns, little more than groups of tall mud houses, of the same brown colour as the ground beneath them, stand close up against the steep slopes of rock débris. No sound from below rises to us, no trace of life can be espied; Wādī Dōʿan lies there between its high rocky banks, safely shut off from the world, like an unreal, forgotten bit of paradise waiting for the Day of Judgment. This is the reward of weary travellers in the desert. We are filled with joy. We stand, lost in admiration, on the borders of our "land of promise". We have not dared, nor been able, to think of it as being so beautiful. And this is not yet Ḥaḍramaut Proper, although it is, in fact, its outer gateway. Alone we stand on the border of the precipice and silently work our cameras. In spite of the heat, we cannot tear ourselves away from the spell cast by this valley full of fertility and beauty, in the midst of an endless desert of barren rock and stone.

484 Meanwhile the camels have arrived at the *ʿaqaba* and have been unloaded. The beasts must be thoroughly rested before the difficult descent can be risked. Seen from above, it looks impossible for animals, whose feet seem to have been created for the plains, to be able to climb down, especially when burdened with heavy loads. Nevertheless, the Sēbān Bedouins know their high table-lands and *ʿaqabas* and the capacity of their camels. It is not often that a camel has an accident on an *ʿaqaba*. The animals are now divided into groups of three with a Bedouin in front. They seem to know what awaits them, for the plaintive, anxious, guttural sounds continue without stopping. Many cries and, finally, many scoldings from the leader are required to induce them to move. Traffic between Makalla and Ḥaḍramaut passes for a great part over this *ʿaqaba*. There are other ways and there is also a direct route from Shibām, but it is easy to see on this path that the feet of thousands and thousands of camels have helped to polish the rock. When the path becomes very narrow and steep and the camels hesitate, the leader speaks words of encouragement to them: their singsong cries of warning and of cheer echo con-

tinually along the wall of rock. They move slowly and very 484
cautiously, and the whole caravan reaches the bottom of the wādī without mishap.

The advance guard with the donkeys has long since arrived. 000
A crowd of boys stands waiting for us, and in the background, in the shadow of the date-palms, there are a number of women, who do not wish to let slip this chance of seeing Naṣrānīs. The Governor, Bā Ṣurra, has sent a few soldiers to show us the way to his castle. They look like Yemenīs and, indeed, come from the western highlands. The villages and towns are 361
situated close up against the slopes of débris above the cultivated fields. The houses are high and well built, often against steep inclines. Only a few of the rich have allowed themselves the luxury of a whitewashed top storey. The path winds through date-groves to the *maṣnaʿa*, the castle of the *Dōla* (Government). The date-palms are strong, fine trees; 245
heavy clusters of yellow and red dates hang downwards from their crowns. Each tree is surrounded by a mud wall, so that, when the *sēl* comes, the roots are not washed bare, and a considerable amount of water is kept inside the little wall. Even in the deeply shaded plantations our feet sink in a thick layer of dust as fine as powder, for there has been no *sēl* for a long time.

## 2. BĀ ṢURRA, THE GOVERNOR OF WĀDĪ DŌʿAN.

The path leads steeply upwards through the village of 342
el-Maṣnaʿa to the castle, which stands on the top of a rock high above all the other houses. It looks like a great mediaeval fortress with corner-towers, heavy triple gates, with stables, soldiers' quarters, halls and living-rooms. The stout wooden gates are magnificently carved, and decorated with metal plates and nail-heads. The first gate is opened by a guard of soldiers. We pass through a passage to the second gate, and then through a stable, past some calves, to the third. Then we are led through a hall, full of soldiers, to a narrower one, really

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the Ghumdān appear to be of recent date. The well is also 172
found, and plucky Sayyid ʿAlī has the daring to go down into it, in spite of the gruesome tales of snakes and other monsters which are said to haunt its depths. The pit appears to be a shaft of karst about 90 feet in depth; in the lower part of it there is a transverse passage into which Sayyid ʿAlī penetrates over a few yards, with a loaded revolver in his hand. Then the squeaking of bats fluttering around him becomes too much for him and he returns to the shaft, where Von Wissmann has followed him. No traces of human activity nor of hidden treasures can be detected by the light of their electric torches. Both of them climb up again out of the pit without mishap, but with great effort.

Henceforth Sayyid ʿAlī feels drawn to Von Wissmann by the 000
friendship of admiration. Of course he wishes to go with us into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut to the great Sayyid el-Kāf in Terīm and then to accompany us further to Qabr Hūd, there, with his friend "Ḥarmal" (corruption of Hermann, see p. 47), to explore the mysterious Bīr Barhūt. He who dared the descent of Bīr Ghumdān shall also venture the hell's mouth of Barhūt, and the name of Sayyid ʿAlī shall be handed down in honour for generations in the annals of Ḥaḍramaut. Drunken with pride and joy Sayyid ʿAlī accompanies Von Wissmann through the darkness back to Ḥurēḍa. He relates his tale, which grows ever finer in the telling, until deep into the night. My companion's fame precedes him into Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid ʿAlī will introduce him with pride: "Ḥarmal, the German airman (look at his knee that has been shot away), the man who fears no height nor depth."

On the morning of May 22nd we have another invitation, 484
this time to take tea with Sayyid Ṭālib, who is introduced as 595
the Sindbad of Ḥaḍramaut. He has travelled pretty well all 431
over the Islamic world, where as a sayyid and son of a race of theologians he was everywhere welcome, and he has returned wealthy from his travels. This Sindbad's beautiful house is jestingly called "the little Yildiz". He is old by now, but listens

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



484 575 [302] 431 [272]

with amusement while his younger guests relate how, every year, he marries the prettiest girl to be found in Ḥurēḍa. We perfume ourselves with incense, the host doing so the most thoroughly of us all. He keeps the smoking censer under the wide folds of his garment. The tea with dishes of a confection of ginger is served. Sindbad, with his crafty face framed in a white beard, the extreme points of which are dyed orange with *ḥinnāʾ*, tells about his travels. The youthful audience feasts upon the witty tales of this enjoyer of life — a vanishing figure of the typical sayyid society of Ḥaḍramaut.

We exchange keepsakes with Sayyid Ḥasan el-ʿAṭṭās in lasting remembrance of our visit to Ḥurēḍa. The lavish, kind welcome given us and the friendly feeling shown us here have smoothed the way for us through Ḥaḍramaut.

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forces with a caravan. These only go every fortnight or three weeks, but if we had the patience to wait we should then travel with 200 to 300 camels and a strong escort. But we have no time and cannot wait and must try the circuitous route by way of Wādī ᶜAmd. As we do not relish the idea of staying in this crammed castle with its sick chief and as we have also a feeling that we are not so very welcome here, we ask permission to go and stay for the night in Diyār Āl Buqrī where we had such pleasant experiences on our journey inland. Our travelling companions, the Sayyids ᶜAluwī and ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās, who know that Diyār Āl Buqrī is much richer than el-Qaᶜūẓa and that a feast will most certainly be prepared for us there, are also attracted to this prospect by the pangs of hunger. We send a messenger in advance to announce our arrival, having first, from the roof of the house, estimated the distance as a walk of from fifteen to twenty minutes.

## 2. THROUGH TRENCHES FROM ONE BESIEGED CASTLE TO ANOTHER.

Shortly after sundown we set out, a guide goes in front, then follows a camel with our baggage, then we ourselves. The whole garrison accompanies us as far as the gate. Under the covering protection of the castle we go towards a wide, deep trench, which will lead us by a roundabout way to Diyār Āl Buqrī. The enemy outposts appear to have espied us, bullets come in our direction from the rocky plateau above and our escort hurries us on. The trench has many turnings and also side branches and positions made strong with the trunks of palms. Its dimensions are such that it can safely be used by a caravan of camels. For an hour and a half we wade through the loose sand of the winding trench and then reach a region of sand-dunes where our guide loses his way in the pitch darkness; frequently we have to wait whilst he goes on ahead.

camels for the expedition to el-Ḥōṭa. The heat keeps people indoors during the day-time, now that there is nothing to be done in the gardens. Yebᶜeth seems to suffer badly from the long-continued drought. The date-palms had had too little water and had borne no fruit; the grove of vigourous *nibq* trees on the well-tilled fields was bare and colourless. The light-brown loam soil of the wādī must be very fertile. The villages[1] built on hills at the base of the gently sloping bank of the wādī, have an appearance of prosperity. The houses are built of pieces of rough stone, dark, almost black in colour and bound with mud; there is generally one high square house which can do service as a tower for defence. Saᶜīd took us to el-Qarn, to the house of Shēkh Abū Bakr, for whom we had a letter of introduction from the sons of Shēkh ᶜUthmān at Rēdet ed-Deyyin. His house was shabby, but he gave us a kind reception, set before us dates, some bread and a little piece of salt fish, but informed us at the same time that we should have to wait for at least two or three days for camels and, especially, for *siyāras* (responsible guides) to accompany us to el-Ḥōṭa. The district through which we were to pass was very dangerous: quite recently people had been robbed and murdered there. Not until a caravan had come in and was ready to leave again could we join it and go on our way, as no one would run the risk of guiding us through that region without the protection of a caravan. We could not afford to wait for days on such an uncertain chance. For a few hours we deliberated and sought other advice, but no one made a satisfactory proposal, and meanwhile Ṣāliḥ had come to me whispering that we ought not to stay, as the people of the place were *not* well disposed towards us. A sojourn of days in this miserable dwelling, where we were already in the day-time plagued by bugs, was not attractive. The faithful Saᶜīd, who seemed convinced that we were in danger here, offered to take us on as far as Ṣidāra, in Wādī Ḥadjr, with his own camels, if we could find just one guide to show us the way. It was at this stage that we gave up the

[1] [of Yeb'eth -- Analyst]

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathīri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

### Domestic Life and Appliances

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of

484 It is four days journey from Shibam to Husn al 'Abr and five days from Husn al 'Abr to Nejran.

485 Routes from the coast are well provided with *siqayas*, or public fountains, near villages, and *qarifs* and *naqbas*, artificial pools and cisterns for rain-water, in the desert places. There are also of course many natural springs and water holes in the wadis. There are *muraba'as* (rest houses, called *nadharab* in the low country and *sira* in the upper) at intervals approximately of a few hours' journey all over the principal routes crossing barren country. There are no definitely appointed stages, but caravans halt at places where they can graze and water their camels. They travel an average of six or seven hours a day.

492 From fifty to fifty-three thousand camels leave the camel park
439 called Therb outside the west gate of Mukalla every year for the interior. From Shihr the number is from 30,000 to 32,000. These figures include 5,000 to 8,000 in the former case and 2,000 in the latter of camels carrying food for the camel-men. Camels for this purpose are provided at the rate of about two to ten loaded camels.

Departures from and to the coast take place almost daily except during the month of Ramadhan. During that month caravans leave Mukalla and Shihr in order to arrive at their destinations by the feast day. Departures from and arrivals at Shibam for and from the interior are not so frequent.

From four hundred to a thousand loaded camels a month enter Shibam alone from the coast. It is estimated that a thousand annually come from San'ā in three or four caravans, but, as stated elsewhere, there is an increase if there is a demand.

An estimate given of the number of camels from other parts of the Protectorate and other parts of the Yemen is fourteen caravans of 1,000 camels each arriving mostly during the winter and spring. Caravans from Nejran are rare.

494 The 1934 fares from Mukalla to Du'an were as follows :—

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1. By donkey, *wa'ā* and *'aser*, that is to say, riding over level country and over the rough and hilly places, standard rate, 15 to 16 dollars, but with variation according to weight, the limits each way being from 12 to 20 dollars.

2. By donkey, *watā*, i.e., riding only over the level country, standard fare, 10 to 11 dollars with limits according to weight of from 8 to 15 dollars.

Each passenger is allowed free transport of up to three *frasilas* (1 *frasila* = 20 lb.) of food.

3. By camel, *watā* and *'aser*, 10 dollars.

4. By camel, *watā*, 5 dollars.

There is no allowance for weight by camel but there is a free allowance of up to three *frasilas* of food.

The freight rates are : By camel, 10 dollars for 1 *bahar* of 20 *frasilas*; by donkey, 1½ dollars a *frasila*.

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FIG. 9—Shibam, looking down the Wadi Hadhramaut toward Seiyun (see Fig. 7). Shibam is built on a low hill at the tip of a plateau spur and, for lack of space, grew upward: the buildings are eight to ten stories high. The landlord occupies the upper stories and these parts are whitewashed; the more whitewash, the wealthier the owner. Note the abandoned fields embanked to prevent runoff of water. The upper right-hand margin shows the plateau topography in the direction of the sea, a hundred miles distant.

• 485

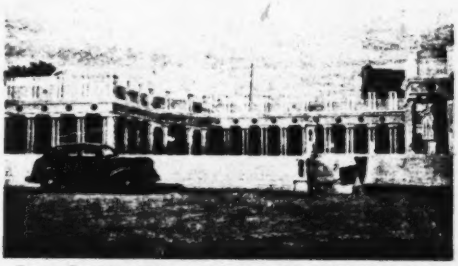

FIG. 10—European guest house at Seiyun. Only one half of the mansion is in view. Most of the courtyard above the steps is occupied by a swimming pool.

p. 637

361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from
245 Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where
438 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager
283 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in
[342] this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have
186 caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the
191 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a
185 more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley,
485 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was
491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal
728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the
185 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

133 During the daytime the heat was stifling, and at night it was so cold that for hours before the sun rose I was no longer able to sleep. The interminable, barren plain was covered all over with sharp, loose fragments of stone, and among these wound the narrow path along which from morning to night we steadily wended our way.
312 Drinking water is here to be found in *negābas,* which are cisterns hewn out of the rock some three meters below the surface, with a narrow opening. Low ridges lead the scanty rainfall to the *negāba.* Owing to the narrow opening there is very little evaporation, and if one has no rope at hand with a vessel to draw water, this opening is just large enough to admit a man to dip it out.
● 485 Near the *negāba* there is usually a little square building made by piling up rough stones in clay, this is called *murabba,* and here the midday hours with their scorch-
486 ing heat may be spent. For the sake of safety, our
609 Bedouins avoided the *negābas* as places for passing the night. In the evening the neighborhood of the bivouac was carefully reconnoitred, and usually sentries were posted at night. The authorities at Makalla had given us for our personal protection two negro soldiers belonging
133 to the famous slave army of the āl-Qa'ētī sultan. On May 15 we reached the wonderfully beautiful valley Wādī Dō'an. The descent of hundreds of meters of this almost perpendicular wall of rock with loaded camels was a difficult feat causing some anxiety; but the Bedouins and their camels reached the valley below with-
245 out a single mishap. As we looked upon this *wādī,* hemmed in by its high walls of rock, it looked like a land of magic with its deep-green groves of date palms
[361] and its clay villages with great castles and high houses. A glowing heat as dry as dust prevailed in Wādī Dō'an night and day. The bright yellow and deep red bunches of dates were hanging ripening in the hot wind. In the shade of the magnificent and remarkably well kept trees the population were quietly waiting for the harvest time.
144 A great deal of mixture with negro blood (of slaves) has

The way winds upwards out of the wādī; the mountains here are no longer so precipitous and it had been possible to cut out a path on the slope about 300 feet above the bed of the wādī. It is a primitive path, but it has been improved here and there. We are going north-east and have the sun obliquely in front of us; it is a hot, constantly ascending stretch of road. Already at half past seven the Bedouins wanted to make a halt, but we prevented this by vigorous opposition, and it was postponed till 11 o'clock. We have passed a large well of water, el-Ghuḍūḍa, and see Zemān el-Kebīr on our right, lying close to the mountain slope. There are date and coco-nut palms, papaya and banana trees in the midst of neatly cultivated fields of tobacco. We make a halt at the next village, Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr, and find shelter against the merciless glare of the sun, in an empty stone building that seems to be intended for passing caravans.

Here we first made acquaintance with those pious institutions for the protection of travellers against thirst, the *siqāyas*. Later on we were to travel from *siqāya* to *siqāya* and learn to look on these white, beneficent landmarks in nearly waterless stretches of country, with a greater thankfulness than at the beginning. We were only just at the edge of the dry, rocky table-land and could still give ourselves the luxury of a hygienic, critical standard in the matter of drinking-water. The *siqāyas* are small buildings, generally five feet square and six feet high, with a dome-shaped roof, made of natural stone or dried mud and whitewashed. About five feet from the ground there are square or triangular holes, through which by means of a cup one can scoop water out of the masonwork cistern, about six inches deep, which has been placed at that height in the *siqāya*. The filling of the cistern is attended to daily by one who is paid for doing so by the pious foundation (*waqf*) endowed for that purpose. In one of the openings in the walls of the *siqāya*, there is to be found the half of a coco-nut shell, a rusty tin, or an oblong wooden cup, with which one scoops out the water and from which one

312 drinks. One must accustom oneself as soon as possible to the
271 fixed habit in this country, of drinking one after the other out
●485 of the same cup or bowl. Even among the very rich and the Sultans, the big earthenware drinking cups are passed from guest to guest. One sees the soldiers and slaves drink out of them too. The water in the *siqāyas* is often dirty, with a variety of odours and tastes; it also swarms with larvae and the like, but thirst soon teaches one not to notice them and the aversion diminishes in course of time!

In Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr we were able to buy milk, buttermilk (here called *rūb*), lemons, coco-nuts and bananas, but at high prices.

361 In the afternoon we proceeded and in a short time arrived
311 on a plateau, fairly thickly covered with tufts of grass and low shrubs, where two villages, el-Ghēḍa and el-Ghiyāḍa, lie among well-cultivated fields of tobacco, surrounded by a small
342 grove of date-palms. The mayor of el-Ghiyāḍa is related to the
439 family of el-ᶜAṭṭās; we were therefore desirous of calling upon him. The door of his simple, mud, mayoral residence was decorated with particularly fine carving. We were received in a little, dimly-lighted room that served both as a place for storing tobacco and as a reception-room. The mayor had been in Batavia for seven years and had there acquired some wealth in the *batik*[1] trade, which a son is now continuing. As soon as I was informed of this, I proposed to converse in Malay instead of in Arabic. Our host eagerly agreed and we were soon deep in reminiscences of Java. Meantime coffee was
[272] prepared, consisting for three quarters of ginger and for one
271 quarter of coffee, and a great earthen bowl of cold water passed from mouth to mouth. These porous, unglazed bowls filled with water are placed in the small window openings, and the hot outer air causes the water which exudes through them to evaporate, thus cooling their contents. One finds the same

[1] *Batik* is the name of the specially Javanese art of decorating and dyeing pieces of cloth used as garments. The thus decorated pieces are also called *batik*.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 seem to look upon it as the most ordinary thing in the world and to concentrate all their attention on the rifle-fire which, at intervals, proceeds from the other side. The noise of war has put a sudden end to all the bickering and squabbling, and all the troubles of the day, now nearly at its close, seem to be forgotten. Everyone lets himself go in tales of war, we are all carried away by our imagination, and in a gentle, happy and friendly mood we ascend the mountain path which leads us away from our fellow men in the hot wādī below. The path again leads along the safe side of the spur and, at this point, is overhung by a long piece of rock, under which travellers are in the habit of bivouacking. It is too late to reach the *djōl* before dark, so we decide to stay here and to go on the following morning as quickly as possible to the next *neqāba*[1] in the hope of finding water there. We have just enough left for a pot of tea and we are parched with thirst, but no one can be induced to return to ᶜAmd to fetch water. As we look down from the steep rocky slopes into the wādī far below us we are filled with great rejoicing. ᶜAmd is still visible just at the bend, and we are well away from the wearisome negotiations with the people there and from their rather intrusive interest in us. Also the protecting rock-wall is between us and enemy territory. To-night we are free and alone, far above men, looking out, from our shelf of rock, right to the eternal kingdom of the stars.

485 Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, our *siyāra*[2], relates how, a short time ago, sharp-shooters with mausers succeeded in sniping three men on this very zigzag path. It is the custom towards the close of day to exchange a few shots from the fortified watch-towers, as if to show that guard is being kept. Perhaps we had underestimated the danger again on this occasion.

855 Little Sayyid Muḥammad bin ᶜAlī felt quite at home in his narrow camp in the rocks on the edge of the precipice. He had

[1] See p. 52.

104 [2] A *siyāra* (سيارة) is a guide in Bedouin territory, who makes possible safe travelling in the area of his tribe.

*Internal transit dues.*

651 *Mukalla and Shihr.*

486 On every loaded camel leaving ... ... ... Re.1.

On every camel man[1] ... ... ... ... As.2.

*Shibam.*

On every *Bahar* brought in from Qu'aiti ports or territory ... ... ... ... ... ... $ ½.

On every *Bahar* from other places in Aden Protectorate or from Yemen ... ... ... $1¼.

*Passport Fees (compulsory).*

On every passport ... ... ... ... ... Rs.2

Photograph by state photographer ... ... Rs.3

**Defence.**

REGULAR ARMY.

704 The strength of the regular army is as follows: one Subedar, who apparently knows no drill and only appears in uniform on very special occasions; four Jemadars, of whom two are ex-Yemen Infantry officers, and two are Indians, one of them being a Pathan in command of the artillery; 350 to 400 Yafa'is, and 250 slaves.

The non-commissioned ranks are, Havildar, Naik and Lais Naik. The Yafa'is receive nine dollars a month, and the slaves one to three dollars as pocket-money, but they are much better off than the Yafa'is for they receive regular rations for themselves and every member of their families. They are provided with wives, and given milk, which is scarce, for their wives and children. The 702 cadet corps, already referred to, ensures a constant supply of disciplined recruits.

713 The force is armed with every sort of rifle, but principally Martini Henrys. They are said to keep them perfectly clean inside and out. There is a "range" behind the town. The regulars 714 are all provided with a khaki uniform, shirt and shorts, and a 708 red fez, but the uniform is not worn except by the guards at the palace and on special occasions. There are said to be parades every 533 two days. There is a band consisting of 14 who wear khaki uniforms and scarlet glengarries. The regulars for the most part are stationed in Mukalla, but there are a few in Shihr and Reida.

IRREGULARS.

704 There are said to be 1,000 to 1,200 irregulars officered by eleven 701 *Muqaddams* who receive 35 to 40 dollars a month. Each *Muqaddam* has a paid *Muawin* who receives 20 to 25 dollars, and each man is said to receive seven dollars a month. They are stationed in the districts. In Shibam there are 40 Yafa'is and 60 slaves. There are about 500 Yafa'is in the neighbourhood of Shibam who are [635] paid but allowed to work their own fields. The Sultan's representative in the Shibam province is in command of the troops.

[1] Members of certain tribes are exempted from this tax.

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



boundary of the region of the āl-Qa'ētī, and were advised 000
to trust to the āl-Kathīr. About five days were considered necessary to get our caravan together, and these days were made use of for making a botanical collection on the limestone hills behind Makalla.

Von Wissmann made profile sketches of the hills, and 484
made observations to get a good base for his road survey. 486
We were thankful to make use of the permission granted 721
us by the authorities to make a trip for two days along the coast to ash-Shihr, which was formerly the most important harbor. Even a short distance inland from Makalla the country becomes unsafe. We were taken in a sort of auto-bus belonging to the sultan round the inland side of the mass of rock at Makalla, after that close along the shore, and finally even along the flat sandy shore. The bus was quite full of armed guards. We were forbidden to go by the road over the mountains, since on that road some soldiers had been killed from an ambush a short time before.

We were thankful when, after many negotiations with the leaders of our caravan, the signal for departure could be given on the afternoon of May 8. From early morning until the afternoon the vizier had had to negotiate with a group of Bedouins, who were waiting for our caravan among the rocks near the road, just outside the whitewashed boundary marks of the town of Makalla, in order to satisfy a blood-feud. The vizier knew how to bargain for a safe passage, but to be quite safe he had us taken in a government auto to a point beyond the border. In the darkness of night we were set down by the side of the road to wait for our donkeys!

The journey to the inaccessible and fanatical land of 133
Hadramaut was now begun. From the 9th to the 15th of May we traveled northwards,—first through the Wādī Himim. Finally we came to the terrible, monotonous plateau with table-mountains, known as *jōl*. For many days we marched over this limestone plateau with its basin-like depressions and its very scant vegetation.

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1933. In these last eighteen months however, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and otherwise, runs into over one hundred, in fact, into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included, for Mukalla has recently had the fresh experience of seeing bus loads of tourists from steamers driving through its street.

The more frequent and more intensive incursion of European visitors is of course in itself a great contrast with the recent past, but I think that the contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country in the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every Badawin and tribesman in the country carried his rifle with him, even to walk across the street. Blood feuds were widespread, and even harmless travellers of the unarmed classes were at times likely to lose not only their property but their lives. Travellers by motor car had to take with them an escort when passing from village to village. In places there were extensive systems of trenches to pass from the villages to the fields, and I know of people who have spent as much as twenty years without getting beyond their own doors.

Now however all this has passed and it is comparatively rarely that you see a tribesman carrying a rifle, indeed many of them do not even carry the *jambiyas* or curved daggers which are almost as much a part of their dress as a walking-stick was of ours. How all this has come to pass is more a matter of the history of the Hadhramaut than its geography, but I should simply like to say that it was largely through the will of the people who have a genuine desire for peace and for the following of peaceful pursuits.

This new peace has resulted in a much greater contact between tribes and between different parts of the country and has made possible a great extension in communications. Eighteen months ago there were about half a dozen motors on the coast and about sixty in the interior, carried up by camels. By the completion of the Al Kaf road Tarim has been linked with Shihr and passenger-carrying lorries ply almost daily between the coast and the interior. When I left the country a couple of months ago there were at least two hundred motor vehicles in it and every ship was bringing one or two. Many more car tracks have been made and cars now go to almost all parts of the Hadhramaut, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is also constructing another remarkably good motor road to the Hadhramaut which is being built northwards from Mukalla and southwards from Du'an. Something over 20 miles of the former and 10 of the latter had been completed when I left; about 60 miles remains to be done, of which the greater part is over the flat *jols* and offers no particular difficulties of construction. Starting from Mukalla you can now motor at least 300 miles in the Hadhramaut without recrossing your tracks, and there are over 500 miles of tracks altogether.

The possibilities of air transport have also been greatly improved. There were, eighteen months ago, eight landing-grounds in the five Sultanates in the eastern part of the Protectorate of which only three, Mukalla, Shibam, and Qishn, were used at all frequently. New landing-grounds have been constructed at Tarim, Seiyun, Hureidha, Al 'Abr, 'Azzan, Balhaf, Risib,

484 and we were in country with which there had been practically no contact
It must really have been alarming to the Badawin: a noisy party in lorries,
which they had not seen before, and ourselves in cars, shouting directions to
each other in the night and firing Verey lights to show each other the way;
[486] but the Badawin materialized out of the darkness, most surprisingly without
rifles, directed us time and again on our way, and pushed our cars out of
the sand.

680 After Thukmein, which we left about half-past eleven, we had no great
difficulty in moving on as the moon was up. We drove on for some hours
and then stopped to let the rest of the party come up. It was bitterly cold and
the keen wind cut through us as we huddled together trying to sleep on the
sand, but we did sleep and woke to a marvellous dawn. The sunset of the
night before, the brilliant moon, and the sunrise are three enduring memories
of that night.

The four flat-topped hills of Al 'Abr lay about 10 miles ahead of us, and
although only one of the lorries had come on, the other having had one of its
many breakdowns, we decided to go on. It was marvellous hard sand on
which a speed of fifty was easy and we had quickly left the lorry behind.
We made our way into the wadi bed, myself acting as guide as I was the only
one who knew the country even from the air. There were one or two Bureiki
Sheikhs about with camels, and rather reluctantly they told us that the
'Abdulla bin 'Aun were also there with the camels. A few minutes' driving
up the hard wadi brought us to the ruins of the fort, said by the Al 'Abdulla
bin 'Aun to have been built by them.

619 The dozen or so Badawin round the well looked extremely surprised when
[291] the car drew up. I suppose they were hardly awake, as the morning was still
chilly and they were all wearing their sheepskin coats. A few Bureiki Sheikhs
came down and bade us welcome. All the rest of the Badawin claimed to
belong to every tribe except the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun. Some said they were
Sheikhs, some claimed to be Daham, a Yemeni tribe, and some Nahd, but
there were a good many shifty looks and in the course of the morning we
sorted out nine who had given themselves away and who finally admitted to
belonging to this raiding section. There are only forty-three males all told
of the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun, but from the amount of trouble they had given in
619 the past it was well worth getting them under control. They have no houses
361 or settled habitation and are about the only people of the Hadhramaut who
342 have goatskin tents. They are part of the Al Hatim, but Bin Mulhi, their
chief, says he has no control over them and the Sei'ar themselves were delighted
when we took hostages from them and put in a garrison, whose function is
to protect the travellers and not to interfere in other ways.

Presently the lorries came up and I installed the wireless and settled the
342 garrison into temporary quarters. There was nothing at Al 'Abr except the
764 ruined fort of which only one wall still stood, a small stone *murabba'a*, one of
the dark cube-shaped shelters used by travellers all over the Hadhramaut,
and a hut built of branches of trees and grass of which there was a great
profusion. There was also a new *weli's* tomb decorated with ibex horns, and
one of the Bureiki Sheikhs took us there and slapping the tomb addressed its
680 lately canonized occupant and introduced us. We put the garrison into the

expressions of general agreement. Shēkh Sālim went even further. If I would only stay one day more and speak with the leaders of the three parties, it would be an easy matter for me to bring about peace, for everyone was longing for it from the bottom of their hearts. 728

Many of their ideas were not new to me: I had heard them already in Diyār Āl Buqrī, in Sēwūn, in Terīm. Never, however, had they been posed with so much urgency and in such a concrete form. I was obliged to explain why it was impossible for me to assume the right to act as arbitrator. So long as the the Dutch could only enter the doors of Ḥaḍramaut with Britain's permission, so long would direct contact between our Government and the authorities of that land remain difficult. Also, as long as there existed no central power in the country, such contact would be out of the question. I could only give the advice to strive for unity and the formation of a central power. If they could not do this alone, then co-operation with the British authorities in Aden, to whom, also, they had turned in former times, seemed to be the obvious way. [486]

The struggle was a war between relations, in which the Qeᶜēṭī Government was now also implicated. A certain Ṣāliḥ bin ᶜUbēd bin ᶜAbdād had got el-Ghurfa into his power by treachery. This place was formerly a free town, without a *dōla* and without taxes. The occupation was felt to be unendurable, not only by the other branches of Ṣāliḥ's family, who were envious, but also by the Government of el-Qeᶜēṭī. For there was already a treaty arrangement with Britain according to which the power in Ḥaḍramaut Proper should be divided between two groups: the Āl el-Qeᶜēṭī and the Āl Kathīr. El-Qeᶜēṭī would not put up with a third authority. The twenty two other branches of the Āl ᶜUmar — the family of Ṣāliḥ bin ᶜUbēd — also took a hand in the quarrel, and since then no solution to it has been found. 721

Towards sundown we took our leave of this group of three country-houses standing out most effectively, with their 000

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



# CHAPTER VIII.

## COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

### Roads and Road Transport.

Despite the fact that of late years the motor-car has become a familiar object in parts of the Hadhramaut, the camel and the ass are still the principal means of conveyance for man and goods in the country, and although the tracks suitable for cars are certain to be increased, the bulk of the interior trade will continue to be carried in the traditional Arabian fashion. Increase of motor tracks will, in fact, probably mean increased earnings to caravan men, as there will be more goods to distribute over short carries off the main routes. 492 493

The principal caravan routes are :— 487

*Mukalla* (donkey route)—Tila—Zemen as Saghir—Hisi—Dahma—Jol Ubeid—Wadi Du'an—Sif—Hajarein—Meshhed—Haura—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Shibam.

*Mukalla* (camel route)—Rashnid—Haj Bal Qabrein—Kheila—Wadi Du'an—Sif—Hajarein—Meshhed—Haura—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Shibam.

*Mukalla*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Sufeila—Nihār—Sāh—Shibam—Seiyun.

*Mukalla*—Harshiat — Tokhm — Bagha — Jirwit—Batha—Marsa Mukalla—'Umn 'Ainein—Bawerqat—Haura—Hauta—Shibam—Seiyun—Seheil Qibli—Tarim—'Einat.

*Mukalla*—Fuwwa—Kherba—Bahth—Yuwan.

*Mukalla*—Fuwwa—Kherba—Bahth—Kanina—Sidara.

*Shihr*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Ma'di—Reida—Had al Jabir—Herū—Mesenda—Tarim—Maseilat as Silma—Qahir—'Einat.

*Shihr*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Ma'di—Reida—Had al Jabir—Herū—Mesenda—Tarim—Seiyun.

*Shihr*—Ras 'Aqabat al 'Arsha—'Abul—'Ais—Gheil bin Yamīn—Herū—Wadi Na'r—Husn bin Dhoban—Tarim.

*Seihut* (camels only)—Al 'Ais—Semarma—Al Gheil—Buzūn—Teheir—Maqrat—Al Qoz—Bin Qora—Morheih—Hanun—Bin Sheikh Nān—Hamir—Tabūrkum—Sena—'Qabr Hud—Fughma—As Som—Qasm—'Einat—Tarim.

*Shibam*—Husn al 'Abr—Nejran—San'a.

*Shibam*—Shabwa—San'a.

*Shibam*—Yab'uth—San'a.

There are also caravans to and from Merkha, Hadhina, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. 484

Caravans from Mukalla reach Du'an in about six days, and from Shihr and Mukalla arrive at the principal towns of the Wadi Hadhramaut in up to ten days. Caravans from Mukalla to Hajr take three days. Caravans travelling between Shibam and San'ā take fourteen or fifteen days over the journey with loaded camels.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Besides the payment of fares, rations have to be provided for the men at the rate of one man for one animal in the case of donkeys, and one man for up to three animals for camels. For donkey-men the rations cost from ½ to 1½ dollars a head according to whether they eat with the passengers or not. For camel men the cost of the rations is 2 dollars a head as they take eight days over the journey instead of six.

Other normal fares are: Shibam to Ba Rumeidan 5 dollars a camel, the normal fare, but I was asked 25 dollars a camel, 5 dollars for the *muqaddam*, and 30 dollars for the Beduins' broker to accompany the caravan. Tarim to Seihut 20 dollars a camel. This route necessitated two *siyaras*, each costing 10 dollars, and a Seiyid who had to be given 60 dollars.

The Du'an route is worked by the Marāshida and Khāmā. The Wadi Leisar route by the Hālka, and the Wadi al 'Ain route by the 'Awābitha.

**Motor Transport.**

The following tracks are passable and regularly used by cars :—

| | Miles. |
|---|---|
| *Mukalla*—seashore—Wadi Tifat—Landing ground—Fuwwa ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 9 |
| *Mukalla*—shore—Wadi Mubekha—Sherij Bashhar—Wadi Tifat—Fuwwa—Lermi—Kherba ... ... | 15·2 |
| *Mukalla*—along the shore—Hali ... ... ... | 12 |
| *Mukalla*—Manawarih—Sherij Bashhar—Fuwwa—Lermi—Kherba ... ... ... ... ... ... | 16·75 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Baqrein—Bakezebur ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Wadi Seded—Wadi Rukub—Buweish—Wadi al Feleq—Reida landing ground—Wadi Huweira—Shiheir—Wadi Ghasam—Gheil Ba Wazir ... ... ... ... | 33·6 |
| *Mukalla*—Khalf—Ras Mukalla—shore—Shihr (this route passes close to Shiheir and is an alternative route to Gheil Ba Wazir from either Mukalla or Shihr) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 42·1 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Bir Ba Zambur—Harshiat—Tila as Sufla ... ... ... | 10·4 |
| *Shihr*—Dufeigha ... ... ... ... ... | 2·7 |
| *Shihr*—Wadi Rahba—Tubala ... ... ... | 5·6 |
| *Shihr*—Wadi Karangahem—Habis—Gheil Ba Wazir (to Habis 12 miles) ... ... ... ... | 24 |
| *Shihr*—Dis—Ras al Qarn ... ... ... ... | |
| *Shibam*—Hauta (al Qatn)—Haura—Meshhed—Hajarein ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | |
| *Shibam*—Hedhira—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Farudh—Hepin (this route continues to Hureidha) ... ... | 25 |

491 *Shibam*—Ghanima—Huweila—Al Atfa—Juwada—
487 Qubhudh ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
*Shibam*—Bequl—Al Hauta—Gheil—Al Ghurfa—
Taris—Seiyun—Mariama—Tarba—Tarim ... ... 36
*Shibam*—Bekheira—Maur ar Reiga—Wadi Ser—
Seiyun ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 13
*Tarim*—Dammūn and neighbouring suburbs ...
*Tarim*—Al Fijr—Maseilat as Silma—Jeheil—
Qahir—'Einat—Qasm ... ... ... ... ... 20

Cars are said to have reached Qabr Hud and there would be no difficulty in their going beyond this point. They are also said to have reached Husn al 'Abr from Shibam, but it is not yet known whether they can get to Nejran. There must be very considerable difficulties with sand over these routes.

A road has been started from Shihr to Tarim. It offers no particular constructional difficulties and it is to be hoped that it will soon be completed.

493 The number of cars in the Hadhramaut is as follows :—

Mukalla and Shihr.—7 or 8 in working order (3 belong to His Highness).

Six lorries (3 belong to His Highness).

Tarim.—60 cars and 1 motor-cycle.

Seiyun.—13 cars.

Shibam.—3 cars.

Henin.—1 car.

[492] There are a few others which I heard of in various villages. Cars destined for the interior are dismantled and carried at the rate of 12 camels to one car over the mountains.

494 Other forms of road transport are rare. There are 10 bicycles in Mukalla, one bullock cart (belonging to His Highness), one horse-carriage, one mule and one horse (the latter two belonging to His Highness). Human porterage is not used for heavy transport over long distances in the Hadhramaut, though *ma'ras* can be hired for the transport of light articles.

**Aerodromes.**

508 The Royal Air Force maintains landing grounds at Fuwa, Shibam, Reidat al Qu'aiti, Qā' Bā Nūa, Al Qatn, Reidat as Shijar and Shihr. The last-named, owing to the large amount of drift sand, is not in serviceable condition. Mukalla is an R.A.F. refuelling depot. The Seiyids of Tarim are anxious to start a commercial aeroplane service.

**Posts and Telegraphs.**

205 There is no postal service. The Sultan of Mukalla has recently
[206] introduced wireless and the Mukalla station is now open to traffic. Inward mails are sorted by the "postmaster" and distributed. The inhabitants of the interior towns have agents in Mukalla or

133 presents the appearance of an undissected plain stretching to the horizon, broken here and there by flat-topped, isolated hills and extensive rock terraces. Only by a campaign of "trial and error" can one find where the drainage divides are and the limitations the drainage imposes on freedom of movement in this treeless and apparently obstacle-free terrain. Even the smallest wadi constitutes a formidable obstacle; for should descent be possible, the chances of finding a route to scramble up the opposite wall are small. With 487 almost limitless time at their disposal, the Bedouins have obtained a comprehensive picture of the stream system and have adjusted their caravan routes accordingly, utilizing the relatively few suitable passes from wadi level to plateau level. From a distance these century-old trails appear as inconspicuous paths; yet along the passes and narrow parts of present caravan routes, some of which are thought to be identical with the incense roads of antiquity, one may observe that once-jagged rocks have been rounded and polished by the passage of countless unshod men and soft-footed camels during several thousand years.

## Hadhramaut–Maseila Drainage System

133 The drainage of the Hadhramaut is divisible into four systems: (1) Wadi Hadhramaut–Wadi Maseila; (2) streams flowing north to the interior basin of the Rub' al Khali desert; (3) eastward-flowing streams entering the sea on the Hafif coast; (4) small and short streams tributary to the Gulf of Aden.

To the west of Tarim the main stream is known as the Wadi Hadhramaut, to the east as the Wadi Maseila. It has been explored on foot by Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams for 360 miles from its mouth to the longitude of Shabwa, where the valley walls, 1000 feet high, diverge and flare off to the north and south, leaving a sandy, featureless plain, studded with low dunes and occasional salt-incrusted flats, stretching westward toward the mountains of Yemen, 200 miles away.

For much of the distance below Tarim the water flows above ground; but upstream the bed is dry and water must be obtained [312 from wells 30 to 45 feet deep. The supply seems adequate for present-132] day domestic and irrigation requirements, and acute water shortages are uncommon. During the summer there is some rain in the interior, especially in the mountains of Yemen, and water then flows down the valley all the way to the coast, at times becoming a flood. It is suggested that the present direction of flow of the Wadi Hadhramaut may have been achieved in recent time through piracy by a rapidly eroding stream flowing south to the coast, which has succeeded in diverting drainage that formerly flowed westward into the Rub' al Khali via the broad western part of the valley.

133

487

FIG. 5—This view is practically panoramic with Figure 3. Along the crest of the nearest plateau spur may be seen a sinuous white streak, which is the Al Kaf road to the coast, distant 100 miles as the crow flies, 170 by speedometer. It may be observed that in this direction there is less stream dissection and greater expanse of unbroken plateau. The narrowing of the wadi downstream should be noted.

312

FIG. 6—Well irrigation. Note the rude palm log scaffolding.

p. 633

133

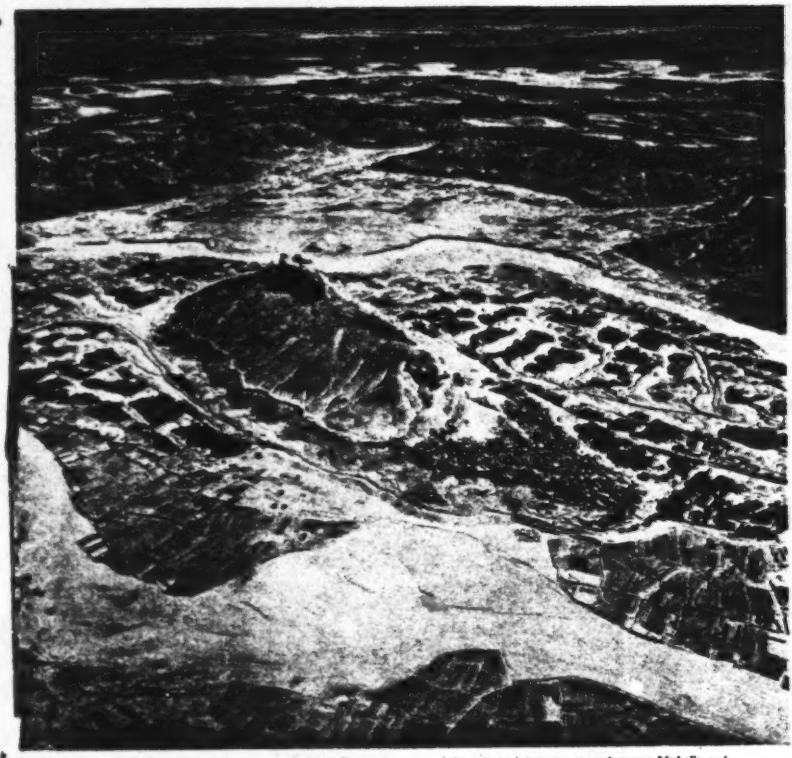


FIG. 11—Hajarein, the largest city in Wadi Du'an, is on one of the principal caravan routes between Mukalla and the Wadi Hadhramaut. Its site was obviously chosen with an eye to defense. Groves of cultivated date palms and millet fields may be seen amid a series of earthen retaining walls and irrigation ditches. As in other cities of the Hadhramaut, adobe brick is the building material.

361
245
312
[487
333]

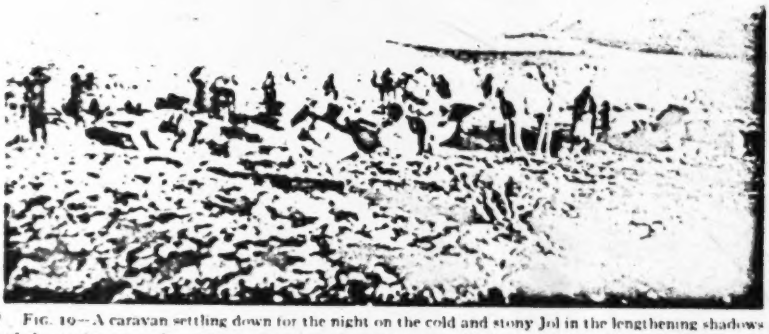
FIG. 12—A typical, fortified, Arab settlement on the banks of the Wadi Hajr. The irrigated groves of date palms furnish the main foodstuff.

P. 638

8: Fike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 mineral content of the water seem to affect agriculture adversely.
241 A striking example is seen about five miles north of Shihr where a
361 series of springs depositing sulphur and gypsum have built an impressive mound, on which the village of Tabala stands. Their abundant and continued flow enables extensive irrigation by hand-dug canals and aqueducts and affords a means of livelihood for several hundred



[487 FIG. 10—A caravan settling down for the night on the cold and stony Jol in the lengthening shadows
302] of the setting sun. A caravan stops wherever night may overtake it and with little or no cover the Bedouins find a place to rest among the stones and shiver themselves to sleep. A coating of indigo stain with which the Bedouins not uncommonly paint themselves is said to be some defense against the night air.

people. The temperature of these springs on emergence is not far below boiling point, and they are reported to be the hottest on the coast.

At the small village of Harshiat, 3½ miles north of Mukalla, a few tepid sulphurous springs likewise are valuable for their yield. At the village of Gheil ba Wazir, on the inland road between Mukalla and Shihr, is an extensive gypsum flat and also a group of gypsum-depositing springs. Here a tobacco-raising community has sprung up. A part of the arable land is devoted to the growing of dates and millet and the remainder to tobacco, for which, owing to a quality unsurpassed in Southern Arabia, demand exceeds supply.

The small community of Husn Baquidran depends on a limited but constant supply of nongypsiferous sulphur water in the mountains of the Wadi Hajr, 30 miles from the coast. Irrigation is practiced on a small scale. The sites of Sidara and Mahamda, on the Wadi Hajr above Husn Baquidran, were determined by the presence of several groups of sulphur springs that are used for irrigation and consumption.

## VEGETATION

132 Today only the seaward fringe of the Dhufar Coast region, which
137 during the pre-Islamic empires of the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and
175

133 scarp at this point. The general alignment of the dunes is to 245° with the slip face to the north-west. The height is about 70 feet. As the Mundafan sands continue south-west they become divided into two sections by the *'asfal*[1] Wadi Habauna, a flat gravel plain on which no sign can be found of the Nafud Dahi scarp. The northern section continues unbroken to the eastern edge of the Ukhr block, a sandstone feature separated from the Kaukab plateau.

South of the *'asfal* Wadi Habauna as far as Shudaif the character of the transition zone is entirely different. Here parallel dunes reach right across to the foothills of the 'Asir and Yemen mountains leaving at the most a narrow plain but a few miles wide. For upwards of 20 miles from the base of the mountains, isolated granite crags may be found between and among the sand [487] dunes. Driving through this area frequent detours have to be made out into the sands or in among the foothills to avoid the barrier formed by sand meeting hill. To pass the south-western end of the 'Arq ad Da'ir in 1952 necessitated a journey 6 miles further into the foothills than that recorded by Philby in 1936.

Shudaif marks the southern limit of the Rub' al Khali sands, and from here south-east stretches a vast triangular area of plains bounded to the north by the sands, to the east by the cliff wall of the *jol*, and to the south-west by the Yemen mountains. It has an area in the order of 150,000 square miles, and is divided into three sections, the Jau[2] Mulais, the Jau Khudaif and the Jau Hudhi by the Ramlat Sabatain and the Sauda scarp, which runs west and north respectively from Husn al 'Abr. The process of formation probably took place in three stages, of which the first was the planation of the archaean rocks before the deposition of the sedimentary strata. The second was the removal of this sedimentary cover by north-flowing wadis which were constantly forced against their eastern banks by the east-north-east dip of the underlying rock surface. Two river courses may still be seen doing this, the Hudhi cutting back the *jol*, and the abandoned course by Wudiya'a (see p. 423) which cut back the Sauda scarp. The third stage is the present one of arid erosion, where on the Jau Mulais the igneous protrusions are disintegrating by exfoliation down to a base level where they become protected from the great diurnal temperature changes by the sands and gravels of the desert floor, and on the Jau Hudhi above the Sauda scarp wind erosion is making the surface more and more smooth and level.

The Jau Khudaif and the Jau Mulais together form the Khudaif-Mulais basin referred to above (p. 423). The Jau Mulais is an area of quartz gravels, covered in some places by thin sheets of sand with areas of rock protruding from a few inches to a few feet. A few larger plugs and dykes form conspicuous hills such as the Raiyan group, which is in the form of a series of lines radiating from a point about 16° 30′ N., 46° 10′ E., the granite hills rising sheer from the plain made from their own disintegration. The Jau Khudaif lies to the south of the Jau Mulais and is divided from it by the Ramlat Sabatain. There is a greater cover of sand than on the Jau Mulais,

[104] [1] 'Asfal: the lower reaches and outwash plain of a wadi.

[2] Jau: literally a wide valley here becomes applied only to these extensive plains formed by the merging of many watercourses.

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



114 end to end of the Wadi Hadhramaut, and accounts of their journeys have been given to the Society.[1]

*The geological work*

133 The geology of the coastal region around Mukalla has been described by Mr. O. H. Little, of the Egyptian Geological Survey, and those interested in the solid geology are referred to his paper.[2] This region is the most diversified both structurally and petrologically. The fundamental granite appears here overlaid by limestones of Cretaceous and Tertiary age, and faults and folds are conspicuous even from the air. The few days at Mukalla were spent in a rapid examination of the more recent geological features.

To the visitor by sea the most striking is the glistening bank of white dune-sand west of the town, probably masking a raised beach. The coast eastwards to Shihr is fringed with the remnants of a low-lying raised beach now being eroded. In the wadi immediately west of Mukalla a raised beach was noted at RL 15 m. about 1·5 km. from the shore. It consisted of semi-angular and partly rounded pebbles of granite and limestone with marine fossils. Four metres higher a second level of cellular sandstone may be either beach or river terrace.[3]

[487] After the Shihr road has passed through the coastal barrier backing Mukalla, it runs for 2 km. over an extensive gravel plain which slopes smoothly and evenly from RL 66 to RL 38 m. It then climbs a prominent ridge at RL 52·5 m., with a typical gravel profile, and descends again to a similar gravel plain. This plain is the most important erosional feature of the district: its age could not be determined exactly, but that it is Pleistocene seems fairly certain from the occurrence of palaeolithic flake implements of chert[4] on a narrow gravel ridge which rises from it near the fork of the Du'an road. This ridge lies 4 m. above the plain, and seems to be the last remnant of a more extensive level that has been destroyed by the lateral erosion of the two neighbouring wadis. These wadis bound the main plain north and south, and good gravel sections were examined in their banks, without however the discovery of flint implements *in situ* in them.

A line of levels was run from the Shihr road S.S.E. across the gravel plain towards the sea. The sketch-map and section, Fig. 1, show the principal results. The big erosional plain falls in this direction from RL 38 to RL 27 m. in 1100 m. It is then cut by the westerly wadi whose floor lies at RL 13 m. On the far side two terraces, one at RL 16 m. and a more extensive one at RL 20 m., are crossed before the gravel plain is regained at RL 22. From there it stretches for 500 m. or so seaward, and ends in a scarp feature at RL 19. It overlooks a marine terrace crowded with recent shells. Upstream these become scarcer and eventually die out, and the levels show that it is

113 [1] "A journey to the Sei'ar country and through the Wadi Maseila" (*Geogr. J.* 88 (1936) 524–51); "The Hadhramaut: present and future" (*Geogr. J.* 92 (1938) 289–312). See also *Journal R. Central Asian Society*, July 1936.

[2] O. H. Little, "The geography and geology of Makalla" (Geological Survey of Egypt, Cairo, 1925).

[3] Near Jibuti, which we visited on the way home *via* Hodeidah, Jeddah, and Yenbo, raised coral beaches have been recorded at RL 18 and 25 m.

[4] These resemble typologically the flakes called Levalloisian in N.W. Europe.

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 the seaward end of the 16 m. terrace already mentioned. It slopes from about RL 15 beneath the higher plain to RL 12. Here it ends in a scarp about 2 m. high, and below it a consolidated yellow sand forms the wadi floor. The channel here turns and breaks through a ridge to the sea. This ridge is composed of cellular sandstone similar in appearance to that seen near Mukalla and, in some places, of gravels. From its level it would seem to be the last remnant of the big erosional plain on the east side of the wadi.

We have then in this area three well-defined levels and a minor one. These in order of age are: high-level gravel, RL 52 m., possibly Tertiary or early Pleistocene; remnant of erosional level, about RL 32 m., with palaeolithic chert implements on surface; extensive and important erosional plain, about RL 28 m., no sign of marine deposits passing downstream; terrace at 7 m.–5 m. above wadi floor at RL 16 m.; and a terrace at 3 m. above wadi floor.

[487] The road to Shihr continues along the coastal plain, crossing marine beds in many places, and runs over an extensive development of gravel just before reaching the town.

The coastal plain is here some 10–12 km. broad, and is backed by the great cliffs and outliers of the South Arabian plateau, called the *jol*. It is some [132 1000 m. high, but slopes gradually northwards up to 3000 m., becoming ever 487] more barren as it recedes from the influence of the monsoon rains. The newly made road to Tarim follows a switch-back course over it, now crossing stony plateaux, then descending into broad flat-bottomed wadis often sand-covered and with lines of trees and scrub marking the watercourses. In 134 these wadis a loess-like deposit that was later to become such a familiar and prehistorically important feature in the Wadi Hadhramaut and its tributaries, was first seen. Here, as there, it seems to have filled the valleys through which later erosion has carved a way. Near the village of Reida, in the Ma'ara country about 60 km. from the southern edge of the plateau, rounded consolidated gravel and conglomerate were seen near a water-hole.

133 The watershed between the north and south-running valleys lies much nearer the southern than the northern edge of the plateau; this is possibly due to subsidence of the coastal area, and as a consequence many of the wadis draining into the Wadi Hadhramaut are very long. Nearing the edge of this great wadi the character of the drainage changes; instead of broad flat-bottomed valleys, there are narrow ravines deeply entrenched in the limestone (Plate 4). On the stony ground between them numerous deeply patinated palaeoliths, both cores and flakes, were found, similar in type to others whose occurrence *in situ* in gravel terraces of the valley floor system will be described later. Their position here, on tongues of plateau furrowed by deep ravines, recalled the occurrence of typologically similar implements on similar tongues of plateau licking the cliff edge of the Nile valley.

We first saw the Wadi Hadhramaut from the top of the pass leading sharply down to Tarim. It is a great flat-floored trench some 3 km. broad and 300 m. deep, bounded by high cliffs of characteristic outline, which repeats itself with monotonous regularity both along the main wadi and in the tributary valleys. This outline is the expression of the geological features, which are here very simple (Plates 2, 3). The cliffs consist of a series of almost horizontal beds; the upper 200 m. are of limestone, Eocene over Cretaceous.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



484 438 [463 512] passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

361 438 529 Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the [504] principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

619 438 Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

487 101 438 142 When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan [244] Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-8 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



101 the meaning of this name, but none of them is scientifically established. The Ḥaḍramīs themselves have several etymologies, but give the preference, nevertheless, to that which is connected with their national Prophet, Hūd. The last words of Hūd, when he reached the end of his earthly life, and the people of ᶜĀd, who then inhabited the land, were not yet converted by his preaching, are said to have been: "*ḥaḍara 'l-maut*", "death has come". This referred as much to himself as to the people of ᶜĀd, who were destroyed by Allah.

101 In Roman times Ḥaḍramaut was included in the term
48] "Arabia Felix". Was it not known then as the country of the
● aloë, of incense and myrrh? And did not the great trade route from the Indies to the coasts of the Mediterranean pass from the ports of Southern Arabia through Ḥaḍramaut to Yemen, and thence northwards to Egypt and Syria? The territories of the Sabaean and Ḥimyarītic kings must have extended as far as the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut. When those kingdoms collapsed, when their splendid irrigation works vanished, and when civilization perished, the desert gained the mastery; the great works which once existed here were covered for centuries by the sand-dunes piled up gradually by the hot winds of the desert. Unity broke down, civilized peoples could no longer maintain their existence and their place was taken by the sons of Ishmael "whose hand is against every man". From that time onwards the Yemen and Ḥaḍramaut led their own life of struggle and poverty; the fructifying contact between the
114 two regions was broken. Glaser, indeed, once turned his eyes in the direction of the wādīs of Ḥaḍramaut and actually made the first sketch-map of the country between the Yemen and Ḥaḍramaut, from data collected by word of mouth from the Bedouins. But the few explorers who desired to investigate Ḥaḍramaut realized that the way there must lead, not through the Yemen, but by way of the seaport towns on the southern coast of Arabia.

Adolph von Wrede was the first scientific traveller who succeeded in penetrating into the region of Ḥaḍramaut and in

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



that we travelled with an escort of slave soldiers[1] of the *Dōla.*[2]

Nevertheless, as dangers threatened in the Āl Kathīr region, he strongly advised us not to go farther than Shibām and, under no condition, to attempt to return to esh-Shiḥr by way of Terīm. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm was certainly a rich and influential man, but he had no ruling power and could only obtain the favour of the Bedouins by means of money, and could give us no armed protection against them. El-Qeᶜēṭī's power was great and a slave soldier of his would be a "flag of protection" for us.

The preparations for our departure would take at least four days, but then we should have reliable guides and good transport. We might make an excursion to esh-Shiḥr during our days of waiting, but it would have to be by way of the seacoast as the route by the mountains was too tiring — "tiring" in this case meaning "unsafe". The Ḥumūmī tribe had been at war for a long time with el-Qeᶜēṭī, and the latter's soldiers are being constantly ambushed and shot down. This even occurs on the coast road. We were quite willing to follow this route although we should have preferred to go one way and to return the other.

### 3. A TRIP TO ESH-SHIḤR VIA SHEḤĒR.

The next day the Vizier sent a motor-bus with two drivers and five soldiers for us. We were not to go further that day than Sheḥēr (little Shiḥr). It was afternoon before we drove out of the very high and strongly fortified and guarded gate

[1] We saw in Makalla negro soldiers and Arab soldiers from the Yāfiᶜ tribe in the hinterland of Aden. The negroes are slaves. Their numbers are decreasing in modern times of anti-slavery action. The Kathīrī Sultans have slave soldiers too, but we saw only a few in their territory.

[2] *Dōla* (دولة) means „dynasty, governing family, kingdom, state". In Ḥaḍramaut people generally speak of the *dōla* in the Qeᶜēṭī territory and of the *sulṭān* in the Āl Kathīr region.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 of the city. Before the gate is the Wādī Seded, where the sea
484 has penetrated far inland and formed an inlet. Here on the
361 beach the caravans camp as they travel to and from the
231 interior. Hundreds of camels are kneeling in great circles,
492 eating the food that lies in the centre. Other camels are being bathed and scrubbed down with sea-water, while still others are protesting with gurgling snarls against the treatment of some skin trouble or of big open wounds. There are donkeys here and there amongst them. Bedouins lie asleep wrapped
[264] about in their cloaks or sit round a small fire eating out of wooden bowls their porridge of crumbled bread mixed up with a little fat. Some are busy with the difficult work of loading: after the freights have been weighed by lifting and then
[372] divided, they are fastened on to the pack-saddles. Children are collecting into baskets the camel's dung which is of great value as fuel. The ground is swarming with the so-called camel-louse, which is really a sort of tick. The penetrating odour of the camels' urine and sweat hangs over this wide-spread, permanent bivouac.

•487 We go inland along the bank of the Wādī Seded, which is
312 here filled with sea-water, so as to cross, by making a big bend, behind the 1800 feet high rocky ridge of Makalla. On the left of the road, only a few miles from Makalla, there are groves of palm, with the white summer quarters of the Vizier and of the Sultan. Here is a spring from which, by means of a thin, iron pipe lying on the ground, water is carried to Makalla to provide the town with drink.

361 Two hamlets, el-Baqrēn and Baqērēn, with some cultivated
578 fields, lie close to the frontier of the Sultanate of Makalla. There are two fortified towers on the road manned by soldiers, and not far beyond Baqērēn there stands a whitewashed piece of rock. Against the high wall of primary rock, rising up each side of the road, two white marks have been made to show even in the mountain region, where the land is at peace and where at war. No vendetta may be carried on nor ancient feuds settled by arms in or around the town.

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A little way beyond the boundary-marks, about 20 Bedouins have made a bivouac under an overhanging wall of rock. On the top of the rock on the other side of the road are their outposts, who keep a sharp look-out for caravans passing along the high road. One caravan that had carried out a vendetta is now in safety in Makalla, a willing prisoner. We only realized later that we should be the ones to free it from that imprisonment.

The road winds through steep rocks and at last zigzags up to a plateau which seems to be of coral limestone formation. The hamlet of Maʿōṣ lies in a rocky valley a little in front of the plateau; further up, in a longer valley, there is a larger village called el-Ḥarshīyāt. From the plateau one can see, far away to the left, the village of el-Ḥawwāʾ. We are soon past the rock massif of Makalla, and the road descends to an inlet of the sea which has run far inland, whereon lies the village of Buwēsh. Papaya, bēdān and bananas are planted here along the edge of fields of lucerne. In the wādī that runs into the sea near Buwēsh there are, higher up, more date-palms and other fruit-trees, plantations which are the property of the Vizier and of other rich men of Makalla. The wells from which the fields are irrigated are not deep here, only 20 feet. On the coast between Buwēsh and Makalla lies Rūkeb. The road mounts again, runs for some time over coral formations, and then again drops to the Wādī Feleq, into which, far inland, the sea-water runs and which, consequently, is more like a small river. Baṣra lies a little higher up this wādī. At the edge of the stream we find much *asal*[1] growing. The coral limestone terraces on both sides are fairly high. The road runs farther over level land where jathropha shrubs grow; whole patches, also, are covered with incense bushes, which are recognizable by their scent and have either no leaves or very small ones. Some tall acacia bushes with elongated blossoms stand out here and there amidst the brownish shrubs which grow upon the bare rocky ground, strewn with pieces of coral.

[1] A kind of big reed.

## 6. ALONG THE BEACH TO ESH-SHIHR.

That night in Sheḥēr there was not much sleep, for a wedding was being celebrated in the village square below us. Several houses are lighted up, and, from our vantage-point high up above them, we can see the feasting that is going on there. Afterwards by the light of gasoline lamps there is dancing in the square; the men and women stand facing each other in long rows, which approach each other with rythmical stamping of feet and clapping of hands and then again retreat. All unite in the singing of a monotonous refrain, the constant repetition of one and the same melody. The actual song is recited by a single person. They all know the old songs and enjoy taking part in them and joining in the rising enthusiasm caused by their refrain. Sweat pours down the naked chests of the men, but it is nearly morning before their energy is exhausted and the festal joy quietens down. 585 535

Our driver wakes us up with a toot from his horn in front of the castle, before it is yet light. He knows that we must do the journey to esh-Shiḥr and back, by way of the coast, before high tide.

Our host accompanies us. The road runs along the east bank of the wādī right up to the coast, which is at a distance of only a few miles. On the beach lie the heavy boats of the fishermen and of the men who collect guano. There are drying-places for fish close to some huts: we could smell them that night in Sheḥēr. The guano is conveyed by camel from here to Ghēl Bā Wazīr, there to be used for manuring the fields. The shore is very like the sandy beach of Holland and there are even dunes with some vegetation, which are, however, not more than 20—30 feet in height. On the beach there are armies of crabs, which, at our approach, try to escape either in the direction of the sea or towards the sand-dunes, where cone-shaped heaps of sand flank the entrance to their long spiral passages, which lead underground. The ridge of dunes, which 387 136 487

387 is only a narrow one, is broken in some places by breaches
136 through which at high tide the sea water streams. These gaps
●487 have doubtless been made by the rainfall from the mountains farther inland seaking an outlet to the sea. Close by esh-Shiḥr coral rocks jut out above the level of the sand, and the passage there is narrow and vanishes completely when the tide is at flood.

361 Esh-Shiḥr lies on a wide flat sea coast, which slopes only very gradually so that steamers have to anchor far out at sea. At the moment several sambooks are lying there and fishermen are plying their trade till far away to the horizon. The track runs through deep, loose sand from the beach to the gate, which is new, but lacking in taste architecturally. The wall is also new and is strengthened on the inner side with buttresses of mud bricks, but the garment is too large for what it has to cover, and a half-dead town is pining away within the walls. Many blocks of houses are uninhabited, some have even fallen in. One crosses great open spaces on the way from the west to the east gate. The streets are dirty and even the inhabited houses have a neglected look. Over the whole town, and stronger even than the sewage smell of the streets, hangs
344 the stench of drying, half-decayed fish. The Government
361 buildings are in a square situated in the western part of the town. The castle stands on a sandy eminence by the sea; the
346 building has just been restored and, with its simple, strong lines makes a good impression. The bottom floor is being used temporarily as a school for three to four hundred boys. On the hill near the fortress some old, big cannon are lying, and a solitary signal-mast stands there. The Governor's house, a large, tall, well-constructed building, whose many roof-terraces are well suited to the sweltering, damp climate of esh-Shiḥr, stands on the land side of the square. The Governor is not at home, for we have met him on the beach in his fine, American motor-car. He looks Indian, and too modern for his town, nearly cut off as it is from the outside world and still dreaming of former glories. At one time, esh-Shiḥr was larger

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than Makalla and was, indeed, an important trading centre before that city even existed.[1]

Under the east wall there is a large open plain, over which the cemetery extends, with some *qubbas*[2] and many mosques at the edge of it. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has, close to it, a large piece of ground, where he has built a palatial guest-house for relations and friends travelling to and fro between Java and Terīm via esh-Shiḥr. El-Kāf is busy constructing a motor road from Terīm to esh-Shiḥr, which is complete but for the last stretch as far as the coast, a matter of three days by camel. If this junction can be effected, in spite of the aversion to it of the warlike Ḥumūmī Bedouins, through whose territory it passes for the greater part, then perhaps esh-Shiḥr will grow again to fit into her walls.

Before we left the town we made another call on the Governor in charge, who, with the help of the tax-farmer, a well-educated Indian, gave us a hearty, friendly reception. We were conducted past a strong guard of soldiers to an old-fashioned *madjlis*, where the shutters of the windows and the wooden supporting pillars were beautifully carved, and the ceiling painted white, red and black. With grateful relish we partook of tea and a great variety of sweets and of fresh and tinned fruits.

The population of esh-Shiḥr is officially estimated at 9000. It did not seem to us that it could be more than 6000. Yet, as the Westerner does not get to know how densely peopled the big Arabian houses are, our calculations remain fairly uncertain. The town has 36 mosques.

We were compelled to beat a hasty retreat before the rising tide. For safety's sake we were given an extra Ford car and some soldiers. The coral rocks were still just passable, but we stuck in the bed of the wādī. Finally, after much delay and much fruitless exertion, we got free, but there was no time left for the promised meal with our host of Sheḥēr, who

[1] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *al-Shiḥr*.

[2] *Qubba* (قبة), is a dome, a cupola, or a cupola-shaped building.

# CHAPTER X.

## TO TERĪM, THE HOPE OF ALL ḤAḌRAMAUT.

871 In the Qeᶜēṭī country, already, we heard the name of Sayyid
●487 Abū Bakr el-Kāf invariably pronounced with respect, and here
491 we have entered the land of his activity. Sayyid el-Kāf has plac-
741 ed his energy, his love, and all his possessions at the service of
493 his country and of his people. His example is an impressive
185 call to unity and to the setting aside of personal interests and susceptibilities for the general good. Schools, endowed and maintained by him, are scattered all over the country. The Qeᶜēṭī Sultans and Governors have them in their residences, and the influence of these little schools will slowly penetrate through the whole land. His other sensational enterprise, which may become of the greatest significance for the country's future, is the construction of a motor road from the Ḥaḍramaut valley to the coast. Although the road is not yet completed, its influence is already making itself felt. The most difficult *ᶜaqabas* have been conquered so that it is possible to bring cars into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut, though the transport of these is still expensive. There, where the first car passes, others will soon follow, and in a country where travelling is very tiring and very slow, the motor-car will be particularly appreciated. The Ḥaḍramīs who have been successful abroad do not lack money. The motor-car having arrived will not disappear again, and conditions within the borders of Ḥaḍramaut will be entirely changed thereby. The construction of roads in the valley itself has been started without delay, and drivers and mechanics have already found their way there.
721 The inconvenience of intertribal warfare makes itself felt more and more forcibly, but Sayyid Abū Bakr will be greatly
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them shooting, and singing for joy, but now the feast has succumbed to the heat; the merry-makers lie in the shadow up against the rocky slopes, in grottoes, under blocks of rock, or under shelters made of sticks and fragments of cloth, resting after the noisy racket. The number of participants does not seem to be great, a fact which also points to the decline of the district. A group come up to us and overwhelm us with questions. We reply that we are truly on the way to the tomb of their Prophet Hūd and that we also intend to pray there. When I answer their question as to whence we come by saying: "From the Holy Land, from Djedda", it becomes apparent that they are not very well informed as regards the founder of their religion and his country. But some of them have been in East Africa, and these relate that the Muslims there are in the habit of going to Mecca just as the Ḥaḍramīs go to Qabr Hūd. We are then invited to stay on with them, for a short time, to resume the feast, but being convinced that friendship with these suspicious, brutal fanatics is a very fragile affair we prefer to continue our march. We cannot rest until we have reached our goal, Qabr Hūd.

One of the group acts as spokesman; he was for some time in Zanzibar and there made acquaintance with Europeans. He promises to follow in our rear and to accompany us to Bīr Barhūt on the morrow. It is thanks to his intercession that we are allowed to proceed without hindrance.

We march on further as fast as we can through the valley, which becomes narrower. On the right, over a great distance, the high bank has been broken through, namely where the "Seven Wādīs" (Sabᶜa Wudyān) open into the main wādī. It is as still as death in the wādī, no living creature is to be seen. The path is good on the whole, thanks to the fact that every year, in the month Sha'bān, thousands of pilgrims pass backwards and forwards along it. Sometimes it goes through barren sand-hills, sometimes between bushes of *rāk* and by a few crooked *ithl* trees.

forces with a caravan. These only go every fortnight or three weeks, but if we had the patience to wait we should then travel with 200 to 300 camels and a strong escort. But we have no time and cannot wait and must try the circuitous route by way of Wādī ᶜAmd. As we do not relish the idea of staying in this crammed castle with its sick chief and as we have also a feeling that we are not so very welcome here, we ask permission to go and stay for the night in Diyār Āl Buqrī where we had such pleasant experiences on our journey inland. Our travelling companions, the Sayyids ᶜAluwī and ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās, who know that Diyār Āl Buqrī is much richer than el-Qaᶜūẓa and that a feast will most certainly be prepared for us there, are also attracted to this prospect by the pangs of hunger. We send a messenger in advance to announce our arrival, having first, from the roof of the house, estimated the distance as a walk of from fifteen to twenty minutes.

## 2. THROUGH TRENCHES FROM ONE BESIEGED CASTLE TO ANOTHER.

Shortly after sundown we set out, a guide goes in front, then follows a camel with our baggage, then we ourselves. The whole garrison accompanies us as far as the gate. Under the covering protection of the castle we go towards a wide, deep trench, which will lead us by a roundabout way to Diyār Āl Buqrī. The enemy outposts appear to have espied us, bullets come in our direction from the rocky plateau above and our escort hurries us on. The trench has many turnings and also side branches and positions made strong with the trunks of palms. Its dimensions are such that it can safely be used by a caravan of camels. For an hour and a half we wade through the loose sand of the winding trench and then reach a region of sand-dunes where our guide loses his way in the pitch darkness; frequently we have to wait whilst he goes on ahead.

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He cannot resist the wishes of his guests and very soon there is again a crowd of inquisitive people in the sweltering upper room, staring at us and hampering us with questions and loud conversation.

## 2. PROSE AND POETRY IN WĀDĪ ḤADJR.

We manage, by exercising much insistence, to get off at four o'clock that afternoon. There are two roads to Makalla: one goes direct through the mountains, the other makes a great circuit by following the main wādī as far as the sea and then going up the coast to Makalla. The mountain route is the shortest but the hardest; we are told that it is *too* hard for our camels, who are not strong. Moreover, it would be unsafe for our little company in the mountains, in the absence of an armed escort. Considering that even Little, with a big military escort, was attacked in this country — a sayyid who was acting as his guide was killed in an engagement — we accepted the assertions of the people in Ṣidāra as reasonable and therefore chose the detour by way of the wādī, which however has a bad name for malaria. Little had to contend much with this illness: his escort had to be almost entirely renewed after a short sojourn in Wādī Ḥadjr. We tried to avoid risk by sleeping away from human habitation and, as far as possible, on high-lying, dry ground.

The caravan was under the leadership of a strong, slight Arab, of the name of Dhēb. He had spent his youth as hostage in the Sultan's palace at Makalla. This shows that Ṣidāra some twenty years ago was still a part of the Qeʿēṭī territory, but that the Sultan considered it necessary to strengthen his hold on the country by bringing up the sons of the leading families in his palace. It was to this circumstance that Dhēb owed his education — for this country a very good one — and he was much more cultivated than the other young men of Ṣidāra. In spite of his long hair, his face was handsomer and gentler in expression than is usually the case here. We also had

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IA | IB | IC | ID | IE | IF |
| IIA | IIB | IIC | IID | IIE | IIF |
| IIIA | IIIB | IIIC | IIID | IIIE | IIIF |
| IVA | IVB | IVC | IVD | IVE | IVF |
| VA | VB | VC | VD | VE | VF |
| | | | | | VI |

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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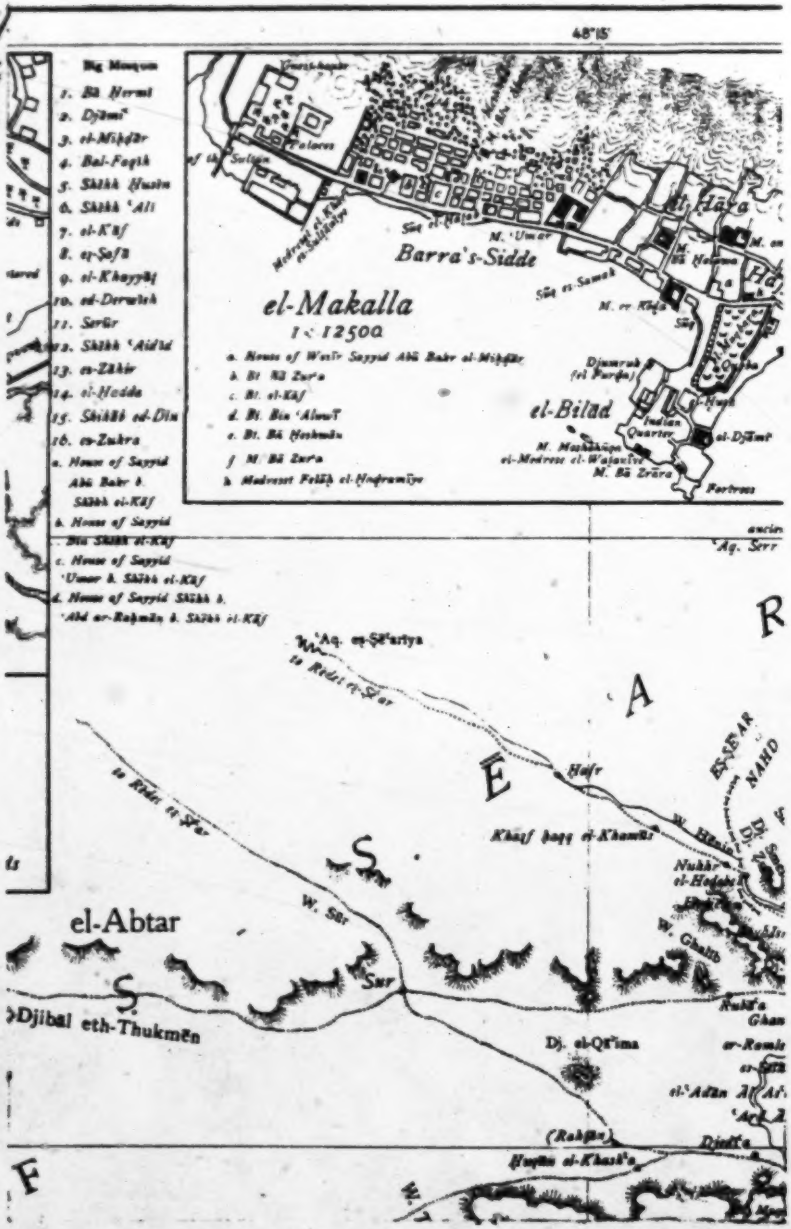
END MAP IA


48°15'
Big Mosques
1. Bā Hermī
2. Djāmi'
3. el-Mihḍār
4. Bal-Faqīh
5. Shēkh Ḥusēn
6. Shēkh 'Alī
7. el-K'af
8. eṣ-Ṣafā
9. el-K'hayyāf
10. ed-Derwīsh
11. Sarūr
12. Shēkh 'Aidīd
13. eṣ-Zākir
14. el-Ḥadda
15. Shēkh ed-Dīn
16. eṣ-Zuḥra
a. House of Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Shēkh el-K'af
b. House of Sayyid Dīn Shēkh el-K'af
c. House of Sayyid 'Umar b. Shēkh el-K'af
d. House of Sayyid Shēkh b. 'Abd er-Raḥmān b. Shēkh el-K'af
el-Makalla
1 : 12500
a. House of Wālī Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Mihḍār
b. Bt. Bā Zar'a
c. Bt. el-K'af
d. Bt. Bin 'Alawī
e. Bt. Bā Ḥashwān
f. M. Bā Zar'a
h. Madrasat Falāḥ el-Ḥaḍramīya
Barra's-Sidde
el-Ḥawa
el-Bilād
Djāmi'
Fortress
'Aq. Serr
'Aq. eṣ-Ṣe'ariya
to Rīdat eṣ-Ṣe'ar
Ḥafr
Khāṣṣ baṣṣ el-K'hamīṣ
W. Ṣēr
el-Abtar
Djibāl eth-Thukmēn
Dj. el-Qa'ima
(Raḥḍān)
Ḥuṣūn el-K'hasā'a
ES-SEAR
NAND
R
A
E
S
F

END MAP IB

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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END MAP IC

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48°45'
Dj. el-Wuṣī
W. Dhahab
el-Merkhik
AL BADJRI
W. Djeḥma
W. Naṣam
Dj'ema
Qurāqir
Shibām
725
Qaraw
Hadjar
Mukhl
Dhrous el-Ghayil
Terīm
W. Shabah
W. Bel-Ahmar
Aq. Dhaqm Bel-Asward
AL KATHIR
AL DJĀBIR
W. Khlew
W. Hensādjir
Mesjid Āl Bakr
el-Ḥāmi
Sellīla
el-Mudawwar
Dhbāmi
Ḥ. el-Naqib
Ḥ. el-Ḥarqa
Ḥ. el-Ghayl
Ḥ. el-Ḥaqlis
Ḥ. el-Ḥaṣṣ
Ḥ. el-Ḥarb
Ḥ. el-Ḥarb
Ḥ. el-Ḥarb

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END MAP IE

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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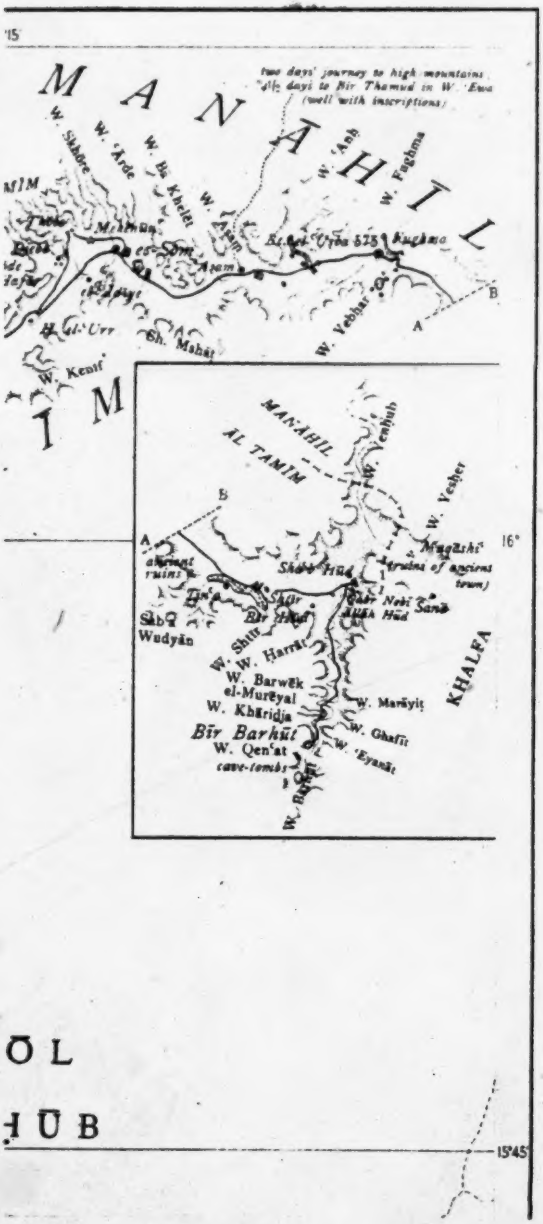


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ḤŪB

END MAP IF

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● 487
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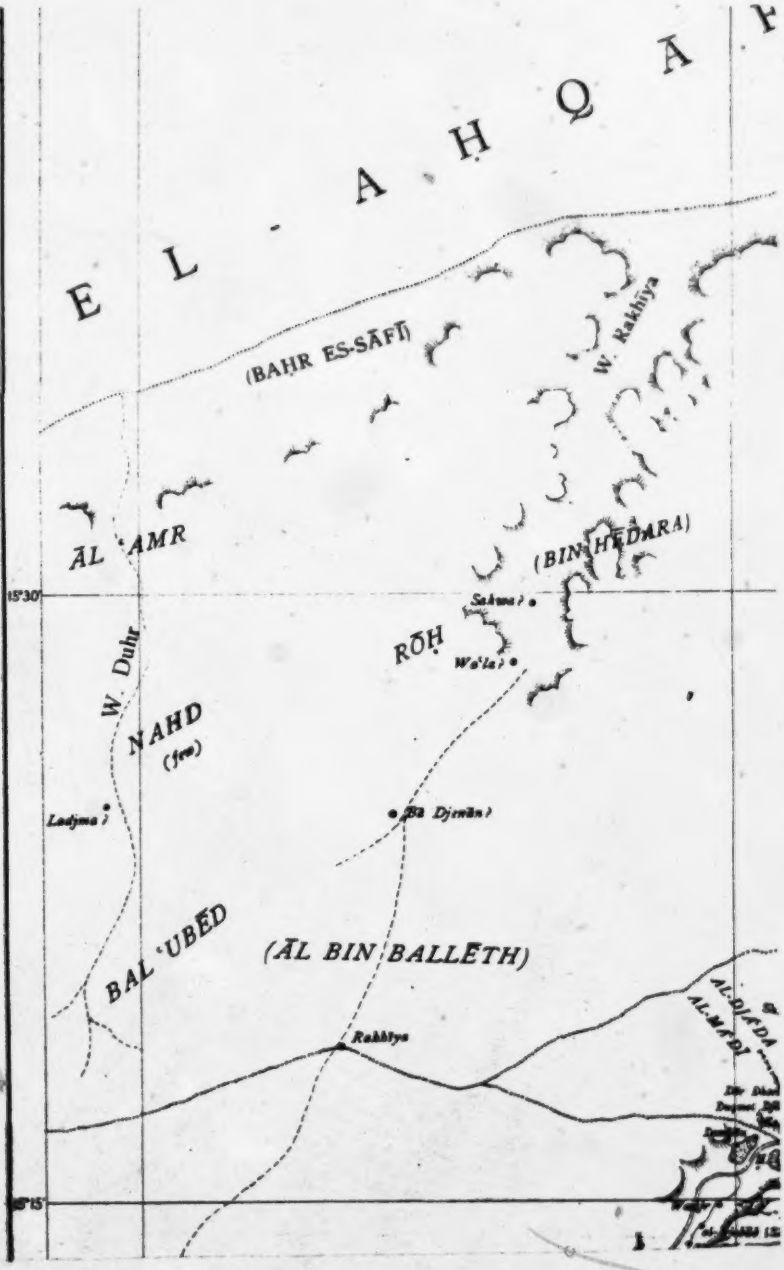


END MAP II A

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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W. Tabayyyah
Dj. el-Fūba
Dj. esh-Sherdj
NAHD DJA'DA
W. Rukhe
Diyār el-Djahiye
Diyār el-Sulṭān
Diyār Bin Tamīm
Diyār el-Hijāk
Nukhe
Diyār Bin Marīfah
Adwān
Lawīr
Diyār el-Fārū
Sāgh
Ḥadjila
Lahm
Ḥaṣn Ḥurrah
Ḥaṣn Dīdīn
Ṣāgh el-Ḥamīs
Ḥaṣn el-Ḥamīs
Ḥaṣn el-Ḥarīr
Ḥaṣn el-Ḥarīd
Ḥaṣn el-Ḥarīd
Ḥaṣn el-Ḥarīd

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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END MAP II C

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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END MAP II D

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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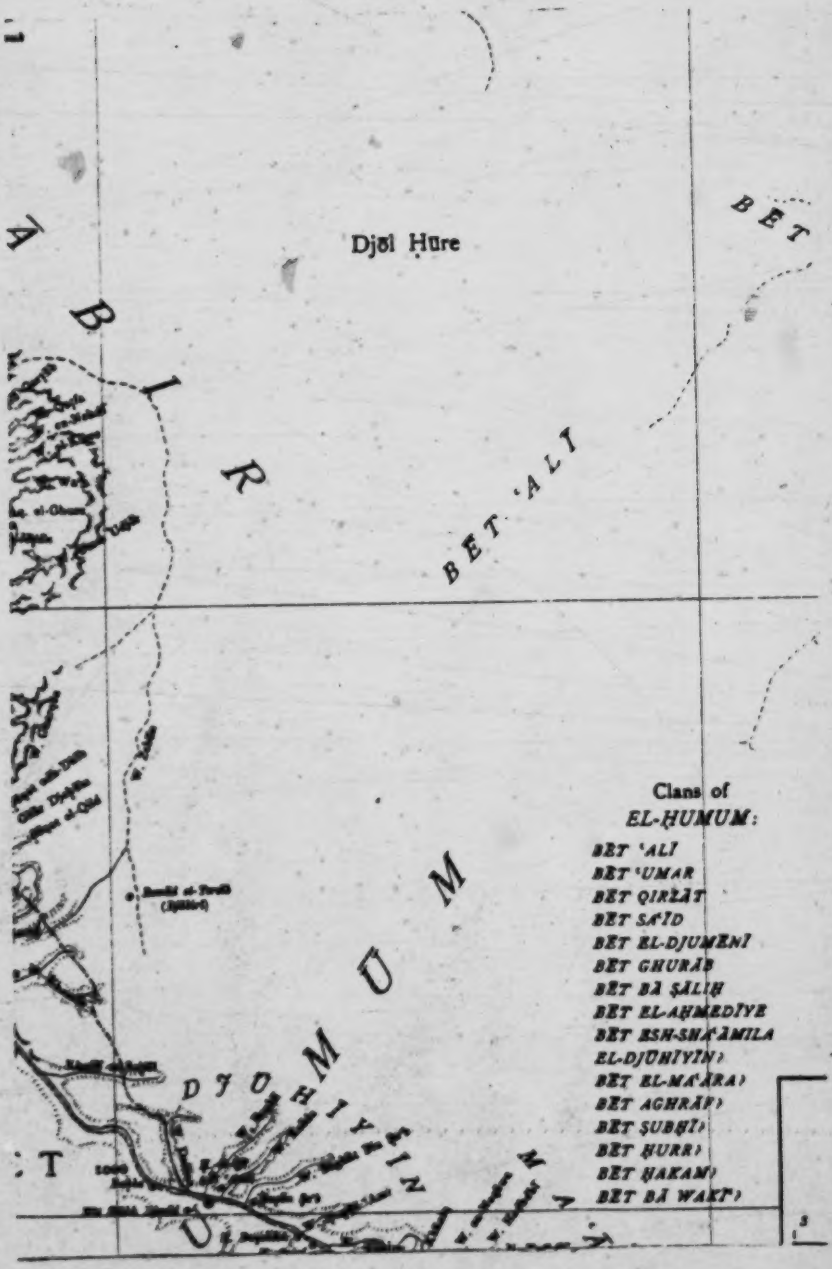


End map II E

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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End map II F

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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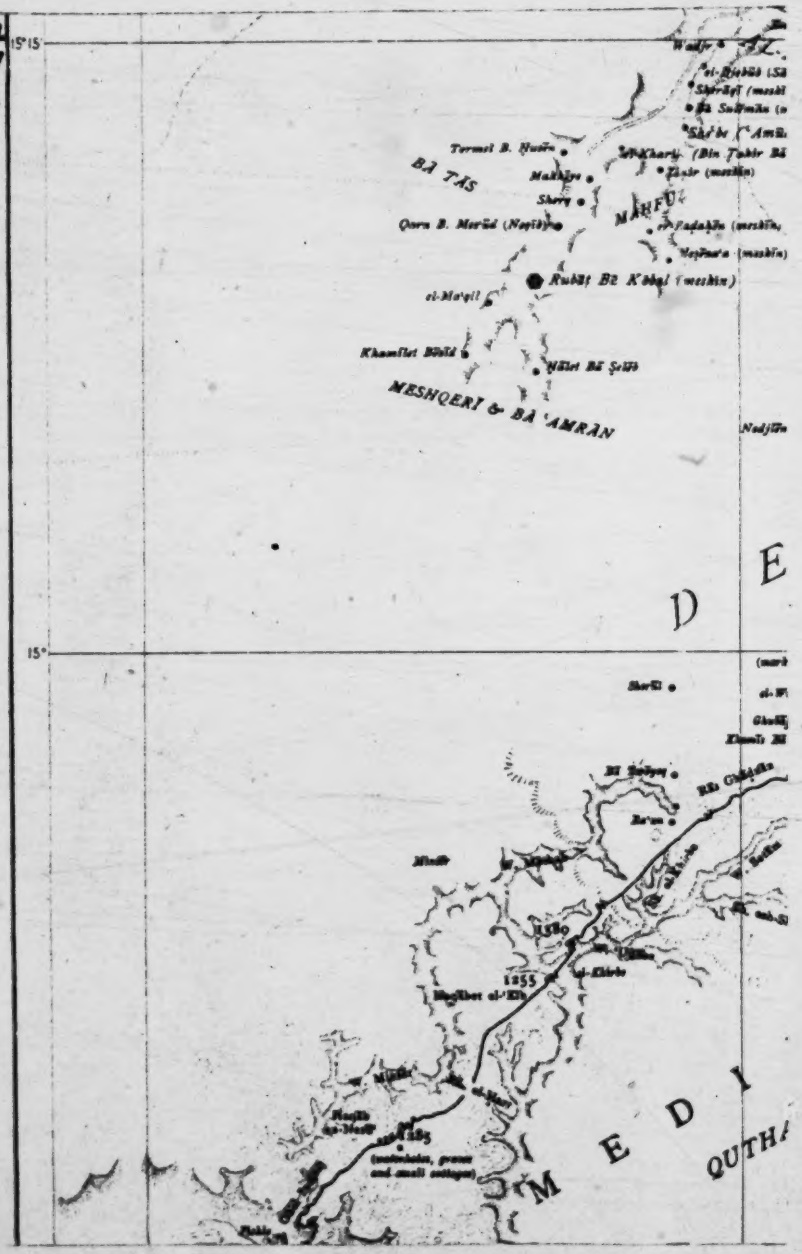


END MAP III A

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E Y Y I N
DEYYIN
REDETED
SEBÂN
KHÂMI'A
W. Tinaib
W. en-Nobl
Qîra
Qafra
Tagila
belonging to Bl Karak
Karak
Dîrâna
'Ameq Bl Lakhrath
Sherd el-Akhnafîn
el-Wallâjîl
(Rakaf Bl Sunîdîyîn)
Lagbaila
Zerîb Bl Sunîdîyîn
Zerîb Bal Bîl
Lakhkhâzîn
Bl Kîrathîna
Zerqara
Mojîrîd
Ayneqîn Bl 'Amir
(Ghâra)
Mirîd
el-Hanâ
Dalîla
el-Mîrîth
el-Khadîs
Khalîjat Bl Sunîdîyîn
Nakhîla
Majrat Bl Sunîdîyîn
Bl Bin Tâlib
Sherd Bîrîn
Bâlîr
'Alîya
Bl Bîrîn
el-Shîlîl
(Mallîla)
1455
1475
1535
W. Mughal
W. Ma
W. Wadi
W. Ma
W. Ma
W. Ma

102
●487
173

End map III C

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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End map III D

102
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End map III E

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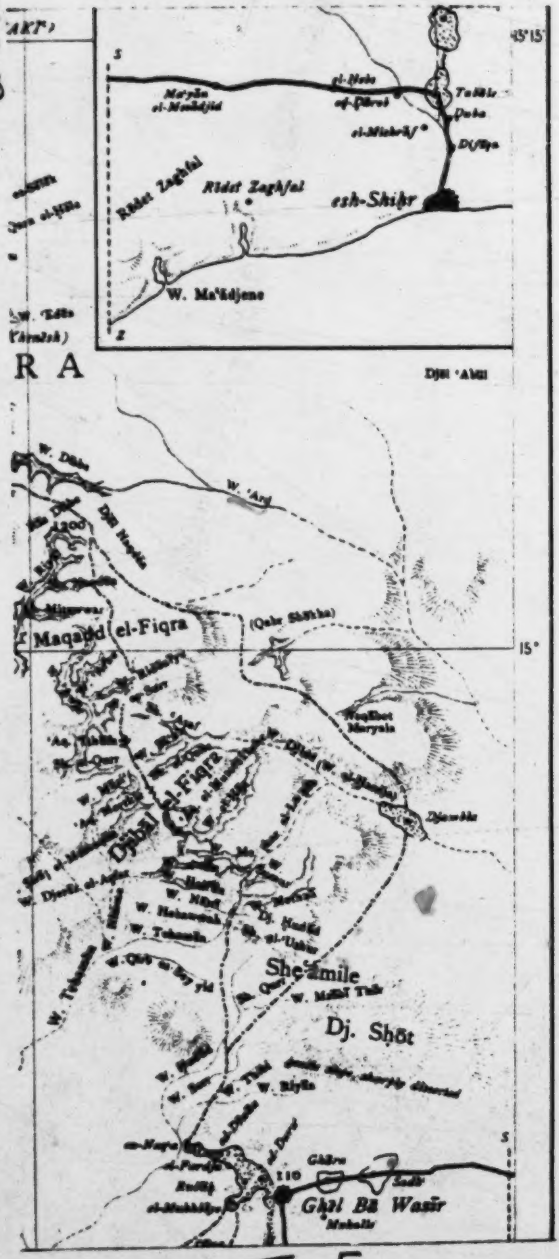
Riḍat Zaghfal
esh-Shiḥr
W. Ma'ādjene
R A
Djil 'Akil
W. 'Arg
Maqaṭṭ el-Fiqra
(Qabr Shāhba)
15°
Djebel el-Fiqra
Djebel
Djewāba
Dj. Ḥadīd
She'amile
Dj. Shōt
Ghāl Bā Wazīr
110
End map III F

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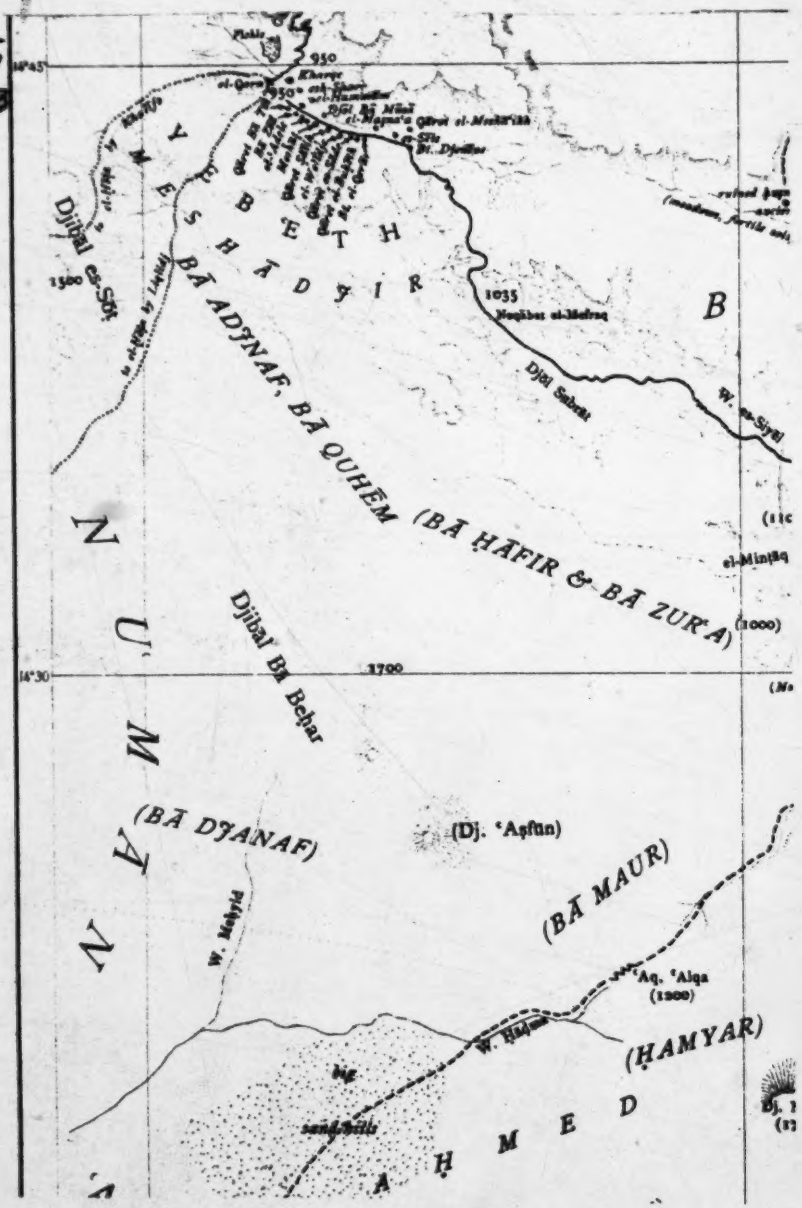


END MAP IV A

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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END MAP II B

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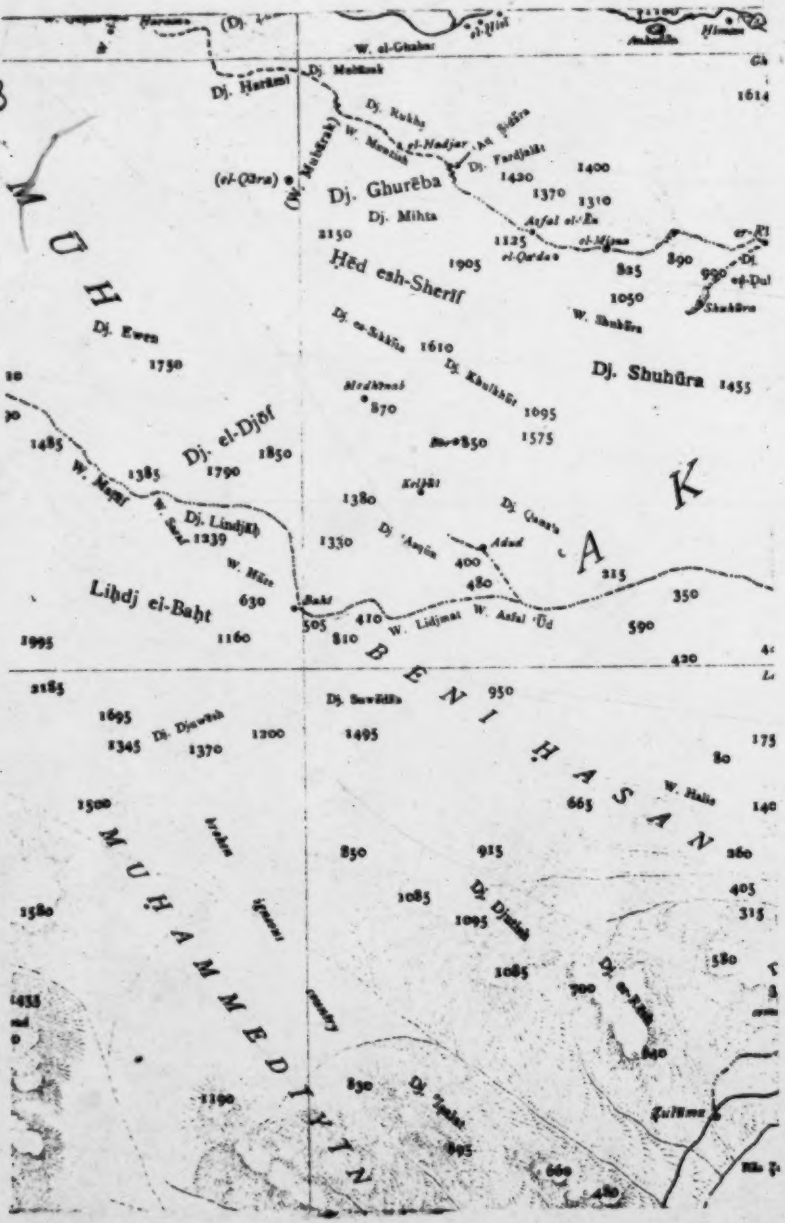
133

(Ghār Shaqq)
S A M
(W. Qirbe)
W. Yawan
Yawan
ancient tomb
Dj. Qalfia
W. Kasayy
Dj. Kasayy
A S H W T N)
W. Fuqa
Halla
A M
Kasina
ancient inscription
Mahāmda
Dj. Makab
Dj. Bereke
Ghādat Bā Mjhar
W
Bā Qirdān
W. Fāqma
ancient ruins and tombs
Kor
black rocks, probably volcanic
BA DABAS
BA DJUHEM
DJIZWIL
W
Rās Arqan
Dj. Awad
A
END MAP IV C

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



102
487
133

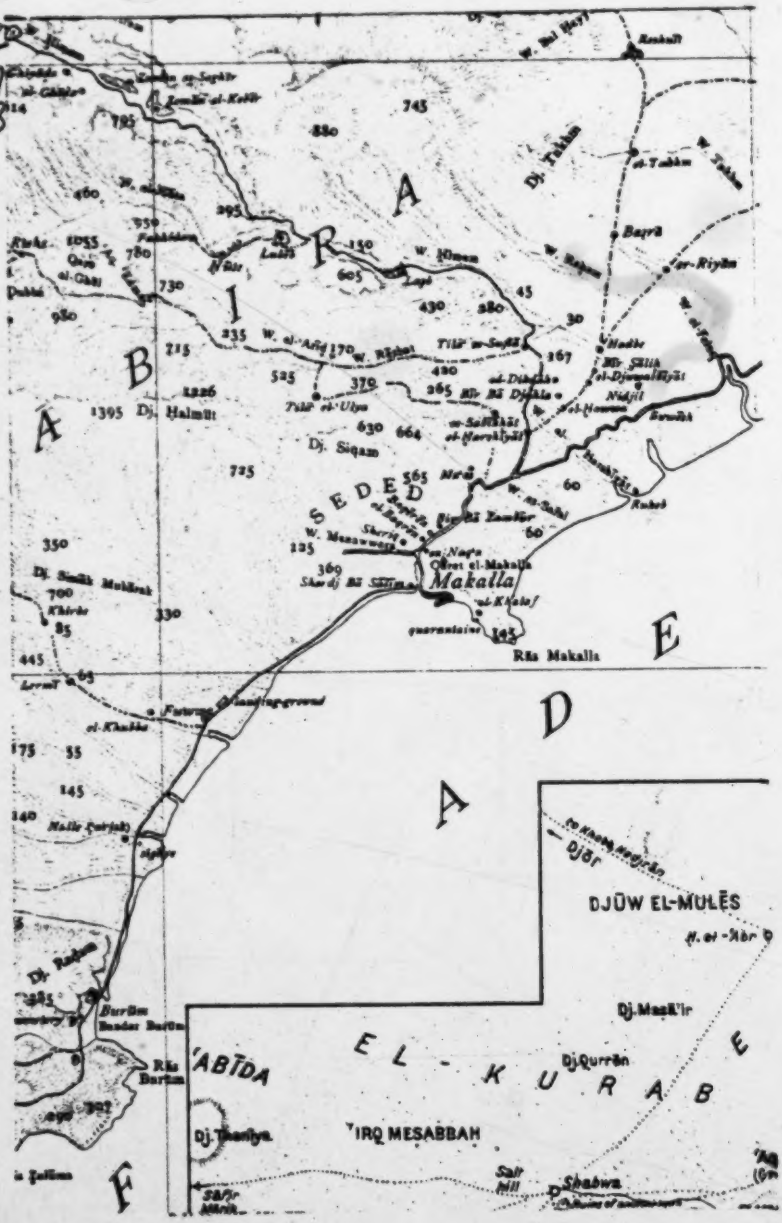



End map IV D

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



102
487
133

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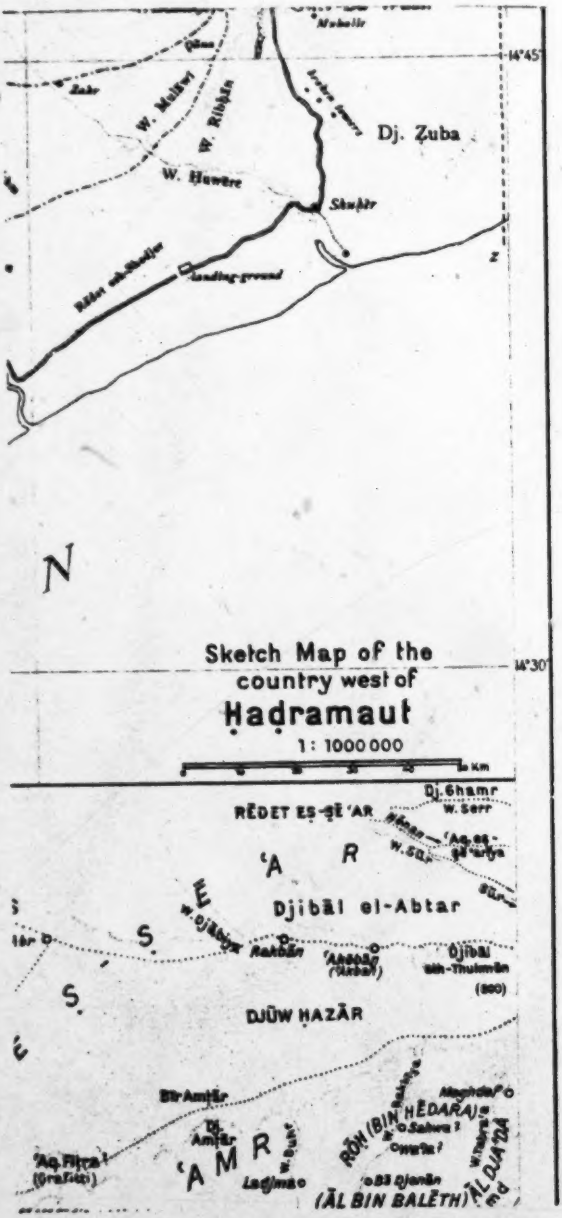
487
133




End map IV F

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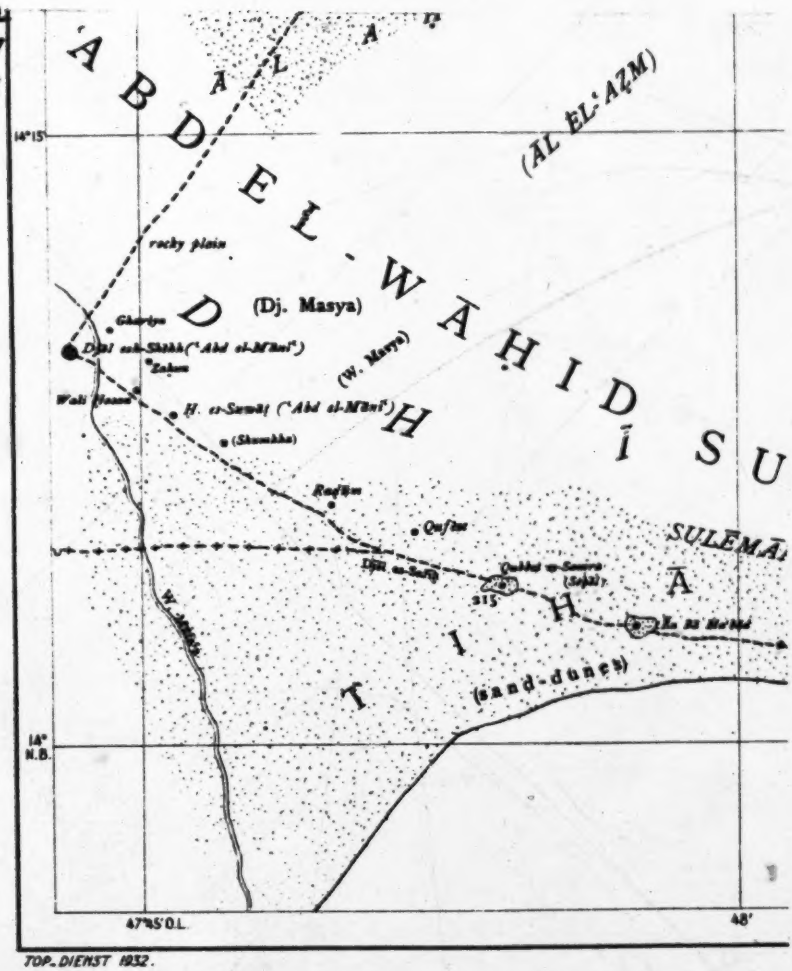
133

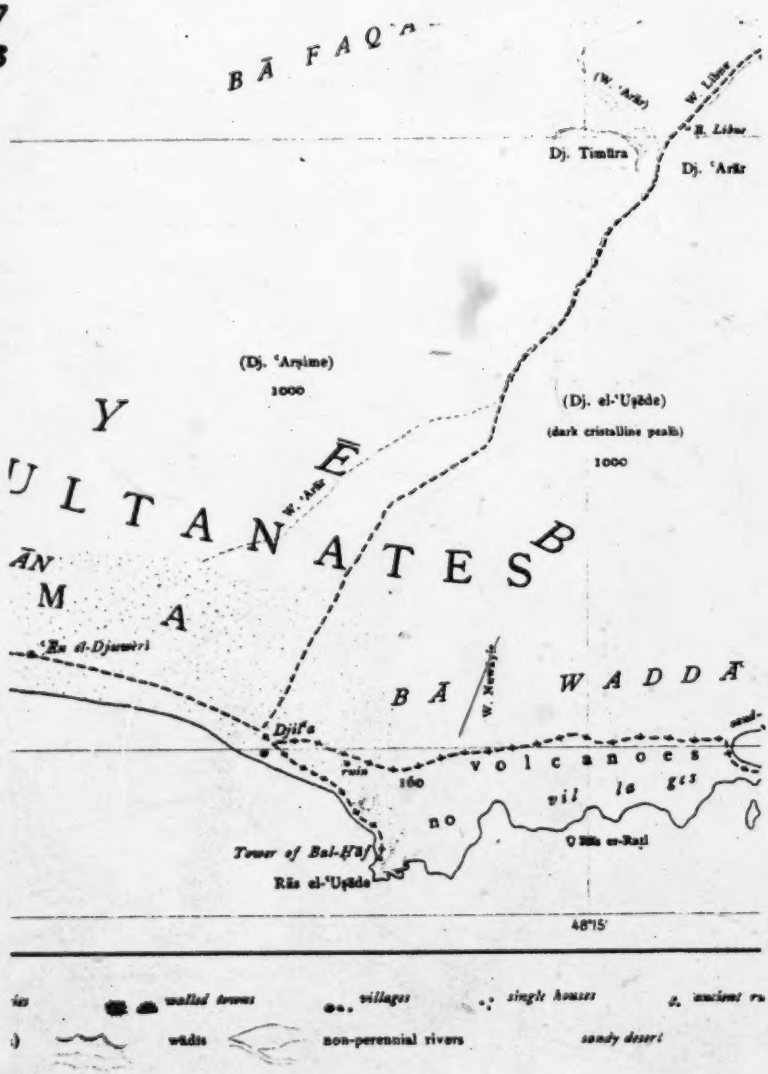



tribal boundaries — roads — tracks based upon personal inquiries

TRIBAL NAMES — REGIONS — mountains (heights in meters)

END MAP V A

102
489
133




END MAP V B

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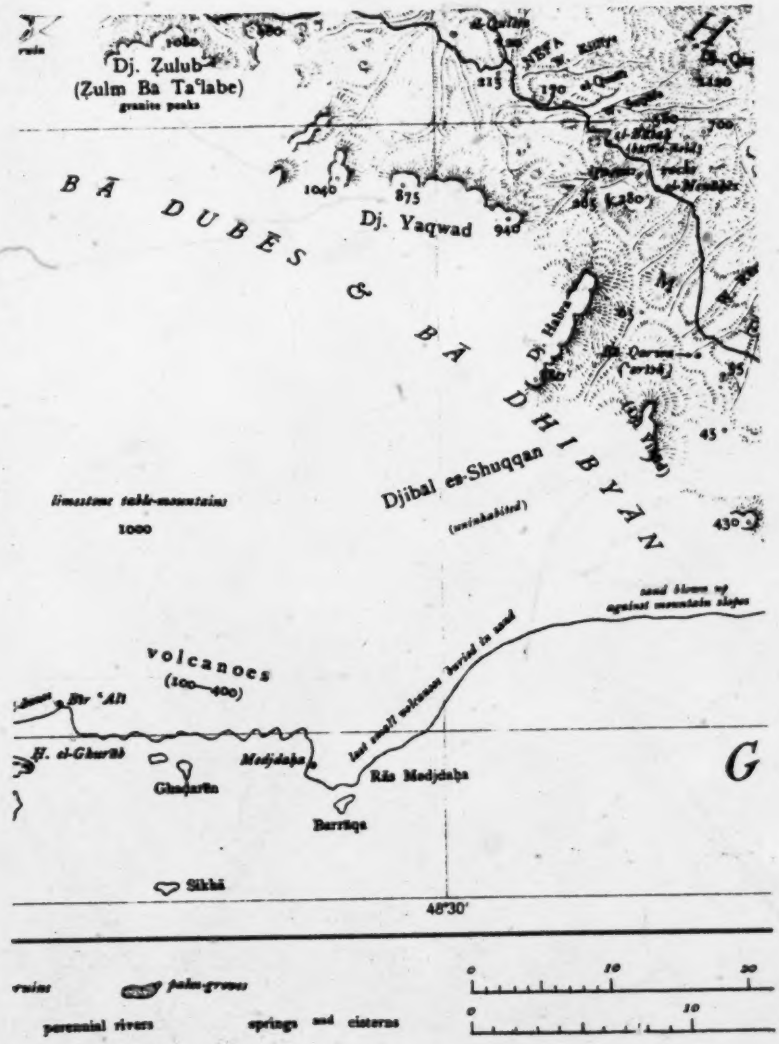
487
133




END MAP IVC

102
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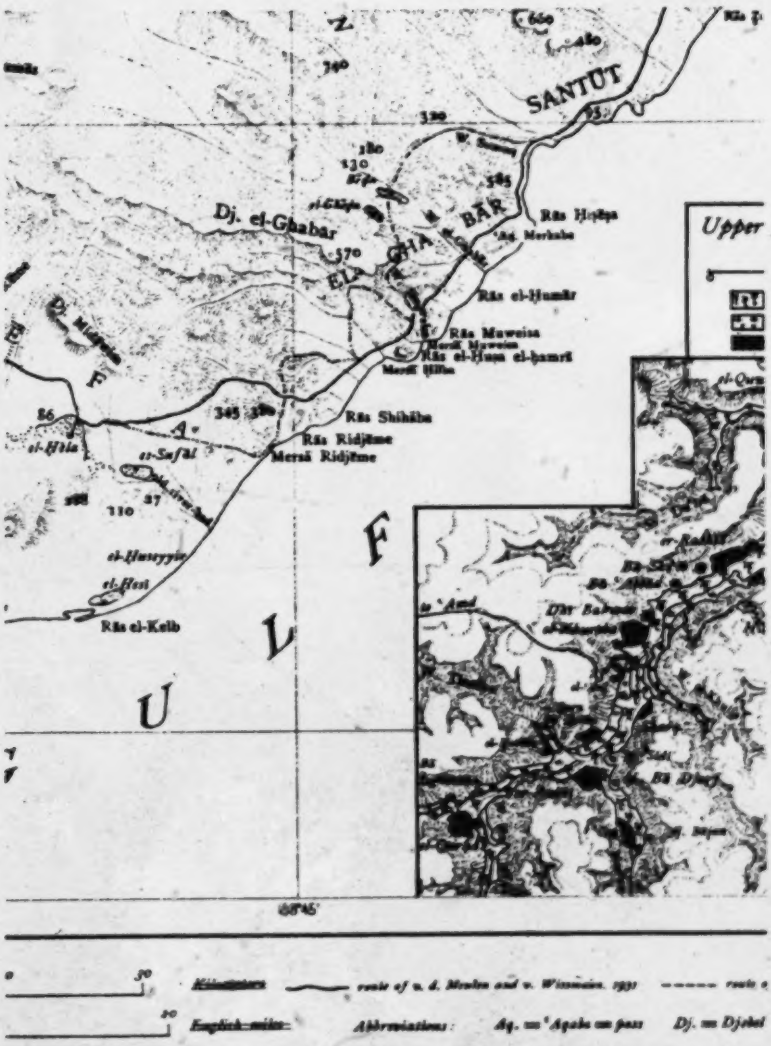
183




End map V D

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



102
487
133

tr of A. v. Wrede 1843 ——·—— routes of L. Hirsch and Imām Sherif Khan Bahadur (surveyor of Th. Bent) 1893

hel = mountain H = Hisn = castle, fortified house W. = Wādī = riverbed Bt = Bēt = house.

End map V E

102
487
133

route of O. H. Little, 1927 — route of other explorers

tribe, family B = Bin = son

End map V F

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

249 (31)

102
487
133

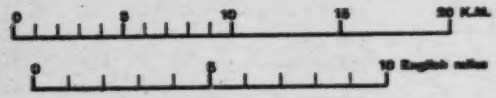
# HADRAMAUT

## Scale 1 : 250 000

by Dr. H. von Wissmann.

(Map belonging to "Hadramaut, some of its mysteries unveiled" by D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann.)

NOTE. The scale given under the map is wrong and the following should be used instead.




End map VI

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia

Aden MM1
Hadhramaut
MM2

# CHAPTER VII

## ADEN AND HADHRAMAUT

THE Resident of Aden exercises political influence over a very extensive tract of country in the south of the Arabian Peninsula, south of a line beginning at Ras Turbah (Tūrbākh), a point at the extreme south-westerly corner of Arabia, and extending roughly in a north-easterly direction to the desert; it comprises all the territory to the south of this line, inclusive of the Hadhramaut. In the present chapter this region will be considered in two sections: (A) Aden and the Interior (including the Aden Protectorate proper), and (B) The Hadhramaut.

A 631 131 H 631 131

## A. ADEN AND THE INTERIOR

### AREA

The Aden Interior includes the actual Protectorate (q. v. p. 183) and the remoter tribes under the outer Aden sphere of influence, but excludes the Sultanates of the Hadhramaut and the Wahīdi. Its western boundary is the delimitation line drawn (Jan. 1902–Dec. 1904) by the Anglo-Turkish Commission, from Ras Turbah, a point opposite Perim Island, inland past Jalīlah, north of Dhāla and a little south of Qa'tabah, to the Bana River, and produced thence by a line, not fixed by actual survey, north-east to Beihān el-Jezāb. The eastern boundary is not so clearly defined, but may be indicated by a line drawn northward from Sheikh 'Abd er-Rahmān (a coastal shrine marking the lower 'Aulaqi eastern border) to a point half-way between Yeshbum, an important settlement in upper 'Aulaqi, and Habbān, a town of the Wahīdi Sultanate. The northern limit is the Ruba' el-Khāli, or great inland desert, the Sherif of Beihān el-Jezāb being the most northerly chief in political relationship with Aden. The southern limit is, of course, the sea-coast. Within this frontier the most important section is the western, comprising the territories of the Emir of Dhāla, the Haushabi, and a portion of the Subeihi. Through these districts pass the main trade-routes from Turkish Yemen, the only routes

H 631 487



p. 179

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



631 which could be utilized by a force advancing into British territory from Yemen, or the converse. The main lines of communication •487 are three: (a) through the Dhāla valley, (b) through the Tiban valley, and (c) past Mafālis and down Wādi Ma'din, a tributary of the Wādi Darr. The area of the Aden Interior, thus considered, is about 19,000 sq. miles.

## Physical Character

133 The region may be divided into six clearly defined zones, roughly parallel with the coast and not greatly differing from those of Yemen:

(1) The littoral belt.
(2) The maritime ranges.
(3) The intramontane plains.
(4) The main watershed.
(5) The up-country plateau.
(6) The great inland desert.

(1) The littoral belt is a level, maritime plain, chiefly desert and often saline near the coast. Two important oases may be noted: (a) that of Lahej, in the 'Abdāli Sultanate, between Wādis Kebīr and Saghīr, bifurcations of the Tiban valley; (b) Abiyān, a large district of scattered villages and cultivation lying between Wādis Bana and Hasan. Each of these oases has an approximate area of 60 sq. miles, but that of Lahej is by far the richer of the two.

(2) The littoral belt, which varies in width from 40 miles to less than four, is backed by low ranges of maritime hills, black and metamorphic, which culminate here and there in upstanding and often twin peaks of 3,000 or more feet in altitude. Passes, by which caravan routes cross the crest, average 2,500 ft. The maritime scarps of the ranges are barren and almost waterless; but the inland slopes, which are far less abrupt, hold wooded water-courses and permanent wells.

(3) The series of broad plains, inland of the maritime hills, which average 2,000 ft. above sea-level, are of sterile aspect but have a small regular rainfall in the summer, which enables fairly large areas to be placed under cultivation.

(4) The main watershed rises almost sheer from the plains and in parts, especially at the eastern end, has the appearance of an unbroken wall, but really consists of several mountain ranges which overlap each other. The crests attain an average altitude of 7,000 ft. above sea-level. Passes, on caravan routes, seldom exceed 5,000 ft. in height. This main watershed is highest in the west where it merges into the Yemen highlands. It is usually known

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither the rains nor the variable streams are in general adequate to this purpose, and watering of the soil is mainly carried on from wells. These may be sunk practically everywhere in the valleys. As in many other parts of Arabia, the water is drawn up in a leather hoist by animals, usually cows, attached to a cord which passes over a pulley supported on wooden struts; the water thus obtained is received in a large wooden trough whence it is spread over the land by means of little runnels.

Cattle-rearing is the principal occupation of the Bedouins. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes; sheep for killing and for milk; cows only for milk and irrigation work; oxen exclusively for ploughing. Horses are very rare and are considered as animals *de luxe*. Bees are numerous, and much honey is produced. The wild animals most largely found are the rabbit, gazelle, wild goat, jerboa, hyena, hedgehog, a large species of lizard (permitted as food to Mussulmans), and the panther, wolf, and monkey (not permitted as food).

## Trade and Commerce

The only ports of importance commercially are Makalla (see p. 232), Shiheir (see p. 232), and Seihūt (see p. 230), and even at these the trade carried on is purely coastal, with the near coast of Africa, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the southern coast of Arabia, and above all with Aden and Muscat. Trade by caravan is carried on from these ports with the whole of the interior of the Hadhramaut and with the southern Arabian littoral as far as Yemen on the west and Oman on the east. Burūm (see p. 233) and Qusei'ir are small fishing villages.

There are no made roads; the routes follow the courses of the wādis or natural paths. Transport by wheeled vehicles is impossible everywhere; all is carried on by camels or donkeys. It is, however, relatively cheap; e. g. a camel from Shiheir or Makalla to Seyyūn costs only 5 florins in the good season; in summer, when forage is scarce, it is higher, but never above 10 florins.

The chief exports are dates, stuffs dyed with indigo, a superior quality of wheat, and honey; smaller exports are shells and fins of fish, the latter exported to India and China. Imports: wheat, butter, coco-nuts, coffee, sugar, rice, cotton and cotton stuffs, pottery, bars of iron and worked iron, sesame oil, petroleum, and tin-ware.

484 It is four days journey from Shibam to Husn al 'Abr and five days from Husn al 'Abr to Nejran.

485 Routes from the coast are well provided with *siqayas*, or public fountains, near villages, and *qarifs* and *naqbas*, artificial pools and cisterns for rain-water, in the desert places. There are also of course many natural springs and water holes in the wadis. There are *muraba'as* (rest houses, called *madharab* in the low country and *sira* in the upper) at intervals approximately of a few hours' journey all over the principal routes crossing barren country. There are no definitely appointed stages, but caravans halt at places where they can graze and water their camels. They travel an average of six or seven hours a day.

492 From fifty to fifty-three thousand camels leave the camel park
489 called Therb outside the west gate of Mukalla every year for the interior. From Shihr the number is from 30,000 to 32,000. These figures include 5,000 to 8,000 in the former case and 2,000 in the latter of camels carrying food for the camel-men. Camels for this purpose are provided at the rate of about two to ten loaded camels.

Departures from and to the coast take place almost daily except during the month of Ramadhan. During that month caravans leave Mukalla and Shihr in order to arrive at their destinations by the feast day. Departures from and arrivals at Shibam for and from the interior are not so frequent.

From four hundred to a thousand loaded camels a month enter Shibam alone from the coast. It is estimated that a thousand annually come from San'ā in three or four caravans, but, as stated elsewhere, there is an increase if there is a demand.

An estimate given of the number of camels from other parts of the Protectorate and other parts of the Yemen is fourteen caravans of 1,000 camels each arriving mostly during the winter and spring. Caravans from Nejran are rare.

494 The 1934 fares from Mukalla to Du'an were as follows :—

484 1. By donkey, *watā* and *'aser*, that is to say, riding over
435 level country and over the rough and hilly places, standard rate, 15 to 16 dollars, but with variation according to weight, the limits each way being from 12 to 20 dollars.

2. By donkey, *watā*, i.e., riding only over the level country, standard fare, 10 to 11 dollars with limits according to weight of from 8 to 15 dollars.

Each passenger is allowed free transport of up to three *frasilas* (1 *frasila* = 20 lb.) of food.

3. By camel, *watā* and *'aser*, 10 dollars.

4. By camel, *watā*, 5 dollars.

There is no allowance for weight by camel but there is a free allowance of up to three *frasilas* of food.

The freight rates are : By camel, 10 dollars for 1 *bahar* of 20 *frasilas*; by donkey, 1½ dollars a *frasila*.

631 grazing lands, belong to them, and they range from Shihr to
101 Seihut and up to the Manahil and Jabri. The Manahil country
619 lies to the north and east of them, and the 'Awābitha and Al Heik live to their west.

619 The tribe[2] had a defensive and offensive alliance with the Kathīri, and were always a great source of trouble to the Qu'aiti. They were a byword for murder and robbery, owing to their systematic pillaging of travellers, until the Qu'aiti put an end to these activities by stringent measures some years ago. He now pays them an annual subsidy and has a " B " agreement[2] with them and they
[489] have ceased to be troublesome. Since coming to heel the tribesmen regularly load goods from Shihr for Shibam, Seiyun and Tarim, and continually visit Shihr, Hami, Dis, Qus'eir and Reida. They are mainly nomads and own about 3,000 loading camels but no riding animals.

They are the worst enemies of the Seibani, with whom they are continually at war: Inter-tribal feuds exist between several of their own clans, but all unite in the face of a common foe under the leadership of the Beit 'Ali clan, whose chief, 'Ali bin Salim Habrish, lives at Gheil Bā Yamīn and Wadi 'Arf and is the
[623] *Muqaddam* of the Zei. A " Council of Elders " is summoned at Gheil Bā Yamīn to decide matters of tribal importance, and the tribesmen of the various clans offer their rifles to prove their goodwill in acceptance of the decision of the Elders. The Mansabs of the tribe are Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il of the Āl 'Aidarus, but the Bā Shamakha clan are under the influence of 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and 'Abdul Qadir Āl Shibab of the Āl as Saqqaf. These Mansabs interfere in cases of serious tribal disputes or for the accomplishment of truces between fighting clans or tribes.

631 The clans of the Hamumi live in two districts, Al Ma'rab (the
101 Western) which is the smaller district and is situated to the North of Shihr, and Al Mashqās (the Eastern) which lies to the North
619 East of Shihr. The Bahasan at Tanbūl and the Yamīni are the clans living in Al Ma'rab, but also included in the district are their allies the Sha'āmila, the Bā Habān, and the Meseilīyin. The Yamīni, who are allied to the Seibani and live under their pro-
[249] tection, possess 200 camels, and the Bahasan own 100. The latter cultivate *tanbuli* leaf, which is chewed by the people of Shihr and Mukalla, and they have accordingly been nicknamed " at Tanbuli ". The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

The other clans mentioned in the list live in the district of Al Mashqās, consisting of deserts, fields, and wadis. From the Sa'idi to the Seiyids of Beit Hamūda inclusive the clans have a special system and their chief is the head of the Beit 'Ali. From the Beit Ghatnīn to the 'Udūl inclusive all the clans have their own

2 [Hamumi Zei -- Analyst] 2 [See p. 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Audhalis, 'Aulaqis, and Beihanis are too far away, and it is doubtful if any federation with them could be very real. The Yafa'is, though they are excellent outside their own mountains, are at present a very difficult problem from the point of view of good order and government in them. I had almost forgotten the 'Aqrabis, but as that kingdom consists in effect of only one village on the borders of Aden and Lahej they hardly constitute a problem. But it is possible that some day steps towards the federation of the protectorate by areas may come to pass.

If, however, the political outlook is not very promising, experience of recent years has shown that in potential agricultural resources the Western Protectorate is far better off than the Eastern. It is true that its total area is not much more than half that of the Eastern and that by far the greater proportion of it is barren mountains or arid desert, but none the less the cultivable acreage is greater than that of the Eastern and the people are on the whole better agriculturists. There are fewer beduin, and the tribesmen, unlike those of the Eastern Protectorate, are many of them tillers of the land on which they live, rather than employers or financiers of a peasant class with the idea that manual work is unbecoming to dignity. On the coastal area there are large and useful oases at Lahej, Abyan—by far the biggest—and Ahwar. These oases are sure of regular spates from the Yemen highlands behind, and can grow useful crops of grain, principally millet, and vegetables and fruits of the coarser tropical kinds. There are good patches of soil in the Dhala and Yafa'i mountains, and the latter grow the best coffee in Arabia, but at Mukeiras in Audhali country there is a really important fertile area at over 7,000 feet where temperate crops are grown and which is now producing in fair abundance European vegetables and fruits of excellent quality which include potatoes, tomatoes, lettuces and so on, apples, peaches, plums, and apricots. The main difficulty in disposing of these good things, for which a ready market exists in Aden for local consumption and for shipping, is communication and transport. The Audhali plateau is over a hundred miles from Aden and is cut off from the maritime plain and the foothills by a 4,000-foot, almost perpendicular bluff, the picturesque Kaur al Audilla. So road-making is difficult and expensive, and the bad tracks play havoc with the lorries used for transporting the produce to Aden from the foot of the bluff, down which it is transported on animals. If ever the Yemen is developed agriculturally it will have great advantages over Audhali country, for roads can be better made. The main agricultural produce that now comes by caravan and lorry from the Yemen is the highly perishable and iniquitous qat, and the qat traffic is probably centuries old. Better communication and better agriculture in the Yemen would therefore make it difficult for the Audhali country to be economically worth while. Beyond the Audhalis and descending towards the heat of the desert is Beihan country, which drains to the Rub'al Khali. Having high mountains behind it, it is reasonably watered, and millet cultivation is being extended there.

The present tendency in the improvement of conditions in the Western Aden Protectorate is to select an area where conditions are favourable and send a political officer to assist the chief to establish control over his people,

to this rich domain, lies at the edge of the plateau of coral 133
stone. As one approaches from the coast one barely sees the 361
gardens of palms; soon one finds oneself in front of a high, white wall, with a great, fortified gate, which, apparently, is kept closed even during the day. The traveller, as he waits, can only see, close to the wall and rising boldly up above it, the Sultan's massive palace which now serves as barracks for soldiers.

We were obliged to wait at a respectful distance from the 361
menacing, fortified gateway until our letter of introduction 249
had been taken to the palace, read and deemed satisfactory enough to admit us into the tobacco town. Ghēl Bā Wazīr, as a city, has not many beauties except for the large and ancient palace and a few mosques, and we were glad to accept the invitation of one of the authorities of the place to proceed at once to the gardens and to the Sultan's country-house in the cultivated district behind the town. We, therefore, drove without pausing through the place, which reeked of tobacco. The 361
valley side of the town, that is the north side, has less defences 249
than the south, whence start the great thoroughfares to 487
Makalla and esh-Shiḥr. Nowadays motor lorries convey the bales of tobacco, which are two yards long, from el-Ghēl to Makalla. Manure for the tobacco fields is brought from the coast on camels.

A richly cultivated area begins immediately behind the town. 249
The Sultan owns much tobacco-growing land, which is said 361
to be a great source of income to him. Close behind the town 342
are two gardens, in each of which is a newly-built summer 471
residence. We enter the first garden with the smaller house which is set aside for the use of the male members of the household. In the other garden is a much larger building for the wives and their female attendants.

The gate is immediately shut behind us, our following of 351
inquisitive youths remains outside, and we stand in the silence of the luxuriant garden, trying to accustom our eyes to the deep shade under the blossoming fruit-trees. It looks just as

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 The heat of the sun drives us away, however, from our bare hillock, but the Sultan promises to give us the pleasure of another similar excursion in the evening. We shall meet again at lunch in the palace of the Sultan of Terīm, who is to entertain us to-day.

353 It is exceedingly hot when, some hours later, we leave the
342 garden city and proceed to the palace. We are received in a broad corridor, the only place where there is some breeze and, thus, some degree of coolness. The corridor is spread with beautiful carpets; at one end is a table with chairs placed round it, at the other end cushions lie on the carpets. The reception begins on chairs, but that does not last long. We are soon all seated on the floor, leaning against the cushions as is the custom here. The meal is served in a hall where there are two rows of pillars. Long and strong supporting beams cannot be obtained here, where wood is scarce and short; thus all large rooms have pillars to support the roof construction. A long table-cloth is laid over the carpets in the middle
[177] of the room. Seated around it with their legs crossed under
[264] them the great company, with few words and in a rapid tempo, feasts upon the excellently prepared Javanese "rice meal" (*rijsttafel*) laid before them.

353 The mural decorations of the otherwise empty room consist of mirrors, old English prints, photographs of Java and Singapore and two large hanging clocks with musical chimes.

Tea is served in a small drawing-room with modern furniture. In Ḥaḍramaut, the new is less practical and less beautiful than the old and indigenous. It is so hot in here, with its coloured glass windows, that all are thankful when the meeting is adjourned.

508 In the afternoon the Sultan takes us by car to a broad plain
489 where the mountain-wall recedes. He would like to make an aerodrome here and wants therefore to have our opinion. The aeroplane would be an ideal means of transport for the whole of Arabia, and especially for Ḥaḍramaut. Not only are distances great, the communications difficult and whole stretches

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



often very poor in water, but, over and above this, countless internal wars make traffic dangerous and force travellers to go by very circuitous routes. This is why the Ḥaḍramī seldom knows his own country well. A learned Ḥaḍramī whom I knew formerly said to me quite truly: "I know all the volcanoes of Java and all the stations on its main railway lines, but I cannot give you any information about the wādīs and mountains a few hours distant from my home." The Sultan of Sēwūn is a relatively favourable exception to this rule in that he has seen Aden; he went there to attend a conference convened by the British authorities, where an attempt was made to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Qeᶜēṭī and Kathīrī rulers. He desires to see more of the world, including Java, the land in which three quarters of his subjects have interests. The great difficulty, however, is to get over the Qeᶜēṭī barrier, and for that an aeroplane is necessary. The site for the future aerodrome which was shown to us seemed quite suitable.

In the evening there is again a gathering on the roof-terrace at ᶜIzz ed-Dīn. The subject brought forward for discussion is the poverty of Ḥaḍramaut and how relief from it may be obtained. In and around Sēwūn the water-level is not deep, which fact accounts for the prosperous palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. But the water-supply would have to be enlarged if it is to help the people really forward. This cannot be done by motor pumps, because they are too expensive in practice. The pump at Hēnin has to work eight hours a day to keep in existence a few acres of *dhura* and 200 small palm-trees, and that costs more in kerosene and lubricating oil than can ever be made from the produce of the irrigated land. The soil in Sēwūn is better and water nearer to the surface, and yet experience has taught that here also the motor pump does not pay. Can matters not be improved by means of artesian wells? The Sultan asks us to help by sending an expert with the necessary instruments. He says that at one time, in the days of the Ḥimyaritic kingdom, Ḥaḍramaut must have been

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



afterwards with wet body in the dry evening breeze certainly 000
does. Of course there is a servant with a samovar, who provides the glasses of tea, which are always welcome in this country of dry heat. The ripest dates are brought from the gardens; they are sweet but very astringent. The foreigner accustoms himself but slowly to this unusual and, at first, unappetising food. But soon he learns to appreciate the date whilst it is still hard and fresh.

Swimming by moonlight is an unexpected luxury and a par- 529
ticular pleasure to us in this country. On one side, close to the swimming-pool, there is a space for the *ṣalāt,* where a niche in the wall indicates the *qibla*[1];- on the other side there is a summer pavilion. Everything has a wash of light, delicate colour; the lines of the walls and roofs are edged with fine figures and borders, and one is inclined to forget that the material of which they are made is plain, brown mud. We spend quite a long time together with the young people on brotherly terms. They let themselves go now that no elders are present. Swimming and diving competitions are held with great gusto, until the time comes for the *ṣalāt el-ʿishāʾ* (the late evening ritual prayer), which is performed with suitable solemnity. The evenings at home on the great roof-terrace are always very attractive; only intimate friends remain till then, and our host puts questions which show clearly how his thoughts are always occupied with his country and people, and how he is seeking ways for their advancement.

There are many difficulties in the making of a road to esh- 491
Shiḥr. The Ḥumūmī Bedouins, notorious for their love of fight- 578
ing, and through whose territory passes the greater part of 656
the road, have — after being richly paid — made a pact by 489
which they promise not to oppose it and whereby Sayyid Abū Bakr binds himself only to allow the use of the road for travellers by motor-car, while the conveyance of freight shall be left to the camels of the Bedouins. There is only left unfinished a stretch of three days by camel.

[1] The *qibla* is the direction in which Mecca lies. 104

000 amazement of its garrison. The solid wooden doors of the gate are locked; not a living soul is visible among the other mud houses; there is not a tree or shrub to offer shade amidst all this surrounding sand and loam and rock. El-Qaᶜūẓa is encircled by foes and shots are very apt to fall after sunset from the mausers of the sharp-shooters, who man the forts on the rock-wall. The doors, however, open to the tooting of our horn and we stare into the dumb, wondering faces of the soldiers and boys who come running to meet us.

622 Old Mubārak bin Muḥammad is the shēkh held in awe by
● 489 the Bedouins and who controls all the caravans travelling
609 from el-Qaᶜūẓa by the southern border of the "Empty Quarter" to the Yemen or to the hinterland of Aden. If he will assume the responsibility and provide us with camels and an armed escort we can risk a forced march to Niṣāb. Unluckily the mighty Bedouin shēkh is ill. We are received in a very fraternal way by his soldiers and taken to the roomy *madjlis,* which is soon chock-full of people interested in our arrival; they all come forward to greet us with a firm grasp of the hand and then begin to satisfy their curiosity by asking questions. There seems to be a great deal of contact with Java here: many speak Malay as do all the boys who so eagerly press forward. Money from Java has kept the war going so far, although the last date-palm has died long ago in the dried-up gardens.

000 Conversation in Malay soon breaks down the initial reserve of our hosts, and before long we are talking gaily about Java, the land of promise, with these frank and intelligent youths. The soldiers are only now prepared to speak to the old shēkh, to show him our letters and to communicate our request. A little later they come to take me to the sick man, Mubārak bin Muḥammad. The grey-headed chief is lying in a small room. He says that the region through which we wish to pass has been rendered unsafe by large bands of Bedouins and that an armed escort of ten camel-riders would not protect us against them. The only possibility for us would be to join

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



731 cultivators to get them back to their villages and re-establish them in time to sow their crops.

The famine of 1948–49 struck the western districts of Hadhramaut, where the situation was complicated by the dependence of these districts on rain and run-off water and flow irrigation from the wadis for crop production, and where large sections of the population relied on remittances from Hyderabad, which had been absorbed into the Indian Union, and from which transfers of currency had become difficult. Finally the repatriation of several thousand Southern Arabians, many of them from the tribes most seriously affected by the famine, brought further hardship.

Little could be done to improve agricultural conditions rapidly in these western areas of the Hadhramaut. It was therefore necessary to look to the lower areas of the main wadi where water is obtainable at easy levels, and farming can be secured by permanent irrigation.

Animal power for use on lift irrigation, and dependent on fodder crops cheaply produced only from the flood-irrigated areas, was now judged to have reached its maximum use. The Famine Relief Commissioner—in this case the Acting Resident Adviser—was advised that a large-scale pump scheme, using diesel-engined units, was the only measure which appeared to show promise of quick improvement in food production. The Commissioner and the States accepted this advice in detail and made important decisions in council which were framed to abolish all taxes on diesel engine and pumps for use on irrigation work, and on diesel oil (gas oil), and to purchase and supply cultivators with machinery for cash or for deferred payments.

731 489 The States further caused revision of an important agreement with Beduin tribes regarding the transport of fuel. In the past all trade goods, including petrol, kerosene oil, and lubricating oil, had been carried by camel caravans owned by Beduin tribes occupying the country between the coastal plain and the great wadis of the interior. With the opening of the road to the interior some fourteen years ago it was agreed that motor transport should carry only passengers and small quantities of personal luggage. In the present emergency the Beduin leaders were told of the need for motor transport to carry diesel oil for a famine relief scheme and were shown that the normal system of supplying diesel oil was in 44-gallon drums which have to be broken and repacked in drums of a size convenient for camel transport. The Beduins agreed to waive their rights, and so, for the first time in Hadhramaut history, a truly mechanised scheme, independent of the camel caravans—which are entirely dependent on fodder grazing and water supplies, which may fail in a drought—was evolved.

653 406 312 It was decided to spend up to £36,000 on a pump scheme. The Famine Relief Commission, acting on behalf of the States, arranged to purchase the machinery and to sell outright for cash or on a deferred payment system, in which case 25 per cent was added to the price for repayment over a four-year period. Speed was essential, and quotations and prices were examined for nearly every type of diesel-engined

compelled all the people of the Hadhramaut to wear the black dress of the Abbasides.[1] 175

Hadhramaut remained loyal to the Abbasides to the year A.H. 263 (A.D. 877). During this time there had been about 53 Governors in the Hadhramaut. When the reign of the Abbasides came to an end, Hadhramaut became independent once again.[2]

## 2. Yemeni Domination.

We learn from Omārah[3] that the authority of Ibn Ziad, the Yemeni ruler who acquired the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by the Tubbas, extended to the provinces of Hadhramaut, ash Shihr, and Dīār Kinda. East of the Hadhramaut he was master of Merbat, and west, of Abyan, Lahej, and Aden, as well as the Red Sea coast as far as Hali. After the death of Muhammad ibn Ziad, his son 'Ibrahim and his grandson Ziyad followed. Ziyad was succeeded by his brother 'Abu'l Jeish Ishaq whose reign endured for a long time, according to Ibn Khaldun, until he had reached the age of eighty, though Omārah says he reigned eighty years over "Yemen, Hadhramaut and the maritime islands."

In A.H. 259 (A.D. 873) Muhammad ibn Ya'far succeeded to his father, and was invested by the Caliph al Mutamed, with the Government of San'ā. Hadhramaut was included in his dominions, "but he owed allegiance to the Ziyadites and paid them tributes."

The Ziyadite rule lasted a long time, and in A.H. 409 (A.D. 1018) their great Wazir, Ibn Salama, carried out one of his greatest public works. "Among the splendid works executed by Husayn ibn Salāmah must be reckoned the construction of great mosques and lofty minarets along the road from Hadhramaut to the city of Mecca (may God Most High guard it). The distance extends over sixty days' journey. He dug wells and channels with running water in solitary wildernesses, and he erected along the road constructions on which were indicated the distances in miles, in *parasangs*, and in stages. Some of these works I have seen, either in good order or in ruins, and of the remainder I have received descriptions *from other persons, all agreeing with one another*. The first stations were at Shibam and Tarim, two cities of Hadhramaut. (A footnote adds, "Of Tarim, al-Hamdāni merely says that it was a 491 175

[1] The Beduins still wear the black of the Abbasides, though they think it was imposed upon them as a punishment. Unlike the townswomen who wear their dresses short in front and long behind, the women of the Beduins wear their dresses long all round, and it is thought that this too is a survival of the Abbasides. 291

[2] It is apparent that the Hadhramaut took hardly to Islam. After several vicissitudes the country shook down to orthodox Shafi'ism, but from the time of the Abbasides paid no more than lip service to the Caliphate. To-day, while there are mosques almost everywhere, one may suspect that the Beduins are more attached to their patron saints, whom they have adopted into Islam, than to orthodox worship. Laxity like this may have not a little to do with the bigotry of the conservative Seiyid party. 771

[3] See Kay's Omārah, pp. 5, 141-2, 224.

175 491 large city" (p. 87, I. 17)). A series of mosques was built extending thence to Aden, to Abyan, and to Lahj, a distance of twenty days' journey. At each interval of one day's journey, there stood a mosque with a minaret and a well. As to Aden, it contained a mosque built by (the Khalīfah) 'Omar ibn 'Abd al- 'Aziz, which was restored by Husayn ibn Salāmah." (Kay's Omārah, p. 9.)

175 In A.H. 410 (A.D. 1019) the Beni Ma'n captured Aden and they also took the Hadhramaut.[1] In A.H. 460 (A.D. 1067) the tribes of the As Sulehi[2] took Aden and the Hadhramaut, but their power weakened and in A.H. 480 (A.D. 1087) Hadhramaut was once more independent. The tribe of Ar Rashid of Kinda governed from 'Aqad to Tarim, and at this time the Beni Ayub were ruling in Aden and Yemen.

In A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178) Othman Zingari, governor of the Beni Ayub, brought an army from Aden to the Hadhramaut and occupied all Hadhramaut, taking the Sultan of Ar Rashid of Kinda, Rashid bin Shijn'a, to Aden together with his two sons, 'Abdulla and Shijn'a. However, Yemen and Aden revolted against the Beni Ayub and returned the Sultan of Kinda with his sons to Hadhramaut where they ruled again.[3]

In A.H. 677 (A.D. 1278)[4] the Beni Rasul al Ghasanin occupied Yemen, and the Hadhramaut was under their protection with a ruler 'Abdur Rahman bin Rashid of the Beni Rashid of Kinda, Sultan in Shihr, whose authority extended as far as Tarim.

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[1] The Beni Ma'n took Aden, Abyan, Lahej, Ash Shihr and Hadhramaut at this time. Of the ancestry of the Beni Ma'n there is no very clear account. "They established their power over Aden, in the days of Al Ma'mūn according to Ibn Khaldūn or according to 'Omārah, on the downfall of the Ziyadite dynasty." (Kay's Omārah, p. 308). Ibn Khaldun mentions that the Beni Ma'n claim descent from Ma'n bin Za'ida, governor of Yemen from A.H. 145–151 (A.D. 762–768), but this is contradicted by al Khazraji and 'Omārah.

[2] 'Ali bin Muhammad as Sulehi allowed the Beni Ma'n to remain in possession of their territories as governors under his authority.

[3] Here Al Khazraji fills a few gaps. In Muharram of A.H. 658 (A.D. 1259–60) the 'Amir 'Esedu'd Din Muhammad bin Hassan bin 'Ali bin Rasul demanded of the Yemeni Sultan, Melik Mudhaffer, Sultan Shemsu'd Din Yusuf bin 'Umar bin 'Ali bin Rasul (A.D.1250–1295), that he should be equipped with an army to invade the Hadhramaut. The Sultan complied, but the Hadhramaut was saved for twenty years from the Beni Rasul because of internal troubles in the Yemen which prevented the 'Amir from proceeding to the Hadhramaut.

[4] Al Khazraji relates that in A.D. 1278 the people of Hadhramaut appealed to Salim bin Idris lord of Dhufar, originally from Habuda near Shibam, for assistance in a great famine that afflicted the country, offering him their fortresses in exchange. He agreed to the terms, went to the Hadhramaut, gave the assistance needed, and returned to Dhufar. But when his back was turned the people "inclined with one sole inclination to their fortresses" and took them back. So Salim was "nearly killed with his regret for having wasted his goods to no purpose."

Salim then, as compensation for what he had lost in Hadhramaut, raided an envoy of the Yemeni Sultan Melik Mudhaffer who was driven ashore at Dhufar by unfavourable winds on his way to Persia. The result was a war with the Yemen in which Salim was killed. After capturing Dhufar the Yemeni forces proceeded to Shibam and took possession of it on the 8th of Ramadhan (20th January, 1279). Hadhramaut became submissive and the Sultan appointed as 'Amir, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Naji, who adopted a conciliatory policy and thus avoided trouble.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Besides the payment of fares, rations have to be provided for the men at the rate of one man for one animal in the case of donkeys, and one man for up to three animals for camels. For donkey-men the rations cost from ½ to 1½ dollars a head according to whether they eat with the passengers or not. For camel men the cost of the rations is 2 dollars a head as they take eight days over the journey instead of six. 494 484 435

Other normal fares are: Shibam to Ba Rumeidan 5 dollars a camel, the normal fare, but I was asked 25 dollars a camel, 5 dollars for the *muqaddam*, and 30 dollars for the Beduins' broker to accompany the caravan. Tarim to Seihut 20 dollars a camel. This route necessitated two *siyaras*, each costing 10 dollars, and a Seiyid who had to be given 60 dollars.

The Du'an route is worked by the Marāshida and Khāmā. The Wadi Leisar route by the Hālka, and the Wadi al 'Ain route by the 'Awābitha.

**Motor Transport.**

The following tracks are passable and regularly used by cars :— 491 487

| | Miles. |
|---|---|
| *Mukalla*—seashore—Wadi Tifat—Landing ground—Fuwwa ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 9 |
| *Mukalla*—shore—Wadi Mubekha—Sherij Bashhar—Wadi Tifat—Fuwwa—Lermi—Kherba ... ... | 15·2 |
| *Mukalla*—along the shore—Hali ... ... ... | 12 |
| *Mukalla*—Manawarih—Sherij Bashhar—Fuwwa—Lermi—Kherba ... ... ... ... ... ... | 16·75 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Baqrein—Bakezebur ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Wadi Seded—Wadi Rukub—Buweish—Wadi al Feleq—Reida landing ground—Wadi Huweira—Shiheir—Wadi Ghasam—Gheil Ba Wazir ... ... ... ... | 33·6 |
| *Mukalla*—Khalf—Ras Mukalla—shore—Shihr (this route passes close to Shiheir and is an alternative route to Gheil Ba Wazir from either Mukalla or Shihr) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 42·1 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Bir Ba Zambur—Harshiat—Tila as Sufla ... ... ... | 10·4 |
| *Shihr*—Dufeigha ... ... ... ... ... | 2·7 |
| *Shihr*—Wadi Rahba—Tubala ... ... ... | 5·6 |
| *Shihr*—Wadi Karangahem—Habis—Gheil Ba Wazir (to Habis 12 miles) ... ... ... ... | 24 |
| *Shihr*—Dis—Ras al Qarn ... ... ... ... | |
| *Shibam*—Hauta (al Qatn)—Haura—Meshhed—Hajarein ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | |
| *Shibam*—Hedhira—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Farudh—Hepin (this route continues to Hureidha) ... ... | 25 |

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds 439
remitted to Seiyun and Tefim from extensive Far East business 167
holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over 171
a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.*

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is 177
virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common 198
tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Ka- 291
thiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be 556
incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, 185
Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf 177
family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In [491] ●
1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, [509]
Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

* W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut*. London: Colonial Office, 1936.

361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from
245 Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where
438 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager
283 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in
[342] this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have
186 caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the
191 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a
185 more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley,
485 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was
491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal
728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the
185 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Audhalis, 'Aulaqis, and Beihanis are too far away, and it is doubtful if any federation with them could be very real. The Yafa'is, though they are excellent outside their own mountains, are at present a very difficult problem from the point of view of good order and government in them. I had almost forgotten the 'Aqrabis, but as that kingdom consists in effect of only one village on the borders of Aden and Lahej they hardly constitute a problem. But it is possible that some day steps towards the federation of the protectorate by areas may come to pass.

If, however, the political outlook is not very promising, experience of recent years has shown that in potential agricultural resources the Western Protectorate is far better off than the Eastern. It is true that its total area is not much more than half that of the Eastern and that by far the greater proportion of it is barren mountains or arid desert, but none the less the cultivable acreage is greater than that of the Eastern and the people are on the whole better agriculturists. There are fewer beduin, and the tribesmen, unlike those of the Eastern Protectorate, are many of them tillers of the land on which they live, rather than employers or financiers of a peasant class with the idea that manual work is unbecoming to dignity. On the coastal area there are large and useful oases at Lahej, Abyan—by far the biggest—and Ahwar. These oases are sure of regular spates from the Yemen highlands behind, and can grow useful crops of grain, principally millet, and vegetables and fruits of the coarser tropical kinds. There are good patches of soil in the Dhala and Yafa'i mountains, and the latter grow the best coffee in Arabia, but at Mukeiras in Audhali country there is a really important fertile area at over 7,000 feet where temperate crops are grown and which is now producing in fair abundance European vegetables and fruits of excellent quality which include potatoes, tomatoes, lettuces and so on, apples, peaches, plums, and apricots. The main difficulty in disposing of these good things, for which a ready market exists in Aden for local consumption and for shipping, is communication and transport. The Audhali plateau is over a hundred miles from Aden and is cut off from the maritime plain and the foothills by a 4,000-foot, almost perpendicular bluff, the picturesque Kaur al Audilla. So road-making is difficult and expensive, and the bad tracks play havoc with the lorries used for transporting the produce to Aden from the foot of the bluff, down which it is transported on animals. If ever the Yemen is developed agriculturally it will have great advantages over Audhali country, for roads can be better made. The main agricultural produce that now comes by caravan and lorry from the Yemen is the highly perishable and iniquitous qat, and the qat traffic is probably centuries old. Better communication and better agriculture in the Yemen would therefore make it difficult for the Audhali country to be economically worth while. Beyond the Audhalis and descending towards the heat of the desert is Beihan country, which drains to the Rub'al Khali. Having high mountains behind it, it is reasonably watered, and millet cultivation is being extended there.

The present tendency in the improvement of conditions in the Western Aden Protectorate is to select an area where conditions are favourable and send a political officer to assist the chief to establish control over his people,

178. 65 The Wahidi Sultanate of Balhaf asked for advisory arrangements in 1939 and that of Bir 'Ali in 1943. The former was making very reasonable progress on its modest means till the war upset its Customs receipts, and security forces and schools were established. Bir 'Ali has only just started, but the town has been cleaned up, the Customs organized, and a school and dispensary provided for.

491 178 Much extension of motorable tracks has been made, and all places of importance in Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory can now be reached by car. Bir 'Ali and Balhaf soon will be, as a motor road towards Aden had passed its most difficult stretch and was getting on towards the agricultural region of Meifa in June, 1944.

178 So that on the whole, despite the famine, the picture is one of progress rather more than one would at first sight expect of a rather unpromising 565 country. For beyond the handicaps of nature have been the handicaps the inhabitants have made for themselves: the chronic insecurity, the everlasting divisions, and the unsound social system of the Inner Hadhramaut, with a number of classes so acutely separated as more to resemble the castes of India than social grades in the brotherhood of Islam. And there was, on the whole, so much desire for independence on the part of all—though almost all classes interpreted it differently—that it was difficult to see how a few foreigners could get over the suspicion and help the 000 people to achieve something. But I think that now the Qu'aiti State, at least, could stand to some extent on its own legs and would be unlikely to collapse entirely if it was left to itself, for its stability does not entirely depend on its ruler alone, although he has been such a tower of strength in promoting progress. I think the thing that would be mostly lacking 648 if it were left to itself would be initiative. The best thing that could happen to the Hadhramaut now would be a federation of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States and the Wahidi Sultanates. I think this could be achieved, but it is not very easy. On the Qu'aiti side the objection is to spending money in Kathiri territory, although the old hatred between the two has died out, and in Kathiri territory the difficulty is the disunion between the various sections of the Wadi Hadhramaut. It is, however, fair that the Qu'aiti State should help in Kathiri territory, as much of its Customs revenue comes from goods imported by the Kathiri State, which has no ports. Between the Wahidi Sultanates there is still intense hatred, which was fanned up a couple of years ago by the murder of the Balhaf Regent in a plot hatched by the Bir 'Ali Sultans. But as the Bir 'Ali Sultans have now turned respectable and accepted advisory arrangements, some federation could probably be brought about. Bir 'Ali, having the better harbour, will have better revenue than Balhaf, which has a larger population to provide for. One would hope for a federation which left autonomy in local matters to the constituent parts of the country, but shared the cost of social services, communications, and so on. If the Hadhramis can emigrate and if they can govern themselves with a sound federal Government, they will have something to thank us for of lasting worth, and no doubt those abroad will give a good report of the British connection.

000 Buried under all the politics the Hadhramaut is a cultured country.

361 609 New York of Hadramaut. The city consists of very high houses built close together. One drives into the city through a heavy double gate, and then up a square in front of the ancient but beautiful palace, which is at the same time a castle. The young and sympathetic sultan received us cordially, but was very much displeased about our guides of the al-'Attās, who had not taken care that His Highness was properly informed beforehand about our coming. The situation was relieved by some rich merchants of Singapore with an invitation for us to take an auto ride to their plantations, and by their asking the sultan's permission to invite us to stay at the house in their plantation. This the sultan permitted, on condition that we should first take a meal with him, and that on the way back we should make it possible for him to prepare a worthy reception for us. The gentlemen at at-Tuwayy and La'jam had a house like a fairy tale, where we afterwards stayed in the atmosphere of the 000 Arabian nights. In front of this house, which was decorated in fantastic colors, there was a small swimming pool, and here in the soft moonlight we forgot all about the sandstorm.

We spent the morning of the 24th of May with our hosts and the sultan at the house in the plantation, and at midday we went further on to Sēwun in the sultan's automobiles. There they had been properly informed as to our coming. The sultan, surrounded by all his retinue, was awaiting us in a white guesthouse, situated in the plantation quarter. In this little town, which is the most beautiful in Hadramaut, we spent several interesting days. The sultan of Terīm also has his palace at Sēwun, and is generally at the last-named place, since at Terīm Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf is the dominant person. In his palace we spent one forenoon.

491 On May the 26th we went in two of the sultan's automobiles to Terīm. At the express desire of His Highness we drove along the mountain road, which was constructed by Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf, and the entire

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1932) 1932 MM2 Hadramaut MM2



cost was paid by him. The way across the mountains is 491
fantastically dangerous, but an expert chauffeur with a first class auto seems to be able to pass over it without any accident. I made up my mind, however, not to risk it again, and on the way back to follow the longer way round through the *wādī*. The mountain road was constructed at a time when it was impossible, owing to hostilities, to pass through the level country.

From the 27th of May until the 7th of June we were 741
in Terīm as the guests of Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf 871
As a Sayyid he has no official part in the government of 185
his country, but actually he is the man who is now doing most for his country and people. It was he who founded the schools at Makalla, at ash-Shihr, at Dō'an and in the towns of the Wādī Hadramaut, and it is he who supports them; it was he who made possible the transport of the first automobiles from the coast to Terīm, along the great road which he is now engaged in constructing. He is the man who constructed the automobile road from Terīm to Sēwun, and it is he who gives generously to thousands of the poor, to whom he has food supplied every Thursday evening. Terīm is the town for religion and learn- 361
ing; once it was the most important town of Hadramaut, and it is again on the road to become that. It is a town with a multitude of mosques and dozens of palaces, in which are living those families the members of which were able to amass millions of money in Java and at Singapore. The home of Sayyid Abu Bakr is the place where religious and political leaders meet one another, and where the future of the country is discussed.

Thanks to the help of our host, we were able to make 778
a trip to Sūne, the center for archæology, and finally to [722]
attain our most distant goal by being able to visit the 788
central sanctuary of Hadramaut, namely, the grave of the prophet of Allah, Hūd, and to explore the mythical abode of the souls of the unbelievers, Bīr Barhūt. The tomb of Hūd (Qabr Hūd) is the Mecca of Hadramaut and of the surrounding countries. For three days in

133 maut, and not with their beheaded remnants north of the subsidiary watershed, then the similarity becomes obvious. As would be expected from this theory, the south-flowing tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut have heads even deeper than those on the main watershed. Given a short eastward displacement in the courses of the original rivers, then it is possible that the Du'an and 'Amd drainages originally fed into the Hizar and Jinab respectively.

The completion of the present phase of river capture occurred when the headwaters of the Hadhramaut cut right back and out of the western edge of the *jol*, and formed the unusual and almost unique feature of the wide upper reaches in a line from Husn al 'Abr to Shabwa. The headwaters cut back rapidly across the plain which had been formed by the wadis 'Arma, Jirdan, Baihan, etc., and carried all the waters from them down to the Maseilah and the Gulf of Aden, whereas before they had drained towards the Persian Gulf. This capture has left a vast dry plain, the Khudaif–Mulais basin, with dry watercourses up to 2 miles wide. Several such courses may be seen in the Wudiya'a area, and have banks 20 feet or more deep, and floors of heavy fluvial gravels.

A series of levels carried out in early 1951 showed river capture still occurring around Husn al 'Abr. Here short, steep-profiled tributaries to the Wadi Hadhramaut are cutting back into the headwaters of the Wadi Hudhi, which flows north-eastwards past Zamakh with the cliff edge of the *jol* forming its right bank. Hills such as the Misair group have been isolated from the rest of the *jol*, and both Misair and Rubah retain the flat-topped character of the *jol*. The cliff face of Rubah is only some 200 feet high on the north where it descends to the Hudhi, but on the south it drops 500 feet to the Hadhramaut. Levels were also carried out in the Minwakh area and showed the capture of the lower waters of the Hudhi and the waters of the Sibr, Kor, Sulhaba, etc., which had been tributary to it. The point of capture of these rivers by the Aiwat as Sei'ar is at Shasun, about 10 miles downstream from Minwakh

*The pattern of settlements*

361 The siting of settlements in the mountain areas is dependent on agriculture
133 with its requirement of a workable tilth and water at a manageable depth.
491 Among the crystalline hills these conditions are best fulfilled at the foot of the torrent course, where the first patches of riverine plain appear. Thus there is a series of settlements from Ranya through Bisha, Tathlith, Hamdha, Salwa, Najran, Shudaif, Marib, Baihan, and Ansab to Al Hadhinah, and all these settlements can be reached by motor transport from the inland plain by driving up the wadi bed. Penetration upstream of the settlements is frequently difficult as the bed becomes stony and boulder-strewn, and all pretence of riverine plain ceases.

133 In the *jol* the wadis descend in a series of steps which are caused by strata
311 more resistant to erosion. The horizontal section of each of these steps has retained sufficient silt for agriculture and water is also available. Moreover the vertical cliff faces, sometimes higher than the width of the valleys they contain, cut off the morning and afternoon sun, thereby considerably reducing

above it. It is a sandstone feature some 25 miles wide and has a covering of loose sand which tends to conceal its structure. However the sand cover becomes so thin along the highest part that the vegetation takes on a reticulated pattern in conformity with the fissure pattern of the sandstone below, suggesting that the ridge is either a shallow anticline or more probably a low west-facing escarpment concealed by the surfacing of loose sand. On the most southerly extension of the Nafud Dahi there are a few parallel dune chains oriented to 220° and 1 to 2 miles in length with a lateral spacing of 1 mile between groups. The slip faces are to the south-east, and the dunes about 20 feet high. According to local information the dunes are more

*South-west borderlands of the Rub' al Khali: geological detail*

abundant to the north, and the orientation of the Beni Rumh sands is to the north-west, but this area was not visited.

To the east, the Nafud Dahi descends easily to a north–south plain some 10 miles wide and 100 miles long lying at a height of 2600 feet at the foot of the Ardh scarp. This scarp, which is the southward continuation of the Jebel Tuwaiq, is of possibly Triassic calcareous felspathic sandstone overlain by a sheet of Jurassic limestone of great purity but covered by "desert varnish" giving it the appearance of old ivory. The scarp varies from 200 to 250 feet in height and between 19° and 20° N. lies in longitude 45° 10′ E., interrupted in 19° 53′ N. by the Wadi Fau. South of 19° N. the scarp turns to the south-east, loses height due to the east-north-east dip, and reaches 18° 32′ N., 45° 25′ E. The parallel dune chains of the sand desert proper lie on top of the scarp and from 2 to 4 miles back from the edge, with the exception of one line, the Ramlat al Mundafan which, in line with the ends of the other dunes, disappears into a depression of the Ardh scarp known as the Muqta'a al Tuwaiq, 18° 30′ N., 45° 30′ E. and continues, "buried" from sight, out on to the plain at the foot of the scarp. Motor transport can be taken up the

dunes of the Rub' al Khali. East of the Khashm al Jebel for over 50 miles to the mouth of Wadi Hizar the sands lie in contact with and to some extent overlying the low northern outcrops of the *jol*. These outcrops are in the form of flat-topped mounds covered with coarse pebbles of reddish marl with some thin sheets of limestone. East of Wadi Hizar the transition zone takes a further form as the outliers of the *jol* run in a line south of east and the sands in a line north of east, leaving a widening floor of gravel and desert marl. The plain is about 30 miles wide near Thamud and is reported by Thomas (1932) and by Thesiger (1946) to continue east to the Jiddat al Harasis.[1]

*The south-western sands*

The area of sands visited has been to the south of the 20th parallel and west of the 51st meridian. Throughout the whole of this area the sand pattern is one of parallel dune chains oriented generally from east-north-east to west-south-west and separated by long strips of flat desert floor known as *shiqaq*[2] (Plate 5). The tails of these dunes lie among the Yemen foothills and several crossings of the dunes have been made, up to 150 miles from the hills. The twenty or thirty southernmost dunes have been traced some 400 miles east to the vicinity of Shanna. In addition a large part of the area has been seen from the air.

The northern section of the Mundafan sands and the Ardh escarpment has already been described (p. 425–6). The southern section of the Mundafan sands are oriented to 205° and this orientation continues south through the 'Uruq al Juweis while other dunes break away to the north at an angle of 220°, parallel to the dunes of that section of the Mundafan which lies to the north of the *'asfal* Wadi Habauna. The slip faces of all these dunes are to the north-west.

South of the Mundafan sands the Ardh escarpment reappears running south from 18° 25′ N., 45° 27′ E. to the Khashm Khatma and then south-west losing height and disappearing into the desert floor at the Khashm al Ardh, 18° 01′ N., 45° 42′ E. This reappearance of the scarp breaks the continuity of the dunes which lie parallel to and south of the Mundafan sands, and leaves sand-free areas both on top of and at the foot of the scarp as with the northern section of the Ardh. A few outcrops of the Ardh occur southwards among the dunes, but do not break the continuity of the dune lines. In particular may be noted the Mutbathat group among which may be found traces of the old course of the Wadi Najran, and the Huwimil group at 17° 30′ N., 46° 00′ E. The final trace of the Jurassic limestones occurs at Abraqain near Wudiya'a.

Dune chains from the Khashm al Ardh may be traced south-west to the area of the wadi Taiyyibat al 'Ism and north-east to the Jilida plain. There is a well-marked motor track made by hunting parties leading to the Jilida plain from Najran via the *shiqaq* between these dunes. By the Khashm al Ardh the dunes are oriented to 220° with the dunes half a mile apart and the

[1] Later journeys (1953) have shown, that at least as far east as the mouth of Wadi Rama, this plain is divided into wide basins by lines of low hills running north from the *jol* to the sands.

[2] *Shaqqa*, pl. *shiqaq*: the "valleys" between parallel dune chains (*'arug*).

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, 364
according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to 164
see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for 731
rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in 361
its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia 484
and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans. One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors [563]
and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily. We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla 100
have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations. The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency, the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish. Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light 373
has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible 701
far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganize and train his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on 517
the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago, for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The 20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, 491
for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hill-sides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extraordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the 494
beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which 438

we first went up there they[1] charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

1 [THE BA HASAN TRIBULIS -- ANALYST.]

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

come they are united with us in a common rejoicing. That is the kind 609
of recompense that gladdens the hearts of those who have worked for 648
these people and have striven to make British protection a real benefit 186
to them. It encourages our belief that our pioneer work in this country has been undertaken on the right lines, and that we may hope to add another success to those that have been achieved by our predecessors and contemporaries in other parts of the Empire. A great deal remains to be done in the Aden Protectorate, but with patience and perseverance and with the right principles to guide us we may be confident that it will be accomplished.

Colonel Tod: I do not know whether you would like to hear any- 000
thing of the earlier history of the Protectorate, but the time I spent in the Aden Protectorate was before even Sir Bernard Reilly's time, forty years ago, when I was a member of the Anglo-Turkish Mandate Commission. At that time the Protectorate consisted of only nine tribes. Since then it has been considerably extended. Hadhramaut was a *terra incognita* in those days and was certainly not part of the Protectorate.

I think the Sultan of Lahej owes his preponderance chiefly to the 643
fact that all roads from the interior lead through his capital, of which 491
he has taken advantage at different times.

You mentioned the incursion of the Turks in 1915. That was by 721
no means their first incursion into the Protectorate. When they re- 648
conquered the Yemen in about 1870 they gradually pushed their rule south until they penetrated many miles into the British Protectorate. When the British Commission went up there in 1901, intending to open friendly relations with the Turks about the demarcation of the frontier, they found the Turks had brought down a considerable force, had taken military possession of that part of the Protectorate, only just leaving the town of Dhala itself outside the militarily occupied area, and had seized the heads of the passes that led down to Aden; so the position of the Commission was a most difficult one. The Turks simply put their foot down and said, "J'y suis, j'y reste," and we had no power to turn them out. There was just an insignificant escort of Indian troops with the Commission. It took a very long time indeed to persuade the home Government that they must intervene with force, and it was only when a force stronger than the Turkish force was sent up there in 1902 that the Turks were compelled to withdraw. That means that Dhala was occupied by the Turks for about thirty years. It

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



than Makalla and was, indeed, an important trading centre before that city even existed.[1] 344 361

Under the east wall there is a large open plain, over which the cemetery extends, with some *qubbas*[2] and many mosques at the edge of it. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has, close to it, a large piece of ground, where he has built a palatial guest-house for relations and friends travelling to and fro between Java and Terīm via esh-Shiḥr. El-Kāf is busy constructing a motor road from Terīm to esh-Shiḥr, which is complete but for the last stretch as far as the coast, a matter of three days by camel. If this junction can be effected, in spite of the aversion to it of the warlike Ḥumūmī Bedouins, through whose territory it passes for the greater part, then perhaps esh-Shiḥr will grow again to fit into her walls. 346 491 487

Before we left the town we made another call on the Governor in charge, who with the help of the tax-farmer, a well-educated Indian, gave us a hearty, friendly reception. We were conducted past a strong guard of soldiers to an old-fashioned *madjlis*, where the shutters of the windows and the wooden supporting pillars were beautifully carved, and the ceiling painted white, red and black. With grateful relish we partook of tea and a great variety of sweets and of fresh and tinned fruits. 651 342 322

The population of esh-Shiḥr is officially estimated at 9000. It did not seem to us that it could be more than 6000. Yet, as the Westerner does not get to know how densely peopled the big Arabian houses are, our calculations remain fairly uncertain. The town has 35 mosques. 162 346

We were compelled to beat a hasty retreat before the rising tide. For safety's sake we were given an extra Ford car and some soldiers. The coral rocks were still just passable, but we stuck in the bed of the wādī. Finally, after much delay and much fruitless exertion, we got free, but there was no time left for the promised meal with our host of Sheḥēr, who

[1] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *al-Shiḥr*.

[2] Qubba (قبة), is a dome, a cupola, or a cupola-shaped building. 104

## 4. A WONDERFUL RECEPTION IN THE GARDEN CITY SEḤĒL SHIBĀM.

491 The families of Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam are on the best of
493 friendly terms with the Sultan and arrange matters with him. A little later the great dark-red cars buzz through the gate and cross the *sēl*-bed in the direction of the palm-groves, called Seḥēl Shibām. Only in the last few years has the motor-car penetrated as far as Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has made this possible by the construction of motor roads. Motor-cars can, with great difficulty, be brought from the port of esh-Shiḥr to Terīm. The separate parts of the cars have to be transported on camels for a great part of the way.
562 From the road one can see very little of the palm-groves
529 and the summer pavilions in their midst; high mud walls shut
576 off the gardens from the gaze of passers-by. There is one exception to this, where the central point is formed by a new building in modern style. This is the club of the young men of Shibām; no women come here and so there is nothing to shut
312 off. A little further on the cars turn into the gateway that
342 gives entrance to the garden of the Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam.
177 This summer abode of their joint families is still uninhabited;
351 the time for moving from town to country has only just come. There is a well behind the house, from which oxen and donkeys draw up the water, clear as crystal, though tasting somewhat bitter. All around there are banana and papaya trees, pomegranate and lemon bushes as well as date-palms. The new summer pavilion is in the depths of the garden; our host has devoted his leisure to building it. It is a product of Ḥaḍramī imagination influenced by Singapore and Java. For the outer walls chaste, simple white has been abandoned and is replaced by soft green, rose and sky-blue. The great windows are framed by coloured ornamentation. Connected with the villa is a swimming-bath with a high parapet. One has a great longing for colour in this sunny land, where it is so lacking, and this fairy palace strikes a happy note among

●491

The first mountain road for motor traffic over the rocky spurs near Terim.

p 124 D

See page 130.

# CHAPTER X.

## TO TERĪM, THE HOPE OF ALL ḤAḌRAMAUT.

871 In the Qeʿēṭī country, already, we heard the name of Sayyid
487 Abū Bakr el-Kāf invariably pronounced with respect, and here
● 491 we have entered the land of his activity. Sayyid el-Kāf has plac-
741 ed his energy, his love, and all his possessions at the service of
493 his country and of his people. His example is an impressive
185 call to unity and to the setting aside of personal interests and susceptibilities for the general good. Schools, endowed and maintained by him, are scattered all over the country. The Qeʿēṭī Sultans and Governors have them in their residences, and the influence of these little schools will slowly penetrate through the whole land. His other sensational enterprise, which may become of the greatest significance for the country's future, is the construction of a motor road from the Ḥaḍramaut valley to the coast. Although the road is not yet completed, its influence is already making itself felt. The most difficult *ʿaqabas* have been conquered so that it is possible to bring cars into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut, though the transport of these is still expensive. There, where the first car passes, others will soon follow, and in a country where travelling is very tiring and very slow, the motor-car will be particularly appreciated. The Ḥaḍramis who have been successful abroad do not lack money. The motor-car having arrived will not disappear again, and conditions within the borders of Ḥaḍramaut will be entirely changed thereby. The construction of roads in the valley itself has been started without delay, and drivers and mechanics have already found their way there.
721 The inconvenience of intertribal warfare makes itself felt more and more forcibly, but Sayyid Abū Bakr will be greatly
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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



helped by the motor-car in his great work of pacifying and 721
opening up Ḥaḍramaut.

We depart in two fine cars belonging to the Sultan of 114
Sêwûn for Terim, the city to which Leo Hirsch has preceded us and from which nearly forty years ago the sayyids with their fanaticism and hatred of Christianity forced him to flee within a few hours of his arrival. An Englishman, Mr. Boscawen, reached there also a full year in advance of us, but he did not publish a description of his journey and, according to report, only came for sport. Aeroplanes of the R. A. F. at Aden, with Colonels Cochrane and Lake and Flight-Lieutenant Rickards on board, also once flew high above the town, but they were only making an aerial reconnaissance, although the scouts themselves felt a growing desire within them to set foot for once in this wonderful town. The Ḥaḍramis say of it: "Terim — and then thou desirest nothing else." [186]

The cars take us through winding mud lanes between palm- 241
groves to the hilly stretch of sand and loam outside the town. 172
The palm-trees are planted well apart from each other in the sand; the fields of *dhura* come to an end but the little dykes of the area that can only be cultivated when the rains are sufficient are to be seen for long afterwards. Quite soon we pass the ruins of a town, Maryama, probably of great antiquity. The castle and the town were laid waste in a local war, and, of the cultivation of the land, only the little dykes, which divided the fields into squares, still remain. Close to Maryama there was an old road which crossed southwards over the mountain-wall. My companion climbed this *'aqaba* called Duqm el-Aswad and found on the rock-wall close to the *djôl* scrollings and graffitti probably made, many centuries ago, by the Bedouins of passing caravans. Some distance further on the villages and palm-groves at the foot of the southern mountain-wall come to an end. The loam vanishes under an ever thicker layer of 493
sand and sand-dunes, and the cars stall several times. In 491
accordance with the instructions of the Sultan we do not go by the normal way, through the plain, to Terim, but follow

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



493 the mountain road made by Sayyid el-Kāf. Some years ago,
● 491 when the motor-car was first introduced into Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm was at war with villages in the wādī, and this stretch across the plains was then, consequently, impassable. But Sayyid el-Kāf would not yield to any war whatever and, at great expense and effort, he made a road over the two rocky spurs which separate Terīm from Sēwūn.

491 The Sultan of Sēwūn was so proud of this piece of Ḥaḍramī engineering that he insisted on our following this route. It is very difficult for the drivers to cross the wādī at this point, to avoid hillocks and pitfalls, and to come out finally onto the beginning of the zigzag mountain road at the base of the rock. The road, narrow and very steep, goes up and up against the slopes of rock débris, and only short cars can manoeuvre the sharp corners. Half way up, the engines have to cool off and the drivers take a breathing-space, while we too need to recover from the tension! Descent on the other side of the steep ridge seems to be even more difficult than the ascent. Our drivers have to depend only on the brakes and do not seem able to lessen speed by letting the motor run on the lowest gear without giving gas. They do not trust our suggestions, and the brakes get hot so quickly that they have to be cooled with the water that we have brought with us in skins. The second spur of rock too is conquered without mishap; however, I preferred to make the descent on foot. It was indeed in this case quicker than in a car the brake-bands of which catch fire.

### 1. "TERĪM — AND THEN THOU DESIREST NOTHING ELSE".

361 We get the first view of Terīm from the second rocky ridge.
342 It lies in an absolutely barren stony plain. The cultivated tract of land is narrower than at Sēwūn and does not look so luxuriant and fertile, but the great number of large, square palaces is at once noticeable. They are not grey and white here as in Sēwūn, but of all manner of striking colours. One of

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



them is entirely blue and is, consequently, the most conspicuous; in others yellow or pink is predominant. A very high minaret, not round but square, and also plastered in a shade of blue, rises high above palm-groves and houses. Terîm, as a city, is a thing by itself. It is a town of many rich men: one can see that even from a distance.

The mountain path debouches into a plain covered with small boulders. A good road, apparently much used, runs right across the plain direct to the gate of Terîm. An evidently new mud wall, with gatehouses and defence turrets in good condition, encloses the town with its gardens and cemetery and runs high up the mountain-wall on either side. War is a familiar phenomenon round about Terîm, and the city is worth strong protection. Ṣayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf has organised the building and maintenance of the defence works of the town, and has borne the lion's share of the expense.

As soon as we have passed the gate, the road passes through a well-kept burial ground, where there are three *qubbas* in honour of holy men buried there [1], and also a small mosque. Then, through narrow, winding streets, we come to the house of the widely famed Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf. The house is large but has not yet been completed. We pass through a mud gateway into the garden, where masons are working with their building material of mud, where poor men are waiting for alms, where visitors come and go. We are conducted to the new wing, where, in the reception-room furnished in western style, we make acquaintance with our host and his habitual male entourage.

## 2. GOOD DAYS WITH SAYYID ABŪ BAKR EL-KĀF, HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS.

Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf is of middle age; he is more simply dressed than his guests and relatives. He does not like coming

[1] Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Sa'd ès-Suwêni, ein seltsamer Wali in Ḥadhramôt*, *op. cit.*, v., p. 403 sqq.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



afterwards with wet body in the dry evening breeze certainly 000
does. Of course there is a servant with a samovar, who provides the glasses of tea, which are always welcome in this country of dry heat. The ripest dates are brought from the gardens; they are sweet but very astringent. The foreigner accustoms himself but slowly to this unusual and, at first, unappetising food. But soon he learns to appreciate the date whilst it is still hard and fresh.

Swimming by moonlight is an unexpected luxury and a par- 529
ticular pleasure to us in this country. On one side, close to the swimming-pool, there is a space for the *ṣalāt*, where a niche in the wall indicates the *qibla*[1]; on the other side there is a summer pavilion. Everything has a wash of light, delicate colour; the lines of the walls and roofs are edged with fine figures and borders, and one is inclined to forget that the material of which they are made is plain, brown mud. We spend quite a long time together with the young people on brotherly terms. They let themselves go now that no elders are present. Swimming and diving competitions are held with great gusto, until the time comes for the *ṣalāt el-ʿishāʾ* (the late evening ritual prayer), which is performed with suitable solemnity. The evenings at home on the great roof-terrace are always very attractive; only intimate friends remain till then, and our host puts questions which show clearly how his thoughts are always occupied with his country and people, and how he is seeking ways for their advancement.

There are many difficulties in the making of a road to esh- 491
Shiḥr. The Ḥumūmī Bedouins, notorious for their love of fight- 598
ing, and through whose territory passes the greater part of 656
the road, have — after being richly paid — made a pact by 489
which they promise not to oppose it and whereby Sayyid Abū Bakr binds himself only to allow the use of the road for travellers by motor-car, while the conveyance of freight shall be left to the camels of the Bedouins. There is only left unfinished a stretch of three days by camel.

[1] The *qibla* is the direction in which Mecca lies. 104

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

MM21

Hadhramaut 2.

131
691

Compiled and Drawn by Directorate of Colonial Surveys
Photolithographed and Printed by War Office, 1949.

End map 2 (J)

G.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2
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End Map 2 (G)

5. Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM21

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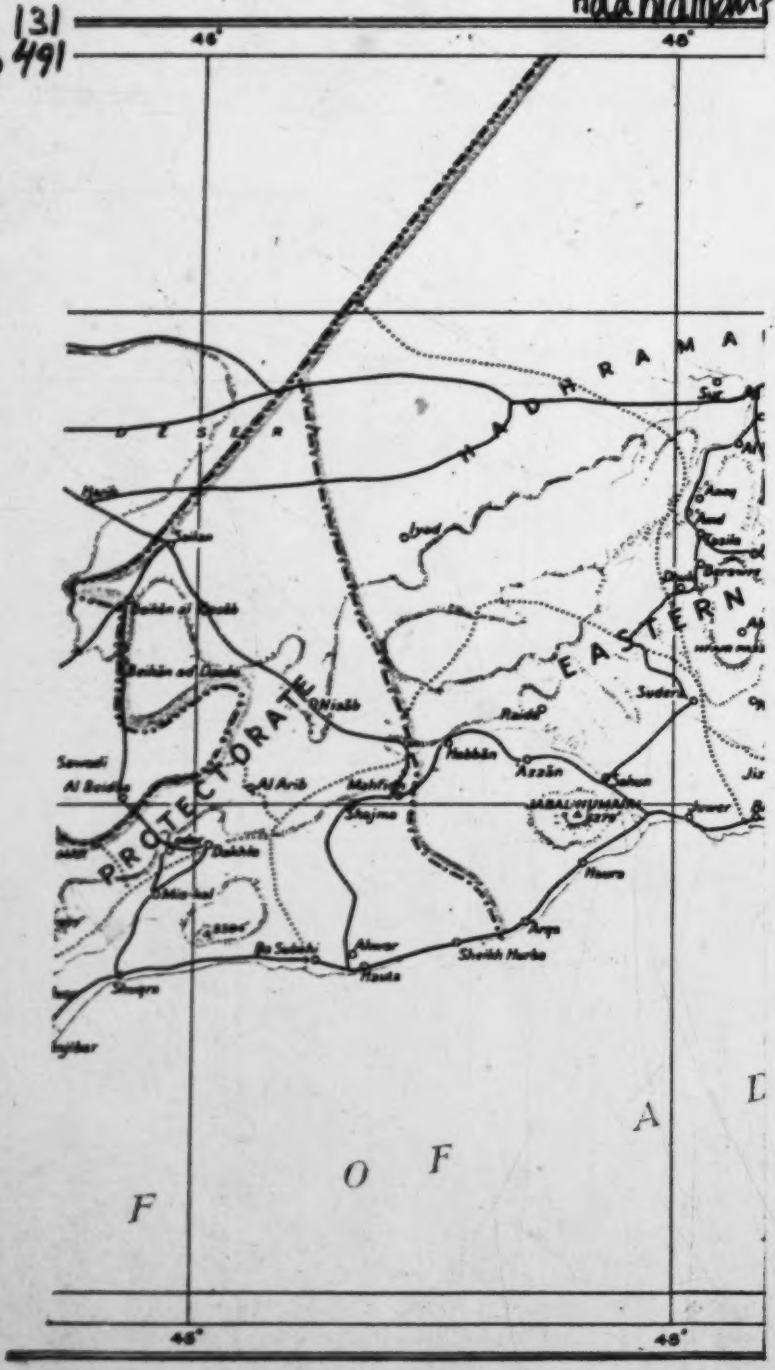


End map 2 (H)

5; Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-8 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM21

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End Map 2 (I)

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Tribal Guards*

Further progress has been made in re-arming and training Tribal Forces. Contributions from the states towards the cost of their maintenance have been increased and four forces are now entirely supported by local revenue, three are partially dependent, and the rest are wholly dependent on grants from His Majesty's Government. 625

The authorised strength of the forces is as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Lahej Trained Forces (Abdali)* .. .. .. | 380 |
| Fadhli Tribal Guards .. * .. .. .. | 120 |
| Lower Yafa'i Tribal Guards .. .. .. | 30 |
| Lower Aulaqi Tribal Guards .. .. .. | 40 |
| Haushabi Tribal Guards .. .. .. .. | 29 |
| Amiri Tribal Guards .. .. .. .. | 75 |
| Dathina Tribal Guards * .. .. .. .. | 22 |
| Beihan Tribal Guards .. .. .. .. | 40 |
| Audhali Tribal Guards * .. .. .. .. | 30 |
| Mafiahi Tribal Guards .. .. .. .. | 25 |
| Sha'ib Tribal Guards .. .. .. .. | 30 |

* Supported by the State.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE SECURITY FORCES

On the whole there was a general improvement in efficiency and morale during 1949 and 1950 in all the forces of the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

The Hadhrami Beduin Legion and their auxiliaries were increased in number and now are garrisoning all the northern forts. Their behaviour in actions against Wahidi tribes and Al Ba Dukhn was very satisfactory.

In the latter action the Mukalla Regular Army distinguished themselves. They are now garrisoning various posts temporarily until the Qu'aiti Armed Constabulary can take over this task. Courses to train potential non-commissioned officers have been instituted.

Kathiri Armed Constabulary and Civil Police were also increased in 1950 to carry out further security duties and a customs prevention force was formed.

A much larger area is now under the Wahidi tribal guards who have been increased to cope with their new duties ; besides patrolling and garrisoning Wahidi country, they also perform police and customs duties.

## Chapter 10: Communications

*Western Aden Protectorate*

Increasing use is being made of motor vehicles. These are for the most part driven along sandy beaches, up dry river beds or across open desert, but in some places tracks have been improved, and in a few 491

491 cases new roads cut through difficult country. Nearly all roads are extremely rough, and surfaces are rarely repaired.

The following routes are open for motor traffic :

| | | | Miles |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman | to | Lahej | 16 |
| " | " | Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " | " | Museimir | 61 |
| " | " | Dhala | 88 |
| Aden | " | Zinjibar | 40 |
| Zinjibar | " | Ja'ar | 16 |
| " | " | Al Husn | 16 |
| " | " | Dirjaj | 17 |
| " | " | Sheikh Abdulla | 6 |
| " | " | Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra | " | Am Surra | 30 |
| " | " | Lodar | 50 |
| " | " | Mudia | 68 |
| " | " | Am Quleita | 78 |
| " | " | Ahwar | 76 |
| " | " | Irqa (E. Aden Protectorate) | 48 |

509 A regular air service by Aden Airways was maintained during the summer months between Aden and Mukeiras, and was used for transporting vegetables for the Aden market. Other existing landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala and Beihan.

492 Where no motors can yet penetrate the traffic of the country is carried on camel caravans, which still travel to Aden in large numbers, or in the more mountainous districts small donkeys are employed for both passengers and goods.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

653 The famine of 1948–49 showed the necessity for all-weather roads
491 for motor transport from the coast to the interior. In a grain shortage
499 camel transport is of little use, the camels becoming too weak from lack of fodder to be really dependable.

In 1949 a request for a Colonial Development and Welfare grant of £15,360 for the construction of all-weather roads to the Hadhramaut (Scheme D.1035) was approved and early in 1950 work began on the construction of drains, Irish bridges, culverts, and weeping bridges, on the Al Kaf road to the interior. In addition, the dangerous Maadi Pass on this road was reconstructed, and a large river-bed on the road between Mukalla and Riyan was successfully bridged saving some miles of detour. Attention was also given to the task of reconstructing the west road to Du'an and the Hadramaut to make it passable all the year round.

Later in 1950 approval was given by the Secretary of State for an additional £15,000 for the further improvement of internal com-

?: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



munication in the Eastern Aden Protectorate—Scheme D.1373. Of 653
this project the road between Bir Ali and Balhaf has been completed, 491
work is now proceeding on the Meifa-Bir Ali stretch, and a start was 499
made in December, 1950, with the new Jahi-Rubat (Du'an) road.

Further, a road was constructed in the north linking Shibam and Henin with the tribal centre of Reidat-as-Sei'ar on the edge of the Ruba' al Khali and resurfacing of the Wadi Hadhramaut road between Tarim and Qassam, Shibam and Qatn and Ajlaniya and Qa'udha was carried out to facilitate transport in the main agricultural areas.

Considerable help was given by the former Director of Public Works, Aden and the Executive Engineer, Aden, who visited the Eastern Aden Protectorate and submitted valuable reports, with recommendations as to the repair and maintenance of roads, which are being implemented to the extent that local finances and labour resources permit.

*Air Communications* have also improved in the past two years. 509
A weekly service by Aden Airways Ltd. was maintained between Aden and Riyan (17 miles from Mukalla) and late in 1950 was extended to Al Qatn. The interior of the Hadhramaut is now within reach of Aden and the protracted delays travellers formerly faced are a thing of the past.

Special planes were flown direct from Riyan and Qatn to Hedjaz for the 1950 pilgrimage.

*Sea Communications* were maintained by occasional visits of 505
coastal steamers based on Aden, and more frequent trips by motor dhows and small powered craft.

# Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

## SITUATION AND AREA

The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described 101
administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the 131
Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 M41 Aden
Hadhramaut HM2



653 Their chief function is the construction and maintenance of state buildings and roads throughout the territories. In the main towns in the Qu'aiti State the department is responsible for the upkeep of the conduits bringing in water from springs outside. All air landing grounds, except Riyan, are maintained by the Public Works Department of the two States.

# Chapter 10: Communications

## WESTERN PROTECTORATE

494 Increasing use is being made of motor vehicles. These are for the
* 491 most part driven along sandy beaches, dry river beds or across open desert, but in some places tracks have been improved and in a few cases new roads cut through difficult country. Nearly all roads are extremely rough and surfaces are rarely repaired.

The following routes are open for motor traffic :

| | Miles |
|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman to Lahej | 16 |
| " " " Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " " Museimir | 61 |
| " " " Dhala | 88 |
| Aden to Zinjibar | 40 |
| Zinjibar to Ja'ar | 6 |
| " " Al Husn | 16 |
| " " Dirjaj | 17 |
| " " Sheikh Abdulla | 6 |
| " " Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra to Am Surra | 30 |
| " " Lodar | 50 |
| " " Mudia | 68 |
| " " Am Quleita | 78 |
| " " Mahfid | 145 |
| " " Habban (Eastern Protectorate) | 195 |
| " " Said | 196 |
| " " Nisab | 253 |
| " " Beihan al Qasab | 373 |
| " " Ahwar | 76 |
| " " Irqa (Eastern Protectorate) | 124 |

509 A regular air service by Aden Airways is maintained between Aden
712 and Mukeiras. Other landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala, Beihan, Qoban (Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom) and Sah (Upper Aulaqi Sultanate).

492 Where no motors can yet penetrate, the traffic of the country is carried on camel caravans which still travel to Aden in large numbers ; in the more mountainous districts small donkeys are employed for both passengers and goods.

205 There are no post offices in the Western Protectorate.

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden



Hadhramaut MM2

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## EASTERN PROTECTORATE

The following roads exist :

| | Miles | |
|---|---|---|
| Mukalla to Sai'un (East Road) . . | 180 | |
| " " Sai'un (West Road) . . | 200 | |
| " " Western Protectorate boundary | 140 | (partly on the beach) |
| " " Museina'a (near Mahra border) | 80 | |
| Various branch roads . . . . . | 200 | |
| | 800 miles | |

No licensing system has yet been introduced into the Eastern Protectorate States. The number of vehicles on the roads, including Residency and State owned, is approximately 170.

The main airport is at Riyan which is an R.A.F. station. Landing grounds exist at Qatn, Ghuraf, Gheil bin Yumein, Al Abr, and Asakir.

Aden Airways run a twice weekly service from Aden to Riyan with extensions to Qatn and Ghuraf in alternate weeks. The Ghuraf strip is also frequently used for private charter flights.

There are two post offices in the Eastern Protectorate, at one of which money order business is transacted. There are also 21 postal agencies.

Cable and Wireless Ltd. operate a telegraph service at Mukalla and Sai'un.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



361 the sights of Aden is the tunnel, about 350 yards in length, which runs under the Mansūri hills and connects the town with the isthmus. *Tawāhi*, the port, lies immediately to the east of Steamer Point, and is practically a new and prosperous-looking town consisting largely of fair-sized stone houses, nearly all of which are double or treble storied. Here are good hotels, a police station, a court-house, a local post and telegraph office, military establishments of various kinds, a hospital, the offices of the great steamship companies, and the offices of the port authorities, and here also are situated the great coal wharves and the landing and other piers. On a conical hill about a quarter of a mile from the post office stands the station flagstaff, and near this the road crosses the spur on which the barracks are situated. After traversing a plain of about 500 yards in extent in a south-westerly direction, the road terminates on Ras Tarshein, the most westerly point of the peninsula, on which are built the Residency and the quarters of the officers of the Royal Artillery.

Aden has two hospitals and three dispensaries for the civilian part of the population. Separate military hospitals are maintained for
421 the garrison. Until recently land in the Settlement was not sold: sites for building and gardens were granted in perpetuity, and sites for stacking coal and salt, for beaching boats, for ships, workshops, &c., were given on leases for a term of 99 years on payment of quit rent. Since 1911, land for building, agricultural, or other purposes is ordinarily to be granted on lease, but may be disposed of otherwise at the discretion of the Resident. Land on the foreshore of the harbour can be granted only with the sanction of the Government and on such terms as it may prescribe in each case.

•491 The roads in and around Aden are not good in general; they are narrow with steep gradients, and though there is plenty of rock in
496 Aden, good stone for metalling purposes is difficult to obtain and there is but little soil for binding purposes. They are, therefore,
206 very gritty and easily crumble. Aden has no railways, but it is unrivalled for its telegraphic facilities with all parts: there are direct cables with Bombay, Zanzibar, Perim, and Suez, and indirectly therefore with all parts of the world. The telegraph station is on Ras Boradli.

361 2. **Sheikh 'Othmān** is a thriving and populous town, situated six miles north by west of Aden and two miles beyond the Aden troop lines at Khōr Maksar: it is reached by a broad carriage-road. The town contains several large caravanserais, some European houses, and some bungalows and gardens. There are about 15 wells of brackish water and of unlimited supply, some of which

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East

LITTLE HOWEVER MM1 HADHRAMAUT MM2

is known of the mineral reserves of this region, and most of the local industries are small and primitive. Salt is the chief export of the Colony; tobacco, honey and fish products, of the Protectorates. H 135 438 A N 439

The port of Aden is visited regularly by ships from all parts of the world. Within the last few years, the Colony has also become a regional center for air services to Cairo and other cities in the Near East and East Africa. Communications between the Colony and the interior are mainly by roads and caravan trails, supplemented by a coastwise dhow trade. Camels and donkeys are the primary means of transport, but the use of motor vehicles is increasing along the main routes. Roads suitable for motor traffic link Aden Colony with certain population centers in Western Aden Protectorate, and Mukalla with the larger towns of the Hadhramaut and adjacent coastlands. Access to the interior is also provided by military air services. A 514 509 A 491 492 H A 491 N [509]

## Food and Nutrition

Aden Colony is a cosmopolitan community, in which a variety of food habits is found among the peoples of different racial and economic groups. With the exception of fish, milk and limited supplies of garden vegetables, all foodstuffs are imported. Undernutrition is prevalent among the poorer inhabitants, and particularly among the transient laborers from the interior. A 262 439 142 464

Food supplies are never abundant in the Protectorate, where cultivation is restricted by the nature of the terrain and the scarcity of water in many areas. Anything which interferes with normal production, such as droughts or an invasion of locusts, may result in local food shortages, often approaching famine conditions. The Hadhramaut was seriously affected during the widespread drought in 1943, and children were evacuated from some of the famine areas to relief camps in Mukalla. N 511 433 731

The average Arab diet is simple, while that of the pastoral tribes is almost invari- N 262

p. 239(B)

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



boiled radishes is given to cattle with " cattle plague ". Donkeys are said to be susceptible to a very fatal disease.

Both cattle and camels are used in ploughing, the former usually in pairs and the latter singly. For the working of the wells, camels, cattle, donkeys, men and women, all combine, frequently in mixed teams, the animals being generally given a bunch of fodder at the top of the incline each time they reach it. Camels are also employed in turning the machines for extracting the simsim oil. The fact that fodder and water become more scarce north of the main Wadi necessitates a greater use of camels and donkeys are few and far between. Donkeys are uncommon also in the Wadi Maseila, for there is a three-day stretch without water in the middle of the Wadi, and below Buzun the flow is not perennial. Sheep and goats, however, are to be found everywhere, seeking their pasture under the care of women or girls.

Heald in his report states that no attention is paid to selection during the breeding season—which is usually in the early summer. With the sheep, one lamb is generally the average—although higher up in the Hadhramaut, amongst better pasture, ewes give two lambs. The sheep in the Meifa valley had black fleeces with the curly fat tails, although smaller than the Egyptian sheep. The goats are also smaller than in Egypt and originally came from the Yemen.

It was particularly noticeable in the Wadi Maseila that the livestock were very much smaller than those elsewhere. The cows are little larger than a normal-sized calf, and the sheep and goats are also smaller than those in Du'an or to the north. The cattle are similar in size to those of Soqotra. The breeds of goats and sheep appeared to vary considerably over the whole country, but a black-and-white variety was the most common. His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan has a few horses, both for riding and carriage work, and I saw one at Meshhed. There are probably not a dozen in the whole country.

**Minor agricultural products.**

Dates in the Hadhramaut are merely a hobby, and the entire local crop is consumed fresh during a season of two months, June and July. It may be recorded that a single date-tree in the Du'an valley sells from 400 to 1,000 dollars, many times its economic price. Dates form a staple article of diet and are therefore imported in large quantities.

The principal grain and other food crops are millet—*dirra* (great millet, *Sorghum vulgar*), *dukhn* (bullrush millet, *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and *keneb* or *msebeli* (Italian millet, *Setana italica*); lucerne; *jil jil* (sesame, not eaten by donkeys); *dijar* (a kind of bean); wheat (not eaten by donkeys or goats); and a little maize. The stalks are generically known as *qusab*, and the grain as *ta'm*. Hashish or grass is also grown for animals. The principal garden crops are sweet potatoes, onions, garlic, pumpkins, carrots, egg

241 plants, chillies, *faqu* (a kind of gourd, *Cucumis prophetarum* L.), and lubia. The fruits include limes, bananas, dates, pawpaws and a few grapes and pomegranates.

Speaking of the Meifa district, Heald states that "near the river the main cultivation was the date crops. The sesame did not receive any special cultivation than that given for the millets; the land was ploughed or broken up by the hoe and, after levelling down with a board, the seed was sown in holes at a distance of 18 inches apart; the crop being sown generally in September. The crop was manured with dung or fish, if available, and good results were obtained from liberal manuring; four or five waterings were generally given. The crop was ready for harvest in 3½ months, when the plants were cut down close to the ground and laid out in rows to dry; the plants were then shaken for the seed to fall out on a mat." Speaking of crops generally, Heald says, "All the crops, being from seed bred in and in, had become very poor as one might expect, and unless they import fresh seed from abroad, nothing can prevent the crops from becoming even poorer than they are at present."

## Methods of Agriculture.

134 *Soil.*—Mr. Heald's remarks on the lahd in Asfal al 'Ain apply pretty generally to much of the land in the Hadhramaut. He says, "The soil was of an alluvial nature, and in general very light loam, devoid of humus and requiring heavy manure to produce good yields. The soil in most of the villages in the Meifa valley was alluvial; very thin and with a stony subsoil." In parts of the Wadi Maseila owing to the heavy vegetation there is more humus.

805 *Seasons.*—The seasons are arranged by the stars and called Summer (*Seif*), Autumn (*Kharif*), Winter (*Sheita*) and Spring (*Rabia*).
241 From an agricultural point of view it is difficult to distinguish. Crops are often to be seen in all stages, sowing, grown and harvested. According to Heald, the summer crops are Italian and bullrush millet and tobacco, which is sown towards the end of the summer for transplanting in early winter. The winter crops are great millet, maize, lucerne, wheat, barley and all the vegetables.

241 *Implements.*—The implements are few and primitive. A small plough is used for breaking up the surface of the soil. It consists
● 492 of a sharpened piece of wood with an upright for the farmer to
412 hold and press the "share" into the soil. It is pulled by oxen or a camel. The hoe used has a pear-shaped head; sometimes the soil is levelled after ploughing by dragging a small board over the surface. Small curved knives are used in the tobacco nurseries for scratching up the soil. Heald saw a "weeder" which was very much like a chisel.

241 *Manures.*—Tobacco beds are occasionally treated with sheep dung, but the principal manure in the lower Hadhramaut is fish manure. As many as three small fish are put on the soil round each plant.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



# CHAPTER VIII.

## COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

### Roads and Road Transport.

Despite the fact that of late years the motor-car has become a familiar object in parts of the Hadhramaut, the camel and the ass are still the principal means of conveyance for man and goods in the country, and although the tracks suitable for cars are certain to be increased, the bulk of the interior trade will continue to be carried in the traditional Arabian fashion. Increase of motor tracks will, in fact, probably mean increased earnings to caravan men, as there will be more goods to distribute over short carries off the main routes. 492 493

The principal caravan routes are :— 487

*Mukalla* (donkey route)—Tila—Zemen as Saghir—Hisi—Dahma—Jol Ubeid—Wadi Du'an—Sif—Hajarein—Meshhed—Haura—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Shibam.

*Mukalla* (camel route)—Rashnid—Haj Bal Qabrein—Kheila—Wadi Du'an—Sif—Hajarein—Meshhed—Haura—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Shibam.

*Mukalla*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Sufeila—Nihār—Sāh—Shibam—Seiyun.

*Mukalla*—Harshiat — Tokhm — Bagha — Jirwit—Batha—Marsa Mukalla—'Umn 'Ainein—Bawerqat—Haura—Hauta—Shibam—Seiyun—Seheil Qibli—Tarim—'Einat.

*Mukalla*—Fuwwa—Kherba—Bahth—Yuwan.

*Mukalla*—Fuwwa—Kherba—Bahth—Kanina—Sidara.

*Shihr*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Ma'di—Reida—Had al Jabir—Herū—Mesenda—Tarim—Maseilat as Silma—Qahir—'Einat.

*Shihr*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Ma'di—Reida—Had al Jabir—Herū—Mesenda—Tarim—Seiyun.

*Shihr*—Ras 'Aqabat al 'Arsha—'Abul—'Ais—Gheil bin Yamīn—Herū—Wadi Na'r—Husn bin Dhoban—Tarim.

*Seihut* (camels only)—Al 'Ais—Semarma—Al Gheil—Buzūn—Teheir—Maqrat—Al Qoz—Bin Qora—Morheih—Hanun—Bin Sheikh Nān—Hamir—Tabūrkum—Sena—'Qabr Hud—Fughma—As Som—Qasm—'Einat—Tarim.

*Shibam*—Husn al 'Abr—Nejran—San'a.

*Shibam*—Shabwa—San'a.

*Shibam*—Yab'uth—San'a.

There are also caravans to and from Merkha, Hadhina, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. 484

Caravans from Mukalla reach Du'an in about six days, and from Shihr and Mukalla arrive at the principal towns of the Wadi Hadhramaut in up to ten days. Caravans from Mukalla to Hajr take three days. Caravans travelling between Shibam and San'ā take fourteen or fifteen days over the journey with loaded camels.

484 It is four days journey from Shibam to Husn al 'Abr and five days from Husn al 'Abr to Nejran.

485 Routes from the coast are well provided with *siqayas*, or public fountains, near villages, and *qarifs* and *naqbas*, artificial pools and cisterns for rain-water, in the desert places. There are also of course many natural springs and water holes in the wadis. There are *muraba'as* (rest houses, called *madharab* in the low country and *sira* in the upper) at intervals approximately of a few hours' journey all over the principal routes crossing barren country. There are no definitely appointed stages, but caravans halt at places where they can graze and water their camels. They travel an average of six or seven hours a day.

412 From fifty to fifty-three thousand camels leave the camel park
439 called Therb outside the west gate of Mukalla every year for the interior. From Shihr the number is from 30,000 to 32,000. These figures include 5,000 to 8,000 in the former case and 2,000 in the latter of camels carrying food for the camel-men. Camels for this purpose are provided at the rate of about two to ten loaded camels.

Departures from and to the coast take place almost daily except during the month of Ramadhan. During that month caravans leave Mukalla and Shihr in order to arrive at their destinations by the feast day. Departures from and arrivals at Shibam for and from the interior are not so frequent.

From four hundred to a thousand loaded camels a month enter Shibam alone from the coast. It is estimated that a thousand annually come from San'ā in three or four caravans, but, as stated elsewhere, there is an increase if there is a demand.

An estimate given of the number of camels from other parts of the Protectorate and other parts of the Yemen is fourteen caravans of 1,000 camels each arriving mostly during the winter and spring. Caravans from Nejran are rare.

494 The 1934 fares from Mukalla to Du'an were as follows:—

484
435

1. By donkey, *wa'ā* and *'aser*, that is to say, riding over level country and over the rough and hilly places, standard rate, 15 to 16 dollars, but with variation according to weight, the limits each way being from 12 to 20 dollars.

2. By donkey, *watā*, i.e., riding only over the level country, standard fare, 10 to 11 dollars with limits according to weight of from 8 to 15 dollars.

Each passenger is allowed free transport of up to three *frasilas* (1 *frasila* = 20 lb.) of food.

3. By camel, *watā* and *'aser*, 10 dollars.

4. By camel, *watā*, 5 dollars.

There is no allowance for weight by camel but there is a free allowance of up to three *frasilas* of food.

The freight rates are: By camel, 10 dollars for 1 *bahar* of 20 *frasilas*; by donkey, 1½ dollars a *frasila*.

4: Ingrams G-3 (no date) 1935 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

370

# HOUSE BUILDING IN THE HADHRAMAUT

W. H. INGRAMS

342 361 363 DURING a recent tour in the Hadhramaut my wife and I collected some notes on the building of houses. Each town in the country has its own individual characteristics. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type, built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Makalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not 6 feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces.

361 342 353 In the Wadi Do'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Do'an houses the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb* [1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, 2 inches across the heads, burnished with lead, which shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development of Do'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring-bone pattern.

361 342 177 352 492 493 In Terim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice plants, and modern European conveniences in the bathrooms. Whereas in Do'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel back over the mountains for six days, and while I mention this it is worth recording that there are sixty cars in Terim itself, each of which has been transported in parts by twelve camels from the coast.

313 333 353 The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seyyids of Terim and Seyyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of getting long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree trows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Masailah, they cannot be transported by

[1] The commoner Arabic name is *sidr*, *Rhamnus nabeca*.

8 Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 of a broad, gently sloping bedrock drainage surface. The plateau abounds in suitable rock surfaces, and they serve as catchment areas for occasional cloudbursts. Walls, six to eight inches high, fashioned of closely packed but uncemented rock fragments and slabs, are

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362]

FIG. 21—Bedouins of Wadi Hajr. Note the attire and appearance: bare feet or sandals; short sarong; cartridge belt; curved dagger; long, black, glistening, oily hair; ever present musket. To the stocks of their antiquated guns, goat skulls are frequently attached, as these are thought to provide greater numbers than the original owners.

laid out radially from the well so that surface drainage will converge on it from a wide area.

415 To transport water, Bedouins use bags of uncut goat skins, tied
401 firmly at the leg and neck openings. For drawing well water, the
483 skin is fashioned into a bucket and attached to a rope passing over a pulley in a crudely constructed scaffolding of palm logs lashed together with coconut-fiber cord. The bucket is raised and lowered by donkeys, cattle, or slaves, with the assistance of an appropriate harness. To augment the lifting power applied to each bucket, it is customary to excavate an incline downward from the mouth of the well, equal in length to the depth of the water table, and it is along such a trench that man and beast plod long, weary hours each day. When a bulging and leaking skin has been lifted slightly above the welltop, it is pulled over and lowered into a catchment basin connected with the local irrigation system.

## THE CARAVANS

492 Many Bedouins, not engaged in agriculture or herding, find occu-
438 pation in the camel transport system of the Hadhramaut. A man
439

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

FIG. 22—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general attire, especially the sarong, which has been introduced by Hadhrami emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to provide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadramaut MM2



484 pasture lies beyond a certain point; or at noonday halts the camels become "temporarily lost."

Moonlit nights are considered most desirable for travel. Camels 233 are grazed wherever pasture is most abundant, regardless of the time of day—the heat may be intense—or the progress of the journey. This would not be necessary if small quantities of fodder, such as millet and hay, were carried. This practice, however, is not popular, owing either to custom or to what may be considered unwarranted expense, despite the fact that the animals could be maintained in superior condition and at the same time be worked harder to a degree that would more than offset the cost of purchased fodder.

[262] On the march camelmen provide for their own maintenance with small amounts of dates, bread, coffee, and tea, which add little to 484 the burden a caravan can transport. Therefore, provided the equipment of a traveling group is not too cumbersome and the personnel not too large, the unit can maintain itself on the march four or five weeks without replenishing supplies. Speed of travel will be governed by local grazing, water supply, and terrain, the condition of the camels, and the "temperament" of the caravan leader—an unknown usually capable of "adjustment."

492 In the caravans of those not strictly limited in resources, the 436 donkey is invariably included because it is comparatively easy to ride and a more comfortable mount than a camel. Camels can be hired for 1.00 to 1.25 Maria Theresa dollars (the standard currency in the interior) a day and donkeys for about 1.00 dollar.

## Bedouin "Warfare"

721 It is common knowledge that caravans have been both successfully 484 and unsuccessfully raided; but just what tactics the Bedouins employ on such occasions is somewhat of a mystery. At 4.00 a. m. one day a small party was plodding silently through bushes and mist along a broad wadi bottom leading to the sea. Through a knowledge of the prevailing wind as revealed by ripple marks in the sand, the leader cautiously picked his way and at length found a faint trail incised [283] in the bank. About 10.00 a. m. the caravan came to rest in the spotted shade of a leafless camel's-thorn for the customary noontime forage; and while the camels fed on the sharp, crunchy thorns, the Bedouins reclined on the sand in the meager shade of the dry branches.

Without apparent warning the whole camp was suddenly alive, for downwind had come a faint call, which one man had been alert enough to catch. The sharp-eyed Bedouins soon discovered two minute figures on the crest of a distant dune overlooking the caravan route ahead; and it was at once recalled that this route followed a tribal boundary between two groups now rumored to be unfriendly. The

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MMS Hadhramaut MMZ



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FIG. 1.—THE SANDS OF DARARA.

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FIG. 2.—SOUTH ARABIA QARA MOUNTAINS. FUZAH. LOOKING DOWN OVER IB (W. ARBOT).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN SOUTH ARABIA.

P. 104 (A)

000 of the city. Before the gate is the Wādī Seded, where the sea
484 has penetrated far inland and formed an inlet. Here on the
361 beach the caravans camp as they travel to and from the
231 interior. Hundreds of camels are kneeling in great circles,
492 eating the food that lies in the centre. Other camels are being bathed and scrubbed down with sea-water, while still others are protesting with gurgling snarls against the treatment of some skin trouble or of big open wounds. There are donkeys here and there amongst them. Bedouins lie asleep wrapped
[264] about in their cloaks or sit round a small fire eating out of wooden bowls their porridge of crumbled bread mixed up with a little fat. Some are busy with the difficult work of loading: after the freights have been weighed by lifting and then
[372] divided, they are fastened on to the pack-saddles. Children are collecting into baskets the camel's dung which is of great value as fuel. The ground is swarming with the so-called camel-louse, which is really a sort of tick. The penetrating odour of the camels' urine and sweat hangs over this wide-spread, permanent bivouac.

487 We go inland along the bank of the Wādī Seded, which is
312 here filled with sea-water, so as to cross, by making a big bend, behind the 1800 feet high rocky ridge of Makalla. On the left of the road, only a few miles from Makalla, there are groves of palm, with the white summer quarters of the Vizier and of the Sultan. Here is a spring from which, by means of a thin, iron pipe lying on the ground, water is carried to Makalla to provide the town with drink.

361 Two hamlets, el-Baqrēn and Baqērēn, with some cultivated
578 fields, lie close to the frontier of the Sultanate of Makalla. There are two fortified towers on the road manned by soldiers, and not far beyond Baqērēn there stands a whitewashed piece of rock. Against the high wall of primary rock, rising up each side of the road, two white marks have been made to show even in the mountain region, where the land is at peace and where at war. No vendetta may be carried on nor ancient feuds settled by arms in or around the town.

# CHAPTER XVI.

## OVER THE DEYYIN PLATEAU.

### 1. THE HUMOROUS END OF AN EVENTFUL DAY.

The path lies behind a protecting spur of the mountain and we cannot be seen from the watch-towers of the enemy on the other side of the main wādī and of the side-wādī. Things become different when we reach the almost perpendicular part of the rock-wall, for we have hardly appeared from behind the spur when shots fall on the other side. We duck behind a rock and listen for the sound of more bullets. In order to find out whether they are really intended for us, we place a pith helmet above the edge of the rock; it immediately draws the enemy's fire. All this has a good effect on the caravan, which comes hurriedly after us, the guide running ahead and shouting to us to lie down. When they reach us, quite breathless, they tell us that sharp-shooters with good mausers are stationed on the other side of the wādī and that, from that range, they recently killed three men. Meanwhile our somewhat peculiar caravan joins us. It seems that we have four sayyids as escort; there is one young man for the camels and an older one to act as the responsible guide. He had refused to go alone and had induced Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās after long persuasion to accompany him. Sayyid ʿAlī, who has a wife and child in ʿAmd and intended to stay there, has brought his son with him and has to give much of his attention to this small, three years old offspring, who is now a great hindrance to him. This infant sayyid sits pluckily on a camel [492] with both small hands clinging firmly to the long wooden pommel. To European eyes this looks more than dangerous on the zigzags of the precipitous rock-wall, but the Arabs

p. 207

7; Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



491 cases new roads cut through difficult country. Nearly all roads are extremely rough, and surfaces are rarely repaired.

The following routes are open for motor traffic :

| | | | Miles |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman | to | Lahej | 16 |
| ,, ,, | ,, | Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| ,, ,, | ,, | Museimir | 61 |
| ,, ,, | ,, | Dhala | 88 |
| Aden | ,, | Zinjibar | 40 |
| Zinjibar | ,, | Ja'ar | 16 |
| ,, | ,, | Al Husn | 16 |
| ,, | ,, | Dirjaj | 17 |
| ,, | ,, | Sheikh Abdulla | 6 |
| ,, | ,, | Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra | ,, | Am Surra | 30 |
| ,, | ,, | Lodar | 50 |
| ,, | ,, | Mudia | 68 |
| ,, | ,, | Am Quleita | 78 |
| ,, | ,, | Ahwar | 76 |
| ,, | ,, | Irqa (E. Aden Protectorate) | 48 |

509 A regular air service by Aden Airways was maintained during the summer months between Aden and Mukeiras, and was used for transporting vegetables for the Aden market. Other existing landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala and Beihan.

492 Where no motors can yet penetrate the traffic of the country is carried on camel caravans, which still travel to Aden in large numbers, or in the more mountainous districts small donkeys are employed for both passengers and goods.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

653 The famine of 1948–49 showed the necessity for all-weather roads
491 for motor transport from the coast to the interior. In a grain shortage
499 camel transport is of little use, the camels becoming too weak from lack of fodder to be really dependable.

In 1949 a request for a Colonial Development and Welfare grant of £15,360 for the construction of all-weather roads to the Hadhramaut (Scheme D.1035) was approved and early in 1950 work began on the construction of drains, Irish bridges, culverts, and weeping bridges, on the Al Kaf road to the interior. In addition, the dangerous Maadi Pass on this road was reconstructed, and a large river-bed on the road between Mukalla and Riyan was successfully bridged saving some miles of detour. Attention was also given to the task of reconstructing the west road to Du'an and the Hadramaut to make it passable all the year round.

Later in 1950 approval was given by the Secretary of State for an additional £15,000 for the further improvement of internal com-

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



653 Their chief function is the construction and maintenance of state buildings and roads throughout the territories. In the main towns in the Qu'aiti State the department is responsible for the upkeep of the conduits bringing in water from springs outside. All air landing grounds, except Riyan, are maintained by the Public Works Department of the two States.

# Chapter 10 : Communications

## WESTERN PROTECTORATE

494 Increasing use is being made of motor vehicles. These are for the
491 most part driven along sandy beaches, dry river beds or across open desert, but in some places tracks have been improved and in a few cases new roads cut through difficult country. Nearly all roads are extremely rough and surfaces are rarely repaired.

The following routes are open for motor-traffic :

| | *Miles* |
|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman to Lahej | 16 |
| " " " Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " " Museimir | 61 |
| " " " Dhala | 88 |
| Aden to Zinjibar | 40 |
| Zinjibar to Ja'ar | 6 |
| " " Al Husn | 16 |
| " " Dirjaj | 17 |
| " " Sheikh Abdulla | 6 |
| " " Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra to Am Surra | 30 |
| " " Lodar | 50 |
| " " Mudia | 68 |
| " " Am Quleita | 78 |
| " " Mahfid | 145 |
| " " Habban (Eastern Protectorate) | 195 |
| " " Said | 196 |
| " " Nisab | 253 |
| " " Beihan al Qasab | 373 |
| " " Ahwar | 76 |
| " " Irqa (Eastern Protectorate) | 124 |

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712 Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala, Beihan, Qoban (Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom) and Sah (Upper Aulaqi Sultanate).

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205 There are no post offices in the Western Protectorate.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



# CHAPTER VIII.

## COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

### Roads and Road Transport.

Despite the fact that of late years the motor-car has become a familiar object in parts of the Hadhramaut, the camel and the ass are still the principal means of conveyance for man and goods in the country, and although the tracks suitable for cars are certain to be increased, the bulk of the interior trade will continue to be carried in the traditional Arabian fashion. Increase of motor tracks will, in fact, probably mean increased earnings to caravan men, as there will be more goods to distribute over short carries off the main routes. 492 493

The principal caravan routes are :— 487

*Mukalla* (donkey route)—Tila—Zemen as Saghir—Hisi—Dahma—Jol Ubeid—Wadi Du'an—Sif—Hajarein—Meshhed—Haura—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Shibam.

*Mukalla* (camel route)—Rashnid—Haj Bal Qabrein—Kheila—Wadi Du'an—Sif—Hajarein—Meshhed—Haura—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Shibam.

*Mukalla*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Sufeila—Nihār—Sāh—Shibam—Seiyun.

*Mukalla*—Harshiat — Tokhm — Bagha — Jirwit—Batha—Marsa Mukalla—'Umn 'Ainein—Bawerqat—Haura—Hauta—Shibam—Seiyun—Seheil Qibli—Tarim—'Einat.

*Mukalla*—Fuwwa—Kherba—Bahth—Yuwan.

*Mukalla*—Fuwwa—Kherba—Bahth—Kanina—Sidara.

*Shihr*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Ma'di—Reida—Had al Jabir—Herū—Mesenda—Tarim—Maseilat as Silma—Qahir—'Einat.

*Shihr*—Gheil Ba Wazir—Ma'di—Reida—Had al Jabir—Herū—Mesenda—Tarim—Seiyun.

*Shihr*—Ras 'Aqabat al 'Arsha—'Abul—'Ais—Gheil bin Yamīn—Herū—Wadi Na'r—Husn bin Dhoban—Tarim.

*Seihut* (camels only)—Al 'Ais—Semarma—Al Gheil—Buzūn—Teheir—Maqrat—Al Qoz—Bin Qora—Morheih—Hanun—Bin Sheikh Nān—Hamir—Tabūrkum—Sena—'Qabr Hud—Fughma—As Som—Qasm—'Einat—Tarim.

*Shibam*—Husn al 'Abr—Nejran—San'a.

*Shibam*—Shabwa—San'a.

*Shibam*—Yab'uth—San'a.

There are also caravans to and from Merkha, Hadhina, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. 484

Caravans from Mukalla reach Du'an in about six days, and from Shihr and Mukalla arrive at the principal towns of the Wadi Hadhramaut in up to ten days. Caravans from Mukalla to Hajr take three days. Caravans travelling between Shibam and San'ā take fourteen or fifteen days over the journey with loaded camels.

370

# HOUSE BUILDING IN THE HADHRAMAUT

W. H. INGRAMS

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1933. In these last eighteen months however, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and otherwise, runs into over one hundred, in fact, into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included, for Mukalla has recently had the fresh experience of seeing bus loads of tourists from steamers driving through its street.

The more frequent and more intensive incursion of European visitors is of course in itself a great contrast with the recent past, but I think that the contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country in the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every Badawin and tribesman in the country carried his rifle with him, even to walk across the street. Blood feuds were widespread, and even harmless travellers of the unarmed classes were at times likely to lose not only their property but their lives. Travellers by motor car had to take with them an escort when passing from village to village. In places there were extensive systems of trenches to pass from the villages to the fields, and I knew of people who have spent as much as twenty years without getting beyond their own doors.

Now however all this has passed and it is comparatively rarely that you see a tribesman carrying a rifle, indeed many of them do not even carry the *jambiyas* or curved daggers which are almost as much a part of their dress as a walking-stick was of ours. How all this has come to pass is more a matter of the history of the Hadhramaut than its geography, but I should simply like to say that it was largely through the will of the people who have a genuine desire for peace and for the following of peaceful pursuits.

This new peace has resulted in a much greater contact between tribes and between different parts of the country and has made possible a great extension in communications. Eighteen months ago there were about half a dozen motors on the coast and about sixty in the interior, carried up by camels. By the completion of the Al Kaf road Tarim has been linked with Shihr and passenger-carrying lorries ply almost daily between the coast and the interior. When I left the country a couple of months ago there were at least two hundred motor vehicles in it and every ship was bringing one or two. Many more car tracks have been made and cars now go to almost all parts of the Hadhramaut, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is also constructing another remarkably good motor road to the Hadhramaut which is being built northwards from Mukalla and southwards from Du'an. Something over 20 miles of the former and 10 of the latter had been completed when I left; about 60 miles remains to be done, of which the greater part is over the flat *jols* and offers no particular difficulties of construction. Starting from Mukalla you can now motor at least 300 miles in the Hadhramaut without recrossing your tracks, and there are over 500 miles of tracks altogether.

The possibilities of air transport have also been greatly improved. There were, eighteen months ago, eight landing-grounds in the five Sultanates in the eastern part of the Protectorate of which only three, Mukalla, Shibam, and Qishn, were used at all frequently. New landing-grounds have been constructed at Tarim, Seiyun, Hureidha, Al 'Abr, 'Azzan, Balhaf, Risib,

## 4. A WONDERFUL RECEPTION IN THE GARDEN CITY SEḤĒL SHIBĀM.

491 The families of Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam are on the best of
493 friendly terms with the Sultan and arrange matters with him. A little later the great dark-red cars buzz through the gate and cross the *sēl*-bed in the direction of the palm-groves, called Seḥēl Shibām. Only in the last few years has the motor-car penetrated as far as Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has made this possible by the construction of motor roads. Motor-cars can, with great difficulty, be brought from the port of esh-Shiḥr to Terīm. The separate parts of the cars have to be transported on camels for a great part of the way.
562 From the road one can see very little of the palm-groves
529 and the summer pavilions in their midst; high mud walls shut
575 off the gardens from the gaze of passers-by. There is one exception to this, where the central point is formed by a new building in modern style. This is the club of the young men of Shibām; no women come here and so there is nothing to shut
312 off. A little further on the cars turn into the gateway that
342 gives entrance to the garden of the Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam.
177 This summer abode of their joint families is still uninhabited;
351 the time for moving from town to country has only just come. There is a well behind the house, from which oxen and donkeys draw up the water, clear as crystal, though tasting somewhat bitter. All around there are banana and papaya trees, pomegranate and lemon bushes as well as date-palms. The new summer pavilion is in the depths of the garden; our host has devoted his leisure to building it. It is a product of Ḥaḍramī imagination influenced by Singapore and Java. For the outer walls chaste, simple white has been abandoned and is replaced by soft green, rose and sky-blue. The great windows are framed by coloured ornamentation. Connected with the villa is a swimming-bath with a high parapet. One has a great longing for colour in this sunny land, where it is so lacking, and this fairy palace strikes a happy note among

# CHAPTER X.

## TO TERÎM, THE HOPE OF ALL ḤAḌRAMAUT.

871 In the Qeᶜēṭī country, already, we heard the name of Sayyid
487 Abū Bakr el-Kāf invariably pronounced with respect, and here
491 we have entered the land of his activity. Sayyid el-Kāf has plac-
741 ed his energy, his love, and all his possessions at the service of
493 his country and of his people. His example is an impressive
185 call to unity and to the setting aside of personal interests and susceptibilities for the general good. Schools, endowed and maintained by him, are scattered all over the country. The Qeᶜēṭī Sultans and Governors have them in their residences, and the influence of these little schools will slowly penetrate through the whole land. His other sensational enterprise, which may become of the greatest significance for the country's future, is the construction of a motor road from the Ḥaḍramaut valley to the coast. Although the road is not yet completed, its influence is already making itself felt. The most difficult *ᶜaqabas* have been conquered so that it is possible to bring cars into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut, though the transport of these is still expensive. There, where the first car passes, others will soon follow, and in a country where travelling is very tiring and very slow, the motor-car will be particularly appreciated. The Ḥaḍramīs who have been successful abroad do not lack money. The motor-car having arrived will not disappear again, and conditions within the borders of Ḥaḍramaut will be entirely changed thereby. The construction of roads in the valley itself has been started without delay, and drivers and mechanics have already found their way there.
721 The inconvenience of intertribal warfare makes itself felt more and more forcibly, but Sayyid Abū Bakr will be greatly
p 128

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



helped by the motor-car in his great work of pacifying and opening up Ḥaḍramaut.

We depart in two fine cars belonging to the Sultan of Sēwūn for Terīm, the city to which Leo Hirsch has preceded us and from which nearly forty years ago the sayyids with their fanaticism and hatred of Christianity forced him to flee within a few hours of his arrival. An Englishman, Mr. Boscawen, reached there also a full year in advance of us, but he did not publish a description of his journey and, according to report, only came for sport. Aeroplanes of the R. A. F. at Aden, with Colonels Cochrane and Lake and Flight-Lieutenant Rickards on board, also once flew high above the town, but they were only making an aerial reconnaissance, although the scouts the[illegible]s felt a growing desire within them to set foot for once in this wonderful town. The Ḥaḍramis say of it: "Terīm — and then thou desirest nothing else."

The cars take us through winding mud lanes between palm-groves to the hilly stretch of sand and loam outside the town. The palm-trees are planted well apart from each other in the sand; the fields of *dhura* come to an end but the little dykes of the area that can only be cultivated when the rains are sufficient are to be seen for long afterwards. Quite soon we pass the ruins of a town, Maryama, probably of great antiquity. The castle and the town were laid waste in a local war, and, of the cultivation of the land, only the little dykes, which divided the fields into squares, still remain. Close to Maryama there was an old road which crossed southwards over the mountain-wall. My companion climbed this *ʿaqaba* called Duqm el-Aswad and found on the rock-wall close to the *djōl* scrollings and grafitti probably made, many centuries ago, by the Bedouins of passing caravans. Some distance further on the villages and palm-groves at the foot of the southern mountain-wall come to an end. The loam vanishes under an ever thicker layer of sand and sand-dunes, and the cars stall several times. In accordance with the instructions of the Sultan we do not go by the normal way, through the plain, to Terīm, but follow

493 the mountain road made by Sayyid el-Kāf. Some years ago,
491 when the motor-car was first introduced into Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm was at war with villages in the wādī, and this stretch across the plains was then, consequently, impassable. But Sayyid el-Kāf would not yield to any war whatever and, at great expense and effort, he made a road over the two rocky spurs which separate Terīm from Sēwūn.

491 The Sultan of Sēwūn was so proud of this piece of Ḥaḍramī engineering that he insisted on our following this route. It is very difficult for the drivers to cross the wādī at this point, to avoid hillocks and pitfalls, and to come out finally onto the beginning of the zigzag mountain road at the base of the rock. The road, narrow and very steep, goes up and up against the slopes of rock débris, and only short cars can manoeuvre the sharp corners. Half way up, the engines have to cool off and the drivers take a breathing-space, while we too need to recover from the tension! Descent on the other side of the steep ridge seems to be even more difficult than the ascent. Our drivers have to depend only on the brakes and do not seem able to lessen speed by letting the motor run on the lowest gear without giving gas. They do not trust our suggestions, and the brakes get hot so quickly that they have to be cooled with the water that we have brought with us in skins. The second spur of rock too is conquered without mishap; however, I preferred to make the descent on foot. It was indeed in this case quicker than in a car the brake-bands of which catch fire.

## 1. "TERĪM — AND THEN THOU DESIREST NOTHING ELSE".

361 We get the first view of Terīm from the second rocky ridge.
342 It lies in an absolutely barren stony plain. The cultivated tract of land is narrower than at Sēwūn and does not look so luxuriant and fertile, but the great number of large, square palaces is at once noticeable. They are not grey and white here as in Sēwūn, but of all manner of striking colours. One of

always has to be on one's guard against treachery. In answer to my question whether he likes being here, he replies that he does not. Separated as he is from wife and children in Java, he is only here to defend his family's honour and position, and as soon as he can be spared he will return to his mother-land.

The master of the house himself conducts us to a place where Ḥimyaritic characters have been scratched on a rock and where are also as many as five long, though fairly narrow, basins beside the path. They were, of course, dry for the time being, but appear to be quite serviceable, and were plastered on the inside with a kind of mortar.

## 4. THE TOWN OF ʿAMD, DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS AND HARD DECEPTIONS.

The way continues for the greater part over the boulders in the *sēl*-bed, which evoke many a groan from our camels. The beasts are weary from the long march in the hot wādī, yet we are ready to stake everything on the attempt to reach ʿAmd before the day ends so that, in the evening, negotiations for our further journey may be started, and then perhaps we may have the luck to get off again after no more than a day's delay. To our pleasant surprise, the great man of Wādī ʿAmd, Shēkh ʿAwaḍ bin Saʿūd bin Shamlān el-Djaʿdī, overtakes us on our way. He is a tough greybeard, who is still lithe enough to mount onto his camel's back while it is standing. His greeting is friendly and he insists on my mounting his camel. The Shēkh's right hand, Sālim bin Sallūm el-Djaʿdī, a very loquacious man with a heart-rending voice, sits behind me. We go on at a trot. As we approach ʿAmd the date plantations grow thicker. It is already dark when we pass the big village of Ḥebeb. Our caravan has got somewhat separated through my riding-companion's insistence on keeping our racing camel perpetually at the trot. I am carried along helplessly and in the darkness it is quite an art to keep my seat

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1930) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



493 in the saddle, for t[illegible]ees obstacles on the ground, which escape my sea[illegible]ye, so that unexpected swerves are the result. It is a fantastic and most exhausting ride, which only comes to an end when, close to the little town of ʿAmd, we reach the house in which we are to be lodged. The rest of the caravan arrives after us in dribblets, and before long we are sitting together on the spacious roof of our guest-house, onto which crowds of inquisitive folk are flocking.

511 167 191 186 Nowhere, so far, had so much Malay been spoken and nowhere was conversation so frank and open. ʿAmd appears to be a town on the decline and very poor and to suffer much from protracted warfare. This condition of things leads the young men to seek their fortunes out of the country, Java attracting the bulk of them. The consequence is that a great many wives and children remain behind in poverty. The number of boys who are sent from Java to be brought up in ʿAmd is relatively large. They can be distinguished at once from among their dirty little comrades by their better dress and greater cleanliness. They form a part of our visitors that night and begin with great boldness to talk in Malay, to show off their knowledge. These youngsters look upon their sojourn in ʿAmd as a real period of exile and pine for Java.

000 The discussions over plans for our further journey were disappointing. It was considered to be out of the question for us to go to Niṣāb, but they could certainly bring us to the coast towns of Bal-Ḥāf or Bīr ʿAlī. Everyone deserted us at this point, even our own Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās, but we held on to Niṣāb. Before we retired to a roof-terrace higher up, we had Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf's letter of introduction and those from the Sultans of Sēwūn and Shibām read aloud, which made a noticeable impression. I added thereto that we were determined to go to Niṣāb and that we wished to leave on the morrow. So we bade farewell to this company, which was to carry on its consultations until deep into the night.

132 It is appreciably cooler at ʿAmd than it is further in Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm being the hottest place. The altitude of

484 It is four days journey from Shibam to Husn al 'Abr and five days from Husn al 'Abr to Nejran.

485 Routes from the coast are well provided with *siqayas*, or public fountains, near villages, and *qarifs* and *naqbas*, artificial pools and cisterns for rain-water, in the desert places. There are also of course many natural springs and water holes in the wadis. There are *muraba'as* (rest houses, called *madharab* in the low country and *sira* in the upper) at intervals approximately of a few hours' journey all over the principal routes crossing barren country. There are no definitely appointed stages, but caravans halt at places where they can graze and water their camels. They travel an average of six or seven hours a day.

492 From fifty to fifty-three thousand camels leave the camel park
489 called Therb outside the west gate of Mukalla every year for the interior. From Shihr the number is from 30,000 to 32,000. These figures include 5,000 to 8,000 in the former case and 2,000 in the latter of camels carrying food for the camel-men. Camels for this purpose are provided at the rate of about two to ten loaded camels.

Departures from and to the coast take place almost daily except during the month of Ramadhan. During that month caravans leave Mukalla and Shihr in order to arrive at their destinations by the feast day. Departures from and arrivals at Shibam for and from the interior are not so frequent.

From four hundred to a thousand loaded camels a month enter Shibam alone from the coast. It is estimated that a thousand annually come from San'ā in three or four caravans, but, as stated elsewhere, there is an increase if there is a demand.

An estimate given of the number of camels from other parts of the Protectorate and other parts of the Yemen is fourteen caravans of 1,000 camels each arriving mostly during the winter and spring. Caravans from Nejran are rare.

494 The 1934 fares from Mukalla to Du'an were as follows :—

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1. By donkey, *watā* and *'aser*, that is to say, riding over level country and over the rough and hilly places, standard rate, 15 to 16 dollars, but with variation according to weight, the limits each way being from 12 to 20 dollars.

2. By donkey, *watā*, i.e., riding only over the level country, standard fare, 10 to 11 dollars with limits according to weight of from 8 to 15 dollars.

Each passenger is allowed free transport of up to three *frasilas* (1 *frasila* = 20 lb.) of food.

3. By camel, *watā* and *'aser*, 10 dollars.

4. By camel, *watā*, 5 dollars.

There is no allowance for weight by camel but there is a free allowance of up to three *frasilas* of food.

The freight rates are: By camel, 10 dollars for 1 *bahar* of 20 *frasilas*; by donkey, 1½ dollars a *frasila*.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Besides the payment of fares, rations have to be provided for the men at the rate of one man for one animal in the case of donkeys, and one man for up to three animals for camels. For donkey-men the rations cost from ½ to 1½ dollars a head according to whether they eat with the passengers or not. For camel men the cost of the rations is 2 dollars a head as they take eight days over the journey instead of six.

Other normal fares are: Shibam to Ba Rumeidan 5 dollars a camel, the normal fare, but I was asked 25 dollars a camel, 5 dollars for the *muqaddam*, and 30 dollars for the Beduins' broker to accompany the caravan. Tarim to Seihut 20 dollars a camel. This route necessitated two *siyaras*, each costing 10 dollars, and a Seiyid who had to be given 60 dollars.

The Du'an route is worked by the Marāshida and Khāmā. The Wadi Leisar route by the Hālka, and the Wadi al 'Ain route by the 'Awābitha.

**Motor Transport.**

The following tracks are passable and regularly used by cars :—

| | Miles. |
|---|---|
| *Mukalla*—seashore—Wadi Tifat—Landing ground—Fuwwa ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 9 |
| *Mukalla*—shore—Wadi Mubekha—Sherij Bashhar—Wadi Tifat—Fuwwa—Lermi—Kherba ... ... | 15·2 |
| *Mukalla*—along the shore—Hali ... ... ... | 12 |
| *Mukalla*—Manawarih—Sherij Bashhar—Fuwwa—Lermi—Kherba ... ... ... ... ... ... | 16·75 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Baqrein—Bakezebur ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Wadi Seded—Wadi Rukub—Buweish—Wadi al Feleq—Reida landing ground—Wadi Huweira—Shiheir—Wadi Ghasam—Gheil Ba Wazir ... ... ... ... | 33·6 |
| *Mukalla*—Khalf—Ras Mukalla—shore—Shihr (this route passes close to Shiheir and is an alternative route to Gheil Ba Wazir from either Mukalla or Shihr) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 42·1 |
| *Mukalla*—Dis al Mukalla—An Naq'a—Bīr Ba Zambur—Harshiat—Tila as Sufla ... ... ... | 10·4 |
| *Shihr*—Dufeigha ... ... ... ... ... | 2·7 |
| *Shihr*—Wadi Rahba—Tubala ... ... ... | 5·6 |
| *Shihr*—Wadi Karangahem—Habis—Gheil Ba Wazir (to Habis 12 miles) ... ... ... ... | 24 |
| *Shihr*—Dis—Ras al Qarn ... ... ... ... | |
| *Shibam*—Hauta (al Qatn)—Haura—Meshhed—Hajarein ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | |
| *Shibam*—Hedhira—Hauta (Al Qatn)—Farudh—Hepin (this route continues to Hureidha) ... ... | 25 |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



cars and actually there are more cars in Kathīri territory than the rest of the Hadhramaut put together.

Shihr is the principal port for the Kathīri country and Tarim is almost exclusively supplied from it. Seiyun is reached indifferently from Shihr-Tarim or Mukalla-Shibam. Shibam is an important market for the Kathīris who depend on it for their daily requirements of grain, coffee, timber, salt, cotton, almonds, raisins, and ghee.

There is no landing ground in Kathīri territory.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## THE SHENAFIR CONFEDERATION.

The strength of the Shenafir Confederation has been variously estimated at 4,470 armed men, at 7,650 armed men and at 20,000 souls. The total number of the Shenafir and their followers, excluding Nahd and Sel'ar, is said to be 8,720 armed men. The following is a description of the tribes of the Confederation.

### Āl Kathīr.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Sub-Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Al 'Umar | — | — | As Salil Haju, Wadi Bin 'Ali, Wadi Ghanima, Wadi Ser, Wadi Farā and Dhoilam | — | — |
| | Āl Tālib | | | | Sālim bin Ja'fer and Bedr bin 'Āidha. |
| | | Āl Mar'i bin Tālib. | Jifil | 220 | |
| | | Āl Ja'fer bin Tālib. | Ash Sh'ib, (Qarīū). | 120 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Tālib. | Bā Raf'a | 35 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Sa'id. | Al Wajīr | 40 | |
| | | Āl Bin 'Aun | Near Al Ghurfa | 20 | |
| | | Āl Bin Mahraq | Near Al Hauta | 10 | |
| | Āl Falhūm | | | | 'Āmr bin Ja'fer Balfaa. |
| | | Āl al Fās | Yarqaq near Al Ghurfa. | 80 | |
| | | Āl al 'Ās | Yarqaq | 15 | |
| | | Āl Fabeitha | Al Hāwī | 25 | |
| | | Āl Barqī | Al Hōl | 20 | |
| | | Bin Kahīl | do. | 10 | |
| | | Bin Tanfīra | Near Al Hauta | 6 | |
| | | Bin as Samīl | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Āl Wi'l | Al Hauta | 17 | |
| | Āl 'Umar bin Bedr. | Bin 'Umar bin Bedr. | Al Ghīyel | 25 | |
| | | Bin Mahrī | Yarqaq | 40 | |
| | | Bin Bedr bin 'Abdulla | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Bin ash Shein | do. | 50 | |

On the 19th of May we reached Horēda, the tribal 361
village of the family al-'Attās, where we had a fine recep- 191
tion. Horēda can thank the wealth accumulated in Java 563
and at Singapore for its beautiful houses and mosques. There is a large number of Dutch subjects there, and so many of them speak Malay that one even frequently hears it spoken on the streets.

On the 20th and 21st of May we remained at Horēda 361
The mosques and schools were carefully examined, and some short excursions were made in that neighborhood.

Horēda lies in the Wādi 'Amd, which branches off from the main *Wādī* of Hadramaut, to which we now returned, leaving Horēda on the 22nd of May. Bin 494
Marta' from Soerabaya, a large dealer in building ma- 361
terials, took us in his auto, which was the first that ever came to Horēda, to the place where he lives, Hēnan. It was a difficult task among the endless sand-hills to find a track on which it was possible for the auto to travel, and when a sandstorm came up we had to flee to the Diyār-āl-Buqri, certain high castles in the midst of the broad sandy *wādī,* which were the center of a warfare which had been going on there for years. The fighting captains and their soldiers received us very well; they appear to have close family relationships with Java. Elsewhere, in a description of the political situation, I will deal minutely with the Diyār-āl-Buqri and their inhabitants. Hēnan is a little place which is lost in the sand. By installing a motor pump, our friend Bin Marta' is trying to arouse his village to new life.

On the 23rd of May, Bin Marta' took us in his auto 361
to al-Qatn, the residence of the sultan of Shibām. We 241
were here once more in the āl-Qa'ētī jurisdiction. At al-Qatn the Wādī Hadramaut changes completely, and beautiful date-palm plantations begin here. In the shadow of these palms lie the luxurious green *dhura* fields (maize). The sultan did not appear to be at al- 361
Qatn, and we were received by a member of the family. 609
Through a severe sandstorm we drove on to Shibām, the

1933. In these last eighteen months however, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and otherwise, runs into over one hundred, in fact, into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included, for Mukalla has recently had the fresh experience of seeing bus loads of tourists from steamers driving through its street.

The more frequent and more intensive incursion of European visitors is of course in itself a great contrast with the recent past, but I think that the contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country in the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every Badawin and tribesman in the country carried his rifle with him, even to walk across the street. Blood feuds were widespread, and even harmless travellers of the unarmed classes were at times likely to lose not only their property but their lives. Travellers by motor car had to take with them an escort when passing from village to village. In places there were extensive systems of trenches to pass from the villages to the fields, and I know of people who have spent as much as twenty years without getting beyond their own doors.

Now however all this has passed and it is comparatively rarely that you see a tribesman carrying a rifle, indeed many of them do not even carry the *jambiyas* or curved daggers which are almost as much a part of their dress as a walking-stick was of ours. How all this has come to pass is more a matter of the history of the Hadhramaut than its geography, but I should simply like to say that it was largely through the will of the people who have a genuine desire for peace and for the following of peaceful pursuits.

This new peace has resulted in a much greater contact between tribes and between different parts of the country and has made possible a great extension in communications. Eighteen months ago there were about half a dozen motors on the coast and about sixty in the interior, carried up by camels. By the completion of the Al Kaf road Tarim has been linked with Shihr and passenger-carrying lorries ply almost daily between the coast and the interior. When I left the country a couple of months ago there were at least two hundred motor vehicles in it and every ship was bringing one or two. Many more car tracks have been made and cars now go to almost all parts of the Hadhramaut, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is also constructing another remarkably good motor road to the Hadhramaut which is being built northwards from Mukalla and southwards from Du'an. Something over 20 miles of the former and 10 of the latter had been completed when I left; about 60 miles remains to be done, of which the greater part is over the flat *jols* and offers no particular difficulties of construction. Starting from Mukalla you can now motor at least 300 miles in the Hadhramaut without recrossing your tracks, and there are over 500 miles of tracks altogether.

The possibilities of air transport have also been greatly improved. There were, eighteen months ago, eight landing-grounds in the five Sultanates in the eastern part of the Protectorate of which only three, Mukalla, Shibam, and Qishn, were used at all frequently. New landing-grounds have been constructed at Tarim, Seiyun, Hureidha, Al 'Abr, 'Azzan, Balhaf, Risib,

we first went up there they charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

[THE 30 HASAN TANBULIS -- ANALYST.]

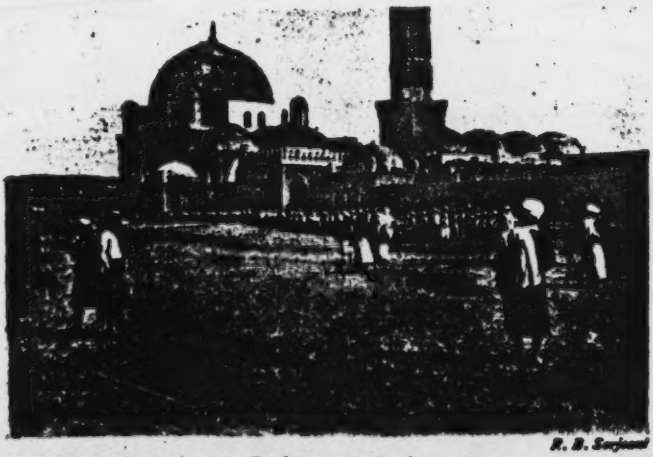
Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1

H there are still slaves in the Hadhramaut but
587 sweeper class, they are not untouchables. unlike the
The Arabian attitude toward the slave is not unkind: the slave has certain customary rights, and is better fed and clothed than many who are free.

Y These mountaineers hardly resemble the Arab of popular imagination, nor do they wear
142 headbands and flowing robes. The Yemenite Arabs are usually of slight stature, dark-skinned and beardless, though there are so many types that it is impossible to generalize.
000 They are a charming people, and civilized. Their condition would be much improved had they lasting peace and good government, though the complete opening-up of the country to outside influence and commerce would spell disaster for an economic system which has worked with success for two or three thousand
Y years. To an ever-increasing degree the Pro-
H tectorate and South Yemen have become
A economically dependent on the port of
167 Aden. Labour is drawn from the up-country
464 villages. The villager will go to Aden and
465 earn £1 : 10 : 6 a month at coolie work, live on 7s. 6d. out of that sum, and save the rest
A to return to his village. There he will remain until necessity drives him to earn more. A
162 large proportion of the inhabitants of Aden must be composed of these floating elements of population.

Internally the motor-lorry has made com-
H munications between the towns much easier;
● 494 the aeroplane, too, has made a difference
509 to the Protectorate and is a familiar sight in some places. It is now possible to control
178 areas with a handful of planes where formerly thousands of ground troops were necessary to penetrate.

Y
346



R. B. Serjeant

*The Turkish mosque in San'a, capital of the Yemen*

P 72 (B)

5:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



date the Dathina Unit, and a portion of the Amiri force, attended a course of instruction in Headquarters. It was not possible to make a start in the training of Tribal Guards until the alteration referred to above had been finished in the camp, and it is hoped to continue these courses in the future. 704 712

*Posts*

Detachments of Government Guards were stationed in the following districts:

Dathina: Mudia, Am Quleita, Am Khudeira.
Abyan: Jaar, Al Husn, Ba Teis.
Subeihi: Tor al Baha, Am Farsha, Am Riga.
Dhala: Safra, Dhala and Jihaf.
Beihan: Nejd al Mezar, Beihan, Asylan.
Ahwar: Ahwar and Masana.

Apart from operations against Ami Haidara in February the Government Guards were not engaged in any military action throughout the year. On several occasions it became necessary to send reinforcements to districts to meet emergencies, the most notable being the despatch of a strong force to Abyan in the summer months to protect the Agricultural Department's scheme against sabotage by followers of the Lower Yafai Sultan.

Following the murder of the Political Officer, Northern Area, a detachment of Government Guards accompanied the force sent to investigate the case and later completed a march through southern Amiri territory.

No casualties were suffered during the year.

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate, security is primarily a responsibility of the states themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces. The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion under the control of the British Agent performed their security functions with credit.

### PRISONS

There is no recognised Prisons Service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of states have their own state prisons which are supervised by the political staff. 677

## Chapter 10: Communications

In the Western Aden Protectorate road communications remained difficult, although motor transport continued to operate to Taiz and Hodeidah. 494

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate in February British Overseas Airways Corporation closed the Karachi route which they had been using from Aden, via Riyan. This caused some dismay in Mukalla, where there is 509

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



PRISONS

There is no recognised Prisons Service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of States have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff. 697

## Chapter 10: Communications

In the Western Aden Protectorate increasing use is being made of motor vehicles throughout the Protectorate, and, although no first-class roads exist, regular traffic is maintained on the following routes: 494

| | | | Miles |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman | to | Lahej | 16 |
| " " | " | Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " | " | Musaimir | 61 |
| " " | " | Dhala | 88 |
| Aden | " | Zinjibar | 40 |
| " | " | Ja'ar | 50 |
| " | " | Al Husn | 56 |
| Zinjibar | " | Dirjaj | 17 |
| " | " | Sheikh Abdullah | 6 |
| " | " | Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra | " | Am Surra | 30 |
| " | " | Lodar | 50 |
| " | " | Mudia | 68 |
| " | " | Am Quleita | 78 |
| " | " | Ahwar | 76 |
| " | " | Irqa (E. Aden Prot.) | 48 |

A regular air service by B.O.A.C. was maintained during the summer months between Aden and Mukeiras, mainly for transporting vegetables for the Aden Market. Other existing landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala and Beihan. 509

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate B.O.A.C. resumed its services in the spring, but suspended them again in November. Ethiopian Air Lines ceased operating in the spring when their licence expired. There was still no regular steamer service, although the number of weird craft passing as steamers which called at Mukalla increased considerably.

## Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

SITUATION AND AREA

The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sul- 131 [631]

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



653 Their chief function is the construction and maintenance of state buildings and roads throughout the territories. In the main towns in the Qu'aiti State the department is responsible for the upkeep of the conduits bringing in water from springs outside. All air landing grounds, except Riyan, are maintained by the Public Works Department of the two States.

# Chapter 10 : Communications

## WESTERN PROTECTORATE

494 Increasing use is being made of motor vehicles. These are for the
491 most part driven along sandy beaches, dry river beds or across open desert, but in some places tracks have been improved and in a few cases new roads cut through difficult country. Nearly all roads are extremely rough and surfaces are rarely repaired.

The following routes are open for motor traffic :

| | *Miles* |
|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman to Lahej | 16 |
| " " " Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " " Museimir | 61 |
| " " " Dhala | 88 |
| Aden to Zinjibar | 40 |
| Zinjibar to Ja'ar | 6 |
| " " Al Husn | 16 |
| " " Dirjaj | 17 |
| " " Sheikh Abdulla | 6 |
| " " Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra to Am Surra | 30 |
| " " Lodar | 50 |
| " " Mudia | 68 |
| " " Am Quleita | 78 |
| " " Mahfid | 145 |
| " " Habban (Eastern Protectorate) | 195 |
| " " Said | 196 |
| " " Nisab | 253 |
| " " Beihan al Qasab | 373 |
| " " Ahwar | 76 |
| " " Irqa (Eastern Protectorate) | 124 |

509 A regular air service by Aden Airways is maintained between Aden
712 and Mukeiras. Other landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala, Beihan, Qoban (Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom) and Sah (Upper Aulaqi Sultanate).

492 Where no motors can yet penetrate, the traffic of the country is carried on camel caravans which still travel to Aden in large numbers ; in the more mountainous districts small donkeys are employed for both passengers and goods.

205 There are no post offices in the Western Protectorate.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2



## EASTERN PROTECTORATE

491
494
509
205
206

The following roads exist :

| | Miles | |
|---|---|---|
| Mukalla to Sai'un (East Road) . . | 180 | |
| " " Sai'un (West Road) . . | 200 | |
| " " Western Protectorate boundary | 140 | (partly on the beach) |
| " " Museina'a (near Mahra border) | 80 | |
| Various branch roads . . . . . | 200 | |
| | 800 | miles |

No licensing system has yet been introduced into the Eastern Protectorate States. The number of vehicles on the roads, including Residency and State owned, is approximately 170.

The main airport is at Riyan which is an R.A.F. station. Landing grounds exist at Qatn, Ghuraf, Gheil bin Yumein, Al Abr, and Asakir.

Aden Airways run a twice weekly service from Aden to Riyan with extensions to Qatn and Ghuraf in alternate weeks. The Ghuraf strip is also frequently used for private charter flights.

There are two post offices in the Eastern Protectorate, at one of which money order business is transacted. There are also 21 postal agencies.

Cable and Wireless Ltd. operate a telegraph service at Mukalla and Sai'un.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither the rains nor the variable streams are in general adequate to this purpose, and watering of the soil is mainly carried on from wells. These may be sunk practically everywhere in the valleys. As in many other parts of Arabia, the water is drawn up in a leather hoist by animals, usually cows, attached to a cord which passes over a pulley supported on wooden struts; the water thus obtained is received in a large wooden trough whence it is spread over the land by means of little runnels.

Cattle-rearing is the principal occupation of the Bedouins. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes; sheep for killing and for milk; cows only for milk and irrigation work; oxen exclusively for ploughing. Horses are very rare and are considered as animals *de luxe*. Bees are numerous, and much honey is produced. The wild animals most largely found are the rabbit, gazelle, wild goat, jerboa, hyena, hedgehog, a large species of lizard (permitted as food to Mussulmans), and the panther, wolf, and monkey (not permitted as food).

## Trade and Commerce

The only ports of importance commercially are Makalla (see p. 232), Shiheir (see p. 232), and Seihūt (see p. 230), and even at these the trade carried on is purely coastal, with the near coast of Africa, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the southern coast of Arabia, and above all with Aden and Muscat. Trade by caravan is carried on from these ports with the whole of the interior of the Hadhramaut and with the southern Arabian littoral as far as Yemen on the west and Oman on the east. Burūm (see p. 233) and Quséi'ir are small fishing villages.

There are no made roads; the routes follow the courses of the wādis or natural paths. Transport by wheeled vehicles is impossible everywhere; all is carried on by camels or donkeys. It is, however, relatively cheap; e. g. a camel from Shiheir or Makalla to Seyyūn costs only 5 florins in the good season; in summer, when forage is scarce, it is higher, but never above 10 florins.

The chief exports are dates, stuffs dyed with indigo, a superior quality of wheat, and honey; smaller exports are shells and fins of fish, the latter exported to India and China. Imports: wheat, butter, coco-nuts, coffee, sugar, rice, cotton and cotton stuffs, pottery, bars of iron and worked iron, sesame oil, petroleum, and tin-ware.

197 *Rakh* (*Salvadora persica* L.) is a very popular fodder with camels
314 and is found in abundance in the Wadi Maseila; it is also fairly
246 common round Du'an but practically non-existent to the north of Shibam. Goats do not eat it. It also provides the Beduins with their favourite toothsticks.

*Khuwcira*, a small plant (*Cassia obovata* Coll.), is very popular with both camels and goats. There are of course many other plants on which they graze.

**Manufacturing Industries.**

496 Minor Industries include the extraction of simsim oil with camel
262 mills. In Mukalla there is a large oil factory with 31 compart-
249 ments in each of which a camel turns the usual primitive wooden machinery for expressing the oil from sesame seed. The oil extracted by this primitive process is much more popular for food that that extracted by modern machinery. It is considered much
[231] sweeter. The residue forms a cake which is fed to camels.

339 There are kilns for lime-burning immediately to the east of Mukalla and in many other places. In particular most excellent
438 lime is made in Seiyun and Tarim. This is applied as a plaster to
353 the interiors of the houses and polished with smooth flints till it resembles marble.

28 Hides from the interior are tanned in Mukalla but none is exported. At Gheil ba Wazir I saw a leather-worker using Mukalla-tanned skins. Skins are also tanned in Shibam. The dyeing of cloth, weaving, and mat-making are other minor industries. Shihr in particular is well known for its beautiful
323 weaving. There are potteries in many places, and I saw the process
326 in Gheil ba Wazir. There are also good workers in silver at Gheil ba Wazir, Shihr and Mukalla.

**Fisheries.**

228 The manufacture of fish fodder and manure and the preparation
251 of dried fish is a large industry of the coastal area. From an
262 export point of view, fish products come third in importance. They are :—
231

*Sifa* (fish oil). Not much of this is made in either Mukalla
438 or Shihr. The bulk is imported from the Mahri coast.

*Wazīf* (dried *'aid* and other small fish). A great quantity of this is prepared in Mukalla and still more in Shihr. The sea is alive with these small fish, the catching and preparing of which gives work to many hundreds of fishermen. In both Mukalla and Shihr there are godowns for these fish which are stored before being taken to the interior for manure, camel fodder, or human consumption. The very small *'aid* fish are used for manure only, but the larger ones are eaten uncooked

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



361 the sights of Aden is the tunnel, about 350 yards in length, which runs under the Mansūri hills and connects the town with the isthmus. *Tawāhi*, the port, lies immediately to the east of Steamer Point, and is practically a new and prosperous-looking town consisting largely of fair-sized stone houses, nearly all of which are double or treble storied. Here are good hotels, a police station, a court-house, a local post and telegraph office, military establishments of various kinds, a hospital, the offices of the great steamship companies, and the offices of the port authorities, and here also are situated the great coal wharves and the landing and other piers. On a conical hill about a quarter of a mile from the post office stands the station flagstaff, and near this the road crosses the spur on which the barracks are situated. After traversing a plain of about 500 yards in extent in a south-westerly direction, the road terminates on Ras Tarshein, the most westerly point of the peninsula, on which are built the Residency and the quarters of the officers of the Royal Artillery.

Aden has two hospitals and three dispensaries for the civilian part of the population. Separate military hospitals are maintained for
421 the garrison. Until recently land in the Settlement was not sold: sites for building and gardens were granted in perpetuity, and sites for stacking coal and salt, for beaching boats, for ships, workshops, &c., were given on leases for a term of 99 years on payment of quit rent. Since 1911, land for building, agricultural, or other purposes is ordinarily to be granted on lease, but may be disposed of otherwise at the discretion of the Resident. Land on the foreshore of the harbour can be granted only with the sanction of the Government and on such terms as it may prescribe in each case.

491 The roads in and around Aden are not good in general; they are narrow with steep gradients, and though there is plenty of rock in
•496 Aden, good stone for metalling purposes is difficult to obtain and there is but little soil for binding purposes. They are, therefore,
206 very gritty and easily crumble. Aden has no railways, but it is unrivalled for its telegraphic facilities with all parts: there are direct cables with Bombay, Zanzibar, Perim, and Suez, and indirectly therefore with all parts of the world. The telegraph station is on Ras Boradli.

361 2. **Sheikh 'Othmān** is a thriving and populous town, situated six miles north by west of Aden and two miles beyond the Aden troop lines at Khōr Maksar: it is reached by a broad carriage-road. The town contains several large caravanserais, some European houses, and some bungalows and gardens. There are about 15 wells of brackish water and of unlimited supply, some of which

7; Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



491 cases new roads cut through difficult country. Nearly all roads are extremely rough, and surfaces are rarely repaired.

The following routes are open for motor traffic :

| | | | Miles |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman | to | Lahej | 16 |
| " " | " | Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " | " | Museimir | 61 |
| " " | " | Dhala | 88 |
| Aden | " | Zinjibar | 40 |
| Zinjibar | " | Ja'ar | 16 |
| " | " | Al Husn | 16 |
| " | " | Dirjaj | 17 |
| " | " | Sheikh Abdulla | 6 |
| " | " | Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra | " | Am Surra | 30 |
| " | " | Lodar | 50 |
| " | " | Mudia | 68 |
| " | " | Am Quleita | 78 |
| " | " | Ahwar | 76 |
| " | " | Irqa (E. Aden Protectorate) | 48 |

509 A regular air service by Aden Airways was maintained during the summer months between Aden and Mukeiras, and was used for transporting vegetables for the Aden market. Other existing landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala and Beihan.

492 Where no motors can yet penetrate the traffic of the country is carried on camel caravans, which still travel to Aden in large numbers, or in the more mountainous districts small donkeys are employed for both passengers and goods.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

653 The famine of 1948–49 showed the necessity for all-weather roads
491 for motor transport from the coast to the interior. In a grain shortage camel transport is of little use, the camels becoming too weak from lack
499 of fodder to be really dependable.

In 1949 a request for a Colonial Development and Welfare grant of £15,360 for the construction of all-weather roads to the Hadhramaut (Scheme D.1035) was approved and early in 1950 work began on the construction of drains, Irish bridges, culverts, and weeping bridges, on the Al Kaf road to the interior. In addition, the dangerous Maadi Pass on this road was reconstructed, and a large river-bed on the road between Mukalla and Riyan was successfully bridged saving some miles of detour. Attention was also given to the task of reconstructing the west road to Du'an and the Hadramaut to make it passable all the year round.

Later in 1950 approval was given by the Secretary of State for an additional £15,000 for the further improvement of internal com-

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



munication in the Eastern Aden Protectorate—Scheme D.1373. Of 653
this project the road between Bir Ali and Balhaf has been completed, 491
work is now proceeding on the Meifa-Bir Ali stretch, and a start was 499
made in December, 1950, with the new Jahi-Rubat (Du'an) road.

Further, a road was constructed in the north linking Shibam and Henin with the tribal centre of Reidat-as-Sei'ar on the edge of the Ruba' al Khali and resurfacing of the Wadi Hadhramaut road between Tarim and Qassam, Shibam and Qatn and Ajlaniya and Qa'udha was carried out to facilitate transport in the main agricultural areas.

Considerable help was given by the former Director of Public Works, Aden and the Executive Engineer, Aden, who visited the Eastern Aden Protectorate and submitted valuable reports, with recommendations as to the repair and maintenance of roads, which are being implemented to the extent that local finances and labour resources permit.

*Air Communications* have also improved in the past two years. 509
A weekly service by Aden Airways Ltd. was maintained between Aden and Riyan (17 miles from Mukalla) and late in 1950 was extended to Al Qatn. The interior of the Hadhramaut is now within reach of Aden and the protracted delays travellers formerly faced are a thing of the past.

Special planes were flown direct from Riyan and Qatn to Hedjaz for the 1950 pilgrimage.

*Sea Communications* were maintained by occasional visits of 505
coastal steamers based on Aden, and more frequent trips by motor dhows and small powered craft.

# Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

## SITUATION AND AREA

The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described 101
administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the 131
Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut mm2

ADEN AIRWAYS AIRCRAFT AT MUKEIRAS, ADEN PROTECTORATE

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Orig. p. 48(A)

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



still far below anything within living memory prior to 1948–49. In consequence there has been no surplus for export from the Qu'aiti coast, the Qu'aiti merchants having had, in fact, to import much of the small surplus from the Mahra coast for consumption inland. 228

Six fishery statistical posts have been established on the Qu'aiti coast in the Eastern Aden Protectorate and three in the Abyan area of the Western Aden Protectorate. They are financed by His Majesty's Government through the Fishery Department, but are administered by the states in which they are situated.

Because of the poor fishing seasons plans for promoting the export trade have been postponed. Preliminary trials are in hand for salt-curing sardines on the Eastern Aden Protectorate coast, to provide a cheap protein food for the agricultural labourers in the Wadi Hadhramaut and the Abyan area. The first small batches of fish were very well received. Now larger quantities are being tested for keeping qualities, as the most acute shortage of cured fish occurs during the summer when no sardines are being caught. At present the poorest people eat the dirty and rancid sun-dried sardines in the wadi and semi-putrid small fishes in Abyan. 228 258 262

A scheme is in preparation at Shihr, on the Qu'aiti coast, for mechanising the local fishing sambuks with outboard motors. These craft are sewn together with coir twine and are too flexible to take a normal inboard installation, but by fitting a flat hog in place of the keel, it is possible to ship an outboard motor through a trunk. The Qu'aiti State has financed a loan to a selected fisherman with which he will purchase the first sambuk and outboard. The sambuk is now being altered under Fishery Department supervision, and the Aden agents have the engine waiting. 501 228 654

An interesting development on the Qu'aiti coast is the building at Mukalla, for a local merchant, by Italian engineers and technicians, of a cannery with a capacity of from 500 to 1,500 yellow-fin tunny per day. This merchant has also recently brought an 80-ft. diesel-engined fishing vessel from Italy as well as two small motor launches. The cannery is in operation and samples opened have proved to be excellent. It is to be hoped that the project succeeds, as it is not only a bold step deserving of success as such, but also a source of local employment and of exports, both of which are needed in that area. 255 228

# Chapter 8: Social Services

## EDUCATION

### *General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout 871

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



frenzy on religious matters, and ever ready to accuse any one, whose actions are not readily explained, of being an infidel, are apt to be rather slack in their devotions. Some even shirk their prayers at sunset, when such exercises are obligatory. Much of this attitude, however, has to do with their turbulent mode of life and illiteracy, for the most nonchalant are always ready to "fall in" behind any man who has the gift of prayer and follow his attitude and genuflexions, giving the responses with devout accuracy and attention. As to the religious self-denial with which they observe the fast of Ramadan (refusing to avail themselves of the exemption extended by the Koran to all travellers, sick persons, &c.) their austerity would shame more civilized Mussulmans.' 771

## Products and Industries

The products of this region are so similar to those of the Yemen that they need no special treatment; and the crops are referred to in detail in the section on climate. The staple food-stuff of the country is either *dhura* or *dukhn*. Of *dhura* there are two chief varieties: white and red. The staple fodder for animals is, universally, the stalks and leaves of *dhura* and *dukhn*. As to the native industries they are not of any great importance, but attention may be called to the following: 241 246

Boat-building is carried on to a limited extent. Though a very great number of native craft of very varied type ply in Aden harbour and around the coast of this district, only 'jolly-boats' are built at Aden; they are after the model of an English rowing-boat, with heavier and stronger frames, and of very rough workmanship. Mat-making and string-making are carried on chiefly in the neighbourhood of Aden. Dry leaves of the *dom* and date-palms are imported from the ports of the Dankali and from Musawwa', and are manufactured into mats. String is also made by twisting the leaves together with the hand; this is called 'Aden string'. To make mats the leaves are divided into small strips, which are plaited into a ribbon three or four inches wide and of great length. The ribbon is stitched or spliced spirally into a cylindrical shape, the circumference representing the required breadth, and the axis the necessary length; this hollow cylinder is then cut down with a knife parallel to the axis, and the broken edges are bound. Somali women are exceedingly expert in the manufacture of such mats, which are in great request for sleeping purposes. The coarser kinds are largely used for the construction of sheds and the roofing of houses. Plates, baskets, sacks, and many other articles are made of such strips of matting. 396 501 285

636 Admiralty Court in matters connected with the slave trade; his court is also a Colonial Court of Admiralty. The laws in force in the Settlement are, generally speaking, those of the Bombay Presidency, supplemented on certain points by special regulations drawn up to suit local conditions.

636 In general the local affairs of the Settlement (such as sanitation, conservancy, &c.) are managed by an Executive Committee (formerly
• 503 Municipal Committee), subject to the control of the Resident:
651 the funds for this purpose are raised by the levy of house tax, octroi, and other imposts. The management of the port is under
625 a Board of Trustees, known as the Aden Port Trust, the principal task of which is to make arrangements for the deepening of the harbour so as to allow vessels of all sizes to enter and leave at all states of the tide. The funds are provided by the levy of tolls and wharfage fees on goods landed or shipped. The police are of two categories: land police, and harbour police. The former (officers and men) number 377—357 foot and 20 mounted; the latter number 12, including four inspectors and one or two administrative officials.

701 The normal garrison of Aden consists of the Aden troops, one hundred strong, mounted half on horses and half on camels; three companies of Garrison Artillery, two of which man the forts, while the third is employed with the movable armament; six companies of British Infantry; one battalion of Indian Infantry, less detachments at Perim and Sheikh 'Othmān; one Fortress Company; and the Aden section of Sappers and Miners. On the south-west corner of the peninsula are the forts Tarshein and Morbat, which cover the entrance of the harbour, and are garrisoned by two companies of Royal Garrison Artillery. The land side is protected by a strongly fortified position across the whole breadth of the isthmus. At the crater are various entrenched positions for infantry to oppose landings, while the ridge, running north and south from Hejuff to Viaduct Gate, forms a second line of defence and includes a redoubt at Ahman Khal, near the southern extremity.

652 The total revenue receipts of Aden treasury in 1914–15, under all heads—imperial, local, and municipal—amounted to 87½ lakhs
651 of rupees (approx. £580,000). The chief sources of local revenue are: Aden Port Trust Fund, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Aden Settlement Fund, over 4 lakhs (£28,000); Local Supply Bills, 38½ lakhs (£257,000); Post Office, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Excise, about 1 lakh (£6,300); Income tax, ¾ lakh (£5,000). The total expenditure was about 83½ lakhs (approx. £556,000).

619 In the Aden interior the tribes nominate their own chiefs or sultans. The Sultan is never a tribesman himself, but comes from

Shihr who forward their letters by caravan or special messenger. 205
Outward mails are disposed of in a similar manner. At Shibam I noticed a box inside the gate of the city in charge of one of the merchant's men in which letters were being placed for despatch to Aden by aeroplane. Runners can cover the distance from Mukalla to Du'an in 24 hours, and Mukalla to Shibam in three [481]
days.

**Harbours.**

The only harbours for steamers are Mukalla and Shihr. Mukalla 504
promontory extends about 1¾ miles south-eastward. Ras Marbat is its south-western extremity, and Ras Kodar, eight cables eastward of Ras Marbat, is the southern extremity. Ras Mukalla, about three cables north-eastward of Ras Kodar, is the eastern extremity of the promontory.

Mukalla bay is the north-eastern part of the bight between Fuwa and Ras Marbat. About 1½ miles north-westward of Ras Marbat are two small bays, separated by a projection, extending about three cables south-westward, on which stands part of Mukalla town. The western of these two bays is the more frequented by boats. The eastern bay is seldom used owing to the swell which rolls in during the north-east monsoon. The shore bank in Mukalla bay, on which anchorage can be obtained, extends about half-a-mile offshore near the town, increasing westward to a width of nearly a mile off Fuwa. A stone jetty close to the Customs House is the usual landing place. There is no lighthouse, but a single lamp fixed on a pole in a small boat gives the only guiding light into the harbour. During the south-west monsoon dhows anchor at Bandar Burum where there is anchorage in depths of from five to seven fathoms, good holding ground, south-eastward of Burum village, but a ground swell rolls in.

Shihr roadstead is open with anchorage in depths of from 7 to 12 fathoms, sand and shells, from seven cables to one mile offshore.

Besides Mukalla, Burum, and Shihr the dhow harbours along the Hadhramaut coast are: Bandar Ruweini, about two miles northward from Ras Mukalla, has depths of from four to six fathoms, and native craft shelter here during the south-west monsoon; Hami, where there is anchorage off Hami village in depths of seven to eight fathoms about a mile offshore; Sharma bay, with a good anchorage in depths of from four to five fathoms; Al Qarn, an anchorage where small vessels can lie safely in depths of from two to four fathoms (Sharma bay and Al Qarn lie close to the town of Dis; Al Qarn is the more frequented harbour); and Ras Qus'eir, a mile southward of Qus'eir, where there is anchorage, but without shelter, in depths of from 12 to 14 fathoms.

**Shipping.**

There are two Lines calling frequently but not regularly. Usually 505
each calls twice a month. One is the Halal Shipping Company—Agent, Yusuf Sherif; and the other Cowasjee Dinshaw and Bros.—

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The whole of the Kathiri part of the wadi is accessible by motor cars and actually there are more cars in Kathīri territory than the rest of the Hadhramaut put together. 494 5042 436

Shihr is the principal port for the Kathīri country and Tarim is almost exclusively supplied from it. Seiyun is reached indifferently from Shihr-Tarim or Mukalla-Shibam. Shibam is an important market for the Kathīris who depend on it for their daily requirements of grain, coffee, timber, salt, cotton, almonds, raisins, and ghee. 508

There is no landing ground in Kathīri territory.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## THE SHENAFIR CONFEDERATION.

The strength of the Shenafir Confederation has been variously estimated at 4,470 armed men, at 7,650 armed men and at 20,000 souls. The total number of the Shenafir and their followers, excluding Nahd and Sel'ar, is said to be 8,720 armed men. The following is a description of the tribes of the Confederation. 631 619 101

### ĀL KATHĪR.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Sub-Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Al 'Umar | — | — | As Salil Haju, Wadi Bin 'Ali, Wadi Ghanima, Wadi Ser, Wadi Farā and Dhoilam | — | — |
| | Āl Tālib | | | | Sālim bin Ja'fer and Bedr bin 'Āidha. |
| | | Āl Mar'i bin Tālib. | Jifil | 220 | |
| | | Āl Ja'fer bin Tālib. | Ash Sh'ib, (Qarfū). | 120 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Tālib. | Bā Raf'a | 35 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Sa'id. | Al Wajīr | 40 | |
| | | Āl Bin 'Aun | Near Al Ghurfa | 20 | |
| | | Āl Bin Mahraq | Near Al Hauta | 10 | |
| | Āl Falhūm | | | | 'Āmr bin Ja'fer Balfas. |
| | | Āl al Fās | Yarqaq near Al Ghurfa. | 80 | |
| | | Āl al 'Ās | Yarqaq | 15 | |
| | | Āl Faheitha | Al Hāwī | 25 | |
| | | Āl Barqī | Al Hōl | 20 | |
| | | Bin Kahīl | do. | 10 | |
| | | Bin Tanfira | Near Al Hauta | 6 | |
| | | Bin as Samīl | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Āl Wi'l | Al Hauta | 17 | |
| | Āl 'Umar bin Bedr. | Bin 'Umar bin Bedr. | Al Ghīyel | 25 | |
| | | Bin Mahrī | Yarqaq | 40 | |
| | | Bin Bedr bin 'Abdulla | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Bin ash Shein | do. | 50 | |

7: Stutler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently
killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not 679
more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. 131
Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through 186
or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. 114
There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, 177
and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to 773
Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaveth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became [101]
"Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along 131
a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and 133
deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, 133
one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent 311
moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is [504]
Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

8. Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



361

FIG. 15—Mukalla from the sea. The skyline of the second largest settlement and commercial center on the south coast of Arabia.

133 Gradients are low, not more than 1 in 500 and very probably averaging about 1 in 750.

## STREAMS NEAR THE COAST

The area between the coast and the southern margin of the Hadhramaut-Maseila and Hafif basins, some 500 miles long, is drained by short, intermittent, steep-gradient mountain streams, few of which, except certain sections of the Maseila, are perennial. The best known of these is the Wadi Hajr, which enters the Gulf of Aden at Ras al Kalb, 50 miles southwest of Mukalla. Another is the Wadi Meifa, about the same distance beyond Hajr. Both of them, although they have not been traced to their sources, are reasonably reported to be fed by springs.

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FIG. 16—The harbor of Mukalla. "Main Street" follows the shore of the bay behind the first row of buildings. Mukalla builds most of the locally-owned dhows.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



182 in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

162 438 361 In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main wadi system, there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *badu* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently OOO we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

361 [643 645] ●504 364 Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government, and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

364 164 731 The climate of Mukalla is on the whole pleasant enough, and with the gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year we had a particularly bad

484 438 [463 512] passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

361 438 529 Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the [504] principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

619 438 Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

487 101 438 142 When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan [244] Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

# CHAPTER II.

## MAKALLA.

361 The gate to mysterious Ḥaḍramaut, so long closed to
342 foreigners, is of overwhelming beauty. Makalla stretches like a white ribbon along the margin of the blue sea, at the foot of the steep, reddish-brown rocky wall. The waves beat against the town, the white houses stand straight and strong, and many-storied. The balustrades surrounding the flat roofs are cut in filagree and are as white as lace. The minarets have here already the simple, strong, conical form characteristic of the Ḥaḍramī style. To the extreme left is the new and, behind it, the old palace of the Sultan. The new palace, cream-coloured with brick-red shutters and windows, and light-green verandas, stands on the black rocks close to the sea. The frame-work of the picture, formed by coco-nut and date-palms, mango and papaya trees, is of such a jubilant beauty in this world of rock and sea that the critical sense is lulled: the colouring makes everything, even the absence of style in the buildings, beautiful.

To the extreme right, some way out of the town, there is a third palace, belonging to the Sultan. About half way between these princely buildings is the tongue of land, on which is the old centre of the city of Makalla. There the Sultan originally lived, there stands the ancient mosque and there, on the point, the sturdy bastions of the old fort.

504 On one side of this short tongue of land is the harbour, where the graceful sailing-ships ride at anchor. Small rowing-boats and broad sambooks[1] pass to and fro to discharge passengers and merchandise on the broad stone steps, that

104 [1] A *sambook* is an Arab sailing-boat. It should be spelled *sanbūq* (سنبوق), but has nearly got citizenship in the English language, spelled as it is pronounced.

p. 14

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



lead to the roomy Customs House. The steamers anchor only a few hundred yards away. A big Dutch ship had just landed 150 Ḥaḍramīs from Java and a motor boat from the rival shipping company lay out at sea, when the "Ayamonte" dropped anchor there. The harbour master and doctor had a busy time that day, for the Dutchman wished to sail again before dusk. The doctor attended to us and took our letter from the Resident at Aden, to present it to the Vizier with our request to be permitted to land. A favourable answer came after hours of waiting, and the friendly doctor insisted on conducting us personally to the quarters where we were to stay, so as to see whether we were satisfied with them. We motored through the busily swarming bazaar street, along the sea coast, towards the Sultan's palace on the South-west of the town. We turned to the right into the garden of the old palace and, passing under palms and other fruit-trees, entered the courtyard, in the middle of which is a stone basin. The car stopped before some broad stone steps and, with a cordial gesture and a "You are welcome", the doctor invited us into the old, but well-preserved, building. Upstairs we entered a large open space, out of which led the enormous reception-room and the sleeping and living quarters. There was no question but that we should lodge royally here, and the doctor must have read on our faces our thankful surprise over such a welcome in the seaport of Ḥaḍramaut.

As evening approaches and the call to the evening prayer silences the busy noise of the town, we sit on the terrace of the doctor's big old house, close by the landing stage. Among the group of those present, drinking large cups of weak tea with much milk and sugar, which beverage is poured ready-prepared from an enormous kettle, there are two Englishmen from the motor boat of the coastal service. Our doctor, who had been a chemist in Aden, speaks quite good English as do the passport officer and a young Ḥaḍramī, who, to my great surprise, turned out to be a member of the well-known family el-ᶜAṭṭās.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

See page 13.

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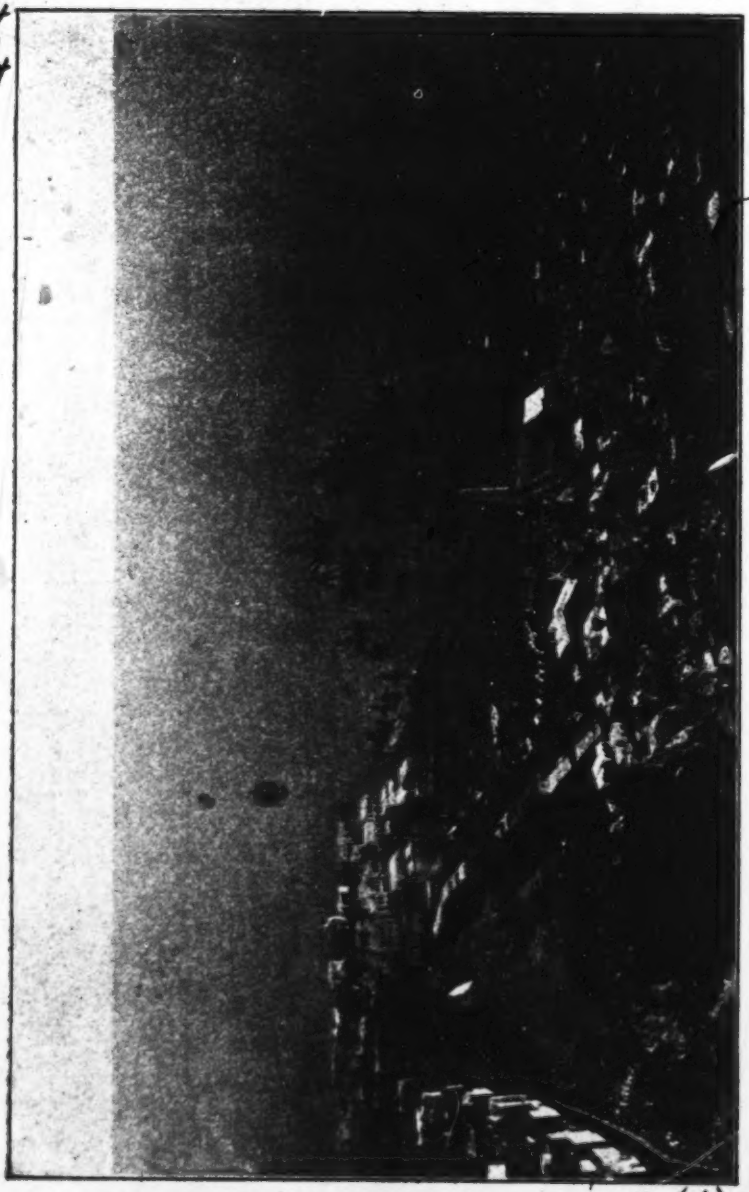

Makalla. The tongue of land with the cemetery.

p. 16 (A)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



286 Spinning, weaving, and dyeing are also common industries. Cotton is spun into thread by hand-spindles and then woven in hand-looms, and sometimes machine-made yarns or twists are used in the same way; the looms are of the very simplest construction. The industry is still carried on to a small extent at Aden, and somewhat more extensively at a few centres in the interior, notably at Nisāb and Markhah, which are situated in the cotton and indigo growing district of the 'Aulaqi country; here a large amount of cotton fabrics for tribal shawls and turbans is made. The stuffs, when required, are dyed with locally prepared indigo. Sauma'ah, a town in the Beida country, is famous for a special make of goat-hair carpets.

314 Charcoal burning is an industry carried on at several places in the interior, among the wooded slopes of the hilly districts. Potash is also manufactured from a product known as 'Aden balsam'; this is not found in any quantity in Aden itself, but is prepared in the 'Abdāli and Fadhli districts. The balsam is thrown into small pits about two feet wide and one deep, and wood is added; the mass is then set fire to, and as the sap exudes from the plant it mingles with the ashes; the mixture is stirred and allowed to cool; then it is dug up and sent into Aden on camels, for sale. The price is about 8 annas per maund of 28 lb., and the potash is 274 exported to Bombay for washing purposes. A primitive form of distilling is also in vogue, the natives producing a liquor from dates which have been placed in water and allowed to disintegrate. The industry is carried on at Aden (under certain restrictions) and other places.

## Trade

438 Practically the whole of the trade of this region is centred in Aden—local trade as well as general. The trade of the only other • 504 notable port of this littoral, Shūghrah (and even that of Makalla in Hadhramaut), is restricted and purely local in character, and is entirely subservient to that of Aden.

439 The total value of the trade of Aden (import and export), in round numbers, for the last two years has been:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1913–14 | £8,530,000 |
| 1914–15 | £6,940,000. |

This falls into two categories: Transhipment trade, and Inland (or local) trade. Comparative figures for the year 1914–15, were:

| | |
|---|---|
| Transhipment | £6,682,000 |
| Inland | £258,000. |

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



purity of the drinking water constitute efficient safeguards against many maladies common to tropical countries. 164

The harbour of Aden—the Bandar Tawīyah, or Aden West Bay, but more generally known as Aden Back Bay—lies between the two lofty peninsulas, very like in appearance, of Jebel Shamshan (east) and Jebel Ihsan (west); it extends eight miles from east to west and four from north to south, and is divided into two bays by a spit of land. The depth of water in the western bay is from 3 to 4 fathoms, and, across the entrance, from 4½ to 5 fathoms. There are several islands in the inner bay, notably Jezīrah Sawāyih (Slave Island), which culminates in a peak 300 ft. in altitude. 504

The port of Aden is a great coaling-station and place of call for vessels passing to and from the Suez Canal. Large vessels lie off Steamer Point, the western extremity of Jebel Ihsan. The Peninsular and Oriental Navigation Company's steamers call weekly at the port to receive, tranship, or land passengers and mails, and it is a port of call for a number of other important lines. There are numerous lights and lightships, the chief being the Aden Cape Light at Ras Marshag, on the east of the Ihsan peninsula, visible for 20 miles, and the Elephant's Back Light on the summit of a headland, visible also for 20 miles; the Aden Lightship, not far from Steamer Point, is visible for 10 miles, and fires a gun whenever a vessel enters the harbour at night. 504 505

Of the total population of the Aden Settlement (46,000), about 23,000 are returned as Arabs and there is a large number of Somalis. These two sections do the hard work of the port, but among the Arabs there are a few merchants of substance. Almost every nationality is also represented: Hindus, Parsees, Persians, Chinese, Abyssinians, Jews, &c. The Parsees have annexed a very considerable portion of the trade, for they act as agents and shopkeepers, and their business talent equals that of the Jews. Classified otherwise, European residents and Christians number from 2,000 to 3,000; Mohammedans, 34,000; and Jews, 3,700. The natives have an untidy makeshift air which contrasts with the personal cleanliness of an Indian population, and this arises partly from the scarcity of water, and partly from the temporary nature of their residence and outdoor life. 162

As far as the Settlement is concerned, there are no natural products whatever with the exception of salt. The food of the whole population, civil and military, is imported, Aden producing not even a blade of grain. Rice comes from Calcutta, Bombay, and Malabar; *jowari*, *bajri*, and maize are brought on camels from the interior; fodder and firewood come from the Lahej and Fadhli districts. 433 439

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918)1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



are tapped for Aden, an aqueduct leading from them along the peninsula into the town (see p. 202). There are very large camping-grounds round the town, the place forming the terminus of many caravan routes from the Aden interior. Sheikh 'Othmān was purchased with the object of settling there the surplus population of the peninsula, but, owing to its inaccessibility and the unhealthiness due to its contaminated water-supply and want of a drainage system, it has so far failed to become a popular settlement. 361

3. **'Imād,** a miserable village of about 40 reed huts, marks the extreme eastern limit of Aden; it is peopled by the Salum, a small independent tribe.

4. **Perim** and **Socotra.** These two islands are attached to the settlement of Aden. *Perim* is a volcanic island in the straits of Bāb el-Mandeb, 1½ miles from the Arabian coast; it was occupied by the British in 1799, subsequently abandoned, and reoccupied in 1857 on the opening of the overland route. In 1883 a company (the Perim Coal Company) was formed, which obtained a concession on the south-western side of the island as a site for a coaling-station. The company maintains here a stock of Welsh coal varying from 5,000 to 10,000 tons, and a large number of vessels now call annually for supplies. There is a good harbour with a powerful flashing light, elevated 266 ft. and with a range of over 22 miles. The population in 1901 was about 1,200, and no one is allowed to reside on the island without the permission of the Resident. The island is bare and rocky, rather flat in appearance, and about 3 miles long by 2 wide. *Socotra* is distant about 130 miles from the nearest point of the Arabian coast, and some 500 miles from Aden. It is about 70 miles in length and 18 miles in width, and has an unbroken coast on the southern side. The interior may be described as a tableland from 700 to 1,900 ft. high (with rugged peaks rising to nearly 5,000 ft.), surrounded by a coast plain averaging from two to four miles in width; total area about 1,400 square miles; population about 12,000. Its principal products are gum and resin-producing plants and aloes; the island has been famous for the latter from the earliest times. The natives look for their chief means of support to their flocks and date-groves; melons, beans, and a little tobacco are also grown. The trade of the island is small, the chief exports being aloes and *ghi*. The capital is Tamrīda, situated on the northern shore. The island was formally placed under British protection in 1886, and the Sultan receives a stipend from the Government of 360 dollars, undertaking to enter into no arrangement with any foreign power without the sanction of the British Government. The *Kuria Muria Islands*, near the South Arabian coast, in long. 56° E., were 361 471 505 504 [162] 361 438 [162] 361

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither the rains nor the variable streams are in general adequate to this purpose, and watering of the soil is mainly carried on from wells. These may be sunk practically everywhere in the valleys. As in many other parts of Arabia, the water is drawn up in a leather hoist by animals, usually cows, attached to a cord which passes over a pulley supported on wooden struts; the water thus obtained is received in a large wooden trough whence it is spread over the land by means of little runnels. 241 312 [406]

Cattle-rearing is the principal occupation of the Bedouins. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes; sheep for killing and for milk; cows only for milk and irrigation work; oxen exclusively for ploughing. Horses are very rare and are considered as animals *de luxe*. Bees are numerous, and much honey is produced. The wild animals most largely found are the rabbit, gazelle, wild goat, jerboa, hyena, hedgehog, a large species of lizard (permitted as food to Mussulmans), and the panther, wolf, and monkey (not permitted as food). 231 136

## Trade and Commerce

The only ports of importance commercially are Makalla (see p. 232), Shiheir (see p. 232), and Seihūt (see p. 230), and even at these the trade carried on is purely coastal, with the near coast of Africa, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the southern coast of Arabia, and above all with Aden and Muscat. Trade by caravan is carried on from these ports with the whole of the interior of the Hadhramaut and with the southern Arabian littoral as far as Yemen on the west and Oman on the east. Burūm (see p. 233) and Qusei'ir are small fishing villages. 504 439

There are no made roads; the routes follow the courses of the wādis or natural paths. Transport by wheeled vehicles is impossible everywhere; all is carried on by camels or donkeys. It is, however, relatively cheap; e. g. a camel from Shiheir or Makalla to Seyyūn costs only 5 florins in the good season; in summer, when forage is scarce, it is higher, but never above 10 florins. 487 494

The chief exports are dates, stuffs dyed with indigo, a superior quality of wheat, and honey; smaller exports are shells and fins of fish, the latter exported to India and China. Imports: wheat, butter, coco-nuts, coffee, sugar, rice, cotton and cotton stuffs, pottery, bars of iron and worked iron, sesame oil, petroleum, and tin-ware. 432

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



(like a miniature Genoa) on a slope at the foot of a reddish limestone cliff, which rises to a height of about 300 feet immediately at the back of the town, and carries four conspicuous towers for the protection of the place. The town is guarded on the western side by a wall, which extends from the cliff to the shore and has only one entrance gate. The Governor's house is a large prominent square building; the other houses are chiefly huts intermingled with a few stone structures, but the houses on the point are of stone, and of a more modern and substantial character. In this quarter is the bazaar, which is well stocked with all the requirements of Arab life. There are two main mosques. The immediate neighbourhood of Makalla is particularly barren, but about one mile inland, to westward, is an oasis of gardens, belonging to the Governor, irrigated by a good stream of water. The water-supply of the town is obtained by means of an iron pipe from the source of this same stream. The climate is very trying, and the heat on shore is often excessive; but land and sea breezes, with showers of rain occasionally, mitigate it from October to April and again in June and July. The population, which is a very mixed one, was estimated by Hirsch 'at about the same as that of Shiheir', viz. 6,000; but the Aden Military Report gives 12,000. 361

Makalla is the only place between Aden and Muscat with any pretensions to a port. The harbour, having a fixed light elevated 25 feet at the extreme end of the promontory, is not available for anchorage during the south-west monsoons, and then a considerable portion of the trade is diverted to *Burūm*, a place about 16 miles to south-westward, where good anchorage is found all the year round. A very considerable trade is carried on with India, the Somali Coast, the Red Sea, and Muscat. The exports are chiefly gums, hides, senna, and a small quantity of coffee; the imports, cotton stuffs, metals, and crockery from Bombay, dates and dried fruits from Muscat, coffee from Aden, and sheep, aloes, and frankincense from African ports. Steam vessels call here, and steamers run to Aden; but the coasting trade is carried on mainly by native sailing craft of from 100 to 300 tons, the greater number arriving during the date season. 504 439 505

3. **Qatan,** or **Hautah,** a very clean and prosperous Ka'aiti town, lies among extensive palm-groves and gardens at the head of the main Hadhramaut Wādi, properly so called. It is described by Hirsch as 'a collection of fortresses and castellated houses, among which the palace of the ruling head of the Ka'aiti tribe, with its battlemented towers, stands out most conspicuously'. From here the latter controls the numerous settlements of the Wādis 361

Shihr who forward their letters by caravan or special messenger. 205
Outward mails are disposed of in a similar manner. At Shibam I noticed a box inside the gate of the city in charge of one of the merchant's men in which letters were being placed for despatch to Aden by aeroplane. Runners can cover the distance from Mukalla to Du'an in 24 hours, and Mukalla to Shibam in three [481] days.

**Harbours.**

The only harbours for steamers are Mukalla and Shihr. Mukalla 504
promontory extends about 1¾ miles south-eastward. Ras Marbat is its south-western extremity, and Ras Kodar, eight cables eastward of Ras Marbat, is the southern extremity. Ras Mukalla, about three cables north-eastward of Ras Kodar, is the eastern extremity of the promontory.

Mukalla bay is the north-eastern part of the bight between Fuwa and Ras Marbat. About 1½ miles north-westward of Ras Marbat are two small bays, separated by a projection, extending about three cables south-westward, on which stands part of Mukalla town. The western of these two bays is the more frequented by boats. The eastern bay is seldom used owing to the swell which rolls in during the north-east monsoon. The shore bank in Mukalla bay, on which anchorage can be obtained, extends about half-a-mile offshore near the town, increasing westward to a width of nearly a mile off Fuwa. A stone jetty close to the Customs House is the usual landing place. There is no lighthouse, but a single lamp fixed on a pole in a small boat gives the only guiding light into the harbour. During the south-west monsoon dhows anchor at Bandar Burum where there is anchorage in depths of from five to seven fathoms, good holding ground, south-eastward of Burum village, but a ground swell rolls in.

Shihr roadstead is open with anchorage in depths of from 7 to 12 fathoms, sand and shells, from seven cables to one mile offshore.

Besides Mukalla, Burum, and Shihr the dhow harbours along the Hadhramaut coast are: Bandar Ruweini, about two miles northward from Ras Mukalla, has depths of from four to six fathoms, and native craft shelter here during the south-west monsoon; Hami, where there is anchorage off Hami village in depths of seven to eight fathoms about a mile offshore; Sharma bay, with a good anchorage in depths of from four to five fathoms; Al Qarn, an anchorage where small vessels can lie safely in depths of from two to four fathoms (Sharma bay and Al Qarn lie close to the town of Dis; Al Qarn is the more frequented harbour); and Ras Qus'eir, a mile southward of Qus'eir, where there is anchorage, but without shelter, in depths of from 12 to 14 fathoms.

**Shipping.**

There are two Lines calling frequently but not regularly. Usually 505
each calls twice a month. One is the Halal Shipping Company—Agent, Yusuf Sherif; and the other Cowasjee Dinshaw and Bros.—

505 Agent, 'Abdulla Lalljee. These Lines call at both Mukalla and Shihr on the line Aden—Mukalla—Shihr—Mukalla—Aden. Apart from these two Lines the principal cargo traffic is taken by dhows. The normal number of dhows entering and leaving Mukalla a year is 300-400 which includes 70 or 80 big buggalows from Bombay. Dhows come from Gulf ports, Oman, Basra, Sur, Utubi, Kuweit, Hindi Kwati, Karachi, Bombay, Aden, Red Sea ports, Zanzibar, and the Somali coast, and leave for the same places. When there is much grain the number increases to 400 or 500.

A combined service of the Rotterdam Lloyd, Netherland M.V.S., and Blue Funnel Line provides eight calls a year each way on the line Suez—Singapore and Singapore—Suez. The ships call each way once a month except during the south-west monsoon when big ships cannot anchor. Ships of the Bombay—Persia line call on the route Calcutta—Bombay—Jedda about eight times each way except during the pilgrim season when they only call on the homeward voyage from Red Sea ports. The agent for both these services is 'Abdulla Lalljee.

During the last three years one Russian ship has called, and Italian ships call occasionally when the Bombay—Persia line ships cannot.

## CHAPTER IX.

## COMMERCE OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

### Finance.

431. All finance is in the hands of the merchants. Seven lakhs of rupees come from Java every month direct or via Aden. The greater part of this is in drafts on Bombay which are sold in Mukalla for cash. Indian and the more important Arab merchants deal in them, and ordinarily charge no commission as the drafts form an easy and cheap method of remittance. If, however, money is scarce locally, about four annas per cent. of rupees is charged. Money goes out to Aden and Bombay and is remitted through the merchants, who write letters to their agents at those places to obtain drafts. Dollars move freely to the interior and, if the exchange is good, come from there. The caravans which take the goods to the interior bring the dollars back, and this, apart from honey, firewood, and fodder, is about all that is carried from the interior to Mukalla. The dollars are exported from Mukalla to Aden if the exchange is more favourable there, and on the other hand if there is a shortage of dollars in Mukalla, or if the dollar is cheaper in Aden than in Mukalla, they are brought in. Omani and other dhow traders bring goods and take out money in cash. When the Imam imposed a duty on dollars imported to the Yemen there was a flow of dollars from Mukalla to Shibam and thence along the caravan route to San'ā. Dollars in Mukalla are usually two pice or upwards more than in Aden,

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



munication in the Eastern Aden Protectorate—Scheme D.1373. Of 653
this project the road between Bir Ali and Balhaf has been completed, 491
work is now proceeding on the Meifa-Bir Ali stretch, and a start was 499
made in December, 1950, with the new Jahi-Rubat (Du'an) road.

Further, a road was constructed in the north linking Shibam and Henin with the tribal centre of Reidat-as-Sei'ar on the edge of the Ruba' al Khali and resurfacing of the Wadi Hadhramaut road between Tarim and Qassam, Shibam and Qatn and Ajlaniya and Qa'udha was carried out to facilitate transport in the main agricultural areas.

Considerable help was given by the former Director of Public Works, Aden and the Executive Engineer, Aden, who visited the Eastern Aden Protectorate and submitted valuable reports, with recommendations as to the repair and maintenance of roads, which are being implemented to the extent that local finances and labour resources permit.

*Air Communications* have also improved in the past two years. 509
A weekly service by Aden Airways Ltd. was maintained between Aden and Riyan (17 miles from Mukalla) and late in 1950 was extended to Al Qatn. The interior of the Hadhramaut is now within reach of Aden and the protracted delays travellers formerly faced are a thing of the past.

Special planes were flown direct from Riyan and Qatn to Hedjaz for the 1950 pilgrimage.

*Sea Communications* were maintained by occasional visits of 505
coastal steamers based on Aden, and more frequent trips by motor dhows and small powered craft.

# Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

## SITUATION AND AREA

The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described 101
administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the 131
Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



purity of the drinking water constitute efficient safeguards against many maladies common to tropical countries. 164

The harbour of Aden—the Bandar Tawīyah, or Aden West Bay, but more generally known as Aden Back Bay—lies between the two lofty peninsulas, very like in appearance, of Jebel Shamshan (east) and Jebel Ihsan (west); it extends eight miles from east to west and four from north to south, and is divided into two bays by a spit of land. The depth of water in the western bay is from 3 to 4 fathoms, and, across the entrance, from 4½ to 5 fathoms. There are several islands in the inner bay, notably Jezīrah Sawāyih (Slave Island), which culminates in a peak 300 ft. in altitude. 504

The port of Aden is a great coaling-station and place of call for vessels passing to and from the Suez Canal. Large vessels lie off Steamer Point, the western extremity of Jebel Ihsan. The Peninsular and Oriental Navigation Company's steamers call weekly at the port to receive, tranship, or land passengers and mails, and it is a port of call for a number of other important lines. There are numerous lights and lightships, the chief being the Aden Cape Light at Ras Marshag, on the east of the Ihsan peninsula, visible for 20 miles, and the Elephant's Back Light on the summit of a headland, visible also for 20 miles; the Aden Lightship, not far from Steamer Point, is visible for 10 miles, and fires a gun whenever a vessel enters the harbour at night. 504 505

Of the total population of the Aden Settlement (46,000), about 23,000 are returned as Arabs and there is a large number of Somalis. These two sections do the hard work of the port, but among the Arabs there are a few merchants of substance. Almost every nationality is also represented: Hindus, Parsees, Persians, Chinese, Abyssinians, Jews, &c. The Parsees have annexed a very considerable portion of the trade, for they act as agents and shopkeepers, and their business talent equals that of the Jews. Classified otherwise, European residents and Christians number from 2,000 to 3,000; Mohammedans, 34,000; and Jews, 3,700. The natives have an untidy makeshift air which contrasts with the personal cleanliness of an Indian population, and this arises partly from the scarcity of water, and partly from the temporary nature of their residence and outdoor life. 162

As far as the Settlement is concerned, there are no natural products whatever with the exception of salt. The food of the whole population, civil and military, is imported, Aden producing not even a blade of grain. Rice comes from Calcutta, Bombay, and Malabar; *jowari*, *bajri*, and maize are brought on camels from the interior; fodder and firewood come from the Lahej and Fadhli districts. 433 439

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918)1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



are tapped for Aden, an aqueduct leading from them along the peninsula into the town (see p. 202). There are very large camping-grounds round the town, the place forming the terminus of many caravan routes from the Aden interior. Sheikh 'Othmān was purchased with the object of settling there the surplus population of the peninsula, but, owing to its inaccessibility and the unhealthiness due to its contaminated water-supply and want of a drainage system, it has so far failed to become a popular settlement. 361

3. **'Imād**, a miserable village of about 40 reed huts, marks the extreme eastern limit of Aden; it is peopled by the Salum, a small independent tribe.

4. **Perim** and **Socotra.** These two islands are attached to the settlement of Aden. *Perim* is a volcanic island in the straits of Bāb el-Mandeb, 1½ miles from the Arabian coast; it was occupied by the British in 1799, subsequently abandoned, and reoccupied in 1857 on the opening of the overland route. In 1883 a company (the Perim Coal Company) was formed, which obtained a concession on the south-western side of the island as a site for a coaling-station. The company maintains here a stock of Welsh coal varying from 5,000 to 10,000 tons, and a large number of vessels now call annually for supplies. There is a good harbour with a powerful flashing light, elevated 266 ft. and with a range of over 22 miles. The population in 1901 was about 1,200, and no one is allowed to reside on the island without the permission of the Resident. The island is bare and rocky, rather flat in appearance, and about 3 miles long by 2 wide. *Socotra* is distant about 130 miles from the nearest point of the Arabian coast, and some 500 miles from Aden. It is about 70 miles in length and 18 miles in width, and has an unbroken coast on the southern side. The interior may be described as a tableland from 700 to 1,900 ft. high (with rugged peaks rising to nearly 5,000 ft.), surrounded by a coast plain averaging from two to four miles in width; total area about 1,400 square miles; population about 12,000. Its principal products are gum and resin-producing plants and aloes; the island has been famous for the latter from the earliest times. The natives look for their chief means of support to their flocks and date-groves; melons, beans, and a little tobacco are also grown. The trade of the island is small, the chief exports being aloes and *ghi*. The capital is Tamrīda, situated on the northern shore. The island was formally placed under British protection in 1886, and the Sultan receives a stipend from the Government of 360 dollars, undertaking to enter into no arrangement with any foreign power without the sanction of the British Government. The *Kuria Muria Islands*, near the South Arabian coast, in long. 56° E., were 361 471 505 504 [162] 361 438 [162] 361

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



(like a miniature Genoa) on a slope at the foot of a reddish limestone cliff, which rises to a height of about 300 feet immediately at the back of the town, and carries four conspicuous towers for the protection of the place. The town is guarded on the western side by a wall, which extends from the cliff to the shore and has only one entrance gate. The Governor's house is a large prominent square building; the other houses are chiefly huts intermingled with a few stone structures, but the houses on the point are of stone, and of a more modern and substantial character. In this quarter is the bazaar, which is well stocked with all the requirements of Arab life. There are two main mosques. The immediate neighbourhood of Makalla is particularly barren, but about one mile inland, to westward, is an oasis of gardens, belonging to the Governor, irrigated by a good stream of water. The water-supply of the town is obtained by means of an iron pipe from the source of this same stream. The climate is very trying, and the heat on shore is often excessive; but land and sea breezes, with showers of rain occasionally, mitigate it from October to April and again in June and July. The population, which is a very mixed one, was estimated by Hirsch 'at about the same as that of Shiheir', viz. 6,000; but the Aden Military Report gives 12,000. 361

Makalla is the only place between Aden and Muscat with any pretensions to a port. The harbour, having a fixed light elevated 25 feet at the extreme end of the promontory, is not available for anchorage during the south-west monsoons, and then a considerable portion of the trade is diverted to *Burūm*, a place about 16 miles to south-westward, where good anchorage is found all the year round. A very considerable trade is carried on with India, the Somali Coast, the Red Sea, and Muscat. The exports are chiefly gums, hides, senna, and a small quantity of coffee; the imports, cotton stuffs, metals, and crockery from Bombay, dates and dried fruits from Muscat, coffee from Aden, and sheep, aloes, and frankincense from African ports. Steam vessels call here, and steamers run to Aden; but the coasting trade is carried on mainly by native sailing craft of from 100 to 300 tons, the greater number arriving during the date season. 504 439 505.

3. **Qatan,** or **Hautah,** a very clean and prosperous Ka'aiti town, lies among extensive palm-groves and gardens at the head of the main Hadhramaut Wādi, properly so called. It is described by Hirsch as 'a collection of fortresses and castellated houses, among which the palace of the ruling head of the Ka'aiti tribe, with its battlemented towers, stands out most conspicuously'. From here the latter controls the numerous settlements of the Wādis 361

491 *Shibam*—Ghanima—Huweila—Al Atfa—Juwada—Qubhudh ... ... ... ... ... ... ...

489 *Shibam*—Bequl—Al Hauta—Gheil—Al Ghurfa—Taris—Seiyun—Mariama—Tarba—Tarim ... ... 36

*Shibam*—Bekheira—Maur ar Reiga—Wadi Ser—Seiyun ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 13

*Tarim*—Dammūn and neighbouring suburbs ...

*Tarim*—Al Fijr—Maseilat as Silma—Jeheil—Qahir—'Einat—Qasm ... ... ... ... ... 20

Cars are said to have reached Qabr Hud and there would be no difficulty in their going beyond this point. They are also said to have reached Husn al 'Abr from Shibam, but it is not yet known whether they can get to Nejran. There must be very considerable difficulties with sand over these routes.

A road has been started from Shihr to Tarim. It offers no particular constructional difficulties and it is to be hoped that it will soon be completed.

493 The number of cars in the Hadhramaut is as follows :—

Mukalla and Shihr.—7 or 8 in working order (3 belong to His Highness).

Six lorries (3 belong to His Highness).

Tarim.—60 cars and 1 motor-cycle.

Seiyun.—13 cars.

Shibam.—3 cars.

Henin.—1 car.

[489] There are a few others which I heard of in various villages. Cars destined for the interior are dismantled and carried at the rate of 12 camels to one car over the mountains.

494 Other forms of road transport are rare. There are 10 bicycles in Mukalla, one bullock cart (belonging to His Highness), one horse-carriage, one mule and one horse (the latter two belonging to His Highness). Human porterage is not used for heavy transport over long distances in the Hadhramaut, though *ma'ras* can be hired for the transport of light articles.

## Aerodromes.

508 The Royal Air Force maintains landing grounds at Fuwa, Shibam, Reidat al Qu'aiti, Qā' Bā Nūa, Al Qatn, Reidat as Shijar and Shihr. The last-named, owing to the large amount of drift sand, is not in serviceable condition. Mukalla is an R.A.F. refuelling depot. The Seiyids of Tarim are anxious to start a commercial aeroplane service.

## Posts and Telegraphs.

205 There is no postal service. The Sultan of Mukalla has recently [206] introduced wireless and the Mukalla station is now open to traffic. Inward mails are sorted by the "postmaster" and distributed. The inhabitants of the interior towns have agents in Mukalla or

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The whole of the Kathiri part of the wadi is accessible by motor cars and actually there are more cars in Kathīri territory than the rest of the Hadhramaut put together. 494 504

Shihr is the principal port for the Kathīri country and Tarim is almost exclusively supplied from it. Seiyun is reached indifferently from Shihr-Tarim or Mukalla-Shibam. Shibam is an important market for the Kathīris who depend on it for their daily requirements of grain, coffee, timber, salt, cotton, almonds, raisins, and ghee. 438 508

There is no landing ground in Kathīri territory.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE SHENAFIR CONFEDERATION.

The strength of the Shenafir Confederation has been variously estimated at 4,470 armed men, at 7,650 armed men and at 20,000 souls. The total number of the Shenafir and their followers, excluding Nahd and Sel'ar, is said to be 8,720 armed men. The following is a description of the tribes of the Confederation. 631 619 101

#### Al Kathīr.

| Clan. | Section. | Sub-Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Al 'Umar | — | — | As Salil Haju, Wadi Bin 'Ali, Wadi Ghanima, Wadi Ser, Wadi Farā and Dhoilam | — | — |
| | Al Tālib | | | | Sālim bin Ja'fer and Bedr bin 'Aidha. |
| | | Al Mar'i bin Tālib. | Jifil | 220 | |
| | | Al Ja'fer bin Tālib. | Ash Sh'ib, (Qarīfi). | 120 | |
| | | Al 'Umar bin Tālib. | Bā Raf'a | 35 | |
| | | Al 'Umar bin Sa'id. | Al Wajīr | 40 | |
| | | Al Bin 'Ann | Near Al Ghurfa | 20 | |
| | | Al Bin Mahraq | Near Al Hauta | 10 | |
| | Al Falhān | | | | 'Amr bin Ja'fer Balfas. |
| | | Al al Fās | Yarqaq near Al Ghurfa. | 80 | |
| | | Al al 'As | Yarqaq | 15 | |
| | | Al Fabeitha | Al Hāwī | 25 | |
| | | Al Barqī | Al Hōl | 20 | |
| | | Bin Kahil | do. | 10 | |
| | | Bin Tanfira | Near Al Hauta | 6 | |
| | | Bin as Samil | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Al Wi'i | Al Hauta | 17 | |
| | Al 'Umar bin Bedr. | Bin 'Umar bin Bedr. | Al Ghīyel | 25 | |
| | | Bin Mahrī | Yarqaq | 40 | |
| | | Bin Bedr bin 'Abdulla | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Bin ash Shein | do. | 50 | |

1933. In these last eighteen months however, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and otherwise, runs into over one hundred, in fact, into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included, for Mukalla has recently had the fresh experience of seeing bus loads of tourists from steamers driving through its street.

The more frequent and more intensive incursion of European visitors is of course in itself a great contrast with the recent past, but I think that the contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country in the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every Badawin and tribesman in the country carried his rifle with him, even to walk across the street. Blood feuds were widespread, and even harmless travellers of the unarmed classes were at times likely to lose not only their property but their lives. Travellers by motor car had to take with them an escort when passing from village to village. In places there were extensive systems of trenches to pass from the villages to the fields, and I know of people who have spent as much as twenty years without getting beyond their own doors.

Now however all this has passed and it is comparatively rarely that you see a tribesman carrying a rifle, indeed many of them do not even carry the *jambiyas* or curved daggers which are almost as much a part of their dress as a walking-stick was of ours. How all this has come to pass is more a matter of the history of the Hadhramaut than its geography, but I should simply like to say that it was largely through the will of the people who have a genuine desire for peace and for the following of peaceful pursuits.

This new peace has resulted in a much greater contact between tribes and between different parts of the country and has made possible a great extension in communications. Eighteen months ago there were about half a dozen motors on the coast and about sixty in the interior, carried up by camels. By the completion of the Al Kaf road Tarim has been linked with Shihr and passenger-carrying lorries ply almost daily between the coast and the interior. When I left the country a couple of months ago there were at least two hundred motor vehicles in it and every ship was bringing one or two. Many more car tracks have been made and cars now go to almost all parts of the Hadhramaut, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is also constructing another remarkably good motor road to the Hadhramaut which is being built northwards from Mukalla and southwards from Du'an. Something over 20 miles of the former and 10 of the latter had been completed when I left; about 60 miles remains to be done, of which the greater part is over the flat *jols* and offers no particular difficulties of construction. Starting from Mukalla you can now motor at least 300 miles in the Hadhramaut without recrossing your tracks, and there are over 500 miles of tracks altogether.

The possibilities of air transport have also been greatly improved. There were, eighteen months ago, eight landing-grounds in the five Sultanates in the eastern part of the Protectorate of which only three, Mukalla, Shibam, and Qishn, were used at all frequently. New landing-grounds have been constructed at Tarim, Seiyun, Hureidha, Al 'Abr, 'Azzan, Balhaf, Risib,

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited. 508

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation. 509 205 206

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent *with a population of only about 300,000*, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden. 131 161 162

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north. 311

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir. From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possessing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations 439 226 241 182 [167]

and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted 301
in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased 302
stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and 609
with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a 508 ●
landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions 137
aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were 136
swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky 133
ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said 361
to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent [342]
position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the 622
same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. 712
A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is 342
to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], 574
and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come 104
to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

000 The heat of the sun drives us away, however, from our bare hillock, but the Sultan promises to give us the pleasure of another similar excursion in the evening. We shall meet again at lunch in the palace of the Sultan of Terim, who is to entertain us to-day.

353 It is exceedingly hot when, some hours later, we leave the
342 garden city and proceed to the palace. We are received in a broad corridor, the only place where there is some breeze and, thus, some degree of coolness. The corridor is spread with beautiful carpets; at one end is a table with chairs placed round it, at the other end cushions lie on the carpets. The reception begins on chairs, but that does not last long. We are soon all seated on the floor, leaning against the cushions as is the custom here. The meal is served in a hall where there are two rows of pillars. Long and strong supporting beams cannot be obtained here, where wood is scarce and short; thus all large rooms have pillars to support the roof construction. A long table-cloth is laid over the carpets in the middle
[177] of the room. Seated around it with their legs crossed under
[264] them the great company, with few words and in a rapid tempo, feast upon the excellently prepared Javanese "rice meal" (*rijsttafel*) laid before them.

353 The mural decorations of the otherwise empty room consist of mirrors, old English prints, photographs of Java and Singapore and two large hanging clocks with musical chimes.

Tea is served in a small drawing-room with modern furniture. In Ḥaḍramaut, the new is less practical and less beautiful than the old and indigenous. It is so hot in here, with its coloured glass windows, that all are thankful when the meeting is adjourned.

508 In the afternoon the Sultan takes us by car to a broad plain
489 where the mountain-wall recedes. He would like to make an aerodrome here and wants therefore to have our opinion. The aeroplane would be an ideal means of transport for the whole of Arabia, and especially for Ḥaḍramaut. Not only are distances great, the communications difficult and whole stretches

often very poor in water, but, over and above this, countless internal wars make traffic dangerous and force travellers to go by very circuitous routes. This is why the Ḥaḍramī seldom knows his own country well. A learned Ḥaḍramī whom I knew formerly said to me quite truly: "I know all the volcanoes of Java and all the stations on its main railway lines, but I cannot give you any information about the wādīs and mountains a few hours distant from my home." The Sultan of Sēwūn is a relatively favourable exception to this rule in that he has seen Aden; he went there to attend a conference convened by the British authorities, where an attempt was made to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Qeᶜēṭī and Kathīrī rulers. He desires to see more of the world, including Java, the land in which three quarters of his subjects have interests. The great difficulty, however, is to get over the Qeᶜēṭī barrier, and for that an aeroplane is necessary. The site for the future aerodrome which was shown to us seemed quite suitable.

In the evening there is again a gathering on the roof-terrace at ᶜIzz ed-Dīn. The subject brought forward for discussion is the poverty of Ḥaḍramaut and how relief from it may be obtained. In and around Sēwūn the water-level is not deep, which fact accounts for the prosperous palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. But the water-supply would have to be enlarged if it is to help the people really forward. This cannot be done by motor pumps, because they are too expensive in practice. The pump at Hēnin has to work eight hours a day to keep in existence a few acres of *dhura* and 200 small palm-trees, and that costs more in kerosene and lubricating oil than can ever be made from the produce of the irrigated land. The soil in Sēwūn is better and water nearer to the surface, and yet experience has taught that here also the motor pump does not pay. Can matters not be improved by means of artesian wells? The Sultan asks us to help by sending an expert with the necessary instruments. He says that at one time, in the days of the Ḥimyaritic kingdom, Ḥaḍramaut must have been

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 721 195 509 finished a stretch of three days by camel. Sayyid Abū Bakr foresees, nevertheless, much bickering with the Bedouins in the future and therefore is meditating upon the possibility of inaugurating an air service between Terīm and esh-Shiḥr. Since he saw British military aeroplanes manoeuvring above Terīm and heard what a deep impression those unknown, gigantic birds made on the Bedouins, the conviction has grown within him that the aeroplane would be the conclusive way of bringing the Bedouins under discipline and keeping them there. An aeroplane cannot be opposed with dagger and gun, the wādīs are no hindrance to it, and there is no spot on the barren *djōls* where one can escape the searching eye of the airman. Sayyid Abū Bakr considers that a single demonstration, to show the terrible effects wrought by a bomb dropped from one such aeroplane, would suffice to make an end to the Bedouin warfare, which has been going on for centuries, and that this would be the first step on the way towards the real advancement of the country. We advise them — although they know the Dutch Fokker aeroplanes in Java and the kindred type, the Junkers, in the Yemen, — to consult the British authorities at Aden and to procure the same type of aeroplane as is used by them.

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



entrusted by his uncle Sayyid Abū Bakr with the carrying out of these aviation plans.

On the morning after our arrival we were, first of all, shown the so-called "wild cow" [1], a present to Sayyid Abū Bakr from some Bedouins who had caught it young on the border of the Rubᶜ el-Khālī (the "Empty Quarter"). The wild cow appears to be a white antelope with black marks and two very long, straight horns. The beautiful, big creature has already lived in captivity for twelve years and looks well on it, except that its hoofs, owing to lack of abrasion, have grown too long.

On the ground floor of Sayyid Abū Bakr's house, where he has his stables, we found some stones with inscriptions on them, brought by Bedouins from the ruins of Sūne. This drew our attention towards that district of ruins, and our host promised that he would organize an excursion for us there.

### 3. THE PALACES OF TERĪM.

Later we pay a visit to Sayyid ᶜUmar bin Shēkh el-Kāf, the younger brother of our host, already mentioned, whose house, just restored, is said to be the most beautiful in all Terīm, and that is saying a great deal in this city of palaces. His house is chiefly conspicuous for its dimensions and colour. The outside is painted deep blue, and the stately rows of tall windows are bordered with a design in yellow. There is, also, no sparing use of pink and green. The style is more Indian than Ḥaḍramī.

All the great houses of Terīm have a character quite of their own that one does not see in the other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. They are massive, square buildings, with regular rows of tall windows, with few extensions on the roofs and few decorative designs on the top of the walls or on the parapets. The lower floor, which is very lofty, has generally two wide, high entrances, closed by doors of teak, and with broad

[1] *Baqarat el-waḥsh* (بقرة الوحش).

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds 439
remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business 167
holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over 171
a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.[9]

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is 177
virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common 198
tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Ka- 291
thiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be 556
incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, 185
Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf 177
family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In [491]
1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, [509]
Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

[9] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut*. London: Colonial Office, 1936.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the 508
seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited.

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls 509
of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air 205
service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. 206
There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation.

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet 131
fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent 161
with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on 162
the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden.

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development 311
of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north.

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly 439
commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to 226
the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount 241
of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir.
From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possess- 182
ing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local [167]
opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1

H there are still slaves in the Hadhramaut but
587 sweeper class, they are not untouchables. unlike the
The Arabian attitude toward the slave is not unkind: the slave has certain customary rights, and is better fed and clothed than many who are free.

Y These mountaineers hardly resemble the Arab of popular imagination, nor do they wear
142 headbands and flowing robes. The Yemenite Arabs are usually of slight stature, dark-skinned and beardless, though there are so many types that it is impossible to generalize.
000 They are a charming people, and civilized. Their condition would be much improved had they lasting peace and good government, though the complete opening-up of the country to outside influence and commerce would spell disaster for an economic system which has worked with success for two or three thousand
Y years. To an ever-increasing degree the Pro-
H tectorate and South Yemen have become
A economically dependent on the port of
167 Aden. Labour is drawn from the up-country
464 villages. The villager will go to Aden and
465 earn £1 : 10 : 6 a month at coolie work, live on 7s. 6d. out of that sum, and save the rest
A to return to his village. There he will remain until necessity drives him to earn more. A
162 large proportion of the inhabitants of Aden must be composed of these floating elements of population.

Internally the motor-lorry has made com-
H munications between the towns much easier;
494 the aeroplane, too, has made a difference to the Protectorate and is a familiar sight in
509 some places. It is now possible to control
178 areas with a handful of planes where formerly thousands of ground troops were necessary to penetrate.

Y
346

R. B. Serjeant

*The Turkish mosque in San'a, capital of the Yemen*

P 72 (B)

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



date the Dathina Unit, and a portion of the Amiri force, attended a course of instruction in Headquarters. It was not possible to make a start in the training of Tribal Guards until the alteration referred to above had been finished in the camp, and it is hoped to continue these courses in the future. 704 712

*Posts*

Detachments of Government Guards were stationed in the following districts :

Dathina : Mudia, Am Quleita, Am Khudeira.
Abyan : Jaar, Al Husn, Ba Teis.
Subeihi : Tor al Baha, Am Farsha, Am Riga.
Dhala : Safra, Dhala and Jihaf.
Beihan : Nejd al Mezar, Beihan, Asylan.
Ahwar : Ahwar and Masana.

Apart from operations against Ami Haidara in February the Government Guards were not engaged in any military action throughout the year. On several occasions it became necessary to send reinforcements to districts to meet emergencies, the most notable being the despatch of a strong force to Abyan in the summer months to protect the Agricultural Department's scheme against sabotage by followers of the Lower Yafai Sultan.

Following the murder of the Political Officer, Northern Area, a detachment of Government Guards accompanied the force sent to investigate the case and later completed a march through southern Amiri territory.

No casualties were suffered during the year.

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate, security is primarily a responsibility of the states themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces. The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion under the control of the British Agent performed their security functions with credit.

### PRISONS

There is no recognised Prisons Service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of states have their own state prisons which are supervised by the political staff. 677

## Chapter 10 : Communications

In the Western Aden Protectorate road communications remained difficult, although motor transport continued to operate to Taiz and Hodeidah. 494

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate in February British Overseas Airways Corporation closed the Karachi route which they had been using from Aden, via Riyan. This caused some dismay in Mukalla, where there is 509

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



509 no regular steamer service, but the R.A.F. continued the carrying of mail and Government passengers, while in May Ethiopian Air Lines, an American company, received permission to run a fortnightly service, Aden-Riyan and return, which they continued to do throughout the year.

# Chapter 11 : Geography and Climate

## SITUATION AND AREA

131 The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily stabilised by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

## CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject
133 to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadhramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol", extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultiva-
[241] tion is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into: the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



PRISONS

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## Chapter 10: Communications

In the Western Aden Protectorate increasing use is being made of motor vehicles throughout the Protectorate, and, although no first-class roads exist, regular traffic is maintained on the following routes: 494

| | | | Miles |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman | to | Lahej | 16 |
| " " | " | Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " | " | Musaimir | 61 |
| " " | " | Dhala | 88 |
| Aden | " | Zinjibar | 40 |
| " | " | Ja'ar | 50 |
| " | " | Al Husn | 56 |
| Zinjibar | " | Dirjaj | 17 |
| " | " | Sheikh Abdullah | 6 |
| " | " | Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra | " | Am Surra | 30 |
| " | " | Lodar | 50 |
| " | " | Mudia | 68 |
| " | " | Am Quleita | 78 |
| " | " | Ahwar | 76 |
| " | " | Irqa (E. Aden Prot.) | 48 |

A regular air service by B.O.A.C. was maintained during the summer months between Aden and Mukeiras, mainly for transporting vegetables for the Aden Market. Other existing landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala and Beihan. 509

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate B.O.A.C. resumed its services in the spring, but suspended them again in November. Ethiopian Air Lines ceased operating in the spring when their licence expired. There was still no regular steamer service, although the number of weird craft passing as steamers which called at Mukalla increased considerably.

## Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

SITUATION AND AREA

The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sul- 131 [631]

7; Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



491 cases new roads cut through difficult country. Nearly all roads are extremely rough, and surfaces are rarely repaired.

The following routes are open for motor traffic :

| | | | Miles |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman | to | Lahej | 16 |
| " " | " | Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " | " | Museimir | 61 |
| " " | " | Dhala | 88 |
| Aden | " | Zinjibar | 40 |
| Zinjibar | " | Ja'ar | 16 |
| " | " | Al Husn | 16 |
| " | " | Dirjaj | 17 |
| " | " | Sheikh Abdulla | 6 |
| " | " | Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra | " | Am Surra | 30 |
| " | " | Lodar | 50 |
| " | " | Mudia | 68 |
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492 Where no motors can yet penetrate the traffic of the country is carried on camel caravans, which still travel to Aden in large numbers, or in the more mountainous districts small donkeys are employed for both passengers and goods.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

653 The famine of 1948–49 showed the necessity for all-weather roads
491 for motor transport from the coast to the interior. In a grain shortage
499 camel transport is of little use, the camels becoming too weak from lack of fodder to be really dependable.

In 1949 a request for a Colonial Development and Welfare grant of £15,360 for the construction of all-weather roads to the Hadhramaut (Scheme D.1035) was approved and early in 1950 work began on the construction of drains, Irish bridges, culverts, and weeping bridges, on the Al Kaf road to the interior. In addition, the dangerous Maadi Pass on this road was reconstructed, and a large river-bed on the road between Mukalla and Riyan was successfully bridged saving some miles of detour. Attention was also given to the task of reconstructing the west road to Du'an and the Hadramaut to make it passable all the year round.

Later in 1950 approval was given by the Secretary of State for an additional £15,000 for the further improvement of internal com-

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



munication in the Eastern Aden Protectorate—Scheme D.1373. Of 653
this project the road between Bir Ali and Balhaf has been completed, 491
work is now proceeding on the Meifa-Bir Ali stretch, and a start was 499
made in December, 1950, with the new Jahi-Rubat (Du'an) road.

Further, a road was constructed in the north linking Shibam and Henin with the tribal centre of Reidat-as-Sei'ar on the edge of the Ruba' al Khali and resurfacing of the Wadi Hadhramaut road between Tarim and Qassam, Shibam and Qatn and Ajlaniya and Qa'udha was carried out to facilitate transport in the main agricultural areas.

Considerable help was given by the former Director of Public Works, Aden and the Executive Engineer, Aden, who visited the Eastern Aden Protectorate and submitted valuable reports, with recommendations as to the repair and maintenance of roads, which are being implemented to the extent that local finances and labour resources permit.

*Air Communications* have also improved in the past two years. 509
A weekly service by Aden Airways Ltd. was maintained between Aden and Riyan (17 miles from Mukalla) and late in 1950 was extended to Al Qatn. The interior of the Hadhramaut is now within reach of Aden and the protracted delays travellers formerly faced are a thing of the past.

Special planes were flown direct from Riyan and Qatn to Hedjaz for the 1950 pilgrimage.

*Sea Communications* were maintained by occasional visits of 505
coastal steamers based on Aden, and more frequent trips by motor dhows and small powered craft.

# Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

## SITUATION AND AREA

The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described 101
administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the 131
Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



653 Their chief function is the construction and maintenance of state buildings and roads throughout the territories. In the main towns in the Qu'aiti State the department is responsible for the upkeep of the conduits bringing in water from springs outside. All air landing grounds, except Riyan, are maintained by the Public Works Department of the two States.

# Chapter 10 : Communications

## WESTERN PROTECTORATE

494 491 Increasing use is being made of motor vehicles. These are for the most part driven along sandy beaches, dry river beds or across open desert, but in some places tracks have been improved and in a few cases new roads cut through difficult country. Nearly all roads are extremely rough and surfaces are rarely repaired.

The following routes are open for motor traffic :

| | *Miles* |
|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman to Lahej | 16 |
| " " " Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " " Museimir | 61 |
| " " " Dhala | 88 |
| Aden to Zinjibar | 40 |
| Zinjibar to Ja'ar | 6 |
| " " Al Husn | 16 |
| " " Dirjaj | 17 |
| " " Sheikh Abdulla | 6 |
| " " Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra to Am Surra | 30 |
| " " Lodar | 50 |
| " " Mudia | 68 |
| " " Am Quleita | 78 |
| " " Mahfid | 145 |
| " " Habban (Eastern Protectorate) | 195 |
| " " Said | 196 |
| " " Nisab | 253 |
| " " Beihan al Qasab | 373 |
| " " Ahwar | 76 |
| " " Irqa (Eastern Protectorate) | 124 |

509 712 A regular air service by Aden Airways is maintained between Aden and Mukeiras. Other landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala, Beihan, Qoban (Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom) and Sah (Upper Aulaqi Sultanate).

492 Where no motors can yet penetrate, the traffic of the country is carried on camel caravans which still travel to Aden in large numbers ; in the more mountainous districts small donkeys are employed for both passengers and goods.

205 There are no post offices in the Western Protectorate.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden



Hadhramaut MM2

## EASTERN PROTECTORATE

491
494
509
205
206

The following roads exist :

| | Miles | |
|---|---|---|
| Mukalla to Sai'un (East Road) . . | 180 | |
| " " Sai'un (West Road) . . | 200 | |
| " " Western Protectorate boundary | 140 | (partly on the beach) |
| " " Museina'a (near Mahra border) | 80 | |
| Various branch roads . . . . | 200 | |
| | 800 | miles |

No licensing system has yet been introduced into the Eastern Protectorate States. The number of vehicles on the roads, including Residency and State owned, is approximately 170.

The main airport is at Riyan which is an R.A.F. station. Landing grounds exist at Qatn, Ghuraf, Gheil bin Yumein, Al Abr, and Asakir.

Aden Airways run a twice weekly service from Aden to Riyan with extensions to Qatn and Ghuraf in alternate weeks. The Ghuraf strip is also frequently used for private charter flights.

There are two post offices in the Eastern Protectorate, at one of which money order business is transacted. There are also 21 postal agencies.

Cable and Wireless Ltd. operate a telegraph service at Mukalla and Sai'un.

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

LITTLE is known of the mineral reserves of this region, and most of the local industries are small and primitive. Salt is the chief export of the Colony; tobacco, honey and fish products, of the Protectorates. H 135 438 A 439

The port of Aden is visited regularly by ships from all parts of the world. Within the last few years, the Colony has also become a regional center for air services to Cairo and other cities in the Near East and East Africa. Communications between the Colony and the interior are mainly by roads and caravan trails, supplemented by a coastwise dhow trade. Camels and donkeys are the primary means of transport, but the use of motor vehicles is increasing along the main routes. Roads suitable for motor traffic link Aden Colony with certain population centers in Western Aden Protectorate, and Mukalla with the larger towns of the Hadhramaut and adjacent coastlands. Access to the interior is also provided by military air services. A 514 509 A 491 492 H A 491 H [509]

## Food and Nutrition

Aden Colony is a cosmopolitan community, in which a variety of food habits is found among the peoples of different racial and economic groups. With the exception of fish, milk and limited supplies of garden vegetables, all foodstuffs are imported. Undernutrition is prevalent among the poorer inhabitants, and particularly among the transient laborers from the interior. A 262 439 146 464

Food supplies are never abundant in the Protectorate, where cultivation is restricted by the nature of the terrain and the scarcity of water in many areas. Anything which interferes with normal production, such as droughts or an invasion of locusts, may result in local food shortages, often approaching famine conditions. The Hadhramaut was seriously affected during the widespread drought in 1943, and children were evacuated from some of the famine areas to relief camps in Mukalla. H 511 433 731

The average Arab diet is simple, while that of the pastoral tribes is almost invari- H 262

361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil
there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
342 of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Had-
177 hramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

**Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.**

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

511 For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
651 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

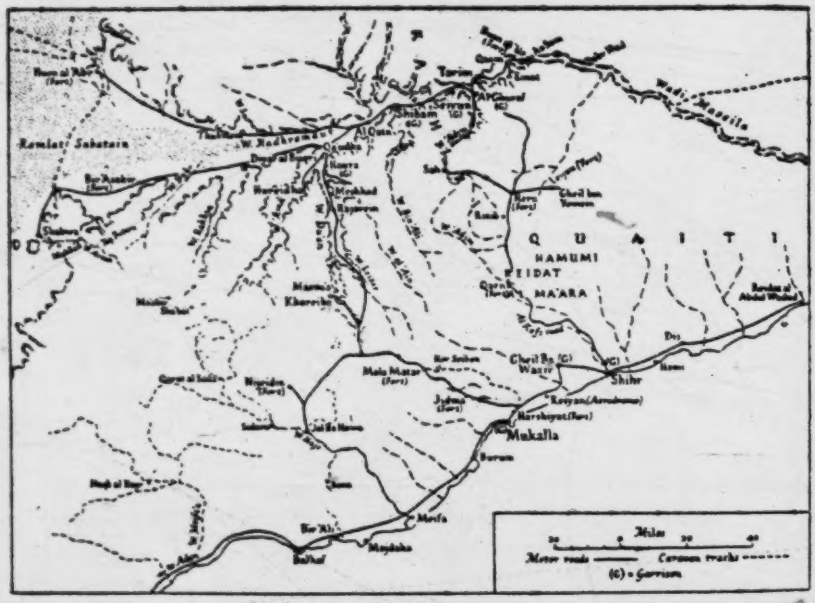
465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
435 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



serfs whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells. The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.

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The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from considerable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft, however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

7: Sturler-Raemaeken T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk. 342

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm. 361

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anis go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices. 311 312 511 262 439 291

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space. 342 361 531

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut. 361 342

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on [441]

Socotra has also a
good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

going to erect a house for himself here and, in accordance 346
with the good custom, begins with the mosque. There are
some fine houses in Ḥurēḍa whose owners live in Djohore, 167
Singapore, or Java. The actual inhabitants seem to be very 511
poor. Outside the town there are some fine date-plantations,
it is true, but the total impression is one of decline. Everything
that is fine and prosperous owes its existence to money that is
earned abroad. The tie between a Ḥaḍramī and his birth-place [181]
is very close, and if he is doing well, he returns from time to
time, and when he sees the evening of his life approaching
he longs to spend it in the little mud town where he was born,
and, finally, to await the Day of Resurrection in Ḥaḍramī soil,
which for him is consecrated ground. This is why there are
here palaces and country-seats of sayyids and mighty castles
of sultans, whilst the Bedouins live in rock-caves or lean-to
shelters, always on the verge of starvation, and the home-
staying town-dweller does not rise beyond a very poverty-
stricken existence. We are only just at the portal of actual
Ḥaḍramaut and soon shall see contrasts so moving, that it will
sometimes be difficult to grasp the fact that we are in a real
world, and are not dreaming after reading a centuries-old story
from the "Arabian Nights".

### 3. THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE TOWN.

On May 21st we intended to see something of the surround- 000
ings of Ḥurēḍa. Therefore, we asked Sayyid ʿAlī, the Bedouin
member of the el-ʿAṭṭās family, to go with us. Most sayyids
are not to be tempted for walks in the country at this time of
the year! At the request of some of the notables we go to a
spring which flows from out the mountain-wall a mile south-
west of Ḥurēḍa, just at the spot where the limestone stratum
rests on sandstone. Enemy Bedouins are said to have stopped
up this spring, which formerly flowed much more copiously.
The foreigners, held to be so proficient in all technical matters [609]
must say how the spring is to be put right. If there were

look as though this is still possible in any way; the drifting 361
sand has killed the date-palms and reduced to a minimum the 241
cultivation of *dhura* and the like. The hamlets are partially 134
deserted and the mud houses fallen in.

The very ancient town of Hēnin[1] has shared this fate. The 361
place lies like a long line at the foot of the rock-wall. Castles 134
and defence turrets higher up have fallen into ruin as have most of the houses of this once important town on the road to the Yemen.

Bin ᶜAwaḍ Martaᶜ has returned to his fatherland from Sura- 241
baya with the resolve to try to check its decay. The family 134
house has been restored by him and a new storey built on to it. 312
He has brought from Java a motor pump which has been set up on the 70 feet deep well. The pump supplies 30 gallons of water for irrigation per minute so that, if it works for eight hours a day, it just suffices to wrench a few acres of *dhura* from the sandy desert and to keep alive the 200 young date-palms which are planted between.

Bin Martaᶜ himself now also realizes that this is but a service 361
of love at a death-bed and that his motor pump cannot save 134
Hēnin from decay and from the engulfing sea of sand. Hēnin is like a little town destroyed by storm on the rocky coast of an interminable sea of sand which has first swallowed up its palm-groves and is now submerging the place itself. We have seen nothing of the Bā ᶜAṭwah, the poet beggars of Hēnin.[2] They have been driven by poverty to the prosperous parts of the valley of Ḥaḍramaut and to Java.

Hēnin is nominally under Qeᶜēṭī rule; the Sultan of Shibām 622
and el-Qaṭn protects the place and the insignificant little 511
villages surrounding it. That evening, in the great *madjlis* of Bin Martaᶜ's house, we met the poor, simple shēkhs of the

[1] Cf. el-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 85, l. 19 *sqq.*, 86, l. 20 *sq.*, 88, l. 10 *sqq.*; De Goeje, *Hadhramaut*, in *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, ii. (1886), p. 110.

[2] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Zur Dichtkunst der Bā ᶜAṭwah in Hadhramōt*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, v. (Bonn, 1925), p. 393 *sqq.*

L.22 neighbourhood and also the chief of the Ṣē<sup>c</sup>ar Bedouins. They
●511 inhabit the *djōl* and the wādīs to the north of Hēnin. The Ṣē<sup>c</sup>ar have the name of being very primitive and poor. Although the shēkh, who lives in the Rēdet eṣ-Ṣē<sup>c</sup>ar, was very friendly, he nevertheless avoided falling in with our request that we might be allowed to visit him in his *rēda*.

000 We spent the night at Hēnin in a room, as the roof-terrace, which was not yet completed, was taken up by the family. The heat and the mosquitoes, which owe their existence to the motor pump, made sleep impossible.

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doctor, for whom Friday is a holiday. The car which follows is filled with armed Bedouins, members of the tribes through whose land we shall pass. The district of Terīm ends just outside the city. Mud defence turrets and fortifications are pointed out to us, where, up to a year ago, shooting still went on. The aspect of the villages and neglected plantations shows that prosperity has been here disturbed by warfare. Some of these villages are under the rule of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, others are independent, that is to say, they belong to the tribes in whose territories they are situated and are not under a *dōla* (a government), as the expression goes here.

The road runs over a sandy plain to the deep Wādī ᶜAdim, which seems to be fairly well watered, to judge from the thick vegetation along its banks and from its fine groves of palms. Here lies the village of el-Mesīle, the birth-place of our learned Javanese Ḥaḍramī, Sayyid Hāshim. The village chief had received instructions from Sayyid Abū Bakr to provide a midday meal for us, so he stands ready waiting with his pots and the sheep which is to be killed. We stop just long enough to pick him up with his sheep and cooking-pots and then on we go again through a hilly, sandy region with here and there villages and plantations. The further we go the poorer become the villages; the gardens are partly dried up and half of the houses are in ruins. The male population has been decimated by intertribal warfare, and now poverty and starvation are killing the rest.

The drivers have difficulty in finding a practicable track between the sand-hills. At last we reach Ruḍēḥ, the village of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, where donkeys are waiting for us. The drivers are of the opinion that the cars can go on still further if we will all help by pushing from time to time. We are again obliged to go through the sandy bed of the *sēl*. Great exertion is necessary to get the cars through the loose sand, but after that it is good going over loam plains and through wādīs. Sometimes a descent or ascent has to be dug, but we are prepared for that: pickaxes and spades have been brought.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



to our host's little collection. After much insistence the caravan leader agreed to this, but when falling darkness forced us to leave el-ᶜUrr, we noticed that the owner of our camels, who had come with us in person, was carrying the stone on his shoulder. He thought that it would injure his camels, although they were very lightly laden, and he demonstrated by running fast, jumping, and so forth, that it was no hindrance to himself!

## 9. AN EXTRAORDINARY NIGHT.

It was pitch-dark as we approached Bā Ḥafār, lying at the entrance of Wādī el-Khūn, which runs from the north. We had to follow the *sēl*-bed, which was full of water, after having ridden for some time through a narrow date plantation beside the bank. My donkey caused great consternation when, having had a long drink, he lay down at his ease in the middle of the lukewarm pool. Everyone rushed, in answer to our cry of distress, to rescue the instruments and photographic material from the saddle-bags; the donkey's bath ended however without doing any damage.

Bā Ḥafār is a miserable village, with inhabitants as poor as Job and living in huts. Its mud houses have been destroyed in tribal warfare; the remaining population is too weak in numbers and strength to rebuild them. Only one mud house had been restored, and on its roof we pitched our camp for the night in brotherly company. Very soon a number of inquisitive men came to the roof to enjoy the unexpected sight. Here something happened that we had never experienced before: the women-folk also came, a little later, to satisfy their curiosity. They sat down, huddled against each other, in a corner of the roof opposite to that which we had chosen for sleeping, with only the stairway space between us. As they had no thought of going away again and were enjoying intensely the novelty of what they saw, we were obliged to go on with our business without letting their presence disturb us.

00 us. The camp-beds which, from being small packages, became long, large objects drew from them a cry of amazement. When we undressed, the amazement frequently turned into great merriment. We hoped to put an end to the visitation by suddenly switching on the beams of an electric torch. Giggling and scrambling to hide behind each other they crept away, and for a moment we were anxious lest any one of them, in her fright, should jump off the roof. Before long the girls and young women were sitting hidden away behind the backs of the old ones and so they sustained the glare in their eyes and the roars of laughter of the men and boys. When I fell asleep the gossiping black figures were still sitting there.

511 On June 4th, we were awakened by the rising sun. All around is wrapped in slumber and the women have disappeared. I gaze out across the little wādī with its miserable hovels. On the sand around our house I see shapeless, black forms lying. Then one of them begins to stir and, drunk with sleep, a woman sits up. She gets up, totters, shakes some dust and sand off the black rags that she wraps round herself, and treads silently away to her hut to resume her monotonous life of poverty. Another soon follows and gradually one after the other vanishes. Here we had for a moment a glimpse of the grey poverty and the monotonous life of hunger in a village of this part of Ḥaḍramaut, where the inhabitants have been decimated and their energies sapped by war, the surviving men have fled from its misery to foreign lands, and the long-suffering Ḥaḍramī women, who never leave their country, alone remain. The world of women and of family life always remained a closed book to us.

## 10. A VISIT TO ʿENĀT.

361 The distance from Bā Ḥafār to Qasam is not great, and we
346 arrived in that dead little town quite early in the day, to
511 find the car promised by el-Kāf awaiting us. We drive then through the town, which is half in ruins; yet, a sayyid who

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-S (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



has made his fortune abroad has built here a princely house for himself. He has, of course, not forgotten to render thanks to Allah at the same time by building a mosque, a glittering white masterpiece of Ḥaḍramī architecture. The contrast between the great wealth of many sayyids and the poverty of the great mass of the people does not seem to be poignantly felt here. The palaces of the rich stand right in the midst of dying towns; their children, frequently overdressed, play with the almost naked black children of slaves. The rich return of their own accord from lands of culture and prosperity to their own land of appalling poverty, to enjoy within its borders the wealth they have accumulated. Allah has willed that there be rich men in the world and poor men to whom they should be able to give alms. It is fit and proper that there should be beggars in every good Muslim society and especially a plentiful supply of them in places of pilgrimage, so that the pious may have ample opportunity to practise the generosity commanded by Allah. We have noticed little jealousy or class conflict in Ḥaḍramaut. This is certainly due partly to the democratic way of living. The privileges of the sayyid class have a religious and not a money basis. Soldiers, household slaves and the free citizens of the village meet in the *madjlis* of the rich and all eat there in company, drink from the same bowl and join in the same converse.

From Qasam we go by car along the high clay bank of the *masīla* (the bed of the wādī), which has been eroded by the *nuqra*. Having reached a point opposite ʿĒnāt we attempt to cross the wide sandy bed of the *masīla* to reach the town. The palm plantations have been growing progressively thinner and the soil here is entirely covered by a layer of sand. We stall constantly in this sand in the *masīla* and have difficulty in reaching ʿĒnāt, where everything speaks of vanished glory. The town is scattered over a wide area; great open spaces give one the impression that the population was formerly much larger than it is now. At one time many pilgrims were attracted here by the seven *qubbas* which adorn

493 in the saddle, for the camel sees obstacles on the ground, which escape my searching eye, so that unexpected swerves are the result. It is a fantastic and most exhausting ride, which only comes to an end when, close to the little town of ʿAmd, we reach the house in which we are to be lodged. The rest of the caravan arrives after us in dribblets, and before long we are sitting together on the spacious roof of our guest-house, onto which crowds of inquisitive folk are flocking.

•511 Nowhere, so far, had so much Malay been spoken and
167 nowhere was conversation so frank and open. ʿAmd appears
191 to be a town on the decline and very poor and to suffer
186 much from protracted warfare. This condition of things leads the young men to seek their fortunes out of the country, Java attracting the bulk of them. The consequence is that a great many wives and children remain behind in poverty. The number of boys who are sent from Java to be brought up in ʿAmd is relatively large. They can be distinguished at once from among their dirty little comrades by their better dress and greater cleanliness. They form a part of our visitors that night and begin with great boldness to talk in Malay, to show off their knowledge. These youngsters look upon their sojourn in ʿAmd as a real period of exile and pine for Java.

000 The discussions over plans for our further journey were disappointing. It was considered to be out of the question for us to go to Niṣāb, but they could certainly bring us to the coast towns of Bal-Ḥāf or Bīr ʿAlī. Everyone deserted us at this point, even our own Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās, but we held on to Niṣāb. Before we retired to a roof-terrace higher up, we had Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf's letter of introduction and those from the Sultans of Sēwūn and Shibām read aloud, which made a noticeable impression. I added thereto that we were determined to go to Niṣāb and that we wished to leave on the morrow. So we bade farewell to this company, which was to carry on its consultations until deep into the night.

132 It is appreciably cooler at ʿAmd than it is further in Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm being the hottest place. The altitude of

312 The way ran by the river all the time now, through an un-
361 interrupted grove of date-palms. At one time the path follows
511 the left bank, then at another the right. At regular intervals
241 we pass long, low dams made of boulders; these store up the water which is conducted through channels for the irrigation of the palm-gardens. The fringe of palm-trees is not, as a rule, wide and above it, against the rocky slopes, where no shade falls, villages swelter in the heat of the sun. They are always in a good strategic position, for this fertile Wādī Ḥadjr has been a much disputed territory until a short time ago. To this must be attributed the low degree of prosperity and the lack of intensive cultivation of all the arable land here. In this respect Wādī Dōᶜan is on a much higher level.

361 After a few hours the wādī becomes narrower, the rocky
342 slopes approach the river, and the cultivated strips of land grow narrower and, at last, cease entirely. Our way goes over a plain strewn with sharp, reddish-brown stones, where lies the village of Ḥuṣn Mṣēneᶜ, which consists entirely of houses with neither front nor back walls; they are like short tunnels of stone with their further end towards the rock-wall and their front facing the river. When we asked the reasons for this way of building we were told that they were poverty and the great heat; in this way advantage is taken of the breeze which blows through the tunnels. Its inhabitants belong to a kind of gypsy tribe living apart from other people. Further on they dwell in large villages of straw-huts; they are half-nomads and are despised by the settled inhabitants.

312 The wādī narrows until it becomes a rocky gorge through which the river flows underground. Its narrow bed is full of boulders; probably the *sēl* after rain rushes through here above ground as well. The path rises steeply up the rocky slope, and it is a real feat on the part of the camels to climb up, with their heavy loads, over the slippery boulders and then to descend again into the wādī where it widens out. Halfway through the gorge the river comes to the surface again, showing a beautiful greenish-blue colour.

ADEN MM1
LITTLE HADHRAMAUT MM2

is known of the mineral reserves of this region, and most of the local industries are small and primitive. Salt is the chief export of the Colony; tobacco, honey and fish products, of the Protectorates.

The port of Aden is visited regularly by ships from all parts of the world. Within the last few years, the Colony has also become a regional center for air services to Cairo and other cities in the Near East and East Africa. Communications between the Colony and the interior are mainly by roads and caravan trails, supplemented by a coastwise dhow trade. Camels and donkeys are the primary means of transport, but the use of motor vehicles is increasing along the main routes. Roads suitable for motor traffic link Aden Colony with certain population centers in Western Aden Protectorate, and Mukalla with the larger towns of the Hadhramaut and adjacent coastlands. Access to the interior is also provided by military air services.

### Food and Nutrition

Aden Colony is a cosmopolitan community, in which a variety of food habits is found among the peoples of different racial and economic groups. With the exception of fish, milk and limited supplies of garden vegetables, all foodstuffs are imported. Undernutrition is prevalent among the poorer inhabitants, and particularly among the transient laborers from the interior.

Food supplies are never abundant in the Protectorate, where cultivation is restricted by the nature of the terrain and the scarcity of water in many areas. Anything which interferes with normal production, such as droughts or an invasion of locusts, may result in local food shortages, often approaching famine conditions. The Hadhramaut was seriously affected during the widespread drought in 1943, and children were evacuated from some of the famine areas to relief camps in Mukalla.

The average Arab diet is simple, while that of the pastoral tribes is almost invari-

N 262 ably meager. The basic foods are usually breads, dates and milk products, supplemented by vegetables and fruits in season and by varying amounts of meat and fish. Although breads are most frequently prepared from sorghum millet (durra), other forms of millet, as well as maize, wheat and barley are widely used. Rice is generally popular, and large amounts are imported. Dates constitute one of the main food items throughout this region; date palms flourish along some wadies, but the annual crop is inadequate. Numerous types of vegetables and fruits are available in the agricultural areas.

N [439] 241 262

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Sheep and goats are raised in both the Colony and the Protectorate. Their milk is used extensively, but only the pastoral tribes are apt to have a sufficient supply. Cow's milk is also consumed in the Colony and in some inland districts, particularly in Western Aden Protectorate, where the grazing conditions are suitable for cattle. Camel's milk is a staple food among certain Bedouin tribes. Ghee, or clarified butter, is employed in the wealthier families. The fat from the tail tissues of the local breed of sheep, which is an important substitute in the Colony and among the eastern tribes, is almost unknown in Western Aden Protectorate. Sesame is cultivated in many areas, and the oil constitutes another source of fats. Meat is seldom consumed more than once a week, except in the more prosperous households. Fish are plentiful along the coast, and both fresh and dried fish are commonly used in the diet.

N 233 262

A H 241 262 511 228

## Housing

A 862 342

Several different types of dwellings are found in Aden Colony. In general, the standards of housing are higher than in the neighboring territories. All variations are encountered between the multistoried stone houses of the wealthy Arabs, the modern style villas of the European and official communities, and the one- or two-story structures of stone or mud brick in which most of the people live. Regardless

A 342

A 342 of size and construction, the houses usually have flat roofs, which can be utilized during the summer months for sleeping purposes. The increase in population within recent years has led to the growth of settlements of *kutcha* huts, made of reeds, palm leaves or corrugated iron, in the outlying districts. A 361 Some of the laborers employed in handling 362 cargo or coal are quartered in barracks, but 511 many live in crude hut settlements in which the sanitary conditions are a menace to both townships. Slum clearance was started in 1943, and housing programs have since been undertaken in Crater and Sheikh Othman. They are financed by the Colonial government and subsidized by grants from the British Colonial Development and Welfare funds.

H 342 Stone, mud brick and brushwood are uti- 361 lized for building purposes in the Protectorate. The type of housing and the character of the villages in different areas are governed by the materials available and the need for making them defensible. Walled settlements predominate, but scattered dwellings surrounded by brushwood stockades are frequent in Western Aden Protectorate. In the towns the larger houses of stone or mud brick have from 3 to 6 H stories, with accommodations for the live- 342 stock on the ground floor. In contrast with 511 the elaborate dwellings of the wealthy, the 361 homes of the tribesmen are small and rarely of more than one story. They are typically overcrowded, dark and insanitary, while the animals are often kept in close association with the family. The Bedouin in the interior use the traditional camel-hair tents, but the nomadic tribes and fisherfolk near the coast live in huts of straw, thatched palm or matting.

## ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

### Water Supplies

A 312 Water is usually scarce, except in parts of the western highlands which benefit from a heavier rainfall. The main water supply for Aden Colony is derived from 10 deep

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N 136 164 Africa, are found in the coastal area. Numerous species of *Culex* are present, including *C. quinquefasciatus* (— *C. fatigans*), a potential vector of filariasis. A species of *Taeniorhynchus* has been described from Western Aden Protectorate.

A 744 136 Mosquito control measures have been carried on by the health authorities in the Colony for several decades. They involve weekly inspections of all premises to eliminate breeding sites, the protection and the larvicidal treatment of permanent bodies of water, the reclamation of swamps and low-lying lands in the vicinity of the towns, and the supervision of the dhows using the port. The Aedes index was 0.014 per cent in 1950, in contrast with 4 per cent in 1930.

A H 136 361 511 Flies. Flies are abundant in towns and villages, where the insanitary conditions around markets, cattlesheds and dwellings favor prolific breeding. They are most numerous between November and March. The house flies, *Musca domestica* and related species, are ubiquitous and undoubtedly play a role in the spread of intestinal and eye infections. The stable fly, *Stomoxys calcitrans*, is prevalent. Sandflies are numerous, among which *Phlebotomus papatasii* is presumably of primary medical concern. The tsetse fly, *Glossina tachinoides*, was reported early in this century from the Haushabi and the Subeihi tribal districts in Western Aden Protectorate.[9] It has not been collected in recent surveys, however, and the original observations remain the only record of its appearance outside Africa.[20] Campaigns against flies, employing DDT, Gammexane and other insecticidal sprays in markets and public buildings, are undertaken periodically by the health authorities in the two townships of the Colony.

A 744 A H 136 164 Lice. All forms of human lice are found, particularly among the inhabitants of towns and villages in the interior. *Pediculus humanus corporis* is prevalent in the highland villages, where it is the vector of louse-borne typhus and louse-borne relapsing fever.

Fleas. Both *Xenopsylla cheopis* and *X. astia* parasitize the rats in this region.

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75 per cent in Shuqra. In most localities, the infection rates ranged from 27 to 88 per cent among children under 15 years of age and from zero to 48 per cent in persons over 15 years of age. The Fadhli and the Abdali tribal districts were the most seriously affected regions visited. H 164 659

**Diseases of the Skin.** Favus, ringworm and other mycotic skin infections are widely distributed. Madura foot is common in the Protectorate, and cases are seen in the Colony hospitals each year among patients from the interior. Phagedenic ulcers are responsible for considerable disability among laborers in the Colony and in all parts of the Protectorate. Several thousand cases are treated each year in the hospitals and the dispensaries in Aden Colony, where they are usually designated as "Yemen ulcers." The ankle is the most frequent site of infection, and amputation is often necessary in neglected cases. A H 164 167 A 758

Scabies and impetigo are prevalent, especially among the children of inland towns and villages who live under congested, insanitary conditions. By contrast, surprisingly few cases of scabies are encountered among the children seen in the schools in Aden township. A H 164 511 515

**Leprosy.** Leprosy is endemic in the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been reported from the Colony within recent years. The infection is probably not extensive, although foci of the disease are known to exist in the Hadhramaut and in the Lahej, the Dhala' and the Abyen areas in the western protectorate. As lepers are not discriminated against socially, some difficulty is encountered in controlling the movement of infected individuals in the Colony. A small leper hospital is located at Sheikh Othman: it receives patients not only from Aden territory but also from Yemen. Eighteen of the 29 patients in residence in 1939[18] were open nodular or lepromatous cases. A H 164 A H 743 164 183

**Other Infections.** Tetanus is endemic, but reported cases are rare. A H 164

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18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



lunch, also in true Arabian Nights' style, as we had lamb stuffed with pistachio nuts, almonds, and raisins, and many other good things, we started off for a round of afternoon calls. Many old friends had come to see us and all wanted us to visit them. However we managed to weed them down to four and thought we would take the farthest first, so we went off through the date palms to Robat where we had an enormous tea, and then came back through Khoreiba, where we had two more and a fourth, just after sunset, at Ar Rashid. Then we staggered back for dinner to Masna'a, Mr. Figgis rather under the weather and wondering how he was going to cope with Hadhrami hospitality after the more modest repasts of Northern Nigeria.

My wife re-visited Du'an at the beginning of 1937, journeying up the well-known caravan road from Mukalla. She travelled with two Seiyids of the Mihdhar family returning to their homes after a long absence, and they took seven days on donkeys from the coast to Wadi Du'an. The nights were spent in the *murabba'as* and towards sunset each evening they raced with an old shepherd taking a flock of Somaliland sheep over the *jols* to Du'an, for he was determined that his sheep should sleep in the stone hut and the Seiyids were equally determined that my wife and they should. There was always a long midday halt for about eleven o'clock the Seiyids felt they needed their ginger coffee, and it was after noon before the large meal of rice and dried fish was ready.

Except for the preparation of two large meals a day everything was very simple. The Seiyids each had a folding iron camp bed and the Badawin, two of whom acted as chief cook and butler-valet, usually slept curled up underneath the beds. The Seiyids had put on clean clothes at the beginning of the journey, and these they wore night and day until they reached the top of the *'aqaba* leading to Du'an, when they unpacked their boxes and put on new clothes to arrive in. Crowds quickly came from their homes to meet them, and from the Ba Surra's house to meet my wife. She spent two nights with the ladies in Masna'a, who were very anxious to know all about Miss Stark, and if she had quite recovered from the illness that attacked her in Du'an. My wife also visited Robat and Khoreiba, and had tea in one house and spent the night in another house in which a crowd of self-invited guests gathered after dinner to hear the wireless, at that time the only set in the wadi. The reception was not too good, but they heard Big Ben and switched from Egypt to Rome, from Palestine to Germany, and back to London.

With the usual Du'an hospitality she was given two breakfasts in different houses, visited many women, and returned to Masna'a for a gay evening party with drums and dancing in the harem. She left Masna'a for Quweira, where she stayed with the Mihdhar family, whose stronghold it is. This clan of Seiyids is very large but firmly united under its chief, Seiyid Mustafa, a very old man who was amazingly ignorant of any matters outside his valley and had never before descended to shaking hands with a European woman. He had evidently seen pictures of them however for he frankly expressed his approval of my wife's dress, which had long sleeves and was not cut short above the knees as he had imagined it would be. She quite lost count of the number of houses she visited in Quweira, and in all of which she was taken straight up to see the women. It is a curiosity of Du'an that all the women dress

665 half for the men and one for the women, each with their entrance, kitchen,
342 store rooms and granary on the ground floor, reception rooms and washrooms on the first floor, and more private apartments with washrooms on the second floor. There may be a third floor with terrace rooms, but usually not more.

342 Although the span of the ceiling beams is quite small, as everywhere
353 else (about six feet, determined by the maximum size of timber available), many of the rooms in these houses are very large, being divided up by
565 two, four, six or nine pillars. They have rows of three or four windows, some even more, on two sides. The floors are covered with carpets, and cushions against the walls are the only form of furnishing. There will be niches with cups, silver samovars and brass trays; other niches with some books; and a few large flat basket-trays hung on the walls, from which one eats. But that is absolutely all that is needed. There are large wall closets for clothing and for bedding, the normal place to sleep being the floor. But there is no difference between a living-room and a sleeping apartment. Each room serves for either purpose in turn, the men and the women
[291 being separate. Nor are there clothes for the night and clothes for the
515] day, though the men wear beautifully laundered clothes, frequently changed.

342 Washrooms consist of a spacious compartment, with glazed plaster
515 walls with niches and pegs for clothing. Near the window stands a tall jar with water and a scoop for showering oneself. The water runs out under the window through a runnel and gutter. Some washrooms have a shower tank. The washroom may contain a lavatory of the south continental, foot-rest type, or this may be in an entirely separate spacious compartment. Each floor has at least two. Besides this the Saywun and Terim house has a little " roman " bath for complete ablution about 10 feet square, and which is usually near the private prayer-room.

342 Another pleasant characteristic of the Saywun house is that in the large
271 corridor that runs from one side of the house to the other; in front of the window at the coolest end there is usually a corner for drinking-water skins to hang up in a cooling draught. Niches for cups are at hand, and again there is a runnel for the water dripping from the skin to run outside. The same arrangement is found on most terraces. Upper rooms are used in summer, lower rooms in winter for warmth, for there is no glass in the windows and only ill-fitting wood shutters to keep out the night air.

342 All these amenities will be found on a small scale in the most modest houses. The house of the dhobbi had three floors. It contained about four living-rooms, two washrooms, a kitchen and a store. So that where space is concerned the Hadhrami house does not compare unfavourably with European standards.

000 A film showing Hadhramaut buildings was followed by a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



ing by having to toil along in the tormenting heat. There was no need for hard climbing and descending, the way lay smoothly over gently sloping plateaus, allowing a view on low, flat table-mountains and not very deep wādīs. In the surrounding mountains we saw many horizontal lines, ancient plateaus or geological strata. Vegetation became scantier and scantier as we went further. We only passed by two small villages with an insignificant bit of cultivated ground, entirely dependent upon rain-water. At the first village, Dahma, we rested for the afternoon in a *murabbaʿa*. Here a few people from the village came to ask us for medicines. Kneeling beside the medicine-chest in the burning sun, I tried to doctor the patients: eyes closed up tight by inflammation were cleansed with cotton-wool and boracic water, after which I used protargol, drop by drop; aspirin was given, in a cup of hot tea with lemon, for headaches and fever; festering wounds were cleaned and then bound up with Peruvian balsam; castor oil, worm-cakes and quinine were also dispensed more than once. The population as a whole gave an impression of health. Although they wash their bodies but seldom and smear them with *samn* and indigo, it is surprising how little one sees of itch and other skin troubles. The only malaria which occurs on the *djōl* is brought in from the lower-lying districts.

The Bedouins are mostly small and slightly built, but they have great powers of endurance and do not give the impression of being underfed. The boys who belonged to our caravan ran the whole day long, helped energetically morning and evening, and ate only two meals a day (some dates, rice and a piece of dried shark's meat, sometimes unleavened bread baked in hot ashes).

Dahma appears to consist of twenty or so small houses, the lower parts of which are built of rough stones, and the upper parts of dried mud. A large, square tower, entirely built of stone, serves as a defence for the village and as the residence of its mayor. On the border of the village is a mud-built, communal threshing-floor; there are also ovens for baking meat,

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



It is as dangerous to encounter one's own outposts at night as those of the enemy. To the great relief of all of us we hear at last cries of recognition coming from the Āl Buqrī soldiers; they had been anxious, having heard the sounds of shooting after receiving news of our approaching arrival, and had thought that we had come upon the enemy unawares, so had started out to meet us. We had now nothing to fear from the much dreaded dogs who are let loose to guard Diyār Āl Buqrī at night.

We were led as welcome guests into one of the three tall desert strongholds, and up to a roof-terrace prepared for our reception. One of the two brothers stayed in the kitchen to superintend the preparations for the banquet, while the other, with the soldiers, kept us company. The rifles and cartridge-belts were hung on to strong pegs in the wall. In a corner, on a few crossed sticks, hung a thick skin, bulging with drinking-water. It must have been just like this in the Middle Ages in the castles of Europe. Here were only lacking the châtelaine and her maidens, of whose existence the visitor sees nothing. Below in the inner courtyard there are bathrooms and a mosque. The bath water is poured into a little tank, generally an earthenware vessel, in a corner, about six feet above the ground. A thin stream of water is made to spout down upon the bather, by pulling a wooden peg out of the bottom of the tank. One can take a refreshing bath in this way with little water.

The meal was not served until late at night. Great pains were taken over it: the dishes were hotly spiced, after the Javanese manner, to such an extent that it was an effort for us to fulfil the duty of courtesy towards our host by eating enough of them. Animated discussions over the political situation in the country had been started before dinner and were continued after it. People in Diyār Āl Buqrī, in spite of their bellicose appearance, are weary of war; they, as was the case elsewhere, long for the intervention of a powerful outsider who could put an end to it and its miseries. The

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



rugs or mats, or on cushions placed around or under the windows. A very low table, or a special circular mat, is put in the middle of the room for meals. Rough but solidly made coffers and cupboards are much used for clothes, silver, books, or domestic utensils. Lighting is by lamps of a very primitive form, which burn petroleum or, more commonly, sesame oil. The walls carry little or nothing of ornament, though the tribesmen sometimes adorn them with their arms, banners, or hunting equipment. A bathroom is usually found on each floor of a house, all being situated one above the other, the waste water running off by pipes through the wall; the apparatus consisting merely of a vessel from which water is poured over the body.

Wheaten or maize bread, dried dates, eggs, and meat (of sheep or poultry), taken in meagre amounts and usually in some form of soup or stew, form the staple foods; rice is not largely eaten; the people on the coast consume much fish; but only the Bedouin ever eat game. Butter, oil, and honey are much used; also spices, onions, and garlic, and much salad and green vegetables. Fruits, with the exception of the date, are considered as delicacies. Coffee is much drunk in the houses between meals, but there are no public cafés. It is customary for all persons paying visits to bring along with them some coffee-beans wrapped in the turban or plaid (*rādi*); when the party is complete these are collected by the host, and the coffee is prepared in the manner common to all the East. Before drinking, the name of Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Omar esh-Shadhli, whose tomb is at Mocha, is invoked, he being reputed to have been the first to discover the stimulating properties of the berry.

Very few servants are kept in most houses, even in those of the well-to-do; the housework and cooking are done by the housewife and the daughters, with the aid, in case of stress, of help called in from other branches of the family, friends, or neighbours. Only the very rich have slaves, and these are treated more as members of the household than as property; for this reason slaves rarely desire to be freed. All slaves in the Hadhramaut are Moslems; even if they come from a Christian or pagan country, they are forced to embrace Islam. But marriage between free persons and slaves is extremely rare.

Dancing is regarded in the Hadhramaut as permissible, but never among persons of two sexes, and the Seyyids and townsmen usually abstain from it. The music is made by a primitive form of guitar (*qanbus*), a large oblong drum, and three or four small drums, the players often accompanying their music with

N 164 of which are almost invariably associated with widespread undernutrition.

### Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Intestinal or Urinary Tract

H A 164 **Typhoid and Paratyphoid Fevers.** Typhoid fever is sporadic, and 10 to 35 cases are reported from the Colony each year. Over one half of the known cases occur usually among nonresident laborers. Paratyphoid fevers are grouped with typhoid in the morbidity statistics. The rate of infection is not known, but both paratyphoid A and paratyphoid B fevers are undoubtedly present. Typhoid fever is apparently endemic in the Protectorate, although recognized cases are reputedly rare in the Hadhramaut.

H A 164 515 **Dysenteries.** Dystentery is prevalent throughout this region, where the unhygienic habits of the people and the abundance of flies promote the spread of intestinal infections. From 500 to 1,300 cases are treated annually in the civilian hospitals and dispensaries in the Colony. Amebic dysentery predominates among the few cases in which the differential diagnosis is established, but a large proportion of the remainder are probably bacillary infections. Of the 589 cases recorded in 1949, 1 was diagnosed as bacillary dysentery and 48 as amebic, while 540 were unclassified. The percentage of carriers of *Endamoeba histolytica* is believed to be high: it has been estimated at 40 to 50 per cent among immigrants from Yemen, many of whom are engaged in the handling of foodstuffs in the Colony.

H A 164 A 165 167 854 146 Amebic and bacillary dysentery, as well as diarrhea and enteritis, are grouped together as "dysentery" in the official statistics. In each of the 5 years 1946-50, the dysentery deaths numbered 334 to 406, or approximately 20 to 25 per cent of the recorded mortality in the Colony. Among the 393 deaths reported in 1950 as due to dysentery, 107 were among the immigrant population. The younger age groups are most seriously affected, and the local au-

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A 164 porting, 2,018 and 2,325 cases, respectively, were recorded. Of these, 59 to 63 per cent were diagnosed as syphilis and 31 to 34 per cent as gonorrhea, while chancroid predominated in the remainder. Some indication of the prevalence of syphilis is provided by the results of serologic examinations of blood specimens taken from individuals admitted to tubeculosis wards. In a series of Kahn tests performed on 243 cases in 1950,[7] positive reactions were obtained in 13 per cent. Centers for the treatment of venereal diseases have been established at the Civil Hospital, in Aden township, and at the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital, in Sheikh Othman.

A 164 758

H 164 Syphilis and gonorrhea are reputed to be common in the towns of the Protectorate, but no reliable information is available. A nonvenereal treponemal infection, believed to be bejel by most authorities, has been reported from various localities in southern Arabia. A focus probably exists around Beiham, in Western Aden Protectorate. Cases are observed from time to time in the Colony hospitals among persons from this area, as well as from Yemen.

H 164 515 **Diseases of the Eyes.** Trachoma and conjunctivitis are major problems, particularly in the Protectorate, where environmental conditions and the unhygienic customs of the people promote the spread of infectious eye diseases. Trachoma is frequent among the schoolchildren in the Colony. In a survey conducted in 1946,[5] the incidence of trachoma was found to be 18.9 per cent among 1,103 boys examined in the government schools. Measures for improved diagnosis and treatment were instituted, with an appreciable decrease in infection. In a similar group of 1,419 boys observed in 1948, evidence of trachoma was detected in 9.8 per cent.

H 164

H 164 659 Less is known of the extent of the disease in the interior. A medical survey in Western Aden Protectorate in 1939-40[20] revealed widespread trachoma infection, with rates varying from 14 per cent in Dhubiyat to

p. 248(B)

75 per cent in Shuqra. In most localities, the infection rates ranged from 27 to 88 per cent among children under 15 years of age and from zero to 48 per cent in persons over 15 years of age. The Fadhli and the Abdali tribal districts were the most seriously affected regions visited. H 164 659

**Diseases of the Skin.** Favus, ringworm and other mycotic skin infections are widely distributed. Madura foot is common in the Protectorate, and cases are seen in the Colony hospitals each year among patients from the interior. Phagedenic ulcers are responsible for considerable disability among laborers in the Colony and in all parts of the Protectorate. Several thousand cases are treated each year in the hospitals and the dispensaries in Aden Colony, where they are usually designated as "Yemen ulcers." The ankle is the most frequent site of infection, and amputation is often necessary in neglected cases. A H 164 167 A 758

Scabies and impetigo are prevalent, especially among the children of inland towns and villages who live under congested, insanitary conditions. By contrast, surprisingly few cases of scabies are encountered among the children seen in the schools in Aden township. A H 164 511 515

**Leprosy.** Leprosy is endemic in the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been reported from the Colony within recent years. The infection is probably not extensive, although foci of the disease are known to exist in the Hadhramaut and in the Lahej, the Dhala' and the Abyen areas in the western protectorate. As lepers are not discriminated against socially, some difficulty is encountered in controlling the movement of infected individuals in the Colony. A small leper hospital is located at Sheikh Othman: it receives patients not only from Aden territory but also from Yemen. Eighteen of the 29 patients in residence in 1939[18] were open nodular or lepromatous cases. A H 164 A H 743 164 185

**Other Infections.** Tetanus is endemic, but reported cases are rare. A H 164

p. 249(A)

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



535 585 534 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* drum, both described above (see Razha dance). A treble drum called a *marwasi* is also used. It is much smaller than the *vumi* and is only about eight inches long by eight inches in diameter. It is covered with goat skin on both ends and is beaten with the flat of the right hand while held in the left by a piece of cord. The drumming is accompanied by cymbals of brass called *vitasa*, which are placed on the ground one above another and struck with pieces of stick, one in each hand, so as to make the cymbals rattle together. In lieu of the cymbals, a metal rod is sometimes used bent into a triangle exactly the same shape as the triangles used in European military bands, and played in the same manner.

The Shebwani is sometimes danced in the afternoon but more often at night. It has no mystical meaning.

## THE SHERHA DANCE.

535 585 562 This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs to celebrate a wedding or for any other cause of rejoicing. The dancers, who are all men, and who attend by invitation, stand round in a large circle some ten paces in diameter and sway the body slightly from side to side, while clapping their hands in time to the music. Presently two men come out of the ring and dance towards each other, and then backwards and forwards in a sort of "chassé croisé" for about ten minutes, and then they retire from the ring and are replaced by two others. Sometimes two couples dance in the ring at the same time.

535 585 534 The music is supplied by a wind instrument much resembling a clarionet or a French "musette," but the mouthpiece consists of two reeds instead of one, and the tone is very similar to that of the chanter of Scotch bag-pipes. This instrument is called a *zumari*, and supplies the tune accompanied by a *vumi* drum described above (see Razha dance) and by a *msondo* drum standing about four feet high with a diameter of about eighteen inches. It is cylindrical in shape and is covered by a goat-skin at the top end only, the bottom end being open. It is played with both hands in an upright position, resting on the ground.

No refreshments are served at a Sherha dance except if it is held to celebrate a wedding, in which case *pilau* is served and coffee also.

## KINANDA DANCE.

535 562 517 This dance partakes of the nature of a performance for the amusement of the onlookers and is held indoors. Two male performers hold a silk scarf or woollen shawl between them and repeatedly advance towards the audience and retire, while executing various steps and figures. They then face each other and dance in that position, executing with their arms and bodies slow and graceful movements. Then they face the audience and advance and retire and so on till they become tired.

The musical instruments consist of the small *marwasi* drum described above (see Shebwani dance) and of a *kinanda* which supplies the tune. The latter is a string instrument of the nature of a guitar and is played in much the same way. It usually has seven strings, six of which used formerly to be made of sheep gut, but are now made of twisted silk. The seventh is the bass string and is made of copper wire. 535 534 517

Although not considered altogether reprehensible by austere Mohammedans, the "Kinanda" entertainment is looked upon as rather advanced, if not fast.

Sometimes the dancing is dispensed with and the entertainment is reduced to solo songs accompanied by the *kinanda*. It then assumes a more respectable character, though still not entirely approved of.

Being held indoors, the audience naturally come by invitation only. Refreshments consisting of coffee, sherbet and *halwa* (Turkish Delight) are handed round.

## THE ZAMIL DANCE.

This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs, and generally takes place either by day or by night, in front of the house of some exalted person to whom it is intended to pay compliment or to show respect. It is in fact a sort of serenade, but is also danced at weddings. 535 585 654

The dancers form up in one or more lines facing the house of the person in whose honour it is being held. The leader of the dance starts singing a solo, usually a song of praise to the person in question, and the remainder take up the chorus, which they accompany by rhythmic clapping of hands and swaying of the body. It is not by invitation, and anyone may join in. No drums or musical instruments are used and no refreshments partaken of, except at weddings. This dance has no mystical meaning.

## THE CHAMA DANCE.

This may be called a faction dance owing to the element of competition which enters into it in regard to some other faction which has also organized a dance. It is danced by Swahili men, who dress up in their best clothes and wear Arab daggers and swords borrowed from those of their friends who have them. They do their best to make as fine and as big a show as possible in order to eclipse the dance of the other competing faction. Formerly the dance was accompanied by a feast, and still is in the Lamu District, where the factions vie with each other as to the number of cattle they can afford to kill. In 1912, one faction at the village of Mkunumbi (Witu Sultanate) was known to kill thirty head of cattle to cap the twenty-five head which another faction had killed a few days previously.[1] Needless to say that such waste is impossible in the Malindi District where cattle are scarce, and where the dancers only compete in matters of personal adornment and the number of followers. Faction feeling sometimes runs high, and if two competing dances happen to be taking place on the same night it is not unheard of for one party to attack the other with sticks. 535 562 578 527



[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

535 171 The dance itself resembles the Arab Razha dance, the men standing in a row and jerking sticks in the same manner that the Arabs jerk their swords, one of which may sometimes be seen in the hand of a Swahili dancer of the Chama.

536 534 517 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* drum, a *chapuo* drum, a pair of cymbals or *vitasa*, a *zumari* or clarionet, all of which are described above (see Razha dance, Shebwani dance and Sherha dance), also a tambourine called a *tari* or *pari*. This is sometimes ornamented with loose brass discs that jingle together, as in the Spanish tambourine. The goat-skin is pegged to the wooden frame and is tightened by stuffing a more or less thick cord between the skin and the frame.

The Chama is usually danced in a public place and no invitation is necessary. Anyone may join in who feels so inclined. No refreshments are served nowadays in the Malindi District at a Chama dance, which has no mystical significance.

### THE SHANGWI DANCE.

535 562 578 554 The dance is identical with the Chama and is danced by the winning faction in the Chama competition, which is judged by the "*wazee wa Ngoma*," or elders of the dance, men who are accustomed to take the lead in dances, in other words "masters of the ceremonies." The winning faction proceed to the house of the organizer of the opposition dance and dance the Shangwi in front of it. He is supposed to take this as a compliment, and passes round a scent bottle and sometimes takes part in the dancing himself. The Shangwi has no mystical significance and is usually danced at night with the same orchestra as for the Chama.

### NGOMA YA FIMBO. (Walking-stick dance.)

535 585 852 562 The Ngoma Ya Fimbo is danced at Swahili wedding feasts, and at Swahili circumcision feasts. The dancers, all men, assemble by invitation and form a ring in the open near the house of the host, all carrying sticks, hence the name of the dance. While those in the ring balance themselves slowly and rhythmically from one foot to the other, two of their number go into the centre and make passes at each other with their sticks as if they were swords, in time to the drumming. After a few minutes of this, another pair go into the centre of the circle and perform in the same manner while the first two retire, and so on to the end of the dance, which usually takes place by day.

535 534 Cigarettes and betel nuts are passed round to the dancers. The music is supplied by *vumi* and *chapuo* drums described above (see Razha dance) by *vitasa* or cymbals (see Shebwani dance), and by a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). In a temporary pavilion of palm-thatch erected close by, a number of young slave women generally stand holding buffalo horns in their left hands, which they strike with small sticks in time to the drumming.

This dance has no mystic significance and is merely a form of rejoicing.

are given vent to by singing and running round in a circle, in time to the beating of a drum, very much in the same manner as children do. No invitations are given, and anyone may join in. No refreshments are handed round. 535 534 782

### THE MDEMA DANCE.

This also is an importation from Nyasaland (see Ki-Nyasa dance), and is danced by the slave population only, either by day or by night. It is exactly like the Ki-Nyasa dance described above, with the exception that no iron bells are strapped round the knees, and it is, if possible, of a simpler character, the Ki-Nyasa being in truth simple enough. Like the latter it is merely a vent for high animal spirits. No refreshments are given and no invitations are necessary. 536 567 782

### THE KINDIMBA.

The Kindimba is not a dance, but a musical entertainment into which enters a slight element of the mystical. It is only given by people of the slave class in fulfilment of a vow. Any person who greatly desires something or some event to come to pass makes a vow to give a Kindimba if his wish is fulfilled. 533 667 517 782

Invitations are issued to his friends by the person who is giving the entertainment, and they assemble at his house. The men and women sit together either indoors if there is room, or else in the open. Songs are sung by a leader, the other guests joining in the chorus, and clapping their hands in time to the singing, which is accompanied by a small drum called a *mgumbaro*, very like a *marwasi* (see Shebwani dance), with this difference that only one end is covered with a goat skin, while in the *marwasi* both ends are covered. The other end, which is open, is made to rest on the chest or stomach of the player, who performs upon it in that position with both hands. Hard grains of maize are placed in dry gourds of various sizes, and these are rattled in time to the singing. 533 534 782

The entertainment partakes of the nature of thanksgiving, and frivolous songs are therefore avoided. Although not exactly of a religious character, a certain amount of superstition is far from being foreign to the Kindimba.

### THE VUGO.

At a wedding, a procession of women is often formed in the evening after dark to parade the streets, and is called a Vugo. The women sing in chorus to the sound of buffalo horns beaten with short sticks. No men are allowed to take part in the procession, which is both an Arab and a Swahili custom. 533 562 585

### THE KINYAGO DANCE.[1]

This is a Swahili medicine-dance usually held outside the town in a plantation on a moonless night. No artificial lights are allowed. Swahilis who have any 535 756

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1



Buried under all the politics the Hadhramaut is a cultured country

It has far more culture than the Western Aden Protectorate, and of indigenous Arab culture, more than Aden. The outlook of Mukalla and Shihr is commercial, but recent advances in education and the provision of clubs, the organization of public debates and so on, is spreading culture of a suitable kind. The driving force behind this movement is largely local, but great assistance has been given by the Sudan Government in the provision of teachers and by the British Council and His Majesty's Government in subsidizing the intermediate school. Arab culture flourishes at a fairly high level in the Wadi Hadhramaut itself, where there are religious academies of old standing and where, when you go to a dinner-party, poetry and philosophy are commonly talked. The Wahidi country and the other tribal areas have no culture to compare with this, though almost everywhere there are seiyids and mansabs who have kept alight the torch of learning since Ahmed bin Isa al Mohajir, the ancestor of all the seiyids, came to the Hadhramaut and started the work which his descendants have carried on for over 1,000 years.

## The Colony of Aden

Lastly, Aden itself. No doubt many of you are familiar with its general appearance. Everybody who sees it is struck with its natural grandeur, which, however desolate and forbidding, forms a fitting setting for one of the great fortresses of our Eastern Empire. After a visit ashore one is left with a feeling of depression at the general shoddiness of man's handiwork, and the shoddiness is even more depressing when one realizes that it is entirely due to British work and influence. All over the Yemen and the two protectorates you find towns and villages that provide pictures worth photographing. Probably many of you have seen Miss Stark's book of pictures, *Seen in the Hadhramaut*, and if you know Aden will agree that it would be a waste of film to photograph it.

This was not always the case, and it is worth while reading descriptions of previous Adens.

As you probably know, Aden and Eden are the same word, but I won't try to persuade you that Aden was once the fairest garden of all. Nevertheless, the Eden mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel was no doubt our Aden and so in his time it may have been a fair city. Apostrophizing Tyre and Sidon, the prophet included it amongst the great marts of the then known world which traded with them:

> "Haran and Canneh and Eden, the merchants of Sheba,
> Asshur and Chilmad were thy merchants."

What the early Aden looked like we do not know. In the first century it had suffered destruction. The Periplus says:

"... there is Eudaemon Arabia, a village by the shore, also of the Kingdom of Charibael, and having convenient anchorages, and watering-places, sweeter and better than those at Ocelis; it lies at the entrance of a bay, and the land recedes from it. ... But not long before our own time Charibael destroyed the place."

But this did not prevent a new and worthy Aden arising. Ibn Batuta,

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, 364
according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to 164
see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for 731
rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in 361
its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia 484
and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans. One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors 563
and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily. We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla 100
have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations. The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency, the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish. Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light 373
has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible 701
far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganize and train his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on 517
the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago, for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The 20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, 491
for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hill-sides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extraordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the 484
beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which 438

is announced. They have outgrown the fanaticism of the people of Ṣīf through their residence in Java and know and value the Netherlands' Government and, whispering, agree that our reception here is not a fitting one. The *Ḥākim* is poor and has no authority; through his pretended absence he has escaped the duty of offering us hospitality.

We make our notes and do other necessary work in the midst of all kinds of commotion. The Ṣīf soldiers sit with our following till long after midnight, enjoying the roast kid and boiled rice, whilst with their harsh voices they exchange all manner of anecdotes and news.

Von Wrede's attempt to penetrate nto Ḥaḍramaut came to grief in this gloomy Ṣīf. He had the misfortune to arrive just one day before the *ziyāra*[1] to the grave of Shēkh Aḥmad bin ʿĪsā el-ʿAmūdī. Thousands of Bedouins were gathered there, who saw in him an *Efrendjī*, a spy of the English in Aden, and he narrowly escaped death. Ill-treated, robbed of his money and possessions, he was obliged to quit Ṣīf and return to the coast.[2]

Hirsch passed Ṣīf without difficulty[3]; the Bents, however, had to threaten with the power of the Queen of England. They speak of the inhabitants of Ṣīf as "a most unhealthy, diseased-looking lot".[4]

The night's rest at Ṣīf was of short duration, for at four o'clock the Governor, who is at the same time the *muʾadhdhin*[5], comes to call our Sayyid ʿAluwī to the *ṣalāt*. We immediately begin asking for information about animals for riding and transport. The answer consists of fine promises, but long after

[1] *Ziyāra* (زيارة), visit; here the yearly visit on the date fixed for that pilgrimage, when tribal wars stop for some time, and a fair is held close to the saint's tomb.

[2] A. von Wrede, *op. cit.*, p. 254—258.

[3] L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 154 *sqq.*

[4] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 94 *sqq.*

[5] *Muʾadhdhin* (مؤذن), the man who calls out the *ʾadhān*, the invitation to prayer at the beginning of the five times fixed for the obligatory ritual prayers.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



qualification. Pomp and circumstance mean little to a tribesman and nothing at all if they are only window dressing. It is worth while quoting what Tabari says of the Khalif Umar's instructions to governors: "Whenever he appointed a governor he used to draw up in writing a certificate of investiture. It contained the following instructions: That he must not ride on horseback, nor eat white bread, nor wear fine clothes, not set up a door between himself and those who had aught to ask of him."[1]

An officer living in many of these countries must not expect a life of ease and comfort, and he must be ready to do without the sort of things that he considers the ordinary amenities of life, such as games, clubs, European society and its distractions. If he cannot find interest and entertainment in local society and its diversions, he is better elsewhere. The same applies to his wife. Freya Stark once wrote that the British are always popular until they bring their wives. This is exaggerated but there is a great deal of truth in it, and I have often heard the complaint that wives caused the lack of understanding between British officers and their people by keeping their husbands away from the people.

Apart from personal qualities an officer must have not only a knowledge of the language of the country but a knowledge of and sympathy with its religious customs. He must know its history and the more he knows of its literature the better. Without these he cannot speak with the enemy within the gates. Finally, he must have a general grounding of administrative or technical knowledge and experience. When he sees a suitable opening and can get the requisite co-operation he should be in a position to help to put finances on a sound basis, and to help in the development of medical services, education and agriculture. He should be of an inventive turn of mind and should be able to make a little money do the work of a lot. He should be able to make bricks without straws.

I cannot, of course, pretend to speak for any area of which I have not direct experience, but from what I have seen and heard of the rest of the Middle East I have the feeling that it is qualifications of this kind that are needed there also.

It may be to some extent a counsel of perfection to ask for officers of these qualifications, but I find it difficult to believe that candidates with many or all of them and with the necessary missionary spirit cannot be found; and I think there would be a far greater chance of finding them if there were a recognized unified political service from which political officers and advisers could be selected for the various posts which we have or may have to fill in this area. If there were such a service it should be possible to attract better candidates to it as there would be a cadre large enough to offer a reasonable career.

Of course that is not enough by itself to ensure a settled, or at any rate a more settled, Middle East. There is the importance of adequately garrisoning the area (of showing force as Lyautey, often quoted by Brigadier

[1]R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs* (London, Cambridge University Press, 1930).

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



do not remain for any length of time on one plot of land, but take up all 565
kinds of casual labour as well as farm labour. Among such one may find 463
carpenters, gunsmiths, builders and tradesmen. The manufacture of 384
indigo dye, with which the Mushreqi tribesman dyes himself and his 436
clothes, and the sale of indigo-dyed cotton is, to a large extent, in their hands. Large families of this class are to be found throughout the territory in the market towns. Unlike the Rayz, they do not bear arms.

The Heiq class is almost indistinguishable from the Dha'if, but there 565
is a distinction in that the Heiq can be described as the lower third of the Dha'if class. That is, that the whole class of artisans and casual labourers can be described, in a generalization, as Dha'if, but the poorer, unskilled casual labourer is of the Heiq class. As an example, a rich shopkeeper is Dha'if, but, because of his possessions, is not Heiq. It is not a very important distinction. Dha'if in Arabic means "weak." I am unable to discover the derivation of Heiq, but we can take it to mean "of low quality."

The Asakar, or hired soldier class, are a class in themselves. They 565
are of two kinds—freed slaves still in the service of their master and 567
tribesmen who have lost their lands and their status and entered the ser- 568
vice of their Chief. Once this happens to a tribesman, he or his descend- 582
ants can never return again to the status of tribesmen, but remain ever afterwards Askari, whether they still serve master or not. They have dropped below the aristocratic classes and can no longer intermarry with tribesmen. I have heard of no exceptions to this hard rule.

The next class is that of the Doshan, plural Doashin. I can find no 565
derivation to the name. They are of two kinds—wandering singers and 527
dancers, and settled singing-men who have attached themselves to a particular tribe. Their origin is a mystery. The wanderings ones, who give the most dismal performances of what they call dancing, can always be driven out of camp. It is best, however, to be polite to the settled ones. They are skilled versifiers, and those who treat them with contempt must submit afterwards to unmerciful lampooning. On public holidays in up-country towns one of them frequently apponts himself as Amir Al 'Id, or "Amir of the Holiday." Supported by his friends and anyone who wants some fun, he calls upon the local Chief and demands a present and entertainment. This the Chief refuses, and receves an ultimatum challenging him to war in a few minutes. The war which ensues is conducted for the most part with fireworks, blank ammuniton, water and balls of dung. The Chief's fort is the centre of attack. Eventually the Chief will ask for a truce, ambassadors are exchanged and all ends in an entertainment and a present to the "Amir." At other times they will institute rhyming competitions, or will compose and sing long Qasidas on the local political situation. Some of these settled Doashin become men of mark, but they have, for all their poems and lampoons, litle effect on tribal policy and no say whatever in tribal affairs.

Slaves need no introduction. The slave rade in the south is dead, but 567
the descendants of Abyssinian slaves still serve their original masters. It would be absurd to free them; they are completely free, but slavery is their only niche in the community. Take that away and they would be homeless and workless. As in the rest of Arabia, except the Zeidi Yemen,

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

555 756 pretensions to being medicine-men inform their friends that a Kinyago is to be danced at a certain spot on a certain night, and a crowd consequently congregates there. The medicine-men, most of whom in Malindi District apart from Giryama are of Shambala slave origin, make themselves up with the help of clothes stuffed with grass to represent certain wild animals, such as elephants, lions, etc. A ring having been made in the waiting crowd, a medicine-man thus disguised as an animal suddenly dashes from behind a convenient bush and enters the ring, where he capers about and makes a noise in imitation of the beast he represents. On getting tired he retires again behind the convenient bush, and another disguised medicine-man [533] takes his place in the ring and so on. A *msondo* drum is used, described above (see Ki-Nyasa dance). The crowd takes no part in the performance.

535 527 756 The Kinyago is, of course, a heathen dance from Nyasaland imported by slaves. It takes place usually after a good harvest, and is intended more or less as a thanksgiving to the spirits that control the rain and the abundance of food generally. It is also intended by the medicine-men to impress the people with the powers which they ascribe to themselves of being able to change the shape of their bodies into that of any wild animal. But these pretensions are not accorded much credence nowadays in the Malindi District.[1]

## NGOMA YA PEPO.

776 753 The Swahili word *pepo*[1] is the equivalent of the Arab word *jin*, or devil or evil spirit. The people inhabiting the coastal zone, both Arabs and Swahilis, believe in the existence of these beings, some of whom are considered harmless while others, entering into the human body, create various ills and pains, insensibility or sometimes a demented state accompanied by violent gestures. It is quite evident, even to a layman, that these ills are due to a disturbance of the nervous system of imaginative and highly-strung individuals. Thus one finds that the great majority of the people who get *pepo* are women.

753 533 The native cure for *pepo* is principally drumming. The natives of Africa are particularly sensitive to rhythm, pure and simple, even more so perhaps than Europeans. The rhythm of certain kinds of drumming has the effect of exciting the nerves to an ecstatic degree, while other rhythms appear to have the contrary effect upon the nervous system of Africans. It is the latter rhythms that are used as a cure for *pepo*.

This physiological effect of rhythmic drumming is, however, unknown to the nhabitants of the coastal zone, and believing as they do, that the nervous disturbance known as *pepo* is caused by the presence of evil spirits in the body, they set about propitiating the *jin* and putting him in a good temper by giving a drumming

[1] This reminds one of some of the corn dances recorded by Sir J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*; and by Professor Ridgway in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), pp. 325–374.

1 [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

It seems that herein lie pagan ideas attached to the person of a Muslim saint who appears to be regarded in much the same way as a tribal god of the pre-Islamic era. On consideration, I do not think that the intent is to bring the head of the foe to 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, but he is evidently regarded as assisting the quarter in battle against, perhaps, another quarter, Muslims and Šawāfi' notwithstanding. 621 789 792

In the case of a quarrel between two quarters, when one quarter denies its culpability it uses the following formula : 539 621 578

لَا عَصَبْنَا وَلَا طَلَقْنَا وَلَا رَمَزْنَا وَلَا غَمَزْنَا

« We did not decide (to do anything), nor did we omit (to do anything), we did not look nor did we whisper [12]. »

This is known as the « oath of the denial » (yamīn al-inkār). 621 539

2. Ahl al-Ḥilaif 527 533

a. Metre : Basīṭ, ||—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

اَلْيَوْم جُمْعَة وَغُدْوَة مِثْلَهَا
لَمَّا تَقُومَ اَلْقِيَامَة كُلَّهَا.
عِيوَّة ! وَوْ ! مِسَّه !

« Today is Friday, tomorrow the same,
Until the Resurrection comes, all of it. »

The sense is, probably, that today is a holiday, or at least a fortunate day. After this and other verses, exclamations such as the above are commonly used. Another common exclamation is wō-lākhap. What these exclamations signify none can say, but all Ḥaḍramis concur that they are old and curious. I am tempted to suggest they might be corrupt vestiges of pagan religious ritual.

[12] The latter two verbs of the « oath of denial » were thus paraphrased for me, but I feel that the classical senses of the Lexicons might be more appropriate here.

631 The Kathīri claims the Hamumi, Nahd, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar tribes as his allies. The agreement with the Nahd, which is said to be similar to those with the Hamumi, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar, is included in an appendix. It is stated that these tribes would join the Kathīris if there was trouble with the Qu'aitis.

*Kathīri Towns.*

101 The country ruled by the Kathīris was formerly of vast extent and stretched from the 'Aulaqi country on the west to the Mahri on the east, including the country of Dhufar beyond. The history of the circumscription of the territory to its present limits appears sufficiently in an earlier chapter of this report.

631 Of the six towns or villages mentioned as being included in the Kathīri dominions Seiyun and Tarim are the largest. Seiyun, the 632 capital of the Āl 'Abdulla Sultans, is a walled town of over 1,500 361 houses and about 50 mosques. The suburbs, which are all to the east of the town, are extending fairly rapidly with the building of pleasant looking residencies, most of them with their own gardens. The population is said to be about 20,000. Tarim is also a growing town with an estimated population of 15,000. Its walls, which are over five miles in length and are furnished with five gates and 25 forts, enclose a great deal of open space so that most of the better class houses have their own gardens. There are over 2,000 houses, and there are said to be 300 mosques, one of which, built by the Al Kafs, has the highest minaret in the Hadhramaut and is of an unusual pattern. The principal shrine in Tarim is that of Maqaddam Faqih. There are growing suburbs outside the walls such as 'Aidīd, but some of the suburbs such as Thibi, Dammūn, and Beit Jabīr, belong to the Tamimis and are under 342 Qu'aiti influence. Tarim and Seiyun are striking for their many 365 palaces, equipped in modern style, to which reference has already been made. These houses have a water supply laid on and pumped 312 up by small petrol engines. The towns are well supplied with wells, and Tarim is remarkable for being the only town in the Hadhramaut with public conveniences, which, however, are rough mud erections and very insanitary.

361 Taris is a village lying to the west of Seiyun, and its inhabitants 529 do not exceed 700. Mariama is a small village to the east of Seiyun with a population of about 300. Al Ghurf, also a small village, lies to the north of Tarim and has a population not exceeding 250. Gheil bin Yomein is said to be a popular place of resort during the autumn. It is a small village of which the majority of the inhabitants are Beduins.

565 A great deal of wealth comes into the Kathīri towns from the East Indies, and the towns of Tarim and Seiyun, which are considered centres of culture and learning, include many wealthy inhabitants whose fortunes have been made in the East Indies.

000 The whole of the Kathīri part of the wadi is accessible by motor

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



qualification. Pomp and circumstance mean little to a tribesman and nothing at all if they are only window dressing. It is worth while quoting what Tabari says of the Khalif Umar's instructions to governors: "Whenever he appointed a governor he used to draw up in writing a certificate of investiture. It contained the following instructions: That he must not ride on horseback, nor eat white bread, nor wear fine clothes, not set up a door between himself and those who had aught to ask of him."[1]

An officer living in many of these countries must not expect a life of ease and comfort, and he must be ready to do without the sort of things that he considers the ordinary amenities of life, such as games, clubs, European society and its distractions. If he cannot find interest and entertainment in local society and its diversions, he is better elsewhere. The same applies to his wife. Freya Stark once wrote that the British are always popular until they bring their wives. This is exaggerated but there is a great deal of truth in it, and I have often heard the complaint that wives caused the lack of understanding between British officers and their people by keeping their husbands away from the people.

Apart from personal qualities an officer must have not only a knowledge of the language of the country but a knowledge of and sympathy with its religious customs. He must know its history and the more he knows of its literature the better. Without these he cannot speak with the enemy within the gates. Finally, he must have a general grounding of administrative or technical knowledge and experience. When he sees a suitable opening and can get the requisite co-operation he should be in a position to help to put finances on a sound basis, and to help in the development of medical services, education and agriculture. He should be of an inventive turn of mind and should be able to make a little money do the work of a lot. He should be able to make bricks without straws.

I cannot, of course, pretend to speak for any area of which I have not direct experience, but from what I have seen and heard of the rest of the Middle East I have the feeling that it is qualifications of this kind that are needed there also.

It may be to some extent a counsel of perfection to ask for officers of these qualifications, but I find it difficult to believe that candidates with many or all of them and with the necessary missionary spirit cannot be found; and I think there would be a far greater chance of finding them if there were a recognized unified political service from which political officers and advisers could be selected for the various posts which we have or may have to fill in this area. If there were such a service it should be possible to attract better candidates to it as there would be a cadre large enough to offer a reasonable career.

Of course that is not enough by itself to ensure a settled, or at any rate a more settled, Middle East. There is the importance of adequately garrisoning the area (of showing force as Lyautey, often quoted by Brigadier

[1]R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs* (London, Cambridge University Press, 1930).

133 tufa surrounds, and almost blocks, the outlet, and forms a small fan below. In one case a narrow channel has been humanly cut in the deposit to lead the water into a cement tank from which periodically a few palms are watered.
137 The surplus water overflows and is lost in the scree. Growing amongst the huge boulders are shrubs and trees, wild figs, *Ficus salicifolia*, and *F. sycamorus* being particularly common. Around the water itself maiden-hair fern and other small plants make a pleasant green garden in the rocky desolation.

133 At this level there is a limestone platform or shelf some 10–11 m. wide, and on the edge of this occur the outcrops of Pleistocene tufa. In the Wadi Luqrun it is a block 5 m. thick and 3–4 m. high, which is evidently but a remnant of a much more extensive deposit, for traces were detected on the walls of the great limestone overhang. Its present size and isolation are some measure of the time that has elapsed since its formation. A few badly preserved fossil leaves were found here, but also a considerable number of small cavities which, as in Kharga, are the moulds of fruits. Most of these show no structure and are therefore unidentifiable, but Mrs. E. R. Reid, who kindly examined them, found one that was certainly a fruit of a species of *Celtis*.

A climb of 50 m. or so up the scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone leads over bare rock to the upper course of the wadi. In time of spate the waters must cascade in a fall over the lip. At Luqrun traces only of tufa occurred at this upper level, but in a valley east of Hureidha a much larger outcrop was found which yielded many leaves. Here, after half an hour's ride along the wadi floor, the track climbs gradually up the stony scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone. A hundred metres or so from the edge a mass of tufa occurs as a terrace remnant 15–16 m. above the limestone floor. It is 4·6 m. high and rests on limestone breccia. This outcrop was particularly
137 rich in leaves. The commonest types closely resemble figs, but without the fruits this identification cannot be assured. Some however seem identical with the *Ficus sycamorus* leaves found in the Kharga tufas,[1] and another resembles *F. salicifolia*; as both trees are still growing nearby they probably occur as fossils. Some kind of palm is certainly present and one or two other unidentified types. The shells are scarce and not well preserved. *Melania tuberculata*, *Zootecus insularis*, and a *Planorbis* were present. More abundant is the cast of a lava very similar in appearance to that found in Kharga and considered by Dr. Zeuner to be that of a dipterous insect.

108 The pool at the foot of the cliff was examined. It is called "El Bahr"—the
529 sea[2]—and is a favourite bathing-place, the Badawin climbing the cliff and
823 diving in from a considerable height. Local tradition calls it bottomless, and a weighted tape failed to touch bottom at 19 m. It would seem to be a super
133 pot-hole, ground out through the ages by the swirling stones and water of the seasonal cascade from higher levels. It is in the shade for most of the day, and water remains all the year. The shallows around are covered with soft

113 [1] Gardner, "The Pleistocene fauna and flora of Kharga Oasis" (*Quart. J. geol. Soc.*, vol. xci, December 1935.)

[2] Van der Meulen and von Wissmann in 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled' describe this place. "After energetic scrambling over fields of stone and up slopes of rock we actually arrive at El Bahr, a deep, rocky basin, full of water, with high cavernous walls, from which, after rain, the water must fall in spray into the basin."

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



484 438 [463 512] passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

361 438 529 Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the [504] principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

619 438 Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

487 101 438 142 When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan [244] Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



351 if we had been transported bodily into a bit of the Indies. The fruit-trees best known in that country are represented here, and a sultry, moist heat permeates the shadows of this richly watered garden.

529 In front of the garden villa, built in a modern style, but not yet quite finished, is a cemented swimming-pool about 300 feet long and of the same width as the building. It joins onto the stairs of the terrace, and a trim rowing-boat lies motionless on the crystal clear water. To do us honour the basin has been filled by means of an engine-pump, and, although the water is warm, we show our appreciation at once by enjoying a bathe, and a row in the boat.

249 277 387 Our host, who is acting for the Sultan, is a tobacco-grower as well as an official. He says that the Ḥumûmî tobacco can only be grown here. They are trying to cultivate the same kind in Lahadj, behind Aden, and in the Yemen; as the climate and the soil are not similar the result is a product which in perfume and taste is inferior to that grown here. Cultivation in el-Ghël is carried to a very high pitch of refinement. The tobacco-plants are manured three times: with guano, with fish, and with the dung of beasts and men. Pure water is used for irrigation, not too much and not too little. Each kind of dung is applied to the plant at the right time. The best guano comes from an island on the coast of Somaliland, for which the British authorities have given a concession. A second kind of guano is found on islands near Bîr ʿAlî, to the west of Makalla, and near Aden. The entire harvest of tobacco is exported to Egypt, and from there a part of it goes to Syria and to the countries on the Red Sea. The Ḥumûmî tobacco is broken up and cut into wide strips, and is smoked in water-pipes. The stalks can be used at the same time and for this reason the plants are dried whole, not the leaves alone. They are then bound into large bundles an packed into oblong bales, the weight of a camel's load, that is to say 300 lbs. The price of such a bale is nowadays 120 to 130 rupees.

[OF THE SULTAN AT GAFI BE JEZIR — ANALYSIS]

000 172 a chance of success some money could be spared for it. Close to this spring lie against the mountain-wall the ruins of Khurēḍa, the town from which Ḥurēḍa is said to have taken its name. It may be presumed that these ruins date from well into pre-Islamic times, in spite of the fact that we found no inscriptions to prove it. There are remains of houses, namely foundations of stone, two wells, which are still very deep, and a cistern, which is plastered with a kind of cement. A fragment of an aqueduct of mason-work leading to the spring is still to be seen.

312 Tins of water are carried on donkeys from the spring to Ḥurēḍa. We advised that the spring and the rocky basin in front of it should be cleaned out right up to the massive rock, then cemented, and the water brought at least as far as the valley by means of a conduit of iron piping, thus saving much output of energy and minimizing the possibility of pollution and the spilling of water.

After this, under the guidance of the Bedouin Sayyid ʿAlī, we go through the palm-groves and over the dry irrigation canals to the other wall of the wādī, where, in a fissure of the rock, there is said to be a little pool which always has water. Sayyid ʿAlī does not much like the hot climbing, but we 329 persevere in it. After energetic scrambling over fields of stone and up slopes of rock we actually arrive at el-Baḥr, "the sea", a deep, rocky basin, full of water, with high, cavernous walls from which, after rain, the water must fall in spray into the basin. It is a splendid place for a swim. The temperature of the water is certainly high, but it is so broiling hot in the chasm that the contrast is refreshing. The basin is so deep that we cannot dive to the bottom. Sayyid ʿAlī performed one of his great feats, on the occasion of a picnic, by climbing up the high wall of rock and diving thence into the basin. That nearly all these men of the desert are good swimmers and daring divers certainly points to the natural giftedness of the race. Ḥaḍramis who have never seen the sea enlist as pearl-divers or go as stokers on long voyages.

1/8 [ONE MILE S.W. OF HURĒḌA -- ANALYST]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## 4. A WONDERFUL RECEPTION IN THE GARDEN CITY SEḤĒL SHIBĀM.

491 The families of Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam are on the best of
493 friendly terms with the Sultan and arrange matters with him. A little later the great dark-red cars buzz through the gate and cross the *sēl*-bed in the direction of the palm-groves, called Seḥēl Shibām. Only in the last few years has the motor-car penetrated as far as Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has made this possible by the construction of motor roads. Motor-cars can, with great difficulty, be brought from the port of esh-Shiḥr to Terīm. The separate parts of the cars have to be transported on camels for a great part of the way.

562 From the road one can see very little of the palm-groves
529 and the summer pavilions in their midst; high mud walls shut
576 off the gardens from the gaze of passers-by. There is one exception to this, where the central point is formed by a new building in modern style. This is the club of the young men of Shibām; no women come here and so there is nothing to shut
312 off. A little further on the cars turn into the gateway that
342 gives entrance to the garden of the Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam.
197 This summer abode of their joint families is still uninhabited;
351 the time for moving from town to country has only just come. There is a well behind the house, from which oxen and donkeys draw up the water, clear as crystal, though tasting somewhat bitter. All around there are banana and papaya trees, pomegranate and lemon bushes as well as date-palms. The new summer pavilion is in the depths of the garden; our host has devoted his leisure to building it. It is a product of Ḥaḍramī imagination influenced by Singapore and Java. For the outer walls chaste, simple white has been abandoned and is replaced by soft green, rose and sky-blue. The great windows are framed by coloured ornamentation. Connected with the villa is a swimming-bath with a high parapet. One has a great longing for colour in this sunny land, where it is so lacking, and this fairy palace strikes a happy note among

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



afterwards with wet body in the dry evening breeze certainly 000
does. Of course there is a servant with a samovar, who provides the glasses of tea, which are always welcome in this country of dry heat. The ripest dates are brought from the gardens; they are sweet but very astringent. The foreigner accustoms himself but slowly to this unusual and, at first, unappetising food. But soon he learns to appreciate the date whilst it is still hard and fresh.

Swimming by moonlight is an unexpected luxury and a par- 529
ticular pleasure to us in this country. On one side, close to the swimming-pool, there is a space for the *ṣalāt*, where a niche in the wall indicates the *qibla*[1]; on the other side there is a summer pavilion. Everything has a wash of light, delicate colour; the lines of the walls and roofs are edged with fine figures and borders, and one is inclined to forget that the material of which they are made is plain, brown mud. We spend quite a long time together with the young people on brotherly terms. They let themselves go now that no elders are present. Swimming and diving competitions are held with great gusto, until the time comes for the *ṣalāt el-ʿishāʾ* (the late evening ritual prayer), which is performed with suitable solemnity. The evenings at home on the great roof-terrace are always very attractive; only intimate friends remain till then, and our host puts questions which show clearly how his thoughts are always occupied with his country and people, and how he is seeking ways for their advancement.

There are many difficulties in the making of a road to esh- 491
Shiḥr. The Ḥumūmī Bedouins, notorious for their love of fight- 598
ing, and through whose territory passes the greater part of 656
the road, have — after being richly paid — made a pact by 489
which they promise not to oppose it and whereby Sayyid Abū Bakr binds himself only to allow the use of the road for travellers by motor-car, while the conveyance of freight shall be left to the camels of the Bedouins. There is only left unfinished a stretch of three days by camel.

[1] The *qibla* is the direction in which Mecca lies. 104

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

### Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

*In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

*In Seiyun:* Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

[The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

more popular and provides the something of excitement which has given a zest to raiding. It should not be forgotten that some of our own games were war games.

The Beduin proletariat and the capitalist townsmen are mutually necessary to each other. The Beduins do all the carrying trade and supply the firewood and their other scanty products to the towns, and the merchants sell to the Beduins what they require of food, clothing, and other necessaries of life. The brokers of the Beduins to be found in all the towns supply the link between the two. They live on helping the Beduins to sell their produce to, and buy their requirements from, the merchants, and on helping the merchants to obtain the transport they need.

## Housing.

Each town in the Hadhramaut has its own individual characteristics as regards housing. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Mukalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not six feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces. Away from the coast, mud is the almost universal building medium, and sun-dried mud bricks are used alike in building the palaces of the rich and the simple *dars* of the poor.

In the Wadi Du'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Du'an houses, the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb*[1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily-carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, two inches across the heads, burnished with lead till they shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development in Du'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living-room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring bone pattern.

In Tarim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud

[1] Other Arabic names are *sidr* and *nebk*. *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*. L.

bricks. The cost of building the house in which we stayed in Tarim was $60,000. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice-plants, and European modern conveniences in the bathrooms, wash-basins with running water and shower-baths. Whereas in Du'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found, these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Large and comfortable chairs and sofas decorate the drawing-rooms, and there are English carpets, masses of gilt mirrors, chandeliers and glass cupboards full of marmalade dishes, egg-cups and so on. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel-back over the mountains for six days.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of procuring long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree grows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees (*Conocarpus erectus*, Jacq.) growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseila, they cannot be transported by camels. The difficulty is being surmounted to some extent by experiments in the making of reinforced concrete pillars of which I saw two in construction at Seiyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seiyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, are covered with a lime plaster polished with smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area 500 houses built on a slight eminence in the Wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. By general consent, houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher, but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this type of house which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together. The life of a house is said to be 200 to 250 years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done, the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits, necessitating demolition.

7: Stutler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk. 342

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm. 361

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anis go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices. 311 312 511 262 439 291

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space. 342 361 531

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut. 361 342

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on [941]

361 a mound, is seven storeys and rises above the rest, the whole, like all
342 others, built in mud bricks.

In the centre, the space that is left, lie huddled the one-storeyed shops of the suq and the many-storeyed flat houses of the poor. Shibam seemed the only town where houses were occupied in flats. Elsewhere I saw almost exclusively one-family houses even if the family had many groups within it.

342 All houses in Hadhramaut have a strong inward slant from bottom to
333 top, which gives them a look of strength mingled with grace. There are no basements and barely foundations, but the ground floor is an almost solid base, so thick are the walls that taper towards the top. They may be almost 3 feet thick at the base for a tall castle, and a foot at the top.

In Shibam, the houses forming a solid rampart wall have windows at the two ends only, and a small light-well to light the stairs in the centre of the deep building. The ground floor usually contains granaries and stores. The straight flights of the stairs rise between thick walls with a very heavy
342 central block. On the first floor the Shibam citizen keeps his goats and
231 rabbits in the outside rooms, while the centre is occupied by more stores. About the second floor begin the living quarters—that is, the office and rooms of the men, stores in the centre again, and often with kitchen,
342 washroom, and lavatory. These washrooms and lavatories are systemati-
336 cally built over a central shaft, though water is mostly allowed to run from a gutter into the centre of the street. But there are "back" streets for the
342 sanitation and "front" streets for doors. About the third floor the private quarters begin. They would be men's living quarters, with the ladies on the floor above, the fourth, with kitchen and washrooms again, right on top, often little private quarters for the owner of the house where he may enjoy most fresh air. Each floor has a double set of windows, a large one down to the floor and a small square one for ventilation above, up against the ceiling, so that there are continual draughts running through the top of the room. Practically all rooms have windows on two sides, and with this and the thick walls and the smooth plaster they remain pleasantly cool.

342 The lower floors are usually the loftiest; even the ground floor store
353 rooms are up to 12 and 13 feet high. The house often has two entrances—
531 a large door for the men and a little one for the ladies, with separate stairs in the larger houses, even in Shibam where land is scarce. The façades are in rough mud brick, a uniform brown colour with a white plaster smooth base and white ornaments round windows and parapet, getting richer towards the top of the house, which is the best part of it.

Their plasterwork is one of their great arts. It is extraordinarily hard. To obtain this it is presumed to be mixed with date juice. When polished with a piece of flint and rubbed with a cloth for hours it acquires a lustre that makes it shine like marble. This is chiefly done inside the main rooms and in the washrooms and stairs. Outside it is only polished at the base, for water to run off. The ornamentation of the upper storeys is left
342 rough white. But as people's wealth increased they have abandoned this
531 form of very characteristic decoration, which divided the tall buildings in broad brown bands alternating with narrow white bands at window level.

Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost. 342 531

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby. 341 531 177

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away. 342 353 177

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms. 361 565

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely. 565 292 561

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one 565 342

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2 . p.281

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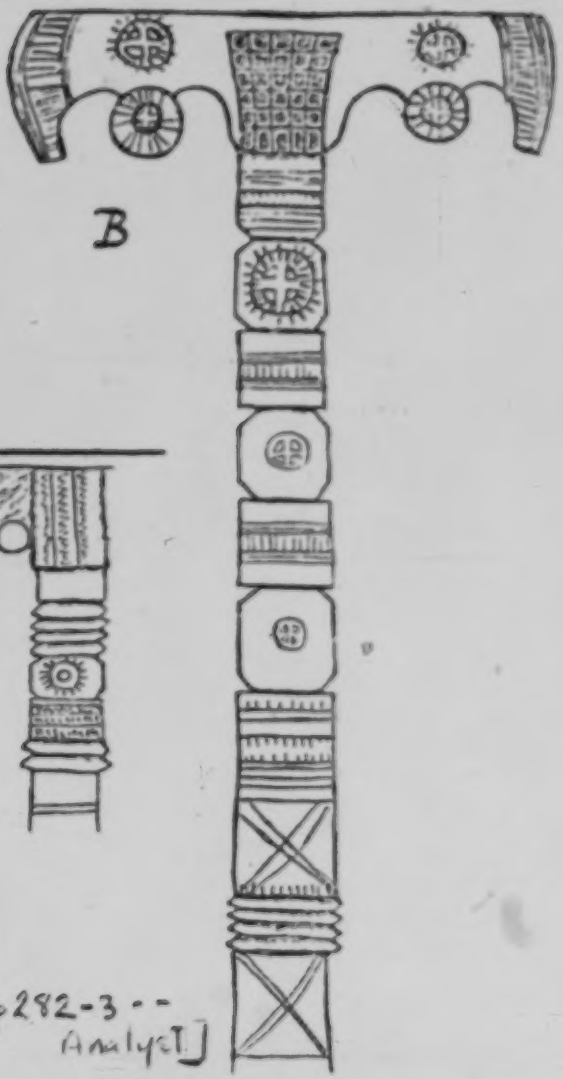
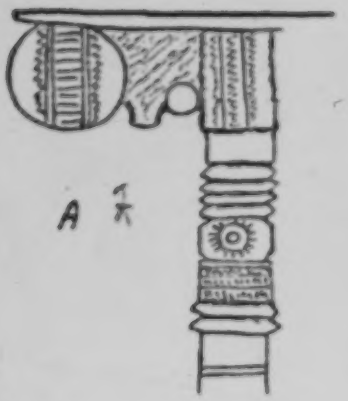
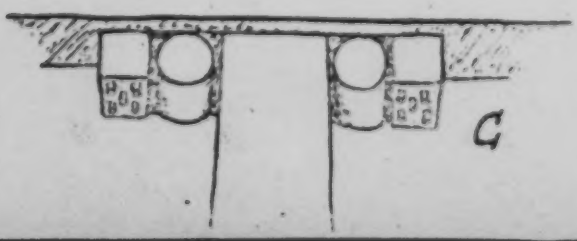
531




[See text on pp 282-3 -- Analyst]



Dr. Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



467 this reduction should be made, issued a decree (taḳrīr) defining the
466 wages of the various categories of people engaged in building. The workmen still refused to accept the revised wages, and some left Tarīm and went to the independent Ḥawṭah of Thibī, outside it and beyond Kathīrī jurisdiction. Some however stayed in Tarīm, but worked at collecting firewood, and refused to undertake building. A *modus vivendi* was established through the good offices of Saiyid Bū Bakr al-Kāf, but whereas, before, the wage of the builders had been two three Āl Kāf ḍarībahs per day, which the wealthy had attempted to reduce to one ḍarībah only, after the dispute all the workmen received three ḍarībahs [10].

172 To revert to the sacrifice in the sās, I noticed in the fine archaeo-
782 logical site of the town known as Am-'Ādīyah [11] that on some buildings an inscription was located at the *corner* of the sās which was constructed of the typical lozenge-backed Himyarite hewn stone, and that it stood about three feet from the ground. Possibly therefore it was sometimes a custom to place inscriptions in the sās about the place of the sacrifice; they could not be placed higher as the wall above this point is of adobe. These particular Am-'Ādīyah inscriptions are very weather-beaten, and to the best of my knowledge no attempt has been made to copy them.

322 An interesting feature of Ḥaḍramī building is the shape of the
842 columns, generally carved from 'ilb wood, which strikes one immediately as descended from an ancient tradition. In the Ḥawṭah of
531 Thibī near Tarīm, I first saw the curious capital sketched (fig. C.) from below, with its little round pendants underneath the rectangular blocks. Later I realised that this was a very stylized type of capital, derived from a prototype somewhat resembling the examples in figs. A & B., sketched in my field-book at 'Azzān and

436 [10] Reproductions of the ḍarībah in J. A. S. BUCKNILL, *A note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia, Journ. of the Malay of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, 1925), III, 1. It is the coin which has the number 16 written on it. There were about five to six ḍarībahs to the riyāl (kirī franzāwī).

[11] For notes on this town see S. PEROWNE, *'Im'adiya and Beihan, Aden, Antiquity* (London), xiii (1939), p. 50. The author confuses the name امادية with عادية, but it is really the South Arabian article Am = Al, followed by the word 'Ādīyah. It is therefore « the 'Ādite city » which means little more really than « the ancient city ». I visited it in 1941.

19: Seiyeun U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Ṣa'īd respectively, both in the Wāḥidī, Ḥimyar territory. The Ṣa'īd house had in its clay construction that pattern of recessed surfaces one so often sees in fragments of pre-Islamic architectural ornament. Both of these columns are obviously representations of the palmtree, the capital representing the leaves on the outside, and the bunch of dates in its fibre bag (ḫubrah) on the inside. In all cases the capital which is carved out of a single block of wood, is called kabš or ram, a term which brings to mind the bull-headed columns of Persepolis. The room in which I saw fig. B. was the main reception room of the house called rakaiz (which Landberg gives as the general name for the second storey of a house), and the column was called rakīzah.

The following terms, most not mentioned by Landberg, may be of interest; the list makes no pretence at being near exhaustive, and these only apply to the Tarīm area.

*manwar* (pl. manāwir), a little oriel window set high in the wall.
*mizyāb* (pl. mazāyīb), a hole in the wall at floor-level and the spout to which it leads, projecting outside for drainage (class.).
*sawārī*, pillars (class.).
*safan* (pl. asfān & sufūn), a stone base under a wooden column, or round column-drums, roughly six inches in height.
*sahm* (pl. suhūm & iahum), wooden column, (class.).
*kabš* (pl. kibāš), a horizontal piece of wood, about three feet in length, placed on the top of a column to serve as a capital, below the beam, (class.).
*ḳāsim* (pl. ḳawāsim), wooden beam lyving on the top of the kabš (cf. Landberg).
*širḳah* (pl. širḳ), a beam running from wall to wall.
*ḳubl* (new plur. aḳbāl), Landberg's « solive ».
*'akf* (pl. 'ukūf), arch (Landberg). Bait mu'akkaf, a house with an arched roof (i.e. holding up the first floor).
*ṭāḳ*, any arched hole in a wall used as a shelf, and an arch over a window with a wooden shelf in it.
*'ammārah* (pl. 'ammarīyāt), cupboard.
*mirfa'* (pl. marāfi'), shelf. Syn. riff (class.).
*ḳawām* (pl. ḳiwām), a wooden frame in which a door is set. In Tarīm the sides of it are known as lānah.
*ḳafā'ah* (or ḳafā'at al-ṭāli'), the jamb over the top of the door.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



342 insulation against the heat. Roofs are universally flat, and used for the recreation of the women, who keep purdah, and for sleeping in the summer.

342 The farm-house of the tribesmen is little removed from its earlier function of a fort, and even in large towns it is unusual for the ground
531 floor (often used as a stable) to have more than loop-holes, windows being reserved for the upper storeys. But the upper part of a house is frequently decorated with whitewash, and in some cases most intricate and delicate patterns are created in plaster-work and whitewash, occasionally touched with blue or other colours. Sanitation is primitive.

342 The cities of the Hadhramaut have tall mud-brick buildings, nearly every house in Shibam is from five to seven storeys high, and the wealthy Seiyids and Sultans live in veritable palaces which are remarkable not only for their size and cost but for their taste and beauty.

# Chapter 9: Law and Order

## JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (*a*) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts.

625 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate security is primarily a responsibility of the states themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces.

## PRISONS

697 There is no recognised prison service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of states have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff in controlled areas.

625 WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE SECURITY FORCES

*Government Guards*

The establishment was as follows:

| *British Officers* | *Arab Officers* | *Other Ranks* | *Specialists, etc.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 18 | 582 | 82 |

Posts were maintained in the Dhala district at Dhala, Safra, Jabel, Jihaf, Lazaric and Awabil; in Abyan district at Ja'ar (Khanfar), El Husn, Ba Teis and Hitat; in Ahwar district at Ahwar and El Oqma; in Beihan at Beihan, El Ain, Asailan, Najd Maizar and Najd Merqad; in Dathina district at Am Surra, Mudia, Am Khudeira and Am Quleita; at Thumeir in the Quteibi area and at Mahfad and El Irq in the Manqas district.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



been the borderland of two kingdoms, which naturally would not be the most favourable place for setting up inscriptions. Frontier defences are never centres of culture. Furthermore the stone here is not favourable for incising: it is too brittle. All the texts deciphered for us by Mordtmann are votary inscriptions (proskynemas) to the national god, Sīn.

From Ḥuṣn Thōbe we walked back to the main wādī, in whose midst, on a great lonely rock, remains of the walls of Ḥuṣn el-ʿUrr still rise to a considerable height. We met the caravan here and, uniting our forces, tried to get at a piece of cut stone that was cemented into the upper part of the remains of the walls. After much effort we succeeded. It turned out that we had detached a capital of whitish sandstone, particularly well-hewn on its four planes. The capital was too heavy for transport on our camels, so Von Wissmann made the drawing reproduced here.[1] The skill of the artist who, in ancient times, made this head of a column is clearly shown in the undamaged portions. The sculptor seems to have depicted hunting scenes. Mounted men fighting with lions are represented on one plane; on another are very good reproductions of the ibex (*wiʿl*), an animal which plays a great part in the folklore of Ḥaḍramaut. The *wiʿl* hunt is still the favourite sport of the Ḥaḍramīs, although strongly disapproved of by their religious leaders on account of the ceremonies of evidently heathen origin accompanying it. The heavy, notched horns of the ibex, gracefully bending backwards, are, up to this day, to be found as trophies decorating the façade of many a house in Ḥaḍramaut.

The smaller hewn stone that we had found in the ruins on the outward journey was dug up again. This stone, flat and of the same white sandstone as the capital, appeared to bear on front and back an identical sculpture, representing a bunch of grapes with a few leaves, a motive that also occurs here and there on the decorated surfaces of the capital. We wished to take this stone with us to Terīm as an addition

[1] See p. 178.

172
0532

THE CARVED CAPITAL OF ḤUṢN EL-'URR.

p. 178

*Internal transit dues.*

651 *Mukalla and Shihr.*

486 On every loaded camel leaving ... ... ... Re.1.

On every camel man[1] ... ... ... ... As.2.

*Shibam.*

On every *Bahar* brought in from Qu'aiti ports or territory ... ... ... ... ... ... $ ½.

On every *Bahar* from other places in Aden Protectorate or from Yemen ... ... ... $1½.

*Passport Fees (compulsory).*

On every passport ... ... ... ... ... Rs.2

Photograph by state photographer ... ... Rs.3

**Defence.**

REGULAR ARMY.

704 The strength of the regular army is as follows: one Subedar, who apparently knows no drill and only appears in uniform on very special occasions; four Jemadars, of whom two are ex-Yemen Infantry officers, and two are Indians, one of them being a Pathan in command of the artillery; 350 to 400 Yafa'is, and 250 slaves.

The non-commissioned ranks are, Havildar, Naik and Lais Naik. The Yafa'is receive nine dollars a month, and the slaves one to three dollars as pocket-money, but they are much better off than the Yafa'is for they receive regular rations for themselves and every member of their families. They are provided with wives, and given milk, which is scarce, for their wives and children. The 702 cadet corps, already referred to, ensures a constant supply of disciplined recruits.

713 The force is armed with every sort of rifle, but principally Martini Henrys. They are said to keep them perfectly clean inside and out. There is a "range" behind the town. The regulars 714 are all provided with a khaki uniform, shirt and shorts, and a 708 red fez, but the uniform is not worn except by the guards at the palace and on special occasions. There are said to be parades every 533 two days. There is a band consisting of 14 who wear khaki uniforms and scarlet glengarries. The regulars for the most part are stationed in Mukalla, but there are a few in Shihr and Reida.

IRREGULARS.

704 There are said to be 1,000 to 1,200 irregulars officered by eleven 701 *Muqaddams* who receive 35 to 40 dollars a month. Each *Muqaddam* has a paid *Muawin* who receives 20 to 25 dollars, and each man is said to receive seven dollars a month. They are stationed in the districts. In Shibam there are 40 Yafa'is and 60 slaves. There are about 500 Yafa'is in the neighbourhood of Shibam who are [635] paid but allowed to work their own fields. The Sultan's representative in the Shibam province is in command of the troops.

[1] Members of certain tribes are exempted from this tax.

576 A tribesman now separates himself from the
587 'home side' and, very fast and in a loud voice,
533 declaims verses which he has composed (fig. 1). If these are not accepted by his companions he declaims others, until acceptance is indicated by cries of 'Yallah.' He then begins to intone the first half of his verses in a chant peculiar to the occasion, and is followed by the leading half of the column. The second half of the verses is chanted by the second half of the column. When the poet is satisfied that the words are being sung correctly by all, he resumes his place in the column and joins in the singing. The column has meanwhile continued to wheel and circle (fig. 2).

576 The visitors can judge, from the words sung,
533 whether their welcome is a hearty one, or not. These words are not always polite, and the

P·89(A)

576 greatest interest in them is displayed by the
533. visitors, not only because they must soon reply in kind, but also because upon them may depend whether the visitors remain to feast and spend the night or whether, with unpleasant smiles and covert insults, they will move off to sleep elsewhere. On one occasion in Hâdhina the greeting song opened with the words—'It is only through 'our politeness that you have crossed the boun-'daries of Hâdhina.' These words, and a rapid count which showed that over half the 'home side' were in the forts, led to suspicion, and caused the visitors to extend their line until all semblance of ceremony was lost. But if the words are pleasant, an atmosphere of friendliness
576 is quickly established. The men of the 'home
[411] side' eventually file past the principal visitors, often firing their rifles and 'salaaming', and wheel back into their original line.

12: Skene G.B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadramaut MM2



are given vent to by singing and running round in a circle, in time to the beating of a drum, very much in the same manner as children do. No invitations are given, and anyone may join in. No refreshments are handed round. 535 534 782

### THE MDEMA DANCE.

This also is an importation from Nyasaland (see Ki-Nyasa dance), and is danced by the slave population only, either by day or by night. It is exactly like the Ki-Nyasa dance described above, with the exception that no iron bells are strapped round the knees, and it is, if possible, of a simpler character, the Ki-Nyasa being in truth simple enough. Like the latter it is merely a vent for high animal spirits. No refreshments are given and no invitations are necessary. 534 567 782

### THE KINDIMBA.

The Kindimba is not a dance, but a musical entertainment into which enters a slight element of the mystical. It is only given by people of the slave class in fulfilment of a vow. Any person who greatly desires something or some event to come to pass makes a vow to give a Kindimba if his wish is fulfilled. 533 567 517 782

Invitations are issued to his friends by the person who is giving the entertainment, and they assemble at his house. The men and women sit together either indoors if there is room, or else in the open. Songs are sung by a leader, the other guests joining in the chorus, and clapping their hands in time to the singing, which is accompanied by a small drum called a *mgumbaro*, very like a *marwasi* (see Shebwani dance), with this difference that only one end is covered with a goat skin, while in the *marwasi* both ends are covered. The other end, which is open, is made to rest on the chest or stomach of the player, who performs upon it in that position with both hands. Hard grains of maize are placed in dry gourds of various sizes, and these are rattled in time to the singing. 533 634 782

The entertainment partakes of the nature of thanksgiving, and frivolous songs are therefore avoided. Although not exactly of a religious character, a certain amount of superstition is far from being foreign to the Kindimba.

### THE VUGO.

At a wedding, a procession of women is often formed in the evening after dark to parade the streets, and is called a Vugo. The women sing in chorus to the sound of buffalo horns beaten with short sticks. No men are allowed to take part in the procession, which is both an Arab and a Swahili custom. 533 562 585

### THE KINYAGO DANCE.[1]

This is a Swahili medicine-dance usually held outside the town in a plantation on a moonless night. No artificial lights are allowed. Swahilis who have any 535 756

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

535 756 pretensions to being medicine-men inform their friends that a Kinyago is to be danced at a certain spot on a certain night, and a crowd consequently congregates there. The medicine-men, most of whom in Malindi District apart from Giryama are of Shambala slave origin, make themselves up with the help of clothes stuffed with grass to represent certain wild animals, such as elephants, lions, etc. A ring having been made in the waiting crowd, a medicine-man thus disguised as an animal suddenly dashes from behind a convenient bush and enters the ring, where he capers about and makes a noise in imitation of the beast he represents. On getting tired he retires again behind the convenient bush, and another disguised medicine-man [533] takes his place in the ring and so on. A *msondo* drum is used, described above (see Ki-Nyasa dance). The crowd takes no part in the performance.

535 527 756 The Kinyago is, of course, a heathen dance from Nyasaland imported by slaves. It takes place usually after a good harvest, and is intended more or less as a thanksgiving to the spirits that control the rain and the abundance of food generally. It is also intended by the medicine-men to impress the people with the powers which they ascribe to themselves of being able to change the shape of their bodies into that of any wild animal. But these pretensions are not accorded much credence nowadays in the Malindi District.[1]

## 1 NGOMA YA PEPO.

776 763 The Swahili word *pepo* is the equivalent of the Arab word *jin*, or devil or evil spirit. The people inhabiting the coastal zone, both Arabs and Swahilis, believe in the existence of these beings, some of whom are considered harmless while others, entering into the human body, create various ills and pains, insensibility or sometimes a demented state accompanied by violent gestures. It is quite evident, even to a layman, that these ills are due to a disturbance of the nervous system of imaginative and highly-strung individuals. Thus one finds that the great majority of the people who get *pepo* are women.

753 533 The native cure for *pepo* is principally drumming. The natives of Africa are particularly sensitive to rhythm, pure and simple, even more so perhaps than Europeans. The rhythm of certain kinds of drumming has the effect of exciting the nerves to an ecstatic degree, while other rhythms appear to have the contrary effect upon the nervous system of Africans. It is the latter rhythms that are used as a cure for *pepo*.

This physiological effect of rhythmic drumming is, however, unknown to the nhabitants of the coastal zone, and believing as they do, that the nervous disturbance known as *pepo* is caused by the presence of evil spirits in the body, they set about propitiating the *jin* and putting him in a good temper by giving a drumming

[1] This reminds one of some of the corn dances recorded by Sir J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*; and by Professor Ridgway in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), pp. 335–374.

1 [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

12: Skene G.B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



entertainment in his honour, so as to induce him to depart from the body of the person possessed. 753 776 533

The exorcising of the *pepo* is conducted by a professional man or elderly woman known as a *fundi* or *mganga* who specializes in certain kinds of *pepo*. 753 776

The *pepo* themselves are divided into various tribes such as the *pepo ya ki-galla*, *pepo ya ki-arabu*, *pepo ya ki-somali*, *pepo ya ki-shakini*, *pepo ya i-pemba*, *pepo ya ki-nubi*, etc., and some even are said to be like animals, such as the *pepo ya ng'ombe* and the *pepo ya punda*. Besides belonging to various tribes, the *pepo* have individual names similar to those common to human beings of the same tribe. Thus some *pepo ya ki-galla* are known as Guyo, Barsa, Godana, Galgalo, all of which are fairly common amongst the Gallas on the Tana River. 533 756

The *pepo* is recognised by the language it speaks through the lips of the person possessed. The *fundis* make out that the language spoken is actually Galla, Somali, Arabic, etc., but that it is an ancient form of these languages, and that no one can understand them but the *fundis* themselves. This, of course, is nonsense, as it is impossible for a person ignorant of a language to speak it suddenly and quite fluently. What actually happens is that the person possessed speaks ordinary Swahili,[1] but being in a state of high nervous tension the voice assumes an unnatural pitch, and the words are spoken indistinctly and interlarded with inarticulate sounds, so that they may be said to assume, with a stretch of imagination, either an Arab, a Somali, or any other accent, and, together with the inarticulate sounds uttered, are interpreted by the "*fundi*" as being ancient Arabic or ancient Somali, or some other ancient language.[2]

Each *fundi* has his own special set of *pepo* whom he knows by name, and to him only will such *pepo* respond. If a *fundi* is called in to attend to a possessed person, and is unable to make the *pepo* speak to him through the lips of the patient, then he knows that the *pepo* in question is not one of his set, but is a client of some other *fundi*. He then withdraws from the case, and suggests to the relations of the patient that such or such *fundi* be called in.

The first step in the treatment of a possessed person is to get the *pepo* to "come into the head" of the patient and speak to the *fundi*, the object of this being to find out from the *pepo* what would be acceptable to him as an offering in order to induce him to depart from the body of the possessed person. 753 755 756 776

The method of making the *pepo* speak is by administering *dawa*, or native medicine. The various tribes of *pepo* respond each to its particular kind of *dawa*, which in most cases consists of a decoction of roots mixed with leaves of plants found in the bush, and sometimes fresh seaweed. Each *fundi* has, of course, his own secret prescription. The mixture of roots and leaves is placed in a

[1] This is not certain.—C. W. H.

[2] For possession by spirits of other tribes, see Junod, *Les Baronga*, pp. 440, 441.

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



When there is a fire the people in the streets shout « Wa-'n-nār wa-'n-nār », or, if there has been an accident when some one has fallen into a well, « Wa-'l-bīr ». At this all of the males of the quarter come running out at a trot, leaving their occupations. If it is a fire they take tanaks (tins) and fill them at the mosque cistern (djābiyah). Only the Masākīn perform these duties of course, not the saiyids or maśā'iḫ. Apart from the occasions cited in a previous article[8] another time when the quarter turns out is when a clay-bank (djurf) of a water-channel or water-course has fallen on top of some person or persons. The latter are dug out by the quarter.

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Each quarter has a tanṣūrah (pl. tanāṣīr), a kind of rallying-song or theme special to each quarter, and doubtless each with its special tune. These tanṣūrahs are used on all sorts of occasions, festal or otherwise, and probably, indeed, whenever a body of men from the quarter assemble together. The tanṣūrah may be compared in some respects with the tribal ṣarḫah and 'azwah[9] examples of which are given by Landberg. The following are examples of some of the themes used by the principal quarters of Tarîm.

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1. Ahl al-Sūḳ

a. Metre : Wāfir type, ||—|———∪|———∪

لَنَا ٱلتَّرَايِدْ وَفِينَا ٱلزَّايِدْ

Metre : Radjaz type, ||—|—∪——|—∪—∪

وَشَيْخنَا ٱلمِخفَار مَعْنا

« We have the most, and amongst us lies the most.
And our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār is with us. »

As the metre of these two pieces differs I assume they are independent of each other though given me as a single tanṣūrah. The sense is that the Ahl al-Sūḳ is greater in numbers than any other quarter, it being the largest of all. Al-Miḥḍār is the celebrated Tarîmî saint. [792]

[8] *The Cemeteries of Tarîm, op. cit.*
[9] C. de Landberg, *Arabica IV* (Leiden, 1897), pp. 18, 20, etc.

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b. Metre : Ramal type, ||—|——∪—|——∪—

شَيْخنَا ٱلمِخضَار يَطفِى ٱلنَّار

« Our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār puts out the fire. »

This is a radjaz or zāmil known as radjaz ḫābbah, or « jingle used by a party of men at the trot ». It would be sung after a fire had been extinguished. It should be noted that extinguishing of the fire is attributed to the patron saint of the quarter, and one can with justification see in this the survival of some ancient pagan ceremony.

c. Metre : Basīṭ type,

||—|—∪—|—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

وَٱلشَّيْخ وَٱللهْ عُمَرْ يَا سَعْد مِن كَان شَيْخَهْ

« By the Šaiḫ, by God, 'Umar, O the good fortune of him whose šaiḫ he is. »

This radjaz (jingle) is also used in trotting.

d. Metre : Banī Mighrāh [10],

||——∪|———∪|——∪|———∪

عُمَرْ مِخضَار فِى كُلِّ حِجَّهْ نَهتَرِى بَهْ

وَرَاسَ ٱلخَصْم لِى قِدْ عَصَبْنَا بَيْن جِيَهْ

« 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, in every matter we shout for assistence to him.

And the head of the foe whom we have made up our mind (to attack) we shall bring [11]. »

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[10] I have named this metre Banī Mighrā because it seems to be invariably used in the poems which begin with this phrase. The Banī Mighrāh poem is the traditional hunting song of Ḥaḍramawt; it is discussed at length in my *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramaut.*

[11] اهترى LANDBERG, *Glos Dat.*, « prononcer le cri de ralliement de la tribu, crailler ». My informant said it meant « to seek assistance from. » For عصب he gave the synonym اراد. One can say عصبنا السيله equivalent to نبنا السيله « We want to go to the Masilah ». In the « oath of denial » *infra*, I think that the first two verbs must have the fundamental sense of « binding and loosing » بين جيه is equivalent to نبنا نحيه.

It seems that herein lie pagan ideas attached to the person of a Muslim saint who appears to be regarded in much the same way as a tribal god of the pre-Islamic era. On consideration, I do not think that the intent is to bring the head of the foe to 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, but he is evidently regarded as assisting the quarter in battle against, perhaps, another quarter, Muslims and Šawāfi' notwithstanding. 621 789 792

In the case of a quarrel between two quarters, when one quarter denies its culpability it uses the following formula : 539 621 578

لَا عَصَبْنَا وَلَا طَلَقْنَا وَلَا رَمَزْنَا وَلَا غَمَزْنَا

« We did not decide (to do anything), nor did we omit (to do anything), we did not look nor did we whisper [12]. »

This is known as the « oath of the denial » (yamīn al-inkār). 621 539 527 533

2. Ahl al-Ḫilaif

a. Metre : Basīṭ, ||—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

اَلْيَوْم جُمْعَة وَغُدْوَة مِثْلَهَا
لَمَّا تَقُومَ اَلْقِيَامَة كُلَّهَا.
عِيوَهْ ! وَوْ ! مِسَهْ !

« Today is Friday, tomorrow the same,
Until the Resurrection comes, all of it. »

The sense is, probably, that today is a holiday, or at least a fortunate day. After this and other verses, exclamations such as the above are commonly used. Another common exclamation is wō-lākhap. What these exclamations signify none can say, but all Ḥaḍramis concur that they are old and curious. I am tempted to suggest they might be corrupt vestiges of pagan religious ritual.

12 The latter two verbs of the « oath of denial » were thus paraphrased for me, but I feel that the classical senses of the Lexicons might be more appropriate here.

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b. Metre :

Perhaps ‖ — — ∪ | — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — فَاعِلْ مُسْتَفْعِلْ فَعُولْ

قَدْ قَنَصْنَا ٱلصَّيْد فِي رُبُوعَهْ[13]

شَيْخَنَا عَلِيّ بِنْ مِحَمَّدْ

« We have hunted the game in its lairs (or mountain-sides). Our šaiḫ is 'Alī bin Miḥimmid. »

This tanṣūrah has no small interest when it is recalled that the ritual hunt played an important part in the pre-Islamic religion of this part of Arabia, especially the hunting of the ibex[14]. The first half-verse is commonly sung by *all* the quarters of Tarīm, and is even used by the people of the ḥawṭah of Thibī not far away.
[792] Šaiḫ 'Alī bin Muḥammad is a saint of the Āl Ḫaṭīb family, known as Ṣāḥib al-Wi'il, i.e. « He of the Ibex ». Once, on the occasion of a feast, either the lesser or the greater 'Īd, he had no animal to slaughter by way of celebration, but on returning home from the mosque he found an ibex standing by his door. This was evidently a miracle performed on his behalf. Šaiḫ 'Alī is the patron saint
[346 of al-Ḫilaif, and is buried in the cemetery of al-Furaiṭ[15]. The chief
361] mosque of the quarter is Misdjid al-Wi'il, and at one time when, owing to the dissension between three sections of the Yāfi'ī rulers, Tarīm was divided into three territories with three separate djāmi' mosques, the Misdjid al-Wi'il was used for the Friday prayer; this took place about a century ago.

No doubt this tanṣūrah would be used by parties of hunters returning from the ibex-hunt as I have described in the preface to my book on Ḥaḍrami popular verse.

3. Ḥārat al-Saḥīl

[792] The people of this quarter mention their saint, an 'Aidarūs saiyid
539 who is buried in Tāribah, but I have no further particulars about
621 their tanṣūrahs. They shout
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[13] Variant شُعُوبَهْ.

[14] Cf. A. Bertron, *The Ritual Hunt*, Le Muséon, LXI, 3-4, pp. 183-96.

[15] For this cemetery see *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, *op. cit.*

Metre : Ramal, ||— — ∪ — | — — ∪ —

شَيْخَنَا عَلْوِى بِنَ أَحْمَدْ

4. Al-Nuwaidarah

The patron saint of al-Nuwaidarah is Šihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Alī bin Abī Bakr al-Sakrān [16].

5. Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī

The tanṣūrah of this quarter mentions the saint of the ḥawṭah šaiḫanā al-Ḥaddād, i.e. the celebrated saint and author 'Abdullāh al-Ḥaddād who is also known beyond the confines of Ḥaḍramawt.

It would however seem that the term tanṣūrah is not confined to the rallying-cries of the quarters of the cities, for I can recall the word being used in the Daṯīnah area when tanṣūrahs were performed over the grave of a man whose murder had been successfully avenged. It is a cry used also by the tribes [17] in Ḥaḍramawt.

Very similar to the Tamīmī tanṣūrah quoted by Landberg [18] is the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd of Tarīm. The 'Abīd have an organisation in many respects similar to that of the Masākīn with a headman (muḳaddam). Their tanṣūrah runs :

بَنِى سِوَيْدَ ٱلْغَلَّابَهْ

كَمْ مِنْ قَبِيلِى ظَفِرْنَا بَهْ

« Banī Siwaid, the conquering,
How many a tribesman have we overcome. »

Landberg remarks that the verse he quotes is defective, if one must see a metre in it, but the first half-verse which he gives corresponds exactly in metre to the first half-verse of the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd.

16 « The Drunken » might, at first sight, seem an odd term to apply to a Muslim saint, but the term of course is Sufistic, and implies that he was drunk with the ecstacy of the knowledge of God. Some names are much more curious. I was told that the 'Aṭṭās saiyids derived their name from a miracle performed by their ancestor who is said to have been heard to sneeze while still in the womb!

17 C. DE LANDBERG, *Ḥaḍramoût* (Leiden, 1901), p. 184.

18 Loc. laud.

000 has been rubbed flat and polished by the pads of horny skin under the feet of Bedouins and camels. Every caravan in its turn follows the same, scarcely necessary windings.

The *neqābas* and *murabba'as*, where we take our afternoon rest and where we are joined by the climbers from Kōr Sēbān, are called Bēn el-Djibāl, "between the mountains".

In the afternoon we continued our way over the watershed between deeply cut fissures to right and left, making great bends round table-mountains. From Neqābat el-Ghāṭ we saw the mountains of the southern coast for the last time. We made a short cut (*muqriba*), by clambering down along a deep wādī-bed, which, to our great surprise, appeared to be thickly overgrown with shrubs and small trees and where there was the smell of jasmine, which was growing wild. Our quarters for the night, el-Qumra, lay behind Qāret el-Mūle, the only mountain with a peak. Mautor and his comrades did not seem to find the place safe and sent men out to reconnoitre the surroundings, and, during the night, a sharper watch was kept.

147 Directly the sun went down we shivered in our thin clothes and hurried to put on something warm as soon as possible. Our Bedouins have nothing warm, not even blankets to cover them when asleep. They sit in the wind with the upper part of their bodies bare and it does not seem to hurt them. It is ● 533 true, they make a fire round which they sit until far into the night, telling their tales or singing their *dānā-ā-ā* improvisations. Their rough voices affect us disagreeably, their melodies, whose cadences are strange to our ear, are sombre and plaintive. They sing one somewhat cheerful song, to make men and animals go at a double-quick pace, and it is remarkable how long they can keep this up and what an encouraging effect the song has on the animals. Not only the camels, but also the donkeys, begin to trot and do not allow themselves to be caught up by the Bedouins, who follow singing and skipping.

000 The night was cold in el-Qumra; it was long next morning before energy returned to our stiffened limbs. A long march lay ahead, and one would suffer for starting late in the morn-

He cannot resist the wishes of his guests and very soon there is again a crowd of inquisitive people in the sweltering upper room, staring at us and hampering us with questions and loud conversation.

## 2. PROSE AND POETRY IN WĀDĪ ḤADJR.

We manage, by exercising much insistence, to get off at four o'clock that afternoon. There are two roads to Makalla: one goes direct through the mountains, the other makes a great circuit by following the main wādī as far as the sea and then going up the coast to Makalla. The mountain route is the shortest but the hardest; we are told that it is *too* hard for our camels, who are not strong. Moreover, it would be unsafe for our little company in the mountains, in the absence of an armed escort. Considering that even Little, with a big military escort, was attacked in this country — a sayyid who was acting as his guide was killed in an engagement — we accepted the assertions of the people in Ṣidāra as reasonable and therefore chose the detour by way of the wādī, which however has a bad name for malaria. Little had to contend much with this illness: his escort had to be almost entirely renewed after a short sojourn in Wādī Ḥadjr. We tried to avoid risk by sleeping away from human habitation and, as far as possible, on high-lying, dry ground.

The caravan was under the leadership of a strong, slight Arab, of the name of Dhēb. He had spent his youth as hostage in the Sultan's palace at Makalla. This shows that Ṣidāra some twenty years ago was still a part of the Qeᶜēṭī territory, but that the Sultan considered it necessary to strengthen his hold on the country by bringing up the sons of the leading families in his palace. It was to this circumstance that Dhēb owed his education — for this country a very good one — and he was much more cultivated than the other young men of Ṣidāra. In spite of his long hair, his face was handsomer and gentler in expression than is usually the case here. We also had

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.* Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā . . . ā . . . ā . . . ā!"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf*, *i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



rugs or mats, or on cushions placed around or under the windows. A very low table, or a special circular mat, is put in the middle of the room for meals. Rough but solidly made coffers and cupboards are much used for clothes, silver, books, or domestic utensils. Lighting is by lamps of a very primitive form, which burn petroleum or, more commonly, sesame oil. The walls carry little or nothing of ornament, though the tribesmen sometimes adorn them with their arms, banners, or hunting equipment. A bathroom is usually found on each floor of a house, all being situated one above the other, the waste water running off by pipes through the wall; the apparatus consisting merely of a vessel from which water is poured over the body.

Wheaten or maize bread, dried dates, eggs, and meat (of sheep or poultry), taken in meagre amounts and usually in some form of soup or stew, form the staple foods; rice is not largely eaten; the people on the coast consume much fish; but only the Bedouin ever eat game. Butter, oil, and honey are much used; also spices, onions, and garlic, and much salad and green vegetables. Fruits, with the exception of the date, are considered as delicacies. Coffee is much drunk in the houses between meals, but there are no public cafés. It is customary for all persons paying visits to bring along with them some coffee-beans wrapped in the turban or plaid (*rādi*); when the party is complete these are collected by the host, and the coffee is prepared in the manner common to all the East. Before drinking, the name of Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Omar esh-Shadhli, whose tomb is at Mocha, is invoked, he being reputed to have been the first to discover the stimulating properties of the berry.

Very few servants are kept in most houses, even in those of the well-to-do; the housework and cooking are done by the housewife and the daughters, with the aid, in case of stress, of help called in from other branches of the family, friends, or neighbours. Only the very rich have slaves, and these are treated more as members of the household than as property; for this reason slaves rarely desire to be freed. All slaves in the Hadhramaut are Moslems; even if they come from a Christian or pagan country, they are forced to embrace Islam. But marriage between free persons and slaves is extremely rare.

Dancing is regarded in the Hadhramaut as permissible, but never among persons of two sexes, and the Seyyids and townsmen usually abstain from it. The music is made by a primitive form of guitar (*qanbus*), a large oblong drum, and three or four small drums, the players often accompanying their music with

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



a monotonous chant. The dance is usually executed by two persons, each dancing by himself, who, while turning all the time, alternately approach and withdraw from the orchestra, but always keep at the same distance from each other; when the first two are exhausted their places are taken by two others, and so on for many hours at a stretch.

The status of women in the Hadhramaut appears to be superior to that in many Mussulman countries. The wife lives in the same part of the house as her husband, but she receives her visitors in her own rooms. Divorce is very rare, the repudiation of a wife without very good cause being held in high contempt; if an individual did so repudiate his wife he would certainly fail to obtain another wife of the same social scale. Polygamy is very uncommon; there are no eunuchs; in the event of the husband taking another wife, the first quits his roof immediately and returns to her parents. Amongst the Bedouins of the Hadhramaut polygamy is absolutely unknown. If a man definitively leaves his town to seek his fortune elsewhere, the wife may, and usually does, refuse to follow him. In this contingency it is considered legitimate for him to take another wife, and he is not expected to continue to support the first.

The marriage dowry is of a double character; there is, first of all, a legal tariff varying from 20 to 2½ florins according to the social status of the fiancée; and secondly, there is the nuptial gift, the amount of which varies according to her personal qualities: the first may be reclaimed in the case of a dissolution of marriage, the latter not.

In the Hadhramaut the poor and the rich dress much alike, the quality of the material, the jewels worn, and the arms carried being the only indications of status. The clothes worn by the townsmen resemble, in many respects, those of most orientals. Sandals with thin shoes, but no stockings, are worn; when out of doors a kind of plaid (*rādi*), made locally, about seven yards long and a little short of a yard wide, is invariably carried or thrown over the shoulders. The head is shaven.

The garments of the tribesmen are similar in the main to those of the townsmen, except that they are shorter, are worn somewhat differently, and the material is usually woven in diamond 'check'; the *jubbah*, or robe, is replaced by a shorter buttoned jacket; and the tribesmen carry their arms, a straight sword, a two-edged poniard, &c. The *rādi* is also worn. The hair is grown long and falls over the shoulders, and the head is covered

576 **44** Certain tribes of the Aden Protectorate, in particular the Aulaqis, perform a peculiar greeting ceremony called the *Môqab*. When visitors of importance approach a settlement, word of their coming is sent on ahead, and the men of the settlement turn out to receive them. They parade in a long line on some convenient piece of flat ground in front of their forts, with the leading men and important guests in the centre. On the appearance of the visitors a drum is usually beaten, and shots are exchanged in salute. The Bil Obeid consider it complimentary to shoot as close to the visitors as possible, but most of the tribes have the sense to fire straight up into the air.

[534]

# ARAB AND SWAHILI DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

By R. Skene.

## The Razha Dance.

535 171 702 562 The Razha was originally a war dance practised by the Arabs in Arabia prior to starting out on a raid. It originated at Manga in Muscat, and is danced with naked swords, the object being to get the muscles of the sword arm into training. The Hatharmut or Hadramaut Arabs also dance it, but use daggers instead of swords.

The dancers, who of course are all men, stand in two rows facing each other, or in one row. They advance slowly a few inches at each step, keeping time to the drumming. The sword is held perpendicularly in the right hand, the fore-arm being at a right angle with the body. While holding the hilt of the sword in a perfect balance between the thumb and the first and second fingers, the base of the hilt is given a smart blow with the wrist so as to make the blade of the sword quiver. Being highly polished and made of fine supple steel, the quivering blade reflects the light in a most effective manner. This can only be done with the long straight double-edged sword of Southern Arabia and not with the scimitar-like blade used further north, owing to the thickness of the latter weapon.

535 534 The music for the Razha dance is supplied by a drum called a *chapuo*, cylindrical in shape, covered with goat skin on both ends. It is about eighteen inches long by eight in diameter, and is played on both ends with the hands, while hung across the waist of the drummer by a cord round the neck. A bass drum is also used, called a *vumi* of the same shape as the *chapuo*, but larger, being two to three feet long and fifteen inches in diameter. It is beaten in the same manner as the *chapuo*.

Anyone who knows how to dance can join in. No refreshments are served.

## The Shebwani Dance.

535 562 585 This is danced by the Arabs of Mkelle or Makulla, without any weapons, and by men only, who attend by invitation. It usually takes place at a wedding festival, in which case food and coffee are served round, or at any other general rejoicing. The dancers stand in two lines facing each other about eight or ten paces apart. They bend the knee and bow the body slightly forward to each other in unison and in time to the beating of the drums. They also sing a chorus song and keep time by clapping their hands together.

535 585 534 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* drum, both described above (see Razha dance). A treble drum called a *marwasi* is also used. It is much smaller than the *vumi* and is only about eight inches long by eight inches in diameter. It is covered with goat skin on both ends and is beaten with the flat of the right hand while held in the left by a piece of cord. The drumming is accompanied by cymbals of brass called *vitasa*, which are placed on the ground one above another and struck with pieces of stick, one in each hand, so as to make the cymbals rattle together. In lieu of the cymbals, a metal rod is sometimes used bent into a triangle exactly the same shape as the triangles used in European military bands, and played in the same manner.

The Shebwani is sometimes danced in the afternoon but more often at night. It has no mystical meaning.

### THE SHERHA DANCE.

535 585 562 This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs to celebrate a wedding or for any other cause of rejoicing. The dancers, who are all men, and who attend by invitation, stand round in a large circle some ten paces in diameter and sway the body slightly from side to side, while clapping their hands in time to the music. Presently two men come out of the ring and dance towards each other, and then backwards and forwards in a sort of "chassé croisé" for about ten minutes, and then they retire from the ring and are replaced by two others. Sometimes two couples dance in the ring at the same time.

535 585 534 The music is supplied by a wind instrument much resembling a clarionet or a French "musette," but the mouthpiece consists of two reeds instead of one, and the tone is very similar to that of the chanter of Scotch bag-pipes. This instrument is called a *zumari*, and supplies the tune accompanied by a *vumi* drum described above (see Razha dance) and by a *msondo* drum standing about four feet high with a diameter of about eighteen inches. It is cylindrical in shape and is covered by a goat-skin at the top end only, the bottom end being open. It is played with both hands in an upright position, resting on the ground.

No refreshments are served at a Sherha dance except if it is held to celebrate a wedding, in which case *pilaw* is served and coffee also.

### KINANDA DANCE.

535 562 517 This dance partakes of the nature of a performance for the amusement of the onlookers and is held indoors. Two male performers hold a silk scarf or woollen shawl between them and repeatedly advance towards the audience and retire, while executing various steps and figures. They then face each other and dance in that position, executing with their arms and bodies slow and graceful movements. Then they face the audience and advance and retire and so on till they become tired.

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The musical instruments consist of the small *marwasi* drum described above (see Shebwani dance) and of a *kinanda* which supplies the tune. The latter is a string instrument of the nature of a guitar and is played in much the same way. It usually has seven strings, six of which used formerly to be made of sheep gut, but are now made of twisted silk. The seventh is the bass string and is made of copper wire. 535 534 517

Although not considered altogether reprehensible by austere Mohammedans, the "Kinanda" entertainment is looked upon as rather advanced, if not fast.

Sometimes the dancing is dispensed with and the entertainment is reduced to solo songs accompanied by the *kinanda*. It then assumes a more respectable character, though still not entirely approved of.

Being held indoors, the audience naturally come by invitation only. Refreshments consisting of coffee, sherbet and *halwa* (Turkish Delight) are handed round.

## THE ZAMIL DANCE.

This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs, and generally takes place either by day or by night, in front of the house of some exalted person to whom it is intended to pay compliment or to show respect. It is in fact a sort of serenade, but is also danced at weddings. 535 585 654

The dancers form up in one or more lines facing the house of the person in whose honour it is being held. The leader of the dance starts singing a solo, usually a song of praise to the person in question, and the remainder take up the chorus, which they accompany by rhythmic clapping of hands and swaying of the body. It is not by invitation, and anyone may join in. No drums or musical instruments are used and no refreshments partaken of, except at weddings. This dance has no mystical meaning.

## THE CHAMA DANCE.

This may be called a faction dance owing to the element of competition which enters into it in regard to some other faction which has also organized a dance. It is danced by Swahili men, who dress up in their best clothes and wear Arab daggers and swords borrowed from those of their friends who have them. They do their best to make as fine and as big a show as possible in order to eclipse the dance of the other competing faction. Formerly the dance was accompanied by a feast, and still is in the Lamu District, where the factions vie with each other as to the number of cattle they can afford to kill. In 1912, one faction at the village of Mkunumbi (Witu Sultanate) was known to kill thirty head of cattle to cap the twenty-five head which another faction had killed a few days previously.[1] Needless to say that such waste is impossible in the Malindi District where cattle are scarce, and where the dancers only compete in matters of personal adornment and the number of followers. Faction feeling sometimes runs high, and if two competing dances happen to be taking place on the same night it is not unheard of for one party to attack the other with sticks. 535 562 578 527



[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

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535 171 The dance itself resembles the Arab Razha dance, the men standing in a row and jerking sticks in the same manner that the Arabs jerk their swords, one of which may sometimes be seen in the hand of a Swahili dancer of the Chama.

535 534 517 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* drum, a *chapuo* drum, a pair of cymbals or *vitasa*, a *zumari* or clarionet, all of which are described above (see Razha dance, Shebwani dance and Sherha dance), also a tambourine called a *tari* or *pari*. This is sometimes ornamented with loose brass discs that jingle together, as in the Spanish tambourine. The goat-skin is pegged to the wooden frame and is tightened by stuffing a more or less thick cord between the skin and the frame.

The Chama is usually danced in a public place and no invitation is necessary. Anyone may join in who feels so inclined. No refreshments are served nowadays in the Malindi District at a Chama dance, which has no mystical significance.

### THE SHANGWI DANCE.

535 562 578 554 The dance is identical with the Chama and is danced by the winning faction in the Chama competition, which is judged by the "*wazee wa Ngoma*," or elders of the dance, men who are accustomed to take the lead in dances, in other words "masters of the ceremonies." The winning faction proceed to the house of the organizer of the opposition dance and dance the Shangwi in front of it. He is supposed to take this as a compliment, and passes round a scent bottle and sometimes takes part in the dancing himself. The Shangwi has no mystical significance and is usually danced at night with the same orchestra as for the Chama.

### NGOMA YA FIMBO. (Walking-stick dance.)

535 565 852 562 The Ngoma Ya Fimbo is danced at Swahili wedding feasts, and at Swahili circumcision feasts. The dancers, all men, assemble by invitation and form a ring in the open near the house of the host, all carrying sticks, hence the name of the dance. While those in the ring balance themselves slowly and rhythmically from one foot to the other, two of their number go into the centre and make passes at each other with their sticks as if they were swords, in time to the drumming. After a few minutes of this, another pair go into the centre of the circle and perform in the same manner while the first two retire, and so on to the end of the dance, which usually takes place by day.

535 534 Cigarettes and betel nuts are passed round to the dancers. The music is supplied by *vumi* and *chapuo* drums described above (see Razha dance) by *vitasa* or cymbals (see Shebwani dance), and by a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). In a temporary pavilion of palm-thatch erected close by, a number of young slave women generally stand holding buffalo horns in their left hands, which they strike with small sticks in time to the drumming.

This dance has no mystic significance and is merely a form of rejoicing.

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## THE MWARIBE DANCE.

A dance for women only, which takes place indoors if danced by free women, and out of doors if the dancers are slaves. The women stand in a circle singing songs and clapping their hands in time to a triangle described above (see Shebwani dance). One dancer then advances, executing various fancy steps, towards another dancer in front of whom she stamps her foot and then retires, still executing fancy steps, to her place in the ring. The person in front of whom the first dancer stamped her foot then advances from her place in the ring in the same manner as the first dancer and stamps her foot in front of a third, who comes out in her turn, and so on. 535 562 567

The songs are led by one of the women, who sings the solo while the remainder join in the chorus. No drums are used. 535 585 796

This dance often takes place at wedding festivals when betel-nut and cigarettes are handed round with tea. Then towards the end of the entertainment meat and rice are eaten. It may also be danced on the occasion of other rejoicings, the special time of year for having it being the first week of the North-east monsoon, that is, in November and December.

This Mwaribe dance has no mystic meaning.

## THE MWASHA DANCE.

This is also a woman's dance and is of Bajuni origin, its introduction to the Malindi District from Witu having begun about four years ago. If the dancers are free women they dance indoors; if they are slaves the dance takes place in the open, but always by invitation. 535 562 171 567

The guests line up in two or three rows, one behind the other, and move forward slowly an inch or two at each step, while they jerk their chins forward and move their shoulders in time to the drums. When the front row gets up to the wall of the room, or to the limits of the dancing-floor, all the dancers face about and move slowly as before in the opposite direction, the front row becoming the back one.

If it takes place indoors, no men are allowed to be present except the orchestra, consisting of the performers on a *vumi* described above (see Razha dance) on a tari or tambourine (see Chama dance), and on a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). 535 562 534

This dance, which has an undoubted touch of savagery about it, may perhaps be derived from the Somalis, and tends to work the dancers up into a nervous state. It is often danced in competition with another dance faction. No refreshments are served. 535 171 578

It has no mystic significance and appears to be indulged in when the general physical condition of the performers calls for a nervous outlet of some sort.

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### THE DANDARO DANCE.

535 This is rarely if ever danced by free men, and is considered essentially a slaves
567 dance. In a convenient open space, men and women stand in a circle facing inwards,
562 the drums being in the middle. The men stand together, occupying one part of the circle and the women the other. The dancers place the right hand on the left shoulder and the left hand under the right elbow, and in this position they bend the knees slightly and sway the body in time to the music while progressing very slowly sideways
535 round the circle to the right. A *zumari* or clarionet described above (see Sherha
534 dance) plays the tune to which the dancers sing the words of a song, or rather a chorus repeated over and over again at short intervals which are filled by the clarionet solo. The accompanying drums consist of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* (see Razha dance), also a *kurugo* drum, about two feet high and ten inches in diameter, with a goat-skin on one end only which is beaten with a stick, the drum resting on the ground in an upright position.

The Dandaro may be danced during the daytime as well as at night. Occasionally food may be cooked and partaken of towards the end of the dance. In the larger townships no invitation is necessary, and anybody may join in.

### THE KI-NYASA DANCE.

535 As its name indicates, this dance is an importation from Nyasaland, introduced
171
567 first to Zanzibar and then to the coast of the mainland by slaves captured in Nyasa-
562 land and brought here by the Arabs. Consequently it is a dance practised only by slaves and people of humble origin.

It is danced in the open either by day or by night. Men and women, arranged in no special order as to sex, form a circle standing one behind the other and go round in a direction opposite to the hands of a clock, moving in quick time but taking very short steps and bending the knee considerably at each step. The arms are held in the position of a person running, that is to say with the elbow bent and the fore-arm at right angles to the body, which is bent slightly forward. Some of the dancers jerk their shoulders up and down occasionally. The leader of the dance sings a solo and the others take up the chorus. The men wear a string of small iron bells known as *njuga* strung round their knees, and stamp their foot at each step so as to make them jingle.

535 One large drum is used, called a *msondo*, and fashioned somewhat after the drum
534 of the Washambala. It is rather a high-toned drum in spite of its size, which is about
782 six feet in length and twelve to fifteen inches in diameter. One end only is covered with goat-skin, struck with the player's hands. The open end of the drum rests on the ground while the drummer stands astride the other end which is supported by a cloth round his waist, and he plays it in that position. This dance has no mystical meaning, and is merely an expression of a superabundance of animal spirits which

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are given vent to by singing and running round in a circle, in time to the beating of a drum, very much in the same manner as children do. No invitations are given, and anyone may join in. No refreshments are handed round. 535 534 782

### THE MDEMA DANCE.

This also is an importation from Nyasaland (see Ki-Nyasa dance), and is danced by the slave population only, either by day or by night. It is exactly like the Ki-Nyasa dance described above, with the exception that no iron bells are strapped round the knees, and it is, if possible, of a simpler character, the Ki-Nyasa being in truth simple enough. Like the latter it is merely a vent for high animal spirits. No refreshments are given and no invitations are necessary. 535 567 782

### THE KINDIMBA.

The Kindimba is not a dance, but a musical entertainment into which enters a slight element of the mystical. It is only given by people of the slave class in fulfilment of a vow. Any person who greatly desires something or some event to come to pass makes a vow to give a Kindimba if his wish is fulfilled. 533 667 517 782

Invitations are issued to his friends by the person who is giving the entertainment, and they assemble at his house. The men and women sit together either indoors if there is room, or else in the open. Songs are sung by a leader, the other guests joining in the chorus, and clapping their hands in time to the singing, which is accompanied by a small drum called a *mgumbaro*, very like a *marwasi* (see Shebwani dance), with this difference that only one end is covered with a goat skin, while in the *marwasi* both ends are covered. The other end, which is open, is made to rest on the chest or stomach of the player, who performs upon it in that position with both hands. Hard grains of maize are placed in dry gourds of various sizes, and these are rattled in time to the singing. 533 634 782

The entertainment partakes of the nature of thanksgiving, and frivolous songs are therefore avoided. Although not exactly of a religious character, a certain amount of superstition is far from being foreign to the Kindimba.

### THE VUGO.

At a wedding, a procession of women is often formed in the evening after dark to parade the streets, and is called a Vugo. The women sing in chorus to the sound of buffalo horns beaten with short sticks. No men are allowed to take part in the procession, which is both an Arab and a Swahili custom. 533 562 585

### THE KINYAGO DANCE.[1]

This is a Swahili medicine-dance usually held outside the town in a plantation on a moonless night. No artificial lights are allowed. Swahilis who have any 535 756

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

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753 causes to the patient, and he is not exacting in his requirements of propitiation.
755 Generally two or three days' dancing will satisfy him together with a large
535 supply of boiled mealie-meal served with grilled fowl or goat. Sometimes as a
752 special treat some *kunde* beans are mixed with the meal. This is given as a
776 farewell dinner to the *pepo* after the dancing is finished. All the guests partake of it as well as the patient.

The dancing begins about 9 a.m., and lasts about an hour and a half. The patient then goes about his work as usual. In the evening the dancers reassemble and dance through the night with the patient. A line is formed, and one dancer at a time advances to where the drums are being played, jerks his shoulders about while bending over one of the drums for a few minutes, then suddenly stamping his foot he retires with a shuffling step back to his place in the line and another dancer goes forward and repeats the performance, and so on. The patient dances with the others, but is distinguished by having a fly-switch in one hand and a live fowl in the other, both of which he waves about.

The patient is dressed in two new dark blue cotton cloths (*kaniki*), worn as a Swahili woman wears her *leso*. No head-dress is worn. On the second day of the dance, if the patient is a woman, she exchanges her two dark blue cloths for a kilt such as the Nyika women wear.

During the dancing, the patient goes occasionally to a pot of cold water in which leaves of wild trees believed to have certain properties have been pounded and mixed up. He puts both hands into the pot and raises some of the liquid to his mouth and drinks. Having quenched his thirst he throws some of the liquid over each shoulder on to his back, and also pours some on his chest as if he were taking a bath.

At the end of the dance on the third day a meal is partaken of as stated above and the *pepo* departs.

The names of *pepo ya ki-nyika* known in Malindi are without number, and are similar to ordinary names at present heard amongst the various Nyika tribes. The songs of praise sung in honour of these *pepo* in Malindi are also numberless.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-golla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-PEMBA.

171 As their name indicates, these "*pepo*" are supposed to come from the island of
776 Pemba.
755
534 In order to make the *pepo* declare himself, the usual native medicine and Turkish bath are given. The patient is then dressed in two white cloths after the fashion of the *pepo ya ki-golla*. He is placed on a stool, and as soon as the drumming begins he sways his body about in time to it, and ultimately jerks the stool which he sits on round the room. A *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance) is also played to the accompaniment of the drums. This jerking about on the stool goes on for seven days, and on the eighth day matting is laid on the floor. The

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patient sits on the matting at one end, and proceeds to jerk himself forward to the other end. On reaching this he jerks backwards without turning round. This is a very laborious business and takes a good deal of effort. 171 776 755

On the eleventh day the patient assumes an upright position, and dances, standing up between two lines of dancers. He advances with short shuffling steps to the line of people in front of him. On getting within a couple of feet of them he begins to retire, shuffling backwards without turning round, and keeping his body bent forwards almost at a right angle with his lower limbs. He is followed by the line of dancers facing him, who dance the same shuffling step, and who keep within a couple of feet of him. On reaching the line of dancers behind him, he straightens his body and starts forward again, the line facing him then retiring and the line behind him following him. He waves a fly-switch in his hand, and a string of small oval iron bells, *njuga*, with pebbles inside, is tied round his right ankle. 534 535 755 782

No head-dress is worn by the patient, but a paste is made by pounding to a powder a certain scented wood called *udi*, and mixing it with water. This is applied all over the head. If no *udi* wood is available, the wood of the *muhuhu* is used. A black line about half an inch wide is also painted from the tip of the nose over the head to the back of the neck.

On the last day of the dance, fruits and delicacies in very small quantities are laid before the patient, who eats a little of each for the benefit of the *pepo*.

If the *pepo* demands it, and the financial position of the patient will allow of it, a white bull or a male goat is produced on the last day, and is ridden and danced round by the patient as described in the ceremonies which take place to expel a *pepo ya ki-galla*, after which the *pepo* departs from the sick person.

The names of some of the *pepo* known in Malindi are, Mwana Mashungi wa Ukulu, Kekecha wa Mawamba, Makata wa Mapinga, Maungua wa Maamba. A great many propitiatory songs are also known at Malindi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-HABSHI.

The Abyssinian spirit is not believed to have seized anyone at Malindi yet, and very little is known about it here. It is, however, believed to have possessed people in Zanzibar and Kismayu. 171 776

### PEPO YA KI-ARABU.

The ceremonies which are gone through to expel a *pepo* of this variety constitute a type which is followed with slight variations in exorcising almost all the *jins* believed to belong to Moslem tribes. 776 755

The fundamental difference between the method of treating heathen *pepo* and Moslem *pepo* consists in the substitution of strong perfumes for the Turkish bath method, in order to induce the *pepo* to declare himself.

171 776 755 635 Instantly he makes a dash back to the dancing ring and prostrates himself on the ground near the drums, probably from exhaustion. But he is not given much time to consider what ails him, for he is closely followed by the *fundi* armed with a *bakora* or cane, who rouses him with a smart cut across the shoulders. The patient jumps up in fear of receiving another blow of the *bakora* and is surprised to find himself quite cured. He returns home to sleep off his fatigue.

Some names of *pepo ya ki-nubi* are Fatuma wa Abdalla, Abdeh wa Hamdeh, Tai wa Yusuf, Saida wa Abana.

There are no *fundis* of *pepo ya ki-nubi* at Malindi, and it is doubtful if any remain at Takaungu.

## PEPO YA KI-SOMALI.

776 535 755 This *pepo* being a Moslem, the preliminary ceremonies are exactly the same as those which take place in connection with the *pepo ya ki-arabu*.

The dancing is also similar to that of the Arab *pepo*, but is much more rapid.

When the sick man is able to get up and dance he puts on Somali clothes instead of Arab clothes. He also flourishes two small flags with sacred words on them. If he rides a bull on the last day of the dance, he flourishes a spear instead of a sword as the Arab *pepo* does.

[534] The drums used are the *tari* (described in the Chama dance), and they are beaten in very quick time.

The names of the Somali *pepo* are the same as modern names common to Somalis.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-arabu* dance.

## PEPO NG'OMBE.

776 755 This *pepo* is said to make the unfortunate person who gets it low like a cow. It is considered a dangerous *pepo*, and many people do not get rid of it without paralysis of some of their limbs or of one whole side of the body.

The procedure followed to make the *pepo* speak is the same as that in cases of *pepo ya ki-galla*, that is to say the Turkish bath.

The *pepo ng'ombe* speaks Swahili, but in a hesitating manner, and interlarded with bovine noises. Grass must be cut and brought in to him to eat. If no grass is given he will try to get out of the house to go and graze. Water must be given to him to drink in a bucket or other large receptacle, into which he puts his face and drinks like a cow. Some of the water must be thrown over the body of the patient, for, if this is not done, rigidity of the limbs is believed to set in.

If the patient's mouth begins to twist to one side, the case is considered to have entered a very serious phase, and another Turkish bath is given. The patient is rubbed with castor oil, but no other sort of grease must be brought near him, nor any kind of perfume or scent.

# ARAB AND SWAHILI DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

By R. Skene.

## The Razha Dance.

535 171 702 562 The Razha was originally a war dance practised by the Arabs in Arabia prior to starting out on a raid. It originated at Manga in Muscat, and is danced with naked swords, the object being to get the muscles of the sword arm into training. The Hatharmut or Hadramaut Arabs also dance it, but use daggers instead of swords.

The dancers, who of course are all men, stand in two rows facing each other, or in one row. They advance slowly a few inches at each step, keeping time to the drumming. The sword is held perpendicularly in the right hand, the fore-arm being at a right angle with the body. While holding the hilt of the sword in a perfect balance between the thumb and the first and second fingers, the base of the hilt is given a smart blow with the wrist so as to make the blade of the sword quiver. Being highly polished and made of fine supple steel, the quivering blade reflects the light in a most effective manner. This can only be done with the long straight double-edged sword of Southern Arabia and not with the scimitar-like blade used further north, owing to the thickness of the latter weapon.

535 534 The music for the Razha dance is supplied by a drum called a *chapuo*, cylindrical in shape, covered with goat skin on both ends. It is about eighteen inches long by eight in diameter, and is played on both ends with the hands, while hung across the waist of the drummer by a cord round the neck. A bass drum is also used, called a *tumi* of the same shape as the *chapuo*, but larger, being two to three feet long and fifteen inches in diameter. It is beaten in the same manner as the *chapuo*.

Anyone who knows how to dance can join in. No refreshments are served.

## The Shebwani Dance.

535 562 585 This is danced by the Arabs of Mkelle or Makulla, without any weapons, and by men only, who attend by invitation. It usually takes place at a wedding festival, in which case food and coffee are served round, or at any other general rejoicing. The dancers stand in two lines facing each other about eight or ten paces apart. They bend the knee and bow the body slightly forward to each other in unison and in time to the beating of the drums. They also sing a chorus song and keep time by clapping their hands together.

535 585 534 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* drum, both described above (see Razha dance). A treble drum called a *marwasi* is also used. It is much smaller than the *vumi* and is only about eight inches long by eight inches in diameter. It is covered with goat skin on both ends and is beaten with the flat of the right hand while held in the left by a piece of cord. The drumming is accompanied by cymbals of brass called *vitasa*, which are placed on the ground one above another and struck with pieces of stick, one in each hand, so as to make the cymbals rattle together. In lieu of the cymbals, a metal rod is sometimes used bent into a triangle exactly the same shape as the triangles used in European military bands, and played in the same manner.

The Shebwâni is sometimes danced in the afternoon but more often at night. It has no mystical meaning.

## THE SHERHA DANCE.

535 585 562 This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs to celebrate a wedding or for any other cause of rejoicing. The dancers, who are all men, and who attend by invitation, stand round in a large circle some ten paces in diameter and sway the body slightly from side to side, while clapping their hands in time to the music. Presently two men come out of the ring and dance towards each other, and then backwards and forwards in a sort of "chassé croisé" for about ten minutes, and then they retire from the ring and are replaced by two others. Sometimes two couples dance in the ring at the same time.

535 585 534 The music is supplied by a wind instrument much resembling a clarionet or a French "musette," but the mouthpiece consists of two reeds instead of one, and the tone is very similar to that of the chanter of Scotch bag-pipes. This instrument is called a *zumari*, and supplies the tune accompanied by a *vumi* drum described above (see Razha dance) and by a *msondo* drum standing about four feet high with a diameter of about eighteen inches. It is cylindrical in shape and is covered by a goat-skin at the top end only, the bottom end being open. It is played with both hands in an upright position, resting on the ground.

No refreshments are served at a Sherha dance except if it is held to celebrate a wedding, in which case *pilaw* is served and coffee also.

## KINANDA DANCE.

535 562 517 This dance partakes of the nature of a performance for the amusement of the onlookers and is held indoors. Two male performers hold a silk scarf or woollen shawl between them and repeatedly advance towards the audience and retire, while executing various steps and figures. They then face each other and dance in that position, executing with their arms and bodies slow and graceful movements. Then they face the audience and advance and retire and so on till they become tired.

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The musical instruments consist of the small *marwasi* drum described above (see Shebwani dance) and of a *kinanda* which supplies the tune. The latter is a string instrument of the nature of a guitar and is played in much the same way. It usually has seven strings, six of which used formerly to be made of sheep gut, but are now made of twisted silk. The seventh is the bass string and is made of copper wire. 535 534 517

Although not considered altogether reprehensible by austere Mohammedans, the "Kinanda" entertainment is looked upon as rather advanced, if not fast.

Sometimes the dancing is dispensed with and the entertainment is reduced to solo songs accompanied by the *kinanda*. It then assumes a more respectable character, though still not entirely approved of.

Being held indoors, the audience naturally come by invitation only. Refreshments consisting of coffee, sherbet and *halwa* (Turkish Delight) are handed round.

### THE ZAMIL DANCE.

This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs, and generally takes place either by day or by night, in front of the house of some exalted person to whom it is intended to pay compliment or to show respect. It is in fact a sort of serenade, but is also danced at weddings. 535 585 654

The dancers form up in one or more lines facing the house of the person in whose honour it is being held. The leader of the dance starts singing a solo, usually a song of praise to the person in question, and the remainder take up the chorus, which they accompany by rhythmic clapping of hands and swaying of the body. It is not by invitation, and anyone may join in. No drums or musical instruments are used and no refreshments partaken of, except at weddings. This dance has no mystical meaning.

### THE CHAMA DANCE.

This may be called a faction dance owing to the element of competition which enters into it in regard to some other faction which has also organized a dance. It is danced by Swahili men, who dress up in their best clothes and wear Arab daggers and swords borrowed from those of their friends who have them. They do their best to make as fine and as big a show as possible in order to eclipse the dance of the other competing faction. Formerly the dance was accompanied by a feast, and still is in the Lamu District, where the factions vie with each other as to the number of cattle they can afford to kill. In 1912, one faction at the village of Mkunumbi (Witu Sultanate) was known to kill thirty head of cattle to cap the twenty-five head which another faction had killed a few days previously.* Needless to say that such waste is impossible in the Malindi District where cattle are scarce, and where the dancers only compete in matters of personal adornment and the number of followers. Faction feeling sometimes runs high, and if two competing dances happen to be taking place on the same night it is not unheard of for one party to attack the other with sticks. 535 562 578 527



* [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

535 The dance itself resembles the Arab Razha dance, the men standing in a row and
171 jerking sticks in the same manner that the Arabs jerk their swords, one of which may sometimes be seen in the hand of a Swahili dancer of the Chama.

536 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* drum, a *chapuo* drum, a pair of cymbals
534 or *vitasa*, a *zumari* or clarionet, all of which are described above (see Razha
517 dance, Shebwani dance and Sherha dance), also a tambourine called a *tari* or *pari*. This is sometimes ornamented with loose brass discs that jingle together, as in the Spanish tambourine. The goat-skin is pegged to the wooden frame and is tightened by stuffing a more or less thick cord between the skin and the frame.

The Chama is usually danced in a public place and no invitation is necessary. Anyone may join in who feels so inclined. No refreshments are served nowadays in the Malindi District at a Chama dance, which has no mystical significance.

### THE SHANGWI DANCE.

535 The dance is identical with the Chama and is danced by the winning faction
562 in the Chama competition, which is judged by the "*wazee wa Ngoma*," or elders of the
578 dance, men who are accustomed to take the lead in dances, in other words "masters
554 of the ceremonies." The winning faction proceed to the house of the organizer of the opposition dance and dance the Shangwi in front of it. He is supposed to take this as a compliment, and passes round a scent bottle and sometimes takes part in the dancing himself. The Shangwi has no mystical significance and is usually danced at night with the same orchestra as for the Chama.

### NGOMA YA FIMBO. (Walking-stick dance.)

535 The Ngoma Ya Fimbo is danced at Swahili wedding feasts, and at Swahili
585 circumcision feasts. The dancers, all men, assemble by invitation and form a ring
152 in the open near the house of the host, all carrying sticks, hence the name of the dance.
562 While those in the ring balance themselves slowly and rhythmically from one foot to the other, two of their number go into the centre and make passes at each other with their sticks as if they were swords, in time to the drumming. After a few minutes of this, another pair go into the centre of the circle and perform in the same manner while the first two retire, and so on to the end of the dance, which usually takes place by day.

535 Cigarettes and betel nuts are passed round to the dancers. The music is supplied
534 by *vumi* and *chapuo* drums described above (see Razha dance) by *vitasa* or cymbals (see Shebwani dance), and by a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). In a temporary pavilion of palm-thatch erected close by, a number of young slave women generally stand holding buffalo horns in their left hands, which they strike with small sticks in time to the drumming.

This dance has no mystic significance and is merely a form of rejoicing.

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## THE MWARIBE DANCE.

A dance for women only, which takes place indoors if danced by free women, and out of doors if the dancers are slaves. The women stand in a circle singing songs and clapping their hands in time to a triangle described above (see Shebwani dance). One dancer then advances, executing various fancy steps, towards another dancer in front of whom she stamps her foot and then retires, still executing fancy steps, to her place in the ring. The person in front of whom the first dancer stamped her foot then advances from her place in the ring in the same manner as the first dancer and stamps her foot in front of a third, who comes out in her turn, and so on. 535 562 567

The songs are led by one of the women, who sings the solo while the remainder join in the chorus. No drums are used. 535 585 796

This dance often takes place at wedding festivals when betel nut and cigarettes are handed round with tea. Then towards the end of the entertainment meat and rice are eaten. It may also be danced on the occasion of other rejoicings, the special time of year for having it being the first week of the North-east monsoon, that is, in November and December.

This Mwaribe dance has no mystic meaning.

## THE MWASHA DANCE.

This is also a woman's dance and is of Bajuni origin, its introduction to the Malindi District from Witu having begun about four years ago. If the dancers are free women they dance indoors; if they are slaves the dance takes place in the open, but always by invitation. 535 562 171 567

The guests line up in two or three rows, one behind the other, and move forward slowly an inch or two at each step, while they jerk their chins forward and move their shoulders in time to the drums. When the front row gets up to the wall of the room, or to the limits of the dancing-floor, all the dancers face about and move slowly as before in the opposite direction, the front row becoming the back one.

If it takes place indoors, no men are allowed to be present except the orchestra, consisting of the performers on a *vumi* described above (see Razha dance) on a tari or tambourine (see Chama dance), and on a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). 535 562 534

This dance, which has an undoubted touch of savagery about it, may perhaps be derived from the Somalis, and tends to work the dancers up into a nervous state. It is often danced in competition with another dance faction. No refreshments are served. 535 171 578

It has no mystic significance and appears to be indulged in when the general physical condition of the performers calls for a nervous outlet of some sort.

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## THE DANDARO DANCE.

535 This is rarely if ever danced by free men, and is considered essentially a slaves
567 dance. In a convenient open space, men and women stand in a circle facing inwards,
562 the drums being in the middle. The men stand together, occupying one part of the circle and the women the other. The dancers place the right hand on the left shoulder and the left hand under the right elbow, and in this position they bend the knees slightly and sway the body in time to the music while progressing very slowly sideways
535 round the circle to the right. A *zumari* or clarionet described above (see Sherha
534 dance) plays the tune to which the dancers sing the words of a song, or rather a chorus repeated over and over again at short intervals which are filled by the clarionet solo. The accompanying drums consist of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* (see Razha dance), also a *kurugo* drum, about two feet high and ten inches in diameter, with a goat-skin on one end only which is beaten with a stick, the drum resting on the ground in an upright position.

The Dandaro may be danced during the daytime as well as at night. Occasionally food may be cooked and partaken of towards the end of the dance. In the larger townships no invitation is necessary, and anybody may join in.

## THE KI-NYASA DANCE.

535 As its name indicates, this dance is an importation from Nyasaland, introduced
171
567 first to Zanzibar and then to the coast of the mainland by slaves captured in Nyasa-
562 land and brought here by the Arabs. Consequently it is a dance practised only by slaves and people of humble origin.

It is danced in the open either by day or by night. Men and women, arranged in no special order as to sex, form a circle standing one behind the other and go round in a direction opposite to the hands of a clock, moving in quick time but taking very short steps and bending the knee considerably at each step. The arms are held in the position of a person running, that is to say with the elbow bent and the fore-arm at right angles to the body, which is bent slightly forward. Some of the dancers jerk their shoulders up and down occasionally. The leader of the dance sings a solo and the others take up the chorus. The men wear a string of small iron bells known as *njuga* strung round their knees, and stamp their foot at each step so as to make them jingle.

535 One large drum is used, called a *msondo*, and fashioned somewhat after the drum
534
782 of the Washambala. It is rather a high-toned drum in spite of its size, which is about six feet in length and twelve to fifteen inches in diameter. One end only is covered with goat-skin, struck with the player's hands. The open end of the drum rests on the ground while the drummer stands astride the other end which is supported by a cloth round his waist, and he plays it in that position. This dance has no mystical meaning, and is merely an expression of a superabundance of animal spirits which

are given vent to by singing and running round in a circle, in time to the beating of a drum, very much in the same manner as children do. No invitations are given, and anyone may join in. No refreshments are handed round. 535 534 782

### THE MDEMA DANCE.

This also is an importation from Nyasaland (see Ki-Nyasa dance), and is danced by the slave population only, either by day or by night. It is exactly like the Ki-Nyasa dance described above, with the exception that no iron bells are strapped round the knees, and it is, if possible, of a simpler character, the Ki-Nyasa being in truth simple enough. Like the latter it is merely a vent for high animal spirits. No refreshments are given and no invitations are necessary. 535 567 782

### THE KINDIMBA.

The Kindimba is not a dance, but a musical entertainment into which enters a slight element of the mystical. It is only given by people of the slave class in fulfilment of a vow. Any person who greatly desires something or some event to come to pass makes a vow to give a Kindimba if his wish is fulfilled. 533 667 517 782

Invitations are issued to his friends by the person who is giving the entertainment, and they assemble at his house. The men and women sit together either indoors if there is room, or else in the open. Songs are sung by a leader, the other guests joining in the chorus, and clapping their hands in time to the singing, which is accompanied by a small drum called a *mgumbaro*, very like a *marwasi* (see Shebwani dance), with this difference that only one end is covered with a goat skin, while in the *marwasi* both ends are covered. The other end, which is open, is made to rest on the chest or stomach of the player, who performs upon it in that position with both hands. Hard grains of maize are placed in dry gourds of various sizes, and these are rattled in time to the singing. 533 634 782

The entertainment partakes of the nature of thanksgiving, and frivolous songs are therefore avoided. Although not exactly of a religious character, a certain amount of superstition is far from being foreign to the Kindimba.

### THE VUGO.

At a wedding, a procession of women is often formed in the evening after dark to parade the streets, and is called a Vugo. The women sing in chorus to the sound of buffalo horns beaten with short sticks. No men are allowed to take part in the procession, which is both an Arab and a Swahili custom. 533 562 585

### THE KINYAGO DANCE.[1]

This is a Swahili medicine-dance usually held outside the town in a plantation on a moonless night. No artificial lights are allowed. Swahilis who have any 535 756

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

535 756 pretensions to being medicine-men inform their friends that a Kinyago is to be danced at a certain spot on a certain night, and a crowd consequently congregates there. The medicine-men, most of whom in Malindi District apart from Giryama are of Shambala slave origin, make themselves up with the help of clothes stuffed with grass to represent certain wild animals, such as elephants, lions, etc. A ring having been made in the waiting crowd, a medicine-man thus disguised as an animal suddenly dashes from behind a convenient bush and enters the ring, where he capers about and makes a noise in imitation of the beast he represents. On getting tired he retires again behind the convenient bush, and another disguised medicine-man [533] takes his place in the ring and so on. A *msondo* drum is used, described above (see Ki-Nyasa dance). The crowd takes no part in the performance.

535 527 756 The Kinyago is, of course, a heathen dance from Nyasaland imported by slaves. It takes place usually after a good harvest, and is intended more or less as a thanksgiving to the spirits that control the rain and the abundance of food generally. It is also intended by the medicine-men to impress the people with the powers which they ascribe to themselves of being able to change the shape of their bodies into that of any wild animal. But these pretensions are not accorded much credence nowadays in the Malindi District.[1]

## 1 NGOMA YA PEPO.

776 763 The Swahili word *pepo* is the equivalent of the Arab word *jin*, or devil or evil spirit. The people inhabiting the coastal zone, both Arabs and Swahilis, believe in the existence of these beings, some of whom are considered harmless while others, entering into the human body, create various ills and pains, insensibility or sometimes a demented state accompanied by violent gestures. It is quite evident, even to a layman, that these ills are due to a disturbance of the nervous system of imaginative and highly-strung individuals. Thus one finds that the great majority of the people who get *pepo* are women.

753 533 The native cure for *pepo* is principally drumming. The natives of Africa are particularly sensitive to rhythm, pure and simple, even more so perhaps than Europeans. The rhythm of certain kinds of drumming has the effect of exciting the nerves to an ecstatic degree, while other rhythms appear to have the contrary effect upon the nervous system of Africans. It is the latter rhythms that are used as a cure for *pepo*.

This physiological effect of rhythmic drumming is, however, unknown to the nhabitants of the coastal zone, and believing as they do, that the nervous disturbance known as *pepo* is caused by the presence of evil spirits in the body, they set about propitiating the *jin* and putting him in a good temper by giving a drumming

[1] This reminds one of some of the corn dances recorded by Sir J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*; and by Professor Ridgway in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), pp. 335–374.

1 [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

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776 756 782 over the pot, or as close as possible, and is entirely covered over with a sheet so as to receive all the vapour from the pot and the heat from the fire.

757 171 While this primitive method of giving a Turkish bath is being carried out, the *fundi* chants an appropriate song of praise to the *pepo*, and the women, if they know the song, join in and clap their hands in time to the tune. This ceremony takes place soon after sunrise, at mid-day, and in the evening from about 7 p.m. to 8.30 or 9 p.m., each session lasting about an hour to an hour and a half, more or less. After each session the *fundi* questions the *pepo* to ascertain what *pepo* he has to deal with and what propitiation it requires, but the *pepo* may refuse to speak at once, and the same ceremonial is repeated every day up to seven days. If by that time the *pepo* has not spoken, the *fundi* usually comes to the conclusion that the *pepo* in question is not one of his clientele, and he suggests that some other *fundi* be called in.

If, however, success is attained in making the *pepo* speak through the lips of the patient, which is very often the case owing to leading questions being asked by the *fundi*, and perhaps to a certain amount of mental ascendancy on his part, to which a hypnotic element may not be foreign, arrangements are then made to fulfil the desires of the *pepo*, which invariably take the form of an *ngoma* or dance repeated every day for seven days, with or without a *pepo* feast, and a male goat to be ridden by the *pepo* on the last day of the dance.

776 535 756 171 Before the dancing begins, new clothes are bought for the *pepo*, and the patient puts them on. If the latter is a man, a white cloth is tied round his chest and hangs down to his feet and another white cloth is put over the head and shoulders in such a manner as to leave only the face visible, the head and neck being covered. A pair of white cotton trousers tight at the ankle are also worn. If the patient is a woman the same clothes are worn, but the first-mentioned cloth is tied round her waist, and not round the chest as in the case of the man.

Guests are invited, both men and women, but the majority of the dancers at an *ngoma ya pepo* are women. The latter are the only ones allowed to enter the sick room, except the *fundi* and his drummers, and one or two male guests by request of the relations of the patient. The *fundi* and his drummers may also sit in the *ukumbi*, or entrance to the house, according to the wishes of the relations.

The dancing begins at eight or nine o'clock in the morning and lasts for two or three hours, or until the patient, impelled by the *pepo*, lifts his hands as a sign of having had enough for the time being. A second session takes place the same day from about 6 p.m. till 9 p.m., and so on every day till the seventh day.

535 755 171 *Pepo ya ki-galla* generally begins to take part in the dancing on the third day of the dance. The patient, while still seated, begins to jerk his shoulders backwards and forwards and up and down, in time to the drumming. Then he gradually rises from his seat. A fly-switch, made from the tail of any wild animal which could be used for the purpose is placed in one hand, and a small calabash filled with leaves

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supposed to have medicinal properties is placed in the other. A string of oval iron bells (*njuga*) with a pebble inside is tied just below his right knee, and he then shuffles forward alone, dragging his feet. He takes up his position between the two lines of dancers, one at each end of the room, and shuffles backwards and forwards between the two lines of dancers while waving the fly-switch and the calabash, and still jerking his shoulders as described above. The two lines of dancers move their shoulders in the same manner, but remain in the same place. 535 755 171

These proceedings are repeated twice a day, morning and evening, until the evening of the seventh day, when the session is prolonged through the night well on into the next day, sometimes even until mid-day.

During the last dance, the cloth over the head of the patient is allowed to drop on to his shoulders, and another white cloth is put on his head and is kept on by a cord being wound round the temples after the manner of the Beduins. 535

If the *pepo* has required the production of a goat amongst other things to be done for his propitiation, a male goat is now produced and brought to the door of the house. The patient comes out and strokes the goat, passing his right hand three times from its head along its back to its tail. He then gets astride of it and pretends to ride it like a horse, jumping up and down, and jerking his shoulders as before in time to the drumming. 755 776 782 171

If at any time the *pepo* calls for food, a small piece of bread is produced, on which is placed a speck of ambergris and musk, and it is then placed in the mouth of the patient, who eats it. A few raisins are also given, and a lump or two of sugar candy.

After the patient has got tired of riding the goat, the *fundi* asks the *pepo* in the presence of the assembled guests if he has received all he had asked for. The *pepo* says "yes." The *fundi* then asks him if he will ever seize the patient again, to which the *pepo* replies, "I will not seize him again," and thereupon he is considered to have taken his departure, and the patient goes to bed to sleep off his fatigue, and awakes later to find himself quite cured.

There are about fifty propitiatory songs for the *pepo ya ki-galla* known in Malindi.

The names of some of the *pepo ya ki-galla* who are believed to possess people in Malindi are as follows:—Guyo, Barsa, Godana, and Galgalo. All these are common Galla names.

The drums used are two *Vumi* drums, one *Chapuo* drum, and *Vitasa* cymbals, all described in the Shebwani dance.

## PEPO YA KI-SANYE.

The ceremonies and medicines used to cast out a *pepo* of the Sanye tribe are exactly similar to those used in connection with a *pepo* of the Galla tribe. The only difference is that the *pepo* speaks the Sanye language through the medium 171 776 782 755

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171 776 782 755 of the patient, and the propitiatory songs are also in the Sanye language, although Galla songs may also be sung effectively.

The names of the *pepo ya ki-sanye* who are believed to frequent Malindi are merely common Sanye names.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla.*

## PEPO YA KI-SHAKINI.

171 776 755 The people of Malindi[1] do not know here where the Shakini country is. They tell one vaguely that it is *mbarani mbali sana*, that is somewhere in the distant interior of Africa. The Shakini language is said to be understood by the Zigula people. The *pepo ya ki-shakini* is thought to have been introduced to Malindi by slaves brought from the interior, but very little is known of its origin.

The ceremonies which take place at the casting out of a *pepo ya ki-shakini* are exactly the same as those of the *pepo ya ki-galla*; the roots and leaves which make up the ingredients of the medicine used to make the *pepo* speak are, however, different, but the medicine is applied in the same way, that is by means of a Turkish bath.

The clothes worn by the patient when the dancing begins are similar to those worn by a person possessed of a *pepo ya ki-galla*, only the clothes are made of a dark blue cotton (*kaniki*) instead of white cotton (*amerikani*). The trousers worn may be made of blue cotton cloth or red cotton cloth (*bendera*). On the last day of the dance the white cloth worn on the head of the patient suffering from *pepo ya ki-galla* is replaced by a red or blue cloth secured on the head in the same way, by a cord bound round the temples. Formerly, when colobus monkey skins were obtainable, the head-dress consisted of a conical hat made from these skins, about a foot to fifteen inches high, in the shape of a dunce's cap with a peak to it in front, and the monkey's handsome tail hanging down behind. A leather breast-plate and back-plate connected by straps that hang over the shoulders are also worn as an ornament, being profusely decorated with beads and kauri shells. This is called a *torosi* (a Ki-rima word), and is worn on the last day of the dance.

171 776 755 535 782 The dancers of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* form a circle, one behind the other, and move round and round with short jerky steps in a direction opposite to that of the hands of a clock, and stamp their feet in time to the drums. They move the upper part of the body by alternatively throwing the chest forward and the shoulders back and then the shoulders forward and the chest in. The patient dances along with the others, and waves a fly-switch made from the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The *pepo* of the Shakini tribe are believed to be very fond of tembo, and the patient is given frequent libations of this drink. But he cannot tolerate the smell of mutton, and all cooking of this meat must be done at a distance while the patient is possessed of this *jin*.

On the last day of the dance a male goat may be produced if the

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

*pepo* so desires, and the same ceremony is gone through as for the *pepo ya ki-galla*. 171 776

The songs of praise of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* sung in Malindi amount to about twenty-five. 755 535 782

Some names of *pepos* of the Shakini tribe known here are, Shinga Kamba wa Goshi, Hotea, Shingwa Rambo wa Seraf, Giwa wa Mwenne Panganga Waso wa Jentangu.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-RIMA.

The origin of these *pepo*, as their name indicates, is of course well known, but their introduction to the Malindi District dates only to nineteen years back. 171 776 535

The ceremonial followed is the same as that of the *pepo ya ki-galla*, and of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The head-dress is, however, different, and consists of what is called a *shumburere*, which is of exactly the same shape as a Mexican hat with a tall conical crown and a very wide brim. It is woven from the split fronds of the dom palm or the *mkindu* palm, the wild date. From the outer edge of the brim is suspended a fringe composed of strips of coloured cloth which hang down to the pit of the stomach in front, and to the same level at the back. The head and face of the patient are consequently completely hidden. 755 782

As in the Shakini *pepo* dance, the dancers follow each other round and round in a direction opposite to the hands of the clock, and perform the same steps and antics as in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The patient also waves in the same manner a fly-switch made out of the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The patient is anointed with castor oil as soon as he shows signs by jerks and twitches that he is about to begin to dance.

The *torosi* breast-plate and back-plate of leather are also worn by the patient in this dance, and a male goat is produced if so required by the *pepo*, and is ridden and danced round in the same manner as described in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

There are some forty songs known in Malindi sung in praise of the *pepo ya ki-rima*.

Some names of these *pepo* known here are, Lairan wa Laitua, Laitoni wa Laimoran, Lukwalla wa Lugawane. They remind one of Nandi or Masai names.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-NYIKA.

This is considered a benign form of *pepo* who does not cause the patient any great pain or ill, nothing more serious than a headache or a cough, which do not incapacitate the person possessed. 753 755 535 782

Native medicine is not usually given in order to make the spirit speak and say who he is and what he wants. He is generally recognised by the ache or pain he 776

753 causes to the patient, and he is not exacting in his requirements of propitiation.
755 Generally two or three days' dancing will satisfy him together with a large
535 supply of boiled mealie-meal served with grilled fowl or goat. Sometimes as a
782 special treat some *kunde* beans are mixed with the meal. This is given as a
776 farewell dinner to the *pepo* after the dancing is finished. All the guests partake of it as well as the patient.

The dancing begins about 9 a.m., and lasts about an hour and a half. The patient then goes about his work as usual. In the evening the dancers reassemble and dance through the night with the patient. A line is formed, and one dancer at a time advances to where the drums are being played, jerks his shoulders about while bending over one of the drums for a few minutes, then suddenly stamping his foot he retires with a shuffling step back to his place in the line and another dancer goes forward and repeats the performance, and so on. The patient dances with the others, but is distinguished by having a fly-switch in one hand and a live fowl in the other, both of which he waves about.

The patient is dressed in two new dark blue cotton cloths (*kaniki*), worn as a Swahili woman wears her *leso*. No head-dress is worn. On the second day of the dance, if the patient is a woman, she exchanges her two dark blue cloths for a kilt such as the Nyika women wear.

During the dancing, the patient goes occasionally to a pot of cold water in which leaves of wild trees believed to have certain properties have been pounded and mixed up. He puts both hands into the pot and raises some of the liquid to his mouth and drinks. Having quenched his thirst he throws some of the liquid over each shoulder on to his back, and also pours some on his chest as if he were taking a bath.

At the end of the dance on the third day a meal is partaken of as stated above and the *pepo* departs.

The names of *pepo ya ki-nyika* known in Malindi are without number, and are similar to ordinary names at present heard amongst the various Nyika tribes. The songs of praise sung in honour of these *pepo* in Malindi are also numberless.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-PEMBA.

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776 As their name indicates, these "*pepo*" are supposed to come from the island of
755 Pemba.
534 In order to make the *pepo* declare himself, the usual native medicine and Turkish bath are given. The patient is then dressed in two white cloths after the fashion of the *pepo ya ki-galla*. He is placed on a stool, and as soon as the drumming begins he sways his body about in time to it, and ultimately jerks the stool which he sits on round the room. A *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance) is also played to the accompaniment of the drums. This jerking about on the stool goes on for seven days, and on the eighth day matting is laid on the floor. The

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patient sits on the matting at one end, and proceeds to jerk himself forward to the other end. On reaching this he jerks backwards without turning round. This is a very laborious business and takes a good deal of effort. 171 776 755

On the eleventh day the patient assumes an upright position, and dances, standing up between two lines of dancers. He advances with short shuffling steps to the line of people in front of him. On getting within a couple of feet of them he begins to retire, shuffling backwards without turning round, and keeping his body bent forwards almost at a right angle with his lower limbs. He is followed by the line of dancers facing him, who dance the same shuffling step, and who keep within a couple of feet of him. On reaching the line of dancers behind him, he straightens his body and starts forward again, the line facing him then retiring and the line behind him following him. He waves a fly-switch in his hand, and a string of small oval iron bells, *njuga*, with pebbles inside, is tied round his right ankle. 534 535 755 782

No head-dress is worn by the patient, but a paste is made by pounding to a powder a certain scented wood called *udi*, and mixing it with water. This is applied all over the head. If no *udi* wood is available, the wood of the *muhuhu* is used. A black line about half an inch wide is also painted from the tip of the nose over the head to the back of the neck.

On the last day of the dance, fruits and delicacies in very small quantities are laid before the patient, who eats a little of each for the benefit of the *pepo*.

If the *pepo* demands it, and the financial position of the patient will allow of it, a white bull or a male goat is produced on the last day, and is ridden and danced round by the patient as described in the ceremonies which take place to expel a *pepo ya ki-galla*, after which the *pepo* departs from the sick person.

The names of some of the *pepo* known in Malindi are, Mwana Mashungi wa Ukulu, Kekecha wa Mawamba, Makata wa Mapinga, Maungua wa Maamba. A great many propitiatory songs are also known at Malindi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-HABSHI.

171

The Abyssinian spirit is not believed to have seized anyone at Malindi yet, and very little is known about it here. It is, however, believed to have possessed people in Zanzibar and Kismayu. 776

### PEPO YA KI-ARABU.

The ceremonies which are gone through to expel a *pepo* of this variety constitute a type which is followed with slight variations in exorcising almost all the *jins* believed to belong to Moslem tribes. 776 755

The fundamental difference between the method of treating heathen *pepo* and Moslem *pepo* consists in the substitution of strong perfumes for the Turkish bath method, in order to induce the *pepo* to declare himself.

776 755 [782] The preliminaries are the same as those described in the *pepo ya ki-galla* up to the point where it becomes necessary to ascertain what the *pepo* requires as a bribe or propitiation to depart from the body of the person whose sickness he is believed to be causing.

In order to get this information from the *pepo*, a mixture is made of rose water, ambergris, musk, saffron and camphor. Using this as an ink, the *fundi* writes on a plate the name of Allah with His various attributes (the all-powerful, the all-merciful, etc.), also the names of some of the archangels. The writing being completed, it is carefully and reverently washed off the plate into a cup with a little more of the mixture above mentioned. The contents of the cup are then given to the invalid to drink, and incense is also burnt beside him. In a short time the *pepo* comes into the head of the patient and states who he is and what he wishes.

776 755 535 Arrangements are then made for a dance, and guests are invited in the usual way. New white cloths are put on the patient, who wears them in the same way as *lesos* are worn by Swahili women. A pair of trousers, tight at the ankle, is also worn.

The patient sits on a stool and gradually begins to sway his body in time to the drumming. Later on the swaying becomes more and more accentuated, till it develops into jerks of the body of sufficient violence to move the stool, on which the patient sits, all about the room. Ultimately he becomes sufficiently excited to stand up and dance with a sort of gliding step, backwards and forwards between two lines of dancers, who imitate his step and gestures. In each of his hands is placed a small white flag, on which is written the verse of the Koran *Ayat ul kursi*. The flag in his left hand he holds over his left shoulder, and the one in his right hand he waves about. A *maharuma* or Beduin head-dress is secured on his head, but if none is available an ordinary white cap will do. On standing up to dance the patient must change his clothes. He discards his two white cloths, and if the *pepo* who possesses him has been ascertained to be a male he dons a white *kanzu* as worn by men. If the *pepo* is a female, then a short *kanzu* of some coloured material or, if possible, of silk such as the Arab women of Muscat wear, is put on by the patient.

If a male *pepo* seizes a man, or a female *pepo* a woman, there is believed to be little hope of the recovery of the patient, whose fate is practically sealed. If on the other hand a *pepo* of one sex seizes a human being of the opposite sex, then the recovery of the patient is assured.

The drumming is accompanied by songs in Arabic appropriate to the occasion, and usually in praise of the spirit.

755 782 At the end of the dance on the last day, a feast is given to the *pepo*, with delicacies consisting of small quantities of Turkish delight (*halua*), powdered white sugar, white lump sugar, moist sugar, sugar candy, almonds, raisins, milk, eggs, young coconuts (*dafu*), but of the pale coloured variety, rose scent, scented oil and European scents.

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If the patient can afford it, a white bull is produced and, dressed in his best turban with dagger and sword, the patient mounts it like a horse. It is then led round and round the dancing ring in the open, while he flourishes his sword and shows off generally. If the patient is a woman, the dagger and sword are dispensed with. 755 776

Some names of Arab *pepo* known in Malindi are, Maruhani bin Kaffan, Luranni bin Dervess, Rikh bin Zariha, Duban bin Dabran, Amir Ghaish bin Sudian, Jinwi bin Jinan, Hodeida binti Jabal Duhan, Sharua binti Haruta, Saida binti Saida, Saida binti Kisti, Zilzalla binti Harun bin Alwan.

The patriarch Noah is said to have had great ascendancy over Arab *pepo*, and each time his name is mentioned the *pepo* will give a start.

The *pepo ya ki-arabu* are the only *pepo* who appear to have sex distinction. All the other seem to be sexless.

*Tari*, or tambourines, described in the Chama dance, and a *vumi* drum, described in the Shebwani dance, are used.

### PEPO YA KI-NUBI.

This *pepo* is unknown in Malindi, but used frequently to seize people in Takaungu, and does still occasionally. His introduction to that town took place at the time when Said Barghash, Sultan of Zanzibar, maintained a garrison there under Liwali Salim bin Hamis, father of the present titular chief of the Mazrui tribe, Rashid bin Salim. Some of the *askaris* of the garrison were Sudanese, and the introduction of the *pepo ya ki-nubi* is without doubt due to them. 171 776 755 535

This *jin* is a Moslem, and the preliminary ceremonies carried out to make him speak are the same as for the *pepo ya Ki-arabu*. He is not an exacting spirit, and two or three days' dancing and drumming will satisfy him. He does not require any *sadaka* to induce him to speak, but will eat ordinary food, and in the matter of raiment, any clothes will do. In fact he is a mild fellow, and is rarely the cause of any serious ailment.

On the arrival of the guests, a ring is formed in the open, the dancers facing inward with the sick person amongst them. They move round and round the circle in the opposite direction to the hands of the clock, jumping and jerking their shoulders about. The drums, consisting of three *msondo* (described in the Ki-Nyasa dance), are played in the centre of the ring, together with the *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance). The dancing begins at 3 p.m. and goes on well into the middle of the night. This is repeated for two or three days.

The last dance continues right through the night to the next morning, when the dancers disperse. As the dance is just about to break up, the sick person makes a rush to a cauldron placed a few paces away from the dancing ring, and filled with water. He plunges his head and shoulders into the water, and the *fundi* and several muscular friends hold his head under water until he begins to struggle from loss of breath. They let him struggle for a minute or so, and then release him.

171 776 755 535 Instantly he makes a dash back to the dancing ring and prostrates himself on the ground near the drums, probably from exhaustion. But he is not given much time to consider what ails him, for he is closely followed by the *fundi* armed with a *bakora* or cane, who rouses him with a smart cut across the shoulders. The patient jumps up in fear of receiving another blow of the *bakora* and is surprised to find himself quite cured. He returns home to sleep off his fatigue.

Some names of *pepo ya ki-nubi* are Fatuma wa Abdalla, Abdeh wa Hamdeh, Tai wa Yusuf, Saida wa Abana.

There are no *fundis* of *pepo ya ki-nubi* at Malindi, and it is doubtful if any remain at Takaungu.

### PEPO YA KI-SOMALI.

776 535 755 This *pepo* being a Moslem, the preliminary ceremonies are exactly the same as those which take place in connection with the *pepo ya ki-arabu*.

The dancing is also similar to that of the Arab *pepo*, but is much more rapid.

When the sick man is able to get up and dance he puts on Somali clothes instead of Arab clothes. He also flourishes two small flags with sacred words on them. If he rides a bull on the last day of the dance, he flourishes a spear instead of a sword as the Arab *pepo* does.

[534] The drums used are the *tari* (described in the Chama dance), and they are beaten in very quick time.

The names of the Somali *pepo* are the same as modern names common to Somalis.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-arabu* dance.

### PEPO NG'OMBE.

776 755 This *pepo* is said to make the unfortunate person who gets it low like a cow. It is considered a dangerous *pepo*, and many people do not get rid of it without paralysis of some of their limbs or of one whole side of the body.

The procedure followed to make the *pepo* speak is the same as that in cases of *pepo ya ki-galla*, that is to say the Turkish bath.

The *pepo ng'ombe* speaks Swahili, but in a hesitating manner, and interlarded with bovine noises. Grass must be cut and brought in to him to eat. If no grass is given he will try to get out of the house to go and graze. Water must be given to him to drink in a bucket or other large receptacle, into which he puts his face and drinks like a cow. Some of the water must be thrown over the body of the patient, for, if this is not done, rigidity of the limbs is believed to set in.

If the patient's mouth begins to twist to one side, the case is considered to have entered a very serious phase, and another Turkish bath is given. The patient is rubbed with castor oil, but no other sort of grease must be brought near him, nor any kind of perfume or scent.

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As soon as the patient is strong enough, dark blue cotton clothes are put on him as in the manner of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*, and he then sits up, and ultimately as he gets stronger he takes part in the dancing, which is of the same style as that of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. He also wears a *shumburere* hat and a *torosi* (described in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*), and waves a fly-switch. The dance may be protracted to three weeks, as the illness is sometimes very stubborn. A person who has once suffered from *pepo ng'ombe* can never again tolerate the sight or smell of beef, whether raw or cooked, and sometimes even faints at the sight of it. 776 755 536

On being questioned as to where they come from, the *pepo ngombe* state that their home is in Guran at Bwana Manolo's. There is no country known in Malindi by this name.

Some of the names of *pepo ngombe* known in Malindi are: Darsheh wa Losinga, Darsan wa Bwana Manolo, Darwesh wa Bwana Msija, Lisiji wa Mpinde, Suta wa Bwana Darwasi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

## Pepo ya Punda.

This is a most serious illness, the majority of cases proving fatal. The name *pepo punda* is due to the noises which the patient makes, and which may be assimilated, with a good stretch of imagination, to the braying of a donkey. There is, however, no similarity at all, the noises made by the patient being merely hollow groans of pain, for the disease is extremely painful, and from the symptoms there is no doubt whatever that the *pepo punda* is tetanus. 776 755

The patient cannot speak. No drumming or dancing is allowed. Native medicine only is given to drive out the *pepo*. This medicine consists of a mixture of the following ingredients: *koto* (a root imported from Arabia), *udi-il-barah* (an astringent wood from Arabia), *arkisus* (a wood with a taste like pepper, from Arabia), *habbasoda* (a small seed like a cummin seed, but black, from Arabia), *khardal-filfil* (a root from Arabia with a taste like mustard), common black pepper, *pupi lusi* (a seed like blasting powder with a bitter taste, from Arabia), mustard seed, garlic, *shimari* (a seed like cummin seed), *zatari* (dried aromatic leaves imported from Arabia), also the horn or hoof of a black cow pounded up to powder. All these ingredients are boiled together and given to the unfortunate patient to drink. 278 767

A piece of hard wood scraped clean is placed between the teeth so as to allow of his being given medicine after the lower jaw has become rigid. 776 765

As soon as the spine of the sick person becomes arched, a fire is lighted in the sick room. A mixture is then made from donkey's dung, dog's excreta, garlic, *uvuge*, (asafœtida), sulphur and *sandusa* (a black kind of seaweed). All this is made into a paste by the addition of castor-oil, and lumps of it are cast on to the fire, from

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## 6. ALONG THE BEACH TO ESH-SHIHR.

That night in Sheḥēr there was not much sleep, for a wedding was being celebrated in the village square below us. Several houses are lighted up, and, from our vantage-point high up above them, we can see the feasting that is going on there. Afterwards by the light of gasoline lamps there is dancing in the square; the men and women stand facing each other in long rows, which approach each other with rythmical stamping of feet and clapping of hands and then again retreat. All unite in the singing of a monotonous refrain, the constant repetition of one and the same melody. The actual song is recited by a single person. They all know the old songs and enjoy taking part in them and joining in the rising enthusiasm caused by their refrain. Sweat pours down the naked chests of the men, but it is nearly morning before their energy is exhausted and the festal joy quietens down.

Our driver wakes us up with a toot from his horn in front of the castle, before it is yet light. He knows that we must do the journey to esh-Shiḥr and back, by way of the coast, before high tide.

Our host accompanies us. The road runs along the east bank of the wādī right up to the coast, which is at a distance of only a few miles. On the beach lie the heavy boats of the fishermen and of the men who collect guano. There are drying-places for fish close to some huts: we could smell them that night in Sheḥēr. The guano is conveyed by camel from here to Ghēl Bā Wazīr, there to be used for manuring the fields. The shore is very like the sandy beach of Holland and there are even dunes with some vegetation, which are, however, not more than 20—30 feet in height. On the beach there are armies of crabs, which, at our approach, try to escape either in the direction of the sea or towards the sand-dunes, where cone-shaped heaps of sand flank the entrance to their long spiral passages, which lead underground. The ridge of dunes, which

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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352 rugs or mats, or on cushions placed around or under the windows. A very low table, or a special circular mat, is put in the middle of the room for meals. Rough but solidly made coffers and cupboards are much used for clothes, silver, books, or domestic utensils. 354 Lighting is by lamps of a very primitive form, which burn petroleum or, more commonly, sesame oil. 553 The walls carry little or nothing of ornament, though the tribesmen sometimes adorn them with 515 their arms, banners, or hunting equipment. A bathroom is usually found on each floor of a house, all being situated one above the other, the waste water running off by pipes through the wall; the apparatus consisting merely of a vessel from which water is poured over the body.

262 Wheaten or maize bread, dried dates, eggs, and meat (of sheep or poultry), taken in meagre amounts and usually in some form of soup or stew, form the staple foods; rice is not largely eaten; the people on the coast consume much fish; but only the Bedouin ever eat game. Butter, oil, and honey are much used; also spices, onions, and garlic, and much salad and green vegetables. Fruits, with the exception of the date, are considered as delicacies. Coffee 272 is much drunk in the houses between meals, but there are no public cafés. It is customary for all persons paying visits to bring along 574 with them some coffee-beans wrapped in the turban or plaid (*rādi*); when the party is complete these are collected by the host, and the coffee is prepared in the manner common to all the East. Before drinking, the name of Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Omar esh-Shadhli, whose tomb is at Mocha, is invoked, he being reputed to have been the first to discover the stimulating properties of the berry.

357 Very few servants are kept in most houses, even in those of the well-to-do; the housework and cooking are done by the housewife 567 and the daughters, with the aid, in case of stress, of help called in from other branches of the family, friends, or neighbours. Only the very rich have slaves, and these are treated more as members of the household than as property; for this reason slaves rarely desire to be freed. All slaves in the Hadhramaut are Moslems; even if they come from a Christian or pagan country, they are forced to embrace Islam. But marriage between free persons and slaves is extremely rare.

[834] Dancing is regarded in the Hadhramaut as permissible, but never among persons of two sexes, and the Seyyids and towns- 52 men usually abstain from it. The music is made by a primitive form of guitar (*ganbus*), a large oblong drum, and three or four 533 small drums, the players often accompanying their music with

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



a monotonous chant. The dance is usually executed by two persons, each dancing by himself, who, while turning all the time, alternately approach and withdraw from the orchestra, but always keep at the same distance from each other; when the first two are exhausted their places are taken by two others, and so on for many hours at a stretch.

The status of women in the Hadhramaut appears to be superior to that in many Mussulman countries. The wife lives in the same part of the house as her husband, but she receives her visitors in her own rooms. Divorce is very rare, the repudiation of a wife without very good cause being held in high contempt; if an individual did so repudiate his wife he would certainly fail to obtain another wife of the same social scale. Polygamy is very uncommon; there are no eunuchs; in the event of the husband taking another wife, the first quits his roof immediately and returns to her parents. Amongst the Bedouins of the Hadhramaut polygamy is absolutely unknown. If a man definitively leaves his town to seek his fortune elsewhere, the wife may, and usually does, refuse to follow him. In this contingency it is considered legitimate for him to take another wife, and he is not expected to continue to support the first.

The marriage dowry is of a double character; there is, first of all, a legal tariff varying from 20 to 2½ florins according to the social status of the fiancée; and secondly, there is the nuptial gift, the amount of which varies according to her personal qualities: the first may be reclaimed in the case of a dissolution of marriage, the latter not.

In the Hadhramaut the poor and the rich dress much alike, the quality of the material, the jewels worn, and the arms carried being the only indications of status. The clothes worn by the townsmen resemble, in many respects, those of most orientals. Sandals with thin shoes, but no stockings, are worn; when out of doors a kind of plaid (*rādi*), made locally, about seven yards long and a little short of a yard wide, is invariably carried or thrown over the shoulders. The head is shaven.

The garments of the tribesmen are similar in the main to those of the townsmen, except that they are shorter, are worn somewhat differently, and the material is usually woven in diamond 'check'; the *jubbah*, or robe, is replaced by a shorter buttoned jacket; and the tribesmen carry their arms, a straight sword, a two-edged poniard, &c. The *rādi* is also worn. The hair is grown long and falls over the shoulders, and the head is covered

576 A tribesman now separates himself from the
● 587 'home side' and, very fast and in a loud voice,
533 declaims verses which he has composed (fig. 1). If these are not accepted by his companions he declaims others, until acceptance is indicated by cries of 'Yallah.' He then begins to intone the first half of his verses in a chant peculiar to the occasion, and is followed by the leading half of the column. The second half of the verses is chanted by the second half of the column. When the poet is satisfied that the words are being sung correctly by all, he resumes his place in the column and joins in the singing. The column has meanwhile continued to wheel and circle (fig. 2).

576 The visitors can judge, from the words sung,
533 whether their welcome is a hearty one, or not. These words are not always polite, and the

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576 but it is a hard and fast rule that no news shall be given. The sheikh and ten men may have been killed in a blood feud the day before, but the answer to the question : 'Any news ? '—which is invariably asked—is always given in the formula —'There is no news, and nothing has been 'started, and nothing has been destroyed, and 'no one has said anything to anybody.'

This flat denial of news ends the ceremony. The visitors, if they are staying, hand over their rifles to their hosts, and are led by the left hand [272] into the village, where they drink the bitter infusion of coffee-husk, flavoured with ginger. Conversation then becomes normal, and news is exchanged.

576 This greeting ceremony, as performed by the 537 Aulaqi tribesmen, with its long and rather

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576 monotonous chant, has considerable dignity, but
587 as performed by the Qaramish, at a fast and ungainly run, it strikes one as laughable.

576 The most remarkable feature about the ceremony as a whole is the twisted path taken by the singers, for the more the leaders wheel and turn,

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



out to meet you. Many people prefer to walk down the *'aqaba*, and in any 600
case the drivers stop at the top to tie up the brakes. I have only walked down once, and that was on the morning of the New Year. I sat for a short time at the top and it really was a most beautiful sight watching the day break over the minarets and white houses of Tarim.

"Tarim and thou desirest no more" is a local saying, and in truth I know of no happier places to live in than Tarim and Seiyun. I shall never forget our first impressions of Tarim nor I think does anybody else forget his, but the charm of these places grows with knowledge and they have a hospitable and cultured society. There is little literary learning in Mukalla or Shihr: 212
Mukalla can be difficult to live in, but Shihr is always friendly and welcoming. 538
Seiyun and Tarim are not only that, but can talk of affairs, of history, and of philosophy. The whole country is full of poets, and not only quotes the old poets but records constantly current history in *qasidas*, and that is how much of it survives. At a Shabwani dance the poets assemble and in turn compose extempore couplets, which are repeated by the choir leaders and taken up by a hundred throats.

Tarim and its rich suburb of 'Aidid, where there are several beautiful Riviera 631
villas, are of course under Kathiri rule, but they and the small village of Al [361]
Ghuraf are in Tamimi country. One interesting fact about Tarim that I have learnt recently is that it contains a state within its walls. This enclosure, which contains a few houses inhabited by the Seiyids of Al Haddad, is ruled by their *mansab* under some ancient right. His subjects are completely under his jurisdiction, and even if they commit offences in the city of Tarim are not tried by the Sultan but handed over to him. The intelligentsia of Tarim call him the *Baba* (the Pope) and his state the *Fatikana*. Tarim and Seiyun both have old religious academies (*Rubats*) to which students come from con-
siderable distances in the west of the Protectorate and from the Yemen. 874
I remember when I first passed the Tarim Rubat a long time ago there was 609
a rush to exclude the contaminating influence, and all the doors and window shutters were hastily banged. Life gets more pleasant when crowds of children and adult hangers on cease to follow you shouting *Nasrani* (Christian). When I returned to Mukalla from the interior in March 1937 one small boy did shout Nasrani, but was immediately corrected by a friend who said "*That's* not a Nasrani, that's Ingrams."

The Tamimis, who stretch several miles on the way to Seiyun, and down 619
the Wadi Maseila to below Qasm, the Tamimi capital, are a Qu'aiti tribe, so that Tarim and Al Ghuraf form islands in their territory. There are no Badu [167]
sections to the Tamimis, and they all live in the wadi and emigrate largely to East Africa and the East Indies. They are however an astonishingly disunited tribe whose sections were constantly warring against each other, mostly over land questions. In this way they are a great contrast to their neighbours, the Manahil, who belong to the same Confederation, the Beni Dhanna. The Manahil are all Badus but are completely united in following their young chief 'Aidha bin Tannaf, a very fine lad of about twenty-five. I thought at first that the Manahil were not going to join in the truce, but after holding back for a little while they came and signed, and have never caused the slightest trouble, though 'Aidha had considerable difficulty in restraining

335 466 fall out with him, or find that he is not doing his work properly,
461 you give him ḳuṣū'ah, and then dismiss him. Unless you do so,
467 you will find that another carpenter will not come and work for
you. If you tried to employ a different carpenter the latter would
ask about the first carpenter and make sure that he obtained his
ḳuṣū'ah before he left you. The Bā Sumbul (or Sumbil) who make
324 stone querns, pestles, and work stone of all kinds, and the Baḳḳārah
463 (cattlemen, ploughmen) will not allow you to change the particular
461 member of their group who works for you at all. The only exception
467 made is if you have had to dismiss the man you were employing,
for laziness, incompetence, or disobedience; then you inform the
next man you wish to employ of your reason for dismissing his
predecessor. The new employee in turn ascertains from the man
you have just dismissed that what you say is true, and if your
case is just, he will come and work for you. This system is however
[538] confined to the two classes last mentioned only. The poet 'Askūl
says : —

Wa'rdja' takhabbar 'ala 'l-wakkār
Lī šāll mawḳaruh li-'l-aḥdjār
Bā Šumbil illī yabī' al-sufūn.

Come ask about the stone worker
Who to the stones bears his hammer
Ba Sumbil who sells column-drums.

This faḫīdah of the Bā Sumbil has the moropoly in making stones for columns (safan), pestles (ḳuṣrah), etc. They live in the suburb known as 'Aidīd. They do not allow any one else to carry on this work, and I am informed that they can even take people to court for infringing on their monopoly. The Baḳḳārah too have a similar monopoly in their profession.

467 As evidence of the power of the guilds of workmen in Tārīm
466 the following incident is relevant. Some time before the advent
of the British to Ḥaḍramawt, the Sultans of Tarīm, some of the
wealthier saiyids, and others who were then constructing the large
palaces for which it is famous, determined to lower the wages of
the builders there. So they brought them together, and told them
that they had resolved to make a reduction (nuḳṣān) in their wages.
The builders refused. The Kathīrī Sultan however, consenting that

312 Ṣidāra. The high temperature of the water does no harm
273 to the vegetation as can be seen by the thick and almost
245 tropical growth even at the sources of these hot streams. The picture made by this landscape in the midst of the deserts of rock was quite new to us. New to us also was the custom, which exists here, of tapping sap from the palm-trees: this sap soon ferments and produces a by no means innocent
• [538] drink which is consumed in large quantities. Artless tales were told us of many a man who had become a regular slave of the wine of the date-palm. That this abuse of the date-palm, so strongly condemned by orthodox Muḥammadan opinion, does not seem to exist in other districts through which we travelled, is probably due rather to poverty than to religious conscientiousness. The people only indulge in the luxury of this sin in the well-watered country of Wādī Ḥadjr, where date plantations succeed each other continuously for hours and even days.

312 We had a bathe in one of the warm springs, a comfort
133 lacking since Diyār Āl Buqrī; but the crowded circle of critical and youthful spectators and their mocking remarks, added to the somewhat too high temperature of the water, prevented complete enjoyment of the event.

These hot springs point to volcanic action. Ṣidāra lies on the edge of the coastal chain of mountains, which is full of clear traces of volcanism. The monotonous similarity of the *djōl* and *wādī* formation of the interior has disappeared. The geological strata are no longer horizontal, nor do they consist any longer of limestone and sandstone and loam. Fantastically folded and broken strata, high precipices and peaks of archaic rock, between which extinct volcanoes can be recognised, characterize the landscape between Ṣidāra and Makalla.

000 The necessary waiting for camels and escort gives us the opportunity to write up our diaries, which has been pushed aside lately by other and more urgent affairs; but although our host does his best to give us the chance of a few hours' quiet work in a room upstairs, he does not succeed in doing so.

When there is a fire the people in the streets shouted out « Wa-'n-nār wa-'n-nār », or, if there has been an accident when some one has fallen into a well, « Wa-'l-bīr ». At this all of the males of the quarter come running out at a trot, leaving their occupations. If it is a fire they take tanaks (tins) and fill them at the mosque cistern (djābiyah). Only the Masākīn perform these duties of course, not the saiyids or mašā'iḫ. Apart from the occasions cited in a previous article[8] another time when the quarter turns out is when a clay-bank (djurf) of a water-channel or water-course has fallen on top of some person or persons. The latter are dug out by the quarter.

Each quarter has a tanṣūrah (pl. tanāṣīr), a kind of rallying-song or theme special to each quarter, and doubtless each with its special tune. These tanṣūrahs are used on all sorts of occasions, festal or otherwise, and probably, indeed, whenever a body of men from the quarter assemble together. The tanṣūrah may be compared in some respects with the tribal ṣarḫah and 'azwah[9] examples of which are given by Landberg. The following are examples of some of the themes used by the principal quarters of Tarîm.

1. Ahl al-Sūḳ

a. Metre : Wāfir type, ||—|———∪|———∪

لَنَا ٱلزَّايِدْ وَفِينَا ٱلزَّايِدْ

Metre : Radjaz type, ||—|—∪——|—∪—∪

وَشَيْخنَا ٱلمِخضَار مَعْنا

« We have the most, and amongst us lies the most.
And our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār is with us. »

As the metre of these two pieces differs I assume they are independent of each other though given me as a single tanṣūrah. The sense is that the Ahl al-Sūḳ is greater in numbers than any other quarter, it being the largest of all. Al-Miḥḍār is the celebrated Tarîmî saint.

[8] *The Cemeteries of Tarîm*, op. cit.
[9] C. DE LANDBERG, *Arabica IV* (Leiden, 1897), pp. 18, 20, etc.

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



• 539
533
621
792

b. Metre : Ramal type, ||—|——∪—|——∪—

شَيْخنَا ٱلمِخضَار يَطفِى ٱلنَّار

« Our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār puts out the fire. »

This is a raḏjaz or zāmil known as raḏjaz ḫābbah, or « jingle used by a party of men at the trot ». It would be sung after a fire had been extinguished. It should be noted that extinguishing of the fire is attributed to the patron saint of the quarter, and one can with justification see in this the survival of some ancient pagan ceremony.

c. Metre : Basīṭ type,

||—|—∪—|—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

وَٱلشَّيْخ وَٱللهْ عُمَرْ يَا سَعْد مِن كَان شَيْخَهْ

« By the Šaiḫ, by God, ʻUmar, O the good fortune of him whose šaiḫ he is. »

This raḏjaz (jingle) is also used in trotting.

d. Metre : Banī Miḫrāh [10],

||——∪|——∪|——∪|——∪

عُمَرْ مِخضَار فِى كُلِّ حِجَّهْ نَهتَرِى بَهْ

وَرَاسَ ٱلخَصْم لِى قَدْ عَصَبْنَا بَيْن جِيَهْ

« ʻUmar al-Miḥḍār, in every matter we shout for assistence to him.

And the head of the foe whom we have made up our mind (to attack) we shall bring [11]. »

[113
224]

[10] I have named this metre Banī Miḫrā because it seems to be invariably used in the poems which begin with this phrase. The Banī Miḫrāh poem is the traditional hunting song of Ḥaḍramawt; it is discussed at length in my *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramaut.*

[11] اهترى LANDBERG, *Glos Daḏ*, « prononcer le cri de ralliement de la tribu, crialler ». My informant said it meant « to seek assistance from. » For عصب he gave the synonym اراد. One can say عصبنا السيله equivalent to نبغا السيله « We want to go to the Maslah ». In the « oath of denial » *infra*, I think that the first two verbe must have the fundamental sense of « binding and loosing » بين جيه is equivalent to بنبغا نحييه .

It seems that herein lie pagan ideas attached to the person of a Muslim saint who appears to be regarded in much the same way as a tribal god of the pre-Islamic era. On consideration, I do not think that the intent is to bring the head of the foe to 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, but he is evidently regarded as assisting the quarter in battle against, perhaps, another quarter, Muslims and Šawāfi' notwithstanding.

In the case of a quarrel between two quarters, when one quarter denies its culpability it uses the following formula :

لَا عَصَبْنَا وَلَا طَلَقْنَا وَلَا رَمَزْنَا وَلَا غَمَزْنَا

« We did not decide (to do anything), nor did we omit (to do anything), we did not look nor did we whisper [12]. »

This is known as the « oath of the denial » (yamīn al-inkār).

2. Ahl al-Ḫilaif

a. Metre : Basīṭ, ||—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

اَلْيَوْم جُمْعَة وَغُدْوَة مِثْلَهَا
لَمَّا تَقُومَ اَلْقِيَامَة كُلَّهَا.
عِيوْهُ ! وَوْ ! مسه !

« Today is Friday, tomorrow the same,
Until the Resurrection comes, all of it. »

The sense is, probably, that today is a holiday, or at least a fortunate day. After this and other verses, exclamations such as the above are commonly used. Another common exclamation is wō-lākhap. What these exclamations signify none can say, but all Ḥaḍramis concur that they are old and curious. I am tempted to suggest they might be corrupt vestiges of pagan religious ritual.

12 The latter two verbs of the « oath of denial » were thus paraphrased for me, but I feel that the classical senses of the Lexicons might be more appropriate here.

•539 b. Metre :

539 Perhaps ||— — ∪ | — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — فَاعِلْ مُسْتَفْعِلْ فَعُولْ

621 قَدْ قَنَصْنَا ٱلصَّيْدْ فِي رُبُوعَهْ [13]

224 شَيْخَنَا عَلِيْ بِنْ مُحَمَّدْ

« We have hunted the game in its lairs (or mountain-sides). Our šaiḫ is 'Alī bin Miḥimmid. »

This tanṣūrah has no small interest when it is recalled that the ritual hunt played an important part in the pre-Islamic religion of this part of Arabia, especially the hunting of the ibex [14]. The first half-verse is commonly sung by *all* the quarters of Tarīm, and is even used by the people of the ḥawṭah of Thibī not far away. [792] Šaiḫ 'Alī bin Muḥammad is a saint of the Āl Ḫaṭīb family, known as Ṣāḥib al-Wi'il, i.e. « He of the Ibex ». Once, on the occasion of a feast, either the lesser or the greater 'Īd, he had no animal to slaughter by way of celebration, but on returning home from the mosque he found an ibex standing by his door. This was evidently a miracle performed on his behalf. Šaiḫ 'Alī is the patron saint [346 of al-Ḫilaif, and is buried in the cemetery of al-Furaiṭ [15]. The chief 361] mosque of the quarter is Misdjid al-Wi'il, and at one time when, owing to the dissension between three sections of the Yāfi'ī rulers, Tarīm was divided into three territories with three separate djāmi' mosques, the Misdjid al-Wi'il was used for the Friday prayer; this took place about a century ago.

No doubt this tanṣūrah would be used by parties of hunters returning from the ibex-hunt as I have described in the preface to my book on Ḥaḍrami popular verse.

3. Ḥārat al-Saḥīl

[792] The people of this quarter mention their saint, an 'Aidarūs saiyid 539 who is buried in Tāribah, but I have no further particulars about 621 their tanṣūrahs. They shout 533

[13] Variant شَعُوبَهْ.

[14] Cf. A. Beeston, *The Ritual Hunt*, Le Muséon, LXI, 3-4, pp. 183-96.

[15] For this cemetery see *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, *op. cit.*

Metre : Ramal, ||— — ∪ — | — — ∪ —

شَيْخنَا عَلْوِى بِنَ أَحْمَدْ

4. Al-Nuwaidarah

The patron saint of al-Nuwaidarah is Šihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Alī bin Abī Bakr al-Sakrān [16].

5. Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī

The tanṣūrah of this quarter mentions the saint of the ḥawṭah šaiḫanā al-Ḥaddād, i.e. the celebrated saint and author 'Abdullāh al-Ḥaddād who is also known beyond the confines of Ḥaḍramawt.

It would however seem that the term tanṣūrah is not confined to the rallying-cries of the quarters of the cities, for I can recall the word being used in the Daṯīnah area when tanṣūrahs were performed over the grave of a man whose murder had been successfully avenged. It is a cry used also by the tribes [17] in Ḥaḍramawt.

Very similar to the Tamīmī tanṣūrah quoted by Landberg [18] is the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd of Tarīm. The 'Abīd have an organisation in many respects similar to that of the Masākīn with a headman (muḳaddam). Their tanṣūrah runs :

بَنِى سِوَيْدَ ٱلْغَلَّابَهْ

كَمْ مِنْ قَبِيلِى ظَفِرْنَا بَهْ

« Banī Siwaid, the conquering,
How many a tribesman have we overcome. »

Landberg remarks that the verse he quotes is defective, if one must see a metre in it, but the first half-verse which he gives corresponds exactly in metre to the first half-verse of the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd.

16 « The Drunken » might, at first sight, seem an odd term to apply to a Muslim saint, but the term of course is Sufistic, and implies that he was drunk with the ecstacy of the knowledge of God. Some names are much more curious. I was told that the 'Aṭṭās saiyids derived their name from a miracle performed by their ancestor who is said to have been heard to sneeze while still in the womb!

17 C. de Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût* (Leiden, 1901), p. 184.

18 Loc. land.

Metre : Ramal, ||— — ∪ — | — — ∪ — 539

شَيْخنَا عَلْوِى بِنَ أَحْمَدْ 621 533

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[17] C. de Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût* (Leiden, 1901), p. 184.

[18] Loc. laud.

19: Sergeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 In Ṭarīm many houses belonging to the wealthy saiyids seem
552 to have a name chosen by the owner, and Saiyid 'Umar b. Šaiḫ
174 Āl Kāf, our neighbour in Tarīm, called his house al-'Iššah, or 'the
212 nest', but others seem to be called after the name ot the locality, or as the Ḥaḍramī says, after the name of the well, such as the house Ḥamṭūṭ, our neighbour to the east. Houses in Tarīm often have chronograms over the door, generally some pious phrase, worked in the plaster and painted. In Šibām the Maṣna'ah or fort has inscriptions, including dates, in the woodwork. I am convinced that herein lies the explanation of why so very few pre-Islamic and early Islamic inscriptions have been found in Ḥaḍramawt. On dams, on buildings, even in the mosques, the inscriptions which today record the foundation, or repairs effected to a construction, are all drawn in the plaster. The only two Kufic inscriptions I saw in Ḥaḍramawt were on the grave-stones at Ḳabr Nabī Allāh Hūd, and the strange shrine of Mawlā Maṭar. Pre-Islamic stone inscriptions will of course be discovered when excavation is made in the mud mounds which represent the ancient towns and villages of the country.

782 The sacrificial rites described here are probably general to South-
342 West Arabia. (In the Ṣubaiḥī village of Am-Fadjarah, west of Aden I came across very similar practices. A ewe (ġanamah) was slaughtered at the foundation (sās). In the space under the stairs called ḳuṭb, when it was made, another was slaughtered, and on completion of the building a third ewe, called the iklīl or 'crown', was also immolated. As the occupier of the house in question I was asked to defray the cost of these. This is some hundreds of miles from Ḥaḍramawt.) Comparisons with ritual in the ancient world may be made by scholars.

463 According to my early notes in Tarīm, every craft seems to
342 have different categories of workmen, perhaps graded, but I did not explore this possibility. A fully trained craftsman is called a mu'allim, and if you want to have a house built, you go to the mu'allim. Tarīm once had fifty to sixty mu'allims, but now (1947) there are probably only about thirty. Other categories are, the musawwis who builds the dry stone foundation of your house, and the bānī who builds with the clay bricks (madar) and clay (ṭīn). A bānī in Ḥaḍramawt is also a potter (syn. in Yemen, maddār). I heard of an architect in Tarīm who bore the name 'Umar Ya'mur

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



175 bin Said, Sultan of Zanzibar. It was not until 1888 that he consented to use the interest on the sum invested, which had then amounted to 230,000 rupees, for his own use.[1]

148 In 1882 a treaty was entered into with 'Abdulla and 'Awadh, the
143 Qu'aiti Jemadars, whereby due provision was made for the ex-Naqib and for the payment of an annual sum by the British Government to the Qu'aiti of 360 dollars a year. The Qu'aiti bound themselves not to dispose of any of the Hadhramaut territories to any person or power other than the British Government, and in 1888 a Protectorate treaty was concluded. Jemadar 'Abdulla died a few months later and 'Awadh became sole ruler. In 1900 the Qu'aiti dominions were further extended by the purchase, from the Wahidi,
[354] of Meifa, and in 1902 the Sultan's old title of Jemadar was finally abolished and he was recognised by the title of Sultan.[2] Sultan

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[1] To-day Naqib 'Abdur Rab, 'Umar's son, the present head of the family, is a respected member of Zanzibar society. He has lived in a quiet and unobtrusive fashion, and he and his people have been absorbed into the population in which they are an indistinguishable element. The Naqib has adopted the fashions of dress and living of the Omani section of the population, while the rest of the large Hadhramaut element in Zanzibar forms a very distinct community of its own.

[2] The following is a continuation of the Kathîri narrative of Hadhramaut history, from the same source as before.

In 1283 (A.D. 1866), at the suggestion of Seiyid Ishaq bin 'Aqil, Sultan Ghalib bin Muhsin al Kathîri succeeded in occupying Shihr. He then marched against Mukalla but was defeated by the Naqib bin Sala's forces at Harshiat. The next year Jemadar 'Awadh bin 'Umar al Qu'aiti arrived from India with Indian and Yafa'i troops to attack Shihr. He landed with his forces at Hami, proceeded to Shihr, and with the assistance of the Kasadis captured the place and expelled the Kathîris. In 1287 (A.D. 1870) Seiyid Is'haq bin 'Aqil went to Hyderabad and proposed to the Qu'aitis, Salih and 'Awadh, and to the Kathîris, that they should retain those parts of the Hadhramaut which they respectively ruled and that they should co-operate with the Seiyids in the establishment of justice, the improvement in the condition of the country, and the maintenance of security on the routes. He also proposed that the Qu'aiti should pay to the Āl 'Abdulla $50,000 on entering into an agreement with him, and an annual sum of $20,000, to be paid from Shihr customs revenue, for the upkeep of the garrison of Tarim and Seiyun. The Kathîris, however, declined these terms and made preparations for investing Shihr. To achieve this object the Kathîris enlisted the assistance of the 'Aulaqi and the Āl 'Umar Bā 'Umar, the respective rulers of Gheil and Soda. The 'Aulaqi was able to supply them with considerable funds from India, as he too, held a position similar to that of the Qu'aiti and the Kathîri in the Government of the Nizam.

Hearing of this alliance, 'Awadh immediately started hostilities against the 'Aulaqi and the Āl Bā 'Umar. At the end of a year he had defeated them and annexed Gheil and Soda. 'Awadh now entered into an agreement with the Kasadi Naqib, 'Umar Salih, for invading the Hadhramaut. Leaving Shihr and Mukalla respectively, the united forces marched against the Āl 'Abdulla, but the Kathîris beat off their attacks and forced them to retire. The Naqib 'Umar Salih then died and 'Awadh left for India.

'Umar was succeeded by his son Salih. Jemadar 'Awadh now returned from India, and, taking advantage of the despatch of soldiers by the Naqib to Du'an to fight against the Āl 'Amndi, sent some of his troops to Mukalla, and demanded from the Naqib half of the expenditure incurred in the expedition against the Hadhramaut which he had undertaken with 'Umar Salih. The Yaf'ai chiefs then intervened and decided that the Naqib should surrender half Mukalla.

565 Seiyids do not carry arms,[1] nor have they troops to support
554 them, so that instead of relying on the sanction of arms to main-
461 tain their authority they rely on their descent from the Prophet and the reverence which is given to them on account of their ancestry. They are extremely jealous of their privileges as Seiyids; realizing that their influence depends on the respect shown to them, they adhere keenly to such customs as the kissing of their hands and avoid any form of manual labour. They are usually comparatively well educated, and exercise influence on this account.

000 Some years ago a movement started in the East Indies to restrict the power of the Seiyids. It is said to have had its origin in a squabble over a school, but its roots were deeply set in the growing contact of the Hadhrami immigrants with western influence which produced a liberal class keen on modernisation. The Seiyids were innately conservative and mistrusted the encroachment of western civilization. It cannot be said that the struggle between the church and the laity is yet over, but it is apparent that the victory will ultimately be with liberal tendencies rather than diehard conservatism. According to most accounts the 'Irshadis, as the rebels against ecclesiastical predominance termed themselves, never set up actual organizations in the Hadhramaut itself, but there is no doubt that their tenets have made considerable headway there.

565 In Qu'aiti territory the influence of the Seiyids has officially gone.
554 They are not allowed to interfere in politics though they are given respect for their descent. As long as the majority of them adhere to their mediaeval ecclesiasticism it is clearly right that they should be out of power. Unofficially, however, some of the best of them still play an important and indeed essential part in those districts not yet under direct Government control. In Kathīri territory they have more influence, but the leading families have moved with the advancing tide of progress, allied themselves with the forces of law and order, and are amongst the keenest advocates of modern methods in the country.

### Sheikhs.

793 Before the advent of Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa in the ninth century
565 and the gradual growth of the religious influence of the Seiyids,
554 the Sheikhs were the principal ecclesiastical influence in the country.
162 They probably took the place of an earlier ecclesiastical hierarchy formed by the priesthood of the old religion. Though they definitely take precedence after the Seiyids, they resemble them in that they exercise much the same privileges. Like them, they are a very much respected class, are better educated than the tribesmen, and do not as a rule bear arms.

565 The principal families are: Al 'Amūdi living in Du'an, Āl Is-hāq,
162 Āl Bā Wazīr living at Gheil, Wadi al 'Ain, and other places, Bā

[1] There are in fact a few families of Seiyids who do carry arms and are indistinguishable from Beduins.

12: Skene G.B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The musical instruments consist of the small *marwasi* drum described above (see Shebwani dance) and of a *kinanda* which supplies the tune. The latter is a string instrument of the nature of a guitar and is played in much the same way. It usually has seven strings, six of which used formerly to be made of sheep gut, but are now made of twisted silk. The seventh is the bass string and is made of copper wire. 535 534 517

Although not considered altogether reprehensible by austere Mohammedans, the "Kinanda" entertainment is looked upon as rather advanced, if not fast.

Sometimes the dancing is dispensed with and the entertainment is reduced to solo songs accompanied by the *kinanda*. It then assumes a more respectable character, though still not entirely approved of.

Being held indoors, the audience naturally come by invitation only. Refreshments consisting of coffee, sherbet and *halwa* (Turkish Delight) are handed round.

### THE ZAMIL DANCE.

This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs, and generally takes place either by day or by night, in front of the house of some exalted person to whom it is intended to pay compliment or to show respect. It is in fact a sort of serenade, but is also danced at weddings. 535 585 654

The dancers form up in one or more lines facing the house of the person in whose honour it is being held. The leader of the dance starts singing a solo, usually a song of praise to the person in question, and the remainder take up the chorus, which they accompany by rhythmic clapping of hands and swaying of the body. It is not by invitation, and anyone may join in. No drums or musical instruments are used and no refreshments partaken of, except at weddings. This dance has no mystical meaning.

### THE CHAMA DANCE.

This may be called a faction dance owing to the element of competition which enters into it in regard to some other faction which has also organized a dance. It is danced by Swahili men, who dress up in their best clothes and wear Arab daggers and swords borrowed from those of their friends who have them. They do their best to make as fine and as big a show as possible in order to eclipse the dance of the other competing faction. Formerly the dance was accompanied by a feast, and still is in the Lamu District, where the factions vie with each other as to the number of cattle they can afford to kill. In 1912, one faction at the village of Mkunumbi (Witu Sultanate) was known to kill thirty head of cattle to cap the twenty-five head which another faction had killed a few days previously.[1] Needless to say that such waste is impossible in the Malindi District where cattle are scarce, and where the dancers only compete in matters of personal adornment and the number of followers. Faction feeling sometimes runs high, and if two competing dances happen to be taking place on the same night it is not unheard of for one party to attack the other with sticks. 535 562 578 527



[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

535 171 The dance itself resembles the Arab Razha dance, the men standing in a row and jerking sticks in the same manner that the Arabs jerk their swords, one of which may sometimes be seen in the hand of a Swahili dancer of the Chama.

536 534 517 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* drum, a *chapuo* drum, a pair of cymbals or *vitasa*, a *zumari* or clarionet, all of which are described above (see Razha dance, Shebwani dance and Sherha dance), also a tambourine called a *tari* or *pari*. This is sometimes ornamented with loose brass discs that jingle together, as in the Spanish tambourine. The goat-skin is pegged to the wooden frame and is tightened by stuffing a more or less thick cord between the skin and the frame.

The Chama is usually danced in a public place and no invitation is necessary. Anyone may join in who feels so inclined. No refreshments are served nowadays in the Malindi District at a Chama dance, which has no mystical significance.

### THE SHANGWI DANCE.

535 562 578 554 The dance is identical with the Chama and is danced by the winning faction in the Chama competition, which is judged by the "*wazee wa Ngoma*," or elders of the dance, men who are accustomed to take the lead in dances, in other words "masters of the ceremonies." The winning faction proceed to the house of the organizer of the opposition dance and dance the Shangwi in front of it. He is supposed to take this as a compliment, and passes round a scent bottle and sometimes takes part in the dancing himself. The Shangwi has no mystical significance and is usually danced at night with the same orchestra as for the Chama.

### NGOMA YA FIMBO. (Walking-stick dance.)

535 585 852 562 The Ngoma Ya Fimbo is danced at Swahili wedding feasts, and at Swahili circumcision feasts. The dancers, all men, assemble by invitation and form a ring in the open near the house of the host, all carrying sticks, hence the name of the dance. While those in the ring balance themselves slowly and rhythmically from one foot to the other, two of their number go into the centre and make passes at each other with their sticks as if they were swords, in time to the drumming. After a few minutes of this, another pair go into the centre of the circle and perform in the same manner while the first two retire, and so on to the end of the dance, which usually takes place by day.

535 534 Cigarettes and betel nuts are passed round to the dancers. The music is supplied by *vumi* and *chapuo* drums described above (see Razha dance) by *vitasa* or cymbals (see Shebwani dance), and by a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). In a temporary pavilion of palm-thatch erected close by, a number of young slave women generally stand holding buffalo horns in their left hands, which they strike with small sticks in time to the drumming.

This dance has no mystic significance and is merely a form of rejoicing.

Tr: Welly G-2 [1939-41] 1941 MMI Hadhramaut MMI
Middle East Islands 121
Socotra.



Socotra has also a
good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

622 609 the Dutchman by the hand, and Sayyid Ḥasan walks on his other side. Von Wissmann is accompanied in the same way by two notables, and then begins the slow entry into the town. A splendid white mosque looms up out of the darkness and then vanishes into it again; for the rest, there are brown mud houses, which seem to have been built without much order. After about five minutes we have passed through the place and see, against the slopes of rock débris, the great el-ᶜAṭṭās house with its many small windows lighted up. The house has just been rebuilt and enlarged, and, therefore, the upper storey has not yet been whitewashed. A brother of Ḥasan and ᶜAluwī comes with an uncle to greet us. This brother has had a Dutch, ᶜAluwī an Egyptian, and Ḥasan an Indian education. The uncle was an officer in the Ḥaḍramī regiment of the *Niẓām* of Hyderabad. The reception in the great *madjlis* is of short duration, and we then go upstairs to have a meal on the spacious roof-terrace in company with the nearest male members of the family.

## 2. SOME GOOD DAYS IN ḤUREḌA.

554 A fine, clean guest-house is assigned to us for our quarters during our stay in Ḥurēḍa. This has the great advantage of giving us a place of privacy and rest, as we only meet visitors in the family-house of the el-ᶜAṭṭās. On the next morning (May 20th) a gathering takes place there to introduce us to the inhabitants of Ḥurēḍa. These things are done democratically here. High and low, old and young are present at such a meeting, even the Bedouins of the caravan, the guard of soldiers belonging to the house, our slave soldiers, and the younger members of the family. The only thing is that the young people and the subordinates keep somewhat in the background and take care not to make any noise that might disturb their elders. The old and wise men of the place are together. The young men's group has, however, an important place, being organized by the driving power of Sayyid Ḥasan

575 177 654

into an association of the el-ʿAṭṭās family. The idea of the association is an importation from Aligarh, where Sayyid Ḥasan studied at the Muslim University; it brings a modern element into the public life of Ḥurēḍa.

There is much discussion over the political situation in Egypt, the Yemen, the Hedjaz, Netherlands India, and in the country itself. This last subject is the most painful. Of course the question is put, under general attention, whether Holland is prepared to appoint a consul in Ḥaḍramaut. My answer to this is that Holland would like nothing better, but cannot do so. She would wish it, in order to strengthen the bonds which have existed for centuries past with the most distinguished families of Ḥaḍramaut, and also for the extension of the trade of Java and Holland with Southern Arabia. But it cannot be, because there is no unity here and no responsible ultimate authority. To whom should our Queen turn and who would be able to take the responsibility for her representative? This argument is well understood and it is a matter of grave pre-occupation to them. To relieve the painful situation thus created, I express my appreciation of the unexpectedly favourable conditions that I have found here after two weeks' journeying through very primitive regions. One observes here the influence of men who have seen something of the world. And yet I cannot help saying that those people achieve more in other countries, for example in Netherlands India, than in their own land. It is with great circumspection that we advise them to concentrate on reaching harmony amongst themselves and to devote their attention and energy to their own country. The "Hip! hip! hurrah!" mood is somewhat lowered by these conversations, but our contact with the large circle of attentively listening visitors is strengthened.

In the afternoon the notables come to show us the town. In front and hand in hand with the Governor of el-Meshhed, who seems to be the most influential man here, and followed by Von Wissmann conducted by Sayyid Ḥasan, we saunter to the great mosque which is rightly the pride of the people

fluential, privileged position, though abroad this position is 565
constantly attacked, and with increasing violence. Western colonial governments make no distinction between the *sāda* (plural of *sayyid*) and those who are not descended from the Prophet, but here this kind of democracy is neither understood nor respected by the *sāda*. It was the only objection that I heard raised against the Netherlands' Colonial Government. 565

In their own land they are the maintainers of religion, and in 782
no other Muḥammadan country are there so many and such 554
beautiful mosques. Also I have seldom seen the *ṣalāt* performed with so much devotion as among the *sāda* in Ḥaḍramaut. Their influence on the government of their land is great: the Sultans are financially dependent on them, the Bedouin tribes are governed by them both by means of money and by religious influence. If they were not so hopelessly disunited among themselves, the political conditions in the "country of the *sāda*" would be much better. It will be seen from what follows how distressingly bad these are at the present time.

The place of honour is given to the sayyid in daily life; 565
he takes the lead during the performance of the *ṣalāt* and sees 554
that it is duly carried out. He is greeted with a respectful kiss on the hand, a salute which even the Sultan does not evade, at least in appearance; the sayyid shows his appreciation of this by drawing back his hand and making as if he will kiss that of the Sultan. This game of make-believe is carried on for quite a little time, for people in Ḥaḍramaut have plenty of time to spare and cling with great respect to the decorum of life. For the non-sayyid of distinction it also suffices if he makes a pretence of kissing the hand.

In Ḥurēḍa all worldly authority is subordinate to that of the sayyids. The Governor is a poor young man who is completely dependent, financially, on the el-ʿAṭṭās family. The schools, mosques, wells and other objects of public utility are maintained by the sayyids.

Water-supply for Ḥurēḍa is a matter of difficulty. We saw 312
great wells lined with masonry, which are about 55 *qāma* deep

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



ques. One of the el-Kāfs told us that there are 200 in use and 160 falling into disrepair. My friend Sayyid Hāshim makes it 60 in use and 300 falling into disrepair; this is, doubtless, nearer to the truth.

The number of the inhabitants of Terīm is almost certainly 12000, for our host has lists of names in connection with the distributions of food made by him to the masses. Sēwūn must then have rather more, that is, between 12000 and 15000.

There are two elementary schools here with about 400 pupils, and one school for more advanced religious instruction with some 200 students.

After the visit to the castle we go to New Terīm. There a completely new suburb is being built, partly for people who are in the service of the el-Kāfs. In none of the places that we had visited up to now was there so much life and expansion as here. In Terīm a conscious and well-considered effort is being made to become, within a short time, the foremost town of Ḥaḍramaut. El-Kāf and Terīm are the names that we heard everywhere whenever new undertakings or plans were under discussion.

We pass through the new suburb till we strike the wall of the city, which ascends the slope of the mountain at this spot until it becomes unclimbable. Two forts manned by soldiers strengthen this starting point of the defence works of the town. From their high position they overlook quite half of the well-maintained and solid wall which encloses the town and the palm-groves in straight lines.

It is Thursday, the day for the distribution of food to the poor. As we return home, the street and square before our host's house are black with women, children and greybeards, awaiting the portions of rice and flour that are destined for them. The work of distribution lasts for hours. Servants hand out the portions; others check and sign long lists of names. The soldiers and Bedouins from the Qeᶜēṭī territory who accompany us gaze in dumb amazement at this lavish charitableness. Soon when they return to their country, they will

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



735 spread still more widely and will magnify in their highly
554 coloured narratives the fame of that noble-minded Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kāf. So it is that the hopes and expectations of an ever-growing number turn towards Terîm. If Sayyid Abû Bakr wished for political power, he would have an opportunity to establish unity and peace in the Kathîrî territories now torn by internecine warfare.

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H 166 AS 563 compare unfavourably with the Hedjazi and the Yemani. All are on the make, and quite prepared to start at the bottom and work up.

H 167 SA 555 426 *Saudi Arabia.*—Writing about the year 1885, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje (Mecca, Leiden, 1931) says that the Hadhramis in Mecca are among the most serious competitors of the Indians in the money-lending business. " These come to Mekka almost invariably without money, but endowed with great adaptabilit, and endless endurance. No sense of honour hinders them from making their choice of trade or situation accord solely with the advantages that circumstances offer. Many have begun as heavy porters in Jeddah where the guild of porters carries on the whole traffic between town and harbour : some of these porters become rich men. In Mekka, they, in the first place, seek situations as day labourers in some trade. Thus they gain local and technical knowledge of which they as soon as possible make the most on their own account; a 14-year old boy who has earned some 25 dollars at once puts 20 of them out at interest, and such small loans often bring in one hundred per cent. even though the time for which the money is lent is only a few months."

H 871 167 But the dubiously respectable profession of disguised money-lending was not the only occupation of Hadhramis in the Hejaz. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramaut supplied many professors and quotes as eminent amongst them the " almost dwarfish Muhammad Sa'id Ba Beseil " who acted as Amin al Fatwa to the Sheikh al Ulema. At that time the Hadhramis had " from of old " their own Sheikh who transacted business between the local government and his countrymen. Generally speaking the learned doctor gave it as his opinion that religion plays no part in the wanderlust of the Hadhramis, and other observers have made the same comment.

Emigration to the Hejaz, however, was, and no doubt is, for some, in a different category. Many students go there to study and Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramis being brought up in a poor, cultureless land regard the great town of Mecca as a modern Babylon. Those who have a taste for learning derive from the holiness of Mecca blessings not to be found in the Hadhramaut. Immigrants soon adapt themselves to Meccan customs and consider the change a progress.

SA 162 167 H 167 Captain Seager estimates that there are about 5,000 Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia to-day. They live mainly in Jedda and Mecca. A few are to be found in Medina but it is doubtful whether they exceed a total of 30 souls. It would be true to say that since 1930 the Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia are decreasing in numbers. This decrease is no accident. Since the advent of the general economic depression, Hadhramis have found it more and more difficult to earn a living in Saudi Arabia. The finances of the country have been shaky for the past four years and money is naturally scarce. This has badly hit the shopkeeper class and by far the greatest

*In Shibam:* Āl Bā Dīb, head, Muhammad bin Ahmed Bā Dīb; important members, 30, total, 50. Āl Bā 'Ubeid, head, Muhammad Salim Bā 'Ubeid; important members, 15, total, 20. Āl Shamākh; important members, 10, total, 40. Āl Ma'āshir, head, Bekr 'Ali Ma'ashir; important members, 24, total, 100. Āl Bā Jarsh, head, 'Abdur Rahman Bā Jarsh; important members, 20, total, 60. Āl at Tōwei, head, 'Ali at Tōwei; important members, 4, total, 20. The families of Qatn, Jabr, Bilfaqih, and Āl Khātib are said to possess authority. 565 162 [73]

*In Al Ghurfa:* Āl Bā Abbad; important members, 15, total, 80. Āl Msellem, head, Salim Msellem; one important member, total, 20. Āl Tarmum, head, 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman Tarmum; important members, 20, total, 90. Āl Sheiban, head, Sheikh 'Umar Sheiban; important members, 5, total, 30.

*In Du'an:* Āl Bā Shanfar, residence 'Aura; important members, 5, total, 80. Āl Bā Ya'shut, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 90. Āl Bā Mad-han, residence Al Qurein; important members, 160, total, 200. Āl Bā Lakma, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 80. Āl Bā Barahīm, residence Al Qurein; important members, 60, total 110. Āl Bā Basut, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 100, total, 200. Āl Bā Hanshal, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 30, total, 150. Āl Bā Khashwein, residence Hudūn; important members, 150, total, 300. The families of Bā Shameila, Bā Samad, Bā 'Ubeid, Bahawal, and Bā Baheir all possess authority, but those of Bazara, Bā 'Ashin, and Bā Sālih have none.

*In Bur:* Bā Sharāhil, who possess no authority.

The townsmen are divisible into four classes; merchants, artificers, labourers, and servants. The economic life of the country depends to a large extent on them. They live in the towns, do not bear arms, and are the principal taxpayers. It is from them that the people obtain the necessaries of life, and they form the main link with the outside world. Many of them are wealthy and they exercise a considerable influence in the country, and might well exercise more. The leading merchants to some extent govern the affairs of their towns, and have developed more than a germ of municipal organization. There are also signs of a kind of trades unionism, or rather of the mediaeval guild system, among the various artificers, and professions are usually, though not exclusively, hereditary. 565 162 556 [41]

### Slaves.

The Qu'aiti and Kathīri Governments are the biggest slave-holders in the country, and I should imagine that there is comparatively little private ownership. Apart from the fact that the slaves are slaves, there is very little to distinguish them, except their African countenances, from other classes of the country, and 567

000 product of the "honeydew" type,[1] which would account for its unusual taste and odour.

*Commercial Value.*—The honey was submitted to two firms of merchants in London who reported respectively as follows :—

(1) "We thank you for your letter and sample of honey, which we have examined. Although the body is quite good, we think you will agree that it leaves much to be desired with regard to flavour.

"At the moment England is so well served with honey of agreeable flavour that it seems doubtful if this honey could be imported to any material benefit. We can buy Jamaica honey, which is good both in colour and flavour, at 26s. per cwt. landed London, so you will appreciate that the value of the present honey would have to be decidedly below this figure. We think you will be well advised to inform your friend that there is little likelihood of an opening on the London market."

(2) "This honey appears to be of a good flavour, but at the present moment there is such a large stock of honey available of all kinds that it would be difficult to find a market for a fresh quality from a new origin."

The latter firm mentioned that Colonial honey was currently selling on the London market at prices ranging from 25s. to 40s. per cwt., according to quality. It will be observed that there is a difference of opinion with regard to the flavour of the honey, but it may be pointed out that the taste is undoubtedly such as would not appeal to the ordinary consumer in this country.

439 263 *Remarks.*—From the trade reports quoted above it will be seen that the possibility of disposing of this honey in the United Kingdom is very doubtful, in view of the large supplies of ordinary honey of good quality available on the market. Furthermore, it is probable that such dextro-rotatory honey would be regarded with suspicion, whilst its unattractive flavour and odour would be further obstacles to its sale.

## Livestock.

556 231 The wealth of the Beduins lies principally in their livestock, consisting of camels, donkeys, cattle, sheep, goats and poultry. Camels and donkeys are reared for transport purposes. The selling of animals is a regular feature of the fairs which are held all over the country at the many shrines of saints. The Qu'aiti Government estimates the number of camels in the country at 20,000.

231 232 Sheep and goats are raised for milk and meat. Cattle, though not plentiful, are not uncommon. An outbreak of rinderpest had killed 60 head of cattle at Hajarein at the time of our visit, and this was considered a very heavy loss. Heald states a decoction of

[1] This is not ordinary honey originating in floral nectar, but is produced by the bee from secretions of leaves and sometimes from secretions deposited by insects.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The Bājrī live on the left bank of the main wadi at a distance of about ten miles north-east of Seiyun. They are surrounded by the tribes of Āl Kathīr and 'Awāmir. It is not universally admitted that the Bājrī are a true Shanfari tribe, but they nevertheless recognize the Sultan of Seiyun as their chief. There is a story that the Bājrī are the original inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, but that in course of time they became absorbed by stronger immigrant tribes. They are all agriculturists but their cultivation being on the left bank is very poor. 631 619 101

The *Mansabs* of the Āl Quseiyer are 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and Qadir adh Dhibab. Hussein bin 'Aidarus Āl Salīla also has influence over the tribe. [622]

## CHAPTER XXIII

### EMIGRATION: COLONIES OF HADHRAMIS ABROAD

There are probably few countries in the world where a larger proportion of the population lives abroad than the Hadhramaut. Between 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. of the estimated population of the Hadhramaut lives in the East Indies, East Africa, or Egypt and the countries bordering the Red Sea. 167

A great number of these emigrants do not proceed abroad for good, but expect to return when they have made their fortunes and die in their native land. Fortune with them is a relative term, for while some of them amass amounts that would not be despised in America the ambition of others is far more modest, and many run only to a few hundred or a few thousand Maria Theresa dollars. [556]

Apart from the 90,000 to 100,000 Hadhramis now living abroad there are a very large number in the country itself who have been abroad, and I have already commented on the fact that Malay and Swahili have really become naturalized languages in the country. [191]

It is not only of recent years that the Hadhramis have learnt the habit of leaving their native homes to seek their fortunes abroad. As Schoff points out, we learn from the *Periplus* that since the earliest time they have had a view beyond their own borders. Then as now, he says, " the outlook of Hadhramaut was towards India by sea and towards Egypt by land. Bent found the same conditions; the capital full of Parsee merchants, the natives going to India, the Straits and Java, and returning when they had amassed a competence; the English protectorate accepted because of England's domination of India, in the face of the religious convictions of rulers and people (*Geographical Journal*, IV, 322). Maltzan described the Hadhrami traders in Cairo as the keenest of the lot, and spoke of their activities in the East; while the Dutch Government, finding the islands of Java and Sumatra overrun with Hadhramaut Arabs, stimulated inquiries of them in Batavia."

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds 439
remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business 167
holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over 171
a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.[9]

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is 177
virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common 198
tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Ka- 291
thiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be 556
incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, 185
Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf 177
family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In [491]
1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, [509]
Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

[9] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut.* London: Colonial Office, 1936.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The elected hereditary tribal Chiefs form the third type. In each tribal 622
confederation there is a central tribe. Of this central tribe one family only provides Chiefs to the confederation. Normally the election of a Chief is the concern, not of his family only, but of the central tribe, while powerful petty Chiefs of other tribes within the confederation have a considerable say in it. Such Chiefs are, by virtue of the conditions of their election, truly democratic. By ancient tradition, however, they are held in great respect and are referred to invariably, as is their family, as the "Dola," or dynasty. They are accorded high-sounding titles by the Government and by other Chiefs, but their tribesmen address them by their names, and it would appear that the high-sounding titles are of recent adoption in the country. The Imam of San'a rarely uses them. Government correspondence is, for this reason, often a source of merriment.

It will be seen that all Chiefs are, whatever their type, elected in a 643
greater or lesser degree—the Suzerains within their family circle and the 622
hereditary Chiefs within their tribe. The main difference between the types is that, whereas the Suzerains are of foreign descent to the tribes over which they rule, the hereditary Chiefs are of the tribe and, as such, do not need to surround themselves with the trappings of imposed authority. In appearance the Suzerains are more imposing, and this has misled officials into supposing that they are of more consequence socially than other Chiefs are. This is, of course, not so.

In all these types of Chief, when the Chief dies his eldest son would appear, by custom, to have less right to succeed than others. Suzerains always try to impose their eldest or their favourite son as accepted heir during their lifetimes. This has happened in Lahej, where it led to a revolt among the Sultan's relations, and in Makalla by arrangement. The Sharifs of Beihan have been exceptions to this, and have abided by custom. When Sharif Ahmad died, they held discussions among themselves. The eldest son was Sharif Hussein, but he was appointed Regent to his own eldest son, a young boy, who was elected Sharif. The reason given for this was that the grandson of the dead Chief had longer to live than his father and that frequent change in leadership was a bad thing. As a rule, however, Chiefly families pass the Chiefdoms from branch to branch, and, when the Chief dies, a nephew will usually succeed. Among the 'Audhali 628
recently, the Chief was murdered by his cousin. The tribe was split in two by feud, but one half elected the murderer's son, a boy of eight years old, to the Chiefdom. This boy was accepted in 1934, when the feud ceased, as Sultan of the tribe.

We next come to the holy classes. The first of these are the Sharifs 792
and Seyyids, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. They live in settlements and elect among themselves in each family a headman. They have great influence in the community, but it varies, of course, with [556]
the amount of their riches. Most Seyyids—the only Sharifs are those in 824
Beihan—do not bear arms and take no part in tribal warfare. They are 423
peacemakers, and derive considerable income as such, and as dispensers of the Sharia or holy law of Islam. They are treated with veneration and respect and, after death, are frequently treated as saints. They marry

133

361
342
556

FIG. 9—Shibam, looking down the Wadi Hadhramaut toward Seiyun (see Fig. 7). Shibam is built on a low hill at the tip of a plateau spur and, for lack of space, grew upward: the buildings are eight to ten stories high. The landlord occupies the upper stories and these parts are whitewashed; the more whitewash, the wealthier the owner. Note the abandoned fields embanked to prevent runoff of water. The upper right-hand margin shows the plateau topography in the direction of the sea, a hundred miles distant.

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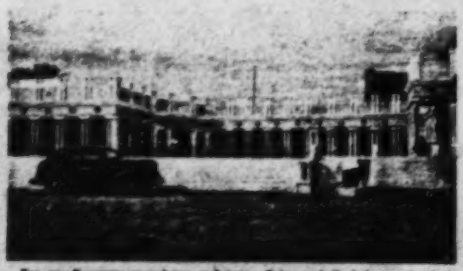

FIG. 10—European guest house at Seiyun. Only one half of the mansion is in view. Most of the courtyard above the steps is occupied by a swimming pool.

p. 637

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1946 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from
245 Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where
438 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager
283 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in
[342] this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have
186 caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the
191 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a
185 more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley,
485 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was
491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal
728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the
185 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932. MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



302 Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.[1]

[771] The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan
754 cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under
755 reference explained the details of Ra'aba Hamra spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the
752 imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work however, and was followed by another next day. This, called Habil, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

754 These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally
755 for their flocks and herds. The ceasing of lactation is invariably ascribed to *Ain Balis*. The cure is frankincense. I witnessed the ceremony on occasion and made a cinema film of it, though it is usually performed at sunrise or at sunset. The incense burner was brought and wood introduced and lighted. The practitioner, the cow-owner, broke a fragment of frankincense about the size of a walnut into three pieces. Then spitting upon it three times he introduced it into the burner. While two other witnesses held the afflicted animal by head and leg [illegible]ely, he waved about its head the burning frankincense, chanting a set sacrificial chant.

782 For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

753 A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify
776 *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinns*, *jinnyat* and *Zars*. *Zars*[2] are the most accommodating, *jinns* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

782 The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the
556 deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

[1] Detailed descriptions will be found in my *Arabia Felix* (Jonathan Cape, 1932).

[2] A detailed description of the "Zar" cult as practised in Oman is given in my *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



exceeding 40 cows, 20 cows are the limit, may be a camel and a few sheep as well. In the case of a poor man, perhaps a single cow or sheep. Two cows are slaughtered near the grave of the deceased on the day of burial (*i.e.* death generally), if overnight, a third cow. Two nights are allowed to pass and on the third night a cow is slaughtered. This is called *khutum*. A further period elapses varying according to the economic condition of the deceased's relatives. It may be so little as a fortnight or so much as three months when the big sacrifice takes place, may be of 10, 15 or 20 cows respresenting half of the deceased man's herds. This is called *yom el nahaira*. Both *khutum* and *nahaira* are performed at the place where the man lived and not upon his grave. More cows will be sacrificed by relatives and friends of the deceased towards whose families in his lifetime he has acted similarly. This vast slaughter attracts the whole neighbourhood and the sectional tribe of the dead man divide up the flesh for themselves, and go away under their great burdens. Visitors from other tribes have no such rights, but partake of the feast of cooked meat for which one cow will have been roasted for the occasion. 782 556

There is a widespread belief in *Subiro*, *i.e.* spirits of the departed and their power for good and evil. In the Wadi Rizat I came upon scraps of food and tobacco in the pool beneath where the spring comes gushing out of a cavern. The locals emerge at night to throw morsels on the ground or into the pool shouting, "We are your sons and your daughters—don't harm us. Be awake so that we are not harmed by *Jins* (human kind) or *Jinns*." 769 776

*Nughush* they call this casting of bread upon the waters. In theory these spirits brood over running water only: they are amenable to kind treatment and treat mankind in the same way that they are treated by mankind.

The people of Jurbaib, lower down, sacrifice a cow before the harvest after it has made a circuit of the crops—its blood being drained into the irrigation ducts. Bits of its flesh are cast amongst the growing grass. 782 769

This spring of Rizat was in old days the subject of a notorious government case. Bait Zaiyan, a section of the Shahara, claimed the exclusive right to practise *nughush* in it. The Qara overlords who wished to share in the benefits of ghostly grace demanded to go "fifty-fifty" in the sacrifice. The government wali, in order to make government itself a partner in the scheme and share in the crops of the plains, decided that both parties would receive exactly equal quantities of food from government so that there should be no cheating. But in later years the slave soldiers of government, becoming overbearing in their treatment of Bait Zaiyan, the latter called upon the departed spirits of their forefathers who promptly made the water run up hill, so that the crops in the plains withered and died, whereupon government's share lapsed. 312 [619]

Cases of virtue held to be latent in certain dying animals I met with on several occasions. The highly valued contents of the antelope's bladder for man, and its stomach for camels, may be purely a rational custom, but that cannot be said of a raven I had shot. While it lay dying a Badu asked for its heart, which he proposed thus to eat raw and palpitating. This was, he said, a protection to his own heart from evil influence, its bile also which he proposed mixing with kohl with which to annoint his eyelids. The Shahari who killed my biggest cobra, 825 789 754

663 fence round the country and then to leave it to anarchy. On the other hand, there was no wish to introduce direct British rule over a people who are tenaciously attached to their independence. Our policy is therefore to support the treaty chiefs and to lead them and their subjects to appreciate the advantages of the suppression of lawlessness and the maintenance, in collaboration with the British Government, of internal peace and security. At the same time it was laid down as a general principle that the main trade routes through the Protectorate must be kept safe, and that the Government would enforce this decision.

The medium through which this policy was to be carried into effect was a number of political officers centred on Aden, but working in the Protectorate, and I, as Governor at the time, was fortunate in the appointment by the Colonial Office of a group of young men who threw themselves wholeheartedly and devotedly into the work of gaining the confidence and friendship of the Arab tribes and their chiefs, and in promoting the policy upon which the Government had embarked.

712 This work would not have been possible without the collaboration of the Royal Air Force. Aden had become an Air Command in 1928, and the first action of the strengthened Air Force was the ejection of the Yemenis from Dhala, to which I have already referred. This was followed by the construction of landing-grounds. There are now between thirty and forty of these in various parts of the Protectorate, including the Hadhramaut Valley, which had until lately been almost a *terra incognita* except to a few adventurous travellers. Flights by the Royal Air Force over the Hadhramaut were followed by invitations from the local Arabs to land, and the pioneer work of two young Air Force officers, Cochrane and Rickards, led to the establishment of closer contact. The first visit of a Resident of Aden to this strange and most interesting district was paid by myself in the early part of 1933.

556 I have already referred to this remarkable valley of the Hadhramaut,
167 and readers of Miss Freya Stark's delightful and graphic descriptions of her travels in Southern Arabia will be familiar with its peculiar characteristics. Its wealthy seyyids and merchants have generally amassed their fortunes in Java or Singapore, to which countries the Hadhramis emigrate in large numbers, and in which many of them are
[186] owners of valuable house property. They do not, however, lose their
342 love for their original home in Arabia, and many of them eventually return to the Hadhramaut, and there build for themselves the luxurious

622 At the castle we found Bā Ṣurra again seated between two
623 sons, in the midst of his counsellors and the Bedouin chiefs;
162 there are also present some soldiers somewhat in the background, the grandsons and other offspring in our vicinity, and the slave who makes the tea.

The old *Ḥākim* and his family are photographed in a large group on the terrace close to the *madjlis*. Then begin long conversations in which our endless questions are patiently answered. Bā Ṣurra himself tells us that the whole of Wādī Dōʿan and its tributary, Wādī el-Ēsar, are under his jurisdiction. In about fifty villages there are 20.000 inhabi-
871 tants. There are only two small schools, both of them founded and maintained by that remarkable sayyid of Terīm, Abū Bakr bin Shēkh el-Kāf. It is certainly extraordinary that this leading personage of the Āl Kathīr district should be the founder and supporter of most of the schools in the territory of el-Qeʿēṭī. Many of the schools in Makalla and esh-Shiḥr are also due to el-Kāf's generosity. Khurēba, the old centre of Wādī Dōʿan, has a school with seventy to eighty pupils, and the other is in Qēdūn, with from twenty to fifty pupils.

346 There are in Bā Ṣurra's province nearly 200 mosques, some
167 among them very fine ones, which are often the property of
● 556 rich sayyids and connected with their houses. The fortunes of these rich men are always made in foreign lands. Every district of Ḥaḍramaut has its own particular countries to which its people emigrate in swarms to make money; from Wādī Dōʿan they go to Abyssinia, the coast towns of the Red Sea, and the coast of East Africa. Barely a hundred have gone out from here to Java, though from Wādī el-Ēsar, on the other hand, quite 500 have done so.

162 There are also 1500 Bedouins under Bāʾ Ṣurra's jurisdiction,
622 among them the whole Sēbān tribe from the Qibla region (*i. e.* from the North). The chief of the Deyyin tribe, ʿUthmān bin Muḥammad el-ʿAmūdī, the ruler in Rēdet ed-Deyyin, is

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 passages connect the house with the lower portion as well as with the flat roof of the mosque. In the hot season the sunset and evening ritual prayers are always performed on the roof, and the *ʿālim*[1] sits here in the evenings, teaching the
556 recitation of the Koran to a circle of lads. A sayyid who has
782 made his fortune abroad will first build a mosque in his native
791 village and afterwards a big house for himself. For does he not owe the privileged position in his own country to religion, and to Allah's help the riches that he has successfully amassed in foreign lands? The abnormally large number of fine mosques in the poor country of Ḥaḍramaut is the result.

353 As in the other houses, the passages and stairs in Sayyid el-Bārr's house are plastered with light-brown mud mixed with finely chopped straw. The floor is always ribbed in a design of waving lines imprinted into the mud whilst it is wet. There are wooden pillars in the large rooms as there are no strong supporting beams for the construction of the roofs, which are always made of the split trunks of date-palms. The fibrous, brown stem of the tree is often plastered over with mud or covered with a wattle-work made of the split ribs of the leaves of the date-palm. Rust-red, black or white are the tasteful colours used in such wattle-work and, indeed, also on the layer of mud.

353 One usually enters the *madjlis* or reception-room by a door
352 in the middle of the shortest wall. On either side of the door there are great wooden chests, in which the sleeping-mattresses and pillows are hidden away during the day-time. These heavy, finely carved chests, decorated with tin-plated iron, are frequently the only ornament of the room. The window openings are small and close to the ground. In the houses of the rich, the wooden shutters and framework of the windows are carved. The floors are covered with simple mats of plaited palm-leaves over which the rich people lay carpets.

104 [1] *ʿĀlim* (عالم), a learned man, in this case, a man who thoroughly knows the religion.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



for themselves in each other's unwashed cups. Our host devotes himself entirely to us; he frequently absents himself to see that preparations are made for a meal without delay. Sounds of music and song reach us from the women, who are making merry in the adjoining room. In spite of the sweltering heat, the song with its refrain, the concerted clapping of hands and dancing to the monotonous music are carried on with great enthusiasm. Our host invites us urgently and repeatedly to spend the night with him. Sayyid ᶜAluwī el-ᶜAṭṭās, who is with us, has, however, so great a longing to see his family in his own country that, on his account, we decide to start for el-Meshhed in the afternoon. Meanwhile our delicately solicitous host has quietly had a room made ready in a distant corner of the great double house. He sees how tired we are and whispers to us to follow him so as to escape from the interest and curiosity of the constantly changing visitors. These fellow townsmen, against whom one cannot protect oneself, will not penetrate into this quiet room; we can stretch ourselves out on the floor on the simple mats and rugs, and our host will see to it that we are not disturbed for an hour. Then the meal is brought up to us without a sound, and we are only awakened when the yellow-coloured rice awaits us, ready served in flat dishes, on the round eating-mat, along with dishes of boiled mutton and gravy. A round flat bread-cake lies in front of each of our places on the mat. Our host apologizes for the scarcity and simplicity of the food offered to us, but we fall to with a thankful "In the name of Allah." The practice of spicing the rice and meat very strongly must have been introduced from Java and India. They overdo the seasoning to such an extent for foreign guests that, after the first pangs of hunger have been appeased, it is a real effort to continue eating.

Our host speaks Malay by preference and likes to talk about Cheribon on the north coast of Java, where his family rose to prominence and where he hopes to return in a few months, after the date harvest. His father possesses 20 houses

169 there. He knows as many as 150 men who have gone from
●656 Hadjarēn to seek their fortunes in Java. The little town has now at most 3000 inhabitants. Before we leave, I have to look at the Dutch passports of our host and his relations, make a note of their adresses, and promise to look them up later on in Cheribon. They have fully earned any small attention from our side; we stand amazed over the simple, genuine kindness that we received in this house, especially after our sad experience in Ṣīf.

609 At our departure all sorts of Malay speaking Hadjarēners endeavour to exchange a few words with the white government official from their second fatherland. And, instead of being surrounded by faces with expressions of hate and contempt, and malicious, insulting remarks about *Naṣrānīs*, who should not be allowed to pollute the land, our exodus here is a small triumphal procession, crowded round as we are by the exuberant youth of the streets, all trying to air their knowledge of the Malay language.

## 4. ACROSS THE NEUTRAL ZONE BETWEEN EL-QEʿĒṬĪ AND ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

622 Guides of the el-ᶜAṭṭās clan have offered themselves to
172 take us to el-Meshhed, the first place in the domain of the
131 Āl Kathīr, which is, however, actually under the supervision of the el-ᶜAṭṭās family. Our caravan divides, as Von Wissmann, with a couple of young sayyids, the Yāfiᶜ soldiers, one of our *ᶜabīd* (slave soldiers), and a whole band of street-arabs sets out to ascend Djebel Hadjarēn to see whether the ruins, of which we have been told, are really to be found, to take photographs and to survey. The territory of the Qeᶜēṭīs ends just beyond Hadjarēn. Further up, in the midst of Ḥaḍramaut Proper, there lie, like islands, the districts of Ḥōra and el-Qaṭn-Shibām, which are subject to the Qeᶜēṭī régime. The neutral zone, which we now enter, is an ideal hunting-ground for robbers and thieves.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



## Currency

436 The coins in use, according to Van den Berg, are :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Copper. | Rub' Khamsīyah | = ±0·005 florin. |
| ,, | Khamsīyah | = ±0·02 ,, |
| Silver. | Haraf | = 8 Khamsīyah. |
| ,, | Oqīyah | = 2 Haraf. |
| ,, | Qarsh | = 7½ Oqīyah. |
| Gold. | None. | |

There is also a coin, current in some districts, called Buqshah, worth ⅓ Khamsīyah ; and a copper coin, current only at Shiheir, the Diwani, worth ¼ Khamsīyah.

The five-franc piece, in place of the Qarsh, is popularly current all over the Hadhramaut, and the 10-cent pieces of the Dutch East Indies are largely in use.

435 Money has a high purchasing power in the Hadhramaut, or, in other words, everything of native production is incredibly cheap ; 556 the only dear articles are horses and arms. There are no great fortunes in the Hadhramaut, with the exception of that of the Jemadar of Shiheir ; his resources may be placed at several millions of florins, invested mostly, however, in India. The Sultan of Seyyūn possesses a fortune of some hundreds of thousands, mainly property in the country, and there are some few individuals with fortunes nearing 100,000 florins. Amongst the Bedouins money is rare.

## Weights and Measures

804 The weights are as follows :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Qaflah | = ± | 2½ grammes. |
| Oqīyah | = | 10 Qaflah. |
| Rotl | = | 12 Oqīyah (16 Oqīyah at Makalla and Shiheir). |
| Raf'ah | = | 12 Rotl. |
| Farāsilah | = | 2 Raf'ah. |
| Bahār | = | 12½ Farāsilah. |
| Jābir | = | 2 Bahār. |

The measures of length are :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shibr | = ± | 16 centimetres. |
| Dhrā' | = | 3 Shibr. |
| Sāqit | = | 5 Dhrā'. |
| Farsakh | = | 80 Sāqit. |

5 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



do not remain for any length of time on one plot of land, but take up all 565
kinds of casual labour as well as farm labour. Among such one may find 463
carpenters, gunsmiths, builders and tradesmen. The manufacture of 386
indigo dye, with which the Mushreqi tribesman dyes himself and his 458
clothes, and the sale of indigo-dyed cotton is, to a large extent, in their hands. Large families of this class are to be found throughout the territory in the market towns. Unlike the Raya, they do not bear arms.

The Heiq class is almost indistinguishable from the Dha'if, but there 565
is a distinction in that the Heiq can be described as the lower third of the Dha'if class. That is, that the whole class of artisans and casual labourers can be described, in a generalization, as Dha'if, but the poorer, unskilled casual labourer is of the Heiq class. As an example, a rich shopkeeper is Dha'if, but, because of his possessions, is not Heiq. It is not a very important distinction. Dha'if in Arabic means "weak." I am unable to discover the derivation of Heiq, but we can take it to mean "of low quality."

The Asakar, or hired soldier class, are a class in themselves. They 565
are of two kinds—freed slaves still in the service of their master and 567
tribesmen who have lost their lands and their status and entered the ser- 558
vice of their Chief. Once this happens to a tribesman, he or his descend- 582
ants can never return again to the status of tribesmen, but remain ever afterwards Askari, whether they still serve master or not. They have dropped below the aristocratic classes and can no longer intermarry with tribesmen. I have heard of no exceptions to this hard rule.

The next class is that of the Doshan, plural Doashin. I can find no 565
derivation to the name. They are of two kinds—wandering singers and 527
dancers, and settled singing-men who have attached themselves to a particular tribe. Their origin is a mystery. The wanderings ones, who give the most dismal performances of what they call dancing, can always be driven out of camp. It is best, however, to be polite to the settled ones. They are skilled versifiers, and those who treat them with contempt must submit afterwards to unmerciful lampooning. On public holidays in up-country towns one of them frequently appoints himself as Amir Al 'Id, or "Amir of the Holiday." Supported by his friends and anyone who wants some fun, he calls upon the local Chief and demands a present and entertainment. This the Chief refuses, and receives an ultimatum challenging him to war in a few minutes. The war which ensues is conducted for the most part with fireworks, blank ammunition, water and balls of dung. The Chief's fort is the centre of attack. Eventually the Chief will ask for a truce, ambassadors are exchanged and all ends in an entertainment and a present to the "Amir." At other times they will institute rhyming competitions, or will compose and sing long Qasidas on the local political situation. Some of these settled Doashin become men of mark, but they have, for all their poems and lampoons, little effect on tribal policy and no say whatever in tribal affairs.

Slaves need no introduction. The slave trade in the south is dead, but 567
the descendants of Abyssinian slaves still serve their original masters. It would be absurd to free them; they are completely free, but slavery is their only niche in the community. Take that away and they would be homeless and workless. As in the rest of Arabia, except the Zeidi Yemen,

7: Stutter-Rasmaeken T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost. 342 531

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby. 341 531 177

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away. 342 353 177

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms. 361 565

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely. 565 292 561

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one 665 342

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes :—

"The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

"Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

"Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

## Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [258 582] [212]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

462 roaming far afield in search of water and pasture. They work in the fields, milk the animals (with the exception, in some cases, of camels), gather the firewood, and fetch the water. They are not [562] so careful to keep themselves veiled, finding it sufficient to draw their head cloths in front of their mouths. If she belongs to a nomadic tribe a woman will follow her husband in his search for grazing, carrying the household utensils, usually one large saucepan, on her head and the baby on her back. Only very occasionally do the women emigrate with their husbands, but we travelled with such a family on the start of their journey to Zanzibar to seek a fortune.

562 The remaining women are those of the poor townspeople, the 462 female servants, slaves, or Subians. The last two are least particular about veiling. The others, no matter how poor, will always cover at least the lower part of their faces. Toil is the portion of all of them: they labour in the gardens, help the men and animals to draw water from the wells, and in many towns they are the [482] principal water carriers, bearing their burden in skins slung across their backs. The servants and slave women in well-to-do houses lead an easier existence. They cook the food, do such cleaning as is ever done, and fetch and carry for the ladies of the household. Slaves may be taken as concubines, but find their husbands among their own class. They are much favoured, being brought up as members of the family, and, like many privileged retainers, usually become somewhat outspoken and domineering in their old age.

## CHAPTER VII.

### PRODUCTION AND RESOURCES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

311 The natural resources of the Hadhramaut, such as they are, are principally agricultural. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize that only a very small proportion of the total area of the country, [131] which may amount to 35,000 or 40,000 square miles, is suitable for the growing of crops. As a general rule only wadis can be so used and the bulk of the land surface consists of the barren rock of mountains and steppes.

#### Tobacco.

249 The principal crop of economic importance is the well-known 438 Hamumi tobacco, and Gheil ba Wazir is the principal centre where it is grown. Practically speaking the production in that place is 655 entirely Government-directed and all the land is State land.

The nurseries are situated about three miles from Gheil at Al 312 Quf. Here there is an apparently inexhaustible, somewhat brackish, water supply at depths to about 30 feet from the surface. There are three deep pools which are tapped by subterranean channels for Gheil and Al Harth, the source of the Gheil water supply being called Humat al Farath, and that for Al Harth being called Humat al Harth. Along the line of channels from these pools there are

A tribe allied to the Tamimi. The *mansab* is Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. 619 631 101

MANAHIL.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beit Kasim ... | Beit Ghānim | An Neid | 40 | 'Aidha bin Tanāf. |
| | Beit al Batīn | do. | 60 | do. |
| | Beit Rasī'a | do. | 150 | do. |
| | Beit al Hamādī | do. | 28 | do. |
| | Beit Nahāt | An Neid and As Sōm | 80 | do. |
| | Beit Barakāt | As Sōm and Fughma | 30 | do. |
| | Beit Nas'ūd | do. | 15 | do. |
| | Beit Nōkhat | — | 50 | do. |
| Beit Mu'ashini | Beit al Bāqiya | Sena and An Neid | 100 | Yeslam bin Salim. |
| | Beit Sālmīn | do. do. | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Qūeinisa | do. do. | 60 | do. |
| | Tammān | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | Hushhūsh | do. do. | 300 | do. |
| | Muzābbar | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | 'Atūnī | An Neid | 100 | do. |
| Al Bawāqī ... | — | do. | 100 | — |
| As Samāh ... | Samāh ar Raqāa | Near the coast | 100 | — |
| | Samāh al Ghuthma | — | 50 | — |
| | Samāh Beit Khafr | At Al Masīa | 180 | — |
| | 'Adūl | — | 100 | — |
| Tha'īn and Beit Farād. | — | — | 250 | — |
| Beit Dahein ... | — | — | 50 | — |
| Beit Qumsīt ... | — | — | 500 | — |
| Beni Sa'id ... | — | — | — | — |
| Beni Ujeil ... | — | Near Qabr Hud | — | — |
| | | | — | |
| | | | 2,593 | |
| | | | — | |

The Manahil are a strong nomad tribe occupying the country east and north of the Hamumi and up into the Rub'al Khali. The southern part of Reida and the country from Damakh to upper Hadhramaut belong to them, and they have a few small settlements east of Qasm. They have an "A'[1] agreement with the Qu'aiti.

They breed camels extensively like their neighbours in the south-east, the Mahras, both for sale and for hire. Their camels are said to be finer and stronger than those of the Sei'ar, and the average price is estimated at about 200 rupees a camel. Female camels are seldom sold and are used both for breeding and riding. Women do not milk camels among the Manahil. 231 435 [562]

The tribe are said to raid as far as the Central Nejd and sometimes to the outskirts of Kuweit, passing the sandy stretch by routes known only to themselves. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Mahras in the steppe. We found that when passing through Mahra territory they declare themselves Tamimis. Bertram Thomas also says that "Bin Tannaf is the hereditary title of the 619 721 622

[1] [See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

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A lady MEMBER asked for information with regard to weddings or customs relating to the women.

Major HAMILTON said that in the big towns the women married to rich or ultra-respectable people were in purdah. Over the whole of the Protectorate women normally walked about unveiled and free, but in some tribes in the Yemen they had most peculiar veils of all varieties. Women had a tremendously powerful influence on political affairs. They would have heard of Mrs. Ingrams, who went into the harem and talked to the women. She had enormously extended the influence of the political officer. He thought it was safe to say that the women in the harem could influence two-thirds of the people while the political officer could only influence one-third. He therefore thought it was a point for consideration whether more lady doctors, who could speak Arabic and who were young and prepared to travel, should not take up work in these places, where they could go into the harem and influence mothers and wives.

In reply to a question as to how any business was conducted in the democratic tribes, Major HAMILTON said that the Chief would go back to his village with a proposition, whereupon anybody who had any influence in the tribe would meet him. There would be a frightful noise, and eventually he would say, "This is what I have been told"; then several people would jump up and say, "This is where I die; I am not going to do this." There would be a very long parley which would sometimes end in bloodshed. Sometimes, when it was a question of the payment of a Government fine, the whole tribe would split up, and then there was no opportunity of getting them together again in order to obtain any sort of concerted action. Once he was out on a very hot day and came on about forty men walking backwards away from each other with rifles pointing at each other. He shouted a greeting in a loud jovial tone. They all stopped and kept one eye on him and one eye on each other. He said, "What is going on?" and they answered, "A peace conference." (*Laughter.*)

Dr. HUGH SCOTT said he thought that Major Hamilton had made an extremely important point when he indicated that none of these social conditions were static, and there was a danger in accepting as final the reports of anthropologists and travellers who were only there for a short time and could only give a record of things as they found them at that time.

He wished to bear witness to the value of the work which Major Hamilton had put on record. He had been privileged to see him at work among the tribes for a short time when he was up in the hills under Major Hamilton's protection and the protection of one of the Chiefs who had appeared on the screen. He was now having to compile all sorts of information about those and adjacent parts of Arabia, which meant extensive reading, and he had not read in any book an account which equalled in detail and exactitude Major Hamilton's description of the social organization of the tribes.

On the political side, when he was in the Aden Protectorate he had discussed with English friends, officers of the Aden Government, the question whether the policy of indirect administration would be sufficient

# ARAB AND SWAHILI DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

By R. Skene.

## The Razha Dance.

535 171 702 562 The Razha was originally a war dance practised by the Arabs in Arabia prior to starting out on a raid. It originated at Manga in Muscat, and is danced with naked swords, the object being to get the muscles of the sword arm into training. The Hatharmut or Hadramaut Arabs also dance it, but use daggers instead of swords.

The dancers, who of course are all men, stand in two rows facing each other, or in one row. They advance slowly a few inches at each step, keeping time to the drumming. The sword is held perpendicularly in the right hand, the fore-arm being at a right angle with the body. While holding the hilt of the sword in a perfect balance between the thumb and the first and second fingers, the base of the hilt is given a smart blow with the wrist so as to make the blade of the sword quiver. Being highly polished and made of fine supple steel, the quivering blade reflects the light in a most effective manner. This can only be done with the long straight double-edged sword of Southern Arabia and not with the scimitar-like blade used further north, owing to the thickness of the latter weapon.

535 534 The music for the Razha dance is supplied by a drum called a *chapuo*, cylindrical in shape, covered with goat skin on both ends. It is about eighteen inches long by eight in diameter, and is played on both ends with the hands, while hung across the waist of the drummer by a cord round the neck. A bass drum is also used, called a *vumi* of the same shape as the *chapuo*, but larger, being two to three feet long and fifteen inches in diameter. It is beaten in the same manner as the *chapuo*.

Anyone who knows how to dance can join in. No refreshments are served.

## The Sheswani Dance.

535 562 585 This is danced by the Arabs of Mkelle or Makulla, without any weapons, and by men only, who attend by invitation. It usually takes place at a wedding festival, in which case food and coffee are served round, or at any other general rejoicing. The dancers stand in two lines facing each other about eight or ten paces apart. They bend the knee and bow the body slightly forward to each other in unison and in time to the beating of the drums. They also sing a chorus song and keep time by clapping their hands together.

535 585 534 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* drum, both described above (see Razha dance). A treble drum called a *marwasi* is also used. It is much smaller than the *vumi* and is only about eight inches long by eight inches in diameter. It is covered with goat skin on both ends and is beaten with the flat of the right hand while held in the left by a piece of cord. The drumming is accompanied by cymbals of brass called *vitasa*, which are placed on the ground one above another and struck with pieces of stick, one in each hand, so as to make the cymbals rattle together. In lieu of the cymbals, a metal rod is sometimes used bent into a triangle exactly the same shape as the triangles used in European military bands, and played in the same manner.

The Shebwani is sometimes danced in the afternoon but more often at night. It has no mystical meaning.

### THE SHERHA DANCE.

535 585 562 This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs to celebrate a wedding or for any other cause of rejoicing. The dancers, who are all men, and who attend by invitation, stand round in a large circle some ten paces in diameter and sway the body slightly from side to side, while clapping their hands in time to the music. Presently two men come out of the ring and dance towards each other, and then backwards and forwards in a sort of "chassé croisé" for about ten minutes, and then they retire from the ring and are replaced by two others. Sometimes two couples dance in the ring at the same time.

535 585 534 The music is supplied by a wind instrument much resembling a clarionet or a French "musette," but the mouthpiece consists of two reeds instead of one, and the tone is very similar to that of the chanter of Scotch bag-pipes. This instrument is called a *zumari*, and supplies the tune accompanied by a *vumi* drum described above (see Razha dance) and by a *msondo* drum standing about four feet high with a diameter of about eighteen inches. It is cylindrical in shape and is covered by a goat-skin at the top end only, the bottom end being open. It is played with both hands in an upright position, resting on the ground.

No refreshments are served at a Sherha dance except if it is held to celebrate a wedding, in which case *pilaw* is served and coffee also.

### KINANDA DANCE.

535 562 517 This dance partakes of the nature of a performance for the amusement of the onlookers and is held indoors. Two male performers hold a silk scarf or woollen shawl between them and repeatedly advance towards the audience and retire, while executing various steps and figures. They then face each other and dance in that position, executing with their arms and bodies slow and graceful movements. Then they face the audience and advance and retire and so on till they become tired.

The musical instruments consist of the small *marwasi* drum described above (see Shebwani dance) and of a *kinanda* which supplies the tune. The latter is a string instrument of the nature of a guitar and is played in much the same way. It usually has seven strings, six of which used formerly to be made of sheep gut, but are now made of twisted silk. The seventh is the bass string and is made of copper wire. 535 534 517

Although not considered altogether reprehensible by austere Mohammedans, the "Kinanda" entertainment is looked upon as rather advanced, if not fast.

Sometimes the dancing is dispensed with and the entertainment is reduced to solo songs accompanied by the *kinanda*. It then assumes a more respectable character, though still not entirely approved of.

Being held indoors, the audience naturally come by invitation only. Refreshments consisting of coffee, sherbet and *halwa* (Turkish Delight) are handed round.

## THE ZAMIL DANCE.

This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs, and generally takes place either by day or by night, in front of the house of some exalted person to whom it is intended to pay compliment or to show respect. It is in fact a sort of serenade, but is also danced at weddings. 535 585 654

The dancers form up in one or more lines facing the house of the person in whose honour it is being held. The leader of the dance starts singing a solo, usually a song of praise to the person in question, and the remainder take up the chorus, which they accompany by rhythmic clapping of hands and swaying of the body. It is not by invitation, and anyone may join in. No drums or musical instruments are used and no refreshments partaken of, except at weddings. This dance has no mystical meaning.

## THE CHAMA DANCE.

This may be called a faction dance owing to the element of competition which enters into it in regard to some other faction which has also organized a dance. It is danced by Swahili men, who dress up in their best clothes and wear Arab daggers and swords borrowed from those of their friends who have them. They do their best to make as fine and as big a show as possible in order to eclipse the dance of the other competing faction. Formerly the dance was accompanied by a feast, and still is in the Lamu District, where the factions vie with each other as to the number of cattle they can afford to kill. In 1912, one faction at the village of Mkunumbi (Witu Sultanate) was known to kill thirty head of cattle to cap the twenty-five head which another faction had killed a few days previously.[1] Needless to say that such waste is impossible in the Malindi District where cattle are scarce, and where the dancers only compete in matters of personal adornment and the number of followers. Faction feeling sometimes runs high, and if two competing dances happen to be taking place on the same night it is not unheard of for one party to attack the other with sticks. 535 562 578 527



[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



535 171 The dance itself resembles the Arab Razha dance, the men standing in a row and jerking sticks in the same manner that the Arabs jerk their swords, one of which may sometimes be seen in the hand of a Swahili dancer of the Chama.

535 534 517 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* drum, a *chapuo* drum, a pair of cymbals or *vitasa*, a *zumari* or clarionet, all of which are described above (see Razha dance, Shebwani dance and Sherha dance), also a tambourine called a *tari* or *pari*. This is sometimes ornamented with loose brass discs that jingle together, as in the Spanish tambourine. The goat-skin is pegged to the wooden frame and is tightened by stuffing a more or less thick cord between the skin and the frame.

The Chama is usually danced in a public place and no invitation is necessary. Anyone may join in who feels so inclined. No refreshments are served nowadays in the Malindi District at a Chama dance, which has no mystical significance.

### THE SHANGWI DANCE.

535 567 578 654 The dance is identical with the Chama and is danced by the winning faction in the Chama competition, which is judged by the "*wazee wa Ngoma*," or elders of the dance, men who are accustomed to take the lead in dances, in other words "masters of the ceremonies." The winning faction proceed to the house of the organizer of the opposition dance and dance the Shangwi in front of it. He is supposed to take this as a compliment, and passes round a scent bottle and sometimes takes part in the dancing himself. The Shangwi has no mystical significance and is usually danced at night with the same orchestra as for the Chama.

### NGOMA YA FIMBO. (Walking-stick dance.)

535 575 652 562 The Ngoma Ya Fimbo is danced at Swahili wedding feasts, and at Swahili circumcision feasts. The dancers, all men, assemble by invitation and form a ring in the open near the house of the host, all carrying sticks, hence the name of the dance. While those in the ring balance themselves slowly and rhythmically from one foot to the other, two of their number go into the centre and make passes at each other with their sticks as if they were swords, in time to the drumming. After a few minutes of this, another pair go into the centre of the circle and perform in the same manner while the first two retire, and so on to the end of the dance, which usually takes place by day.

535 534 Cigarettes and betel nuts are passed round to the dancers. The music is supplied by *vumi* and *chapuo* drums described above (see Razha dance) by *vitasa* or cymbals (see Shebwani dance), and by a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). In a temporary pavilion of palm-thatch erected close by, a number of young slave women generally stand holding buffalo horns in their left hands, which they strike with small sticks in time to the drumming.

This dance has no mystic significance and is merely a form of rejoicing.

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## THE MWARIBE DANCE.

A dance for women only, which takes place indoors if danced by free women, and out of doors if the dancers are slaves. The women stand in a circle singing songs and clapping their hands in time to a triangle described above (see Shebwani dance). One dancer then advances, executing various fancy steps, towards another dancer in front of whom she stamps her foot and then retires, still executing fancy steps, to her place in the ring. The person in front of whom the first dancer stamped her foot then advances from her place in the ring in the same manner as the first dancer and stamps her foot in front of a third, who comes out in her turn, and so on. 535 562 567

The songs are led by one of the women, who sings the solo while the remainder join in the chorus. No drums are used. 535 585 796

This dance often takes place at wedding festivals when betel nut and cigarettes are handed round with tea. Then towards the end of the entertainment meat and rice are eaten. It may also be danced on the occasion of other rejoicings, the special time of year for having it being the first week of the North-east monsoon, that is, in November and December.

This Mwaribe dance has no mystic meaning.

## THE MWASHA DANCE

This is also a woman's dance and is of Bajuni origin, its introduction to the Malindi District from Witu having begun about four years ago. If the dancers are free women they dance indoors; if they are slaves the dance takes place in the open, but always by invitation. 535 562 171 567

The guests line up in two or three rows, one behind the other, and move forward slowly an inch or two at each step, while they jerk their chins forward and move their shoulders in time to the drums. When the front row gets up to the wall of the room, or to the limits of the dancing-floor, all the dancers face about and move slowly as before in the opposite direction, the front row becoming the back one.

If it takes place indoors, no men are allowed to be present except the orchestra, consisting of the performers on a *tumi* described above (see Razha dance) on a tari or tambourine (see Chama dance), and on a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherba dance). 535 562 534

This dance, which has an undoubted touch of savagery about it, may perhaps be derived from the Somalis, and tends to work the dancers up into a nervous state. It is often danced in competition with another dance faction. No refreshments are served. 535 171 578

It has no mystic significance and appears to be indulged in when the general physical condition of the performers calls for a nervous outlet of some sort.

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## THE DANDARO DANCE.

535 This is rarely if ever danced by free men, and is considered essentially a slaves
567 dance. In a convenient open space, men and women stand in a circle facing inwards,
562 the drums being in the middle. The men stand together, occupying one part of the circle and the women the other. The dancers place the right hand on the left shoulder and the left hand under the right elbow, and in this position they bend the knees slightly and sway the body in time to the music while progressing very slowly sideways
535 round the circle to the right. A *zumari* or clarionet described above (see Sherha
534 dance) plays the tune to which the dancers sing the words of a song, or rather a chorus repeated over and over again at short intervals which are filled by the clarionet solo. The accompanying drums consist of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* (see Razha dance), also a *kurugo* drum, about two feet high and ten inches in diameter, with a goat-skin on one end only which is beaten with a stick, the drum resting on the ground in an upright position.

The Dandaro may be danced during the daytime as well as at night. Occasionally food may be cooked and partaken of towards the end of the dance. In the larger townships no invitation is necessary, and anybody may join in.

## THE KI-NYASA DANCE.

535 As its name indicates, this dance is an importation from Nyasaland, introduced
171 first to Zanzibar and then to the coast of the mainland by slaves captured in Nyasa-
567 land and brought here by the Arabs. Consequently it is a dance practised only by
562 slaves and people of humble origin.

It is danced in the open either by day or by night. Men and women, arranged in no special order as to sex, form a circle standing one behind the other and go round in a direction opposite to the hands of a clock, moving in quick time but taking very short steps and bending the knee considerably at each step. The arms are held in the position of a person running, that is to say with the elbow bent and the fore-arm at right angles to the body, which is bent slightly forward. Some of the dancers jerk their shoulders up and down occasionally. The leader of the dance sings a solo and the others take up the chorus. The men wear a string of small iron bells known as *sijuga* strung round their knees, and stamp their foot at each step so as to make them jingle.

535 One large drum is used, called a *masondo*, and fashioned somewhat after the drum
534 of the Washambala. It is rather a high-toned drum in spite of its size, which is about
562 six feet in length and twelve to fifteen inches in diameter. One end only is covered with goat-skin, struck with the player's hands. The open end of the drum rests on the ground while the drummer stands astride the other end which is supported by a cloth round his waist, and he plays it in that position. This dance has no mystical meaning, and is merely an expression of a superabundance of animal spirits which

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are given vent to by singing and running round in a circle, in time to the beating of a drum, very much in the same manner as children do. No invitations are given, and anyone may join in. No refreshments are handed round. 535 534 782

### THE MDEMA DANCE.

This also is an importation from Nyasaland (see Ki-Nyasa dance), and is danced by the slave population only, either by day or by night. It is exactly like the Ki-Nyasa dance described above, with the exception that no iron bells are strapped round the knees, and it is, if possible, of a simpler character, the Ki-Nyasa being in truth simple enough. Like the latter it is merely a vent for high animal spirits. No refreshments are given and no invitations are necessary. 535 567 782

### THE KINDIMBA.

The Kindimba is not a dance, but a musical entertainment into which enters a slight element of the mystical. It is only given by people of the slave class in fulfilment of a vow. Any person who greatly desires something or some event to come to pass makes a vow to give a Kindimba if his wish is fulfilled. 533 667 517 782

Invitations are issued to his friends by the person who is giving the entertainment, and they assemble at his house. The men and women sit together either indoors if there is room, or else in the open. Songs are sung by a leader, the other guests joining in the chorus, and clapping their hands in time to the singing, which is accompanied by a small drum called a *mgumbaro*, very like a *marwasi* (see Shebwani dance), with this difference that only one end is covered with a goat skin, while in the *marwasi* both ends are covered. The other end, which is open, is made to rest on the chest or stomach of the player, who performs upon it in that position with both hands. Hard grains of maize are placed in dry gourds of various sizes, and these are rattled in time to the singing. 533 634 782

The entertainment partakes of the nature of thanksgiving, and frivolous songs are therefore avoided. Although not exactly of a religious character, a certain amount of superstition is far from being foreign to the Kindimba.

### THE VUGO.

At a wedding, a procession of women is often formed in the evening after dark to parade the streets, and is called a Vugo. The women sing in chorus to the sound of buffalo horns beaten with short sticks. No men are allowed to take part in the procession, which is both an Arab and a Swahili custom. 533 562 585

### THE KINYAGO DANCE.[1]

This is a Swahili medicine-dance usually held outside the town in a plantation on a moonless night. No artificial lights are allowed. Swahilis who have any 535 756

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 424 -- ANALYST.]

we first went up there they charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

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them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

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WE PUT THE GARRISON INTO THE

grass hut, as the *murabba'a* was occupied by a woman who had been bitten 752
by a snake and the Sheikh asked us not to disturb her: it was part of her treatment that she should not be seen. A thin trail of ash had been sprinkled round the building to keep other snakes away.

During the day we collected other 'Abdulla bin 'Aun who came and watched OOO
us from a distance in little groups. Somehow they seemed to be fascinated by us, for although they would not come when we shouted to them, they made no attempt to move or to resist when we walked over to them and told them to come along with us. Few of them were armed, and neither were we until the garrison came along. There were a couple of wells in commission, and I was told that at one time there had been as many as eighty-one. Some of the Badawin showed us on the wall of a cliff little columns of holes bored in soft stone. You counted up the holes and then stepping that number of paces from the column found yourself on a buried well.

Having explored the neighbourhood of the fort we went to see the site for a landing-ground which had been previously decided on from the air. Unfortunately it had to be at some little distance from the fort—2 or 3 miles—but it was a marvellous landing-ground and greatly pleased the Royal Air Force when they came along later in the day and flew Seiyid Bubekr and myself back to Seiyun.

On later visits I had the opportunity of seeing all the surrounding country from the air, and I was struck by the truth of the saying that Al 'Abr is the "Key of the Hadhramaut," for behind the mountains tracks radiated out in all directions to Nejran, the Yemen, and Shabwa and the Western Aden Protectorate. From Al 'Abr eastwards there was only the one track. I have visited Al 'Abr five times on the ground and passed over it many times by air, and on each occasion I have been struck by the large number of caravans which halt there for water. For a week or two after our occupation there was some falling off, as the Badawin were not certain of our intentions, but now it seems that far more come than before; they have a sense of security which was previously lacking when the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun were constantly looting them. My own belief, which is shared by responsible opinion in the Hadhramaut, is that before long a town will spring up there, as it forms an ideal place for a market and there is plenty of good water. The wells are not much [821]
more than 20 feet deep, cut through the soft limestone, and as soon as you draw the water out it runs in again in such a way as to give you the impression that there must be an underground river. On the first visit I took there a party of skilled builders from Tarim and they set to work at once to rebuild the fort. They also opened another well or two, and if we can find the money we shall open more, for these increased facilities are much appreciated by the Badawin.

Amongst the visitors who come are a large number of women. Thereabouts 562
they are unveiled and talk fearlessly and freely with you. I found these girls very charming and full of courage. They thought nothing of journeys alone with camels across the desert, from the Jof for instance, and it is the women throughout the Hadhramaut who appreciate the peace more than any one. They have often said that in the old days they always lived in fear that when their menfolk parted from them they might not see them again.

Sir Thomas F6 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting 576
a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 832

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part
I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which 562
are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman
would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten
as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes,
and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire 585
of his wife and say *Talag* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house 586
with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If 583
she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price.
It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really
expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper,
ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representatives father
or brother descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the
women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only
cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter [782]
a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous
chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of
circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day 844
or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the
possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken
up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is
generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal 848
marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere 837
in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would 684
on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be
done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and [628]
have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation
of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

## CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees 342
at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain [754]
itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four
nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. 782
When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342

## 4. A WONDERFUL RECEPTION IN THE GARDEN CITY SEḤĒL SHIBĀM.

491 The families of Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam are on the best of
493 friendly terms with the Sultan and arrange matters with him. A little later the great dark-red cars buzz through the gate and cross the *sēl*-bed in the direction of the palm-groves, called Seḥēl Shibām. Only in the last few years has the motor-car penetrated as far as Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has made this possible by the construction of motor roads. Motor-cars can, with great difficulty, be brought from the port of esh-Shiḥr to Terīm. The separate parts of the cars have to be transported on camels for a great part of the way.
562 From the road one can see very little of the palm-groves
529 and the summer pavilions in their midst; high mud walls shut
576 off the gardens from the gaze of passers-by. There is one exception to this, where the central point is formed by a new building in modern style. This is the club of the young men of Shibām; no women come here and so there is nothing to shut
312 off. A little further on the cars turn into the gateway that
342 gives entrance to the garden of the Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam.
177 This summer abode of their joint families is still uninhabited;
351 the time for moving from town to country has only just come. There is a well behind the house, from which oxen and donkeys draw up the water, clear as crystal, though tasting somewhat bitter. All around there are banana and papaya trees, pomegranate and lemon bushes as well as date-palms. The new summer pavilion is in the depths of the garden; our host has devoted his leisure to building it. It is a product of Ḥaḍramī imagination influenced by Singapore and Java. For the outer walls chaste, simple white has been abandoned and is replaced by soft green, rose and sky-blue. The great windows are framed by coloured ornamentation. Connected with the villa is a swimming-bath with a high parapet. One has a great longing for colour in this sunny land, where it is so lacking, and this fairy palace strikes a happy note among

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



to our host's little collection. After much insistence the caravan leader agreed to this, but when falling darkness forced us to leave el-ʿUrr, we noticed that the owner of our camels, who had come with us in person, was carrying the stone on his shoulder. He thought that it would injure his camels, although they were very lightly laden, and he demonstrated by running fast, jumping, and so forth, that it was no hindrance to himself!

## 9. AN EXTRAORDINARY NIGHT.

It was pitch-dark as we approached Bā Ḥafār, lying at the entrance of Wādī el-Khūn, which runs from the north. We had to follow the *sēl*-bed, which was full of water, after having ridden for some time through a narrow date plantation beside the bank. My donkey caused great consternation when, having had a long drink, he lay down at his ease in the middle of the lukewarm pool. Everyone rushed, in answer to our cry of distress, to rescue the instruments and photographic material from the saddle-bags; the donkey's bath ended however without doing any damage.

Bā Ḥafār is a miserable village, with inhabitants as poor as Job and living in huts. Its mud houses have been destroyed in tribal warfare; the remaining population is too weak in numbers and strength to rebuild them. Only one mud house had been restored, and on its roof we pitched our camp for the night in brotherly company. Very soon a number of inquisitive men came to the roof to enjoy the unexpected sight. Here something happened that we had never experienced before: the women-folk also came, a little later, to satisfy their curiosity. They sat down, huddled against each other, in a corner of the roof opposite to that which we had chosen for sleeping, with only the stairway space between us. As they had no thought of going away again and were enjoying intensely the novelty of what they saw, we were obliged to go on with our business without letting their presence disturb us.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



place consists of a few small houses and sheds, built of stone 361
and mud and with flat mud roofs. There are still some green leaves left on the few *nibq* trees growing between the cultivated acres, and these, to the last leaf, are gathered for the goats. The latter, with outstretched necks, stand watching the movements of a shepherdess who, armed with a long stick, was climbing about at the top of the tree to knock off the foliage. Only one family lived in the hamlet; an empty house was offered to us as a lodging. No eggs, no flour, no rice, no 262
milk were to be bought here, the only thing obtainable being large quantities of the dried fruit of the *nibq* tree, which help one to stave off starvation. These are ground to powder and then made into porridge or bread. When eaten raw only the thin rind of dried pulp is edible; the seed, which is as hard as stone, is then thrown away. The *nibq* menu is eked out occa- [231]
sionally with a little goat's milk or camel's milk, and when the date harvest is gathered in Wādī Dōʿan a portion of it will find its way to the Deyyin Bedouins, who, in return, protect the inhabitants of the wādī against enemies. All the same, a long hard training is necessary in order to live on such a minimum of food as these Bedouins seem able to do in times of drought. The few shepherds and shepherdesses whom we met later in similar depressions of the ground and in wādīs where some bushes and trees were growing had as their only food-supply small round woven baskets filled with dried *nibq* fruit.

Thanks to the ready tongue of our *siyāra*, Sayyid el-ʿĒde- 562
rūs, as well as to the respect accorded to all sayyids among these simple folk, we succeeded in photographing the female inhabitants of the hamlet consisting of a mother, two daughters and a friend.

The women go unveiled and are much more free and open in their manner than in Wādī ʿAmd. They seem to feel quite safe, for we met them far away from their homes, alone with their flocks or on their way to some business in another hamlet hours distant. Maryam, encouraged by her mother, even yield- 000

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of 000
religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past 178
in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protec- 771
torate. Any development of education initiated by Government had 212
therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, 875
there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the biggest problem in Protectorate education to-day.

## HEALTH

### *Western Aden Protectorate*

The development of the Protectorate Medical Service was rather 759
upset in the past three years by numerous changes of senior medical staff. However, one advantage came from this, namely that in the drawing up of a plan for future development, co-operative help and advice was given by every doctor and nurse who ever worked in the Protectorate.

At the beginning of the year, a three-month course was given for new tribal dressers, who were posted to work under senior dressers in the Protectorate.

It is estimated that in the course of the year 50,000 patients were 743
treated in the 18 dispensaries. Malaria, dysentery, schistosomiasis and 164
tuberculosis were the four most prevalent diseases. Obstetrical problems [562]
and gynaecology offer a very large field for research. Owing to customs necessitating the seclusion of women any estimate of these problems is pure conjecture. In spite of these restrictions, the Medical Officer attended a great many during his visits, especially in Beihan at the very edge of " the empty quarter " of Arabia. A number of those who otherwise would never receive surgical treatment were flown down to the hospital at Aden. Venereal disease was unfortunately on the increase in Abyan, where crowds of people of all kinds came to find work in the agricultural project there.

Many visits including some of several days duration were paid by the Medical Officer to the various dispensaries in the Protectorate during which between 4,000 and 5,000 selected patients were treated. Besides those patients who found their own way down to hospital in Aden, 150 or more were brought down on the Protectorate Medical Officer's recommendation.

## HOUSING

The settled Western Aden Protectorate population is housed for the 342
main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under
camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



a monotonous chant. The dance is usually executed by two persons, each dancing by himself, who, while turning all the time, alternately approach and withdraw from the orchestra, but always keep at the same distance from each other; when the first two are exhausted their places are taken by two others, and so on for many hours at a stretch.

The status of women in the Hadhramaut appears to be superior to that in many Mussulman countries. The wife lives in the same part of the house as her husband, but she receives her visitors in her own rooms. Divorce is very rare, the repudiation of a wife without very good cause being held in high contempt; if an individual did so repudiate his wife he would certainly fail to obtain another wife of the same social scale. Polygamy is very uncommon; there are no eunuchs; in the event of the husband taking another wife, the first quits his roof immediately and returns to her parents. Amongst the Bedouins of the Hadhramaut polygamy is absolutely unknown. If a man definitively leaves his town to seek his fortune elsewhere, the wife may, and usually does, refuse to follow him. In this contingency it is considered legitimate for him to take another wife, and he is not expected to continue to support the first.

The marriage dowry is of a double character; there is, first of all, a legal tariff varying from 20 to 2½ florins according to the social status of the fiancée; and secondly, there is the nuptial gift, the amount of which varies according to her personal qualities: the first may be reclaimed in the case of a dissolution of marriage, the latter not.

In the Hadhramaut the poor and the rich dress much alike, the quality of the material, the jewels worn, and the arms carried being the only indications of status. The clothes worn by the townsmen resemble, in many respects, those of most orientals. Sandals with thin shoes, but no stockings, are worn; when out of doors a kind of plaid (*rādi*), made locally, about seven yards long and a little short of a yard wide, is invariably carried or thrown over the shoulders. The head is shaven.

The garments of the tribesmen are similar in the main to those of the townsmen, except that they are shorter, are worn somewhat differently, and the material is usually woven in diamond 'check'; the *jubbah*, or robe, is replaced by a shorter buttoned jacket; and the tribesmen carry their arms, a straight sword, a two-edged poniard, &c. The *rādi* is also worn. The hair is grown long and falls over the shoulders, and the head is covered

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB 1
Arabs



H 563 582 871 I 563 658

4. *Coalescence with other members of the community in the Netherlands-Indies.*—The method of living and the language among Arab families in the Netherlands-Indies and particularly in the Netherlands-Indian Arabic families, are practically the same as among the Netherlands-Indian population of corresponding kind and position. In the Hadhramaut women do not travel abroad according to the customs of their country. Arabs who wish to found a family in the Netherlands-Indies are thus obliged to look for a wife among the native population, or among the daughters of their own country-men who have been born and brought up in the Netherlands-Indies. The more well-to-do aim at sending their sons to the Hadhramaut or to the private Arabic schools existing here to complete their education. This helps to keep up their knowledge of the Arabic language and Arabic customs. The sons of those who are less well-to-do for the most part receive no Arabic education, and thus know little of their own language and customs. The establishment by the Government of the H.A.S. (Holland-Arabic School) at Sole in recent years provides an opportunity for the Arabs to give their children also a Western education.

5. *The part they play in the life of their adopted country.*

H 798 I 798 671

The principal part played by the Arabs in this country in the life of the community is of a religious nature. The Hadhramis, once they have been established in the Netherlands-Indies, generally take care to moderate the fanaticism ruling their fatherland. But some of them have shown a keen proselytising spirit in their own localities. Above all the law scholars in the Arabic community have had a steadying and by no means inconsiderable influence on Islam in the Netherlands-Indies, through their teaching, their pupils and their widely distributed writings. These law scholars are consulted by their native colleagues in cases concerning Mohamedan law and several "fatwas" or expert judgments exist thanks to them.

6. *What proportion permanently sever their connections with the Hadhramaut.*

H 167 641 186 I 641

None of the Arabs in this country who have been born in the Hadhramaut completely sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. Many of them are so attached to the land of their birth that they have only one wish and that is to spend the last days of their lives in the Hadhramaut. Some of them who have grown rich here return from time to time to the Hadhramaut to visit members of their families and for a short change. Now and then one will leave the Netherlands-Indies to establish himself once more for good in the Hadhramaut. Lately a group of Netherlands-Indian Arabs have been trying to establish connections with the native populations. These Arabs desire to consider the Netherlands-Indies as their fatherland. They will also try to adapt their

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



On the 19th of May we reached Horēda, the tribal village of the family al-'Attās, where we had a fine reception. Horēda can thank the wealth accumulated in Java and at Singapore for its beautiful houses and mosques. There is a large number of Dutch subjects there, and so many of them speak Malay that one even frequently hears it spoken on the streets.

On the 20th and 21st of May we remained at Horēda. The mosques and schools were carefully examined, and some short excursions were made in that neighborhood.

Horēda lies in the Wādī 'Amd, which branches off from the main *Wādī* of Hadramaut, to which we now returned, leaving Horēda on the 22nd of May. Bin Marta' from Soerabaya, a large dealer in building materials, took us in his auto, which was the first that ever came to Horēda, to the place where he lives, Hēnan. It was a difficult task among the endless sand-hills to find a track on which it was possible for the auto to travel, and when a sandstorm came up we had to flee to the Diyār-āl-Buqri, certain high castles in the midst of the broad sandy *wādī,* which were the center of a warfare which had been going on there for years. The fighting captains and their soldiers received us very well; they appear to have close family relationships with Java. Elsewhere, in a description of the political situation, I will deal minutely with the Diyār-āl-Buqri and their inhabitants. Hēnan is a little place which is lost in the sand. By installing a motor pump, our friend Bin Marta' is trying to arouse his village to new life.

On the 23rd of May, Bin Marta' took us in his auto to al-Qatn, the residence of the sultan of Shibām. We were here once more in the āl-Qa'ētī jurisdiction. At al-Qatn the Wādī Hadramaut changes completely, and beautiful date-palm plantations begin here. In the shadow of these palms lie the luxurious green *dhura* fields (maize). The sultan did not appear to be at al-Qatn, and we were received by a member of the family. Through a severe sandstorm we drove on to Shibām, the

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, 364
according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to 164
see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for 931
rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in 361
its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia 484
and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans. One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors [563] and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily. We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla 100
have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations. The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency, the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish. Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light 373
has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible 701
far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganize and train his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on 517
the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago, for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The 20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, 491
for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hill-sides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extraordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the 484
beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which 438

When there is a fire the people in the streets should out « Wa-'n-nār wa-'n-nār », or, if there has been an accident when some one has fallen into a well, « Wa-'l-bīr ». At this all of the males of the quarter come running out at a trot, leaving their occupations. If it is a fire they take tanaks (tins) and fill them at the mosque cistern (djābiyah). Only the Masākīn perform these duties of course, not the saiyids or maššā'iḫ. Apart from the occasions cited in a previous article[8] another time when the quarter turns out is when a clay-bank (djurf) of a water-channel or water-course has fallen on top of some person or persons. The latter are dug out by the quarter.

Each quarter has a tanṣūrah (pl. tanāṣīr), a kind of rallying-song or theme special to each quarter, and doubtless each with its special tune. These tanṣūrahs are used on all sorts of occasions, festal or otherwise, and probably, indeed, whenever a body of men from the quarter assemble together. The tanṣūrah may be compared in some respects with the tribal ṣarḫah and 'azwah[9] examples of which are given by Landberg. The following are examples of some of the themes used by the principal quarters of Tarīm.

1. Ahl al-Sūḳ

a. Metre : Wāfir type, ‖—|———∪|———∪

لَنَا ٱلنزَّايِدْ وَفِينَا ٱلزَّايِدْ

Metre : Radjaz type, ‖—|—∪——|—∪—∪

وَشَيْخنَا ٱلمِحْضَار مَعْنا

« We have the most, and amongst us lies the most.
And our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār is with us. »

As the metre of these two pieces differs I assume they are independent of each other though given me as a single tanṣūrah. The sense is that the Ahl al-Sūḳ is greater in numbers than any other quarter, it being the largest of all. Al-Miḥḍār is the celebrated Tarīmī saint.

[8] *The Cemeteries of Tarīm, op. cit.*
[9] C. DE LANDBERG, *Arabica IV* (Leiden, 1897), pp. 18, 20, etc.

65:Landshut S-4 (no date)1950 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2



000 It is hard to reach any considered opinion on the significance of these events, and on the general position of the Bahrein community owing to the scantiness of available information.

## HADHRAMAUT

563 A large proportion of the population of Hadhramaut is nomadic; and the Jews in the area fit in to the tribal pattern of life. A number of tribes have groups of Jews under their protection. Generally speaking, each tribe relies on its Jews for craftsmen and artisans. Thus, the Jews, while being a tolerated minority inferior in status to the Muslims, are also a valuable minority; and if a Jew belonging to one tribe should be harmed by a member of another tribe, then the Muslims of his own tribe would at once be up in arms in his defence. On the other hand, for the Muslim the Jew is an object of complete contempt and treated accordingly. It is an archaic pattern of existence, hard for the Western mind to appreciate. But it would be wrong to assume that the status of the Hadhrami Jews—who have never known anything better—is an intolerable burden for them.

A typical example of a Jewish community in the Hadhramaut is that of Habban, a small town lying about 225 miles, as the crow flies, north-east of Aden, and about 150 miles west of Mukalla.

According to local legend, the Habbani Jews settled in the area before the destruction of the Second Temple. The surrounding country being wild and undeveloped, the community is isolated. None the less, religious tradition and the knowledge of Hebrew are kept alive. Thus the Habban Jewish community has in its possession copies of the *Mishnah*, the *Talmud*, and even the *Shulkhan Arukh*.

[463] As elsewhere in the Hadhramaut, the Habbani Jews are the craftsmen and artisans of the tribe. Among them the silversmiths are particularly prized. The Muslim tribesmen bring them silver in rings or in the form of coins to have it smelted or worked into ornaments. Few Habbani Jews go in for breeding livestock—an important occupation in the area. When their services are called for in the surrounding villages and encampments, the Jewish craftsmen use the normal means of transport in this remote district—camels, mules, or donkeys.

The Habbani Jews observe Jewish ritual strictly in accordance with the practices and customs of Judaism in Arabia. They are polygamous and have Arabic names. Jewish women, like their Muslim sisters, go about veiled; and, of course, never leave home unaccompanied. The handful who have succeeded in making their way to Israel say that in the past the Jews have lived in peace with the Muslims and been on good terms with them. More recently, however, their position appears to have deteriorated considerably. The present ruler of the Habban tribe has imposed upon the local Jews discriminatory taxation and other forms of financial extortion. He has even gone so far as to demand their conversion to Islam. Whether this deterioration is confined to Habban or is general in the Hadhramaut is not known. Van den

65:Landshut S-4 (no date)1950 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut + MMZ



Yemen ML1 H 563

Meulen's reports of the strong feelings expressed by tribal chieftains on the Palestine issue, however, suggest that the latter is more likely to be true.

## YEMEN

Y 563

Yemen is one of the few remaining parts of the Arab world where Western influence and Western technology are to this day hardly known. That may explain in part the fact that the country has remained somewhat outside the vortex of Arab political developments, even though she is a member-State of the Arab League. At any rate, as far as is known, the position of the Jewish community has not been influenced in any way by the dispute over Palestine. No special measures against the Jews have been introduced, nor has there been any mass violence.

In Yemen, the Jews are *Dhimmi;* and their position has changed as little through the centuries as has the general state of political, social, and economic conditions in the country. Under the autocratic rule of the Imam, they have enjoyed those privileges which Islam offers to a protected minority. But they, like the population in general, have remained unaffected by those liberalising influences of the West which have done so much to revolutionise conditions in most Muslim countries.

Although the Jewish community enjoys a wide degree of autonomy in the running of its internal affairs, a Jew can never consider himself equal to a Muslim. It is true that as long as he pays the *jizyah* poll-tax regularly his life and property are protected by the Imam. Yet it must be remembered that for the strictly pious Shia Muslim the unbeliever is something unclean, with whom contact is insulting. Thus, the Jew in Yemen is forbidden to touch, or allow his garments to touch, any passing Muslim. He must always stand up in the presence of a Muslim. He may not ride a horse or wear brightly coloured clothes in public. He may not testify against a Muslim in court. This state of affairs naturally does not appear abnormal to a community which has never known anything better; and when the first Yemeni emigrants to Israel wrote home describing the conditions of life in their new country, their letters were hardly believed. On the other hand individual Jews have at times risen to positions of widespread political influence with corresponding advantages for the whole community. Further, many of these discriminatory regulations were more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

The Jews of Yemen claim descent from those who accompanied the Queen of Sheba on her return from her visit to King Solomon. There were certainly Jews in the country at a very early date, and their missionary activities resulted in the conversion of the Himyarite dynasty and many tribes throughout South Arabia. While many Jews were converted to Islam after the Muslim conquest, they survived as a religious community in contrast to the Christians of Yemen—a numerous community which either became absorbed with the Muslim population or emigrated to Abyssinia. Apart from the survivors of

lying fishing villages on the coast and the second peninsula of Little Aden. 9 632 162

The Protectorate population is not accurately known, but estimates for 1948 place the total for Western Aden Protectorate at about 150,000; and for Eastern Aden Protectorate at 300,000. The local governments are tribal, and range in organization from sultanates to smaller autonomous units of varying size and complexity. The principal state in the western protectorate is the Abdali Sultanate of Lahej, with its capital in the oasis town of Lahej, about 20 miles inland from Aden. The Qu'aiti Sultanate of Mukalla and Shihr and the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra are the largest and the most influential states in the east. Probably about three quarters of the inhabitants in Eastern Aden Protectorate dwell in the Hadhramaut, the region of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the adjacent coastlands. The term is often loosely applied to the entire central portion of the Protectorate, but politically it is restricted to the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri Sultanates. Several sizable and important towns are found on the slopes of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the connecting valleys. Shihr, Mukalla, the seat of government of the Qu'aiti, and Ash Shihr are prominent ports on the eastern coast. In addition to the settled peoples, numerous nomadic Bedouin tribes roam the steppes with their flocks. The residence of the Mahri Sultan is on Socotra, a rocky island with a population of about 3,000.

H 161 644 H 635 H 561 632 H [163]

The inhabitants of the Protectorate are mainly of south Arabian stock, but Malay admixtures are encountered in many parts of the Hadhramaut. Small colonies of Indians and Somalis are settled along the coast. Jewish communities of ancient origin are located in scattered villages in the western highlands and the Hadhramaut. They totaled only about 1,500 in 1948, and their numbers have since been depleted by emigration to Israel. The Hadhramis have long tended to emigrate to the islands of southeastern Asia, to East Africa and to countries bordering on the Red Sea, and many sub-

H 563 H [162] H 167

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ficiency are widespread. Pellagroid lesions of the skin are often encountered among the peoples of the Protectorate. In a survey of 518 Arab schoolboys in Aden township in 1949, no cases of overt deficiency were found, but enlargement of the liver, possibly suggestive of low protein intake, was revealed in 27 per cent.

A H 146 164

### Miscellaneous Conditions

A small outbreak of epidemic muscular rheumatism, classified as Bornholm disease, was reported from Aden in 1946. It involved 35 persons—34 British and 1 Arab.

A 164

Hepatic cirrhosis is one of the most frequent conditions seen at the Civil Hospital. Local physicians have noted that most of the cases come from malarious regions where qat is widely used, but the underlying causes have not been investigated.

H A 164 733 146

Chewing the leaves of *Catha edulis*, or qat, is a general custom in Western Aden Protectorate. The leaf juices contain a stimulant, and habitual indulgence is said to produce loss of appetite, sleeplessness and a variety of more serious nervous disorders. Local observers believe that addiction to the drug contributes to the widespread undernutrition among the people.

## SUMMARY

The Colony of Aden and the adjacent Protectorate, on the southern coast of Arabia, have been British dependencies for over a century. The population of the Colony, including the port of Aden, was enumerated at 80,516 in the census of 1946, and calculated at over 100,000 in 1950. The Protectorate territory comprises two administrative divisions—Western Aden Protectorate and Eastern Aden Protectorate, in which the estimated population for 1948 was about 350,000 and 300,000, respectively. The local governments are tribal and diverse in organization, ranging from sultanates to smaller autonomous units. The inhabitants of both the Colony and the Protectorate are predominantly Arabs and adherents of Islam.

A H 648 A 161 H 131 161 H 619 H A 563 795

p. 251 (8)

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



361 district called el-Qaṭn, now stands out clearly against the foot of the rock-wall. The ground grows flat; the loam emerges freed from the layer of sand; rectangular patches point to occasional cultivation of the land during a favourable rainy season. There is a low-growing plant in the fields; it is a weed that is used as fodder for cattle.

361 Furṭ el-Qaṭn is only a hamlet, but a continuous series of
241 palm-groves and fields of *dhura*, lucerne and sesame stretches from here until beyond Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn, where the Sultan is resident. All actual cultivation is due to irrigation by means of wells. A broad strip of ground which is cultivated when there is sufficient rainfall stretches outside the date plantations. The level of the subsoil water is nearer to the surface here, as the wādī descends more rapidly than does the subterranean river. Beyond Terīm it comes above the surface for considerable stretches.

212 The wells and the tracks along which beasts and men go to
231 draw up water are mostly situated in the shade of the date-
241 palms. Where shadow is lacking, long strips of jute or other
● 564 material sewn together are stretched over the track to make
571 shade for men and animals. Donkeys and cattle are used for haulage, but mostly with the help of man's labour. The poor, hard-working and little honoured caste of the *ḍaʿfā* (the peasants)[1] have as their chief occupation this irrigation work[2], which really goes on almost all the year round. The *ḍaʿīf* walks backwards beside his cow or donkey, pushing at the hauling rope with the back of his thighs, in which way his weight has most effect. By the time they reach the end of the hauling track, the bag full of water, which is generally leaking considerably, has appeared at the rim of the well. The *sānī* draws the bag of water (*gharb*) to the rim by a thin rope,

104 [1] *Ḍaʿfā* is the plural of *ḍaʿīf* (ضعيف), which name is given in Ḥaḍramaut to the agricultural labourer class, cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii, p. 220 and v. p. 406.

104 [2] Here called *senāwa* (سناوة); the man who works it is the *sānī*. Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *loc. cit.*

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



where it empties itself into a little mud basin, out of which the irrigation conduits lead to the cultivated ground. Work at the well occupies the whole family: father and son guide the animals and walk with them in hauling ropes and mother and daughters relieve them at this work. Two old dames sit in the shade making ready food for the beasts, which consists of dry straw bound round with fresh green into bundles, that are pushed into the animals' mouths whenever they arrive at the top or bottom. I saw women continuing their mat-plaiting whilst, at the same time, walking backwards in the traces down the slope of the track. The work is very tiring: pulling whilst going down hill and then climbing up again. The path, on which their walk begins at sunrise, is as long as the well is deep.

## 2. TO THE SULTAN'S PALACE IN EL-QAṬN.

One sees the tall buildings of Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn even from afar rising above its walls and the tops of the date-palms. The place is not large and is situated, like the townlets in Wādī Dōʿan, stretched out and closed in between date-groves and the rock-barrier. It is surrounded by a mud wall kept in good repair. At the gate of the town we see our caravan; it is on its way to Shibām with the baggage and is resting here during the heat of the day. Although we are informed that the Sultan is staying in Shibām, we wish to pay a visit of courtesy to his deputy at the palace; possibly he may allow us to make a survey and to photograph from the roof of this very high building. The palace has just been partially renovated and, consequently, has not yet the gay outside decoration of whitewash. A broad staircase leads to a large, finely carved door. There we give our letter of introduction to the guard and after some time we are invited to follow him upstairs. By way of broad passages and endless stairs, both plastered with dried mud, we arrive at the reception-room, which has just been finished. Much of the beautiful old Arabian style is spoiled here by

643 484 Henin and the Nahd tribe. During his tour he arranged the following truces: At 'Einat, on 26th August, a two years' truce between the Seiyids of Āl Hussein and Āl al Hamed; at Al Qatn on 5th September a truce between all the Yafa'i tribesmen and their clans and sections to last five years; on 6th September at the same place, a 10 years' truce between the tribesmen of Āl Makhashin of the Nahd, and another of five years between the clan of Āl Mahfudh, and, again at Al Qatn, on 7th September, an eight months' truce between the Nahd tribesmen; on 9th September in Wadi al 'Ain a truce of five years between the tribesmen of Āl Batati, and another of five years between the Āl Batati and Āl Mahfudh.

643 His Highness left for India on 15th October 1934 for medical reasons. He did not return to Mukalla again, for he died in India of cancer, after a long and painful illness, in March 1936. Recognition has now been given to his nephew and successor, His Highness Sultan Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, who has been accorded a salute of 11 guns.

## CHAPTER V.

### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

173 829 I have already drawn attention to the importance of a knowledge of traditional history, and there is one aspect of history in particular of which any one dealing with Arabs must have some knowledge, and that is genealogy. Arabs would regard families going back to the Conquest as mushroom growths, and many can carry their own trees back to Adam. Each one will at least know the main lines of his descent, and though in its earlier stages it is legendary, this is of no importance to others than purists, for it is believed. Wherever known, the origin of each tribe is indicated in this report, and genealogical trees show the accepted descent of tribal ancestors from Shem.

829 173 162 565 Racially, the Arabs divide themselves into four categories, of which three are represented in the Hadhramaut, the Baida or extinct Arabs represented by the sons of 'Ad, the 'Ariba or descendants of Qahtan or Joktan embracing all the remaining Arabs except the Seiyids and a few sons of Ma'ad who, being descended from Ishmael, are Musta 'Ariba.

The population of the Hadhramaut may be divided into seven social classes, almost castes. They are not all represented in every part of the country, and the order in which they appear below is partly historical and partly represents the order of their importance.

#### SEIYIDS.

162 565 The Seiyids of the Hadhramaut derive their descent from Ahmed bin 'Isa al Mohajir who migrated to the Hadhramaut from Basra and died there about 1,050 years ago. His grave is on the right bank of the main Wadi Hadhramaut at Al Hazisa, a few miles

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



east of Seiyun. Many of the families of Seiyids have hereditary chiefs bearing the title of *Mansab*. They are recognized as spiritual leaders by the surrounding tribes and even by tribes far away; thus, the Mansabs of 'Einat, some twelve miles east of Tarim, have a paramount spiritual influence over the Yafa'i tribes far away in the western part of the Protectorate. 162 565

The following is a list of those families of Seiyids whose descent from Seiyid Ahmed is regarded as authentic :—

| *Family.* | *House.* | *Mansab.* | *Residence.* | *Nos.* | *Influence Over.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Bā 'Alawi | Al Beiti | | Gheil Bin Yamin. | 400 | Nūwah. |
| | Al Maknun | | Yuwan | 100 | Bin Ajrar, a Balhaf tribe, Al bin Dagha. |
| | Barum | Muhammad Barum. | Du'an | 30 | |
| | Hāmed | 'Abdur Rahman bin Hāmed. | Tarim | 20 | |
| | Mudeihij | | Gheil Bin Yamin. | 80 | |
| | Fada'q | Muhammad bin Hussein Fada'ç. | Habban | 100 | Al Aqmush and Al Aswad, Balhaf tribes. |
| | Bā 'Ubūd | | Taris | 30 | |
| | Bin Sahl | | " | 5 | |
| | Jemal al Leil | | " | 15 | |
| | Mola Dawila | Muhammad bin 'Ali. | Fughma | 400 | Beni Sa'id, Manahil. |
| | Al Hindwan | | Rogha near Tarim. | 40 | Have influence over certain tribes. |
| | As Siri | Bubekr Siri | Tarim | 20 | |
| | Al Juneid | The house consists of learned men and men of wealth; no manasb. | " | 50 | |
| | Bā 'Umar | | Leisar | 50 | |
| Āl 'Aidarus | Al 'Aidarus | Ahmed bin Hussein. | Tibi | 5,000 | Nahd. Kathiri. |
| | " | Al Hazm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus. | Būr and Hazm | 5,000 | Āl Jābir. Nahd. |
| | Al Isma'il | Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari and Hussein 'Abdulla. | Tarba, Tarim, Shihr. | | Al Qathm, Seiban, Al Hamumi. |
| | As Salibia | | Salibia | | Bin Hatab, Bin Kasbūba. |
| | Āl Salibia | Hussein bin 'Aidarus. | Būr | 80 | Āl Bajri. |
| | Āl 'Abdulla bin ash Sheikh. | 'Umar bin Zein | Tarim and Ramla. | 120 | Al Yamāni. |

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565

| Family. | House. | Manaab. | Residence. | Nos. | Influence Over. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Sheikh Bubekr bin Salim and Al Sheikh 'Aqil bin Salim. | Al Hāmed | 'Abdul Qadir bin Salim. | 'Einat | 200 | Mahra, Seihut, Qishn, Merbat. |
| | Al Hussein | 'Ali bin Ahmed | 'Einat | 250 | Manahil, Beni Ujeil Yafa'. |
| | Al Mihdhar | Mustafa bin Ahmed and Bubekr bin Hussein. | Du'an, al Qawira. | 300 | Al Bajuba, Al Bahada, a Balhaf tribe, Khalifa, a tribe belonging to the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, Yafa'is. |
| | Al Haddar | Muhsin bin Ahmed and Haddar bin Ahmed. | Qatn, Shihr | 200 | Qu'aitis. |
| | Bu Futeim | 'Abdulla bin Ahmed. | Tarim and Tarba. | 20 | 'Awāmir clan living in Tarba. |
| | Muqeibil | | Du'an, Leisar | 40 | |
| | Al 'Attas | 'Ali bin Zein and Hasan bin Salim. | Hureidha, 'Amd. | 1,500 | Nahd and As Sei'ar. |
| | Bin Hadun | Ahmed bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas. | Meshhed | 90 | Nahd, As Sei'ar and Al Musa'id |
| | Al 'Aqil | Hasan bin 'Alawi. | Dammūn | 100 | Part of the Āl Tamim. |
| | Ba Surra | | Du'an, Leisar | 20 | |
| | Āl Mutahar | Ahmed bin 'Aqil. | Dammūn | 30 | Part of the Āl Tamim. |
| Āl as Saqqaf | As Saqqaf | Ahmed bin 'Abdur Rahman. | Seiyun | 500 | Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris. |
| | Āl Taha | | " | 40 | |
| | Āl Shibab | 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and 'Abdul Qadir. | Tarim and Dammūn. | 300 | Āl Quseiyer and Bā Shamakha. |
| | " | 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shibab. | " | | Bin Sūma. |
| | Al Wunsur | | Seiyun | 400 | |
| | Al Mashhur | | Tarim | 50 | |
| | Al Hadi | Husain bin Zein. | " | 50 | |
| | Az Zahir | | | 80 | |
| | Al Bar | Ahmed bin 'Umar al Bar. | Du'an | 200 | |
| | Al Wabah | | Du'an, al Qurein. | 200 | |
| | Āl Sāfi | | Du'an, ar Rubāt | 500 | |

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565

| *Family.* | *House.* | *Mansab.* | *Residence.* | *Nos.* | *Influence Over.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Al as Saqqaf —*contd.* | Bin Barahim. | The house consists of learned men and merchants. There is no mansab. | Qasm | 50 | |
| | Ba Harûn | | Hadhramaut | 60 | |
| | Al Habashi | 'Umar bin 'Abdulla, Muhammad bin 'Ali. | Hautat Ahmed bin Zein, Du'an, Seiyun. | 300 | Āl Kathîr. |
| | Bā 'Aqîl | | Qeidun | 800 | |
| | Ba Faqîh | | Du'an and Shihr. | 30 | |
| Āl Haddad | | 'Isa bin 'Abdul Qadir. | Tarim | 150 | Ad Deiin. |
| | Āl Tahir | Tahir bin Bubekr. | Al Maseila | 30 | Āl Balheij, Bā Muhammad. |
| | Āl bin Yahya | Ahmed bin 'Umar. | ,, | 20 | |
| | Āl Sumeit | | Shibam | 25 | |
| | Āl 'Aidîd | | Tarim | 50 | |
| Āl Ahmed bin al Faqih ash Shahid. | Balfaqih | Zein bin Hasan | Tarim | 100 | Al 'Imran, Nahd. |
| | Al Jifri | 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Ali. | Wadi bin 'Ali | 1,000 | Wadi bin 'Ali. |
| | Al Kaf | Bubekr bin Sheikh (not a mansab, but has most influence). | Tarim | 150 | |
| | Al Bakr | Hasan bin Salih. | Di Sobh | 20 | Āl Kathîr. |
| | Ash Shatiri | 'Abdulla bin 'Umar ash Shatiri. | Tarim | 20 | Seiban |
| | | | | 10,415 | |

The following families have now become extinct in the Hadhramaut: Bin Qabtan, Āl Mahjub, Āl Musuwa, Bā Shumeila, Āl Tawîl, Āl Hāmel, Bā Raqaba, Āl Mandhar, Bā Hussein, Āl Qādir, Āl Qadri, Bā Faraj, Mola Kheila, Ash Shilli, Āl 'Abdul Malik, Āl Hashim, Āl al Manadhar, An Nadhir, Hussein al Qara, Merzaq, Bā Bureik, Khuneiman, Bā 'Ali, Āl Hût, Al Ghota.

Until the last few years the Seiyids occupied universally over the Hadhramaut very much the position of the church in the Middle Ages in Europe, forming a theocracy with which the temporal rulers of the country interfered very little. On the whole their influence was generally on the side of law and order and they wielded great power.

565 Seiyids do not carry arms,[1] nor have they troops to support
554 them, so that instead of relying on the sanction of arms to main-
461 tain their authority they rely on their descent from the Prophet and the reverence which is given to them on account of their ancestry. They are extremely jealous of their privileges as Seiyids; realizing that their influence depends on the respect shown to them, they adhere keenly to such customs as the kissing of their hands and avoid any form of manual labour. They are usually comparatively well educated, and exercise influence on this account.

000 Some years ago a movement started in the East Indies to restrict the power of the Seiyids. It is said to have had its origin in a squabble over a school, but its roots were deeply set in the growing contact of the Hadhrami immigrants with western influence which produced a liberal class keen on modernisation. The Seiyids were innately conservative and mistrusted the encroachment of western civilization. It cannot be said that the struggle between the church and the laity is yet over, but it is apparent that the victory will ultimately be with liberal tendencies rather than diehard conservatism. According to most accounts the 'Irshadis, as the rebels against ecclesiastical predominance termed themselves, never set up actual organizations in the Hadhramaut itself, but there is no doubt that their tenets have made considerable headway there.

565 In Qu'aiti territory the influence of the Seiyids has officially gone.
554 They are not allowed to interfere in politics though they are given respect for their descent. As long as the majority of them adhere to their mediaeval ecclesiasticism it is clearly right that they should be out of power. Unofficially, however, some of the best of them still play an important and indeed essential part in those districts not yet under direct Government control. In Kathīri territory they have more influence, but the leading families have moved with the advancing tide of progress, allied themselves with the forces of law and order, and are amongst the keenest advocates of modern methods in the country.

### Sheikhs.

793 Before the advent of Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa in the ninth century
565 and the gradual growth of the religious influence of the Seiyids,
554 the Sheikhs were the principal ecclesiastical influence in the country.
162 They probably took the place of an earlier ecclesiastical hierarchy formed by the priesthood of the old religion. Though they definitely take precedence after the Seiyids, they resemble them in that they exercise much the same privileges. Like them, they are a very much respected class, are better educated than the tribesmen, and do not as a rule bear arms.

565 The principal families are: Al 'Amūdi living in Du'an, Āl Is-hāq,
162 Āl Bā Wazīr living at Gheil, Wadi al 'Ain, and other places, Bā

[1] There are in fact a few families of Seiyids who do carry arms and are indistinguishable from Bedouins.

Jābir living below Shibam, Āl Bā Sūdān at Du'an, Bā Humeid at Madūda and Seiyun, Āl Bureik at Shabwa, Bā Khatib at Tarim, Bā Wa'l at Tarim, and Āl Bā 'Umar at 'Ajlania between Henin and Al Qatn. 565 162

YAFA'IS.

The Yafa'is are the *'asākir* or soldiers and the actual rulers of Qu'aiti territory. Their introducton as mercenaries, described in the historical chapters, has led to the foundation of two dynasties, that of the Kasadis of Lower Yafa' and that of the Qu'aitis who drove out the Kasadis. The places in which some of the Yafa'is live will appear later when the inhabitants of the various provinces of Qu'aiti territory are enumerated. I have also given in an appendix a list of the various Yafa'i tribes with their sections, strength and situation. 565 162 463

The Qu'aiti dynasty springs from a section of the Mausata tribe and is historically quite recent. Although the Sultan and his relations have had no personal contacts with their country they exercise some influence in Upper Yafa', and the Yafa'i connection is still a live one, as a great many Upper Yafa'is regularly go to the Hadhramaut to take service in the Qu'aiti forces, returning after a few years to their own country. Other Yafa'is have become settled in the Hadhramaut and form a powerful party on whom the Qu'aiti could depend in the case of disturbances. [73]

The following are amongst Yafa' tribes and sections represented in the Hadhramaut, the sections being shown in brackets after each tribe: Adh Dhubi (Al Mosili, Al Kasadi, Ash Shanāthira, Al Jahāwisha), Al Bu'si (Al Gharana, Az Zaghālida, Al Homām, Āl Mattash), Al Mausata (Ar Robik, Āl Yazid, Āl Batati). 565 162

TRIBESMEN.

The history of the tribes of the Hadhramaut has been, generally speaking, sufficiently indicated in the historical instruction, and their location and strength will be dealt with in the description of the various provinces. 600

There are only four words used in the Hadhramaut for the nomenclature of the divisions of a tibe. *Az Zei* is a confederation of tribes with a single leader. There are only three *Zeis* in the Hadhramaut, the Seibani, the Nūvah, and the Hamumi. The Shenafir Confederation is not a *Ze*, for while the leaders of the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris are Sultans, they do not head the whole confederation of tribes. A tribe, *Qabila* is sub-divided into a *Beit*, and a *Beit* into a *Fara'*. I cannot claim any particular merit for the divisions I have used, namely, Tribe, Clan, Section, and Sub-section, except that by using the word Clan I have avoided the clumsy term sub-sub-section which I found used in some statements of the other tribes of the Protectorate. 619 565 162 621

The Hadhrami tribesmen, like those of the rest of the Protectorate, are extremely conservative and "never depart from their tribal customs." Most of them are nomads moving over their areas 181 680

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them[1] are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

### Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

*In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

*In Seiyun:* Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

1 [The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

*In Shibam:* Āl Bā Dīb, head, Muhammad bin Ahmed Bā Dīb; important members, 30, total, 50. Āl Bā 'Ubeid, head, Muhammad Salim Bā 'Ubeid; important members, 15, total, 20. Āl Shamākh; important members, 10, total, 40. Āl Ma'āshir, head, Bekr 'Ali Ma'ashir; important members, 24, total, 100. Āl Bā Jarsh, head, 'Abdur Rahman Bā Jarsh; important members, 20, total, 60. Āl at Tōwei, head, 'Ali at Tōwei; important members, 4, total, 20. The families of Qatn, Jabr, Bilfaqih, and Āl Khātib are said to possess authority. 565 162 [73]

*In Al Ghurfa:* Āl Bā Abbad; important members, 15, total, 80. Āl Msellem, head, Salim Msellem; one important member, total, 20. Āl Tarmum, head, 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman Tarmum; important members, 20, total, 90. Āl Sheiban, head, Sheikh 'Umar Sheiban; important members, 5, total, 30.

*In Du'an:* Āl Bā Shanfar, residence 'Aura; important members, 5, total, 80. Āl Bā Ya'shut, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 90. Āl Bā Mad-han, residence Al Qurein; important members, 160, total, 200. Āl Bā Lakma, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 80. Āl Bā Barahīm, residence Al Qurein; important members, 60, total 110. Āl Bā Basut, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 100, total, 200. Āl Bā Hanshal, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 30, total, 150. Āl Bā Khashwein, residence Hudūn; important members, 150, total, 300. The families of Bā Shameila, Bā Samad, Bā 'Ubeid, Bahawal, and Bā Baheir all possess authority, but those of Bazara, Bā 'Aahin, and Bā Sālih have none.

*In Bur:* Bā Sharāhil, who possess no authority.

The townsmen are divisible into four classes; merchants, artificers, labourers, and servants. The economic life of the country depends to a large extent on them. They live in the towns, do not bear arms, and are the principal taxpayers. It is from them that the people obtain the necessaries of life, and they form the main link with the outside world. Many of them are wealthy and they exercise a considerable influence in the country, and might well exercise more. The leading merchants to some extent govern the affairs of their towns, and have developed more than a germ of municipal organization. There are also signs of a kind of trades unionism, or rather of the mediaeval guild system, among the various artificers, and professions are usually, though not exclusively, hereditary. 565 162 556 [44]

### Slaves.

The Qu'aiti and Kathīri Governments are the biggest slave-holders in the country, and I should imagine that there is comparatively little private ownership. Apart from the fact that the slaves are slaves, there is very little to distinguish them, except their African countenances, from other classes of the country, and 567

567 I never heard a suggestion from masters or slaves that they were anything but exceedingly well treated. They include principally the *Nizam*, the most trusted part of the forces of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri, and receive very exceptional treatment compared with other servants of the State. They can rise to the highest positions, and the present Governor of the Shibam province is a slave. I also met a slave Governor of the town of Hajarein in the Du'an province, and I believe there are others. The town magistrate of Mukalla is also a slave. The young slaves belonging to the Mukalla Government are given especial care and training, and are formed into companies of cadets. They gave us a very creditable drill display in Mukalla.

It is possible that there may be a very occasional case of slave trading, and some women may have been introduced in recent years to the main valley, but this is not done with the approval or cognizance of the Mukalla Government.

### Subians.

565 162 163 The Subians form definitely the lowest class of the population. Some of them are agricultural labourers receiving wages or paid in kind, and there are settlements of them outside coastal towns like Mukalla and Shihr. When they are settled next door to a town they do the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and perform such sanitary services as are carried out by sweepers in other eastern countries.

565 173 I was informed that the word "*Subian*" comes from "*Sabi*", a boy. In the Hadhramaut they originate from the Wadi Hajr, and for this reason in the western part of the Protectorate are known as Hajris. They are said to be the descendants of the Abyssinian invaders of the third to sixth centuries A.D., and to have been reduced to their present lowly estate after the Abyssinians had been routed by the Persians on the intervention of Seif bin Dhi Yazan. This is the tale told in the Hadhramaut, and d'Arnaud recounts a similar story as the origin of the Khadims of Yemen [168] and Aden. Neither slaves nor Subians can be the subjects of blood feuds.

### Immigration.

167 Apart from these classes of the population, there are a number of immigrants settled, or partially settled, in the country. There are 300 British Indians in Mukalla and Shihr, and a few British Somalis. There are also some Italian Somalis. The total number of Somalis in the country is said to be about 1,200, of whom 1,000 reside in Mukalla. Owing to extensive migration to the East Indies, [144] which will be further described later in the report, there has been a considerable infiltration of Malayan blood, and very East Indian types of countenances are to be observed in some of the up-country towns. The type is not uncommon in Tarim and Seiyun, but I found it very marked in the towns of Badra and Haura.

715 and is offered for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet, presumably, other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

[726] The situation sounds almost incredible, but the war continued for several years. At last Sultan 'Ali supported by the Al Kaf Seiyids, the strongest influence for peace in Kathiri territory, thought matters had gone far enough, and invited the disputants to Seiyun to conclude a peace. The terms suggested were agreed to on all points except for one requiring Bin 'Abdat to demolish two small forts. The matter appeared to have reached a deadlock when a Seiyid of Aden, of Hadhramaut origin, Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman al Jifri, proceeded to the Hadhramaut and offered his services in the settlement of the trouble. He is a friend of Bin 'Abdat's, and Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman and Bubekr al Kaf sent him to Bin 'Abdat to advise him not to hold out on account of the two small forts. Matters were probably ripe for a settlement as everybody was tired of hostilities, but Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman very creditably brought the feud to a satisfactory conclusion. What was even more satisfactory was that a gathering of more than a hundred representatives of all sections of the Shenafir was held at Seiyun, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman succeeded in assisting Sultan 'Ali, backed by the Al Kaf Seiyids, to negotiate a truce between all the Shenafir tribes. This agreement, which takes effect from the 1st of Sha'bān 1353 (9th November 1934) provides for a truce of two years and two months in all matters relating to blood feuds between the various tribes, and gives also a guarantee of five years security for travellers on the routes.

It may thus be that the foundations have now been laid for an era of peace in Kathiri land, and the time seems to be propitious for the establishment of a greater solidarity in Kathiri rule. There are certainly strong elements in favour of peace. Foremost of all is Sultan 'Ali himself. He is a man of culture and very charming personality with that kind of magnetism which inspires instinctive respect and affection. I do not think anybody who has met him can fail to receive the impression that he is a good man in the best sense of the word, nor can anyone who has discussed the situation with him fail to be impressed with the earnestness of his desire for peace. In this desire he is warmly and ably supported by many of the leading families, of whom the most important are the Al Kaf and Saqqaf Seiyids. Although they are Seiyids the measures of reform which these families support are many of them in flagrant opposition to the old conservative policy of the Seiyids, which for long maintained that body as the most powerful and the most desperately retrogressive party in the Hadhramaut. These families have shown that they can still play a very important part in the destinies of the country, and have in fact earned the right to speak in common voice with the Sultan in pressing reforms. It may also be observed that they are the heaviest, as well as the most willing, [651] taxpayers in the country. Their annual contributions on Government and charitable undertakings amount to at least $70,000 a year, without considering special expenditure.

year, without considering special expenditure. It is fortunate that these families give attention to the affairs of Government and have been able to help to place the administration of the town of Tarim, for example, on a business footing. The families include men of considerable wealth who have made fortunes in Singapore where they own a lot of property acquired and developed in two generations. The Al Kaf family, who, by the way, are mostly British subjects, pay (I give the figure from memory) 120,000 Straits dollars a year in taxation in Singapore, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman, the head of the family, is a Justice of the Peace.

But it is not only among the wealthiest members of the community that there are signs of a growing desire for peace and progress. I have recorded elsewhere that, as well as in Qu'aiti territory, there are tribesmen of the Shenafir who have expressed a desire for settled administration and stated their willingness to pay taxes. As a whole the Kathîri people are the most wealthy of the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut. Their wealth is very largely derived from the East Indies, and principally from the Dutch colonies; but, as will be seen in the part of this report dealing with emigration, the Hadhrami wherever he settles is always a Hadhrami, and he looks on his beloved valley as a home to which he wishes to return. Abroad under a British or Dutch aegis he acquires a taste for peace and security. The money he makes he sends home, and, as stated elsewhere, the amount remitted from the East Indies is about seven lakhs of rupees a month. Once he has acquired property he ceases to be a Beduin with nothing to lose and becomes a landed proprietor with a large and expensive resilence which he does not wish to see destroyed.

I have said that the Qu'aiti need guidance in their very creditable schemes of progress, the Kathîri want it in order to achieve peace and security.

## CHAPTER XII.

### QU'AITI-KATHÎRI RELATIONS.

Between Qu'aiti and Kathîri there is, unhappily, profound mistrust. This, however, can be well understood when the history of the country is understood, and when it is remembered that old hates in the East generally remain fresh long after the events which gave rise to them have passed. The Kathîri, not unnaturally, has cherished a grudge against the people who deprived him of what was once his country. The Qu'aiti retains a fear that he may yet lose what he has so hardly won. He realizes no doubt that except for British backing, which has sometimes been erratic in its application, it might well be possible for the Kathîris, original owners of the country, to call to their aid the other indigenous people of the Hadhramaut, including their old allies, and drive out the invader. The Qu'aiti also cherishes, perhaps, the hate that one party often bears towards the party it has wronged.

The Kathīris have no organised Governmental institutions in the accepted sense of the word, though the Sultan and his supporters, including the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun, are very anxious for progress. Sultan 'Ali's state income is estimated at $20,000 a year in respect of Seiyun, Taris and Mariama; $6,000 of this is a direct contribution from the Al Kaf Seiyids, and the remainder consists of taxes on dates and on goods entering Seiyun. The whole sum is expended on state services, for Sultan 'Ali has a private income derived from Singapore. He maintains a force consisting of 200 indifferently armed slave soldiers in Seiyun, and 200 in Tarim. 643 642 651 565

In Tarim the Al Kaf contribute $12,000 a year to the city Treasury. There is a Town Council which organises the local taxation, and thanks to the Al Kaf Seiyids its affairs are said to be run in a [illegible] business-like way, for its budget balances. In normal times the political expenditure on maintaining peace between Tarim and the neighbouring tribes is perhaps $4,000 a year, and this is all borne by the Al Kafs. But to this normal expenditure is often added extraordinary expenditure as, for instance, in a case which occurred about May 1934, when Seiyid Bubekr, the second brother of the family, spent $12,000 in settling a dispute between Tarim and the Tamimis. 651 632 565

In Tarim and Seiyun there is a doctor and dispensary, but they are supported by the Seiyids. At the time of my visit, the doctor, a Punjabi, was on leave and such work as was being carried on was being done by a dispenser. No great public use was made of his services. The dispensary costs the Al Kafs about $1,000 a month, and they spend $2,000 a month on charities and roads. As regards their expenditure on communications it should be recorded that they built all the water pools on the caravan route from Tarim to Shihr, that they spent $7,000 on building a pass at Al 'Arsha for caravans, and that Seiyid Bubekr has spent over $180,000 on road making between Tarim and Shihr. 743 565 735 653

The schools in Kathīri territory are almost entirely supported by the wealthy Seiyids. There are two Ribāts, religious foundations, principally supported by *Waqfs* (religious endowments) for the teaching of religion and philosophy. Of these one is in Seiyun and has an attendance of 40 students, and the other is in Tarim with an attendance of 120. The Saqqaf family of Seiyids maintain two schools in Seiyun, one containing 500 boys and seven teachers, the other 100 boys and four teachers, and the Al Kafs, who also contribute to the Ribāts, run two schools in Tarim. One of these formerly had an attendance of 400 boys but it is now only attended by children of the family, numbering 54. The other, a public school, accommodates between 300 and 400 boys. The Al Kafs also run one if not two schools at Khoreiba in Wadi Du'an in Qu'aiti territory. They are, in fact, the only people undertaking educational activities in a wider sense in that province. I believe, too, that they support the private schools in Mukalla and Shihr. 565 871

631 The Kathiri claims the Hamumi, Nahd, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar tribes as his allies. The agreement with the Nahd, which is said to be similar to those with the Hamumi, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar, is included in an appendix. It is stated that these tribes would join the Kathīris if there was trouble with the Qu'aitis.

*Kathiri Towns.*

101 The country ruled by the Kathīris was formerly of vast extent and stretched from the 'Aulaqi country on the west to the Mahri on the east, including the country of Dhufar beyond. The history of the circumscription of the territory to its present limits appears sufficiently in an earlier chapter of this report.

631 Of the six towns or villages mentioned as being included in the
632 Kathīri dominions Seiyun and Tarim are the largest. Seiyun, the
361 capital of the Āl 'Abdulla Sultans, is a walled town of over 1,500 houses and about 50 mosques. The suburbs, which are all to the east of the town, are extending fairly rapidly with the building of pleasant looking residencies, most of them with their own gardens. The population is said to be about 20,000. Tarim is also a growing town with an estimated population of 15,000. Its walls, which are over five miles in length and are furnished with five gates and 25 forts, enclose a great deal of open space so that most of the better class houses have their own gardens. There are over 2,000 houses, and there are said to be 300 mosques, one of which, built by the Al Kafs, has the highest minaret in the Hadhramaut and is of an unusual pattern. The principal shrine in Tarim is that of Maqaddam Faqih. There are growing suburbs outside the walls such as 'Aidīd, but some of the suburbs such as Thibi, Dammūn, and Beit Jabīr, belong to the Tamimis and are under
342 Qu'aiti influence. Tarim and Seiyun are striking for their many
365 palaces, equipped in modern style, to which reference has already been made. These houses have a water supply laid on and pumped
312 up by small petrol engines. The towns are well supplied with wells, and Tarim is remarkable for being the only town in the Hadhramaut with public conveniences, which, however, are rough mud erections and very insanitary.

361 Taris is a village lying to the west of Seiyun, and its inhabitants
529 do not exceed 700. Mariama is a small village to the east of Seiyun with a population of about 300. Al Ghurf, also a small village, lies to the north of Tarim and has a population not exceeding 250. Gheil bin Yomein is said to be a popular place of resort during the autumn. It is a small village of which the majority of the inhabitants are Beduins.

565 A great deal of wealth comes into the Kathīri towns from the East Indies, and the towns of Tarim and Seiyun, which are considered centres of culture and learning, include many wealthy inhabitants whose fortunes have been made in the East Indies.

000 The whole of the Kathīri part of the wadi is accessible by motor

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £200,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

## Nature of the People and Country

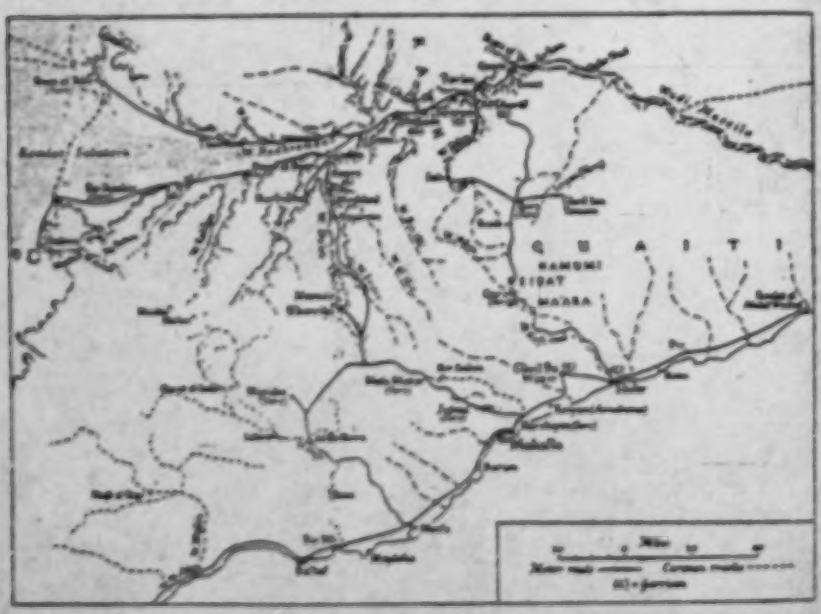
Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



serfs whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells. The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.

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The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from considerable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft, however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM3 Hadhramaut MM2



To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101 776

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

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693 tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had
671 touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt
577 or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's
626 own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

565 This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and
631 tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

565 We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past
463 incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will
465 therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of
421 those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The
792 Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

421 Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of
565 the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

565 Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen
144 and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

565 Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class.
463 The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

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do not remain for any length of time on one plot of land, but take up all kinds of casual labour as well as farm labour. Among such one may find carpenters, gunsmiths, builders and tradesmen. The manufacture of indigo dye, with which the Mushreqi tribesman dyes himself and his clothes, and the sale of indigo-dyed cotton is, to a large extent, in their hands. Large families of this class are to be found throughout the territory in the market towns. Unlike the Raya, they do not bear arms.

The Heiq class is almost indistinguishable from the Dha'if, but there is a distinction in that the Heiq can be described as the lower third of the Dha'if class. That is, that the whole class of artisans and casual labourers can be described, in a generalization, as Dha'if, but the poorer, unskilled casual labourer is of the Heiq class. As an example, a rich shopkeeper is Dha'if, but, because of his possessions, is not Heiq. It is not a very important distinction. Dha'if in Arabic means "weak." I am unable to discover the derivation of Heiq, but we can take it to mean "of low quality."

The Asakar, or hired soldier class, are a class in themselves. They are of two kinds—freed slaves still in the service of their master and tribesmen who have lost their lands and their status and entered the service of their Chief. Once this happens to a tribesman, he or his descendants can never return again to the status of tribesmen, but remain ever afterwards Askari, whether they still serve master or not. They have dropped below the aristocratic classes and can no longer intermarry with tribesmen. I have heard of no exceptions to this hard rule.

The next class is that of the Doshan, plural Doashin. I can find no derivation to the name. They are of two kinds—wandering singers and dancers, and settled singing-men who have attached themselves to a particular tribe. Their origin is a mystery. The wanderings ones, who give the most dismal performances of what they call dancing, can always be driven out of camp. It is best, however, to be polite to the settled ones. They are skilled versifiers, and those who treat them with contempt must submit afterwards to unmerciful lampooning. On public holidays in up-country towns one of them frequently appoints himself as Amir Al 'Id, or "Amir of the Holiday." Supported by his friends and anyone who wants some fun, he calls upon the local Chief and demands a present and entertainment. This the Chief refuses, and receives an ultimatum challenging him to war in a few minutes. The war which ensues is conducted for the most part with fireworks, blank ammunition, water and balls of dung. The Chief's fort is the centre of attack. Eventually the Chief will ask for a truce, ambassadors are exchanged and all ends in an entertainment and a present to the "Amir." At other times they will institute rhyming competitions, or will compose and sing long Qasidas on the local political situation. Some of these settled Doashin become men of mark, but they have, for all their poems and lampoons, little effect on tribal policy and no say whatever in tribal affairs.

Slaves need no introduction. The slave trade in the south is dead, but the descendants of Abyssinian slaves still serve their original masters. It would be absurd to free them; they are completely free, but slavery is their only niche in the community. Take that away and they would be homeless and workless. As in the rest of Arabia, except the Zeidi Yemen,

5 Hamilton G-S (no date) 1943 MMR Hadhramaut H M 21



remained unchanged through centuries of the past and which was perhaps well suited to periods long ago, somehow or other have to adapt themselves to modern conditions.

That is the problem which Political Officers in a country like the Aden Protectorate have to face: that is to say, they have to give the best that we can offer to the people without doing at the same time harm, which so obviously might accompany our action if we were to press our own ideas too much on a social system so different from our own. That makes it all the more important—in fact, it is essential—that British Officers, Political Officers working in that country, should really understand the people as Mr. Hamilton understands them; that they should study them and specialize in their task, for otherwise it is only too easy to fall into serious errors and mistakes.

The question which remains to be answered is to what extent communities like these tribes can absorb or adapt themselves to these changes and to the conditions which they have to meet. As you know from what Mr. Hamilton has said, the units are very small. In some cases, such as Lahej and Mukalla, we have something approximating to what we regard as a regular government. But in some tribal areas the authority of the sheikh is very small; in fact, in some cases I think Mr. Hamilton would agree that it is practically non-existent. The tribal chief often has little real authority. He is merely one of the family, one of the tribe. The extent to which he can carry his authority depends largely on his personality.

We have also heard how the tribesmen, the landowning tribesmen, who regard themselves as the aristocracy of the country, are not a minority but a majority of the people. I once was talking to an Arab from the Protectorate, and I asked him: "What exactly is the difference between a tribesman and a subject?" He replied very briefly: "Well, a subject has to do what he is told, and a tribesman need not." If the tribesmen are in a majority, that makes it very difficult. I said to him: "What about your own tribe? Have you many subjects there or not?" He replied: "As a matter of fact, in my own particular tribe we have no subjects; we are all tribesmen, and that is what causes all the trouble."

If we want to help these people in matters like assisting them to develop their agriculture, to develop their resources in water (which is a necessary concomitant of any agricultural development), to give them help in medical matters (of which they are badly in need, for there is no such thing as even an approach to a medical service in any part of the Protectorate), to help them in education—I mean an education suitable to them—the first and foremost foundation must be some form of internal security. With so many of these small tribal communities immersed in old vendettas and blood feuds the security in the country is in some parts very slight. You cannot build up anything on a basis of anarchy and disorder, and the question arises whether these small tribal units are capable of establishing enough authority and of getting rid of anarchical conditions sufficiently to meet the needs of the time.

Our neighbour there, the Imam of the Yemen, maintains that many of these tribes are too small to enjoy any forms of independence. He says, in fact, that they ought to belong to him, and he would understand how

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadramaut MM2



in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators. 000

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more complicated than in most places in the Protectorate. 619 182 421

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their centres. 427 565 792 651 619 672 182

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood feud, and there is little doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to 182 628 411 436

Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost. 342 531

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby. 341 531 177

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a funnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away. 342 353 177

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms. 361 565

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely. 565 292 561

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one 665 342

?: Stuiler-Raemacher: T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



665 half for the men and one for the women, each with their entrance, kitchen,
342 store rooms and granary on the ground floor, reception rooms and washrooms on the first floor, and more private apartments with washrooms on the second floor. There may be a third floor with terrace rooms, but usually not more.

342 Although the span of the ceiling beams is quite small, as everywhere
353 else (about six feet, determined by the maximum size of timber available), many of the rooms in these houses are very large, being divided up by
565 two, four, six or nine pillars. They have rows of three or four windows, some even more, on two sides. The floors are covered with carpets, and cushions against the walls are the only form of furnishing. There will be niches with cups, silver samovars and brass trays; other niches with some books; and a few large flat basket-trays hung on the walls, from which one eats. But that is absolutely all that is needed. There are large wall closets for clothing and for bedding, the normal place to sleep being the floor. But there is no difference between a living-room and a sleeping apartment. Each room serves for either purpose in turn, the men and the women
[291 being separate. Nor are there clothes for the night and clothes for the day, though the men wear beautifully laundered clothes, frequently
515] changed.

342 Washrooms consist of a spacious compartment, with glazed plaster walls with niches and pegs for clothing. Near the window stands a tall
515 jar with water and a scoop for showering oneself. The water runs out under the window through a runnel and gutter. Some washrooms have a shower tank. The washroom may contain a lavatory of the south continental, foot-rest type, or this may be in an entirely separate spacious compartment. Each floor has at least two. Besides this the Saywun and Terim house has a little "roman" bath for complete ablution about 10 feet square, and which is usually near the private prayer-room.

342 Another pleasant characteristic of the Saywun house is that in the large corridor that runs from one side of the house to the other; in front of the
271 window at the coolest end there is usually a corner for drinking-water skins to hang up in a cooling draught. Niches for cups are at hand, and again there is a runnel for the water dripping from the skin to run outside. The same arrangement is found on most terraces. Upper rooms are used in summer, lower rooms in winter for warmth, for there is no glass in the windows and only ill-fitting wood shutters to keep out the night air.

342 All these amenities will be found on a small scale in the most modest houses. The house of the dhobbi had three floors. It contained about four living-rooms, two washrooms, a kitchen and a store. So that where space is concerned the Hadhrami house does not compare unfavourably with European standards.

000 A film showing Hadhramaut buildings was followed by a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



behind it, and not the high mountains of the Yemen. Its height above the sea-level nowhere exceeds 6,000 feet and is generally not more than 3,500. It has therefore no regular rainfall. 183

Then, as regards treaties, while the W.A.P. has a total of about thirty-five chiefs in direct relation with His Majesty's Government, the E.A.P. has only seven, of which one, the Kathiri, is comparatively recent. The reason is that in the E.A.P. all that was required was to keep foreign powers off the coast. All the six original treaties with E.A.P. rulers were with coastal chiefs. Starting from the west, 'Irqa and Haura are only small villages. The two Wahidi Sultans come next, then the Qu'aiti, the largest of them all, whose state to-day covers some 50,000 square miles, and then the Mahra, which includes Socotra Island. While the W.A.P. is historically part of the Yemen, and has now a new and natural capital in Aden which supplies it with all its requirements, the E.A.P. is historically and geographically detached and has a local commercial capital in Mukalla, but looks to India, Singapore, and Java for its cultural and social contacts. 648

The Hadhramaut is historically and geographically a country in itself, and consists of the Wahidi Sultanates, with the two little Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, which are really ports in the country of the Dhiyeibi tribe, who are a Wahidi tribe, and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. I propose not to say anything more of the Mahra country because as yet little is known about it, though in the last year or two more has been learnt of Socotra. 101

You will have gathered, I think, that, owing to its desert nature and lack of rainfall, the prospects of the development of agriculture in the Hadhramaut are not very promising, and as the various explorations that have taken place to date have not discovered any mineral resources, it does not look as though the economic future is very bright. The best agricultural areas are Gheil Ba Wazir, on the coast, where Hamumi tobacco is very successfully grown, and this brings in a revenue of about Rs. 200,000 a year to the state, and Meifa, in which conditions have been considerably improved in the last few years and where some further development is possible. It was hoped that the alluvial silt of the Wadi Hadhramaut would prove a fertile area for wide development if water could be found, but experiment has shown that it is largely brackish and, bearing in mind the desert surroundings, it is probable that any further supplies of water which boring might discover would not be sufficient to wash out the salt. It is unfortunate, too, that the bulk of the population, the seiyids and tribesmen, do not take to working on the land themselves, as do the tribesmen of the W.A.P., but rely on dhafa, a class of poor townsmen who are almost in the position of serfs. These dhafa lived by building the palaces of the rich and working their wells, but the fall of Singapore and Java cut off the supplies of money from the Far East so that the rich could no longer maintain them. The beduin had lived by carrying supplies from the coast to the interior, but with the falling off of imports they too suffered. On top of this catastrophe there was a seven-year drought from 1937 to 1944, which meant the loss of crops, flocks, and 50 per cent. of the working camels, so that between the difficulties of 241 311 565 463 731

178, 65 The Wahidi Sultanate of Balhaf asked for advisory arrangements in 1939 and that of Bir 'Ali in 1943. The former was making very reasonable progress on its modest means till the war upset its Customs receipts, and security forces and schools were established. Bir 'Ali has only just started, but the town has been cleaned up, the Customs organized, and a school and dispensary provided for.

491 178 Much extension of motorable tracks has been made, and all places of importance in Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory can now be reached by car. Bir 'Ali and Balhaf soon will be, as a motor road towards Aden had passed its most difficult stretch and was getting on towards the agricultural region of Meifa in June, 1944.

178 565 So that on the whole, despite the famine, the picture is one of progress rather more than one would at first sight expect of a rather unpromising country. For beyond the handicaps of nature have been the handicaps the inhabitants have made for themselves: the chronic insecurity, the everlasting divisions, and the unsound social system of the Inner Hadhramaut, with a number of classes so acutely separated as more to resemble the castes of India than social grades in the brotherhood of Islam. And there was, on the whole, so much desire for independence on the part of all—though almost all classes interpreted it differently—that it was difficult to see how a few foreigners could get over the suspicion and help the people to achieve something. But I think that now the Qu'aiti State, at least, could stand to some extent on its own legs and would be unlikely to collapse entirely if it was left to itself, for its stability does not entirely depend on its ruler alone, although he has been such a tower of strength in promoting progress. I think the thing that would be mostly lacking if it were left to itself would be initiative. The best thing that could happen to the Hadhramaut now would be a federation of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States and the Wahidi Sultanates. I think this could be achieved, but it is not very easy. On the Qu'aiti side the objection is to spending money in Kathiri territory, although the old hatred between the two has died out, and in Kathiri territory the difficulty is the disunion between the various sections of the Wadi Hadhramaut. It is, however, fair that the Qu'aiti State should help in Kathiri territory, as much of its Customs revenue comes from goods imported by the Kathiri State, which has no ports. Between the Wahidi Sultanates there is still intense hatred, which was fanned up a couple of years ago by the murder of the Balhaf Regent in a plot hatched by the Bir 'Ali Sultans. But as the Bir 'Ali Sultans have now turned respectable and accepted advisory arrangements, some federation could probably be brought about. Bir 'Ali, having the better harbour, will have better revenue than Balhaf, which has a larger population to provide for. One would hope for a federation which left autonomy in local matters to the constituent parts of the country, but shared the cost of social services, communications, and so on. If the Hadhramis can emigrate and if they can govern themselves with a sound federal Government, they will have something to thank us for of lasting worth, and no doubt those abroad will give a good report of the British connection.

000 648 000 Buried under all the politics the Hadhramaut is a cultured country.

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



114 thought that we had some slight chance of succeeding, and they gave us loyal cooperation.

122 Thus we landed at Makalla on Sunday, May 3, accompanied only by my Yemenite servant. The Sultan was away as usual, and his vizier read the letters of introduction from our minister of foreign affairs and from the Governor of Aden. We were very well accommodated in one of the Sultan's former palaces, and then began the task of waiting for the great decision as to 609 whether we might enter the country. The same evening we had the good fortune to meet a member of the family al-'Attās, which is very friendly with the government of the Dutch Indies. He had received a telegram from his father instructing him to give all possible help to the Dutch representative of the government in his anticipated 546 journey in Hadramaut. The Sayyid family of al-'Attās, together with the closely allied family of al-Kāf, belongs to the leading group in Hadramaut proper. Two great parties, which are hostile to one another, are contesting for the power in this country, namely, the āl-Qa'ētī, who have their headquarters at Makalla, and the āl-Kathīr, with headquarters at Sēwun. The āl-Qa'ētī sultans take their cue from the English, and, thanks to English help, have authority in the coast region. The āl-Kathīr are more independent, and reside in Hadramaut proper, that is, in the broad valley in the interior which has that name. The Sayyids boast of being directly descended from the son-in-law of the Prophet, and in Hadramaut society hold a distinct and very privileged position. They have great influence with the government, but leave the actual business for the most part to the non-sayyids.

122 The immediate and whole-hearted support of the al-'Attās certainly did our enterprise a great deal of good, for on the following day we received the promise that 000 we might go inland. However, the great difficulties of the journey, especially at this time of the year (one of the hottest months), were expressly pointed out to us; and we were urgently dissuaded from crossing the

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



known as al-Saḥil, lying to the south of it. Al-Ḥāwī is a ḥawṭah or sacred enclave, the property of the Āl Ḥaddād saiyids. Amongst other ḥawṭahs in Tarīm are Ḥawṭat al-Šaiḫ (Ḥusain b. 'Abdullāh al-'Aidarūs), (this saint being the brother of al-'Adanī), lying to the west of the Djāmi' mosque, and Ḥawṭat Bā 'Alawī, the capital of the 'Alawī saiyids. Perhaps at one time these ḥawṭahs had an independent organisation of their own, distinct from that of the rest of Tarīm as al-Ḥāwī has to this day. Raḥaiyam Bā Faḍl indeed remarked that the city contained many old ḥawṭahs which are no longer treated as ḥawṭahs, but have become only quarters (ḥārah). The Masākīn of al-Ḥāwī are independent of the other quarters of Tarīm, and follow the Manṣab who is, of course, an Āl Ḥaddād saiyid.

The other quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Ruḍaimah which follows the Sūḳ quarter (tābi'ah li-Ḥārat al-Sūḳ); that is to say that the Masākīn of the quarter follow those of the Sūḳ quarter on ceremonial occasions, join with them in defence of their rights, and probably use the same tanṣūrahs. Then there is the suburb *extra muros* of Tarīm, Ḥārat 'Aidīd which follows Ḥārat al-Ḥilaif. There is Ḥārat al-Midjaff which follows the Sūḳ quarter; according to al-Fawā'id al-Sanīyah[6] this quarter was once known as Ḥārat al-Ḳaṣṣārīn, though not in the author's day, presumably because laundering was done there, though it may have been the quarter where the periodical dying of clothes with indigo was performed. The remaining quarters are Āl al-Siddah, i.e. the Gate Section who follow the Sūḳ quarter, Āl al-Fidjir who are ḍu'afā al-Sūḳ, and the Āl al-Ḥalif who are ḍu'afā following the Saḥil quarter.

621 Those who follow the Sūḳ quarter follow the dallāls[7] and the
●565 carpenters (nadjar, pl. of nadjdjār) of the Sūḳ; they go with them
463 on the pilgrimage to Hūd, and accompany them to put out fires, etc.

[6] Composed in 1203 H. (1789 A.D.), see my *Materials*, *op. cit.*, p. 296. This source also mentions another quarter known as حارة الازرق which is said by some in that day to have been the old town from which building had spread out especially towards the north, but this old part of the city was not apparently on the main road from East to West.

[7] The dallāl is the intermediary between the tribesman and the shop-keeper. He is an important and interesting figure in the economic life of the country, but is of course of the Miskīn class.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-8 (193)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



443 passed through this unknown world, and the desire and hope, until now cautiously suppressed, grew unconsciously within us, to enter the land that lay behind the town and to learn to know its people.

## 2. THE VIZIER SAYYID ABŪ BAKR BIN ḤUSĒN EL-MIḤḌĀR.

645 We made acquaintance, the morning after our arrival, with
[643] the Vizier, who, in the absence of the Sultan, deals with state affairs. Sayyid Abū Bakr bin Ḥusēn el-Miḥḍār is a man in the prime of life; he is energetic has a congenial, alert personality, and shows absolutely no sign of opposition to the *Nasrānis*, the *Efrendjis*. The heavy task of governing the Qe-
645 ᶜēṭī Sultanate falls chiefly upon his solid shoulders. His popu-
● 565 larity is supported doubly by tradition: in the first place, as
175 sayyid he belongs to the class of spiritual and worldly leaders, for he is a direct descendant of the Prophet, and, in the second place, the house of Abū Bakr was, six generations ago, the most influential family of Ḥaḍramaut.[1] In an evil hour, in their struggle against the Bedouin tribes, they called in the help of the Yāfiᶜ, a tribe noted for its fighting qualities. Its Sultan sent help under one Qeᶜēṭī, who, after having delivered the sayyids of the el-Miḥḍār family from their enemies, took the leadership into his own hands. The power of his family expanded. In 1874 the Qeᶜēṭīs asked the British Government in Aden to intervene for the purpose of reaching a settlement in a war, which had arisen over the refusal of the Āl Kathīr to repay a sum of money which had been lent to them. On this occasion Makalla and esh-Shiḥr were, with the help of the British, taken away from the Kathīrī Sultan and handed over to the Qeᶜēṭī, but the family of el-Miḥḍār had remained the leading one of that region.

701 The Vizier declared that he had *no* objection to our journey
567 into the interior. The route via Wādī Dōᶜan was safe, provided

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 75; *A Handbook of Arabia*, i. (London, 1920), p. 542 *sq.*

162 According to my informant, Ḥurēḍa has now about
581 2000 inhabitants. There are some 4000 people living in Java who originally came thence. During the last 20 years from 300 to 400 men have left Ḥurēḍa to try their luck in Java. The successful ones come back occasionally for short periods and then return again to their business in the Indies. When they can afford it, they send their sons to Ḥaḍramaut, where they remain for five or six years to become intimate with their family, language, religion and traditions. The daughters *never* come from Java to Ḥaḍramaut just as the women here *never* go to Java. Consequently the children born there are always of mixed race. Sayyid Ḥasan could only remember one Ḥaḍramī woman who had succeeded in carrying through her wish of accompanying her husband to Batavia. Generally the wives do not wish, nor have they the courage, to do so.
167 I learned later on that Javanese and Chinese women are, how-
468 ever, brought to Ḥaḍramaut. They are said to be very much
162 sought after as housekeepers and cooks. Purely Javanese boys, who have come to study the religion and language, are not to be found in Ḥurēḍa, and only a few in other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Ḥasan estimates the number of Ḥaḍramīs living in Hyderabad to be at least 13.000, for the greater part serving as men and officers of the *Niẓām*'s Arabian regiment. Many of the families of note here have Hyderabad officers among their ancestors.

[162] In Shibām, Sēwūn, Terīm and ᶜĒnāt there are, according
●565 to my informant, 6000 sayyids, and another 4000 in Wādī Dōᶜan, Wādī ᶜAmd, Wādī Rakhīya, and Djibāl Hadjaz. Three divisions of the Ḥumūmī Bedouins are sayyids. Originally their leaders were sayyids, who were gradually absorbed into the tribe of which they have come to form a part. All sayyids in Ḥaḍramaut belong to the ᶜAluwī branch. The founder of the family was ᶜAluwī binᶜUbēd Allāh bin Aḥmed (who came from ᶜIrāq) bin ᶜĪsā bin ᶜAlī el-ᶜUrēḍī bin Djaᶜfar eṣ-Ṣādiq bin Muḥammad el-Bāqir bin Zain el-ᶜĀbidīn bin Ḥusēn bin ᶜAlī bin Abī Ṭālib. In Ḥaḍramaut Proper the sayyids have still an in-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



fluential, privileged position, though abroad this position is 565
constantly attacked, and with increasing violence. Western colonial governments make no distinction between the *sāda* (plural of *sayyid*) and those who are not descended from the Prophet, but here this kind of democracy is neither understood nor respected by the *sāda*. It was the only objection that I heard raised against the Netherlands' Colonial Government. 565

In their own land they are the maintainers of religion, and in 782
no other Muḥammadan country are there so many and such 554
beautiful mosques. Also I have seldom seen the *ṣalāt* performed with so much devotion as among the *sāda* in Ḥaḍramaut. Their influence on the government of their land is great: the Sultans are financially dependent on them, the Bedouin tribes are governed by them both by means of money and by religious influence. If they were not so hopelessly disunited among themselves, the political conditions in the "country of the *sāda*" would be much better. It will be seen from what follows how distressingly bad these are at the present time.

The place of honour is given to the sayyid in daily life; 565
he takes the lead during the performance of the *ṣalāt* and sees 554
that it is duly carried out. He is greeted with a respectful kiss on the hand, a salute which even the Sultan does not evade, at least in appearance; the sayyid shows his appreciation of this by drawing back his hand and making as if he will kiss that of the Sultan. This game of make-believe is carried on for quite a little time, for people in Ḥaḍramaut have plenty of time to spare and cling with great respect to the decorum of life. For the non-sayyid of distinction it also suffices if he makes a pretence of kissing the hand.

In Ḥurēḍa all worldly authority is subordinate to that of the sayyids. The Governor is a poor young man who is completely dependent, financially, on the el-ʿAṭṭās family. The schools, mosques, wells and other objects of public utility are maintained by the sayyids.

Water-supply for Ḥurēḍa is a matter of difficulty. We saw 312
great wells lined with masonry, which are about 55 *qāma* deep

24:Maulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The great cleanliness of the houses of the rich is very 336
noticeable. The drainage from lavatories and kitchens runs 271
down wide, square shafts into spaces destined for it in the lower floor, into which however, unfortunately, light penetrates so that they become good breeding places for flies. Bathrooms and also lavatories are partly fitted out as in the East Indies. Sometimes there are douches, and generally there are large brick cisterns for the bath water, which one scoops out to pour over oneself. Our host has a large refrigerator by means of which cold drinking-water is provided for the numerous guests and dwellers in the house, and fruits and sweetmeats become the refinement of pleasure.

Cooking in Terîm, as in Sêwûn, is very much influenced 252
by Singapore and Java. Chinese cooks are responsible for 177
the extensive rice meals that are enjoyed daily by dozens of guests. Many dried or tinned foods are imported from Java. Some kinds of vegetables are grown in the gardens of Terîm; the fresh fruits which are served at table are large oval melons and the first ripe dates. As the latter are rather scarce, last years' dates come to table prepared as paste, in cakes, sweet bread, etc.

Sayyid ʿUmar el-Kâf's house, like that of our host, is 352
furnished in half-European style. Old-fashioned Indian rocking-chairs stand on the beautiful carpets. A bed, rigged up in the Javanese manner, decorates the great reception-room. The bed linen is not white, but pink. There are many mirrors on the walls and also photographs of the family's estates in the Indies. Sayyid ʿUmar is the owner of the great Europe Hotel in Singapore; he shows us with pride — and no wonder — the model of the new hotel, which makes an impression magnificently American. The walls are further decorated with Mausers and American repeating rifles, which are hard to obtain in this country and, consequently, are worth a great deal.

It had already struck us that the Kathîrî soldiers were 714
better clad than those of the Qeʿêqî. The number of pro- 411 565

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



fessional soldiers is much smaller here, and the black slave element is entirely absent. The sayyids of Ḥaḍramaut themselves are not armed, but they set great store on the possession of a few good Mausers (here called *Mēser*) and of large quantities of munition.

### 4. THE HIGHEST MINARET OF ḤAḌRAMAUT.

In the afternoon, accompanied by our host's son and the doctor, we climb the highest minaret of Ḥaḍramaut. No one knows the exact height; we estimate it at 150 feet. It is a pity that this minaret is built in modern style. The true Ḥaḍramaut minaret is round, tapering a little towards the top, with a single band of lattice-work as the only decoration; on the top are small round pillars supporting the cupola. The colour, cream, stands out very effectively against a hard blue sky and above the grey-green of the date-palms. But *this* minaret is square and the colour is blue and white; it has many small window openings with grey borders. It also tapers towards the top, where the spiral staircase of mud is only practicable for slim people. At the top is again the little cupola with pillars supporting the roof.

A striking panorama is spread out from here before our eyes. Standing in the midst of the luscious, green oasis, with its gaily coloured palaces, we gaze out towards the wide, scorched plains of sand of the wādī and the dark, crumbled walls of the *djōl*. One can see clearly from here that Terīm is a town of some extension, with many great houses of which the greater number are kept in good condition, and that many new ones are in process of building. The cemetery, with its three cupolas marking the graves of *walīs* (saints) [1], makes a large open space. There are many mosques, recognisable by their high or low, round or square minarets. The ruins of a great castle, the centre point of the old city, stand on a hill.

[1] See p. 131, foot-note.

24-Moulen and Wissmann 7-8 (19[illegible]) 192 MMS Hadhramaut MMS



has made his fortune abroad has built here a princely house for himself. He has, of course, not forgotten to render thanks to Allah at the same time by building a mosque, a glittering white masterpiece of Ḥaḍramī architecture. The contrast between the great wealth of many sayyids and the poverty of the great mass of the people does not seem to be poignantly felt here. The palaces of the rich stand right in the midst of dying towns; their children, frequently overdressed, play with the almost naked black children of slaves. The rich return of their own accord from lands of culture and prosperity to their own land of appalling poverty, to enjoy within its borders the wealth they have accumulated. Allah has willed that there be rich men in the world and poor men to whom they should be able to give alms. It is fit and proper that there should be beggars in every good Muslim society and especially a plentiful supply of them in places of pilgrimage, so that the pious may have ample opportunity to practise the generosity commanded by Allah. We have noticed little jealousy or class conflict in Ḥaḍramaut. This is certainly due partly to the democratic way of living. The privileges of the sayyid class have a religious and not a money basis. Soldiers, household slaves and the free citizens of the village meet in the *maḍjlis* of the rich and all eat there in company, drink from the same bowl and join in the same converse.

From Qasam we go by car along the high clay bank of the *masīla* (the bed of the wādī), which has been eroded by the *saqra*. Having reached a point opposite ʿEnāt we attempt to cross the wide sandy bed of the *masīla* to reach the town. The palm plantations have been growing progressively thinner and the soil here is entirely covered by a layer of sand. We stall constantly in this sand in the *masīla* and have difficulty in reaching ʿEnāt, where everything speaks of vanished glory. The town is scattered over a wide area; great open spaces give one the impression that the population was formerly much larger than it is now. At one time many pilgrims were attracted here by the seven *qubbas* which adorn

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# CHAPTER XIII.

## OUR LAST DAYS IN TERÎM.

On our return to Terim we were met with a storm of questions and had to give a detailed account of our experiences in Bîr Barhût. They were all very much surprised to hear that it really is *not* a crater. In reply to the question what it actually is we answer that it is one of the many caves which Allāh is wont to create in mountains of limestone formation. Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās gives to an attentive audience a dramatic account of what he saw and heard and experienced in the cave into which no man before him had ventured.

The following day, June 5th, was a Friday. In the morning of that day the learned men and notables of the place meet in the el-Kāf house. This time the meeting was very animated; many questions were put about the ruins and about Bîr Barhût, and interesting views expressed on the subject. A brother of Muḥammad bin ʿAqīl, the Ḥaḍramī traveller, told of the remains of the supposed great dam of the Ḥimyarites, which were investigated and described by his brother. He estimates that 600 years have elapsed since the destruction of the dam, which must have been accomplished not by floods but by the hand of man. The dam must have been made entirely of mud, as no fragments of stones remain. According to other informants, many well-hewn, massive stones are to be met with down-stream from the dam. Muḥammad bin ʿAqīl in his paper says that the dam could easily be reconstructed, as it has a very favourable position. The side-wādī *a* was filled by the damming-up of the water; *a* is connected with side-wādī *b*, as an existing, low sill of stone forms no real hindrance. So the surplus water found an outlet through these side-wādīs. Thus too heavy pressure was never exercised

Y 241 to draw the bucket up and let it down again. 318 The water is then emptied into a raised 379 channel of clay and can be diverted into the appropriate field at will.

Y 361 Villages are built on the mountains alongside the valley. The village shown in the 342 illustration opposite is built on the very top of a 3000-foot peak, Jebel Mishwara. The 136 houses are like the most romantic of castles set on tall pinnacled heights over the narrow wadi-bed. In the less frequented valleys you may come upon a herd of baboons moving across the hillside barking at one another; they are much disliked as they make raids on the crops.

V 619 The organization of these highland com- 621 munities, which are independent and difficult 622 to control, is most complex. The tribe is subdivided into branches (*fakhidah*), numbering perhaps a hundred rifles, perhaps fifteen. Sometimes several tribes form a confederation bound loosely together under a paramount chief who has a greater or lesser degree of authority. Chieftainship is hereditary. In

H 622 the Aden Protectorate larger groups are some- 565 times under the authority of a Sultan or an 671 Amir. These Sultans are of the ancient nobility which often goes back to pre-Islamic times, some 1500 years ago, and generally reside in a central market town. Such are the Sultans of the 'Awdhalis, the 'Awlaqis, the Fadhlis of Shuqra, and of course the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej near Aden. Tribal law is extensive and involved, with fixed penalties for every offence or transgression on a neighbour's rights. Relations between the tribesmen and the Sultans are also defined by

H 622 custom. Cases involving tribal law are heard 632 by the Sultan or his representative, or in tribal 671 confederations, by the sheikhs. This tribal law, which is generally unwritten, consists of traditional judgments and penalties. I was fortunate enough to secure a copy of the traditional law of the 'Awdhalis when in Qubaidhah, but this was one of the rare instances when the law had been written.

H [651 In most cases the actual authority of the 622] Sultan extends little further than a certain 701 radius around his residence. He taxes the people where he can, often disproportionately to their little wealth, and maintains a number of soldiers, irregular and often hereditary 'asters, as they are called, who hold a certain amount of land rent-free, and receive allow-

[See category 116, p. 68 -- Analyst]
p. 69 (A)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



619 The tribesman forms the real fighting strength of the Sultanate, and provides his own weapons, drawing ammunition—or its
761 equivalent in cash—from the Sultan, when on state service. His hardihood, activity, and keen sight make him a formidable opponent. He has a natural aptitude for scouting and possesses remarkable powers of endurance, being independent of much transport, whilst the constant friction along the tribal borders engenders a high state of combatant training. The Sultan frequently uses one tribe to fight another as a punishment for raiding, but he cannot claim tribal service against tribal interests; any real emergency, however, will bring the tribesmen in. Individuals and small detachments will serve an alien for pay beyond the limits of their tribeship.

The tribesmen are really civilians (a term used for want of a better, though this word does not exactly translate the Arabic word *rawi*, plural *raya*), but prepared at a moment's notice to leave flocks and camels, farms or pasture, or trekking, when danger threatens clan, tribe, or Sultanate. They give no regular
[702 military service under any condition, nor do they practise the use of weapons, but content themselves with the reluctant payment
651] of a tax and the unavoidable imposts of the Government that guards their lives and property. They may be divided into the
619 following classes: merchants, of more or less influence and wealth; mechanics and artisans; the '*hejris*' or freed serfs, usually
• 562 attached to some chief as agricultural labourers or to some master craftsman; and lastly, and lowest in the social scale, the slaves, the males serving as retainers or subordinate husbandmen and the females as domestic servants or attendants on children. The latter class, however, are slaves only in name, having usually their own *menage*, and they remain in one family from generation to
562 generation; they are mostly Swahilis and Nubians. One other class needs passing mention—the *shāhids* or bards, whose duty, in the
703 exercise of their profession, is to stimulate the tribal standard of chivalry by heroic strains of former prowess, or with stinging satire to lash a slothful ruler to martial vigour. When belligerent tribes are set in battle, it is the *shāhids* on either side who urge the courage of the combatants.

[671 In religion two schools of the Sunni creed—the Hanifi (or philosophic school) and the Shafei—are followed, the latter, the
771 nearest to the early Islamic tradition, being the more general. The practice of religion varies, of course, in different districts, and among some of the nomad races it is little more than a name. Speaking of religious observance among the people of this region as a whole, Bury says: 'The laity, while fanatical to the verge of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



form, geographically and socially, a remarkably homogeneous whole. It may be said, in brief, that the districts of the Hadhramaut are singularly fertile and self-sufficing, and so situated geographically as to hang closely together and to be isolated socially, as a whole, from the rest of Arabia; while, at the same time, they lie within reach of ports which are in constant communication with mid-eastern Africa and India. To the north stretches unbroken the most terrible waste of sand-dunes in the peninsula; to the east the district is practically isolated from the Oman provinces by the almost waterless desert of Mahrah; while to the west it is difficult of access from the Yemen and its outlying provinces on account of a mountainous and sterile desert-steppe which, up to the present, remains almost entirely unexplored.

Possessing more frequent and easy communication with Moslem communities outside Arabia than within it, the population of the Hadhramaut has had ample opportunity to develop particularism in its social organization as well as in its religious spirit. The fertility of its lands makes its farmers self-sufficient and jealous with the jealousy of men who have much to lose; and, while their relations with Africa have given them unusual wealth of slaves, their relations with India and other parts of the East, greatly enhancing their material civilization, have at the same time made them fully aware of the nature of European rule and the danger of giving free entrance to members of a race which condemns slavery. For long they succeeded in barring the way to the encroachments of all foreigners, and it is only within comparatively recent times that travellers, few in number, have succeeded in acquiring information, and that only to a very limited extent, about the social organization, customs, and manners of this interesting and highly exclusive people.

The population may be divided into four more or less distinct classes:

1. The Seyyids.
2. The Tribesmen.
3. The Townsmen.
4. The Servile classes, or slaves.

The *Seyyids*, descendants of Husein, grandson of Mohammed, form a numerous and highly respected aristocracy. They are divided into families, the heads of which are known as 'Munsibs', who are looked upon as the religious leaders of the people and are in some cases venerated as saints. They do not bear arms, nor occupy themselves in trade or manual labour, or even agriculture;

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



√65 792

though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

√65 619

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

√65 463 [651]

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

√67

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

484 167

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathiri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

### Domestic Life and Appliances

342

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



the interior Hadhramaut towns; and all the houses are gathered within the walls, since there is no security outside on account of the neighbourhood of the Kathīri. 361

(*b*) The principal towns of the Kathīri are the following:

5. **Seyyūn,** built on the slopes of Jebel Seyyūn, at the edge of a very extensive and fertile area, which stretches away to the lower ground of the wādi and is dominated by the castle of the ruling Sultan. The town is surrounded by walls of mud, embracing, within the enceinte, a great number of gardens; it is entered by a low gateway. The streets are broader and cleaner than most of the Hadhramaut towns; and the place has some pretensions to a drainage system, many of the houses having outlets for this purpose to walled pits.

Seyyūn is a town of many mosques, their number being reputed to exceed 300: the principal one, the Grand Mosque, stands on one side of the great square. The town is the intellectual centre of the Hadhramaut, the so-called Academy (*Ribāt*), an annexe of the grand mosque, being the place of assemblage of a great number of reputed savants. The market is said to be the busiest in the whole country, and is held in the square on Fridays at the termination of noon-day prayers, merchants coming to it from all parts. Hirsch, however, states that, when he was there (1893), 'there seemed to be but little trade carried on, and there were only a few stalls in the market'. The population is estimated at about 4,500. 346 [73] 443

The Seyyids of Seyyūn are very powerful and wealthy, and many of them have large castle-like houses. The palace of the ruling head of the Kathīri stands on an elevated site, and is surrounded by its own wall fortified with bastions and outstanding watch-towers. The main block of the palace is surmounted by three very conspicuous look-outs, the middle one being higher than the other two. The chief is reputed to have two or three field-pieces and some old cannon in his possession. 365. 792

6. **Terīm,** some 19 miles NE. of Seyyūn, is a considerable and straggling town built along a mountain slope above a broad belt of cultivation and palm-groves which stretches away towards the east. Its population, according to Hirsch (probably the only European who has succeeded in visiting it, but who, owing to the hostility of the Seyyids, was obliged to return precipitately before he had very thoroughly explored it), was about 4,000 in 1893, and was declining. A low gate, with a large ruined fortress close by, gives entrance to the town on the Shibām side, and just within this is the main square, where the market is held: one side of the square is occupied by the principal mosque. It does not appear, however, 361

N 212 185 658 in the Protectorate has recently been undertaken by the British authorities, while in some areas, particularly in the Qu'aiti Sultanate, schools are now supported by the local governments. Scattered primary and Koranic schools, and at least one postprimary school, are found in each of the protectorates. In the course of a medical survey H 212 565 in Western Aden Protectorate in 1939-40,[20] the degree of literacy was found to average 20 per cent among the men and practically zero among the women. The highest literacy rates were encountered among the Seiyids, a group recognized as the social and the religious leaders. H [873] A college for the sons of chiefs from Western Aden Protectorate is located at Aden.

## Vital Statistics

A 659 163 165 Registration of births and deaths is compulsory in the Colony. In the 5 years 1946-50, the birth rate, calculated on the basis of the census returns for 1946, ranged from 26.6 to 31.7 per 1,000 population; the death rate, from 20.1 to 23.5 per 1,000 population. A 165 464 The significance of the mortality statistics is influenced adversely by the continuous movement of laborers between the Colony and their homes in Yemen and the Protectorate, and the influx of sick individuals from the interior to Aden hospitals, many of whom are in a seriously debilitated condition on arrival. In 1950, for example, the recorded deaths totaled 1,644, of which 511 were among nonresidents. The death rate, as reported, was 20.1 per 1,000 of the 1946 census population, but, eliminating the nonresident deaths, it is reduced to 14.2 per 1,000 population. Corrected to the estimated population for that year, the crude death rate figured at 16.4 per 1,000 and the resident rate at 11.3 per 1,000 population.

A 165 731 The infant mortality rate has declined appreciably within recent years. It had been less than 200 per 1,000 live births for several decades, but it reached a peak of 239 per 1,000 in 1943, when famine conditions prevailed throughout much of southwestern Arabia. The annual rates averaged 176 per

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Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

## Nature of the People and Country

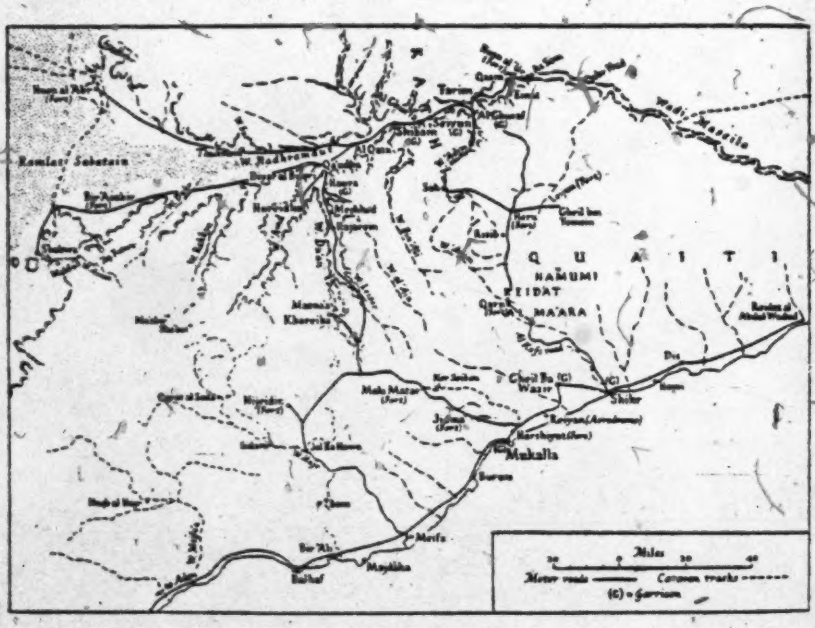
Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



serfs whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells. The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.




*Reproduced by courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society*

The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from considerable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft, however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

*In Shibam:* Āl Bā Dīb, head, Muhammad bin Ahmed Bā Dīb; important members, 30, total, 50. Āl Bā 'Ubeid, head, Muhammad Salim Bā 'Ubeid; important members, 15, total, 20. Āl Shamākh; important members, 10, total, 40. Āl Ma'āshir, head, Bekr 'Ali Ma'ashir; important members, 24, total, 100. Āl Bā Jarsh, head, 'Abdur Rahman Bā Jarsh; important members, 20, total, 60. Āl at Tōwei, head, 'Ali at Tōwei; important members, 4, total, 20. The families of Qatn, Jabr, Bilfaqih, and Āl Khātib are said to possess authority. 565 162 [173]

*In Al Ghurfa:* Āl Bā Abbad; important members, 15, total, 80. Āl Msellem, head, Salim Msellem; one important member, total, 20. Āl Tarmum, head, 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman Tarmum; important members, 20, total, 90. Āl Sheiban, head, Sheikh 'Umar Sheiban; important members, 5, total, 30.

*In Du'an:* Āl Bā Shanfar, residence 'Aura; important members, 5, total, 80. Āl Bā Ya'shut, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 90. Āl Bā Mad-han, residence Al Qurein; important members, 160, total, 200. Āl Bā Lakma, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 80. Āl Bā Barahīm, residence Al Qurein; important members, 60, total 110. Āl Bā Basut, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 100, total, 200. Āl Bā Hanshal, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 30, total, 150. Āl Bā Khashwein, residence Hudūn; important members, 150, total, 300. The families of Bā Shameila, Bā Samad, Bā 'Ubeid, Bahawal, and Bā Baheir all possess authority, but those of Bazara, Bā 'Ashin, and Bā Sālih have none.

*In Bur:* Bā Sharāhil, who possess no authority.

The townsmen are divisible into four classes; merchants, artificers, labourers, and servants. The economic life of the country depends to a large extent on them. They live in the towns, do not bear arms, and are the principal taxpayers. It is from them that the people obtain the necessaries of life, and they form the main link with the outside world. Many of them are wealthy and they exercise a considerable influence in the country, and might well exercise more. The leading merchants to some extent govern the affairs of their towns, and have developed more than a germ of municipal organization. There are also signs of a kind of trades unionism, or rather of the mediaeval guild system, among the various artificers, and professions are usually, though not exclusively, hereditary. 565 162 556 [141]

### Slaves.

The Qu'aiti and Kathīri Governments are the biggest slave-holders in the country, and I should imagine that there is comparatively little private ownership. Apart from the fact that the slaves are slaves, there is very little to distinguish them, except their African countenances, from other classes of the country, and 567

567 I never heard a suggestion from masters or slaves that they were anything but exceedingly well treated. They include principally the *Nizam*, the most trusted part of the forces of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri, and receive very exceptional treatment compared with other servants of the State. They can rise to the highest positions, and the present Governor of the Shibam province is a slave. I also met a slave Governor of the town of Hajarein in the Du'an province, and I believe there are others. The town magistrate of Mukalla is also a slave. The young slaves belonging to the Mukalla Government are given especial care and training, and are formed into companies of cadets. They gave us a very creditable drill display in Mukalla.

It is possible that there may be a very occasional case of slave trading, and some women may have been introduced in recent years to the main valley, but this is not done with the approval or cognizance of the Mukalla Government.

### Subians.

565 The Subians form definitely the lowest class of the population.
162 Some of them are agricultural labourers receiving wages or paid
163 in kind, and there are settlements of them outside coastal towns like Mukalla and Shihr. When they are settled next door to a town they do the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and perform such sanitary services as are carried out by sweepers in other eastern countries.

565 I was informed that the word "*Subian*" comes from "*Sabi*",
173 a boy. In the Hadhramaut they originate from the Wadi Hajr, and for this reason in the western part of the Protectorate are known as Hajris. They are said to be the descendants of the Abyssinian invaders of the third to sixth centuries A.D., and to have been reduced to their present lowly estate after the Abyssinians had been routed by the Persians on the intervention of Seif bin Dhi Yazan. This is the tale told in the Hadhramaut, and d'Arnaud recounts a similar story as the origin of the Khadims of Yemen
[608] and Aden. Neither slaves nor Subians can be the subjects of blood feuds.

### Immigration.

167 Apart from these classes of the population, there are a number of immigrants settled, or partially settled, in the country. There are 300 British Indians in Mukalla and Shihr, and a few British Somalis. There are also some Italian Somalis. The total number of Somalis in the country is said to be about 1,200, of whom 1,000 reside in Mukalla. Owing to extensive migration to the East Indies,
[144] which will be further described later in the report, there has been a considerable infiltration of Malayan blood, and very East Indian types of countenances are to be observed in some of the up-country towns. The type is not uncommon in Tarim and Seiyun, but I found it very marked in the towns of Badra and Haura.

635 Government; 'Arūdh al Makhāshin belonging to the Makhāshin
162 section of the Nahd, with a population of 300, all subjects of the
631 Qu'aiti Government; An Naq'a belonging to the Bā Wazīr towns-
619 men with a population of 500; Al 'Ajlānia, belonging to the Āl Kathīr with 17 armed men; Al Man'at, belonging to the Nahd with 35 armed men; and Al Marāti', a village between Al Man'at and Henin, with 200 armed tribesmen of Kinda, and 50 of the Nahd.

At Al 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn are the houses of the Bā 'Umar Sheikhs with 15 armed men; the town of Mad-har bin Nahīd in the Wadi Manūb with 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shabīb (a section of the Nahd), and Dīār al Maqārīm with 30 armed Nahd tribesmen.

Between Al Qatn and Shibam are: 'Ardh Masrūr belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl 'Ali bin Ahmed (Yafa'is) with 60 armed men; Huweila belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl Salim bin 'Ali (Yafa'is) with 40 armed men; Khashāmir belonging to the Bin 'Ali Jābir (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 80 armed men; Al 'Iqad, situated at the end of Al Qatn and the beginning of Wadi Beni Rashīd, belonging to the Āl Qu'ata (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 75 armed men; 'Ikāba and Al Husn belonging to the Hamdhān (of the Nahd) with 30 armed men; Husūn at Al Qatn belonging to the Āl az Zu' (of the Nahd) with 40 armed men; Husūn belonging to the Bal'alā (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 30 armed men; and Husūn belonging to the Āl Jābri (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 25 armed men.

488 Shibam is the most important advanced market of the Hadhra-
361 maut, and has a large inward traffic from Mukalla. It is also a buying market for the products of the country north and west, and the products of these parts are consumed in the town. Caravans come from San'ā in about 15 days. The tribesmen bringing these caravans are Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Rabi', Āl Khalifa, and 'Abīda. The principal inland traffic, however, is from Merkha, Hadhina, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. These caravans, mainly carrying maize, wheat, barley, ghee, oil, oilcakes, cotton, honey, blankets, and spinning cloth, are brought by 'Aulaqis, Hamām, Āl Ruba'ia, Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Maradi'a, Āl Khalifa, Dohum, Karab, Nahd and Āl Bureik tribesmen.

361 There is no regular communication with Nejd although occasional visitors come skirting the desert. Members of the Rashidi tribe also come to Shibam now and then. There is a landing ground at Shibam, and apart from its being a large caravan station it is in touch with towns between Hajarein and Qasm by car. It has no great industries, but makes mats and dyes cloths and skins.

635 The Governor of the Shibam province is Ferai Sa'id, a slave
567 who has held high positions and who has previously served at Shibam. He has also been Governor of 'Einat. He was appointed in October 1934, in succession to Sultan 'Ali bin Salah al Qu'aiti.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Sultan 'Ali has great influence in the province and particularly among the Sei'ar, as his mother belonged to the Āl Sab'ān clan of that tribe. 635 567

The following tribes depend on Shibam: Sei'ar, Nahd Rōdhān, Al Makhāshin, Hadhrami Yafa'is, the tribesmen of Āl Kathīr ash Shenafir including their Beduins, Āl Mahfudh, Bin Musa'īd, Bā Wazir, 'Awaliq, Harizi, Āl 'Amr, Āl Bin Balleith and Āl Heidera. Of these the Makhāshin, sometimes considered a separate tribe, are included with the Nahd, and the Bin Musa'īd are included with the Sei'ar. A description of the Shenafir Confederation will be found in Chapter XXII. 631 619 101

The following is a description of the tribes living in, or close to, the province:—

SEI'AR.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Hātim ... | Hasr al Malāqīt | Hasr in Wadi Mahdhara. | — | Yeslem bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a. |
| | Āl Huweilān | Merikh in Wadi Mahdhara. | 100 | |
| | Āl Jerbū'a | Al Ārūh in Wadi Mahdhara. | 70 | — |
| | Ad Dalkh | Bādī in Wadi Mahdhara. | 30 | — |
| | Āl Dahlān | Az Zamra in Wadi Mahdhara. | 30 | — |
| | Āl Mulhī | Husn Āl Mulhī | 140 | 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī. |
| | Āl 'Abdulla 'Aun | Hadhī | 150 | Salim bin Muhammad al Jerbū'a. |
| | Āl Mesādisa | Jōl Āl Bajnab | 70 | do. do. |
| | Āl 'Ubeidun | Al Gheidha | 20 | do. do. |
| | Āl 'Asākira | Husn Āl 'Asākira. | 30 | do. do. |
| | Āl Ma'ruf | — | — | — |
| | Āl Sa'dun | — | — | — |
| | Āl Yahajīn | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Khushm | — | — | — |
| Āl 'Ali ... ... | Āl 'Ali | Husn Āl ar Rīs, Husn Tālib, Husn Meshāmid Husn al Ā'awar, Husn al Mūshahi. | 40 | Tanāf bin Seheil bin Rumeidān. |
| Dūmān ... ... | Dūmān | Husn Lakdān, Husn Bil'ādh, Husūn al Qana, Husn Seir, Husn Waqāsh. | 100 | — |
| Āl [illegible] Rūh ... | — | Qariat as Sumuh. | 50 | 'Ali bin 'Alta bin Tarim. |
| Āl Bāqi Maellem | — | — | 100 | do. do. |
| Āl Sab'ān ... | — | Qaria Jidfela | 25–40 | — |
| Āl Bā Wazīfa ... | — | Husn ash Sha'ba. | 15 | — |

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Zanzibar FM1



[illegible]ness as in the heavier labour connected with shipping. They [illegible]ake all the matting bags, baskets and coverings required for [illegible]king of cloves.

[illegible] Mshihiri community possesses its own mosque and burial [illegible]und in Zanzibar. In religious views they differ from the Oman Arab by adherence to the Sunni belief."

My friend, Mr. G. H. Shelswell-White, has written a long and detailed account of the Hadhramis in Zanzibar which has been forwarded by the Zanzibar Government. He begins his note with a historical introduction and after touching on the earliest times already covered above, proceeds as follows, quoting Dr. Krapf (*Travels in Eastern Africa*, 1860).

> "Among the most important phenomena in the early history of Eastern Africa must have been the intercourse kept up with it by the inhabitants of the Arabian sea-board. The southern coast of Arabia must from the earliest period have been necessarily connected with Eastern Africa by the wants of its inhabitants. From Eastern Africa the Arab of the coast derived his corn, his rice, his Durra, his wood, his ivory and especially his slaves."

Although, as has already been stated, there appear to be few specific references to the Hadhramis, their connexion with East Africa must have been at least as intimate and as long-standing as that of any of the other inhabitants of Arabia. Zanzibar Hadhramis, indeed, claim that their ancestors were the pioneers of colonization in East Africa, although according to the Chronicles of Kilwa the first Arab settlers were the Ammu Zeid, the followers of Zeid, son of Hussein, great-grandson of the Prophet. The Hadhramis also claim to have been responsible for the spread of the Sunni sect in these regions.[1]

Throughout their long connexion with East Africa, the Hadhramis doubtless took a large share in the great slave trade in regard to which the Report of the Select Committee on the Slave Trade of the East Coast of Africa, 1871, stated :—

> "The whole slave trade by sea, whether for the supply of the Sultan's African dominions or the markets in Arabia and Persia, is carried on by Arabs from Muscat and other parts of the Arabian Coast."

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[1] Remembering the South Arabian states of the "Waqt al Jahiliya" the claim to pioneership is justified. I have seen a reference to the conversion of the East African Coast at a very early date, but on this subject see Guillain, Vol. I, p. 161, and my *Zanzibar*, p. 77.

It must be remembered that according to Masudi the Hadhramaut was still Ibadhi in A.D. 944 and until Al Mehajir's descendants established themselves, the country was always backsliding.

The Hadhrami has never been a too exacting missionary abroad, which is probably one reason why he gets on so well.

The Ammu Zeid were of course Shiites and the Zeidis still rule in Yemen.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



In 1876 the Hadhramis were described (Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa*) as being the largest slave holders in Zanzibar and it is stated that they were entirely dependent upon them for their livelihood. It was, in fact, amongst the slaves in the household of a Hadhrami living in the quarter of Malindi that the great cholera epidemic, which subsequently swept over the island and thence to East Africa, began in 1869.

But it was not only in trading that the Hadhramis occupied themselves. From at least the first half of the nineteenth century until comparatively recent times many of them entered the service of the Sultans as soldiers and Government officials (especially treasurers, clerks, Liwalis and Qadhis). Guillain, writing in 1856, says that the Sultan maintained a fairly large number of Hadhramis in the garrisons of Africa and Omān, while in 1877, at the time when Lieutenant (later General) Lloyd Matthews was called in by Sultan Seiyid Barghash to reorganise his army, the Seiyid's forces consisted almost entirely of Persians and Hadhramis (Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*, 1905). In modern times the Hadhramis have maintained their reputation as soldiers, for a large number from Zanzibar joined the Arab Rifles during the Great War. Guillain also mentions that Hadhramis were very largely employed as porters ("*hamalis*") and estimated their floating population in Zanzibar at three or four hundred. In addition, Shihiris were employed for many years as captains and officers in the Sultans' ships.

**Vital Statistics.**

The 1931 Census gives the total Hadhrami[1] population of the Protectorate as 2,797 made up as follows :—

| *Zanzibar Island.* | | *Pemba Island.* |
|---|---|---|
| Zanzibar Town and Native Quarter | 1,313 | 1,333 |
| Districts ... ... ... ... | 151 | |
| | 1,464 | 1,333 |
| Total for Protectorate ... ... ... | | 2,797 |

Of the population in the Island of Zanzibar, 621 are recorded as having been born in the Protectorate and 843 elsewhere. Corresponding figures for the Island of Pemba are not given. It seems clear, however, that the returns are inaccurate for, by common consent, it is not likely that the population in Pemba exceeded two or three hundred (see also 1924 Census, in the Appendix to this note). It should be remembered that as their women rarely emigrate, Hadhramis who settle in the islands mostly marry local

[1] Both in the 1924 and the 1931 Census Reports the only relevant classifications used are "Arabs" and "Shihiris." As, however, the term "Shihiri" when used in Zanzibar frequently denotes the up-country native as well as the coastal inhabitant, it is assumed that the term, as used in the Reports, includes all natives of the Hadhramaut.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers.

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000.

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few.

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government.

[1]About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off.

5: Hamilton G-S (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



643 The Sultan of Lahej rules over the territory of the 'Abdali tribe, and
425 his frontier marches with the northern frontier of Aden Colony. He is descended from a Yafa'i family, who were appointed as Governors of Lahej by an Imam of San'a. Later they revolted against the Imams and declared their independence. By purchase, Imamic grants and seizure they own a considerable portion of the Lahej lands; they are of foreign origin to the tribe over which they rule.

The Amirs of Dhala' were appointed Governors of the Dhala' province, including the lands of the tribes of Halumein, Ahmad, Azraq and Shu'Ar, by the Imamas of San'a, and, later, of the lands of Sha'ib by a Sultan of Turkey. I see that the official handbook describes the Amirs of Dhala' as descendants from slaves. It is surprising how such obvious in-
567 accuracies persist. To see that they have no slave blood in them requires
795 no more than ordinary eyesight, and it would be impossible for an Imam of
144 San'a to appoint a slave to any post, since there are no slaves in the Yemen at all, slavery being forbidden by the tenets of the Zeidi sect. The Amirs are of typical Central Yemeni type, such as is found on the Yemen plateau.
643 Later, they rebelled against the Imams and established their independence. Thus they rule over a confederation of small tribes, while belonging to none of them.

These appointed Suzerains, of whom the Sultan of Makalla is one, form a distinct class among Arab Chiefs. They do not mix with their tribesmen in the usual democratic Arab way, but stand apart, as it were, and are addressed by titles of exaggerated respect. Not being tribesmen of the tribe they rule, they have no traditional and family holds over the people and their attitudes towards their tribesmen are those of foreign rulers. They do not, as a rule, favour elected hereditary headmen in their villages, but prefer to appoint outsiders as headmen, whom they pay as retainers.

When a Suzerain dies, the election of the new Chief is held by the family only and the tribesmen are not consulted.

622 The accepted Suzerains are represented by one example only—the
792 Sharifs of Beihan. It is, however, an interesting example.
628 In Beihan there are settlements of Sharifs and of Seyyids. There are
648 also two tribes among whom these holy men live. Both the Sharifs and the Seyyids are arms-bearing families, and for some time were divided by a feud. Before the Great War, the elected Chief of the Sharifs, a far-sighted man called Ahmad, negotiated a treaty of protection and friendship with Great Britain. In this he gained the support of the lower tribe and of half the upper tribe, which was divided by a feud. After the Great War he concluded a truce with the Seyyids, and consolidated his relationships with his supporters among the tribesmen, who amounted to three-quarters of the population of Beihan. They accepted him as Suzerain and as their general agent for dealing with their foreign affairs. Thus, while he is undoubtedly a Suzerain, he is one of limited authority. He does not claim taxes from the land or the trade except in his own settlements, and is, consequently, very poor. But, for all that, the influence of the Sharifs is considerable in all the Beihan area. Their position is not, of course, unique in Arabia, but it is doubtful if any others than holy men could find themselves in a similar one.

5 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



do not remain for any length of time on one plot of land, but take up all 565
kinds of casual labour as well as farm labour. Among such one may find 463
carpenters, gunsmiths, builders and tradesmen. The manufacture of 386
indigo dye, with which the Mushreqi tribesman dyes himself and his 458
clothes, and the sale of indigo-dyed cotton is, to a large extent, in their hands. Large families of this class are to be found throughout the territory in the market towns. Unlike the Raya, they do not bear arms.

The Heiq class is almost indistinguishable from the Dha'if, but there 565
is a distinction in that the Heiq can be described as the lower third of the Dha'if class. That is, that the whole class of artisans and casual labourers can be described, in a generalization, as Dha'if, but the poorer, unskilled casual labourer is of the Heiq class. As an example, a rich shopkeeper is Dha'if, but, because of his possessions, is not Heiq. It is not a very important distinction. Dha'if in Arabic means "weak." I am unable to discover the derivation of Heiq, but we can take it to mean "of low quality."

The Asakar, or hired soldier class, are a class in themselves. They 565
are of two kinds—freed slaves still in the service of their master and 567
tribesmen who have lost their lands and their status and entered the ser- 568
vice of their Chief. Once this happens to a tribesman, he or his descend- 582
ants can never return again to the status of tribesmen, but remain ever afterwards Askari, whether they still serve master or not. They have dropped below the aristocratic classes and can no longer intermarry with tribesmen. I have heard of no exceptions to this hard rule.

The next class is that of the Doshan, plural Doashin. I can find no 565
derivation to the name. They are of two kinds—wandering singers and 527
dancers, and settled singing-men who have attached themselves to a particular tribe. Their origin is a mystery. The wanderings ones, who give the most dismal performances of what they call dancing, can always be driven out of camp. It is best, however, to be polite to the settled ones. They are skilled versifiers, and those who treat them with contempt must submit afterwards to unmerciful lampooning. On public holidays in up-country towns one of them frequently appoints himself as Amir Al 'Id, or "Amir of the Holiday." Supported by his friends and anyone who wants some fun, he calls upon the local Chief and demands a present and entertainment. This the Chief refuses, and receives an ultimatum challenging him to war in a few minutes. The war which ensues is conducted for the most part with fireworks, blank ammunition, water and balls of dung. The Chief's fort is the centre of attack. Eventually the Chief will ask for a truce, ambassadors are exchanged and all ends in an entertainment and a present to the "Amir." At other times they will institute rhyming competitions, or will compose and sing long Qasidas on the local political situation. Some of these settled Doashin become men of mark, but they have, for all their poems and lampoons, little effect on tribal policy and no say whatever in tribal affairs.

Slaves need no introduction. The slave trade in the south is dead, but 567
the descendants of Abyssinian slaves still serve their original masters. It would be absurd to free them; they are completely free, but slavery is their only niche in the community. Take that away and they would be homeless and workless. As in the rest of Arabia, except the Zeidi Yemen,

5 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadramaut MM 2
YEMENITE JEWS ML4
YEMEN ML 1



they are a race apart and are much respected, frequently attaining positions of high rank. A man will trust his slave before his brother. Tribesmen will eat with a slave when the slave has attained a position of eminence, such as governor of a village or commander of a post, but never with a Doshan or with a Heiq. A Chief's responsibility for his slaves is a very real one, and should he sell a slave or part with one he will be considered to have committed a shame. The slaves that I have met in the territory upheld the reputation slaves have always had for loyalty and courage.

We next come to two curious races, the Akhdam and the Hajur. I am satisfied that these are quite separate races, although there are a few instances of intermarriage in the major settlements. Akhdam is the plural of Khadim, which means "servant." This race is of African origin, but I can make no guess at the date at which they came to Arabia. Whenever it was, they appear to have left no relations or traces behind them in Africa. Their main settlement is at Zabid in the Western Yemen. They are of the Shafa'i sect, but practise witchcraft, make phalli and hold snakes and snake-charmers in great respect. In appearance they are small and their skin is a dull dark brown, not a glossy East African black. The only race in the country which will do filthy work, the Akhdam are in great demand and are employed as sweepers. They have their own headman in their small communities, successful wizards appointing themselves to the post without election.

The second foreign race is the Hajur. They appear to be South-west Abyssinians and are very like the Galla. Like the Akhdam, they have long ago lost any linguistic connection with Africa and speak Arabic. They are hardy and well-built and live in grass-hut settlements on the coastal belt between Lahej and Abyan. Some, on occasion, bear arms, but they are on the whole un-warlike and seek casual labour at harvest time. The 'Abdali tribes of Lajeh have intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and for this reason the 'Abdalis are darker than most coast Arabs and many villages in their territory are occupied by settled Hajur. In a few generations the Hajur and the 'Abdali will be indistinguishable, and I think this mingling of the two races must be very recent, and probably began during or just before the Turkish occupation of Lahej in 1916.

East of Aden, for some hundred miles, the coastal fishing communities are of Hajur or mixed Hajur stock. They elect their headmen as the Arabs do and are of the Shafa'i sect, but, like the Akhdam, they incline towards witchcraft and phallic worship. The observant traveller on the Lahej road will see plenty of evidence for this close to their settlements.

It is possible that these two African races came to Arabia during the second and third centuries A.D. as camp-followers to Abyssinian armies. But this is pure conjecture.

Finally, we come to the Jews. Jewish settlements exist all over the Protectorate. The principal settlement is in San'a, and all Jews of South Arabia claim inter-relationship and have many family connections in Palestine. They claim to be descended from the Jews of Kheybar. It is more probable, however, that the original Yemeni Jews are of South Arab race. Before the rise of Islam the people of South-west Arabia were

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## THE MWARIBE DANCE.

A dance for women only, which takes place indoors if danced by free women, and out of doors if the dancers are slaves. The women stand in a circle singing songs and clapping their hands in time to a triangle described above (see Shebwani dance). One dancer then advances, executing various fancy steps, towards another dancer in front of whom she stamps her foot and then retires, still executing fancy steps, to her place in the ring. The person in front of whom the first dancer stamped her foot then advances from her place in the ring in the same manner as the first dancer and stamps her foot in front of a third, who comes out in her turn, and so on. 535 562 567

The songs are led by one of the women, who sings the solo while the remainder join in the chorus. No drums are used. 535 585 796

This dance often takes place at wedding festivals when betel nut and cigarettes are handed round with tea. Then towards the end of the entertainment meat and rice are eaten. It may also be danced on the occasion of other rejoicings, the special time of year for having it being the first week of the North-east monsoon, that is, in November and December.

This Mwaribe dance has no mystic meaning.

## THE MWASHA DANCE.

This is also a woman's dance and is of Bajuni origin, its introduction to the Malindi District from Witu having begun about four years ago. If the dancers are free women they dance indoors; if they are slaves the dance takes place in the open, but always by invitation. 535 562 171 567

The guests line up in two or three rows, one behind the other, and move forward slowly an inch or two at each step, while they jerk their chins forward and move their shoulders in time to the drums. When the front row gets up to the wall of the room, or to the limits of the dancing-floor, all the dancers face about and move slowly as before in the opposite direction, the front row becoming the back one.

If it takes place indoors, no men are allowed to be present except the orchestra, consisting of the performers on a *vumi* described above (see Razha dance) on a tari or tambourine (see Chama dance), and on a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). 535 562 534

This dance, which has an undoubted touch of savagery about it, may perhaps be derived from the Somalis, and tends to work the dancers up into a nervous state. It is often danced in competition with another dance faction. No refreshments are served. 535 171 578

It has no mystic significance and appears to be indulged in when the general physical condition of the performers calls for a nervous outlet of some sort.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## THE DANDARO DANCE.

535 This is rarely if ever danced by free men, and is considered essentially a slaves
567 dance. In a convenient open space, men and women stand in a circle facing inwards,
562 the drums being in the middle. The men stand together, occupying one part of the circle and the women the other. The dancers place the right hand on the left shoulder and the left hand under the right elbow, and in this position they bend the knees slightly and sway the body in time to the music while progressing very slowly sideways
535 round the circle to the right. A *zumari* or clarionet described above (see Sherha
534 dance) plays the tune to which the dancers sing the words of a song, or rather a chorus repeated over and over again at short intervals which are filled by the clarionet solo. The accompanying drums consist of a *tuni* and a *chapuo* (see Razha dance), also a *kurugo* drum, about two feet high and ten inches in diameter, with a goat-skin on one end only which is beaten with a stick, the drum resting on the ground in an upright position.

The Dandaro may be danced during the daytime as well as at night. Occasionally food may be cooked and partaken of towards the end of the dance. In the larger townships no invitation is necessary, and anybody may join in.

## THE KI-NYASA DANCE.

535 As its name indicates, this dance is an importation from Nyasaland, introduced
171 first to Zanzibar and then to the coast of the mainland by slaves captured in Nyasa-
567 land and brought here by the Arabs. Consequently it is a dance practised only by
562 slaves and people of humble origin.

It is danced in the open either by day or by night. Men and women, arranged in no special order as to sex, form a circle standing one behind the other and go round in a direction opposite to the hands of a clock, moving in quick time but taking very short steps and bending the knee considerably at each step. The arms are held in the position of a person running, that is to say with the elbow bent and the fore-arm at right angles to the body, which is bent slightly forward. Some of the dancers jerk their shoulders up and down occasionally. The leader of the dance sings a solo and the others take up the chorus. The men wear a string of small iron bells known as *njuga* strung round their knees, and stamp their foot at each step so as to make them jingle.

535 One large drum is used, called a *msondo*, and fashioned somewhat after the drum
534 of the Washambala. It is rather a high-toned drum in spite of its size, which is about
782 six feet in length and twelve to fifteen inches in diameter. One end only is covered with goat-skin, struck with the player's hands. The open end of the drum rests on the ground while the drummer stands astride the other end which is supported by a cloth round his waist, and he plays it in that position. This dance has no mystical meaning, and is merely an expression of a superabundance of animal spirits which

are given vent to by singing and running round in a circle, in time to the beating of a drum, very much in the same manner as children do. No invitations are given, and anyone may join in. No refreshments are handed round. 535 534 782

### THE MDEMA DANCE.

This also is an importation from Nyasaland (see Ki-Nyasa dance), and is danced by the slave population only, either by day or by night. It is exactly like the Ki-Nyasa dance described above, with the exception that no iron bells are strapped round the knees, and it is, if possible, of a simpler character, the Ki-Nyasa being in truth simple enough. Like the latter it is merely a vent for high animal spirits. No refreshments are given and no invitations are necessary. 536 567 782

### THE KINDIMBA.

The Kindimba is not a dance, but a musical entertainment into which enters a slight element of the mystical. It is only given by people of the slave class in fulfilment of a vow. Any person who greatly desires something or some event to come to pass makes a vow to give a Kindimba if his wish is fulfilled. 533 667 517 782

Invitations are issued to his friends by the person who is giving the entertainment, and they assemble at his house. The men and women sit together either indoors if there is room, or else in the open. Songs are sung by a leader, the other guests joining in the chorus, and clapping their hands in time to the singing, which is accompanied by a small drum called a *mgumbaro*, very like a *marwasi* (see Shebwani dance), with this difference that only one end is covered with a goat skin, while in the *marwasi* both ends are covered. The other end, which is open, is made to rest on the chest or stomach of the player, who performs upon it in that position with both hands. Hard grains of maize are placed in dry gourds of various sizes, and these are rattled in time to the singing. 533 534 782

The entertainment partakes of the nature of thanksgiving, and frivolous songs are therefore avoided. Although not exactly of a religious character, a certain amount of superstition is far from being foreign to the Kindimba.

### THE VUGO.

At a wedding, a procession of women is often formed in the evening after dark to parade the streets, and is called a Vugo. The women sing in chorus to the sound of buffalo horns beaten with short sticks. No men are allowed to take part in the procession, which is both an Arab and a Swahili custom. 533 562 585

### THE KINYAGO DANCE.[1]

This is a Swahili medicine-dance usually held outside the town in a plantation on a moonless night. No artificial lights are allowed. Swahilis who have any 535 756

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

619 them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

619 The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri
601 who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their
595 mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call them-
562 selves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan
583 bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

788 I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when
172 we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

368 There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its
243 walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

508 Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-
701 ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in
567 the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom
368 to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

000 Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

# THE QUARTERS OF TARĪM
## AND THEIR TANṢŪRAHS

621 361 Like Šiḥr and Mukallā, the city of Tarīm is divided into a number of quarters. I have already given the names of the quarters in Šiḥr elsewhere [1], and those of Mukallā are marked on H. von Wissmann's map [2] where Hafd el-'Abī should be corrected to [567] Ḥāfat al-'Abīd, i.e. the quarter of the Slaves. It may be recalled that when W. H. Ingrams arrived in Ḥaḍramawt these slaves were very powerful indeed just as they were amongst the Rwala chiefs [3] of N. Arabia. As in Mecca, the city quarters form an important part of the social structure of the community, and they have their own peculiar organisation upon which I have remarked previously [4]. [174] There seems to be evidence from the inscriptions that cities in South Arabia, sometimes at least, were split up into quarters [161] before Islam. In Tarīm there are no less than eleven quarters, though, as will be seen, only five of them are really independent, but even this is a large number for a city of approximately 15,000 inhabitants.

621 361 104 The five quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Sūḳ, Ḥārat al-Ḥilaif, Ḥārat al-Saḥīl, Ḥārat al-Nuwaidarah, and Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī. Of these the largest is Ḥārat al-Sūḳ. A saḥīl is a strip of land underneath a mountain, and including the mountain-side up to the base of the perpendicular Djol cliff [5], a word of frequent occurence. The town of Šibām which is not sub-divided into quarters, has a suburb

113 1 *Materials for South Arabian History* I, Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies (London, 1950), XIII, II, p. 296.

2 D. VAN DER MEULEN & H. V. WISSMANN, *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leiden, 1932).

3 ALOIS MUSIL, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), index *Slaves*.

4 *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, Le Muséon, LXII, 1-2, p. 159.

5 For the peculiar cliff formation of Wādī sides, see *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*.

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earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his 181
friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came 577
to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a 795
strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They 102
belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their 276
neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African [144]
blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an 567
institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, 648
when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from 631
attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth

## II.—Order in Council under "An Act for more effectually punishing offences relating to the Slave Traffic."

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No. **1664-P.**, dated the 13th July 1877.—The following Order of Her Majesty in Council is published for general information :—

At the Court at Windsor,

The 30th day of April, 1877.

Present:

The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas by an Act of Parliament made and passed in the Session of Parliament holden in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of Her Majesty's reign, intituled "An Act for more effectually punishing offences against the laws relating to the Slave Trade," it is, amongst other things, enacted that—

30 & 40 Vict., cap 46.

If any person, being a subject of Her Majesty, or of any Prince or State in India in alliance with Her Majesty, shall, upon the High Seas or in any part of Asia or, Africa which Her Majesty may from time to time think fit to specify by any Order in Council in this behalf, commit any of the offences defined in sections 367, 370 and 371 (in the schedule to this Act respectively recited) of Act XLV of 1860, passed by the Governor General of India in Council, and called "The Indian Penal Code," or abet, within the meaning of the fifth chapter of the said Penal Code, the commission of any such offence, such person shall be dealt with in respect of such offence or abetment as if the same had been committed in any place within British India in which he may be or may be found.

Now, therefore in pursuance and by virtue of the said recited Act of Parliament, Her Majesty is pleased, by and with the advice of Her Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that the said Act shall apply to the several parts of Asia and Africa hereinafter specified; that is to say—

(a) The territories of the Khan of Kalat and of the Sultan of Muscat in Mekran and Arabia.

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(b) The coasts of Baluchistan, and of the Bunder Abbas Districts, and the shores of the Persian Gulf.

(c) The coast of Arabia from Ras Mussendom to Cape Babel-Mandeb.

(d) The territories of the following tribes near Aden, namely,—

The Abdali

The Foodli

The Akrabi

The Howshabi

The Alawi

The Amiri

The Subeihi

The Yafai

The Aulaki

(e) The coast of Africa from Ras Sejarme to Delagoa Bay.

(f) The territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

(g) The sea and islands within ten degrees of latitude from such coast and shores, respectively.

And the Right Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury and the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

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443 passed through this unknown world, and the desire and hope, until now cautiously suppressed, grew unconsciously within us, to enter the land that lay behind the town and to learn to know its people.

## 2. THE VIZIER SAYYID ABŪ BAKR BIN ḤUSĒN EL-MIḤḌĀR.

645 We made acquaintance, the morning after our arrival, with
[643] the Vizier, who, in the absence of the Sultan, deals with state affairs. Sayyid Abū Bakr bin Ḥusēn el-Miḥḍār is a man in the prime of life; he is energetic, has a congenial, alert personality, and shows absolutely no sign of opposition to the *Naṣrānīs*, the *Efrendjīs*. The heavy task of governing the Qe-
645 ᶜēṭī Sultanate falls chiefly upon his solid shoulders. His popu-
565 larity is supported doubly by tradition: in the first place, as
175 sayyid he belongs to the class of spiritual and worldly leaders, for he is a direct descendant of the Prophet, and, in the second place, the house of Abū Bakr was, six generations ago, the most influential family of Ḥaḍramaut.[1] In an evil hour, in their struggle against the Bedouin tribes, they called in the help of the Yāfiᶜ, a tribe noted for its fighting qualities. Its Sultan sent help under one Qeᶜēṭī, who, after having delivered the sayyids of the el-Miḥḍār family from their enemies, took the leadership into his own hands. The power of his family expanded. In 1874 the Qeᶜēṭīs asked the British Government in Aden to intervene for the purpose of reaching a settlement in a war, which had arisen over the refusal of the Āl Kathīr to repay a sum of money which had been lent to them. On this occasion Makalla and esh-Shiḥr were, with the help of the British, taken away from the Kathīrī Sultan and handed over to the Qeᶜēṭī, but the family of el-Miḥḍār had remained the leading one of that region.

701 The Vizier declared that he had *no* objection to our journey
567 into the interior. The route via Wādī Dōᶜan was safe, provided

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 75; *A Handbook of Arabia*, i. (London, 1920), p. 542 *sq.*

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that we travelled with an escort of slave soldiers[1] of the *Dōla.*[2]

Nevertheless, as dangers threatened in the Āl Kathīr region, he strongly advised us not to go farther than Shibām and, under no condition, to attempt to return to esh-Shiḥr by way of Terīm. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm was certainly a rich and influential man, but he had no ruling power and could only obtain the favour of the Bedouins by means of money, and could give us no armed protection against them. El-Qeʿēṭī's power was great and a slave soldier of his would be a "flag of protection" for us.

The preparations for our departure would take at least four days, but then we should have reliable guides and good transport. We might make an excursion to esh-Shiḥr during our days of waiting, but it would have to be by way of the sea-coast as the route by the mountains was too tiring — "tiring" in this case meaning "unsafe". The Ḥumūmī tribe had been at war for a long time with el-Qeʿēṭī, and the latter's soldiers are being constantly ambushed and shot down. This even occurs on the coast road. We were quite willing to follow this route although we should have preferred to go one way and to return the other.

### 3. A TRIP TO ESH-SHIḤR VIA SHEḤĒR.

The next day the Vizier sent a motor-bus with two drivers and five soldiers for us. We were not to go further that day than Sheḥēr (little Shiḥr). It was afternoon before we drove out of the very high and strongly fortified and guarded gate

[1] We saw in Makalla negro soldiers and Arab soldiers from the Yāfiʿ tribe in the hinterland of Aden. The negroes are slaves. Their numbers are decreasing in modern times of anti-slavery action. The Kathīrī Sultans have slave soldiers too, but we saw only a few in their territory.

[2] *Dōla* (دولة) means „dynasty, governing family, kingdom, state". In Ḥaḍramaut people generally speak of the *dōla* in the Qeʿēṭī territory and of the *sulṭān* in the Āl Kathīr region.

Against the walls there are cushions on which to recline. The ugly modernity of mirrors fixed into the ceiling has been introduced into el-Bārr's house. Also, the old Ḥaḍramī colours of rust-red, black and white, which harmonize so well with the brown wood and with the lighter brown mud, have had some ugly new ones added to them.

In order to give pleasure to the family we take some more photographs of grown-ups and children. The household slaves and their jet-black children are with us in the *madjlis*; they serve round coffee and tea and many sweets, and talk with us, but nevertheless remain modestly in the background.

One can see from the many negro types in the streets and plantations that there are a great many slaves in Wādī Dō'an. They are employed for work on the land and as domestic servants.

In the afternoon we did what we could to treat a great number of patients, who came to us to ask for medicines or to have wounds and ulcers attended to. We could do little, however; and what, in any case, is the use of but one treatment? In all Ḥaḍramaut and its surroundings there is only one doctor with a western training. It is again the progressive Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf who has got this young Indian doctor to come here, but his work lies in far-away Terīm. The rich go sometimes to Aden to consult a doctor, and the Mission Hospital at Shēkh 'Uthmān near Aden is also known to a few.

Towards evening I stroll with Sayyid 'Aluwī to Qāret Āl el-Miḥḍār, half an hour distant, where lives Sayyid Muṣṭafā bin Aḥmad el-Miḥḍār, to whom we have a letter from the Vizier at Makalla. Our reception is particularly friendly. The old sayyid has seen something of the world, and he compares life in Wādī Dō'an to sleep, which is something like death. I am urged to talk constantly and the atmosphere grows so friendly that he takes me with him to his other and larger house and shows me all over it, having first, with his own hands, shut in his young wives behind bolted doors and hung the keys on his belt. The wives take their revenge by having

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312 of the best known of the sayyids of Ḥaḍramaut, Sayyid Muḥammad bin ʿAqīl bin Yaḥyā, who made a journey east of Terīm in 1913. After his death in September 1931 there was found among his papers a detailed account of this journey, which was published in Java in the weekly paper *Ḥaḍramaut*.[1]

## 2. QASAM AND ITS OLD CASTLE.

361 The land down-stream from ʿĒnāt has suffered even more from the *nuqra*; date culture has disappeared and many of the people have departed. The little town of Qasam gives a clear illustration of this decline. The town, still surrounded by a wall, lies half in ruins; only a few hundred people live there now, whereas formerly there were thousands. Outside the wall there is a vast cemetery, which is bounded on the other side by a mediaeval castle and its accessory buildings. Part of it has fallen in, but, with its simple, powerful lines, it is still a fine building. The conical corner towers have a thickening at the level of the second storey. The white bands on a line with the rows of windows have almost disappeared; bit by bit the building will become a grey mass of mud in the midst of
622 a land whose inhabitants have left it. The old *muqaddam*[2]
567 welcomes us in the great reception-room; he is very deaf and his slave soldiers are his spokesmen. His father was a mighty and widely-feared ruler, while he has carried on a hopeless struggle against the forces of nature. His land has dried up, his subjects have departed, he has become poor, so poor that he can no longer pay his soldiers. Warfare was no match for the drought. His five score of slave soldiers have remained faithful to him; in turn they go in groups to their paternal country on the African coast or elsewhere to earn something by trading or by manual labour and then return to their old master, to share the money that they have saved, with him and their fellows.

[1] Published at Surabaya, 9th year, Nos. 303 and 304.
[2] Cf. p. 67, foot-note.

Northern part MM2
Aden MM1

H there are still slaves in the Hadramaut but
527 sweeper class, they are not untouchables. unlike the
The Arabian attitude toward the slave is not unkind: the slave has certain customary rights, and is better fed and clothed than many who are free.

Y These mountaineers hardly resemble the Arab of popular imagination, nor do they wear
142 headbands and flowing robes. The Yemenite Arabs are usually of slight stature, dark-skinned and beardless, though there are so many types that it is impossible to generalize.
000 They are a charming people, and civilized. Their condition would be much improved had they lasting peace and good government, though the complete opening-up of the country to outside influence and commerce would spell disaster for an economic system which has worked with success for two or three thousand
Y years. To an ever-increasing degree the Pro-
H tectorate and South Yemen have become
A economically dependent on the port of
167 Aden. Labour is drawn from the up-country
464 villages. The villager will go to Aden and
465 earn £1 : 10 : 6 a month at coolie work, live on 7s. 6d. out of that sum, and save the rest
A to return to his village. There he will remain until necessity drives him to earn more. A
162 large proportion of the inhabitants of Aden must be composed of these floating elements of population.

Internally the motor-lorry has made com-
H munications between the towns much easier;
494 the aeroplane, too, has made a difference
509 to the Protectorate and is a familiar sight in some places. It is now possible to control
178 areas with a handful of planes where formerly thousands of ground troops were necessary to penetrate.

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R. B. Sarjeant

*The Turkish mosque in San'a, capital of the Yemen*

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30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathīri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

### Domestic Life and Appliances

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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rugs or mats, or on cushions placed around or under the windows. A very low table, or a special circular mat, is put in the middle of the room for meals. Rough but solidly made coffers and cupboards are much used for clothes, silver, books, or domestic utensils. Lighting is by lamps of a very primitive form, which burn petroleum or, more commonly, sesame oil. The walls carry little or nothing of ornament, though the tribesmen sometimes adorn them with their arms, banners, or hunting equipment. A bathroom is usually found on each floor of a house, all being situated one above the other, the waste water running off by pipes through the wall; the apparatus consisting merely of a vessel from which water is poured over the body.

Wheaten or maize bread, dried dates, eggs, and meat (of sheep or poultry), taken in meagre amounts and usually in some form of soup or stew, form the staple foods; rice is not largely eaten; the people on the coast consume much fish; but only the Bedouin ever eat game. Butter, oil, and honey are much used; also spices, onions, and garlic, and much salad and green vegetables. Fruits, with the exception of the date, are considered as delicacies. Coffee is much drunk in the houses between meals, but there are no public cafés. It is customary for all persons paying visits to bring along with them some coffee-beans wrapped in the turban or plaid (*rādi*); when the party is complete these are collected by the host, and the coffee is prepared in the manner common to all the East. Before drinking, the name of Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Omar esh-Shadhli, whose tomb is at Mocha, is invoked, he being reputed to have been the first to discover the stimulating properties of the berry.

Very few servants are kept in most houses, even in those of the well-to-do; the housework and cooking are done by the housewife and the daughters, with the aid, in case of stress, of help called in from other branches of the family, friends, or neighbours. Only the very rich have slaves, and these are treated more as members of the household than as property; for this reason slaves rarely desire to be freed. All slaves in the Hadhramaut are Moslems; even if they come from a Christian or pagan country, they are forced to embrace Islam. But marriage between free persons and slaves is extremely rare.

Dancing is regarded in the Hadhramaut as permissible, but never among persons of two sexes, and the Seyyids and townsmen usually abstain from it. The music is made by a primitive form of guitar (*ganbus*), a large oblong drum, and three or four small drums, the players often accompanying their music with

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361 district called el-Qaṭn, now stands out clearly against the foot of the rock-wall. The ground grows flat; the loam emerges freed from the layer of sand; rectangular patches point to occasional cultivation of the land during a favourable rainy season. There is a low-growing plant in the fields; it is a weed that is used as fodder for cattle.

361 Furṭ el-Qaṭn is only a hamlet, but a continuous series of
241 palm-groves and fields of *dhura*, lucerne and sesame stretches from here until beyond Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn, where the Sultan is resident. All actual cultivation is due to irrigation by means of wells. A broad strip of ground which is cultivated when there is sufficient rainfall stretches outside the date plantations. The level of the subsoil water is nearer to the surface here, as the wādī descends more rapidly than does the subterranean river. Beyond Terīm it comes above the surface for considerable stretches.

212 The wells and the tracks along which beasts and men go to
231 draw up water are mostly situated in the shade of the date-
241 palms. Where shadow is lacking, long strips of jute or other
564 material sewn together are stretched over the track to make
● 571 shade for men and animals. Donkeys and cattle are used for haulage, but mostly with the help of man's labour. The poor, hard-working and little honoured caste of the *ḍaᶜfā* (the peasants) [1] have as their chief occupation this irrigation work [2], which really goes on almost all the year round. The *ḍaᶜīf* walks backwards beside his cow or donkey, pushing at the hauling rope with the back of his thighs, in which way his weight has most effect. By the time they reach the end of the hauling track, the bag full of water, which is generally leaking considerably, has appeared at the rim of the well. The *sānī* draws the bag of water (*gharb*) to the rim by a thin rope,

104 [1] *Ḍaᶜfā* is the plural of *ḍaᶜīf* (ضعيف), which name is given in Ḥaḍramaut to the agricultural labourer class, cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii, p. 220 and v. p. 406.

104 [2] Here called *senāwa* (سناوة); the man who works it is the *sānī*. Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *loc. cit.*

where it empties itself into a little mud basin, out of which the irrigation conduits lead to the cultivated ground. Work at the well occupies the whole family: father and son guide the animals and walk with them in hauling ropes and mother and daughters relieve them at this work. Two old dames sit in the shade making ready food for the beasts, which consists of dry straw bound round with fresh green into bundles, that are pushed into the animals' mouths whenever they arrive at the top or bottom. I saw women continuing their mat-plaiting whilst, at the same time, walking backwards in the traces down the slope of the track. The work is very tiring: pulling whilst going down hill and then climbing up again. The path, on which their walk begins at sunrise, is as long as the well is deep.

## 2. TO THE SULTAN'S PALACE IN EL-QAṬN.

One sees the tall buildings of Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn even from afar rising above its walls and the tops of the date-palms. The place is not large and is situated, like the townlets in Wādī Dōʿan, stretched out and closed in between date-groves and the rock-barrier. It is surrounded by a mud wall kept in good repair. At the gate of the town we see our caravan; it is on its way to Shibām with the baggage and is resting here during the heat of the day. Although we are informed that the Sultan is staying in Shibām, we wish to pay a visit of courtesy to his deputy at the palace; possibly he may allow us to make a survey and to photograph from the roof of this very high building. The palace has just been partially renovated and, consequently, has not yet the gay outside decoration of whitewash. A broad staircase leads to a large, finely carved door. There we give our letter of introduction to the guard and after some time we are invited to follow him upstairs. By way of broad passages and endless stairs, both plastered with dried mud, we arrive at the reception-room, which has just been finished. Much of the beautiful old Arabian style is spoiled here by

and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



782 342 Tarīm are the Ahl Bā Ḥuraiš, also the Tarīm grave-diggers [2], and two fifths to the other ḥaddāmin. The owner of the house customarily gives some of his portion away, but my informant did not remember exactly how much this is, or to whom it is given. Apart from the foundation sacrifice, the owner will also make a separate ḍiyāfah or entertainment in his own house, killing a sheep or two there.

When you have finished setting in position the beams which act as lintels to the windows, exits, cupboards, etc., on the ground floor, and which are known as taisūrah (pl. tayāsīr) or mafkir), a sheep is usually slaughtered on the corner tayāsīr. The feast given at this point is known as Ǧadā al-Tayāsīr [3]. The blood lies on the tayāsīr, and the Djinn drink. Being grateful to the lord of the house, they leave him alone, and protect him from the other Djinn [4]. If however you should happen to be a poor man, you may not be able to afford to slaughter an animal on this occasion, but you give the workmen a meal. At least, in the past you gave the workmen a meal, but as they brought their children etc., with them, you used to find yourself giving thirty a meal, instead of ten or twelve. So this practice has now ceased, and a bargain is made that the men get food in kind, and money to buy meat, instead of having a meal provided for them.

782 342 336 At the placing of the cross-beams on top of the wooden or stone columns (tarkūb ishum, or ta'kīd ishum), the master of the new house provides a ḍiyāfah known as Ǧadā Tarkūb Ishum, and also

[2] Cf. my article in *Le Muséon*, 62 (1949), p. 159.

[3] Ǧadā is used in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt and Wāḥidī territory to denote food provided in kind for an employee as part of his contract.

[4] I have a pamphlet by 'Abd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥ. al-Šibli of Ḥabbān where it was given me, entitled Toko « Singapore » (Singapore, 1352 H.) which mentions slaughtering on ('alā) the feet of the bride and groom at the Lailat al-Zafāf when the bride comes to her husband's house. Those who cannot buy a beast to sacrifice (ḏabīḥah) brek eggs at their feet, a custom common enough in Ḥaḍramawt where I have often seen eggs lying broken outside rooms in which newly-born children lay. An opinion on the practice is cited. « If the ḏabīḥah is slaughtered at the feet of the bride and groom, its religious injuriousness is known, for it is slaughtering out of fear of something other than God, such as the Djinn or the Šaiṭān. This arises from the belief that if the ḏabīḥah is not slaughtered, then a touching (mass) from the Djinn will befall them. Slaughtering at that time is therefore forbidden. »

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended [5]) for the carpenter (nadjjār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥaśwān of the Āl Bā Ḥaśwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two [6]. One says for instance, Dī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah [7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee [8]. The people of the Quarter [9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian tašt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥakk al-saliṭ, hakk al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. Andree, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers, Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍrami coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my article in *Le Muséon* cited above.

Fl. Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932. MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The tribes of the Central South have a poor reputation as regards the *radud-as-salaam*.[3] 576
The *radud-as-salaam* merely means that when two persons meet, between whose tribes there 577
is blood or other enmity, and one says to the other—" Peace be upon you " and the other replies " And upon you be peace," they have buried the hatchet for the nonce. For one now to take advantage of the other and slay him in his sleep, for instance, would in any other part of Arabia be the deepest treachery. Not so amongst this lawless brood, however. That it may happen elsewhere is possible, but normally the offender would be hounded out of his own tribe or be required to make some requital and his name would be for ever smirched. These non-Arabic speaking tribes of the Central South have no such regard for the elsewhere universal law. They also observe in the breach what is elsewhere a fixed canon, the *thamn-al-batn* or " stomach price." This is an elaboration of the law of three days' hospitality. If a Badu has eaten the 574
salt of a man his goods are safe for a period of four days and four nights, the time for the last 171
vestige of food to have passed from his body. If the Badu's tribe unwittingly raids the man 576
during these four days they must and do return the loot. This *thamn-al-batn* is sacred with the 671
other tribes of the southern fringe but not with the non-Arab group. Who and whence are these tribes ? Indigenous ? Of African origin ? or have they a common origin with African tribes, or are none of these hypotheses tenable ? Here is an almost black race of brachycephals, and brachycephaly properly belongs to Asia. The answer is for you to decide. History sheds but little light.

In the year A.D. 1325 Ibn Batuta, the great Moorish traveller and theologian, set out on 175
his 25 years' travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia and elsewhere. He sojourned 144
in Dhufar and amongst what he wrote of it was this :—" Another thing is that its people closely resemble the people of North-West Africa in their customs. . . . The outlying population is not Arab, but of a Sudanic type." Does Ibn Batuta help us ?

The following discussion took place after the paper :—

Sir Arthur Keith said that Capt. Bertram Thomas had thrown light on one of the darkest anthropological 144
corners of the world. It was now clear that the Southern Arabs were very different from the Northern Arabs —in almost every respect. If one sought to trace the affinities of the Southern Arabs by judging from their 142
external appearances—as revealed in Capt. Thomas's photographs—one was immediately reminded of the native type of North-Eastern Africa. To his eye the Southern Arabs showed in their fuzzy hair and black—or dark brown—pigmentation of hair and skin, as well as in their facial features, distinct Hamitic or Somali-like affinities. On the other hand, Capt. Thomas's measurements of heads proved that the Southern Arabs differed from the Hamitic peoples of Africa and also from the Arabs of Northern Arabia in having skulls which were short and wide. The width of the heads of Southern Arabs was between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. of the length. The Southern Arabs were distinctly and highly round-headed—or brachycephalic. Hamitic peoples and the Badawin (Arab) type of Northern and North-Western Arabia were usually long-headed or dolichocephalic. Thus Capt. Thomas's observations confirmed the data collected by Professor C. G. Seligman fourteen years ago that the people of Southern Arabia are round-headed or brachycephalic.

Although the Southern Arabs—who were of low stature, the men being usually about 64 inches in height —showed certain Hamitic traits in their features, yet these were overshadowed by others which proclaimed an affinity to the Caucasian or white stock of mankind. They were less fully bearded than the Northern Arab and yet more so than among Hamites. In some respects the South Arabian type bridged the difference between Semite and Hamite.

[3] It is only within comparatively recent times that the Beathara would recognise the *rabie* at all.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted 301
in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased 302
stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and 609
with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a 508
landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions 137
aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were 136
swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky 135
ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said 361
to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominen [342]
position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the 622
same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. 712
A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is 342
to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], 574
and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come 104
to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

have moved out to make room for us and the way is quite clear. Our host himself makes an inspection, to make sure that the feminine inhabitants are shut in behind closed doors before we are invited to follow him upstairs. It is glorious on the roof. We are free there from vermin, and mosquitoes, also, do not seem to come.

We beg urgently that no sheep be killed for us. It is difficult to persuade our generous host to accede to our unusual request, but he does at last realize that we have more desire for tea and fruit. A tray with glasses of tea is brought up to us and a second one with slices of melon, fresh figs, dates and sweets. Shēkh Elmās has seen something of the world; he is related to the Sultan's family and is not without a trace of Indian blood. His brother, the *ʿāmil* [1] of Ghēl Bā Wazīr, the headquarters for the cultivation of the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco, is staying with him and gives us a pressing invitation to visit that prosperous and beautiful bit of Arabia. We promised to try and touch at Ghēl Bā Wazīr on our return journey.

## 5. AN EXCURSION TO GHĒL BĀ WAZĪR.

Our way back to the coast from Terīm was so planned that we were unable to keep our promise to our host's brother. Yet we *did* visit Ghēl Bā Wazīr, but not until after our return to Makalla, when we had to wait several days for our boat to Aden. On June 24th we started for Ghēl Bā Wazīr, via Sheḥēr, in a car placed at our disposal, as before, by the Vizier of Makalla, Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Miḥḍār.

Behind the plateaus of coral formation along the coast is a shallow, extensive loess basin which is watered by a little stream, the Ghēl, having its source in the mountains lying behind the coast terraces. This basin with the strip of land suitable for irrigation, which lies by the banks of the Ghēl, is the chief area for the cultivation of the famous Ḥumūmī tobacco. The little town, which guards the entrance

[1] *ʿĀmil* (عامل), governor.

a passage, opening onto roof-terraces where, at this time of the day, one is conscious of a breeze. The old blind Bā Ṣurra sits there surrounded by his counsellors and the chiefs of the allied Bedouin tribes. Bā Ṣurra rises with difficulty and gropes his way forward in order to greet us. He is a stately figure with a long, white beard, and his mind is still active and his voice clear. We are very tired and warm, and gratefully enjoy the small cups of bitter coffee and the endless glasses of hot, sweet tea which succeed them. The young slave, who makes the tea in a samovar, asks whether we wish for Ceylon or Java tea. Lumps are broken off a sugar loaf with iron pincers and are dropped into the glasses. Afterwards we are offered dates and tinned pine-apple. Bā Ṣurra gives us the choice between lodging in the castle or in a house in the town. We decide upon the latter and go there in procession, accompanied by soldiers and by grandsons and grand-nephews of the *Ḥākim.*[1]

The house is five storeys high and stands at the edge of the village of ʿŌra, and from our roof we look down upon the crowns of date-palms. Our quarters are uninhabited and clean; Bā Ṣurra has had carpets laid in the room, which we share with Sayyid ʿAluwī. All our hangers-on follow us upstairs and remain to watch and see what wonderful things emerge from our luggage. The fine, clever-looking descendants of the Governor put many questions to us and tell us much, and seem to be quite comfortable in the packed and stuffily hot room. It is with difficulty that we get rid of the crowd. The boys help in this, but, having accomplished it, do not dream of taking their own departure! They only stroll off at last under the promise that they may return in a couple of hours' time.

After the lapse of an hour three little boys come and will not be denied; they have an urgent message for us, they say, and with self-assurance they relate that their father has the

[1] *Ḥākim* (حاكم), governor, magistrate.

its fine strategic position once commanded the great route from the coast to Ḥaḍramaut. Within the gate the streets also mount steeply. The town gives an impression of decay; there are few tall or fine houses, the white colour of prosperity is to be seen on hardly a single one of them; the town is grey-brown as the mountain against which it stands.

We stop in front of a double house that is built over a small side-street. Sayyid Muḥammad bin Sālim bin ᶜAbdarraḥmān Āl Qāf, the man to whom we were given an introduction by our host in Dōᶜan, is said to live here. The letter is taken in, the door closed again, and we wait in the shadow of the narrow, overarched street. Time passes and we ask ourselves anxiously whether the *Efrendjīs* are perhaps not welcome in this house. No, that is not the case, but a double wedding is being celebrated at this moment, and the house is therefore full of women, who have to be removed and shut up, before our company can be allowed to enter. At last this stage is reached and we are taken to an apartment which shows signs of having been very much inhabited. It is warm there and not clean, and, although we already fill the room, a number of inquisitive people force themselves in. The master of the house himself as well as his snivelling small son appear to have economised water for all other purposes than washing. But his friendly glance and hearty welcome make everything all right at once.

It is perhaps here timely to pay grateful tribute to the wonderful hospitality of the Arabs. Who, in the West, would hide his disappointment at having a wedding feast broken in upon by a whole caravan of tired and hungry men? Who amongst us would immediately throw open his whole house to the travellers, "the sons of the road", himself bring water to slake their thirst, and immediately prepare food to strengthen them?

Life is democratic here. In the reception-room, which is chock-full, sit slaves, servants, children and master all together, who drink out of the same bowl and pour out coffee

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



when the gate is pushed open and a group of soldiers rush out with their guns at the attack. Our people are petrified with fright and call out that we belong to the *Dōla* (the Government). Then the guns drop and the sound of a greeting reaches us, but our chauffeurs drive on as fast as possible, so as to escape from this hostile place.

We now enter the district belonging to the third party, with el-ᶜUqda as its headquarters, where the rich Shēkh Sālim bin Djaᶜfar bin Ṭālib lives. We are to pay a call upon him. He gave us a pressing invitation to do so on the outward journey, but, at that time, the Sultan of Shibām, who had undertaken our transport arrangements, gave orders to avoid the war zone. Shēkh Sālim is a Dutch subject; he possesses a great fortune, amassed in Surabaya, and was one of the well-known Ḥaḍramīs of that city.

The country round el-ᶜUqda is a paradise of beauty. White and light-grey palaces, with rows of big windows and fine points and pinnacles along the edges of the roofs, are scattered among the plantations of young palm-trees. Behind this gay green and white colouring is the yellowish-brown of the rock. In the gardens are also many bushes of lemon and pomegranate and papayas. The buildings in which Shēkh Sālim lives are surrounded by a high wall, with a colossal wooden gate covered with sheet iron, which gives entrance to a courtyard. The outposts here have done their duty and given notive of our arrival, and the gate has been thrown wide open and Shēkh Sālim himself, surrounded by soldiers and children, stands there to give us welcome. The pro-Dutch sentiments of the grey-headed Shēkh are well known, and we have no need to doubt for one moment that our welcome here comes from the heart. Conversation is carried on in the Malay language, in compliment to the presence of a government official of Netherlands India. This creates an intimate atmosphere and offers the advantage that the soldiers and children cannot follow what is said. The great *madjlis* of this imposing building becomes speedily filled with a crowd of inter-

574 ested people who, according to the custom of the country, may not be excluded. It is a great disappointment for our host, who seems to have a great deal on his mind, that we are obliged to refuse quite definitely his invitation to stay for a few days and that we must really be in Shibām before nightfall.
722 Now that the time is so short, he goes ahead at once. An outspoken talk over the misery here follows on my question why he does not prefer to live in safety in his beautiful house at Surabaya rather than be a virtual prisoner in this his own palace in el-ʿUqda. He would indeed much rather look after his affairs in Java, but must be here now as head of his family
728 and defender of its interests. War has been going on for the past six years, more and ever more blood is shed, and the constantly recurring cry for vengeance removes all prospect of the peace so much desired. It does not appear as if the war can be ended without the intervention of a powerful outsider. He presses the point with the greatst earnestness that our Government should mediate between the contesting parties. England has failed: shortly after the outbreak of the struggle the *wālī* in Aden had proposed a six months' truce and summoned the leaders on both sides. They went and waited at Aden for four months in hope of a solution, and waited in vain. The *wālī* did not understand the matter, his expert assistant went away shortly on leave, and they were soon at the mercy of a corrupt and corruptible Indian interpreter. The leaders of the tribes at war returned to Ḥaḍramaut without having achieved any result. If the Government of Netherlands India would only do so, it could bid hostilities cease without direct intervention, for this reason: the country is full of Dutch subjects having great financial interests in Java. If our Indian Government were merely to threaten, with banishment and confiscation of property, those who did not at once force their families in Ḥaḍramaut to cease hostilities, then peace would be assured. This sounded very logical. Ready interpreters gave a short account of our host's suggestions to the members of the invested garrison, who listened with great interest and

was also no large supply of fodder; we could only buy thirty bundles of dried *dhura* stalks, which cost us one *riyāl*. The *riyāl* seemed to be the only coin in use; for a half *riyāl* one could buy nothing. Our help was asked for a sick camel which, we were told, had been bitten by a snake. The local camel doctor had smeared the animal with a black salve and had cut off half of its ears. A sick man, who was obviously suffering from elephantiasis, told us that he had been hissed at by a snake. With regret we had to explain that we travelled without our medicine-chest and were unprovided with means for helping against the dangerous snakes of the country.

### 3. ʿRĒDET ED-DEYYIN.

We went on our way very soon, in the hope of reaching er-Rēda, the central point of the settlements of the Deyyin Bedouins, that evening. There lives the chief whose acquaintance we had made at Bā Ṣurra's castle. It was long after sundown when we approached Shēkh ʿUthmān's village, Nedjēdēn. We stumbled on through the darkness, following the camels, till we came to cultivated land with a few dried-up *nibq* trees dotted about here and there. The village showed no sign of a friendly, inviting light; the fortress-like houses resembled nothing but black cubes. Directly the watch-dogs heard us they proceeded to attack us, barking furiously, and this noise roused life in the houses: first there were questioning voices and then a few lights. We kept the dogs at bay with stones and, aided by information proceeding from the closed houses, found our way to Shēkh ʿUthmān's dwelling, which was a miserable-looking, low building with nothing attractive about it. We awakened the inhabitants by our shouts and, with distrustful aversion, they admitted us to a large room with an earthen floor where we sat down on our travelling rugs. Our hopes of a speedy sleep after this very tiring day

574 soon vanished when we saw dark figures looming up in increasing numbers out of the mysterious darkness; they had come to shake hands and they sat down and joined the circle of very bold questioners. Shēkh ᶜUthmān was again in Wādī Dōᶜan with the Governor, Bā Ṣurra; he had not told his sons about his meeting with us and so we had to give a detailed account of it. Only then did they tell us that we were welcome and served us with coffee. We were literally stormed with visitors, who were unblushing in their questions. Our sayyid did not help at all to uphold our prestige; when our welcome took place he saw to it that his hand was kissed and gave the information that we were only ordinary mortals, "Bedouins from Europe", a handicap we had to try and get the better of in the conversation that followed. I attempted this by leading up to the subject of the Holy Land and telling about conditions there and about Bin Saᶜūd and his *ikhwān.*[1] Then, when everyone was listening attentively, I asked our sayyid quite casually: "Of course you have made the *ḥadjdj.* Tell us all about it!" He was then obliged to confess that he had not been to Mecca, and if he tried to swank again by saying that he had seen the world and had been, among other places, to Aden and Zanzibar, my obvious answer was: "I should have thought that your first journey would have been to Mecca and not one in search of wealth." There was nothing left for the pious sayyid after this but to reply: "If God wills I shall yet go to Mecca."

000 The Deyyin Bedouins give the impression of being primitive folk, dirty, poor and having little touch with the outside world. Their long, curly hair hangs round their faces and over their shoulders. On the following morning, when we had got rid of our sayyid, they turned out to be more friendly towards us and more ready to help than we had anticipated. That

104 [1] *Ikhwān* (إخوان) is the plural of *akh* (أخ), which means "brother". King Ibn Saᶜūd, the great *Wahhābī* leader of Central Arabia, founded colonies of *ikhwān,* with whom he conquered the whole of Central Arabia and the Holy Land of Islām.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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rugs or mats, or on cushions placed around or under the windows. A very low table, or a special circular mat, is put in the middle of the room for meals. Rough but solidly made coffers and cupboards are much used for clothes, silver, books, or domestic utensils. Lighting is by lamps of a very primitive form, which burn petroleum or, more commonly, sesame oil. The walls carry little or nothing of ornament, though the tribesmen sometimes adorn them with their arms, banners, or hunting equipment. A bathroom is usually found on each floor of a house, all being situated one above the other, the waste water running off by pipes through the wall; the apparatus consisting merely of a vessel from which water is poured over the body.

Wheaten or maize bread, dried dates, eggs, and meat (of sheep or poultry), taken in meagre amounts and usually in some form of soup or stew, form the staple foods; rice is not largely eaten; the people on the coast consume much fish; but only the Bedouin ever eat game. Butter, oil, and honey are much used; also spices, onions, and garlic, and much salad and green vegetables. Fruits, with the exception of the date, are considered as delicacies. Coffee is much drunk in the houses between meals, but there are no public cafés. It is customary for all persons paying visits to bring along with them some coffee-beans wrapped in the turban or plaid (*rādi*); when the party is complete these are collected by the host, and the coffee is prepared in the manner common to all the East. Before drinking, the name of Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Omar esh-Shadhli, whose tomb is at Mocha, is invoked, he being reputed to have been the first to discover the stimulating properties of the berry.

Very few servants are kept in most houses, even in those of the well-to-do; the housework and cooking are done by the housewife and the daughters, with the aid, in case of stress, of help called in from other branches of the family, friends, or neighbours. Only the very rich have slaves, and these are treated more as members of the household than as property; for this reason slaves rarely desire to be freed. All slaves in the Hadhramaut are Moslems; even if they come from a Christian or pagan country, they are forced to embrace Islam. But marriage between free persons and slaves is extremely rare.

Dancing is regarded in the Hadhramaut as permissible, but never among persons of two sexes, and the Seyyids and townsmen usually abstain from it. The music is made by a primitive form of guitar (*qanbus*), a large oblong drum, and three or four small drums, the players often accompanying their music with

622 the Dutchman by the hand, and Sayyid Ḥasan walks on
609 his other side. Von Wissmann is accompanied in the same way by two notables, and then begins the slow entry into the town. A splendid white mosque looms up out of the darkness and then vanishes into it again; for the rest, there are brown mud houses, which seem to have been built without much order. After about five minutes we have passed through the place and see, against the slopes of rock débris, the great el-ᶜAṭṭās house with its many small windows lighted up. The house has just been rebuilt and enlarged, and, therefore, the upper storey has not yet been whitewashed. A brother of Ḥasan and ᶜAluwī comes with an uncle to greet us. This brother has had a Dutch, ᶜAluwī an Egyptian, and Ḥasan an Indian education. The uncle was an officer in the Ḥaḍramī regiment of the *Niẓām* of Hyderabad. The reception in the great *madjlis* is of short duration, and we then go upstairs to have a meal on the spacious roof-terrace in company with the nearest male members of the family.

## 2. SOME GOOD DAYS IN ḤUREḌA.

554 A fine, clean guest-house is assigned to us for our quarters during our stay in Ḥurēḍa. This has the great advantage of giving us a place of privacy and rest, as we only meet visitors in the family-house of the el-ᶜAṭṭās. On the next morning (May 20th) a gathering takes place there to introduce us to the inhabitants of Ḥurēḍa. These things are done democratically here. High and low, old and young are present at such a meeting, even the Bedouins of the caravan, the guard of soldiers belonging to the house, our slave soldiers, and the younger members of the family. The only thing is that the young people and the subordinates keep somewhat in the background and take care not to make any noise that might
575 disturb their elders. The old and wise men of the place are
177 together. The young men's group has, however, an important
554 place, being organized by the driving power of Sayyid Ḥasan

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



into an association of the el-ʿAṭṭās family. The idea of the association is an importation from Aligarh, where Sayyid Ḥasan studied at the Muslim University; it brings a modern element into the public life of Ḥurēḍa.

There is much discussion over the political situation in Egypt, the Yemen, the Hedjaz, Netherlands India, and in the country itself. This last subject is the most painful. Of course the question is put, under general attention, whether Holland is prepared to appoint a consul in Ḥaḍramaut. My answer to this is that Holland would like nothing better, but cannot do so. She would wish it, in order to strengthen the bonds which have existed for centuries past with the most distinguished families of Ḥaḍramaut, and also for the extension of the trade of Java and Holland with Southern Arabia. But it cannot be, because there is no unity here and no responsible ultimate authority. To whom should our Queen turn and who would be able to take the responsibility for her representative? This argument is well understood and it is a matter of grave pre-occupation to them. To relieve the painful situation thus created, I express my appreciation of the unexpectedly favourable conditions that I have found here after two weeks' journeying through very primitive regions. One observes here the influence of men who have seen something of the world. And yet I cannot help saying that those people achieve more in other countries, for example in Netherlands India, than in their own land. It is with great circumspection that we advise them to concentrate on reaching harmony amongst themselves and to devote their attention and energy to their own country. The "Hip! hip! hurrah!" mood is somewhat lowered by these conversations, but our contact with the large circle of attentively listening visitors is strengthened.

In the afternoon the notables come to show us the town. In front and hand in hand with the Governor of el-Meshhed, who seems to be the most influential man here, and followed by Von Wissmann conducted by Sayyid Ḥasan, we saunter to the great mosque which is rightly the pride of the people

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## 4. A WONDERFUL RECEPTION IN THE GARDEN CITY SEḤĒL SHIBĀM.

491 The families of Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam are on the best of
493 friendly terms with the Sultan and arrange matters with him. A little later the great dark-red cars buzz through the gate and cross the *sēl*-bed in the direction of the palm-groves, called Seḥēl Shibām. Only in the last few years has the motor-car penetrated as far as Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has made this possible by the construction of motor roads. Motor-cars can, with great difficulty, be brought from the port of esh-Shiḥr to Terīm. The separate parts of the cars have to be transported on camels for a great part of the way.
562 From the road one can see very little of the palm-groves
529 and the summer pavilions in their midst; high mud walls shut
●576 off the gardens from the gaze of passers-by. There is one exception to this, where the central point is formed by a new building in modern style. This is the club of the young men of Shibām; no women come here and so there is nothing to shut
312 off. A little further on the cars turn into the gateway that
342 gives entrance to the garden of the Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam.
177 This summer abode of their joint families is still uninhabited;
351 the time for moving from town to country has only just come. There is a well behind the house, from which oxen and donkeys draw up the water, clear as crystal, though tasting somewhat bitter. All around there are banana and papaya trees, pomegranate and lemon bushes as well as date-palms. The new summer pavilion is in the depths of the garden; our host has devoted his leisure to building it. It is a product of Ḥaḍramī imagination influenced by Singapore and Java. For the outer walls chaste, simple white has been abandoned and is replaced by soft green, rose and sky-blue. The great windows are framed by coloured ornamentation. Connected with the villa is a swimming-bath with a high parapet. One has a great longing for colour in this sunny land, where it is so lacking, and this fairy palace strikes a happy note among

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west. 142

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration. 778

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting. 181 291 576

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy. 619 631 643

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it. [144]

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe. 576

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 101 174 619

182 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last
628 quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras
411 carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease
436 of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some
[792] years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by
182 Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small
671 thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the
576 gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

183 Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

182 I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into
673 their confederations and have shown the course which these confedera-
728 tions are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of
671 Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts,
[625] whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when
000 nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

• 576 **44** Certain tribes of the Aden Protectorate, in particular the Aulaqis, perform a peculiar greeting ceremony called the *Môqab*. When visitors of importance approach a settlement, word of their coming is sent on ahead, and the men of the settlement turn out to receive them. They parade in a long line on some convenient piece of flat ground in front of their forts, with the leading men and important guests in [534] the centre. On the appearance of the visitors a drum is usually beaten, and shots are exchanged in salute. The Bil Obeid consider it complimentary to shoot as close to the visitors as possible, but most of the tribes have the sense to fire straight up into the air.

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**PROTECTORATE.** *By Major the Honourable*

576 When the visitors come near they dismount, form a line with the most important men in the centre, advance to a distance of about fifty yards [411] from the 'home side,' and halt. They then load their rifles, adjust their garments, and wait for the ceremony to begin. The men of the 'home side' now spring forward, usually in couples holding hands, and, uttering war cries, form themselves into a long column, with the most important men in front. The column moves towards the visitors, but it is led in wheels and circles, so that at no time is it directly approaching them. If the principal men are not in front, it indicates that some at least are not disposed to give the visitors a very cordial welcome.

576 A tribesman now separates himself from the
587 'home side' and, very fast and in a loud voice,
533 declaims verses which he has composed (fig. 1). If these are not accepted by his companions he declaims others, until acceptance is indicated by cries of 'Yallah.' He then begins to intone the first half of his verses in a chant peculiar to the occasion, and is followed by the leading half of the column. The second half of the verses is chanted by the second half of the column. When the poet is satisfied that the words are being sung correctly by all, he resumes his place in the column and joins in the singing. The column has meanwhile continued to wheel and circle (fig. 2).

576 The visitors can judge, from the words sung,
533 whether their welcome is a hearty one, or not. These words are not always polite, and the

576 greatest interest in them is displayed by the
533 visitors, not only because they must soon reply in kind, but also because upon them may depend whether the visitors remain to feast and spend the night or whether, with unpleasant smiles and covert insults, they will move off to sleep elsewhere. On one occasion in Hâdhina the greeting song opened with the words—'It is only through 'our politeness that you have crossed the boun-'daries of Hâdhina.' These words, and a rapid count which showed that over half the 'home side' were in the forts, led to suspicion, and caused the visitors to extend their line until all semblance of ceremony was lost. But if the words are pleasant, an atmosphere of friendliness
576 is quickly established. The men of the 'home
[411] side' eventually file past the principal visitors, often firing their rifles and 'salaaming', and wheel back into their original line.

000 often firing their rifles and 'salaaming,' and wheel back into their original line.

576 The visitors now go through the same procedure, until they too file past their principal hosts and reform their line. The principal men of the 'home side' now advance and are met in the centre, between the two lines, by the principal visitors. The two sides move in single file and greet each other, without speaking, by clasping right hands, raising them to face level, and giving them a good hearty sniff, half sniff and half kiss; the hands on meeting are slapped hard together. On no account is the thumb held, as by the Yemenis and Somalis: this is considered indecent.

The principal men of both sides now face each other, and the usual verbal greetings are given,

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576 but it is a hard and fast rule that no news shall be given. The sheikh and ten men may have been killed in a blood feud the day before, but the answer to the question : 'Any news ? '—which is invariably asked—is always given in the formula —'There is no news, and nothing has been 'started, and nothing has been destroyed, and 'no one has said anything to anybody.'

This flat denial of news ends the ceremony. The visitors, if they are staying, hand over their rifles to their hosts, and are led by the left hand [272] into the village, where they drink the bitter infusion of coffee-husk, flavoured with ginger. Conversation then becomes normal, and news is exchanged.

576 This greeting ceremony, as performed by the 537 Aulaqi tribesmen, with its long and rather

p. 89 (D)
[text continued on p. 90(A)]

576 monotonous chant, has considerable dignity, but
587 as performed by the Qaramish, at a fast and ungainly run, it strikes one as laughable.

576 The most remarkable feature about the ceremony as a whole is the twisted path taken by the singers, for the more the leaders wheel and turn,

the better it is considered. A hundred men or more in file, wheeling and circling in this way, present a very snake-like appearance, and such is admitted to be the intention, though no reason is given for it.

P. 90 (B)

195 192 576

Cries for assistance have also their own fixed forms. Should anything happen to a man he shouts for help with the phrase Yā Labbaik, yā labbaik [19], known to the classical tongue. Let it also be remarked that labbaik is the normal interjection used when asking a word or phrase to be repeated, equivalent to plaît-il. The reply to such a call by those coming to the assistance of a man in trouble of danger of any sort is Yā marḥīb, yā marḥīb. When in distress the 'Awāmir tribe shout out 'Āmir, yā wulīd 'Āmir, to which the reply is Labbaik, yā labbaik. The 'Abīd in similar circumstances cry 'Īk, 'Īk, and those coming to their help reply with zāmils.

It seems that when one gives the tribal cry (ṣarkhah) amongst the tribes of Raidat al-Daiyin, the words Yā Ḥimyarāh are shouted [20].

R. B. SERJEANT.

113

[19] For an interesting use of labbaik see C. A. STOREY, *The Fākhir of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama* (Leiden, 1915), p. 224.

[20] Al-Rābiṭat al-'Alawīyah, (Batavia, 1347 H.), I, p. 354.

21: Thomas T•5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



825 a 5 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
789 impart virtue to his sight.

754 I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

## INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
[782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

## LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

582 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere
583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
832 the triple nose-kiss, left, right, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

21; Thomas T5 (no date) 1982 NM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting 576
a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 832

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part
I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which 562
are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman
would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten
as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes,
and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire 585
of his wife and say *Talag* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house 586
with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If
she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. 583
It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really
expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper,
ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representatives, father
or brother, descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the
women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only
cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter [782]
a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabat* (a monotonous
chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of
circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day 844
or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the
possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken
up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is
generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal 848
marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere 837
in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would 684
on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be
done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and [628]
have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation
of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

## CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees 342
at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain [754]
itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four
nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. 782
When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342

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The tribes of the Central South have a poor reputation as regards the *radud-as-salaam*.[1] 576
The *radud-as-salaam* merely means that when two persons meet, between whose tribes there 577
is blood or other enmity, and one says to the other—" Peace be upon you " and the other replies " And upon you be peace," they have buried the hatchet for the nonce. For one now to take advantage of the other and slay him in his sleep, for instance, would in any other part of Arabia be the deepest treachery. Not so amongst this lawless brood, however. That it may happen elsewhere is possible, but normally the offender would be hounded out of his own tribe or be required to make some requital and his name would be for ever smirched. These non-Arabic speaking tribes of the Central South have no such regard for the elsewhere universal law. They also observe in the breach what is elsewhere a fixed canon, the *thamn-al-batn* or " stomach 574
price." This is an elaboration of the law of three days' hospitality. If a Badu has eaten the 171
salt of a man his goods are safe for a period of four days and four nights, the time for the last vestige of food to have passed from his body. If the Badu's tribe unwittingly raids the man 576
during these four days they must and do return the loot. This *thamn-al-batn* is sacred with the 671
other tribes of the southern fringe but not with the non-Arab group. Who and whence are these tribes? Indigenous? Of African origin? or have they a common origin with African tribes, or are none of these hypotheses tenable? Here is an almost black race of brachycephals, and brachycephaly properly belongs to Asia. The answer is for you to decide. History sheds but little light.

In the year A.D. 1325 Ibn Batuta, the great Moorish traveller and theologian, set out on 175
his 25 years' travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia and elsewhere. He sojourned 144
in Dhufar and amongst what he wrote of it was this :—" Another thing is that its people closely resemble the people of North-West Africa in their customs. . . . The outlying population is not Arab, but of a Sudanic type." Does Ibn Batuta help us?

The following discussion took place after the paper :—

Sir Arthur Keith said that Capt. Bertram Thomas had thrown light on one of the darkest anthropological 144
corners of the world. It was now clear that the Southern Arabs were very different from the Northern Arabs 142
—in almost every respect. If one sought to trace the affinities of the Southern Arabs by judging from their external appearances—as revealed in Capt. Thomas's photographs—one was immediately reminded of the native type of North-Eastern Africa. To his eye the Southern Arabs showed in their fuzzy hair and black—or dark brown—pigmentation of hair and skin, as well as in their facial features, distinct Hamitic or Somali-like affinities. On the other hand, Capt. Thomas's measurements of heads proved that the Southern Arabs differed from the Hamitic peoples of Africa and also from the Arabs of Northern Arabia in having skulls which were short and wide. The width of the heads of Southern Arabs was between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. of the length. The Southern Arabs were distinctly and highly round-headed—or brachycephalic. Hamitic peoples and the Badawin (Arab) type of Northern and North-Western Arabia were usually long-headed or dolichocephalic. Thus Capt. Thomas's observations confirmed the data collected by Professor C. G. Seligman fourteen years ago that the people of Southern Arabia are round-headed or brachycephalic.

Although the Southern Arabs—who were of low stature, the men being usually about 64 inches in height—showed certain Hamitic traits in their features, yet these were overshadowed by others which proclaimed an affinity to the Caucasian or white stock of mankind. They were less fully bearded than the Northern Arab and yet more so than among Hamites. In some respects the South Arabian type bridged the difference between Semite and Hamite.

[1] It is only within comparatively recent times that the Bauthara would recognize the *rabis* at all.

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

### Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

*In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

*In Seiyun:* Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

1/AL [The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM21



Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court. 778 796 782 792 [21 T21]

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer. 778 735

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed. 693 671 [692]

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of 671 693 577 626

Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hashemaut + MM2



693 tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had
671 touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt
577 or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's
626 own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

365 This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and
631 tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

565 We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past
463 incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will
465 therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of
421 those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The
792 Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

421 Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of
565 the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

565 Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen
144 and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

566 Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class.
463 The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



to rule them because he has a government, which is true. He says that our policy of recognizing them as small independent units, and according them rights as such, is a mistake.

However, we are committed to that policy. We have treaties with them promising them protection, and we intend to maintain these treaties. So we have to face the question of how to promote progress and development and the benefits that we feel we can confer on communities which are so divided and in many cases under such a very flimsy form of authority.

Perhaps Mr. Hamilton could say what he thinks on this point.

Mr. Hamilton: I think that it is useless to bring in any sort of progressive service, as Sir Bernard Reilly says, until peace has been made. It sounds easy enough to make peace. The men are intelligent and very poor, and they know that their feuds and war hurt them and no one else; but it is not so easy as all that, and the trouble is tribal honour. "If I make peace first, my honour has gone." You are up to the neck in that.

There is a way of making peace, and that is if your Political Officers are sufficiently numerous and well enough known; one man cannot be in three or four different mountains at the same time, and when he is going from mountain A to mountain B, mountain A goes on the rampage again. I do not see why some of these Political Officers should not be Arabs who know the country sufficiently well and can get down to conferencing, and so approach the matter from that angle of tribal honour.

The first argument will be: "No, nothing will induce me to make peace. That man killed my uncle." Then you say: "Suppose a really strong government came and made you make peace, like the Imam's Government or us?" He will say: "What can I do against a strong government?" You say: "Here is the big government. I am it." I do not think you will have much need to use force. The less force used, the better. I think force can be used in quite small parties on the ground, recruited from the tribes themselves in most cases, and not by imported troops.

On that basis I think you can make peace, and it is being made already very much on that basis in the Hadhramaut. Once that peace is made these men are perfectly capable of working up not only to a progressive form of society, but eventually, in my opinion, to self-government.

I have taught Scottish soldiers to use the machine-gun, and have also taught Arab soldiers; when I came to teaching ballistics and ballistic formulæ for night shooting, I found the Arab learnt in a week, while the Scottish soldier took ten weeks and more.

Once they are given pacification the Arabs will forge ahead.

I said to one fellow: "You Arabs are all mad."

He replied: "Oh no, we are not, but some time ago our house fell upon us and now we are struggling under the ruins of it."

I asked: "What can you do about it?"

"Nothing," he answered, "because we are inside. But you are outside. You can make a hole in it."

"What sort of a hole?" I enquired.

"Security," he answered. "You force security down our throats and we will thank you for ever."

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The tribes of the Central South have a poor reputation as regards the *radud-as-salaam*.[1] 576
The *radud-as-salaam* merely means that when two persons meet, between whose tribes there 577
is blood or other enmity, and one says to the other—"Peace be upon you" and the other replies "And upon you be peace," they have buried the hatchet for the nonce. For one now to take advantage of the other and slay him in his sleep, for instance, would in any other part of Arabia be the deepest treachery. Not so amongst this lawless brood, however. That it may happen elsewhere is possible, but normally the offender would be hounded out of his own tribe or be required to make some requital and his name would be for ever smirched. These non-Arabic speaking tribes of the Central South have no such regard for the elsewhere universal law. They also observe in the breach what is elsewhere a fixed canon, the *thamn-al-batn* or "stomach 574
price." This is an elaboration of the law of three days' hospitality. If a Badu has eaten the 171
salt of a man his goods are safe for a period of four days and four nights, the time for the last 576
vestige of food to have passed from his body. If the Badu's tribe unwittingly raids the man 671
during these four days they must and do return the loot. This *thamn-al-batn* is sacred with the other tribes of the southern fringe but not with the non-Arab group. Who and whence are these tribes? Indigenous? Of African origin? or have they a common origin with African tribes, or are none of these hypotheses tenable? Here is an almost black race of brachycephals, and brachycephaly properly belongs to Asia. The answer is for you to decide. History sheds but little light.

In the year A.D. 1325 Ibn Batuta, the great Moorish traveller and theologian, set out on 175
his 25 years' travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia and elsewhere. He sojourned 144
in Dhufar and amongst what he wrote of it was this:—"Another thing is that its people closely resemble the people of North-West Africa in their customs. . . . The outlying population is not Arab, but of a Sudanic type." Does Ibn Batuta help us?

The following discussion took place after the paper:—

Sir Arthur Keith said that Capt. Bertram Thomas had thrown light on one of the darkest anthropological 144
corners of the world. It was now clear that the Southern Arabs were very different from the Northern Arabs —in almost every respect. If one sought to trace the affinities of the Southern Arabs by judging from their 142
external appearances—as revealed in Capt. Thomas's photographs—one was immediately reminded of the native type of North-Eastern Africa. To his eye the Southern Arabs showed in their fuzzy hair and black—or dark brown—pigmentation of hair and skin, as well as in their facial features, distinct Hamitic or Somali-like affinities. On the other hand, Capt. Thomas's measurements of heads proved that the Southern Arabs differed from the Hamitic peoples of Africa and also from the Arabs of Northern Arabia in having skulls which were short and wide. The width of the heads of Southern Arabs was between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. of the length. The Southern Arabs were distinctly and highly round-headed—or brachycephalic. Hamitic peoples and the Badawin (Arab) type of Northern and North-Western Arabia were usually long-headed or dolichocephalic. Thus Capt. Thomas's observations confirmed the data collected by Professor C. G. Seligman fourteen years ago that the people of Southern Arabia are round-headed or brachycephalic.

Although the Southern Arabs—who were of low stature, the men being usually about 64 inches in height —showed certain Hamitic traits in their features, yet these were overshadowed by others which proclaimed an affinity to the Caucasian or white stock of mankind. They were less fully bearded than the Northern Arab and yet more so than among Hamites. In some respects the South Arabian type bridged the differences between Semite and Hamite.

[1] It is only within comparatively recent times that the Bauthars would recognize the *rabia* at all.

Socotra has also a good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his 181
friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came 577
to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a 795
strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They 702
belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their 276
neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African [144]
blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an 567
institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, 648
when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from 631
attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth

mean that his position *vis à vis* the Confederation is wholly negli- 643
gible. The influence that an individual ruler exerts over a con-
federation of tribesmen depends to a large extent on the personality 642
of the individual and I found plenty of evidence that Sultan 'Ali
bin Mansur is universally respected, admired, and held in affection
amongst the Shenafir tribesmen. Even though his word is not
universally law his services are much sought in mediation between
different factions, and there is no lack of factions in the Confedera-
tion. Along the length of the valley from the east of Shibam [484]
to the east of Tarim, which is considered Kathīri, village after
village is a small city-state on its own. It is difficult to pass from
one to another, even now that the motor-car has come, without the
traditional *siyar* or escort.

Typical of the situation has been the state of war that has existed 578 ●
for some time between the Āl 'Umar and Āl 'Āmr clans. They 669
have centred round the respectably-sized town of Al Ghurfa between
Shibam and Seiyun. Five or six years ago some of the tribesmen
of the Āl 'Umar started interfering with the inhabitants of Al
Ghurfa. Bin 'Abdat, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Āmr, protested to Salim
bin Ja'fer, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Umar, and proposed that they should
unite to make peace in Al Ghurfa. Hitherto disputes in the town [692]
were commonly referred to the settlement of one Sheikh Bā Abūd,
but this arrangement appears to have broken down. Bin 'Abdat
informed Bin Ja'fer that if he would not help him, he (Bin 'Abdat)
would establish control in the town himself. As Bin Ja'fer did not
give him support he took action himself and established order.
The new state of affairs was not popular, and probably resulted in
some further disorder which had its repercussions beyond local
limits. At this juncture the Qu'aiti *wazir* came to Shibam and
brought pressure on Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur to unite with him and
Salim bin Ja'fer in compelling Bin 'Abdat to vacate Al Ghurfa, and
retire to his original place outside. Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur marched
against Bin 'Abdat with one gun and some troops; Seiyid Hussein,
the Qu'aiti *wazir*, also brought a gun and some troops from Shibam,
Salim bin Ja'fer brought his own men, and the three forces col-
lected at Al Ghiyel. The town of Al Ghurfa was bombarded, and,
as it was described to me, " they had a good battle but without
success ".

Seiyid Hussein, the *wazir*, retired after having successfully com- 669
plicated the issue, and Sultan 'Ali immediately followed suit, leaving 725
Bin 'Abdat and Bin Ja'fer to fight it out together. Both sides
entrenched themselves. The elaborate system of fortifications and
communication trenches, still visible at Al Ghurfa, reminded me
strongly of France. They extend over nearly a mile, and in this
small patch of the valley both sides lived an uncomfortable life
for several years. Any cultivation that was done was done [722]
under difficulties, and the fields could only be approached
through trenches. Salim bin Ja'fer enlivened the proceedings by 715
importing a sort of armoured car from Java. This is now derelict

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



year, without considering special expenditure. It is fortunate that 000
these families give attention to the affairs of Government and have 185
been able to help to place the administration of the town of Tarim, 565
for example, on a business footing. The families include men of considerable wealth who have made fortunes in Singapore where they own a lot of property acquired and developed in two generations. The Al Kaf family, who, by the way, are mostly British subjects, pay (I give the figure from memory) 120,000 Straits dollars a year in taxation in Singapore, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman, the head of the family, is a Justice of the Peace.

But it is not only among the wealthiest members of the com- 185
munity that there are signs of a growing desire for peace and pro- 565
gress. I have recorded elsewhere that, as well as in Qu'aiti territory, 177
there are tribesmen of the Shenafir who have expressed a desire for settled administration and stated their willingness to pay taxes. As a whole the Kathīri people are the most wealthy of the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut. Their wealth is very largely derived from the East Indies, and principally from the Dutch colonies; but, as will be seen in the part of this report dealing with emigration, the Hadhrami wherever he settles is always a Had- [186]
hrami, and he looks on his beloved valley as a home to which he wishes to return. Abroad under a British or Dutch aegis he acquires a taste for peace and security. The money he makes he sends home, and, as stated elsewhere, the amount remitted from the East Indies is about seven lakhs of rupees a month. Once he has acquired property he ceases to be a Beduin with nothing to lose and becomes a landed proprietor with a large and expensive residence which he does not wish to see destroyed.

I have said that the Qu'aiti need guidance in their very creditable 186
schemes of progress, the Kathīri want it in order to achieve peace and security.

## CHAPTER XII.

### QU'AITI-KATHĪRI RELATIONS.

Between Qu'aiti and Kathīri there is, unhappily, profound mis- 578
trust. This, however, can be well understood when the history 182
of the country is understood, and when it is remembered that old hates in the East generally remain fresh long after the events which gave rise to them have passed. The Kathīri, not unnaturally, has cherished a grudge against the people who deprived him of what was once his country. The Qu'aiti retains a fear that he may yet lose what he has so hardly won. He realizes no doubt that except for British backing, which has sometimes been erratic in its application, it might well be possible for the Kathīris, original owners of the country, to call to their aid the other indigenous people of the Hadhramaut, including their old allies, and drive out the invader. The Qu'aiti also cherishes, perhaps, the hate that one party often bears towards the party it has wronged.

578 182 These sentiments I believe to be at the back of the unsatisfactory state of affairs between the two parties. They became accentuated by the Kathīris losing a seaport. Once they became land-locked, they felt themselves even more at the mercy of those who control the ways in and out of the country. The Qu'aitis, on their side, felt that with the seaports they could prevent the Kathīris from again becoming a menace. The inevitable result of this policy on the part of the Qu'aitis was intensified dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of the Kathīris.

185 661 648 Some 20 or 25 years ago they came to the conclusion that the state of affairs could no longer be borne. It was resulting in a neglected condition of the country and increased anarchy in the interior. All the revenue went into the pockets of the authority holding the seaports, and nothing was done in the way of improvements to the roads or to the development of the country. At this time there was little or no intercourse between the British and the Kathīri. The Qu'aiti had long been under British protection and had proved a loyal and faithful friend. Not unnaturally he was given support and in the usual way dealings with a tribe not in treaty relations were eschewed. Nevertheless the Kathīri would have preferred British assistance. As it was not forthcoming it is said that at different times he made advances to other powers, and the Turks, Dutch, Italians and French have been mentioned to me.

648 In due course we began to take an interest in the matter, and finally the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 was negotiated with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I do not propose to comment on this treaty (which is reproduced for convenience sake in an appendix) except to say that it seems to me admirable in its sentiments, particularly in its requiring the parties to co-operate in measures for the common benefit of the Hadhramaut. As far as the British Government was concerned its effect was to bring the Kathīris under British protection through the medium of the Protectorate treaty with the Qu'aitis. It also provides for the settlement of disputes between the two parties by the British. If the treaty could have been fulfilled in letter and spirit, all would have been well.

Apart from the fact that the Qu'aiti had been a loyal friend to the British, and that it would on that ground have been a mistake to upset his paramount authority in the Hadhramaut, any arrangement which set up two independent authorities in the Hadhramaut would be a mistake. The evil consequences of splitting up a country by means of separate treaties sought or granted on insufficient information are well exemplified in the case of Upper Yafa'. The Hadhramaut is economically and geographically a single unit, and its prosperity depends on the fullest co-operation between the party that controls the ports and the party that is paramount in the interior. It has often been said that co-operation of this sort is not in the Arab genius, but economic forces are often more potent

than purely ethnographical considerations, and I certainly believe that with some assistance the present trend of progress in Qu'aiti territory and desire for peace and development in Kathīri territory could be co-ordinated to a common end.

So much for the treaty.* Unfortunately the spirit of it has not as yet been carried into effect. Mistrust still reigns supreme. This mistrust insists on the fulfilment of such a condition as correspondence by the Kathīris with the British being conducted through Qu'aiti channels. If the mistrust did not exist, this provision would be a natural one tending to the facility of the conduct of public business. On the other hand, such provisions as that requiring co-operation remains a dead letter, and any attempts to secure progress by the Kathīris seem doomed to obstruction by the Qu'aitis.

In October 1927, and May 1928, conferences were held at Singapore in which measures were discussed which might lead to the improvement of the two states, and proposals were even brought forward for the institution of an assembly composed of representatives of both states to " scrutinize the budget ", and concern itself with the interstate co-ordination of certain departmental activities. These conferences were of course not likely to have any far-reaching result, but they were interesting as showing the ideas that were being imbibed by Kathīri emigrants in the advanced environment of the Straits Settlements. Such democratic concepts, however, were not likely to find favour at the present stage of development of thought in the Hadhramaut.

In 1929 the Kathīri Sultan drew attention to the lack of co-operation and the difficulty of introducing schemes of reform, and he proposed that a conference should be assembled to discuss the matter. The Qu'aiti to whom the matter was referred expressed his readiness to hold such a conference, but although the idea was encouraged it subsequently came to nothing and was eventually postponed *sine die*.

Shortly before my visit to the Hadhramaut Sultan 'Umar made his state tour of his domains and of Kathīri territory. He was received everywhere with acclamation and appears to have played the role of beneficent prince. He was presented with a petition asking for reforms. Certain abuses were mentioned in the petition, and, in particular, attention was called to the fact that although taxes were heavy they were not applied to the benefit of the subjects. There were also complaints of insecurity and the unrestricted traffic in arms. The petition recited the conclusion of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 and several others since concluded by Qu'aitis and Kathīris. The part of the petition dealing with these further documents is as follows :—

> " The next treaty between both Governments was concluded on 10th Shawāl 1336 (1918). There followed also a third pact, which was concluded on 30th Dhu'l Qada 1336, between the Qu'aiti Government on the one part and the Āl Tamim on the

* [Qu'aiti—Kathiri agreement of 1918—Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The following is the order of importance of the four paramount Chiefs of the Sei'ar tribe : Yeslam bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a of the Āl Hātim, Tanāf bin Seheil bin Runeidān of the Āl Hudeib, the Āl Qarwān, and the Āl 'Ali, 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī of the Āl Mulhī, and 'Ali bin 'Aita bin Tarim of the Āl Bā Rūh and the Āl Bāqi Msellem. Yeslam bin Muhammad is said to be far and away the most powerful of the Sei'ar chiefs. 619 682

The Sei'ar are descended from the tribe of Kinda and they claim Aswad al Kindi as their ancestor. On account of this descent the Āl Mahfudh are sometimes included with them. Their country, an inhospitable waste of barren plateaux scored with unfertile wadis, lies north of the main wadi and stretches west to Wadi 'Abr. It is called simply Reidat as Sei'ar. 619

They told me their neighbours are, on the east, 'Awāmir and Kathīr, Manāhil and Mahra, Zabeini, on the north, Kathīri as Suflan, Harawiz, Mahra, Zabeini, Rawashid, Murra, Yām, and on the west, Daham, 'Abīda, Marādā, Hammām, Bal 'Ubeid, Kurab. The very names tell how far afield they roam and raid. They are the wolves of the desert and steppe, and parialis to the wadi folk living south of them, for they raid into the Minhali country on the east and the Hamumi and 'Awābitha on the south. Philby mentions them raiding far into the sands to Bir Fadhil, to Sharma, and possibly going to Hadbat abu Khasba. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Qutun, a section of the Qara tribe, and raiding a Mahra encampment at the waterhole of Andhaur. He also says they raided as far north as the region of Umm Malissa and that Sei'ar is a word of terror to the Rashid and the southern Murra. The Nahd let them visit their markets through fear only, and they are an ever present danger to small unguarded parties of travellers, whom they have interrupted up to Ghadīr al Milib in the Wadi Du'an. Having no settled habitat they are hard to punish and have always proved elusive and wary. When travelling in small numbers outside their own country they choose the byways and travel by night, for owing to their habits every man's hand is against them. The only places at which they appear openly are Shibam where they behave themselves, and Meshhed during the time of the annual *ziyara* in the month of Rabi'l Awal when they sell their camels. But their hardier neighbours do not let them have it all their own way and the Manāhil, for instance, give them as good as they get. If they raid far they are also raided from afar, as witness the case of a young warrior of the Southern Ajman from the neighbourhood of Kuweit, who, proceeding to Nejran in the winter of 1934-5 to espouse a Yām damsel, raided the Sei'ar on the Hadhramaut borders on his way home and took five of their camels to Kuweit. 619 721 578 [181]

They have monthly truces among themselves, never longer; sometimes they will make new ones, sometimes they fight. I was

619 given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My
721 first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir
578 for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Seheil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathīri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathīri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a " B " agreement with them.

231 The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: " The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and
438 Manahil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have, of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell *saf* leaves for making mats, *'elb* trunks, and charcoal.

609 Bertram Thomas records the following description of them:
771 " The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. 'They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them!' " We learned from the
582 Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

622 The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and Ahmed
619 bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

[See pg 92 CATegory 116 Analyst]

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The musical instruments consist of the small *mawasi* drum described above (see Shebwani dance) and of a *kinanda* which supplies the tune. The latter is a string instrument of the nature of a guitar and is played in much the same way. It usually has seven strings, six of which used formerly to be made of sheep gut, but are now made of twisted silk. The seventh is the bass string and is made of copper wire. 535 534 517

Although not considered altogether reprehensible by austere Mohammedans, the "Kinanda" entertainment is looked upon as rather advanced, if not fast.

Sometimes the dancing is dispensed with and the entertainment is reduced to solo songs accompanied by the *kinanda*. It then assumes a more respectable character, though still not entirely approved of.

Being held indoors, the audience naturally come by invitation only. Refreshments consisting of coffee, sherbet and *halwa* (Turkish Delight) are handed round.

## THE ZAMIL DANCE.

This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs, and generally takes place either by day or by night, in front of the house of some exalted person to whom it is intended to pay compliment or to show respect. It is in fact a sort of serenade, but is also danced at weddings. 535 585 534

The dancers form up in one or more lines facing the house of the person in whose honour it is being held. The leader of the dance starts singing a solo, usually a song of praise to the person in question, and the remainder take up the chorus, which they accompany by rhythmic clapping of hands and swaying of the body. It is not by invitation, and anyone may join in. No drums or musical instruments are used and no refreshments partaken of, except at weddings. This dance has no mystical meaning.

## THE CHAMA DANCE.

This may be called a faction dance owing to the element of competition which enters into it in regard to some other faction which has also organized a dance. It is danced by Swahili men, who dress up in their best clothes and wear Arab daggers and swords borrowed from those of their friends who have them. They do their best to make as fine and as big a show as possible in order to eclipse the dance of the other competing faction. Formerly the dance was accompanied by a feast, and still is in the Lamu District, where the factions vie with each other as to the number of cattle they can afford to kill. In 1912, one faction at the village of Mkunumbi (Witu Sultanate) was known to kill thirty head of cattle to cap the twenty-five head which another faction had killed a few days previously.[1] Needless to say that such waste is impossible in the Malindi District where cattle are scarce, and where the dancers only compete in matters of personal adornment and the number of followers. Faction feeling sometimes runs high, and if two competing dances happen to be taking place on the same night it is not unheard of for one party to attack the other with sticks. 535 562 578 527



[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

535 171 The dance itself resembles the Arab Razha dance, the men standing in a row and jerking sticks in the same manner that the Arabs jerk their swords, one of which may sometimes be seen in the hand of a Swahili dancer of the Chama.

536 534 517 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* drum, a *chapuo* drum, a pair of cymbals or *vitasa*, a *zumari* or clarionet, all of which are described above (see Razha dance, Shebwani dance and Sherha dance), also a tambourine called a *tari* or *pari*. This is sometimes ornamented with loose brass discs that jingle together, as in the Spanish tambourine. The goat-skin is pegged to the wooden frame and is tightened by stuffing a more or less thick cord between the skin and the frame.

The Chama is usually danced in a public place and no invitation is necessary. Anyone may join in who feels so inclined. No refreshments are served nowadays in the Malindi District at a Chama dance, which has no mystical significance.

### THE SHANGWI DANCE.

535 562 578 654 The dance is identical with the Chama and is danced by the winning faction in the Chama competition, which is judged by the "*wazee wa Ngoma*," or elders of the dance, men who are accustomed to take the lead in dances, in other words "masters of the ceremonies." The winning faction proceed to the house of the organizer of the opposition dance and dance the Shangwi in front of it. He is supposed to take this as a compliment, and passes round a scent bottle and sometimes takes part in the dancing himself. The Shangwi has no mystical significance and is usually danced at night with the same orchestra as for the Chama.

### NGOMA YA FIMBO. (Walking-stick dance.)

535 585 852 562 The Ngoma Ya Fimbo is danced at Swahili wedding feasts, and at Swahili circumcision feasts. The dancers, all men, assemble by invitation and form a ring in the open near the house of the host, all carrying sticks, hence the name of the dance. While those in the ring balance themselves slowly and rhythmically from one foot to the other, two of their number go into the centre and make passes at each other with their sticks as if they were swords, in time to the drumming. After a few minutes of this, another pair go into the centre of the circle and perform in the same manner while the first two retire, and so on to the end of the dance, which usually takes place by day.

535 534 Cigarettes and betel nuts are passed round to the dancers. The music is supplied by *vumi* and *chapuo* drums described above (see Razha dance) by *vitasa* or cymbals (see Shebwani dance), and by a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). In a temporary pavilion of palm-thatch erected close by, a number of young slave women generally stand holding buffalo horns in their left hands, which they strike with small sticks in time to the drumming.

This dance has no mystic significance and is merely a form of rejoicing.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## THE MWARIBE DANCE.

A dance for women only, which takes place indoors if danced by free women, and out of doors if the dancers are slaves. The women stand in a circle singing songs and clapping their hands in time to a triangle described above (see Shebwani dance). One dancer then advances, executing various fancy steps, towards another dancer in front of whom she stamps her foot and then retires, still executing fancy steps, to her place in the ring. The person in front of whom the first dancer stamped her foot then advances from her place in the ring in the same manner as the first dancer and stamps her foot in front of a third, who comes out in her turn, and so on. 535 562 567

The songs are led by one of the women, who sings the solo while the remainder join in the chorus. No drums are used. 535 585 796

This dance often takes place at wedding festivals when betel nut and cigarettes are handed round with tea. Then towards the end of the entertainment meat and rice are eaten. It may also be danced on the occasion of other rejoicings, the special time of year for having it being the first week of the North-east monsoon, that is, in November and December.

This Mwaribe dance has no mystic meaning.

## THE MWASHA DANCE

This is also a woman's dance and is of Bajuni origin, its introduction to the Malindi District from Witu having begun about four years ago. If the dancers are free women they dance indoors; if they are slaves the dance takes place in the open, but always by invitation. 535 562 171 567

The guests line up in two or three rows, one behind the other, and move forward slowly an inch or two at each step, while they jerk their chins forward and move their shoulders in time to the drums. When the front row gets up to the wall of the room, or to the limits of the dancing-floor, all the dancers face about and move slowly as before in the opposite direction, the front row becoming the back one.

If it takes place indoors, no men are allowed to be present except the orchestra, consisting of the performers on a *vumi* described above (see Razha dance) on a tari or tambourine (see Chama dance), and on a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). 535 562 534

This dance, which has an undoubted touch of savagery about it, may perhaps be derived from the Somalis, and tends to work the dancers up into a nervous state. It is often danced in competition with another dance faction. No refreshments are served. 535 171 578

It has no mystic significance and appears to be indulged in when the general physical condition of the performers calls for a nervous outlet of some sort.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and there was a general desire for peace in order to get on with the work in the fields.

My wife was accompanied by Seiyid 'Alawi al 'Attas and Jemila, a devoted maid servant of the family, who perched precariously on the back of my wife's camel singing Badawin war songs. My wife learnt some of them and they proceeded up the wadi singing duets. Besides being an amusing companion Jemila was a very useful one, for she proved an excellent lady's maid and a masseuse as well. Seiyid 'Alawi has married a tribeswoman, so the party stayed at Zeila in the house of his brother-in-law, one of the principal Ja'da chiefs. Like many Ja'dis their host had been to Java, but the only sign of his travels was a bicycle which he had brought back with him and which he said he preferred to a camel. From Zeila they rode through many small villages to 'Anaq belonging to the Al ash Shaibi, who are credited with possessing the Evil Eye and consequently shunned as much as possible. Seiyid 'Alawi thought it prudent not to mount his camel till the village had been left well behind, in case he was made to fall off by some evilly disposed person. They spent a night at 'Amd, which is almost at the end of Ja'da territory, for a little farther up the wadi the Madhi tribe have their habitat. All the villages in the wadi are much alike with a few three- and four-storeyed houses set amongst smaller ones, and most of them have well-built tanks for catching rain-water. Particularly in the left bank there are many dug-out caves, largely used now for habitation and grain stores. Miss Caton-Thompson says that these were probably all Himyaritic tombs. I think some cave dwellers she met were rather put out when she told them they were living in tombs. Many of the Al 'Attas family, who have much influence over the Ja'dis, have been canonized and their domed tombs are objects of veneration in several villages. My wife's appearance was taken for granted at 'Amd, where she spent a night with women who had been to Java and had seen European women before. They had brought back a few momentos of their travels and impelled by the same spirit that makes us hang Eastern curios on our walls they had hung up a pair of cheap European high-heeled slippers for the admiration of their untravelled friends.

From 'Amd they returned down the wadi following the left bank and passed many ruins, most of which covered low spurs jutting out from the cliffs. At Husn Ba Qasm there are ruins known as 'Adiya Qudha'a which may indicate the site of what was once the principal town in the wadi, as in the days before Islam it was called Wadi Qudha'a. Near the large village of Bateh they passed the time of day with a man who spoke to them from a second-storey window of his house as he dared not go out, for he was carrying on single-handed a war with all his neighbours. Like many others with whom my wife talked he asked for peace. Another had said "We want peace, we're sick of fighting. A man works in his fields and is shot dead—what's the use of it?" And another stopped them and said: "A country without a government is not a country. Bring us peace and settled government."

Returning to Shibam, which is of course the principal Qu'aiti town of the interior, there is west of it past Al Qatn and as far as the junction of the Wadi Du'an a bloc of Yafa'is, with a few Kathiris surviving in such places as Ajlania on the junction itself and also in the Wadi 'Amd. These Yafa'is have been

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



that of the Sultanates of the West, though I was interested to find that there was a small Jewish community, and this is the nearest that any Jews have got to the Hadhramaut. The Balhaf Sultan, an intelligent young man whom I have known for a long time, came to see me in Seiyun and asked us to help in extending peaceful arrangements to his country. Though most of the sections have signed the truce the situation is still far from settled, as Miss Stark, who arrived at 'Azzan from the Wadi 'Amd shortly after my first visit, will tell.

A short distance down the Wadi Meifa'a from 'Azzan are the ruins of Naqab al Hajar described by Wellstead a hundred years ago. This is Meepha Metropolis. I have only seen the ruins from the air, though Miss Stark has recently visited them. There are inscriptions also at Husn Gharab on the coast which Mr. Martens, one of this winter's visitors, has recently seen. He too was well received.

Bir 'Ali is the other Wahidi Sultanate and, though the old Sultan has no claim to rule outside his wedge-shaped little walled town, he is unfortunately at present unwilling to compose his long-standing differences with the Balhaf and 'Azzan relatives, which makes settlement more difficult. I have lately had both Sultans in Mukalla and tried to get them to bury the hatchet.

I have had little opportunity in this last tour to do more for the Mahras than visit Qishn, their capital, occasionally, and Socotra I have not visited since 1935. It may perhaps be remembered that the Bin Zueidi section of the Mahras did not exactly welcome us when we arrived at the coast through the Wadi Maseila in 1934, and a couple of months ago for the first time the Mahras asked for intervention in their internal affairs, as the Zueidi tyranny in Seihut had become acute. We are now trying in the normal political way of advice and exhortation to induce them to cease their exactions on unarmed merchants and peaceful citizens in a town in which they have no lawful concern, and I paid my last visit to Qishn a day or two before I left Mukalla.

I had intended to visit Gheidha, the most eastern landing-ground in the Aden Protectorate, but we did not get so far and made a landing at Haswein just west of Cape Fartak. The inhabitants said it was the first time that Europeans had been there, though they called me by my name as soon as I stepped out of the machine. These coastal Mahras are a peaceful folk engaging mostly in fishing, and they have pleasant breeze-swept villages of a simple style of architecture, unlike the Hadhramaut but which reminded Mr. Figgis, who was with me, very much of the Arab dwellings in Northern Nigeria. I do not believe we could really have been the first Europeans to visit the place as there is quite an adequate account of it in the Red Sea Pilot, perhaps derived from a visit of Captain Haines in the *Palinurus* over a hundred years ago. Perhaps too there had been a much earlier European visitor, for authorities on classical geography usually identify Ras Fartak, Cape Syragrus, the Boar's Head, as the point from which Hippolus set forth in about A.D. 45 when he discovered the changes of the monsoons. I have long had a wish to put up on this majestic cape of Fartak a simple obelisk with the inscription, a quotation from the *Periplus*, "Hippolus discovered the changes of the

It seems that herein lie pagan ideas attached to the person of a Muslim saint who appears to be regarded in much the same way as a tribal god of the pre-Islamic era. On consideration, I do not think that the intent is to bring the head of the foe to 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, but he is evidently regarded as assisting the quarter in battle against, perhaps, another quarter, Muslims and Šawāfi' notwithstanding.

In the case of a quarrel between two quarters, when one quarter denies its culpability it uses the following formula :

لَا عَصَبْنَا وَلَا طَلَقْنَا وَلَا رَمَزْنَا وَلَا غَمَزْنَا

« We did not decide (to do anything), nor did we omit (to do anything), we did not look nor did we whisper [12]. »

This is known as the « oath of the denial » (yamīn al-inkār).

2. Ahl al-Ḫilaif

a. Metre : Basīṭ, ||—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

اَلْيَوْم جُمْعَة وَغُدْوَة مِثْلَهَا
لَمَّا تَقُومَ اَلْقِيَامَة كُلَّهَا.
عِيوَهْ ! وَوْ ! مِسَهْ !

« Today is Friday, tomorrow the same,
Until the Resurrection comes, all of it. »

The sense is, probably, that today is a holiday, or at least a fortunate day. After this and other verses, exclamations such as the above are commonly used. Another common exclamation is wō-lākhap. What these exclamations signify none can say, but all Ḥaḍramis concur that they are old and curious. I am tempted to suggest they might be corrupt vestiges of pagan religious ritual.

12 The latter two verbs of the « oath of denial » were thus paraphrased for me, but I feel that the classical senses of the Lexicons might be more appropriate here.

houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the [186] austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These 342 well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign 578 countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them 185 among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem 648 presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination 157 before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, 578 and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same 648 demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section 185 of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with 643 the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at 625 Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in 185 a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had [illegible] disturbed by blood feuds and tribal raids.

000 of the city. Before the gate is the Wādī Seded, where the sea
484 has penetrated far inland and formed an inlet. Here on the
361 beach the caravans camp as they travel to and from the
231 interior. Hundreds of camels are kneeling in great circles,
492 eating the food that lies in the centre. Other camels are being bathed and scrubbed down with sea-water, while still others are protesting with gurgling snarls against the treatment of some skin trouble or of big open wounds. There are donkeys here and there amongst them. Bedouins lie asleep wrapped
[264] about in their cloaks or sit round a small fire eating out of wooden bowls their porridge of crumbled bread mixed up with a little fat. Some are busy with the difficult work of loading: after the freights have been weighed by lifting and then
[372] divided, they are fastened on to the pack-saddles. Children are collecting into baskets the camel's dung which is of great value as fuel. The ground is swarming with the so-called camel-louse, which is really a sort of tick. The penetrating odour of the camels' urine and sweat hangs over this wide-spread, permanent bivouac.

487 We go inland along the bank of the Wādī Seded, which is
312 here filled with sea-water, so as to cross, by making a big bend, behind the 1800 feet high rocky ridge of Makalla. On the left of the road, only a few miles from Makalla, there are groves of palm, with the white summer quarters of the Vizier and of the Sultan. Here is a spring from which, by means of a thin, iron pipe lying on the ground, water is carried to Makalla to provide the town with drink.

361 Two hamlets, el-Baqrēn and Baqērēn, with some cultivated
578 fields, lie close to the frontier of the Sultanate of Makalla. There are two fortified towers on the road manned by soldiers, and not far beyond Baqērēn there stands a whitewashed piece of rock. Against the high wall of primary rock, rising up each side of the road, two white marks have been made to show even in the mountain region, where the land is at peace and where at war. No vendetta may be carried on nor ancient feuds settled by arms in or around the town.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



A little way beyond the boundary-marks, about 20 Bedouins have made a bivouac under an overhanging wall of rock. On the top of the rock on the other side of the road are their outposts, who keep a sharp look-out for caravans passing along the high road. One caravan that had carried out a vendetta is now in safety in Makalla, a willing prisoner. We only realized later that we should be the ones to free it from that imprisonment. 578

The road winds through steep rocks and at last zigzags up to a plateau which seems to be of coral limestone formation. The hamlet of Maᶜōṣ lies in a rocky valley a little in front of the plateau; further up, in a longer valley, there is a larger village called el-Ḥarshīyāt. From the plateau one can see, far away to the left, the village of el-Ḥawwāᵓ. We are soon past the rock massif of Makalla, and the road descends to an inlet of the sea which has run far inland, whereon lies the village of Buwēsh. Papaya, bēdān and bananas are planted here along the edge of fields of lucerne. In the wādī that runs into the sea near Buwēsh there are, higher up, more date-palms and other fruit-trees, plantations which are the property of the Vizier and of other rich men of Makalla. The wells from which the fields are irrigated are not deep here, only 20 feet. On the coast between Buwēsh and Makalla lies Rūkeb. The road mounts again, runs for some time over coral formations, and then again drops to the Wādī Feleq, into which, far inland, the sea-water runs and which, consequently, is more like a small river. Baṣra lies a little higher up this wādī. At the edge of the stream we find much *asal*[1] growing. The coral limestone terraces on both sides are fairly high. The road runs farther over level land where jathropha shrubs grow; whole patches, also, are covered with incense bushes, which are recognizable by their scent and have either no leaves or very small ones. Some tall acacia bushes with elongated blossoms stand out here and there amidst the brownish shrubs which grow upon the bare rocky ground, strewn with pieces of coral. 361 245 312 487 137 487

[1] A kind of big reed.

middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all 342
sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One 167
can see that we are nearing Terīm with its refinements of 177
civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in 641
huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many 191
Ḥaḍramīs who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals [262] served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of [144] races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the 648
*ṣalāt* and by meals. As the Sultan[1] has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional 578 ●
question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the 648
Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[1] ['Alī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin āl Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn -- ANALYST]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



578 neutral and too democratic. Although there are heated arguments and great differences of opinion come to light, these do not in the least disturb the hearty hospitality that, here once again, we find such a surprising experience. We are also invariably required to give our impressions of Ḥaḍramaut. This is done with the object of hearing our opinion about the lack of legal security, the great poverty of the people, the backwardness of the country as regards education, roads and irrigation. My attempts to keep myself out of the game by making comparisons between conditions here and those which I had become acquainted with in the two other independent Arabian kingdoms, the Yemen and the Hedjaz, were followed with attention, but did not serve my aim. Finally, the Sultan or one of his advisers asks directly what we think of the state of affairs here. It is then no longer possible to avoid answering, and we give frank vent to our disappointment over the great lack of unity and the state of warfare which are a disgrace to the leading Ḥaḍramis, whom we have known as able, energetic men and peaceful citizens in Java. I then say to them that they ought not to look for help from abroad, whether it be from England or Holland, or from whatever other country they expect it, but that they must seek unity amongst themselves and set their hand to the plough with self-confidence; then, with the help of Allah, they will succeed in putting an end to many shameful conditions in their country. We repeated this in many keys in all parts of the Āl Kathīr country and never noticed that it spoiled our excellent relations in the least degree.

As soon as the Sultan notices that we are desirous of rest, he gives the sign to withdraw, and all present, with the exception of a number of servants, follow their lord and master out of the room. The servants crowd joyously round the samovar, which goes on producing numberless glasses of tea until deep into the night, and it does not occur to them that we, blasé Europeans, may perhaps be disturbed by the stories told and the songs sung by them. The nights passed on the great roof-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



often very poor in water, but, over and above this, countless internal wars make traffic dangerous and force travellers to go by very circuitous routes. This is why the Ḥaḍramī seldom knows his own country well. A learned Ḥaḍramī whom I knew formerly said to me quite truly: "I know all the volcanoes of Java and all the stations on its main railway lines, but I cannot give you any information about the wādīs and mountains a few hours distant from my home." The Sultan of Sēwūn is a relatively favourable exception to this rule in that he has seen Aden; he went there to attend a conference convened by the British authorities, where an attempt was made to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Qeᶜēṭī and Kathīrī rulers. He desires to see more of the world, including Java, the land in which three quarters of his subjects have interests. The great difficulty, however, is to get over the Qeᶜēṭī barrier, and for that an aeroplane is necessary. The site for the future aerodrome which was shown to us seemed quite suitable.

In the evening there is again a gathering on the roof-terrace at ᶜIzz ed-Dīn. The subject brought forward for discussion is the poverty of Ḥaḍramaut and how relief from it may be obtained. In and around Sēwūn the water-level is not deep, which fact accounts for the prosperous palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. But the water-supply would have to be enlarged if it is to help the people really forward. This cannot be done by motor pumps, because they are too expensive in practice. The pump at Hēnin has to work eight hours a day to keep in existence a few acres of *dhura* and 200 small palm-trees, and that costs more in kerosene and lubricating oil than can ever be made from the produce of the irrigated land. The soil in Sēwūn is better and water nearer to the surface, and yet experience has taught that here also the motor pump does not pay. Can matters not be improved by means of artesian wells? The Sultan asks us to help by sending an expert with the necessary instruments. He says that at one time, in the days of the Ḥimyaritic kingdom, Ḥaḍramaut must have been

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



afterwards with wet body in the dry evening breeze certainly 000
does. Of course there is a servant with a samovar, who provides the glasses of tea, which are always welcome in this country of dry heat. The ripest dates are brought from the gardens; they are sweet but very astringent. The foreigner accustoms himself but slowly to this unusual and, at first, unappetising food. But soon he learns to appreciate the date whilst it is still hard and fresh.

Swimming by moonlight is an unexpected luxury and a par- 529
ticular pleasure to us in this country. On one side, close to the swimming-pool, there is a space for the *ṣalāt*, where a niche in the wall indicates the *qibla*[1]; on the other side there is a summer pavilion. Everything has a wash of light, delicate colour; the lines of the walls and roofs are edged with fine figures and borders, and one is inclined to forget that the material of which they are made is plain, brown mud. We spend quite a long time together with the young people on brotherly terms. They let themselves go now that no elders are present. Swimming and diving competitions are held with great gusto, until the time comes for the *ṣalāt el-ʿishā'* (the late evening ritual prayer), which is performed with suitable solemnity. The evenings at home on the great roof-terrace are always very attractive; only intimate friends remain till then, and our host puts questions which show clearly how his thoughts are always occupied with his country and people, and how he is seeking ways for their advancement.

There are many difficulties in the making of a road to esh- 491 1
Shiḥr. The Ḥumūmī Bedouins, notorious for their love of fight- 578
ing, and through whose territory passes the greater part of 656
the road, have — after being richly paid — made a pact by 489
which they promise not to oppose it and whereby Sayyid Abū Bakr binds himself only to allow the use of the road for travellers by motor-car, while the conveyance of freight shall be left to the camels of the Bedouins. There is only left unfinished a stretch of three days by camel.

[1] The *qibla* is the direction in which Mecca lies. 104

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut NM2



721 Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al 'Abr. Proposals were made and
643 agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

648 In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil
and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce
619 drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

578 In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had
721 refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The
619 Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Mansab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

000 The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

[648] The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring. Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

## Chapter 2: Population

162 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

## Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a
467 boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



631 missioners) and Qaims (Assistant District Commissioners) of the provinces and districts. Naibs were provided with motor vehicles to increase their mobility. An annual conference of all Quaiti, Kathiri and Wahidi Naibs and Qaims has been instituted, at which lectures and practical demonstrations in all administrative subjects are given by local experts.

631 621 Another significant step towards devolution of duties on to Naibs and Qaims has been the setting-up of village councils under their direction and supervision. The activities of these councils include village welfare, hygiene, sanitation, increase of food production, etc. The Sultan of Qu'aiti State has also nominated a Municipal Council for Mukalla.

643 631 The period under review was also notable for increased co-operation in administrative affairs between Qu'aiti and Kathiri and for the settlement of problems common to these two States. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri State Secretaries and senior officials met several times during 1949 and 1950 and joint decisions were taken on such matters as local import and export taxes, development tax on date-bearing palms, postal affairs, remittances from abroad, famine relief and prevention, and unification of vehicle licences.

[665] 578 With the retirement of Sheikh Seif bin Ali Elbually, C.B.E., from the post of State Secretary to the Qu'aiti Government, in December, 1950, and the appointment of Sheikh Qaddal Sa'id El Qaddal Pasha, M.B.E., formerly Qu'aiti Director of Education who is a Sudanese, as his successor, the so-called Nationalist Party, whose membership does not extend beyond Mukalla Town, seized the opportunity to foment serious rioting, in the quelling of which 16 persons were killed and 24 wounded. Suitable sentences were dealt out to the ringleaders by the Special Court set up by the Sultan to try the offenders. The new State Secretary has been warmly welcomed into the office by all the responsible citizens and officials of the Qu'aiti State in Mukalla and throughout the Provinces.

643 The Kathiri Sultan Ja'far bin Mansur bin Ghalib died on 24th April, 1949, and was succeeded by his nephew Sultan Hussein bin Ali bin Mansur al Kathiri, who was recognised by His Majesty's Government as Treaty Sultan on 22nd May, 1950.

671 During 1950 codified criminal law based on Sharia was introduced in the Qu'aiti State.

*Beduin Affairs*

631 721 *Wahidi Area.* As a result of the operations against the Khadim of Mithaf and the Al Adhm Tribe in January and February, 1950, the whole Dhiyeibi area came under the Sultan of Balhaf and security posts were established on the western border of the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In July, 1950, a successful operation was undertaken against Al Ba Dukhn for breach of the peace and the tribe was brought under complete control

I:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



H 167 463 Z 463 coffee-shop and small store keepers, and itinerant coffee vendors who are so much in evidence, while particular mention should also be made of the shark and dried fish dealers, the dealers in baskets (*vikapo*) and mats (*majamvi* and *makanda*), and those engaged in the meat trade between Zanzibar and the African mainland ports (especially Kismayu, Lamu and Dar-es-Salaam), in all of which occupations the Hadhramis have almost a monopoly. It is of interest to notice here that the meat trade was almost exclusively in the hands of the Hadhramis as long ago as 1876 (Christie). Fishing and hawking are practised by the Shihiris alone, while basket and mat making is confined to the up-country natives. Fitzgerald writing in 1898 (*Travels in B.E.A., Zanzibar and Pemba*), states that the making of mats (*makanda*), which were used for the exporting of grain, was confined to the Shihiris and the Gunias (Bajunis).

Although, formerly, the Hadhramis owned many clove and coconut plantations and much house property in the Town of Zanzibar, they now have little property of either kind. It is probable that much of it has passed into the hands of Indians.

**Political and Social.**

Z 162 579 563 H 167 579 Absorbed in trade and the accumulation of money, the members of the Hadhrami community are comparatively indifferent to politics and are therefore not important factors in the political life of the Protectorate. Although hot-tempered by nature, they are as a rule law-abiding and loyal, giving little trouble to Government and seldom appearing in the Courts. During the years 1923 to 1928, however, a series of affrays occurred in most, if not all, of which the Hadhramis are known to have been the aggressors. The victims of their attacks were successively the Baluchis, the Khoja and Hindu Indians, and the Muscat and Suri Arabs. The last and most serious disturbance occurred in 1928 when fighting between the Hadhramis and the Omani Arabs continued intermittently for four days during the course of which four persons were killed and some 30 wounded. Nasir bin 'Abdulla al Kathīri,[1] the chief ringleader, and others were subsequently deported. There has been no further trouble.

In 1926 a split occurred in the community, the majority following Nasir bin 'Abdulla (Hadhrami, see above) and the minority Sa'id 'Abūd al Humeid (Shihiri). The rival factions were only prevented from coming to blows by the intervention of the Sultan.

[1] Nasir 'Abdulla is an example of a Hadhrami who emigrates to more than one of the people's favourite hunting grounds abroad. After he and his deported companions had appealed, with the support of His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan, but unsuccessfully, against their removal from Zanzibar he migrated to Java, whither migrating Kathiris mostly direct their steps, and returned to Mukalla in December, 1934. He has now gone back to his tribe.

The affairs of the community are managed by two associations— Z
that of the Hadhramis (Junia' al Hadhramia) and that of the 162
Shihiris (Juania' Ahl as Sahil)—which also endeavour, as far as 579
possible, to compose differences between individuals. The leading 563
personalities in the associations at present are Muhsin bin Ghalib
al Yafa' of the Hadhramis and Muhammad Sa'id 'Abūd al Humeid H
of the Shihiris. Both are semi-officially recognised by Govern- 167
ment as the heads of their community. 579

The clannish feeling of the Hadhrami prevents him, in Zanzibar
as in other countries, from mixing with the members of the other H
communities any more than is necessary for the purpose of his 167
trade or calling. He keeps much to himself and, as a rule, takes 186
little part in local life, political, sporting or social. Even his Z
intercourse with his cousin from Oman is restricted. The lan- 563
guage difficulty is no doubt partly responsible in the case of those
who are not permanently settled in the Protectorate, but even
those who have made Zanzibar their home appear to learn the
local language less readily than other foreign elements of the popula-
tion, and they exhibit the same disinclination for social inter-
course with their neighbours. Hardworking and thrifty, unlike
their cousins from Omān, and absorbed in their own occupations,
they appear to have few forms of entertainment even amongst them-
selves, dancing and sitting in coffee-shops being almost the sole
manner in which they seek relaxation, at any rate in public.

In Zanzibar there is an increasing tendency, especially amongst H
the younger Arabs and Africans, to adopt European clothing. The 186
Hadhramis, however, are little affected by the prevailing fashion, Z
and it is rare to see one of the community attired in anything 563
but his own national dress. As in the case of clothes, so in his
manner of living; the Hadhrami, preferring his own customs. does
not easily adopt the manners and ways of those around him.

The women of the Hadhramaut have always felt a striking H
aversion to emigrate and, as has already been noticed, it is but 167
rarely that the Hadhrami will bring his wife or female relations Z
to Zanzibar. Even girls who are born in Zanzibar and are taken 563
back to their homes in Arabia seldom return to the Protectorate 582
after attaining puberty. Few of the children born locally, there-
fore, are of pure stock. As a rule, marriages are not contracted
in Zanzibar by those who are not settled on the islands, although
liaisons of a temporary kind are frequently entered into, particularly
with African women. Those who are more or less permanently
settled normally marry members of their own community, but they
occasionally seek brides from amongst the Muscat Arabs, the
Comorians and sometimes even the Africans.

Z
The diet of the Zanzibar Hadhramis naturally consists, as far as 563
possible, of those articles of food to which they are accustomed in 262
H
167
186

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers. 647

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000. 651 652

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few. 579 [712 165] 625 721 701 643 619 728 [652]

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government. 619

[1]About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off. 567

V: Starke-Rasmaskes T-2 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently 679
killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not 131
more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. 186
Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through 114
or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, 177
and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to 773
Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaveth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became [101]
"Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along 131
a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and 133
deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, 133
one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent 311
moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is [504]
Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

# THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

701 DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

● 579 721 643 Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

648 728 Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

648 At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

185 625 701 From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls. [871]

113 * Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

162 According to my informant, Ḥurēḍa has now about
●581 2000 inhabitants. There are some 4000 people living in Java who originally came thence. During the last 20 years from 300 to 400 men have left Ḥurēḍa to try their luck in Java. The successful ones come back occasionally for short periods and then return again to their business in the Indies. When they can afford it, they send their sons to Ḥaḍramaut, where they remain for five or six years to become intimate with their family, language, religion and traditions. The daughters *never* come from Java to Ḥaḍramaut just as the women here *never* go to Java. Consequently the children born there are always of mixed race. Sayyid Ḥasan could only remember one Ḥaḍramī woman who had succeeded in carrying through her wish of accompanying her husband to Batavia. Generally the wives do not wish, nor have they the courage, to do so.
167 I learned later on that Javanese and Chinese women are, how-
463 ever, brought to Ḥaḍramaut. They are said to be very much
162 sought after as housekeepers and cooks. Purely Javanese boys, who have come to study the religion and language, are not to be found in Ḥurēḍa, and only a few in other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Ḥasan estimates the number of Ḥaḍramīs living in Hyderabad to be at least 13.000, for the greater part serving as men and officers of the *Niẓām*'s Arabian regiment. Many of the families of note here have Hyderabad officers among their ancestors.

[162] In Shibām, Sēwūn, Terīm and ᶜĒnāt there are, according
565 to my informant, 6000 sayyids, and another 4000 in Wādī Dōᶜan, Wādī ᶜAmd, Wādī Rakhīya, and Djibāl Hadjaz. Three divisions of the Ḥumūmī Bedouins are sayyids. Originally their leaders were sayyids, who were gradually absorbed into the tribe of which they have come to form a part. All sayyids in Ḥaḍramaut belong to the ᶜAluwī branch. The founder of the family was ᶜAluwī binᶜUbēd Allāh bin Aḥmed (who came from ᶜIrāq) bin ᶜĪsā bin ᶜAlī el-ᶜUrēḍī bin Djaᶜfar eṣ-Ṣādiq bin Muḥammad el-Bāqir bin Zain el-ᶜĀbidīn bin Ḥusēn bin ᶜAlī bin Abī Ṭālib. In Ḥaḍramaut Proper the sayyids have still an in-

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes :—

" The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

" Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

" Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

## Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [258] [582] [20]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Seheil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathīri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathīri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a "B" agreement with them.

The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: "The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and Manahil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have, of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell *saf* leaves for making mats, *'elb* trunks, and charcoal.

Bertram Thomas records the following description of them: "The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. 'They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them!'" We learned from the Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and Ahmed bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

[See pg 92 CATijary 1168 Analyst]

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB 1
Arabs



H 563 582 871 I 563 658

4. *Coalescence with other members of the community in the Netherlands-Indies.*—The method of living and the language among Arab families in the Netherlands-Indies and particularly in the Netherlands-Indian Arabic families, are practically the same as among the Netherlands-Indian population of corresponding kind and position. In the Hadhramaut women do not travel abroad according to the customs of their country. Arabs who wish to found a family in the Netherlands-Indies are thus obliged to look for a wife among the native population, or among the daughters of their own country-men who have been born and brought up in the Netherlands-Indies. The more well-to-do aim at sending their sons to the Hadhramaut or to the private Arabic schools existing here to complete their education. This helps to keep up their knowledge of the Arabic language and Arabic customs. The sons of those who are less well-to-do for the most part receive no Arabic education, and thus know little of their own language and customs. The establishment by the Government of the H.A.S. (Holland-Arabic School) at Sole in recent years provides an opportunity for the Arabs to give their children also a Western education.

H 798 I 798 671

5. *The part they play in the life of their adopted country.*

The principal part played by the Arabs in this country in the life of the community is of a religious nature. The Hadhramis, once they have been established in the Netherlands-Indies, generally take care to moderate the fanaticism ruling their fatherland. But some of them have shown a keen proselytising spirit in their own localities. Above all the law scholars in the Arabic community have had a steadying and by no means inconsiderable influence on Islam in the Netherlands-Indies, through their teaching, their pupils and their widely distributed writings. These law scholars are consulted by their native colleagues in cases concerning Mohamedan law and several " fatwas " or expert judgments exist thanks to them.

H 167 641 186 I 641

6. *What proportion permanently sever their connections with the Hadhramaut.*

None of the Arabs in this country who have been born in the Hadhramaut completely sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. Many of them are so attached to the land of their birth that they have only one wish and that is to spend the last days of their lives in the Hadhramaut. Some of them who have grown rich here return from time to time to the Hadhramaut to visit members of their families and for a short change. Now and then one will leave the Netherlands-Indies to establish himself once more for good in the Hadhramaut. Lately a group of Netherlands-Indian Arabs have been trying to establish connections with the native populations. These Arabs desire to consider the Netherlands-Indies as their fatherland. They will also try to adapt their

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM 2



The elected hereditary tribal Chiefs form the third type. In each tribal 624
confederation there is a central tribe. Of this central tribe one family only provides Chiefs to the confederation. Normally the election of a Chief is the concern, not of his family only, but of the central tribe, while powerful petty Chiefs of other tribes within the confederation have a considerable say in it. Such Chiefs are, by virtue of the conditions of their election, truly democratic. By ancient tradition, however, they are held in great respect and are referred to invariably, as is their family, as the "Dola," or dynasty. They are accorded high-sounding titles by the Government and by other Chiefs, but their tribesmen address them by their names, and it would appear that the high-sounding titles are of recent adoption in the country. The Imam of San'a rarely uses them. Government correspondence is, for this reason, often a source of merriment.

It will be seen that all Chiefs are, whatever their type, elected in a 643
greater or lesser degree—the Suzerains within their family circle and the 622
hereditary Chiefs within their tribe. The main difference between the types is that, whereas the Suzerains are of foreign descent to the tribes over which they rule, the hereditary Chiefs are of the tribe and, as such, do not need to surround themselves with the trappings of imposed authority. In appearance the Suzerains are more imposing, and this has misled officials into supposing that they are of more consequence socially than other Chiefs are. This is, of course, not so.

In all these types of Chief, when the Chief dies his eldest son would appear, by custom, to have less right to succeed than others. Suzerains always try to impose their eldest or their favourite son as accepted heir during their lifetimes. This has happened in Lahej, where it led to a revolt among the Sultan's relations, and in Makalla by arrangement. The Sharifs of Beihan have been exceptions to this, and have abided by custom. When Sharif Ahmad died, they held discussions among themselves. The eldest son was Sharif Hussein, but he was appointed Regent to his own eldest son, a young boy, who was elected Sharif. The reason given for this was that the grandson of the dead Chief had longer to live than his father and that frequent change in leadership was a bad thing. As a rule, however, Chiefly families pass the Chiefdoms from branch to branch, and, when the Chief dies, a nephew will usually succeed. Among the 'Audhali 628
recently, the Chief was murdered by his cousin. The tribe was split in two by feud, but one half elected the murderer's son, a boy of eight years old, to the Chiefdom. This boy was accepted in 1934, when the feud ceased, as Sultan of the tribe.

We next come to the holy classes. The first of these are the Sharifs 792
and Seyyids, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. They live in settlements and elect among themselves in each family a headman. They have great influence in the community, but it varies, of course, with [556]
the amount of their riches. Most Seyyids—the only Sharifs are those in 824
Beihan—do not bear arms and take no part in tribal warfare. They are 423
peacemakers, and derive considerable income as such, and as dispensers of the Sharia or holy law of Islam. They are treated with veneration and respect and, after death, are frequently treated as saints. They marry

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792 582 423 tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

792 778 346 The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

778 651 423 792 754 Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

792 778 In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We [776] must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

792 [672] 778 792 782 All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

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do not remain for any length of time on one plot of land, but take up all 565
kinds of casual labour as well as farm labour. Among such one may find 463
carpenters, gunsmiths, builders and tradesmen. The manufacture of 386
indigo dye, with which the Mushreqi tribesman dyes himself and his 438
clothes, and the sale of indigo-dyed cotton is, to a large extent, in their hands. Large families of this class are to be found throughout the territory in the market towns. Unlike the Raya, they do not bear arms.

The Heiq class is almost indistinguishable from the Dha'if, but there 565
is a distinction in that the Heiq can be described as the lower third of the Dha'if class. That is, that the whole class of artisans and casual labourers can be described, in a generalization, as Dha'if, but the poorer, unskilled casual labourer is of the Heiq class. As an example, a rich shopkeeper is Dha'if, but, because of his possessions, is not Heiq. It is not a very important distinction. Dha'if in Arabic means "weak." I am unable to discover the derivation of Heiq, but we can take it to mean "of low quality."

The Asakar, or hired soldier class, are a class in themselves. They 565
are of two kinds—freed slaves still in the service of their master and 567
tribesmen who have lost their lands and their status and entered the ser- 558
vice of their Chief. Once this happens to a tribesman, he or his descend- 582
ants can never return again to the status of tribesmen, but remain ever afterwards Askari, whether they still serve master or not. They have dropped below the aristocratic classes and can no longer intermarry with tribesmen. I have heard of no exceptions to this hard rule.

The next class is that of the Doshan, plural Doashin. I can find no 565
derivation to the name. They are of two kinds—wandering singers and 527
dancers, and settled singing-men who have attached themselves to a particular tribe. Their origin is a mystery. The wanderings ones, who give the most dismal performances of what they call dancing, can always be driven out of camp. It is best, however, to be polite to the settled ones. They are skilled versifiers, and those who treat them with contempt must submit afterwards to unmerciful lampooning. On public holidays in up-country towns one of them frequently appoints himself as Amir Al 'Id, or "Amir of the Holiday." Supported by his friends and anyone who wants some fun, he calls upon the local Chief and demands a present and entertainment. This the Chief refuses, and receives an ultimatum challenging him to war in a few minutes. The war which ensues is conducted for the most part with fireworks, blank ammunition, water and balls of dung. The Chief's fort is the centre of attack. Eventually the Chief will ask for a truce, ambassadors are exchanged and all ends in an entertainment and a present to the "Amir." At other times they will institute rhyming competitions, or will compose and sing long Qasidas on the local political situation. Some of these settled Doashin become men of mark, but they have, for all their poems and lampoons, little effect on tribal policy and no say whatever in tribal affairs.

Slaves need no introduction. The slave trade in the south is dead, but 567
the descendants of Abyssinian slaves still serve their original masters. It would be absurd to free them; they are completely free, but slavery is their only niche in the community. Take that away and they would be homeless and workless. As in the rest of Arabia, except the Zeidi Yemen,

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM 2 Hadhramaut MM 2



A lady MEMBER asked for information with regard to weddings or customs relating to the women. 000

Major HAMILTON said that in the big towns the women married to rich or ultra-respectable people were in purdah. Over the whole of the Protectorate women normally walked about unveiled and free, but in some tribes in the Yemen they had most peculiar veils of all varieties. Women had a tremendously powerful influence on political affairs. They would have heard of Mrs. Ingrams, who went into the harem and talked to the women. She had enormously extended the influence of the political officer. He thought it was safe to say that the women in the harem could influence two-thirds of the people while the political officer could only influence one-third. He therefore thought it was a point for consideration whether more lady doctors, who could speak Arabic and who were young and prepared to travel, should not take up work in these places, where they could go into the harem and influence mothers and wives. 582 562 000

In reply to a question as to how any business was conducted in the democratic tribes, Major HAMILTON said that the Chief would go back to his village with a proposition, whereupon anybody who had any influence in the tribe would meet him. There would be a frightful noise, and eventually he would say, "This is what I have been told"; then several people would jump up and say, "This is where I die; I am not going to do this." There would be a very long parley which would sometimes end in bloodshed. Sometimes, when it was a question of the payment of a Government fine, the whole tribe would split up, and then there was no opportunity of getting them together again in order to obtain any sort of concerted action. Once he was out on a very hot day and came on about forty men walking backwards away from each other with rifles pointing at each other. He shouted a greeting in a loud jovial tone. They all stopped and kept one eye on him and one eye on each other. He said, "What is going on?" and they answered, "A peace conference." (*Laughter.*)

Dr. HUGH SCOTT said he thought that Major Hamilton had made an extremely important point when he indicated that none of these social conditions were static, and there was a danger in accepting as final the reports of anthropologists and travellers who were only there for a short time and could only give a record of things as they found them at that time.

He wished to bear witness to the value of the work which Major Hamilton had put on record. He had been privileged to see him at work among the tribes for a short time when he was up in the hills under Major Hamilton's protection and the protection of one of the Chiefs who had appeared on the screen. He was now having to compile all sorts of information about those and adjacent parts of Arabia, which meant extensive reading, and he had not read in any book an account which equalled in detail and exactitude Major Hamilton's description of the social organization of the tribes.

On the political side, when he was in the Aden Protectorate he had discussed with English friends, officers of the Aden Government, the question whether the policy of indirect administration would be sufficient

21: Thomas T•5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



825 a 3 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
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## INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
[782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

## LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

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583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
832 the triple nose-kiss, left, right, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

21: Thomas T•5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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21. Thomas T5 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting 576
a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 832

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part
I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which 562
are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman
would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten
as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes,
and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire 585
of his wife and say *Talag* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house 586
with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If 583
she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price.
It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really
expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper,
ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representative father
or brother descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the
women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only
cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter [782]
a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous
chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of
circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day 844
or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the
possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken
up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is
generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal 848
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have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation
of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

## CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees 342
at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain [754]
itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four
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When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The hot air penetrates to the furthest and highest parts of the cave and does not cool down much there. In the whole region of Ḥaḍramaut, after the broken mountainous strata of the coast, we saw no further trace of volcanism.

When our eyes had grown accustomed once more to the light and we had had a drink, we descended again into the wādī. The sun shone right into it and it was suffocatingly hot, nor could we escape from the heat until we reached Qabr Hūd, so we walked as fast as we could and in two hours arrived at the well at the beginning of the wādī. Our escort were unable to keep up with us, but two young Minhālī Bedouins, with the slender suppleness and strength of the ibex, offered their society and were entertaining companions. We were thoroughly exhausted by the time we got to the well, but they were absolutely fresh. They drew water for us and, afterwards, drank themselves but once. We drank the water — warm, but clear — again and again, and had it poured over our backs and chests, so getting a long needed bath. One of the two spoke Swahili; he had spent five years in Nairobi where he had had a shop and had saved 600 *riyāls*. Now he was the happy possessor of ten camels and a young wife. The other was still unable to marry, as the marriage portion here is from 150 to 200 *riyāls* and, for the moment, he had not this amount. He would like us to take him abroad, there to try his luck as his comrade had done. The Minhālīs wear necklaces of plaited leathern straps and red and white coral, and round their waists, under the cartridge-belt, I saw similar, very artistic bands. They are bare-headed, with a strap round their greasy hair, which is waved and worn half-length, and they wear small loin-cloths over which the cartridge-belt is buckled. Many of them have still muzzle-loading guns. It is obvious from their primitive appearance that the lands where they rove lie along the southern border of the Rubʿ el-Khālī, the extreme northern limit of Ḥaḍramaut.

In the house in the ravine of Qabr Hūd it was also unbearably hot, the indoor temperature reaching from 40° to

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



a monotonous chant. The dance is usually executed by two persons, each dancing by himself, who, while turning all the time, alternately approach and withdraw from the orchestra, but always keep at the same distance from each other; when the first two are exhausted their places are taken by two others, and so on for many hours at a stretch.

The status of women in the Hadhramaut appears to be superior to that in many Mussulman countries. The wife lives in the same part of the house as her husband, but she receives her visitors in her own rooms. Divorce is very rare, the repudiation of a wife without very good cause being held in high contempt; if an individual did so repudiate his wife he would certainly fail to obtain another wife of the same social scale. Polygamy is very uncommon; there are no eunuchs; in the event of the husband taking another wife, the first quits his roof immediately and returns to her parents. Amongst the Bedouins of the Hadhramaut polygamy is absolutely unknown. If a man definitively leaves his town to seek his fortune elsewhere, the wife may, and usually does, refuse to follow him. In this contingency it is considered legitimate for him to take another wife, and he is not expected to continue to support the first.

The marriage dowry is of a double character; there is, first of all a legal tariff varying from 20 to 2½ florins according to the social status of the fiancée; and secondly, there is the nuptial gift, the amount of which varies according to her personal qualities: the first may be reclaimed in the case of a dissolution of marriage, the latter not.

In the Hadhramaut the poor and the rich dress much alike, the quality of the material, the jewels worn, and the arms carried being the only indications of status. The clothes worn by the townsmen resemble, in many respects, those of most orientals. Sandals with thin shoes, but no stockings, are worn; when out of doors a kind of plaid (*rādi*), made locally, about seven yards long and a little short of a yard wide, is invariably carried or thrown over the shoulders. The head is shaven.

The garments of the tribesmen are similar in the main to those of the townsmen, except that they are shorter, are worn somewhat differently, and the material is usually woven in diamond 'check'; the *jubbah*, or robe, is replaced by a shorter buttoned jacket; and the tribesmen carry their arms, a straight sword, a two-edged poniard, &c. The *rādi* is also worn. The hair is grown long and falls over the shoulders, and the head is covered

# ARAB AND SWAHILI DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

By R. Skene.

## The Razha Dance.

535 171 702 562 The Razha was originally a war dance practised by the Arabs in Arabia prior to starting out on a raid. It originated at Manga in Muscat, and is danced with naked swords, the object being to get the muscles of the sword arm into training. The Hatharmut or Hadramaut Arabs also dance it, but use daggers instead of swords.

The dancers, who of course are all men, stand in two rows facing each other, or in one row. They advance slowly a few inches at each step, keeping time to the drumming. The sword is held perpendicularly in the right hand, the fore-arm being at a right angle with the body. While holding the hilt of the sword in a perfect balance between the thumb and the first and second fingers, the base of the hilt is given a smart blow with the wrist so as to make the blade of the sword quiver. Being highly polished and made of fine supple steel, the quivering blade reflects the light in a most effective manner. This can only be done with the long straight double-edged sword of Southern Arabia and not with the scimitar-like blade used further north, owing to the thickness of the latter weapon.

535 534 The music for the Razha dance is supplied by a drum called a *chapuo*, cylindrical in shape, covered with goat skin on both ends. It is about eighteen inches long by eight in diameter, and is played on both ends with the hands, while hung across the waist of the drummer by a cord round the neck. A bass drum is also used, called a *vumé* of the same shape as the *chapuo*, but larger, being two to three feet long and fifteen inches in diameter. It is beaten in the same manner as the *chapuo*.

Anyone who knows how to dance can join in. No refreshments are served.

## The Sebewani Dance.

535 562 585 This is danced by the Arabs of Mkulle or Makulla, without any weapons, and by men only, who attend by invitation. It usually takes place at a wedding festival, in which case food and coffee are served round, or at any other general rejoicing. The dancers stand in two lines facing each other about eight or ten paces apart. They bend the knee and bow the body slightly forward to each other in unison and in time to the beating of the drum. They also sing a chorus song and keep time by clapping their hands together.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



536 585 534 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* drum, both described above (see Razha dance). A treble drum called a *marwasi* is also used. It is much smaller than the *vumi* and is only about eight inches long by eight inches in diameter. It is covered with goat skin on both ends and is beaten with the flat of the right hand while held in the left by a piece of cord. The drumming is accompanied by cymbals of brass called *vitasa*, which are placed on the ground one above another and struck with pieces of stick, one in each hand, so as to make the cymbals rattle together. In lieu of the cymbals, a metal rod is sometimes used bent into a triangle exactly the same shape as the triangles used in European military bands, and played in the same manner.

The Shebwáni is sometimes danced in the afternoon but more often at night. It has no mystical meaning.

### THE SHERHA DANCE.

536 585 562 This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs to celebrate a wedding or for any other cause of rejoicing. The dancers, who are all men, and who attend by invitation, stand round in a large circle some ten paces in diameter and sway the body slightly from side to side, while clapping their hands in time to the music. Presently two men come out of the ring and dance towards each other, and then backwards and forwards in a sort of "chassé croisé" for about ten minutes, and then they retire from the ring and are replaced by two others. Sometimes two couples dance in the ring at the same time.

536 585 534 The music is supplied by a wind instrument much resembling a clarionet or a French "musette," but the mouthpiece consists of two reeds instead of one, and the tone is very similar to that of the chanter of Scotch bag-pipes. This instrument is called a *zumari*, and supplies the tune accompanied by a *vumi* drum described above (see Razha dance) and by a *msondo* drum standing about four feet high with a diameter of about eighteen inches. It is cylindrical in shape and is covered by a goat-skin at the top end only, the bottom end being open. It is played with both hands in an upright position, resting on the ground.

No refreshments are served at a Sherha dance except if it is held to celebrate a wedding, in which case *pilau* is served and coffee also.

### KINANDA DANCE.

536 562 517 This dance partakes of the nature of a performance for the amusement of the onlookers and is held indoors. Two male performers hold a silk scarf or woollen shawl between them and repeatedly advance towards the audience and retire, while executing various steps and figures. They then face each other and dance in that position, executing with their arms and bodies slow and graceful movements. Then they face the audience and advance and retire and so on till they become tired.

12: Skene G.B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The musical instruments consist of the small *mawasi* drum described above (see Shebwani dance) and of a *kinanda* which supplies the tune. The latter is a string instrument of the nature of a guitar and is played in much the same way. It usually has seven strings, six of which used formerly to be made of sheep gut, but are now made of twisted silk. The seventh is the bass string and is made of copper wire. 535 534 517

Although not considered altogether reprehensible by austere Mohammedans, the "Kinanda" entertainment is looked upon as rather advanced, if not fast.

Sometimes the dancing is dispensed with and the entertainment is reduced to solo songs accompanied by the *kinanda*. It then assumes a more respectable character, though still not entirely approved of.

Being held indoors, the audience naturally come by invitation only. Refreshments consisting of coffee, sherbet and *halwa* (Turkish Delight) are handed round.

### THE ZAMIL DANCE.

This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs, and generally takes place either by day or by night, in front of the house of some exalted person to whom it is intended to pay compliment or to show respect. It is in fact a sort of serenade, but is also danced at weddings. 535 585 634

The dancers form up in one or more lines facing the house of the person in whose honour it is being held. The leader of the dance starts singing a solo, usually a song of praise to the person in question, and the remainder take up the chorus, which they accompany by rhythmic clapping of hands and swaying of the body. It is not by invitation, and anyone may join in. No drums or musical instruments are used and no refreshments partaken of, except at weddings. This dance has no mystical meaning.

### THE CHAMA DANCE.

This may be called a faction dance owing to the element of competition which enters into it in regard to some other faction which has also organised a dance. It is danced by Swahili men, who dress up in their best clothes and wear Arab daggers and swords borrowed from those of their friends who have them. They do their best to make as fine and as big a show as possible in order to eclipse the dance of the other competing faction. Formerly the dance was accompanied by a feast, and still is in the Lamu District, where the factions vie with each other as to the number of cattle they can afford to kill. In 1912, one faction at the village of Mkunumbi (Witu Sultanate) was known to kill thirty head of cattle to cap the twenty-five head which another faction had killed a few days previously.[1] Needless to say that such waste is impossible in the Malindi District where cattle are scarce, and where the dancers only compete in matters of personal adornment and the number of followers. Faction feeling sometimes runs high, and if two competing dances happen to be taking place on the same night it is not unheard of for one party to attack the other with sticks. 535 562 578 527



[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



535 191 The dance itself resembles the Arab Razha dance, the men standing in a row and jerking sticks in the same manner that the Arabs jerk their swords, one of which may sometimes be seen in the hand of a Swahili dancer of the Chama.

536 534 517 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* drum, a *chapuo* drum, a pair of cymbals or *vitasa*, a *zumari* or clarionet, all of which are described above (see Razha dance, Shebwani dance and Sherha dance), also a tambourine called a *tari* or *pari*. This is sometimes ornamented with loose brass discs that jingle together, as in the Spanish tambourine. The goat-skin is pegged to the wooden frame and is tightened by stuffing a more or less thick cord between the skin and the frame.

The Chama is usually danced in a public place and no invitation is necessary. Anyone may join in who feels so inclined. No refreshments are served nowadays in the Malindi District at a Chama dance, which has no mystical significance.

### THE SHANGWI DANCE.

535 562 578 554 The dance is identical with the Chama and is danced by the winning faction in the Chama competition, which is judged by the "*wazee wa Ngoma*," or elders of the dance, men who are accustomed to take the lead in dances, in other words "masters of the ceremonies." The winning faction proceed to the house of the organiser of the opposition dance and dance the Shangwi in front of it. He is supposed to take this as a compliment, and passes round a scent bottle and sometimes takes part in the dancing himself. The Shangwi has no mystical significance and is usually danced at night with the same orchestra as for the Chama.

### NGOMA YA FIMBO. (Walking-stick dance.)

535 555 557 562 The Ngoma Ya Fimbo is danced at Swahili wedding feasts, and at Swahili circumcision feasts. The dancers, all men, assemble by invitation and form a ring in the open near the house of the host, all carrying sticks, hence the name of the dance. While those in the ring balance themselves slowly and rhythmically from one foot to the other, two of their number go into the centre and make passes at each other with their sticks as if they were swords, in time to the drumming. After a few minutes of this, another pair go into the centre of the circle and perform in the same manner while the first two retire, and so on to the end of the dance, which usually takes place by day.

535 534 Cigarettes and betel nuts are passed round to the dancers. The music is supplied by *vumi* and *chapuo* drums described above (see Razha dance) by *vitasa* or cymbals (see Shebwani dance), and by a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). In a temporary pavilion of palm-thatch erected close by, a number of young slave women generally stand holding buffalo horns in their left hands, which they strike with small sticks in time to the drumming.

This dance has no mystic significance and is merely a form of rejoicing.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## THE MWARIBE DANCE.

A dance for women only, which takes place indoors if danced by free women, and out of doors if the dancers are slaves. The women stand in a circle singing songs and clapping their hands in time to a triangle described above (see Shebwani dance). One dancer then advances, executing various fancy steps, towards another dancer in front of whom she stamps her foot and then retires, still executing fancy steps, to her place in the ring. The person in front of whom the first dancer stamped her foot then advances from her place in the ring in the same manner as the first dancer and stamps her foot in front of a third, who comes out in her turn, and so on. 535 562 567

The songs are led by one of the women, who sings the solo while the remainder join in the chorus. No drums are used. 535 585 796

This dance often takes place at wedding festivals when betel nut and cigarettes are handed round with tea. Then towards the end of the entertainment meat and rice are eaten. It may also be danced on the occasion of other rejoicings, the special time of year for having it being the first week of the North-east monsoon, that is, in November and December.

This Mwaribe dance has no mystic meaning.

## THE MWASHA DANCE.

This is also a woman's dance and is of Bajuni origin, its introduction to the Malindi District from Witu having begun about four years ago. If the dancers are free women they dance indoors; if they are slaves the dance takes place in the open, but always by invitation. 535 562 171 567

The guests line up in two or three rows, one behind the other, and move forward slowly an inch or two at each step, while they jerk their chins forward and move their shoulders in time to the drums. When the front row gets up to the wall of the room, or to the limits of the dancing-floor, all the dancers face about and move slowly as before in the opposite direction, the front row becoming the back one.

If it takes place indoors, no men are allowed to be present except the orchestra, consisting of the performers on a *vumi* described above (see Razha dance) on a *tari* or tambourine (see Chama dance), and on a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). 535 562 584

This dance, which has an undoubted touch of savagery about it, may perhaps be derived from the Somalis, and tends to work the dancers up into a nervous state. It is often danced in competition with another dance faction. No refreshments are served. 535 171 578

It has no mystic significance and appears to be indulged in when the general physical condition of the performers calls for a nervous outlet of some sort.

12: Skene G,8-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



are given vent to by singing and running round in a circle, in time to the beating of a drum, very much in the same manner as children do. No invitations are given, and anyone may join in. No refreshments are handed round. 536 534 782

### THE MDEMA DANCE.

This also is an importation from Nyasaland (see Ki-Nyasa dance), and is danced by the slave population only, either by day or by night. It is exactly like the Ki-Nyasa dance described above, with the exception that no iron bells are strapped round the knees, and it is, if possible, of a simpler character, the Ki-Nyasa being in truth simple enough. Like the latter it is merely a vent for high animal spirits. No refreshments are given and no invitations are necessary. 531 567 782

### THE KINDIMBA.

The Kindimba is not a dance, but a musical entertainment into which enters a slight element of the mystical. It is only given by people of the slave class in fulfilment of a vow. Any person who greatly desires something or some event to come to pass makes a vow to give a Kindimba if his wish is fulfilled. 533 567 517 782

Invitations are issued to his friends by the person who is giving the entertainment, and they assemble at his house. The men and women sit together either indoors if there is room, or else in the open. Songs are sung by a leader, the other guests joining in the chorus, and clapping their hands in time to the singing, which is accompanied by a small drum called a *ngumbaro*, very like a *marwasi* (see Shebwani dance), with this difference that only one end is covered with a goat skin, while in the *marwasi* both ends are covered. The other end, which is open, is made to rest on the chest or stomach of the player, who performs upon it in that position with both hands. Hard grains of maize are placed in dry gourds of various sizes, and these are rattled in time to the singing. 533 634 782

The entertainment partakes of the nature of thanksgiving, and frivolous songs are therefore avoided. Although not exactly of a religious character, a certain amount of superstition is far from being foreign to the Kindimba.

### THE VUGO.

At a wedding, a procession of women is often formed in the evening after dark to parade the streets, and is called a Vugo. The women sing in chorus to the sound of buffalo horns beaten with short sticks. No men are allowed to take part in the procession, which is both an Arab and a Swahili custom. 533 562 585

### THE KIWAGO DANCE.[1]

This is a Swahili medicine-dance usually held outside the town in a plantation on a moonless night. No artificial lights are allowed. Swahilis who have any 585 756

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

609 against the two non-Moslem travelers, we started in the direction of Hajarēn. It was a silent struggle against thirst and heat. At last we were standing at the foot of
361 the mountain on which Hajarēn lies. It must be a very old town. For a land of warfare its position is also very favorable. In the midst of the broad valley, on the top of a steep rocky hill, which stands there alone and commands the entire valley, they naturally preferred to build a town in former times. We were at the end of our strength as we worked our way up, in through the gate of Hajarēn, and by many narrow, steep streets to a plain house where a friend of the Dutch was said to be living.
609 He might well have been startled when he saw the caravan of his unexpected visitors. It was a long time before the doors were opened. Luck was not with us.
[598] A double wedding feast was just being celebrated, and the women had to vacate the room in which we were to be received. Our host was not rich, but he put himself and all that he had at our disposal. When he saw how weary we were and how we longed for rest, a room was made ready for us higher up, where we could sleep until the meal was ready. We were under the roof of a Dutch subject. I remember with deep gratitude the oriental hospitality which cannot be praised enough, and of which we saw here a brilliant example. Thoroughly refreshed
361 we started in the afternoon for Meshed. We had to
609 close our ranks in doing this, for here was the neutral
721 zone between the regions of the āl-Qa'ētī and the āl-
609 Kathīr. Everything here indicated warfare and highway robbery. Meshed is a little place built in the midst of the desert, solely for the purpose of preventing highway robbery. The trade route from the Wādī Hadramaut through the Wādī Dō'an to the coast is safe since Meshed was established. Here we came into the jurisdiction of the family al-'Attās, and our troubles and anxieties came to an end. We were taken into a beautiful, spotlessly clean guest house, and were welcomed as honored guests by the cultured son of the absent governor.

21: Thomas F6 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting 576
a woman would saluté her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 832

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part
I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which 562
are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman
would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten
as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes,
and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire 585
of his wife and say *Talag* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house 586
with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If
she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. 583
It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really
expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper,
ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representative father
or brother descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the
women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only
cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter [782]
a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabat* (a monotonous
chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of
circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day 844
or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the
possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken
up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is
generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal 848
marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere 837
in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would 684
on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be
done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and [628]
have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation
of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

## CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees 342
at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain [754]
itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four
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When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## 6. ALONG THE BEACH TO ESH-SHIHR.

That night in Sheḥēr there was not much sleep, for a wedding was being celebrated in the village square below us. Several houses are lighted up, and, from our vantage-point high up above them, we can see the feasting that is going on there. Afterwards by the light of gasoline lamps there is dancing in the square; the men and women stand facing each other in long rows, which approach each other with rythmical stamping of feet and clapping of hands and then again retreat. All unite in the singing of a monotonous refrain, the constant repetition of one and the same melody. The actual song is recited by a single person. They all know the old songs and enjoy taking part in them and joining in the rising enthusiasm caused by their refrain. Sweat pours down the naked chests of the men, but it is nearly morning before their energy is exhausted and the festal joy quietens down.

Our driver wakes us up with a toot from his horn in front of the castle, before it is yet light. He knows that we must do the journey to esh-Shiḥr and back, by way of the coast, before high tide.

Our host accompanies us. The road runs along the east bank of the wādī right up to the coast, which is at a distance of only a few miles. On the beach lie the heavy boats of the fishermen and of the men who collect guano. There are drying-places for fish close to some huts: we could smell them that night in Sheḥēr. The guano is conveyed by camel from here to Ghēl Bā Wazīr, there to be used for manuring the fields. The shore is very like the sandy beach of Holland and there are even dunes with some vegetation, which are, however, not more than 20—30 feet in height. On the beach there are armies of crabs, which, at our approach, try to escape either in the direction of the sea or towards the sand-dunes, where cone-shaped heaps of sand flank the entrance to their long spiral passages, which lead underground. The ridge of dunes, which

its fine strategic position once commanded the great route from the coast to Ḥaḍramaut. Within the gate the streets also mount steeply. The town gives an impression of decay; there are few tall or fine houses, the white colour of prosperity is to be seen on hardly a single one of them; the town is grey-brown as the mountain against which it stands.

We stop in front of a double house that is built over a small side-street. Sayyid Muḥammad bin Sālim bin ʿAbdarraḥmān Āl Qāf, the man to whom we were given an introduction by our host in Dōʿan, is said to live here. The letter is taken in, the door closed again, and we wait in the shadow of the narrow, overarched street. Time passes and we ask ourselves anxiously whether the *Efrendjīs* are perhaps not welcome in this house. No, that is not the case, but a double wedding is being celebrated at this moment, and the house is therefore full of women, who have to be removed and shut up, before our company can be allowed to enter. At last this stage is reached and we are taken to an apartment which shows signs of having been very much inhabited. It is warm there and not clean, and, although we already fill the room, a number of inquisitive people force themselves in. The master of the house himself as well as his snivelling small son appear to have economised water for all other purposes than washing. But his friendly glance and hearty welcome make everything all right at once.

It is perhaps here timely to pay grateful tribute to the wonderful hospitality of the Arabs. Who, in the West, would hide his disappointment at having a wedding feast broken in upon by a whole caravan of tired and hungry men? Who amongst us would immediately throw open his whole house to the travellers, "the sons of the road", himself bring water to slake their thirst, and immediately prepare food to strengthen them?

Life is democratic here. In the reception-room, which is chock-full, sit slaves, servants, children and master all together, who drink out of the same bowl and pour out coffee

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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a monotonous chant. The dance is usually executed by two persons, each dancing by himself, who, while turning all the time, alternately approach and withdraw from the orchestra, but always keep at the same distance from each other; when the first two are exhausted their places are taken by two others, and so on for many hours at a stretch.

The status of women in the Hadhramaut appears to be superior to that in many Mussulman countries. The wife lives in the same part of the house as her husband, but she receives her visitors in her own rooms. Divorce is very rare, the repudiation of a wife without very good cause being held in high contempt; if an individual did so repudiate his wife he would certainly fail to obtain another wife of the same social scale. Polygamy is very uncommon; there are no eunuchs; in the event of the husband taking another wife, the first quits his roof immediately and returns to her parents. Amongst the Bedouins of the Hadhramaut polygamy is absolutely unknown. If a man definitively leaves his town to seek his fortune elsewhere, the wife may, and usually does, refuse to follow him. In this contingency it is considered legitimate for him to take another wife, and he is not expected to continue to support the first.

The marriage dowry is of a double character; there is, first of all, a legal tariff varying from 20 to 2½ florins according to the social status of the fiancée; and secondly, there is the nuptial gift, the amount of which varies according to her personal qualities: the first may be reclaimed in the case of a dissolution of marriage, the latter not.

In the Hadhramaut the poor and the rich dress much alike, the quality of the material, the jewels worn, and the arms carried being the only indications of status. The clothes worn by the townsmen resemble, in many respects, those of most orientals. Sandals with thin shoes, but no stockings, are worn; when out of doors a kind of plaid (*rōdi*), made locally, about seven yards long and a little short of a yard wide, is invariably carried or thrown over the shoulders. The head is shaven.

The garments of the tribesmen are similar in the main to those of the townsmen, except that they are shorter, are worn somewhat differently, and the material is usually woven in diamond "check"; the *jubbah*, or robe, is replaced by a shorter buttoned jacket; and the tribesmen carry their arms, a straight sword, a two-edged poniard, &c. The *rōdi* is also worn. The hair is grown long and falls over the shoulders, and the head is covered

21: Thomas F6 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting 576
a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 832

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part
I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which 562
are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman
would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten
as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes,
and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire 585
of his wife and say *Talaq* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house 586
with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If
she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. 583
It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really
expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper,
ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representatives, father
or brother, descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the
women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only
cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter [782]
a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous
chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of
circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day 844
or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the
possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken
up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is
generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal 848
marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere 837
in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would 684
on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be
done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and [628]
have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation
of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

## CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees 342
at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain [754]
itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four
nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. 782
When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

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There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

Against the walls there are cushions on which to recline. The ugly modernity of mirrors fixed into the ceiling has been introduced into el-Bārr's house. Also, the old Ḥaḍramī colours of rust-red, black and white, which harmonize so well with the brown wood and with the lighter brown mud, have had some ugly new ones added to them.

In order to give pleasure to the family we take some more photographs of grown-ups and children. The household slaves and their jet-black children are with us in the *maḍjlis*; they serve round coffee and tea and many sweets, and talk with us, but nevertheless remain modestly in the background.

One can see from the many negro types in the streets and plantations that there are a great many slaves in Wādī Dō'an. They are employed for work on the land and as domestic servants.

In the afternoon we did what we could to treat a great number of patients, who came to us to ask for medicines or to have wounds and ulcers attended to. We could do little, however; and what, in any case, is the use of but one treatment? In all Ḥaḍramaut and its surroundings there is only one doctor with a western training. It is again the progressive Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf who has got this young Indian doctor to come here, but his work lies in far-away Terīm. The rich go sometimes to Aden to consult a doctor, and the Mission Hospital at Shēkh 'Uthmān near Aden is also known to a few.

Towards evening I stroll with Sayyid 'Aluwī to Qāret Āl el-Miḥḍār, half an hour distant, where lives Sayyid Muṣṭafa bin Aḥmad el-Miḥḍār, to whom we have a letter from the Vizier at Makalla. Our reception is particularly friendly. The old sayyid has seen something of the world, and he compares life in Wādī Dō'an to sleep, which is something like death. I am urged to talk constantly and the atmosphere grows so friendly that he takes me with him to his other and larger house and shows me all over it, having first, with his own hands, shut in his young wives behind bolted doors and hung the keys on his belt. The wives take their revenge by having

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the Ghumdān appear to be of recent date. The well is also 172
found, and plucky Sayyid ʿAlī has the daring to go down into it, in spite of the gruesome tales of snakes and other monsters which are said to haunt its depths. The pit appears to be a shaft of karst about 90 feet in depth; in the lower part of it there is a transverse passage into which Sayyid ʿAlī penetrates over a few yards, with a loaded revolver in his hand. Then the squeaking of bats fluttering around him becomes too much for him and he returns to the shaft, where Von Wissmann has followed him. No traces of human activity nor of hidden treasures can be detected by the light of their electric torches. Both of them climb up again out of the pit without mishap, but with great effort.

Henceforth Sayyid ʿAlī feels drawn to Von Wissmann by the 000
friendship of admiration. Of course he wishes to go with us into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut to the great Sayyid el-Kāf in Terīm and then to accompany us further to Qabr Hūd, there, with his friend "Ḥarmal" (corruption of Hermann, see p. 47), to explore the mysterious Bīr Barhūt. He who dared the descent of Bīr Ghumdān shall also venture the hell's mouth of Barhūt, and the name of Sayyid ʿAlī shall be handed down in honour for generations in the annals of Ḥaḍramaut. Drunken with pride and joy Sayyid ʿAlī accompanies Von Wissmann through the darkness back to Ḥurēḍa. He relates his tale, which grows ever finer in the telling, until deep into the night. My companion's fame precedes him into Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid ʿAlī will introduce him with pride: "Ḥarmal, the German airman (look at his knee that has been shot away), the man who fears no height nor depth."

On the morning of May 22nd we have another invitation, 484
this time to take tea with Sayyid Ṭālib, who is introduced as 595
the Sindbad of Ḥaḍramaut. He has travelled pretty well all 431
over the Islamic world, where as a sayyid and son of a race of theologians he was everywhere welcome, and he has returned wealthy from his travels. This Sindbad's beautiful house is jestingly called "the little Yildiz". He is old by now, but listens

with amusement while his younger guests relate how, every year, he marries the prettiest girl to be found in Ḥurēḍa. We perfume ourselves with incense, the host doing so the most thoroughly of us all. He keeps the smoking censer under the wide folds of his garment. The tea with dishes of a confection of ginger is served. Sindbad, with his crafty face framed in a white beard, the extreme points of which are dyed orange with *ḥinnāʾ*, tells about his travels. The youthful audience feasts upon the witty tales of this enjoyer of life — a vanishing figure of the typical sayyid society of Ḥaḍramaut.

We exchange keepsakes with Sayyid Ḥasan el-ʿAṭṭās in lasting remembrance of our visit to Ḥurēḍa. The lavish, kind welcome given us and the friendly feeling shown us here have smoothed the way for us through Ḥaḍramaut.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



a monotonous chant. The dance is usually executed by two persons, each dancing by himself, who, while turning all the time, alternately approach and withdraw from the orchestra, but always keep at the same distance from each other; when the first two are exhausted their places are taken by two others, and so on for many hours at a stretch.

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18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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Sultan 'Awadh dealt with on the same footing as those of the Hadhramaut. 643 171

Although the Indian connection is not a popular one with the indigenous inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, the dominant Yafa'i section of the population finds no objection to it, and it has in fact been the means of the introduction of a more advanced system of Government than any to be found elsewhere in the Protectorate, with the possible exception of Lahej where the enlightened rule of the 'Abdali dynasty again owes much to external influence, namely, to its close proximity to Aden. It has already been sufficiently indicated that Sultan 'Umar and his brother have been largely responsible for many of these improvements. After travelling in the western part of the Protectorate the contrast between the conditions in the Lower Yemen and those in the Hadhramaut are indeed remarkable. I do not think that anywhere else in the Protectorate the power of one authority is to be found extended over such a large area of country. There is a more than embryonic show of good order and organized Government in Qu'aiti territory on the coast, in the Mukalla and Shihr provinces, and up through the Du'an province to the Shibam province. This much I have seen with my own eyes and have observed the close contact between Provincial and Central Governments. From all accounts the condition is the same in the Hajr province. By his system of political arrangements with the tribes in and around Qu'aiti territory the Sultan has done much to make travel secure and easy. He has an army and police force in which discipline and administration are not lacking. 642 185

Apart from this comparatively satisfactory policing of the country, there is a growing tendency to promote educational and other social services in the Qu'aiti dominions, especially in Mukalla and Shihr, and there is in those parts a very colourable imitation of the machinery of western Government.

Although the rule over the Hadhramaut has thus been influenced to a large extent by Indian ideas, and although excessive Indianisation is unpopular with the pure Hadhramaut elements, nevertheless the administration escapes a great deal of unpopularity by its employment of local Arabs and slaves throughout the interior of the country. Even in the Kathiri camp I found that Sultan 'Umar was personally popular, and during his tour through the country he was very well received. 642 177 186 643

The interior of the Qu'aiti territory is now fast catching up with the coast in its connection with the outside world. Recent years have seen far more visitors enter the interior then ever before and they are universally well received. In addition there are connections in the Shibam province with the East Indies, and in the Du'an province with Egypt, Sudan, and Abyssinia. Everywhere there are connections with East Africa, and these are extensive among the Tamimis where I found some indication of a desire for settled administration. [607]

619 given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My
721 first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir
578 for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Seheil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathīri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathīri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a " B " agreement with them.

231 The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: " The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and
438 Manahil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have, of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell *saf* leaves for making mats, *'elb* trunks, and charcoal.

609 Bertram Thomas records the following description of them:
771 " The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. ' They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them! ' " We learned from the
582 Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

622 The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and Ahmed
619 bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

[See pg 92 CATigory 1168 Analyst]

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## Organization of the Residency and Methods Used

After persuading the tribes to make the general truce for three years, 647
I turned my attention to Government organization. I had hoped at first 648
that it would not be necessary to have more than three European assistants, two political and one military, but the burden of work became so heavy that by the beginning of the war I think there were eight European officers working in the Hadhramaut. Owing to the general anti-foreigner feeling, [609]
I thought it better that these officers should belong to the Residency staff as assistants to the adviser and that they should not have executive authority, and I told them to regard themselves rather as men with oil cans, who saw that the machinery was working, than as part of the machinery itself. Furthermore I felt sure that the actual responsibility must remain in the hands of the local Government. I believed, and I am sure that events have proved me right, that if you give people responsibility and make them exercise it they are eventually able to do so fairly effectively. You begin by collecting a group of what are in effect pictures labelled as heads of departments and in due course they come, like Galatea, to life. This rather extensive employment of Europeans did not turn out very successfully and, in 1942, it was approved that I might reduce my European assistants to two and engage trained orientals to instruct the local Government staff in the conduct of bedouin affairs, district administration, finance, medical, educational, agricultural, military and police work. Not all these posts have yet been filled owing to the difficulty of finding qualified candidates but there are now Transjordanis holding the posts of Bedouin Affairs Assistant and Police Assistant, a Hadhrami seiyid who is a Major in the Hyderabad military forces and a Punjabi Mussulman as Military Assistants, and a Sudani as Educational Assistant.

The functions of the Residency are advice, instruction and inspection. 648
As regards instruction the Residency runs a military school which is 647
attended by officers and non-commissioned officers of all the forces, and 871
promotion in the forces cannot be had without a certificate from it. It runs courses for teachers, courses for administrative candidates for employment as district officers, and police courses. Other courses are obtained by sending candidates to Aden, for example for training as dispensers, and by sending boys for education to the Sudan.

Most Government departments were in their beginning practically directed by Residency staff. When they are able to stand sufficiently on their own feet, the Residency withdraws and leaves them entirely to their own heads and the State Secretary.

Some things, however, are paid for by His Majesty's Government and 648
are under Residency control. The most important of these is the Hadhrami 701
Bedouin Legion. It is modelled as far as possible on Brigadier Glubb's Desert Patrol, which he kindly enabled me to see in 1938, and he generously provided Arab officers for it. The bedouins were quite unaccustomed to 701
any sort of military service and the force experienced ups and downs for 702

701 the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts
702 in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The
[743] force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making.
875 The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys: district schools
758 have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dis-
731 pensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these
657 places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

671 A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school. A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants
759 and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

000 So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their
[273] request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

• 609 As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a com-
771 munity which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was
648 always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my
000 duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

faith in which I was brought up, but when, in such a position as I have held, I have to deal with people of another faith, I feel it is essential to help and encourage them to live up to the best in their own faith, for a live religious spirit is a vital necessity to all progress. The Hadhramaut is sadly afflicted, as I have said, by over-emphasis on formalism, but I have found great support in pressing more and more the necessity of working and living in the spirit of religion. This type of teaching is employed in educating troops and boys and girls in the new schools, particularly in the children's village and in the bedouin boys' and girls' schools. My educational assistant has a candidate for training as a teacher of the spirit of religion, leaving the other teachers to teach, for example, the methods of prayer and fasting. In the course of time it has been generally accepted that the position of religion in the affairs of the country is being strengthened and not weakened.

## TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS FROM EXPERIENCE IN THE HADHRAMAUT

As I spent the first fifteen years of my service in Zanzibar and Mauritius and have had opportunities of studying the administration of East Africa, Malaya and the West Indies, whether on the spot or in the Colonial Office, it is natural for me to approach consideration of the best way to help backward areas in the Middle East, like the Hadhramaut, to more effective self government, by comparison with the better known colonial methods of approach to the same goal.

It seems to me that if success is ultimately achieved in teaching the people of such areas to govern themselves it will probably not be by the traditional methods of colonial administration. The practical difficulties of doing so seem to be due to the nature of the country, to the nature of the people and to political considerations. The country is mainly desert and our colonial tradition has been built up in lands capable of economic development. Owing to their environment the people, taking them as a whole, are neither simple nor tractable and, by contrast with most peoples of tropical dependencies, they are suspicious of outside interference. As the close control of any part of Arabia is looked on with dislike by other parts of Arabia and as there is, as far as I can see, no over-riding necessity for us to control such an area as the Hadhramaut closely, it does not on political grounds seem worth while to do so. The less we interfere with the internal

tendency to fire high. Tactics are simple, usually an advance in strength 725
or the investment or defence of small forts or houses. Any more compli- 703
cated manœuvre involving strict timing or detailed concerted action would be beyond their capacity at present. They are difficult to control in action, and in the heat of the moment tend to forget their training and to expose themselves by not making use of ground and cover, but as their potential opponents suffer from the same faults this is not so serious as it would be against more experienced troops. The Bedouin does not favour night-fighting, but he is expert at moving and taking up position in the dark. He is willing to follow his officers, and has particular faith in those from 703
the Arab Legion, who in simple fashion he believes must be more com- 609
petent, as they have been brought in from another country. The same would apply to British officers, provided they understood his language and customs and accurately gauged his capabilities. Unless equipped with this knowledge, however, a British officer would find the Bedouin soldier awkward to handle and disappointing in action.

By showing promise and industry the soldier will gain promotion or 701
can become a specialist such as wireless operator or armourer. At present the highest rank reached by any is lieutenant; owing to lack of experience, knowledge, and background, they are not yet suitable for higher rank, but in time this will be overcome. Part of the remedy may result from the [871]
foundation a few years ago of a Bedouin boys' school in Mukalla. This worth-while enterprise, sponsored and paid for by His Majesty's Government, is of considerable interest, and it is anticipated that ex-pupils will not only help to fill the ranks of H.B.L. with good material, but that others, encouraged to further education, will become much-needed Government servants, teachers and leaders in other walks of life.

There is a cadre of men who have voluntarily remained in the H.B.L. for longer periods, but after four years or so the average soldier, unless he has attained rank, will retire. He may ask that his place be taken by his brother or cousin, as he has liked the life, and his length of voluntary service speaks for itself. On his return to his tribe he will be an asset to Government, and his understanding and experience will be of help to political officers or other Government servants who may have dealings with his tribe or work to perform in his area. There is no reserve. The Bedouin in the Protectorate dislikes being tied down to a period of time, [157]
and a reserve as understood in a European army would be impossible to administer or co-ordinate. But in an emergency many ex-soldiers would return for temporary service if strongly requested.

Whatever the future may hold, there is no doubt that the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion performs useful tasks at low costs. It is in no sense planned as a national army, but in its military and political rôles has fully justified itself. One hopes that its ties with the Arab Legion will not be broken and that in the years to come it will attain the prestige and success in its own area which the Arab Legion enjoys in the Arab world as a whole.

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I am indebted to Major I. E. Snell, Royal Sussex Regiment, at present 115
seconded as Military Adviser to the British Agent, Mukalla, for certain facts and technical details used in this article.

114 thought that we had some slight chance of succeeding, and they gave us loyal cooperation.

122 Thus we landed at Makalla on Sunday, May 3, accompanied only by my Yemenite servant. The Sultan was away as usual, and his vizier read the letters of introduction from our minister of foreign affairs and from the Governor of Aden. We were very well accommodated in one of the Sultan's former palaces, and then began the task of waiting for the great decision as to 609 whether we might enter the country. The same evening we had the good fortune to meet a member of the family al-'Attās, which is very friendly with the government of the Dutch Indies. He had received a telegram from his father instructing him to give all possible help to the Dutch representative of the government in his anticipated 565 journey in Hadramaut. The Sayyid family of al-'Attās, together with the closely allied family of al-Kāf, belongs to the leading group in Hadramaut proper. Two great parties, which are hostile to one another, are contesting for the power in this country, namely, the āl-Qa'ētī, who have their headquarters at Makalla, and the āl-Kathīr, with headquarters at Sēwun. The āl-Qa'ētī sultans take their cue from the English, and, thanks to English help, have authority in the coast region. The āl-Kathīr are more independent, and reside in Hadramaut proper, that is, in the broad valley in the interior which has that name. The Sayyids boast of being directly descended from the son-in-law of the Prophet, and in Hadramaut society hold a distinct and very privileged position. They have great influence with the government, but leave the actual business for the most part to the non-sayyids.

122 The immediate and whole-hearted support of the al-'Attās certainly did our enterprise a great deal of good, for on the following day we received the promise that 000 we might go inland. However, the great difficulties of the journey, especially at this time of the year (one of the hottest months), were expressly pointed out to us; and we were urgently dissuaded from crossing the

133 During the daytime the heat was stifling, and at night it was so cold that for hours before the sun rose I was no longer able to sleep. The interminable, barren plain was covered all over with sharp, loose fragments of stone, and among these wound the narrow path along which from morning to night we steadily wended our way.
312 Drinking water is here to be found in *negābas,* which are cisterns hewn out of the rock some three meters below the surface, with a narrow opening. Low ridges lead the scanty rainfall to the *negāba.* Owing to the narrow opening there is very little evaporation, and if one has no rope at hand with a vessel to draw water, this opening is just large enough to admit a man to dip it out.
485 Near the *negāba* there is usually a little square building made by piling up rough stones in clay, this is called *murabba,* and here the midday hours with their scorch-
486 ing heat may be spent. For the sake of safety, our
609 Bedouins avoided the *negābas* as places for passing the night. In the evening the neighborhood of the bivouac was carefully reconnoitred, and usually sentries were posted at night. The authorities at Makalla had given us for our personal protection two negro soldiers belonging
133 to the famous slave army of the āl-Qa'ētī sultan. On May 15 we reached the wonderfully beautiful valley Wādī Dō'an. The descent of hundreds of meters of this almost perpendicular wall of rock with loaded camels was a difficult feat causing some anxiety; but the Bedouins and their camels reached the valley below with-
245 out a single mishap. As we looked upon this *wādī,* hemmed in by its high walls of rock, it looked like a land of magic with its deep-green groves of date palms
[361] and its clay villages with great castles and high houses. A glowing heat as dry as dust prevailed in Wādī Dō'an night and day. The bright yellow and deep red bunches of dates were hanging ripening in the hot wind. In the shade of the magnificent and remarkably well kept trees the population were quietly waiting for the harvest time.
144 A great deal of mixture with negro blood (of slaves) has

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



taken place here, and there are still many slaves for 144
agricultural work.

The old blind governor, Bā Surra, received us in his 609
castle with oriental hospitality. The only thing we had to complain of in our lodgings was that there were too many interested in us! Our animals for mountain transport had to be exchanged here for others which were accustomed to traveling in the hot sand of the level *wādīs*.

On the 17th of May we resumed our journey, after having been entertained first in the summer residence of the vizier of Makalla, where his son acted as host. As 361
the evening shadows fell we reached Sēf, a miserable and squalid village where nearly a century ago von Wrede was recognized as a Christian, and barely escaped a miserable death. We also had unpleasant experiences at Sēf. Long before Sēf the *wādī* had lost its splendid 311
datepalm cultivation, and had become a broad valley of 137
sand and stones, with here and there some lotus trees (*nibq*). After the excellent reception we had had at 609
Dō'an, Sēf was a grievous disappointment. The governor was supposed to be away, but it appeared later that because of his embarrassment and poverty he had sought an excuse to be relieved of the duty of conferring hospitality upon us. In a very primitive manner we were installed upon the roof of a stable by the governor's soldiers, who took his place as our hosts. We were not left alone for a moment, for interested visitors were continually jostling one another on our roof. We had to secure fresh donkeys at Sēf, and the troublesome negotiations about this began that evening.

The next day the governor appeared, but he seemed to have absolutely no influence. We had to wait for hours before the necessary donkeys and camels were brought. A large escort of soldiers eager for *baksheesh* wished to accompany us, but I vigorously opposed this, and succeeded in reducing their number to two. Much too late, weary of all the negotiations and disgusted with the obvious opposition and antipathy of everybody here

609 against the two non-Moslem travelers, we started in the direction of Hajarēn. It was a silent struggle against thirst and heat. At last we were standing at the foot of
361 the mountain on which Hajarēn lies. It must be a very old town. For a land of warfare its position is also very favorable. In the midst of the broad valley, on the top of a steep rocky hill, which stands there alone and commands the entire valley, they naturally preferred to build a town in former times. We were at the end of our strength as we worked our way up, in through the gate of Hajarēn, and by many narrow, steep streets to a plain house where a friend of the Dutch was said to be living.
609 He might well have been startled when he saw the caravan of his unexpected visitors. It was a long time before the doors were opened. Luck was not with us.
[598] A double wedding feast was just being celebrated, and the women had to vacate the room in which we were to be received. Our host was not rich, but he put himself and all that he had at our disposal. When he saw how weary we were and how we longed for rest, a room was made ready for us higher up, where we could sleep until the meal was ready. We were under the roof of a Dutch subject. I remember with deep gratitude the oriental hospitality which cannot be praised enough, and of which we saw here a brilliant example. Thoroughly refreshed
361 we started in the afternoon for Meshed. We had to
609 close our ranks in doing this, for here was the neutral
721 zone between the regions of the āl-Qa'ētī and the āl-
609 Kathīr. Everything here indicated warfare and highway robbery. Meshed is a little place built in the midst of the desert, solely for the purpose of preventing highway robbery. The trade route from the Wādī Hadramaut through the Wādī Dō'an to the coast is safe since Meshed was established. Here we came into the jurisdiction of the family al-'Attās, and our troubles and anxieties came to an end. We were taken into a beautiful, spotlessly clean guest house, and were welcomed as honored guests by the cultured son of the absent governor.

On the 19th of May we reached Horēda, the tribal 361
village of the family al-'Atās, where we had a fine recep- 191
tion. Horēda can thank the wealth accumulated in Java 563
and at Singapore for its beautiful houses and mosques. There is a large number of Dutch subjects there, and so many of them speak Maay that one even frequently hears it spoken on the streets.

On the 20th and 21st of May we remained at Horēda 361
The mosques and schools were carefully examined, and some short excursions weremade in that neighborhood.

Horēda lies in the Wādī 'Amd, which branches off from the main *Wādī* of Hadramaut, to which we now returned, leaving Horēda on the 22nd of May. Bin 494
Marta' from Soerabaya, a large dealer in building ma- 361
terials, took us in his auto, which was the first that ever came to Horēda, to the place where he lives, Hēnan. It was a difficult task among the endless sand-hills to find a track on which it was possible for the auto to travel, and when a sandstorm came up we had to flee to the Diyār-āl-Buqri, certain high castles in the midst of the broad sandy *wādī*, which were the center of a warfare which had been going on there for years. The fighting captains and their soldiers received us very well; they appear to have close family relationships with Java. Elsewhere, in a description of the political situation, I will deal minutely with the Diyār-āl-Buqri and their inhabitants. Hēnan is a little place which is lost in the sand. By installing a motor pump, our friend Bin Marta' is trying to arouse his village to new life.

On the 23rd of May, Bin Marta' took us in his auto 361
to al-Qatn, the residence of the sultan of Shibām. We 241
were here once more in the āl-Qa'ētī jurisdiction. At al-Qatn the Wādī Hadramaut changes completely, and beautiful date-palm plantations begin here. In the shadow of these palms lie the luxurious green *dhura* fields (maize). The sultan did not appear to be at al- 361
Qatn, and we were received by a member of the family. 609
Through a severe sandstorm we drove on to Shibām, the

14: van der Meulen 7-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



New York of Hadramaut. The city consists of very high houses built close together. One drives into the city through a heavy double gate, and then up a square in front of the ancient but beautiful palace, which is at the same time a castle. The young and sympathetic sultan received us cordially, but was very much displeased about our guides of the al-'Attās, who had not taken care that His Highness was properly informed beforehand about our coming. The situation was relieved by some rich merchants of Singapore with an invitation for us to take an auto ride to their plantations, and by their asking the sultan's permission to invite us to stay at the house in their plantation. This the sultan permitted, on condition that we should first take a meal with him, and that on the way back we should make it possible for him to prepare a worthy reception for us. The gentlemen at at-Tuwayy and La'jam had a house like a fairy tale, where we afterwards stayed in the atmosphere of the Arabian nights. In front of this house, which was decorated in fantastic colors, there was a small swimming pool, and here in the soft moonlight we forgot all about the sandstorm.

We spent the morning of the 24th of May with our hosts and the sultan at the house in the plantation, and at midday we went further on to Sēwun in the sultan's automobiles. There they had been properly informed as to our coming. The sultan, surrounded by all his retinue, was awaiting us in a white guesthouse, situated in the plantation quarter. In this little town, which is the most beautiful in Hadramaut, we spent several interesting days. The sultan of Terīm also has his palace at Sēwun, and is generally at the last-named place, since at Terīm Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf is the dominant person. In his palace we spent one forenoon.

On May the 26th we went in two of the sultan's automobiles to Terīm. At the express desire of His Highness we drove along the mountain road, which was constructed by Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf, and the entire

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a hundred meters in thickness lies on a likewise horizontal layer of sandstone. Owing to this, the valley profiles throughout Hadramaut are monotonously uniform.

On the 7th of June we left Terīm. With some difficulty we had succeeded in securing the sympathy and cooperation of Sayyid Abu Bakr for our plan of trying to reach Aden overland. The baggage would be sent direct to ash-Shihr, and thence by sea to Aden. We could take with us only as much as we could carry with us on our riding camels. With a small escort and fast camels we should then perhaps be able to pass unnoticed through the region where there was war. This plan fell through. We were continually coming upon territory through which we could not pass. By way of Horēda we passed through the Wādī 'Amd to a place where, beyond 'Amd, the territory between two contending parties compelled us to make a circuitous movement through the country of the Deyyin Bedouins. Even though we traveled rapidly with a small party we were continually compelled to make new detours. In so doing we got still further away from our original goal, namely, Nisāb (or Ansāb), which is the furthest English outpost in the hinterland of Aden. At Yeb'ith, where the attitude of the population was antagonistic, and where our food supply seemed to be extremely limited, we gave up the Aden plan, and decided to make rapid marches direct to Makalla. At Sidāra we entered the Wādī Hajr, the only *wādī* in South Arabia where there is always running water. At Mēfa'a we reached the coast. Through the difficult mountain range along the coast we went as far as the fishing town of Borūm. Then we followed the coast to Makalla, where we arrived safe on the afternoon of June 21.

The return journey had been partly through territory never yet traveled. Von Wissmann was thus in a position to put on his map the exact connection between Hadramaut and the hinterland of Aden. By this conclusion of

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we first went up there they[1] charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

1 [THE BA HASAN TANBULIS -- ANALYST]

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and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

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out to meet you. Many people prefer to walk down the *'aqaba*, and in any 000
case the drivers stop at the top to tie up the brakes. I have only walked down once, and that was on the morning of the New Year. I sat for a short time at the top and it really was a most beautiful sight watching the day break over the minarets and white houses of Tarim.

"Tarim and thou desirest no more" is a local saying, and in truth I know of no happier places to live in than Tarim and Seiyun. I shall never forget our first impressions of Tarim nor I think does anybody else forget his, but the charm of these places grows with knowledge and they have a hospitable and cultured society. There is little literary learning in Mukalla or Shihr: 212
Mukalla can be difficult to live in, but Shihr is always friendly and welcoming. 538
Seiyun and Tarim are not only that, but can talk of affairs, of history, and of philosophy. The whole country is full of poets, and not only quotes the old poets but records constantly current history in *qasidas*, and that is how much of it survives. At a Shabwani dance the poets assemble and in turn compose extempore couplets, which are repeated by the choir leaders and taken up by a hundred throats.

Tarim and its rich suburb of 'Aidid, where there are several beautiful Riviera 631
villas, are of course under Kathiri rule, but they and the small village of Al [361]
Ghuraf are in Tamimi country. One interesting fact about Tarim that I have learnt recently is that it contains a state within its walls. This enclosure, which contains a few houses inhabited by the Seiyids of Al Haddad, is ruled by their *massab* under some ancient right. His subjects are completely under his jurisdiction, and even if they commit offences in the city of Tarim are not tried by the Sultan but handed over to him. The intelligentsia of Tarim call him the *Baba* (the Pope) and his state the *Fatikana*. Tarim and Seiyun both have old religious academies (*Rubats*) to which students come from considerable distances in the west of the Protectorate and from the Yemen. 874
I remember when I first passed the Tarim Rubat a long time ago there was 609
a rush to exclude the contaminating influence, and all the doors and window shutters were hastily banged. Life gets more pleasant when crowds of children and adult hangers on cease to follow you shouting *Nasrani* (Christian). When I returned to Mukalla from the interior in March 1937 one small boy did shout Nasrani, but was immediately corrected by a friend who said "*That's* not a Nasrani, that's Ingrams."

The Tamimis, who stretch several miles on the way to Seiyun, and down 619
the Wadi Maseila to below Qasm, the Tamimi capital, are a Qu'aiti tribe, so that Tarim and Al Ghuraf form islands in their territory. There are no Badu [167]
sections to the Tamimis, and they all live in the wadi and emigrate largely to East Africa and the East Indies. They are however an astonishingly disunited tribe whose sections were constantly warring against each other, mostly over land questions. In this way they are a great contrast to their neighbours, the Manahil, who belong to the same Confederation, the Beni Dhanna. The Manahil are all Badus but are completely united in following their young chief 'Aidha bin Tannaf, a very fine lad of about twenty-five. I thought at first that the Manahil were not going to join in the truce, but after holding back for a little while they came and signed, and have never caused the slightest trouble, though 'Aidha had considerable difficulty in restraining

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hospitality in the new house during the past year, and last hot weather nothing was more delightful than to sit in the swimming pool in the evening and listen to the strains of the B.B.C. Empire Orchestra. Since then the Arabic broadcasts have started and they are extremely popular throughout the Hadhramaut, which now sets its watches by Big Ben. Bathing over, dinner would be laid on carpets by the side of the bathing pool. One rarely sits down less than twenty at meals in Seiyid Bubekr's house and very often it is forty. The average daily consumption runs into about 30 to 40 lb. of rice, three or four dozen eggs, half a dozen chickens, and one or two sheep, and several pounds of vegetables. We went up for the wedding of his daughter, and then over five thousand people were fed for three days.

Seiyun has been our principal headquarters in the wadi, and from it I have continually visited all the neighbouring places, staying at Shibam, Al Qatn, Henin, Qa'udha, and Hureidha. You never get to Hureidha without stopping for a meal at Diyar al Buqri, where the people are so hospitable that they have been known to fire on those who have attempted to pass in cars without stopping to have a meal. The Buqri are Nahd, and although they are settled they are still rather Badu. On my first visit they offered us a large house if we would but stay and rule the country, and it was then I learned that they had imported a first-class cook from Java in the hope of being able to entertain Europeans. Great as is the hospitality and kindness of all the Nahd, the meals at Diyar al Buqri are as fine and as varied as anything you could get anywhere. Their ideas even of afternoon tea are on the most lavish scale. I have had it with them three times and on each occasion they have produced cakes, honey, and halwa, several varieties of tinned fruit, British biscuits, and super-cream toffees.

Beyond Diyar al Buqri, as you enter the Wadi 'Amd, stands a little fort with a sentry for ever gazing out. It was some time before I discovered that the sentry was a dummy, a lump of clay artistically draped with a black cloth, but in recent months I notice he has fallen into disrepair. The Nahd extend down into the Wadi 'Amd almost as far as Hureidha, of which the population consists entirely of Seiyids of the Al 'Attas family and their dependants. Here, too, I have several times stayed, and there is now a landing-ground. There is no need for me to say much about Hureidha as it is here that Miss Stark, Miss Caton-Thompson and Miss Gardner have been wintering. One interesting fact about Hureidha may however be too trivial for their notice, and that is that one of the mosques has two large town clocks, one with a face 6 feet in diameter and the other 3 feet. Only the latter works, and they are of course at the top of the high minaret. But they are inside the minaret, and you have to walk up sixty or seventy steps to see the time.

Up the wadi from Hureidha is the Ja'da tribe. I have not travelled farther up the wadi than Hureidha on foot, but before I went there for peace negotiations my wife did the journey on camel. The wadi is thickly populated and has numerous small villages which at that time were nearly all at war with each other. My wife took down particulars of thirty-two major feuds going on between sections and even between houses a few yards apart. There were trench systems, similar to those at Qa'udha, leading from the houses to the fields, but owing to the disturbed conditions cultivation had suffered badly

AND THERE WAS A GENERAL DESIRE FOR PEACE IN ORDER TO GET ON WITH THE WORK IN THE FIELDS.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



IT IS A CURIOSITY OF DU'AN THAT ALL WOMEN DRESS
291 alike in long black dresses with coloured patches inserted in front and orange
301 scarves over their heads. They are, too, the only women who affect nose rings similar to those usually worn on the fingers. Very few of them have ever left their valley, but many of them bemoaned the absence of husbands who frequently left them for years at a time.

The Seiyids lent her a magnificent white donkey to go on to Sif where we had stayed before, and the following day she was met by a friend and a car just before reaching Meshhed. Thence she rejoined me in Seiyun.

From Du'an Mr. Figgis and I flew across to 'Azzan over the upper reaches of the Wadi Hajr, which like the Wadi Maseila has perennial water nearly all its length. I had been to 'Azzan before, but this visit was very short, as the machine crashed on the landing-ground. It was a very artistic crash, and in Air Force parlance a complete write-off. Luckily none of the three of us in the machine were in the least hurt and the crash was far more alarming for Mr. Figgis and his pilot still up above, as it was some time before we found a comfortable way of climbing out of the ruins. I hope that in every crash I have I shall have as skilful a pilot as on that occasion. The crash was due to misguided zeal of the locals, for it was their own home-made landing-ground and they had raked up all the stones off the ground into a ridge along its edge, and it was this we hit as we landed. As ours was the machine with the wireless in it we swapped over into the other, which had landed safely, and flew back to Mukalla to organize assistance.

361 'Azzan is the capital of the Balhaf Sultan and is most picturesquely situated
● 609 on a citadel rock by the side of the wadi. I was given a great reception on my
411 first visit there with the firing of rifles and war whooping, which is much more a feature of welcomes in the Western Aden Protectorate than in the Eastern. As we walked from the landing-ground to the village the Artillery, a fine old bronze gun marked "A. Wilson. Cossipore. 1841," was brought into play. Our path led below it and it was really rather alarming, because with each discharge a shower of burning shirts and other old clothes, which had been used as wadding, was fired over us.

411 'Azzan is the only place where I have seen spears surviving, though my wife
435 saw them in the Wadi 'Amd. One or two aged warriors came out with spears which they shook in martial fashion, threw into the air and caught again. Quite a number of old weapons survive in the Hadhramaut, for my wife also saw crossbows in the Wadi 'Amd and there are more of the old matchlocks in the country, some of them still in use, than in any other part of the Protectorate. The Hadhramaut seems to have turned over to modern weapons much more recently than the Western Protectorate, for most of the rifles, modern weapons, have wooden butts covered with goatskin fastened over them to take the recoil, a precaution far more necessary with matchlocks. It is worth recording perhaps that there is a heavy slump in the price of firearms. The ordinary Badawin rifle can be bought for as little as eight dollars with some ammunition thrown in, and the most modern rifles of continental manufacture, which eighteen months ago fetched an easy six hundred or more dollars when brought in from the Yemen, are now not bought at all and offers have been made of them for as little as fifty dollars.

619 The atmosphere of the Balhaf court is completely tribal; much more like
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21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 782 a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hens' [784 609] eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

## LAW AND DISPUTES.

671 692 As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al hauz*, or a code of ancient sanctions, is the law. The *hauz* is a wise man of the tribe. Not infrequently his is an hereditary office, occasionally the *hauz* is the shaikh of his tribe. Shara law, *i.e.* holy law in Oman and elsewhere, is the law of the coastal townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony, and sometimes of divorce and inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. That is the province of the *hauz*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara or holy law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed even along the coast by government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing 683 696 evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye-for-an-eye idea, the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali of Dhufar as having taken place last year is as follows: "X" was going on a journey into the "Y's" country and took a *rabia* from "Y." On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and "X" found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. A *hauz* heard the case and decided that "Y," the innocent party but member of the offending tribe, must submit to the infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

671 692 721 682 628 In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *hauz*, when he would receive from the offenders *Laum-al-wijh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at 400 dollars. Murder, which in Arab tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood-money which varies between 400 and 1,000 dollars (or rather its equivalent in kind), in these Qara mountains is assessed prodigiously high, in theory something like 5,000 dollars, which may take a lifetime to pay off, but is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom, must bear the brunt.

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
ADEN MM1



long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage. An energetic Agricultural Officer appointed by the Colonial Office has initiated experiments that are producing very promising results on the Audhali plateau to the north-east of Aden, and in other districts where water is available for irrigation. Medical and educational progress is as yet only in its initial stage, but a beginning has been made in the establishment of local dispensaries, and the institution at Aden of a Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs has met with encouraging success.

It is a fundamental principle of our policy in the Aden Protectorate that the Arab character of the country must be preserved. In this respect the Protectorate differs from the colony of Aden, which it adjoins. The colony is a small territory comprising the town and port of Aden; and, although the majority of its inhabitants are Arabs, it has long been a cosmopolitan community, in which Europeans, Indians, Jews, and Somalis mingle with the Arabs in friendly co-operation and a common loyalty to the British Crown and administration. The Protectorate, on the other hand, is recognized to be wholly Arab country. There is no intention on the part of the British Government to annex any part of it or to introduce any direct British administration. Our ambition and our hope are to produce in Southern Arabia an example of friendly and willing British and Arab co-operation, in which we give the best we can in the shape of advice and technical help without disturbing the national characteristics of the people. All efforts at reform are fated to meet with opposition from some quarters, and especially from those that are interested in the maintenance of old abuses, and our experience in the Aden Protectorate is no exception in this respect. On the whole, however, we have received a cordial, and often an eager, response. British officers working in Aden and the Protectorate have been rewarded not only with understanding and support, but also with liking and friendship that have bound them by personal ties to these Arabs, who have so much in common with the British in their individualism, their adventurousness, their humour, and their love of freedom. Now, when the Empire is at war and is passing through critical days, it is a pleasure and an encouragement to see the spontaneous loyalty and affection that have been displayed by the people of Aden reflected also in the Protectorate that we so long neglected but are now at last trying sincerely to befriend. In the towns and in remote villages in the mountains the people have gathered in their mosques to pray for British victory. Their friendship did not falter in the dark days of last summer, and now that victories have

come they are united with us in a common rejoicing. That is the kind 609
of recompense that gladdens the hearts of those who have worked for 648
these people and have striven to make British protection a real benefit 186
to them. It encourages our belief that our pioneer work in this country has been undertaken on the right lines, and that we may hope to add another success to those that have been achieved by our predecessors and contemporaries in other parts of the Empire. A great deal remains to be done in the Aden Protectorate, but with patience and perseverance and with the right principles to guide us we may be confident that it will be accomplished.

Colonel Tod: I do not know whether you would like to hear any- 000
thing of the earlier history of the Protectorate, but the time I spent in the Aden Protectorate was before even Sir Bernard Reilly's time, forty years ago, when I was a member of the Anglo-Turkish Mandate Commission. At that time the Protectorate consisted of only nine tribes. Since then it has been considerably extended. Hadhramaut was a *terra incognita* in those days and was certainly not part of the Protectorate.

I think the Sultan of Lahej owes his preponderance chiefly to the 643
fact that all roads from the interior lead through his capital, of which 491
he has taken advantage at different times.

You mentioned the incursion of the Turks in 1915. That was by 721
no means their first incursion into the Protectorate. When they re- 648
conquered the Yemen in about 1870 they gradually pushed their rule south until they penetrated many miles into the British Protectorate. When the British Commission went up there in 1901, intending to open friendly relations with the Turks about the demarcation of the frontier, they found the Turks had brought down a considerable force, had taken military possession of that part of the Protectorate, only just leaving the town of Dhala itself outside the militarily occupied area, and had seized the heads of the passes that led down to Aden; so the position of the Commission was a most difficult one. The Turks simply put their foot down and said, "J'y suis, j'y reste," and we had no power to turn them out. There was just an insignificant escort of Indian troops with the Commission. It took a very long time indeed to persuade the home Government that they must intervene with force, and it was only when a force stronger than the Turkish force was sent up there in 1902 that the Turks were compelled to withdraw. That means that Dhala was occupied by the Turks for about thirty years. It

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sary or expedient, any Act, Order, Rule, Regulation or other enactment from time to time in force in the Colony, to persons in the Protectorate not being natives of the Protectorate;

[609]

(*d*) to regulate or prohibit the entry into the Protectorate of persons not being natives of the Protectorate; and

(*e*) to secure the enforcement within the Protectorate of judgments, orders and decrees of the Courts of the Colony.

(3) For the avoidance of doubts it is hereby declared that all Rules and Orders made before the appointed day by the Governor-General of India in Council under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, have, in so far as at any time before the date of this Order they applied to the Protectorate and have not in such application been expressly repealed or revoked, continued in force in the Protectorate notwithstanding that the Protectorate has ceased to be a territory in which jurisdiction is exercised by or on behalf of His Majesty through the Governor-General of India in Council or some authority subordinate to him, and subsection (1) of this section shall apply accordingly to such Rules and Orders.

Disallowance of rules and orders.

8. It shall be lawful for His Majesty to disallow any rule or order made by the Governor in exercise of the powers conferred upon him by this Order or any other Order of His Majesty in Council and to signify such disallowance through the Secretary of State. Every rule or order so disallowed shall cease to have effect from the time when the signification of such disallowance shall be published by the Governor by notice in the Gazette, but without prejudice to anything lawfully done or suffered thereunder.

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Jurisdiction of Courts of the Colony.

9. The Supreme Court of the Colony and all Courts of the Colony inferior to the Supreme Court shall, subject to and in accordance with the provisions of any law in that behalf from time to time in force in the Colony, have jurisdiction in all matters arising in the Protectorate in which any person not being a native of the Protectorate is

137 In little valleys, green, juicy euphorbias grow to a height of six feet. Their fresh green colour and red tuberiferous flowers at the ends of their branches give them, in these colourless surroundings, the air of bouquets.

### 4. FIRST CONTACT WITH A HAḌRAMĪ NOMAD TRIBE.

233 A broad plain lower down has a clay soil where grass grows
361 fairly well. Goats, sheep, donkeys and camels graze here, at
342 distances widely apart from each other. Bedouin girls watch over them from a hill-top. This is the *Rēda*[1] of Sheḥēr where are the pastures and headquarters of the wandering Bedouins of these parts. Their temporary camp is on a rocky plateau to the right above the road. We walk with our cameras in their direction, without much hope of success. They do not see us, and the malicious watch-dogs, which elsewhere in Arabia make it impossible to slip past the Bedouin camps, are conspicuous by their absence. The Bedouins of Ḥaḍramaut appear to have no tents; they live in caves, or houses, or huts, or, as in this case, almost without shelter. A space of about five feet square is made by four sticks of about three feet high with other sticks connecting them and over which are spread bunches of long, hard grass, which do not really, however, keep out much sun. There are about ten of these "dwellings" scattered around. Some are even more primitive and consist of bushes cut down, with a few rags stretched over them, thus making a little shade. There is an acacia tree in the camp; its top is made shadier by extra bits of scrub hung between its own thorny branches. A camel with a horribly swollen, inflamed leg lies there; a few men, women and children are sitting around, watching the poor beast's agony.

● 609 Our arrival arouses some commotion, but they seem tolerant of us and answer our questions with an air of curiosity.

104 [1] A *rēda* (رِيدة) is the centre of the territory of a Bedouin tribe, where many of them dwell together. Generally it is a depression in the rocky plateau with some vegetation and agriculture.

Women, with little children, or decrepit, sick old men are sitting under the rough shelters. The babies lie in very practical cradles, which look just like gaping oyster-shells with little feet. The little one lies in the lower shell whilst the upper slants over him as a protection against sun and wind. When mother has to go away she takes the cradle and its contents with her, carrying it with the open side against her. The infant lies on woven rushes or on a skin, and, in the latter case, a round hole four inches in diameter is cut in it so that thus diapers are dispensed with! The mothers stand in great dread of the evil eye, so one must not show too much interest in the babies.

We distributed some small coin among the children and old men, and, as we talked, the uneasiness of the others gave way. A woman discovered a gold tooth in the mouth of one of us, and we both had to submit our mouths to a detailed examination. Outcries of amazement and, thereupon, great and general merriment!

Then they found more strange things about these *Efrendjīs*. The most forward among the women, after having examined our mouths, went further. She began to rub vigorously with her dark, hard fingers on the white inner side of my arm. They all watched in suspense: it remained white! Then she pulled my khaki shirt a little wider open at the neck: again white. All the bystanders burst into laughter, and the examination was continued. My shirt was pulled out of my breeches, and a long-drawn "Eh! Eh!" of amazement went up when it appeared that my abdomen was also quite white. The black hand was passed admiringly over that part of my anatomy.

When my examiner wished to continue her exploration, I assured her that the rest was really all the same colour. "Had we done it with soap?" They had heard that the *Efrendjīs* were in the habit of rubbing it into themselves.

"No, God has made us so."

"Doubtless you live in houses so that the sun cannot make you black as we are? Doubtless you only live on milk?"

609 "No, we eat the same things that you do."

"Stay with us and we will dance for you to-night with clapping of hands" — and our merry questioner danced and clapped her hands to the great diversion of the other women.

"We would gladly stay, but we have no time; we must go further."

837 "No, stay here! We will give you a wife."

Here I could not help glancing critically round the circle of my anything but beautiful questioners. They read my thoughts.

"No, the young girls are with the flocks, but they come home towards nightfall."

301 However poor and primitive may be the life of a Bedouin
302 woman, she will go to great pains to make herself beautiful. She learns when quite young that she who wishes to be beautiful must suffer. At an early age, 8 to 10 fine round holes are pierced all the way round the rims of the ears and through these, later on, silver rings of the average size of a crown piece or small silver chains will be hung and the poor little ears dragged downwards. Then the nails of both hands and feet are coloured brown with *ḥinnā'* [1], the tips of the fingers and toes are blackened, and the inside of the hand made brown. The face, the hands and forearms, and the legs and feet are coloured yellow with curry. The rims of the eyelids are smeared with *kuḥl* [2]; even the men do this, as it is said to make the eyes strong.

The women and girls paint their faces with all sorts of figures, and their necks, breasts and shoulders and the upper surface of the hands and feet with a network of lines, mostly with some blue or black dye, but also sometimes with red or

137 [1] *Ḥinnā'* (حنّاء), *Lawsonia inermis*, is a plant used for dyeing brown hands and feet. Cf. G. Schweinfurth, *op cit.*, p. 167, 181; E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1863.

[2] *Kuḥl* (كحل), antimony powder, which usually mixed with grease makes a cosmetic for the rims of the eyelids.

green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted 301
in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased 302
stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and 609
with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a 508
landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions 137
aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were 136
swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky 135
ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said 361
to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent [342]
position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the 622
same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. 712
A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is 342
to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], 574
and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come 104
to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

Against the walls there are cushions on which to recline. The ugly modernity of mirrors fixed into the ceiling has been introduced into el-Bārr's house. Also, the old Ḥaḍramī colours of rust-red, black and white, which harmonize so well with the brown wood and with the lighter brown mud, have had some ugly new ones added to them.

In order to give pleasure to the family we take some more photographs of grown-ups and children. The household slaves and their jet-black children are with us in the *madjlis*; they serve round coffee and tea and many sweets, and talk with us, but nevertheless remain modestly in the background.

One can see from the many negro types in the streets and plantations that there are a great many slaves in Wādī Dōʿan. They are employed for work on the land and as domestic servants.

In the afternoon we did what we could to treat a great number of patients, who came to us to ask for medicines or to have wounds and ulcers attended to. We could do little, however; and what, in any case, is the use of but one treatment? In all Ḥaḍramaut and its surroundings there is only one doctor with a western training. It is again the progressive Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf who has got this young Indian doctor to come here, but his work lies in far-away Terīm. The rich go sometimes to Aden to consult a doctor, and the Mission Hospital at Shēkh ʿUthmān near Aden is also known to a few.

Towards evening I stroll with Sayyid ʿAluwī to Qāret Āl el-Miḥḍār, half an hour distant, where lives Sayyid Muṣṭafā bin Aḥmad el-Miḥḍār, to whom we have a letter from the Vizier at Makalla. Our reception is particularly friendly. The old sayyid has seen something of the world, and he compares life in Wādī Dōʿan to sleep, which is something like death. I am urged to talk constantly and the atmosphere grows so friendly that he takes me with him to his other and larger house and shows me all over it, having first, with his own hands, shut in his young wives behind bolted doors and hung the keys on his belt. The wives take their revenge by having a good look at the stranger from the flat roof

24:Meulen und Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



farewell to Bā Ṣurra, his sons and grandsons, and then we start off again on donkeys through the glorious groves of date-palms to Huwēbiya, three quarters of an hour distant, where the Vizier of Makalla has estates, now managed by his son Sālim.

We ride most of the way on the tops of the mud dykes which lie alongside of the irrigation canals. The palm-groves are intersected by many deep channels which distribute the water from the *sēl* over the land under cultivation, and whose high, though narrow, mud dykes are made to protect the plantations from damage by the swiftly flowing water. The actual *sēl*-bed is dammed, here and there, between barrages of piled-up boulders.

The Vizier has a fine house, well situated close to the green wādī. The cream-coloured mosque near by it has a minaret, which is a beautiful bit of Ḥaḍramī architecture.

The old Sayyid Muṣṭafā puts in his appearance soon after, and there is also a Ḥaḍramī who has done well as a merchant in Djedda. Conversation turns on the World War and the events resulting from it. One feels them, as always, groping for the weak spot in the West, for the seed of destruction in the wordly and spiritual power which dominates and enslaves the lands of Islam. It comes out clearly how positively our listeners count upon a vigorous recovery of Germany, who will revenge herself for defeat in a new world war which will put an end for good to the dominating position of the whole West. They are all aflame for war from so-called pure sympathy for Germany or antipathy for Albion. It is difficult, not only to run directly counter to that kind of anticipation of the future, but also to bring forward some arguments for the love of peace and of mankind, transcending differences in religion, in such a way that, at least, they will not be immediately forgotten again.

After a breakfast of hot bread-cakes, *samn* mixed with honey, poached eggs with onions, tinned pine-apple and pears, the conversation is taken up again with renewed vigour. We

24 Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



We approach the dead little place, stumbling over the boulders. We have been spoiled in the days that lie behind us by being received as esteemed and welcome guests by the authorities and persons of note. Nevertheless, we are here still under the protection of the Qeᶜēṭī régime, and the great Bā Ṣurra has given us a letter of introduction to the *Ḥākim* of Ṣīf. It is true that the Miḥḍār family have warned us that the Governor of Ṣīf is a poor man, well versed in religious lore, but ignorant and incompetent in matters of worldly administration. The people are fanatical and poor. But we count upon the Governor's willingness to allot us a roof-terrace for the night, and we ask no more, for we wish to start again as early as possible on the morrow.

Ṣīf looks unfriendly, plantless and colourless, and the inhabitants stare in a hostile way at our little party as it passes [illegible] the narrow, dirty, small streets. The guard leads us to a low stable, and after having passed the inner courtyard, where cows are standing, we climb up to the roof by a narrow staircase. Tall, miserable-looking houses surround us, which shut out all refreshing breezes, and also from all the little window openings and from the flat roofs we are spied upon. Tom, Dick and Harry swarm into our stable and climb up to our roof so that before long we are in the midst of a crowd. The soldiers, all from the Yāfiᶜ tribe, who receive us in the name of the absent governor are very friendly and beg us to make shift with the little that they can offer us. They even bring a lamb and a kid, between which we are to choose our supper. The soldiers enjoy this variation in the monotony of their lives, and they are so friendly that we acquiesce in the inevitable and fix up our night-quarters on the stable-roof. We do not see any of the notabilities of the town; apparently they will have no dealings with the *Naṣārā* (Christians). The street-arabs and the youths of the place show all the more interest. With the help of the soldiers and a great deal of bad language, we manage to clear some space on our roof and to put up our camp beds. A group of Malay speaking inhabitants

609 is announced. They have outgrown the fanaticism of the people of Ṣīf through their residence in Java and know and value the Netherlands' Government and, whispering, agree that our reception here is not a fitting one. The *Ḥākim* is poor and has no authority; through his pretended absence he has escaped the duty of offering us hospitality.

522 We make our notes and do other necessary work in the midst of all kinds of commotion. The Ṣīf soldiers sit with our following till long after midnight, enjoying the roast kid and boiled rice, whilst with their harsh voices they exchange all manner of anecdotes and news.

609 Von Wrede's attempt to penetrate into Ḥaḍramaut came to grief in this gloomy Ṣīf. He had the misfortune to arrive just one day before the *ziyāra*[1] to the grave of Shēkh Aḥmad bin ʿĪsā el-ʿAmūdī. Thousands of Bedouins were gathered there, who saw in him an *Efrendjī*, a spy of the English in Aden, and he narrowly escaped death. Ill-treated, robbed of his money and possessions, he was obliged to quit Ṣīf and return to the coast.[2]

Hirsch passed Ṣīf without difficulty[3]; the Bents, however, had to threaten with the power of the Queen of England. They speak of the inhabitants of Ṣīf as "a most unhealthy, diseased-looking lot".[4]

000 The night's rest at Ṣīf was of short duration, for at four o'clock the Governor, who is at the same time the *muʾadhdhin*[5], comes to call our Sayyid ʿAluwī to the *ṣalāt*. We immediately begin asking for information about animals for riding and transport. The answer consists of fine promises, but long after

104 [1] *Ziyāra* (زيارة), visit; here the yearly visit on the date fixed for that pilgrimage, when tribal wars stop for some time, and a fair is held close to the saint's tomb.

[2] A. von Wrede, *op. cit.*, p. 254—258.

[3] L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 154 *sqq.*

[4] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 94 *sqq.*

104 [5] *Muʾadhdhin* (مؤذن), the man who calls out the *ʾadhān*, the invitation to prayer at the beginning of the five times fixed for the obligatory ritual prayers.

its fine strategic position once commanded the great route from the coast to Ḥaḍramaut. Within the gate the streets also mount steeply. The town gives an impression of decay; there are few tall or fine houses, the white colour of prosperity is to be seen on hardly a single one of them: the town is grey-brown as the mountain against which it stands.

We stop in front of a double house that is built over a small side-street. Sayyid Muḥammad bin Sālim bin ʿAbdarraḥmān Āl Qāf, the man to whom we were given an introduction by our host in Dōʿan, is said to live here. The letter is taken in, the door closed again, and we wait in the shadow of the narrow, overarched street. Time passes and we ask ourselves anxiously whether the *Efrendjīs* are perhaps not welcome in this house. No, that is not the case, but a double wedding is being celebrated at this moment, and the house is therefore full of women, who have to be removed and shut up, before our company can be allowed to enter. At last this stage is reached and we are taken to an apartment which shows signs of having been very much inhabited. It is warm there and not clean, and, although we already fill the room, a number of inquisitive people force themselves in. The master of the house himself as well as his snivelling small son appear to have economised water for all other purposes than washing. But his friendly glance and hearty welcome make everything all right at once.

It is perhaps here timely to pay grateful tribute to the wonderful hospitality of the Arabs. Who, in the West, would hide his disappointment at having a wedding feast broken in upon by a whole caravan of tired and hungry men? Who amongst us would immediately throw open his whole house to the travellers, "the sons of the road", himself bring water to slake their thirst, and immediately prepare food to strengthen them?

Life is democratic here. In the reception-room, which is chock-full, sit slaves, servants, children and master all together, who drink out of the same bowl and pour out coffee

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for the [illegible] each other's unwashed cups. Our host devotes [illegible]self entirely to us; he frequently absents himself to see that preparations are made for a meal without delay. Sounds of music and song reach us from the women, who are making merry in the adjoining room. In spite of the sweltering heat, the song with its refrain, the concerted clapping of hands and dancing to the monotonous music are carried on with great enthusiasm. Our host invites us urgently and repeatedly to spend the night with him. Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, who is with us, has, however, so great a longing to see his family in his own country that, on his account, we decide to start for el-Meshhed in the afternoon. Meanwhile our delicately solicitous host has quietly had a room made ready in a distant corner of the great double house. He sees how tired we are and whispers to us to follow him so as to escape from the interest and curiosity of the constantly changing visitors. These fellow townsmen, against whom one cannot protect oneself, will not penetrate into this quiet room; we can stretch ourselves out on the floor on the simple mats and rugs, and our host will see to it that we are not disturbed for an hour. Then the meal is brought up to us without a sound, and we are only awakened when the yellow-coloured rice awaits us, ready served in flat dishes, on the round eating-mat, along with dishes of boiled mutton and gravy. A round flat bread-cake lies in front of each of our places on the mat. Our host apologizes for the scarcity and simplicity of the food offered to us, but we fall to with a thankful "In the name of Allah." The practice of spicing the rice and meat very strongly must have been introduced from Java and India. They overdo the seasoning to such an extent for foreign guests that, after the first pangs of hunger have been appeased, it is a real effort to continue eating.

Our host speaks Malay by preference and likes to talk about Cheribon on the north coast of Java, where his family rose to prominence and where he hopes to return in a few months, after the date harvest. His father possesses 20 houses

169 there. He knows as many as 150 men who have gone from
556 Hadjarēn to seek their fortunes in Java. The little town has now at most 3000 inhabitants. Before we leave, I have to look at the Dutch passports of our host and his relations, make a note of their adresses, and promise to look them up later on in Cheribon. They have fully earned any small attention from our side; we stand amazed over the simple, genuine kindness that we received in this house, especially after our sad experience in Ṣīf.

●609 At our departure all sorts of Malay speaking Hadjarēners endeavour to exchange a few words with the white government official from their second fatherland. And, instead of being surrounded by faces with expressions of hate and contempt, and malicious, insulting remarks about *Naṣrānīs*, who should not be allowed to pollute the land, our exodus here is a small triumphal procession, crowded round as we are by the exuberant youth of the streets, all trying to air their knowledge of the Malay language.

## 4. ACROSS THE NEUTRAL ZONE BETWEEN EL-QEʿĒṬĪ AND ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

622 Guides of the el-ʿAṭṭās clan have offered themselves to
172 take us to el-Meshhed, the first place in the domain of the
131 Āl Kathīr, which is, however, actually under the supervision of the el-ʿAṭṭās family. Our caravan divides, as Von Wissmann, with a couple of young sayyids, the Yāfiʿ soldiers, one of our ʿ*abīd* (slave soldiers), and a whole band of street-arabs sets out to ascend Djebel Hadjarēn to see whether the ruins, of which we have been told, are really to be found, to take photographs and to survey. The territory of the Qeʿēṭīs ends just beyond Hadjarēn. Further up, in the midst of Ḥaḍramaut Proper, there lie, like islands, the districts of Ḥōra and el-Qaṭn-Shibām, which are subject to the Qeʿēṭī régime. The neutral zone, which we now enter, is an ideal hunting-ground for robbers and thieves.

172 amongst the broken stones of the ruins, also little bits of
212 rough, dark glass.

A quarter of an hour's walk distant there is another group of ruins that they call here "the Graves of the Kings". All those who are following us out of curiosity drop behind, when we go on through the suffocating heat between sand- and loam hills on the way to the Graves of the Kings, which lie in a great square S. S. W. of el-Meshhed. We find few inscriptions here. The hills are separated from each other, and have on their tops the foundations of solid walls forming a thirty feet square enclosure. The stones are not very large and are well and smoothly hewn. The ruins here are generally covered with piles of loam, very possibly the remains of the mud upper parts of the buildings. Many red-brown fragments of pottery lie among the stones.

172 The assumption made by the Bents [1], that the ground has
114 been raised more than thirty feet by drifting sand and that thus the old buildings are to a great extent buried, seems to be incorrect. The opposite supposition is more likely, namely, that the *sēl*-bed became more deeply washed away when the barrages and irrigation canals were no longer kept in repair. The ruins now all lie upon the hill-tops, the loess around them having been all washed away.

●609 Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās, the eldest brother now in Ḥaḍramaut of our companion Sayyid ᶜAluwī and the energetic head of the family in Ḥurēḍa, came from el-Meshhed to meet us. The father in Batavia had sent telegraphic instructions to give a good reception to the first envoy of the Netherlands to Ḥaḍramaut. Directly he received news of our approach, Sayyid Ḥasan mounted a *hadjīn* (riding camel) and set out to meet us. Being in his own country he dared to wear the khaki sun-
000 helmet of the *Efrendjīs*, when riding. Everything, later on, showed his progressiveness, his energy and daring. Sayyid Ḥasan acted henceforth as our host, and we had a good time under his guidance. Had he had enough time to accompany

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 104 *sq.*

# CHAPTER VI.

## ḤUREḌA, THE CENTRE OF THE EL-ʿAṬṬĀS CLAN.

### 1. FROM EL-MESHHED TO ḤUREḌA.

133 361 In the afternoon we leave el-Meshhed under the guidance of Sayyid Ḥasan, and travel through the great, wide, plantless wādī to the mouth of Wādī ʿAmd. The bed of the wādī is here called Baḥrān, "the two streams", as the *sēl*-beds of Wādī Dōʿan and of Wādī el-ʿĒn, to the left and the right respectively, separated from each other by a plateau of sand and loam, meet at this point. The villages of Sidbe, which lie like tall castles at the foot of the mountain, get the water for their palm-groves from Wādī el-ʿĒn. To the right in the far distance there lies the village of Ḥōra with a great castle and a watch-tower on a hill. It is a small Qeʿēṭī island in the midst of an Āl Kathīr sea.

When we reach the mouth of Wādī ʿAmd and there take an inward bend in a south-westerly direction, the sun is setting in a magnificent glow of light. We feel diminutively small in the broad river-beds of sand with their far-away high banks. We have passed from one *siqāya* to another. We enter Wādī ʿAmd, following closely the rock-wall on its south-western side. High up against that wall, which is in a somewhat crumbling condition here, we see a few fortifications and towers. In the wādī there are some tilled, but still bare, fields in the midst of the sand; *nibq* trees and bushes grow [609] scattered here and there. Sometimes also we pass a few date-palms and little settlements, the inhabitants of which call out to us in suspicion as we go by. As soon as they hear that *sāda* (*i. e.* sayyids) of the el-ʿAṭṭās family are with our party, the words of salutation ring out *"Yā ḥayya!"*, an abbreviation for "May Allah give you life!"

We march on for hours under a gorgeous heaven of stars. The great promontory towards which we are setting our course is Djebel Ghumdān. Only when we have passed it do we see the lights of Ḥurēḍa. The nearer we approach the more messengers with lamps, and people filled with curiosity come out to meet us. Youth especially is well in evidence, handsome, frank youngsters, who accompany us pushing each other aside and talking busily. Quite soon the boys try to put a few questions in Malay. When the answers come also in that language, questions follow thick upon each other, and these wordly-wise youths, born in Java and sent here to get a real Arabian education, become objects of admiration and envy to their fellows.

"Do you find it pleasant here?"

"No, not at all. It is much finer in Java. This is a dreadful country of poverty, heat and boredom."

They are home-sick for Java, where their parents are and where they would like to return at once.

We dismount at the entrance to Ḥurēḍa, which is unwalled, for we see, by the light of many gasoline lamps, the white figures of the notabilities of the town awaiting us. The Governor of el-Meshhed comes forward as spokesman. He says that the people of Ḥurēḍa are grateful for, and feel themselves honoured by, the first official Dutch visit. It is not so long ago that foreigners were denied entrance to Ḥurēḍa, but now opinion has become much more modern. In the whole of Ḥaḍramaut there is sympathy for Holland and gratitude to that country for the hospitality and good treatment enjoyed by the Ḥaḍramīs in the lands under her rule. Hope is expressed that an enduring contact between Ḥaḍramaut and Holland may spring from this visit.

The many lanterns light up fantastically this unusual spectacle on the outskirts of Ḥurēḍa, where the first Europeans, weary and dirty, with limbs stiff from long riding, make their entry into the little town, hand in hand with its notables in their clean, white garments. The Governor has solemnly taken

622 the Dutchman by the hand, and Sayyid Ḥasan walks on
609 his other side. Von Wissmann is accompanied in the same way by two notables, and then begins the slow entry into the town. A splendid white mosque looms up out of the darkness and then vanishes into it again; for the rest, there are brown mud houses, which seem to have been built without much order. After about five minutes we have passed through the place and see, against the slopes of rock débris, the great el-ᶜAṭṭās house with its many small windows lighted up. The house has just been rebuilt and enlarged, and, therefore, the upper storey has not yet been whitewashed. A brother of Ḥasan and ᶜAluwī comes with an uncle to greet us. This brother has had a Dutch, ᶜAluwī an Egyptian, and Ḥasan an Indian education. The uncle was an officer in the Ḥaḍramī regiment of the *Niẓām* of Hyderabad. The reception in the great *madjlis* is of short duration, and we then go upstairs to have a meal on the spacious roof-terrace in company with the nearest male members of the family.

## 2. SOME GOOD DAYS IN ḤURĒḌA.

554 A fine, clean guest-house is assigned to us for our quarters during our stay in Ḥurēḍa. This has the great advantage of giving us a place of privacy and rest, as we only meet visitors in the family-house of the el-ᶜAṭṭās. On the next morning (May 20th) a gathering takes place there to introduce us to the inhabitants of Ḥurēḍa. These things are done democratically here. High and low, old and young are present at such a meeting, even the Bedouins of the caravan, the guard of soldiers belonging to the house, our slave soldiers, and the younger members of the family. The only thing is that the young people and the subordinates keep somewhat in the background and take care not to make any noise that might
575 disturb their elders. The old and wise men of the place are
177 together. The young men's group has, however, an important
654 place, being organized by the driving power of Sayyid Ḥasan

going to erect a house for himself here and, in accordance 346
with the good custom, begins with the mosque. There are
some fine houses in Ḥurēḍa whose owners live in Djōhore, 167
Singapore, or Java. The actual inhabitants seem to be very 511
poor. Outside the town there are some fine date-plantations,
it is true, but the total impression is one of decline. Everything
that is fine and prosperous owes its existence to money that is
earned abroad. The tie between a Ḥaḍramī and his birth-place [181]
is very close, and if he is doing well, he returns from time to
time, and when he sees the evening of his life approaching
he longs to spend it in the little mud town where he was born,
and, finally, to await the Day of Resurrection in Ḥaḍramī soil,
which for him is consecrated ground. This is why there are
here palaces and country-seats of sayyids and mighty castles
of sultans, whilst the Bedouins live in rock-caves or lean-to
shelters, always on the verge of starvation, and the home-
staying town-dweller does not rise beyond a very poverty-
stricken existence. We are only just at the portal of actual
Ḥaḍramaut and soon shall see contrasts so moving, that it will
sometimes be difficult to grasp the fact that we are in a real
world, and are not dreaming after reading a centuries-old story
from the "Arabian Nights".

### 3. THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE TOWN.

On May 21st we intended to see something of the surround- 000
ings of Ḥurēḍa. Therefore, we asked Sayyid ʿAlī, the Bedouin
member of the el-ʿAṭṭās family, to go with us. Most sayyids
are not to be tempted for walks in the country at this time of
the year! At the request of some of the notables we go to a
spring which flows from out the mountain-wall a mile south-
west of Ḥurēḍa, just at the spot where the limestone stratum
rests on sandstone. Enemy Bedouins are said to have stopped
up this spring, which formerly flowed much more copiously.
The foreigners, held to be so proficient in all technical matters [609]
must say how the spring is to be put right. If there were

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Sultan's huge, high palace. The car stops before the comparatively small gate and our escort discharge their guns. The gate opens and soldiers accompany us up a long staircase running across the front of the building and behind the outer wall to the entrance proper. The impression made by the palace is one of neglect and dirt. This is because the Sultan lives in Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn and only comes to stay in this palace for a few days from time to time to attend to affairs of state. At all other times it is entrusted to the very indifferent care of the soldiers who are lodged within it. 361

We are conducted to a simple room, where the carpets are old and dusty and where, on an European travelling rug, sits a tall, very thin young man, the Sultan of Shibām, ᶜAlī bin Ṣalāḥ bin Muḥammad bin ᶜUmar bin ᶜAwaḍ bin ᶜAbdallāh el-Qeᶜēṭī, the grand-nephew of the Sultan of Makalla. We are quietly and kindly received. The Sultan is very much displeased that our escort has not given him due notice of our arrival; if he had known in time he would have received us in his palace at el-Qaṭn, which is suitably furnished for receptions. Sayyid ᶜAluwī tries to apologize, but without success. In the meanwhile chairs have been borrowed in the town and placed in a large room. We can at last retire and try to wash the coating of clinging dust from our weary bodies. During these private operations we are not left alone: attentive soldiers keep watch and even allow immaculately dressed notables of Shibām to enter. These have heard of the arrival of foreigners and are on the spot at once to learn all about them. They have come in their magnificent new cars and with Arabian hospitality invite us to drive with them to the garden city in front of Shibām and to have a cup of tea with them in their garden pavilions. It has an incredible sound to our ears, when, to add to the attractiveness of their invitation, they also say that we can swim in the mason-work swimming-pool in their garden. We accept with gratitude, on condition that the Sultan makes no objection to our leaving his hospitable roof for the time being. 643 609 644

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them shooting, and singing for joy, but now the feast has succumbed to the heat; the merry-makers lie in the shadow up against the rocky slopes, in grottoes, under blocks of rock, or under shelters made of sticks and fragments of cloth, resting after the noisy racket. The number of participants does not seem to be great, a fact which also points to the decline of the district. A group come up to us and overwhelm us with questions. We reply that we are truly on the way to the tomb of their Prophet Hūd and that we also intend to pray there. When I answer their question as to whence we come by saying: "From the Holy Land, from Djedda", it becomes apparent that they are not very well informed as regards the founder of their religion and his country. But some of them have been in East Africa, and these relate that the Muslims there are in the habit of going to Mecca just as the Ḥaḍramīs go to Qabr Hūd. We are then invited to stay on with them, for a short time, to resume the feast, but being convinced that friendship with these suspicious, brutal fanatics is a very fragile affair we prefer to continue our march. We cannot rest until we have reached our goal, Qabr Hūd.

One of the group acts as spokesman; he was for some time in Zanzibar and there made acquaintance with Europeans. He promises to follow in our rear and to accompany us to Bīr Barhūt on the morrow. It is thanks to his intercession that we are allowed to proceed without hindrance.

We march on further as fast as we can through the valley, which becomes narrower. On the right, over a great distance, the high bank has been broken through, namely where the "Seven Wādīs" (Sabᶜa Wudyān) open into the main wādī. It is as still as death in the wādī, no living creature is to be seen. The path is good on the whole, thanks to the fact that every year, in the month Sha'bān, thousands of pilgrims pass backwards and forwards along it. Sometimes it goes through barren sand-hills, sometimes between bushes of *rāk* and by a few crooked *ithl* trees.

is always water in the *sēl*-bed, *rāk* bushes and tamarisks grow 000
in plenty. We soon pass the wide delta of the "Seven Wādīs" which debouch into the main wādī.

After two and a half hours steady walking we arrive in pitch darkness at Fughma and knock at the door of the house where, on our outward journey, we have spent some hours during the heat of the day. Although the master of the house 609
has already retired with his family for the night's rest on the roof, he comes at once to open the door to us, and we also are assigned a part of a roof, a coverlet of goat's hair and a few greasy cushions. When everyone has settled down again to rest our caravan looms up out of the darkness, and the men, in their turn, are received with great hospitality and given quarters on another roof.

On the following day, June 3rd, we leave Fughma by break 000
of day and, before it becomes very hot, reach es-Sōm, where we again call on our host of the journey out. We are received with particular friendliness and are all allowed into the great reception-room, the *madjlis*. We want to write and rest, and we put out feelers to see whether there is, perhaps, a separate, small room for us; the living-room is immediately emptied and placed at our disposal. We wish to leave early in the afternoon to see the groups of ruins at el-Mekēnūn, Thōbe and el-ᶜUrr before sundown.

The group of ruins known as el-Mekēnūn lies near es- 172
Sōm and towards the northern wall of the wādī. The remains of old buildings stand out above the plain like mounds of débris, with a well now partly filled in with stones, lying between them. Our search for stones with inscriptions is *not* rewarded. Connected with these mounds there is a large open space that is regarded as a cemetery by the people of the district; stones have been placed in circles and ellipses and are said to indicate the graves. According to tradition, the people of ᶜĀd were a race of giants and the dimensions of these circles and ellipses do not clash with this conception. We have no time to excavate; there are more groups of ruins to inspect. Against

000 bands of white and grey, against the dark green of the palms. The soldiers and children of the garrison stood crowded together to enjoy to the last this short variation in the monotony of their life as a besieged people. Then, through plantations of young palms and, after that, over uncultivated stretches of sand, our way led to that last outpost of el-Qeʿēṭī in Ḥaḍramaut, Shibām. As had been arranged, we announced our arrival directly to our friends Āl Ṭuwēy and Laʿdjam at their garden home. Once again we stay in this Arabian Nights' palace, bathe in the clear, lukewarm swimming-pool, and enjoy the luxury offered us here by our hospitable friends.

Early on the following day we go to Shibām to take photographs of Ḥimyaritic inscriptions and sculptures, which are to be found in the shop of a local dealer in antiquities. It is already unbearably hot in the narrow lanes between the tall houses, where, moreover, market is being held. We are thankful to turn our backs on this unhygienic but wonderful New York of Ḥaḍramaut and to go by car to the Sultan's palace in el-Qaṭn.

609 Sultan ʿAlī bin Ṣalāḥ bin Muḥammad bin ʿUmar bin ʿAwaḍ
172 bin ʿAbdallāh el-Qeʿēṭī gives us a hearty reception. He places an escort at Von Wissmann's disposal to show him some rock inscriptions and ruins on the southern bank of the wādī. It is very hot and the rocks are steep and high; the guides' interest in this inexplicable hobby of the Christians is extremely small, and Von Wissmann returns rather disappointed with the results of his excursion. We then go together in the Sultan's car to ʿUqrān, a village about half-way back to Shibām, at the entrance to the short side-wādī of the name, 114 in the southern wall of the main wādī. Hirsch[1] and the 172 Bents[2] have been here. Hirsch gives a detailed description from which it would seem that there was more to be

[1] L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 192.

[2] Th. and Mrs. Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 124 and 135. They call it Al Agran and Al Gran.

amazement of its garrison. The solid wooden doors of the gate are locked; not a living soul is visible among the other mud houses; there is not a tree or shrub to offer shade amidst all this surrounding sand and loam and rock. El-Qaʿūẓa is encircled by foes and shots are very apt to fall after sunset from the mausers of the sharp-shooters, who man the forts on the rock-wall. The doors, however, open to the tooting of our horn and we stare into the dumb, wondering faces of the soldiers and boys who come running to meet us.

Old Mubārak bin Muḥammad is the shēkh held in awe by the Bedouins and who controls all the caravans travelling from el-Qaʿūẓa by the southern border of the "Empty Quarter" to the Yemen or to the hinterland of Aden. If he will assume the responsibility and provide us with camels and an armed escort we can risk a forced march to Niṣāb. Unluckily the mighty Bedouin shēkh is ill. We are received in a very fraternal way by his soldiers and taken to the roomy *madjlis,* which is soon chock-full of people interested in our arrival; they all come forward to greet us with a firm grasp of the hand and then begin to satisfy their curiosity by asking questions. There seems to be a great deal of contact with Java here: many speak Malay as do all the boys who so eagerly press forward. Money from Java has kept the war going so far, although the last date-palm has died long ago in the dried-up gardens.

Conversation in Malay soon breaks down the initial reserve of our hosts, and before long we are talking gaily about Java, the land of promise, with these frank and intelligent youths. The soldiers are only now prepared to speak to the old shēkh, to show him our letters and to communicate our request. A little later they come to take me to the sick man, Mubārak bin Muḥammad. The grey-headed chief is lying in a small room. He says that the region through which we wish to pass has been rendered unsafe by large bands of Bedouins and that an armed escort of ten camel-riders would not protect us against them. The only possibility for us would be to join

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attempt to reach Aden overland — the attempt for which we had made such forced marches and conducted such frequent and difficult negotiations. Fatigue, bad and insufficient food, bugs, and the marked antipathy shown us, the first Christians to visit Yebᶜeth, by the local people, all contributed to our decision. The expedition to Aden, even were it to succeed, would apparently take too long.

We could reach Ṣidāra in Wādī Ḥadjr in two days, and, according to people here, it would take three or four more from there to Makalla. In reality we found that twice this time was actually needed to cover the distance. As soon as the decision was made we prepared for departure; we were given a negro slave to act as guide and protector. This was not as it should be: a man of some position ought to have accompanied us. In this wādī the slave element is again much to the fore; we had seen only a few negro types in Wādī ᶜAmd and in the Deyyin district, but here, on the contrary, we saw many.

It was still early in the afternoon when we set off. Our host came out of his house whilst we were taking photographs of the bystanders and watching the camels being loaded, but he no longer attempted to shield us from the rude manners and mocking remarks of the young men, who stood looking on without stretching out a hand to help. We had to check them from going too far by giving a few menacing answers. Ṣāliḥ and Saᶜīd, obviously disturbed over the turn that affairs were taking, worked hard to get the camels ready. When we were alone Saᶜīd said that he had overheard evil-boding talk and had been asked whether we had much gold coin with us. On his replying in the negative they had said that *Naṣrānīs* would certainly not venture so far afield in unknown lands if they had not plenty of money and that they only travelled under such poor conditions in order to avoid the danger of robbery. If Saᶜīd would join in with them he would get a share of the loot, and no one would get to know anything about the matter, if both simply said that we had been fallen

1 [Yeb'eth - - ANALYST]

upon and murdered by robbers during the journey. Ṣāliḥ also had a great mistrust of the people of the place, and both he and Saʿīd suspected that the slave who had been given us was meant to be a participant in the plot and to attack us that night whilst we were asleep. We were not unmoved by their great anxiety, although not yet willing to believe that the remarks they had overheard were more than an idea conceived for the simple pleasure of frightening us.

We followed a broad and much trodden path beside cultivated fields half-shaded by a number of *nibq* trees and small groups of date-palms. From every village we passed inquisitive inhabitants came running out with the stereotyped question: "Why do you bring the *Naṣrānīs* here? What have they come to do, and where are you taking them to?" Attempts to exchange a few friendly words generally met with ill-will and dislike. An impoverished sayyid constituted the one exception; he had performed the *ḥadjdj* and thus seen something of the world and he accompanied us some distance on our way talking the while. He was not in the least disturbed by the hateful remarks made by the wādī people and excused their rudeness to us on account of their ignorance.

## 6. A LOST ILLUSION — TURNING OUR FACES TO MAKALLA AGAIN.

Before we left the inhabited wādī and struck up a side-valley, we filled our water-bags from a deep well at the last hamlet. We were not left in peace by a troop of abusive boys until, going as fast as we could, we were well advanced into the deserted side-wādī. Once there, it gave one a feeling of deliverance to be no longer pursued by the scorn and hate and ill-will of men. Ṣāliḥ and Saʿīd felt the need of giving vent to their bottled-up feelings in hearty abuse of those "faithless dogs". We ourselves were not angry and only wondered over this unexpected and inexplicable antipathy towards the foreigner and non-Muslim. As we proceeded the

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



conviction that we were threatened by real danger grew and, therefore, that we ought to get as far as possible from the inhabited world before evening fell.

*Ithl* trees and various shrubs grow in this side-wādī. Shepherdesses are driving their flocks homewards. Before long our path again leads up the rock-wall towards the *djōl*; arrived there we stop for a breathing-space but after that go on again with renewed determination. It gives us a strange feeling to realize that we have given up the plan we had held on to so tenaciously and are now returning to our starting point. It is a great disappointment, but we are both convinced that it would have been impossible to reach Aden overland in the time left to us. Also we now follow a route, a great part of which is unknown, and shall only reach the country explored and surveyed by Little when we enter Wādī Ḥadjr.

Our black guide is thoroughly mistrusted by Ṣāliḥ and Saᶜīd. They think that he may have orders to make our camp for the night at a pre-determined spot so that we can be attacked unawares and plundered there. Thus, in the first place, we wish to push on as far as our own strength and that of the camels will permit and, in the second, we wish our guide to see that we are prepared for an attack. When, at the end of a further march of two hours after sundown, we at last made a halt and had spread out our blankets by the side of the path, our revolvers were unearthed from the depths of a travelling bag, thoroughly examined and loaded, and then laid under the roll of clothes which served as a pillow. Nothing happened, however, and we slept splendidly on this night as always.

On June 15th, we had a heavy march over difficult country with many *ᶜaqabas*. Fatigue and hunger gradually made their effects felt, — the sickening sweetness of our diet of dates, biscuits and tea nauseated us, and also we never had enough sleep. After the cool nights on the plateau, the heat which begins so rapidly with the coming of day was doubly disagreeable. One could tell from the increasing dampness of the

# CHAPTER XVII.

## WĀDĪ ḤADJR — A BIT OF ARABIA FELIX.

### 1. ṢIDĀRA, ITS CHIEF SETTLEMENT.

361 Ṣidāra gave us the impression of being dirty, yet fairly
131 prosperous. The stone houses are scattered wide apart; they
621 have generally two storeys and are built square and strong so as to hold their own in case of hostilities. Ṣidāra is independent; the farthest frontier post of the Qeᶜēṭī Government is a good two hours' march south-east. Much fighting has been carried on for the possession of this very fertile Wādī Ḥadjr, and in the days which followed we saw many traces of this strife.

609 Here we stood at last in front of the house of the village-
186 chief, wondering how we were to be received. A roof-terrace was rapidly prepared for us and, after that, the master of the house came to bid us welcome and invite us to enter. We recall him gratefully to mind, for we owe it to him that the people left us more or less in peace, although here again they did not exactly sympathize with foreigners. Our host had performed the *ḥadjdj* and had brought back with him two very favourable recollections of Europeans: when passing through Aden he had become acquainted with the Mission Hospital at Shēkh ᶜUthmān and spoke with great respect of the Mission doctor whom he had met there; and then again, in the Holy Land itself he had met a Dutchman who had become a Muḥammadan; after the *ḥadjdj* was over he had seen the latter again in Djedda and had been treated by him as if he were his own brother. I told him that the Dutchman at Djedda was a good friend of mine, and with that we were in friendly touch at once.

000 The roof-terrace was soon full of people and hand-shaking and questions began as usual. The youth of the village was

p.224

Il: Melamid S-3 (no date) 1954 MLl Yemen ML1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

Y 471 609

a tannery, and a textile plant. This preference for German firms is rather remarkable.[4] However, Yemen authorities claim that American and British firms were not interested in these concessions.

Y 471 651

The terms of the oil concession are reported to be based on a capital and profit division of 75 per cent to Yemen, and 25 per cent to the concessionaire. This may explain the lack of interest of American and British firms whose oil concessions in other petroleum-producing countries are on a 50/50 profit-sharing basis, without local capital participation. Furthermore, the Yemen concession is to run for only twenty years (compared with sixty-six years for the Saudi Arabian concessions), provided oil is found within five years. According to the available geological information, the outlook for finding oil is not too encouraging as the highlands of Yemen consist primarily of rocks which are geologically devoid of oil. However, the narrow coastal strip and the lowland deserts do offer possibilities. Here there is a complication. Because of the absence of definite boundaries, the eastern deserts may be claimed either by Saudi Arabia or by the Aden protectorate.

Y 135 Y [131]

Yemen also has hopes of discovering commercially utilizable quantities of gold, silver, copper and iron ore, which were all formerly mined in the highlands.[5] Considerable areas in the wadis below the highlands are reported to be suitable for the cultivation of cotton, provided modern methods of irrigation are introduced. Even if no oil is discovered, the change in the attitude towards foreigners and towards innovations may bring about far-reaching economic and political changes in this state.

Y [609]

H 471 609 177

In 1938, a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Company (in which British, Dutch, French, American and other capital participates) obtained exploratory oil concessions in the Aden protectorate. So far no discoveries have been reported. The sheiks and sultans of the area have lately opened their territories to a limited number of foreign travellers, mostly surveyors. Emigrants who had settled in India, Malaya, and Indonesia and who have returned, particularly to Mukalla and the Hadhramaut, have contributed not only experience gained overseas, but some capital as well. Regular motor and air transportation[6] is now available. Several irrigation schemes have been established in the western Aden protectorate, at Abyan, where crops of high quality cotton are grown. The greater internal security resulting from the organization of regular police protection against tribal raiders (a combination of the British Royal Air Force and local jeep patrols) has also contributed to economic development. Local fisheries have

H 433 439

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[4] The oil concession was granted to Dellmann Bergbau, German oil producers who also have a concession in Spain.

[5] United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East, 1951-52*, E/2353/Add. 1, ST/ECA/19, Add. 1 (New York, 1953), 126.

[6] At least one foreign trading firm in Aden flies its own plane regularly to various points in the territories to pick up local products and deliver imports.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



form, geographically and socially, a remarkably homogeneous whole. It may be said, in brief, that the districts of the Hadhramaut are singularly fertile and self-sufficing, and so situated geographically as to hang closely together and to be isolated socially, as a whole, from the rest of Arabia; while, at the same time, they lie within reach of ports which are in constant communication with mid-eastern Africa and India. To the north stretches unbroken the most terrible waste of sand-dunes in the peninsula; to the east the district is practically isolated from the Oman provinces by the almost waterless desert of Mahrah; while to the west it is difficult of access from the Yemen and its outlying provinces on account of a mountainous and sterile desert-steppe which, up to the present, remains almost entirely unexplored.

Possessing more frequent and easy communication with Moslem communities outside Arabia than within it, the population of the Hadhramaut has had ample opportunity to develop particularism in its social organization as well as in its religious spirit. The fertility of its lands makes its farmers self-sufficient and jealous with the jealousy of men who have much to lose; and, while their relations with Africa have given them unusual wealth of slaves, their relations with India and other parts of the East, greatly enhancing their material civilization, have at the same time made them fully aware of the nature of European rule and the danger of giving free entrance to members of a race which condemns slavery. For long they succeeded in barring the way to the encroachments of all foreigners, and it is only within comparatively recent times that travellers, few in number, have succeeded in acquiring information, and that only to a very limited extent, about the social organization, customs, and manners of this interesting and highly exclusive people.

The population may be divided into four more or less distinct classes:

1. The Seyyids.
2. The Tribesmen.
3. The Townsmen.
4. The Servile classes, or slaves.

The *Seyyids*, descendants of Husein, grandson of Mohammed, form a numerous and highly respected aristocracy. They are divided into families, the heads of which are known as 'Munsibs', who are looked upon as the religious leaders of the people and are in some cases venerated as saints. They do not bear arms, nor occupy themselves in trade or manual labour, or even agriculture;

Jābir living below Shibam, Āl Bā Sūdān at Du'an, Bā Humeid at Madūda and Seiyun, Āl Bureik at Shabwa, Bā Khatib at Tarim, Bā Wa'l at Tarim, and Āl Bā 'Umar at 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn. 565 162

YAFA'IS.

The Yafa'is are the *'asākir* or soldiers and the actual rulers of Qu'aiti territory. Their introduction as mercenaries, described in the historical chapters, has led to the foundation of two dynasties, that of the Kasadis of Lower Yafa' and that of the Qu'aitis who drove out the Kasadis. The places in which some of the Yafa'is live will appear later when the inhabitants of the various provinces of Qu'aiti territory are enumerated. I have also given in an appendix a list of the various Yafa'i tribes with their sections, strength and situation. 565 162 463

The Qu'aiti dynasty springs from a section of the Mausata tribe and is historically quite recent. Although the Sultan and his relations have had no personal contacts with their country they exercise some influence in Upper Yafa', and the Yafa'i connection is still a live one, as a great many Upper Yafa'is regularly go to the Hadhramaut to take service in the Qu'aiti forces, returning after a few years to their own country. Other Yafa'is have become settled in the Hadhramaut and form a powerful party on whom the Qu'aiti could depend in the case of disturbances. [73]

The following are amongst Yafa'i tribes and sections represented in the Hadhramaut, the sections being shown in brackets after each tribe: Adh Dhubi (Al Mosilli, Al Kasadi, Ash Shanāthira, Al Jahāwisha), Al Bu'si (Al Gharama, Az Zaghālida, Al Homām, Al Mattash), Al Mausata (Ar Robak, Āl Yazid, Āl Batati). 565 162

TRIBESMEN.

The history of the tribes of the Hadhramaut has been, generally speaking, sufficiently indicated in the historical instruction, and their location and strength will be dealt with in the description of the various provinces. 600

There are only four words used in the Hadhramaut for the nomenclature of the divisions of a tribe. *Az Zei* is a confederation of tribes with a single leader. There are only three *Zeis* in the Hadhramaut, the Seibani, the Nūwah, and the Hamumi. The Shenafir Confederation is not a *Zei*, for while the leaders of the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris are Sultans, they do not head the whole confederation of tribes. A tribe, *Qabila*, is sub-divided into a *Beit*, and a *Beit* into a *Fara'*. I cannot claim any particular merit for the divisions I have used, namely, Tribe, Clan, Section, and Sub-section, except that by using the word Clan I have avoided the clumsy term sub-sub-section which I found used in some statements of the other tribes of the Protectorate. 619 565 162 621

The Hadhrami tribesmen, like those of the rest of the Protectorate, are extremely conservative and "never depart from their tribal customs." Most of them are nomads moving over their areas 181 560

following are notes on the other tribes mentioned, with the addition of three small tribes also dependent on the province.

### Ath Tha'yani.

This tribe possess houses and grazing lands around Reida and Qus'eir as far as Damakh. They live to the east of the Hamumi with whom they are allied, but they are not a Hamumi clan. They have an "A" agreement with the Qu'aiti, who pays them an annual subsidy.

### Hamumi.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bahasan at Tanbūl | — | Wadi al Ma'di | 250 | |
| Al Yamīni ... ... | — | Wadi 'Arf | 150 | — |
| As Sa'idi ... ... | — | Al Wāsit | 350 | — |
| Bā Hasan Bā Zamāri | — | North of Hami | 100 | — |
| Al Harāwiza ... | Beit Sarqāha | Ya'is Kherid | 100 | — |
| Beit 'Ali ... ... | — | Al Khamt | 250 | 'Ali bin Salim bin Mujanna Habrish. |
| Seiyids of Āl Zein and Āl bin Qitbān. | — | Al Jebel | 60 | |
| Beit ash Sharkha ... | — | Al Jebel | 50 | — |
| Beit Shanīn ... | — | North of Dis | 200 | — |
| Beni 'Ujeil ... ... | — | Al Jebel | 2,000[1] | — |
| Al Gharābi ... ... | — | Al Jebel and east of Wadi Himem. | 450 | — |
| Al Jāmiha ... ... | — | Al Jebel | 300 | — |
| Seiyids of Beit Hamūda | — | Al Jebel | 200 | — |
| Beit Ghatnīn ... | — | North of ar Reida and Qus'eir. | 200 | — |
| Al Jareiri ... ... | — | do. do. | 400 | — |
| Bin 'Asāna ... ... | — | do. do. | 300 | — |
| Al Hazāwil ... ... | — | do. do. | 500 | — |
| Beit al 'Amaq ... | — | do. do. | 200 | — |
| Nōhat ... ... | — | do. do. | 250 | — |
| Beit Qarrād ... | — | do. do. | 700 | — |
| Beit Mabrūr... ... | — | do. do. | 100 | — |
| Al Asmūh ... ... | — | do. do. | 350 | — |
| Al 'Udūl ... ... | — | do. do. | 300 | — |
| Al Qarzi ... ... | — | North of Wadi 'Arf | 600 | — |
| Bā Shamakha ... | — | Beit al Qarazat | — | — |
| | | | 8,360 | |

The Hamumi Zei, who are of Himyaritic descent, strong and warlike, live in the country to the north of Shihr, from Wadi 'Arf in the south-west to Damakh Hisāl in the east. The western part of Reida and the southern part of Dis, where they have houses and

[1] Total estimated number of clan. Except where otherwise stated the estimated numbers given are those of armed men only.

[See p. 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

631 grazing lands, belong to them, and they range from Shihr to
101 Seihut and up to the Manahil and Jabri. The Manahil country
619 lies to the north and east of them, and the 'Awābitha and Al Heik live to their west.

619 The tribe had a defensive and offensive alliance with the Kathīri, and were always a great source of trouble to the Qu'aiti. They were a byword for murder and robbery, owing to their systematic pillaging of travellers, until the Qu'aiti put an end to these activities by stringent measures some years ago. He now pays them an annual subsidy and has a " B " agreement with them and they
[489] have ceased to be troublesome. Since coming to heel the tribesmen regularly load goods from Shihr for Shibam, Seiyun and Tarim, and continually visit Shihr, Hami, Dis, Qus'eir and Reida. They are mainly nomads and own about 3,000 loading camels but no riding animals.

They are the worst enemies of the Seibani, with whom they are continually at war: Inter-tribal feuds exist between several of their own clans, but all unite in the face of a common foe under the leadership of the Beit 'Ali clan, whose chief, 'Ali bin Salim Habrish, lives at Gheil Bā Yamīn and Wadi 'Arf and is the
[623] *Muqaddam* of the Zei. A " Council of Elders " is summoned at Gheil Bā Yamīn to decide matters of tribal importance, and the tribesmen of the various clans offer their rifles to prove their goodwill in acceptance of the decision of the Elders. The Mansabs of the tribe are Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il of the Āl 'Aidarus, but the Bā Shamakha clan are under the influence of 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and 'Abdul Qadir Āl Shibab of the Āl as Saqqaf. These Mansabs interfere in cases of serious tribal disputes or for the accomplishment of truces between fighting clans or tribes.

631 The clans of the Hamumi live in two districts, Al Ma'rab (the
101 Western) which is the smaller district and is situated to the North
619 of Shihr, and Al Mashqās (the Eastern) which lies to the North East of Shihr. The Bahasan at Tanbūl and the Yamīni are the clans living in Al Ma'rab, but also included in the district are their allies the Sha'āmila, the Bā Habān, and the Meseilīyin. The Yamīni, who are allied to the Seibani and live under their pro-
[249] tection, possess 200 camels, and the Bahasan own 100. The latter cultivate *tanbuli* leaf, which is chewed by the people of Shihr and Mukalla, and they have accordingly been nicknamed " at Tanbuli " The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

The other clans mentioned in the list live in the district of Al Mashqās, consisting of deserts, fields, and wadis. From the Sa'idi to the Seiyids of Beit Hamūda inclusive the clans have a special system and their chief is the head of the Beit 'Ali. From the Beit Ghatnīn to the 'Udūl inclusive all the clans have their own

[Hamumi Zei -- Analyst] [See p. 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

chiefs. The Qarzi, who own about 600 camels but have no cultivation, are independent and the strongest of all the Hamumi clans. They have a " B " agreement with the Qu'aiti and they are in favour of peace and amity towards the Government with whom they have long been friends. 631 101 619

The Beit 'Ali clan possess about 400 camels and have no cultivation. The Gharābi are nomads with about 400 camels. The Beit Shanīn possess some 200 camels, and the Bā Hasan Bā Zamāri 100. The Beni 'Ujeil clan are cultivators and not fighters. They possess few arms and own about 600 camels. All the Hamumi clans are divided into many houses and branches.

### Ash Sha'āmila.

This small tribe, with whom the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement, live between 'Arf and Gheil Bā Wazir in the district of Al Ma'rab. Together with the Bā Habān and the Meseilīyin, they number 300 armed men.

### Al Bā Habān.

This tribe, which together with the Sha'āmila and the Meseilīyin number 300 armed men, live in the district of Al Ma'rab to the north of Shihr.

### Al Meseilīyin.

The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with this tribe, who possess houses and grazing lands in the district of Al Ma'rab to the north of Shihr. They are connected with the 'Awābitha but are not a part of that tribe. Together with the Sha'āmila and the Bā Habān, they number 300 armed men.

### Al 'Asārina.

An independent tribe with whom the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement. They possess houses and grazing lands in the southern part of Shihr.

### Al Bā Habāb.

A very small tribe living between Wadi Ma'di and Gheil. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

### Tribesmen of Sadf.

This small tribe, with whom the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement, live above the Sha'āmila. They were attached to the Kinda, but became separated. Hamdani mentions a sub-tribe of Kinda called Sadif with a sub-division named Bahr.

### Al 'Awābitha.

The clans of the 'Awābitha are the Bā Zor living at Al Hushin, Bā 'Anis living at Ghurb, and Bin Mujashar. They are a Himyaritic tribe, estimated at 2,000 to 3,000 persons, including some 700 armed

[see page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

631 men, and occupying the Wadi al 'Ain (south-east of Haura), the
101 Wadi 'Adim, and the country to the east as far as Wadi Bin 'Ali.
They also extend to the neighbourhood of Gheil Bā Wazir and at
619 places border the Hamumi. The village of Ghurb, which is the headquarters of the Bā 'Anis clan, consists of about 250 houses. The tribe are independent, part settled, part nomad, and they ply their camels for hire between Mukalla, Shiheir, and Shihr, and the Wadi Hadhramaut via Wadi al 'Ain. They possess about 800 [423] camels. The settled 'Awābitha owned many date trees in Wadi al 'Ain, but they have sold or mortgaged a large number of them to the wealthy inhabitants of Du'an. The Qu'aiti Sultan also owns date groves in the wadi which used to be looked after by his slaves, but owing to a quarrel between the tribe and the slaves the latter were removed and the property entrusted to the care of the Bin Mujashar clan.

At one time the tribe had a defensive alliance with the Kathīri against the Qu'aiti, but they are said now to be loyally allied to the latter who pays them an annual subsidy and with whom they have an " A " agreement. Though not actually under the Qu'aiti they acknowledge his suzerainty owing to his control of the ports, of which they greatly stand in need for the employment of their camels. They are not on terms with the Sei'ar, and they are allied to the Seibani against the Hamumi, their inveterate foes. Their *Mansab* is the Sheikh of the Bā Wazir living at Bawerqat in Wadi al 'Ain, where there are also other Bā Wazir villages, including Safīl which is the headquarters of the chief Bā Wazir *Mansabs*.

### Al Ma'ara.

The clans of the Ma'āra are Bin Thabit, Bā Surra, Bin Hateish, Bil Ahwal, Bā Bil Heiz, Bin Basut, Bā Ajban, Bā Hasan, Bā Awahab, Bā Haneish, Bā Tha'lab, Bin Joshum and Bin Shamemi. The tribe, whose habitat is Hirū and ar Reida, are often considered a clan of the Hamumi, but they are independent although they are closely attached to the Qarzi clan of the Hamumi. Their fighting men number some 400, and they possess houses and grazing lands in the upper part of the Shihr province; but they have no running water and their cultivation depends on rain. They breed camels and sheep, and they ply for hire between Shihr and the Wadi Hadhramaut via their own country, but they also go into Mukalla in order to obtain loads. They are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aiti who has a " B " agreement with them.

### Al Jōhī.

This tribe, who were originally part of the Seibani but are now independent, have houses and grazing lands in the upper part of the Shihr province, and Reida belongs to them. It is said that they are in the pay of the Qu'aiti, who has a " B " agreement with them.

[See one-92, category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



# CHAPTER XVI.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 2. MUKALLA PROVINCE.

Although the town of Mukalla is the Qu'aiti capital the province is considered as ranking after Shihr. It is defined as extending from east to west " from the port of Shiheir to Meifa ", and south to north " from the sea to the low hills as far as the source of the river Hajr, but excluding the Hajr valley itself ". Apart from Mukalla the principal towns and villages on the coast are Shiheir with an estimated population of 1,500, Fuwa and Burum. The only inland town of any importance is Gheil Bā Wazīr, but there are a number of large villages such as Harshiat, Tila, Lusb and Lubeib. The population of Gheil Bā Wazīr, where the Sultan has a house, is estimated at from 6,000 to 7,000. It is a walled town, and the seat of an important tobacco industry. 635 361 162 [438]

Estimates of the population of the town of Mukalla vary from 10,000 to 30,000; the actual figure is probably 15,000 to 16,000. It is a compact, closely populated place, with 13 mosques, and it appears to be growing as building operations are continually in progress. It has several minor industries, of which the principal is fish-drying. West of the town, fish manure and fish fodder are prepared, and outside to the east fish is cured for human consumption. Other small industries are the crushing of simsim for oil and cake, lime-burning—the best quality lime used in Aden comes from Mukalla—and tanning. Apart from the fact of its being the seat of Government, Mukalla owes its importance to its being the principal port of entry for the Hadhramaut and the principal market for the interior. The landing-ground for Mukalla is at Fuwa and the province is well served with motor-tracks. The water-supply comes from Baqrein, where there are good gardens, and other garden suburbs are Dis al Mukalla, An Naq'a where the Sultan has a house, Manāwara, Lermi, Kherba and Khaba. 361 162 438

The Governor of the Mukalla province at the time of my visit was the *Wazir* of the state, Jemadar, or Sultan, Salim bin Ahmed bin 'Abdulla al Qu'aiti. The following tribes live in or are dependent on the Mukalla province: Seibani, Hālka, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadīyin, Sumūh, Hāmdi, Buheish and the Āl Heik. As will be seen in Chapter XVII, the Hālka and the Sumūh, sometimes considered as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani. The Bin Daghār and the Nūwah of the Wadi Hajr (see Chapter XVIII) have working and trading connections with Mukalla, as have the tribes of the Wadi 'Amd, the Ma'di, the Ja'da, Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed and Āl Salima; the last two, though sometimes considered to be separate tribes, are included with the Ja'da (Chapter XX). The tribesmen of the Wadi Reidat ad Deiyin and other tribes to the west of Du'an, Beina and Wadi 'Amd, also trade with Mukalla. Shibam and the tribes in and around it 635 619

635 depend on the capital for business and supplies, as do the tribes of
619 Nahd Rōdhān and Āl Makhāshin (included with the Nahd, see Chapter XIX). The Hadhrami Yafa'is, and particularly the sections of Bal'ala, al Hamdhān, al Jābri, Ibn az Zu', and ash Shabeibi, also look on it as their headquarters.

The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely connected with the province. The others mentioned will be found under more appropriate heads:—

BENI HASAN.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bā Haj ... ... ... | Bā Zala and eight other sections. | Mazīnab | 120 |
| Bā Ra'ida ... ... | — | — | 70 |
| Bā Kadīm ... ... | — | — | 50 |
| Bā 'Azad ... ... ... | Daqeil | 'Azad | 30 |
| Rahbani ... ... ... | Bā Dalhūs | — | 15 |
| | | | 285 |

[162]

619 The Beni Hasan, a Himyaritic tribe, closely allied to the
631 'Akābira who live to their south, are said to have been long settled
101 in the country they inhabit. Their grazing lands lie around Mukalla and extend to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. Their chief village is Lubeib, but they reside also in Wadi Ariat and Asfal al 'Ain, west of Mukalla. They have been described as a clan of the Seibani living in the valley of Jirba and the surrounding mountains. They used to be neighbours of the Kasadi on the east, but assisted the Qu'aitis in their fight against the Kasadi Naqīb and for this reason receive, jointly with the 'Akābira, an annual gift of 700 loads of grain from the Qu'aiti, who also pays them an annual subsidy and has an "A 7 agreement with them. Their chief is in his service and bears the title of Shaush. The armed strength of the Beni Hasan is estimated at from 200 to 300 men, and the tribe is under the influence of the 'Amūdi *Mansab* of Tila.

The Rahbani and Bā Haj clans are cultivators, but the Bā Zala section of the latter are nomads and own 500 camels. Half of the Bā Ra'ida are nomads, known as Bā Dahūs, and half are cultivators of dates and jowari; they own about 100 camels. The Bā Kadīm are almost all settled. The Bā 'Azad own about 50 camels, but the Daqeil section are nomads and the Bā Dalhūs are settled.

'AKĀBIRA.

| *Clan.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|
| Shahfi ... ... ... | Husn Buwar | 250 |
| Suleimani ... ... | — | 100 |
| Bin Naja and as Sa'idi ... | Masna'a | 100 |
| Mukbali ... ... ... | — | 35 |
| | | 485 |

7 [See page 72 category 116 — Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



A Himyaritic tribe and a sister tribe to the Beni Hasan. Like them they are said to have been long settled in the country they inhabit, and have grazing lands around Mukalla, extending to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. They also were neighbours of the Kasadi but helped the Qu'aitis against the Naqib for which they receive, jointly with the Beni Hasan, an annual gift of 700 loads of grain. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the tribe and pays them an annual subsidy. They, too, have been described as a clan of the Seibani, living to the south and south-west of Howeira mountain. They are said to be a peaceful tribe, having no feud with their neighbours, and, except for the Sa'idi clan who are cultivators, they are all nomads, owning over 700 camels together with a fair number of sheep. Both the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan ply their camels for hire between Mukalla and Du'an only, and never go into the Hadhramaut. The armed strength of the 'Akābira is estimated at about 500, and their *mansabs* are from the 'Amūdis of Tila.

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### Muhammadīyin.

A Himyaritic tribe consisting of the following clans: Buheish, Bā 'Awadh, Bā Jahlan, Mahi, Bā Baheis, Shamasi. They have grazing lands around Mukalla, extending to the borders of Hajr and to the high lands of Du'an, and they have long been settled in the country they inhabit. Their tribal centre is Ghazat al Buheish near Haseisa, where there is some cultivation, and they also have a little cultivation in Wadi Muhammadī. The tribe are on the west of the Beni Hasan and to the east of the Nūwah of Wadi Hajr. They are nomads, peaceful and friendly to both the Seibani and Nūwah in whose fights they take no part, and they own about 600 camels which are used for carrying goods to Du'an. Their armed strength is estimated at from 300 to 700. The Qu'aiti pays them an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

### Hāmdj.

This tribe, who have long been settled in the country they inhabit, have grazing lands around Mukalla which extend to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the tribe and pays them an annual subsidy.

### Buheish.

A nomadic tribe under one *Muqaddam* but subdivided into four clans, each with a separate name and chief. They extend along the coast from Ras Rahmat to Fuwa, a distance of 25 miles, with a vast district inland extending to the high lands of Du'an and the borders of Hajr. They were neighbours of the Kasadi and have long been settled in the country they inhabit. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with then

ĀL HEIK.

619 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the
631 sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan
101 they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shiheir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct
933 route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the
438 inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me
465 as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being
162 an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures
361 appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and
651 villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns
152 and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

635 most of them are exempted from taxation: Al Qurha, estimated
162 number of men 300, estimated number of rifles 50, the inhabitants
are tribesmen. Husn Bā Sam, men 150, rifles 25, tribesmen. Ar
361 Rubāt, men 800, rifles 100, revenue $1,600, expenditure $1,800; the
651 inhabitants are soldiers. Al Qarn, men 500, rifles 100, inhabitants
652 are tribesmen of Bā Hakīm, a clan of the Nūwah. Al Khoreiba,
men 1,500, rifles 50, revenue $1,500, expenditure $1,800,
inhabitants are soldiers and sheikhs. Sharq, men 300, rifles 50,
revenue $300, expenditure $360, tribesmen and soldiers. Ar
Rashīd, men 400, rifles 150, revenue $1,200, expenditure $1,400,
tribesmen. 'Aura, men 80, revenue $400. Al Qurein, men 800,
rifles 10, revenue $200, expenditure $600.

631 The following towns and villages are under the authority of the
361 Mihdhār family, and the Government derives no revenue from them.
651 Their annual produce is valued at approximately $10,000: Al
Quweira, men 400. Halibūn, men 80. Rihāb, men 400, rifles 30.
162 Hudūn, men 200, rifles 50. Khasūfar, men 100. Dhāhir, men
300, rifles 15. Matrūh, men 250, rifles 30. Al Jubeil, men 400,
rifles 100. Quweirat al Khozab, men 25. Gheil Bal Kheir, men 40.

The towns under the authority of the Sheikhs of al 'Amūdi are: Husn Bā 'Abd as Somad, men 100. Budha, men 1,000, rifles 200. Bilad al Ma', men 100, rifles 10. Khudeish, men 70, rifles 12. Qarn Mājid, men 50, rifles 8.

635 The remaining towns of the Wadi Du'an between Al Qurha and
361 Hajarein are again under the direct authority of the Governors of
162 Du'an: Sīf, men 400, rifles 30; Sīf has a garrison of 15 Yafa'is of
whom five live in the Husn ad Dōla and 10 in the town. Those
I saw were all of the Beni Sa'd Lower Yafa'is. Feil, men 30.
Al 'Āddiya, men 30. Ghār as Sūdān, men 30, rifles 5. Nasara,
men 10. Naseira, men 10. Seil'a, men 30, rifles 10. Hajarein,
men 500, rifles 10. There is a garrison of Yafa'is in Hajarein.

The towns and villages of Wadi Leisar included in the Du'an province are: Al 'Arsama, men 500, rifles 20. Al Jahi, men 300, rifles 150. Al 'Ardh, men 40. Al Jadīda, men 150, rifles 10. Ad Dūfa, men 250, rifles 20. Jureif, men 150, rifles 10. Subeikh, men 400, rifles 30. Tūlaba, men 500, rifles 35. Dharī, men 600, rifles 30. Hūfa, men 500, rifles 70. Heid al Jazīl, men 150, rifles 10.

635 The following tribes live in the province or are dependent on the
631 wadi: Seibani and its branches, Deiyin, al Hālka, al Marāshida,
Khamikha, Bā Hakīm, Bā Sam, and al 'Amūdi. The Beni Hasan
619 and the 'Akābira (see Chapter XVI) deal equally with Mukalla
and Du'an. The Hālka and the Marāshida, sometimes considered
as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani, and the Bā Hakīm
and the Bā Sam, also sometimes treated as separate tribes, are
included with the Nūwah (see Chapter XVIII).

635 The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely con-
619 nected with the province :—
[162]

SEIBANI.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 101 Marsahida ... | | Living round the province of Du'an. | 400—500 |
| | Bā Daheiduh | | |
| | Bā Beitar | | |
| | Bā Dhrus | — | |
| | Bā Kardas | | |
| | Bā Sara | | |
| Khāmā ... ... | | — | 300—900 |
| | Bā Surra | | |
| | Bā Kadīm | | |
| | Bā Sallum | | |
| | Bā Rashīd | | |
| Hālka ... ... | | Hūfa in Wadi Leisar | 300—800 |
| | Bā Dajeil | | |
| | Bā Sa'd | | |
| | Bā Nakhar | | |
| | Al Biadha | | |
| | Bā Khashwein | | |
| As Sumūh ... ... | | | 500—1,000 |
| | Shaka'i | | 200 |
| | Bā Wasim | | |
| | Jodani | | |
| | Jahzami | | |
| | Bā Buteiya | | |
| | Ghuth | | |
| Al Meshājir ... ... | — | Husn Ba'ba', Wadi Yeb'uth. | 250 |
| Al Qathm ... ... | — | — | 100 |
| Al Hamidī ... ... | — | — | 400 |
| | | | 2,450—4,150 |

[162]

619 The Seibani Zei are said to be part of a Confederation which
631 includes the 'Awābitha and Āl Heik tribes. They extend from the
Hamumi country on the east to the Nūwah on the west. The
369 Nahd and Kathīri tribes bound them on the north, and the Beni Hasan on the south. The tribe are partly nomad and partly settled and they own villages round Mukalla and in Wadis Du'an, Leisar, and Huweira; many of them live in 'Aura and Qurein in Wadi Du'an. The settled Seibanis, like other townsmen land-owners, are subject to taxation on their date groves by the Qu'aiti whom they acknowledge in full sovereignty. The nomads acknowledge Qu'aiti suzerainty but pay no taxes. Their country is at present the safest for travelling and a *siyar* is unnecessary. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

619 Muhammad bin 'Umar and Ahmed bin 'Umar Bā Surra of the
622 Khāmā clan of the Seibani, the Qu'aiti Governors of the Du'an
628 province, are also the paramount *Muqaddams* of the tribe. Inter-tribal disputes are settled by reference to the heads of neutral clans, more important cases being carried to the Bā Surras and the Shatiri Seiyid who is their *Mansab*. The Mihdhār family of Seiyids descended from Sheikh Abubekr, also have great influence

with the whole tribe, as have the 'Amūdi Sheikhs of Budha and Tila who exercise considerable authority, in as much as they can on their own initiative interfere and declare a fight between the Seibani and Hamumi as ended on the Seibani side. The Qathm clan, who live furthest from the sea and ply their camels between Du'an and Hadhramaut, have the following *mansabs*, Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il. 619 622 628

Of the clans and sections given above, the Handbook of Arabia mentions the Bā Sara and the Sumūh, and also the Basarīyah and Bā Qūr whose names I did not obtain. The Marāshida clan are nomads, owning about 1,200 camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Du'an and Hadhramaut. In November 1934, this clan were at feud with the Sumūh. 619 628 101

The Khāmā are a hardy, nomad people, owning cattle and sheep and about 1,000 camels. The Bā Kadīm section are the strongest in numbers but the Bā Surra the most important. The Hālka clan have grazing lands round Mukalla extending towards Wadi Leisar. They own about 300 to 400 loading camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Hadhramaut via Wadi Leisar. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the clan and pays them an annual subsidy. The Biadha are a very small section, and the Bā Khashwein, though not really a section, live under the protection of the Hālka and are so closely allied to them that they are generally considered one of their sections. 619 101 631

The Sumūh, who own about 600 camels, are the largest clan. Their grazing lands lie round Mukalla extending to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. They have long been settled in the country they inhabit. The Qu'aiti pays the clan an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

### 'Amūdi.

The tribe consists of the following clans: Āl Motahhar, Āl Muhammad bin Sa'id, Āl Ahmed bin Muhammad, Āl Baghābira, Āl Saklu', Ash Sheikh 'Umar al Munasib, Āl Batuk (Bin Tuk), Āl Badahia (Bin Dahia), Āl Bā 'Abd al Qadir, Āl Bā Ahmed, Āl at Teiyar, Āl Barubeid, Āl Faqih, Āl Bajumā, Āl Basamad, Āl Kushan, As Suq'an, Āl Batawīl, Āl Basaqr, Āl Abubekr, Āl Barnusa and Āl Bayasīn.

The 'Amūdi or Beni 'Isa live in Wadi Du'an and on the plateau of Reidat ad Deiyin. They are descended from one Sa'id bin 'Isa known as 'Amūd ad Dīn, and the men bear the title of Sheikh. They were once paramount in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, but in 1900 when, with a force of about 1,100 men, they advanced and occupied Qurein and 'Aura, the Qu'aiti collected men from Khoreiba and Rashid and these, reinforced from Mukalla, broke the power of the 'Amūdis once for all. They fled to the mountains and treated for peace, but were permitted to return to Sīf and Budha and gradually obtained possession of a considerable area of fertile land in Wadi Du'an and Wadi Leisar.

[see p. 92 category 116 -- Analyst]

619 The whole tribe are now peaceable and the Qu'aiti has a " B "[2] agreement with them. The leader of the Motahhar clan who resides at Budha is acknowledged as the paramount chief, but for practical and political purposes the 'Amūdis are under the actual control of the Seibani leaders, the Governors of Du'an, though the Qu'aiti allows them autonomy in their own towns. The towns of Qeidun, where their ancestor lies buried, and Dhuba also belong to the tribe, and the Sheikh of the former is 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Umar bin Muhammad, and of the latter Sheikh 'Abdulla bin Salih bin Motahhar al 'Amūdi.

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### Deiyin.

631 The Deiyin tribe consists of twelve clans. The estimated number of armed men where obtained is given after each clan: Al Bazi, 200; Bā Kershūb, 200; Al Bās, 150; Bā Salim, 50; Bā Kharbūsh, 50; Bin Sūeidan, 200; Bā Masdūs, 150; Bā 'Umein, 300; Labarja Bā Henhen, Yās, Ba Kharshūm.

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The tribe trace their descent from Kinda. They inhabit Reidat ad Deiyin on the tableland between Wadis Du'an and 'Amd, and also the west of Du'an and Beina: their chief village is Zila. It is said that the estimated number of men belonging to those clans living at Al Hauta and 'Asala is 1,500. They possess camels and sheep, but live mainly by cultivation, and their means of livelihood depend on Mukalla and Du'an. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the tribe. Thier *mansab* is ' Isa bin ' Abdul Qudir Āl Haddad.

### Bā Juba.

A small tribe living at Qarat al Mihdhār under the influence of Seiyid Bubekr bin Hussein al Mihdhār. They formerly followed the plough but have now taken to arms.

### Khamikha.

This tribe live on the outskirts of the province of Du'an.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 4. HAJR PROVINCE.

635 The Hajr province includes the Wadi Hajr with its towns and villages from Meifa to Ras al Kalb, together with the towns and villages in the south between Bir 'Ali and Wadi Hajr. According to a local account the Wadi was first known as Wadi Hajr Wahab after a man who came there, diverted the water springs, and then died. He was followed by the people of Kinda who found Sheikh Sa'id bin 'Isa al 'Amūdi living there. They assisted him to open the springs, and also imposed taxes to be paid by the people to the Sheikh. The Kinda ruled in the wadi which then became known as the Wadi Hajr Kinda. Later there came the Bin Daghār

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[2] [The [illegible] preceding page -- Analyst]

[2] [see page 12, category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



tribe who are now very weak, though the wadi is still called after them Wadi Hajr Bin Daghār. To-day the wadi belongs to the Qu'aiti and it is said that in time it will be known as Wadi Hajr Qu'aiti. 635 103

The capital of the province is now Kanina, said to have about 300 to 400 houses and an estimated population of 1,500. Other important villages are Yuwan, the old capital, As Sadaka, Husn Bā Suleiman, Husn Ba'ba', Al 'Asala, Al Qima, Al Hussein, Husun Bā Raghab, Jōl Bā Hāwa, Leswa and Muhrin. The Governor is Sa'id Marzuk Salah. Hajr is an agricultural province, and it is estimated that the number of tribesmen is 5,000. As I did not visit the Hajr province during my tour, the information given is even more at second hand than in other cases. 635 361 162 438

The tribes living in the province or dependent on it are the Bin Daghār, Nūwah, Āl Deiyeb, Āl Bā Bekr and Āl Zaghīb, Āl Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Khāshia al Murqashi. The following is a description of these tribes together with others connected with Hajr. 631 101 619

NŪWAH.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Sub-section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nūwah Hajr ... | Āl Bā Rashid | — | Al Qeima, Libna | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Sheiba | — | Libna | 150 |
| | Āl Bā Shuqūr | — | — | 80 |
| | 'Ayāl Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Hajām | — | — | 40 |
| | Āl Bā Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Faqqās | — | Qazein, Yuwan | 200 |
| | Āl Bā Dublān | Āl Bā Sabera | Jōl Bā Hāwa, Al Qāsima, Yuwan, Muhammada, Kanina. | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Mas'ud | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Dabeis | | Yuwan | 100 |
| | As Sumahi | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Sara | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Qarwān | — | Muhammada | 250 |
| | Āl Bā Rajāsh | — | Kanina, Sherij Bā Jamum, Husun Āl Bā Rajāsh. | 400 |
| | Bā Museita | | — | 100 |
| Nūwah Du'an | Āl Bā Hakīm | — | Al Qarn | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Sam | — | — | 120 |
| | Āl Bā Khamis | — | — | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Ma'as | — | — | 150 |
| | Bu Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Bā Safr | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl Bā Shihab | — | — | — |
| Nūwah Lajrāt Du'an. | Āl Bā Batīn | — | — | 70 |
| | Āl Bā Sūeid | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl 'Afif | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Meis | — | — | — |
| | | | | 2,760 |

[162]

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



631 101 617 The Nūwah live in Wadi Hajr, occupying the country north of the Muhammadīyin and west of the Seibani. They have working and trading connections with Mukalla, but their chief occupation is the rearing of camels and they have a fair amount of cultivation, mostly dependent on rain. The tribe gave the Qu'aiti a great deal of trouble in his efforts to subdue them, but they are now friendly to him and under his influence. He pays them an annual subsidy and has an "A" agreement with them. The house of Al Beiti Seiyids of the Bā 'Alawi family living at Gheil bin Yamīn are said to have influence over the tribe.

The Bā Faqqās and the Bā Dublān sections live between the Wadis Bārda and Kanina which run into the main Wadi Hajr. The Bā Dublān own about 100 camels. Their sub-section, the Bā Sabera is descended from the ancient tribe of Saberāt, one of the original Hadhramaut tribes.

The Bā Qarwān own about 150 to 200 camels, the Bā Sam about 100, and the Bā Shuqūr 100. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with the Bā Sara section.

### Bin Daghār.

This independent tribe live at Al Hussein in Wadi Hajr, but have working and trading connections with Mukalla, and the Qu'aiti, who has an "A" agreement with them, pays them an annual subsidy. As has been said the main wadi is still called after them, although they are now a weak tribe. The Āl Maknun Seiyids have influence over them.

### Āl Deiyeb.

The clans of the Āl Deiyeb are Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Āl Beni 'Utheimān, and Āl al Qumeish. The Qu'aiti, who recently renewed alliance with the Beni 'Utheimān, has "B" agreements with each clan and with the tribe as a whole. They live to the west of Hajr and belong to the Sultan of Balhaf.

### Āl Bahekr and Āl Zaghīb.

The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with this independent nomadic tribe living in Hajr.

### Āl Bā Hanaf Āl Al 'Ajaz Al Mushafir.

A tribe living beyond Hajr with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement.

### Āl Khāshia Al Murqashi.

This tribe live near Fuwa and near Hajr. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with them.

### Āl Bā Hanaf.

A Hajr tribe living in Jerdan with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement.

[See page 92, Category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



ĀL HĀJIB BENI SA'D.

This tribe also live at Jerdan and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them. 631 101 619

AN NAMĀRA BENI HILĀL.

The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with this tribe who live at Wadi Yeb'uth beyond Wadi 'Amd.

ĀL SENAD AL MURQASHI.

This tribe live beyond Hajr and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

THE BEDUINS OF ASH SHĀŪLA.

This small tribe, who were originally of Hajr, now live to the west of Jerdan. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

NU'MĀN.

The clans of the Nu'mān are Āl Baheith and Āl Bā Qātmi living at Sidāra and Wadi Salmun, and Āl Bā Suleiman living at Husn Bā Suleiman. The tribe is said to number about 2,000, and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the Āl Baheith clan.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 5. SHIBAM PROVINCE.

The Shibam province, which is described by the Qu'aiti as being the eye and the backbone of the Hadhramaut, includes the towns and villages up the Wadi Hajarein from, but excluding, Hajarein as far as the Wadi Hadhramaut, and eastward along the Wadi Hadhramaut to just east of Shibam. The capital of the province is Shibam, a tightly-packed walled city of 500 houses, seven mosques, and an estimated population of 7,000. The other towns and villages of the province after Hajarein are: Jidfera, belonging to the Āl Jābri (a clan of the Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 50 armed men; Al Jahi, belonging to the Bin Musā'id with 35 armed men, (on enquiry as to which tribe the Bin Musā'id belonged I was informed that they were a clan of the Sei'ar, but this should be treated with reserve); Nahūla, belonging to the Āl 'Umar Mahfudh with 85 armed men; Al Manīdhara, the inhabitants of which are full subjects of the Qu'aiti Government; Al Hauta and Meshhed belonging to the Seiyids of Al 'Attas; Marāwih, Al Aqlāt, and 'Adab belonging to the Bā Wazīr townsmen; Qabdhein ar Rōdha with 30 armed men under the *Mansab* of Meshhed; Sadba belonging to the Rabbā (a section of the Nahd) with 50 armed men; Qarn Āl Sharāh belonging to the Āl Manif (a section of the Nahd) with 70 armed men; Badra, Al 'Ardh, Dīār Āl Nāsir, and Siraj with 45, 50, 35, and 30 armed men respectively, belong also to the Rabbā; Bahrān belonging to the Nahd Āl Thābit with 60 armed men; Haura, with a population of 1,500, all subjects of the Qu'aiti 635 167 361 69

635 Government; 'Arūdh al Makhāshin belonging to the Makhāshin
167 section of the Nahd, with a population of 300, all subjects of the
631 Qu'aiti Government; An Naq'a belonging to the Bā Wazīr towns-
69 men with a population of 500; Al 'Ajlānia, belonging to the Āl Kathīr with 17 armed men; Al Man'at, belonging to the Nahd with 35 armed men; and Al Marāti', a village between Al Man'at and Henin, with 200 armed tribesmen of Kinda, and 50 of the Nahd.

At Al 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn are the houses of the Bā 'Umar Sheikhs with 15 armed men; the town of Mad-har bin Nahīd in the Wadi Manūb with 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shabīb (a section of the Nahd), and Dīār al Maqārīm with 30 armed Nahd tribesmen.

Between Al Qatn and Shibam are: 'Ardh Masrūr belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl 'Ali bin Ahmed (Yafa'is) with 60 armed men; Huweila belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl Salim bin 'Ali (Yafa'is) with 40 armed men; Khashāmir belonging to the Bin 'Ali Jābir (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 80 armed men; Al 'Iqad, situated at the end of Al Qatn and the beginning of Wadi Beni Rashīd, belonging to the Āl Qu'ata (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 75 armed men; 'Ikāba and Al Husn belonging to the Hamdhān (of the Nahd) with 30 armed men; Husūn at Al Qatn belonging to the Āl az Zu' (of the Nahd) with 40 armed men; Husūn belonging to the Bal'alā (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 30 armed men; and Husūn belonging to the Āl Jābri (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 25 armed men.

438 Shibam is the most important advanced market of the Hadhra-
361 maut, and has a large inward traffic from Mukalla. It is also a buying market for the products of the country north and west, and the products of these parts are consumed in the town. Caravans come from San'ā in about 15 days. The tribesmen bringing these caravans are Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Rabi', Āl Khalifa, and 'Abīda. The principal inland traffic, however, is from Merkha, Hadhina, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. These caravans, mainly carrying maize, wheat, barley, ghee, oil, oilcakes, cotton, honey, blankets, and spinning cloth, are brought by 'Aulaqis, Hamām, Āl Ruba'ia, Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Maradi'a, Āl Khalifa, Dohum, Karab, Nahd and Āl Bureik tribesmen.

361 There is no regular communication with Nejd although occasional visitors come skirting the desert. Members of the Rashidi tribe also come to Shibam now and then. There is a landing ground at Shibam, and apart from its being a large caravan station it is in touch with towns between Hajarein and Qasm by car. It has no great industries, but makes mats and dyes cloths and skins.

635 The Governor of the Shibam province is Ferai Sa'id, a slave
567 who has held high positions and who has previously served at Shibam. He has also been Governor of 'Einat. He was appointed in October 1934, in succession to Sultan 'Ali bin Salah al Qu'aiti.

Sultan 'Ali has great influence in the province and particularly among the Sei'ar, as his mother belonged to the Āl Sab'ān clan of that tribe.

The following tribes depend on Shibam: Sei'ar, Nahd Rōdhān, Al Makhāshin, Hadhrami Yafa'is, the tribesmen of Āl Kathīr ash Shenafir including their Beduins, Āl Mahfudh, Bin Musa'īd, Bā Wazir, 'Awaliq, Harizi, Āl 'Amr, Āl Bin Balleith and Āl Heidera. Of these the Makhāshin, sometimes considered a separate tribe, are included with the Nahd, and the Bin Musa'īd are included with the Sei'ar. A description of the Shenafir Confederation will be found in Chapter XXII.

The following is a description of the tribes living in, or close to, the province:—

SEI'AR.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqīl.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Hātim ... | Hasr al Malāqīt | Hasr in Wadi Mahdhara. | — | Yeslem bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a. |
| | Āl Huweilān | Merikh in Wadi Mahdhara. | 100 | |
| | Āl Jerbū'a | Al Ārūh in Wadi Mahdhara. | 70 | — |
| | Ad Dalkh | Bādī in Wadi Mahdhara. | 30 | — |
| | Āl Dahīān | Az Zamra in Wadi Mahdhara. | 30 | — |
| | Āl Mulhī | Husn Āl Mulhī | 140 | 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī. |
| | Āl 'Abdulla 'Aun | Hadhī | 150 | Salim bin Muhammad al Jerbū'a. |
| | Āl Mesādisa | Jōl Āl Bajnab | 70 | do. do. |
| | Āl 'Ubeidun | Al Gheidha | 20 | do. do. |
| | Āl 'Asākira | Husn Āl 'Asākira. | 30 | do. do. |
| | Āl Ma'ruf | — | — | — |
| | Āl Sa'dun | — | — | — |
| | Āl Yahajīn | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Khushm | — | — | — |
| Āl 'Ali ... ... | Āl 'Ali | Husn Āl ar Ris, Husn Tālib, Husn Meshāmid Husn al Ā'awar, Husn al Mūshāhi. | 40 | Tanāf bin Seheil bin Rumeidān. |
| Dūmān ... ... | Dūmān | Husn Lakdān, Husn Bil'ādh, Husūn al Qana, Husn Seir, Husn Waqāsh. | 100 | — |
| Āl Bā Rūh ... | — | Qariat as Sumuh. | 50 | 'Ali bin 'Alta bin Tarim. |
| Āl Bāqi Meellem | — | — | 100 | do. do. |
| Āl Sab'ān ... | — | Qaria Jidfela | 25–40 | — |
| Āl Bā Wazifa ... | — | Husn ash Sha'ba. | 15 | — |

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| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Meshāikh Āl Is-haq. | — | Qariat al Hujr, Qaria Sarīn al Meshāikh. | | — |
| Āl 'Ayāf ... ... | — | Qariat al Hujr Āl 'Ayāf. | — | — |
| Ba'rān (Āl Leith bin 'Umar). | — | Qariat as Sabr | — | |
| Al Āshāmis al Ākasālīn. | — | Ar Ramīla | 30 | — |
| Āl Makram al Ākasālīn. | — | Husn Āl Makram | 20 | — |
| Āl al Fanakh al Ākasālīn. | — | Husn Āl al Fanakh. | 40 | — |
| Al Mazāri'a ... | — | Qariat adh Dhamr al Kasālīn. | 100 | — |
| Āl Jūbala ... | — | Husn as Samādi'a Āl Jūbala. | — | |
| Āl Hibrās ... | — | Husn ar Reika Āl Hibrās, Husn Āl Bakhīt Āl Hibrās. | — | — |
| Āl Hudeib ... | — | Husn bin Meifar Āl Hudeib, Husn Balqalīs, Āl Hudeib, Husn 'Awadh bin Rabi'a Āl Hudeib, Husn Maqāsid. | 100 | Tanāf bin Seheil bin Rumeidān. |
| Āl Qarwān | — | Husn Qā' al Fadhūl Āl Qarwān. | — | do. do. |
| Āl Fadhūl ... | — | Husn Qā' al Fadhūl Āl Fadhūl. | 40 | — |
| Āl Khamis ... | — | Husn Sāh Āl Khamīs. | 40 | — |
| Āl ad Dāhbali ... | — | Husn al Minsāf ad Dāhbali. | 50 | — |
| As Sāda Āl 'Alawi bin Ahmed. | — | Husn as Seiyid | — | — |
| Al Fazīr ... | — | Husn Saligh | — | |
| Āl Hadad ... | — | Husn al Hadad | 20 | — |
| Āl 'Ajāj ... | — | Husn Āl 'Ajāj | 30 | — |
| Āl Yash bin 'Umar | — | Qanī | 70 | — |
| Āl Muhammad bin 'Ali | — | — | 10 | — |
| Āl Awadh bin Kaslān. | — | — | 30 | — |
| Āl Qartān ... | — | — | 100 | — |
| Āl Kharāis ... | — | — | 30 | — |
| Bin Musā'id | — | Al Jahi | 35 | |
| | | | 1,715–1,730 | |

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The following is the order of importance of the four paramount Chiefs of the Sei'ar tribe : Yeslam bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a of the Āl Hātim, Tanāf bin Seheil bin Runeidān of the Āl Hudeib, the Āl Qarwān, and the Āl 'Ali, 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī of the Āl Mulhī, and 'Ali bin 'Aita bin Tarim of the Āl Bā Rūh and the Āl Bāqi Msellem. Yeslam bin Muhammad is said to be far and away the most powerful of the Sei'ar chiefs.

The Sei'ar are descended from the tribe of Kinda and they claim Aswad al Kindi as their ancestor. On account of this descent the Āl Mahfudh are sometimes included with them. Their country, an inhospitable waste of barren plateaux scored with unfertile wadis, lies north of the main wadi and stretches west to Wadi 'Abr. It is called simply Reidat as Sei'ar.

They told me their neighbours are, on the east, 'Awāmir and Kathīr, Manāhil and Mahra, Zabeini, on the north, Kathīri as Suflan, Harawiz, Mahra, Zabeini, Rawashid, Murra, Yām, and on the west, Daham, 'Abīda, Marādā, Hammām, Bal 'Ubeid, Kurab. The very names tell how far afield they roam and raid. They are the wolves of the desert and steppe, and parials to the wadi folk living south of them, for they raid into the Minhali country on the east and the Hamumi and 'Awābitha on the south. Philby mentions them raiding far into the sands to Bir Fadhil, to Sharma, and possibly going to Hadbat abu Khasba. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Qutun, a section of the Qara tribe, and raiding a Mahra encampment at the waterhole of Andhaur. He also says they raided as far north as the region of Umm Malissa and that Sei'ar is a word of terror to the Rashid and the southern Murra. The Nahd let them visit their markets through fear only, and they are an ever present danger to small unguarded parties of travellers, whom they have interrupted up to Ghadīr al Milib in the Wadi Du'an. Having no settled habitat they are hard to punish and have always proved elusive and wary. When travelling in small numbers outside their own country they choose the byways and travel by night, for owing to their habits every man's hand is against them. The only places at which they appear openly are Shibam where they behave themselves, and Meshhed during the time of the annual *ziyara* in the month of Rabi'l Awal when they sell their camels. But their hardier neighbours do not let them have it all their own way and the Manāhil, for instance, give them as good as they get. If they raid far they are also raided from afar, as witness the case of a young warrior of the Southern Ajman from the neighbourhood of Kuweit, who, proceeding to Nejran in the winter of 1934-5 to espouse a Yām damsel, raided the Sei'ar on the Hadhramaut borders on his way home and took five of their camels to Kuweit.

They have monthly truces among themselves, never longer; sometimes they will make new ones, sometimes they fight. I was

619 given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir
721 for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on
578 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Seheil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathīri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathīri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a "B" agreement with them.

231 The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: "The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and
438 Manahil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have, of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell *saf* leaves for making mats, *'elb* trunks, and charcoal.

609 Bertram Thomas records the following description of them:
771 "The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. 'They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them!'" We learned from the
582 Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

622 The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and [illegible]med
619 bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

[See pg 92 CAT. [illegible] 1168 Analyst]

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## NAHD.

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| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nahd Rōdhān ... | Āl Fāris | As Subeiha | 50 |
| | Āl Boshr | Dār al Hijil | 30 |
| | do. | Ash Sharq | 30 |
| | do. | Fadhh east and north | 40 |
| | Āl Manīf | Lakhmās | 30 |
| | do. | Al Qofl and Shirākh | 40 |
| | do. | Qarn Āl Sharāh | 70 |
| | Āl 'Abdulla bin Muhammad. | Bahrān | 20 |
| | Āl Thābit | Al Baqrī and Harat al Bīr. | 20 |
| | do. | Al Qāra | 20 |
| | do. | Ash Sharīūf | 15 |
| | Bin Mudh'adh'a bin Thābit. | Al 'Adān | 10 |
| | Āl 'Aqīl | Ghanīma | 20 |
| | Āl Muqeizah | Adh Dhāhira | 20 |
| | Āl 'Ajjāj | Qa'ūdha | 50 |
| | Āl Hidlān | Al Badū' | 50 |
| | Āl Buheijān | Al Husn | 30 |
| | Āl Badr | Ash Shareij | 150 |
| | Āl al Qānis | Muscilāb | 10 |
| Nahd Yesid ... | Āl Yamna | As Sufūl | 20 |
| | do. | As Sūr | 100 |
| | Āl Dhlāb | Duhr | 40 |
| | Āl Qamāzīn | Al Khariba | 40 |
| | Beni Shabīb | Manwab | 30 |
| | do. | Ghaseis | 30 |
| | do. | Mad-har bin Nahīd in Wadi Manūb. | — |
| | Āl az Zū' | Al Husn at Al Qatn | 20–40 |
| | Āl Hamdhān | Husn Handhān and 'Ikaba. | 20–30 |
| | Āl Hubū' | Al Furt | 15 |
| | Bil Hamaz | Al Qatn | — |
| | Āl Jebl | — | — |
| | Āl Baziab | — | — |
| Nahd Dhulfan | Beni Dhuleif | Between Fūha and Al Fūha, Wadi Henin. | 100 |
| | Bin at Teiyer | Salhab and Zugheifan | — |
| | Bin Maksūr and Bin Aqīl. | Sahlab | 40 |
| | Āl Sāīl | Juwat, Al Khannāq | 20 |
| | Āl 'Azūn | Wadi Henin | 40 |
| | Āl Shirmān | Al Hidba | 20 |
| | Āl Hutlān | Khōnab, near tomb of Salih. | 40 |
| | Bin Tarban | — | — |
| | Bin 'Eifar | — | — |
| | Bil Wakhwakh | Wadi Ser, near tomb of Salih. | — |
| Nahd Āl Muhammad | Āl Jidnan | Ar Ramla | 60 |
| | Āl Hūeil | Al 'Ardh | 40–50 |
| | do. | As Sufūla | 50 |
| | Āl 'Abrī | Ghanīma | 20 |
| | do. | Al Mitna | 10 |
| | Āl Kūeir | Al Husn | 30 |

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| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nahd Āl Maqārīm | — | Diyār al Maqārīm | 30 |
| | Āl Tāhir | Bā Hasān | 20 |
| | Āl Muhanna | Al Juwa | 20 |
| | Āl Nuheid | Ash Shi'b | 30 |
| | do. | Mad-har | 40 |
| | Āl Muhammad bin 'Āmr. | 'Uneibida and Zukeika | 50 |
| | Āl Kuleib | Manwab and Al Ghatāa | 70 |
| | Āl Bedr Muhammad | Manwab and Al Ghatāa | 40 |
| | Āl Rabbā' | Sadba | 50–70 |
| | do. | Badra, Al 'Ardh, Sirāj, Diyār Āl Nāsir. | 160 |
| | Āl Makhāshin | Al 'Ardh, 'Arūdh al Makhāshin. | 70 |
| | Āl 'Umar bin Ja'far (Sultans). | Al 'Ajlānia | 17–30 |
| | Āl Najjar | — | — |
| Bā Bekr | 4 sections. | | |
| Āl Hukman | | | |
| Āl Shabbal | | | |
| Āl Hatra | | | |
| | | | 2,087–2,160 |

The Nahd live on the left bank of the Wadi Hadhramaut starting from a point opposite the confluence of the Wadis Du'an and 'Amd due north of Haura. They are Qahtanis and claim descent from Kinda. Ibn Khaldun states that the Beni Nahd are derived from Qudha'ā and that they settled in Yemen in the neighbourhood of the Beni Khath'am. He says they are like wild beasts and that the vulgar call them *As Sarwa*. Most of them are a mixed race, partly descended from the Beni Khath'am and Bajīla. Hamdani, who calls the Nahd a sub-tribe of the Beni 'Ans, mentions the Beni Harām as being the principal sub-division of the Beni Nahd.

The Nahd generally are usually on bad terms with the Sei'ar, though the latter visit their markets in the main wadi. Some of the Nahd are allied to the Qu'aitis and some to the Kathīris. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the Āl Makhāshin and " B " agreements with the Āl Bā Bakr and the Nahd Rōdhān, though the former are also claimed as allies and followers of the Kathīris.

619 The majority of the tribe are agriculturists and grow dates,
631 jowari, and some wheat. The Nahd Dhulfan, whose country is mostly arid and cultivated only after rainfall, live principally by
[463] selling firewood and stones in Qu'aiti towns. About three-quarters of the Nahd al Maqārīm are agriculturists and many of them grow
241 wheat on well irrigation; the rest of the clan are Beduins who rear camels and sheep. The Āl Kuleib and Āl Nuheid, who are poor, possess little more than a few date trees; they sell firewood and
000 other things in the Qu'aiti towns. The Āl Makhāshin are settled

[See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

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The Āl Mukhāshn are settled

and possess towns, villages, and trees near Shibam, and depend on the capital for their necessities. 619

The Āl Hidlān, Āl Buheijān, Āl Badr, and Āl al Qānis are Beduins belonging to the Nahd Rōdhān clan, but they live at Fūha. 631 101 Generally speaking, the rest of the Nahd Rōdhān clan possess towns, villages, and trees round Shibam and its dependencies. They have relied on Shibam for their necessities for a long time. The Āl Yamna, Beni Shablb, Āl az Zu', Bil Hamaz, and Āl Baziab sections of the Nahd Yezīd are agriculturists and also rear camels. The Āl az Zu' and the Bil Hamaz are an exception to the rule that the tribe live on the left bank and reside near Al Qatn. The Āl Jebe and Āl Qamāzīn are nomads; the latter have a reputation amongst the whole tribe for bad faith and robbery.

It is stated that there are 35 armed men of the Nahd in the village of Al Man'at, 50 in the village of Marāti between Al Man'at and Henin, and 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shablb in the town of Mad-har in Wadi Manub, but it is not clear to what clans or sections this refers.

The *Mansabs* of the Nahd tribe are Ahmed bin Hussein Āl 'Aidarus, Al Hazm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus, 'Ali bin Zein and Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, Ahmed bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas, and Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. [6aa

### Āl 'Amr.

An independent nomadic tribe living in the Wadis 'Irma and Duhr near Shabwa.

### Āl Bin Balleith and Āl Heidera.

These two tribes together occupy the upper part of Wadi Rakhia near Wadis 'Irma and Duhr.

### Āl Mahfudh.

This tribe, who are said to number 2,000, are descended from Kinda, and for this reason they are sometimes included with the Sei'ars. It is said that they used to occupy the town of Hajarein but they are now scattered in the neighbouring mountains. The Āl 'Umar Mahfudh live at Nahūla and have been estimated at 85 armed men. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the tribe.

### Bā Muhammad.

A small independent tribe living at Haura and Hajarein.

### Harizi.

A small tribe practically confined to the Wadi Qubhudh which has its source on the plateau to the north of the main Wadi Hadhramaut. Apart from the village of Qubhudh and a few neighbouring hamlets, they are troglodytes and live with their animals in caves in the walls of the wadi, wandering up and down it in a precarious search for water and pasture. Some of them do a carrying trade, and they are, as they have to be, friendly with their neighbours. Their chief is Salih bin 'Ali.

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TRIBES CONNECTED WITH THE 'AWALIQ.

| Tribe. | Clan. | Places. |
|---|---|---|
| Āl Bureik ... ... | Āl Bin Bureik<br>Āl Nabāhīm | Shabwa. |
| Āl Karab ... ... | — | The neighbourhood of Rakban and further to the west. |
| Āl Hammām ... | — | The desert of Nisab. |

These tribes, which are not really Hadhramaut tribes but are included on account of their dependence on Shibam for a market, are practically independent though very nominally the Āl Bureik and the Āl Karab are under the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh, and the Āl Hammām are more or less under the authority of the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan.

The Āl Bureik are Sheikhs, and at one time the Āl Bin Bureik were masters of Shihr but now the whole of the small tribe are settled in Shabwa.

[631] The Qu'aiti has "B" agreements with the 'Awaliq generally.

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THE HADHRAMI YAFA'IS AND THEIR SECTIONS.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Dhubi ... | Āl al Bakrī | Zarqāna and Bā Bakr | 25 |
| | Bin Dāūd and Al 'Afif | Husān | 25 |
| | Āl al Hadhārim | As Sāha | 20 |
| Āl Mausata | Āl Qu'ata | Al 'Iqad | 75 |
| | Āl 'Ali al Hāj | As Sāha | 50 |
| | Āl al Hadādīn | Hadha and Al Ghalīn | 20 |
| | Āl al Jahāwira | As Sāha | 20 |
| | Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl 'Ab bin Ahmed. | 'Ardh Masrūr | 60 |
| | Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl Salim bin 'Ali. | Huweila | 40 |
| | Bin 'Ali Jābir. | Khashāmir | 80 |
| Beni 'Ardh | | Al Fardh | 100 |
| Āl Rashīd ... | — | Hautat Jābir | 15 |
| Āl an Nuqabā | — | Bukria | 15 |
| Āl al Madāshina ... | — | Āl 'Anin | 20 |
| Āl Beni Naqīb ... | — | Al 'Uqda | 20 |
| Āl Ahmed ... | — | Daqiqa | 85 |
| Āl Āsa'd ... | — | Al Kharāba | 30 |
| Āl Jabri ... | — | Husum | 25 |
| Āl Bal'ala ... | — | Jidfera | 50 |
| | | | 775 |

[712] [701] Haura, Al Qatn and Shibam have garrisons of Yafa'is. At the first of these places I saw a small fort at the south of the town occupied by five Yafa'i soldiers, and there are probably more. Shibam has 40 Yafa'i soldiers, and the number round Qatn and Shibam is said to be all together about 500 armed men. Those actually employed in garrisons are paid, but the other irregulars only receive pay if called up for service. The Qu'aiti has an "A" agreement with the Hadhrami Yafa'is and their sections. The Āl

1 [See page 92 category 116 - - Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



al Bakri, known as a section of the Āl Dhubi in the Hadhramaut, is in Upper Yafa' a sub-section of the Hadhrami section of that tribe. 619 101

The *Mansabs* of the Āl Qu'ata are Muhsin bin Ahmed and Haddar bin Ahmed al Haddar. 631 [622]

## CHAPTER XX.

## OTHER DISTRICTS UNDER QU'AITI INFLUENCE.

In a written description of the provinces of the Qu'aiti state the Qu'aiti authorities included the tribesmen and villages of Wadi 'Amd as depending on Mukalla. The Wadi 'Amd, however, is far away from Mukalla province, and I have thought it better to mention it separately. Although this territory may not be definitely part of the Qu'aiti domains, it is certainly more under Qu'aiti influence than that of any other Protectorate ruler. Hureidha, which is the headquarters of the Al 'Attas family, is the principal town of the Wadi 'Amd. It is estimated to have about 2,000 inhabitants, and from 300 to 400 men are said to have left it in the last 20 years to seek wealth in Java. There are eight mosques in the town, and it is a place of religious teaching. 631 [162 167]

The following is a description of the Āl Ja'da, Āl Ma'di and Ad Dohm tribes of Wadi 'Amd : 631 619 101

### AL JA'DA.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Salima ... | | Seila, Jidfera, Kora, and Raham in Wadi 'Amd are the important villages of this clan. | 500 |
| Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed. | Āl Bin Murda<br>Āl Bin Halābi<br>Āl Bin Homeid<br>Bin Mubarek<br>Bin Hubeish | Habab, Āl 'Ardh, Na'ir, and Rabb in Wadi 'Amd are their important villages. | 400 |
| Āl Bin Heilabi<br>Āl Bin Suqeir<br>Āl Tahir bin Rajih | Āl Bin Shemlan<br>Bin Namara<br>Bin Lizam<br>Bin ash Sheiba<br>Bin al Khaabr | | |
| | | | 900 |

The Ja'da tribe, who claim descent from the Beni Hilāl, are nearly all Beduins occupying the central and lower sections of the Wadi 'Amd. They are under the influence of the Qu'aiti who has a " B " agreement with them. The foremost section is the Āl Bin Shemlan whose leader is recognised as the head of the whole tribe. The Āl Tahir bin Rajih are a small clan of the Yafa'is sometimes known as Kharba, but they are settled in Wadi 'Amd

619 and have allied themselves to the Ja'da. The Āl Salima have an
'Attas Seiyid as their *Mansab*; the 'Amūdi Sheikhs also have great
631 influence in the Wadi 'Amd.
101

### Āl Ma'di.

The clans of the tribe are Āl Sūeidan, Āl Sa'id, Āl 'Umar and Diba. The Āl Ma'di, said to be originally of the Beni Hilāl, live at Tamham, Hibra, Wajr and Diba in the upper part of the Wadi 'Amd. They are at feud with the Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed and Āl Salima clans of the Ja'da tribe who occupy the central and lower sections of the wadi.

### Ad Dohm.

An independent tribe living in Wadi 'Amd. Attached to them is the Shof, a small tribe with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" 1 agreement.

Details of the tribesmen of Beidat ad Deiyin, on the tableland between Wadis Du'an and 'Amd, were given me in Du'an, and as they are said to depend on that province, and as they are near to it, I have included them in Chapter XVII.

The Qu'aiti himself refers to certain districts as not belonging to any province but as being under his control. These are: (1) the tribesmen of Hajr close to the borders of Bir 'Ali "from the south side"; (2) the country of Sāh; (3) Gheil 'Umar; and (4) 'Einat to Qabr Hud including the Tamimi and Manahil tribes.

Of the first and third territories mentioned in this list, I have been unable to find anything, though outlying tribes connected with the Hajr province are described under that heading. The country of the Āl Sāh clan of the Āl Jābir tribe is due south of Seiyun on the tableland between the Wadis Bin 'Ali and 'Adim. The Āl Jābir are one of the principal tribes of the Shenafir Confederation which is led by the Kathīri Sultan, and it is admitted in the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement that the Āl Jābir are his followers. On these grounds the Kathīris claimed Sāh and the Qu'aiti Regent informed me that Sultan 'Umar agreed to let them have half. The inhabitants themselves, however, are said to have protested against this arrangement and stated that they preferred to be under the Qu'aitis. So presumably the matter stands. But it certainly seems that in law at any rate they should be considered as Kathīris. In this connection it has to be remembered that the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement apparently includes a recognition of Qu'aiti suzerainty over many tribes which are old Kathīri allies. Two tribes of the Wadi Bin 'Ali, the Beni Sa'd and Āl Seif, are said to decline Kathīri allegiance.

631 As regards the district 'Einat to Qabr Hud, Kathīri dominion ends outside the eastern walls of Tarim. The country beyond is ~~Tamimi and beyond the Tamimi come the~~ Manāhil, both of whom
[633a] are Qu'aiti allies. 'Einat, a city of Seiyids, is definitely Qu'aiti
361 and has a Qu'aiti Governor as well as a *Mansab* of the Seiyids. The
1 [see p. 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



town, which is said to have 13 mosques and about 5,000 inhabitants, is a place of sanctuary. It shows signs of modern influences, and amongst other things which surprised me was a fairly well constructed incinerator at work. 361

The principal Tamimi towns are Dammūn, Qōz, Qāhir, Qasm, As Sōm, 'Asum, and Fughma. The Manāhil have no towns worth the name, though they have sections living in As Sōm and Fughma. The villages of Sena, An Neid, and Tabūrkum are their principal headquarters, and Qabr Hud is in their territory, but the little village is unoccupied except at the time of the pilgrimage on the 15th Sha'ban. Rich families from all over the Hadhramaut have houses there which are locked up for the greater part of the year. 631

The Tamimi and the Manāhil, together with a small tribe called the Āl as Sumāh, form the Beni Dhanna Confederation. Hamdani mentions the Beni Dhanna as a sub-tribe of the Beni 'Udhra, derived from Qudha'a, and elsewhere as descendents of the Beni Numeir, an Ishmaelite tribe. The following is a description of the Beni Dhanna Confederation: 619 631 101

### Āl as Sumāh.

A nomadic tribe in the mountains to the north of the valley of 'Einat.

### Tamimi.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Muhammad Yamāni bin 'Āli and bin Suleiman. | — | Bā 'Alāl | 35 | Suleiman |
| Balheij, Balhindi, and Bin Zeidān. | — | Below al Ghurfa. | 12 | Balheij |
| Al Qaramis and their slaves ... | — | do. | 20 | Mubarek bin 'Umar |
| Āl Shamlān and their slaves ... | — | As Sūeirf | 45 | Ahmed bin Karama. |
| Bin Qasīr ... ... ... | Āl Kibl Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar. | Beit Jubeir | 25 | Salih 'Ali |
| Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed. | — | Husn Fallūqa | 45 | Sa'id bin Salih. |
| Al 'Urān and Al Habārisa ... | — | Mustakhirat | 25 | Salim bin Faraj. |
| Bin 'Amhar and Bin Sa'id bin 'Umar. | — | Jarra | 15 | Sa'id bin 'Umar. |
| Bin Āl Mubarek bin 'Umar... | — | Al Husn | 20 | 'Aidha |
| Bin 'Ali bin Ahmed ... ... | — | Al Bada' | 10 | Ahmed bin 'Awadh. |
| Bin Silma ... ... ... | — | Dammūn | 100 | Salim bin 'Awadh. |
| Bin Dahdūh and their slaves... | — | Khabāya | 10 | Sa'id bin 'Abdulla. |
| Āl 'Isa and Āl Marsān ... | — | Al Qōz | 70 | Sālmin |
| Āl 'Abd ash Sheikh ... ... | — | Bā 'Uteir | 35 | 'Umar bin Al 'Abd. |

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqīl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 619 Bin Yamāni and their slaves ... | — | Qasm | 50 | 'Ali bin Ahmed bin Imani. |
| 631 101 Āl Sa'id, Bin 'Uthmān, and Āl Dahnān. | — | Al Khōn | 50 | 'Umar bin 'Awadh bin Sa'id. |
| Āl Qafla, Āl Barakeiz, Āl Heithwa, and Āl Nuheid. | — | As Sōm | 50 | Kharīf |
| Āl as Sa'd ... ... ... | — | 'Asum | 45 | 'Isa |
| Samāh al 'Usba ... ... | — | Al 'Usba | 15 | 'Aidha bin 'Atūfa. |
| Beit Bal Hateish ... ... | — | Fughma | 35 | — |
| Āl Bin Kōb ... ... ... | — | Sha'b Hud | 15 | 'Awadh bin al 'Ahīdī. |
| Bin Marsaf ... ... ... | Al Fahd | — | 120 | — |
| Ash Sheiban ... ... ... | 5 sections | — | — | — |
| | | | 847 | |

The Tamimi are a part nomad, part settled tribe, living in the main wadi from the neighbourhood of Tarim to beyond Qasm. They have been allied to the Qu'aiti, with whom they have an "A 7 agreement, for a long time, and have had a long-standing feud with the 'Awāmir and Kathīris which was terminated by the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The Kathīri Sultans have no jurisdiction over them but it is said that the Tamimis are allied to them for purposes [628] of defence. Disputes between the Tarim Government and the Tamimis are settled by negotiation or Qu'aiti interference.

167 The Tamimis emigrate to Java and the East African Coast, but 311 they are a poor tribe. They grow wheat, lucern, vegetables, jowari, 369 and other crops, on well irrigation. A large amount of land in the 438 Tamimi territory is the property of the rich townsmen of Tarim and Dammūn which the Bin Silma cultivate, and they are generally safe and honest. At harvest time, however, Beduins come from across the northern hills, which are quite close to the cultivation here, settle in the groves, and do a certain amount of damage. Like most wadi dwellers from Tarim eastwards the Tamimis obtain their supplies from Shihr rather than Seihut, though Seihut sends regular caravans as far as 'Einat.

619 The Bin Qasīr clan is sometimes considered as divided into four 631 sections, the Āl Kibl, Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar, Bin Dahdūh, and 101 Beit Bal Hateish. The Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed clan is sometimes called a section of the Ash Sheiban clan; the latter is said to be divided into five sections. The Bin Silma is said to be the strongest clan and is stated to have four sections.

619 The *mansabs* of the Tamimi are 'Umar bin Zein Āl 'Abdulla bin 622 ash Sheikh for the Āl Yamāni, Hasan bin 'Alawi al 'Aqīl, Ahmed bin 'Aqīl, Āl Matahar, Tahir bin Bubekr Āl Tahir for the Balheij, and 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shihab for the Bin Silma.

[illegible] 116 -- Analysis

## Āl 'Imran.

A tribe allied to the Tamimi. The *mansab* is Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. 619 631 101

### Manahil.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beit Kasim ... | Beit Ghānim | An Neid | 40 | 'Aidha bin Tanāf. |
| | Beit al Batīn | do. | 60 | do. |
| | Beit Rasf'a | do. | 150 | do. |
| | Beit al Hamādī | do. | 28 | do. |
| | Beit Nahāt | An Neid and As Sōm | 80 | do. |
| | Beit Barakāt | As Sōm and Fughma | 30 | do. |
| | Beit Nas'ūd | do. | 15 | do. |
| Beit Mu'ashini | Beit Nōkhat | — | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Bāqīya | Sena and An Neid | 100 | Yeslam bin Salim. |
| | Beit Sālmīn | do. do. | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Qūeinisa | do. do. | 60 | do. |
| | Tammān | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | Hushhūsh | do. do. | 300 | do. |
| | Muzābbar | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | 'Atūnī | An Neid | 100 | do. |
| Al Bawāqī ... | — | do. | 100 | — |
| As Samāh ... | Samāh ar Raqāa | Near the coast | 100 | — |
| | Samāh al Ghuthma | — | 50 | — |
| | Samāh Beit Khafr | At Al Masīa | 180 | — |
| | 'Adūl | — | 100 | — |
| Tha'in and Beit Farād. | — | — | 250 | — |
| Beit Dahein ... | — | — | 50 | — |
| Beit Qumsīt ... | — | — | 500 | — |
| Beni Sa'id ... | — | — | — | — |
| Beni Ujeil ... | — | Near Qabr Hud | — | — |
| | | | 2,593 | |

The Manahil are a strong nomad tribe occupying the country east and north of the Hamumi and up into the Rub'al Khali. The southern part of Reida and the country from Damakh to upper Hadhramaut belong to them, and they have a few small settlements east of Qasm. They have an " A 'f agreement with the Qu'aiti.

They breed camels extensively like their neighbours in the south-east, the Mahras, both for sale and for hire. Their camels are said to be finer and stronger than those of the Sei'ar, and the average price is estimated at about 200 rupees a camel. Female camels are seldom sold and are used both for breeding and riding. Women do not milk camels among the Manahil. 231 435 [563]

The tribe are said to raid as far as the Central Nejd and sometimes to the outskirts of Kuweit, passing the sandy stretch by routes known only to themselves. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Mahras in the steppe. We found that when passing through Mahra territory they declare themselves Tamimis. Bertram Thomas also says that " Bin Tannaf is the hereditary title of the 619 721 622

1 [See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

619 721 622 Sheikh of the Manahil tribe. The present (1930) holder is one of the most famous leaders of the raid. The leader has always the perquisite of two or three of the best camels taken, otherwise there is equal division of the spoil ". Philby mentions their chief, Saif bin Tannaf, as going to the Governor of Hasa to plead his excuses for not paying his taxes, and of the wilder spirits of the Manahil and other tribes joining a band of raiders called *Al Ziqirt*. In May 1935, the Manahil concluded a two years' truce with the Tamimi.

622 Their *mansabs* are Seiyid Hādi bin Ahmed ad Dawīla, whom I met collecting his tithes, which he does from Husn al 'Ur to Wad'a during the crop season, 'Ali bin Ahmed al Hussein who has influence over the Beni 'Ujeil, and Muhammad bin 'Ali Mola Dawīla who has influence over the Beni Sa'id, a small nomad clan.

BA 'ATWA.

619 631 101 This small tribe, now scattered between Qu'aiti and Kathīri domains, deserves mention for its historic interest. Members of the tribe live in Mukalla, Shihr, Al Qatn, Seiyun, and Taris; they have no fixed country of their own. Like the Ja'da and the Ma'di, they claim descent from the Beni Hilāl and are therefore Ma'adic, sons of Ishmael, and not of Joktan. Legend tells that the Beni Hilāl, who are sometimes rumoured giants, once lived in the Wadis 'Amd and Henin, but that drought drove them forth to northern pastures.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## THE RULE OF THE KATHĪRI SULTANS OF THE ĀL 'ABDULLA.

643 Authorities appear to be divided as to whether the Kathīri tribe are of Dhufar, Hadhramaut, or Yemen origin. They originally rose to prominence towards the end of the fourteenth century under Bedr bin al Habrali, commonly known as Bedr Bu Tuweirak. The genealogy of the Āl 'Abdulla, the ruling family of the Kathīris, as far as I have been able to ascertain it, is given in an appendix. The Āl 'Abdulla number some 700 souls and live in Tarim, Seiyun, Wadi Tarba and Al Bada'; their *mansab* is Ahmed bin 'Abdur Rahman as Saqqaf.

By the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla are recognised as Sultans of the Shenafir Confederation, and their dominion is defined as including the towns and villages of Seiyun, Tarim, Taris, Al Ghurf, Mariama and Al Gheil, and the Shenafir tribes of 'Umar, 'Amr, Al Kathīr, Bajri and Jabir and " all that is within their boundaries ". Practically speaking the Sultan's rule is only absolute in the towns mentioned, and in Tarim he is represented by the sons of his uncle, 'Abdulla and Muhammad, sons of Ghalib bin Muhsin bin Ghalib, who are semi-independent. The present Sultan is 'Ali bin Mansur who succeeded his father (who died at Mecca on the day of the Standing on Arafat) in 1929.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The whole of the Kathiri part of the wadi is accessible by motor cars and actually there are more cars in Kathīri territory than the rest of the Hadhramaut put together. 494 504

Shihr is the principal port for the Kathīri country and Tarim is almost exclusively supplied from it. Seiyun is reached indifferently from Shihr-Tarim or Mukalla-Shibam. Shibam is an important market for the Kathīris who depend on it for their daily requirements of grain, coffee, timber, salt, cotton, almonds, raisins, and ghee. 438 508

There is no landing ground in Kathīri territory.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE SHENAFIR CONFEDERATION.

The strength of the Shenafir Confederation has been variously estimated at 4,470 armed men, at 7,650 armed men and at 20,000 souls. The total number of the Shenafir and their followers, excluding Nahd and Sel'ar, is said to be 8,720 armed men. The following is a description of the tribes of the Confederation. 631 619 101

#### Al Kathīr.

| Clan. | Section. | Sub-Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Al 'Umar | — | — | As Salil Haju, Wadi Bin 'Ali, Wadi Ghanima, Wadi Ser, Wadi Farš and Dhollam | — | — |
| | Al Tālib | | | | Sālim bin Ja'fer and Bedr bin 'Aidha. |
| | | Al Mar'i bin Tālib. | Jifil | 220 | |
| | | Al Ja'fer bin Tālib. | Ash Sh'ib, (Qarīfi). | 120 | |
| | | Al 'Umar bin Tālib. | Bā Raf'a | 35 | |
| | | Al 'Umar bin Sa'id. | Al Wajīr | 40 | |
| | | Al Bin 'Ann | Near Al Ghurfa | 20 | |
| | | Al Bin Mahraq | Near Al Hauta | 10 | |
| | Al Falhūm | | | | 'Amr bin Ja'fer Balfas. |
| | | Al al Fās | Yarqaq near Al Ghurfa. | 80 | |
| | | Al al 'As | Yarqaq | 15 | |
| | | Al Fahaitha | Al Hawī | 25 | |
| | | Al Barqī | Al Hōl | 20 | |
| | | Bin Kahfi | do. | 10 | |
| | | Bin Tanfira | Near Al Hauta | 6 | |
| | | Bin as Samīl | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Al Wīl | Al Hauta | 17 | |
| | Al 'Umar bin Bedr. | Bin 'Umar bin Bedr. | Al Ghīyel | 25 | |
| | | Bin Mahrī | Yarqaq | 40 | |
| | | Bin Bedr bin 'Abdalla | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Bin ash Shein | do. | 80 | |

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| Clan. | Section. | Sub-Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqīl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl 'Āmr | Bin 'Abdāt | — | — | — | 'Umar 'Ubeid bin 'Abdāt and 'Awadh bin Gharāna. |
| | | Bin Khalid bin 'Umar. | Al Ghurfa and Al Hōl. | 150 | |
| | | Bin 'Ali Bin Umar. | Bā Bakr | 70 | |
| | | Bin at Tamil | do. | 40 | |
| | | Al Ma'ātīf | An Neid | 60 | |
| | | Bin 'Abūd bin 'Umar | Al Ghurfa | 40 | |
| | Āl 'Abdul 'Aziz | | | | 'Ali bin Lahmān. |
| | | Balasq'a | Al Qāra | 50 | |
| | | Bin 'Umar bin 'Ali. | do. | 30 | |
| | | Bin Sūeid | do. | 60 | |
| | | Āl Mubarek | Near Qesba | | |
| | | Bin Hūeil | Al Qāra | 20 | |
| | | Bin 'Abdulla bin Bedr. | Wadi Sar | 20 | |
| | | Āl Hamud bin 'Awadh. | | | |
| | Āl Kada | Āl 'Abūd bin 'Āmr. | An Neid | 50 | |
| | | Āl Kada (Āl Sa'id bin Ja'far) | Al 'Ādiya and Al Maseila. | 50 | |
| | Āl Muhammad bin 'Umar. | | | | 'Ali bin Mubarek. |
| | | Bin Muhammad bin 'Umar. | Baheira | 60 | |
| | Āl 'Ali bin Sa'id. | Bin 'Ali bin Sa'id. | Al 'Ardh | 30 | |
| | Āl Dūeis | | An Neid | 50 | |
| Al Fakhāiz | Āl 'Aun | | | | Muhammad bin 'Āmr bin Muneibārī and 'Āmr bin Sa'id bin Saqir. |
| | | Bin Muneibārī | Al 'Ardh near Madūda. | 70 | |
| | | Bin Ja'fer bin Bedr. | do. | 70 | |
| | | Bin as Saqīr | do. | 80 | |
| | | Bin Zeima | do. | 60 | |
| | | Bin Shemlan | do. | 15 | |
| | | Bin 'Ali bin Sa'id. | do. | 15 | |
| | Āl Sa'id | | | | Hueidi bin Mara'ī. |
| | | Bin Mara'ī | Balleil | 60 | |
| | | Bin 'Ali bin Muhammad. | Ja'eima | 25 | |
| | | Bin Ja'fer bin Muhammad. | do. | 25 | |

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| Clan. | Section. | Sub-section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Balquhum | do. | 15 | |
| | | Bin Dahdūh | do. | 10 | |
| | | Bin 'Āmr Muhammad. | — | — | |
| | Āl Rawās | | | | Muhammad 'Āmr bin Sanad |
| | | Bin Sanad | Ad Dahqa, east of Shibam. | 40 | |
| | | Bin Hadhīl | Al Huzma, east of Shibam. | 20 | |
| | | Balla'jam | do. | 30 | |
| | | Āl Ladhrāf | do. | 15 | |
| | | Bin Husn | Al Heimarāt, west of Seiyun. | 20 | |
| | | Al Hājirī | | 10 | |
| | | Al Birām | Qasbal, east of Shibam. | 10 | |
| | | Āl 'Abdulla bin Salih. | Al Bodu' near Hureidha. | 17 | |
| | | Āl 'Ali bin Ja'fer. | Al 'Ajlānia | 24 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Ja'fer. | Al Jāhis near 'Amd. | 50 | |
| | Āl Seif | | | | |
| | Āl 'Abd al Wadud | | | | |
| | | | | 2,224 | |

The tribes of the Shenafir Confederation claim descent from Hamdan. The territory of the Kathīri tribe (as opposed to the territory of the Kathīri Sultans) extends from about a mile east of Shibam to An Neisa, about one and a-half miles west of Wadi Tarba, whence the 'Awāmir territory begins. The last boundary east is Al Qōf which belongs to both the 'Awāmir and Kathīri. The Qu'aiti states that he has a "B ✗ agreement with the Kathīri tribe. This presumably refers to the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The total population of the tribe is said to be 5,000 or 6,000 people, but of its total strength of about 2,000 armed men many are absent in Java or Singapore.

The Āl 'Umar have property on the right bank of the main wadi, where cultivation is always better, and in the Wadi Bin 'Ali. The clan is the richest of the tribe and its money is derived from Java. The richest section is the Āl Tālib, and the Āl Mar'i bin Tālib sub-section has the most wealth of the whole clan. Miles states that the Āl 'Umar Kathīris are represented in Dhufar where with the Āl 'Āmr clan they may number 2,500 and occupy seven villages. All the sub-sections of the Āl Falhūm section, with the exception of the Bin as Samīl, are settled in the main wadi and grow dates, lucerne, and other vegetables.

The Āl 'Āmr are the strongest clan in point of numbers, and although many are absent in Java they are poorer as regards wealth

✗ [See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

631 derived from that country. They are also poorer as regards pro-
619 perty in the wadi for, with the exception of the Bin 'Abdāt who
101 have property on the right bank, their territory lies on the left bank, where cultivation is very poor. The Āl 'Āmr are friendly to the Qu'aiti and friendly to the British, indeed it is said that they have expressed themselves anxious to become British subjects and to be ready to pay taxes.

The third "clan" is called Al Fakhāīs meaning "sections", which is merely a collective term given to several independent sections. The Bin 'Āmr Muhammad and the Hājirī sub-sections are each composed of one *dar* or house. The latter are sometimes considered a sub-section of the Āl Sa'id.

[622] The following are *Mansabs* of the Kathīri: Ahmed bin Hussein al Aidarus, 'Umar bin 'Abdulla and Muhammad bin 'Ali al Habashi, and Hasan bin Salih al Bahr.

'AWĀMIR.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bin Hatāb | | Tarba an Neid | 150 | Ahmed 'Abdul Qawi. |
| | Al Matrif | | | |
| | Al Hadhir | | | |
| | As Seif | | | |
| | Al Kowa'i | | | |
| Bin Salim | | Tarba | 40 | |
| Bin 'Abdul Bāqī | | Sahil Muhsin | 150 | Mansur bin Bukheit bin Kartam. |
| | 'Areidi | | | |
| | Beni Kheir | | | |
| Bin Khamīs | | Eastern Sahīl | 60 | Salih 'Abdulla bin Gharib. |
| | Bin Ghareiya Al 'Ulus. | | | |
| Bin Kasbūba | | Sharma | 70 | Karama bin as Saqīr. |
| | Kasabib al Kahtan | | | |
| | Bin ad Dawal | | | |
| | Al Beihan | | | |
| Bin Ja'fer | | Tarba an Neid | 80 | Sālim bin 'Ali bin Husn. |
| Bin Kalīla | | do. | 100 | do. |
| | Al Muhammad | | | |
| | As Sūeid | | | |
| Bin Tabī'a | | Mushta an Neid | 40 | |
| Bin Wu'eil | | | 60 | |
| Bin Hūeilī | | | 20 | Sa'id bin Muhammad. |
| Bin Baraham | | Wadi adh Dhahab | 50 | |
| Awanza | | Taris | | |
| Al Qannas | | | | |
| Al Yokhlyīr | | | | |
| | | | 820 | |

The 'Awāmir are a part settled, part nomad, tribe living between An Neiza and Ghurf in the main Wadi Hadhramaut due south of Tarim and the northern mountains. Their territory includes Tarba, Wadi, Thibi, An Neid, and Al Mishqās, and in the main valley their settlements are in Wadi Tarba on the right bank, the opposite bank being entirely devoid of vegetation. They obtain their imported supplies of food from Shihr. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with the 'Awāmir, whose armed strength has been estimated at from 600 to 1,000. 631 619 101

Beduin sections of the tribe, said to number some thousands, live in the Oman Sultanate; they belong to the Bin Khamīs, Bin Kalīla, and Awanza clans. Miles refers to the 'Awāmir in Oman as follows: "The Awāmir are both Bedoo and Ibadhi, are of Maaddic stock, and claim descent from Amr bin Saasaa, but are now Hinawi.[1] The Bedouin and larger portion of this tribe roam the desert as far as Dhofar, but the settled portion of the tribe occupy a group of twelve villages near Nezwa in Orman Proper. They number about 1,200 or 1,400 souls and the shaikhs reside at Kuriatain. The Bedouins are very wild and savage and are said to speak a dialect of their own. The Awāmir are at feud with the Jenebeh and have about thirty fakhths" (sub-divisions). He also states that they are said to "traverse the desert very extensively, and probably no part of it, except the Dahna, is altogether inaccessible to them. Part of the Awāmir tribe are settled in the Province of Oman Proper and follow agricultural pursuits. The Bedouin portion of the Awāmir is perhaps the most widely scattered of all the Oman tribes, wandering as far as Hadhramaut in a state of semi-savagedom, and it is probable that no wilder or more predatory race exists in Arabia."

"The Awāmir at Ras Noos", he says, "are genuine Bedoos and wear Hadhramaut clothes and speak a different dialect to Oman; it is hardly intelligible but is better Arabic." He goes on to say that some 'Awāmir came to Muscat overland on camels and in some places were five or six days without water. He also mentions the 'Awāmir as being one of the chief Omani tribes engaged in camel breeding, and possessing large herds of these animals.

It is a custom among the 'Awāmir that if two clans are in dispute a third may interfere to settle. The Bin Salim clan are sometimes stated to be a section of the Bin Hatāb. The Al Muhammad section of the Bin Kalīla are said to be both settled and nomadic, but the As Sūeid section are purely nomad. The Qu'aiti states that he has a B agreement with the Al Beihan al 'Awāmir which presumably refers to the section of the Bin Kasbūba. [628]

The As Salibla Seiyids have influence over the Bin Hatāb and Kasbūba clans, Seiyid 'Abdulla bin Ahmed Bu Futein has influence over the clans living in Tarba, and Seiyid Tahir bin Bubakr Al Tahir over the Al Muhammad.

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[1] This is clearly an error, *vide* genealogical tree.

[See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

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## Āl Jabir.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Hāj or Āl Sāh. | Āl 'Āmr | As Seiqa | 150 | Mubarek bin Muhammad, Sa'id bin Salih Qahtan, and Yamāni bin 'Umar. |
| | Āl Yamāni | Rasib | 350 | |
| | Āl Ahmed āl Hāj | Sakrān | 130 | |
| | Balgheirān | do. | 20 | |
| | Bin 'Abūdān | 'Adam | 20 | |
| | Bin 'Umar bin Sādiq. | Bāyūt | 10 | |
| Āl 'Aun | Āl Ridhwān | Husn bin Dhobān | 35 | Salih 'Umar. |
| | Āl 'Umeish | do. | 35 | |
| | Bin Hijār | An Ni'r | 6 | |
| | Bin Sultan and Bin Sa'dut. | Adh Dhieiqa and An Ni'r. | 30 | |
| Āl Hasan | Bin Bedr | Wadi Bin 'Ali | 100 | Salim bin 'Ali bin Bedr. |
| | Bin Sa'id bin 'Āmr | do. | 100 | |
| | Bin Mar'i bin' Āmr | do. | 50 | |
| | Bin Jābir bin 'Āmr | do. | 50 | |
| | Ballesqa' | do. | 30 | |
| | Bin 'Abūdān | do. | 25 | |
| | Bin Ja'fer bin 'Āmr | | | |
| Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar. | Bin 'Ali bin 'Umar | Sāh, Gheil bin Yomein. | 50 | |
| | Āl Muteihim | Hikma | 15 | |
| | Al 'Afār | Wadi Shahūh | 50 | |
| | | | 1,256 | |

[731
167]

The Jābiris in the Wadi Bin 'Ali are mostly agriculturists. They obtain their supplies from Shihr. Some members of the tribe have connections in Java and Singapore, but the tribe as a whole is very poor, and owing to famine and distress many of the members, men and women, have emigrated to the African coast in search of a livelihood. The total number of the tribe has been variously estimated from 800 to over 1,000.

The sections of the Āl Hāj clan have been stated to be sections of the Āl Sāh clan which was referred to in Chapter XX. With the exception of a very few of the Āl Yamāni section who are nomads, the whole clan are settled. The Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar clan are entirely nomadic and ply their camels for hire. Seiyid Al Hasm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus has influence over the Jābir.

Besides the Kathīri and Jābiri settlements in Wadi Bin 'Ali there are a few houses of independent tribes called Āl Seif and Beni Sa'd, who do not consider themselves as in any way allied or subordinate to the Kathīri Sultans of Seiyun.

## Al Bajri.

| Clan. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Quseiyer | 'Ardh Būr | 100 | Sa'id bin Qutāmī and Salih bin Muhammad. |
| Āl Ahmed bin 'Ali | do. | 70 | |
| Bin 'Awadh bin 'Abūd | | | |
| Bin Rattas | | | |
| | | 170 | |

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The Bājrī live on the left bank of the main wadi at a distance of about ten miles north-east of Seiyun. They are surrounded by the tribes of Āl Kathīr and 'Awāmir. It is not universally admitted that the Bājrī are a true Shanfari tribe, but they nevertheless recognize the Sultan of Seiyun as their chief. There is a story that the Bājrī are the original inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, but that in course of time they became absorbed by stronger immigrant tribes. They are all agriculturists but their cultivation being on the left bank is very poor. 631 619 101

The *Mansabs* of the Āl Quseiyer are 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and Qadir adh Dhibab. Hussein bin 'Aidarus Āl Salīla also has influence over the tribe. [642]

## CHAPTER XXIII

## EMIGRATION: COLONIES OF HADHRAMIS ABROAD

There are probably few countries in the world where a larger proportion of the population lives abroad than the Hadhramaut. Between 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. of the estimated population of the Hadhramaut lives in the East Indies, East Africa, or Egypt and the countries bordering the Red Sea. 167

A great number of these emigrants do not proceed abroad for good, but expect to return when they have made their fortunes and die in their native land. Fortune with them is a relative term, for while some of them amass amounts that would not be despised in America the ambition of others is far more modest, and many run only to a few hundred or a few thousand Maria Theresa dollars. [556]

Apart from the 90,000 to 100,000 Hadhramis now living abroad there are a very large number in the country itself who have been abroad, and I have already commented on the fact that Malay and Swahili have really become naturalized languages in the country. [191]

It is not only of recent years that the Hadhramis have learnt the habit of leaving their native homes to seek their fortunes abroad. As Schoff points out, we learn from the *Periplus* that since the earliest time they have had a view beyond their own borders. Then as now, he says, " the outlook of Hadhramaut was towards India by sea and towards Egypt by land. Bent found the same conditions: the capital full of Parsee merchants, the natives going to India, the Straits and Java, and returning when they had amassed a competence; the English protectorate accepted because of England's domination of India, in the face of the religious convictions of rulers and people (*Geographical Journal*, IV, 322). Maltzan described the Hadhrami traders in Cairo as the keenest of the lot, and spoke of their activities in the East; while the Dutch Government, finding the islands of Java and Sumatra overrun with Hadhramaut Arabs, stimulated inquiries of them in Batavia."

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## APPENDIX I.

### The Tribes of Yafa'.

#### Upper Yafais

With the exceptions noted, the Yafais all claim descent from Himyar. The tribes of Upper Yafa' are: 619

I. Mausata. They live to the east of Wadi Banā in Wadi Hatib, which is a tributary of the Banā. They number 4,540 fighting men; their two Naqibs are of the Ahl Asker 'Ali and have their headquarters at Al Qudma. The tribe is divided into four quarters. The sections of the first quarter are Yaslemi, Al Mos'idi, Al Jaradi, and As So'adi. Those of the second are Al Hauthari, Ar Rushedi, and Al Irwi. The third has five, Al Isa'i, Al Hatrashi, An Najdi, Al Hanashi and Al Falahi, and the fourth two, Al Alasi and AL QU'AITI. The district of the AL QU'AITI is situated in Balad Atif bin 'Amir Seilat Hatib and Jebel al 'Ayasha. Their villages are Mazaba, Shamran, Hamari, Kadan, Beit al Buali, Buala, Mosetir, Al Jah, Al Basiri, Harbub, Alat ad Deiri, Alat bin Ahmed, Dhafar, Alat bin 'Amir, Alat ash Shobali, Salab, Al Hulla, Beit al Kumah, Ad Dahia and Ariat al Yam. They also own the following villages in Seilat Hatib: Al 'Ala, Zil Maara, Alat Katram, As Salab, Al Hajar, Kabil at Tuweira, Dal Bueleis, Al Kurein, Hafah, Alat bin 'Amir. The Dabiani, Kutuan ash Shawahi, Na'wa, and Juban are reported to be further sections of the Mausata, and the Khulaqi (not Himyaritic but from Khuza'a beyond San'a) and Ar Rewi are friends of the tribe.

II. Dhubi, Dubi. The territory of this tribe is in the south of Upper Yafa'. They are bounded by Lower Yafa' on the south, on the east by Um Rasas, on the west by the Bo'si, and on the north by the Mausata and Dabiani. The tribe numbers 5,000 men, and the Dhubi Sheikh resides at Dhisurah. The sections of the tribe are Sura'i or Ahl Dhi Sura, Sharafi, Ahl bin Salah or As Salahi, As Sa'idi, Ahl 'Attif, Ahl As Siyal or as Seili, Al Furdi and Al Hadhrami (practically independent). The Hadhrami are divided into the following subsections: Marfadi, Bakri, Ahl Mas'ud, 'Issa, Tanhi, Ahl Balhei and Ahl Sinan. The Ahl Bakri are said to be a section of the Dhubi tribe but entirely independent.

III. Muflehi. Originally this tribe migrated from Sad Marib. They are divided into two parts; the larger live to the east of wadi Banā beyond the Halmin and the Sheibi, and their chief village is Al Jurba, and the smaller part live to the north, north-west and north-east of Jibal Hawi and the Sheiri country; their chief village is Al Khalla. The sections of the tribe are: As Sakkaf, As Suleimani, Ad Daharia, Adh Dharhani, Al Mashali, Al Muflahi of Khallahani, Ahl 'Abdulla, Ahl Manfara, Ahl Ar Rubo', Ahl Yunis, Al Fokara, Ahl Zakari and Al Ko'da, Ahl Na'man, Ahl al Jabal Al 'Alix and Ahl Za'mar.

IV. Bo'si. This tribe are bounded on the north by the Mausata, on the east by the Hadhrami, on the south by the Dhubi, and on the west by the Nakhibi section of the Yazidi tribe of Lower Yafa'. They number 2,500 of whom 1,200 are fighting men. There are two sections, Al Hauri and Al 'Amri.

V. Da'udi. They live in Al Had, bounded on the north and north-east by Al Hamrā of Beida, on the west by the Khulaqa, and on the south by the Dhubi. They number 600 to 700 of whom 280 to 300 are fighting men.

VI. Rub'stein. This territory is on the northern border of Upper Yafa'. The Juban and Na'wa bound it on the north, the Dabiani on the east, the Wadi Banā and the Sheibi on the south, and the Marais on the west. The territory is claimed personally by the Upper Yafa' Sultan and is said to have paid tribute to him for over 200 years. It is now in Imanic occupation. There are four districts, Rub'al 'Ilawi, Rub'al Akri, Rub'al Sufi, and Rub'al 'Ureimi. The sections are Beni Keis and Rafai Tarfka (originally from Upper Egypt). The inhabitants number about 2,000 of whom 400 are fighting men.

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619 VII. Sheibi. On the west this tribe are bounded by the Mareis, on the north by Rub'atein, on the east by the Dabiani, Rau and Mufahi, on the south-west by the Mufahi of Khalla and on the south-east by the Halmin. Their chief village is Bakhal. They number 10,000 of whom 2,500 are fighting men. Their connection with Upper Yafa' is indefinite and consists in a doubtful claim by the Naqibs to tribute and military assistance.

LOWER YAFAIS (Yafai Beni Qāsid or Beni Afif).

The following are the tribes of Lower Yafa' :

I. Kaladi. They number 10,000 of whom 3,000 are fighting men. Their sections are, Huwidi, 'Umari, Maudha'a, Baki, Al Bakri, Al Mansari, Al Yusifi, As Sanadi, Da'asi, SaidI, At Talibi, Al Hanashi, Al 'Alawi, Al Hāji, Galladi, Qureiri, Sarahi, Gurdumi, Komati and Ahl Salim.

II. Yahari. This tribe number at most 12,000 of whom at least 6,000 are fighting men. The sections are, Bin Saba', Bin Soaja, Bin Jaradi, Dubhi, 'Umari, Muharrami, Shabahi, Muslimix, Maraban, 'Alawi, RubiI, Himyar al Jibal, Himyar al Wadi, Sha'b al 'Armi, Jebel al 'Amtar, Suneidi.

III. Saadi. They number 4,000 to 5,000 of whom 1,500 are fighting men. Their sections are, Ahl Suleiman, Yahya Nasir, Ahl al Jibal al Kafi, Beni Ahwad bin Ahmed Naum, Maraban, Ahl bin al Ahwar, Ahl bin Qahtan, Wa'lani, 'Umari, Duweidi, Muhammadi, Tami, Kabila, Thamari 'Amiri, Bari'I, Sarahi.

IV. Yazidi. The principal village of the tribe is 'Ali Khadra and the fighting men number 4,500 to 5,000. The sections are Al Batati, Ahl Nuffaji, Ahl 'Alawi Salih, Ahl Kabābi, Ahl Tallubi, Ahl Hama'I, Dhuki, Sinani, Thauwadi and Ahl as Sa'id.

The Di-Nakhib are sometimes considered a tribe and sometimes a section of the Yazidi. They number about 400 fighting men, and their sections or sub-sections are Koro'ei, Kohali, Kanashi, Nasri, KASADI, Kausali, Aghbari, Nakhibi, Asari, Ammari, Qubeimi, Mansuri, Bannaji, Murshidi, Faraji, Ahl 'Ileiya, Haji, MASHADI, Az Zifki, 'Awadi and 'Arashi. The KASADI are the origin of the Nakhib. Their village is Sheiwaha and they were reported to have 100 fighting men.

V. Mash'ali. This tribe number about 2,500 of whom 1,200 are fighting men. Their sections are Talibi, Asbahi, As Saadi, and As Salimi at Tani.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers.

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000.

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few.

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government.

[1]About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off.

619 He is no longer apt to be shot at by Government soldiers and he brings his troubles to the Government. The provincial governors and the district
647 heads are better men and better paid than they used to be and all new candidates have courses of instruction before appointment. There are
692 systems of State and tribal courts which are becoming more and more
619 effective. There is a special department of bedouin affairs which is staffed entirely by Hadhrami tribesmen; five or six years ago no Hadhrami tribesmen were employed in any positions of responsibility.

759 As regards social services, in 1934 there was one doctor, mainly for the Sultan though he ran a public dispensary, and medical services cost Rs. 5,500
657 a year: in 1944 the sum voted was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary
652 services. There was an establishment of four doctors, and a State hospital
749 for fifty in-patients was being built in Mukalla.

In 1934 education cost Rs. 6,000 and about three hundred boys received
871 some sort of schooling. In 1944 Rs. 1,054,000 was provided. The number of boys in primary Government schools on the coast has increased to about
652 seventeen hundred. There were between a hundred and thirty and a
657 hundred and forty girls in the new Mukalla girls' school, and an inter-
658 mediate boarding school, assisted by the British Council and a grant from His Majesty's Government, had been started with about eighty boys. As part of the famine relief measures, children were brought down from the Hadhramaut and have now been taken over by the Qu'aiti State which bought a village outside Mukalla and is now housing three hundred boys
[874] and girls in it. A wall enclosing garden land has been built round it and the children work the garden and are apprenticed to various local trades. They are given a modest schooling and it is hoped that they will also be taught by means of a village council to run their own village.

658 Another State educational experiment owes its impetus mainly to the enthusiasm of the young men of Mukalla. A number of young men have
871 gone through a course organized by the Education Department in how to teach illiterate adults to read and write. These teachers compiled a coolies' vocabulary of seven hundred words or so and when I left were about to teach coolies from the Hadhramaut, who had come seeking for work at the coast on account of the famine, how to write the language they speak, a sort of basic Arabic. There are schemes for producing a small newspaper in this simplified form of speech and for developing some public-health consciousness.

701 What little the State could do towards the war effort it has done. It provided a company for guard duties in Aden while the Italians were in
648 the war. It has raised a Pioneer Company for service in the Middle East Command. It has guarded the R.A.F. aerodromes in the State and pro-
[712] vided coastal guards. The Public Works Department has built an R.A.F. station at about a third of the cost expected. It has landed and handled a great quantity of R.A.F. stores. In addition, at the outbreak of war when the surplus balance was about Rs. 80,000, it contributed Rs. 20,000 for
648 general war purposes, and Hadhramis at home and abroad subscribed to a

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and the people are natural Muslims having learnt in a hard school absolute submission to the will of God. Religious fanaticism is strongest where the seiyids are strongest. In other places there is greater tolerance and, among the bedouins, it is what a man is rather than what his religion is that counts. 771 181

When we started everybody wanted independence. Many of the old secluded seiyids, whose ideas of independence merely amounted to the exclusion of infidels, had sons and relations who read the Egyptian papers and their ideas of independence were based on grandiose schemes of complete self-government. Some of them, who thought themselves moderate, demanded no more than independence on the Egyptian and Iraqi models and talked airily of Parliaments and so on. In Singapore and Java in 1939 I had petitions presented to me three times demanding this sort of independence. Once at Solo the *deputation was pointed out* to me as representative: it contained seiyids, tribesmen and a Sultan of the Kathiri family. Only the last had ever been in the Hadhramaut. He asked me if he might see me privately after the meeting and then asked me to arrange independence for Jahiz. Jahiz was his village in the Wadi 'Amd and consists of five houses. The tribesmen, settled and bedouin, wanted independence; the bedouin claim was at least easy to understand for all it amounted to was that their freedom in the hills and deserts should be undisturbed. The settled tribesmen were and are more difficult. Every little section considered itself independent, and the more powerful, who could afford not only to arm themselves but to buy and arm private forces of slaves, did all they could to extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbours. 648 185 619

The strangest example of this kind of campaign was that of the Bin 'Abdat section of the Kathiri tribe, who own much landed property in Singapore and Java. The treaty chief of the Kathiris is the Kathiri Sultan whose capital is Seiyun. About 1928 the head of the Bin 'Abdat section forcibly occupied the walled town of Al Ghurfa, belonging to some unarmed sheikhs. This brought him into conflict with the Kathiri Sultan, who was supported by the Qu'aiti Sultan, and with the neighbouring heads of other Kathiri sections. War ensued which carried on with little interruption till 1937. Bin 'Abdat built up a respectable force of slaves and tribesmen of his own and constructed an elaborate system of forts and trenches which extended right across the Wadi Hadhramaut some three miles or more, and almost to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary at Shibam. In the course of the fighting, a curious armoured vehicle was imported from Java, which was intended to be towed by a motor car into the enemy camp. Bin 'Abdat acquired a very large stock of ammunition and really good rifles at very high prices. The Qu'aiti Sultan brought artillery, ancient and modern, to the aid of the Kathiri, but no decision was ever reached. 669 721

When I came to the Hadhramaut in 1936 Bin 'Abdat instructed his lawyer in Singapore to address a letter to the Government in which he claimed to be an "independent rajah." He was informed that the only recognized treaty chiefs in the main Hadhramaut were the Qu'aiti and 669 648

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



669 Kathiri Sultans and that he was the recognized head of a Kathiri section subordinate to the latter. In 1937 after a lot of persuasion he subscribed
648 to the three years truce. This chief loyally kept the peace and helped in maintaining peace till his death early in 1939, when he was succeeded by an irresponsible nephew who after visiting Java and Singapore to collect his inheritance, returned to Hadhramaut determined to extend his boundaries and influence.

In 1939 my wife and I also visited the East Indies and while in Batavia were entertained by the Bin 'Abdat family at a tea and cocktail party at the Hôtel des Galleries, a large modern hotel belonging to the family. Round the walls of the room in which the reception was held were pictures of Al Ghurfa labelled "Al Ghurfa in the Hadhramaut over which this family has fought so long."

Late in 1939 the new Bin 'Abdat started fresh operations. He extended his fortifications and subsidized a large bedouin tribe, the Hamumis, amongst whom the Government was trying to make peace, to make the then one motor road unsafe and to oppose the Government in every possible way. A good deal of fighting ensued in which both the Hamumis and the Qu'aiti troops had casualties. He also brought Hamumi bedouins as his soldiers into the Wadi Hadhramaut itself where they made the road unsafe for travellers. He arrested and maltreated persons who had recourse to the Sultan in their troubles. The Sultans were supported by His Majesty's Government and action was taken against him. He submitted in May 1940, but did not observe the condition he had accepted and until the fall of Singapore and Java eventually caused his funds to dry up, was always a source of trouble. For it was the profits of the hotel and rents of his properties in the Far East which had enabled the family to keep their wars going. Many Hadhrami chiefs did the same thing, but none on the
627 Bin 'Abdat scale. And when litigants in Java lost their cases in the Java Courts it was not unusual for them to repay their opponents in the Hadhramaut by having their families shot or their homes burnt.

631 There were supposed to be only two Governments in Hadhramaut, the Qu'aiti and Kathiri, but in fact there were about two thousand—the
619 fourteen hundred tribes and sections who had signed the truce and several hundreds more of independent villages ruled by mansabs and sheikhs.

185 It was considerations such as these that I had to bear in mind when I thought of the kind of organization which would be most likely to succeed in the Hadhramaut. The only things that seemed to offer a favourable opening were a widespread desire for peace and a genuine anxiety on the part of the Sultan for improvements in Governmental and social services. Apart from these factors I had the instruments I have referred to, and the general indication that one should try to follow as far as possible the methods adopted in the Unfederated Malay States, to guide me in forming an organization.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101 776

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

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But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west. 142

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration. 778

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting. 181 291 576

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy. 619 631 643

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it. [144]

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe. 576

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 101 174 619

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remnant of the Minæan State. Dr. Scott asked whether the names MA'AN and MA'IN were from the same root. He remarked that the ruins of Ma'in lie in the district of Jauf, roughly seventy to a hundred miles north-east of San'a, and that Ma'in and other remains in the vicinity had been regarded as the centre of Minæan culture. If this were so, the descendants of the Minæans are now a long way south-east of their ancient centre. He was particularly interested in this question because it seemed to him, when summarizing recently such information as is available on the pre-Islamic states of South-West Arabia, that there had been a tendency for states or kingdoms to move in succession in a southerly direction, either under pressure of invaders from the north or in search of better, less arid, country.

Major HAMILTON replied (in writing) that, while it would be risky to attempt too positive an answer in the present state of knowledge, his views were as follows:

"The names MA'AN and MA'IN are from the same root and, I fancy, refer to the same people. The name of the Transjordanian district of Ma'an, near Medāin Sālih, is the same word. I think you are certainly right in supposing that the trend of all peoples in the peninsula has been from north to south, whether in search of better land or—which seems more likely—because of pressure from the north.

"The rise of Saba will have been at the expense of other kingdoms, and I think the assumption is justified that the Sabæans forced Ma'an out of Jauf and also out of the district of Wadi Harib, near Beihan, from which several inscriptions referring to the 'Grand Council of Ma'an' have been collected; and that the remnant of the Minæans, if any, is to be found south and east of their original place. They could not have gone south-west because, by the time Saba became powerful, Qataba appears to have held the south-western spurs of the Yemen mountains and to have owned both Harib and Beihan. My own opinion, on the existing evidence only of modern tribal names and distribution, is that Ma'an was swamped by later rivals and is earlier than the other kingdoms. It is interesting that the name Ma'an is borne by the central tribe of a confederation with such marked peculiarities as the 'Aulaqi, in just the place where one would expect to find it. I think, therefore, that these Ma'ani 'Aulaqis are the remnant of the Minæan State forced from Jauf, and perhaps from further north, by the rise and the southward march of more powerful neighbours, and that they were eventually swamped in the struggles for the important 'Beihan Triangle.'"

Major Hamilton expressed the hope that the map accompanying his lecture entitled "Six Weeks in Shabwa," to be published shortly in the *Geographical Journal*, would show the very great local importance of that little triangle of territory (since published in Vol. 100, No. 3, September, 1942, pp. 107-123).

From the above it seems that Major Hamilton's views are in accordance with the usually accepted chronology—namely, that the Minæans were the oldest of the South-West Arabian kingdoms named, and were succeeded (but not entirely obliterated) by Saba and Qataba. These two were in part contemporaneous. (Later, Himyar became predominant.) It also appears that Major Hamilton considers the movement of peoples to have been from

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north to south, not only in South-West Arabia, but in the peninsula as a whole. Incidentally, while the name MA'AN is not given on some maps, it is printed on the folding map at the end of Wyman Bury's *Land of Uz* (1911). It is there placed just above the eastern end of the Qaur ranges and below the words "Upper 'Aulaqi."

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The CHAIRMAN: What a remarkable experiment in Empire building has been exposed to us this afternoon. The thought that is uppermost in my mind is how absolutely essential it is that not only we should have very carefully selected Political Officers to carry on this experiment, but that they should be most carefully instructed in what they have to expect before they take up their duties. That seems to me to be of the utmost importance.

You will agree, I know, that we have had a most happy and fortunate send-off to the beginning of our tribal lectures. Indeed, Mr. Hamilton, we were more than happy and lucky to have you. Then, too, we had Sir Bernard Reilly with his great experience, both of them masters of their subject. We thank you too, Sir Bernard, for what you have told us.

May I ask you now to thank Mr. Hamilton most sincerely for his admirable lecture.

*A demand for this lecture, together with the discussion, has led to this reprint.*

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# SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

## II.—The Tribesman Class

By CAPTAIN THE HON. R. A. B. HAMILTON

600 Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on May 26, 1943, Mr. H. E. Bowman, C.M.G., C.B.E., in the Chair. Captain the Hon. R. A. B. Hamilton gave an address on the "Social Organization of the Aden Protectorate—II. The Tribesman Class."

The CHAIRMAN said that in September, 1942, Captain Hamilton had given them his first lecture on the "Social Organization of the Tribesmen of the Aden Protectorate," and had so interested his audience and the readers of the *Journal* that the article had been reprinted in the last issue. From that lecture it was clear that Major Hamilton had gained a wonderful insight into the people of the country, and that he possessed not only an intimate acquaintance with the different sections of the population of that vast territory, but also a wide learning of the country and sympathy, understanding and friendship for the people of the Aden Protectorate. Those qualities were not always to be found in British political officers, and when they were it was up to everyone to pay tribute to them. Captain Gammans, M.P., had written an excellent letter to *The Times* recently on the future of the Colonial Empire. In that letter he said: "The British Colonial Empire is at the parting of the ways." If that was true, as it might be, then they should see that they took the right way, and if they were to take the right way he, the Chairman, could not ask them to follow a better guide than Captain Hamilton.

H 121

IN my last paper I described the classes into which the people of the Aden Protectorate are divided. The most numerous of these is the tribesman class, who are the warriors and the landowners, and it is my purpose in this paper to describe the tribal organization of this class and to suggest how this organization has developed and how the future may affect it.

H 619

The basis of the tribal organization in the Aden Protectorate is the confederation of tribes. The tribe itself is a small unit, rarely exceeding 500 males. Some of these small tribes are "sheikhly" tribes, and these form the nucleus of confederations. A few examples will serve to make this clear.

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The tribes of the Yafa' Confederation inhabit the highest of the mountain spurs of the south-east Yemen range. They are divided into the sub-confederations of Upper and Lower Yafa'. The sheikhly tribe of both sub-confederations is the Beni Qasid of Lower Yafa', from and within which is elected the Lower Yafa' Sultan, which is the Chief of Chiefs of all Yafa'.

Y 622

It must not be supposed that this Sultan of the Beni Qasid is a ruler in our sense of the word. In fact, even within his family, his powers are very small. A certain aura of holiness attaches to him as an hereditary tribal head, which we will shortly examine, but the influence he wields within his own small tribe dwindles outside that tribe almost to nothing.

600 The name "Yafa'" is the name of a pagan deity, and, in the absence

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The name



is the name of a PAGAN DEITY and in the absence,

Y 101 174 778 622 of histories, we may take it that the confederation is pre-Islamic in date. Apart from the name, the only other obviously pre-Islamic possession of the tribe is the sacred drum, the "Tabble an Nahas," which is kept by the Beni Qasid and which is accorded sacred honours by the tribe of Yafa' only. It is possible that before Islam the Beni Qasid were the keepers of the drum, and I am going to suggest that the present Sultans of Yafa' are in reality Priest-Chiefs, whose functions as such have ceased with the introduction of a new religion, although their hereditary position remains as heads of the people who once worshipped Yafa'.

H 101 619 622 Let us examine another confederation of tribes. About sixty miles north of Aden live the Qateibi tribe, surrounded by the confederation of the Ja'ud. At first sight the tribes here seem to be disorganized and unrelated, but careful study of dialect, of local stories, of the Qasidas or epic poems, and of such things as star lore and magical beliefs, shows that these tribes are closely allied in thought, dialect and custom and form a true confederation, the organization of which becomes clear in times of danger. Of this confederation the Qateibi are the central tribe, and their sheikhly family is the Akhram, from which the Qateibi Sheikh is elected. As was shown in 1904, a Qateibi Sheikh with a strong personality can have considerable influence on the whole confederation, but he is not expected to rule, as we understand the word, even within his own family.

H 619 [623] 174 622 With the strong 'Aulaqi Confederation we find a more complicated organization, but a similar one. Ma'an is here the central tribe, in all probability the ancient Ma'an of the inscriptions, a pre-Sabian kingdom of South Arabia. Ancient Ma'an was ruled by a "Grand Council," as we find from the inscriptions, and this system still exists to-day.

The 'Aulaqi Confederation is divided into three parts—the Upper and Lower sub-Confederations of attached tribes and the tribe of Ma'an—and each of these three is ruled by a Chief of the tribe of Ma'an, elected by Ma'an only. Again we have the sheikhly family within the central tribe, surrounded by the attached tribes of the confederation. Again the name, but this time it is the name of the central tribe, is pre-Islamic. If we look [671] for further proof that the confederation is of pre-Islamic origin, we find an ancient legal system—that of the Manaqid, which I have already described—strongly attached to it.

H 619 We could continue to find examples of the organization from other confederations, but these three will suffice. The basis of the organization is clear: there is a central tribe containing a sheikhly family, forming the centre of a confederation of tribes.

H 174 Y 643 How did such an organization evolve? How is it that Chiefs, elected according to ancient custom, are not expected to rule their electors? What is the origin of such Chiefs, and of the sheikhly families from which they come? Our answers must be mainly guesswork, but we may well begin by seeing some of the conditions under which an Imam of Sana'a is elected, for I think they point the way to our understanding of the whole problem.

The first condition is that the Imam must be whole in body. No Imam may be elected if he limps, is blind in one or both eyes, has a stammer, squints, is a leper or has any other physical disabilities. If, once

in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators. 000

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more complicated than in most places in the Protectorate. 619 182 421

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their centres. 427 565 792 651 619 692 182

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood fued, and there is little doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to 182 628 411 436

702 taking into consideration rations and clothing, is good money in the
701 Hadhramaut, and is sufficient for a soldier's tobacco and personal needs and, to maintain a wife and family. Unlike his British counterpart, he does not have to undergo a rigid medical examination, nor is he likely to suffer from the dentist, but if he should fall ill he is treated by the unit medical orderly or a civilian doctor, and provision is made for his admittance to the civil hospital in Mukalla if need arises.

712 At the end of recruit training a soldier will be sent to one of the posts
701 in the interior, and here the discipline and character-training already undergone will be continued. Some of these posts are sited where desert tracks cross, others near disputed wells or in areas where the tribes have
[342] proved recalcitrant. Sometimes local houses are requisitioned, and as Hadhrami architecture derives from the need for security these high, small-based, mud-brick houses are not unlike forts in themselves. In other localities proper small-scale forts have been built, square in shape and enclosing a well in the courtyard, resembling the smaller Palestine police posts or Arab Legion forts. Usually built with towers at two diagonally opposite corners, they have an imposing entrance gate, storerooms and sleeping quarters below, and above two rooms and a balcony encircling the fort. In commanding position, they would fill admirably the requirements of a producer of the *Beau Geste* type of film. From their posts the H.B.L. patrol on foot, perform guard duties, and if necessary provide escorts. Life in an outpost may appear dull, but reliefs are
[212] regular, and in his spare time a soldier is wise to learn to read and write, as without these accomplishments he is debarred from promotion above the rank of corporal. Any day a row of four or five soldiers may be observed at the unusual task of laborious reading or writing under the guidance of an officer or N.C.O.

701 Generally the presence of soldiers in an area has a deterrent effect on
721 any potential law-breakers or tribal raiders, and by mixing with the local Bedouin, and by reason of being themselves Bedouin, they do much to assist Government by explanation and advice. When trouble does occur, minor operations may have to be undertaken to deal with the offenders. During these infrequent periods the soldier receives his best training, and the prospect of more active duty always appeals to him. Although a natural fighter in his own type of warfare and country, the Bedouin is no match for his brother in the H.B.L., who has the advantage of superior leadership, better weapons, and a plentiful supply of ammunition. The expenditure of rounds, which do not have to be accounted for individually,
[619] is one of the soldier's greatest joys and entertainments. It may be wondered, if, on occasion, men enlisted from tribes which are hostile to each other carry this enmity with them into the force. Such is not the case, and once in the army they seem to lose their civilian opinions and prejudices and to forget past feuds. However, care is taken that soldiers of a tribe against which force is used are not employed on that task.

702 Militarily speaking, the Hadhrami Bedouin soldier is quick at drill, and, as practically all of them are born with a rifle in their hands, weapon training, even with light machine-guns, comes easily to them. They are not, however, such good shots as might be expected and have a universal

Tendency to fire high.

1933. In these last eighteen months however, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and otherwise, runs into over one hundred, in fact, into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included, for Mukalla has recently had the fresh experience of seeing bus loads of tourists from steamers driving through its street.

The more frequent and more intensive incursion of European visitors is of course in itself a great contrast with the recent past, but I think that the contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country in the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every Badawin and tribesman in the country carried his rifle with him, even to walk across the street. Blood feuds were widespread, and even harmless travellers of the unarmed classes were at times likely to lose not only their property but their lives. Travellers by motor car had to take with them an escort when passing from village to village. In places there were extensive systems of trenches to pass from the villages to the fields, and I know of people who have spent as much as twenty years without getting beyond their own doors.

Now however all this has passed and it is comparatively rarely that you see a tribesman carrying a rifle, indeed many of them do not even carry the *jambiyas* or curved daggers which are almost as much a part of their dress as a walking-stick was of ours. How all this has come to pass is more a matter of the history of the Hadhramaut than its geography, but I should simply like to say that it was largely through the will of the people who have a genuine desire for peace and for the following of peaceful pursuits.

This new peace has resulted in a much greater contact between tribes and between different parts of the country and has made possible a great extension in communications. Eighteen months ago there were about half a dozen motors on the coast and about sixty in the interior, carried up by camels. By the completion of the Al Kaf road Tarim has been linked with Shihr and passenger-carrying lorries ply almost daily between the coast and the interior. When I left the country a couple of months ago there were at least two hundred motor vehicles in it and every ship was bringing one or two. Many more car tracks have been made and cars now go to almost all parts of the Hadhramaut, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is also constructing another remarkably good motor road to the Hadhramaut which is being built northwards from Mukalla and southwards from Du'an. Something over 20 miles of the former and 10 of the latter had been completed when I left; about 60 miles remains to be done, of which the greater part is over the flat *jols* and offers no particular difficulties of construction. Starting from Mukalla you can now motor at least 300 miles in the Hadhramaut without recrossing your tracks, and there are over 500 miles of tracks altogether.

The possibilities of air transport have also been greatly improved. There were, eighteen months ago, eight landing-grounds in the five Sultanates in the eastern part of the Protectorate of which only three, Mukalla, Shibam, and Qishn, were used at all frequently. New landing-grounds have been constructed at Tarim, Seiyun, Hureidha, Al 'Abr, 'Azzan, Balhaf, Risib,

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passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

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out to meet you. Many people prefer to walk down the *'aqaba*, and in any case the drivers stop at the top to tie up the brakes. I have only walked down once, and that was on the morning of the New Year. I sat for a short time at the top and it really was a most beautiful sight watching the day break over the minarets and white houses of Tarim. 600

"Tarim and thou desirest no more" is a local saying, and in truth I know of no happier places to live in than Tarim and Seiyun. I shall never forget our first impressions of Tarim nor I think does anybody else forget his, but the charm of these places grows with knowledge and they have a hospitable and cultured society. There is little literary learning in Mukalla or Shihr: 212 Mukalla can be difficult to live in, but Shihr is always friendly and welcoming. 538 Seiyun and Tarim are not only that, but can talk of affairs, of history, and of philosophy. The whole country is full of poets, and not only quotes the old poets but records constantly current history in *qasidas*, and that is how much of it survives. At a Shabwani dance the poets assemble and in turn compose extempore couplets, which are repeated by the choir leaders and taken up by a hundred throats.

Tarim and its rich suburb of 'Aidid, where there are several beautiful Riviera 631 villas, are of course under Kathiri rule, but they and the small village of Al [361] Ghuraf are in Tamimi country. One interesting fact about Tarim that I have learnt recently is that it contains a state within its walls. This enclosure, which contains a few houses inhabited by the Seiyids of Al Haddad, is ruled by their *mansab* under some ancient right. His subjects are completely under his jurisdiction, and even if they commit offences in the city of Tarim are not tried by the Sultan but handed over to him. The intelligentsia of Tarim call him the *Baba* (the Pope) and his state the *Fatikana*. Tarim and Seiyun both have old religious academies (*Rubats*) to which students come from considerable distances in the west of the Protectorate and from the Yemen. 874 I remember when I first passed the Tarim Rubat a long time ago there was 609 a rush to exclude the contaminating influence, and all the doors and window shutters were hastily banged. Life gets more pleasant when crowds of children and adult hangers on cease to follow you shouting *Nasrani* (Christian). When I returned to Mukalla from the interior in March 1937 one small boy did shout Nasrani, but was immediately corrected by a friend who said "*That's* not a Nasrani, that's Ingrams."

The Tamimis, who stretch several miles on the way to Seiyun, and down 619 the Wadi Maseila to below Qasm, the Tamimi capital, are a Qu'aiti tribe, so that Tarim and Al Ghuraf form islands in their territory. There are no Badu [167] sections to the Tamimis, and they all live in the wadi and emigrate largely to East Africa and the East Indies. They are however an astonishingly disunited tribe whose sections were constantly warring against each other, mostly over land questions. In this way they are a great contrast to their neighbours, the Manahil, who belong to the same Confederation, the Beni Dhanna. The Manahil are all Badus but are completely united in following their young chief 'Aidha bin Tannaf, a very fine lad of about twenty-five. I thought at first that the Manahil were not going to join in the truce, but after holding back for a little while they came and signed, and have never caused the slightest trouble, though 'Aidha had considerable difficulty in restraining

619 them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

619 The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri
601 who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their
595 mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call them-
562 selves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan
583 bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

788 I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when
172 we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

368 There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its
243 walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

508 Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-
701 ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in
567 the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom
368 to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

000 Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

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hospitality in the new house during the past year, and last hot weather nothing 000
was more delightful than to sit in the swimming pool in the evening and listen
to the strains of the B.B.C. Empire Orchestra. Since then the Arabic broad-
casts have started and they are extremely popular throughout the Hadhramaut, [207]
which now sets its watches by Big Ben. Bathing over, dinner would be laid
on carpets by the side of the bathing pool. One rarely sits down less than
twenty at meals in Seiyid Bubekr's house and very often it is forty. The
average daily consumption runs into about 30 to 40 lb. of rice, three or four
dozen eggs, half a dozen chickens, and one or two sheep, and several pounds
of vegetables. We went up for the wedding of his daughter, and then over
five thousand people were fed for three days.

Seiyun has been our principal headquarters in the wadi, and from it I
have continually visited all the neighbouring places, staying at Shibam,
Al Qatn, Henin, Qa'udha, and Hureidha. You never get to Hureidha without [609]
stopping for a meal at Diyar al Buqri, where the people are so hospitable that
they have been known to fire on those who have attempted to pass in cars
without stopping to have a meal. The Buqri are Nahd, and although they
are settled they are still rather Badu. On my first visit they offered us a large
house if we would but stay and rule the country, and it was then I learned
that they had imported a first-class cook from Java in the hope of being able
to entertain Europeans. Great as is the hospitality and kindness of all the
Nahd, the meals at Diyar al Buqri are as fine and as varied as anything you
could get anywhere. Their ideas even of afternoon tea are on the most lavish
scale. I have had it with them three times and on each occasion they have
produced cakes, honey, and halwa, several varieties of tinned fruit, British
biscuits, and super-cream toffees.

Beyond Diyar al Buqri, as you enter the Wadi 'Amd, stands a little fort 712
with a sentry for ever gazing out. It was some time before I discovered that 619
the sentry was a dummy, a lump of clay artistically draped with a black
cloth, but in recent months I notice he has fallen into disrepair. The Nahd
extend down into the Wadi 'Amd almost as far as Hureidha, of which the
population consists entirely of Seiyids of the Al 'Attas family and their
dependants. Here, too, I have several times stayed, and there is now a land- 080
ing-ground. There is no need for me to say much about Hureidha as it is
here that Miss Stark, Miss Caton-Thompson and Miss Gardner have been
wintering. One interesting fact about Hureidha may however be too trivial
for their notice, and that is that one of the mosques has two large town clocks,
one with a face 6 feet in diameter and the other 3 feet. Only the latter works,
and they are of course at the top of the high minaret. But they are inside
the minaret, and you have to walk up sixty or seventy steps to see the time.

Up the wadi from Hureidha is the Ja'da tribe. I have not travelled farther 619
up the wadi than Hureidha on foot, but before I went there for peace negotia- 361
tions my wife did the journey on camel. The wadi is thickly populated and 628
has numerous small villages which at that time were nearly all at war with 241
each other. My wife took down particulars of thirty-two major feuds going
on between sections and even between houses a few yards apart. There were
trench systems, similar to those at Qa'udha, leading from the houses to the
fields, but owing to the disturbed conditions cultivation had suffered badly
AND THERE WAS A GENERAL DESIRE FOR PEACE IN ORDER TO GET ON
WITH THE WORK IN THE FIELDS.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and there was a general desire for peace in order to get on with the work in the fields.

My wife was accompanied by Seiyid 'Alawi al 'Attas and Jemila, a devoted maid servant of the family, who perched precariously on the back of my wife's camel singing Badawin war songs. My wife learnt some of them and they proceeded up the wadi singing duets. Besides being an amusing companion Jemila was a very useful one, for she proved an excellent lady's maid and a masseuse as well. Seiyid 'Alawi has married a tribeswoman, so the party stayed at Zeila in the house of his brother-in-law, one of the principal Ja'da chiefs. Like many Ja'dis their host had been to Java, but the only sign of his travels was a bicycle which he had brought back with him and which he said he preferred to a camel. From Zeila they rode through many small villages to 'Anaq belonging to the Al ash Shaibi, who are credited with possessing the Evil Eye and consequently shunned as much as possible. Seiyid 'Alawi thought it prudent not to mount his camel till the village had been left well behind, in case he was made to fall off by some evilly disposed person. They spent a night at 'Amd, which is almost at the end of Ja'da territory, for a little farther up the wadi the Madhi tribe have their habitat. All the villages in the wadi are much alike with a few three- and four-storeyed houses set amongst smaller ones, and most of them have well-built tanks for catching rain-water. Particularly in the left bank there are many dug-out caves, largely used now for habitation and grain stores. Miss Caton-Thompson says that these were probably all Himyaritic tombs. I think some cave dwellers she met were rather put out when she told them they were living in tombs. Many of the Al 'Attas family, who have much influence over the Ja'dis, have been canonized and their domed tombs are objects of veneration in several villages. My wife's appearance was taken for granted at 'Amd, where she spent a night with women who had been to Java and had seen European women before. They had brought back a few momentos of their travels and impelled by the same spirit that makes us hang Eastern curios on our walls they had hung up a pair of cheap European high-heeled slippers for the admiration of their untravelled friends.

From 'Amd they returned down the wadi following the left bank and passed many ruins, most of which covered low spurs jutting out from the cliffs. At Husn Ba Qasm there are ruins known as 'Adiya Qudha'a which may indicate the site of what was once the principal town in the wadi, as in the days before Islam it was called Wadi Qudha'a. Near the large village of Bateh they passed the time of day with a man who spoke to them from a second-storey window of his house as he dared not go out, for he was carrying on single-handed a war with all his neighbours. Like many others with whom my wife talked he asked for peace. Another had said "We want peace, we're sick of fighting. A man works in his fields and is shot dead—what's the use of it?" And another stopped them and said: "A country without a government is not a country. Bring us peace and settled government."

Returning to Shibam, which is of course the principal Qu'aiti town of the interior, there is west of it past Al Qatn and as far as the junction of the Wadi Du'an a bloc of Yafa'is, with a few Kathiris surviving in such places as Ajlania on the junction itself and also in the Wadi 'Amd. These Yafa'is have been

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-39)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the 361
sixteenth century Bedr Bu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, 101
whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found; for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and 311
it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi 619
green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern [233]
part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Badus keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim 622
Mbaruk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dispensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom 701 728
there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali 619
is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 721
and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signatories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who 728
had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in 000
October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

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484 and we were in country with which there had been practically no contact It must really have been alarming to the Badawin: a noisy party in lorries, which they had not seen before, and ourselves in cars, shouting directions to each other in the night and firing Verey lights to show each other the way; [486] but the Badawin materialized out of the darkness, most surprisingly without rifles, directed us time and again on our way, and pushed our cars out of the sand.

680 After Thukmein, which we left about half-past eleven, we had no great difficulty in moving on as the moon was up. We drove on for some hours and then stopped to let the rest of the party come up. It was bitterly cold and the keen wind cut through us as we huddled together trying to sleep on the sand, but we did sleep and woke to a marvellous dawn. The sunset of the night before, the brilliant moon, and the sunrise are three enduring memories of that night.

The four flat-topped hills of Al 'Abr lay about 10 miles ahead of us, and although only one of the lorries had come on, the other having had one of its many breakdowns, we decided to go on. It was marvellous hard sand on which a speed of fifty was easy and we had quickly left the lorry behind. We made our way into the wadi bed, myself acting as guide as I was the only one who knew the country even from the air. There were one or two Bureiki Sheikhs about with camels, and rather reluctantly they told us that the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun were also there with the camels. A few minutes' driving up the hard wadi brought us to the ruins of the fort, said by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to have been built by them.

619 The dozen or so Badawin round the well looked extremely surprised when [291] the car drew up. I suppose they were hardly awake, as the morning was still chilly and they were all wearing their sheepskin coats. A few Bureiki Sheikhs came down and bade us welcome. All the rest of the Badawin claimed to belong to every tribe except the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun. Some said they were Sheikhs, some claimed to be Daham, a Yemeni tribe, and some Nahd, but there were a good many shifty looks and in the course of the morning we sorted out nine who had given themselves away and who finally admitted to belonging to this raiding section. There are only forty-three males all told of the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun, but from the amount of trouble they had given in 619 the past it was well worth getting them under control. They have no houses 361 or settled habitation and are about the only people of the Hadhramaut who 342 have goatskin tents. They are part of the Al Hatim, but Bin Mulhi, their chief, says he has no control over them and the Sei'ar themselves were delighted when we took hostages from them and put in a garrison, whose function is to protect the travellers and not to interfere in other ways.

Presently the lorries came up and I installed the wireless and settled the 342 garrison into temporary quarters. There was nothing at Al 'Abr except the 764 ruined fort of which only one wall still stood, a small stone *murabba'a*, one of the dark cube-shaped shelters used by travellers all over the Hadhramaut, and a hut built of branches of trees and grass of which there was a great profusion. There was also a new *weli's* tomb decorated with ibex horns, and one of the Bureiki Sheikhs took us there and slapping the tomb addressed its 680 lately canonized occupant and introduced us. We put the garrison into the

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

*Hamumi tribesmen at Shihr*

*Crossbows in Wadi 'Amd*

*Wahidi tribesmen at 'Azzan* [FACING P. 306(A)]

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



IT IS A CURIOSITY OF DU'AN THAT ALL WOMEN DRESS
291 alike in long black dresses with coloured patches inserted in front and orange
301 scarves over their heads. They are, too, the only women who affect nose rings similar to those usually worn on the fingers. Very few of them have ever left their valley, but many of them bemoaned the absence of husbands who frequently left them for years at a time.

100 The Seiyids lent her a magnificent white donkey to go on to Sif where we had stayed before, and the following day she was met by a friend and a car just before reaching Meshhed. Thence she rejoined me in Seiyun.

From Du'an Mr. Figgis and I flew across to 'Azzan over the upper reaches of the Wadi Hajr, which like the Wadi Maseila has perennial water nearly all its length. I had been to 'Azzan before, but this visit was very short, as the machine crashed on the landing-ground. It was a very artistic crash, and in Air Force parlance a complete write-off. Luckily none of the three of us in the machine were in the least hurt and the crash was far more alarming for Mr. Figgis and his pilot still up above, as it was some time before we found a comfortable way of climbing out of the ruins. I hope that in every crash I have I shall have as skilful a pilot as on that occasion. The crash was due to misguided zeal of the locals, for it was their own home-made landing-ground and they had raked up all the stones off the ground into a ridge along its edge, and it was this we hit as we landed. As ours was the machine with the wireless in it we swapped over into the other, which had landed safely, and flew back to Mukalla to organize assistance.

361 'Azzan is the capital of the Balhaf Sultan and is most picturesquely situated
609 on a citadel rock by the side of the wadi. I was given a great reception on my
411 first visit there with the firing of rifles and war whooping, which is much more a feature of welcomes in the Western Aden Protectorate than in the Eastern. As we walked from the landing-ground to the village the Artillery, a fine old bronze gun marked "A. Wilson. Cossipore. 1841," was brought into play. Our path led below it and it was really rather alarming, because with each discharge a shower of burning shirts and other old clothes, which had been used as wadding, was fired over us.

411 'Azzan is the only place where I have seen spears surviving, though my wife
435 saw them in the Wadi 'Amd. One or two aged warriors came out with spears which they shook in martial fashion, threw into the air and caught again. Quite a number of old weapons survive in the Hadhramaut, for my wife also saw crossbows in the Wadi 'Amd and there are more of the old matchlocks in the country, some of them still in use, than in any other part of the Protectorate. The Hadhramaut seems to have turned over to modern weapons much more recently than the Western Protectorate, for most of the rifles, modern weapons, have wooden butts covered with goatskin fastened over them to take the recoil, a precaution far more necessary with matchlocks. It is worth recording perhaps that there is a heavy slump in the price of firearms. The ordinary Badawin rifle can be bought for as little as eight dollars with some ammunition thrown in, and the most modern rifles of continental manufacture, which eighteen months ago fetched an easy six hundred or more dollars when brought in from the Yemen, are now not bought at all and offers have been made of them for as little as fifty dollars.

619 The atmosphere of the Balhaf court is completely tribal; much more like
162

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



that of the Sultanates of the West, though I was interested to find that there was a small Jewish community, and this is the nearest that any Jews have got to the Hadhramaut. The Balhaf Sultan, an intelligent young man whom I have known for a long time, came to see me in Seiyun and asked us to help in extending peaceful arrangements to his country. Though most of the sections have signed the truce the situation is still far from settled, as Miss Stark, who arrived at 'Azzan from the Wadi 'Amd shortly after my first visit, will tell.

A short distance down the Wadi Meifa'a from 'Azzan are the ruins of Naqab al Hajar described by Wellstead a hundred years ago. This is Meepha Metropolis. I have only seen the ruins from the air, though Miss Stark has recently visited them. There are inscriptions also at Husn Gharab on the coast which Mr. Martens, one of this winter's visitors, has recently seen. He too was well received.

Bir 'Ali is the other Wahidi Sultanate and, though the old Sultan has no claim to rule outside his wedge-shaped little walled town, he is unfortunately at present unwilling to compose his long-standing differences with the Balhaf and 'Azzan relatives, which makes settlement more difficult. I have lately had both Sultans in Mukalla and tried to get them to bury the hatchet.

I have had little opportunity in this last tour to do more for the Mahras than visit Qishn, their capital, occasionally, and Socotra I have not visited since 1935. It may perhaps be remembered that the Bin Zueidi section of the Mahras did not exactly welcome us when we arrived at the coast through the Wadi Maseila in 1934, and a couple of months ago for the first time the Mahras asked for intervention in their internal affairs, as the Zueidi tyranny in Seihut had become acute. We are now trying in the normal political way of advice and exhortation to induce them to cease their exactions on unarmed merchants and peaceful citizens in a town in which they have no lawful concern, and I paid my last visit to Qishn a day or two before I left Mukalla.

I had intended to visit Gheidha, the most eastern landing-ground in the Aden Protectorate, but we did not get so far and made a landing at Haswein just west of Cape Fartak. The inhabitants said it was the first time that Europeans had been there, though they called me by my name as soon as I stepped out of the machine. These coastal Mahras are a peaceful folk engaging mostly in fishing, and they have pleasant breeze-swept villages of a simple style of architecture, unlike the Hadhramaut but which reminded Mr. Figgis, who was with me, very much of the Arab dwellings in Northern Nigeria. I do not believe we could really have been the first Europeans to visit the place as there is quite an adequate account of it in the Red Sea Pilot, perhaps derived from a visit of Captain Haines in the *Palinurus* over a hundred years ago. Perhaps too there had been a much earlier European visitor, for authorities on classical geography usually identify Ras Fartak, Cape Syragrus, the Boar's Head, as the point from which Hippolus set forth in about A.D. 45 when he discovered the changes of the monsoons. I have long had a wish to put up on this majestic cape of Fartak a simple obelisk with the inscription, a quotation from the *Periplus*, "Hippolus discovered the changes of the

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



133 ocean escarpment, but in the Hadhramaut they intrude for over 120 miles to the northwards. Beyond them and between them and the southern edge of the sands is a wedge-shaped plain narrowing westwards and falling from south to north and from west to east. The edge of the sands at Mugshin is about 490 ft., at Shisur about 935 ft., at Shuait 950 ft., and to the west not improbably rising to 2,000 ft. or more in the neighbourhood of the Najran. This plain is crossed by dry wadi beds, or what Burton calls "fiumura." They take their rise in ravines deeply eroded in the limestone of the mountains and they become more shallow as they run northwards, until, as they approach the sands, they are almost indistinguishable from the steppe in which they are merely shallow depressions marked here and there by scrub. These wadis [132] are the arteries of approach for Badus journeying from the mountains northwards. They are evidence of a very different climate from what now prevails, the deep gorges are doubtless the result of torrential rain action. To-day the country is extremely arid, and rainfall is slight or negligible.

Arabia is said never to have had an ice age, so that when the territories of the higher latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere lay beneath an ice cap, Arabia must have enjoyed a pluvial period, and it is from this time that these great gorges running northwards on the desert side of the South Arabia escarpment possibly date. I picked up many fossils on the edge of the sands, which must have been washed down in bygone ages. These were of limestone formation and have all been identified as belonging to the Middle Eocene period. The tradition of ancient trade routes across what is now almost a prohibitive barrier of sands, should not therefore be dismissed as unreasonable: it may connote that a very early civilization 172 existed in this region. Indeed caravan tracks of great antiquity were pointed out to me in 138 lat. 18° 30′, long. 52° on the very edge of the sands and leading on a bearing of 325° into what is now a drought-stricken waste of sands. The Badus called this "the road to Ubar," a town which they say lies buried, according to their tradition, beneath the sands that are ever encroaching southwards. Whether the words "Ubar" and "Ophir" have any sort of connection it is impossible to say, but the alleged site of this buried city is on a direct line from the frankincense country of Dhufar to the most probable site of Gerrha on the Persian Gulf, and to Petra in Nabathaea, the great marts of the classical geographers.

[171] Other archæological remains are the old ruined townships of the plain of Dhufar and the trilith monuments I discovered in the frankincense country just over the Divide.[1] The former would appear to preserve a link with ancient Abyssinia, for the characteristic architectural feature is a monolithic column which, according to Bent, is common to that area, but is nowhere found being made to-day in Arabia. As regards the significance of the trilith monument, accurate memory of it has faded from the tribal mind. This brings us to the inhabitants themselves.

101 The nomadic tribes living in the Southern Steppe are Bait Kathir, elements of the Mahra, ● 619 Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai (Bal'Ubaid). In the mountains in northern Hadhramaut 000 and the hinterland of Aden are two other interesting types, Hamumi and Yafi. With the

[1] For a detailed account see "Among Some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xiv, 1921, pp. 107 *seq.*

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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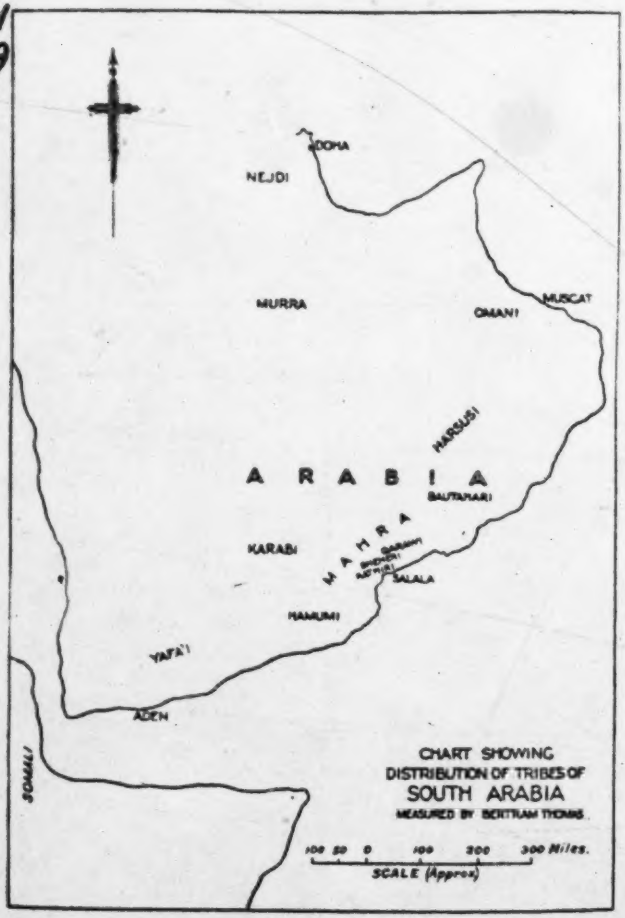


MAP.
(*By courtesy of Messrs. Jonathan Cape.*)

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



191 exception of the Mahra all these tribes speak Arabic and Arabic alone, and yet some are types
141 clearly distinguishable from the northern Arab, and indeed those I measured are all brachycephals. The very word "Arab" is used in the desert to denote "people" instead of having the particular racial connotation which we give to it. More than once I have been asked "From what Arabs are you?" by a native, who was conscious that I was of a different race from himself.

144 Whether these Arabic-speaking South Arabians are indigenous or come from elsewhere is a question for anthropologists. In this connection, the Preface to Wyman Bury's book *Land of Uz* is of interest. That Preface, written by Maj.-Gen. Maitland who was British Resident at Aden at the beginning of the present century, declares the writer's opinion as follows :—

> "The people of Arabia belong to two distinct and apparently quite different races. The common idea of the Arab type is tall bearded men with clean-cut, hawk-like faces. The Arabs of South Arabia are smaller, darker, coarser featured and nearly beardless. All authorities agree that the Southern Arabs are nearly related by origin to the Abyssinian. Yet strange to say it is the Egypto-African race who are the original and 'pure' Arabs, while the stately Semitic of the North is *Mustareb* . . . one who is Arab by adoption and residence, rather than by descent."

101 But I am concerned here with a group of non-Arabic speaking tribes more distant in habit
361 of life still from the familiar Arab, tribes of whom neither Burton nor Maitland could have had any personal knowledge, tribes whose members have seldom made the pilgrimage to Mecca, tribes for the most part settled in the Qara and Al Qamr mountains of the Central South
619 where they breed cows and gather frankincense. To the list given in my previous paper, viz., Qara, Mahra, Shahara, Bauthâra and Harasîs should be added Barahama, Bil Haf, Afar, and Bit Istait (Bait ash Shaikh). Except for those elements of the Mahra that are nomadic, and for the nomadic Harasîs and Afar and the fishing tribe of Bautâhara, the remainder form a *bloc* of settled mountain society with a common and a unique culture.

191 The four languages of this group have been mentioned in the paper under reference. Of the additional tribes the Afar speak a language which is a variant of Mahri, called Aforit, and is said to be the same as that spoken by the Harasîs. The Bait ash Shaikh (Insakht) use the Shahara tongue and are thought to be collateral with the Shahara and once to have co-inhabited the great port, now a heap of ruins, of Rubat (Ariyot). Balhaf, a rather nondescript tribe, owes allegiance to no faction but is Mahri in speech.

## DRESS AND DYE CUSTOMS.

291 The men wear a single sheet wound round to form a skirt short to the knees and then brought diagonally across their bodies and thrown over one shoulder; women a single loose-falling black gown usually green with age and black muslin head-wrap which falls about
301 shoulders and neck; they are mostly unveiled. The use of indigo for smearing their bodies
302 and impregnating their clothes is common to both sexes. It gives their faces a purple hue.
177 There is a local dye from a tree called *hurair*, but much of the indigo comes from India.

[Bait Kathir, Mahra, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai -- Analyst]

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



exceeding 40 cows, 20 cows are the limit, may be a camel and a few sheep as well. In the case of a poor man, perhaps a single cow or sheep. Two cows are slaughtered near the grave of the deceased on the day of burial (*i.e.* death generally), if overnight, a third cow. Two nights are allowed to pass and on the third night a cow is slaughtered. This is called *khutum*. A further period elapses varying according to the economic condition of the deceased's relatives. It may be so little as a fortnight or so much as three months when the big sacrifice takes place, may be of 10, 15 or 20 cows respresenting half of the deceased man's herds. This is called *yom el nahaira*. Both *khutum* and *nahaira* are performed at the place where the man lived and not upon his grave. More cows will be sacrificed by relatives and friends of the deceased towards whose families in his lifetime he has acted similarly. This vast slaughter attracts the whole neighbourhood and the sectional tribe of the dead man divide up the flesh for themselves, and go away under their great burdens. Visitors from other tribes have no such rights, but partake of the feast of cooked meat for which one cow will have been roasted for the occasion. 782 556

There is a widespread belief in *Subiro*, *i.e.* spirits of the departed and their power for good and evil. In the Wadi Rizat I came upon scraps of food and tobacco in the pool beneath where the spring comes gushing out of a cavern. The locals emerge at night to throw morsels on the ground or into the pool shouting, "We are your sons and your daughters—don't harm us. Be awake so that we are not harmed by *Jins* (human kind) or *Jinns*." 769 776

*Nughush* they call this casting of bread upon the waters. In theory these spirits brood over running water only: they are amenable to kind treatment and treat mankind in the same way that they are treated by mankind.

The people of Jurbaib, lower down, sacrifice a cow before the harvest after it has made a circuit of the crops—its blood being drained into the irrigation ducts. Bits of its flesh are cast amongst the growing grass. 782 769

This spring of Rizat was in old days the subject of a notorious government case. Bait Zaiyan, a section of the Shahara, claimed the exclusive right to practise *nughush* in it. The Qara overlords who wished to share in the benefits of ghostly grace demanded to go "fifty-fifty" in the sacrifice. The government wali, in order to make government itself a partner in the scheme and share in the crops of the plains, decided that both parties would receive exactly equal quantities of food from government so that there should be no cheating. But in later years the slave soldiers of government, becoming overbearing in their treatment of Bait Zaiyan, the latter called upon the departed spirits of their forefathers who promptly made the water run up hill, so that the crops in the plains withered and died, whereupon government's share lapsed. 312 [619]

Cases of virtue held to be latent in certain dying animals I met with on several occasions. The highly valued contents of the antelope's bladder for man, and its stomach for camels, may be purely a rational custom, but that cannot be said of a raven I had shot. While it lay dying a Badu asked for its heart, which he proposed thus to eat raw and palpitating. This was, he said, a protection to his own heart from evil influence, its bile also which he proposed mixing with kohl with which to annoint his eyelids. The Shahari who killed my biggest cobra, 825 789 754

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



the development of agriculture and irrigation in Abyan has been much 242
appreciated.

During the latter part of 1947 it was possible to station a Political Officer in the Abyan and Ahwar areas. His presence and the benefit of increased production in the area have contributed to the appreciable success of the Abyan experiment during the year.

## EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate considerable political activity was 665
shown by various sections of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states. In the former, two parties were formed in March, one the National party and the other the Hadhrami party. The latter is for Hadhrami unity, in which it agrees with the Seiyid party of the Kathiri state, which also showed some liveliness at the start of the year. Later, however, the Seiyids began to concentrate less on the general question of Hadhrami unity and more on the immediate question of escaping from paying double taxation. Several committees were formed with this object and in April a deputation waited on the Resident Adviser, whose answer to them was that it was for the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states to co-operate in the matter of lightening the burden of taxation of their subjects. Later the Seiyids sent a telegraphic plea to the Governor and Secretary of State.

Meanwhile the National party remained anti-Seiyid and, on the whole, anti-unity. In April they published a manifesto of their aims on the front page of the Aden newspaper, *Fatat-al-Jezira*.

The Arab cause in Palestine continued to arouse considerable sympathy 664
in the Eastern Aden Protectorate. This came to a head in December after the United Nations Assembly had recommended partition and took the form of processions (without violence) and the opening of subscription lists. Telegrams were sent to the Secretary of State and there was a one-day strike in Mukalla and Sai'un.

In both Qu'aiti and Kathiri states democratic changes were made in 646
the administration. In the latter a State Council was formed in April 642
and met for the first time in May: it consists at present of three *ex-officio*, three official and three unofficial members. In June the Qu'aiti State Council Decree was amended to allow the representation of provincial communities with the intention of improving relations between the Government and the provinces. These communities were not previously represented.

Outstanding boundary disputes between the Qu'aiti and Kathiri 131
states remained unsettled throughout the year.

Security continued to be disturbed throughout the year in the north- 721
west on the boundaries with the Yemen and Sa'udi Arabia and to a 619
lesser extent in the Wahidi area on the boundaries of the Western Aden Protectorate. In January the Kazimis looted a caravan on its way to Habban. In March there was a big raid by the Dahin and Abida (Yemeni) on the eastern coastal area. In May the Upper Aulaqi (who owe allegiance to no one) attacked Amaqin in Wahidi; in that month also the Sei'ar

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
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and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to resore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Mansab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

## Chapter 2: Population

The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM1



712 *Northern Area.* In 1950 the desert posts were completed at Minwakh, Zimakh and Al Hajr, thus linking up the northern fort system with Al Abr and Asakir, and controlling all the important water points in the area. Since the establishment of these forts there has been no raiding at all in this area, or by tribes of this area upon other tribes.

631 *Eastern Areas.* After the settlement with the Menahil in 1948 this area remained quiet, and the Mukalla Regular Army fort at Som is now accepted by the tribes of the area. Recently the Naib of Shibam met the Muqaddam of the Menahil at Elinat. This went far to heal the breach between them and Government dating from 1947 when the tribe rose and attacked Government posts.

648 *Mahra—Socotra.* The Resident Adviser paid two visits to Socotra during 1949-50, one by sea and the other by air. Among subjects discussed with the Sultan were reports of famine conditions on the Island. The Resident Adviser strongly urged the Sultan to spend more time on the mainland, and agreed to arrange a meeting later in 1951 between the Qu'aiti and the Mahra to settle a frontier dispute at Museina. The Fisheries Officer visited the Mahra coast to study fishing conditions there.

*General*

731 As a result of the famine in 1949, there has been a notable decrease in the numbers of camels and goats, and as a result of delayed rains in Socotra the people there have suffered a similar loss. However, 1950 was a good year for the beduin, and more young camels are to be seen load-carrying now.

691 One of the chief complaints by the Bedu has been the delay caused by magistrates when judging Bedu cases. This matter has been investigated and is being put right.

664 619 Very recently a number of chiefs from the western tribes held a meeting and put in a joint petition to Government. The three points of the petition were (*a*) a complaint against the arms-carrying ban in Wadi Du'an ; (*b*) a complaint against truck owners carrying loads which are forbidden by Government's agreement with the Bedu ; and (*c*) a request for some of their old customs to be recognised. But so firmly is the peace now established that troublesome elements who attempted to support these demands by force were overruled by the majority. The Government is taking suitable action in this matter.

648 On 25th August, 1949, Colonel J. E. H. Boustead, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., assumed the appointment of British Agent, Eastern Aden Protectorate, and Resident Adviser to the Hadhramaut States and to the Wahidi State of Balhaf.

000 A table of Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes is given on p. 6.

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut NM2



721 Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al Abr. Proposals were made and
648 agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

648 In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil
and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce
619 drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

578 In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led
to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had
721 refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The
619 Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Mansab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

000 The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring.
[648] Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

## Chapter 2: Population

162 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

## Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a
467 boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MN21



8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), 133
with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably 361
Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting 631
of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been [648]
for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., [643]
Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it 175
came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. 438
The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 161
100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is 133
mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital 361
is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a 648
small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be 619
recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete 622
control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



619 has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative
622 machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have tribal guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under
701 the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden
625 Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

619 The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal
634 districts:

[643]
361

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej,* the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

AMIRI: Amir Nast bin Shaif Seif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION: Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. *Capital*: Mahjaba. Mausatta, Sheikh Ahmed Bubakr 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Muhsin 'Askar. *Capital*: Al Qudma. Dhubi, Sheikh Abdurehman bin Salih (under age). *Regent*: Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital*: Dhi Sura. Maflahi, Sheikh Qasim 'Abdurrahman. *Capital*: Al Jurba. Hadrami, Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital*: Ash Shibr.

SHAIB: Sheikh Muhammad Muqbil As Saqladi. *Capital*: Awabil.

QUTEIBI: Sheikh Hassan'Ali. *Capital*: Ath Thumeir.

ALAWI: Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital*: Al Qash'a.

AQRABI: Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl ba 'Abdullah. *Capital*: Bir Ahmed.

AUDHALI: Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital*: Lodar.

UPPER 'AULAQI: Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital*: Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital*: As-Said.

LOWER 'AULAQI: Sultan Nasir bin Aidrus bin Ali bin Abdullah (under age). *Regent*: Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. *Capital*: Ahwar.

BEIHAN: Sharif Salih bin Husein. *Regent*: Sharif Husein bin Ahmed. *Capital*: An Nuqub.

SUBEIHI: Sheikh Muhammad 'Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah ba Sa'id of the 'Atifi.

* His Highness Sultan Sir Abdul Karim Fadhl, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., died on 18th June, 1947.

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6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts:

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



648 The island of Socotra was occupied by the East India Company in 1834 and came under British protection together with the neighbouring Abd Alkuri and Brothers Islands when the treaty with the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Socotra was concluded in 1866.

## Chapter 3 : Administration

631 The Eastern Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting of the
648 Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Sai'un),
643 the Mahra Sultanate of the Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Belhaf and Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. A British Agent is stationed at Mukalla who advises the Rulers of the Eastern Protectorate on matters of administration.

The interests of the Western Protectorate are looked after similarly by a small cadre of British Political Officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since Her Majesty's
619 Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. The tribes
622 nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over
701 their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been
625 greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards mainly (paid for by Her Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland at fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

631 The Protectorate consists of the following states :
361

WESTERN PROTECTORATE

[643] 'ABDALI : His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin 'Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej until April, 1952, and thereafter His Highness Sultan 'Ali bin 'Abdul Karim, the premier chief of the Western Protectorate. Capital : Lahej.

'AMIRI : Amir Nasir bin Shaif, C.M.G. Capital : Dhala.

FADHLI : Sultan 'Abdullah bin 'Uthman. Capital : Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I : Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. Capital : Al Qara.

HAUSHABI : Sultan Muhammad bin Sarur. Capital : Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I : Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. Capital : Mahjaba.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



the summer thunderstorms are due. These latter are often extremely violent, even terrifying. Hail occasionally falls. Harvesting of one crop or another goes on throughout the year—chiefly bearded wheat, barley, maize, lucerne, and coffee (but the latter is less frequent than over the Yemen border). Indigo and cotton (a very small bush) are grown in the Nisāb district and grapes on the Yemen border. 132 241 311

In the sixth zone—the Empty Quarter or Great Red Desert—the population is pastoral and follows the grazing according to the rainfall, which is irregular and scanty. Along the principal wādis, which lead north towards the desert, there are permanent settlements and cereal crops are raised, chiefly millet, the stalks of which make useful fodder when grazing is scarce. The semi-nomadic part of the population returns to the settlements to await the next grazing-season in the desert.

In the Aden Interior as a whole the prevailing diseases are small-pox, fever (especially malarial), and, to some extent, consumption. The 'Yemen ulcer' is also common among the tribes. 164

## Population

The population of the Aden Interior (considered as a whole, and including that portion known strictly as the Aden Protectorate), settled and nomadic, may be computed at about half a million. The district is composed of a number of Tribal Confederations or Sultanates, some lying within the limits of the Protectorate proper, some without. 161 631

The limits of the Aden Protectorate proper are the delimitation line, previously mentioned, from Ras Turbah to a point some few miles north of Dhāla, and thence a somewhat vaguely defined line continuing at first in a south-easterly direction and then in a generally easterly direction to the coast of the Gulf of Aden near the small settlement of Maqātīn. They enclose an area of about 4,200 sq. miles, having a population of 100,000. The tribal confederations lying within this boundary are: the Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, Haushabi, Amīri, 'Alawi, 'Aqrabi, and other smaller tribes; and without are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and 'Audillah ('Audali). The tribes of the Protectorate have a larger proportion of non-combatants and are more settled than those of the remoter interior; the bulk are to be found in the towns and villages of the littoral belt, the chief centres being Lahej, Waht, Shūghrah, and the Abiyān district. 131 619 621 361

In dealing with a variety of tribes with such different characteristics it is difficult to generalize; broadly they may be divided 619 142

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



619 into settled or agricultural, and nomad races, with the differences due to and inseparable from their modes of life. The racial
142 type which marks the original population of this part of Arabia is characterized by a coppery complexion and high cheek-bones, not unlike the purer strains of old North American Indian blood. The hair is straight and usually tied up tightly in a bunch on the top of the head, a mode of immemorial antiquity, depicted on Egyptian monuments. But this indigenous type, though still exclusively confined to some of the littoral sub-tribes and to others in the maritime ranges, has been greatly modified by incursions of the taller Semitic race, who wear their hair loose and wavy and lack the reddish complexion of the indigenous race; they came from the north, mainly the ancient district of Jauf, which appears to have been convulsed by bitter internal strife after the Prophet's death, owing to the jealousy of rival factions which followed the decease of the then paramount chief, Ma'an. His family fled southward to escape persecution, followed by other branches of a former ruling house. They finally penetrated as far south as the Yeshbum valley, where they settled as mere *raya*, or tributary subjects of the Ahl Bunyar people, under the 'Abd el-Wahīd Sultanate which then dominated the country nearly to the city of Nisāb. Increasing in power and numbers these Jaufi clans eventually drove the Bunyar on to the Dahr plateau, where they remain to this day, and thrust back the 'Abd el-Wahīd rule as far as the strong city of Habbān. The clans now proclaimed themselves an integral tribal unit which became the nucleus and origin of the Upper 'Aulaqi. They formed an alliance with their southern neighbours, the Ba Kāzim, who, thus assisted, threw off the 'Abd el-Wahīd yoke too, and became the Lower 'Aulaqi.

Upper and Lower Yāfa' have been colonized in much the same way—the invaders in this case coming from Yemen. The central district of Dathīnah presents both types, as does the Fadhli country, while the 'Abdāli have absorbed so much alien blood as to have almost lost all racial distinction; they are indeed strongly characterized by negroid intermarriages which have introduced a swarthy coarse-featured type. Still further west, the Subeihi still preserve an indigenous type, though tainted with negro blood.

619 The fighting organization and equipment of the confederations deserve somewhat detailed notice. Beginning with the Sultan and
713 the 'Dōlah', or adult males of his house, we find that all wear the national dagger or *jambiyah*; but the scabbard does not curl up in horse-shoe form, unless its owner is something of a swashbuckler,

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



and wears the tribal pattern. The Sultan himself, and the senior members of his house, when on duty or attending public functions, wear swords of scimitar design for cutting only, with a very small hilt and inadequate guard. The scabbard, of red morocco leather mounted in silver, is slung by a loop of silken cord over the left shoulder. The 'Naqibs' (governors), when representing the Sultan, also carry swords, but they are none of them, as a rule, good swordsmen. Some of the more civilized potentates on the littoral carry pistols or revolvers as well. 619 713

Working down through the Sultan's household we come to the *askaris*, or hereditary retainers (this term is also applied to tribesmen when serving as a permanent detachment). The hereditary class does not as a rule provide good combatants, for all their males are enrolled in the ranks automatically—regardless of physique or fitness—on attaining puberty, and serve till too decrepit to get about. Being looked on as servants rather than soldiers, they are not adapted to the rigours of campaigning, nor do they practise much with firearms, which are the property of the Sultan. They are, in fact, chiefly engaged on police duty and the enforcement of bazaar taxes. With them may be classed the *abīd* or slaves—the most consistently faithful dependants of any Sultanate. They are armed like the *askaris*, but occasionally carry a scabbardless *nimshah*—a straight, single-edged blade, round-pointed and heavy-backed, with a plain unguarded hilt like the handle of an ordinary knife. Slaves do not wear the *jambiyah*. The askari's *jambiyah* is his own property. Both *askaris* and slaves are partly armed with matchlocks or rifles, according to the resources of the Sultan's arsenal; and the less efficient and junior members of the corps carry spears. 619 713 701

The *jambiyah* has been fully described elsewhere (p. 153 f.). Spear-heads are long and narrow, of privet-leaf shape, fashioned of soft steel, with sharp edges and point, but no barb, the hafts varying from five to six feet in length. Lances, used by cavalry, have shorter heads than spears, and stouter hafts, about seven feet in length, gripped overhand. Matchlock guns are rapidly becoming obsolete and are being replaced by the breech-loader, the most common pattern being the Graz rifle or carbine. Remingtons, Turkish Martinis, and a few other patterns are occasionally seen. Practically all the Subeihi have breech-loaders, and the Quteibi and Haushabi are well provided with them. As time goes on the Arab will, generally, thanks to his better armament, become a more formidable foe. Ammunition for the breech-loader is not very plentiful, and native reloading and recapping have not, as yet, proved very successful.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



619 The tribesman forms the real fighting strength of the Sultanate, and provides his own weapons, drawing ammunition—or its
761 equivalent in cash—from the Sultan, when on state service. His hardihood, activity, and keen sight make him a formidable opponent. He has a natural aptitude for scouting and possesses remarkable powers of endurance, being independent of much transport, whilst the constant friction along the tribal borders engenders a high state of combatant training. The Sultan frequently uses one tribe to fight another as a punishment for raiding, but he cannot claim tribal service against tribal interests; any real emergency, however, will bring the tribesmen in. Individuals and small detachments will serve an alien for pay beyond the limits of their tribeship.

The tribesmen are really civilians (a term used for want of a better, though this word does not exactly translate the Arabic word *rawi*, plural *raya*), but prepared at a moment's notice to leave flocks and camels, farms or pasture, or trekking, when danger threatens clan, tribe, or Sultanate. They give no regular
[702 military service under any condition, nor do they practise the use of weapons, but content themselves with the reluctant payment
651] of a tax and the unavoidable imposts of the Government that guards their lives and property. They may be divided into the
619 following classes: merchants, of more or less influence and wealth; mechanics and artisans; the '*hejris*' or freed serfs, usually
562 attached to some chief as agricultural labourers or to some master craftsman; and lastly, and lowest in the social scale, the slaves, the males serving as retainers or subordinate husbandmen and the females as domestic servants or attendants on children. The latter class, however, are slaves only in name, having usually their own *menage*, and they remain in one family from generation to
562 generation; they are mostly Swahilis and Nubians. One other class needs passing mention—the *shāhids* or bards, whose duty, in the
703 exercise of their profession, is to stimulate the tribal standard of chivalry by heroic strains of former prowess, or with stinging satire to lash a slothful ruler to martial vigour. When belligerent tribes are set in battle, it is the *shāhids* on either side who urge the courage of the combatants.

[671] In religion two schools of the Sunni creed—the Hanifi (or philosophic school) and the Shafei—are followed, the latter, the
771 nearest to the early Islamic tradition, being the more general. The practice of religion varies, of course, in different districts, and among some of the nomad races it is little more than a name. Speaking of religious observance among the people of this region as a whole, Bury says: 'The laity, while fanatical to the verge of

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636 Admiralty Court in matters connected with the slave trade; his court is also a Colonial Court of Admiralty. The laws in force in the Settlement are, generally speaking, those of the Bombay Presidency, supplemented on certain points by special regulations drawn up to suit local conditions.

636 In general the local affairs of the Settlement (such as sanitation, conservancy, &c.) are managed by an Executive Committee (formerly √03 Municipal Committee), subject to the control of the Resident: 651 the funds for this purpose are raised by the levy of house tax, octroi, and other imposts. The management of the port is under 625 a Board of Trustees, known as the Aden Port Trust, the principal task of which is to make arrangements for the deepening of the harbour so as to allow vessels of all sizes to enter and leave at all states of the tide. The funds are provided by the levy of tolls and wharfage fees on goods landed or shipped. The police are of two categories: land police, and harbour police. The former (officers and men) number 377—357 foot and 20 mounted; the latter number 12, including four inspectors and one or two administrative officials.

701 The normal garrison of Aden consists of the Aden troops, one hundred strong, mounted half on horses and half on camels; three companies of Garrison Artillery, two of which man the forts, while the third is employed with the movable armament; six companies of British Infantry; one battalion of Indian Infantry, less detachments at Perim and Sheikh 'Othmān; one Fortress Company; and the Aden section of Sappers and Miners. On the south-west corner of the peninsula are the forts Tarshein and Morbat, which cover the entrance of the harbour, and are garrisoned by two companies of Royal Garrison Artillery. The land side is protected by a strongly fortified position across the whole breadth of the isthmus. At the crater are various entrenched positions for infantry to oppose landings, while the ridge, running north and south from Hejuff to Viaduct Gate, forms a second line of defence and includes a redoubt at Ahman Khal, near the southern extremity.

652 The total revenue receipts of Aden treasury in 1914–15, under all heads—imperial, local, and municipal—amounted to 87½ lakhs 651 of rupees (approx. £580,000). The chief sources of local revenue are: Aden Port Trust Fund, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Aden Settlement Fund, over 4 lakhs (£28,000); Local Supply Bills, 38½ lakhs (£257,000); Post Office, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Excise, about 1 lakh (£6,300); Income tax, ¾ lakh (£5,000). The total expenditure was about 83½ lakhs (approx. £556,000).

•619 In the Aden interior the tribes nominate their own chiefs or sultans. The Sultan is never a tribesman himself, but comes from

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an alien aristocracy imported by the senior confederate states, or is the scion of some ancient ruling race. Intertribal jealousy, feuds, and a fierce spirit of independence have prevented any revival of autocratic government; for patriarchal rule tolerates very little prerogative, and only such influence as personality, prowess, or wealth can command. Even a ruling sultan may be promptly deposed by the tribe he misgoverns, and he can never rely on direct succession if opposed to the tribal will: though his dynasty may brook all but a general upheaval, an heir is often passed over for a more suitable relative by the nominating chiefs; and the same rule applies right down the tribal scale to the sheikh of the smallest clan. 619

The largest unit for administrative purposes is the 'confederation' of several subordinate tribes with a larger one, whose Sultan is sufficiently powerful to impose and maintain a sort of suzerainty over the semi-detached tribeships around him, in addition to the tribe under his direct control. The various tribes composing a confederation rank according to their origin and fighting-strength; for the tribal notion is that gain is no good without the grit which alone can preserve it. Each tribe (or leading subdivision) manages its own affairs under the rule of an ''Āqil' (wise man) who is always a member of one of the senior clans (into which the tribe is again subdivided), but not necessarily the oldest representative of his house. Here again succession may be set aside, or an 'Āqil deposed in favour of a cadet, by the will of the tribe. The tribe is again divided into 'Afkhādh' (sing. Fakhdh), or clans; each of these is under its own sub-'āqil, and its internal affairs may not be interfered with by the tribal 'Āqil. A clan is composed of a number of families or households under a Sheikh, sometimes large enough to form an entire settlement, which is technically known as a *beit* (habitation) or, if strongly fortified, as a *dār* (fortress). The Sheikh has no voice in the management of individual family affairs, provided the head of a family does not jeopardize the interests and peace of the clan. The head of a family (usually also called Sheikh, by courtesy) leaves household matters to his women-folk. 619 621 622

The tribesmen defer far more to their 'Āqils, or senior chiefs, than to their actual Sultan (if they happen to acknowledge one), who, as has been said before, is rarely, if ever, of tribal blood, and has more often than not been thrust into power during some crisis of tribal politics. His (the Sultan's) influence is directly in relation to his wealth—in proportion, in fact, to the magnificence of his establishment, his hospitality, and the military support his wealth can procure; but in time of public danger, against an alien foe, all tribesmen would flock to the standard of their nominal 619 622

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[622] leader, though at ordinary times he may be little more than a
619 figurehead.

619 The British Government has no troops, in normal times, outside a ten-mile radius from the Aden fortress, and does not interfere in
648 tribal or inter-tribal politics. The different confederations are under British influence in varying degrees, but though they have entered into certain treaty obligations they preserve their own autonomy. It may be remarked, broadly, that the obligations are observed—when not inconvenient—in inverse ratio to the protected tribe's distance from Aden. None of the confederations renders tribute to the British Government, either in money or men; none has a standing army in the usually accepted sense, but every adult male is a soldier when occasion requires. Most of the chiefs receive annual stipends from the British Government, and the following are entitled to salutes: the 'Abdāli, the Fadhli, the Ka'aiti (Hadhramaut), and the Amīri, as well as the Sultans of Qishn and Socotra. It should be added that the individual attitude of some of the confederations towards the British has been temporarily disturbed by recent events.

## Recent History and Present Politics

175 After being in various hands, Aden was definitely captured by the British from the Sultan of the 'Abdāli in January 1839. The
648 Sultan fled to Lahej. From the very first it was evident that the occupation of the town would be of little use unless a good understanding were arrived at with the neighbouring tribes, in whose hands lay the power of interfering with the land-borne trade and the supplies on which, in those early days, the place was so largely dependent. Treaties were therefore concluded successively with the Azzeibi (a branch of the 'Abdāli), the 'Aqrabi, Subeihi, Fadhli, Yāfa', Amīri, and other tribes; but, in spite of treaties, the first years of occupation show a turbulent record with a good deal of fighting. Four unsuccessful attempts to retake Aden by the 'Abdāl, in conjunction with the Fadhli, were made between the years 1839 and 1846; but, since the latter date, only offensive military operations of a minor character have occasionally been necessary against individual offending tribes.

Relations with Turkey, our most powerful neighbour, have been more troublesome. Having relinquished the Yemen for a long period, the Turks found their opportunity to intervene once more, after the evacuation of the district by the Egyptians in 1840. In 1849 a Turkish expedition from Jiddah captured the port of

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361 ceded to the British by the Sultan of Muscat in 1854, and were valuable only for the guano deposits found upon them, since exhausted (see further, Ch. VIII, p. 283).

## II. The Tribal Confederations

619 Many of these occupy very considerable territory, but their limits and extent are vague and in no sense clearly defined; they 622 are, further, subject to local variation with the changes in tribal power and the ebb and flow of politics. The system of internal tribal administration varies greatly, both in nature and degree, in the different districts. In the majority of the Confederations the ruler's authority over most of his subjects, with the exception of his personal retainers and entourage, is very slight. The Sultan of the *'Abdāli* exercises a more absolute authority over his tribe than other rulers, with the exception, perhaps, of the Sultan of the *Ka'aiti*. The chief of the *Haushabi*, if a ruler of strong will, would, both from the nature of his country and the character of his people, wield much the same authority over the majority of his tribe. In the *Amiri* country, which is a confederacy of various small tribes, the Emir's authority is only absolute over a comparatively small proportion. The *Upper Yāfa'* Sultan has little or no authority over his tribe so far as administration is concerned. Of the *Fadhli*, several of the sub-tribes are independent. The *'Aulaqi* have several rulers, while many of the outlying and nomadic tribes are practically beyond the control of their Sultans. The *Subeihi* are a law unto themselves. It will be seen, therefore, that the term 'administration' cannot be strictly applied to so heterogeneous a collection of peoples.

651 In the matter of revenue, that derived from the tribesmen is mainly from two sources—the collection of *'ushūr* or tithes, and dues on market sales—both payable to the Sultan or Emir. Beyond this, revenue in some districts is derived from dues on passing caravans. The scale of charges varies with the nature of the commodity carried: two dollars per camel load would, for example, be exacted for the passage of a caravan carrying coffee from Ta'izz to Aden through 'Abdāli territory.

361 The towns and settlements are built in general with provision for defence, but of fortresses, properly speaking, there are none in the interior. Nearly all Arab villages in the mountains consist of solidly built stone towers, almost invariably placed in commanding positions, and, when occasion requires, necessitating destruction by artillery or demolition by gun-cotton. The towers are invariably

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loopholed for musketry, and, if stubbornly held, an attack without 361
artillery would prove costly. They are generally square in shape and are sometimes so built as to provide flanking fire on the door; and they are usually two or three stories in height with a flat roof protected by a parapet. The villages are not surrounded by walls, but the erection of *sangars* would quickly convert them into positions very difficult for infantry to capture unsupported by artillery. Villages in the plains are occasionally strengthened by a mud wall. The coast towns of Makalla and Shiheir are fortified, chiefly against attacks by Bedouins from the land side, and are quite open to artillery fire from the sea.

(*a*) Confederations within the limits of the Aden Protectorate 619
are described in the following order. *Littoral*: Subeihi, 'Abdāli, 621
Fadhli, and 'Aqrabi; *Interior*: Haushabi, Dhāmbari, Amīri, and 'Alawi.

i. *Subeihi*. This tribe occupies an extensive littoral tract in the south-west corner of Arabia. Although covering a large area, their territory is but sparsely inhabited and consists mainly of sandy wastes with an occasional well and a little cultivation here and there. The Subeihi are consequently nomadic: they have no Sultan nor head Sheikh, and are divided into a large number of petty clans, among which may be mentioned the Mansūri and Rujei. The clans have very little cohesion, and blood-feuds frequently occur between them: of all the tribes in the neighbourhood of Aden the Subeihi approach nearest to the typical Bedouin character. The Sultan of the 'Abdāli sometimes exercises a certain amount of influence on the clans of the eastern section of the Subeihi, and those in proximity to the Yemen border come under Turkish influence. Many members of the tribe earn a livelihood as *muqaddams*, or leaders of caravans which pass from other districts through the Subeihi country *en route* for Aden.

The population is estimated at 19,500. Though they are mainly pastoral and nomadic, they are reputed to be able to muster a large number of fighting men, expert raiders but unsteady in battle. The people as a whole are treacherous and untrustworthy and much given to interference with caravans passing through their territory. When the Turks advanced against Aden, the Subeihi lost no time in joining them and took part in the attack on Lahej in July 1915.

Their settlements are few: **Rija**, a small fortified village, 20 miles [361]
west of Lahej, is the centre of the Rujei.

ii. *'Abdāli*. This tribe occupies the country immediately around and behind Aden, its boundary extending about 35 miles inland

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619 to the territory of the Haushabi and having the Subeihi on the west and the Fadhli on the east. The chief of the tribe is the
621 Sultan of Lahej, who, normally, possesses great influence in the interior and exercises sovereignty over certain sections of the Subeihi. He receives a yearly subsidy of Rs. 12,984 from the British Government for its occupation of the town of Sheikh 'Othmān.

The estimated population is 14,500, including about 2,000 men of doubtful fighting value. The people are agricultural rather than warlike, and, occupying one of the most fertile tracts of southern Arabia, are by far the wealthiest of the tribes bordering on Aden. They and the Fadhli breed camels that are noted for their fleetness and carrying powers. They possess more settled habitations than most of their neighbours of the littoral.

361 The chief towns and settlements of the 'Abdāli district are:
438 1. **Lahej**, 21 miles from Aden, with a population estimated variously at from 10,000 to 15,000, is a town with narrow irregular streets, nearly all the houses being surrounded by zaribas into which the cattle are driven at night. The most notable feature of the town is the market, Lahej being the most important commercial centre, outside Aden, of the whole district. The town forms an advanced market for fabrics and manufactured articles from Aden, and, in return, supplies Aden with fodder, vegetables, and firewood. Transit dues are levied here on the Yemen trade, the chief articles being coffee and *kat*. There is an important community of native blacksmiths and craftsmen in metal-work, who turn out daggers, sword-blades, spear-heads, matchlocks, and domestic hardware and utensils, of rough workmanship, especially the decorative work in silver. The bazaars are covered in and one is set apart for the workers in metals. The town stands amid date plantations and groves of lime, orange, banana, and coco-nut palms, which extend for miles, and in consequence the climate is particularly damp and malarial. The water is very bad.

The palace of the Sultan, on the southern edge of the town, is the most imposing building on the littoral belt. It is of mixed architecture, from Italian stucco to Arab, built partly of sun-dried brick and partly of cement and stone masonry, and it is constantly being added to. It overlooks a large open square where the Sultan reviews his troops and has a saluting battery holding two guns of Crimean pattern.

2. **Dār el-Amīr**, situated a little to the north of Sheikh 'Othmān, is the 'Abdāli customs post for the Aden traffic.

619 iii. *Fadhli*. A large tribe, of warlike and independent character,
621 inhabiting the sea-board from the British frontier post at 'Imād to

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Maqātīn, and extending inland to the maritime ranges. The population is estimated at under 20,000, with a high proportion of fighting men, who are probably well armed owing to their large sea-board and resources. The people are agricultural as well as pastoral, their territory including the extensive tract of fertile land known as the Abiyān; they are noted for breeding swift camels of good carrying capabilities. Relations between the Fadhli and Yāfa' are often strained, as the latter sometimes cut off the water-supply of the Bana River, while, on their side, the Fadhli have established customs posts and levy dues on Yāfa' caravans. 619 621

The ruling Sultan, Husein ibn Hamīd, an old man of 90, visited Aden late in 1915; in January 1916 he was summoned to Lahej by 'Ali Sa'īd Pasha, given a guard of honour and salute of guns, and promised a bribe if he would support the Turks. But the attitude of this Sultan, apart from Turkish pressure, has been Anglophile. 622

The chief towns and settlements of the Sultanate of Fadhli are: 361

1. **Shūghrah** (Shuqrah), the capital and the principal port between Aden and Makalla, is situated about 100 miles north-east of Aden, and occupies an important position on the convergence of several caravan routes from north and east, which enables it to collect considerable transit dues, and, if the Sultan so desires, to hamper trade generally. The town is divided into two parts, the palace and other chief buildings being in the easterly portion, which lies about half a mile from the fishing and commercial quarter. It has a large fishing industry and constitutes a focus of trade between Aden and the Upper Yāfa' and 'Aulaqi districts. The population is about 5,000. There is a small harbour, with a depth of from 1 to 2½ fathoms, formed by a break in the reef which fronts the shore at about five cables' distance; outside the reef is good anchorage in 7 to 9 fathoms. The exports are chiefly ambergris, coffee, *jowari*, and *ghi*. The Wādi Mathwan finds an outlet to the sea just east of the town, and, though it is generally dry, flood-water sometimes comes down at very short notice. Jowari is cultivated in considerable quantities, and there is a large date-grove not far from the town. On the left bank of the wādi are salt-works. The Sultan of Fadhli has a country residence at *Suriyah*, about 20 miles east and 4 miles inland.

2. **Maqātīn** (es-Saghīr, a little distance inland; and el-Kebīr, on the coast) is composed mainly of ruins. There is now no permanent settlement there, but only a shrine with a small cemetery and a ruined tower. The site marks the eastern limit of the Fadhli tribe. Fisher folk, who use the place as a base for their

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361 operations at certain seasons of the year, have constructed a few crude shelters.

3. **Nā'ib** (Naab) is a considerable collection of settlements, comprising Old and New Nā'ib, Suwat, Nujat, and other villages. They are situated in a highly cultivated plain irrigated by a system of water-channels from a more or less permanent stream in the fertile Wādi Yerāmis, a tributary of Wādi Hasan. Old Nā'ib, on the left side of the wādi, has a mosque with a conspicuous minaret. New Nā'ib, on the right bank, sometimes known as Raudhah, stands on a low plateau of earth cliffs; it is an important centre of traffic, and has several shops, a fine old house falling into ruin, and a custom-house for the collection of dues on merchandise passing to and from the Yāfa' country. The immediate approach to the village is by a roundabout way through narrow gullies.

619 621 iv. *'Aqrabi*, a small, peaceably disposed tribe occupying the coastal district north-west of Aden Lagoon. Their territory, poor for cultivation, is separated by a desert tract from that of the 'Abdāli, under whose influence they are. It is impossible to give an estimate of their population, but, though they are mainly pastoral, they are considered capable of furnishing some 250 fighting men. The district contains no town of any importance. **Bir Ahmed**, the tribal capital, is situated about one mile west of Wādi Kebīr and due west of Sheikh 'Othmān, and the tall tower of the Sultan's residence can be plainly seen from Aden harbour. During the recent operations it would appear that pressure from their powerful northern neighbours, the Subeihi, and from the Turks, forced the 'Aqrabi temporarily to side with the latter.

v. *Haushabi*. This is a powerful tribe whose territory extends from near the Anglo-Turkish frontier to Nūbat Dakīm and the 'Abdāli territory. They are, generally, peaceably disposed, and, although of late years they have done a good deal of fighting with their neighbours, they do not come under the heading of warlike tribes. They control the Tiban valley and consequently the waters of the Lahej oasis, and have on several occasions, in time of war, been known to divert the course of the water: but relations between the Haushabi and the 'Abdāli have been for the most part friendly. The population is estimated at from 6,000 to 7,000 (including 1,800 fighting men); they are mostly nomads, but a few are engaged in agriculture and camel-driving.

The tribe is under the nominal rule of a Sultan, who claims, also, suzerainty over the *Dhāmbari*, a troublesome hill tribe on the east, who are given to raiding, and admit his control only when it suits them. The Haushabi Sultan threw in his lot with the Turks, when

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they appeared in 1915, and accompanied them in their attack on Aden. 619 621

The towns and villages of the Haushabi country are small and badly built, each consisting of one or two towers and a cluster of stone hovels. The following are the chief settlements : 361

1. **Musemir** (Mus'aimīr), the capital, about 60 miles north by west of Aden and 12 miles from the Yemen border, lies on a small plateau overlooking the left bank of the Wādi Tiban, and is a centre of important caravan tracks. The residence of the Sultan is a large tower of stone and mud, some 75 ft. square and 40 ft. high. With the exception of one other tower, the only other habitations are a cluster of reed huts where his soldiers and slaves live. The district is most unhealthy.

2. **'Anad,** in the fork between the Wādis Tiban and Bilih, is a frontier town of the Haushabi. The fort is a large square mud building, two storeys in height.

vi. *Amīri.* The territory of this tribe, about 750 sq. miles in extent, lies between Wādis Tiban and Bana, to the north-east of that of the Haushabi. It extends to the frontier of Yemen, and is of a very mountainous and rugged character. The Emir also claims suzerainty over the Quteibi to the south-east, but he cannot enforce it. The population is estimated at 6,000, and is mostly pastoral and agricultural. Though the tribe is said to be able to muster 1,000 fighting men (this seems excessive), they are of doubtful value as combatants. In 1915 the Turks deprived the Emir of his position for a time ; later they summoned him to Lahej, and, keeping his son there as a hostage, reinstated him and gave him fifty rifles. 619 621

The chief settlements of the Amīri district are : 361

1. **Dhāla,** which has a population of about 2,400, and is by far the most important town of this tribe. The residence of the Emir, called *Dār el-Hā'id*, consists of a small group of *dārs*, or square stone towers, and stands on the top of a rocky hill. The town itself clusters at the northern foot of the hill, and partly up its slopes, about 200 ft. below. It is compactly built and consists of about 325 houses, most of which are solidly constructed stone *dārs*, three or four storeys in height ; the streets are narrow, dirty, and irregular. On the western side of the town is an open space where a market, attended by people from the neighbouring district, is held on Thursdays ; on the eastern side is a smaller space where skins are dried and cured. The Jews, who have two separate quarters of unpretentious houses, spin thread for weaving. On the northern side of the town is the principal mosque, with a white-topped minaret ; and there are several outlying *dārs* on slight eminences.

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361 The town stands at the head of an open, high-lying valley extending about ten miles from north to south and having an average width of three miles. Much of the valley is well watered and wooded, and the ground, right up to the town, is terraced for cultivation. The place is the centre of a great number of caravan routes and minor tracks. Many of these, however, are steep and difficult, especially towards the north, and the approaches to the town, in general, are far from easy.

2. **Jallah** is a village of tall, clean, solid, stone-built houses, some running to four storeys, and is one of the most populous settlements of the district. It is poised on a hill over 300 ft. above the surrounding plain, and is an important caravan halt on routes between Aden and Yemen. An indigo-dye industry is carried on. It has a fort and round tower, near the Turkish frontier.

619 vii. *'Alawi*, a small tribe occupying territory between that of the Amiri on the north and the Haushabi on the south. The whole
361 tract does not, probably, exceed 40 sq. miles in extent, and the population is estimated at 1,500. In January 1916 they are said to have submitted to the Turks, together with their neighbours, the Quteibi, with whom they are on unfriendly terms. **Suleiq**, 55 miles north of Aden, is their chief town, and comprises two villages, one on the right bank of the Hardaba, below a defensible 'serai' generally known as Fort Suleiq, and another on a ridge about 400 yards away and situated considerably higher than the fort.

619 With regard to the character of the tribes of the maritime hills, as a whole, contrasted with those of the littoral, a recent traveller
181 says: 'They are the scourge of the lowlands and the pariahs of the more organized races farther north. Treacherous, dishonest, and covetous—without the courage and cohesion for open raids driven home by the force of arms, they waylay and murder the defenceless travellers, and will even betray the guest they have undertaken to protect. They steal cattle and other stock at night—preferring speedy beasts such as saddle-camels, and, lacking in expert horsemanship, rely on stealth and cunning rather than dash and boldness. All the same they are stubborn fighters, especially if the day is going against them—fighting desperately and with judgement when cornered, and are skilful skirmishers and possess remarkable mobility. They carry on guerilla warfare with effect, harass troops by incessant sniping, but decline open engagement and are clever at ambuscade. They are difficult for ordinary Europeans to handle and are not a reliable type or satisfactory for alien service.'

619 (*b*) Tribal Confederations beyond the limits of the Aden Protec-

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torate proper are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and the 'Audillah (or 'Audali). 619

i. *Yāfa'*. This warlike confederation, consisting of the Upper and Lower Yāfa', holds a very extensive inland territory, north of the Fadhli, immediately to the east of the Protectorate boundary, and having the Beida Sultanate to the north-east. The Upper Yāfa' occupy the northern, and the Lower the southern portion of the territory, the former being the more extensive. The Yāfa' country is watered by the Bana and Hasan rivers. The interior is mountainous, but there are many fertile valleys producing coffee, gums, madder, and cereals. The five powerful clans of the Upper Yāfa' are the Mausata, Dhubi, Maflahi, Bo'si, and Dā'ūdi; the chief clans of the Lower Yāfa' are the Kaladi, Yahari, Sadi, and Yazīdi. 619 621

The population of the Confederation is estimated at 108,000: the Upper Yāfa' have a fighting strength of some 15,000 men; and the Lower Yāfa' a total pop. of 28,000, with 6,600 fighting men. The people are hardy mountaineers, always ready for active service, which they often seek in other parts of the Islamic world, e.g. at Haidarabad, Zanzibar, &c. The tribe, however, falls short of the political importance which might be expected of so large a confederation, as it lacks cohesion and uniform policy. The Confederation has, in fact, no one paramount Sultan, but several chieftains, each urging paramount claims. The Lower Yāfa', alone, may be considered as a separate sultanate, but their present chief lives much in seclusion, being dissatisfied with the attitude towards himself of certain sections of the Upper Yāfa' (over whom he is inclined to assert a claim to general suzerainty) and with the dignity and precedence assigned to him. The Upper Yāfa' have held aloof from the Turks up to the present and have refused to entertain advances which have been made both by them and by the Imam of Yemen.

The following are some of the chief towns of the Yāfa': 361

1. **Yāfa'**, said to be 'the principal capital town'.

2. **Gharrah**, one hundred miles inland from Shūghrah, and the principal residence of the Sultan of the Lower Yāfa'.

3. **Khanfar** is a well-to-do town in the Abiyān district, situated on a very ancient site a mile or so east of the Wādi Bana, on large mounds near some dilapidated forts and an old ruined castle. The Sultan possesses another castle at a short distance from the town. Khanfar has a powder factory of a primitive kind, saltpetre being plentiful in the district. Jebel Jabeil, a neighbouring hill about 200 ft. high, is the acropolis of ancient Khanfar and is surmounted by a large double-walled fort, the outer wall being built of large hewn stones. The fort commands the town.

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361 4. **Bir Lamas,** having a plentiful supply of water in a district where it is otherwise very scarce, is an important and very dirty halting-place for caravans between Shūghrah and Nisāb. The place itself is a picturesque spot, with acacia-trees overhung with creepers. Mis-hāl and many other villages are supplied with drinking-water from here, the labour of carrying it being confined to the women.

•619 ii. *'Aulaqi.* This is a very large tribal confederation whose territory extends from the coast of the Gulf of Aden to the Ruba' el-
621 Khāli; it is bounded on the west by the Fadhli (where the frontier reaches to within 30 miles of Shūghrah), the 'Audillah, and the Beida territories, and on the east by the Wahīdi Sultanate. The country is divided for political purposes into the Sultanates of the Upper and the Lower 'Aulaqi, but these maintain close intertribal relationship and unite in the event of aggression from outside. The Upper 'Aulaqi are again subdivided, part of them being under the Sultan, and part under a Sheikh who is almost as powerful. The Lower 'Aulaqi territory, which is the more thickly populated, is composed almost entirely of the Ba Kāzim and Lakmūsh tribes with their numerous subdivisions. The political attitude, of the Upper 'Aulaqi at least, is Anglophile.

No estimate of the population of the Upper 'Aulaqi can be given, though the tribe is said to include good fighting men; that of the Lower 'Aulaqi may be roughly estimated at 15,000 souls. The Upper 'Aulaqi are inclined to be predatory, while the Lower are a hardy, turbulent race, always engaged in petty feuds among themselves or raids on their immediate neighbours, and they have a bad reputation on account of their fondness for drink and their slackness in religious observance. In ordinary circumstances they are mainly pastoral and semi-nomadic, but they possess large tracts of arable land, and there is a considerable settled population in the main wādis. Among the special products of the 'Aulaqi territory are honey and the fruit of the jujube-tree. The district includes a strip of very flat coast, without harbours, extending for some 55 miles from near Maqātīn to Wādi Sanam, and its territory extends about 200 miles inland.

The chief towns of the Upper 'Aulaqi are:

361 1. **Nisāb,** the capital; pop. 4,000, situated in a broad and fertile plain encircled by foot-hills, at the junction of Wādis Dhura (Durra) and 'Abdān, about 100 miles crow-fly inland of Shūghrah. It is an unwalled town of white minarets and clay-dressed houses, some of the latter being of solid construction. Though there is no wall, a number of warden towers are dotted here and there about the

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a market town, engirdled by fighting towers. **Jiblat el-Qarn**, near by, is the stronghold of the El-Qarn branch, and is built on a little knoll commanding the Hasani border. 361

3. **Mijdah**, in Wādi Ruqub, a tributary wādi of the Ahwar, is a large village of some 600 inhabitants, mostly non-combatants, and is situated on the south-western spur of the Maran ridge. The shrine of Sīdi 'Amr ibn Sa'īd is close to the village and is a prominent landmark and a centre of pilgrimage from all parts. A spring of good water comes out near the shrine and runs through an artificially covered channel past the village.

v. *'Audillah* (or 'Audali). A tribe of predatory habits and abrupt manners, under a Sultan, which inhabits the Kaur el-'Audillah, west and north-west of the territory of the Oleh. The population is not known with any exactitude, but the tribe is reputed to muster 4,000 fighting men (Bent). The people, the women in particular, decorate their faces in a very grotesque manner with a red earth dye, called *hisn*, and some of the women dye their faces red all over. 619 621

The chief town is Laudar (Loder), the capital, a white unwalled town situated on the Sa'īdi plain at the foot of the Kaur el-'Audillah, and said to be 'more populous than Shibām'. It is an important centre for the littoral and highland trade of a wide region. A market is held every Wednesday, and is attended by all the outlying tribes of the neighbouring confederations, who, though they may be at feud, agree on that day to declare a truce. 361

## B. THE HADHRAMAUT

### Area

In its broader sense, this region may be said to extend inland from the coast of the Arabian Sea to about lat. 17° N.; and from long. 47° E. to long. 53° E. Its frontiers are in no sense defined, but roughly it is bounded on the W. by the 'Aulaqi territory, N. by the great Ahqāf tract of desert, and E. by the Dhofār province of Oman. Thus considered, the region measures about 400 miles from E. to W. and has a depth N. and S. varying from about 220 miles in the west to about 50 miles in the east. 131

In its more restricted sense, the term Hadhramaut refers to the broad valley running for some hundreds of miles more or less parallel to the coast, by which the waters of the many valleys in a large portion of the southern Arabian tableland probably drain into the sea, between Seihūt and Qishn.

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though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathiri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

### Domestic Life and Appliances

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of

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Distances are reckoned by Khatwah (an hour's march, on the level, over ordinary ground, of about 3½ miles) and by Marhālah (a day's march of from 8 to 9 hours). 804

The measures of capacity are :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shatr | = ± | ½ litre. |
| Musra or Mudd | = | 2 Shatr. |
| Rabā'i | = | 1½ Mudd (*plu.* Musra). |
| Sā' | = | 4 Rabā'i. |
| Qahāwil | = | 2 Sā'. |

The Qahāwil is not in use at Makalla and Shiheir, where another measure, the Mikyāl = 8 Qurs or Musra (Mudd).

## Government

The government of the Hadhramaut is in the hands of a number of tribal chiefs. The most powerful clan or tribe, at present, is the *Ka'aiti* (estimated pop. 50,000), a branch of the Yāfa' tribe, whose territory lies farther west. Originally invited by the Seyyids to protect the settled districts from the attacks of marauding tribes, they have established themselves as practically the rulers of the country, and now control the coast district with the ports of Shiheir and Makalla, as well as the towns Hajarein, Haurah, Qatan, and Shibām in the interior. The founder of this family accumulated great wealth and rose to the highest position in the service of the Nizam of Haidarabad, as 'Jemadar', or commander of an Arab levy composed of his tribesmen, numbers of whom still go to the East and elsewhere to seek their fortune. His descendant took the title of Sultan of the Ka'aiti in 1902. The *Kathīri* tribe was formerly the most powerful; they now occupy the greater part of the Central Hadhramaut, Seyyūn, Terīm, and Ghurfah being their chief strongholds. These two tribes are extremely hostile to each other. The paramount chiefs of both have been in political relations with the British Government, through the Resident at Aden, but the Kathīri have less intercourse with us than the Ka'aiti and, of late, have broken off relations. 631 622 619

The Hadhramaut tribal chiefs nominally also recognize the supremacy of the Sublime Porte and profess to be its protégés, but no part of the country has ever been really incorporated in the Ottoman Empire, nor has the Porte ever imposed taxes, sent troops or officials, or exercised any form of sovereignty. In so doing it would doubtless meet with the most obstinate resistance; on the other hand, the Turks have never sought the aid of the Hadhramaut chiefs, though the Imam of Yemen has made overtures to them latterly. 648

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619 The other principal tribes, comparatively much less powerful than the two foregoing, are: the *'Amūdi*, in Wādi Dō'an; the
101 *Nahad*, in the upper Central Hadhramaut; the *Jābiri*, in the southern side of the main wādi; the *'Awāmir* and *Tamīmi*, in the lower Central Hadhramaut, east of the Jābiri; the *Hamumi* and *Manāhil*, in the plateau region and the lower Hadhramaut; the *Mahrah*, east of the lower Hadhramaut; and the *Wahīdi*. The Mahrah country, which is a coastal tract, links the Hadhramaut proper, on the west, with the Qara territory in the western confines of Oman. The pop. is estimated at about 50,000. Inland, the country is believed to consist of sandy steppes, but its boundaries
[643] are unknown. The Sultan of Mahrah, who is also ruler of Socotra, lives at **Qishn**, a rather poor fishing village about 36 miles
361 west of Ras Fartak. **Seihūt**, situated near the mouth of the main Hadhramaut valley, is a well-built town with many houses of stone, and is said to have a population of 10,000. **Hafāt** is another thriving village on the coast from which 9,000 cwt. of frankincense is exported annually, principally to Bombay.

[643] The Wahīdi, under one principal Sultan and several subordinate chiefs, occupy the south-western district of the Hadhramaut which
619 stretches from the coast inland to the plateau. They are one of the least aggressive tribes in the country and have, for the most part, settled down into peaceful tillers of the soil or herdsmen. They control 50 miles of coast from Ras el-Kelb to **Bālhāf** (a small Wahīdi port), and carry on a little local sea-borne trade, having several good but small harbours, all, however, open to the monsoons. The total pop. is estimated at over 9,000 souls, including a few Jews.
361 The chief towns are **Habbān**, with some 250 houses and 2,500 inhabitants, a mercantile settlement situated some 12 miles east of Yeshbum; **Hautah**, 2,000 inhabitants; **Raidah**, with some 1,000 people; and **Izzān** (Hisān), a large village, with a pop. of about 300.

701 The combatant portion of the population of the Hadhramaut is composed of bands of irregulars, and consists generally of the members of the tribes and their families, who all know the use of arms. Some chiefs have in addition a special and more disciplined guard and corps of armed slaves. Thus the Sultan of the Ka'aiti has an army, though somewhat irregular, of from 3,000–4,000 men and 1,500 slaves, which is mainly in garrison in the different towns under his authority, including 1,000 maintained at Shiheir; they are lodged and nourished at his expense and receive a little pay. The Sultan of the Kathīri is supposed to be able to muster some 7,000 fighting-men and has also about 1,000 armed slaves. There is no cavalry in the Hadhramaut.

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# CHAPTER XV

## SETTLED TRIBES OF THE SOUTH

### A. Aden Protectorate

#### 1. *'Abdāli*

The Ottoman attack on Aden in July 1915 resulted in the occupation of the 'Abdāli country by the Turks, the fall and sack of Lahej, its capital, the death of the ruling Sultan, and the retreat of most of his subjects to the Aden lines. 101 619 643

Previous to that event the 'Abdāli tribe occupied the country immediately round Aden. Its boundaries extended about 35 miles inland to the Haushabi tribe on the north, to the Fadhli Sultanate on the east, and the Subeihi tribe on the west. Formerly it held the Aden peninsula, until an outrage perpetrated on a shipwrecked crew and the absence of any satisfaction led to the British bombardment and occupation of Aden in 1839.

The Sultan of Lahej, who is the head of the 'Abdāli, still receives a yearly subsidy from the British Government for its occupation of the town of Sheikh 'Othmān, and leases to it a large area of land in the neck of the isthmus. The present Sultan, Abd el-Kerīm ibn Fadhl ibn 'Ali, is a man of 35, of sedentary habits, who has up to the present shown no marked ability. He is fairly well educated according to Arab standards, but knows no English. He is very popular with the tribe. He succeeded his cousin H. H. Sultan Sir 'Ali ibn Ahmed ibn 'Ali, K.C.I.E., on July 13, 1915, when the latter was accidentally shot during the Ottoman occupation of Lahej.

The tribe owes its importance more to its wealth than to its military prowess. It is entirely settled and agricultural, with the exception of the Ahl Bān, who are chiefly pastoral but have arable land westwards in Abiyān near the Fadhli Sultanate. The population is estimated at 14,500.

The late Sultan of Lahej controlled the first stage of the main caravan road from Aden to Yemen up the Wādi Tiban, and maintained armed and fortified posts at Zeida, Sha'qah (Shaka), and 'Anad. He also had a customs post for the Aden traffic at Dār

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el-Amīr. He was then able to put into the field about 2,000 men, who were of doubtful fighting value but strong enough to repel any tribal attacks, knowing that British troops would come to their aid in the event of serious trouble.

'ABDĀLI

| *Tribe.* | *Sub-Tribe* | *Clan.* |
|---|---|---|
| 'ABDĀLI. | *Ahl Bān.* | *Mūsabein.* |
| Sultan Abd el-Kerim ibn Fadhl ibn 'Ali | *'Udheibi.* | *Mansūri.* |
| | | Sh. Sālih Mansūr. |
| | | 'Ali Mansūr. |
| | | Mohammed Mansūr. |

## 2. *'Abd el-Wahīd Sultanate*

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The 'Abd el-Wahīd confederation lies immediately to the east of the Upper and Lower 'Aulaqi Sultanates, with whose tribesmen it is at constant feud.

Tribally it is divided into the Sultanates of Bālhāf, Habbān, and Izzān.

The Sultan of Bālhāf, who lives in the town of that name on the sea-coast, is Sālih ibn 'Abdullah, who used to be officially recognized at Aden as the head of the 'Abd el-Wahīd confederation, and who received a small subsidy from Government. He is well conducted, anglophile, but without much influence over his turbulent tribesmen. The latter have an hereditary feud with the Ba Kāzim, but lack their resolute grit and hardihood. Passage from one country to the other is dangerous, and supplies fro... Aden ordinarily come by sea.

The Sultan of Habbān, the chief mercantile town of the district, is Nāsir ibn Sālih. He is untrustworthy, and strongly opposed to any European penetration of his dominion. He is unpopular with his tribesmen and frequently has trouble with the Lakmūsh and Ahl Iswad, two small but turbulent vassal tribes who lie between him and his hereditary enemies, the Ahl Ma'an of Upper 'Aulaqi.

The chief of the Izzān Sultanate, which lies 25 miles to the east of Habbān, is Muhsin ibn Sālih. He is a man of about 45, unpopular with his tribes, a robber and a bad governor. He was expelled by the tribesmen in the early nineties, and after taking refuge with the Ahl Ma'an, went to Aden, Jibuti, and Hodeidah. Having tried in vain to raise money by pledging his Sultanate in turn to the French and the Turks, he returned *via* San'ā and managed to reinstate himself. In 1898 he again came into disfavour by endeavouring to blackmail the Austrian Expedition.

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He is now recognized by the Aden authorities as paramount and receives a subsidy of Rs. 720 per annum. He is also supreme at Bālhāf, but shares the dues with Sālih ibn 'Abdullah. 101 619 622

Officially recognized Sultan, Muhsin ibn Sālih of Izzān.

Subsidiary Sultans:
Nāsir ibn Sālih of Habbān.
Tribes:
*Ahl Iswad.*
*Lakmūsh.*
Sālih ibn 'Abdullah of Bālhāf.

### 3. *Ahl Karab*

The Ahl Karab is a nomad tribe ranging the desolate tracts north of Upper 'Aulaqi and penetrating as far west as Beihān el-Jezāb and the Mūsabein country. They are a tribe of marauders and robbers, and though nominally vassals of the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, are always at war with the Ahl Hammām.

Their chief is Hāmid ibn Nāsir abu Kateyān, who lives at Shabwah, a town of about 3,000 inhabitants, some 55 miles north-east of Nisāb, built on the ruins of an ancient Himyarite city. They muster 400 men.

### 4. *Ahl es-Sa'īdi*

The Ahl es-Sa'īdi are a small confederation bounded on the north by the 'Audillah, on the east by the Oleh, on the south by the Oleh, and on the west by the Yāfa'.

They are chiefly to be found near Dakhlah and the Sa'īdi plain, and are the original owners of the soil under the tenure of the Sultan of Upper 'Aulaqi, whose influence extends as far as Qarn Murshid. A land-tax is due to him from them, and is always withheld until he comes down to fetch it with a large force. This happens about every five years.

The chief 'Āqil is Mohammed 'Ali abu 'Awad, who resides at Nūbat es-Suwa, and also holds supreme authority over the Yazīd, who pay taxes to him. The Confederation numbers about 300 men, and are the nucleus of the following sub-tribes:

(1) Ahl Diyān. Living at El-'Ain and Hamra. Their 'Āqil Nasr Hamid, lives at El-'Ain and receives a small tax from them, but at Thuwarein they pay a far larger tax or *'ushr* to Mohammed ibn 'Ali, a chief of the Ahl es-Sa'īdi, whose grandfather was formerly 'Āqil on condition of receiving *'ushr* from the Ahl Diyān, which was levied on land which

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they tilled, belonging to the Ahl es-Sa'īdi. The 'Aqilship passed from that family, but the *'ushr* is still paid. The Ahl Diyān muster about 200 men and are an offshoot of the sub-tribe at Khaura, but may now be considered as a component part of the Ahl es-Sa'īdi Confederacy.

(2) Ahl Yazīd. Living at Dakhlah. They muster about fifty men.

There are three more actual sub-divisions of the Ahl es-Sa'īdi, but they barely muster between them 100 men and are scattered throughout the neighbouring villages in a most confusing manner.

There is a settlement within their territory called Hafa, which is peopled by Sādah (or *Seyyids*), whose origin is from Waht ('Abdāli country), where is the shrine of a well-known saint, 'Amr abu 'Ali, who, it is stated, formed a friendship with 'Amr abu Sa'īd (now enshrined at Mijdah) and was granted by him a small tax on the land round Dakhlah, which these Sādah collect. It is payable in kind, as are all these ecclesiastical contributions, and is about 5 per cent. on the year's crop. There is a shrine at Hafa (Fātimah bint Ahmed), and its attendants form the balance of the population.

### 5. *'Aqrabi*

A small and peaceably disposed tribe, numbering about 700 souls, ranging north of Aden lagoon and west of Bir Ahmed, the tribal capital. Here is the residence of the local Sultan, the tall mud tower of which can be plainly seen from Aden harbour. The inhabitants are agricultural and pastoral. Their chief is Sheikh Fadhl ibn 'Abdullah Ba Haidarah, who succeeded his father in 1905. He is now about 31 years old, and is said to be fairly intelligent. His uncle, 'Ali Ba Haidarah, a shrewd old man of nearly 70, unsuccessfully pressed his claim to the Sheikhship in 1905, but later worked in harmony with the present chief.

In the present war pressure from their powerful northern neighbours, the Subeihi, and from the Turks has brought them in temporarily on the side of the latter.

Their Sultan is said to be a prisoner in Turkish hands.

### 6. *'Alawi*

A small tribe of 1,200 souls whose chief village is at Suleiq, about 55 miles north of Aden. They live just south of the Quteibi tribe. Sheikh 'Ali ibn Nāshir ibn Sheif, who lives at Kasha', is the present chief. He has the tribe well in hand in spite of the chronic disputes

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with the Quteibi. A middle-aged man of no particular influence, he was at first loyal and amenable to advice, but for some years his hatred and jealousy of the Quteibi, combined with excessive indulgence in *kat*, led him into trouble. The animosity between him and the Quteibi finally cooled down and a permanent settlement was effected between them in 1913 by the late 'Abdāli Sultan, Sir Ahmed Fadhl. He succeeded to the Chiefship in 1898 and signed an agreement for the safety of the trade routes in July 1914, under which his stipend was raised from Rs. 600 to 1,200 per annum.

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Early in January 1916 he and his tribe were reported to have submitted with the Quteibi to the Turks and to be marching against the Fadhli Sultan.

### 7. *Amīri*

The Amīri is a pastoral and agricultural tribe numbering 5,000 souls and occupying the country round and south-east of Dhāla, their capital.

The original Emirs of Dhāla were Muwallads or half-caste slaves of the Imams of San'ā. When the power of the latter was broken up, the Dhāla district was in the hands of certain Seyyids, from whom it was seized by the forefathers of the present chief. There has been a long line of Emirs, and since the occupation of Aden by the British these chiefs have been in receipt of a subsidy, except during the period from 1873 to 1878, when the Ottoman Government made a strong aggressive effort to place the district under their own control.

By allegiance or conquest several additions have been made to what may be called the district of Dhāla proper. These consist of Kharāfah, Jebel Harīr, the valley of the Suheibīyah as far south as Qafiah, the Dhubayyāt hill (only nominal), Sufyān, and Zobeid.

The population of the Amīri territory is of a mixed nature. Firstly, there are the descendants of the original Amīrs, constituting a large clan, although, as at present, not always united; secondly, such Sheiri Sheikhs as are content to acknowledge the authority of the Emir; thirdly, the various settlers who have from time to time become possessed of land which they cultivate; fourthly, the ever-present Seyyids or descendants of the Prophet; and, lastly, a colony of Jews.

The Emir is Nāsir ibn Shā'if ibn Seif, who lives at Dhāla. He became Emir in 1911 and is the son of Shā'if ibn Seif 'Abd el-Hādi, who attended the Delhi Durbar during the Boundary Commission of 1902. He is a man of 36, good-natured, but weak and avaricious

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and of little ability. He has two brothers, 'Abd el-Hamīd and Seif, the latter of whom is said to possess a considerable amount of energy and character. The ruling house is unpopular with the tribesmen.

When the Turks appeared in 1915 they took from him some fifteen hostages and deprived him of his position. Towards the end of the year they summoned him to Lahej and made a settlement by which they released the hostages, keeping his son in their stead, and reinstated him with the gift of 50 rifles and a subsidy. It is doubtless owing to this that the neighbouring tribes of Quteibi and 'Alawi were coerced into joining them. Sheikh Qasīm of Zobeid, who accompanied him to Lahej, received a gift of 10 rifles.

*Emir*, Nāsir ibn Shā'if ibn Seif; 'Abd el-Hamīd ibn Shā'if ibn Seif, Seif ibn Shā'if ibn Seif.

| *Sub-Tribes.* | *Sheikhs.* |
|---|---|
| Sheiri | (1) Ahmed Muthanna of Āl Beishi. Friend of Emir. Former tribal influence has passed to Sheikh of Melāhah. Has custom-house at Khoreibah. |
| | (2) Sāmih Sālim. |
| Deiri Muflahi | Yahya ibn Sālih in Radfān hills. Influential and well disposed. |
| | Seyyid 'Abd er-Razzāq ibn 'Abd er-Rahmān of Jebel Harir. Loyal and influential in tribal disputes. |
| | Seyyid Mohammed Tahar. Spiritual master of J. Jihāf. Old but loyal and revered by people. |
| | 'Ali ibn 'Ali ez-Zindāni of Sarir. Loyal but uninfluential. |
| | Seyyid 'Ali Ridthwyn es-Safāni of Jebel Dhubayyāt. Influential in tribal affairs. |
| | Seyyid Fadl ibn 'Alāwi of Radfān hills. Popular. A hypocrite but useful. |
| | Ghālib ibn Ahmed Hidiyān Naqib of Jebel Kifa, south of Jebel Jihāf. On bad terms with Emir. Loyal to us. |
| | Muqbil Nāji', of Zindāni family on Jebel Jihāf. Was pro-Turk, but made overtures to Aden in 1914. |
| Azraqi | Hasan ibn Ahmed. Loyal to us. Declares himself independent of the Emir, to whom his adherence is very important. |
| Mihrābi | |
| Ahl Ahmed | |

## 8. *'Audillah*

The 'Audillah is a predatory tribe mustering 5,000 fighting men (including *'asākir*) and inhabiting the Kaur, the main ridge of the Aden Hinterland. It is bounded on the north by the Beida Sultanate, on the south by the Oleh confederation of Dathīnah, on the east by the 'Aulaqi, and on the west by the Yāfa'. The tribesmen are mainly pastoral, but cultivate barely sufficient for their needs.

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They hold a weekly market at Laudar, near the south foot of the Khaur, which the neighbouring tribes attend under a mutual understanding of neutrality. Here lives their Sultan, Qasīm ibn Hamīd el-Ghābir, a man who is powerless to curb their freebooting tendencies, but who provides the only ready channel by which the tribe can be approached. He made overtures for treaty relations in 1902, but was not at the time considered of sufficient importance for these to be encouraged. In 1912 he renewed his request, and as it was confirmed that the Turks had been making advances to him, a protectorate treaty was concluded in September 1914. The tribe has remained loyal during the present war. The only man who exercises any influence is Mohammed ibn Mohammed 'Abdullah, 'Āqil of the Kaur, a powerful chief whom, owing to the natural strength of his fortress, it is almost impossible to reach or constrain.

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The chief tribe is the Ahl Demān.

*'Audillah Confederation*, 3,000.

Sultan, Qasīm ibn Hamīd el-Ghābir.

'Āqil, Mohammed ibn Mohammed 'Abdullah

'AUDILLAH

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL DEMĀN 'Āqil, 'Ali 'Amr (living at Demān) | 1,800 | *Ahl Lamaki* | Lower reaches of Wādi Ruquib. Agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Lukfa* | Mountains N.E. of Demān. Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Kafai* | S. of Demān. Part agricultural, part Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Seyyari* | NE. of Demān. Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Nāhein er-Rahab* | Half-way between Sauma'ah and Demān. Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Buker er-Reidah* | S. of Ahl Nāhein. |
| | | *Ahl Waheeh* | NE. of Ahl Buker. |
| | | *Ahl Yazīd* | N. of Ahl Waheeh. |
| | | *Ahl Es-Seil* | E. of Sauma'ah. |
| AHL BUKER EL-HĀDHIN | 300 | | NE. of Mijdah. Bedouin. |
| AHL BU TAHIF | 200 | | Between Ahl esh-Shā'ah and Ahl Buker el-Hādhin. |
| AHL HĀDHIN | 200 | | E. of Ahl Buker el-Hādhin. Bedouin. |
| AHL 'ALI MOHAMMED | 200 | | Summit and N. of Kaur along road to Sauma'ah. Bedouin. |
| AHL ESH-SHĀ'AH | 100 | | N. of Mijdah. Agricultural. |

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'AUDILLA (*continued*)

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks* |
|---|---|---|---|
| •619 MISHERI | 100 | | NE. of 'Ali Mohammed. Bedouin. |
| 622 BIRKĀN | 100 | | E. of 'Ali Mohammed. Bedouin. |
| AHL GHAI MELĀN | | | W. Tilhāk. |
| AHL MAREŪQ (MERZOQ) | | | |
| AHL ELHĪN | | | |

With *'asākir*, and a few scattered clans not mentioned above the total strength s said to be 5,000.

## 9. *Upper and Lower 'Aulaqi*

The 'Aulaqi country is inhabited by a large tribal confederation, divided for political purposes into the Sultanates of Upper and Lower 'Aulaqi, but maintaining close intertribal relations and uniting in the event of any aggression from outside.

It extends from the edge of the Ruba' el-Khāli to the Aden Gulf, and is bounded on the east by the 'Abd el-Wahīd Sultanate and on the west by the Sultanates of Beida, 'Audillah, Oleh, Yāfa', and Fadhli. The inhabitants are mainly pastoral and semi-nomadic. but there are large tracts of arable land, while the main wādis all have their settled population.

The history of the confederation is as follows: From the Prophet's epoch (or still earlier), the Nisāb Sultanate was in the hands of the Umm-Rusās dynasty of Beida, while the whole of Wādi Yeshbum (then called Wādi Kahai) was under the Sultanate of 'Abd el-Wahīd, whose capital was then at Habbān. Wādi Yeshbum seems to have then been inhabited chiefly by *rayu*, who paid taxes to the 'Abd el-Wahīd dynasty.

The Ba Kāzim were then confined to Heid Herīf (a part of the Utheili system), while Ahwar and district was in the hands of a tribe called the Ahl Zeidi.

Soon after the Prophet's death considerable political dissension seems to have occurred in the land of Jauf, where dwelt the remnants of the ancient and powerful Minean dynasty, which flourished before the Sabean kingdom, owing to the death of the paramount chief, named Ma'an. The house of Ma'an was much persecuted

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and fled the country, together with two branches of a former ruling chief named Sālih, whose descent was as follows :

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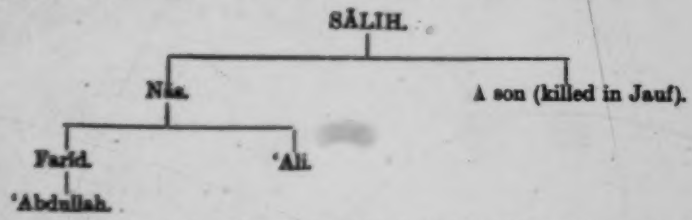


These three clans, the Ahl 'Abdullah, Ahl 'Ali, and the Ahl Ma'an, wandered across the outskirts of the Great Desert until they came upon Wādi Yeshbum, where they settled side by side with the *raya* of 'Abd el-Wahīd on the spot where now stand Wāsitah and Sa'īd. They had, of course, to become *raya* themselves, as they were aliens under the protection of another Sultanate, and for many years they paid tribute to the Sultan of Habbān.

In the course of time, however, they increased enormously in numbers, and the Ahl Ma'an left the wādi and adopted a pastoral and semi-nomadic life in the mountains, leaving the two branches of Manāsir Bu Sālih still settled in the Yeshbum Valley. About the middle of the sixteenth century these latter became very discontented with their lot owing to excessive taxation, and in A.D. 1590 they persuaded the Ahl Ma'an to join them in an attack on the Umm-Rusās dynasty at Nisāb, with a view to the annexation of the whole of that district. The Ahl Bunyar, who now inhabit the plateau of Dahr but then occupied the Nisāb district as well, fought desperately for their Sultan, but could not stand before the rush of the Ahl Ma'an, who were fighting for their very existence as a tribe. The then representative of the Umm-Rusās dynasty at Nisāb fled for his life, and the Ahl Bunyar were chased up Wādi Khaura with great slaughter. The Ahl 'Abdullah received the Sultanate, and from them the present Sultan is descended.

Many of the Ahl Ma'an settled in this new Sultanate, as will be shown later on when considering the distribution of the various sub-tribes. The remainder returned to their pastoral life near Wādi Yeshbum, the Ahl 'Ali going back to their settlements in the wādi.

The Ba Kāzim now realized that this alien race was becoming a formidable power, and, having also views of expansion, sent a deputation to the Ahl 'Ali asking for their assistance in wresting

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Ahwar from the Zeidi, offering them the Sultanate of that district.

A famous diplomat and ascetic, Sheikh Abeid, whose name is still revered in both Upper and Lower 'Aulaqi, arranged the treaty between the two parties. It was agreed that the Ba Kāzim should have three-quarters of the arable land at Ahwar and the Ahl 'Ali the other quarter, the latter receiving the Sultanate. In the attack on Ahwar the Zeidi were completely defeated. Some tendered their submission, and are there to this day as mere tributary *raya*, and the rest fled towards the north-west, and no trace of them remains, although it is said that a small colony of them are settled at Jauf.

The Ba Kāzim then spread all over the country now known as Lower 'Aulaqi, but never seem to have submitted to the suzerainty of their nominal Sultan, whose dynasty they regarded as aliens whom they themselves had pitchforked into power.

After the Ahl 'Ali had left Yeshbum, one of the two divisions of the Ahl Ma'an abandoned their pastoral life and settled in the wādi. This was the Ahl 'Ali Bu Hamid, the other division, the Ahl Mohammed Bu Hamid, still following their nomadic life in the mountains.

The Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan is Sālih ibn 'Abdullah, who lives at Medāq, a short distance from Nisāb. He is a man of about 55, energetic and with considerable influence over the tribes. He was a signatory by proxy of the Aden Treaty in 1904, and has maintained his Anglophile attitude during the present war by refusing to join the Turks in their attack on Aden. His descent is as follows:

(AHL 'ABDULLAH)

'AWAD ABU 'ABDULLAH

(the last Sultan who visited Aden).

- Hamid.
- 'Abdullah.
  - Sālih ibn 'Abdullah.
- Sakkaf.
- Umm Rusās.

His tribesmen are inclined to be predatory, and although he does not give his official sanction to their raids, he nevertheless connives at them and generally receives some of the plunder in an unostentatious manner. At the same time he keeps a firm control over his subjects, and only permits measures to be taken against turbulent and aggressive tribes whom it is necessary to punish. The 'Audillah are always blockading the roads through his country, and

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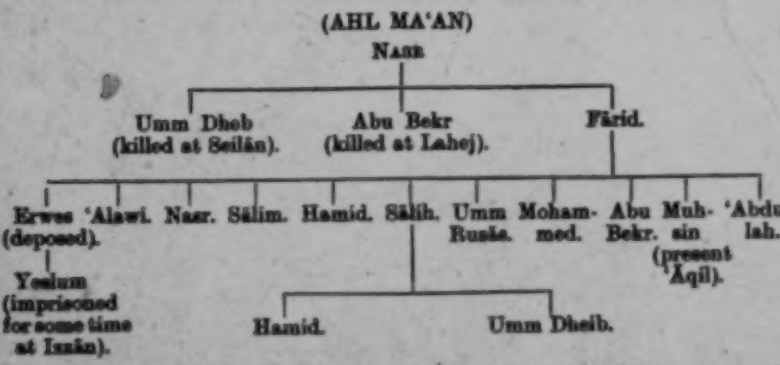
the Ahl Demān have an evil reputation for acts of violence and oppression perpetrated on petty traders. The Elhīn and the Ahl Diyān are similar offenders. The ethics of such measures are, of course, doubtful, but it can at least be said that many tribes and sub-tribes abstain from predatory acts, deterred by the fear of bringing wholesale ruin and disaster on themselves and their fellow tribesmen.

The two chief tribes are the Ahl Ma'an and the Ahl Mehājir. The Ahl Ma'an, with the exception of a large detached section, the Ba Thubān near Wādi Khaura, east of Nisāb, inhabit the fertile valley of Yeshbum and its surrounding hills. They are noted for their bravery and fighting qualities, and can muster about 5,000 fighting men. Their ruling family is the Fārid; its present representative Muhsin ibn Fārid. He is a man of about 45, and has always been Anglophile. He signed the Aden Treaty in 1903, and was granted a stipend of Rs. 1,440 per annum. He succeeded his elder brother Erwes, who was deposed by the tribes in about 1895 for intriguing with the then Sultan of Habbān, Muhsin ibn Sālih, and committing them to the sack of Habbān, a venture which they refused to undertake. His family is as follows:




The Ahl Mehājir have no paramount chief. They can raise about 4,000 fighting men, but their strength is not concentrated like that of the Ahl Ma'an. They lead a more nomadic life, and range the country from the northern boundary of the 'Audillah and the Kaur el-'Aud to the desert stretches north of the Nisāb and the wild country of the Ahl Kārab and the Mūsabein, who pay a nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Upper 'Aulaqi, but are ever swift to raid his tribesmen when an opportunity occurs.

The most northern section of the Mehājir, the Ahl Hammām,

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are themselves inclined to be predatory, and scour the Hammām Desert on the look-out for caravans. When the depredations become too frequent and obtrusive, the Sultan of Nisāb marches his troops into their country and quickly restores order, dealing out condign punishment on any raiding parties met with. The Hammām 'Āqil, Husein abu Ahmed, has not much control over his people and cannot check marauding.

In addition to his own tribesmen, the Sultan exercises suzerainty over the following :

1. The Bal Hārith, who pay immediate allegiance to the Sherif of Beihān, who in turn is under Nisāb influence and pays a private, semi-voluntary tribute.

2. The Mūsabein, merely nominal.

3. The Ahl Karab, also nominal.

4. The Ahl es-Sa'īdi, who pay him land tax under pressure. A further description of the above will be found under their names.

5. The Ahl Nasiyīn, who derive their origin from the almost extinct race of Beni Hilāl, a few surviving representatives of which may be found at Heid Hādhinah. They number 700 men, and their territory stretches from Hajar to Heid Jehūr and towards the south-east. Its limit occurs at Jaul (or Jāl) Heirūr, and may be said to lie along the Wādi Markhah within the limits named. The Sultan is Nasr abu Thālib, who belongs to the Abu Thālib dynasty, an offshoot of the Nisāb dynasty. His sway is, of course, subject to the jurisdiction of Nisāb.

6. Three clans who are termed 'Asākir. They do not come directly under the Sultan, but are bound by treaty with the Ahl Ma'an to give their services in battle in case of a war.

(a) Ahl Ba Zal, leading a pastoral life in the Kaur el-'Aud near the source of Wādi Marbūn.

(b) Ahl Wahar, living at Heid Keneb and Hisn Makūsrah, agricultural.

(c) Ahl Reid, who occupy a district north-east of Arq (the frontier village of Lower 'Aulaqi). They lead a pastoral life along the banks of the Wādi Reid, which joins the Wādi Rafal just above Arq, under the name of Wādi Maleik.

7. Ahl Ba Feyyād, a powerful tribe, who are not related to the Ahl Ma'an, but are bound to them by a mutual offensive and defensive alliance. They muster 600 men and live along Wādi Yeshbum, between Safāl and the gorge of Nakabah. Origin not known.

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8. 'Ahl Ba Hadah, another treaty tribe of the Ahl Ma'an, who number 300 men and extend from below the Nakabah gorge to within a short distance of Habbān. 101 619 6242

9. Khalīfah, a treaty tribe living on the western slopes of Heid Hādhinah, a range to the west of the Hammām Desert, and mustering about 1,000 men.

The fighting strength of the Sultan, including his 'Asākir or standing army, is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Troops at Medak, Nisāb, Wādi Dhurs, Wādi Abadan (or Abdān), Wasat, and Beihān | 1,100 |
| Ahl Ma'an and Treaty Tribes | 4,900 |
| Ahl Mehājir and Nasayin | 4,400 |
| | 10,400 |

In case of a great emergency the Sultan would, as suzerain, secure the services of the desert tribes lying east and north-east of the Hammām as far as human life can be supported in the desert. The Beihān tribes would join as a matter of policy, for they are too close to escape being crushed by the fall of the 'Aulaqi dynasty. The people of Jauf would certainly throw in their lot with the 'Aulaqi, for it has always been the policy of the Nisāb Sultans to keep in touch with the parent tribeship, and Jaufi chiefs are often entertained at Nisāb. The Khalīfah of Hādhinah would also come forward, as a serious reverse to Upper 'Aulaqi would cut them off from all their trade routes to Nisāb, Yeshbum, and Habbān.

Lower 'Aulaqi would follow the lead of the Ahl Ma'an, as between Umm Rusās abu Fārid and 'Ali abu Muhsin, the paramount chief of the Ba Kāzim, there is firm friendship and also a defensive treaty. Only in the case of aggression against the 'Abdāli Sultan would the Ba Kāzim keep out, there being a close alliance between 'Ali abu Muhsin and the 'Abdāli Sultan.

If the position of Dathīnah is considered, it will be seen that the Oleh confederacy must join in or be annihilated, and, besides, their sympathies are with the 'Aulaqi.

Under such circumstances the forces may be estimated as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Upper 'Aulaqi | 10,400 |
| Lower 'Aulaqi | 4,800 |
| Jauf and tribes between them and Beihān | 12,000 |
| Beihān | 6,000 |
| Desert tribes, Ahl Karab, &c. | 8,000 |
| Khalīfah of Hādhinah | 1,000 |
| Oleh of Dathīnah | 3,200 |
| | 45,400 |

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The Ahl Bunyar, who number about 4,000, are excluded, as they would follow the Beida Sultan, and some tribes, whose forces are not known, are also omitted.

The supply of breech-loading rifles amongst these tribes has increased enormously during the last few years, and they have some good mounted troops. Their military spirit is undeniable, their history for the last century being full of martial episodes.

The Ba Kāzim with its numerous subdivisions compose the entire tribal population of Lower 'Aulaqi, and can put into the field about 5,000 men. They are a hardy and turbulent race, always engaged in petty feuds amongst themselves, or raids on their immediate neighbours, the 'Abd el-Wahid, Fadhli, and Oleh. They have a bad reputation with the other tribes on account of their fondness for drink and their slackness in religious observances, but are redeemed by their genuineness and bravery.

They have no paramount chief, such influence as the tribe will permit being exercised by the brother chiefs of the Ahl 'Ali section at Ghidabah, Fadhl and 'Ali Muhsin.

The late Sultan of Lower 'Aulaqi, Bu Bekr ibn Nāsir, lived at Ahwar, about five miles from the coast, and had very little influence over the Ba Kāzim tribesmen. His successor has not yet been appointed.

## UPPER 'AULAQI

### Ahl Ma'an.

Ahl 'Ali Bu Hamid. Wādi Yeshbum from Wāsitah to Safāl, 2,200.

| Tribe. | Nos. | Clan. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ahl Bu Bekr | 1,000 | *Ahl Yeshbum Ewwes* | Ruling house of Ahl Ma'an. Present representative Muhsin ibn Farid. They inhabit Sa'id and Wāsitah. |
| | | *Ahl Bu Bekr* | Pastoral and nomadic, Kaar Edik and Wādi Khaiwān. |
| | | *Ahl Sālim* | Inhabit Qern Bahr and Heid Shōq (see vicinity of Yeshbum Sāg). Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl 'Abdullah* | In Heid Rafal, where they are pastoral and nomadic; also in lower reaches of W. Sha'bah, near its junction with W. Yeshbum. Here they have a little land. |

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UPPER 'AULAQI (continued)

| Tribe. | Nos. | Clan. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL ATIK | 500 | *Ahl Ajûz* | At Arashân and Mehlâl along W. Shabdh. Settled and agricultural; small proportion pastoral and semi-nomadic. |
| | | *Ahl Merwân* | At Arashân, settled and agricultural there, but at least half of them are pastoral. A few reside at Mehlâl. |
| | | *Ahl Mehrân* | In upper reaches of W. Sha'b. Pastoral. |
| | | *Ahl Ga'ar* | In Hisn Sha'b, close to junction of W. Sha'b and W. Sha'bah. Settled and agricultural. A few follow pastoral life farther up the wâdi. |
| AHL MADHAJI | 400 | *Ahl Masûs* | Upper reaches of Wâdi Hasbasah. Pastoral. A few inhabit Jehdil and Hejil. |
| | | *Ahl Lijam* | Jehdil and Modal. Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Hanash* | At Hejil. Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl esh-Shawâhi* | At Edat Shema. Settled and agricultural. |
| AHL BA RAS | 300 | *Ahl Hâdi* | At Kaulah. Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl 'Awad* | At Shreij. Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Sâlim* | Small settlements under Heid Tahm at entrance to Rajalân Pass, chiefly pastoral; in wet weather become nomadic, ranging about the Ba Ras limits in order to make use of numerous grazing grounds which then afford luxuriant pasture throughout the tribeship. |

AHL MOHAMMED BU HAMID, 1,650.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL SULEIMÂN | 800 | | Divided into several *afkhâdh*, but names not known. Live far up the Rajalân Pass towards Hâdhinah. Bedouin. |
| AHL MATOHALAN | 300 | *Ahl Jolah* | All Bedouin, no *hawûs*. Kaur el-'Aud. |

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UPPER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

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| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Ahl Ba Sheir* | Kaur el-'Aud. |
| | | *Ahl Ba Rajelah* | Kaur el-'Aud. |
| | | *Ahl Mudun* | Pastoral and agricultural. Some large tracts of arable land in the upper reaches of Wādi Khumar. |
| AHL HĀMED | 150 | | Live at Hisn es-Surr and vicinity of W. es-Surr. No *afkhāda*. Settled and agricultural. |
| AHL BA THOBĀN | 200 | | Occupy country SE. of Jaul el-Heirūr on the Nasin border and extend S. to near junction of W. Hajar and W. Subhān. |
| AHL MAKRAHAH | | | Stretch S. and SW. of the Ahl Ba Thobān. |

AHL MEHĀJIR.

(Mehājir is an abstract title given to this group of tribes.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL HAMMĀM | 1,200 | | The Hammām is the most powerful of the Ahl Mehājir, and their 'Āqil, Husein Abu Ahmed, is one of the mainstays of the Ansab Sultan. Territory extends westwards to Heid Qabr and Hisn er-Ruqbah and NW. as far as junction of W. Markhah and W. Hammām. Their limits are somewhat vague as they are entirely nomadic and pastoral. |
| | | *Ahl Shemlān* | Occupy the country E. of Heid Mejah. |
| | | *Ahl Diyāb* | Extend from NE. of Heid Mejah into the desert. |
| | | *Ahl Husein* | E. of Hisn er-Ruqbah, and in time of drought graze and water their camels in Wādi Abadan. |
| | | | Other *afkhāda* names not known. |
| AHL MERĪZIQ | 900 | | Northern limit an imaginary line drawn from Ansab east- |

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UPPER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

| Tribe. | Nos. | Clan. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | wards through Qarn Lemah. S. limit border of Ahl Nitosalah in Jaul ed-Dahrah. They may be practically said to inhabit the mountain system that runs along the E. borders of Jaul el-Mutti and Jaul ed-Dahrah, both these plains being uninhabitable except in very wet weather, when they afford fair pasturage. They are pastoral. |
| AHL ER-RABIE | 600 | | Bounded on N. by Ahl Dakar; on S. their limits reach to Hism Jabrah; on the E. Wâdi Hanak forms their frontier line. A powerful tribe, but much diminished by smallpox. Above number represents fighting strength in 1910. Partly pastoral, partly settled and agricultural. |
| AHL DAYA' | 700 | | Inhabit the Khaura district. Settled and agricultural. |
| AHL DAKAR | 100 | | Inhabit the vicinity of Abadan, bounded on the N. by the Ahl Mabith and on the E. by Wâdi Hanak. |
| AHL LAQIT | 150 | | Inhabit the mountains of Laqit, which extend from W. Sa'd to W. Jibah. Bedouin and pastoral. |
| AHL MABITH | 70 | | Live between Ahl Dakar and Anaab. Entirely pastoral. |

LOWER 'AULAQI

Ba Kâzim, 4,789

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL SHAMMA | 300 | *Ahl er-Rashid* | Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl ez-Zeun* | At Kubth, but moving towards Lebâkhah. |
| | | *Ahl Howâfil* | Jidhâbah. |

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LOWER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

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| Tribe. | Nos. | Clan. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Ahl Kenah* | Kubth. |
| | | *Ahl 'Ali* | Kubth and Mehfid. |
| | | *Ahl Sâlih bu Naer* | Kubth. |
| | | *Ahl Huseïn* | Kubth. |
| | | *Ahl Mohammed bu Naer* | Jidhâbah. |
| AHL KARLAH | 400 | | All settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Gawil* | At Arakein. |
| | | *Ahl Dukas* | At Lebâkhah. |
| | | *Ahl Ba Hâl* | At Lebâkhah. |
| | | *Ahl Mansûr bu Sâlim* | At Lebâkhah. |
| | | *Ahl Ba Weden* | Arakein (these are Sa'dah). |
| | | *Ahl Shouf* | Arakein and vicinity. |
| | | *Ahl Hâdi* | Lebâkhah. |
| | | *Ahl Humeid* | Lebâkhah. |
| AHL MANSÛR | 450 | | Chiefly Bedouin, but a few *hasûn*. |
| | | *Ahl Mukhlik* | Low down in Wâdi Rafal. |
| | | *Ahl Makrum* | In Wâdi Kafah below Heid (Leimûn). |
| | | *Ahl Heidarah* | Upper reaches of Wâdi Meriyah |
| | | *Ahl Mas'ûd* | Below Ahl Heidarah in Wâdi Mera. |
| | | *Ahl Lehwik* | Upper reaches of Wâdi Faki. |
| | | *Ahl Khalîl* | Below Ahl Lehwik in Wâdi Faki |
| | | *Ahl Nubah* | In Wâdi Kafah above Ahl Makrum. |
| | | *Ahl Naer* | Between Ahls Nubah and Makrum. |
| AHL BA KRAD | 130 | | Bedouin and pastoral. |
| | | *Ahl Sa'd* | Slopes of Heid Salr (a little land and one *hien*). |
| | | *Ahl Hâdi* | Wâdi Legib (flows into Wâdi Kafah from Heid Herff). |
| | | *Ahl Yeslum* | On eastern border of the Dathinah. |
| | | *Ahl el-Lafyah* | S. of above. |
| | | *Ahl Gabr* | Kaur el-Utheili. |
| | | *Ahl Lâgrab* | Heid Raham. |
| AHL MANA | 25 | | Partly agricultural and partly Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Lisûmah* | Land on left bank of Wâdi Meriyah near Kaurat el-'Aliyah. |
| | | *Ahl Daur* | Kaurat el-'Aliyah. |
| | | *Ahl Sa'd* | Kaurat Ahl Mana. |
| | | *Ahl 'Awad* | Half-way down Wâdi Faki. |
| | | *Ahl Sâlih* | Kaurat es-Sifâlah. |

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LOWER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL SA'ID | 20 | | Partly agricultural and partly Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Makasa* } *Ahl Salāmin* } | At Bir esh-Shukab where they have land and *husūn*. |
| | | *Ahl Sālim bu Qamar* | Near Seilat en-Nettakh (pastoral). |
| AHL BA SELĀHAH | 24 | *Ahl el-Awar* | All follow a pastoral life on Heid Hamr, a system E. of Heid Raham. |
| | | *Ahl Heidarah* | |
| | | *Ahl el-Hindi* | |
| | | *Ahl Lidwa* | |
| | | *Ahl Ba Badu* | |
| | | *Ahl Dedwah* | |
| | | *Ahl 'Aqab* | |
| | | *Ahl Bil Ed* | |
| AHL LAHAR | 500 | | Partly Bedouin and partly agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Heitham* | All in the district of Ludi, a well-watered country S. of Lebākhah. Extent uncertain, but its S. line probably approaches the barrier range which runs parallel with the coast. |
| | | *Ahl Tamūs* | |
| | | *Ahl Mareith* | |
| | | *Ahl 'Ali Bu Sa'id* | |
| | | *Ahl Sabrah* | |
| | | *Ahl Jedah* | |
| | | *Ahl Zomah* | |
| | | *Ahl Kahtar* | |
| | | *Ahl Husein* | |
| | | *Ahl Mokah* | |
| | | *Ahl 'Uyūn en-Nabah* | |
| | | *Ahl Dheb el-Asoad* | |
| AHL LEIKAH | 100 | | Live half-way down Wādi Leikah and are also scattered among the mountain ranges towards Dathīnah. Bedouin. |
| AHL AHTALAH | 900 | | Partly Bedouin and partly agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Yeslam* | At Ahwar and lower reaches of Leikah. |
| | | *Ahl Haidarah* | In Wādi Gahr (or Jahr), near junction with Leikah. |
| | | *Ahl el-'Afu* | At Ahwar. |
| | | *Ahl Luthfal* | Wādi Tisabah (comprises Dathīnah systems and joins Wādi Gahr). |
| | | *Ahl Basenīyah* | Upper reaches of Wādi Gahr. |
| | | *Ahl el-Asad* | Below Ahl Heidarah in Wādi Gahr. |
| | | *Ahl Ambur* | East of Ahl Luthfah. |

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LOWER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

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| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Ahl Umerthi* | At Ahwar and Hisn 'Arīyah 'Ali (or bu 'Ali). |
| | | *Ahl 'Ali* | Left bank of Wādi Leikah. |
| AHL AJAM (Ajara) (Dār) | 150 | | Between Ahl Mansūr and Ahl Ahtalah. Bedouin. |
| AHL HAMID (Dār) | 300 | | |
| AHL HAIDARAH (Dār) | 250 | | |
| AHL MANAS (Dār) | 220 | | Southern slopes of Heid Raham. |
| AHL BU BUL (Dār) | 180 | | Between Heid el-Aswad and Bir Subbāhīyah. |
| AHL BAHAN (Dār) | 200 | | East of Ahwar. |
| AHL YAHĀWI | 150 | | Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Gabr* | At Misāni S. of Ahwar. |
| | | *Ahl Soban* | At Hanad. |
| AHL BEDU (Dār) | 230 | | At Hanad. |
| AHL HAMID (Dār) | 160 | | At Hanad. |
| AHL UMM BUSHTI (Dār) | 100 | | SE. of Ahwar on right bank of the Wādi. |

### 10. *Bal Hārith*

See Beihān.

### 11. *Beida*

The Beida is a plateau Sultanate north of the Kaur, impinging on the Yemen along its western boundary and reaching northwards to Beihān ed-Daulah. To the east is the Upper 'Aulaqi Confederation and on the south the 'Audillah.

Formerly its power was more wide-reaching, and in the Prophet's time, or even earlier, all the land round Nisāb was in the hands of the Umm Rusās dynasty of Beida and his chief tribe, the Ahl Bunyar. This they held until the year 1590, when they were forced back up the Wādi Khaura and to the Dahr plateau by the Ahl Ma'an and other tribesmen who now form the Upper 'Aulaqi Confederation.

The Sultan resides at Beihān Umm Rusās, and can muster about 1,000 men of his own retainers and 'Asākir. An unsuccessful

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attempt was made some years ago to enter into relations with him. He still stands out from treaty relations with us and is in correspondence with the Imam.

The principal tribe is the Ahl Bunyar, occupying Soma (or Sauma'ah) and the Dahr plateau. Their chief is 'Abd en-Nebi Husein, who lives in the fortress of Dhimrah, which guards the thriving trading town of Soma from attack. He is a man of about 50 years and carries his influence beyond his borders to the 'Audillah and Upper 'Aulaqi tribes. He commands some 4,000 men. Farther north come the tribe of the Beni Yūb, who used to exact customs dues on the Beihān Jezāb and Yeshbum caravan road until prevented by the Ahl Hammām. They range along Wādi Markhah and up to Rahwat er-Ribbah. The Azani, the third chief tribe, are chiefly pastoral, with the exception of the Ahl 'Omar, who are a trading and agricultural community.

| *Tribe.* | *'Āqil.* | *Sub-Tribes.* |
|---|---|---|
| AHL BUNYAR. 4,000 men | 'Abd en-Nebi Husein. | |
| BENI YŪB | | |
| AZANI. 1,500 men | | *Ahl Sa'id.*<br>*Ahl Omar.*<br>*Ahl 'Obeid.*<br>*Ahl Yahya.*<br>*Ahl Wahish.*<br>*Ahl Sei.*<br>*Ahl Kesiyin.*<br>*Ahl Mohammedīn.* |

## 12. *Beihān*

Beihān is the name given to the district adjoining Wādi Beihān from the point where it leaves the mountain system of Beida down to the region where it loses itself in the Great Desert. Commencing from the upper reaches, the land on both sides of the wādi is in the hands of the Beida Sultanate. Farther down are the limits of the Mūsabein, chief town Hajarah. Below them the Sultan of Nisāb has some land, and farther down are the tribal limits of the Bal Hārith, in which are the towns of Durb, Hakaba, and Seilān; the two latter belong to the Ashrāf of Beihān and Durb belongs to a large and influential family of Sādah. The above towns have also a large population of *raya*, or trading classes, all of whom pay taxes to the Sultan of Upper 'Aulaqi. The Ashrāf and Sādah also pay a private semi-voluntary tribute (Jibār) to him, and he

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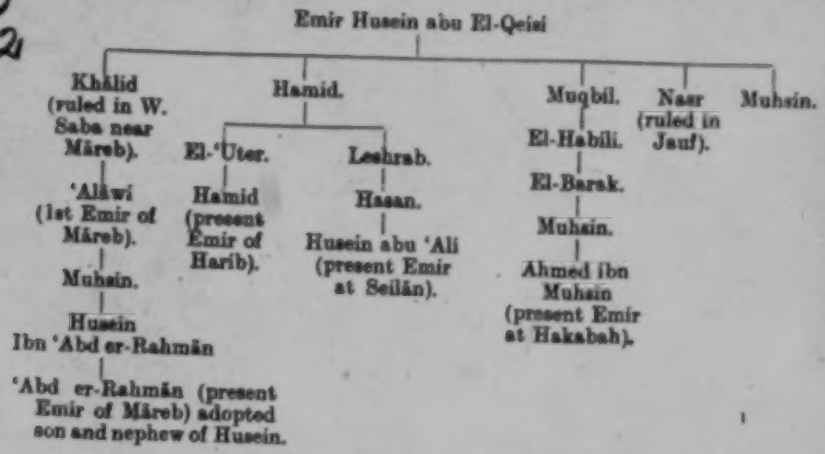
exercises considerable influence in the district. The position of these Ashrāf requires some explanation; they are descended as follows:




The chief Emir at Beihān is Ahmed ibn Muhsin of Hakaba, who also resides at Beihān el-Jezāb. He is an old man of about 67, crafty, but less powerful than he pretends. He is comparatively wealthy, entertains lavishly, and is very popular with the Bal Hārith, among whom he lives for a great part of the year as a Bedouin, in the lower reaches of Wādi Beihān. He acts as an arbitrator and dispenses justice. As regards his outside relations, he is on bad terms with the Sherif of Māreb. He has always been anglophile and signed the Aden Treaty in 1903. More recently he has expressed anxiety to extend the British sphere of influence northwards over Beida, Māreb, and Jauf. The Sheikh of the Bal Hārith is Shammakh ibn Ghannam, a middle-aged man who visited Aden in 1904 and confirmed the treaty concluded with Ahmed ibn Muhsin in the preceding year.

Neither he nor any of the Ashrāf have any influence with the Mūsabein. The Bal Hārith, Sādah, and Ashrāf number together 2,000 men. The Mūsabein are said to muster more than 4,000 men. The sand-dunes which surround Beihān on three sides prevent anything in the nature of a cavalry dash for raiding purposes, but marauding parties (especially from the Hammām), frequently slip through on saddle-camels and play havoc with the Mūsabein. The Bal Hārith and their Sādah and Ashrāf are, however, never molested.

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### 13. *Dhimbari*

A small tribe north of Aden, about 40 miles east of the Haushabi, whose Sultan claims suzerainty over them, a claim which they only admit when it suits them. They have always given trouble, and in 1903 a British column meted out punishment to them for raiding the mail, and destroyed their fortress at Nakhlein. The chief Sheikh is Sālim Husein. They are reported to have recently joined the Turks. 101 619 622

### 14. *Fadhli*

The Fadhli are a large and warlike tribe, numbering about 8,000 fighting men, who are probably well armed owing to their large seaboard and resources. They are pastoral and agricultural, and extend from Maqātīn (the Lower 'Aulaqi boundary) to the Fadhli border and British frontier line at 'Imād, where the tribeship is a mere coastal strip and uninhabited. To the north is the Oleh confederation, over whom the Sultan claims a suzerainty, which is not admitted. In actual practice his power does not extend inland of the maritime ranges. The Sultan is Husein ibn Ahmed, resident at Shūghrah (Shuqrah). He is an old man of 90, and in 1877 was deported to India and confined in the fort of Ahmednagar for 9 years, having been implicated in the murder of his brother Heidīyah, who was then Sultan. Heidīyah was succeeded by Sultan Husein's son, Ahmed ibn Husein. The latter died in 1907, after giving much trouble to the authorities, and Husein was proclaimed Sultan. He is unpopular with his subjects, and his grandson 'Abdullah Dīn ibn Ahmed has greater influence and is anxious to supplant him. He has a son aged 31 named 'Abdullah ibn Husein, who acted for him during his absence in Delhi at the Durbar in 1911, and again in 1913 when he visited Jerusalem. Sultan Husein visited Aden late in 1915, afterwards returning to Shūghrah. In January of this year he was summoned to Lahej and received by Sa'ūd Pasha with much honour. After remaining there for some time he returned to Shūghrah and reopened correspondence with Aden, claiming to have been compelled by *force majeure* to visit Lahej. His subsidy has been withheld and an embargo been placed on Shūghrah. He has been ordered to Aden to state his case, but it is not expected that he will comply until the situation is clearer.

The Fadhli Sultan is in a favourable position, owing to the convergence of several caravan routes from the northern and eastern districts, to collect onerous transit dues and hamper traffic generally.

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The cadets of his house in Abiyān, which owes its fertility to W. Banna and other streams between the Fadhli and Aden, have always been independent of him, and bleed the unfortunate traders a second time before they can pass.

The chief tribe is the Merqūshi (Markashi), who live round J. 'Uris and the neighbouring hills.

FADHLI

| *Sultan.* | *Tribes.* | |
|---|---|---|
| Husein ibn Ahmed of Shāghrah. | *Merqāshi (Markashi).* | Round J. 'Uris. |
| | *Ahl Haidarah Museir.* | In Abiyān. |

### 15. *Haushabi*

The Harshabi are a powerful tribe extending from Darsijah to Nūbat Dakīm, and controlling the Yemen caravan road along the Wādi Tīban, north of the 'Abdāli territory. They claim suzerainty over the Dhāmbari, which that tribe admits only when it suits them. They are agricultural and pastoral and number about 6,000 souls.

The capital is Musemir, a town 60 miles north of Aden, situated on a small plateau overlooking the left bank of the Wādi Tīban. The Sultan, 'Ali ibn Mani, threw in his lot with the Turks when they appeared in 1915, and accompanied them south in their attack on Aden. He is said to be under the influence of Mohammed Nāsir Muqbil of Māwīyah. He had always shown signs of weakness and irresolution, and although his conduct improved just before the war broke out he had the misfortune to be in the hands of ill-disposed and irresponsible advisers, of whom the chief is Fadl ibn 'Ali Humādi.

### 16. *Hajarīyah*

The Sheikh of this district is Ahmed Na'mān, formerly a tax-farmer and made a Kaimmakam by the Turks. He maintains a Zeidist levy of 500 men, and raised a larger force to help the Turkish expedition against Aden. Sub-Sheikhs under his influence attacked us at Sheikh Sa'īd late in 1914. Early in 1915 he attacked Sh. Mohammed Hasan, the chief of a religious fraternity at Jebel Habashi, near Ta'izz, for refusal to pay tithe. More lately he has been reported to have been killed and succeeded by his son Mohammed, who was formerly A.D.C. to the commandant of Ta'izz, and is said to be energetic and anti-British.

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### 17. *Quteibi*

A small tribe, about 50 miles north of Aden, whose head-quarters are at Dhi Hajarah. The Sultan of the Amīri, who rules immediately to the north, claims suzerainty over them, but cannot enforce it, nor do they admit the claim. 101 619 622

The tribe rebelled in 1903 and a British expedition was sent against them. Their Sheikh, Mohammed Sālih el-Akhram, nursed a grievance about this for some years, but was eventually won over. He has not much influence over a restless and quarrelsome tribe. He was at odds with the 'Alawi until 1912, when the 'Abdāli Sultan effected a reconciliation. The real power lies with his nephew, Sheikh Muqbil 'Abdullah, who has always been an unreliable factor. Sheikh Mohammed Sālih endeavoured to remain neutral when the Turks advanced in 1915, and as late as November in that year wrote to the Resident, Aden, saying that the Turks were exercising pressure on him, and that he was afraid of invasion. He was still holding out in March 1916, but his nephew had been to Lahej to treat and temporize with the Turks.

### 18. *Māwīyah*

The Sheikh of Māwīyah, Qa'tabah, and Shurmān is Mohammed Nāsir Muqbil, a powerful chief on the Yemen boundary, whose influence extends from Qa'tabah to Sheikh Sa'īd on the west, and south-east to the Haushabi country. He was originally a tax-farmer, whom the Turks made Kaimmakam of Shurmān and Kama Ira. He opposed us in 1901 and, after an initial success against the Haushabi, was defeated by a British column which blew up his fortified tower at Darajah. On our protest to the Ottoman Government he was officially degraded as scapegoat, but was promoted later.

In February 1915 he signed an agreement with the Resident, Aden, agreeing in return for a subsidy to expel the Turks and recalcitrant chiefs from the Liwa of Ta'izz. Subsequently he joined the Turkish advance, bringing with him his permanent levy of 500 Feidis and some fighting men from the neighbouring tribes. Latterly he has been reported as being at Lahej with the Haushabi.

### 19. *Mūsabein*

A wild, semi-nomad tribe between the country of the Sherif of Beihān, who has no influence over them, and the Bal Hārith tribe. Their head-quarters are at Hajarah and they range east to the Ahl Karab country. They are nominally vassals of the Upper

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'Aulaqi tribe, but are on bad terms with the Ahl Hammām, who frequently send small raiding parties against them through the difficult sand-dune country which surrounds them. They are said to have 4,000 men.

### 20. *Oleh*

The Oleh are a powerful confederation of tribes, descended from a chief of that name, in a district known as Dathīnah, which, however, only occupies the centre of the confederation. Its limits are rather vague. The boundaries of the confederation are, on the north Upper 'Aulaqi, on the south the Merqūshi (Markashi) section of the Fadhli Confederation, on the east Lower 'Aulaqi, and on the west and north-west the 'Audillah, with whom they have an hereditary feud.

They number about 3,000 fighting men of good material, but undisciplined and lacking cohesion. They have no paramount chief, but Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Alāwi of the Elhīn, who claims descent from the common ancestor, Oleh, influences tribal policy to a certain extent. He has the right to adjust disputes between any tribes of the confederation.

There are three main family divisions of the Oleh, their family names being at the present time merely abstract titles denoting the branch from which each tribe was originally descended. They are the Ahl Ba Leil, the Ahl Armān, and the Ahl Sa'īd. The Ahl Ba Leil are the most numerous division, mustering nearly 1,500 fighting men. They occupy the south-eastern portion of the confederation and have a bad name for raiding caravans, although such acts are by no means common. Their 'Āqil is 'Awad ibn Haidarah of the Ahl Hanash. They are all nomadic and pastoral, but own a few fortified villages and possess a little arable land.

The Ahl Armān number 700 men and are mountaineers, pastoral and semi-nomadic. The Ahl Sa'īd dwell in the plain of 'Amūdīyah and are the richest and most civilized portion of the confederation. They are agricultural, settled and trading.

#### OLEH CONFEDERATION

Ahl Ba Leil. 'Āqil, 'Awad ibn Haidarah of the Ahl Hanash.

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Sub-Tribe.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL HANASH | 300 | | S. of Heid el-Hamra, nearly to Heid Lamas. |
| AHL JADĪNAH | 300 | | SW. of Ahl Hasanah, between them and Ba Kāzim frontier. |

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OLEH CONFEDERATION (*continued*)

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Sub-Tribe.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL BA KUNNÂSHI | 150 | | S. of Hanashi borders. Eastward of Heid Lamas. |
| AHL MARÛMI | 150 | | Between Heid Lamas and Hamra on N. Hanashi border. |
| AHL AWENI | 70 | | Due S. of Jadînah, Ba Kâzim on the E., Hanashi on the W., Ba Kunnâshi on the S. |
| AHL MEHWARI | 100 | | Range the N. and NE. slopes of Jebel 'Arîs. |
| AHL MAHÂTHIL | 100 | | E. of Surr between Ardh en-Nahein and Hanashi. |
| AHL SHUWEINI | 300 | | Entirely isolated. Many years ago friction between them and the Ahl Hanashi; they migrated westwards. Now in mountains NW. of Mis-hâl; graze their flocks along the great plain occupied towards NE. by the Ahl es-Sa'îdi. Yâfa' frontier on W. |
| | | | **AHL ARMÂN** |
| ELHIN 'Ali ibn 'Alâwi | | | Most important tribe of Confederation; descended in direct line from common ancestor Oleh. Occupy large range of country between Wâdis Khaura and Dhura (or Durra). Bounded on N. by Upper 'Aulaqi frontier and on S. by 'Audillah. |
| | | *Ahl edh-Dheib* | Near source of W. Dhura and westwards. |
| | | *Ahl el-Merda* | N. of the Ahl edh-Dheib. |
| | | *Ahl es-Sakri* | W. of the Ahl el-Merda and Ahl edh-Dheib. Western limit W. Khaura. |
| AHL FATHAN | 200 | | Northern limit Hisn Gabrah, southern the big 'Aqabah. |
| | | *Ahl el-Kahal* | E. of Ahl edh-Dheib. The Fathani Âqil belongs to this *fakhdh*; lives at Hisn el 'Atfah on the mountain route to Dathînah. Owing to position of his *hisn* |

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OLEH CONFEDERATION (*continued*)

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| Tribe. | Nos. | Sub-Tribe. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | and enclosed nature of the route he is in a position to tax caravans relentlessly. |
| | | *Ahl Hāmid bu Mansūr* | E. of Heid Wajr. |
| Ahl 'Arwāl | 200 | | S. and SW. of Ahl Fethan. Southern limit just to SW. of Hisn Hanīb. |
| | | *Ahl el-Melk* | Near Hisn Dhelamah. |
| | | *Ahl Suleimān* | N. of the above. |
| | | *Ahl Hejlān* | Between the above and the Elhin border. |
| | | *Ahl el-Faqir* | At Hisn Hanīb. |
| | | *Ahl el-Hauti* | East of above. |
| Ahl Hātim | 100 | | SW. of the 'Arwāli on the crest and S. slopes of Heid Maran. |
| | | *Ahl el-Makshum* | Range the summit of Heid Maran. |
| | | *Ahl en-Neer* | Lower slopes of above and in Heid Thuwwah. |

## Ahl Sa'īd

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Meyāsir 'Āqil, Umm Heithami Abu Fadhl | 400 | | Plain of 'Amūdīyah. |
| | | *Ahl Furaj* | At Jiblah and El-Qarn. |
| | | *Ahl Sālih* | At 'Aqbābah and NE. to Hisn Maran. |
| | | *Ahl Mamrad* | At Mamrad. |
| | | *Ahl Shemlah* | Under the E. and SE. spurs of Heid Khamah. |
| Hasanah 'Āqil, Mijāli Abu Misudah | 600 | | Plain of 'Amūdīyah. |
| | | *Ahl Naer* | At Quleitah. |
| | | *Ahl Ba Kām* | At Dobah and Qaus. |
| | | *Ahl 'Uleid* | On Heid Wajr. |
| | | *Ahl Sheid* | At Jiblah, Waznah, and N. of of Quleitah. |

The Meyāsir and Hasanah live side by side on the broad plain of 'Amūdīyah and are the plain-dwellers of the Confederation. There is no distinct border between the two, but an imaginary line joining the SE. spurs of Heid Gamrah and Heid Sumr will show the Meyāsir limit; then comes a stretch of neutral ground and then the Hasan border, beyond whom to the SE. lie the Jadīnah, and on the W. and NW. the Ba Kāzim frontier.

### 21. *Subeihi*

The Subeihi are a large tribe numbering nearly 20,000 souls and inhabiting the country bordering on the sea from Ras Imrān Bāb el-Mandeb to within a few miles of Aden. They are bounded on the

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north by the Maktāri, Sharjabi, Athwāri, and other tribes under Turkish suzerainty. 101

Of all the tribes in the vicinity of Aden the Subeihi approach most nearly to the typical Bedouin in character. True 'Children of the Dawn', as their name by some is said to imply, they by preference select that hour for their attacks on wayfarers. They are divided into a large number of petty clans, and there is no paramount chief. Except for some arable land near Umm Rija, they pay little attention to agriculture, nor do they engage in commerce to any extent. Many members of the tribe, however, earn a livelihood by becoming *muqaddams*, or leaders, of caravans from other districts which pass through the Subeihi country *en route* for Aden. On account of their frugal diet, which consists of little else than *jowari*, they are very spare in frame, but possess great powers of endurance and have a high reputation for courage, unfortunately blemished by their character for treachery. In consequence of their poverty, few of them own camels, none horses, but the camels in the district are considered equal in speed to the latter animal, in consequence of the great attention which is paid to their breeding. 619 622

They were placed under the sovereignty of the 'Abdāli in 1881, but overthrew his control and resumed their old position of independent relations with the Residency in 1886. Agreements were made with the Dubeini, Mansūri, Makhdūmi, and Rujei subdivisions of the tribe, whereby, in consideration of a monthly allowance, the traffic passing through their districts was freed from transit dues and protection granted to travellers.

They were one of the first tribes to join the Turks in 1915 and took part in the attack on Lahej.

| *Sub-Tribe.* | *Clan.* | *Sheikh.* |
|---|---|---|
| Mansūri | | Shahir ibn Seif. About 22 years old. Elected in 1901 on death of his father, Seif ibn 'Abdullah Ba Khadra. His relative, Sālih ibn Ahmed, ruled for him till 1913. Resides at Mashārij. Drew a stipend of Rs.600 a year. Is of family formerly paramount over whole tribe. Respected by tribesmen. |
| Bruhimi | | 'Ali ibn Ahmed Umm Tomi. Aged 49. Was stipendiary. |
| Bureimi | | 'Aläwi ibn 'Ali. Aged 42 years. Lives at Mujābah. Non-stipendiary. |
| Dubeini | | Muqbil Hasan. Stipendiary. Lives at Tāfih on the Aden–Mafālis caravan route. |
| " | Jereiwi | Derwish Battāsh. Aged 43 years. Ambitious to be Sheikh over all Dubeinis. Sometimes useful. |
| " | | Seif Diban. Muqaddam for caravans. |

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SUBEIHI (*continued*)

| *Sub-Tribe.* | *Clan.* | *Sheikh.* |
|---|---|---|
| 101 Dubeini | Mashâki | Hasa' Qasim. Young, intelligent, formerly well disposed. |
| • 615 'Atîfi 622 | 'Awaida | 'Ali Ba Sâlih Ba Râjih. Aged 42 years Lives at Khatabiyah or Kadthi. Stipendiary. Weak and unable to control his unruly following, who are a clan of nomadic robbers. |
| Jurahi | Masfari | Seyyid Mohammed Ya'qûb. 52 years old. Lives at Gharaqah. Has some influence. Generally on good terms with Aden, but his avarice led him astray. Non-stipendiary. |
| " | | Ahmed Sa'îd. Mansab of Weli Sanâwi shrine on the Subeihi Humeidi boundary. Aged about 51 years. Is revered for his sanctity. Lives at Hâbil es-Sabt or Sanâwi. Was useful to Boundary Commission and afterwards visited Aden; intelligent. News reporter for district to Aden. |
| Mutarrifi | | 'Abdallah Ba 'Imâd. Aged about 58 years. Lives at Mulehiyah. Has some influence with his sub-tribe, which is nomadic. |
| Wahâshah | Ma'mri | Ahmed Umm Basûs. Joint Sheikh. Aged about 57 years. Lives at Umm Shreijau. Relations with Aden were satisfactory on the whole. Frequently visited Aden. Non-stipendiary. |
| " | " | Seyyid Ja'far, joint Sheikh with above. Aged 52 years. Rendered some service in obtaining recovery of mail bags looted by 'Atîfis in January 1906. Means well, but weak. |
| " | Juleidi | 'Imâd ibn Ahmed. Aged about 48 years. Resides at Shawar. A man of stubborn disposition and intriguer. Non-stipendiary. |
| Makhdûmi | | Murshid Ba Nâsir. Aged about 55 years. Stipendiary. Lives at Wâdi Marasa. Influential and regarded by his sub-tribe and Mansûri as a prudent and pious leader. |
| Humeidi | | 'Ali Ba Sâlim. Aged about 63 years. Lives at Jebel Asharwân near Haushabi border Influential with sub-tribe, which is mainly nomadic. Non-stipendiary. |

## 22. *Upper Yâfa'*

The Confederation of Upper Yâfa' is situated to the NE. of Aden, and is bounded by the Lower Yâfa' Sultanate on the south, the Beida and 'Audillah on the east, and the Amîri and Dhâmbari on the west.

The inhabitants are warlike and hardy mountaineers, always ready for active service, which they seek in different parts of the world. As a confederation they lose power owing to the lack of

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cohesion and a uniform policy and the personal ambition of the different Sultans.

Like many other tribes in the south of Arabia, they were formerly subject to the Imams of San'ā. The tribe is called after their ancestor ''Afif'.

Although known as 'Upper Yāfa'' in English, the confederation is called in Arabic Yāfa' es-Sufla, or 'Lower Yāfa''.

The rightful Sultan of Upper Yāfa' is 'Omar Qahtān, who succeeded his father in 1913, but was expelled by the tribe for coming to Aden to make a treaty with us, as they were jealous of his selection. He belongs to the Dhubi section, though originally of the house of Sheikh 'Ali Harharah. He was opposed by his brother, Sālih ibn 'Omar, and, despite English influence, failed to get himself reinstated. The Government accordingly refused to recognize him as Sultan and gave him a year within which to bring about his rehabilitation. They, however, continued to pay the stipend received by his father, Qahtān, who was a man of little influence and in his later days an exile from his capital. His brother Sālih ibn 'Omar, who is a man of much stronger character, was recognized in 1911 by the Maflahis as their Sultan and receives tribute from Rub'atein.

There are four chief tribes: the Mausata, Maflahi, Sheibi, and Dhubi. The Sheikh of the Mausata is Muhsin 'Askar. He is a man about 75 years old and comes of a family of intriguers, but wields undoubted influence. He signed the treaty with the Bombay Government in 1904 as joint signatory with his brother 'Ali 'Askar. The latter died in 1907 and was succeeded by his son Nāji 'Ali 'Askar, but most of the power has remained with his uncle Muhsin 'Askar.

The Sheibi are the most northerly tribe of the Confederation and impinge on Ottoman territory towards the Bana. Their Sultan is 'Ali Mauna es-Sakladi.

The Sheikh of the Dhubi is Sālim Sālih ibn 'Ātif Jābir. He is a stipendiary and his predecessor was the first Upper Yāfa' Sheikh to conclude a treaty with us (1903).

Two other stipendiaries of this section are the brother Sheikhs Mohammed and 'Omar ibn Muthanna ibn 'Ātif Jābir. The latter has little influence and has not justified his selection as stipendiary. He is grasping and a master of intrigue. Rub'atein is an appanage of the Dhubi tribe. The three principal Sheikhs are Yahya ibn 'Askar, Sālih ibn Ahmed, and Yahya Nāsir. Before the war they were all fearful of Turkish intrigue and desired closer relations with the British Government.

Another important tribe is that of the Maflahi, whose chief is

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'Abd er-Rahmān ibn Qasim. He is a stipendiary and has always been a well-wisher of the English. His residence is at Jurba.

The conduct of the Upper Yāfa' Sheikhs has not been entirely satisfactory lately. Some of the non-stipendiary Sheikhs have long resented their exclusion from the list of recipients of doles and have turned to the Imam of San'ā. The descent of the Turkish forces opened an avenue for securing loot and monetary consideration from Sa'īd Pasha. The stipendiaries have been outwardly loyal, but there is evidence to show that some sort of secret understanding exists between them and the transborder Arabs. A section of the Mausata have actually gone over to the enemy, and the rest will follow where they think that their interest leads them.

UPPER YĀFA' CONFEDERATION

| *Tribe.* | *Chief.* | *Clan.* |
|---|---|---|
| MAUSATA | 'Ali 'Askar | |
| | Muhsin 'Askar | |
| SHEIBI | Salim ibn 'Amr | |
| DHUBI | Sālim Sālih | |
| | Mohammed ibn Muthanna | |
| | 'Omar ibn Muthanna | *Khalaki.* |

### 23. *Lower Yāfa'*

The district of Lower Yāfa' is inhabited by the Beni Qāsid tribe. Their late Sultan, 'Abdullah ibn Muhsin, who died early in 1916, was a man of eccentric habits and disliked both the British and the Fadhli. The newly elected Sultan is as yet an unknown quantity, but is said to be Turkophobe. His tribes are out of hand and several have addressed themselves to Aden asking to know the policy of the Government. They have long been at variance with the Fadhli, and a short time ago were in danger of having their supplies cut off from Shūghrah. Sa'īd Pasha, however, intervened and succeeded in arranging a three months' truce between them

## B. HADHRAMAUT

### 1. *Akābarah*

A small nomad tribe, descended from Himyar, along the sea-coast west of Makalla and between Makalla and the Beni Hasan They number 500 fighting men.

### 2. *'Amūdi*

A nomad tribe which was formerly powerful and owned the Wādi Dō'an almost up to Meshed. They were almost annihilated

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



about 15 years ago by the Sultan of Makalla. The survivors, numbering only about 150 men under Sheikh Sālih ibn 'Abdullah, are still suffered to live in the Wādi Dō'an.

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### 3. *Awābthah*

An independent nomad tribe of Himyar, living in Wādi 'Ain, south-east of Haurah. Their chief Sheikh is 'Abdullah ibn Ahmed and they number about 2,000 men. They are allied with the Seibān and with them maintain a continued warfare with the Hamumi. The chief families of Ashrāf are the Ahl Ba Wazīr and Beni Sheibān.

Paramount Sheikh: 'Abdullah ibn Ahmed.

| *Sub-Tribes.* | |
|---|---|
| Banir. | 'Abdullah ibn Ahmed. |
| Bazar. | Ibn Kurdūsah. |

### 4. *'Awāmir*

A strong nomad tribe to the north of Terīm. They pay a nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Seyyūn and Terīm and unite with the Kathīri against aggression from outside.

### 5. *Dein*

A tribe, chiefly nomad but partly agricultural, in the country north-west of the Nu'a and between them and the Āl Hamīm. They trace their descent from Kindah. They are entirely independent, but maintain friendly relations with the Nu'a and Āl Hamīm. Sālim Bamar is their chief Sheikh with a following of about 2,000 fighting men.

Paramount Sheikh: Sālim Bamar.

| *Sub-Tribes.* | |
|---|---|
| Bamsadus. | Sālim Bamar. |
| Ba Henhen. | 'Abdullah ibn Ahmed. |
| Ba Suweidān. | 'Abdullah ibn Mubārak. |
| Yās. | Ahmed ibn Yislam. |
| Ba Karshum. | |

### 6. *Āl Hamīm*

A powerful and warlike Bedouin tribe, north-west of the Nu'a and Dein, living in the country round Shura and Wādi 'Irmah and ranging the country north to the Empty Quarter. They possess many horses and were of great assistance to the Nu'a in their fighting against Ghālib ibn 'Awad el-Ka'aiti, Sultan of Makalla. They can muster from 8,000 to 10,000 men under Thābit ibn 'Omar, their Paramount Chief.

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Hadhramaut MM2



### 7. *Hamami*

101 A strong and warlike nomad tribe descended from Himyar in the country north of Makalla. They are entirely independent, can put
• 619 nearly 10,000 men in the field, and are always at war with the Sultan of Makalla, the Awābthah, and the Seibān. Their chief Sheikh is
622 Sheikh Halreish. The principal sub-tribes are Beit Jerzat, Beit 'Ali, and Beit Sa'id.

### 8. *Beni Hasan*

A small nomad tribe descended from Himyar, and numbering 200 men, in the country along the coast between the Mohammedīn and the Akābarah west of Makalla.

### 9. *Jābiri* (pl. *Jawābir*)

A strong nomad tribe, south of Seyyūn, having a defensive alliance with the Kathīri and paying a nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Seyyūn and Terīm.

### 10. *Jada*

The Jada are an independent Bedouin tribe, tracing their descent from Kindah, and living in the Wādi 'Amd to the south-east of Haurah. They number 3,000 men.

Chief Sheikh, Ibn Shemlān.

| *Clans.* | |
|---|---|
| Beni Shemlān. | Ibn Shemlān. |
| Beni Humeid. | |
| Beni Mādhi. | |

### 11. *Kathīri*

The Kathīri tribe is one of the most warlike and powerful tribes in the Hadhramaut and is the chief menace to the ever-increasing power of the Sultan of Makalla. They are partly settled and partly nomad, and occupy the country between Terīm and Seyyūn, their chief towns, almost up to the Sultan of Makalla's frontier city of Shibām. The feud between the two arose in the early seventies of last century and has ever since dominated the politics of the Hadhramaut. At that time the Kathīri Sultan of Seyyūn borrowed three lakhs of rupees from the head of the Ka'aiti family, and afterwards repudiated the debt. Recourse was had to the Political Resident of Aden, and after arbitration had proved abortive, Shiheir and Makalla, then in the possession of the Kathīri Sultan, were bombarded by a British ship and handed over to the Ka'aiti. Since

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 Mil Saudi Arabia

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then there has been an increasing feud which has at times led to actual warfare. 101

The present Kathiri Sultan is Mansūr Kathiri, a man who has been unable to enforce his will on his independent tribesmen; the latter are said to number 10,000 to 15,000 fighting men, and with their allies the 'Awāmir, Tamimi, and Jābiri, who can put into the field another 5,000 warriors, they form a very powerful confederation. Like all tribal confederations, however, jealousies and an innate independence prevent them from making full use of their power. 619 622

### 12. *Manāhil*

A warlike and independent nomad tribe, roaming the country to the north of the Hamumi, numbering between 5,000 and 6,000 men. They are allied to the Hamumi in opposition both to the Seibān and the Sultan of Makalla.

### 13. *Mohammedīn*

A small nomad tribe, numbering 300 men, between the Nu'a on the west and the Beni Hasan on the east. They trace their descent to Himyar. Sa'īd ibn Suleimān is their Sheikh, living at Haseisah, the main tribal centre.

### 14. *Nahad*

The Nahad are a Bedouin tribe, descended from Kindah, numbering from 3,000 to 4,000 men and occupying the country due north of Haurah. They are on friendly terms with the Sultan of Makalla's representative at Haurah, but are bitter enemies of the powerful tribe of Sa'ar to their north. Their Paramount Chief is Sheikh Ibn Minīf.

### 15. *Nu'a*

The Nu'a are a Bedouin tribe, descended from Himyar, with head-quarters round the valley of Wādi el-Hajar. They are bounded on the west by the tribes of the 'Abd el-Wahīd Sultanate, on the north-west by the Dein and Āl Hamīm tribes, on the north by the Numan, and on the east by the Seibān and Mohammedīn.

Between Bir 'Ali and Haseisah they come down to the sea. They cultivate *dhurs* and wheat in Wādi Hajar and raise dates, but their chief wealth is in camels, of which they are said to possess about 6,000, and in sheep and goats. The Sultan of Makalla cast covetous eyes on their possessions and for 12 years strove to wrest the Wādi Hajar from them. He met with no success, and two years ago relinquished his attempts and made peace. The Nu'a can put

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from 5,000 to 6,000 men in the field, all armed with rifles. Their chief Sheikh is Ahmed ibn Qādim, who lives at Lubnah, a man of about 45, strong and well liked by his tribes. He keeps on good terms with the Sultan of Bālhāf and with the Dein, and is allied with Thābit ibn 'Omar, the chief of the Āl Hamīm, who helped him in his war against the Sultan of Makalla. The Ashrāf are strong in the district, and Sherif el-Beit of Kanīni is much sought after as an arbitrator in quarrels between the different clans.

Paramount Sheikh: Ahmed ibn Qādim.

| *Sub-Tribes.* | |
|---|---|
| Baqarwān. | Ahmed Abeidan. |
| Ba Diyān. | Sa'īd ibn 'Ali. |
| Ba Faqash. | |
| Badbas. | 'Ali ibn Mohammed. |
| Burshaid. | Ahmed ibn Qādim. |
| Basam. | Sa'īd ibn 'Ali. |
| Ba Hamish. | Mohammed ibn Sālim. |
| Ba Hakim. | 'Abdullah ibn Sa'īd. |
| Limus. | 'Omar ibn Ahmed. |

### 16. *Numan*

A nomadic tribe, numbering about 1,000 men, descended from Himyar, who roam the country north of the Nu'a and Wādi el-Hajar. Their chief Sheikh is Sālih ibn Selīm ibn Qutam.

### 17. *Sa'ar*

The Sa'ar are probably the most numerous tribe in the Hadhramaut; but though completely independent and lawless, they are too far removed to play a very important part in its politics. They roam the country north of the Nahad and Haurah right up to the edge of the Ruba' el-Khāli and are said to number 20,000 men. An old feud exists between them and the Nahad. Their chief is Ibn Jarbu. They claim descent from Kindah.

### 18. *Seibān*

A Himyarite tribe of nomads inhabiting the desolate plateau to the west of the upper reaches of the Wādi el-'Aisār. They are bounded on the north by the 'Amūdi, on the south by the Akābarah and Beni Hasan, and on the east by the Hamumi.

'Omar ibn Ahmed is their chief Sheikh, but they come also under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Makalla. They are friendly with the Nu'a and the small tribes on their south. With the Hamumi they have a long-standing feud which leads to continual fighting.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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They put about 2,000 men in the field. Abd er-Rahmān esh-Shatri has great influence over them. 101

Paramount Sheikh: 'Omar ibn Ahmed. 619 • 622

| *Sub-Tribes.* | |
|---|---|
| BASARAH. | 'Omar ibn Ahmed. |
| BASARĪYAH. | 'Omar ibn Ahmed. |
| BA QŪR. | Mohammed ibn Suleimān. |
| SAMŪR. | Mohammed ibn 'Ali. |

### 19. *Tamīmi*

A nomad tribe to the east of Terīm and the Kathīri, with whom they are allied for purposes of defence.

### 20. *Yāfa'*

The Yāfa' tribe, whose real home is in the Sultanates of Upper and Lower Yāfa' to the north-east of Aden, are represented in the Hadhramaut by the influential and wealthy family of Ka'aiti. Some six generations ago the Seyyids of the Abu Bekr family, at that time the most powerful in the Hadhramaut, were seriously threatened by the Bedouin tribes, and in their extremity invited the assistance of the Yāfa' Sultan. The Ka'aiti were sent to the rescue, and, having repulsed the enemy, established themselves in the country, where they have been ever since. Their power has steadily grown and was notably increased in 1874 by the expulsion of the Kathīri Sultan from Makalla and Shiheir and the presentation of these two towns to them by the British Government in settlement of a debt which had been repudiated by the Kathīri. They now own Makalla, Shiheir, Shibām, Haurah, and Hajarein, and exercise a suzerainty, which at times is only nominal, over the tribes of 'Amūdi, Seibān, and Nahad.

Their wealth comes chiefly from the Straits Settlements, whither many Hadhramis migrate, leaving their own sterile country to seek their fortunes abroad. Their connexion with Haidarabad is also very close, the Nizam maintaining a Hadhrami bodyguard, which is always commanded by one of the Ka'aiti family.

The present head of the house, styled Sultan of Makalla, is Ghālib ibn 'Awad el-Ka'aiti, a man of fifty, who is anglophile and maintains close relations with Aden. He keeps a permanent bodyguard of 1,000 men, but frequently has recourse to hiring mercenaries both to maintain himself against his implacable enemies the Kathīri and their allies, and the Hamumi, and also in furtherance of his

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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ambition to add fresh territories to his dominions and become the ruling force in the Ḥadhramaut.

He has three brothers, 'Omar, Husein, and Manassar—all of whom he has quarrelled with and expelled from the country.

## C. Oman

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### 1. *'Abābid* (sing. *'Abbādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Felej Shirāh in Wādi Fara', in Western Hajar.

### 2. *'Abādilah* (sing. *'Abdūli*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,200 souls; Ḥanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; settled at Shārjah town, Ghāllah in Shameilīyah, Khaleibīyah, near Wādi Hām, and on Sheikh Shu'aib Island.

### 3. *'Abriyīn* (sing. *'Abri*)

A tribe of Nizāri descent in the Oman Sultanate, belonging to the Ghāfiri political faction; in religion they are mostly Ibadhis, but a small minority are Sunnis. They are found in Dhāhirah at 'Arāqi; in Western Hajar at 'Awābi, at 'Aqair in Wādi Shāfān, at Zāmmah and Hāt in Wādi Beni 'Auf, at Beit el-Qarn in Wādi Fara', at Tabāqah in Wādi Beni Ghāfir, and at 'Amq, Fashah, Maqamma, and Mabu in Wādi Sahtan; in Oman Proper at Bahlah, Farq, Ghamr, and Hamra: their number is estimated at 6,500 souls. They cultivate dates and corn and are generally a well-behaved and peaceable tribe. They are the real masters of 'Awābi, but Bahlah is their tribal capital and Hamra their largest separate village.

### 4. *Beni 'Adi* (sing. *'Adwāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 5,000 souls; Hināwi in politics, settled chiefly in Western Hajar at the villages of Sawālih, Murbah, Qasra, Ghashab, and Wabil in Wādi Fara', but also found on the coast at Quryāt and at Ghuweisah in the sub-vilayet of Saham.

Those at Ghashab belong to a section called Beni Bakr.

### 5. *'Ajam, or Persians* (sing. *'Ajmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 10,000 souls, mostly now arabized Shiahs; settled at Muscat town and in

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ficiency are widespread. Pellagroid lesions of the skin are often encountered among the peoples of the Protectorate. In a survey of 518 Arab schoolboys in Aden township in 1949, no cases of overt deficiency were found, but enlargement of the liver, possibly suggestive of low protein intake, was revealed in 27 per cent.

A H 146 164

### Miscellaneous Conditions

A small outbreak of epidemic muscular rheumatism, classified as Bornholm disease, was reported from Aden in 1946. It involved 35 persons—34 British and 1 Arab.

A 164

Hepatic cirrhosis is one of the most frequent conditions seen at the Civil Hospital. Local physicians have noted that most of the cases come from malarious regions where qat is widely used, but the underlying causes have not been investigated.

H A 164 733 146

Chewing the leaves of *Catha edulis*, or qat, is a general custom in Western Aden Protectorate. The leaf juices contain a stimulant, and habitual indulgence is said to produce loss of appetite, sleeplessness and a variety of more serious nervous disorders. Local observers believe that addiction to the drug contributes to the widespread undernutrition among the people.

## SUMMARY

The Colony of Aden and the adjacent Protectorate, on the southern coast of Arabia, have been British dependencies for over a century. The population of the Colony, including the port of Aden, was enumerated at 80,516 in the census of 1946, and calculated at over 100,000 in 1950. The Protectorate territory comprises two administrative divisions—Western Aden Protectorate and Eastern Aden Protectorate, in which the estimated population for 1948 was about 350,000 and 300,000, respectively. The local governments are tribal and diverse in organization, ranging from sultanates to smaller autonomous units. The inhabitants of both the Colony and the Protectorate are predominantly Arabs and adherents of Islam.

A H 648 A 161 H 131 161 H 619 H A 563 795

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Jābir living below Shibam, Āl Bā Sūdān at Du'an, Bā Humeid at Madūda and Seiyun, Āl Bureik at Shabwa, Bā Khatib at Tarim, Bā Wa'l at Tarim, and Āl Bā 'Umar at 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qain. 565 162

### Yafa'is.

The Yafa'is are the *'asākir* or soldiers and the actual rulers of Qu'aiti territory. Their introduction as mercenaries, described in the historical chapters, has led to the foundation of two dynasties, that of the Kasadis of Lower Yafa' and that of the Qu'aitis who drove out the Kasadis. The places in which some of the Yafa'is live will appear later when the inhabitants of the various provinces of Qu'aiti territory are enumerated. I have also given in an appendix a list of the various Yafa'i tribes with their sections, strength and situation. 565 162 463

The Qu'aiti dynasty springs from a section of the Mausata tribe and is historically quite recent. Although the Sultan and his relations have had no personal contacts with their country they exercise some influence in Upper Yafa', and the Yafa'i connection is still a live one, as a great many Upper Yafa'is regularly go to the Hadhramaut to take service in the Qu'aiti forces, returning after a few years to their own country. Other Yafa'is have become settled in the Hadhramaut and form a powerful party on whom the Qu'aiti could depend in the case of disturbances. [73]

The following are amongst Yafa'i tribes and sections represented in the Hadhramaut, the sections being shown in brackets after each tribe: Adh Dhubi (Al Mosilli, Al Kasadi, Ash Shanāthira, Al Jahāwisha), Al Bu'si (Al Gharama, Az Zaghālida, Al Homām, Al Mattash), Al Mausata (Ar Robak, Āl Yazid, Āl Batati). 565 162

### Tribesmen.

The history of the tribes of the Hadhramaut has been, generally speaking, sufficiently indicated in the historical instruction, and their location and strength will be dealt with in the description of the various provinces. 000

There are only four words used in the Hadhramaut for the nomenclature of the divisions of a tribe. *Az Zei* is a confederation of tribes with a single leader. There are only three *Zeis* in the Hadhramaut, the Seibani, the Nūwah, and the Hamumi. The Shenafir Confederation is not a *Zei*, for while the leaders of the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris are Sultans, they do not head the whole confederation of tribes. A tribe, *Qabila*, is sub-divided into a *Beit*, and a *Beit* into a *Fara'*. I cannot claim any particular merit for the divisions I have used, namely, Tribe, Clan, Section, and Sub-section, except that by using the word Clan I have avoided the clumsy term sub-sub-section which I found used in some statements of the other tribes of the Protectorate. 619 565 162 621

The Hadhrami tribesmen, like those of the rest of the Protectorate, are extremely conservative and "never depart from their tribal customs." Most of them are nomads moving over their areas 181 000

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

## Nature of the People and Country

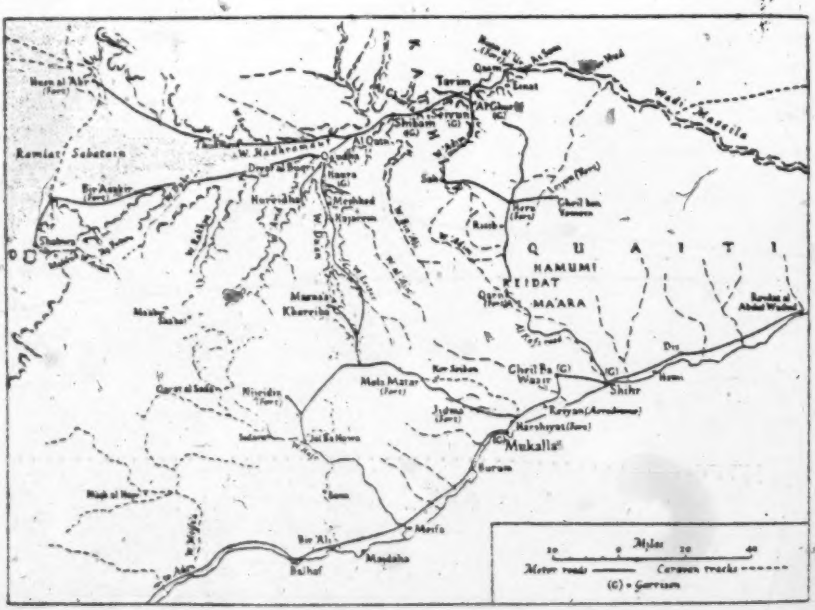
Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2*



serfs whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells. The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.

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The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from considerable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft, however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101 776

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

# THE QUARTERS OF TARĪM
## AND THEIR TANṢŪRAHS

621 361 Like Šiḥr and Mukallā, the city of Tarīm is divided into a number of quarters. I have already given the names of the quarters in Šiḥr elsewhere[1], and those of Mukallā are marked on H. von Wissmann's map[2] where Hafd el-'Abī should be corrected to [347] Ḥāfat al-'Abīd, i.e. the quarter of the Slaves. It may be recalled that when W. H. Ingrams arrived in Ḥaḍramawt these slaves were very powerful indeed just as they were amongst the Rwala chiefs[3] of N. Arabia. As in Mecca, the city quarters form an important part of the social structure of the community, and they have their own peculiar organisation upon which I have remarked previously[4]. [174] There seems to be evidence from the inscriptions that cities in South Arabia, sometimes at least, were split up into quarters [161] before Islam. In Tarīm there are no less than eleven quarters, though, as will be seen, only five of them are really independent, but even this is a large number for a city of approximately 15,000 inhabitants.

621 361 104 The five quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Sūḳ, Ḥārat al-Ḥilaif, Ḥārat al-Saḥīl, Ḥārat al-Nuwaidarah, and Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī. Of these the largest is Ḥārat al-Sūḳ. A saḥīl is a strip of land underneath a mountain, and including the mountain-side up to the base of the perpendicular Djol cliff[5], a word of frequent occurence. The town of Šibām which is not sub-divided into quarters, has a suburb

113 1 *Materials for South Arabian History* I, Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies (London, 1950), XIII, II, p. 296.

2 D. Van der Meulen & H. v. Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leiden, 1932).

3 Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), index *Slaves*.

4 *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, Le Muséon, LXII, 1-2, p. 159.

5 For the peculiar cliff formation of Wādī sides, see *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*.

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known as al-Saḥīl, lying to the south of it. Al-Ḥāwī is a ḥawṭah or sacred enclave, the property of the Āl Ḥaddād saiyids. Amongst other ḥawṭahs in Tarīm are Ḥawṭat al-Šaiḫ (Ḥusain b. 'Abdullāh al-'Aidarūs), (this saint being the brother of al-'Adanī), lying to the west of the Djāmi' mosque, and Ḥawṭat Bā 'Alawī, the capital of the 'Alawī saiyids. Perhaps at one time these ḥawṭahs had an independent organisation of their own, distinct from that of the rest of Tarīm as al-Ḥāwī has to this day. Raḥaiyam Bā Faḍl indeed remarked that the city contained many old ḥawṭahs which are no longer treated as ḥawṭahs, but have become only quarters (ḥārah). The Masākīn of al-Ḥāwī are independent of the other quarters of Tarīm, and follow the Manṣab who is, of course, an Āl Ḥaddād saiyid.

The other quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Ruḍaimah which follows the Sūḳ quarter (tābi'ah li-Ḥārat al-Sūḳ); that is to say that the Masākīn of the quarter follow those of the Sūḳ quarter on ceremonial occasions, join with them in defence of their rights, and probably use the same tanṣūrahs. Then there is the suburb *extra muros* of Tarīm, Ḥārat 'Aidīd which follows Ḥārat al-Ḫilaif. There is Ḥārat al-Midjaff which follows the Sūḳ quarter; according to al-Fawā'id al-Sanīyah[6] this quarter was once known as Ḥārat al-Ḳaṣṣārīn, though not in the author's day, presumably because laundering was done there, though it may have been the quarter where the periodical dying of clothes with indigo was performed. The remaining quarters are Āl al-Siddah, i.e. the Gate Section who follow the Sūḳ quarter, Āl al-Fidjir who are ḍu'afā al-Sūḳ, and the Āl al-Ḫalīf who are ḍu'afā following the Saḥīl quarter.

621 Those who follow the Sūḳ quarter follow the dallāls[7] and the
-565 carpenters (nadjar, pl. of nadjdjār) of the Sūḳ; they go with them
463 on the pilgrimage to Hūd, and accompany them to put out fires, etc.

[6] Composed in 1203 H. (1789 A.D.), see my *Materials, op. cit.*, p. 296. This source also mentions another quarter known as حارة الازرة which is said by some in that day to have been the old town from which building had spread out especially towards the north, but this old part of the city was not apparently on the main road from East to West.

[7] The dallāl is the intermediary between the tribesman and the shop-keeper. He is an important and interesting figure in the economic life of the country, but is of course of the Miskīn class.

When there is a fire the people in the streets should out « Wa-'n-nār wa-'n-nār », or, if there has been an accident when some one has fallen into a well, « Wa-'l-bīr ». At this all of the males of the quarter come running out at a trot, leaving their occupations. If it is a fire they take tanaks (tins) and fill them at the mosque cistern (djābiyah). Only the Masākīn perform these duties of course, not the saiyids or mašā'iḫ. Apart from the occasions cited in a previous article[8] another time when the quarter turns out is when a clay-bank (djurf) of a water-channel or water-course has fallen on top of some person or persons. The latter are dug out by the quarter.

Each quarter has a tanṣūrah (pl. tanāṣīr), a kind of rallying-song or theme special to each quarter, and doubtless each with its special tune. These tanṣūrahs are used on all sorts of occasions, festal or otherwise, and probably, indeed, whenever a body of men from the quarter assemble together. The tanṣūrah may be compared in some respects with the tribal ṣarḫah and 'azwah[9] examples of which are given by Landberg. The following are examples of some of the themes used by the principal quarters of Tarīm.

1. Ahl al-Sūḳ

a. Metre : Wāfir type, ||—|———∪|———∪

لَنَا ٱلزَّايِدْ وَفِينَا ٱلزَّايِدْ

Metre : Radjaz type, ||—|—∪——|—∪—∪

وَشَيْخنَا ٱلْمِحفَار مَعْنا

« We have the most, and amongst us lies the most.
And our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār is with us. »

As the metre of these two pieces differs I assume they are independent of each other though given me as a single tanṣūrah. The sense is that the Ahl al-Sūḳ is greater in numbers than any other quarter, it being the largest of all: Al-Miḥḍār is the celebrated Tarīmī saint.

[8] *The Cemeteries of Tarīm, op. cit.*
[9] C. DE LANDBERG, *Arabica IV* (Leiden, 1897), pp. 18, 20, etc.

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b. Metre : Ramal type, ||— | — — ∪ — | — — ∪ —

شَيْخنَا ٱلْمِخْضَار يَطْفِى ٱلنَّار

« Our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār puts out the fire. »

This is a radjaz or zāmil known as radjaz ḫābbah, or « jingle used by a party of men at the trot ». It would be sung after a fire had been extinguished. It should be noted that extinguishing of the fire is attributed to the patron saint of the quarter, and one can with justification see in this the survival of some ancient pagan ceremony.

c. Metre : Basīṭ type,

||— | — ∪ — | — ∪ — — | — ∪ — | — ∪ — —

وَٱلشَّيْخ وَٱللهْ عُمَرْ يَا سَعْد مِنْ كَان شَيْخَهْ

« By the Šaiḫ, by God, 'Umar, O the good fortune of him whose šaiḫ he [illegible] »

This radjaz (jingle) is also used in trotting.

d. Metre : [illegible] Mighrāh [10],

||— — ∪ | — — — ∪ | — — ∪ | — — — ∪

عُمَرْ مِخْضَار فِى كُلِّ حِجَّهْ نَهْتَرِى بَهْ

وَرَاسَ ٱلْخَصْم لِى قِدْ عَصَبْنَا بَيْن جِيَهْ

« 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, in every matter we shout for assistence to him.

And the head of the foe whom we have made up our mind (to attack) we shall bring [11]. »

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[10] I have named this metre Banī Mighrā because it seems to be invariably used in the poems which begin with this phrase. The Banī Mighrāh poem is the traditional hunting song of Ḥaḍramawt; it is discussed at length in my *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramaut.*

[11] اهترى LANDBERG, *Glos Dat.*, « prononcer le cri de ralliement de la tribu, crisiller ». My informant said it meant « to seek assistance from. » For عصب he gave the synonym اراد. One can say عصبنا السيله equivalent to نبنا السيله « We want to go to the Masīlah ». In the « oath of denial » *infra*, I think that the first two verbs must have the fundamental sense of « binding and loosing » بين جيه is equivalent to بنبنا نحيه .

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b. Metre :

Perhaps || — — ∪ | — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — فَاعِلْ مُسْتَفْعِلْ فَعُولْ

قَدْ قَنَصْنَا ٱلصَّيْدَ فِي رُبُوعَهْ [13]

شَيْخَنَا عَلِيّ بْنْ مُحَمَّدْ ،

« We have hunted the game in its lairs (or mountain-sides). Our šaiḫ is 'Alī bin Miḥimmid. »

This tanṣūrah has no small interest when it is recalled that the ritual hunt played an important part in the pre-Islamic religion of this part of Arabia, especially the hunting of the ibex [14]. The first half-verse is commonly sung by *all* the quarters of Tarīm, and is even used by the people of the ḥawṭah of Thibī not far away. [792] Šaiḫ 'Alī bin Muḥammad is a saint of the Āl Ḫaṭīb family, known as Ṣāḥib al-Wi'il, i.e. « He of the Ibex ». Once, on the occasion of a feast, either the lesser or the greater 'Īd, he had no animal to slaughter by way of celebration, but on returning home from the mosque he found an ibex standing by his door. This was evidently a miracle performed on his behalf. Šaiḫ 'Alī is the patron saint of al-Ḫilaif, and is buried in the cemetery of al-Furaiṭ [15]. [346 361] The chief mosque of the quarter is Misdjid al-Wi'il, and at one time when, owing to the dissension between three sections of the Yāfi'ī rulers, Tarīm was divided into three territories with three separate djāmi' mosques, the Misdjid al-Wi'il was used for the Friday prayer; this took place about a century ago.

No doubt this tanṣūrah would be used by parties of hunters returning from the ibex-hunt as I have described in the preface to my book on Ḥaḍrami popular verse.

3. Ḥārat al-Saḥīl

[792] The people of this quarter mention their saint, an 'Aidarūs saiyid who is buried in Tāribah, but I have no further particulars about their tanṣūrahs. They shout
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[13] Variant شُعُوبَهْ.

[14] Cf. A. Beeston, *The Ritual Hunt*, Le Muséon, LXI, 3-4, pp. 183-96.

[15] For this cemetery see *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, *op. cit.*

Metre : Ramal, ||— — ⏑ — | — — ⏑ —

شَيْخنَا عَلْوِى بِنَ أَحْمَدْ

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4. Al-Nuwaidarah

The patron saint of al-Nuwaidarah is Šihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Alī bin Abī Bakr al-Sakrān [16]. [792]

5. Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī

The tanṣūrah of this quarter mentions the saint of the ḥawṭah šaiḫanā al-Ḥaddād, i.e. the celebrated saint and author 'Abdullāh al-Ḥaddād who is also known beyond the confines of Ḥaḍramawt. [792]

It would however seem that the term tanṣūrah is not confined to the rallying-cries of the quarters of the cities, for I can recall the word being used in the Daṯīnah area when tanṣūrahs were performed over the grave of a man whose murder had been successfully avenged. It is a cry used also by the tribes [17] in Ḥaḍramawt. [628]

Very similar to the Tamīmī tanṣūrah quoted by Landberg [18] is the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd of Tarīm. The 'Abīd have an organisation in many respects similar to that of the Masākīn with a headman (muḳaddam). Their tanṣūrah runs :

بَنِى سوَيْدَ ٱلْغَلَّابَهْ

كَمْ مِنْ قَبِيلِى ظَفِرْنَا بِهْ

« Banī Siwaid, the conquering,
How many a tribesman have we overcome. »

Landberg remarks that the verse he quotes is defective, if one must see a metre in it, but the first half-verse which he gives corresponds exactly in metre to the first half-verse of the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd.

16 « The Drunken » might, at first sight, seem an odd term to apply to a Muslim saint, but the term of course is Sufistic, and implies that he was drunk with the ecstacy of the knowledge of God. Some names are much more curious. I was told that the 'Aṭṭās saiyids derived their name from a miracle performed by their ancestor who is said to have been heard to sneeze while still in the womb! 551

17 C. DE LANBERG, *Ḥaḍramawt* (Leiden, 1901), p. 184.

18 Loc. laud.

22: Reilly G-8 (1933-41) 1941 MM? Hadhramaut MM?
MIDDLE EAST ISLANDS (121)
Socotra.



Socotra has also a
good breed of small, straight backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the [illegible] East, Socotra would probably have a much greater importan[illegible] lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and a[illegible] and receives little attention and has few European visitors. [illegible] official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

doctor, for whom Friday is a holiday. The car which follows is filled with armed Bedouins, members of the tribes through whose land we shall pass. The district of Terīm ends just outside the city. Mud defence turrets and fortifications are pointed out to us, where, up to a year ago, shooting still went on. The aspect of the villages and neglected plantations shows that prosperity has been here disturbed by warfare. Some of these villages are under the rule of Sayyid el-ʿĒderūs, others are independent, that is to say, they belong to the tribes in whose territories they are situated and are not under a *dōla* (a government), as the expression goes here.

The road runs over a sandy plain to the deep Wādī ʿAdim, which seems to be fairly well watered, to judge from the thick vegetation along its banks and from its fine groves of palms. Here lies the village of el-Mesīle, the birth-place of our learned Javanese Ḥaḍramī, Sayyid Hāshim. The village chief had received instructions from Sayyid Abū Bakr to provide a midday meal for us, so he stands ready waiting with his pots and the sheep which is to be killed. We stop just long enough to pick him up with his sheep and cooking-pots and then on we go again through a hilly, sandy region with here and there villages and plantations. The further we go the poorer become the villages; the gardens are partly dried up and half of the houses are in ruins. The male population has been decimated by intertribal warfare, and now poverty and starvation are killing the rest.

The drivers have difficulty in finding a practicable track between the sand-hills. At last we reach Ruḍēḥ, the village of Sayyid el-ʿĒderūs, where donkeys are waiting for us. The drivers are of the opinion that the cars can go on still further if we will all help by pushing from time to time. We are again obliged to go through the sandy bed of the *sēl*. Great exertion is necessary to get the cars through the loose sand, but after that it is good going over loam plains and through wādīs. Sometimes a descent or ascent has to be dug, but we are prepared for that: pickaxes and spades have been brought.

621 We had not received favourable reports of Wādī ʿAmd. The el-Aṭṭās family, nevertheless, maintained the contrary; it is their wādī and the Djaʿdī Bedouins who inhabit it are allied with them and are, in a certain sense, under their control, but it is hard to discover how far this control goes. We got the impression that the wādī was very much armed and ready for war. The landscape is barren and, at first, monotonous; the *sēl*-bed is broad and filled with bluish-white, small boulders. Conditions must have been much better in the old days, for the numerous ruins suggest a dense population.

361 231 243 It is long after sunset before we reach Nukhr, where the el-ʿAṭṭās family own a house. The place consists of a few huts and a half tumble-down mud house, in which a room has been prepared for us. It is too warm to spend the night indoors, but the staircase leading to the roof has collapsed. In the middle of the hamlet there is a storehouse for fodder, half below and half above the ground. Its roof is about three feet above the ground and has a parapet about one and a half feet high. The basin thus formed is smoothly plastered with mud, and the grain is thrashed in it after harvesting. It makes a hard but safe sleeping place.

172 312 241 On the following day, June 10th, we set off again south-westwards. At first the wādī is very monotonous and barren and the *sēl*-bed widens considerably. After two hours' riding Wādī ʿAmd makes a bend towards the south and then very soon one comes across date plantations. There are an increasing number of ruins of what, presumably, were defence works, situated on hill-tops. The palm plantations have suffered much from the drought in recent years, as for two years there was neither rain nor *sēl* of any considerable quantity. The subsoil water is far from the surface and wells are 300 to 450 feet in depth so that they are not used for purposes of irrigation but only for supplying drinking-water. Groups of men hoist up the water, singing monotonously the while.

241 312 Further southwards the plantations increase and form an unbroken girdle between the broad, wild *sēl*-bed and the wes-

# CHAPTER XVII.

## WĀDĪ ḤADJR — A BIT OF ARABIA FELIX.

### 1. ṢIDĀRA, ITS CHIEF SETTLEMENT.

361 Ṣidāra gave us the impression of being dirty, yet fairly
131 prosperous. The stone houses are scattered wide apart; they
621 have generally two storeys and are built square and strong so as to hold their own in case of hostilities. Ṣidāra is independent; the farthest frontier post of the Qeᶜēṭī Government is a good two hours' march south-east. Much fighting has been carried on for the possession of this very fertile Wādī Ḥadjr, and in the days which followed we saw many traces of this strife.

609 Here we stood at last in front of the house of the village-
186 chief, wondering how we were to be received. A roof-terrace was rapidly prepared for us and, after that, the master of the house came to bid us welcome and invite us to enter. We recall him gratefully to mind, for we owe it to him that the people left us more or less in peace, although here again they did not exactly sympathize with foreigners. Our host had performed the *ḥadjdj* and had brought back with him two very favourable recollections of Europeans: when passing through Aden he had become acquainted with the Mission Hospital at Shēkh ᶜUthmān and spoke with great respect of the Mission doctor whom he had met there; and then again, in the Holy Land itself he had met a Dutchman who had become a Muḥammadan; after the *ḥadjdj* was over he had seen the latter again in Djedda and had been treated by him as if he were his own brother. I told him that the Dutchman at Djedda was a good friend of mine, and with that we were in friendly touch at once.

000 The roof-terrace was soon full of people and hand-shaking and questions began as usual. The youth of the village was

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7: Gt. Brit. ; Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



631 missioners) and Qaims (Assistant District Commissioners) of the provinces and districts. Naibs were provided with motor vehicles to increase their mobility. An annual conference of all Quaiti, Kathiri and Wahidi Naibs and Qaims has been instituted, at which lectures and practical demonstrations in all administrative subjects are given by local experts.

631 621 Another significant step towards devolution of duties on to Naibs and Qaims has been the setting-up of village councils under their direction and supervision. The activities of these councils include village welfare, hygiene, sanitation, increase of food production, etc. The Sultan of Qu'aiti State has also nominated a Municipal Council for Mukalla.

643 631 The period under review was also notable for increased co-operation in administrative affairs between Qu'aiti and Kathiri and for the settlement of problems common to these two States. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri State Secretaries and senior officials met several times during 1949 and 1950 and joint decisions were taken on such matters as local import and export taxes, development tax on date-bearing palms, postal affairs, remittances from abroad, famine relief and prevention, and unification of vehicle licences.

[665] 578 With the retirement of Sheikh Seif bin Ali Elbually, C.B.E., from the post of State Secretary to the Qu'aiti Government, in December, 1950, and the appointment of Sheikh Qaddal Sa'id El Qaddal Pasha, M.B.E., formerly Qu'aiti Director of Education who is a Sudanese, as his successor, the so-called Nationalist Party, whose membership does not extend beyond Mukalla Town, seized the opportunity to foment serious rioting, in the quelling of which 16 persons were killed and 24 wounded. Suitable sentences were dealt out to the ringleaders by the Special Court set up by the Sultan to try the offenders. The new State Secretary has been warmly welcomed into the office by all the responsible citizens and officials of the Qu'aiti State in Mukalla and throughout the Provinces.

643 The Kathiri Sultan Ja'far bin Mansur bin Ghalib died on 24th April, 1949, and was succeeded by his nephew Sultan Hussein bin Ali bin Mansur al Kathiri, who was recognised by His Majesty's Government as Treaty Sultan on 22nd May, 1950.

671 During 1950 codified criminal law based on Sharia was introduced in the Qu'aiti State.

*Beduin Affairs*

631 721 *Wahidi Area.* As a result of the operations against the Khadim of Mithaf and the Al Adhm Tribe in January and February, 1950, the whole Dhiyeibi area came under the Sultan of Balhaf and security posts were established on the western border of the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In July, 1950, a successful operation was undertaken against Al Ba Dukhn for breach of the peace and the tribe was brought under complete control

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



the summer thunderstorms are due. These latter are often extremely violent, even terrifying. Hail occasionally falls. Harvesting of one crop or another goes on throughout the year—chiefly bearded wheat, barley, maize, lucerne, and coffee (but the latter is less frequent than over the Yemen border). Indigo and cotton (a very small bush) are grown in the Nisāb district and grapes on the Yemen border.

In the sixth zone—the Empty Quarter or Great Red Desert—the population is pastoral and follows the grazing according to the rainfall, which is irregular and scanty. Along the principal wādis, which lead north towards the desert, there are permanent settlements and cereal crops are raised, chiefly millet, the stalks of which make useful fodder when grazing is scarce. The semi-nomadic part of the population returns to the settlements to await the next grazing-season in the desert.

In the Aden Interior as a whole the prevailing diseases are small-pox, fever (especially malarial), and, to some extent, consumption. The 'Yemen ulcer' is also common among the tribes.

## Population

The population of the Aden Interior (considered as a whole, and including that portion known strictly as the Aden Protectorate), settled and nomadic, may be computed at about half a million. The district is composed of a number of Tribal Confederations or Sultanates, some lying within the limits of the Protectorate proper, some without.

The limits of the Aden Protectorate proper are the delimitation line, previously mentioned, from Ras Turbah to a point some few miles north of Dhāla, and thence a somewhat vaguely defined line continuing at first in a south-easterly direction and then in a generally easterly direction to the coast of the Gulf of Aden near the small settlement of Maqātīn. They enclose an area of about 4,200 sq. miles, having a population of 100,000. The tribal confederations lying within this boundary are: the Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, Haushabi, Amīri, 'Alawi, 'Aqrabi, and other smaller tribes; and without are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and 'Audillah ('Audali). The tribes of the Protectorate have a larger proportion of non-combatants and are more settled than those of the remoter interior; the bulk are to be found in the towns and villages of the littoral belt, the chief centres being Lahej, Waht, Shūghrah, and the Abiyān district.

In dealing with a variety of tribes with such different characteristics it is difficult to generalize; broadly they may be divided

It seems that herein lie pagan ideas attached to the person of a Muslim saint who appears to be regarded in much the same way as a tribal god of the pre-Islamic era. On consideration, I do not think that the intent is to bring the head of the foe to 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, but he is evidently regarded as assisting the quarter in battle against, perhaps, another quarter, Muslims and Šawāfi' notwithstanding.

In the case of a quarrel between two quarters, when one quarter denies its culpability it uses the following formula :

لَا عَصَبْنَا وَلَا طَلَقْنَا وَلَا رَمَزْنَا وَلَا غَمَزْنَا

« We did not decide (to do anything), nor did we omit (to do anything), we did not look nor did we whisper [12]. »

This is known as the « oath of the denial » (yamīn al-inkār).

2. Ahl al-Ḫilaif

a. Metre : Basīṭ, ||—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

اَلْيَوْم جُمْعَة وَغُدْوَة مِثْلَهَا
لَمَّا تَقُومَ اَلْقِيَامَة كُلَّهَا.
عِيوْهَ ! وَوْ ! مِسَه !

« Today is Friday, tomorrow the same,
Until the Resurrection comes, all of it. »

The sense is, probably, that today is a holiday, or at least a fortunate day. After this and other verses, exclamations such as the above are commonly used. Another common exclamation is wō-lākhap. What these exclamations signify none can say, but all Ḥaḍramis concur that they are old and curious. I am tempted to suggest they might be corrupt vestiges of pagan religious ritual.

[12] The latter two verbs of the « oath of denial » were thus paraphrased for me, but I feel that the classical senses of the Lexicons might be more appropriate here.

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an alien aristocracy imported by the senior confederate states, or is the scion of some ancient ruling race. Intertribal jealousy, feuds, and a fierce spirit of independence have prevented any revival of autocratic government; for patriarchal rule tolerates very little prerogative, and only such influence as personality, prowess, or wealth can command. Even a ruling sultan may be promptly deposed by the tribe he misgoverns, and he can never rely on direct succession if opposed to the tribal will: though his dynasty may brook all but a general upheaval, an heir is often passed over for a more suitable relative by the nominating chiefs; and the same rule applies right down the tribal scale to the sheikh of the smallest clan. 619

The largest unit for administrative purposes is the 'confederation' of several subordinate tribes with a larger one, whose Sultan is sufficiently powerful to impose and maintain a sort of suzerainty over the semi-detached tribeships around him, in addition to the tribe under his direct control. The various tribes composing a confederation rank according to their origin and fighting-strength; for the tribal notion is that gain is no good without the grit which alone can preserve it. Each tribe (or leading subdivision) manages its own affairs under the rule of an ''Āqil' (wise man) who is always a member of one of the senior clans (into which the tribe is again subdivided), but not necessarily the oldest representative of his house. Here again succession may be set aside, or an 'Āqil deposed in favour of a cadet, by the will of the tribe. The tribe is again divided into 'Afkhādh' (sing. Fakhdh), or clans; each of these is under its own sub-'āqil, and its internal affairs may not be interfered with by the tribal 'Āqil. A clan is composed of a number of families or households under a Sheikh, sometimes large enough to form an entire settlement, which is technically known as a *beit* (habitation) or, if strongly fortified, as a *dār* (fortress). The Sheikh has no voice in the management of individual family affairs, provided the head of a family does not jeopardize the interests and peace of the clan. The head of a family (usually also called Sheikh, by courtesy) leaves household matters to his women-folk. 619 621 622

The tribesmen defer far more to their 'Āqils, or senior chiefs, than to their actual Sultan (if they happen to acknowledge one), who, as has been said before, is rarely, if ever, of tribal blood, and has more often than not been thrust into power during some crisis of tribal politics. His (the Sultan's) influence is directly in relation to his wealth—in proportion, in fact, to the magnificence of his establishment, his hospitality, and the military support his wealth can procure; but in time of public danger, against an alien foe, all tribesmen would flock to the standard of their nominal 619 622

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loopholed for musketry, and, if stubbornly held, an attack without artillery would prove costly. They are generally square in shape and are sometimes so built as to provide flanking fire on the door; and they are usually two or three stories in height with a flat roof protected by a parapet. The villages are not surrounded by walls, but the erection of *sangars* would quickly convert them into positions very difficult for infantry to capture unsupported by artillery. Villages in the plains are occasionally strengthened by a mud wall. The coast towns of Makalla and Shiheir are fortified, chiefly against attacks by Bedouins from the land side, and are quite open to artillery fire from the sea. 361

(*a*) Confederations within the limits of the Aden Protectorate are described in the following order. *Littoral*: Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, and 'Aqrabi; *Interior*: Haushabi, Dhāmbari, Amīri, and 'Alawi. 619 621

i. *Subeihi*. This tribe occupies an extensive littoral tract in the south-west corner of Arabia. Although covering a large area, their territory is but sparsely inhabited and consists mainly of sandy wastes with an occasional well and a little cultivation here and there. The Subeihi are consequently nomadic: they have no Sultan nor head Sheikh, and are divided into a large number of petty clans, among which may be mentioned the Mansūri and Rujei. The clans have very little cohesion, and blood-feuds frequently occur between them: of all the tribes in the neighbourhood of Aden the Subeihi approach nearest to the typical Bedouin character. The Sultan of the 'Abdāli sometimes exercises a certain amount of influence on the clans of the eastern section of the Subeihi, and those in proximity to the Yemen border come under Turkish influence. Many members of the tribe earn a livelihood as *muqaddams*, or leaders of caravans which pass from other districts through the Subeihi country *en route* for Aden.

The population is estimated at 19,500. Though they are mainly pastoral and nomadic, they are reputed to be able to muster a large number of fighting men, expert raiders but unsteady in battle. The people as a whole are treacherous and untrustworthy and much given to interference with caravans passing through their territory. When the Turks advanced against Aden, the Subeihi lost no time in joining them and took part in the attack on Lahej in July 1915.

Their settlements are few; **Rija**, a small fortified village, 20 miles west of Lahej, is the centre of the Rujei. [361]

ii. *'Abdāli*. This tribe occupies the country immediately around and behind Aden, its boundary extending about 35 miles inland

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619 to the territory of the Haushabi and having the Subeihi on the west and the Fadhli on the east. The chief of the tribe is the •621 Sultan of Lahej, who, normally, possesses great influence in the interior and exercises sovereignty over certain sections of the Subeihi. He receives a yearly subsidy of Rs. 12,984 from the British Government for its occupation of the town of Sheikh 'Othmān.

The estimated population is 14,500, including about 2,000 men of doubtful fighting value. The people are agricultural rather than warlike, and, occupying one of the most fertile tracts of southern Arabia, are by far the wealthiest of the tribes bordering on Aden. They and the Fadhli breed camels that are noted for their fleetness and carrying powers. They possess more settled habitations than most of their neighbours of the littoral.

361 The chief towns and settlements of the 'Abdāli district are:

498 1. **Lahej,** 21 miles from Aden, with a population estimated variously at from 10,000 to 15,000, is a town with narrow irregular streets, nearly all the houses being surrounded by zaribas into which the cattle are driven at night. The most notable feature of the town is the market, Lahej being the most important commercial centre, outside Aden, of the whole district. The town forms an advanced market for fabrics and manufactured articles from Aden, and, in return, supplies Aden with fodder, vegetables, and firewood. Transit dues are levied here on the Yemen trade, the chief articles being coffee and *kat*. There is an important community of native blacksmiths and craftsmen in metal-work, who turn out daggers, sword-blades, spear-heads, matchlocks, and domestic hardware and utensils, of rough workmanship, especially the decorative work in silver. The bazaars are covered in and one is set apart for the workers in metals. The town stands amid date plantations and groves of lime, orange, banana, and coco-nut palms, which extend for miles, and in consequence the climate is particularly damp and malarial. The water is very bad.

The palace of the Sultan, on the southern edge of the town, is the most imposing building on the littoral belt. It is of mixed architecture, from Italian stucco to Arab, built partly of sun-dried brick and partly of cement and stone masonry, and it is constantly being added to. It overlooks a large open square where the Sultan reviews his troops and has a saluting battery holding two guns of Crimean pattern.

2. **Dār el-Amir,** situated a little to the north of Sheikh 'Othmān, is the 'Abdāli customs post for the Aden traffic.

619 iii. *Fadhli*. A large tribe, of warlike and independent character, 621 inhabiting the sea-board from the British frontier post at 'Imād to

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Maqātīn, and extending inland to the maritime ranges. The population is estimated at under 20,000, with a high proportion of fighting men, who are probably well armed owing to their large sea-board and resources. The people are agricultural as well as pastoral, their territory including the extensive tract of fertile land known as the Abiyān; they are noted for breeding swift camels of good carrying capabilities. Relations between the Fadhli and Yāfa' are often strained, as the latter sometimes cut off the water-supply of the Bana River, while, on their side, the Fadhli have established customs posts and levy dues on Yāfa' caravans. 619 621

The ruling Sultan, Husein ibn Hamīd, an old man of 90, visited Aden late in 1915; in January 1916 he was summoned to Lahej by 'Ali Sa'īd Pasha, given a guard of honour and salute of guns, and promised a bribe if he would support the Turks. But the attitude of this Sultan, apart from Turkish pressure, has been Anglophile. 6221

The chief towns and settlements of the Sultanate of Fadhli are: 361

1. **Shūghrah** (Shuqrah), the capital and the principal port between Aden and Makalla, is situated about 100 miles north-east of Aden, and occupies an important position on the convergence of several caravan routes from north and east, which enables it to collect considerable transit dues, and, if the Sultan so desires, to hamper trade generally. The town is divided into two parts, the palace and other chief buildings being in the easterly portion, which lies about half a mile from the fishing and commercial quarter. It has a large fishing industry and constitutes a focus of trade between Aden and the Upper Yāfa' and 'Aulaqi districts. The population is about 5,000. There is a small harbour, with a depth of from 1 to 2½ fathoms, formed by a break in the reef which fronts the shore at about five cables' distance; outside the reef is good anchorage in 7 to 9 fathoms. The exports are chiefly ambergris, coffee, *jowari*, and *ghi*. The Wādi Mathwan finds an outlet to the sea just east of the town, and, though it is generally dry, flood-water sometimes comes down at very short notice. Jowari is cultivated in considerable quantities, and there is a large date-grove not far from the town. On the left bank of the wādi are salt-works. The Sultan of Fadhli has a country residence at *Suriyah*, about 20 miles east and 4 miles inland.

2. **Maqātīn** (es-Saghīr, a littlé distance inland; and el-Kebīr, on the coast) is composed mainly of ruins. There is now no permanent settlement there, but only a shrine with a small cemetery and a ruined tower. The site marks the eastern limit of the Fadhli tribe. Fisher folk, who use the place as a base for their

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361 operations at certain seasons of the year, have constructed a few crude shelters.

3. **Nā'ib** (Naab) is a considerable collection of settlements, comprising Old and New Nā'ib, Suwat, Nujat, and other villages. They are situated in a highly cultivated plain irrigated by a system of water-channels from a more or less permanent stream in the fertile Wādi Yerāmis, a tributary of Wādi Hasan. Old Nā'ib, on the left side of the wādi, has a mosque with a conspicuous minaret. New Nā'ib, on the right bank, sometimes known as Raudhah, stands on a low plateau of earth cliffs; it is an important centre of traffic, and has several shops, a fine old house falling into ruin, and a custom-house for the collection of dues on merchandise passing to and from the Yāfa' country. The immediate approach to the village is by a roundabout way through narrow gullies.

619 iv. *'Aqrabi*, a small, peaceably disposed tribe occupying the coastal district north-west of Aden Lagoon. Their territory, poor
•621 for cultivation, is separated by a desert tract from that of the 'Abdāli, under whose influence they are. It is impossible to give an estimate of their population, but, though they are mainly pastoral, they are considered capable of furnishing some 250 fighting men. The district contains no town of any importance. **Bir Ahmed,** the tribal capital, is situated about one mile west of Wādi Kebīr and due west of Sheikh 'Othmān, and the tall tower of the Sultan's residence can be plainly seen from Aden harbour. During the recent operations it would appear that pressure from their powerful northern neighbours, the Subeihi, and from the Turks, forced the 'Aqrabi temporarily to side with the latter.

v. *Haushabi*. This is a powerful tribe whose territory extends from near the Anglo-Turkish frontier to Nūbat Dakīm and the 'Abdāli territory. They are, generally, peaceably disposed, and, although of late years they have done a good deal of fighting with their neighbours, they do not come under the heading of warlike tribes. They control the Tiban valley and consequently the waters of the Lahej oasis, and have on several occasions, in time of war, been known to divert the course of the water: but relations between the Haushabi and the 'Abdāli have been for the most part friendly. The population is estimated at from 6,000 to 7,000 (including 1,800 fighting men); they are mostly nomads, but a few are engaged in agriculture and camel-driving.

The tribe is under the nominal rule of a Sultan, who claims, also, suzerainty over the *Dhāmbari*, a troublesome hill tribe on the east, who are given to raiding, and admit his control only when it suits them. The Haushabi Sultan threw in his lot with the Turks, when

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they appeared in 1915, and accompanied them in their attack on Aden. 619

The towns and villages of the Haushabi country are small and badly built, each consisting of one or two towers and a cluster of stone hovels. The following are the chief settlements : 621 361

1. **Musemir** (Mus'aimīr), the capital, about 60 miles north by west of Aden and 12 miles from the Yemen border, lies on a small plateau overlooking the left bank of the Wādi Tiban, and is a centre of important caravan tracks. The residence of the Sultan is a large tower of stone and mud, some 75 ft. square and 40 ft. high. With the exception of one other tower, the only other habitations are a cluster of reed huts where his soldiers and slaves live. The district is most unhealthy.

2. **'Anad,** in the fork between the Wādis Tiban and Bilih, is a frontier town of the Haushabi. The fort is a large square mud building, two storeys in height.

vi. *Amīri.* The territory of this tribe, about 750 sq. miles in extent, lies between Wādis Tiban and Bana, to the north-east of that of the Haushabi. It extends to the frontier of Yemen, and is of a very mountainous and rugged character. The Emir also claims suzerainty over the Quteibi to the south-east, but he cannot enforce it. The population is estimated at 6,000, and is mostly pastoral and agricultural. Though the tribe is said to be able to muster 1,000 fighting men (this seems excessive), they are of doubtful value as combatants. In 1915 the Turks deprived the Emir of his position for a time ; later they summoned him to Lahej, and, keeping his son there as a hostage, reinstated him and gave him fifty rifles. 619 621

The chief settlements of the Amīri district are : 361

1. **Dhāla,** which has a population of about 2,400, and is by far the most important town of this tribe. The residence of the Emir, called Dār el-Hā'id, consists of a small group of *dārs*, or square stone towers, and stands on the top of a rocky hill. The town itself clusters at the northern foot of the hill, and partly up its slopes, about 200 ft. below. It is compactly built and consists of about 325 houses, most of which are solidly constructed stone *dārs*, three or four storeys in height ; the streets are narrow, dirty, and irregular. On the western side of the town is an open space where a market, attended by people from the neighbouring district, is held on Thursdays ; on the eastern side is a smaller space where skins are dried and cured. The Jews, who have two separate quarters of unpretentious houses, spin thread for weaving. On the northern side of the town is the principal mosque, with a white-topped minaret ; and there are several outlying *dārs* on slight eminences.

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torate proper are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and the 'Audillah (or 'Audali). 619

i. *Yāfa'*. This warlike confederation, consisting of the Upper and Lower Yāfa', holds a very extensive inland territory, north of the Fadhli, immediately to the east of the Protectorate boundary, and having the Beida Sultanate to the north-east. The Upper Yāfa' occupy the northern, and the Lower the southern portion of the territory, the former being the more extensive. The Yāfa' country is watered by the Bana and Hasan rivers. The interior is mountainous, but there are many fertile valleys producing coffee, gums, madder, and cereals. The five powerful clans of the Upper Yāfa' are the Mausata, Dhubi, Maflahi, Bo'si, and Dā'ūdi; the chief clans of the Lower Yāfa' are the Kaladi, Yahari, Sadi, and Yazīdi. 619 621

The population of the Confederation is estimated at 108,000: the Upper Yāfa' have a fighting strength of some 15,000 men; and the Lower Yāfa' a total pop. of 28,000, with 6,600 fighting men. The people are hardy mountaineers, always ready for active service, which they often seek in other parts of the Islamic world, e.g. at Haidarabad, Zanzibar, &c. The tribe, however, falls short of the political importance which might be expected of so large a confederation, as it lacks cohesion and uniform policy. The Confederation has, in fact, no one paramount Sultan, but several chieftains, each urging paramount claims. The Lower Yāfa', alone, may be considered as a separate sultanate, but their present chief lives much in seclusion, being dissatisfied with the attitude towards himself of certain sections of the Upper Yāfa' (over whom he is inclined to assert a claim to general suzerainty) and with the dignity and precedence assigned to him. The Upper Yāfa' have held aloof from the Turks up to the present and have refused to entertain advances which have been made both by them and by the Imam of Yemen.

The following are some of the chief towns of the Yāfa': 361

1. **Yāfa'**, said to be 'the principal capital town'.

2. **Gharrah**, one hundred miles inland from Shūghrah, and the principal residence of the Sultan of the Lower Yāfa'.

3. **Khanfar** is a well-to-do town in the Abiyān district, situated on a very ancient site a mile or so east of the Wādi Bana, on large mounds near some dilapidated forts and an old ruined castle. The Sultan possesses another castle at a short distance from the town. Khanfar has a powder factory of a primitive kind, saltpetre being plentiful in the district. Jebel Jabeil, a neighbouring hill about 200 ft. high, is the acropolis of ancient Khanfar and is surmounted by a large double-walled fort, the outer wall being built of large hewn stones. The fort commands the town.

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361 4. **Bir Lamas,** having a plentiful supply of water in a district where it is otherwise very scarce, is an important and very dirty halting-place for caravans between Shūghrah and Nisāb. The place itself is a picturesque spot, with acacia-trees overhung with creepers. Mis-hāl and many other villages are supplied with drinking-water from here, the labour of carrying it being confined to the women.

619 ii. *'Aulaqi.* This is a very large tribal confederation whose territory extends from the coast of the Gulf of Aden to the Ruba' el-
•621 Khāli ; it is bounded on the west by the Fadhli (where the frontier reaches to within 30 miles of Shūghrah), the 'Audillah, and the Beida territories, and on the east by the Wahīdi Sultanate. The country is divided for political purposes into the Sultanates of the Upper and the Lower 'Aulaqi, but these maintain close intertribal relationship and unite in the event of aggression from outside. The Upper 'Aulaqi are again subdivided, part of them being under the Sultan, and part under a Sheikh who is almost as powerful. The Lower 'Aulaqi territory, which is the more thickly populated, is composed almost entirely of the Ba Kāzim and Lakmūsh tribes with their numerous subdivisions. The political attitude, of the Upper 'Aulaqi at least, is Anglophile.

No estimate of the population of the Upper 'Aulaqi can be given, though the tribe is said to include good fighting men ; that of the Lower 'Aulaqi may be roughly estimated at 15,000 souls. The Upper 'Aulaqi are inclined to be predatory, while the Lower are a hardy, turbulent race, always engaged in petty feuds among themselves or raids on their immediate neighbours, and they have a bad reputation on account of their fondness for drink and their slackness in religious observance. In ordinary circumstances they are mainly pastoral and semi-nomadic, but they possess large tracts of arable land, and there is a considerable settled population in the main wādis. Among the special products of the 'Aulaqi territory are honey and the fruit of the jujube-tree. The district includes a strip of very flat coast, without harbours, extending for some 55 miles from near Maqātīn to Wādi Sanam, and its territory extends about 200 miles inland.

The chief towns of the Upper 'Aulaqi are :

361 1. **Nisāb,** the capital, pop. 4,000, situated in a broad and fertile plain encircled by foot-hills, at the junction of Wādis Dhura (Durra) and 'Abdān, about 100 miles crow-fly inland of Shūghrah. It is an unwalled town of white minarets and clay-dressed houses, some of the latter being of solid construction. Though there is no wall, a number of warden towers are dotted here and there about the

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a market town, engirdled by fighting towers. **Jiblat el-Qarn,** near by, is the stronghold of the El-Qarn branch, and is built on a little knoll commanding the Hasani border. 361

3. **Mijdah,** in Wādi Ruqub, a tributary wādi of the Ahwar, is a large village of some 600 inhabitants, mostly non-combatants, and is situated on the south-western spur of the Maran ridge. The shrine of Sīdi 'Amr ibn Sa'īd is close to the village and is a prominent landmark and a centre of pilgrimage from all parts. A spring of good water comes out near the shrine and runs through an artificially covered channel past the village.

v. '*Audillah* (or 'Audali). A tribe of predatory habits and abrupt manners, under a Sultan, which inhabits the Kaur el-'Audillah, west and north-west of the territory of the Oleh. The population is not known with any exactitude, but the tribe is reputed to muster 4,000 fighting men (Bent). The people, the women in particular, decorate their faces in a very grotesque manner with a red earth dye, called *hisn*, and some of the women dye their faces red all over. 619 621

The chief town is Laudar (Loder), the capital, a white unwalled town situated on the Sa'īdi plain at the foot of the Kaur el-'Audillah, and said to be 'more populous than Shibām'. It is an important centre for the littoral and highland trade of a wide region. A market is held every Wednesday, and is attended by all the outlying tribes of the neighbouring confederations, who, though they may be at feud, agree on that day to declare a truce. 361

## B. THE HADHRAMAUT

### Area

In its broader sense, this region may be said to extend inland from the coast of the Arabian Sea to about lat. 17° N.; and from long. 47° E. to long. 53° E. Its frontiers are in no sense defined, but roughly it is bounded on the W. by the 'Aulaqi territory, N. by the great Ahqāf tract of desert, and E. by the Dhofār province of Oman. Thus considered, the region measures about 400 miles from E. to W. and has a depth N. and S. varying from about 220 miles in the west to about 50 miles in the east. 131

In its more restricted sense, the term Hadhramaut refers to the broad valley running for some hundreds of miles more or less parallel to the coast, by which the waters of the many valleys in a large portion of the southern Arabian tableland probably drain into the sea, between Seihūt and Qishn.

643 Although the Qu'aiti family no longer consider themselves, if they ever did, subjects of the Qu'aiti Sheikh[1] of the Mausatas, they are still proud of their Yafa'i connection, and they maintain their hold over the Hadhramaut to a large extent with the aid of a great number of Yafa'is in their service, who come and go regularly between the Hadhramaut and Upper and Lower Yafa'.

622 In the western part of the Protectorate when there is a vacancy in the chieftainship a new chief is elected by the *'aqils* of the tribe from among the members of the royal family. In some cases it is the practice that the chieftainship shall be held alternately by different branches of the family. The usual tendency is, perhaps, to elect one of the elder and stronger members of the family to be the new chief, but the election of a child and the appointment of a regent is by no means uncommon. In the Hadhramaut, however, in Qu'aiti territory, the position is different and the country is treated as the private estate of the ruling family.

643 By his will of 1872 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti, the founder of the Qu'aiti fortunes in the Hadhramaut, left his possessions in that country to his sons 'Abdulla and 'Awadh and Salih. Salih and 'Abdulla predeceased 'Awadh. Abdulla died in 1888 and the British then acknowledged the succession of 'Awadh bin 'Umar as the ruler of the Shihr and Mukalla states, but declined for the moment to go into the question of the future succession. In this succession three of the nephews of Sultan 'Awadh bin 'Umar were interested, Manasir and Hussein, sons of 'Abdulla, and Muhsin the son of Salih. Manasir resigned his claim to participate in the sovereignty, and the claim of Muhsin was disposed of by the British Government. By his will of 1898 Sultan 'Awadh excluded Hussein from the inheritance, and determined the reversion of his Hadhramaut possessions as follows: 1. His son Ghalib bin 'Awadh bin 'Umar, 2. His son 'Umar bin 'Awadh bin 'Umar, the late Sultan, 3. Salih bin Ghalib, son of No. 1, the present Sultan, and 4. The son of Umar bin 'Awadh bin 'Umar (No. 2), failing whom, Muhammad bin Ghalib, son of No. 1.

The will continues:—

> "If he (i.e., 'Umar bin Awadh, No. 2) has a young son, Muhammad bin Ghalib should act in his place, and thus the succession should be amongst the sons of Ghalib bin 'Awadh and 'Umar bin 'Awadh and their descendants from generation to generation.
>
> "Every ruler elected, if he resides at Shihr, should appoint his successor to officiate on his behalf at Mukalla, and if he resides at Mukalla he should appoint his successor to officiate at Shihr. If his successor be absent the heir of his successor

[1] The Qu'aiti Sheikh appears to sit as precariously on his throne as any Yafa'i. Last year the incumbent, Musa bin 'Abdulla, paid a visit to the Aden Residency. On his return to his country he did not give a correct return to his tribesmen of the presents he had received and was very nearly unseated.

635 The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely con-
619 nected with the province :—

[162]

SEIBANI.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 101 Marāshida ... | | Living round the province of Du'an. | 400—500 |
| | Bā Daheiduh | | |
| | Bā Beitar | | |
| | Bā Dhrus | — | |
| | Bā Kardas | | |
| | Bā Sara | | |
| Khāmā ... ... | | — | 300—900 |
| | Bā Surra | | |
| | Bā Kadīm | | |
| | Bā Sallum | | |
| | Bā Rashīd | | |
| Hālka ... ... | | Hūfa in Wadi Leisar | 300—800 |
| | Bā Dajeil | | |
| | Bā Sa'd | | |
| | Bā Nakhar | | |
| | Al Biadha | | |
| | Bā Khashwein | | |
| As Sumūh ... ... | | | 500—1,000 |
| | Shaka'i | | 200 |
| | Bā Wasim | | |
| | Jodani | | |
| | Jahzami | | |
| | Bā Buteiya | | |
| | Ghuth | | |
| Al Meshājir ... ... | — | Husn Ba'ba', Wadi Yeb'uth. | 250 |
| Al Qathm ... ... | — | — | 100 |
| Al Hamidī ... ... | — | — | 400 |
| | | | 2,450—4,150 |

[162]

619 The Seibani Zei are said to be part of a Confederation which
631 includes the 'Awābitha and Āl Heik tribes. They extend from the
369 Hamumi country on the east to the Nūwah on the west. The Nahd and Kathīri tribes bound them on the north, and the Beni Hasan on the south. The tribe are partly nomad and partly settled and they own villages round Mukalla and in Wadis Du'an, Leisar, and Huweira; many of them live in 'Aura and Qurein in Wadi Du'an. The settled Seibanis, like other townsmen land-owners, are subject to taxation on their date groves by the Qu'aiti whom they acknowledge in full sovereignty. The nomads acknowledge Qu'aiti suzerainty but pay no taxes. Their country is at present the safest for travelling and a *siyar* is unnecessary. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an " A 'Ahd " agreement with them.

619 Muhammad bin 'Umar and Ahmed bin 'Umar Bā Surra of the
622 Khāmā clan of the Seibani, the Qu'aiti Governors of the Du'an
628 province, are also the paramount *Muqaddams* of the tribe. Inter-tribal disputes are settled by reference to the heads of neutral clans, more important cases being carried to the Bā Surras and the Shatiri Seiyid who is their *Mansab*. The Mihdhār family of Seiyids descended from Sheikh Abubekr, also have great influence

1 [See page 72 ante; Cry 116 — Analyst]

with the whole tribe, as have the 'Amūdi Sheikhs of Budha and Tila who exercise considerable authority, in as much as they can on their own initiative interfere and declare a fight between the Seibani and Hamumi as ended on the Seibani side. The Qathm clan, who live furthest from the sea and ply their camels between Du'an and Hadhramaut, have the following *mansabs*, Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il. 619 622 628

Of the clans and sections given above, the Handbook of Arabia mentions the Bā Sara and the Sumūh, and also the Basarīyah and Bā Qūr whose names I did not obtain. The Marāshida clan are nomads, owning about 1,200 camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Du'an and Hadhramaut. In November 1934, this clan were at feud with the Sumūh. 619 628 101

The Khāmā are a hardy, nomad people, owning cattle and sheep and about 1,000 camels. The Bā Kadīm section are the strongest in numbers but the Bā Surra the most important. The Hālka clan have grazing lands round Mukalla extending towards Wadi Leisar. They own about 300 to 400 loading camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Hadhramaut via Wadi Leisar. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the clan and pays them an annual subsidy. The Biadha are a very small section, and the Bā Khashwein, though not really a section, live under the protection of the Hālka and are so closely allied to them that they are generally considered one of their sections. 619 101 631

The Sumūh, who own about 600 camels, are the largest clan. Their grazing lands lie round Mukalla extending to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. They have long been settled in the country they inhabit. The Qu'aiti pays the clan an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

### 'Amūdi.

The tribe consists of the following clans: Āl Motahhar, Āl Muhammad bin Sa'id, Āl Ahmed bin Muhammad, Āl Baghābira, Āl Saklu', Ash Sheikh 'Umar al Munasib, Āl Batuk (Bin Tuk), Āl Badahia (Bin Dahia), Āl Bā 'Abd al Qadir, Āl Bā Ahmed, Āl at Teiyar, Āl Barubeid, Āl Faqih, Āl Bajumā, Āl Basamad, Āl Kushan, As Suq'an, Āl Batawīl, Āl Basaqr, Āl Abubekr, Āl Barnusa and Āl Bayasīn.

The 'Amūdi or Beni 'Isa live in Wadi Du'an and on the plateau of Reidat ad Deiyin. They are descended from one Sa'id bin 'Isa known as 'Amūd ad Dīn, and the men bear the title of Sheikh. They were once paramount in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, but in 1900 when, with a force of about 1,100 men, they advanced and occupied Qurein and 'Aura, the Qu'aiti collected men from Khoreiba and Rashid and these, reinforced from Mukalla, broke the power of the 'Amūdis once for all. They fled to the mountains and treated for peace, but were permitted to return to Sīf and Budha and gradually obtained possession of a considerable area of fertile land in Wadi Du'an and Wadi Leisar.

1 See [illegible] 116 -- Analyst]

619 The whole tribe are now peaceable and the Qu'aiti has a " B "[2] agreement with them. The leader of the Motahhar clan who resides
622 at Budha is acknowledged as the paramount chief, but for practical
631 and political purposes the 'Amūdis are under the actual control
635 of the Seibani leaders, the Governors of Du'an, though the Qu'aiti allows them autonomy in their own towns. The towns of Qeidun, where their ancestor lies buried, and Dhuba also belong to the tribe, and the Sheikh of the former is 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Umar bin Muhammad, and of the latter Sheikh 'Abdulla bin Salih bin Motahhar al 'Amūdi.

### Deiyin.

631 The Deiyin tribe consists of twelve clans. The estimated number
101 of armed men where obtained is given after each clan: Al Bazi,
619 200; Bā Kershūb, 200; Al Bās, 150; Bā Salim, 50; Bā Kharbūsh, 50; Bin Sūeidan, 200; Bā Masdūs, 150; Bā 'Umein, 300; Labarja Bā Henhen, Yās, Ba Kharshūm.

The tribe trace their descent from Kinda. They inhabit Reidat ad Deiyin on the tableland between Wadis Du'an and 'Amd, and also the west of Du'an and Beina: their chief village is Zila. It is said that the estimated number of men belonging to those clans living at Al Hauta and 'Asala is 1,500. They possess camels and sheep, but live mainly by cultivation, and their means of livelihood depend on Mukalla and Du'an. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the tribe. Thier *mansab* is ' Isa bin ' Abdul Qudir Āl Haddad.

### Bā Juba.

A small tribe living at Qarat al Mihdhār under the influence of Seiyid Bubekr bin Hussein al Mihdhār. They formerly followed the plough but have now taken to arms.

### Khamikha.

This tribe live on the outskirts of the province of Du'an.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 4. HAJR PROVINCE.

635 The Hajr province includes the Wadi Hajr with its towns and
103 villages from Meifa to Ras al Kalb, together with the towns and villages in the south between Bir 'Ali and Wadi Hajr. According to a local account the Wadi was first known as Wadi Hajr Wahab after a man who came there, diverted the water springs, and then died. He was followed by the people of Kinda who found Sheikh Sa'id bin 'Isa al 'Amūdi living there. They assisted him to open the springs, and also imposed taxes to be paid by the people to the Sheikh. The Kinda ruled in the wadi which then became known as the Wadi Hajr Kinda. Later there came the Bin Daghār

[1 [The 'Amūdi, see preceding page -- Analyst]

[2 [see page 12, category 116 -- Analyst]

given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Seheil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathīri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathīri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a "B" agreement with them.

The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: "The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and Manahil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have, of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell *saf* leaves for making mats, *'elb* trunks, and charcoal.

Bertram Thomas records the following description of them: "The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. 'They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them!'" We learned from the Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

22 The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and Ahmed bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

See page 92 (Category) 116 (Analysis)

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The Āl Makhāshm are settled

and possess towns, villages, and trees near Shibam, and depend on the capital for their necessities. 619

The Āl Hidlān, Āl Buheijān, Āl Badr, and Āl al Qānis are Beduins belonging to the Nahd Rōdhān clan, but they live at Fūha. 631 101 Generally speaking, the rest of the Nahd Rōdhān clan possess towns, villages, and trees round Shibam and its dependencies. They have relied on Shibam for their necessities for a long time. The Āl Yamna, Beni Shabīb, Āl az Zu', Bil Hamaz, and Āl Baziab sections of the Nahd Yezīd are agriculturists and also rear camels. The Āl az Zu' and the Bil Hamaz are an exception to the rule that the tribe live on the left bank and reside near Al Qatn. The Āl Jebe and Āl Qamāzīn are nomads; the latter have a reputation amongst the whole tribe for bad faith and robbery.

It is stated that there are 35 armed men of the Nahd in the village of Al Man'at, 50 in the village of Marāti between Al Man'at and Henin, and 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shabīb in the town of Mad-har in Wadi Manub, but it is not clear to what clans or sections this refers.

The *Mansabs* of the Nahd tribe are Ahmed bin Hussein Āl 'Aidarus, Al Hazm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus, 'Ali bin Zein and Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, Ahmed bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas, and Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. [6a2]

### Āl 'Amr.

An independent nomadic tribe living in the Wadis 'Irma and Duhr near Shabwa.

### Āl Bin Balleith and Āl Heidera.

These two tribes together occupy the upper part of Wadi Rakhia near Wadis 'Irma and Duhr.

### Āl Mahfudh.

This tribe, who are said to number 2,000, are descended from Kinda, and for this reason they are sometimes included with the Sei'ars. It is said that they used to occupy the town of Hajarein but they are now scattered in the neighbouring mountains. The Āl 'Umar Mahfudh live at Nahūla and have been estimated at 85 armed men. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the tribe.

### Bā Muhammad.

A small independent tribe living at Haura and Hajarein.

### Harizi.

A small tribe practically confined to the Wadi Qubhudh which has its source on the plateau to the north of the main Wadi Hadhramaut. Apart from the village of Qubhudh and a few neighbouring hamlets, they are troglodytes and live with their animals in caves in the walls of the wadi, wandering up and down it in a precarious search for water and pasture. Some of them do a carrying trade, and they are, as they have to be, friendly with their neighbours. Their chief is Salih bin 'Ali.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



al Bakri, known as a section of the Āl Dhubi in the Hadhramaut, is 619
in Upper Yafa' a sub-section of the Hadhrami section of that tribe. 101
The *Mansabs* of the Āl Qu'ata are Muhsin bin Ahmed and Haddar 631
bin Ahmed al Haddar. [623]

## CHAPTER XX.

## OTHER DISTRICTS UNDER QU'AITI INFLUENCE.

In a written description of the provinces of the Qu'aiti state the 631
Qu'aiti authorities included the tribesmen and villages of Wadi 'Amd as depending on Mukalla. The Wadi 'Amd, however, is far away from Mukalla province, and I have thought it better to mention it separately. Although this territory may not be definitely part of the Qu'aiti domains, it is certainly more under Qu'aiti influence than that of any other Protectorate ruler. Hureidha, which is the headquarters of the Al 'Attas family, is the principal [162
town of the Wadi 'Amd. It is estimated to have about 2,000 167]
inhabitants, and from 300 to 400 men are said to have left it in the last 20 years to seek wealth in Java. There are eight mosques in the town, and it is a place of religious teaching.

The following is a description of the Āl Ja'da, Āl Ma'di and 631
Ad Dohm tribes of Wadi 'Amd : 619
101

AL JA'DA.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Salima ... | | Seila, Jidfera, Kora, and Raham in Wadi 'Amd are the important villages of this clan. | 500 |
| | Āl Bin Murda<br>Āl Bin Halābi<br>Āl Bin Homeid<br>Bin Mubarek<br>Bin Hubeish | | |
| Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed. | | Habab, Al 'Ardh, Na'ir, and Rabb in Wadi 'Amd are their important villages. | 400 |
| | Āl Bin Shemlan<br>Bin Namara<br>Bin Lizam<br>Bin ash Sheiba<br>Bin al Khaahr | | |
| Āl Bin Heijabi<br>Āl Bin Suqeir<br>Āl Tahir bin Rajih | | | |
| | | | 900 |

The Ja'da tribe, who claim descent from the Beni Hilāl, are nearly all Beduins occupying the central and lower sections of the Wadi 'Amd. They are under the influence of the Qu'aiti who has a "B" agreement with them. The foremost section is the Āl Bin Shemlan whose leader is recognised as the head of the whole tribe. The Āl Tahir bin Rajih are a small clan of the Yafa'is sometimes known as Kharba, but they are settled in Wadi 'Amd

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqīl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 619 Bin Yamāni and their slaves ... | — | Qasm | 50 | 'Ali bin Ahmed bin Imani. |
| 631 101 Āl Sa'id, Bin 'Uthmān, and Āl Dahnān. | — | Al Khōn | 50 | 'Umar bin 'Awadh bin Sa'id. |
| Āl Qafla, Āl Barakeiz, Āl Heithwa, and Āl Nuheid. | — | As Sōm | 50 | Kharīf |
| Āl as Sa'd ... ... ... | — | 'Asum | 45 | 'Isa |
| Samāh al 'Usba ... ... | — | Al 'Usba | 15 | 'Aidha bin 'Atūfa. |
| Beit Bal Hateish ... ... | — | Fughma | 35 | — |
| Āl Bin Kōb ... ... ... | — | Sha'b Hud | 15 | 'Awadh bin al 'Ahīdī. |
| Bin Marsaf ... ... ... | Al Fahd | — | 120 | — |
| Ash Sheiban ... ... ... | 5 sections | — | — | — |
| | | | 847 | |

The Tamimi are a part nomad, part settled tribe, living in the main wadi from the neighbourhood of Tarim to beyond Qasm. They have been allied to the Qu'aiti, with whom they have an "A 1 agreement, for a long time, and have had a long-standing feud with the 'Awāmir and Kathīris which was terminated by the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The Kathīri Sultans have no jurisdiction over them but it is said that the Tamimis are allied to them for purposes [628] of defence. Disputes between the Tarim Government and the Tamimis are settled by negotiation or Qu'aiti interference.

The Tamimis emigrate to Java and the East African Coast, but 167 they are a poor tribe. They grow wheat, lucern, vegetables, jowari, 311 and other crops, on well irrigation. A large amount of land in the 369 Tamimi territory is the property of the rich townsmen of Tarim 438 and Dammūn, which the Bin Silma cultivate, and they are generally safe and honest. At harvest time, however, Beduins come from across the northern hills, which are quite close to the cultivation here, settle in the groves, and do a certain amount of damage. Like most wadi dwellers from Tarim eastwards the Tamimis obtain their supplies from Shihr rather than Seihut, though Seihut sends regular caravans as far as 'Einat.

619 The Bin Qasīr clan is sometimes considered as divided into four 631 sections, the Āl Kibl, Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar, Bin Dahdūh, and 101 Beit Bal Hateish. The Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed clan is sometimes called a section of the Ash Sheiban clan; the latter is said to be divided into five sections. The Bin Silma is said to be the strongest clan and is stated to have four sections.

619 The *mansabs* of the Tamimi are 'Umar bin Zein Āl 'Abdulla bin 622 ash Sheikh for the Āl Yamāni, Hasan bin 'Alawi al 'Aqīl, Ahmed bin 'Aqīl, Āl Matahar, Tahir bin Bubekr Āl Tahir for the Balheij, and 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shibab for the Bin Silma.

[See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



ĀL 'IMRAN.

A tribe allied to the Tamimi. The *mansab* is Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. 619 631 101

MANAHIL.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beit Kasim ... | Beit Ghānim | An Neid | 40 | 'Aidha bin Tanāf. |
| | Beit al Batīn | do. | 60 | do. |
| | Beit Rasī'a | do. | 150 | do. |
| | Beit al Hamādī | do. | 28 | do. |
| | Beit Nahāt | An Neid and As Sōm | 80 | do. |
| | Beit Barakāt | As Sōm and Fughma | 30 | do. |
| | Beit Nas'ūd | do. | 15 | do. |
| | Beit Nōkhat | — | 50 | do. |
| Beit Mu'ashini | Beit al Bāqīya | Sena and An Neid | 100 | Yeslam bin Salim. |
| | Beit Sālmīn | do. do. | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Qūeinisa | do. do. | 60 | do. |
| | Tammān | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | Hushhūsh | do. do. | 300 | do. |
| | Muzābbar | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | 'Atūnī | An Neid | 100 | do. |
| Al Bawāqī ... | — | do. | 100 | — |
| As Samāh ... | Samāh ar Raqāa | Near the coast | 100 | — |
| | Samāh al Ghuthma | — | 50 | — |
| | Samāh Beit Khafr | At Al Masīla | 180 | — |
| | 'Adūl | — | 100 | — |
| Tha'īn and Beit Farād. | — | — | 250 | — |
| Beit Dahein ... | — | — | 50 | — |
| Beit Qumsīt ... | — | — | 500 | — |
| Beni Sa'id ... | — | — | — | — |
| Beni Ujeil ... | — | Near Qabr Hud | — | — |
| | | | — | |
| | | | 2,593 | |

The Manahil are a strong nomad tribe occupying the country east and north of the Hamumi and up into the Rub'al Khali. The southern part of Reida and the country from Damakh to upper Hadhramaut belong to them, and they have a few small settlements east of Qasm. They have an "A'[1]agreement with the Qu'aiti.

They breed camels extensively like their neighbours in the south-east, the Mahras, both for sale and for hire. Their camels are said to be finer and stronger than those of the Sei'ar, and the average price is estimated at about 200 rupees a camel. Female camels are seldom sold and are used both for breeding and riding. Women do not milk camels among the Manahil. 231 435 [562]

The tribe are said to raid as far as the Central Nejd and sometimes to the outskirts of Kuweit, passing the sandy stretch by routes known only to themselves. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Mahras in the steppe. We found that when passing through Mahra territory they declare themselves Tamimis. Bertram Thomas also says that "Bin Tannaf is the hereditary title of the 619 721 622

1 [See page 92, Category 116 - - Analyst]

619 721 622 Sheikh of the Manahil tribe. The present (1930) holder is one of the most famous leaders of the raid. The leader has always the perquisite of two or three of the best camels taken, otherwise there is equal division of the spoil ". Philby mentions their chief, Saif bin Tannaf, as going to the Governor of Hasa to plead his excuses for not paying his taxes, and of the wilder spirits of the Manahil and other tribes joining a band of raiders called *Al Ziqirt*. In May 1935, the Manahil concluded a two years' truce with the Tamimi.

622 Their *mansabs* are Seiyid Hādi bin Ahmed ad Dawīla, whom I met collecting his tithes, which he does from Husn al 'Ur to Wad'a during the crop season, 'Ali bin Ahmed al Hussein who has influence over the Beni 'Ujeil, and Muhammad bin 'Ali Mola Dawīla who has influence over the Beni Sa'id, a small nomad clan.

BA 'ATWA.

619 631 101 This small tribe, now scattered between Qu'aiti and Kathīri domains, deserves mention for its historic interest. Members of the tribe live in Mukalla, Shihr, Al Qatn, Seiyun, and Taris; they have no fixed country of their own. Like the Ja'da and the Ma'di, they claim descent from the Beni Hilāl and are therefore Ma'adic, sons of Ishmael, and not of Joktan. Legend tells that the Beni Hilāl, who are sometimes rumoured giants, once lived in the Wadis 'Amd and Henin, but that drought drove them forth to northern pastures.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## THE RULE OF THE KATHĪRI SULTANS OF THE ĀL 'ABDULLA.

643 Authorities appear to be divided as to whether the Kathīri tribe are of Dhufar, Hadhramaut, or Yemen origin. They originally rose to prominence towards the end of the fourteenth century under Bedr bin al Habrali, commonly known as Bedr Bu Tuweirak. The genealogy of the Āl 'Abdulla, the ruling family of the Kathīris, as far as I have been able to ascertain it, is given in an appendix. The Āl 'Abdulla number some 700 souls and live in Tarim, Seiyun, Wadi Tarba and Al Bada'; their *mansab* is Ahmed bin 'Abdur Rahman as Saqqaf.

By the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla are recognised as Sultans of the Shenafir Confederation, and their dominion is defined as including the towns and villages of Seiyun, Tarim, Taris, Al Ghurf, Mariama and Al Gheil, and the Shenafir tribes of 'Umar, 'Amr, Al Kathīr, Bajri and Jabir and " all that is within their boundaries ". Practically speaking the Sultan's rule is only absolute in the towns mentioned, and in Tarim he is represented by the sons of his uncle, 'Abdulla and Muhammad, sons of Ghalib bin Muhsin bin Ghalib, who are semi-independent. The present Sultan is 'Ali bin Mansur who succeeded his father (who died at Mecca on the day of the Standing on Arafat) in 1929.

631 derived from that country. They are also poorer as regards pro-
619 perty in the wadi for, with the exception of the Bin 'Abdāt who
have property on the right bank, their territory lies on the left
101 bank, where cultivation is very poor. The Āl 'Āmr are friendly to the Qu'aiti and friendly to the British, indeed it is said that they have expressed themselves anxious to become British subjects and to be ready to pay taxes.

The third " clan " is called Al Fakhāīs meaning " sections ", which is merely a collective term given to several independent sections. The Bin 'Āmr Muhammad and the Hājirī sub-sections are each composed of one *dar* or house. The latter are sometimes considered a sub-section of the Āl Sa'id.

[62a] The following are *Mansabs* of the Kathīri : Ahmed bin Hussein al Aidarus, 'Umar bin 'Abdulla and Muhammad bin 'Ali al Habashi, and Hasan bin Salih al Bahr.

'ĀWĀMIR.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bin Hatāb | | Tarba an Neid | 150 | Ahmed 'Abdul Qawi. |
| | Al Matrif | | | |
| | Al Hadhir | | | |
| | As Seif | | | |
| | Al Kowa'i | | | |
| Bin Salim | | Tarba | 40 | |
| Bin 'Abdul Bāqī | | Sahil Muhsin. | 150 | Mansur bin Bukheit bin Kartam. |
| | 'Areidi | | | |
| | Beni Kheir | | | |
| Bin Khamīs | | Eastern Sahīl | 60 | Salih 'Abdulla bin Gharib. |
| | Bin Ghareiya Al 'Ulus. | | | |
| Bin Kasbūba | | Sharma | 70 | Karama bin as Saqīr. |
| | Kasabib al Kahtan | | | |
| | Bin ad Dawal | | | |
| | Al Beihan | | | |
| Bin Ja'fer | | Tarba an Neid | 80 | Sālim bin 'Ali bin Husn. |
| Bin Kalīla | | do. | 100 | do. |
| | Al Muhammad | | | |
| | As Sūeid | | | |
| Bin Tabī'a | | Mushta an Neid | 40 | |
| Bin Wu'eil | | | 60 | |
| Bin Hūeilī | | | 20 | Sa'id bin Muhammad. |
| Bin Barahan | | Wadi adh Dhahab | 50 | |
| Awanza | | Taris | | |
| Al Qannas | | | | |
| Al Yokhlyir | | | | |
| | | | 820 | |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The Bājrī live on the left bank of the main wadi at a distance of about ten miles north-east of Seiyun. They are surrounded by the tribes of Āl Kathīr and 'Awāmir. It is not universally admitted that the Bājrī are a true Shanfari tribe, but they nevertheless recognize the Sultan of Seiyun as their chief. There is a story that the Bājrī are the original inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, but that in course of time they became absorbed by stronger immigrant tribes. They are all agriculturists but their cultivation being on the left bank is very poor. 631 619 101

The *Mansabs* of the Āl Quseiyer are 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and Qadir adh Dhibab. Hussein bin 'Aidarus Āl Salīla also has influence over the tribe. [692]

## CHAPTER XXIII

### EMIGRATION: COLONIES OF HADHRAMIS ABROAD

There are probably few countries in the world where a larger proportion of the population lives abroad than the Hadhramaut. Between 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. of the estimated population of the Hadhramaut lives in the East Indies, East Africa, or Egypt and the countries bordering the Red Sea. 167

A great number of these emigrants do not proceed abroad for good, but expect to return when they have made their fortunes and die in their native land. Fortune with them is a relative term, for while some of them amass amounts that would not be despised in America the ambition of others is far more modest, and many run only to a few hundred or a few thousand Maria Theresa dollars. [556]

Apart from the 90,000 to 100,000 Hadhramis now living abroad there are a very large number in the country itself who have been abroad, and I have already commented on the fact that Malay and Swahili have really become naturalized languages in the country. [191]

It is not only of recent years that the Hadhramis have learnt the habit of leaving their native homes to seek their fortunes abroad. As Schoff points out, we learn from the *Periplus* that since the earliest time they have had a view beyond their own borders. Then as now, he says, "the outlook of Hadhramaut was towards India by sea and towards Egypt by land. Bent found the same conditions: the capital full of Parsee merchants, the natives going to India, the Straits and Java, and returning when they had amassed a competence; the English protectorate accepted because of England's domination of India, in the face of the religious convictions of rulers and people (*Geographical Journal*, IV, 322). Maltzan described the Hadhrami traders in Cairo as the keenest of the lot, and spoke of their activities in the East; while the Dutch Government, finding the islands of Java and Sumatra overrun with Hadhramaut Arabs, stimulated inquiries of them in Batavia."

To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 776 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



643 The Sultan of Lahej rules over the territory of the 'Abdali tribe, and
425 his frontier marches with the northern frontier of Aden Colony. He is descended from a Yafa'i family, who were appointed as Governors of Lahej by an Imam of San'a. Later they revolted against the Imams and declared their independence. By purchase, Imamic grants and seizure they own a considerable portion of the Lahej lands; they are of foreign origin to the tribe over which they rule.

The Amirs of Dhala' were appointed Governors of the Dhala' province, including the lands of the tribes of Halumein, Ahmad, Azraq and Shu'Ar, by the Imamas of San'a, and, later, of the lands of Sha'ib by a Sultan of Turkey. I see that the official handbook describes the Amirs of Dhala' as descendants from slaves. It is surprising how such obvious in-
567 accuracies persist. To see that they have no slave blood in them requires
795 no more than ordinary eyesight, and it would be impossible for an Imam of
144 San'a to appoint a slave to any post, since there are no slaves in the Yemen at all, slavery being forbidden by the tenets of the Zeidi sect. The Amirs are of typical Central Yemeni type, such as is found on the Yemen plateau.

643 Later, they rebelled against the Imams and established their independence. Thus they rule over a confederation of small tribes, while belonging to none of them.

These appointed Suzerains, of whom the Sultan of Makalla is one, form a distinct class among Arab Chiefs. They do not mix with their tribesmen in the usual democratic Arab way, but stand apart, as it were, and are addressed by titles of exaggerated respect. Not being tribesmen of the tribe they rule, they have no traditional and family holds over the people and their attitudes towards their tribesmen are those of foreign rulers. They do not, as a rule, favour elected hereditary headmen in their villages, but prefer to appoint outsiders as headmen, whom they pay as retainers.

When a Suzerain dies, the election of the new Chief is held by the family only and the tribesmen are not consulted.

622 The accepted Suzerains are represented by one example only—the
792 Sharifs of Beihan. It is, however, an interesting example.

628 In Beihan there are settlements of Sharifs and of Seyyids. There are
648 also two tribes among whom these holy men live. Both the Sharifs and the Seyyids are arms-bearing families, and for some time were divided by a feud. Before the Great War, the elected Chief of the Sharifs, a far-sighted man called Ahmad, negotiated a treaty of protection and friendship with Great Britain. In this he gained the support of the lower tribe and of half the upper tribe, which was divided by a feud. After the Great War he concluded a truce with the Seyyids, and consolidated his relationships with his supporters among the tribesmen, who amounted to three-quarters of the population of Beihan. They accepted him as Suzerain and as their general agent for dealing with their foreign affairs. Thus, while he is undoubtedly a Suzerain, he is one of limited authority. He does not claim taxes from the land or the trade except in his own settlements, and is, consequently, very poor. But, for all that, the influence of the Sharifs is considerable in all the Beihan area. Their position is not, of course, unique in Arabia, but it is doubtful if any others than holy men could find themselves in a similar one.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM 2



The elected hereditary tribal Chiefs form the third type. In each tribal 624
confederation there is a central tribe. Of this central tribe one family only provides Chiefs to the confederation. Normally the election of a Chief is the concern, not of his family only, but of the central tribe, while powerful petty Chiefs of other tribes within the confederation have a considerable say in it. Such Chiefs are, by virtue of the conditions of their election, truly democratic. By ancient tradition, however, they are held in great respect and are referred to invariably, as is their family, as the "Dola," or dynasty. They are accorded high-sounding titles by the Government and by other Chiefs, but their tribesmen address them by their names, and it would appear that the high-sounding titles are of recent adoption in the country. The Imam of San'a rarely uses them. Government correspondence is, for this reason, often a source of merriment.

It will be seen that all Chiefs are, whatever their type, elected in a 643
greater or lesser degree—the Suzerains within their family circle and the 622
hereditary Chiefs within their tribe. The main difference between the types is that, whereas the Suzerains are of foreign descent to the tribes over which they rule, the hereditary Chiefs are of the tribe and, as such, do not need to surround themselves with the trappings of imposed authority. In appearance the Suzerains are more imposing, and this has misled officials into supposing that they are of more consequence socially than other Chiefs are. This is, of course, not so.

In all these types of Chief, when the Chief dies his eldest son would appear, by custom, to have less right to succeed than others. Suzerains always try to impose their eldest or their favourite son as accepted heir during their lifetimes. This has happened in Lahej, where it led to a revolt among the Sultan's relations, and in Makalla by arrangement. The Sharifs of Beihan have been exceptions to this, and have abided by custom. When Sharif Ahmad died, they held discussions among themselves. The eldest son was Sharif Hussein, but he was appointed Regent to his own eldest son, a young boy, who was elected Sharif. The reason given for this was that the grandson of the dead Chief had longer to live than his father and that frequent change in leadership was a bad thing. As a rule, however, Chiefly families pass the Chiefdoms from branch to branch, and, when the Chief dies, a nephew will usually succeed. Among the 'Audhali 628
recently, the Chief was murdered by his cousin. The tribe was split in two by feud, but one half elected the murderer's son, a boy of eight years old, to the Chiefdom. This boy was accepted in 1934, when the feud ceased, as Sultan of the tribe.

We next come to the holy classes. The first of these are the Sharifs 792
and Seyyids, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. They live in settlements and elect among themselves in each family a headman. They have great influence in the community, but it varies, of course, with [556]
the amount of their riches. Most Seyyids—the only Sharifs are those in 821
Beihan—do not bear arms and take no part in tribal warfare. They are 423
peacemakers, and derive considerable income as such, and as dispensers of the Sharia or holy law of Islam. They are treated with veneration and respect and, after death, are frequently treated as saints. They marry

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792 582 423 tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

792 778 346 The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

778 651 423 792 754 Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

792 778 In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We [776] must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

792 [622] 778 792 782 All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

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YEMEN ML 1



they are a race apart and are much respected, frequently attaining positions of high rank. A man will trust his slave before his brother. Tribesmen will eat with a slave when the slave has attained a position of eminence, such as governor of a village or commander of a post, but never with a Doshan or with a Heiq. A Chief's responsibility for his slaves is a very real one, and should he sell a slave or part with one he will be considered to have committed a shame. The slaves that I have met in the territory upheld the reputation slaves have always had for loyalty and courage.

We next come to two curious races, the Akhdam and the Hajur. I am satisfied that these are quite separate races, although there are a few instances of intermarriage in the major settlements. Akhdam is the plural of Khadim, which means "servant." This race is of African origin, but I can make no guess at the date at which they came to Arabia. Whenever it was, they appear to have left no relations or traces behind them in Africa. Their main settlement is at Zabid in the Western Yemen. They are of the Shafa'i sect, but practise witchcraft, make phalli and hold snakes and snake-charmers in great respect. In appearance they are small and their skin is a dull dark brown, not a glossy East African black. The only race in the country which will do filthy work, the Akhdam are in great demand and are employed as sweepers. They have their own headman in their small communities, successful wizards appointing themselves to the post without election.

The second foreign race is the Hajur. They appear to be South-west Abyssinians and are very like the Galla. Like the Akhdam, they have long ago lost any linguistic connection with Africa and speak Arabic. They are hardy and well-built and live in grass-hut settlements on the coastal belt between Lahej and Abyan. Some, on occasion, bear arms, but they are on the whole un-warlike and seek casual labour at harvest time. The 'Abdali tribes of Lajeh have intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and for this reason the 'Abdalis are darker than most coast Arabs and many villages in their territory are occupied by settled Hajur. In a few generations the Hajur and the 'Abdali will be indistinguishable, and I think this mingling of the two races must be very recent, and probably began during or just before the Turkish occupation of Lahej in 1916.

East of Aden, for some hundred miles, the coastal fishing communities are of Hajur or mixed Hajur stock. They elect their headmen as the Arabs do and are of the Shafa'i sect, but, like the Akhdam, they incline towards witchcraft and phallic worship. The observant traveller on the Lahej road will see plenty of evidence for this close to their settlements.

It is possible that these two African races came to Arabia during the second and third centuries A.D. as camp-followers to Abyssinian armies. But this is pure conjecture.

Finally, we come to the Jews. Jewish settlements exist all over the Protectorate. The principal settlement is in San'a, and all Jews of South Arabia claim inter-relationship and have many family connections in Palestine. They claim to be descended from the Jews of Kheybar. It is more probable, however, that the original Yemeni Jews are of South Arab race. Before the rise of Islam the people of South-west Arabia were

5 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2, Hadhramaut MM21



remained unchanged through centuries of the past and which was perhaps well suited to periods long ago, somehow or other have to adapt themselves to modern conditions. 000

That is the problem which Political Officers in a country like the Aden Protectorate have to face: that is to say, they have to give the best that we can offer to the people without doing at the same time harm, which so obviously might accompany our action if we were to press our own ideas too much on a social system so different from our own. That makes it all the more important—in fact, it is essential—that British Officers, Political Officers working in that country, should really understand the people as Mr. Hamilton understands them; that they should study them and specialize in their task, for otherwise it is only too easy to fall into serious errors and mistakes.

The question which remains to be answered is to what extent communities like these tribes can absorb or adapt themselves to these changes and to the conditions which they have to meet. As you know from what 681 Mr. Hamilton has said, the units are very small. In some cases, such as 642 Lahej and Mukalla, we have something approximating to what we regard 621 as a regular government. But in some tribal areas the authority of the sheikh is very small; in fact, in some cases I think Mr. Hamilton would agree that it is practically non-existent. The tribal chief often has little real authority. He is merely one of the family, one of the tribe. The extent to which he can carry his authority depends largely on his personality.

We have also heard how the tribesmen, the landowning tribesmen, who 625 regard themselves as the aristocracy of the country, are not a minority but a majority of the people. I once was talking to an Arab from the Protectorate, and I asked him: "What exactly is the difference between a tribesman and a subject?" He replied very briefly: "Well, a subject has to do what he is told, and a tribesman need not." If the tribesmen are in a majority, that makes it very difficult. I said to him: "What about your own tribe? Have you many subjects there or not?" He replied: "As a matter of fact, in my own particular tribe we have no subjects; we are all tribesmen, and that is what causes all the trouble."

If we want to help these people in matters like assisting them to develop 000 their agriculture, to develop their resources in water (which is a necessary concomitant of any agricultural development), to give them help in medical matters (of which they are badly in need, for there is no such thing as even an approach to a medical service in any part of the Protectorate), to help them in education—I mean an education suitable to them—the first and foremost foundation must be some form of internal security. With so many of these small tribal communities immersed in old vendettas and 628 blood feuds the security in the country is in some parts very slight. You cannot build up anything on a basis of anarchy and disorder, and the question arises whether these small tribal units are capable of establishing enough authority and of getting rid of anarchical conditions sufficiently to meet the needs of the time.

Our neighbour there, the Imam of the Yemen, maintains that many of these tribes are too small to enjoy any forms of independence. He says, in fact, that they ought to belong to him, and he would understand how

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YEMENMLI



THE NAME IS THE NAME OF A PAGAN DEITY AND IN THE ABSENCE,

Y 101 174 778 622 of histories, we may take it that the confederation is pre-Islamic in date. Apart from the name, the only other obviously pre-Islamic possession of the tribe is the sacred drum, the "Tabble an Nahas," which is kept by the Beni Qasid and which is accorded sacred honours by the tribe of Yafa' only. It is possible that before Islam the Beni Qasid were the keepers of the drum, and I am going to suggest that the present Sultans of Yafa' are in reality Priest-Chiefs, whose functions as such have ceased with the introduction of a new religion, although their hereditary position remains as heads of the people who once worshipped Yafa'.

H 101 619 622 Let us examine another confederation of tribes. About sixty miles north of Adèn live the Qateibi tribe, surrounded by the confederation of the Ja'ud. At first sight the tribes here seem to be disorganized and unrelated, but careful study of dialect, of local stories, of the Qasidas or epic poems, and of such things as star lore and magical beliefs, shows that these tribes are closely allied in thought, dialect and custom and form a true confederation, the organization of which becomes clear in times of danger. Of this confederation the Qateibi are the central tribe, and their sheikhly family is the Akhram, from which the Qateibi Sheikh is elected. As was shown in 1904, a Qateibi Sheikh with a strong personality can have considerable influence on the whole confederation, but he is not expected to rule, as we understand the word, even within his own family.

H 619 [623] 174 622 With the strong 'Aulaqi Confederation we find a more complicated organization, but a similar one. Ma'an is here the central tribe, in all probability the ancient Ma'an of the inscriptions, a pre-Sabian kingdom of South Arabia. Ancient Ma'an was ruled by a "Grand Council," as we find from the inscriptions, and this system still exists to-day.

The 'Aulaqi Confederation is divided into three parts—the Upper and Lower sub-Confederations of attached tribes and the tribe of Ma'an—and each of these three is ruled by a Chief of the tribe of Ma'an, elected by Ma'an only. Again we have the sheikhly family within the central tribe, surrounded by the attached tribes of the confederation. Again the name, but this time it is the name of the central tribe, is pre-Islamic. If we look [671] for further proof that the confederation is of pre-Islamic origin, we find an ancient legal system—that of the Manaqid, which I have already described—strongly attached to it.

H 619 We could continue to find examples of the organization from other confederations, but these three will suffice. The basis of the organization is clear: there is a central tribe containing a sheikhly family, forming the centre of a confederation of tribes.

H 174 Y 643 How did such an organization evolve? How is it that Chiefs, elected according to ancient custom, are not expected to rule their electors? What is the origin of such Chiefs, and of the sheikhly families from which they come? Our answers must be mainly guesswork, but we may well begin by seeing some of the conditions under which an Imam of Sana'a is elected, for I think they point the way to our understanding of the whole problem.

The first condition is that the Imam must be whole in body. No Imam may be elected if he limps, is blind in one or both eyes, has a stammer, squints, is a leper or has any other physical disabilities. If, once

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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elected Imam, he goes outside the acknowledged boundaries of his kingdom (the present Imam acknowledges no boundaries, nor have any of his predecessors) he ceases to be Imam, and a new Imam must be elected. The Imam is usually elected during the lifetime of his predecessor, so that when one dies the country is not without an Imam.

H 174 Y 643

Now all these conditions are those pertaining to divine Kings. There is little doubt that they are ancient pre-Islamic conditions, and it is possible that they are taken from the conditions under which the Tobbas of Himyar became King and which governed the ancient kingship of Sheba. Some inscriptions made by the Tobbas, who ruled over Axum in Abyssinia, as well as Saba and Eastern Yemen, are countersigned, as it were, by a Minister who styles himself "The Sacrifice"—in itself a very significant title. These conditions must have been accepted by the Persian and Abyssinian rulers of the Yemen, and both they and subsequent rulers must have thought it as well to assume the kingship in its ancient form.

In the same way as the Imam is elected and proclaimed, so under him each confederation elects its Chiefs and petty Chiefs within their tribes and families. The central tribes elect their Chiefs, who become the heads of confederations, and each tribe elects its leaders within itself; only in the case of the smaller units, from the confederation downwards, there appear to be no such conditions as I have mentioned regarding the Imamate. All these Chiefs are figureheads who can exert a strong influence but who are not expected to rule.

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The scene thus represented is one of the greatest interest to anthropologists and to sociologists. It is a stage in the development of nations. Before the formation of kingdoms and before Islam, Arabia was a land of many gods. Each of these gods was the particular god of a tribe, and his worship was in the hands of a priestly tribe who elected a Priest-Chief. He was, as it were, a divine Chief, and doubtless it was his main duty to ensure fertility, which entails all the priestly functions of bringing rain, guarding against disease and supervising agriculture. Both the magic and the custom were higher than him. He could not change either but was himself ruled by both. In inter-tribal disputes he spoke for the tribe and not for himself as ruler of the tribe. When Islam came, the tribal god vanished, but the Priest-Chief was left as a figurehead, with a vague aura of holiness but with nevertheless a considerable loss of his power, which was never very great. This is the position of the elected hereditary Chief in the Aden Protectorate to-day.

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It is obvious that such Chiefs cannot be expected to rule their confederations and tribes unless they obtain military power. For the most part they are reluctant to do this. At one time it was the policy of the Government to give arms and ammunition to the Chiefs so as to strengthen their hands against their more unruly tribesmen. The hereditary elected Chiefs, however, did not respond to this policy as they were supposed to do, but gave the arms away to brigands in the form of bribes. The Suzerains avidly accepted these presents from the Government, for they understood rule as we do, and have held their positions through this understanding. This, by contrast between the two types of Chief, throws a strong light on the accepted position of the hereditary Chiefs. There is,

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as far as I know, nothing written to define their position, but it THERE IS is accepted that they can only use their position to influence their tribesmen, and that the rule of the tribe is that of the tribal council, which is drawn from all the heads of tribe and family, and is influenced by all strong personalities within the tribe as well as by the holy classes—the Seyyids and descendants of saints. The strength of rule which the Chief can impose depends, therefore, on how much he can influence the influential. By his own position he is not a ruler; he is a figurehead; and if his ancestors at one time could inspire respect and fear through their magical powers, he inspires neither, except through his own personality. By a reluctance to enforce his rule, even when he is assisted to do so, he shows that in some vague way he appreciates his peculiar hereditary position. Until the official understands this he will live in wonderland, where the Chief he wishes to assist blandly gives Government arms away to his enemies and then returns to demand equality of force with them and the assistance of aircraft to defend himself. But the official is dealing with the older thing, with a type of community which long ago ceased to have meaning or motive, but has preserved the ancient forms of its pagan birth.

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It is notable that the Imam does not attempt to rule the Yemen through hereditary tribal Chiefs. He rules, as his ancestors did, through appointed Governors of provinces, and these provinces often disregard tribal areas. It may be that the Yemen progressed beyond the Priest-Chief state of rule in the days of the kingdoms and under a succession of Governors never returned to it. I do not myself believe that the Mushreq has ever known other than tribal life and the rule of tribal councils and public opinion from the days of the Grand Council of Ma'an to the present day. The Yemeni parts of the Protectorate which are under Suzerains are governed after the Yemeni autocratic model. Here the tribal figurehead counts for very little, unless he is a strong personality and a favourite of the Suzerain. But the figurehead is still there for all the centuries of "foreign" rule.

It would seem that it is usual for the rule of Priest-Chiefs to be followed by that of tyrants. Perhaps it is that as trade develops some firmer kind of rule is needed than a vaguely conservative council under a Priest-Chief. The church, as it were, cannot keep the functions of the state. When it can it tries to endow every activity of the individual with magical colour. It usually succeeds. But in South Arabia the religion was violently changed by a militant Christianity and after a few centuries by a militant Islam, and in the place of the old order, under which each man worshipped his tribal god, there came the new order of the conqueror and his appointed Governors. In this small strip of Arabia we are fortunate to be able to study both these types of rule as they react to contact with the modern world.

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Almost the whole world has been through the phase of passing from the rule of the Priest-King to that of the tyrant, and we are no exception. It would almost seem to be a necessary growing pain for the people to first be ruled by autocrats before they rule themselves. But it would be interesting, to us who have passed through this phase and who see ourselves on the frontiers of the wider democracy of our age, to dispense with this phase and to at once develop a government of truly democratic form

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



its own language, and in its trade, which is dhow-borne, unlike that of Mukalla, which is largely steamer-borne in normal times, it deals with Muscat, the Persian Gulf and India, and to some extent with East Africa, for the coastal Mahris are great seafarers. The Mahris, unlike the Hadhramis, do not settle abroad, so by reason of their habits and their speech they are an even more exclusive and secluded people than the Hadhramis. But in effect little is seen or heard of the Mahris, and their territory is considered part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and they have their contacts with His Majesty's Government through the Residency at Mukalla.

### The Western Aden Protectorate

To me the outstanding features of the political set-up of the Western Protectorate are the position of His Highness the Sultan of Lahej, the large number of treaty chiefs, and the general tribal atmosphere of the country. A glance at the map will show why the Sultan of Lahej is the most important chief in the protectorate, for his territory stands at the door of Aden, and through it land traffic from the Yemen and from a great deal of the protectorate must pass. It is the transit dues on goods that have made Lahej the richest state of the Western Protectorate, and with the money His Highness has managed to develop Lahej territory as a sort of private estate, which pays because it grows so much fruit and vegetables which are consumed in Aden. For he has water, and a good deal of the spate of Yemen pass with the Wadi al Kabir and the Wadi as Saghir, which flow through his territory.

So that geography has played a great part in determining the part that Lahej should play in the protectorate. But much of the prestige that the Sultan enjoys to-day is due to his own wisdom. While strenuously guarding the internal affairs of his own Sultanate from external interference, His Highness has consistently given every possible help to His Majesty's Government in matters of defence and so on, and has also co-operated so wholeheartedly in the settling of disputes and political matters generally that he is almost universally accepted as an impartial arbitrator with no axe to grind. This personal achievement of Sultan 'Abdul Karim has made him the leader of the Western Protectorate, and it is really remarkable, as the general tendency of tribal chiefs in the protectorate is not to brook interference in their affairs from others.

There are in the Western Protectorate twenty chiefs in direct treaty relationship with His Majesty's Government, and seven others who have agreements. There are about thirty-five all told who correspond directly with Government. The "nine cantons" are the 'Abdali, the Amiri, the Haushabi, the Fadhli, the Yafa'i, the Subeihi, the 'Aqrabi, the 'Aulaqi, and the 'Alawi—the original tribes with whom treaties were made. The other tribes in the Western Protectorate—the Audhali and the Beihani—did not come into treaty relations until later. But the Yafa'i, the 'Aulaqi, and the Subeihi are divided. In the Upper Yafa'i confederation there are treaties with the Upper Yafa'i Sultan, the Naqibs of Mausatta, the Dhubi Sheikh, the Maflahi Sheikh, the Hadhrami Sheikh, and the Shaibi Sheikh. In Lower Yafa' there is only one treaty, with the Sultan. In 'Aulaqi there are treaties with the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, and

622 631 648 the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh. Of the Subeihi Sheikhs, the Barahimi, the Atifi, and the Rifa'i have treaties. The reason for the large number of treaties was the desire to protect the land frontiers of Aden from incursion by foreign powers and from tribal assault. But the haphazard way in which the treaties were entered into has been responsible for a lot of confusion, because the policy has extended gradually from merely interest in the security of Aden to the welfare of the tribes themselves. When the treaties were made the country was largely unvisited. Chiefs came down to Aden, and on explaining their importance were given treaties. They were induced to do so by the fact that treaty chiefs were given stipends and presents and entertainment. But when the Government decided to stop giving treaties as freely as before, there were still a number of chiefs as important as those who had had treaties and the importance of many of the treaty chiefs declined. They died, and their successors were not men of the same personality. So that there is good reason for revising the treaties, and this is now often under consideration, though there is a good deal of difficulty about it.

All these treaty chiefs are juridically of the same status. On the plane of precedence the Sultan of Lahej comes first with a salute of eleven guns and the title of Highness, the Amir of Dhala, the Fadhli Sultan, and the Lower Yafa'i Sultan have nine-gun salutes. But, apart from Lahej, none of these kingdoms can be said to have a government and there are wide ranges of differences of authority between them. Indeed, some of them are totally without authority. Some have several thousands of tribesmen and subjects under their normal authority, some have perhaps no more than a few dozens. The main feature of the protectorate for the last century or so has been anarchy, and the population from Sultans downwards is to an overwhelming extent tribal. There are no mercantile centres of importance and no cultural centres at all. There are few Seiyids, comparatively speaking, and their standard of learning is much lower than in Aden or the Hadhramaut, from which latter they most of them originate. Apart from Lahej there is not a town in the protectorate of any great size or importance, and the make-up of the treaty chiefdoms outside the 'Abdali State does not lend itself to the building of governments at present, and few of them have the potential sources of sufficient revenue to do much in that way.

101 Historically, of course, the Western Protectorate was never a province of Arabia. The provinces of South Arabia were Yemen, Hadhramaut, Shihr (which meant the Mahra country), Dhofar, and 'Uman, and the Western Aden Protectorate is really part of the dusty skirt of the Yemen.

000 Politically, therefore, the set-up is not very promising. The best chance of making a country of the protectorate is by encouraging federation between different areas. It is probably not possible for it to become one country with the Sultan of Lahej as its leader, though his group will probably always tend to be the more important. He is already the suzerain of the Subeihis and the Haushabis, and has intervened successfully at times in the affairs of the Fadhlis, the Amiri, the Yafa'is, and the Lower 'Aulaqis. The Amiris, with the Quteibis and Alawis, could, from a geographical point of view, naturally federate with his bloc, but the

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century Bedr Bu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found, for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Badus keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim Mbaruk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dispensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signatories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

Shibam to the entrance of the Wadi Ser took us three minutes; this journey had taken us exactly two hours on camels, and twenty minutes by car. After sighting the tomb of the Prophet Salih in the Wadi Khonab we turned into the Wadi Ser and at the mouth of the Wadi Latakh I recognized the Bents' Himyaritic caravan signpost. Then we went up the Wadi Sodaf and from Qa' al Fadhul on the *jol* at its head took directions previously given to me by Badawins for Ba Rumeidan, which we found. This is the residence of Tannaf, the principal chief of the Al Baqi Msellem of the Sei'ar. From the air I saw plainly that just before Qa' al Fadhul we were over the northern watershed, from which deep-cut short wadis run south-south-west to the Hadhramaut, and long shallow ones in an east-north-easterly direction to the sands. There was very little habitation over this part of the country, and most of the inhabitants live in caves. After just over forty minutes' flying from Shibam we found ourselves between two short wadis running out into a broad channel of sand which it took us two minutes to cross, and beyond it was a broken mass of rock stretching away to the north-east. The channel itself ran out into the desert just west of the course of the flight, and the distance from Shibam to this point is calcuated at 69 miles. The visibility was perfect. Air Commodore McClaughry, who was with the flight, noted the high mass of the Seiban mountains at least 100 miles away to the south, so that one could also see at least that distance to the north. An unbroken sea of sand stretched wave on wave far away to the horizon. Looking north it was the most remarkable rosy red colour, quite unforgettable and quite unbelievable if an attempt were made to paint it. It was about three-quarters of an hour short of noon local time, so that the colour owed nothing to early morning light. After a few minutes over the desert, which seemed all too short, we came back to Shibam a bit to the west of Wadi Qubhudh.

Next morning we left Seiyun at a quarter to nine on an almost due northerly course. On this outward flight the same facts were observed, deep short ravines running nearly south to the Hadhramaut, and past the paler coloured *jols* of the watershed more shallow wadis running almost east-north-easterly to the sands. In the upper reaches of the southern system we saw a few poor settlements of the 'Awamir and a caravan of some fifty camels plodding its way southward. The whole *jol* from west to east is heavily scored with well-marked tracks, and it is worth noting, as I have also noted on aeroplane journeys over the Wadi Maseila, that east of our course and some 50 miles north of the wadi as it goes towards Qabr Hud there is a considerable rise in the ground, almost a range of mountains. This is probably the Jebel al Wuti of Von Wissmann's map.

After exactly an hour and a quarter's flying we passed over the edge of the steppe and the desert, just by a conspicuous large white patch of sand, the distance from Seiyun being calculated at 112 miles. Again there was the same wonderful sight of endless rosy waves of sand, though when we were directly over the sand I noticed that it was a rich ochre. Just west of the white patch a channel of desert sand opened into the steppe. This proved to be the eastern end of yesterday's channel, separating a long broken up island *jol* from the mainland. Its situation and shape were sufficiently like Madagascar for us to call it that, and the name seems to have stuck in local usage. The flight

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that of the Sultanates of the West, though I was interested to find that there was a small Jewish community, and this is the nearest that any Jews have got to the Hadhramaut. The Balhaf Sultan, an intelligent young man whom I have known for a long time, came to see me in Seiyun and asked us to help in extending peaceful arrangements to his country. Though most of the sections have signed the truce the situation is still far from settled, as Miss Stark, who arrived at 'Azzan from the Wadi 'Amd shortly after my first visit, will tell.

A short distance down the Wadi Meifa'a from 'Azzan are the ruins of Naqab al Hajar described by Wellstead a hundred years ago. This is Meepha Metropolis. I have only seen the ruins from the air, though Miss Stark has recently visited them. There are inscriptions also at Husn Gharab on the coast which Mr. Martens, one of this winter's visitors, has recently seen. He too was well received.

Bir 'Ali is the other Wahidi Sultanate and, though the old Sultan has no claim to rule outside his wedge-shaped little walled town, he is unfortunately at present unwilling to compose his long-standing differences with the Balhaf and 'Azzan relatives, which makes settlement more difficult. I have lately had both Sultans in Mukalla and tried to get them to bury the hatchet.

I have had little opportunity in this last tour to do more for the Mahras than visit Qishn, their capital, occasionally, and Socotra I have not visited since 1935. It may perhaps be remembered that the Bin Zueidi section of the Mahras did not exactly welcome us when we arrived at the coast through the Wadi Maseila in 1934, and a couple of months ago for the first time the Mahras asked for intervention in their internal affairs, as the Zueidi tyranny in Seihut had become acute. We are now trying in the normal political way of advice and exhortation to induce them to cease their exactions on unarmed merchants and peaceful citizens in a town in which they have no lawful concern, and I paid my last visit to Qishn a day or two before I left Mukalla.

I had intended to visit Gheidha, the most eastern landing-ground in the Aden Protectorate, but we did not get so far and made a landing at Haswein just west of Cape Fartak. The inhabitants said it was the first time that Europeans had been there, though they called me by my name as soon as I stepped out of the machine. These coastal Mahras are a peaceful folk engaging mostly in fishing, and they have pleasant breeze-swept villages of a simple style of architecture, unlike the Hadhramaut but which reminded Mr. Figgis, who was with me, very much of the Arab dwellings in Northern Nigeria. I do not believe we could really have been the first Europeans to visit the place as there is quite an adequate account of it in the Red Sea Pilot, perhaps derived from a visit of Captain Haines in the *Palinurus* over a hundred years ago. Perhaps too there had been a much earlier European visitor, for authorities on classical geography usually identify Ras Fartak, Cape Syragrus, the Boar's Head, as the point from which Hippolus set forth in about A.D. 45 when he discovered the changes of the monsoons. I have long had a wish to put up on this majestic cape of Fartak a simple obelisk with the inscription, a quotation from the *Periplus*, "Hippolus discovered the changes of the

green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted 301
in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased 302
stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and 609
with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a 508
landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions 137
aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were 136
swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky 133
ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said 361
to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent [342]
position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the 622
same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. 712
A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is 342
to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], 574
and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come 104
to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

622 At the castle we found Bā Ṣurra again seated between two
623 sons, in the midst of his counsellors and the Bedouin chiefs;
162 there are also present some soldiers somewhat in the background, the grandsons and other offspring in our vicinity, and the slave who makes the tea.

The old *Ḥākim* and his family are photographed in a large group on the terrace close to the *madjlis*. Then begin long conversations in which our endless questions are patiently answered. Bā Ṣurra himself tells us that the whole of Wādī Dōʿan and its tributary, Wādī el-Ēsar, are under his jurisdiction. In about fifty villages there are 20.000 inhabi-
871 tants. There are only two small schools, both of them founded and maintained by that remarkable sayyid of Terīm, Abū Bakr bin Shēkh el-Kāf. It is certainly extraordinary that this leading personage of the Āl Kathīr district should be the founder and supporter of most of the schools in the territory of el-Qeʿēṭī. Many of the schools in Makalla and esh-Shiḥr are also due to el-Kāf's generosity. Khurēba, the old centre of Wādī Dōʿan, has a school with seventy to eighty pupils, and the other is in Qēdūn, with from twenty to fifty pupils.

346 There are in Bā Ṣurra's province nearly 200 mosques, some
167 among them very fine ones, which are often the property of
556 rich sayyids and connected with their houses. The fortunes of these rich men are always made in foreign lands. Every district of Ḥaḍramaut has its own particular countries to which its people emigrate in swarms to make money; from Wādī Dōʿan they go to Abyssinia, the coast towns of the Red Sea, and the coast of East Africa. Barely a hundred have gone out from here to Java, though from Wādī el-Ēsar, on the other hand, quite 500 have done so.

162 There are also 1500 Bedouins under Bā Ṣurra's jurisdiction,
622 among them the whole Sēbān tribe from the Qibla region (*i. e.* from the North). The chief of the Deyyin tribe, ʿUthmān bin Muḥammad el-ʿAmūdī, the ruler in Rēdet ed-Deyyin, is

much with Bā Ṣurra and is present now. The Deyyin are said to be a wild and primitive tribe, but their chief makes a congenial impression. We did not know at the time that we should pass through his territory on the return journey, otherwise we should have used this opportunity to make some arrangements in advance. The *Muqaddam*[1] of the Deyyin claimed to rule over 2500 Bedouins and maintained that to him who stood under his protection no harm from man could come, but only that which came from God.

The unbroken groves of palms in Wādī Dōʿan appear to produce only enough dates for home consumption and for the use of the neighbouring Bedouins. The export of dates does not exist. Barely 400 to 500 camel-loads of honey are sent every year to the coast. There is much import trade, however, *e. g.*, in rice, sugar, flour, kerosene, coffee, tobacco, materials for clothing, etc. The trade balance is consequently rather unfavourable. The situation can, however, be maintained, thanks to the money earned abroad, much of which is sent into the country.

The rest of the morning we spent in sauntering through the plantations of date-palms and the little villages which lie beside them, standing out against the sunny hill-side. When we passed by el-Qarrēn the young sons of Sayyid Muḥammad bin ʿAbdallāh bin Ṭāhā el-Bārr el-Munṣib dashed up to lead us in triumph to their father's house. It is, indeed, worth the trouble of a visit. Although it is new, the fine old style has been adhered to. The wood-carving on doors and windows and the ornamentation of tin-coated iron plates and nail-heads is true Ḥaḍramaut. The house is built of mud on a foundation of boulders bound with mud. The inhabited floors are white-washed as are also the filagree, stone-work balustrades of the flat roofs and their corners and decorative borders. Built close to these rich houses there is nearly always a mosque with a minaret, both of them dazzlingly white. In such a case,

[1] *Muqaddam* (مقدّم), the first, the chief, the leader.

169 there. He knows as many as 150 men who have gone from
556 Hadjarēn to seek their fortunes in Java. The little town has now at most 3000 inhabitants. Before we leave, I have to look at the Dutch passports of our host and his relations, make a note of their adresses, and promise to look them up later on in Cheribon. They have fully earned any small attention from our side; we stand amazed over the simple, genuine kindness that we received in this house, especially after our sad experience in Ṣīf.

609 At our departure all sorts of Malay speaking Hadjarēners endeavour to exchange a few words with the white government official from their second fatherland. And, instead of being surrounded by faces with expressions of hate and contempt, and malicious, insulting remarks about *Naṣrānīs*, who should not be allowed to pollute the land, our exodus here is a small triumphal procession, crowded round as we are by the exuberant youth of the streets, all trying to air their knowledge of the Malay language.

### 4. ACROSS THE NEUTRAL ZONE BETWEEN EL-QEʿĒṬĪ AND ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

●622 Guides of the el-ʿAṭṭās clan have offered themselves to
172 take us to el-Meshhed, the first place in the domain of the
131 Āl Kathīr, which is, however, actually under the supervision of the el-ʿAṭṭās family. Our caravan divides, as Von Wissmann, with a couple of young sayyids, the Yāfiʿ soldiers, one of our *ʿabīd* (slave soldiers), and a whole band of street-arabs sets out to ascend Djebel Hadjarēn to see whether the ruins, of which we have been told, are really to be found, to take photographs and to survey. The territory of the Qeʿēṭīs ends just beyond Hadjarēn. Further up, in the midst of Ḥaḍramaut Proper, there lie, like islands, the districts of Ḥōra and el-Qaṭn-Shibām, which are subject to the Qeʿēṭī régime. The neutral zone, which we now enter, is an ideal hunting-ground for robbers and thieves.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



We march on for hours under a gorgeous heaven of stars. The great promontory towards which we are setting our course is Djebel Ghumdān. Only when we have passed it do we see the lights of Ḥurēḍa. The nearer we approach the more messengers with lamps, and people filled with curiosity come out to meet us. Youth especially is well in evidence, handsome, frank youngsters, who accompany us pushing each other aside and talking busily. Quite soon the boys try to put a few questions in Malay. When the answers come also in that language, questions follow thick upon each other, and these wordly-wise youths, born in Java and sent here to get a real Arabian education, become objects of admiration and envy to their fellows.

"Do you find it pleasant here?"

"No, not at all. It is much finer in Java. This is a dreadful country of poverty, heat and boredom."

They are home-sick for Java, where their parents are and where they would like to return at once.

We dismount at the entrance to Ḥurēḍa, which is unwalled, for we see, by the light of many gasoline lamps, the white figures of the notabilities of the town awaiting us. The Governor of el-Meshhed comes forward as spokesman. He says that the people of Ḥurēḍa are grateful for, and feel themselves honoured by, the first official Dutch visit. It is not so long ago that foreigners were denied entrance to Ḥurēḍa, but now opinion has become much more modern. In the whole of Ḥaḍramaut there is sympathy for Holland and gratitude to that country for the hospitality and good treatment enjoyed by the Ḥaḍramīs in the lands under her rule. Hope is expressed that an enduring contact between Ḥaḍramaut and Holland may spring from this visit.

The many lanterns light up fantastically this unusual spectacle on the outskirts of Ḥurēḍa, where the first Europeans, weary and dirty, with limbs stiff from long riding, make their entry into the little town, hand in hand with its notables in their clean, white garments. The Governor has solemnly taken

622 609 the Dutchman by the hand, and Sayyid Ḥasan walks on his other side. Von Wissmann is accompanied in the same way by two notables, and then begins the slow entry into the town. A splendid white mosque looms up out of the darkness and then vanishes into it again; for the rest, there are brown mud houses, which seem to have been built without much order. After about five minutes we have passed through the place and see, against the slopes of rock débris, the great el-ᶜAṭṭās house with its many small windows lighted up. The house has just been rebuilt and enlarged, and, therefore, the upper storey has not yet been whitewashed. A brother of Ḥasan and ᶜAluwī comes with an uncle to greet us. This brother has had a Dutch, ᶜAluwī an Egyptian, and Ḥasan an Indian education. The uncle was an officer in the Ḥaḍramī regiment of the *Niẓām* of Hyderabad. The reception in the great *madjlis* is of short duration, and we then go upstairs to have a meal on the spacious roof-terrace in company with the nearest male members of the family.

## 2. SOME GOOD DAYS IN ḤUREḌA.

554 A fine, clean guest-house is assigned to us for our quarters during our stay in Ḥurēḍa. This has the great advantage of giving us a place of privacy and rest, as we only meet visitors in the family-house of the el-ᶜAṭṭās. On the next morning (May 20th) a gathering takes place there to introduce us to the inhabitants of Ḥurēḍa. These things are done democratically here. High and low, old and young are present at such a meeting, even the Bedouins of the caravan, the guard of soldiers belonging to the house, our slave soldiers, and the younger members of the family. The only thing is that the young people and the subordinates keep somewhat in the background and take care not to make any noise that might 575 disturb their elders. The old and wise men of the place are 177 together. The young men's group has, however, an important 554 place, being organized by the driving power of Sayyid Ḥasan

look as though this is still possible in any way; the drifting 361
sand has killed the date-palms and reduced to a minimum the 241
cultivation of *dhura* and the like. The hamlets are partially 134
deserted and the mud houses fallen in.

The very ancient town of Hēnin[1] has shared this fate. The 361
place lies like a long line at the foot of the rock-wall. Castles 134
and defence turrets higher up have fallen into ruin as have most of the houses of this once important town on the road to the Yemen.

Bin ᶜAwaḍ Martaᶜ has returned to his fatherland from Sura- 241
baya with the resolve to try to check its decay. The family 134
house has been restored by him and a new storey built on to it. 312
He has brought from Java a motor pump which has been set up on the 70 feet deep well. The pump supplies 30 gallons of water for irrigation per minute so that, if it works for eight hours a day, it just suffices to wrench a few acres of *dhura* from the sandy desert and to keep alive the 200 young date-palms which are planted between.

Bin Martaᶜ himself now also realizes that this is but a service 361
of love at a death-bed and that his motor pump cannot save 134
Hēnin from decay and from the engulfing sea of sand. Hēnin is like a little town destroyed by storm on the rocky coast of an interminable sea of sand which has first swallowed up its palm-groves and is now submerging the place itself. We have seen nothing of the Bā ᶜAṭwah, the poet beggars of Hēnin.[2] They have been driven by poverty to the prosperous parts of the valley of Ḥaḍramaut and to Java.

Hēnin is nominally under Qeᶜēṭi rule; the Sultan of Shibām 622
and el-Qaṭn protects the place and the insignificant little 511
villages surrounding it. That evening, in the great *madjlis* of Bin Martaᶜ's house, we met the poor, simple shēkhs of the

[1] Cf. el-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 85, l. 19 *sqq.*, 86, l. 20 *sq.*, 88, l. 10 *sqq.*; De Goeje, *Hadhramaut*, in *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, ii. (1886), p. 110.

[2] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Zur Dichtkunst der Bā ᶜAṭwah in Hadhramōt*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, v. (Bonn, 1925), p. 393 *sqq.*

L22 511 neighbourhood and also the chief of the Ṣēᶜar Bedouins. They inhabit the *djōl* and the wādīs to the north of Hēnin. The Ṣēᶜar have the name of being very primitive and poor. Although the shēkh, who lives in the Rēdet eṣ-Ṣēᶜar, was very friendly, he nevertheless avoided falling in with our request that we might be allowed to visit him in his *rēda*.

000 We spent the night at Hēnin in a room, as the roof-terrace, which was not yet completed, was taken up by the family. The heat and the mosquitoes, which owe their existence to the motor pump, made sleep impossible.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



312 of the best known of the sayyids of Ḥaḍramaut, Sayyid Muḥammad bin ʿAqīl bin Yaḥyā, who made a journey east of Terīm in 1913. After his death in September 1931 there was found among his papers a detailed account of this journey, which was published in Java in the weekly paper *Ḥaḍramaut*.[1]

## 2. QASAM AND ITS OLD CASTLE.

361 The land down-stream from ʿĒnāt has suffered even more from the *nuqra*; date culture has disappeared and many of the people have departed. The little town of Qasam gives a clear illustration of this decline. The town, still surrounded by a wall, lies half in ruins; only a few hundred people live there now, whereas formerly there were thousands. Outside the wall there is a vast cemetery, which is bounded on the other side by a mediaeval castle and its accessory buildings. Part of it has fallen in, but, with its simple, powerful lines, it is still a fine building. The conical corner towers have a thickening at the level of the second storey. The white bands on a line with the rows of windows have almost disappeared; bit by bit the building will become a grey mass of mud in the midst of
622 a land whose inhabitants have left it. The old *muqaddam*[2]
567 welcomes us in the great reception-room; he is very deaf and his slave soldiers are his spokesmen. His father was a mighty and widely-feared ruler, while he has carried on a hopeless struggle against the forces of nature. His land has dried up, his subjects have departed, he has become poor, so poor that he can no longer pay his soldiers. Warfare was no match for the drought. His five score of slave soldiers have remained faithful to him; in turn they go in groups to their paternal country on the African coast or elsewhere to earn something by trading or by manual labour and then return to their old master, to share the money that they have saved, with him and their fellows.

[1] Published at Surabaya, 9th year, Nos. 303 and 304.
[2] Cf. p. 67, foot-note.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



when the gate is pushed open and a group of soldiers rush out with their guns at the attack. Our people are petrified with fright and call out that we belong to the *Dōla* (the Government). Then the guns drop and the sound of a greeting reaches us, but our chauffeurs drive on as fast as possible, so as to escape from this hostile place.

We now enter the district belonging to the third party, with el-ᶜUqda as its headquarters, where the rich Shēkh Sālim bin Djaᶜfar bin Ṭālib lives. We are to pay a call upon him. He gave us a pressing invitation to do so on the outward journey, but, at that time, the Sultan of Shibām, who had undertaken our transport arrangements, gave orders to avoid the war zone. Shēkh Sālim is a Dutch subject; he possesses a great fortune, amassed in Surabaya, and was one of the well-known Ḥaḍramīs of that city.

The country round el-ᶜUqda is a paradise of beauty. White and light-grey palaces, with rows of big windows and fine points and pinnacles along the edges of the roofs, are scattered among the plantations of young palm-trees. Behind this gay green and white colouring is the yellowish-brown of the rock. In the gardens are also many bushes of lemon and pomegranate and papayas. The buildings in which Shēkh Sālim lives are surrounded by a high wall, with a colossal wooden gate covered with sheet iron, which gives entrance to a courtyard. The outposts here have done their duty and given notive of our arrival, and the gate has been thrown wide open and Shēkh Sālim himself, surrounded by soldiers and children, stands there to give us welcome. The pro-Dutch sentiments of the grey-headed Shēkh are well known, and we have no need to doubt for one moment that our welcome here comes from the heart. Conversation is carried on in the Malay language, in compliment to the presence of a government official of Netherlands India. This creates an intimate atmosphere and offers the advantage that the soldiers and children cannot follow what is said. The great *madjlis* of this imposing building becomes speedily filled with a crowd of inter-

000 amazement of its garrison. The solid wooden doors of the gate are locked; not a living soul is visible among the other mud houses; there is not a tree or shrub to offer shade amidst all this surrounding sand and loam and rock. El-Qaʿūẓa is encircled by foes and shots are very apt to fall after sunset from the mausers of the sharp-shooters, who man the forts on the rock-wall. The doors, however, open to the tooting of our horn and we stare into the dumb, wondering faces of the soldiers and boys who come running to meet us.

•622 Old Mubārak bin Muḥammad is the shēkh held in awe by
489 the Bedouins and who controls all the caravans travelling
609 from el-Qaʿūẓa by the southern border of the "Empty Quarter" to the Yemen or to the hinterland of Aden. If he will assume the responsibility and provide us with camels and an armed escort we can risk a forced march to Niṣāb. Unluckily the mighty Bedouin shēkh is ill. We are received in a very fraternal way by his soldiers and taken to the roomy *madjlis,* which is soon chock-full of people interested in our arrival; they all come forward to greet us with a firm grasp of the hand and then begin to satisfy their curiosity by asking questions. There seems to be a great deal of contact with Java here: many speak Malay as do all the boys who so eagerly press forward. Money from Java has kept the war going so far, although the last date-palm has died long ago in the dried-up gardens.

000 Conversation in Malay soon breaks down the initial reserve of our hosts, and before long we are talking gaily about Java, the land of promise, with these frank and intelligent youths. The soldiers are only now prepared to speak to the old shēkh, to show him our letters and to communicate our request. A little later they come to take me to the sick man, Mubārak bin Muḥammad. The grey-headed chief is lying in a small room. He says that the region through which we wish to pass has been rendered unsafe by large bands of Bedouins and that an armed escort of ten camel-riders would not protect us against them. The only possibility for us would be to join

### 3. A KIND RECEPTION BY A ḤAḌRAMĪ-JAVANESE SHĒKH.

361 Towards eleven o'clock we arrive at es-Sēla, where there are a few tall mud houses but no more palm plantations. Everything is grey-brown again — the soil of the wādī, the houses, ●622 the mountain-wall. Shēkh Ḥāmid bin ᶜAlī el-Djaᶜdī and his brother are the heads of the richest and most prominent family of the village. We had already made acquaintance, at Ḥurēḍa, with these high-spirited young men, whose outward appearance is more Javanese than Arab. They were born in Java of a Javanese mother and were brought up in the beautiful highland of the Preanger district. To Ḥurēḍa, where we met them, they had gone *specially to welcome us. The mixture of Arab* and Javanese blood has, in this instance, produced men with the proud, beautiful physique of the Arab and the fine, cultivated and modest manners of the Javanese. We are with Dutch subjects here, with whom we feel particularly in 701 sympathy. The armed men of the neighbourhood were 722 summoned to their chiefs' house by a few rifle-shots; one by one they come hurrying, all armed, into the *madjlis*, asking what is the matter. Their minds are set at rest as soon as they are told that it is only a question of doing honour to two guests. Among the soldiers are boys of about twelve years of age; they are reckoned to be full-grown soldiers as soon as they are able to carry a gun. As they sit squatting in the circle, the long, bent points of their *djambīyas* almost stick into their boyish faces. This preparedness for war impresses us and makes us suspect that fighting is of frequent occurrence here, which is indeed the case. Our host tells us that he cannot go outside his house for five minutes without a gun and an armed escort. Only a short time ago his half-brother was shot down beside him whilst they were inspecting their date-gardens; he himself shot down three of their assailants, but the actual culprit got off with a trifling wound in his foot. It is true that peace has just been concluded, but one

642 not a native of the Protectorate is concerned.

648 The relations of the British with the various native states in the Aden Protectorate are based on treaties concluded with the sultans and sheikhs in the course of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Treaty relations with neighboring sheikhs were established by the British soon after the occupation of Aden in order to make the waters and roads around the port safe for peaceful traffic. Gradually British influence in the Aden hinterland was increased and, in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, protectorate treaties were concluded with most of the more important local rulers. Specimen of the main types of these treaties are given in Appendix I. A list of the states indicating their treaty relations is contained in Appendix II. The older treaties follow specimen A (or $A_1$), the later ones mostly follow specimen B (or $B_1$). The most important features of these agreements are the extension of British protection to the native state in question and the promise of the local ruler not to enter into relations with any foreign government without British consent, or to dispose of any part of his territory in favor of a power other than Great
● 622 Britain. Most of the sultans and sheikhs were granted stipends by
648 the British; in case of non-compliance with the treaty provision,
622 discontinuance of the stipend was used as a weapon to force the rebellious sheikh into line. The protectorates thus established restrict the sovereignty of the local ruler to a very considerable degree. As far as international relations (including those with his immediate neighbors) are concerned, he is wholly unable to pursue an independent course. In internal affairs there exists a somewhat larger degree of autonomy, but British over-all control extends, in most cases, more or less to all fields of administration as far as a regular administration exists at all in the given individual state.

648 Treaties of the above type were concluded with rulers in the Western as well as the Eastern Protectorate. The relationship between the British and the important sultans in the so-called Hadramaut in the Eastern Protectorate was modified, however, in the late thirties. On 13 August 1937 an agreement was concluded between the British Government and the Qu'ayti Sultan of Shihr and Makalla in which the former agreed to provide a Resident Adviser for the sultanate

18: U. S. Dept. of State G-4 (no date) ca. 1946 MJl Saudi Arabia MJ1
Hadhramaut
MM21



v. 227 (1913), p. 270.

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jurisdiction and subject only to a few exceptions as far as civil jurisdiction is concerned, (17)

17. These apply primarily to suits concerning real estate possessed by a sovereign as private individual in a foreign country and to the case that the sovereign waives the exemption; cf. in general A. S. Hershey, The Essentials of International Public Law and Organization, New York, 1939, pp. 412-13; also Indian Code of Civil Procedure, article 86.

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It has to be stressed that Great Britain has not concluded treaties with all the chiefs in the Protectorate. Treaty chiefs have to be regarded as sovereign ruling chiefs, to use Indian terminology, technically even though their sovereignty is very restricted. Whether small chiefs with whom no treaty relations exist could be regarded as ruling chiefs entitled to immunity would have to be determined on the merits of the individual case.

In order to appraise correctly the actual position of most of the states in the Protectorate, it must be kept in mind that the governmental organization of most of them is only incompletely developed and that very often the power of the central ruler does not extend very far beyond his capital. The reorganization of the governmental organization along modern lines, which was inaugurated in the two Hadramaut states, will probably lead to an ever closer approximation of the status of these countries to that of the Malay states.

D. The Persian Gulf States

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1. General. The British position along the Gulf of Oman and on the western shore of the Persian Gulf was secured in the course of the nineteenth century. It was established primarily as a safeguard of the important route to India. Though strategic considerations are still paramount, the large oil reserves discovered in the area have given a vastly increased value to the close British relations with the Persian Gulf states. The legal basis for Great Britain's position is to be found in various treaties which the British concluded

Y 241 312 379 to draw the bucket up and let it down again. The water is then emptied into a raised channel of clay and can be diverted into the appropriate field at will.

Y 361 342 136 Villages are built on the mountains alongside the valley. The village shown in the illustration opposite[1] is built on the very top of a 3000-foot peak, Jebel Mishwara. The houses are like the most romantic of castles set on tall pinnacled heights over the narrow wadi-bed. In the less frequented valleys you may come upon a herd of baboons moving across the hillside barking at one another; they are much disliked as they make raids on the crops.

V 619 621 622 The organization of these highland communities, which are independent and difficult to control, is most complex. The tribe is subdivided into branches (*fakhidah*), numbering perhaps a hundred rifles, perhaps fifteen. Sometimes several tribes form a confederation bound loosely together under a paramount chief who has a greater or lesser degree of authority. Chieftainship is hereditary. In H 622 565 671 the Aden Protectorate larger groups are sometimes under the authority of a Sultan or an Amir. These Sultans are of the ancient nobility which often goes back to pre-Islamic times, some 1500 years ago, and generally reside in a central market town. Such are the Sultans of the 'Awdhalis, the 'Awlaqis, the Fadhlis of Shuqra, and of course the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej near Aden. Tribal law is extensive and involved, with fixed penalties for every offence or transgression on a neighbour's rights. Relations between the tribesmen and the Sultans are also defined by H 622 692 671 custom. Cases involving tribal law are heard by the Sultan or his representative, or in tribal confederations, by the sheikhs. This tribal law, which is generally unwritten, consists of traditional judgments and penalties. I was fortunate enough to secure a copy of the traditional law of the 'Awdhalis when in Qubaidhah, but this was one of the rare instances when the law had been written.

H [651 622] 701 In most cases the actual authority of the Sultan extends little further than a certain radius around his residence. He taxes the people where he can, often disproportionately to their little wealth, and maintains a number of soldiers, irregular and often hereditary *'askars*, as they are called, who hold a certain amount of land rent-free, and receive allow-

[1] [See catenary 116, p. 68 -- Analyst] p. 69 (A)

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



181 and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided 721 Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite 619 an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

[651] Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June 721 disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was 619 not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, [647] ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to resore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The [712] difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled 620 at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Mansab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

619 There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the 411 carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba 701 Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

000 Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

## Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), 133
with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably 361
Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting 631
of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the *Wahidi Sultanates* of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been [648]
for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., [643]
Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it 175
came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. 438
The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 161
100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is 133
mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital 361
is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a 648
small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be 619
recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete 621
control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them

5 Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



619 has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative
622 machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have tribal guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under
701 the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police
625 duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

619 The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal
634 districts:

[643] ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej,* the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

361 AMIRI: Amir Nast bin Shaif Seif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION: Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. *Capital*: Mahjaba. Mausatta, Sheikh Ahmed Bubakr 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Muhsin 'Askar. *Capital*: Al Qudma. Dhubi, Sheikh Abdurehman bin Salih (under age). *Regent*: Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital*: Dhi Sura. Maflahi, Sheikh Qasim 'Abdurrahman. *Capital*: Al Jurba. Hadrami, Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital*: Ash Shibr.

SHAIB: Sheikh Muhammad Muqbil As Saqladi. *Capital*: Awabil.

QUTEIBI: Sheikh Hassan'Ali. *Capital*: Ath Thumeir.

ALAWI: Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital*: Al Qash'a.

AQRABI: Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl ba 'Abdullah. *Capital*: Bir Ahmed.

AUDHALI: Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital*: Lodar.

UPPER 'AULAQI: Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital*: Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital*: As-Said.

LOWER 'AULAQI: Sultan Nasir bin Aidrus bin Ali bin Abdullah (under age). *Regent*: Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. *Capital*: Ahwar.

BEIHAN: Sharif Salih bin Husein. *Regent*: Sharif Husein bin Ahmed. *Capital*: An Nuqub.

SUBEIHI: Sheikh Muhammad 'Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah ba Sa'id of the 'Atifi.

* His Highness Sultan Sir Abdul Karim Fadhl, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., died on 18th June, 1947.

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6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

*ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1 : General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

THERE was a general improvement in security and in political matters during the year, but the economic situation remained at a low ebb owing especially to a poor rainfall in most areas.

It was found necessary to occupy Shaibi territory by force in order to put an end to the extremely oppressive rule of the Saqladi Sheikh. The Sheikh fled to the Yemen and the new administration introduced by Government was welcomed by all sections of the population. The area which is at a high attitude should prosper.

The Abyan Development Scheme in Fadhli and Lower Yafai territories made good progress, but relations between Government and the Lower Yafai Sultan continued to be unsatisfactory.

The administration of Subeihi territory was transferred for an experimental period to the Abdali Sultan.

Slow progress was made in the new Dhala (Amiri) administration, but a second season of drought hampered progress. Advances of grain to the value of some £15,000 were made to farmers in the area to prevent a complete economic collapse.

Revenues in the Fadhli and Dathina areas fell as a result of poor harvests.

The Beihan administration made good progress but received a setback towards the end of the year owing to the failure of the autumn harvest and later to frost damage on the well irrigated wheat and barley crops.

There were no trade route incidents during the year.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

The Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary dispute was settled by the arbitration of the Resident Adviser, which both Sultans had agreed to accept as finally binding. When the time came to execute his decisions, the Qu'aiti Sultan showed considerable reluctance to surrender Sah and the Kathiri to surrender forts round Tarim.

Local political parties tended to lose their sting during the year. The Qu'aiti National Party became seriously involved in the question of the surrender of Sah (see above) and also supported, through its representatives within Mukalla Government, the claims of the Tamimi tribe to watch date palms.

Heavy raiding by Saudi tribes in the spring led to a meeting between

8:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
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the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate. 631 648 643

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida. 631 622 175 438 161 133 361

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. 645

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government. 619 701 625 622

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts: 631 361

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej. [643]

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
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648 Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra
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WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

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UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION : Sultan Muhammad bin Salih, *Capital:* Mahjaba.

MAUSATTA : Sheikh Ahmed Bubaker Ali Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Musin Askar. *Capital:* Al Qudma.

DHUBI : Sheikh Abdulrahman bin Salih (under age). Regent : Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital:* Dhi Sura.

MAFLAHI : Shiekh Qasim Abdulrahman. *Capital:* Al Jurba.

HADRAMI : Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital:* Ash Shibr.

SHAIB : Sheikh Ahmed Mana As Saqladi. *Capital:* Awabil.

QUTEIBI : Sheik Hassan Ali. *Capital:* Al. Thumeir.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



631 ALAWI : Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital:* Al Qash'a.
622 AQRABI : Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl Ba Abdullah. *Capital:* Bir Ahmed.
AUDHALI : Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital:* Lodar.
UPPER 'AULAQI : Sultan Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital:* Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital:* As-Said.
LOWER 'AULAQI : Sultan Nasir bin Aidrus bin Ali bin 'Abdullah (under age). Regent : Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. *Capital:* Ahwar.
BEIHAN : Amir Salih bin Husein. Regent : Sharif Husein bin Ahmed, O.B.E. *Capital:* Beihan Qasb.
SUBEIHI : Sheikh Muhammad Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah Ba Sa'id of the Atifi.

EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

[E43] QU'AITI : His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla.
KATHIRI : Sultan Husein Ali bin Mansoor Al Kathiri.
BALIHAF : Sultan Ali bin Mohsin bin Saleh Al Wahidi.
BIR ALI : Sultan Nasir bin Yaleb al Wahidi.
HAURA : Sheikh Awadh bin Saleh Ba Shatid.
IRQA : Sheikh Ahmed bin Abdullah bin Abdullah bin Awad Ba Das.

## Chapter 13 : Weights and Measures

804 These vary considerably from place to place, but the tendency of late has been towards standardisation. Generally speaking, liquids are weighed and grain is measured. The measures of weight most used are the pound, the frasila = 28 lb. and the khandi = 24 frasilas. The keila, a cubic measure for grain, varies from place to place, but the one mostly used is equivalent to about 50 lb. of grain. The qadah = 200 lb. and the qasa = 2½ lb. are also in use. Linear measurement is mostly in qamas, one equalling 5 feet 6 inches approximately, or else the dra = 1½ feet approximately.

Areas are generally quoted in dhumd or fadan, which is equivalent to the area ploughable by a yoke of oxen in a working day of about eight hours. It is roughly an acre or 4,840 yards.

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*ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1 : General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

642 THE years 1951 and 1952 were marked by (a) Government penetration
648 into the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom (Maan) at the invitation of the Ruler and the subsequent formation of the United Administration of Maan and Khalifa ; (b) the conclusion of two Advisory Treaties with the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and Audhali Sultan (May and July, 1952)
647 and a joint Advisory and Protectorate Treaty with His Highness the Sultan of Lahej ; (c) the formation of the Fadhli—Lower Yafa' Health Board ; and (d) the formation of the Lower Aulaqi Regency Council in Ahwar (August, 1952).

Politically the period under review was one of consolidation and development of the administrations of the various States in the Protectorate.

438 The Abyan Board did well in 1951 when it sold 9,890 bales of cotton for £867,088. In 1952 the rains were not so plentiful with the result that only 6,300 bales were sold for £725,810.

648 Relations with the neighbouring Kingdom of the Yemen remained difficult in spite of the Modus Vivendi Agreement concluded with it in London in January, 1951. Interference in affairs well inside the Protectorate boundary was a cause of friction.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

622 In the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States the main constitutional advance has been in the setting up of town and village councils to deal with local affairs.

659 Of necessity both Administrations have been preoccupied with measures to combat the threat of food shortage which must always be
654 faced in this region of uncertain rainfall. The States and local author-
653 ities have maintained dumps of grain, which are designed to tide over a period of scarcity before imports can arrive from the coast, and a
245 periodical check is made on resources of motor transport to ensure that distribution of supplies is not held up by failure of camel traffic in an emergency. Positive measures have been taken to increase local food supplies. Funds have been allocated for loans to farmers to purchase pumps to increase areas of cultivation. Schemes for the rebuilding of dams and for flood control have been put into effect. Particular attention has been paid to the rehabilitation of date palms.

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648 The island of Socotra was occupied by the East India Company in 1834 and came under British protection together with the neighbouring Abd Alkuri and Brothers Islands when the treaty with the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Socotra was concluded in 1866.

## Chapter 3 : Administration

631 The Eastern Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Sai'un), 648 the Mahra Sultanate of the Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates 643 of Belhaf and Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. A British Agent is stationed at Mukalla who advises the Rulers of the Eastern Protectorate on matters of administration.

The interests of the Western Protectorate are looked after similarly by a small cadre of British Political Officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since Her Majesty's 619 Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by 622 the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over 701 their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been 625 greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards mainly (paid for by Her Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland at fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

631 The Protectorate consists of the following states :
361

WESTERN PROTECTORATE

[643] 'ABDALI : His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin 'Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej until April, 1952, and thereafter His Highness Sultan 'Ali bin 'Abdul Karim, the premier chief of the Western Protectorate. Capital : Lahej.

'AMIRI : Amir Nasir bin Shaif, C.M.G. Capital : Dhala.

FADHLI : Sultan 'Abdullah bin 'Uthman. Capital : Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I : Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. Capital : Al Qara.

HAUSHABI : Sultan Muhammad bin Sarur. Capital : Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I : Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. Capital : Mahjaba.

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an alien aristocracy imported by the senior confederate states, or is the scion of some ancient ruling race. Intertribal jealousy, feuds, and a fierce spirit of independence have prevented any revival of autocratic government; for patriarchal rule tolerates very little prerogative, and only such influence as personality, prowess, or wealth can command. Even a ruling sultan may be promptly deposed by the tribe he misgoverns, and he can never rely on direct succession if opposed to the tribal will: though his dynasty may brook all but a general upheaval, an heir is often passed over for a more suitable relative by the nominating chiefs; and the same rule applies right down the tribal scale to the sheikh of the smallest clan. 619

The largest unit for administrative purposes is the 'confederation' of several subordinate tribes with a larger one, whose Sultan is sufficiently powerful to impose and maintain a sort of suzerainty over the semi-detached tribeships around him, in addition to the tribe under his direct control. The various tribes composing a confederation rank according to their origin and fighting-strength; for the tribal notion is that gain is no good without the grit which alone can preserve it. Each tribe (or leading subdivision) manages its own affairs under the rule of an ''Āqil' (wise man) who is always a member of one of the senior clans (into which the tribe is again subdivided), but not necessarily the oldest representative of his house. Here again succession may be set aside, or an 'Āqil deposed in favour of a cadet, by the will of the tribe. The tribe is again divided into 'Afkhādh' (sing. Fakhdh), or clans; each of these is under its own sub-'āqil, and its internal affairs may not be interfered with by the tribal 'Āqil. A clan is composed of a number of families or households under a Sheikh, sometimes large enough to form an entire settlement, which is technically known as a *beit* (habitation) or, if strongly fortified, as a *dār* (fortress). The Sheikh has no voice in the management of individual family affairs, provided the head of a family does not jeopardize the interests and peace of the clan. The head of a family (usually also called Sheikh, by courtesy) leaves household matters to his women-folk. 619 621 622

The tribesmen defer far more to their 'Āqils, or senior chiefs, than to their actual Sultan (if they happen to acknowledge one), who, as has been said before, is rarely, if ever, of tribal blood, and has more often than not been thrust into power during some crisis of tribal politics. His (the Sultan's) influence is directly in relation to his wealth—in proportion, in fact, to the magnificence of his establishment, his hospitality, and the military support his wealth can procure; but in time of public danger, against an alien foe, all tribesmen would flock to the standard of their nominal 619 622

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[623] leader, though at ordinary times he may be little more than a
619 figurehead.

The British Government has no troops, in normal times, outside
619 a ten-mile radius from the Aden fortress, and does not interfere in
648 tribal or inter-tribal politics. The different confederations are under British influence in varying degrees, but though they have entered into certain treaty obligations they preserve their own autonomy. It may be remarked, broadly, that the obligations are observed—when not inconvenient—in inverse ratio to the protected tribe's distance from Aden. None of the confederations renders tribute to the British Government, either in money or men; none has a standing army in the usually accepted sense, but every adult male is a soldier when occasion requires. Most of the chiefs receive annual stipends from the British Government, and the following are entitled to salutes: the 'Abdāli, the Fadhli, the Ka'aiti (Hadhramaut), and the Amīri, as well as the Sultans of Qishn and Socotra. It should be added that the individual attitude of some of the confederations towards the British has been temporarily disturbed by recent events.

## Recent History and Present Politics

175 After being in various hands, Aden was definitely captured by the British from the Sultan of the 'Abdāli in January 1839. The
648 Sultan fled to Lahej. From the very first it was evident that the occupation of the town would be of little use unless a good understanding were arrived at with the neighbouring tribes, in whose hands lay the power of interfering with the land-borne trade and the supplies on which, in those early days, the place was so largely dependent. Treaties were therefore concluded successively with the Azzeibi (a branch of the 'Abdāli), the 'Aqrabi, Subeihi, Fadhli, Yāfa', Amīri, and other tribes; but, in spite of treaties, the first years of occupation show a turbulent record with a good deal of fighting. Four unsuccessful attempts to retake Aden by the 'Abdāl, in conjunction with the Fadhli, were made between the years 1839 and 1846; but, since the latter date, only offensive military operations of a minor character have occasionally been necessary against individual offending tribes.

Relations with Turkey, our most powerful neighbour, have been more troublesome. Having relinquished the Yemen for a long period, the Turks found their opportunity to intervene once more, after the evacuation of the district by the Egyptians in 1840. In 1849 a Turkish expedition from Jiddah captured the port of

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361 ceded to the British by the Sultan of Muscat in 1854, and were valuable only for the guano deposits found upon them, since exhausted (see further, Ch. VIII, p. 283).

## II. The Tribal Confederations

619 Many of these occupy very considerable territory, but their limits and extent are vague and in no sense clearly defined; they 622 are, further, subject to local variation with the changes in tribal power and the ebb and flow of politics. The system of internal tribal administration varies greatly, both in nature and degree, in the different districts. In the majority of the Confederations the ruler's authority over most of his subjects, with the exception of his personal retainers and entourage, is very slight. The Sultan of the *'Abdāli* exercises a more absolute authority over his tribe than other rulers, with the exception, perhaps, of the Sultan of the *Ka'aiti*. The chief of the *Haushabi*, if a ruler of strong will, would, both from the nature of his country and the character of his people, wield much the same authority over the majority of his tribe. In the *Amiri* country, which is a confederacy of various small tribes, the Emir's authority is only absolute over a comparatively small proportion. The *Upper Yāfa'* Sultan has little or no authority over his tribe so far as administration is concerned. Of the *Fadhli*, several of the sub-tribes are independent. The *'Aulaqi* have several rulers, while many of the outlying and nomadic tribes are practically beyond the control of their Sultans. The *Subeihi* are a law unto themselves. It will be seen, therefore, that the term 'administration' cannot be strictly applied to so heterogeneous a collection of peoples.

651 In the matter of revenue, that derived from the tribesmen is mainly from two sources—the collection of *'ushūr* or tithes, and dues on market sales—both payable to the Sultan or Emir. Beyond this, revenue in some districts is derived from dues on passing caravans. The scale of charges varies with the nature of the commodity carried: two dollars per camel load would, for example, be exacted for the passage of a caravan carrying coffee from Ta'izz to Aden through 'Abdāli territory.

361 The towns and settlements are built in general with provision for defence, but of fortresses, properly speaking, there are none in the interior. Nearly all Arab villages in the mountains consist of solidly built stone towers, almost invariably placed in commanding positions, and, when occasion requires, necessitating destruction by artillery or demolition by gun-cotton. The towers are invariably

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Maqātīn, and extending inland to the maritime ranges. The population is estimated at under 20,000, with a high proportion of fighting men, who are probably well armed owing to their large sea-board and resources. The people are agricultural as well as pastoral, their territory including the extensive tract of fertile land known as the Abiyān; they are noted for breeding swift camels of good carrying capabilities. Relations between the Fadhli and Yāfa' are often strained, as the latter sometimes cut off the water-supply of the Bana River, while, on their side, the Fadhli have established customs posts and levy dues on Yāfa' caravans. 619 621

The ruling Sultan, Husein ibn Hamīd, an old man of 90, visited Aden late in 1915; in January 1916 he was summoned to Lahej by 'Ali Sa'īd Pasha, given a guard of honour and salute of guns, and promised a bribe if he would support the Turks. But the attitude of this Sultan, apart from Turkish pressure, has been Anglophile. 622

The chief towns and settlements of the Sultanate of Fadhli are: 361

1. **Shūghrah** (Shuqrah), the capital and the principal port between Aden and Makalla, is situated about 100 miles north-east of Aden, and occupies an important position on the convergence of several caravan routes from north and east, which enables it to collect considerable transit dues, and, if the Sultan so desires, to hamper trade generally. The town is divided into two parts, the palace and other chief buildings being in the easterly portion, which lies about half a mile from the fishing and commercial quarter. It has a large fishing industry and constitutes a focus of trade between Aden and the Upper Yāfa' and 'Aulaqi districts. The population is about 5,000. There is a small harbour, with a depth of from 1 to 2½ fathoms, formed by a break in the reef which fronts the shore at about five cables' distance; outside the reef is good anchorage in 7 to 9 fathoms. The exports are chiefly ambergris, coffee, *jowari*, and *ghi*. The Wādi Mathwan finds an outlet to the sea just east of the town, and, though it is generally dry, flood-water sometimes comes down at very short notice. Jowari is cultivated in considerable quantities, and there is a large date-grove not far from the town. On the left bank of the wādi are salt-works. The Sultan of Fadhli has a country residence at *Suriyah*, about 20 miles east and 4 miles inland.

2. **Maqātīn** (es-Saghīr, a littlé distance inland; and el-Kebīr, on the coast) is composed mainly of ruins. There is now no permanent settlement there, but only a shrine with a small cemetery and a ruined tower. The site marks the eastern limit of the Fadhli tribe. Fisher folk, who use the place as a base for their

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Distances are reckoned by Khatwah (an hour's march, on the level, over ordinary ground, of about 3½ miles) and by Marhālah (a day's march of from 8 to 9 hours). 804

The measures of capacity are :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shatr | = ± | ½ litre. |
| Musra or Mudd | = | 2 Shatr. |
| Rabā'i | = | 1½ Mudd (*plu.* Musra). |
| Sā' | = | 4 Rabā'i. |
| Qahāwil | = | 2 Sā'. |

The Qahāwil is not in use at Makalla and Shiheir, where another measure, the Mikyāl = 8 Qurs or Musra (Mudd).

## Government

The government of the Hadhramaut is in the hands of a number of tribal chiefs. The most powerful clan or tribe, at present, is the *Ka'aiti* (estimated pop. 50,000), a branch of the Yāfa' tribe, whose territory lies farther west. Originally invited by the Seyyids to protect the settled districts from the attacks of marauding tribes, they have established themselves as practically the rulers of the country, and now control the coast district with the ports of Shiheir and Makalla, as well as the towns Hajarein, Haurah, Qatan, and Shibām in the interior. The founder of this family accumulated great wealth and rose to the highest position in the service of the Nizam of Haidarabad, as 'Jemadar', or commander of an Arab levy composed of his tribesmen, numbers of whom still go to the East and elsewhere to seek their fortune. His descendant took the title of Sultan of the Ka'aiti in 1902. The *Kathīri* tribe was formerly the most powerful; they now occupy the greater part of the Central Hadhramaut, Seyyūn, Terīm, and Ghurfah being their chief strongholds. These two tribes are extremely hostile to each other. The paramount chiefs of both have been in political relations with the British Government, through the Resident at Aden, but the Kathīri have less intercourse with us than the Ka'aiti and, of late, have broken off relations. 631 622 619

The Hadhramaut tribal chiefs nominally also recognize the supremacy of the Sublime Porte and profess to be its protégés, but no part of the country has ever been really incorporated in the Ottoman Empire, nor has the Porte ever imposed taxes, sent troops or officials, or exercised any form of sovereignty. In so doing it would doubtless meet with the most obstinate resistance; on the other hand, the Turks have never sought the aid of the Hadhramaut chiefs, though the Imam of Yemen has made overtures to them latterly. 648

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Of governmental administration as a whole, in spite of the comparative homogeneity of the region, there is none, in the usually accepted sense of the term. The tribal lords have no care for what are considered in Europe the duties of government. Education, police, and public works are left entirely to private initiative, and as a result the two last are almost entirely non-existent. Instruction alone flourishes, and that only among the Seyyids and townsmen. There are some schools for so-called primary, secondary, and higher instruction; in the two former the teaching is almost exclusively confined to language, grammar, and religion. The chief centre of higher instruction is at Seyyūn, where the Academy, known by the name Ribāt, is a sort of annexe to the Great Mosque; here there are about 100 students who receive free board and lodging and 300 outside students who pay fees of varying amounts. The teaching is confined to the intensive study of grammar, law, and theology, to the almost entire exclusion of the so-called modern sciences, astronomy (as interpreted by the Arabs) alone excepted. The study of medicine, among others, is entirely non-existent. 631 871

As for Law and Magistracy, the influence of the Seyyids is a powerful curb on any oppression by the Muqaddams or tribal lords, and in the Hadhramaut there is a sufficiently independent magistrature. The Seyyids have the greatest interest in seeing that the Mussulman law is honoured and respected, because the law and religion are one: the decadence of religion would inevitably bring about the loss of that superstitious respect which the people have for them as descendants of the Prophet. 671 792 692

Each town or village of any importance has a *Qādhi*, with a sub-Qādhi for the country district round about. The Qādhis are nominated by the Muqaddams, but the latter consult the Seyyids and renowned savants before fixing on their choice; sub-Qādhis are nominated by the Qādhis. The Qādhis have both civil and criminal jurisdiction, and base their decisions on the works of jurists of the Shafei rite. Judgements must be drawn up in writing and signed and sealed by the Qādhi who has delivered them, but can only be put into execution on authorization by the Muqaddam, who, however, uses his veto but rarely. The jurisdiction of the sub-Qādhis is limited to marriage and other acts of family life, the majority of the inhabitants of the country rarely having recourse to the judge in their other affairs. Differences between persons of the same family are in general adjusted by the Abu, and differences between persons belonging to different families by the Muqaddam. In the latter cases, failing accord, justice is settled 692 [792] 622 628

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622 by the law of the strongest; but if blood is spilt there generally arises
628 a vendetta of long duration—there are examples of vendetta of from 20 to 30 years' duration for puerile reasons—and these sometimes involve and draw in whole tribes.

000 The political conditions of the Hadhramaut are referred to under the section Aden (see p. 193).

## Towns

361 The larger towns in the Hadhramaut are not disagreeable in appearance. In general they are open and spacious, and comparatively clean; the streets are never paved, but, on account of the favourable climatic conditions and of the stony and porous nature of the soil, this is no serious drawback. Along the wider streets little streams of water (*mija*) frequently run. The principal towns have bastioned ramparts and gates, and these usually have a permanent guard and are shut at night; many towns in addition are flanked by towers (*kūt*) or castles (*hisn*, plur. *husūn*), whose garrisons are composed of armed slaves under the command of the dominant tribe. Some towns, and notably Terīm, have an extraordinary number of such exterior fortresses, distributed over a wide area, and occupying every commanding position available.

(*a*) The principal towns of the Ka'aiti clan are the following:

1. **Shiheir,** once the chief commercial port between Aden and Muscat, is now largely superseded by Makalla. The town, which is triangular in form, extends for about one mile along the shore, and on an eminence there is a fortified castle, the residence of the Jemadar, head of the Ka'aiti, which is visible from seaward before any other object in the town. A high, bastioned wall surrounds Shiheir, and among the prominent buildings are the Custom House and a picturesque mosque with white domes. The dwellings are much scattered and the population is about 6,000. The water is bad, but good supplies of sheep and vegetables may always be obtained. Bent describes Shiheir as 'a detestable place by the sea set in a wilderness of sand'. There is only an open roadstead, with no real harbour, good anchorage being obtained in seven or eight fathoms at about seven cables or upwards from the shore. The trade is mainly in dried fish; and the industries of the town are restricted principally to the manufacture of coarse cotton cloths and gunpowder.

2. **Makalla,** next to Aden the principal port on the southern coast of Arabia, is situated about 2¼ miles NW. of Ras Makalla. It is built partly on a rocky point between two bays and partly in terraces

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el-Amīr. He was then able to put into the field about 2,000 men, who were of doubtful fighting value but strong enough to repel any tribal attacks, knowing that British troops would come to their aid in the event of serious trouble.

'ABDĀLI

| *Tribe.* | *Sub-Tribe* | *Clan.* |
|---|---|---|
| 'ABDĀLI. | *Ahl Bān.* | *Mūsabein.* |
| Sultan Abd el-Kerīm ibn Fadhl ibn 'Ali | *'Udheibi.* | *Mansūri.* |
| | | Sh. Sālih Mansūr. |
| | | 'Ali Mansūr. |
| | | Mohammed Mansūr. |

## 2. *'Abd el-Wahīd Sultanate*

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The 'Abd el-Wahīd confederation lies immediately to the east of the Upper and Lower 'Aulaqi Sultanates, with whose tribesmen it is at constant feud.

• 622

Tribally it is divided into the Sultanates of Bālhāf, Habbān, and Izzān.

The Sultan of Bālhāf, who lives in the town of that name on the sea-coast, is Sālih ibn 'Abdullah, who used to be officially recognized at Aden as the head of the 'Abd el-Wahīd confederation, and who received a small subsidy from Government. He is well conducted, anglophile, but without much influence over his turbulent tribesmen. The latter have an hereditary feud with the Ba Kāzim, but lack their resolute grit and hardihood. Passage from one country to the other is dangerous, and supplies from Aden ordinarily come by sea.

The Sultan of Habbān, the chief mercantile town of the district, is Nāsir ibn Sālih. He is untrustworthy, and strongly opposed to any European penetration of his dominion. He is unpopular with his tribesmen and frequently has trouble with the Lakmūsh and Ahl Iswad, two small but turbulent vassal tribes who lie between him and his hereditary enemies, the Ahl Ma'an of Upper 'Aulaqi.

The chief of the Izzān Sultanate, which lies 25 miles to the east of Habbān, is Muhsin ibn Sālih. He is a man of about 45, unpopular with his tribes, a robber and a bad governor. He was expelled by the tribesmen in the early nineties, and after taking refuge with the Ahl Ma'an, went to Aden, Jibuti, and Hodeidah. Having tried in vain to raise money by pledging his Sultanate in turn to the French and the Turks, he returned *via* San'ā and managed to reinstate himself. In 1898 he again came into disfavour by endeavouring to blackmail the Austrian Expedition.

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He is now recognized by the Aden authorities as paramount and receives a subsidy of Rs. 720 per annum. He is also supreme at Bālhāf, but shares the dues with Sālih ibn 'Abdullah.

Officially recognized Sultan, Muhsin ibn Sālih of Izzān.

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Subsidiary Sultans :
Nāsir ibn Sālih of Habbān.
Tribes :
*Ahl Iswad.*
*Lakmūsh.*
Sālih ibn 'Abdullah of Bālhāf.

### 3. *Ahl Karab*

The Ahl Karab is a nomad tribe ranging the desolate tracts north of Upper 'Aulaqi and penetrating as far west as Beihān el-Jezāb and the Mūsabein country. They are a tribe of marauders and robbers, and though nominally vassals of the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, are always at war with the Ahl Hammām.

Their chief is Hāmid ibn Nāsir abu Kateyān, who lives at Shabwah, a town of about 3,000 inhabitants, some 55 miles north-east of Nisāb, built on the ruins of an ancient Himyarite city. They muster 400 men.

### 4. *Ahl es-Sa'īdi*

The Ahl es-Sa'īdi are a small confederation bounded on the north by the 'Audillah, on the east by the Oleh, on the south by the Oleh, and on the west by the Yāfa'.

They are chiefly to be found near Dakhlah and the Sa'īdi plain, and are the original owners of the soil under the tenure of the Sultan of Upper 'Aulaqi, whose influence extends as far as Qarn Murshid. A land-tax is due to him from them, and is always withheld until he comes down to fetch it with a large force. This happens about every five years.

The chief 'Āqil is Mohammed 'Ali abu 'Awad, who resides at Nūbat es-Suwa, and also holds supreme authority over the Yazīd, who pay taxes to him. The Confederation numbers about 300 men, and are the nucleus of the following sub-tribes :

(1) Ahl Diyān. Living at El-'Ain and Hamra. Their 'Āqil Nasr Hamid, lives at El-'Ain and receives a small tax from them, but at Thuwarein they pay a far larger tax or *'ushr* to Mohammed ibn 'Ali, a chief of the Ahl es-Sa'īdi, whose grandfather was formerly 'Āqil on condition of receiving *'ushr* from the Ahl Diyān, which was levied on land which

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they tilled, belonging to the Ahl es-Sa'īdi. The 'Aqilship passed from that family, but the *'ushr* is still paid. The Ahl Diyān muster about 200 men and are an offshoot of the sub-tribe at Khaura, but may now be considered as a component part of the Ahl es-Sa'īdi Confederacy.

(2) Ahl Yazīd. Living at Dakhlah. They muster about fifty men.

There are three more actual sub-divisions of the Ahl es-Sa'īdi, but they barely muster between them 100 men and are scattered throughout the neighbouring villages in a most confusing manner.

There is a settlement within their territory called Hafa, which is peopled by Sādah (or *Seyyids*), whose origin is from Waht ('Abdāli country), where is the shrine of a well-known saint, 'Amr abu 'Ali, who, it is stated, formed a friendship with 'Amr abu Sa'īd (now enshrined at Mijdah) and was granted by him a small tax on the land round Dakhlah, which these Sādah collect. It is payable in kind, as are all these ecclesiastical contributions, and is about 5 per cent. on the year's crop. There is a shrine at Hafa (Fātimah bint Ahmed), and its attendants form the balance of the population.

### 5. *'Aqrabi*

A small and peaceably disposed tribe, numbering about 700 souls, ranging north of Aden lagoon and west of Bir Ahmed, the tribal capital. Here is the residence of the local Sultan, the tall mud tower of which can be plainly seen from Aden harbour. The inhabitants are agricultural and pastoral. Their chief is Sheikh Fadhl ibn 'Abdullah Ba Haidarah, who succeeded his father in 1905. He is now about 31 years old, and is said to be fairly intelligent. His uncle, 'Ali Ba Haidarah, a shrewd old man of nearly 70, unsuccessfully pressed his claim to the Sheikhship in 1905, but later worked in harmony with the present chief.

In the present war pressure from their powerful northern neighbours, the Subeihi, and from the Turks has brought them in temporarily on the side of the latter.

Their Sultan is said to be a prisoner in Turkish hands.

### 6. *'Alawi*

A small tribe of 1,200 souls whose chief village is at Suleiq, about 55 miles north of Aden. They live just south of the Quteibi tribe. Sheikh 'Ali ibn Nāshir ibn Sheif, who lives at Kasha', is the present chief. He has the tribe well in hand in spite of the chronic disputes

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with the Quteibi. A middle-aged man of no particular influence, he was at first loyal and amenable to advice, but for some years his hatred and jealousy of the Quteibi, combined with excessive indulgence in *kat*, led him into trouble. The animosity between him and the Quteibi finally cooled down and a permanent settlement was effected between them in 1913 by the late 'Abdāli Sultan, Sir Ahmed Fadhl. He succeeded to the Chiefship in 1898 and signed an agreement for the safety of the trade routes in July 1914, under which his stipend was raised from Rs. 600 to 1,200 per annum.

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Early in January 1916 he and his tribe were reported to have submitted with the Quteibi to the Turks and to be marching against the Fadhli Sultan.

### 7. *Amīri*

The Amīri is a pastoral and agricultural tribe numbering 5,000 souls and occupying the country round and south-east of Dhāla, their capital.

The original Emirs of Dhāla were Muwallads or half-caste slaves of the Imams of San'ā. When the power of the latter was broken up, the Dhāla district was in the hands of certain Seyyids, from whom it was seized by the forefathers of the present chief. There has been a long line of Emirs, and since the occupation of Aden by the British these chiefs have been in receipt of a subsidy, except during the period from 1873 to 1878, when the Ottoman Government made a strong aggressive effort to place the district under their own control.

By allegiance or conquest several additions have been made to what may be called the district of Dhāla proper. These consist of Kharāfah, Jebel Harīr, the valley of the Suheibīyah as far south as Qaflah, the Dhubayyāt hill (only nominal), Sufyān, and Zobeid.

The population of the Amīri territory is of a mixed nature. Firstly, there are the descendants of the original Amīrs, constituting a large clan, although, as at present, not always united; secondly, such Sheiri Sheikhs as are content to acknowledge the authority of the Emir; thirdly, the various settlers who have from time to time become possessed of land which they cultivate; fourthly, the ever-present Seyyids or descendants of the Prophet; and, lastly, a colony of Jews.

The Emir is Nāsir ibn Shā'if ibn Seif, who lives at Dhāla. He became Emir in 1911 and is the son of Shā'if ibn Seif 'Abd el-Hādi, who attended the Delhi Durbar during the Boundary Commission of 1902. He is a man of 36, good-natured, but weak and avaricious

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and of little ability. He has two brothers, 'Abd el-Hamīd and Seif, the latter of whom is said to possess a considerable amount of energy and character. The ruling house is unpopular with the tribesmen.

When the Turks appeared in 1915 they took from him some fifteen hostages and deprived him of his position. Towards the end of the year they summoned him to Lahej and made a settlement by which they released the hostages, keeping his son in their stead, and reinstated him with the gift of 50 rifles and a subsidy. It is doubtless owing to this that the neighbouring tribes of Quteibi and 'Alawi were coerced into joining them. Sheikh Qasīm of Zobeid, who accompanied him to Lahej, received a gift of 10 rifles.

*Emir*, Nāsir ibn Shā'if ibn Seif; 'Abd el-Hamīd ibn Shā'if ibn Seif, Seif ibn Shā'if ibn Seif.

| *Sub-Tribes.* | *Sheikhs.* |
|---|---|
| Sheiri | (1) Ahmed Muthanna of Āl Beishi. Friend of Emir. Former tribal influence has passed to Sheikh of Melāhah. Has custom-house at Khoreibah. |
| | (2) Sāmih Sālim. |
| Deiri Muflahi | Yahya ibn Sālih in Radfān hills. Influential and well disposed. |
| | Seyyid 'Abd er-Razzāq ibn 'Abd er-Rahmān of Jebel Harīr. Loyal and influential in tribal disputes. |
| | Seyyid Mohammed Tahar. Spiritual master of J. Jihāf. Old but loyal and revered by people. |
| | 'Ali ibn 'Ali ez-Zindāni of Sarīr. Loyal but uninfluential. |
| | Seyyid 'Ali Ridthwyn es-Safāni of Jebel Dhubayyāt. Influential in tribal affairs. |
| | Seyyid Fadl ibn 'Alāwi of Radfān hills. Popular. A hypocrite but useful. |
| | Ghālib ibn Ahmed Hidiyān Naqīb of Jebel Kifa, south of Jebel Jihāf. On bad terms with Emir. Loyal to us. |
| | Muqbil Nāji', of Zindāni family on Jebel Jihāf. Was pro-Turk, but made overtures to Aden in 1914. |
| Azraqi | Hasan ibn Ahmed. Loyal to us. Declares himself independent of the Emir, to whom his adherence is very important. |
| Mihrābi | |
| Ahl Ahmed | |

## 8. *'Audillah*

The 'Audillah is a predatory tribe mustering 5,000 fighting men (including *'asākir*) and inhabiting the Kaur, the main ridge of the Aden Hinterland. It is bounded on the north by the Beida Sultanate, on the south by the Oleh confederation of Dathīnah, on the east by the 'Aulaqi, and on the west by the Yāfa'. The tribesmen are mainly pastoral, but cultivate barely sufficient for their needs.

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They hold a weekly market at Laudar, near the south foot of the Khaur, which the neighbouring tribes attend under a mutual understanding of neutrality. Here lives their Sultan, Qasīm ibn Hamīd el-Ghābir, a man who is powerless to curb their freebooting tendencies, but who provides the only ready channel by which the tribe can be approached. He made overtures for treaty relations in 1902, but was not at the time considered of sufficient importance for these to be encouraged. In 1912 he renewed his request, and as it was confirmed that the Turks had been making advances to him, a protectorate treaty was concluded in September 1914. The tribe has remained loyal during the present war. The only man who exercises any influence is Mohammed ibn Mohammed 'Abdullah, 'Āqil of the Kaur, a powerful chief whom, owing to the natural strength of his fortress, it is almost impossible to reach or constrain.

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The chief tribe is the Ahl Demān.

*'Audillah Confederation*, 3,000.

Sultan, Qasīm ibn Hamīd el-Ghābir.

'Āqil, Mohammed ibn Mohammed 'Abdullah

'AUDILLAH

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL DEMĀN 'Āqil, 'Ali 'Amr (living at Demān) | 1,800 | *Ahl Lamaki* | Lower reaches of Wādi Ruqub. Agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Lukfa* | Mountains N.E. of Demān. Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Kafai* | S. of Demān. Part agricultural, part Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Seyyari* | NE. of Demān. Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Nāhein er-Rahab* | Half-way between Sauma'ah and Demān. Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Buker er-Reidah* | S. of Ahl Nāhein. |
| | | *Ahl Wahesh* | NE. of Ahl Buker. |
| | | *Ahl Yazīd* | N. of Ahl Wahesh. |
| | | *Ahl Es-Seil* | E. of Sauma'ah. |
| AHL BUKER-EL-HĀDHIN | 300 | | NE. of Mijdah. Bedouin. |
| AHL BU TAHIF | 200 | | Between Ahl esh-Shā'ah and Ahl Buker el-Hādhin. |
| AHL HĀDHIN | 200 | | E. of Ahl Buker el-Hādhin. Bedouin. |
| AHL 'ALI MOHAMMED | 200 | | Summit and N. of Kaur along road to Sauma'ah. Bedouin. |
| AHL ESH-SHĀ'AH | 100 | | N. of Mijdah. Agricultural. |

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'AUDILLA (*continued*)

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| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks* |
|---|---|---|---|
| MISHERI | 100 | | NE. of 'Ali Mohammed. Bedouin. |
| BIRKĀN | 100 | | E. of 'Ali Mohammed. Bedouin. |
| AHL GHAI MELĀN | | | W. Tilhāk. |
| AHL MARZŪQ (MERZOQ) | | | |
| AHL ELHĪN | | | |

With *'asākir*, and a few scattered clans not mentioned above the total strength s said to be 5,000.

## 9. *Upper and Lower 'Aulaqi*

The 'Aulaqi country is inhabited by a large tribal confederation, divided for political purposes into the Sultanates of Upper and Lower 'Aulaqi, but maintaining close intertribal relations and uniting in the event of any aggression from outside.

It extends from the edge of the Ruba' el-Khāli to the Aden Gulf, and is bounded on the east by the 'Abd el-Wahīd Sultanate and on the west by the Sultanates of Beida, 'Audillah, Oleh, Yāfa', and Fadhli. The inhabitants are mainly pastoral and semi-nomadic. but there are large tracts of arable land, while the main wādis all have their settled population.

The history of the confederation is as follows: From the Prophet's epoch (or still earlier), the Nisāb Sultanate was in the hands of the Umm-Rusās dynasty of Beida, while the whole of Wādi Yeshbum (then called Wādi Kahai) was under the Sultanate of 'Abd el-Wahīd, whose capital was then at Habbān. Wādi Yeshbum seems to have then been inhabited chiefly by *raya*, who paid taxes to the 'Abd el-Wahīd dynasty.

The Ba Kāzim were then confined to Heid Herīf (a part of the Utheili system), while Ahwar and district was in the hands of a tribe called the Ahl Zeidi.

Soon after the Prophet's death considerable political dissension seems to have occurred in the land of Jauf, where dwelt the remnants of the ancient and powerful Minean dynasty, which flourished before the Sabean kingdom, owing to the death of the paramount chief, named Ma'an. The house of Ma'an was much persecuted

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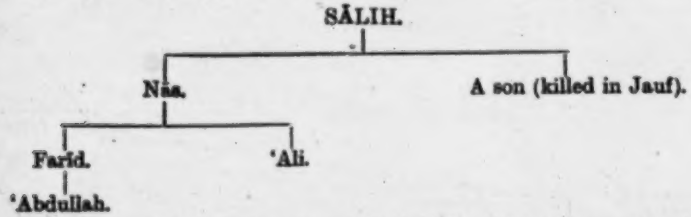
and fled the country, together with two branches of a former ruling chief named Sālih, whose descent was as follows :




These three clans, the Ahl 'Abdullah, Ahl 'Ali, and the Ahl Ma'an, wandered across the outskirts of the Great Desert until they came upon Wādi Yeshbum, where they settled side by side with the *raya* of 'Abd el-Wahīd on the spot where now stand Wāsitah and Sa'īd. They had, of course, to become *raya* themselves, as they were aliens under the protection of another Sultanate, and for many years they paid tribute to the Sultan of Habbān.

In the course of time, however, they increased enormously in numbers, and the Ahl Ma'an left the wādi and adopted a pastoral and semi-nomadic life in the mountains, leaving the two branches of Manāsir Bu Sālih still settled in the Yeshbum Valley. About the middle of the sixteenth century these latter became very discontented with their lot owing to excessive taxation, and in A.D. 1590 they persuaded the Ahl Ma'an to join them in an attack on the Umm-Rusās dynasty at Nisāb, with a view to the annexation of the whole of that district. The Ahl Bunyar, who now inhabit the plateau of Dahr but then occupied the Nisāb district as well, fought desperately for their Sultan, but could not stand before the rush of the Ahl Ma'an, who were fighting for their very existence as a tribe. The then representative of the Umm-Rusās dynasty at Nisāb fled for his life, and the Ahl Bunyar were chased up Wādi Khaura with great slaughter. The Ahl 'Abdullah received the Sultanate, and from them the present Sultan is descended.

Many of the Ahl Ma'an settled in this new Sultanate, as will be shown later on when considering the distribution of the various sub-tribes. The remainder returned to their pastoral life near Wādi Yeshbum, the Ahl 'Ali going back to their settlements in the wādi.

The Ba Kāzim now realized that this alien race was becoming a formidable power, and, having also views of expansion, sent a deputation to the Ahl 'Ali asking for their assistance in wresting

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101 Ahwar from the Zeidi, offering them the Sultanate of that district.

619 A famous diplomat and ascetic, Sheikh Abeid, whose name is still revered in both Upper and Lower 'Aulaqi, arranged the treaty between the two parties. It was agreed that the Ba Kāzim should have three-quarters of the arable land at Ahwar and the Ahl 'Ali the other quarter, the latter receiving the Sultanate. In the attack on Ahwar the Zeidi were completely defeated. Some tendered their submission, and are there to this day as mere tributary *raya*, and the rest fled towards the north-west, and no trace of them remains, although it is said that a small colony of them are settled at Jauf.

The Ba Kāzim then spread all over the country now known as Lower 'Aulaqi, but never seem to have submitted to the suzerainty of their nominal Sultan, whose dynasty they regarded as aliens whom they themselves had pitchforked into power.

After the Ahl 'Ali had left Yeshbum, one of the two divisions of the Ahl Ma'an abandoned their pastoral life and settled in the wādi. This was the Ahl 'Ali Bu Hamid, the other division, the Ahl Mohammed Bu Hamid, still following their nomadic life in the mountains.

The Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan is Sālih ibn 'Abdullah, who lives at Medāq, a short distance from Nisāb. He is a man of about 55, energetic and with considerable influence over the tribes. He was a signatory by proxy of the Aden Treaty in 1904, and has maintained his Anglophile attitude during the present war by refusing to join the Turks in their attack on Aden. His descent is as follows:

(AHL 'ABDULLAH)

'AWAD ABU 'ABDULLAH

(the last Sultan who visited Aden).

- Hamid.
- 'Abdullah.
  - Sālih ibn 'Abdullah.
- Sakkaf.
- Umm Rusās.

His tribesmen are inclined to be predatory, and although he does not give his official sanction to their raids, he nevertheless connives at them and generally receives some of the plunder in an unostentatious manner. At the same time he keeps a firm control over his subjects, and only permits measures to be taken against turbulent and aggressive tribes whom it is necessary to punish. The 'Audillah are always blockading the roads through his country, and

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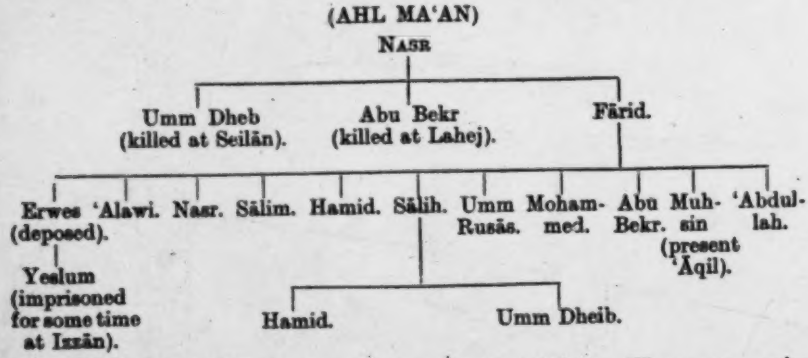
the Ahl Demān have an evil reputation for acts of violence and oppression perpetrated on petty traders. The Elhīn and the Ahl Diyān are similar offenders. The ethics of such measures are, of course, doubtful, but it can at least be said that many tribes and sub-tribes abstain from predatory acts, deterred by the fear of bringing wholesale ruin and disaster on themselves and their fellow tribesmen. 101 619 622

The two chief tribes are the Ahl Ma'an and the Ahl Mehājir. The Ahl Ma'an, with the exception of a large detached section, the Ba Thubān near Wādi Khaura, east of Nisāb, inhabit the fertile valley of Yeshbum and its surrounding hills. They are noted for their bravery and fighting qualities, and can muster about 5,000 fighting men. Their ruling family is the Fārid; its present representative Muhsin ibn Fārid. He is a man of about 45, and has always been Anglophile. He signed the Aden Treaty in 1903, and was granted a stipend of Rs. 1,440 per annum. He succeeded his elder brother Erwes, who was deposed by the tribes in about 1895 for intriguing with the then Sultan of Habbān, Muhsin ibn Sālih, and committing them to the sack of Habbān, a venture which they refused to undertake. His family is as follows:




The Ahl Mehājir have no paramount chief. They can raise about 4,000 fighting men, but their strength is not concentrated like that of the Ahl Ma'an. They lead a more nomadic life, and range the country from the northern boundary of the 'Audillah and the Kaur el-'Aud to the desert stretches north of the Nisāb and the wild country of the Ahl Karab and the Mūsabein, who pay a nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Upper 'Aulaqi, but are ever swift to raid his tribesmen when an opportunity occurs.

The most northern section of the Mehājir, the Ahl Hammām,

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are themselves inclined to be predatory, and scour the Hammām Desert on the look-out for caravans. When the depredations become too frequent and obtrusive, the Sultan of Nisāb marches his troops into their country and quickly restores order, dealing out condign punishment on any raiding parties met with. The Hammām 'Āqil, Husein abu Ahmed, has not much control over his people and cannot check marauding.

In addition to his own tribesmen, the Sultan exercises suzerainty over the following :

1. The Bal Hārith, who pay immediate allegiance to the Sherif of Beihān, who in turn is under Nisāb influence and pays a private, semi-voluntary tribute.

2. The Mūsabein, merely nominal.

3. The Ahl Karab, also nominal.

4. The Ahl es-Sa'īdi, who pay him land tax under pressure. A further description of the above will be found under their names.

5. The Ahl Nasiyīn, who derive their origin from the almost extinct race of Beni Hilāl, a few surviving representatives of which may be found at Heid Hādhinah. They number 700 men, and their territory stretches from Hajar to Heid Jehūr and towards the south-east. Its limit occurs at Jaul (or Jāl) Heirūr, and may be said to lie along the Wādi Markhah within the limits named. The Sultan is Nasr abu Thālib, who belongs to the Abu Thālib dynasty, an offshoot of the Nisāb dynasty. His sway is, of course, subject to the jurisdiction of Nisāb.

6. Three clans who are termed 'Asākir. They do not come directly under the Sultan, but are bound by treaty with the Ahl Ma'an to give their services in battle in case of a war.

(*a*) Ahl Ba Zal, leading a pastoral life in the Kaur el-'Aud near the source of Wādi Marbūn.

(*b*) Ahl Wahar, living at Heid Keneb and Hisn Makūsrah, agricultural.

(*c*) Ahl Reid, who occupy a district north-east of Arq (the frontier village of Lower 'Aulaqi). They lead a pastoral life along the banks of the Wādi Reid, which joins the Wādi Rafal just above Arq, under the name of Wādi Maleik.

7. Ahl Ba Feyyād, a powerful tribe, who are not related to the Ahl Ma'an, but are bound to them by a mutual offensive and defensive alliance. They muster 600 men and live along Wādi Yeshbum, between Safāl and the gorge of Nakabah. Origin not known.

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8. 'Ahl Ba Hadah, another treaty tribe of the Ahl Ma'an, who number 300 men and extend from below the Nakabah gorge to within a short distance of Habbān. 101 619

9. Khalīfah, a treaty tribe living on the western slopes of Heid Hādhinah, a range to the west of the Hammām Desert, and mustering about 1,000 men. 6242

The fighting strength of the Sultan, including his 'Asākir or standing army, is as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Troops at Medak, Nisāb, Wādi Dhura, Wādi Abadan (or Abdān), Wasat, and Beihān | 1,100 |
| Ahl Ma'an and Treaty Tribes | 4,900 |
| Ahl Mehājir and Nasayin | 4,400 |
| | 10,400 |

In case of a great emergency the Sultan would, as suzerain, secure the services of the desert tribes lying east and north-east of the Hammām as far as human life can be supported in the desert. The Beihān tribes would join as a matter of policy, for they are too close to escape being crushed by the fall of the 'Aulaqi dynasty. The people of Jauf would certainly throw in their lot with the 'Aulaqi, for it has always been the policy of the Nisāb Sultans to keep in touch with the parent tribeship, and Jaufi chiefs are often entertained at Nisāb. The Khalīfah of Hādhinah would also come forward, as a serious reverse to Upper 'Aulaqi would cut them off from all their trade routes to Nisāb, Yeshbum, and Habbān.

Lower 'Aulaqi would follow the lead of the Ahl Ma'an, as between Umm Rusās abu Fārid and 'Ali abu Muhsin, the paramount chief of the Ba Kāzim, there is firm friendship and also a defensive treaty. Only in the case of aggression against the 'Abdāli Sultan would the Ba Kāzim keep out, there being a close alliance between 'Ali abu Muhsin and the 'Abdāli Sultan.

If the position of Dathīnah is considered, it will be seen that the Oleh confederacy must join in or be annihilated, and, besides, their sympathies are with the 'Aulaqi.

Under such circumstances the forces may be estimated as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Upper 'Aulaqi | 10,400 |
| Lower 'Aulaqi | 4,800 |
| Jauf and tribes between them and Beihān | 12,000 |
| Beihān | 6,000 |
| Desert tribes, Ahl Karab, &c. | 8,000 |
| Khalīfah of Hādhinah | 1,000 |
| Oleh of Dathīnah | 3,200 |
| | 45,400 |

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The Ahl Bunyar, who number about 4,000, are excluded, as they would follow the Beida Sultan, and some tribes, whose forces are not known, are also omitted.

The supply of breech-loading rifles amongst these tribes has increased enormously during the last few years, and they have some good mounted troops. Their military spirit is undeniable, their history for the last century being full of martial episodes.

The Ba Kāzim with its numerous subdivisions compose the entire tribal population of Lower 'Aulaqi, and can put into the field about 5,000 men. They are a hardy and turbulent race, always engaged in petty feuds amongst themselves, or raids on their immediate neighbours, the 'Abd el-Wahīd, Fadhli, and Oleh. They have a bad reputation with the other tribes on account of their fondness for drink and their slackness in religious observances, but are redeemed by their genuineness and bravery.

They have no paramount chief, such influence as the tribe will permit being exercised by the brother chiefs of the Ahl 'Ali section at Ghidabah, Fadhl and 'Ali Muhsin.

The late Sultan of Lower 'Aulaqi, Bu Bekr ibn Nāsir, lived at Ahwar, about five miles from the coast, and had very little influence over the Ba Kāzim tribesmen. His successor has not yet been appointed.

## UPPER 'AULAQI

### Ahl Ma'an.

Ahl 'Ali Bu Hamid. Wādi Yeshbum from Wāsitah to Safāl, 2,200.

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ahl Bu Bekr | 1,000 | *Ahl Yeshbum Erwes* | Ruling house of Ahl Ma'an. Present representative Muhsin ibn Fārid. They inhabit Sa'īd and Wāsitah. |
| | | *Ahl Bu Bekr* | Pastoral and nomadic, Kaur Edth and Wādi Khaiwān. |
| | | *Ahl Sālim* | Inhabit Qarn Mabr and Heid Shūq (see vicinity of Yeshbum *Sūq*). Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl 'Abdullah* | In Heid Rafal, where they are pastoral and nomadic; also in lower reaches of W. Sha'bah, near its junction with W. Yeshbum. Here they have a little land. |

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UPPER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL ATIK | 500 | *Ahl Ajūz* | At Arashān and Mehlāl along W. Shabdh. Settled and agricultural; small proportion pastoral and semi-nomadic. |
| | | *Ahl Merwān* | At Arashān, settled and agricultural there, but at least half of them are pastoral. A few reside at Mehlāl. |
| | | *Ahl Mehrān* | In upper reaches of W. Sha'b. Pastoral. |
| | | *Ahl Ga'ar* | In Hism Sha'b, close to junction of W. Sha'b and W. Sha'bah. Settled and agricultural. A few follow pastoral life farther up the wādi. |
| AHL MADHAJI | 400 | *Ahl Masās* | Upper reaches of Wādi Hasbasah. Pastoral. A few inhabit Jehdil and Hejil. |
| | | *Ahl Lijam* | Jehdil and Modal. Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Hanash* | At Hejil. Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl esh-Shawāhi* | At Edat Shems. Settled and agricultural. |
| AHL BA RAS | 300 | *Ahl Hādi* | At Kaulah. Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl 'Awad* | At Shreij. Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Sālim* | Small settlements under Heid Tahm at entrance to Rajalān Pass, chiefly pastoral; in wet weather become nomadic, ranging about the Ba Ras limits in order to make use of numerous grazing grounds which then afford luxuriant pasture throughout the tribeship. |

AHL MOHAMMED BU HAMID, 1,650.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL SULEIMĀN | 800 | | Divided into several *afkhādh*, but names not known. Live far up the Rajalān Pass towards Hādhinah. Bedouin. |
| AHL MATOSALAH | 300 | *Ahl Jedah* | All Bedouin, no *husūn*. Kaur el-'Aud. |

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UPPER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

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| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Ahl Ba Sheir* | Kaur el-'Aud. |
| | | *Ahl Ba Rajelah* | Kaur el-'Aud. |
| | | *Ahl Mudun* | Pastoral and agricultural. Some large tracts of arable land in the upper reaches of Wādi Khumar. |
| AHL HĀMED | 150 | | Live at Hisn es-Surr and vicinity of W. es-Surr. No *afkhādh*. Settled and agricultural. |
| AHL BA THOBĀN | 200 | | Occupy country SE. of Jaul el-Heirūr on the Nasin border and extend S. to near junction of W. Hajar and W. Subhān. |
| AHL MAKRAHAH | | | Stretch S. and SW. of the Ahl Ba Thobān. |

AHL MEHĀJIR.

(Mehājir is an abstract title given to this group of tribes.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL HAMMĀM | 1,200 | | The Hammām is the most powerful of the Ahl Mehājir, and their 'Āqil, Husein Abu Ahmed, is one of the mainstays of the Ansab Sultan. Territory extends westwards to Heid Qabr and Hisn er-Ruqbah and NW. as far as junction of W. Markhah and W. Hammām. Their limits are somewhat vague as they are entirely nomadic and pastoral. |
| | | *Ahl Shemlān* | Occupy the country E. of Heid Mejah. |
| | | *Ahl Diyāb* | Extend from NE. of Heid Mejah into the desert. |
| | | *Ahl Husein* | E. of Hisn er-Ruqbah, and in time of drought graze and water their camels in Wādi Abadan. Other *afkhādh* names not known. |
| AHL MERĀZIQ | 900 | | Northern limit an imaginary line drawn from Ansab east- |

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UPPER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | wards through Qarn Lemah. S. limit border of Ahl Nitosalah in Jaul ed-Dahrah. They may be practically said to inhabit the mountain system that runs along the E. borders of Jaul el-Mutti and Jaul ed-Dahrah, both these plains being uninhabitable except in very wet weather, when they afford fair pasturage. They are pastoral. |
| AHL ER-RABĪZ | 600 | | Bounded on N. by Ahl Dakar; on S. their limits reach to Hisn Jabrah; on the E. Wādi Hanak forms their frontier line. A powerful tribe, but much diminished by smallpox. Above number represents fighting strength in 1910. Partly pastoral, partly settled and agricultural. |
| AHL DAYA' | 700 | | Inhabit the Khaura district. Settled and agricultural. |
| AHL DAKAR | 100 | | Inhabit the vicinity of Abadan, bounded on the N. by the Ahl Mabīth and on the E. by Wādi Hanak. |
| AHL LAQĪT | 150 | | Inhabit the mountains of Laqīt, which extend from W. Sa'd to W. Jibah. Bedouin and pastoral. |
| AHL MABĪTH | 70 | | Live between Ahl Dakar and Ansab. Entirely pastoral. |

LOWER 'AULAQI

Ba Kāzim, 4,789

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL SHAMMA | 300 | *Ahl er-Rashīd* | Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl ez-Zenu* | At Kubth, but moving towards Lebākhah. |
| | | *Ahl Hawāfil* | Jidhābah. |

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LOWER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

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| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Ahl Konah* | Kubth. |
| | | *Ahl 'Ali* | Kubth and Mehfid. |
| | | *Ahl Sālih bu Nasr* | Kubth. |
| | | *Ahl Husein* | Kubth. |
| | | *Ahl Mohammed bu Nasr* | Jidhābah. |
| AHL KARLAH | 400 | | All settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Gawil* | At Arakein. |
| | | *Ahl Dahas* | At Lebākhah. |
| | | *Ahl Ba Hāl* | At Lebākhah. |
| | | *Ahl Mansūr bu Sālim* | At Lebākhah. |
| | | *Ahl Ba Weden* | Arakein (these are Sa'dah). |
| | | *Ahl Shauf* | Arakein and vicinity. |
| | | *Ahl Hādi* | Lebākhah. |
| | | *Ahl Humeid* | Lebākhah. |
| AHL MANSŪR | 450 | | Chiefly Bedouin, but a few *husūn*. |
| | | *Ahl Muhlik* | Low down in Wādi Rafal. |
| | | *Ahl Makrum* | In Wādi Kafah below Heid (Leimūn). |
| | | *Ahl Haidarah* | Upper reaches of Wādi Meriyah |
| | | *Ahl Mas'ūd* | Below Ahl Heidarah in Wādi Mera. |
| | | *Ahl Lehwik* | Upper reaches of Wādi Faki. |
| | | *Ahl Khalīl* | Below Ahl Lehwik in Wādi Faki |
| | | *Ahl Nubah* | In Wādi Kafah above Ahl Makrum. |
| | | *Ahl Nasr* | Between Ahls Nubah and Makrum. |
| AHL BA KRAD | 130 | | Bedouin and pastoral. |
| | | *Ahl Sa'd* | Slopes of Heid Salr (a little land and one *hisn*). |
| | | *Ahl Hādi* | Wādi Legib (flows into Wādi Kafah from Heid Herīf). |
| | | *Ahl Yeslum* | On eastern border of the Dathīnah. |
| | | *Ahl el-Lefiyah* | S. of above. |
| | | *Ahl Gabr* | Kaur el-Utheili. |
| | | *Ahl Ligrab* | Heid Raham. |
| AHL MANA | 25 | | Partly agricultural and partly Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Lisūmah* | Land on left bank of Wādi Meriyah near Kaurat el-'Aliyah. |
| | | *Ahl Daur* | Kaurat el-'Aliyah. |
| | | *Ahl Sa'd* | Kaurat Ahl Mana. |
| | | *Ahl 'Awad* | Half-way down Wādi Faki. |
| | | *Ahl Sālih* | Kaurat es-Sifālah. |

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LOWER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL SA'ID | 20 | | Partly agricultural and partly Bedouin. |
| | | *Ahl Makasa* } *Ahl Salāmīn* } | At Bir esh-Shukab where they have land and *husūn*. |
| | | *Ahl Sālim bu Qamar* | Near Seilat en-Nettakh (pastoral). |
| AHL BA SELĀHAH | 24 | *Ahl el-Awar* | All follow a pastoral life on Heid Hamr, a system E. of Heid Raham. |
| | | *Ahl Heidarah* | |
| | | *Ahl el-Hindi* | |
| | | *Ahl Lidwa* | |
| | | *Ahl Ba Bedu* | |
| | | *Ahl Dedwah* | |
| | | *Ahl 'Aqab* | |
| | | *Ahl Bil Ed* | |
| AHL LAHAK | 500 | | Partly Bedouin and partly agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Heitham* | All in the district of Ludi, a well-watered country S. of Lebākhah. Extent uncertain, but its S. line probably approaches the barrier range which runs parallel with the coast. |
| | | *Ahl Tamūs* | |
| | | *Ahl Mareith* | |
| | | *Ahl 'Ali Bu Sa'id* | |
| | | *Ahl Sabrah* | |
| | | *Ahl Jedah* | |
| | | *Ahl Zomah* | |
| | | *Ahl Kahtar* | |
| | | *Ahl Husein* | |
| | | *Ahl Mokah* | |
| | | *Ahl 'Uyūn en-Nabah* | |
| | | *Ahl Dheb el-Aswad* | |
| AHL LEBHAR | 100 | | Live half-way down Wādi Leikah and are also scattered among the mountain ranges towards Dathīnah. Bedouin. |
| AHL AHTALAH | 900 | | Partly Bedouin and partly agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Yeslam* | At Ahwar and lower reaches of Leikah. |
| | | *Ahl Haidarah* | In Wādi Gahr (or Jahr), near junction with Leikah. |
| | | *Ahl el-'Afu* | At Ahwar. |
| | | *Ahl Luthfal* | Wādi Tisabah (comprises Dathīnah systems and joins Wādi Gahr). |
| | | *Ahl Baseniyah* | Upper reaches of Wādi Gahr. |
| | | *Ahl el-Asad* | Below Ahl Heidarah in Wādi Gahr. |
| | | *Ahl Ambur* | East of Ahl Luthfah. |

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LOWER 'AULAQI (*continued*)

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| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Clan.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Ahl Umerthi* | At Ahwar and Hisn 'Arīyah 'Ali (or bu 'Ali). |
| | | *Ahl 'Ali* | Left bank of Wādi Leikah. |
| AHL AJAM (Ajara) (Dār) | 150 | | Between Ahl Manaūr and Ahl Ahtalah. Bedouin. |
| AHL HAMID (Dār) | 300 | | |
| AHL HAIDARAH (Dār) | 250 | | |
| AHL MANAS (Dār) | 220 | | Southern slopes of Heid Raham. |
| AHL BU BUL (Dār) | 180 | | Between Heid el-Aswad and Bir Subbāhīyah. |
| AHL BAHAN (Dār) | 200 | | East of Ahwar. |
| AHL YAHĀWI | 150 | | Settled and agricultural. |
| | | *Ahl Gabr* | At Misāni S. of Ahwar. |
| | | *Ahl Soban* | At Hanad. |
| AHL BEDU (Dār) | 230 | | At Hanad. |
| AHL HAMID (Dār) | 160 | | At Hanad. |
| AHL UMM BUSHTI (Dār) | 100 | | SE. of Ahwar on right bank of the Wādi. |

### 10. *Bal Hārith*

See Beihān.

### 11. *Beida*

The Beida is a plateau Sultanate north of the Kaur, impinging on the Yemen along its western boundary and reaching northwards to Beihān ed-Daulah. To the east is the Upper 'Aulaqi Confederation and on the south the 'Audillah.

Formerly its power was more wide-reaching, and in the Prophet's time, or even earlier, all the land round Nisāb was in the hands of the Umm Rusās dynasty of Beida and his chief tribe, the Ahl Bunyar. This they held until the year 1590, when they were forced back up the Wādi Khaura and to the Dahr plateau by the Ahl Ma'an and other tribesmen who now form the Upper 'Aulaqi Confederation.

The Sultan resides at Beihān Umm Rusās, and can muster about 1,000 men of his own retainers and 'Asākir. An unsuccessful

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attempt was made some years ago to enter into relations with him. He still stands out from treaty relations with us and is in correspondence with the Imam.

The principal tribe is the Ahl Bunyar, occupying Soma (or Sauma'ah) and the Dahr plateau. Their chief is 'Abd en-Nebi Husein, who lives in the fortress of Dhimrah, which guards the thriving trading town of Soma from attack. He is a man of about 50 years and carries his influence beyond his borders to the 'Audillah and Upper 'Aulaqi tribes. He commands some 4,000 men. Farther north come the tribe of the Beni Yūb, who used to exact customs dues on the Beihān Jezāb and Yeshbum caravan road until prevented by the Ahl Hammām. They range along Wādi Markhah and up to Rahwat er-Ribbah. The Azani, the third chief tribe, are chiefly pastoral, with the exception of the Ahl 'Omar, who are a trading and agricultural community.

| *Tribe.* | *'Āqil.* | *Sub-Tribes.* |
|---|---|---|
| AHL BUNYAR. 4,000 men | 'Abd en-Nebi Husein. | |
| BENI YŪB | | |
| AZANI. 1,500 men | | *Ahl Sa'īd.*<br>*Ahl Omar.*<br>*Ahl 'Obeid.*<br>*Ahl Yahya.*<br>*Ahl Wahish.*<br>*Ahl Sei.*<br>*Ahl Kesiyīn.*<br>*Ahl Mohammedīn.* |

## 12. *Beihān*

Beihān is the name given to the district adjoining Wādi Beihān from the point where it leaves the mountain system of Beida down to the region where it loses itself in the Great Desert. Commencing from the upper reaches, the land on both sides of the wādi is in the hands of the Beida Sultanate. Farther down are the limits of the Mūsabein, chief town Hajarah. Below them the Sultan of Nisāb has some land, and farther down are the tribal limits of the Bal Hārith, in which are the towns of Durb, Hakaba, and Seilān; the two latter belong to the Ashrāf of Beihān and Durb belongs to a large and influential family of Sādah. The above towns have also a large population of *raya*, or trading classes, all of whom pay taxes to the Sultan of Upper 'Aulaqi. The Ashrāf and Sādah also pay a private semi-voluntary tribute (Jibār) to him, and he

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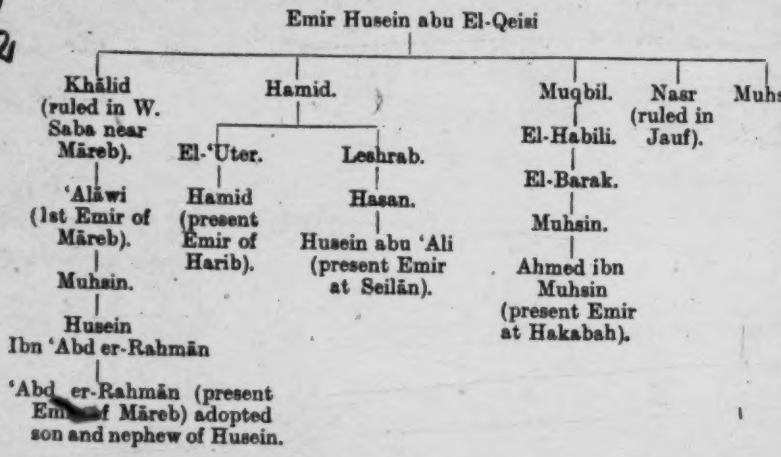
exercises considerable influence in the district. The position of these Ashrāf requires some explanation; they are descended as follows:




The chief Emir at Beihān is Ahmed ibn Muhsin of Hakaba, who also resides at Beihān el-Jezāb. He is an old man of about 67, crafty, but less powerful than he pretends. He is comparatively wealthy, entertains lavishly, and is very popular with the Bal Hārith, among whom he lives for a great part of the year as a Bedouin, in the lower reaches of Wādi Beihān. He acts as an arbitrator and dispenses justice. As regards his outside relations, he is on bad terms with the Sherif of Māreb. He has always been anglophile and signed the Aden Treaty in 1903. More recently he has expressed anxiety to extend the British sphere of influence northwards over Beida, Māreb, and Jauf. The Sheikh of the Bal Hārith is Shammakh ibn Ghannam, a middle-aged man who visited Aden in 1904 and confirmed the treaty concluded with Ahmed ibn Muhsin in the preceding year.

Neither he nor any of the Ashrāf have any influence with the Mūsabein. The Bal Hārith, Sādah, and Ashrāf number together 2,000 men. The Mūsabein are said to muster more than 4,000 men. The sand-dunes which surround Beihān on three sides prevent anything in the nature of a cavalry dash for raiding purposes, but marauding parties (especially from the Hammām), frequently slip through on saddle-camels and play havoc with the Mūsabein. The Bal Hārith and their Sādah and Ashrāf are, however, never molested.

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### 13. *Dhāmbari*

A small tribe north of Aden, about 40 miles east of the Haushabi, whose Sultan claims suzerainty over them, a claim which they only admit when it suits them. They have always given trouble, and in 1903 a British column meted out punishment to them for raiding the mail, and destroyed their fortress at Nakhlein. The chief Sheikh is Sālim Husein. They are reported to have recently joined the Turks.

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### 14. *Fadhli*

The Fadhli are a large and warlike tribe, numbering about 8,000 fighting men, who are probably well armed owing to their large seaboard and resources. They are pastoral and agricultural, and extend from Maqātīn (the Lower 'Aulaqi boundary) to the Fadhli border and British frontier line at 'Imād, where the tribeship is a mere coastal strip and uninhabited. To the north is the Oleh confederation, over whom the Sultan claims a suzerainty, which is not admitted. In actual practice his power does not extend inland of the maritime ranges. The Sultan is Husein ibn Ahmed, resident at Shūghrah (Shuqrah). He is an old man of 90, and in 1877 was deported to India and confined in the fort of Ahmednagar for 9 years, having been implicated in the murder of his brother Heidīyah, who was then Sultan. Heidīyah was succeeded by Sultan Husein's son, Ahmed ibn Husein. The latter died in 1907, after giving much trouble to the authorities, and Husein was proclaimed Sultan. He is unpopular with his subjects, and his grandson 'Abdullah Dīn ibn Ahmed has greater influence and is anxious to supplant him. He has a son aged 31 named 'Abdullah ibn Husein, who acted for him during his absence in Delhi at the Durbar in 1911, and again in 1913 when he visited Jerusalem. Sultan Husein visited Aden late in 1915, afterwards returning to Shūghrah. In January of this year he was summoned to Lahej and received by Sa'ūd Pasha with much honour. After remaining there for some time he returned to Shūghrah and reopened correspondence with Aden, claiming to have been compelled by *force majeure* to visit Lahej. His subsidy has been withheld and an embargo been placed on Shūghrah. He has been ordered to Aden to state his case, but it is not expected that he will comply until the situation is clearer.

The Fadhli Sultan is in a favourable position, owing to the convergence of several caravan routes from the northern and eastern districts, to collect onerous transit dues and hamper traffic generally.

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The cadets of his house in Abiyān, which owes its fertility to W. Banna and other streams between the Fadhli and Aden, have always been independent of him, and bleed the unfortunate traders a second time before they can pass.

The chief tribe is the Merqūshi (Markashi), who live round J. 'Uris and the neighbouring hills.

FADHLI

| *Sultan.* | *Tribes.* | |
|---|---|---|
| Husein ibn Ahmed of Shūghrah. | *Merqūshi (Markashi).* | Round J. 'Uris. |
| | *Ahl Haidarah Mansūr.* | In Abiyān. |

## 15. *Haushabi*

The Haushabi are a powerful tribe extending from Dareijah to Nūbat Dakīm, and controlling the Yemen caravan road along the Wādi Tiban, north of the 'Abdāli territory. They claim suzerainty over the Dhāmbari, which that tribe admits only when it suits them. They are agricultural and pastoral and number about 6,000 souls.

The capital is Musemir, a town 60 miles north of Aden, situated on a small plateau overlooking the left bank of the Wādi Tiban. The Sultan, 'Ali ibn Mani, threw in his lot with the Turks when they appeared in 1915, and accompanied them south in their attack on Aden. He is said to be under the influence of Mohammed Nāsir Muqbil of Māwiyah. He had always shown signs of weakness and irresolution, and although his conduct improved just before the war broke out he had the misfortune to be in the hands of ill-disposed and irresponsible advisers, of whom the chief is Fadl ibn 'Ali Humādi.

## 16. *Hajarīyah*

The Sheikh of this district is Ahmed Na'mān, formerly a tax-farmer and made a Kaimmakam by the Turks. He maintains a Zeidist levy of 500 men, and raised a larger force to help the Turkish expedition against Aden. Sub-Sheikhs under his influence attacked us at Sheikh Sa'īd late in 1914. Early in 1915 he attacked Sh. Mohammed Hasan, the chief of a religious fraternity at Jebel Habashi, near Ta'izz, for refusal to pay tithe. More lately he has been reported to have been killed and succeeded by his son Mohammed, who was formerly A.D.C. to the commandant of Ta'izz, and is said to be energetic and anti-British.

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### 17. *Quteibi*

A small tribe, about 50 miles north of Aden, whose head-quarters are at Dhi Hajarah. The Sultan of the Amīri, who rules immediately to the north, claims suzerainty over them, but cannot enforce it, nor do they admit the claim.

The tribe rebelled in 1903 and a British expedition was sent against them. Their Sheikh, Mohammed Sālih el-Akhram, nursed a grievance about this for some years, but was eventually won over. He has not much influence over a restless and quarrelsome tribe. He was at odds with the 'Alawi until 1912, when the 'Abdāli Sultan effected a reconciliation. The real power lies with his nephew, Sheikh Muqbil 'Abdullah, who has always been an unreliable factor. Sheikh Mohammed Sālih endeavoured to remain neutral when the Turks advanced in 1915, and as late as November in that year wrote to the Resident, Aden, saying that the Turks were exercising pressure on him, and that he was afraid of invasion. He was still holding out in March 1916, but his nephew had been to Lahej to treat and temporize with the Turks.

### 18. *Māwīyah*

The Sheikh of Māwīyah, Qa'tabah, and Shurmān is Mohammed Nāsir Muqbil, a powerful chief on the Yemen boundary, whose influence extends from Qa'tabah to Sheikh Sa'īd on the west, and south-east to the Haushabi country. He was originally a tax-farmer, whom the Turks made Kaimmakam of Shurmān and Kama Ira. He opposed us in 1901 and, after an initial success against the Haushabi, was defeated by a British column which blew up his fortified tower at Darajah. On our protest to the Ottoman Government he was officially degraded as scapegoat, but was promoted later.

In February 1915 he signed an agreement with the Resident, Aden, agreeing in return for a subsidy to expel the Turks and recalcitrant chiefs from the Liwa of Ta'izz. Subsequently he joined the Turkish advance, bringing with him his permanent levy of 500 Feidis and some fighting men from the neighbouring tribes. Latterly he has been reported as being at Lahej with the Haushabi.

### 19. *Mūsabein*

A wild, semi-nomad tribe between the country of the Sherif of Beihān, who has no influence over them, and the Bal Hārith tribe. Their head-quarters are at Hajarah and they range east to the Ahl Karab country. They are nominally vassals of the Upper

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'Aulaqi tribe, but are on bad terms with the Ahl Hammām, who frequently send small raiding parties against them through the difficult sand-dune country which surrounds them. They are said to have 4,000 men.

### 20. *Oleh*

The Oleh are a powerful confederation of tribes, descended from a chief of that name, in a district known as Dathīnah, which, however, only occupies the centre of the confederation. Its limits are rather vague. The boundaries of the confederation are, on the north Upper 'Aulaqi, on the south the Merqūshi (Markashi) section of the Fadhli Confederation, on the east Lower 'Aulaqi, and on the west and north-west the 'Audillah, with whom they have an hereditary feud.

They number about 3,000 fighting men of good material, but undisciplined and lacking cohesion. They have no paramount chief, but Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Alāwi of the Elhīn, who claims descent from the common ancestor, Oleh, influences tribal policy to a certain extent. He has the right to adjust disputes between any tribes of the confederation.

There are three main family divisions of the Oleh, their family names being at the present time merely abstract titles denoting the branch from which each tribe was originally descended. They are the Ahl Ba Leil, the Ahl Armān, and the Ahl Sa'īd. The Ahl Ba Leil are the most numerous division, mustering nearly 1,500 fighting men. They occupy the south-eastern portion of the confederation and have a bad name for raiding caravans, although such acts are by no means common. Their 'Āqil is 'Awad ibn Haidarah of the Ahl Hanash. They are all nomadic and pastoral, but own a few fortified villages and possess a little arable land.

The Ahl Armān number 700 men and are mountaineers, pastoral and semi-nomadic. The Ahl Sa'īd dwell in the plain of 'Amūdīyah and are the richest and most civilized portion of the confederation. They are agricultural, settled and trading.

OLEH CONFEDERATION

Ahl Ba Leil. 'Āqil, 'Awad ibn Haidarah of the Ahl Hanash.

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Sub-Tribe.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL HANASH | 300 | | S. of Heid el-Hamra, nearly to Heid Lamas. |
| AHL JADĪNAH | 300 | | SW. of Ahl Hasanah, between them and Ba Kāzim frontier. |

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## OLEH CONFEDERATION (*continued*)

| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Sub-Tribe.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AHL BA KUNNĀSHI | 150 | | S. of Hanashi borders. Eastward of Heid Lamas. |
| AHL MARŪMI | 150 | | Between Heid Lamas and Hamra on N. Hanashi border. |
| AHL AWENI | 70 | | Due S. of Jadīnah, Ba Kāzim on the E., Hanashi on the W., Ba Kunnāshi on the S. |
| AHL MEHWARI | 100 | | Range the N. and NE. slopes of Jebel 'Arīs. |
| AHL MAHĀTHIL | 100 | | E. of Surr between Ardh en-Nahein and Hanashi. |
| AHL SHUWEINI | 300 | | Entirely isolated. Many years ago friction between them and the Ahl Hanashi; they migrated westwards. Now in mountains NW. of Mis-hāl; graze their flocks along the great plain occupied towards NE. by the Ahl es-Sa'īdi. Yāfa' frontier on W. |

### AHL ARMĀN

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ELHĪN 'Ali ibn 'Alāwi | | | Most important tribe of Confederation; descended in direct line from common ancestor Oleh. Occupy large range of country between Wādis Khaura and Dhura (or Durra). Bounded on N. by Upper 'Aulaqi frontier and on S. by 'Audillah. |
| | | *Ahl edh-Dheib* | Near source of W. Dhura and westwards. |
| | | *Ahl el-Merda* | N. of the Ahl edh-Dheib. |
| | | *Ahl es-Sakri* | W. of the Ahl el-Merda and Ahl edh-Dheib. Western limit W. Khaura. |
| AHL FATHAN | 200 | | Northern limit Hisn Gabrah, southern the big 'Aqabah. |
| | | *Ahl el-Kahal* | E. of Ahl edh-Dheib. The Fathani 'Āqil belongs to this *fakhdh*; lives at Hisn el 'Atfah on the mountain route to Dathīnah. Owing to position of his *hisn* |

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OLEH CONFEDERATION (*continued*)

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| *Tribe.* | *Nos.* | *Sub-Tribe.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | and enclosed nature of the route he is in a position to tax caravans relentlessly. |
| | | *Ahl Hāmid bu Mansūr* | E. of Heid Wajr. |
| AHL 'ARWĀL | 200 | | S. and SW. of Ahl Fathan. Southern limit just to SW. of Hisn Hanīb. |
| | | *Ahl el-Melh* | Near Hisn Dhelamah. |
| | | *Ahl Suleimān* | N. of the above. |
| | | *Ahl Hejlān* | Between the above and the Elhīn border. |
| | | *Ahl el-Faqīr* | At Hisn Hanīb. |
| | | *Ahl el-Hauti* | East of above. |
| AHL HĀTIM | 100 | | SW. of the 'Arwāli on the crest and S. slopes of Heid Maran. |
| | | *Ahl el-Makshum* | Range the summit of Heid Maran. |
| | | *Ahl en-Nesr* | Lower slopes of above and in Heid Thuwwah. |
| AHL SA'ĪD | | | |
| MEYĀSIR 'Āqil, Umm Heithami Abu Fadhl | 400 | | Plain of 'Amūdīyah. |
| | | *Ahl Faraj* | At Jiblah and El-Qarn. |
| | | *Ahl Sālih* | At 'Aqbābah and NE. to Hisn Maran. |
| | | *Ahl Mamrad* | At Mamrad. |
| | | *Ahl Shemlah* | Under the E. and SE. spurs of Heid Khamah. |
| HASANAH 'Āqil, Mijāli Abu Misudah | 600 | | Plain of 'Amūdīyah. |
| | | *Ahl Nasr* | At Quleitah. |
| | | *Ahl Ba Kām* | At Dobah and Qaus. |
| | | *Ahl 'Ulcid* | On Heid Wajr. |
| | | *Ahl Sheid* | At Jiblah, Waznah, and N. of of Quleitah. |

The Meyāsir and Hasanah live side by side on the broad plain of 'Amūdīyah and are the plain-dwellers of the Confederation. There is no distinct border between the two, but an imaginary line joining the SE. spurs of Heid Gamrah and Heid Sumr will show the Meyāsir limit; then comes a stretch of neutral ground and then the Hasan border, beyond whom to the SE. lie the Jadīnah, and on the W. and NW. the Ba Kāzim frontier.

## 21. *Subeihi*

The Subeihi are a large tribe numbering nearly 20,000 souls and inhabiting the country bordering on the sea from Ras Imrān Bāb el-Mandeb to within a few miles of Aden They are bounded on the

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north by the Maktāri, Sharjabi, Athwāri, and other tribes under Turkish suzerainty. 101

Of all the tribes in the vicinity of Aden the Subeihi approach most nearly to the typical Bedouin in character. True 'Children of the Dawn', as their name by some is said to imply, they by preference select that hour for their attacks on wayfarers. They are divided into a large number of petty clans, and there is no paramount chief. Except for some arable land near Umm Rija, they pay little attention to agriculture, nor do they engage in commerce to any extent. Many members of the tribe, however, earn a livelihood by becoming *muqaddams*, or leaders, of caravans from other districts which pass through the Subeihi country *en route* for Aden. On account of their frugal diet, which consists of little else than *jowari*, they are very spare in frame, but possess great powers of endurance and have a high reputation for courage, unfortunately blemished by their character for treachery. In consequence of their poverty, few of them own camels, none horses, but the camels in the district are considered equal in speed to the latter animal, in consequence of the great attention which is paid to their breeding. 619 622

They were placed under the sovereignty of the 'Abdāli in 1881, but overthrew his control and resumed their old position of independent relations with the Residency in 1886. Agreements were made with the Dubeini, Mansūri, Makhdūmi, and Rujei subdivisions of the tribe, whereby, in consideration of a monthly allowance, the traffic passing through their districts was freed from transit dues and protection granted to travellers.

They were one of the first tribes to join the Turks in 1915 and took part in the attack on Lahej.

| *Sub-Tribe.* | *Clan.* | *Sheikh.* |
|---|---|---|
| Mansūri | | Shahīr ibn Seif. About 22 years old. Elected in 1901 on death of his father, Seif ibn 'Abdullah Ba Khadra. His relative, Sālih ibn Ahmed, ruled for him till 1913. Resides at Mashārij. Drew a stipend of Rs.600 a year. Is of family formerly paramount over whole tribe. Respected by tribesmen. |
| Bruhīmi | | 'Ali ibn Ahmed Umm Tomi. Aged 49. Was stipendiary. |
| Bureimi | | 'Alāwi ibn 'Ali. Aged 42 years. Lives at Mujābah. Non-stipendiary. |
| Dubeini | | Muqbil Hasan. Stipendiary. Lives at Tāfih on the Aden–Mafālis caravan route. |
| " | Jereiwi | Derwīsh Battāsh. Aged 43 years. Ambitious to be Sheikh over all Dubeinis. Sometimes useful. |
| " | | Seif Diban. Muqaddam for caravans. |

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SUBEIHI (*continued*)

| *Sub-Tribe.* | *Clan.* | *Sheikh.* |
|---|---|---|
| 101 Dubeini | Mashāki | Haza' Qasīm. Young, intelligent, formerly well disposed. |
| 619 'Atīfi ●622 | 'Aweida | 'Ali Ba Sālih Ba Rājih. Aged 42 years Lives at Khatabīyah or Kadthi. Stipendiary. Weak and unable to control his unruly following, who are a clan of nomadic robbers. |
| Jurabi | Masfari | Seyyid Mohammed Ya'qūb. 52 years old. Lives at Gharaqah. Has some influence. Generally on good terms with Aden, but his avarice led him astray. Non-stipendiary. |
| " | | Ahmed Sa'īd. Mansab of Weli Sanāwi shrine on the Subeihi Humeidi boundary. Aged about 51 years. Is revered for his sanctity. Lives at Hābil es-Sabt or Sanāwi. Was useful to Boundary Commission and afterwards visited Aden; intelligent. News reporter for district to Aden. |
| Mutarrifi | | 'Abdallah Ba 'Imād. Aged about 58 years. Lives at Mulehīyah. Has some influence with his sub-tribe, which is nomadic. |
| Wahāshah | Ma'mei | Ahmed Umm Basūs. Joint Sheikh. Aged about 57 years. Lives at Umm Shreijau. Relations with Aden were satisfactory on the whole. Frequently visited Aden. Non-stipendiary. |
| " | " | Seyyid Ja'ffar, joint Sheikh with above. Aged 52 years. Rendered some service in obtaining recovery of mail bags looted by 'Atīfis in January 1906. Means well, but weak. |
| " | Juleidi | 'Imād ibn Ahmed. Aged about 48 years. Resides at Shawar. A man of stubborn disposition and intriguer. Non-stipendiary. |
| Makhdūmi | | Murshid Ba Nāsir. Aged about 55 years. Stipendiary. Lives at Wādi Marasa. Influential and regarded by his sub-tribe and Mansūri as a prudent and pious leader. |
| Humeidi | | 'Ali Ba Sālim. Aged about 63 years. Lives at Jebel Asharwān near Haushabi border Influential with sub-tribe, which is mainly nomadic. Non-stipendiary. |

## 22. *Upper Yāfa'*

The Confederation of Upper Yāfa' is situated to the NE. of Aden, and is bounded by the Lower Yāfa' Sultanate on the south, the Beida and 'Audillah on the east, and the Amīri and Dhāmbari on the west.

The inhabitants are warlike and hardy mountaineers, always ready for active service, which they seek in different parts of the world. As a confederation they lose power owing to the lack of

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cohesion and a uniform policy and the personal ambition of the different Sultans. 101

Like many other tribes in the south of Arabia, they were formerly subject to the Imams of San'ā. The tribe is called after their ancestor ''Afif'. 619 6220

Although known as 'Upper Yāfa'' in English, the confederation is called in Arabic Yāfa' es-Sufla, or 'Lower Yāfa''.

The rightful Sultan of Upper Yāfa' is 'Omar Qahtān, who succeeded his father in 1913, but was expelled by the tribe for coming to Aden to make a treaty with us, as they were jealous of his selection. He belongs to the Dhubi section, though originally of the house of Sheikh 'Ali Harharah. He was opposed by his brother, Sālih ibn 'Omar, and, despite English influence, failed to get himself reinstated. The Government accordingly refused to recognize him as Sultan and gave him a year within which to bring about his rehabilitation. They, however, continued to pay the stipend received by his father, Qahtān, who was a man of little influence and in his later days an exile from his capital. His brother Sālih ibn 'Omar, who is a man of much stronger character, was recognized in 1911 by the Maflahis as their Sultan and receives tribute from Rub'atein.

There are four chief tribes: the Mausata, Maflahi, Sheibi, and Dhubi. The Sheikh of the Mausata is Muhsin 'Askar. He is a man about 75 years old and comes of a family of intriguers, but wields undoubted influence. He signed the treaty with the Bombay Government in 1904 as joint signatory with his brother 'Ali 'Askar. The latter died in 1907 and was succeeded by his son Nāji 'Ali 'Askar, but most of the power has remained with his uncle Muhsin 'Askar.

The Sheibi are the most northerly tribe of the Confederation and impinge on Ottoman territory towards the Bana. Their Sultan is 'Ali Mauna es-Sakladi.

The Sheikh of the Dhubi is Sālim Sālih ibn 'Ātif Jābir. He is a stipendiary and his predecessor was the first Upper Yāfa' Sheikh to conclude a treaty with us (1903).

Two other stipendiaries of this section are the brother Sheikhs Mohammed and 'Omar ibn Muthanna ibn 'Ātif Jābir. The latter has little influence and has not justified his selection as stipendiary. He is grasping and a master of intrigue. Rub'atein is an appanage of the Dhubi tribe. The three principal Sheikhs are Yahya ibn 'Askar, Sālih ibn Ahmed, and Yahya Nāsir. Before the war they were all fearful of Turkish intrigue and desired closer relations with the British Government.

Another important tribe is that of the Maflahi, whose chief is

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'Abd er-Rahmān ibn Qasīm. He is a stipendiary and has always been a well-wisher of the English. His residence is at Jurba.

The conduct of the Upper Yāfa' Sheikhs has not been entirely satisfactory lately. Some of the non-stipendiary Sheikhs have long resented their exclusion from the list of recipients of doles and have turned to the Imam of San'ā. The descent of the Turkish forces opened an avenue for securing loot and monetary consideration from Sa'īd Pasha. The stipendiaries have been outwardly loyal, but there is evidence to show that some sort of secret understanding exists between them and the transborder Arabs. A section of the Mausata have actually gone over to the enemy, and the rest will follow where they think that their interest leads them.

UPPER YĀFA' CONFEDERATION

| *Tribe.* | *Chief.* | *Clan.* |
|---|---|---|
| MAUSATA | 'Ali 'Askar | |
| | Muhsin 'Askar | |
| SHEIBI | Salīm ibn 'Amr | |
| DHUBI | Sālim Sālih | |
| | Mohammed ibn Muthanna | |
| | 'Omar ibn Muthanna | *Khalaki.* |

### 23. *Lower Yāfa'*

The district of Lower Yāfa' is inhabited by the Beni Qāsid tribe. Their late Sultan, 'Abdullah ibn Muhsin, who died early in 1916, was a man of eccentric habits and disliked both the British and the Fadhli. The newly elected Sultan is as yet an unknown quantity, but is said to be Turkophobe. His tribes are out of hand and several have addressed themselves to Aden asking to know the policy of the Government. They have long been at variance with the Fadhli, and a short time ago were in danger of having their supplies cut off from Shūghrah. Sa'īd Pasha, however, intervened and succeeded in arranging a three months' truce between them

## B. HADHRAMAUT

### 1. *Akābarah*

A small nomad tribe, descended from Himyar, along the sea-coast west of Makalla and between Makalla and the Beni Hasan They number 500 fighting men.

### 2. *'Amūdi*

A nomad tribe which was formerly powerful and owned the Wādi Dō'an almost up to Meshed. They were almost annihilated

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about 15 years ago by the Sultan of Makalla. The survivors, numbering only about 150 men under Sheikh Sālih ibn 'Abdullah, are still suffered to live in the Wādi Dō'an.

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### 3. *Awābthah*

An independent nomad tribe of Himyar, living in Wādi 'Ain, south-east of Haurah. Their chief Sheikh is 'Abdullah ibn Ahmed and they number about 2,000 men. They are allied with the Seibān and with them maintain a continued warfare with the Hamumi. The chief families of Ashrāf are the Ahl Ba Wazīr and Beni Sheibān.

Paramount Sheikh : 'Abdullah ibn Ahmed.

| *Sub-Tribes.* | |
|---|---|
| BANIS. | 'Abdullah ibn Ahmed. |
| BAZAR. | Ibn Kurdūsah. |

### 4. *'Awāmir*

A strong nomad tribe to the north of Terīm. They pay a nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Seyyūn and Terīm and unite with the Kathīri against aggression from outside.

### 5. *Dein*

A tribe, chiefly nomad but partly agricultural, in the country north-west of the Nu'a and between them and the Āl Hamīm. They trace their descent from Kindah. They are entirely independent, but maintain friendly relations with the Nu'a and Āl Hamīm. Sālim Bamar is their chief Sheikh with a following of about 2,000 fighting men.

Paramount Sheikh : Sālim Bamar.

| *Sub-Tribes.* | |
|---|---|
| BAMSADUS. | Sālim Bamar. |
| BA HENHEN. | 'Abdullah ibn Ahmed. |
| BA SUWEIDĀN. | 'Abdullah ibn Mubārak. |
| YĀS. | Ahmed ibn Yislam. |
| BA KARSHUM. | |

### 6. *Āl Hamīm*

A powerful and warlike Bedouin tribe, north-west of the Nu'a and Dein, living in the country round Shura and Wādi 'Irmah and ranging the country north to the Empty Quarter. They possess many horses and were of great assistance to the Nu'a in their fighting against Ghālib ibn 'Awad el-Ka'aiti, Sultan of Makalla. They can muster from 8,000 to 10,000 men under Thābit ibn 'Omar, their Paramount Chief.

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### 7. *Hamumi*

101 A strong and warlike nomad tribe descended from Himyar in the country north of Makalla. They are entirely independent, can put 619 nearly 10,000 men in the field, and are always at war with the Sultan of Makalla, the Awābthah, and the Seibān. Their chief Sheikh is • 622 Sheikh Halreish. The principal sub-tribes are Beit Jerzat, Beit 'Ali, and Beit Sa'īd.

### 8. *Beni Hasan*

A small nomad tribe descended from Himyar, and numbering 200 men, in the country along the coast between the Mohammedīn and the Akābarah west of Makalla.

### 9. *Jābiri* (pl. *Jawābir*)

A strong nomad tribe, south of Seyyūn, having a defensive alliance with the Kathīri and paying a nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Seyyūn and Terīm.

### 10. *Jada*

The Jada are an independent Bedouin tribe, tracing their descent from Kindah, and living in the Wādi 'Amd to the south-east of Haurah. They number 3,000 men.

Chief Sheikh, Ibn Shemlān.

| *Clans.* | |
|---|---|
| Beni Shemlān. | Ibn Shemlān. |
| Beni Humeid. | |
| Beni Mādhi. | |

### 11. *Kathīri*

The Kathīri tribe is one of the most warlike and powerful tribes in the Hadhramaut and is the chief menace to the ever-increasing power of the Sultan of Makalla. They are partly settled and partly nomad, and occupy the country between Terīm and Seyyūn, their chief towns, almost up to the Sultan of Makalla's frontier city of Shibām. The feud between the two arose in the early seventies of last century and has ever since dominated the politics of the Hadhramaut. At that time the Kathīri Sultan of Seyyūn borrowed three lakhs of rupees from the head of the Ka'aiti family, and afterwards repudiated the debt. Recourse was had to the Political Resident of Aden, and after arbitration had proved abortive, Shiheir and Makalla, then in the possession of the Kathīri Sultan, were bombarded by a British ship and handed over to the Ka'aiti. Since

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then there has been an increasing feud which has at times led to actual warfare. 101

The present Kathīri Sultan is Mansūr Kathīri, a man who has been unable to enforce his will on his independent tribesmen; the latter are said to number 10,000 to 15,000 fighting men, and with their allies the 'Awāmir, Tamīmi, and Jābiri, who can put into the field another 5,000 warriors, they form a very powerful confederation. Like all tribal confederations, however, jealousies and an innate independence prevent them from making full use of their power. 619 622

### 12. *Manāhil*

A warlike and independent nomad tribe, roaming the country to the north of the Hamumi, numbering between 5,000 and 6,000 men. They are allied to the Hamumi in opposition both to the Seibān and the Sultan of Makalla.

### 13. *Mohammedīn*

A small nomad tribe, numbering 300 men, between the Nu'a on the west and the Beni Hasan on the east. They trace their descent to Himyar. Sa'īd ibn Suleimān is their Sheikh, living at Haseisah, the main tribal centre.

### 14. *Nahad*

The Nahad are a Bedouin tribe, descended from Kindah, numbering from 3,000 to 4,000 men and occupying the country due north of Haurah. They are on friendly terms with the Sultan of Makalla's representative at Haurah, but are bitter enemies of the powerful tribe of Sa'ar to their north. Their Paramount Chief is Sheikh Ibn Minīf.

### 15. *Nu'a*

The Nu'a are a Bedouin tribe, descended from Himyar, with head-quarters round the valley of Wādi el-Hajar. They are bounded on the west by the tribes of the 'Abd el-Wahīd Sultanate, on the north-west by the Dein and Āl Hamīm tribes, on the north by the Numan, and on the east by the Seibān and Mohammedīn.

Between Bir 'Ali and Haseisah they come down to the sea. They cultivate *dhura* and wheat in Wādi Hajar and raise dates, but their chief wealth is in camels, of which they are said to possess about 6,000, and in sheep and goats. The Sultan of Makalla cast covetous eyes on their possessions and for 12 years strove to wrest the Wādi Hajar from them. He met with no success, and two years ago relinquished his attempts and made peace. The Nu'a can put

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from 5,000 to 6,000 men in the field, all armed with rifles. Their chief Sheikh is Ahmed ibn Qādim, who lives at Lubnah, a man of about 45, strong and well liked by his tribes. He keeps on good terms with the Sultan of Bālhāf and with the Dein, and is allied with Thābit ibn 'Omar, the chief of the Āl Hamīm, who helped him in his war against the Sultan of Makalla. The Ashrāf are strong in the district, and Sherīf el-Beit of Kanīni is much sought after as an arbitrator in quarrels between the different clans.

Paramount Sheikh: Ahmed ibn Qādim.

| *Sub-Tribes.* | |
|---|---|
| BAQARWĀN. | Ahmed Abeidan. |
| BA DIYĀN. | Sa'īd ibn 'Ali. |
| BA FAQASH. | |
| BADBAS. | 'Ali ibn Mohammed. |
| BURSHEID. | Ahmed ibn Qādim. |
| BASAM. | Sa'īd ibn 'Ali. |
| BA HAMISH. | Mohammed ibn Sālim. |
| BA HAKIM. | 'Abdullah ibn Sa'īd. |
| LIMUS. | 'Omar ibn Ahmed. |

### 16. *Numan*

A nomadic tribe, numbering about 1,000 men, descended from Himyar, who roam the country north of the Nu'a and Wādi el-Hajar. Their chief Sheikh is Sālih ibn Selīm ibn Qutam.

### 17. *Sa'ar*

The Sa'ar are probably the most numerous tribe in the Hadhramaut; but though completely independent and lawless, they are too far removed to play a very important part in its politics. They roam the country north of the Nahad and Haurah right up to the edge of the Ruba' el-Khāli and are said to number 20,000 men. An old feud exists between them and the Nahad. Their chief is Ibn Jarbu. They claim descent from Kindah.

### 18. *Seibān*

A Himyarite tribe of nomads inhabiting the desolate plateau to the west of the upper reaches of the Wādi el-'Aisār. They are bounded on the north by the 'Amūdi, on the south by the Akābarah and Beni Hasan, and on the east by the Hamumi.

'Omar ibn Ahmed is their chief Sheikh, but they come also under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Makalla. They are friendly with the Nu'a and the small tribes on their south. With the Hamumi they have a long-standing feud which leads to continual fighting.

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They put about 2,000 men in the field. Abd er-Rahmān esh-Shatri has great influence over them.

Paramount Sheikh: 'Omar ibn Ahmed.

| *Sub-Tribes.* | |
|---|---|
| BASARAH. | 'Omar ibn Ahmed. |
| BASARĪYAH. | 'Omar ibn Ahmed. |
| BA QŪR. | Mohammed ibn Suleimān. |
| SAMŪH. | Mohammed ibn 'Ali. |

### 19. *Tamīmi*

A nomad tribe to the east of Terīm and the Kathīri, with whom they are allied for purposes of defence.

### 20. *Yāfa'*

The Yāfa' tribe, whose real home is in the Sultanates of Upper and Lower Yāfa' to the north-east of Aden, are represented in the Hadhramaut by the influential and wealthy family of Ka'aiti. Some six generations ago the Seyyids of the Abu Bekr family, at that time the most powerful in the Hadhramaut, were seriously threatened by the Bedouin tribes, and in their extremity invited the assistance of the Yāfa' Sultan. The Ka'aiti were sent to the rescue, and, having repulsed the enemy, established themselves in the country, where they have been ever since. Their power has steadily grown and was notably increased in 1874 by the expulsion of the Kathīri Sultan from Makalla and Shiheir and the presentation of these two towns to them by the British Government in settlement of a debt which had been repudiated by the Kathīri. They now own Makalla, Shiheir, Shibām, Haurah, and Hajarein, and exercise a suzerainty, which at times is only nominal, over the tribes of 'Amūdi, Seibān, and Nahad.

Their wealth comes chiefly from the Straits Settlements, whither many Hadhramis migrate, leaving their own sterile country to seek their fortunes abroad. Their connexion with Haidarabad is also very close, the Nizam maintaining a Hadhrami bodyguard, which is always commanded by one of the Ka'aiti family.

The present head of the house, styled Sultan of Makalla, is Ghālib ibn 'Awad el-Ka'aiti, a man of fifty, who is anglophile and maintains close relations with Aden. He keeps a permanent bodyguard of 1,000 men, but frequently has recourse to hiring mercenaries both to maintain himself against his implacable enemies the Kathīri and their allies, and the Hamumi, and also in furtherance of his

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ambition to add fresh territories to his dominions and become the ruling force in the Hadhramaut.

He has three brothers, 'Omar, Husein, and Manassar—all of whom he has quarrelled with and expelled from the country.

## C. Oman

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### 1. *'Abābid* (sing. *'Abbādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Felej Shirāh in Wādi Fara', in Western Hajar.

### 2. *'Abādilah* (sing. *'Abdūli*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,200 souls; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; settled at Shārjah town, Ghāllah in Shameilīyah, Khaleibīyah, near Wādi Hām, and on Sheikh Shu'aib Island.

### 3. *'Abriyīn* (sing. *'Abri*)

A tribe of Nizāri descent in the Oman Sultanate, belonging to the Ghāfiri political faction; in religion they are mostly Ibadhis, but a small minority are Sunnis. They are found in Dhāhirah at 'Arāqi; in Western Hajar at 'Awābi, at 'Aqair in Wādi Shāfān, at Zāmmah and Hāt in Wādi Beni 'Auf, at Beit el-Qarn in Wādi Fara', at Tabāqah in Wādi Beni Ghāfir, and at 'Amq, Fashah, Maqamma, and Mabu in Wādi Sahtan; in Oman Proper at Bahlah, Farq, Ghamr, and Hamra: their number is estimated at 6,500 souls. They cultivate dates and corn and are generally a well-behaved and peaceable tribe. They are the real masters of 'Awābi, but Bahlah is their tribal capital and Hamra their largest separate village.

### 4. *Beni 'Adi* (sing. *'Adwāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 5,000 souls; Hināwi in politics, settled chiefly in Western Hajar at the villages of Sawālih, Murbah, Qasra, Ghashab, and Wabil in Wādi Fara', but also found on the coast at Quryāt and at Ghuweisah in the sub-vilayet of Saham.

Those at Ghashab belong to a section called Beni Bakr.

### 5. *'Ajam, or Persians* (sing. *'Ajmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 10,000 souls, mostly now arabized Shiahs; settled at Muscat town and in

631 grazing lands, belong to them, and they range from Shihr to
101 Seihut and up to the Manahil and Jabri. The Manahil country
619 lies to the north and east of them, and the 'Awābitha and Al Heik live to their west.

619 The tribe had a defensive and offensive alliance with the Kathīri, and were always a great source of trouble to the Qu'aiti. They were a byword for murder and robbery, owing to their systematic pillaging of travellers, until the Qu'aiti put an end to these activities by stringent measures some years ago. He now pays them an annual subsidy and has a " B " agreement with them and they [489] have ceased to be troublesome. Since coming to heel the tribesmen regularly load goods from Shihr for Shibam, Seiyun and Tarim, and continually visit Shihr, Hami, Dis, Qus'eir and Reida. They are mainly nomads and own about 3,000 loading camels but no riding animals.

They are the worst enemies of the Seibani, with whom they are continually at war: Inter-tribal feuds exist between several of their own clans, but all unite in the face of a common foe under the leadership of the Beit 'Ali clan, whose chief, 'Ali bin Salim Habrish, lives at Gheil Bā Yamīn and Wadi 'Arf and is the [623] *Muqaddam* of the Zei. A " Council of Elders " is summoned at Gheil Bā Yamīn to decide matters of tribal importance, and the tribesmen of the various clans offer their rifles to prove their goodwill in acceptance of the decision of the Elders. The Mansabs of the tribe are Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il of the Āl 'Aidarus, but the Bā Shamakha clan are under the influence of 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and 'Abdul Qadir Āl Shibab of the Āl as Saqqaf. These Mansabs interfere in cases of serious tribal disputes or for the accomplishment of truces between fighting clans or tribes.

631 The clans of the Hamumi live in two districts, Al Ma'rab (the
101 Western) which is the smaller district and is situated to the North
619 of Shihr, and Al Mashqās (the Eastern) which lies to the North East of Shihr. The Bahasan at Tanbūl and the Yamīni are the clans living in Al Ma'rab, but also included in the district are their allies the Sha'āmila, the Bā Habān, and the Meseilīyin. The Yamīni, who are allied to the Seibani and live under their pro- [249] tection, possess 200 camels, and the Bahasan own 100. The latter cultivate *tanbuli* leaf, which is chewed by the people of Shihr and Mukalla, and they have accordingly been nicknamed " at Tanbuli " The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

The other clans mentioned in the list live in the district of Al Mashqās, consisting of deserts, fields, and wadis. From the Sa'idi to the Seiyids of Beit Hamūda inclusive the clans have a special system and their chief is the head of the Beit 'Ali. From the Beit Ghatnīn to the 'Udūl inclusive all the clans have their own

* [Hamumi Zei -- Analyst] * [See p. 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

313 camels. The difficulty is being got over to some extent by experiments in
333 making reinforced-concrete pillars, of which we saw two in construction at
353 Seyyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seyyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, consist of a lime plaster polished by smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

861 Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area five hundred houses built on
342 a slight eminence in the wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears
485 to be one enormous brown mud-built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town, and the only
● 623 way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild.
344 The area of land required to build a house 45 *dhirras* in width by 35 in depth (a *dhirra*, or cubit, equals 1·5 foot) will cost 10,000 dollars, and having acquired the land the prospective builder will have to submit the specifications of his house for the approval of a committee of the townspeople who consider the position of windows and of gutters carrying water to the street. Subsequent alterations to a house must also be similarly approved. By general consent houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high, in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this house, which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars.

333 The foundations are dug 2 *dhirras* deep below the surface of the earth and
342 3 *dhirras* wide. Stones are used for the foundation mortared together with a mixture of wood ash and lime. In places where there is any doubt as to the solidity of the ground on which the house is to stand long pieces of *'elb* wood are laid in pairs lengthwise in the foundations. Wood for this purpose must be cut in the winter; if this is done it is said never to rot. The stone foundation or *sās* is continued for 2 *dhirras* above the level of the ground. When the building operations have reached this stage a foundation sacrifice of a goat or sheep is made on the walls. The house is centred round a solid pillar built on the same foundation as the walls. For a house of the dimensions proposed this pillar or *'arus el beit* will be $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 *dhirras* wide and of the same thickness from top to bottom. The stairs of the house invariably go up round the *'arus*. The bricks are made of clay mixed with straw, the standard size being $1\frac{1}{4}$ *dhirras* in length by $\frac{2}{3}$ in breadth by 4 *banan* or fingers' widths in thickness. When the clay of the required consistency and thickness for making the bricks has been laid out they are cut out by a wooden frame which makes two bricks
[435] at a time. The bricks cost five dollars a thousand.

The thickness of the walls of the first storey is $1\frac{7}{8}$ *dhirras*, of the second $1\frac{1}{2}$, of the third $1\frac{1}{4}$, of the fourth 1 *dhirra*, of the fifth $\frac{3}{4}$, of the sixth $\frac{5}{8}$, and of the seventh $\frac{1}{2}$ a *dhirra*. The bricks are mortared together with wet clay. As *'elb* wood grows to no great length the size of the room is determined to some
[435] extent by the length of the pieces available as girders. The girders are usually very short and supported by carved pillars each costing about twenty dollars.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101 776

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

8· Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

YEMENMLI

THE NAME



IS THE NAME OF A MAGAN DEITY AND IN THE ABSENCE,

Y 101 174 778 622 of histories, we may take it that the confederation is pre-Islamic in date. Apart from the name, the only other obviously pre-Islamic possession of the tribe is the sacred drum, the "Tabble an Nahas," which is kept by the Beni Qasid and which is accorded sacred honours by the tribe of Yafa' only. It is possible that before Islam the Beni Qasid were the keepers of the drum, and I am going to suggest that the present Sultans of Yafa' are in reality Priest-Chiefs, whose functions as such have ceased with the introduction of a new religion, although their hereditary position remains as heads of the people who once worshipped Yafa'.

H 101 619 622 Let us examine another confederation of tribes. About sixty miles north of Aden live the Qateibi tribe, surrounded by the confederation of the Ja'ud. At first sight the tribes here seem to be disorganized and unrelated, but careful study of dialect, of local stories, of the Qasidas or epic poems, and of such things as star lore and magical beliefs, shows that these tribes are closely allied in thought, dialect and custom and form a true confederation, the organization of which becomes clear in times of danger. Of this confederation the Qateibi are the central tribe, and their sheikhly family is the Akhram, from which the Qateibi Sheikh is elected. As was shown in 1904, a Qateibi Sheikh with a strong personality can have considerable influence on the whole confederation, but he is not expected to rule, as we understand the word, even within his own family.

H 619 [623] 174 622 With the strong 'Aulaqi Confederation we find a more complicated organization, but a similar one. Ma'an is here the central tribe, in all probability the ancient Ma'an of the inscriptions, a pre-Sabian kingdom of South Arabia. Ancient Ma'an was ruled by a "Grand Council," as we find from the inscriptions, and this system still exists to-day.

The 'Aulaqi Confederation is divided into three parts—the Upper and Lower sub-Confederations of attached tribes and the tribe of Ma'an—and each of these three is ruled by a Chief of the tribe of Ma'an, elected by Ma'an only. Again we have the sheikhly family within the central tribe, surrounded by the attached tribes of the confederation. Again the name, but this time it is the name of the central tribe, is pre-Islamic. If we look [671] for further proof that the confederation is of pre-Islamic origin, we find an ancient legal system—that of the Manaqid, which I have already described—strongly attached to it.

H 619 We could continue to find examples of the organization from other confederations, but these three will suffice. The basis of the organization is clear: there is a central tribe containing a sheikhly family, forming the centre of a confederation of tribes.

H 174 Y 643 How did such an organization evolve? How is it that Chiefs, elected according to ancient custom, are not expected to rule their electors? What is the origin of such Chiefs, and of the sheikhly families from which they come? Our answers must be mainly guesswork, but we may well begin by seeing some of the conditions under which an Imam of Sana'a is elected, for I think they point the way to our understanding of the whole problem.

The first condition is that the Imam must be whole in body. No Imam may be elected if he limps, is blind in one or both eyes, has a stammer, squints, is a leper or has any other physical disabilities. If, once

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as far as I know, nothing written to define their position, but it is accepted that they can only use their position to influence their tribesmen, and that the rule of the tribe is that of the tribal council, which is drawn from all the heads of tribe and family, and is influenced by all strong personalities within the tribe as well as by the holy classes—the Seyyids and descendants of saints. The strength of rule which the Chief can impose depends, therefore, on how much he can influence the influential. By his own position he is not a ruler; he is a figurehead; and if his ancestors at one time could inspire respect and fear through their magical powers, he inspires neither, except through his own personality. By a reluctance to enforce his rule, even when he is assisted to do so, he shows that in some vague way he appreciates his peculiar hereditary position. Until the official understands this he will live in wonderland, where the Chief he wishes to assist blandly gives Government arms away to his enemies and then returns to demand equality of force with them and the assistance of aircraft to defend himself. But the official is dealing with the older thing, with a type of community which long ago ceased to have meaning or motive, but has preserved the ancient forms of its pagan birth.

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It is notable that the Imam does not attempt to rule the Yemen through hereditary tribal Chiefs. He rules, as his ancestors did, through appointed Governors of provinces, and these provinces often disregard tribal areas. It may be that the Yemen progressed beyond the Priest-Chief state of rule in the days of the kingdoms and under a succession of Governors never returned to it. I do not myself believe that the Mushreq has ever known other than tribal life and the rule of tribal councils and public opinion from the days of the Grand Council of Ma'an to the present day. The Yemeni parts of the Protectorate which are under Suzerains are governed after the Yemeni autocratic model. Here the tribal figurehead counts for very little, unless he is a strong personality and a favourite of the Suzerain. But the figurehead is still there for all the centuries of " foreign " rule.

It would seem that it is usual for the rule of Priest-Chiefs to be followed by that of tyrants. Perhaps it is that as trade develops some firmer kind of rule is needed than a vaguely conservative council under a Priest-Chief. The church, as it were, cannot keep the functions of the state. When it can it tries to endow every activity of the individual with a magical colour. It usually succeeds. But in South Arabia the religion was violently changed by a militant Christianity and after a few centuries by a militant Islam, and in the place of the old order, under which each man worshipped his tribal god, there came the new order of the conqueror and his appointed Governors. In this small strip of Arabia we are fortunate to be able to study both these types of rule as they react to contact with the modern world.

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Almost the whole world has been through the phase of passing from the rule of the Priest-King to that of the tyrant, and we are no exception. It would almost seem to be a necessary growing pain for the people to first be ruled by autocrats before they rule themselves. But it would be interesting, to us who have passed through this phase and who see ourselves on the frontiers of the wider democracy of our age, to dispense with this phase and to at once develop a government of truly democratic form

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

a passage, opening onto roof-terraces where, at this time of the day, one is conscious of a breeze. The old blind Bā Ṣurra sits there surrounded by his counsellors and the chiefs of the allied Bedouin tribes. Bā Ṣurra rises with difficulty and gropes his way forward in order to greet us. He is a stately figure with a long, white beard, and his mind is still active and his voice clear. We are very tired and warm, and gratefully enjoy the small cups of bitter coffee and the endless glasses of hot, sweet tea which succeed them. The young slave, who makes the tea in a samovar, asks whether we wish for Ceylon or Java tea. Lumps are broken off a sugar loaf with iron pincers and are dropped into the glasses. Afterwards we are offered dates and tinned pine-apple. Bā Ṣurra gives us the choice between lodging in the castle or in a house in the town. We decide upon the latter and go there in procession, accompanied by soldiers and by grandsons and grand-nephews of the *Ḥākim.*[1]

The house is five storeys high and stands at the edge of the village of ʿOra, and from our roof we look down upon the crowns of date-palms. Our quarters are uninhabited and clean; Bā Ṣurra has had carpets laid in the room, which we share with Sayyid ʿAluwī. All our hangers-on follow us upstairs and remain to watch and see what wonderful things emerge from our luggage. The fine, clever-looking descendants of the Governor put many questions to us and tell us much, and seem to be quite comfortable in the packed and stuffily hot room. It is with difficulty that we get rid of the crowd. The boys help in this, but, having accomplished it, do not dream of taking their own departure! They only stroll off at last under the promise that they may return in a couple of hours' time.

After the lapse of an hour three little boys come and will not be denied; they have an urgent message for us, they say, and with self-assurance they relate that their father has the

[1] *Ḥākim* (حاكم), governor, magistrate.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



622 At the castle we found Bā Ṣurra again seated between two
•623 sons, in the midst of his counsellors and the Bedouin chiefs;
162 there are also present some soldiers somewhat in the background, the grandsons and other offspring in our vicinity, and the slave who makes the tea.

The old *Ḥākim* and his family are photographed in a large group on the terrace close to the *madjlis*. Then begin long conversations in which our endless questions are patiently answered. Bā Ṣurra himself tells us that the whole of Wādī Dōʿan and its tributary, Wādī el-Ēsar, are under his jurisdiction. In about fifty villages there are 20.000 inhabi-
871 tants. There are only two small schools, both of them founded and maintained by that remarkable sayyid of Terīm, Abū Bakr bin Shēkh el-Kāf. It is certainly extraordinary that this leading personage of the Āl Kathīr district should be the founder and supporter of most of the schools in the territory of el-Qeʿēṭī. Many of the schools in Makalla and esh-Shiḥr are also due to el-Kāf's generosity. Khurēba, the old centre of Wādī Dōʿan, has a school with seventy to eighty pupils, and the other is in Qēdūn, with from twenty to fifty pupils.

346 There are in Bā Ṣurra's province nearly 200 mosques, some
167 among them very fine ones, which are often the property of
556 rich sayyids and connected with their houses. The fortunes of these rich men are always made in foreign lands. Every district of Ḥaḍramaut has its own particular countries to which its people emigrate in swarms to make money; from Wādī Dōʿan they go to Abyssinia, the coast towns of the Red Sea, and the coast of East Africa. Barely a hundred have gone out from here to Java, though from Wādī el-Ēsar, on the other hand, quite 500 have done so.

162 There are also 1500 Bedouins under Bā Ṣurra's jurisdiction,
622 among them the whole Sēbān tribe from the Qibla region (*i. e.* from the North). The chief of the Deyyin tribe, ʿUthmān bin Muḥammad el-ʿAmūdī, the ruler in Rēdet ed-Deyyin, is

## Justice.

In Mukalla there are three courts. (1) The Sharia court, which is presided over by three Qadhis. It has also an appellate jurisdiction from other Qadhis in the country. They try all cases according to Sharia law and certain criminal cases are therefore excepted from their jurisdiction, as mutilation and some other Quranic penalties have been abolished. (2) The Hakm as Suq, which is presided over by a police magistrate who is also in charge of the slave police. He tries small cases and can imprison up to twelve days. These sentences are served in the court building which is also the station of the slave police. (3) The Hakm ad Dola, the *Wazir's* court. Here are heard important criminal cases, important civil cases, bankruptcy cases, and cases in which there is not sufficient evidence for the Sharia court. 695 692

There is no commercial court, but if a merchant goes bankrupt his creditors among the merchants gather together to arrange a settlement. In important civil cases the *Wazir* selects a committee of merchants as assessors who examine the cases and report to him. There are no pleaders before the courts. Provincial governors have jurisdiction to settle all cases in their *liwas* but there is an appeal to Mukalla. There are Qadhis at the bigger towns of the interior such as Shibam. 426 692 635

## Police.

### Organization.

In Mukalla the total strength of the uniformed police is 60; that of the plain clothes slave police is 33. The uniform consists of a dark blue tunic and shorts with a leather belt bearing a brass buckle in front, and a red fez. They are equipped with rifles, but only the actual sentry outside a station carries one. The slave police wear a police belt over their ordinary clothes and carry daggers. There is a Jemadar, one Havildar, one Corporal, and two Lance-Corporals. The headquarters of the uniformed police are at the Customs end of the bazaar. There are several other small police-stations in the town. 625

### Distribution.

In Mukalla 30 uniformed police are on duty by day and 10 at night, these latter being reinforced by 20 plain clothes slave police. The uniformed police man the Customs where a detachment is on duty for seven days, each man being relieved every 24 hours. Thirteen of the slave police are on duty at the station of the Hakm as Suq. The peculiar function of the slave police is to deal with armed offenders. Otherwise both bodies of police appear to have the usual functions. There are a few police in Shihr but none in the interior.

## Crime.

From information obtained it would appear that murder cases are now practically non-existent. Murderers are executed with a dagger plunged into the supra sternal notch. 682

2-Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers. 647

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000. 651 652

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few. 579 [712 165] 625 721 701 643 619 728 [652]

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government. 619

[1]About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off. 567

182 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last
628 quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras
411 carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease
436 of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some
[792] years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by
182 Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small
671 thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the
576 gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

182 Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

182 I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into
673 their confederations and have shown the course which these confedera-
728 tions are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of
671 Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts,
[625] whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when
000 nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



official members serving as consultative representatives of the "popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public services consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educational facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the state's own postage stamps[5] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, appears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements[8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

[5] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

[8] The Anglo-Kathiri treaty engagement of 1918 was merely an extension of the terms of a previous Anglo-Quaiti treaty to those parts of the Hadhramaut interior controlled by the Kathiri sultan. By terms of the Anglo-Kathiri agreement the Kathiri State was placed under British protectorate. The 1939 Adviser Agreement provided for the appointment of a British Resident Adviser to the court of the Kathiri sultan.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



648 lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

439 That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri
167 State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya
171 is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

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162 TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE
131
652

| State | Title of ruler | Population | Area in sq. miles | Annual revenue | Police | Salute |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Qu'aiti (Mukalla) .. | H.H. the Sultan of | 197,000 | 30,000 | Rs 27,50,078 | Unlisted | 11 guns |
| Kathiri (Seiyun) ... | Sultan of | 60,000 | 6,000 | Rs 4,80,000 | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Wahidi (Balhaf) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 5,000 | Rs 1,02,448 | Unlisted | None |
| Mahri (Socotra & Qishn) ..... | Sultan of | 22,000 | 15,000 | Unlisted | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Haura ..... | Shaykh of | 300 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| 'Irqa ..... | Shaykh of | 350 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Abdali (Lahej) ..... | H.H. the Sultan of | 41,400 | 4,500 | Unlisted | 380 | 11 guns |
| Fadhli (Shuqra) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 2,500 | Rs 4,17,697 | 120 | 9 guns |
| Amiri (Dhala) ..... | Amir of | 27,000 | 1,050 | Rs 1,50,000 | 75 | 9 guns |
| Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara) ..... | Sultan of | 23,000 | 700 | Rs 1,65,000 | 30 | 9 guns |
| Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba) ..... | Sultan of | 89,000 | 900 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar) ..... | Sultan of | 12,000 | 2,500 | Rs 49,000 | 40 | None |
| Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab) ..... | Sultan of | 53,000 | 1,800 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Beihan (Beihan Qasb) .... | Amir of | 13,000 | 4,000 | Unlisted | 40 | None |
| Audhali (Lodar) .... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 1,000 | Unlisted | 30 | None |
| Haushabi (Musaimir) ..... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 350 | Unlisted | 29 | None |
| Alawi (Al Qash'a) .. | Shaykh of | 1,200 | 89 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed). | Shaykh of | 2,000 | 101 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazeteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

# THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

701 DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

579 721 643 Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

648 728 Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

648 At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

185 625 701 From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls. [871]

113 * Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the [186] austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These 342 well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign 578 countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them 185 among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem 648 presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination 157 before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, 578 and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same 648 demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section 185 of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with 643 the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at 625 Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in 185 a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramout HM2



Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar 161
of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited 631
largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved 648
a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in Decem- [668]
ber 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn
and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser 643
strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his
mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of
his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most im- [625]
portant ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of
Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of
lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal
guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British
Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 721
1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate,
and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami
Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of
what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his 648
staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial
help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial
Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend
£410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only
£23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder
to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a [731]
serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less
serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly 651
helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami 312
emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political 311
changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have
adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have
had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-
engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development
of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40
miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from
Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was
becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the
Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns,
the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the
board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple 248
cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 62–3.
[4] See above, p. 112.

5 Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



619 has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative
622 machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have tribal guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under
701 the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police
625 duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

619 The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal
634 districts:

[643] ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej,* the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

361 AMIRI: Amir Nast bin Shaif Seif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION: Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. *Capital*: Mahjaba. Mausatta, Sheikh Ahmed Bubakr 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Muhsin 'Askar. *Capital*: Al Qudma. Dhubi, Sheikh Abdurehman bin Salih (under age). *Regent*: Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital*: Dhi Sura. Maflahi, Sheikh Qasim 'Abdurrahman. *Capital*: Al Jurba. Hadrami, Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital*: Ash Shibr.

SHAIB: Sheikh Muhammad Muqbil As Saqladi. *Capital*: Awabil.

QUTEIBI: Sheikh Hassan'Ali. *Capital*: Ath Thumeir.

ALAWI: Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital*: Al Qash'a.

AQRABI: Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl ba 'Abdullah. *Capital*: Bir Ahmed.

AUDHALI: Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital*: Lodar.

UPPER 'AULAQI: Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital*: Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital*: As-Said.

LOWER 'AULAQI: Sultan Nasir bin Aidrus bin Ali bin Abdullah (under age). *Regent*: Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. *Capital*: Ahwar.

BEIHAN: Sharif Salih bin Husein. *Regent*: Sharif Husein bin Ahmed. *Capital*: An Nuqub.

SUBEIHI: Sheikh Muhammad 'Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah ba Sa'id of the 'Atifi.

* His Highness Sultan Sir Abdul Karim Fadhl, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., died on 18th June, 1947.

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G.Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate. 631 648 643

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida. 631 622 175 438 161 133 361

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. 645

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government. 619 701 625 622

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7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



342 insulation against the heat. Roofs are universally flat, and used for the recreation of the women, who keep purdah, and for sleeping in the summer.

342 The farm-house of the tribesmen is little removed from its earlier function of a fort, and even in large towns it is unusual for the ground
531 floor (often used as a stable) to have more than loop-holes, windows being reserved for the upper storeys. But the upper part of a house is frequently decorated with whitewash, and in some cases most intricate and delicate patterns are created in plaster-work and whitewash, occasionally touched with blue or other colours. Sanitation is primitive.

342 The cities of the Hadhramaut have tall mud-brick buildings, nearly every house in Shibam is from five to seven storeys high, and the wealthy Seiyids and Sultans live in veritable palaces which are remarkable not only for their size and cost but for their taste and beauty.

# Chapter 9: Law and Order

## JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (*a*) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts.

625 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate security is primarily a responsibility of the states themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces.

## PRISONS

697 There is no recognised prison service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of states have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff in controlled areas.

625 WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE SECURITY FORCES

*Government Guards*

The establishment was as follows:

| *British Officers* | *Arab Officers* | *Other Ranks* | *Specialists, etc.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 18 | 582 | 82 |

Posts were maintained in the Dhala district at Dhala, Safra, Jabel, Jihaf, Lazaric and Awabil; in Abyan district at Ja'ar (Khanfar), El Husn, Ba Teis and Hitat; in Ahwar district at Ahwar and El Oqma; in Beihan at Beihan, El Ain, Asailan, Najd Maizar and Najd Merqad; in Dathina district at Am Surra, Mudia, Am Khudeira and Am Quleita; at Thumeir in the Quteibi area and at Mahfad and El Irq in the Manqas district.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Tribal Guards*

Further progress has been made in re-arming and training Tribal Forces. Contributions from the states towards the cost of their maintenance have been increased and four forces are now entirely supported by local revenue, three are partially dependent, and the rest are wholly dependent on grants from His Majesty's Government. 625

The authorised strength of the forces is as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Lahej Trained Forces (Abdali)* .. .. .. | 380 |
| Fadhli Tribal Guards .. * .. .. .. | 120 |
| Lower Yafa'i Tribal Guards .. .. .. | 30 |
| Lower Aulaqi Tribal Guards .. .. .. | 40 |
| Haushabi Tribal Guards .. .. .. .. | 29 |
| Amiri Tribal Guards .. .. .. .. | 75 |
| Dathina Tribal Guards * .. .. .. .. | 22 |
| Beihan Tribal Guards .. .. .. .. | 40 |
| Audhali Tribal Guards * .. .. .. .. | 30 |
| Maflahi Tribal Guards .. .. .. .. | 25 |
| Sha'ib Tribal Guards .. .. .. .. | 30 |

* Supported by the State.

EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE SECURITY FORCES

On the whole there was a general improvement in efficiency and morale during 1949 and 1950 in all the forces of the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

The Hadhrami Beduin Legion and their auxiliaries were increased in number and now are garrisoning all the northern forts. Their behaviour in actions against Wahidi tribes and Al Ba Dukhn was very satisfactory.

In the latter action the Mukalla Regular Army distinguished themselves. They are now garrisoning various posts temporarily until the Qu'aiti Armed Constabulary can take over this task. Courses to train potential non-commissioned officers have been instituted.

Kathiri Armed Constabulary and Civil Police were also increased in 1950 to carry out further security duties and a customs prevention force was formed.

A much larger area is now under the Wahidi tribal guards who have been increased to cope with their new duties ; besides patrolling and garrisoning Wahidi country, they also perform police and customs duties.

# Chapter 10: Communications

*Western Aden Protectorate*

Increasing use is being made of motor vehicles. These are for the most part driven along sandy beaches, up dry river beds or across open desert, but in some places tracks have been improved, and in a few 491

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



648 Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra
631 resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. The population is probably about 8,000, the island is rather less than 100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

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The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

622 The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to
648 be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some
625 of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

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WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

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MAFLAHI: Sheikh Qasim Abdulrahman. *Capital:* Al Jurba.
HADRAMI: Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital:* Ash Shibr.
SHAIB: Sheikh Ahmed Mana As Saqladi. *Capital:* Awabil.
QUTEIBI: Sheik Hassan Ali. *Capital:* Al. Thumeir.

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-8311864 MMI Aden



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mukalla Regular Army (paid by Qu'aiti State) | 17 Officers 332 other ranks | Security in the Qu'aiti State. |

In addition there are the following police forces.

| State | Force | Establishment | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Qu'aiti | Mukalla Police | 101 | Paid by Qu'aiti State. |
| | Qu'aiti Armed Constabulary | 530 | Paid by Qu'aiti State for rural districts. |
| Kathiri | Civil Police | 25 | For towns of Sai'un, Tarim and Hautaf Ahmed bin Zain. Paid by Kathiri State. |
| | Kathiri Armed Constabulary | 112 | For rural districts. 18 paid by Kathiri State, balance by Her Majesty's Government. |
| Wahidi | Wahidi Tribal Guards | 232 | These carry out police duties, in addition to garrison and security roles. 93 paid by Wahidi States, remainder by Her Majesty's Government. |

# Chapter 9: Public Utilities and Public Works

## WESTERN PROTECTORATE

There are small electric power plants run by the Lahej Sultanate for a few domestic consumers and by the Abyan Board for its own domestic and workshop requirements.

There are no gas installations or public water supplies other than the irrigation projects described in Chapter 6.

There are organised Public Works Departments in the Lahej and Fadhli States which are mainly occupied in the maintenance and construction of public buildings and roads.

## EASTERN PROTECTORATE

There is a small power-house in Mukalla publicly administered and owned. The voltage is 240 volts, 3 phase, 50 cycles, A.C., driven by three engines with a capacity of 49, 110 and 220 B.H.P. respectively. The total number of consumers is 700 and the annual output is 114,268 units.

Public Works Departments exist in the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



648 The island of Socotra was occupied by the East India Company in 1834 and came under British protection together with the neighbouring Abd Alkuri and Brothers Islands when the treaty with the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Socotra was concluded in 1866.

## Chapter 3 : Administration

631 The Eastern Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting of the
648 Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Sai'un),
643 the Mahra Sultanate of the Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Belhaf and Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. A British Agent is stationed at Mukalla who advises the Rulers of the Eastern Protectorate on matters of administration.

The interests of the Western Protectorate are looked after similarly by a small cadre of British Political Officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since Her Majesty's
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625 greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards mainly (paid for by Her Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland at fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

631 The Protectorate consists of the following states :
361

WESTERN PROTECTORATE

[643] 'ABDALI : His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin 'Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej until April, 1952, and thereafter His Highness Sultan 'Ali bin 'Abdul Karim, the premier chief of the Western Protectorate. Capital : Lahej.

'AMIRI : Amir Nasir bin Shaif, C.M.G. Capital : Dhala.

FADHLI : Sultan 'Abdullah bin 'Uthman. Capital : Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I : Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. Capital : Al Qara.

HAUSHABI : Sultan Muhammad bin Sarur. Capital : Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I : Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. Capital : Mahjaba.

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636 Admiralty Court in matters connected with the slave trade; his court is also a Colonial Court of Admiralty. The laws in force in the Settlement are, generally speaking, those of the Bombay Presidency, supplemented on certain points by special regulations drawn up to suit local conditions.

636 In general the local affairs of the Settlement (such as sanitation, conservancy, &c.) are managed by an Executive Committee (formerly
√03 Municipal Committee), subject to the control of the Resident: the funds for this purpose are raised by the levy of house tax,
651 octroi, and other imposts. The management of the port is under a Board of Trustees, known as the Aden Port Trust, the principal
• 62√ task of which is to make arrangements for the deepening of the harbour so as to allow vessels of all sizes to enter and leave at all states of the tide. The funds are provided by the levy of tolls and wharfage fees on goods landed or shipped. The police are of two categories: land police, and harbour police. The former (officers and men) number 377—357 foot and 20 mounted; the latter number 12, including four inspectors and one or two administrative officials.

701 The normal garrison of Aden consists of the Aden troops, one hundred strong, mounted half on horses and half on camels; three companies of Garrison Artillery, two of which man the forts, while the third is employed with the movable armament; six companies of British Infantry; one battalion of Indian Infantry, less detachments at Perim and Sheikh 'Othmān; one Fortress Company; and the Aden section of Sappers and Miners. On the south-west corner of the peninsula are the forts Tarshein and Morbat, which cover the entrance of the harbour, and are garrisoned by two companies of Royal Garrison Artillery. The land side is protected by a strongly fortified position across the whole breadth of the isthmus. At the crater are various entrenched positions for infantry to oppose landings, while the ridge, running north and south from Hejuff to Viaduct Gate, forms a second line of defence and includes a redoubt at Ahman Khal, near the southern extremity.

652 The total revenue receipts of Aden treasury in 1914–15, under all heads—imperial, local, and municipal—amounted to 87½ lakhs
651 of rupees (approx. £580,000). The chief sources of local revenue are: Aden Port Trust Fund, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Aden Settlement Fund, over 4 lakhs (£28,000); Local Supply Bills, 38½ lakhs (£257,000); Post Office, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Excise, about 1 lakh (£6,300); Income tax, ¾ lakh (£5,000). The total expenditure was about 83½ lakhs (approx. £556,000).

619 In the Aden interior the tribes nominate their own chiefs or sultans. The Sultan is never a tribesman himself, but comes from

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Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court. 778 796 782 792 [24 T21]

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer. 778 735

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed. 693 671 [492]

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of 671 693 577 626

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693 tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had
671 touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt
√77 or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's
626 own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

565 This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and
631 tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

565 We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past
463 incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will
465 therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of
421 those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The
792 Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

421 Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of
565 the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

√65 Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen
144 and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

565 Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class.
463 The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

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669 Kathiri Sultans and that he was the recognized head of a Kathiri section subordinate to the latter. In 1937 after a lot of persuasion he subscribed
618 to the three years truce. This chief loyally kept the peace and helped in maintaining peace till his death early in 1939, when he was succeeded by an irresponsible nephew who after visiting Java and Singapore to collect his inheritance, returned to Hadhramaut determined to extend his boundaries and influence.

In 1939 my wife and I also visited the East Indies and while in Batavia were entertained by the Bin 'Abdat family at a tea and cocktail party at the Hôtel des Galleries, a large modern hotel belonging to the family. Round the walls of the room in which the reception was held were pictures of Al Ghurfa labelled "Al Ghurfa in the Hadhramaut over which this family has fought so long."

Late in 1939 the new Bin 'Abdat started fresh operations. He extended his fortifications and subsidized a large bedouin tribe, the Hamumis, amongst whom the Government was trying to make peace, to make the then one motor road unsafe and to oppose the Government in every possible way. A good deal of fighting ensued in which both the Hamumis and the Qu'aiti troops had casualties. He also brought Hamumi bedouins as his soldiers into the Wadi Hadhramaut itself where they made the road unsafe for travellers. He arrested and maltreated persons who had recourse to the Sultan in their troubles. The Sultans were supported by His Majesty's Government and action was taken against him. He submitted in May 1940, but did not observe the condition he had accepted and until the fall of Singapore and Java eventually caused his funds to dry up, was always a source of trouble. For it was the profits of the hotel and rents of his properties in the Far East which had enabled the family to keep their wars going. Many Hadhrami chiefs did the same thing, but none on the
627 Bin 'Abdat scale. And when litigants in Java lost their cases in the Java Courts it was not unusual for them to repay their opponents in the Hadhramaut by having their families shot or their homes burnt.

631 There were supposed to be only two Governments in Hadhramaut, the
619 Qu'aiti and Kathiri, but in fact there were about two thousand—the fourteen hundred tribes and sections who had signed the truce and several hundreds more of independent villages ruled by mansabs and sheikhs.

185 It was considerations such as these that I had to bear in mind when I thought of the kind of organization which would be most likely to succeed in the Hadhramaut. The only things that seemed to offer a favourable opening were a widespread desire for peace and a genuine anxiety on the part of the Sultan for improvements in Governmental and social services. Apart from these factors I had the instruments I have referred to, and the general indication that one should try to follow as far as possible the methods adopted in the Unfederated Malay States, to guide me in forming an organization.

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

## Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

*In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sābih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

*In Seiyun:* Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

[The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

567 I never heard a suggestion from masters or slaves that they were anything but exceedingly well treated. They include principally the *Nizam*, the most trusted part of the forces of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri, and receive very exceptional treatment compared with other servants of the State. They can rise to the highest positions, and the present Governor of the Shibam province is a slave. I also met a slave Governor of the town of Hajarein in the Du'an province, and I believe there are others. The town magistrate of Mukalla is also a slave. The young slaves belonging to the Mukalla Government are given especial care and training, and are formed into companies of cadets. They gave us a very creditable drill display in Mukalla.

It is possible that there may be a very occasional case of slave trading, and some women may have been introduced in recent years to the main valley, but this is not done with the approval or cognizance of the Mukalla Government.

### Subians.

565 The Subians form definitely the lowest class of the population.
162 Some of them are agricultural labourers receiving wages or paid in kind, and there are settlements of them outside coastal towns like
463 Mukalla and Shihr. When they are settled next door to a town they do the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and perform such sanitary services as are carried out by sweepers in other eastern countries.

565 I was informed that the word "*Subian*" comes from "*Sabi*",
173 a boy. In the Hadhramaut they originate from the Wadi Hajr, and for this reason in the western part of the Protectorate are known as Hajris. They are said to be the descendants of the Abyssinian invaders of the third to sixth centuries A.D., and to have been reduced to their present lowly estate after the Abyssinians had been routed by the Persians on the intervention of Seif bin Dhi Yazan. This is the tale told in the Hadhramaut, and d'Arnaud recounts a similar story as the origin of the Khadims of Yemen
[678] and Aden. Neither slaves nor Subians can be the subjects of blood feuds.

### Immigration.

167 Apart from these classes of the population, there are a number of immigrants settled, or partially settled, in the country. There are 300 British Indians in Mukalla and Shihr, and a few British Somalis. There are also some Italian Somalis. The total number of Somalis in the country is said to be about 1,200, of whom 1,000 reside in Mukalla. Owing to extensive migration to the East Indies,
[144] which will be further described later in the report, there has been a considerable infiltration of Malayan blood, and very East Indian types of countenances are to be observed in some of the up-country towns. The type is not uncommon in Tarim and Seiyun, but I found it very marked in the towns of Badra and Haura.

635 The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely con-
619 nected with the province :—
[762]

SEIBANI.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 101 Marśahida ... | | Living round the province of Du'an. | 400—500 |
| | Bā Daheiduh | | |
| | Bā Beitar | | |
| | Bā Dhrus | — | |
| | Bā Kardas | | |
| | Bā Sara | | |
| Khāmā ... ... | | — | 300—900 |
| | Bā Surra | | |
| | Bā Kadīm | | |
| | Bā Sallum | | |
| | Bā Rashīd | | |
| Hāika ... ... | | Hūfa in Wadi Leisar | 300—800 |
| | Bā Dajeil | | |
| | Bā Sa'd | | |
| | Bā Nakhar | | |
| | Al Biadha | | |
| | Bā Khashwein | | |
| As Sumūh ... ... | | | 500—1,000 |
| | Shaka'i | | 200 |
| | Bā Wazim | | |
| | Jodani | | |
| | Jahzami | | |
| | Bā Buteiya | | |
| | Ghuth | | |
| Al Meshājir ... ... | — | Husn Ba'ba', Wadi Yeb'uth. | 250 |
| Al Qathm ... ... | — | — | 100 |
| Al Hamidī ... ... | — | — | 400 |
| | | | 2,450—4,150 |

[762]

619 The Seibani Zei are said to be part of a Confederation which
631 includes the 'Awābitha and Āl Heik tribes. They extend from the
369 Hamumi country on the east to the Nūwah on the west. The Nahd and Kathīri tribes bound them on the north, and the Beni Hasan on the south. The tribe are partly nomad and partly settled and they own villages round Mukalla and in Wadis Du'an, Leisar, and Huweira; many of them live in 'Aura and Qurein in Wadi Du'an. The settled Seibanis, like other townsmen land-owners, are subject to taxation on their date groves by the Qu'aiti whom they acknowledge in full sovereignty. The nomads acknowledge Qu'aiti suzerainty but pay no taxes. Their country is at present the safest for travelling and a *siyar* is unnecessary. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

619 Muhammad bin 'Umar and Ahmed bin 'Umar Bā Surra of the
622 Khāmā clan of the Seibani, the Qu'aiti Governors of the Du'an
628 province, are also the paramount *Muqaddams* of the tribe. Inter-tribal disputes are settled by reference to the heads of neutral clans, more important cases being carried to the Bā Surras and the Shatiri Seiyid who is their *Mansab*. The Mihdhār family of Seiyids descended from Sheikh Abubekr, also have great influence

[illegible] -- Analyst

with the whole tribe, as have the 'Amūdi Sheikhs of Budha and Tila who exercise considerable authority, in as much as they can on their own initiative interfere and declare a fight between the Seibani and Hamumi as ended on the Seibani side. The Qathm clan, who live furthest from the sea and ply their camels between Du'an and Hadhramaut, have the following *mansabs*, Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il. 619 622 628

Of the clans and sections given above, the Handbook of Arabia mentions the Bā Sara and the Sumūh, and also the Basarlyah and Bā Qūr whose names I did not obtain. The Marāshida clan are nomads, owning about 1,200 camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Du'an and Hadhramaut. In November 1934, this clan were at feud with the Sumūh. 619 628 101

The Khāmā are a hardy, nomad people, owning cattle and sheep and about 1,000 camels. The Bā Kadīm section are the strongest in numbers but the Bā Surra the most important. The Hālka clan have grazing lands round Mukalla extending towards Wadi Leisar. They own about 300 to 400 loading camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Hadhramaut via Wadi Leisar. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the clan and pays them an annual subsidy. The Biadha are a very small section, and the Bā Khashwein, though not really a section, live under the protection of the Hālka and are so closely allied to them that they are generally considered one of their sections. 619 101 631

The Sumūh, who own about 600 camels, are the largest clan. Their grazing lands lie round Mukalla extending to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. They have long been settled in the country they inhabit. The Qu'aiti pays the clan an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

### 'Amūdi.

The tribe consists of the following clans: Āl Motahhar, Āl Muhammad bin Sa'id, Āl Ahmed bin Muhammad, Āl Baghābira, Āl Saklu', Ash Sheikh 'Umar al Munasib, Āl Batuk (Bin Tuk), Āl Badahia (Bin Dahia), Āl Bā 'Abd al Qadir, Āl Bā Ahmed, Āl at Teiyar, Āl Barubeid, Āl Faqih, Āl Bajumā, Āl Basamad, Āl Kushan, As Suq'an, Āl Batawīl, Āl Basaqr, Āl Abubekr, Āl Barnusa and Āl Bayasīn.

The 'Amūdi or Beni 'Isa live in Wadi Du'an and on the plateau of Reidat ad Deiyin. They are descended from one Sa'id bin 'Isa known as 'Amūd ad Dīn, and the men bear the title of Sheikh. They were once paramount in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, but in 1900 when, with a force of about 1,100 men, they advanced and occupied Qurein and 'Aura, the Qu'aiti collected men from Khoreiba and Rashid and these, reinforced from Mukalla, broke the power of the 'Amūdis once for all. They fled to the mountains and treated for peace, but were permitted to return to Sīf and Budha and gradually obtained possession of a considerable area of fertile land in Wadi Du'an and Wadi Leisar.

1 See also 92 [illegible] 116 -- Analyst]

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| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqīl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 619 Bin Yamāni and their slaves ... | — | Qasm | 80 | 'Ali bin Ahmed bin Imani. |
| 631 101 Āl Sa'id, Bin 'Uthmān, and Āl Dahnān. | — | Al Khōn | 80 | 'Umar bin 'Awadh bin Sa'id. |
| Āl Qafa, Āl Barakeiz, Āl Heithwa, and Āl Nubeid. | — | As Sōm | 50 | Khartf |
| Āl as Sa'd ... ... ... | — | 'Asum | 45 | 'Isa |
| Samāh al 'Usba ... ... | — | Al 'Usba | 15 | 'Aidha bin 'Atūfa. |
| Beit Bal Hateish ... ... | — | Fughma | 35 | — |
| Āl Bin Kōb ... ... ... | — | Sha'b Hud | 15 | 'Awadh bin al 'Ahidl. |
| Bin Marsaf ... ... ... | Al Fahd | — | 120 | — |
| Ash Sheiban ... ... ... | 5 sections | — | — | — |
| | | | 847 | |

The Tamimi are a part nomad, part settled tribe, living in the main wadi from the neighbourhood of Tarim to beyond Qasm. They have been allied to the Qu'aiti, with whom they have an "A" agreement, for a long time, and have had a long-standing feud with the 'Awāmir and Kathīris which was terminated by the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The Kathīri Sultans have no jurisdiction over them but it is said that the Tamimis are allied to them for purposes of defence. Disputes between the Tarim Government and the Tamimis are settled by negotiation or Qu'aiti interference. [628]

The Tamimis emigrate to Java and the East African Coast, but they are a poor tribe. They grow wheat, lucern, vegetables, jowari, and other crops, on well irrigation. A large amount of land in the Tamimi territory is the property of the rich townsmen of Tarim and Dammūn which the Bin Silma cultivate, and they are generally safe and honest. At harvest time, however, Beduins come from across the northern hills, which are quite close to the cultivation here, settle in the groves, and do a certain amount of damage. Like most wadi dwellers from Tarim eastwards the Tamimis obtain their supplies from Shihr rather than Seihut, though Seihut sends regular caravans as far as 'Einat. 167 311 369 438

The Bin Qasīr clan is sometimes considered as divided into four sections, the Āl Kibl, Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar, Bin Daḥdūh, and Beit Bal Hateish. The Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed clan is sometimes called a section of the Ash Sheiban clan; the latter is said to be divided into five sections. The Bin Silma is said to be the strongest clan and is stated to have four sections. 619 631 101

The *mansabs* of the Tamimi are 'Umar bin Zein Āl 'Abdulla bin Ash Sheikh for the Āl Yamāni, Hasan bin 'Alawi al 'Aqīl, Ahmed bin 'Aqīl, Āl Matahar, Tahir bin Bubekr Āl Tahir for the Balheij, and 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shibab for the Bin Silma. 619 628

[*See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

The 'Awāmir are a part settled, part nomad, tribe living between An Neiza and Ghurf in the main Wadi Hadhramaut due south of Tarim and the northern mountains. Their territory includes Tarba, Wadi, Thibi, An Neid, and Al Mishqās, and in the main valley their settlements are in Wadi Tarba on the right bank, the opposite bank being entirely devoid of vegetation. They obtain their imported supplies of food from Shihr. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with the 'Awāmir, whose armed strength has been estimated at from 600 to 1,000. 631 619 101

Beduin sections of the tribe, said to number some thousands, live in the Oman Sultanate; they belong to the Bin Khamis, Bin Kallla, and Awanza clans. Miles refers to the 'Awāmir in Oman as follows: "The Awāmir are both Bedoo and Ibadhi, are of Maaddic stock, and claim descent from Amr bin Saassa, but are now Hinawi.[1] The Bedouin and larger portion of this tribe roam the desert as far as Dhofar, but the settled portion of the tribe occupy a group of twelve villages near Nezwa in Orman Proper. They number about 1,200 or 1,400 souls and the shaikhs reside at Kuriatain. The Bedouins are very wild and savage and are said to speak a dialect of their own. The Awāmir are at feud with the Jenebeh and have about thirty fakhths" (sub-divisions). He also states that they are said to "traverse the desert very extensively, and probably no part of it, except the Dahna, is altogether inaccessible to them. Part of the Awāmir tribe are settled in the Province of Oman Proper and follow agricultural pursuits. The Bedouin portion of the Awāmir is perhaps the most widely scattered of all the Oman tribes, wandering as far as Hadhramaut in a state of semi-savagedom, and it is probable that no wilder or more predatory race exists in Arabia."

"The Awāmir at Ras Noos", he says, "are genuine Bedoos and wear Hadhramaut clothes and speak a different dialect to Oman; it is hardly intelligible but is better Arabic." He goes on to say that some 'Awāmir came to Muscat overland on camels and in some places were five or six days without water. He also mentions the 'Awāmir as being one of the chief Omani tribes engaged in camel breeding, and possessing large herds of these animals.

It is a custom among the 'Awāmir that if two clans are in dispute a third may interfere to settle. The Bin Salim clan are sometimes stated to be a section of the Bin Hatāb. The Al Muhammad section of the Bin Kallla are said to be both settled and nomadic, but the As Sūeid section are purely nomad. The Qu'aiti states that he has a B agreement with the Al Beihan al 'Awāmir which presumably refers to the section of the Bin Kasbūba. [628]

The As Salibīa Seiyids have influence over the Bin Hatāb and Kasbūba clans, Seiyid 'Abdulla bin Ahmed Bu Futein has influence over the clans living in Tarba, and Seiyid Tahir bin Bubakr Āl Tahir over the Āl Muhammad.

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[1] This is clearly an error, vide genealogical tree.

[See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

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643 The Sultan of Lahej rules over the territory of the 'Abdali tribe, and
426 his frontier marches with the northern frontier of Aden Colony. He is descended from a Yafa'i family, who were appointed as Governors of Lahej by an Imam of San'a. Later they revolted against the Imams and declared their independence. By purchase, Imamic grants and seizure they own a considerable portion of the Lahej lands; they are of foreign origin to the tribe over which they rule.

The Amirs of Dhala' were appointed Governors of the Dhala' province, including the lands of the tribes of Halumein, Ahmad, Azraq and Shu'Ar, by the Imamas of San'a, and, later, of the lands of Sha'ib by a Sultan of Turkey. I see that the official handbook describes the Amirs of Dhala' as descendants from slaves. It is surprising how such obvious in-
547 accuracies persist. To see that they have no slave blood in them requires
795 no more than ordinary eyesight, and it would be impossible for an Imam of
144 San'a to appoint a slave to any post, since there are no slaves in the Yemen at all, slavery being forbidden by the tenets of the Zeidi sect. The Amirs are of typical Central Yemeni type, such as is found on the Yemen plateau.

643 Later, they rebelled against the Imams and established their independence. Thus they rule over a confederation of small tribes, while belonging to none of them.

These appointed Suzerains, of whom the Sultan of Makalla is one, form a distinct class among Arab Chiefs. They do not mix with their tribesmen in the usual democratic Arab way, but stand apart, as it were, and are addressed by titles of exaggerated respect. Not being tribesmen of the tribe they rule, they have no traditional and family holds over the people and their attitudes towards their tribesmen are those of foreign rulers. They do not, as a rule, favour elected hereditary headmen in their villages, but prefer to appoint outsiders as headmen, whom they pay as retainers.

When a Suzerain dies, the election of the new Chief is held by the family only and the tribesmen are not consulted.

622 The accepted Suzerains are represented by one example only—the
792 Sharifs of Beihan. It is, however, an interesting example.

● 628 In Beihan there are settlements of Sharifs and of Seyyids. There are
648 also two tribes among whom these holy men live. Both the Sharifs and the Seyyids are arms-bearing families, and for some time were divided by a feud. Before the Great War, the elected Chief of the Sharifs, a far-sighted man called Ahmad, negotiated a treaty of protection and friendship with Great Britain. In this he gained the support of the lower tribe and of half the upper tribe, which was divided by a feud. After the Great War he concluded a truce with the Seyyids, and consolidated his relationships with his supporters among the tribesmen, who amounted to three-quarters of the population of Beihan. They accepted him as Suzerain and as their general agent for dealing with their foreign affairs. Thus, while he is undoubtedly a Suzerain, he is one of limited authority. He does not claim taxes from the land or the trade except in his own settlements, and is, consequently, very poor. But, for all that, the influence of the Sharifs is considerable in all the Beihan area. Their position is not, of course, unique in Arabia, but it is doubtful if any others than holy men could find themselves in a similar one.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM 2



The elected hereditary tribal Chiefs form the third type. In each tribal 622 21
confederation there is a central tribe. Of this central tribe one family only provides Chiefs to the confederation. Normally the election of a Chief is the concern, not of his family only, but of the central tribe, while powerful petty Chiefs of other tribes within the confederation have a considerable say in it. Such Chiefs are, by virtue of the conditions of their election, truly democratic. By ancient tradition, however, they are held in great respect and are referred to invariably, as is their family, as the "Dola," or dynasty. They are accorded high-sounding titles by the Government and by other Chiefs, but their tribesmen address them by their names, and it would appear that the high-sounding titles are of recent adoption in the country. The Imam of San'a rarely uses them. Government correspondence is, for this reason, often a source of merriment.

It will be seen that all Chiefs are, whatever their type, elected in a 643
greater or lesser degree—the Suzerains within their family circle and the 622
hereditary Chiefs within their tribe. The main difference between the types is that, whereas the Suzerains are of foreign descent to the tribes over which they rule, the hereditary Chiefs are of the tribe and, as such, do not need to surround themselves with the trappings of imposed authority. In appearance the Suzerains are more imposing, and this has misled officials into supposing that they are of more consequence socially than other Chiefs are. This is, of course, not so.

In all these types of Chief, when the Chief dies his eldest son would appear, by custom, to have less right to succeed than others. Suzerains always try to impose their eldest or their favourite son as accepted heir during their lifetimes. This has happened in Lahej, where it led to a revolt among the Sultan's relations, and in Makalla by arrangement. The Sharifs of Beihan have been exceptions to this, and have abided by custom. When Sharif Ahmad died, they held discussions among themselves. The eldest son was Sharif Hussein, but he was appointed Regent to his own eldest son, a young boy, who was elected Sharif. The reason given for this was that the grandson of the dead Chief had longer to live than his father and that frequent change in leadership was a bad thing. As a rule, however, Chiefly families pass the Chiefdoms from branch to branch, and, when the Chief dies, a nephew will usually succeed. Among the 'Audhali 628
recently, the Chief was murdered by his cousin. The tribe was split in two by feud, but one half elected the murderer's son, a boy of eight years old, to the Chiefdom. This boy was accepted in 1934, when the feud ceased, as Sultan of the tribe.

We next come to the holy classes. The first of these are the Sharifs 792
and Seyyids, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. They live in settlements and elect among themselves in each family a headman. They have great influence in the community, but it varies, of course, with [556]
the amount of their riches. Most Seyyids—the only Sharifs are those in 821
Beihan—do not bear arms and take no part in tribal warfare. They are 423
peacemakers, and derive considerable income as such, and as dispensers of the Sharia or holy law of Islam. They are treated with veneration and respect and, after death, are frequently treated as saints. They marry

5 Hamilton G-5- (no date) 1943 MM2, Hadhramaut MM21



remained unchanged through centuries of the past and which was perhaps well suited to periods long ago, somehow or other have to adapt themselves to modern conditions. 000

That is the problem which Political Officers in a country like the Aden Protectorate have to face: that is to say, they have to give the best that we can offer to the people without doing at the same time harm, which so obviously might accompany our action if we were to press our own ideas too much on a social system so different from our own. That makes it all the more important—in fact, it is essential—that British Officers, Political Officers working in that country, should really understand the people as Mr. Hamilton understands them; that they should study them and specialize in their task, for otherwise it is only too easy to fall into serious errors and mistakes.

The question which remains to be answered is to what extent communities like these tribes can absorb or adapt themselves to these changes and to the conditions which they have to meet. As you know from what Mr. Hamilton has said, the units are very small. In some cases, such as Lahej and Mukalla, we have something approximating to what we regard as a regular government. But in some tribal areas the authority of the sheikh is very small; in fact, in some cases I think Mr. Hamilton would agree that it is practically non-existent. The tribal chief often has little real authority. He is merely one of the family, one of the tribe. The extent to which he can carry his authority depends largely on his personality. 631 642 621

We have also heard how the tribesmen, the landowning tribesmen, who regard themselves as the aristocracy of the country, are not a minority but a majority of the people. I once was talking to an Arab from the Protectorate, and I asked him: "What exactly is the difference between a tribesman and a subject?" He replied very briefly: "Well, a subject has to do what he is told, and a tribesman need not." If the tribesmen are in a majority, that makes it very difficult. I said to him: "What about your own tribe? Have you many subjects there or not?" He replied: "As a matter of fact, in my own particular tribe we have no subjects; we are all tribesmen, and that is what causes all the trouble." 605

If we want to help these people in matters like assisting them to develop their agriculture, to develop their resources in water (which is a necessary concomitant of any agricultural development), to give them help in medical matters (of which they are badly in need, for there is no such thing as even an approach to a medical service in any part of the Protectorate), to help them in education—I mean an education suitable to them—the first and foremost foundation must be some form of internal security. With so many of these small tribal communities immersed in old vendettas and blood feuds the security in the country is in some parts very slight. You cannot build up anything on a basis of anarchy and disorder, and the question arises whether these small tribal units are capable of establishing enough authority and of getting rid of anarchical conditions sufficiently to meet the needs of the time. 000 [628]

Our neighbour there, the Imam of the Yemen, maintains that many of these tribes are too small to enjoy any forms of independence. He says, in fact, that they ought to belong to him, and he would understand how

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators. 000

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more complicated than in most places in the Protectorate. 619 182 421

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their centres. 427 565 792 651 619 672 182

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood feud, and there is little doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of the territory comes from the unchockable expansion of these feuds due to 182 628 411 436

182 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last
628 quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras
411 carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease
436 of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some
[712] years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by
182 Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small
671 thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the
576 gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

182 Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

182 I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into
673 their confederations and have shown the course which these confedera-
728 tions are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of
671 Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts,
[625] whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when
000 nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



1933. In these last eighteen months however, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and otherwise, runs into over one hundred, in fact, into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included, for Mukalla has recently had the fresh experience of seeing bus loads of tourists from steamers driving through its street.

The more frequent and more intensive incursion of European visitors is of course in itself a great contrast with the recent past, but I think that the contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country in the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every Badawin and tribesman in the country carried his rifle with him, even to walk across the street. Blood feuds were widespread, and even harmless travellers of the unarmed classes were at times likely to lose not only their property but their lives. Travellers by motor car had to take with them an escort when passing from village to village. In places there were extensive systems of trenches to pass from the villages to the fields, and I know of people who have spent as much as twenty years without getting beyond their own doors.

Now however all this has passed and it is comparatively rarely that you see a tribesman carrying a rifle, indeed many of them do not even carry the *jambiyas* or curved daggers which are almost as much a part of their dress as a walking-stick was of ours. How all this has come to pass is more a matter of the history of the Hadhramaut than its geography, but I should simply like to say that it was largely through the will of the people who have a genuine desire for peace and for the following of peaceful pursuits.

This new peace has resulted in a much greater contact between tribes and between different parts of the country and has made possible a great extension in communications. Eighteen months ago there were about half a dozen motors on the coast and about sixty in the interior, carried up by camels. By the completion of the Al Kaf road Tarim has been linked with Shihr and passenger-carrying lorries ply almost daily between the coast and the interior. When I left the country a couple of months ago there were at least two hundred motor vehicles in it and every ship was bringing one or two. Many more car tracks have been made and cars now go to almost all parts of the Hadhramaut, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is also constructing another remarkably good motor road to the Hadhramaut which is being built northwards from Mukalla and southwards from Du'an. Something over 20 miles of the former and 10 of the latter had been completed when I left; about 60 miles remains to be done, of which the greater part is over the flat *jols* and offers no particular difficulties of construction. Starting from Mukalla you can now motor at least 300 miles in the Hadhramaut without recrossing your tracks, and there are over 500 miles of tracks altogether.

The possibilities of air transport have also been greatly improved. There were, eighteen months ago, eight landing-grounds in the five Sultanates in the eastern part of the Protectorate of which only three, Mukalla, Shibam, and Qishn, were used at all frequently. New landing-grounds have been constructed at Tarim, Seiyun, Hureidha, Al 'Abr, 'Azzan, Balhaf, Risib,

18.Ingrams G-3 (1934-38)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



hospitality in the new house during the past year, and last hot weather nothing was more delightful than to sit in the swimming pool in the evening and listen to the strains of the B.B.C. Empire Orchestra. Since then the Arabic broadcasts have started and they are extremely popular throughout the Hadhramaut, which now sets its watches by Big Ben. Bathing over, dinner would be laid on carpets by the side of the bathing pool. One rarely sits down less than twenty at meals in Seiyid Bubekr's house and very often it is forty. The average daily consumption runs into about 30 to 40 lb. of rice, three or four dozen eggs, half a dozen chickens, and one or two sheep, and several pounds of vegetables. We went up for the wedding of his daughter, and then over five thousand people were fed for three days.

Seiyun has been our principal headquarters in the wadi, and from it I have continually visited all the neighbouring places, staying at Shibam, Al Qatn, Henin, Qa'udha, and Hureidha. You never get to Hureidha without stopping for a meal at Diyar al Buqri, where the people are so hospitable that they have been known to fire on those who have attempted to pass in cars without stopping to have a meal. The Buqri are Nahd, and although they are settled they are still rather Badu. On my first visit they offered us a large house if we would but stay and rule the country, and it was then I learned that they had imported a first-class cook from Java in the hope of being able to entertain Europeans. Great as is the hospitality and kindness of all the Nahd, the meals at Diyar al Buqri are as fine and as varied as anything you could get anywhere. Their ideas even of afternoon tea are on the most lavish scale. I have had it with them three times and on each occasion they have produced cakes, honey, and halwa, several varieties of tinned fruit, British biscuits, and super-cream toffees.

Beyond Diyar al Buqri, as you enter the Wadi 'Amd, stands a little fort with a sentry for ever gazing out. It was some time before I discovered that the sentry was a dummy, a lump of clay artistically draped with a black cloth, but in recent months I notice he has fallen into disrepair. The Nahd extend down into the Wadi 'Amd almost as far as Hureidha, of which the population consists entirely of Seiyids of the Al 'Attas family and their dependants. Here, too, I have several times stayed, and there is now a landing-ground. There is no need for me to say much about Hureidha as it is here that Miss Stark, Miss Caton-Thompson and Miss Gardner have been wintering. One interesting fact about Hureidha may however be too trivial for their notice, and that is that one of the mosques has two large town clocks, one with a face 6 feet in diameter and the other 3 feet. Only the latter works, and they are of course at the top of the high minaret. But they are inside the minaret, and you have to walk up sixty or seventy steps to see the time.

Up the wadi from Hureidha is the Ja'da tribe. I have not travelled farther up the wadi than Hureidha on foot, but before I went there for peace negotiations my wife did the journey on camel. The wadi is thickly populated and has numerous small villages which at that time were nearly all at war with each other. My wife took down particulars of thirty-two major feuds going on between sections and even between houses a few yards apart. There were trench systems, similar to those at Qa'udha, leading from the houses to the fields, but owing to the disturbed conditions cultivation had suffered badly

AND THERE WAS A GENERAL DESIRE FOR PEACE IN ORDER TO GET ON WITH THE WORK IN THE FIELDS.

Metre : Ramal, ||— — ∪ — | — — ∪ —

شَيْخَنَا عَلْوِى بِنَ أَحْمَدْ

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621
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4. Al-Nuwaidarah

The patron saint of al-Nuwaidarah is Šihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Alī bin Abī Bakr al-Sakrān [16]. [792]

5. Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī

The tanṣūrah of this quarter mentions the saint of the ḥawṭah Ḥaiḥanā al-Ḥaddād, i.e. the celebrated saint and author 'Abdullāh al-Ḥaddād who is also known beyond the confines of Ḥaḍramawt. [792]

It would however seem that the term tanṣūrah is not confined to the rallying-cries of the quarters of the cities, for I can recall the word being used in the Daṯḥīnah area when tanṣūrahs were performed over the grave of a man whose murder had been successfully avenged. It is a cry used also by the tribes [17] in Ḥaḍramawt. [628]

Very similar to the Tamīmī tanṣūrah quoted by Landberg [18] is the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd of Tarīm. The 'Abīd have an organisation in many respects similar to that of the Masākīn with a headman (muḳaddam). Their tanṣūrah runs :

بَنِى سِوَيْدَ ٱلْغَلَّابَهْ

كَمْ مِنْ قَبِيلِى ظَفِرْنَا بِهْ

« Banī Siwaid, the conquering!
How many a tribesman have we overcome. »

Landberg remarks that the verse he quotes is defective, if one must see a metre in it, but the first half-verse which he gives corresponds exactly in metre to the first half-verse of the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd.

16 « The Drunken » might, at first sight, seem an odd term to apply to a Muslim saint, but the term of course is fictitic, and implies that he was drunk with the ecstacy of the knowledge of God. Some names are much more curious. I was told that the 'Aṭṭās sulṭān derived their name from a miracle performed by their ancestor who is said to have been heard to sneeze while still in the womb! 551

17 Cf. ZU LAVIGNE, Yaḥramawt (Leiden, 1901), p. 184.

18 Loc. laud.

21: Thomas T6 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting 576
a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 832

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part
I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which 562
are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman
would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten
as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes,
and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire 585
of his wife and say *Talag* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house 586
with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If
she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. 583
It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really
expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper,
ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representative father
or brother descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the
women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only
cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter [782]
a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous
chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of
circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day 844
or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the
possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken
up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is
generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal 848
marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere 837
in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would 684
on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be
done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and [628]
have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation
of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

## CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees 342
at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain [754]
itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four
nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. 782
When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant
782 blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer [784 smashes two hens' 607] eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

## LAW AND DISPUTES.

671 As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al hauz*, or a code of ancient sanctions, is the
692 law. The *hauz* is a wise man of the tribe. Not infrequently his is an hereditary office, occasionally the *hauz* is the shaikh of his tribe. Shara law, *i.e.* holy law in Oman and elsewhere, is the law of the coastal townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony, and sometimes of divorce and inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. That is the province of the *hauz*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara or holy law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed even along the coast by government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing
683 evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye-for-an-eye idea;
696 the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali of Dhufar as having taken place last year is as follows: "X" was going on a journey into the "Y's" country and took a *rabia* from "Y." On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and "X" found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. A *hauz* heard the case and decided that "Y," the innocent party but member of the offending tribe, must submit to the infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

671 In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless
692 the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *hauz*, when he would receive from the offenders
721 *Laum-al-wijh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at 400 dollars. Murder, which in Arab tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood-money which varies between
682 400 and 1,000 dollars (or rather its equivalent in kind), in these Qara mountains is assessed
● 628 prodigiously high, in theory something like 5,000 dollars, which may take a lifetime to pay off, but is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom, must bear the brunt.

Socotra has also a
good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Of governmental administration as a whole, in spite of the comparative homogeneity of the region, there is none, in the usually accepted sense of the term. The tribal lords have no care for what are considered in Europe the duties of government. Education, police, and public works are left entirely to private initiative, and as a result the two last are almost entirely non-existent. Instruction alone flourishes, and that only among the Seyyids and townsmen. There are some schools for so-called primary, secondary, and higher instruction; in the two former the teaching is almost exclusively confined to language, grammar, and religion. The chief centre of higher instruction is at Seyyūn, where the Academy, known by the name Ribāt, is a sort of annexe to the Great Mosque; here there are about 100 students who receive free board and lodging and 300 outside students who pay fees of varying amounts. The teaching is confined to the intensive study of grammar, law, and theology, to the almost entire exclusion of the so-called modern sciences, astronomy (as interpreted by the Arabs) alone excepted. The study of medicine, among others, is entirely non-existent.

As for Law and Magistracy, the influence of the Seyyids is a powerful curb on any oppression by the Muqaddams or tribal lords, and in the Hadhramaut there is a sufficiently independent magistrature. The Seyyids have the greatest interest in seeing that the Mussulman law is honoured and respected, because the law and religion are one: the decadence of religion would inevitably bring about the loss of that superstitious respect which the people have for them as descendants of the Prophet.

Each town or village of any importance has a *Qādhi*, with a sub-Qādhi for the country district round about. The Qādhis are nominated by the Muqaddams, but the latter consult the Seyyids and renowned savants before fixing on their choice; sub-Qādhis are nominated by the Qādhis. The Qādhis have both civil and criminal jurisdiction, and base their decisions on the works of jurists of the Shafei rite. Judgements must be drawn up in writing and signed and sealed by the Qādhi who has delivered them, but can only be put into execution on authorization by the Muqaddam, who, however, uses his veto but rarely. The jurisdiction of the sub-Qādhis is limited to marriage and other acts of family life, the majority of the inhabitants of the country rarely having recourse to the judge in their other affairs. Differences between persons of the same family are in general adjusted by the Abu, and differences between persons belonging to different families by the Muqaddam. In the latter cases, failing accord, justice is settled

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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by the law of the strongest; but if blood is spilt there generally arises a vendetta of long duration—there are examples of vendetta of from 20 to 30 years' duration for puerile reasons—and these sometimes involve and draw in whole tribes.

The political conditions of the Hadhramaut are referred to under the section Aden (see p. 193).

## Towns

The larger towns in the Hadhramaut are not disagreeable in appearance. In general they are open and spacious, and comparatively clean; the streets are never paved, but, on account of the favourable climatic conditions and of the stony and porous nature of the soil, this is no serious drawback. Along the wider streets little streams of water (*mija*) frequently run. The principal towns have bastioned ramparts and gates, and these usually have a permanent guard and are shut at night; many towns in addition are flanked by towers (*kūt*) or castles (*hisn*, plur. *husūn*), whose garrisons are composed of armed slaves under the command of the dominant tribe. Some towns, and notably Terīm, have an extraordinary [illegible] of such exterior fortresses, distributed over a wide area, and occupying every commanding position available.

(*a*) The principal towns of the Ka'aiti clan are the following:

1. **Shiheir,** once the chief commercial port between Aden and Muscat, is now largely superseded by Makalla. The town, which is triangular in form, extends for about one mile along the shore, and on an eminence there is a fortified castle, the residence of the Jemadar, head of the Ka'aiti, which is visible from seaward before any other object in the town. A high, bastioned wall surrounds Shiheir, and among the prominent buildings are the Custom House and a picturesque mosque with white domes. The dwellings are much scattered and the population is about 6,000. The water is bad, but good supplies of sheep and vegetables may always be obtained. Bent describes Shiheir as 'a detestable place by the sea set in a wilderness of sand'. There is only an open roadstead, with no real harbour, good anchorage being obtained in seven or eight fathoms at about seven cables or upwards from the shore. The trade is mainly in dried fish; and the industries of the town are restricted principally to the manufacture of coarse cotton cloths and gunpowder.

2. **Makalla,** next to Aden the principal port on the southern coast of Arabia, is situated about 2¼ miles NW. of Ras Makalla. It is built partly on a rocky point between two bays and partly in terraces

## INTRODUCTION.

131 The coast line of the Aden Protectorate starts in the west from Ras Murad opposite the island of Perim, and runs eastward to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates it from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Roughly speaking, the Protectorate is bounded in the interior on the west and the north by the Kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. It also includes the island of Soqotra. The Hadhramaut lies in the east of the Protectorate between the Wahidi and 'Aulaqi countries on the west and the Mahra country on the east. North, it reaches to the Empty Quarter.

64 631 The two principal chiefs of the Protectorate are Their Highnesses the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej and the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla. The capital of the former lies about 20 miles north of Aden and that of the latter some 300 miles east. It will be easily realized that these two chiefs are by their geographical positions the natural leaders of the western and eastern parts of the Protectorate, and the 'Abdali Sultan, who is the premier chief of the Protectorate, has established his hegemony over the western portion. In some ways the Qu'aiti Sultan is perhaps the most important ruler of the Protectorate, for he controls, or has direct influence over, a larger population than any other chief, and, except for the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, whose nominal kingdom extends over a much wider area, he rules the largest tract of territory in the Protectorate. Although he is acknowledged by the Kathīri Sultan as having precedence in the Hadhramaut, he has not yet secured recognition by the Wahidi Sultans, or by the Mahra Sultan, as their natural leader.

643 648 636 The whole of the Aden Protectorate is ruled by its own chiefs, who are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned. Their relations with the Protecting Power are for the most part regulated by treaty, and while their foreign affairs are entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, interference in matters of domestic concern is generally limited to advice.

121 This report offers a survey of the social and political organization of the Hadhramis and of the resources of their country as seen by the writer. The object of this introduction is to give a brief indication of the present trend of development as it appears to him.

178 185 There is an extraordinary complexity of social and governmental organization in the Hadhramaut. The country is in a transition period between the disappearance or modification of the earlier social organization, which has itself evolved with the centuries, and the development of Government more or less on modern lines.

The various classes of society in the Hadhramaut are described in the reports, and the interplay of some of them, one with another, has, in the course of time, as in other countries, given rise to abuses which, as the life and thought of the Middle Ages is influenced

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



During our visit the maximum and minimum temperatures recorded during stays in the principal towns were as follows :— 132

| | Dates inclusive. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mukalla | [illegible] to 5th November | 86·8 | 75 |
| | [illegible] December | 83 | 74·5 |
| Shihr ... | [illegible] December | 80·2 | 73·3 |
| Du'an ... | [illegible] November | 78·8 | 70·3 |
| Shibam ... | 1st to 20th November | 84·2 | 66·8 |
| | 21st to 24th November | 75·1 | 62·3 |
| Tarim ... | 21st November | 75·9 | 72·9 |
| | 2nd to 5th December | 88·5 | 70·3 |

The lowest temperature we recorded on the whole trip was 37·3 at 6.45 a.m. on 29th November at Sih Rieidat al Kathīr. The highest was 88·5 at 4 p.m. on 5th December at Tarim.

## The States of the Hadhramaut.

In Article I of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 it is stated that the Qu'aiti Sultan and the Kathīri Sultan "recognize that the province of Hadhramaut shall be one province, the said province being an appanage of the British Empire under the Sultan of Al Shahr and Mukalla." This agreement appears *in extenso* in Appendix II. By it the Kathīri agreed to accept as binding on him the treaty of 1888 between the Qu'aiti and the British Government, which extended British Protection to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies, and also accepted the arbitration of the British Government in the settlement of future disputes. 642 648

The Qu'aiti state of Shihr and Mukalla is one of the most important of the Sultanates and Chiefdoms forming the Aden Protectorate. The Sultan receives a nominal stipend of Rs.60 a month from British funds and is entitled to a salute of eleven guns. The present Sultan, His Highness Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. He is recognized as being the ruler of the whole country, but that part of it defined as being Kathīri is autonomous in its domestic affairs and is ruled over by Sultan 'Ali bin Mansuri. By virtue of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement, negotiations with the Kathīri Sultanate are conducted through the medium of the Qu'aiti Sultan. 642 631 643

It is necessary, however, to avoid the impression that all the country included in the term Hadhramaut is ruled by Qu'aiti or Kathīri in the same way as obtains in more advanced countries, for such is far from being the case. In both Sultanates there are a number of towns or districts where the Government is absolute, and the central Government appoints Governors who take full responsibility for the affairs of those places. In some cases there are stretches of country including series of villages which are ruled in the same way, but every now and then will be found autonomous towns and villages. These belong to particular tribes or particular families, and the Qu'aiti or Kathīri Governments have no 642 631 641

say in their administration, nor do they collect taxes from them. From an administrative point of view the inhabitants of these towns are considered as Qu'aiti or Kathīri subjects and on proceeding abroad would be given Qu'aiti passports. In the same way, although members of the various tribes of the Hadhramaut are theoretically either Qu'aiti or Kathīri subjects, they are not directly ruled by the Qu'aiti or Kathīri Governments; the Sultans have treaty relations with the tribes. It may often happen that both Governments have agreements with the same tribe, but, as will be seen later, it is possible to consider each tribe as being subject to either Qu'aiti or Kathīri influence. There is no form of representative Government in the Hadhramaut.

## Population.

An informant quoted by Van den Berg estimated the population of the Hadhramaut in 1886 as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Shibam to Shabwa, including Wadis 'Irma, Duhr and Rakhia ... | 20,000 |
| Wadis 'Amd, Du'an, and Al 'Ain ... ... ... ... ... | 25,000 |
| From Shibam to Tarim ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 50,000 |
| From Tarim to Seihut ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6,000 |
| From north of the main wadi to the desert ... ... ... | 15,000 |
| From south of the main wadi to the sea ... ... ... ... | 16,000 |
| Shihr and its environs ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 12,000 |
| Mukalla and its environs ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6,000 |
| Total ... ... ... | 150,000 |

Van den Berg, however, appears to consider this excessive. He gives the population of Seiyun as 15,000, Tarim 10,000, Shibam 2,000, Al Ghurfa 1,500, and 'Einat 1,000.

According to *An Account of the Arab Tribes in the Vicinity of Aden* (1909) the Qu'aiti are estimated at 50,000, including Beduin tribes in the pay of the Qu'aiti, and the Kathīri at 7,000 armed men.

Van der Meulen in *Hadhramaut, some of its mysteries unveiled* gives the following estimates: Shiheir 1,500, Shihr 6,000, Mukalla 12,000, Du'an 20,000 and 1,500 Beduins, Hajarein 3,000, Hureidha 2,000, Shibam 8,000-9,000, Tarim 12,000, Seiyun 12,000-15,000, 'Einat 5,000, and Shibam, Al Qatn, and the villages between, 20,000.

Mr. O. H. Little in his report on the *Geography and Geology of Mukalla* estimates the population of Mukalla at about 10,000, but Mr. H. M. Heald, who accompanied Mr. Little to report on the agricultural resources, was given an estimate of 30,000.

The official estimate of the population contained in the Annual Administration Report of Aden is 300,000. In Mukalla I was given 400,000. Using the estimated figures of population of towns, and of the number of armed men in various tribes, which were given

645 of a Municipal Council composed of merchants and notabilities being formed in Mukalla, but it did not seem likely that it would eventuate.

635 The Sultanate is divided into five *liwas* or provinces. Shihr, the oldest, Mukalla, Du'an, Hajr, and Shibam. Each of these provinces is ruled on behalf of the Sultan by a salaried Governor or *Muqaddam*, who has at least one paid clerk. He has direct control over the Qu'aiti towns in his province, and in important ones which are not autonomous there is a sub-Governor responsible to the Governor of the province. Subject to the general orders of His Highness the *Muqaddam* has power to settle any case in the province, but there is an appeal to the *Wazir* and Governor of Mukalla. From the judgments and decisions of the *Wazir* appeal lies to His Highness.

631 632 635 642 There are a number of autonomous towns throughout the Hadhramaut governed by particular tribes or families, and the Central Government does not interfere in their internal affairs. Relations with the tribes over the country are conducted principally through the Governors on whose towns they economically depend. The Sultan has the two following types of agreements with the various tribes: A. Engagements containing an undertaking to respond to the call of the Sultan in any matter and at any time, and B. Engagements of *bon voisinage* and friendship containing an undertaking to co-operate in matters of mutual interest. These agreements are all written.

The following tribes have A. agreements: Tamimi, Manahil, Ath Tha'yani, Awābitha, Seibani, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadīyin, Sumūh, Al Bab Sura, Hālka, Nūwah, Mahfudh, Makhashin, the Hadhrami Yafa'is, Hāmdi, Beni Daghār, and Buheish.

The following tribes have B. agreements: Hamumi, Qarzi, Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Ma'āra, Jōhi, 'Awāmir, Ash Shenafir al Kathīr, Mahra, Nahd Rodhān, Sei'ar, Ad Deiyin, Ja'da, Baheith, Namāra Beni Hilāl, 'Awāleq, Hājib Beni Sa'd, Bahanaf, Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Senad al Murqashi, Ba Habāb, Meseiliyin, 'Asārina, Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Beni 'Utheiman, Bā Babekr and Āl Zaghīb, tribesmen of Sadf, Al 'Amūdi, Ash Shof, Beduins of Shāūla, Āl Beihan al 'Awāmir, Al Khashia al Murqashi, Deiyeb, Qumeish, and Bā Bekr.

661 431 642 When there is any doubt as to the loyalty of a particular tribe, hostages have to be provided who are kept in Mukalla prison, at Du'an, and sometimes at Shihr. Hostages may be changed every month. Presents are given and subsidies paid to some of the tribes, and on the visits of tribal *'Aqils* to provincial headquarters they are given presents, and in some cases entertained.

642 632 The Qu'aiti administration makes no attempt to interfere with tribal usages, but tribal usage does not run in the Qu'aiti towns

following are notes on the other tribes mentioned, with the addition of three small tribes also dependent on the province.

### Ath Tha'yani.

This tribe possess houses and grazing lands around Reida and Qus'eir as far as Damakh. They live to the east of the Hamumi with whom they are allied, but they are not a Hamumi clan. They have an "A" agreement with the Qu'aiti, who pays them an annual subsidy.

### Hamumi.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bahasan at Tanbūl | — | Wadi al Ma'di | 250 | |
| Al Yamini ... ... | — | Wadi 'Arf | 150 | — |
| As Sa'idi ... ... | — | Al Wāsit | 350 | — |
| Bā Hasan Bā Zamāri | — | North of Hami | 100 | — |
| Al Harāwiza ... | Beit Sarqāha | Ya'is Kherid | 100 | — |
| Beit 'Ali ... ... | — | Al Khamt | 250 | 'Ali bin Salim bin Mujanna Habrish. |
| Seiyids of Āl Zein and Āl bin Qitbān. | — | Al Jebel | 60 | |
| Beit ash Sharkha ... | — | Al Jebel | 50 | — |
| Bēit Shanin ... | — | North of Dis | 200 | — |
| Beni 'Ujeil ... ... | — | Al Jebel | 2,000[1] | — |
| Al Gharābi ... ... | — | Al Jebel and east of Wadi Himem. | 450 | — |
| Al Jāmiha ... ... | — | Al Jebel | 300 | — |
| Seiyids of Beit Hamūda | — | Al Jebel | 200 | — |
| Beit Ghatnin ... | — | North of ar Reida and Qus'eir. | 200 | — |
| Al Jarsiri ... ... | — | do. do. | 400 | — |
| Bin 'Aakna ... ... | — | do. do. | 300 | — |
| Al Hazkwil ... ... | — | do. do. | 500 | — |
| Beit al 'Amaq ... | — | do. do. | 200 | — |
| Nōhat ... ... | — | do. do. | 250 | — |
| Beit Qarrād ... | — | do. do. | 700 | — |
| Beit Mabrūr... ... | — | do. do. | 100 | — |
| Al Asmūh ... ... | — | do. do. | 350 | — |
| Al 'Udāl ... ... | — | do. do. | 300 | — |
| Al Qarsi ... ... | — | North of Wadi 'Arf | 600 | — |
| Bā Shamakha ... | — | Beit al Qarazat | — | — |
| | | | 8,360 | |

The Hamumi Zei, who are of Himyaritic descent, strong and warlike, live in the country to the north of Shihr, from Wadi 'Arf in the south-west to Damakh Hisāl in the east. The western part of Reida and the southern part of Dis, where they have houses and

[1] Total estimated number of clan. Except where otherwise stated the estimated numbers given are those of armed men only.

631 grazing lands, belong to them, and they range from Shihr to
101 Seihut and up to the Manahil and Jabri. The Man[illegible] country
619 lies to the north and east of them, and the 'Awābitha and Al Heik live to their west.

619 The tribe[2] had a defensive and offensive alliance with the Kathīri, and were always a great source of trouble to the Qu'aiti. They were a byword for murder and robbery, owing to their systematic pillaging of travellers, until the Qu'aiti put an end to these activities by stringent measures some years ago. He now pays them an annual subsidy and has a "B" agreement[2] with them and they
[487] have ceased to be troublesome. Since coming to heel the tribesmen regularly load goods from Shihr for Shibam, Seiyun and Tarim, and continually visit Shihr, Hami, Dis, Qus'eir and Reida. They are mainly nomads and own about 3,000 loading camels but no riding animals.

They[1] are the worst enemies of the Seibani, with whom they are continually at war: Inter-tribal feuds exist between several of their own clans, but all unite in the face of a common foe under the leadership of the Beit 'Ali clan, whose chief, 'Ali bin Salim Habrish, lives at Gheil Bā Yamīn and Wadi 'Arf and is the
[623] *Muqaddam* of the Zei. A "Council of Elders" is summoned at Gheil Bā Yamīn to decide matters of tribal importance, and the tribesmen of the various clans offer their rifles to prove their good-will in acceptance of the decision of the Elders. The Mansabs of the tribe are Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il of the Āl 'Aidarus, but the Bā Shamakha clan are under the influence of 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and 'Abdul Qadir Āl Shibab of the Āl as Saqqaf. These Mansabs interfere in cases of serious tribal disputes or for the accomplishment of truces between fighting clans or tribes.

631 The clans of the Hamumi live in two districts, Al Ma'rab (the
101 Western) which is the smaller district and is situated to the North
619 of Shihr, and Al Mashqās (the Eastern) which lies to the North East of Shihr. The Bahasan at Tanbūl and the Yamīni are the clans living in Al Ma'rab, but also included in the district are their allies the Sha'āmila, the Bā Habān, and the Meseilīyin. The Yamīni, who are allied to the Seibani and live under their pro-
[249] tection, possess 200 camels, and the Bahasan own 100. The latter cultivate *tanbuli* leaf, which is chewed by the people of Shihr and Mukalla, and they have accordingly been nicknamed "at Tanbuli". The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with them.

The other clans mentioned in the list live in the district of Al Mashqās, consisting of deserts, fields, and wadis. From the Sa'idi to the Seiyids of Beit Hamūda inclusive the clans have a special system and their chief is the head of the Beit 'Ali. From the Beit Ghatnīn to the 'Udūl inclusive all the clans have their own

[1 [Hamumi Zei -- Analyst] [2 [See p. 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



chiefs. The Qarzi, who own about 600 camels but have no cultivation, are independent and the strongest of all the Hamumi clans. They have a "B" agreement with the Qu'aiti and they are in favour of peace and amity towards the Government with whom they have long been friends. 631 101 619

The Beit 'Ali clan possess about 400 camels and have no cultivation. The Gharābi are nomads with about 400 camels. The Beit Shanīn possess some 200 camels, and the Bā Hasan Bā Zamāri 100. The Beni 'Ujeil clan are cultivators and not fighters. They possess few arms and own about 600 camels. All the Hamumi clans are divided into many houses and branches.

### Ash Sha'āmila.

This small tribe, with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement, live between 'Aff and Gheil Bā Wazir in the district of Al Ma'rab. Together with the Bā Habān and the Meseilīyin, they number 300 armed men.

### Al Bā Habān.

This tribe, which together with the Sha'āmila and the Meseilīyin number 300 armed men, live in the district of Al Ma'rab to the north of Shihr.

### Al Meseilīyin.

The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with this tribe, who possess houses and grazing lands in the district of Al Ma'rab to the north of Shihr. They are connected with the 'Awābitha but are not a part of that tribe. Together with the Sha'āmila and the Bā Habān, they number 300 armed men.

### Al 'Asārina.

An independent tribe with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement. They possess houses and grazing lands in the southern part of Shihr.

### Al Bā Habāb.

A very small tribe living between Wadi Ma'di and Gheil. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with them.

### Tribesmen of Sadf.

This small tribe, with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement, live above the Sha'āmila. They were attached to the Kinda, but became separated. Hamdani mentions a sub-tribe of Kinda called Sadif with a sub-division named Bahr.

### Al 'Awābitha.

The clans of the 'Awābitha are the Bā Zor living at Al Hushin, Bā 'Anis living at Ghurb, and Bin Mujashar. They are a Himyaritic tribe, estimated at 2,000 to 3,000 persons, including some 700 armed

A [see page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

631 men, and occupying the Wadi al 'Ain (south-east of Haura), the
101 Wadi 'Adim, and the country to the east as far as Wadi Bin 'Ali.
619 They also extend to the neighbourhood of Gheil Bā Wazir and at places border the Hamumi. The village of Ghurb, which is the headquarters of the Bā 'Anis clan, consists of about 250 houses. The tribe are independent, part settled, part nomad, and they ply their camels for hire between Mukalla, Shiheir, and Shihr, and the Wadi Hadhramaut via Wadi al 'Ain. They possess about 800 [423] camels. The settled 'Awābitha owned many date trees in Wadi al 'Ain, but they have sold or mortgaged a large number of them to the wealthy inhabitants of Du'an. The Qu'aiti Sultan also owns date groves in the wadi which used to be looked after by his slaves, but owing to a quarrel between the tribe and the slaves the latter were removed and the property entrusted to the care of the Bin Mujashar clan.

At one time the tribe had a defensive alliance with the Kathīri against the Qu'aiti, but they are said now to be loyally allied to the latter who pays them an annual subsidy and with whom they have an " A " agreement. Though not actually under the Qu'aiti they acknowledge his suzerainty owing to his control of the ports, of which they greatly stand in need for the employment of their camels. They are not on terms with the Sei'ar, and they are allied to the Seibani against the Hamumi, their inveterate foes. Their *Mansab* is the Sheikh of the Bā Wazir living at Bawerqat in Wadi al 'Ain, where there are also other Bā Wazir villages, including Safīl which is the headquarters of the chief Bā Wazir *Mansabs*.

### Al Ma'ara.

The clans of the Ma'āra are Bin Thabit, Bā Surra, Bin Hateish, Bil Ahwal, Bā Bil Heiz, Bin Basut, Bā Ajban, Bā Hasan, Bā Awahab, Bā Haneish, Bā Tha'lab, Bin Joshum and Bin Shamemi. The tribe, whose habitat is Hirū and ar Reida, are often considered a clan of the Hamumi, but they are independent although they are closely attached to the Qarzi clan of the Hamumi. Their fighting men number some 400, and they possess houses and grazing lands in the upper part of the Shihr province; but they have no running water and their cultivation depends on rain. They breed camels and sheep, and they ply for hire between Shihr and the Wadi Hadhramaut via their own country, but they also go into Mukalla in order to obtain loads. They are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aiti who has a " B " agreement with them.

### Al Jōhī.

This tribe, who were originally part of the Seibani but are now independent, have houses and grazing lands in the upper part of the Shihr province, and Reida belongs to them. It is said that they are in the pay of the Qu'aiti, who has a " B " agreement with them.

[See pg 92, category 116 - Analyst]

depend on the capital for business and supplies, as do the tribes of Nahd Rōdhān and Āl Makhāshin (included with the Nahd, see Chapter XIX). The Hadhrami Yafa'is, and particularly the sections of Bal'ala, al Hamdhān, al Jābri, Ibn az Zu', and ash Shabeibi, also look on it as their headquarters.

The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely connected with the province. The others mentioned will be found under more appropriate heads :—

BENI HASAN.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bā Haj ... ... ... | Bā Zala and eight other sections. | Mazinab | 120 |
| Bā Ra'ida ... ... | — | — | 70 |
| Bā Kadīm ... ... | — | — | 50 |
| Bā 'Azad ... ... ... | Daqeil | 'Azad | 30 |
| | Bā Dalhūs | | |
| Rahbani ... ... ... | — | | 15 |
| | | | 285 |

The Beni Hasan, a Himyaritic tribe, closely allied to the 'Akābira who live to their south, are said to have been long settled in the country they inhabit. Their grazing lands lie around Mukalla and extend to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. Their chief village is Lubeib, but they reside also in Wadi Ariat and Asfal al 'Ain, west of Mukalla. They have been described as a clan of the Seibani living in the valley of Jirba and the surrounding mountains. They used to be neighbours of the Kasadi on the east, but assisted the Qu'aitis in their fight against the Kasadi Naqlb and for this reason receive, jointly with the 'Akābira, an annual gift of 700 loads of grain from the Qu'aiti, who also pays them an annual subsidy and has an "A[1] agreement with them. Their chief is in his service and bears the title of Shaush. The armed strength of the Beni Hasan is estimated at from 200 to 300 men, and the tribe is under the influence of the 'Amūdi *Mansab* of Tila.

The Rahbani and Bā Haj clans are cultivators, but the Bā Zala section of the latter are nomads and own 500 camels. Half of the Bā Ra'ida are nomads, known as Bā Dahūs, and half are cultivators of dates and jowari; they own about 100 camels. The Bā Kadīm are almost all settled. The Bā 'Azad own about 50 camels, but the Daqeil section are nomads and the Bā Dalhūs are settled.

'AKĀBIRA.

| Clan. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|
| Shahā ... ... ... | Hum Buwar | 250 |
| Sulaimani ... ... | — | 100 |
| Bin Naja and as Sa'idi ... | Mamm'a | 100 |
| Makhali ... ... ... | — | 35 |
| | | 485 |

[1] [See page 42, category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



A Himyaritic tribe and a sister tribe to the Beni Hasan. Like them they are said to have been long settled in the country they inhabit, and have grazing lands around Mukalla, extending to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. They also were neighbours of the Kasadi but helped the Qu'aitis against the Naqīb for which they receive, jointly with the Beni Hasan, an annual gift of 700 loads of grain. The Qu'aiti has an "A" agreement with the tribe and pays them an annual subsidy. They, too, have been described as a clan of the Seibani, living to the south and south-west of Howeira mountain. They are said to be a peaceful tribe, having no feud with their neighbours, and, except for the Sa'idi clan who are cultivators, they are all nomads, owning over 700 camels together with a fair number of sheep. Both the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan ply their camels for hire between Mukalla and Du'an only, and never go into the Hadhramaut. The armed strength of the 'Akābira is estimated at about 500, and their *mansabs* are from the 'Amūdis of Tila.

### Muhammadīyin.

A Himyaritic tribe consisting of the following clans: Buheish, Bā 'Awadh, Bā Jahlan, Mahi, Bā Baheis, Shamasi. They have grazing lands around Mukalla, extending to the borders of Hajr and to the high lands of Du'an, and they have long been settled in the country they inhabit. Their tribal centre is Ghazat al Buheish near Haseisa, where there is some cultivation, and they also have a little cultivation in Wadi Muhammadī. The tribe are on the west of the Beni Hasan and to the east of the Nūwah of Wadi Hajr. They are nomads, peaceful and friendly to both the Seibani and Nūwah in whose fights they take no part, and they own about 600 camels which are used for carrying goods to Du'an. Their armed strength is estimated at from 300 to 700. The Qu'aiti pays them an annual subsidy and has an "A" agreement with them.

### Hāmdi.

This tribe, who have long been settled in the country they inhabit, have grazing lands around Mukalla which extend to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. The Qu'aiti has an "A" agreement with the tribe and pays them an annual subsidy.

### Buheish.

A nomadic tribe under one *Muqaddam* but subdivided into four clans, each with a separate name and chief. They extend along the coast from Ras Rahmat to Fuwa, a distance of 25 miles, with a vast district inland extending to the high lands of Du'an and the borders of Hajr. They were neighbours of the Kasadi and have long been settled in the country they inhabit. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an "A" agreement with them

### Āl Heik.

619 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the
●631 sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan
101 they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shiheir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct
433 route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of
438 the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me
465 as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being
162 an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures
361 appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and
651 villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns
152 and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

635 most of them are exempted from taxation: Al Qurha, estimated
162 number of men 300, estimated number of rifles 50, the inhabitants
are tribesmen. Husn Bā Sam, men 150, rifles 25, tribesmen. Ar
361 Rubāt, men 800, rifles 100, revenue $1,600, expenditure $1,800; the
651 inhabitants are soldiers. Al Qarn, men 500, rifles 100, inhabitants
652 are tribesmen of Bā Hakīm, a clan of the Nūwah. Al Khoreiba,
men 1,500, rifles 50, revenue $1,500, expenditure $1,800,
inhabitants are soldiers and sheikhs. Sharq, men 300, rifles 50,
revenue $300, expenditure $360, tribesmen and soldiers. Ar
Rashīd, men 400, rifles 150, revenue $1,200, expenditure $1,400,
tribesmen. 'Aura, men 80, revenue $400. Al Qurein, men 800,
rifles 10, revenue $200, expenditure $600.

631 The following towns and villages are under the authority of the
361 Mihdhār family, and the Government derives no revenue from them.
651 Their annual produce is valued at approximately $10,000: Al
162 Quweira, men 400. Halibūn, men 80. Rihāb, men 400, rifles 30.
Hudūn, men 200, rifles 50. Khasūfar, men 100. Dhāhir, men
300, rifles 15. Matrūh, men 250, rifles 30. Al Jubeil, men 400,
rifles 100. Quweirat al Khozab, men 25. Gheil Bal Kheir, men 40.

The towns under the authority of the Sheikhs of al 'Amūdi are:
Husn Bā 'Abd as Somad, men 100. Budha, men 1,000, rifles 200.
Bilad al Ma', men 100, rifles 10. Khudeish, men 70, rifles 12.
Qarn Mājid, men 50, rifles 8.

635 The remaining towns of the Wadi Du'an between Al Qurha and
361 Hajarein are again under the direct authority of the Governors of
162 Du'an: Sīf, men 400, rifles 30; Sīf has a garrison of 15 Yafa'is of
whom five live in the Husn ad Dōla and 10 in the town. Those
I saw were all of the Beni Sa'd Lower Yafa'is. Feil, men 30.
Al 'Addiya, men 30. Ghār as Sūdān, men 30, rifles 5. Nasara,
men 10. Naseira, men 10. Seil'a, men 30, rifles 10. Hajarein,
men 500, rifles 10. There is a garrison of Yafa'is in Hajarein.

The towns and villages of Wadi Leisar included in the Du'an province are: Al 'Arsama, men 500, rifles 20. Al Jahi, men 300, rifles 150. Al 'Ardh, men 40. Al Jadīda, men 150, rifles 10. Ad Dūfa, men 250, rifles 20. Jureif, men 150, rifles 10. Subeikh, men 400, rifles 30. Tūlaba, men 500, rifles 35. Dharī, men 600, rifles 30. Hūfa, men 500, rifles 70. Heid al Jazīl, men 150, rifles 10.

635 The following tribes live in the province or are dependent on the
631 wadi: Seibani and its branches, Deiyin, al Hālka, al Marāshida,
69 Khamikha, Bā Hakīm, Bā Sam, and al 'Amūdi. The Beni Hasan
and the 'Akābira (see Chapter XVI) deal equally with Mukalla
and Du'an. The Hālka and the Marāshida, sometimes considered
as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani, and the Bā Hakīm
and the Bā Sam, also sometimes treated as separate tribes, are
included with the Nūwah (see Chapter XVIII).

635 The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely con-
619 nected with the province :—

[162]

SEIBANI.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 101 Marāshida ... | | Living round the province of Du'an. | 400—500 |
| | Bā Daheiduh | | |
| | Bā Beitar | | |
| | Bā Dhrus | — | |
| | Bā Kardas | | |
| | Bā Sara | | |
| Khāmā ... ... | | — | 300—900 |
| | Bā Surra | | |
| | Bā Kadīm | | |
| | Bā Sallum | | |
| | Bā Rashid | | |
| Hālka ... ... | | Hūfa in Wadi Leisar | 300—800 |
| | Bā Dajeil | | |
| | Bā Sa'd | | |
| | Bā Nakhar | | |
| | Al Biadha | | |
| | Bā Khāshwein | | |
| As Sumūh ... ... | | | 800—1,000 |
| | Shaka'i | | 200 |
| | Bā Wasim | | |
| | Jodani | | |
| | Jahsami | | |
| | Bā Buteiya | | |
| | Ghuth | | |
| Al Meshājir ... ... | — | Husn Ba'ba', Wadi Yeb'uth. | 250 |
| Al Qathm ... ... | — | — | 100 |
| Al Hamidī ... ... | — | — | 400 |
| | | | 2,450—4,150 |

[162]

619 The Seibani Zei are said to be part of a Confederation which
631 includes the 'Awābitha and Āl Heik tribes. They extend from the
369 Hamumi country on the east to the Nūwah on the west. The Nahd and Kathīri tribes bound them on the north, and the Beni Hasan on the south. The tribe are partly nomad and partly settled and they own villages round Mukalla and in Wadis Du'an, Leisar, and Huweira; many of them live in 'Aura and Qurein in Wadi Du'an. The settled Seibanis, like other townsmen land-owners, are subject to taxation on their date groves by the Qu'aiti whom they acknowledge in full sovereignty. The nomads acknowledge Qu'aiti suzerainty but pay no taxes. Their country is at present the safest for travelling and a *siyar* is unnecessary. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an "A" agreement with them.

619 Muhammad bin 'Umar and Ahmed bin 'Umar Bā Surra of the
622 Khāmā clan of the Seibani, the Qu'aiti Governors of the Du'an
628 province, are also the paramount *Muqaddams* of the tribe. Inter-tribal disputes are settled by reference to the heads of neutral clans, more important cases being carried to the Bā Surras and the Shatiri Seiyid who is their *Mansab*. The Mihdhār family of Seiyids descended from Sheikh Abubekr, also have great influence

1 [See pag. 16 note: Shulla — Analyst]

with the whole tribe, as have the 'Amūdi Sheikhs of Budha and Tila who exercise considerable authority, in as much as they can on their own initiative interfere and declare a fight between the Seibani and Hamumi as ended on the Seibani side. The Qathm clan, who live furthest from the sea and ply their camels between Du'an and Hadhramaut, have the following *mansabs*, Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il. 619 622 628

Of the clans and sections given above, the Handbook of Arabia mentions the Bā Sara and the Sumūh, and also the Basarīyah and Bā Qūr whose names I did not obtain. The Marāshida clan are nomads, owning about 1,200 camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Du'an and Hadhramaut. In November 1934, this clan were at feud with the Sumūh. 619 628 101

The Khāmā are a hardy, nomad people, owning cattle and sheep and about 1,000 camels. The Bā Kadīm section are the strongest in numbers but the Bā Surra the most important. The Hālka clan have grazing lands round Mukalla extending towards Wadi Leisar. They own about 300 to 400 loading camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Hadhramaut via Wadi Leisar. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the clan and pays them an annual subsidy. The Biadha are a very small section, and the Bā Khashwein, though not really a section, live under the protection of the Hālka and are so closely allied to them that they are generally considered one of their sections. 619 101 631

The Sumūh, who own about 600 camels, are the largest clan. Their grazing lands lie round Mukalla extending to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. They have long been settled in the country they inhabit. The Qu'aiti pays the clan an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

'AMŪDI.

The tribe consists of the following clans: Āl Motahhar, Āl Muhammad bin Sa'id, Āl Ahmed bin Muhammad, Āl Baghābira, Āl Saklu', Ash Sheikh 'Umar al Munasib, Āl Batuk (Bin Tuk), Āl Badahia (Bin Dahia), Āl Bā 'Abd al Qadir, Āl Bā Ahmed, Āl at Teiyar, Āl Barubeid, Āl Faqih, Āl Bajumā, Āl Basamad, Āl Kushan, As Suq'an, Āl Batawīl, Āl Basaqr, Āl Abubekr, Āl Barnusa and Āl Bayasīn.

The 'Amūdi or Beni 'Isa live in Wadi Du'an and on the plateau of Reidat ad Deiyin. They are descended from one Sa'id bin 'Isa known as 'Amūd ad Dīn, and the men bear the title of Sheikh. They were once paramount in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, but in 1900 when, with a force of about 1,100 men, they advanced and occupied Qurein and 'Aura, the Qu'aiti collected men from Khoreiba and Rashid and these, reinforced from Mukalla, broke the power of the 'Amūdis once for all. They fled to the mountains and treated for peace, but were permitted to return to Sīf and Budha and gradually obtained possession of a considerable area of fertile land in Wadi Du'an and Wadi Leisar.

[see page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

619 The whole tribe are now peaceable and the Qu'aiti has a " B "[1] agreement with them. The leader of the Motahhar clan who resides
622 at Budha is acknowledged as the paramount chief, but for practical
631 and political purposes the 'Amūdis are under the actual control
635 of the Seibani leaders, the Governors of Du'an, though the Qu'aiti allows them autonomy in their own towns. The towns of Qeidun, where their ancestor lies buried, and Dhuba also belong to the tribe, and the Sheikh of the former is 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Umar bin Muhammad, and of the latter Sheikh 'Abdulla bin Salih bin Motahhar al 'Amūdi.

### Deiyin.

631 The Deiyin tribe consists of twelve clans. The estimated number
101 of armed men where obtained is given after each clan: Al Bazi,
619 200; Bā Kershūb, 200; Al Bās, 150; Bā Salim, 50; Bā Kharbūsh, 50; Bin Sūeidan, 200; Bā Masdūs, 150; Bā 'Umein, 300; Labarja Bā Henhen, Yās, Ba Kharshūm.

The tribe trace their descent from Kinda. They inhabit Reidat ad Deiyin on the tableland between Wadis Du'an and 'Amd, and also the west of Du'an and Beina: their chief village is Zila. It is said that the estimated number of men belonging to those clans living at Al Hauta and 'Asala is 1,500. They possess camels and sheep, but live mainly by cultivation, and their means of livelihood depend on Mukalla and Du'an. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the tribe. Thier *mansab* is ' Isa bin ' Abdul Qudir Āl Haddad.

### Bā Juba.

A small tribe living at Qarat al Mihdhār under the influence of Seiyid Bubekr bin Hussein al Mihdhār. They formerly followed the plough but have now taken to arms.

### Khamikha.

This tribe live on the outskirts of the province of Du'an.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 4. HAJR PROVINCE.

635 The Hajr province includes the Wadi Hajr with its towns and
103 villages from Meifa to Ras al Kalb, together with the towns and villages in the south between Bir 'Ali and Wadi Hajr. According to a local account the Wadi was first known as Wadi Hajr Wahab after a man who came there, diverted the water springs, and then died. He was followed by the people of Kinda who found Sheikh Sa'id bin 'Isa al 'Amūdi living there. They assisted him to open the springs, and also imposed taxes to be paid by the people to the Sheikh. The Kinda ruled in the wadi which then became known as the Wadi Hajr Kinda. Later there came the Bin Daghār

[1] [The Kinda, see preceding page -- Analyst]

[2] [see page 12, category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



tribe who are now very weak, though the wadi is still called after them Wadi Hajr Bin Daghār. To-day the wadi belongs to the Qu'aiti and it is said that in time it will be known as Wadi Hajr Qu'aiti.

The capital of the province is now Kanina, said to have about 300 to 400 houses and an estimated population of 1,500. Other important villages are Yuwan, the old capital, As Sadaka, Husn Bā Suleiman, Husn Ba'ba', Al 'Asala, Al Qima, Al Hussein, Husun Bā Raghab, Jōl Bā Hāwa, Leswa and Muhrin. The Governor is Sa'id Marzuk Salah. Hajr is an agricultural province and it is estimated that the number of tribesmen is 5,000. As I did not visit the Hajr province during my tour, the information given is even more at second hand than in other cases.

The tribes living in the province or dependent on it are the Bin Daghār, Nūwah, Āl Deiyeb, Āl Bā Bekr and Āl Zaghīb, Āl Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Khāshia al Murqashi. The following is a description of these tribes together with others connected with Hajr.

NŪWAH.

| *Class.* | *Section.* | *Sub-section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nūwah Hajr ... | Āl Bā Rashid | — | Al Qeima, Libna | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Sheiba | — | Libna | 150 |
| | Āl Bā Shuqūr | — | — | 80 |
| | 'Ayāl Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Hajām | — | — | 40 |
| | Āl Bā Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Faqqās | — | Qazein, Yuwan | 200 |
| | Āl Bā Dubīān | Āl Bā Sabera | Jōl Bā Hāwa, Al Qāsima, Yuwan, Muhammada, Kanina. | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Mas'ud | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Dabeis | | Yuwan | 100 |
| | As Sumahi | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Sara | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Qarwān | — | Muhammada | 250 |
| | Āl Bā Rajāsh | — | Kanina, Sherij Bā Jamum, Husun Āl Bā Rajāsh. | 400 |
| | Bā Musaita | | — | 100 |
| Nūwah Du'an | Āl Bā Hakim | — | Al Qarn | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Sam | — | — | 120 |
| | Āl Bā Khamis | — | — | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Ma'as | — | — | 150 |
| | Bu Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Bā Safr | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl Bā Shihab | — | — | — |
| Nūwah Lajrāt | Āl Bā Bakin | — | — | 70 |
| Du'an. | Āl Bā Sōaid | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl 'Afif | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Meis | — | — | — |
| | | | | 2,760 |

1:Ingrams C-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



●631 101 617 The Nūwah live in Wadi Hajr, occupying the country north of the Muhammadīyin and west of the Seibani. They have working and trading connections with Mukalla, but their chief occupation is the rearing of camels and they have a fair amount of cultivation, mostly dependent on rain. The tribe gave the Qu'aiti a great deal of trouble in his efforts to subdue them, but they are now friendly to him and under his influence. He pays them an annual subsidy and has an "A" agreement with them. The house of Al Beiti Seiyids of the Bā 'Alawi family living at Gheil bin Yamīn are said to have influence over the tribe.

The Bā Faqqās and the Bā Dubīān sections live between the Wadis Bārda and Kanina which run into the main Wadi Hajr. The Bā Dubīān own about 100 camels. Their sub-section, the Bā Sabera is descended from the ancient tribe of Saberāt, one of the original Hadhramaut tribes.

The Bā Qarwān own about 150 to 200 camels, the Bā Sam about 100, and the Bā Shuqūr 100. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with the Bā Sara section.

### Bin Daghār.

This independent tribe live at Al Hussein in Wadi Hajr, but have working and trading connections with Mukalla, and the Qu'aiti, who has an "A" agreement with them, pays them an annual subsidy. As has been said the main wadi is still called after them, although they are now a weak tribe. The Āl Maknun Seiyids have influence over them.

### Āl Deiyeb.

The clans of the Āl Deiyeb are Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Āl Beni 'Utheimān, and Āl al Qumeish. The Qu'aiti, who recently renewed alliance with the Beni 'Utheimān, has "B" agreements with each clan and with the tribe as a whole. They live to the west of Hajr and belong to the Sultan of Balhaf.

### Āl Bareker and Āl Zaghīs.

The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with this independent nomadic tribe living in Hajr.

### Āl Bā Hanaf Āl Al 'Ajaz Al Mushafir.

A tribe living beyond Hajr with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement.

### Āl Khāshia Al Murqashi.

This tribe live near Fuwa and near Hajr. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with them.

### Āl Bā Hanaf.

A Hajr tribe living in Jerdan with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement.

[See page 92, Category IIIb -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



### Āl Hājib Beni Sa'd.

This tribe also live at Jerdan and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

### An Namāra Beni Hilāl.

The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with this tribe who live at Wadi Yeb'uth beyond Wadi 'Amd.

### Āl Senad Al Murqashi.

This tribe live beyond Hajr and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

### The Beduins of Ash Shāūla.

This small tribe, who were originally of Hajr, now live to the west of Jerdan. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

### Nu'mān.

The clans of the Nu'mān are Āl Baheith and Āl Bā Qātmi living at Sidāra and Wadi Salmun, and Āl Bā Suleiman living at Husn Bā Suleiman. The tribe is said to number about 2,000, and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the Āl Baheith clan.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 5. SHIBAM PROVINCE.

The Shibam province, which is described by the Qu'aiti as being the eye and the backbone of the Hadhramaut, includes the towns and villages up the Wadi Hajarein from, but excluding, Hajarein as far as the Wadi Hadhramaut, and eastward along the Wadi Hadhramaut to just east of Shibam. The capital of the province is Shibam, a tightly-packed walled city of 500 houses, seven mosques, and an estimated population of 7,000. The other towns and villages of the province after Hajarein are: Jidfera, belonging to the Āl Jābri (a clan of the Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 50 armed men; Al Jahi, belonging to the Bin Musā'id with 35 armed men, (on enquiry as to which tribe the Bin Musā'id belonged I was informed that they were a clan of the Sei'ar, but this should be treated with reserve); Nahūla, belonging to the Āl 'Umar Mahfudh with 85 armed men; Al Manīdhara, the inhabitants of which are full subjects of the Qu'aiti Government; Al Hauta and Meshhed belonging to the Seiyids of Al 'Attas; Marāwih, Al Aqlāt, and 'Adab belonging to the Bā Wazīr townsmen; Qabdhein ar Rōdha with 30 armed men under the *Mansab* of Meshhed; Sadba belonging to the Rabbā (a section of the Nahd) with 50 armed men; Qarn Āl Sharāh belonging to the Āl Manif (a section of the Nahd) with 70 armed men; Badra, Al 'Ardh, Dīār Āl Nāsir, and Siraj with 45, 50, 35, and 30 armed men respectively, belong also to the Rabbā; Bahrān belonging to the Nahd Āl Thābit with 60 armed men; Haura, with a population of 1,500, all subjects of the Qu'aiti

635 Government; 'Arūdh al Makhāshin belonging to the Makhāshin
162 section of the Nahd, with a population of 300, all subjects of the
631 Qu'aiti Government; An Naq'a belonging to the Bā Wazīr towns-
611 men with a population of 500; Al 'Ajlānia, belonging to the Āl Kathīr with 17 armed men; Al Man'at, belonging to the Nahd with 35 armed men; and Al Marāti', a village between Al Man'at and Henin, with 200 armed tribesmen of Kinda, and 50 of the Nahd.

At Al 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn are the houses of the Bā 'Umar Sheikhs with 15 armed men; the town of Mad-har bin Nahīd in the Wadi Manūb with 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shabīb (a section of the Nahd), and Dīār al Maqāfīm with 30 armed Nahd tribesmen.

Between Al Qatn and Shibam are: 'Ardh Masrūr belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl 'Ali bin Ahmed (Yafa'is) with 60 armed men; Huweila belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl Salim bin 'Ali (Yafa'is) with 40 armed men; Khashāmir belonging to the Bin 'Ali Jābir (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 80 armed men; Al 'Iqad, situated at the end of Al Qatn and the beginning of Wadi Beni Rashīd, belonging to the Āl Qu'ata (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 75 armed men; 'Ikāba and Al Husn belonging to the Hamdhān (of the Nahd) with 30 armed men; Husūn at Al Qatn belonging to the Āl az Zu' (of the Nahd) with 40 armed men; Husūn belonging to the Bal'alā (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 30 armed men; and Husūn belonging to the Āl Jābri (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 25 armed men.

438 Shibam is the most important advanced market of the Hadhra-
361 maut, and has a large inward traffic from Mukalla. It is also a buying market for the products of the country north and west, and the products of these parts are consumed in the town. Caravans come from San'ā in about 15 days. The tribesmen bringing these caravans are Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Rabi', Āl Khalifa, and 'Abīda. The principal inland traffic, however, is from Merkha, Hadhina, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. These caravans, mainly carrying maize, wheat, barley, ghee, oil, oilcakes, cotton, honey, blankets, and spinning cloth, are brought by 'Aulaqis, Hamām, Āl Ruba'ia, Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Maradi'a, Āl Khalifa, Dohum, Karab, Nahd and Āl Bureik tribesmen.

361 There is no regular communication with Nejd although occasional visitors come skirting the desert. Members of the Rashidi tribe also come to Shibam now and then. There is a landing ground at Shibam, and apart from its being a large caravan station it is in touch with towns between Hajarein and Qasm by car. It has no great industries, but makes mats and dyes cloths and skins.

635 The Governor of the Shibam province is Ferai Sa'id, a slave
567 who has held high positions and who has previously served at Shibam. He has also been Governor of 'Einat. He was appointed in October 1934, in succession to Sultan 'Ali bin Salah al Qu'aiti.

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Sultan 'Ali has great influence in the province and particularly among the Sei'ar, as his mother belonged to the Āl Sab'ān clan of that tribe. 635 567

The following tribes depend on Shibam: Sei'ar, Nahd Rōdhān, Al Makhāshin, Hadhrami Yafa'is, the tribesmen of Āl Kathīr ash Shenafir including their Beduins, Āl Mahfudh, Bin Musa'īd, Bā Wazir, 'Awaliq, Harizi, Āl 'Amr, Āl Bin Balleith and Āl Heidera. Of these the Makhāshin, sometimes considered a separate tribe, are included with the Nahd, and the Bin Musa'īd are included with the Sei'ar. A description of the Shenafir Confederation will be found in Chapter XXII. 631 619 101

The following is a description of the tribes living in, or close to, the province:—

SEI'AR.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqīl.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Hātim ... | Hasr al Malāqīt | Hasr in Wadi Mahdhara. | — | Yeslem bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a. |
| | Āl Huweilān | Merikh in Wadi Mahdhara. | 100 | |
| | Āl Jerbū'a | Al Ārūh in Wadi Mahdhara. | 70 | — |
| | Ad Dalkh | Bādī in Wadi Mahdhara. | 30 | — |
| | Āl Dahīān | Az Zamra in Wadi Mahdhara. | 30 | — |
| | Āl Mulhī | Husn Āl Mulhī | 140 | 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī. |
| | Āl 'Abdulla 'Aun | Hadhī | 150 | Salim bin Muhammad al Jerbū'a. |
| | Āl Mesādisa | Jōl Āl Bajnab | 70 | do. do. |
| | Āl 'Ubeidun | Al Gheidha | 20 | do. do. |
| | Āl 'Asākira | Husn Āl 'Asākira. | 30 | do. do. |
| | Āl Ma'ruf | — | — | — |
| | Āl Sa'dun | — | — | — |
| | Āl Yahajīn | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Khushm | — | — | — |
| Āl 'Ali ... ... | Āl 'Ali | Husn Āl ar Rīs, Husn Tālib, Husn Meshāmid Husn al Ā'awar, Husn al Mūshāhi. | 40 | Tanāf bin Soheil bin Rumeidān. |
| Dūmān ... ... | Dūmān | Husn Lakdān, Husn Bil'ādh, Husūn al Qana, Husn Seir, Husn Waqāsh. | 100 | — |
| Āl Bā Rūh ... | — | Qariat as Sumuh. | 50 | 'Ali bin 'Alīa bin Tarim. |
| Āl Bāqi Meelum | — | — | 100 | do. do. |
| Āl Sab'ān ... | — | Qaria Jidfala | 25–40 | — |
| Āl Bā Wazīr ... | — | Husn ash Sha'ba. | 15 | — |

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| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Meshāikh Āl Is-haq. | — | Qariat al Hujr, Qaria Sarīn al Meshāikh. | | — |
| Āl 'Ayāf ... ... | — | Qariat al Hujr Āl 'Ayāf. | — | — |
| Ba'rān (Āl Leith bin 'Umar). | — | Qariat as Sabr | — | |
| Al Āshāmis al Ākasālīn. | — | Ar Ramīla | 30 | — |
| Āl Makram al Ākasālīn. | — | Husn Āl Makram | 20 | — |
| Āl al Fanakh al Ākasālīn. | — | Husn Āl al Fanakh. | 40 | — |
| Al Mazāri'a ... | — | Qariat adh Dhamr al Kasālīn. | 100 | — |
| Āl Jūbala ... | — | Husn as Samādi'a Āl Jūbala. | — | |
| Āl Hibrās ... | — | Husn ar Reika Āl Hibrās, Husn Āl Bakhīt Āl Hibrās. | — | — |
| Āl Hudeib ... | — | Husn bin Meifar Āl Hudeib, Husn Balqalis, Āl Hudeib, Husn 'Awadh bin Rabi'a Āl Hudeib, Husn Maqāsid. | 100 | Tanāf bin Seheil bin Rumeidān. |
| Āl Qarwān | — | Husn Qā' al Fadhūl Āl Qarwān. | — | do. do. |
| Āl Fadhūl ... | — | Husn Qā' al Fadhūl Āl Fadhūl. | 40 | — |
| Āl Khamis ... | — | Husn Sāh Āl Khamis. | 40 | — |
| Āl ad Dāhbali ... | — | Husn al Minsāf ad Dāhbali. | 50 | — |
| As Sāda Āl 'Alawi bin Ahmed. | — | Husn as Seiyid | — | — |
| Al Fazīr ... | — | Husn Saligh | — | |
| Āl Hadad ... | — | Husn al Hadad | 20 | — |
| Āl 'Ajāj ... | — | Husn Āl 'Ajāj | 30 | — |
| Āl Yash bin 'Umar | — | Qani | 70 | — |
| Āl Muhammad bin 'Ali | — | — | 10 | — |
| Āl Awadh bin Kaslān. | — | — | 30 | — |
| Āl Qartān ... | — | — | 100 | — |
| Āl Kharāis ... | — | — | 30 | — |
| Bin Musā'id | — | Al Jahi | 35 | |
| | | | 1,715–1,730 | |

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NAHD.

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| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nahd Rōdhān ... | Āl Fāris | As Subeiha | 50 |
| | Āl Boshr | Dār al Hijil | 30 |
| | do. | Ash Sharq | 30 |
| | do. | Fadhh east and north | 40 |
| | Āl Manīf | Lakhmās | 30 |
| | do. | Al Qofi and Shirākh | 40 |
| | do. | Qarn Āl Sharāh | 70 |
| | Āl 'Abdulla bin Muhammad. | Bahrān | 20 |
| | Āl Thābit | Al Baqrī and Harat al Bīr. | 20 |
| | do. | Al Qāra | 20 |
| | do. | Ash Sharīūf | 15 |
| | Bin Mudh'adh'a bin Thābit. | Al 'Adān | 10 |
| | Āl 'Aqil | Ghanima | 20 |
| | Āl Muqeizah | Adh Dhāhira | 20 |
| | Āl 'Ajjāj | Qa'ūdha | 50 |
| | Āl Hidlān | Al Badū' | 50 |
| | Āl Buheijān | Al Husn | 30 |
| | Āl Badr | Ash Shareij | 150 |
| | Āl al Qānis | Museilāb | 10 |
| Nahd Yesīd ... | Āl Yamna | As Sufūl | 20 |
| | do. | As Sūr | 100 |
| | Āl Dhīāb | Duhr | 40 |
| | Āl Qamāzin | Al Khariba | 40 |
| | Beni Shabīb | Manwab | 30 |
| | do. | Ghaseis | 30 |
| | do. | Mad-har bin Nahīd in Wadi Manūb. | — |
| | Āl az Zū' | Al Hum at Al Qatn | 20–40 |
| | Āl Hamdhān | Husn Handhān and 'Ikaba. | 20–30 |
| | Āl Hubū' | Al Furt | 15 |
| | Bil Hamaz | Al Qatn | — |
| | Āl Jebl | — | — |
| | Āl Baziab | — | — |
| Nahd Dhulfan | Beni Dhuleif | Between Fūha and Al Fūha, Wadi Henin. | 100 |
| | Bin at Taiyar | Salhab and Zugheifan | — |
| | Bin Makeūr and Bin Aqil. | Sahlab | 40 |
| | Āl Sāil | Juwat, Al Khannāq | 20 |
| | Āl 'Azūn | Wadi Henin | 40 |
| | Āl Shirmān | Al Hidba | 20 |
| | Āl Hutīān | Khūnab, near tomb of Salih. | 40 |
| | Bin Tarban | — | — |
| | Bin 'Eifar | — | — |
| | Bil Wakhwakh | Wadi Ser, near tomb of Salih. | — |
| Nahd Āl Muhammad | Āl Jidnan | Ar Ramla | 60 |
| | Āl Hūeil | Al 'Ardh | 40–50 |
| | do. | As Sufūla | 50 |
| | Āl 'Abeī | Ghanima | 20 |
| | do. | Al Mitna | 10 |
| | Āl Kāsir | Al Husn | 30 |

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| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nahd Āl Maqārīm | — | Diyār al Maqārīm | 30 |
| | Āl Tāhir | Bā Hasān | 20 |
| | Āl Muhanna | Al Juwa | 20 |
| | Āl Nuheid | Ash Shi'b | 30 |
| | do. | Mad-har | 40 |
| | Āl Muhammad bin 'Āmr. | 'Uneibida and Zukeika | 50 |
| | Āl Kuleib | Manwab and Al Ghatāa | 70 |
| | Āl Bedr Muhammad | Manwab and Al Ghatāa | 40 |
| | Āl Rabbā' | Sadba | 50–70 |
| | do. | Badra, Al 'Ardh, Sirāj, Diyār Āl Nāsir. | 160 |
| | Āl Makhāshin | Al 'Ardh, 'Arūdh al Makhāshin. | 70 |
| | Āl 'Umar bin Ja'far (Sultans). | Al 'Ajlānia | 17–30 |
| | Āl Najjar | — | — |
| Bā Bekr | 4 sections. | | |
| Āl Hukman | | | |
| Āl Shabbal | | | |
| Āl Hatra | | | |
| | | | 2,087–2,160 |

The Nahd live on the left bank of the Wadi Hadhramaut starting from a point opposite the confluence of the Wadis Du'an and 'Amd due north of Haura. They are Qahtanis and claim descent from Kinda. Ibn Khaldun states that the Beni Nahd are derived from Qudha'ā and that they settled in Yemen in the neighbourhood of the Beni Khath'am. He says they are like wild beasts and that the vulgar call them *As Sarwa*. Most of them are a mixed race, partly descended from the Beni Khath'am and Bajīla. Hamdani, who calls the Nahd a sub-tribe of the Beni 'Ans, mentions the Beni Harām as being the principal sub-division of the Beni Nahd.

The Nahd generally are usually on bad terms with the Sei'ar, though the latter visit their markets in the main wadi. Some of the Nahd are allied to the Qu'aitis and some to the Kathīris. The Qu'aiti has an "A" agreement with the Āl Makhāshin and "B" agreements with the Āl Bā Bakr and the Nahd Rōdhān, though the former are also claimed as allies and followers of the Kathīris.

619 The majority of the tribe are agriculturists and grow dates,
631 jowari, and some wheat. The Nahd Dhulfan, whose country is mostly arid and cultivated only after rainfall, live principally by
[468] selling firewood and stones in Qu'aiti towns. About three-quarters of the Nahd al Maqārīm are agriculturists and many of them grow
241 wheat on well irrigation; the rest of the clan are Beduins who rear camels and sheep. The Āl Kuleib and Āl Nuheid, who are poor, possess little more than a few date trees; they sell firewood and
000 other things in the Qu'aiti towns. The Āl Makhāshin are settled

*[See page 92. Category 116 - - Analyst]

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The Āl Mukhāshai are settled

and possess towns, villages, and trees near Shibam, and depend on the capital for their necessities. 619 631 101

The Āl Hidlān, Āl Buheijān, Āl Badr, and Āl al Qānis are Beduins belonging to the Nahd Rōdhān clan, but they live at Fūha. Generally speaking, the rest of the Nahd Rōdhān clan possess towns, villages, and trees round Shibam and its dependencies. They have relied on Shibam for their necessities for a long time. The Āl Yamna, Beni Shabīb, Āl az Zu', Bil Hamaz, and Āl Baziab sections of the Nahd Yezīd are agriculturists and also rear camels. The Āl az Zu' and the Bil Hamaz are an exception to the rule that the tribe live on the left bank and reside near Al Qatn. The Āl Jebe and Āl Qamāzīn are nomads; the latter have a reputation amongst the whole tribe for bad faith and robbery.

It is stated that there are 35 armed men of the Nahd in the village of Al Man'at, 50 in the village of Marāti between Al Man'at and Henin, and 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shabīb in the town of Mad-har in Wadi Manub, but it is not clear to what clans or sections this refers.

The *Mansabs* of the Nahd tribe are Ahmed bin Hussein Āl 'Aidarus, Al Hazm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus, 'Ali bin Zein and Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, Ahmed bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas, and Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. [622

### Āl 'Amr.

An independent nomadic tribe living in the Wadis 'Irma and Duhr near Shabwa.

### Āl Bin Balleith and Āl Heidera.

These two tribes together occupy the upper part of Wadi Rakhia near Wadis 'Irma and Duhr.

### Āl Mahfudh.

This tribe, who are said to number 2,000, are descended from Kinda, and for this reason they are sometimes included with the Sei'ars. It is said that they used to occupy the town of Hajarein but they are now scattered in the neighbouring mountains. The Āl 'Umar Mahfudh live at Nahūla and have been estimated at 85 armed men. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the tribe.

### Bā Muhammad.

A small independent tribe living at Haura and Hajarein.

### Harizi.

A small tribe practically confined to the Wadi Qubhudh which has its source on the plateau to the north of the main Wadi Hadhramaut. Apart from the village of Qubhudh and a few neighbouring hamlets, they are troglodytes and live with their animals in caves in the walls of the wadi, wandering up and down it in a precarious search for water and pasture. Some of them do a carrying trade, and they are, as they have to be, friendly with their neighbours. Their chief is Salih bin 'Ali.

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### Tribes connected with the 'Awaliq.

| Tribe. | Clan. | Places. |
|---|---|---|
| Āl Bureik ... ... | Āl Bin Bureik<br>Āl Nabāhīm | Shabwa. |
| Āl Karab ... ... | — | The neighbourhood of Rakban and further to the west. |
| Āl Hammām ... | — | The desert of Nisab. |

These tribes, which are not really Hadhramaut tribes but are included on account of their dependence on Shibam for a market, are practically independent though very nominally the Āl Bureik and the Āl Karab are under the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh, and the Āl Hammām are more or less under the authority of the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan.

The Āl Bureik are Sheikhs, and at one time the Āl Bin Bureik were masters of Shihr but now the whole of the small tribe are settled in Shabwa.

[631] The Qu'aiti has " B " agreements with the 'Awaliq generally.

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### The Hadhrami Yafa'is and their Sections.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Dhubi ... | Āl al Bakrī | Zarqāna and Bā Bakr | 25 |
| | Bin Dāūd and Al 'Afif | Husīn | 25 |
| | Āl al Hadhārim | As Sāha | 20 |
| Āl Maumata | Āl Qu'ata | Al 'Iqad | 75 |
| | Āl 'Alī al Hāj | As Sāha | 50 |
| | Āl al Hadādīn | Hadha and Al Ghalīn | 20 |
| | Āl al Jahāwira | ...s Sāha | 20 |
| | Āl ash Sheikh 'Alī Āl 'Ab bin Ahmed. | 'Ardh Mansūr | 60 |
| | Āl ash Sheikh 'Alī Āl Salim bin 'Alī. | Huwsila | 40 |
| | Bin 'Alī Jābir. | Khashāmir | 80 |
| Beni 'Ardh | | Al Fardh | 100 |
| Āl Rashid ... | — | Hautat Jābir | 15 |
| Āl an Nuqabā ... | — | Bakria | 15 |
| Āl al Madāshina ... | — | Āl 'Aulin | 20 |
| Āl Beni Naqib ... | — | Al 'Uqda | 20 |
| Āl Ahmed ... | — | Daqiqa | 85 |
| Āl Ass'd ... | — | Al Kharāba | 30 |
| Āl Jabri ... | — | Hneum | 25 |
| Āl Bal'ala ... | — | Jidfera | 50 |
| | | | 775 |

[712
701] Haura, Al Qatn and Shibam have garrisons of Yafa'is. At the first of these places I saw a small fort at the south of the town occupied by five Yafa'i soldiers, and there are probably more. Shibam has 40 Yafa'i soldiers, and the number round Qatn and Shibam is said to be all together about 500 armed men. Those actually employed in garrisons are paid, but the other irregulars only receive pay if called up for service. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the Hadhrami Yafa'is and their sections. The Āl

[See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



al Bakri, known as a section of the Al Dhubi in the Hadhramaut, is in Upper Yafa' a sub-section of the Hadhrami section of that tribe. 619 101

The *Mansabs* of the Al Qu'ata are Muhsin bin Ahmed and Haddar bin Ahmed al Haddar. 631 [622]

## CHAPTER XX.

### OTHER DISTRICTS UNDER QU'AITI INFLUENCE.

In a written description of the provinces of the Qu'aiti state the Qu'aiti authorities included the tribesmen and villages of Wadi 'Amd as depending on Mukalla. The Wadi 'Amd, however, is far away from Mukalla province, and I have thought it better to mention it separately. Although this territory may not be definitely part of the Qu'aiti domains, it is certainly more under Qu'aiti influence than that of any other Protectorate ruler. Hureidha, which is the headquarters of the Al 'Attas family, is the principal town of the Wadi 'Amd. It is estimated to have about 2,000 inhabitants, and from 300 to 400 men are said to have left it in the last 20 years to seek wealth in Java. There are eight mosques in the town, and it is a place of religious teaching. 631 [162 167]

The following is a description of the Al Ja'da, Al Ma'di and Ad Dohm tribes of Wadi 'Amd: 631 619 101

AL JA'DA.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Al Salima ... | | Seila, Jidfera, Kora, and Raham in Wadi 'Amd are the important villages of this clan. | 500 |
| Al Muhammad bin Ahmed. | Al Bin Murda<br>Al Bin Halābi<br>Al Bin Homeid<br>Bin Mubarek<br>Bin Hubeish | Habab, Al 'Ardh, Na'ir, and Rabb in Wadi 'Amd are their important villages. | 400 |
| Al Bin Heilabi<br>Al Bin Saqeir<br>Al Tahir bin Rajih | Al Bin Shemlan<br>Bin Namara<br>Bin Lizam<br>Bin ash Sheiba<br>Bin al Khashr | | |
| | | | 900 |

The Ja'da tribe, who claim descent from the Beni Hilāl, are nearly all Beduins occupying the central and lower sections of the Wadi 'Amd. They are under the influence of the Qu'aiti who has a "B" agreement with them. The foremost section is the Al Bin Shemlan whose leader is recognised as the head of the whole tribe. The Al Tahir bin Rajih are a small clan of the Yafa'is sometimes known as Kharba, but they are settled in Wadi 'Amd

619 and have allied themselves to the Ja'da. The Āl Salima have an 'Attas Seiyid as their *Mansab*; the 'Amūdi Sheikhs also have great
● 631 influence in the Wadi 'Amd.
101

### Āl Ma'di.

The clans of the tribe are Āl Sūeidan, Āl Sa'id, Āl 'Umar and Diba. The Āl Ma'di, said to be originally of the Beni Hilāl, live at Tamham, Hibra, Wajr and Diba in the upper part of the Wadi 'Amd. They are at feud with the Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed and Āl Salima clans of the Ja'da tribe who occupy the central and lower sections of the wadi.

### Ad Dohm.

An independent tribe living in Wadi 'Amd. Attached to them is the Shof, a small tribe with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement.

Details of the tribesmen of Beidat ad Deiyin, on the tableland between Wadis Du'an and 'Amd, were given me in Du'an, and as they are said to depend on that province, and as they are near to it, I have included them in Chapter XVII.

The Qu'aiti himself refers to certain districts as not belonging to any province but as being under his control. These are: (1) the tribesmen of Hajr close to the borders of Bir 'Ali "from the south side"; (2) the country of Sāh; (3) Gheil 'Umar; and (4) 'Einat to Qabr Hud including the Tamimi and Manahil tribes.

Of the first and third territories mentioned in this list, I have been unable to find anything, though outlying tribes connected with the Hajr province are described under that heading. The country of the Āl Sāh clan of the Āl Jābir tribe is due south of Seiyun on the tableland between the Wadis Bin 'Ali and 'Adim. The Āl Jābir are one of the principal tribes of the Shenafir Confederation which is led by the Kathīri Sultan, and it is admitted in the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement that the Āl Jābir are his followers. On these grounds the Kathīris claimed Sāh and the Qu'aiti Regent informed me that Sultan 'Umar agreed to let them have half. The inhabitants themselves, however, are said to have protested against this arrangement and stated that they preferred to be under the Qu'aitis. So presumably the matter stands. But it certainly seems that in law at any rate they should be considered as Kathīris. In this connection it has to be remembered that the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement apparently includes a recognition of Qu'aiti suzerainty over many tribes which are old Kathīri allies. Two tribes of the Wadi Bin 'Ali, the Beni Sa'd and Āl Seif, are said to decline Kathīri allegiance.

631 As regards the district 'Einat to Qabr Hud, Kathīri dominion ends outside the eastern walls of Tarim. The country beyond is ~~Tamimi and beyond the Tamimi come the~~ Manāhil, both of whom
[633a] are Qu'aiti allies. 'Einat, a city of Seiyids, is definitely Qu'aiti
361 and has a Qu'aiti Governor as well as a *Mansab* of the Seiyids. The
[See page 92, category, 116 -- And 1st]

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town, which is said to have 13 mosques and about 5,000 inhabitants, is a place of sanctuary. It shows signs of modern influences, and amongst other things which surprised me was a fairly well constructed incinerator at work. 361

The principal Tamimi towns are Dammūn, Qōz, Qāhir, Qasm, As Sōm, 'Asum, and Fughma. The Manāhil have no towns worth the name, though they have sections living in As Sōm and Fughma. The villages of Sena, An Neid, and Tabūrkum are their principal headquarters, and Qabr Hud is in their territory, but the little village is unoccupied except at the time of the pilgrimage on the 15th Sha'ban. Rich families from all over the Hadhramaut have houses there which are locked up for the greater part of the year. 631

The Tamimi and the Manāhil, together with a small tribe called the Āl as Sumāh, form the Beni Dhanna Confederation. Hamdani mentions the Beni Dhanna as a sub-tribe of the Beni 'Udhra, derived from Qudha'a, and elsewhere as descendents of the Beni Numeir, an Ishmaelite tribe. The following is a description of the Beni Dhanna Confederation: 619 631 101

### Āl as Sumāh.

A nomadic tribe in the mountains to the north of the valley of 'Einat.

### Tamimi.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Muhammad Yamāni bin 'Ali and bin Suleiman. | — | Bā 'Alāl | 35 | Suleiman |
| Balheij, Balhindi, and Bin Zeidān. | — | Below al Ghurfa. | 12 | Balheij |
| Al Qaramis and their slaves ... | — | do. | 20 | Mubarek bin 'Umar |
| Āl Shamlān and their slaves ... | — | As Sūeirī | 45 | Ahmed bin Karama. |
| Bin Qasir ... ... ... | Āl Kibl Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar. | Beit Jubeir | 25 | Salih 'Ali |
| Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed. | — | Husn Fallūqa | 45 | Sa'id bin Salih. |
| Al 'Urān and Al Habārisa ... | — | Mustakhirat | 25 | Salim bin Faraj. |
| Bin 'Amhar and Bin Sa'id bin 'Umar. | — | Jarra | 15 | Sa'id bin 'Umar. |
| Bin Āl Mubarek bin 'Umar... | — | Al Husn | 20 | 'Aidha |
| Bin 'Ali bin Ahmed ... ... | — | Al Bada' | 10 | Ahmed bin 'Awadh. |
| Bin Silma ... ... ... | — | Dammūn | 100 | Salim bin 'Awadh. |
| Bin Dahdūh and their slaves... | — | Khabāya | 10 | Sa'id bin 'Abdulla. |
| Āl 'Isa and Āl Marān ... | — | Al Qōz | 70 | Sālmin |
| Āl 'Abd ash Sheikh ... ... | — | Bā 'Uteir | 35 | 'Umar bin Al 'Abd. |

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 619 Bin Yamāni and their slaves ... | — | Qasm | 50 | 'Ali bin Ahmed bin Imani. |
| ●631 101 Āl Sa'id, Bin 'Uthmān, and Āl Dahnān. | — | Al Khōn | 50 | 'Umar bin 'Awadh bin Sa'id. |
| Āl Qafla, Āl Barakeiz, Āl Heithwa, and Āl Nubeid. | — | As Sōm | 50 | Kharīf |
| Āl as Sa'd ... ... ... | — | 'Asum | 45 | 'Isa |
| Samāh al 'Usba ... ... | — | Al 'Usba | 15 | 'Aidha bin 'Atūfa. |
| Beit Bal Hateish ... ... | — | Fughma | 35 | — |
| Āl Bin Kōb ... ... ... | — | Sha'b Hud | 15 | 'Awadh bin al 'Ahidl. |
| Bin Marsaf ... ... ... | Al Fahd | — | 120 | — |
| Ash Sheiban ... ... ... | 5 sections | — | — | — |
| | | | 847 | |

The Tamimi are a part nomad, part settled tribe, living in the main wadi from the neighbourhood of Tarim to beyond Qasm. They have been allied to the Qu'aiti, with whom they have an "A" agreement, for a long time, and have had a long-standing feud with the 'Awāmir and Kathīris which was terminated by the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The Kathīri Sultans have no jurisdiction over them but it is said that the Tamimis are allied to them for purposes [628] of defence. Disputes between the Tarim Government and the Tamimis are settled by negotiation or Qu'aiti interference.

167 The Tamimis emigrate to Java and the East African Coast, but they are a poor tribe. They grow wheat, lucern, vegetables, jowari, 311 and other crops, on well irrigation. A large amount of land in the 369 Tamimi territory is the property of the rich townsmen of Tarim 438 and Dammūn which the Bin Silma cultivate, and they are generally safe and honest. At harvest time, however, Beduins come from across the northern hills, which are quite close to the cultivation here, settle in the groves, and do a certain amount of damage. Like most wadi dwellers from Tarim eastwards the Tamimis obtain their supplies from Shihr rather than Seihut, though Seihut sends regular caravans as far as 'Einat.

619 The Bin Qasīr clan is sometimes considered as divided into four sections, the Āl Kibl, Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar, Bin Dahdūh, and 631 Beit Bal Hateish. The Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed 101 clan is sometimes called a section of the Ash Sheiban clan; the latter is said to be divided into five sections. The Bin Silma is said to be the strongest clan and is stated to have four sections.

619 The *mansabs* of the Tamimi are 'Umar bin Zein Āl 'Abdulla bin 622 ash Sheikh for the Āl Yamāni, Hasan bin 'Alawi al 'Aqil, Ahmed bin 'Aqil, Āl Matahar, Tahir bin Bubekr Āl Tahir for the Balheij, and 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shihab for the Bin Silma.

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## Āl 'Imran.

A tribe allied to the Tamimi. The *mansab* is Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. 619 631 101

### Manahil.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beit Kasim ... | Beit Ghānim | An Neid | 40 | 'Aidha bin Tanāf. |
| | Beit al Batīn | do. | 60 | do. |
| | Beit Rasf'a | do. | 150 | do. |
| | Beit al Hamādī | do. | 28 | do. |
| | Beit Nahāt | An Neid and As Sōm | 80 | do. |
| | Beit Barakāt | As Sōm and Fughma | 30 | do. |
| | Beit Nas'ūd | do. | 15 | do. |
| Beit Mu'asbini | Beit Nōkhat | — | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Bāqlya | Sena and An Neid | 100 | Yeslam bin Salim. |
| | Beit Sālmīn | do. do. | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Qūeinisa | do. do. | 60 | do. |
| | Tammān | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | Hushhūsh | do. do. | 300 | do. |
| | Muzābbar | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | 'Atūnī | An Neid | 100 | do. |
| Al Bawāqī ... | — | do. | 100 | — |
| As Samāh ... | Samāh ar Raqīa | Near the coast | 100 | — |
| | Samāh al Ghuthma | — | 50 | — |
| | Samāh Beit Khafr | At Al Masīa | 180 | — |
| | 'Adūl | — | 100 | — |
| Tha'in and Beit Farād. | — | — | 250 | — |
| Beit Dahein ... | — | — | 50 | — |
| Beit Qumaīt ... | — | — | 500 | — |
| Beni Sa'id ... | — | — | — | — |
| Beni Ujeil ... | — | Near Qabr Hud | — | — |
| | | | — | |
| | | | 2,593 | |
| | | | — | |

The Manahil are a strong nomad tribe occupying the country east and north of the Hamumi and up into the Rub'al Khali. The southern part of Reida and the country from Damakh to upper Hadhramaut belong to them, and they have a few small settlements east of Qasm. They have an "A'fagreement with the Qu'aiti.

They breed camels extensively like their neighbours in the south-east, the Mahras, both for sale and for hire. Their camels are said to be finer and stronger than those of the Sei'ar, and the average price is estimated at about 200 rupees a camel. Female camels are seldom sold and are used both for breeding and riding. Women do not milk camels among the Manahil. 231 435 [563]

The tribe are said to raid as far as the Central Nejd and sometimes to the outskirts of Kuweit, passing the sandy stretch by routes known only to themselves. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Mahras in the steppe. We found that when passing through Mahra territory they declare themselves Tamimis. Bertram Thomas also says that "Bin Tannaf is the hereditary title of the 619 721 622

*[See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

619 721 622 Sheikh of the Manahil tribe. The present (1930) holder is one of the most famous leaders of the raid. The leader has always the perquisite of two or three of the best camels taken, otherwise there is equal division of the spoil". Philby mentions their chief, Saif bin Tannaf, as going to the Governor of Hasa to plead his excuses for not paying his taxes, and of the wilder spirits of the Manahil and other tribes joining a band of raiders called *Al Ziqirt*. In May 1935, the Manahil concluded a two years' truce with the Tamimi.

622 Their *mansabs* are Seiyid Hādi bin Ahmed ad Dawīla, whom I met collecting his tithes, which he does from Husn al 'Ur to Wad'a during the crop season, 'Ali bin Ahmed al Hussein who has influence over the Beni 'Ujeil, and Muhammad bin 'Ali Mola Dawīla who has influence over the Beni Sa'id, a small nomad clan.

### Ba 'Atwa.

619 631 101 This small tribe, now scattered between Qu'aiti and Kathīri domains, deserves mention for its historic interest. Members of the tribe live in Mukalla, Shihr, Al Qatn, Seiyun, and Taris; they have no fixed country of their own. Like the Ja'da and the Ma'di, they claim descent from the Beni Hilāl and are therefore Ma'adic, sons of Ishmael, and not of Joktan. Legend tells that the Beni Hilāl, who are sometimes rumoured giants, once lived in the Wadis 'Amd and Henin, but that drought drove them forth to northern pastures.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## THE RULE OF THE KATHĪRI SULTANS OF THE ĀL 'ABDULLA.

643 Authorities appear to be divided as to whether the Kathīri tribe are of Dhufar, Hadhramaut, or Yemen origin. They originally rose to prominence towards the end of the fourteenth century under Bedr bin al Habrali, commonly known as Bedr Bu Tuweirak. The genealogy of the Āl 'Abdulla, the ruling family of the Kathīris, as far as I have been able to ascertain it, is given in an appendix. The Āl 'Abdulla number some 700 souls and live in Tarim, Seiyun, Wadi Tarba and Al Bada'; their *mansab* is Ahmed bin 'Abdur Rahman as Saqqaf.

By the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla are recognised as Sultans of the Shenafir Confederation, and their dominion is defined as including the towns and villages of Seiyun, Tarim, Taris, Al Ghurf, Mariama and Al Gheil, and the Shenafir tribes of 'Umar, 'Amr, Al Kathīr, Bajri and Jabir and "all that is within their boundaries". Practically speaking the Sultan's rule is only absolute in the towns mentioned, and in Tarim he is represented by the sons of his uncle, 'Abdulla and Muhammad, sons of Ghalib bin Muhsin bin Ghalib, who are semi-independent. The present Sultan is 'Ali bin Mansur who succeeded his father (who died at Mecca on the day of the Standing on Arafat) in 1929.

631 The Kathīri claims the Hamumi, Nahd, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar tribes as his allies. The agreement with the Nahd, which is said to be similar to those with the Hamumi, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar, is included in an appendix. It is stated that these tribes would join the Kathīris if there was trouble with the Qu'aitis.

*Kathīri Towns.*

101 The country ruled by the Kathīris was formerly of vast extent and stretched from the 'Aulaqi country on the west to the Mahri on the east, including the country of Dhufar beyond. The history of the circumscription of the territory to its present limits appears sufficiently in an earlier chapter of this report.

631 Of the six towns or villages mentioned as being included in the
632 Kathīri dominions Seiyun and Tarim are the largest. Seiyun, the
361 capital of the Āl 'Abdulla Sultans, is a walled town of over 1,500 houses and about 50 mosques. The suburbs, which are all to the east of the town, are extending fairly rapidly with the building of pleasant looking residencies, most of them with their own gardens. The population is said to be about 20,000. Tarim is also a growing town with an estimated population of 15,000. Its walls, which are over five miles in length and are furnished with five gates and 25 forts, enclose a great deal of open space so that most of the better class houses have their own gardens. There are over 2,000 houses, and there are said to be 300 mosques, one of which, built by the Al Kafs, has the highest minaret in the Hadhramaut and is of an unusual pattern. The principal shrine in Tarim is that of Maqaddam Faqih. There are growing suburbs outside the walls such as 'Aidīd, but some of the suburbs such as Thibi, Dammūn, and Beit Jabīr, belong to the Tamimis and are under
342 Qu'aiti influence. Tarim and Seiyun are striking for their many
365 palaces, equipped in modern style, to which reference has already been made. These houses have a water supply laid on and pumped
312 up by small petrol engines. The towns are well supplied with wells, and Tarim is remarkable for being the only town in the Hadhramaut with public conveniences, which, however, are rough mud erections and very insanitary.

361 Taris is a village lying to the west of Seiyun, and its inhabitants
529 do not exceed 700. Mariama is a small village to the east of Seiyun with a population of about 300. Al Ghurf, also a small village, lies to the north of Tarim and has a population not exceeding 250. Gheil bin Yomein is said to be a popular place of resort during the autumn. It is a small village of which the majority of the inhabitants are Beduins.

565 A great deal of wealth comes into the Kathīri towns from the East Indies, and the towns of Tarim and Seiyun, which are considered centres of culture and learning, include many wealthy inhabitants whose fortunes have been made in the East Indies.

000 The whole of the Kathīri part of the wadi is accessible by motor

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The whole of the Kathiri part of the wadi is accessible by motor cars and actually there are more cars in Kathīri territory than the rest of the Hadhramaut put together. 494 504

Shihr is the principal port for the Kathīri country and Tarim is almost exclusively supplied from it. Seiyun is reached indifferently from Shihr-Tarim or Mukalla-Shibam. Shibam is an important market for the Kathīris who depend on it for their daily requirements of grain, coffee, timber, salt, cotton, almonds, raisins, and ghee. 438 508

There is no landing ground in Kathīri territory.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE SHENAFIR CONFEDERATION.

The strength of the Shenafir Confederation has been variously estimated at 4,470 armed men, at 7,650 armed men and at 20,000 souls. The total number of the Shenafir and their followers, excluding Nahd and Sel'ar, is said to be 8,720 armed men. The following is a description of the tribes of the Confederation. 631 619 101

#### Al Kathīr.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Sub-Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Al 'Umar | — | — | As Salil Haju, Wadi Bin 'Ali, Wadi Ghanima, Wadi Ser, Wadi Farš and Dhoilam | — | — |
| | Āl Tālib | | | | Sālim bin Ja'fer and Bedr bin 'Āidha. |
| | | Āl Mar'i bin Tālib. | Jifil | 220 | |
| | | Āl Ja'fer bin Tālib. | Ash Sh'ib, (Qarfū). | 120 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Tālib. | Bā Raf'a | 35 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Sa'id. | Al Wajīr | 40 | |
| | | Āl Bin 'Ann | Near Al Ghurfa | 20 | |
| | | Āl Bin Mahreq | Near Al Hauta | 10 | |
| | Āl Falhām | | | | 'Āmr bin Ja'fer Balfas. |
| | | Āl al Fās | Yarqaq near Al Ghurfa. | 80 | |
| | | Āl al 'Ās | Yarqaq | 15 | |
| | | Āl Fabeitha | Al Hāwī | 25 | |
| | | Āl Barqī | Al Hōl | 20 | |
| | | Bin Kahfī | do. | 10 | |
| | | Bin Tanfira | Near Al Hauta | 6 | |
| | | Bin as Sanīf | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Āl Wī'i | Al Hauta | 17 | |
| | Āl 'Umar bin Bedr. | Bin 'Umar bin Bedr. | Al Ghīyel | 25 | |
| | | Bin Mahrī | Yarqaq | 40 | |
| | | Bin Bedr bin 'Abdulla | An Neid | 15 | |
| | | Bin ash Shein | do. | 50 | |

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| Clan. | Section. | Sub-Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl 'Āmr | Bin 'Abdāt | — | — | — | 'Umar 'Ubeid bin 'Abdāt and 'Awadh bin Gharāna. |
| | | Bin Khalid bin 'Umar. | Al Ghurfa and Al Hōl. | 150 | |
| | | Bin 'Ali Bin Umar. | Bā Bakr | 70 | |
| | | Bin at Tamil | do. | 40 | |
| | | Al Ma'ātif | An Neid | 60 | |
| | | Bin 'Abūd bin 'Umar | Al Ghurfa | 40 | |
| | Āl 'Abdul 'Aziz | | | | 'Ali bin Lahmān. |
| | | Balasq'a | Al Qāra | 50 | |
| | | Bin 'Umar bin 'Ali. | do. | 30 | |
| | | Bin Sūeid | do. | 60 | |
| | | Āl Mubarek | Near Qeaba | | |
| | | Bin Hūeil | Al Qāra | 20 | |
| | | Bin 'Abdulla bin Bedr. | Wadi Sar | 20 | |
| | | Āl Hamud bin 'Awadh. | | | |
| | Āl Kada | Āl 'Abūd bin 'Āmr. | An Neid | 50 | |
| | | Āl Kada (Āl Sa'id bin Ja'far) | Al 'Ādiya and Al Maseila. | 50 | |
| | Āl Muhammad bin 'Umar. | | | | 'Ali bin Mubarek. |
| | | Bin Muhammad bin 'Umar. | Baheira | 60 | |
| | Āl 'Ali bin Sa'id. | Bin 'Ali bin Sa'id. | Al 'Ardh | 30 | |
| | Āl Dūeis | | An Neid | 50 | |
| Al Fakhāis | Āl 'Aun | | | | Muhammad bin 'Āmr bin Muneibārī and 'Āmr bin Sa'id bin Saqir. |
| | | Bin Muneibārī | Al 'Ardh near Madūda. | 70 | |
| | | Bin Ja'fer bin Bedr. | do. | 70 | |
| | | Bin as Saqir | do. | 80 | |
| | | Bin Zeima | do. | 60 | |
| | | Bin Shemlan | do. | 15 | |
| | | Bin 'Ali bin Sa'id. | do. | 15 | |
| | Āl Sa'id | | | | Hueidi bin Mara'ī. |
| | | Bin Mara'ī | Balleil | 60 | |
| | | Bin 'Ali bin Muhammad. | Ja'eima | 25 | |
| | | Bin Ja'fer bin Muhammad. | do. | 25 | |

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619
101

| Clan. | Section. | Sub-section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Balquhum | do. | 15 | |
| | | Bin Dahdūh | do. | 10 | |
| | | Bin 'Āmr Muhammad. | — | — | |
| | | | | | Muhammad 'Āmr bin Sanad |
| | Āl Rawās | | | | |
| | | Bin Sanad | Ad Dahqa, east of Shibam. | 40 | |
| | | Bin Hadhīl | Al Huzma, east of Shibam. | 20 | |
| | | Balla'jam | do. | 30 | |
| | | Āl Ladhrāf | do. | 15 | |
| | | Bin Husn | Al Heimarāt, west of Seiyun. | 20 | |
| | | Al Hājirī | | 10 | |
| | | Al Birām | Qasbal, east of Shibam. | 10 | |
| | | Āl 'Abdulla bin Salih. | Al Bodu' near Hureidha. | 17 | |
| | | Āl 'Ali bin Ja'fer. | Al 'Ajlānīa | 24 | |
| | | Āl 'Umar bin Ja'fer. | Al Jāhis near 'Amd. | 50 | |
| | Āl Seif | | | | |
| | Āl 'Abd al Wadud | | | | |
| | | | | 2,224 | |

The tribes of the Shenafir Confederation claim descent from Hamdan. The territory of the Kathīri tribe (as opposed to the territory of the Kathīri Sultans) extends from about a mile east of Shibam to An Neisa, about one and a-half miles west of Wadi Tarba, whence the 'Awāmir territory begins. The last boundary east is Al Qōf which belongs to both the 'Awāmir and Kathīri. The Qu'aiti states that he has a " B ✗ agreement with the Kathīri tribe. This presumably refers to the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The total population of the tribe is said to be 5,000 or 6,000 people, but of its total strength of about 2,000 armed men many are absent in Java or Singapore.

The Āl 'Umar have property on the right bank of the main wadi, where cultivation is always better, and in the Wadi Bin 'Ali. The clan is the richest of the tribe and its money is derived from Java. The richest section is the Āl Tālib, and the Āl Mar'i bin Tālib sub-section has the most wealth of the whole clan. Miles states that the Āl 'Umar Kathīris are represented in Dhufar where with the Āl 'Āmr clan they may number 2,500 and occupy seven villages. All the sub-sections of the Āl Falhūm section, with the exception of the Bin as Samīl, are settled in the main wadi and grow dates, lucerne, and other vegetables.

The Āl 'Āmr are the strongest clan in point of numbers, and although many are absent in Java they are poorer as regards wealth

✗ [See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

631 derived from that country. They are also poorer as regards property in the wadi for, with the exception of the Bin 'Abdāt who have property on the right bank, their territory lies on the left bank, where cultivation is very poor. The Āl 'Āmr are friendly to the Qu'aiti and friendly to the British, indeed it is said that they have expressed themselves anxious to become British subjects and to be ready to pay taxes.

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The third "clan" is called Al Fakhāīs meaning "sections", which is merely a collective term given to several independent sections. The Bin 'Āmr Muhammad and the Hājirī sub-sections are each composed of one *dar* or house. The latter are sometimes considered a sub-section of the Āl Sa'id.

[622] The following are *Mansabs* of the Kathīri: Ahmed bin Hussein al Aidarus, 'Umar bin 'Abdulla and Muhammad bin 'Ali al Habashi, and Hasan bin Salih al Bahr.

'AWĀMIR.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bin Hatāb | | Tarba an Neid | 150 | Ahmed 'Abdul Qawi. |
| | Al Matrif | | | |
| | Al Hadhir | | | |
| | As Seif | | | |
| | Al Kowa'i | | | |
| Bin Salim | | Tarba | 40 | |
| Bin 'Abdul Bāqī | | Sahil Muhsin | 150 | Mansur bin Bukheit bin Kartam. |
| | 'Areidi | | | |
| | Beni Kheir | | | |
| Bin Khamis | | Eastern Sahīl | 60 | Salih 'Abdulla bin Gharib. |
| | Bin Ghareiya Al 'Ulus. | | | |
| Bin Kasbūba | | Sharma | 70 | Karama bin as Saqīr. |
| | Kasabīb al Kahtan | | | |
| | Bin ad Dawal | | | |
| | Al Beihan | | | |
| Bin Ja'fer | | Tarba an Neid | 80 | Sālim bin 'Ali bin Husn. |
| Bin Kalīfa | | do. | 100 | do. |
| | Al Muhammad | | | |
| | As Sūeid | | | |
| Bin Tabī'a | | Mushta an Neid | 40 | |
| Bin Wu'eil | | | 60 | |
| Bin Hūeilī | | | 20 | Sa'id bin Muhammad. |
| Bin Baraham | | Wadi adh Dhahab | 50 | |
| Awazza | | Taris | | |
| Al Qannas | | | | |
| Al Yokhlytr | | | | |
| | | | 820 | |

The 'Awāmir are a part settled, part nomad, tribe living between An Neiza and Ghurf in the main Wadi Hadhramaut due south of Tarim and the northern mountains. Their territory includes Tarba, Wadi, Thibi, An Neid, and Al Mishqās, and in the main valley their settlements are in Wadi Tarba on the right bank, the opposite bank being entirely devoid of vegetation. They obtain their imported supplies of food from Shihr. The Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement with the 'Awāmir, whose armed strength has been estimated at from 600 to 1,000. 631 619 101 7

Beduin sections of the tribe, said to number some thousands, live in the Oman Sultanate; they belong to the Bin Khamīs, Bin Kallla, and Awanza clans. Miles refers to the 'Awāmir in Oman as follows: "The Awāmir are both Bedoo and Ibadhi, are of Maaddic stock, and claim descent from Amr bin Saasaa, but are now Hinawi.[1] The Bedouin and larger portion of this tribe roam the desert as far as Dhofar, but the settled portion of the tribe occupy a group of twelve villages near Nezwa in Orman Proper. They number about 1,200 or 1,400 souls and the shaikhs reside at Kuriatain. The Bedouins are very wild and savage and are said to speak a dialect of their own. The Awāmir are at feud with the Jenebeh and have about thirty fakhths" (sub-divisions). He also states that they are said to "traverse the desert very extensively, and probably no part of it, except the Dahna, is altogether inaccessible to them. Part of the Awāmir tribe are settled in the Province of Oman Proper and follow agricultural pursuits. The Bedouin portion of the Awāmir is perhaps the most widely scattered of all the Oman tribes, wandering as far as Hadhramaut in a state of semi-savagedom, and it is probable that no wilder or more predatory race exists in Arabia."

"The Awāmir at Ras Noos", he says, "are genuine Bedoos and wear Hadhramaut clothes and speak a different dialect to Oman; it is hardly intelligible but is better Arabic." He goes on to say that some 'Awāmir came to Muscat overland on camels and in some places were five or six days without water. He also mentions the 'Awāmir as being one of the chief Omani tribes engaged in camel breeding, and possessing large herds of these animals.

It is a custom among the 'Awāmir that if two clans are in dispute a third may interfere to settle. The Bin Salim clan are sometimes stated to be a section of the Bin Hatāb. The Al Muhammad section of the Bin Kallla are said to be both settled and nomadic, but the As Sūeid section are purely nomad. The Qu'aiti states that he has a B agreement with the Al Beihan al 'Awāmir which presumably refers to the section of the Bin Kasbūba. [628]

The As Salibia Seiyids have influence over the Bin Hatāb and Kasbūba clans, Seiyid 'Abdulla bin Ahmed Bu Futein has influence over the clans living in Tarba, and Seiyid Tahir bin Bubakr Al Tahir over the Al Muhammad.

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[1] This is clearly an error, vide genealogical tree.

7 [See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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### Āl Jabir.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Hāj or Āl Sāh. | Āl 'Āmr | As Seiqa | 150 | Mubarek bin Muhammad, Sa'id bin Salih Qahtan, and Yamāni bin 'Umar. |
| | Āl Yamāni | Rasib | 350 | |
| | Āl Ahmed āl Hāj | Sakrān | 130 | |
| | Balgheirān | do. | 20 | |
| | Bin 'Abūdān | 'Adam | 20 | |
| | Bin 'Umar bin Sādiq. | Bāyūt | 10 | |
| Āl 'Aun | Āl Ridhwān | Husn bin Dhobān | 35 | Salih 'Umar. |
| | Āl 'Umeish | do. | 35 | |
| | Bin Hijār | An Ni'r | 6 | |
| | Bin Sultan and Bin Sa'dut. | Adh Dhieiqa and An Ni'r. | 30 | |
| Āl Hasan | Bin Bedr | Wadi Bin 'Ali | 100 | Salim bin 'Ali bin Bedr. |
| | Bin Sa'id bin 'Āmr | do. | 100 | |
| | Bin Mar'i bin' Āmr | do. | 50 | |
| | Bin Jābir bin 'Āmr | do. | 50 | |
| | Ballesqa' | do. | 30 | |
| | Bin 'Abūdān | do. | 25 | |
| | Bin Ja'fer bin 'Āmr | | | |
| Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar. | Bin 'Ali bin 'Umar | Sāh, Gheil bin Yomein. | 50 | |
| | Āl Muteihim | Hikma | 15 | |
| | Al 'Afār | Wadi Shahūh | 50 | |
| | | | 1,256 | |

[731
167] The Jābiris in the Wadi Bin 'Ali are mostly agriculturists. They obtain their supplies from Shihr. Some members of the tribe have connections in Java and Singapore, but the tribe as a whole is very poor, and owing to famine and distress many of the members, men and women, have emigrated to the African coast in search of a livelihood. The total number of the tribe has been variously estimated from 800 to over 1,000.

The sections of the Āl Hāj clan have been stated to be sections of the Āl Sāh clan which was referred to in Chapter XX. With the exception of a very few of the Āl Yamāni section who are nomads, the whole clan are settled. The Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar clan are entirely nomadic and ply their camels for hire. Seiyid Al Hasm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus has influence over the Jābir.

Besides the Kathīri and Jābiri settlements in Wadi Bin 'Ali there are a few houses of independent tribes called Āl Seif and Beni Sa'd, who do not consider themselves as in any way allied or subordinate to the Kathīri Sultans of Seiyun.

### Al Bajri.

| Clan. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Quseiyer | 'Ardh Būr | 100 | Sa'id bin Qutāmi and Salih bin Muhammad. |
| Āl Ahmed bin 'Ali | do. | 70 | |
| Bin 'Awadh bin 'Abūd | | | |
| Bin Rattas | | | |
| | | 170 | |

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The Bājrī live on the left bank of the main wadi at a distance of about ten miles north-east of Seiyun. They are surrounded by the tribes of Āl Kathīr and 'Awāmir. It is not universally admitted that the Bājrī are a true Shanfari tribe, but they nevertheless recognize the Sultan of Seiyun as their chief. There is a story that the Bājrī are the original inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, but that in course of time they became absorbed by stronger immigrant tribes. They are all agriculturists but their cultivation being on the left bank is very poor. 631 619 101

The *Mansabs* of the Āl Quseiyer are 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and Qadir adh Dhibab. Hussein bin 'Aidarus Āl Salīla also has influence over the tribe. [692]

## CHAPTER XXIII

### EMIGRATION: COLONIES OF HADHRAMIS ABROAD

There are probably few countries in the world where a larger proportion of the population lives abroad than the Hadhramaut. Between 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. of the estimated population of the Hadhramaut lives in the East Indies, East Africa, or Egypt and the countries bordering the Red Sea. 167

A great number of these emigrants do not proceed abroad for good, but expect to return when they have made their fortunes and die in their native land. Fortune with them is a relative term, for while some of them amass amounts that would not be despised in America the ambition of others is far more modest, and many run only to a few hundred or a few thousand Maria Theresa dollars. [556]

Apart from the 90,000 to 100,000 Hadhramis now living abroad there are a very large number in the country itself who have been abroad, and I have already commented on the fact that Malay and Swahili have really become naturalized languages in the country. [191]

It is not only of recent years that the Hadhramis have learnt the habit of leaving their native homes to seek their fortunes abroad. As Schoff points out, we learn from the *Periplus* that since the earliest time they have had a view beyond their own borders. Then as now, he says, " the outlook of Hadhramaut was towards India by sea and towards Egypt by land. Bent found the same conditions; the capital full of Parsee merchants, the natives going to India, the Straits and Java, and returning when they had amassed a competence; the English protectorate accepted because of England's domination of India, in the face of the religious convictions of rulers and people (*Geographical Journal*, IV, 322). Maltzan described the Hadhrami traders in Cairo as the keenest of the lot, and spoke of their activities in the East; while the Dutch Government, finding the islands of Java and Sumatra overrun with Hadhramaut Arabs, stimulated inquiries of them in Batavia."

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## APPENDIX II.

### Hadhramaut Treaties.

### Protectorate Treaty with Jemadar 'Abdulla bin Umar and 'Awadth bin 'Umar,—1888.

*Article* 1.

"The British Government, in compliance with the wish of the undersigned 'Abdalla bin 'Umar bin 'Awadth al-Ka'yti on behalf of himself and his brother "Awadth bin 'Umar al-Ka'yti, hereby undertakes to extend to Mokalla and Shihr and their dependencies which are under their authority and jurisdiction, the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress.

*Article* 2.

"The said 'Abdalla bin 'Umar bin 'Awadth al-Ka'yti agrees and promises, on behalf of himself and his brother 'Awadth bin 'Umar al-Ka'yti, and their heirs and successors, to refrain from entering into any correspondence, agreement, or treaty with any foreign nation or Power, except with the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; and further promises to give immediate notice to the Resident at Aden, or other British Officer, of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with Mokalla and Shihr and their dependencies.

*Article* 3.

"The above Treaty shall have effect from this date. In witness whereof the undersigned have affixed their signatures or seals at Shihr this first day of May one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight.

### Qu'aiti-Kathiri Agreement, 1918.

"I. The Qaiti Sultan, lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla and the Sultans of the family of Abdallah al Kathiri recognise that the province of Hadramaut shall be one province, the said province being an appanage of the British Empire under the Sultan of Al Shahr and Mukalla.

II. The Qaiti Sultan lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla acknowledges that the Sultans of the family of Abdallah are Sultans of Al Shanafir, but the family of Abdallah rule within Hadramaut over the towns and villages of Siwun, Terim, Teris, Al Charaf, Mariana and Al Gheil. It is acknowledged that the sub-tribes of Shanafir mentioned as follows shall be under the Sultan of the family of Abdallah: namely the tribes of Omar and Aamir; the sub-tribes of Al Kathiri, Al Awamir, Bag-iri and Gabiri and all that is within their boundaries, as is well k. own and recognised.

III. The Qaiti Sultan lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla contracts on his own behalf and of his heirs and successors on the one hand, that he acknowledges and recognises the rights and suzerainty of the Sultans of the family of Abdallah and their heirs and successors over the said towns and villages as well as the sub-tribe of Shanafir aforenamed in Article II above; and also that he will not interfere with it in any matter whatsoever, and that he recognises them as Sultans absolute in their own country as defined in Article II.

IV. The Sultans of the Abdallah family admit on their own behalf and that of their heirs and successors on the other hand, that they will not interfere in any way soever with the Government of Hadramaut, with the exception of the towns and villages aforenamed in Article II and likewise the sub-tribe named in the said Article; and agree that they have no power to interfere in any other places.

V. The Abdallah Sultans acknowledge and recognise that the treaty signed between the British Government and the Qaiti Government in 1888 is binding upon them, just as if they had themselves made it, and they agree to conform to its conditions faithfully. They further recognise that all their negotiations and correspondence with the British Government shall be carried on through the Qaiti Sultan Lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla.

VI. "Both parties agree to suppress disorders both now and in future, immediately; they agree to forgive and forget all that has passed and to renounce severally all

648 631 vendetta or claims for compensation; they agree to preserve in future security on the roads existing within their well-known frontiers, to enforce justice according to the Sheria and respect for the higher authority, to succour the oppressed and to maintain the common law within the stated boundary.

VII. The aforesaid agree to give each other mutual assistance in case of any transgression committed by either of the two parties against their subjects or friends or any person connected with them, or against a sherif, a wayfarer or any defenceless person. They agree mutually to defend life and property, as well as their followers and subjects and any who seek their hospitality, as long as the boundaries named shall endure; they further agree to treat them with the same justice and equity that they show towards their friends.

VIII. The aforesaid agree that absolute commercial freedom shall prevail, and that tithes shall be collected to the amount fixed from all persons impartially who are subjects of the aforenamed Sultans.

IX. If either of the aforenamed Sultans desires to visit the other he must give notice of his intention, so that fitting preparations may be made to receive him; and in no case soever must the number of the soldiers exceed 50, so as to avoid the occurrence of brawls between soldiers.

X. The Qaiti Sultans and those of the Kathiri family alike agree to give mutual assistance in so far as in them lies in any organisation which is directed to the promotion of the well-being and prosperity of the Hadramaut.

XI. In order to promote the acceptance of the aforesaid conditions between the Sultan of Shahr and Mukalla and the Sultans of the family of Abdallah of the Kathiri family, the British Government shall endeavour to settle all differences arising in future between the aforesaid, from the date of the signature of this treaty through the intermediary of the Governor of Aden."

There were engagements in 1863 and 1873 with the Naqib of Mukalla and the Jemadar of Shihr for the abolition of the Slave Trade in their dominions. In 1882 there was an agreement with the Qu'aitis by which they undertook not to dispose of their territories except to the British, to provide for the ex-Kasadi Naqib, and to abide by British advice in their dealings with neighbouring chiefs and foreign powers. The agreement also provides for the payment of a stipend of 360 dollars to the Qu'aiti providing the stipulations of the agreement are fulfilled.

These agreements and one or two others of historic interest will be found in Aitchison's Treaties.

631 PACT CONCLUDED BETWEEN ĀL'ABDULLA AND ALL NAHD AND BENI SHABIB.

*Praise be to God.*

"On the 10th of Moharram 1264 (A.D. 1848), Sultan 'Abud bin Salim bin Muhammad bin Ahmed al Kathiri and All Nahd and Beni Shabib came to an agreement.

Sultan 'Abud acted as Representative of Sultan 'Abdulla bin Nuhsin bin Ahmed and all the Sultans of Āl 'Abdulla bin 'Umar.

Each representative of the Nahd on behalf of his section and those submissive and obedient to it, has given an undertaking to follow and respond to the call of the Sultan whenever received and go against anyone whomsoever he may be and wherever he may be, They are prepared to respond to the call of the Sultan in whatever may be of interest to him. In accordance with tribal usages they will have to carry it out while every thing which would be harmful to him they will have to abandon. All the above has been undertaken and whoever contradicts the above will be considered to have committed a breach of the undertaking.

The Sultan has also given an undertaking to those who have given undertakings to him to treat them with all becoming respect as herein stated. All customary gifts which the Nahd were in the habit of receiving from the Sultan and his predecessors shall be given to those mentioned in this document. Every friend of the Sultan is their friend and his foe is also their foe. They will comply with the Commandments of God.

The Representatives of the Nahd and Beni Shabib sections (53 signatures)."

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

## INTRODUCTION

131 To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South
114 Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

631 Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and
643 Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

133 The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and
132 uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable antiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their
312 limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an
439 enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade.
167 The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

721 Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *kaas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

## Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



669 Kathiri Sultans and that he was the recognized head of a Kathiri section
648 subordinate to the latter. In 1937 after a lot of persuasion he subscribed to the three years truce. This chief loyally kept the peace and helped in maintaining peace till his death early in 1939, when he was succeeded by an irresponsible nephew who after visiting Java and Singapore to collect his inheritance, returned to Hadhramaut determined to extend his boundaries and influence.

In 1939 my wife and I also visited the East Indies and while in Batavia were entertained by the Bin 'Abdat family at a tea and cocktail party at the Hôtel des Galleries, a large modern hotel belonging to the family. Round the walls of the room in which the reception was held were pictures of Al Ghurfa labelled "Al Ghurfa in the Hadhramaut over which this family has fought so long."

Late in 1939 the new Bin 'Abdat started fresh operations. He extended his fortifications and subsidized a large bedouin tribe, the Hamumis, amongst whom the Government was trying to make peace, to make the then one motor road unsafe and to oppose the Government in every possible way. A good deal of fighting ensued in which both the Hamumis and the Qu'aiti troops had casualties. He also brought Hamumi bedouins as his soldiers into the Wadi Hadhramaut itself where they made the road unsafe for travellers. He arrested and maltreated persons who had recourse to the Sultan in their troubles. The Sultans were supported by His Majesty's Government and action was taken against him. He submitted in May 1940, but did not observe the condition he had accepted and until the fall of Singapore and Java eventually caused his funds to dry up, was always a source of trouble. For it was the profits of the hotel and rents of his properties in the Far East which had enabled the family to keep their wars going. Many Hadhrami chiefs did the same thing, but none on the
627 Bin 'Abdat scale. And when litigants in Java lost their cases in the Java Courts it was not unusual for them to repay their opponents in the Hadhramaut by having their families shot or their homes burnt.

● 631 There were supposed to be only two Governments in Hadhramaut, the
619 Qu'aiti and Kathiri, but in fact there were about two thousand—the fourteen hundred tribes and sections who had signed the truce and several hundreds more of independent villages ruled by mansabs and sheikhs.

185 It was considerations such as these that I had to bear in mind when I thought of the kind of organization which would be most likely to succeed in the Hadhramaut. The only things that seemed to offer a favourable opening were a widespread desire for peace and a genuine anxiety on the part of the Sultan for improvements in Governmental and social services. Apart from these factors I had the instruments I have referred to, and the general indication that one should try to follow as far as possible the methods adopted in the Unfederated Malay States, to guide me in forming an organization.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



official members serving as consultative representatives of the "popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public services consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educational facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the state's own postage stamps[5] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, appears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements[8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

[5] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

[8] The Anglo-Kathiri treaty engagement of 1918 was merely an extension of the terms of a previous Anglo-Qaiti treaty to those parts of the Hadhramaut interior controlled by the Kathiri sultan. By terms of the Anglo-Kathiri agreement the Kathiri State was placed under British protectorate. The 1939 Adviser Agreement provided for the appointment of a British Resident Adviser to the court of the Kathiri sultan.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

| State | Title of ruler | Population | Area in sq. miles | Annual revenue | Police | Salute |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Qu'aiti (Mukalla) .. | H.H. the Sultan of | 197,000 | 30,000 | Rs 27,50,078 | Unlisted | 11 guns |
| Kathiri (Seiyun) ... | Sultan of | 60,000 | 6,000 | Rs 4,80,000 | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Wahidi (Balhaf) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 5,000 | Rs 1,02,448 | Unlisted | None |
| Mahri (Socotra & Qishn) ..... | Sultan of | 22,000 | 13,000 | Unlisted | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Haura ..... | Shaykh of | 300 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| 'Irqa ..... | Shaykh of | 350 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Abdali (Lahej) ..... | H.H. the Sultan of | 41,400 | 4,500 | Unlisted | 380 | 11 guns |
| Fadhli (Shuqra) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 2,500 | Rs 4,17,697 | 120 | 9 guns |
| Amiri (Dhala) ..... | Amir of | 27,000 | 1,050 | Rs 1,50,000 | 75 | 9 guns |
| Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara) ..... | Sultan of | 23,000 | 700 | Rs 1,65,000 | 30 | 9 guns |
| Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba) ..... | Sultan of | 89,000 | 900 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar) ..... | Sultan of | 12,000 | 2,500 | Rs 49,000 | 40 | None |
| Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab) ..... | Sultan of | 53,000 | 1,800 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Beihan (Beihan Qasb) .... | Amir of | 13,000 | 4,000 | Unlisted | 40 | None |
| Audhali (Ledar) .... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 1,000 | Unlisted | 30 | None |
| Haushabi (Musaimir) ..... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 350 | Unlisted | 29 | None |
| Alawi (Al Qash'a) .. | Shaykh of | 1,200 | 89 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed). | Shaykh of | 2,000 | 101 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazeteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101 776

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

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693 tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had
671 touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt
577 or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's
626 own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

565 This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and
631 tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

565 We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past
463 incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will
465 therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of
421 those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The
792 Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

421 Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of
565 the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

565 Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen
144 and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

565 Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class.
463 The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

5 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2, Hadhramaut MM21



remained unchanged through centuries of the past and which was perhaps well suited to periods long ago, somehow or other have to adapt themselves to modern conditions.

That is the problem which Political Officers in a country like the Aden Protectorate have to face: that is to say, they have to give the best that we can offer to the people without doing at the same time harm, which so obviously might accompany our action if we were to press our own ideas too much on a social system so different from our own. That makes it all the more important—in fact, it is essential—that British Officers, Political Officers working in that country, should really understand the people as Mr. Hamilton understands them; that they should study them and specialize in their task, for otherwise it is only too easy to fall into serious errors and mistakes.

The question which remains to be answered is to what extent communities like these tribes can absorb or adapt themselves to these changes and to the conditions which they have to meet. As you know from what Mr. Hamilton has said, the units are very small. In some cases, such as Lahej and Mukalla, we have something approximating to what we regard as a regular government. But in some tribal areas the authority of the sheikh is very small; in fact, in some cases I think Mr. Hamilton would agree that it is practically non-existent. The tribal chief often has little real authority. He is merely one of the family, one of the tribe. The extent to which he can carry his authority depends largely on his personality.

We have also heard how the tribesmen, the landowning tribesmen, who regard themselves as the aristocracy of the country, are not a minority but a majority of the people. I once was talking to an Arab from the Protectorate, and I asked him: "What exactly is the difference between a tribesman and a subject?" He replied very briefly: "Well, a subject has to do what he is told, and a tribesman need not." If the tribesmen are in a majority, that makes it very difficult. I said to him: "What about your own tribe? Have you many subjects there or not?" He replied: "As a matter of fact, in my own particular tribe we have no subjects; we are all tribesmen, and that is what causes all the trouble."

If we want to help these people in matters like assisting them to develop their agriculture, to develop their resources in water (which is a necessary concomitant of any agricultural development), to give them help in medical matters (of which they are badly in need, for there is no such thing as even an approach to a medical service in any part of the Protectorate), to help them in education—I mean an education suitable to them—the first and foremost foundation must be some form of internal security. With so many of these small tribal communities immersed in old vendettas and blood feuds the security in the country is in some parts very slight. You cannot build up anything on a basis of anarchy and disorder, and the question arises whether these small tribal units are capable of establishing enough authority and of getting rid of anarchical conditions sufficiently to meet the needs of the time.

Our neighbour there, the Imam of the Yemen, maintains that many of these tribes are too small to enjoy any forms of independence. He says, in fact, that they ought to belong to him, and he would understand how

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west. 142

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration. 778

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting. 181 291 576

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy. 619 631 643

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it. [144]

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe. 576

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 101 174 619

# LAND AND PEOPLES OF THE HADHRAMAUT, ADEN PROTECTORATE

Ruthven W. Pike

131 ALTHOUGH Southern Arabia borders on the much-traveled route to India and ocean liners daily touch its shore at the port of Aden, it has been little reconnoitered, far less than 114 the northern part of the peninsula. A chronological account of exploration in the part of Southern Arabia known as the Hadhramaut, by Mr. W. H. Ingrams (now Chief Secretary in Aden), appeared in the *Geographical Review* for October, 1938. It is entirely due to the tactful and untiring efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, who, with the coöperation of Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf, member of the wealthiest family in the Hadhramaut, have succeeded in establishing peace and understanding among the many tribes of the region, that it is now possible for a European to journey unmolested within prescribed regions.

[63] The boundaries of the Aden Protectorate, of which the Hadhramaut is a part, extend into heretofore unexplored territory and have 131 not been surveyed in the manner customary in settled areas. The limits are well understood, however. They are formed by the Gulf of Aden on the south, the district of Dhufar on the east, the southern margin of the great interior sandy desert of Rub' al Khali on the north, and a line running N 45° E from Perim Island to the Rub' al Khali on the west.

162 The population is densest near Aden and its mountainous hinter-161 land. There are, however, a great many people to the east of Aden, who live along the coast and in the interior of the Hadhramaut; Mr. Ingrams estimates their number at 260,000. There are also many towns and villages between the mouth of the Wadi Maseila and the Dhufar Coast, with a population thought to be about 25,000. Mukalla, 361 with 16,000 inhabitants, is the chief port of the Hadhramaut and seat [63] of the British Colonial Administration for the surrounding area.

## Climate

132 The climate at sea level between October and April is healthful and agreeable to one accustomed to living in temperate regions. On the interior plateau, or Jol, at altitudes of 3000 to 4000 feet, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut, at 2000 feet, the nights are cool, with minimum temperatures reaching 50° F., and are apt to be windy. At such times ordinary summer clothing and light bedding do not afford enough protection.

From April on, the average and maximum daily temperatures

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



121 present condition. It is not easy to illustrate that with lantern slides, but I wanted to use the illustrations mainly to enable you to see some of the differences between each division, something of the nature of the country, the appearance of the people and, above all, the architecture.

### The Divisions of South-West Arabia

101 175 From an Arab point of view, in geography and history South-West Arabia consists of two countries, the Yemen and the Hadhramaut, but actually to-day its four distinct areas are the Kingdom of the Yemen, the Western Aden Protectorate, the Hadhramaut or Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Colony of Aden.

175 681 In Islamic times and until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Western Aden Protectorate and Aden were part of the Kingdom of the Yemen, but various governors and sheikhs of the Western Aden Protectorate only held an uneasy allegiance to the Yemen and broke away as practically independent units. They remained independent until they concluded treaties with His Majesty's Government, mostly last century. Thus the Aden Protectorate gradually grew up. What is now the Colony of Aden was captured from Lahej in 1839 or ceded at later dates. Towards the end of the nineteenth century treaties were made with the coastal chiefs of the Hadhramaut. In 1914 a British sphere of influence in South-West and South-East Arabia was arranged with the Turks. The Turks had twice occupied but never fully conquered the Yemen, and their insecure rule came to an end after the last war, when the Imam became independent.

In pre-Islamic times the Hadhramaut was for a period an independent kingdom. From the time of the Prophet's mission until the ninth century it submitted uneasily to the rule of the Caliphate, and then became independent again, though for periods during succeeding centuries—until the thirteenth century—it was claimed by the Yemen. There was a final short period of Yemeni domination at the end of the seventeenth century, but the Zeidis were finally turned out in 1704. The Hadhramaut remained independent until 1888, when the British Protectorate over the Qu'aiti started.

Down to 1937 the Aden Protectorate, often known as the Nine Cantons, and the Hadhramaut were treated as two ill-defined entities, but as the treaties with the chiefs of both were similar, the two were united as one protectorate by Order in Council that year. When, however, a forward policy in the Hadhramaut was started in that same year, they were again considered separate for administrative purposes, and the old Aden Protectorate was called the Western Protectorate and the Hadhramaut and Mahra country the Eastern.

681 There are such great differences between the Western Aden Protectorate and the Eastern Aden Protectorate that they should be considered separate areas when one is thinking of the divisions of South-West Arabia. Indeed, the Eastern Aden Protectorate could well be considered as two areas itself—the Hadhramaut in the west, and in the east, linked with Socotra, the Mahri country, much more primitive than the Hadhramaut and probably more primitive than the Western Aden Protectorate. It has

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



its own language, and in its trade, which is dhow-borne, unlike that of Mukalla, which is largely steamer-borne in normal times, it deals with Muscat, the Persian Gulf and India, and to some extent with East Africa, for the coastal Mahris are great seafarers. The Mahris, unlike the Hadhramis, do not settle abroad, so by reason of their habits and their speech they are an even more exclusive and secluded people than the Hadhramis. But in effect little is seen or heard of the Mahris, and their territory is considered part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and they have their contacts with His Majesty's Government through the Residency at Mukalla. 631 [167]

### The Western Aden Protectorate

To me the outstanding features of the political set-up of the Western Protectorate are the position of His Highness the Sultan of Lahej, the large number of treaty chiefs, and the general tribal atmosphere of the country. A glance at the map will show why the Sultan of Lahej is the most important chief in the protectorate, for his territory stands at the door of Aden, and through it land traffic from the Yemen and from a great deal of the protectorate must pass. It is the transit dues on goods that have made Lahej the richest state of the Western Protectorate, and with the money His Highness has managed to develop Lahej territory as a sort of private estate, which pays because it grows so much fruit and vegetables which are consumed in Aden. For he has water, and a good deal of the spate of Yemen pass with the Wadi al Kabir and the Wadi as Saghir, which flow through his territory. 622 643 439 651

So that geography has played a great part in determining the part that Lahej should play in the protectorate. But much of the prestige that the Sultan enjoys to-day is due to his own wisdom. While strenuously guarding the internal affairs of his own Sultanate from external interference, His Highness has consistently given every possible help to His Majesty's Government in matters of defence and so on, and has also co-operated so wholeheartedly in the settling of disputes and political matters generally that he is almost universally accepted as an impartial arbitrator with no axe to grind. This personal achievement of Sultan 'Abdul Karim has made him the leader of the Western Protectorate, and it is really remarkable, as the general tendency of tribal chiefs in the protectorate is not to brook interference in their affairs from others. 643 648

There are in the Western Protectorate twenty chiefs in direct treaty relationship with His Majesty's Government, and seven others who have agreements. There are about thirty-five all told who correspond directly with Government. The "nine cantons" are the 'Abdali, the Amiri, the Haushabi, the Fadhli, the Yafa'i, the Subeihi, the 'Aqrabi, the 'Aulaqi, and the 'Alawi—the original tribes with whom treaties were made. The other tribes in the Western Protectorate—the Audhali and the Beihani—did not come into treaty relations until later. But the Yafa'i, the 'Aulaqi, and the Subeihi are divided. In the Upper Yafa'i confederation there are treaties with the Upper Yafa'i Sultan, the Naqibs of Mausatta, the Dhubi Sheikh, the Maflahi Sheikh, the Hadhrami Sheikh, and the Shaibi Sheikh. In Lower Yafa' there is only one treaty, with the Sultan. In 'Aulaqi there are treaties with the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, and 622 631 648

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



622 the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh. Of the Subeihi Sheikhs, the Barahimi, the
631 Atifi, and the Rifa'i have treaties. The reason for the large number of
648 treaties was the desire to protect the land frontiers of Aden from incursion by foreign powers and from tribal assault. But the haphazard way in which the treaties were entered into has been responsible for a lot of confusion, because the policy has extended gradually from merely interest in the security of Aden to the welfare of the tribes themselves. When the treaties were made the country was largely unvisited. Chiefs came down to Aden, and on explaining their importance were given treaties. They were induced to do so by the fact that treaty chiefs were given stipends and presents and entertainment. But when the Government decided to stop giving treaties as freely as before, there were still a number of chiefs as important as those who had had treaties and the importance of many of the treaty chiefs declined. They died, and their successors were not men of the same personality. So that there is good reason for revising the treaties, and this is now often under consideration, though there is a good deal of difficulty about it.

All these treaty chiefs are juridically of the same status. On the plane of precedence the Sultan of Lahej comes first with a salute of eleven guns and the title of Highness, the Amir of Dhala, the Fadhli Sultan, and the Lower Yafa'i Sultan have nine-gun salutes. But, apart from Lahej, none of these kingdoms can be said to have a government and there are wide ranges of differences of authority between them. Indeed, some of them are totally without authority. Some have several thousands of tribesmen and subjects under their normal authority, some have perhaps no more than a few dozens. The main feature of the protectorate for the last century or so has been anarchy, and the population from Sultans downwards is to an overwhelming extent tribal. There are no mercantile centres of importance and no cultural centres at all. There are few Seiyids, comparatively speaking, and their standard of learning is much lower than in Aden or the Hadhramaut, from which latter they most of them originate. Apart from Lahej there is not a town in the protectorate of any great size or importance, and the make-up of the treaty chiefdoms outside the 'Abdali State does not lend itself to the building of governments at present, and few of them have the potential sources of sufficient revenue to do much in that way.

101 Historically, of course, the Western Protectorate was never a province of Arabia. The provinces of South Arabia were Yemen, Hadhramaut, Shihr (which meant the Mahra country), Dhofar, and 'Uman, and the Western Aden Protectorate is really part of the dusty skirt of the Yemen.

000 Politically, therefore, the set-up is not very promising. The best chance of making a country of the protectorate is by encouraging federation between different areas. It is probably not possible for it to become one country with the Sultan of Lahej as its leader, though his group will probably always tend to be the more important. He is already the suzerain of the Subeihis and the Haushabis, and has intervened successfully at times in the affairs of the Fadhlis, the Amiri, the Yafa'is, and the Lower 'Aulaqis. The Amiris, with the Quteibis and Alawis, could, from a geographical point of view, naturally federate with his bloc, but the

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



out to meet you. Many people prefer to walk down the *'aqaba*, and in any case the drivers stop at the top to tie up the brakes. I have only walked down once, and that was on the morning of the New Year. I sat for a short time at the top and it really was a most beautiful sight watching the day break over the minarets and white houses of Tarim. 600

"Tarim and thou desirest no more" is a local saying, and in truth I know of no happier places to live in than Tarim and Seiyun. I shall never forget our first impressions of Tarim nor I think does anybody else forget his, but the charm of these places grows with knowledge and they have a hospitable and cultured society. There is little literary learning in Mukalla or Shihr: Mukalla can be difficult to live in, but Shihr is always friendly and welcoming. Seiyun and Tarim are not only that, but can talk of affairs, of history, and of philosophy. The whole country is full of poets, and not only quotes the old poets but records constantly current history in *qasidas*, and that is how much of it survives. At a Shabwani dance the poets assemble and in turn compose extempore couplets, which are repeated by the choir leaders and taken up by a hundred throats. 212 538

Tarim and its rich suburb of 'Aidid, where there are several beautiful Riviera villas, are of course under Kathiri rule, but they and the small village of Al Ghuraf are in Tamimi country. One interesting fact about Tarim that I have learnt recently is that it contains a state within its walls. This enclosure, which contains a few houses inhabited by the Seiyids of Al Haddad, is ruled by their *mansab* under some ancient right. His subjects are completely under his jurisdiction, and even if they commit offences in the city of Tarim are not tried by the Sultan but handed over to him. The intelligentsia of Tarim call him the *Baba* (the Pope) and his state the *Fatikana*. Tarim and Seiyun both have old religious academies (*Rubats*) to which students come from considerable distances in the west of the Protectorate and from the Yemen. I remember when I first passed the Tarim Rubat a long time ago there was a rush to exclude the contaminating influence, and all the doors and window shutters were hastily banged. Life gets more pleasant when crowds of children and adult hangers on cease to follow you shouting *Nasrani* (Christian). When I returned to Mukalla from the interior in March 1937 one small boy did shout Nasrani, but was immediately corrected by a friend who said "*That's* not a Nasrani, that's Ingrams." 631 [361] 874 609

The Tamimis, who stretch several miles on the way to Seiyun, and down the Wadi Maseila to below Qasm, the Tamimi capital, are a Qu'aiti tribe, so that Tarim and Al Ghuraf form islands in their territory. There are no Badu sections to the Tamimis, and they all live in the wadi and emigrate largely to East Africa and the East Indies. They are however an astonishingly disunited tribe whose sections were constantly warring against each other, mostly over land questions. In this way they are a great contrast to their neighbours, the Manahil, who belong to the same Confederation, the Beni Dhanna. The Manahil are all Badus but are completely united in following their young chief 'Aidha bin Tannaf, a very fine lad of about twenty-five. I thought at first that the Manahil were not going to join in the truce, but after holding back for a little while they came and signed, and have never caused the slightest trouble, though 'Aidha had considerable difficulty in restraining 619 [167]

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his 181
friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came 577
to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a 795
strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They 702
belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their 276
neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African [144]
blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an 567
institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, 648
when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from 631
attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth

648 century and the early years of the twentieth the potential enemy on the
631 South Arabian mainland was Turkey, whose occupation of the province of Yemen brought its territory to within a short distance of Aden. The Turks, indeed, maintained a theoretical claim to the whole of Southern Arabia, including Aden itself. In practice, however, they accepted the existence of British protection over nine tribes adjacent to Aden, and these became known in diplomatic dealings between the British and Turkish Governments as the Nine Cantons, a term that still lingers, although the number of tribes in treaty relations with the British Government now far exceeds the original nine.

648 The Protectorate treaties are all cast in much the same form. It is a
631 very simple one, for the provisions are limited to a few short clauses stating that the gracious favour and protection of the British Sovereign shall be extended to the tribal chief, who, in return for a stipend, undertakes to have no relations with any other foreign Power. In some cases the treaties were supplemented by agreements about the security of roads or other matters of common interest, but generally speaking there was no attempt to introduce any direct British influence or even supervision in the internal affairs of the tribes. Aden was regarded as being primarily a fortress, and the purpose of the Protectorate was the creation and maintenance of a vacuum behind the fortress, into which no foreign intruders would be admitted. Provided that this object was secured, the Protecting Power at that time showed no interest in the welfare or development of the people of the country, who were left to their own devices and to their traditional vendettas and anarchy.

This indifference to the domestic concerns of the protected tribes was even more marked in the eastern part of the Protectorate than in the country nearer to Aden. Treaties of the same type as those already mentioned were made with the local chiefs on the sea coast to the east of Aden up to the borders of Muscat. The reason for this extension of the protected sphere was similar to that which led to the establishment of the Nine Cantons. Its object was the exclusion of foreign influence from Southern Arabia owing to the proximity of this territory to our vital sea communications with the East. The most important treaties with tribes to the east of Aden are those with the Quaiti Sultan of Shehr and Mukalla and with the Sultan of Qishn and Socotra, whose territory includes a mainland portion as well as the island of Socotra. No effort was made at that time to extend British influence inland from Mukalla or the neighbouring coast. The Government of India, by whom the Protectorate treaties were concluded, was content to have

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a British protected belt along the coast and to leave the interior of the 648
country alone. This policy was no doubt due in part to the difficulties 631
of communication overland and to the attitude of the Arab chiefs concerned, who welcomed protection against foreign enemies, but disliked any interference with their internal affairs.

Unfortunately, British protection was not always effective. No 648
troops were maintained in the Protectorate, and when the test of war came in 1915 the Turks in the Yemen found no difficulty in marching down through the Protectorate to Lahej and the gates of Aden. After the war the rule of the Turks in the Yemen was succeeded by that of the Zeidi Imam of Sana. This energetic ruler has always regarded both Turks and British as usurpers in Southern Arabia, the whole of which he looks upon as his rightful inheritance, and he lost no time in seizing as much of the Aden Protectorate as he could take with impunity. The British at Aden, with a much reduced garrison and a minute air force, were unable to give effective protection to their tribes until 1928, when air reinforcements enabled them to recover the Dhala district. The Imam's Zeidi troops retained possession of some parts of the Protectorate until 1934, when they were withdrawn as a corollary to the signature of the Treaty of Sana. This treaty effected a temporary settlement of the vexed question of the Protectorate frontier. The Imam did not formally renounce his historic claims, for he declares that he will never do that, but he agreed that they should remain in abeyance for the period of the treaty—that is, for forty years from its signature, or until a more permanent solution could be found. On the other hand, the British Government recognized the Imam's title as King of the Yemen and his complete independence within his own territory.

It was hoped that the Treaty of Sana would prove to be a turning- 663
point in the history of the Aden Protectorate, and this hope has to some extent been justified. Before the conclusion of the treaty the Protecting Power was mainly concerned with the problem of defence against external aggression, and there were even advocates of the abandonment of all but a fragment of the Protectorate in the immediate vicinity of Aden. The settlement with the Yemen enabled the authorities at Aden to turn their attention to setting the Protectorate house in order. There was a growing feeling that the old policy of indifference to its internal needs was unworthy of the best British traditions, and that an effort should be made to improve the lot of the people in the protected area. It was no longer considered to be good enough to put a ring

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadramout MN2



133 vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Never-
132 theless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in
244 normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley, and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the
[312] highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from
132 wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food
241 has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supple-
439 mented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until
167 recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from
262 the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

161 The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952
631 was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of
648 some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of
643 varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Government and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 97–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 103; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramout MM2



Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar 161
of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited 631
largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved 648
a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in December 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn [668]
and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser 643
strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most important ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of [625]
Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 721
1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate, and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his 648
staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend £410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only £23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a [731]
serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly 651
helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami 312
emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political 311
changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40 miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns, the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple 248
cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] Ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 62–5.
[4] See above, p. 112.

14: Liebesny G-4 (no date) 1947 M1 Middle East
Aden Colony MM1
Hadhramaut MM2



A 636 The recent radical change in the position of India, however, will undoubtedly necessitate a revision of the Aden system of appeals.

The city of Aden, the peninsula of Little Aden, the territory of Sheikh Othman, and the islands of Perim, Kuria Muria, and Kamaran, thus form a Crown Colony under direct British rule.[5] This means that no native government whatsoever functions in the area. As a colony, Aden is part of the British national territory and its inhabitants are British subjects.

H 648 The Protectorate. The hinterland of Aden was not organized by the British into a colony, but into a Protectorate along colonial lines. Its present organization is based upon the Aden Protectorate Order in Council of March 18, 1937.[5] Under it the Governor of the Colony is at the same time Governor of the Protectorate, and the functions exercised in the Colony by the Civil Secretary are here exercised by a Political Secretary. The powers of the Executive and Legislative Councils do not extend to the Protectorate.

H [643] 648 H ● 631 H 648 The region is divided into two parts: the Western Protectorate and the Eastern Protectorate. With the exception of the Sultan of Lahej the chiefs in the Western Protectorate generally possess only limited control over their subjects; the states in the Eastern Protectorate are more fully organized. In contrast with the Colony, the native governmental institutions in the Protectorate were left intact, and the area is administered according to the principles of indirect rule. The Crown has reserved the right to make laws for the peace, good order, and government of the Protectorate. At the same time the Governor may enact certain rules and orders and may especially extend to the Protectorate legisla-

[5] The British distinguish between two basic types of colonial administration: direct rule and indirect rule. The former means that the area is administered directly by British colonial officials without any native governmental machinery, as is the case in Aden Colony. The latter indicates the use of existing native institutions and the placing of many of the actual administrative functions in the hands of native governments under the control of British colonial officials.

(see footnote 6 on following page)

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM21

# ADEN PROTECTORATE

# PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

647 DURING 1947 the Western Aden Protectorate continued to suffer from a shortage of experienced Political Officers. This position was aggravated by the murder in April of Mr. P. C. Davey, an officer of exceptional ability and experience. In consequence most districts were inadequately manned, with the result that it proved difficult to consolidate the progress of the past few years and in some cases there was some deterioration. The Arab Assistant Political Officers, of whom there are at present seven, have of necessity been the backbone of the Western Aden Protectorate administration during the past three years owing to the shortage of experienced British Political Staff.

631 The Fadhli, Dathina and Subeihi administrations carried on with very little change. The two former show a very much-improved financial position. The Amiri country started the year with the removal after a show of force of Amir Haidera and, after an unhappy year of strife and intrigue, ended it with the establishment of a constitutional form of government.

643 In the Abdali State the death of the Sultan, His Highness Sir Abdul Karim Fadhl bin Ali, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who has been succeeded by
642 his eldest son, Fadhl Abdul Karim, and who was a sincere and experienced ruler, was much regretted by his people. On the acclamation of his successor a new constitution setting up a State Council was established and is now in operation.

721 In Beihan the Sultan encountered difficulties with the Balharithi tribe in the far north, and the situation had to be settled by air action.

There were trade-route incidents in Quteibi country, in Wadi Hardaba (Radfan), in Mansuri country (Manqa'a), in Marqashi country (Fadhli) and in Rujeili country (Wadi Teim in Radfan), involving losses of life and heavy lootings. Lootings in the Quteibi territory assumed such proportions that it was necessary to restore normality by air operations. The incidents in Marqashi were satisfactorily settled by administrative action. The other incidents still remain to be settled.

242 On the other side of the picture agricultural development in Abyan has had a most beneficial effect in this southern area in spite of the uncooperative attitude of the Lower Yafa'i Sultan. This attitude led finally to his suspension from office in the Yafa'i as Sahil area of his territory. In contrast, the willing co-operation of the Fadhli authorities in fostering

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), 133
with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably 361
Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting 631
of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been [648]
for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., [643]
Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it 175
came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. 438
The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 161
100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is 133
mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital 361
is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a 648
small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be 619
recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete 622
control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

*ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1 : General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

THERE was a general improvement in security and in political matters during the year, but the economic situation remained at a low ebb owing especially to a poor rainfall in most areas.

It was found necessary to occupy Shaibi territory by force in order to put an end to the extremely oppressive rule of the Saqladi Sheikh. The Sheikh fled to the Yemen and the new administration introduced by Government was welcomed by all sections of the population. The area which is at a high attitude should prosper.

The Abyan Development Scheme in Fadhli and Lower Yafai territories made good progress, but relations between Government and the Lower Yafai Sultan continued to be unsatisfactory.

The administration of Subeihi territory was transferred for an experimental period to the Abdali Sultan.

Slow progress was made in the new Dhala (Amiri) administration, but a second season of drought hampered progress. Advances of grain to the value of some £15,000 were made to farmers in the area to prevent a complete economic collapse.

Revenues in the Fadhli and Dathina areas fell as a result of poor harvests.

The Beihan administration made good progress but received a setback towards the end of the year owing to the failure of the autumn harvest and later to frost damage on the well irrigated wheat and barley crops.

There were no trade route incidents during the year.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

The Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary dispute was settled by the arbitration of the Resident Adviser, which both Sultans had agreed to accept as finally binding. When the time came to execute his decisions, the Qu'aiti Sultan showed considerable reluctance to surrender Sah and the Kathiri to surrender forts round Tarim.

Local political parties tended to lose their sting during the year. The Qu'aiti National Party became seriously involved in the question of the surrender of Sah (see above) and also supported, through its representatives within Mukalla Government, the claims of the Tamimi tribe to watch date palms.

Heavy raiding by Saudi tribes in the spring led to a meeting between

G.Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



PRISONS

There is no recognised Prisons Service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of States have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff. 697

## Chapter 10: Communications

In the Western Aden Protectorate increasing use is being made of motor vehicles throughout the Protectorate, and, although no first-class roads exist, regular traffic is maintained on the following routes: 494

| | | Miles |
|---|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman to | Lahej | 16 |
| " " " | Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " " | Musaimir | 61 |
| " " " | Dhala | 88 |
| Aden " | Zinjibar | 40 |
| " " | Ja'ar | 50 |
| " " | Al Husn | 56 |
| Zinjibar " | Dirjaj | 17 |
| " " | Sheikh Abdullah | 6 |
| " " | Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra " | Am Surra | 30 |
| " " | Lodar | 50 |
| " " | Mudia | 68 |
| " " | Am Quleita | 78 |
| " " | Ahwar | 76 |
| " " | Irqa (E. Aden Prot.) | 48 |

A regular air service by B.O.A.C. was maintained during the summer months between Aden and Mukeiras, mainly for transporting vegetables for the Aden Market. Other existing landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala and Beihan. 509

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate B.O.A.C. resumed its services in the spring, but suspended them again in November. Ethiopian Air Lines ceased operating in the spring when their licence expired. There was still no regular steamer service, although the number of weird craft passing as steamers which called at Mukalla increased considerably.

## Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

SITUATION AND AREA

The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sul- 131 631

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



131 tanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khail (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the status quo as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

### CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadhramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol", extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultivation is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

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## Chapter 12: Administration

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6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate. 631 648 643

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The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. 645

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government. 619 701 625 622

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts: 631 361

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej. [643]

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

G.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



831
361

UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION: Sultan Muhammad bin Salih, *Capital*: Mahjaba.

Maussata, Sheikh Ahmed Bubaker 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Musin 'Askar. *Capital*: Al Qudma.

Dhabi, Sheikh 'Abdurahman bin Salih (under age). Regent: Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital*: Dhi Sura.

Muflahi, Sheikh Qasim 'Abdurahman. *Capital*: Al Jurba.

Hadrami, Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital*: Ash Shibr.

SHAIB: Sheikh Ahmed Mana As Saqladi. *Capital*: Awabil.

QUTELIBI: Sheikh Hassan 'Ali. *Capital*: Ath Thumeir.

ALAWI: Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital*: Al Qash'a.

AQRABI: Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl ba 'Abdullah. *Capital*: Bir Ahmed.

AUDHALI: Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital*: Lodar.

UPPER 'AULAQI: Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital*: Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital*: As-Said.

LOWER 'AULAQI: Sultan Nasir bin Aidrus bin Ali bin 'Abdullah (under age). Regent: Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. *Capital*: Ahwar.

BEIHAN: Amir Salih bin Husein. Regent: Sharif Husein bin Ahmed. *Capital*: Beihan Qasb.

SUBEIHI: Sheikh Muhammad 'Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah ba Sa'id of the Atifi.

## Chapter 13: Weights and Measures

804 These vary considerably from place to place, but the tendency of late has been towards standardisation. Generally speaking, liquids are weighed and grain is measured. The measures of weight most used are the pound, the frasila = 28 lb. and the khandi = 24 frasilas. The keila, a cubic measure for grain, varies from place to place, but the one mostly used is equivalent to about 40 lb. of grain. The qadah = 200 lb. and the qasa = 2½ lb. are also in use. Linear measurement is mostly in qamas, one equalling 5 feet 6 inches approximately, or else the dra = 1½ feet approximately.

Areas are generally quoted in dhamd or fadan, which is equivalent to the area ploughable by a yoke of oxen in a working day of about eight hours. It is roughly an acre or 4,840 square yards.

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A 631 162 228

Aden Colony also includes Perim Island which is administered by an Administrator who is also the Commissioner of Police, Aden. The population of the island is 381. The majority of the islanders are fishermen, and dried fish is exported to Aden. In the past there has been pearl fishing, but this year no pearl fishing contract was taken. There is a small police detachment in the island together with medical and lighthouse staff.

A 206

Up to the end of 1948, Cable & Wireless Ltd. maintained communication with Perim by marine cable. The cable became unserviceable in 1948, and it was decided not to repair it. It is likely that communication will soon be established by wireless. A R.A.F. airplane makes a flight to the island once weekly and carries mail and passengers from Aden.

H 631 642 A 643

The Governor of the Colony is also Governor of the Aden Protectorate, which is not administered by the Colony Government. There is no one Government for the Aden Protectorate; various Rulers and Chiefs are in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. In each of the Western and Eastern Protectorates the Governor is represented by a British Agent.

A 692

The Protectorate includes the island of Socotra.

671 H 692 691

The administration of justice within the Colony is entrusted to the Supreme Court, a Court of Small Causes for certain specified civil cases and Magistrates' Courts for criminal cases. The law of the Protectorate is largely tribal custom, but in certain chiefdoms the Shari' a code of Muslim law is recognised, especially in the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla (ruled by His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti K.C.M.G.), which State legislates by published decrees.

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

A 631 632

There are two local government bodies in the Colony: the larger is known as the Fortress Township Authority and the area governed embraces the Isthmus and Peninsula with a civilian population estimated to be 70,000. This area includes the Military and the R.A.F. establishments. The other is known as Sheikh Othman Township Authority and takes its name from the built-up township of 21,000 persons, all non-Europeans, situated some four miles from the Isthmus. The area governed includes this Township and the remainder of the Colony in which are to be found four small coastal villages whose inhabitants number approximately 2,500.

A 666 642

In 1949 the principle of election was first introduced into the constitution of the Fortress Township Authority, so as to provide three elected members in addition to the existing four nominated official and three nominated unofficial members. In Crater ward there were elections, resulting in the success of one Arab merchant and one Pakistani advocate who was previously a nominated member of the Authority. In the other ward objections were raised against two Arab candidates, who were found not to be of British birth, and a

T: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# ADEN PROTECTORATE

## PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

THE poor rainfall of 1948 was repeated in 1949; but the rains of 1950 were in almost all areas exceptionally good and the economic situation is generally better than it has been for a long period. The new forms of administration in Shaib and Beihan progressed slowly but satisfactorily and up to the end of the period the political situation was generally improved, especially in Lower Yafa'i, where more friendly relations were restored between Government and the Sultan. At the very end of the period, on Christmas Eve, the attempted assassination of the British Agent in Sheiri country in the Amiri State made a punitive expedition necessary; but order was being restored by the end of 1950. [132] 648

In August, 1949, Yemeni troops began to build a fort on Protectorate soil near Najd Marqad in Beihan State. It was eventually found necessary to destroy this fort by air action. This serious incident resulted in an Anglo-Yemeni conference in London in the autumn of 1950 for the purpose of discussing a means of finally clearing away points of misunderstanding between the two Governments.

A number of clashes made it necessary to re-enter the northern part of the lower Aulaqi State. Order was restored by the end of 1950 with a show of force but no actual fighting.

It is hoped that the erection of a fort, now completed, on the main road will put a final stop to trade route incidents in Qutebi country.

A large number of Jews passed through the Protectorate on their way to Aden to be flown to Israel. This operation passed off without a single incident in which a Jew suffered any physical harm. [167]

The development of the Abyan scheme greatly raised the revenues of the Fadhli and Lower Yafa'i states and social services are improving as a result.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

*Political*

The settlement of the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary dispute and the general prevalence of peace in tribal areas and throughout the country allowed efforts to be concentrated on development of agriculture and improvement of the administrative machinery. 631

More responsibility was given to Naibs (local Arab District Com-

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



631 missioners) and Qaims (Assistant District Commissioners) of the provinces and districts. Naibs were provided with motor vehicles to increase their mobility. An annual conference of all Quaiti, Kathiri and Wahidi Naibs and Qaims has been instituted, at which lectures and practical demonstrations in all administrative subjects are given by local experts.

631 621 Another significant step towards devolution of duties on to Naibs and Qaims has been the setting-up of village councils under their direction and supervision. The activities of these councils include village welfare, hygiene, sanitation, increase of food production, etc. The Sultan of Qu'aiti State has also nominated a Municipal Council for Mukalla.

643 631 The period under review was also notable for increased co-operation in administrative affairs between Qu'aiti and Kathiri and for the settlement of problems common to these two States. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri State Secretaries and senior officials met several times during 1949 and 1950 and joint decisions were taken on such matters as local import and export taxes, development tax on date-bearing palms, postal affairs, remittances from abroad, famine relief and prevention, and unification of vehicle licences.

[665] 578 With the retirement of Sheikh Seif bin Ali Elbually, C.B.E., from the post of State Secretary to the Qu'aiti Government, in December, 1950, and the appointment of Sheikh Qaddal Sa'id El Qaddal Pasha, M.B.E., formerly Qu'aiti Director of Education who is a Sudanese, as his successor, the so-called Nationalist Party, whose membership does not extend beyond Mukalla Town, seized the opportunity to foment serious rioting, in the quelling of which 16 persons were killed and 24 wounded. Suitable sentences were dealt out to the ringleaders by the Special Court set up by the Sultan to try the offenders. The new State Secretary has been warmly welcomed into the office by all the responsible citizens and officials of the Qu'aiti State in Mukalla and throughout the Provinces.

643 The Kathiri Sultan Ja'far bin Mansur bin Ghalib died on 24th April, 1949, and was succeeded by his nephew Sultan Hussein bin Ali bin Mansur al Kathiri, who was recognised by His Majesty's Government as Treaty Sultan on 22nd May, 1950.

671 During 1950 codified criminal law based on Sharia was introduced in the Qu'aiti State.

*Beduin Affairs*

631 721 *Wahidi Area.* As a result of the operations against the Khadim of Mithaf and the Al Adhm Tribe in January and February, 1950, the whole Dhiyeibi area came under the Sultan of Balhaf and security posts were established on the western border of the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In July, 1950, a successful operation was undertaken against Al Ba Dukhn for breach of the peace and the tribe was brought under complete control

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



712 *Northern Area.* In 1950 the desert posts were completed at Minwakh, Zimakh and Al Hajr, thus linking up the northern fort system with Al Abr and Asakir, and controlling all the important water points in the area. Since the establishment of these forts there has been no raiding at all in this area, or by tribes of this area upon other tribes.

631 *Eastern Areas.* After the settlement with the Menahil in 1948 this area remained quiet, and the Mukalla Regular Army fort at Som is now accepted by the tribes of the area. Recently the Naib of Shibam met the Muqaddam of the Menahil at Elinat. This went far to heal the breach between them and Government dating from 1947 when the tribe rose and attacked Government posts.

648 *Mahra—Socotra.* The Resident Adviser paid two visits to Socotra during 1949-50, one by sea and the other by air. Among subjects discussed with the Sultan were reports of famine conditions on the Island. The Resident Adviser strongly urged the Sultan to spend more time on the mainland, and agreed to arrange a meeting later in 1951 between the Qu'aiti and the Mahra to settle a frontier dispute at Museina. The Fisheries Officer visited the Mahra coast to study fishing conditions there.

*General*

731 As a result of the famine in 1949, there has been a notable decrease in the numbers of camels and goats, and as a result of delayed rains in Socotra the people there have suffered a similar loss. However, 1950 was a good year for the beduin, and more young camels are to be seen load-carrying now.

691 One of the chief complaints by the Bedu has been the delay caused by magistrates when judging Bedu cases. This matter has been investigated and is being put right.

644 619 Very recently a number of chiefs from the western tribes held a meeting and put in a joint petition to Government. The three points of the petition were (*a*) a complaint against the arms-carrying ban in Wadi Du'an ; (*b*) a complaint against truck owners carrying loads which are forbidden by Government's agreement with the Bedu ; and (*c*) a request for some of their old customs to be recognised. But so firmly is the peace now established that troublesome elements who attempted to support these demands by force were overruled by the majority. The Government is taking suitable action in this matter.

648 On 25th August, 1949, Colonel J. E. H. Boustead, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., assumed the appointment of British Agent, Eastern Aden Protectorate, and Resident Adviser to the Hadhramaut States and to the Wahidi State of Balhaf.

600 A table of Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes is given on p. 6.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



### CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol," extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

132 There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultiva-
312 tion is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

311 The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Sai'un, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

631 The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting
418 of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of
649 Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

418 The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly
631 area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



648 631 Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. The population is probably about 8,000, the island is rather less than 100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

648 The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden.

The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

622 648 625 The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

631 622 The Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts :

## WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

[643] ABDALI : His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the western area. *Capital:* Lahej.

AMIRI : Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital:* Dhala.

FADHLI : Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital:* Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I : Sultan Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital:* Al Qara.

HAUSHABI : Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital:* Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION : Sultan Muhammad bin Salih, *Capital:* Mahjaba.

MAUSATTA : Sheikh Ahmed Bubaker Ali Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Musin Askar. *Capital:* Al Qudma.

DHUBI : Sheikh Abdulrahman bin Salih (under age). Regent : Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital:* Dhi Sura.

MAFLAHI : Shiekh Qasim Abdulrahman. *Capital:* Al Jurba.

HADRAMI : Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital:* Ash Shibr.

SHAIR : Sheikh Ahmed Mana As Saqladi. *Capital:* Awabil.

QUTEIBI : Sheik Hassan Ali. *Capital:* Al. Thumeir.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



631 ALAWI: Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital:* Al Qash'a.
622 AQRABI: Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl Ba Abdullah. *Capital:* Bir Ahmed.
AUDHALI: Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital:* Lodar.
UPPER 'AULAQI: Sultan Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital:* Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital:* As-Said.
LOWER 'AULAQI: Sultan Nasir bin Aidrus bin Ali bin 'Abdullah (under age). Regent: Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. *Capital:* Ahwar.
BEIHAN: Amir Salih bin Husein. Regent: Sharif Husein bin Ahmed, O.B.E. *Capital:* Beihan Qasb.
SUBEIHI: Sheikh Muhammad Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah Ba Sa'id of the Atifi.

EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

[643] QU'AITI: His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla.
KATHIRI: Sultan Husein Ali bin Mansoor Al Kathiri.
BALIHAF: Sultan Ali bin Mohsin bin Saleh Al Wahidi.
BIR ALI: Sultan Nasir bin Yaleb al Wahidi.
HAURA: Sheikh Awadh bin Saleh Ba Shatid.
IRQA: Sheikh Ahmed bin Abdullah bin Abdullah bin Awad Ba Das.

## Chapter 13: Weights and Measures

804 These vary considerably from place to place, but the tendency of late has been towards standardisation. Generally speaking, liquids are weighed and grain is measured. The measures of weight most used are the pound, the frasila = 28 lb. and the khandi = 24 frasilas. The keila, a cubic measure for grain, varies from place to place, but the one mostly used is equivalent to about 50 lb. of grain. The qadah = 200 lb. and the qasa = 2½ lb. are also in use. Linear measurement is mostly in qamas, one equalling 5 feet 6 inches approximately, or else the dra = 1½ feet approximately.

Areas are generally quoted in dhumd or fadan, which is equivalent to the area ploughable by a yoke of oxen in a working day of about eight hours. It is roughly an acre or 4,840 yards.

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Hadhramaut MRS.



There has been close co-operation between the two States; they jointly operate a workshop in Sai'un for repairs of pumps and agricultural machinery and maintain an Agricultural Department in the Wadi. 654 647

In the Wahidi Country an administration has been set up under the advice of a Political Officer. Progress in extending the administration to outlying areas has continued and a start has been made in local government in the few small towns of the area. Experiments have been carried out in cotton and sugar cultivation. 631 [242]

The Sultan of Mahra and Socótra died in February, 1952. In Socotra Sultan Isabin Ahmed Afrar has been elected his successor but he has not been given formal recognition by Government as his election has not yet been confirmed by the mainland chiefs.

Details of Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes in progress during the period are given in Appendix II at the end of the report.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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# Chapter 7: Social Services

## EDUCATION

### *General*

The Aden Protectorate is divided administratively into two parts, Eastern and Western, with a British Agent for each at Mukalla and Aden respectively. Education, which is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents, has thus two distinct divisions. The Aden Colony Department of Education gives advice and assistance and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout the whole territory. A full-time European Education Officer is responsible for this, working under the Director of Education and in consultation with the British Agents. His activities have for some years been devoted mainly to the more backward Western Protectorate. 631 871

The general policy is to build up self-supporting State departments of education, which may control a system of full primary schools of equal standard to those in the Colony. Post-primary education is more directly a concern of Government and the aim is to establish intermediate schools at suitable points in the Protectorate. It is intended that these schools should in most cases serve more than one State and that the States should contribute to their upkeep. Full secondary education is not at present envisaged for the Protectorate, but the intermediate schools will prepare boys for entry to Aden College and the Technical College in the Colony.

Government co-ordinates the courses and syllabus of these schools but, although this has been effected for most of the primary schools, a certain amount of diversity still exists in the intermediate schools. The ages for entry and leaving are in the theory the same as for Colony schools but there is no registration of births and ages are known only approximately.

### *Expenditure on Education*

The Colony Government does not make any contribution towards education in the Protectorate; all expenditure over and above what the States can afford is borne by Her Majesty's Government. 652 [48]

Expenditure on education for the year 1951–52 was in the region of £51,000, divided between the Eastern and Western Protectorate thus:

| | *West* | *East* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Expenditure by States . . . | 6,781 | 25,188 | 31,969 |
| Expenditure by Her Majesty's Government . . . . . | 5,432 | 4,767 | 10,199 |
| Expenditure from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds .. . | 1,094 | 7,122 | 8,216 |
| | £13,307 | £37,077 | £50,384 |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



648 The island of Socotra was occupied by the East India Company in 1834 and came under British protection together with the neighbouring Abd Alkuri and Brothers Islands when the treaty with the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Socotra was concluded in 1866.

## Chapter 3 : Administration

631 The Eastern Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting of the
648 Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Sai'un),
643 the Mahra Sultanate of the Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Belhaf and Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. A British Agent is stationed at Mukalla who advises the Rulers of the Eastern Protectorate on matters of administration.

The interests of the Western Protectorate are looked after similarly by a small cadre of British Political Officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since Her Majesty's
619 Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. The tribes
622 nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over
701 their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been
625 greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards mainly (paid for by Her Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland at fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

631 The Protectorate consists of the following states :
361

WESTERN PROTECTORATE

[643] 'ABDALI : His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin 'Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej until April, 1952, and thereafter His Highness Sultan 'Ali bin 'Abdul Karim, the premier chief of the Western Protectorate. Capital : Lahej.

'AMIRI : Amir Nasir bin Shaif, C.M.G. Capital : Dhala.

FADHLI : Sultan 'Abdullah bin 'Uthman. Capital : Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I : Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. Capital : Al Qara.

HAUSHABI : Sultan Muhammad bin Sarur. Capital : Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I : Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. Capital : Mahjaba.

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Hadhramaut MM2



| | |
|---|---|
| MAUSATTA | : Sheikh Ahmad Bubakr 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Hussein Salih Muhsin 'Askar. Capital: Al Qudma. |
| DHUBI | : Sheikh 'Abdulrahman bin Salih (under age). Regent: Sheikh Salih Salim. Capital : Dhi Sura. |
| MAFLAHI | : Sheikh Qasim 'Abdulrahman. Capital : Al Juba. |
| HADRAMI | : Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. Capital : Al Shibr. |
| SHAIB | : Vacant. Capital : Awabil. |
| QUTEIBI | : Sheikh Hasan 'Ali. Capital : Al Thumeir. |
| 'ALAWI | : Sheikh Salih Sayid. Capital : Al Qash'a. |
| 'AQRABI | : Sheikh Muhammad Faḍhl Ba 'Abdulla. Capital : Bir Ahmad. |
| 'AUDHALI | : Sultan Salih bin Hussein. Capital : Lodar. |
| UPPER 'AULAQI | : Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin 'Abdullah. Capital : Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. Capital: Al Said. |
| LOWER 'AULAQI | : Sultan Nasir bin 'Aidrus bin Ali bin 'Abdullah (under age). Regent : Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. Capital : Ahwar. |
| BEIHAN | : Amir Salih bin Hussein. Capital : Beihan Qasb. |

EASTERN PROTECTORATE

| | |
|---|---|
| QU'AITI | : His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib Al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla. Capital: Mukalla. |
| KATHIRI | : Sultan Hussein bin 'Ali bin Mansur Al Kathiri. Capital : Sai'un. |
| MAHRA (Qishn and Socotra) | : Successor to Sultan 'Ahmed bin 'Abdulla bin 'Isa bin 'Afrar not yet elected. Capital : Hadibu (Socotra). |
| BALHAF | : Sultan Nasir bin 'Abdullah Al Wahidi. Capital : Azzan. |
| BIR 'ALI | : Sultan 'Alawi bin Muhsin Al Wahidi. Capital : Bir 'Ali. |

## Chapter 4: Weights and Measures

These vary considerably from place to place, but the tendency of late has been towards standardisation. Generally speaking, liquids are weighed and grain is measured. The measures of weights most used are the pound, the frasila = 28 lb. and the khandi = 24 frasilas. The keila, a cubic measure for grain, varies from place to place, but the one mostly used is equivalent to about 50 lb. of grain. The qadah = 200 lb. and the qasa = 2½ lb. are also in use. Linear measurement is mostly in qamas, one equalling 5 feet 6 inches approximately, or else the dra = 1½ feet approximately.

Areas are generally quoted in dhund or fadan, which is equivalent to the area ploughable by a yoke of oxen in a working day of about eight hours. It is roughly an acre or 4,840 square yards.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia

Aden MM1
Hadhramaut
MM2

# CHAPTER VII

## ADEN AND HADHRAMAUT

A 631 131 H 631 131

THE Resident of Aden exercises political influence over a very extensive tract of country in the south of the Arabian Peninsula, south of a line beginning at Ras Turbah (Tūrbākh), a point at the extreme south-westerly corner of Arabia, and extending roughly in a north-easterly direction to the desert; it comprises all the territory to the south of this line, inclusive of the Hadhramaut. In the present chapter this region will be considered in two sections: (A) Aden and the Interior (including the Aden Protectorate proper), and (B) The Hadhramaut.

### A. ADEN AND THE INTERIOR

#### AREA

The Aden Interior includes the actual Protectorate (q.v. p. 183) and the remoter tribes under the outer Aden sphere of influence, but excludes the Sultanates of the Hadhramaut and the Wahīdi. Its western boundary is the delimitation line drawn (Jan. 1902–Dec. 1904) by the Anglo-Turkish Commission, from Ras Turbah, a point opposite Perim Island, inland past Jalīlah, north of Dhāla and a little south of Qa'tabah, to the Bana River, and produced thence by a line, not fixed by actual survey, north-east to Beihān el-Jezāb. The eastern boundary is not so clearly defined, but may be indicated by a line drawn northward from Sheikh 'Abd er-Rahmān (a coastal shrine marking the lower 'Aulaqi eastern border) to a point half-way between Yeshbum, an important settlement in upper 'Aulaqi, and Habbān, a town of the Wahīdi Sultanate. The northern limit is the Rub' el-Khāli, or great inland desert, the Sherif of Beihān el-Jezāb being the most northerly chief in political relationship with Aden. The southern limit is, of course, the sea-coast. Within this frontier the most important section is the western, comprising the territories of the Emir of Dhāla, the Haushabi, and a portion of the Subeihi. Through these districts pass the main trade-routes from Turkish Yemen, the only routes

H 631 487



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30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



631 which could be utilized by a force advancing into British territory from Yemen, or the converse. The main lines of communication 487 are three: (a) through the Dhāla valley, (b) through the Tiban valley, and (c) past Mafālis and down Wādi Ma'din, a tributary of the Wādi Darr. The area of the Aden Interior, thus considered, is about 19,000 sq. miles.

## Physical Character

133 The region may be divided into six clearly defined zones, roughly parallel with the coast and not greatly differing from those of Yemen:

(1) The littoral belt.
(2) The maritime ranges.
(3) The intramontane plains.
(4) The main watershed.
(5) The up-country plateau.
(6) The great inland desert.

(1) The littoral belt is a level, maritime plain, chiefly desert and often saline near the coast. Two important oases may be noted: (a) that of Lahej, in the 'Abdāli Sultanate, between Wādis Kebīr and Saghīr, bifurcations of the Tiban valley; (b) Abiyān, a large district of scattered villages and cultivation lying between Wādis Bana and Hasan. Each of these oases has an approximate area of 60 sq. miles, but that of Lahej is by far the richer of the two.

(2) The littoral belt, which varies in width from 40 miles to less than four, is backed by low ranges of maritime hills, black and metamorphic, which culminate here and there in upstanding and often twin peaks of 3,000 or more feet in altitude. Passes, by which caravan routes cross the crest, average 2,500 ft. The maritime scarps of the ranges are barren and almost waterless; but the inland slopes, which are far less abrupt, hold wooded water-courses and permanent wells.

(3) The series of broad plains, inland of the maritime hills, which average 2,000 ft. above sea-level, are of sterile aspect but have a small regular rainfall in the summer, which enables fairly large areas to be placed under cultivation.

(4) The main watershed rises almost sheer from the plains and in parts, especially at the eastern end, has the appearance of an unbroken wall, but really consists of several mountain ranges which overlap each other. The crests attain an average altitude of 7,000 ft. above sea-level. Passes, on caravan routes, seldom exceed 5,000 ft. in height. This main watershed is highest in the west where it merges into the Yemen highlands. It is usually known

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Hadhramaut MM2



the summer thunderstorms are due. These latter are often extremely violent, even terrifying. Hail occasionally falls. Harvesting of one crop or another goes on throughout the year—chiefly bearded wheat, barley, maize, lucerne, and coffee (but the latter is less frequent than over the Yemen border). Indigo and cotton (a very small bush) are grown in the Nisāb district and grapes on the Yemen border.

In the sixth zone—the Empty Quarter or Great Red Desert—the population is pastoral and follows the grazing according to the rainfall, which is irregular and scanty. Along the principal wādis, which lead north towards the desert, there are permanent settlements and cereal crops are raised, chiefly millet, the stalks of which make useful fodder when grazing is scarce. The semi-nomadic part of the population returns to the settlements to await the next grazing-season in the desert.

In the Aden Interior as a whole the prevailing diseases are small-pox, fever (especially malarial), and, to some extent, consumption. The 'Yemen ulcer' is also common among the tribes.

## Population

The population of the Aden Interior (considered as a whole, and including that portion known strictly as the Aden Protectorate), settled and nomadic, may be computed at about half a million. The district is composed of a number of Tribal Confederations or Sultanates, some lying within the limits of the Protectorate proper, some without.

The limits of the Aden Protectorate proper are the delimitation line, previously mentioned, from Ras Turbah to a point some few miles north of Dhāla, and thence a somewhat vaguely defined line continuing at first in a south-easterly direction and then in a generally easterly direction to the coast of the Gulf of Aden near the small settlement of Maqātīn. They enclose an area of about 4,200 sq. miles, having a population of 100,000. The tribal confederations lying within this boundary are: the Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, Haushabi, Amīri, 'Alawi, 'Aqrabi, and other smaller tribes; and without are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and 'Audillah ('Audali). The tribes of the Protectorate have a larger proportion of non-combatants and are more settled than those of the remoter interior; the bulk are to be found in the towns and villages of the littoral belt, the chief centres being Lahej, Waht, Shūghrah, and the Abiyān district.

In dealing with a variety of tribes with such different characteristics it is difficult to generalise; broadly they may be divided

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Hadhramaut MM2



Distances are reckoned by Khatwah (an hour's march, on the level, over ordinary ground, of about 3½ miles) and by Marhālah (a day's march of from 8 to 9 hours). 804

The measures of capacity are :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shatr | = ± | ½ litre. |
| Musra or Mudd | = | 2 Shatr. |
| Rabā'i | = | 1½ Mudd (*plu.* Musra). |
| Sā' | = | 4 Rabā'i. |
| Qahāwil | = | 2 Sā'. |

The Qahāwil is not in use at Makalla and Shiheir, where another measure, the Mikyāl = 8 Qurs or Musra (Mudd).

## Government

The government of the Hadhramaut is in the hands of a number of tribal chiefs. The most powerful clan or tribe, at present, is the *Ka'aiti* (estimated pop. 50,000), a branch of the Yāfa' tribe, whose territory lies farther west. Originally invited by the Seyyids to protect the settled districts from the attacks of marauding tribes, they have established themselves as practically the rulers of the country, and now control the coast district with the ports of Shiheir and Makalla, as well as the towns Hajarein, Haurah, Qatan, and Shibām in the interior. The founder of this family accumulated great wealth and rose to the highest position in the service of the Nizam of Haidarabad, as 'Jemadar', or commander of an Arab levy composed of his tribesmen, numbers of whom still go to the East and elsewhere to seek their fortune. His descendant took the title of Sultan of the Ka'aiti in 1902. The *Kathīri* tribe was formerly the most powerful; they now occupy the greater part of the Central Hadhramaut, Seyyūn, Terīm, and Ghurfah being their chief strongholds. These two tribes are extremely hostile to each other. The paramount chiefs of both have been in political relations with the British Government, through the Resident at Aden, but the Kathīri have less intercourse with us than the Ka'aiti and, of late, have broken off relations. 651 622 619

The Hadhramaut tribal chiefs nominally also recognize the supremacy of the Sublime Porte and profess to be its protégés, but no part of the country has ever been really incorporated in the Ottoman Empire, nor has the Porte ever imposed taxes, sent troops or officials, or exercised any form of sovereignty. In so doing it would doubtless meet with the most obstinate resistance; on the other hand, the Turks have never sought the aid of the Hadhramaut chiefs, though the Imam of Yemen has made overtures to them latterly. 648

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Of governmental administration as a whole, in spite of the comparative homogeneity of the region, there is none, in the usually accepted sense of the term. The tribal lords have no care for what are considered in Europe the duties of government. Education, police, and public works are left entirely to private initiative, and as a result the two last are almost entirely non-existent. Instruction alone flourishes, and that only among the Seyyids and townsmen. There are some schools for so-called primary, secondary, and higher instruction; in the two former the teaching is almost exclusively confined to language, grammar, and religion. The chief centre of higher instruction is at Seyyūn, where the Academy, known by the name Ribāt, is a sort of annexe to the Great Mosque; here there are about 100 students who receive free board and lodging and 300 outside students who pay fees of varying amounts. The teaching is confined to the intensive study of grammar, law, and theology, to the almost entire exclusion of the so-called modern sciences, astronomy (as interpreted by the Arabs) alone excepted. The study of medicine, among others, is entirely non-existent.

As for Law and Magistracy, the influence of the Seyyids is a powerful curb on any oppression by the Muqaddams or tribal lords, and in the Hadhramaut there is a sufficiently independent magistrature. The Seyyids have the greatest interest in seeing that the Mussulman law is honoured and respected, because the law and religion are one: the decadence of religion would inevitably bring about the loss of that superstitious respect which the people have for them as descendants of the Prophet.

Each town or village of any importance has a *Qādhi*, with a sub-Qādhi for the country district round about. The Qādhis are nominated by the Muqaddams, but the latter consult the Seyyids and renowned savants before fixing on their choice; sub-Qādhis are nominated by the Qādhis. The Qādhis have both civil and criminal jurisdiction, and base their decisions on the works of jurists of the Shafei rite. Judgements must be drawn up in writing and signed and sealed by the Qādhi who has delivered them, but can only be put into execution on authorization by the Muqaddam, who, however, uses his veto but rarely. The jurisdiction of the sub-Qādhis is limited to marriage and other acts of family life, the majority of the inhabitants of the country rarely having recourse to the judge in their other affairs. Differences between persons of the same family are in general adjusted by the Abu, and differences between persons belonging to different families by the Muqaddam. In the latter cases, failing accord, justice is settled

645 of a Municipal Council composed of merchants and notabilities being formed in Mukalla, but it did not seem likely that it would eventuate.

635 The Sultanate is divided into five *liwas* or provinces. Shihr, the oldest, Mukalla, Du'an, Hajr, and Shibam. Each of these provinces is ruled on behalf of the Sultan by a salaried Governor or *Muqaddam*, who has at least one paid clerk. He has direct control over the Qu'aiti towns in his province, and in important ones which are not autonomous there is a sub-Governor responsible to the Governor of the province. Subject to the general orders of His Highness the *Muqaddam* has power to settle any case in the province, but there is an appeal to the *Wazir* and Governor of Mukalla. From the judgments and decisions of the *Wazir* appeal lies to His Highness.

631 There are a number of autonomous towns throughout the Hadhra-
632 maut governed by particular tribes or families, and the Central
635 Government does not interfere in their internal affairs. Relations with the tribes over the country are conducted principally through
642 the Governors on whose towns they economically depend. The Sultan has the two following types of agreements with the various tribes: A. Engagements containing an undertaking to respond to the call of the Sultan in any matter and at any time, and B. Engagements of *bon voisinage* and friendship containing an undertaking to co-operate in matters of mutual interest. These agreements are all written.

The following tribes have A. agreements: Tamimi, Manahil, Ath Tha'yani, Awābitha, Seibani, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadīyin, Sumūh, Al Bab Sura, Hālka, Nūwah, Mahfudh, Makhashin, the Hadhrami Yafa'is, Hāmdi, Beni Daghār, and Buheish.

The following tribes have B. agreements: Hamumi, Qarzi, Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Ma'āra, Jōhi, 'Awāmir, Ash Shenafir al Kathīr, Mahra, Nahd Rodhān, Sei'ar, Ad Deiyin, Ja'da, Baheith, Namāra Beni Hilāl, 'Awāleq, Hājib Beni Sa'd, Bahanaf, Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Senad al Murqashi, Ba Habāb, Meseiliyin, 'Asārina, Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Beni 'Utheiman, Bā Babekr and Āl Zaghīb, tribesmen of Sadf, Al 'Amūdi, Ash Shof, Beduins of Shāūla, Āl Beihan al 'Awāmir, Al Khashia al Murqashi, Deiyeb, Qumeish, and Bā Bekr.

661 When there is any doubt as to the loyalty of a particular tribe,
431 hostages have to be provided who are kept in Mukalla prison, at Du'an, and sometimes at Shihr. Hostages may be changed every
642 month. Presents are given and subsidies paid to some of the tribes, and on the visits of tribal *'Aqils* to provincial headquarters they are given presents, and in some cases entertained.

642 The Qu'aiti administration makes no attempt to interfere with
632 tribal usages, but tribal usage does not run in the Qu'aiti towns

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



619 and have allied themselves to the Ja'da. The Āl Salima have an
'Attas Seiyid as their *Mansab*; the 'Amūdi Sheikhs also have great
631 influence in the Wadi 'Amd.
101

### Āl Ma'di.

The clans of the tribe are Āl Sūeidan, Āl Sa'id, Āl 'Umar and Diba. The Āl Ma'di, said to be originally of the Beni Hilāl, live at Tamham, Hibra, Wajr and Diba in the upper part of the Wadi 'Amd. They are at feud with the Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed and Āl Salima clans of the Ja'da tribe who occupy the central and lower sections of the wadi.

### Ad Dohm.

An independent tribe living in Wadi 'Amd. Attached to them is the Shof, a small tribe with whom the Qu'aiti has a "B" agreement.

Details of the tribesmen of Beidat ad Deiyin, on the tableland between Wadis Du'an and 'Amd, were given me in Du'an, and as they are said to depend on that province, and as they are near to it, I have included them in Chapter XVII.

The Qu'aiti himself refers to certain districts as not belonging to any province but as being under his control. These are: (1) the tribesmen of Hajr close to the borders of Bir 'Ali "from the south side"; (2) the country of Sāh; (3) Gheil 'Umar; and (4) 'Einat to Qabr Hud including the Tamimi and Manahil tribes.

Of the first and third territories mentioned in this list, I have been unable to find anything, though outlying tribes connected with the Hajr province are described under that heading. The country of the Āl Sāh clan of the Āl Jābir tribe is due south of Seiyun on the tableland between the Wadis Bin 'Ali and 'Adim. The Āl Jābir are one of the principal tribes of the Shenafir Confederation which is led by the Kathīri Sultan, and it is admitted in the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement that the Āl Jābir are his followers. On these grounds the Kathīris claimed Sāh and the Qu'aiti Regent informed me that Sultan 'Umar agreed to let them have half. The inhabitants themselves, however, are said to have protested against this arrangement and stated that they preferred to be under the Qu'aitis. So presumably the matter stands. But it certainly seems that in law at any rate they should be considered as Kathīris. In this connection it has to be remembered that the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement apparently includes a recognition of Qu'aiti suzerainty over many tribes which are old Kathīri allies. Two tribes of the Wadi Bin 'Ali, the Beni Sa'd and Āl Seif, are said to decline Kathīri allegiance.

631 As regards the district 'Einat to Qabr Hud, Kathīri dominion ends outside the eastern walls of Tarim. The country beyond is Tamimi and beyond the Tamimi come the Manāhil, both of whom
[633a] are Qu'aiti allies. 'Einat, a city of Seiyids, is definitely Qu'aiti
361 and has a Qu'aiti Governor as well as a *Mansab* of the Seiyids. The
[see page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

The Kathīris have no organised Governmental institutions in the accepted sense of the word, though the Sultan and his supporters, including the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun, are very anxious for progress. Sultan 'Ali's state income is estimated at $20,000 a year in respect of Seiyun, Taris and Mariama; $6,000 of this is a direct contribution from the Al Kaf Seiyids, and the remainder consists of taxes on dates and on goods entering Seiyun. The whole sum is expended on state services, for Sultan 'Ali has a private income derived from Singapore. He maintains a force consisting of 200 indifferently armed slave soldiers in Seiyun, and 200 in Tarim. 643 642 651 565

In Tarim the Al Kaf contribute $12,000 a year to the city Treasury. There is a Town Council which organises the local taxation, and thanks to the Al Kaf Seiyids its affairs are said to be run in a very business-like way, for its budget balances. In normal times the political expenditure on maintaining peace between Tarim and the neighbouring tribes is perhaps $4,000 a year, and this is all borne by the Al Kafs. But to this normal expenditure is often added extraordinary expenditure as, for instance, in a case which occurred about May 1934, when Seiyid Bubekr, the second brother of the family, spent $12,000 in settling a dispute between Tarim and the Tamimis. 651 632 565

In Tarim and Seiyun there is a doctor and dispensary, but they are supported by the Seiyids. At the time of my visit, the doctor, a Punjabi, was on leave and such work as was being carried on was being done by a dispenser. No great public use was made of his services. The dispensary costs the Al Kafs about $1,000 a month, and they spend $2,000 a month on charities and roads. As regards their expenditure on communications it should be recorded that they built all the water pools on the caravan route from Tarim to Shihr, that they spent $7,000 on building a pass at Al 'Arsha for caravans, and that Seiyid Bubekr has spent over $180,000 on road making between Tarim and Shihr. 743 565 735 653

The schools in Kathīri territory are almost entirely supported by the wealthy Seiyids. There are two Ribāts, religious foundations, principally supported by *Waqfs* (religious endowments) for the teaching of religion and philosophy. Of these one is in Seiyun and has an attendance of 40 students, and the other is in Tarim with an attendance of 120. The Saqqaf family of Seiyids maintain two schools in Seiyun, one containing 300 boys and seven teachers, the other 100 boys and four teachers, and the Al Kafs, who also contribute to the Ribāts, run two schools in Tarim. One of these formerly had an attendance of 400 boys but it is now only attended by children of the family, numbering 54. The other, a public school, accommodates between 300 and 400 boys. The Al Kafs also run one if not two schools at Khoreiba in Wadi Du'an in Qu'aiti territory. They are, in fact, the only people undertaking educational activities in a wider sense in that province. I believe, too, that they support the private schools in Mukalla and Shihr. 565 871

631 The Kathīri claims the Hamumi, Nahd, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar tribes as his allies. The agreement with the Nahd, which is said to be similar to those with the Hamumi, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar, is included in an appendix. It is stated that these tribes would join the Kathīris if there was trouble with the Qu'aitis.

*Kathīri Towns.*

101 The country ruled by the Kathīris was formerly of vast extent and stretched from the 'Aulaqi country on the west to the Mahri on the east, including the country of Dhufar beyond. The history of the circumscription of the territory to its present limits appears sufficiently in an earlier chapter of this report.

631 Of the six towns or villages mentioned as being included in the
632 Kathīri dominions Seiyun and Tarim are the largest. Seiyun, the capital of the Āl 'Abdulla Sultans, is a walled town of over 1,500
361 houses and about 50 mosques. The suburbs, which are all to the east of the town, are extending fairly rapidly with the building of pleasant looking residencies, most of them with their own gardens. The population is said to be about 20,000. Tarim is also a growing town with an estimated population of 15,000. Its walls, which are over five miles in length and are furnished with five gates and 25 forts, enclose a great deal of open space so that most of the better class houses have their own gardens. There are over 2,000 houses, and there are said to be 300 mosques, one of which, built by the Al Kafs, has the highest minaret in the Hadhramaut and is of an unusual pattern. The principal shrine in Tarim is that of Maqaddam Faqih. There are growing suburbs outside the walls such as 'Aidīd, but some of the suburbs such as Thibi, Dammūn, and Beit Jabīr, belong to the Tamimis and are under
342 Qu'aiti influence. Tarim and Seiyun are striking for their many
365 palaces, equipped in modern style, to which reference has already been made. These houses have a water supply laid on and pumped
312 up by small petrol engines. The towns are well supplied with wells, and Tarim is remarkable for being the only town in the Hadhramaut with public conveniences, which, however, are rough mud erections and very insanitary.

361 Taris is a village lying to the west of Seiyun, and its inhabitants
529 do not exceed 700. Mariama is a small village to the east of Seiyun with a population of about 300. Al Ghurf, also a small village, lies to the north of Tarim and has a population not exceeding 250. Gheil bin Yemein is said to be a popular place of resort during the autumn. It is a small village of which the majority of the inhabitants are Beduins.

565 A great deal of wealth comes into the Kathīri towns from the East Indies, and the towns of Tarim and Seiyun, which are considered centres of culture and learning, include many wealthy inhabitants whose fortunes have been made in the East Indies.

000 The whole of the Kathīri part of the wadi is accessible by motor

lying fishing villages on the coast and the second peninsula of Little Aden. A 632 162

The Protectorate's population is not accurately known, but estimates for 1948 place the total for Western Aden Protectorate at about 350,000, and for Eastern Aden Protectorate at 300,000. The local governments are tribal, and range in organization from sultanates to smaller autonomous units of varying size and complexity. The principal state in the western protectorate is the Abdali Sultanate of Lahej, with its capital in the oasis town of Lahej, about 20 miles inland from Aden. The Qu'aiti Sultanate of Mukalla and Shihr and the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra are the largest and the most influential states in the east. Probably about three quarters of the inhabitants in Eastern Aden Protectorate dwell in the Hadhramaut, the region of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the adjacent coastlands. The term is often loosely applied to the entire central portion of the Protectorate, but politically it is restricted to the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri Sultanates. Several sizable and important towns are found on the slopes of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the connecting valleys, while Mukalla, the seat of government of the Qu'aiti, and Ash Shihr are prominent ports on the eastern coast. In addition to the settled peoples, numerous nomadic Bedouin tribes roam the steppes with their flocks. The residence of the Mahri Sultan is on Socotra, a rocky island with a population of about 5,000.

H 161 H 641 H 635 H 361 632 H [162]

The inhabitants of the Protectorate are mainly of south Arabian stock, but Malay admixtures are encountered in many parts of the Hadhramaut. Small colonies of Indians and Somalis are settled along the coast. Jewish communities of ancient origin are located in scattered villages in the western highlands and the Hadhramaut. They totaled only about 1,500 in 1948, and their numbers have since been depleted by emigration to Israel. The Hadhramis have long tended to emigrate to the islands of southeastern Asia, to East Africa and to countries bordering on the Red Sea, and many sub-

H 563 H [162] H 167

p. 237(A)

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramout MM2



619 has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative
622 machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have tribal guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under
701 the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police
625 duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

619 The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal
634 districts:

[643]
361

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej,* the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

AMIRI: Amir Nast bin Shaif Seif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION: Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. *Capital*: Mahjaba. Mausatta, Sheikh Ahmed Bubakr 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Muhsin 'Askar. *Capital*: Al Qudma. Dhubi, Sheikh Abdurehman bin Salih (under age). *Regent*: Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital*: Dhi Sura. Maflahi, Sheikh Qasim 'Abdurrahman. *Capital*: Al Jurba. Hadrami, Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital*: Ash Shibr.

SHAIB: Sheikh Muhammad Muqbil As Saqladi. *Capital*: Awabil.

QUTEIBI: Sheikh Hassan 'Ali. *Capital*: Ath Thumeir.

ALAWI: Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital*: Al Qash'a.

AQRABI: Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl ba 'Abdullah. *Capital*: Bir Ahmed.

AUDHALI: Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital*: Lodar.

UPPER 'AULAQI: Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital*: Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital*: As-Said.

LOWER 'AULAQI: Sultan Nasir bin Aidrus bin Ali bin Abdullah (under age). *Regent*: Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. *Capital*: Ahwar.

BEIHAN: Sharif Salih bin Husein. *Regent*: Sharif Husein bin Ahmed. *Capital*: An Nuqub.

SUBEIHI: Sheikh Muhammad 'Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah ba Sa'id of the 'Atifi.

* His Highness Sultan Sir Abdul Karim Fadhl, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., died on 18th June, 1947.

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645 of a Municipal Council composed of merchants and notabilities being formed in Mukalla, but it did not seem likely that it would eventuate.

636 The Sultanate is divided into five *liwas* or provinces. Shihr, the oldest, Mukalla, Du'an, Hajr, and Shibam. Each of these provinces is ruled on behalf of the Sultan by a salaried Governor or *Muqaddam*, who has at least one paid clerk. He has direct control over the Qu'aiti towns in his province, and in important ones which are not autonomous there is a sub-Governor responsible to the Governor of the province. Subject to the general orders of His Highness the *Muqaddam* has power to settle any case in the province, but there is an appeal to the *Wazir* and Governor of Mukalla. From the judgments and decisions of the *Wazir* appeal lies to His Highness.

631 632 635 642 There are a number of autonomous towns throughout the Hadhramaut governed by particular tribes or families, and the Central Government does not interfere in their internal affairs. Relations with the tribes over the country are conducted principally through the Governors on whose towns they economically depend. The Sultan has the two following types of agreements with the various tribes: A. Engagements containing an undertaking to respond to the call of the Sultan in any matter and at any time, and B. Engagements of *bon voisinage* and friendship containing an undertaking to co-operate in matters of mutual interest. These agreements are all written.

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The following tribes have B. agreements: Hamumi, Qarzi, Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Ma'āra, Jōhi, 'Awāmir, Ash Shenafir al Kathīr, Mahra, Nahd Rodhān, Sei'ar, Ad Deiyin, Ja'da, Baheith, Namāra Beni Hilāl, 'Awāleq, Hājib Beni Sa'd, Bahanaf, Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Senad al Murqashi, Ba Habāb, Meseiliyin, 'Asārina, Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Beni 'Utheiman, Bā Babekr and Āl Zaghīb, tribesmen of Sadf, Al 'Amūdi, Ash Shof, Beduins of Shāūla, Āl Beihan al 'Awāmir, Al Khashia al Murqashi, Deiyeb, Qumeish, and Bā Bekr.

661 431 642 When there is any doubt as to the loyalty of a particular tribe, hostages have to be provided who are kept in Mukalla prison, at Du'an, and sometimes at Shihr. Hostages may be changed every month. Presents are given and subsidies paid to some of the tribes, and on the visits of tribal *'Aqils* to provincial headquarters they are given presents, and in some cases entertained.

642 The Qu'aiti administration makes no attempt to interfere with 632 tribal usages, but tribal usage does not run in the Qu'aiti towns and within the area (within) demarcated by white pillars

*Internal transit dues.*

651 *Mukalla and Shihr.*

486 On every loaded camel leaving ... ... ... Re.1.

On every camel man[1] ... ... ... ... As.2.

*Shibam.*

On every *Bahar* brought in from Qu'aiti ports or territory ... ... ... ... ... ... $ ½.

On every *Bahar* from other places in Aden Protectorate or from Yemen ... ... ... $1¼.

*Passport Fees (compulsory).*

On every passport ... ... ... ... ... Rs.2

Photograph by state photographer ... ... Rs.3

## Defence.

### Regular Army.

704 The strength of the regular army is as follows: one Subedar, who apparently knows no drill and only appears in uniform on very special occasions; four Jemadars, of whom two are ex-Yemen Infantry officers, and two are Indians, one of them being a Pathan in command of the artillery; 350 to 400 Yafa'is, and 250 slaves.

The non-commissioned ranks are, Havildar, Naik and Lais Naik. The Yafa'is receive nine dollars a month, and the slaves one to three dollars as pocket-money, but they are much better off than the Yafa'is for they receive regular rations for themselves and every member of their families. They are provided with wives, and given milk, which is scarce, for their wives and children. The 702 cadet corps, already referred to, ensures a constant supply of disciplined recruits.

713 The force is armed with every sort of rifle, but principally Martini Henrys. They are said to keep them perfectly clean inside and out. There is a "range" behind the town. The regulars 714 are all provided with a khaki uniform, shirt and shorts, and a 708 red fez, but the uniform is not worn except by the guards at the 623 palace and on special occasions. There are said to be parades every two days. There is a band consisting of 14 who wear khaki uniforms and scarlet glengarries. The regulars for the most part are stationed in Mukalla, but there are a few in Shihr and Reida.

### Irregulars.

704 There are said to be 1,000 to 1,200 irregulars officered by eleven 701 *Muqaddams* who receive 35 to 40 dollars a month. Each *Muqaddam* has a paid *Muawin* who receives 20 to 25 dollars, and each man is said to receive seven dollars a month. They are stationed in the districts. In Shibam there are 40 Yafa'is and 60 slaves. There are about 500 Yafa'is in the neighbourhood of Shibam who are [635] paid but allowed to work their own fields. The Sultan's representative in the Shibam province is in command of the troops.

[1] Members of certain tribes are exempted from this tax.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## Justice.

In Mukalla there are three courts. (1) The Sharia court, which is presided over by three Qadhis. It has also an appellate jurisdiction from other Qadhis in the country. They try all cases according to Sharia law and certain criminal cases are therefore excepted from their jurisdiction, as mutilation and some other Quranic penalties have been abolished. (2) The Hakm as Suq, which is presided over by a police magistrate who is also in charge of the slave police. He tries small cases and can imprison up to twelve days. These sentences are served in the court building which is also the station of the slave police. (3) The Hakm ad Dola, the *Wazir's* court. Here are heard important criminal cases, important civil cases, bankruptcy cases, and cases in which there is not sufficient evidence for the Sharia court. 696 692

There is no commercial court, but if a merchant goes bankrupt his creditors among the merchants gather together to arrange a settlement. In important civil cases the *Wazir* selects a committee of merchants as assessors who examine the cases and report to him. There are no pleaders before the courts. Provincial governors have jurisdiction to settle all cases in their *liwas* but there is an appeal to Mukalla. There are Qadhis at the bigger towns of the interior such as Shibam. 426 692 635

## Police.

### Organization.

In Mukalla the total strength of the uniformed police is 60; that of the plain clothes slave police is 33. The uniform consists of a dark blue tunic and shorts with a leather belt bearing a brass buckle in front, and a red fez. They are equipped with rifles, but only the actual sentry outside a station carries one. The slave police wear a police belt over their ordinary clothes and carry daggers. There is a Jemadar, one Havildar, one Corporal, and two Lance-Corporals. The headquarters of the uniformed police are at the Customs end of the bazaar. There are several other small police-stations in the town. 625

### Distribution.

In Mukalla 30 uniformed police are on duty by day and 10 at night, these latter being reinforced by 20 plain clothes slave police. The uniformed police man the Customs where a detachment is on duty for seven days, each man being relieved every 24 hours. Thirteen of the slave police are on duty at the station of the Hakm as Suq. The peculiar function of the slave police is to deal with armed offenders. Otherwise both bodies of police appear to have the usual functions. There are a few police in Shihr but none in the interior.

## Crime.

From information obtained it would appear that murder cases are now practically non-existent. Murderers are executed with a dagger plunged into the supra sternal notch. 682

# CHAPTER XV.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

### I.—SHIHR PROVINCE.

635 361 131 The Shihr *liwa* is the first province of the Qu'aiti dominions. I was informed that its boundaries were, east to west, " from the extreme borders of the mountains of Damakh Hisāl up to the port of Shiheir ", and south to north, " from the sea to the mountains which separate the plateau from the lowlands ". The most easterly settlement of the province is Reidat al Qu'aiti, and the other coastal towns and villages of importance are Qus'eir (with Qurein), Baghashwa, Hami, and Al Qarn which is the port of Dis, a walled town a couple of miles inland with a population of about 5,000.

361 162 Shihr was once the most important town on the Hadhramaut coast, but it has been gradually decaying. Many of its houses have disappeared and its 45 mosques now serve a diminishing population. This is estimated at from 6,000 to 10,000, but I have no doubt the latter figure is excessive. Shihr, however, is still an important port: it is the principal port for Kathīri territory and the main distributing centre for the eastern part of the Hadhramaut. A landing-ground has been constructed, but is not in serviceable condition.

438 The principal industries are the drying and curing of fish and the dyeing and weaving of cloth. The water-supply, as has been mentioned, comes from Tubala where there are also hot sulphur springs and gardens. There are other gardens at Dufeigha and at Habis where the *Wazir* has a house.

635 438 361 At the time of my visit the Governor of Shihr was Sheikh Salih bin 'Ali al Qu'aiti. The tribes living in the *liwa*, or dependent on the town as their market, are: Ath Tha'yani, Manahil, Hamumi, Al Qarzi, Ash Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Al 'Asārina, Al Meseillyin, Al 'Awābitha, Al Ma'āra and Al Jōhi. Of these, the Qarzi and the Bahasan are sometimes considered as clans of the Hamumi Zei. Although the 'Awābitha have considerable connections with Shihr and Mukalla they own no land in the province and live beyond its boundaries. Shihr is also an important market for the Mahras, to whom, centuries ago, as Masudi recalls, it belonged. Apart from those towns of the interior such as Seiyun and Tarim which obtain many of their supplies from Shihr, and have trading connections with it, the 'Awāmir, Al Jābir, and Al Jābir of Al Sāh (which are all Kathīri tribes) depend on it for their food supply.

000 The Manahil and the Kathīri tribes will be described elsewhere, and the Mahra, of course, are not a Hadhramaut tribe, but the

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



# CHAPTER XVI.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 2. MUKALLA PROVINCE.

Although the town of Mukalla is the Qu'aiti capital the province is considered as ranking after Shihr. It is defined as extending from east to west " from the port of Shiheir to Meifa ", and south to north " from the sea to the low hills as far as the source of the river Hajr, but excluding the Hajr valley itself ". Apart from Mukalla the principal towns and villages on the coast are Shiheir with an estimated population of 1,500, Fuwa and Burum. The only inland town of any importance is Gheil Bā Wazīr, but there are a number of large villages such as Harshiat, Tila, Lusb and Lubeib. The population of Gheil Bā Wazīr, where the Sultan has a house, is estimated at from 6,000 to 7,000. It is a walled town, and the seat of an important tobacco industry. 635 361 162 [138]

Estimates of the population of the town of Mukalla vary from 10,000 to 30,000; the actual figure is probably 15,000 to 16,000. It is a compact, closely populated place, with 13 mosques, and it appears to be growing as building operations are continually in progress. It has several minor industries, of which the principal is fish-drying. West of the town, fish manure and fish fodder are prepared, and outside to the east fish is cured for human consumption. Other small industries are the crushing of simsim for oil and cake, lime-burning—the best quality lime used in Aden comes from Mukalla—and tanning. Apart from the fact of its being the seat of Government, Mukalla owes its importance to its being the principal port of entry for the Hadhramaut and the principal market for the interior. The landing-ground for Mukalla is at Fuwa and the province is well served with motor-tracks. The water-supply comes from Baqrein, where there are good gardens, and other garden suburbs are Dis al Mukalla, An Naq'a where the Sultan has a house, Manāwara, Lermi, Kherba and Khaba. 361 162 438

The Governor of the Mukalla province at the time of my visit was the *Wazir* of the state, Jemadar, or Sultan, Salim bin Ahmed bin 'Abdulla al Qu'aiti. The following tribes live in or are dependent on the *Mukalla province*: Seibani, Hālka, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadīyin, Sumūh, Hāmdi, Buheish and the Āl Heik. As will be seen in Chapter XVII, the Hālka and the Sumūh, sometimes considered as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani. The Bin Daghār and the Nūwah of the Wadi Hajr (see Chapter XVIII) have working and trading connections with Mukalla, as have the tribes of the Wadi 'Amd, the Ma'di, the Ja'da, Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed and Āl Salima; the last two, though sometimes considered to be separate tribes, are included with the Ja'da (Chapter XX). The tribesmen of the Wadi Reidat ad Deiyin and other tribes to the west of Du'an, Beina and Wadi 'Amd, also trade with Mukalla. Shibam and the tribes in and around it 635 619

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



depend on the capital for business and supplies, as do the tribes of Nahd Rōdhān and Āl Makhāshin (included with the Nahd, see Chapter XIX). The Hadhrami Yafa'is, and particularly the sections of Bal'ala, al Hamdhān, al Jābri, Ibn az Zu', and ash Shabeibi, also look on it as their headquarters.

The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely connected with the province. The others mentioned will be found under more appropriate heads :—

BENI HASAN.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bā Haj ... ... ... | Bā Zala and eight other sections. | Mazinab | 120 |
| Bā Ra'ida ... ... | — | — | 70 |
| Bā Kadīm ... ... | — | — | 50 |
| Bā 'Azad ... ... ... | Daqeil | 'Azad | 30 |
| | Bā Dalhūs | | |
| Rahbani ... ... ... | — | — | 15 |
| | | | 285 |

The Beni Hasan, a Himyaritic tribe, closely allied to the 'Akābira who live to their south, are said to have been long settled in the country they inhabit. Their grazing lands lie around Mukalla and extend to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. Their chief village is Lubeib, but they reside also in Wadi Ariat and Asfal al 'Ain, west of Mukalla. They have been described as a clan of the Seibani living in the valley of Jirba and the surrounding mountains. They used to be neighbours of the Kasadi on the east, but assisted the Qu'aitis in their fight against the Kasadi Naqlb and for this reason receive, jointly with the 'Akābira, an annual gift of 700 loads of grain from the Qu'aiti, who also pays them an annual subsidy and has an "A agreement with them. Their chief is in his service and bears the title of Shaush. The armed strength of the Beni Hasan is estimated at from 200 to 300 men, and the tribe is under the influence of the 'Amūdi *Mansab* of Tila.

The Rahbani and Bā Haj clans are cultivators, but the Bā Zala section of the latter are nomads and own 500 camels. Half of the Bā Ra'ida are nomads, known as Bā Dahūs, and half are cultivators of dates and jowari; they own about 100 camels. The Bā Kadīm are almost all settled. The Bā 'Azad own about 50 camels, but the Daqeil section are nomads and the Bā Dalhūs are settled.

'AKĀBIRA.

| *Clan.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* |
|---|---|---|
| Shahū ... ... ... | Hum Buwar | 250 |
| Suleimani ... ... | — | 100 |
| Bin Naje and as Sa'idi ... | Masna'a | 100 |
| Mukbali ... ... ... | — | 35 |
| | | 485 |

[Analyst]

### Al Heik.

619 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the
631 sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan
101 they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shiheir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct
433 route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of
438 the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me
465 as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being
162 an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures
361 appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and
651 villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns
162 and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

635 162 361 651 652 most of them are exempted from taxation: Al Qurha, estimated number of men 300, estimated number of rifles 50, the inhabitants are tribesmen. Husn Bā Sam, men 150, rifles 25, tribesmen. Ar Rubāt, men 800, rifles 100, revenue $1,600, expenditure $1,800; the inhabitants are soldiers. Al Qarn, men 500, rifles 100, inhabitants are tribesmen of Bā Hakīm, a clan of the Nūwah. Al Khoreiba, men 1,500, rifles 50, revenue $1,500, expenditure $1,800, inhabitants are soldiers and sheikhs. Sharq, men 300, rifles 50, revenue $300, expenditure $360, tribesmen and soldiers. Ar Rashīd, men 400, rifles 150, revenue $1,200, expenditure $1,400, tribesmen. 'Aura, men 80, revenue $400. Al Qurein, men 800, rifles 10, revenue $200, expenditure $600.

631 361 651 162 The following towns and villages are under the authority of the Mihdhār family, and the Government derives no revenue from them. Their annual produce is valued at approximately $10,000: Al Quweira, men 400. Halibūn, men 80. Rihāb, men 400, rifles 30. Hudūn, men 200, rifles 50. Khasūfar, men 100. Dhāhir, men 300, rifles 15. Matrūh, men 250, rifles 30. Al Jubeil, men 400, rifles 100. Quweirat al Khozab, men 25. Gheil Bal Kheir, men 40.

The towns under the authority of the Sheikhs of al 'Amūdi are: Husn Bā 'Abd as Somad, men 100. Budha, men 1,000, rifles 200. Bilad al Ma', men 100, rifles 10. Khudeish, men 70, rifles 12. Qarn Mājid, men 50, rifles 8.

635 361 162 The remaining towns of the Wadi Du'an between Al Qurha and Hajarein are again under the direct authority of the Governors of Du'an: Sīf, men 400, rifles 30; Sīf has a garrison of 15 Yafa'is of whom five live in the Husn ad Dōla and 10 in the town. Those I saw were all of the Beni Sa'd Lower Yafa'is. Feil, men 30. Al 'Āddiya, men 30. Ghār as Sūdān, men 30, rifles 5. Nasara, men 10. Naseira, men 10. Seil'a, men 30, rifles 10. Hajarein, men 500, rifles 10. There is a garrison of Yafa'is in Hajarein.

The towns and villages of Wadi Leisar included in the Du'an province are: Al 'Arsama, men 500, rifles 20. Al Jahi, men 300, rifles 150. Al 'Ardh, men 40. Al Jadīda, men 150, rifles 10. Ad Dūfa, men 250, rifles 20. Jureif, men 150, rifles 10. Subeikh, men 400, rifles 30. Tūlaba, men 500, rifles 35. Dhari, men 600, rifles 30. Hūfa, men 500, rifles 70. Heid al Jazīl, men 150, rifles 10.

635 631 619 The following tribes live in the province or are dependent on the wadi: Seibani and its branches, Deiyin, al Hālka, al Marāshida, Khamikha, Bā Hakīm, Bā Sam, and al 'Amūdi. The Beni Hasan and the 'Akābira (see Chapter XVI) deal equally with Mukalla and Du'an. The Hālka and the Marāshida, sometimes considered as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani, and the Bā Hakīm and the Bā Sam, also sometimes treated as separate tribes, are included with the Nūwah (see Chapter XVIII).

635 The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely connected with the province :—

619

[162]

SEIBANI.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 101 Marāshida ... | | Living round the province of Du'an. | 400—500 |
| | Bā Daheiduh | | |
| | Bā Beitar | | |
| | Bā Dhrus | — | |
| | Bā Kardas | | |
| | Bā Sara | | |
| Khāmā ... ... | | — | 300—900 |
| | Bā Surra | | |
| | Bā Kadīm | | |
| | Bā Sallum | | |
| | Bā Rashīd | | |
| Hālka ... ... | | Hūfa in Wadi Leisar | 300—800 |
| | Bā Dajeil | | |
| | Bā Sa'd | | |
| | Bā Nakhar | | |
| | Al Biadha | | |
| | Bā Khashwein | | |
| As Sumūh ... ... | | | 500—1,000 |
| | Shaka'i | | 200 |
| | Bā Wasim | | |
| | Jodani | | |
| | Jahzami | | |
| | Bā Buteiya | | |
| | Ghuth | | |
| Al Meshājir ... ... | — | Husn Ba'ba', Wadi Yeb'uth. | 250 |
| Al Qathm ... ... | — | — | 100 |
| Al Hamidī ... ... | — | — | 400 |
| | | | 2,450—4,150 |

[162]

619 The Seibani Zei are said to be part of a Confederation which
631 includes the 'Awābitha and Āl Heik tribes. They extend from the
Hamumi country on the east to the Nūwah on the west. The
369 Nahd and Kathīri tribes bound them on the north, and the Beni Hasan on the south. The tribe are partly nomad and partly settled and they own villages round Mukalla and in Wadis Du'an, Leisar, and Huweira; many of them live in 'Aura and Qurein in Wadi Du'an. The settled Seibanis, like other townsmen land-owners, are subject to taxation on their date groves by the Qu'aiti whom they acknowledge in full sovereignty. The nomads acknowledge Qu'aiti suzerainty but pay no taxes. Their country is at present the safest for travelling and a *siyar* is unnecessary. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an "A'hagreement with them.

619 Muhammad bin 'Umar and Ahmed bin 'Umar Bā Surra of the
622 Khāmā clan of the Seibani, the Qu'aiti Governors of the Du'an
628 province, are also the paramount *Muqaddams* of the tribe. Inter-tribal disputes are settled by reference to the heads of neutral clans, more important cases being carried to the Bā Surras and the Shatiri Seiyid who is their *Mansab*. The Mihdhār family of Seiyids descended from Sheikh Abubekr, also have great influence

619 The whole tribe are now peaceable and the Qu'aiti has a " B "[2] agreement with them. The leader of the Motahhar clan who resides at Budha is acknowledged as the paramount chief, but for practical and political purposes the 'Amūdis are under the actual control of the Seibani leaders, the Governors of Du'an, though the Qu'aiti allows them autonomy in their own towns. The towns of Qeidun, where their ancestor lies buried, and Dhuba also belong to the tribe, and the Sheikh of the former is 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Umar bin Muhammad, and of the latter Sheikh 'Abdulla bin Salih bin Motahhar al 'Amūdi.

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### Deiyin.

631 The Deiyin tribe consists of twelve clans. The estimated number of armed men where obtained is given after each clan: Al Bazi, 200; Bā Kershūb, 200; Al Bās, 150; Bā Salim, 50; Bā Kharbūsh, 50; Bin Sūeidan, 200; Bā Masdūs, 150; Bā 'Umein, 300; Labarja Bā Henhen, Yās, Ba Kharshūm.

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619

The tribe trace their descent from Kinda. They inhabit Reidat ad Deiyin on the tableland between Wadis Du'an and 'Amd, and also the west of Du'an and Beina: their chief village is Zila. It is said that the estimated number of men belonging to those clans living at Al Hauta and 'Asala is 1,500. They possess camels and sheep, but live mainly by cultivation, and their means of livelihood depend on Mukalla and Du'an. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the tribe. Thier *mansab* is 'Isa bin 'Abdul Qudir Āl Haddad.

### Bā Juba.

A small tribe living at Qarat al Mihdhār under the influence of Seiyid Bubekr bin Hussein al Mihdhār. They formerly followed the plough but have now taken to arms.

### Khamikha.

This tribe live on the outskirts of the province of Du'an.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 4. HAJR PROVINCE.

635 The Hajr province includes the Wadi Hajr with its towns and villages from Meifa to Ras al Kalb, together with the towns and villages in the south between Bir 'Ali and Wadi Hajr. According to a local account the Wadi was first known as Wadi Hajr Wahab after a man who came there, diverted the water springs, and then died. He was followed by the people of Kinda who found Sheikh Sa'id bin 'Isa al 'Amūdi living there. They assisted him to open the springs, and also imposed taxes to be paid by the people to the Sheikh. The Kinda ruled in the wadi which then became known as the Wadi Hajr Kinda. Later there came the Bin Daghār

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[2 [The B..., see preceding page -- Analyst]

[2 [see page 12, category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



tribe who are now very weak, though the wadi is still called after them Wadi Hajr Bin Daghār. To-day the wadi belongs to the Qu'aiti and it is said that in time it will be known as Wadi Hajr Qu'aiti. 635 103

The capital of the province is now Kanina, said to have about 800 to 400 houses and an estimated population of 1,500. Other important villages are Yuwan, the old capital, As Sadaka, Husn Bā Suleiman, Husn Ba'ba', Al 'Asala, Al Qima, Al Hussein, Husun Bā Raghab, Jōl Bā Hāwa, Leswa and Muhrin. The Governor is Sa'id Marzuk Salah. Hajr is an agricultural province and it is estimated that the number of tribesmen is 5,000. As I did not visit the Hajr province during my tour, the information given is even more at second hand than in other cases. 635 361 162 [43]

The tribes living in the province or dependent on it are the Bin Daghār, Nūwah, Āl Deiyeb, Āl Bā Bekr and Āl Zaghīb, Āl Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Khāshia al Murqashi. The following is a description of these tribes together with others connected with Hajr. 631 101 619

NŪWAH.

| Clan. | Section. | Sub-section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nūwah Hajr ... | Āl Bā Rashid | — | Al Qeima, Libna | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Sheiba | — | Libna | 150 |
| | Āl Bā Shuqūr | — | — | 80 |
| | 'Ayāl Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Hajām | — | — | 40 |
| | Āl Bā Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Faqqās | — | Qazein, Yuwan | 200 |
| | Āl Bā Dubān | Āl Bā Sabera | Jōl Bā Hāwa, Al Qāsima, Yuwan, Muhammada, Kanina. | 400 |
| | Āl Bā Mas'ud | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Dabeis | | Yuwan | 100 |
| | As Sumahi | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Sara | | do. | — |
| | Āl Bā Qarwān | — | Muhammada | 250 |
| | Āl Bā Rajāsh | — | Kanina, Sherij Bā Jamum, Husun Āl Bā Rajāsh. | 400 |
| | Bā Musaita | | — | 100 |
| Nūwah Du'an | Āl Bā Hakim | — | Al Qarn | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Sam | — | — | 120 |
| | Āl Bā Khamis | — | — | 100 |
| | Āl Bā Ma'as | — | — | 150 |
| | Bu Sa'd | — | — | — |
| | Bā Safir | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl Bā Shihab | — | — | — |
| Nūwah Lajāt Du'an. | Āl Bā Batin | — | — | 70 |
| | Āl Bā Sāeid | — | — | 50 |
| | Āl 'Afif | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Meis | — | — | — |
| | | | | 2,760 |

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1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



### Āl Hājib Beni Sa'd.

This tribe also live at Jerdan and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them. 631 101

### An Namāra Beni Hilāl.

The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with this tribe who live at Wadi Yeb'uth beyond Wadi 'Amd. 619

### Āl Senad Al Murqashi.

This tribe live beyond Hajr and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

### The Beduins of Ash Shāūla.

This small tribe, who were originally of Hajr, now live to the west of Jerdan. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with them.

### Nu'mān.

The clans of the Nu'mān are Āl Baheith and Āl Bā Qātmi living at Sidāra and Wadi Salmun, and Āl Bā Suleiman living at Husn Bā Suleiman. The tribe is said to number about 2,000, and the Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the Āl Baheith clan.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 5. SHIBAM PROVINCE.

The Shibam province, which is described by the Qu'aiti as being the eye and the backbone of the Hadhramaut, includes the towns and villages up the Wadi Hajarein from, but excluding, Hajarein as far as the Wadi Hadhramaut, and eastward along the Wadi Hadhramaut to just east of Shibam. The capital of the province is Shibam, a tightly-packed walled city of 500 houses, seven mosques, and an estimated population of 7,000. The other towns and villages of the province after Hajarein are: Jidfera, belonging to the Āl Jābri (a clan of the Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 50 armed men; Al Jahi, belonging to the Bin Musā'id with 35 armed men, (on enquiry as to which tribe the Bin Musā'id belonged I was informed that they were a clan of the Sei'ar, but this should be treated with reserve); Nahūla, belonging to the Āl 'Umar Mahfudh with 85 armed men; Al Manīdhara, the inhabitants of which are full subjects of the Qu'aiti Government; Al Hauta and Meshhed belonging to the Seiyids of Al 'Attas; Marāwih, Al Aqlāt, and 'Adab belonging to the Bā Wazīr townsmen; Qabdhein ar Rōdha with 30 armed men under the *Mansab* of Meshhed; Sadba belonging to the Rabbā (a section of the Nahd) with 50 armed men; Qarn Āl Sharāh belonging to the Āl Manif (a section of the Nahd) with 70 armed men; Badra, Al 'Ardh, Dīār Āl Nāsir, and Siraj with 45, 50, 35, and 30 armed men respectively, belong also to the Rabbā; Bahrān belonging to the Nahd Āl Thābit with 60 armed men; Haura, with a population of 1,500, all subjects of the Qu'aiti 635 162 361 61

635 Government; 'Arūdh al Makhāshin belonging to the Makhāshin
162 section of the Nahd, with a population of 300, all subjects of the
631 Qu'aiti Government; An Naq'a belonging to the Bā Wazīr towns-
617 men with a population of 500; Al 'Ajlānia, belonging to the Āl Kathīr with 17 armed men; Al Man'at, belonging to the Nahd with 35 armed men; and Al Marāti', a village between Al Man'at and Henin, with 200 armed tribesmen of Kinda, and 50 of the Nahd.

At Al 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn are the houses of the Bā 'Umar Sheikhs with 15 armed men; the town of Mad-har bin Nahīd in the Wadi Manūb with 500 armed men of the Nahd and Āl Shabīb (a section of the Nahd), and Dīār al Maqārīm with 30 armed Nahd tribesmen.

Between Al Qatn and Shibam are: 'Ardh Masrūr belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl 'Ali bin Ahmed (Yafa'is) with 60 armed men; Huweila belonging to the Āl ash Sheikh 'Ali Āl Salim bin 'Ali (Yafa'is) with 40 armed men; Khashāmir belonging to the Bin 'Ali Jābir (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 80 armed men; Al 'Iqad, situated at the end of Al Qatn and the beginning of Wadi Beni Rashīd, belonging to the Āl Qu'ata (of the Mausata clan of Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 75 armed men; 'Ikāba and Al Husn belonging to the Hamdhān (of the Nahd) with 30 armed men; Husūn at Al Qatn belonging to the Āl az Zu' (of the Nahd) with 40 armed men; Husūn belonging to the Bal'alā (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 30 armed men; and Husūn belonging to the Āl Jābri (Hadhrami Yafa'is) with 25 armed men.

438 Shibam is the most important advanced market of the Hadhra-
361 maut, and has a large inward traffic from Mukalla. It is also a buying market for the products of the country north and west, and the products of these parts are consumed in the town. Caravans come from San'ā in about 15 days. The tribesmen bringing these caravans are Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Rabi', Āl Khalifa, and 'Abīda. The principal inland traffic, however, is from Merkha, Hadhina, Joba, Beihan, and Harib. These caravans, mainly carrying maize, wheat, barley, ghee, oil, oilcakes, cotton, honey, blankets, and spinning cloth, are brought by 'Aulaqis, Hamām, Āl Ruba'ia, Āl 'Aqīl, Āl Maradi'a, Āl Khalifa, Dohum, Karab, Nahd and Āl Bureik tribesmen.

361 There is no regular communication with Nejd although occasional visitors come skirting the desert. Members of the Rashidi tribe also come to Shibam now and then. There is a landing ground at Shibam, and apart from its being a large caravan station it is in touch with towns between Hajarein and Qasm by car. It has no great industries, but makes mats and dyes cloths and skins.

635 The Governor of the Shibam province is Ferai Sa'id, a slave
567 who has held high positions and who has previously served at Shibam. He has also been Governor of 'Einat. He was appointed in October 1934, in succession to Sultan 'Ali bin Salah al Qu'aiti.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Sultan 'Ali has great influence in the province and particularly among the Sei'ar, as his mother belonged to the Āl Sab'ān clan of that tribe. 635 567

The following tribes depend on Shibam: Sei'ar, Nahd Rōdhān, Al Makhāshin, Hadhrami Yafa'is, the tribesmen of Āl Kathīr ash Shenafir including their Beduins, Āl Mahfudh, Bin Musa'īd, Bā Wazir, 'Awaliq, Harizi, Āl 'Amr, Āl Bin Balleith and Āl Heidera. Of these the Makhāshin, sometimes considered a separate tribe, are included with the Nahd, and the Bin Musa'īd are included with the Sei'ar. A description of the Shenafir Confederation will be found in Chapter XXII. 631 619 101

The following is a description of the tribes living in, or close to, the province:—

SEI'AR.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Hātim ... | Hasr al Malāqīt | Hasr in Wadi Mahdhara. | — | Yeslem bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a. |
| | Āl Huweilān | Merikh in Wadi Mahdhara. | 100 | |
| | Āl Jerbū'a | Al Ārūh in Wadi Mahdhara. | 70 | — |
| | Ad Dalkh | Bādī in Wadi Mahdhara. | 30 | — |
| | Āl Dahlān | Az Zamra in Wadi Mahdhara. | 30 | — |
| | Āl Mulhī | Husn Āl Mulhī | 140 | 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī. |
| | Āl 'Abdulla 'Aun | Hadhī | 150 | Salim bin Muhammad al Jerbū'a. |
| | Āl Mesādisa | Jōl Āl Bajnab | 70 | do. do. |
| | Āl 'Ubeidun | Al Gheidha | 20 | do. do. |
| | Āl 'Asākira | Husn Āl 'Asākira. | 30 | do. do. |
| | Āl Ma'ruf | — | — | — |
| | Āl Sa'dun | — | — | — |
| | Āl Yahajīn | — | — | — |
| | Āl Bā Khushm | — | — | — |
| Āl 'Ali ... ... | Āl 'Ali | Husn Āl ar Rūs, Husn Tālib, Husn Meshāmid Husn al Ā'awar, Husn al Mūshāhi. | 40 | Tanāf bin Seheil bin Rumeidān. |
| Dūmān ... ... | Dūmān | Husn Lakdān, Husn Bil'īdh, Husūn al Qana, Husn Seir, Husn Waqāsh. | 100 | — |
| Āl Bā Rūh ... | — | Qariat as Sumuh. | 50 | 'Ali bin 'Alta bin Tarim. |
| Āl Bāqi Meellem | — | — | 100 | do. do. |
| Āl Sab'ān ... | — | Qaria Jidfela | 25–40 | — |
| Āl Bā Wazīr ... | — | Husn ash Sha'ba. | 15 | — |

N 442 648 [635] are bound by protective treaties with Great Britain. Administratively, it is divided into two areas, the Western Aden Protectorate, covering roughly 45,000 square miles in the southwestern highlands, and the Eastern Aden Protectorate, which incorporates the remaining territory and the island of Socotra, about 150 miles from Cape Guardafui, the easternmost point in Africa.

N 133 The geography of the region is characterized by mountains and high plateaus which slope to a sandy plain along the coast and are intersected by deep and often fertile valleys. The topography of Western Aden Protectorate is particularly rugged. Four zones are differentiated: the littoral; the coastal hills reaching up to 2,000 feet in height; the inland plains, with slightly higher elevations; and the interior plateau, at an altitude of 5,000 to 8,000 feet. The dominant feature of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is the Wadi Hadhramaut. The valley, which is broad and well defined, parallels the coast for almost 200 miles before turning southeast toward the sea. It is hemmed in by massive plateaus, with an average elevation of 6,000 feet in the south and 3,500 feet in the north, which are terraced and dissected by numerous secondary wadies. The main valley lies over 100 miles inland, and is separated from the coast by a complex terrain of mountains, steppe and desert.

N 132 Few meteorologic observations have been recorded. Extreme heat, accompanied by high humidity, is encountered in the coastal region during the summer; slightly moderated temperatures at the time of the northeast monsoon, from October to April. A 132 The mean temperature in the Colony is estimated at 80° F.; 75° F. in the winter and 90° F. in the summer. The daily range is slight in the summer, but cool and sometimes cold nights are experienced during the winter months. The temperatures in the interior vary with the altitude and the season. Marked contrasts exist between the heat of the shut-in wadies and the cooler temperatures of the high plateaus. The rainfall is

p 236(A)

lying fishing villages on the coast and the second peninsula of Little Aden. A 632 162

The Protectorate population is not accurately known, but estimates for 1948 place the total for Western Aden Protectorate at about 350,000, and for Eastern Aden Protectorate at 300,000. The local governments are tribal, and range in organization from sultanates to smaller autonomous units of varying size and complexity. The principal state in the western protectorate is the Abdali Sultanate of Lahej, with its capital in the oasis town of Lahej, about 20 miles inland from Aden. The Qu'aiti Sultanate of Mukalla and Shihr and the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra are the largest and the most influential states in the east. Probably about three quarters of the inhabitants in Eastern Aden Protectorate dwell in the Hadhramaut, the region of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the adjacent coastlands. The term is often loosely applied to the entire central portion of the Protectorate, but politically it is restricted to the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri Sultanates. Several sizable and important towns are found on the slopes of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the connecting valleys, while Mukalla, the seat of government of the Qu'aiti, and Ash Shihr are prominent ports on the eastern coast. In addition to the settled peoples, numerous nomadic Bedouin tribes roam the steppes with their flocks. The residence of the Mahri Sultan is on Socotra, a rocky island with a population of about 5,000.

H 161 644 H 635 H 361 632 H [162]

The inhabitants of the Protectorate are mainly of south Arabian stock, but Malay admixtures are encountered in many parts of the Hadhramaut. Small colonies of Indians and Somalis are settled along the coast. Jewish communities of ancient origin are located in scattered villages in the western highlands and the Hadhramaut. They totaled only about 1,500 in 1948, and their numbers have since been depleted by emigration to Israel. The Hadhramis have long tended to emigrate to the islands of southeastern Asia, to East Africa and to countries bordering on the Red Sea, and many sub-

H 563 H [162] H 167

p. 237(A)

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## INTRODUCTION.

131 The coast line of the Aden Protectorate starts in the west from Ras Murad opposite the island of Perim, and runs eastward to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates it from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Roughly speaking, the Protectorate is bounded in the interior on the west and the north by the Kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. It also includes the island of Soqotra. The Hadhramaut lies in the east of the Protectorate between the Wahidi and 'Aulaqi countries on the west and the Mahra country on the east. North, it reaches to the Empty Quarter.

64 631 The two principal chiefs of the Protectorate are Their Highnesses the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej and the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla. The capital of the former lies about 20 miles north of Aden and that of the latter some 300 miles east. It will be easily realized that these two chiefs are by their geographical positions the natural leaders of the western and eastern parts of the Protectorate, and the 'Abdali Sultan, who is the premier chief of the Protectorate, has established his hegemony over the western portion. In some ways the Qu'aiti Sultan is perhaps the most important ruler of the Protectorate, for he controls, or has direct influence over, a larger population than any other chief, and, except for the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, whose nominal kingdom extends over a much wider area, he rules the largest tract of territory in the Protectorate. Although he is acknowledged by the Kathiri Sultan as having precedence in the Hadhramaut, he has not yet secured recognition by the Wahidi Sultans, or by the Mahra Sultan, as their natural leader.

643 648 636 The whole of the Aden Protectorate is ruled by its own chiefs, who are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned. Their relations with the Protecting Power are for the most part regulated by treaty, and while their foreign affairs are entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, interference in matters of domestic concern is generally limited to advice.

121 This report offers a survey of the social and political organization of the Hadhramis and of the resources of their country as seen by the writer. The object of this introduction is to give a brief indication of the present trend of development as it appears to him.

176 185 There is an extraordinary complexity of social and governmental organization in the Hadhramaut. The country is in a transition period between the disappearance or modification of the earlier social organization, which has itself evolved with the centuries, and the development of Government more or less on modern lines.

The various classes of society in the Hadhramaut are described in the report, and the interplay of some of them, one with another, has, in the course of time, as in other countries, given rise to abuses which, as the life and thought of the Middle Ages is influenced

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1915) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



The *farāsilah*. There are three kinds, all used in different places; by it gums, coffee, wax, honey, ivory, shells, and tallow are weighed. There does not appear to have ever been an original standard farāsilah; the recent practice was to fix a stone standard or farāsilah for each transaction; gradually, however, the farāsilah assumed a fixed weight in different places: 33 rotl in the interior; 32½ at Berbera; 35 at Zeila or Harrar. 804

The *bahār*. There are three kinds, varying in size according to the article to be weighed: for cotton, 1 bahār = 3½ cwt.; for incense and gum, 1 bahār = 3 cwt.; for tobacco, 1 bahār = 2½ cwt. It is used mainly by the inhabitants of Shiheir and Makalla.

The *kakisah*. Cotton only is sold by this weight to the Arabs of the interior.

The *hawal* or *heml* (load). Dates and *jowari* are sold by this weight, which varies with the article weighed, and the manner of import or export (see table above).

The *candy*, an Indian weight, is used at Aden in weighing grain and pulse, cotton from India, and firewood.

The *thuman* or *payali* is used in selling small quantities of grain.

The *keilah* or *kasimah*. The former is used for measuring grain, pulse, and salt, and the latter for measuring liquids, such as oil, *ghi*, and vinegar. The weight of each varies according to the article weighed—in the case of the *keilah* from 14 lb. 12½ oz. to 18 lb. 11½ oz., and in the case of the *kasimah* from 3 lb. to 3 lb. 5 oz.

The *qāsa* and *qāda* are also used in measuring grain.

The *dhrā'*. The Arabs use this lineal measure for lengths of cotton piece-goods, &c., of different manufacture. It is supposed to be equal to the distance from the tip of the forefinger to the elbow.

## Government

For administrative purposes Aden Settlement forms part of British India and is under the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council. It is administered by a Political Resident, who is also the General Officer Commanding the Aden Brigade, with the assistance of four officers of the Bombay Political Department, one military officer in charge of Perim, one officer of the Public Works Department, as chairman, one officer of the Aden Settlement and Port Trust, and one officer of the Bombay Provincial Police Department. The Resident exercises political influence over the whole tract of country extending, on the north and west, to the Anglo-Turkish frontier of Yemen and extending to and including the Hadhramaut on the east. The Resident has jurisdiction as a judge of the Vice- 636

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



636 Admiralty Court in matters connected with the slave trade; his court is also a Colonial Court of Admiralty. The laws in force in the Settlement are, generally speaking, those of the Bombay Presidency, supplemented on certain points by special regulations drawn up to suit local conditions.

636 In general the local affairs of the Settlement (such as sanitation, conservancy, &c.) are managed by an Executive Committee (formerly
√09 Municipal Committee), subject to the control of the Resident: the funds for this purpose are raised by the levy of house tax,
651 octroi, and other imposts. The management of the port is under a Board of Trustees, known as the Aden Port Trust, the principal
625 task of which is to make arrangements for the deepening of the harbour so as to allow vessels of all sizes to enter and leave at all states of the tide. The funds are provided by the levy of tolls and wharfage fees on goods landed or shipped. The police are of two categories: land police, and harbour police. The former (officers and men) number 377—357 foot and 20 mounted; the latter number 12, including four inspectors and one or two administrative officials.

701 The normal garrison of Aden consists of the Aden troops, one hundred strong, mounted half on horses and half on camels; three companies of Garrison Artillery, two of which man the forts, while the third is employed with the movable armament; six companies of British Infantry; one battalion of Indian Infantry, less detachments at Perim and Sheikh 'Othmān; one Fortress Company; and the Aden section of Sappers and Miners. On the south-west corner of the peninsula are the forts Tarshein and Morbat, which cover the entrance of the harbour, and are garrisoned by two companies of Royal Garrison Artillery. The land side is protected by a strongly fortified position across the whole breadth of the isthmus. At the crater are various entrenched positions for infantry to oppose landings, while the ridge, running north and south from Hejuff to Viaduct Gate, forms a second line of defence and includes a redoubt at Ahman Khal, near the southern extremity.

652 The total revenue receipts of Aden treasury in 1914–15, under all heads—imperial, local, and municipal—amounted to 87½ lakhs
651 of rupees (approx. £580,000). The chief sources of local revenue are: Aden Port Trust Fund, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Aden Settlement Fund, over 4 lakhs (£28,000); Local Supply Bills, 38½ lakhs (£257,000); Post Office, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Excise, about 1 lakh (£6,200); Income tax, ¾ lakh (£5,000). The total expenditure was about 83½ lakhs (approx. £556,000).

619 In the Aden interior the tribes nominate their own chiefs or sultans. The Sultan is never a tribesman himself, but comes from

During our visit the maximum and minimum temperatures recorded during stays in the principal towns were as follows :— 132

| | Dates inclusive. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mukalla | 31st October to 5th November ... | 86·8 | 75 |
| | 21st to 30th December ... ... | 82 | 74·5 |
| Shihr ... | 20th to 21st December ... ... | 80·2 | 73·3 |
| Du'an ... | 11th to 13th November ... ... | 78·8 | 70·3 |
| Shibam ... | 17th to 20th November ... ... | 84·2 | 66·8 |
| | 21st to 24th November ... ... | 75·1 | 62·3 |
| Tarim ... | 21st November ... ... ... | 75·9 | 72·9 |
| | 2nd to 5th December ... ... | 88·5 | 70·3 |

The lowest temperature we recorded on the whole trip was 37·3 at 6.45 a.m. on 29th November at Sih Rieidat al Kathīr. The highest was 88·5 at 4 p.m. on 5th December at Tarim.

## The States of the Hadhramaut.

In Article I of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 it is stated that the Qu'aiti Sultan and the Kathīri Sultan "recognize that the province of Hadhramaut shall be one province, the said province being an appanage of the British Empire under the Sultan of Al Shahr and Mukalla." This agreement appears *in extenso* in Appendix II. By it the Kathīri agreed to accept as binding on him the treaty of 1888 between the Qu'aiti and the British Government, which extended British Protection to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies, and also accepted the arbitration of the British Government in the settlement of future disputes. 642 648

The Qu'aiti state of Shihr and Mukalla is one of the most important of the Sultanates and Chiefdoms forming the Aden Protectorate. The Sultan receives a nominal stipend of Rs.60 a month from British funds and is entitled to a salute of eleven guns. The present Sultan, His Highness Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. He is recognized as being the ruler of the whole country, but that part of it defined as being Kathīri is autonomous in its domestic affairs and is ruled over by Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur. By virtue of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement, negotiations with the Kathīri Sultanate are conducted through the medium of the Qu'aiti Sultan. 642 631 643

It is necessary, however, to avoid the impression that all the country included in the term Hadhramaut is ruled by Qu'aiti or Kathīri in the same way as obtains in more advanced countries, for such is far from being the case. In both Sultanates there are a number of towns or districts where the Government is absolute, and the central Government appoints Governors who take full responsibility for the affairs of those places. In some cases there are stretches of country including series of villages which are ruled in the same way, but every now and then will be found autonomous towns and villages. These belong to particular tribes or particular families, and the Qu'aiti or Kathīri Governments have no 642 631 641

say in their administration, nor do they collect taxes from them. From an administrative point of view the inhabitants of these towns are considered as Qu'aiti or Kathīri subjects and on proceeding abroad would be given Qu'aiti passports. In the same way, although members of the various tribes of the Hadhramaut are theoretically either Qu'aiti or Kathīri subjects, they are not directly ruled by the Qu'aiti or Kathīri Governments; the Sultans have treaty relations with the tribes. It may often happen that both Governments have agreements with the same tribe, but, as will be seen later, it is possible to consider each tribe as being subject to either Qu'aiti or Kathīri influence. There is no form of representative Government in the Hadhramaut.

## Population.

An informant quoted by Van den Berg estimated the population of the Hadhramaut in 1886 as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Shibam to Shabwa, including Wadis 'Irma, Duhr and Rakhia ... | 20,000 |
| Wadis 'Amd, Du'an, and Al 'Ain ... ... ... ... ... | 25,000 |
| From Shibam to Tarim ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 50,000 |
| From Tarim to Seihut ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6,000 |
| From north of the main wadi to the desert ... ... ... | 15,000 |
| From south of the main wadi to the sea ... ... ... ... | 16,000 |
| Shihr and its environs ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 12,000 |
| Mukalla and its environs ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6,000 |
| Total ... ... ... | 150,000 |

Van den Berg, however, appears to consider this excessive. He gives the population of Seiyun as 15,000, Tarim 10,000, Shibam 2,000, Al Ghurfa 1,500, and 'Einat 1,000.

According to *An Account of the Arab Tribes in the Vicinity of Aden* (1909) the Qu'aiti are estimated at 50,000, including Beduin tribes in the pay of the Qu'aiti, and the Kathīri at 7,000 armed men.

Van der Meulen in *Hadhramaut, some of its mysteries unveiled* gives the following estimates: Shiheir 1,500, Shihr 6,000, Mukalla 12,000, Du'an 20,000 and 1,500 Beduins, Hajarein 3,000, Hureidha 2,000, Shibam 8,000-9,000, Tarim 12,000, Seiyun 12,000-15,000, 'Einat 5,000, and Shibam, Al Qatn, and the villages between, 20,000.

Mr. O. H. Little in his report on the *Geography and Geology of Mukalla* estimates the population of Mukalla at about 10,000, but Mr. H. M. Heald, who accompanied Mr. Little to report on the agricultural resources, was given an estimate of 30,000.

The official estimate of the population contained in the Annual Administration Report of Aden is 300,000. In Mukalla I was given 400,000. Using the estimated figures of population of towns, and of the number of armed men in various tribes, which were given

I:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB 1
Arabs



H 563 582 871 I 563 658

4. *Coalescence with other members of the community in the Netherlands-Indies.*—The method of living and the language among Arab families in the Netherlands-Indies and particularly in the Netherlands-Indian Arabic families, are practically the same as among the Netherlands-Indian population of corresponding kind and position. In the Hadhramaut women do not travel abroad according to the customs of their country. Arabs who wish to found a family in the Netherlands-Indies are thus obliged to look for a wife among the native population, or among the daughters of their own country-men who have been born and brought up in the Netherlands-Indies. The more well-to-do aim at sending their sons to the Hadhramaut or to the private Arabic schools existing here to complete their education. This helps to keep up their knowledge of the Arabic language and Arabic customs. The sons of those who are less well-to-do for the most part receive no Arabic education, and thus know little of their own language and customs. The establishment by the Government of the H.A.S. (Holland-Arabic School) at Sole in recent years provides an opportunity for the Arabs to give their children also a Western education.

5. *The part they play in the life of their adopted country.*

H 798 I 798 671

The principal part played by the Arabs in this country in the life of the community is of a religious nature. The Hadhramis, once they have been established in the Netherlands-Indies, generally take care to moderate the fanaticism ruling their fatherland. But some of them have shown a keen proselytising spirit in their own localities. Above all the law scholars in the Arabic community have had a steadying and by no means inconsiderable influence on Islam in the Netherlands-Indies, through their teaching, their pupils and their widely distributed writings. These law scholars are consulted by their native colleagues in cases concerning Mohamedan law and several "fatwas" or expert judgments exist thanks to them.

6. *What proportion permanently sever their connections with the Hadhramaut.*

H 167 641 186 I 641

None of the Arabs in this country who have been born in the Hadhramaut completely sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. Many of them are so attached to the land of their birth that they have only one wish and that is to spend the last days of their lives in the Hadhramaut. Some of them who have grown rich here return from time to time to the Hadhramaut to visit members of their families and for a short change. Now and then one will leave the Netherlands-Indies to establish himself once more for good in the Hadhramaut. Lately a group of Netherlands-Indian Arabs have been trying to establish connections with the native populations. These Arabs desire to consider the Netherlands-Indies as their fatherland. They will also try to adapt their

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



731 getting food from abroad in war-time, the loss of money from the Far East, and the drought, famine ensued. I am thankful to say that owing to the generous help of His Majesty's Government and to the breaking of the drought, conditions are now much better, but from the point of view of this survey the thing to be remembered is that in all probability the produce of the country cannot sustain much more than a quarter of the population and that it is very largely dependent on money from abroad. Of old, the ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade, so that the Mediterranean countries provided the cash. When the incense went by sea the Hadhramis learnt to emigrate, and the present Hadhramaut has drawn its cash from the Far East, East Africa, Egypt, the Sudan, Abyssinia [67] —the countries to which the people migrate. One out of every three or four Hadhramis lives and works abroad. Emigration or means to earn money abroad is an absolute essential to the Hadhramaut, and there are grounds for fearing it is not going to be so easy in the future as it has been in the past.

So much for the gloomier side of the picture. In 1938 I described to the Royal Central Asian Society how a three-year peace embracing the whole of the Hadhramaut had been made and how the organization of government had started. To my mind the brightest thing about the Hadhramaut is the way the Government of the Qu'aiti State has advanced and developed social services, and, serious as the famine was, principally in part of the Inner Hadhramaut, out of it has grown a number of educational and medical developments which would probably not have matured if there had been no famine. The State Government had so far advanced by the time it came, that it was able to cope with difficulties and there developed a real spirit of service. It could not have managed on its own resources if His Majesty's Government had not helped so generously, but what the state could do in a financial way it did and the service its officials gave could not have been provided without it.

652 178 At the time when reorganization of the Government[1] started about seven years ago the revenue was about Rs. 6,30,000, of which Rs. 3,10,000 were spent on Government services; Rs. 2,25,000 of that went to irregular soldiers and to slaves. This year the revenue is estimated at just under Rs. 15,00,000. On April 1, 1939, there was a general deficit of Rs. 40,000, because the late Sultan used to take all the cash he could to India. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit balance of Rs. 14,00,000. In this year the Government is preparing to spend Rs. 16,00,000, of which Rs. 4,00,000 goes to the maintenance of security forces. There are forts, with soldiers or gendarmerie, and garrison towns all round the country, so that security is very greatly improved. The Budget also includes, under various heads, about Rs. 300,000 for relief work direct and indirect. The amount paid on education has risen from Rs. 6,000 in 1934 to Rs. 154,000 in 1944. Only Rs. 5,550 was spent on medical work in 1934; in 1944 the sum was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary services.

641 178 It seems to me that these figures indicate, more clearly than anything else can, progress and the will to progress. I cannot give many details of new developments, but I will mention some of them quite briefly. One of the most striking things is the growth of reciprocal confidence between

1 [of the Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Government and beduin. Many beduin tribes who were inveterate foes of the Qu'aitis have now declared permanent peace with the Government and said they are "sons of government." The State Government has now a beduin affairs department staffed entirely by local tribesmen, and there is a system of tribal courts. There are many tribesmen in Government service, and the greater number of the soldiers and police are now tribesmen and beduin. In the old days, Hadhrami tribesmen were hardly ever employed in Government and there were very few in the forces. The only effective soldiers were Yafa'is, irregular mercenaries and slaves. Even the Government slaves have now disappeared. There is an African company in the regular army which consists of ex-slaves and Somalis and is employed on guarding an R.A.F. station, and others are employed as Government servants on the same footing as Arabs; the old slaves have been pensioned. All soldiers and police are taught to read and write, and by passing examinations in the military school can and do secure promotion. Enlistment is popular now because of the amenities provided and because a soldier can definitely expect to be more fitted for civil life when he leaves the forces. The status of a military life is very definitely advanced.

Another thing that attracts attention is the development in education. The coastal elementary schools have 1,700 boys in them instead of 300, and the education department is rapidly extending over the interior. There is an intermediate boarding school for 80 boys which opened last year. There is a boarding school attached to the Hadhrami Beduin Legion with 100 beduin boys in it, and another with 24 beduin girls. There are several town girls' schools, the biggest and best being in Mukalla with 150 girls, who learn not only to read and write, but to sew, embroider, wash, and cook. A most interesting experiment has lately been started with a whole village organized as a school, where 300 boys and girls of the serf class—a class which works hard but does very little thinking for itself—are being trained to run their own village and to learn various industries and crafts. Teachers of the Mukalla Government and other volunteers are also teaching adults of the serf class to read and write the language they speak and trying to induce in them some public health consciousness.

On the medical side a hospital is being built in Mukalla, and the sanitary state of the town—which may shortly have a municipality—has been greatly improved.

Of old, Government[1] was mainly carried on by a handful of officials with a Sultan generally in India, but the present Sultan has spent most of his reign in his state and has a state council of officials and unofficials to help him. The executive work of Government is in charge of a state secretary and twenty organized departments.

In the Kathiri State progress has not been nearly so spectacular. The revenue is much smaller and the Wadi Hadhramaut is so divided by the jealousies of Sultans and tribesmen, and handicapped by the unwillingness or inability of the bulk of the seiyids to get together and co-operate, that the Government is not nearly so alive. There is, however, a state secretary at Seiyun and a good deal of the work of a government has been organized.

1 [Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr was quite official in character; 647
there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been mono- [463]
polised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramīs have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramīs are Dutch subjects and as I was con- 648
sidered to be their partisan, an impression which had been 641
still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ᶜAluwī el-ᶜAṭṭās, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer 162
told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramīs come from Java every year 167
and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. 272
Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export 439
figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity, will rapidly increase in the future.

## 8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we 133
clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

24:Meulen and Wismann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



In the middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One can see that we are nearing Terīm with its refinements of civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many Ḥaḍramīs who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the *ṣalāt* and by meals. As the Sultan has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin al Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn -- ANALYST]

lying fishing villages on the coast and the second peninsula of Little Aden.

The Protectorate population is not accurately known, but estimates for 1948 place the total for Western Aden Protectorate at about 350,000, and for Eastern Aden Protectorate at 300,000. The local governments are tribal, and range in organization from sultanates to smaller autonomous units of varying size and complexity. The principal state in the western protectorate is the Abdali Sultanate of Lahej, with its capital in the oasis town of Lahej, about 20 miles inland from Aden. The Qu'aiti Sultanate of Mukalla and Shihr and the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra are the largest and the most influential states in the east. Probably about three quarters of the inhabitants in Eastern Aden Protectorate dwell in the Hadhramaut, the region of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the adjacent coastlands. The term is often loosely applied to the entire central portion of the Protectorate, but politically it is restricted to the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri Sultanates. Several sizable and important towns are found on the slopes of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the connecting valleys, while Mukalla, the seat of government of the Qu'aiti, and Ash Shihr are prominent ports on the eastern coast. In addition to the settled peoples, numerous nomadic Bedouin tribes roam the steppes with their flocks. The residence of the Mahri Sultan is on Socotra, a rocky island with a population of about 5,000.

The inhabitants of the Protectorate are mainly of south Arabian stock, but Malay admixtures are encountered in many parts of the Hadhramaut. Small colonies of Indians and Somalis are settled along the coast. Jewish communities of ancient origin are located in scattered villages in the western highlands and the Hadhramaut. They totaled only about 1,500 in 1948, and their numbers have since been depleted by emigration to Israel. The Hadhramis have long tended to emigrate to the islands of southeastern Asia, to East Africa and to countries bordering on the Red Sea, and many sub-

During our visit the maximum and minimum temperatures recorded during stays in the principal towns were as follows :— 132

| | Dates inclusive. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mukalla | 31st October to 5th November .. | 86·8 | 75 |
| | 21st to 30th December ..... .. | 83 | 74·5 |
| Shihr ... | 30th to 21st December ..... .. | 80·2 | 73·3 |
| Du'an ... | 11th to 13th November ... .. | 78·8 | 70·3 |
| Shibam ... | 17th to 20th November ... .. | 84·2 | 66·8 |
| | 21st to 24th November ... .. | 75·1 | 62·3 |
| Tarim ... | 21st November ... ... .. | 75·9 | 72·9 |
| | 2nd to 5th December ... .. | 88·5 | 70·3 |

The lowest temperature we recorded in the whole trip was 37·3 at 5.45 a.m. on 29th November at Sih Riesidat al Kathîr. The highest was 88·5 at 4 p.m. on 5th December at Tarim.

## The States of the Hadhramaut.

In Article I of the Qu'aiti-Kathîri agreement of 1918 it is stated that the Qu'aiti Sultan and the Kathîri sultan "recognize that the province of Hadhramaut shall be one province, the said province being an appanage of the British Empire under the Sultan of Al Shahr and Mukalla." This agreement appears *in extenso* in Appendix II. By it the Kathîri agreed to accept as binding on him the treaty of 1888 between the Qu'aiti and the British Government, which extended British Protection to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies, and also accepted the abitration of the British Government in the settlement of future disputes. 642 648

The Qu'aiti state of Shihr and Mukalla is one of the most important of the Sultanates and Chiefdoms forming the Aden Protectorate. The Sultan receives a nominal stpend of Rs.60 a month from British funds and is entitled to a salute of eleven guns. The present Sultan, His Highness Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. He is recognized as being the ruler of the whole country, but that part of it defined as being Kathîri is autonomous in its domestic affairs and is ruled over by Sultan 'Ali bin Mansuri. By virtue of the Qu'aiti-Kathîri agreement, negotiations with the Kathîri sultanate are conducted through the medium of the Qu'aiti Sultan. 642 631 643

It is necessary, however, to avoid the impression that all the country included in the term Hadhramaut is ruled by Qu'aiti or Kathîri in the same way as obtains in more advanced countries, for such is far from being the case. In both Sultanates there are a number of towns or districts where the Government is absolute, and the central Government appoints Governors who take full responsibility for the affairs of those places. In some cases there are stretches of country including series of villages which are ruled in the same way, but every now and then wil be found autonomous towns and villages. These belong to paticular tribes or particular families, and the Qu'aiti or Kathîri Governments have no 642 631 641

say in their administration, nor do they collect taxes from them. From an administrative point of view the inhabitants of these towns are considered as Qu'aiti or Kathīri subjects and on proceeding abroad would be given Qu'aiti passports. In the same way, although members of the various tribes of the Hadhramaut are theoretically either Qu'aiti or Kathīri subjects, they are not directly ruled by the Qu'aiti or Kathīri Governments; the Sultans have treaty relations with the tribes. It may often happen that both Governments have agreements with the same tribe, but, as will be seen later, it is possible to consider each tribe as being subject to either Qu'aiti or Kathīri influence. There is no form of representative Government in the Hadhramaut.

## Population.

An informant quoted by Van den Berg estimated the population of the Hadhramaut in 1886 as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Shibam to Shabwa, including Wadis 'Irma, Duhr and Rakhia ... | 20,000 |
| Wadis 'Amd, Du'an, and Al 'Ain ... ... ... ... ... | 25,000 |
| From Shibam to Tarim ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 50,000 |
| From Tarim to Seihut ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6,000 |
| From north of the main wadi to the desert ... ... ... | 15,000 |
| From south of the main wadi to the sea ... ... ... ... | 16,000 |
| Shihr and its environs ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 12,000 |
| Mukalla and its environs ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6,000 |
| Total ... ... ... | 150,000 |

Van den Berg, however, appears to consider this excessive. He gives the population of Seiyun as 15,000, Tarim 10,000, Shibam 2,000, Al Ghurfa 1,500, and 'Einat 1,000.

According to *An Account of the Arab Tribes in the Vicinity of Aden* (1909) the Qu'aiti are estimated at 50,000, including Beduin tribes in the pay of the Qu'aiti, and the Kathīri at 7,000 armed men.

Van der Meulen in *Hadhramaut, some of its mysteries unveiled* gives the following estimates: Shiheir 1,500, Shihr 6,000, Mukalla 12,000, Du'an 20,000 and 1,500 Beduins, Hajarein 3,000, Hureidha 2,000, Shibam 8,000-9,000, Tarim 12,000, Seiyun 12,000-15,000, 'Einat 5,000, and Shibam, Al Qatn, and the villages between, 20,000.

Mr. O. H. Little in his report on the *Geography and Geology of Mukalla* estimates the population of Mukalla at about 10,000, but Mr. H. M. Heald, who accompanied Mr. Little to report on the agricultural resources, was given an estimate of 30,000.

The official estimate of the population contained in the Annual Administration Report of Aden is 300,000. In Mukalla I was given 400,000. Using the estimated figures of population of towns, and of the number of armed men in various tribes, which were given

**Distribution of Trade.**

IMPORTS.

439 *British Empire.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Aden ... ... ... ... | Bulk of imports. |
| Berbera ... ... ... | 30,000 goats and sheep. |
| East African Coast ... ... | Building poles, simsim, jowari. |
| Zanzibar ... ... ... | Building poles, simsim, jowari. |
| Karachi ... ... ... | Flour. |
| Bombay ... ... ... | Rice. |
| Mahri Coast ... ... ... | *Wazif, sermai* 10,000 to 15,000 *per annum.* |

*Persian Gulf.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Basra ... ... ... .. | Dates, jowari. |
| Oman ... ... ... ... | Dates. |

EXPORTS.

*British Empire.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Aden ... ... ... ... | Tobacco, 98 per cent., honey, fish products (a little). |
| Zanzibar ... ... ... | Fish products, *lakhm.* |
| East Africa ... ... ... | *Safif.* |
| Mauritius ... ... ... | *Safif* (little). |
| India ... ... ... ... | *Safif.* |
| Colombo ... ... ... | *Hanit* (very little now), *safif.* |
| Bombay ... ... ... | Honey, fish products. |

*Foreign countries.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Java ... ... ... ... | Greatest part of honey crop. |
| Red Sea Ports ... ... | Tobacco, 2 per cent. |
| China ... ... ... ... | Shark fins. |

## CHAPTER X.

### THE INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

442 In most of the western states of the Protectorate the ruling family is originally of foreign extraction. The 'Abdali Sultan, the Haushabi Sultan, the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, the 'Amir of Dhāla, all belong to dynasties founded by men who were originally Governors on behalf of the Imam of San'ā and who succeeded in throwing off their allegiance and establishing their independence. The 'Alawi Sheikh, too, is said to be descended from a Governor of the Imam, subordinate to the ancestor of the Haushabi. The Fadhli dynasty is said to be about three hundred years old and Turkish in origin. The Wāhidi Sultan is, according to local account, descended from a member of the Qureish who settled in the country, and the 'Irqa Sheikh is descended from a holy man who settled at 'Irqa and became "canonized" after his death.

None of these foreign dynasties appears to be so old as the Yafa'i connection with the Hadhramaut which dates back some four hundred years. It has been seen that the Yafa'is were brought in by the Kathîris as mercenaries about that time ago, and gradually two Yafa'i dynasties arose which became predominant in the country. The passing of the Kasadis in modern times has been already noticed, and so has the establishment of the Qu'aitis as far and away the strongest element in the country. It has also been noticed that other foreigners who established complete or partial authority, such as the Zeidis and the 'Aulaqis, have also passed away.

Amongst the western states above the Yafa'is are not mentioned for they appear never to have been subjected to the Imam of San'ā. They are probably the oldest dynasty in the Protectorate and have jealously guarded their inheritance without foreign interference. Although they are exclusive people and dislike any foreign intrusion into their country, they themselves migrate readily, and apart from indulging in business undertakings many of them become mercenaries under foreign Governments, although they usually retain connection with their own country. They are extremely [181] independent individually, and perhaps from this fact arises the anarchical state of Upper Yafa' where every tribesman wishes to be a Sultan. In Lower Yafa', though, the family of the Afifi appear to have succeeded in establishing themselves as really paramount, perhaps on account of the almost superstitious veneration in which the Sultan is held by his tribesmen. But the general tendency of the Yafa'i in his own country is towards disintegration. In their own mountains they appear to be unable to submit themselves to authority. It seems strange at first sight, therefore, that when they go abroad they should be able to achieve success in their undertakings. In their own country they are miserably poor, and yet the country is in many respects more fertile than many parts of Arabia where the people are more prosperous. Not only do they achieve fortune abroad but they reach positions of authority, and, as has been seen, have established one of the strongest dynasties of the Protectorate over a comparatively vast area of country. Perhaps the reason for this success lies in the very fact of almost every Yafa'i considering himself subject to no man but anxious to assert his superiority over others.

Considering, as I have remarked, that many dynasties of the Protectorate are originally foreign, and were foreign at no great distance of time, it is strange that while they have become assimilated to a large extent with the people of their states, the Qu'aitis of the Hadhramaut have remained foreign. While the dynasty itself is modern, I think that the reason is, at any rate partly, again to be found in the character of the Yafa'i. While 'Abdalis, 'Amiris, Fadhlis, and all the rest have long ceased to look on the places of their origin as their homes, the Yafa'i of the Hadhramaut still look to his mountains.

Sultan 'Awadh dealt with on the same footing as those of the Hadhramaut. 643 171

Although the Indian connection is not a popular one with the indigenous inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, the dominant Yafa'i section of the population finds no objection to it, and it has in fact been the means of the introduction of a more advanced system of Government than any to be found elsewhere in the Protectorate, with the possible exception of Lahej where the enlightened rule of the 'Abdali dynasty again owes much to external influence, namely, to its close proximity to Aden. It has already been sufficiently indicated that Sultan 'Umar and his brother have been largely responsible for many of these improvements. After travelling in the western part of the Protectorate the contrast between the conditions in the Lower Yemen and those in the Hadhramaut are indeed remarkable. I do not think that anywhere else in the Protectorate the power of one authority is to be found extended over such a large area of country. There is a more than embryonic show of good order and organized Government in Qu'aiti territory on the coast, in the Mukalla and Shihr provinces, and up through the Du'an province to the Shibam province. This much I have seen with my own eyes and have observed the close contact between Provincial and Central Governments. From all accounts the condition is the same in the Hajr province. By his system of political arrangements with the tribes in and around Qu'aiti territory the Sultan has done much to make travel secure and easy. He has an army and police force in which discipline and administration are not lacking. 642 185

Apart from this comparatively satisfactory policing of the country, there is a growing tendency to promote educational and other social services in the Qu'aiti dominions, especially in Mukalla and Shihr, and there is in those parts a very colourable imitation of the machinery of western Government.

Although the rule over the Hadhramaut has thus been influenced to a large extent by Indian ideas, and although excessive Indianisation is unpopular with the pure Hadhramaut elements, nevertheless the administration escapes a great deal of unpopularity by its employment of local Arabs and slaves throughout the interior of the country. Even in the Kathiri camp I found that Sultan 'Umar was personally popular, and during his tour through the country he was very well received. 642 177 186 643

The interior of the Qu'aiti territory is now fast catching up with the coast in its connection with the outside world. Recent years have seen far more visitors enter the interior then ever before and they are universally well received. In addition there are connections in the Shibam province with the East Indies, and in the Du'an province with Egypt, Sudan, and Abyssinia. Everywhere there are connections with East Africa, and these are extensive among the Tamimis where I found some indication of a desire for settled administration. 601

185 In all this evident progress which is being made one is conscious of a certain amount of wasted energy. There is certainly some indication of the will to give the people of the country those amenities and services which we consider the right of all people, but the achievement falls considerably short of what it should be, not because the will to achieve is not there, but because of lack of knowledge. It is obvious that education is eagerly desired, such facilities as exist are more than taken advantage of, but the few and crowded schools, although they attempt to model their system on that of Aden, are lacking in many things that could be provided without much extra expenditure. Their shoddiness, no less than the fact that the instruction, despite the enthusiasm of the staffs, lacks enlightenment, seems to me to be due to the want of a guiding hand. In the same way though the necessity of a good water-supply is realized the lack of protection to the water-supply argues only an absence of expert advice. These are but samples of the need for help which one can see in every aspect of the Mukalla administration.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE KATHIRI STATE.

● 642 The condition of that part of the Hadhramaut remaining under Kathiri influence is in marked contrast to the large extent of survey under Qu'aiti rule or influence. We have to begin our survey of the situation with an entirely different set of premises. It will already have been sufficiently seen that the Kathiris are probably indigenous to the Hadhramaut, or at any rate so long settled there as to have become in every sense of the word sons of the land in which they live. Their dynasty is therefore a native one. At one time they were far and away the predominant people of the whole country and their influence extended beyond its bounds. Gradually, owing to their introduction of mercenaries, it has become less and less, though the present landlocked position of the Sultanate dates from only recent times.

643 Among the Kathiris we find the usual tribal system of election of a Sultan from the members of a family which has gradually become the predominant one of the whole Confederation. The way in which the tribes of the Shenafir Confederation are related to each other and descended from a common ancestor is shown in an appendix.

642 A Sultan who is head of his tribe but not its ruler is unfortunately only too common an occurrence in Arabia, and the position of the
643 Kathiri Sultan is no anomaly. With the gradual curtailment of Kathiri power, differences between the various tribes and clans of the Confederation have tended to become more acute, and nowadays the actual rule of the Al 'Abdulla is, as will be seen, confined to a couple of towns and a few villages. But this does not

mean that his position *vis à vis* the Confederation is wholly negli- 643
gible. The influence that an individual ruler exerts over a con- 642
federation of tribesmen depends to a large extent on the personality
of the individual and I found plenty of evidence that Sultan 'Ali
bin Mansur is universally respected, admired, and held in affection
amongst the Shenafir tribesmen. Even though his word is not
universally law his services are much sought in mediation between
different factions, and there is no lack of factions in the Confedera-
tion. Along the length of the valley from the east of Shibam [484]
to the east of Tarim, which is considered Kathiri, village after
village is a small city-state on its own. It is difficult to pass from
one to another, even now that the motor-car has come, without the
traditional *siyar* or escort.

Typical of the situation has been the state of war that has existed 578
for some time between the Āl 'Umar and Āl 'Āmr clans. They 669
have centred round the respectably-sized town of Al Ghurfa between
Shibam and Seiyun. Five or six years ago some of the tribesmen
of the Āl 'Umar started interfering with the inhabitants of Al
Ghurfa. Bin 'Abdat, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Āmr, protested to Salim
bin Ja'fer, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Umar, and proposed that they should
unite to make peace in Al Ghurfa. Hitherto disputes in the town [692]
were commonly referred to the settlement of one Sheikh Bā Abūd,
but this arrangement appears to have broken down. Bin 'Abdat
informed Bin Ja'fer that if he would not help him, he (Bin 'Abdat)
would establish control in the town himself. As Bin Ja'fer did not
give him support he took action himself and established order.
The new state of affairs was not popular, and probably resulted in
some further disorder which had its repercussions beyond local
limits. At this juncture the Qu'aiti *wazir* came to Shibam and
brought pressure on Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur to unite with him and
Salim bin Ja'fer in compelling Bin 'Abdat to vacate Al Ghurfa, and
retire to his original place outside. Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur marched
against Bin 'Abdat with one gun and some troops; Seiyid Hussein,
the Qu'aiti *wazir*, also brought a gun and some troops from Shibam,
Salim bin Ja'fer brought his own men, and the three forces col-
lected at Al Ghiyel. The town of Al Ghurfa was bombarded, and,
as it was described to me, "they had a good battle but without
success".

Seiyid Hussein, the *wazir*, retired after having successfully com- 661
plicated the issue, and Sultan 'Ali immediately followed suit, leaving 725
Bin 'Abdat and Bin Ja'fer to fight it out together. Both sides
entrenched themselves. The elaborate system of fortifications and
communication trenches, still visible at Al Ghurfa, reminded me
strongly of France. They extend over nearly a mile, and in this
small patch of the valley both sides lived an uncomfortable life
for several years. Any cultivation that was done was done [722]
under difficulties, and the fields could only be approached
through trenches. Salim bin Ja'fer enlivened the proceedings by 715
importing a sort of armoured car from Java. This is now derelict

645 of a Municipal Council composed of merchants and notabilities being formed in Mukalla, but it did not seem likely that it would eventuate.

646 The Sultanate is divided into five *liwas* or provinces. Shihr, the oldest, Mukalla, Du'an, Hajr, and Shibam. Each of these provinces is ruled on behalf of the Sultan by a salaried Governor or *Muqaddam*, who has at least one paid clerk. He has direct control over the Qu'aiti towns in his province, and in important ones which are not autonomous there is a sub-Governor responsible to the Governor of the province. Subject to the general orders of His Highness the *Muqaddam* has power to settle any case in the province, but there is an appeal to the *Wazir* and Governor of Mukalla. From the judgments and decisions of the *Wazir* appeal lies to His Highness.

631 There are a number of autonomous towns throughout the Hadhra-
632 maut governed by particular tribes or families, and the Central
635 Government does not interfere in their internal affairs. Relations
642 with the tribes over the country are conducted principally through the Governors on whose towns they economically depend. The Sultan has the two following types of agreements with the various tribes: A. Engagements containing an undertaking to respond to the call of the Sultan in any matter and at any time, and B. Engagements of *bon voisinage* and friendship containing an undertaking to co-operate in matters of mutual interest. These agreements are all written.

The following tribes have A. agreements: Tamimi, Manahil, Ath Tha'yani, Awābitha, Seibani, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadiyin, Sumūh, Al Bab Sura, Hālka, Nūwah, Mahfudh, Makhashin, the Hadhrami Yafa'is, Hāmdi, Beni Daghār, and Buheish.

The following tribes have B. agreements: Hamumi, Qarzi, Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Ma'āra, Jōhi, 'Awāmir, Ash Shenafir al Kathīr, Mahra, Nahd Rodhān, Sei'ar, Ad Deiyin, Ja'da, Baheith, Namāra Beni Hilāl, 'Awāleq, Hājib Beni Sa'd, Bahanaf, Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Senad al Murqashi, Ba Habāb, Meseiliyin, 'Asārina, Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Beni 'Utheiman, Bā Babekr and Āl Zaghīb, tribesmen of Sadf, Al 'Amūdi, Ash Shof, Beduins of Shāfila, Āl Beihan al 'Awāmir, Al Khashia al Murqashi, Deiyeb, Qumeish, and Bā Bekr.

661 When there is any doubt as to the loyalty of a particular tribe,
431 hostages have to be provided who are kept in Mukalla prison, at
642 Du'an, and sometimes at Shihr. Hostages may be changed every month. Presents are given and subsidies paid to some of the tribes, and on the visits of tribal *'Aqils* to provincial headquarters they are given presents, and in some cases entertained.

642 The Qu'aiti administration makes no attempt to interfere with
632 tribal usages, but tribal usage does not run in the Qu'aiti towns
and within the area Sandhem dominated by what

The Kathîris have no organised Governmental institutions in the accepted sense of the word, though the Sultan and his supporters, including the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun, are very anxious for progress. Sultan 'Ali's state income is estimated at $20,000 a year in respect of Seiyun, Taris and Mariama; $6,000 of this is a direct contribution from the Al Kaf Seiyids, and the remainder consists of taxes on dates and on goods entering Seiyun. The whole sum is expended on state services, for Sultan 'Ali has a private income derived from Singapore. He maintains a force consisting of 200 indifferently armed slave soldiers in Seiyun, and 200 in Tarim. 643 642 651 565

In Tarim the Al Kaf contribute $12,000 a year to the city Treasury. There is a Town Council which organises the local taxation, and thanks to the Al Kaf Seiyids its affairs are said to be run in a very business-like way, for its budget balances. In normal times the political expenditure on maintaining peace between Tarim and the neighbouring tribes is perhaps $4,000 a year, and this is all borne by the Al Kafs. But to this normal expenditure is often added extraordinary expenditure as, for instance, in a case which occurred about May 1934, when Seiyid Bubekr, the second brother of the family, spent $12,000 in settling a dispute between Tarim and the Tamimis. 651 632 565

In Tarim and Seiyun there is a doctor and dispensary, but they are supported by the Seiyids. At the time of my visit, the doctor, a Punjabi, was on leave and such work as was being carried on was being done by a dispenser. No great public use was made of his services. The dispensary costs the Al Kafs about $1,000 a month, and they spend $2,000 a month on charities and roads. As regards their expenditure on communications it should be recorded that they built all the water pools on the caravan route from Tarim to Shihr, that they spent $7,000 on building a pass at Al 'Arsha for caravans, and that Seiyid Bubekr has spent over $180,000 on road making between Tarim and Shihr. 743 565 735 653

The schools in Kathîri territory are almost entirely supported by the wealthy Seiyids. There are two Ribâts, religious foundations, principally supported by *Waqfs* (religious endowments) for the teaching of religion and philosophy. Of these one is in Seiyun and has an attendance of 40 students, and the other is in Tarim with an attendance of 120. The Saqqaf family of Seiyids maintain two schools in Seiyun, one containing 500 boys and seven teachers, the other 100 boys and four teachers, and the Al Kafs, who also contribute to the Ribâts, run two schools in Tarim. One of these formerly had an attendance of 400 boys but it is now only attended by children of the family, numbering 54. The other, a public school, accommodates between 300 and 400 boys. The Al Kafs also run one if not two schools at Khoreiba in Wadi Du'an in Qu'aiti territory. They are, in fact, the only people undertaking educational activities in a wider sense in that province. I believe, too, that they support the private schools in Mukalla and Shihr. 565 871

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remained unchanged through centuries of the past and which was perhaps well suited to periods long ago, somehow or other have to adapt themselves to modern conditions.

That is the problem which Political Officers in a country like the Aden Protectorate have to face: that is to say, they have to give the best that we can offer to the people without doing at the same time harm, which so obviously might accompany our action if we were to press our own ideas too much on a social system so different from our own. That makes it all the more important—in fact, it is essential—that British Officers, Political Officers working in that country, should really understand the people as Mr. Hamilton understands them; that they should study them and specialize in their task, for otherwise it is only too easy to fall into serious errors and mistakes.

The question which remains to be answered is to what extent communities like these tribes can absorb or adapt themselves to these changes and to the conditions which they have to meet. As you know from what Mr. Hamilton has said, the units are very small. In some cases, such as Lahej and Mukalla, we have something approximating to what we regard as a regular government. But in some tribal areas the authority of the sheikh is very small; in fact, in some cases I think Mr. Hamilton would agree that it is practically non-existent. The tribal chief often has little real authority. He is merely one of the family, one of the tribe. The extent to which he can carry his authority depends largely on his personality.

We have also heard how the tribesmen, the landowning tribesmen, who regard themselves as the aristocracy of the country, are not a minority but a majority of the people. I once was talking to an Arab from the Protectorate, and I asked him: "What exactly is the difference between a tribesman and a subject?" He replied very briefly: "Well, a subject has to do what he is told, and a tribesman need not." If the tribesmen are in a majority, that makes it very difficult. I said to him: "What about your own tribe? Have you many subjects there or not?" He replied: "As a matter of fact, in my own particular tribe we have no subjects; we are all tribesmen, and that is what causes all the trouble."

If we want to help these people in matters like assisting them to develop their agriculture, to develop their resources in water (which is a necessary concomitant of any agricultural development), to give them help in medical matters (of which they are badly in need, for there is no such thing as even an approach to a medical service in any part of the Protectorate), to help them in education—I mean an education suitable to them—the first and foremost foundation must be some form of internal security. With so many of these small tribal communities immersed in old vendettas and blood feuds the security in the country is in some parts very slight. You cannot build up anything on a basis of anarchy and disorder, and the question arises whether these small tribal units are capable of establishing enough authority and of getting rid of anarchical conditions sufficiently to meet the needs of the time.

Our neighbour there, the Imam of the Yemen, maintains that many of these tribes are too small to enjoy any forms of independence. He says, in fact, that they ought to belong to him, and he would understand how

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21

# ADEN PROTECTORATE

## PART IV

## Chapter 1 : General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

647 DURING 1947 the Western Aden Protectorate continued to suffer from a shortage of experienced Political Officers. This position was aggravated by the murder in April of Mr. P. C. Davey, an officer of exceptional ability and experience. In consequence most districts were inadequately manned, with the result that it proved difficult to consolidate the progress of the past few years and in some cases there was some deterioration. The Arab Assistant Political Officers, of whom there are at present seven, have of necessity been the backbone of the Western Aden Protectorate administration during the past three years owing to the shortage of experienced British Political Staff.

631 The Fadhli, Dathina and Subeihi administrations carried on with very little change. The two former show a very much-improved financial position. The Amiri country started the year with the removal after a show of force of Amir Haidera and, after an unhappy year of strife and intrigue, ended it with the establishment of a constitutional form of government.

643 In the Abdali State the death of the Sultan, His Highness Sir Abdul Karim Fadhl bin Ali, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who has been succeeded by
642 his eldest son, Fadhl Abdul Karim, and who was a sincere and experienced ruler, was much regretted by his people. On the acclamation of his successor a new constitution setting up a State Council was established and is now in operation.

721 In Beihan the Sultan encountered difficulties with the Balharithi tribe in the far north, and the situation had to be settled by air action.

There were trade-route incidents in Quteibi country, in Wadi Hardaba (Radfan), in Mansuri country (Manqa'a), in Marqashi country (Fadhli) and in Rujeili country (Wadi Teim in Radfan), involving losses of life and heavy lootings. Lootings in the Quteibi territory assumed such proportions that it was necessary to restore normality by air operations. The incidents in Marqashi were satisfactorily settled by administrative action. The other incidents still remain to be settled.

242 On the other side of the picture agricultural development in Abyan has had a most beneficial effect in this southern area in spite of the uncooperative attitude of the Lower Yafa'i Sultan. This attitude led finally to his suspension from office in the Yafa'i as Sahil area of his territory. In contrast, the willing co-operation of the Fadhli authorities in fostering

S.Or. Rec., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



the development of agriculture and irrigation in Abyan has been much 242
appreciated.

During the latter part of 1947 it was possible to station a Political Officer in the Abyan and Ahwar areas. His presence and the benefit of increased production in the area have contributed to the appreciable success of the Abyan experiment during the year.

## EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate considerable political activity was 665
shown by various sections of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states. In the former, two parties were formed in March, one the National party and the other the Hadhrami party. The latter is for Hadhrami unity, in which it agrees with the Seiyid party of the Kathiri state, which also showed some liveliness at the start of the year. Later, however, the Seiyids began to concentrate less on the general question of Hadhrami unity and more on the immediate question of escaping from paying double taxation. Several committees were formed with this object and in April a deputation waited on the Resident Adviser, whose answer to them was that it was for the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states to co-operate in the matter of lightening the burden of taxation of their subjects. Later the Seiyids sent a telegraphic plea to the Governor and Secretary of State.

Meanwhile the National party remained anti-Seiyid and, on the whole, anti-unity. In April they published a manifesto of their aims on the front page of the Aden newspaper, *Fatat-al-Jezira*.

The Arab cause in Palestine continued to arouse considerable sympathy 664
in the Eastern Aden Protectorate. This came to a head in December after the United Nations Assembly had recommended partition and took the form of processions (without violence) and the opening of subscription lists. Telegrams were sent to the Secretary of State and there was a one-day strike in Mukalla and Sei'un.

In both Qu'aiti and Kathiri states democratic changes were made in 646
the administration. In the latter a State Council was formed in April 642
and met for the first time in May: it consists at present of three *ex-officio*, three official and three unofficial members. In June the Qu'aiti State Council Decree was amended to allow the representation of provincial communities with the intention of improving relations between the Government and the provinces. These communities were not previously represented.

Outstanding boundary disputes between the Qu'aiti and Kathiri 731
states remained unsettled throughout the year.

Security continued to be disturbed throughout the year in the north- 721
west on the boundaries with the Yemen and Sa'udi Arabia and to a 619
lesser extent in the Wahidi area on the boundaries of the Western Aden Protectorate. In January the Kazimis looted a caravan on its way to Habban. In March there was a big raid by the Dahin and Abida (Yemeni) on the eastern coastal area. In May the Upper Aulaqi (who owe allegiance to no one) attacked Amaqin in Wahidi; in that month also the Sei'ar

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



A 631 162 228

Aden Colony also includes Perim Island which is administered by an Administrator who is also the Commissioner of Police, Aden. The population of the island is 381. The majority of the islanders are fishermen, and dried fish is exported to Aden. In the past there has been pearl fishing, but this year no pearl fishing contract was taken. There is a small police detachment in the island together with medical and lighthouse staff.

A 206

Up to the end of 1948, Cable & Wireless Ltd. maintained communication with Perim by marine cable. The cable became unserviceable in 1948, and it was decided not to repair it. It is likely that communication will soon be established by wireless. A R.A.F. airplane makes a flight to the island once weekly and carries mail and passengers from Aden.

H 631 642 A 643

The Governor of the Colony is also Governor of the Aden Protectorate, which is not administered by the Colony Government. There is no one Government for the Aden Protectorate; various Rulers and Chiefs are in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. In each of the Western and Eastern Protectorates the Governor is represented by a British Agent.

A 692

The Protectorate includes the island of Socotra.

671 H 692 611

The administration of justice within the Colony is entrusted to the Supreme Court, a Court of Small Causes for certain specified civil cases and Magistrates' Courts for criminal cases. The law of the Protectorate is largely tribal custom, but in certain chiefdoms the Shari' a code of Muslim law is recognised, especially in the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla (ruled by His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti K.C.M.G.), which State legislates by published decrees.

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

A 631 652

There are two local government bodies in the Colony: the larger is known as the Fortress Township Authority and the area governed embraces the Isthmus and Peninsula with a civilian population estimated to be 70,000. This area includes the Military and the R.A.F. establishments. The other is known as Sheikh Othman Township Authority and takes its name from the built-up township of 21,000 persons, all non-Europeans, situated some four miles from the Isthmus. The area governed includes this Township and the remainder of the Colony in which are to be found four small coastal villages whose inhabitants number approximately 2,500.

A 666 642

In 1949 the principle of election was first introduced into the constitution of the Fortress Township Authority, so as to provide three elected members in addition to the existing four nominated official and three nominated unofficial members. In Crater ward there were elections, resulting in the success of one Arab merchant and one Pakistani advocate who was previously a nominated member of the Authority. In the other ward objections were raised against two Arab candidates, who were found not to be of British birth, and a

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

*ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1 : General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

642 THE years 1951 and 1952 were marked by (a) Government penetration
648 into the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom (Maan) at the invitation of the Ruler and the subsequent formation of the United Administration of Maan and Khalifa ; (b) the conclusion of two Advisory Treaties with the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and Audhali Sultan (May and July, 1952)
647 and a joint Advisory and Protectorate Treaty with His Highness the Sultan of Lahej ; (c) the formation of the Fadhli—Lower Yafa' Health Board ; and (d) the formation of the Lower Aulaqi Regency Council in Ahwar (August, 1952).

Politically the period under review was one of consolidation and development of the administrations of the various States in the Protectorate.

438 The Abyan Board did well in 1951 when it sold 9,890 bales of cotton for £867,088. In 1952 the rains were not so plentiful with the result that only 6,300 bales were sold for £725,810.

648 Relations with the neighbouring Kingdom of the Yemen remained difficult in spite of the Modus Vivendi Agreement concluded with it in London in January, 1951. Interference in affairs well inside the Protectorate boundary was a cause of friction.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

622 In the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States the main constitutional advance has been in the setting up of town and village councils to deal with local affairs.

659 Of necessity both Administrations have been preoccupied with measures to combat the threat of food shortage which must always be
654 faced in this region of uncertain rainfall. The States and local author-
653 ities have maintained dumps of grain, which are designed to tide over a period of scarcity before imports can arrive from the coast, and a
245 periodical check is made on resources of motor transport to ensure that distribution of supplies is not held up by failure of camel traffic in an emergency. Positive measures have been taken to increase local food supplies. Funds have been allocated for loans to farmers to purchase pumps to increase areas of cultivation. Schemes for the rebuilding of dams and for flood control have been put into effect. Particular attention has been paid to the rehabilitation of date palms.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Government and beduin. Many beduin tribes who were inveterate foes of the Qu'aitis have now declared permanent peace with the Government and said they are "sons of government." The State Government has now a beduin affairs department staffed entirely by local tribesmen, and there is a system of tribal courts. There are many tribesmen in Government service, and the greater number of the soldiers and police are now tribesmen and beduin. In the old days, Hadhrami tribesmen were hardly ever employed in Government and there were very few in the forces. The only effective soldiers were Yafa'is, irregular mercenaries and slaves. Even the Government slaves have now disappeared. There is an African company in the regular army which consists of ex-slaves and Somalis and is employed on guarding an R.A.F. station, and others are employed as Government servants on the same footing as Arabs; the old slaves have been pensioned. All soldiers and police are taught to read and write, and by passing examinations in the military school can and do secure promotion. Enlistment is popular now because of the amenities provided and because a soldier can definitely expect to be more fitted for civil life when he leaves the forces. The status of a military life is very definitely advanced. 641 178 [47] 701 178 [212]

Another thing that attracts attention is the development in education. The coastal elementary schools have 1,700 boys in them instead of 300, and the education department is rapidly extending over the interior. There is an intermediate boarding school for 80 boys which opened last year. There is a boarding school attached to the Hadhrami Beduin Legion with 100 beduin boys in it, and another with 24 beduin girls. There are several town girls' schools, the biggest and best being in Mukalla with 150 girls, who learn not only to read and write, but to sew, embroider, wash, and cook. A most interesting experiment has lately been started with a whole village organized as a school, where 300 boys and girls of the serf class—a class which works hard but does very little thinking for itself—are being trained to run their own village and to learn various industries and crafts. Teachers of the Mukalla Government and other volunteers are also teaching adults of the serf class to read and write the language they speak and trying to induce in them some public health consciousness. 871 178

On the medical side a hospital is being built in Mukalla, and the sanitary state of the town—which may shortly have a municipality—has been greatly improved. 743 178

Of old, Government was mainly carried on by a handful of officials with a Sultan generally in India, but the present Sultan has spent most of his reign in his state and has a state council of officials and unofficials to help him. The executive work of Government is in charge of a state secretary and twenty organized departments. 643 178

In the Kathiri State progress has not been nearly so spectacular. The revenue is much smaller and the Wadi Hadhramaut is so divided by the jealousies of Sultans and tribesmen, and handicapped by the unwillingness or inability of the bulk of the seiyids to get together and co-operate, that the Government is not nearly so alive. There is, however, a state secretary at Seiyun and a good deal of the work of a government has been organized. 642 178

7 [Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

10:Jacob G-3 (no date) 1925 MLl Yemen ML 1
Hadhramaut MM2



Y 175 648

Guest-House, where we entertain throughout the year the tribesmen and subjects of the stipendiaries, who are privileged to send recommendatory letters of introduction to secure the required hospitality. If a chief is in our "bad books" we curtail the number of these letters. Some few of the Rulers are entitled to a salute of guns when they enter Aden to see the Political Resident.

H 642

As you are doubtless aware, the Ruler of Aden is a General Officer of the Indian Army, who functions in the dual rôle of Resident and G.O.C. The Resident with his four Political Assistants carry out all the political, administrative and magisterial duties in the British zone. In latter years an officer of the Public Works Department of India has held charge of the Aden Settlement and the Port Trust, and a subordinate official of the Indian Police Force is in executive charge of the Police. The G.O.C. has, of course, his separate Brigade Staff.

Y 795 619 643

There are in the Yemen three different creeds. The sect the least numerically strong is the Ismailiya or Fatimiya, whose *habitat* is in the vicinity of J. Haraz, near Menakha, which stands over 9,000 feet altitude on the road from Hodeida to Sana. The Ismailiya sect harks back to one Ismail, the younger son of the Imam Jafar al Sādik, the grandson of Ali Zain al Abidin, the son of Al Husein, himself the second son of the fourth Caliph Ali. The powerful tribesmen of the B. Yam, in the province of Nejran, to the east by north from Sana, are also of this faith. They are ruled over by the royal house of the Makārima. Nejran is twenty days' journey from Haraz. During the régime of the Turks the Ismailiya of J. Haraz sect were hostile to the Imam of Sana. Now they are under his survey and amenable to his rule. They hardly count in the hegemony of the Yemen. Their doctrines are akin to those of the "Assassins." The two principal religious persuasions are those of Shafa'i (Sunni) and Zeidi (Shi'a). The Imam of Sana is the head of the Zeidis, who live principally in the Highlands. The Shafa'i Sultans and tribesmen are found in the Lowlands of the "Turkish" Yemen, and the entire inhabitants of our Aden Protectorate are also Shafa'is only. There is not in the Yemen the distinct line of cleavage between Sunnis and Shi'as as we see it in India. The two sects will intermarry, enter the same mosque, and even, on occasion, change from one creed to the other. Owing to Aden's long connection with India, it has been the practice of that Government to look at Aden and Arabia through Indian spectacles. This tendency has warped their judgment when considering the occasional "fracas" between the Arabian Sunni and Shi'a creeds, and has given rise to a considerable amount of misunderstanding. I shall refer to this later on.

Y 795

The Shafa'i (Sunni) sect accept the four immediate successors of the Prophet. The Zeidis give their allegiance to the fourth Caliph Ali and to his sons by Fatima, Al Hasan, and Al Husein; and they recognize

is enacted by the central authorities in London, day-to-day legislative needs being cared for by local legislation. The Crown, however, reserves for itself the right to legislate in all matters if it so desires. A conflict between imperial legislation and local legislation cannot arise because all local laws may be disallowed by the Crown. A 648 636

The Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and the Protectorate of[3] Aden is assisted in the exercise of his functions by a purely advisory Executive Council composed of high government officials. A Legislative Council, created by an Order in Council of November 23, 1944,[4] is composed of four ex officio members, four official members (i. e., persons employed by the Crown), and eight unofficial members (i. e. Aden residents, not employed by the Crown). The official as well as the unofficial members are appointed by the Governor. At the time the Legislative Council was set up, official British circles expressed the hope that at some future date it may contain elected unofficial members. A 636 H 642

The Council must give its consent to all legislation to be enacted for the Colony. Its members have the right to initiate legislation except in tax matters, and in matters which would involve the suspension of any or all of the Orders in Council enacted for Aden. The Governor presides over the Legislative Council and has an absolute veto over the measures it passes. The administrative direction of the affairs of the Colony is in the hands of a Civil Secretary responsible to the Governor. A 636

In spite of the transfer of administrative control over Aden from India and the India Office to the Colonial Office in 1937, the ties with India were not completely broken. A large amount of British Indian legislation which had been made applicable to Aden continued in force. The judicial organization, moreover, remained closely linked with India, since appeals from the Aden Supreme Court lay in the High Court in Bombay. In dealing with any legal case centered in Aden. British Indian substantive and procedural laws have, therefore, to be taken into account.

[3] All British colonial governors have the title Commander-in-Chief. This does not imply, however, any actual military command.

[4] S. R. & O., 1944 pp. 1 ff. The London Times, January 7, 1947, p. 2, reported the first meeting of this Council.

18: U. S. Dept. of State G-4 (no date) ca. 1946 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Aden MM1
Hadhramaut MM2



A The city of Aden together with the peninsula of Little Aden, the territory of Sheikh Othman, and the Island of
101 Perim thus form a Crown Colony under direct British rule. (5)

A 6421 648

5. The British distinguish between two basic types of colonial administration: direct rule and indirect rule. The former means that the area is administered directly by British colonial officials without any native governmental machinery as is the case in Aden Colony. In the latter case use is made of existing native institutions and many of the actual administrative functions are in the hands of native governments under the control of British colonial officials.

A [101]

The islands of Kuria Muria, and Kamaran are also British possessions administered under the control of the Governor of Aden.

This means that no native government whatsoever functions in the area. As a colony, Aden is part of the British national territory and its inhabitants are British subjects. In spite of the transfer of administrative control over Aden to the Colonial Office, the ties with India have not been completely broken. A large amount of British
A Indian legislation, which had been made applicable to Aden, con-
692 tinues in force. The judicial organization, moreover, is still closely
671 linked with India since appeals from the Aden Supreme Court lie in the High Court in Bombay. In dealing with any legal case centered in Aden, British Indian substantive and procedural laws have, therefore, to be taken into account.

H 2. The Aden Protectorate. The present organization of the Pro-
● 642 tectorate is based upon the Aden Protectorate Order in Council of
648 18 March 1937. (6) Under it the Governor of the Colony is at the

6. S. R. & O. 1937, pp. 750-57; amended 10 July 1940, S. R. & O. 1940, pp. 397-98.

same time Governor of the Protectorate. (7) The functions exercised

H 7. A protectorate, even one very closely resembling a
000 colony, is not part of the national territory of the protecting state but

> remains legally a foreign country. The natives of a protectorate are not British subjects but remain subjects of the local ruler. They do not owe allegiance but only a limited "obedience" to the British Crown; cf. King v. The Earl of Crewe, ex parte Sekgome, Law Reports, King's Bench Division, 1910. v. 2, pp. 619-20. The right of the Crown to exercise legislative and administrative functions in such areas is based, besides treaties with the local governments, upon the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890 (53 & 54)Victoria c. 37, as amended). This act which consolidated earlier legislation, entitles the Crown "to hold, exercise and enjoy any jurisdiction which Her Majesty now has or may at any time hereafter have within a foreign country in the same and as ample amanner as if Her Majesty had acquired that jurisdiction by the cession or conquest of territory.

in the Colony by the Civil Secretary are here exercised by the Political Secretary. The Protectorate is divided into two parts; the Eastern Protectorate and the Western Protectorate. In contrast with the Colony, the native governmental institutions were left intact and the area is administered according to the principles of indirect rule. The Crown has reserved the right to make laws for peace, good order, and government of the Protectorate. The Governor may enact certain rules and orders and may especially extend to the Protectorate legislation enacted for the Colony. Such legislation, however, applies only to persons who are not natives of the Protectorate. This is of considerable practical importance. To take an example, the mining legislation for the Colony of Aden was extended to the Protectorate by the Governor in 1937. It would apply to an American or British company concerned with mining operations in the Protectorate. In order to be applicable to a native, it would have to be made part of the local native legislation in the individual states. The Supreme Court and the inferior courts of the Colony have jurisdiction in all matters arising in the Protectorate in which any person who is

642 648 642

642 not a native of the Protectorate is concerned.

648 The relations of the British with the various native states in the Aden Protectorate are based on treaties concluded with the sultans and sheikhs in the course of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Treaty relations with neighboring sheikhs were established by the British soon after the occupation of Aden in order to make the waters and roads around the port safe for peaceful traffic. Gradually British influence in the Aden hinterland was increased and, in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, protectorate treaties were concluded with most of the more important local rulers. Specimen of the main types of these treaties are given in Appendix I. A list of the states indicating their treaty relations is contained in Appendix II. The older treaties follow specimen A (or $A_1$), the later ones mostly follow specimen B (or $B_1$). The most important features of these agreements are the extension of British protection to the native state in question and the promise of the local ruler not to enter into relations with any foreign government without British consent, or to dispose of any part of his territory in favor of a power other than Great
622 Britain. Most of the sultans and sheikhs were granted stipends by
648 the British; in case of non-compliance with the treaty provision,
622 discontinuance of the stipend was used as a weapon to force the rebellious sheikh into line. The protectorates thus established restrict the sovereignty of the local ruler to a very considerable degree. As far as international relations (including those with his immediate neighbors) are concerned, he is wholly unable to pursue an independent course. In internal affairs there exists a somewhat larger degree of autonomy, but British over-all control extends, in most cases, more or less to all fields of administration as far as a regular administration exists at all in the given individual state.

648 Treaties of the above type were concluded with rulers in the Western as well as the Eastern Protectorate. The relationship between the British and the important sultans in the so-called Hadramaut in the Eastern Protectorate was modified, however, in the late thirties. On 13 August 1937 an agreement was concluded between the British Government and the Qu'ayti Sultan of Shihr and Makalla in which the former agreed to provide a Resident Adviser for the sultanate

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
ADEN MM1
HADRAMAUT MM2

A 183 extinct volcano with a broad crater which is surrounded on three sides by peaks rising to over 1,800 feet, while the fourth side slopes gradually to the sea. Kamaran Island, important as an international quarantine station until 1951, is administered independently under the Colony.

H 131 The Aden Protectorate has an approximate area of 112,000 square miles, with a coastline of about 740 miles, extending from Ras Murad, at the entrance to the Red Sea, to Ras Dhurbat 'Ali, which marks the frontier with Muscat and Oman. It is bounded on the northwest by the Kingdom of the Yemen, on the east by the Dhufar country under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Muscat, on the north by the desert of Rub' al Khali, the so-called "Empty Quarter" of Arabia, and on the south by the Gulf of Aden. The Protectorate is a composite of H 142 148 independent sultanates and tribal confederations, the rulers and the chiefs of which

p. 235(B)

N 142 648 [635]

are bound by protective treaties with Great Britain. Administratively, it is divided into two areas, the Western Aden Protectorate, covering roughly 45,000 square miles in the southwestern highlands, and the Eastern Aden Protectorate, which incorporates the remaining territory and the island of Socotra, about 150 miles from Cape Guardafui, the easternmost point in Africa.

N 133

The geography of the region is characterized by mountains and high plateaus which slope to a sandy plain along the coast and are intersected by deep and often fertile valleys. The topography of Western Aden Protectorate is particularly rugged. Four zones are differentiated: the littoral; the coastal hills reaching up to 1,000 feet in height; the inland plains, with slightly higher elevations; and the interior plateau, at an altitude of 5,000 to 8,000 feet. The dominant feature of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is the Wadi Hadhramaut. The valley, which is broad and well defined, parallels the coast for almost 200 miles before turning southeast toward the sea. It is hemmed in by massive plateau, with an average elevation of 6,000 feet in the south and 3,500 feet in the north, which are terraced and dissected by numerous secondary wadies. The main valley lies over 100 miles inland, and is separated from the coast by a complex terrain of mountains, steppe and desert.

H 132

Few meteorologic observations have been recorded. Extreme heat, accompanied by high humidity, is encountered in the coastal region during the summer; slightly moderated temperatures at the time of the northeast monsoon, from October to April.

A 132

The mean temperature in the Colony is estimated at 80° F.; 75° F. in the winter and 90° F. in the summer. The daily range is slight in the summer, but cool and sometimes cold nights are experienced during the winter months. The temperatures in the interior vary with the altitude and the season. Marked contrasts exist between the heat of the shut-in wadies and the cooler temperatures of the high plateaus. The rainfall is

p. 256(A)

## INTRODUCTION.

131 The coast line of the Aden Protectorate starts in the west from Ras Murad opposite the island of Perim, and runs eastward to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates it from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Roughly speaking, the Protectorate is bounded in the interior on the west and the north by the Kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. It also includes the island of Soqotra. The Hadhramaut lies in the east of the Protectorate between the Wahidi and 'Aulaqi countries on the west and the Mahra country on the east. North, it reaches to the Empty Quarter.

643 631 The two principal chiefs of the Protectorate are Their Highnesses the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej and the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla. The capital of the former lies about 20 miles north of Aden and that of the latter some 300 miles east. It will be easily realized that these two chiefs are by their geographical positions the natural leaders of the western and eastern parts of the Protectorate, and the 'Abdali Sultan, who is the premier chief of the Protectorate, has established his hegemony over the western portion. In some ways the Qu'aiti Sultan is perhaps the most important ruler of the Protectorate, for he controls, or has direct influence over, a larger population than any other chief, and, except for the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, whose nominal kingdom extends over a much wider area, he rules the largest tract of territory in the Protectorate. Although he is acknowledged by the Kathiri Sultan as having precedence in the Hadhramaut, he has not yet secured recognition by the Wahidi Sultans, or by the Mahra Sultan, as their natural leader.

643 68 636 The whole of the Aden Protectorate is ruled by its own chiefs, who are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned. Their relations with the Protecting Power are for the most part regulated by treaty, and while their foreign affairs are entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, interference in matters of domestic concern is generally limited to advice.

121 This report offers a survey of the social and political organization of the Hadhramis and of the resources of their country as seen by the writer. The object of this introduction is to give a brief indication of the present trend of development as it appears to him.

178 185 There is an extraordinary complexity of social and governmental organization in the Hadhramaut. The country is in a transition period between the disappearance or modification of the earlier social organization, which has itself evolved with the centuries, and the development of Government more or less on modern lines.

The various classes of society in the Hadhramaut are described in the report, and the interplay of some of them, one with another, has, in the course of time, as in other countries, given rise to abuser which, as the life and thought of the Middle Ages is influenced

During our visit the maximum and minimum temperatures recorded during stays in the principal towns were as follows :— 132

| | | Dates inclusive. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mukalla | | 31st October to 8th November | 86·8 | 75 |
| | | 21st to 30th December | 82 | 74·5 |
| Shihr | ... | 29th to 21st December | 80·2 | 73·3 |
| Du'an | ... | 11th to 13th November | 78·6 | 70·3 |
| Shibam | ... | 17th to 20th November | 84·2 | 66·6 |
| | | 21st to 24th November | 75·1 | 62·3 |
| Tarim | ... | 21st November | 73·9 | 72·9 |
| | | 2nd to 5th December | 88·5 | 70·3 |

The lowest temperature we recorded on the whole trip was 57·8 at 6.45 a.m. on 29th November at Sih Rieidat al Kathîr. The highest was 88·5 at 4 p.m. on 5th December at Tarim.

### The States of the Hadhramaut.

In Article I of the Qu'aiti-Kathîri agreement of 1918 it is stated that the Qu'aiti Sultan and the Kathîri Sultan "recognise that the province of Hadhramaut shall be one province, the said province being an appanage of the British Empire under the Sultan of Al Shehr and Mukalla." This agreement appears *in extenso* in Appendix II. By it the Kathîri agreed to accept as binding on him the treaty of 1888 between the Qu'aiti and the British Government, which extended British Protection to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies, and also accepted the arbitration of the British Government in the settlement of future disputes. 442 448

The Qu'aiti state of Shihr and Mukalla is one of the most important of the Sultanates and Chiefdoms forming the Aden Protectorate. The Sultan receives a nominal stipend of Rs.60 a month from British funds and is entitled to a salute of eleven guns. The present Sultan, His Highness Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. He is recognized as being the ruler of the whole country, but that part of it defined as being Kathîri is autonomous in its domestic affairs and is ruled over by Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur. By virtue of the Qu'aiti-Kathîri agreement, negotiations with the Kathîri Sultanate are conducted through the medium of the Qu'aiti Sultan. 442 631 443

It is necessary, however, to avoid the impression that all the country included in the term Hadhramaut is ruled by Qu'aiti or Kathîri in the same way as obtains in more advanced countries, for such is far from being the case. In both Sultanates there are a number of towns or districts where the Government is absolute, and the central Government appoints Governors who take full responsibility for the affairs of those places. In some cases there are stretches of country including series of villages which are ruled in the same way, but every now and then will be found autonomous towns and villages. These belong to particular tribes or particular families, and the Qu'aiti or Kathîri Governments have no 442 631 441

175 bin Said, Sultan of Zanzibar. It was not until 1888 that he consented to use the interest on the sum invested, which had then amounted to 230,000 rupees, for his own use.[1]

148 In 1882 a treaty was entered into with 'Abdulla and 'Awadh, the
143 Qu'aiti Jemadars, whereby due provision was made for the ex-Naqib and for the payment of an annual sum by the British Government to the Qu'aiti of 360 dollars a year. The Qu'aiti bound themselves not to dispose of any of the Hadhramaut territories to any person or power other than the British Government, and in 1888 a Protectorate treaty was concluded. Jemadar 'Abdulla died a few months later and 'Awadh became sole ruler. In 1900 the Qu'aiti dominions were further extended by the purchase, from the Wahidi,
[554] of Meifa, and in 1902 the Sultan's old title of Jemadar was finally abolished and he was recognised by the title of Sultan.[2] Sultan

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[1] To-day Naqib 'Abdur Rab, 'Umar's son, the present head of the family, is a respected member of Zanzibar society. He has lived in a quiet and unobtrusive fashion, and he and his people have been absorbed into the population in which they are an indistinguishable element. The Naqib has adopted the fashions of dress and living of the Omani section of the population, while the rest of the large Hadhramaut element in Zanzibar forms a very distinct community of its own.

[2] The following is a continuation of the Kathiri narrative of Hadhramaut history, from the same source as before.

In 1263 (A.D. 1866), at the suggestion of Seiyid Ishaq bin 'Aqil, Sultan Ghalib bin Muhsin al Kathiri succeeded in occupying Shihr. He then marched against Mukalla but was defeated by the Naqib bin Sala's forces at Harshiat. The next year Jemadar 'Awadh bin 'Umar al Qu'aiti arrived from India with Indian and Yafa'i troops to attack Shihr. He landed with his forces at Hami, proceeded to Shihr, and with the assistance of the Kasadis captured the place and expelled the Kathiris. In 1287 (A.D. 1870) Seiyid Is'haq bin 'Aqil went to Hyderabad and proposed to the Qu'aitis, Salih and 'Awadh, and to the Kathiris, that they should retain those parts of the Hadhramaut which they respectively ruled and that they should co-operate with the Seiyids in the establishment of justice, the improvement in the condition of the country, and the maintenance of security on the routes. He also proposed that the Qu'aiti should pay to the Āl 'Abdulla $30,000 on entering into an agreement with him, and an annual sum of $20,000, to be paid from Shihr customs revenue, for the upkeep of the garrison of Tarim and Seiyun. The Kathiris, however, declined these terms and made preparations for investing Shihr. To achieve this object the Kathiris enlisted the assistance of the 'Aulaqi and the Āl 'Umar Bā 'Umar, the respective rulers of Ghail and Soda. The 'Aulaqi was able to supply them with considerable funds from India, as he too, held a position similar to that of the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri in the Government of the Nizam.

Hearing of this alliance, 'Awadh immediately started hostilities against the 'Aulaqi and the Āl Bā 'Umar. At the end of a year he had defeated them and annexed Ghail and Soda. 'Awadh now entered into an agreement with the Kasadi Naqib, 'Umar Salih, for invading the Hadhramaut. Leaving Shihr and Mukalla respectively, the united forces marched against the Āl 'Abdulla, but the Kathiris beat off their attacks and forced them to retire. The Naqib 'Umar Salih then died and 'Awadh left for India.

'Umar was succeeded by his son Salih. Jemadar 'Awadh now returned from India, and, taking advantage of the despatch of soldiers by the Naqib to Du'an to fight against the Āl 'Amudi, sent some of his troops to Mukalla, and demanded from the Naqib half of the expenditure incurred in the expedition against the Hadhramaut which he had undertaken with 'Umar Salih. The Yafa'i chiefs then intervened and decided that the Naqib should surrender half Mukalla.

Sultan

Awadh died in 1909 and was succeeded by his son Ghalib, a man of advanced views, who was extremely anxious for the development of his country in which he established peace and good order. His application for, and financing of, a mission to investigate agricultural and mineral resources of his country deserves special mention. He approached the High Commissioner for Egypt, and in 1919 Mr. O. H. Little was sent to report on the mineral resources and Mr. H. M. Heald on the agriculture. Mr. Little's report appeared in 1925, "The Geography and Geology of Mukalla," and the results of the agricultural survey appear in Mr. Heald's official report. 643 654

Sultan Ghalib died, universally regretted, in 1922, and was succeeded by his brother 'Umar, whose achievements will sufficiently appear elsewhere in this report. The present Sultan, whose accession to the Mukalla state was determined by the will of Sultan Ghalib, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. 643

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The late Qu'aiti Sultan was absent from the country during my visit, and in fact the greater part of his reign was spent in India. Just prior to my visit, however, he had performed a tour of the Hadhramaut, and this was the first occasion on which a reigning Sultan had undertaken the journey. Leaving Mukalla on 29th July His Highness, who was accompanied by his *Wazir*, other officials 200 soldiers and a brass band, arrived at Wadi Du'an on 4th August. He stayed in Du'an six days and left for Hajarein on the 10th August. The party reached Hajarein on the evening of the 11th, and next day left by car for Meshhed. On the 14th, Hureidha was reached and Haura the same evening. On the 15th, His Highness proceeded to Al Qatn where he spent two days, and left on the 17th for Shibam where he stayed seven days, during which the Kathiri Sultan visited him with a large retinue and invited him to the Kathiri part of the wadi. Sultan 'Umar arrived at Seiyun on the 24th and was well received. He proceeded next day to Tarim, and on the 26th visited 'Einat, returning to Tarim the same day. On the 27th he returned to Shibam, where he stayed a further week before going to Al Qatn on 3rd September. On his way back to Mukalla, which he reached on the 14th, Sultan 'Umar visited 643 644 [644]

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The Naqib succeeded in procrastinating until his troops returned from Du'an, when war ensued and the Qu'aitis were defeated. This war was known as the Nuzla or struggle for half the share. 648 643

The Qu'aiti then had recourse to the British Government who ordered the Naqib to pay the amount claimed. On his failure he was removed from Mukalla, and thus in al Hijja 1299 (A.D. 1882) Mukalla and its dependencies came into the possession of 'Abdulla and 'Awadh bin 'Umar.

In Muharram 1307 (1886) the Qu'aiti entered into a treaty with the British, and was recognized as Sultan of Mukalla and its dependencies. When 'Abdulla died, there was a dispute between 'Awadh and the sons of 'Abdulla as to the paramountcy. The British Government intervened and ordered the removal of 'Abdulla's sons in consideration of compensation to be paid. Then Sultan 'Awadh and his descendants became the rulers of the whole country.

643 Henin and the Nahd tribe. During his tour he arranged the
484 following truces: At 'Einat, on 26th August, a two years' truce between the Seiyids of Al Hussein and Al al Hamed; at Al Qatn on 5th September a truce between all the Yafa'i tribesmen and their clans and sections to last five years; on 6th September at the same place, a 10 years' truce between the tribesmen of Al Makhashin of the Nahd, and another of five years between the clan of Al Mahfudh, and, again at Al Qatn, on 7th September, an eight months' truce between the Nahd tribesmen; on 9th September in Wadi al 'Ain a truce of five years between the tribesmen of Al Batati, and another of five years between the Al Batati and Al Mahfudh.

643 His Highness left for India on 15th October 1934 for medical reasons. He did not return to Mukalla again, for he died in India of cancer, after a long and painful illness, in March 1936. Recognition has now been given to his nephew and successor, His Highness Sultan Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, who has been accorded a salute of 11 guns.

## CHAPTER V.

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

173 I have already drawn attention to the importance of a knowledge of traditional history, and there is one aspect of history in par-
829 ticular of which any one dealing with Arabs must have some knowledge, and that is genealogy. Arabs would regard families going back to the Conquest as mushroom growths, and many can carry their own trees back to Adam. Each one will at least know the main lines of his descent, and though in its earlier stages it is legendary, this is of no importance to others than purists, for it is believed. Wherever known, the origin of each tribe is indicated in this report, and genealogical trees show the accepted descent of tribal ancestors from Shem.

829 Racially, the Arabs divide themselves into four categories, of which three are represented in the Hadhramaut, the Baida or ex-
173 tinct Arabs represented by the sons of 'Ad, the 'Ariba or descend-
162 ants of Qahtan or Joktan embracing all the remaining Arabs except
565 the Seiyids and a few sons of Ma'ad who, being descended from Ishmael, are Musta 'Ariba.

The population of the Hadhramaut may be divided into seven social classes, almost castes. They are not all represented in every part of the country, and the order in which they appear below is partly historical and partly represents the order of their importance.

### SEIYIDS.

162 The Seiyids of the Hadhramaut derive their descent from Ahmed
565 bin 'Isa al-Mohajir who migrated to the Hadhramaut from Basra and died there about 1,050 years ago. His grave is on the right bank of the main Wadi Hadhramaut at Al Hasisa, a few miles

boiled radishes is given to cattle with " cattle plague ". Donkeys are said to be susceptible to a very fatal disease. 231 232

Both cattle and camels are used in ploughing, the former usually in pairs and the latter singly. For the working of the wells, camels, cattle, donkeys, men and women, all combine, frequently in mixed teams, the animals being generally given a bunch of fodder at the top of the incline each time they reach it. Camels are also employed in turning the machines for extracting the simsim oil. The fact that fodder and water become more scarce north of the main Wadi necessitates a greater use of camels and donkeys are few and far between. Donkeys are uncommon also in the Wadi Maseila, for there is a three-day stretch without water in the middle of the Wadi, and below Buzun the flow is not perennial. Sheep and goats, however, are to be found everywhere, seeking their pasture under the care of women or girls. 231 492

Heald in his report states that no attention is paid to selection during the breeding season—which is usually in the early summer. With the sheep, one lamb is generally the average—although higher up in the Hadhramaut, amongst better pasture, ewes give two lambs. The sheep in the Meifa valley had black fleeces with the curly fat tails, although smaller than the Egyptian sheep. The goats are also smaller than in Egypt and originally came from the Yemen. 231

It was particularly noticeable in the Wadi Maseila that the livestock were very much smaller than those elsewhere. The cows are little larger than a normal-sized calf, and the sheep and goats are also smaller than those in Du'an or to the north. The cattle are similar in size to those of Soqotra. The breeds of goats and sheep appeared to vary considerably over the whole country, but a black-and-white variety was the most common. His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan has a few horses, both for riding and carriage work, and I saw one at Meshhed. There are probably not a dozen in the whole country. 643 492

## Minor agricultural products.

Dates in the Hadhramaut are merely a hobby, and the entire local crop is consumed fresh during a season of two months, June and July. It may be recorded that a single date-tree in the Du'an valley sells from 400 to 1,000 dollars, many times its economic price. Dates form a staple article of diet and are therefore imported in large quantities. 245 262 435

The principal grain and other food crops are millet—*dirra* (great millet, *Sorghum vulgar*), *dukhn* (bullrush millet, *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and *keneb* or *msebeli* (Italian millet, *Setana italica*); lucerne; *jil jil* (sesame, not eaten by donkeys); *dijar* (a kind of bean); wheat (not eaten by donkeys or goats); and a little maize. The stalks are generically known as *qusab*, and the grain as *ta'm*. Hashish or grass is also grown for animals. The principal garden crops are sweet potatoes, onions, garlic, pumpkins, carrots, egg 241

643 Although the Qu'aiti family no longer consider themselves, if they ever did, subjects of the Qu'aiti Sheikh[1] of the Mausatas, they are still proud of their Yafa'i connection, and they maintain their hold over the Hadhramaut to a large extent with the aid of a great number of Yafa'is in their service, who come and go regularly between the Hadhramaut and Upper and Lower Yafa'.

622 In the western part of the Protectorate when there is a vacancy in the chieftainship a new chief is elected by the *'aqils* of the tribe from among the members of the royal family. In some cases it is the practice that the chieftainship shall be held alternately by different branches of the family. The usual tendency is, perhaps, to elect one of the elder and stronger members of the family to be the new chief, but the election of a child and the appointment of a regent is by no means uncommon. In the Hadhramaut, however, in Qu'aiti territory, the position is different and the country is treated as the private estate of the ruling family.

643 By his will of 1872 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti, the founder of the Qu'aiti fortunes in the Hadhramaut, left his possessions in that country to his sons 'Abdulla and 'Awadh and Salih. Salih and 'Abdulla predeceased 'Awadh. Abdulla died in 1888 and the British then acknowledged the succession of 'Awadh bin 'Umar as the ruler of the Shihr and Mukalla states, but declined for the moment to go into the question of the future succession. In this succession three of the nephews of Sultan 'Awadh bin 'Umar were interested, Manasir and Hussein, sons of 'Abdulla, and Muhsin the son of Salih. Manasir resigned his claim to participate in the sovereignty, and the claim of Muhsin was disposed of by the British Government. By his will of 1898 Sultan 'Awadh excluded Hussein from the inheritance, and determined the reversion of his Hadhramaut possessions as follows: 1. His son Ghalib bin 'Awadh bin 'Umar, 2. His son 'Umar bin 'Awadh bin 'Umar, the late Sultan, 3. Salih bin Ghalib, son of No. 1, the present Sultan, and 4. The son of Umar bin 'Awadh bin 'Umar (No. 2), failing whom, Muhammad bin Ghalib, son of No. 1.

The will continues:—

> "If he (i.e., 'Umar bin Awadh, No. 2) has a young son, Muhammad bin Ghalib should act in his place, and thus the succession should be amongst the sons of Ghalib bin 'Awadh and 'Umar bin 'Awadh and their descendants from generation to generation.
>
> "Every ruler elected, if he resides at Shihr, should appoint his successor to officiate on his behalf at Mukalla, and if he resides at Mukalla he should appoint his successor to officiate at Shihr. If his successor be absent the heir of his successor

[1] The Qu'aiti Sheikh appears to sit as precariously on his throne as any Yafa'i. Last year the incumbent, Musa bin 'Abdulla, paid a visit to the Aden Residency. On his return to his country he did not give a correct return to his tribesmen of the presents he had received and was very nearly unseated.

should act, but if both the successor and his heir be absent they should appoint anyone, whom the ruler may approve, to officiate until their return. If the ruler be absent on a journey he should appoint his successor to administer the Government during his absence. If his successor be absent also he should appoint his successor's heir, but if he too be absent the ruler may appoint anyone he may approve to officiate until his return. 643

"So long as Ghalib bin 'Awadh is the ruler and administrator, his successor, 'Umar bin 'Awadh, should be appointed the Chief Official, under the command of the ruler, to take charge of the goods, properties, products, revenues of the country, etc., to superintend the credits, and safeguard and receive the dues from whatsoever place or places it may be, or from whomsoever it may be. If 'Umar bin 'Awadh succeeds Ghalib, his successor, Salih bin Ghalib bin 'Awadh, should be appointed the Chief Official under his command. Thus the successor of every ruler should be appointed the Chief Official, as above defined.

"The Chief Official may be allowed to appoint whomsoever he desires to receive the revenue, safeguard the goods and products, demand and receive from any person or persons what is due to the ruler, and take action, either personally or through his attorney, for the recovery of debts due to the ruler. If the successor be absent in India, his heir should officiate in Arabia, administering, receiving dues, and appointing attorneys for the recovery of debts due to the ruler. But if the successor be in Arabia his heir should act in his place in India, administering, receiving dues, appointing attorneys for the recovery of debts due to the ruler, and negotiating settlements. If both (the successor and his heir) be in the same place they should assist each other in the administration and recovery of dues, but either should be sufficient to act if one be absent. The successor should be under the orders of the ruler, and the heir to the successor should be under the orders of the successor.

"In the cities of Shibam, Haura, Hajarein, and all the cities that are within the district of Hadhramaut, the ruler may appoint whomsoever he approves, either one or more, as representatives in each of these places, to administer the Government on his behalf and to be under his command. The representative should rule over his subjects with justice, hear complaints, judge wisely, prohibit wicked deeds, dispense the law that Almighty God has sent to His Prophet, may His mercy and peace be on him, endeavouring to improve the affairs of the country and people, and have compassion and pity on those, such as the weak and poor, over whom God has made him superior. He must give an account to the ruler of the revenue, expenditure, taxes, productions, and all which the ruler has appointed him to administer.

643 "If the representative disobeys the ruler, or shows any opposition, or does not maintain justice and oppresses the people, or gives no account of his administration, the ruler may dismiss him and appoint another in his place. If the ruler wishes to give him another appointment and does not desire that he should act as a representative he may be discharged and another appointed in his stead. The ruler is at liberty to appoint or dismiss whom he likes from the cities.

"The ruler must provide his successors, their sons and relatives, with an adequate allowance of food, clothing, riding animals, etc., and he must provide a settled allowance of food, clothing, etc., on the sons of the sons of his brother 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti, and on his descendants from generation to generation; also on the sons of the sons of Ghalib and descendants from generation to generation. He must also provide for those living in the ports of Shihr and Mukalla and their dependencies, or in the Hadhramaut, Shibam, and Haura, and for their descendants from generation to generation, and consider them as his sons.

"Every ruler who reigns over the ports of Shihr or Mukalla and their dependencies, as well as Shibam, Hadhramaut, etc., should provide such an allowance as is possible to all those related to our late father, 'Umar bin 'Awadh, and the sons of their sons who reside at Shihr or Mukalla and their dependencies, Hadhramaut, or Shibam, provided they are under his command, and obey, comply, and submit to him and are his supporters and assistants.

"If the ruler becomes insane, or be a minor his successor should act on his behalf until his recovery or until he is of age. This is all that should be followed."

[648] It does not appear that British approval was given to this will[1], nor indeed is it clear that it was required, though the Government had apparently already intervened in questions of the succession. It will be seen that the will in effect laid down a constitution for the Qu'aiti state, though it is not in practice being followed at the present day, and that the ordinary methods of election of a Sultan do not apply.

643 171 'Umar bin 'Awadh could never have founded the present Qu'aiti dynasty if he had remained in the Hadhramaut. The fortunes of that dynasty were laid in India, and ever since 'Umar took service under the Nizam of Hyderabad and made his name and fortune in that service, the connection with Hyderabad has been maintained. His descendants are hereditary Jemadars in the Nizam's forces, but the connection with India became more than one of service in a foreign army for several members of the family married Indian ladies, so that there is now much Indian blood in the family. Apart from the fact that they consider their Hadhramaut possessions as a private estate, they have other private estates which in his will

[1] [i.e., of 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti, founder of the Qu'aiti dynasty. See pp. 80-82, category 643 -- Analyst]

Sultan 'Awadh dealt with on the same footing as those of the Hadhramaut. 643 171

Although the Indian connection is not a popular one with the indigenous inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, the dominant Yafa'i section of the population finds no objection to it, and it has in fact been the means of the introduction of a more advanced system of Government than any to be found elsewhere in the Protectorate, with the possible exception of Lahej where the enlightened rule of the 'Abdali dynasty again owes much to external influence, namely, to its close proximity to Aden. It has already been sufficiently indicated that Sultan 'Umar and his brother have been largely responsible for many of these improvements. After travelling in the western part of the Protectorate the contrast between the conditions in the Lower Yemen and those in the Hadhramaut are indeed remarkable. I do not think that anywhere else in the Protectorate the power of one authority is to be found extended over such a large area of country. There is a more than embryonic 642 show of good order and organized Government in Qu'aiti territory 185 on the coast, in the Mukalla and Shihr provinces, and up through the Du'an province to the Shibam province. This much I have seen with my own eyes and have observed the close contact between Provincial and Central Governments. From all accounts the condition is the same in the Hajr province. By his system of political arrangements with the tribes in and around Qu'aiti territory the Sultan has done much to make travel secure and easy. He has an army and police force in which discipline and administration are not lacking.

Apart from this comparatively satisfactory policing of the country, there is a growing tendency to promote educational and other social services in the Qu'aiti dominions, especially in Mukalla and Shihr, and there is in those parts a very colourable imitation of the machinery of western Government.

Although the rule over the Hadhramaut has thus been influenced 642 to a large extent by Indian ideas, and although excessive Indianisation is unpopular with the pure Hadhramaut elements, nevertheless 177 the administration escapes a great deal of unpopularity by its 186 employment of local Arabs and slaves throughout the interior of 643 the country. Even in the Kathiri camp I found that Sultan 'Umar was personally popular, and during his tour through the country he was very well received.

The interior of the Qu'aiti territory is now fast catching up with the coast in its connection with the outside world. Recent 601 years have seen far more visitors enter the interior then ever before and they are universally well received. In addition there are connections in the Shibam province with the East Indies, and in the Du'an province with Egypt, Sudan, and Abyssinia. Everywhere there are connections with East Africa, and these are extensive among the Tamimis where I found some indication of a desire for settled administration.

185 In all this evident progress which is being made one is conscious of a certain amount of wasted energy. There is certainly some indication of the will to give the people of the country those amenities and services which we consider the right of all people, but the achievement falls considerably short of what it should be, not because the will to achieve is not there, but because of lack of knowledge. It is obvious that education is eagerly desired, such facilities as exist are more than taken advantage of, but the few and crowded schools, although they attempt to model their system on that of Aden, are lacking in many things that could be provided without much extra expenditure. Their shoddiness, no less than the fact that the instruction, despite the enthusiasm of the staffs, lacks enlightenment, seems to me to be due to the want of a guiding hand. In the same way though the necessity of a good water-supply is realized the lack of protection to the water-supply argues only an absence of expert advice. These are but samples of the need for help which one can see in every aspect of the Mukalla administration.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE KATHIRI STATE.

642 The condition of that part of the Hadhramaut remaining under Kathīri influence is in marked contrast to the large extent of survey under Qu'aiti rule or influence. We have to begin our survey of the situation with an entirely different set of premises. It will already have been sufficiently seen that the Kathīris are probably indigenous to the Hadhramaut, or at any rate so long settled there as to have become in every sense of the word sons of the land in which they live. Their dynasty is therefore a native one. At one time they were far and away the predominant people of the whole country and their influence extended beyond its bounds. Gradually, owing to their introduction of mercenaries, it has become less and less, though the present landlocked position of the Sultanate dates from only recent times.

643 Among the Kathīris we find the usual tribal system of election of a Sultan from the members of a family which has gradually become the predominant one of the whole Confederation. The way in which the tribes of the Shenafir Confederation are related to each other and descended from a common ancestor is shown in an appendix.

642 643 A Sultan who is head of his tribe but not its ruler is unfortunately only too common an occurrence in Arabia, and the position of the Kathīri Sultan is no anomaly. With the gradual curtailment of Kathīri power, differences between the various tribes and clans of the Confederation have tended to become more acute, and nowadays the actual rule of the Al 'Abdulla is, as will be seen, confined to a couple of towns and a few villages. But this does not

mean that his position *vis à vis* the Confederation is wholly negli- 643
gible. The influence that an individual ruler exerts over a con-
federation of tribesmen depends to a large extent on the personality 642
of the individual and I found plenty of evidence that Sultan 'Ali
bin Mansur is universally respected, admired, and held in affection
amongst the Shenafir tribesmen. Even though his word is not
universally law his services are much sought in mediation between
different factions, and there is no lack of factions in the Confedera-
tion. Along the length of the valley from the east of Shibam [484]
to the east of Tarim, which is considered Kathiri, village after
village is a small city-state on its own. It is difficult to pass from
one to another, even now that the motor-car has come, without the
traditional *siyar* or escort.

Typical of the situation has been the state of war that has existed 578
for some time between the Āl 'Umar and Āl 'Āmr clans. They 669
have centred round the respectably-sized town of Al Ghurfa between
Shibam and Seiyun. Five or six years ago some of the tribesmen
of the Āl 'Umar started interfering with the inhabitants of Al
Ghurfa. Bin 'Abdat, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Āmr, protested to Salim
bin Ja'fer, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Umar, and proposed that they should
unite to make peace in Al Ghurfa. Hitherto disputes in the town [692]
were commonly referred to the settlement of one Sheikh Bā Abūd,
but this arrangement appears to have broken down. Bin 'Abdat
informed Bin Ja'fer that if he would not help him, he (Bin 'Abdat)
would establish control in the town himself. As Bin Ja'fer did not
give him support he took action himself and established order.
The new state of affairs was not popular, and probably resulted in
some further disorder which had its repercussions beyond local
limits. At this juncture the Qu'aiti *wazir* came to Shibam and
brought pressure on Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur to unite with him and
Salim bin Ja'fer in compelling Bin 'Abdat to vacate Al Ghurfa, and
retire to his original place outside. Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur marched
against Bin 'Abdat with one gun and some troops; Seiyid Hussein,
the Qu'aiti *wazir*, also brought a gun and some troops from Shibam,
Salim bin Ja'fer brought his own men, and the three forces col-
lected at Al Ghiyel. The town of Al Ghurfa was bombarded, and,
as it was described to me, " they had a good battle but without
success ".

Seiyid Hussein, the *wazir*, retired after having successfully com- 669
plicated the issue, and Sultan 'Ali immediately followed suit, leaving 725
Bin 'Abdat and Bin Ja'fer to fight it out together. Both sides
entrenched themselves. The elaborate system of fortifications and
communication trenches, still visible at Al Ghurfa, reminded me
strongly of France. They extend over nearly a mile, and in this
small patch of the valley both sides lived an uncomfortable life
for several years. Any cultivation that was done was done [522]
under difficulties, and the fields could only be approached
through trenches. Salim bin Ja'fer enlivened the proceedings by 715
importing a sort of armoured car from Java. This is now derelict

715 and is offered for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet, presumably, other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

[726] The situation sounds almost incredible, but the war continued for
728 several years. At last Sultan 'Ali supported by the Al Kaf Seiyids,
669 the strongest influence for peace in Kathīri territory, thought matters had gone far enough, and invited the disputants to Seiyun to conclude a peace. The terms suggested were agreed to on all points except for one requiring Bin 'Abdat to demolish two small forts. The matter appeared to have reached a deadlock when a Seiyid of Aden, of Hadhramaut origin, Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman al Jifri, proceeded to the Hadhramaut and offered his services in the settlement of the trouble. He is a friend of Bin 'Abdat's, and Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman and Bubekr al Kaf sent him to Bin 'Abdat to advise him not to hold out on account of the two small forts. Matters were probably ripe for a settlement as everybody was tired of hostilities, but Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman very creditably brought the feud to a satisfactory conclusion. What was even more satisfactory was that a gathering of more than a hundred representatives of all sections of the Shenafir was held at Seiyun, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman succeeded in assisting Sultan 'Ali, backed by the Al Kaf Seiyids, to negotiate a truce between all the Shenafir tribes. This agreement, which takes effect from the 1st of Sha'bān 1353 (9th November 1934) provides for a truce of two years and two months in all matters relating to blood feuds between the various tribes, and gives also a guarantee of five years security for travellers on the routes.

● 643 It may thus be that the foundations have now been laid for an
185 era of peace in Kathīri land, and the time seems to be propitious
565 for the establishment of a greater solidarity in Kathīri rule. There are certainly strong elements in favour of peace. Foremost of all is Sultan 'Ali himself. He is a man of culture and very charming personality with that kind of magnetism which inspires instinctive respect and affection. I do not think anybody who has met him can fail to receive the impression that he is a good man in the best sense of the word, nor can anyone who has discussed the situation with him fail to be impressed with the earnestness of his desire for peace. In this desire he is warmly and ably supported by many of the leading families, of whom the most important are the Al Kaf and Saqqaf Seiyids. Although they are Seiyids the measures of reform which these families support are many of them in flagrant opposition to the old conservative policy of the Seiyids, which for long maintained that body as the most powerful and the most desperately retrogressive party in the Hadhramaut. These families have shown that they can still play a very important part in the destinies of the country, and have in fact earned the right to speak in common voice with the Sultan in pressing reforms. It may also be observed that they are the heaviest, as well as the most willing,
[651] taxpayers in the country. Their annual contributions on Government and charitable undertakings amount to at least $70,000 a
year, without considering special expenditure.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



than purely ethnographical considerations, and I certainly believe that with some assistance the present trend of progress in Qu'aiti territory and desire for peace and development in Kathīri territory could be co-ordinated to a common end.

So much for the treaty.* Unfortunately the spirit of it has not as yet been carried into effect. Mistrust still reigns supreme. This mistrust insists on the fulfilment of such a condition as correspondence by the Kathīris with the British being conducted through Qu'aiti channels. If the mistrust did not exist, this provision would be a natural one tending to the facility of the conduct of public business. On the other hand, such provisions as that requiring co-operation remains a dead letter, and any attempts to secure progress by the Kathīris seem doomed to obstruction by the Qu'aitis.

In October 1927, and May 1928, conferences were held at Singapore in which measures were discussed which might lead to the improvement of the two states, and proposals were even brought forward for the institution of an assembly composed of representatives of both states to " scrutinize the budget ", and concern itself with the interstate co-ordination of certain departmental activities. These conferences were of course not likely to have any far-reaching result, but they were interesting as showing the ideas that were being imbibed by Kathīri emigrants in the advanced environment of the Straits Settlements. Such democratic concepts, however, were not likely to find favour at the present stage of development of thought in the Hadhramaut.

In 1929 the Kathīri Sultan drew attention to the lack of co-operation and the difficulty of introducing schemes of reform, and he proposed that a conference should be assembled to discuss the matter. The Qu'aiti to whom the matter was referred expressed his readiness to hold such a conference, but although the idea was encouraged it subsequently came to nothing and was eventually postponed *sine die*.

Shortly before my visit to the Hadhramaut Sultan 'Umar made his state tour of his domains and of Kathīri territory. He was received everywhere with acclamation and appears to have played the role of beneficent prince. He was presented with a petition asking for reforms. Certain abuses were mentioned in the petition, and, in particular, attention was called to the fact that although taxes were heavy they were not applied to the benefit of the subjects. There were also complaints of insecurity and the unrestricted traffic in arms. The petition recited the conclusion of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 and several others since concluded by Qu'aitis and Kathīris. The part of the petition dealing with these further documents is as follows :—

> " The next treaty between both Governments was concluded on 10th Shawāl 1336 (1918). There followed also a third pact, which was concluded on 30th Dhu'l Qada 1336, between the Qu'aiti Government on the one part and the Āl Tamim on the

* [Qu'aiti-Kathiri agreement of 1918 -- Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



car road. The really difficult part of the construction has been completed, from Tarim onwards towards Gheil. Much of the money was paid out to the Beduins, and in particular the Hamumis agreed that the road should be safe. At the request of the Qu'aiti the route of the road was changed as he was afraid that the Hamumis would have increased facilities for movement and raiding. Large sums of money were then disbursed on the Ma'di tribes through whose territory the Qu'aiti asked that the road should go. There is no doubt that the road could have been successfully completed, and the Al Kaf Seiyids were, and still are, willing to bear the whole cost. Sufficient support, however, was not received from the Qu'aitis and the work was stopped by Sultan 'Umar. 651 653

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

Mukalla is the seat of Government of the Qu'aiti state. His Highness the Sultan, who is an absolute monarch in so far as the internal affairs of his state are concerned, has his principal palace there. The old palace of the Kasadis near the Customs in the centre of the old part of the town has now been turned into Government offices where the *Wazir* and other officials are in daily attendance. 643

The *Wazir* has a general superintendence over all departments of Government and presides over the *Wazir's* Court (*Hakm ad Dola.*) He is also the Governor of the Mukalla Province. The Treasurer superintends the schools, the dispensary, the passport work, and registration of sales and transfers of land. He sees to all disbursements on behalf of the state and collects certain of the internal revenue. The Mukalla Customs, which were formerly farmed, as the Shihr and other customs still are, is a Government department with a paid staff. The Chief of Customs also superintends the work of the port, though there is a special shipping clerk who prepares shipping papers for the *Wazir's* signature, and there are the usual manifest clerks employed by the Customs. The Commander of the Forces, who is more of a Minister for War, also controls the prison. The uniformed police are under the command of a Shaush, and the slave police are under a slave who is also the police magistrate. The medical officer has charge of the dispensary and in addition performs port health work. He is assisted by a qualified compounder who also has certain municipal duties. 646

As examples of the monthly salaries paid to officials of the Qu'aiti state, the following may be cited: *Wazir*, $1,000; Chief of Customs, Rs.225; Doctor, Rs.200; Treasurer, Rs.100; Commander of the Forces, Rs.100; English Master, Rs.80; State Photographer, Rs.60. Most of the officials are given quarters. 465

There was at one time a species of State Council in Mukalla, but it was dissolved by the present *Wazir* and a Council of Qadhis instituted instead. The function of this Council is not immediately apparent. At the time of my visit there was some talk 645

I:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



619 721 622 Sheikh of the Manahil tribe. The present (1930) holder is one of the most famous leaders of the raid. The leader has always the perquisite of two or three of the best camels taken, otherwise there is equal division of the spoil ". Philby mentions their chief, Saif bin Tannaf, as going to the Governor of Hasa to plead his excuses for not paying his taxes, and of the wilder spirits of the Manahil and other tribes joining a band of raiders called *Al Ziqirt*. In May 1935, the Manahil concluded a two years' truce with the Tamimi.

622 Their *mansabs* are Seiyid Hādi bin Ahmed ad Dawīla, whom I met collecting his tithes, which he does from Husn al 'Ur to Wad'a during the crop season, 'Ali bin Ahmed al Hussein who has influence over the Beni 'Ujeil, and Muhammad bin 'Ali Mola Dawīla who has influence over the Beni Sa'id, a small nomad clan.

### Ba 'Atwa.

619 631 101 This small tribe, now scattered between Qu'aiti and Kathīri domains, deserves mention for its historic interest. Members of the tribe live in Mukalla, Shihr, Al Qatn, Seiyun, and Taris; they have no fixed country of their own. Like the Ja'da and the Ma'di, they claim descent from the Beni Hilāl and are therefore Ma'adic, sons of Ishmael, and not of Joktan. Legend tells that the Beni Hilāl, who are sometimes rumoured giants, once lived in the Wadis 'Amd and Henin, but that drought drove them forth to northern pastures.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## THE RULE OF THE KATHĪRI SULTANS OF THE ĀL 'ABDULLA.

643 Authorities appear to be divided as to whether the Kathīri tribe are of Dhufar, Hadhramaut, or Yemen origin. They originally rose to prominence towards the end of the fourteenth century under Bedr bin al Habrali, commonly known as Bedr Bu Tuweirak. The genealogy of the Āl 'Abdulla, the ruling family of the Kathīris, as far as I have been able to ascertain it, is given in an appendix. The Āl 'Abdulla number some 700 souls and live in Tarim, Seiyun, Wadi Tarba and Al Bada'; their *mansab* is Ahmed bin 'Abdur Rahman as Saqqaf.

By the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla are recognised as Sultans of the Shenafir Confederation, and their dominion is defined as including the towns and villages of Seiyun, Tarim, Taris, Al Ghurf, Mariama and Al Gheil, and the Shenafir tribes of 'Umar, 'Amr, Al Kathīr, Bajri and Jabir and " all that is within their boundaries ". Practically speaking the Sultan's rule is only absolute in the towns mentioned, and in Tarim he is represented by the sons of his uncle, 'Abdulla and Muhammad, sons of Ghalib bin Muhsin bin Ghalib, who are semi-independent. The present Sultan is 'Ali bin Mansur who succeeded his father (who died at Mecca on the day of the Standing on Arafat) in 1929.

The Kathīris have no organised Governmental institutions in the accepted sense of the word, though the Sultan and his supporters, including the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun, are very anxious for progress. Sultan 'Ali's state income is estimated at $20,000 a year in respect of Seiyun, Taris and Mariama; $6,000 of this is a direct contribution from the Al Kaf Seiyids, and the remainder consists of taxes on dates and on goods entering Seiyun. The whole sum is expended on state services, for Sultan 'Ali has a private income derived from Singapore. He maintains a force consisting of 200 indifferently armed slave soldiers in Seiyun, and 200 in Tarim. 643 642 651 565

In Tarim the Al Kaf contribute $12,000 a year to the city Treasury. There is a Town Council which organises the local taxation, and thanks to the Al Kaf Seiyids its affairs are said to be run in a very business-like way, for its budget balances. In normal times the political expenditure on maintaining peace between Tarim and the neighbouring tribes is perhaps $4,000 a year, and this is all borne by the Al Kafs. But to this normal expenditure is often added extraordinary expenditure as, for instance, in a case which occurred about May 1934, when Seiyid Bubekr, the second brother of the family, spent $12,000 in settling a dispute between Tarim and the Tamimis. 651 632 565

In T[illegible] and Seiyun there is a doctor and dispensary, but they are supp[illegible]by the Seiyids. At the time of my visit, the doctor, a Punjabi, was on leave and such work as was being carried on was being done by a dispenser. No great public use was made of his services. The dispensary costs the Al Kafs about $1,000 a month, and they spend $2,000 a month on charities and roads. As regards their expenditure on communications it should be recorded that they built all the water pools on the caravan route from Tarim to Shihr, that they spent $7,000 on building a pass at Al 'Arsha for caravans, and that Seiyid Bubekr has spent over $180,000 on road making between Tarim and Shihr. 743 565 735 653

The schools in Kathīri territory are almost entirely supported by the wealthy Seiyids. There are two Ribāts, religious foundations, principally supported by *Waqfs* (religious endowments) for the teaching of religion and philosophy. Of these one is in Seiyun and has an attendance of 40 students, and the other is in Tarim with an attendance of 120. The Saqqaf family of Seiyids maintain two schools in Seiyun, one containing 500 boys and seven teachers, the other 100 boys and four teachers, and the Al Kafs, who also contribute to the Ribāts, run two schools in Tarim. One of these formerly had an attendance of 400 boys but it is now only attended by children of the family, numbering 54. The other, a public school, accommodates between 300 and 400 boys. The Al Kafs also run one if not two schools at Khoreiba in Wadi Du'an in Qu'aiti territory. They are, in fact, the only people undertaking educational activities in a wider sense in that province. I believe, too, that they support the private schools in Mukalla and Shihr. 565 871

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

## INTRODUCTION

131 To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South
114 Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

631 Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali
643 and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

133 The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and
132 uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable antiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their
312 limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an
439 enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade.
167 The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

721 Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *liwas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

### Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the general control [illegible] Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika C[illegible]. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Ar[illegible]ians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and mi[illegible]ers. 647

In 1934 on the bes[illegible]gures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. 651
For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the 652
amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000.

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one 579
could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both [712
for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that 165]
the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had 625
not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the 721
bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns 701
marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular 643
mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his 619
authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between 728
all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State [652]
was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few.

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government. 619

[1]About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off. 567

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 pools built by the rich and progressive class of Seyyeds, whose many innovations have re-made the face of this ancient land of the Queen of Sheba.

131 The political frontiers of the Kathiri State describe a finger pointed downward from the Rub-al-Khali into the heart of [161] Hadhramaut. They enclose an area of some six thousand square miles and a population of sixty thousand, a third of whom dwell 652 in the city of Seiyun. The state's current average annual revenue runs close to $100,000.[1]

175 Early Kathiri history is obscure. Forebears of the present sultan once controlled all of Hadhramaut, but in the eighteenth century the al-Quaiti, an immigrant tribe of Yemeni origin, wrested control of the coastal region from their Kathiri overlords at Seiyun and gradually established hegemony over interior tribes until today the Quaiti State comprises nearly the whole of Hadhramaut. Until the "Peace of Ingrams,"[2] modern Kathiri history was dominated by constant and costly warfare between Seiyun and the parvenu Quaiti power at Mukalla.

●643 The present Kathiri ruler, His Highness Sultan Husayn Ali Ibn Mansur, succeeded to the throne on May 22, 1950, and was one of the five Aden chiefs selected to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth.[3] It is through Sultan Husayn's generous and patient correspondence that much of this statistical information concerning his far-off land has been gathered.

643 Political organization in the Kathiri State is patterned closely 645 after administrative machinery in Malaya.[4] Executive authority is vested in the sultan assisted by a Council of State of which the ruler is president and the British Resident an ex-officio member. The Council's remaining members include: the Kathiri State Secretary (*Wazir*) and heads of the departments of the Treasury, Customs, Education and Judiciary, in addition to four un-

436 [1] In 1951 the East African shilling, worth about $0.14, replaced the Indian rupee as legal tender in the Protectorate.

[2] William Harold Ingrams, last of the old-style empire-builders, did much to pacify and organize modern Hadhramaut in the years 1934–44. He was the first Resident Adviser to the states of Hadhramaut and the Eastern Aden Protectorate. To him, Hadhramis have given the name, "Peace-maker of the Desert."

[3] Others invited: the sultans of Mukalla, Lahej, Shuqra and the Amir of Dhala, the latter three, prominent chiefs of the Western Aden Protectorate.

[4] Ingrams visited Singapore in 1940 to study the operation of local governments in the Malay States for ways of stepping-up efficiency in native rule in the Hadhramaut.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



official members serving as consultative representatives of the "popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public services consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educational facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the state's own postage stamps[5] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, appears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements[8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

[5] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

[8] The Anglo-Kathiri treaty engagement of 1918 was merely an extension of the terms of a previous Anglo-Quaiti treaty to those parts of the Hadhramaut interior controlled by the Kathiri sultan. By terms of the Anglo-Kathiri agreement the Kathiri State was placed under British protectorate. The 1939 Adviser Agreement provided for the appointment of a British Resident Adviser to the court of the Kathiri sultan.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to atract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101 776

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

St Hamilton G45 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The Sultan of Lahej rules over the territory of the 'Abdali tribe, and his frontier marches with the northern frontier of Aden Colony. He is descended from a Yafa'i family, who were appointed as Governors of Lahej by an Imam of San'a. Later they revolted against the Imams and declared their independence. By purchase, Imamic grants and seizure they own a considerable portion of the Lahej lands; they are of foreign origin to the tribe over which they rule.

The Amirs of Dhala' were appointed Governors of the Dhala' province, including the lands of the tribes of Halumein, Ahmad, Azraq and Shu'Ar, by the Imamas of San'a, and, later, of the lands of Sha'ib by a Sultan of Turkey. I see that the official handbook describes the Amirs of Dhala' as descendants from slaves. It is surprising how such obvious inaccuracies persist. To see that they have no slave blood in them requires no more than ordinary eyesight, and it would be impossible for an Imam of San'a to appoint a slave to any post, since there are no slaves in the Yemen at all, slavery being forbidden by the tenets of the Zeidi sect. The Amirs are of typical Central Yemeni type, such as is found on the Yemen plateau. Later, they rebelled against the Imams and established their independence. Thus they rule over a confederation of small tribes, while belonging to none of them.

These appointed Suzerains, of whom the Sultan of Makalla is one, form a distinct class among Arab Chiefs. They do not mix with their tribesmen in the usual democratic Arab way, but stand apart, as it were, and are addressed by titles of exaggerated respect. Not being tribesmen of the tribe they rule, they have no traditional and family holds over the people and their attitudes towards their tribesmen are those of foreign rulers. They do not, as a rule, favour elected hereditary headmen in their villages, but prefer to appoint outsiders as headmen, whom they pay as retainers.

When a Suzerain dies, the election of the new Chief is held by the family only and the tribesmen are not consulted.

The accepted Suzerains are represented by one example only—the Sharifs of Beihan. It is, however, an interesting example.

In Beihan there are settlements of Sharifs and of Seyyids. There are also two tribes among whom these holy men live. Both the Sharifs and the Seyyids are arms-bearing families, and for some time were divided by a feud. Before the Great War, the elected Chief of the Sharifs, a far-sighted man called Ahmad, negotiated a treaty of protection and friendship with Great Britain. In this he gained the support of the lower tribe and of half the upper tribe, which was divided by a feud. After the Great War he concluded a truce with the Seyyids, and consolidated his relationships with his supporters among the tribesmen, who amounted to three-quarters of the population of Beihan. They accepted him as Suzerain and as their general agent for dealing with their foreign affairs. Thus, while he is undoubtedly a Suzerain, he is one of limited authority. He does not claim taxes from the land or the trade except in his own settlements, and is, consequently, very poor. But, for all that, the influence of the Sharifs is considerable in all the Beihan area. Their position is not, of course, unique in Arabia, but it is doubtful if any others than holy men could find themselves in a similar one.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM 2



The elected hereditary tribal Chiefs form the third type. In each tribal confederation there is a central tribe. Of this central tribe one family only provides Chiefs to the confederation. Normally the election of a Chief is the concern, not of his family only, but of the central tribe, while powerful petty Chiefs of other tribes within the confederation have a considerable say in it. Such Chiefs are, by virtue of the conditions of their election, truly democratic. By ancient tradition, however, they are held in great respect and are referred to invariably, as is their family, as the "Dola," or dynasty. They are accorded high-sounding titles by the Government and by other Chiefs, but their tribesmen address them by their names, and it would appear that the high-sounding titles are of recent adoption in the country. The Imam of San'a rarely uses them. Government correspondence is, for this reason, often a source of merriment. 624

It will be seen that all Chiefs are, whatever their type, elected in a greater or lesser degree—the Suzerains within their family circle and the hereditary Chiefs within their tribe. The main difference between the types is that, whereas the Suzerains are of foreign descent to the tribes over which they rule, the hereditary Chiefs are of the tribe and, as such, do not need to surround themselves with the trappings of imposed authority. In appearance the Suzerains are more imposing, and this has misled officials into supposing that they are of more consequence socially than other Chiefs are. This is, of course, not so. 643 622

In all these types of Chief, when the Chief dies his eldest son would appear, by custom, to have less right to succeed than others. Suzerains always try to impose their eldest or their favourite son as accepted heir during their lifetimes. This has happened in Lahej, where it led to a revolt among the Sultan's relations, and in Makalla by arrangement. The Sharifs of Beihan have been exceptions to this, and have abided by custom. When Sharif Ahmad died, they held discussions among themselves. The eldest son was Sharif Hussein, but he was appointed Regent to his own eldest son, a young boy, who was elected Sharif. The reason given for this was that the grandson of the dead Chief had longer to live than his father and that frequent change in leadership was a bad thing. As a rule, however, Chiefly families pass the Chiefdoms from branch to branch, and, when the Chief dies, a nephew will usually succeed. Among the 'Audhali recently, the Chief was murdered by his cousin. The tribe was split in two by feud, but one half elected the murderer's son, a boy of eight years old, to the Chiefdom. This boy was accepted in 1934, when the feud ceased, as Sultan of the tribe. 628

We next come to the holy classes. The first of these are the Sharifs and Seyyids, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. They live in settlements and elect among themselves in each family a headman. They have great influence in the community, but it varies, of course, with the amount of their riches. Most Seyyids—the only Sharifs are those in Beihan—do not bear arms and take no part in tribal warfare. They are peacemakers, and derive considerable income as such, and as dispensers of the Sharia or holy law of Islam. They are treated with veneration and respect and, after death, are frequently treated as saints. They marry 792 [556] 423

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west. 142

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration. 778

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting. 181 291 576

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy. 619 631 643

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it. [144]

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe. 576

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 101 174 619

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1942 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
YEMEN ML 1



elected Imam, he goes outside the acknowledged boundaries of his kingdom (the present Imam acknowledges no boundaries, nor have any of his predecessors) he ceases to be Imam, and a new Imam must be elected. The Imam is usually elected during the lifetime of his predecessor, so that when one dies the country is not without an Imam. H 174 Y 643

Now all these conditions are those pertaining to divine Kings. There is little doubt that they are ancient pre-Islamic conditions, and it is possible that they are taken from the conditions under which the Tobbas of Himyar became King and which governed the ancient kingship of Sheba. Some inscriptions made by the Tobbas, who ruled over Axum in Abyssinia, as well as Saba and Eastern Yemen, are countersigned, as it were, by a Minister who styles himself "The Sacrifice"—in itself a very significant title. These conditions must have been accepted by the Persian and Abyssinian rulers of the Yemen, and both they and subsequent rulers must have thought it as well to assume the kingship in its ancient form.

In the same way as the Imam is elected and proclaimed, so under him each confederation elects its Chiefs and petty Chiefs within their tribes and families. The central tribes elect their Chiefs, who become the heads of confederations, and each tribe elects its leaders within itself; only in the case of the smaller units, from the confederation downwards, there appear to be no such conditions as I have mentioned regarding the Imamate. All these Chiefs are figureheads who can exert a strong influence but who are not expected to rule. H 622

The scene thus represented is one of the greatest interest to anthropologists and to sociologists. It is a stage in the development of nations. Before the formation of kingdoms and before Islam, Arabia was a land of many gods. Each of these gods was the particular god of a tribe, and his worship was in the hands of a priestly tribe who elected a Priest-Chief. He was, as it were, a divine Chief, and doubtless it was his main duty to ensure fertility, which entails all the priestly functions of bringing rain, guarding against disease and supervising agriculture. Both the magic and the custom were higher than him. He could not change either but was himself ruled by both. In inter-tribal disputes he spoke for the tribe and not for himself as ruler of the tribe. When Islam came, the tribal god vanished, but the Priest-Chief was left as a figurehead, with a vague aura of holiness but with nevertheless a considerable loss of his power, which was never very great. This is the position of the elected hereditary Chief in the Aden Protectorate to-day. H 174 622 793

It is obvious that such Chiefs cannot be expected to rule their confederations and tribes unless they obtain military power. For the most part they are reluctant to do this. At one time it was the policy of the Government to give arms and ammunition to the Chiefs so as to strengthen their hands against their more unruly tribesmen. The hereditary elected Chiefs, however, did not respond to this policy as they were supposed to do, but gave the arms away to brigands in the form of bribes. The Suzerains avidly accepted these presents from the Government, for they understood rule as we do, and have held their positions through this understanding. This, by contrast between the two types of Chief, throws a strong light on the accepted position of the hereditary Chiefs. There is, H 622 643 648

182 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last
628 quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras
411 carbine, selling at the price of fou[illegible]ts, wrought untold harm. Ease
436 of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some
[712] years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by
182 Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small
671 thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the
576 gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.
183 Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

182 I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into
613 their confederations and have shown the course which these confedera-
728 tions are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of
671 Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts,
[625] whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when
000 nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



its own language, and in its trade, which is dhow-borne, unlike that of Mukalla, which is largely steamer-borne in normal times, it deals with Muscat, the Persian Gulf and India, and to some extent with East Africa, for the coastal Mahris are great seafarers. The Mahris, unlike the Hadhramis, do not settle abroad, so by reason of their habits and their speech they are an even more exclusive and secluded people than the Hadhramis. But in effect little is seen or heard of the Mahris, and their territory is considered part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and they have their contacts with His Majesty's Government through the Residency at Mukalla.

### The Western Aden Protectorate

To me the outstanding features of the political set-up of the Western Protectorate are the position of His Highness the Sultan of Lahej, the large number of treaty chiefs, and the general tribal atmosphere of the country. A glance at the map will show why the Sultan of Lahej is the most important chief in the protectorate, for his territory stands at the door of Aden, and through it land traffic from the Yemen and from a great deal of the protectorate must pass. It is the transit dues on goods that have made Lahej the richest state of the Western Protectorate, and with the money His Highness has managed to develop Lahej territory as a sort of private estate, which pays because it grows so much fruit and vegetables which are consumed in Aden. For he has water, and a good deal of the spate of Yemen pass with the Wadi al Kabir and the Wadi as Saghir, which flow through his territory.

So that geography has played a great part in determining the part that Lahej should play in the protectorate. But much of the prestige that the Sultan enjoys to-day is due to his own wisdom. While strenuously guarding the internal affairs of his own Sultanate from external interference, His Highness has consistently given every possible help to His Majesty's Government in matters of defence and so on, and has also co-operated so wholeheartedly in the settling of disputes and political matters generally that he is almost universally accepted as an impartial arbitrator with no axe to grind. This personal achievement of Sultan 'Abdul Karim has made him the leader of the Western Protectorate, and it is really remarkable, as the general tendency of tribal chiefs in the protectorate is not to brook interference in their affairs from others.

There are in the Western Protectorate twenty chiefs in direct treaty relationship with His Majesty's Government, and seven others who have agreements. There are about thirty-five all told who correspond directly with Government. The "nine cantons" are the 'Abdali, the Amiri, the Haushabi, the Fadhli, the Yafa'i, the Subeihi, the 'Aqrabi, the 'Aulaqi, and the 'Alawi—the original tribes with whom treaties were made. The other tribes in the Western Protectorate—the Audhali and the Beihani—did not come into treaty relations until later. But the Yafa'i, the 'Aulaqi, and the Subeihi are divided. In the Upper Yafa'i confederation there are treaties with the Upper Yafa'i Sultan, the Naqibs of Mausatta, the Dhubi Sheikh, the Maflahi Sheikh, the Hadhrami Sheikh, and the Shaibi Sheikh. In Lower Yafa' there is only one treaty, with the Sultan. In 'Aulaqi there are treaties with the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, and

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1946) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Government and beduin. Many beduin tribes who were inveterate foes of the Qu'aitis have now declared permanent peace with the Government and said they are "sons of government." The State Government has now a beduin affairs department staffed entirely by local tribesmen, and there is a system of tribal courts. There are many tribesmen in Government service, and the greater number of the soldiers and police are now tribesmen and beduin. In the old days, Hadhrami tribesmen were hardly ever employed in Government and there were very few in the forces. The only effective soldiers were Yafa'is, irregular mercenaries and slaves. Even the Government slaves have now disappeared. There is an African company in the regular army which consists of ex-slaves and Somalis and is employed on guarding an R.A.F. station, and others are employed as Government servants on the same footing as Arabs; the old slaves have been pensioned. All soldiers and police are taught to read and write, and by passing examinations in the military school can and do secure promotion. Enlistment is popular now because of the amenities provided and because a soldier can definitely expect to be more fitted for civil life when he leaves the forces. The status of a military life is very definitely advanced. 641 178 [647] 701 178 [212]

Another thing that attracts attention is the development in education. The coastal elementary schools have 1,700 boys in them instead of 300, and the education department is rapidly extending over the interior. There is an intermediate boarding school for 80 boys which opened last year. There is a boarding school attached to the Hadhrami Beduin Legion with 100 beduin boys in it, and another with 24 beduin girls. There are several town girls' schools, the biggest and best being in Mukalla with 150 girls, who learn not only to read and write, but to sew, embroider, wash, and cook. A most interesting experiment has lately been started with a whole village organized as a school, where 300 boys and girls of the serf class—a class which works hard but does very little thinking for itself—are being trained to run their own village and to learn various industries and crafts. Teachers of the Mukalla Government and other volunteers are also teaching adults of the serf class to read and write the language they speak and trying to induce in them some public health consciousness. 871 178

On the medical side a hospital is being built in Mukalla, and the sanitary state of the town—which may shortly have a municipality—has been greatly improved. 743 178

Of old, Government[1] was mainly carried on by a handful of officials with a Sultan generally in India, but the present Sultan has spent most of his reign in his state and has a state council of officials and unofficials to help him. The executive work of Government is in charge of a state secretary and twenty organized departments. 643 178

In the Kathiri State progress has not been nearly so spectacular. The revenue is much smaller and the Wadi Hadhramaut is so divided by the jealousies of Sultans and tribesmen, and handicapped by the unwillingness or inability of the bulk of the seiyids to get together and co-operate, that the Government is not nearly so alive. There is, however, a state secretary at Seiyun and a good deal of the work of a government has been organized. 642 178

1 [Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

# THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

701 DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

579 721 643 Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

648 728 Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

648 At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

185 625 701 From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls. [871]

113 * Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

18 Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main wadi system, there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *badu* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government, and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

The climate of Mukalla is on the whole pleasant enough, and with the gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year we had a particularly bad

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the [186] austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These 342 well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign 578 countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them 185 among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem 648 presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination 157 before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, 578 and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same 648 demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section 185 of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with 643 the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at 625 Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in 185 a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had [illegible] interrupted by blood feuds and brigandage.

come they are united with us in a common rejoicing. That is the kind 609
of recompense that gladdens the hearts of those who have worked for 648
these people and have striven to make British protection a real benefit 186
to them. It encourages our belief that our pioneer work in this country has been undertaken on the right lines, and that we may hope to add another success to those that have been achieved by our predecessors and contemporaries in other parts of the Empire. A great deal remains to be done in the Aden Protectorate, but with patience and perseverance and with the right principles to guide us we may be confident that it will be accomplished.

Colonel Tod: I do not know whether you would like to hear any- 000
thing of the earlier history of the Protectorate, but the time I spent in the Aden Protectorate was before even Sir Bernard Reilly's time, forty years ago, when I was a member of the Anglo-Turkish Mandate Commission. At that time the Protectorate consisted of only nine tribes. Since then it has been considerably extended. Hadhramaut was a *terra incognita* in those days and was certainly not part of the Protectorate.

I think the Sultan of Lahej owes his preponderance chiefly to the 643
fact that all roads from the interior lead through his capital, of which 491
he has taken advantage at different times.

You mentioned the incursion of the Turks in 1915. That was by 721
no means their first incursion into the Protectorate. When they re- 648
conquered the Yemen in about 1870 they gradually pushed their rule south until they penetrated many miles into the British Protectorate. When the British Commission went up there in 1901, intending to open friendly relations with the Turks about the demarcation of the frontier, they found the Turks had brought down a considerable force, had taken military possession of that part of the Protectorate, only just leaving the town of Dhala itself outside the militarily occupied area, and had seized the heads of the passes that led down to Aden; so the position of the Commission was a most difficult one. The Turks simply put their foot down and said, "J'y suis, j'y reste," and we had no power to turn them out. There was just an insignificant escort of Indian troops with the Commission. It took a very long time indeed to persuade the home Government that they must intervene with force, and it was only when a force stronger than the Turkish force was sent up there in 1902 that the Turks were compelled to withdraw. That means that Dhala was occupied by the Turks for about thirty years. It

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



443 passed through this unknown world, and the desire and hope, until now cautiously suppressed, grew unconsciously within us, to enter the land that lay behind the town and to learn to know its people.

## 2. THE VIZIER SAYYID ABŪ BAKR BIN ḤUSĒN EL-MIḤḌĀR.

645 We made acquaintance, the morning after our arrival, with [643] the Vizier, who, in the absence of the Sultan, deals with state affairs. Sayyid Abū Bakr bin Ḥusēn el-Miḥḍār is a man in the prime of life; he is energetic, has a congenial, alert personality, and shows absolutely no sign of opposition to the *Naṣrānīs*, the *Efrendjīs*. The heavy task of governing the Qe-645 ᶜēṭī Sultanate falls chiefly upon his solid shoulders. His popu-565 larity is supported doubly by tradition: in the first place, as 175 sayyid he belongs to the class of spiritual and worldly leaders, for he is a direct descendant of the Prophet, and, in the second place, the house of Abū Bakr was, six generations ago, the most influential family of Ḥaḍramaut.[1] In an evil hour, in their struggle against the Bedouin tribes, they called in the help of the Yāfiᶜ, a tribe noted for its fighting qualities. Its Sultan sent help under one Qeᶜēṭī, who, after having delivered the sayyids of the el-Miḥḍār family from their enemies, took the leadership into his own hands. The power of his family expanded. In 1874 the Qeᶜēṭīs asked the British Government in Aden to intervene for the purpose of reaching a settlement in a war, which had arisen over the refusal of the Āl Kathīr to repay a sum of money which had been lent to them. On this occasion Makalla and esh-Shiḥr were, with the help of the British, taken away from the Kathīrī Sultan and handed over to the Qeᶜēṭī, but the family of el-Miḥḍār had remained the leading one of that region.

701 The Vizier declared that he had *no* objection to our journey 569 into the interior. The route via Wādī Dōᶜan was safe, provided

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 75; *A Handbook of Arabia*, i. (London, 1920), p. 542 *sq.*

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that we travelled with an escort of slave soldiers[1] of the *Dōla.*[2]

Nevertheless, as dangers threatened in the Āl Kathīr region, he strongly advised us not to go farther than Shibām and, under no condition, to attempt to return to esh-Shiḥr by way of Terīm. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm was certainly a rich and influential man, but he had no ruling power and could only obtain the favour of the Bedouins by means of money, and could give us no armed protection against them. El-Qeʿēṭī's power was great and a slave soldier of his would be a "flag of protection" for us.

The preparations for our departure would take at least four days, but then we should have reliable guides and good transport. We might make an excursion to esh-Shiḥr during our days of waiting, but it would have to be by way of the sea-coast as the route by the mountains was too tiring — "tiring" in this case meaning "unsafe". The Ḥumūmī tribe had been at war for a long time with el-Qeʿēṭī, and the latter's soldiers are being constantly ambushed and shot down. This even occurs on the coast road. We were quite willing to follow this route although we should have preferred to go one way and to return the other.

### 3. A TRIP TO ESH-SHIḤR VIA SHEḤĒR.

The next day the Vizier sent a motor-bus with two drivers and five soldiers for us. We were not to go further that day than Sheḥēr (little Shiḥr). It was afternoon before we drove out of the very high and strongly fortified and guarded gate

[1] We saw in Makalla negro soldiers and Arab soldiers from the Yāfiʿ tribe in the hinterland of Aden. The negroes are slaves. Their numbers are decreasing in modern times of anti-slavery action. The Kathīrī Sultans have slave soldiers too, but we saw only a few in their territory.

[2] *Dōla* (دولة) means „dynasty, governing family, kingdom, state". In Ḥaḍramaut people generally speak of the *dōla* in the Qeʿēṭī territory and of the *sulṭān* in the Āl Kathīr region.

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Sultan's huge, high palace. The car stops before the comparatively small gate and our escort discharge their guns. The gate opens and soldiers accompany us up a long staircase running across the front of the building and behind the outer wall to the entrance proper. The impression made by the palace is one of neglect and dirt. This is because the Sultan lives in Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn and only comes to stay in this palace for a few days from time to time to attend to affairs of state. At all other times it is entrusted to the very indifferent care of the soldiers who are lodged within it. 361

We are conducted to a simple room, where the carpets are old and dusty and where, on an European travelling rug, sits a tall, very thin young man, the Sultan of Shibām, ʿAlī bin Ṣalāḥ bin Muḥammad bin ʿUmar bin ʿAwaḍ bin ʿAbdallāh el-Qeʿēṭi, the grand-nephew of the Sultan of Makalla. We are quietly and kindly received. The Sultan is very much displeased that our escort has not given him due notice of our arrival; if he had known in time he would have received us in his palace at el-Qaṭn, which is suitably furnished for receptions. Sayyid ʿAluwī tries to apologize, but without success. In the meanwhile chairs have been borrowed in the town and placed in a large room. We can at last retire and try to wash the coating of clinging dust from our weary bodies. During these private operations we are not left alone: attentive soldiers keep watch and even allow immaculately dressed notables of Shibām to enter. These have heard of the arrival of foreigners and are on the spot at once to learn all about them. They have come in their magnificent new cars and with Arabian hospitality invite us to drive with them to the garden city in front of Shibām and to have a cup of tea with them in their garden pavilions. It has an incredible sound to our ears, when, to add to the attractiveness of their invitation, they also say that we can swim in the mason-work swimming-pool in their garden. We accept with gratitude, on condition that the Sultan makes no objection to our leaving his hospitable roof for the time being. 643 609 644

In Shibām no poll tax is paid by the population as is the case in Sēwūn and Terīm. A tax of a quarter of a *riyāl*[1] is levied on every camel load that enters the gate of Shibām; also 4 % on sales of houses or land is due to the Sultan. Of the produce of the fields which depend on rain, 1 % is earmarked for the state treasury, *i. e.* the Sultan's pocket. The Government levies no tax on lands that are irrigated by their owners' efforts. The Qeᶜēṭī Sultan of Makalla owns much land in his kingdom: his tobacco fields at Ghēl Bā Wazīr, near Sheḫēr, bring in about 30.000 *riyāl* a year, and he owns many palm-groves in Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. Yet the greater part of his income comes from Bombay and Hyderabad, where he has extensive land and house property, and he receives 1500 *rupees* a month from the Niẓām of Hyderabad for his services as commander of the troops.

These great riches of the Qeᶜēṭīs are the source of their power. The existence of a central authority is, in spite of many abuses, noticeable in their territory. It makes itself felt whenever urgently necessary and has no difficulty in holding its own against the Āl Kathīr, who are divided amongst themselves and are lacking in strong financial support.

The Sultan of Shibām only receives a salary from the Sultan of Makalla, to whom he is bound by family ties.

The military forces of the Qeᶜēṭī consist, in peace time, of 5000 soldiers, of whom 2000 are negro slave soldiers. In Shibām only 100 of them are in regular service, whilst some 500 are on reserve in case of need. These latter live, as a rule, in good houses all around el-Qaṭn.

The Sultan estimates the number of souls in Shibām, el-Qaṭn and the villages between them, at 20.000. These are all the inhabitants of the State of Shibām, exclusive, however, of the Bedouin tribes who are allied by treaty with his Government.

We showed Sultan ᶜAlī the books about Ḥaḍramaut that we had brought with us and a few English air photographs. It was then apparent how little the ruler and his entourage knew

[1] At the time of our visit a *riyāl* had about the same value as an Indian *rupee*.

241 protecting baskets. Sēwūn is said to be the finest and largest town in Ḥaḍramaut. It well deserves its appellation "eṭ-Ṭawīla, [105] the Long", but it could also be called "the Clean" or "the 342 Beautiful". The houses are lower and smaller and stand wider 361 apart than those of Shibām. Also dirty water and other iniquities do not simply rain down into the streets. They flow through open or covered gutters along the outer walls of the houses into closed-in cesspools of masonry. It is true, the streets are also narrow; our cars, from time to time, could only just pass through them, but there is plenty of light and no bad smells. At the gate of the massive palace of the Sultān we learn that the authorities are awaiting us in the summer residence ʿIzz ed-Dīn. Sēwūn and this garden city have quite grown into one; many of the wealthy families live in their garden palaces the whole year round. Passing through a gate in a mud wall we drive up a great courtyard which is flanked by a long white building, only one storey high. The tops of the palm-trees overhang the edge of the spacious roof-terrace, which for the greater part is carpeted and where the Sultans of Sēwūn and Terīm await us, surrounded by their counsellors.

## 2. THE SULTANS OF SĒWŪN AND TERĪM AND THEIR SURROUNDINGS.

●643 ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn, is a short, thick-set man, with one eye, with which, however, he looks at his guests with double friendliness. His brother and his two little sons are also among the great gathering there assembled; likewise his nephew, the Sultan of Terīm, a tall, slim, very dark-complexioned young man, whose name is Muḥammad bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr. The Sultan of Terīm is generally in Sēwūn with his uncle; his small, graceful, white palace is almost opposite that of the latter; it is much more beautiful than the one in his official place of residence.

000 In the middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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133 vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Never-
132 theless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in
244 normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley, and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the
[312] highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from
132 wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food
241 has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supple-
439 mented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until
167 recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from
262 the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

161 The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952
631 was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of
648 varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Govern-
643 ment and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 37–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 103; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

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Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar 161
of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited 631
largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved 648
a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in Decem- [668]
ber 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn
and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser 643
strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his
mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of
his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most im- [625]
portant ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of
Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of
lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal
guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British
Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 721
1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate,
and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami
Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of
what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his 648
staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial
help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial
Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend
£410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only
£23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder
to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a [731]
serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less
serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly 651
helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami 312
emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political 311
changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have
adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have
had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-
engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development
of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40
miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from
Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was
becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the
Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns,
the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the
board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple 248
cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] Ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 62–5.
[4] See above, p. 112.

A 636 The recent radical change in the position of India, however, will undoubtedly necessitate a revision of the Aden system of appeals.

The city of Aden, the peninsula of Little Aden, the territory of Sheikh Othman, and the islands of Perim, Kuria Muria, and Kamaran, thus form a Crown Colony under direct British rule.[5] This means that no native government whatsoever functions in the area. As a colony, Aden is part of the British national territory and its inhabitants are British subjects.

H 648 The Protectorate. The hinterland of Aden was not organized by the British into a colony, but into a Protectorate along colonial lines. Its present organization is based upon the Aden Protectorate Order in Council of March 18, 1937.[6] Under it the Governor of the Colony is at the same time Governor of the Protectorate, and the functions exercised in the Colony by the Civil Secretary are here exercised by a Political Secretary. The powers of the Executive and Legislative Councils do not extend to the Protectorate.

H [643] 648 H 631 H 648 The region is divided into two parts: the Western Protectorate and the Eastern Protectorate. With the exception of the Sultan of Lahej the chiefs in the Western Protectorate generally possess only limited control over their subjects; the states in the Eastern Protectorate are more fully organized. In contrast with the Colony, the native governmental institutions in the Protectorate were left intact, and the area is administered according to the principles of indirect rule. The Crown has reserved the right to make laws for the peace, good order, and government of the Protectorate. At the same time the Governor may enact certain rules and orders and may especially extend to the Protectorate legisla-

[5] The British distinguish between two basic types of colonial administration: direct rule and indirect rule. The former means that the area is administered directly by British colonial officials without any native governmental machinery, as is the case in Aden Colony. The latter indicates the use of existing native institutions and the placing of many of the actual administrative functions in the hands of native governments under the control of British colonial officials.

(see footnote 6 on following page)

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tion enacted for the Colony. Such legislation, however, applies only to persons who are not natives of the Protectorate. This point is of considerable practical importance. For example, the mining legislation for the Colony of Aden, which was extended to the Protectorate by the Governor in 1937, would apply to all foreign, including British, companies, but not to a native unless it had been made a part of the local legislation in the individual state in question. The situation with regard to the judicial organization is similar in that the Supreme Court and the inferior courts of the Colony have jurisdiction in all matters arising in the Protectorate in which any person who is not a native is concerned.

The relations of the British with the various native states in the Aden Protectorate are based on treaties concluded with the sultans and sheikhs in the course of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.[1] Treaty relations with neighboring sheikhs were established soon after the occupation of Aden in order to make the waters and roads around the port safe for peaceful traffic. Gradually British influence in the Aden hinterland was extended until in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth protectorate treaties were concluded with most of the more important local rulers. The important features of these agreements are the extension of British protection to the native state in question, and the promise of the local ruler not to enter into relations with any foreign government without British consent, or to dispose of any part of his territory in favor of a power other than Great Britain. Most of the sultans and sheikhs were granted stipends by the British; in case of noncompliance with the treaty provisions, discontinuance of the stipend was used as a weapon to force the rebellious sheikh into line.

The protectorates thus established restrict the sovereignty of the local rulers to a very considerable degree. As far as international relations (including those with their immediate neighbors) are concerned, they are wholly unable to pursue an independent course. In internal affairs there exists a somewhat larger degree of autonomy, but British over-all control extends, in most cases,

[1] The various treaties and agreements between Great Britain and the various rulers in the Arabian Peninsula are collected in India, Foreign and Political Department: *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, edited by C. U. Aitchison (Delhi, 1933), vol. 11. [Hereafter quoted as Aitchison.]

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648 to all fields of administration, as far as such exists at all in the
643 individual states.

648 Treaties of the above type were concluded with rulers in the Eastern as well as the Western Protectorate. The relationship between the British and the important sultans in the so-called Hadramaut in the Eastern Protectorate was modified, however, in the nineteen-thirties. On August 13, 1937, an agreement was concluded between the British Government and the Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla in which the former agreed to provide a Resident Adviser for the sultanate. This was followed in February 1939 by a similar agreement with the Sultan of Seyun, who had not been previously in direct treaty relations with the British.[8] In these treaties the native rulers agreed to take the advice of the Resident Adviser in all matters except those concerning Moslem religion and custom. These treaties did not abrogate earlier agreements, such as the protectorate treaty with the Sultan of Mukalla of 1890, but were supplementary to them. They follow closely the pattern of the treaties concluded by Great Britain with the Unfederated Malay States, and it is apparently the aim of the British Government to develop the administration of the Hadramaut states along the lines followed before World War II in Malaya, with which the sultanates of the Hadramaut have close cultural ties.[9] In 1939, again following the Malayan precedent, a State Council was set up in Mukalla. It is presided over by the Sultan and consists of the Resident Adviser, the State Secretary, and two nominated Arab members. The Council acts as the Sultan's cabinet.

The main task of the Resident Adviser of the Hadramaut is to organize a modern administration. In response to native apprehensions, Harold Ingrams, the first to hold this post, stressed that this did not mean direct British administration but that on the contrary local inhabitants were to be employed as far as possible. Owing to the small number of trained native officials, how-

[8] Seyun had an agreement with Mukalla, concluded in 1918, in which it was stated that the Hadramaut "being an appanage of the British Empire," should be one province. The Agreement was renewed in a revised form in 1939.

[9] For the contents and scope of these agreements, see Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, 1942), pp. 316–17, 338–40, 347–49. Harold Ingrams, the first Resident Adviser to the Hadramaut states, studied the Malayan system during a visit there in 1939.

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ever, the administrative services are to a considerable extent staffed with British experts. The administrative machinery set up under these agreements has thus served to increase Great Britain's control of the internal as well as external affairs of the two most important states in the Hadramaut. Even if the actual administrative processes should be handled by natives to a larger extent than has been the case so far, British control would not be diminished, for the Resident Adviser can always prevent the conduct of affairs along lines of which the British Government does not approve. 648

The administration of the Aden Protectorate thus follows a pattern which lies between that of Malaya and that found in most of the British protectorates in Africa. In line with the latter was the Order in Council of 1937, which stressed the basic right of the Crown to legislate for the territory. At the same time, the administration of the Aden Protectorate follows more strictly the lines of indirect rule than in most of Africa,[10] and the rights reserved to the sultans and sheikhs of the Aden Protectorate are more extensive than those of their African counterparts. The British have also refrained from establishing by general ordinance the rights and duties of native authorities and native courts, and from giving the Governor the right to constitute and abolish them. Constitutionally speaking, it would thus appear that the internal sovereign rights left to the Protectorate rulers are not regarded as derived from British authority but as inherent in the ruling chief.[11] 643

In this connection it should also be mentioned that a decision of the High Court of Bombay in 1897 accorded the Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla immunity from jurisdiction, thereby putting him into the same category as the Indian and Malay rulers.[12] The chiefs of the African protectorates, on the other hand, are not granted immunity and may be sued in British courts like any private individual.[13] The problem of immunity of the local rulers is of increasing practical importance at a time when the economic

[10] Zanzibar is an exception in some respects.

[11] A similar construction is put by the Colonial Office upon the sovereign rights of the Indian princes. See Statham v. Statham and the Gaekwar of Baroda, *Law Reports*, 1912, p. 92.

[12] Chunder Lal Kuduji v. Awad bin Umar, Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla. *Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series*, 1897, p. 351.

[13] Tilkaitali Khanna v. Kanhaun, *Law Reports, Appeal Cases*, 1931, pp. 784-98.

643 and political isolation of the countries of the Arabian Peninsula is slipping away. The granting of immunity from jurisdiction means that the respective rulers are regarded as sovereigns and, as a basic rule, cannot be sued in foreign courts. In British cases dealing with Indian and Malay rulers, the executive departments of the British Government have invariably stressed the attributes of sovereignty still residing in the local rulers which, in their opinion, exempted them from the jurisdiction of the courts.[14] In recent years the courts have on at least two occasions ruled against this principle by denying immunity to Indian rajahs in cases involving tax matters.[15] It is too early to say, however, whether this indicates a general trend or whether the change in
H attitude was based upon the special circumstances of the cases.

648 Britain has concluded treaties with only the more important
643 chiefs of the Protectorate. Thus, while it is probable that British courts would treat at least the rulers of the well-organized states of the Hadramaut as sovereign chiefs in the Indian sense and grant them immunity, it is doubtful whether small chiefs with whom no treaty relations exist would be accorded a like status.

## THE PERSIAN GULF STATES

ME Concurrently with the establishment of their paramount posi-
648 tion in the Aden hinterland, and for much the same reasons, the British endeavored to consolidate their influence in Oman and along the western shore of the Persian Gulf. The early nineteenth century treaties which Britain concluded with the various rulers of the Persian Gulf coast dealt mainly with piracy, arms traffic, and general problems of maritime security in the Gulf. These treaty relations were gradually expanded until, with the exception of Muscat, Great Britain obtained full control over the foreign relations of the Gulf states. The large oil resources discovered in the area have given a vastly increased value to its position in this regard.

14 One of the leading cases is Duff-Development Company v. Government of Kelantan, Law Reports, Appeal Cases, p. 97. For a more recent Indian case, see Gaekwar of Baroda State Railways v. Hafiz Habib-ul-Haq and others, Indian Appeals, 1937-38, vol. 65, p. 182.

(See footnote 15 on the following page)

643 [15]The Superintendent Government Soap Factory Bangalore v. Commissioner of Income Tax, Ceylon, The New Law Reports 43, 1943, p. 439; and Bishwanath Sing v. Commissioner of Income Tax, Central and United, Indian Law Reports, Allahabad Series, 1942, part vi, p. 398.

648 follows a pattern which lies somewhere between that used in most of the African Protectorates and the one worked out in Malaya. Unlike Malaya, however, an Order in Council was enacted for the Protectorate stressing the right of the Crown to legislate for the territory. On the other hand, the Aden Protectorate Order in Council is more limited in scope than are those enacted for most of the colonial protectorates in Africa in that British jurisdiction is restricted to non-natives. (14) The difference in status of the states in the Aden

14. A similar restriction is contained, however, in the Zanzibar Order in Council of 1924 as amended; cf. The Laws of the Zanzibar Protectorate, rev. ed., 1934, vol. 4, pp. 115-129.

Protectorate, as compared with the tribal states of tropical Africa, is of practical importance. Whereas the chiefs in the African colonial protectorates may be sued in British courts like private individuals, 648 (15) the rulers of the countries in the Aden Protectorate are regarded 648

15. This is apparent from Tshokedi Khama v. Ratshosa, Law Reports, Appeal Cases, 1931, pp. 784-98.

as sovereigns in the sense of international law. Accordingly, they enjoy immunity from the jurisdiction of British courts or any other foreign court. (16) This immunity is absolute with regard to criminal

16. Cf. Chandu Lal v. 'Awad bin 'Umar, Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series, 1897, p. 351. Because of the close association with India of some of the Protectorate rulers it may be noted that the legal situation is rather different in the latter case. According to section 86 of the Indian Code of Civil Procedure (Act V of 1908 as amended), permission of the Crown Representative, the Central Government of India, or their delegates, is necessary before a suit against any ruling chief or his representative can be instituted in an Indian court. American courts likewise accord immunity to states which are not fully sovereign; cf. Kawananakoa v. Polyblank, United States Reports, v. 205 (1907), p. 349; Porto Rico v. Rosaly y Castillo, United States Reports,

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v. 227 (1913), p. 270.

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jurisdiction and subject only to a few exceptions as far as civil jurisdiction is concerned, (17)

17. These apply primarily to suits concerning real estate possessed by a sovereign as private individual in a foreign country and to the case that the sovereign waives the exemption; cf. in general A. S. Hershey, The Essentials of International Public Law and Organization, New York, 1939, pp. 412-13; also Indian Code of Civil Procedure, article 86.

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It has to be stressed that Great Britain has not concluded treaties with all the chiefs in the Protectorate. Treaty chiefs have to be regarded as sovereign ruling chiefs, to use Indian terminology, technically even though their sovereignty is very restricted. Whether small chiefs with whom no treaty relations exist could be regarded as ruling chiefs entitled to immunity would have to be determined on the merits of the individual case.

In order to appraise correctly the actual position of most of the states in the Protectorate, it must be kept in mind that the governmental organization of most of them is only incompletely developed and that very often the power of the central ruler does not extend very far beyond his capital. The reorganization of the governmental organization along modern lines, which was inaugurated in the two Hadramaut states, will probably lead to an ever closer approximation of the status of these countries to that of the Malay states.

D. The Persian Gulf States

S 648

1. General. The British position along the Gulf of Oman and on the western shore of the Persian Gulf was secured in the course of the nineteenth century. It was established primarily as a safeguard of the important route to India. Though strategic considerations are still paramount, the large oil reserves discovered in the area have given a vastly increased value to the close British relations with the Persian Gulf states. The legal basis for Great Britain's position is to be found in various treaties which the British concluded

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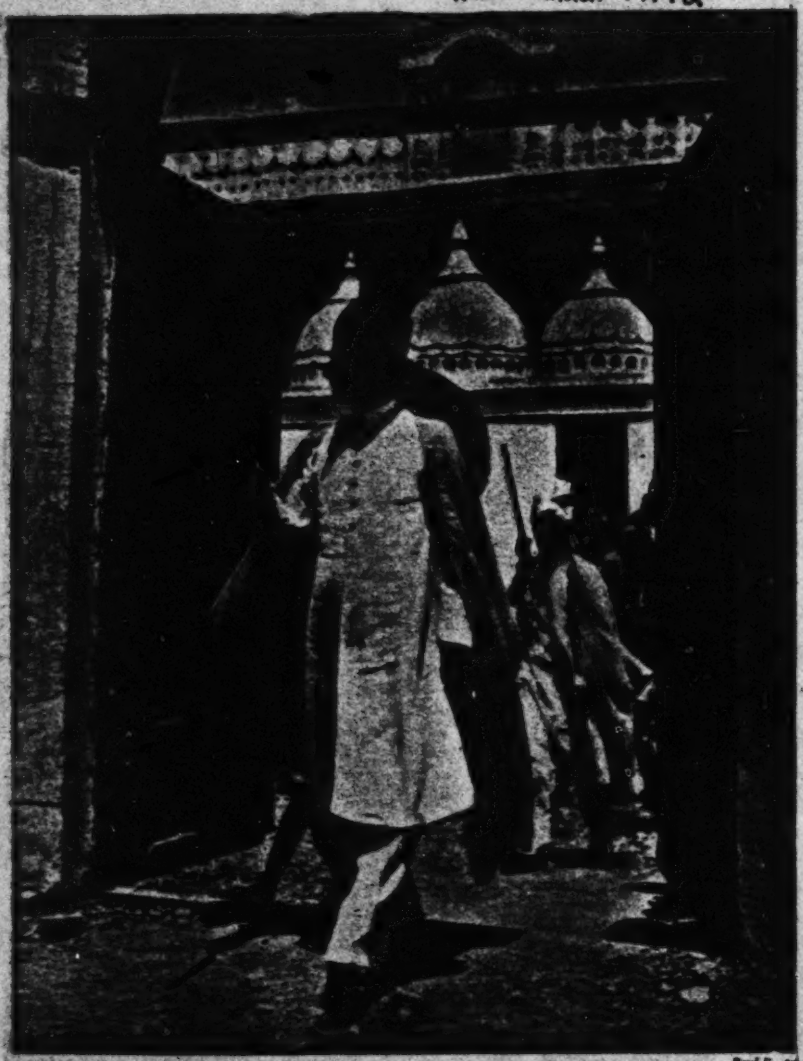

*Facing p. 70*

*In the complex organization of the highland communities of the Yemen, chieftainship is hereditary. In the Aden Protectorate some larger groups come under the authority of a Sultan, one of whom, the Sultan of Lahej, is seen here while on an official visit to the Port of Aden. His is of the ancient tribe which goes back to pre-Islamic times, 1500 years ago.*

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden, Hadhramaut MM21

# ADEN PROTECTORATE

## PART IV

## Chapter I: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

647 DURING 1947 the Western Aden Protectorate continued to suffer from a shortage of experienced Political Officers. This position was aggravated by the murder in April of Mr. P. C. Davey, an officer of exceptional ability and experience. In consequence most districts were inadequately manned, with the result that it proved difficult to consolidate the progress of the past few years and in some cases there was some deterioration. The Arab Assistant Political Officers, of whom there are at present seven, have of necessity been the backbone of the Western Aden Protectorate administration during the past three years owing to the shortage of experienced British Political Staff.

631 The Fadhli, Dathina and Subeihi administrations carried on with very little change. The two former show a very much-improved financial position. The Amiri country started the year with the removal after a show of force of Amir Haidera and, after an unhappy year of strife and intrigue, ended it with the establishment of a constitutional form of government.

643 In the Abdali State the death of the Sultan, His Highness Sir Abdul Karim Fadhl bin Ali, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who has been succeeded by
642 his eldest son, Fadhl Abdul Karim, and who was a sincere and experienced ruler, was much regretted by his people. On the acclamation of his successor a new constitution setting up a State Council was established and is now in operation.

721 In Beihan the Sultan encountered difficulties with the Balharithi tribe in the far north, and the situation had to be settled by air action.

There were trade-route incidents in Quteibi country, in Wadi Hardaba (Radfan), in Mansuri country (Manqa'a), in Marqashi country (Fadhli) and in Rujeili country (Wadi Teim in Radfan), involving losses of life and heavy lootings. Lootings in the Quteibi territory assumed such proportions that it was necessary to restore normality by air operations. The incidents in Marqashi were satisfactorily settled by administrative action. The other incidents still remain to be settled.

242 On the other side of the picture agricultural development in Abyan has had a most beneficial effect in this southern area in spite of the uncooperative attitude of the Lower Yafa'i Sultan. This attitude led finally to his suspension from office in the Yafa'i as Sahil area of his territory. In contrast, the willing co-operation of the Fadhli authorities in fostering

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM21



Remittances

457 of money from the Far East—the basis of Hadramaut's economy—began to arrive to a certain extent, at least from Singapore. From Java and the Dutch possessions there, is, however, little hope as yet of any but very limited sums being released.

### HOUSING

342 The fixed population are housed for the main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees. The poorer sections live in mud-brick houses, one-storeyed stone huts and straw huts.

## Chapter 9: Law and Order

### JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts are of two kinds: (*a*) Shari'a Courts (which administers the Shari'a or Quranic Law), and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Shari'a Courts.

798 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate there has been a revival of religious intolerance. A most unfortunate development in Mukalla during the year was the formation of a religious committee whose activities have been something between those of a vigilance committee and the inquisition. It selects those whom it considers have committed offences against Islam, condemns them and sentences them. The local Government carries out its sentences and there is no appeal. This being a matter of religion, the [643] Resident Adviser has under the treaty no power to interfere. Hadramaut has never been the home of religious tolerance, but it was hoped that the fires of fanaticism were dying.

### GOVERNMENT GUARDS

*Strength*

704 The force of Government Guards operates in the Western Aden Protectorate. The most outstanding event for the Government Guards 712 in 1947 was the transfer of the Headquarters from the Hindu garden in Sheikh Othman to the Champion Lines, Khormaksar, in the early part of the year.

The task of adapting the camp to meet the needs of this force was not completed for several months, but in its present form provides ample living and store accommodation for the approved establishment which has now been brought up to full strength.

*Tribal Guards*

The arrival of the Depot Officer in May has permitted the calling in of Tribal Guard units for training in drill and musketry, and up to

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM21



8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), 133
with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably 361
Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting 631
of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been [648]
for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., [643]
Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it 175
came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. 438
The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 161
100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is 133
mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital 361
is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a 648
small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be 619
recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete 622
control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

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619 has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative
622 machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have tribal guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under
701 the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden
625 Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

619 The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal
634 districts:

[643] ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej,* the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

361 AMIRI: Amir Nast bin Shaif Seif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION: Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. *Capital*: Mahjaba. Mausatta, Sheikh Ahmed Bubakr 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Muhsin 'Askar. *Capital*: Al Qudma. Dhubi, Sheikh Abdurehman bin Salih (under age). *Regent*: Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital*: Dhi Sura. Maflahi, Sheikh Qasim 'Abdurrahman. *Capital*: Al Jurba. Hadrami, Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital*: Ash Shibr.

SHAIB: Sheikh Muhammad Muqbil As Saqladi. *Capital*: Awabil.

QUTEIBI: Sheikh Hassan'Ali. *Capital*: Ath Thumeir.

ALAWI: Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital*: Al Qash'a.

AQRABI: Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl ba 'Abdullah. *Capital*: Bir Ahmed.

AUDHALI: Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital*: Lodar.

UPPER 'AULAQI: Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital*: Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital*: As-Said.

LOWER 'AULAQI: Sultan Nasir bin Aidrus bin Ali bin Abdullah (under age). *Regent*: Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. *Capital*: Ahwar.

BEIHAN: Sharif Salih bin Husein. *Regent*: Sharif Husein bin Ahmed. *Capital*: An Nuqub.

SUBEIHI: Sheikh Muhammad 'Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah ba Sa'id of the 'Atifi.

* His Highness Sultan Sir Abdul Karim Fadhl, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., died on 18th June, 1947.

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6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
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HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Musaimir.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



631 missioners) and Qaims (Assistant District Commissioners) of the provinces and districts. Naibs were provided with motor vehicles to increase their mobility. An annual conference of all Quaiti, Kathiri and Wahidi Naibs and Qaims has been instituted, at which lectures and practical demonstrations in all administrative subjects are given by local experts.

631 621 Another significant step towards devolution of duties on to Naibs and Qaims has been the setting-up of village councils under their direction and supervision. The activities of these councils include village welfare, hygiene, sanitation, increase of food production, etc. The Sultan of Qu'aiti State has also nominated a Municipal Council for Mukalla.

643 631 The period under review was also notable for increased co-operation in administrative affairs between Qu'aiti and Kathiri and for the settlement of problems common to these two States. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri State Secretaries and senior officials met several times during 1949 and 1950 and joint decisions were taken on such matters as local import and export taxes, development tax on date-bearing palms, postal affairs, remittances from abroad, famine relief and prevention, and unification of vehicle licences.

[665] 578 With the retirement of Sheikh Seif bin Ali Elbually, C.B.E., from the post of State Secretary to the Qu'aiti Government, in December, 1950, and the appointment of Sheikh Qaddal Sa'id El Qaddal Pasha, M.B.E., formerly Qu'aiti Director of Education who is a Sudanese, as his successor, the so-called Nationalist Party, whose membership does not extend beyond Mukalla Town, seized the opportunity to foment serious rioting, in the quelling of which 16 persons were killed and 24 wounded. Suitable sentences were dealt out to the ringleaders by the Special Court set up by the Sultan to try the offenders. The new State Secretary has been warmly welcomed into the office by all the responsible citizens and officials of the Qu'aiti State in Mukalla and throughout the Provinces.

643 The Kathiri Sultan Ja'far bin Mansur bin Ghalib died on 24th April, 1949, and was succeeded by his nephew Sultan Hussein bin Ali bin Mansur al Kathiri, who was recognised by His Majesty's Government as Treaty Sultan on 22nd May, 1950.

671 During 1950 codified criminal law based on Sharia was introduced in the Qu'aiti State.

*Beduin Affairs*

631 721 *Wahidi Area.* As a result of the operations against the Khadim of Mithaf and the Al Adhm Tribe in January and February, 1950, the whole Dhiyeibi area came under the Sultan of Balhaf and security posts were established on the western border of the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In July, 1950, a successful operation was undertaken against Al Ba Dukhn for breach of the peace and the tribe was brought under complete control

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



### CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol," extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

132 There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultiva-
312 tion is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

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UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION : Sultan Muhammad bin Salih, *Capital:* Mahjaba.
MAUSATTA : Sheikh Ahmed Bubaker Ali Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Musin Askar. *Capital:* Al Qudma.
DHUBI : Sheikh Abdulrahman bin Salih (under age). Regent : Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital:* Dhi Sura.
MAFLAHI : Sheikh Qasim Abdulrahman. *Capital:* Al Jurba.
HADRAMI : Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Shalib. *Capital:* Ash Shibr.
SHAIB : Sheikh Ahmed Mana As Saqladi. *Capital:* Awabil.
QUTEIBI : Sheik Hassan Ali. *Capital:* Al. Thumeir.

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Hadhramaut MM2



63 ALAWI : Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital:* Al Qash'a.
622 AQRABI : Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl Ba Abdullah. *Capital:* Bir Ahmed.
AUDHALI : Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital:* Lodar.
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EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

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KATHIRI : Sultan Husein Ali bin Mansoor Al Kathiri.
BALIHAF : Sultan Ali bin Mohsin bin Saleh Al Wahidi.
BIR ALI : Sultan Nasir bin Yaleb al Wahidi.
HAURA : Sheikh Awadh bin Saleh Ba Shatid.
IRQA : Sheikh Ahmed bin Abdullah bin Abdullah bin Awad Ba Das.

## Chapter 13 : Weights and Measures

804 These vary considerably from place to place, but the tendency of late has been towards standardisation. Generally speaking, liquids are weighed and grain is measured. The measures of weight most used are the pound, the frasila = 28 lb. and the khandi = 24 frasilas. The keila, a cubic measure for grain, varies from place to place, but the one mostly used is equivalent to about 50 lb. of grain. The qadah = 200 lb. and the qasa = 2½ lb. are also in use. Linear measurement is mostly in qamas, one equalling 5 feet 6 inches approximately, or else the dra = 1½ feet approximately.

Areas are generally quoted in dhumd or fadan, which is equivalent to the area ploughable by a yoke of oxen in a working day of about eight hours. It is roughly an acre or 4,840 yards.

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7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
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# ADEN PROTECTORATE

## PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

THE poor rainfall of 1948 was repeated in 1949; but the rains of 1950 were in almost all areas exceptionally good and the economic situation is generally better than it has been for a long period. The new forms of administration in Shaib and Beihan progressed slowly but satisfactorily and up to the end of the period the political situation was generally improved, especially in Lower Yafa'i, where more friendly relations were restored between Government and the Sultan. At the very end of the period, on Christmas Eve, the attempted assassination of the British Agent in Shairi country in the Amiri State made a punitive expedition necessary; but order was being restored by the end of 1950. [132] 648

In August, 1949, Yemeni troops began to build a fort on Protectorate soil near Najd Marqad in Beihan State. It was eventually found necessary to destroy this fort by air action. This serious incident resulted in an Anglo-Yemeni conference in London in the autumn of 1950 for the purpose of discussing a means of finally clearing away points of misunderstanding between the two Governments.

A number of clashes made it necessary to re-enter the northern part of the lower Aulaqi State. Order was restored by the end of 1950 with a show of force but no actual fighting.

It is hoped that the erection of a fort, now completed, on the main road will put a final stop to trade route incidents in Qutebi country.

A large number of Jews passed through the Protectorate on their way to Aden to be flown to Israel. This operation passed off without a single incident in which a Jew suffered any physical harm. [167]

The development of the Abyan scheme greatly raised the revenues of the Fadhli and Lower Yafa'i states and social services are improving as a result.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

*Political*

The settlement of the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary dispute and the general prevalence of peace in tribal areas and throughout the country allowed efforts to be concentrated on development of agriculture and improvement of the administrative machinery. 631

More responsibility was given to Naibs (local Arab District Com-

8:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1951-53)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills ; here culti- 132
vation is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and 312
courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

## Chapter 2 : History

For a time in the eighteenth century, the Western Protectorate formed 175
part of the domain of the Imam of Sana'a in the Yemen and several of the rulers of the tribal districts were the Imam's "wakils" or governors until his power declined and they declared their independence.

After the occupation of Aden by the British in 1839, some of the 648
neighbouring chiefs entered into protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. Others followed suit as time went on, the last to do so being the Audhali Sultan in 1914.

In July, 1915, during the first World War, the Turks, who had conquered the Yemen in the course of the previous century, occupied the Abdali, Haushabi and Amiri districts of the Protectorate until the Armistice of 1918.

In 1934 a Treaty of Friendship was signed between His Majesty's Government and the Kingdom of Yemen. There was an Exchange of Notes in 1950 when it was agreed to establish reciprocal diplomatic missions and to set up a Frontier Commission.

In 1944 and 1945 five Western Aden Protectorate Chiefs (the Fadhli, the Lower Aulaqi and the Lower Yafa'i Sultans, the Sharif of Beihan and the Amir of Dhala) entered into closer relations with His Majesty's Government by new treaties in which they agreed, *inter alia*, to abide by the advice of the Governor of Aden in the improvement of their administrations. Similar treaties were signed by the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and the Audhali Sultan in 1952. In 1952 the newly elected Sultan of Lahej accepted a Political Officer as adviser and signed an advisory treaty.

The most important aspect of recent history in the Eastern Protec- 640
torate has been the decline of the traditional power of the Kathiri Sultans and the rise of the Qu'aiti—a new Yafa'i dynasty which gained 648
power and wealth from military and other services rendered by its members abroad to the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Qu'aiti rulers first entered into a treaty with Her Majesty's Government in 1882. This was strengthened in 1888 by the conclusion of a Protectorate treaty in the common form of the treaties with other Protectorate chiefs. In 1918 the Kathiri Sultan made an agreement with the Qu'aiti Sultan acknowledging this treaty as binding on them also. In 1937 and 1939 respectively the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans signed treaties undertaking to accept the advice of a British Resident Adviser in all matters except those concerning Mohammedan religion and custom. The Wahidi Sultan of Belhaf signed an Advisory Treaty in 1949.

8.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52) 1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2.



648 The island of Socotra was occupied by the East India Company in 1834 and came under British protection together with the neighbouring Abd Alkuri and Brothers Islands when the treaty with the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Socotra was concluded in 1866.

## Chapter 3 : Administration

631 The Eastern Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting of the
648 Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Sai'un),
the Mahra Sultanate of the Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates
643 of Belhaf and Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. A British Agent is stationed at Mukalla who advises the Rulers of the Eastern Protectorate on matters of administration.

The interests of the Western Protectorate are looked after similarly by a small cadre of British Political Officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since Her Majesty's
619 Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. The tribes
622 nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over
701 their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been
625 greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards mainly (paid for by Her Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland at fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

631 The Protectorate consists of the following states :
361
[643]

WESTERN PROTECTORATE

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ABDALI | : His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin 'Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej until April, 1952, and thereafter His Highness Sultan 'Ali bin 'Abdul Karim, the premier chief of the Western Protectorate. Capital : Lahej. |
| 'AMIRI | : Amir Nasir bin Shaif, C.M.G. Capital : Dhala. |
| FADHLI | : Sultan 'Abdullah bin 'Uthman. Capital : Shuqra. |
| LOWER YAFA'I | : Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. Capital : Al Qara. |
| HAUSHABI | : Sultan Muhammad bin Sarur. Capital : Museimir. |
| UPPER YAFA'I | : Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. Capital : Mahjaba. |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



MAUSATTA : Sheikh Ahmad Bubakr 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Hussein Salih Muhsin 'Askar. Capital: Al Qudma. 631 361

DHUBI : Sheikh 'Abdulrahman bin Salih (under age). Regent: Sheikh Salih Salim. Capital : Dhi Sura.

MAFLAHI : Sheikh Qasim 'Abdulrahman. Capital : Al Juba.

HADRAMI : Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. Capital : Al Shibr.

SHAIB : Vacant. Capital : Awabil.

QUTEIBI : Sheikh Hasan 'Ali. Capital : Al Thumeir.

'ALAWI : Sheikh Salih Sayid. Capital : Al Qash'a.

'AQRABI : Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl Ba 'Abdulla. Capital : Bir Ahmad.

'AUDHALI : Sultan Salih bin Hussein. Capital : Lodar.

UPPER 'AULAQI : Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin 'Abdullah. Capital : Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. Capital: Al Said.

LOWER 'AULAQI : Sultan Nasir bin 'Aidrus bin Ali bin 'Abdullah (under age). Regent : Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. Capital : Ahwar.

BEIHAN : Amir Salih bin Hussein. Capital : Beihan Qasb.

EASTERN PROTECTORATE

QU'AITI : His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib Al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla. Capital: Mukalla. 631 643

KATHIRI : Sultan Hussein bin 'Ali bin Mansur Al Kathiri. Capital : Sai'un. 361

MAHRA (Qishn and Socotra) : Successor to Sultan 'Ahmed bin 'Abdulla bin 'Isa bin 'Afrar not yet elected. Capital : Hadibu (Socotra).

BALHAF : Sultan Nasir bin 'Abdullah Al Wahidi. Capital : Azzan.

BIR 'ALI : Sultan 'Alawi bin Muhsin Al Wahidi. Capital : Bir 'Ali.

## Chapter 4 : Weights and Measures

These vary considerably from place to place, but the tendency of late has been towards standardisation. Generally speaking, liquids are weighed and grain is measured. The measures of weights most used are the pound, the frasila = 28 lb. and the khandi = 24 frasilas. The keila, a cubic measure for grain, varies from place to place, but the one mostly used is equivalent to about 50 lb. of grain. The qadah = 200 lb. and the qasa = 2½ lb. are also in use. Linear measurement is mostly in qamas, one equalling 5 feet 6 inches approximately, or else the dra = 1½ feet approximately. 804

Areas are generally quoted in dhund or fadan, which is equivalent to the area ploughable by a yoke of oxen in a working day of about eight hours. It is roughly an acre or 4,840 square yards.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



619 The other principal tribes, comparatively much less powerful than the two foregoing, are: the *'Amūdi*, in Wādi Dō'an; the
101 *Nahad*, in the upper Central Hadhramaut; the *Jābiri*, in the southern side of the main wādi; the *'Awāmir* and *Tamīmi*, in the lower Central Hadhramaut, east of the Jābiri; the *Hamumi* and *Manāhil*, in the plateau region and the lower Hadhramaut; the *Mahrah*, east of the lower Hadhramaut; and the *Wahīdi*. The Mahrah country, which is a coastal tract, links the Hadhramaut proper, on the west, with the Qara territory in the western confines of Oman. The pop. is estimated at about 50,000. Inland, the country is believed to consist of sandy steppes, but its boundaries
• [643] are unknown. The Sultan of Mahrah, who is also ruler of Socotra, lives at **Qishn**, a rather poor fishing village about 36 miles
361 west of Ras Fartak. **Seihūt**, situated near the mouth of the main Hadhramaut valley, is a well-built town with many houses of stone, and is said to have a population of 10,000. **Hafāt** is another thriving village on the coast from which 9,000 cwt. of frankincense is exported annually, principally to Bombay.

[643] The Wahīdi, under one principal Sultan and several subordinate chiefs, occupy the south-western district of the Hadhramaut which
619 stretches from the coast inland to the plateau. They are one of the least aggressive tribes in the country and have, for the most part, settled down into peaceful tillers of the soil or herdsmen. They control 50 miles of coast from Ras el-Kelb to **Bālhāf** (a small Wahīdi port), and carry on a little local sea-borne trade, having several good but small harbours, all, however, open to the monsoons. The total pop. is estimated at over 9,000 souls, including a few Jews.
361 The chief towns are **Habbān**, with some 250 houses and 2,500 inhabitants, a mercantile settlement situated some 12 miles east of Yeshbum; **Hautah**, 2,000 inhabitants; **Raidah**, with some 1,000 people; and **Izzān** (Hisān), a large village, with a pop. of about 300.

701 The combatant portion of the population of the Hadhramaut is composed of bands of irregulars, and consists generally of the members of the tribes and their families, who all know the use of arms. Some chiefs have in addition a special and more disciplined guard and corps of armed slaves. Thus the Sultan of the Ka'aiti has an army, though somewhat irregular, of from 3,000–4,000 men and 1,500 slaves, which is mainly in garrison in the different towns under his authority, including 1,000 maintained at Shiheir; they are lodged and nourished at his expense and receive a little pay. The Sultan of the Kathīri is supposed to be able to muster some 7,000 fighting-men and has also about 1,000 armed slaves. There is no cavalry in the Hadhramaut.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



361 that the town is wholly surrounded by walls, but it certainly has a ring of numerous *husūn* (castles) around it. A small pebbly stream, called the Kheilah (Hirsch, 'Chēle'), runs through it. The town is divided into five quarters—Nuweidarah, Sahīl, Hautah, Radheimah, and Khalīf, some of them, according to Hirsch, being 'full of ruined houses'.

[643] The Sultan, at the time of Hirsch's visit, only wielded a nominal power, and was entirely in the hands of the Seyyids, who were the virtual rulers. The houses of some of the Seyyids have a more commanding appearance than the palace of the Sultan, that of one being described as 'like a castle surrounded by an arcaded wall, and having a large forecourt towards the street, and very extensive gardens'. Van den Berg says, 'In ancient times Terīm was the most important town of the Hadhramaut, not only on account of its size, but also in commerce, industry, and intellectual culture; in our days, however, it is surpassed by Seyyūn in all respects. Many houses are in ruins, and whole streets have a deserted aspect, especially in the south-western quarter, and a great number of mosques have also fallen into ruin, and are no longer frequented. The decadence of the town dates back to about half a century ago, and was caused by the continual wars between the tribes (mainly the Ka'aiti and the Kathīri) in its environs.' In days gone by Terīm was the centre of the weaving industry, which then was reputed to have been carried on in almost every house; the town was also the centre of higher instruction, but in this respect also it now takes second place to Seyyūn.

For brief descriptions of the town of **Seihūt** and of the villages **Qishn** and **Hafāt**, all three on the Mahrah coast between Hadhramaut proper and Dhofār, see above, p. 230.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

# CHAPTER XV

## SETTLED TRIBES OF THE SOUTH

### A. Aden Protectorate

#### 1. *'Abdāli*

The Ottoman attack on Aden in July 1915 resulted in the occupation of the 'Abdāli country by the Turks, the fall and sack of Lahej, its capital, the death of the ruling Sultan, and the retreat of most of his subjects to the Aden lines. 101 619 643

Previous to that event the 'Abdāli tribe occupied the country immediately round Aden. Its boundaries extended about 35 miles inland to the Haushabi tribe on the north, to the Fadhli Sultanate on the east, and the Subeihi tribe on the west. Formerly it held the Aden peninsula, until an outrage perpetrated on a shipwrecked crew and the absence of any satisfaction led to the British bombardment and occupation of Aden in 1839.

The Sultan of Lahej, who is the head of the 'Abdāli, still receives a yearly subsidy from the British Government for its occupation of the town of Sheikh 'Othmān, and leases to it a large area of land in the neck of the isthmus. The present Sultan, Abd el-Kerīm ibn Fadhl ibn 'Ali, is a man of 35, of sedentary habits, who has up to the present shown no marked ability. He is fairly well educated according to Arab standards, but knows no English. He is very popular with the tribe. He succeeded his cousin H. H. Sultan Sir 'Ali ibn Ahmed ibn 'Ali, K.C.I.E., on July 13, 1915, when the latter was accidentally shot during the Ottoman occupation of Lahej.

The tribe owes its importance more to its wealth than to its military prowess. It is entirely settled and agricultural, with the exception of the Ahl Bān, who are chiefly pastoral but have arable land westwards in Abiyān near the Fadhli Sultanate. The population is estimated at 14,500.

The late Sultan of Lahej controlled the first stage of the main caravan road from Aden to Yemen up the Wādi Tiban, and maintained armed and fortified posts at Zeida, Sha'qah (Shaka), and 'Anad. He also had a customs post for the Aden traffic at Dār

p. 509

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



101 619 643

el-Amīr. He was then able to put into the field about 2,000 men, who were of doubtful fighting value but strong enough to repel any tribal attacks, knowing that British troops would come to their aid in the event of serious trouble.

'ABDĀLI

| *Tribe.* | *Sub-Tribe.* | *Clan.* |
|---|---|---|
| 'ABDĀLI. | *Ahl Bān.* | *Mūsabein.* |
| Sultan Abd el-Kerīm ibn Fadhl ibn 'Ali | *'Udheibi.* | *Mansūri.* |
| | | Sh. Sālih Mansūr. |
| | | 'Ali Mansūr. |
| | | Mohammed Mansūr. |

## 2. *'Abd el-Wahīd Sultanate*

101 619 622

The 'Abd el-Wahīd confederation lies immediately to the east of the Upper and Lower 'Aulaqi Sultanates, with whose tribesmen it is at constant feud.

Tribally it is divided into the Sultanates of Bālhāf, Habbān, and Izzān.

The Sultan of Bālhāf, who lives in the town of that name on the sea-coast, is Sālih ibn 'Abdullah, who used to be officially recognized at Aden as the head of the 'Abd el-Wahīd confederation, and who received a small subsidy from Government. He is well conducted, anglophile, but without much influence over his turbulent tribesmen. The latter have an hereditary feud with the Ba Kāzim, but lack their resolute grit and hardihood. Passage from one country to the other is dangerous, and supplies from Aden ordinarily come by sea.

The Sultan of Habbān, the chief mercantile town of the district, is Nāsir ibn Sālih. He is untrustworthy, and strongly opposed to any European penetration of his dominion. He is unpopular with his tribesmen and frequently has trouble with the Lakmūsh and Ahl Iswad, two small but turbulent vassal tribes who lie between him and his hereditary enemies, the Ahl Ma'an of Upper 'Aulaqi.

The chief of the Izzān Sultanate, which lies 25 miles to the east of Habbān, is Muhsin ibn Sālih. He is a man of about 45, unpopular with his tribes, a robber and a bad governor. He was expelled by the tribesmen in the early nineties, and after taking refuge with the Ahl Ma'an, went to Aden, Jibuti, and Hodeidah. Having tried in vain to raise money by pledging his Sultanate in turn to the French and the Turks, he returned *via* San'ā and managed to reinstate himself. In 1898 he again came into disfavour by endeavouring to blackmail the Austrian Expedition.

Sultan

Awadh died in 1909 and was succeeded by his son Ghalib, a man of advanced views, who was extremely anxious for the development of his country in which he established peace and good order. His application for, and financing of, a mission to investigate agricultural and mineral resources of his country deserves special mention. He approached the High Commissioner for Egypt, and in 1919 Mr. O. H. Little was sent to report on the mineral resources and Mr. H. M. Heald on the agriculture. Mr. Little's report appeared in 1925, "The Geography and Geology of Mukalla," and the results of the agricultural survey appear in Mr. Heald's official report. 643 654

Sultan Ghalib died, universally regretted, in 1922, and was succeeded by his brother 'Umar, whose achievements will sufficiently appear elsewhere in this report. The present Sultan, whose accession to the Mukalla state was determined by the will of Sultan Ghalib, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. 643

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The late Qu'aiti Sultan was absent from the country during my visit, and in fact the greater part of his reign was spent in India. Just prior to my visit, however, he had performed a tour of the Hadhramaut, and this was the first occasion on which a reigning Sultan had undertaken the journey. Leaving Mukalla on 29th July His Highness, who was accompanied by his *Wasir*, other officials 200 soldiers and a brass band, arrived at Wadi Du'an on 4th August. He stayed in Du'an six days and left for Hajarein on the 10th August. The party reached Hajarein on the evening of the 11th, and next day left by car for Meshhed. On the 14th, Hureidha was reached and Haura the same evening. On the 15th, His Highness proceeded to Al Qatn where he spent two days, and left on the 17th for Shibam where he stayed seven days, during which the Kathiri Sultan visited him with a large retinue and invited him to the Kathiri part of the wadi. Sultan 'Umar arrived at Seiyun on the 24th and was well received. He proceeded next day to Tarim, and on the 26th visited 'Einat, returning to Tarim the same day. On the 27th he returned to Shibam, where he stayed a further week before going to Al Qatn on 3rd September. On his way back to Mukalla, which he reached on the 14th, Sultan 'Umar visited 643 484 [644]

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The Naqib succeeded in procrastinating until his troops returned from Du'an, when war ensued and the Qu'aitis were defeated. This war was known as the Nasfa or struggle for half the share. 648 643

The Qu'aiti then had recourse to the British Government who ordered the Naqib to pay the amount claimed. On his failure he was removed from Mukalla, and there in al Hijja 1299 (A.D. 1882) Mukalla and its dependencies came into the possession of 'Abdulla and 'Awadh bin 'Umar.

In Muharram 1307 (1889) the Qu'aiti entered into a treaty with the British, and was recognised as Sultan of Mukalla and its dependencies. When 'Abdulla died, there was a dispute between 'Awadh and the sons of 'Abdulla as to the succession. The British Government intervened and ordered the removal of 'Abdulla's sons in consideration of compensation to be paid. Then Sultan 'Awadh and his descendants became the rulers of the whole country.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Sultan's huge, high palace. The car stops before the comparatively small gate and our escort discharge their guns. The gate opens and soldiers accompany us up a long staircase running across the front of the building and behind the outer wall to the entrance proper. The impression made by the palace is one of neglect and dirt. This is because the Sultan lives in Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn and only comes to stay in this palace for a few days from time to time to attend to affairs of state. At all other times it is entrusted to the very indifferent care of the soldiers who are lodged within it. 361

We are conducted to a simple room, where the carpets are old and dusty and where, on an European travelling rug, sits a tall, very thin young man, the Sultan of Shibām, ʿAlī bin Ṣalāḥ bin Muḥammad bin ʿUmar bin ʿAwaḍ bin ʿAbdallāh el-Qeʿēṭī, the grand-nephew of the Sultan of Makalla. We are quietly and kindly received. The Sultan is very much displeased that our escort has not given him due notice of our arrival; if he had known in time he would have received us in his palace at el-Qaṭn, which is suitably furnished for receptions. Sayyid ʿAluwī tries to apologize, but without success. In the meanwhile chairs have been borrowed in the town and placed in a large room. We can at last retire and try to wash the coating of clinging dust from our weary bodies. During these private operations we are not left alone: attentive soldiers keep watch and even allow immaculately dressed notables of Shibām to enter. These have heard of the arrival of foreigners and are on the spot at once to learn all about them. They have come in their magnificent new cars and with Arabian hospitality invite us to drive with them to the garden city in front of Shibām and to have a cup of tea with them in their garden pavilions. It has an incredible sound to our ears, when, to add to the attractiveness of their invitation, they also say that we can swim in the mason-work swimming-pool in their garden. We accept with gratitude, on condition that the Sultan makes no objection to our leaving his hospitable roof for the time being. 643 609 646

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



car road. The really difficult part of the construction has been completed, from Tarim onwards towards Gheil. Much of the money was paid out to the Beduins, and in particular the Hamumis agreed that the road should be safe. At the request of the Qu'aiti the route of the road was changed as he was afraid that the Hamumis would have increased facilities for movement and raiding. Large sums of money were then disbursed on the Ma'di tribes through whose territory the Qu'aiti asked that the road should go. There is no doubt that the road could have been successfully completed, and the Al Kaf Seiyids were, and still are, willing to bear the whole cost. Sufficient support, however, was not received from the Qu'aitis and the work was stopped by Sultan 'Umar. 651 653

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

Mukalla is the seat of Government of the Qu'aiti state. His Highness the Sultan, who is an absolute monarch in so far as the internal affairs of his state are concerned, has his principal palace there. The old palace of the Kasadis near the Customs in the centre of the old part of the town has now been turned into Government offices where the *Wazir* and other officials are in daily attendance. 643

The *Wazir* has a general superintendence over all departments of Government and presides over the *Wazir's* Court (*Hakm ad Dola.*) He is also the Governor of the Mukalla Province. The Treasurer superintends the schools, the dispensary, the passport work, and registration of sales and transfers of land. He sees to all disbursements on behalf of the state and collects certain of the internal revenue. The Mukalla Customs, which were formerly farmed, as the Shihr and other customs still are, is a Government department with a paid staff. The Chief of Customs also superintends the work of the port, though there is a special shipping clerk who prepares shipping papers for the *Wazir's* signature, and there are the usual manifest clerks employed by the Customs. The Commander of the Forces, who is more of a Minister for War, also controls the prison. The uniformed police are under the command of a Shaush, and the slave police are under a slave who is also the police magistrate. The medical officer has charge of the dispensary and in addition performs port health work. He is assisted by a qualified compounder who also has certain municipal duties. 645

As examples of the monthly salaries paid to officials of the Qu'aiti state, the following may be cited: *Wazir*, $1,000; Chief of Customs, Rs.225; Doctor, Rs.200; Treasurer, Rs.100; Commander of the Forces, Rs.100; English Master, Rs.80; State Photographer, Rs.60. Most of the officials are given quarters. [465]

There was at one time a species of State Council in Mukalla, but it was dissolved by the present *Wazir* and a Council of Qadhis instituted instead. The function of this Council is not immediately apparent. At the time of my visit there was some talk 645

645 of a Municipal Council composed of merchants and notabilities being formed in Mukalla, but it did not seem likely that it would eventuate.

636 The Sultanate is divided into five *liwas* or provinces. Shihr, the oldest, Mukalla, Du'an, Hajr, and Shibam. Each of these provinces is ruled on behalf of the Sultan by a salaried Governor or *Muqaddam*, who has at least one paid clerk. He has direct control over the Qu'aiti towns in his province, and in important ones which are not autonomous there is a sub-Governor responsible to the Governor of the province. Subject to the general orders of His Highness the *Muqaddam* has power to settle any case in the province, but there is an appeal to the *Wazir* and Governor of Mukalla. From the judgments and decisions of the *Wazir* appeal lies to His Highness.

631 632 635 642 There are a number of autonomous towns throughout the Hadhramaut governed by particular tribes or families, and the Central Government does not interfere in their internal affairs. Relations with the tribes over the country are conducted principally through the Governors on whose towns they economically depend. The Sultan has the two following types of agreements with the various tribes: A. Engagements containing an undertaking to respond to the call of the Sultan in any matter and at any time, and B. Engagements of *bon voisinage* and friendship containing an undertaking to co-operate in matters of mutual interest. These agreements are all written.

The following tribes have A. agreements: Tamimi, Manahil, Ath Tha'yani, Awābitha, Seibani, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadīyin, Sumūh, Al Bab Sura, Hālka, Nūwah, Mahfudh, Makhashin, the Hadhrami Yafa'is, Hāmdi, Beni Daghār, and Buheish.

The following tribes have B. agreements: Hamumi, Qarzi, Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Ma'āra, Jōhi, 'Awāmir, Ash Shenafir al Kathīr, Mahra, Nahd Rodhān, Sei'ar, Ad Deiyin, Ja'da, Baheith, Namāra Beni Hilāl, 'Awāleq, Hājib Beni Sa'd, Bahanaf, Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Senad al Murqashi, Ba Habāb, Meseiliyin, 'Asārina, Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Beni 'Utheiman, Bā Babekr and Āl Zaghīb, tribesmen of Sadf, Al 'Amūdi, Ash Shof, Beduins of Shāūla, Āl Beihan al 'Awāmir, Al Khashia al Murqashi, Deiyeb, Qumeish, and Bā Bekr.

661 1431 642 When there is any doubt as to the loyalty of a particular tribe, hostages have to be provided who are kept in Mukalla prison, at Du'an, and sometimes at Shihr. Hostages may be changed every month. Presents are given and subsidies paid to some of the tribes, and on the visits of tribal *'Aqils* to provincial headquarters they are given presents, and in some cases entertained.

642 632 The Qu'aiti administration makes no attempt to interfere with tribal usages, but tribal usage does not run in the Qu'aiti towns

and within the area round them demarcated by white pillars

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 pools built by the rich and progressive class of Seyyeds, whose many innovations have re-made the face of this ancient land of the Queen of Sheba.

131 The political frontiers of the Kathiri State describe a finger pointed downward from the Rub-al-Khali into the heart of [161] Hadhramaut. They enclose an area of some six thousand square miles and a population of sixty thousand, a third of whom dwell 652 in the city of Seiyun. The state's current average annual revenue runs close to $100,000.[1]

175 Early Kathiri history is obscure. Forebears of the present sultan once controlled all of Hadhramaut, but in the eighteenth century the al-Quaiti, an immigrant tribe of Yemeni origin, wrested control of the coastal region from their Kathiri overlords at Seiyun and gradually established hegemony over interior tribes until today the Quaiti State comprises nearly the whole of Hadhramaut. Until the "Peace of Ingrams,"[2] modern Kathiri history was dominated by constant and costly warfare between Seiyun and the parvenu Quaiti power at Mukalla.

643 The present Kathiri ruler, His Highness Sultan Husayn Ali Ibn Mansur, succeeded to the throne on May 22, 1950, and was one of the five Aden chiefs selected to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth.[3] It is through Sultan Husayn's generous and patient correspondence that much of this statistical information concerning his far-off land has been gathered.

643 Political organization in the Kathiri State is patterned closely 645 after administrative machinery in Malaya.[4] Executive authority is vested in the sultan assisted by a Council of State of which the ruler is president and the British Resident an ex-officio member. The Council's remaining members include: the Kathiri State Secretary (*Wazir*) and heads of the departments of the Treasury, Customs, Education and Judiciary, in addition to four un-

436 [1] In 1951 the East African shilling, worth about $0.14, replaced the Indian rupee as legal tender in the Protectorate.

[2] William Harold Ingrams, last of the old-style empire-builders, did much to pacify and organize modern Hadhramaut in the years 1934–44. He was the first Resident Adviser to the states of Hadhramaut and the Eastern Aden Protectorate. To him, Hadhramis have given the name, "Peace-maker of the Desert."

[3] Others invited: the sultans of Mukalla, Lahej, Shuqra and the Amir of Dhala, the latter three, prominent chiefs of the Western Aden Protectorate.

[4] Ingrams visited Singapore in 1940 to study the operation of local governments in the Malay States for ways of stepping-up efficiency in native rule in the Hadhramaut.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



official members serving as consultative representatives of the "popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public services consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educational facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the state's own postage stamps[5] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, appears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements[8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

[5] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

[8] The Anglo-Kathiri treaty engagement of 1918 was merely an extension of the terms of a previous Anglo-Quaiti treaty to those parts of the Hadhramaut interior controlled by the Kathiri sultan. By terms of the Anglo-Kathiri agreement the Kathiri State was placed under British protectorate. The 1939 Advisor Agreement provided for the appointment of a British Resident Advisor to the court of the Kathiri sultan.

18 Ingrams G-3 (1934-38)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main wadi system, there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *bada* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government, and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

The climate of Mukalla is on the [illegible] pleasant enough, and with the gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year was [illegible] particularly bad

443 passed through this unknown world, and the desire and hope, until now cautiously suppressed, grew unconsciously within us, to enter the land that lay behind the town and to learn to know its people.

## 2. THE VIZIER SAYYID ABŪ BAKR BIN ḤUSĒN EL-MIḤḌĀR.

645 We made acquaintance, the morning after our arrival, with [643] the Vizier, who, in the absence of the Sultan, deals with state affairs. Sayyid Abū Bakr bin Ḥusēn el-Miḥḍār is a man in the prime of life; he is energetic, has a congenial, alert personality, and shows absolutely no sign of opposition to the *Naṣrānīs*, the *Efrendjīs*. The heavy task of governing the Qe-
645 ᶜēṭī Sultanate falls chiefly upon his solid shoulders. His popu-
565 larity is supported doubly by tradition: in the first place, as
175 sayyid he belongs to the class of spiritual and worldly leaders, for he is a direct descendant of the Prophet, and, in the second place, the house of Abū Bakr was, six generations ago, the most influential family of Ḥaḍramaut.[1] In an evil hour, in their struggle against the Bedouin tribes, they called in the help of the Yāfiᶜ, a tribe noted for its fighting qualities. Its Sultan sent help under one Qeᶜēṭī, who, after having delivered the sayyids of the el-Miḥḍār family from their enemies, took the leadership into his own hands. The power of his family expanded. In 1874 the Qeᶜēṭīs asked the British Government in Aden to intervene for the purpose of reaching a settlement in a war, which had arisen over the refusal of the Āl Kathīr to repay a sum of money which had been lent to them. On this occasion Makalla and esh-Shiḥr were, with the help of the British, taken away from the Kathīrī Sultan and handed over to the Qeᶜēṭī, but the family of el-Miḥḍār had remained the leading one of that region.

701 The Vizier declared that he had *no* objection to our journey
567 into the interior. The route via Wādī Dōᶜan was safe, provided

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 75; *A Handbook of Arabia*, i. (London, 1920), p. 542 *sq.*

648 Resident Adviser was to organize a modem administration. This did not mean, as was stressed by Ingrams, the first Resident Adviser, that direct British administration was to be set up. Quite to the contrary, local inhabitants should be used as far as possible. (11) Due to the

11. There was some apprehension in Mukalla that the appointment of a Resident Adviser would mean direct British rule. This is shown by the proclamation of the Sultan of 22 October 1937 in which he took occasion to deny rumors that Britain had taken over his country; of. Oriente Moderno, 18 (1938) p. 42.

small number of trained native officials, however, the administration services are to a considerable extent staffed with British experts. (12)

12. More use could be made of native officials in Mukalla than in Seyun. E.g. the treasurer of Mukalla is an Arab, whereas a British official, the so-called Financial Officer, is in charge of financial affairs in Seyun; of. Ingrams, op. cit., pp. 338-39.

645 648 In 1939, again following the Malayan precedent, a State Council was set up in Mukalla. It is presided over by the Sultan and consists of the Resident Adviser, the State Secretary, and two nominated Arabian 648 members. (13) The council acts as the Sultan's cabinet. These

13. Ingrams, ibid., p. 349.

agreements have thus served to increase Great Britain's control of the internal as well as external affairs of the two most important states in the Hadramaut. Even if the actual administrative machinery should be handled by natives to a larger extent than is now the case, the Resident Adviser could always prevent the conduct of affairs along lines of which the British government does not approve. Besides his functions described above the Resident Adviser is in charge of British relations with all states in the Eastern Protectorate under the control of the Governor.

The administration of the Aden Protectorate as a whole

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al-Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate. 631 648 643

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida. 631 622 175 438 161 133 361

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. 645

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government. 619 701 625 624

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts: 631 361

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej. [643]

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

Gt. Brit.. Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



the development of agriculture and irrigation in Abyan has been much 242
appreciated.

During the latter part of 1947 it was possible to station a Political Officer in the Abyan and Ahwar areas. His presence and the benefit of increased production in the area have contributed to the appreciable success of the Abyan experiment during the year.

## EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate considerable political activity was 665
shown by various sections of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states. In the former, two parties were formed in March, one the National party and the other the Hadhrami party. The latter is for Hadhrami unity, in which it agrees with the Seiyid party of the Kathiri state, which also showed some liveliness at the start of the year. Later, however, the Seiyids began to concentrate less on the general question of Hadhrami unity and more on the immediate question of escaping from paying double taxation. Several committees were formed with this object and in April a deputation waited on the Resident Adviser, whose answer to them was that it was for the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states to co-operate in the matter of lightening the burden of taxation of their subjects. Later the Seiyids sent a telegraphic plea to the Governor and Secretary of State.

Meanwhile the National party remained anti-Seiyid and, on the whole, anti-unity. In April they published a manifesto of their aims on the front page of the Aden newspaper, *Fatat-al-Jezira*.

The Arab cause in Palestine continued to arouse considerable sympathy 664
in the Eastern Aden Protectorate. This came to a head in December after the United Nations Assembly had recommended partition and took the form of processions (without violence) and the opening of subscription lists. Telegrams were sent to the Secretary of State and there was a one-day strike in Mukalla and Sai'un.

In both Qu'aiti and Kathiri states democratic changes were made in 646
the administration. In the latter a State Council was formed in April 642
and met for the first time in May: it consists at present of three *ex-officio*, three official and three unofficial members. In June the Qu'aiti State Council Decree was amended to allow the representation of provincial communities with the intention of improving relations between the Government and the provinces. These communities were not previously represented.

Outstanding boundary disputes between the Qu'aiti and Kathiri 31
states remained unsettled throughout the year.

Security continued to be disturbed throughout the year in the north- 721
west on the boundaries with the Yemen and Sa'udi Arabia and to a 619
lesser extent in the Wahidi area on the boundaries of the Western Aden Protectorate. In January the Kazimis looted a caravan on its way to Habban. In March there was a big raid by the Dahin and Abida (Yemeni) on the eastern coastal area. In May the Upper Aulaqi (who owe allegiance to no one) attacked Amaqin in Wahidi; in that month also the Sei'ar

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



648 treaty and the force of circumstances the Sultan was already bound to follow the protecting Power. It ended up by saying that if there were serious disagreement between the Sultan and the adviser it would be open to the Sultan to appeal to the Governor of Aden and if necessary to the Secretary of State.

This new departure of giving an adviser to a ruler in Arabia was not really a great innovation. Lawrence describes the policy agreed on for Arabia after the last war as putting a "ring-wall around Arabia, a country which must be reserved as an area of Arabian individualism. So long as our fleet keeps its coasts, Arabia should be at leisure to fight out its own complex and fatal destiny."[1] The old treaty of protection represented just such a policy as Lawrence described. There was at that time, of course, no question of providing advisers in Arabia itself, but in *A Report on the Reconstruction of Arabia*, also by Lawrence, he wrote that any advisers chosen by Feisal "will be part of the Arab Government and will draw their executive authority from it and not from their own Government."[2]

In my case there was some discussion as to who should pay for the adviser, but as a gesture to a country which had at that time no money the British Government decided to pay. But I think it will be clear from the treaty and the Note accompanying it that it was intended that the adviser should work things out with the local government himself and that he should not be a mouthpiece to convey instructions from His Majesty's Government to the local ruler as to what was to be done. So that what was done is in harmony with what Lawrence wrote and that has been the way in which I have tried to work.

There is one other instrument to which I must refer and that is the Protectorate Order-in-Council of 1937. It was thought by some at the time that this Order-in-Council amounted to an annexation of the Protectorate, but the then Prime Minister in an answer in the House of Commons on June 1, 1938, denying that the Order-in-Council provided for an annexation of territory, said that when Aden became a colony, jurisdiction in the adjacent areas, hitherto exercised under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order-in-Council, had to be provided by a new Order-in-Council and that this was a normal administrative change. It did not therefore portend our administering the Protectorate or destroying the autonomy and responsibility of the chiefs.

### Comparison of State Government in Hadhramaut in 1934-6 and 1944

647 In 1934 the Sultan's staff in Mukalla consisted of a Wazir, a treasurer, a commander of the forces, a doctor, and a few school-masters. In 1944 there was a State Council of senior officials and nominated unofficials, and the administration was carried on in twenty organized departments under

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[1] Robert Graves, *Lawrence and the Arabs* (London, Cape, 1927), p. 396, also *T. E. Lawrence by his friends* edited by A. W. Lawrence (London, Cape, 1937), p. 196.

[2] David Garnett (ed.), *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence of Arabia* (London, Cape, 1938), p. 268.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers. 647

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000. 651 652

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few. 579 712 165 625 721 701 643 619 728 652

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government. 619

[1]About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off. 567

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



619 He is no longer apt to be shot at by Government soldiers and he brings his troubles to the Government. The provincial governors and the district
647 heads are better men and better paid than they used to be and all new candidates have courses of instruction before appointment. There are
692 systems of State and tribal courts which are becoming more and more
619 effective. There is a special department of bedouin affairs which is staffed entirely by Hadhrami tribesmen; five or six years ago no Hadhrami tribesmen were employed in any positions of responsibility.

759 As regards social services, in 1934 there was one doctor, mainly for the Sultan though he ran a public dispensary, and medical services cost Rs. 5,500
657 a year: in 1944 the sum voted was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary
652 services. There was an establishment of four doctors, and a State hospital
748 for fifty in-patients was being built in Mukalla.

In 1934 education cost Rs. 6,000 and about three hundred boys received
871 some sort of schooling. In 1944 Rs. 1,054,000 was provided. The number of boys in primary Government schools on the coast has increased to about
652 seventeen hundred. There were between a hundred and thirty and a
657 hundred and forty girls in the new Mukalla girls' school, and an inter-
658 mediate boarding school, assisted by the British Council and a grant from His Majesty's Government, had been started with about eighty boys. As part of the famine relief measures, children were brought down from the Hadhramaut and have now been taken over by the Qu'aiti State which bought a village outside Mukalla and is now housing three hundred boys
[674] and girls in it. A wall enclosing garden land has been built round it and the children work the garden and are apprenticed to various local trades. They are given a modest schooling and it is hoped that they will also be taught by means of a village council to run their own village.

658 Another State educational experiment owes its impetus mainly to the enthusiasm of the young men of Mukalla. A number of young men have
871 gone through a course organized by the Education Department in how to teach illiterate adults to read and write. These teachers compiled a coolies' vocabulary of seven hundred words or so and when I left were about to teach coolies from the Hadhramaut, who had come seeking for work at the coast on account of the famine, how to write the language they speak, a sort of basic Arabic. There are schemes for producing a small newspaper in this simplified form of speech and for developing some public-health consciousness.

701 What little the State could do towards the war effort it has done. It provided a company for guard duties in Aden while the Italians were in
648 the war. It has raised a Pioneer Company for service in the Middle East Command. It has guarded the R.A.F. aerodromes in the State and pro-
[712] vided coastal guards. The Public Works Department has built an R.A.F. station at about a third of the cost expected. It has landed and handled a great quantity of R.A.F. stores. In addition, at the outbreak of war when the surplus balance was about Rs. 80,000, it contributed Rs. 20,000 for
648 general war purposes, and Hadhramis at home and abroad subscribed to a

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## ORGANIZATION OF THE RESIDENCY AND METHODS USED

After persuading the tribes to make the general truce for three years, 647
I turned my attention to Government organization. I had hoped at first 648
that it would not be necessary to have more than three European assistants, two political and one military, but the burden of work became so heavy that by the beginning of the war I think there were eight European officers working in the Hadhramaut. Owing to the general anti-foreigner feeling [609]
I thought it better that these officers should belong to the Residency staff as assistants to the adviser and that they should not have executive authority, and I told them to regard themselves rather as men with oil cans, who saw that the machinery was working, than as part of the machinery itself. Furthermore I felt sure that the actual responsibility must remain in the hands of the local Government. I believed, and I am sure that events have proved me right, that if you give people responsibility and make them exercise it they are eventually able to do so fairly effectively. You begin by collecting a group of what are in effect pictures labelled as heads of departments and in due course they come, like Galatea, to life. This rather extensive employment of Europeans did not turn out very successfully and, in 1942, it was approved that I might reduce my European assistants to two and engage trained orientals to instruct the local Government staff in the conduct of bedouin affairs, district administration, finance, medical, educational, agricultural, military and police work. Not all these posts have yet been filled owing to the difficulty of finding qualified candidates but there are now Transjordanis holding the posts of Bedouin Affairs Assistant and Police Assistant, a Hadhrami seiyid who is a Major in the Hyderabad military forces and a Punjabi Mussulman as Military Assistants, and a Sudani as Educational Assistant.

The functions of the Residency are advice, instruction and inspection. 648
As regards instruction the Residency runs a military school which is 647
attended by officers and non-commissioned officers of all the forces, and 871
promotion in the forces cannot be had without a certificate from it. It runs courses for teachers, courses for administrative candidates for employment as district officers, and police courses. Other courses are obtained by sending candidates to Aden, for example for training as dispensers, and by sending boys for education to the Sudan.

Most Government departments were in their beginning practically directed by Residency staff. When they are able to stand sufficiently on their own feet, the Residency withdraws and leaves them entirely to their own heads and the State Secretary.

Some things, however, are paid for by His Majesty's Government and 648
are under Residency control. The most important of these is the Hadhrami 701
Bedouin Legion. It is modelled as far as possible on Brigadier Glubb's Desert Patrol, which he kindly enabled me to see in 1938, and he generously provided Arab officers for it. The bedouins were quite unaccustomed to 701
any sort of military service and the force experienced ups and downs for 702

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



official members serving as consultative representatives of the "popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public services consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educational facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the state's own postage stamps[5] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, appears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements[8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

[5] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

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9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Government and beduin. Many beduin tribes who were inveterate foes of the Qu'aitis have now declared permanent peace with the Government and said they are "sons of government." The State Government has now a beduin affairs department staffed entirely by local tribesmen, and there is a system of tribal courts. There are many tribesmen in Government service, and the greater number of the soldiers and police are now tribesmen and beduin. In the old days, Hadhrami tribesmen were hardly ever employed in Government and there were very few in the forces. The only effective soldiers were Yafa'is, irregular mercenaries and slaves. Even the Government slaves have now disappeared. There is an African company in the regular army which consists of ex-slaves and Somalis and is employed on guarding an R.A.F. station, and others are employed as Government servants on the same footing as Arabs; the old slaves have been pensioned. All soldiers and police are taught to read and write, and by passing examinations in the military school can and do secure promotion. Enlistment is popular now because of the amenities provided and because a soldier can definitely expect to be more fitted for civil life when he leaves the forces. The status of a military life is very definitely advanced.

Another thing that attracts attention is the development in education. The coastal elementary schools have 1,700 boys in them instead of 300, and the education department is rapidly extending over the interior. There is an intermediate boarding school for 80 boys which opened last year. There is a boarding school attached to the Hadhrami Beduin Legion with 100 beduin boys in it, and another with 24 beduin girls. There are several town girls' schools, the biggest and best being in Mukalla with 150 girls, who learn not only to read and write, but to sew, embroider, wash, and cook. A most interesting experiment has lately been started with a whole village organized as a school, where 300 boys and girls of the serf class—a class which works hard but does very little thinking for itself—are being trained to run their own village and to learn various industries and crafts. Teachers of the Mukalla Government and other volunteers are also teaching adults of the serf class to read and write the language they speak and trying to induce in them some public health consciousness.

On the medical side a hospital is being built in Mukalla, and the sanitary state of the town—which may shortly have a municipality—has been greatly improved.

Of old, Government[1] was mainly carried on by a handful of officials with a Sultan generally in India, but the present Sultan has spent most of his reign in his state and has a state council of officials and unofficials to help him. The executive work of Government is in charge of a state secretary and twenty organized departments.

In the Kathiri State progress has not been nearly so spectacular. The revenue is much smaller and the Wadi Hadhramaut is so divided by the jealousies of Sultans and tribesmen, and handicapped by the unwillingness or inability of the bulk of the seiyids to get together and co-operate, that the Government is not nearly so alive. There is, however, a state secretary at Seiyun and a good deal of the work of a government has been organized.

1 [Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr was quite official in character; 647 ●
there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been mono- [463]
polised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramīs have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramīs are Dutch subjects and as I was con- 648
sidered to be their partisan, an impression which had been 641
still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer 162
told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramīs come from Java every year 167
and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. 272
Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export 439
figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity, will rapidly increase in the future.

### 8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we 133
clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

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and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to resore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Manaab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an auton. mous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

## Chapter 2: Population

The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shafi'i Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

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# ADEN PROTECTORATE

## PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

644 During 1947 the Western Aden Protectorate continued to suffer from a shortage of experienced Political Officers. This position was aggravated by the murder in April of Mr. P. C. Davey, an officer of exceptional ability and experience. In consequence most districts were inadequately manned, with the result that it proved difficult to consolidate the progress of the past few years and in some cases there was some deterioration. The Arab Assistant Political Officers, of whom there are at present seven, have of necessity been the backbone of the Western Aden Protectorate administration during the past three years owing to the shortage of experienced British Political Staff.

631 The Fadhli, Dathina and Subeihi administrations carried on with very little change. The two former show a very much-improved financial position. The Amiri country started the year with the removal after a show of force of Amir Haidera and, after an unhappy year of strife and intrigue, ended it with the establishment of a constitutional form of government.

643 In the Abdali State the death of the Sultan, His Highness Sir Abdul
642 Karim Fadhl bin Ali, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who has been succeeded by his eldest son, Fadhl Abdul Karim, and who was a sincere and experienced ruler, was much regretted by his people. On the acclamation of his successor a new constitution setting up a State Council was established and is now in operation.

721 In Beihan the Sultan encountered difficulties with the Balharithi tribe in the far north, and the situation had to be settled by air action.

There were trade-route incidents in Quteibi country, in Wadi Hardaba (Radfan), in Mansuri country (Manqa'a), in Marqashi country (Fadhli) and in Rujeili country (Wadi Teim in Radfan), involving losses of life and heavy lootings. Lootings in the Quteibi territory assumed such proportions that it was necessary to restore normality by air operations. The incidents in Marqashi were satisfactorily settled by administrative action. The other incidents still remain to be settled.

242 On the other side of the picture agricultural development in Abyan has had a most beneficial effect in this southern area in spite of the uncooperative attitude of the Lower Yafa'i Sultan. This attitude led finally to his suspension from office in the Yafa'i as Sahil area of his territory. In contrast, the willing co-operation of the Fadhli authorities in fostering

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315 A party from Petroleum Concessions Ltd. arrived in November and, after visiting Hadhramaut, went east along the coast to prospect the Mahra area.

# Chapter 7: Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry

## AGRICULTURE

*General*

132 There was rain in the west of the Hadhramaut and in the Eastern coastal [315] area in February, and in June and August good rains in the Hadhramaut formed a new lake above the recently finished Nuqra dam. The spring 243 wheat and barley crops were satisfactory. Efforts to persuade the farmers to grow barley rather than wheat continued and towards the end of the year some effect was noticed, partly owing to the discovery of a way of cooking the barley so as to make it acceptable as food; experiments in machine grinding were also started.

*Staff*

● 647 The staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a Director, two Agricultural Officers, an Agricultural Assistant, an Engineer Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors.

*Land Utilisation*

Lack of rainfall imposes a severe limitation on crop production in 312 the Protectorate. Highly developed conservation measures, run-off control, flood irrigation and artificial irrigation are employed to secure 311 arable land production. The percentage of arable land to the desert and range is estimated at 0·33 per cent. Established pastures and meadows are unknown. Dry forest scrub is found on the Island of Socotra and in the far Eastern Mahra Coast.

*Crop Production*

241

*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | Acres | Tons |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 60,000 | 12,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 10,000 | 1,500 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 |
| Sesame | 10,000 | 1,000 |

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Millet—sorghum | 20,000 | 4,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 3,000 | 500 |
| Wheat | 3,500 | 2,500 |
| Date palms | 10,000 | 5,500 |

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
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November. They began testing fish livers for vitamin-A content and also canning samples. Meanwhile several local merchants showed interest and applied for permission to set up canneries and the like. A board to consider such applications and fisheries development in general was set up. 654 226

### FORESTRY

No true forests exist. Bush products exploited are timber, fuel, charcoal, fibres, gum incense and dragon blood. 313 314

# Chapter 8: Social Services

### EDUCATION

*General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education inspects schools, gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates so far as is possible educational development throughout the whole territory. 658

*Policy*

The general education policy in the Protectorates has been to build up self-supporting state Departments of Education as the states become sufficiently advanced for this to be possible. The intention has been that these departments should organise and control a system of village schools, central primary schools and, in the case of the larger states, intermediate schools.

*Education Departments*

Two such Education Departments are already in existence. One under the Mukalla Government in the Eastern Protectorate, with a Sudanese Director of Education (who is also Education Adviser to the British Agent), and an inspectorate of five local Arab inspectors. The other is at Lahej, 25 miles inland from Aden in the Western Protectorate, where Emir Ali, brother of the Sultan, performs the duties of Director of Education. 647

*Higher Education*

There is no higher education in the Protectorate, and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come. It is thus necessary to send abroad selected scholars who reach the required standard. There is at present one boy at Gordon College in the Sudan, and three there are at secondary schools. 873

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*Liaison*

In the first half of 1947 the post of Protectorate Education Officer was filled, a post which had been vacant for a year. This Officer's duties include tours of inspection throughout the Protectorate, and advice and assistance, through the British Agents, where required. 647

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate advance was somewhat hampered by the absence of the Sudani Adviser for the greater part of the year on leave. However, estimates for grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act were prepared and despatched; these include schemes for enlarging the Intermediate School at Gheil Ba Wazir and for primary schools for the Kathiri State and Wahidi area. A number of scholarships for Hadhramis were given by the Governments of Syria, Egypt and Iraq. 658 648

## HEALTH

*Medical Report for the Western Aden Protectorate*

His Majesty's Government finance a small medical service in the Western Aden Protectorate. The area covered is large, communications are poor and access to many parts is difficult. In consequence only a small proportion of the population, who are in great need of health services, can be visited and treated. Nevertheless, 16 dispensaries are maintained at strategic points in the Protectorate. New dressers are given instruction in hygiene and elementary medicine and nursing care, and are then sent out to open up new areas or to work with more senior dressers in the established dispensaries. They have to deal with diseases common to all races. Certain tropical diseases such as schistosomiasis and dysentery are very prevalent. 743 759 164

Drought and the vagaries of the climate also play their part in undermining the health of the inhabitants. The third year of drought in Sublihi country undoubtedly had an effect on the prevalence of tuberculosis, dental caries and vitamin deficiency diseases in that area. 731

Apart from the dispensaries in the Protectorate, the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital in Sheik Othman which trains the dispensers also welcomes up-country patients. More would come than do at present if ignorance and superstition did not prevail in the Protectorate. Again, for many the road to the hospital is physically difficult and it is certain that they come only as a last resort and after long deliberation. In consequence doctors do all they can to visit the dispensaries as frequently as possible and to spend adequate time at each one to treat the sick, and to give instructions to dressers to keep them up to date. 743

*Famine Relief*

During 1947 the situation in the Hadhramaut continued to improve. At the beginning of the year there were 1,112 persons being fed in the kitchens, which were closed by the end of March, leaving only Maljs—a relief centre for those incapable of work—whose 916 inmates in March were gradually reduced to 227 in December. Nuqer dam, the major famine relief work undertaken, was finished in June. Remittances 735 [3|2] 006

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(B) EXPORTS

| No. | Commodity | No. of packages | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Tobacco, native | 13,236 bdls. | 16,858 cwt. | 8,93,650 |
| 2. | Honey in comb | — | 5,200 lb. | 5,6001 |
| 3. | " cleaned | — | 1,020 " | 2,550 |
| 4. | Dates, country | — | 900 " | 220 |
| 5. | Lime | 3,879 bags. | 4,000 cwt. | 15,500 |
| 6. | Sheep and Goats' skins, tanned | — | 10 scores | 1,000 |
| 7. | Dried lemons | 229 bdls. | 581 cwt. | 33,000 |
| 8. | Fish oil | 17,049 tins | 68,195 gln. | 1,27,860 |
| 9. | Miscellaneous | — | — | 2,93,380 |
| | | | TOTAL | 13,82,760 |

# Chapter 7: Agriculture and Fisheries

## AGRICULTURE

In 1948 farming conditions were generally poor in the Aden Protectorate. 241
Conditions of 1947 were reversed in the areas west of the Bana river, 132
which had a poor 1947 season, received fair rainfall and flood conditions, 731
while east of the Bana erratic and poor rainfall over large areas reduced 457
food production to a low level. This was particularly true of the Hadhramaut and other eastern districts where complete drought returned to the country, causing famine conditions to reappear at the end of the year. The shortage of food was accentuated in those areas where the economy of the country is largely dependent on remittances from abroad. Famine appeared particularly in the Wadi Amd and in Rakhya, where food production is not secured by any irrigation from underground supplies, but is dependent entirely on rain and runoff control. These districts are also partly dependent on remittances from Hyderabad and became particularly affected when India invaded Hyderabad, and currency decrees in Hyderabad cut off the flow of remittances. The scarcity of food was further aggra- [439]
vated by the ban on exports of grain from the Yemen.

*Staff*

The technical staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a 647
Director, two Agricultural Officers (to be increased to four), an Agricul- 242
tural Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors.

The Abyan Development Scheme has the part-time services of an Irrigation Adviser.

*Rainfall Crop and Livestock Conditions*

In the districts west of the Bana river *saif* rains were fair, particularly 312
in the highland areas. East of the Bana river *saif* conditions were poor in many districts, but in Beihan conditions were good and the Wadi ran no less than eleven floods. Most of this water was from the runoff of

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trade in dried fish. Other fishing communities are small and the greater part of their population nomadic for part of the year. 226 [361]

Apart from the occurrence in summer of large migratory fish as described under the Aden Colony fisheries, there is a considerable cast-net fishery for sardines along the sand beaches east of Aden. West of Aden, sardines are rare but a small anchovy supports a fishery during the winter months.

Craft and gear are as described under Aden Colony fisheries.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

The fisheries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate are primitive but very productive. Previous observers have estimated the annual catch as over 50,000 tons of wet fish.

Sardines belonging to several species of Sardinella and Dussumieria normally abound on certain stretches of coast east of Mukalla all winter, when they support a very extensive cast-net and beach-sein fishery. Utilisation is wasteful, the fish being either sun-dried for fertiliser and animal fodder or else rotted in order to free a putrid oil. The winter of 1948–49 has unfortunately been the worst sardine season within living memory. [228]

Kingfish (*Scomberomorus*) abound in the vicinity of the sardine shoals and are taken in large quantities in nets and on handlines. They are exported either wet-salted as "maleh" or salted and sun-dried as "safif". [439]

Three species of tunny and several other large pelagic fishes are caught in considerable numbers and salted.

Sharks are taken in moderate numbers. The town of Qu'sair specialises in this fishery and sends small dhows to the Somali coast for the purpose. In general, the Somali coast is reckoned to be a better shark ground than South Arabia.

These fisheries are worked from huris, sambuks and small dhows as described under Aden Colony fisheries, using the most primitive gear. So great is the abundance at high and low tide close inshore, however, that even by these means the catch per man-hour exceeds that of many fully mechanised fisheries elsewhere.

During 1948 the fisheries of the Gulf of Aden, and particularly those of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, were surveyed under a Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme, with a view to promoting their more efficient exploitation. The original schedule was unfortunately upset by failure to get two vessels equipped in time at Aden, but, although this hampered the work, experimental canning was carried out and liver oils tested for Vitamin "A" content early in 1948. Towards the end of the year, a taxonomist was appointed to confirm the identity of the commercial species. A full report on the survey will be published during 1949. 654 647

Following on the early findings of the Survey Party representatives of the Colonial Development Corporation arrived on the Eastern Protectorate coast towards the end of the year in order to go more fully into commercial possibilities. Unfortunately their visit coincided with a particularly poor sardine season.

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# Chapter 8 : Social Services

## EDUCATION

*General*

658 Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education inspects schools within the area, gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout the whole territory.

*Policy*

871 The general educational policy in the Protectorates has been to build up self-supporting state departments of education as the States become sufficiently advanced for this to be possible. The intention has been that these departments should organise and control a system of village schools, central primary schools and, in the case of the larger States, intermediate schools.

*Education Departments*

• 647 Two such education departments are already in existence. One functions under the Mukalla Government in the Eastern Protectorate, with a Sudanese Director of Education (who is also Education Adviser to the British Agent), and an inspectorate of five local Arab inspectors. The other is at Lahej, 25 miles inland from Aden in the Western Protectorate, where Emir Ali, brother of the Sultan, performs the duties of Director of Education.

*Primary Education*

871 Apart from the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs in Aden and the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion Boys' School near Mukalla, both of which are maintained by His Majesty's Government funds, there are just over 50 primary schools. These schools vary in standard, from the small Quranic schools to those which are approaching the Colony level. Those in the Eastern Protectorate, 23 in number, are maintained by the Mukalla State Department of Education, and are of a higher standard than those in the Western Protectorate. The remainder receive help from His Majesty's Government in the payment of teachers' salaries and the supply of school materials.

873 *The Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs.* One exception to the indirect connection of the Aden Government Department of Education with the Protectorates is the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs, which the Department runs directly. A primary boarding school with a maximum capacity of 42 pupils, it was started in 1935. It has served a most valuable purpose in spreading interest in education in the Western Protectorate, and in providing scholars for teacher-training courses abroad. Since, however, it is too small to be run either economically or with the full development of activities which

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*ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

642 THE years 1951 and 1952 were marked by (a) Government penetration
648 into the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom (Maan) at the invitation of the Ruler and the subsequent formation of the United Administration of Maan and Khalifa; (b) the conclusion of two Advisory Treaties with the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and Audhali Sultan (May and July, 1952)
647 and a joint Advisory and Protectorate Treaty with His Highness the Sultan of Lahej; (c) the formation of the Fadhli—Lower Yafa' Health Board; and (d) the formation of the Lower Aulaqi Regency Council in Ahwar (August, 1952).

Politically the period under review was one of consolidation and development of the administrations of the various States in the Protectorate.

438 The Abyan Board did well in 1951 when it sold 9,890 bales of cotton for £867,088. In 1952 the rains were not so plentiful with the result that only 6,300 bales were sold for £725,810.

648 Relations with the neighbouring Kingdom of the Yemen remained difficult in spite of the Modus Vivendi Agreement concluded with it in London in January, 1951. Interference in affairs well inside the Protectorate boundary was a cause of friction.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

622 In the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States the main constitutional advance has been in the setting up of town and village councils to deal with local affairs.

659 Of necessity both Administrations have been preoccupied with measures to combat the threat of food shortage which must always be
654 faced in this region of uncertain rainfall. The States and local author-
653 ities have maintained dumps of grain, which are designed to tide over a period of scarcity before imports can arrive from the coast, and a
245 periodical check is made on resources of motor transport to ensure that distribution of supplies is not held up by failure of camel traffic in an emergency. Positive measures have been taken to increase local food supplies. Funds have been allocated for loans to farmers to purchase pumps to increase areas of cultivation. Schemes for the rebuilding of dams and for flood control have been put into effect. Particular attention has been paid to the rehabilitation of date palms.

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There has been close co-operation between the two States; they jointly operate a workshop in Sai'un for repairs of pumps and agricultural machinery and maintain an Agricultural Department in the Wadi. 654 647

In the Wahidi Country an administration has been set up under the advice of a Political Officer. Progress in extending the administration to outlying areas has continued and a start has been made in local government in the few small towns of the area. Experiments have been carried out in cotton and sugar cultivation. 631 [242]

The Sultan of Mahra and Socôtra died in February, 1952. In Socotra Sultan Isabin Ahmed Afrar has been elected his successor but he has not been given formal recognition by Government as his election has not yet been confirmed by the mainland chiefs.

Details of Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes in progress during the period are given in Appendix II at the end of the report.

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427 principal system involves some form of share-tenancy in which the partners divide the crop after harvesting, threshing and winnowing charges and tithes and taxes have been paid in kind. In more fertile areas half of the crop is demanded of the tenant of flood irrigated land, while in the mountain terrace-farming areas a share of one-third is normally levied. In the arid eastern districts shares of one-tenth only may be asked. On lift irrigation systems share-tenancy arrangements vary greatly. In the East, the owner of the land and the well may take a one-tenth share. In the West, the owner of the land and the well may take up to one-half of the crop, though often a share of the seed used and a share in the labour working on the lift irrigation is pro-
423 vided by the landowner. The Qua'iti and Kathiri States have secured legal powers by an agricultural administrative order to further the consolidation of plots round suitable irrigation points, but so far it has been unnecessary to apply such orders.

● 647 The Department of Agriculture has initiated important programmes
654 for the development of land and water resources. Of particular note is the Abyan Scheme in the Western Protectorate and the pump scheme in the Wadi Hadhramaut in the Eastern Protectorate. At the same time encouragement and organisation in the better use of the excellent indigenous systems of irrigation farming have been the main preoccupation in many districts.

423 Little satisfactory progress has been made in land settlement in the Abyan area. In the Eastern Protectorate, the States, advised by the
406 Residency, are actively encouraging groups of farmers to combine their holdings formerly watered by animal lift in order to make the co-operative use of the mechanical pump lifts an economic proposition.

241.

## AGRICULTURE

*Principal Crops*, 1952

| | *Acres* | *Tons* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Western Protectorate** | | | |
| Sorghum Millet | 23,333 | 4,333 | |
| Bullrush Millet and other small millets | 9,000 | 1,286 | |
| Wheat | 3,000 | 2,000* | |
| Barley | 6,000 | 4,000* | |
| Sesame | 4,250 | 425 | |
| Cotton (long staple) | 9,830 | 7,206 | bales of 400 lb. lint* |
| Coffee | 400 | 100 | |
| **Eastern Protectorate** | | | |
| Sorghum Millet (lift and permanent flow irrigated) | 3,000 | 2,400 | |
| Sorghum (flood irrigated) | 4,000 | 400 | |
| Bullrush Millet and other small millets | 1,500 | 300 | |
| Wheat | 2,600 | 3,000 | |
| Date Palms | 10,500 | 7,000 | |

* Crops sown in 1951 and harvested in 1952.

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*Agricultural Extension and Improvement Schemes*

654 The main development scheme for irrigated land use is that in Abyan. A note on the scheme is given in Appendix I, page 84.

248 The extension work of the Department of Agriculture is carried on 406 through departmental staff and through State agricultural departments 241 where these exist. Extension work at the moment is mainly confined to a few selected subjects such as cotton growing, fruit and vegetable growing, and lift irrigation by pump.

*Cotton Growing Schemes (other than at Abyan).* Long-staple X.1730A cotton was introduced for cultivation to the Yeramis district, and from an area of approximately 400 acres some 472,665 lb. of seed cotton were marketed.

In Ahwar, where X.1730A cotton was grown for the second season, 436,311 lb. of seed cotton were marketed from an effective area of 400 acres.

*The Hadhramaut Pump Scheme.* In the Hadhramaut there has been considerable development of lift irrigation by diesel-engine pumping units since 1948. It is claimed that 389 pump units with an estimated total horse-power of 3,640 have now been introduced. A large percentage of the units have been sold by the Hadhramaut States to local farmers on a deferred payment scheme.

In 1952 pump units irrigated 37 per cent of the total area under lift irigation in the Hadhramaut. The average area irrigated per pump unit is estimated at 8.3 acres as compared with 2 acres by animal lift. The yield from pump irrigated crops in nearly all cases is found to exceed comparable animal lift irrigated crops. The schemes may be criticised on account of the high horse-power used for the irrigated area, but on the other hand with less working hours per day the machinery should theoretically last longer.

*Credit Facilities*

452 In the Western Protectorate advances have been made through Farmers' Associations, through the Abyan Board and through local States to assist farmers. In the Eastern Protectorate, particularly the Hadhramaut, large sums of money have been advanced since 1944 to enable farmers, or groups of farmers, to maintain local irigation systems and to help farmers to buy pumping machinery by hire purchase. Little or no progress can be made in the development of agriculture without credit facilities.

*Agricultural Department*

• 647 The staff comprises the Director of Agriculture, four Agricultural Officers, one Assistant Agricultural Officer and nine Agricultural Instructors.

The Department is responsible for giving advice on agriculture and, in many areas, for the organisation and administration of agricultural development projects. During the financial year 1952–53 it budgetted to spend £19,000.

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## ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231

*Estimate of Livestock in* 1952

| | *Western Protectorate* | *Eastern Protectorate* |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 35,000 | 45,000 |
| Cattle | 60,000 | 8,000 |
| Goats | 500,000 | 355,000 |
| Sheep | 150,000 | 50,000 |
| Donkeys | 3,500 | 3,500 |

Most of the animals are kept by peasant farmers who depend on animal products for an important part of their diet. Away from the less settled areas pastoral, nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes own large numbers of livestock and depend on stock products for food and for sale and barter to obtain other requirements.

Towards the end of 1952 drought conditions affected the production and general condition of livestock. No serious animal disease was recorded during the year.

There is no separate Veterinary Department in the Protectorate but 647 the Director of Agriculture undertakes preventive measures to control 232 important diseases such as rinderpest and horse-sickness.

A herd of Ongole (Nellore) cattle is maintained by the Abyan Board. It is proposed to test the productivity of this breed and the suitability of animals raised locally from the breed for draught purposes in Abyan.

## FORESTRY

No true forest exists in the Protectorate. Trees and shrubs common 137 to arid regions in this latitude are found, while a dense growth of Tamarisk and Salvadora is found as "corridor forest" on the sides of the larger flood courses. Acacia is the most important species at all altitudes ; a semi-cultivated species of great value for timber and for honey-gathering bees is the Elb (*Ziziphus spina christi*).

A general dearth of forest products for timber, building materials 185 and for browse for livestock is apparent. In many parts of the Protectorate, and particularly in areas close to Aden, the coastal towns of the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut towns, destruction of vegetation for charcoal production and for fuel has devastated large areas. So far no satisfactory measures have been taken to regenerate such areas. Large amounts of capital and firm action by local Governments are needed for this.

## CO-OPERATION

The Beihan Farmers' Association, now in its fifth year, continued to 476 benefit the Beihan district. This Association provides its members with seed stocks and grain supplies on credit. At the end of the year the assets were estimated at £14,850 and liabilities at £8,779.

The Audhali-Kaur Farmers' Association has made moderate progress since its formation in 1950. It is primarily concerned with the organisation of vegetable production, transport and marketing for its members who farm with the aid of lift irrigation in the mid-altitude area of the "Audhali-Kaur".

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



000 remedies and sulphamezathine in small containers with instructions in Arabic.

*Organisation and Policy*

647 The health administration has a triple aspect: (a) co-ordination
743 and standardisation in the interests of efficiency, (b) direction of
759 activities financed by Her Majesty's Government, that is health work among States with as yet no health services of their own, and (c) advice and practical help to administrations with health services and doctors in their own employment.

There is a Health Adviser, with headquarters in Mukalla (Eastern Protectorate) and a sub-headquarters in the West at Sheikh Othman, and two Protectorate Medical Officers, one for the East and one for the West. The Protectorate Medical Officer and a nursing sister-midwife have been lent by the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital and are paid for by Her Majesty's Government.

In the West the Fadhli and Lower Yafa'i States have a joint health service under the control of a Health Board on which is represented the Abyan Board (the local agricultural development body), which contributes to the health service budget and is building a base hospital associated with a health service training centre for the Western Protectorate. The health service has a Senior Medical Officer in executive charge. Lahej State has a hospital half built and has budgetted for a doctor in the near future.

In the East the Qu'aiti health service has a Senior Medical Officer based on Mukalla Hospital and responsible for the Southern Qu'aiti District, and one woman doctor based on the newly built Shibam Hospital in the Wadi Hadhramaut and responsible for the Northern Qu'aiti District. The Kathiri health service has a Senior Medical Officer based on Sai'un in the Wadi Hadhramaut. The Wahidi health service came into being in 1952 and has an embryo hospital building. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri States have State Health Boards. Good progress is being made with the provision of accommodation, staff and equipment at Mukalla Hospital, which is to be a health service training centre and base hospital for the Eastern Protectorate.

Each hospital has a system of administratively dependent health units staffed by literate personnel who are being increasingly trained in preventive and therapeutic skills. The Keith Falconer Hospital of the Church of Scotland Mission at Sheikh Othman continues for the present, as it has been for the past 25 years, as the administrative and training base for most of these health units in the Western Protectorate. It is the intention to transfer these functions gradually to the local administrations. Mobile health units are based on Sheikh Othman in the West and Mukalla in the East.

*Work by Voluntary Bodies*

743 Church of Scotland and Danish Mission sisters and midwives have
741 established clinics at Dathina, Abyan, and Beihan. The Aden Society for the Blind late in 1952 carried out a small but valuable survey and treatment campaign in the Western Protectorate.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## INTRODUCTION.

131 The coast line of the Aden Protectorate starts in the west from Ras Murad opposite the island of Perim, and runs eastward to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates it from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Roughly speaking, the Protectorate is bounded in the interior on the west and the north by the Kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. It also includes the island of Soqotra. The Hadhramaut lies in the east of the Protectorate between the Wahidi and 'Aulaqi countries on the west and the Mahra country on the east. North, it reaches to the Empty Quarter.

64 631 The two principal chiefs of the Protectorate are Their Highnesses the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej and the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla. The capital of the former lies about 20 miles north of Aden and that of the latter some 300 miles east. It will be easily realized that these two chiefs are by their geographical positions the natural leaders of the western and eastern parts of the Protectorate, and the 'Abdali Sultan, who is the premier chief of the Protectorate, has established his hegemony over the western portion. In some ways the Qu'aiti Sultan is perhaps the most important ruler of the Protectorate, for he controls, or has direct influence over, a larger population than any other chief, and, except for the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, whose nominal kingdom extends over a much wider area, he rules the largest tract of territory in the Protectorate. Although he is acknowledged by the Kathīri Sultan as having precedence in the Hadhramaut, he has not yet secured recognition by the Wahidi Sultans, or by the Mahra Sultan, as their natural leader.

643 648 636 The whole of the Aden Protectorate is ruled by its own chiefs, who are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned. Their relations with the Protecting Power are for the most part regulated by treaty, and while their foreign affairs are entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, interference in matters of domestic concern is generally limited to advice.

121 This report offers a survey of the social and political organization of the Hadhramis and of the resources of their country as seen by the writer. The object of this introduction is to give a brief indication of the present trend of development as it appears to him.

178 185 There is an extraordinary complexity of social and governmental organization in the Hadhramaut. The country is in a transition period between the disappearance or modification of the earlier social organization, which has itself evolved with the centuries, and the development of Government more or less on modern lines.

The various classes of society in the Hadhramaut are described in the report, and the interplay of some of them, one with another, has, in the course of time, as in other countries, given rise to abuses which, as the life and thought of the Middle Ages is influenced

by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have 178
stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old
order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern 185
conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen.

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth [369
to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves
with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement 182]
to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who 185
prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread.

The surprising modern developments in the Kathīri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increas- 185
ingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and 177
otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to
the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular 648
and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres. The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of good
will and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this [167]
the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion 178
of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions 185
of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut 182
appears to be changing almost despite itself.

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathīri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of
Qu'aiti and Kathīri rule in their respective countries. I could 000
not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti

During our visit the maximum and minimum temperatures recorded during stays in the principal towns were as follows :— 132

| | Dates inclusive. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mukalla | 31st October to 5th November ... | 86·8 | 75 |
| | 21st to 30th December ... | 82 | 74·5 |
| Shihr ... | 20th to 21st December ... ... | 80·2 | 73·3 |
| Du'an ... | 11th to 13th November ... ... | 78·8 | 70·3 |
| Shibam ... | 17th to 20th November ... ... | 84·2 | 66·8 |
| | 21st to 24th November ... ... | 75·1 | 62·3 |
| Tarim ... | 21st November ... ... ... | 75·9 | 72·9 |
| | 2nd to 5th December ... ... | 88·5 | 70·3 |

The lowest temperature we recorded on the whole trip was 37·3 at 5.45 a.m. on 29th November at Sih Rieidat al Kathīr. The highest was 88·5 at 4 p.m. on 5th December at Tarim.

## The States of the Hadhramaut.

In Article I of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 it is stated that the Qu'aiti Sultan and the Kathīri Sultan "recognise that the province of Hadhramaut shall be one province, the said province being an appanage of the British Empire under the Sultan of Al Shahr and Mukalla." This agreement appears *in extenso* in Appendix III. By it the Kathīri agreed to accept as binding on him the treaty of 1888 between the Qu'aiti and the British Government, which extended British Protection to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies, and also accepted the arbitration of the British Government in the settlement of future disputes. 642 648

The Qu'aiti state of Shihr and Mukalla is one of the most important of the Sultanates and Chiefdoms forming the Aden Protectorate. The Sultan receives a nominal stipend of Rs.60 a month from British funds and is entitled to a salute of eleven guns. The present Sultan, His Highness Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. He is recognized as being the ruler of the whole country, but that part of it defined as being Kathīri is autonomous in its domestic affairs and is ruled over by Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur. By virtue of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement, negotiations with the Kathīri Sultanate are conducted through the medium of the Qu'aiti Sultan. 642 631 643

It is necessary, however, to avoid the impression that all the country included in the term Hadhramaut is ruled by Qu'aiti or Kathīri in the same way as obtains in more advanced countries, for such is far from being the case. In both Sultanates there are a number of towns or districts where the Government is absolute, and the central Government appoints Governors who take full responsibility for the affairs of those places. In some cases there are stretches of country including series of villages which are ruled in the same way, but every now and then will be found autonomous towns and villages. These belong to particular tribes or particular families, and the Qu'aiti or Kathīri Governments have no 642 631 641

175 bin Said, Sultan of Zanzibar. It was not until 1888 that he consented to use the interest on the sum invested, which had then amounted to 230,000 rupees, for his own use.[1]

148 643 In 1882 a treaty was entered into with 'Abdulla and 'Awadh, the Qu'aiti Jemadars, whereby due provision was made for the ex-Naqib and for the payment of an annual sum by the British Government to the Qu'aiti of 360 dollars a year. The Qu'aiti bound themselves not to dispose of any of the Hadhramaut territories to any person or power other than the British Government, and in 1888 a Protectorate treaty was concluded. Jemadar 'Abdulla died a few months later and 'Awadh became sole ruler. In 1900 the Qu'aiti dominions were further extended by the purchase, from the Wahidi, of Meifa, and in 1902 the Sultan's old title of Jemadar was finally [554] abolished and he was recognised by the title of Sultan.[2] Sultan

[1] To-day Naqib 'Abdur Rab, 'Umar's son, the present head of the family, is a respected member of Zanzibar society. He has lived in a quiet and unobtrusive fashion, and he and his people have been absorbed into the population in which they are an indistinguishable element. The Naqib has adopted the fashions of dress and living of the Omani section of the population, while the rest of the large Hadhramaut element in Zanzibar forms a very distinct community of its own.

[2] The following is a continuation of the Kathiri narrative of Hadhramaut history, from the same source as before.

In 1283 (A.D. 1866), at the suggestion of Seiyid Ishaq bin 'Aqil, Sultan Ghalib bin Muhsin al Kathiri succeeded in occupying Shihr. He then marched against Mukalla but was defeated by the Naqib bin Sala's forces at Harshiat. The next year Jemadar 'Awadh bin 'Umar al Qu'aiti arrived from India with Indian and Yafa'i troops to attack Shihr. He landed with his forces at Hami, proceeded to Shihr, and with the assistance of the Kasadis captured the place and expelled the Kathiris. In 1287 (A.D. 1870) Seiyid Is'haq bin 'Aqil went to Hyderabad and proposed to the Qu'aitis, Salih and 'Awadh, and to the Kathiris, that they should retain those parts of the Hadhramaut which they respectively ruled and that they should co-operate with the Seiyids in the establishment of justice, the improvement in the condition of the country, and the maintenance of security on the routes. He also proposed that the Qu'aiti should pay to the Āl 'Abdulla $50,000 on entering into an agreement with him, and an annual sum of $20,000, to be paid from Shihr customs revenue, for the upkeep of the garrison of Tarim and Seiyun. The Kathiris, however, declined these terms and made preparations for investing Shihr. To achieve this object the Kathiris enlisted the assistance of the 'Aulaqi and the Āl 'Umar Bā 'Umar, the respective rulers of Gheil and Soda. The 'Aulaqi was able to supply them with considerable funds from India, as he too, held a position similar to that of the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri in the Government of the Nizam.

Hearing of this alliance, 'Awadh immediately started hostilities against the 'Aulaqi and the Āl Bā 'Umar. At the end of a year he had defeated them and annexed Gheil and Soda. 'Awadh now entered into an agreement with the Kasadi Naqib, 'Umar Salih, for invading the Hadhramaut. Leaving Shihr and Mukalla respectively, the united forces marched against the Āl 'Abdulla, but the Kathiris beat off their attacks and forced them to retire. The Naqib 'Umar Salih then died and 'Awadh left for India.

'Umar was succeeded by his son Salih. Jemadar 'Awadh now returned from India, and, taking advantage of the despatch of soldiers by the Naqib to Du'an to fight against the Āl 'Amudi, sent some of his troops to Mukalla, and demanded from the Naqib half of the expenditure incurred in the expedition against the Hadhramaut which he had undertaken with 'Umar Salih. The Yafa'i chiefs then intervened and decided that the Naqib should surrender half Mukalla.

Sultan

Awadh died in 1909 and was succeeded by his son Ghalib, a man of advanced views, who was extremely anxious for the development of his country in which he established peace and good order. His application for, and financing of, a mission to investigate agricultural and mineral resources of his country deserves special mention. He approached the High Commissioner for Egypt, and in 1919 Mr. O. H. Little was sent to report on the mineral resources and Mr. H. M. Heald on the agriculture. Mr. Little's report appeared in 1925, "The Geography and Geology of Mukalla," and the results of the agricultural survey appear in Mr. Heald's official report. 643 654

Sultan Ghalib died, universally regretted, in 1922, and was succeeded by his brother 'Umar, whose achievements will sufficiently appear elsewhere in this report. The present Sultan, whose accession to the Mukalla state was determined by the will of Sultan Ghalib, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. 643

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The late Qu'aiti Sultan was absent from the country during my visit, and in fact the greater part of his reign was spent in India. Just prior to my visit, however, he had performed a tour of the Hadhramaut, and this was the first occasion on which a reigning Sultan had undertaken the journey. Leaving Mukalla on 29th July His Highness, who was accompanied by his *Wazir*, other officials 200 soldiers and a brass band, arrived at Wadi Du'an on 4th August. He stayed in Du'an six days and left for Hajarein on the 10th August. The party reached Hajarein on the evening of the 11th, and next day left by car for Meshhed. On the 14th, Hureidha was reached and Haura the same evening. On the 15th, His Highness proceeded to Al Qatn where he spent two days, and left on the 17th for Shibam where he stayed seven days, during which the Kathiri Sultan visited him with a large retinue and invited him to the Kathiri part of the wadi. Sultan 'Umar arrived at Seiyun on the 24th and was well received. He proceeded next day to Tarim, and on the 26th visited 'Einat, returning to Tarim the same day. On the 27th he returned to Shibam, where he stayed a further week before going to Al Qatn on 3rd September. On his way back to Mukalla, which he reached on the 14th, Sultan 'Umar visited 643 464 [644]

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The Naqib succeeded in procrastinating until his troops returned from Du'an, when war ensued and the Qu'aitis were defeated. This war was known as the Nuzla or struggle for half the share. 648 643

The Qu'aiti then had recourse to the British Government who ordered the Naqib to pay the amount claimed. On his failure he was removed from Mukalla, and then in al Hijja 1299 (A.D. 1882) Mukalla and its dependencies came into the possession of 'Abdulla and 'Awadh bin 'Umar.

In Muharram 1307 (1888) the Qu'aiti entered into a treaty with the British, and was recognised as Sultan of Mukalla and its dependencies. When 'Abdulla died, there was a dispute between 'Awadh and the sons of 'Abdulla as to the succession. The British Government intervened and ordered the removal of 'Abdulla's sons in consideration of compensation to be paid. Then Sultan 'Awadh and his descendants became the rulers of the whole country.

643 "If the representative disobeys the ruler, or shows any opposition, or does not maintain justice and oppresses the people, or gives no account of his administration, the ruler may dismiss him and appoint another in his place. If the ruler wishes to give him another appointment and does not desire that he should act as a representative he may be discharged and another appointed in his stead. The ruler is at liberty to appoint or dismiss whom he likes from the cities.

"The ruler must provide his successors, their sons and relatives, with an adequate allowance of food, clothing, riding animals, etc., and he must provide a settled allowance of food, clothing, etc., on the sons of the sons of his brother 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti, and on his descendants from generation to generation; also on the sons of the sons of Ghalib and descendants from generation to generation. He must also provide for those living in the ports of Shihr and Mukalla and their dependencies, or in the Hadhramaut, Shibam, and Haura, and for their descendants from generation to generation, and consider them as his sons.

"Every ruler who reigns over the ports of Shihr or Mukalla and their dependencies, as well as Shibam, Hadhramaut, etc., should provide such an allowance as is possible to all those related to our late father, 'Umar bin 'Awadh, and the sons of their sons who reside at Shihr or Mukalla and their dependencies, Hadhramaut, or Shibam, provided they are under his command, and obey, comply, and submit to him and are his supporters and assistants.

"If the ruler becomes insane, or be a minor his successor should act on his behalf until his recovery or until he is of age. This is all that should be followed."

[643] It does not appear that British approval was given to this will, nor indeed is it clear that it was required, though the Government had apparently already intervened in questions of the succession. It will be seen that the will in effect laid down a constitution for the Qu'aiti state, though it is not in practice being followed at the present day, and that the ordinary methods of election of a Sultan do not apply.

643 171 'Umar bin 'Awadh could never have founded the present Qu'aiti dynasty if he had remained in the Hadhramaut. The fortunes of that dynasty were laid in India, and ever since 'Umar took service under the Nizam of Hyderabad and made his name and fortune in that service, the connection with Hyderabad has been maintained. His descendants are hereditary Jemadars in the Nizam's forces, but the connection with India became more than one of service in a foreign army for several members of the family married Indian ladies, so that there is now much Indian blood in the family. Apart from the fact that they consider their Hadhramaut possessions as a private estate, they have other private estates which in his will

[i.e., of 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti, founder of the Qu'aiti dynasty; see pp. 80-82, category 643 -- Analyst]

These sentiments I believe to be at the back of the unsatisfactory state of affairs between the two parties. They became accentuated by the Kathiris losing a seaport. Once they became land-locked, they felt themselves even more at the mercy of those who control the ways in and out of the country. The Qu'aitis, on their side, felt that with the seaports they could prevent the Kathiris from again becoming a menace. The inevitable result of this policy on the part of the Qu'aitis was intensified dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of the Kathiris.

Some 20 or 25 years ago they came to the conclusion that the state of affairs could no longer be borne. It was resulting in a neglected condition of the country and increased anarchy in the interior. All the revenue went into the pockets of the authority holding the seaports, and nothing was done in the way of improvements to the roads or to the development of the country. At this time there was little or no intercourse between the British and the Kathiri. The Qu'aiti had long been under British protection and had proved a loyal and faithful friend. Not unnaturally he was given support and in the usual way dealings with a tribe not in treaty relations were eschewed. Nevertheless the Kathiri would have preferred British assistance. As it was not forthcoming it is said that at different times he made advances to other powers, and the Turks, Dutch, Italians and French have been mentioned to me.

In due course we began to take an interest in the matter, and finally the Qu'aiti-Kathiri agreement of 1918 was negotiated with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I do not propose to comment on this treaty (which is reproduced for convenience sake in an appendix) except to say that it seems to me admirable in its sentiments, particularly in its requiring the parties to co-operate in measures for the common benefit of the Hadhramaut. As far as the British Government was concerned its effect was to bring the Kathiris under British protection through the medium of the Protectorate treaty with the Qu'aitis. It also provides for the settlement of disputes between the two parties by the British. If the treaty could have been fulfilled in letter and spirit, all would have been well.

Apart from the fact that the Qu'aiti had been a loyal friend to the British, and that it would on that ground have been a mistake to upset his paramount authority in the Hadhramaut, any arrangement which set up two independent authorities in the Hadhramaut would be a mistake. The evil consequences of splitting up a country by means of separate treaties sought or granted on insufficient information are well exemplified in the case of Upper Yafa'. The Hadhramaut is economically and geographically a single unit, and its prosperity depends on the fullest co-operation between the party that controls the ports and the party that is paramount in the interior. It has often been said that co-operation of this sort is not in the Arab genius, but economic forces are often more potent

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



than purely ethnographical considerations, and I certainly believe that with some assistance the present trend of progress in Qu'aiti territory and desire for peace and development in Kathīri territory could be co-ordinated to a common end. 000

So much for the treaty.* Unfortunately the spirit of it has not as yet been carried into effect. Mistrust still reigns supreme. This mistrust insists on the fulfilment of such a condition as correspondence by the Kathīris with the British being conducted through Qu'aiti channels. If the mistrust did not exist, this provision would be a natural one tending to the facility of the conduct of public business. On the other hand, such provisions as that requiring co-operation remains a dead letter, and any attempts to secure progress by the Kathīris seem doomed to obstruction by the Qu'aitis. 578 648

In October 1927, and May 1928, conferences were held at Singapore in which measures were discussed which might lead to the improvement of the two states, and proposals were even brought forward for the institution of an assembly composed of representatives of both states to "scrutinize the budget", and concern itself with the interstate co-ordination of certain departmental activities. These conferences were of course not likely to have any far-reaching result, but they were interesting as showing the ideas that were being imbibed by Kathīri emigrants in the advanced environment of the Straits Settlements. Such democratic concepts, however, were not likely to find favour at the present stage of development of thought in the Hadhramaut.

In 1929 the Kathīri Sultan drew attention to the lack of co-operation and the difficulty of introducing schemes of reform, and he proposed that a conference should be assembled to discuss the matter. The Qu'aiti to whom the matter was referred expressed his readiness to hold such a conference, but although the idea was encouraged it subsequently came to nothing and was eventually postponed *sine die*.

Shortly before my visit to the Hadhramaut Sultan 'Umar made his state tour of his domains and of Kathīri territory. He was received everywhere with acclamation and appears to have played the role of beneficent prince. He was presented with a petition asking for reforms. Certain abuses were mentioned in the petition, and, in particular, attention was called to the fact that although taxes were heavy they were not applied to the benefit of the subjects. There were also complaints of insecurity and the unrestricted traffic in arms. The petition recited the conclusion of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 and several others since concluded by Qu'aitis and Kathīris. The part of the petition dealing with these further documents is as follows :— [643] 664 185

> "The next treaty between both Governments was concluded on 10th Shawāl 1336 (1918).* There followed also a third pact, which was concluded on 30th Dhu'l Qada 1336, between the Qu'aiti Government on the one part and the Āl Tamim on the

* [Qu'aiti–Kathiri agreement of 1918 – Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## APPENDIX II.

### HADHRAMAUT TREATIES.

### PROTECTORATE TREATY WITH JEMADAR 'ABDULLA BIN UMAR AND 'AWADTH BIN 'UMAR,—1888.

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*Article* 1.

"The British Government, in compliance with the wish of the undersigned 'Abdalla bin 'Umar bin 'Awadth al-Ka'yti on behalf of himself and his brother "Awadth bin 'Umar al-Ka'yti, hereby undertakes to extend to Mokalla and Shihr and their dependencies which are under their authority and jurisdiction, the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress.

*Article* 2.

"The said 'Abdalla bin 'Umar bin 'Awadth al-Ka'yti agrees and promises, on behalf of himself and his brother 'Awadth bin 'Umar al-Ka'yti, and their heirs and successors, to refrain from entering into any correspondence, agreement, or treaty with any foreign nation or Power, except with the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; and further promises to give immediate notice to the Resident at Aden, or other British Officer, of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with Mokalla and Shihr and their dependencies.

*Article* 3.

"The above Treaty shall have effect from this date. In witness whereof the undersigned have affixed their signatures or seals at Shihr this first day of May one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight.

### QU'AITI-KATHIRI AGREEMENT, 1918.

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"I. The Qaiti Sultan, lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla and the Sultans of the family of Abdallah al Kathiri recognise that the province of Hadramaut shall be one province, the said province being an appanage of the British Empire under the Sultan of Al Shahr and Mukalla.

II. The Qaiti Sultan lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla acknowledges that the Sultans of the family of Abdallah are Sultans of Al Shanafir, but the family of Abdallah rule within Hadramaut over the towns and villages of Siwun, Terim, Teris, Al Charaf, Mariana and Al Ghail. It is acknowledged that the sub-tribes of Shanafir mentioned as follows shall be under the Sultan of the family of Abdallah: namely the tribes of Omar and Asmir; the sub-tribes of Al Kathiri, Al Awamir, Bag-iri and Gabiri and all that is within their boundaries, as is well known and recognised.

III. The Qaiti Sultan lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla contracts on his own behalf and of his heirs and successors on the one hand, that he acknowledges and recognises the rights and suzerainty of the Sultans of the family of Abdallah and their heirs and successors over the said towns and villages as well as the sub-tribe of Shanafir aforenamed in Article II above; and also that he will not interfere with it in any matter whatsoever, and that he recognises them as Sultans absolute in their own country as defined in Article II.

IV. The Sultans of the Abdallah family admit on their own behalf and that of their heirs and successors on the other hand, that they will not interfere in any way soever with the Government of Hadramaut, with the exception of the towns and villages aforenamed in Article II and likewise the sub-tribe named in the said Article; and agree that they have no power to interfere in any other places.

V. The Abdallah Sultans acknowledge and recognise that the treaty signed between the British Government and the Qaiti Government in 1888 is binding upon them, just as if they had themselves made it, and they agree to conform to its conditions faithfully. They further recognise that all their negotiations and correspondence with the British Government shall be carried on through the Qaiti Sultan Lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla.

VI. "Both parties agree to suppress disorders both now and in future, immediately; they agree to forgive and forget all that has passed and to renounce severally all

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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vendetta or claims for compensation; they agree to preserve in future security on the roads existing within their well-known frontiers, to enforce justice according to the Sheria and respect for the higher authority, to succour the oppressed and to maintain the common law within the stated boundary.

VII. The aforesaid agree to give each other mutual assistance in case of any transgression committed by either of the two parties against their subjects or friends or any person connected with them, or against a sherif, a wayfarer or any defenceless person. They agree mutually to defend life and property, as well as their followers and subjects and any who seek their hospitality, as long as the boundaries named shall endure; they further agree to treat them with the same justice and equity that they show towards their friends.

VIII. The aforesaid agree that absolute commercial freedom shall prevail, and that tithes shall be collected to the amount fixed from all persons impartially who are subjects of the aforenamed Sultans.

IX. If either of the aforenamed Sultans desires to visit the other he must give notice of his intention, so that fitting preparations may be made to receive him; and in no case soever must the number of the soldiers exceed 50, so as to avoid the occurrence of brawls between soldiers.

X. The Qaiti Sultans and those of the Kathiri family alike agree to give mutual assistance in so far as in them lies in any organisation which is directed to the promotion of the well-being and prosperity of the Hadramaut.

XI. In order to promote the acceptance of the aforesaid conditions between the Sultan of Shahr and Mukalla and the Sultans of the family of Abdallah of the Kathiri family, the British Government shall endeavour to settle all differences arising in future between the aforesaid, from the date of the signature of this treaty through the intermediary of the Governor of Aden."

There were engagements in 1863 and 1873 with the Naqib of Mukalla and the Jemadar of Shihr for the abolition of the Slave Trade in their dominions. In 1882 there was an agreement with the Qu'aitis by which they undertook not to dispose of their territories except to the British, to provide for the ex-Kasadi Naqib, and to abide by British advice in their dealings with neighbouring chiefs and foreign powers. The agreement also provides for the payment of a stipend of 360 dollars to the Qu'aiti providing the stipulations of the agreement are fulfilled.

These agreements and one or two others of historic interest will be found in Aitchison's Treaties.

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### Pact Concluded between Al'abdulla and Ali Nahd and Beni Shabib.

*Praise be to God.*

"On the 10th of Moharram 1264 (A.D. 1848), Sultan 'Abud bin Salim bin Muhammad bin Ahmed al Kathiri and Ali Nahd and Beni Shabib came to an agreement.

Sultan 'Abud acted as Representative of Sultan 'Abdulla bin Nuhain bin Ahmed and all the Sultans of Al 'Abdulla bin 'Umar.

Each representative of the Nahd on behalf of his section and those submissive and obedient to it, has given an undertaking to follow and respond to the call of the Sultan whenever received and go against anyone whomsoever he may be and wherever he may be, They are prepared to respond to the call of the Sultan in whatever may be of interest to him. In accordance with tribal usages they will have to carry it out while every thing which would be harmful to him they will have to abandon. All the above has been undertaken and whoever contradicts the above will be considered to have committed a breach of the undertaking.

The Sultan has also given an undertaking to those who have given undertakings to him to treat them with all becoming respect as herein stated. All customary gifts which the Nahd were in the habit of receiving from the Sultan and his predecessors shall be given to those mentioned in this document. Every friend of the Sultan is their friend and his foe is also their foe. They will comply with the Commandments of God.

The Representatives of the Nahd and Beni Shabib sections (52 signatures)."

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and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *liwas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

### Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

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648 treaty and the force of circumstances the Sultan was already bound to follow the protecting Power. It ended up by saying that if there were serious disagreement between the Sultan and the adviser it would be open to the Sultan to appeal to the Governor of Aden and if necessary to the Secretary of State.

This new departure of giving an adviser to a ruler in Arabia was not really a great innovation. Lawrence describes the policy agreed on for Arabia after the last war as putting a "ring-wall around Arabia, a country which must be reserved as an area of Arabian individualism. So long as our fleet keeps its coasts, Arabia should be at leisure to fight out its own complex and fatal destiny."[1] The old treaty of protection represented just such a policy as Lawrence described. There was at that time, of course, no question of providing advisers in Arabia itself, but in *A Report on the Reconstruction of Arabia*, also by Lawrence, he wrote that any advisers chosen by Feisal "will be part of the Arab Government and will draw their executive authority from it and not from their own Government."[2]

In my case there was some discussion as to who should pay for the adviser, but as a gesture to a country which had at that time no money the British Government decided to pay. But I think it will be clear from the treaty and the Note accompanying it that it was intended that the adviser should work things out with the local government himself and that he should not be a mouthpiece to convey instructions from His Majesty's Government to the local ruler as to what was to be done. So that what was done is in harmony with what Lawrence wrote and that has been the way in which I have tried to work.

There is one other instrument to which I must refer and that is the Protectorate Order-in-Council of 1937. It was thought by some at the time that this Order-in-Council amounted to an annexation of the Protectorate, but the then Prime Minister in an answer in the House of Commons on June 1, 1938, denying that the Order-in-Council provided for an annexation of territory, said that when Aden became a colony, jurisdiction in the adjacent areas, hitherto exercised under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order-in-Council, had to be provided by a new Order-in-Council and that this was a normal administrative change. It did not therefore portend our administering the Protectorate or destroying the autonomy and responsibility of the chiefs.

### Comparison of State Government in Hadhramaut in 1934-6 and 1944

647 In 1934 the Sultan's staff in Mukalla consisted of a Wazir, a treasurer, a commander of the forces, a doctor, and a few school-masters. In 1944 there was a State Council of senior officials and nominated unofficials, and the administration was carried on in twenty organized departments under

113 [1]Robert Graves, *Lawrence and the Arabs* (London, Cape, 1927), p. 396, also *T. E. Lawrence by his friends* edited by A. W. Lawrence (London, Cape, 1937), p. 198.
[2]David Garnett (ed.), *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence of Arabia* (London, Cape, 1938), p. 268.

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He is no longer apt to be shot at by Government soldiers and he brings his troubles to the Government. The provincial governors and the district heads are better men and better paid than they used to be and all new candidates have courses of instruction before appointment. There are systems of State and tribal courts which are becoming more and more effective. There is a special department of bedouin affairs which is staffed entirely by Hadhrami tribesmen; five or six years ago no Hadhrami tribesmen were employed in any positions of responsibility.

As regards social services, in 1934 there was one doctor, mainly for the Sultan though he ran a public dispensary, and medical services cost Rs. 5,500 a year: in 1944 the sum voted was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary services. There was an establishment of four doctors, and a State hospital for fifty in-patients was being built in Mukalla.

In 1934 education cost Rs. 6,000 and about three hundred boys received some sort of schooling. In 1944 Rs. 1,054,000 was provided. The number of boys in primary Government schools on the coast has increased to about seventeen hundred. There were between a hundred and thirty and a hundred and forty girls in the new Mukalla girls' school, and an intermediate boarding school, assisted by the British Council and a grant from His Majesty's Government, had been started with about eighty boys. As part of the famine relief measures, children were brought down from the Hadhramaut and have now been taken over by the Qu'aiti State which bought a village outside Mukalla and is now housing three hundred boys and girls in it. A wall enclosing garden land has been built round it and the children work the garden and are apprenticed to various local trades. They are given a modest schooling and it is hoped that they will also be taught by means of a village council to run their own village.

Another State educational experiment owes its impetus mainly to the enthusiasm of the young men of Mukalla. A number of young men have gone through a course organized by the Education Department in how to teach illiterate adults to read and write. These teachers compiled a coolies' vocabulary of seven hundred words or so and when I left were about to teach coolies from the Hadhramaut, who had come seeking for work at the coast on account of the famine, how to write the language they speak, a sort of basic Arabic. There are schemes for producing a small newspaper in this simplified form of speech and for developing some public-health consciousness.

What little the State could do towards the war effort it has done. It provided a company for guard duties in Aden while the Italians were in the war. It has raised a Pioneer Company for service in the Middle East Command. It has guarded the R.A.F. aerodromes in the State and provided coastal guards. The Public Works Department has built an R.A.F. station at about a third of the cost expected. It has landed and handled a great quantity of R.A.F. stores. In addition, at the outbreak of war when the surplus balance was about Rs. 80,000, it contributed Rs. 20,000 for general war purposes, and Hadhramis at home and abroad subscribed to a

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Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

## Nature of the People and Country

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

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and the people are natural Muslims having learnt in a hard school absolute submission to the will of God. Religious fanaticism is strongest where the seiyids are strongest. In other places there is greater tolerance and, among the bedouins, it is what a man is rather than what his religion is that counts. 771 181

When we started everybody wanted independence. Many of the old secluded seiyids, whose ideas of independence merely amounted to the exclusion of infidels, had sons and relations who read the Egyptian papers and their ideas of independence were based on grandiose schemes of complete self-government. Some of them, who thought themselves moderate, demanded no more than independence on the Egyptian and Iraqi models and talked airily of Parliaments and so on. In Singapore and Java in 1939 I had petitions presented to me three times demanding this sort of independence. Once at Solo the deputation was pointed out to me as representative: it contained seiyids, tribesmen and a Sultan of the Kathiri family. Only the last had ever been in the Hadhramaut. He asked me if he might see me privately after the meeting and then asked me to arrange independence for Jahiz. Jahiz was his village in the Wadi 'Amd and consists of five houses. The tribesmen, settled and bedouin, wanted independence; the bedouin claim was at least easy to understand for all it amounted to was that their freedom in the hills and deserts should be undisturbed. The settled tribesmen were and are more difficult. Every little section considered itself independent, and the more powerful, who could afford not only to arm themselves but to buy and arm private forces of slaves, did all they could to extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbours. 648 185 619

The strangest example of this kind of campaign was that of the Bin 'Abdat section of the Kathiri tribe, who own much landed property in Singapore and Java. The treaty chief of the Kathiris is the Kathiri Sultan whose capital is Seiyun. About 1928 the head of the Bin 'Abdat section forcibly occupied the walled town of Al Ghurfa, belonging to some unarmed sheikhs. This brought him into conflict with the Kathiri Sultan, who was supported by the Qu'aiti Sultan, and with the neighbouring heads of other Kathiri sections. War ensued which carried on with little interruption till 1937. Bin 'Abdat built up a respectable force of slaves and tribesmen of his own and constructed an elaborate system of forts and trenches which extended right across the Wadi Hadhramaut some three miles or more, and almost to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary at Shibam. In the course of the fighting, a curious armoured vehicle was imported from Java, which was intended to be towed by a motor car into the enemy camp. Bin 'Abdat acquired a very large stock of ammunition and really good rifles at very high prices. The Qu'aiti Sultan brought artillery, ancient and modern, to the aid of the Kathiri, but no decision was ever reached. 669 721

When I came to the Hadhramaut in 1936 Bin 'Abdat instructed his lawyer in Singapore to address a letter to the Government in which he claimed to be an "independent rajah." He was informed that the only recognized treaty chiefs in the main Hadhramaut were the Qu'aiti and 669 648

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669 Kathiri Sultans and that he was the recognized head of a Kathiri section
648 subordinate to the latter. In 1937 after a lot of persuasion he subscribed to the three years truce. This chief loyally kept the peace and helped in maintaining peace till his death early in 1939, when he was succeeded by an irresponsible nephew who after visiting Java and Singapore to collect his inheritance, returned to Hadhramaut determined to extend his boundaries and influence.

In 1939 my wife and I also visited the East Indies and while in Batavia were entertained by the Bin 'Abdat family at a tea and cocktail party at the Hôtel des Galleries, a large modern hotel belonging to the family. Round the walls of the room in which the reception was held were pictures of Al Ghurfa labelled "Al Ghurfa in the Hadhramaut over which this family has fought so long."

Late in 1939 the new Bin 'Abdat started fresh operations. He extended his fortifications and subsidized a large bedouin tribe, the Hamumis, amongst whom the Government was trying to make peace, to make the then one motor road unsafe and to oppose the Government in every possible way. A good deal of fighting ensued in which both the Hamumis and the Qu'aiti troops had casualties. He also brought Hamumi bedouins as his soldiers into the Wadi Hadhramaut itself where they made the road unsafe for travellers. He arrested and maltreated persons who had recourse to the Sultan in their troubles. The Sultans were supported by His Majesty's Government and action was taken against him. He submitted in May 1940, but did not observe the condition he had accepted and until the fall of Singapore and Java eventually caused his funds to dry up, was always a source of trouble. For it was the profits of the hotel and rents of his properties in the Far East which had enabled the family to keep their wars going. Many Hadhrami chiefs did the same thing, but none on the
627 Bin 'Abdat scale. And when litigants in Java lost their cases in the Java Courts it was not unusual for them to repay their opponents in the Hadhramaut by having their families shot or their homes burnt.

631 There were supposed to be only two Governments in Hadhramaut, the
619 Qu'aiti and Kathiri, but in fact there were about two thousand—the fourteen hundred tribes and sections who had signed the truce and several hundreds more of independent villages ruled by mansabs and sheikhs.

185 It was considerations such as these that I had to bear in mind when I thought of the kind of organization which would be most likely to succeed in the Hadhramaut. The only things that seemed to offer a favourable opening were a widespread desire for peace and a genuine anxiety on the part of the Sultan for improvements in Governmental and social services. Apart from these factors I had the instruments I have referred to, and the general indication that one should try to follow as far as possible the methods adopted in the Unfederated Malay States, to guide me in forming an organization.

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## Organization of the Residency and Methods Used

After persuading the tribes to make the general truce for three years, I turned my attention to Government organization. I had hoped at first that it would not be necessary to have more than three European assistants, two political and one military, but the burden of work became so heavy that by the beginning of the war I think there were eight European officers working in the Hadhramaut. Owing to the general anti-foreigner feeling, I thought it better that these officers should belong to the Residency staff as assistants to the adviser and that they should not have executive authority, and I told them to regard themselves rather as men with oil cans, who saw that the machinery was working, than as part of the machinery itself. Furthermore I felt sure that the actual responsibility must remain in the hands of the local Government. I believed, and I am sure that events have proved me right, that if you give people responsibility and make them exercise it they are eventually able to do so fairly effectively. You begin by collecting a group of what are in effect pictures labelled as heads of departments and in due course they come, like Galatea, to life. This rather extensive employment of Europeans did not turn out very successfully and, in 1942, it was approved that I might reduce my European assistants to two and engage trained orientals to instruct the local Government staff in the conduct of bedouin affairs, district administration, finance, medical, educational, agricultural, military and police work. Not all these posts have yet been filled owing to the difficulty of finding qualified candidates but there are now Transjordanis holding the posts of Bedouin Affairs Assistant and Police Assistant, a Hadhrami seiyid who is a Major in the Hyderabad military forces and a Punjabi Mussulman as Military Assistants, and a Sudani as Educational Assistant.

The functions of the Residency are advice, instruction and inspection. As regards instruction the Residency runs a military school which is attended by officers and non-commissioned officers of all the forces, and promotion in the forces cannot be had without a certificate from it. It runs courses for teachers, courses for administrative candidates for employment as district officers, and police courses. Other courses are obtained by sending candidates to Aden, for example for training as dispensers, and by sending boys for education to the Sudan.

Most Government departments were in their beginning practically directed by Residency staff. When they are able to stand sufficiently on their own feet, the Residency withdraws and leaves them entirely to their own heads and the State Secretary.

Some things, however, are paid for by His Majesty's Government and are under Residency control. The most important of these is the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. It is modelled as far as possible on Brigadier Glubb's Desert Patrol, which he kindly enabled me to see in 1938, and he generously provided Arab officers for it. The bedouins were quite unaccustomed to any sort of military service and the force experienced ups and downs for

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701 the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts
702 in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The
[743] force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making.
875 The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys: district schools
758 have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dis-
731 pensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these
657 places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

871 A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school. A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants
759 and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

000 So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their
[273] request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

609 As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a community which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence
771 of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was
648 always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my
000 duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

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faith in which I was brought up, but when, in such a position as I have 000
held, I have to deal with people of another faith, I feel it is essential to help and encourage them to live up to the best in their own faith, for a live religious spirit is a vital necessity to all progress. The Hadhramaut is sadly afflicted, as I have said, by over-emphasis on formalism, but I have 771
found great support in pressing more and more the necessity of working 871
and living in the spirit of religion. This type of teaching is employed in educating troops and boys and girls in the new schools, particularly in the children's village and in the bedouin boys' and girls' schools. My educational assistant has a candidate for training as a teacher of the spirit of religion, leaving the other teachers to teach, for example, the methods of prayer and fasting. In the course of time it has been generally accepted that the position of religion in the affairs of the country is being strengthened and not weakened.

## Tentative Conclusions from Experience in the Hadhramaut

As I spent the first fifteen years of my service in Zanzibar and Mauritius 114
and have had opportunities of studying the administration of East Africa, Malaya and the West Indies, whether on the spot or in the Colonial Office, it is natural for me to approach consideration of the best way to help backward areas in the Middle East, like the Hadhramaut, to more effective self-government, by comparison with the better known colonial methods of approach to the same goal.

It seems to me that if success is ultimately achieved in teaching the 000
people of such areas to govern themselves it will probably not be by the traditional methods of colonial administration. The practical difficulties of doing so seem to be due to the nature of the country, to the nature of the people and to political considerations. The country is mainly desert and our colonial tradition has been built up in lands capable of economic development. Owing to their environment the people, taking them as a [609]
whole, are neither simple nor tractable and, by contrast with most peoples of tropical dependencies, they are suspicious of outside interference. As the close control of any part of Arabia is looked on with dislike by other parts of Arabia and as there is, as far as I can see, no over-riding necessity for us to control such an area as the Hadhramaut closely, it does not on political grounds seem worth while to do so. The less we interfere with the internal affairs of Arabia, and the more we can give assistance, including financial assistance, without giving rise to fears of annexation or virtual annexation, the more popular we shall be.

Some time ago I was telling some of the principal people of Mukalla of 648
some assistance which His Majesty's Government was proposing to give. They were grateful for it, but there were doubts as to whether all this would lead to closer control and the subject turned to British colonization as they call it. Said one, "the English come to you and say, 'I would like to stay in your house and help you. I will be no bother to you, all I want

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648 is your friendship and I will pay my way.' A little later on, they say, 'I would like to hang up my hat here, it won't be in your way.' Then they say, 'my coat also.'" Said another, "and then it is their trousers and then they cannot leave." A few months later when the Governor of Aden was telling a meeting in the Hadhramaut of the very generous help His Majesty's Government was offering for famine relief, an address thanking him asked for an assurance that there was not more than charity behind it. This he readily gave, but the point is that the Arabs of South Arabia know well enough what peaceful penetration has meant in the past, in such places as Zanzibar, and they fear us even when we bring gifts.

800 I do feel, however, that, given the right type of adviser or political officer, it is possible to improve administration, security and social services in such areas by such means as I have described, and I am quite sure that the resultant dividend of good will in the area itself and in neighbouring areas is far greater than you would get by applying the more efficient methods of direct or indirect rule.

Seeing my own successes and failures and watching those of others over the course of years has given me some ideas of what an officer working in [181] these countries should be and do. As Arabs are individualists and will at best only treat you as an equal, a man they feel to be a leader can handle them better than another. So that personality counts for a lot, but it must not be aggressive. Tact, judgment, self-reliance and balance are indispensable, and without patience and hope many a good man might give up. But beyond these things an officer working with such people should not feel and must never show that he is a superior being to those amongst whom he works. They will expect him to have a greater knowledge of outside things than they have, for he would not be there if he had not, but he must be careful how he uses it. In social matters it is not merely a question of having no colour prejudice. Administrative officers of the Colonial Service rarely have colour prejudice in an acute form, but they generally set bounds between themselves and the people in social intercourse. The officer living amongst the Arabs cannot do this, and must be prepared for long periods at a time to live and share the life of the people while at the same time keeping his own virtue and preserving a sense 186 of proportion. The Arabs believe as an article of faith that they are the noblest of races, and it should not be over-looked that they have a civilization and a literature of their own so that it is not for us to impose a culture on them or to build a culture for them. A kindly condescension to a less fortunate race is therefore out of place when dealing with them. They take our so-called insularity not as a peculiarity for which allowances should be made, but as a criticism of them and their manner of life. In this, of course, they are not peculiar. They call our insularity and condescension *hôr inglis*. The French in Mauritius used to call them *orgueil anglais* and they are perhaps the things above all others which make us unpopular.

181 Simplicity of life and manner are in many circumstances a valuable

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000 Glubb, said in order not to have to use it). In our area we owe a great
701 deal to the R.A.F.; much of the improved security in the Hadhramaut is
648 due to the presence of an R.A.F. station near Mukalla and to the new local forces. The R.A.F. have been particularly good in political work as opposed to punitive work. Not only have they shown the flag regularly, taken the sick to hospital, carried doctors about and, lately, provided a whole flight for the exclusive work of flying grain to famine areas, but in peace-time they have often made friendly social contacts and given and taken hospitality in a spirit which has made them very welcome visitors. I am sure that friendly social intercourse between garrisons abroad and the local population in peace-time, when there is time for it, goes a long way to reduce the possible need for armed intervention. I am not sure how far such contacts are officially encouraged but perhaps more could be done in that way.

My conclusions are:

000 (1) There is a type of backward territory in the Middle East in which for reasons of climate, soil, nature of population and politics, colonial administration in the usual sense of the word is inapplicable.

(2) That neither of the systems of colonial administration known as direct rule and indirect rule are suitable in such countries as these. Even in indirect rule the person who has the final authority and responsibility in a country is the Governor and under him his provincial and district commissioners. In Arab countries final responsibility must rest with the ruler and his Government, and the adviser must draw his authority from them. The responsibility of the Government supplying the adviser ends with providing the best officer available and withdrawing him if he is not suitable.

(3) That the best way of dealing with these territories is by a system of loose political control and/or advice which is neither direct nor indirect rule nor complete abstention.

(4) That you cannot expect people to act responsibly if you do not give them full responsibility. In countries that are as hard as the Hadhramaut and have as few economic resources, the only hope of salvation lies in the people being kept fit to look after themselves.

(5) That foreigners, working as advisers or political officers concerned with the internal affairs of countries which are suspicious of external interference and are independently minded, must work and live as part of the people and consider things from the point of view of the people. They can be sure that by serving the interests of those among whom they work in this way they are also best serving the interests of their own country. A political officer must be able to interpret the people among whom he is working to his own Government and also be able to interpret his own Government to the people. The first requirement is often the more difficult.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



643
official members serving as consultative representatives of the 645
"popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who 647
exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town 631
Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public serv- 657
ices consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed 625
Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educa- 871
tional facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at 658
Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, 643
as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the 436
state's own postage stamps[5] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national 186
flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, ap- 648
pears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements[8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

[5] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

[8] The Anglo-Kathiri treaty engagement of 1918 was merely an extension of the terms of a previous Anglo-Qaidi treaty to those parts of the Hadhramaut interior controlled by the Kathiri sultan. By terms of the Anglo-Kathiri agreement the Kathiri State was placed under British protectorate. The 1939 Adviser Agreement provided for the appointment of a British Resident Adviser to the court of the Kathiri sultan.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



648 lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

439 That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri
167 State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya
171 is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

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TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

| State | Title of ruler | Population | Area in sq. miles | Annual revenue | Police | Salute |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Qu'aiti (Mukalla) .. | H.H. the Sultan of | 197,000 | 30,000 | Rs 27,50,078 | Unlisted | 11 guns |
| Kathiri (Seiyun) ... | Sultan of | 60,000 | 6,000 | Rs 4,80,000 | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Wahidi (Balhaf) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 5,000 | Rs 1,02,448 | Unlisted | None |
| Mahri (Socotra & Qishn) ..... | Sultan of | 22,000 | 23,000 | Unlisted | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Haura ..... | Shaykh of | 300 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| 'Irqa ..... | Shaykh of | 350 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Abdali (Lahej) ..... | H.H. the Sultan of | 41,400 | 4,500 | Unlisted | 380 | 11 guns |
| Fadhli (Shuqra) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 2,500 | Rs 4,17,697 | 120 | 9 guns |
| Amiri (Dhala) ..... | Amir of | 27,000 | 1,050 | Rs 1,50,000 | 75 | 9 guns |
| Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara) ..... | Sultan of | 23,000 | 700 | Rs 1,65,000 | 30 | 9 guns |
| Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba) ..... | Sultan of | 89,000 | 900 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar) ..... | Sultan of | 12,000 | 2,500 | Rs 49,000 | 40 | None |
| Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab) ..... | Sultan of | 53,000 | 1,800 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Beihan (Beihan Qasb) .... | Amir of | 13,000 | 4,000 | Unlisted | 40 | None |
| Audhali (Ledar) .... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 1,000 | Unlisted | 30 | None |
| Haushabi (Mausimir) ..... | Sultan of | 20,000 | 350 | Unlisted | 29 | None |
| Alawi (Al Qash'a) .. | Shaykh of | 1,200 | 89 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed) . | Shaykh of | 2,000 | 101 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadramaut MM2



643 The Sultan of Lahej rules over the territory of the 'Abdali tribe, and
425 his frontier marches with the northern frontier of Aden Colony. He is descended from a Yafa'i family, who were appointed as Governors of Lahej by an Imam of San'a. Later they revolted against the Imams and declared their independence. By purchase, Imamic grants and seizure they own a considerable portion of the Lahej lands; they are of foreign origin to the tribe over which they rule.

The Amirs of Dhala' were appointed Governors of the Dhala' province, including the lands of the tribes of Halumein, Ahmad, Azraq and Shu'Ar, by the Imamas of San'a, and, later, of the lands of Sha'ib by a Sultan of Turkey. I see that the official handbook describes the Amirs of Dhala' as descendants from slaves. It is surprising how such obvious in-
567 accuracies persist. To see that they have no slave blood in them requires
795 no more than ordinary eyesight, and it would be impossible for an Imam of
144 San'a to appoint a slave to any post, since there are no slaves in the Yemen at all, slavery being forbidden by the tenets of the Zeidi sect. The Amirs are of typical Central Yemeni type, such as is found on the Yemen plateau.

643 Later, they rebelled against the Imams and established their independence. Thus they rule over a confederation of small tribes, while belonging to none of them.

These appointed Suzerains, of whom the Sultan of Makalla is one, form a distinct class among Arab Chiefs. They do not mix with their tribesmen in the usual democratic Arab way, but stand apart, as it were, and are addressed by titles of exaggerated respect. Not being tribesmen of the tribe they rule, they have no traditional and family holds over the people and their attitudes towards their tribesmen are those of foreign rulers. They do not, as a rule, favour elected hereditary headmen in their villages, but prefer to appoint outsiders as headmen, whom they pay as retainers.

When a Suzerain dies, the election of the new Chief is held by the family only and the tribesmen are not consulted.

622 The accepted Suzerains are represented by one example only—the
792 Sharifs of Beihan. It is, however, an interesting example.

628 In Beihan there are settlements of Sharifs and of Seyyids. There are
648 also two tribes among whom these holy men live. Both the Sharifs and the Seyyids are arms-bearing families, and for some time were divided by a feud. Before the Great War, the elected Chief of the Sharifs, a far-sighted man called Ahmad, negotiated a treaty of protection and friendship with Great Britain. In this he gained the support of the lower tribe and of half the upper tribe, which was divided by a feud. After the Great War he concluded a truce with the Seyyids, and consolidated his relationships with his supporters among the tribesmen, who amounted to three-quarters of the population of Beihan. They accepted him as Suzerain and as their general agent for dealing with their foreign affairs. Thus, while he is undoubtedly a Suzerain, he is one of limited authority. He does not claim taxes from the land or the trade except in his own settlements, and is, consequently, very poor. But, for all that, the influence of the Sharifs is considerable in all the Beihan area. Their position is not, of course, unique in Arabia, but it is doubtful if any others than holy men could find themselves in a similar one.

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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elected Imam, he goes outside the acknowledged boundaries of his kingdom (the present Imam acknowledges no boundaries, nor have any of his predecessors) he ceases to be Imam, and a new Imam must be elected. The Imam is usually elected during the lifetime of his predecessor, so that when one dies the country is not without an Imam. H 174 Y 643

Now all these conditions are those pertaining to divine Kings. There is little doubt that they are ancient pre-Islamic conditions, and it is possible that they are taken from the conditions under which the Tobbas of Himyar became King and which governed the ancient kingship of Sheba. Some inscriptions made by the Tobbas, who ruled over Axum in Abyssinia, as well as Saba and Eastern Yemen, are countersigned, as it were, by a Minister who styles himself "The Sacrifice"—in itself a very significant title. These conditions must have been accepted by the Persian and Abyssinian rulers of the Yemen, and both they and subsequent rulers must have thought it as well to assume the kingship in its ancient form.

In the same way as the Imam is elected and proclaimed, so under him each confederation elects its Chiefs and petty Chiefs within their tribes and families. The central tribes elect their Chiefs, who become the heads of confederations, and each tribe elects its leaders within itself; only in the case of the smaller units, from the confederation downwards, there appear to be no such conditions as I have mentioned regarding the Imamate. All these Chiefs are figureheads who can exert a strong influence but who are not expected to rule. H 622

The scene thus represented is one of the greatest interest to anthropologists and to sociologists. It is a stage in the development of nations. Before the formation of kingdoms and before Islam, Arabia was a land of many gods. Each of these gods was the particular god of a tribe, and his worship was in the hands of a priestly tribe who elected a Priest-Chief. He was, as it were, a divine Chief, and doubtless it was his main duty to ensure fertility, which entails all the priestly functions of bringing rain, guarding against disease and supervising agriculture. Both the magic and the custom were higher than him. He could not change either but was himself ruled by both. In inter-tribal disputes he spoke for the tribe and not for himself as ruler of the tribe. When Islam came, the tribal god vanished, but the Priest-Chief was left as a figurehead, with a vague aura of holiness but with nevertheless a considerable loss of his power, which was never very great. This is the position of the elected hereditary Chief in the Aden Protectorate to-day. H 174 622 793

It is obvious that such Chiefs cannot be expected to rule their confederations and tribes unless they obtain military power. For the most part they are reluctant to do this. At one time it was the policy of the Government to give arms and ammunition to the Chiefs so as to strengthen their hands against their more unruly tribesmen. The hereditary elected Chiefs, however, did not respond to this policy as they were supposed to do, but gave the arms away to brigands in the form of bribes. The Suzerains avidly accepted these presents from the Government, for they understood rule as we do, and have held their positions through this understanding. This, by contrast between the two types of Chief, throws a strong light on the accepted position of the hereditary Chiefs. There is, H 622 643 648

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



its own language, and in its trade, which is dhow-borne, unlike that of Mukalla, which is largely steamer-borne in normal times, it deals with Muscat, the Persian Gulf and India, and to some extent with East Africa, for the coastal Mahris are great seafarers. The Mahris, unlike the Hadhramis, do not settle abroad, so by reason of their habits and their speech they are an even more exclusive and secluded people than the Hadhramis. But in effect little is seen or heard of the Mahris, and their territory is considered part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and they have their contacts with His Majesty's Government through the Residency at Mukalla. 631 [167]

### The Western Aden Protectorate

To me the outstanding features of the political set-up of the Western Protectorate are the position of His Highness the Sultan of Lahej, the large number of treaty chiefs, and the general tribal atmosphere of the country. A glance at the map will show why the Sultan of Lahej is the most important chief in the protectorate, for his territory stands at the door of Aden, and through it land traffic from the Yemen and from a great deal of the protectorate must pass. It is the transit dues on goods that have made Lahej the richest state of the Western Protectorate, and with the money His Highness has managed to develop Lahej territory as a sort of private estate, which pays because it grows so much fruit and vegetables which are consumed in Aden. For he has water, and a good deal of the spate of Yemen pass with the Wadi al Kabir and the Wadi as Saghir, which flow through his territory. 622 643 439 651

So that geography has played a great part in determining the part that Lahej should play in the protectorate. But much of the prestige that the Sultan enjoys to-day is due to his own wisdom. While strenuously guarding the internal affairs of his own Sultanate from external interference, His Highness has consistently given every possible help to His Majesty's Government in matters of defence and so on, and has also co-operated so wholeheartedly in the settling of disputes and political matters generally that he is almost universally accepted as an impartial arbitrator with no axe to grind. This personal achievement of Sultan 'Abdul Karim has made him the leader of the Western Protectorate, and it is really remarkable, as the general tendency of tribal chiefs in the protectorate is not to brook interference in their affairs from others. 643 648

There are in the Western Protectorate twenty chiefs in direct treaty relationship with His Majesty's Government, and seven others who have agreements. There are about thirty-five all told who correspond directly with Government. The "nine cantons" are the 'Abdali, the Amiri, the Hamshabi, the Fadhli, the Yafa'i, the Subeihi, the 'Aqrabi, the 'Aulaqi, and the 'Alawi—the original tribes with whom treaties were made. The other tribes in the Western Protectorate—the Audhali and the Beihani—did not come into treaty relations until later. But the Yafa'i, the 'Aulaqi, and the Subeihi are divided. In the Upper Yafa'i confederation there are treaties with the Upper Yafa'i Sultan, the Naqibs of Mausatta, the Dhubi Sheikh, the Maflahi Sheikh, the Hadhrami Sheikh, and the Shaibi Sheikh. In Lower Yafa' there is only one treaty, with the Sultan. In 'Aulaqi there are treaties with the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, and 622 631 648

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



622 the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh. Of the Subeihi Sheikhs, the Barahimi, the
631 Atifi, and the Rifa'i have treaties. The reason for the large number of
648 treaties was the desire to protect the land frontiers of Aden from incursion by foreign powers and from tribal assault. But the haphazard way in which the treaties were entered into has been responsible for a lot of confusion, because the policy has extended gradually from merely interest in the security of Aden to the welfare of the tribes themselves. When the treaties were made the country was largely unvisited. Chiefs came down to Aden, and on explaining their importance were given treaties. They were induced to do so by the fact that treaty chiefs were given stipends and presents and entertainment. But when the Government decided to stop giving treaties as freely as before, there were still a number of chiefs as important as those who had had treaties and the importance of many of the treaty chiefs declined. They died, and their successors were not men of the same personality. So that there is good reason for revising the treaties, and this is now often under consideration, though there is a good deal of difficulty about it.

All these treaty chiefs are juridically of the same status. On the plane of precedence the Sultan of Lahej comes first with a salute of eleven guns and the title of Highness, the Amir of Dhala, the Fadhli Sultan, and the Lower Yafa'i Sultan have nine-gun salutes. But, apart from Lahej, none of these kingdoms can be said to have a government and there are wide ranges of differences of authority between them. Indeed, some of them are totally without authority. Some have several thousands of tribesmen and subjects under their normal authority, some have perhaps no more than a few dozens. The main feature of the protectorate for the last century or so has been anarchy, and the population from Sultans downwards is to an overwhelming extent tribal. There are no mercantile centres of importance and no cultural centres at all. There are few Seiyids, comparatively speaking, and their standard of learning is much lower than in Aden or the Hadhramaut, from which latter they most of them originate. Apart from Lahej there is not a town in the protectorate of any great size or importance, and the make-up of the treaty chiefdoms outside the 'Abdali State does not lend itself to the building of governments at present, and few of them have the potential sources of sufficient revenue to do much in that way.

101 Historically, of course, the Western Protectorate was never a province of Arabia. The provinces of South Arabia were Yemen, Hadhramaut, Shihr (which meant the Mahra country), Dhofar, and 'Uman, and the Western Aden Protectorate is really part of the dusty skirt of the Yemen.

000 Politically, therefore, the set-up is not very promising. The best chance of making a country of the protectorate is by encouraging federation between different areas. It is probably not possible for it to become one country with the Sultan of Lahej as its leader, though his group will probably always tend to be the more important. He is already the suzerain of the Subeihis and the Haushabis, and has intervened successfully at times in the affairs of the Fadhlis, the Amiri, the Yafa'is, and the Lower 'Aulaqis. The Amiris, with the Quteibis and Alawis, could, from a geographical point of view, naturally federate with his bloc, but the

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Audhalis, 'Aulaqis, and Beihanis are too far away, and it is doubtful if any federation with them could be very real. The Yafa'is, though they are excellent outside their own mountains, are at present a very difficult problem from the point of view of good order and government in them. I had almost forgotten the 'Aqrabis, but as that kingdom consists in effect of only one village on the borders of Aden and Lahej they hardly constitute a problem. But it is possible that some day steps towards the federation of the protectorate by areas may come to pass.

If, however, the political outlook is not very promising, experience of recent years has shown that in potential agricultural resources the Western Protectorate is far better off than the Eastern. It is true that its total area is not much more than half that of the Eastern and that by far the greater proportion of it is barren mountains or arid desert, but none the less the cultivable acreage is greater than that of the Eastern and the people are on the whole better agriculturists. There are fewer beduin, and the tribesmen, unlike those of the Eastern Protectorate, are many of them tillers of the land on which they live, rather than employers or financiers of a peasant class with the idea that manual work is unbecoming to dignity. On the coastal area there are large and useful oases at Lahej, Abyan—by far the biggest—and Ahwar. These oases are sure of regular spates from the Yemen highlands behind, and can grow useful crops of grain, principally millet, and vegetables and fruits of the coarser tropical kinds. There are good patches of soil in the Dhala and Yafa'i mountains, and the latter grow the best coffee in Arabia, but at Mukeiras in Audhali country there is a really important fertile area at over 7,000 feet where temperate crops are grown and which is now producing in fair abundance European vegetables and fruits of excellent quality which include potatoes, tomatoes, lettuces and so on, apples, peaches, plums, and apricots. The main difficulty in disposing of these good things, for which a ready market exists in Aden for local consumption and for shipping, is communication and transport. The Audhali plateau is over a hundred miles from Aden and is cut off from the maritime plain and the foothills by a 4,000-foot, almost perpendicular bluff, the picturesque Kaur al Audilla. So road-making is difficult and expensive, and the bad tracks play havoc with the lorries used for transporting the produce to Aden from the foot of the bluff, down which it is transported on animals. If ever the Yemen is developed agriculturally it will have great advantages over Audhali country, for roads can be better made. The main agricultural produce that now comes by caravan and lorry from the Yemen is the highly perishable and iniquitous qat, and the qat traffic is probably centuries old. Better communication and better agriculture in the Yemen would therefore make it difficult for the Audhali country to be economically worth while. Beyond the Audhalis and descending towards the heat of the desert is Beihan country, which drains to the Rub'al Khali. Having high mountains behind it, it is reasonably watered, and millet cultivation is being extended there.

The present tendency in the improvement of conditions in the Western Aden Protectorate is to select an area where conditions are favourable and send a political officer to assist the chief to establish control over his people,

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to advise him in his rule so as to establish confidence in him as a ruler, to help in agriculture, medical work, and schools. The work done so far has been of an experimental nature, but a measure of success has been achieved in the Beihan and Ahwar areas, and work in other areas, such as Shaibi country, has been started. I have not been in close touch with the work, but I believe the experiment is distinctly promising. If there is a weakness about it, it may be that there is not sufficient promise of continuity—that is to say, it may be it is too dependent on one man, the chief. The areas are small, there is no government establishment. If you have an establishment one man may fail and you can put another in, but the thing continues. If you have only one man, and he dies, there is no guarantee that his successor will be like him. Even if a political officer is permanently in the country he is dependent on there being a co-operative chief, unless he is to run the country himself.

The W.A.P. is almost entirely tribal, as I have said; there is therefore little culture. Indigenous schools are rare and there are none beyond the Quran school stage. Illiteracy is very general. But there is little doubt that schools, if provided, will be quickly filled. The main question is what will the newly educated do in their own countries? Certainly there is room for educated chiefs and for the comparatively few who are, or will be, required to help them in governing or providing social services. But the opportunities there will only absorb a few and there are no mercantile communities worth mentioning. There may be scope for some technical training and even agricultural training, but it is not easy to see how the tribesman already expert at the cultivation of oases, terrace cultivation in the comparatively few parts where agriculture is possible, is going to be given an education which will greatly assist him. There are few areas where over-education could cause more trouble with discontented literates than the protectorate. So that a question that to my mind still requires much thought is—what sort of education can be given which will help the advancement of the country and not upset it? And I don't think that a satisfactory answer is yet forthcoming as to what can be the future of the W.A.P. Until it is answered it is difficult to decide on the lines education should follow, for there is nothing old to build on.

### The Eastern Aden Protectorate

So much for the W.A.P. The Eastern Aden Protectorate provides a great contrast. Perhaps it may be helpful to catalogue the contrasts briefly. In the first place, the area of the E.A.P. is between 70,000 and 80,000 squares miles, while that of the W.A.P. is between 30,000 and 40,000. The estimated population of both is about 300,000, so that the E.A.P. is much more sparsely inhabited. But the bulk of the population lives on the coast and in the Wadis Du'an and Hadhramaut 100 to 150 miles inland. So that there are vast areas which are practically uninhabited. Therefore there are bigger distances to cover between communities. In the second place, as I have already said, the total acreage of cultivable land is very much less than the W.A.P., and the people who own it are much less agriculturally minded than the farmer-owners of the W.A.P. It is an essentially desert country, with the Rub'al Khali just

9. Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



behind it, and not the high mountains of the Yemen. Its height above the sea-level nowhere exceeds 6,000 feet and is generally not more than 3,500. It has therefore no regular rainfall. 83

Then, as regards treaties, while the W.A.P. has a total of about thirty-five chiefs in direct relation with His Majesty's Government, the E.A.P. has only seven, of which one, the Kathiri, is comparatively recent. The reason is that in the E.A.P. all that was required was to keep foreign powers off the coast. All the six original treaties with E.A.P. rulers were with coastal chiefs. Starting from the west, 'Irqa and Haura are only small villages. The two Wahidi Sultans come next, then the Qu'aiti, the largest of them all, whose state to-day covers some 50,000 square miles, and then the Mahra, which includes Socotra Island. While the W.A.P. is historically part of the Yemen, and has now a new and natural capital in Aden which supplies it with all its requirements, the E.A.P. is historically and geographically detached and has a local commercial capital in Mukalla, but looks to India, Singapore, and Java for its cultural and social contacts. 648

The Hadhramaut is historically and geographically a country in itself, and consists of the Wahidi Sultanates, with the two little Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, which are really ports in the country of the Dhiyeibi tribe, who are a Wahidi tribe, and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. I propose not to say anything more of the Mahra country because as yet little is known about it, though in the last year or two more has been learnt of Socotra. 101

You will have gathered, I think, that, owing to its desert nature and lack of rainfall, the prospects of the development of agriculture in the Hadhramaut are not very promising, and as the various explorations that have taken place to date have not discovered any mineral resources, it does not look as though the economic future is very bright. The best agricultural areas are Gheil Ba Wazir, on the coast, where Hamumi tobacco is very successfully grown, and this brings in a revenue of about Rs. 200,000 a year to the state, and Meifa, in which conditions have been considerably improved in the last few years and where some further development is possible. It was hoped that the alluvial silt of the Wadi Hadhramaut would prove a fertile area for wide development if water could be found, but experiment has shown that it is largely brackish and, bearing in mind the desert surroundings, it is probable that any further supplies of water which boring might discover would not be sufficient to wash out the salt. It is unfortunate, too, that the bulk of the population, the seiyids and tribesmen, do not take to working on the land themselves, as do the tribesmen of the W.A.P., but rely on dhafa, a class of poor townsmen who are almost in the position of serfs. These dhafa lived by building the palaces of the rich and working their wells, but the fall of Singapore and Java cut off the supplies of money from the Far East so that the rich could no longer maintain them. The beduin had lived by carrying supplies from the coast to the interior, but with the falling off of imports they too suffered. On top of this catastrophe there was a seven-year drought from 1937 to 1944, which meant the loss of crops, flocks, and 50 per cent. of the working camels, so that between the difficulties of 241 311 565 463 731

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1946) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



178, 66 The Wahidi Sultanate of Balhaf asked for advisory arrangements in 1939 and that of Bir 'Ali in 1943. The former was making very reasonable progress on its modest means till the war upset its Customs receipts, and security forces and schools were established. Bir 'Ali has only just started, but the town has been cleaned up, the Customs organized, and a school and dispensary provided for.

491 178 Much extension of motorable tracks has been made, and all places of importance in Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory can now be reached by car. Bir 'Ali and Balhaf soon will be, as a motor road towards Aden had passed its most difficult stretch and was getting on towards the agricultural region of Meifa in June, 1944.

178 565 So that on the whole, despite the famine, the picture is one of progress rather more than one would at first sight expect of a rather unpromising country. For beyond the handicaps of nature have been the handicaps the inhabitants have made for themselves: the chronic insecurity, the everlasting divisions, and the unsound social system of the Inner Hadhramaut, with a number of classes so acutely separated as more to resemble the castes of India than social grades in the brotherhood of Islam. And there was, on the whole, so much desire for independence on the part of all—though almost all classes interpreted it differently—that it was difficult to see how a few foreigners could get over the suspicion and help the people to achieve something. But I think that now the Qu'aiti State, at least, could stand to some extent on its own legs and would be unlikely to collapse entirely if it was left to itself, for its stability does not entirely depend on its ruler alone, although he has been such a tower of strength in promoting progress. I think the thing that would be mostly lacking if it were left to itself would be initiative. The best thing that could happen to the Hadhramaut now would be a federation of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States and the Wahidi Sultanates. I think this could be achieved, but it is not very easy. On the Qu'aiti side the objection is to spending money in Kathiri territory, although the old hatred between the two has died out, and in Kathiri territory the difficulty is the disunion between the various sections of the Wadi Hadhramaut. It is, however, fair that the Qu'aiti State should help in Kathiri territory, as much of its Customs revenue comes from goods imported by the Kathiri State, which has no ports. Between the Wahidi Sultanates there is still intense hatred, which was fanned up a couple of years ago by the murder of the Balhaf Regent in a plot hatched by the Bir 'Ali Sultans. But as the Bir 'Ali Sultans have now turned respectable and accepted advisory arrangements, some federation could probably be brought about. Bir 'Ali, having the better harbour, will have better revenue than Balhaf, which has a larger population to provide for. One would hope for a federation which left autonomy in local matters to the constituent parts of the country, but shared the cost of social services, communications, and so on. If the Hadhramis can emigrate and if they can govern themselves with a sound federal Government, they will have something to thank us for of lasting worth, and no doubt those abroad will give a good report of the British connection.

000 Buried under all the politics the Hadhramaut is a cultured country.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Middle East M1



000 turer's closing remarks—that Aden to-day is a very dreary place, and we have not done ourselves much credit in the century we have been there that it should be so. Aden is not only depressing in itself, but it has a depressing effect on all those who have been there. I expect most of you in this room have visited Aden, or have at least called there at some time or other, and you can bear out this description of the place.

Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams are, however, an exception to the general rule. They are not only a unique pair in the history of exploration in Arabia, but they are exceptional in the way they have managed to keep themselves unsullied by this atmosphere of intellectual and mental depression. They are, I believe, the first people really to have explored the south-west corner of Arabia. Colonel Jacob, a generation ago, did some very good work in that area, but even he was never tempted into the parts beyond easy reach of Aden itself. The Ingrams have contributed a very great deal to our knowledge of the region outside the immediate neighbourhood of Aden; a region of which I think it is fair to say that the only previous accounts were either travellers' tales or an occasional official report hidden away in the files of the Colonial Office. Mr. Ingrams also has written his official reports, but, unlike his predecessors, he has managed to see to it that he has been on the spot to carry out some of the things he recommended should be done. No doubt the people of Aden and the Hadhramaut are grateful to us as a nation for what Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams have done for them. For, apart from what the Ingrams had already then begun, it is only within the last ten years that we, as a ruling power, have seriously tried to do something for these areas that we claim to govern.

648 ME 648 * Mr. Ingrams told us something about these countries of South-West Arabia, he said, in order that we might be able to bring the area into the general picture of what is called the sphere of Arab Federation.

We might call these countries prospective candidates for Arab Federation, were it not that under the conditions that obtain in Arabia to-day, Arab Federation is a completely impossible conception. You cannot have federation in any area of which half is free and the other half is under the control of foreign powers. However beneficent those powers may be, and even if they do good where they are in control, they ought not to be there at all.

Lahej is the natural fringe of the Yemen, and to the Yemen it will inevitably return some day. Hadhramaut always enjoyed a considerable measure of independence. Only in the second or third century A.D. was it absorbed into the Yemen of that day, and there is no question but that to-day it does not want to return to the Yemen nor to have anything to do with it.

On the other hand, a ruler who, like the King of Yemen, has governed an unruly country with success for upwards of forty years, deserves the gratitude of his people, for there is no doubt that had it had a less able ruler the country would have come under foreign control long since.

It may be interesting to you to know that to-day, as we sit here, a meeting is taking place between King Ibn Sa'ud of Sa'udi Arabia and King Farouk of Egypt at Yanbu' on the western coast of the Hedjaz. I do not think that under present circumstances Arab Federation has any

* [Mr. Philby speaking -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Middle East MI



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chance of coming into being. But without discussing that, they have much of common interest to consider. In itself the visit of a King of Egypt to a King of Arabia is a matter of the utmost importance and significance. For unless the Arab states can come to an understanding on such matters as are implicit in the project of an Arab Federation, there is no doubt that sooner or later they will come under foreign domination.

If Arabia, with its position in the centre of the world, is to keep quiet and become prosperous, its present problems must be solved. I believe the best form that our sympathy with Syria and the Lebanon could take would be if we could agree with the French that neither we nor they would control any Arab area. The secret agreement between ourselves and the French in 1916, against which the Arab world has always protested, is the foundation of the presence of the French in Syria and Lebanon. Unless we are ourselves prepared to give up control of Arab territories we have no right to criticize the French.

When we have done that, I hope that, in a spirit of friendship, we may be able to send them people like Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, not as officials but as friends, to whom I am sure the Hadhramaut will always be grateful as to individuals who have taken the trouble to know the Arabs, to love them and to work for them.

Dr. Huzzayyin: I would like to congratulate the Royal Central Asian Society on this lecture, and Mr. Ingrams on the way in which he managed to cover so wide a field so successfully.

There are one or two points that I should like to raise. One is the importance of this part of Arabia. It has been overshadowed in the last few years when the Arab world has been thrust into intimate contact with the West, and the name Arab has carried with it to European minds the general idea of a nomad, or a merchant with his caravan of camels. This idea has been taken from the character of life in the northern and central parts of Arabia, and similarly Arab expansion has been thought of as a movement by land.

But Southern Arabia also played a great part in the diffusion of Arabic culture, and Arab expansion southwards spread as much by sea as it did in the north by land. Hadhramaut has from ancient times had contacts with the Far East of Asia. The Omeiras had close contacts with East Africa, and, as you could see from the pictures the lecturer has shown us, the Far East in return influenced the architecture of South Arabia.

The culture of Southern Arabia was more advanced than that of any other part of the peninsula in ancient times. This heritage is still latent in those countries, and it is worth while to help them revive it and take their part in the affairs of Asia.

A second point which Mr. Ingrams neglected to stress is the part he has himself played in the development of this area. I met him first in 1936, when he was just starting work in the Hadhramaut. He was not content to lead a leisured life in the comfort of Mukalla; he chose instead to go to the people of the hinterland, and through his work he has come to command the respect of all classes of the community. I have met many Hadhramis and they used to speak freely to me as an Egyptian, and I have been struck by their appreciation of his work, in pacification, in develop-

# THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

701 DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

579 721 643 Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

648 728 Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

648 At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

185 625 701 From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls.

[871]

113 * Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

10: Hutchison U-3 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000.

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambīyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870.

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamis*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turbanwise round his head.

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 21 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This,

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his 181
friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came 577
to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a 795
strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They 702
belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their 276
neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African [144]
blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an 567
institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, 648
when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from 631
attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth

22: Reilly G-3 (1935-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



648 century and the early years of the twentieth the potential enemy on the
631 South Arabian mainland was Turkey, whose occupation of the province of Yemen brought its territory to within a short distance of Aden. The Turks, indeed, maintained a theoretical claim to the whole of Southern Arabia, including Aden itself. In practice, however, they accepted the existence of British protection over nine tribes adjacent to Aden, and these became known in diplomatic dealings between the British and Turkish Governments as the Nine Cantons, a term that still lingers, although the number of tribes in treaty relations with the British Government now far exceeds the original nine.

648 The Protectorate treaties are all cast in much the same form. It is a
631 very simple one, for the provisions are limited to a few short clauses stating that the gracious favour and protection of the British Sovereign shall be extended to the tribal chief, who, in return for a stipend, undertakes to have no relations with any other foreign Power. In some cases the treaties were supplemented by agreements about the security of roads or other matters of common interest, but generally speaking there was no attempt to introduce any direct British influence or even supervision in the internal affairs of the tribes. Aden was regarded as being primarily a fortress, and the purpose of the Protectorate was the creation and maintenance of a vacuum behind the fortress, into which no foreign intruders would be admitted. Provided that this object was secured, the Protecting Power at that time showed no interest in the welfare or development of the people of the country, who were left to their own devices and to their traditional vendettas and anarchy.

This indifference to the domestic concerns of the protected tribes was even more marked in the eastern part of the Protectorate than in the country nearer to Aden. Treaties of the same type as those already mentioned were made with the local chiefs on the sea coast to the east of Aden up to the borders of Muscat. The reason for this extension of the protected sphere was similar to that which led to the establishment of the Nine Cantons. Its object was the exclusion of foreign influence from Southern Arabia owing to the proximity of this territory to our vital sea communications with the East. The most important treaties with tribes to the east of Aden are those with the Quaiti Sultan of Shehr and Mukalla and with the Sultan of Qishn and Socotra, whose territory includes a mainland portion as well as the island of Socotra. No effort was made at that time to extend British influence inland from Mukalla or the neighbouring coast. The Government of India, by whom the Protectorate treaties were concluded, was content to have

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a British protected belt along the coast and to leave the interior of the 648
country alone. This policy was no doubt due in part to the difficulties 631
of communication overland and to the attitude of the Arab chiefs concerned, who welcomed protection against foreign enemies, but disliked any interference with their internal affairs.

Unfortunately, British protection was not always effective. No 648
troops were maintained in the Protectorate, and when the test of war came in 1915 the Turks in the Yemen found no difficulty in marching down through the Protectorate to Lahej and the gates of Aden. After the war the rule of the Turks in the Yemen was succeeded by that of the Zeidi Imam of Sana. This energetic ruler has always regarded both Turks and British as usurpers in Southern Arabia, the whole of which he looks upon as his rightful inheritance, and he lost no time in seizing as much of the Aden Protectorate as he could take with impunity. The British at Aden, with a much reduced garrison and a minute air force, were unable to give effective protection to their tribes until 1928, when air reinforcements enabled them to recover the Dhala district. The Imam's Zeidi troops retained possession of some parts of the Protectorate until 1934, when they were withdrawn as a corollary to the signature of the Treaty of Sana. This treaty effected a temporary settlement of the vexed question of the Protectorate frontier. The Imam did not formally renounce his historic claims, for he declares that he will never do that, but he agreed that they should remain in abeyance for the period of the treaty—that is, for forty years from its signature, or until a more permanent solution could be found. On the other hand, the British Government recognized the Imam's title as King of the Yemen and his complete independence within his own territory.

It was hoped that the Treaty of Sana would prove to be a turning- 663
point in the history of the Aden Protectorate, and this hope has to some extent been justified. Before the conclusion of the treaty the Protecting Power was mainly concerned with the problem of defence against external aggression, and there were even advocates of the abandonment of all but a fragment of the Protectorate in the immediate vicinity of Aden. The settlement with the Yemen enabled the authorities at Aden to turn their attention to setting the Protectorate house in order. There was a growing feeling that the old policy of indifference to its internal needs was unworthy of the best British traditions, and that an effort should be made to improve the lot of the people in the protected area. It was no longer considered to be good enough to put a ring

houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
ADEN MM1



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long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage. An energetic Agricultural Officer appointed by the Colonial Office has initiated experiments that are producing very promising results on the Audhali plateau to the north-east of Aden, and in other districts where water is available for irrigation. Medical and educational progress is as yet only in its initial stage, but a beginning has been made in the establishment of local dispensaries, and the institution at Aden of a Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs has met with encouraging success.

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It is a fundamental principle of our policy in the Aden Protectorate that the Arab character of the country must be preserved. In this respect the Protectorate differs from the colony of Aden, which it adjoins. The colony is a small territory comprising the town and port of Aden; and, although the majority of its inhabitants are Arabs, it has long been a cosmopolitan community, in which Europeans, Indians, Jews, and Somalis mingle with the Arabs in friendly co-operation and a common loyalty to the British Crown and administration. The Protectorate, on the other hand, is recognized to be wholly Arab country. There is no intention on the part of the British Government to annex any part of it or to introduce any direct British administration.

H 648

Our ambition and our hope are to produce in Southern Arabia an example of friendly and willing British and Arab co-operation, in which we give the best we can in the shape of advice and technical help without disturbing the national characteristics of the people. All efforts at reform are fated to meet with opposition from some quarters, and especially from those that are interested in the maintenance of old abuses, and our experience in the Aden Protectorate is no exception in this respect. On the whole, however, we have received a cordial, and often an eager, response. British officers working in Aden and the Protectorate have been rewarded not only with understanding and support, but also with liking and friendship that have bound them by personal ties to these Arabs, who have so much in common with the British in their individualism, their adventurousness, their humour, and their love of freedom. Now, when the Empire is at war and is passing through critical days, it is a pleasure and an encouragement to see the spontaneous loyalty and affection that have been displayed by the people of Aden reflected also in the Protectorate that we so long neglected but are now at last trying sincerely to befriend. In the towns and in remote villages in the mountains the people have gathered in their mosques to pray for British victory. Their friendship did not falter in the dark days of last summer, and now that victories have

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come they are united with us in a common rejoicing. That is the kind 609
of recompense that gladdens the hearts of those who have worked for 648
these people and have striven to make British protection a real benefit 186
to them. It encourages our belief that our pioneer work in this country has been undertaken on the right lines, and that we may hope to add another success to those that have been achieved by our predecessors and contemporaries in other parts of the Empire. A great deal remains to be done in the Aden Protectorate, but with patience and perseverance and with the right principles to guide us we may be confident that it will be accomplished.

Colonel Ton: I do not know whether you would like to hear any- 000
thing of the earlier history of the Protectorate, but the time I spent in the Aden Protectorate was before even Sir Bernard Reilly's time, forty years ago, when I was a member of the Anglo-Turkish Mandate Commission. At that time the Protectorate consisted of only nine tribes. Since then it has been considerably extended. Hadhramaut was a *terra incognita* in those days and was certainly not part of the Protectorate.

I think the Sultan of Lahej owes his preponderance chiefly to the 643
fact that all roads from the interior lead through his capital, of which 491
he has taken advantage at different times.

You mentioned the incursion of the Turks in 1915. That was by 721
no means their first incursion into the Protectorate. When they re- 648
conquered the Yemen in about 1870 they gradually pushed their rule south until they penetrated many miles into the British Protectorate. When the British Commission went up there in 1901, intending to open friendly relations with the Turks about the demarcation of the frontier, they found the Turks had brought down a considerable force, had taken military possession of that part of the Protectorate, only just leaving the town of Dhala itself outside the militarily occupied area, and had seized the heads of the passes that led down to Aden; so the position of the Commission was a most difficult one. The Turks simply put their foot down and said, "J'y suis, j'y reste," and we had no power to turn them out. There was just an insignificant escort of Indian troops with the Commission. It took a very long time indeed to persuade the home Government that they must intervene with force, and it was only when a force stronger than the Turkish force was sent up there in 1902 that the Turks were compelled to withdraw. That means that Dhala was occupied by the Turks for about thirty years. It

721 is a case of the neglect, to which you referred, of the Government
648 towards our so-called protected sheikhs.
000 There are one or two rather curious facts in connection with that Commission. The head of the Commission was a Colonel Wahab, a very talented officer. His assistant was a Major Abud. Anyone who understands Arabic will understand the strange coincidence of those two names. When I first made contact with the Turks, they asked me in a puzzled way: "Who are these two men, Wahab and Abud?" They thought that, whereas they had sent some of their most important men, we had sent some local Arabs to deal with them.

You mentioned the frequency of the travel of the tribes of the Protectorate to foreign lands. That was a very striking feature even in those days. It was quite a common thing to meet a half-naked Arab leading a string of camels, who would say: "Bon jour, monsieur."

We had great difficulty in getting a cook there. Our Indian cook went sick, and to our surprise a local Arab turned up from a village in the mountains. We found he talked English with a very Australian accent, and had been an assistant cook in a temperance hotel in Queensland.

Captain Acworth: Sir Bernard spoke of the very great religious enthusiasm of the tribes, but he also mentioned a sort of friction between the various tribes, and some of them did not think very highly of the others. I was wondering whether in the very keen Moslem faith in the south of Arabia they have among them the same sort of divergencies and different views that we have in our churches here, like High Church, Modernist, and so on—whether there are really a considerable number of sects among the Moslems.

Then, are the various tribes something like the counties in England—say, Lancashire and Cornwall? Can they all understand each other? Those two points I have always wondered about.

795 Sir Bernard Reilly: The division I spoke of was between the Shafeis and the Zeidis. The Shafeis belong to the great Sunni Division of the Moslem faith. The Zeidis are more akin to the Shiahs, though they are not precisely Shiahs. They take their name from the founder of their sect, named Zeid, but they have more in common with the Shiahs than the Shafeis have.

I do not think it would be right to say there are many subdivisions in the Aden Protectorate. The people of the Protectorate are all Shafeis, and there are no serious divisions among them from a religious point of view at all.

23: British Gov't. G-5 (1877-1937) 1939 MMS Hadhramaut MMS



# LEGISLATION IN FORCE IN THE ADEN PROTECTORATE.

## I.—The Aden Protectorate Order, 1937, and Orders made thereunder, 1937, No. 246.

648

At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 18th day of March, 1937.

PRESENT,

The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance and other lawful means His Majesty has power and jurisdiction within the territories known as the Protectorate of Aden:

And whereas it is expedient to make provision for the peace, order, and good government of the Protectorate of Aden:

Now, therefore, His Majesty, by virtue and in exercise of the powers by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, or otherwise in His Majesty vested, is pleased, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, as follows:—

53 & 54 Vict. c. 37.

1. This Order may be cited as the Aden Protectorate Order, 1937. Title.

2. This Order shall apply to the territories of Arabia which are bounded on the south by the Colony of Aden and the Gulf of Aden, on the west and north by the Kingdom of the Yemen and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and on the east by the Sultanate of Oman, and also to the Islands of Socotra and Abdul Qari and any other islands adjacent to the said territories. Limits of the Order.

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Definitions.

3.—(1) In this Order, unless the context otherwise requires—

"His Majesty" includes His Majesty's heirs and successors;

"the Secretary of State" means one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State;

"the Governor" includes every person for the time being administering the Government of the Colony of Aden;

"the Colony" means the Colony of Aden;

"the Protectorate" means the territories described in section 2 of this Order;

"the appointed day" means the first day of April nineteen hundred and thirty-seven;

"the Gazette" means the Gazette of the Protectorate;

"native of the Protectorate" means any person who is a member or either of whose parents is or was a member of a tribe or community indigenous to the Protectorate.

(2) The Interpretation Act, 1889, shall apply for the interpretation of this Order as it applies for the interpretation of an Act of Parliament. 52 & 53 Vict. c. 63.

Governor.

4. The Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony shall be the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Protectorate, and he is hereby empowered and commanded to exercise on His Majesty's behalf all such powers and jurisdiction as His Majesty now has, or may from time to time have, therein, and to that end to take or cause to be taken all such measures and to do or cause to be done all such things therein as in the interest of His Majesty's service he may think expedient.

5. The Governor is hereby empowered and commanded to do all things that belong to his said office in accordance with such Commission as may be issued to him under His Majesty's Sign Manual and Signet, such Instructions as may from time to time be addressed to him under His Majesty's Sign Manual and Signet or through the Secretary of State, and such Orders in Council and other laws as may from time to time be in force in the Protectorate.

Governor to observe instructions etc.

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6. His Majesty hereby reserves to Himself, His heirs and successors power, with the advice of His or their Privy Council, from time to time, to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Protectorate.

Powers of legislation reserved to the Crown.

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7.—(1) Subject to the provisions of this Order, all Acts, Orders, Rules, Regulations and other enactments having the force of law in the Protectorate on the appointed day shall, except so far as the same shall, in their application to the Protectorate, thereafter be repealed, amended or otherwise affected by or under any subsequent order, rule or other law, continue to have effect in the Protectorate, but shall be construed subject to such modifications as may be necessary to bring them into conformity with the provisions of this Order and of the Aden Colony Order, 1936. (a)

Continuance of laws, and powers to make rules and orders.

(2) Without prejudice to any powers otherwise vested in him, the Governor is hereby empowered to make rules and orders for the following purposes:—

(a) to modify the provisions of any Order of His Majesty in Council in force in the Protectorate on the appointed day, in order to bring such provisions into conformity with the provisions of this Order and of the Aden Colony Order, 1936;

(b) to amend, add to, or repeal any other enactment to which subsection (1) of this section applies;

(c) to apply in whole or in part, with such modifications (if any) as to him may seem neces-

(a) S.R. & O. 1936 (No. 1661) I, p. 1.

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sary or expedient, any Act, Order, Rule, Regulation or other enactment from time to time in force in the Colony, to persons in the Protectorate not being natives of the Protectorate;

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(*d*) to regulate or prohibit the entry into the Protectorate of persons not being natives of the Protectorate; and

(*e*) to secure the enforcement within the Protectorate of judgments, orders and decrees of the Courts of the Colony.

(3) For the avoidance of doubts it is hereby declared that all Rules and Orders made before the appointed day by the Governor-General of India in Council under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, have, in so far as at any time before the date of this Order they applied to the Protectorate and have not in such application been expressly repealed or revoked, continued in force in the Protectorate notwithstanding that the Protectorate has ceased to be a territory in which jurisdiction is exercised by or on behalf of His Majesty through the Governor-General of India in Council or some authority subordinate to him, and subsection (1) of this section shall apply accordingly to such Rules and Orders.

Disallowance of rules and orders.

8. It shall be lawful for His Majesty to disallow any rule or order made by the Governor in exercise of the powers conferred upon him by this Order or any other Order of His Majesty in Council and to signify such disallowance through the Secretary of State. Every rule or order so disallowed shall cease to have effect from the time when the signification of such disallowance shall be published by the Governor by notice in the Gazette, but without prejudice to anything lawfully done or suffered thereunder.

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Jurisdiction of Courts of the Colony.

9. The Supreme Court of the Colony and all Courts of the Colony inferior to the Supreme Court shall, subject to and in accordance with the provisions of any law in that behalf from time to time in force in the Colony, have jurisdiction in all matters arising in the Protectorate in which any person not being a native of the Protectorate is

concerned, in the same manner and to the same extent as if such matters had arisen in the Colony. 648 671x 696

Deputies.

10. In the event of the Governor having occasion at any time to be absent for a short period from the seat of Government, or in the exercise or discharge of any powers or duties conferred or imposed upon him by virtue of his office to visit any neighbouring territories, he may by an Instrument under the Public Seal appoint any person to be his Deputy within the Protectorate or any part thereof during such temporary absence, and in that capacity to exercise, perform and execute for and on behalf of the Governor during such absence, but no longer, all such powers and authorities vested in the Governor as shall in and by such Instrument be specified and limited, but no others. 648 671x

Every such Deputy shall conform to and observe all such instructions as the Governor shall from time to time address to him for his guidance. The power and authority of the Governor shall not by the appointment of a Deputy as aforesaid be abridged, altered or in any way affected otherwise than His Majesty may at any time hereafter think proper to direct.

Appointment of Officers.

11. The Governor may constitute and appoint all such necessary officers as may be lawfully constituted or appointed by His Majesty, all of whom, unless otherwise provided by law, shall hold their offices during His Majesty's pleasure.

Pardon.

12. When any offence has been committed for which the offender may be tried by any of His Majesty's courts having jurisdiction within the Protectorate, the Governor may, as he shall see occasion, in His Majesty's name and on His Majesty's behalf, grant a pardon to any accomplice in such offence who shall give such information as shall lead to the conviction of the principal offender or of any one of such offenders if more than one; and further may grant to any offender convicted in any such court a pardon, either free or subject to lawful conditions, or any remission of the sentence passed on such offender, or any respite of the execution of such sentence, for such period as the Governor thinks fit, and may remit any penalties or forfeitures due to His Majesty. 648 671x 696

Disciplinary powers.

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13. The Governor may, subject to the provisions of any law for the time being in force in the Protectorate and to such instructions as may from time to time be given to him by His Majesty through the Secretary of State, upon sufficient cause to him appearing, dismiss or suspend from the exercise of his office any person holding any public office under the Crown in the Protectorate, or, subject as aforesaid, may take such other disciplinary action as may seem to him desirable.

Public Seal.

14. The Seal now or hereafter in use as the Public Seal of the Colony shall be also the Public Seal of the Protectorate and shall be used for sealing all things whatsoever that shall pass the said Seal.

Saving for past acts.

15. Nothing in this Order shall affect the validity or future operation of any lawful act done by any authority in the Protectorate before the appointed day.

Revocation or amendment of Order.

16. His Majesty may from time to time revoke, add to or amend this Order.

Commencement.

17. This Order shall come into operation on the appointed day.

*M. P. A. Hankey.*

## III.—The Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, and Orders made thereunder by the Governor General in Council.

No. 3917-I. A.—dated the 12th September 1902.—The following Order of His Majesty the King in Council which appeared in the London Gazette of the 13th June 1902, is republished for general information. 671x 648

### ORDER IN COUNCIL.

Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902.

AT THE COURT AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

The 11th day of June 1902.

PRESENT:

The King's Most Excellent Majesty.

Lord President.

Earl of Kintore.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

Sir John Winfield Bonser.

Whereas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance, and other lawful means, His Majesty the King has powers and jurisdiction, exercised on His behalf by the Governor General of India in Council, in India and in certain territories adjacent thereto;

Now, therefore, His Majesty, by virtue and in exercise of the powers by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, or otherwise in His Majesty vested, is pleased, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. This Order may be cited as the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902.

Sh. British Gov't. G-8 (1877-1887) 1890 MMS Hadarsmam MMS



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2. The limits of this Order are the territories of India outside British India, and any other territories which may be declared by His Majesty in Council to be territories in which jurisdiction is exercised by or on behalf of His Majesty through the Governor General of India in Council, or some authority subordinate to him, including the territorial waters of any such territories.

3. The Governor General of India in Council may, on His Majesty's behalf, exercise any power or jurisdiction which His Majesty or the Governor General of India in Council for the time being has within the limits of this Order and may delegate any such power or jurisdiction to any servant of the British Indian Government in such manner and to such extent as the Governor General in Council from time to time thinks fit.

4. The Governor General in Council may make such rules and orders as may seem expedient for carrying this Order into effect, and in particular—

(*a*) for determining the law and procedure to be observed, whether by applying with or without modifications all or any of the provisions of any enactment in force elsewhere, or otherwise;

(*b*) for determining the persons who are to exercise jurisdiction, either generally or in particular classes of cases, and the powers to be exercised by them;

(*c*) for determining the courts, authorities, judges, and magistrates, by whom, and for regulating the manner in which, any jurisdiction, auxiliary or incidental to or consequential on the jurisdiction exercised under this Order, is to be exercised in British India;

(*d*) for regulating the amount, collection, and application of fees.

5. All appointments, delegations, certificates, requisitions, rules, notifications, processes, orders, and directions made or issued under or in pursuance of any enactment of the Indian Legislature regulating the exercise of foreign jurisdiction, are hereby confirmed, and shall have effect as if made or issued under this Order.

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6. The Interpretation Act, 1889, shall apply to the construction of this Order.

A. W. FITZROY.

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Delegation of powers to the Governor of Bombay in Council.

No. **2859-I. A.**—dated the 19th June 1903.—In exercise of the powers conferred by article 3 of the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, the Governor General in Council is pleased to delegate to the Governor of Bombay in Council the power to make rules and orders within the places set forth in the Schedule hereto annexed, which is conferred on the Governor General in Council by article 4 of the said Order in Council:

Provided that the exercise of the power hereby delegated shall be subject to the control of the Governor General in Council;

Provided also, that nothing in this notification shall be deemed to preclude the Governor General in Council from exercising any power hereby delegated.

**The Schedule.**

(Not reproduced. See Gazette of India, 1903, Pt. I, p. 515.)

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Criminal law and procedure of British India applicable to British subjects in Native States.

No. **1863-I. A.**, dated the 13th May, 1904.—In exercise of the powers conferred by the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council 1902, the Governor General in Council is pleased, with effect from the 1st day of June, 1904, to direct that, for the purposes of any power or jurisdiction exercised under that Order, the law relating to offences and to criminal procedure for the time being in force in British India shall, subject as to procedure to such modifications as the Governor General in Council from time to time directs, apply, so far as applicable, to all subjects of His Majesty.

## PART I.

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1. The provisions, so far as they can be made applicable in the circumstances for the time being, and as amended for the time being by subsequent enactments, of the enactments specified in the First Schedule, are hereby applied to the Aden Protectorate, subject, in the case of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), to the modifications specified in the Second Schedule to this part.

2. For the purpose of facilitating the application of the said enactments to the Aden Protectorate, any Court for the Aden Protectorate may construe any provision in any such enactment with such alterations not affecting the substance as may be necessary or proper to adapt it to the matter before the Court.

3. No legal practitioner shall be permitted to appear, in any case before any Court without the express authority in writing of the Political Resident.

### The First Schedule.

Enactments Applied.

| Number and year. | Subject. |
|---|---|
| Act XLV of 1860, | Penal Code. |
| Act V of 1898, | Criminal Procedure. |
| Regulation IV of 1901, | Frontier Murderous Outrages. |

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### The Second Schedule.

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Modifications in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898).

(a) The Court of Session may take cognisance of any offence as a Court of original jurisdiction without the accused person being com-

mitted to it by a Magistrate and shall, when so taking cognisance of any offence, follow the procedure prescribed by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the trial of warrant cases by Magistrates. 648 671x 692

(b) Save as hereinafter provided, no appeal shall lie from any order of any Sessions Judge.

(c) Trials before the Court of Session may, in the discretion of the Sessions Judge, be without jury or the aid of assessors.

(d) In cases under Regulation IV of 1901, no sentence of death passed by an Assistant Resident shall be carried out unless and until it is confirmed by the Political Resident. 648 671x 681 692

(e) In cases under other acts, no sentence of death passed by any Court shall be carried out unless and until it is confirmed by the Governor of Bombay.

(f) All sentences of imprisonment passed by an Assistant Resident for a term exceeding one year shall be submitted for confirmation to the Political Resident.

In any case in which an Assistant Resident passes a sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding six months, an appeal shall be to the Political Resident.

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No. 368-E.B., dated the 1st February, 1907.—In exercise of the powers conferred by the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following Orders:— Constitution of Criminal Courts. 648 671x 693

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## PART II.

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For the purposes of the exercise of criminal jurisdiction as regards the Aden Protectorate :—

1. The Political Resident and, with the sanction of the Political Resident in writing, the Assistant Resident for the time being of Aden shall exercise the powers of District Magistrates and Sessions Judges as described in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, and of Deputy Commissioners or Sessions Judges under the Frontier Murderous Outrages Regulation, 1901, as applied by this notification.

2. If in any case in which the complainant (if any) and the accused person or all the accused persons are not British subjects, the Court deems it expedient for political reasons to decline to exercise the power so conferred on it, it shall be in the discretion of the Court to do so.

3. The Political Resident and Assistant Residents for the time being at Aden are hereby appointed to be Justices of the Peace within the Aden Protectorate.

4. The High Court of Judicature at Bombay shall be the Court to which European British subjects charged in Aden with any offence (other than an offence punishable with death) which a Justice of the Peace shall not be competent to punish, and there shall be sufficient grounds for committing him for trial, such European British subject shall be committed to the Court of the Resident, and shall be tried by the Resident.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The visit to Sayyid Abû Bakr was quite official in character; there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been monopolised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramīs have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramīs are Dutch subjects and as I was considered to be their partisan, an impression which had been still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramīs come from Java every year and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity, will rapidly increase in the future.

## 8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



into an association of the el-'Aṭṭās family. The idea of the association is an importation from Aligarh, where Sayyid Ḥasan studied at the Muslim University; it brings a modern element into the public life of Ḥurēḍa.

There is much discussion over the political situation in Egypt, the Yemen, the Hedjaz, Netherlands India, and in the country itself. This last subject is the most painful. Of course the question is put, under general attention, whether Holland is prepared to appoint a consul in Ḥaḍramaut. My answer to this is that Holland would like nothing better, but cannot do so. She would wish it, in order to strengthen the bonds which have existed for centuries past with the most distinguished families of Ḥaḍramaut, and also for the extension of the trade of Java and Holland with Southern Arabia. But it cannot be, because there is no unity here and no responsible ultimate authority. To whom should our Queen turn and who would be able to take the responsibility for her representative? This argument is well understood and it is a matter of grave pre-occupation to them. To relieve the painful situation thus created, I express my appreciation of the unexpectedly favourable conditions that I have found here after two weeks' journeying through very primitive regions. One observes here the influence of men who have seen something of the world. And yet I cannot help saying that those people achieve more in other countries, for example in Netherlands India, than in their own land. It is with great circumspection that we advise them to concentrate on reaching harmony amongst themselves and to devote their attention and energy to their own country. The "Hip! hip! hurrah!" mood is somewhat lowered by these conversations, but our contact with the large circle of attentively listening visitors is strengthened.

In the afternoon the notables come to show us the town. In front and hand in hand with the Governor of el-Meshhed, who seems to be the most influential man here, and followed by Von Wissmann conducted by Sayyid Ḥasan, we saunter to the great mosque which is rightly the pride of the people

312 (that is a little more than 300 feet). Groups of sturdy male and female slaves, singing in unison the while, raised the water-bags by a pulley and emptied the contents into a conduit which led to a cemented basin. Cheap labour on the one hand and capital earned abroad on the other make it possible to keep such places as Ḥurēḍa in condition. The palm-groves are kept alive by the *sēl*, but seem to be on the decline and, on their borders, to be giving way to accumulating heaps of sand.

●648 On the evening of the 21st of May, I was officially received in the simple dwelling of the Governor of Ḥurēḍa. The Governor of el-Meshhed and Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās, however, acted as hosts and leaders of the meeting. The Governor is a quiet, friendly, young man and the whole atmosphere is particularly gentle and kind. A youthful poet of the el-ᶜAṭṭās family had composed a song of welcome. Sayyid Ḥasan makes a speech in which the poem is recited and in which he welcomes us as the first Europeans to visit Ḥurēḍa. As Dutch subjects, they are very much delighted that one of us is an envoy of the Netherlands Government. In my reply I said that it seemed right and fair to me that the Dutchman has preceded the Briton in Ḥurēḍa, for with the Dutch in Java exist the more long-standing and intimate relations. In Ḥaḍramaut, along with agreeable surprises, I also found disappointing conditions. We considered the energetic Ḥaḍramīs, whom we know in Java, to be capable of improving the backward conditions which exist in their fatherland.

I seized every opportunity that was offered to me to point to the necessity of independent activity and thus to answer the repeated requests for Dutch or other foreign help for the achieving of better conditions.

172 My companion, with the Bedouin Sayyid ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās, climbed Djebel Ghumdān to investigate the wonders that are told of this historic summit. There should be ruins, and a deep well on the top was said to have a subterranean connection with Bīr ᶜAlī on the coast. The ruins of defensive towers on

24:Moulen and Wissmann T-3 (1935)D32 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Fighting is stopped by mutual agreement during three months of every year. It is the time of the yearly fairs, of pilgrimages and travels. Both parties belong to the Nahd tribe and would gladly see the end of their quarrel. There is, however, no central authority here, able to step in and enforce its decision. 728

We have become aware during these last days that the insecurity here is a much more serious matter than we had thought when everything went so easily and, apparently, so safely. Now we know that we are in the midst of a people longing for a strong hand to create order and legal security. The el-ʿAṭṭās family wished to present the best case possible as regards conditions in their territory. But Sayyid Ḥasan was obliged first to stipulate for a few days' peace in order to make possible our journey to and from Ḥurēḍa through a war zone. 721

The day before we left, a threatening letter came in from the Bedouins forbidding the passing through of the *Naṣrānīs*. The three Bedouins who brought the letter were clapped into prison and Sayyid Ḥasan threatened to call up all his Bedouin followers to wage war against those who should assail his guests, and then only were we granted freedom of passage. With the Buqrīs we were in the midst of a war zone; there were armed men all over the house; photographing and the taking of bearings from the roof were only allowed under a guard of soldiers and on the condition that we remove our pith helmets; loop-holes were in all the walls, even in the lavatories, and look-outs on the roof.

Whilst tea and preserved ginger are being served, the brothers Buqrī, who know the world, continue the discussion over war in the Malay language. The conflict arose through treachery on the part of the opponent; after that blood was repeatedly shed, and now no squaring of the account could be reached in this bloodfeud. Deliverance could only be brought by foreigners, British or Dutch. Why do they not do it? The Buqrīs would give the preference to Holland over England, in spite of its heavy taxes, because legal security is greater 721 648

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



721 and the police better in the Dutch colonial territories. This
● 648 same question was repeated again in the evening, in the reception-room of our host at Hēnin. However pleasing I may have found these signs of appreciation for western colonial government on the part of an eastern Muḥammadan people, I continued to answer with evasions and urged them to take the matter into their own hands and to achieve unity, forced on by necessity.

## 2. THE OLD DYING TOWN OF HĒNIN.

It cost us much pains to decline the pressing invitations to stay longer and to continue the journey to Hēnin in the afternoon.

The hot wind is still filling the wādī with a thick, high-driven mist of sand and dust. The Buqrīs, with their numerous soldiers crowding round them, accompany us till we are outside the gate on the side away from the enemy. Obviously they are all sorry we are leaving so soon and that this variation in their monotonous life comes to so early an end. Before our departure we promise, gladly and faithfully, should we return by this route, to spend the night in their high, beautiful castle. Before long Diyār Āl Buqrī has disappeared in the haze of sand and we travel in absolute solitude amongst the hillocks of loam. Bin ʿAwaḍ Martaʿ, steering a very twisting course, seeks those places where his car can pass between the line of hills. The lower parts are filled with fine sand that lies piled up by the wind so that we have to go by way of the slopes at the foot of the loam-hills. We pass a few tumble-down villages; of vegetation there is hardly a trace.

361 The number of settlements increases as we approach the
241 neighbourhood of Hēnin. They are situated partly at the foot
134 of the mountain-wall which forms the northern bank of Wādī el-Kasr, and partly close by, in the bed of the wādī. Little dykes, which make rectangular divisions in the loam, are a sure proof that agriculture was once carried on here. It does not

middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all 342
sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One 167
can see that we are nearing Terīm with its refinements of 177
civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in 641
huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many 191
Ḥaḍramīs who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals [262] served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of [144] races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the 648 ● *qaīlūl* and by meals. As the Sultan has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional 578 question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the 648 Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin al Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn -- ANALIST]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



578 neutral and too democratic. Although there are heated arguments and great differences of opinion come to light, these do not in the least disturb the hearty hospitality that, here once again, we find such a surprising experience. We are also invariably required to give our impressions of Ḥaḍramaut. This is done with the object of hearing our opinion about the lack of legal security, the great poverty of the people, the backwardness of the country as regards education, roads and irrigation. My attempts to keep myself out of the game by making comparisons between conditions here and those which I had become acquainted with in the two other independent Arabian kingdoms, the Yemen and the Hedjaz, were followed with attention, but did not serve my aim. Finally, the Sultan or one of his advisers asks directly what we think of the state of affairs here. It is then no longer possible to avoid answering, and we give frank vent to our disappointment over the great lack of unity and the state of warfare which are a disgrace to the leading Ḥaḍramis, whom we have known as able, energetic men and peaceful citizens in Java. I then say to them that they ought not to look for help from abroad, whether it be from England or Holland, or from whatever other country they expect it, but that they must seek unity amongst themselves and set their hand to the plough with self-confidence; then, with the help of Allah, they will succeed in putting an end to many shameful conditions in their country. We repeated this in many keys in all parts of the Āl Kathīr country and never noticed that it spoiled our excellent relations in the least degree.

As soon as the Sultan notices that we are desirous of rest, he gives the sign to withdraw, and all present, with the exception of a number of servants, follow their lord and master out of the room. The servants crowd joyously round the samovar, which goes on producing numberless glasses of tea until deep into the night, and it does not occur to them that we, blasé Europeans, may perhaps be disturbed by the stories told and the songs sung by them. The nights passed on the great roof-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



often very poor in water, but, over and above this, countless internal wars make traffic dangerous and force travellers to go by very circuitous routes. This is why the Ḥaḍramī seldom knows his own country well. A learned Ḥaḍramī whom I knew formerly said to me quite truly: "I know all the volcanoes of Java and all the stations on its main railway lines, but I cannot give you any information about the wādīs and mountains a few hours distant from my home." The Sultan of Sēwūn is a relatively favourable exception to this rule in that he has seen Aden; he went there to attend a conference convened by the British authorities, where an attempt was made to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Qeʿēṭī and Kathīrī rulers. He desires to see more of the world, including Java, the land in which three quarters of his subjects have interests. The great difficulty, however, is to get over the Qeʿēṭī barrier, and for that an aeroplane is necessary. The site for the future aerodrome which was shown to us seemed quite suitable.

In the evening there is again a gathering on the roof-terrace at ʿIzz ed-Dīn. The subject brought forward for discussion is the poverty of Ḥaḍramaut and how relief from it may be obtained. In and around Sēwūn the water-level is not deep, which fact accounts for the prosperous palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. But the water-supply would have to be enlarged if it is to help the people really forward. This cannot be done by motor pumps, because they are too expensive in practice. The pump at Hēuin has to work eight hours a day to keep in existence a few acres of *dhura* and 200 small palm-trees, and that costs more in kerosene and lubricating oil than can ever be made from the produce of the irrigated land. The soil in Sēwūn is better and water nearer to the surface, and yet experience has taught that here also the motor pump does not pay. Can matters not be improved by means of artesian wells? The Sultan asks us to help by sending an expert with the necessary instruments. He says that at one time, in the days of the Ḥimyaritic kingdom, Ḥaḍramaut must have been

3;Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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133 vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Never-
132 theless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in
248 normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley, and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the
[315] highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from
132 wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food
241 has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supple-
439 mented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until
167 recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from
262 the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

161 The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952
631 was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of
• 648 varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Govern-
643 ment and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 37–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 103; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shhairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

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Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar 161
of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited 631
largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved 648
a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in December 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn [668]
and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser 643
strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most important ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of [625]
Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 721
1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate, and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his 648
staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend £410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only £23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a [731]
serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly 651
helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami 312
emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political 311
changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40 miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns, the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple 248
cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] Ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 60–3.
[4] See above, p. 112.

A 636 The recent radical change in the position of India, however, will undoubtedly necessitate a revision of the Aden system of appeals.

The city of Aden, the peninsula of Little Aden, the territory of Sheikh Othman, and the islands of Perim, Kuria Muria, and Kamaran, thus form a Crown Colony under direct British rule.[5] This means that no native government whatsoever functions in the area. As a colony, Aden is part of the British national territory and its inhabitants are British subjects.

H 648 The Protectorate. The hinterland of Aden was not organized by the British into a colony, but into a Protectorate along colonial lines. Its present organization is based upon the Aden Protectorate Order in Council of March 18, 1937.[5] Under it the Governor of the Colony is at the same time Governor of the Protectorate, and the functions exercised in the Colony by the Civil Secretary are here exercised by a Political Secretary. The powers of the Executive and Legislative Councils do not extend to the Protectorate.

H [643] 648 H 631 H 648 The region is divided into two parts: the Western Protectorate and the Eastern Protectorate. With the exception of the Sultan of Lahej the chiefs in the Western Protectorate generally possess only limited control over their subjects; the states in the Eastern Protectorate are more fully organized. In contrast with the Colony, the native governmental institutions in the Protectorate were left intact, and the area is administered according to the principles of indirect rule. The Crown has reserved the right to make laws for the peace, good order, and government of the Protectorate. At the same time the Governor may enact certain rules and orders and may especially extend to the Protectorate legisla-

[5] The British distinguish between two basic types of colonial administration: direct rule and indirect rule. The former means that the area is administered directly by British colonial officials without any native governmental machinery, as is the case in Aden Colony. The latter indicates the use of existing native institutions and the placing of many of the actual administrative functions in the hands of native governments under the control of British colonial officials.

(see footnote 6 on following page)

648 [6] S. R. & O., 1937, pp. 750 - 57, as amended. A protectorate, even one very closely resembling a colony, is not part of the national territory of the protecting state, but remains legally a foreign country. The natives of the protectorate are not British subjects, but subjects of the local ruler. They do not owe allegiance but only a limited "obedieade" to the British Crown; see King v. The Earl of Crewe, ex parte Sekgome, Law Reports, King's Bench Division, 1910, vol. 2, pp. 619-20. The right of the Crown to exercise legislative and administrative functions in such areas is based, aside from treaties with the local rulers, upon the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890 (53 & 54 Victoria c. 37, as amended). See in general W. E. Hall, A Treatise on the Foreign Powers and Jurisdiction of the British Crown (Oxford, 1894).

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tion enacted for the Colony. Such legislation, however, applies only to persons who are not natives of the Protectorate. This point is of considerable practical importance. For example, the mining legislation for the Colony of Aden, which was extended to the Protectorate by the Governor in 1937, would apply to all foreign, including British, companies, but not to a native unless it had been made a part of the local legislation in the individual state in question. The situation with regard to the judicial organization is similar in that the Supreme Court and the inferior courts of the Colony have jurisdiction in all matters arising in the Protectorate in which any person who is not a native is concerned.

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The relations of the British with the various native states in the Aden Protectorate are based on treaties concluded with the sultans and sheikhs in the course of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.[7] Treaty relations with neighboring sheikhs were established soon after the occupation of Aden in order to make the waters and roads around the port safe for peaceful traffic. Gradually British influence in the Aden hinterland was extended until in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth protectorate treaties were concluded with most of the more important local rulers. The important features of these agreements are the extension of British protection to the native state in question, and the promise of the local ruler not to enter into relations with any foreign government without British consent, or to dispose of any part of his territory in favor of a power other than Great Britain. Most of the sultans and sheikhs were granted stipends by the British; in case of noncompliance with the treaty provisions, discontinuance of the stipend was used as a weapon to force the rebellious sheikh into line.

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The protectorates thus established restrict the sovereignty of the local rulers to a very considerable degree. As far as international relations (including those with their immediate neighbors) are concerned, they are wholly unable to pursue an independent course. In internal affairs there exists a somewhat larger degree of autonomy, but British over-all control extends, in most cases,

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[7] The various treaties and agreements between Great Britain and the various rulers in the Arabian Peninsula are collected in India, Foreign and Political Department: *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, edited by C. U. Aitchison (Delhi, 1933), vol. 11. [Hereafter quoted as Aitchison.]

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648 to all fields of administration, as far as such exists at all in the
643 individual states.

648 Treaties of the above type were concluded with rulers in the Eastern as well as the Western Protectorate. The relationship between the British and the important sultans in the so-called Hadramaut in the Eastern Protectorate was modified, however, in the nineteen-thirties. On August 13, 1937, an agreement was concluded between the British Government and the Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla in which the former agreed to provide a Resident Adviser for the sultanate. This was followed in February 1939 by a similar agreement with the Sultan of Seyun, who had not been previously in direct treaty relations with the British.[8] In these treaties the native rulers agreed to take the advice of the Resident Adviser in all matters except those concerning Moslem religion and custom. These treaties did not abrogate earlier agreements, such as the protectorate treaty with the Sultan of Mukalla of 1890, but were supplementary to them. They follow closely the pattern of the treaties concluded by Great Britain with the Unfederated Malay States, and it is apparently the aim of the British Government to develop the administration of the Hadramaut states along the lines followed before World War II in Malaya, with which the sultanates of the Hadramaut have close cultural ties.[9] In 1939, again following the Malayan precedent, a State Council was set up in Mukalla. It is presided over by the Sultan and consists of the Resident Adviser, the State Secretary, and two nominated Arab members. The Council acts as the Sultan's cabinet.

The main task of the Resident Adviser of the Hadramaut is to organize a modern administration. In response to native apprehensions, Harold Ingrams, the first to hold this post, stressed that this did not mean direct British administration but that on the contrary local inhabitants were to be employed as far as possible. Owing to the small number of trained native officials, how-

[8] Seyun had an agreement with Mukalla, concluded in 1918, in which it was stated that the Hadramaut "being an appanage of the British Empire," should be one province. The Agreement was renewed in a revised form in 1939.

[9] For the contents and scope of these agreements, see Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, 1942), pp. 316-17, 338-40, 347-49. Harold Ingrams, the first Resident Adviser to the Hadramaut states, studied the Malayan system during a visit there in 1939.

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ever, the administrative services are to a considerable extent staffed with British experts. The administrative machinery set up under these agreements has thus served to increase Great Britain's control of the internal as well as external affairs of the two most important states in the Hadramaut. Even if the actual administrative processes should be handled by natives to a larger extent than has been the case so far, British control would not be diminished, for the Resident Adviser can always prevent the conduct of affairs along lines of which the British Government does not approve. 648

The administration of the Aden Protectorate thus follows a pattern which lies between that of Malaya and that found in most of the British protectorates in Africa. In line with the latter was the Order in Council of 1937, which stressed the basic right of the Crown to legislate for the territory. At the same time, the administration of the Aden Protectorate follows more strictly the lines of indirect rule than in most of Africa,[10] and the rights reserved to the sultans and sheikhs of the Aden Protectorate are more extensive than those of their African counterparts. The British have also refrained from establishing by general ordinance the rights and duties of native authorities and native courts, and from giving the Governor the right to constitute and abolish them. Constitutionally speaking, it would thus appear that the internal sovereign rights left to the Protectorate rulers are not regarded as derived from British authority but as inherent in the ruling chief.[11] 643

In this connection it should also be mentioned that a decision of the High Court of Bombay in 1897 accorded the Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla immunity from jurisdiction, thereby putting him into the same category as the Indian and Malay rulers.[12] The chiefs of the African protectorates, on the other hand, are not granted immunity and may be sued in British courts like any private individual.[13] The problem of immunity of the local rulers is of increasing practical importance at a time when the economic

[10] Zanzibar is an exception in some respects.

[11] A similar construction is put by the Colonial Office upon the sovereign rights of the Indian princes. See Southam v. Southam and the Gaekwar of Baroda, *Law Reports*, 1912, p. 92.

[12] Chunder Lal Kuchalji v. Aoud bin Umar, Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla. *Indian Law Reports*, Bombay Series, 1897, p. 351.

[13] Tabubali Khamis v. Kazakova, *Law Reports, Appeal Cases*, 1931, pp. 784-98.

643 and political isolation of the countries of the Arabian Peninsula is slipping away. The granting of immunity from jurisdiction means that the respective rulers are regarded as sovereigns and, as a basic rule, cannot be sued in foreign courts. In British cases dealing with Indian and Malay rulers, the executive departments of the British Government have invariably stressed the attributes of sovereignty still residing in the local rulers which, in their opinion, exempted them from the jurisdiction of the courts. [14] In recent years the courts have on at least two occasions ruled against this principle by denying immunity to Indian rajahs in cases involving tax matters. [15] It is too early to say, however, whether this indicates a general trend or whether the change in
H attitude was based upon the special circumstances of the cases.

648 Britain has concluded treaties with only the more important
643 chiefs of the Protectorate. Thus, while it is probable that British courts would treat at least the rulers of the well-organized states of the Hadramaut as sovereign chiefs in the Indian sense and grant them immunity, it is doubtful whether small chiefs with whom no treaty relations exist would be accorded a like status.

## THE PERSIAN GULF STATES

ME Concurrently with the establishment of their paramount posi-
648 tion in the Aden hinterland, and for much the same reasons, the British endeavored to consolidate their influence in Oman and along the western shore of the Persian Gulf. The early nineteenth century treaties which Britain concluded with the various rulers of the Persian Gulf coast dealt mainly with piracy, arms traffic, and general problems of maritime security in the Gulf. These treaty relations were gradually expanded until, with the exception of Muscat, Great Britain obtained full control over the foreign relations of the Gulf states. The large oil resources discovered in the area have given a vastly increased value to its position in this regard.

14 One of the leading cases is Duff-Development Company v. Government of Kelantan, Law Reports, Appeal Cases, p. 97. For a more recent Indian case, see Gaekwar of Baroda State Railways v. Hafiz Habib-ul-Haq and others, Indian Appeals, 1937-38, vol. 65, p. 182.

(See footnote 15 on the following page)

A The city of Aden together with the peninsula of Little Aden, the territory of Sheikh Othman, and the Island of
101 Perim thus form a Crown Colony under direct British rule. (5)

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5. The British distinguish between two basic types of colonial administration: direct rule and indirect rule. The former means that the area is administered directly by British colonial officials without any native governmental machinery as is the case in Aden Colony. In the latter case use is made of existing native institutions and many of the actual administrative functions are in the hands of native governments under the control of British colonial officials.

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The islands of Kuria Muria, and Kamaran are also British possessions administered under the control of the Governor of Aden.

This means that no native government whatsoever functions in the area. As a colony, Aden is part of the British national territory and its inhabitants are British subjects. In spite of the transfer of administrative control over Aden to the Colonial Office, the ties with India have not been completely broken. A large amount of British
A Indian legislation, which had been made applicable to Aden, con-
692 tinues in force. The judicial organization, moreover, is still closely
671 linked with India since appeals from the Aden Supreme Court lie in the High Court in Bombay. In dealing with any legal case centered in Aden, British Indian substantive and procedural laws have, therefore, to be taken into account.

H 2. The Aden Protectorate. The present organization of the Pro-
642 tectorate is based upon the Aden Protectorate Order in Council of
648 18 March 1937. (6) Under it the Governor of the Colony is at the

6. S. R. & O. 1937, pp. 750-57; amended 10 July 1940, S. R. & O. 1940, pp. 397-98.

same time Governor of the Protectorate. (7) The functions exercised

H 7. A protectorate, even one very closely resembling a
600 colony, is not part of the national territory of the protecting state but

remains legally a foreign country. The natives of 000
a protectorate are not British subjects but remain subjects of the local ruler. They do not owe allegiance but only a limited "obedience" to the British Crown; cf. King v. The Earl of Crewe, ex parte Sekgome, Law Reports, King's Bench Division, 1910. v. 2, pp. 619-20. The right of the Crown to exercise legislative and administrative functions in such areas is based, besides treaties with the local governments, upon the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890 (53 & 54 Victoria c. 37, as amended). This act which consolidated earlier legislation, entitles the Crown "to hold, exercise and enjoy any jurisdiction which Her Majesty now has or may at any time hereafter have within a foreign country in the same and as ample amanner as if Her Majesty had acquired that jurisdiction by the cession or conquest of territory.

in the Colony by the Civil Secretary are here exercised by the 642
Political Secretary. The Protectorate is divided into two parts; 648
the Eastern Protectorate and the Western Protectorate. In contrast with the Colony, the native governmental institutions were left intact and the area is administered according to the principles of indirect rule. The Crown has reserved the right to make laws for peace, good order, and government of the Protectorate. The Governor may enact certain rules and orders and may especially extend to the Protectorate legislation enacted for the Colony. Such legislation, however, applies only to persons who are not natives of the Protectorate. This is of considerable practical importance. To take an example, the mining legislation for the Colony of Aden was extended to the Protectorate by the Governor in 1937. It would apply to an American or British company concerned with mining operations in the Protectorate. In order to be applicable to a native, it would have to be made part of the local native legislation in the individual states. The Supreme 642
Court and the inferior courts of the Colony have jurisdiction in all matters arising in the Protectorate in which any person who is

642 not a native of the Protectorate is concerned.

648 The relations of the British with the various native states in the Aden Protectorate are based on treaties concluded with the sultans and sheikhs in the course of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Treaty relations with neighboring sheikhs were established by the British soon after the occupation of Aden in order to make the waters and roads around the port safe for peaceful traffic. Gradually British influence in the Aden hinterland was increased and, in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, protectorate treaties were concluded with most of the more important local rulers. Specimen of the main types of these treaties are given in Appendix I. A list of the states indicating their treaty relations is contained in Appendix II. The older treaties follow specimen A (or $A_1$), the later ones mostly follow specimen B (or $B_1$). The most important features of these agreements are the extension of British protection to the native state in question and the promise of the local ruler not to enter into relations with any foreign government without British consent, or to dispose of any part of his territory in favor of a power other than Great
622 Britain. Most of the sultans and sheikhs were granted stipends by
648 the British; in case of non-compliance with the treaty provision,
622 discontinuance of the stipend was used as a weapon to force the rebellious sheikh into line. The protectorates thus established restrict the sovereignty of the local ruler to a very considerable degree. As far as international relations (including those with his immediate neighbors)are concerned, he is wholly unable to pursue an independent course. In internal affairs there exists a somewhat larger degree of autonomy, but British over-all control extends, in most cases, more or less to all fields of administration as far as a regular administration exists at all in the given individual state.

648 Treaties of the above type were concluded with rulers in the Western as well as the Eastern Protectorate. The relationship between the British and the important sultans in the so-called Hadramaut in the Eastern Protectorate was modified, however, in the late thirties. On 13 August 1937 an agreement was concluded between the British Government and the Qu'ayti Sultan of Shihr and Makalla in which the former agreed to provide a Resident Adviser for the sultanate

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This was followed by a similar agreement with the Kathiri Sultan of Seyun in February 1939. The latter ruler had not been previously in direct treaty relations with the British. (8) In these treaties the

8. Seyun had an agreement with Makulla, concluded in 1918, in which it was stated that the Hadramaut should be one province "being an appanage of the British Empire." The agreement was renewed in an altered form in 1939.

native rulers agreed to take the advice of the Resident Adviser in all matters except those concerning Moslem religion and custom. These treaties did not abrogate earlier agreements, such as the protectorate treaty with the Sultan of Mukalla of 1890, but were supplementary to them. (9) They follow closely the pattern of the

9. For the contents and scope of these agreements of Harold Ingrams, Arabia and the Isles, London 1942, pp. 316-17, 338-40, 347-49.

of the treaties concluded by Great Britain with the Unfederated Malay States, and it is apparently the aim of the British Government to build up the administration of the Hadramaut states along the lines followed in Malaya. (10) It is not surprising that the

10. The postion of these states is discussed by Keith, op. cit., pp. 508-12. They are termed protected states in order to distinguish them from the so-called colonial protectorates which in status are hardly differentiated from colonies; of. Keith, op. cit., pp. 497-507. Harold Ingrams, who was the first Resident Adviser to the Hadramaut states, studied the Malayan system during a visit there in 1939.

Malayan model is followed in the Hadramaut since these sultanates have close cultural ties with Malaya. The main task of the

648 Resident Adviser was to organize a modern administration. This did not mean, as was stressed by Ingrams, the first Resident Adviser, that direct British administration was to be set up. Quite to the contrary, local inhabitants should be used as far as possible. (11) Due to the

11. There was some apprehension in Mukalla that the appointment of a Resident Adviser would mean direct British rule. This is shown by the proclamation of the Sultan of 22 October 1937 in which he took occasion to deny rumors that Britain had taken over his country; of. Oriente Moderno, 18 (1938) p. 42.

small number of trained native officials, however, the administration services are to a considerable extent staffed with British experts. (12)

12. More use could be made of native officials in Mukalla than in Seyun. E.g. the treasurer of Mukalla is an Arab, whereas a British official, the so-called Financial Officer, is in charge of financial affairs in Seyun; of. Ingrams, op. cit., pp. 338-39.

645 In 1939, again following the Malayan precedent, a State Council was
648 set up in Mukalla. It is presided over by the Sultan and consists of the Resident Adviser, the State Secretary, and two nominated Arabian
648 members. (13) The council acts as the Sultan's cabinet. These

13. Ingrams, ibid., p. 349.

agreements have thus served to increase Great Britain's control of the internal as well as external affairs of the two most important states in the Hadramaut. Even if the actual administrative machinery should be handled by natives to a larger extent than is now the case, the Resident Adviser could always prevent the conduct of affairs along lines of which the British government does not approve. Besides his functions described above the Resident Adviser is in charge of British relations with all states in the Eastern Protectorate under the control of the Governor.

The administration of the Aden Protectorate as a whole

648 follows a pattern which lies somewhere between that used in most of the African Protectorates and the one worked out in Malaya. Unlike Malaya, however, an Order in Council was enacted for the Protectorate stressing the right of the Crown to legislate for the territory. On the other hand, the Aden Protectorate Order in Council is more limited in scope than are those enacted for most of the colonial protectorates in Africa in that British jurisdiction is restricted to non-natives. (14) The difference in status of the states in the Aden

14. A similar restriction is contained, however, in the Zanzibar Order in Council of 1924 as amended; cf. The Laws of the Zanzibar Protectorate, rev. ed., 1934, vol. 4, pp. 115-129.

Protectorate, as compared with the tribal states of tropical Africa, is of practical importance. Whereas the chiefs in the African colonial protectorates may be sued in British courts like private individuals, 648 (15) rulers of the countries in the Aden Protectorate are regarded

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15. This is apparent from Tshokedi Khama v. Ratshosa, Law Reports, Appeal Cases, 1931, pp. 784-98.

as sovereigns in the sense of international law. Accordingly, they enjoy immunity from the jurisdiction of British courts or any other foreign court. (16) This immunity is absolute with regard to criminal

16. Cf. Chandu Lal v. 'Awad bin 'Umar, Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series, 1897, p. 351. Because of the close association with India of some of the Protectorate rulers it may be noted that the legal situation is rather different in the latter case. According to section 86 of the Indian Code of Civil Procedure (Act V of 1908 as amended), permission of the Crown Representative, the Central Government of India, or their delegates, is necessary before a suit against any ruling chief or his representative can be instituted in an Indian court. American courts likewise accord immunity to states which are not fully sovereign; cf. Kawananakoa v. Polyblank, United States Reports, v. 205 (1907), p. 349; Porto Rico v. Rosaly y Castillo, United States Reports,

v. 227 (1913), p. 270.

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jurisdiction and subject only to a few exceptions as far as civil jurisdiction is concerned, (17)

17. These apply primarily to suits concerning real estate possessed by a sovereign as private individual in a foreign country and to the case that the sovereign waives the exemption; cf. in general A. S. Hershey, The Essentials of International Public Law and Organization, New York, 1939, pp. 412-13; also Indian Code of Civil Procedure, article 86.

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It has to be stressed that Great Britain has not concluded treaties with all the chiefs in the Protectorate. Treaty chiefs have to be regarded as sovereign ruling chiefs, to use Indian terminology, technically even though their sovereignty is very restricted. Whether small chiefs with whom no treaty relations exist could be regarded as ruling chiefs entitled to immunity would have to be determined on the merits of the individual case.

In order to appraise correctly the actual position of most of the states in the Protectorate, it must be kept in mind that the governmental organization of most of them is only incompletely developed and that very often the power of the central ruler does not extend very far beyond his capital. The reorganization of the governmental organization along modern lines, which was inaugurated in the two Hadramaut states, will probably lead to an ever closer approximation of the status of these countries to that of the Malay states.

D. The Persian Gulf States

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1. General. The British position along the Gulf of Oman and on the western shore of the Persian Gulf was secured in the course of the nineteenth century. It was established primarily as a safeguard of the important route to India. Though strategic considerations are still paramount, the large oil reserves discovered in the area have given a vastly increased value to the close British relations with the Persian Gulf states. The legal basis for Great Britain's position is to be found in various treaties which the British concluded

18: U. S. Dept. of State G-4 (no date) ca. 1946 MJ1 Saudi Arabia

Yemen ML-1



2. The Yemen. A treaty between Great Britain and Yemen

648 was concluded on 11 February 1934. (39) Known as Treaty of San'a,

39. Great Britain, Foreign Office, Treaty Series, 1934, no. 34. Cf. Toynbee, op. cit., 1934, pp. 308-10.

it put the relations between Great Britain and the Yemen on a stable basis, especially with regard to frontier questions. Great Britain recognized the Imám as King of Yemen and acknowledged the "complete and absolute independence. . . in all affairs whatsoever." Friendship and peace is to be maintained between the contracting parties. In this instance, too, there are none of the characteristics which would force the Yemen into a position of legal dependence on Great Britain, the treaty presupposing a basis of sovereign equality for this Arabian country.

18: U. S. Dept. of State G-4 (no date) ca. 1946 MJI Saudi Arabia

Hadhramaut
MI42



APPENDIX II.

List of [illegible] Chiefs of the Aden Protectorate

The following gives the names of the more important chiefs and tribal confederations of the Aden Protectorate. Noted under each entry are (a) the type of treaty concluded with the chief of confederation in question; (b) the date when it was concluded; and (c) the date when it was ratified by the Viceroy of India.

1. Western Aden Protectorate

Abdali (Sultan of Lahej)

Treaty of 7 March 1849. In this treaty of Sultan "most solemnly attests the religious sincerity of this agreement and moreover declares that in all things relating to the peace, progress and prosperity of Aden, he will lend his utmost aid to support the interest of the British, and will listen to and, if possible, attend to the advice of the British Government representative in Aden in all matters."

Alawi

Protectorate Treaty of 16 July 1895 (ratified 20 October 1895). specimen A. Agreement of 1914 very similar to Haushabi agreement of same year, not ratified.

Agrabi (independent subdivision of Abdali)

Protectorate treaty, specimen A, concluded 15 July 1888. (ratified 26 February 1890)

Atifi and Barhimi (Subaihi sub-tribes)

Protectorate treaties specimen A concluded in 1889. (ratified 26 February 1890)

Audali

Treaty with Sultan of 19 September 1914 (ratified 10 November 1914), specimen B.

648 Aulaki, Lower

Treaty with Sultans of 2 June 1888 (ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A.

Aulaki, Upper

Treaty with Sheikh Mahsib-Bin-Farid-Bin-Nasar-al-Aulaki of 8 December 1903 (ratified 5 February 1904), specimen B.

Treaty with Sultan Saleh-bin-Abdulla-bin-Abdulla of 18 March 1904 (ratified 23 April 1904), specimen B.

Baihan

Treaty of 27 December 1908 (ratified 24 February 1904). specimen A.

Dhala, Amir of

Treaty of 28 November 1904 (ratified 8 February 1905), specimen B with the following changes and additions:

article 5. No stipend clause.

article 6. Amir undertakes to maintain boundary line established by joint British-Turkish boundary commission and the boundary commission and the boundary pillars.

article 7. Amir undertakes to maintain order within his territory.

article 8. Stipend clause.

article 9. Amir will maintain an armed force of 50 or less, 100 Dollars will be paid as long as this force is maintained in a state of efficiency.

article 10. -article 6 of Specimen B.

Fadhli

648 Protectorate treaty, specimen A, concluded 4 August 1888 (ratified 26 February 1890).

Haushabi

The Sultan had been forced, by the Abdalis, to flee during disturbances. After being allowed to return he signed an agreement with the Sultan of Lahej on 6 August 1895 in which he acknowledges the suzerainity of the latter.

Protectorate Treaty of 6 August 1895 (ratified 20 October 1895; consented to by Sultan of Lahej), specimen A. Supplemented by agreement of 24 September 1914 (renewed 11 February 1920). Similar to specimen B with special clauses.

Qutaibi

Agreement of 1915 similar to agreement with Haushabi of 1914, not ratified.

Subaihi

Treaty of 5 May 1881, placing Subaihi under Abdali control,

Article 2. "No treaty or agreement of any kind is to be entered into with any other State for the sale, mortgage, lease or hire or gift of any portion of the territory now or hereafter subject to the authority of the Sultan of the Abdali without the consent of the British Government."

The general control of the Sultan of Lahej over Subaihi was reiterated by a treaty of 27 February 1919.

Yafii, Lower

Protectorate Treaty of 1 August 1895 (ratified 28 October 1895), specimen A.

18: U. S. Dept. of State G-4 (no date) ca. 1946 MJI Saudi Arabia

Hadhramaut MN2



648 Upper Yafii Confederacy

Dhubi Agreement of 11 May 1903 (ratified 26 October 1903), Specimen B.

Hadhrami Section Treaty of 26 September 1903 (ratified 31 December 1903), specimen B.

Maflahi (Muflahai) Treaty of 27 August 1903 (ratified 26 October 1903), specimen B.

Mgusatta Treaty of 3 July 1903 (ratified 26 October 1903). specimen B (I).

Sultan Kathan-Bin-Omer Har-Hara of Yafai-as-Sufal Treaty of 21 October 1903 (ratified 31 December 1903), specimen B.

Shaibi Tribe of Yafai-as-Sufal Treaty of 5 December 1903 (ratified 5 February 1904), specimen B.

2. Eastern Aden Protectorate.

Balihaf

Protectorate Treaty of 30 April 1883 (ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A (I). Renegotiated on occasion of increase of stipend 15 March 1895 (ratified 10 June 1895), specimen A.

Bir Ali

Protectorate Treaty of 28 April 1888 (ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A (I). Additional treaty 1 June 1896 (ratified 29 July 1896). specimen A.

Haura Lower

Protectorate Treaty of 28 April 1888 (ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A (I). Revised on occasion of increase of stipend on 7 April 1902 (ratified 13 June 1902). Specimen A.

6-18 irka

Protectorate Treaty of 27 April 1888 (ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A (I). On occasion of increase of stipend new treaty was concluded on 7 January 1902 (ratified 27 March 1902). specimen A.

Kathiri

Agreement between the Kathiri and Qu'ayti Sultans of 1918 (27 Shaaban 1336) recognized that Hadramaut should be "one province being an appanage of the British Empire." In February 1939 Kathiri Sultan became direct treaty chief concluding an agreement very similar to that concluded by Mukalla in 1937. In the same month the old Kathiri-Qu'ayti agreement was reconstituted.

Mukalla

Protectorate treaty 1 May 1888 ( ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A (I). New treaty concluded 13 August 1937 along lines of treaties with Malayan rulers. The British Government agreed to furnish adviser whose advice Sultan will take except in matters concerning Moslem religion and custom. The treaty also regulates the succession in the state of Mukalla.

Qishn

Protectorate treaty with Mahri tribe of 2 May 1888 (ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A (I).

Socotra

Protectorate Treaty of 23 April 1886 (ratified 23 June 1886), specimen A (I). A promise not to cede any territory is contained in an agreement of 23 January 1876 (ratified 1 March 1876).

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



*Liaison*

In the first half of 1947 the post of Protectorate Education Officer was filled, a post which had been vacant for a year. This Officer's duties include tours of inspection throughout the Protectorate, and advice and assistance, through the British Agents, where required. 647

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate advance was somewhat hampered by the absence of the Sudani Adviser for the greater part of the year on leave. However, estimates for grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act were prepared and despatched; these include schemes for enlarging the Intermediate School at Gheil Ba Wazir and for primary schools for the Kathiri State and Wahidi area. A number of scholarships for Hadhramis were given by the Governments of Syria, Egypt and Iraq. 658 648

## HEALTH

*Medical Report for the Western Aden Protectorate*

His Majesty's Government finance a small medical service in the Western Aden Protectorate. The area covered is large, communications are poor and access to many parts is difficult. In consequence only a small proportion of the population, who are in great need of health services, can be visited and treated. Nevertheless, 16 dispensaries are maintained at strategic points in the Protectorate. New dressers are given instruction in hygiene and elementary medicine and nursing care, and are then sent out to open up new areas or to work with more senior dressers in the established dispensaries. They have to deal with diseases common to all races. Certain tropical diseases such as schistosomiasis and dysentery are very prevalent. 743 759 164

Drought and the vagaries of the climate also play their part in undermining the health of the inhabitants. The third year of drought in Sublihi country undoubtedly had an effect on the prevalence of tuberculosis, dental caries and vitamin deficiency diseases in that area. 731

Apart from the dispensaries in the Protectorate, the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital in Sheik Othman which trains the dispensers also welcomes up-country patients. More would come than do at present if ignorance and superstition did not prevail in the Protectorate. Again, for many the road to the hospital is physically difficult and it is certain that they come only as a last resort and after long deliberation. In consequence doctors do all they can to visit the dispensaries as frequently as possible and to spend adequate time at each one to treat the sick, and to give instructions to dressers to keep them up to date. 743

*Famine Relief*

During 1947 the situation in the Hadhramaut continued to improve. At the beginning of the year there were 1,112 persons being fed in the kitchens, which were closed by the end of March, leaving only Malja—a relief centre for those incapable of work—whose 716 inmates in March were gradually reduced to 227 in December. Nuqra dam, the major famine relief work undertaken, was finished in June. Remittances 735 [312] 006

8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), 133
with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably 361
Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting 631
of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been [648]
for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., [643]
Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it 175
came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. 438
The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 161
100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is 133
mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital 361
is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a 648
small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be 619
recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete 621
control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them

Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
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## *ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

There was a general improvement in security and in political matters during the year, but the economic situation remained at a low ebb owing especially to a poor rainfall in most areas. 000

It was found necessary to occupy Shaibi territory by force in order to put an end to the extremely oppressive rule of the Saqladi Sheikh. The Sheikh fled to the Yemen and the new administration introduced by Government was welcomed by all sections of the population. The area which is at a high attitude should prosper. 721 622

The Abyan Development Scheme in Fadhli and Lower Yafai territories made good progress, but relations between Government and the Lower Yafai Sultan continued to be unsatisfactory. 631

The administration of Subeihi territory was transferred for an experimental period to the Abdali Sultan.

Slow progress was made in the new Dhala (Amiri) administration, but a second season of drought hampered progress. Advances of grain to the value of some £15,000 were made to farmers in the area to prevent a complete economic collapse. [654]

Revenues in the Fadhli and Dathina areas fell as a result of poor harvests.

The Beihan administration made good progress but received a setback towards the end of the year owing to the failure of the autumn harvest and later to frost damage on the well irrigated wheat and barley crops.

There were no trade route incidents during the year.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

The Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary dispute was settled by the arbitration of the Resident Adviser, which both Sultans had agreed to accept as finally binding. When the time came to execute his decisions, the Qu'aiti Sultan showed considerable reluctance to surrender Sah and the Kathiri to surrender forts round Tarim. 648

Local political parties tended to lose their sting during the year. The Qu'aiti National Party became seriously involved in the question of the surrender of Sah (see above) and also supported, through its representatives within Mukalla Government, the claims of the Tamimi tribe to watch date palms. 665

Heavy raiding by Saudi tribes in the spring led to a meeting between 721 648

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut NM2



721 Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al Abr. Proposals were made and
643 agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

648 In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil
619 and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

578 In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led
721 to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had
619 refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Mansab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

000 The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring.
[648] Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

## Chapter 2: Population

162 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

## Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a
467 boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



131 tanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khail (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the status quo as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

### CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadhramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol", extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultivation is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and
361 cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

## Chapter 12: Administration

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6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate. 631 648 643

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The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. 645

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government. 619 701 625 624

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts: 631 361

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej. [643]

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Musaimir.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



712 *Northern Area.* In 1950 the desert posts were completed at Minwakh, Zimakh and Al Hajr, thus linking up the northern fort system with Al Abr and Asakir, and controlling all the important water points in the area. Since the establishment of these forts there has been no raiding at all in this area, or by tribes of this area upon other tribes.

631 *Eastern Areas.* After the settlement with the Menahil in 1948 this area remained quiet, and the Mukalla Regular Army fort at Som is now accepted by the tribes of the area. Recently the Naib of Shibam met the Muqaddam of the Menahil at Elinat. This went far to heal the breach between them and Government dating from 1947 when the tribe rose and attacked Government posts.

648 *Mahra—Socotra.* The Resident Adviser paid two visits to Socotra during 1949-50, one by sea and the other by air. Among subjects discussed with the Sultan were reports of famine conditions on the Island. The Resident Adviser strongly urged the Sultan to spend more time on the mainland, and agreed to arrange a meeting later in 1951 between the Qu'aiti and the Mahra to settle a frontier dispute at Museina. The Fisheries Officer visited the Mahra coast to study fishing conditions there.

*General*

731 As a result of the famine in 1949, there has been a notable decrease in the numbers of camels and goats, and as a result of delayed rains in Socotra the people there have suffered a similar loss. However, 1950 was a good year for the beduin, and more young camels are to be seen load-carrying now.

691 One of the chief complaints by the Bedu has been the delay caused by magistrates when judging Bedu cases. This matter has been investigated and is being put right.

664 619 Very recently a number of chiefs from the western tribes held a meeting and put in a joint petition to Government. The three points of the petition were (*a*) a complaint against the arms-carrying ban in Wadi Du'an ; (*b*) a complaint against truck owners carrying loads which are forbidden by Government's agreement with the Bedu ; and (*c*) a request for some of their old customs to be recognised. But so firmly is the peace now established that troublesome elements who attempted to support these demands by force were overruled by the majority. The Government is taking suitable action in this matter.

648 On 25th August, 1949, Colonel J. E. H. Boustead, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., assumed the appointment of British Agent, Eastern Aden Protectorate, and Resident Adviser to the Hadhramaut States and to the Wahidi State of Balhaf.

000 A table of Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes is given on p. 6.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2



### CLIMATE

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## Chapter 12: Administration

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622

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

[643] ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the western area. *Capital:* Lahej.

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital:* Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital:* Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital:* Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital:* Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION: Sultan Muhammad bin Salih, *Capital:* Mahjaba.

MAUSATTA: Sheikh Ahmed Bubaker Ali Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Musin Askar. *Capital:* Al Qudma.

DHUBI: Sheikh Abdulrahman bin Salih (under age). Regent: Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital:* Dhi Sura.

MAFLAHI: Shiekh Qasim Abdulrahman. *Capital:* Al Jurba.

HADRAMI: Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital:* Ash Shibr.

SHAIB: Sheikh Ahmed Mana As Saqladi. *Capital:* Awabil.

QUTEIBI: Sheik Hasaan Ali. *Capital:* Al. Thumeir.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramout MM2

*ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

642 THE years 1951 and 1952 were marked by (a) Government penetration
648 into the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom (Maan) at the invitation of the Ruler and the subsequent formation of the United Administration of Maan and Khalifa; (b) the conclusion of two Advisory Treaties with the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and Audhali Sultan (May and July, 1952)
647 and a joint Advisory and Protectorate Treaty with His Highness the Sultan of Lahej; (c) the formation of the Fadhli—Lower Yafa' Health Board; and (d) the formation of the Lower Aulaqi Regency Council in Ahwar (August, 1952).

Politically the period under review was one of consolidation and development of the administrations of the various States in the Protectorate.

438 The Abyan Board did well in 1951 when it sold 9,890 bales of cotton for £867,088. In 1952 the rains were not so plentiful with the result that only 6,300 bales were sold for £725,810.

648 Relations with the neighbouring Kingdom of the Yemen remained difficult in spite of the Modus Vivendi Agreement concluded with it in London in January, 1951. Interference in affairs well inside the Protectorate boundary was a cause of friction.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

622 In the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States the main constitutional advance has been in the setting up of town and village councils to deal with local affairs.

659 Of necessity both Administrations have been preoccupied with measures to combat the threat of food shortage which must always be
654 faced in this region of uncertain rainfall. The States and local author-
653 ities have maintained dumps of grain, which are designed to tide over a period of scarcity before imports can arrive from the coast, and a
245 periodical check is made on resources of motor transport to ensure that distribution of supplies is not held up by failure of camel traffic in an emergency. Positive measures have been taken to increase local food supplies. Funds have been allocated for loans to farmers to purchase pumps to increase areas of cultivation. Schemes for the rebuilding of dams and for flood control have been put into effect. Particular attention has been paid to the rehabilitation of date palms.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 7: Social Services

## EDUCATION

### *General*

The Aden Protectorate is divided administratively into two parts, Eastern and Western, with a British Agent for each at Mukalla and Aden respectively. Education, which is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents, has thus two distinct divisions. The Aden Colony Department of Education gives advice and assistance and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout the whole territory. A full-time European Education Officer is responsible for this, working under the Director of Education and in consultation with the British Agents. His activities have for some years been devoted mainly to the more backward Western Protectorate. 631 871

The general policy is to build up self-supporting State departments of education, which may control a system of full primary schools of equal standard to those in the Colony. Post-primary education is more directly a concern of Government and the aim is to establish intermediate schools at suitable points in the Protectorate. It is intended that these schools should in most cases serve more than one State and that the States should contribute to their upkeep. Full secondary education is not at present envisaged for the Protectorate, but the intermediate schools will prepare boys for entry to Aden College and the Technical College in the Colony.

Government co-ordinates the courses and syllabus of these schools but, although this has been effected for most of the primary schools, a certain amount of diversity still exists in the intermediate schools. The ages for entry and leaving are in the theory the same as for Colony schools but there is no registration of births and ages are known only approximately.

### *Expenditure on Education*

The Colony Government does not make any contribution towards education in the Protectorate; all expenditure over and above what the States can afford is borne by Her Majesty's Government. 652 [48]

Expenditure on education for the year 1951–52 was in the region of £51,000, divided between the Eastern and Western Protectorate thus:

| | *West* £ | *East* £ | *Total* £ |
|---|---|---|---|
| Expenditure by States | 6,781 | 25,188 | 31,969 |
| Expenditure by Her Majesty's Government | 5,432 | 4,767 | 10,199 |
| Expenditure from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds | 1,094 | 7,122 | 8,216 |
| | £13,307 | £37,077 | £50,384 |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# PART VI

## Chapter 1: Geography and Climate

### GEOGRAPHY

131 The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described
648 administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the Kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

133 The Western Protectorate is divided into the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000—2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt and the intramontane plains and the plateau is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and
361 cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Sai'un, the capital of the Kathiri State.

### CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol", extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here culti- 132
vation is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and 312
courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

## Chapter 2: History

For a time in the eighteenth century, the Western Protectorate formed 175
part of the domain of the Imam of Sana'a in the Yemen and several of the rulers of the tribal districts were the Imam's "wakils" or governors until his power declined and they declared their independence.

After the occupation of Aden by the British in 1839, some of the 648
neighbouring chiefs entered into protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. Others followed suit as time went on, the last to do so being the Audhali Sultan in 1914.

In July, 1915, during the first World War, the Turks, who had conquered the Yemen in the course of the previous century, occupied the Abdali, Haushabi and Amiri districts of the Protectorate until the Armistice of 1918.

In 1934 a Treaty of Friendship was signed between His Majesty's Government and the Kingdom of Yemen. There was an Exchange of Notes in 1950 when it was agreed to establish reciprocal diplomatic missions and to set up a Frontier Commission.

In 1944 and 1945 five Western Aden Protectorate Chiefs (the Fadhli, the Lower Aulaqi and the Lower Yafa'i Sultans, the Sharif of Beihan and the Amir of Dhala) entered into closer relations with His Majesty's Government by new treaties in which they agreed, *inter alia*, to abide by the advice of the Governor of Aden in the improvement of their administrations. Similar treaties were signed by the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and the Audhali Sultan in 1952. In 1952 the newly elected Sultan of Lahej accepted a Political Officer as adviser and signed an advisory treaty.

The most important aspect of recent history in the Eastern Protec- 643
torate has been the decline of the traditional power of the Kathiri Sultans and the rise of the Qu'aiti—a new Yafa'i dynasty which gained 648
power and wealth from military and other services rendered by its members abroad to the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Qu'aiti rulers first entered into a treaty with Her Majesty's Government in 1882. This was strengthened in 1888 by the conclusion of a Protectorate treaty in the common form of the treaties with other Protectorate chiefs. In 1918 the Kathiri Sultan made an agreement with the Qu'aiti Sultan acknowledging this treaty as binding on them also. In 1937 and 1939 respectively the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans signed treaties undertaking to accept the advice of a British Resident Adviser in all matters except those concerning Mohammedan religion and custom. The Wahidi Sultan of Belhaf signed an Advisory Treaty in 1949.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



648 The island of Socotra was occupied by the East India Company in 1834 and came under British protection together with the neighbouring Abd Alkuri and Brothers Islands when the treaty with the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Socotra was concluded in 1866.

## Chapter 3 : Administration

631 The Eastern Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting of the
648 Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Sai'un),
the Mahra Sultanate of the Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates
643 of Belhaf and Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. A British Agent is stationed at Mukalla who advises the Rulers of the Eastern Protectorate on matters of administration.

The interests of the Western Protectorate are looked after similarly by a small cadre of British Political Officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since Her Majesty's
619 Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. The tribes
622 nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over
701 their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been
625 greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards mainly (paid for by Her Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland at fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

631 The Protectorate consists of the following states :
361

WESTERN PROTECTORATE

[643] 'ABDALI : His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin 'Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej until April, 1952, and thereafter His Highness Sultan 'Ali bin 'Abdul Karim, the premier chief of the Western Protectorate. Capital : Lahej.

'AMIRI : Amir Nasir bin Shaif, C.M.G. Capital : Dhala.

FADHLI : Sultan 'Abdullah bin 'Uthman. Capital : Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I : Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. Capital : Al Qara.

HAUSHABI : Sultan Muhammad bin Sarur. Capital : Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I : Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. Capital : Mahjaba.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



[622] 619 leader, though at ordinary times he may be little more than a figurehead.

619 The British Government has no troops, in normal times, outside a ten-mile radius from the Aden fortress, and does not interfere in tribal or inter-tribal politics. The different confederations are • 648 under British influence in varying degrees, but though they have entered into certain treaty obligations they preserve their own autonomy. It may be remarked, broadly, that the obligations are observed—when not inconvenient—in inverse ratio to the protected tribe's distance from Aden. None of the confederations renders tribute to the British Government, either in money or men; none has a standing army in the usually-accepted sense, but every adult male is a soldier when occasion requires. Most of the chiefs receive annual stipends from the British Government, and the following are entitled to salutes: the 'Abdāli, the Fadhli, the Ka'aiti (Hadhramaut), and the Amīri, as well as the Sultans of Qishn and Socotra. It should be added that the individual attitude of some of the confederations towards the British has been temporarily disturbed by recent events.

## Recent History and Present Politics

175 After being in various hands, Aden was definitely captured by the British from the Sultan of the 'Abdāli in January 1839. The 648 Sultan fled to Lahej. From the very first it was evident that the occupation of the town would be of little use unless a good understanding were arrived at with the neighbouring tribes, in whose hands lay the power of interfering with the land-borne trade and the supplies on which, in those early days, the place was so largely dependent. Treaties were therefore concluded successively with the Azzeibi (a branch of the 'Abdāli), the 'Aqrabi, Subeihi, Fadhli, Yāfa', Amīri, and other tribes; but, in spite of treaties, the first years of occupation show a turbulent record with a good deal of fighting. Four unsuccessful attempts to retake Aden by the 'Abdāl, in conjunction with the Fadhli, were made between the years 1839 and 1846; but, since the latter date, only offensive military operations of a minor character have occasionally been necessary against individual offending tribes.

Relations with Turkey, our most powerful neighbour, have been more troublesome. Having relinquished the Yemen for a long period, the Turks found their opportunity to intervene once more, after the evacuation of the district by the Egyptians in 1840. In 1849 a Turkish expedition from Jiddah captured the port of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



Hodeidah and obtained possession of the Tihāmah; and during the succeeding years the Turks gradually extended their conquests inland from the coast, until, in 1873, they had reached the limits of the tribes under British influence. Thenceforward, aided by intrigue on the part of disaffected tribes or tribal sections, and taking advantage of intertribal feuds, they began to make encroachments, often temporarily successful, on Aden territory, particularly on that occupied by the 'Abdāli, Haushabi, and Amīri confederations. In 1873 occurred the Turkish occupation of Dhāla, the stronghold of the Amīri, which was continued in a greater or less degree until 1903; and in the earlier year the Turks even occupied for a time the fortified house of the 'Abdāli Sultan at Lahej. Though Turkish aggression subsequently made itself felt to some extent all along the Aden–Yemen frontier, it has always been particularly active in the Amīri and Haushabi country. In 1900 trouble occurred between the Turkish tribe of Humar and the Haushabi. The representative of Turkish authority, Mohammed Nāsir Muqbil, an Arab of Humar origin, came to an understanding with the 'Abdāli Sultan and erected a tower at Kafūf, about two miles north-west of Darajah, well within Haushabi limits, from which he and his Humar following were able to cause considerable annoyance to the Haushabi. Representations to the Turkish authority having failed to obtain more than promises of evacuation, a British force was dispatched to help the Haushabi in ejecting them. In the meanwhile Nāsir, by representing to the Turkish authorities at Ta'izz that the British force intended to commit wanton aggression on Turkish territory, induced them to dispatch a force of 400 men, who proceeded to Kafūf and occupied the tower. The Humar, who held the heights of Darajah, were, however, put to flight and the Turks evacuated the place.

As a consequence of this incident, the Porte, which had previously rejected offers of demarcation of the frontier, itself proposed it. The offer was accepted and British and Turkish Commissioners met at Dhāla in January 1902. Negotiations proceeded slowly owing to obstruction by the Turks and to the fact that they persisted in occupying Jalīlah within the Aden border. Eventually it was found necessary to exert pressure. A strong British supporting column was dispatched to Dhāla, and, after some time, the Turks withdrew to Qa'tabah and the work of delimitation proceeded. It was completed in May 1904, and since that date until the present war our relations with the Turks in this region have not been unfriendly.

On the outbreak of war with Turkey, on October 31st, 1914, reports indicated that the Turks were in some strength in the Sheikh

30: Gt. Britain G-3 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut 14N2



175 Sa'īd Peninsula and that they were preparing to dispatch troops to
•648 act against the Aden Protectorate. Consequently early in November three Indian infantry battalions, then on the voyage to Suez, were ordered to capture Sheikh Sa'īd and destroy the Turkish works, armaments, and wells at that place. On November 10th the transports conveying the force arrived off the coast of the Sheikh Sa'īd Peninsula; but adverse weather conditions prevented a landing at the point first selected. Covered by the fire of naval guns, a landing was effected elsewhere, all opposition encountered was overcome, and the enemy was driven inland, abandoning his field guns. On November 11th Turbah Fort and other Turkish works in the neighbourhood were destroyed by the troops with the assistance of a naval demolition party.

For some time after these operations the Turks showed no signs of advancing with a view to attacking Aden; but their presence on the northern boundary of the Protectorate rendered it desirable to strengthen the garrison at Aden. Sheikh Sa'īd was again occupied by them, and on the night of June 14th–15th, 1915, they endeavoured to effect a landing on the north coast of Perim; but this attack was successfully driven off by the garrison of the island. During the latter half of that month reports indicated a possible Turkish advance on Lahej from Māwiyah. On definite information being received that such an advance was about to be made, the Aden movable column was ordered to move out to Sheikh 'Othmān on the evening of July 3rd. Early the following morning the advance was continued to Lahej, to which place the Aden troops had previously been dispatched. The intense heat, sand, and shortage of water rendered the march and the subsequent operations most trying, but, in spite of these hindrances, the advance guard reached their objective and engaged the Turks just beyond Lahej on the evening of July 4th. But the desertion of the hired camels and the severe climatic conditions so delayed and distressed the main body as to necessitate, on July 5th, a withdrawal from Lahej to Khōr Maksar. After the withdrawal the Turks occupied Sheikh 'Othmān, and it was decided to increase temporarily the Aden garrison.

On July 20th, after reinforcements had been received, the Aden troops with two batteries of artillery moved out of the town to attack the enemy next morning. The Turks, completely surprised, were expelled from Sheikh 'Othmān with considerable loss, and several hundred prisoners, mostly Arabs, were taken. In August a small column engaged the garrison of the Turkish post of Fiyūsh, eight miles north of Sheikh 'Othmān, and forced the enemy to retire on Lahej; and a few days later another successful reconnaissance

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



was made towards Waht. On the receipt of reports in September that the Turks were preparing to retire from Lahej, a column surprised the enemy, estimated at 700 Turks with eight guns and 1,000 Arabs, and seized and occupied Waht. In October and again in December our cavalry had small affairs with hostile reconnoitring parties, in which the latter were driven off with loss; and in December friendly Arabs, supported by a small infantry detachment, drove off a hostile Turkish and Arab force which was advancing on 'Imād.

Owing to the Turks dispatching troops to coerce the tribes in the east of the Aden Protectorate, a demonstration in support of these tribes was made by the Aden movable column on January 12th, 1916, in the direction of Subar. The column located a Turkish force near Subar, about 4 m. SSE. of Lahej, and engaged it, inflicting considerable losses on it. As a result of this action the Turkish pressure on the Arab tribes is reported to have been relieved. Since then there has been little change.

The strength of the principal tribal units and the political attitude of their rulers are described in the sections on the Tribal Confederations (pp. 206 ff.).

## DISTRICTS AND TOWNS

### I. Aden Settlement

The Settlement of Aden comprises the following divisions: (1) the peninsula and isthmus, or Aden proper, which has an area of about 21 square miles and a population, in 1915, of 36,900; (2) Sheikh 'Othmān and the district round, inclusive of the villages of 'Imād and Hiswah, which has an area of 39 square miles and a population of 7,700; (3) Little Aden peninsula, with 15 square miles of area and population 330; and (4) the island of Perim, with 5 square miles of area and population 1,300. The total area of the Settlement is therefore about 80 square miles, with a total population of just over 46,000 souls.

The British territory was at first limited to the peninsula of Aden proper, and extended only to Khōr Maksar creek, which forms the neck of the peninsula two miles north of the defensive works across the isthmus. In 1868 the peninsula of Little Aden, or Jebel Ihsan, was acquired by purchase from the Sultan of the 'Aqrabi. In 1882, owing to the increasing population of Aden town, a further small tract of territory was acquired by purchase, from the Sultan of Lahej, beyond the Khōr Maksar creek, extending to just beyond the small village of 'Imād on the north and just beyond the town

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Distances are reckoned by Khatwah (an hour's march, on the level, over ordinary ground, of about 3½ miles) and by Marhālah (a day's march of from 8 to 9 hours). 804

The measures of capacity are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shatr | = ± | ½ litre. |
| Musra or Mudd | = | 2 Shatr. |
| Rabā'i | = | 1½ Mudd (*plu.* Musra). |
| Sā' | = | 4 Rabā'i. |
| Qahāwil | = | 2 Sā'. |

The Qahāwil is not in use at Makalla and Shiheir, where another measure, the Mikyāl = 8 Qurs or Musra (Mudd).

## Government

The government of the Hadhramaut is in the hands of a number of tribal chiefs. The most powerful clan or tribe, at present, is the *Ka'aiti* (estimated pop. 50,000), a branch of the Yāfa' tribe, whose territory lies farther west. Originally invited by the Seyyids to protect the settled districts from the attacks of marauding tribes, they have established themselves as practically the rulers of the country, and now control the coast district with the ports of Shiheir and Makalla, as well as the towns Hajarein, Haurah, Qatan, and Shibām in the interior. The founder of this family accumulated great wealth and rose to the highest position in the service of the Nizam of Haidarabad, as 'Jemadar', or commander of an Arab levy composed of his tribesmen, numbers of whom still go to the East and elsewhere to seek their fortune. His descendant took the title of Sultan of the Ka'aiti in 1902. The *Kathīri* tribe was formerly the most powerful; they now occupy the greater part of the Central Hadhramaut, Seyyūn, Terīm, and Ghurfah being their chief strongholds. These two tribes are extremely hostile to each other. The paramount chiefs of both have been in political relations with the British Government, through the Resident at Aden, but the Kathīri have less intercourse with us than the Ka'aiti and, of late, have broken off relations. 631 622 619

The Hadhramaut tribal chiefs nominally also recognize the supremacy of the Sublime Porte and profess to be its protégés, but no part of the country has ever been really incorporated in the Ottoman Empire, nor has the Porte ever imposed taxes, sent troops or officials, or exercised any form of sovereignty. In so doing it would doubtless meet with the most obstinate resistance; on the other hand, the Turks have never sought the aid of the Hadhramaut chiefs, though the Imam of Yemen has made overtures to them latterly. 648

43.Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

# 10

# Aden Colony and Protectorate

## GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

Aden Colony and the tribal states comprising the Aden Protectorate have a long and varied history, but they have been under the influence of Great Britain for over a century. The Colony of Aden consists of two small peninsulas, located about 100 miles east of the straits of Bab el Mandeb, the short strip of connecting mainland, Perim Island at the entrance to the Red Sea, and the small offshore islands of Kuria Muria to the east. It became a British dependency in 1839, but remained under the jurisdiction of India until constituted a Crown Colony in 1937. Exclusive of the islands, the Colony has an area of about 75 square miles, 21 square miles of which comprise the peninsula of Aden proper. The historic settlement is located on a rocky promontory, 5 to 6 miles in width and 2 to 4 miles in length, which is connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus. It is an

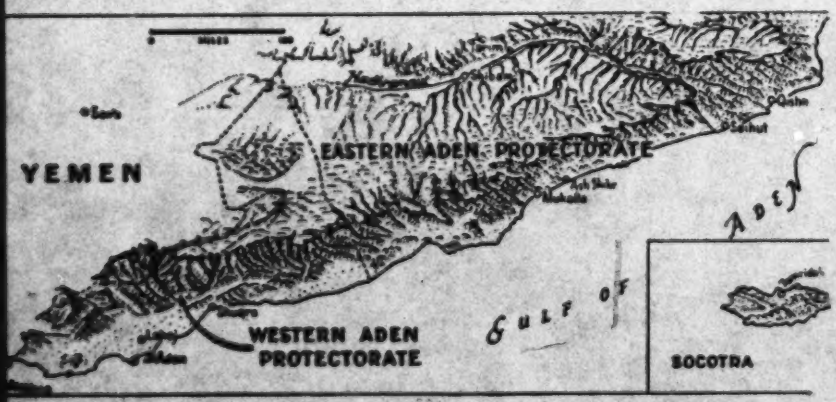
N A 148

A 181 148

A 131

A 133

N A [102]




p. 235(A)

A 183 extinct volcano with a broad crater which is surrounded on three sides by peaks rising to over 1,800 feet, while the fourth side slopes gradually to the sea. Kamaran Island, important as an international quarantine station until 1951, is administered independently under the Colony.

N 131 The Aden Protectorate has an approximate area of 112,000 square miles, with a coastline of about 740 miles, extending from Ras Murad, at the entrance to the Red Sea, to Ras Dhurbat 'Ali, which marks the frontier with Muscat and Oman. It is bounded on the northwest by the Kingdom of the Yemen, on the east by the Dhufar country under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Muscat, on the north by the desert of Rub' al Khali, the so-called "Empty Quarter" of Arabia, and on the south by the Gulf of Aden. The Protectorate is a composite of independent sultanates and tribal confederations, the rulers and the chiefs of which

H 642 648

p. 235(B)

N 642 648 [635] are bound by protective treaties with Great Britain. Administratively, it is divided into two areas, the Western Aden Protectorate, covering roughly 45,000 square miles in the southwestern highlands, and the Eastern Aden Protectorate, which incorporates the remaining territory and the island of Socotra, about 150 miles from Cape Guardafui, the easternmost point in Africa.

N 133 The geography of the region is characterized by mountains and high plateaus which slope to a sandy plain along the coast and are intersected by deep and often fertile valleys. The topography of Western Aden Protectorate is particularly rugged. Four zones are differentiated: the littoral; the coastal hills reaching up to 2,000 feet in height; the inland plains, with slightly higher elevations; and the interior plateau, at an altitude of 5,000 to 8,000 feet. The dominant feature of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is the Wadi Hadhramaut. The valley, which is broad and well defined, parallels the coast for almost 200 miles before turning southeast toward the sea. It is hemmed in by massive plateaus, with an average elevation of 6,000 feet in the south and 3,500 feet in the north, which are terraced and dissected by numerous secondary wadies. The main valley lies over 100 miles inland, and is separated from the coast by a complex terrain of mountains, steppe and desert.

N 132 Few meteorologic observations have been recorded. Extreme heat, accompanied by high humidity, is encountered in the coastal region during the summer; slightly moderated temperatures at the time of the northeast monsoon, from October to April. A 132 The mean temperature in the Colony is estimated at 80° F.; 75° F. in the winter and 90° F. in the summer. The daily range is slight in the summer, but cool and sometimes cold nights are experienced during the winter months. The temperatures in the interior vary with the altitude and the season. Marked contrasts exist between the heat of the shut-in wadies and the cooler temperatures of the high plateaus. The rainfall is

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

ficiency are widespread. Pellagroid lesions of the skin are often encountered among the peoples of the Protectorate. In a survey of 518 Arab schoolboys in Aden township in 1949, no cases of overt deficiency were found, but enlargement of the liver, possibly suggestive of low protein intake, was revealed in 27 per cent.

A H 146 164

### Miscellaneous Conditions

A 164

A small outbreak of epidemic muscular rheumatism, classified as Bornholm disease, was reported from Aden in 1946. It involved 35 persons—34 British and 1 Arab.

H A 164 733 146

Hepatic cirrhosis is one of the most frequent conditions seen at the Civil Hospital. Local physicians have noted that most of the cases come from malarious regions where qat is widely used, but the underlying causes have not been investigated.

Chewing the leaves of *Catha edulis*, or qat, is a general custom in Western Aden Protectorate. The leaf juices contain a stimulant, and habitual indulgence is said to produce loss of appetite, sleeplessness and a variety of more serious nervous disorders. Local observers believe that addiction to the drug contributes to the widespread undernutrition among the people.

## SUMMARY

A H 648

The Colony of Aden and the adjacent Protectorate, on the southern coast of Arabia, have been British dependencies for over a century. The population of the Colony, including the port of Aden, was enumerated at 80,516 in the census of 1946, and calculated at over 100,000 in 1950. The Protectorate territory comprises two administrative divisions—Western Aden Protectorate and Eastern Aden Protectorate, in which the estimated population for 1948 was about 350,000 and 300,000, respectively. The local governments are tribal and diverse in organization, ranging from sultanates to smaller autonomous units. The inhabitants of both the Colony and the Protectorate are predominantly Arabs and adherents of Islam.

A 161

H 131 161

H 619

H A 563 795

p. 251 (8)

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65

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden MM1 Hadhramaut MM

## COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE SCHEMES

(Unless stated otherwise, all schemes form part of the Colony and Protectorate Allocations)

| Scheme No. | Administering Authority | Description | Issues from the C. D. & W. Vote for the period 1/4/46 to 31/3/49 | Issues for year ending 31/3/50 | Issues for year ending 31/3/51 | Total C. D. & W. Issues |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| D. 792 | Colony | Working-class Dwellings ... ... ... | 7,500 0 0 | 5,000 0 0 | 5,000 0 0 | 17,500 0 0 |
| 916 | " | Civil Aviation facilities ... ... ... | — | 19,300 0 0 | 1,000 0 0 | 20,300 0 0 |
| D. 622 & A. | Protectorate | Appointment of an Irrigation Engineer... | 800 0 0 | 2,050 0 0 | — | 2,850 0 0 |
| 689 & A. | " | Appointment of an Irrigation Surveyor... | 2,100 0 0 | 1,524 11 0 | 1,168 18 0 | 4,793 9 0 |
| 806 | " | Education Grant ... ... ... ... | — | 500 0 0 | 350 0 0 | 150 0 0 |
| 851 & A. | " | Irrigation Improvements ... ... ... | 62,750 0 0 | 98,800 0 0 | 108,000 0 0 | 269,550 0 0* |
| 876 | " | Hospital Equipment ... ... ... | 1,000 0 0 | 600 0 0 | — | 1,600 0 0 |
| 958 | " | Anti-Malaria Survey, Abyan ... ... | — | 4,100 0 0 | 280 0 0 | 3,820 0 0 |
| 972 & A. | " | Education (Eastern Protectorate) ... | — | 7,450 0 0 | 3,000 0 0 | 4,450 0 0 |
| 982 | " | Scholarships for Teacher Training ... | 700 0 0 | 300 0 0 | 1,380 0 0 | 2,380 0 0 |
| 987 | " | Education (Western Protectorate) ... | 700 0 0 | 3,450 0 0 | 1,000 0 0 | 3,150 0 0 |
| 1035 | " | Road Improvement (Eastern) ... ... | — | 5,000 0 0 | 9,650 0 0 | 14,650 0 0 |
| 1064 | " | Road Surveyors (Western) ... ... | — | — | — | — |
| 1078 | " | Geological Survey ... ... ... | — | 7,000 0 0 | 3,000 0 0 | 4,000 0 0† |
| 1251 | " | Dispensary, Abyan ... ... ... | — | — | — | — |
| 1373 | " | Construction of Roads ... ... ... | — | — | 3,050 0 0 | 3,050 0 0 |
| 1408 | " | Nuqra Dam—Repairs ... ... ... | — | — | 19,000 0 0 | 19,000 0 0 |
| 1613 | " | Survey and Land Settlement, Abyan ... | — | — | — | — |
| | | TOTAL FOR DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES ... | 75,550 0 0 | 155,074 11 0 | 142,618 18 0 | 373,243 9 0 |
| R. 214 & A–C | Colony | Fisheries Research ... ... ... | 16,500 0 0 | 1,700 0 0 | 1,800 0 0 | 20,000 0 0 |
| R. 67 & A–C | Protectorate | ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 76 0 5 | — | 450 0 0 | 526 0 5 |
| | | TOTAL FOR RESEARCH SCHEMES ... ... | 16,576 0 5 | 1,700 0 0 | 2,250 0 0. | 20,526 0 5 |
| | | GRAND TOTALS... | 92,126 0 5 | 156,774 11 0 | 144,868 18 0 | 393,769 9 5 |

*Note.*—The figures in italics are reimbursements of unexpended sums.

* I oan.

† From the central allocation for Geological Surveys.

361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil
342 there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
177 of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

**Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.**

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

511 For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
651 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
435 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

at intervals of some 20 feet a series of shafts similar to those described in connection with the Mukalla water-supply. Humat al Harth is temporarily not giving water, as the level has fallen below the channel. At Al Quf itself there are a number of wells, and round each are nursery beds where the tobacco seedlings are grown. The beds are divided into patches three or four feet square and the seed close sown, so close that even where seed does not germinate the workers cut small scratches in the ground and plant fresh seed. When the seedlings are grown to a height of about three or four inches they are taken from Al Quf to Al Harth, about a mile and a-half away, and planted out in rows with intervals of a foot, or three-quarters of a *dhirra*, in beds of a size dependent on the amount of water. A bed is called *mutr*, plural *mutira*, and each is surrounded by a ridge to keep in the irrigation water. In due course the crop is gathered and dried. Drying barns are unknown. 312 249

The crop[1] is financed by the merchants who advance the money to the cultivators and are paid back either monthly or after the crop. In the case of the Government lands at Gheil some cultivators pay their rent in advance and some after the crop. The rent of the whole area of the Sultan's land at Gheil is assessed before each season and the figure required communicated to his representative there. This official then rents out the land at a figure per acre based on the total sum required. 454 427 655

The total annual value of the crop is now estimated at five lakhs of which the Sultan receives Rs.120,000 in duty and ground rent. Production costs are estimated at three lakhs, so that the profit to the cultivators is Rs.80,000. In order to foster the local consumption of tobacco, there is a monopoly of imported cigarettes and pipe tobacco. 433 651 434 655

Of tobacco, Mr. H. M. Heald in his report of the Agricultural Mission to Mukalla says that in the Meifa valley " the cultivation of the tobacco received more attention than any other crop. . . . The seed was sown in a small plot of land which, in the large villages, had been heavily manured with sheep dung mixed with fine earth. [241] When 40 days old the plants were transplanted into the small beds at distances of one foot apart, and again manured with fish; irrigation varied in the villages but generally every seven days. 249

" Topping of the terminal buds took place after all the leaves had been formed and the plants were ripe for cutting in four or five months, according to district and season. The plants were dried on the ground first singly and then in small bundles, and afterwards hung up in rows. After drying again in bundles, they were covered with sacks to promote fermentation, and then the plants were taken into the houses for further drying in the dark, and ready for transporting to the coast in a week or so. Practically no grading was done . . . and I am sure " he writes, " better prices would be obtained if more attention were paid to selection."

1 [tobacco -- Analpt]

715 and is offered for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet, presumably, other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

[726] The situation sounds almost incredible, but the war continued for 728 several years. At last Sultan 'Ali supported by the Al Kaf Seiyids, 649 the strongest influence for peace in Kathīri territory, thought matters had gone far enough, and invited the disputants to Seiyun to conclude a peace. The terms suggested were agreed to on all points except for one requiring Bin 'Abdat to demolish two small forts. The matter appeared to have reached a deadlock when a Seiyid of Aden, of Hadhramaut origin, Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman al Jifri, proceeded to the Hadhramaut and offered his services in the settlement of the trouble. He is a friend of Bin 'Abdat's, and Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman and Bubekr al Kaf sent him to Bin 'Abdat to advise him not to hold out on account of the two small forts. Matters were probably ripe for a settlement as everybody was tired of hostilities, but Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman very creditably brought the feud to a satisfactory conclusion. What was even more satisfactory was that a gathering of more than a hundred representatives of all sections of the Shenafir was held at Seiyun, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman succeeded in assisting Sultan 'Ali, backed by the Al Kaf Seiyids, to negotiate a truce between all the Shenafir tribes. This agreement, which takes effect from the 1st of Sha'bān 1353 (9th November 1934) provides for a truce of two years and two months in all matters relating to blood feuds between the various tribes, and gives also a guarantee of five years security for travellers on the routes.

643 It may thus be that the foundations have now been laid for an 186 era of peace in Kathīri land, and the time seems to be propitious 565 for the establishment of a greater solidarity in Kathīri rule. There are certainly strong elements in favour of peace. Foremost of all is Sultan 'Ali himself. He is a man of culture and very charming personality with that kind of magnetism which inspires instinctive respect and affection. I do not think anybody who has met him can fail to receive the impression that he is a good man in the best sense of the word, nor can anyone who has discussed the situation with him fail to be impressed with the earnestness of his desire for peace. In this desire he is warmly and ably supported by many of the leading families, of whom the most important are the Al Kaf and Saqqaf Seiyids. Although they are Seiyids the measures of reform which these families support are many of them in flagrant opposition to the old conservative policy of the Seiyids, which for long maintained that body as the most powerful and the most desperately retrogressive party in the Hadhramaut. These families have shown that they can still play a very important part in the destinies of the country, and have in fact earned the right to speak in common voice with the Sultan in pressing reforms. It may also be observed that they are the heaviest, as well as the most willing, [651] taxpayers in the country. Their annual contributions on Government and charitable undertakings amount to at least $70,000 a year, without considering special expenditure.

664 other concerning the protection of goods belonging to the sub-
185 jects. There is also a fourth pact wherein Your Highness undertook to take action against any party that should transgress against another party, to punish the offenders, restore looted property, and check the transgressors, according to this treaty, until such time as God wills. This treaty is dated 13th Jumād ath Thani 1842 (1923). It also embodies other conditions which have not been carried into effect.

"A fifth treaty was likewise concluded between Seiyid Hussein bin Hāmid al Mihdhār, representative of the Qu'aiti Government, on the one part, and the Sultan of the Āl Abdulla on the other, on 25th Ramadhan 1844 (1925). Thereafter an agreement was concluded between both the Governments, the Qu'aiti and the Āl 'Abdulla, on the one part, and the Āl 'Awāmir on the other. This pact is dated 12th Rajab 1845 (1926), and in it the Āl 'Awāmir undertook not to interfere with travellers belonging to either Government, or with other travellers, within their respective boundaries, even though they might happen to be in a state of war. This is the sixth pact.

"There is also a seventh treaty between Sultan Salih bin Ghalib bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti on the one part, and the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla on the other. The first Article provides that: 'Both Governments should co-operate to bring about a settlement, and maintain peace and security, and set at rest all agitations and disturbances by any means which will lead to conciliation. In the event of the said measures not being successful they should use all possible power to enforce the same.' In the fourth Article it is laid down that 'Both Governments shall endeavour to take the necessary measures for the security of the routes, and the protection of the poor and others from the effect of the strife and fighting which invariably occur between the tribesmen.'"

The petition bore sixty signatures of the leading inhabitants of the Kathīri part of the valley, and purported to speak on behalf of the "Hadhrami nation". It was addressed to the Qu'aiti and Kathīri Sultans. I do not think that the petition was intended to be on behalf of the inhabitants of the Qu'aiti domain but it was rather directed against the working of Qu'aiti policy *vis à vis* the Kathīri. It was rejected by Sultan 'Umar on the ground that the petitioners were not representative, but it was supported by the Kathīri Sultan.

651 As regards taxation, the position is that goods entering the country
653 are taxed at Mukalla. If they are intended for the Kathīri part of the valley they are often taken by sea to Shihr where they are taxed again. None of this money is used in maintaining security on the road from Shihr to Tarim, and none of it is used to improve communications for the people by whom it is paid. The Al Kaf Seiyids have spent $180,000 in attempting to build a Tarim-Shihr

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



car road. The really difficult part of the construction has been completed, from Tarim onwards towards Gheil. Much of the money was paid out to the Beduins, and in particular the Hamumis agreed that the road should be safe. At the request of the Qu'aiti the route of the road was changed as he was afraid that the Hamumis would have increased facilities for movement and raiding. Large sums of money were then disbursed on the Ma'di tribes through whose territory the Qu'aiti asked that the road should go. There is no doubt that the road could have been successfully completed, and the Al Kaf Seiyids were, and still are, willing to bear the whole cost. Sufficient support, however, was not received from the Qu'aitis and the work was stopped by Sultan 'Umar. 651 653

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

Mukalla is the seat of Government of the Qu'aiti state. His Highness the Sultan, who is an absolute monarch in so far as the internal affairs of his state are concerned, has his principal palace there. The old palace of the Kasadis near the Customs in the centre of the old part of the town has now been turned into Government offices where the *Wazir* and other officials are in daily attendance. 643

The *Wazir* has a general superintendence over all departments of Government and presides over the *Wazir's* Court (*Hakm ad Dola.*) He is also the Governor of the Mukalla Province. The Treasurer superintends the schools, the dispensary, the passport work, and registration of sales and transfers of land. He sees to all disbursements on behalf of the state and collects certain of the internal revenue. The Mukalla Customs, which were formerly farmed, as the Shihr and other customs still are, is a Government department with a paid staff. The Chief of Customs also superintends the work of the port, though there is a special shipping clerk who prepares shipping papers for the *Wazir's* signature, and there are the usual manifest clerks employed by the Customs. The Commander of the Forces, who is more of a Minister for War, also controls the prison. The uniformed police are under the command of a Shaush, and the slave police are under a slave who is also the police magistrate. The medical officer has charge of the dispensary and in addition performs port health work. He is assisted by a qualified compounder who also has certain municipal duties. 645

As examples of the monthly salaries paid to officials of the Qu'aiti state, the following may be cited: *Wazir*, $1,000; Chief of Customs, Rs.225; Doctor, Rs.200; Treasurer, Rs.100; Commander of the Forces, Rs.100; English Master, Rs.80; State Photographer, Rs.60. Most of the officials are given quarters. [465]

There was at one time a species of State Council in Mukalla, but it was dissolved by the present *Wazir* and a Council of Qadhis instituted instead. The function of this Council is not immediately apparent. At the time of my visit there was some talk 645

and within the area round them demarcated by white pillars. Any murder or loot in these areas is regarded as an offence against Government. Murderers of Beduins, subjects, soldiers, or slaves, are liable to death in these areas, and apart from restoration of loot, thieves are liable to imprisonment, deportation, or amputation of the hand.[1] If an individual contracts debts with any of the subjects of Government and absconds, the Government arrests any available member of his tribe and forces him to pay the debt. Routes between Qu'aiti towns are also sacrosanct and carriers may not be made the targets of blood feuds on them. The Qu'aiti is enabled to enforce these measures by his control of the ports and important markets.

## Government Finance.

The financial year coincides with the Muhammadan year, i.e., it begins with the 1st Muharram and ends with the 29th Dhu'l Hijja. The year 1353 began on the 16th April 1934, and this report must be taken to cover the period up to the 29th Dhu'l Hijja 1352, i.e., 15th April 1934.

### Revenue and Expenditure.

The annual Qu'aiti revenue at present is stated in the annual Aden Administration Report to be Rs.12,50,000 but it appears to me that seven lakhs is a more probable if rather conservative figure. It is based on figures given for Mukalla, Gheil ba Wazir and Shihr (Rs.6,30,000), and on other figures given for the Du'an province and for Shibam. I have no figures for the Hajr province which includes the rich Meifa lands. The excess of revenue over expenditure is said to be about one third.

The expenditure on all public services, except His Highness the Sultan, is said to be Rs.3,00,000 *per annum* in Mukalla and Shihr. His late Highness drew officially Rs.72,000 *per annum* but, I was told, "no one knows what he really spends". The following are some of the principal items of expenditure :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Defence. Mukalla only, soldiers and slaves. | Rs.2,04,000 *per annum*. The total is perhaps Rs.2,25,000. |
| Tribal subsidies ... ... | Rs.12,000 *per annum* (formerly Rs.36,000 to 48,000 *per annum*). |
| Education ... ... ... | Rs.6,000. |
| Medical and Public Health ... | Rs.5,500. |
| Customs ... ... ... | Rs.10,000. |
| Du'an province ... ... | $21,000. |
| Shibam ... ... ... ... | more than $12,000. |

[1] I am told that, as in certain other parts of the Protectorate, this Qu'anic penalty is no longer enforced.



[in the Qu'aiti free towns -- Analyst]

651
459

## Description of the main heads of Taxation and their yield.

### *Customs.*

*Export duties* :—

Honey.—Rs. 12,000 *per annum.*

Fish products (exports and imports).—Rs. 4,000 to Rs.5,000 *per annum.*

*Tobacco Excise.*—Until a year or two ago the collection of excise at Gheil ba Wazir was farmed for $85,000, the equivalent to Rs.1,70,000. The lessee became bankrupt and present revenue is equivalent to Rs.80,000.

*Rent of tobacco lands.*—Two or three years ago Rs.60,000, present yield Rs.40,000.

*Imported tobacco monopoly.*—Rs. 1,200 *per annum.*

*Internal transit dues on loaded camels*, Mukalla and Shihr.—Rs.73,000 to Rs.75,000 *per annum.*

*Internal transit dues on loaded camels*, Shibam (farmed) $12,000.

*Revenues of Du'an province.*—$15,000.

*Total Receipts.*

| *Mukalla.* | | *Shihr*[2]. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1348 ... ... ... | Rs. 3,50,000[1] | 1348 ... ... ... | Rs. 82,000 |
| 1349 ... ... ... | „ 2,87,000 | 1349 ... ... ... | „ 82,000 |
| 1350 ... ... ... | „ 2,80,000 | 1350 ... ... ... | „ 82,000 |
| 1351 ... ... ... | „ 2,75,000 | 1351 ... ... ... | „ 82,000 |
| 1352 ... ... ... | „ 2,65,000 | 1352 ... ... ... | „ 82,000 |

*Notes*—[1]. Up to 1348 inclusive the Mukalla Customs were farmed at a yearly rental of Rs. 3,50,000 of which Rs. 50,000 was paid in advance and the rest in twelve equal monthly instalments.

[2]. The Customs at Shihr are farmed. As from 1st Muharram 1353 the rental has been increased to Rs. 11,000 *per mensem* as it was realized that the lessee was making a large profit.

### *Customs Tariff.*

The following shows the rates of duty on the principal imports and exports at Mukalla on the 29th Dhu'l Hijja 1352 :—

*Imports.*

Foodstuffs.—8 per cent. *ad valorem.*

Other articles.—5 per cent. *ad valorem.*

The following tariff was brought into force on the 1st Muharram 1353 :

*Imports.*

Foodstuffs, piece-goods, dates, firewood, building wood, passengers' new goods, etc. General rate of 8 per cent. *ad valorem.*

Sugar in addition to *ad valorem* duty of 8 per cent. : Rs.1 per cwt. or Rs. 2 per bag.

Ghee : Rs.2 per kerosene tin of 4-gallon capacity. 651

Gingli, ground nut and other oils : Re.1 per kerosene tin of 4 gallon capacity. 489

Kerosene and petrol : Re.1 per case.

Qurans and religious works : free.

Fish products :

*Lakhm* (dried shark) : 8 per cent. *ad valorem*.

*Wazif* (dried fish for manure and cattle food) from beyond Qu'aiti dominions (i.e., Mahri coast) : 20 per cent. *ad valorem*.

*Sermai* (split and salted fish) : 10 per cent. *ad valorem*.

At Shihr there are no specific duties but a uniform *ad valorem* rate of 8 per cent.

*Exports.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Honey in comb ... ... | Annas 4 per *Qasa* of about 4 lb. |
| | Annas 8 per *Qasa* of about 7 lb. |
| Honey, liquid ... ... ... | Rs.8 per case of two tins of about 60 lb. weight (*Sabib*). |
| Fish products : | |
| *Sifa* (Fish oil) ... ... | Annas 4 per four-gallon tin. |
| *Safif* (dried *tarnak* and *tamad* fish). | Annas 8 per cwt. or Re.1 per case of about 2 cwt. |
| *Rish* (shark fins) ... ... | Annas 4 per *frasila* of 20 lb. |
| Lime ... ... ... ... | Annas 8-12 per bag of three *frasilas*. |

*Excise Duties.*

Hamumi tobacco (Gheil ba Wazir) : Rs. 17 per *bahar* of 300 English pounds.

Hamumi tobacco (other places) : duty farmed.

*Wharfage Duties.*

On every package imported or exported at Mukalla : Anna 1.

*Registration Duties.*

On every deed of sale of house property in Mukalla : 6 per cent. of price. 651

*Municipal Dues.*

*Mukalla.*

| | |
|---|---|
| On each shop in bazaar streets, Scavenging tax ... ... ... | As.8 *per mensem*. |
| On each stall in vegetable market | Rs.5 *per mensem*. |

*Internal transit dues.*

651 *Mukalla and Shihr.*

486 On every loaded camel leaving ... ... ... Re.1.

On every camel man[1] ... ... ... ... As.2.

*Shibam.*

On every *Bahar* brought in from Qu'aiti ports or territory ... ... ... ... ... ... $ ½.

On every *Bahar* from other places in Aden Protectorate or from Yemen ... ... ... $1¼.

*Passport Fees (compulsory).*

On every passport ... ... ... ... ... Rs.2

Photograph by state photographer ... ... Rs.3

## Defence.

### Regular Army.

704 The strength of the regular army is as follows: one Subedar, who apparently knows no drill and only appears in uniform on very special occasions; four Jemadars, of whom two are ex-Yemen Infantry officers, and two are Indians, one of them being a Pathan in command of the artillery; 350 to 400 Yafa'is, and 250 slaves.

The non-commissioned ranks are, Havildar, Naik and Lais Naik. The Yafa'is receive nine dollars a month, and the slaves one to three dollars as pocket-money, but they are much better off than the Yafa'is for they receive regular rations for themselves and every member of their families. They are provided with wives, and given milk, which is scarce, for their wives and children. The 702 cadet corps, already referred to, ensures a constant supply of disciplined recruits.

713 The force is armed with every sort of rifle, but principally Martini Henrys. They are said to keep them perfectly clean inside and out. There is a "range" behind the town. The regulars 714 are all provided with a khaki uniform, shirt and shorts, and a 708 red fez, but the uniform is not worn except by the guards at the palace and on special occasions. There are said to be parades every 533 two days. There is a band consisting of 14 who wear khaki uniforms and scarlet glengarries. The regulars for the most part are stationed in Mukalla, but there are a few in Shihr and Reida.

### Irregulars.

704 There are said to be 1,000 to 1,200 irregulars officered by eleven 701 *Muqaddams* who receive 35 to 40 dollars a month. Each *Muqaddam* has a paid *Muawin* who receives 20 to 25 dollars, and each man is said to receive seven dollars a month. They are stationed in the districts. In Shibam there are 40 Yafa'is and 60 slaves. There are about 500 Yafa'is in the neighbourhood of Shibam who are [635] paid but allowed to work their own fields. The Sultan's representative in the Shibam province is in command of the troops.

[1] Members of certain tribes are exempted from this tax.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



AL HEIK.

619 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the
631 sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan
101 they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shibeir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct
933 route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the
438 inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me
465 as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being
162 an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures
361 appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and
651 villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns
652 and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

635 most of them are exempted from taxation: Al Qurha, estimated
162 number of men 300, estimated number of rifles 50, the inhabitants
are tribesmen. Husn Bā Sam, men 150, rifles 25, tribesmen. Ar
361 Rubāt, men 800, rifles 100, revenue $1,600, expenditure $1,800; the
651 inhabitants are soldiers. Al Qarn, men 500, rifles 100, inhabitants
652 are tribesmen of Bā Hakīm, a clan of the Nūwah. Al Khoreiba,
men 1,500, rifles 50, revenue $1,500, expenditure $1,800,
inhabitants are soldiers and sheikhs. Sharq, men 300, rifles 50,
revenue $300, expenditure $360, tribesmen and soldiers. Ar
Rashīd, men 400, rifles 150, revenue $1,200, expenditure $1,400,
tribesmen. 'Aura, men 80, revenue $400. Al Qurein, men 800,
rifles 10, revenue $200, expenditure $600.

631 The following towns and villages are under the authority of the
361 Mihdhār family, and the Government derives no revenue from them.
651 Their annual produce is valued at approximately $10,000: Al
Quweira, men 400. Halibūn, men 80. Rihāb, men 400, rifles 30.
162 Hudūn, men 200, rifles 50. Khasūfar, men 100. Dhāhir, men
300, rifles 15. Matrūh, men 250, rifles 30. Al Jubeil, men 400,
rifles 100. Quweirat al Khozab, men 25. Gheil Bal Kheir, men 40.

The towns under the authority of the Sheikhs of al 'Amūdi are: Husn Bā 'Abd as Somad, men 100. Budha, men 1,000, rifles 200. Bilad al Ma', men 100, rifles 10. Khudeish, men 70, rifles 12. Qarn Mājid, men 50, rifles 8.

635 The remaining towns of the Wadi Du'an between Al Qurha and
361 Hajarein are again under the direct authority of the Governors of
Du'an: Sīf, men 400, rifles 30; Sīf has a garrison of 15 Yafa'is of
162 whom five live in the Husn ad Dōla and 10 in the town. Those
I saw were all of the Beni Sa'd Lower Yafa'is. Feil, men 30.
Al 'Āddiya, men 30. Ghār as Sūdān, men 30, rifles 5. Nasara,
men 10. Naseira, men 10. Seil'a, men 30, rifles 10. Hajarein,
men 500, rifles 10. There is a garrison of Yafa'is in Hajarein.

The towns and villages of Wadi Leisar included in the Du'an province are: Al 'Arsama, men 500, rifles 20. Al Jahi, men 300, rifles 150. Al 'Ardh, men 40. Al Jadīda, men 150, rifles 10. Ad Dūfa, men 250, rifles 20. Jureif, men 150, rifles 10. Subeikh, men 400, rifles 30. Tūlaba, men 500, rifles 35. Dharī, men 600, rifles 30. Hūfa, men 500, rifles 70. Heid al Jazīl, men 150, rifles 10.

635 The following tribes live in the province or are dependent on the
631 wadi: Seibani and its branches, Deiyin, al Hālka, al Marāshida,
Khamikha, Bā Hakīm, Bā Sam, and al 'Amūdi. The Beni Hasan
69 and the 'Akābira (see Chapter XVI) deal equally with Mukalla
and Du'an. The Hālka and the Marāshida, sometimes considered
as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani, and the Bā Hakīm
and the Bā Sam, also sometimes treated as separate tribes, are
included with the Nūwah (see Chapter XVIII).

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The Kathīris have no organised Governmental institutions in the accepted sense of the word, though the Sultan and his supporters, including the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun, are very anxious for progress. Sultan 'Ali's state income is estimated at $20,000 a year in respect of Seiyun, Taris and Mariama; $6,000 of this is a direct contribution from the Al Kaf Seiyids, and the remainder consists of taxes on dates and on goods entering Seiyun. The whole sum is expended on state services, for Sultan 'Ali has a private income derived from Singapore. He maintains a force consisting of 200 indifferently armed slave soldiers in Seiyun, and 200 in Tarim. 643 642 651 565

In Tarim the Al Kaf contribute $12,000 a year to the city Treasury. There is a Town Council which organises the local taxation, and thanks to the Al Kaf Seiyids its affairs are said to be run in a very business-like way, for its budget balances. In normal times the political expenditure on maintaining peace between Tarim and the neighbouring tribes is perhaps $4,000 a year, and this is all borne by the Al Kafs. But to this normal expenditure is often added extraordinary expenditure as, for instance, in a case which occurred about May 1934, when Seiyid Bubekr, the second brother of the family, spent $12,000 in settling a dispute between Tarim and the Tamimis. 651 632 565

In Tarim and Seiyun there is a doctor and dispensary, but they are supported by the Seiyids. At the time of my visit, the doctor, a Punjabi, was on leave and such work as was being carried on was being done by a dispenser. No great public use was made of his services. The dispensary costs the Al Kafs about $1,000 a month, and they spend $2,000 a month on charities and roads. As regards their expenditure on communications it should be recorded that they built all the water pools on the caravan route from Tarim to Shihr, that they spent $7,000 on building a pass at Al 'Arsha for caravans, and that Seiyid Bubekr has spent over $180,000 on road making between Tarim and Shihr. 743 565 735 653

The schools in Kathīri territory are almost entirely supported by the wealthy Seiyids. There are two Ribāts, religious foundations, principally supported by *Waqfs* (religious endowments) for the teaching of religion and philosophy. Of these one is in Seiyun and has an attendance of 40 students, and the other is in Tarim with an attendance of 120. The Saqqaf family of Seiyids maintain two schools in Seiyun, one containing 500 boys and seven teachers, the other 100 boys and four teachers, and the Al Kafs, who also contribute to the Ribāts, run two schools in Tarim. One of these formerly had an attendance of 400 boys but it is now only attended by children of the family, numbering 54. The other, a public school, accommodates between 300 and 400 boys. The Al Kafs also run one if not two schools at Khoreiba in Wadi Du'an in Qu'aiti territory. They are, in fact, the only people undertaking educational activities in a wider sense in that province. I believe, too, that they support the private schools in Mukalla and Shihr. 565 871

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers. 647

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000. 651 652

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few. 579 [712 165] 625 721 701 643 619 728 [652]

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government. 619

[1]About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off. 567

Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



792 582 423 tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

792 778 346 The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

778 651 423 792 754 Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

792 778 In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We [776] must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

792 [622] 778 792 782 All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadramaut MM2



in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators. 000

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more complicated than in most places in the Protectorate. 619 182 421

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their centres. 427 565 792 651 619 672 182

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood fued, and there is little doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to 182 628 411 436

9. Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



its own language, and in its trade, which is dhow-borne, unlike that of Mukalla, which is largely steamer-borne in normal times, it deals with Muscat, the Persian Gulf and India, and to some extent with East Africa, for the coastal Mahris are great seafarers. The Mahris, unlike the Hadhramis, do not settle abroad, so by reason of their habits and their speech they are an even more exclusive and secluded people than the Hadhramis. But in effect little is seen or heard of the Mahris, and their territory is considered part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and they have their contacts with His Majesty's Government through the Residency at Mukalla.

### The Western Aden Protectorate

To me the outstanding features of the political set-up of the Western Protectorate are the position of His Highness the Sultan of Lahej, the large number of treaty chiefs, and the general tribal atmosphere of the country. A glance at the map will show why the Sultan of Lahej is the most important chief in the protectorate, for his territory stands at the door of Aden, and through it land traffic from the Yemen and from a great deal of the protectorate must pass. It is the transit dues on goods that have made Lahej the richest state of the Western Protectorate, and with the money His Highness has managed to develop Lahej territory as a sort of private estate, which pays because it grows so much fruit and vegetables which are consumed in Aden. For he has water, and a good deal of the spate of Yemen pass with the Wadi al Kabir and the Wadi as Saghir, which flow through his territory.

So that geography has played a great part in determining the part that Lahej should play in the protectorate. But much of the prestige that the Sultan enjoys to-day is due to his own wisdom. While strenuously guarding the internal affairs of his own Sultanate from external interference, His Highness has consistently given every possible help to His Majesty's Government in matters of defence and so on, and has also co-operated so wholeheartedly in the settling of disputes and political matters generally that he is almost universally accepted as an impartial arbitrator with no axe to grind. This personal achievement of Sultan 'Abdul Karim has made him the leader of the Western Protectorate, and it is really remarkable, as the general tendency of tribal chiefs in the protectorate is not to brook interference in their affairs from others.

There are in the Western Protectorate twenty chiefs in direct treaty relationship with His Majesty's Government, and seven others who have agreements. There are about thirty-five all told who correspond directly with Government. The "nine cantons" are the 'Abdali, the Amiri, the Haushabi, the Fadhli, the Yafa'i, the Subeihi, the 'Aqrabi, the 'Aulaqi, and the 'Alawi—the original tribes with whom treaties were made. The other tribes in the Western Protectorate—the Audhali and the Beihani—did not come into treaty relations until later. But the Yafa'i, the 'Aulaqi, and the Subeihi are divided. In the Upper Yafa'i confederation there are treaties with the Upper Yafa'i Sultan, the Naqibs of Mausatta, the Dhubi Sheikh, the Maflahi Sheikh, the Hadhrami Sheikh, and the Shaibi Sheikh. In Lower Yafa' there is only one treaty, with the Sultan. In 'Aulaqi there are treaties with the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, and

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



we first went up there they[1] charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

1 [THE BA HASAN TANBULIS -- ANALYST.]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



than Makalla and was, indeed, an important trading centre before that city even existed.[1]

Under the east wall there is a large open plain, over which the cemetery extends, with some *qubbas*[2] and many mosques at the edge of it. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has, close to it, a large piece of ground, where he has built a palatial guest-house for relations and friends travelling to and fro between Java and Terīm via esh-Shiḥr. El-Kāf is busy constructing a motor road from Terīm to esh-Shiḥr, which is complete but for the last stretch as far as the coast, a matter of three days by camel. If this junction can be effected, in spite of the aversion to it of the warlike Ḥumūmī Bedouins, through whose territory it passes for the greater part, then perhaps esh-Shiḥr will grow again to fit into her walls.

Before we left the town we made another call on the Governor in charge, who, with the help of the tax-farmer, a well-educated Indian, gave us a hearty, friendly reception. We were conducted past a strong guard of soldiers to an old-fashioned *madjlis*, where the shutters of the windows and the wooden supporting pillars were beautifully carved, and the ceiling painted white, red and black. With grateful relish we partook of tea and a great variety of sweets and of fresh and tinned fruits.

The population of esh-Shiḥr is officially estimated at 9000. It did not seem to us that it could be more than 6000. Yet, as the Westerner does not get to know how densely peopled the big Arabian houses are, our calculations remain fairly uncertain. The town has 36 mosques.

We were compelled to beat a hasty retreat before the rising tide. For safety's sake we were given an extra Ford car and some soldiers. The coral rocks were still just passable, but we stuck in the bed of the wādī. Finally, after much delay and much fruitless exertion, we got free, but there was no time left for the promised meal with our host of Sheḥēr, who

[1] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *el-Shiḥr*.

[2] Qubba (قبة), is a dome, a cupola, or a cupola-shaped building.

no poll tax is paid by the population as is the case in Sēwūn and Terīm. A tax of a quarter of a *riyāl*[1] is levied on every camel load that enters the gate of Shibām; also 4 % on sales of houses or land is due to the Sultan. Of the produce of the fields which depend on rain, 1 % is earmarked for the state treasury, *i. e.* the Sultan's pocket. The Government levies no tax on lands that are irrigated by their owners' efforts. The Qeʿēṭī Sultan of Makalla owns much land in his kingdom: his tobacco fields at Ghēl Bā Wazīr, near Sheḥēr, bring in about 30.000 *riyāl* a year, and he owns many palm-groves in Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. Yet the greater part of his income comes from Bombay and Hyderabad, where he has extensive land and house property, and he receives 1500 *rupees* a month from the Niẓām of Hyderabad for his services as commander of the troops.

These great riches of the Qeʿēṭīs are the source of their power. The existence of a central authority is, in spite of many abuses, noticeable in their territory. It makes itself felt whenever urgently necessary and has no difficulty in holding its own against the Āl Kathīr, who are divided amongst themselves and are lacking in strong financial support.

The Sultan of Shibām only receives a salary from the Sultan of Makalla, to whom he is bound by family ties.

The military forces of the Qeʿēṭī consist, in peace time, of 5000 soldiers, of whom 2000 are negro slave soldiers. In Shibām only 100 of them are in regular service, whilst some 500 are on reserve in case of need. These latter live, as a rule, in good houses all around el-Qaṭn.

The Sultan estimates the number of souls in Shibām, el-Qaṭn and the villages between them, at 20.000. These are all the inhabitants of the State of Shibām, exclusive, however, of the Bedouin tribes who are allied by treaty with his Government.

We showed Sultan ʿAlī the books about Ḥaḍramaut that we had brought with us and a few English air photographs. It was then apparent how little the ruler and his entourage knew

[1] At the time of our visit a *riyāl* had about the same value as an Indian *rupee*.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramout MM2



Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar 161
of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited 631
largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved 648
a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in Decem- [668]
ber 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn
and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser 643
strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his
mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of
his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most im- [625]
portant ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of
Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of
lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal
guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British
Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 721
1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate,
and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami
Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of
what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his 648
staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial
help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial
Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend
£410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only
£23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder
to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a [731]
serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less
serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly 651
helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami 312
emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political 311
changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have
adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have
had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-
engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development
of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40
miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from
Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was
becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the
Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns,
the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the
board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple 248
cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] Ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1952, pp. 62–5.
[4] See above, p. 112.

Y to draw the bucket up and let it down again.
241 The water is then emptied into a raised
318 channel of clay and can be diverted into the
378 appropriate field at will.

Villages are built on the mountains along-
Y side the valley. The village shown in the
361 illustration opposite is built on the very
342 top of a 3000-foot peak, Jebel Mishwara. The
136 houses are like the most romantic of castles
set on tall pinnacled heights over the narrow
wadi-bed. In the less frequented valleys you
may come upon a herd of baboons moving
across the hillside barking at one another;
they are much disliked as they make raids on
the crops.

V The organization of these highland com-
619 munities, which are independent and difficult
621 to control, is most complex. The tribe is sub-
622 divided into branches (*fakhidah*), numbering
perhaps a hundred rifles, perhaps fifteen.
Sometimes several tribes form a confederation
bound loosely together under a paramount
chief who has a greater or lesser degree of
H authority. Chieftainship is hereditary. In
the Aden Protectorate larger groups are some-
622 times under the authority of a Sultan or an
565 Amir. These Sultans are of the ancient
671 nobility which often goes back to pre-Islamic
times, some 1500 years ago, and generally
reside in a central market town. Such are
the Sultans of the 'Awdhalis, the 'Awlaqis, the
Fadhlis of Shuqra, and of course the 'Abdali
Sultan of Lahej near Aden. Tribal law is
extensive and involved, with fixed penalties
for every offence or transgression on a neigh-
bour's rights. Relations between the tribes-
men and the Sultans are also defined by
H custom. Cases involving tribal law are heard
622 by the Sultan or his representative, or in tribal
692 confederations, by the sheikhs. This tribal
671 law, which is generally unwritten, consists of
traditional judgments and penalties. I was
fortunate enough to secure a copy of the tradi-
tional law of the 'Awdhalis when in Qubaid-
hah, but this was one of the rare instances
when the law had been written.

H In most cases the actual authority of the
● [651 Sultan extends little further than a certain
622] radius around his residence. He taxes the
701 people where he can, often disproportionately
to their little wealth, and maintains a number
of soldiers, irregular and often hereditary
'askar, as they are called, who hold a certain
amount of land rent-free, and receive allow-

[See category 116, p. 68 -- Analyst]
p. 69 (A)

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to resore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Mansab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

## Chapter 2: Population

The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



651 Revenue and expenditure of local governments in the Eastern Aden Protectorate which have adopted regular accounting methods are as follows:

*Revenue*

| | |
|---|---|
| (a) Mukalla Government | Rs. 21,47,767 |
| (b) Sai'un " | 2,36,895 |
| (c) Wahidi " | 78,333 |

*Expenditure*

652

| | |
|---|---|
| (a) Mukalla Government | Rs. 22,24,947 |
| (b) Sai'un " | 1,91,199 |
| (c) Wahidi " | 69,376 |

*Assets and Liabilities*

| | |
|---|---|
| Investments Mukalla Government | Rs. 35,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 46,783 |
| Investment Sai'un Government | 3,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 34,540 |
| Investment Wahidi Government | 60,000 |
| Savings Banks and Co-operative Societies | Nil |

[453 474]

## Chapter 5: Currency and Banking

435 Indian rupees and riyals (or Maria Theresa dollars) are the currency used, the 1947 rate of exchange being Rs. 2.6.0. to the M.T. Dollar.

## Chapter 6: Commerce

439 The principal imports are grains, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth and cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap, glassware, etc.; the principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, etc.

Imports and exports for the Eastern Aden Protectorate during 1947 were as follows:

G. Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



652

| *Western Aden Protectorate* | £ |
|---|---|
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 28,734 |
| Government Guards | 46,881 |
| Subsidies to local forces | 5,683 |
| Medical | 7,003 |
| Education | 2,982 |
| Aden Protectorate College | 4,161 |
| Agriculture | 12,121 |
| W/T Establishment | 1,171 |
| TOTAL | 108,736 |

| *Eastern Aden Protectorate* | £ |
|---|---|
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 20,868 |
| Hadhrami Bedouin Legion | 16,305 |
| Subsidies to local forces | 7,782 |
| Education | 4,395 |
| Medical | 1,154 |
| Agriculture | 50 |
| Miscellaneous Services Subsidies | 720 |
| Relief Measures | 6,973 |
| TOTAL | 58,247 |

Revenue and expenditure of local governments in the Eastern Aden Protectorate which have adopted regular accounting methods are as follows:

| | *Revenue* Rs. | *Expenditure* Rs. |
|---|---|---|
| Mukalla Government (Qu'aiti) | 24,03,875 | 24,02,243 |
| Kathiri (Sai'un) | 2,84,820 | 2,54,004 |
| Wahidi (Balhaf and Bir Ali) | 1,00,308 | 95,860 |

| *Assets and Liabilities* | Rs. |
|---|---|
| Investments Mukalla Government (Qu'aiti) | 18,34,407 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 34,783 7 0 |
| Investment Kathiri (Sai'un) Government | 3,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 32,753 7 0 |
| Investment Wahidi Government (Balhaf and Bir Ali) | 60,000 |
| Savings Banks and Co-operative Societies | Nil |

651

The main heads of excise and taxation are: (1) transit dues, (2) crop taxation, (3) customs dues. Except for crop tax which is generally the *'ashur* or tenth part of the crop, taxation varies considerably throughout the Protectorate, although there is a marked tendency towards simplification and uniformity.

8;Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# APPENDIX 1

## THE ABYAN SCHEME

*Purpose*

2424 (a) To utilise all surface flow and suitable underground supplies of water in order to develop and maintain irrigation farming in the Abyan district.

(b) To organise and develop the production of food crops and cash crops, and to assist in their marketing.

(c) To increase the wealth and prosperity of the people and the Governments of the local States and of the Protectorate.

*Background*

The Abyan district is one of ancient development for irrigation farming. Centuries of insecurity made the area derelict, until the settlement of a feud and the entry of H.M. Government to maintain law and order.

From 1941 to 1943 efforts were made to restore, by traditional methods, irrigation of the southern part of the district. In 1943 Government entered the derelict areas of the southern and central sections and a four-year development plan was started to restore and maintain irrigation systems on traditional lines. Control was in the hands of the Department of Agriculture; funds were provided by the Colony of Aden as part of the increased food production campaign; irrigation charges of one-quarter share of the crop were levied.

654 [651]

In 1947 the Abyan Board was formed by an administrative order of the Governor of Aden. The Board was accepted by the two States whose territories were covered by the schemes. In December, 1948, a loan of £20,000 was approved from Colonial Development and Welfare funds. In August, 1948, a further £250,000 was approved. With these funds the Board embarked on the initial stages of its plan of development.

2442 476

*Organisation*

Development was on a partnership basis between:

(a) Landowners (the States, private individuals or trusts) who provide land;

(b) owner occupiers and tenant farmers who provide the working animals, implements, general farming capital, and the labour for crop production; and

(c) the Board, a development authority, which undertakes the construction of irrigation works, maintains the irrigation system, and regulates the distribution of irrigation water. The Board also maintains special control over the cotton crop which is sold to the Board at agreed prices, processed in the Board's ginneries, and sold to the Raw Cotton Commission.

2443 Up to 1949-50 agricultural production was primarily concerned with the cultivation of sorghum and sesame. Trials with long-staple

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



cotton, introduced in 1946, proved successful and this crop has now been chosen as the main crop for the area.

Payment for irrigation services has always been based on a crop share of 25 per cent payable to the Board. The present crop share and taxation on the crop, as laid down in an agreement dated 1st April, 1950, is as follows :

| PARTY | LIVE LAND (*Land developed and cultivated for 5 years*) | DEAD LAND (*New land opened for cultivation*) |
|---|---|---|
| | % | % |
| State (Taxation) . . | 5 | 10 |
| Landlord . . . | 20 | 15 |
| Tenant . . . | 50 | 50 |
| Board . . . | 25 | 25 |

To secure rapid development, traditional methods have been used while the land has been surveyed and existing canal systems aligned and new canals of improved design have been constructed. Diversion is still by traditional methods but regulators have been constructed in the upper part of the district.

*Land and Water Rights*

The Board does not own or control any land except building sites and experimental areas loaned from the local States and, in one case, rented from a landowner.

The Board controls the diversion and distribution of all flood water in the district. In the winter season the Board purchases the permanent flow of the Bana River from the Lower Yafai Sultan and his relatives and distributes this supply through the canal system to farmers who pay the customary crop share to the Board.

Tribal boundaries and settlements of title to the area have been ill defined in the past years of insecurity, but in 1951 final decisions were taken regarding tribal boundaries.

*Survey*

Since 1948 an area of 100,000 acres has been contour surveyed to a one metre interval. Geophysical surveys, the first as a reconnaissance and the second in fairly detailed form, have been made.

*Irrigation Development*

Development is in various stages. An area of approximately 50,000 acres of land is now controlled for irrigation farming, mainly on traditional lines. The normal flood flow to the area is expected to be sufficient to crop 30,000 acres yearly. In the 1951 flood a discharge of 224,000,000 cubic metre was observed to reach Abyan in the Bana River and this quantity, if correctly controlled, would have been sufficient for the irrigation of 50,000 acres. In actual fact only 30,000 acres were irrigated. The system is to direct flood water at speed, by diversion weirs made of brushwood and stone, into canals

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



619 The tribesman forms the real fighting strength of the Sultanate, and provides his own weapons, drawing ammunition—or its equivalent in cash—from the Sultan, when on state service. His 761 hardihood, activity, and keen sight make him a formidable opponent. He has a natural aptitude for scouting and possesses remarkable powers of endurance, being independent of much transport, whilst the constant friction along the tribal borders engenders a high state of combatant training. The Sultan frequently uses one tribe to fight another as a punishment for raiding, but he cannot claim tribal service against tribal interests; any real emergency, however, will bring the tribesmen in. Individuals and small detachments will serve an alien for pay beyond the limits of their tribeship.

The tribesmen are really civilians (a term used for want of a better, though this word does not exactly translate the Arabic word *rawi*, plural *raya*), but prepared at a moment's notice to leave flocks and camels, farms or pasture, or trekking, when danger threatens clan, tribe, or Sultanate. They give no regular [702 military service under any condition, nor do they practise the use of weapons, but content themselves with the reluctant payment • 651] of a tax and the unavoidable imposts of the Government that guards their lives and property. They may be divided into the 619 following classes: merchants, of more or less influence and wealth; mechanics and artisans; the '*hejris*' or freed serfs, usually 562 attached to some chief as agricultural labourers or to some master craftsman; and lastly, and lowest in the social scale, the slaves, the males serving as retainers or subordinate husbandmen and the females as domestic servants or attendants on children. The latter class, however, are slaves only in name, having usually their own *menage*, and they remain in one family from generation to 562 generation; they are mostly Swahilis and Nubians. One other class needs passing mention—the *shāhids* or bards, whose duty, in the 703 exercise of their profession, is to stimulate the tribal standard of chivalry by heroic strains of former prowess, or with stinging satire to lash a slothful ruler to martial vigour. When belligerent tribes are set in battle, it is the *shāhids* on either side who urge the courage of the combatants.

[671] In religion two schools of the Sunni creed—the Hanifi (or philosophic school) and the Shafei—are followed, the latter, the 771 nearest to the early Islamic tradition, being the more general. The practice of religion varies, of course, in different districts, and among some of the nomad races it is little more than a name. Speaking of religious observance among the people of this region as a whole, Bury says: 'The laity, while fanatical to the verge of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



636 Admiralty Court in matters connected with the slave trade; his court is also a Colonial Court of Admiralty. The laws in force in the Settlement are, generally speaking, those of the Bombay Presidency, supplemented on certain points by special regulations drawn up to suit local conditions.

636 In general the local affairs of the Settlement (such as sanitation, conservancy, &c.) are managed by an Executive Committee (formerly 503 Municipal Committee), subject to the control of the Resident: the funds for this purpose are raised by the levy of house tax, 651 octroi, and other imposts. The management of the port is under 625 a Board of Trustees, known as the Aden Port Trust, the principal task of which is to make arrangements for the deepening of the harbour so as to allow vessels of all sizes to enter and leave at all states of the tide. The funds are provided by the levy of tolls and wharfage fees on goods landed or shipped. The police are of two categories: land police, and harbour police. The former (officers and men) number 377—357 foot and 20 mounted; the latter number 12, including four inspectors and one or two administrative officials.

701 The normal garrison of Aden consists of the Aden troops, one hundred strong, mounted half on horses and half on camels; three companies of Garrison Artillery, two of which man the forts, while the third is employed with the movable armament; six companies of British Infantry; one battalion of Indian Infantry, less detachments at Perim and Sheikh 'Othmān; one Fortress Company; and the Aden section of Sappers and Miners. On the south-west corner of the peninsula are the forts Tarshein and Morbat, which cover the entrance of the harbour, and are garrisoned by two companies of Royal Garrison Artillery. The land side is protected by a strongly fortified position across the whole breadth of the isthmus. At the crater are various entrenched positions for infantry to oppose landings, while the ridge, running north and south from Hejuff to Viaduct Gate, forms a second line of defence and includes a redoubt at Ahman Khal, near the southern extremity.

652 The total revenue receipts of Aden treasury in 1914–15, under 651 all heads—imperial, local, and municipal—amounted to 87½ lakhs of rupees (approx. £580,000). The chief sources of local revenue are: Aden Port Trust Fund, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Aden Settlement Fund, over 4 lakhs (£28,000); Local Supply Bills, 38½ lakhs (£257,000); Post Office, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Excise, about 1 lakh (£6,300); Income tax, ¾ lakh (£5,000). The total expenditure was about 83½ lakhs (approx. £556,000).

619 In the Aden interior the tribes nominate their own chiefs or sultans. The Sultan is never a tribesman himself, but comes from

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



361 ceded to the British by the Sultan of Muscat in 1854, and were valuable only for the guano deposits found upon them, since exhausted (see further, Ch. VIII, p. 283).

## II. The Tribal Confederations

619 Many of these occupy very considerable territory, but their limits and extent are vague and in no sense clearly defined; they 622 are, further, subject to local variation with the changes in tribal power and the ebb and flow of politics. The system of internal tribal administration varies greatly, both in nature and degree, in the different districts. In the majority of the Confederations the ruler's authority over most of his subjects, with the exception of his personal retainers and entourage, is very slight. The Sultan of the *'Abdāli* exercises a more absolute authority over his tribe than other rulers, with the exception, perhaps, of the Sultan of the *Ka'aiti*. The chief of the *Haushabi*, if a ruler of strong will, would, both from the nature of his country and the character of his people, wield much the same authority over the majority of his tribe. In the *Amiri* country, which is a confederacy of various small tribes, the Emir's authority is only absolute over a comparatively small proportion. The *Upper Yāfa'* Sultan has little or no authority over his tribe so far as administration is concerned. Of the *Fadhli*, several of the sub-tribes are independent. The *'Aulaqi* have several rulers, while many of the outlying and nomadic tribes are practically beyond the control of their Sultans. The *Subeihi* are a law unto themselves. It will be seen, therefore, that the term 'administration' cannot be strictly applied to so heterogeneous a collection of peoples.

651 In the matter of revenue, that derived from the tribesmen is mainly from two sources—the collection of *'ushūr* or tithes, and dues on market sales—both payable to the Sultan or Emir. Beyond this, revenue in some districts is derived from dues on passing caravans. The scale of charges varies with the nature of the commodity carried: two dollars per camel load would, for example, be exacted for the passage of a caravan carrying coffee from Ta'izz to Aden through 'Abdāli territory.

361 The towns and settlements are built in general with provision for defence, but of fortresses, properly speaking, there are none in the interior. Nearly all Arab villages in the mountains consist of solidly built stone towers, almost invariably placed in commanding positions, and, when occasion requires, necessitating destruction by artillery or demolition by gun-cotton. The towers are invariably

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathīri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

### Domestic Life and Appliances

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of

and within the area round them demarcated by white pillars. Any murder or loot in these areas is regarded as an offence against Government. Murderers of Beduins, subjects, soldiers, or slaves, are liable to death in these areas, and apart from restoration of loot, thieves are liable to imprisonment, deportation, or amputation of the hand.[1] If an individual contracts debts with any of the subjects of Government and absconds, the Government arrests any available member of his tribe and forces him to pay the debt. Routes between Qu'aiti towns are also sacrosanct and carriers may not be made the targets of blood feuds on them. The Qu'aiti is enabled to enforce these measures by his control of the ports and important markets.

## Government Finance.

The financial year coincides with the Muhammadan year, i.e., it begins with the 1st Muharram and ends with the 29th Dhu'l Hijja. The year 1353 began on the 16th April 1934, and this report must be taken to cover the period up to the 29th Dhu'l Hijja 1352, i.e., 15th April 1934.

### Revenue and Expenditure.

The annual Qu'aiti revenue at present is stated in the annual Aden Administration Report to be Rs.12,50,000 but it appears to me that seven lakhs is a more probable if rather conservative figure. It is based on figures given for Mukalla, Gheil ba Wazir and Shihr (Rs.6,30,000), and on other figures given for the Du'an province and for Shibam. I have no figures for the Hajr province which includes the rich Meifa lands. The excess of revenue over expenditure is said to be about one third.

The expenditure on all public services, except His Highness the Sultan, is said to be Rs.3,00,000 *per annum* in Mukalla and Shihr. His late Highness drew officially Rs.72,000 *per annum* but, I was told, " no one knows what he really spends ". The following are some of the principal items of expenditure :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Defence. Mukalla only, soldiers and slaves. | Rs.2,04,000 *per annum*. The total is perhaps Rs.2,25,000. |
| Tribal subsidies ... ... | Rs.12,000 *per annum* (formerly Rs.36,000 to 48,000 *per annum*). |
| Education ... ... ... | Rs.6,000. |
| Medical and Public Health ... | Rs.5,500. |
| Customs ... ... ... | Rs.10,000. |
| Du'an province ... ... | $21,000. |
| Shibam ... ... ... ... | more than $12,000. |

[1] I am told that, as in certain other parts of the Protectorate, this Qu'anic penalty is no longer enforced.



[in the Qu'aiti free towns -- Analyst]

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



### Āl Heik.

619 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the
631 sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan
101 they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shiheir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

### 3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct
433 route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the
438 inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me
465 as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being
162 an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures
361 appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and
651 villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns
652 and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

635 162 361 651 652 most of them are exempted from taxation: Al Qurha, estimated number of men 300, estimated number of rifles 50, the inhabitants are tribesmen. Husn Bā Sam, men 150, rifles 25, tribesmen. Ar Rubāt, men 800, rifles 100, revenue $1,600, expenditure $1,800; the inhabitants are soldiers. Al Qarn, men 500, rifles 100, inhabitants are tribesmen of Bā Hakīm, a clan of the Nūwah. Al Khoreiba, men 1,500, rifles 50, revenue $1,500, expenditure $1,800, inhabitants are soldiers and sheikhs. Sharq, men 300, rifles 50, revenue $300, expenditure $360, tribesmen and soldiers. Ar Rashīd, men 400, rifles 150, revenue $1,200, expenditure $1,400, tribesmen. 'Aura, men 80, revenue $400. Al Qurein, men 800, rifles 10, revenue $200, expenditure $600.

631 361 651 162 The following towns and villages are under the authority of the Mihdhār family, and the Government derives no revenue from them. Their annual produce is valued at approximately $10,000: Al Quweira, men 400. Halibūn, men 80. Rihāb, men 400, rifles 30. Hudūn, men 200, rifles 50. Khasūfar, men 100. Dhāhir, men 300, rifles 15. Matrūh, men 250, rifles 30. Al Jubeil, men 400, rifles 100. Quweirat al Khozab, men 25. Gheil Bal Kheir, men 40.

The towns under the authority of the Sheikhs of al 'Amūdi are: Husn Bā 'Abd as Somad, men 100. Budha, men 1,000, rifles 200. Bilad al Ma', men 100, rifles 10. Khudeish, men 70, rifles 12. Qarn Mājid, men 50, rifles 8.

635 361 162 The remaining towns of the Wadi Du'an between Al Qurha and Hajarein are again under the direct authority of the Governors of Du'an: Sīf, men 400, rifles 30; Sīf has a garrison of 15 Yafa'is of whom five live in the Husn ad Dōla and 10 in the town. Those I saw were all of the Beni Sa'd Lower Yafa'is. Feil, men 30. Al 'Addiya, men 30. Ghār as Sūdān, men 30, rifles 5. Nasara, men 10. Naseira, men 10. Seil'a, men 30, rifles 10. Hajarein, men 500, rifles 10. There is a garrison of Yafa'is in Hajarein.

The towns and villages of Wadi Leisar included in the Du'an province are: Al 'Arsama, men 500, rifles 20. Al Jahi, men 300, rifles 150. Al 'Ardh, men 40. Al Jadīda, men 150, rifles 10. Ad Dūfa, men 250, rifles 20. Jureif, men 150, rifles 10. Subeikh, men 400, rifles 30. Tūlaba, men 500, rifles 35. Dharī, men 600, rifles 30. Hūfa, men 500, rifles 70. Heid al Jazīl, men 150, rifles 10.

635 631 69 The following tribes live in the province or are dependent on the wadi: Seibani and its branches, Deiyin, al Hālka, al Marāshida, Khamikha, Bā Hakīm, Bā Sam, and al 'Amūdi. The Beni Hasan and the 'Akābira (see Chapter XVI) deal equally with Mukalla and Du'an. The Hālka and the Marāshida, sometimes considered as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani, and the Bā Hakīm and the Bā Sam, also sometimes treated as separate tribes, are included with the Nūwah (see Chapter XVIII).

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers. 647

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000. 651 652

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few. 579 [712 165] 625 721 701 643 619 728 [652]

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government. 619

[1]About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off. 567

619 He is no longer apt to be shot at by Government soldiers and he brings his
troubles to the Government. The provincial governors and the district
647 heads are better men and better paid than they used to be and all new
candidates have courses of instruction before appointment. There are
692 systems of State and tribal courts which are becoming more and more
619 effective. There is a special department of bedouin affairs which is staffed
entirely by Hadhrami tribesmen; five or six years ago no Hadhrami tribes-
men were employed in any positions of responsibility.

759 As regards social services, in 1934 there was one doctor, mainly for the
Sultan though he ran a public dispensary, and medical services cost Rs. 5,500
657 a year: in 1944 the sum voted was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary
652 services. There was an establishment of four doctors, and a State hospital
743 for fifty in-patients was being built in Mukalla.

In 1934 education cost Rs. 6,000 and about three hundred boys received
871 some sort of schooling. In 1944 Rs. 1,054,000 was provided. The number
of boys in primary Government schools on the coast has increased to about
652 seventeen hundred. There were between a hundred and thirty and a
657 hundred and forty girls in the new Mukalla girls' school, and an inter-
658 mediate boarding school, assisted by the British Council and a grant from
His Majesty's Government, had been started with about eighty boys. As
part of the famine relief measures, children were brought down from the
Hadhramaut and have now been taken over by the Qu'aiti State which
bought a village outside Mukalla and is now housing three hundred boys
[874] and girls in it. A wall enclosing garden land has been built round it and
the children work the garden and are apprenticed to various local trades.
They are given a modest schooling and it is hoped that they will also be
taught by means of a village council to run their own village.

658 Another State educational experiment owes its impetus mainly to the
enthusiasm of the young men of Mukalla. A number of young men have
871 gone through a course organized by the Education Department in how to
teach illiterate adults to read and write. These teachers compiled a
coolies' vocabulary of seven hundred words or so and when I left were about
to teach coolies from the Hadhramaut, who had come seeking for work at
the coast on account of the famine, how to write the language they speak,
a sort of basic Arabic. There are schemes for producing a small newspaper
in this simplified form of speech and for developing some public-health
consciousness.

701 What little the State could do towards the war effort it has done. It
provided a company for guard duties in Aden while the Italians were in
648 the war. It has raised a Pioneer Company for service in the Middle East
Command. It has guarded the R.A.F. aerodromes in the State and pro-
[712] vided coastal guards. The Public Works Department has built an R.A.F.
station at about a third of the cost expected. It has landed and handled a
great quantity of R.A.F. stores. In addition, at the outbreak of war when
the surplus balance was about Rs. 80,000, it contributed Rs. 20,000 for
648 general war purposes, and Hadhramis at home and abroad subscribed to a

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 pools built by the rich and progressive class of Seyyeds, whose many innovations have re-made the face of this ancient land of the Queen of Sheba.

131 The political frontiers of the Kathiri State describe a finger pointed downward from the Rub-al-Khali into the heart of [161] Hadhramaut. They enclose an area of some six thousand square miles and a population of sixty thousand, a third of whom dwell ●652 in the city of Seiyun. The state's current average annual revenue runs close to $100,000.[1]

175 Early Kathiri history is obscure. Forebears of the present sultan once controlled all of Hadhramaut, but in the eighteenth century the al-Quaiti, an immigrant tribe of Yemeni origin, wrested control of the coastal region from their Kathiri overlords at Seiyun and gradually established hegemony over interior tribes until today the Quaiti State comprises nearly the whole of Hadhramaut. Until the "Peace of Ingrams,"[2] modern Kathiri history was dominated by constant and costly warfare between Seiyun and the parvenu Quaiti power at Mukalla.

643 The present Kathiri ruler, His Highness Sultan Husayn Ali Ibn Mansur, succeeded to the throne on May 22, 1950, and was one of the five Aden chiefs selected to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth.[3] It is through Sultan Husayn's generous and patient correspondence that much of this statistical information concerning his far-off land has been gathered.

643 Political organization in the Kathiri State is patterned closely 645 after administrative machinery in Malaya.[4] Executive authority is vested in the sultan assisted by a Council of State of which the ruler is president and the British Resident an ex-officio member. The Council's remaining members include: the Kathiri State Secretary (*Wazir*) and heads of the departments of the Treasury, Customs, Education and Judiciary, in addition to four un-

486 [1] In 1951 the East African shilling, worth about $0.14, replaced the Indian rupee as legal tender in the Protectorate.

[2] William Harold Ingrams, last of the old-style empire-builders, did much to pacify and organize modern Hadhramaut in the years 1934–44. He was the first Resident Adviser to the states of Hadhramaut and the Eastern Aden Protectorate. To him, Hadhramis have given the name, "Peace-maker of the Desert."

[3] Others invited: the sultans of Mukalla, Lahej, Shoqra and the Amir of Dhala, the latter three, prominent chiefs of the Western Aden Protectorate.

[4] Ingrams visited Singapore in 1950 to study the operation of local governments in the Malay States for ways of stepping-up efficiency in native rule in the Hadhramaut.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

| State | Title of ruler | Population | Area in sq. miles | Annual revenue | Police | Salute |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Qu'aiti (Mukalla) .. | H.H. the Sultan of | 197,000 | 30,000 | Rs 27,50,078 | Unlisted | 11 guns |
| Kathiri (Seiyun) ... | Sultan of | 60,000 | 6,000 | Rs 4,80,000 | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Wahidi (Balhaf) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 5,000 | Rs 1,02,448 | Unlisted | None |
| Mahri (Socotra & Qishn) ..... | Sultan of | 22,000 | 13,000 | Unlisted | Unlisted | 9 guns |
| Haura ..... | Shaykh of | 300 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| 'Irqa ..... | Shaykh of | 350 | Unlisted | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Abdali (Lahej) ..... | H.H. the Sultan of | 41,400 | 4,500 | Unlisted | 380 | 11 guns |
| Fadhli (Shoqra) .... | Sultan of | 25,000 | 2,500 | Rs 4,17,697 | 120 | 9 guns |
| Amiri (Dhala) ..... | Amir of | 27,000 | 1,050 | Rs 1,50,000 | 75 | 9 guns |
| Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara) ..... | Sultan of | 23,000 | 700 | Rs 1,65,000 | 30 | 9 guns |
| Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba) ..... | Sultan of | 89,000 | 900 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar) ..... | Sultan of | 22,000 | 2,500 | Rs 49,000 | 40 | None |
| Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab) ..... | Sultan of | 53,000 | 1,800 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Beihan (Beihan Qasb) .... | Amir of | 13,000 | 4,000 | Unlisted | 40 | None |
| Audhali (Ledar) .... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 1,800 | Unlisted | 30 | None |
| Haushabi (Musaimir) ..... | Sultan of | 10,000 | 350 | Unlisted | 29 | None |
| Alawi (Al Qab's) .. | Shaykh of | 1,200 | 89 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |
| Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed). | Shaykh of | 2,000 | 101 | Unlisted | Unlisted | None |

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



731 getting food from abroad in war-time, the loss of money from the Far East, and the drought, famine ensued. I am thankful to say that owing to the generous help of His Majesty's Government and to the breaking of the drought, conditions are now much better, but from the point of view of this survey the thing to be remembered is that in all probability the produce of the country cannot sustain much more than a quarter of the population and that it is very largely dependent on money from abroad. Of old, the ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade, so that the Mediterranean countries provided the cash. When the incense went by sea the Hadhramis learnt to emigrate, and the present Hadhramaut has drawn its cash from the Far East, East Africa, Egypt, the Sudan, Abyssinia [67] —the countries to which the people migrate. One out of every three or four Hadhramis lives and works abroad. Emigration or means to earn money abroad is an absolute essential to the Hadhramaut, and there are grounds for fearing it is not going to be so easy in the future as it has been in the past.

So much for the gloomier side of the picture. In 1938 I described to the Royal Central Asian Society how a three-year peace embracing the whole of the Hadhramaut had been made and how the organization of government had started. To my mind the brightest thing about the Hadhramaut is the way the Government of the Qu'aiti State has advanced and developed social services, and, serious as the famine was, principally in part of the Inner Hadhramaut, out of it has grown a number of educational and medical developments which would probably not have matured if there had been no famine. The State Government had so far advanced by the time it came, that it was able to cope with difficulties and there developed a real spirit of service. It could not have managed on its own resources if His Majesty's Government had not helped so generously, but what the state could do in a financial way it did and the service its officials gave could not have been provided without it.

652 178 At the time when reorganization of the Government[1] started about seven years ago the revenue was about Rs. 6,30,000, of which Rs. 3,10,000 were spent on Government services; Rs. 2,25,000 of that went to irregular soldiers and to slaves. This year the revenue is estimated at just under Rs. 15,00,000. On April 1, 1939, there was a general deficit of Rs. 40,000, because the late Sultan used to take all the cash he could to India. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit balance of Rs. 14,00,000. In this year the Government is preparing to spend Rs. 16,00,000, of which Rs. 4,00,000 goes to the maintenance of security forces. There are forts, with soldiers or gendarmerie, and garrison towns all round the country, so that security is very greatly improved. The Budget also includes, under various heads, about Rs. 300,000 for relief work direct and indirect. The amount paid on education has risen from Rs. 6,000 in 1934 to Rs. 154,000 in 1944. Only Rs. 5,550 was spent on medical work in 1934; in 1944 the sum was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary services.

611 178 It seems to me that these figures indicate, more clearly than anything else can, progress and the will to progress. I cannot give many details of new developments, but I will mention some of them quite briefly. One of the most striking things is the growth of reciprocal confidence between

1 [of the Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

5 Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 000
300,000 souls.

## Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate 463
is agriculture involving about 90 per cent. of the population. Other 465
occupations are dyeing, weaving and the preparation of hides and skins.
Wages vary greatly from 12 as. to Rs. 1.8.0. Working hours vary, being
about 60 hours a week from April to October and less from November
to March.

## Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

The following are summaries of expenditure in the Western and Eastern 652
Aden Protectorate budgets (1947–48):

*Western Aden Protectorate*

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 26,346 |
| Government Guards | 42,322 |
| Subsidies to local forces | 5,474 |
| Medical | 5,373 |
| Education | 2,121 |
| Aden Protectorate College | 3,795 |
| Agriculture | 12,641 |
| W/T Establishment | 981 |
| TOTAL | 99,053 |

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 18,598 |
| Military Hospital | 887 |
| Hadhrami Bedouin Legion | 15,397 |
| Subsidies to local forces | 7,761 |
| Medical | 445 |
| Education | 3,384 |
| Agriculture | 750 |
| Miscellaneous Services Subsidies | 720 |
| Relief Works | 84,037 |
| TOTAL | 131,979 |

5; Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



651 Revenue and expenditure of local governments in the Eastern Aden Protectorate which have adopted regular accounting methods are as follows:

*Revenue*

| | |
|---|---|
| (a) Mukalla Government | Rs. 21,47,767 |
| (b) Sai'un " | 2,36,895 |
| (c) Wahidi " | 78,333 |

*Expenditure*

652

| | |
|---|---|
| (a) Mukalla Government | Rs. 22,24,947 |
| (b) Sai'un " | 1,91,199 |
| (c) Wahidi " | 69,376 |

*Assets and Liabilities*

| | |
|---|---|
| Investments Mukalla Government | Rs. 35,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 46,783 |
| Investment Sai'un Government | 3,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 34,540 |
| Investment Wahidi Government | 60,000 |
| Savings Banks and Co-operative Societies | Nil |

[453 474]

## Chapter 5: Currency and Banking

435 Indian rupees and riyals (or Maria Theresa dollars) are the currency used, the 1947 rate of exchange being Rs. 2.6.0. to the M.T. Dollar.

## Chapter 6: Commerce

439 The principal imports are grains, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth and cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap, glassware, etc.; the principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, etc.

Imports and exports for the Eastern Aden Protectorate during 1947 were as follows:

G.Br. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut NM2



721 648 Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al 'Abr. Proposals were made and agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

648 619 In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

578 721 619 In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Mansab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

000 The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

[648] The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring. Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

## Chapter 2: Population

162 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

## Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 467 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



652

| *Western Aden Protectorate* | £ |
|---|---|
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 28,734 |
| Government Guards | 46,881 |
| Subsidies to local forces | 5,683 |
| Medical | 7,003 |
| Education | 2,982 |
| Aden Protectorate College | 4,161 |
| Agriculture | 12,121 |
| W/T Establishment | 1,171 |
| TOTAL | 108,736 |

| *Eastern Aden Protectorate* | £ |
|---|---|
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 20,868 |
| Hadhrami Bedouin Legion | 16,305 |
| Subsidies to local forces | 7,782 |
| Education | 4,395 |
| Medical | 1,154 |
| Agriculture | 50 |
| Miscellaneous Services Subsidies | 720 |
| Relief Measures | 6,973 |
| TOTAL | 58,247 |

Revenue and expenditure of local governments in the Eastern Aden Protectorate which have adopted regular accounting methods are as follows:

| | *Revenue* Rs. | *Expenditure* Rs. |
|---|---|---|
| Mukalla Government (Qu'aiti) | 24,03,875 | 24,02,243 |
| Kathiri (Sai'un) | 2,84,820 | 2,54,004 |
| Wahidi (Balhaf and Bir Ali) | 1,00,308 | 95,860 |

| *Assets and Liabilities* | Rs. |
|---|---|
| Investments Mukalla Government (Qu'aiti) | 18,34,407 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 34,783 7 0 |
| Investment Kathiri (Sai'un) Government | 3,00,000 |
| Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) | 32,753 7 0 |
| Investment Wahidi Government (Balhaf and Bir Ali) | 60,000 |
| Savings Banks and Co-operative Societies | Nil |

651

The main heads of excise and taxation are: (1) transit dues, (2) crop taxation, (3) customs dues. Except for crop tax which is generally the *'ashur* or tenth part of the crop, taxation varies considerably throughout the Protectorate, although there is a marked tendency towards simplification and uniformity.

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Literacy*

873 212 Measures to deal with adult illiteracy are extremely meagre. In the Western Protectorate there are none; in the Eastern Protectorate 17 centres were opened in 1947, but these dwindled to eight during 1948 on account of non-attendance of pupils. They represent an average attendance of 230.

It is impossible to estimate the number of literates turned out by the small independent Quranic schools which exist throughout the Protectorates. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by Government or local government authorities was in the region of 4,300 in 1948; in 1939 it was not more than 100.

*Expenditure*

●652 The total amount of money expended on education in the Protectorates (including scholarships abroad) was in the region of £38,110. It comprised the following approximate amounts:

| | £ |
|---|---|
| From His Majesty's Government funds, including £1,664 on scholarships in the Sudan . . . | 13,200 |
| Mukalla Government (including about £760 on scholarships in the Sudan. This is 10 per cent of the total state expenditure) . . . . . | 18,190 |
| Lahej State, including considerable financial assistance from Egypt . . . . . | 5,500 |
| Other local governments in the Western Aden Protectorate . . . . . | 1,220 |
| | £38,110 |

*Summary*

871 794 From this brief review it will be gathered that educational provision in the Protectorates is extremely meagre and development over the whole area apparently slow. It is therefore only fair to point out that until 1937, with the exception of the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs started in 1935, there was no Government provision or supervision of education in the Protectorates. It would not be true to say that there was no education in the Protectorates before that time. It existed rather haphazardly, maintained by private individuals, trusts and associations and by a few local chiefs; but its bias was almost always entirely religious, just as the mosque was nearly always the village school and the Imam of the mosque the village schoolmaster.

In the part of the Eastern Protectorate loosely called the Hadhramaut, and particularly in the towns of Seiyun and Tarim, this traditional religious education reached a highly advanced stage about a century ago. It produced a body of men, drawn mainly from the Seiyid class, who were well read in Quranic studies, Sharia law and in the Arabic language. These men travelled widely in surrounding countries, spreading Islamic culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a center of religious education.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 M941 Aden

## Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the
167 Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. All the Jews in Wahidi State emigrated to Israel in 1950, and there are now no Jews in the Eastern Protectorate.

## Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½. Working hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March.
467 There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western Aden Protectorate's expenditure for the years 1949-50 and 1950-51:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

| | 1949–50 | 1950–51 |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Staff and Miscellaneous .. .. .. | 45,313 | 64,026 |
| Government Guards (includes Wireless Telegraphy establishment) .. .. | 60,754 | 75,051 |
| Subsidies to local forces .. .. .. | 5,257 | 3,638 |
| Medical .. .. .. .. .. | 6,964 | 7,085 |
| Education .. .. .. .. .. | 3,030 | 3,926 |
| Aden Protectorate College .. .. | 3,614 | 3,681 |
| Agriculture .. .. .. .. .. | 10,245 | 11,172 |
| | 135,177 | 168,499 |

## Chapter 5: Currency and Banking

436 In the Protectorate rupees and riyals (Maria Theresa dollars) are the
●652 currency used. The devaluation of the rupee caused a sudden rise of the M.T. dollar to Rs. 2/8/0 followed by a slower rise, which is still going on. At the end of 1950 it had risen to just over Rs. 3.

453 There are no banks in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 6: Commerce

439 The principal imports are grain, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth, cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap, glassware, etc. The principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, etc.

The great bulk of trade with the Western Aden Protectorate goes by land from the town of Aden.

Principal imports and exports which passed through the Mukalla Customs for the Eastern Aden Protectorate during 1950 were as follows:

IMPORTS

| | | *Quantity* | *Value* Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wheat .. .. .. | cwt. | 5,296 | 1,37,700 |
| Millet, Yemeni .. .. | " | 2,393 | 47,860 |
| " other sorts .. .. | " | 80,933 | 1,74,060 |
| Maize .. .. .. .. | " | 9,101 | 1,45,620 |
| Flour, wheat .. .. .. | " | 21,250 | 6,80,000 |
| Rice, all sorts.. .. .. | " | 62,051 | 29,78,450 |
| Other Grains .. .. .. | " | 3,154 | 1,26,160 |
| Dates, Busrah .. .. | " | 31,290 | 58,40,800 |
| " other sorts .. .. | " | 3,245 | 64,900 |
| Sugar, refined .. .. | " | 20,732 | 10,36,600 |
| " other sorts .. .. | " | 1,505 | 97,830 |
| Joggery—Mollasses .. .. | " | 3,272 | 1,30,880 |
| Sim Sim .. .. .. | " | 7,670 | 10,73,800 |
| Tea .. .. .. .. | lb. | 125,547 | 3,76,640 |
| Coffee .. .. .. .. | cwt. | 5,131 | 2,46,340 |
| Sheep and Goats .. .. | | | 1,91,350 |
| Ghee (clarified butter) .. | cwt. | 2,438 | 4,87,600 |
| Oil, all sorts .. .. .. | " | 5,185 | 6,22,200 |
| Kerosene and Petrol.. .. | gal. | 286,764 | 4,30,150 |
| Spices .. .. .. .. | | | 9,14,800 |
| Cotton Piece-goods, Grey Sheetings .. .. .. | yards | 548,169 | 5,48,170 |
| Cotton pce./goods, other sorts | | | 6,99,270 |
| Cotton twist .. .. .. | | | 1,49,400 |
| Cigarettes and Tobacco .. | | | 2,63,340 |
| Wool and Timber .. .. | | | 1,88,510 |
| Miscellaneous .. .. | | | 39,05,550 |
| TOTAL VALUE OF IMPORTS .. | | | Rs. 1,78,67,260 |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# PART V

## Chapter 1: Population

161 THE population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. There are no
167 Jews now in the Eastern and Western Protectorates as they have all emigrated to Israel.

## Chapter 2: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from *Shs*.1.50 to *Shs*.3 per day. Working
467 hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably shorter from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 3: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of Her Majesty's Government's expenditure in the Protectorates for the years 1951–52 and 1952–53:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

| | 1951–52 | 1952–53 |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 4[illegible],706 | 51,054 |
| Government Guards (including W/T establishments) | 68,602 | 84,858 |
| Subsidies to Local Forces | 3,411 | 2,801 |
| Health | 7,315 | 16,110 |
| Education | 3,213 | 7,753 |
| Aden Protectorate College | 2,229 | — |
| Agriculture | 10,158 | 14,083 |
| | 135,624 | 176,659 |

Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

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| | 1951–52 | 1952–53 |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Staff and Miscellaneous | 31,892 | 38,227 |
| Hadhrami Beduin Legion | 27,872 | 33,555 |
| Subsidies to Local Forces | 8,658 | 11,357 |
| Education | 4,767 | 5,326 |
| Health | 6,721 | * |
| Agriculture | — | 50 |
| Miscellaneous Services and Subsidies | 501 | 671 |
| Famine Relief | 183 | 246 |
| Information Services | — | 188 |
| | 80,594 | 89,620 |

* The Health Services are now common to both Protectorates and are shown under Western Aden Protectorate.

Revenue and expenditure of States in the Protectorates which have adopted regular accounting methods are as follows :

| | 1951–52 | | 1952–53 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Revenue* | *Expenditure* | *Revenue* | *Expenditure* |
| *Western Protectorate* : | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Fadhli | 54,660 | 40,228 | 43,090 | 47,709 |
| Lower Yafa'i | 24,995 | 9,670 | 18,562 | 20,703 |
| Dathina | 7,369 | 8,630 | 10,663 | 8,795 |
| Lower Aulaqi | 3,604 | 2,933 | 4,836 | 4,141 |
| Amiri | 8,788 | 6,574 | 8,334 | 9,275 |
| Audhali | 13,210 | 11,827 | 17,505 | 13,129 |
| Upper Aulaqi (Sheikhdom) | 749 | 572 | 7,117 | 7,026 |
| Subeihi | 3,651 | 2,098 | 2,324 | 2,967 |
| *Eastern Protectorate* : | | | | |
| Qu'aiti | 286,941 | 220,587 | 245,824 | 244,547 |
| Kathiri | 39,240 | 28,186 | 30,810 | 32,126 |
| Wahidi (Balhaf and Bin Ali) | 11,375 | 10,213 | 9,235 | 11,031 |

## Chapter 4 : Currency and Banking

In the Protectorate East African shillings and riyals (Maria Theresa dollars) are used as currency. 436

There are no banks. 453

G.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MAP.

# Chapter 7: Social Services

## EDUCATION

*General*

The Aden Protectorate is divided administratively into two parts, Eastern and Western, with a British Agent for each at Mukalla and Aden respectively. Education, which is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents, has thus two distinct divisions. The Aden Colony Department of Education gives advice and assistance and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout the whole territory. A full-time European Education Officer is responsible for this, working under the Director of Education and in consultation with the British Agents. His activities have for some years been devoted mainly to the more backward Western Protectorate. 631 871

The general policy is to build up self-supporting State departments of education, which may control a system of full primary schools of equal standard to those in the Colony. Post-primary education is more directly a concern of Government and the aim is to establish intermediate schools at suitable points in the Protectorate. It is intended that these schools should in most cases serve more than one State and that the States should contribute to their upkeep. Full secondary education is not at present envisaged for the Protectorate, but the intermediate schools will prepare boys for entry to Aden College and the Technical College in the Colony.

Government co-ordinates the courses and syllabus of these schools but, although this has been effected for most of the primary schools, a certain amount of diversity still exists in the intermediate schools. The ages for entry and leaving are in the theory the same as for Colony schools but there is no registration of births and ages are known only approximately.

*Expenditure on Education*

The Colony Government does not make any contribution towards education in the Protectorate; all expenditure over and above what the States can afford is borne by Her Majesty's Government. 652 [48]

Expenditure on education for the year 1951–52 was in the region of £51,000, divided between the Eastern and Western Protectorate thus:

| | *West* | *East* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Expenditure by States . . . | 6,781 | 25,188 | 31,969 |
| Expenditure by Her Majesty's Government . . . . . | 5,432 | 4,767 | 10,199 |
| Expenditure from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds . . | 1,094 | 7,122 | 8,216 |
| | £13,307 | £37,077 | £50,384 |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



652 Details are not available as to how much State expenditure was non-recurrent, but the proportion for the year was small. None of the expenditure by Her Majesty's Government was of a non-recurrent nature and all but £1,867 from C.D. & W. Funds was.

*Number of Schools*

871 The number of schools under Government control or supervision is 75 primary boys' schools, four primary girls' schools and four intermediate boys' schools.

The number of pupils enrolled at 31st March, 1952, was as follows :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Primary boys' schools | 5,139 pupils with | 222 teachers. |
| Primary girls' schools | 269 pupils with | 15 teachers. |
| Intermediate boys' schools | 408 pupils with | 16 teachers. |

In addition there are a number of privately controlled schools which do not follow the Government syllabus, and usually have a religious bias.

*Studies Abroad*

There were 39 students studying abroad during 1952. Two were at university colleges, one taking a pedagogics course at University College, Exeter, the other an arts course at Gordon College, Khartoum ; both these students are at present in the teaching profession. The remainder were either at Bakht er Rudha Institute of Education in the Sudan, or at secondary schools in the Sudan and elsewhere, and were distributed as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Sudan . . | 18 |
| Egypt . . | 10 |
| Syria . . | 5 |
| Iraq . . | 4 |

658 741 Eleven of these students were paid for by Colonial Development and Welfare grants for teacher-training ; the remainder were financed by State or charitable funds.

*Teachers and Teacher-Training*

875 Apart from training abroad mentioned in the previous paragraph there were two centres at home. In 1951 the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs trained six teachers in a one-year course for teaching at the primary level. At Gheil ba Wazir in the Eastern Protectorate there were three students training as teachers at the intermediate level. In addition all Western Protectorate teachers were brought in for the annual refresher course of a fortnight's duration in the Colony.

The teaching profession is in constant danger of wastage, both in the East and in the West, though for different reasons. In the East the Quaiti State offers pensionable employment, but the general conditions of service are lower than in Aden or the Western Protectorate. In the West the nearer proximity of Aden Colony and the possibility of more lucrative employment there is an ever-present danger, but more serious still is the fact that no State in the West can

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MNR

# Appendix: Aden Protectorate Health Service

759

STAFF

| Category | Her Majesty's Government | Fadhli & Lower Yafa'i | Qu'aiti | Kathiri | Wahidi | Non-Government | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Doctors | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | — | 1 | 10 |
| Nursing Sisters and Midwives | 1 | — | — | — | — | 3 | 4 |
| Technical Assistants (Hospital, pharmacy, laboratory, etc.) | 2 | — | 10 | — | — | — | 12 |
| Health Assistants | 29 | 8 | 19 | 8 | 4 | — | 68 |
| Senior Health Inspectors | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | 2 |
| Health Inspectors and Overseers | — | 1 | 9 | 2 | — | — | 12 |
| Head Sick Attendants | — | — | 2 | 1 | — | — | 3 |
| Sick Attendants | — | — | 15 | 3 | — | — | 18 |
| Health Technicians (trained sprayers) | — | 6 | 6 | — | — | — | 12 |
| Ancillary Staff (clerk, driver, etc.) | 9 | 4 | 4 | 1 | — | — | 18 |

*N.B.*—Sanitation labour, such as sweepers, is not included.

652

EXPENDITURE

| Service | 1951–52 Capital | 1951–52 Recurrent | 1952–53 Capital | 1952–53 Recurrent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Her Majesty's Government‡ | 4,250 | 11,573 | 5,340 | 15,114 |
| Fadhli–Lower Yafa'i Health Service | 3,600 | 9,331 | 1,100† | 14,403 |
| Lahej State | — | not known | 300 | 1,185 |
| Amiri State | — | 60 | — | 150 |
| Shaib State* | — | 140 | 300 | — |
| Audhali State* | — | not known | 250 | 50 |
| Dathina State* | — | — | 50 | 200 |
| Beihan State | — | — | — | 300 |
| Upper Aulaqi State | — | — | — | 5 |
| Qu'aiti State | 262 | 11,405 | 1,987 | 14,261 |
| Kathiri State | — | 2,424 | 300 | 2,582 |
| Wahidi States* | — | 14 | 360 | 280 |
| TOTAL | 8,112 | 34,947 | 9,987 | 48,530 |

* These figures are approximate.

† In addition the Abyan Board is building a hospital at Makhran for £20,000 as a free service to the Joint State Health Service.

‡ Estimates. Actual total expenditure by H.M.G. amounted to £14,036 in 1951–52 and £16,110 in 1952–53.

B.G. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-55)1954 MMI Aden MM/
Headquarters MM2.



# APPENDIX II

## Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes

| Scheme No. | Administering Authority | Description | Issues from the C.D. & W. Vote for the period 1/4/46 to 31/3/50 | Issues for year ending 31/3/51 | Issues for year ending 31/3/52 | Issues for year ending 31/3/53 | Total C.D. & W. Issues |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| D 792 & A | Colony | Working class dwellings | 12,500 | 5,000 | 5,000 | 5,000 | 27,500 |
| D 916 | " | Civil Aviation Facilities | 19,300 | 1,000 | 11,150 | 24,500 | 55,950 |
| D 622 & A | Protectorate | Appointment of an Irrigation Engineer | 2,850 | — | 770 | 200 | 3,820 |
| D 689 & A | " | Appointment of an Irrigation Surveyor | 3,264 | 1,169 | 1,532 | — | 6,325 |
| D 806 | " | Education Grant | 500 | *350* | 300 | — | 450 |
| D 853 & A | " | Irrigation Improvements | 161,550 | 108,000 | — | — | 269,550 |
| D 876 | " | Hospital Equipment | 1,600 | — | 430 | — | 2,030 |
| D 958 | " | Anti-Malaria Survey | 4,100 | *280* | 280 | — | 4,100 |
| D 972 & A | " | Education (Eastern Prot.) | 7,450 | *3,000* | 4,700 | 4,800 | 13,950 |
| D 982 | " | Scholarships for Teacher Training | 1,000 | 1,380 | — | — | 2,380 |
| D 987 | " | Education (Western Prot.) | 4,150 | 1,000 | 600 | 5,800 | 11,550 |
| D 1035 | " | Road Improvements (Eastern) | 5,000 | 9,650 | 700 | — | 15,350 |
| D 1064 | " | Road Surveyor (Western) | — | — | 300 | 1,000 | 1,300 |
| D 1078 | " | Geological Survey | 7,000 | *3,000* | 5,500 | — | 9,500 |
| D 1251 | " | Dispensary, Abyan | — | — | 650 | — | 650 |

A 652
H 652

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
652
Hadhramaut MN2.

## APPENDIX II *continued*

| Scheme No. | Administering Authority | Description | Issues from the C.D. & W. Vote for the period 1/4/46 to 31/3/50 | Issues for year ending 31/3/51 | Issues for year ending 31/3/52 | Issues for year ending 31/3/53 | Total C.D. & W. Issues |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| D 1373 | Protectorate | Construction of Roads . | — | 3,050 | 8,650 | 1,800 | 13,500 |
| D 1308 | " | Nuqra Dam Repairs . | — | 19,000 | 5,700 | 240 | 24,940 |
| D 1613 | " | Survey and Land Settlement Abyan . . . . | — | — | 3,900 | 4,250 | 8,150 |
| | | TOTAL FOR DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES . | 230,624 | 142,619 | 50,162 | 47,590 | 470,995 |
| R 214 & A-C | Colony | Fisheries Research . . | 18,200 | 1,800 | 400 | 150 | 20,550 |
| R 67 B/C | Protectorate | Mrs. Ingrams Survey . | 431 | 450 | — | — | 881 |
| | | TOTAL FOR RESEARCH SCHEMES . . | 18,631 | 2,250 | 400 | 150 | 21,431 |
| | | GRAND TOTALS . . . . | 249,255 | 144,869 | 50,562 | 47,740 | 492,426 |

*Note* : Italicised figures show refunds.

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30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



636 Admiralty Court in matters connected with the slave trade; his court is also a Colonial Court of Admiralty. The laws in force in the Settlement are, generally speaking, those of the Bombay Presidency, supplemented on certain points by special regulations drawn up to suit local conditions.

636 In general the local affairs of the Settlement (such as sanitation, conservancy, &c.) are managed by an Executive Committee (formerly
√03 Municipal Committee), subject to the control of the Resident: the funds for this purpose are raised by the levy of house tax,
651 octroi, and other imposts. The management of the port is under a Board of Trustees, known as the Aden Port Trust, the principal
625 task of which is to make arrangements for the deepening of the harbour so as to allow vessels of all sizes to enter and leave at all states of the tide. The funds are provided by the levy of tolls and wharfage fees on goods landed or shipped. The police are of two categories: land police, and harbour police. The former (officers and men) number 377—357 foot and 20 mounted; the latter number 12, including four inspectors and one or two administrative officials.

The normal garrison of Aden consists of the Aden troops, one
701 hundred strong, mounted half on horses and half on camels; three companies of Garrison Artillery, two of which man the forts, while the third is employed with the movable armament; six companies of British Infantry; one battalion of Indian Infantry, less detachments at Perim and Sheikh 'Othmān; one Fortress Company; and the Aden section of Sappers and Miners. On the south-west corner of the peninsula are the forts Tarshein and Morbat, which cover the entrance of the harbour, and are garrisoned by two companies of Royal Garrison Artillery. The land side is protected by a strongly fortified position across the whole breadth of the isthmus. At the crater are various entrenched positions for infantry to oppose landings, while the ridge, running north and south from Hejuff to Viaduct Gate, forms a second line of defence and includes a redoubt at Ahman Khal, near the southern extremity.

652 The total revenue receipts of Aden treasury in 1914–15, under all heads—imperial, local, and municipal—amounted to 87½ lakhs
651 of rupees (approx. £580,000). The chief sources of local revenue are: Aden Port Trust Fund, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Aden Settlement Fund, over 4 lakhs (£28,000); Local Supply Bills, 38½ lakhs (£257,000); Post Office, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Excise, about 1 lakh (£6,200); Income tax, ¾ lakh (£5,000). The total expenditure was about 83½ lakhs (approx. £556,000).

619 In the Aden interior the tribes nominate their own chiefs or sultans. The Sultan is never a tribesman himself, but comes from

664 other concerning the protection of goods belonging to the sub-
185 jects. There is also a fourth pact wherein Your Highness undertook to take action against any party that should transgress against another party, to punish the offenders, restore looted property, and check the transgressors, according to this treaty, until such time as God wills. This treaty is dated 13th Jumād ath Thani 1342 (1923). It also embodies other conditions which have not been carried into effect.

"A fifth treaty was likewise concluded between Seiyid Hussein bin Hāmid al Mihdhār, representative of the Qu'aiti Government, on the one part, and the Sultan of the Āl Abdulla on the other, on 25th Ramadhan 1344 (1925). Thereafter an agreement was concluded between both the Governments, the Qu'aiti and the Āl 'Abdulla, on the one part, and the Āl 'Awāmir on the other. This pact is dated 12th Rajab 1345 (1926), and in it the Āl 'Awāmir undertook not to interfere with travellers belonging to either Government, or with other travellers, within their respective boundaries, even though they might happen to be in a state of war. This is the sixth pact.

"There is also a seventh treaty between Sultan Salih bin Ghalib bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti on the one part, and the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla on the other. The first Article provides that: 'Both Governments should co-operate to bring about a settlement, and maintain peace and security, and set at rest all agitations and disturbances by any means which will lead to conciliation. In the event of the said measures not being successful they should use all possible power to enforce the same.' In the fourth Article it is laid down that 'Both Governments shall endeavour to take the necessary measures for the security of the routes, and the protection of the poor and others from the effect of the strife and fighting which invariably occur between the tribesmen.'"

The petition bore sixty signatures of the leading inhabitants of the Kathīri part of the valley, and purported to speak on behalf of the "Hadhrami nation". It was addressed to the Qu'aiti and Kathīri Sultans. I do not think that the petition was intended to be on behalf of the inhabitants of the Qu'aiti domain but it was rather directed against the working of Qu'aiti policy *vis à vis* the Kathīri. It was rejected by Sultan 'Umar on the ground that the petitioners were not representative, but it was supported by the Kathīri Sultan.

651 As regards taxation, the position is that goods entering the country
653 are taxed at Mukalla. If they are intended for the Kathīri part of the valley they are often taken by sea to Shihr where they are taxed again. None of this money is used in maintaining security on the road from Shihr to Tarim, and none of it is used to improve communications for the people by whom it is paid. The Al Kaf Seiyids have spent $180,000 in attempting to build a Tarim-Shihr

car road. The really difficult part of the construction has been completed, from Tarim onwards towards Gheil. Much of the money was paid out to the Beduins, and in particular the Hamumis agreed that the road should be safe. At the request of the Qu'aiti the route of the road was changed as he was afraid that the Hamumis would have increased facilities for movement and raiding. Large sums of money were then disbursed on the Ma'di tribes through whose territory the Qu'aiti asked that the road should go. There is no doubt that the road could have been successfully completed, and the Al Kaf Seiyids were, and still are, willing to bear the whole cost. Sufficient support, however, was not received from the Qu'aitis and the work was stopped by Sultan 'Umar. 651 653

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

Mukalla is the seat of Government of the Qu'aiti state. His Highness the Sultan, who is an absolute monarch in so far as the internal affairs of his state are concerned, has his principal palace there. The old palace of the Kasadis near the Customs in the centre of the old part of the town has now been turned into Government offices where the *Wazir* and other officials are in daily attendance. 643

The *Wazir* has a general superintendence over all departments of Government and presides over the *Wazir's* Court (*Hakm ad Dola.*) He is also the Governor of the Mukalla Province. The Treasurer superintends the schools, the dispensary, the passport work, and registration of sales and transfers of land. He sees to all disbursements on behalf of the state and collects certain of the internal revenue. The Mukalla Customs, which were formerly farmed, as the Shihr and other customs still are, is a Government department with a paid staff. The Chief of Customs also superintends the work of the port, though there is a special shipping clerk who prepares shipping papers for the *Wazir's* signature, and there are the usual manifest clerks employed by the Customs. The Commander of the Forces, who is more of a Minister for War, also controls the prison. The uniformed police are under the command of a Shaush, and the slave police are under a slave who is also the police magistrate. The medical officer has charge of the dispensary and in addition performs port health work. He is assisted by a qualified compounder who also has certain municipal duties. 646

As examples of the monthly salaries paid to officials of the Qu'aiti state, the following may be cited: *Wazir*, $1,000; Chief of Customs, Rs.225; Doctor, Rs.200; Treasurer, Rs.100; Commander of the Forces, Rs.100; English Master, Rs.80; State Photographer, Rs.60. Most of the officials are given quarters. 465

There was at one time a species of State Council in Mukalla, but it was dissolved by the present *Wazir* and a Council of Qadhis instituted instead. The function of this Council is not immediately apparent. At the time of my visit there was some talk 645

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM8



The sanitary systems, if any, vary throughout the large towns of the Hadhramaut. There are no drainage or sewerage systems in Mukalla. The houses for the most part are equipped with pit-latrines cleared every six months or a year. Waste water runs out from gullies projecting from the walls of the houses. At the time of my first visit there were 25 sweepers in charge of a *muqaddam* who were said to work from early morning till noon, and from two till six, but, apart from the main market street, there appeared to be little evidence of their activities. Since that time the number has been slightly increased, and, under the doctor's superintendence, the streets are somewhat cleaner. 364

In Shihr the waste water is allowed to settle into pools. As a consequence mosquitoes are a serious pest, but there is said to be little fever. There were no anopheles amongst specimens I captured. In Shibam there is a system of narrow gutters running down the middle of the streets. These become congested with rubbish and are rarely cleaned out, but when they are the refuse is sold.

## Water Supply.

The water supply of Mukalla is brought from a reservoir at Baqrein, about four miles distant. The source is a mile further away at Bakezebur where there is a long series of deep wells, mostly protected by a stone coping but with no covering. These wells were constructed by labourers brought from Gheil ba Wazir where there are men " who know how to make waterworks ". The wells are connected at the bottom by a subterranean passage, used by those who clean the channel, along which the water flows till it emerges into an open cement channel leading to the reservoir at Baqrein. This reservoir is divided into compartments and the water passes through them into a delivery pipe. The outfall to the delivery pipe is partially protected from debris by a wire trap, and just outside the reservoir there is a covered manhole. There is no filter system and for the greater part of its length the supply is entirely unprotected, but the water is clear and apparently clean. It is conducted in pipes to the side of the mountain, along which it runs in a covered masonry channel, except where it is carried across gaps in pipes supported by piles. In the town there are reservoirs fitted with taps from which the water carriers draw their supply. Water supply is only laid on to the palaces and a few mosques. 365 312

The work was planned and begun by Sultan 'Awadh as a *Waqf* and was completed by Sultan 'Umar. It reflects great credit on the Mukalla administration, and if some protective measures were adopted would be, I should imagine, an unimpeachable supply. It is fortunate that cholera and typhoid are apparently unknown in Mukalla as it would be extraordinarily easy to contaminate the supply which, as I say, is unprotected, unfiltered, and not chlorinated. 365 653 164

There are several wells in Mukalla in which the water is brackish. The palaces, the Wazir's house, and the guest-house are fitted with 312 000

The Kathīris have no organised Governmental institutions in the accepted sense of the word, though the Sultan and his supporters, including the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun, are very anxious for progress. Sultan 'Ali's state income is estimated at $20,000 a year in respect of Seiyun, Taris and Mariama; $6,000 of this is a direct contribution from the Al Kaf Seiyids, and the remainder consists of taxes on dates and on goods entering Seiyun. The whole sum is expended on state services, for Sultan 'Ali has a private income derived from Singapore. He maintains a force consisting of 200 indifferently armed slave soldiers in Seiyun, and 200 in Tarim. 643 642 651 565

In Tarim the Al Kaf contribute $12,000 a year to the city Treasury. There is a Town Council which organises the local taxation, and thanks to the Al Kaf Seiyids its affairs are said to be run in a very business-like way, for its budget balances. In normal times the political expenditure on maintaining peace between Tarim and the neighbouring tribes is perhaps $4,000 a year, and this is all borne by the Al Kafs. But to this normal expenditure is often added extraordinary expenditure as, for instance, in a case which occurred about May 1934, when Seiyid Bubekr, the second brother of the family, spent $12,000 in settling a dispute between Tarim and the Tamimis. 651 632 565

In Tarim and Seiyun there is a doctor and dispensary, but they are supported by the Seiyids. At the time of my visit, the doctor, a Punjabi, was on leave and such work as was being carried on was being done by a dispenser. No great public use was made of his services. The dispensary costs the Al Kafs about $1,000 a month, and they spend $2,000 a month on charities and roads. As regards their expenditure on communications it should be recorded that they built all the water pools on the caravan route from Tarim to Shihr, that they spent $7,000 on building a pass at Al 'Arsha for caravans, and that Seiyid Bubekr has spent over $180,000 on road making between Tarim and Shihr. 743 565 735 653

The schools in Kathīri territory are almost entirely supported by the wealthy Seiyids. There are two Ribāts, religious foundations, principally supported by *Waqfs* (religious endowments) for the teaching of religion and philosophy. Of these one is in Seiyun and has an attendance of 40 students, and the other is in Tarim with an attendance of 120. The Saqqaf family of Seiyids maintain two schools in Seiyun, one containing 500 boys and seven teachers, the other 100 boys and four teachers, and the Al Kafs, who also contribute to the Ribāts, run two schools in Tarim. One of these formerly had an attendance of 400 boys but it is now only attended by children of the family, numbering 54. The other, a public school, accommodates between 300 and 400 boys. The Al Kafs also run one if not two schools at Khoreiba in Wadi Du'an in Qu'aiti territory. They are, in fact, the only people undertaking educational activities in a wider sense in that province. I believe, too, that they support the private schools in Mukalla and Shihr. 565 871

1933. In these last eighteen months however, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and otherwise, runs into over one hundred, in fact, into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included, for Mukalla has recently had the fresh experience of seeing bus loads of tourists from steamers driving through its street.

The more frequent and more intensive incursion of European visitors is of course in itself a great contrast with the recent past, but I think that the contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country in the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every Badawin and tribesman in the country carried his rifle with him, even to walk across the street. Blood feuds were widespread, and even harmless travellers of the unarmed classes were at times likely to lose not only their property but their lives. Travellers by motor car had to take with them an escort when passing from village to village. In places there were extensive systems of trenches to pass from the villages to the fields, and I know of people who have spent as much as twenty years without getting beyond their own doors.

Now however all this has passed and it is comparatively rarely that you see a tribesman carrying a rifle, indeed many of them do not even carry the *jambiyas* or curved daggers which are almost as much a part of their dress as a walking-stick was of ours. How all this has come to pass is more a matter of the history of the Hadhramaut than its geography, but I should simply like to say that it was largely through the will of the people who have a genuine desire for peace and for the following of peaceful pursuits.

This new peace has resulted in a much greater contact between tribes and between different parts of the country and has made possible a great extension in communications. Eighteen months ago there were about half a dozen motors on the coast and about sixty in the interior, carried up by camels. By the completion of the Al Kaf road Tarim has been linked with Shihr and passenger-carrying lorries ply almost daily between the coast and the interior. When I left the country a couple of months ago there were at least two hundred motor vehicles in it and every ship was bringing one or two. Many more car tracks have been made and cars now go to almost all parts of the Hadhramaut, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is also constructing another remarkably good motor road to the Hadhramaut which is being built northwards from Mukalla and southwards from Du'an. Something over 20 miles of the former and 10 of the latter had been completed when I left; about 60 miles remains to be done, of which the greater part is over the flat *jols* and offers no particular difficulties of construction. Starting from Mukalla you can now motor at least 300 miles in the Hadhramaut without recrossing your tracks, and there are over 500 miles of tracks altogether.

The possibilities of air transport have also been greatly improved. There were, eighteen months ago, eight landing-grounds in the five Sultanates in the eastern part of the Protectorate of which only three, Mukalla, Shibam, and Qishn, were used at all frequently. New landing-grounds have been constructed at Tarim, Seiyun, Hurseidha, Al 'Abr, 'Azzan, Balhaf, Rieib,

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage. An energetic Agricultural Officer appointed by the Colonial Office has initiated experiments that are producing very promising results on the Audhali plateau to the north-east of Aden, and in other districts where water is available for irrigation. Medical and educational progress is as yet only in its initial stage, but a beginning has been made in the establishment of local dispensaries, and the institution at Aden of a Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs has met with encouraging success.

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It is a fundamental principle of our policy in the Aden Protectorate that the Arab character of the country must be preserved. In this respect the Protectorate differs from the colony of Aden, which it adjoins. The colony is a small territory comprising the town and port of Aden; and, although the majority of its inhabitants are Arabs, it has long been a cosmopolitan community, in which Europeans, Indians, Jews, and Somalis mingle with the Arabs in friendly co-operation and a common loyalty to the British Crown and administration. The Protectorate, on the other hand, is recognized to be wholly Arab country. There is no intention on the part of the British Government to annex any part of it or to introduce any direct British administration.

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Our ambition and our hope are to produce in Southern Arabia an example of friendly and willing British and Arab co-operation, in which we give the best we can in the shape of advice and technical help without disturbing the national characteristics of the people. All efforts at reform are fated to meet with opposition from some quarters, and especially from those that are interested in the maintenance of old abuses, and our experience in the Aden Protectorate is no exception in this respect. On the whole, however, we have received a cordial, and often an eager, response. British officers working in Aden and the Protectorate have been rewarded not only with understanding and support, but also with liking and friendship that have bound them by personal ties to these Arabs, who have so much in common with the British in their individualism, their adventurousness, their humour, and their love of freedom. Now, when the Empire is at war and is passing through critical days, it is a pleasure and an encouragement to see the spontaneous loyalty and affection that have been displayed by the people of Aden reflected also in the Protectorate that we so long neglected but are now at last trying sincerely to befriend. In the towns and in remote villages in the mountains the people have gathered in their mosques to pray for British victory. Their friendship did not falter in the dark days of last summer, and now that victories have

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



often very poor in water, but, over and above this, countless internal wars make traffic dangerous and force travellers to go by very circuitous routes. This is why the Ḥaḍramī seldom knows his own country well. A learned Ḥaḍramī whom I knew formerly said to me quite truly: "I know all the volcanoes of Java and all the stations on its main railway lines, but I cannot give you any information about the wādīs and mountains a few hours distant from my home." The Sultan of Sēwūn is a relatively favourable exception to this rule in that he has seen Aden; he went there to attend a conference convened by the British authorities, where an attempt was made to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Qeᶜēṭī and Kathīrī rulers. He desires to see more of the world, including Java, the land in which three quarters of his subjects have interests. The great difficulty, however, is to get over the Qeᶜēṭī barrier, and for that an aeroplane is necessary. The site for the future aerodrome which was shown to us seemed quite suitable.

In the evening there is again a gathering on the roof-terrace at ᶜIzz ed-Dīn. The subject brought forward for discussion is the poverty of Ḥaḍramaut and how relief from it may be obtained. In and around Sēwūn the water-level is not deep, which fact accounts for the prosperous palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. But the water-supply would have to be enlarged if it is to help the people really forward. This cannot be done by motor pumps, because they are too expensive in practice. The pump at Hēnin has to work eight hours a day to keep in existence a few acres of *dhura* and 200 small palm-trees, and that costs more in kerosene and lubricating oil than can ever be made from the produce of the irrigated land. The soil in Sēwūn is better and water nearer to the surface, and yet experience has taught that here also the motor pump does not pay. Can matters not be improved by means of artesian wells? The Sultan asks us to help by sending an expert with the necessary instruments. He says that at one time, in the days of the Ḥimyaritic kingdom, Ḥaḍramaut must have been

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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prosperous. Great irrigation works for collecting and distributing water were constructed. There is no longer united action, the reservoirs have gone to wrack and ruin, and now, every year, quantities of life-giving water stream down to the sea and are wasted. This matter was discussed again thoroughly later in Terīm.

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May 26th is the day fixed for our departure for Terīm. In the morning, cars are placed at our disposal to enable us to make a tour through the city and its surroundings for taking photographs. We thankfully seize this opportunity of making a pictorial record of some of the fine houses and views of this city in a forest of palms in the midst of the desert. In photographing the es-Saqqāf town house it is impossible to evade the pressing invitation of Sayyid Hūd es-Saqqāf to come in and have a glass of tea, so we promise to do so as soon as we have finished photographing. We cannot pass the cemetery without taking snapshots of some graves with light-green cupolas with unostentatious, beautiful, open-work borders. There are also several small mosques in picturesque situations. The Sultan kindly allowed us to admire the city of Sēwūn from the roof of his palace. Noticeable here in this great palace are the order and cleanliness which literally gleam out at the visitor. It is especially in the palaces, with the many soldiers quartered in them and with the many guests, that the contrary is often the case. It takes some time before the women in the corridors and on the staircases, where we have to pass, can be warned of our approach. When this has been successfully done we saunter through deserted passages of mud and ascend by well-constructed even staircases to the shining white roof. Here we stand on the most beautiful site in Ḥaḍramaut. Terīm does its best to equal it and has more to show in great palaces, but here is grace, here is the happy variation of deep-green, luxuriant gardens and fine summer residences, here the Ḥaḍramī style, pure and harmonious, has been adhered to.

In the house of the namesake of Hūd, Ḥaḍramaut's great prophet, the promised glass of tea is awaiting us. The grey-

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



132 to make it one of the most favourable for many years. The rains of November and December were judged to have been the heaviest seen for thirty years.

731 Unfortunately the cultivator was in many areas, particularly the eastern districts, unable to make full use of these favourable conditions. This was the result of the bad season of 1948 which had caused famine in the Wadis 'Amd and Rakhya of the Hadhramaut, and continued to cause famine for the first four months of 1949. Famine relief and rehabilitation measures were largely responsible for getting farmers in these western Hadhramaut districts back to work, and by the end of the year there was little indication that a famine had existed in the early months of the year. In the Hadramaut important famine relief and famine prevention measures were adopted ; of outstanding importance was the introduction of a pump scheme financed by the States, and by the end of the year considerable progress had been made with this scheme. Conditions were severe in the 'Aulaqi districts of the Western Protectorate, but other districts, notably Abyan, had surplus grain stocks, and the districts which were short were able to draw on these supplies and move them, mainly by camel transport, to where needed.

653 248 The year 1949 saw great expansion in the Abyan scheme ; offices and staff buildings were built, supplies were accumulated, and important irrigation work was extended, particularly in the region of the Wadi Hassan. The year saw the emergence of Abyan as a successful producer of long staple cotton, and the harvest from some 82 acres (which averaged 1,750 lb. of seed cotton to the acre) was ginned on a roller gin in Abyan, pressed on a hand press in Aden, and exported to Liverpool for sale to the Raw Cotton Commission. Planting for the 1949–50 crop was extended to over 1,000 acres.

*Rainfall, Crop and Livestock Conditions*

132 731 *Saif Rains Season.* An abundant Saif rain was received in almost all districts of the Protectorate in 1949. In parts of the Eastern Protectorate the rains came late, but were heavy ; and in the Hadhramaut considerable destruction was caused to irrigation works from the resulting floods. The great Nuqra Dam, which had stood successfully for the previous two flood seasons, received the full weight of the combined floods of the Wadi 'Idim and Wadi Ser and was breached owing to a blow-up of the apron caused by excessive up-stream pressure.

241 The Saif rains were badly needed. They gave the cultivator, hard pressed through the previous bad season, a chance to grow grain and fodder crops with which to build up his condition in readiness for cultivation in the Kharif season.

132 *Kharif Rains Season.* Rain followed close on the finish of the Saif, and in almost all districts the rainfall was sufficient for the needs of the cultivator. In November, 1949, the Protectorate was blessed with that rare visitation, a general winter rainfall, which fell with exceptional heaviness, particularly in the north-eastern areas from Beihan across

7; Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



accounts section the position was particularly serious; but equally important was the lack of essential hydrological data on such matters as river discharges, the availability of suitable storage sites, studies on percolation and so on. Without such information progress must be delayed. 654

As mentioned earlier, the X1730A type of cotton planted on 82 acres in 1948, proved a great success. The crop was ginned and marketed by the Board, and arrangements with cultivators for the new season's planting resulted in an extension of the acreage to 1,097 acres. At the end of 1949 the crop showed great promise, and in many areas appeared even better than the previous year's crop. 248 242 654

Grain, oil-seed and fodder production was satisfactory, though grain yields were reduced in many areas through double-cropping the land with a sorghum fodder crop in the Saif season and then a grain crop in the Kharif.

A great deal of the land in Abyan which has been well irrigated for the past five years is now becoming heavily infested with weeds, mainly the weed grass *Desmostachya bipinnata*. The introduction of cotton as a cleaning crop and the "drying up" and resting with or without cultivation, of these heavily infested lands is now recognised as an urgent matter. In order to tackle the weed problem the Board increased its tractor strength by the purchase of three Fowler Diesel crawler tractors in the last quarter of 1949. 654 137 242

Another problem which came to notice towards the end of 1949 was the rapid rise in the height of the water table in certain areas. The area involved does not exceed 300 acres, but already in this area (where in places the water table has risen to within six feet of the surface) salts are appearing in the upper layers of the soil, and vegetation, particularly in the seedling stage, has been affected. It was noticed that cotton, once established, flourished and appeared exceedingly healthy on these salt-impregnated soils. 133 242

*Anti-Famine Measures*

In the first four-and-a-half months of 1949 until general rains fell over the Eastern Protectorate, famine again threatened human life in the Hadhramaut. Relief measures were introduced, as in the previous famine, but this time so promptly that practically no deaths from famine occurred. Again aircraft of the Royal Air Force came to the rescue and dropped grain supplies to the worst affected areas. Large quantities of grain were moved inland by motor transport and any camel transport that could be mustered; at the same time large numbers of the destitute, particularly women and children, were brought down or walked down to the coastal towns, where they were accommodated in refugee camps and fed. To employ labour on relief works an extensive programme of road construction, and irrigation repair works and new construction was undertaken. 731 [653]

When rain fell, it was again found necessary to issue loans to

7: Gr. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



731 cultivators to get them back to their villages and re-establish them in time to sow their crops.

The famine of 1948–49 struck the western districts of Hadhramaut, where the situation was complicated by the dependence of these districts on rain and run-off water and flow irrigation from the wadis for crop production, and where large sections of the population relied on remittances from Hyderabad, which had been absorbed into the Indian Union, and from which transfers of currency had become difficult. Finally the repatriation of several thousand Southern Arabians, many of them from the tribes most seriously affected by the famine, brought further hardship.

Little could be done to improve agricultural conditions rapidly in these western areas of the Hadhramaut. It was therefore necessary to look to the lower areas of the main wadi where water is obtainable at easy levels, and farming can be secured by permanent irrigation.

Animal power for use on lift irrigation, and dependent on fodder crops cheaply produced only from the flood-irrigated areas, was now judged to have reached its maximum use. The Famine Relief Commissioner—in this case the Acting Resident Adviser—was advised that a large-scale pump scheme, using diesel-engined units, was the only measure which appeared to show promise of quick improvement in food production. The Commissioner and the States accepted this advice in detail and made important decisions in council which were framed to abolish all taxes on diesel engine and pumps for use on irrigation work, and on diesel oil (gas oil), and to purchase and supply cultivators with machinery for cash or for deferred payments.

731 489 The States further caused revision of an important agreement with Beduin tribes regarding the transport of fuel. In the past all trade goods, including petrol, kerosene oil, and lubricating oil, had been carried by camel caravans owned by Beduin tribes occupying the country between the coastal plain and the great wadis of the interior. With the opening of the road to the interior some fourteen years ago it was agreed that motor transport should carry only passengers and small quantities of personal luggage. In the present emergency the Beduin leaders were told of the need for motor transport to carry diesel oil for a famine relief scheme and were shown that the normal system of supplying diesel oil was in 44-gallon drums which have to be broken and repacked in drums of a size convenient for camel transport. The Beduins agreed to waive their rights, and so, for the first time in Hadhramaut history, a truly mechanised scheme, independent of the camel caravans—which are entirely dependent on fodder grazing and water supplies, which may fail in a drought—was evolved.

653 406 312 It was decided to spend up to £36,000 on a pump scheme. The Famine Relief Commission, acting on behalf of the States, arranged to purchase the machinery and to sell outright for cash or on a deferred payment system, in which case 25 per cent was added to the price for repayment over a four-year period. Speed was essential, and quotations and prices were examined for nearly every type of diesel-engined

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



pumping unit in the 5-horse-power to 7½-horse-power range. Quotations for the better known slow-running machines had, unfortunately, to be ruled out because of the long period required for delivery, usually six months to two years. High speed engines could, however, be secured and an order was accordingly placed with a well-known firm of irrigation equipment manufacturers. From this firm 60 7½-horse-power and 60 5-horse-power units were obtained, together with piping and fittings. Owing to steel shortages, only rubber piping for delivery lines and armoured hose for suction lines could be obtained.

By the end of 1949 80 per cent of the direct coupled machinery had been allocated and most of it was in use, while the belt-driven machinery was on hand and awaiting accessories and locally-made fittings, such as bed plates and water tanks.

A difficulty which became apparent early on in the scheme was the reluctance of local agents in Aden—who had sold the machinery to the Hadhramaut States—to appoint efficient sub-agents in the Hadhramaut, who would provide servicing facilities and supply spare parts promptly. By the end of 1949 the Famine Relief Commission was employing a mechanic to inspect and service pumps operating in the scheme. Further unexpected difficulties arose because no spare parts had arrived in the Hadhramaut by the end of 1949 and it had become necessary to "cannibalise" seven of the 7½-horse-power engines and one 5-horse-power engine, in order to secure the spare parts required. In spite of these difficulties, there was definite progress, particularly among the more industrious cultivators who were able to equip their wells in readiness for the winter wheat season. Among the better farmers a 5-horse-power unit was made to water 5 acres of crops, while 7½-horse-power unit would do 7½ to 8 acres.

In 1950, in order to cope with repairs and servicing, the Quaiti and Kathiri States contributed to a pump scheme which included a workshop under European management and mechanics to service the pumps in the field. The workshop held adequate spares for the machines imported by Government, and the scheme benefited by the visits of engineers from several British manufacturers of pumping units.

By the end of 1950 no fewer than 280 diesel-driven units, Government sponsored or privately owned, were operating in the Hadhramaut.

A major drive in the construction of dams and deflectors was begun late in 1949 and continued during 1950. *Lujnas (local councils)* were formed to finance and administer the construction of dams at such places as Muthawwar Du'an, Soran, Dhahban, Jahail, Bin Saheil, Al Koda, Khushm Assawahili, Ad Dhib, etc.

Works on the Nuqra dam, which is being constructed as a permanent cement erection financed from Colonial Development and Welfare grants, made tremendous progress during 1950.

In May, 1950 too, a Fowler diesel tractor with the bulldozer attachment was imported into the Hadhramaut to assist with the work of building earth banks.

7; Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



491 cases new roads cut through difficult country. Nearly all roads are extremely rough, and surfaces are rarely repaired.

The following routes are open for motor traffic :

| | | | Miles |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman | to | Lahej | 16 |
| " " | " | Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " | " | Museimir | 61 |
| " " | " | Dhala | 88 |
| Aden | " | Zinjibar | 40 |
| Zinjibar | " | Ja'ar | 16 |
| " | " | Al Husn | 16 |
| " | " | Dirjaj | 17 |
| " | " | Sheikh Abdulla | 6 |
| " | " | Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra | " | Am Surra | 30 |
| " | " | Lodar | 50 |
| " | " | Mudia | 68 |
| " | " | Am Quleita | 78 |
| " | " | Ahwar | 76 |
| " | " | Irqa (E. Aden Protectorate) | 48 |

509 A regular air service by Aden Airways was maintained during the summer months between Aden and Mukeiras, and was used for transporting vegetables for the Aden market. Other existing landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala and Beihan.

492 Where no motors can yet penetrate the traffic of the country is carried on camel caravans, which still travel to Aden in large numbers, or in the more mountainous districts small donkeys are employed for both passengers and goods.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

653 The famine of 1948–49 showed the necessity for all-weather roads
491 for motor transport from the coast to the interior. In a grain shortage
499 camel transport is of little use, the camels becoming too weak from lack of fodder to be really dependable.

In 1949 a request for a Colonial Development and Welfare grant of £15,360 for the construction of all-weather roads to the Hadhramaut (Scheme D.1035) was approved and early in 1950 work began on the construction of drains, Irish bridges, culverts, and weeping bridges, on the Al Kaf road to the interior. In addition, the dangerous Maadi Pass on this road was reconstructed, and a large river-bed on the road between Mukalla and Riyan was successfully bridged saving some miles of detour. Attention was also given to the task of reconstructing the west road to Du'an and the Hadramaut to make it passable all the year round.

Later in 1950 approval was given by the Secretary of State for an additional £15,000 for the further improvement of internal com-

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



munication in the Eastern Aden Protectorate—Scheme D.1373. Of this project the road between Bir Ali and Balhaf has been completed, work is now proceeding on the Meifa-Bir Ali stretch, and a start was made in December, 1950, with the new Jahi-Rubat (Du'an) road. 653 491 499

Further, a road was constructed in the north linking Shibam and Henin with the tribal centre of Reidat-as-Sei'ar on the edge of the Ruba' al Khali and resurfacing of the Wadi Hadhramaut road between Tarim and Qassam, Shibam and Qatn and Ajlaniya and Qa'udha was carried out to facilitate transport in the main agricultural areas.

Considerable help was given by the former Director of Public Works, Aden and the Executive Engineer, Aden, who visited the Eastern Aden Protectorate and submitted valuable reports, with recommendations as to the repair and maintenance of roads, which are being implemented to the extent that local finances and labour resources permit.

*Air Communications* have also improved in the past two years. A weekly service by Aden Airways Ltd. was maintained between Aden and Riyan (17 miles from Mukalla) and late in 1950 was extended to Al Qatn. The interior of the Hadhramaut is now within reach of Aden and the protracted delays travellers formerly faced are a thing of the past. 509

Special planes were flown direct from Riyan and Qatn to Hedjaz for the 1950 pilgrimage.

*Sea Communications* were maintained by occasional visits of coastal steamers based on Aden, and more frequent trips by motor dhows and small powered craft. 505

# Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

## SITUATION AND AREA

The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. 101 131

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramout MM2

*ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

642 THE years 1951 and 1952 were marked by (a) Government penetration
648 into the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom (Maan) at the invitation of the Ruler and the subsequent formation of the United Administration of Maan and Khalifa; (b) the conclusion of two Advisory Treaties with the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and Audhali Sultan (May and July, 1952)
647 and a joint Advisory and Protectorate Treaty with His Highness the Sultan of Lahej; (c) the formation of the Fadhli—Lower Yafa' Health Board; and (d) the formation of the Lower Aulaqi Regency Council in Ahwar (August, 1952).

Politically the period under review was one of consolidation and development of the administrations of the various States in the Protectorate.

438 The Abyan Board did well in 1951 when it sold 9,890 bales of cotton for £867,088. In 1952 the rains were not so plentiful with the result that only 6,300 bales were sold for £725,810.

648 Relations with the neighbouring Kingdom of the Yemen remained difficult in spite of the Modus Vivendi Agreement concluded with it in London in January, 1951. Interference in affairs well inside the Protectorate boundary was a cause of friction.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

622 In the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States the main constitutional advance has been in the setting up of town and village councils to deal with local affairs.

659 Of necessity both Administrations have been preoccupied with measures to combat the threat of food shortage which must always be
654 faced in this region of uncertain rainfall. The States and local author-
653 ities have maintained dumps of grain, which are designed to tide over a period of scarcity before imports can arrive from the coast, and a
245 periodical check is made on resources of motor transport to ensure that distribution of supplies is not held up by failure of camel traffic in an emergency. Positive measures have been taken to increase local food supplies. Funds have been allocated for loans to farmers to purchase pumps to increase areas of cultivation. Schemes for the rebuilding of dams and for flood control have been put into effect. Particular attention has been paid to the rehabilitation of date palms.

G.Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52) 1954 MM1 Aden Hadhramaut MN2



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mukalla Regular Army (paid by Qu'aiti State) | 17 Officers 332 other ranks | Security in the Qu'aiti State. |

In addition there are the following police forces.

| State | Force | Establishment | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Qu'aiti | Mukalla Police | 101 | Paid by Qu'aiti State. |
| | Qu'aiti Armed Constabulary | 530 | Paid by Qu'aiti State for rural districts. |
| Kathiri | Civil Police | 25 | For towns of Sai'un, Tarim and Hautaf Ahmed bin Zain. Paid by Kathiri State. |
| | Kathiri Armed Constabulary | 112 | For rural districts. 18 paid by Kathiri State, balance by Her Majesty's Government. |
| Wahidi | Wahidi Tribal Guards | 232 | These carry out police duties, in addition to garrison and security roles. 93 paid by Wahidi States, remainder by Her Majesty's Government. |

# Chapter 9: Public Utilities and Public Works

## WESTERN PROTECTORATE

There are small electric power plants run by the Lahej Sultanate for a few domestic consumers and by the Abyan Board for its own domestic and workshop requirements.

There are no gas installations or public water supplies other than the irrigation projects described in Chapter 6.

There are organised Public Works Departments in the Lahej and Fadhli States which are mainly occupied in the maintenance and construction of public buildings and roads.

## EASTERN PROTECTORATE

There is a small power-house in Mukalla publicly administered and owned. The voltage is 240 volts, 3 phase, 50 cycles, A.C., driven by three engines with a capacity of 49, 110 and 220 B.H.P. respectively. The total number of consumers is 700 and the annual output is 114,268 units.

Public Works Departments exist in the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



653 Their chief function is the construction and maintenance of state buildings and roads throughout the territories. In the main towns in the Qu'aiti State the department is responsible for the upkeep of the conduits bringing in water from springs outside. All air landing grounds, except Riyan, are maintained by the Public Works Department of the two States.

# Chapter 10: Communications

## WESTERN PROTECTORATE

494 491 Increasing use is being made of motor vehicles. These are for the most part driven along sandy beaches, dry river beds or across open desert, but in some places tracks have been improved and in a few cases new roads cut through difficult country. Nearly all roads are extremely rough and surfaces are rarely repaired.

The following routes are open for motor traffic:

| | *Miles* |
|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman to Lahej | 16 |
| " " " Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " " Museimir | 61 |
| " " " Dhala | 88 |
| Aden to Zinjibar | 40 |
| Zinjibar to Ja'ar | 6 |
| " " Al Husn | 16 |
| " " Dirjaj | 17 |
| " " Sheikh Abdulla | 6 |
| " " Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra to Am Surra | 30 |
| " " Lodar | 50 |
| " " Mudia | 68 |
| " " Am Quleita | 78 |
| " " Mahfid | 145 |
| " " Habban (Eastern Protectorate) | 195 |
| " " Said | 196 |
| " " Nisab | 253 |
| " " *Beihan al Qasab* | *373* |
| " " Ahwar | 76 |
| " " Irqa (Eastern Protectorate) | 124 |

509 712 A regular air service by Aden Airways is maintained between Aden and Mukeiras. Other landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala, Beihan, Qoban (Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom) and Sah (Upper Aulaqi Sultanate).

492 Where no motors can yet penetrate, the traffic of the country is carried on camel caravans which still travel to Aden in large numbers; in the more mountainous districts small donkeys are employed for both passengers and goods.

205 There are no post offices in the Western Protectorate.

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654 RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT--government-supported research in applied science (e.g., agriculture, fisheries, mining, forestry, nutrition, medicine); public extension and demonstration services; government subsidies to weak or essential industries (e.g., airlines, shipping, agriculture); exploration; coast, geodetic, and geological surveys; meteorological research and weather stations; etc. See also:


| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mining and forestry | 31 | Agricultural science | 242 |
| Water and air transport | 50 | Exploring expeditions | 484 |
| Cultural goals | 185 | Military research | 711 |
| Marine industries | 228 | Public Health | 744 |

Sultan Awadh died in 1909 and was succeeded by his son Ghalib, a man of advanced views, who was extremely anxious for the development of his country in which he established peace and good order. His application for, and financing of, a mission to investigate agricultural and mineral resources of his country deserves special mention. He approached the High Commissioner for Egypt, and in 1919 Mr. O. H. Little was sent to report on the mineral resources and Mr. H. M. Heald on the agriculture. Mr. Little's report appeared in 1925, "The Geography and Geology of Mukalla," and the results of the agricultural survey appear in Mr. Heald's official report. 643 654

Sultan Ghalib died, universally regretted, in 1922, and was succeeded by his brother 'Umar, whose achievements will sufficiently appear elsewhere in this report. The present Sultan, whose accession to the Mukalla state was determined by the will of Sultan Ghalib, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. 643

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The late Qu'aiti Sultan was absent from the country during my visit, and in fact the greater part of his reign was spent in India. Just prior to my visit, however, he had performed a tour of the Hadhramaut, and this was the first occasion on which a reigning Sultan had undertaken the journey. Leaving Mukalla on 29th July His Highness, who was accompanied by his *Wazir*, other officials 200 soldiers and a brass band, arrived at Wadi Du'an on 4th August. He stayed in Du'an six days and left for Hajarein on the 10th August. The party reached Hajarein on the evening of the 11th, and next day left by car for Meshhed. On the 14th, Hureidha was reached and Haura the same evening. On the 15th, His Highness proceeded to Al Qatn where he spent two days, and left on the 17th for Shibam where he stayed seven days, during which the Kathiri Sultan visited him with a large retinue and invited him to the Kathiri part of the wadi. Sultan 'Umar arrived at Seiyun on the 24th and was well received. He proceeded next day to Tarim, and on the 26th visited 'Einat, returning to Tarim the same day. On the 27th he returned to Shibam, where he stayed a further week before going to Al Qatn on 3rd September. On his way back to Mukalla, which he reached on the 14th, Sultan 'Umar visited 643 484 [644]

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The Naqib succeeded in procrastinating until his troops returned from Du'an, when war ensued and the Qu'aitis were defeated. This war was known as the Nuzia or struggle for half the share. 648 643

The Qu'aiti then had recourse to the British Government who ordered the Naqib to pay the amount claimed. On his failure he was removed from Mukalla, and thus in al Hijja 1299 (A.D. 1882) Mukalla and its dependencies came into the possession of 'Abdulla and 'Awadh bin 'Umar.

In Muharram 1307 (1888) the Qu'aiti entered into a treaty with the British, and was recognised as Sultan of Mukalla and its dependencies. When 'Abdulla died, there was a dispute between 'Awadh and the sons of 'Abdulla as to the paramountcy. The British Government intervened and ordered the removal of 'Abdulla's sons in consideration of compensation to be paid. Then Sultan 'Awadh and his descendants became the rulers of the whole country.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



by men and also serve for fodder. It is sold by *ma'bar*, a basket of about 30 to 40 lb. The price for eight baskets is from one to three dollars.

*Hanit* (cooked and dried *tamad* fish). About fifteen to twenty *bahars* of this are made a day in Mukalla and sold for local and up country consumption.

*Safif* (dried *tarnak* and *tamad* fish). This used to be made only from the *tarnak* but now includes *tamad* as well.

*Lakhm* (dried shark). A great deal is prepared in Mukalla and one *frasila* costs one and a half to two and a-half dollars.

*Rish* (shark fins). A certain amount of these are exported to China.

The fish manufactories have been removed from the town of Mukalla, a sanitary measure for which credit is due to Sultan 'Umar. The drying-grounds and godowns for *wazif* are situated beyond Therb, the camel park, outside the western gate. Here too there are old fish-oil tanks. The drying of fish for human consumption takes place at Al Khalf, east of the town, and here large godowns for storage and export are in process of completion. Dried fish forms a staple article of diet of the population. It is also a valuable manure and a widely-used fodder for animals. The extent of this coastal industry may be judged by the millions of gulls lining the seashore and the ever-pervading smell in the coastal towns.

Mr. Heald, referring to the fish-curing industry, writes "Along the coast in the various villages, a primitive fish-curing industry was carried on for sale in the interior, which consisted merely of digging a hole about one yard deep and half a yard broad, lined with stone; in this, wood was burnt and then the larger-sized fish were placed in the hot ashes and covered over and left for 24 hours, afterwards taken out and sent up to the interior for sale. I was informed that the cured fish would keep for a considerable length of time, but, as a word of warning to intending travellers in this country, I strongly advise them not to allow any of their luggage especially bedding to be put on the same camel carrying the fish, as the smell was abominable and tainted everything it came into contact with. The Beduins on the journey fed their camels with the small sun dried fish and also partook of the same themselves without any attempt at cooking."

## Visit of Agricultural and Geological Experts in 1919.

### Agricultural Report.

At the request of the Sultan, then Sir Ghalib bin 'Awadh, K.C.I.E., experts were obtained from Egypt to examine and report on the agricultural and mineral possibilities of certain parts of his territory.

37675

[Wazif (dried small fish) used as fertilizer, fodder and food - Analysis]

[654] 311 241 Mr. H. M. Heald, the agriculturist, visited Asfal Al 'Ain, the Sultan's estate at Fuwa, and the Wadi Meifa. As regards Asfal Al 'Ain, he reported that the whole country along the Wadis through which he travelled consisted of hills and wastes, and from an agricultural point of view was very disappointing. In this rocky region, land is scarce. In a few small hamlets, terraces have been made with soil collected in the wadis, and a few acres of these are cultivated, producing millets, sweet potatoes, dates, and tobacco on a poor scale. These terraces are irrigated from springs and wells, but the latter give very little water. No definite seasons are followed for sowing and harvesting of crops. In one village Mr. Heald saw a crop in three stages of growth, viz., newly-sown, half-grown, and harvested. The soil is generally a light shallow loam of alluvial nature, devoid of humus, and, cultivated as it is by the most primitive methods, is becoming more impoverished year by year. Very little manuring is done owing to the cost of transporting fish and the scarcity of dung.

At Fuwa he saw 250 acres of millet and tobacco cultivated by the Sultan's slaves. Owing to the poor soil and bad cultivation, the produce was but small and none of it marketed. The villages along the coast to the entrance of the valley near Ras Al Kalb are similar to those in Asfal Al 'Ain district, but the cultivation is poorer.

Mr. Heald estimated the total area of the soil in Sidara, cultivated and capable of being brought under cultivation, at about 14,000 acres, of which considerably more than one half consists of swampy or salty land at the mouth of the river at Hali. The total area of all the land fit for cultivation in the country he saw, he estimated at under 20,000 acres.

[312] Owing to insufficiency of water for irrigation purposes, Heald considered it would be difficult to reclaim any large area of land at the mouth of the river at Hali, as most of this land is either swampy or bad salty soil due to the river changing its mouth frequently after heavy rains coming down the valley from the interior. The water is also very salty. Another obstacle to developing this area, and, at present a very big one, is the unhealthy climate and the impure drinking water.

000 Mr. Heald concludes:

> "As regards settlers, it would, on account of the scarcity of land and the unhealthy climate at Meifa, be quite wrong to try and induce people to emigrate from India on a large scale, but a few could be settled at Fuwa and higher up the valley at Jol and Giswal. The present inhabitants, the Sybians, who are acclimatized, could then be sent to the mouth. As, however, this would only affect a very few thousands of acres, perhaps the expense would not be worth the trouble, and the

18 Ingrams G-3 (1934-39)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



monsoon." Perhaps now that I have visited Haswein this ambition is nearer fulfilment for I do not think the inhabitants would have any objection.

Flying back from Qishn on one occasion we flew inland a good deal and it was most interesting to see some of the Mahra villages of the interior, as they were quite different from anything I had seen before. They were surrounded by thick low walls perhaps between 4 and 5 feet high and 3 feet thick. These walls not only surrounded the villages but their fields as well. It seemed to me that they said very little for security in the Mahra country. We crossed over the Wadi Maseila about half-way up it and its great deep gorge was most impressive from the air.

I hope I have succeeded in giving some idea of this fascinating country in which my lot is for the present cast, and in reaching which I have achieved a desire now fifteen years old. There is still much to be done in the Hadhramaut, but I think it is mainly by specialist surveys that we can help the people to make the most of it. Something has already been done in this direction, for in 1935 Dr. Storm of Bahrein made a leprosy survey, and at the same time Mr. Maxwell Darling investigated the locust question. This last winter we have been fortunate in having two very able American geologists, Dr. Pike and Mr. Wofford, who covered an incredible area on the ground and the whole country by air. It is hoped that most useful additions to the map will result from their work. It was good to have them there, for not only did they thoroughly enjoy the country but the country has thoroughly enjoyed them.

In the last couple of months Mr. V. L. Griffiths, Principal of Bakht er Ruda College in the Sudan, has travelled through the country and made a survey of the present educational resources and future needs. I believe his report will be of great value to us in this all-important matter. Next will come the investigation of the agricultural and water possibilities for which I believe we shall not have long to wait.

Apart from severely utilitarian investigations such as these there has been the visit of Miss Caton-Thompson, Miss Gardner, and Miss Stark, and one may expect that much light on the history and geology of the country will be forthcoming as a result of their researches. I do not know whether the Hadhramaut is likely to be so attractive in this regard as some people have thought in the past, for I believe that Miss Caton-Thompson is inclined to agree with an idea that I have long had that in the times of the old South Arabian kingdoms the Hadhramaut was rather on the fringe of things and that the most interesting area is probably that between Beihan and Marib.

I must not omit to mention that the Hadhramaut has twice had the honour of welcoming the Governor during the last year. On the first occasion when he opened the Al Kaf road he travelled all round the country for ten days, largely by car. He was so much entertained that he came to the conclusion that social life there was even more strenuous than in Aden. On the second occasion he brought with him Lord Dufferin, the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and with the honour of this visit the country may well claim to be "on the map." Lord Dufferin could only spare a day and a half, but visited Mukalla, Shihr, and Seiyun, and saw a good deal from the air.

There has been a good deal of reference to air travel in this paper, and I

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
Hadhramaut AM2
Aden MM1

# COTTON IN ARABIA

H 248 136 242

## PESTS AND DISEASES

"At first, as was to be expected, the cotton crop as a whole was remarkably free from major pests and diseases, but these are now beginning to appear. Bacterial blight *(X. malvacearum)*, has not so far been evident, the land having started clean and the seed having been introduced from Tokar where the disease is not prevalent. The almost complete absence of rain during the growing season also makes any secondary spread of the disease unlikely.

"Jassids are present in small numbers and may tend to increase, and American bollworm *(Heliothis armigera)* is beginning to appear in quite large numbers in Abyan.

"At Lahej the most serious pests are the red bollworm *(Diparopsis castanea)* and the pink bollworm *(Platyedra gossypiella)*.

H 248

## PROSPECTS

"It is unlikely that production of cotton in the Aden Protectorate will ever be on a very large scale as the area of land which can conveniently be flooded is limited. At present some 30,000 acres are in use in Abyan, of which 9,000 are under cotton and the target, when all proposed canals are finished, is about 50,000 acres, with cotton on about 20,000 acres in a good flood year. With developments in other areas the total area under cotton may be extended to 30,000 acres.

H 654 242

## RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTATION

"The Senior Entomologist of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, at the request of the Director of Agriculture, visited Aden in January 1951 to make a survey of the insect pest position, and the Corporation's senior officer in the Sudan is now spending half his time in Aden pending full time employment by the Abyan Board later. He has started selection work on the X1730 A seed from the Sudan and is arranging for regular supplies of pure seed to be produced in the area. In addition other strains are being tested in the variety trials and observation plots, including a strain of Wilds which matures very early and occupies the land for only six months. If this proves successful it might enable a food crop to be grown in the same year as the cotton crop.

"A Colonial office mission also visited Aden early in 1951 to examine the technical, agricultural and financial problems involved and to make recommendations for the development of the scheme and the establishment of any research work that may be needed."

A 101 [161]

# ADEN

The crown colony of Aden located on a tiny peninsula on the coast of the protectorate actually dominates the area. Though the colony is only 75 square miles in area it has almost 100,000 people. The port of Aden has been an important trading center since the time of the ancients. This was the crossing point for the Abyssinians as early as 3,000 B.C. It was the final port of call for the Indian traders in the same century. It was also a chief port on the Indian trade route during the Roman times. Today Aden is the principal port and the commercial center for the entire Arabian Peninsula and one of the main crossing points for the African Moslems trekking to Mecca.

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM81



231

| *Animal Husbandry* | *Western Aden Protectorate* | *Eastern Aden Protectorate* |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 30,000 | 50,000 |
| Cattle | 45,000 | 10,000 |
| Goats | 500,000 | 420,000 |
| Sheep | 150,000 | 80,000 |

*Soil Conservation*

In Southern Arabia the rainfall is in general too low for an efficient natural vegetation to cover the slopes and act as a check to run-off. Only by the efficient use of all sources of water, particularly flood water, can cultivation continue. In these circumstances an effective system of soil and water conservation forms an integral part of traditional cultivation, and although there is a constant movement of the soil from the slopes to the flats, efficient run-off control results in comparatively little silt-laden water reaching the sea. Soil erosion occurs where flood waters are not controlled and in some areas overstocking has led to soil degradation. 312 654 [134]

The agricultural staff is at present very small but steps have been taken to improve the position.

The general view is that efforts to conserve soil should be directed to the maintenance and extension of flood-control systems. The districts of Abyan, Beihan and Ahwar and the Hadhramaut, which depend largely on a system of flood-water irrigation, have been selected as areas for improvement. In past years flood waters have gone to waste owing to local insecurity and poverty which resulted in the neglect of the deflectors and canals required for flood control. During the past few seasons active measures have been taken to remedy this state of affairs following an improvement in political conditions and by a system of advances to cultivators willing to undertake the restoration of their irrigation systems. Such flood-water control works must naturally go hand in hand with increased production measures. Special attention has been paid to Abyan where a Development Scheme is in operation.

On the Audhali plateau a system of advances to farmers who are willing to improve or sink wells or recondition terraces proved successful. Particular interest has been stimulated in areas where political difficulties have in the past caused neglect of such opportunities for the improvement of the natural resources.

Wind erosion is a factor of importance in the alluvial areas such as on the coastal plain where it affects areas which have been withheld from cultivation for long periods. In such situations dessication of the soil is followed by wind erosion. The remedy is to irrigate such soils and bring them back into cultivation 134

*Study of Agricultural Techniques*

(*a*) *Soils* are mainly alluvial. In the Eastern Protectorate they are almost everywhere derived from limestone. In the Western Protectorate soils in high-altitude districts are derived from the granite and elsewhere from the limestone series or from volcanic rock. Soils in irrigated areas

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



are generally of good-quality alluvium. In high-altitude districts less fertile soils are found and they are generally light in texture, except in some limestone areas where they are heavy and intractable.

(*b*) *Water supplies* are generally good and sufficient for the needs of cultivators who tend to concentrate in the river-valley areas or in the highland areas where some rainfall can be expected. Water becomes scarce in the Eastern districts where the settled country emerges into the Empty Quarter. Domestic water supplies are obtained from springs, wells, dams, tanks and cisterns.

(*c*) *Irrigation and drainage systems* are highly developed. At high altitudes the run-off is led to terraces in order to boost the rainfall which is insufficient in itself for crop production. Flood irrigation systems are found in the river valleys and on the coastal plain. Irrigation from permanent streams and springs is highly developed. Artificial irrigation is from open wells. Animal power lifts are worked at depths of 10 to 60 feet and in the most favourable districts command up to 10 per cent. of the total arable area.

(*d*) *Mechanical cultivation* is confined to one small unit used by the Abyan Board in the Abyan district. Elsewhere the simple Arabian plough, combined levelling-board and scraper, harrow and a drill attachment for the plough comprise the implements used by the cultivator.

(*e*) *Application of fertilisers.* Organic fertilisers only are used. Farmyard manure is commonly used in all mid-altitude and highland districts. Farmyard manure, human excreta and town wastes are used in the Hadhramaut. Fish and guano are commonly used in the Eastern Protectorate coastal areas.

*Land Tenure*

(*a*) Customary tribal law and Shari'a law affect land tenure.

(*b*) Individual ownership is the common and most-desired form of tenancy; share tenancy is the usual form of leasehold tenure.

(*c*) His Majesty's Government owns no land in the Aden Protectorate. Some of the Arab states hold extensive tracts of land as state domain. All the land is held by indigenous inhabitants except for a very small percentage held by Yemeni settlers and a few Indians and Somalis.

*Agricultural Credit*

There are no banks in the Aden Protectorate. One small Farmers' Association giving credit assistance to its members was formed during the year. The Department of Agriculture, the local Governments, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut a Relief Organisation afforded assistance to farmers with interest-free loans.

FISHERIES

A visit in February by the Fisheries Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies resulted in the arrival of a fisheries research party in

S:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



November. They began testing fish livers for vitamin-A content and also canning samples. Meanwhile several local merchants showed interest and applied for permission to set up canneries and the like. A board to consider such applications and fisheries development in general was set up. 654 226

FORESTRY

No true forests exist. Bush products exploited are timber, fuel, charcoal, fibres, gum incense and dragon blood. 313 314

# Chapter 8: Social Services

## EDUCATION

*General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education inspects schools, gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates so far as is possible educational development throughout the whole territory. 658

*Policy*

The general education policy in the Protectorates has been to build up self-supporting state Departments of Education as the states become sufficiently advanced for this to be possible. The intention has been that these departments should organise and control a system of village schools, central primary schools and, in the case of the larger states, intermediate schools.

*Education Departments*

Two such Education Departments are already in existence. One under the Mukalla Government in the Eastern Protectorate, with a Sudanese Director of Education (who is also Education Adviser to the British Agent), and an inspectorate of five local Arab inspectors. The other is at Lahej, 25 miles inland from Aden in the Western Protectorate, where Emir Ali, brother of the Sultan, performs the duties of Director of Education. 647

*Higher Education*

There is no higher education in the Protectorate, and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come. It is thus necessary to send abroad selected scholars who reach the required standard. There is at present one boy at Gordon College in the Sudan, and three there are at secondary schools. 873

G.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

## ADEN PROTECTORATE

# PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

There was a general improvement in security and in political matters during the year, but the economic situation remained at a low ebb owing especially to a poor rainfall in most areas. 000

It was found necessary to occupy Shaibi territory by force in order to put an end to the extremely oppressive rule of the Saqladi Sheikh. The Sheikh fled to the Yemen and the new administration introduced by Government was welcomed by all sections of the population. The area which is at a high attitude should prosper. 721 622

The Abyan Development Scheme in Fadhli and Lower Yafai territories made good progress, but relations between Government and the Lower Yafai Sultan continued to be unsatisfactory. 631

The administration of Subeihi territory was transferred for an experimental period to the Abdali Sultan.

Slow progress was made in the new Dhala (Amiri) administration, but a second season of drought hampered progress. Advances of grain to the value of some £15,000 were made to farmers in the area to prevent a complete economic collapse. [654]

Revenues in the Fadhli and Dathina areas fell as a result of poor harvests.

The Beihan administration made good progress but received a setback towards the end of the year owing to the failure of the autumn harvest and later to frost damage on the well-irrigated wheat and barley crops.

There were no trade route incidents during the year.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

The Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary dispute was settled by the arbitration of the Resident Adviser, which both Sultans had agreed to accept as finally binding. When the time came to execute his decisions, the Qu'aiti Sultan showed considerable reluctance to surrender Sah and the Kathiri to surrender forts round Tarim. 648

Local political parties tended to lose their sting during the year. The Qu'aiti National Party became seriously involved in the question of the surrender of Sah (see above) and also supported, through its representatives within Mukalla Government, the claims of the Tamimi tribe to watch date palms. 665

Heavy raiding by Saudi tribes in the spring led to a meeting between 721 648

G.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



241 the management of irrigation farming on some 5,000 acres. The value
242 of the Board's quarter-share of the net crop obtained, after paying harvesting and threshing expenses in kind, was estimated at over Rs. 1,25,000.

Farming in Abyan, largely influenced by the Board's operations, proved important to the economy of the Western Aden Protectorate. In the production of millet alone, it is estimated that a 30,000 bag crop, equal to 3,000 metric tons, was raised. A large portion of this was held as a reserve, or had been marketed to the easterly districts at the end of the year. General control on the export of this grain to Aden itself was maintained, and the flow of the crop to the districts to the east was encouraged.

*The Wadi Hadhramaut Rehabilitation Scheme*

654 This was wound up by Government at the end of the 1947–48 financial
426 year. Farmers with outstanding loans were given ten years in which to repay, the basis of repayment being at the rate of 2 per cent of the total loan from the spring crop, 3 per cent from the autumn crop, and 5 per cent from the winter crop grown. By the end of the year, it was apparent that this system of deferred repayment was not proving satis-
[452] factory. Moneylenders had again become active, while late planting and reduced acreage were noticeable in many districts. This undoubtedly resulted from lack of foresight on the part of many farmers, who had failed to reserve sufficient seed and fodder and preferred to resort to moneylenders for obtaining their needs on credit.

406 At the end of the year, proposals were on hand for the introduction of numbers of diesel-driven irrigation pumps for use in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

*Co-operation*

476 The Beihan Farmers' Association, formed in the previous year, progressed in a satisfactory manner, and much useful experience was gained by the officials of the association. A good *saif* season helped the members, but this was followed by an almost complete lack of water in the *kharif*. In spite of these difficulties, the association was able to help its members in their requirements of seed, stock, and cash needed for well equipment and for concentrates for feeding livestock. At the end of the year, the association had acquired some Rs. 12,000 from members' subscriptions and from interest charged on loans.

476 This association cannot be termed a co-operative society in the true
659 sense of the word. It is an association which has the full support of the local Government, and which at present makes use of Government offices and storehouses for its activities. In the present stage of development this is considered to be the most desirable form of association for Beihan.

*Western Aden Protectorate*

226 The Western Aden Protectorate fisheries are of minor importance
361 compared with those of the Eastern Protectorate. Shuqra, the seat of
439 the Fadhli Sultan, is, however, a fishing port with a considerable export trade in dried fish

G.Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



trade in dried fish. Other fishing communities are small and the greater part of their population nomadic for part of the year. 226 [361]

Apart from the occurrence in summer of large migratory fish as described under the Aden Colony fisheries, there is a considerable cast-net fishery for sardines along the sand beaches east of Aden. West of Aden, sardines are rare but a small anchovy supports a fishery during the winter months.

Craft and gear are as described under Aden Colony fisheries.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

The fisheries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate are primitive but very productive. Previous observers have estimated the annual catch as over 50,000 tons of wet fish.

Sardines belonging to several species of Sardinella and Dussumieria normally abound on certain stretches of coast east of Mukalla all winter, when they support a very extensive cast-net and beach-sein fishery. Utilisation is wasteful, the fish being either sun-dried for fertiliser and animal fodder or else rotted in order to free a putrid oil. The winter of 1948–49 has unfortunately been the worst sardine season within living memory. [428]

Kingfish (*Scomberomorus*) abound in the vicinity of the sardine shoals and are taken in large quantities in nets and on handlines. They are exported either wet-salted as "maleh" or salted and sun-dried as "safif". [439]

Three species of tunny and several other large pelagic fishes are caught in considerable numbers and salted.

Sharks are taken in moderate numbers. The town of Qu'sair specialises in this fishery and sends small dhows to the Somali coast for the purpose. In general, the Somali coast is reckoned to be a better shark ground than South Arabia.

These fisheries are worked from huris, sambuks and small dhows as described under Aden Colony fisheries, using the most primitive gear. So great is the abundance at high and low tide close inshore, however, that even by these means the catch per man-hour exceeds that of many fully mechanised fisheries elsewhere.

During 1948 the fisheries of the Gulf of Aden, and particularly those of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, were surveyed under a Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme, with a view to promoting their more efficient exploitation. The original schedule was unfortunately upset by failure to get two vessels equipped in time at Aden, but, although this hampered the work, experimental canning was carried out and liver oils tested for Vitamin "A" content early in 1948. Towards the end of the year, a taxonomist was appointed to confirm the identity of the commercial species. A full report on the survey will be published during 1949. 654 647

Following on the early findings of the Survey Party representatives of the Colonial Development Corporation arrived on the Eastern Protectorate coast towards the end of the year in order to go more fully into commercial possibilities. Unfortunately their visit coincided with a particularly poor sardine season.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-8 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



*Plant Introductions*

137 Sann hemp and Dolichus beans were introduced from the Sudan.
242 Tepary beans, bunch-type groundnuts, and velvet beans were introduced from Uganda. These new introductions were planted in observation plots in the Abyan district.

The introduction of deciduous fruits and of citrus for planting in the Audhali Sultanate continued.

*Development Schemes*

654 *The Avyan Board.* During 1949 the scheme, now furnished with sufficient capital to embark on its work as a proving scheme, developed at a satisfactory rate in all fields where adequate staff, machinery, and materials could be mustered.

406 A rebuilt D.7 Caterpillar tractor complete with bulldozer and carry-
654 all scraper, and three D.4 Caterpillars, one with bulldozer attachment,
332 were obtained through the Crown Agents. These rebuilt tractors were delivered without any spares and gave a certain amount of trouble, but were responsible, together with a D.6 Caterpillar already in the hands of the Board, for great progress in irrigation construction.

Important extensions were made to the Ba Tes and Na'aza systems, while two new diversion systems were opened on the Wadi Hassan.

The tractors were generally worked as a fleet, with a mass of ox power owned or hired by the Board. Often 200 yokes of oxen—each with a scraper attached and each yoke with its driver/scraper operator in attendance—worked alongside the tractors. These were used for ripping and drawing masses of earth close to the dykes, which were then finished off by the oxen.

The value of the D.7 was judged to be equal to 150 to 200 yokes of oxen in earth-moving capacity, but for finishing off work and consolidation the use of oxen has been found to pay. Earth-moving costs have been low, and on short hauls of work of moderate height costs have not exceeded 6 annas per cubic metre.

654 Survey work has accelerated and a staff of 6 surveyors was at work in the field at the end of 1949.

A great deal of the Board's effort was devoted to the construction of offices, workshops and staff houses. At the end of 1949 substantial progress had been made and building, apart from some additions to staff houses and a projected pilot ginnery, had been completed.

The Board staff was increased considerably. On irrigation matters the Board continued to receive advice from Mr. N. Simansky, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of Jordan, who visited Abyan twice during the year. In September the staff was strengthened by the addition of an Irrigation Engineer, Mr. Douglas Hall, who joined the Board as Chief Engineer. In November Mr. B. May joined the Board on secondment, as Chief Accountant, the office having remained vacant since the resignation of the first Accountant Officer at the end of March. These two appointments were long overdue, and serious arrears of work had to be faced by both officers on taking up their appointments. In the

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
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accounts section the position was particularly serious; but equally important was the lack of essential hydrological data on such matters as river discharges, the availability of suitable storage sites, studies on percolation and so on. Without such information progress must be delayed. 654

As mentioned earlier, the X1730A type of cotton planted on 82 acres in 1948, proved a great success. The crop was ginned and marketed by the Board, and arrangements with cultivators for the new season's planting resulted in an extension of the acreage to 1,097 acres. At the end of 1949 the crop showed great promise, and in many areas appeared even better than the previous year's crop. 248 242 654

Grain, oil-seed and fodder production was satisfactory, though grain yields were reduced in many areas through double-cropping the land with a sorghum fodder crop in the Saif season and then a grain crop in the Kharif.

A great deal of the land in Abyan which has been well irrigated for the past five years is now becoming heavily infested with weeds, mainly the weed grass *Desmostachya bipinnata*. The introduction of cotton as a cleaning crop and the "drying up" and resting with or without cultivation, of these heavily infested lands is now recognised as an urgent matter. In order to tackle the weed problem the Board increased its tractor strength by the purchase of three Fowler Diesel crawler tractors in the last quarter of 1949. 654 137 242

Another problem which came to notice towards the end of 1949 was the rapid rise in the height of the water table in certain areas. The area involved does not exceed 300 acres, but already in this area (where in places the water table has risen to within six feet of the surface) salts are appearing in the upper layers of the soil, and vegetation, particularly in the seedling stage, has been affected. It was noticed that cotton, once established, flourished and appeared exceedingly healthy on these salt-impregnated soils. 133 242

*Anti-Famine Measures*

In the first four-and-a-half months of 1949 until general rains fell over the Eastern Protectorate, famine again threatened human life in the Hadhramaut. Relief measures were introduced, as in the previous famine, but this time so promptly that practically no deaths from famine occurred. Again aircraft of the Royal Air Force came to the rescue and dropped grain supplies to the worst affected areas. Large quantities of grain were moved inland by motor transport and any camel transport that could be mustered; at the same time large numbers of the destitute, particularly women and children, were brought down or walked down to the coastal towns, where they were accommodated in refugee camps and fed. To employ labour on relief works an extensive programme of road construction, and irrigation repair works and new construction was undertaken. 731 [653]

When rain fell, it was again found necessary to issue loans to

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



still far below anything within living memory prior to 1948–49. In consequence there has been no surplus for export from the Qu'aiti coast, the Qu'aiti merchants having had, in fact, to import much of the small surplus from the Mahra coast for consumption inland. 228

Six fishery statistical posts have been established on the Qu'aiti coast in the Eastern Aden Protectorate and three in the Abyan area of the Western Aden Protectorate. They are financed by His Majesty's Government through the Fishery Department, but are administered by the states in which they are situated.

Because of the poor fishing seasons plans for promoting the export trade have been postponed. Preliminary trials are in hand for salt-curing sardines on the Eastern Aden Protectorate coast, to provide a cheap protein food for the agricultural labourers in the Wadi Hadhramaut and the Abyan area. The first small batches of fish were very well received. Now larger quantities are being tested for keeping qualities, as the most acute shortage of cured fish occurs during the summer when no sardines are being caught. At present the poorest people eat the dirty and rancid sun-dried sardines in the wadi and semi-putrid small fishes in Abyan. 228 258 262

A scheme is in preparation at Shihr, on the Qu'aiti coast, for mechanising the local fishing sambuks with outboard motors. These craft are sewn together with coir twine and are too flexible to take a normal inboard installation, but by fitting a flat hog in place of the keel, it is possible to ship an outboard motor through a trunk. The Qu'aiti State has financed a loan to a selected fisherman with which he will purchase the first sambuk and outboard. The sambuk is now being altered under Fishery Department supervision, and the Aden agents have the engine waiting. 501 228 654

An interesting development on the Qu'aiti coast is the building at Mukalla, for a local merchant, by Italian engineers and technicians, of a cannery with a capacity of from 500 to 1,500 yellow-fin tunny per day. This merchant has also recently brought an 80-ft. diesel-engined fishing vessel from Italy as well as two small motor launches. The cannery is in operation and samples opened have proved to be excellent. It is to be hoped that the project succeeds, as it is not only a bold step deserving of success as such, but also a source of local employment and of exports, both of which are needed in that area. 255 228

# Chapter 8: Social Services

## EDUCATION

*General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout 871

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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*ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1 : General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

642 THE years 1951 and 1952 were marked by (a) Government penetration
648 into the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom (Maan) at the invitation of the Ruler and the subsequent formation of the United Administration of Maan and Khalifa ; (b) the conclusion of two Advisory Treaties with the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and Audhali Sultan (May and July, 1952)
647 and a joint Advisory and Protectorate Treaty with His Highness the Sultan of Lahej ; (c) the formation of the Fadhli—Lower Yafa' Health Board ; and (d) the formation of the Lower Aulaqi Regency Council in Ahwar (August, 1952).

Politically the period under review was one of consolidation and development of the administrations of the various States in the Protectorate.

438 The Abyan Board did well in 1951 when it sold 9,890 bales of cotton for £867,088. In 1952 the rains were not so plentiful with the result that only 6,300 bales were sold for £725,810.

648 Relations with the neighbouring Kingdom of the Yemen remained difficult in spite of the Modus Vivendi Agreement concluded with it in London in January, 1951. Interference in affairs well inside the Protectorate boundary was a cause of friction.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

622 In the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States the main constitutional advance has been in the setting up of town and village councils to deal with local affairs.

659 Of necessity both Administrations have been preoccupied with measures to combat the threat of food shortage which must always be
654 faced in this region of uncertain rainfall. The States and local author-
653 ities have maintained dumps of grain, which are designed to tide over a period of scarcity before imports can arrive from the coast, and a
245 periodical check is made on resources of motor transport to ensure that distribution of supplies is not held up by failure of camel traffic in an emergency. Positive measures have been taken to increase local food supplies. Funds have been allocated for loans to farmers to purchase pumps to increase areas of cultivation. Schemes for the rebuilding of dams and for flood control have been put into effect. Particular attention has been paid to the rehabilitation of date palms.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1914 MM1 Aden
Hadramaut MM2



There has been close co-operation between the two States; they jointly operate a workshop in Sai'un for repairs of pumps and agricultural machinery and maintain an Agricultural Department in the Wadi. 654 647

In the Wahidi Country an administration has been set up under the advice of a Political Officer. Progress in extending the administration to outlying areas has continued and a start has been made in local government in the few small towns of the area. Experiments have been carried out in cotton and sugar cultivation. 631 [242]

The Sultan of Mahra and Socótra died in February, 1952. In Socotra Sultan Isabin Ahmed Afrar has been elected his successor but he has not been given formal recognition by Government as his election has not yet been confirmed by the mainland chiefs.

Details of Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes in progress during the period are given in Appendix II at the end of the report.

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427 principal system involves some form of share-tenancy in which the partners divide the crop after harvesting, threshing and winnowing charges and tithes and taxes have been paid in kind. In more fertile areas half of the crop is demanded of the tenant of flood irrigated land, while in the mountain terrace-farming areas a share of one-third is normally levied. In the arid eastern districts shares of one-tenth only may be asked. On lift irrigation systems share-tenancy arrangements vary greatly. In the East, the owner of the land and the well may take a one-tenth share. In the West, the owner of the land and the well may take up to one-half of the crop, though often a share of the seed used and a share in the labour working on the lift irrigation is pro-
423 vided by the landowner. The Qua'iti and Kathiri States have secured legal powers by an agricultural administrative order to further the consolidation of plots round suitable irrigation points, but so far it has been unnecessary to apply such orders.

647 The Department of Agriculture has initiated important programmes for the development of land and water resources. Of particular note
• 654 is the Abyan Scheme in the Western Protectorate and the pump scheme in the Wadi Hadhramaut in the Eastern Protectorate. At the same time encouragement and organisation in the better use of the excellent indigenous systems of irrigation farming have been the main preoccupation in many districts.

423 Little satisfactory progress has been made in land settlement in the Abyan area. In the Eastern Protectorate, the States, advised by the
406 Residency, are actively encouraging groups of farmers to combine their holdings formerly watered by animal lift in order to make the co-operative use of the mechanical pump lifts an economic proposition.

241.

## AGRICULTURE

### *Principal Crops*, 1952

| | *Acres* | *Tons* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Western Protectorate** | | | |
| Sorghum Millet | 23,333 | 4,333 | |
| Bulrush Millet and other small millets | 9,000 | 1,286 | |
| Wheat | 3,000 | 2,000* | |
| Barley | 6,000 | 4,000* | |
| Sesame | 4,250 | 425 | |
| Cotton (long staple) | 9,830 | 7,206 | bales of 400 lb. lint* |
| Coffee | 400 | 100 | |
| **Eastern Protectorate** | | | |
| Sorghum Millet (lift and permanent flow irrigated) | 3,000 | 2,400 | |
| Sorghum (flood irrigated) | 4,000 | 400 | |
| Bulrush Millet and other small millets | 1,500 | 300 | |
| Wheat | 2,600 | 3,000 | |
| Date Palms | 10,500 | 7,000 | |

* Crops sown in 1951 and harvested in 1952.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Agricultural Extension and Improvement Schemes*

654 The main development scheme for irrigated land use is that in Abyan. A note on the scheme is given in Appendix I, page 84.

248 The extension work of the Department of Agriculture is carried on
400 through departmental staff and through State agricultural departments
241 where these exist. Extension work at the moment is mainly confined to a few selected subjects such as cotton growing, fruit and vegetable growing, and lift irrigation by pump.

*Cotton Growing Schemes* (*other than at Abyan*). Long-staple X.1730A cotton was introduced for cultivation to the Yeramis district, and from an area of approximately 400 acres some 472,665 lb. of seed cotton were marketed.

In Ahwar, where X.1730A cotton was grown for the second season, 436,311 lb. of seed cotton were marketed from an effective area of 400 acres.

*The Hadhramaut Pump Scheme.* In the Hadhramaut there has been considerable development of lift irrigation by diesel-engine pumping units since 1948. It is claimed that 389 pump units with an estimated total horse-power of 3,640 have now been introduced. A large percentage of the units have been sold by the Hadhramaut States to local farmers on a deferred payment scheme.

In 1952 pump units irrigated 37 per cent of the total area under lift irigation in the Hadhramaut. The average area irrigated per pump unit is estimated at 8.3 acres as compared with 2 acres by animal lift. The yield from pump irrigated crops in nearly all cases is found to exceed comparable animal lift irrigated crops. The schemes may be criticised on account of the high horse-power used for the irrigated area, but on the other hand with less working hours per day the machinery should theoretically last longer.

*Credit Facilities*

452 In the Western Protectorate advances have been made through Farmers' Associations, through the Abyan Board and through local States to assist farmers. In the Eastern Protectorate, particularly the Hadhramaut, large sums of money have been advanced since 1944 to enable farmers, or groups of farmers, to maintain local irigation systems and to help farmers to buy pumping machinery by hire purchase. Little or no progress can be made in the development of agriculture without credit facilities.

*Agricultural Department*

647 The staff comprises the Director of Agriculture, four Agricultural Officers, one Assistant Agricultural Officer and nine Agricultural Instructors.

The Department is responsible for giving advice on agriculture and, in many areas, for the organisation and administration of agricultural development projects. During the financial year 1952–53 it budgetted to spend £19,000.

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Hadhramaut MM2



446 The Ahwar Farmers' Association was started with the nomination by the Regent of a chairman and managing committee of 12, assisted by a secretary. The committee functioned during 1952 as a kind of Agricultural Board to deal with local irrigation arrangements, cotton growing and marketing, and development work. It provided a useful link between the Department of Agriculture and the farming community.

## FISHERIES

226 The same type of fishing is carried out in the Protectorates as in the Colony with more emphasis on beach seines. The most extensive fishery is the coast from Mukalla eastwards to beyond Qishn. In the winter months sardine of the Sardinella and Dussumreria types are found together with *Scomberomerus spp.* and tunny. The Western Protectorate coast in winter generally supports an intensive fishery for anchovy (*Stolephorus indicus*) by beach seines. In addition a small shrimp is also caught by this method. The fisheries are localised but seasonal fishermen tend to follow the shoals along the coast.

Encircling gill nets, bottom nets and lift nets are little used in the Protectorate as local opinion is strongly opposed to methods of increasing yields for fear that the fish will become extinct.

439 Fishing is financed in the same way as in Colony by merchants.
226 Fish, surplus to normal requirements, is salted and dried for export to India, Africa and Ceylon but there is considerable local consumption
255 inland. Dried sardines are used for camel fodder, tobacco fertiliser
254 and human consumption. One fish factory for canning tunny and sardines, which was established in Mukalla in 1950 and which used an Italian trawler for supplies, has had to close down owing to lack of capital. Fish meal was also produced at this factory. No cold storage or ice-making plants exist.

435 Marketing arrangements are the same as in the Colony: fish prices
226 are about 50 per cent lower for the consumer in the Protectorate.

The sardine fishery which had failed for three years showed signs of revival in the early winter of 1951 along the Eastern Protectorate coast. Shoals of larger fish were also abundant and the upward trend has again been noticed in the winter of 1952.

654 The Fisheries Department is described on page 27. It has surveyed
226 little of the Protectorate waters except by Danish seine netting. The results have been exceptionally poor owing to the rough nature of the bottom. Plans for extensive and intensive work in the Protectorates have been delayed because of schemes in the Colony. A certain amount of work has been done in Western Protectorate waters from Perim to beyond Shuqra but only one area showed signs of promise with Danish seine nets: half a ton of *Lethrinus spp.* was the best single individual haul. The fishermen from Aden Colony range into the Western Protectorate and on three nights at the end of the Shamal of 1952, with assistance from the Fisheries Department vessel, secured 14½ tons of *Scomberomerus spp.* from the west of Aden. These co-operative efforts will be resumed in the Shamal of 1953.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hallamshire MM2

# APPENDIX 1

## THE ABYAN SCHEME

*Purpose*

2421 (a) To utilise all surface flow and suitable underground supplies of water in order to develop and maintain irrigation farming in the Abyan district.

(b) To organise and develop the production of food crops and cash crops, and to assist in their marketing.

(c) To increase the wealth and prosperity of the people and the Governments of the local States and of the Protectorate.

*Background*

The Abyan district is one of ancient development for irrigation farming. Centuries of insecurity made the area derelict, until the settlement of a feud and the entry of H.M. Government to maintain law and order.

From 1941 to 1943 efforts were made to restore, by traditional methods, irrigation of the southern part of the district. In 1943 654 Government entered the derelict areas of the southern and central sections and a four-year development plan was started to restore and maintain irrigation systems on traditional lines. Control was in the hands of the Department of Agriculture; funds were provided by the [651] Colony of Aden as part of the increased food production campaign; irrigation charges of one-quarter share of the crop were levied.

In 1947 the Abyan Board was formed by an administrative order of 2442 the Governor of Aden. The Board was accepted by the two States whose territories were covered by the schemes. In December, 1948, a 476 loan of £20,000 was approved from Colonial Development and Welfare funds. In August, 1948, a further £250,000 was approved. With these funds the Board embarked on the initial stages of its plan of development.

*Organisation*

Development was on a partnership basis between:

(a) Landowners (the States, private individuals or trusts) who provide land;

(b) owner occupiers and tenant farmers who provide the working animals, implements, general farming capital, and the labour for crop production; and

(c) the Board, a development authority, which undertakes the construction of irrigation works, maintains the irrigation system, and regulates the distribution of irrigation water. The Board also maintains special control over the cotton crop which is sold to the Board at agreed prices, processed in the Board's ginneries, and sold to the Raw Cotton Commission.

2443 Up to 1949-50 agricultural production was primarily concerned 600 with the cultivation of sorghum and sesame. Trials with long-staple

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cotton, introduced in 1946, proved successful and this crop has now been chosen as the main crop for the area.

Payment for irrigation services has always been based on a crop share of 25 per cent payable to the Board. The present crop share and taxation on the crop, as laid down in an agreement dated 1st April, 1950, is as follows :

| PARTY | LIVE LAND (*Land developed and cultivated for 5 years*) | DEAD LAND (*New land opened for cultivation*) |
|---|---|---|
| | % | % |
| State (Taxation) . . | 5 | 10 |
| Landlord . . . | 20 | 15 |
| Tenant . . . | 50 | 50 |
| Board . . . | 25 | 25 |

To secure rapid development, traditional methods have been used while the land has been surveyed and existing canal systems aligned and new canals of improved design have been constructed. Diversion is still by traditional methods but regulators have been constructed in the upper part of the district.

*Land and Water Rights*

The Board does not own or control any land except building sites and experimental areas loaned from the local States and, in one case, rented from a landowner.

The Board controls the diversion and distribution of all flood water in the district. In the winter season the Board purchases the permanent flow of the Bana River from the Lower Yafai Sultan and his relatives and distributes this supply through the canal system to farmers who pay the customary crop share to the Board.

Tribal boundaries and settlements of title to the area have been ill defined in the past years of insecurity, but in 1951 final decisions were taken regarding tribal boundaries.

*Survey*

Since 1948 an area of 100,000 acres has been contour surveyed to a one metre interval. Geophysical surveys, the first as a reconnaissance and the second in fairly detailed form, have been made.

*Irrigation Development*

Development is in various stages. An area of approximately 30,000 acres of land is now controlled for irrigation farming, mainly on traditional lines. The normal flood flow to the area is expected to be sufficient to crop 30,000 acres yearly. In the 1951 flood a discharge of 224,000,000 cubic metre was observed to reach Abyan in the Bana River and this quantity, if correctly controlled, would have been sufficient for the irrigation of 50,000 acres. In actual fact only 30,000 acres were irrigated. The system is to direct flood water at speed, by diversion weirs made of brushwood and stone, into canals

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



654 which carry the water to bunded fields where the land is inundated to
312 approximately one metre in depth. In the lower part of the district complete diversion of the flood is made by larger earth dams built
241 across the river bed. Generally one metre depth of water is sufficient to raise the crops of sorghum, sesame and cotton, though summer planted crops which have to grow when water is low are given one or two supplementary irrigations.

The date of arrival of the floods is uncertain and the pattern of crop production may alter considerably according to the date of irrigation. For instance, early summer floods will only be used for sorghum fodder, grain, melons and sesame. Later summer irrigations are particularly required for cotton planting and for the autumn sown sorghum crop.

*The Farming System*

Skilled cultivation is carried on by settlers from many South Arabian tribes who have come to the area since the start of the scheme. Bunding of land, construction of field channels, ploughing and sowing are carried out by draught animals, mainly oxen though camels are brought in to help occasionally. No fertilisers are used at present; the flood brings with it a heavy burden of silt which reaches the land and maintains its fertile state.

The basic problems concern the farming system. One is largely an irrigation problem caused by a rapid rise in the water-table which has taken place since irrigation was resumed. This rise in the water-table has caused an accumulation of salts in the upper layers of the soil, and has already made crop production on 2,000 acres practically impossible by flood irrigation methods. The other problem is weed control. As a gross area of 100,000 acres may be commanded in the future, and within this area an annual average of 30,000 acres may be cropped, it should be possible to afford long periods of fallow to land in order to reduce the dangers which may arise from heavy irrigation; but individual ownership of land will greatly complicate such arrangements.

248 At the present time the cotton variety X.1730A, a derivative of
243 Sakel, is the main cash crop grown. All other cash crops in the scheme are common to those of other irrigation tracts of a similar
246 type in South Arabia though there are experimental crops, of which sugar is one. An important feature of the scheme is the need for a large area of sorghum for grain and fodder production. The draught animals depend almost entirely on sorghum fodder for their sustenance and the main food of the people is sorghum millet. It is expected that for some time two-thirds of the area will be maintained under sorghum and one-third under cotton.

*Mechanical Equipment*

406 The Board owns earth-moving machinery powered by diesel-engined
242 crawler tractors with carry-all scrapers, bulldozers, a ripper and grader and two drag-line scrapers. The policy of the Board is to increase the

established to supply the local market—for the processing of soaps, pressed aluminum utensils, cigarettes, pottery and textiles, the extraction of sesame oil, the cutting of buttons from trochas shells and the building of dhows. Fishing is of potential importance, but its development is handicapped by primitive methods of procurement and handling and inadequate local transport facilities. The agricultural resources of the Colony are limited to market gardens and date groves on the oasis of Sheikh Othman.

Agriculture and fishing are the principal occupations of the tribesmen of the Protectorate. The fisheries of the eastern districts are reputed to be among the richest in the Middle East, while the drying and salting of fish and the manufacture of fish oils, fodder and manure are valuable industries in the coast towns. A large proportion of the people in Western Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut engage in agriculture, although the tribes of the steppe country are mainly nomadic pastoralists. The expansion of farming is curtailed by uncertain rainfall and shortage of water supply. In the Eastern Aden Protectorate, cultivation is restricted mainly to the middle portions of the Hadhramaut valley, where the river flows for part of the year. This region is historically famous as a source of frankincense and myrrh. Elaborate terracing and irrigation are employed in many areas for the conservation and the utilization of the limited water resources available. It was estimated in 1948 that less than 0.5 per cent of the total land area was suitable for farming, but the relative extent of pasturage and desert has not been determined. Systems of peasant ownership, tenancy farming and tribal land tenure prevail in different localities. The improvement of agriculture and expansion of irrigation are prominent among the development programs for the Protectorate. A co-operative project for the cultivation of cotton and other crops by modern methods has recently been initiated on 5,000 acres in the Abyan area in Western Aden Protectorate. Little

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462 roaming far afield in search of water and pasture. They work in the fields, milk the animals (with the exception, in some cases, of camels), gather the firewood, and fetch the water. They are not [562] so careful to keep themselves veiled, finding it sufficient to draw their head cloths in front of their mouths. If she belongs to a nomadic tribe a woman will follow her husband in his search for grazing, carrying the household utensils, usually one large saucepan, on her head and the baby on her back. Only very occasionally do the women emigrate with their husbands, but we travelled with such a family on the start of their journey to Zanzibar to seek a fortune.

562 The remaining women are those of the poor townspeople, the 462 female servants, slaves, or Subians. The last two are least particular about veiling. The others, no matter how poor, will always cover at least the lower part of their faces. Toil is the portion of all of them: they labour in the gardens, help the men and animals to draw water from the wells, and in many towns they are the [42a] principal water carriers, bearing their burden in skins slung across their backs. The servants and slave women in well-to-do houses lead an easier existence. They cook the food, do such cleaning as is ever done, and fetch and carry for the ladies of the household. Slaves may be taken as concubines, but find their husbands among their own class. They are much favoured, being brought up as members of the family, and, like many privileged retainers, usually become somewhat outspoken and domineering in their old age.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PRODUCTION AND RESOURCES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

311 The natural resources of the Hadhramaut, such as they are, are principally agricultural. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasise that only a very small proportion of the total area of the country, [131] which may amount to 35,000 or 40,000 square miles, is suitable for the growing of crops. As a general rule only wadis can be so used and the bulk of the land surface consists of the barren rock of mountains and steppes.

### Tobacco.

247 The principal crop of economic importance is the well-known 438 Hamumi tobacco, and Gheil ba Wazir is the principal centre where 485 it is grown. Practically speaking the production in that place is entirely Government-directed and all the land is State land.

The nurseries are situated about three miles from Gheil at Al 312 Quf. Here there is an apparently inexhaustible, somewhat brackish, water supply at depths to about 30 feet from the surface. There are three deep pools which are tapped by subterranean channels for Gheil and Al Harth, the source of the Gheil water supply being called Humat al Farath, and that for Al Harth being called Humat al Harth. Along the line of channels from these pools there are

at intervals of some 20 feet a series of shafts similar to those 312
described in connection with the Mukalla water-supply. Humat al Harth is temporarily not giving water, as the level has fallen below the channel. At Al Quf itself there are a number of wells, and round each are nursery beds where the tobacco seedlings are 249
grown. The beds are divided into patches three or four feet square and the seed close sown, so close that even where seed does not germinate the workers cut small scratches in the ground and plant fresh seed. When the seedlings are grown to a height of about three or four inches they are taken from Al Quf to Al Harth, about a mile and a-half away, and planted out in rows with intervals of a foot, or three-quarters of a *dhirra*, in beds of a size dependent on the amount of water. A bed is called *mutr*, plural *mutira*, and each is surrounded by a ridge to keep in the irrigation water. In due course the crop is gathered and dried. Drying barns are unknown.

The crop[1] is financed by the merchants who advance the money to 454
the cultivators and are paid back either monthly or after the crop. 427
In the case of the Government lands at Gheil some cultivators pay 655
their rent in advance and some after the crop. The rent of the whole area of the Sultan's land at Gheil is assessed before each season and the figure required communicated to his representative there. This official then rents out the land at a figure per acre based on the total sum required.

The total annual value of the crop is now estimated at five lakhs 433
of which the Sultan receives Rs.120,000 in duty and ground rent. 651
Production costs are estimated at three lakhs, so that the profit to 434
the cultivators is Rs.80,000. In order to foster the local consump- 655
tion of tobacco, there is a monopoly of imported cigarettes and pipe tobacco.

Of tobacco, Mr. H. M. Heald in his report of the Agricultural 249
Mission to Mukalla says that in the Meifa valley " the cultivation of the tobacco received more attention than any other crop. . . . The seed was sown in a small plot of land which, in the large villages, had been heavily manured with sheep dung mixed with fine earth. [241]
When 40 days old the plants were transplanted into the small beds at distances of one foot apart, and again manured with fish ; irrigation varied in the villages but generally every seven days.

" Topping of the terminal buds took place after all the leaves had been formed and the plants were ripe for cutting in four or five months, according to district and season. The plants were dried on the ground first singly and then in small bundles, and afterwards hung up in rows. After drying again in bundles, they were covered with sacks to promote fermentation, and then the plants were taken into the houses for further drying in the dark, and ready for transporting to the coast in a week or so. Practically no grading was done . . . and I am sure " he writes, " better prices would be obtained if more attention were paid to selection."

1 [Tobacco -- Anakpt]

and within the area round them demarcated by white pillars. Any murder or loot in these areas is regarded as an offence against Government. Murderers of Beduins, subjects, soldiers, or slaves, are liable to death in these areas, and apart from restoration of loot, thieves are liable to imprisonment, deportation, or amputation of the hand.[1] If an individual contracts debts with any of the subjects of Government and absconds, the Government arrests any available member of his tribe and forces him to pay the debt. Routes between Qu'aiti towns are also sacrosanct and carriers may not be made the targets of blood feuds on them. The Qu'aiti is enabled to enforce these measures by his control of the ports and important markets.

## Government Finance.

The financial year coincides with the Muhammadan year, i.e., it begins with the 1st Muharram and ends with the 29th Dhu'l Hijja. The year 1353 began on the 16th April 1934, and this report must be taken to cover the period up to the 29th Dhu'l Hijja 1352, i.e., 15th April 1934.

## Revenue and Expenditure.

The annual Qu'aiti revenue at present is stated in the annual Aden Administration Report to be Rs.12,50,000 but it appears to me that seven lakhs is a more probable if rather conservative figure. It is based on figures given for Mukalla, Gheil ba Wazir and Shihr (Rs.6,30,000), and on other figures given for the Du'an province and for Shibam. I have no figures for the Hajr province which includes the rich Meifa lands. The excess of revenue over expenditure is said to be about one third.

The expenditure on all public services, except His Highness the Sultan, is said to be Rs.3,00,000 *per annum* in Mukalla and Shihr. His late Highness drew officially Rs.72,000 *per annum* but, I was told, "no one knows what he really spends". The following are some of the principal items of expenditure :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Defence. Mukalla only, soldiers and slaves. | Rs.2,04,000 *per annum*. The total is perhaps Rs.2,25,000. |
| Tribal subsidies ... ... | Rs.12,000 *per annum* (formerly Rs.36,000 to 48,000 *per annum*). |
| Education ... ... ... | Rs.6,000. |
| Medical and Public Health ... | Rs.5,500. |
| Customs ... ... ... | Rs.10,000. |
| Du'an province ... ... | $21,000. |
| Shibam ... ... ... ... | more than $12,000. |

[1] I am told that, as in certain other parts of the Protectorate, this Qu...ase penalty is no longer enforced.



[in the Qu'aiti free towns -- Analyst]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



afterwards with wet body in the dry evening breeze certainly does. Of course there is a servant with a samovar, who provides the glasses of tea, which are always welcome in this country of dry heat. The ripest dates are brought from the gardens; they are sweet but very astringent. The foreigner accustoms himself but slowly to this unusual and, at first, unappetising food. But soon he learns to appreciate the date whilst it is still hard and fresh.

Swimming by moonlight is an unexpected luxury and a particular pleasure to us in this country. On one side, close to the swimming-pool, there is a space for the *ṣalāt*, where a niche in the wall indicates the *qibla*[2]; on the other side there is a summer pavilion. Everything has a wash of light, delicate colour; the lines of the walls and roofs are edged with fine figures and borders, and one is inclined to forget that the material of which they are made is plain, brown mud. We spend quite a long time together with the young people on brotherly terms. They let themselves go now that no elders are present. Swimming and diving competitions are held with great gusto, until the time comes for the *ṣalāt el-ʿishāʾ* (the late evening ritual prayer), which is performed with suitable solemnity. The evenings at home on the great roof-terrace are always very attractive; only intimate friends remain till then, and our host puts questions which show clearly how his thoughts are always occupied with his country and people, and how he is seeking ways for their advancement.

There are many difficulties in the making of a road to esh-Shiḥr. The Ḥumūmī Bedouins, notorious for their love of fighting, and through whose territory passes the greater part of the road, have — after being richly paid — made a pact by which they promise not to oppose it and whereby Sayyid Abū Bakr binds himself only to allow the use of the road for travellers by motor-car, while the conveyance of freight shall be left to the camels of the Bedouins. There is only left unfinished a stretch of three days by camel.

[2] The *qibla* is the direction in which Mecca lies.

619 He is no longer apt to be shot at by Government soldiers and he brings his troubles to the Government. The provincial governors and the district
647 heads are better men and better paid than they used to be and all new candidates have courses of instruction before appointment. There are
692 systems of State and tribal courts which are becoming more and more
619 effective. There is a special department of bedouin affairs which is staffed entirely by Hadhrami tribesmen; five or six years ago no Hadhrami tribesmen were employed in any positions of responsibility.

759 As regards social services, in 1934 there was one doctor, mainly for the Sultan though he ran a public dispensary, and medical services cost Rs. 5,500
657 a year: in 1944 the sum voted was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary
652 services. There was an establishment of four doctors, and a State hospital
743 for fifty in-patients was being built in Mukalla.

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871 some sort of schooling. In 1944 Rs. 1,054,000 was provided. The number of boys in primary Government schools on the coast has increased to about
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657 hundred and forty girls in the new Mukalla girls' school, and an inter-
658 mediate boarding school, assisted by the British Council and a grant from His Majesty's Government, had been started with about eighty boys. As part of the famine relief measures, children were brought down from the Hadhramaut and have now been taken over by the Qu'aiti State which bought a village outside Mukalla and is now housing three hundred boys
[874] and girls in it. A wall enclosing garden land has been built round it and the children work the garden and are apprenticed to various local trades. They are given a modest schooling and it is hoped that they will also be taught by means of a village council to run their own village.

658 Another State educational experiment owes its impetus mainly to the enthusiasm of the young men of Mukalla. A number of young men have
871 gone through a course organized by the Education Department in how to teach illiterate adults to read and write. These teachers compiled a coolies' vocabulary of seven hundred words or so and when I left were about to teach coolies from the Hadhramaut, who had come seeking for work at the coast on account of the famine, how to write the language they speak, a sort of basic Arabic. There are schemes for producing a small newspaper in this simplified form of speech and for developing some public-health consciousness.

701 What little the State could do towards the war effort it has done. It provided a company for guard duties in Aden while the Italians were in
648 the war. It has raised a Pioneer Company for service in the Middle East Command. It has guarded the R.A.F. aerodromes in the State and pro-
[712] vided coastal guards. The Public Works Department has built an R.A.F. station at about a third of the cost expected. It has landed and handled a great quantity of R.A.F. stores. In addition, at the outbreak of war when the surplus balance was about Rs. 80,000, it contributed Rs. 20,000 for
648 general war purposes, and Hadhramis at home and abroad subscribed to a

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



701 the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts
702 in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The
[743] force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making.
875 The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys; district schools
758 have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dis-
731 pensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these
● 657 places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

671 A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school. A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants
759 and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

000 So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their
[275] request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

609 As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a community which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence
771 of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was
648 always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognised as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my
000 duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



official members serving as consultative representatives of the "popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public services consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educational facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the state's own postage stamps[5] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, appears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements[8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

[5] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

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A 744 234

ent in the dairy cattle of the Colony, but the rate of infection is believed to be low.

## HEALTH SERVICES AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

### Health Organizations

A 744 667

Responsibility for the health of the civilian population in the Colony resides in its Medical and Health Department, which is administered by a Director of Medical Services, with headquarters in the town of Aden. He is advised on matters of policy by the medical staff in the Colonial Office in London. The department is divided into medical, public health and port health divisions. The functions of the medical division involve the maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries and the conduct of a school health program. The public health division undertakes mosquito and rodent control services, and supervises the sanitation in the townships, while the port health division is concerned with the enforcement of quarantine regulations and the medical care of visiting seamen.

H 744 667

No formal health organization exists in the Protectorate, but a degree of co-ordination with the Colonial services in Aden has developed within recent years. In Eastern Aden Protectorate, medical care facilities are supported by the sultanate governments or by local rulers, with the guidance and advice of an Assistant Director of Medical Services, who is peripatetic, but usually works from a base at Mukalla. A qualified medical officer is stationed at Mukalla, the seat of government of the Qu'aiti Sultanate. With the exception of a dispensary in Lahej, which is financed by the Sultan, the medical services in Western Aden Protectorate are carried on by the British authorities, in co-operation with the Church of Scotland mission at Sheikh Othman.

A 747

Local voluntary organizations participate in the health activities of the Colonial government. The Aden Nursing Association contributes to the support of nursing serv-

The palaces, the Wazir's house, and the guest house are fitted with
365 electric light generated by a petrol engine. The system is continued along the water-front as far as Sultan 'Umar's mosque.

365 The town water supply in Shihr is brought in a covered aqueduct
312 from Tubala, 6·7 miles away. There are many springs at Tubala, most of which are hot, and a number are heavily impregnated with sulphur. The reservoir for the Shihr water supply consists of a large open tank which is fed by an open channel from the spring. As in the case of Mukalla there is no sort of protection. Shibam draws its water supply from wells, for the most part in the suburb of Sebeil. The water is slightly brackish. The rest of the country depends on wells, springs, rivers, and rain cisterns.

**Educational Activities.**

658 In Mukalla there are three Government schools (two Arab and
871 one English), and at least three private schools. In addition to these Arab schools Yusuf Sherif, the principal Indian merchant and
714 Collector of Customs, maintains a private Gujerati school in which there are 42 boys and eight girls at present. There used to be schools in every mosque, but Sultan 'Umar suppressed them and ordered the boys to attend the Government schools. However, despite this prohibition I understand that a few maintain a precarious existence.

871 The larger of the Arabic schools, Al Madrassa al Khariya as Sultanja had been in existence for four years at the time of my visit and had twelve classes: *Hijar*, or Elementary, four classes; *Tahdir*, two classes; *Daraja Awal*, First standard, three classes; *Daraja ath Thani*, Second standard, one class; *Daraja ath Thalath*, Third standard, one class, *Daraja al Arb'a* Fourth standard, one class. A Fifth standard was to be added shortly.

On the register there were 290 to 300 boys aged from six to 14 and even 16, and perhaps older. On inspection the attendance at the various classes was as follows :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Hijar* ... | ... ... ... ... ... | 56 |
| *Tahdir* 1 | ... ... ... ... ... | 20 |
| 2 | ... ... ... ... ... | 31 |
| *Daraja* I.—1 | ... ... ... ... | 32 |
| 2 | ... ... ... ... | 20 |
| 3 | ... ... ... ... | 27 |
| *Daraja* II | ... ... ... ... ... | 12 |
| *Daraja* III | ... ... ... ... ... | 13 |
| Total exclusive of the Fourth standard ... | | 211 |

The staff consists of a *Mudir* or Principal, a *Murakib*, who is responsible for the discipline of teachers and boys, and 12 teachers. There are nine class rooms, the four classes of *Hijar* sitting in one room. Up to *Daraja* I the boys sit on the floor, after which they are at desks. The school is closed on Fridays and on the 'Id days which are as follows: 'Id al Hajj, five days, 'Id al Fitr, five days, 12th Rabi' Awal, Maulad an Nebi, one day, 29th Ramadhan,

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3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2



248 1950–1, with a quality considered equal to that of the Sudan, and a contract lasting until 1955–6 has been secured with the British Raw Cotton Commission. This irrigation has, however, [136] created a new problem in the establishment of a semi-permanent population of desert locusts where they were formerly sparse.[1]

*Education*

871 Until the opening of the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs in 1935 there had been no government provision 658 for education. In the Hadramaut, and especially in the towns 872 of Sayun and Tarim, traditional Islamic education had reached a highly advanced stage about a century ago and produced a [212] body of Islamic scholars; but in other parts of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate. Present educational policy is that, as each state becomes sufficiently advanced, it should be helped to set up a self-supporting department of education with village schools, central primary schools, and intermediary or secondary schools in the larger states. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by government or local government authorities had risen from not more than 100 in 1939 to about 6,700 by 1951. The total expenditure on education in 1949–50 was about £39,000, of which the Quaiti state contributed 54 per cent, the British Government 36 per cent, and the remaining states about 10 per cent. There were then 74 primary boys' schools, varying from the small Koran school to those of full primary status; about half received British financial help. The Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs was being closed down as the newer primary schools reached the desired level. There were seven girls' primary schools in the Eastern Protectorate and one in the Western, with a total attendance of about 800. In each Protectorate there was one post-primary school, with Egyptian and Sudanese teachers on the staff. A junior secondary school at Ghail ba-Wazir near Mukalla was completed in 1950 to provide a two-years' course for the local administrative service, the police, and the army. Full secondary education in Aden Protectorate is unlikely for some years, but the new Aden College, a secondary school opened in 1951, receives boys from the Protectorate as well as from the Colony and will it is hoped eventually be developed to university standard. In 1950 ten Protectorate boys held scholarships in the Sudan, and some twenty from the Eastern Protectorate were studying in other Arab countries.

[1] Dr B. P. Uvarov, director of the Anti-Locust Research Centre, reported in *The Times*, 27 September 1952.

5;Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



November. They began testing fish livers for vitamin-A content and also canning samples. Meanwhile several local merchants showed interest and applied for permission to set up canneries and the like. A board to consider such applications and fisheries development in general was set up. 654 226

FORESTRY

No true forests exist. Bush products exploited are timber, fuel, charcoal, fibres, gum incense and dragon blood. 313 314

# Chapter 8: Social Services

## EDUCATION

*General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education inspects schools, gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates so far as is possible educational development throughout the whole territory. 658

*Policy*

The general education policy in the Protectorates has been to build up self-supporting state Departments of Education as the states become sufficiently advanced for this to be possible. The intention has been that these departments should organise and control a system of village schools, central primary schools and, in the case of the larger states, intermediate schools.

*Education Departments*

Two such Education Departments are already in existence. One under the Mukalla Government in the Eastern Protectorate, with a Sudanese Director of Education (who is also Education Adviser to the British Agent), and an inspectorate of five local Arab inspectors. The other is at Lahej, 25 miles inland from Aden in the Western Protectorate, where Emir Ali, brother of the Sultan, performs the duties of Director of Education. 647

*Higher Education*

There is no higher education in the Protectorate, and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come. It is thus necessary to send abroad selected scholars who reach the required standard. There is at present one boy at Gordon College in the Sudan, and three there are at secondary schools. 873

Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



*Post-Primary Education*

873 There are two schools, one in each Protectorate, with post-primary classes. The school at Gheil ba Wazir near Mukalla was opened in 1944
875 and has four Sudanese on the staff including the headmaster. It is a boarding-school with a rural bias, and now contains four post-primary classes with about 100 pupils. In it extra-curricular activities and societies of all kinds are developed to a high degree. The other school at Lahej has eight Egyptians on the staff, including the headmaster. It has 140 pupils, and during the year a fifth post-primary class was started. Art and handwork were introduced into the school, and good results achieved under an Egyptian instructor.

*Primary Education*

872 Facilities for full primary education are available at 13 schools main-
658 tained by the Mukalla state Department of Education, at the Bedouin Boys' Military Boarding School near Mukalla and at the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs (both maintained by funds provided by His Majesty's Government), as well as at the primary sections of the two schools at Gheil ba Wazir and Lahej mentioned above. Apart from these there are about 30 sub-grade schools (schools which almost but not quite reach primary level) under Government supervision.

In the more backward parts of the Protectorate it is the policy to aid directly by grants provided by His Majesty's Government schools which are capable of development beyond the level of elementary Quranic teaching. These grants range from small fixed amounts in the case of Quranic schools to the full payment of teachers' salaries in the case of sub-grade schools. Assistance in supplies of books and school materials is also given in each case.

*The Aden Protectorate College for Sons of Chiefs*

873 One exception to the indirect connection of the Aden Government Department of Education with the Protectorates is the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs, which the Department runs directly. A primary boarding school with a maximum capacity of 36 pupils, it was started in 1935. It has served a most valuable purpose in spreading interest in education in the Western Protectorate, and in providing scholars for teacher-training courses abroad.

*Female Education*

471 Public opinion, taken as a whole throughout the Protectorate, is still opposed to female education. There are, however, the beginnings of a change. There is in Ahwar in the Western Protectorate a class of 12 little girls learning the Quran. The Eastern Protectorate is more advanced; H.M. Government maintains a school for Bedouin girls, and the Mukalla Government maintains a sub-grade girls' school in Mukalla with about 130 pupils, and a girls' section of a village school with an agricultural bias near Mukalla, where another 30 more girls receive education.

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-2 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



*Liaison*

In the first half of 1947 the post of Protectorate Education Officer was filled, a post which had been vacant for a year. This Officer's duties include tours of inspection throughout the Protectorate, and advice and assistance, through the British Agents, where required. 647

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate advance was somewhat hampered by the absence of the Sudani Adviser for the greater part of the year on leave. However, estimates for grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act were prepared and despatched; these include schemes for enlarging the Intermediate School at Gheil Ba Wazir and for primary schools for the Kathiri State and Wahidi area. A number of scholarships for Hadhramis were given by the Governments of Syria, Egypt and Iraq. 658 648

## HEALTH

*Medical Report for the Western Aden Protectorate*

His Majesty's Government finance a small medical service in the Western Aden Protectorate. The area covered is large, communications are poor and access to many parts is difficult. In consequence only a small proportion of the population, who are in great need of health services, can be visited and treated. Nevertheless, 16 dispensaries are maintained at strategic points in the Protectorate. New dressers are given instruction in hygiene and elementary medicine and nursing care, and are then sent out to open up new areas or to work with more senior dressers in the established dispensaries. They have to deal with diseases common to all races. Certain tropical diseases such as schistosomiasis and dysentery are very prevalent. 743 759 164

Drought and the vagaries of the climate also play their part in undermining the health of the inhabitants. The third year of drought in Sublihi country undoubtedly had an effect on the prevalence of tuberculosis, dental caries and vitamin deficiency diseases in that area. 731

Apart from the dispensaries in the Protectorate, the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital in Sheik Othman which trains the dispensers also welcomes up-country patients. More would come than do at present if ignorance and superstition did not prevail in the Protectorate. Again, for many the road to the hospital is physically difficult and it is certain that they come only as a last resort and after long deliberation. In consequence doctors do all they can to visit the dispensaries as frequently as possible and to spend adequate time at each one to treat the sick, and to give instructions to dressers to keep them up to date. 743

*Famine Relief*

During 1947 the situation in the Hadhramaut continued to improve. At the beginning of the year there were 1,112 persons being fed in the kitchens, which were closed by the end of March, leaving only Malja—a relief centre for those incapable of work—whose 916 inmates in March were gradually reduced to 227 in December. Nuqer dam, the major famine relief work undertaken, was finished in June. Remittances 735 [312] 005

G.Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 8: Social Services

## EDUCATION

*General*

658 Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education inspects schools within the area, gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout the whole territory.

*Policy*

871 The general educational policy in the Protectorates has been to build up self-supporting state departments of education as the States become sufficiently advanced for this to be possible. The intention has been that these departments should organise and control a system of village schools, central primary schools and, in the case of the larger States, intermediate schools.

*Education Departments*

647 Two such education departments are already in existence. One functions under the Mukalla Government in the Eastern Protectorate, with a Sudanese Director of Education (who is also Education Adviser to the British Agent), and an inspectorate of five local Arab inspectors. The other is at Lahej, 25 miles inland from Aden in the Western Protectorate, where Emir Ali, brother of the Sultan, performs the duties of Director of Education.

*Primary Education*

871 Apart from the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs in Aden and the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion Boys' School near Mukalla, both of which are maintained by His Majesty's Government funds, there are just over 50 primary schools. These schools vary in standard, from the small Quranic schools to those which are approaching the Colony level. Those in the Eastern Protectorate, 23 in number, are maintained by the Mukalla State Department of Education, and are of a higher standard than those in the Western Protectorate. The remainder receive help from His Majesty's Government in the payment of teachers' salaries and the supply of school materials.

873 *The Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs.* One exception to the indirect connection of the Aden Government Department of Education with the Protectorates is the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs, which the Department runs directly. A primary boarding school with a maximum capacity of 42 pupils, it was started in 1935. It has served a most valuable purpose in spreading interest in education in the Western Protectorate, and in providing scholars for teacher-training courses abroad. Since, however, it is too small to be run either economically or with the full development of activities which

Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
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it should contain, it is intended to allow it to become defunct as the new primary schools in the Protectorate reach the required level. 873

*Post-Primary Education*

There are two schools, one in each Protectorate, with post-primary classes. The school at Gheil ba Wazir, near Mukalla, in the Eastern Protectorate, was opened in 1944 and has four Sudanese on the staff, including the headmaster. It is a boarding school with a rural bias, and now contains four post-primary classes with about 125 pupils. In it extra-curricular activities and societies of all kinds are developed to a very high degree. The other school at Lahej has nine Egyptians on the staff, including the headmaster. It now has 175 pupils in the six post-primary classes. 872

*Secondary and Higher Education*

There is no higher education in the Protectorates, and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come. Plans were made to send boys to the new Aden College which is to be established near Sheikh Othman in the Colony, but that will not be for another two years. This College will provide full secondary education for Protectorate as well as Colony boys, having boarding facilities for the former. Teacher-training will be an important part of its work. In the meantime it was necessary to send abroad selected scholars who had reached the required standard. Four boys returned from the Sudan having completed their training, and there are ten scholars still studying there. Of these one is studying agriculture, one is entered for Gordon College to pursue higher teacher training, one is at Hantoub Secondary School, and the remaining seven are at the Bakht er Ruda Institute of Education. 873

*Building*

During the year the Secretary of State gave his approval to the expenditure of £16,000 from Colonial Development and Welfare funds for the erection of 20 primary schools buildings in the Western Protectorate. These will in some cases replace old and unsuitable buildings, in others they will mark expansion. Two buildings have already been begun, one in the Shaibi district being near completion. 658

*Female Education*

Public opinion, taken as a whole throughout the Protectorate, is still opposed to female education. In the Eastern Protectorate there are about 180 girls receiving education; 130 of these attend the Mukalla Girls' School, a subgrade school maintained by the Qu'aiti State; there are 20 more in the girls' section of a village school, with an agricultural bias near Mukalla, while the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion Girls' School, maintained by His Majesty's Government funds, has 30. Of the latter, two are to become teachers, eight nurses. In the Western Protectorate female education is almost non-existent; it is confined to the reading of the Quran, and even that does not amount to more than 15 girls in the whole area. 871

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



871 the whole territory. A full-time European Education Officer is responsible for educational work in the Western Aden Protectorate.

*Policy*

658 The general educational policy in the Protectorate has been to build up self-supporting state departments of education as the states become sufficiently advanced for this to be possible. The intention has been that these departments should organise and control a system of village schools, central primary schools and, in the case of the larger states, intermediate or secondary schools.

*Primary Education*

872 Apart from the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs in Aden, and the Hadhrami Beduin Legion Boys' School near Mukalla, both of which are maintained by His Majesty's Government funds, there are 74 primary boys' schools, varying in standard from the small Quranic schools to those of full primary status. About half of these receive help from His Majesty's Government in the payment of teachers' salaries and the supply of school materials.

*The Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs*

One exception to the indirect connection of the Aden Government Department of Education with the Protectorate is the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs, which the Department runs directly. This school was founded in 1935, and has served a most valuable purpose in spreading interest in education in the Western Protectorate, and in providing scholars for teacher training abroad. Since, however it is too small to be run either economically or with the full development of activities which it should contain, it is being allowed to become defunct as the new primary schools in the Protectorate reach the required level. The number of boys are 33 at present and it is planned to close it altogether within the next two years.

*Post-Primary Education*

There are two schools, one in each Protectorate, with post-primary classes. The one at Lahej has six post-primary standards and has a number of Egyptian teachers on the staff. The other at Gheil ba Wazir near Mukalla, in the Eastern Protectorate, was opened in 1944 and now has five post-primary standards. There are 413 pupils and a staff of 24 including a number of Sudanese. Extra-curricular activities and societies of all kinds are developed to a very high degree in this school.

A new junior secondary school was completed at Gheil ba Wazir in September, 1950. It is going to prepare boys for the local government administrative service, for the police and for the Army. The period of the curriculum will be two years. Fifteen students were selected from those who had obtained intermediate school certificates for entry to the new school.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Secondary and Higher Education*

There is no higher education and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come, but there is one teacher-training college at Gheil ba Wazir in the Eastern Protectorate. The new Aden College which is under construction in Sheikh Othman will provide full secondary education for Protectorate as well as Colony boys, having boarding facilities for the former. Teacher training will be an important part of its work. In the meantime it is necessary to send abroad selected scholars who have reached the required standard. There are at present 10 boys on scholarships in the Sudan, one of whom is at Gordon Memorial College, as well as some 20 boys from the Eastern Protectorate attending schools in Egypt, Iraq and Syria. 873

*Buildings*

The scheme for the building of some 11 primary schools in the Western Protectorate from the £16,000 Colonial Development and Welfare grant has been going ahead. There are now eight new schools and six more are nearing completion. 346

The building of new schools with Colonial Development and Welfare grants went on apace in the Eastern Protectorate. A new primary school at Hajr (Meifa) was completed, while the new Sai'un boys' school was almost ready at the end of 1950. The junior secondary school was completed at Gheil ba Wazir. New schools are being built at Shibam and Haura.

*Female Education*

There are eight primary schools for girls in the Protectorate with an attendance of just over 800 and a staff of 31. Of these one is in the Western Protectorate, the remainder in the Eastern. The school in the Western Protectorate was opened at Zinjibar in 1949, and marks a great advance in this territory where there was previously no education for girls. 872

*Literacy*

Measures to deal with adult illiteracy are extremely meagre. In the Eastern Protectorate they are confined to eleven classes which are conducted for members of the Quaiti State Forces and two for inmates of the Mukalla prison. 212 871

It is impossible to estimate the number of literates turned out by the small independent Quranic schools which exist throughout the Protectorates. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by Government or local government authorities was in the region of 6,500 in 1950; in 1939 it was not more than 100.

*Expenditure*

The total expenditure on education in the financial year 1949–50 was in the region of £38,937 comprising: 658 871

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
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|---|---|
| His Majesty's Government .. .. .. .. | 11,337 |
| C.D.W. Schemes (including Scholarships) .. | 2,833 |
| Quaiti State .. .. .. .. .. .. | 21,111 |
| Kathiri State .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1,313 |
| Western Protectorate States (exclusive of Abdali, Audhali and Beihan territories of which figures are not known .. .. .. .. .. | 2,343 |
| TOTAL .. | £38,937 |

Thus though educational provision in the Protectorates is still meagre, there has been steady development over the last few years. It is only fair to point out that until 1937, with the exception of the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs started in 1935, there was no Government provision or supervision of education in the Protectorates. It would not be true to say that there was no education in the Protectorates before that time; it existed rather haphazardly, maintained by private individual trusts and associations and by a few local chiefs; but its bias was almost always entirely religious, just as the mosque was nearly always the village school, and the Imam of the mosque the village schoolmaster.

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In the part of the Eastern Protectorate loosely called the Hadhramaut, and particularly in the towns of Sai'un and Tarim, this traditional religious education reached a highly advanced stage about a century ago. It produced a body of men drawn mainly from the Seiyid classes, who were well read in Quranic studies, Sharia law and in the Arabic language. These men travelled widely in surrounding countries, spreading Islamic culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protectorate. Any development of education initiated by Government had therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the biggest problem in Protectorate education today.

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Some detailed information which is available on education in the Eastern Protectorate is given below.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

An educational event of significance and interest was the return visit to the Protectorate in May, 1950, of Mr. V. L. Griffiths of the Sudan Ministry of Education. Mr. Griffiths was the planner and architect of education in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, having drawn

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



652 Details are not available as to how much State expenditure was non-recurrent, but the proportion for the year was small. None of the expenditure by Her Majesty's Government was of a non-recurrent nature and all but £1,867 from C.D. & W. Funds was.

*Number of Schools*

871 The number of schools under Government control or supervision is 75 primary boys' schools, four primary girls' schools and four intermediate boys' schools.

The number of pupils enrolled at 31st March, 1952, was as follows :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Primary boys' schools | 5,139 pupils with | 222 teachers. |
| Primary girls' schools | 269 pupils with | 15 teachers. |
| Intermediate boys' schools | 408 pupils with | 16 teachers. |

In addition there are a number of privately controlled schools which do not follow the Government syllabus, and usually have a religious bias.

*Studies Abroad*

There were 39 students studying abroad during 1952. Two were at university colleges, one taking a pedagogics course at University College, Exeter, the other an arts course at Gordon College, Khartoum ; both these students are at present in the teaching profession. The remainder were either at Bakht er Rudha Institute of Education in the Sudan, or at secondary schools in the Sudan and elsewhere, and were distributed as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Sudan . . | 18 |
| Egypt . . | 10 |
| Syria . . | 5 |
| Iraq . . | 4 |

658 741' Eleven of these students were paid for by Colonial Development and Welfare grants for teacher-training ; the remainder were financed by State or charitable funds.

*Teachers and Teacher-Training*

875 Apart from training abroad mentioned in the previous paragraph there were two centres at home. In 1951 the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs trained six teachers in a one-year course for teaching at the primary level. At Gheil ba Wazir in the Eastern Protectorate there were three students training as teachers at the intermediate level. In addition all Western Protectorate teachers were brought in for the annual refresher course of a fortnight's duration in the Colony.

The teaching profession is in constant danger of wastage, both in the East and in the West, though for different reasons. In the East the Quaiti State offers pensionable employment, but the general conditions of service are lower than in Aden or the Western Protectorate. In the West the nearer proximity of Aden Colony and the possibility of more lucrative employment there is an ever-present danger, but more serious still is the fact that no State in the West can

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
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equently return to their home settlements with their savings. Arabic is the language of the indigenous peoples, but Malay tongues are widely used in the towns of the Hadhramaut. Swahili, the *franca lingua* of East Africa, is understood throughout most of the area, while English is extensively employed in Aden proper. The majority of Arabs are Moslems, belonging to branches of the Sunni sect. Other religions are found chiefly among the different racial groups in the Colony and in the coast towns of the Protectorate.

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A H 795

Education has made considerable progress in the Colony, and is gradually being introduced into the Protectorate. Primary schools for both sexes are supported by the government in the Colony, and by mission and private organizations. The Colonial authorities also operate secondary and vocational schools for boys. There are no post-secondary institutions, but government scholarships are available for the training of teachers and various professional personnel in the Anglo-Egytian Sudan or in the United Kingdom. The literacy rate among children of 6 to 12 years of age is estimated at 90 per cent, in contrast with 10 to 25 per cent in the general population. A program for the expansion of education

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N 212 185 658 in the Protectorate has recently been undertaken by the British authorities, while in some areas, particularly in the Qu'aiti Sultanate, schools are now supported by the local governments. Scattered primary and Koranic schools, and at least one postprimary school, are found in each of the protectorates. In the course of a medical survey N 212 565 in Western Aden Protectorate in 1939-40,[20] the degree of literacy was found to average 20 per cent among the men and practically zero among the women. The highest literacy rates were encountered among the Seiyids, a group recognized as the social and the N [873] religious leaders. A college for the sons of chiefs from Western Aden Protectorate is located at Aden.

## Vital Statistics

A 659 163 165 Registration of births and deaths is compulsory in the Colony. In the 5 years 1946-50, the birth rate, calculated on the basis of the census returns for 1946, ranged from 26.6 to 31.7 per 1,000 population; the A 165 464 death rate, from 20.1 to 23.5 per 1,000 population. The significance of the mortality statistics is influenced adversely by the continuous movement of laborers between the Colony and their homes in Yemen and the Protectorate, and the influx of sick individuals from the interior to Aden hospitals, many of whom are in a seriously debilitated condition on arrival. In 1950, for example, the recorded deaths totaled 1,644, of which 411 were among nonresidents. The death rate, as reported, was 20.1 per 1,000 of the 1946 census population, but, eliminating the nonresident deaths, it is reduced to 14.2 per 1,000 population. Corrected to the estimated population for that year, the crude death rate figured at 16.4 per 1,000 and the resident rate at 11.3 per 1,000 population.

A 165 731 The infant mortality rate has declined appreciably within recent years. It had been less than 200 per 1,000 live births for several decades, but it reached a peak of 239 per 1,000 in 1943, when famine conditions prevailed throughout much of southwestern Arabia. The annual rates averaged 176 per

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ADEN MMI
HADHRAMAUT MM2

sistant progress in breaking down the prejudices of the Arab community. In 1950, a venereal disease treatment center functioned in the Civil Hospital, and a second center at the mission hospital was subsidized by the government. In that year, small dispensaries were conducted in Aden by the Sudan Interior Mission and the Danish Church Mission, and two clinics were operated by private physicians.

A H 743

Two small hospitals, with a combined total of 60 beds, were located at Mukalla and Ash Shihr, in Eastern Aden Protectorate, in 1950. A child welfare center was organized in Mukalla, while 15 dispensaries were active in scattered towns in the coastal region and the Hadhramaut. Eighteen dispensaries were in operation in different parts of Western Aden Protectorate.

**Laboratories.** The principal medical laboratory is that of the Civil Hospital at Crater, in Aden township. It is equipped for the performance of clinical, serologic and microscopic examinations. Clinical laboratory facilities are also available at the mission hospital.

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**Schools.** There are no schools for the training of medical personnel, but government scholarships are provided for professional study and for postgraduate work at schools in the eastern Mediterranean countries or in the United Kingdom.

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In 1948, a course designed to improve the standards in midwifery was started at the Maternity and Child Welfare Clinic at Crater. Practical training in nursing is given to men and to a limited number of girls at the Civil Hospital. The Keith Falconer Mission Hospital undertakes the training of medical assistants for work in the dispensaries in Western Aden Protectorate.

## Personnel

**Physicians.** The number of civilian physicians practicing in the Colony totaled 26 in 1950. Nine medical officers and 13 assistant medical officers were affiliated with the Medical and Health Department of the

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G.L. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MMI Aden
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241 the management of irrigation farming on some 5,000 acres. The value
242 of the Board's quarter-share of the net crop obtained, after paying harvesting and threshing expenses in kind, was estimated at over Rs. 1,25,000.

Farming in Abyan, largely influenced by the Board's operations, proved important to the economy of the Western Aden Protectorate. In the production of millet alone, it is estimated that a 30,000 bag crop, equal to 3,000 metric tons, was raised. A large portion of this was held as a reserve, or had been marketed to the easterly districts at the end of the year. General control on the export of this grain to Aden itself was maintained, and the flow of the crop to the districts to the east was encouraged.

*The Wadi Hadhramaut Rehabilitation Scheme*

654 This was wound up by Government at the end of the 1947–48 financial
426 year. Farmers with outstanding loans were given ten years in which to repay, the basis of repayment being at the rate of 2 per cent of the total loan from the spring crop, 3 per cent from the autumn crop, and 5 per cent from the winter crop grown. By the end of the year, it was apparent that this system of deferred repayment was not proving satis-
[452] factory. Moneylenders had again become active, while late planting and reduced acreage were noticeable in many districts. This undoubtedly resulted from lack of foresight on the part of many farmers, who had failed to reserve sufficient seed and fodder and preferred to resort to moneylenders for obtaining their needs on credit.

406 At the end of the year, proposals were on hand for the introduction of numbers of diesel-driven irrigation pumps for use in the Wadi Hadhramaut.

*Co-operation*

476 The Beihan Farmers' Association, formed in the previous year, progressed in a satisfactory manner, and much useful experience was gained by the officials of the association. A good *saif* season helped the members, but this was followed by an almost complete lack of water in the *kharif*. In spite of these difficulties, the association was able to help its members in their requirements of seed, stock, and cash needed for well equipment and for concentrates for feeding livestock. At the end of the year, the association had acquired some Rs. 12,000 from members' subscriptions and from interest charged on loans.

476 This association cannot be termed a co-operative society in the true
659 sense of the word. It is an association which has the full support of the local Government, and which at present makes use of Government offices and storehouses for its activities. In the present stage of development this is considered to be the most desirable form of association for Beihan.

*Western Aden Protectorate*

226 The Western Aden Protectorate fisheries are of minor importance
361 compared with those of the Eastern Protectorate. Shuqra, the seat of
439 the Fadhli Sultan, is, however, a fishing port with a considerable export trade in dried fish

8 Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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*ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1 : General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

642 THE years 1951 and 1952 were marked by (a) Government penetration
648 into the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom (Maan) at the invitation of the Ruler and the subsequent formation of the United Administration of Maan and Khalifa ; (b) the conclusion of two Advisory Treaties with the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and Audhali Sultan (May and July, 1952)
647 and a joint Advisory and Protectorate Treaty with His Highness the Sultan of Lahej ; (c) the formation of the Fadhli—Lower Yafa' Health Board ; and (d) the formation of the Lower Aulaqi Regency Council in Ahwar (August, 1952).

Politically the period under review was one of consolidation and development of the administrations of the various States in the Protectorate.

438 The Abyan Board did well in 1951 when it sold 9,890 bales of cotton for £867,088. In 1952 the rains were not so plentiful with the result that only 6,300 bales were sold for £725,810.

648 Relations with the neighbouring Kingdom of the Yemen remained difficult in spite of the Modus Vivendi Agreement concluded with it in London in January, 1951. Interference in affairs well inside the Protectorate boundary was a cause of friction.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

622 In the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States the main constitutional advance has been in the setting up of town and village councils to deal with local affairs.

659 Of necessity both Administrations have been preoccupied with measures to combat the threat of food shortage which must always be
654 faced in this region of uncertain rainfall. The States and local author-
653 ities have maintained dumps of grain, which are designed to tide over a period of scarcity before imports can arrive from the coast, and a
245 periodical check is made on resources of motor transport to ensure that distribution of supplies is not held up by failure of camel traffic in an emergency. Positive measures have been taken to increase local food supplies. Funds have been allocated for loans to farmers to purchase pumps to increase areas of cultivation. Schemes for the rebuilding of dams and for flood control have been put into effect. Particular attention has been paid to the rehabilitation of date palms.

A 164 porting, 2,018 and 2,325 cases, respectively, were recorded. Of these, 59 to 63 per cent were diagnosed as syphilis and 31 to 34 per cent as gonorrhea, while chancroid predominated in the remainder. Some indication of the prevalence of syphilis is provided by the results of serologic examinations of blood specimens taken from individuals admitted to tubeculosis wards. In a series of Kahn tests performed on 243 cases in 1950,[7] positive reactions were obtained in 13 per cent. Centers for the treatment of venereal diseases have been established at the Civil Hospital, in Aden township, and at the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital, in Sheikh Othman.

A 164 758

H 164 Syphilis and gonorrhea are reputed to be common in the towns of the Protectorate, but no reliable information is available. A nonvenereal treponemal infection, believed to be bejel by most authorities, has been reported from various localities in southern Arabia. A focus probably exists around Beiham, in Western Aden Protectorate. Cases are observed from time to time in the Colony hospitals among persons from this area, as well as from Yemen.

N 164 515 Diseases of the Eyes. Trachoma and conjunctivitis are major problems, particularly in the Protectorate, where environmental conditions and the unhygienic customs of the people promote the spread of infectious eye diseases. Trachoma is frequent among the schoolchildren in the Colony. In a survey conducted in 1946,[8] the incidence of trachoma was found to be 18.9 per cent among 1,103 boys examined in the government schools. Measures for improved diagnosis and treatment were instituted, with an appreciable decrease in infection. In a similar group of 1,419 boys observed in 1948, evidence of trachoma was detected in 9.8 per cent.

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N 164 659 Less is known of the extent of the disease in the interior. A medical survey in Western Aden Protectorate in 1939-40[39] revealed widespread trachoma infection, with rates varying from 14 per cent in Dhubiyat to

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75 per cent in Shuqra. In most localities, the infection rates ranged from 27 to 88 per cent among children under 15 years of age and from zero to 48 per cent in persons over 15 years of age. The Fadhli and the Abdali tribal districts were the most seriously affected regions visited. H 164 659

Diseases of the Skin. Favus, ringworm and other mycotic skin infections are widely distributed. Madura foot is common in the Protectorate, and cases are seen in the Colony hospitals each year among patients from the interior. Phagedenic ulcers are responsible for considerable disability among laborers in the Colony and in all parts of the Protectorate. Several thousand cases are treated each year in the hospitals and the dispensaries in Aden Colony, where they are usually designated as "Yemen ulcers." The ankle is the most frequent site of infection, and amputation is often necessary in neglected cases. A H 164 167 A 758

Scabies and impetigo are prevalent, especially among the children of inland towns and villages who live under congested, insanitary conditions. By contrast, surprisingly few cases of scabies are encountered among the children seen in the schools in Aden township. A H 164 511 515

Leprosy. Leprosy is endemic in the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been reported from the Colony within recent years. The infection is probably not extensive, although foci of the disease are known to exist in the Hadhramaut and in the Lahej, the Dhala' and the Abyen areas in the western protectorate. As lepers are not discriminated against socially, some difficulty is encountered in controlling the movement of infected individuals in the Colony. A small leper hospital is located at Sheikh Othman: it receives patients not only from Aden territory but also from Yemen. Eighteen of the 29 patients in residence in 1939[18] were open nodular or lepromatous cases. A H 164 A H 743 164 185

Other Infections. Tetanus is endemic, but reported cases are rare. A H 164

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These sentiments I believe to be at the back of the unsatisfactory state of affairs between the two parties. They became accentuated by the Kathīris losing a seaport. Once they became land-locked, they felt themselves even more at the mercy of those who control the ways in and out of the country. The Qu'aitis, on their side, felt that with the seaports they could prevent the Kathīris from again becoming a menace. The inevitable result of this policy on the part of the Qu'aitis was intensified dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of the Kathīris.

185 Some 20 or 25 years ago they came to the conclusion that the state of affairs could no longer be borne. It was resulting in ●661 a neglected condition of the country and increased anarchy in the 648 interior. All the revenue went into the pockets of the authority holding the seaports, and nothing was done in the way of improvements to the roads or to the development of the country. At this time there was little or no intercourse between the British and the Kathīri. The Qu'aiti had long been under British protection and had proved a loyal and faithful friend. Not unnaturally he was given support and in the usual way dealings with a tribe not in treaty relations were eschewed. Nevertheless the Kathīri would have preferred British assistance. As it was not forthcoming it is said that at different times he made advances to other powers, and the Turks, Dutch, Italians and French have been mentioned to me.

648 In due course we began to take an interest in the matter, and finally the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 was negotiated with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I do not propose to comment on this treaty (which is reproduced for convenience sake in an appendix) except to say that it seems to me admirable in its sentiments, particularly in its requiring the parties to co-operate in measures for the common benefit of the Hadhramaut. As far as the British Government was concerned its effect was to bring the Kathīris under British protection through the medium of the Protectorate treaty with the Qu'aitis. It also provides for the settlement of disputes between the two parties by the British. If the treaty could have been fulfilled in letter and spirit, all would have been well.

Apart from the fact that the Qu'aiti had been a loyal friend to the British, and that it would on that ground have been a mistake to upset his paramount authority in the Hadhramaut, any arrangement which set up two independent authorities in the Hadhramaut would be a mistake. The evil consequences of splitting up a country by means of separate treaties sought or granted on insufficient information are well exemplified in the case of Upper Yafa'. The Hadhramaut is economically and geographically a single unit, and its prosperity depends on the fullest co-operation between the party that controls the ports and the party that is paramount in the 000 interior. It has often been said that co-operation of this sort is not in the Arab genius, but economic forces are often more potent

645 of a Municipal Council composed of merchants and notabilities being formed in Mukalla, but it did not seem likely that it would eventuate.

636 The Sultanate is divided into five *liwas* or provinces: Shihr, the oldest, Mukalla, Du'an, Hajr, and Shibam. Each of these provinces is ruled on behalf of the Sultan by a salaried Governor or *Muqaddam*, who has at least one paid clerk. He has direct control over the Qu'aiti towns in his province, and in important ones which are not autonomous there is a sub-Governor responsible to the Governor of the province. Subject to the general orders of His Highness the *Muqaddam* has power to settle any case in the province, but there is an appeal to the *Wazir* and Governor of Mukalla. From the judgments and decisions of the *Wazir* appeal lies to His Highness.

631 There are a number of autonomous towns throughout the Hadhra-
632 maut governed by particular tribes or families, and the Central
635 Government does not interfere in their internal affairs. Relations with the tribes over the country are conducted principally through
642 the Governors on whose towns they economically depend. The Sultan has the two following types of agreements with the various tribes: A. Engagements containing an undertaking to respond to the call of the Sultan in any matter and at any time, and B. Engagements of *bon voisinage* and friendship containing an undertaking to co-operate in matters of mutual interest. These agreements are all written.

The following tribes have A. agreements: Tamimi, Manahil, Ath Tha'yani, Awābitha, Seibani, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadiyin, Sumūh, Al Bab Sura, Hālka, Nūwah, Mahfudh, Makhashin, the Hadhrami Yafa'is, Hāmdi, Beni Daghār, and Buheish.

The following tribes have B. agreements: Hamumi, Qarzi, Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Ma'āra, Jōhi, 'Awāmir, Ash Shenafir al Kathīr, Mahra, Nahd Rodhān, Sei'ar, Ad Deiyin, Ja'da, Baheith, Namāra Beni Hilāl, 'Awāleq, Hājib Beni Sa'd, Bahanaf, Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Senad al Murqashi, Ba Habāb, Meseiliyin, 'Asārina, Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Beni 'Utheiman, Bā Babekr and Āl Zaghīb, tribesmen of Sadf, Al 'Amūdi, Ash Shof, Beduins of Shāūla, Āl Beihan al 'Awāmir, Al Khashia al Murqashi, Deiyeb, Qumeish, and Bā Bekr.

● 661 When there is any doubt as to the loyalty of a particular tribe,
431 hostages have to be provided who are kept in Mukalla prison, at Du'an, and sometimes at Shihr. Hostages may be changed every
642 month. Presents are given and subsidies paid to some of the tribes, and on the visits of tribal *'Aqils* to provincial headquarters they are given presents, and in some cases entertained.

642 The Qu'aiti administration makes no attempt to interfere with
632 tribal usages, but tribal usage does not run in the Qu'aiti towns
and within the area surrounded by white pillars

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended [5]) for the carpenter (nadjdjār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥaśwān of the Āl Bā Ḥaśwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two [6]. One says for instance, Dī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah [7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee [8]. The people of the Quarter [9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian tašt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥakk al-salīṭ, ḥakk al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. Andree, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers*, *Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍramī coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my article in *Le Muséon* cited above.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



He cannot resist the wishes of his guests and very soon there is again a crowd of inquisitive people in the sweltering upper room, staring at us and hampering us with questions and loud conversation.

## 2. PROSE AND POETRY IN WĀDĪ ḤADJR.

We manage, by exercising much insistence, to get off at four o'clock that afternoon. There are two roads to Makalla: one goes direct through the mountains, the other makes a great circuit by following the main wādī as far as the sea and then going up the coast to Makalla. The mountain route is the shortest but the hardest; we are told that it is *too* hard for our camels, who are not strong. Moreover, it would be unsafe for our little company in the mountains, in the absence of an armed escort. Considering that even Little, with a big military escort, was attacked in this country — a sayyid who was acting as his guide was killed in an engagement — we accepted the assertions of the people in Ṣidāra as reasonable and therefore chose the detour by way of the wādī, which however has a bad name for malaria. Little had to contend much with this illness: his escort had to be almost entirely renewed after a short sojourn in Wādī Ḥadjr. We tried to avoid risk by sleeping away from human habitation and, as far as possible, on high-lying, dry ground.

The caravan was under the leadership of a strong, slight Arab, of the name of Dhēb. He had spent his youth as hostage in the Sultan's palace at Makalla. This shows that Ṣidāra some twenty years ago was still a part of the Qeʿēṭī territory, but that the Sultan considered it necessary to strengthen his hold on the country by bringing up the sons of the leading families in his palace. It was to this circumstance that Dhēb owed his education — for this country a very good one — and he was much more cultivated than the other young men of Ṣidāra. In spite of his long hair, his face was handsomer and gentler in expression than is usually the case here. We also had

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.* Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā . . . ā . . . ā . . . ā!"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf*, *i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



After descending the slope on which the town lies, we enter a wonderfully ploughed area of loam soil. The brown hills of loam rise up, completely bare, out of the deep green palm-groves and the fields of *dhura*. An extensive system of irrigation canals with their side-channels provides for the distribution of the *sēl* water over all the cultivated land lying between the hill-ridges. The further we go beyond Hadjarēn the larger grows the number of defence and watch towers on the hill-tops beside the groves. The number of date-palms decreases, the fields are, at first, green, but, at last, only the loam dykes indicate that, given sufficient water and adequate safety, one can sow here as elsewhere. A stretch of half an hour's going forms the neutral zone between the Qeᶜēṭī and the Kathīrī territories. From now on, in view of the risk of being held up, the caravan must keep together. The bed of the wādī remains wide, yet becomes wild and devoid of vegetation. Here and there the loess is covered by sand and stones. There must have been a large town here in ancient times, for the way to el-Meshhed runs between ruin mounds. The sun is setting and we are to reach el-Meshhed before darkness falls. The donkeys are sent back to fetch the tired party who have climbed Djebel Hadjarēn. 241 361

## 5. EL-MESHHED, A CENTRE OF RUINS.

El-Meshhed is an extinct small town situated in the midst of the plantless, desert wādī. The meaning of the name el-Meshhed is "the place where a martyr died". It is important for a yearly fair and as a place of pilgrimage. During the days in the month of Muḥarram, fixed for that purpose, the place must be full of buyers and sellers lodging in the houses and temporary shacks; now most of the houses are empty. 361 103 438

The Governor of el-Meshhed is not in town, he prefers residence in the larger, more prosperous Ḥurēḍa, where he has also a house, a family, and groves of date-palms. His sons are 662

662 tine young men, who represent their father in the duties of host most admirably. The el-ʿAṭṭās family has a big well-kept guest-house for relations passing through el-Meshhed. The roof-storey has been recently whitewashed, the mud staircases and passages, the bathroom, lavatories and everything are clean. It is a luxury for us to be able to have a bath and to put up our camp-beds on the clean, white roof-terrace, high up above the dirty smells, which pervade every Arab town. What a difference from the stable-roof at Ṣīf!

172 212 On Tuesday, May 19th, we begin a detailed examination of the inscriptions at el-Meshhed and of the ruins of Ghēbūn, which are near by, to the south and south-west. We were shown stones with Sabaean inscriptions, built into houses, saints' graves, mosques, *siqāyas* and into the large, very deep village well. The material is not favourable; the limestone which is used is taken from the neighbouring mountains and is brittle, and, consequently, there remain only fragments of most of the inscriptions. A longer and more minute research than we could undertake would most certainly bring a great deal more to light. Ten minutes' walk out of el-Meshhed to the south-west lies the group of ruins of Ghēbūn. They are ascribed by the inhabitants to the fabulous people of the ʿĀdites and are probably on the site of a Ḥimyaritic city. One sees hillocks as much as thirty feet in height, and on their tops the remains of walls built up of great, hewn blocks of stone, which have been bound with a sort of cement. On one of the first hills we see the remains of four stone foundations with square impressions, probably the bases of pillars. Towards the slopes we find many fragments of stone with characters inscribed on them. On the next hillock there is an old well, thirty feet in diameter and quite sixty feet deep. The upper part of its wall consists of a layer of piled-up stone, while the lower part is of mud. The well is partly filled with rubbish and was probably much deeper originally than it is now. The subsoil water-level here is quite 180 feet below the surface of the earth. Many fragments of simple pottery lie

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a British protected belt along the coast and to leave the interior of the 648
country alone. This policy was no doubt due in part to the difficulties 631
of communication overland and to the attitude of the Arab chiefs concerned, who welcomed protection against foreign enemies, but disliked any interference with their internal affairs.

Unfortunately, British protection was not always effective. No 648
troops were maintained in the Protectorate, and when the test of war came in 1915 the Turks in the Yemen found no difficulty in marching down through the Protectorate to Lahej and the gates of Aden. After the war the rule of the Turks in the Yemen was succeeded by that of the Zeidi Imam of Sana. This energetic ruler has always regarded both Turks and British as usurpers in Southern Arabia, the whole of which he looks upon as his rightful inheritance, and he lost no time in seizing as much of the Aden Protectorate as he could take with impunity. The British at Aden, with a much reduced garrison and a minute air force, were unable to give effective protection to their tribes until 1928, when air reinforcements enabled them to recover the Dhala district. The Imam's Zeidi troops retained possession of some parts of the Protectorate until 1934, when they were withdrawn as a corollary to the signature of the Treaty of Sana. This treaty effected a temporary settlement of the vexed question of the Protectorate frontier. The Imam did not formally renounce his historic claims, for he declares that he will never do that, but he agreed that they should remain in abeyance for the period of the treaty—that is, for forty years from its signature, or until a more permanent solution could be found. On the other hand, the British Government recognized the Imam's title as King of the Yemen and his complete independence within his own territory.

It was hoped that the Treaty of Sana would prove to be a turning- 663
point in the history of the Aden Protectorate, and this hope has to some extent been justified. Before the conclusion of the treaty the Protecting Power was mainly concerned with the problem of defence against external aggression, and there were even advocates of the abandonment of all but a fragment of the Protectorate in the immediate vicinity of Aden. The settlement with the Yemen enabled the authorities at Aden to turn their attention to setting the Protectorate house in order. There was a growing feeling that the old policy of indifference to its internal needs was unworthy of the best British traditions, and that an effort should be made to improve the lot of the people in the protected area. It was no longer considered to be good enough to put a ring

663 fence round the country and then to leave it to anarchy. On the other hand, there was no wish to introduce direct British rule over a people who are tenaciously attached to their independence. Our policy is therefore to support the treaty chiefs and to lead them and their subjects to appreciate the advantages of the suppression of lawlessness and the maintenance, in collaboration with the British Government, of internal peace and security. At the same time it was laid down as a general principle that the main trade routes through the Protectorate must be kept safe, and that the Government would enforce this decision.

The medium through which this policy was to be carried into effect was a number of political officers centred on Aden, but working in the Protectorate, and I, as Governor at the time, was fortunate in the appointment by the Colonial Office of a group of young men who threw themselves wholeheartedly and devotedly into the work of gaining the confidence and friendship of the Arab tribes and their chiefs, and in promoting the policy upon which the Government had embarked.

712 This work would not have been possible without the collaboration of the Royal Air Force. Aden had become an Air Command in 1928, and the first action of the strengthened Air Force was the ejection of the Yemenis from Dhala, to which I have already referred. This was followed by the construction of landing-grounds. There are now between thirty and forty of these in various parts of the Protectorate, including the Hadhramaut Valley, which had until lately been almost a *terra incognita* except to a few adventurous travellers. Flights by the Royal Air Force over the Hadhramaut were followed by invitations from the local Arabs to land, and the pioneer work of two young Air Force officers, Cochrane and Rickards, led to the establishment of closer contact. The first visit of a Resident of Aden to this strange and most interesting district was paid by myself in the early part of 1933.

556 I have already referred to this remarkable valley of the Hadhramaut,
167 and readers of Miss Freya Stark's delightful and graphic descriptions of her travels in Southern Arabia will be familiar with its peculiar characteristics. Its wealthy seyyids and merchants have generally amassed their fortunes in Java or Singapore, to which countries the Hadhramis emigrate in large numbers, and in which many of them are owners of valuable house property. They do not, however, lose their
[186] love for their original home in Arabia, and many of them eventually
342 return to the Hadhramaut, and there build for themselves the luxurious

than purely ethnographical considerations, and I certainly believe that with some assistance the present trend of progress in Qu'aiti territory and desire for peace and development in Kathīri territory could be co-ordinated to a common end.

So much for the treaty.* Unfortunately the spirit of it has not as yet been carried into effect. Mistrust still reigns supreme. This mistrust insists on the fulfilment of such a condition as correspondence by the Kathīris with the British being conducted through Qu'aiti channels. If the mistrust did not exist, this provision would be a natural one tending to the facility of the conduct of public business. On the other hand, such provisions as that requiring co-operation remains a dead letter, and any attempts to secure progress by the Kathīris seem doomed to obstruction by the Qu'aitis.

In October 1927, and May 1928, conferences were held at Singapore in which measures were discussed which might lead to the improvement of the two states, and proposals were even brought forward for the institution of an assembly composed of representatives of both states to "scrutinize the budget", and concern itself with the interstate co-ordination of certain departmental activities. These conferences were of course not likely to have any far-reaching result, but they were interesting as showing the ideas that were being imbibed by Kathīri emigrants in the advanced environment of the Straits Settlements. Such democratic concepts, however, were not likely to find favour at the present stage of development of thought in the Hadhramaut.

In 1929 the Kathīri Sultan drew attention to the lack of co-operation and the difficulty of introducing schemes of reform, and he proposed that a conference should be assembled to discuss the matter. The Qu'aiti to whom the matter was referred expressed his readiness to hold such a conference, but although the idea was encouraged it subsequently came to nothing and was eventually postponed *sine die*.

Shortly before my visit to the Hadhramaut Sultan 'Umar made his state tour of his domains and of Kathīri territory. He was received everywhere with acclamation and appears to have played the role of beneficent prince. He was presented with a petition asking for reforms. Certain abuses were mentioned in the petition, and, in particular, attention was called to the fact that although taxes were heavy they were not applied to the benefit of the subjects. There were also complaints of insecurity and the unrestricted traffic in arms. The petition recited the conclusion of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 and several others since concluded by Qu'aitis and Kathīris. The part of the petition dealing with these further documents is as follows :—

> "The next treaty between both Governments was concluded on 10th Shawāl 1336 (1918). There followed also a third pact, which was concluded on 30th Dhu'l Qada 1336, between the Qu'aiti Government on the one part and the Āl Tamim on the

* [Qu'aiti – Kathiri agreement of 1918 – Analyst]

664 other concerning the protection of goods belonging to the sub-
185 jects. There is also a fourth pact wherein Your Highness undertook to take action against any party that should transgress against another party, to punish the offenders, restore looted property, and check the transgressors, according to this treaty, until such time as God wills. This treaty is dated 13th Jumād ath Thani 1342 (1923). It also embodies other conditions which have not been carried into effect.

"A fifth treaty was likewise concluded between Seiyid Hussein bin Hāmid al Mihdhār, representative of the Qu'aiti Government, on the one part, and the Sultan of the Āl Abdulla on the other, on 25th Ramadhan 1344 (1925). Thereafter an agreement was concluded between both the Governments, the Qu'aiti and the Āl 'Abdulla, on the one part, and the Āl 'Awāmir on the other. This pact is dated 12th Rajab 1345 (1926), and in it the Āl 'Awāmir undertook not to interfere with travellers belonging to either Government, or with other travellers, within their respective boundaries, even though they might happen to be in a state of war. This is the sixth pact.

"There is also a seventh treaty between Sultan Salih bin Ghalib bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti on the one part, and the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla on the other. The first Article provides that: 'Both Governments should co-operate to bring about a settlement, and maintain peace and security, and set at rest all agitations and disturbances by any means which will lead to conciliation. In the event of the said measures not being successful they should use all possible power to enforce the same.' In the fourth Article it is laid down that 'Both Governments shall endeavour to take the necessary measures for the security of the routes, and the protection of the poor and others from the effect of the strife and fighting which invariably occur between the tribesmen.'"

The petition bore sixty signatures of the leading inhabitants of the Kathīri part of the valley, and purported to speak on behalf of the "Hadhrami nation". It was addressed to the Qu'aiti and Kathīri Sultans. I do not think that the petition was intended to be on behalf of the inhabitants of the Qu'aiti domain but it was rather directed against the working of Qu'aiti policy *vis à vis* the Kathīri. It was rejected by Sultan 'Umar on the ground that the petitioners were not representative, but it was supported by the Kathīri Sultan.

651 As regards taxation, the position is that goods entering the country
653 are taxed at Mukalla. If they are intended for the Kathīri part of the valley they are often taken by sea to Shihr where they are taxed again. None of this money is used in maintaining security on the road from Shihr to Tarim, and none of it is used to improve communications for the people by whom it is paid. The Al Kaf Seiyids have spent $180,000 in attempting to build a Tarim-Shihr

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



the development of agriculture and irrigation in Abyan has been much 242
appreciated.

During the latter part of 1947 it was possible to station a Political Officer in the Abyan and Ahwar areas. His presence and the benefit of increased production in the area have contributed to the appreciable success of the Abyan experiment during the year.

## EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate considerable political activity was 665
shown by various sections of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states. In the former, two parties were formed in March, one the National party and the other the Hadhrami party. The latter is for Hadhrami unity, in which it agrees with the Seiyid party of the Kathiri state, which also showed some liveliness at the start of the year. Later, however, the Seiyids began to concentrate less on the general question of Hadhrami unity and more on the immediate question of escaping from paying double taxation. Several committees were formed with this object and in April a deputation waited on the Resident Adviser, whose answer to them was that it was for the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states to co-operate in the matter of lightening the burden of taxation of their subjects. Later the Seiyids sent a telegraphic plea to the Governor and Secretary of State.

Meanwhile the National party remained anti-Seiyid and, on the whole, anti-unity. In April they published a manifesto of their aims on the front page of the Aden newspaper, *Fatat-al-Jezira*.

The Arab cause in Palestine continued to arouse considerable sympathy 664
in the Eastern Aden Protectorate. This came to a head in December after the United Nations Assembly had recommended partition and took the form of processions (without violence) and the opening of subscription lists. Telegrams were sent to the Secretary of State and there was a one-day strike in Mukalla and Sai'un.

In both Qu'aiti and Kathiri states democratic changes were made in 646
the administration. In the latter a State Council was formed in April 642
and met for the first time in May: it consists at present of three *ex-officio*, three official and three unofficial members. In June the Qu'aiti State Council Decree was amended to allow the representation of provincial communities with the intention of improving relations between the Government and the provinces. These communities were not previously represented.

Outstanding boundary disputes between the Qu'aiti and Kathiri 131
states remained unsettled throughout the year.

Security continued to be disturbed throughout the year in the north- 721
west on the boundaries with the Yemen and Sa'udi Arabia and to a 619
lesser extent in the Wahidi area on the boundaries of the Western Aden Protectorate. In January the Kazimis looted a caravan on its way to Habban. In March there was a big raid by the Dahin and Abida (Yemeni) on the eastern coastal area. In May the Upper Aulaqi (who owe allegiance to no one) attacked Amaqin in Wahidi; in that month also the Sei'ar

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



712 *Northern Area.* In 1950 the desert posts were completed at Minwakh, Zimakh and Al Hajr, thus linking up the northern fort system with Al Abr and Asakir, and controlling all the important water points in the area. Since the establishment of these forts there has been no raiding at all in this area, or by tribes of this area upon other tribes.

631 *Eastern Areas.* After the settlement with the Menahil in 1948 this area remained quiet, and the Mukalla Regular Army fort at Som is now accepted by the tribes of the area. Recently the Naib of Shibam met the Muqaddam of the Menahil at Elinat. This went far to heal the breach between them and Government dating from 1947 when the tribe rose and attacked Government posts.

648 *Mahra—Socotra.* The Resident Adviser paid two visits to Socotra during 1949-50, one by sea and the other by air. Among subjects discussed with the Sultan were reports of famine conditions on the Island. The Resident Adviser strongly urged the Sultan to spend more time on the mainland, and agreed to arrange a meeting later in 1951 between the Qu'aiti and the Mahra to settle a frontier dispute at Museina. The Fisheries Officer visited the Mahra coast to study fishing conditions there.

*General*

731 As a result of the famine in 1949, there has been a notable decrease in the numbers of camels and goats, and as a result of delayed rains in Socotra the people there have suffered a similar loss. However, 1950 was a good year for the beduin, and more young camels are to be seen load-carrying now.

691 One of the chief complaints by the Bedu has been the delay caused by magistrates when judging Bedu cases. This matter has been investigated and is being put right.

664 619 Very recently a number of chiefs from the western tribes held a meeting and put in a joint petition to Government. The three points of the petition were (*a*) a complaint against the arms-carrying ban in Wadi Du'an ; (*b*) a complaint against truck owners carrying loads which are forbidden by Government's agreement with the Bedu ; and (*c*) a request for some of their old customs to be recognised. But so firmly is the peace now established that troublesome elements who attempted to support these demands by force were overruled by the majority. The Government is taking suitable action in this matter.

648 On 25th August, 1949, Colonel J. E. H. Boustead, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., assumed the appointment of British Agent, Eastern Aden Protectorate, and Resident Adviser to the Hadhramaut States and to the Wahidi State of Balhaf.

000 A table of Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes is given on p. 6.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



the development of agriculture and irrigation in Abyan has been much 242
appreciated.

During the latter part of 1947 it was possible to station a Political Officer in the Abyan and Ahwar areas. His presence and the benefit of increased production in the area have contributed to the appreciable success of the Abyan experiment during the year.

## EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate considerable political activity was 665
shown by various sections of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states. In the former, two parties were formed in March, one the National party and the other the Hadhrami party. The latter is for Hadhrami unity, in which it agrees with the Seiyid party of the Kathiri state, which also showed some liveliness at the start of the year. Later, however, the Seiyids began to concentrate less on the general question of Hadhrami unity and more on the immediate question of escaping from paying double taxation. Several committees were formed with this object and in April a deputation waited on the Resident Adviser, whose answer to them was that it was for the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states to co-operate in the matter of lightening the burden of taxation of their subjects. Later the Seiyids sent a telegraphic plea to the Governor and Secretary of State.

Meanwhile the National party remained anti-Seiyid and, on the whole, anti-unity. In April they published a manifesto of their aims on the front page of the Aden newspaper, *Fatat-al-Jezira*.

The Arab cause in Palestine continued to arouse considerable sympathy 664
in the Eastern Aden Protectorate. This came to a head in December after the United Nations Assembly had recommended partition and took the form of processions (without violence) and the opening of subscription lists. Telegrams were sent to the Secretary of State and there was a one-day strike in Mukalla and Sai'un.

In both Qu'aiti and Kathiri states democratic changes were made in 646
the administration. In the latter a State Council was formed in April 642
and met for the first time in May: it consists at present of three *ex-officio*, three official and three unofficial members. In June the Qu'aiti State Council Decree was amended to allow the representation of provincial communities with the intention of improving relations between the Government and the provinces. These communities were not previously represented.

Outstanding boundary disputes between the Qu'aiti and Kathiri 31
states remained unsettled throughout the year.

Security continued to be disturbed throughout the year in the north- 721
west on the boundaries with the Yemen and Sa'udi Arabia and to a 619
lesser extent in the Wahidi area on the boundaries of the Western Aden Protectorate. In January the Kazimis looted a caravan on its way to Habban. In March there was a big raid by the Dahfn and Abida (Yemeni) on the eastern coastal area. In May the Upper Aulaqi (who owe allegiance to no one) attacked Amaqin in Wahidi; in that month also the Sei'ar

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

## *ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

THERE was a general improvement in security and in political matters during the year, but the economic situation remained at a low ebb owing especially to a poor rainfall in most areas. 000

It was found necessary to occupy Shaibi territory by force in order to put an end to the extremely oppressive rule of the Saqladi Sheikh. The Sheikh fled to the Yemen and the new administration introduced by Government was welcomed by all sections of the population. The area which is at a high attitude should prosper. 721 622

The Abyan Development Scheme in Fadhli and Lower Yafai territories made good progress, but relations between Government and the Lower Yafai Sultan continued to be unsatisfactory. 631

The administration of Subeihi territory was transferred for an experimental period to the Abdali Sultan.

Slow progress was made in the new Dhala (Amiri) administration, but a second season of drought hampered progress. Advances of grain to the value of some £15,000 were made to farmers in the area to prevent a complete economic collapse. [654]

Revenues in the Fadhli and Dathina areas fell as a result of poor harvests.

The Beihan administration made good progress but received a setback towards the end of the year owing to the failure of the autumn harvest and later to frost damage on the well irrigated wheat and barley crops.

There were no trade route incidents during the year.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

The Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary dispute was settled by the arbitration of the Resident Adviser, which both Sultans had agreed to accept as finally binding. When the time came to execute his decisions, the Qu'aiti Sultan showed considerable reluctance to surrender Sah and the Kathiri to surrender forts round Tarim. 648

Local political parties tended to lose their sting during the year. The Qu'aiti National Party became seriously involved in the question of the surrender of Sah (see above) and also supported, through its representatives within Mukalla Government, the claims of the Tamimi tribe to watch date palms. 665

Heavy raiding by Saudi tribes in the spring led to a meeting between 721 648

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



631 missioners) and Qaims (Assistant District Commissioners) of the provinces and districts. Naibs were provided with motor vehicles to increase their mobility. An annual conference of all Quaiti, Kathiri and Wahidi Naibs and Qaims has been instituted, at which lectures and practical demonstrations in all administrative subjects are given by local experts.

631 621 Another significant step towards devolution of duties on to Naibs and Qaims has been the setting-up of village councils under their direction and supervision. The activities of these councils include village welfare, hygiene, sanitation, increase of food production, etc. The Sultan of Qu'aiti State has also nominated a Municipal Council for Mukalla.

643 631 The period under review was also notable for increased co-operation in administrative affairs between Qu'aiti and Kathiri and for the settlement of problems common to these two States. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri State Secretaries and senior officials met several times during 1949 and 1950 and joint decisions were taken on such matters as local import and export taxes, development tax on date-bearing palms, postal affairs, remittances from abroad, famine relief and prevention, and unification of vehicle licences.

[665] 578 With the retirement of Sheikh Seif bin Ali Elbually, C.B.E., from the post of State Secretary to the Qu'aiti Government, in December, 1950, and the appointment of Sheikh Qaddal Sa'id El Qaddal Pasha, M.B.E., formerly Qu'aiti Director of Education who is a Sudanese, as his successor, the so-called Nationalist Party, whose membership does not extend beyond Mukalla Town, seized the opportunity to foment serious rioting, in the quelling of which 16 persons were killed and 24 wounded. Suitable sentences were dealt out to the ringleaders by the Special Court set up by the Sultan to try the offenders. The new State Secretary has been warmly welcomed into the office by all the responsible citizens and officials of the Qu'aiti State in Mukalla and throughout the Provinces.

643 The Kathiri Sultan Ja'far bin Mansur bin Ghalib died on 24th April, 1949, and was succeeded by his nephew Sultan Hussein bin Ali bin Mansur al Kathiri, who was recognised by His Majesty's Government as Treaty Sultan on 22nd May, 1950.

671 During 1950 codified criminal law based on Sharia was introduced in the Qu'aiti State.

*Beduin Affairs*

631 721 *Wahidi Area.* As a result of the operations against the Khadim of Mithaf and the Al Adhm Tribe in January and February, 1950, the whole Dhiyeibi area came under the Sultan of Balhaf and security posts were established on the western border of the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In July, 1950, a successful operation was undertaken against Al Ba Dukhn for breach of the peace and the tribe was brought under complete control

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramout MM2



Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar 161
of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited 631
largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved 648
a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in Decem- [668]
ber 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn
and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser 643
strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his
mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of
his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most im- [625]
portant ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of
Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of
lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal
guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British
Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 721
1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate,
and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami
Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of
what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his 648
staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial
help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial
Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend
£410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only
£23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder
to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a [731]
serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less
serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly 651
helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami 312
emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political 311
changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have
adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have
had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-
engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development
of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40
miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from
Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was
becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the
Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns,
the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the
board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple 248
cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 62–3.
[4] See above, p. 112.

mean that his position *vis à vis* the Confederation is wholly negli- 643
gible. The influence that an individual ruler exerts over a con-
federation of tribesmen depends to a large extent on the personality 642
of the individual and I found plenty of evidence that Sultan 'Ali
bin Mansur is universally respected, admired, and held in affection
amongst the Shenafir tribesmen. Even though his word is not
universally law his services are much sought in mediation between
different factions, and there is no lack of factions in the Confedera-
tion. Along the length of the valley from the east of Shibam [484]
to the east of Tarim, which is considered Kathīri, village after
village is a small city-state on its own. It is difficult to pass from
one to another, even now that the motor-car has come, without the
traditional *siyar* or escort.

Typical of the situation has been the state of war that has existed 578
for some time between the Āl 'Umar and Āl 'Āmr clans. They 669
have centred round the respectably-sized town of Al Ghurfa between
Shibam and Seiyun. Five or six years ago some of the tribesmen
of the Āl 'Umar started interfering with the inhabitants of Al
Ghurfa. Bin 'Abdat, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Āmr, protested to Salim
bin Ja'fer, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Umar, and proposed that they should
unite to make peace in Al Ghurfa. Hitherto disputes in the town [692]
were commonly referred to the settlement of one Sheikh Bā Abūd,
but this arrangement appears to have broken down. Bin 'Abdat
informed Bin Ja'fer that if he would not help him, he (Bin 'Abdat)
would establish control in the town himself. As Bin Ja'fer did not
give him support he took action himself and established order.
The new state of affairs was not popular, and probably resulted in
some further disorder which had its repercussions beyond local
limits. At this juncture the Qu'aiti *wazir* came to Shibam and
brought pressure on Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur to unite with him and
Salim bin Ja'fer in compelling Bin 'Abdat to vacate Al Ghurfa, and
retire to his original place outside. Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur marched
against Bin 'Abdat with one gun and some troops; Seiyid Hussein,
the Qu'aiti *wazir*, also brought a gun and some troops from Shibam,
Salim bin Ja'fer brought his own men, and the three forces col-
lected at Al Ghiyel. The town of Al Ghurfa was bombarded, and,
as it was described to me, " they had a good battle but without
success ".

Seiyid Hussein, the *wazir*, retired after having successfully com- 669
plicated the issue, and Sultan 'Ali immediately followed suit, leaving 725
Bin 'Abdat and Bin Ja'fer to fight it out together. Both sides
entrenched themselves. The elaborate system of fortifications and
communication trenches, still visible at Al Ghurfa, reminded me
strongly of France. They extend over nearly a mile, and in this
small patch of the valley both sides lived an uncomfortable life
for several years. Any cultivation that was done was done [722]
under difficulties, and the fields could only be approached
through trenches. Salim bin Ja'fer enlivened the proceedings by 715
importing a sort of armoured car from Java. This is now derelict

715 and is offered for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet, presumably, other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

[726] The situation sounds almost incredible, but the war continued for several years. At last Sultan 'Ali supported by the Al Kaf Seiyids, the strongest influence for peace in Kathiri territory, thought 728 matters had gone far enough, and invited the disputants to Seiyun to conclude a peace. The terms suggested were agreed to on all points except for one requiring Bin 'Abdat to demolish two small forts. The matter appeared to have reached a deadlock when a Seiyid of Aden, of Hadhramaut origin, Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman al Jifri, proceeded to the Hadhramaut and offered his services in the settlement of the trouble. He is a friend of Bin 'Abdat's, and Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman and Bubekr al Kaf sent him to Bin 'Abdat to advise him not to hold out on account of the two small forts. Matters were probably ripe for a settlement as everybody was tired of hostilities, but Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman very creditably brought the feud to a satisfactory conclusion. What was even more satisfactory was that a gathering of more than a hundred representatives of all sections of the Shenafir was held at Seiyun, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman succeeded in assisting Sultan 'Ali, backed by the Al Kaf Seiyids, to negotiate a truce between all the Shenafir tribes. This agreement, which takes effect from the 1st of Sha'bān 1353 (9th November 1934) provides for a truce of two years and two months in all matters relating to blood feuds between the various tribes, and gives also a guarantee of five years security for travellers on the routes.

643 It may thus be that the foundations have now been laid for an 185 era of peace in Kathiri land, and the time seems to be propitious 565 for the establishment of a greater solidarity in Kathiri rule. There are certainly strong elements in favour of peace. Foremost of all is Sultan 'Ali himself. He is a man of culture and very charming personality with that kind of magnetism which inspires instinctive respect and affection. I do not think anybody who has met him can fail to receive the impression that he is a good man in the best sense of the word, nor can anyone who has discussed the situation with him fail to be impressed with the earnestness of his desire for peace. In this desire he is warmly and ably supported by many of the leading families, of whom the most important are the Al Kaf and Saqqaf Seiyids. Although they are Seiyids the measures of reform which these families support are many of them in flagrant opposition to the old conservative policy of the Seiyids, which for long maintained that body as the most powerful and the most desperately retrogressive party in the Hadhramaut. These families have shown that they can still play a very important part in the destinies of the country, and have in fact earned the right to speak in common voice with the Sultan in pressing reforms. It may also be observed that they are the heaviest, as well as the most willing, [651] taxpayers in the country. Their annual contributions on Government and charitable undertakings amount to at least $70,000 a year, without considering special expenditure.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and the people are natural Muslims having learnt in a hard school absolute submission to the will of God. Religious fanaticism is strongest where the seiyids are strongest. In other places there is greater tolerance and, among the bedouins, it is what a man is rather than what his religion is that counts.

When we started everybody wanted independence. Many of the old secluded seiyids, whose ideas of independence merely amounted to the exclusion of infidels, had sons and relations who read the Egyptian papers and their ideas of independence were based on grandiose schemes of complete self-government. Some of them, who thought themselves moderate, demanded no more than independence on the Egyptian and Iraqi models and talked airily of Parliaments and so on. In Singapore and Java in 1939 I had petitions presented to me three times demanding this sort of independence. Once at Solo the deputation was pointed out to me as representative: it contained seiyids, tribesmen and a Sultan of the Kathiri family. Only the last had ever been in the Hadhramaut. He asked me if he might see me privately after the meeting and then asked me to arrange independence for Jahiz. Jahiz was his village in the Wadi 'Amd and consists of five houses. The tribesmen, settled and bedouin, wanted independence; the bedouin claim was at least easy to understand for all it amounted to was that their freedom in the hills and deserts should be undisturbed. The settled tribesmen were and are more difficult. Every little section considered itself independent, and the more powerful, who could afford not only to arm themselves but to buy and arm private forces of slaves, did all they could to extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbours.

The strangest example of this kind of campaign was that of the Bin 'Abdat section of the Kathiri tribe, who own much landed property in Singapore and Java. The treaty chief of the Kathiris is the Kathiri Sultan whose capital is Seiyun. About 1928 the head of the Bin 'Abdat section forcibly occupied the walled town of Al Ghurfa, belonging to some unarmed sheikhs. This brought him into conflict with the Kathiri Sultan, who was supported by the Qu'aiti Sultan, and with the neighbouring heads of other Kathiri sections. War ensued which carried on with little interruption till 1937. Bin 'Abdat built up a respectable force of slaves and tribesmen of his own and constructed an elaborate system of forts and trenches which extended right across the Wadi Hadhramaut some three miles or more, and almost to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary at Shibam. In the course of the fighting, a curious armoured vehicle was imported from Java, which was intended to be towed by a motor car into the enemy camp. Bin 'Abdat acquired a very large stock of ammunition and really good rifles at very high prices. The Qu'aiti Sultan brought artillery, ancient and modern, to the aid of the Kathiri, but no decision was ever reached.

When I came to the Hadhramaut in 1936 Bin 'Abdat instructed his lawyer in Singapore to address a letter to the Government in which he claimed to be an "independent rajah." He was informed that the only recognized treaty chiefs in the main Hadhramaut were the Qu'aiti and

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



669 Kathiri Sultans and that he was the recognized head of a Kathiri section
648 subordinate to the latter. In 1937 after a lot of persuasion he subscribed to the three years truce. This chief loyally kept the peace and helped in maintaining peace till his death early in 1939, when he was succeeded by an irresponsible nephew who after visiting Java and Singapore to collect his inheritance, returned to Hadhramaut determined to extend his boundaries and influence.

In 1939 my wife and I also visited the East Indies and while in Batavia were entertained by the Bin 'Abdat family at a tea and cocktail party at the Hôtel des Galleries, a large modern hotel belonging to the family. Round the walls of the room in which the reception was held were pictures of Al Ghurfa labelled "Al Ghurfa in the Hadhramaut over which this family has fought so long."

Late in 1939 the new Bin 'Abdat started fresh operations. He extended his fortifications and subsidized a large bedouin tribe, the Hamumis, amongst whom the Government was trying to make peace, to make the then one motor road unsafe and to oppose the Government in every possible way. A good deal of fighting ensued in which both the Hamumis and the Qu'aiti troops had casualties. He also brought Hamumi bedouins as his soldiers into the Wadi Hadhramaut itself where they made the road unsafe for travellers. He arrested and maltreated persons who had recourse to the Sultan in their troubles. The Sultans were supported by His Majesty's Government and action was taken against him. He submitted in May 1940, but did not observe the condition he had accepted and until the fall of Singapore and Java eventually caused his funds to dry up, was always a source of trouble. For it was the profits of the hotel and rents of his properties in the Far East which had enabled the family to keep their wars going. Many Hadhrami chiefs did the same thing, but none on the
627 Bin 'Abdat scale. And when litigants in Java lost their cases in the Java Courts it was not unusual for them to repay their opponents in the Hadhramaut by having their families shot or their homes burnt.

631 There were supposed to be only two Governments in Hadhramaut, the
619 Qu'aiti and Kathiri, but in fact there were about two thousand—the fourteen hundred tribes and sections who had signed the truce and several hundreds more of independent villages ruled by mansabs and sheikhs.

185 It was considerations such as these that I had to bear in mind when I thought of the kind of organization which would be most likely to succeed in the Hadhramaut. The only things that seemed to offer a favourable opening were a widespread desire for peace and a genuine anxiety on the part of the Sultan for improvements in Governmental and social services. Apart from these factors I had the instruments I have referred to, and the general indication that one should try to follow as far as possible the methods adopted in the Unfederated Malay States, to guide me in forming an organization.

5x Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM21



Ziara, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court. 778 796 782 792 [21 T21]

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer. 778 735

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed. 693 671 [692]

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of 671 693 577 696

Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadramaut-MM2



tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class. The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

5: Hamilton G-S (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
YEMENITE JEWS ML4



Christians, Jews and worshippers of the many local gods. There was a J
Christian bishopric at Najran, and a strong settlement of Jews in Jauf. 144
The Jews survived the rise of Islam, religious affinities have attracted to 142
them a certain amount of northern blood, but to-day there is little apparent difference physically between them and the tribesmen of the Yemen: their features are similar; the colour of the skin is only a little lighter, which may be accounted for by the Jew being less exposed to the weather.

Certain laws are imposed upon the Jews by the Arabs. Where, as in J 563
the Ja'ud tribes, there is no real Chief, the law becomes custom. They 671
must dress in a particular kind of smock; they must wear their hair in 291
ringlets, hanging down either side of the head in front of the ears; they 302
must not wear a turban; they must not build houses of more than one 421
storey in height; they must not carry arms. 463

The Jews are perfectly content to abide by these customs. They own 231
no land and their only stock is chickens, but they are, comparatively, 651
skilled artisans, jewellers and metal workers. They have a corner in such trades. Moreover, they pay only the most nominal of taxes, their houses are rent free and no man's hand is against them. To kill a Jew is a great shame, greater even than killing a woman. The Arab leaves the Jew to his religion, and he would not dream of attempting to coerce one into working on the Sabbath, however urgent the matter was. The Jews of the Yemen, therefore, live in great security. They appoint their own heads and run their own schools. Their women are unmolested, their taxes small and their profits great. Few of them, in my opinion, even J
wish to leave the Yemen, but are more than content to remain. In the 643
capital of Yemen, San'a, the Imam deals with business concerning the 563
Jews through their own head entirely and treats them with every consideration and respect, and his example is followed by his Governors and J
by Chiefs of the Protectorate. They are a contented, hard-working community. From enquiries I have made I would say that their numbers are 161
fairly static and that there is little danger of a Jewish population problem arising in the near future.

These complete the list of classes and races settled in the Aden Pro- H
tectorate. Time limits my description to a mere sketch, and I have con- 121
fined myself to permanent settlers and not to those different types with which the political officer may at times have to concern himself. South Arabia is still a pilgrim route, and I have several times met travellers from the Persian Gulf and Oman and as far afield as Baluchistan, journeying on the hard road through the country to Mecca. I have not described the Somali or Dankali coast traders, nor the sailors.

It will, very soon, be necessary to correct the existing handbook or to 150
publish a new official manual about the country. While there were a few political officers of long residence in the Protectorate such a manual was unnecessary. We all learnt on our own. Now not only has the political staff been increased, but Air Staff Intelligence Officers and Army Intelligence Officers are beginning to travel in the country. The country is being opened up and it is essential that officers who have to travel in it should make a close study of its people, their ancient social organization,

8- Hamilton G-8 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadramaut MM2

YEMENMLI



The name is the name of a MAAN DEITY and in the absence,

Y 101 174 778 622 of histories, we may take it that the confederation is pre-Islamic in date. Apart from the name, the only other obviously pre-Islamic possession of the tribe is the sacred drum, the "Tabble an Nahas," which is kept by the Beni Qasid and which is accorded sacred honours by the tribe of Yafa' only. It is possible that before Islam the Beni Qasid were the keepers of the drum, and I am going to suggest that the present Sultans of Yafa' are in reality Priest-Chiefs, whose functions as such have ceased with the introduction of a new religion, although their hereditary position remains as heads of the people who once worshipped Yafa'.

H 101 619 622 Let us examine another confederation of tribes. About sixty miles north of Aden live the Qateibi tribe, surrounded by the confederation of the Ja'ud. At first sight the tribes here seem to be disorganized and unrelated, but careful study of dialect, of local stories, of the Qasidas or epic poems, and of such things as star lore and magical beliefs, shows that these tribes are closely allied in thought, dialect and custom and form a true confederation, the organization of which becomes clear in times of danger. Of this confederation the Qateibi are the central tribe, and their sheikhly family is the Akhram, from which the Qateibi Sheikh is elected. As was shown in 1904, a Qateibi Sheikh with a strong personality can have considerable influence on the whole confederation, but he is not H expected to rule, as we understand the word, even within his own family.

619 [623] 174 622 With the strong 'Aulaqi Confederation we find a more complicated organization, but a similar one. Ma'an is here the central tribe, in all probability the ancient Ma'an of the inscriptions, a pre-Sabian kingdom of South Arabia. Ancient Ma'an was ruled by a "Grand Council," as we find from the inscriptions, and this system still exists to-day.

The 'Aulaqi Confederation is divided into three parts—the Upper and Lower sub-Confederations of attached tribes and the tribe of Ma'an—and each of these three is ruled by a Chief of the tribe of Ma'an, elected by Ma'an only. Again we have the sheikhly family within the central tribe, surrounded by the attached tribes of the confederation. Again the name, but this time it is the name of the central tribe, is pre-Islamic. If we look [631] for further proof that the confederation is of pre-Islamic origin, we find an ancient legal system—that of the Manaqid, which I have already described—strongly attached to it.

H 619 We could continue to find examples of the organization from other confederations, but these three will suffice. The basis of the organization is clear: there is a central tribe containing a sheikhly family, forming the centre of a confederation of tribes.

H 174 Y 643 How did such an organization evolve? How is it that Chiefs, elected according to ancient custom, are not expected to rule their electors? What is the origin of such Chiefs, and of the sheikhly families from which they come? Our answers must be mainly guesswork, but we may well begin by seeing some of the conditions under which an Imam of Sana'a is elected, for I think they point the way to our understanding of the whole problem.

The first condition is that the Imam must be whole in body. No Imam may be elected if he limps, is blind in one or both eyes, has a stammer, squints, is a leper or has any other physical disabilities. If, once

182 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last
628 quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras
911 carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease
436 of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some
[792] years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contraven-
182 tion of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small
● 671 thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the
576 gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

182 Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

182 I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into
673 their confederations and have shown the course which these confedera-
728 tions are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in
671 about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts,
[625] whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they
000 reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 a.c. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) MM2 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant
782 blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hens' [784
609] eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

## LAW AND DISPUTES.

•671 As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al haus*, or a code of ancient sanctions, is the
692 law. The *haus* is a wise man of the tribe. Not infrequently his is an hereditary office, occasionally the *haus* is the shaikh of his tribe. Shara law, *i.e.* holy law in Oman and elsewhere, is the law of the coastal townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony, and sometimes of divorce and inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. That is the province of the *haus*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara or holy law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed even along the coast by government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing
683 evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye-for-an-eye idea,
696 the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali of Dhufar as having taken place last year is as follows: "X" was going on a journey into the "Y's" country and took a *rabia* from "Y." On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and "X" found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. A *haus* heard the case and decided that "Y," the innocent party but member of the offending tribe, must submit to the infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

671 In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless
692 the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *haus*, when he would receive from the offenders
721 *Lauw-al-wijh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at 400 dollars. Murder, which in Arab tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood-money which varies between
682 400 and 1,000 dollars (or rather its equivalent in kind), in these Qara mountains is assessed
628 prodigiously high, in theory something like 5,000 dollars, which may take a lifetime to pay off, but is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom, must bear the brunt.

91: Thomas 7-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The tribes of the Central South have a poor reputation as regards the *radud-as-salaam.*[1] 576
The *radud-as-salaam* merely means that when two persons meet, between whose tribes there 577
is blood or other enmity, and one says to the other—"Peace be upon you" and the other replies "And upon you be peace," they have buried the hatchet for the nonce. For one now to take advantage of the other and slay him in his sleep, for instance, would in any other part of Arabia be the deepest treachery. Not so amongst this lawless brood, however. That it may happen elsewhere is possible, but normally the offender would be hounded out of his own tribe or be required to make some requital and his name would be for ever smirched. These non-Arabic speaking tribes of the Central South have no such regard for the elsewhere universal law. They also observe in the breach what is elsewhere a fixed canon, the *thamn-al-bata* or "stomach 574
price." This is an elaboration of the law of three days' hospitality. If a Badu has eaten the 171
salt of a man his goods are safe for a period of four days and four nights, the time for the last 576
vestige of food to have passed from his body. If the Badu's tribe unwittingly raids the man 671
during these four days they must and do return the loot. This *thamn-al-bata* is sacred with the other tribes of the southern fringe but not with the non-Arab group. Who and whence are these tribes? Indigenous? Of African origin? or have they a common origin with African tribes, or are none of these hypotheses tenable? Here is an almost black race of brachycephals, and brachycephaly properly belongs to Asia. The answer is for you to decide. History sheds but little light.

In the year A.D. 1325 Ibn Batuta, the great Moorish traveller and theologian, set out on 175
his 25 years' travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia and elsewhere. He sojourned 144
in Dhufar and amongst what he wrote of it was this:—"Another thing is that its people closely resemble the people of North-West Africa in their customs. . . . The outlying population is not Arab, but of a Sudanic type." Does Ibn Batuta help us?

The following discussion took place after the paper:—

Sir Arthur Keith said that Capt. Bertram Thomas had thrown light on one of the darkest anthropological 144
corners of the world. It was now clear that the Southern Arabs were very different from the Northern Arabs 142
—in almost every respect. If one sought to trace the affinities of the Southern Arabs by judging from their external appearance—as revealed in Capt. Thomas's photographs—one was immediately reminded of the native type of North-Eastern Africa. To his eye the Southern Arabs showed in their fuzzy hair and black—or dark brown—pigmentation of hair and skin, as well as in their facial features, distinct Hamitic or Somali-like affinities. On the other hand, Capt. Thomas's measurements of heads proved that the Southern Arabs differed from the Hamitic peoples of Africa and also from the Arabs of Northern Arabia in having skulls which were short and wide. The width of the heads of Southern Arabs was between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. of the length. The Southern Arabs were distinctly and highly round-headed—or brachycephalic. Hamitic peoples and the Badawin (Arab) type of Northern and North-Western Arabia were usually long-headed or dolichocephalic. Thus Capt. Thomas's observations confirmed the data collected by Professor C. G. Seligman fourteen years ago that the people of Southern Arabia are round-headed or brachycephalic.

Although the Southern Arabs—who were of low stature, the men being usually about 64 inches in height—showed certain Hamitic traits in their features, yet these were overshadowed by others which proclaimed an affinity to the Caucasian or white stock of mankind. They were less fully bearded than the Northern Arab and yet more so than among Hamites. In some respects the South Arabian type bridged the difference between Semite and Hamite.

[1] It is only within comparatively recent times that the Bantaws would recognize the rubie at all.

## VI.—Orders under Acts of the Governor General in Council.

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**Execution of capital sentences in British India.**

No. **1431-I**, dated 27th April, 1893.—Whereas a capital sentence is occasionally passed by a British Court exercising in or with respect to territory beyond the limits of British India jurisdiction which the Governor General in Council has in such territory; and whereas there may be in such territory no secure place for the confinement of a prisoner under sentence of death, or no suitable appliances for his execution in a decent and humane manner;

In exercise of the powers conferred by sections 4 and 5 of the Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition Act (XXI of 1879), and of all other powers enabling him in this behalf, the Governor General in Council is pleased to direct as follows:—

1. When any person is sentenced to death by a British Court in the exercise of such jurisdiction as is referred to in the first paragraph of the preamble to this notification, and, in the opinion of the Court, such sentence should for any such reason as is referred to in the second paragraph of the said preamble be executed in British India, the Court shall issue its warrant for such execution to the Superintendent or Keeper of a jail in British India, and shall in such warrant prescribe, as nearly as may be, the place in British India where such Superintendent or Keeper is to cause the execution to be carried out.

2. The jail in British India to which the Court may send its warrant under the provisions of this notification shall be such as the Governor General in Council, or a Local Government authorized by him in this behalf, may by general or special order direct.

3. Every warrant for the execution of a sentence of death to be issued by a Court under the provision of this notification shall be in the form set forth in the schedule hereto annexed.

### Schedule.

*Form of Warrant.*

To

The Superintendent or Keeper of the Jail at
in British India.

671 Whereas at a trial held on the day of
681 189 , at (name of place), in (name of territory),
696 before me A.B. (name of Judge), being the presiding officer of a British Court exercising in (or with respect to) territory beyond the limits of British India, jurisdiction which the Governor General in Council has in such territory, C.D. (name of prisoner) was duly convicted of the offence of culpable homicide amounting to murder and sentenced to suffer death (S and the S to be omitted when sentence said sentence has does not require confirmation been confirmed by E.F. (name of authority). );

And whereas there is in (name of territory) no secure place for the confinement of a prisoner under sentence of death (or no suitable appliances for the execution of a person under sentence of death in a decent and humane manner);

And whereas this Court is of opinion that for the reasons aforesaid the said sentence should be executed in British India;

This is to authorize and require you, the said Superintendent (or Keeper), being a Superintendent (or Keeper) of a jail specified in an order under section 2 of Act No. V of 1893, passed by the Governor General of India in Council, to receive the said C.D. (prisoner's name) into your custody in the said jail together with this warrant, and there him safely to keep until the time hereinafter appointed, and then to carry the said sentence into execution by causing the said C.D. (prisoner's name) to be hanged by the neck until he be dead, at (time and place of execution), and to return this warrant to this Court with an endorsement certifying that the sentence has been executed.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this day of 189 .

Seal.

(Signature)

No. 4220, dated the 3rd July, 1895.—Whereas in exercise of the powers conferred by section 2 of Act V of 1893 (being an Act to legalise in certain cases the execution, within British India, of capital sentences which have been passed by British Courts exercising in or with respect to territory beyond the limits of British India jurisdiction which the Governor General in Council has in such territory), and in order to give effect to the provisions of the notification by the Government of India in the Political Department, No. 1431-I., dated the 27th April, 1893, the Governor General in Council has been pleased, by letter No. 3080-I., dated 2nd September, 1893, to authorise the Governor of Bombay in Council such Courts may send their warrants for the execution of capital sentences under the provisions of the said Act and notification, and to order the Superintendents of all such jails respectively to execute all sentences of death in respect whereof warrants may be issued to them respectively by any such Courts as aforesaid.

In Bombay. 671 681 696

Now the Governor in Council is pleased, in pursuance of the said authorisation—

(a) to direct that the jail specified in respect of each Court mentioned in the table hereinbelow contained shall be the jail within the territories subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor of Bombay in Council to which such Court may send such warrants as aforesaid; and

(b) to order that the Superintendent of every such jail shall, on receipt of such warrants from a Court hereby authorised to send such warrant to such jail, cause the execution to be carried out therein in the same manner and subject to the same conditions in all respects as if it were a warrant duly issued under the provisions of section 381 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882.

## TABLE.

| From the Court of the Political Resident, Aden, | To the Prison at Aden. |
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Prohibition of import into Aden of certain goods not covered by export passes.

No. **4902-62**, dated the 7th June, 1907.—In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 19 of the Sea Customs Act, 1878 (VIII of 1878), the Governor General in Council is pleased to prohibit the bringing by sea or land into Aden of any Goods specified in the annexed schedule, except such as are imported under cover of an export pass note issued in respect of them by an officer of customs at the place of export.

## SCHEDULE.

1. Ostrich eggs.

2. Heads, horns, skins, feathers, or flesh of any of the undermentioned animals :—

(1) Zebra,
(2) Giraffe,
(3) Eland,
(4) White-tailed gnu,
(5) Wild ass,
(6) Buffalo,
(7) Elephant,
(8) Vulture,
(9) Secretary bird,
(10) Owl,
(11) Rhinoceros-bird or beef-eater (Buphaga), any species,
(12) X X
(13) Rhinoceros,
(14) All antelopes and gazelles,
(15) Cheeta (Cynoclurus),
(16) Aard-wolf,
(17) Smaller monkeys of each species,
(18) Morabous,
(19) Egret,
(20) Wild pig,
(21) Smaller cats,
(22) Wart hog (Phacocharus),
(23) Greater Bustard.

23: British Government MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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[For British laws affecting the Aden Protectorate see category 116, entire source.]

61: Caponera S-4 (no date) 1954 M1 Middle East
NARRAMANT MAR

# APPLIED CUSTOM LAW

## ADEN PROTECTORATE

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The only codification of water laws ever attempted in Arab countries is that found in the Mejelle Code of the Ottoman Empire. That codification, however, has no influence in the Aden Protectorate.

No general water legislation is operative over the area known as the Aden Protectorate. In each state, local custom and conditions are followed for handling the water on traditional lines. The general principle observed in the handling of flow irrigation of the flood type derived from monsoon rains is that of "first come - first served". In the case of perennial water supplies, the tendency is for the flow to be owned by the state or by individuals and for ab antiquo rights to be followed.

In the coastal areas of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, underground water is extracted through gallery systems known locally as mayans which are similar to the Persian qanat, the Baluchi karez and the Omani falaj. Following the development of such water supplies on state land, the Quaiti State retains a one-third share in the water. The location of these mayans often presents a serious problem for the judge who has to decide if any interference results or is likely to result from the construction of new systems. In all cases the ab antiquo right is given precedence.

In certain areas in the Aden Protectorate the control of runoff water which is led to terraced fields is of vital importance, and each field area has runoff water rights. In the Dathina area it has been found necessary for the local administration to prohibit the development of new lands to avoid increased competition for the available supplies of run-off water.

Recently, state decrees in the Quaiti and Kathiri States, which are advised by a British Resident Adviser, require persons who wish to extract underground water for lift irrigation by mechanical means to obtain a license to do so. This is to prevent over-pumping from the water table and to encourage the correct location of pumping units brought into the country. It is anti-

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ciputed that its operation will be extended to any development of deep-seated water supplies.

## ALGERIA

### The Oasis of Tolga

*Springs and Wells*

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The system of distribution is on a time basis. The rotation period, which varies from one spring to another, is generally 14 days, and the unit of time measurement is the oudja or nouba which corresponds to the use of water for a 24-hour day. To correct the difference in the length of days and nights, alternate turns are taken.

The nouba is divided into hours, calculated from the length of the shadow cast by a human being as compared to the height of the same individual. At night, the mechkouda is used. This is a copper vase in the form of a truncated cone with a hole pierced in the lower portion and sometimes fitted with a regulatory mechanism. The mechkouda is placed in the water, and the time it takes to fill up measures an invariable unit of time. To correct seasonal differences in the length of the night, it is accepted that in the spring and autumn a time unit will correspond to eight successive immersions of the mechkouda, in the summer to seven immersions and in the winter to nine.

For the wells, the same system of time distribution is employed along with the 14-day rotation period. The unit of measurement and time selected expresses both the water rights of each proprietor and the period of time during which each owner is entitled to use the water. This time unit is independent of the physical quantity of water supplied, and even if the flow is small, the number of noubas or the right to 24 hours of water use remain the same.

### The Purchase, Sale and Distribution of Water

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Such transactions are made on the basis of fictitious units and are independent of any accurate gauging of the flow or supply. Each owner or his share-cropper tenants (khamma),

Y 241 318 379 to draw the bucket up and let it down again. The water is then emptied into a raised channel of clay and can be diverted into the appropriate field at will.

Y 361 342 136 Villages are built on the mountains alongside the valley. The village shown in the illustration opposite is built on the very top of a 3000-foot peak, Jebel Mishwara. The houses are like the most romantic of castles set on tall pinnacled heights over the narrow wadi-bed. In the less frequented valleys you may come upon a herd of baboons moving across the hillside barking at one another; they are much disliked as they make raids on the crops.

V 619 621 622 The organization of these highland communities, which are independent and difficult to control, is most complex. The tribe is subdivided into branches (*fakhidah*), numbering perhaps a hundred rifles, perhaps fifteen. Sometimes several tribes form a confederation bound loosely together under a paramount chief who has a greater or lesser degree of authority. Chieftainship is hereditary. In

H 622 565 ● 671 the Aden Protectorate larger groups are sometimes under the authority of a Sultan or an Amir. These Sultans are of the ancient nobility which often goes back to pre-Islamic times, some 1500 years ago, and generally reside in a central market town. Such are the Sultans of the 'Awdhalis, the 'Awlaqis, the Fadhlis of Shuqra, and of course the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej near Aden. Tribal law is extensive and involved, with fixed penalties for every offence or transgression on a neighbour's rights. Relations between the tribesmen and the Sultans are also defined by

H 622 692 671 custom. Cases involving tribal law are heard by the Sultan or his representative, or in tribal confederations, by the sheikhs. This tribal law, which is generally unwritten, consists of traditional judgments and penalties. I was fortunate enough to secure a copy of the traditional law of the 'Awdhalis when in Qubaidhah, but this was one of the rare instances when the law had been written.

H [651 622] 701 In most cases the actual authority of the Sultan extends little further than a certain radius around his residence. He taxes the people where he can, often disproportionately to their little wealth, and maintains a number of soldiers, irregular and often hereditary 'askars, as they are called, who hold a certain amount of land rent-free, and receive allow-

[See category 116, p. 68 -- Analyst]
p. 69 (A)

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden MM1
Hadhramaut MM2



A 631 162 228

Aden Colony also includes Perim Island which is administered by an Administrator who is also the Commissioner of Police, Aden. The population of the island is 381. The majority of the islanders are fishermen, and dried fish is exported to Aden. In the past there has been pearl fishing, but this year no pearl fishing contract was taken. There is a small police detachment in the island together with medical and lighthouse staff.

A 206

Up to the end of 1948, Cable & Wireless Ltd. maintained communication with Perim by marine cable. The cable became unserviceable in 1948, and it was decided not to repair it. It is likely that communication will soon be established by wireless. A R.A.F. airplane makes a flight to the island once weekly and carries mail and passengers from Aden.

H 631 642 A 643

The Governor of the Colony is also Governor of the Aden Protectorate, which is not administered by the Colony Government. There is no one Government for the Aden Protectorate; various Rulers and Chiefs are in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. In each of the Western and Eastern Protectorates the Governor is represented by a British Agent.

A 692

The Protectorate includes the island of Socotra.

671 H 692 ● 671

The administration of justice within the Colony is entrusted to the Supreme Court, a Court of Small Causes for certain specified civil cases and Magistrates' Courts for criminal cases. The law of the Protectorate is largely tribal custom, but in certain chiefdoms the Shari' a code of Muslim law is recognised, especially in the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla (ruled by His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti K.C.M.G.), which State legislates by published decrees.

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

A 631 652

There are two local government bodies in the Colony: the larger is known as the Fortress Township Authority and the area governed embraces the Isthmus and Peninsula with a civilian population estimated to be 70,000. This area includes the Military and the R.A.F. establishments. The other is known as Sheikh Othman Township Authority and takes its name from the built-up township of 21,000 persons, all non-Europeans, situated some four miles from the Isthmus. The area governed includes this Township and the remainder of the Colony in which are to be found four small coastal villages whose inhabitants number approximately 2,500.

A 666 642

In 1949 the principle of election was first introduced into the constitution of the Fortress Township Authority, so as to provide three elected members in addition to the existing four nominated official and three nominated unofficial members. In Crater ward there were elections, resulting in the success of one Arab merchant and one Pakistani advocate who was previously a nominated member of the Authority. In the other ward objections were raised against two Arab candidates, who were found not to be of British birth, and a

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



631 missioners) and Qaims (Assistant District Commissioners) of the provinces and districts. Naibs were provided with motor vehicles to increase their mobility. An annual conference of all Quaiti, Kathiri and Wahidi Naibs and Qaims has been instituted, at which lectures and practical demonstrations in all administrative subjects are given by local experts.

631 621 Another significant step towards devolution of duties on to Naibs and Qaims has been the setting-up of village councils under their direction and supervision. The activities of these councils include village welfare, hygiene, sanitation, increase of food production, etc. The Sultan of Qu'aiti State has also nominated a Municipal Council for Mukalla.

643 631 The period under review was also notable for increased co-operation in administrative affairs between Qu'aiti and Kathiri and for the settlement of problems common to these two States. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri State Secretaries and senior officials met several times during 1949 and 1950 and joint decisions were taken on such matters as local import and export taxes, development tax on date-bearing palms, postal affairs, remittances from abroad, famine relief and prevention, and unification of vehicle licences.

[665] 578 With the retirement of Sheikh Seif bin Ali Elbually, C.B.E., from the post of State Secretary to the Qu'aiti Government, in December, 1950, and the appointment of Sheikh Qaddal Sa'id El Qaddal Pasha, M.B.E., formerly Qu'aiti Director of Education who is a Sudanese, as his successor, the so-called Nationalist Party, whose membership does not extend beyond Mukalla Town, seized the opportunity to foment serious rioting, in the quelling of which 16 persons were killed and 24 wounded. Suitable sentences were dealt out to the ringleaders by the Special Court set up by the Sultan to try the offenders. The new State Secretary has been warmly welcomed into the office by all the responsible citizens and officials of the Qu'aiti State in Mukalla and throughout the Provinces.

643 The Kathiri Sultan Ja'far bin Mansur bin Ghalib died on 24th April, 1949, and was succeeded by his nephew Sultan Hussein bin Ali bin Mansur al Kathiri, who was recognised by His Majesty's Government as Treaty Sultan on 22nd May, 1950.

● 671 During 1950 codified criminal law based on Sharia was introduced in the Qu'aiti State.

*Beduin Affairs*

631 721 *Wahidi Area.* As a result of the operations against the Khadim of Mithaf and the Al Adhm Tribe in January and February, 1950, the whole Dhiyeibi area came under the Sultan of Balhaf and security posts were established on the western border of the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In July, 1950, a successful operation was undertaken against Al Ba Dukhn for breach of the peace and the tribe was brought under complete control

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



619 The tribesman forms the real fighting strength of the Sultanate, and provides his own weapons, drawing ammunition—or its
761 equivalent in cash—from the Sultan, when on state service. His hardihood, activity, and keen sight make him a formidable opponent. He has a natural aptitude for scouting and possesses remarkable powers of endurance, being independent of much transport, whilst the constant friction along the tribal borders engenders a high state of combatant training. The Sultan frequently uses one tribe to fight another as a punishment for raiding, but he cannot claim tribal service against tribal interests; any real emergency, however, will bring the tribesmen in. Individuals and small detachments will serve an alien for pay beyond the limits of their tribeship.

The tribesmen are really civilians (a term used for want of a better, though this word does not exactly translate the Arabic word *rawi*, plural *raya*), but prepared at a moment's notice to leave flocks and camels, farms or pasture, or trekking, when danger threatens clan, tribe, or Sultanate. They give no regular
[702 military service under any condition, nor do they practise the use
651] of weapons, but content themselves with the reluctant payment of a tax and the unavoidable imposts of the Government that guards their lives and property. They may be divided into the
619 following classes: merchants, of more or less influence and wealth; mechanics and artisans; the '*hejris*' or freed serfs, usually
56 attached to some chief as agricultural labourers or to some master craftsman; and lastly, and lowest in the social scale, the slaves, the males serving as retainers or subordinate husbandmen and the females as domestic servants or attendants on children. The latter class, however, are slaves only in name, having usually their own *menage*, and they remain in one family from generation to
56 generation; they are mostly Swahilis and Nubians. One other class needs passing mention—the *shāhids* or bards, whose duty, in the
703 exercise of their profession, is to stimulate the tribal standard of chivalry by heroic strains of former prowess, or with stinging satire to lash a slothful ruler to martial vigour. When belligerent tribes are set in battle, it is the *shāhids* on either side who urge the courage of the combatants.

•[671] In religion two schools of the Sunni creed—the Hanifi (or philosophic school) and the Shafei—are followed, the latter, the
771 nearest to the early Islamic tradition, being the more general. The practice of religion varies, of course, in different districts, and among some of the nomad races it is little more than a name. Speaking of religious observance among the people of this region as a whole, Bury says: 'The laity, while fanatical to the verge of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Of governmental administration as a whole, in spite of the comparative homogeneity of the region, there is none, in the usually accepted sense of the term. The tribal lords have no care for what are considered in Europe the duties of government. Education, police, and public works are left entirely to private initiative, and as a result the two last are almost entirely non-existent. Instruction alone flourishes, and that only among the Seyyids and townsmen. There are some schools for so-called primary, secondary, and higher instruction; in the two former the teaching is almost exclusively confined to language, grammar, and religion. The chief centre of higher instruction is at Seyyūn, where the Academy, known by the name Ribāt, is a sort of annexe to the Great Mosque; here there are about 100 students who receive free board and lodging and 300 outside students who pay fees of varying amounts. The teaching is confined to the intensive study of grammar, law, and theology, to the almost entire exclusion of the so-called modern sciences, astronomy (as interpreted by the Arabs) alone excepted. The study of medicine, among others, is entirely non-existent. 631 871

As for Law and Magistracy, the influence of the Seyyids is a powerful curb on any oppression by the Muqaddams or tribal lords, and in the Hadhramaut there is a sufficiently independent magistrature. The Seyyids have the greatest interest in seeing that the Mussulman law is honoured and respected, because the law and religion are one: the decadence of religion would inevitably bring about the loss of that superstitious respect which the people have for them as descendants of the Prophet. 671 792 692

Each town or village of any importance has a *Qādhi*, with a sub-Qādhi for the country district round about. The Qādhis are nominated by the Muqaddams, but the latter consult the Seyyids and renowned savants before fixing on their choice; sub-Qādhis are nominated by the Qādhis. The Qādhis have both civil and criminal jurisdiction, and base their decisions on the works of jurists of the Shafei rite. Judgements must be drawn up in writing and signed and sealed by the Qādhi who has delivered them, but can only be put into execution on authorization by the Muqaddam, who, however, uses his veto but rarely. The jurisdiction of the sub-Qādhis is limited to marriage and other acts of family life, the majority of the inhabitants of the country rarely having recourse to the judge in their other affairs. Differences between persons of the same family are in general adjusted by the Abu, and differences between persons belonging to different families by the Muqaddam. In the latter cases, failing accord, justice is settled 692 [792] 622 628

mitted to it by a Magistrate and shall, when so taking cognisance of any offence, follow the procedure prescribed by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the trial of warrant cases by Magistrates. 648 671x 692

(b) Save as hereinafter provided, no appeal shall lie from any order of any Sessions Judge.

(c) Trials before the Court of Session may, in the discretion of the Sessions Judge, be without jury or the aid of assessors.

(d) In cases under Regulation IV of 1901, no sentence of death passed by an Assistant Resident shall be carried out unless and until it is confirmed by the Political Resident. 648 671x 681 692

(e) In cases under other acts, no sentence of death passed by any Court shall be carried out unless and until it is confirmed by the Governor of Bombay.

(f) All sentences of imprisonment passed by an Assistant Resident for a term exceeding one year shall be submitted for confirmation to the Political Resident.

In any case in which an Assistant Resident passes a sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding six months, an appeal shall be to the Political Resident.

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No. 388-E.B., dated the 1st February, 1907.—In exercise of the powers conferred by the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following Orders:— Constitution of Criminal Courts. 648 671x 693

## VI.—Orders under Acts of the Governor General in Council.

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No. **1431-I**, dated 27th April, 1893.—Whereas a capital sentence is occasionally passed by a British Court exercising in or with respect to territory beyond the limits of British India jurisdiction which the Governor General in Council has in such territory; and whereas there may be in such territory no secure place for the confinement of a prisoner under sentence of death, or no suitable appliances for his execution in a decent and humane manner; **Execution of capital sentences in British India.**

In exercise of the powers conferred by sections 4 and 5 of the Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition Act (XXI of 1879), and of all other powers enabling him in this behalf, the Governor General in Council is pleased to direct as follows:—

1. When any person is sentenced to death by a British Court in the exercise of such jurisdiction as is referred to in the first paragraph of the preamble to this notification, and, in the opinion of the Court, such sentence should for any such reason as is referred to in the second paragraph of the said preamble be executed in British India, the Court shall issue its warrant for such execution to the Superintendent or Keeper of a jail in British India, and shall in such warrant prescribe, as nearly as may be, the place in British India where such Superintendent or Keeper is to cause the execution to be carried out.

2. The jail in British India to which the Court may send its warrant under the provisions of this notification shall be such as the Governor General in Council, or a Local Government authorized by him in this behalf, may by general or special order direct.

3. Every warrant for the execution of a sentence of death to be issued by a Court under the provision of this notification shall be in the form set forth in the schedule hereto annexed.

### Schedule.

*Form of Warrant.*

To

The Superintendent or Keeper of the Jail at
in British India.

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Whereas at a trial held on the day of 189 , at (name of place), in (name of territory), before me A.B. (name of Judge), being the presiding officer of a British Court exercising in (or with respect to) territory beyond the limits of British India, jurisdiction which the Governor General in Council has in such territory, C.D. (name of prisoner) was duly convicted of the offence of culpable homicide amounting to murder and sentenced to suffer death (S and the S to be omitted when sentence said sentence has does not require confirmation been confirmed by E.F. (name of authority). );

And whereas there is in (name of territory) no secure place for the confinement of a prisoner under sentence of death (or no suitable appliances for the execution of a person under sentence of death in a decent and humane manner);

And whereas this Court is of opinion that for the reasons aforesaid the said sentence should be executed in British India;

This is to authorize and require you, the said Superintendent (or Keeper), being a Superintendent (or Keeper) of a jail specified in an order under section 2 of Act No. V of 1893, passed by the Governor General of India in Council, to receive the said C.D. (prisoner's name) into your custody in the said jail together with this warrant, and there him safely to keep until the time hereinafter appointed, and then to carry the said sentence into execution by causing the said C.D. (prisoner's name) to be hanged by the neck until he be dead, at (time and place of execution), and to return this warrant to this Court with an endorsement certifying that the sentence has been executed.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this day of 189 .

Seal.

(Signature)

No. 4220, dated the 3rd July, 1895.—Whereas in exercise of the powers conferred by section 2 of Act V of 1893 (being an Act to legalise in certain cases the execution, within British India, of capital sentences which have been passed by British Courts exercising in or with respect to territory beyond the limits of British India jurisdiction which the Governor General in Council has in such territory), and in order to give effect to the provisions of the notification by the Government of India in the Political Department, No. 1431-I., dated the 27th April, 1893, the Governor General in Council has been pleased, by letter No. 3080-I., dated 2nd September, 1893, to authorise the Governor of Bombay in Council such Courts may send their warrants for the execution of capital sentences under the provisions of the said Act and notification, and to order the Superintendents of all such jails respectively to execute all sentences of death in respect whereof warrants may be issued to them respectively by any such Courts as aforesaid.

In Bombay.
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Now the Governor in Council is pleased, in pursuance of the said authorisation—

(a) to direct that the jail specified in respect of each Court mentioned in the table hereinbelow contained shall be the jail within the territories subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor of Bombay in Council to which such Court may send such warrants as aforesaid; and

(b) to order that the Superintendent of every such jail shall, on receipt of such warrants from a Court hereby authorised to send such warrant to such jail, cause the execution to be carried out therein in the same manner and subject to the same conditions in all respects as if it were a warrant duly issued under the provisions of section 381 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882.

## TABLE.

| From the Court of the | To the Prison at Aden. |
|---|---|
| Political Resident, Aden, | |
| • • | • • |
| • • | • • |

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

### Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
142 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

*In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

*In Seiyun:* Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

1/2 [The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

and within the area round them demarcated by white pillars. Any murder or loot in these areas is regarded as an offence against Government. Murderers of Beduins, subjects, soldiers, or slaves, are liable to death in these areas, and apart from restoration of loot, thieves are liable to imprisonment, deportation, or amputation of the hand.[1] If an individual contracts debts with any of the subjects of Government and absconds, the Government arrests any available member of his tribe and forces him to pay the debt. Routes between Qu'aiti towns are also sacrosanct and carriers may not be made the targets of blood feuds on them. The Qu'aiti is enabled to enforce these measures by his control of the ports and important markets.

## Government Finance.

The financial year coincides with the Muhammadan year, i.e., it begins with the 1st Muharram and ends with the 29th Dhu'l Hijja. The year 1353 began on the 16th April 1934, and this report must be taken to cover the period up to the 29th Dhu'l Hijja 1352, i.e., 15th April 1934.

### Revenue and Expenditure.

The annual Qu'aiti revenue at present is stated in the annual Aden Administration Report to be Rs.12,50,000 but it appears to me that seven lakhs is a more probable if rather conservative figure. It is based on figures given for Mukalla, Gheil ba Wazir and Shihr (Rs.6,30,000), and on other figures given for the Du'an province and for Shibam. I have no figures for the Hajr province which includes the rich Meifa lands. The excess of revenue over expenditure is said to be about one third.

The expenditure on all public services, except His Highness the Sultan, is said to be Rs.3,00,000 *per annum* in Mukalla and Shihr. His late Highness drew officially Rs.72,000 *per annum* but, I was told, " no one knows what he really spends ". The following are some of the principal items of expenditure :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Defence. Mukalla only, soldiers and slaves. | Rs.2,04,000 *per annum*. The total is perhaps Rs.2,25,000. |
| Tribal subsidies ... ... | Rs.12,000 *per annum* (formerly Rs.36,000 to 48,000 *per annum*). |
| Education ... ... ... | Rs.6,000. |
| Medical and Public Health ... | Rs.5,500. |
| Customs ... ... ... | Rs.10,000. |
| Du'an province ... ... | $21,000. |
| Shibam ... ... ... ... | more than $12,000. |

[1] I am told that, as in certain other parts of the Protectorate, this Qu'anic penalty is no longer enforced.



* [in the Qu'aiti free towns -- Analyst]

## Justice.

In Mukalla there are three courts. (1) The Sharia court, which is presided over by three Qadhis. It has also an appellate jurisdiction from other Qadhis in the country. They try all cases according to Sharia law and certain criminal cases are therefore excepted from their jurisdiction, as mutilation and some other Quranic penalties have been abolished. (2) The Hakm as Suq, which is presided over by a police magistrate who is also in charge of the slave police. He tries small cases and can imprison up to twelve days. These sentences are served in the court building which is also the station of the slave police. (3) The Hakm ad Dola, the *Wazir's* court. Here are heard important criminal cases, important civil cases, bankruptcy cases, and cases in which there is not sufficient evidence for the Sharia court. 696 692

There is no commercial court, but if a merchant goes bankrupt his creditors among the merchants gather together to arrange a settlement. In important civil cases the *Wazir* selects a committee of merchants as assessors who examine the cases and report to him. There are no pleaders before the courts. Provincial governors have jurisdiction to settle all cases in their *liwas* but there is an appeal to Mukalla. There are Qadhis at the bigger towns of the interior such as Shibam. 426 692 635

## Police.

### Organization.

In Mukalla the total strength of the uniformed police is 60; that of the plain clothes slave police is 33. The uniform consists of a dark blue tunic and shorts with a leather belt bearing a brass buckle in front, and a red fez. They are equipped with rifles, but only the actual sentry outside a station carries one. The slave police wear a police belt over their ordinary clothes and carry daggers. There is a Jemadar, one Havildar, one Corporal, and two Lance-Corporals. The headquarters of the uniformed police are at the Customs end of the bazaar. There are several other small police-stations in the town. 625

### Distribution.

In Mukalla 30 uniformed police are on duty by day and 10 at night, these latter being reinforced by 20 plain clothes slave police. The uniformed police man the Customs where a detachment is on duty for seven days, each man being relieved every 24 hours. Thirteen of the slave police are on duty at the station of the Hakm as Suq. The peculiar function of the slave police is to deal with armed offenders. Otherwise both bodies of police appear to have the usual functions. There are a few police in Shihr but none in the interior.

## Crime.

From information obtained it would appear that murder cases are now practically non-existent. Murderers are executed with a dagger plunged into the supra sternal notch. 682

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The following is the order of importance of the four paramount Chiefs of the Sei'ar tribe : Yeslam bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a of the Āl Hātim, Tanāf bin Seheil bin Rumeidān of the Āl Hudeib, the Āl Qarwān, and the Āl 'Ali, 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī of the Āl Mulhī, and 'Ali bin 'Aita bin Tarim of the Āl Bā Rūh and the Āl Bāqi Msellem. Yeslam bin Muhammad is said to be far and away the most powerful of the Sei'ar chiefs.

The Sei'ar are descended from the tribe of Kinda and they claim Aswad al Kindi as their ancestor. On account of this descent the Āl Mahfudh are sometimes included with them. Their country, an inhospitable waste of barren plateaux scored with unfertile wadis, lies north of the main wadi and stretches west to Wadi 'Abr. It is called simply Reidat as Sei'ar.

They told me their neighbours are, on the east, 'Awāmir and Kathīr, Manāhil and Mahra, Zabeini, on the north, Kathīri as Suflan, Harawiz, Mahra, Zabeini, Rawashid, Murra, Yām, and on the west, Daham, 'Abīda, Marādā, Hammām, Bal 'Ubeid, Kurab. The very names tell how far afield they roam and raid. They are the wolves of the desert and steppe, and parialis to the wadi folk living south of them, for they raid into the Minhali country on the east and the Hamumi and 'Awābitha on the south. Philby mentions them raiding far into the sands to Bir Fadhil, to Sharma, and possibly going to Hadbat abu Khasba. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Qutun, a section of the Qara tribe, and raiding a Mahra encampment at the waterhole of Andhaur. He also says they raided as far north as the region of Umm Malissa and that Sei'ar is a word of terror to the Rashid and the southern Murra. The Nahd let them visit their markets through fear only, and they are an ever present danger to small unguarded parties of travellers, whom they have interrupted up to Ghadīr al Milib in the Wadi Du'an. Having no settled habitat they are hard to punish and have always proved elusive and wary. When travelling in small numbers outside their own country they choose the byways and travel by night, for owing to their habits every man's hand is against them. The only places at which they appear openly are Shibam where they behave themselves, and Meshhed during the time of the annual *ziyara* in the month of Rabi'l Awal when they sell their camels. But their hardier neighbours do not let them have it all their own way and the Manāhil, for instance, give them as good as they get. If they raid far they are also raided from afar, as witness the case of a young warrior of the Southern Ajman from the neighbourhood of Kuweit, who, proceeding to Nejran in the winter of 1934-5 to espouse a Yām dameel, raided the Sei'ar on the Hadhramaut borders on his way home and took five of their camels to Kuweit.

They have monthly truces among themselves, never longer; sometimes they will make new ones, sometimes they fight. I was

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hens' eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

## LAW AND DISPUTES.

As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al hauz*, or a code of ancient sanctions, is the law. The *hauz* is a wise man of the tribe. Not infrequently his is an hereditary office, occasionally the *hauz* is the shaikh of his tribe. Shara law, *i.e.* holy law in Oman and elsewhere, is the law of the coastal townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony, and sometimes of divorce and inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. That is the province of the *hauz*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara or holy law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed even along the coast by government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye-for-an-eye idea, the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali of Dhufar as having taken place last year is as follows: "X" was going on a journey into the "Y's" country and took a *rabia* from "Y." On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and "X" found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. The *hauz* heard the case and decided that "Y," the innocent party but member of the offending tribe, must submit to the infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *hauz*, when he would receive from the offenders *Laum-al-wijh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at 400 dollars. Murder, which in Arab tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood-money which varies between 400 and 1,000 dollars (or rather its equivalent in kind), in these Qara mountains is assessed prodigiously high, in theory something like 5,000 dollars, which may take a lifetime to pay off, but is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom, must bear the brunt.

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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782 blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indis-
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21; Thomas F6 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting 576
a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 832

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part
I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which 562
are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman
would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten
as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes,
and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire 585
of his wife and say *Talag* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house 586
with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If 583
she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price.
It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really
expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper,
ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representative (father
or brother) descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the
women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only
cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter [782]
a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous
chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of
circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day 844
or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the
possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken
up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is
generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal 848
marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere 837
in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would 684
on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be
done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and [628]
have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation
of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

## CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees 342
at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain
itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four [754]
nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. 782
When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
622 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

### Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa, and the following are the principal families.
[173]

*In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

*In Seiyun:* Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

[The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

and within the area round them demarcated by white pillars. Any murder or loot in these areas is regarded as an offence against Government. Murderers of Beduins, subjects, soldiers, or slaves, are liable to death in these areas, and apart from restoration of loot, thieves are liable to imprisonment, deportation, or amputation of the hand.[1] If an individual contracts debts with any of the subjects of Government and absconds, the Government arrests any available member of his tribe and forces him to pay the debt. Routes between Qu'aiti towns are also sacrosanct and carriers may not be made the targets of blood feuds on them. The Qu'aiti is enabled to enforce these measures by his control of the ports and important markets.

## Government Finance.

The financial year coincides with the Muhammadan year, i.e., it begins with the 1st Muharram and ends with the 29th Dhu'l Hijja. The year 1353 began on the 16th April 1934, and this report must be taken to cover the period up to the 29th Dhu'l Hijja 1352, i.e., 15th April 1934.

### Revenue and Expenditure.

The annual Qu'aiti revenue at present is stated in the annual Aden Administration Report to be Rs.12,50,000 but it appears to me that seven lakhs is a more probable if rather conservative figure. It is based on figures given for Mukalla, Gheil ba Wazir and Shihr (Rs.6,30,000), and on other figures given for the Du'an province and for Shibam. I have no figures for the Hajr province which includes the rich Meifa lands. The excess of revenue over expenditure is said to be about one third.

The expenditure on all public services, except His Highness the Sultan, is said to be Rs.3,00,000 *per annum* in Mukalla and Shihr. His late Highness drew officially Rs.72,000 *per annum* but, I was told, "no one knows what he really spends". The following are some of the principal items of expenditure :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Defence. Mukalla only, soldiers and slaves. | Rs.2,04,000 *per annum*. The total is perhaps Rs.2,25,000. |
| Tribal subsidies ... ... | Rs.12,000 *per annum* (formerly Rs.36,000 to 48,000 *per annum*). |
| Education ... ... ... | Rs.6,000. |
| Medical and Public Health ... | Rs.5,500. |
| Customs ... ... ... | Rs.10,000. |
| Du'an province ... ... | $21,000. |
| Shibam ... ... ... ... | more than $12,000. |

[1] I am told that, as in certain other parts of the Protectorate, this Qu...ine penalty is no longer enforced.

[illegible] D

[In the Qu'aiti free towns -- Analyst]

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[in the Qu'aiti free towns -- Analyst]

18:Iagrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



WHEN

we first went up there they charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble, though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut 1949



712 *Northern Area.* In 1950 the desert posts were completed at Minwakh, Zimakh and Al Hajr, thus linking up the northern fort system with Al Abr and Asakir, and controlling all the important water points in the area. Since the establishment of these forts there has been no raiding at all in this area, or by tribes of this area upon other tribes.

631 *Eastern Areas.* After the settlement with the Menahil in 1948 this area remained quiet, and the Mukalla Regular Army fort at Som is now accepted by the tribes of the area. Recently the Naib of Shibam met the Muqaddam of the Menahil at Elinat. This went far to heal the breach between them and Government dating from 1947 when the tribe rose and attacked Government posts.

648 *Mahra—Socotra.* The Resident Adviser paid two visits to Socotra during 1949-50, one by sea and the other by air. Among subjects discussed with the Sultan were reports of famine conditions on the Island. The Resident Adviser strongly urged the Sultan to spend more time on the mainland, and agreed to arrange a meeting later in 1951 between the Qu'aiti and the Mahra to settle a frontier dispute at Museina. The Fisheries Officer visited the Mahra coast to study fishing conditions there.

*General*

731 As a result of the famine in 1949, there has been a notable decrease in the numbers of camels and goats, and as a result of delayed rains in Socotra the people there have suffered a similar loss. However, 1950 was a good year for the beduin, and more young camels are to be seen load-carrying now.

691 One of the chief complaints by the Bedu has been the delay caused by magistrates when judging Bedu cases. This matter has been investigated and is being put right.

664 619 Very recently a number of chiefs from the western tribes held a meeting and put in a joint petition to Government. The three points of the petition were (*a*) a complaint against the arms-carrying ban in Wadi Du'an ; (*b*) a complaint against truck owners carrying loads which are forbidden by Government's agreement with the Bedu ; and (*c*) a request for some of their old customs to be recognised. But so firmly is the peace now established that troublesome elements who attempted to support these demands by force were overruled by the majority. The Government is taking suitable action in this matter.

648 On 25th August, 1949, Colonel J. E. H. Boustead, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., assumed the appointment of British Agent, Eastern Aden Protectorate, and Resident Adviser to the Hadhramaut States and to the Wahidi State of Balhaf.

000 A table of Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes is given on p. 6.

mean that his position *vis à vis* the Confederation is wholly negli- 643
gible. The influence that an individual ruler exerts over a con-
federation of tribesmen depends to a large extent on the personality 642
of the individual and I found plenty of evidence that Sultan 'Ali
bin Mansur is universally respected, admired, and held in affection
amongst the Shenafir tribesmen. Even though his word is not
universally law his services are much sought in mediation between
different factions, and there is no lack of factions in the Confedera-
tion. Along the length of the valley from the east of Shibam [484]
to the east of Tarim, which is considered Kathīri, village after
village is a small city-state on its own. It is difficult to pass from
one to another, even now that the motor-car has come, without the
traditional *siyar* or escort.

Typical of the situation has been the state of war that has existed 578
for some time between the Āl 'Umar and Āl 'Āmr clans. They 669
have centred round the respectably-sized town of Al Ghurfa between
Shibam and Seiyun. Five or six years ago some of the tribesmen
of the Āl 'Umar started interfering with the inhabitants of Al
Ghurfa. Bin 'Abdat, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Āmr, protested to Salim
bin Ja'fer, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Umar, and proposed that they should
unite to make peace in Al Ghurfa. Hitherto disputes in the town [692]
were commonly referred to the settlement of one Sheikh Bā Abūd,
but this arrangement appears to have broken down. Bin 'Abdat
informed Bin Ja'fer that if he would not help him, he (Bin 'Abdat)
would establish control in the town himself. As Bin Ja'fer did not
give him support he took action himself and established order.
The new state of affairs was not popular, and probably resulted in
some further disorder which had its repercussions beyond local
limits. At this juncture the Qu'aiti *wazir* came to Shibam and
brought pressure on Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur to unite with him and
Salim bin Ja'fer in compelling Bin 'Abdat to vacate Al Ghurfa, and
retire to his original place outside. Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur marched
against Bin 'Abdat with one gun and some troops; Seiyid Hussein,
the Qu'aiti *wazir*, also brought a gun and some troops from Shibam,
Salim bin Ja'fer brought his own men, and the three forces col-
lected at Al Ghiyel. The town of Al Ghurfa was bombarded, and,
as it was described to me, " they had a good battle but without
success ".

Seiyid Hussein, the *wazir*, retired after having successfully com- 669
plicated the issue, and Sultan 'Ali immediately followed suit, leaving 725
Bin 'Abdat and Bin Ja'fer to fight it out together. Both sides
entrenched themselves. The elaborate system of fortifications and
communication trenches, still visible at Al Ghurfa, reminded me
strongly of France. They extend over nearly a mile, and in this
small patch of the valley both sides lived an uncomfortable life
for several years. Any cultivation that was done was done [522]
under difficulties, and the fields could only be approached
through trenches. Salim bin Ja'fer enlivened the proceedings by 715
importing a sort of armoured car from Java. This is now derelict

## Justice.

In Mukalla there are three courts. (1) The Sharia court, which is presided over by three Qadhis. It has also an appellate jurisdiction from other Qadhis in the country. They try all cases according to Sharia law and certain criminal cases are therefore excepted from their jurisdiction, as mutilation and some other Quranic penalties have been abolished. (2) The Hakm as Suq, which is presided over by a police magistrate who is also in charge of the slave police. He tries small cases and can imprison up to twelve days. These sentences are served in the court building which is also the station of the slave police. (3) The Hakm ad Dola, the *Wazir's* court. Here are heard important criminal cases, important civil cases, bankruptcy cases, and cases in which there is not sufficient evidence for the Sharia court. 695 692

There is no commercial court, but if a merchant goes bankrupt his creditors among the merchants gather together to arrange a settlement. In important civil cases the *Wazir* selects a committee of merchants as assessors who examine the cases and report to him. There are no pleaders before the courts. Provincial governors have jurisdiction to settle all cases in their *liwas* but there is an appeal to Mukalla. There are Qadhis at the bigger towns of the interior such as Shibam. 426 692 635

## Police.

### Organization.

In Mukalla the total strength of the uniformed police is 60; that of the plain clothes slave police is 33. The uniform consists of a dark blue tunic and shorts with a leather belt bearing a brass buckle in front, and a red fez. They are equipped with rifles, but only the actual sentry outside a station carries one. The slave police wear a police belt over their ordinary clothes and carry daggers. There is a Jemadar, one Havildar, one Corporal, and two Lance-Corporals. The headquarters of the uniformed police are at the Customs end of the bazaar. There are several other small police-stations in the town. 625

### Distribution.

In Mukalla 30 uniformed police are on duty by day and 10 at night, these latter being reinforced by 20 plain clothes slave police. The uniformed police man the Customs where a detachment is on duty for seven days, each man being relieved every 24 hours. Thirteen of the slave police are on duty at the station of the Hakm as Suq. The peculiar function of the slave police is to deal with armed offenders. Otherwise both bodies of police appear to have the usual functions. There are a few police in Shihr but none in the interior.

## Crime.

From information obtained it would appear that murder cases are now practically non-existent. Murderers are executed with a dagger plunged into the supra sternal notch. 682

Z:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



619 He is no longer apt to be shot at by Government soldiers and he brings his troubles to the Government. The provincial governors and the district
647 heads are better men and better paid than they used to be and all new candidates have courses of instruction before appointment. There are
692 systems of State and tribal courts which are becoming more and more
619 effective. There is a special department of bedouin affairs which is staffed entirely by Hadhrami tribesmen; five or six years ago no Hadhrami tribesmen were employed in any positions of responsibility.

759 As regards social services, in 1934 there was one doctor, mainly for the Sultan though he ran a public dispensary, and medical services cost Rs. 5,500
657 a year: in 1944 the sum voted was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary
652 services. There was an establishment of four doctors, and a State hospital
743 for fifty in-patients was being built in Mukalla.

In 1934 education cost Rs. 6,000 and about three hundred boys received
871 some sort of schooling. In 1944 Rs. 1,054,000 was provided. The number of boys in primary Government schools on the coast has increased to about
652 seventeen hundred. There were between a hundred and thirty and a
657 hundred and forty girls in the new Mukalla girls' school, and an inter-
658 mediate boarding school, assisted by the British Council and a grant from His Majesty's Government, had been started with about eighty boys. As part of the famine relief measures, children were brought down from the Hadhramaut and have now been taken over by the Qu'aiti State which bought a village outside Mukalla and is now housing three hundred boys
[874] and girls in it. A wall enclosing garden land has been built round it and the children work the garden and are apprenticed to various local trades. They are given a modest schooling and it is hoped that they will also be taught by means of a village council to run their own village.

658 Another State educational experiment owes its impetus mainly to the enthusiasm of the young men of Mukalla. A number of young men have
871 gone through a course organized by the Education Department in how to teach illiterate adults to read and write. These teachers compiled a coolies' vocabulary of seven hundred words or so and when I left were about to teach coolies from the Hadhramaut, who had come seeking for work at the coast on account of the famine, how to write the language they speak, a sort of basic Arabic. There are schemes for producing a small newspaper in this simplified form of speech and for developing some public-health consciousness.

701 What little the State could do towards the war effort it has done. It provided a company for guard duties in Aden while the Italians were in
648 the war. It has raised a Pioneer Company for service in the Middle East Command. It has guarded the R.A.F. aerodromes in the State and pro-
[712] vided coastal guards. The Public Works Department has built an R.A.F. station at about a third of the cost expected. It has landed and handled a great quantity of R.A.F. stores. In addition, at the outbreak of war when the surplus balance was about Rs. 80,000, it contributed Rs. 20,000 for
648 general war purposes, and Hadhramis at home and abroad subscribed to a

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM21



Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court. 778 796 782 792 [2 T 2]

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer. 778 735

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed. 693 671 [692]

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of 671 693 577 696

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who 000
nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's
picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators.

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all 619
cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked 182
on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of
Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula'
tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who
should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to
claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula'
tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have
closed the important road through their country to try and force the
Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more 421
complicated than in most places in the Protectorate.

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell 427
land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary.
It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession 565
of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for 792
wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly pro- 651
tected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the pro- 619
perty of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the
extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm
and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argu-
ment and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to
the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship
of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with
the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dis-
pute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who,
they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir
sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also,
and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between
Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis,
who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a
consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all
tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation
is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some
parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence
of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued [672]
disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their 182
centres.

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people
is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how
they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on
the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the 182
down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms 628
broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main con- 411
tributory cause of their disintegration is the blood feud, and there is little
doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of 436
the territory comes from the unchechable expansion of these feuds due to

31: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant
782 blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indis-
[784 criminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hens'
609] eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

## LAW AND DISPUTES.

671 As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al hauz*, or a code of ancient sanctions, is the
692 law. The *hauz* is a wise man of the tribe. Not infrequently his is an hereditary office, occasionally the *hauz* is the shaikh of his tribe. Shara law, *i.e.* holy law in Oman and elsewhere, is the law of the coastal townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony, and sometimes of divorce and inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. That is the province of the *hauz*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara or holy law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed even along the coast by government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing
683 evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye-for-an-eye idea,
696 the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali of Dhufar as having taken place last year is as follows: "X" was going on a journey into the "Y's" country and took a *rabia* from "Y." On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and "X" found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. A *hauz* heard the case and decided that "Y," the innocent party but member of the offending tribe, must submit to the infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

671 In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless
692 the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *hauz*, when he would receive from the offenders
721 *Laum-al-wajh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at 400 dollars. Murder, which in Arab tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood-money which varies between
682 400 and 1,000 dollars (or rather its equivalent in kind), in these Qara mountains is assessed
628 prodigiously high, in theory something like 5,000 dollars, which may take a lifetime to pay off, but is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom, must bear the brunt.

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sary or expedient, any Act, Order, Rule, Regulation or other enactment from time to time in force in the Colony, to persons in the Protectorate not being natives of the Protectorate;

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(*d*) to regulate or prohibit the entry into the Protectorate of persons not being natives of the Protectorate; and

(*e*) to secure the enforcement within the Protectorate of judgments, orders and decrees of the Courts of the Colony.

(3) For the avoidance of doubts it is hereby declared that all Rules and Orders made before the appointed day by the Governor-General of India in Council under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, have, in so far as at any time before the date of this Order they applied to the Protectorate and have not in such application been expressly repealed or revoked, continued in force in the Protectorate notwithstanding that the Protectorate has ceased to be a territory in which jurisdiction is exercised by or on behalf of His Majesty through the Governor-General of India in Council or some authority subordinate to him, and subsection (1) of this section shall apply accordingly to such Rules and Orders.

Disallowance of rules and orders.

8. It shall be lawful for His Majesty to disallow any rule or order made by the Governor in exercise of the powers conferred upon him by this Order or any other Order of His Majesty in Council and to signify such disallowance through the Secretary of State. Every rule or order so disallowed shall cease to have effect from the time when the signification of such disallowance shall be published by the Governor by notice in the Gazette, but without prejudice to anything lawfully done or suffered thereunder.

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Jurisdiction of Courts of the Colony.

9. The Supreme Court of the Colony and all Courts of the Colony inferior to the Supreme Court shall, subject to and in accordance with the provisions of any law in that behalf from time to time in force in the Colony, have jurisdiction in all matters arising in the Protectorate in which any person not being a native of the Protectorate is

concerned, in the same manner and to the same extent as if such matters had arisen in the Colony. 648 671x 692

Deputies.

10. In the event of the Governor having occasion at any time to be absent for a short period from the seat of Government, or in the exercise or discharge of any powers or duties conferred or imposed upon him by virtue of his office to visit any neighbouring territories, he may by an Instrument under the Public Seal appoint any person to be his Deputy within the Protectorate or any part thereof during such temporary absence, and in that capacity to exercise, perform and execute for and on behalf of the Governor during such absence, but no longer, all such powers and authorities vested in the Governor as shall in and by such Instrument be specified and limited, but no others. 648 671x

Every such Deputy shall conform to and observe all such instructions as the Governor shall from time to time address to him for his guidance. The power and authority of the Governor shall not by the appointment of a Deputy as aforesaid be abridged, altered or in any way affected otherwise than His Majesty may at any time hereafter think proper to direct.

Appointment of Officers.

11. The Governor may constitute and appoint all such necessary officers as may be lawfully constituted or appointed by His Majesty, all of whom, unless otherwise provided by law, shall hold their offices during His Majesty's pleasure.

Pardon.

12. When any offence has been committed for which the offender may be tried by any of His Majesty's courts having jurisdiction within the Protectorate, the Governor may, as he shall see occasion, in His Majesty's name and on His Majesty's behalf, grant a pardon to any accomplice in such offence who shall give such information as shall lead to the conviction of the principal offender or of any one of such offenders if more than one; and further may grant to any offender convicted in any such court a pardon, either free or subject to lawful conditions, or any remission of the sentence passed on such offender, or any respite of the execution of such sentence, for such period as the Governor thinks fit, and may remit any penalties or forfeitures due to His Majesty. 648 671x 696

23: British Gov't. G-5 (1877-1937) 1939 MM2 Hadramaut MM2



## PART I.

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1. The provisions, so far as they can be made applicable in the circumstances for the time being, and as amended for the time being by subsequent enactments, of the enactments specified in the First Schedule, are hereby applied to the Aden Protectorate, subject, in the case of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), to the modifications specified in the Second Schedule to this part.

2. For the purpose of facilitating the application of the said enactments to the Aden Protectorate, any Court for the Aden Protectorate may construe any provision in any such enactment with such alterations not affecting the substance as may be necessary or proper to adapt it to the matter before the Court.

3. No legal practitioner shall be permitted to appear in any case before any Court without the express authority in writing of the Political Resident.

### The First Schedule.

Enactments Applied.

| Number and year. | Subject. |
|---|---|
| Act XLV of 1860, | Penal Code. |
| Act V of 1898, | Criminal Procedure. |
| Regulation IV of 1901, | Frontier Murderous Outrages. |

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### The Second Schedule.

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Modifications in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898).

(a) The Court of Session may take cognisance of any offence as a Court of original jurisdiction without the accused person being com-

mitted to it by a Magistrate and shall, when so taking cognisance of any offence, follow the procedure prescribed by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the trial of warrant cases by Magistrates. 648 671x 692

(b) Save as hereinafter provided, no appeal shall lie from any order of any Sessions Judge.

(c) Trials before the Court of Session may, in the discretion of the Sessions Judge, be without jury or the aid of assessors.

(d) In cases under Regulation IV of 1901, no sentence of death passed by an Assistant Resident shall be carried out unless and until it is confirmed by the Political Resident. 648 671x 681 692

(e) In cases under other acts, no sentence of death passed by any Court shall be carried out unless and until it is confirmed by the Governor of Bombay.

(f) All sentences of imprisonment passed by an Assistant Resident for a term exceeding one year shall be submitted for confirmation to the Political Resident.

In any case in which an Assistant Resident passes a sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding six months, an appeal shall be to the Political Resident.

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Constitution of Criminal Courts.

No. **368-E.B.**, dated the 1st February, 1907.—In exercise of the powers conferred by the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following Orders:— 648 671x 693

Y 241 318 379 to draw the bucket up and let it down again. The water is then emptied into a raised channel of clay and can be diverted into the appropriate field at will.

Y 361 342 136 Villages are built on the mountains alongside the valley. The village shown in the illustration opposite[4] is built on the very top of a 3000-foot peak, Jebel Mishwara. The houses are like the most romantic of castles set on tall pinnacled heights over the narrow wadi-bed. In the less frequented valleys you may come upon a herd of baboons moving across the hillside barking at one another; they are much disliked as they make raids on the crops.

V 619 621 622 The organization of these highland communities, which are independent and difficult to control, is most complex. The tribe is subdivided into branches (*fakhidah*), numbering perhaps a hundred rifles, perhaps fifteen. Sometimes several tribes form a confederation bound loosely together under a paramount chief who has a greater or lesser degree of authority. Chieftainship is hereditary. In

H 622 565 671 the Aden Protectorate larger groups are sometimes under the authority of a Sultan or an Amir. These Sultans are of the ancient nobility which often goes back to pre-Islamic times, some 1500 years ago, and generally reside in a central market town. Such are the Sultans of the 'Awdhalis, the 'Awlaqis, the Fadhlis of Shuqra, and of course the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej near Aden. Tribal law is extensive and involved, with fixed penalties for every offence or transgression on a neighbour's rights. Relations between the tribesmen and the Sultans are also defined by

H 622 692 671 custom. Cases involving tribal law are heard by the Sultan or his representative, or in tribal confederations, by the sheikhs. This tribal law, which is generally unwritten, consists of traditional judgments and penalties. I was fortunate enough to secure a copy of the traditional law of the 'Awdhalis when in Qubaidhah, but this was one of the rare instances when the law had been written.

H [651 622] 701 In most cases the actual authority of the Sultan extends little further than a certain radius around his residence. He taxes the people where he can, often disproportionately to their little wealth, and maintains a number of soldiers, irregular and often hereditary 'asbar, as they are called, who hold a certain amount of land rent-free, and receive allow-

4 [See category 116, p. 68 -- Analyst]

Hadhramaut MM21
Remittances

457 of money from the Far East—the basis of Hadramaut's economy—began to arrive to a certain extent, at least from Singapore. From Java and the Dutch possessions there, is, however, little hope as yet of any but very limited sums being released.

### HOUSING

342 The fixed population are housed for the main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees. The poorer sections live in mud-brick houses, one-storeyed stone huts and straw huts.

## Chapter 9: Law and Order

### JUSTICE

692 The ~~Law~~ Courts are of two kinds: (*a*) Shari'a Courts (which administers the Shari'a or Quranic Law), and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Shari'a Courts.

798 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate there has been a revival of religious intolerance. A most unfortunate development in Mukalla during the year was the formation of a religious committee whose activities have been something between those of a vigilance committee and the inquisition. It selects those whom it considers have committed offences against Islam, condemns them and sentences them. The local Government carries out its sentences and there is no appeal. This being a matter of religion, the [643] Resident Adviser has under the treaty no power to interfere. Hadramaut has never been the home of religious tolerance, but it was hoped that the fires of fanaticism were dying.

### GOVERNMENT GUARDS

*Strength*

704 The force of Government Guards operates in the Western Aden Protectorate. The most outstanding event for the Government Guards 712 in 1947 was the transfer of the Headquarters from the Hindu garden in Sheikh Othman to the Champion Lines, Khormaksar, in the early part of the year.

The task of adapting the camp to meet the needs of this force was not completed for several months, but in its present form provides ample living and store accommodation for the approved establishment which has now been brought up to full strength.

*Tribal Guards*

The arrival of the Depot Officer in May has permitted the calling in of Tribal Guard units for training in drill and musketry, and up to

6:Gt. Brit . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



000 camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees.

# Chapter 9: Law and Order

## JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (*a*) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts.

*Government Guards*

712 701 Government Guard garrisons have been maintained at Jihaf, Dhala, El Eqla, and Safra in the territory of the Amirate, at Ahwar and Al Ugma in Lower Aulaqui country, at Ba Teis, El Husn and Ja'ar in Abyan, at Mudia, Am Khudeira and Am Quleita in Dathina, and at Al A'in, A'Sailan, El Kara', Beihan Es Suq in Beihan territory. In Subeihi country, the garrisons were withdrawn from Tor-el-Baha, Am Fursha and Am Rija, and forces of the Abdali Sultanate now control this area. In August, 1948, after operations against the Saqladi Sheikh, ruler of the territory of Shaib, a Government Guard Post was established at Awabil, capital of the Shaib States.

*Tribal Guards*

Progress has been made in the re-arming and training of Tribal Guard Units. Forces have now been raised in Dathina, Shaib and Audhali country in addition to existing forces in Beihan, Lower Aulaqi, Fadhli, Amiri, Maflahi and Lower Yafa States.

The local States also employ Tribal Guards, generally recruited from within the State to garrison outposts of the country. Increased reliance on them is being shown and the States are increasing their annual contributions towards the maintenance of the Tribal Guards. The authorised strength of this force is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Abdali (Lahej Trained Forces) | 379 |
| Fadhli Tribal Guards | 57 |
| L. Yafa'i Tribal Guards | 30 |
| L. Aulaqi Tribal Guards | 41 |
| Haushabi | 29 |
| Amiri | 75 |
| Dathina | 22 |
| Beihan | 40 |
| Audhali | 30 |
| Maflahi | 25 |
| Shaibi | 31 |

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate security is primarily a responsibility of the States themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces. The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion continued to do well in its security role.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



A 631 162 228

Aden Colony also includes Perim Island which is administered by an Administrator who is also the Commissioner of Police, Aden. The population of the island is 381. The majority of the islanders are fishermen, and dried fish is exported to Aden. In the past there has been pearl fishing, but this year no pearl fishing contract was taken. There is a small police detachment in the island together with medical and lighthouse staff.

A 206

Up to the end of 1948, Cable & Wireless Ltd. maintained communication with Perim by marine cable. The cable became unserviceable in 1948, and it was decided not to repair it. It is likely that communication will soon be established by wireless. A R.A.F. airplane makes a flight to the island once weekly and carries mail and passengers from Aden.

H 631 642 A 643

The Governor of the Colony is also Governor of the Aden Protectorate, which is not administered by the Colony Government. There is no one Government for the Aden Protectorate; various Rulers and Chiefs are in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. In each of the Western and Eastern Protectorates the Governor is represented by a British Agent.

A 692

The Protectorate includes the island of Socotra.

671 H 692 671

The administration of justice within the Colony is entrusted to the Supreme Court, a Court of Small Causes for certain specified civil cases and Magistrates' Courts for criminal cases. The law of the Protectorate is largely tribal custom, but in certain chiefdoms the Shari' a code of Muslim law is recognised, especially in the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla (ruled by His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti K.C.M.G.), which State legislates by published decrees.

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

A 631 692

There are two local government bodies in the Colony: the larger is known as the Fortress Township Authority and the area governed embraces the Isthmus and Peninsula with a civilian population estimated to be 70,000. This area includes the Military and the R.A.F. establishments. The other is known as Sheikh Othman Township Authority and takes its name from the built-up township of 21,000 persons, all non-Europeans, situated some four miles from the Isthmus. The area governed includes this Township and the remainder of the Colony in which are to be found four small coastal villages whose inhabitants number approximately 2,500.

A 666 642

In 1949 the principle of election was first introduced into the constitution of the Fortress Township Authority, so as to provide three elected members in addition to the existing four nominated official and three nominated unofficial members. In Crater ward there were elections, resulting in the success of one Arab merchant and one Pakistani advocate who was previously a nominated member of the Authority. In the other ward objections were raised against two Arab candidates, who were found not to be of British birth, and a

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



342 insulation against the heat. Roofs are universally flat, and used for the recreation of the women, who keep purdah, and for sleeping in the summer.

342 The farm-house of the tribesmen is little removed from its earlier function of a fort, and even in large towns it is unusual for the ground
531 floor (often used as a stable) to have more than loop-holes, windows being reserved for the upper storeys. But the upper part of a house is frequently decorated with whitewash, and in some cases most intricate and delicate patterns are created in plaster-work and whitewash, occasionally touched with blue or other colours. Sanitation is primitive.

342 The cities of the Hadhramaut have tall mud-brick buildings, nearly every house in Shibam is from five to seven storeys high, and the wealthy Seiyids and Sultans live in veritable palaces which are remarkable not only for their size and cost but for their taste and beauty.

# Chapter 9: Law and Order

## JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (*a*) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts.

625 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate security is primarily a responsibility of the states themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces.

## PRISONS

697 There is no recognised prison service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of states have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff in controlled areas.

625 WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE SECURITY FORCES

*Government Guards*

The establishment was as follows:

| *British Officers* | *Arab Officers* | *Other Ranks* | *Specialists, etc.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 18 | 582 | 82 |

Posts were maintained in the Dhala district at Dhala, Safra, Jabel, Jihaf, Lazaric and Awabil; in Abyan district at Ja'ar (Khanfar), El Husn, Ba Teis and Hitat; in Ahwar district at Ahwar and El Oqma; in Beihan at Beihan, El Ain, Asailan, Najd Maizar and Najd Merqad; in Dathina district at Am Surra, Mudia, Am Khudeira and Am Quleita; at Thumeir in the Quteibi area and at Mahfad and El Irq in the Manqas district.

S:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden



HOSPITALS AND HEALTH UNITS

| Place | Hospitals (Beds) Built | Hospitals (Beds) Building | Health Units Built | Health Units Building | Total Beds |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Less developed areas in Western Protectorate | — | 1 (30) Labej | 15 | — | 30 |
| Fadhli-Lower Yafa'i States | — | 1 (30) Makhzan | 5 | 2 | 30 |
| Qu'aiti State | 2 Mukalla (50) Shibam (30) | — | 18 | — | 80 |
| Kathiri State | 1 (10) Sai'un | — | 8 (rented houses) | — | 10 |
| Wahidi States | — | 1 (30) Meifa'ah | 3 | — | 30 |
| Non-Government | 1 (10) Tarim | — | 2 | — | 10 |
| TOTALS | 4 | 3 | 51 | 2 | 190 |

# Chapter 8: Justice, Prisons and Security Forces

## JUSTICE

The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (a) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (b) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts.

## PRISONS

There is no recognised prison service in the Western Protectorate. Chiefs of States have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff in controlled areas.

In the Eastern Protectorate, prison services are maintained by the Qu'aiti, Kathiri and Wahidi States.

## SECURITY FORCES

### *Western Protectorate*

*Government Guards*

This is the main security force. It is maintained by Her Majesty's Government and its present establishment is as follows:

| British Officers | Arab Officers | N.C.Os | Guards | W/T Staff | M/T Staff | Tradesmen etc. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 14 | 67 | 371 | 25 | 17 | 42 | 541 |

Detachments were maintained in five tribal districts throughout 1951—Dhala, Beihan, Dathina, Lower Aulaqi Sultanate, and Abyan—in support of the security forces employed by local administrations and, in addition, new posts were opened in the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Of governmental administration as a whole, in spite of the comparative homogeneity of the region, there is none, in the usually accepted sense of the term. The tribal lords have no care for what are considered in Europe the duties of government. Education, police, and public works are left entirely to private initiative, and as a result the two last are almost entirely non-existent. Instruction alone flourishes, and that only among the Seyyids and townsmen. There are some schools for so-called primary, secondary, and higher instruction; in the two former the teaching is almost exclusively confined to language, grammar, and religion. The chief centre of higher instruction is at Seyyūn, where the Academy, known by the name Ribāt, is a sort of annexe to the Great Mosque; here there are about 100 students who receive free board and lodging and 300 outside students who pay fees of varying amounts. The teaching is confined to the intensive study of grammar, law, and theology, to the almost entire exclusion of the so-called modern sciences, astronomy (as interpreted by the Arabs) alone excepted. The study of medicine, among others, is entirely non-existent.

As for Law and Magistracy, the influence of the Seyyids is a powerful curb on any oppression by the Muqaddams or tribal lords, and in the Hadhramaut there is a sufficiently independent magistrature. The Seyyids have the greatest interest in seeing that the Mussulman law is honoured and respected, because the law and religion are one: the decadence of religion would inevitably bring about the loss of that superstitious respect which the people have for them as descendants of the Prophet.

Each town or village of any importance has a *Qādhi*, with a sub-Qādhi for the country district round about. The Qādhis are nominated by the Muqaddams, but the latter consult the Seyyids and renowned savants before fixing on their choice; sub-Qādhis are nominated by the Qādhis. The Qādhis have both civil and criminal jurisdiction, and base their decisions on the works of jurists of the Shafei rite. Judgements must be drawn up in writing and signed and sealed by the Qādhi who has delivered them, but can only be put into execution on authorization by the Muqaddam, who, however, uses his veto but rarely. The jurisdiction of the sub-Qādhis is limited to marriage and other acts of family life, the majority of the inhabitants of the country rarely having recourse to the judge in their other affairs. Differences between persons of the same family are in general adjusted by the Abu, and differences between persons belonging to different families by the Muqaddam. In the latter cases, failing accord, justice is settled

5 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM21



Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court. 778 796 782 792 [21 T21]

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer. 778 735

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed. 693 671 [692]

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of 671 693 577 696

Hamilton G-S (no date) 1943 MM2 Hofmann + MM2



tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class. The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

mitted to it by a Magistrate and shall, when so taking cognisance of any offence, follow the procedure prescribed by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the trial of warrant cases by Magistrates. 648 671x 692

(b) Save as hereinafter provided, no appeal shall lie from any order of any Sessions Judge.

(c) Trials before the Court of Session may, in the discretion of the Sessions Judge, be without jury or the aid of assessors.

(d) In cases under Regulation IV of 1901, no sentence of death passed by an Assistant Resident shall be carried out unless and until it is confirmed by the Political Resident. 648 671x 681 692

(e) In cases under other acts, no sentence of death passed by any Court shall be carried out unless and until it is confirmed by the Governor of Bombay.

(f) All sentences of imprisonment passed by an Assistant Resident for a term exceeding one year shall be submitted for confirmation to the Political Resident.

In any case in which an Assistant Resident passes a sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding six months, an appeal shall be to the Political Resident.

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No. 368-E.B., dated the 1st February, 1907.—In exercise of the powers conferred by the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following Orders:— Constitution of Criminal Courts. 648 671x 693

23: British Gov't. G-5 (1877-1937) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## PART II.

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For the purposes of the exercise of criminal jurisdiction as regards the Aden Protectorate :—

1. The Political Resident and, with the sanction of the Political Resident in writing, the Assistant Resident for the time being of Aden shall exercise the powers of District Magistrates and Sessions Judges as described in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, and of Deputy Commissioners or Sessions Judges under the Frontier Murderous Outrages Regulation, 1901, as applied by this notification.

2. If in any case in which the complainant (if any) and the accused person or all the accused persons are not British subjects, the Court deems it expedient for political reasons to decline to exercise the power so conferred on it, it shall be in the discretion of the Court to do so.

3. The Political Resident and Assistant Residents for the time being at Aden are hereby appointed to be Justices of the Peace within the Aden Protectorate.

4. The High Court of Judicature at Bombay shall be the Court to which European British subjects charged in Aden with any offence (other than an offence punishable with death) which a Justice of the Peace shall not be competent to punish, and there shall be sufficient grounds for committing him for trial, such European British subject shall be committed to the Court of the Resident, and shall be tried by the Resident.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## Justice.

In Mukalla there are three courts. (1) The Sharia court, which is presided over by three Qadhis. It has also an appellate jurisdiction from other Qadhis in the country. They try all cases according to Sharia law and certain criminal cases are therefore excepted from their jurisdiction, as mutilation and some other Quranic penalties have been abolished. (2) The Hakm as Suq, which is presided over by a police magistrate who is also in charge of the slave police. He tries small cases and can imprison up to twelve days. These sentences are served in the court building which is also the station of the slave police. (3) The Hakm ad Dola, the *Wazir's* court. Here are heard important criminal cases, important civil cases, bankruptcy cases, and cases in which there is not sufficient evidence for the Sharia court. 695 692

There is no commercial court, but if a merchant goes bankrupt his creditors among the merchants gather together to arrange a settlement. In important civil cases the *Wazir* selects a committee of merchants as assessors who examine the cases and report to him. There are no pleaders before the courts. Provincial governors have jurisdiction to settle all cases in their *liwas* but there is an appeal to Mukalla. There are Qadhis at the bigger towns of the interior such as Shibam. 426 692 635

## Police.

### Organization.

In Mukalla the total strength of the uniformed police is 60; that of the plain clothes slave police is 33. The uniform consists of a dark blue tunic and shorts with a leather belt bearing a brass buckle in front, and a red fez. They are equipped with rifles, but only the actual sentry outside a station carries one. The slave police wear a police belt over their ordinary clothes and carry daggers. There is a Jemadar, one Havildar, one Corporal, and two Lance-Corporals. The headquarters of the uniformed police are at the Customs end of the bazaar. There are several other small police-stations in the town. 625

### Distribution.

In Mukalla 30 uniformed police are on duty by day and 10 at night, these latter being reinforced by 20 plain clothes slave police. The uniformed police man the Customs where a detachment is on duty for seven days, each man being relieved every 24 hours. Thirteen of the slave police are on duty at the station of the Hakm as Suq. The peculiar function of the slave police is to deal with armed offenders. Otherwise both bodies of police appear to have the usual functions. There are a few police in Shihr but none in the interior.

## Crime.

From information obtained it would appear that murder cases are now practically non-existent. Murderers are executed with a dagger plunged into the supra sternal notch. 682

21: Thomas T-3 (no date) 14732 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant
782 blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hens' [784
eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema 609]
to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

## LAW AND DISPUTES.

671 As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al hauz*, or a code of ancient sanctions, is the
692 law. The *hauz* is a wise man of the tribe. Not infrequently his is an hereditary office, occasionally the *hauz* is the shaikh of his tribe. Shara law, i.e. holy law in Oman and elsewhere, is the law of the coastal townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony, and sometimes of divorce and inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. That is the province of the *hauz*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara or holy law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed even along the coast by government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing
683 evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye-for-an-eye idea,
● 696 the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali of Dhufar as having taken place last year is as follows: "X" was going on a journey into the "Y's" country and took a *rabia* from "Y." On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and "X" found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. A *hauz* heard the case and decided that "Y," the innocent party but member of the offending tribe, must submit to the infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

671 In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless
692 the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *hauz*, when he would receive from the offenders
721 *Laum-al-wijh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at 400 dollars. Murder, which in Arab tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood-money which varies between
682 400 and 1,000 dollars (or rather its equivalent in kind), in these Qara mountains is assessed
628 prodigiously high, in theory something like 5,000 dollars, which may take a lifetime to pay off, but is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom, must bear the brunt.

concerned, in the same manner and to the same extent as if such matters had arisen in the Colony. 648 671x 692

Deputies.

10. In the event of the Governor having occasion at any time to be absent for a short period from the seat of Government, or in the exercise or discharge of any powers or duties conferred or imposed upon him by virtue of his office to visit any neighbouring territories, he may by an Instrument under the Public Seal appoint any person to be his Deputy within the Protectorate or any part thereof during such temporary absence, and in that capacity to exercise, perform and execute for and on behalf of the Governor during such absence, but no longer, all such powers and authorities vested in the Governor as shall in and by such Instrument be specified and limited, but no others. 648 671x

Every such Deputy shall conform to and observe all such instructions as the Governor shall from time to time address to him for his guidance. The power and authority of the Governor shall not by the appointment of a Deputy as aforesaid be abridged, altered or in any way affected otherwise than His Majesty may at any time hereafter think proper to direct.

Appointment of Officers.

11. The Governor may constitute and appoint all such necessary officers as may be lawfully constituted or appointed by His Majesty, all of whom, unless otherwise provided by law, shall hold their offices during His Majesty's pleasure.

Pardon.

12. When any offence has been committed for which the offender may be tried by any of His Majesty's courts having jurisdiction within the Protectorate, the Governor may, as he shall see occasion, in His Majesty's name and on His Majesty's behalf, grant a pardon to any accomplice in such offence who shall give such information as shall lead to the conviction of the principal offender or of any one of such offenders if more than one; and further may grant to any offender convicted in any such court a pardon, either free or subject to lawful conditions, or any remission of the sentence passed on such offender, or any respite of the execution of such sentence, for such period as the Governor thinks fit, and may remit any penalties or forfeitures due to His Majesty. 648 671x 696

## VI.—Orders under Acts of the Governor General in Council.

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No. **1431-I**, dated 27th April, 1893.—Whereas a capital sentence is occasionally passed by a British Court exercising in or with respect to territory beyond the limits of British India jurisdiction which the Governor General in Council has in such territory; and whereas there may be in such territory no secure place for the confinement of a prisoner under sentence of death, or no suitable appliances for his execution in a decent and humane manner;

**Execution of capital sentences in British India.**

In exercise of the powers conferred by sections 4 and 5 of the Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition Act (XXI of 1879), and of all other powers enabling him in this behalf, the Governor General in Council is pleased to direct as follows:—

1. When any person is sentenced to death by a British Court in the exercise of such jurisdiction as is referred to in the first paragraph of the preamble to this notification, and, in the opinion of the Court, such sentence should for any such reason as is referred to in the second paragraph of the said preamble be executed in British India, the Court shall issue its warrant for such execution to the Superintendent or Keeper of a jail in British India, and shall in such warrant prescribe, as nearly as may be, the place in British India where such Superintendent or Keeper is to cause the execution to be carried out.

2. The jail in British India to which the Court may send its warrant under the provisions of this notification shall be such as the Governor General in Council, or a Local Government authorized by him in this behalf, may by general or special order direct.

3. Every warrant for the execution of a sentence of death to be issued by a Court under the provision of this notification shall be in the form set forth in the schedule hereto annexed.

**Schedule.**

*Form of Warrant.*

To

The Superintendent or Keeper of the Jail at
in British India.

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Whereas at a trial held on the day of 189 , at (name of place), in (name of territory), before me A.B. (name of Judge), being the presiding officer of a British Court exercising in (or with respect to) territory beyond the limits of British India, jurisdiction which the Governor General in Council has in such territory, C.D. (name of prisoner) was duly convicted of the offence of culpable homicide amounting to murder and sentenced to suffer death (S and the S to be omitted when sentence said sentence has does not require confirmation been confirmed by E.F. (name of authority). ) ;

And whereas there is in (name of territory) no secure place for the confinement of a prisoner under sentence of death (or no suitable appliances for the execution of a person under sentence of death in a decent and humane manner) ;

And whereas this Court is of opinion that for the reasons aforesaid the said sentence should be executed in British India ;

This is to authorize and require you, the said Superintendent (or Keeper), being a Superintendent (or Keeper) of a jail specified in an order under section 2 of Act No. V of 1893, passed by the Governor General of India in Council, to receive the said C.D. (prisoner's name) into your custody in the said jail together with this warrant, and there him safely to keep until the time hereinafter appointed, and then to carry the said sentence into execution by causing the said C.D. (prisoner's name) to be hanged by the neck until he be dead, at (time and place of execution), and to return this warrant to this Court with an endorsement certifying that the sentence has been executed.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this day of 189 .

Seal.

(Signature)

In Bombay.
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No. 4220, dated the 3rd July, 1895.—Whereas in exercise of the powers conferred by section 2 of Act V of 1893 (being an Act to legalise in certain cases the execution, within British India, of capital sentences which have been passed by British Courts exercising in or with respect to territory beyond the limits of British India jurisdiction which the Governor General in Council has in such territory), and in order to give effect to the provisions of the notification by the Government of India in the Political Department, No. 1431-I., dated the 27th April, 1893, the Governor General in Council has been pleased, by letter No. 3080-I., dated 2nd September, 1893, to authorise the Governor of Bombay in Council such Courts may send their warrants for the execution of capital sentences under the provisions of the said Act and notification, and to order the Superintendents of all such jails respectively to execute all sentences of death in respect whereof warrants may be issued to them respectively by any such Courts as aforesaid.

Now the Governor in Council is pleased, in pursuance of the said authorisation—

(a) to direct that the jail specified in respect of each Court mentioned in the table hereinbelow contained shall be the jail within the territories subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor of Bombay in Council to which such Court may send such warrants as aforesaid; and

(b) to order that the Superintendent of every such jail shall, on receipt of such warrants from a Court hereby authorised to send such warrant to such jail, cause the execution to be carried out therein in the same manner and subject to the same conditions in all respects as if it were a warrant duly issued under the provisions of section 381 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882.

## TABLE.

| From the Court of the Political Resident, Aden, | To the Prison at Aden. |
|---|---|
| * * | * * |
| * * | * * |

**Prisons.**

697 In Mukalla there is one prison, and "lock-ups" in the police stations. There are said to be 20 warders in the prison who wear a khaki uniform, but I only saw six. The prison is in the charge of the Commander of the Forces. On inspection the only prisoners seen were political, some 30 men and boys who were hostages from the various tribes and who are changed every month.

The headquarters of the uniformed police contains two cells where short sentences are served and remand prisoners detained. It was said that prisoners were not kept there for more than 24 hours.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## SOCIAL SERVICES IN QU'AITI TERRITORY.

### Health Administration.

743 There is only one Government medical institution and that is the dispensary in Mukalla.[1] It is in charge of a Hindu doctor assisted by a compounder and three dressing boys. The doctor took over his duties in April 1934, and from the 3rd of that month to the end of September he had treated 1,575 patients. In the month of October the number was 147. He performs only very minor operations and the figures include eight or ten such cases. Most of the doctor's work is in the dispensary itself, but he is sometimes called in for domiciliary visits. The dispensary is open from 8 to 12 in the morning and from 5 to 8 in the evening for urgent cases.

164 The principal ailments are diseases of the eye, eye trachoma being very prevalent, and rheumatic affections of the joints. There is no malaria in Mukalla, but cases come in from outside. The doctor possesses no microscope, but he has not traced any cases of ankylostomiasis or bilharzia. There is practically no syphilis, but gonorrhoea is fairly common. Constipation is chronic. From April to October he had used almost two hundredweight of magnesium sulphate. Tropical ulcers are fairly common.

164 751 Mr. H. M. Heald in his report on the agricultural resources says "Smallpox seemed to be the most fatal disease in the interior, and in some years whole villages were wiped out; I was informed that for generations they have had a system of inoculation performed by taking the blood from a child with the disease and rubbing it in a cut made on the arm, generally between the shoulder and elbow. In Mukalla, being the seaport connected with the east, they sometimes had plague, but as far as I could gather they had been free for a number of years."

743 In addition to his dispensary work the doctor is in charge of the Port Health work for ships and dhows, and has recently been appointed medical officer of health in the town.

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[1] There may now be a dispensary operating in Shihr.

Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



date the Dathina Unit, and a portion of the Amiri force, attended a course of instruction in Headquarters. It was not possible to make a start in the training of Tribal Guards until the alteration referred to above had been finished in the camp, and it is hoped to continue these courses in the future. 704 712

*Posts*

Detachments of Government Guards were stationed in the following districts:

Dathina: Mudia, Am Quleita, Am Khudeira.
Abyan: Jaar, Al Husn, Ba Teis.
Subeihi: Tor al Baha, Am Farsha, Am Riga.
Dhala: Safra, Dhala and Jihaf.
Beihan: Nejd al Mezar, Beihan, Asylan.
Ahwar: Ahwar and Masana.

Apart from operations against Ami Haidara in February the Government Guards were not engaged in any military action throughout the year. On several occasions it became necessary to send reinforcements to districts to meet emergencies, the most notable being the despatch of a strong force to Abyan in the summer months to protect the Agricultural Department's scheme against sabotage by followers of the Lower Yafai Sultan.

Following the murder of the Political Officer, Northern Area, a detachment of Government Guards accompanied the force sent to investigate the case and later completed a march through southern Amiri territory.

No casualties were suffered during the year.

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate, security is primarily a responsibility of the states themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces. The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion under the control of the British Agent performed their security functions with credit.

### PRISONS

There is no recognised Prisons Service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of states have their own state prisons which are supervised by the political staff. 677

## Chapter 10: Communications

In the Western Aden Protectorate road communications remained difficult, although motor transport continued to operate to Taiz and Hodeidah. 494

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate in February British Overseas Airways Corporation closed the Karachi route which they had been using from Aden, via Riyan. This caused some dismay in Mukalla, where there is 509

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



PRISONS

There is no recognised Prisons Service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of States have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff. 697

## Chapter 10: Communications

In the Western Aden Protectorate increasing use is being made of motor vehicles throughout the Protectorate, and, although no first-class roads exist, regular traffic is maintained on the following routes: 494

| | | | Miles |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman | to | Lahej | 16 |
| " " | " | Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " | " | Musaimir | 61 |
| " " | " | Dhala | 88 |
| Aden | " | Zinjibar | 40 |
| " | " | Ja'ar | 50 |
| " | " | Al Husn | 56 |
| Zinjibar | " | Dirjaj | 17 |
| " | " | Sheikh Abdullah | 6 |
| " | " | Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra | " | Am Surra | 30 |
| " | " | Lodar | 50 |
| " | " | Mudia | 68 |
| " | " | Am Quleita | 78 |
| " | " | Ahwar | 76 |
| " | " | Irqa (E. Aden Prot.) | 48 |

A regular air service by B.O.A.C. was maintained during the summer months between Aden and Mukeiras, mainly for transporting vegetables for the Aden Market. Other existing landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala and Beihan. 509

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate B.O.A.C. resumed its services in the spring, but suspended them again in November. Ethiopian Air Lines ceased operating in the spring when their licence expired. There was still no regular steamer service, although the number of weird craft passing as steamers which called at Mukalla increased considerably.

## Chapter 11: Geography and Climate

SITUATION AND AREA

The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sul- 131 [631]

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-8 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



342 insulation against the heat. Roofs are universally flat, and used for the recreation of the women, who keep purdah, and for sleeping in the summer.

342 The farm-house of the tribesmen is little removed from its earlier function of a fort, and even in large towns it is unusual for the ground
531 floor (often used as a stable) to have more than loop-holes, windows being reserved for the upper storeys. But the upper part of a house is frequently decorated with whitewash, and in some cases most intricate and delicate patterns are created in plaster-work and whitewash, occasionally touched with blue or other colours. Sanitation is primitive.

342 The cities of the Hadhramaut have tall mud-brick buildings, nearly every house in Shibam is from five to seven storeys high, and the wealthy Seiyids and Sultans live in veritable palaces which are remarkable not only for their size and cost but for their taste and beauty.

# Chapter 9: Law and Order

## JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (*a*) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts.

625 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate security is primarily a responsibility of the states themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces.

## PRISONS

697 There is no recognised prison service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of states have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff in controlled areas.

625 WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE SECURITY FORCES

*Government Guards*

The establishment was as follows:

| *British Officers* | *Arab Officers* | *Other Ranks* | *Specialists, etc.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 18 | 582 | 82 |

Posts were maintained in the Dhala district at Dhala, Safra, Jabel, Jihaf, Lazaric and Awabil; in Abyan district at Ja'ar (Khanfar), El Husn, Ba Teis and Hitat; in Ahwar district at Ahwar and El Oqma; in Beihan at Beihan, El Ain, Asailan, Najd Maizar and Najd Merqad; in Dathina district at Am Surra, Mudia, Am Khudeira and Am Quleita; at Thumeir in the Quteibi area and at Mahfad and El Irq in the Manqas district.

*Internal transit dues.*

651 *Mukalla and Shihr.*

486 On every loaded camel leaving ... ... ... Re.1.

On every camel man[1] ... ... ... ... As.2.

*Shibam.*

On every *Bahar* brought in from Qu'aiti ports or territory ... ... ... ... ... ... $ ½.

On every *Bahar* from other places in Aden Protectorate or from Yemen ... ... ... $1¼.

*Passport Fees (compulsory).*

On every passport ... ... ... ... ... Rs.2

Photograph by state photographer ... ... Rs.3

## Defence.

### Regular Army.

704 The strength of the regular army is as follows: one Subedar, who apparently knows no drill and only appears in uniform on very special occasions; four Jemadars, of whom two are ex-Yemen Infantry officers, and two are Indians, one of them being a Pathan in command of the artillery; 350 to 400 Yafa'is, and 250 slaves.

The non-commissioned ranks are, Havildar, Naik and Lais Naik. The Yafa'is receive nine dollars a month, and the slaves one to three dollars as pocket-money, but they are much better off than the Yafa'is for they receive regular rations for themselves and every member of their families. They are provided with wives, and given milk, which is scarce, for their wives and children. The 702 cadet corps, already referred to, ensures a constant supply of disciplined recruits.

713 The force is armed with every sort of rifle, but principally Martini Henrys. They are said to keep them perfectly clean inside and out. There is a "range" behind the town. The regulars 714 are all provided with a khaki uniform, shirt and shorts, and a 708 red fez, but the uniform is not worn except by the guards at the [illegible]ce and on special occasions. There are said to be parades every 623 two days. There is a band consisting of 14 who wear khaki uniforms and scarlet glengarries. The regulars for the most part are stationed in Mukalla, but there are a few in Shihr and Reida.

### Irregulars.

704 There are said to be 1,000 to 1,200 irregulars officered by eleven 701 *Muqaddams* who receive 35 to 40 dollars a month. Each *Muqaddam* has a paid *Muawin* who receives 20 to 25 dollars, and each man is said to receive seven dollars a month. They are stationed in the districts. In Shibam there are 40 Yafa'is and 60 slaves. There are about 500 Yafa'is in the neighbourhood of Shibam who are [635] paid but allowed to work their own fields. The Sultan's representative in the Shibam province is in command of the troops.

[1] Members of certain tribes are exempted from this tax.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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438

### Tribes connected with the 'Awaliq.

| Tribe. | Clan. | Places. |
|---|---|---|
| Al Bureik ... ... | Al Bin Bureik<br>Al Nabahîn | Shabwa. |
| Al Karab ... ... | — | The neighbourhood of Rakhan and further to the west. |
| Al Hammâm ... | — | The desert of Nisab. |

These tribes, which are not really Hadhramaut tribes but are included on account of their dependence on Shibam for a market, are practically independent though very nominally the Al Bureik and the Al Karab are under the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh, and the Al Hammâm are more or less under the authority of the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan.

The Al Bureik are Sheikhs, and at one time the Al Bin Bureik were masters of Shihr but now the whole of the small tribe are settled in Shabwa.

[631] The Qu'aiti has "B" agreements with the 'Awaliq generally.

619
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631

### The Hadhrami Yafa'is and their Sections.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Al Dhubi ... | Al al Bakri | Zarqâna and Bi Bakr | 25 |
| | Bin Dâûd and Al 'Afif | Husên | 25 |
| | Al al Hadhâriya | As Sâha | 20 |
| Al Maunata | Al Qu'aita | Al 'Iqad | 75 |
| | Al 'Ali al Hâj | As Sâha | 50 |
| | Al al Hadâdin | Hadba and Al Ghalîn | 20 |
| | Al al Jahâwira | ...s Sâha | 20 |
| | Al ash Sheikh 'Ali Al 'Ab bin Ahmed. | 'Ardh Mazrûr | 60 |
| | Al ash Sheikh 'Ali Al Salim bin 'Ali. | Hawwila | 50 |
| | Bin 'Ali Jâbir. | Khashdamir | 80 |
| | | Al Fardh | 100 |
| Beni 'Ardh | | | |
| Al Rashîd ... | — | Hautat Jâbir | 15 |
| Al an Nuqabâ ... | — | Bakria | 15 |
| Al al Madhâbina ... | — | Al 'Arda | 20 |
| Al Beni Naqib ... | — | Al 'Uqda | 20 |
| Al Ahmed ... | — | Duqîqa | 35 |
| Al Ana'd ... | — | Al Khartîba | 20 |
| Al Jabri ... | — | Hasan | 25 |
| Al Bal'ala ... | — | Jiffera | 50 |
| | | | 775 |

[712
701] Haura, Al Qatn and Shibam have garrisons of Yafa'is. At the first of these places I saw a small fort at the south of the town occupied by five Yafa'i soldiers, and there are probably more. Shibam has 40 Yafa'i soldiers, and the number round Qatn and Shibam is said to be all together about 500 armed men. Those actually employed in garrisons are paid, but the other irregulars only receive pay if called up for service. The Qu'aiti has an "A" agreement with the Hadhrami Yafa'is and their sections. The Al

1 [See page 92 so-called 116 - - Hml yst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1



In 1876 the Hadhramis were described (Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa*) as being the largest slave holders in Zanzibar and it is stated that they were entirely dependent upon them for their livelihood. It was, in fact, amongst the slaves in the household of a Hadhrami living in the quarter of Malindi that the great cholera epidemic, which subsequently swept over the island and thence to East Africa, began in 1869.

But it was not only in trading that the Hadhramis occupied themselves. From at least the first half of the nineteenth century until comparatively recent times many of them entered the service of the Sultans as soldiers and Government officials (especially treasurers, clerks, Liwalis and Qadhis). Guillain, writing in 1856, says that the Sultan maintained a fairly large number of Hadhramis in the garrisons of Africa and Omān, while in 1877, at the time when Lieutenant (later General) Lloyd Matthews was called in by Sultan Seiyid Barghash to reorganise his army, the Seiyid's forces consisted almost entirely of Persians and Hadhramis (Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*, 1905). In modern times the Hadhramis have maintained their reputation as soldiers, for a large number from Zanzibar joined the Arab Rifles during the Great War. Guillain also mentions that Hadhramis were very largely employed as porters ("*hamalis*") and estimated their floating population in Zanzibar at three or four hundred. In addition, Shihiris were employed for many years as captains and officers in the Sultans' ships.

**Vital Statistics.**

The 1931 Census gives the total Hadhrami[1] population of the Protectorate as 2,797 made up as follows :—

| | *Zanzibar Island.* | *Pemba Island.* |
|---|---|---|
| Zanzibar Town and Native Quarter | 1,313 | 1,333 |
| Districts ... ... ... ... | 151 | |
| | 1,464 | 1,333 |
| Total for Protectorate ... ... ... | | 2,797 |

Of the population in the Island of Zanzibar, 621 are recorded as having been born in the Protectorate and 843 elsewhere. Corresponding figures for the Island of Pemba are not given. It seems clear, however, that the returns are inaccurate for, by common consent, it is not likely that the population in Pemba exceeded two or three hundred (see also 1924 Census, in the Appendix to this note). It should be remembered that as their women rarely emigrate, Hadhramis who settle in the islands mostly marry local

[1] Both in the 1924 and the 1931 Census Reports the only relevant classifications used are "Arabs" and "Shihiris." As, however, the term "Shihiri" when used in Zanzibar frequently denotes the up-country native as well as the coastal inhabitant, it is assumed that the term, as used in the Reports, includes all natives of the Hadhramaut.

Diagrams G-5 (1934-38)1945 MMZ Hadhramaut MMZ



the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers. 647

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000. 651 652

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few. 579 [712 165] 625 721 701 643 619 728 [652]

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government. 619

[1] About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new Militia Company and the old ones were pensioned off. 567

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## ORGANIZATION OF THE RESIDENCY AND METHODS USED

After persuading the tribes to make the general truce for three years, 647
I turned my attention to Government organization. I had hoped at first 648
that it would not be necessary to have more than three European assistants, two political and one military, but the burden of work became so heavy that by the beginning of the war I think there were eight European officers working in the Hadhramaut. Owing to the general anti-foreigner feeling [609]
I thought it better that these officers should belong to the Residency staff as assistants to the adviser and that they should not have executive authority, and I told them to regard themselves rather as men with oil cans, who saw that the machinery was working, than as part of the machinery itself. Furthermore I felt sure that the actual responsibility must remain in the hands of the local Government. I believed, and I am sure that events have proved me right, that if you give people responsibility and make them exercise it they are eventually able to do so fairly effectively. You begin by collecting a group of what are in effect pictures labelled as heads of departments and in due course they come, like Galatea, to life. This rather extensive employment of Europeans did not turn out very successfully and, in 1942, it was approved that I might reduce my European assistants to two and engage trained orientals to instruct the local Government staff in the conduct of bedouin affairs, district administration, finance, medical, educational, agricultural, military and police work. Not all these posts have yet been filled owing to the difficulty of finding qualified candidates but there are now Transjordanis holding the posts of Bedouin Affairs Assistant and Police Assistant, a Hadhrami seiyid who is a Major in the Hyderabad military forces and a Punjabi Mussulman as Military Assistants, and a Sudani as Educational Assistant.

The functions of the Residency are advice, instruction and inspection. 648
As regards instruction the Residency runs a military school which is 647
attended by officers and non-commissioned officers of all the forces, and 871
promotion in the forces cannot be had without a certificate from it. It runs courses for teachers, courses for administrative candidates for employment as district officers, and police courses. Other courses are obtained by sending candidates to Aden, for example for training as dispensers, and by sending boys for education to the Sudan.

Most Government departments were in their beginning practically directed by Residency staff. When they are able to stand sufficiently on their own feet, the Residency withdraws and leaves them entirely to their own heads and the State Secretary.

Some things, however, are paid for by His Majesty's Government and 648
are under Residency control. The most important of these is the Hadhrami 701
Bedouin Legion. It is modelled as far as possible on Brigadier Glubb's Desert Patrol, which he kindly enabled me to see in 1938, and he generously provided Arab officers for it. The bedouins were quite unaccustomed to 701
any sort of military service and the force experienced ups and downs for 702

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 701 648

Glubb, said in order not to have to use it). In our area we owe a great deal to the R.A.F.: much of the improved security in the Hadhramaut is due to the presence of an R.A.F. station near Mukalla and to the new local forces. The R.A.F. have been particularly good in political work as opposed to punitive work. Not only have they shown the flag regularly, taken the sick to hospital, carried doctors about and, lately, provided a whole flight for the exclusive work of flying grain to famine areas, but in peace-time they have often made friendly social contacts and given and taken hospitality in a spirit which has made them very welcome visitors. I am sure that friendly social intercourse between garrisons abroad and the local population in peace-time, when there is time for it, goes a long way to reduce the possible need for armed intervention. I am not sure how far such contacts are officially encouraged but perhaps more could be done in that way.

My conclusions are:

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(1) There is a type of backward territory in the Middle East in which for reasons of climate, soil, nature of population and politics, colonial administration in the usual sense of the word is inapplicable.

(2) That neither of the systems of colonial administration known as direct rule and indirect rule are suitable in such countries as these. Even in indirect rule the person who has the final authority and responsibility in a country is the Governor and under him his provincial and district commissioners. In Arab countries final responsibility must rest with the ruler and his Government, and the adviser must draw his authority from them. The responsibility of the Government supplying the adviser ends with providing the best officer available and withdrawing him if he is not suitable.

(3) That the best way of dealing with these territories is by a system of loose political control and/or advice which is neither direct nor indirect rule nor complete abstention.

(4) That you cannot expect people to act responsibly if you do not give them full responsibility. In countries that are as hard as the Hadhramaut and have as few economic resources, the only hope of salvation lies in the people being kept fit to look after themselves.

(5) That foreigners, working as advisers or political officers concerned with the internal affairs of countries which are suspicious of external interference and are independently minded, must work and live as part of the people and consider things from the point of view of the people. They can be sure that by serving the interests of those among whom they work in this way they are also best serving the interests of their own country. A political officer must be able to interpret the people among whom he is working to his own Government and also be able to interpret his own Government to the people. The first requirement is often the more difficult.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



701 the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts
702 in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The
[743] force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making.
875 The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate
758 an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys; district schools have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dis-
731 pensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these
657 places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

871 A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school.
759 A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

000 So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their
[273] request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

609 As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a com-
771 munity which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was
648 always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my
000 duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Government and beduin. Many beduin tribes who were inveterate foes of the Qu'aitis have now declared permanent peace with the Government and said they are "sons of government." The State Government has now a beduin affairs department staffed entirely by local tribesmen, and there is a system of tribal courts. There are many tribesmen in Government service, and the greater number of the soldiers and police are now tribesmen and beduin. In the old days, Hadhrami tribesmen were hardly ever employed in Government and there were very few in the forces. The only effective soldiers were Yafa'is, irregular mercenaries and slaves. Even the Government slaves have now disappeared. There is an African company in the regular army which consists of ex-slaves and Somalis and is employed on guarding an R.A.F. station, and others are employed as Government servants on the same footing as Arabs; the old slaves have been pensioned. All soldiers and police are taught to read and write, and by passing examinations in the military school can and do secure promotion. Enlistment is popular now because of the amenities provided and because a soldier can definitely expect to be more fitted for civil life when he leaves the forces. The status of a military life is very definitely advanced.

Another thing that attracts attention is the development in education. The coastal elementary schools have 1,700 boys in them instead of 300, and the education department is rapidly extending over the interior. There is an intermediate boarding school for 80 boys which opened last year. There is a boarding school attached to the Hadhrami Beduin Legion with 100 beduin boys in it, and another with 24 beduin girls. There are several town girls' schools, the biggest and best being in Mukalla with 150 girls, who learn not only to read and write, but to sew, embroider, wash, and cook. A most interesting experiment has lately been started with a whole village organized as a school, where 300 boys and girls of the serf class—a class which works hard but does very little thinking for itself—are being trained to run their own village and to learn various industries and crafts. Teachers of the Mukalla Government and other volunteers are also teaching adults of the serf class to read and write the language they speak and trying to induce in them some public health consciousness.

On the medical side a hospital is being built in Mukalla, and the sanitary state of the town—which may shortly have a municipality—has been greatly improved.

Of old, Government was mainly carried on by a handful of officials with a Sultan generally in India, but the present Sultan has spent most of his reign in his state and has a state council of officials and unofficials to help him. The executive work of Government is in charge of a state secretary and twenty organized departments.

In the Kathiri State progress has not been nearly so spectacular. The revenue is much smaller and the Wadi Hadhramaut is so divided by the jealousies of Sultans and tribesmen, and handicapped by the unwillingness or inability of the bulk of the seiyids to get together and co-operate, that the Government is not nearly so alive. There is, however, a state secretary at Seiyun and a good deal of the work of a government has been organized.

[Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

10: Hutchison U-3 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

701 DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

579 721 643 Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

648 728 Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

648 At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

185 625 701 From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls. [871]

113 * Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000.

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambīyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870.

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamīs*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turban-wise round his head.

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This,

702 taking into consideration rations and clothing, is good money in the
701 Hadhramaut, and is sufficient for a soldier's tobacco and personal needs and to maintain a wife and family. Unlike his British counterpart, he does not have to undergo a rigid medical examination, nor is he likely to suffer from the dentist, but if he should fall ill he is treated by the unit medical orderly or a civilian doctor, and provision is made for his admittance to the civil hospital in Mukalla if need arises.

712 At the end of recruit training a soldier will be sent to one of the posts
701 in the interior, and here the discipline and character-training already undergone will be continued. Some of these posts are sited where desert tracks cross, others near disputed wells or in areas where the tribes have
[342] proved recalcitrant. Sometimes local houses are requisitioned, and as Hadhrami architecture derives from the need for security these high, small-based, mud-brick houses are not unlike forts in themselves. In other localities proper small-scale forts have been built, square in shape and enclosing a well in the courtyard, resembling the smaller Palestine police posts or Arab Legion forts. Usually built with towers at two diagonally opposite corners, they have an imposing entrance gate, storerooms and sleeping quarters below, and above two rooms and a balcony encircling the fort. In commanding position, they would fill admirably the requirements of a producer of the *Beau Geste* type of film. From their posts the H.B.L. patrol on foot, perform guard duties, and if necessary provide escorts. Life in an outpost may appear dull, but reliefs are
[212] regular, and in his spare time a soldier is wise to learn to read and write, as without these accomplishments he is debarred from promotion above the rank of corporal. Any day a row of four or five soldiers may be observed at the unusual task of laborious reading or writing under the guidance of an officer or N.C.O.

701 Generally the presence of soldiers in an area has a deterrent effect on
721 any potential law-breakers or tribal raiders, and by mixing with the local Bedouin, and by reason of being themselves Bedouin, they do much to assist Government by explanation and advice. When trouble does occur, minor operations may have to be undertaken to deal with the offenders. During these infrequent periods the soldier receives his best training, and the prospect of more active duty always appeals to him. Although a natural fighter in his own type of warfare and country, the Bedouin is no match for his brother in the H.B.L., who has the advantage of superior leadership, better weapons, and a plentiful supply of ammunition. The expenditure of rounds, which do not have to be accounted for individually, is one of the soldier's greatest joys and entertainments. It may be won-
[619] dered, if, on occasion, men enlisted from tribes which are hostile to each other carry this enmity with them into the force. Such is not the case, and once in the army they seem to lose their civilian opinions and prejudices and to forget past feuds. However, care is taken that soldiers of a tribe against which force is used are not employed on that task.

702 Militarily speaking, the Hadhrami Bedouin soldier is quick at drill, and, as practically all of them are born with a rifle in their hands, weapon training, even with light machine-guns, comes easily to them. They are not, however, such good shots as might be expected and have a universal
Tendency to fire high.

tendency to fire high. Tactics are simple, usually an advance in strength 725
or the investment or defence of small forts or houses. Any more compli- 703
cated manœuvre involving strict timing or detailed concerted action would
be beyond their capacity at present. They are difficult to control in action,
and in the heat of the moment tend to forget their training and to expose
themselves by not making use of ground and cover, but as their potential
opponents suffer from the same faults this is not so serious as it would
be against more experienced troops. The Bedouin does not favour night-
fighting, but he is expert at moving and taking up position in the dark.
He is willing to follow his officers, and has particular faith in those from 703
the Arab Legion, who in simple fashion he believes must be more com- 609
petent, as they have been brought in from another country. The same
would apply to British officers, provided they understood his language and
customs and accurately gauged his capabilities. Unless equipped with this
knowledge, however, a British officer would find the Bedouin soldier
awkward to handle and disappointing in action.

By showing promise and industry the soldier will gain promotion or 701 ●
can become a specialist such as wireless operator or armourer. At present
the highest rank reached by any is lieutenant; owing to lack of experience,
knowledge, and background, they are not yet suitable for higher rank, but
in time this will be overcome. Part of the remedy may result from the [871]
foundation a few years ago of a Bedouin boys' school in Mukalla. This
worth-while enterprise, sponsored and paid for by His Majesty's Govern-
ment, is of considerable interest, and it is anticipated that ex-pupils will
not only help to fill the ranks of H.B.L. with good material, but that
others, encouraged to further education, will become much-needed
Government servants, teachers and leaders in other walks of life.

There is a cadre of men who have voluntarily remained in the H.B.L.
for longer periods, but after four years or so the average soldier, unless he
has attained rank, will retire. He may ask that his place be taken by his
brother or cousin, as he has liked the life, and his length of voluntary
service speaks for itself. On his return to his tribe he will be an asset to
Government, and his understanding and experience will be of help to
political officers or other Government servants who may have dealings
with his tribe or work to perform in his area. There is no reserve. The
Bedouin in the Protectorate dislikes being tied down to a period of time, [157]
and a reserve as understood in a European army would be impossible to
administer or co-ordinate. But in an emergency many ex-soldiers would
return for temporary service if strongly requested.

Whatever the future may hold, there is no doubt that the Hadhrami
Bedouin Legion performs useful tasks at low costs. It is in no sense
planned as a national army, but in its military and political rôles has fully
justified itself. One hopes that its ties with the Arab Legion will not be
broken and that in the years to come it will attain the prestige and success
in its own area which the Arab Legion enjoys in the Arab world as a
whole.

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I am indebted to Major I. E. Snell, Royal Sussex Regiment, at present 115
seconded as Military Adviser to the British Agent, Mukalla, for certain
facts and technical details used in this article.

epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, 364
according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to 164
see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for 731
rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in 361
its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia 464
and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans. One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors 563
and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily. We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla 180
have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations. The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency, the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish. Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light 373
has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible 701
far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganize and train his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on 517
the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago, for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The 20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, 491
for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hillsides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extraordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the 174
beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which 438

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Masella on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

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*'Azzan, capital of the sultanate of Balhaf*

*The 'aqaba for motors at Tarim*

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settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century Bedr Bu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found; for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Badus keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim Mburuk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dispensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signatories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

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coasted westwards along the line just dividing the desert from the steppe; where the larger wadis run out into the sand there were wide stretches of scattered vegetation which made the land look as if there was a green scum on it.

At the western end of the "island," much broken with gulfs and with small islands lying off it in the desert, the flight turned to the south-west, a little to the west of the point which had been reached on the previous day's reconnaissance, and explored the western part of the Sei'ar country, the territory of the Al Hatim of which Bin Jerbu'a and Bin Mulhi are the chiefs. This is the heart of Reidat as Sei'ar, and turned out to be surprisingly thickly populated and cultivated. On almost every bank of the wadis were villages consisting of the usual type of Hadhrami Badawin conglomerate *dars*, with a tall tower in the centre, and small contiguous quarters, each called a *Beit*, clustered round it. Subsequent flights made this country very familiar, and with the aid of a Sei'ar, one of the most intelligent Badawin guides, I was able to identify almost all these *dars*. On several occasions we flew beyond Reidat as Sei'ar over uninhabited steppe to Husn Al 'Abr, seeing on clear days Shabwa away in the distance.

These reconnaissances seemed to us very interesting, not only politically but geographically, for the watershed and the fall of the land, steep towards the Hadhramaut and gradual towards the sands, were clearly visible. Up on this watershed I recorded altitudes of 3600, while 300 miles to the east Mr. Thomas states that the altitude remained fairly constant at about 950 feet. This northern steppe is bounded on three sides by sand and has cliff-walls all round it, highest on the wadi side and lowest on the northern or desert side. At a conservative estimate in some 20 square miles there are not less than fifty to sixty Sei'ar villages which have scarcely even been visited by Arabs other than the Sei'ar and the Al Ishaq Sheikhs who live among them.

Some time after these reconnaissances my wife and I visited Al 'Abr on the ground, though she in fact went rather farther and drove some 20 miles towards Shabwa, a day and a half's camel ride from Al 'Abr. We have thus seen the whole of the Wadi Hadhramaut from its source to the sea, and the more you see of it the more extraordinary it is, for it must be at least 40 miles from its northern or left to its southern or right banks at Al 'Abr. This of course narrows very rapidly to 4 miles or so at Hemin. It was from Hemin that Seiyid Bubekr and I set out for Al 'Abr, following for a start the tracks which Dr. Pike, on a geological survey, had made in that direction. The tracks made by Mr. Philby had of course disappeared.

Our object was to obtain the looted camels of the Manahile, held by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun of the Sei'ar at Al 'Abr. We had with us the fifteen slave soldiers of the Qu'aiti Regular Army who were to be installed there as a garrison, and so we did not want the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to abscond into the desert with the camels, we had kept our movements secret. Seiyid Bubekr said his sunset prayers at Hemin. The lorries had gone ahead and had made very slow progress as they had had heavy sand to negotiate. It was difficult finding the way in the dark, but we caught them up at half-past eight, and all of us sat down to dine together, just near the village of Ber and under the two mountains called Thaiwain which form a conspicuous landmark from the air for a radius of 30 or 50 miles around. This was 27 miles from Hemin,

443 passed through this unknown world, and the desire and hope, until now cautiously suppressed, grew unconsciously within us, to enter the land that lay behind the town and to learn to know its people.

## 2. THE VIZIER SAYYID ABŪ BAKR BIN ḤUSĒN EL-MIḤḌĀR.

645 We made acquaintance, the morning after our arrival, with
[643] the Vizier, who, in the absence of the Sultan, deals with state affairs. Sayyid Abū Bakr bin Ḥusēn el-Miḥḍār is a man in the prime of life; he is energetic, has a congenial, alert personality, and shows absolutely no sign of opposition to the *Naṣrānīs*, the *Efrendjīs*. The heavy task of governing the Qe-
645 ᶜēṭī Sultanate falls chiefly upon his solid shoulders. His popu-
565 larity is supported doubly by tradition: in the first place, as
175 sayyid he belongs to the class of spiritual and worldly leaders, for he is a direct descendant of the Prophet, and, in the second place, the house of Abū Bakr was, six generations ago, the most influential family of Ḥaḍramaut.[1] In an evil hour, in their struggle against the Bedouin tribes, they called in the help of the Yāfiᶜ, a tribe noted for its fighting qualities. Its Sultan sent help under one Qeᶜēṭī, who, after having delivered the sayyids of the el-Miḥḍār family from their enemies, took the leadership into his own hands. The power of his family expanded. In 1874 the Qeᶜēṭīs asked the British Government in Aden to intervene for the purpose of reaching a settlement in a war, which had arisen over the refusal of the Āl Kathīr to repay a sum of money which had been lent to them. On this occasion Makalla and esh-Shiḥr were, with the help of the British, taken away from the Kathīrī Sultan and handed over to the Qeᶜēṭī, but the family of el-Miḥḍār had remained the leading one of that region.

701 The Vizier declared that he had no objection to our journey
567 into the interior. The route via Wādī Dōᶜan was safe, provided

[1] Bent, op. cit., p. 75; *A Handbook of Arabia*, I. (London, 1920), p. 542 sq.

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that we travelled with an escort of slave soldiers[1] of the *Dōla*.[2]

Nevertheless, as dangers threatened in the Āl Kathīr region, he strongly advised us not to go farther than Shibām and, under no condition, to attempt to return to esh-Shiḥr by way of Terīm. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm was certainly a rich and influential man, but he had no ruling power and could only obtain the favour of the Bedouins by means of money, and could give us no armed protection against them. El-Qeʿēṭī's power was great and a slave soldier of his would be a "flag of protection" for us.

The preparations for our departure would take at least four days, but then we should have reliable guides and good transport. We might make an excursion to esh-Shiḥr during our days of waiting, but it would have to be by way of the sea-coast as the route by the mountains was too tiring — "tiring" in this case meaning "unsafe". The Ḥumūmī tribe had been at war for a long time with el-Qeʿēṭī, and the latter's soldiers are being constantly ambushed and shot down. This even occurs on the coast road. We were quite willing to follow this route although we should have preferred to go one way and to return the other.

### 3. A TRIP TO ESH-SHIḤR VIA SHEHĒR.

The next day the Vizier sent a motor-bus with two drivers and five soldiers for us. We were not to go further that day than Shehēr (little Shiḥr). It was afternoon before we drove out of the very high and strongly fortified and guarded gate of the city.

[1] We saw in Makalla negro soldiers and Arab soldiers from the Yāfiʿ tribe in the hinterland of Aden. The negroes are slaves. Their numbers are decreasing in modern times of anti-slavery action. The Kathīrī Sultans have slave soldiers too, but we saw only a few in their territory.

[2] *Dōla* (دولة) means „dynasty, governing family, kingdom, state". In Ḥaḍramaut people generally speak of the *dōla* in the Qeʿēṭī territory and of the *salṭa* in the Āl Kathīr region.

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000 a good look at the stranger from the flat roof! The roomy, high and well-lighted kitchen is a sign that this house has many inhabitants. Dinner is served on a roof-terrace, after the sayyid and the male members of his household have returned from the *ṣalāt el-ᶜishāʾ* [1] in his own adjacent mosque. The son of the Vizier at Makalla is sent for by his old uncle. We have also a letter for him and he, after having read it, invites us to be his guests on the following day. We accept for breakfast, after which we must go on to our next stopping place, Ṣīf.

Whilst I was making these visits, Von Wissmann had made an excursion via Khurēba, to climb the *ᶜaqaba* which is opposite the spot where we had descended.

361 Khurēba is a little town with a small, narrow bazaar-street
103 and four large, and twenty small mosques. It is the largest and, probably, also the oldest town of Wādī Dōᶜan. As the meaning of Khurēba is "ruins", some geographers [2] have assumed that the original site of the town of Dōᶜan, after which the whole wādī must surely have been named, lay here. We find mention of this town as early as Ptolemy; Pliny speaks of the Toani. [3] The heretical Ibāḍites had their centre here and it is certain that the town was destroyed when they were exterminated.

701 The way by the western *ᶜaqaba* leads to Wādī ᶜAmd. Two fortified towers guard this entrance to Wādī Dōᶜan. These towers are always manned by guards of Yāfiᶜ soldiers as the wādī at this point borders on land outside the Qeᶜēṭī domain.

000 On May 17th our day begins early. We take leave of our Sābānī Bedouins and of Mautor, who takes with him a bag of letters for Makalla. The baggage must be got ready, to go ahead by camel to Ṣīf. Afterwards, in the *maṣnaᶜa*, we bid

104 [1] The late evening ritual prayer.

[2] Cf. M. J. de Goeje, *Hadramaut, Revue Coloniale Internationale*, ii. (1886), p. 106.

[3] Cf. A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern, 1875, p. 163.

342 western importations. Genuine oriental carpets have been
353 replaced in part by others from European factories. The wood-carving is painted. The aristocratic old colours of brown, red and white are crowded out by more glaring and less harmonizing dyes of western manufacture. Coloured glass has been applied as an ornament above the doors and windows. Though the old be more beautiful, the new is more cheerful, lighter and cleaner.

701 A shy relative of the Sultan, of Indian appearance, receives us. Sayyid ʿAluwī had not had our visit announced long enough in advance and, consequently, we took him somewhat by surprise. Our request to take photographs from the roof is complied with. Our host even climbs with us up the many remaining stairs, and he appreciates our unfeigned admiration as we gaze around us over the magnificent country of el-Qaṭn. There is a large grove of date-palms behind the palace. The Sultan's mosque, completely white, stands out finely against the grey-green tops of the palms. Beyond, we see, walled off apart, the large palm-groves and the white country-houses of Yāfiʿ soldiers and officers enriched by service under the Qeʿēṭī Government. Soldiers and officers of former Sultans have been rewarded with grants of land. Some of them have become men of means, and they have founded a whole colony of Yāfiʿ here; they are under the obligation to give their help to the Sultan against his enemies in times of danger. The town, in which are some large, opulent-looking houses, lies close up against the rock-wall. We cannot stay too long on the roof, for, in so doing, we should oblige our host to stand with us in the burning heat of the sun. After Wādī ʿAmd and the journey through plains of loam-hills and sand, and the halting places of Diyār Āl Buqrī and Hēnin, this first acquaintance with the real, true Ḥaḍramaut is certainly a great surprise. Wādī Dōʿan was very beautiful, but this is grander and more spacious. Wādī Ḥaḍramaut reaches a breadth of five miles here.

000 We notice, when passing through the lower floors of the

no poll tax is paid by the population as is the 651
case in Sēwūn and Terīm. A tax of a quarter of a *riyāl*[1] is 643
levied on every camel load that enters the gate of Shibām; also 4 % on sales of houses or land is due to the Sultan. Of the produce of the fields which depend on rain, 1 % is earmarked for the state treasury, *i. e.* the Sultan's pocket. The Government levies no tax on lands that are irrigated by their owners' efforts. The Qeʿēṭī Sultan of Makalla owns much land in his kingdom: his tobacco fields at Ghēl Bā Wazīr, near Sheḥēr, bring in about 30.000 *riyāl* a year, and he owns many palm-groves in Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. Yet the greater part of his income comes from Bombay and Hyderabad, where he has extensive land and house property, and he receives 1500 *rupees* a month from the Niẓām of Hyderabad for his services as commander of the troops.

These great riches of the Qeʿēṭīs are the source of their 643
power. The existence of a central authority is, in spite of many abuses, noticeable in their territory. It makes itself felt whenever urgently necessary and has no difficulty in holding its own against the Āl Kathīr, who are divided amongst themselves and are lacking in strong financial support.

The Sultan of Shibām only receives a salary from the Sultan of Makalla, to whom he is bound by family ties.

The military forces of the Qeʿēṭī consist, in peace time, of 701
5000 soldiers, of whom 2000 are negro slave soldiers. In Shibām only 100 of them are in regular service, whilst some 500 are on reserve in case of need. These latter live, as a rule, in good houses all around el-Qaṭn.

The Sultan estimates the number of souls in Shibām, el-Qaṭn 162
and the villages between them, at 20.000. These are all the inhabitants of the State of Shibām, exclusive, however, of the Bedouin tribes who are allied by treaty with his Government.

We showed Sultan ʿAlī the books about Ḥaḍramaut that we 186
had brought with us and a few English air photographs. It was then apparent how little the ruler and his entourage knew

[1] At the time of our visit a *riyāl* had about the same value as an Indian *rupee*. 435

### 3. A KIND RECEPTION BY A ḤAḌRAMĪ-JAVANESE SHĒKH.

361 Towards eleven o'clock we arrive at es-Sēla, where there are a few tall mud houses but no more palm plantations. Everything is grey-brown again — the soil of the wādī, the houses, 622 the mountain-wall. Shēkh Ḥāmid bin ʿAlī el-Djaʿdī and his brother are the heads of the richest and most prominent family of the village. We had already made acquaintance, at Ḥurēḍa, with these high-spirited young men, whose outward appearance is more Javanese than Arab. They were born in Java of a Javanese mother and were brought up in the beautiful highland of the Preanger district. To Ḥurēḍa, where we met them, they had gone specially to welcome us. The mixture of Arab and Javanese blood has, in this instance, produced men with the proud, beautiful physique of the Arab and the fine, cultivated and modest manners of the Javanese. We are with Dutch subjects here, with whom we feel particularly in 701 sympathy. The armed men of the neighbourhood were 722 summoned to their chiefs' house by a few rifle-shots; one by one they come hurrying, all armed, into the *madjlis*, asking what is the matter. Their minds are set at rest as soon as they are told that it is only a question of doing honour to two guests. Among the soldiers are boys of about twelve years of age; they are reckoned to be full-grown soldiers as soon as they are able to carry a gun. As they sit squatting in the circle, the long, bent points of their *djambīyas* almost stick into their boyish faces. This preparedness for war impresses us and makes us suspect that fighting is of frequent occurrence here, which is indeed the case. Our host tells us that he cannot go outside his house for five minutes without a gun and an armed escort. Only a short time ago his half-brother was shot down beside him whilst they were inspecting their date-gardens; he himself shot down three of their assailants, but the actual culprit got off with a trifling wound in his foot. It is true that peace has just been concluded, but one

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always has to be on one's guard against treachery. In answer to my question whether he likes being here, he replies that he does not. Separated as he is from wife and children in Java, he is only here to defend his family's honour and position, and as soon as he can be spared he will return to his mother-land. 701 722

The master of the house himself conducts us to a place where Ḥimyaritic characters have been scratched on a rock and where are also as many as five long, though fairly narrow, basins beside the path. They were, of course, dry for the time being, but appear to be quite serviceable, and were plastered on the inside with a kind of mortar. 212 172

## 4. THE TOWN OF 'AMD, DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS AND HARD DECEPTIONS.

The way continues for the greater part over the boulders in the *sēl*-bed, which evoke many a groan from our camels. The beasts are weary from the long march in the hot wādī, yet we are ready to stake everything on the attempt to reach ᶜAmd before the day ends so that, in the evening, negotiations for our further journey may be started, and then perhaps we may have the luck to get off again after no more than a day's delay. To our pleasant surprise, the great man of Wādī ᶜAmd, Shēkh ᶜAwaḍ bin Saᶜūd bin Shamlān el-Djaᶜdī, overtakes us on our way. He is a tough greybeard, who is still lithe enough to mount onto his camel's back while it is standing. His greeting is friendly and he insists on my mounting his camel. The Shēkh's right hand, Sālim bin Salīm el-Djaᶜdī, a very loquacious man with a heart-rending voice, sits behind me. We go on at a trot. As we approach ᶜAmd the date plantations grow thicker. It is already dark when we pass the big village of Ḥebeb. Our caravan has got somewhat separated through my riding-companion's insistence on keeping our racing camel perpetually at the trot. I am carried along helplessly and in the darkness it is quite an art to keep my seat 493

[illegible]

Y 241 318 378 to draw the bucket up and let it down again. The water is then emptied into a raised channel of clay and can be diverted into the appropriate field at will.

Y 361 342 136 Villages are built on the mountains alongside the valley. The village shown in the illustration opposite is built on the very top of a 3000-foot peak, Jebel Mishwara. The houses are like the most romantic of castles set on tall pinnacled heights over the narrow wadi-bed. In the less frequented valleys you may come upon a herd of baboons moving across the hillside barking at one another; they are much disliked as they make raids on the crops.

V 619 621 622 The organization of these highland communities, which are independent and difficult to control, is most complex. The tribe is subdivided into branches (*fakhidat*), numbering perhaps a hundred riflemen, perhaps fifteen. Sometimes several tribes form a confederation bound loosely together under a paramount chief who has a greater or lesser degree of authority. Chieftainship is hereditary. In the Aden Protectorate larger groups are sometimes under the authority of a Sultan or an Amir. These Sultans are of the ancient nobility which often goes back to pre-Islamic times, some 1500 years ago, and generally reside in a central market town. Such are the Sultans of the 'Awdhali, the 'Awlaqi, the Fadhli of Shoqra, and of course the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej near Aden. Tribal law is extensive and involved, with fixed penalties for every offence or transgression on a neighbour's rights. Relations between the tribesmen and the Sultans are also defined by custom. Cases involving tribal law are heard by the Sultan or his representative, or in tribal confederations, by the sheikhs. This tribal law, which is generally unwritten, consists of traditional judgments and penalties. I was fortunate enough to secure a copy of the traditional law of the 'Awdhali when in Qubaidhah, but this was one of the rare instances when the law had been written.

H 622 692 671 H [651 622] 701 In most cases the actual authority of the Sultan extends little further than a certain radius around his residence. He taxes the people where he can, often disproportionately to their little wealth, and maintains a number of soldiers, irregular and often hereditary *askari*, as they are called, who hold a certain amount of land rent-free, and receive allow-

[see category 116, p. 68 -- Analyst]
p. 69 (A)

4.Serjeant U-2(no date)1942 M.1 Yemen M.1
Hadhramaut MMB

A 701 714 302 713 702 Y 634 643 651 433 461 178 Y 438 439 366 [illegible] Y 137 [illegible]

more in kind—perhaps corn or an annual gift of cloth—though their pay is more often than not in arrears. The soldiers wear no uniform apart from the indigo-dyed *futahs* (kilts) and turbans and a coating of indigo over the body which is supposed to keep out the cold, but their rifles are supplied by the Sultans and so many rounds of ammunition per annum. They have no military training except where partially controlled by Aden.

The same system obtains in the independent Arab state of the Yemen, except that, instead of petty Sultans, there are governors of districts owing allegiance, at least in theory, to the Imam. Taxation in the Yemen is perhaps more irksome on the peasant than in the Aden Protectorate and a 10 per cent tax is exacted from every Yemeni bringing back money to his native village. In the interior of this part of Arabia enterprise is only too often stamped out by the Sultans who crush all attempts at betterment, or new concerns, by uneconomic taxation. It is to this that we must attribute the decay of trade and agriculture in Arab countries such as Palestine and Iraq and not to lack of initiative on the part of the Arab himself. One has only to see the great terrace systems of the Yemen to be assured of the potentiality of Arab enterprise.

Most towns of any size have a market on a fixed day of the week, often a Thursday (*Suq al-Khamis*), when those who wish to buy or sell flock to the little town. The country people bring grain, fruit and vegetables, sheep, goats and cattle, and the beautiful woollen carpet-strips woven by the women. The Sultan usually has a market tax of 10 per cent on sales. Here the countryman can buy Japanese enamel-ware, German lamps, Turkish or Indian matches, kerosene, old beer bottles from the messes in Aden, etc. Cotton futahs from Japan, or the fine Javanese sarongs which may have been imported as early as A.D. 1500 are displayed along with local weaves. It is a curious thing that these Japanese futahs are made in a number of different patterns, of which certain kinds seem to be preferred by individual tribes, though there seems to be no fixed rule.

From the East Indies come tea and the spices, ginger and cardamom. Tea is the more honourable drink, though coffee-husk ground and infused with ginger is drunk the more commonly. The peasant can buy the

[Text continued on p. 70 (B)]

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Facing P. 38 (A)

A SOLDIER OF THE ADEN TRIBAL GUARDS

S.Gr. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



181 and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided 721 Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite 619 an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

[651] Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June 721 disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was 619 not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, [641] ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to restore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The [712] difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled 602 at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Manaab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

619 There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the 411 carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba 701 Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

000 Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

## Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MMI Aden

Hadhramout MM2



619 has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative
622 machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have tribal guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under
701 the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden
625 Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

619 The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal
634 districts:

[643]
361

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej,* the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif Seif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Musaimir.

UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION: Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. *Capital*: Mahjaba. Mausatta, Sheikh Ahmed Bubakr 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Muhsin 'Askar. *Capital*: Al Qudma. Dhubi, Sheikh Abdurrehman bin Salih (under age). *Regent*: Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital*: Dhi Sura. Maflahi, Sheikh Qasim 'Abdurrahman. *Capital*: Al Jurba. Hadrami, Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital*: Ash Shibr.

SHAIB: Sheikh Muhammad Muqbil As Saqladi. *Capital*: Awabil.

QUTEIBI: Sheikh Hassan 'Ali. *Capital*: Ath Thumeir.

ALAWI: Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital*: Al Qash'a.

AQRABI: Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl ba 'Abdullah. *Capital*: Bir Ahmed.

AUDNALI: Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital*: Lodar.

UPPER 'AULAQI: Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital*: Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital*: As-Said.

LOWER 'AULAQI: Sultan Nasir bin Aidrus bin Ali bin Abdullah (under age). *Regent*: Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. *Capital*: Ahwar.

BEIHAN: Sharif Salih bin Husein. *Regent*: Sharif Husein bin Ahmed. *Capital*: An Nuqub.

SUBEIHI: Sheikh Muhammad 'Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah ba Sa'id of the 'Atifi.

* His Highness Sultan Sir Abdul Karim Fadhl, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., died on 18th June, 1947.

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6.Gt. Brit . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



000 camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees.

# Chapter 9: Law and Order

## JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (*a*) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts.

*Government Guards*

712 701 Government Guard garrisons have been maintained at Jihaf, Dhala, El Eqla, and Safra in the territory of the Amirate, at Ahwar and Al Ugma in Lower Aulaqui country, at Ba Teis, El Husn and Ja'ar in Abyan, at Mudia, Am Khudeira and Am Quleita in Dathina, and at Al A'in, A'Sailan, El Kara', Beihan Es Suq in Beihan territory. In Subeihi country, the garrisons were withdrawn from Tor-el-Baha, Am Fursha and Am Rija, and forces of the Abdali Sultanate now control this area. In August, 1948, after operations against the Saqladi Sheikh, ruler of the territory of Shaib, a Government Guard Post was established at Awabil, capital of the Shaib States.

*Tribal Guards*

Progress has been made in the re-arming and training of Tribal Guard Units. Forces have now been raised in Dathina, Shaib and Audhali country in addition to existing forces in Beihan, Lower Aulaqi, Fadhli, Amiri, Maflahi and Lower Yafa States.

The local States also employ Tribal Guards, generally recruited from within the State to garrison outposts of the country. Increased reliance on them is being shown and the States are increasing their annual contributions towards the maintenance of the Tribal Guards. The authorised strength of this force is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Abdali (Lahej Trained Forces) | 379 |
| Fadhli Tribal Guards | 57 |
| L. Yafa'i Tribal Guards | 30 |
| L. Aulaqi Tribal Guards | 41 |
| Haushabi | 29 |
| Amiri | 75 |
| Dathina | 22 |
| Beihan | 40 |
| Audhali | 30 |
| Maflahi | 25 |
| Shaibi | 31 |

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate security is primarily a responsibility of the States themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces. The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion continued to do well in its security role.

G.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate. 631 648 643

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida. 631 622 175 438 161 133 361

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. 645

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government. 619 701 625 624

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts: 631 361

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej. [643]

AMIRI: Amir Naer bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

NAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Musaimir.

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-S (1951-1954) MAH Aden



HOSPITALS AND HEALTH UNITS

| Place | Hospitals (Beds) Built | Hospitals (Beds) Building | Health Units Built | Health Units Building | Total Beds |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Less developed areas in Western Protectorate | — | 1 (30) Labej | 15 | — | 30 |
| Fadhli-Lower Yafa'i States | — | 1 (30) Makhzan | 5 | 2 | 30 |
| Qu'aiti State | 2 Mukalla (50) Shibam (30) | — | 18 | — | 80 |
| Kathiri State | 1 (10) Sai'un | — | 8 (rented houses) | — | 10 |
| Wahidi States | — | 1 (30) Mella'ah | 3 | — | 30 |
| Non-Government | 1 (10) Tarim | — | 2 | — | 10 |
| TOTALS | 4 | 3 | 51 | 2 | 190 |

# Chapter 8: Justice, Prisons and Security Forces

## JUSTICE

The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (a) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (b) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts.

## PRISONS

There is no recognised prison service in the Western Protectorate. Chiefs of States have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff in controlled areas.

In the Eastern Protectorate, prison services are maintained by the Qu'aiti, Kathiri and Wahidi States.

## SECURITY FORCES

### *Western Protectorate*

*Government Guards*

This is the main security force. It is maintained by Her Majesty's Government and its present establishment is as follows:

| British Officers | Arab Officers | N.C.O.s | Guards | W/T Staff | M/T Staff | Tradesmen etc. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 14 | 67 | 371 | 25 | 17 | 42 | 541 |

Detachments were maintained in five tribal districts throughout 1951—Dhala, Beihan, Dathina, Lower Aulaqi Sultanate, and Abyan—in support of the security forces employed by local administrations and, in addition, new posts were opened in the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom

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Hadhramaut MM2



701 at the request of the Sheikh. Before entering this Sheikhdom in September, 1951, a force of two British officers and 80 Arab other ranks, assisted by local tribesmen, constructed a road suitable for motor transport which facilitated their entry into the country. Five posts were later established one of which was in the Khalifi tribal area.

Routine duties such as escorting Government officials visiting the Protectorate and operating against hostile tribesmen in support of local administrations were performed throughout the period.

Apart from a superficial wound received by an n.c.o. in a skirmish with hostile tribesmen in the Lower Aulaqi Sultanate, no casualties were suffered during the two years.

A wireless telegraphy communications system was maintained with 13 stations established in the Western Protectorate.

702 Training was given in foot and rifle drill, and musketry courses for rifle and light machine gun were held as circumstances permitted.

Recruitment was satisfactory during the period and the force was kept up to full strength.

*Tribal Guards*

701 Further progress has been made in re-arming and training Tribal Forces. Contributions from the States towards the cost of their maintenance have been increased and five forces are now entirely supported by local revenue, one is partially dependent and the rest are wholly dependent on grants from Her Majesty's Government. The authorised strength of the Forces is as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Lahej Trained Forces (Abdali)* | 196 |
| Fadhli Tribal Guards* | 120 |
| Lower Yafa'i Tribal Guards* | 70 |
| Lower Aulaqi Tribal Guards | 40 |
| Haushabi Tribal Guards | 29 |
| Amiri Tribal Guards | 75 |
| Dathina Tribal Guards* | 46 |
| Beihan Tribal Guards | 70 |
| Audhali Tribal Guards* | 53 |
| Maflahi Tribal Guards | 25 |
| Shaib Tribal Guards | 30 |
| Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom | 30 |

* Entirely supported by the State.

*Eastern Protectorate*

Two security forces are maintained :

| *Unit* | *Establishment* | *Function* |
|---|---|---|
| Hadhrami Beduin Legion (paid by Her Majesty's Government) | 11 Officers 355 other ranks | Maintenance of security throughout Protectorate, manning of frontier posts, political laison with Beduin. |

B.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-8 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Adm



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mukalla Regular Army (paid by Qu'aiti State) | 17 Officers 332 other ranks | Security in the Qu'aiti State. |

In addition there are the following police forces.

| State | Force | Establishment | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Qu'aiti | Mukalla Police | 101 | Paid by Qu'aiti State. |
| | Qu'aiti Armed Constabulary | 530 | Paid by Qu'aiti State for rural districts. |
| Kathiri | Civil Police | 25 | For towns of Sai'un, Tarim and Hautaf Ahmed bin Zain. Paid by Kathiri State. |
| | Kathiri Armed Constabulary | 112 | For rural districts. 18 paid by Kathiri State, balance by Her Majesty's Government. |
| Wahidi | Wahidi Tribal Guards | 232 | These carry out police duties, in addition to garrison and security roles. 93 paid by Wahidi States, remainder by Her Majesty's Government. |

# Chapter 9: Public Utilities and Public Works

## WESTERN PROTECTORATE

There are small electric power plants run by the Lahej Sultanate for a few domestic consumers and by the Abyan Board for its own domestic and workshop requirements.

There are no gas installations or public water supplies other than the irrigation projects described in Chapter 6.

There are organised Public Works Departments in the Lahej and Fadhli States which are mainly occupied in the maintenance and construction of public buildings and roads.

## EASTERN PROTECTORATE

There is a small power-house in Mukalla publicly administered and owned. The voltage is 240 volts, 3 phase, 50 cycles, A.C., driven by three engines with a capacity of 49, 110 and 220 B.H.P. respectively. The total number of consumers is 700 and the annual output is 114,268 units.

Public Works Departments exist in the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States.

H.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MM2-



648 The island of Socotra was occupied by the East India Company in 1834 and came under British protection together with the neighbouring Abd Alkuri and Brothers Islands when the treaty with the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Socotra was concluded in 1866.

## Chapter 3 : Administration

631 The Eastern Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting of the
648 Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri State of Sai'un),
643 the Mahra Sultanate of the Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Belhaf and Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. A British Agent is stationed at Mukalla who advises the Rulers of the Eastern Protectorate on matters of administration.

The interests of the Western Protectorate are looked after similarly by a small cadre of British Political Officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since Her Majesty's
619 Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. The tribes
622 nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over
• 701 their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been
625 greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards mainly (paid for by Her Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland at fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

631 The Protectorate consists of the following states :
361
[643]

WESTERN PROTECTORATE

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ABDALI | : His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin 'Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej until April, 1952, and thereafter His Highness Sultan 'Ali bin 'Abdul Karim, the premier chief of the Western Protectorate. Capital : Lahej. |
| 'AMIRI | : Amir Nasir bin Shaif, C.M.G. Capital : Dhala. |
| FADHLI | : Sultan 'Abdullah bin 'Uthman. Capital : Shuqra. |
| LOWER YAFA'I | : Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. Capital : Al Qara. |
| HAUSHABI | : Sultan Muhammad bin Sarur. Capital : Museimir. |
| UPPER YAFA'I | : Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. Capital : Mahjaba. |

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



and wears the tribal pattern. The Sultan himself, and the senior members of his house, when on duty or attending public functions, wear swords of scimitar design for cutting only, with a very small hilt and inadequate guard. The scabbard, of red morocco leather mounted in silver, is slung by a loop of silken cord over the left shoulder. The 'Naqibs' (governors), when representing the Sultan, also carry swords, but they are none of them, as a rule, good swordsmen. Some of the more civilized potentates on the littoral carry pistols or revolvers as well. 619 713

Working down through the Sultan's household we come to the *askaris*, or hereditary retainers (this term is also applied to tribesmen when serving as a permanent detachment). The hereditary class does not as a rule provide good combatants, for all their males are enrolled in the ranks automatically—regardless of physique or fitness—on attaining puberty, and serve till too decrepit to get about. Being looked on as servants rather than soldiers, they are not adapted to the rigours of campaigning, nor do they practise much with firearms, which are the property of the Sultan. They are, in fact, chiefly engaged on police duty and the enforcement of bazaar taxes. With them may be classed the *abid* or slaves—the most consistently faithful dependants of any Sultanate. They are armed like the *askaris*, but occasionally carry a scabbardless *nimshah*—a straight, single-edged blade, round-pointed and heavy-backed, with a plain unguarded hilt like the handle of an ordinary knife. Slaves do not wear the *jambiyah*. The askari's *jambiyah* is his own property. Both *askaris* and slaves are partly armed with matchlocks or rifles, according to the resources of the Sultan's arsenal; and the less efficient and junior members of the corps carry spears. 619 713 701.

The *jambiyah* has been fully described elsewhere (p. 153 f.). Spear-heads are long and narrow, of privet-leaf shape, fashioned of soft steel, with sharp edges and point, but no barb, the hafts varying from five to six feet in length. Lances, used by cavalry, have shorter heads than spears, and stouter hafts, about seven feet in length, gripped overhand. Matchlock guns are rapidly becoming obsolete and are being replaced by the breech-loader, the most common pattern being the Graz rifle or carbine. Remingtons, Turkish Martinis, and a few other patterns are occasionally seen. Practically all the Subeihi have breech-loaders, and the Quteibi and Haushabi are well provided with them. As time goes on the Arab will, generally, thanks to his better armament, become a more formidable foe. Ammunition for the breech-loader is not very plentiful, and native reloading and recapping have not, as yet, proved very successful.

30: Gt. Britain G-3 (ca 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



619 The tribesman forms the real fighting strength of the Sultanate, and provides his own weapons, drawing ammunition—or its equivalent in cash—from the Sultan, when on state service. His •761 hardihood, activity, and keen sight make him a formidable opponent. He has a natural aptitude for scouting and possesses remarkable powers of endurance, being independent of much transport, whilst the constant friction along the tribal borders engenders a high state of combatant training. The Sultan frequently uses one tribe to fight another as a punishment for raiding, but he cannot claim tribal service against tribal interests; any real emergency, however, will bring the tribesmen in. Individuals and small detachments will serve an alien for pay beyond the limits of their tribeship.

The tribesmen are really civilians (a term used for want of a better, though this word does not exactly translate the Arabic word *rawi*, plural *raya*), but prepared at a moment's notice to leave flocks and camels, farms or pasture, or trekking, when danger threatens clan, tribe, or Sultanate. They give no regular [702 military service under any condition, nor do they practise the use 651] of weapons, but content themselves with the reluctant payment of a tax and the unavoidable imposts of the Government that guards their lives and property. They may be divided into the 619 following classes: merchants, of more or less influence and wealth; mechanics and artisans; the '*hejris*' or freed serfs, usually 562 attached to some chief as agricultural labourers or to some master craftsman; and lastly, and lowest in the social scale, the slaves, the males serving as retainers or subordinate husbandmen and the females as domestic servants or attendants on children. The latter class, however, are slaves only in name, having usually their own *mesage*, and they remain in one family from generation to 562 generation; they are mostly Swahilis and Nubians. One other class needs passing mention—the *shāhids* or bards, whose duty, in the 703 exercise of their profession, is to stimulate the tribal standard of chivalry by heroic strains of former prowess, or with stinging satire to lash a slothful ruler to martial vigour. When belligerent tribes are set in battle, it is the *shāhids* on either side who urge the courage of the combatants.

[671 In religion two schools of the Sunni creed—the Hanifi (or philosophic school) and the Shafei—are followed, the latter, the nearest to the early Islamic tradition, being the more general. 771 The practice of religion varies, of course, in different districts, and among some of the nomad races it is little more than a name. Speaking of religious observance among the people of this region as a whole, Bury says: 'The laity, while fanatical to the verge of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



636 Admiralty Court in matters connected with the slave trade; his court is also a Colonial Court of Admiralty. The laws in force in the Settlement are, generally speaking, those of the Bombay Presidency, supplemented on certain points by special regulations drawn up to suit local conditions.

636 In general the local affairs of the Settlement (such as sanitation, conservancy, &c.) are managed by an Executive Committee (formerly
√09 Municipal Committee), subject to the control of the Resident: the funds for this purpose are raised by the levy of house tax,
651 octroi, and other imposts. The management of the port is under a Board of Trustees, known as the Aden Port Trust, the principal
625 task of which is to make arrangements for the deepening of the harbour so as to allow vessels of all sizes to enter and leave at all states of the tide. The funds are provided by the levy of tolls and wharfage fees on goods landed or shipped. The police are of two categories: land police, and harbour police. The former (officers and men) number 377—357 foot and 20 mounted; the latter number 12, including four inspectors and one or two administrative officials.

•701 The normal garrison of Aden consists of the Aden troops, one hundred strong, mounted half on horses and half on camels; three companies of Garrison Artillery, two of which man the forts, while the third is employed with the movable armament; six companies of British Infantry; one battalion of Indian Infantry, less detachments at Perim and Sheikh 'Othmān; one Fortress Company; and the Aden section of Sappers and Miners. On the south-west corner of the peninsula are the forts Tarshein and Morbat, which cover the entrance of the harbour, and are garrisoned by two companies of Royal Garrison Artillery. The land side is protected by a strongly fortified position across the whole breadth of the isthmus. At the crater are various entrenched positions for infantry to oppose landings, while the ridge, running north and south from Hejuff to Viaduct Gate, forms a second line of defence and includes a redoubt at Ahman Khal, near the southern extremity.

652 The total revenue receipts of Aden treasury in 1914–15, under all heads—imperial, local, and municipal—amounted to 87½ lakhs
651 of rupees (approx. £580,000). The chief sources of local revenue are: Aden Port Trust Fund, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Aden Settlement Fund, over 4 lakhs (£28,000); Local Supply Bills, 38½ lakhs (£257,000); Post Office, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Excise, about 1 lakh (£6,300); Income tax, ¾ lakh (£5,000). The total expenditure was about 83½ lakhs (approx. £556,000).

619 In the Aden interior the tribes nominate their own chiefs (or sultans. The Sultan is never a tribesman himself, but comes from

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 M11 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



619 The other principal tribes, comparatively much less powerful than the two foregoing, are: the *'Amūdi*, in Wādi Dō'an; the
101 *Nahad*, in the upper Central Hadhramaut; the *Jābiri*, in the southern side of the main wādi; the *'Awāmir* and *Tamimi*, in the lower Central Hadhramaut, east of the Jābiri; the *Hamumi* and *Manāhil*, in the plateau region and the lower Hadhramaut; the *Mahrah*, east of the lower Hadhramaut; and the *Wahīdi*. The Mahrah country, which is a coastal tract, links the Hadhramaut proper, on the west, with the Qara territory in the western confines of Oman. The pop. is estimated at about 50,000. Inland, the country is believed to consist of sandy steppes, but its boundaries
[643] are unknown. The Sultan of Mahrah, who is also ruler of Socotra, lives at **Qishn**, a rather poor fishing village about 36 miles
361 west of Ras Fartak. **Seihūt**, situated near the mouth of the main Hadhramaut valley, is a well-built town with many houses of stone, and is said to have a population of 10,000. **Hafāt** is another thriving village on the coast from which 9,000 cwt. of frankincense is exported annually, principally to Bombay.

[643] The Wahīdi, under one principal Sultan and several subordinate chiefs, occupy the south-western district of the Hadhramaut which
619 stretches from the coast inland to the plateau. They are one of the least aggressive tribes in the country and have, for the most part, settled down into peaceful tillers of the soil or herdsmen. They control 50 miles of coast from Ras el-Kelb to **Bālhāf** (a small Wahīdi port), and carry on a little local sea-borne trade, having several good but small harbours, all, however, open to the monsoons. The total pop. is estimated at over 9,000 souls, including a few Jews.
361 The chief towns are **Habbān**, with some 250 houses and 2,500 inhabitants, a mercantile settlement situated some 12 miles east of Yeshbum; **Hantah**, 2,000 inhabitants; **Raidah**, with some 1,000 people; and **Izzān** (Hisān), a large village, with a pop. of about 300.

• 701 The combatant portion of the population of the Hadhramaut is composed of bands of irregulars, and consists generally of the members of the tribes and their families, who all know the use of arms. Some chiefs have in addition a special and more disciplined guard and corps of armed slaves. Thus the Sultan of the Ka'aiti has an army, though somewhat irregular, of from 3,000–4,000 men and 1,500 slaves, which is mainly in garrison in the different towns under his authority, including 1,000 maintained at Shiheir; they are lodged and nourished at his expense and receive a little pay. The Sultan of the Kathiri is supposed to be able to muster some 7,000 fighting-men and has also about 1,000 armed slaves. There is no cavalry in the Hadhramaut.

*Internal transit dues.*

651 *Mukalla and Shihr.*

486 On every loaded camel leaving ... ... ... Re.1.

On every camel man[1] ... ... ... ... As.2.

*Shibam.*

On every *Bahar* brought in from Qu'aiti ports or territory ... ... ... ... ... ... $ ½.

On every *Bahar* from other places in Aden Protectorate or from Yemen ... ... ... $1¼.

*Passport Fees (compulsory).*

On every passport ... ... ... ... ... Rs.2

Photograph by state photographer ... ... Rs.3

**Defence.**

REGULAR ARMY.

704 The strength of the regular army is as follows: one Subedar, who apparently knows no drill and only appears in uniform on very special occasions; four Jemadars, of whom two are ex-Yemen Infantry officers, and two are Indians, one of them being a Pathan in command of the artillery; 350 to 400 Yafa'is, and 250 slaves.

The non-commissioned ranks are, Havildar, Naik and Lais Naik. The Yafa'is receive nine dollars a month, and the slaves one to three dollars as pocket-money, but they are much better off than the Yafa'is for they receive regular rations for themselves and every member of their families. They are provided with wives, and given milk, which is scarce, for their wives and children. The 702 cadet corps, already referred to, ensures a constant supply of disciplined recruits.

713 The force is armed with every sort of rifle, but principally Martini Henrys. They are said to keep them perfectly clean inside and out. There is a "range" behind the town. The regulars 714 are all provided with a khaki uniform, shirt and shorts, and a 708 red fez, but the uniform is not worn except by the guards at the palace and on special occasions. There are said to be parades every 533 two days. There is a band consisting of 14 who wear khaki uniforms and scarlet glengarries. The regulars for the most part are stationed in Mukalla, but there are a few in Shihr and Reida.

IRREGULARS.

704 There are said to be 1,000 to 1,200 irregulars officered by eleven 701 *Muqaddams* who receive 35 to 40 dollars a month. Each *Muqaddam* has a paid *Muawin* who receives 20 to 25 dollars, and each man is said to receive seven dollars a month. They are stationed in the districts. In Shibam there are 40 Yafa'is and 60 slaves. There are about 500 Yafa'is in the neighbourhood of Shibam who are paid but allowed to work their own fields. The Sultan's repre- [635] sentative in the Shibam province is in command of the troops.

[1] Members of certain tribes are exempted from this tax.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## Organization of the Residency and Methods Used

After persuading the tribes to make the general truce for three years, 647
I turned my attention to Government organization. I had hoped at first 648
that it would not be necessary to have more than three European assistants, two political and one military, but the burden of work became so heavy that by the beginning of the war I think there were eight European officers working in the Hadhramaut. Owing to the general anti-foreigner feeling, [609]
I thought it better that these officers should belong to the Residency staff as assistants to the adviser and that they should not have executive authority, and I told them to regard themselves rather as men with oil cans, who saw that the machinery was working, than as part of the machinery itself. Furthermore I felt sure that the actual responsibility must remain in the hands of the local Government. I believed, and I am sure that events have proved me right, that if you give people responsibility and make them exercise it they are eventually able to do so fairly effectively. You begin by collecting a group of what are in effect pictures labelled as heads of departments and in due course they come, like Galatea, to life. This rather extensive employment of Europeans did not turn out very successfully and, in 1942, it was approved that I might reduce my European assistants to two and engage trained orientals to instruct the local Government staff in the conduct of bedouin affairs, district administration, finance, medical, educational, agricultural, military and police work. Not all these posts have yet been filled owing to the difficulty of finding qualified candidates but there are now Transjordanis holding the posts of Bedouin Affairs Assistant and Police Assistant, a Hadhrami seiyid who is a Major in the Hyderabad military forces and a Punjabi Mussulman as Military Assistants, and a Sudani as Educational Assistant.

The functions of the Residency are advice, instruction and inspection. 648
As regards instruction the Residency runs a military school which is 647
attended by officers and non-commissioned officers of all the forces, and 871
promotion in the forces cannot be had without a certificate from it. It runs courses for teachers, courses for administrative candidates for employment as district officers, and police courses. Other courses are obtained by sending candidates to Aden, for example for training as dispensers, and by sending boys for education to the Sudan.

Most Government departments were in their beginning practically directed by Residency staff. When they are able to stand sufficiently on their own feet, the Residency withdraws and leaves them entirely to their own heads and the State Secretary.

Some things, however, are paid for by His Majesty's Government and 648
are under Residency control. The most important of these is the Hadhrami 701
Bedouin Legion. It is modelled as far as possible on Brigadier Glubb's Desert Patrol, which he kindly enabled me to see in 1938, and he generously provided Arab officers for it. The bedouins were quite unaccustomed to 701
any sort of military service and the force experienced ups and downs for 702

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



701 the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts
● 702 in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The
[743] force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making.
87 The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate
758 an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys; district schools
731 have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dispensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance
657 and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

671 A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school.
759 A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

600 So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their
[275] request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

609 As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a com-
771 munity which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was
648 always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my
000 duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000.

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambiyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870.

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamis*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turbanwise round his head.

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This,

●702 taking into consideration rations and clothing, is good money in the
701 Hadhramaut, and is sufficient for a soldier's tobacco and personal needs and, to maintain a wife and family. Unlike his British counterpart, he does not have to undergo a rigid medical examination, nor is he likely to suffer from the dentist, but if he should fall ill he is treated by the unit medical orderly or a civilian doctor, and provision is made for his admittance to the civil hospital in Mukalla if need arises.

712 At the end of recruit training a soldier will be sent to one of the posts
701 in the interior, and here the discipline and character-training already undergone will be continued. Some of these posts are sited where desert tracks cross, others near disputed wells or in areas where the tribes have proved recalcitrant. Sometimes local houses are requisitioned, and as
[342] Hadhrami architecture derives from the need for security these high, small-based, mud-brick houses are not unlike forts in themselves. In other localities proper small-scale forts have been built, square in shape and enclosing a well in the courtyard, resembling the smaller Palestine police posts or Arab Legion forts. Usually built with towers at two diagonally opposite corners, they have an imposing entrance gate, storerooms and sleeping quarters below, and above two rooms and a balcony encircling the fort. In commanding position, they would fill admirably the requirements of a producer of the *Beau Geste* type of film. From their posts the H.B.L. patrol on foot, perform guard duties, and if necessary provide escorts. Life in an outpost may appear dull, but reliefs are
[212] regular, and in his spare time a soldier is wise to learn to read and write, as without these accomplishments he is debarred from promotion above the rank of corporal. Any day a row of four or five soldiers may be observed at the unusual task of laborious reading or writing under the guidance of an officer or N.C.O.

701 Generally the presence of soldiers in an area has a deterrent effect on
721 any potential law-breakers or tribal raiders, and by mixing with the local Bedouin, and by reason of being themselves Bedouin, they do much to assist Government by explanation and advice. When trouble does occur, minor operations may have to be undertaken to deal with the offenders. During these infrequent periods the soldier receives his best training, and the prospect of more active duty always appeals to him. Although a natural fighter in his own type of warfare and country, the Bedouin is no match for his brother in the H.B.L., who has the advantage of superior leadership, better weapons, and a plentiful supply of ammunition. The expenditure of rounds, which do not have to be accounted for individually,
[619] is one of the soldier's greatest joys and entertainments. It may be wondered, if, on occasion, men enlisted from tribes which are hostile to each other carry this enmity with them into the force. Such is not the case, and once in the army they seem to lose their civilian opinions and prejudices and to forget past feuds. However, care is taken that soldiers of a tribe against which force is used are not employed on that task.

702 Militarily speaking, the Hadhrami Bedouin soldier is quick at drill, and, as practically all of them are born with a rifle in their hands, weapon training, even with light machine-guns, comes easily to them. They are not, however, such good shots as might be expected and have a universal
Tendency to fire high.

# ARAB AND SWAHILI DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

By R. Skene.

## The Razha Dance.

535 171 702 562 The Razha was originally a war dance practised by the Arabs in Arabia prior to starting out on a raid. It originated at Manga in Muscat, and is danced with naked swords, the object being to get the muscles of the sword arm into training. The Hatharmut or Hadramaut Arabs also dance it, but use daggers instead of swords.

The dancers, who of course are all men, stand in two rows facing each other, or in one row. They advance slowly a few inches at each step, keeping time to the drumming. The sword is held perpendicularly in the right hand, the fore-arm being at a right angle with the body. While holding the hilt of the sword in a perfect balance between the thumb and the first and second fingers, the base of the hilt is given a smart blow with the wrist so as to make the blade of the sword quiver. Being highly polished and made of fine supple steel, the quivering blade reflects the light in a most effective manner. This can only be done with the long straight double-edged sword of Southern Arabia and not with the scimitar-like blade used further north, owing to the thickness of the latter weapon.

535 534 The music for the Razha dance is supplied by a drum called a *chapuo*, cylindrical in shape, covered with goat skin on both ends. It is about eighteen inches long by eight in diameter, and is played on both ends with the hands, while hung across the waist of the drummer by a cord round the neck. A bass drum is also used, called a *tumi* of the same shape as the *chapuo*, but larger, being two to three feet long and fifteen inches in diameter. It is beaten in the same manner as the *chapuo*.

Anyone who knows how to dance can join in. No refreshments are served.

## The Shebwani Dance.

535 562 585 This is danced by the Arabs of Mkelle or Makulla, without any weapons, and by men only, who attend by invitation. It usually takes place at a wedding festival, in which case food and coffee are served round, or at any other general rejoicing. The dancers stand in two lines facing each other about eight or ten paces apart. They bend the knee and bow the body slightly forward to each other in unison and in time to the beating of the drums. They also sing a chorus song and keep time by clapping their hands together.

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his 181
friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came 577
to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a 795
strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They 702
belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their 276
neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African [144]
blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an 567
institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, 648
when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from 631
attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth

11 ances in kind—perhaps corn or an annual
701 gift of cloth—though their pay is more often
714 than not in arrears. The soldiers wear no
302 uniform apart from the indigo-dyed *futahs*
713 (kilts) and turban and a coating of indigo over
702 the body which is supposed to keep out the cold, but their rifles are supplied by the Sultans and so many rounds of ammunition per annum. They have no military training except where partially controlled by Aden.

Y The same system obtains in the independent
634 Arab state of the Yemen, except that, instead
643 of petty Sultans, there are governors of
651 districts owing allegiance, at least in theory, to
433 the Imam. Taxation in the Yemen is perhaps
461 more irksome on the peasant than in the Aden
178 Protectorate and a 10 per cent tax is exacted from every Yemeni bringing back money to his native village. In the interior of this part of Arabia enterprise is only too often stamped out by the Sultans who crush all attempts at betterment, or new concerns, by uneconomic taxation. It is to this that we must attribute the decay of trade and agriculture in Arab countries such as Palestine and Iraq and not to lack of initiative on the part of the Arab himself. One has only to see the great terrace systems of the Yemen to be assured of the potentiality of Arab enterprise.

Y Most towns of any size have a market on a
438 fixed day of the week, often a Thursday (*Suq*
439 *al-Khamis*), when those who wish to buy or sell
366 flock to the little town. The country people bring grain, fruit and vegetables, sheep, goats and cattle, and the beautiful woollen carpet-
[69] strips woven by the women. The Sultan usually has a market tax of 10 per cent on sales. Here the countryman can buy Japanese enamel-ware, German lamps, Turkish or Indian matches, kerosene, old beer bottles from the messes in Aden, etc. Cotton futahs from Japan, or the fine Javanese sarongs which may have been imported as early as A.D. 1500 are displayed along with local weaves. It is a curious thing that these Japanese futahs are made in a number of different patterns, of which certain kinds seem to be preferred by individual tribes, though there seems to be no fixed rule.

Y From the East Indies come tea and the
439 spices, ginger and cardamom. Tea is the more honourable drink, though coffee-husk ground and infused with ginger is drunk the more commonly. The peasant can buy the

[Text continued on p 70 (B)]

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



701 at the request of the Sheikh. Before entering this Sheikhdom in September, 1951, a force of two British officers and 80 Arab other ranks, assisted by local tribesmen, constructed a road suitable for motor transport which facilitated their entry into the country. Five posts were later established one of which was in the Khalifi tribal area.

Routine duties such as escorting Government officials visiting the Protectorate and operating against hostile tribesmen in support of local administrations were performed throughout the period.

Apart from a superficial wound received by an n.c.o. in a skirmish with hostile tribesmen in the Lower Aulaqi Sultanate, no casualties were suffered during the two years.

A wireless telegraphy communications system was maintained with 13 stations established in the Western Protectorate.

702 Training was given in foot and rifle drill, and musketry courses for rifle and light machine gun were held as circumstances permitted.

Recruitment was satisfactory during the period and the force was kept up to full strength.

*Tribal Guards*

701 Further progress has been made in re-arming and training Tribal Forces. Contributions from the States towards the cost of their maintenance have been increased and five forces are now entirely supported by local revenue; one is partially dependent and the rest are wholly dependent on grants from Her Majesty's Government. The authorised strength of the Forces is as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Lahej Trained Forces (Abdali)* | 196 |
| Fadhli Tribal Guards* | 120 |
| Lower Yafa'i Tribal Guards* | 70 |
| Lower Aulaqi Tribal Guards | 40 |
| Haushabi Tribal Guards | 29 |
| Amiri Tribal Guards | 75 |
| Dathina Tribal Guards* | 46 |
| Beihan Tribal Guards | 70 |
| Audhali Tribal Guards* | 53 |
| Mafiahi Tribal Guards | 25 |
| Shaib Tribal Guards | 30 |
| Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom | 30 |

* Entirely supported by the State.

*Eastern Protectorate*

Two security forces are maintained :

| *Unit* | *Establishment* | *Function* |
|---|---|---|
| Hadhrami Beduin Legion (paid by Her Majesty's Government) | 11 Officers 355 other ranks | Maintenance of security throughout Protectorate, manning of frontier posts, political laison with Beduin. |

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



619 The tribesman forms the real fighting strength of the Sultanate, and provides his own weapons, drawing ammunition—or its
761 equivalent in cash—from the Sultan, when on state service. His hardihood, activity, and keen sight make him a formidable opponent. He has a natural aptitude for scouting and possesses remarkable powers of endurance, being independent of much transport, whilst the constant friction along the tribal borders engenders a high state of combatant training. The Sultan frequently uses one tribe to fight another as a punishment for raiding, but he cannot claim tribal service against tribal interests; any real emergency, however, will bring the tribesmen in. Individuals and small detachments will serve an alien for pay beyond the limits of their tribeship.

The tribesmen are really civilians (a term used for want of a better, though this word does not exactly translate the Arabic word *rawi*, plural *raya*), but prepared at a moment's notice to leave flocks and camels, farms or pasture, or trekking, when danger threatens clan, tribe, or Sultanate. They give no regular
[702 military service under any condition, nor do they practise the use
651] of weapons, but content themselves with the reluctant payment of a tax and the unavoidable imposts of the Government that guards their lives and property. They may be divided into the
619 following classes: merchants, of more or less influence and wealth; mechanics and artisans; the '*hejris*' or freed serfs, usually
56 attached to some chief as agricultural labourers or to some master craftsman; and lastly, and lowest in the social scale, the slaves, the males serving as retainers or subordinate husbandmen and the females as domestic servants or attendants on children. The latter class, however, are slaves only in name, having usually their own *menage*, and they remain in one family from generation to
56 generation; they are mostly Swahilis and Nubians. One other class needs passing mention—the *shāhids* or bards, whose duty, in the
703 exercise of their profession, is to stimulate the tribal standard of chivalry by heroic strains of former prowess, or with stinging satire to lash a slothful ruler to martial vigour. When belligerent tribes are set in battle, it is the *shāhids* on either side who urge the courage of the combatants.

[671] In religion two schools of the Sunni creed—the Hanifi (or philosophic school) and the Shafei—are followed, the latter, the
771 nearest to the early Islamic tradition, being the more general. The practice of religion varies, of course, in different districts, and among some of the nomad races it is little more than a name. Speaking of religious observance among the people of this region as a whole, Bury says: 'The laity, while fanatical to the verge of

tendency to fire high. Tactics are simple, usually an advance in strength 725
or the investment or defence of small forts or houses. Any more compli- 703
cated manœuvre involving strict timing or detailed concerted action would be beyond their capacity at present. They are difficult to control in action, and in the heat of the moment tend to forget their training and to expose themselves by not making use of ground and cover, but as their potential opponents suffer from the same faults this is not so serious as it would be against more experienced troops. The Bedouin does not favour night-fighting, but he is expert at moving and taking up position in the dark. He is willing to follow his officers, and has particular faith in those from 703
the Arab Legion, who in simple fashion he believes must be more com- 609
petent, as they have been brought in from another country. The same would apply to British officers, provided they understood his language and customs and accurately gauged his capabilities. Unless equipped with this knowledge, however, a British officer would find the Bedouin soldier awkward to handle and disappointing in action.

By showing promise and industry the soldier will gain promotion or 701
can become a specialist such as wireless operator or armourer. At present the highest rank reached by any is lieutenant; owing to lack of experience, knowledge, and background, they are not yet suitable for higher rank, but in time this will be overcome. Part of the remedy may result from the [871]
foundation a few years ago of a Bedouin boys' school in Mukalla. This worth-while enterprise, sponsored and paid for by His Majesty's Government, is of considerable interest, and it is anticipated that ex-pupils will not only help to fill the ranks of H.B.L. with good material, but that others, encouraged to further education, will become much-needed Government servants, teachers and leaders in other walks of life.

There is a cadre of men who have voluntarily remained in the H.B.L. for longer periods, but after four years or so the average soldier, unless he has attained rank, will retire. He may ask that his place be taken by his brother or cousin, as he has liked the life, and his length of voluntary service speaks for itself. On his return to his tribe he will be an asset to Government, and his understanding and experience will be of help to political officers or other Government servants who may have dealings with his tribe or work to perform in his area. There is no reserve. The [157]
Bedouin in the Protectorate dislikes being tied down to a period of time, and a reserve as understood in a European army would be impossible to administer or co-ordinate. But in an emergency many ex-soldiers would return for temporary service if strongly requested.

Whatever the future may hold, there is no doubt that the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion performs useful tasks at low costs. It is in no sense planned as a national army, but in its military and political rôles has fully justified itself. One hopes that its ties with the Arab Legion will not be broken and that in the years to come it will attain the prestige and success in its own area which the Arab Legion enjoys in the Arab world as a whole.

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I am indebted to Major I. E. Snell, Royal Sussex Regiment, at present 115
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30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



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The tribesmen are really civilians (a term used for want of a better, though this word does not exactly translate the Arabic word *rawi*, plural *raya*), but prepared at a moment's notice to leave flocks and camels, farms or pasture, or trekking, when danger threatens clan, tribe, or Sultanate. They give no regular
[702 military service under any condition, nor do they practise the use of weapons, but content themselves with the reluctant payment
651] of a tax and the unavoidable imposts of the Government that guards their lives and property. They may be divided into the
619 following classes: merchants, of more or less influence and wealth; mechanics and artisans; the '*hejris*' or freed serfs, usually
562 attached to some chief as agricultural labourers or to some master craftsman; and lastly, and lowest in the social scale, the slaves, the males serving as retainers or subordinate husbandmen and the females as domestic servants or attendants on children. The latter class, however, are slaves only in name, having usually their own *menage*, and they remain in one family from generation to
562 generation; they are mostly Swahilis and Nubians. One other class needs passing mention—the *shāhids* or bards, whose duty, in the
703 exercise of their profession, is to stimulate the tribal standard of chivalry by heroic strains of former prowess, or with stinging satire to lash a slothful ruler to martial vigour. When belligerent tribes are set in battle, it is the *shāhids* on either side who urge the courage of the combatants.

[671 In religion two schools of the Sunni creed—the Hanifi (or philosophic school) and the Shafei—are followed, the latter, the
771 nearest to the early Islamic tradition, being the more general. The practice of religion varies, of course, in different districts, and among some of the nomad races it is little more than a name. Speaking of religious observance among the people of this region as a whole, Bury says: 'The laity, while fanatical to the verge of

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



*Internal transit dues.*

651 *Mukalla and Shihr.*

486 On every loaded camel leaving ... ... ... Re.1.

On every camel man[1] ... ... ... ... As.2.

*Shibam.*

On every *Bahar* brought in from Qu'aiti ports or territory ... ... ... ... ... ... $ ½.

On every *Bahar* from other places in Aden Protectorate or from Yemen ... ... ... $1¼.

*Passport Fees (compulsory).*

On every passport ... ... ... ... ... Rs.2

Photograph by state photographer ... ... Rs.3

## Defence.

### Regular Army.

704 The strength of the regular army is as follows: one Subedar, who apparently knows no drill and only appears in uniform on very special occasions; four Jemadars, of whom two are ex-Yemen Infantry officers, and two are Indians, one of them being a Pathan in command of the artillery; 350 to 400 Yafa'is, and 250 slaves.

The non-commissioned ranks are, Havildar, Naik and Lais Naik. The Yafa'is receive nine dollars a month, and the slaves one to three dollars as pocket-money, but they are much better off than the Yafa'is for they receive regular rations for themselves and every member of their families. They are provided with wives, and given milk, which is scarce, for their wives and children. The 702 cadet corps, already referred to, ensures a constant supply of disciplined recruits.

713 The force is armed with every sort of rifle, but principally Martini Henrys. They are said to keep them perfectly clean inside and out. There is a "range" behind the town. The regulars 714 are all provided with a khaki uniform, shirt and shorts, and a 708 red fez, but the uniform is not worn except by the guards at the palace and on special occasions. There are said to be parades every 523 two days. There is a band consisting of 14 who wear khaki uniforms and scarlet glengarries. The regulars for the most part are stationed in Mukalla, but there are a few in Shihr and Reida.

### Irregulars.

704 There are said to be 1,000 to 1,200 irregulars officered by eleven 701 *Muqaddams* who receive 35 to 40 dollars a month. Each *Muqaddam* has a paid *Muawin* who receives 20 to 25 dollars, and each man is said to receive seven dollars a month. They are stationed in the districts. In Shibam there are 40 Yafa'is and 60 slaves. There are about 500 [illegible]a'is in the neighbourhood of Shibam who are [635] paid but allowed to work their own fields. The Sultan's representative in the Shibam province is in command of the troops.

[1] Members of certain tribes are exempted from this tax.

6. Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM21



Remittances

457 of money from the Far East [illegible] basis of Hadramaut's economy—begun to arrive to a certain [illegible] least from Singapore. From Java and the Dutch possessions [illegible] however, little hope as yet of any but very limited sums being [illegible]

HOUSING

342 The fixed population are housed for the main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees. The poorer sections live in mud-brick houses, one-storeyed stone huts and straw huts.

# Chapter 9: Law and Order

JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts are of two kinds: (*a*) Shari'a Courts (which administers the Shari'a or Quranic Law), and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Shari'a Courts.

798 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate there has been a revival of religious intolerance. A most unfortunate development in Mukalla during the year was the formation of a religious committee whose activities have been something between those of a vigilance committee and the inquisition. It selects those whom it considers have committed offences against Islam, condemns them and sentences them. The local Government carries out its sentences and there is no appeal. This being a matter of religion, the [643] Resident Adviser has under the treaty no power to interfere. Hadramaut has never been the home of religious tolerance, but it was hoped that the fires of fanaticism were dying.

GOVERNMENT GUARDS

*Strength*

704 The force of Government Guards operates in the Western Aden Protectorate. The most outstanding event for the Government Guards 712 in 1947 was the transfer of the Headquarters from the Hindu garden in Sheikh Othman to the Champion Lines, Khormaksar, in the early part of the year.

The task of adapting the camp to meet the needs of this force was not completed for several months, but in its present form provides ample living and store accommodation for the approved establishment which has now been brought up to full strength.

*Tribal Guards*

The arrival of the Depot Officer in May has permitted the calling in of Tribal Guard units for training in drill and musketry, and up to

S.Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



date the Dathina Unit, and a portion of the Amiri force, attended a course of instruction in Headquarters. It was not possible to make a start in the training of Tribal Guards until the alteration referred to above had been finished in the camp, and it is hoped to continue these courses in the future. 704 712

*Posts*

Detachments of Government Guards were stationed in the following districts:

Dathina: Mudia, Am Quleita, Am Khudeira.
Abyan: Jaar, Al Husn, Ba Teis.
Subeihi: Tor al Baha, Am Farsha, Am Riga.
Dhala: Safra, Dhala and Jihaf.
Beihan: Nejd al Mezar, Beihan, Asylan.
Ahwar: Ahwar and Masana.

Apart from operations against Ami Haidara in February the Government Guards were not engaged in any military action throughout the year. On several occasions it became necessary to send reinforcements to districts to meet emergencies, the most notable being the despatch of a strong force to Abyan in the summer months to protect the Agricultural Department's scheme against sabotage by followers of the Lower Yafai Sultan.

Following the murder of the Political Officer, Northern Area, a detachment of Government Guards accompanied the force sent to investigate the case and later completed a march through southern Amiri territory.

No casualties were suffered during the year.

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate, security is primarily a responsibility of the states themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces. The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion under the control of the British Agent performed their security functions with credit.

### PRISONS

There is no recognised Prisons Service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of states have their own state prisons which are supervised by the political staff. 677

## Chapter 10: Communications

In the Western Aden Protectorate road communications remained difficult, although motor transport continued to operate to Taiz and Hodeidah. 4914

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate in February British Overseas Airways Corporation closed the Karachi route which they had been using from Aden, via Riyan. This caused some dismay in Mukalla, where there is 509

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



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TRIBES CONNECTED WITH THE 'AWALIQ.

| Tribe. | Clan. | Places. |
|---|---|---|
| Āl Bureik ... ... | Āl Bin Bureik<br>Āl Nabāhīn | Shabwa. |
| Āl Karab ... ... | — | The neighbourhood of Rakhan and further to the west. |
| Āl Hammām ... | — | The desert of Nisah. |

These tribes, which are not really Hadhramaut tribes but are included on account of their dependence on Shibam for a market, are practically independent though very nominally the Āl Bureik and the Āl Karab are under the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh, and the Āl Hammām are more or less under the authority of the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultān.

The Āl Bureik are Sheikhs, and at one time the Āl Bin Bureik were masters of Shihr but now the whole of the small tribe are settled in Shabwa.

[631] The Qu'aiti has "B" agreements with the 'Awaliq generally.

619
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THE HADHRAMI YAFA'IS AND THEIR SECTIONS.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Dhubi ... | Āl al Bakrī | Zarqāna and Bā Bakr | 25 |
| | Bin Dāūd and Al 'Affī | Husūn | 25 |
| | Āl al Hadhārim | As Sāha | 20 |
| Āl Mausata | Āl Qu'ata | Al 'Iqad | 75 |
| | Āl 'Alī al Hāj | As Sāha | 50 |
| | Āl al Hadādīn | Hadba and Al Ghalīn | 20 |
| | Āl al Jahāwira | ..s Sāha | 20 |
| | Āl ash Sheikh 'Alī Āl 'Ab bin Ahmed. | 'Ardh Masrūr | 60 |
| | Āl ash Sheikh 'Alī Āl Salim bin 'Alī. | Huweila | 40 |
| | Bin 'Alī Jābir. | Khashāmir | 80 |
| Beni 'Ardh | | Al Fardh | 100 |
| Āl Rashīd ... | — | Hautat Jābir | 15 |
| Āl an Nuqabā | — | Bukria | 15 |
| Āl al Madīshina ... | — | Āl 'Anīn | 20 |
| Āl Beni Naqīb ... | — | Al 'Uqda | 20 |
| Āl Ahmed ... | — | Daqīqa | 35 |
| Āl Ās'd ... | — | Al Kharāba | 30 |
| Āl Jabri ... | — | Hasun | 25 |
| Āl Bal'ala ... | — | Jidfara | 50 |
| | | | 775 |

[712] [701] Haura, Al Qatn and Shibam have garrisons of Yafa'is. At the first of these places I saw a small fort at the south of the town occupied by five Yafa'i soldiers, and there are probably more. Shibam has 40 Yafa'i soldiers, and the number round Qatn and Shibam is said to be all together about 500 armed men. Those actually employed in garrisons are paid, but the other irregulars only receive pay if called up for service. The Qu'aiti has an "A" agreement with the Hadhrami Yafa'is and their sections. The Āl

[See page 92 [illegible] - Analyst]

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the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers. 647

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000. 651 652

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few. 579 712 165 625 721 701 643 619 728 652

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government. 619

[1]About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off. 567

619 He is no longer apt to be shot at by Government soldiers and he brings his
troubles to the Government. The provincial governors and the district
647 heads are better men and better paid than they used to be and all new
candidates have courses of instruction before appointment. There are
692 systems of State and tribal courts which are becoming more and more
619 effective. There is a special department of bedouin affairs which is staffed
entirely by Hadhrami tribesmen; five or six years ago no Hadhrami tribes-
men were employed in any positions of responsibility.

759 As regards social services, in 1934 there was one doctor, mainly for the
Sultan though he ran a public dispensary, and medical services cost Rs. 5,500
657 a year: in 1944 the sum voted was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary
652 services. There was an establishment of four doctors, and a State hospital
749 for fifty in-patients was being built in Mukalla.

In 1934 education cost Rs. 6,000 and about three hundred boys received
871 some sort of schooling. In 1944 Rs. 1,054,000 was provided. The number
of boys in primary Government schools on the coast has increased to about
652 seventeen hundred. There were between a hundred and thirty and a
657 hundred and forty girls in the new Mukalla girls' school, and an inter-
658 mediate boarding school, assisted by the British Council and a grant from
His Majesty's Government, had been started with about eighty boys. As
part of the famine relief measures, children were brought down from the
Hadhramaut and have now been taken over by the Qu'aiti State which
bought a village outside Mukalla and is now housing three hundred boys
[714] and girls in it. A wall enclosing garden land has been built round it and
the children work the garden and are apprenticed to various local trades.
They are given a modest schooling and it is hoped that they will also be
taught by means of a village council to run their own village.

658 Another State educational experiment owes its impetus mainly to the
enthusiasm of the young men of Mukalla. A number of young men have
871 gone through a course organized by the Education Department in how to
teach illiterate adults to read and write. These teachers compiled a
coolies' vocabulary of seven hundred words or so and when I left were about
to teach coolies from the Hadhramaut, who had come seeking for work at
the coast on account of the famine, how to write the language they speak,
a sort of basic Arabic. There are schemes for producing a small newspaper
in this simplified form of speech and for developing some public-health
consciousness.

701 What little the State could do towards the war effort it has done. It
provided a company for guard duties in Aden while the Italians were in
648 the war. It has raised a Pioneer Company for service in the Middle East
Command. It has guarded the R.A.F. aerodromes in the State and pro-
[712] vided coastal guards. The Public Works Department has built an R.A.F.
station at about a third of the cost expected. It has landed and handled a
great quantity of R.A.F. stores. In addition, at the outbreak of war when
the surplus balance was about Rs. 80,000, it contributed Rs. 20,000 for
648 general war purposes, and Hadhramis at home and abroad subscribed to a

702 taking into consideration rations and clothing, is good money in the
701 Hadhramaut, and is sufficient for a soldier's tobacco and personal needs and, to maintain a wife and family. Unlike his British counterpart, he does not have to undergo a rigid medical examination, nor is he likely to suffer from the dentist, but if he should fall ill he is treated by the unit medical orderly or a civilian doctor, and provision is made for his admittance to the civil hospital in Mukalla if need arises.

● 712 At the end of recruit training a soldier will be sent to one of the posts
701 in the interior, and here the discipline and character-training already undergone will be continued. Some of these posts are sited where desert tracks cross, others near disputed wells or in areas where the tribes have proved recalcitrant. Sometimes local houses are requisitioned, and as
[342] Hadhrami architecture derives from the need for security these high, small-based, mud-brick houses are not unlike forts in themselves. In other localities proper small-scale forts have been built, square in shape and enclosing a well in the courtyard, resembling the smaller Palestine police posts or Arab Legion forts. Usually built with towers at two diagonally opposite corners, they have an imposing entrance gate, storerooms and sleeping quarters below, and above two rooms and a balcony encircling the fort. In commanding position, they would fill admirably the requirements of a producer of the *Beau Geste* type of film. From their posts the H.B.L. patrol on foot, perform guard duties, and if necessary provide escorts. Life in an outpost may appear dull, but reliefs are
[212] regular, and in his spare time a soldier is wise to learn to read and write, as without these accomplishments he is debarred from promotion above the rank of corporal. Any day a row of four or five soldiers may be observed at the unusual task of laborious reading or writing under the guidance of an officer or N.C.O.

701 Generally the presence of soldiers in an area has a deterrent effect on
721 any potential law-breakers or tribal raiders, and by mixing with the local Bedouin, and by reason of being themselves Bedouin, they do much to assist Government by explanation and advice. When trouble does occur, minor operations may have to be undertaken to deal with the offenders. During these infrequent periods the soldier receives his best training, and the prospect of more active duty always appeals to him. Although a natural fighter in his own type of warfare and country, the Bedouin is no match for his brother in the H.B.L., who has the advantage of superior leadership, better weapons, and a plentiful supply of ammunition. The expenditure of rounds, which do not have to be accounted for individually, is one of the soldier's greatest joys and entertainments. It may be won-
[619] dered, if, on occasion, men enlisted from tribes which are hostile to each other carry this enmity with them into the force. Such is not the case, and once in the army they seem to lose their civilian opinions and prejudices and to forget past feuds. However, care is taken that soldiers of a tribe against which force is used are not employed on that task.

702 Militarily speaking, the Hadhrami Bedouin soldier is quick at drill, and, as practically all of them are born with a rifle in their hands, weapon training, even with light machine-guns, comes easily to them. They are not, however, such good shots as might be expected and have a universal
Tendency to fire high.

18 Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



we first went up there they WHEN charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqabe* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

Hologramme G-3 (1934-38)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



hospitality in the new house during the past year, and last hot weather nothing was more delightful than to sit in the swimming pool in the evening and listen to the strains of the B.B.C. Empire Orchestra. Since then the Arabic broadcasts have started and they are extremely popular throughout the Hadhramaut, which now sets its watches by Big Ben. Bathing over, dinner would be laid on carpets by the side of the bathing pool. One rarely sits down less than twenty at meals in Seiyid Bubekr's house and very often it is forty. The average daily consumption runs into about 30 to 40 lb. of rice, three or four dozen eggs, half a dozen chickens, and one or two sheep, and several pounds of vegetables. We went up for the wedding of his daughter, and then over five thousand people were fed for three days.

Seiyun has been our principal headquarters in the wadi, and from it I have continually visited all the neighbouring places, staying at Shibam, Al Qatn, Henin, Qa'udha, and Hureidha. You never get to Hureidha without stopping for a meal at Diyar al Buqri, where the people are so hospitable that they have been known to fire on those who have attempted to pass in cars without stopping to have a meal. The Buqri are Nahd, and although they are settled they are still rather Badu. On my first visit they offered us a large house if we would but stay and rule the country, and it was then I learned that they had imported a first-class cook from Java in the hope of being able to entertain Europeans. Great as is the hospitality and kindness of all the Nahd, the meals at Diyar al Buqri are as fine and as varied as anything you could get anywhere. Their ideas even of afternoon tea are on the most lavish scale. I have had it with them three times and on each occasion they have produced cakes, honey, and halwa, several varieties of tinned fruit, British biscuits, and super-cream toffees.

Beyond Diyar al Buqri, as you enter the Wadi 'Amd, stands a little fort with a sentry for ever gazing out. It was some time before I discovered that the sentry was a dummy, a lump of clay artistically draped with a black cloth, but in recent months I notice he has fallen into disrepair. The Nahd extend down into the Wadi 'Amd almost as far as Hureidha, of which the population consists entirely of Seiyids of the Al 'Attas family and their dependants. Here, too, I have several times stayed, and there is now a landing-ground. There is no need for me to say much about Hureidha as it is here that Miss Stark, Miss Caton-Thompson and Miss Gardner have been wintering. One interesting fact about Hureidha may however be too trivial for their notice, and that is that one of the mosques has two large town clocks, one with a face 6 feet in diameter and the other 3 feet. Only the latter works, and they are of course at the top of the high minaret. But they are inside the minaret, and you have to walk up sixty or seventy steps to see the time.

Up the wadi from Hureidha is the Ja'da tribe. I have not travelled farther up the wadi than Hureidha on foot, but before I went there for peace negotiations my wife did the journey on camel. The wadi is thickly populated and has numerous small villages which at that time were nearly all at war with each other. My wife took down particulars of thirty-two major feuds going on between sections and even between houses a few yards apart. There were trench systems, similar to those at Qa'udha, leading from the houses to the fields, but owing to the disturbed conditions cultivation had suffered badly AND THERE WAS A GENERAL DESIRE FOR PEACE IN ORDER TO GET ON WITH THE WORK IN THE FIELDS.

663 fence round the country and then to leave it to anarchy. On the other hand, there was no wish to introduce direct British rule over a people who are tenaciously attached to their independence. Our policy is therefore to support the treaty chiefs and to lead them and their subjects to appreciate the advantages of the suppression of lawlessness and the maintenance, in collaboration with the British Government, of internal peace and security. At the same time it was laid down as a general principle that the main trade routes through the Protectorate must be kept safe, and that the Government would enforce this decision.

The medium through which this policy was to be carried into effect was a number of political officers centred on Aden, but working in the Protectorate, and I, as Governor at the time, was fortunate in the appointment by the Colonial Office of a group of young men who threw themselves wholeheartedly and devotedly into the work of gaining the confidence and friendship of the Arab tribes and their chiefs, and in promoting the policy upon which the Government had embarked.

712 This work would not have been possible without the collaboration of the Royal Air Force. Aden had become an Air Command in 1928, and the first action of the strengthened Air Force was the ejection of the Yemenis from Dhala, to which I have already referred. This was followed by the construction of landing-grounds. There are now between thirty and forty of these in various parts of the Protectorate, including the Hadhramaut Valley, which had until lately been almost a *terra incognita* except to a few adventurous travellers. Flights by the Royal Air Force over the Hadhramaut were followed by invitations from the local Arabs to land, and the pioneer work of two young Air Force officers, Cochrane and Rickards, led to the establishment of closer contact. The first visit of a Resident of Aden to this strange and most interesting district was paid by myself in the early part of 1933.

556 I have already referred to this remarkable valley of the Hadhramaut,
167 and readers of Miss Freya Stark's delightful and graphic descriptions of her travels in Southern Arabia will be familiar with its peculiar characteristics. Its wealthy seyyids and merchants have generally amassed their fortunes in Java or Singapore, to which countries the Hadhramis emigrate in large numbers, and in which many of them are
[186] owners of valuable house property. They do not, however, lose their
342 love for their original home in Arabia, and many of them eventually return to the Hadhramaut, and there build for themselves the luxurious

green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted 301
in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased 302
stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and 609
with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a 508
landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions 137
aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were 136
swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky 133
ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said 361
to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent [342]
position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the 622
same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. 712
A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is 342
to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], 574
and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come 104
to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

# CHAPTER VII.

## THE ENTRANCE TO BEAUTIFUL HADRAMAUT PROPER.

On the following day the first car arrived in Ḥurēḍa. Bin ᶜAwaḍ Martaᶜ of Hēnin, a wholesale merchant from Surabaya, has succeeded in finding a way hither through the region of hillocks of loam and sand. In the afternoon we depart in his car, which we fill to the utmost. Not only is it unbearably hot, but, moreover, a scorching wind appears to come up in the afternoon in these broad, sandy wādīs. Several times the car stalls in the loose sand, but our united efforts set it free again, and, seeking and twisting, we continue on our way through the lonely, baking hot desert. No one is on the road at this hour of the day; the little mud villages that we occasionally see in the distance look as if they were dead. Scanty date-palms glimmer now and then through the curtain of sand which hangs stagnant in the air.

### 1. DIYĀR ĀL BUQRĪ, A CENTRE OF WAR.

After about two hours we reach the mouth of Wādī ᶜAmd in the Wādī 'l-Ḳasr. The soil is firmer here, consisting, in fact, of hillocks of loam. The wādī, at this point, rather resembles a great plain, in which the driver of our car steers, keeping in sight some promontories of the far-off high rock-wall, looming up from time to time out of the mist of sand. We twist and turn continuously among the loam-hills. Bin Martaᶜ is certainly a clever driver. After a time the high, greyish-white castles of Āl Buqrī, which are situated in about the middle of the wādī, become visible through the haze. They

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-8 (1931) 132 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# CHAPTER IX.

## SĒWŪN, THE HEART OF HAḌRAMAUT PROPER.

### 1. PENETRATING INTO THE ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

The border of the Qeᶜēṭī territory is a quarter of an hour's walk to the east of Shibām. There, high up at the edge of the mountain, is a fort and an observation post; there are also mud block-houses in the plain. Somewhat further along the mountain's ridge the white military posts of the Āl Kathīr are visible.

On the afternoon of May 24th, immediately after leaving Shibām, we cross the sandy wādī diagonally towards the northern side, where there is least vegetation, but also least warfare. The whole southern side has the name of being unsafe. But even here on the north, soldiers dog our footsteps whenever we stop to take photographs. The villages are built up against the mountain foot, and on higher points are the ruins of fortifications. Following the margin we again enter date plantations, which are, however, very thin and finally perish in the engulfing sand. Then we go on through sand-dunes overgrown with a kind of beach-grass. Close by Sēwūn we again have to cross the bed of the wādī, as this place is situated on the southern side. There is water, here and there, in the *sēl*-bed; it is, however, very bitter. The soil close to those stagnant pools is covered with a crust of white salt.

Sēwūn lies within a wide belt of magnificent palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. The water-level is only eighteen to twenty-one feet below the surface; the water has a saltish taste, but appears to be exceptionally suitable for the irrigation of the gardens. We had not so far seen such vigorous date-palms and such luxuriant, tall-growing *dhura* as in this part of the country. The hot wind has already ripened the bunches of dates, which are comfortably hidden away by this time in their

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

●712

Part of the outer wall and defence towers, protecting Terim.

facing p. 129

ques. One of the el-Kāfs told us that there are 200 in use and 160 falling into disrepair. My friend Sayyid Hāshim makes it 60 in use and 300 falling into disrepair; this is, doubtless, nearer to the truth. 346

The number of the inhabitants of Terīm is almost certainly 12000, for our host has lists of names in connection with the distributions of food made by him to the masses. Sēwūn must then have rather more, that is, between 12000 and 15000. 162

There are two elementary schools here with about 400 pupils, and one school for more advanced religious instruction with some 200 students. 871

After the visit to the castle we go to New Terīm. There a completely new suburb is being built, partly for people who are in the service of the el-Kāfs. In none of the places that we had visited up to now was there so much life and expansion as here. In Terīm a conscious and well-considered effort is being made to become, within a short time, the foremost town of Ḥaḍramaut. El-Kāf and Terīm are the names that we heard everywhere whenever new undertakings or plans were under discussion. 361

We pass through the new suburb till we strike the wall of the city, which ascends the slope of the mountain at this spot until it becomes unclimbable. Two forts manned by soldiers strengthen this starting point of the defence works of the town. From their high position they overlook quite half of the well-maintained and solid wall which encloses the town and the palm-groves in straight lines. 712

It is Thursday, the day for the distribution of food to the poor. As we return home, the street and square before our host's house are black with women, children and greybeards, awaiting the portions of rice and flour that are destined for them. The work of distribution lasts for hours. Servants hand out the portions; others check and sign long lists of names. The soldiers and Bedouins from the Qeᶜēṭī territory who accompany us gaze in dumb amazement at this lavish charitableness. Soon when they return to their country, they will 795 554

000 doctor, for whom Friday is a holiday. The car which follows is filled with armed Bedouins, members of the tribes through
712 whose land we shall pass. The district of Terīm ends just
131 outside the city. Mud defence turrets and fortifications are pointed out to us, where, up to a year ago, shooting still
621 went on. The aspect of the villages and neglected plantations shows that prosperity has been here disturbed by warfare. Some of these villages are under the rule of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, others are independent, that is to say, they belong to the tribes in whose territories they are situated and are not under a *dōla* (a government), as the expression goes here.

361 The road runs over a sandy plain to the deep Wādī ᶜAdim, which seems to be fairly well watered, to judge from the thick vegetation along its banks and from its fine groves of palms. Here lies the village of el-Mesīle, the birth-place of our learned
000 Javanese Ḥaḍramī, Sayyid Hāshim. The village chief had received instructions from Sayyid Abū Bakr to provide a midday meal for us, so he stands ready waiting with his pots and the sheep which is to be killed. We stop just long enough to pick him up with his sheep and cooking-pots and then on we go again through a hilly, sandy region with here and
511 there villages and plantations. The further we go the poorer become the villages; the gardens are partly dried up and half of the houses are in ruins. The male population has been decimated by intertribal warfare, and now poverty and starvation are killing the rest.

000 The drivers have difficulty in finding a practicable track between the sand-hills. At last we reach Ruḍēḥ, the village of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, where donkeys are waiting for us. The drivers are of the opinion that the cars can go on still further if we will all help by pushing from time to time. We are again obliged to go through the sandy bed of the *sēl*. Great exertion is necessary to get the cars through the loose sand, but after that it is good going over loam plains and through wādīs. Sometimes a descent or ascent has to be dug, but we are prepared for that: pickaxes and spades have been brought.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



of the route and we are free to travel in the darkness, that is to say, after sunset and before sunrise.

Some two hours after starting, we arrive at the Qeᶜēṭī frontier. Here, besides a castle named Ḥuṣn Bin Dighāl and manned by the inhabitants of the wādī, we find the first stronghold occupied by a garrison of Yāfiᶜ soldiers of the *Dōla* (*i. e.* Government); it bears the name of Bedaᶜ Qeᶜār. We pass by this lonely castle; the soldiers, who are weakened by malaria, stare inquisitively after us, crowding each other aside to get a view of us from the little windows near the roof. We have come nearer to the river again at this point, and before long our path goes through fertile date-gardens, beside and across irrigation canals full of water. It is already growing dark as we approach Ḥūte, the first village on Little's map. We had decided not to spend the nights in villages and houses, if it were at all possible to avoid it, so as to have no bother from inquisitive visitors; we let the camels kneel down for the night where the slopes of a hill began a little way beyond Ḥūte.

We had not been able to replenish our stock of food at Ṣidāra, and here also the men we send out to do so come back empty-handed. The rocky slope was unpleasant to lie on and the proximity of the river and irrigated fields makes the atmosphere very damp, which is oppressive at night. Mosquitoes, the tormentors of mankind in hot, damp countries, make their appearance here again. In the middle of the night we were startled by a hyena that was snuffling round us but ran away like a hare when some of our company awoke and got to their feet.

On the following morning, June 17th, we did not succeed in making an early start. The camels had to be generously watered; then we were told that one of them had strayed, though in reality our men were only trying to give the animals plenty of time to feed from the *rāk* bushes which grow around. Bedouins invariably do everything they can to keep their camels in the best possible condition.

before we got our caravan on the move. A disappointment of this kind does not improve the mental atmosphere, especially before one has learnt to know one's followers. Distrust of the honesty of their promise to do all in their power, and the overwhelming desire to go quickly forward on account of the scantiness and bad quality of our food bred in us a mood of tension and exhaustion.

The mountain scenery through which we passed became gorgeous. The geological strata were clearly visible in the walls of the dry river-beds through which our path ran. Before us was a lofty chain of granite mountains like a huge wall with sharp peaks and jagged tops. It grew very warm among those bare rock-walls where we had to climb laboriously over sharp, slippery ground. To one side of the path was a brackish spring of whose water even the animals refused to drink. We mounted towards the high mountain-pass which our people called Hūta. The remains of a strongly fortified wall built of fragments of uncut stone stand in the pass. Heavy fighting took place there ten years ago when el-Qeʿēṭī sent an expedition to conquer Wādī Ḥadjr. The graves of the slain are marked by simple heaps of stones, on either side of the mountain path. After a long descent we reached the wādī again at just about the hottest time of day. Its banks here are steep and so we could not get at the enticing water or the green *rāk* bushes, but our Bedouins went in search of a place where it would be possible to descend. We had made up our minds to rest for the afternoon, not here in el-Qulēta, but further on at Nēfa. The intense desire to hurry on at all costs and to get to the end made Von Wissmann and me decide foolishly to force matters and, if need be, to walk alone to Nēfa without the caravan. The path wound on through a region of sand-hills and the heat was so great that we became uneasy over our decision. Luckily Dhēb had the magnanimity to give way and gave the order to follow us. Nor had we trusted in vain to Little's map, for Nēfa was close at hand. Near the path was a great

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



181 and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided
721 Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite
619 an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

[651] Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June
721 disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was
619 not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms,
[647] ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to resore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The
[712] difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled
620a at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Mansab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

619 There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the
411 carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba
901 Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

000 Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

## Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

6 Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden



Hadhramaut MM21 Remittances

457 of money from the Far East—the basis of Hadramaut's economy—began to arrive to a certain extent, at least from Singapore. From Java and the Dutch possessions there, is, however, little hope as yet of any but very limited sums being released.

### HOUSING

342 The fixed population are housed for the main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees. The poorer sections live in mud-brick houses, one-storeyed stone huts and straw huts.

## Chapter 9: Law and Order

### JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts are of two kinds: (*a*) Shari'a Courts (which administers the Shari'a or Quranic Law), and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Shari'a Courts.

798 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate there has been a revival of religious intolerance. A most unfortunate development in Mukalla during the year was the formation of a religious committee whose activities have been something between those of a vigilance committee and the inquisition. It selects those whom it considers have committed offences against Islam, condemns them and sentences them. The local Government carries out its sentences and there is no appeal. This being a matter of religion, the [643] Resident Adviser has under the treaty no power to interfere. Hadramaut has never been the home of religious tolerance, but it was hoped that the fires of fanaticism were dying.

### GOVERNMENT GUARDS

*Strength*

704 The force of Government Guards operates in the Western Aden Protectorate. The most outstanding event for the Government Guards ●712 in 1947 was the transfer of the Headquarters from the Hindu garden in Sheikh Othman to the Champion Lines, Khormaksar, in the early part of the year.

The task of adapting the camp to meet the needs of this force was not completed for several months, but in its present form provides ample living and store accommodation for the approved establishment which has now been brought up to full strength.

*Tribal Guards*

The arrival of the Depot Officer in May has permitted the calling in of Tribal Guard units for training in drill and musketry, and up to

S.Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



date the Dathina Unit, and a portion of the Amiri force, attended a course of instruction in Headquarters. It was not possible to make a start in the training of Tribal Guards until the alteration referred to above had been finished in the camp, and it is hoped to continue these courses in the future. 704 712

*Posts*

Detachments of Government Guards were stationed in the following districts:

Dathina: Mudia, Am Quleita, Am Khudeira.
Abyan: Jaar, Al Husn, Ba Teis.
Subeihi: Tor al Baha, Am Farsha, Am Riga.
Dhala: Safra, Dhala and Jihaf.
Beihan: Nejd al Mezar, Beihan, Asylan.
Ahwar: Ahwar and Masana.

Apart from operations against Ami Haidara in February the Government Guards were not engaged in any military action throughout the year. On several occasions it became necessary to send reinforcements to districts to meet emergencies, the most notable being the despatch of a strong force to Abyan in the summer months to protect the Agricultural Department's scheme against sabotage by followers of the Lower Yafai Sultan.

Following the murder of the Political Officer, Northern Area, a detachment of Government Guards accompanied the force sent to investigate the case and later completed a march through southern Amiri territory.

No casualties were suffered during the year.

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate, security is primarily a responsibility of the states themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces. The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion under the control of the British Agent performed their security functions with credit.

### PRISONS

There is no recognised Prisons Service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of states have their own state prisons which are supervised by the political staff. 677

## Chapter 10: Communications

In the Western Aden Protectorate road communications remained difficult, although motor transport continued to operate to Taiz and Hodeidah. 494

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate in February British Overseas Airways Corporation closed the Karachi route which they had been using from Aden, via Riyan. This caused some dismay in Mukalla, where there is 509

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

712

*With acknowledgments to A. R. Thomas*

KATHIRI FORT, GHEIL BIN YOMEIN, ADEN PROTECTORATE

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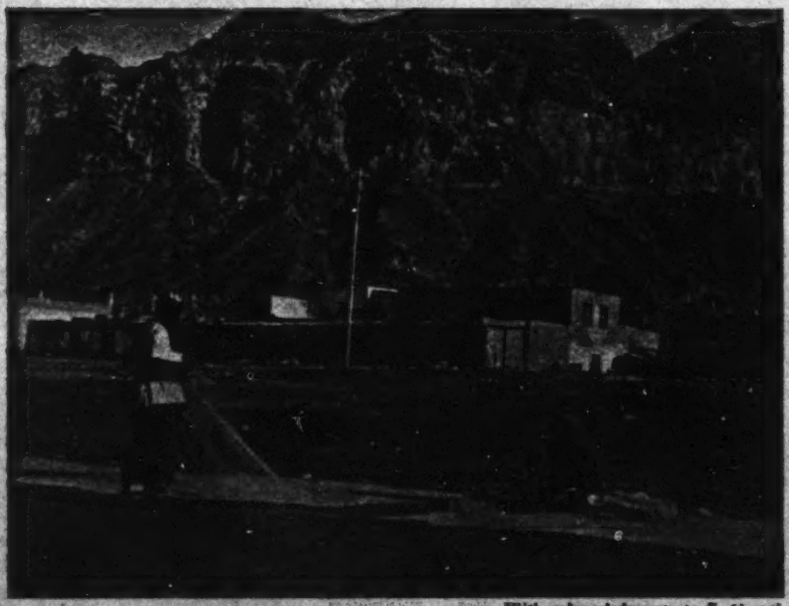

*With acknowledgments to J. Gospel*

FISHERMEN REPAIRING NETS BELOW THE BARREN ROCKS OF ADEN

Facing p. 40 (c)

6:Gt. Brit . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



000 camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees.

# Chapter 9: Law and Order

## JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (*a*) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts.

*Government Guards*

712 701 Government Guard garrisons have been maintained at Jihaf, Dhala, El Eqla, and Safra in the territory of the Amirate, at Ahwar and Al Ugma in Lower Aulaqui country, at Ba Teis, El Husn and Ja'ar in Abyan, at Mudia, Am Khudeira and Am Quleita in Dathina, and at Al A'in, A'Sailan, El Kara', Beihan Es Suq in Beihan territory. In Subeihi country, the garrisons were withdrawn from Tor-el-Baha, Am Fursha and Am Rija, and forces of the Abdali Sultanate now control this area. In August, 1948, after operations against the Saqladi Sheikh, ruler of the territory of Shaib, a Government Guard Post was established at Awabil, capital of the Shaib States.

*Tribal Guards*

Progress has been made in the re-arming and training of Tribal Guard Units. Forces have now been raised in Dathina, Shaib and Audhali country in addition to existing forces in Beihan, Lower Aulaqi, Fadhli, Amiri, Maflahi and Lower Yafa States.

The local States also employ Tribal Guards, generally recruited from within the State to garrison outposts of the country. Increased reliance on them is being shown and the States are increasing their annual contributions towards the maintenance of the Tribal Guards. The authorised strength of this force is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Abdali (Lahej Trained Forces) | 379 |
| Fadhli Tribal Guards | 57 |
| L. Yafa'i Tribal Guards | 30 |
| L. Aulaqi Tribal Guards | 41 |
| Haushabi | 29 |
| Amiri | 75 |
| Dathina | 22 |
| Beihan | 40 |
| Audhali | 30 |
| Maflahi | 25 |
| Shaibi | 31 |

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate security is primarily a responsibility of the States themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces. The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion continued to do well in its security role.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



712 *Northern Area.* In 1950 the desert posts were completed at Minwakh, Zimakh and Al Hajr, thus linking up the northern fort system with Al Abr and Asakir, and controlling all the important water points in the area. Since the establishment of these forts there has been no raiding at all in this area, or by tribes of this area upon other tribes.

631 *Eastern Areas.* After the settlement with the Menahil in 1948 this area remained quiet, and the Mukalla Regular Army fort at Som is now accepted by the tribes of the area. Recently the Naib of Shibam met the Muqaddam of the Menahil at Elinat. This went far to heal the breach between them and Government dating from 1947 when the tribe rose and attacked Government posts.

648 *Mahra—Socotra.* The Resident Adviser paid two visits to Socotra during 1949-50, one by sea and the other by air. Among subjects discussed with the Sultan were reports of famine conditions on the Island. The Resident Adviser strongly urged the Sultan to spend more time on the mainland, and agreed to arrange a meeting later in 1951 between the Qu'aiti and the Mahra to settle a frontier dispute at Museina. The Fisheries Officer visited the Mahra coast to study fishing conditions there.

*General*

731 As a result of the famine in 1949, there has been a notable decrease in the numbers of camels and goats, and as a result of delayed rains in Socotra the people there have suffered a similar loss. However, 1950 was a good year for the beduin, and more young camels are to be seen load-carrying now.

691 One of the chief complaints by the Bedu has been the delay caused by magistrates when judging Bedu cases. This matter has been investigated and is being put right.

664 619 Very recently a number of chiefs from the western tribes held a meeting and put in a joint petition to Government. The three points of the petition were (*a*) a complaint against the arms-carrying ban in Wadi Du'an ; (*b*) a complaint against truck owners carrying loads which are forbidden by Government's agreement with the Bedu ; and (*c*) a request for some of their old customs to be recognised. But so firmly is the peace now established that troublesome elements who attempted to support these demands by force were overruled by the majority. The Government is taking suitable action in this matter.

648 On 25th August, 1949, Colonel J. E. H. Boustead, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., assumed the appointment of British Agent, Eastern Aden Protectorate, and Resident Adviser to the Hadhramaut States and to the Wahidi State of Balhaf.

000 A table of Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes is given on p. 6.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



653 Their chief function is the construction and maintenance of state buildings and roads throughout the territories. In the main towns in the Qu'aiti State the department is responsible for the upkeep of the conduits bringing in water from springs outside. All air landing grounds, except Riyan, are maintained by the Public Works Department of the two States.

# Chapter 10: Communications

## WESTERN PROTECTORATE

494 491 Increasing use is being made of motor vehicles. These are for the most part driven along sandy beaches, dry river beds or across open desert, but in some places tracks have been improved and in a few cases new roads cut through difficult country. Nearly all roads are extremely rough and surfaces are rarely repaired.

The following routes are open for motor traffic:

| | Miles |
|---|---|
| Sheikh Othman to Lahej | 16 |
| " " " Tor al Bahar | 64 |
| " " " Museimir | 61 |
| " " " Dhala | 88 |
| Aden to Zinjibar | 40 |
| Zinjibar to Ja'ar | 6 |
| " " Al Husn | 16 |
| " " Dirjaj | 17 |
| " " Sheikh Abdulla | 6 |
| " " Shuqra | 30 |
| Shuqra to Am Surra | 30 |
| " " Lodar | 50 |
| " " Mudia | 68 |
| " " Am Quleita | 78 |
| " " Mahfid | 145 |
| " " Habban (Eastern Protectorate) | 195 |
| " " Said | 196 |
| " " Nisab | 253 |
| " " Beihan al Qasab | 373 |
| " " Ahwar | 76 |
| " " Irqa (Eastern Protectorate) | 124 |

509 712 A regular air service by Aden Airways is maintained between Aden and Mukeiras. Other landing grounds, which are used only by the Royal Air Force, are situated at Shuqra, Ahwar, Lodar, Dhala, Beihan, Qoban (Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom) and Sah (Upper Aulaqi Sultanate).

492 Where no motors can yet penetrate, the traffic of the country is carried on camel caravans which still travel to Aden in large numbers; in the more mountainous districts small donkeys are employed for both passengers and goods.

205 There are no post offices in the Western Protectorate.

*Internal transit dues.*

651 *Mukalla and Shihr.*
486

| | |
|---|---|
| On every loaded camel leaving ... ... ... | Re.1. |
| On every camel man[1] ... ... ... ... | As.2. |

*Shibam.*

| | |
|---|---|
| On every *Bahar* brought in from Qu'aiti ports or territory ... ... ... ... ... ... | $ ½. |
| On every *Bahar* from other places in Aden Protectorate or from Yemen ... ... ... | $1¼. |

*Passport Fees (compulsory).*

| | |
|---|---|
| On every passport ... ... ... ... ... | Rs.2 |
| Photograph by state photographer ... ... | Rs.3 |

## Defence.

### Regular Army.

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The non-commissioned ranks are, Havildar, Naik and Lais Naik. The Yafa'is receive nine dollars a month, and the slaves one to three dollars as pocket-money, but they are much better off than the Yafa'is for they receive regular rations for themselves and every member of their families. They are provided with wives, and given milk, which is scarce, for their wives and children. The
702 cadet corps, already referred to, ensures a constant supply of disciplined recruits.

713 The force is armed with every sort of rifle, but principally Martini Henrys. They are said to keep them perfectly clean inside and out. There is a "range" behind the town. The regulars
714 are all provided with a khaki uniform, shirt and shorts, and a
708 red fez, but the uniform is not worn except by the guards at the palace and on special occasions. There are said to be parades every
523 two days. There is a band consisting of 14 who wear khaki uniforms and scarlet glengarries. The regulars for the most part are stationed in Mukalla, but there are a few in Shihr and Reida.

### Irregulars.

704 There are said to be 1,000 to 1,200 irregulars officered by eleven
701 *Muqaddams* who receive 35 to 40 dollars a month. Each *Muqaddam* has a paid *Muswin* who receives 20 to 25 dollars, and each man is said to receive seven dollars a month. They are stationed in the districts. In Shibam there are 40 Yafa'is and 60 slaves. There are about 500 Yafa'is in the neighbourhood of Shibam who are
[635] paid but allowed to work their own fields. The Sultan's representative in the Shibam province is in command of the troops.

[1] Members of certain tribes are exempted from this tax.

4.Sergeant U-2(no date)1942 ML1 Yemen ML1
Hadhramaut MMA

A 701 714 302 713 702

money in kind—perhaps corn or an annual gift of cloth—though their pay is more often than not in arrears. The soldiers wear no uniform apart from the indigo-dyed *futah* (kilts) and turban and a coating of indigo over the body which is supposed to keep out the cold, but their rifles are supplied by the Sultans and so many rounds of ammunition per annum. They have no military training except where partially controlled by Aden.

Y 634 643 651 433 461 178

The same system obtains in the independent Arab state of the Yemen, except that, instead of petty Sultans, there are governors of districts owing allegiance, at least in theory, to the Imam. Taxation in the Yemen is perhaps more irksome on the peasant than in the Aden Protectorate and a 10 per cent tax is exacted from every Yemeni bringing back money to his native village. In the interior of this part of Arabia enterprise is only too often stamped out by the Sultans who crush all attempts at betterment, or new concerns, by uneconomic taxation. It is to this that we must attribute the decay of trade and agriculture in Arab countries such as Palestine and Iraq and not to lack of initiative on the part of the Arab himself. One has only to see the great terrace systems of the Yemen to be assured of the potentiality of Arab enterprise.

Y 458 439 366 [illegible]

Most towns of any size have a market on a fixed day of the week, often a Thursday (*Suq al-Khamis*), when those who wish to buy or sell flock to the little town. The country people bring grain, fruit and vegetables, sheep, goats and cattle, and the beautiful woollen carpet-strips woven by the women. The Sultan usually has a market tax of 10 per cent on sales. Here the countryman can buy Japanese enamel-ware, German lamps, Turkish or Indian matches, kerosene, old beer bottles from the messes in Aden, etc. Cotton futahs from Japan, or the fine Javanese sarongs which may have been imported as early as A.D. 1500 are displayed along with local weaves. It is a curious thing that these Japanese futahs are made in a number of different patterns, of which certain kinds seem to be preferred by individual tribes, though there seems to be no fixed rule.

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From the East Indies come tea and the spices, ginger and cardamom. Tea is the more honourable drink, though coffee-husk ground and infused with ginger is drunk the more commonly. The peasant can buy the

Text continued on p. 70 (B)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



619 into settled or agricultural, and nomad races, with the differences due to and inseparable from their modes of life. The racial
142 type which marks the original population of this part of Arabia is characterized by a coppery complexion and high cheek-bones, not unlike the purer strains of old North American Indian blood. The hair is straight and usually tied up tightly in a bunch on the top of the head, a mode of immemorial antiquity, depicted on Egyptian monuments. But this indigenous type, though still exclusively confined to some of the littoral sub-tribes and to others in the maritime ranges, has been greatly modified by incursions of the taller Semitic race, who wear their hair loose and wavy and lack the reddish complexion of the indigenous race; they came from the north, mainly the ancient district of Jauf, which appears to have been convulsed by bitter internal strife after the Prophet's death, owing to the jealousy of rival factions which followed the decease of the then paramount chief, Ma'an. His family fled southward to escape persecution, followed by other branches of a former ruling house. They finally penetrated as far south as the Yeshbum valley, where they settled as mere *raya*, or tributary subjects of the Ahl Bunyar people, under the 'Abd el-Wahīd Sultanate which then dominated the country nearly to the city of Nisāb. Increasing in power and numbers these Jaufi clans eventually drove the Bunyar on to the Dahr plateau, where they remain to this day, and thrust back the 'Abd el-Wahīd rule as far as the strong city of Habbān. The clans now proclaimed themselves an integral tribal unit which became the nucleus and origin of the Upper 'Aulaqi. They formed an alliance with their southern neighbours, the Ba Kāzim, who, thus assisted, threw off the 'Abd el-Wahīd yoke too, and became the Lower 'Aulaqi.

Upper and Lower Yāfa' have been colonized in much the same way—the invaders in this case coming from Yemen. The central district of Dathīnah presents both types, as does the Fadhli country, while the 'Abdāli have absorbed so much alien blood as to have almost lost all racial distinction; they are indeed strongly characterized by negroid intermarriages which have introduced a swarthy coarse-featured type. Still further west, the Subeihi still preserve an indigenous type, though tainted with negro blood.

619 The fighting organization and equipment of the confederations deserve somewhat detailed notice. Beginning with the Sultan and
• 713 the 'Dōlah', or adult males of his house, we find that all wear the national dagger or *jambiyah*; but the scabbard does not curl up in horse-shoe form, unless its owner is something of a swashbuckler,

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



and wears the tribal pattern. The Sultan himself, and the senior members of his house, when on duty or attending public functions, wear swords of scimitar design for cutting only, with a very small hilt and inadequate guard. The scabbard, of red morocco leather mounted in silver, is slung by a loop of silken cord over the left shoulder. The 'Naqibs' (governors), when representing the Sultan, also carry swords, but they are none of them, as a rule, good swordsmen. Some of the more civilized potentates on the littoral carry pistols or revolvers as well. 619 713

Working down through the Sultan's household we come to the *askaris*, or hereditary retainers (this term is also applied to tribesmen when serving as a permanent detachment). The hereditary class does not as a rule provide good combatants, for all their males are enrolled in the ranks automatically—regardless of physique or fitness—on attaining puberty, and serve till too decrepit to get about. Being looked on as servants rather than soldiers, they are not adapted to the rigours of campaigning, nor do they practise much with firearms, which are the property of the Sultan. They are, in fact, chiefly engaged on police duty and the enforcement of bazaar taxes. With them may be classed the *abid* or slaves—the most consistently faithful dependants of any Sultanate. They are armed like the *askaris*, but occasionally carry a scabbardless *nimshah*—a straight, single-edged blade, round-pointed and heavy-backed, with a plain unguarded hilt like the handle of an ordinary knife. Slaves do not wear the *jambiyah*. The askari's *jambiyah* is his own property. Both *askaris* and slaves are partly armed with matchlocks or rifles, according to the resources of the Sultan's arsenal; and the less efficient and junior members of the corps carry spears. 619 713 701

The *jambiyah* has been fully described elsewhere (p. 153 f.). Spear-heads are long and narrow, of privet-leaf shape, fashioned of soft steel, with sharp edges and point, but no barb, the hafts varying from five to six feet in length. Lances, used by cavalry, have shorter heads than spears, and stouter hafts, about seven feet in length, gripped overhand. Matchlock guns are rapidly becoming obsolete and are being replaced by the breech-loader, the most common pattern being the Graz rifle or carbine. Remingtons, Turkish Martinis, and a few other patterns are occasionally seen. Practically all the Subeihi have breech-loaders, and the Quteibi and Haushabi are well provided with them. As time goes on the Arab will, generally, thanks to his better armament, become a more formidable foe. Ammunition for the breech-loader is not very plentiful, and native reloading and recapping have not, as yet, proved very successful.

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As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000.

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambiyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870.

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamis*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turban-wise round his head.

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This,

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2.



The great cleanliness of the houses of the rich is very 336
noticeable. The drainage from lavatories and kitchens runs 271
down wide, square shafts into spaces destined for it in the lower floor, into which however, unfortunately, light penetrates so that they become good breeding places for flies. Bathrooms and also lavatories are partly fitted out as in the East Indies. Sometimes there are douches, and generally there are large brick cisterns for the bath water, which one scoops out to pour over oneself. Our host has a large refrigerator by means of which cold drinking-water is provided for the numerous guests and dwellers in the house, and fruits and sweetmeats become the refinement of pleasure.

Cooking in Terîm, as in Sēwûn, is very much influenced 252
by Singapore and Java. Chinese cooks are responsible for 177
the extensive rice meals that are enjoyed daily by dozens of guests. Many dried or tinned foods are imported from Java. Some kinds of vegetables are grown in the gardens of Terîm; the fresh fruits which are served at table are large oval melons and the first ripe dates. As the latter are rather scarce, last years' dates come to table prepared as paste, in cakes, sweet bread, etc.

Sayyid ʿUmar el-Kāf's house, like that of our host, is 352
furnished in half-European style. Old-fashioned Indian rocking-chairs stand on the beautiful carpets. A bed, rigged up in the Javanese manner, decorates the great reception-room. The bed linen is not white, but pink. There are many mirrors on the walls and also photographs of the family's estates in the Indies. Sayyid ʿUmar is the owner of the great Europe Hotel in Singapore; he shows us with pride — and no wonder — the model of the new hotel, which makes an impression magnificently American. The walls are further decorated with Mausers and American repeating rifles, which are hard to obtain in this country and, consequently, are worth a great deal.

It had already struck us that the Kathîrî soldiers were 74 411
better clad than those of the Qeʿēṭî. The number of pro- 565

714 fessional soldiers is much smaller here, and the black slave
411 element is entirely absent. The sayyids of Ḥaḍramaut them-
565 selves are not armed, but they set great store on the possession of a few good Mausers (here called *Mēser*) and of large quantities of munition.

## 4. THE HIGHEST MINARET OF ḤAḌRAMAUT.

346 In the afternoon, accompanied by our host's son and the doctor, we climb the highest minaret of Ḥaḍramaut. No one knows the exact height; we estimate it at 150 feet. It is a pity that this minaret is built in modern style. The true Ḥaḍramaut minaret is round, tapering a little towards the top, with a single band of lattice-work as the only decoration; on the top are small round pillars supporting the cupola. The colour, cream, stands out very effectively against a hard blue sky and above the grey-green of the date-palms. But *this* minaret is square and the colour is blue and white; it has many small window openings with grey borders. It also tapers towards the top, where the spiral staircase of mud is only practicable for slim people. At the top is again the little cupola with pillars supporting the roof.

361 A striking panorama is spread out from here before our eyes. Standing in the midst of the luscious, green oasis, with its gaily coloured palaces, we gaze out towards the wide, scorched plains of sand of the wādī and the dark, crumbled walls of the *djōl*. One can see clearly from here that Terīm is a town of some extension, with many great houses of which the greater number are kept in good condition, and that many new ones are in process of building. The cemetery, with its three cupolas marking the graves of *walīs* (saints) [1], makes a large open space. There are many mosques, recognisable by their high or low, round or square minarets. The ruins of a great castle, the centre point of the old city, stand on a hill.

[1] See p. 131, foot-note.

Hadhramaut MMa

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701 gift of cloth—though their pay is more often
714 than not in arrears. The soldiers wear no
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439 more honourable drink, though coffee-husk ground and infused with ginger is drunk the more commonly. The peasant can buy the

[Text continued on p. 70 (B)]

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2

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Facing P.38 (A)

A SOLDIER OF THE ADEN TRIBAL GUARDS

mean that his position *vis à vis* the Confederation is wholly negli- 643
gible. The influence that an individual ruler exerts over a con-
federation of tribesmen depends to a large extent on the personality 642
of the individual and I found plenty of evidence that Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur is universally respected, admired, and held in affection amongst the Shenafir tribesmen. Even though his word is not universally law his services are much sought in mediation between different factions, and there is no lack of factions in the Confederation. Along the length of the valley from the east of Shibam [484]
to the east of Tarim, which is considered Kathiri, village after village is a small city-state on its own. It is difficult to pass from one to another, even now that the motor-car has come, without the traditional *siyar* or escort.

Typical of the situation has been the state of war that has existed 578
for some time between the Āl 'Umar and Āl 'Āmr clans. They 669
have centred round the respectably-sized town of Al Ghurfa between Shibam and Seiyun. Five or six years ago some of the tribesmen of the Āl 'Umar started interfering with the inhabitants of Al Ghurfa. Bin 'Abdat, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Āmr, protested to Salim bin Ja'fer, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Umar, and proposed that they should unite to make peace in Al Ghurfa. Hitherto disputes in the town [692]
were commonly referred to the settlement of one Sheikh Bā Abūd, but this arrangement appears to have broken down. Bin 'Abdat informed Bin Ja'fer that if he would not help him, he (Bin 'Abdat) would establish control in the town himself. As Bin Ja'fer did not give him support he took action himself and established order. The new state of affairs was not popular, and probably resulted in some further disorder which had its repercussions beyond local limits. At this juncture the Qu'aiti *wazir* came to Shibam and brought pressure on Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur to unite with him and Salim bin Ja'fer in compelling Bin 'Abdat to vacate Al Ghurfa, and retire to his original place outside. Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur marched against Bin 'Abdat with one gun and some troops; Seiyid Hussein, the Qu'aiti *wazir*, also brought a gun and some troops from Shibam, Salim bin Ja'fer brought his own men, and the three forces collected at Al Ghiyel. The town of Al Ghurfa was bombarded, and, as it was described to me, " they had a good battle but without success ".

Seiyid Hussein, the *wazir*, retired after having successfully com- 669
plicated the issue, and Sultan 'Ali immediately followed suit, leaving 725
Bin 'Abdat and Bin Ja'fer to fight it out together. Both sides entrenched themselves. The elaborate system of fortifications and communication trenches, still visible at Al Ghurfa, reminded me strongly of France. They extend over nearly a mile, and in this small patch of the valley both sides lived an uncomfortable life for several years. Any cultivation that was done was done [722]
under difficulties, and the fields could only be approached through trenches. Salim bin Ja'fer enlivened the proceedings by 715
importing a sort of armoured car from Java. This is now derelict

715 and is offered for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet, presumably, other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

[726] The situation sounds almost incredible, but the war continued for
728 several years. At last Sultan 'Ali supported by the Al Kaf Seiyids,
661 the strongest influence for peace in Kathīri territory, thought matters had gone far enough, and invited the disputants to Seiyun to conclude a peace. The terms suggested were agreed to on all points except for one requiring Bin 'Abdat to demolish two small forts. The matter appeared to have reached a deadlock when a Seiyid of Aden, of Hadhramaut origin, Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman al Jifri, proceeded to the Hadhramaut and offered his services in the settlement of the trouble. He is a friend of Bin 'Abdat's, and Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman and Bubekr al Kaf sent him to Bin 'Abdat to advise him not to hold out on account of the two small forts. Matters were probably ripe for a settlement as everybody was tired of hostilities, but Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman very creditably brought the feud to a satisfactory conclusion. What was even more satisfactory was that a gathering of more than a hundred representatives of all sections of the Shenafir was held at Seiyun, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman succeeded in assisting Sultan 'Ali, backed by the Al Kaf Seiyids, to negotiate a truce between all the Shenafir tribes. This agreement, which takes effect from the 1st of Sha'bān 1353 (9th November 1934) provides for a truce of two years and two months in all matters relating to blood feuds between the various tribes, and gives also a guarantee of five years security for travellers on the routes.

643 It may thus be that the foundations have now been laid for an
185 era of peace in Kathīri land, and the time seems to be propitious
565 for the establishment of a greater solidarity in Kathīri rule. There are certainly strong elements in favour of peace. Foremost of all is Sultan 'Ali himself. He is a man of culture and very charming personality with that kind of magnetism which inspires instinctive respect and affection. I do not think anybody who has met him can fail to receive the impression that he is a good man in the best sense of the word, nor can anyone who has discussed the situation with him fail to be impressed with the earnestness of his desire for peace. In this desire he is warmly and ably supported by many of the leading families, of whom the most important are the Al Kaf and Saqqaf Seiyids. Although they are Seiyids the measures of reform which these families support are many of them in flagrant opposition to the old conservative policy of the Seiyids, which for long maintained that body as the most powerful and the most desperately retrogressive party in the Hadhramaut. These families have shown that they can still play a very important part in the destinies of the country, and have in fact earned the right to speak in common voice with the Sultan in pressing reforms. It may also be observed that they are the heaviest, as well as the most willing,
[651] taxpayers in the country. Their annual contributions on Government and charitable undertakings amount to at least $70,000 a
year, without [illegible] expenditure.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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*Armoured car near Al Ghurfa*

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*Trenches at Al Ghurfa* [FACING P. 300 (A)]

I: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The following is the order of importance of the four paramount Chiefs of the Sei'ar tribe : Yeslam bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a of the Āl Hātim, Tanāf bin Seheil bin Rumeidān of the Āl Hudeib, the Āl Qarwān, and the Āl 'Ali, 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī of the Āl Mulhī, and 'Ali bin 'Aita bin Tarim of the Āl Bā Rūh and the Āl Bāqi Msellem. Yeslam bin Muhammad is said to be far and away the most powerful of the Sei'ar chiefs.

The Sei'ar are descended from the tribe of Kinda and they claim Aswad al Kindi as their ancestor. On account of this descent the Āl Mahfudh are sometimes included with them. Their country, an inhospitable waste of barren plateaux scored with unfertile wadis, lies north of the main wadi and stretches west to Wadi 'Abr. It is called simply Reidat as Sei'ar.

They told me their neighbours are, on the east, 'Awāmir and Kathīr, Manāhil and Mahra, Zabeini, on the north, Kathīri as Suflan, Harawiz, Mahra, Zabeini, Rawashid, Murra, Yām, and on the west, Daham, 'Abīda, Marādā, Hammām, Bal 'Ubeid, Kurab. The very names tell how far afield they roam and raid. They are the wolves of the desert and steppe, and parialis to the wadi folk living south of them, for they raid into the Minhali country on the east and the Hamumi and 'Awābitha on the south. Philby mentions them raiding far into the sands to Bir Fadhil, to Sharma, and possibly going to Hadbat abu Khasba. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Qutun, a section of the Qara tribe, and raiding a Mahra encampment at the waterhole of Andhaur. He also says they raided as far north as the region of Umm Malissa and that Sei'ar is a word of terror to the Rashid and the southern Murra. The Nahd let them visit their markets through fear only, and they are an ever present danger to small unguarded parties of travellers, whom they have interrupted up to Ghadīr al Milib in the Wadi Du'an. Having no settled habitat they are hard to punish and have always proved elusive and wary. When travelling in small numbers outside their own country they choose the byways and travel by night, for owing to their habits every man's hand is against them. The only places at which they appear openly are Shibam where they behave themselves, and Meshhed during the time of the annual *ziyara* in the month of Rabi'l Awal when they sell their camels. But their hardier neighbours do not let them have it all their own way and the Manāhil, for instance, give them as good as they get. If they raid far they are also raided from afar, as witness the case of a young warrior of the Southern Ajman from the neighbourhood of Kuweit, who, proceeding to Nejran in the winter of 1934-5 to espouse a Yām damsel, raided the Sei'ar on the Hadhramaut borders on his way home and took five of their camels to Kuweit.

They have monthly truces among themselves, never longer; sometimes they will make new ones, sometimes they fight. I was

619 given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir
721 for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on
578 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Seheil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathīri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathīri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a "B" agreement with them.

231 The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: "The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and
438 Manahil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have, of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell *saf* leaves for making mats, *'elb* trunks, and charcoal.

609 Bertram Thomas records the following description of them:
771 "The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. 'They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them!'" We learned from the
582 Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

622 The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and Ahmed
619 bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

[See pg 92 CAT. pry 116 Analyst]

## Āl 'Imran.

A tribe allied to the Tamimi. The *mansab* is Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. 619 631 101

### Manahil.

| *Clan.* | *Section.* | *Places.* | *Nos.* | *'Aqil.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beit Kasim ... | Beit Ghānim | An Neid | 40 | 'Aidha bin Tanāf. |
| | Beit al Batin | do. | 60 | do. |
| | Beit Rasi'a | do. | 150 | do. |
| | Beit al Hamādi | do. | 28 | do. |
| | Beit Nahāt | An Neid and As Sōm | 80 | do. |
| | Beit Barakāt | As Sōm and Fughma | 30 | do. |
| | Beit Nas'ūd | do. | 15 | do. |
| Beit Mu'ashini | Beit Nōkhat | — | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Bāqiya | Sena and An Neid | 100 | Yeslam bin Salim. |
| | Beit Sālmin | do. do. | 50 | do. |
| | Beit al Qūeinisa | do. do. | 60 | do. |
| | Tammān | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | Hushhūsh | do. do. | 300 | do. |
| | Muzābbar | do. do. | 100 | do. |
| | 'Atūni | An Neid | 100 | do. |
| Al Bawāqi ... | — | do. | 100 | — |
| As Samāh ... | Samāh ar Raqāa | Near the coast | 100 | — |
| | Samāh al Ghuthma | — | 50 | — |
| | Samāh Beit Khafr | At Al Masila | 180 | — |
| | 'Adūl | — | 100 | — |
| Tha'in and Beit Farād. | — | — | 250 | — |
| Beit Dahein ... | — | — | 50 | — |
| Beit Qumsit ... | — | — | 500 | — |
| Beni Sa'id ... | — | — | — | — |
| Beni Ujeil ... | — | Near Qabr Hud | — | — |
| | | | 2,593 | |

The Manahil are a strong nomad tribe occupying the country east and north of the Hamumi and up into the Rub'al Khali. The southern part of Reida and the country from Damakh to upper Hadhramaut belong to them, and they have a few small settlements east of Qasm. They have an "A'f agreement with the Qu'aiti.

They breed camels extensively like their neighbours in the south-east, the Mahras, both for sale and for hire. Their camels are said to be finer and stronger than those of the Sei'ar, and the average price is estimated at about 200 rupees a camel. Female camels are seldom sold and are used both for breeding and riding. Women do not milk camels among the Manahil. 231 435 [562]

The tribe are said to raid as far as the Central Nejd and sometimes to the outskirts of Kuweit, passing the sandy stretch by routes known only to themselves. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Mahras in the steppe. We found that when passing through Mahra territory they declare themselves Tamimis. Bertram Thomas also says that "Bin Tannaf is the hereditary title of the 619 721 622

[See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

I:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



619 Sheikh of the Manahil tribe. The present (1930) holder is one
721 of the most famous leaders of the raid. The leader has always the
622 perquisite of two or three of the best camels taken, otherwise there is equal division of the spoil ". Philby mentions their chief, Saif bin Tannaf, as going to the Governor of Hasa to plead his excuses for not paying his taxes, and of the wilder spirits of the Manahil and other tribes joining a band of raiders called *Al Ziqirt*. In May 1935, the Manahil concluded a two years' truce with the Tamimi.

622 Their *mansabs* are Seiyid Hādi bin Ahmed ad Dawīla, whom I met collecting his tithes, which he does from Husn al 'Ur to Wad'a during the crop season, 'Ali bin Ahmed al Hussein who has influence over the Beni 'Ujeil, and Muhammad bin 'Ali Mola Dawīla who has influence over the Beni Sa'id, a small nomad clan.

### Ba 'Atwa.

619 This small tribe, now scattered between Qu'aiti and Kathīri
631 domains, deserves mention for its historic interest. Members of the tribe live in Mukalla, Shihr, Al Qatn, Seiyun, and Taris; they
101 have no fixed country of their own. Like the Ja'da and the Ma'di, they claim descent from the Beni Hilāl and are therefore Ma'adic, sons of Ishmael, and not of Joktan. Legend tells that the Beni Hilāl, who are sometimes rumoured giants, once lived in the Wadis 'Amd and Henin, but that drought drove them forth to northern pastures.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## THE RULE OF THE KATHĪRI SULTANS OF THE ĀL 'ABDULLA.

643 Authorities appear to be divided as to whether the Kathīri tribe are of Dhufar, Hadhramaut, or Yemen origin. They originally rose to prominence towards the end of the fourteenth century under Bedr bin al Habrali, commonly known as Bedr Bu Tuweirak. The genealogy of the Āl 'Abdulla, the ruling family of the Kathīris, as far as I have been able to ascertain it, is given in an appendix. The Āl 'Abdulla number some 700 souls and live in Tarim, Seiyun, Wadi Tarba and Al Bada'; their *mansab* is Ahmed bin 'Abdur Rahman as Saqqaf.

By the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla are recognised as Sultans of the Shenafir Confederation, and their dominion is defined as including the towns and villages of Seiyun, Tarim, Taris, Al Ghurf, Mariama and Al Gheil, and the Shenafir tribes of 'Umar, 'Amr, Al Kathīr, Bajri and Jabir and " all that is within their boundaries ". Practically speaking the Sultan's rule is only absolute in the towns mentioned, and in Tarim he is represented by the sons of his uncle, 'Abdulla and Muhammad, sons of Ghalib bin Muhsin bin Ghalib, who are semi-independent. The present Sultan is 'Ali bin Mansur who succeeded his father (who died at Mecca on the day of the Standing on Arafat) in 1929.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

## INTRODUCTION

131 To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South
114 Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

631 Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali
643 and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

133 The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and
152 uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable antiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their
312 limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an
439 enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade.
167 The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

• 721 Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *liwas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

### Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan, a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

Ellingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers. 647

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000. 651 652

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few. 579 712 165 625 721 701 643 619 728 652

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government. 619

[1] Apart the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off. 567

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and the people are natural Muslims having learnt in a hard school absolute submission to the will of God. Religious fanaticism is strongest where the seiyids are strongest. In other places there is greater tolerance and, among the bedouins, it is what a man is rather than what his religion is that counts. 771 181

When we started everybody wanted independence. Many of the old secluded seiyids, whose ideas of independence merely amounted to the exclusion of infidels, had sons and relations who read the Egyptian papers and their ideas of independence were based on grandiose schemes of complete self-government. Some of them, who thought themselves moderate, demanded no more than independence on the Egyptian and Iraqi models and talked airily of Parliaments and so on. In Singapore and Java in 1939 I had petitions presented to me three times demanding this sort of independence. Once at Solo the deputation was pointed out to me as representative: it contained seiyids, tribesmen and a Sultan of the Kathiri family. Only the last had ever been in the Hadhramaut. He asked me if he might see me privately after the meeting and then asked me to arrange independence for Jahiz. Jahiz was his village in the Wadi 'Amd and consists of five houses. The tribesmen, settled and bedouin, wanted independence; the bedouin claim was at least easy to understand for all it amounted to was that their freedom in the hills and deserts should be undisturbed. The settled tribesmen were and are more difficult. Every little section considered itself independent, and the more powerful, who could afford not only to arm themselves but to buy and arm private forces of slaves, did all they could to extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbours. 648 185 619

The strangest example of this kind of campaign was that of the Bin 'Abdat section of the Kathiri tribe, who own much landed property in Singapore and Java. The treaty chief of the Kathiris is the Kathiri Sultan whose capital is Seiyun. About 1928 the head of the Bin 'Abdat section forcibly occupied the walled town of Al Ghurfa, belonging to some unarmed sheikhs. This brought him into conflict with the Kathiri Sultan, who was supported by the Qu'aiti Sultan, and with the neighbouring heads of other Kathiri sections. War ensued which carried on with little interruption till 1937. Bin 'Abdat built up a respectable force of slaves and tribesmen of his own and constructed an elaborate system of forts and trenches which extended right across the Wadi Hadhramaut some three miles or more, and almost to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary at Shibam. In the course of the fighting, a curious armoured vehicle was imported from Java, which was intended to be towed by a motor car into the enemy camp. Bin 'Abdat acquired a very large stock of ammunition and really good rifles at very high prices. The Qu'aiti Sultan brought artillery, ancient and modern, to the aid of the Kathiri, but no decision was ever reached. 669 721

When I came to the Hadhramaut in 1936 Bin 'Abdat instructed his lawyer in Singapore to address a letter to the Government in which he claimed to be an "independent rajah." He was informed that the only recognized treaty chiefs in the main Hadhramaut were the Qu'aiti and 669 648

8; Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 M42 Hadhramaut M42



484 pasture lies beyond a certain point; or at noonday halts the camels become "temporarily lost."

Moonlit nights are considered most desirable for travel. Camels 233 are grazed wherever pasture is most abundant, regardless of the time of day—the heat may be intense—or the progress of the journey. This would not be necessary if small quantities of fodder, such as millet and hay, were carried. This practice, however, is not popular, owing either to custom or to what may be considered unwarranted expense, despite the fact that the animals could be maintained in superior condition and at the same time be worked harder to a degree that would more than offset the cost of purchased fodder.

[262] On the march camelmen provide for their own maintenance with 484 small amounts of dates, bread, coffee, and tea, which add little to the burden a caravan can transport. Therefore, provided the equipment of a traveling group is not too cumbersome and the personnel not too large, the unit can maintain itself on the march four or five weeks without replenishing supplies. Speed of travel will be governed by local grazing, water supply, and terrain, the condition of the camels, and the "temperament" of the caravan leader—an unknown usually capable of "adjustment."

492 In the caravans of those not strictly limited in resources, the 436 donkey is invariably included because it is comparatively easy to ride and a more comfortable mount than a camel. Camels can be hired for 1.00 to 1.25 Maria Theresa dollars (the standard currency in the interior) a day and donkeys for about 1.00 dollar.

## Bedouin "Warfare"

721 It is common knowledge that caravans have been both successfully 484 and unsuccessfully raided; but just what tactics the Bedouins employ on such occasions is somewhat of a mystery. At 4.00 a. m. one day a small party was plodding silently through bushes and mist along a broad wadi bottom leading to the sea. Through a knowledge of the prevailing wind as revealed by ripple marks in the sand, the leader cautiously picked his way and at length found a faint trail incised [233] in the bank. About 10.00 a. m. the caravan came to rest in the spotted shade of a leafless camel's-thorn for the customary noontime forage; and while the camels fed on the sharp, crunchy thorns, the Bedouins reclined on the sand in the meager shade of the dry branches.

Without apparent warning the whole camp was suddenly alive, for downwind had come a faint call, which one man had been alert enough to catch. The sharp-eyed Bedouins soon discovered two minute figures on the crest of a distant dune overlooking the caravan route ahead; and it was at once recalled that this route followed a tribal boundary between two groups now rumored to be unfriendly. The

strangers were assumed to be enemy scouts, the advance guard of a larger fighting force behind some distant dune. 721 484

The "ambushed" caravan comprised sixteen Bedouins, only twelve of them armed. This fact, however, the theoretically opposing force was supposed not to know, since it is an unwritten law of the desert that every Bedouin travels with rifle and ammunition. Without hesitation the leader selected three armed men to act as scouts and an unarmed messenger. Hastily the four men washed down a few mouthfuls of food, since they did not know when they would be able to eat again, filled with water from the large reservoir skins some small ones suitable for short, flying trips, and then slipped swiftly off across the sand in a peculiar bowlegged glide. Under cover of a near-by dune the caravan men scrambled to its summit, at once opened fire, and drove the two intruders from view. They then dashed ahead to the dune on which their adversaries had stood and later advanced from hilltop to hilltop parallel to the caravan route and between it and "enemy" territory. In the meantime the camels had been hastily packed and started on the march along the now protected trail, which they followed without intermission until sundown. [411]

The two "enemy" tribesmen were not seen again, and it was concluded that their actions had been misinterpreted. Freedom from molestation during the remainder of the day did not, however, cause the caravan leader to relinquish vigilance. The party was scheduled to pass at about 3.00 p. m. a water hole to one side of the trail and hidden from it by a dune. As a method of precaution an advance guard of four went ahead and, just as the caravan came abreast of this spot, converged on the well from four directions. Although the strategy displayed by the Bedouins and their chief was happily unnecessary, the "shadow" campaign showed how fearless and cautious these men of the desert can be.

## Fishers and Ropemakers

During certain of the winter months sardines abound along the Hadhramaut coast, traveling in large schools, which can be seen from the shore as black patches on the surface of the sea. Natives wade out with hand nets or cast from small canoes, making enormous hauls with considerable ease. The sardines are much appreciated by the Bedouins as an addition to their diet of dates, millet, and goat or sheep meat and are eaten either raw or cooked. The fish are taken from the nets, tossed up on the beach to dry, and then packed into large bundles for transport to the interior, where they are used for camel fodder or fertilizer. Fish oil is obtained from that part of the catch which is dumped into pits and allowed to decompose. Sting rays, sharks, porpoises, and lobsters are also taken from the sea; but as the use of lobster is unknown, it is cast back from the nets. 136 226 237 [262]

# THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

701 DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

579 Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the
•721 Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two lead-
643 ing rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

648 Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans,
728 but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

648 At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

185 From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and
625 respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control.
701 Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin
[871] areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls.

113 * Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

702 taking into consideration rations and clothing, is good money in the
701 Hadhramaut, and is sufficient for a soldier's tobacco and personal needs and, to maintain a wife and family. Unlike his British counterpart, he does not have to undergo a rigid medical examination, nor is he likely to suffer from the dentist, but if he should fall ill he is treated by the unit medical orderly or a civilian doctor, and provision is made for his admittance to the civil hospital in Mukalla if need arises.

712 At the end of recruit training a soldier will be sent to one of the posts
701 in the interior, and here the discipline and character-training already undergone will be continued. Some of these posts are sited where desert tracks cross, others near disputed wells or in areas where the tribes have proved recalcitrant. Sometimes local houses are requisitioned, and as
[342] Hadhrami architecture derives from the need for security these high, small-based, mud-brick houses are not unlike forts in themselves. In other localities proper small-scale forts have been built, square in shape and enclosing a well in the courtyard, resembling the smaller Palestine police posts or Arab Legion forts. Usually built with towers at two diagonally opposite corners, they have an imposing entrance gate, storerooms and sleeping quarters below, and above two rooms and a balcony encircling the fort. In commanding position, they would fill admirably the requirements of a producer of the *Beau Geste* type of film. From their posts the H.B.L. patrol on foot, perform guard duties, and if necessary provide escorts. Life in an outpost may appear dull, but reliefs are
[212] regular, and in his spare time a soldier is wise to learn to read and write, as without these accomplishments he is debarred from promotion above the rank of corporal. Any day a row of four or five soldiers may be observed at the unusual task of laborious reading or writing under the guidance of an officer or N.C.O.

701 Generally the presence of soldiers in an area has a deterrent effect on
721 any potential law-breakers or tribal raiders, and by mixing with the local Bedouin, and by reason of being themselves Bedouin, they do much to assist Government by explanation and advice. When trouble does occur, minor operations may have to be undertaken to deal with the offenders. During these infrequent periods the soldier receives his best training, and the prospect of more active duty always appeals to him. Although a natural fighter in his own type of warfare and country, the Bedouin is no match for his brother in the H.B.L., who has the advantage of superior leadership, better weapons, and a plentiful supply of ammunition. The expenditure of rounds, which do not have to be accounted for individually, is one of the soldier's greatest joys and entertainments. It may be won-
[619] dered, if, on occasion, men enlisted from tribes which are hostile to each other carry this enmity with them into the force. Such is not the case, and once in the army they seem to lose their civilian opinions and prejudices and to forget past feuds. However, care is taken that soldiers of a tribe against which force is used are not employed on that task.

702 Militarily speaking, the Hadhrami Bedouin soldier is quick at drill, and, as practically all of them are born with a rifle in their hands, weapon training, even with light machine-guns, comes easily to them. They are not, however, such good shots as might be expected and have a universal

Tendency to fire high.

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



boundary of the region of the āl-Qa'ētī, and were advised 000
to trust to the āl-Kathīr. About five days were considered necessary to get our caravan together, and these days were made use of for making a botanical collection on the limestone hills behind Makalla.

Von Wissmann made profile sketches of the hills, and 484
made observations to get a good base for his road survey. 486
We were thankful to make use of the permission granted 721
us by the authorities to make a trip for two days along the coast to ash-Shihr, which was formerly the most important harbor. Even a short distance inland from Makalla the country becomes unsafe. We were taken in a sort of auto-bus belonging to the sultan round the inland side of the mass of rock at Makalla, after that close along the shore, and finally even along the flat sandy shore. The bus was quite full of armed guards. We were forbidden to go by the road over the mountains, since on that road some soldiers had been killed from an ambush a short time before.

We were thankful when, after many negotiations with the leaders of our caravan, the signal for departure could be given on the afternoon of May 8. From early morning until the afternoon the vizier had had to negotiate with a group of Bedouins, who were waiting for our caravan among the rocks near the road, just outside the whitewashed boundary marks of the town of Makalla, in order to satisfy a blood-feud. The vizier knew how to bargain for a safe passage, but to be quite safe he had us taken in a government auto to a point beyond the border. In the darkness of night we were set down by the side of the road to wait for our donkeys!

The journey to the inaccessible and fanatical land of 133
Hadramaut was now begun. From the 9th to the 15th of May we traveled northwards,—first through the Wādī Himim. Finally we came to the terrible, monotonous plateau with table-mountains, known as *jōl*. For many days we marched over this limestone plateau with its basin-like depressions and its very scant vegetation.

against the two non-Moslem travelers, we started in the direction of Hajarēn. It was a silent struggle against thirst and heat. At last we were standing at the foot of the mountain on which Hajarēn lies. It must be a very old town. For a land of warfare its position is also very favorable. In the midst of the broad valley, on the top of a steep rocky hill, which stands there alone and commands the entire valley, they naturally preferred to build a town in former times. We were at the end of our strength as we worked our way up, in through the gate of Hajarēn, and by many narrow, steep streets to a plain house where a friend of the Dutch was said to be living. He might well have been startled when he saw the caravan of his unexpected visitors. It was a long time before the doors were opened. Luck was not with us. A double wedding feast was just being celebrated, and the women had to vacate the room in which we were to be received. Our host was not rich, but he put himself and all that he had at our disposal. When he saw how weary we were and how we longed for rest, a room was made ready for us higher up, where we could sleep until the meal was ready. We were under the roof of a Dutch subject. I remember with deep gratitude the oriental hospitality which cannot be praised enough, and of which we saw here a brilliant example. Thoroughly refreshed we started in the afternoon for Meshed. We had to close our ranks in doing this, for here was the neutral zone between the regions of the āl-Qa'ētī and the āl-Kathīr. Everything here indicated warfare and highway robbery. Meshed is a little place built in the midst of the desert, solely for the purpose of preventing highway robbery. The trade route from the Wādī Hadramaut through the Wādī Dō'an to the coast is safe since Meshed was established. Here we came into the jurisdiction of the family al-'Attās, and our troubles and anxieties came to an end. We were taken into a beautiful, spotlessly clean guest house, and were welcomed as honored guests by the cultured son of the absent governor.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops out to meet you.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-38)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the 361
sixteenth century Bedr ibu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, 101
whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found; for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and 311
it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi 619
green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern [233]
part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Badis keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim 622
Mbaruk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dis- 701
pensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom 728
there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali 619
is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 721
and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signa- 725
tories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in 000
October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

coasted westwards along the line just dividing the desert from the steppe; where the larger wadis run out into the sand there were wide stretches of scattered vegetation which made the land look as if there was a green scum on it.

At the western end of the "island," much broken with gulfs and with small islands lying off it in the desert, the flight turned to the south-west, a little to the west of the point which had been reached on the previous day's reconnaissance, and explored the western part of the Sei'ar country, the territory of the Al Hatim of which Bin Jerbu'a and Bin Mulhi are the chiefs. This is the heart of Reidat as Sei'ar, and turned out to be surprisingly thickly populated and cultivated. On almost every bank of the wadis were villages consisting of the usual type of Hadhrami Badawin conglomerate *dars*, with a tall tower in the centre, and small contiguous quarters, each called a *Beit*, clustered round it. Subsequent flights made this country very familiar, and with the aid of a Sei'ar, one of the most intelligent Badawin guides, I was able to identify almost all these *dars*. On several occasions we flew beyond Reidat as Sei'ar over uninhabited steppe to Husn Al 'Abr, seeing on clear days Shabwa away in the distance.

These reconnaissances seemed to us very interesting, not only politically but geographically, for the watershed and the fall of the land, steep towards the Hadhramaut and gradual towards the sands, were clearly visible. Up on this watershed I recorded altitudes of 3600, while 300 miles to the east Mr. Thomas states that the altitude remained fairly constant at about 950 feet. This northern steppe is bounded on three sides by sand and has cliff-walls all round it, highest on the wadi side and lowest on the northern or desert side. At a conservative estimate in some 20 square miles there are not less than fifty to sixty Sei'ar villages which have scarcely even been visited by Arabs other than the Sei'ar and the Al Ishaq Sheikhs who live among them.

Some time after these reconnaissances my wife and I visited Al 'Abr on the ground, though she in fact went rather farther and drove some 20 miles towards Shabwa, a day and a half's camel ride from Al 'Abr. We have thus seen the whole of the Wadi Hadhramaut from its source to the sea, and the more you see of it the more extraordinary it is, for it must be at least 40 miles from its northern or left to its southern or right banks at Al 'Abr. This of course narrows very rapidly to 4 miles or so at Henin. It was from Henin that Seiyid Bubekr and I set out for Al 'Abr, following for a start the tracks which Dr. Pike, on a geological survey, had made in that direction. The tracks made by Mr. Philby had of course disappeared.

Our object was to obtain the looted camels of the Manahils, held by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun of the Sei'ar at Al 'Abr. We had with us the fifteen slave soldiers of the Qu'aiti Regular Army who were to be installed there as a garrison, and as we did not want the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to abscond into the desert with the camels, we had kept our movements secret. Seiyid Bubekr said his sunset prayers at Henin. The lorries had gone ahead and had made very slow progress as they had had heavy sand to negotiate. It was difficult finding the way in the dark, but we caught them up at half-past eight, and all of us sat down to dine together, just near the village of Ser and under the two mountains called Thalamin which form a conspicuous landmark from the air for a radius of 70 or 80 miles around. This was 27 miles from Henin,

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hens' eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

## LAW AND DISPUTES.

As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al hauz*, or a code of ancient sanctions, is the law. The *hauz* is a wise man of the tribe. Not infrequently his is an hereditary office, occasionally the *hauz* is the shaikh of his tribe. Shara law, i.e. holy law in Oman and elsewhere, is the law of the coastal townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony, and sometimes of divorce and inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. That is the province of the *hauz*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara or holy law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed even along the coast by government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye-for-an-eye idea, the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali of Dhufar as having taken place last year is as follows: "X" was going on a journey into the "Y's" country and took a *rabia* from "Y." On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and "X" found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. A *hauz* heard the case and decided that "Y," the innocent party but member of the offending tribe, must submit to the infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *hauz*, when he would receive from the offenders *Laum-al-wijh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at 400 dollars. Murder, which in Arab tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood-money which varies between 400 and 1,000 dollars (or rather its equivalent in kind), in these Qara mountains is assessed prodigiously high, in theory something like 5,000 dollars, which may take a lifetime to pay off, but is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom, must bear the brunt.

come they are united with us in a common rejoicing. That is the kind 609
of recompense that gladdens the hearts of those who have worked for 648
these people and have striven to make British protection a real benefit 186
to them. It encourages our belief that our pioneer work in this country has been undertaken on the right lines, and that we may hope to add another success to those that have been achieved by our predecessors and contemporaries in other parts of the Empire. A great deal remains to be done in the Aden Protectorate, but with patience and perseverance and with the right principles to guide us we may be confident that it will be accomplished.

Colonel Top: I do not know whether you would like to hear any- 000
thing of the earlier history of the Protectorate, but the time I spent in the Aden Protectorate was before even Sir Bernard Reilly's time, forty years ago, when I was a member of the Anglo-Turkish Mandate Commission. At that time the Protectorate consisted of only nine tribes. Since then it has been considerably extended. Hadhramaut was a *terra incognita* in those days and was certainly not part of the Protectorate.

I think the Sultan of Lahej owes his preponderance chiefly to the 643
fact that all roads from the interior lead through his capital, of which 491
he has taken advantage at different times.

You mentioned the incursion of the Turks in 1915. That was by 721
no means their first incursion into the Protectorate. When they re- 648
conquered the Yemen in about 1870 they gradually pushed their rule south until they penetrated many miles into the British Protectorate. When the British Commission went up there in 1901, intending to open friendly relations with the Turks about the demarcation of the frontier, they found the Turks had brought down a considerable force, had taken military possession of that part of the Protectorate, only just leaving the town of Dhala itself outside the militarily occupied area, and had seized the heads of the passes that led down to Aden; so the position of the Commission was a most difficult one. The Turks simply put their foot down and said, "J'y suis, j'y reste," and we had no power to turn them out. There was just an insignificant escort of Indian troops with the Commission. It took a very long time indeed to persuade the home Government that they must intervene with force, and it was only when a force stronger than the Turkish force was sent up there in 1902 that the Turks were compelled to withdraw. That means that Dhala was occupied by the Turks for about thirty years. It

721 is a case of the neglect, to which you referred, of the Government
648 towards our so-called protected sheikhs.

000 There are one or two rather curious facts in connection with that Commission. The head of the Commission was a Colonel Wahab, a very talented officer. His assistant was a Major Abud. Anyone who understands Arabic will understand the strange coincidence of those two names. When I first made contact with the Turks, they asked me in a puzzled way: "Who are these two men, Wahab and Abud?" They thought that, whereas they had sent some of their most important men, we had sent some local Arabs to deal with them.

You mentioned the frequency of the travel of the tribes of the Protectorate to foreign lands. That was a very striking feature even in those days. It was quite a common thing to meet a half-naked Arab leading a string of camels, who would say: "Bon jour, monsieur."

We had great difficulty in getting a cook there. Our Indian cook went sick, and to our surprise a local Arab turned up from a village in the mountains. We found he talked English with a very Australian accent, and had been an assistant cook in a temperance hotel in Queensland.

Captain Acworth: Sir Bernard spoke of the very great religious enthusiasm of the tribes, but he also mentioned a sort of friction between the various tribes, and some of them did not think very highly of the others. I was wondering whether in the very keen Moslem faith in the south of Arabia they have among them the same sort of divergencies and different views that we have in our churches here, like High Church, Modernist, and so on—whether there are really a considerable number of sects among the Moslems.

Then, are the various tribes something like the counties in England —say, Lancashire and Cornwall? Can they all understand each other? Those two points I have always wondered about.

795 Sir Bernard Reilly: The division I spoke of was between the Shafeis and the Zeidis. The Shafeis belong to the great Sunni Division of the Moslem faith. The Zeidis are more akin to the Shiahs, though they are not precisely Shiahs. They take their name from the founder of their sect, named Zeid, but they have more in common with the Shiahs than the Shafeis have.

I do not think it would be right to say there are many subdivisions in the Aden Protectorate. The people of the Protectorate are all Shafeis, and there are no serious divisions among them from a religious point of view at all.

the South coast and separated from it by a mountain range, 131
the country of Ḥaḍramaut. The name occurs already in the 101
Book of Genesis; in ancient times Ḥaḍramaut was famous for its exports of incense and myrrh; ruins and inscriptions from pre-Muhammadan days bear witness to a past greatness and prosperity.

This prosperity of bygone days has, through all manner 721
of unfavourable circumstances, given way, centuries ago, to 167
a pitiable decline. It is true that Islam found an early entrance here and that Muhammadan science has, amongst a certain class of the population, zealous devotees, but the political discipline of this religion has not succeeded in creating Ḥaḍramaut into a realm of peace. The endless tribal wars, which divide the people, make the land practically inaccessible to foreign visitors, even if they are Muhammadans, and at the same time prevent the inhabitants themselves from extracting from their native soil what it could yield to a peacefully labouring population. Because the Ḥaḍramīs are not lacking in ability, which often attains rich maturity under more orderly conditions, many of them have for centuries swarmed to the Yemen, Egypt, Syria and, during the last three centuries especially, also to India and Netherlands India. Of all parts of the Arabian peninsula, Ḥaḍramaut is pre-eminently the land of emigration.

In Netherlands India they have even, in earlier times, 167
succeeded in founding sultanates (e. g. Siak, Pontianak), but 114
now they content themselves with trade and money transactions. Some of them, having become wealthy, return to their own country, but others prefer to enjoy, away from the disturbances of Ḥaḍramaut, the pleasures that are there unattainable. Millionaires are also to be found amongst this fluctuating population of Netherlands India, which numbers seventy to eighty thousand souls. Mr. L. W. C. Van den Berg, adviser to the Netherlands India Government, in 1886, published a book, which, besides statistics of the Ḥaḍramī settlement in the East Indian Archipelago, contained also a description of the native land of these immigrants, compiled from information collected from them in Java. In the 19th

# CHAPTER VII.

## THE ENTRANCE TO BEAUTIFUL HADRAMAUT PROPER.

On the following day the first car arrived in Ḥurēḍa. Bin ᶜAwaḍ Martaᶜ of Hēnin, a wholesale merchant from Surabaya, has succeeded in finding a way hither through the region of hillocks of loam and sand. In the afternoon we depart in his car, which we fill to the utmost. Not only is it unbearably hot, but, moreover, a scorching wind appears to come up in the afternoon in these broad, sandy wādīs. Several times the car stalls in the loose sand, but our united efforts set it free again, and, seeking and twisting, we continue on our way through the lonely, baking hot desert. No one is on the road at this hour of the day; the little mud villages that we occasionally see in the distance look as if they were dead. Scanty date-palms glimmer now and then through the curtain of sand which hangs stagnant in the air.

### 1. DIYĀR ĀL BUQRĪ, A CENTRE OF WAR.

After about two hours we reach the mouth of Wādī ᶜAmd in the Wādī 'l-Kasr. The soil is firmer here, consisting, in fact, of hillocks of loam. The wādī, at this point, rather resembles a great plain, in which the driver of our car steers, keeping in sight some promontories of the far-off high rock-wall, looming up from time to time out of the mist of sand. We twist and turn continuously among the loam-hills. Bin Martaᶜ is certainly a clever driver. After a time the high, greyish-white castles of Āl Buqrī, which are situated in about the middle of the wādī, become visible through the haze. They

are the centre point of a country at war, for two groups of villages have been fighting each other here for the last eleven years. The brothers Āl Buqrī are the commanders on one side. The castles are very high and armed at every point against possible assault. The gardens are surrounded by mud walls, in which are gates made of strong wood with iron-wrought, ornamental plates. We are yearning for a drink and for a place of shelter against the sand-storm. Soldiers' heads appear over the balustrade on the roof in reply to the tooting of our car, and they call out that we must turn to the other side of the castle, as in this side we are liable to be hit by enemy bullets. The enemy villages are about half a mile away. The gate on the safe side is opened and we see the brothers Āl Buqrī standing in the midst of their soldiers. They bid us a friendly welcome and, crowded round by soldiers and children, we are conducted to a large *madjlis* on the third floor. The house is one of the largest and, above all, one of the tallest that we have seen here so far. It is still new and finely constructed, and is plastered all over with white, inside and out. The outside is ornamented with dark-grey edges to the windows and terraces, giving an effect which shows very good taste. The martial individual who is the general is a tall, thin, broad-shouldered man with piercing grey eyes and an aquiline nose: a typical soldier. When we are seated and the phrases of welcome are at an end, the General says: "War is a man's business". This is his answer to our inquiring glances along the walls on which rifles and cartridge-belts are hanging, whilst below them, in close-packed rows, his soldiers are sitting. Upon this follows a conversation from which we learn that our host served with the British in East Africa, where he learned his "man's business". He can, however, take in good part a flat contradiction from us. After an argument, followed with attention by the soldiers, the two Buqrī brothers jump to the other extreme and express their weariness of war and their longing for the end of this captivity in their own house. Fighting is stopped by mutual

Fighting is stopped by mutual agreement during three months of every year. It is the time of the yearly fairs, of pilgrimages and travels. Both parties belong to the Nahd tribe and would gladly see the end of their quarrel. There is, however, no central authority here, able to step in and enforce its decision. 728

We have become aware during these last days that the insecurity here is a much more serious matter than we had thought when everything went so easily and, apparently, so safely. Now we know that we are in the midst of a people longing for a strong hand to create order and legal security. The el-ᶜAṭṭās family wished to present the best case possible as regards conditions in their territory. But Sayyid Ḥasan was obliged first to stipulate for a few days' peace in order to make possible our journey to and from Ḥurēḍa through a war zone. 721

The day before we left, a threatening letter came in from the Bedouins forbidding the passing through of the *Naṣrānīs*. The three Bedouins who brought the letter were clapped into prison and Sayyid Ḥasan threatened to call up all his Bedouin followers to wage war against those who should assail his guests, and then only were we granted freedom of passage. With the Buqrīs we were in the midst of a war zone; there were armed men all over the house; photographing and the taking of bearings from the roof were only allowed under a guard of soldiers and on the condition that we remove our pith helmets; loop-holes were in all the walls, even in the lavatories, and look-outs on the roof.

Whilst tea and preserved ginger are being served, the brothers Buqrī, who know the world, continue the discussion over war in the Malay language. The conflict arose through treachery on the part of the opponent; after that blood was repeatedly shed, and now no squaring of the account could be reached in this bloodfeud. Deliverance could only be brought by foreigners, British or Dutch. Why do they not do it? The Buqrīs would give the preference to Holland over England, in spite of its heavy taxes, because legal security is greater 721 648

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



●721 and the police better in the Dutch colonial territories. This
648 same question was repeated again in the evening, in the reception-room of our host at Hēnin. However pleasing I may have found these signs of appreciation for western colonial government on the part of an eastern Muḥammadan people, I continued to answer with evasions and urged them to take the matter into their own hands and to achieve unity, forced on by necessity.

## 2. THE OLD DYING TOWN OF HĒNIN.

It cost us much pains to decline the pressing invitations to stay longer and to continue the journey to Hēnin in the afternoon.

The hot wind is still filling the wādī with a thick, high-driven mist of sand and dust. The Buqrīs, with their numerous soldiers crowding round them, accompany us till we are outside the gate on the side away from the enemy. Obviously they are all sorry we are leaving so soon and that this variation in their monotonous life comes to so early an end. Before our departure we promise, gladly and faithfully, should we return by this route, to spend the night in their high, beautiful castle. Before long Diyār Āl Buqrī has disappeared in the haze of sand and we travel in absolute solitude amongst the hillocks of loam. Bin ʿAwaḍ Martaʿ, steering a very twisting course, seeks those places where his car can pass between the line of hills. The lower parts are filled with fine sand that lies piled up by the wind so that we have to go by way of the slopes at the foot of the loam-hills. We pass a few tumble-down villages; of vegetation there is hardly a trace.

361 The number of settlements increases as we approach the
241 neighbourhood of Hēnin. They are situated partly at the foot
134 of the mountain-wall which forms the northern bank of Wādī el-Kasr, and partly close by, in the bed of the wādī. Little dykes, which make rectangular divisions in the loam, are a sure proof that agriculture was once carried on here. It does not

# CHAPTER IX.

## SĒWŪN, THE HEART OF HADRAMAUT PROPER.

### 1. PENETRATING INTO THE ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

The border of the Qeᶜēṭī territory is a quarter of an hour's walk to the east of Shibām. There, high up at the edge of the mountain, is a fort and an observation post; there are also mud block-houses in the plain. Somewhat further along the mountain's ridge the white military posts of the Āl Kathīr are visible.

On the afternoon of May 24th, immediately after leaving Shibām, we cross the sandy wādī diagonally towards the northern side, where there is least vegetation, but also least warfare. The whole southern side has the name of being unsafe. But even here on the north, soldiers dog our footsteps whenever we stop to take photographs. The villages are built up against the mountain foot, and on higher points are the ruins of fortifications. Following the margin we again enter date plantations, which are, however, very thin and finally perish in the engulfing sand. Then we go on through sand-dunes overgrown with a kind of beach-grass. Close by Sēwūn we again have to cross the bed of the wādī, as this place is situated on the southern side. There is water, here and there, in the *sēl*-bed; it is, however, very bitter. The soil close to those stagnant pools is covered with a crust of white salt.

Sēwūn lies within a wide belt of magnificent palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. The water-level is only eighteen to twenty-one feet below the surface; the water has a saltish taste, but appears to be exceptionally suitable for the irrigation of the gardens. We had not so far seen such vigorous date-palms and such luxuriant, tall-growing *dhura* as in this part of the country. The hot wind has already ripened the bunches of dates, which are comfortably hidden away by this time in their

24 Moulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# CHAPTER X.

## TO TERÎM, THE HOPE OF ALL HADRAMAUT.

871 In the Qe'êfî country, already, we heard the name of Sayyid
487 Abû Bakr el-Kâf invariably pronounced with respect, and here
491 we have entered the land of his activity. Sayyid el-Kâf has plac-
741 ed his energy, his love, and all his possessions at the service of
493 his country and of his people. His example is an impressive
185 call to unity and to the setting aside of personal interests and susceptibilities for the general good. Schools, endowed and maintained by him, are scattered all over the country. The Qe'êfî Sultans and Governors have them in their residences, and the influence of these little schools will slowly penetrate through the whole land. His other sensational enterprise, which may become of the greatest significance for the country's future, is the construction of a motor road from the Ḥaḍramaut valley to the coast. Although the road is not yet completed, its influence is already making itself felt. The most difficult *'aqabas* have been conquered so that it is possible to bring cars into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut, though the transport of these is still expensive. There, where the first car passes, others will soon follow, and in a country where travelling is very tiring and very slow, the motor-car will be particularly appreciated. The Ḥaḍramis who have been successful abroad do not lack money. The motor-car having arrived will not disappear again, and conditions within the borders of Ḥaḍramaut will be entirely changed thereby. The construction of roads in the valley itself has been started without delay, and drivers and mechanics have already found their way there.
•721 The inconvenience of intertribal warfare makes itself felt more and more forcibly, but Sayyid Abû Bakr will be greatly
p 128

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



helped by the motor-car in his great work of pacifying and 721
opening up Ḥaḍramaut.

We depart in two fine cars belonging to the Sultan of 114
Sêwûn for Terîm, the city to which Leo Hirsch has preceded us and from which nearly forty years ago the sayyids with their fanaticism and hatred of Christianity forced him to flee within a few hours of his arrival. An Englishman, Mr. Boscawen, reached there also a full year in advance of us, but he did not publish a description of his journey and, according to report, only came for sport. Aeroplanes of the R. A. F. at Aden, with Colonels Cochrane and Lake and Flight-Lieutenant Rickards on board, also once flew high above the town, but they were only making an aerial reconnaissance, although the scouts themselves felt a growing desire within them to set foot for once in this wonderful town. The Ḥaḍramis say of it: "Terîm — and then thou desirest nothing else." [/86]

The cars take us through winding mud lanes between palm- 241
groves to the hilly stretch of sand and loam outside the town. 172
The palm-trees are planted well apart from each other in the sand; the fields of *dhura* come to an end but the little dykes of the area that can only be cultivated when the rains are sufficient are to be seen for long afterwards. Quite soon we pass the ruins of a town, Maryama, probably of great antiquity. The castle and the town were laid waste in a local war, and, of the cultivation of the land, only the little dykes, which divided the fields into squares, still remain. Close to Maryama there was an old road which crossed southwards over the mountain-wall. My companion climbed this *ʿaqaba* called Duqm el-Aswad and found on the rock-wall close to the *djôl* scrollings and graffiti probably made, many centuries ago, by the Bedouins of passing caravans. Some distance further on the villages and palm-groves at the foot of the southern mountain-wall come to an end. The loam vanishes under an ever thicker layer of 493
sand and sand-dunes, and the cars stall several times. In 491
accordance with the instructions of the Sultan we do not go by the normal way, through the plain, to Terîm, but follow

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 721 115 509 finished a stretch of three days by camel. Sayyid Abû Bakr foresees, nevertheless, much bickering with the Bedouins in the future and therefore is meditating upon the possibility of inaugurating an air service between Terīm and esh-Shiḥr. Since he saw British military aeroplanes manoeuvring above Terīm and heard what a deep impression those unknown, gigantic birds made on the Bedouins, the conviction has grown within him that the aeroplane would be the conclusive way of bringing the Bedouins under discipline and keeping them there. An aeroplane cannot be opposed with dagger and gun, the wādīs are no hindrance to it, and there is no spot on the barren *djōls* where one can escape the searching eye of the airman. Sayyid Abû Bakr considers that a single demonstration, to show the terrible effects wrought by a bomb dropped from one such aeroplane, would suffice to make an end to the Bedouin warfare, which has been going on for centuries, and that this would be the first step on the way towards the real advancement of the country. We advise them — although they know the Dutch Fokker aeroplanes in Java and the kindred type, the Junkers, in the Yemen, — to consult the British authorities at Aden and to procure the same type of aeroplane as is used by them.

506 On the afternoons of the ensuing days motor drives were made in the neighbourhood of Terīm, to show us the ground considered suitable for an aerodrome. My expert companion chooses the site indicated on the ground-plan of Terīm, eastward of el-Ḥāwī, of which only a small part would need levelling; it is close to and connected with the town, and is not so near to the precipitous mountain-wall as the other terrains under review. At the request of Sayyid Abû Bakr, Von Wissmann draws a sketch map of the proposed landing ground with its surroundings, to show to the Governor of Aden when consulting him as to whether the R. A. F. would allow their machines to land on such a ground. Our energetic friend, Sayyid Ḥasan el-ʿAṭṭās of Ḥurēḍa, has worked with the Junkers commission in the Yemen and will, eventually, be

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



361 Of course we follow this advice. The road runs almost without interruption through magnificent palm plantations and by villages with curious grey-brown mud-built castles, flanked by spotlessly white houses of fine architecture. It is the most prosperous and finest district in Ḥaḍramaut Proper. Its chief centre is el-Ghurfa, a town well-known and important in ancient times, but now reduced to secondary rank by constant wars. We enter the war zone a little way out of Sēwūn. No danger threatens us, however, as the Sultan is neutral in a struggle between groups of families who consider themselves to be independent and who fight amongst themselves for domination in this borderland between the Āl el-Qeᶜēṭī and the Āl Kathīr. A deathly silence reigns in the pretty villages lying close together among gardens of palms. It seems as if we alone are on the road in an enchanted land, whose inhabitants have either vanished or are asleep. Our drivers do not expect the cars to be fired at, but all the same, they keep out of the way of the villages, whence unseen watchers are certainly following our every movement. Before long we come upon trenches cut across the road, which force us to make long detours. The Sultan's soldiers who accompany us point out the villages of three parties at war. Soon they are so mixed up that we can no longer distinguish which is which. The trenches are deep and numerous, and only through them can the people enter and leave their villages and houses and get to their gardens. As all three parties are equally dependent on these magnificent gardens they have agreed amongst themselves that necessary work therein must be kept going.

721 722

We approach the town of el-Ghurfa; it is entirely surrounded by a wall with closed gates, and encircled by broad, deep trenches. The palm gardens extend as far as the wall of the town. The silence is oppressive. In order to avoid a trench we have to go out of our way close by one of the corner gates. The sentries appear to have been asleep, for directly the sound of our motors is audible, cries of alarm reach us from behind the gate. We are only a little further

[on the South bank of the wādī between Sēwūn and Shibām — ANALYST]

24:Meulen and Wismann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



when the gate is pushed open and a group of soldiers rush out with their guns at the attack. Our people are petrified with fright and call out that we belong to the *Dōla* (the Government). Then the guns drop and the sound of a greeting reaches us, but our chauffeurs drive on as fast as possible, so as to escape from this hostile place.

We now enter the district belonging to the third party, with el-ᶜUqda as its headquarters, where the rich Shēkh Sālim bin Djaᶜfar bin Ṭālib lives. We are to pay a call upon him. He gave us a pressing invitation to do so on the outward journey, but, at that time, the Sultan of Shibām, who had undertaken our transport arrangements, gave orders to avoid the war zone. Shēkh Sālim is a Dutch subject; he possesses a great fortune, amassed in Surabaya, and was one of the well-known Ḥaḍramīs of that city.

The country round el-ᶜUqda is a paradise of beauty. White and light-grey palaces, with rows of big windows and fine points and pinnacles along the edges of the roofs, are scattered among the plantations of young palm-trees. Behind this gay green and white colouring is the yellowish-brown of the rock. In the gardens are also many bushes of lemon and pomegranate and papayas. The buildings in which Shēkh Sālim lives are surrounded by a high wall, with a colossal wooden gate covered with sheet iron, which gives entrance to a courtyard. The outposts here have done their duty and given notive of our arrival, and the gate has been thrown wide open and Shēkh Sālim himself, surrounded by soldiers and children, stands there to give us welcome. The pro-Dutch sentiments of the grey-headed Shēkh are well known, and we have no need to doubt for one moment that our welcome here comes from the heart. Conversation is carried on in the Malay language, in compliment to the presence of a government official of Netherlands India. This creates an intimate atmosphere and offers the advantage that the soldiers and children cannot follow what is said. The great *madjlis* of this imposing building becomes speedily filled with a crowd of inter-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



expressions of general agreement. Shēkh Sālim went even further. If I would only stay one day more and speak with the leaders of the three parties, it would be an easy matter for me to bring about peace, for everyone was longing for it from the bottom of their hearts.

Many of their ideas were not new to me: I had heard them already in Diyār Āl Buqrī, in Sēwūn, in Terīm. Never, however, had they been posed with so much urgency and in such a concrete form. I was obliged to explain why it was impossible for me to assume the right to act as arbitrator. So long as the the Dutch could only enter the doors of Ḥaḍramaut with Britain's permission, so long would direct contact between our Government and the authorities of that land remain difficult. Also, as long as there existed no central power in the country, such contact would be out of the question. I could only give the advice to strive for unity and the formation of a central power. If they could not do this alone, then co-operation with the British authorities in Aden, to whom, also, they had turned in former times, seemed to be the obvious way.

The struggle was a war between relations, in which the Qeᶜēṭī Government was now also implicated. A certain Ṣāliḥ bin ᶜUbēd bin ᶜAbdād had got el-Ghurfa into his power by treachery. This place was formerly a free town, without a *dōla* and without taxes. The occupation was felt to be unendurable, not only by the other branches of Ṣāliḥ's family, who were envious, but also by the Government of el-Qeᶜēṭī. For there was already a treaty arrangement with Britain according to which the power in Ḥaḍramaut Proper should be divided between two groups: the Āl el-Qeᶜēṭī and the Āl Kathīr. El-Qeᶜēṭī would not put up with a third authority. The twenty two other branches of the Āl ᶜUmar — the family of Ṣāliḥ bin ᶜUbēd — also took a hand in the quarrel, and since then no solution to it has been found.

Towards sundown we took our leave of this group of three country-houses standing out most effectively, with their

301 MARYAM, ENCOURAGED BY HER MOTHER, EVEN YIELD-
ed up to us her graceful girdle of copper wire with fine silver wire twisted round it, in return for good payment, as well as her necklace of oval silver beads. Having made a success of this transaction, Maryam at once made her way with a part of the proceeds to the goldsmith, living in a village hours away, to buy a new girdle and necklace!

361 We continued our way through the monotonous stony levels in the burning heat of the afternoon. In the distance we saw a few scattered hamlets belonging to the Deyyin territory. These villages generally have a piece of cultivated land and a few trees, and the well-ploughed land lies waiting now for the rain, which will make sowing possible. The trees are burnt up, brownish-grey, dead as in a northern winter.

•721 On our left we passed the ruins of el-Khamīs. Our sayyid told us that this had been the dwelling-place of a Ḥaḍramī, who had amassed a fortune in Java and, when he returned to his fatherland, had tried to conquer a kingdom. With the money he had made in Java he recruited soldiers, made raids into the fertile lands of Wādī Dōᶜan and destroyed its gardens of date-palms. In place of buying him off with a piece of land, the Qeᶜēṭī Sultan raised an army against him and even transported a few cannon to his village. The man, who was out for a kingdom, was not prepared for this development; he was taken prisoner, his village was razed to the ground and a heavy ransom was exacted from his wealthy family in Java. The family petitioned the Netherlands Government on behalf of the captive adventurer, basing their appeal on his Dutch nationality. It was then that the desirability of being accurately informed as to conditions in the land of origin of a considerable number of its subjects became evident to the Netherlands Government.

312 A little further on we came to the village of Khalīfet Bā Suwēde. There we made a halt to beg water for man and beast and to try to purchase some food for the animals. It appeared that there was not much water left in the *neqābas*, and doubtless this accounted for our none too friendly reception. There

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramout MM2



Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar 161
of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited 631
largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved 648
a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in December 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn [668]
and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser 643
strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most important ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of [625]
Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 721
1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate, and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his 648
staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend £410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only £23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a [731]
serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly 651
helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami 312
emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political 311
changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40 miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns, the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple 248
cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1952, pp. 62–5.
[4] See above, p. 112.

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-S (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM21

# ADEN PROTECTORATE

# PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

647 DURING 1947 the Western Aden Protectorate continued to suffer from a shortage of experienced Political Officers. This position was aggravated by the murder in April of Mr. P. C. Davey, an officer of exceptional ability and experience. In consequence most districts were inadequately manned, with the result that it proved difficult to consolidate the progress of the past few years and in some cases there was some deterioration. The Arab Assistant Political Officers, of whom there are at present seven, have of necessity been the backbone of the Western Aden Protectorate administration during the past three years owing to the shortage of experienced British Political Staff.

631 The Fadhli, Dathina and Subeihi administrations carried on with very little change. The two former show a very much-improved financial position. The Amiri country started the year with the removal after a show of force of Amir Haidera and, after an unhappy year of strife and intrigue, ended it with the establishment of a constitutional form of government.

643 In the Abdali State the death of the Sultan, His Highness Sir Abdul Karim Fadhl bin Ali, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who has been succeeded by
642 his eldest son, Fadhl Abdul Karim, and who was a sincere and experienced ruler, was much regretted by his people. On the acclamation of his successor a new constitution setting up a State Council was established and is now in operation.

721 In Beihan the Sultan encountered difficulties with the Balharithi tribe in the far north, and the situation had to be settled by air action.

There were trade-route incidents in Quteibi country, in Wadi Hardaba (Radfan), in Mansuri country (Manqa'a), in Marqashi country (Fadhli) and in Rujeili country (Wadi Teim in Radfan), involving losses of life and heavy lootings. Lootings in the Quteibi territory assumed such proportions that it was necessary to restore normality by air operations. The incidents in Marqashi were satisfactorily settled by administrative action. The other incidents still remain to be settled.

2424 On the other side of the picture agricultural development in Abyan has had a most beneficial effect in this southern area in spite of the uncooperative attitude of the Lower Yafa'i Sultan. This attitude led finally to his suspension from office in the Yafa'i as Sahil area of his territory. In contrast, the willing co-operation of the Fadhli authorities in fostering

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



the development of agriculture and irrigation in Abyan has been much 242
appreciated.

During the latter part of 1947 it was possible to station a Political Officer in the Abyan and Ahwar areas. His presence and the benefit of increased production in the area have contributed to the appreciable success of the Abyan experiment during the year.

## EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate considerable political activity was 665
shown by various sections of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states. In the former, two parties were formed in March, one the National party and the other the Hadhrami party. The latter is for Hadhrami unity, in which it agrees with the Seiyid party of the Kathiri state, which also showed some liveliness at the start of the year. Later, however, the Seiyids began to concentrate less on the general question of Hadhrami unity and more on the immediate question of escaping from paying double taxation. Several committees were formed with this object and in April a deputation waited on the Resident Adviser, whose answer to them was that it was for the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states to co-operate in the matter of lightening the burden of taxation of their subjects. Later the Seiyids sent a telegraphic plea to the Governor and Secretary of State.

Meanwhile the National party remained anti-Seiyid and, on the whole, anti-unity. In April they published a manifesto of their aims on the front page of the Aden newspaper, *Fatat-al-Jezira*.

The Arab cause in Palestine continued to arouse considerable sympathy 664
in the Eastern Aden Protectorate. This came to a head in December after the United Nations Assembly had recommended partition and took the form of processions (without violence) and the opening of subscription lists. Telegrams were sent to the Secretary of State and there was a one-day strike in Mukalla and Sai'un.

In both Qu'aiti and Kathiri states democratic changes were made in 646
the administration. In the latter a State Council was formed in April 642
and met for the first time in May: it consists at present of three *ex-officio*, three official and three unofficial members. In June the Qu'aiti State Council Decree was amended to allow the representation of provincial communities with the intention of improving relations between the Government and the provinces. These communities were not previously represented.

Outstanding boundary disputes between the Qu'aiti and Kathiri 131
states remained unsettled throughout the year.

Security continued to be disturbed throughout the year in the north- 721
west on the boundaries with the Yemen and Sa'udi Arabia and to a 619
lesser extent in the Wahidi area on the boundaries of the Western Aden Protectorate. In January the Kazimis looted a caravan on its way to Habban. In March there was a big raid by the Dahin and Abida (Yemeni) on the eastern coastal area. In May the Upper Aulaqi (who owe allegiance to no one) attacked Amaqin in Wahidi; in that month also the Sei'ar

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
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and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to resore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Mansab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

## Chapter 2: Population

The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls

G.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MA12

## *ADEN PROTECTORATE*

# PART IV

## Chapter 1: General Review

### WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

THERE was a general improvement in security and in political matters during the year, but the economic situation remained at a low ebb owing especially to a poor rainfall in most areas.

It was found necessary to occupy Shaibi territory by force in order to put an end to the extremely oppressive rule of the Saqladi Sheikh. The Sheikh fled to the Yemen and the new administration introduced by Government was welcomed by all sections of the population. The area which is at a high attitude should prosper.

The Abyan Development Scheme in Fadhli and Lower Yafai territories made good progress, but relations between Government and the Lower Yafai Sultan continued to be unsatisfactory.

The administration of Subeihi territory was transferred for an experimental period to the Abdali Sultan.

Slow progress was made in the new Dhala (Amiri) administration, but a second season of drought hampered progress. Advances of grain to the value of some £15,000 were made to farmers in the area to prevent a complete economic collapse.

Revenues in the Fadhli and Dathina areas fell as a result of poor harvests.

The Beihan administration made good progress but received a setback towards the end of the year owing to the failure of the autumn harvest and later to frost damage on the well irrigated wheat and barley crops.

There were no trade route incidents during the year.

### EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

The Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary dispute was settled by the arbitration of the Resident Adviser, which both Sultans had agreed to accept as finally binding. When the time came to execute his decisions, the Qu'aiti Sultan showed considerable reluctance to surrender Sah and the Kathiri to surrender forts round Tarim.

Local political parties tended to lose their sting during the year. The Qu'aiti National Party became seriously involved in the question of the surrender of Sah (see above) and also supported, through its representatives within Mukalla Government, the claims of the Tamimi tribe to watch date palms.

Heavy raiding by Saudi tribes in the spring led to a meeting between

G.Gr. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut NM2



721 643 Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al Abr. Proposals were made and agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

648 619 In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

578 721 619 In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Manaab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

000 The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

[648] The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring. Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

## Chapter 2: Population

162 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

## Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 467 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

## Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



631 missioners) and Qaims (Assistant District Commissioners) of the provinces and districts. Naibs were provided with motor vehicles to increase their mobility. An annual conference of all Quaiti, Kathiri and Wahidi Naibs and Qaims has been instituted, at which lectures and practical demonstrations in all administrative subjects are given by local experts.

631 621 Another significant step towards devolution of duties on to Naibs and Qaims has been the setting-up of village councils under their direction and supervision. The activities of these councils include village welfare, hygiene, sanitation, increase of food production, etc. The Sultan of Qu'aiti State has also nominated a Municipal Council for Mukalla.

643 631 The period under review was also notable for increased co-operation in administrative affairs between Qu'aiti and Kathiri and for the settlement of problems common to these two States. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri State Secretaries and senior officials met several times during 1949 and 1950 and joint decisions were taken on such matters as local import and export taxes, development tax on date-bearing palms, postal affairs, remittances from abroad, famine relief and prevention, and unification of vehicle licences.

[665] 578 With the retirement of Sheikh Seif bin Ali Elbually, C.B.E., from the post of State Secretary to the Qu'aiti Government, in December, 1950, and the appointment of Sheikh Qaddal Sa'id El Qaddal Pasha, M.B.E., formerly Qu'aiti Director of Education who is a Sudanese, as his successor, the so-called Nationalist Party, whose membership does not extend beyond Mukalla Town, seized the opportunity to foment serious rioting, in the quelling of which 16 persons were killed and 24 wounded. Suitable sentences were dealt out to the ringleaders by the Special Court set up by the Sultan to try the offenders. The new State Secretary has been warmly welcomed into the office by all the responsible citizens and officials of the Qu'aiti State in Mukalla and throughout the Provinces.

643 The Kathiri Sultan Ja'far bin Mansur bin Ghalib died on 24th April, 1949, and was succeeded by his nephew Sultan Hussein bin Ali bin Mansur al Kathiri, who was recognised by His Majesty's Government as Treaty Sultan on 22nd May, 1950.

671 During 1950 codified criminal law based on Sharia was introduced in the Qu'aiti State.

*Beduin Affairs*

631 721 *Wahidi Area.* As a result of the operations against the Khadim of Mithaf and the Al Adhm Tribe in January and February, 1950, the whole Dhiyeibi area came under the Sultan of Balhaf and security posts were established on the western border of the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In July, 1950, a successful operation was undertaken against Al Ba Dukhn for breach of the peace and the tribe was brought under complete control

mean that his position *vis à vis* the Confederation is wholly negligible. The influence that an individual ruler exerts over a confederation of tribesmen depends to a large extent on the personality of the individual and I found plenty of evidence that Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur is universally respected, admired, and held in affection amongst the Shenafir tribesmen. Even though his word is not universally law his services are much sought in mediation between different factions, and there is no lack of factions in the Confederation. Along the length of the valley from the east of Shibam to the east of Tarim, which is considered Kathīri, village after village is a small city-state on its own. It is difficult to pass from one to another, even now that the motor-car has come, without the traditional *siyar* or escort.

Typical of the situation has been the state of war that has existed for some time between the Āl 'Umar and Āl 'Āmr clans. They have centred round the respectably-sized town of Al Ghurfa between Shibam and Seiyun. Five or six years ago some of the tribesmen of the Āl 'Umar started interfering with the inhabitants of Al Ghurfa. Bin 'Abdat, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Āmr, protested to Salim bin Ja'fer, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Umar, and proposed that they should unite to make peace in Al Ghurfa. Hitherto disputes in the town were commonly referred to the settlement of one Sheikh Bā Abūd, but this arrangement appears to have broken down. Bin 'Abdat informed Bin Ja'fer that if he would not help him, he (Bin 'Abdat) would establish control in the town himself. As Bin Ja'fer did not give him support he took action himself and established order. The new state of affairs was not popular, and probably resulted in some further disorder which had its repercussions beyond local limits. At this juncture the Qu'aiti *wazir* came to Shibam and brought pressure on Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur to unite with him and Salim bin Ja'fer in compelling Bin 'Abdat to vacate Al Ghurfa, and retire to his original place outside. Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur marched against Bin 'Abdat with one gun and some troops; Seiyid Hussein, the Qu'aiti *wazir*, also brought a gun and some troops from Shibam, Salim bin Ja'fer brought his own men, and the three forces collected at Al Ghiyel. The town of Al Ghurfa was bombarded, and, as it was described to me, " they had a good battle but without success ".

Seiyid Hussein, the *wazir*, retired after having successfully complicated the issue, and Sultan 'Ali immediately followed suit, leaving Bin 'Abdat and Bin Ja'fer to fight it out together. Both sides entrenched themselves. The elaborate system of fortifications and communication trenches, still visible at Al Ghurfa, reminded me strongly of France. They extend over nearly a mile, and in this small patch of the valley both sides lived an uncomfortable life for several years. Any cultivation that was done was done under difficulties, and the fields could only be approached through trenches. Salim bin Ja'fer enlivened the proceedings by importing a sort of armoured car from Java. This is now derelict

361 Of course we follow this advice. The road runs almost without interruption through magnificent palm plantations and by villages with curious grey-brown mud-built castles, flanked by spotlessly white houses of fine architecture. It is the most prosperous and finest district in Ḥaḍramaut Proper. Its chief centre is el-Ghurfa, a town well-known and important in ancient times, but now reduced to secondary rank by constant wars. We enter the war zone a little way out of Sēwūn. No danger threatens us, however, as the Sultan is neutral in a struggle between groups of families who consider themselves to be independent and who fight amongst themselves for domination in this borderland between the Āl el-Qeᶜēṭī and the Āl Kathīr. A deathly silence reigns in the pretty villages lying close together among gardens of palms. It seems as if we alone are on the road in an enchanted land, whose inhabitants have either vanished or are asleep. Our drivers do not expect the cars to be fired at, but all the same, they keep out of the way of the villages, whence unseen watchers are certainly following our every movement. Before long we come upon trenches cut across the road, which force us to make long detours. The Sultan's soldiers who accompany us point out the villages of three parties at war. Soon they are so mixed up that we can no longer distinguish which is which. The trenches are deep and numerous, and only through them can the people enter and leave their villages and houses and get to their gardens. As all three parties are equally dependent on these magnificent gardens they have agreed amongst themselves that necessary work therein must be kept going.

We approach the town of el-Ghurfa; it is entirely surrounded by a wall with closed gates, and encircled by broad, deep trenches. The palm gardens extend as far as the wall of the town. The silence is oppressive. In order to avoid a trench we have to go out of our way close by one of the corner gates. The sentries appear to have been asleep, for directly the sound of our motors is audible, cries of alarm reach us from behind the gate. We are only a little further

[on the South bank of the wādī between Sēwūn and Shibām — ANALYST]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-S (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



when the gate is pushed open and a group of soldiers rush 721
out with their guns at the attack. Our people are petrified with 722
fright and call out that we belong to the *Dōla* (the Government). Then the guns drop and the sound of a greeting reaches us, but our chauffeurs drive on as fast as possible, so as to escape from this hostile place.

We now enter the district belonging to the third party, with el-ᶜUqda as its headquarters, where the rich Shēkh Sālim bin Djaᶜfar bin Ṭālib lives. We are to pay a call upon him. He gave us a pressing invitation to do so on the outward journey, but, at that time, the Sultan of Shibām, who had undertaken our transport arrangements, gave orders to avoid the war zone. Shēkh Sālim is a Dutch subject; he possesses a great fortune, amassed in Surabaya, and was one of the well-known Ḥaḍramīs of that city.

The country round el-ᶜUqda is a paradise of beauty. White 361
and light-grey palaces, with rows of big windows and fine 342
points and pinnacles along the edges of the roofs, are scattered among the plantations of young palm-trees. Behind this gay green and white colouring is the yellowish-brown of the rock. In the gardens are also many bushes of lemon and pomegranate and papayas. The buildings in which Shēkh Sālim lives are surrounded by a high wall, with a colossal wooden gate covered with sheet iron, which gives entrance to a courtyard. The outposts here have done their duty and 622
given notive of our arrival, and the gate has been thrown 191
wide open and Shēkh Sālim himself, surrounded by soldiers 186
and children, stands there to give us welcome. The pro-Dutch sentiments of the grey-headed Shēkh are well known, and we have no need to doubt for one moment that our welcome here comes from the heart. Conversation is carried on in the Malay language, in compliment to the presence of a government official of Netherlands India. This creates an intimate atmosphere and offers the advantage that the soldiers and children cannot follow what is said. The great *madjlis* of this im- 574
posing building becomes speedily filled with a crowd of inter-

ested people who, according to the custom of the country, may not be excluded. It is a great disappointment for our host, who seems to have a great deal on his mind, that we are obliged to refuse quite definitely his invitation to stay for a few days and that we must really be in Shibām before nightfall. Now that the time is so short, he goes ahead at once. An outspoken talk over the misery here follows on my question why he does not prefer to live in safety in his beautiful house at Surabaya rather than be a virtual prisoner in this his own palace in el-ʿUqda. He would indeed much rather look after his affairs in Java, but must be here now as head of his family and defender of its interests. War has been going on for the past six years, more and ever more blood is shed, and the constantly recurring cry for vengeance removes all prospect of the peace so much desired. It does not appear as if the war can be ended without the intervention of a powerful outsider. He presses the point with the greatst earnestness that our Government should mediate between the contesting parties. England has failed: shortly after the outbreak of the struggle the *wālī* in Aden had proposed a six months' truce and summoned the leaders on both sides. They went and waited at Aden for four months in hope of a solution, and waited in vain. The *wālī* did not understand the matter, his expert assistant went away shortly on leave, and they were soon at the mercy of a corrupt and corruptible Indian interpreter. The leaders of the tribes at war returned to Ḥaḍramaut without having achieved any result. If the Government of Netherlands India would only do so, it could bid hostilities cease without direct intervention, for this reason: the country is full of Dutch subjects having great financial interests in Java. If our Indian Government were merely to threaten, with banishment and confiscation of property, those who did not at once force their families in Ḥaḍramaut to cease hostilities, then peace would be assured. This sounded very logical. Ready interpreters gave a short account of our host's suggestions to the members of the invested garrison, who listened with great interest and

forces with a caravan. These only go every fortnight or three weeks, but if we had the patience to wait we should then travel with 200 to 300 camels and a strong escort. But we have no time and cannot wait and must try the circuitous route by way of Wādī ʿAmd. As we do not relish the idea of staying in this crammed castle with its sick chief and as we have also a feeling that we are not so very welcome here, we ask permission to go and stay for the night in Diyār Āl Buqrī where we had such pleasant experiences on our journey inland. Our travelling companions, the Sayyids ʿAluwī and ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās, who know that Diyār Āl Buqrī is much richer than el-Qaʿūẓa and that a feast will most certainly be prepared for us there, are also attracted to this prospect by the pangs of hunger. We send a messenger in advance to announce our arrival, having first, from the roof of the house, estimated the distance as a walk of from fifteen to twenty minutes.

## 2. THROUGH TRENCHES FROM ONE BESIEGED CASTLE TO ANOTHER.

Shortly after sundown we set out, a guide goes in front, then follows a camel with our baggage, then we ourselves. The whole garrison accompanies us as far as the gate. Under the covering protection of the castle we go towards a wide, deep trench, which will lead us by a roundabout way to Diyār Āl Buqrī. The enemy outposts appear to have espied us, bullets come in our direction from the rocky plateau above and our escort hurries us on. The trench has many turnings and also side branches and positions made strong with the trunks of palms. Its dimensions are such that it can safely be used by a caravan of camels. For an hour and a half we wade through the loose sand of the winding trench and then reach a region of sand-dunes where our guide loses his way in the pitch darkness; frequently we have to wait whilst he goes on ahead.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



### 3. A KIND RECEPTION BY A ḤAḌRAMĪ-JAVANESE SHĒKH.

361 Towards eleven o'clock we arrive at es-Sēla, where there are a few tall mud houses but no more palm plantations. Everything is grey-brown again — the soil of the wādī, the houses, 622 the mountain-wall. Shēkh Ḥāmid bin ʿAlī el-Djaʿdī and his brother are the heads of the richest and most prominent family of the village. We had already made acquaintance, at Ḥurēḍa, with these high-spirited young men, whose outward appearance is more Javanese than Arab. They were born in Java of a Javanese mother and were brought up in the beautiful highland of the Preanger district. To Ḥurēḍa, where we met them, they had gone specially to welcome us. The mixture of Arab and Javanese blood has, in this instance, produced men with the proud, beautiful physique of the Arab and the fine, cultivated and modest manners of the Javanese. We are with Dutch subjects here, with whom we feel particularly in 701 sympathy. The armed men of the neighbourhood were 722 summoned to their chiefs' house by a few rifle-shots; one by one they come hurrying, all armed, into the *madjlis*, asking what is the matter. Their minds are set at rest as soon as they are told that it is only a question of doing honour to two guests. Among the soldiers are boys of about twelve years of age; they are reckoned to be full-grown soldiers as soon as they are able to carry a gun. As they sit squatting in the circle, the long, bent points of their *djambīyas* almost stick into their boyish faces. This preparedness for war impresses us and makes us suspect that fighting is of frequent occurrence here, which is indeed the case. Our host tells us that he cannot go outside his house for five minutes without a gun and an armed escort. Only a short time ago his half-brother was shot down beside him whilst they were inspecting their date-gardens; he himself shot down three of their assailants, but the actual culprit got off with a trifling wound in his foot. It is true that peace has just been concluded, but one

always has to be on one's guard against treachery. In answer 701
to my question whether he likes being here, he replies that 722
he does not. Separated as he is from wife and children in Java, he is only here to defend his family's honour and position, and as soon as he can be spared he will return to his mother-land.

The master of the house himself conducts us to a place 212
where Ḥimyaritic characters have been scratched on a rock 172
and where are also as many as five long, though fairly narrow, basins beside the path. They were, of course, dry for the time being, but appear to be quite serviceable, and were plastered on the inside with a kind of mortar.

## 4. THE TOWN OF ʿAMD, DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS AND HARD DECEPTIONS.

The way continues for the greater part over the boulders 493
in the *sēl*-bed, which evoke many a groan from our camels. The beasts are weary from the long march in the hot wādī, yet we are ready to stake everything on the attempt to reach ʿAmd before the day ends so that, in the evening, negotiations for our further journey may be started, and then perhaps we may have the luck to get off again after no more than a day's delay. To our pleasant surprise, the great man of Wādī ʿAmd, Shēkh ʿAwaḍ bin Saʿūd bin Shamlān el-Djaʿdī, overtakes us on our way. He is a tough greybeard, who is still lithe enough to mount onto his camel's back while it is standing. His greeting is friendly and he insists on my mounting his camel. The Shēkh's right hand, Sālim bin Sallūm el-Djaʿdī, a very loquacious man with a heart-rending voice, sits behind me. We go on at a trot. As we approach ʿAmd the date plantations grow thicker. It is already dark when we pass the big village of Ḥebeb. Our caravan has got somewhat separated through my riding-companion's insistence on keeping our racing camel perpetually at the trot. I am carried along helplessly and in the darkness it is quite an art to keep my seat

[illegible 05 – Sela -- Analyst]

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tendency to fire high. Tactics are simple, usually an advance in strength or the investment or defence of small forts or houses. Any more complicated manœuvre involving strict timing or detailed concerted action would be beyond their capacity at present. They are difficult to control in action, and in the heat of the moment tend to forget their training and to expose themselves by not making use of ground and cover, but as their potential opponents suffer from the same faults this is not so serious as it would be against more experienced troops. The Bedouin does not favour night-fighting, but he is expert at moving and taking up position in the dark. He is willing to follow his officers, and has particular faith in those from the Arab Legion, who in simple fashion he believes must be more competent, as they have been brought in from another country. The same would apply to British officers, provided they understood his language and customs and accurately gauged his capabilities. Unless equipped with this knowledge, however, a British officer would find the Bedouin soldier awkward to handle and disappointing in action. 725 703 703 609

By showing promise and industry the soldier will gain promotion or can become a specialist such as wireless operator or armourer. At present the highest rank reached by any is lieutenant; owing to lack of experience, knowledge, and background, they are not yet suitable for higher rank, but in time this will be overcome. Part of the remedy may result from the foundation a few years ago of a Bedouin boys' school in Mukalla. This worth-while enterprise, sponsored and paid for by His Majesty's Government, is of considerable interest, and it is anticipated that ex-pupils will not only help to fill the ranks of H.B.L. with good material, but that others, encouraged to further education, will become much-needed Government servants, teachers and leaders in other walks of life. 701 [871]

There is a cadre of men who have voluntarily remained in the H.B.L. for longer periods, but after four years or so the average soldier, unless he has attained rank, will retire. He may ask that his place be taken by his brother or cousin, as he has liked the life, and his length of voluntary service speaks for itself. On his return to his tribe he will be an asset to Government, and his understanding and experience will be of help to political officers or other Government servants who may have dealings with his tribe or work to perform in his area. There is no reserve. The Bedouin in the Protectorate dislikes being tied down to a period of time, and a reserve as understood in a European army would be impossible to administer or co-ordinate. But in an emergency many ex-soldiers would return for temporary service if strongly requested. [157]

Whatever the future may hold, there is no doubt that the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion performs useful tasks at low costs. It is in no sense planned as a national army, but in its military and political rôles has fully justified itself. One hopes that its ties with the Arab Legion will not be broken and that in the years to come it will attain the prestige and success in its own area which the Arab Legion enjoys in the Arab world as a whole.

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I am indebted to Major I. E. Snell, Royal Sussex Regiment, at present seconded as Military Adviser to the British Agent, Mukalla, for certain facts and technical details used in this article. 115

715 and is offered for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet, presumably, other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

[726] The situation sounds almost incredible, but the war continued for 728 several years. At last Sultan 'Ali supported by the Al Kaf Seiyids, 649 the strongest influence for peace in Kathīri territory, thought matters had gone far enough, and invited the disputants to Seiyun to conclude a peace. The terms suggested were agreed to on all points except for one requiring Bin 'Abdat to demolish two small forts. The matter appeared to have reached a deadlock when a Seiyid of Aden, of Hadhramaut origin, Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman al Jifri, proceeded to the Hadhramaut and offered his services in the settlement of the trouble. He is a friend of Bin 'Abdat's, and Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman and Bubekr al Kaf sent him to Bin 'Abdat to advise him not to hold out on account of the two small forts. Matters were probably ripe for a settlement as everybody was tired of hostilities, but Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman very creditably brought the feud to a satisfactory conclusion. What was even more satisfactory was that a gathering of more than a hundred representatives of all sections of the Shenafir was held at Seiyun, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman succeeded in assisting Sultan 'Ali, backed by the Al Kaf Seiyids, to negotiate a truce between all the Shenafir tribes. This agreement, which takes effect from the 1st of Sha'bān 1353 (9th November 1934) provides for a truce of two years and two months in all matters relating to blood feuds between the various tribes, and gives also a guarantee of five years security for travellers on the routes.

643 It may thus be that the foundations have now been laid for an 185 era of peace in Kathīri land, and the time seems to be propitious 565 for the establishment of a greater solidarity in Kathīri rule. There are certainly strong elements in favour of peace. Foremost of all is Sultan 'Ali himself. He is a man of culture and very charming personality with that kind of magnetism which inspires instinctive respect and affection. I do not think anybody who has met him can fail to receive the impression that he is a good man in the best sense of the word, nor can anyone who has discussed the situation with him fail to be impressed with the earnestness of his desire for peace. In this desire he is warmly and ably supported by many of the leading families, of whom the most important are the Al Kaf and Saqqaf Seiyids. Although they are Seiyids the measures of reform which these families support are many of them in flagrant opposition to the old conservative policy of the Seiyids, which for long maintained that body as the most powerful and the most desperately retrogressive party in the Hadhramaut. These families have shown that they can still play a very important part in the destinies of the country, and have in fact earned the right to speak in common voice with the Sultan in pressing reforms. It may also be observed that they are the heaviest, as well as the most willing, [65.1] taxpayers in the country. Their annual contributions on Government and charitable undertakings amount to at least $70,000 a year, without [illegible] expenditure.

715 and is offered for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet, presumably, other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

[726] The situation sounds almost incredible, but the war continued for several years. At last Sultan 'Ali supported by the Al Kaf Seiyids, the strongest influence for peace in Kathīri territory, thought matters had gone far enough, and invited the disputants to Seiyun to conclude a peace. The terms suggested were agreed to on all points except for one requiring Bin 'Abdat to demolish two small forts. The matter appeared to have reached a deadlock when a Seiyid of Aden, of Hadhramaut origin, Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman al Jifri, proceeded to the Hadhramaut and offered his services in the settlement of the trouble. He is a friend of Bin 'Abdat's, and Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman and Bubekr al Kaf sent him to Bin 'Abdat to advise him not to hold out on account of the two small forts. Matters were probably ripe for a settlement as everybody was tired of hostilities, but Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman very creditably brought the feud to a satisfactory conclusion. What was even more satisfactory was that a gathering of more than a hundred representatives of all sections of the Shenafir was held at Seiyun, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman succeeded in assisting Sultan 'Ali, backed by the Al Kaf Seiyids, to negotiate a truce between all the Shenafir tribes. This agreement, which takes effect from the 1st of Sha'bān 1353 (9th November 1934) provides for a truce of two years and two months in all matters relating to blood feuds between the various tribes, and gives also a guarantee of five years security for travellers on the routes.

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the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers. 647

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. 651
For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the 652
amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000.

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one 579
could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both [712
for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that 165]
the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had 625
not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the 721
bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced 701
to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular 643
mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his 619
authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between 728
all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State [652]
was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few.

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government. 619

[1] Most the last official wave of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new Aden Company and the old ones were pensioned off. 567

182 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last
628 quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras
411 carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease
436 of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some
[792] years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by
182 Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small
671 thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the
576 gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

183 Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

182 I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into
673 their confederations and have shown the course which these confedera-
• 728 tions are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of
671 Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts,
[625] whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is *essential for progress towards self-rule* is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when
000 nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

361 Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from
245 Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where
438 agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager
283 income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in
[342] this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

## Emigration and Immigration

167 Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have
186 caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the
191 Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

556 Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a
185 more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley,
485 were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was
491 available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal
728 region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the
185 modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

# THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

701 DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

579 721 643 Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

648 728 Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

648 At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

185 625 701 From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls.

[87] 113

* Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

18:Ingrams G-3 (2234-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the 361
sixteenth century Bedr Bu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, 101
whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found; for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and 311
it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi 619
green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern [233]
part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Badus keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim 622
Mbaruk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dis- 701
pensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom 728
there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali 619
is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 721
and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signa- 728
tories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in 000
October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

IP:Ingrams G-3 (1934-38)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



should like to emphasize the great and beneficial part the Royal Air Force play in the development of the Protectorate. It would be impossible to do anything like so much as is now being done to help the people if they were not there, for it would require a much larger political staff. There are no more popular visitors in the Protectorate than the Air Force and the people are always glad to see them not only for the services they render them, such as the bringing of doctors, the giving of lifts and the carrying of letters, but, perhaps more than all these, simply for their friendly visits and for the good fellowship that results from constant contact.

## DISCUSSION

Before the paper the DEPUTY PRESIDENT (Professor KENNETH MASON) said: I have to introduce to-night Mr. Harold Ingrams, the first British Resident in Mukalla. We are about to listen to an extremely interesting lecture, in the course of which we shall hear of the more beneficent side of the uses of aeroplanes. Mr. Ingrams has done great work in the Hadhramaut. I will ask him now to commence his lecture.

*Mr. Ingrams then read a summary of the paper printed above, and a discussion followed.*

The DEPUTY PRESIDENT: I have had a somewhat unlucky day. I have done my best to persuade the wife of the lecturer to speak to us to-night, but she came here only on the distinct understanding that she should not address us. While sitting beside her during the lecture I have again tried to persuade her to speak, but her answer is "No." However, we have with us Dr. Pike, whom Mr. Ingrams mentioned and who has travelled through the country. I will ask him to be so good as to add a word or two.

Dr. R. W. PIKE: After Mr. Ingrams' marvellous lecture there is little I can do except to confirm many of his statements. Prior to my arrival at Aden I had naturally read some of the publications on the Hadhramaut, and I got the impression that the place was somewhat dangerous; that if people left the coast and travelled inland they did so at their own risk: they survived, but did not have an altogether easy time. Actually when I got there and talked with Mr. Ingrams I found that I could go anywhere I liked.

Very shortly after my arrival in the country I learned of the legend that has grown up around Mr. Ingrams. You heard him say that one thousand members [178] of the Sel'ar tribe signed a peace treaty. I understand he achieved that completely single-handed; he did not have the Royal Air Force with him; so far as I know he went to the country of the tribe armed merely with the idea that the Hadhramaut needed him and he needed the Hadhramaut. After the peace treaty was signed there were heavy rains, and generous crops, and everybody felt extremely grateful.

Later, he went down Wadi Hadhramaut with Mrs. Ingrams, and I understand that they were then confronted by a very serious situation which might have cost them their lives. They were exceedingly reticent about all that, but I want to point out that Mr. Ingrams has not had too easy a time. Though things are getting easier now, at the beginning they certainly had a great deal of difficulty. The man who interfered with his progress was later carried away by a flood; he was the only man drowned by the flood; and that more or less impressed upon the people that Mr. Ingrams was there to stay and that he had some special powers. He has the reputation which he has very justly earned.

Fighting is stopped by mutual
agreement during three months of every year. It is the time of 728
the yearly fairs, of pilgrimages and travels. Both parties belong to the Nahd tribe and would gladly see the end of their quarrel. There is, however, no central authority here, able to step in and enforce its decision.

We have become aware during these last days that the 721
insecurity here is a much more serious matter than we had thought when everything went so easily and, apparently, so safely. Now we know that we are in the midst of a people longing for a strong hand to create order and legal security. The el-ʿAṭṭās family wished to present the best case possible as regards conditions in their territory. But Sayyid Ḥasan was obliged first to stipulate for a few days' peace in order to make possible our journey to and from Ḥurēḍa through a war zone.

The day before we left, a threatening letter came in from the Bedouins forbidding the passing through of the *Naṣrānīs*. The three Bedouins who brought the letter were clapped into prison and Sayyid Ḥasan threatened to call up all his Bedouin followers to wage war against those who should assail his guests, and then only were we granted freedom of passage. With the Buqrīs we were in the midst of a war zone; there were armed men all over the house; photographing and the taking of bearings from the roof were only allowed under a guard of soldiers and on the condition that we remove our pith helmets; loop-holes were in all the walls, even in the lavatories, and look-outs on the roof.

Whilst tea and preserved ginger are being served, the 721
brothers Buqrī, who know the world, continue the discussion 648
over war in the Malay language. The conflict arose through treachery on the part of the opponent; after that blood was repeatedly shed, and now no squaring of the account could be reached in this bloodfeud. Deliverance could only be brought by foreigners, British or Dutch. Why do they not do it? The Buqrīs would give the preference to Holland over England, in spite of its heavy taxes, because legal security is greater

172 potsherds. We find but few inscriptions and then only in fragments. Von Wissmann wriggled with difficulty into a grotto in the mountain-wall and there found five empty sepulchral niches. It is unbearably hot and none of our company helps us in our investigations. The sun forces us to retreat after we have first taken some photographs and made some sketches.

•728 The return journey is laboriously accomplished, again the cars stall repeatedly in the scorching sand of the wādīs and the body of the car is so hot that one burns oneself when touching it to push. Back at Ruḍēḥ, we seek shelter from the sun's heat in the house of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, where the midday meal is awaiting us. Long negotiations have been necessary to achieve this arrangement, for up to a short time ago he was at war with the adherents of Sayyid Abū Bakr. The occasion of our visit is used as a first, cautious attempt at friendship, following on the conclusion of peace a year ago. Ruḍēḥ is a village falling into decline, in a landscape drying up through lack of workers for its irrigation.

ooo Back at Terīm we make a detailed report to our much interested host. The fragments with inscriptions found by us are handed over to him with the request that he will add them to the other pieces from Sūne that are already in his possession. We strongly advise the founding of a museum at Terīm, where antiquities could be preserved; this would prevent their being used in building wells and houses and being made unrecognizable by a layer of plaster, or their being disposed of outside the country.

Preparations have been completed meanwhile for the trip to Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhūt and we can leave on the second day. It is urgent now to make fixed plans for our return journey as that also will require time to arrange. The route Terīm—esh-Shiḥr is open to us; notwithstanding the bad reports concerning this route current in the Qeᶜēṭī territory, Sayyid Abū Bakr takes full responsibility for our safety, should we wish to travel that way. For me personally this is

571 ested people who, according to the custom of the country, may not be excluded. It is a great disappointment for our host, who seems to have a great deal on his mind, that we are obliged to refuse quite definitely his invitation to stay for a few days and that we must really be in Shibām before nightfall.
722 Now that the time is so short, he goes ahead at once. An outspoken talk over the misery here follows on my question why he does not prefer to live in safety in his beautiful house at Surabaya rather than be a virtual prisoner in this his own palace in el-ᶜUqda. He would indeed much rather look after his affairs in Java, but must be here now as head of his family
● 723 and defender of its interests. War has been going on for the past six years, more and ever more blood is shed, and the constantly recurring cry for vengeance removes all prospect of the peace so much desired. It does not appear as if the war can be ended without the intervention of a powerful outsider. He presses the point with the greatst earnestness that our Government should mediate between the contesting parties. England has failed: shortly after the outbreak of the struggle the *wālī* in Aden had proposed a six months' truce and summoned the leaders on both sides. They went and waited at Aden for four months in hope of a solution, and waited in vain. The *wālī* did not understand the matter, his expert assistant went away shortly on leave, and they were soon at the mercy of a corrupt and corruptible Indian interpreter. The leaders of the tribes at war returned to Ḥaḍramaut without having achieved any result. If the Government of Netherlands India would only do so, it could bid hostilities cease without direct intervention, for this reason: the country is full of Dutch subjects having great financial interests in Java. If our Indian Government were merely to threaten, with banishment and confiscation of property, those who did not at once force their families in Ḥaḍramaut to cease hostilities, then peace would be assured. This sounded very logical. Ready interpreters gave a short account of our host's suggestions to the members of the invested garrison, who listened with great interest and

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



expressions of general agreement. Shēkh Sālim went even further. If I would only stay one day more and speak with the leaders of the three parties, it would be an easy matter for me to bring about peace, for everyone was longing for it from the bottom of their hearts.

Many of their ideas were not new to me: I had heard them already in Diyār Āl Buqrī, in Sēwūn, in Terīm. Never, however, had they been posed with so much urgency and in such a concrete form. I was obliged to explain why it was impossible for me to assume the right to act as arbitrator. So long as the the Dutch could only enter the doors of Ḥaḍramaut with Britain's permission, so long would direct contact between our Government and the authorities of that land remain difficult. Also, as long as there existed no central power in the country, such contact would be out of the question. I could only give the advice to strive for unity and the formation of a central power. If they could not do this alone, then co-operation with the British authorities in Aden, to whom, also, they had turned in former times, seemed to be the obvious way.

The struggle was a war between relations, in which the Qeᶜēṭī Government was now also implicated. A certain Ṣāliḥ bin ᶜUbēd bin ᶜAbdād had got el-Ghurfa into his power by treachery. This place was formerly a free town, without a *dōla* and without taxes. The occupation was felt to be unendurable, not only by the other branches of Ṣāliḥ's family, who were envious, but also by the Government of el-Qeᶜēṭī. For there was already a treaty arrangement with Britain according to which the power in Ḥaḍramaut Proper should be divided between two groups: the Āl el-Qeᶜēṭī and the Āl Kathīr. El-Qeᶜēṭī would not put up with a third authority. The twenty two other branches of the Āl ᶜUmar — the family of Ṣāliḥ bin ᶜUbēd — also took a hand in the quarrel, and since then no solution to it has been found.

Towards sundown we took our leave of this group of three country-houses standing out most effectively, with their

S.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2



242 [425] conditions as for tenants. If not owner occupiers, they take responsibility for debts incurred by tenants, to whose settlement or eviction they must agree.

*Finance*

| | Sales | |
|---|---|---|
| | *bale of* 400 *lb.* | *Value* £ |
| 1949 | 100 | 5,270 |
| 1950 | 1,587 | 121,450 |
| 1951 | 9,890 | 867,088 |
| 1952 | 6,300 | 725,810 |

The contract with the Raw Cotton Commission extends to the season 1955–56.

Seed was sold to the value of £86,500 in 1951 and £54,870 in 1952.

Expenditure of approximately £20,000 loaned by the Colony Government on the first stage of the scheme in 1943–46 was refunded in part, and the balance handed over in the form of improvements and working capital to the Abyan Board on its formation.

Capital liabilities for loans stood at £278,307 at 30th September, 1952.

At the same date, after disposal of the current season's cotton crop, there were fixed assets worth £324,693. Cash and investment funds were available for the provision of £400,000 to a general development reserve; £180,000 to a revenue stabilisation fund; and £25,000 to a sinking fund.

*Social Effects*

The Scheme has had great beneficial influence on the general economy of the Aden Protectorate.

728 Peace and security have been extended to an area formerly insecure and the area has been settled by members of many tribes formerly at feud with each other in the Protectorate.

164 The Scheme has also been responsible for the virtual eradication of malaria in the district. This work conducted by the Protectorate 742 Medical Service has been assisted by the Board which has guaranteed 242 to provide a minimum of £26,000 per annum to a joint States' Medical Service; it has also agreed to provide £20,000 for the building of a hospital.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



631
619
101

## Āl Jabir.

| Clan. | Section. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Hāj or Āl Sāh. | Āl 'Āmr | As Seiqa | 180 | Mubarek bin Muhammad, Sa'id bin Salih Qahtan, and Yamāni bin 'Umar. |
| | Āl Yamāni | Rasib | 350 | |
| | Āl Ahmed āl Hāj | Sakrān | 120 | |
| | Balghoirān | do. | 20 | |
| | Bin 'Abūdān | 'Adam | 20 | |
| | Bin 'Umar bin Sādiq. | Bāyūt | 10 | |
| Āl 'Ass | Āl Ridhwān | Husn bin Dhobla | 35 | Salih 'Umar. |
| | Āl 'Umāsh | do. | 35 | |
| | Bin Hijār | An Ni'r | 6 | |
| | Bin Sultan and Bin Sa'dat. | Adh Dhieiqa and An Ni'r. | 30 | |
| Āl Hasan | Bin Bedr | Wadi Bin 'Ali | 100 | Salim bin 'Ali bin Bedr. |
| | Bin Sa'id bin 'Āmr | do. | 100 | |
| | Bin Mar'i bin 'Āmr | do. | 50 | |
| | Bin Jābir bin 'Āmr | do. | 50 | |
| | Balkeqa' | do. | 30 | |
| | Bin 'Abūdān | do. | 25 | |
| | Bin Ja'fer bin 'Āmr | | | |
| Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar. | Bin 'Ali bin 'Umar | Sāh, Gheil bin Yomein. | 50 | |
| | Āl Muteihim | Hikma | 15 | |
| | Āl 'Afīr | Wadi Shahūh | 50 | |
| | | | 1,256 | |

[731
167]

The Jābiris in the Wadi Bin 'Ali are mostly agriculturists. They obtain their supplies from Shihr. Some members of the tribe have connections in Java and Singapore, but the tribe as a whole is very poor, and owing to famine and distress many of the members, men and women, have emigrated to the African coast in search of a livelihood. The total number of the tribe has been variously estimated from 800 to over 1,000.

The sections of the Āl Hāj clan have been stated to be sections of the Āl Sāh clan which was referred to in Chapter XX. With the exception of a very few of the Āl Yamāni section who are nomads, the whole clan are settled. The Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar clan are entirely nomadic and ply their camels for hire. Seiyid Al Hasm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus has influence over the Jābir.

Besides the Kathīri and Jābiri settlements in Wadi Bin 'Ali there are a few houses of independent tribes called Āl Seif and Beni Sa'd, who do not consider themselves as in any way allied or subordinate to the Kathīri Sultans of Seiyun.

## Al Bajri.

| Clan. | Places. | Nos. | 'Aqil. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Āl Qusiyer | 'Ardh Bār | 100 | Sa'id bin Qutāmi and Salih bin Muhammad. |
| Āl Ahmed bin 'Ali | do. | 70 | |
| Bin 'Awadh bin 'Abād | | | |
| Bin Rattas | | | |
| | | 170 | |

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three l dhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

## Nature of the People and Country

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making. The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys; district schools have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dispensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school. A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a community which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



behind it, and not the high mountains of the Yemen. Its height above 183
the sea-level nowhere exceeds 6,000 feet and is generally not more than 3,500. It has therefore no regular rainfall.

Then, as regards treaties, while the W.A.P. has a total of about thirty- 648
five chiefs in direct relation with His Majesty's Government, the E.A.P. has only seven, of which one, the Kathiri, is comparatively recent. The reason is that in the E.A.P. all that was required was to keep foreign powers off the coast. All the six original treaties with E.A.P. rulers were with coastal chiefs. Starting from the west, 'Irqa and Haura are only small villages. The two Wahidi Sultans come next, then the Qu'aiti, the largest of them all, whose state to-day covers some 50,000 square miles, and then the Mahra, which includes Socotra Island. While the W.A.P. is historically part of the Yemen, and has now a new and natural capital in Aden which supplies it with all its requirements, the E.A.P. is historically and geographically detached and has a local commercial capital in Mukalla, but looks to India, Singapore, and Java for its cultural and social contacts.

The Hadhramaut is historically and geographically a country in itself, 101
and consists of the Wahidi Sultanates, with the two little Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, which are really ports in the country of the Dhiyeibi tribe, who are a Wahidi tribe, and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. I propose not to say anything more of the Mahra country because as yet little is known about it, though in the last year or two more has been learnt of Socotra.

You will have gathered, I think, that, owing to its desert nature and 241
lack of rainfall, the prospects of the development of agriculture in the 311
Hadhramaut are not very promising, and as the various explorations that have taken place to date have not discovered any mineral resources, it does not look as though the economic future is very bright. The best agricultural areas are Gheil Ba Wazir, on the coast, where Hamumi tobacco is very successfully grown, and this brings in a revenue of about Rs. 200,000 a year to the state, and Meifa, in which conditions have been considerably improved in the last few years and where some further development is possible. It was hoped that the alluvial silt of the Wadi Hadhramaut would prove a fertile area for wide development if water could be found, but experiment has shown that it is largely brackish and, bearing in mind the desert surroundings, it is probable that any further supplies of water which boring might discover would not be sufficient to wash out the salt. It is unfortunate, too, that the bulk of the population, 565
the seiyids and tribesmen, do not take to working on the land themselves, 463
as do the tribesmen of the W.A.P., but rely on dhafa, a class of poor townsmen who are almost in the position of serfs. These dhafa lived by building the palaces of the rich and working their wells, but the fall of Singapore and Java cut off the supplies of money from the Far East so that the rich could no longer maintain them. The beduin had lived by carrying supplies from the coast to the interior, but with the falling off of imports they too suffered. On top of this catastrophe there was a seven- 731
year drought from 1937 to 1944, which meant the loss of crops, flocks, and 50 per cent. of the working camels, so that between the difficulties of

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



781 getting food from abroad in war-time, the loss of money from the Far East, and the drought, famine ensued. I am thankful to say that owing to the generous help of His Majesty's Government and to the breaking of the drought, conditions are now much better, but from the point of view of this survey the thing to be remembered is that in all probability the produce of the country cannot sustain much more than a quarter of the population and that it is very largely dependent on money from abroad. Of old, the ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade, so that the Mediterranean countries provided the cash. When the incense went by sea the Hadhramis learnt to emigrate, and the present Hadhramaut has drawn its cash from the Far East, East Africa, Egypt, the Sudan, Abyssinia [67] —the countries to which the people migrate. One out of every three or four Hadhramis lives and works abroad. Emigration or means to earn money abroad is an absolute essential to the Hadhramaut, and there are grounds for fearing it is not going to be so easy in the future as it has been in the past.

So much for the gloomier side of the picture. In 1938 I described to the Royal Central Asian Society how a three-year peace embracing the whole of the Hadhramaut had been made and how the organization of government had started. To my mind the brightest thing about the Hadhramaut is the way the Government of the Qu'aiti State has advanced and developed social services, and, serious as the famine was, principally in part of the Inner Hadhramaut, out of it has grown a number of educational and medical developments which would probably not have matured if there had been no famine. The State Government had so far advanced by the time it came, that it was able to cope with difficulties and there developed a real spirit of service. It could not have managed on its own resources if His Majesty's Government had not helped so generously, but what the state could do in a financial way it did and the service its officials gave could not have been provided without it.

652 At the time when reorganization of the Government[1] started about
178 seven years ago the revenue was about Rs. 6,30,000, of which Rs. 3,10,000 were spent on Government services; Rs. 2,25,000 of that went to irregular soldiers and to slaves. This year the revenue is estimated at just under Rs. 15,00,000. On April 1, 1939, there was a general deficit of Rs. 40,000, because the late Sultan used to take all the cash he could to India. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit balance of Rs. 14,00,000. In this year the Government is preparing to spend Rs. 16,00,000, of which Rs. 4,00,000 goes to the maintenance of security forces. There are forts, with soldiers or gendarmerie, and garrison towns all round the country, so that security is very greatly improved. The Budget also includes, under various heads, about Rs. 300,000 for relief work direct and indirect. The amount paid on education has risen from Rs. 6,000 in 1934 to Rs. 154,000 in 1944. Only Rs. 5,550 was spent on medical work in 1934; in 1944 the sum was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary services.

641 It seems to me that these figures indicate, more clearly than anything
178 else can, progress and the will to progress. I cannot give many details of new developments, but I will mention some of them quite briefly. One of the most striking things is the growth of reciprocal confidence between

1 [of the Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

18 Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main wadi system, there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *badu* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government, and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

The climate of Mukalla is on the whole pleasant enough, and with the gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year was a particularly bad

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, 364
according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to 164
see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for 731
rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the
main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in 361
its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia 484
and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans.
One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian
pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking
no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently
desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors [165]
and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of
Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily.
We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla 100
have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the
last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations.
The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more
beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency,
the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured
lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense
as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every
house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof
parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully
reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets
with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish.
Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light 373
has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible 701
far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganize and train
his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to
Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard
is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on 517
the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in
groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This
is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older
generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely
to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago,
for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The
20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, 491
for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hill-
sides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped
by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and
longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision
and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extra-
ordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the 414
beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which 438

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Hadhramout MM2



Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar 161
of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited 631
largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved 648
a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in Decem- [648]
ber 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn
and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser 643
strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his
mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of
his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most im- [625]
portant ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of
Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of
lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal
guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British
Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 721
1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate,
and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami
Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of
what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his 648
staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial
help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial
Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend
£410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only
£23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder
to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a [731]
serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less
serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly 651
helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami 312
emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political 311
changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have
adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have
had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-
engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development
of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40
miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from
Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was
becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the
Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns,
the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the
board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple 248
cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] Ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 62–3.
[4] See above, p. 112.

5.Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



*Liaison*

In the first half of 1947 the post of Protectorate Education Officer was filled, a post which had been vacant for a year. This Officer's duties include tours of inspection throughout the Protectorate, and advice and assistance, through the British Agents, where required. 647

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate advance was somewhat hampered by the absence of the Sudani Adviser for the greater part of the year on leave. However, estimates for grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act were prepared and despatched; these include schemes for enlarging the Intermediate School at Gheil Ba Wazir and for primary schools for the Kathiri State and Wahidi area. A number of scholarships for Hadhramis were given by the Governments of Syria, Egypt and Iraq. 658 648

## HEALTH

*Medical Report for the Western Aden Protectorate*

His Majesty's Government finance a small medical service in the Western Aden Protectorate. The area covered is large, communications are poor and access to many parts is difficult. In consequence only a small proportion of the population, who are in great need of health services, can be visited and treated. Nevertheless, 16 dispensaries are maintained at strategic points in the Protectorate. New dressers are given instruction in hygiene and elementary medicine and nursing care, and are then sent out to open up new areas or to work with more senior dressers in the established dispensaries. They have to deal with diseases common to all races. Certain tropical diseases such as schistosomiasis and dysentery are very prevalent. 743 759 164

Drought and the vagaries of the climate also play their part in undermining the health of the inhabitants. The third year of drought in Sublihi country undoubtedly had an effect on the prevalence of tuberculosis, dental caries and vitamin deficiency diseases in that area. 731

Apart from the dispensaries in the Protectorate, the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital in Sheik Othman which trains the dispensers also welcomes up-country patients. More would come than do at present if ignorance and superstition did not prevail in the Protectorate. Again, for many the road to the hospital is physically difficult and it is certain that they come only as a last resort and after long deliberation. In consequence doctors do all they can to visit the dispensaries as frequently as possible and to spend adequate time at each one to treat the sick, and to give instructions to dressers to keep them up to date. 743

*Famine Relief*

During 1947 the situation in the Hadhramaut continued to improve. At the beginning of the year there were 1,112 persons being fed in the kitchens, which were closed by the end of March, leaving only Maljs—a relief centre for those incapable of work—whose 916 inmates in March were gradually reduced to 227 in December. Nuqer dam, the major famine relief work undertaken, was finished in June. Remittances 735 [312]

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



(B) EXPORTS

| No. | Commodity | No. of packages | Quantity | Value Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Tobacco, native | 13,236 bdls. | 16,858 cwt. | 8,93,650 |
| 2. | Honey in comb | — | 5,200 lb. | 5,6001 |
| 3. | " cleaned | — | 1,020 " | 2,550 |
| 4. | Dates, country | — | 900 " | 220 |
| 5. | Lime | 3,879 bags | 4,000 cwt. | 15,500 |
| 6. | Sheep and Goats' skins, tanned | — | 10 scores | 1,000 |
| 7. | Dried lemons | 229 bdls. | 581 cwt. | 33,000 |
| 8. | Fish oil | 17,049 tins | 68,195 gln. | 1,27,860 |
| 9. | Miscellaneous | — | — | 2,93,380 |
| | | | TOTAL | 13,82,760 |

# Chapter 7: Agriculture and Fisheries

## AGRICULTURE

In 1948 farming conditions were generally poor in the Aden Protectorate. Conditions of 1947 were reversed in the areas west of the Bana river, which had a poor 1947 season, received fair rainfall and flood conditions, while east of the Bana erratic and poor rainfall over large areas reduced food production to a low level. This was particularly true of the Hadhramaut and other eastern districts where complete drought returned to the country, causing famine conditions to reappear at the end of the year. The shortage of food was accentuated in those areas where the economy of the country is largely dependent on remittances from abroad. Famine appeared particularly in the Wadi Amd and in Rakhya, where food production is not secured by any irrigation from underground supplies, but is dependent entirely on rain and runoff control. These districts are also partly dependent on remittances from Hyderabad and became particularly affected when India invaded Hyderabad, and currency decrees in Hyderabad cut off the flow of remittances. The scarcity of food was further aggravated by the ban on exports of grain from the Yemen.

*Staff*

The technical staff of the Department of Agriculture consists of a Director, two Agricultural Officers (to be increased to four), an Agricultural Assistant and six Agricultural Instructors.

The Abyan Development Scheme has the part-time services of an Irrigation Adviser.

*Rainfall Crop and Livestock Conditions*

In the districts west of the Bana river *saif* rains were fair, particularly in the highland areas. East of the Bana river *saif* conditions were poor in many districts, but in Beihan conditions were good and the Wadi ran no less than eleven floods. Most of this water was from the runoff of

8:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden



the north-east Yemen Plateau, but local rain was sufficient and caused damage to the wheat and barley crops when at the harvest stage.

In the districts west of the Bana *kharif* conditions in Lahej and Subeihi country were good, but in the highland districts rainfall was insufficient for crop production over most of the year. In Abyan which is watered by the Bana and the Hassan rivers where they enter the coastal plain, a weak flood season was experienced, but this resulted in effective flood control, and on the balance, in satisfactory crops. East of the Bana and the Abyan district, conditions in the *kharif* were bad. Lack of rain in most districts reduced crop production based on rain and flood irrigation system to nothing. Fodder supplies needed for sustaining the animals working the water lifts in permanently irrigated areas were reduced, and lowered production from what should normally be a reliable source.

Livestock suffered and were reduced in numbers as a result of poor flood conditions caused by insufficient rain. A secondary factor which seriously affected camel owners and transporters in the Eastern Protectorate was a dearth of the sardines which are usually caught in great quantities on the Hadhramaut coast and used in a dry state as fodder for livestock.

*Crop Production*

| | Acres | Tons |
|---|---|---|
| ***Western Aden Protectorate*** | | |
| Millet—sorghum | 40,000 | 8,000 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 7,500 | 1,125 |
| Wheat | 1,500 | 750 |
| Barley | 4,500 | 3,000 |
| Sesame | 5,500 | 550 |
| ***Eastern Aden Protectorate*** | | |
| Millet—sorghum | 5,000 | 1,700 |
| Bulrush millet and other small millets | 1,000 | 200 |
| Wheat and barley | 3,500 | 2,500 |
| Date palms | 10,000 | 4,500 |

*Pests and Diseases*

No report of locust activity was received during the year.

Rust is probably the most important plant disease in the Aden Protectorate. In 1948, little damage was recorded from this disease.

*Animal Health*

No rinderpest was recorded during the year. Goat virus was imported from Kenya and used for the immunisation of cattle in Abyan. Horse-sickness vaccine was used in Beihan, Abyan and Lahej.

| | Western Aden Protectorate | Eastern Aden Protectorate |
|---|---|---|
| Camels | 30,000 | 45,000 |
| Cattle | 50,000 | 8,000 |
| Goats | 100,000 | 320,000 |
| Sheep | 10,000 | 50,000 |

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



712 *Northern Area.* In 1950 the desert posts were completed at Minwakh, Zimakh and Al Hajr, thus linking up the northern fort system with Al Abr and Asakir, and controlling all the important water points in the area. Since the establishment of these forts there has been no raiding at all in this area, or by tribes of this area upon other tribes.

631 *Eastern Areas.* After the settlement with the Menahil in 1948 this area remained quiet, and the Mukalla Regular Army fort at Som is now accepted by the tribes of the area. Recently the Naib of Shibam met the Muqaddam of the Menahil at Elinat. This went far to heal the breach between them and Government dating from 1947 when the tribe rose and attacked Government posts.

648 *Mahra—Socotra.* The Resident Adviser paid two visits to Socotra during 1949-50, one by sea and the other by air. Among subjects discussed with the Sultan were reports of famine conditions on the Island. The Resident Adviser strongly urged the Sultan to spend more time on the mainland, and agreed to arrange a meeting later in 1951 between the Qu'aiti and the Mahra to settle a frontier dispute at Museina. The Fisheries Officer visited the Mahra coast to study fishing conditions there.

*General*

731 As a result of the famine in 1949, there has been a notable decrease in the numbers of camels and goats, and as a result of delayed rains in Socotra the people there have suffered a similar loss. However, 1950 was a good year for the beduin, and more young camels are to be seen load-carrying now.

691 One of the chief complaints by the Bedu has been the delay caused by magistrates when judging Bedu cases. This matter has been investigated and is being put right.

664 619 Very recently a number of chiefs from the western tribes held a meeting and put in a joint petition to Government. The three points of the petition were (*a*) a complaint against the arms-carrying ban in Wadi Du'an ; (*b*) a complaint against truck owners carrying loads which are forbidden by Government's agreement with the Bedu ; and (*c*) a request for some of their old customs to be recognised. But so firmly is the peace now established that troublesome elements who attempted to support these demands by force were overruled by the majority. The Government is taking suitable action in this matter.

648 On 25th August, 1949, Colonel J. E. H. Boustead, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., assumed the appointment of British Agent, Eastern Aden Protectorate, and Resident Adviser to the Hadhramaut States and to the Wahidi State of Balhaf.

000 A table of Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes is given on p. 6.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



132 to make it one of the most favourable for many years. The rains of November and December were judged to have been the heaviest seen for thirty years.

731 Unfortunately the cultivator was in many areas, particularly the eastern districts, unable to make full use of these favourable conditions. This was the result of the bad season of 1948 which had caused famine in the Wadis 'Amd and Rakhya of the Hadhramaut, and continued to cause famine for the first four months of 1949. Famine relief and rehabilitation measures were largely responsible for getting farmers in these western Hadhramaut districts back to work, and by the end of the year there was little indication that a famine had existed in the early months of the year. In the Hadramaut important famine relief and famine prevention measures were adopted ; of outstanding importance was the introduction of a pump scheme financed by the States, and by the end of the year considerable progress had been made with this scheme. Conditions were severe in the 'Aulaqi districts of the Western Protectorate, but other districts, notably Abyan, had surplus grain stocks, and the districts which were short were able to draw on these supplies and move them, mainly by camel transport, to where needed.

653 248 The year 1949 saw great expansion in the Abyan scheme ; offices and staff buildings were built, supplies were accumulated, and important irrigation work was extended, particularly in the region of the Wadi Hassan. The year saw the emergence of Abyan as a successful producer of long staple cotton, and the harvest from some 82 acres (which averaged 1,750 lb. of seed cotton to the acre) was ginned on a roller gin in Abyan, pressed on a hand press in Aden, and exported to Liverpool for sale to the Raw Cotton Commission. Planting for the 1949–50 crop was extended to over 1,000 acres.

*Rainfall, Crop and Livestock Conditions*

132 731 *Saif Rains Season.* An abundant Saif rain was received in almost all districts of the Protectorate in 1949. In parts of the Eastern Protectorate the rains came late, but were heavy ; and in the Hadhramaut considerable destruction was caused to irrigation works from the resulting floods. The great Nuqra Dam, which had stood successfully for the previous two flood seasons, received the full weight of the combined floods of the Wadi 'Idim and Wadi Ser and was breached owing to a blow-up of the apron caused by excessive up-stream pressure.

241 The Saif rains were badly needed. They gave the cultivator, hard pressed through the previous bad season, a chance to grow grain and fodder crops with which to build up his condition in readiness for cultivation in the Kharif season.

132 *Kharif Rains Season.* Rain followed close on the finish of the Saif, and in almost all districts the rainfall was sufficient for the needs of the cultivator. In November, 1949, the Protectorate was blessed with that rare visitation, a general winter rainfall, which fell with exceptional heaviness, particularly in the north-eastern areas from Beihan across

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



to the Hadhramaut. This winter rainfall enormously improved the range conditions over the mountain areas of the Protectorate and produced exceptionally good pasturage for the desert tribes in the north-east. 132

Large acreages of winter cereals and fodder crops were grown. The year finished with the whole of the Protectorate in good condition. 241

Livestock started the year in many areas in a starved condition, and in the east with their numbers greatly reduced. At the end of 1949 their condition was restored, but numbers, particularly of small stock, were low. 231

*Plant Pests and Diseases*

As a result of the favourable rains and the continuance of sorghum cultivation through the Saif season, to the flood crop of the Kharif, and into the lift irrigated crops planted in autumn, 1949, there was a serious increase in the stalk borer population, and an estimated loss of up to 50 per cent of the crop resulted in the Hadhramaut lift irrigated areas. 731 242

*Animal Health*

No outbreak of rinderpest or other serious animal disease was recorded during 1949. 731

*Market Conditions*

With the devaluation of the pound the value of the Maria Theresa dollar rose nearly 30 per cent in relation to rupee currency. Produce prices remained high until autumn, 1949, when a sharp drop occurred in many districts following the good harvests. Sorghum grain on the Aden market averaged about £35 per ton throughout 1949. 435 455

*Demonstration and Experiment*

A field trial with X1730A cotton grown from Abyan raised seed was very successful in 1949; some 1,750 lbs. of seed cotton per acre was obtained from scattered plots totalling 82 acres which had received one watering only before planting. The crop was planted in the months of September and October, and grew rapidly. In some fields plants reached a height of over 6 feet and carried an enormous crop. No important pests or diseases were seen. 242

The crop was classified by the Chief Classifier of the Sudan Plantation Syndicate, who was flown over for the purpose; he placed about half the crop in grades 3 and 4, and the balance in grades 5 and 6, basing his classification on Sudan Gezira standard for L type cottons. The graded crop was sold to the Raw Cotton Commission.

Varieties of cane, introduced in small quantities from Mauritius in the previous season, were cut in September, 1949, and planted out in observation plots.

T: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
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accounts section the position was particularly serious; but equally important was the lack of essential hydrological data on such matters as river discharges, the availability of suitable storage sites, studies on percolation and so on. Without such information progress must be delayed. 654

As mentioned earlier, the X1730A type of cotton planted on 82 acres in 1948, proved a great success. The crop was ginned and marketed by the Board, and arrangements with cultivators for the new season's planting resulted in an extension of the acreage to 1,097 acres. At the end of 1949 the crop showed great promise, and in many areas appeared even better than the previous year's crop. 248 242 654

Grain, oil-seed and fodder production was satisfactory, though grain yields were reduced in many areas through double-cropping the land with a sorghum fodder crop in the Saif season and then a grain crop in the Kharif.

A great deal of the land in Abyan which has been well irrigated for the past five years is now becoming heavily infested with weeds, mainly the weed grass *Desmostachya bipinnata*. The introduction of cotton as a cleaning crop and the "drying up" and resting with or without cultivation, of these heavily infested lands is now recognised as an urgent matter. In order to tackle the weed problem the Board increased its tractor strength by the purchase of three Fowler Diesel crawler tractors in the last quarter of 1949. 654 137 242

Another problem which came to notice towards the end of 1949 was the rapid rise in the height of the water table in certain areas. The area involved does not exceed 300 acres, but already in this area (where in places the water table has risen to within six feet of the surface) salts are appearing in the upper layers of the soil, and vegetation, particularly in the seedling stage, has been affected. It was noticed that cotton, once established, flourished and appeared exceedingly healthy on these salt-impregnated soils. 133 242

*Anti-Famine Measures*

In the first four-and-a-half months of 1949 until general rains fell over the Eastern Protectorate, famine again threatened human life in the Hadhramaut. Relief measures were introduced, as in the previous famine, but this time so promptly that practically no deaths from famine occurred. Again aircraft of the Royal Air Force came to the rescue and dropped grain supplies to the worst affected areas. Large quantities of grain were moved inland by motor transport and any camel transport that could be mustered; at the same time large numbers of the destitute, particularly women and children, were brought down or walked down to the coastal towns, where they were accommodated in refugee camps and fed. To employ labour on relief works an extensive programme of road construction, and irrigation repair works and new construction was undertaken. 731 [653]

When rain fell, it was again found necessary to issue loans to

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



•731 cultivators to get them back to their villages and re-establish them in time to sow their crops.

The famine of 1948–49 struck the western districts of Hadhramaut, where the situation was complicated by the dependence of these districts on rain and run-off water and flow irrigation from the wadis for crop production, and where large sections of the population relied on remittances from Hyderabad, which had been absorbed into the Indian Union, and from which transfers of currency had become difficult. Finally the repatriation of several thousand Southern Arabians, many of them from the tribes most seriously affected by the famine, brought further hardship.

Little could be done to improve agricultural conditions rapidly in these western areas of the Hadhramaut. It was therefore necessary to look to the lower areas of the main wadi where water is obtainable at easy levels, and farming can be secured by permanent irrigation.

Animal power for use on lift irrigation, and dependent on fodder crops cheaply produced only from the flood-irrigated areas, was now judged to have reached its maximum use. The Famine Relief Commissioner—in this case the Acting Resident Adviser—was advised that a large-scale pump scheme, using diesel-engined units, was the only measure which appeared to show promise of quick improvement in food production. The Commissioner and the States accepted this advice in detail and made important decisions in council which were framed to abolish all taxes on diesel engine and pumps for use on irrigation work, and on diesel oil (gas oil), and to purchase and supply cultivators with machinery for cash or for deferred payments.

731 489 The States further caused revision of an important agreement with Beduin tribes regarding the transport of fuel. In the past all trade goods, including petrol, kerosene oil, and lubricating oil, had been carried by camel caravans owned by Beduin tribes occupying the country between the coastal plain and the great wadis of the interior. With the opening of the road to the interior some fourteen years ago it was agreed that motor transport should carry only passengers and small quantities of personal luggage. In the present emergency the Beduin leaders were told of the need for motor transport to carry diesel oil for a famine relief scheme and were shown that the normal system of supplying diesel oil was in 44-gallon drums which have to be broken and repacked in drums of a size convenient for camel transport. The Beduins agreed to waive their rights, and so, for the first time in Hadhramaut history, a truly mechanised scheme, independent of the camel caravans—which are entirely dependent on fodder grazing and water supplies, which may fail in a drought—was evolved.

653 406 312 It was decided to spend up to £36,000 on a pump scheme. The Famine Relief Commission, acting on behalf of the States, arranged to purchase the machinery and to sell outright for cash or on a deferred payment system, in which case 25 per cent was added to the price for repayment over a four-year period. Speed was essential, and quotations and prices were examined for nearly every type of diesel-engined

is known of the mineral reserves of this region, and most of the local industries are small and primitive. Salt is the chief export of the Colony; tobacco, honey and fish products, of the Protectorates.

The port of Aden is visited regularly by ships from all parts of the world. Within the last few years, the Colony has also become a regional center for air services to Cairo and other cities in the Near East and East Africa. Communications between the Colony and the interior are mainly by roads and caravan trails, supplemented by a coastwise dhow trade. Camels and donkeys are the primary means of transport, but the use of motor vehicles is increasing along the main routes. Roads suitable for motor traffic link Aden Colony with certain population centers in Western Aden Protectorate, and Mukalla with the larger towns of the Hadhramaut and adjacent coastlands. Access to the interior is also provided by military air services.

### Food and Nutrition

Aden Colony is a cosmopolitan community, in which a variety of food habits is found among the peoples of different racial and economic groups. With the exception of fish, milk and limited supplies of garden vegetables, all foodstuffs are imported. Undernutrition is prevalent among the poorer inhabitants, and particularly among the transient laborers from the interior.

Food supplies are never abundant in the Protectorate, where cultivation is restricted by the nature of the terrain and the scarcity of water in many areas. Anything which interferes with normal production, such as droughts or an invasion of locusts, may result in local food shortages, often approaching famine conditions. The Hadhramaut was seriously affected during the widespread drought in 1943, and children were evacuated from some of the famine areas to relief camps in Mukalla.

The average Arab diet is simple, while that of the pastoral tribes is almost invari-

Plants. The shrub, *Catha edulis*, colloquially known as qat, is extensively cultivated in sections of the western highlands. The leaves yield a stimulant which dissipates fatigue and causes loss of appetite and of desire for sleep. Qat chewing is a popular custom in the Colony and Western Aden Protectorate, as it is in Yemen. H A 135 733

Cases of poisoning, caused by the contamination of imported wheat with grains of *Lolium temulentum* (Darnel grass), are recorded frequently. Species of *Euphorbia* grow in many areas, and contact poisoning is sometimes observed. H A 136 752

## Food Sanitation

Regulations governing the sanitary quality of milk, meats and other products are in force only in the Colony. The markets and the slaughterhouses, which are located at four points—in Crater, Tawahi and Maala, on the peninsula, and in Sheikh Othman—are operated under the supervision of sanitary inspectors. Eating houses, coffee shops, date stalls and other premises where foods are prepared or sold, and the aerated water and ice factories, are licensed and inspected from time to time. No controls are exercised over food handlers, however, and many food vendors and workers in small shops are immigrants among whom the standards of cleanliness are generally poor. A 744

Meat animals are inspected by veterinary officers at the slaughterhouses, but no postmortem examinations of the carcasses are made. The dairy cows are housed in municipal or private sheds within the town limits. Samples of milk from commercial herds are collected at regular intervals and tested for adulteration. There are no facilities for pasteurization. Opportunities for the spread of infection through contaminated milk are minimal, however, due to the universal custom of boiling milk before it is used. Brucellosis is enzootic among the goats, and infections undoubtedly are transmitted to man occasionally through cheese and other milk products. Bovine tuberculosis is pre- A 744 234

p. 243(B)

63.Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East

ficiency are widespread. Pellagroid lesions of the skin are often encountered among the peoples of the Protectorate. In a survey of 518 Arab schoolboys in Aden township in 1949, no cases of overt deficiency were found, but enlargement of the liver, possibly suggestive of low protein intake, was revealed in 27 per cent.

### Miscellaneous Conditions

A small outbreak of epidemic muscular rheumatism, classified as Bornholm disease, was reported from Aden in 1946. It involved 35 persons—34 British and 1 Arab.

Hepatic cirrhosis is one of the most frequent conditions seen at the Civil Hospital. Local physicians have noted that most of the cases come from malarious regions where qat is widely used, but the underlying causes have not been investigated.

Chewing the leaves of *Catha edulis*, or qat, is a general custom in Western Aden Protectorate. The leaf juices contain a stimulant, and habitual indulgence is said to produce loss of appetite, sleeplessness and a variety of more serious nervous disorders. Local observers believe that addiction to the drug contributes to the widespread undernutrition among the people.

### SUMMARY

The Colony of Aden and the adjacent Protectorate, on the southern coast of Arabia, have been British dependencies for over a century. The population of the Colony, including the port of Aden, was enumerated at 80,516 in the census of 1946, and calculated at over 100,000 in 1950. The Protectorate territory comprises two administrative divisions—Western Aden Protectorate and Eastern Aden Protectorate, in which the estimated population for 1948 was about 350,000 and 300,000, respectively. The local governments are tribal and diverse in organization, ranging from sultanates to smaller autonomous units. The inhabitants of both the Colony and the Protectorate are predominantly Arabs and adherents of Islam.

p. 251 (8)

361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil
342 there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
177 of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

## Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

51 For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
661 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
435 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The Kathiris have no organised Governmental institutions in the accepted sense of the word, though the Sultan and his supporters, including the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun, are very anxious for progress. Sultan 'Ali's state income is estimated at $20,000 a year in respect of Seiyun, Taris and Mariama; $6,000 of this is a direct contribution from the Al Kaf Seiyids, and the remainder consists of taxes on dates and on goods entering Seiyun. The whole sum is expended on state services, for Sultan 'Ali has a private income derived from Singapore. He maintains a force consisting of 200 indifferently armed slave soldiers in Seiyun, and 200 in Tarim. 643 642 651 565

In Tarim the Al Kaf contribute $12,000 a year to the city Treasury. There is a Town Council which organises the local taxation, and thanks to the Al Kaf Seiyids its affairs are said to be run in a very business-like way, for its budget balances. In normal times the political expenditure on maintaining peace between Tarim and the neighbouring tribes is perhaps $4,000 a year, and this is all borne by the Al Kafs. But to this normal expenditure is often added extraordinary expenditure as, for instance, in a case which occurred about May 1934, when Seiyid Bubekr, the second brother of the family, spent $12,000 in settling a dispute between Tarim and the Tamimis. 651 632 565

In Tarim and Seiyun there is a doctor and dispensary, but they are supported by the Seiyids. At the time of my visit, the doctor, a Punjabi, was on leave and such work as was being carried on was being done by a dispenser. No great public use was made of his services. The dispensary costs the Al Kafs about $1,000 a month, and they spend $2,000 a month on charities and roads. As regards their expenditure on communications it should be recorded that they built all the water pools on the caravan route from Tarim to Shihr, that they spent $7,000 on building a pass at Al 'Arsha for caravans, and that Seiyid Bubekr has spent over $180,000 on road making between Tarim and Shihr. 743 565 735 653

The schools in Kathiri territory are almost entirely supported by the wealthy Seiyids. There are two Ribāts, religious foundations, principally supported by *Waqfs* (religious endowments) for the teaching of religion and philosophy. Of these one is in Seiyun and has an attendance of 40 students, and the other is in Tarim with an attendance of 120. The Saqqaf family of Seiyids maintain two schools in Seiyun, one containing 500 boys and seven teachers, the other 100 boys and four teachers, and the Al Kafs, who also contribute to the Ribāts, run two schools in Tarim. One of these formerly had an attendance of 400 boys but it is now only attended by children of the family, numbering 54. The other, a public school, accommodates between 300 and 400 boys. The Al Kafs also run one if not two schools at Khoreiba in Wadi Du'an in Qu'aiti territory. They are, in fact, the only people undertaking educational activities in a wider sense in that province. I believe, too, that they support the private schools in Mukalla and Shihr. 565 871

5x Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM21



Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court. 778 796 782 792 [2 T 21]

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer. 778 735

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed. 693 671 [692]

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of 671 693 577 626

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# A JOURNEY IN HADRAMAUT

This article, originally printed by the Royal Geographical Society of the Netherlands, has been translated from the Dutch.—*Ed.*

101 Hadramaut is a part of Arabia about which very little is yet known. It was celebrated in antiquity as the land of frankincense and myrrh, and the great trade route from India to the ports of South Arabia and thence through Hadramaut, Yemen and Nejran to Egypt and Syria, brought prosperity and culture. Lying on the border of the Sabæan and Minæan kingdoms, Hadramaut appears to have adopted many of their civilizing elements, and yet to have maintained its own independence. After the decline of the Sabæan kingdom and the civilization which flourished there, Hadramaut also sank into poverty and ignorance. In this respect Islam appears to have brought but little change. After the destruction of 167 the irrigation works, the poverty became terrible, and 735 the country was scarcely able to provide a meagre subsistence even for a very small population. Even centuries ago this led the most enterprising of the men to seek for themselves a better livelihood in foreign lands. 167 The men of Hadramaut wandered off to the east coast 186 of Africa, to the countries around the Red Sea as far as Egypt, to British India and to the Dutch East Indies. Their women never went with them, and the men remained firmly attached to their poor, dry and intensely hot native land. In foreign lands the people of Hadramaut have preserved their own characteristics up to the present day, and have never become assimilated to the peoples among whom they lived, endeavoring to return at some time to their native land, and sending their male children to Hadramaut for their education, if they could

24:Moulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



often very poor in water, but, over and above this, countless internal wars make traffic dangerous and force travellers to go by very circuitous routes. This is why the Ḥaḍramī seldom knows his own country well. A learned Ḥaḍramī whom I knew formerly said to me quite truly: "I know all the volcanoes of Java and all the stations on its main railway lines, but I cannot give you any information about the wādīs and mountains a few hours distant from my home." The Sultan of Sēwūn is a relatively favourable exception to this rule in that he has seen Aden; he went there to attend a conference convened by the British authorities, where an attempt was made to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Qeʿēṣī and Kathīrī rulers. He desires to see more of the world, including Java, the land in which three quarters of his subjects have interests. The great difficulty, however, is to get over the Qeʿēṣī barrier, and for that an aeroplane is necessary. The site for the future aerodrome which was shown to us seemed quite suitable.

In the evening there is again a gathering on the roof-terrace at ʿIzz ed-Dīn. The subject brought forward for discussion is the poverty of Ḥaḍramaut and how relief from it may be obtained. In and around Sēwūn the water-level is not deep, which fact accounts for the prosperous palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. But the water-supply would have to be enlarged if it is to help the people really forward. This cannot be done by motor pumps, because they are too expensive in practice. The pump at Hēnin has to work eight hours a day to keep in existence a few acres of *dhura* and 200 small palm-trees, and that costs more in kerosene and lubricating oil than can ever be made from the produce of the irrigated land. The soil in Sēwūn is better and water nearer to the surface, and yet experience has taught that here also the motor pump does not pay. Can matters not be improved by means of artesian wells? The Sultan asks us to help by sending an expert with the necessary instruments. He says that at one time, in the days of the Ḥimyaritic kingdom, Ḥaḍramaut must have been

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



735 prosperous. Great irrigation works for collecting and distri-
312 buting water were constructed. There is no longer united action,
653 the reservoirs have gone to wrack and ruin, and now, every year, quantities of life-giving water stream down to the sea and are wasted. This matter was discussed again thoroughly later in Terīm.

500 May 26th is the day fixed for our departure for Terīm. In the morning, cars are placed at our disposal to enable us to make a tour through the city and its surroundings for taking photographs. We thankfully seize this opportunity of making a pictorial record of some of the fine houses and views of this city in a forest of palms in the midst of the desert. In photographing the es-Saqqāf town house it is impossible to evade the pressing invitation of Sayyid Hūd es-Saqqāf to come in and have a glass of tea, so we promise to do so as soon as we have finished photographing. We cannot pass the cemetery without taking snapshots of some graves with light-green cupolas with unostentatious, beautiful, open-work borders. There are also several small mosques in picturesque situations. The Sultan kindly allowed us to admire the city of Sēwūn from the roof of his palace. Noticeable here in this great palace are the order and cleanliness which literally gleam out at the visitor. It is especially in the palaces, with the many soldiers quartered in them and with the many guests, that the contrary is often the case. It takes some time before the women in the corridors and on the staircases, where we have to pass, can be warned of our approach. When this has been successfully done we saunter through deserted passages of mud and ascend by well-constructed even staircases to the shining white roof. Here we stand on the most beautiful site in Ḥaḍramaut. Terīm does its best to equal it and has more to show in great palaces, but here is grace, here is the happy variation of deep-green, luxuriant gardens and fine summer residences, here the Ḥaḍramī style, pure and harmonious, has been adhered to.

In the house of the namesake of Hūd, Ḥaḍramaut's great prophet, the promised glass of tea is awaiting us. The grey-

94:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



ques. One of the el-Kāfs told us that there are 200 in use and 160 falling into disrepair. My friend Sayyid Hāshim makes it 60 in use and 300 falling into disrepair; this is, doubtless, nearer to the truth.'

The number of the inhabitants of Terîm is almost certainly 12000, for our host has lists of names in connection with the distributions of food made by him to the masses. Sēwûn must then have rather more, that is, between 12000 and 15000.

There are two elementary schools here with about 400 pupils, and one school for more advanced religious instruction with some 200 students.

After the visit to the castle we go to New Terîm. There a completely new suburb is being built, partly for people who are in the service of the el-Kāfs. In none of the places that we had visited up to now was there so much life and expansion as here. In Terîm a conscious and well-considered effort is being made to become, within a short time, the foremost town of Ḥaḍramaut. El-Kāf and Terîm are the names that we heard everywhere whenever new undertakings or plans were under discussion.

We pass through the new suburb till we strike the wall of the city, which ascends the slope of the mountain at this spot until it becomes unclimbable. Two forts manned by soldiers strengthen this starting point of the defence works of the town. From their high position they overlook quite half of the well-maintained and solid wall which encloses the town and the palm-groves in straight lines.

It is Thursday, the day for the distribution of food to the poor. As we return home, the street and square before our host's house are black with women, children and greybeards, awaiting the portions of rice and flour that are destined for them. The work of distribution lasts for hours. Servants hand out the portions; others check and sign long lists of names. The soldiers and Bedouins from the Qeʿēṭī territory who accompany us gaze in dumb amazement at this lavish charitableness. Soon when they return to their country, they will

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



0735
554

spread still more widely and will magnify in their highly coloured narratives the fame of that noble-minded Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf. So it is that the hopes and expectations of an ever-growing number turn towards Terîm. If Sayyid Abû Bakr wished for political power, he would have an opportunity to establish unity and peace in the Kathîrî territories now torn by internecine warfare.

24 Maulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



has made his fortune abroad has built here a princely house 361
for himself. He has, of course, not forgotten to render thanks 346
to Allah at the same time by building a mosque, a glittering 511
white masterpiece of Ḥaḍramī architecture. The contrast between the great wealth of many sayyids and the poverty of the great mass of the people does not seem to be poignantly felt here. The palaces of the rich stand right in the midst of 565
dying towns; their children, frequently overdressed, play with 795
the almost naked black children of slaves. The rich return 511
of their own accord from lands of culture and prosperity to their own land of appalling poverty, to enjoy within its borders the wealth they have accumulated. Allah has willed that there be rich men in the world and poor men to whom they should be able to give alms. It is fit and proper that there should be beggars in every good Muslim society and especially a plentiful supply of them in places of pilgrimage, so that the pious may have ample opportunity to practise the generosity commanded by Allah. We have noticed little jealousy or class conflict in Ḥaḍramaut. This is certainly due partly to the democratic way of living. The privileges of the sayyid class have a religious and not a money basis. Soldiers, household slaves and the free citizens of the village meet in the *maḍjlis* of the rich and all eat there in company, drink from the same bowl and join in the same converse.

From Qasam we go by car along the high clay bank of the 361
*masīla* (the bed of the wādī), which has been eroded by 758
the *sayḥa*. Having reached a point opposite ʿEnāt we attempt 778
to cross the wide sandy bed of the *masīla* to reach the town. The palm plantations have been growing progressively thinner and the soil here is entirely covered by a layer of sand. We stall constantly in this sand in the *masīla* and have difficulty in reaching ʿEnāt, where everything speaks of vanished glory. The town is scattered over a wide area; great open spaces give one the impression that the population was formerly much larger than it is now. At one time many pilgrims were attracted here by the seven *qubbas* which adorn

5;Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-2 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



*Liaison*

In the first half of 1947 the post of Protectorate Education Officer was filled, a post which had been vacant for a year. This Officer's duties include tours of inspection throughout the Protectorate, and advice and assistance, through the British Agents, where required. 647

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate advance was somewhat hampered by the absence of the Sudani Adviser for the greater part of the year on leave. However, estimates for grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act were prepared and despatched; these include schemes for enlarging the Intermediate School at Gheil Ba Wazir and for primary schools for the Kathiri State and Wahidi area. A number of scholarships for Hadhramis were given by the Governments of Syria, Egypt and Iraq. 658 648

## HEALTH

*Medical Report for the Western Aden Protectorate*

His Majesty's Government finance a small medical service in the Western Aden Protectorate. The area covered is large, communications are poor and access to many parts is difficult. In consequence only a small proportion of the population, who are in great need of health services, can be visited and treated. Nevertheless, 16 dispensaries are maintained at strategic points in the Protectorate. New dressers are given instruction in hygiene and elementary medicine and nursing care, and are then sent out to open up new areas or to work with more senior dressers in the established dispensaries. They have to deal with diseases common to all races. Certain tropical diseases such as schistosomiasis and dysentery are very prevalent. 743 759 164

Drought and the vagaries of the climate also play their part in undermining the health of the inhabitants. The third year of drought in Sublihi country undoubtedly had an effect on the prevalence of tuberculosis, dental caries and vitamin deficiency diseases in that area. 731

Apart from the dispensaries in the Protectorate, the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital in Sheik Othman which trains the dispensers also welcomes up-country patients. More would come than do at present if ignorance and superstition did not prevail in the Protectorate. Again, for many the road to the hospital is physically difficult and it is certain that they come only as a last resort and after long deliberation. In consequence doctors do all they can to visit the dispensaries as frequently as possible and to spend adequate time at each one to treat the sick, and to give instructions to dressers to keep them up to date. 743

*Famine Relief*

During 1947 the situation in the Hadhramaut continued to improve. At the beginning of the year there were 1,112 persons being fed in the kitchens, which were closed by the end of March, leaving only Maljs—a relief centre for those incapable of work—whose 716 inmates in March were gradually reduced to 227 in December. Nuqer dam, the major famine relief work undertaken, was finished in June. Remittances 735 [312] 606

cost was paid by him. The way across the mountains is 491
fantastically dangerous, but an expert chauffeur with a first class auto seems to be able to pass over it without any accident. I made up my mind, however, not to risk it again, and on the way back to follow the longer way round through the *wādī*. The mountain road was constructed at a time when it was impossible, owing to hostilities, to pass through the level country.

From the 27th of May until the 7th of June we were 741
in Terīm as the guests of Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf 871
As a Sayyid he has no official part in the government of 185
his country, but actually he is the man who is now doing most for his country and people. It was he who founded the schools at Makalla, at ash-Shihr, at Dō'an and in the towns of the Wādī Hadramaut, and it is he who supports them; it was he who made possible the transport of the first automobiles from the coast to Terīm, along the great road which he is now engaged in constructing. He is the man who constructed the automobile road from Terīm to Sēwun, and it is he who gives generously to thousands of the poor, to whom he has food supplied every Thursday evening. Terīm is the town for religion and learn- 361
ing; once it was the most important town of Hadramaut, and it is again on the road to become that. It is a town with a multitude of mosques and dozens of palaces, in which are living those families the members of which were able to amass millions of money in Java and at Singapore. The home of Sayyid Abu Bakr is the place where religious and political leaders meet one another, and where the future of the country is discussed.

Thanks to the help of our host, we were able to make 778
a trip to Sūne, the center for archæology, and finally to [782]
attain our most distant goal by being able to visit the 788
central sanctuary of Hadramaut, namely, the grave of the prophet of Allah, Hūd, and to explore the mythical abode of the souls of the unbelievers, Bīr Barhūt. The tomb of Hūd (Qabr Hūd) is the Mecca of Hadramaut and of the surrounding countries. For three days in

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# CHAPTER X.

## TO TERÎM, THE HOPE OF ALL ḤAḌRAMAUT.

871 In the Qeʿêṭi country, already, we heard the name of Sayyid
487 Abû Bakr el-Kâf invariably pronounced with respect, and here
491 we have entered the land of his activity. Sayyid el-Kâf has plac-
741 ed his energy, his love, and all his possessions at the service of
493 his country and of his people. His example is an impressive
185 call to unity and to the setting aside of personal interests and susceptibilities for the general good. Schools, endowed and maintained by him, are scattered all over the country. The Qeʿêṭi Sultans and Governors have them in their residences, and the influence of these little schools will slowly penetrate through the whole land. His other sensational enterprise, which may become of the greatest significance for the country's future, is the construction of a motor road from the Ḥaḍramaut valley to the coast. Although the road is not yet completed, its influence is already making itself felt. The most difficult *ʿaqabas* have been conquered so that it is possible to bring cars into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut, though the transport of these is still expensive. There, where the first car passes, others will soon follow, and in a country where travelling is very tiring and very slow, the motor-car will be particularly appreciated. The Ḥaḍramîs who have been successful abroad do not lack money. The motor-car having arrived will not disappear again, and conditions within the borders of Ḥaḍramaut will be entirely changed thereby. The construction of roads in the valley itself has been started without delay, and drivers and mechanics have already found their way there.
721 The inconvenience of intertribal warfare makes itself felt more and more forcibly, but Sayyid Abû Bakr will be greatly
p 128

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MMI



652 Details are not available as to how much State expenditure was non-recurrent, but the proportion for the year was small. None of the expenditure by Her Majesty's Government was of a non-recurrent nature and all but £1,867 from C.D. & W. Funds was.

*Number of Schools*

871 The number of schools under Government control or supervision is 75 primary boys' schools, four primary girls' schools and four intermediate boys' schools.

The number of pupils enrolled at 31st March, 1952, was as follows :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Primary boys' schools | 5,139 pupils with | 222 teachers. |
| Primary girls' schools | 269 pupils with | 15 teachers. |
| Intermediate boys' schools | 408 pupils with | 16 teachers. |

In addition there are a number of privately controlled schools which do not follow the Government syllabus, and usually have a religious bias.

*Studies Abroad*

There were 39 students studying abroad during 1952. Two were at university colleges, one taking a pedagogics course at University College, Exeter, the other an arts course at Gordon College, Khartoum ; both these students are at present in the teaching profession. The remainder were either at Bakht er Rudha Institute of Education in the Sudan, or at secondary schools in the Sudan and elsewhere, and were distributed as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Sudan | 18 |
| Egypt | 10 |
| Syria | 5 |
| Iraq | 4 |

658 741 Eleven of these students were paid for by Colonial Development and Welfare grants for teacher-training ; the remainder were financed by State or charitable funds.

*Teachers and Teacher-Training*

875 Apart from training abroad mentioned in the previous paragraph there were two centres at home. In 1951 the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs trained six teachers in a one-year course for teaching at the primary level. At Gheil ba Wazir in the Eastern Protectorate there were three students training as teachers at the intermediate level. In addition all Western Protectorate teachers were brought in for the annual refresher course of a fortnight's duration in the Colony.

The teaching profession is in constant danger of wastage, both in the East and in the West, though for different reasons. In the East the Quaiti State offers pensionable employment, but the general conditions of service are lower than in Aden or the Western Protectorate. In the West the nearer proximity of Aden Colony and the possibility of more lucrative employment there is an ever-present danger, but more serious still is the fact that no State in the West can

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



000 remedies and sulphamerathine in small containers with instructions in Arabic.

*Organisation and Policy*

647 The health administration has a triple aspect: (a) co-ordination
743 and standardisation in the interests of efficiency, (b) direction of
759 activities financed by Her Majesty's Government, that is health work among States with as yet no health services of their own, and (c) advice and practical help to administrations with health services and doctors in their own employment.

There is a Health Adviser, with headquarters in Mukalla (Eastern Protectorate) and a sub-headquarters in the West at Sheikh Othman, and two Protectorate Medical Officers, one for the East and one for the West. The Protectorate Medical Officer and a nursing sister-midwife have been lent by the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital and are paid for by Her Majesty's Government.

In the West the Fadhli and Lower Yafa'i States have a joint health service under the control of a Health Board on which is represented the Abyan Board (the local agricultural development body), which contributes to the health service budget and is building a base hospital associated with a health service training centre for the Western Protectorate. The health service has a Senior Medical Officer in executive charge. Lahej State has a hospital half built and has budgetted for a doctor in the near future.

In the East the Qu'aiti health service has a Senior Medical Officer based on Mukalla Hospital and responsible for the Southern Qu'aiti District, and one woman doctor based on the newly built Shibam Hospital in the Wadi Hadhramaut and responsible for the Northern Qu'aiti District. The Kathiri health service has a Senior Medical Officer based on Sai'un in the Wadi Hadhramaut. The Wahidi health service came into being in 1952 and has an embryo hospital building. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri States have State Health Boards. Good progress is being made with the provision of accommodation, staff and equipment at Mukalla Hospital, which is to be a health service training centre and base hospital for the Eastern Protectorate.

Each hospital has a system of administratively dependent health units staffed by literate personnel who are being increasingly trained in preventive and therapeutic skills. The Keith Falconer Hospital of the Church of Scotland Mission at Sheikh Othman continues for the present, as it has been for the past 25 years, as the administrative and training base for most of these health units in the Western Protectorate. It is the intention to transfer these functions gradually to the local administrations. Mobile health units are based on Sheikh Othman in the West and Mukalla in the East.

*Work by Voluntary Bodies*

743 Church of Scotland and Danish Mission sisters and midwives have established clinics at Dathina, Abyan, and Beihan. The Aden Society
741 for the Blind late in 1952 carried out a small but valuable survey and treatment campaign in the Western Protectorate.

G.Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2



242 [429] conditions as for tenants. If not owner occupiers, they take responsibility for debts incurred by tenants, to whose settlement or eviction they must agree.

*Finance*

| | *Sales* | |
|---|---|---|
| | *bale of* 400 *lb.* | *Value* £ |
| 1949 | 100 | 5,270 |
| 1950 | 1,587 | 121,450 |
| 1951 | 9,890 | 867,088 |
| 1952 | 6,300 | 725,810 |

The contract with the Raw Cotton Commission extends to the season 1955–56.

Seed was sold to the value of £86,500 in 1951 and £54,870 in 1952.

Expenditure of approximately £20,000 loaned by the Colony Government on the first stage of the scheme in 1943–46 was refunded in part, and the balance handed over in the form of improvements and working capital to the Abyan Board on its formation.

Capital liabilities for loans stood at £278,307 at 30th September, 1952.

At the same date, after disposal of the current season's cotton crop, there were fixed assets worth £324,693. Cash and investment funds were available for the provision of £400,000 to a general development reserve; £180,000 to a revenue stabilisation fund; and £25,000 to a sinking fund.

*Social Effects*

The Scheme has had great beneficial influence on the general economy of the Aden Protectorate.

728 Peace and security have been extended to an area formerly insecure and the area has been settled by members of many tribes formerly at feud with each other in the Protectorate.

164 The Scheme has also been responsible for the virtual eradication of malaria in the district. This work conducted by the Protectorate 742 Medical Service has been assisted by the Board which has guaranteed 242 to provide a minimum of £26,000 per annum to a joint States' Medical Service; it has also agreed to provide £20,000 for the building of a hospital.

**Prisons.**

697 In Mukalla there is one prison, and "lock-ups" in the police stations. There are said to be 20 warders in the prison who wear a khaki uniform, but I only saw six. The prison is in the charge of the Commander of the Forces. On inspection the only prisoners seen were political, some 30 men and boys who were hostages from the various tribes and who are changed every month.

The headquarters of the uniformed police contains two cells where short sentences are served and remand prisoners detained. It was said that prisoners were not kept there for more than 24 hours.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## SOCIAL SERVICES IN QU'AITI TERRITORY.

### Health Administration.

743 There is only one Government medical institution and that is the dispensary in Mukalla.[1] It is in charge of a Hindu doctor assisted by a compounder and three dressing boys. The doctor took over his duties in April 1934, and from the 3rd of that month to the end of September he had treated 1,575 patients. In the month of October the number was 147. He performs only very minor operations and the figures include eight or ten such cases. Most of the doctor's work is in the dispensary itself, but he is sometimes called in for domiciliary visits. The dispensary is open from 8 to 12 in the morning and from 5 to 8 in the evening for urgent cases.

164 The principal ailments are diseases of the eye, eye trachoma being very prevalent, and rheumatic affections of the joints. There is no malaria in Mukalla, but cases come in from outside. The doctor possesses no microscope, but he has not traced any cases of ankylostomiasis or bilharzia. There is practically no syphilis, but gonorrhoea is fairly common. Constipation is chronic. From April to October he had used almost two hundredweight of magnesium sulphate. Tropical ulcers are fairly common.

164 751 Mr. H. M. Heald in his report on the agricultural resources says "Smallpox seemed to be the most fatal disease in the interior, and in some years whole villages were wiped out; I was informed that for generations they have had a system of inoculation performed by taking the blood from a child with the disease and rubbing it in a cut made on the arm, generally between the shoulder and elbow. In Mukalla, being the seaport connected with the east, they sometimes had plague, but as far as I could gather they had been free for a number of years."

743 In addition to his dispensary work the doctor is in charge of the Port Health work for ships and dhows, and has recently been appointed medical officer of health in the town.

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[1] There may now be a dispensary operating in Shihr.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The Kathīris have no organised Governmental institutions in the accepted sense of the word, though the Sultan and his supporters, including the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun, are very anxious for progress. Sultan 'Ali's state income is estimated at $20,000 a year in respect of Seiyun, Taris and Mariama; $6,000 of this is a direct contribution from the Al Kaf Seiyids, and the remainder consists of taxes on dates and on goods entering Seiyun. The whole sum is expended on state services, for Sultan 'Ali has a private income derived from Singapore. He maintains a force consisting of 200 indifferently armed slave soldiers in Seiyun, and 200 in Tarim. 643 642 651 565

In Tarim the Al Kaf contribute $12,000 a year to the city Treasury. There is a Town Council which organises the local taxation, and thanks to the Al Kaf Seiyids its affairs are said to be run in a very business-like way, for its budget balances. In normal times the political expenditure on maintaining peace between Tarim and the neighbouring tribes is perhaps $4,000 a year, and this is all borne by the Al Kafs. But to this normal expenditure is often added extraordinary expenditure as, for instance, in a case which occurred about May 1934, when Seiyid Bubekr, the second brother of the family, spent $12,000 in settling a dispute between Tarim and the Tamimis. 651 632 565

In Tarim and Seiyun there is a doctor and dispensary, but they are supported by the Seiyids. At the time of my visit, the doctor, a Punjabi, was on leave and such work as was being carried on was being done by a dispenser. No great public use was made of his services. The dispensary costs the Al Kafs about $1,000 a month, and they spend $2,000 a month on charities and roads. As regards their expenditure on communications it should be recorded that they built all the water pools on the caravan route from Tarim to Shihr, that they spent $7,000 on building a pass at Al 'Arsha for caravans, and that Seiyid Bubekr has spent over $180,000 on road making between Tarim and Shihr. 743 565 735 653

The schools in Kathīri territory are almost entirely supported by the wealthy Seiyids. There are two Ribāts, religious foundations, principally supported by *Waqfs* (religious endowments) for the teaching of religion and philosophy. Of these one is in Seiyun and has an attendance of 40 students, and the other is in Tarim with an attendance of 120. The Saqqaf family of Seiyids maintain two schools in Seiyun, one containing 500 boys and seven teachers, the other 100 boys and four teachers, and the Al Kafs, who also contribute to the Ribāts, run two schools in Tarim. One of these formerly had an attendance of 400 boys but it is now only attended by children of the family, numbering 54. The other, a public school, accommodates between 300 and 400 boys. The Al Kafs also run one if not two schools at Khoreiba in Wadi Du'an in Qu'aiti territory. They are, in fact, the only people undertaking educational activities in a wider sense in that province. I believe, too, that they support the private schools in Mukalla and Shihr. 565 871

619 He is no longer apt to be shot at by Government soldiers and he brings his troubles to the Government. The provincial governors and the district
647 heads are better men and better paid than they used to be and all new candidates have courses of instruction before appointment. There are
692 systems of State and tribal courts which are becoming more and more
619 effective. There is a special department of bedouin affairs which is staffed entirely by Hadhrami tribesmen: five or six years ago no Hadhrami tribesmen were employed in any positions of responsibility.

759 As regards social services, in 1934 there was one doctor, mainly for the Sultan though he ran a public dispensary, and medical services cost Rs. 5,500
657 a year: in 1944 the sum voted was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary
652 services. There was an establishment of four doctors, and a State hospital
743 for fifty in-patients was being built in Mukalla.

In 1934 education cost Rs. 6,000 and about three hundred boys received
871 some sort of schooling. In 1944 Rs. 1,054,000 was provided. The number of boys in primary Government schools on the coast has increased to about
652 seventeen hundred. There were between a hundred and thirty and a
657 hundred and forty girls in the new Mukalla girls' school, and an inter-
658 mediate boarding school, assisted by the British Council and a grant from His Majesty's Government, had been started with about eighty boys. As part of the famine relief measures, children were brought down from the Hadhramaut and have now been taken over by the Qu'aiti State which bought a village outside Mukalla and is now housing three hundred boys
[674] and girls in it. A wall enclosing garden land has been built round it and the children work the garden and are apprenticed to various local trades. They are given a modest schooling and it is hoped that they will also be taught by means of a village council to run their own village.

658 Another State educational experiment owes its impetus mainly to the
871 enthusiasm of the young men of Mukalla. A number of young men have gone through a course organized by the Education Department in how to teach illiterate adults to read and write. These teachers compiled a coolies' vocabulary of seven hundred words or so and when I left were about to teach coolies from the Hadhramaut, who had come seeking for work at the coast on account of the famine, how to write the language they speak, a sort of basic Arabic. There are schemes for producing a small newspaper in this simplified form of speech and for developing some public-health consciousness.

701 What little the State could do towards the war effort it has done. It provided a company for guard duties in Aden while the Italians were in
648 the war. It has raised a Pioneer Company for service in the Middle East Command. It has guarded the R.A.F. aerodromes in the State and pro-
[712] vided coastal guards. The Public Works Department has built an R.A.F. station at about a third of the cost expected. It has landed and handled a great quantity of R.A.F. stores. In addition, at the outbreak of war when the surplus balance was about Rs. 80,000, it contributed Rs. 20,000 for
648 general war purposes, and Hadhramis at home and abroad subscribed to a

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making. The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys; district schools have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dispensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school. A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a community which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Government and beduin. Many beduin tribes who were inveterate foes of the Qu'aitis have now declared permanent peace with the Government and said they are "sons of government." The State Government has now a beduin affairs department staffed entirely by local tribesmen, and there is a system of tribal courts. There are many tribesmen in Government service, and the greater number of the soldiers and police are now tribesmen and beduin. In the old days, Hadhrami tribesmen were hardly ever employed in Government and there were very few in the forces. The only effective soldiers were Yafa'is, irregular mercenaries and slaves. Even the Government slaves have now disappeared. There is an African company in the regular army which consists of ex-slaves and Somalis and is employed on guarding an R.A.F. station, and others are employed as Government servants on the same footing as Arabs; the old slaves have been pensioned. All soldiers and police are taught to read and write, and by passing examinations in the military school can and do secure promotion. Enlistment is popular now because of the amenities provided and because a soldier can definitely expect to be more fitted for civil life when he leaves the forces. The status of a military life is very definitely advanced.

Another thing that attracts attention is the development in education. The coastal elementary schools have 1,700 boys in them instead of 300, and the education department is rapidly extending over the interior. There is an intermediate boarding school for 80 boys which opened last year. There is a boarding school attached to the Hadhrami Beduin Legion with 100 beduin boys in it, and another with 24 beduin girls. There are several town girls' schools, the biggest and best being in Mukalla with 150 girls, who learn not only to read and write, but to sew, embroider, wash, and cook. A most interesting experiment has lately been started with a whole village organized as a school, where 300 boys and girls of the serf class—a class which works hard but does very little thinking for itself—are being trained to run their own village and to learn various industries and crafts. Teachers of the Mukalla Government and other volunteers are also teaching adults of the serf class to read and write the language they speak and trying to induce in them some public health consciousness.

On the medical side a hospital is being built in Mukalla, and the sanitary state of the town—which may shortly have a municipality—has been greatly improved.

Of old, Government[7] was mainly carried on by a handful of officials with a Sultan generally in India, but the present Sultan has spent most of his reign in his state and has a state council of officials and unofficials to help him. The executive work of Government is in charge of a state secretary and twenty organized departments.

In the Kathiri State progress has not been nearly so spectacular. The revenue is much smaller and the Wadi Hadhramaut is so divided by the jealousies of Sultans and tribesmen, and handicapped by the unwillingness or inability of the bulk of the seiyids to get together and co-operate, that the Government is not nearly so alive. There is, however, a state secretary at Seiyun and a good deal of the work of a government has been organized.

7 [Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

753 and our doctor has had to adapt himself temporarily to it and
758 to fixed wishes regarding diet, in anticipation of the growth of better understanding and more trust. The result of his work as the first and only doctor in all Ḥaḍramaut is not as great as one would expect. Sayyid Abū Bakr himself is not yet sufficiently convinced of the value of western medical art to allow the never ending outlay on medicines and instruments for the expert help of the doctor. The first nurse in Terīm was an Arab from one of the African coast towns, who missed his cinema and café so much that he speedily fled from the place of banishment, to return to the towns where he could enjoy the blessings of western civilization. Thus the doctor has all the work again on his own hands.

743 An enormous mud building has been placed at his disposal. In it he lives, has his pharmacy, the polyclinic and the beginnings of an operating-room. Further, one of the young el-Kāfs, who was assistant to an Egyptian dentist who formerly worked here for some months, has a room where, equipped with modern instruments, he practises dentistry.

164 According to the doctor, Ḥaḍramaut seems to be a healthy country. Among the lower classes there is, however, a good deal of eye disease, and it is also true that malaria makes its appearance in the autumn. What will be the eventual outcome of this beginning of medical help will depend on the tact and devotion and staying-power of the young doctor.

312 After this we go with the doctor on a walking tour to see the sights of the town of Terīm. First of all, naturally, we visit the remains of old Terīm, on the borders of the residential area of the town; it consists of a bare low hill on whose top stand the ruins of the once great and mighty castle. There are always wells for drinking-water in castles of this kind. These wells are very deep as they are in the inner courtyard of the castles and are, consequently, dug from the summit of the hill. From this ruined castle one had a good view over
346 Terīm so rich in mosques, palaces and . . . graves. The popular report in Ḥaḍramaut is that the town possesses 360 mos-

5:Gt. Brit.. Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut-MM21



*Liaison*

In the first half of 1947 the post of Protectorate Education Officer was filled, a post which had been vacant for a year. This Officer's duties include tours of inspection throughout the Protectorate, and advice and assistance, through the British Agents, where required. 647

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate advance was somewhat hampered by the absence of the Sudani Adviser for the greater part of the year on leave. However, estimates for grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act were prepared and despatched; these include schemes for enlarging the Intermediate School at Gheil Ba Wazir and for primary schools for the Kathiri State and Wahidi area. A number of scholarships for Hadhramis were given by the Governments of Syria, Egypt and Iraq. 658 648

## HEALTH

*Medical Report for the Western Aden Protectorate*

His Majesty's Government finance a small medical service in the Western Aden Protectorate. The area covered is large, communications are poor and access to many parts is difficult. In consequence only a small proportion of the population, who are in great need of health services, can be visited and treated. Nevertheless, 16 dispensaries are maintained at strategic points in the Protectorate. New dressers are given instruction in hygiene and elementary medicine and nursing care, and are then sent out to open up new areas or to work with more senior dressers in the established dispensaries. They have to deal with diseases common to all races. Certain tropical diseases such as schistosomiasis and dysentery are very prevalent. 743 759 164

Drought and the vagaries of the climate also play their part in undermining the health of the inhabitants. The third year of drought in Sublihi country undoubtedly had an effect on the prevalence of tuberculosis, dental caries and vitamin deficiency diseases in that area. 731

Apart from the dispensaries in the Protectorate, the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital in Sheik Othman which trains the dispensers also welcomes up-country patients. More would come than do at present if ignorance and superstition did not prevail in the Protectorate. Again, for many the road to the hospital is physically difficult and it is certain that they come only as a last resort and after long deliberation. In consequence doctors do all they can to visit the dispensaries as frequently as possible and to spend adequate time at each one to treat the sick, and to give instructions to dressers to keep them up to date. 743

*Famine Relief*

During 1947 the situation in the Hadhramaut continued to improve. At the beginning of the year there were 1,112 persons being fed in the kitchens, which were closed by the end of March, leaving only Malja—a relief centre for those incapable of work—whose 716 inmates in March were gradually reduced to 227 in December. Nuqra dam, the major famine relief work undertaken, was finished in June. Remittances 735 [312] 006

S:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protectorate. Any development of education initiated by Government had therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the biggest problem in Protectorate education to-day.

## HEALTH

*Western Aden Protectorate*

The development of the Protectorate Medical Service was rather upset in the past three years by numerous changes of senior medical staff. However, one advantage came from this, namely that in the drawing up of a plan for future development, co-operative help and advice was given by every doctor and nurse who ever worked in the Protectorate.

At the beginning of the year, a three-month course was given for new tribal dressers, who were posted to work under senior dressers in the Protectorate.

It is estimated that in the course of the year 50,000 patients were treated in the 18 dispensaries. Malaria, dysentery, schistosomiasis and tuberculosis were the four most prevalent diseases. Obstetrical problems and gynaecology offer a very large field for research. Owing to customs necessitating the seclusion of women any estimate of these problems is pure conjecture. In spite of these restrictions, the Medical Officer attended a great many during his visits, especially in Beihan at the very edge of "the empty quarter" of Arabia. A number of those who otherwise would never receive surgical treatment were flown down to the hospital at Aden. Venereal disease was unfortunately on the increase in Abyan, where crowds of people of all kinds came to find work in the agricultural project there.

Many visits including some of several days duration were paid by the Medical Officer to the various dispensaries in the Protectorate during which between 4,000 and 5,000 selected patients were treated. Besides those patients who found their own way down to hospital in Aden, 150 or more were brought down on the Protectorate Medical Officer's recommendation.

## HOUSING

The settled Western Aden Protectorate population is housed for the main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



871 under the auspices of the British Council. At the end of 1950 five Hadhrami students at Bin Khaldun School in Syria gained the first five places in the final class results for the year.

Twenty-two Qu'aiti pupils are now studying outside the Hadhramaut, nine being in the Sudan, five in Syria, four in Egypt and four in Iraq. The scholars in the Sudan are being financed by the Qu'aiti Government, while the remainder are being paid for from the Mukalla Charitable Fund. There are seven Kathiri students abroad, two being in Iraq, and five in Syria. Two of these students are being financed by their parents, while the rest are supported by the Tarim Brotherhood.

## HEALTH

### *Western Aden Protectorate*

744 Two outstanding developments have characterised the growth of the Protectorate Medical Service in 1949 and 1950. First, the ten most promising dressers were called in from their tribes in the mountains, deserts, valleys and coasts of the Protectorate for a year's course in curative and preventive medicine at the Keith Falconer Hospital, Sheikh Othman. Secondly, the first major malaria control scheme has been successfully undertaken at Abyan. This area which was once a death-trap due to malaria is now virtually rid of the anopheline mosquito. This enterprise was financed by a grant under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1949 and has subsequently been carried on by local funds.

Major tours were made to the Dhala', Dathina and Beihan areas besides the usual routine visits to the twenty dispensaries.

164 Malaria, dysentery, tuberculosis and malignant malnutrition with its
743 associated conditions remain the most prevalent diseases. Trachoma
758 is very prevalent at the desert end of Beihan. There is very wide scope for nurses and lady doctors who can stand the rigours of the road, who will learn Arabic and who will take to heart the welfare of the women and children. On the whole the dressers are doing a good piece of work amongst their own tribes. There are six dispensaries between 3,000 and 5,000 feet up, three dispensaries in the mountains at 7,000 ft. or more—two of which are reached on foot and one by air—and the rest are in Subeihi, the Wadi Tiban, Abyan and the coast.

Many patients come too late for treatment, but after one has seen the difficulties of the roads it is astonishing that so many of them come at all, and it is for this reason that the dressers visit the villages from their dispensaries and the medical officer and nursing sister visit all areas as much as possible.

744 Recently a visit was made to Mukalla and Sai'un to advise about public health work, but the demands of the Western Aden Protectorate are so great and the staff so small for its needs that there is little time left for the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In 1949 when the Protectorate Medical Officer was on leave, Dr. R. B. Smith, of the Keith Falconer Scottish Mission Hospital, acted in an honorary but full-time capacity.

8:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



yet afford to offer pensionable service. Conditions of employment 875
for a qualified teacher are therefore inferior to those obtainable, even in teaching, in the Colony.

*Principal Events*

The greatest change in the period under review was the closing down 873
in March, 1952, of the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs, a boarding school of primary standard which has been running for 17 years in the Colony. The College served a useful purpose and gained a high reputation in its time but was too small to be run economically. It has now been superseded by the primary schools in the various districts of the Western Protectorate.

Work on an intermediate boarding school at Zinjibar in the Western Protectorate began about the same time. The new intermediate school, which will take another three years to complete, forms a vital link between the primary schools and the Aden and Technical Colleges.

## HEALTH

*General*

Protectorate health statistics are not yet available, though in places 165
such as Tarim recent local studies show an infantile mortality rate of 439 per 1,000 live births, a rate rather greater than those previously reported for Mukalla and parts of the Western Protectorate.

*Diseases*

Important causes of sickness in the population are malaria, the 164
dysenteries, ulcers, trachoma and conjunctivitis. Less obtrusive are pulmonary tuberculosis, bilharzia of both urinary and intestinal types, guineaworm (in patchy distribution), leprosy, dermal leishmaniasis and the common venereal diseases with, in places, what appears to be either yaws or bejel. In areas where night-soil is used as manure for salad vegetables round-worm infection is common. Where, as in the Hadhramaut towns, rigid purdah still obtains, ostemalacia, obstructed [291]
labour and puerperal fever are of relatively frequent occurrence. Through failure of the capricious rainfall or floods in the winter months, famine and its associated subnutrition are an ever present threat. In certain Western States the consumption of qat (*Catha edulis*) is a cause of subnutrition and affections of the digestive tract.

Important causes of death in both young and adults are malaria and the dysenteries, and in adults pulmonary tuberculosis.

Prevention and treatment are provided by mobile health units, 743
static health units (previously called dispensaries) and hospitals. 744
Prevention is furthered by lectures, demonstrations and film shows to teachers and local administrators, and by emphasis in the training of subordinate technical staff on the preventive aspects of medicine, more particularly cleanliness, insect control, balanced feeding and the values of local foodstuffs. A series of propaganda leaflets has been planned and the first one—on malaria—issued to the public. An effort is being made among communities remote from hospitals and health units to market at controlled prices insecticides, malarial remedies and sulphamezathine in small containers with instructions in Arabic.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



000 remedies and sulphamezathine in small containers with instructions in Arabic.

*Organisation and Policy*

647 The health administration has a triple aspect: (a) co-ordination
743 and standardisation in the interests of efficiency, (b) direction of
759 activities financed by Her Majesty's Government, that is health work among States with as yet no health services of their own, and (c) advice and practical help to administrations with health services and doctors in their own employment.

There is a Health Adviser, with headquarters in Mukalla (Eastern Protectorate) and a sub-headquarters in the West at Sheikh Othman, and two Protectorate Medical Officers, one for the East and one for the West. The Protectorate Medical Officer and a nursing sister-midwife have been lent by the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital and are paid for by Her Majesty's Government.

In the West the Fadhli and Lower Yafa'i States have a joint health service under the control of a Health Board on which is represented the Abyan Board (the local agricultural development body), which contributes to the health service budget and is building a base hospital associated with a health service training centre for the Western Protectorate. The health service has a Senior Medical Officer in executive charge. Lahej State has a hospital half built and has budgetted for a doctor in the near future.

In the East the Qu'aiti health service has a Senior Medical Officer based on Mukalla Hospital and responsible for the Southern Qu'aiti District, and one woman doctor based on the newly built Shibam Hospital in the Wadi Hadhramaut and responsible for the Northern Qu'aiti District. The Kathiri health service has a Senior Medical Officer based on Sai'un in the Wadi Hadhramaut. The Wahidi health service came into being in 1952 and has an embryo hospital building. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri States have State Health Boards. Good progress is being made with the provision of accommodation, staff and equipment at Mukalla Hospital, which is to be a health service training centre and base hospital for the Eastern Protectorate.

Each hospital has a system of administratively dependent health units staffed by literate personnel who are being increasingly trained in preventive and therapeutic skills. The Keith Falconer Hospital of the Church of Scotland Mission at Sheikh Othman continues for the present, as it has been for the past 25 years, as the administrative and training base for most of these health units in the Western Protectorate. It is the intention to transfer these functions gradually to the local administrations. Mobile health units are based on Sheikh Othman in the West and Mukalla in the East.

*Work by Voluntary Bodies*

743 Church of Scotland and Danish Mission sisters and midwives have
741 established clinics at Dathina, Abyan, and Beihan. The Aden Society for the Blind late in 1952 carried out a small but valuable survey and treatment campaign in the Western Protectorate.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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HOSPITALS AND HEALTH UNITS 743

| Place | Hospitals (Beds) Built | Hospitals (Beds) Building | Health Units Built | Health Units Building | Total Beds |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Less developed areas in Western Protectorate | — | 1 (30) Labej | 15 | — | 30 |
| Fadhli–Lower Yafa'i States | — | 1 (30) Makhzan | 5 | 2 | 30 |
| Qu'aiti State | 2 Mukalla (50) Shibam (30) | — | 18 | — | 80 |
| Kathiri State | 1 (10) Sai'un | — | 8 (rented houses) | — | 10 |
| Wahidi States | — | 1 (30) Meifa'ah | 3 | — | 30 |
| Non-Government | 1 (10) Tarim | — | 2 | — | 10 |
| TOTALS | 4 | 3 | 51 | 2 | 190 |

# Chapter 8: Justice, Prisons and Security Forces

## JUSTICE

The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (a) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (b) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts. 692

## PRISONS

There is no recognised prison service in the Western Protectorate. Chiefs of States have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff in controlled areas. 697

In the Eastern Protectorate, prison services are maintained by the Qu'aiti, Kathiri and Wahidi States.

## SECURITY FORCES

### *Western Protectorate*

*Government Guards*

This is the main security force. It is maintained by Her Majesty's Government and its present establishment is as follows : 701

| British Officers | Arab Officers | N.C.Os | Guards | W/T Staff | M/T Staff | Tradesmen etc. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 14 | 67 | 371 | 25 | 17 | 42 | 541 |

Detachments were maintained in five tribal districts throughout 1951—Dhala, Beihan, Dathina, Lower Aulaqi Sultanate, and Abyan—in support of the security forces employed by local administrations and, in addition, new posts were opened in the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom

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ices in the government hospitals, and the Aden Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis sponsors welfare and supplementary home visiting programs in conjunction with the government's antituberculosis campaign. The Women's Voluntary Service carries on child welfare work, and another society conducts an active program among the blind.

The South Arabia Mission of the Church of Scotland operates a hospital and dispensaries at Sheikh Othman, and assists in the expansion of health facilities in Western Aden Protectorate. The Sudan Interior Mission and the Danish Church Mission maintain centers in Aden township, with limited dispensary services.

### Medical Institutions

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**Hospitals and Dispensaries.** There were 4 hospitals, with an aggregate capacity of about 600 beds, in the Colony in 1951 which served the peoples of the Protectorate as well as the Colony. The largest, the government Civil Hospital in the Crater section of Aden township, had a capacity of 350 beds, including 150 beds for the treatment of tuberculosis. The government health services also maintain a maternity and children's hospital of 90 beds and an infectious disease hospital capable of accommodating 100 patients. Second in importance to the Civil Hospital is the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital (Church of Scotland) at Sheikh Othman, with a capacity of about 60 beds. In addition, a small leper hospital at Sheikh Othman is administered by the mission staff on behalf of the Colonial authorities.

The government supports dispensaries at the Civil Hospital in Crater and at Tawahi, Maala and Sheikh Othman, while outpatient clinics are connected with the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital in Sheikh Othman. A maternal and child welfare clinic has been established at Crater in association with the maternity hospital. It is in charge of a woman physician, and has made con-

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[illegible]nt progress in breaking down the preju-[illegible]s of the Arab community. In 1950, a [illegible]ereal disease treatment center functioned in the Civil Hospital, and a second center at the mission hospital was subsidized by the government. In that year, small dispensaries were conducted in Aden by the Sudan Interior Mission and the Danish Church Mission, and two clinics were operated by private physicians.

Two small hospitals, with a combined total of 60 beds, were located at Mukalla and Ash Shihr, in Eastern Aden Protectorate, in 1950. A child welfare center was organized in Mukalla, while 15 dispensaries were active in scattered towns in the coastal region and the Hadhramaut. Eighteen dispensaries were in operation in different parts of Western Aden Protectorate.

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Laboratories. The principal medical laboratory is that of the Civil Hospital at Crater, in Aden township. It is equipped for the performance of clinical, serologic and microscopic examinations. Clinical laboratory facilities are also available at the mission hospital.

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Schools. There are no schools for the training of medical personnel, but government scholarships are provided for professional study and for postgraduate work at schools in the eastern Mediterranean countries or in the United Kingdom.

In 1948, a course designed to improve the standards in midwifery was started at the Maternity and Child Welfare Clinic at Crater. Practical training in nursing is given to men and to a limited number of girls at the Civil Hospital. The Keith Falconer Mission Hospital undertakes the training of medical assistants for work in the dispensaries in Western Aden Protectorate.

## Personnel

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Physicians. The number of civilian physicians practicing in the Colony totaled 26 in 1950. Nine medical officers and 13 assistant medical officers were affiliated with the Medical and Health Department of the

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Colonial government. Five physicians were working in the eastern protectorate; one in the western. H A 759

Dentists. In 1950, there were 3 dentists in Aden, one of whom was employed on the government's school health program.

## DISEASES

The statistics compiled from the reports of cases of illness and death in the Colony are apt to give an erroneous impression of the health status of the local inhabitants, since a considerable proportion of the cases treated in hospitals and dispensaries are immigrants from Yemen or the Protectorate. Large numbers enter the Colony each year as transient laborers or traders, while others seek medical attention which is nonexistent in their home communities. The majority are undernourished and live in miserable, crowded quarters under conditions which facilitate the spread of infection. Morbidity and fatality rates in the immigrant population are abnormally high, and affect adversely the health statistics of the Colony as a whole. In the absence of adequate laboratory facilities, the diagnosis of many diseases is necessarily provisional, and the differentiation of various types of infection is seldom made. Moreover, from 10 to 15 per cent of the deaths are usually recorded under the heading "other fevers." A 164 167 464 A 464 511 167 A [165]

The health facilities in the Protectorate are of recent origin, and although dispensaries have been established in increasing numbers within the last two decades, they are elementary and serve only a small fraction of the population. The meager information derived from the reports of a few medical observers who have toured sections of the interior and from records of admissions to the hospitals in Aden permits scarcely more than rough generalizations as to the prevalence and the distribution of specific diseases among the peoples of the Protectorate. The diseases of primary concern in this area are malaria, tuberculosis, dysentery and eye and skin infections, all H 743 758 H 164

p. 245(B)

75 per cent in Shuqra. In most localities, the infection rates ranged from 27 to 88 per cent among children under 15 years of age and from zero to 48 per cent in persons over 15 years of age. The Fadhli and the Abdali tribal districts were the most seriously affected regions visited. H 164 659

**Diseases of the Skin.** Favus, ringworm and other mycotic skin infections are widely distributed. Madura foot is common in the Protectorate, and cases are seen in the Colony hospitals each year among patients from the interior. Phagedenic ulcers are responsible for considerable disability among laborers in the Colony and in all parts of the Protectorate. Several thousand cases are treated each year in the hospitals and the dispensaries in Aden Colony, where they are usually designated as "Yemen ulcers." The ankle is the most frequent site of infection, and amputation is often necessary in neglected cases. A H 164 167 A 758

Scabies and impetigo are prevalent, especially among the children of inland towns and villages who live under congested, insanitary conditions. By contrast, surprisingly few cases of scabies are encountered among the children seen in the schools in Aden township. A H 164 511 515

**Leprosy.** Leprosy is endemic in the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been reported from the Colony within recent years. The infection is probably not extensive, although foci of the disease are known to exist in the Hadhramaut and in the Lahej, the Dhala' and the Abyen areas in the western protectorate. As lepers are not discriminated against socially, some difficulty is encountered in controlling the movement of infected individuals in the Colony. A small leper hospital is located at Sheikh Othman: it receives patients not only from Aden territory but also from Yemen. Eighteen of the 29 patients in residence in 1939[18] were open nodular or lepromatous cases. A H 164 A H 743 164 185

**Other Infections.** Tetanus is endemic, but reported cases are rare. A H 164

p. 249 (A)

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

A 164 744 officers. Special delousing stations were established along the 3 main trade routes from Yemen to guard against the development of new foci.

The prevalence of the infection diminished during the summer months, but sporadic outbreaks were again reported in the winter of 1944-45. Early in 1945, a series of permanent dispensaries was organized in Western Aden Protectorate, and the tribal dressers in charge were trained to undertake mass dusting of the populace with DDT powder in the event of further epidemics. No outbreaks of typhus have been reported from the Protectorate since 1945, although the disease has continued to smolder in Yemen.

H 164 743 744

A 164 Murine typhus is probably endemic. Suspected cases have been observed in Aden hospitals from time to time, but the diagnosis has not been confirmed by laboratory diagnosis.

Plague. Six outbreaks of plague have been recorded from the Colony within the present century—in 1899-1900, 1903-04, 1904-05, 1913-14, 1917-18 and 1927-28. The most serious epidemics were those of 1904-05, involving 2,299 known cases, and of 1927-28, with 1,494 cases and a fatality rate of 74 per cent. In each outbreak the initial cases were detected among dock laborers employed in moving cargo or in loading or unloading coal. Since evidence of a preliminary rat epizootic was lacking, the local authorities concluded that the disease had been introduced by infected workers or by individuals carrying infected fleas. It was considered probable that the rat infection was secondary to the human. The morbidity rates almost invariably reached a peak in February or March, and declined with the onset of hot weather. No plague has been reported from the Colony since 1928, but the danger of its importation by means of dhow traffic from endemic ports in Africa and the East is always present. The Medical and Health Department carries on an active rat control program, and examines significant numbers of captured rats each

A [165] A 164 464 282 A [165] H A 744

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



871 under the auspices of the British Council. At the end of 1950 five Hadhrami students at Bin Khaldun School in Syria gained the first five places in the final class results for the year.

Twenty-two Qu'aiti pupils are now studying outside the Hadhramaut, nine being in the Sudan, five in Syria, four in Egypt and four in Iraq. The scholars in the Sudan are being financed by the Qu'aiti Government, while the remainder are being paid for from the Mukalla Charitable Fund. There are seven Kathiri students abroad, two being in Iraq, and five in Syria. Two of these students are being financed by their parents, while the rest are supported by the Tarim Brotherhood.

## HEALTH

*Western Aden Protectorate*

744 Two outstanding developments have characterised the growth of the Protectorate Medical Service in 1949 and 1950. First, the ten most promising dressers were called in from their tribes in the mountains, deserts, valleys and coasts of the Protectorate for a year's course in curative and preventive medicine at the Keith Falconer Hospital, Sheikh Othman. Secondly, the first major malaria control scheme has been successfully undertaken at Abyan. This area which was once a death-trap due to malaria is now virtually rid of the anopheline mosquito. This enterprise was financed by a grant under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1949 and has subsequently been carried on by local funds.

Major tours were made to the Dhala', Dathina and Beihan areas besides the usual routine visits to the twenty dispensaries.

164 Malaria, dysentery, tuberculosis and malignant malnutrition with its
743 associated conditions remain the most prevalent diseases. Trachoma
758 is very prevalent at the desert end of Beihan. There is very wide scope for nurses and lady doctors who can stand the rigours of the road, who will learn Arabic and who will take to heart the welfare of the women and children. On the whole the dressers are doing a good piece of work amongst their own tribes. There are six dispensaries between 3,000 and 5,000 feet up, three dispensaries in the mountains at 7,000 ft. or more—two of which are reached on foot and one by air—and the rest are in Subeihi, the Wadi Tiban, Abyan and the coast.

Many patients come too late for treatment, but after one has seen the difficulties of the roads it is astonishing that so many of them come at all, and it is for this reason that the dressers visit the villages from their dispensaries and the medical officer and nursing sister visit all areas as much as possible.

744 Recently a visit was made to Mukalla and Sai'un to advise about public health work, but the demands of the Western Aden Protectorate are so great and the staff so small for its needs that there is little time left for the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In 1949 when the Protectorate Medical Officer was on leave, Dr. R. B. Smith, of the Keith Falconer Scottish Mission Hospital, acted in an honorary but full-time capacity.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



A case of smallpox in Audhali area was immediately and effectively dealt with by Dr. Affara, also from the Keith Falconer Scottish Mission Hospital, and 4,500 people were vaccinated. 744 751

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

In the Eastern Protectorate, advances in medical and public health services were retarded in early 1949 by lack of staff. It was not until late in 1950 that the staff situation was relieved by the arrival of a medical officer from India for the Kathiri State and of a German lady doctor from Germany for Shibam. 744

With the obvious exception of cases of scurvy and malnutrition during the famine of 1949, there was a very mild outbreak of small-pox in Mukalla in February and March, 1949, and sporadic outbreaks of malaria in particular in the coastal areas, and the health of the population has been reasonably good in the past two years. [164]

Stringent and vigorous anti-malarial measures were started in January, 1950. All pools, including the source of water supply in the vicinity of Mukalla and Shihr were oiled or stocked with larvae-consuming fish, and water collecting tanks were closed and cleaned out weekly.

An additional sanitary inspector in Mukalla was appointed during 1950.

In October, 1950, Dr. R. B. Smith, Acting Protectorate Medical Officer, was invited to visit Eastern Aden Protectorate and his recommendations on the best methods of improving and safe-guarding public health are being implemented.

In November, 1950, four soldiers of the Mukalla Regular Army and two of the Kathiri Armed Constabulary proceeded to the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital, Sheikh Othman, on an anti-malarial course for three months. 744 759

## HOUSING

No greater contrast could be imagined than exists in the houses of the Aden Protectorate. 342

The most elementary are the goat-hair tents of the nomadic people, and the even more primitive shelters of some shepherds, consisting only of a mat hung on poles, or spread over a branch of a bush.

The simplest form of house for the settled population, or those who stay for some period in a place to work at harvest time, is a kind of inverted nest of brush-wood, with a little matting incorporated in places. This provides privacy and shelter from the sun, though not of course from rain if it falls, or from the all-pervading dust storms.

The most common type of permanent house is built of mud-brick in the plains and rough stones bound with mud in the hill districts, and more rarely of squared stones. Rooms are generally small (long timber being very scarce) and dark, affording a relief from the glare outside; ventilation is usually adequate and the thick walls provide

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



yet afford to offer pensionable service. Conditions of employment for a qualified teacher are therefore inferior to those obtainable, even in teaching, in the Colony. 875

*Principal Events*

The greatest change in the period under review was the closing down in March, 1952, of the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs, a boarding school of primary standard which has been running for 17 years in the Colony. The College served a useful purpose and gained a high reputation in its time but was too small to be run economically. It has now been superseded by the primary schools in the various districts of the Western Protectorate. 873

Work on an intermediate boarding school at Zinjibar in the Western Protectorate began about the same time. The new intermediate school, which will take another three years to complete, forms a vital link between the primary schools and the Aden and Technical Colleges.

## HEALTH

*General*

Protectorate health statistics are not yet available, though in places such as Tarim recent local studies show an infantile mortality rate of 439 per 1,000 live births, a rate rather greater than those previously reported for Mukalla and parts of the Western Protectorate. 165

*Diseases*

Important causes of sickness in the population are malaria, the dysenteries, ulcers, trachoma and conjunctivitis. Less obtrusive are pulmonary tuberculosis, bilharzia of both urinary and intestinal types, guineaworm (in patchy distribution), leprosy, dermal leishmaniasis and the common venereal diseases with, in places, what appears to be either yaws or bejel. In areas where night-soil is used as manure for salad vegetables round-worm infection is common. Where, as in the Hadhramaut towns, rigid purdah still obtains, ostemalacia, obstructed labour and puerperal fever are of relatively frequent occurrence. Through failure of the capricious rainfall or floods in the winter months, famine and its associated subnutrition are an ever present threat. In certain Western States the consumption of qat (*Catha edulis*) is a cause of subnutrition and affections of the digestive tract. 164 [291]

Important causes of death in both young and adults are malaria and the dysenteries, and in adults pulmonary tuberculosis.

Prevention and treatment are provided by mobile health units, static health units (previously called dispensaries) and hospitals. Prevention is furthered by lectures, demonstrations and film shows to teachers and local administrators, and by emphasis in the training of subordinate technical staff on the preventive aspects of medicine, more particularly cleanliness, insect control, balanced feeding and the values of local foodstuffs. A series of propaganda leaflets has been planned and the first one—on malaria—issued to the public. An effort is being made among communities remote from hospitals and health units to market at controlled prices insecticides, malarial remedies and sulphamezathine in small containers with instructions in Arabic. 743 744

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Staff Institutions and Development*

Health Service staff, expenditure on health, and the number of hospitals and health units are shown in the appendix to this chapter. 000

Preventive measures are being more widely used. Prominence in malaria control is given to residual spraying of habitations with water dispersible BHC and, in prevention of bowel infections, to waste matter disposal and rebuilding of privies. Propaganda is also being increasingly used. 744

Research has been limited to finding out certain local food values and the distribution of certain vectors of disease. *Bulinus* and *Planorbis* foci are being searched for and plotted. Important mosquito species are *A. gambiae* on the littoral and *A. sergenti* in the highlands. *Aedes aegypti* is found widely distributed.

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The most common type of permanent house is built of mud-brick in the plains and rough stones bound with mud in the hill districts, and more rarely of squared stones. Rooms are generally small (long timber being very scarce) and dark, affording a relief from the glare outside; ventilation is usually adequate and the thick walls provide insulation against the heat. Roofs are universally flat, and used for the recreation of the women who keep purdah, and for sleeping in the summer.

The farmhouse of the tribesmen is little removed from its earlier function of a fort, and even in large towns it is unusual for the ground floor (often used as a stable) to have more than loop-holes, windows being reserved for the upper storeys. But the upper part of a house is frequently decorated with whitewash, and in some cases most intricate and delicate patterns are created in plaster-work and whitewash, occasionally touched with blue or other colours. Sanitation is primitive.

The cities of the Hadhramaut have tall mud-brick buildings; nearly every house in Shibam is from five to seven storeys high; and the wealthy Seiyids and Sultans live in veritable palaces which are remarkable not only for their size and cost but for their taste and beauty.

10:Jacob G-3 (no date) 1925 MLl Yemen ML 1
Hadhramaut MM



000 the Imam of Yemen. Now he is not holding Hodeida, and he has not got a proper sea outlet. I am myself an ex-seaman, and have had ample opportunities of knowing the coast of Yemen and other parts of Arabia. I think that difficulty (over which the Imam of Yemen is now hung up) of not having a proper sea outlet to his wonderfully wealthy country could easily be repaired. It is most unfortunate that we make all sorts of endeavours in other ways to please the Arabs but fail in our opportunities to do so, whereas with a little personal knowledge we could assist them very much. I am speaking as a seaman. There are at least two very good ports for outlet to Yemen trade. One of them is the ancient port of Mocha. If there are any seamen here they will say, of course, that Mocha is no longer a good seaport. But it can be made into one.

I was very glad to hear Colonel Jacob say that if he could help, Mocha was going to be developed; in my opinion it should be developed. Another port is Al Khokha.

Colonel Jacob told us a little bit about the Yemen Light Infantry; well, I think he painted things rather lightly. I think that the Yemen Light Infantry is of supreme importance to the British, and I only hope that people will realize the real importance of the Yemen Light Infantry, that brings a personal touch to the Arabs instead of too much of this confounded paper work that goes on and trips things up.

Y H 744

Another thing Colonel Jacob told us of was some of the improvements we could carry out in our own port of Aden. I think those suggestions were very interesting, but I should like to add another suggestion. We have held Aden about eighty years, so far as I know. The extraordinary thing is that we have no hospital to which the Arab women of the interior can come. We have not supported the Arabs to the slightest extent in that matter. People may say that they can go to the Keith-Falconer hospital—which is, of course, a private enterprise, not a Government enterprise at all—but as everybody who knows the Middle East will realize, it would be extremely difficult for an Arab woman to go to a hospital that is attended by men and is almost essentially a man's hospital. It is rather extraordinary that we have held this place for eighty years and have done so little for the people. In almost every civilized community the first thing we do is to give first aid to the sick!

000 I do not want to touch on lugubrious subjects, so I will end my short remarks by telling you that Colonel Jacob gave you a little fable which is, as a matter of fact, perfectly true. He said that when you go to the eastern end of Socotra the women are said to be very beautiful and you have to avert your eyes. I have been there, and I know that you have to avert your eyes, because the women throw stones at you, and they are awfully good shots! (Laughter and applause.)

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

A 744 834 ent in the dairy cattle of the Colony, but the rate of infection is believed to be low.

## HEALTH SERVICES AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

### Health Organizations

A 744 657 Responsibility for the health of the civilian population in the Colony resides in its Medical and Health Department, which is administered by a Director of Medical Services, with headquarters in the town of Aden. He is advised on matters of policy by the medical staff in the Colonial Office in London. The department is divided into medical, public health and port health divisions. The functions of the medical division involve the maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries and the conduct of a school health program. The public health division undertakes mosquito and rodent control services, and supervises the sanitation in the townships, while the port health division is concerned with the enforcement of quarantine regulations and the medical care of visiting seamen.

H 744 657 No formal health organization exists in the Protectorate, but a degree of co-ordination with the Colonial services in Aden has developed within recent years. In Eastern Aden Protectorate, medical care facilities are supported by the sultanate governments or by local rulers, with the guidance and advice of an Assistant Director of Medical Services, who is peripatetic, but usually works from a base at Mukalla. A qualified medical officer is stationed at Mukalla, the seat of government of the Qu'aiti Sultanate. With the exception of a dispensary in Lahej, which is financed by the Sultan, the medical services in Western Aden Protectorate are carried on by the British authorities, in co-operation with the Church of Scotland mission at Sheikh Othman.

A 747 Local voluntary organizations participate in the health activities of the Colonial government. The Aden Nursing Association contributes to the support of nursing serv-

p. 244(A)

## Diseases Spread by Arthropods

**Malaria.** Little or no indigenous malaria exists at present in the Colony. From 1,000 to 2,000 malaria patients are treated each year in the civilian hospitals and dispensaries, but, with the exception of occasional cases of questionable origin, the infection has almost invariably been acquired outside the limits of the Colony, usually in the interior. Until recent decades, malaria was highly endemic in the oasis of Sheikh Othman and surrounding villages, and sporadic outbreaks were experienced in the town of Aden. Anopheline control work was initiated in 1909 and extended on a colony-wide basis in the 1930s. As a result, the disease was early eliminated from Aden, while its prevalence was progressively reduced in Sheikh Othman. The number of local cases treated at the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital declined from almost 2,000 a year in 1907 to zero in 1950. The last outbreak of malaria was recorded in 1943 among the transient laborers living in *kutcha* hut settlements in Sheikh Othman. At that time, *Anopheles adenensis* (= *A. culicifacies adenensis*), the principal vector, was found breeding in the soakpits. Antianopheline measures are carried on continuously in the Colony and adjacent sections of the Protectorate, and vector species have been eradicated almost completely.

A 164 168 361 A 744 464 164 H A 744

Malaria occurs in most portions of the Protectorate, exclusive of the desert regions and the mountainous areas at the higher elevations. In the 1939-40 survey of Western Aden Protectorate, all gradations of endemicity were encountered. In general, the infection was hyperendemic in the vicinity of perennial streams and moderately endemic in villages around wadies which remained dry for most of the year. The splenic index ranged from 40 to 92 per cent in different localities. Extensive epidemics have been recorded from the highland districts, especially from the Dhala' and the Yafa'i country. Both *Plasmodium falcip-*

H 164 H 164 136

p. 249(6)

A 164 744 officers. Special delousing stations were established along the 3 main trade routes from Yemen to guard against the development of new foci.

The prevalence of the infection diminished during the summer months, but sporadic outbreaks were again reported in the winter of 1944-45. Early in 1945, a series of permanent dispensaries was organized in Western Aden Protectorate, and the tribal dressers in charge were trained to undertake mass dusting of the populace with DDT powder in the event of further epidemics. No outbreaks of typhus have been reported from the Protectorate since 1945, although the disease has continued to smolder in Yemen.

H 164 743 744

A 164 Murine typhus is probably endemic. Suspected cases have been observed in Aden hospitals from time to time, but the diagnosis has not been confirmed by laboratory diagnosis.

Plague. Six outbreaks of plague have been recorded from the Colony within the present century—in 1899-1900, 1903-04, 1904-05, 1913-14, 1917-18 and 1927-28. The most serious epidemics were those of 1904-05, involving 2,299 known cases, and of 1927-28, with 1,494 cases and a fatality rate of 74 per cent. In each outbreak the initial cases were detected among dock laborers employed in moving cargo or in loading or unloading coal. Since evidence of a preliminary rat epizootic was lacking, the local authorities concluded that the disease had been introduced by infected workers or by individuals carrying infected fleas. It was considered probable that the rat infection was secondary to the human. The morbidity rates almost invariably reached a peak in February or March, and declined with the onset of hot weather. No plague has been reported from the Colony since 1928, but the danger of its importation by means of dhow traffic from endemic ports in Africa and the East is always present. The Medical and Health Department carries on an active rat control program, and examines significant numbers of captured rats each

A [165] A 164 464 282 A [165] H A 744

year for evidence of plague. The disease has not been reported from the Protectorate. H A 744

Other Infections. Localized outbreaks of louse-borne relapsing fever have been recorded from the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been encountered in Aden. Cases of relapsing fever were frequently discovered at the time of the typhus outbreaks in 1944-45. H A 164

Occasional cases of kala-azar are seen in the Colony hospitals, usually among immigrants from Yemen. Two cases, in which the diagnosis of kala-azar was confirmed by spleen puncture, were recently reported from the Civil Hospital.[10] Both originated in southern Yemen, one from the vicinity of Ta'izz and the other from a village near the border of Western Aden Protectorate. Sporadic cases of Oriental sore are also treated in Aden, but the extent of infection in the interior is uncertain. H A 167 164

Cases suspected of being sandfly fever are common. The vector, *Phlebotomus papatasii*, is widely distributed. Guinea worm infection is endemic in the Hadhramaut and in certain coastal districts in the Protectorate. Imported cases are often observed in Aden Colony. Travelers from endemic centers in Africa thought to be suffering from yellow fever are sometimes admitted to the Colony hospitals, but no indigenous cases have been reported.

## Nutritional Diseases

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Undernutrition is prevalent, particularly among the immigrant laborers in Aden and the poorer villagers and the Bedouin in the interior. Few studies of the prevalence of nutritional diseases have been made, but, in view of the inadequate diet of large sections of the population, deficiency conditions are probably numerous, particularly as regards protein and vitamins C, A and riboflavin of the B complex. Rickets is common in the Protectorate, while minor symptoms of the disease were detected in 17 per cent of 264 schoolchildren examined in Aden township in 1945. Spongy gums, gingivitis and other signs of vitamin C de- 146 464 511 361 A H 146 164

p. 251 (A)

H 744 Responsibility for the health of the people in the Colony resides in its Medical and Health Department, which is administered by a Director of Medical Services, with headquarters in Aden. There are no organised public health services in the Protectorate. Medical facilities are supported mainly by the British authorities in Western Aden Protectorate and by the local rulers in Eastern Aden Protectorate. As of 1950, there were 4 hospitals, with an aggregate capacity of about 600 beds, in the Colony which served the local residents and accessible portions of the Protectorate. In addition, several government, mission or private dispensaries, 2 venereal disease treatment centers and a maternity and child welfare clinic were in operation. The Protectorate facilities included 2 small hospitals, a child welfare center and 15 dispensaries in Eastern Aden Protectorate: 18 dispensaries in Western Aden Protectorate.

A 743

A 743

H A 312 Water supplies are scarce throughout this region, except in portions of the western highlands. The water supply for the Colony is derived from boreholes and treated by chlorination. Supplies in the Protectorate are obtained from streams, springs, wells or rain-water cisterns. The methods of sewage disposal are primitive in the Colony, as well as in the Protectorate. Limited sanitary controls over the production and the distribution of foodstuffs exist only in THE COLONY.

A H 364 944

p. 252 (A)

**Prisons.**

697 In Mukalla there is one prison, and "lock-ups" in the police stations. There are said to be 20 warders in the prison who wear a khaki uniform, but I only saw six. The prison is in the charge of the Commander of the Forces. On inspection the only prisoners seen were political, some 30 men and boys who were hostages from the various tribes and who are changed every month.

The headquarters of the uniformed police contains two cells where short sentences are served and remand prisoners detained. It was said that prisoners were not kept there for more than 24 hours.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## SOCIAL SERVICES IN QU'AITI TERRITORY.

### Health Administration.

743 There is only one Government medical institution and that is the dispensary in Mukalla.[1] It is in charge of a Hindu doctor assisted by a compounder and three dressing boys. The doctor took over his duties in April 1934, and from the 3rd of that month to the end of September he had treated 1,575 patients. In the month of October the number was 147. He performs only very minor operations and the figures include eight or ten such cases. Most of the doctor's work is in the dispensary itself, but he is sometimes called in for domiciliary visits. The dispensary is open from 8 to 12 in the morning and from 5 to 8 in the evening for urgent cases.

164 The principal ailments are diseases of the eye, eye trachoma being very prevalent, and rheumatic affections of the joints. There is no malaria in Mukalla, but cases come in from outside. The doctor possesses no microscope, but he has not traced any cases of ankylostomiasis or bilharzia. There is practically no syphilis, but gonorrhoea is fairly common. Constipation is chronic. From April to October he had used almost two hundredweight of magnesium sulphate. Tropical ulcers are fairly common.

164 751 Mr. H. M. Heald in his report on the agricultural resources says "Smallpox seemed to be the most fatal disease in the interior, and in some years whole villages were wiped out; I was informed that for generations they have had a system of inoculation performed by taking the blood from a child with the disease and rubbing it in a cut made on the arm, generally between the shoulder and elbow. In Mukalla, being the seaport connected with the east, they sometimes had plague, but as far as I could gather they had been free for a number of years."

743 In addition to his dispensary work the doctor is in charge of the Port Health work for ships and dhows, and has recently been appointed medical officer of health in the town.

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[1] There may now be a dispensary operating in Shihr.

As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000. 701 702 648 [212]

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambiyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870. 702 142 291 302 142 411 304 751

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamis*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turban-wise round his head. 714 [291]

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This, 702 701

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



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## HOUSING

No greater contrast could be imagined than exists in the houses of the Aden Protectorate. 342

The most elementary are the goat-hair tents of the nomadic people, and the even more primitive shelters of some shepherds, consisting only of a mat hung on poles, or spread over a branch of a bush.

The simplest form of house for the settled population, or those who stay for some period in a place to work at harvest time, is a kind of inverted nest of brush-wood, with a little matting incorporated in places. This provides privacy and shelter from the sun, though not of course from rain if it falls, or from the all-pervading dust storms.

The most common type of permanent house is built of mud-brick in the plains and rough stones bound with mud in the hill districts, and more rarely of squared stones. Rooms are generally small (long timber being very scarce) and dark, affording a relief from the glare outside; ventilation is usually adequate and the thick walls provide

WE PUT THE GARRISON INTO THE

grass hut, as the *murabba'a* was occupied by a woman who had been bitten 752
by a snake and the Sheikh asked us not to disturb her: it was part of her treatment that she should not be seen. A thin trail of ash had been sprinkled round the building to keep other snakes away.

During the day we collected other 'Abdulla bin 'Aun who came and watched 000
us from a distance in little groups. Somehow they seemed to be fascinated by us, for although they would not come when we shouted to them, they made no attempt to move or to resist when we walked over to them and told them to come along with us. Few of them were armed, and neither were we until the garrison came along. There were a couple of wells in commission, and I was told that at one time there had been as many as eighty-one. Some of the Badawin showed us on the wall of a cliff little columns of holes bored in soft stone. You counted up the holes and then stepping that number of paces from the column found yourself on a buried well.

Having explored the neighbourhood of the fort we went to see the site for a landing-ground which had been previously decided on from the air. Unfortunately it had to be at some little distance from the fort—2 or 3 miles—but it was a marvellous landing-ground and greatly pleased the Royal Air Force when they came along later in the day and flew Seiyid Bubekr and myself back to Seiyun.

On later visits I had the opportunity of seeing all the surrounding country from the air, and I was struck by the truth of the saying that Al 'Abr is the "Key of the Hadhramaut," for behind the mountains tracks radiated out in all directions to Nejran, the Yemen, and Shabwa and the Western Aden Protectorate. From Al 'Abr eastwards there was only the one track. I have visited Al 'Abr five times on the ground and passed over it many times by air, and on each occasion I have been struck by the large number of caravans which halt there for water. For a week or two after our occupation there was some falling off, as the Badawin were not certain of our intentions, but now it seems that far more come than before; they have a sense of security which was previously lacking when the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun were constantly looting them. My own belief, which is shared by responsible opinion in the Hadhramaut, is that before long a town will spring up there, as it forms an ideal place for a market and there is plenty of good water. The wells are not much [521]
more than 20 feet deep, cut through the soft limestone, and as soon as you draw the water out it runs in again in such a way as to give you the impression that there must be an underground river. On the first visit I took there a party of skilled builders from Tarim and they set to work at once to rebuild the fort. They also opened another well or two, and if we can find the money we shall open more, for these increased facilities are much appreciated by the Badawin.

Amongst the visitors who come are a large number of women. Thereabouts 562
they are unveiled and talk fearlessly and freely with you. I found these girls very charming and full of courage. They thought nothing of journeys alone with camels across the desert, from the Jof for instance, and it is the women throughout the Hadhramaut who appreciate the peace more than any one. They have often said that in the old days they always lived in fear that when their menfolk parted from them they might not see them again.

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932. MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



302 Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.[1]

[771] The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan
754 cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under
755 reference explained the details of Ra'aba Hamra spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the
752 imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work, however, and was followed by another next day. This, called Habil, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

754 These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally
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782 For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

753 A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify
776 *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinns*, *jinnyat* and *Zars*. *Zars*[2] are the most accommodating, *jinns* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

782 The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the
556 deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

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Plants. The shrub, *Catha edulis*, colloquially known as *qat*, is extensively cultivated in sections of the western highlands. The leaves yield a stimulant which dissipates fatigue and causes loss of appetite and of desire for sleep. Qat chewing is a popular custom in the Colony and Western Aden Protectorate, as it is in Yemen.

Cases of poisoning, caused by the contamination of imported wheat with grains of *Lolium temulentum* (Darnel grass), are recorded frequently. Species of *Euphorbia* grow in many areas, and contact poisoning is sometimes observed.

### Food Sanitation

Regulations governing the sanitary quality of milk, meats and other products are in force only in the Colony. The markets and the slaughterhouses, which are located at four points—in Crater, Tawahi and Maala, on the peninsula, and in Sheikh Othman—are operated under the supervision of sanitary inspectors. Eating houses, coffee shops, date stalls and other premises where foods are prepared or sold, and the aerated water and ice factories, are licensed and inspected from time to time. No controls are exercised over food handlers, however, and many food vendors and workers in small shops are immigants among whom the standards of cleanliness are generally poor.

Meat animals are inspected by veterinary officers at the slaughterhouses, but no postmortem examinations of the carcasses are made. The dairy cows are housed in municipal or private sheds within the town limits. Samples of milk from commercial herds are collected at regular intervals and tested for adulteration. There are no facilities for pasteurization. Opportunities for the spread of infection through contaminated milk are minimal, however, due to the universal custom of boiling milk before it is used. Brucellosis is enzootic among the goats, and infections undoubtedly are transmitted to man occasionally through cheese and other milk products. Bovine tuberculosis is pres-

535 pretensions to being medicine-men inform their friends that a Kinyago is to be
756 danced at a certain spot on a certain night, and a crowd consequently congregates there. The medicine-men, most of whom in Malindi District apart from Giryama are of Shambala slave origin, make themselves up with the help of clothes stuffed with grass to represent certain wild animals, such as elephants, lions, etc. A ring having been made in the waiting crowd, a medicine-man thus disguised as an animal suddenly dashes from behind a convenient bush and enters the ring, where he capers about and makes a noise in imitation of the beast he represents. On getting tired he retires again behind the convenient bush, and another disguised medicine-man
[533] takes his place in the ring and so on. A *msondo* drum is used, described above (see Ki-Nyasa dance). The crowd takes no part in the performance.

535 The Kinyago is, of course, a heathen dance from Nyasaland imported by
527 slaves. It takes place usually after a good harvest, and is intended more or less as
756 a thanksgiving to the spirits that control the rain and the abundance of food generally. It is also intended by the medicine-men to impress the people with the powers which they ascribe to themselves of being able to change the shape of their bodies into that of any wild animal. But these pretensions are not accorded much credence nowadays in the Malindi District.[1]

## NGOMA YA PEPO.

776 The Swahili word *pepo* is the equivalent of the Arab word *jin*, or devil or
753 evil spirit. The people inhabiting the coastal zone, both Arabs and Swahilis, believe in the existence of these beings, some of whom are considered harmless while others, entering into the human body, create various ills and pains, insensibility or sometimes a demented state accompanied by violent gestures. It is quite evident, even to a layman, that these ills are due to a disturbance of the nervous system of imaginative and highly-strung individuals. Thus one finds that the great majority of the people who get *pepo* are women.

753 The native cure for *pepo* is principally drumming. The natives of Africa
533 are particularly sensitive to rhythm, pure and simple, even more so perhaps than Europeans. The rhythm of certain kinds of drumming has the effect of exciting the nerves to an ecstatic degree, while other rhythms appear to have the contrary effect upon the nervous system of Africans. It is the latter rhythms that are used as a cure for *pepo*.

This physiological effect of rhythmic drumming is, however, unknown to the nhabitants of the coastal zone, and believing as they do, that the nervous disturbance known as *pepo* is caused by the presence of evil spirits in the body, they set about propitiating the *jin* and putting him in a good temper by giving a drumming

[1] This reminds one of some of the corn dances recorded by Sir J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*; and by Professor Ridgway in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), pp. 335–374.

[SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

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entertainment in his honour, so as to induce him to depart from the body of the person possessed. 753 776 533

The exorcising of the *pepo* is conducted by a professional man or elderly woman known as a *fundi* or *mganga* who specializes in certain kinds of *pepo*. 753 776 533

The *pepo* themselves are divided into various tribes such as the *pepo ya ki-galla*, *pepo ya ki-arabu*, *pepo ya ki-somali*, *pepo ya ki-shakini*, *pepo ya i-pemba*, *pepo ya ki-nubi*, etc., and some even are said to be like animals, such as the *pepo ya ng'ombe* and the *pepo ya punda*. Besides belonging to various tribes, the *pepo* have individual names similar to those common to human beings of the same tribe. Thus some *pepo ya ki-galla* are known as Guyo, Barsa, Godana, Galgalo, all of which are fairly common amongst the Gallas on the Tana River. 756

The *pepo* is recognised by the language it speaks through the lips of the person possessed. The *fundis* make out that the language spoken is actually Galla, Somali, Arabic, etc., but that it is an ancient form of these languages, and that no one can understand them but the *fundis* themselves. This, of course, is nonsense, as it is impossible for a person ignorant of a language to speak it suddenly and quite fluently. What actually happens is that the person possessed speaks ordinary Swahili,[1] but being in a state of high nervous tension the voice assumes an unnatural pitch, and the words are spoken indistinctly and interlarded with inarticulate sounds, so that they may be said to assume, with a stretch of imagination, either an Arab, a Somali, or any other accent, and, together with the inarticulate sounds uttered, are interpreted by the "*fundi*" as being ancient Arabic or ancient Somali, or some other ancient language.[2]

Each *fundi* has his own special set of *pepo* whom he knows by name, and to him only will such *pepo* respond. If a *fundi* is called in to attend to a possessed person, and is unable to make the *pepo* speak to him through the lips of the patient, then he knows that the *pepo* in question is not one of his set, but is a client of some other *fundi*. He then withdraws from the case, and suggests to the relations of the patient that such or such *fundi* be called in.

The first step in the treatment of a possessed person is to get the *pepo* to "come into the head" of the patient and speak to the *fundi*, the object of this being to find out from the *pepo* what would be acceptable to him as an offering in order to induce him to depart from the body of the possessed person. 753 755 756 776

The method of making the *pepo* speak is by administering *dawa*, or native medicine. The various tribes of *pepo* respond each to its particular kind of *dawa*, which in most cases consists of a decoction of roots mixed with leaves of plants found in the bush, and sometimes fresh seaweed. Each *fundi* has, of course, his own secret prescription. The mixture of roots and leaves is placed in a

[1] This is not certain.—C. W. H.

[2] For possession by spirits of other tribes, see Junod, *Les Baronga*, pp. 440, 441.

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753 755 756 776

pot and made to boil. The patient is made to sit close up to the pot, or, if possible, over it, and is then entirely covered with a sheet in such a manner as to allow as little as possible of the vapour from the pot to escape. This is practically a Turkish bath, the effect on the patient being naturally a soothing one, and on leading questions being put to the patient by the *fundi*, the *pepo* will state through the mouth of the sick person who he is and how many days' drumming he would like in order to induce him to depart and leave the patient in peace. This method of applying native medicine is used to make the *pepo* of almost all the heathen tribes respond to the *fundi*, provided, of course, that the *fundi* is the right man for that particular *pepo*, and provided the right decoction of roots and leaves is used.

If the *fundi* called in has a suspicion that the *pepo* he has to deal with belongs to a Moslem tribe, such as Arab, Somali, or Nubi, he does not employ the Turkish bath method in order to induce him to speak, but makes a mixture of camphor, musk, and saffron, with a little water, and writes with it on a plate the various attributes of Allah. By means of a little more of the mixture, the writing is carefully washed off the plate into a cup, and is given to the patient to drink. The camphor has a soothing effect, and the *pepo* then states who he is and what he wants as a propitiation.

The *fundi*, having recognised the *pepo* as one of his set, now comes to an agreement with the relations of the sick person as to the amount of the fees to be given to him. These vary according to the financial position of the relations, but generally range from 5Rs. to 10Rs. Much higher fees are sometimes given, however, and the total expenses, including the cost of the food for the *fundi*, the drummers, and the guests have been known to amount to 300Rs. The *fundi's* fees are paid after he has succeeded in getting rid of the *pepo*.

The drumming and dancing invariably take place indoors, except on the last day when the patient is practically cured, and then the dancing goes on outside the house.

The various kinds of *pepo* believed to seize people in Malindi are :—

*Pepo ya ki-galla*
*Pepo ya ki-sanya*
*Pepo ya ki-shakini*
*Pepo ya ki-rima*
*Pepo ya ki-nyika*
*Pepo ya ki-pemba*
*Pepo ya ki-habshi*
*Pepo ya ki-arabu*
*Pepo ya ki-somali*
*Pepo ya ki-nubi*
*Pepo ya Ng'ombe*
*Pepo ya Punda*

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*pepo* so desires, and the same ceremony is gone through as for the *pepo ya ki-galla*. 171 776 755

The songs of praise of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* sung in Malindi amount to about twenty-five. 536 782

Some names of *pepos* of the Shakini tribe known here are, Shinga Kamba wa Goshi, Hotea, Shingwa Rambo wa Seraf, Giwa wa Mwenne Panganga Waso wa Jentangu.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-RIMA.

The origin of these *pepo*, as their name indicates, is of course well known, but their introduction to the Malindi District dates only to nineteen years back. 171 776 535

The ceremonial followed is the same as that of the *pepo ya ki-galla*, and of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The head-dress is, however, different, and consists of what is called a *shumburere*, which is of exactly the same shape as a Mexican hat with a tall conical crown and a very wide brim. It is woven from the split fronds of the dom palm or the *mkindu* palm, the wild date. From the outer edge of the brim is suspended a fringe composed of strips of coloured cloth which hang down to the pit of the stomach in front, and to the same level at the back. The head and face of the patient are consequently completely hidden. 755 782

As in the Shakini *pepo* dance, the dancers follow each other round and round in a direction opposite to the hands of the clock, and perform the same steps and antics as in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The patient also waves in the same manner a fly-switch made out of the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The patient is anointed with castor oil as soon as he shows signs by jerks and twitches that he is about to begin to dance.

The *torosi* breast-plate and back-plate of leather are also worn by the patient in this dance, and a male goat is produced if so required by the *pepo*, and is ridden and danced round in the same manner as described in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

There are some forty songs known in Malindi sung in praise of the *pepo ya ki-rima*.

Some names of these *pepo* known here are, Lairan wa Laitua, Laitoni wa Laimoran, Lukwalla wa Lugawane. They remind one of Nandi or Masai names.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-NYIKA.

This is considered a benign form of *pepo* who does not cause the patient any great pain or ill, nothing more serious than a headache or a cough, which do not incapacitate the person possessed. 753 755 535 782

Native medicine is not usually given in order to make the spirit speak and say who he is and what he wants. He is generally recognised by the ache or pain he 776

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753 755 535 782 776

causes to the patient, and he is not exacting in his requirements of propitiation. Generally two or three days' dancing will satisfy him together with a large supply of boiled mealie-meal served with grilled fowl or goat. Sometimes as a special treat some *kunde* beans are mixed with the meal. This is given as a farewell dinner to the *pepo* after the dancing is finished. All the guests partake of it as well as the patient.

The dancing begins about 9 a.m., and lasts about an hour and a half. The patient then goes about his work as usual. In the evening the dancers reassemble and dance through the night with the patient. A line is formed, and one dancer at a time advances to where the drums are being played, jerks his shoulders about while bending over one of the drums for a few minutes, then suddenly stamping his foot he retires with a shuffling step back to his place in the line and another dancer goes forward and repeats the performance, and so on. The patient dances with the others, but is distinguished by having a fly-switch in one hand and a live fowl in the other, both of which he waves about.

The patient is dressed in two new dark blue cotton cloths (*kaniki*), worn as a Swahili woman wears her *leso*. No head-dress is worn. On the second day of the dance, if the patient is a woman, she exchanges her two dark blue cloths for a kilt such as the Nyika women wear.

During the dancing, the patient goes occasionally to a pot of cold water in which leaves of wild trees believed to have certain properties have been pounded and mixed up. He puts both hands into the pot and raises some of the liquid to his mouth and drinks. Having quenched his thirst he throws some of the liquid over each shoulder on to his back, and also pours some on his chest as if he were taking a bath.

At the end of the dance on the third day a meal is partaken of as stated above and the *pepo* departs.

The names of *pepo ya ki-nyika* known in Malindi are without number, and are similar to ordinary names at present heard amongst the various Nyika tribes. The songs of praise sung in honour of these *pepo* in Malindi are also numberless.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-PEMBA.

171 776 755 534

As their name indicates, these "*pepo*" are supposed to come from the island of Pemba.

In order to make the *pepo* declare himself, the usual native medicine and Turkish bath are given. The patient is then dressed in two white cloths after the fashion of the *pepo ya ki-galla*. He is placed on a stool, and as soon as the drumming begins he sways his body about in time to it, and ultimately jerks the stool which he sits on round the room. A *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sheiha dance) is also played to the accompaniment of the drums. This jerking about on the stool goes on for seven days, and on the eighth day matting is laid on the floor. The

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



on a hill. Whilst we photograph, survey and sketch, we feel as if our narrow standing-place were swaying gently to and fro. It is unpleasant to contemplate that we are so high above the level of the ground, standing on a slender tower made of almost nothing but dried mud.

## 5. SMALL RUINS OUTSIDE TERĪM.

In the evening, during the family motor drive, when the el-Kāfs and their set ride in slow procession through the gardens of Terīm and the baked plains of stone that lie outside it, a hill in the midst of Wādī ʿĒdīd is pointed out to us, which is said to have associations dating from the ʿĀd epoch. From a certain distance an old, paved high road is clearly visible, leading to the summit of the hill, where a temple must have stood. Only loose stones with mortar between them are now to be seen on the hill; at its base there are the remains of foundations of buildings, which seem to point to a guest-house with many small rooms. For the people of Terīm these ruins have an odour of sanctity; a similar hill, close by, is used by childless women as a place of worship, where they have to perform certain nocturnal rites by means of which they hope to have children.

## 6. A WALK THROUGH THE TOWN.

On the following day, May 28th, we go with the doctor to see his house and clinic. This pioneer of western medical science has no easy time here; the people still cling to their own ideas as to the functions of the human body and the causes of illness. They think that there are three chief causes of sickness, namely *riyāḥ* (gasses in the blood), *burūda* (cold), and *ḥarāra* (heat). They say of foods that they make the body cold or hot, or cause or disperse flatulence. Even the men of standing talk about their ailments in this terminology

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



•753 and our doctor has had to adapt himself temporarily to it and
758 to fixed wishes regarding diet, in anticipation of the growth of better understanding and more trust. The result of his work as the first and only doctor in all Ḥaḍramaut is not as great as one would expect. Sayyid Abū Bakr himself is not yet sufficiently convinced of the value of western medical art to allow the never ending outlay on medicines and instruments for the expert help of the doctor. The first nurse in Terīm was an Arab from one of the African coast towns, who missed his cinema and café so much that he speedily fled from the place of banishment, to return to the towns where he could enjoy the blessings of western civilization. Thus the doctor has all the work again on his own hands.

743 An enormous mud building has been placed at his disposal. In it he lives, has his pharmacy, the polyclinic and the beginnings of an operating-room. Further, one of the young el-Kāfs, who was assistant to an Egyptian dentist who formerly worked here for some months, has a room where, equipped with modern instruments, he practises dentistry.

164 According to the doctor, Ḥaḍramaut seems to be a healthy country. Among the lower classes there is, however, a good deal of eye disease, and it is also true that malaria makes its appearance in the autumn. What will be the eventual outcome of this beginning of medical help will depend on the tact and devotion and staying-power of the young doctor.

312 After this we go with the doctor on a walking tour to see the sights of the town of Terīm. First of all, naturally, we visit the remains of old Terīm, on the borders of the residential area of the town; it consists of a bare low hill on whose top stand the ruins of the once great and mighty castle. There are always wells for drinking-water in castles of this kind. These wells are very deep as they are in the inner courtyard of the castles and are, consequently, dug from the summit of the hill. From this ruined castle one had a good view over
346 Terīm so rich in mosques, palaces and . . . graves. The popular report in Ḥaḍramaut is that the town possesses 360 mos-

was also no large supply of fodder; we could only buy thirty bundles of dried *dhura* stalks, which cost us one *riyāl*. The *riyāl* seemed to be the only coin in use; for a half *riyāl* one could buy nothing. Our help was asked for a sick camel which, we were told, had been bitten by a snake. The local camel doctor had smeared the animal with a black salve and had cut off half of its ears. A sick man, who was obviously suffering from elephantiasis, told us that he had been hissed at by a snake. With regret we had to explain that we travelled without our medicine-chest and were unprovided with means for helping against the dangerous snakes of the country.

### 3. ʿRĒDET ED-DEYYIN.

We went on our way very soon, in the hope of reaching er-Rēda, the central point of the settlements of the Deyyin Bedouins, that evening. There lives the chief whose acquaintance we had made at Bā Ṣurra's castle. It was long after sundown when we approached Shēkh ʿUthmān's village, Nejēdēn. We stumbled on through the darkness, following the camels, till we came to cultivated land with a few dried-up *nibq* trees dotted about here and there. The village showed no sign of a friendly, inviting light; the fortress-like houses resembled nothing but black cubes. Directly the watch-dogs heard us they proceeded to attack us, barking furiously, and this noise roused life in the houses: first there were questioning voices and then a few lights. We kept the dogs at bay with stones and, aided by information proceeding from the closed houses, found our way to Shēkh ʿUthmān's dwelling, which was a miserable-looking, low building with nothing attractive about it. We awakened the inhabitants by our shouts and, with distrustful aversion, they admitted us to a large room with an earthen floor where we sat down on our travelling rugs. Our hopes of a speedy sleep after this very tiring day

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792 582 423 tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

792 778 346 The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

778 651 423 792 754 Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

792 778 In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We [776] must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

792 [822] 778 792 782 All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

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YEMEN ML 1



they are a race apart and are much respected, frequently attaining positions of high rank. A man will trust his slave before his brother. Tribesmen will eat with a slave when the slave has attained a position of eminence, such as governor of a village or commander of a post, but never with a Doshan or with a Heiq. A Chief's responsibility for his slaves is a very real one, and should he sell a slave or part with one he will be considered to have committed a shame. The slaves that I have met in the territory upheld the reputation slaves have always had for loyalty and courage.

We next come to two curious races, the Akhdam and the Hajur. I am satisfied that these are quite separate races, although there are a few instances of intermarriage in the major settlements. Akhdam is the plural of Khadim, which means "servant." This race is of African origin, but I can make no guess at the date at which they came to Arabia. Whenever it was, they appear to have left no relations or traces behind them in Africa. Their main settlement is at Zabid in the Western Yemen. They are of the Shafa'i sect, but practise witchcraft, make phalli and hold snakes and snake-charmers in great respect. In appearance they are small and their skin is a dull dark brown, not a glossy East African black. The only race in the country which will do filthy work, the Akhdam are in great demand and are employed as sweepers. They have their own headman in their small communities, successful wizards appointing themselves to the post without election.

The second foreign race is the Hajur. They appear to be South-west Abyssinians and are very like the Galla. Like the Akhdam, they have long ago lost any linguistic connection with Africa and speak Arabic. They are hardy and well-built and live in grass-hut settlements on the coastal belt between Lahej and Abyan. Some, on occasion, bear arms, but they are on the whole un-warlike and seek casual labour at harvest time. The 'Abdali tribes of Lajeh have intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and for this reason the 'Abdalis are darker than most coast Arabs and many villages in their territory are occupied by settled Hajur. In a few generations the Hajur and the 'Abdali will be indistinguishable, and I think this mingling of the two races must be very recent, and probably began during or just before the Turkish occupation of Lahej in 1916.

East of Aden, for some hundred miles, the coastal fishing communities are of Hajur or mixed Hajur stock. They elect their headmen as the Arabs do and are of the Shafa'i sect, but, like the Akhdam, they incline towards witchcraft and phallic worship. The observant traveller on the Lahej road will see plenty of evidence for this close to their settlements.

It is possible that these two African races came to Arabia during the second and third centuries A.D. as camp-followers to Abyssinian armies. But this is pure conjecture.

Finally, we come to the Jews. Jewish settlements exist all over the Protectorate. The principal settlement is in San'a, and all Jews of South Arabia claim inter-relationship and have many family connections in Palestine. They claim to be descended from the Jews of Kheybar. It is more probable, however, that the original Yemeni Jews are of South Arab race. Before the rise of Islam the people of South-west Arabia were

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and there was a general desire for peace in order to get on with the work in the fields.

My wife was accompanied by Seiyid 'Alawi al 'Attas and Jemila, a devoted maid servant of the family, who perched precariously on the back of my wife's camel singing Badawin war songs. My wife learnt some of them and they proceeded up the wadi singing duets. Besides being an amusing companion Jemila was a very useful one, for she proved an excellent lady's maid and a masseuse as well. Seiyid 'Alawi has married a tribeswoman, so the party stayed at Zeila in the house of his brother-in-law, one of the principal Ja'da chiefs. Like many Ja'dis their host had been to Java, but the only sign of his travels was a bicycle which he had brought back with him and which he said he preferred to a camel. From Zeila they rode through many small villages to 'Anaq belonging to the Al ash Shaibi, who are credited with possessing the Evil Eye and consequently shunned as much as possible. Seiyid 'Alawi thought it prudent not to mount his camel till the village had been left well behind, in case he was made to fall off by some evilly disposed person. They spent a night at 'Amd, which is almost at the end of Ja'da territory, for a little farther up the wadi the Madhi tribe have their habitat. All the villages in the wadi are much alike with a few three- and four-storeyed houses set amongst smaller ones, and most of them have well-built tanks for catching rain-water. Particularly in the left bank there are many dug-out caves, largely used now for habitation and grain stores. Miss Caton-Thompson says that these were probably all Himyaritic tombs. I think some cave dwellers she met were rather put out when she told them they were living in tombs. Many of the Al 'Attas family, who have much influence over the Ja'dis, have been canonized and their domed tombs are objects of veneration in several villages. My wife's appearance was taken for granted at 'Amd, where she spent a night with women who had been to Java and had seen European women before. They had brought back a few momentos of their travels and impelled by the same spirit that makes us hang Eastern curios on our walls they had hung up a pair of cheap European high-heeled slippers for the admiration of their untravelled friends.

From 'Amd they returned down the wadi following the left bank and passed many ruins, most of which covered low spurs jutting out from the cliffs. At Husn Ba Qasm there are ruins known as 'Adiya Qudha'a which may indicate the site of what was once the principal town in the wadi, as in the days before Islam it was called Wadi Qudha'a. Near the large village of Bateh they passed the time of day with a man who spoke to them from a second-storey window of his house as he dared not go out, for he was carrying on single-handed a war with all his neighbours. Like many others with whom my wife talked he asked for peace. Another had said "We want peace, we're sick of fighting. A man works in his fields and is shot dead—what's the use of it?" And another stopped them and said: "A country without a government is not a country. Bring us peace and settled government."

Returning to Shibam, which is of course the principal Qu'aiti town of the interior, there is west of it past Al Qatn and as far as the junction of the Wadi Du'an a bloc of Yafa'is, with a few Kathiris surviving in such places as Ajlania on the junction itself and also in the Wadi 'Amd. These Yafa'is have been

21: Thomas T-5 (nb date) 1932. MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



302 Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.[1]

[771] The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan
● 754 cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under
755 reference explained the details of Ra'aba Hamra spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the
752 imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work, however, and was followed by another next day. This, called Habil, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

754 These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally
755 for their flocks and herds. The ceasing of lactation is invariably ascribed to *Ain Balis*. The cure is frankincense. I witnessed the ceremony on occasion and made a cinema film of it, though it is usually performed at sunrise or at sunset. The incense burner was brought and wood introduced and lighted. The practitioner, the cow-owner, broke a fragment of frankincense about the size of a walnut into three pieces. Then spitting upon it three times he introduced it into the burner. While two other witnesses held the afflicted animal by head and leg [illegible]ely, he waved about its head the burning frankincense, chanting a set sacrificial chant.

782 For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

753 A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify
776 *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinns*, *jinnyat* and *Zars*. *Zars*[2] are the most accommodating, *jinns* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

782 The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the
556 deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

[1] Detailed descriptions will be found in my *Arabia Felix* (Jonathan Cape, 1932).

[2] A detailed description of the "Zar" cult as practised in Oman is given in my *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



exceeding 40 cows, 20 cows are the limit, may be a camel and a few sheep as well. In the case of a poor man, perhaps a single cow or sheep. Two cows are slaughtered near the grave of the deceased on the day of burial (*i.e.* death generally), if overnight, a third cow. Two nights are allowed to pass and on the third night a cow is slaughtered. This is called *khutum*. A further period elapses varying according to the economic condition of the deceased's relatives. It may be so little as a fortnight or so much as three months when the big sacrifice takes place, may be of 10, 15 or 20 cows respresenting half of the deceased man's herds. This is called *yom el nahaira*. Both *khutum* and *nahaira* are performed at the place where the man lived and not upon his grave. More cows will be sacrificed by relatives and friends of the deceased towards whose families in his lifetime he has acted similarly. This vast slaughter attracts the whole neighbourhood and the sectional tribe of the dead man divide up the flesh for themselves, and go away under their great burdens. Visitors from other tribes have no such rights, but partake of the feast of cooked meat for which one cow will have been roasted for the occasion. 782 556

There is a widespread belief in *Subiro*, i.e. spirits of the departed and their power for good and evil. In the Wadi Rizat I came upon scraps of food and tobacco in the pool beneath where the spring comes gushing out of a cavern. The locals emerge at night to throw morsels on the ground or into the pool shouting, "We are your sons and your daughters—don't harm us. Be awake so that we are not harmed by *Jins* (human kind) or *Jinns*." 769 776

*Nughush* they call this casting of bread upon the waters. In theory these spirits brood over running water only: they are amenable to kind treatment and treat mankind in the same way that they are treated by mankind.

The people of Jurbaib, lower down, sacrifice a cow before the harvest after it has made a circuit of the crops—its blood being drained into the irrigation ducts. Bits of its flesh are cast amongst the growing grass. 782 769

This spring of Rizat was in old days the subject of a notorious government case. Bait Zaiyan, a section of the Shahara, claimed the exclusive right to practise *nughush* in it. The Qara overlords who wished to share in the benefits of ghostly grace demanded to go "fifty-fifty" in the sacrifice. The government wali, in order to make government itself a partner in the scheme and share in the crops of the plains, decided that both parties would receive exactly equal quantities of food from government so that there should be no cheating. But in later years the slave soldiers of government, becoming overbearing in their treatment of Bait Zaiyan, the latter called upon the departed spirits of their forefathers who promptly made the water run up hill, so that the crops in the plains withered and died, whereupon government's share lapsed. 312 [619]

Cases of virtue held to be latent in certain dying animals I met with on several occasions. The highly valued contents of the antelope's bladder for mat and its stomach for camels, may be purely a rational custom, but that cannot be said of a raven I had shot. While it lay dying a Badu asked for its heart, which he proposed thus to eat raw and palpitating. This was, he said, a protection to his own heart from evil influence, its bile also which he proposed mixing with kohl with which to annoint his eyelids. The Shahari who killed my biggest cobra, 825 789 754

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



825 a 5 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
789 impart virtue to his sight.

754 I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

### INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
[782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

### LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

582 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere
583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
832 the triple nose-kiss, left, right, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

21: Thomas T6 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting 576
a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 832

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part
I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which 562
are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman
would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten
as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes,
and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire 585
of his wife and say *Talaq* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house
with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If 586
she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. 583
It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really
expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper,
ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representatives, father
or brother, descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the
women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only
cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter [782]
a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous
chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of
circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day 844
or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the
possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken
up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is
generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal 848
marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere 837
in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would 684
on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be
done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and [628]
have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation
of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

## CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees 342
at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain
itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four [754]
nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. 782
When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



entertainment in his honour, so as to induce him to depart from the body of the person possessed. 753 776 533

The exorcising of the *pepo* is conducted by a professional man or elderly woman known as a *fundi* or *mganga* who specializes in certain kinds of *pepo*. 753 776

The *pepo* themselves are divided into various tribes such as the *pepo ya ki-galla*, *pepo ya ki-arabu*, *pepo ya ki-somali*, *pepo ya ki-shakini*, *pepo ya i-pemba*, *pepo ya ki-nubi*, etc., and some even are said to be like animals, such as the *pepo ya ng'ombe* and the *pepo ya punda*. Besides belonging to various tribes, the *pepo* have individual names similar to those common to human beings of the same tribe. Thus some *pepo ya ki-galla* are known as Guyo, Barsa, Godana, Galgalo, all of which are fairly common amongst the Gallas on the Tana River. 533 756

The *pepo* is recognised by the language it speaks through the lips of the person possessed. The *fundis* make out that the language spoken is actually Galla, Somali, Arabic, etc., but that it is an ancient form of these languages, and that no one can understand them but the *fundis* themselves. This, of course, is nonsense, as it is impossible for a person ignorant of a language to speak it suddenly and quite fluently. What actually happens is that the person possessed speaks ordinary Swahili,[1] but being in a state of high nervous tension the voice assumes an unnatural pitch, and the words are spoken indistinctly and interlarded with inarticulate sounds, so that they may be said to assume, with a stretch of imagination, either an Arab, a Somali, or any other accent, and, together with the inarticulate sounds uttered, are interpreted by the "*fundi*" as being ancient Arabic or ancient Somali, or some other ancient language.[2]

Each *fundi* has his own special set of *pepo* whom he knows by name, and to him only will such *pepo* respond. If a *fundi* is called in to attend to a possessed person, and is unable to make the *pepo* speak to him through the lips of the patient, then he knows that the *pepo* in question is not one of his set, but is a client of some other *fundi*. He then withdraws from the case, and suggests to the relations of the patient that such or such *fundi* be called in.

The first step in the treatment of a possessed person is to get the *pepo* to "come into the head" of the patient and speak to the *fundi*, the object of this being to find out from the *pepo* what would be acceptable to him as an offering in order to induce him to depart from the body of the possessed person. 753 755 756 776

The method of making the *pepo* speak is by administering *dawa*, or native medicine. The various tribes of *pepo* respond each to its particular kind of *dawa*, which in most cases consists of a decoction of roots mixed with leaves of plants found in the bush, and sometimes fresh seaweed. Each *fundi* has, of course, his own secret prescription. The mixture of roots and leaves is placed in a

[1] This is not certain.—C. W. H.

[2] For possession by spirits of other tribes, see Junod, *Les Baronga*, pp. 440, 441.

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753 pot and made to boil. The patient is made to sit close up to the pot, or, if possible,
755 over it, and is then entirely covered with a sheet in such a manner as to allow as little
756 as possible of the vapour from the pot to escape. This is practically a Turkish bath,
776 the effect on the patient being naturally a soothing one, and on leading questions being put to the patient by the *fundi*, the *pepo* will state through the mouth of the sick person who he is and how many days' drumming he would like in order to induce him to depart and leave the patient in peace. This method of applying native medicine is used to make the *pepo* of almost all the heathen tribes respond to the *fundi*, provided, of course, that the *fundi* is the right man for that particular *pepo*, and provided the right decoction of roots and leaves is used.

If the *fundi* called in has a suspicion that the *pepo* he has to deal with belongs to a Moslem tribe, such as Arab, Somali, or Nubi, he does not employ the Turkish bath method in order to induce him to speak, but makes a mixture of camphor, musk, and saffron, with a little water, and writes with it on a plate the various attributes of Allah. By means of a little more of the mixture, the writing is carefully washed off the plate into a cup, and is given to the patient to drink. The camphor has a soothing effect, and the *pepo* then states who he is and what he wants as a propitiation.

The *fundi*, having recognised the *pepo* as one of his set, now comes to an agreement with the relations of the sick person as to the amount of the fees to be given to him. These vary according to the financial position of the relations, but generally range from 5Rs. to 10Rs. Much higher fees are sometimes given, however, and the total expenses, including the cost of the food for the *fundi*, the drummers, and the guests have been known to amount to 300Rs. The *fundi's* fees are paid after he has succeeded in getting rid of the *pepo*.

The drumming and dancing invariably take place indoors, except on the last day when the patient is practically cured, and then the dancing goes on outside the house.

The various kinds of *pepo* believed to seize people in Malindi are :—

*Pepo ya ki-galla*
*Pepo ya ki-sanya*
*Pepo ya ki-shakini*
*Pepo ya ki-rima*
*Pepo ya ki-nyika*
*Pepo ya ki-pemba*
*Pepo ya ki-habshi*
*Pepo ya ki-arabu*
*Pepo ya ki-somali*
*Pepo ya ki-nubi*
*Pepo ya Ng'ombe*
*Pepo ya Punda*

776 over the pot, or as close as possible, and is entirely covered over with a sheet so as
756 to receive all the vapour from the pot and the heat from the fire.
782 While this primitive method of giving a Turkish bath is being carried out, the
757 *fundi* chants an appropriate song of praise to the *pepo*, and the women, if they
171 know the song, join in and clap their hands in time to the tune. This ceremony takes place soon after sunrise, at mid-day, and in the evening from about 7 p.m. to 8.30 or 9 p.m., each session lasting about an hour to an hour and a half, more or less. After each session the *fundi* questions the *pepo* to ascertain what *pepo* he has to deal with and what propitiation it requires, but the *pepo* may refuse to speak at once, and the same ceremonial is repeated every day up to seven days. If by that time the *pepo* has not spoken, the *fundi* usually comes to the conclusion that the *pepo* in question is not one of his clientele, and he suggests that some other *fundi* be called in.

If, however, success is attained in making the *pepo* speak through the lips of the patient, which is very often the case owing to leading questions being asked by the *fundi*, and perhaps to a certain amount of mental ascendancy on his part, to which a hypnotic element may not be foreign, arrangements are then made to fulfil the desires of the *pepo*, which invariably take the form of an *ngoma* or dance repeated every day for seven days, with or without a *pepo* feast, and a male goat to be ridden by the *pepo* on the last day of the dance.

776 Before the dancing begins, new clothes are bought for the *pepo*, and the patient
535 puts them on. If the latter is a man, a white cloth is tied round his chest and hangs
756 down to his feet and another white cloth is put over the head and shoulders in such
171 a manner as to leave only the face visible, the head and neck being covered. A pair of white cotton trousers tight at the ankle are also worn. If the patient is a woman the same clothes are worn, but the first-mentioned cloth is tied round her waist, and not round the chest as in the case of the man.

Guests are invited, both men and women, but the majority of the dancers at an *ngoma ya pepo* are women. The latter are the only ones allowed to enter the sick room, except the *fundi* and his drummers, and one or two male guests by request of the relations of the patient. The *fundi* and his drummers may also sit in the *ukumbi*, or entrance to the house, according to the wishes of the relations.

The dancing begins at eight or nine o'clock in the morning and lasts for two or three hours, or until the patient, impelled by the *pepo*, lifts his hands as a sign of having had enough for the time being. A second session takes place the same day from about 6 p.m. till 9 p.m., and so on every day till the seventh day.

535 *Pepo ya ki-galla* generally begins to take part in the dancing on the third
● 755 day of the dance. The patient, while still seated, begins to jerk his shoulders back-
171 wards and forwards and up and down, in time to the drumming. Then he gradually rises from his seat. A fly-switch, made from the tail of any wild animal which could be used for the purpose is placed in one hand, and a small calabash filled with leaves

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supposed to have medicinal properties is placed in the other. A string of oval iron bells (*njuga*) with a pebble inside is tied just below his right knee, and he then shuffles forward alone, dragging his feet. He takes up his position between the two lines of dancers, one at each end of the room, and shuffles backwards and forwards between the two lines of dancers while waving the fly-switch and the calabash, and still jerking his shoulders as described above. The two lines of dancers move their shoulders in the same manner, but remain in the same place.

These proceedings are repeated twice a day, morning and evening, until the evening of the seventh day, when the session is prolonged through the night well on into the next day, sometimes even until mid-day.

During the last dance, the cloth over the head of the patient is allowed to drop on to his shoulders, and another white cloth is put on his head and is kept on by a cord being wound round the temples after the manner of the Beduins.

If the *pepo* has required the production of a goat amongst other things to be done for his propitiation, a male goat is now produced and brought to the door of the house. The patient comes out and strokes the goat, passing his right hand three times from its head along its back to its tail. He then gets astride of it and pretends to ride it like a horse, jumping up and down, and jerking his shoulders as before in time to the drumming.

If at any time the *pepo* calls for food, a small piece of bread is produced, on which is placed a speck of ambergris and musk, and it is then placed in the mouth of the patient, who eats it. A few raisins are also given, and a lump or two of sugar candy.

After the patient has got tired of riding the goat, the *fundi* asks the *pepo* in the presence of the assembled guests if he has received all he had asked for. The *pepo* says "yes." The *fundi* then asks him if he will ever seize the patient again, to which the *pepo* replies, "I will not seize him again," and thereupon he is considered to have taken his departure, and the patient goes to bed to sleep off his fatigue, and awakes later to find himself quite cured.

There are about fifty propitiatory songs for the *pepo ya ki-galla* known in Malindi.

The names of some of the *pepo ya ki-galla* who are believed to possess people in Malindi are as follows:—Guyo, Barsa, Godana, and Galgalo. All these are common Galla names.

The drums used are two *Vumi* drums, one *Chapuo* drum, and *Vitasa* cymbals, all described in the Shebwani dance.

### PEPO YA KI-SANYE.

The ceremonies and medicines used to cast out a *pepo* of the Sanye tribe are exactly similar to those used in connection with a *pepo* of the Galla tribe. The only difference is that the *pepo* speaks the Sanye language through the medium

171 776 782 755 of the patient, and the propitiatory songs are also in the Sanye language, although Galla songs may also be sung effectively.

The names of the *pepo ya ki-sanye* who are believed to frequent Malindi are merely common Sanye names.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla.*

### PEPO YA KI-SHAKINI.

171 776 755 The people of Malindi[1] do not know here where the Shakini country is. They tell one vaguely that it is *mbarani mbali sana*, that is somewhere in the distant interior of Africa. The Shakini language is said to be understood by the Zigula people. The *pepo ya ki-shakini* is thought to have been introduced to Malindi by slaves brought from the interior, but very little is known of its origin.

The ceremonies which take place at the casting out of a *pepo ya ki-shakini* are exactly the same as those of the *pepo ya ki-galla*; the roots and leaves which make up the ingredients of the medicine used to make the *pepo* speak are, however, different, but the medicine is applied in the same way, that is by means of a Turkish bath.

The clothes worn by the patient when the dancing begins are similar to those worn by a person possessed of a *pepo ya ki-galla*, only the clothes are made of a dark blue cotton (*kaniki*) instead of white cotton (*amerikani*). The trousers worn may be made of blue cotton cloth or red cotton cloth (*bendera*). On the last day of the dance the white cloth worn on the head of the patient suffering from *pepo ya ki-galla* is replaced by a red or blue cloth secured on the head in the same way, by a cord bound round the temples. Formerly, when colobus monkey skins were obtainable, the head-dress consisted of a conical hat made from these skins, about a foot to fifteen inches high, in the shape of a dunce's cap with a peak to it in front, and the monkey's handsome tail hanging down behind. A leather breast-plate and back-plate connected by straps that hang over the shoulders are also worn as an ornament, being profusely decorated with beads and kauri shells. This is called a *torosi* (a Ki-rima word), and is worn on the last day of the dance.

171 776 755 535 782 The dancers of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* form a circle, one behind the other, and move round and round with short jerky steps in a direction opposite to that of the hands of a clock, and stamp their feet in time to the drums. They move the upper part of the body by alternatively throwing the chest forward and the shoulders back and then the shoulders forward and the chest in. The patient dances along with the others, and waves a fly-switch made from the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The *pepo* of the Shakini tribe are believed to be very fond of tembo, and the patient is given frequent libations of this drink. But he cannot tolerate the smell of mutton, and all cooking of this meat must be done at a distance while the patient is possessed of this *jin*.

On the last day of the dance a male goat may be produced if the

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

*pepo* so desires, and the same ceremony is gone through as for the *pepo ya ki-galla*. 171 776

The songs of praise of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* sung in Malindi amount to about twenty-five. 755 536 782

Some names of *pepos* of the Shakini tribe known here are, Shinga Kamba wa Goshi, Hotea, Shingwa Rambo wa Seraf, Giwa wa Mwenne Panganga Waso wa Jentangu.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-RIMA.

The origin of these *pepo*, as their name indicates, is of course well known, but their introduction to the Malindi District dates only to nineteen years back. 171 776

The ceremonial followed is the same as that of the *pepo ya ki-galla*, and of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The head-dress is, however, different, and consists of what is called a *shumburere*, which is of exactly the same shape as a Mexican hat with a tall conical crown and a very wide brim. It is woven from the split fronds of the dom palm or the *mkindu* palm, the wild date. From the outer edge of the brim is suspended a fringe composed of strips of coloured cloth which hang down to the pit of the stomach in front, and to the same level at the back. The head and face of the patient are consequently completely hidden. 535 755 782

As in the Shakini *pepo* dance, the dancers follow each other round and round in a direction opposite to the hands of the clock, and perform the same steps and antics as in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The patient also waves in the same manner a fly-switch made out of the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The patient is anointed with castor oil as soon as he shows signs by jerks and twitches that he is about to begin to dance.

The *torosi* breast-plate and back-plate of leather are also worn by the patient in this dance, and a male goat is produced if so required by the *pepo*, and is ridden and danced round in the same manner as described in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

There are some forty songs known in Malindi sung in praise of the *pepo ya ki-rima*.

Some names of these *pepo* known here are, Lairan wa Laitua, Laitoni wa Laimoran, Lukwalla wa Lugawane. They remind one of Nandi or Masai names.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-NYIKA.

This is considered a benign form of *pepo* who does not cause the patient any great pain or ill, nothing more serious than a headache or a cough, which do not incapacitate the person possessed. 753 755 535 782

Native medicine is not usually given in order to make the spirit speak and say who he is and what he wants. He is generally recognised by the ache or pain he 776

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753 causes to the patient, and he is not exacting in his requirements of propitiation.
755 Generally two or three days' dancing will satisfy him together with a large
535 supply of boiled mealie-meal served with grilled fowl or goat. Sometimes as a
782 special treat some *kunde* beans are mixed with the meal. This is given as a
776 farewell dinner to the *pepo* after the dancing is finished. All the guests partake of it as well as the patient.

The dancing begins about 9 a.m., and lasts about an hour and a half. The patient then goes about his work as usual. In the evening the dancers reassemble and dance through the night with the patient. A line is formed, and one dancer at a time advances to where the drums are being played, jerks his shoulders about while bending over one of the drums for a few minutes, then suddenly stamping his foot he retires with a shuffling step back to his place in the line and another dancer goes forward and repeats the performance, and so on. The patient dances with the others, but is distinguished by having a fly-switch in one hand and a live fowl in the other, both of which he waves about.

The patient is dressed in two new dark blue cotton cloths (*kaniki*), worn as a Swahili woman wears her *leso*. No head-dress is worn. On the second day of the dance, if the patient is a woman, she exchanges her two dark blue cloths for a kilt such as the Nyika women wear.

During the dancing, the patient goes occasionally to a pot of cold water in which leaves of wild trees believed to have certain properties have been pounded and mixed up. He puts both hands into the pot and raises some of the liquid to his mouth and drinks. Having quenched his thirst he throws some of the liquid over each shoulder on to his back, and also pours some on his chest as if he were taking a bath.

At the end of the dance on the third day a meal is partaken of as stated above and the *pepo* departs.

The names of *pepo ya ki-nyika* known in Malindi are without number, and are similar to ordinary names at present heard amongst the various Nyika tribes. The songs of praise sung in honour of these *pepo* in Malindi are also numberless.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-PEMBA.

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776 As their name indicates, these "*pepo*" are supposed to come from the island of
755 Pemba.
534 In order to make the *pepo* declare himself, the usual native medicine and Turkish bath are given. The patient is then dressed in two white cloths after the fashion of the *pepo ya ki-galla*. He is placed on a stool, and as soon as the drumming begins he sways his body about in time to it, and ultimately jerks the stool which he sits on round the room. A *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance) is also played to the accompaniment of the drums. This jerking about on the stool goes on for seven days, and on the eighth day matting is laid on the floor. The

patient sits on the matting at one end, and proceeds to jerk himself forward to the other end. On reaching this he jerks backwards without turning round. This is a very laborious business and takes a good deal of effort. 171 776 755

On the eleventh day the patient assumes an upright position, and dances, standing up between two lines of dancers. He advances with short shuffling steps to the line of people in front of him. On getting within a couple of feet of them he begins to retire, shuffling backwards without turning round, and keeping his body bent forwards almost at a right angle with his lower limbs. He is followed by the line of dancers facing him, who dance the same shuffling step, and who keep within a couple of feet of him. On reaching the line of dancers behind him, he straightens his body and starts forward again, the line facing him then retiring and the line behind him following him. He waves a fly-switch in his hand, and a string of small oval iron bells, *njuga*, with pebbles inside, is tied round his right ankle. 534 535 755 782

No head-dress is worn by the patient, but a paste is made by pounding to a powder a certain scented wood called *udi*, and mixing it with water. This is applied all over the head. If no *udi* wood is available, the wood of the *muhuhu* is used. A black line about half an inch wide is also painted from the tip of the nose over the head to the back of the neck.

On the last day of the dance, fruits and delicacies in very small quantities are laid before the patient, who eats a little of each for the benefit of the *pepo*.

If the *pepo* demands it, and the financial position of the patient will allow of it, a white bull or a male goat is produced on the last day, and is ridden and danced round by the patient as described in the ceremonies which take place to expel a *pepo ya ki-galla*, after which the *pepo* departs from the sick person.

The names of some of the *pepo* known in Malindi are, Mwana Mashungi wa Ukulu, Kekecha wa Mawamba, Makata wa Mapinga, Maungua wa Maamba. A great many propitiatory songs are also known at Malindi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-HABSHI.

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The Abyssinian spirit is not believed to have seized anyone at Malindi yet, and very little is known about it here. It is, however, believed to have possessed people in Zanzibar and Kismayu. 776

### PEPO YA KI-ARABU.

The ceremonies which are gone through to expel a *pepo* of this variety constitute a type which is followed with slight variations in exorcising almost all the *jins* believed to belong to Moslem tribes. 776 755

The fundamental difference between the method of treating heathen *pepo* and Moslem *pepo* consists in the substitution of strong perfumes for the Turkish bath method, in order to induce the *pepo* to declare himself.

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776 755 [782] The preliminaries are the same as those described in the *pepo ya ki-galla* up to the point where it becomes necessary to ascertain what the *pepo* requires as a bribe or propitiation to depart from the body of the person whose sickness he is believed to be causing.

In order to get this information from the *pepo*, a mixture is made of rose water, ambergris, musk, saffron and camphor. Using this as an ink, the *fundi* writes on a plate the name of Allah with His various attributes (the all-powerful, the all-merciful, etc.), also the names of some of the archangels. The writing being completed, it is carefully and reverently washed off the plate into a cup with a little more of the mixture above mentioned. The contents of the cup are then given to the invalid to drink, and incense is also burnt beside him. In a short time the *pepo* comes into the head of the patient and states who he is and what he wishes.

776 755 535 Arrangements are then made for a dance, and guests are invited in the usual way. New white cloths are put on the patient, who wears them in the same way as *lesos* are worn by Swahili women. A pair of trousers, tight at the ankle, is also worn.

The patient sits on a stool and gradually begins to sway his body in time to the drumming. Later on the swaying becomes more and more accentuated, till it develops into jerks of the body of sufficient violence to move the stool, on which the patient sits, all about the room. Ultimately he becomes sufficiently excited to stand up and dance with a sort of gliding step, backwards and forwards between two lines of dancers, who imitate his step and gestures. In each of his hands is placed a small white flag, on which is written the verse of the Koran *Ayat il kursi*. The flag in his left hand he holds over his left shoulder, and the one in his right hand he waves about. A *maharuma* or Beduin head-dress is secured on his head, but if none is available an ordinary white cap will do. On standing up to dance the patient must change his clothes. He discards his two white cloths, and if the *pepo* who possesses him has been ascertained to be a male he dons a white *kanzu* as worn by men. If the *pepo* is a female, then a short *kanzu* of some coloured material or, if possible, of silk such as the Arab women of Muscat wear, is put on by the patient.

If a male *pepo* seizes a man, or a female *pepo* a woman, there is believed to be little hope of the recovery of the patient, whose fate is practically sealed. If on the other hand a *pepo* of one sex seizes a human being of the opposite sex, then the recovery of the patient is assured.

The drumming is accompanied by songs in Arabic appropriate to the occasion, and usually in praise of the spirit.

755 782 At the end of the dance on the last day, a feast is given to the *pepo*, with delicacies consisting of small quantities of Turkish delight (*halua*), powdered white sugar, white lump sugar, moist sugar, sugar candy, almonds, raisins, milk, eggs, young coconuts (*dafu*), but of the pale coloured variety, rose scent, scented oil and European scents.

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If the patient can afford it, a white bull is produced and, dressed in his best turban with dagger and sword, the patient mounts it like a horse. It is then led round and round the dancing ring in the open, while he flourishes his sword and shows off generally. If the patient is a woman, the dagger and sword are dispensed with. 755 776

Some names of Arab *pepo* known in Malindi are, Maruhani bin Kaftan, Luranni bin Dervess, Rikh bin Zariha, Duban bin Dabran, Amir Ghaish bin Sudian, Jinwi bin Jinan, Hodeida binti Jabal Duhan, Sharua binti Haruta, Saida binti Saida, Saida binti Kisti, Zilzalla binti Harun bin Alwan.

The patriarch Noah is said to have had great ascendancy over Arab *pepo*, and each time his name is mentioned the *pepo* will give a start.

The *pepo ya ki-arabu* are the only *pepo* who appear to have sex distinction. All the other seem to be sexless.

*Tari*, or tambourines, described in the Chama dance, and a *vumi* drum, described in the Shebwani dance, are used.

### PEPO YA KI-NUBI.

This *pepo* is unknown in Malindi, but used frequently to seize people in Takaungu, and does still occasionally. His introduction to that town took place at the time when Said Barghash, Sultan of Zanzibar, maintained a garrison there under Liwali Salim bin Hamis, father of the present titular chief of the Mazrui tribe, Rashid bin Salim. Some of the *askaris* of the garrison were Sudanese, and the introduction of the *pepo ya ki-nubi* is without doubt due to them. 171 776 755 535

This *jin* is a Moslem, and the preliminary ceremonies carried out to make him speak are the same as for the *pepo ya Ki-arabu*. He is not an exacting spirit, and two or three days' dancing and drumming will satisfy him. He does not require any *sadaka* to induce him to speak, but will eat ordinary food, and in the matter of raiment, any clothes will do. In fact he is a mild fellow, and is rarely the cause of any serious ailment.

On the arrival of the guests, a ring is formed in the open, the dancers facing inward with the sick person amongst them. They move round and round the circle in the opposite direction to the hands of the clock, jumping and jerking their shoulders about. The drums, consisting of three *msondo* (described in the Ki-Nyasa dance), are played in the centre of the ring, together with the *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance). The dancing begins at 3 p.m. and goes on well into the middle of the night. This is repeated for two or three days.

The last dance continues right through the night to the next morning, when the dancers disperse. As the dance is just about to break up, the sick person makes a rush to a cauldron placed a few paces away from the dancing ring, and filled with water. He plunges his head and shoulders into the water, and the *fundi* and several muscular friends hold his head under water until he begins to struggle from loss of breath. They let him struggle for a minute or so, and then release him.

171 776 755 635 Instantly he makes a dash back to the dancing ring and prostrates himself on the ground near the drums, probably from exhaustion. But he is not given much time to consider what ails him, for he is closely followed by the *fundi* armed with a *bakora* or cane, who rouses him with a smart cut across the shoulders. The patient jumps up in fear of receiving another blow of the *bakora* and is surprised to find himself quite cured. He returns home to sleep off his fatigue.

Some names of *pepo ya ki-nubi* are Fatuma wa Abdalla, Abdeh wa Hamdeh, Ta[illegible] Yusuf, Saida wa Abana.

There are no *fundis* of *pepo ya ki-nubi* at Malindi, and it is doubtful if any remain at Takaungu.

## PEPO YA KI-SOMALI.

776 535 755 This *pepo* being a Moslem, the preliminary ceremonies are exactly the same as those which take place in connection with the *pepo ya ki-arabu*.

The dancing is also similar to that of the Arab *pepo*, but is much more rapid.

When the sick man is able to get up and dance he puts on Somali clothes instead of Arab clothes. He also flourishes two small flags with sacred words on them. If he rides a bull on the last day of the dance, he flourishes a spear instead of a sword as the Arab *pepo* does.

[534] The drums used are the *tari* (described in the Chama dance), and they are beaten in very quick time.

The names of the Somali *pepo* are the same as modern names common to Somalis.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-arabu* dance.

## PEPO NG'OMBE.

776 755 This *pepo* is said to make the unfortunate person who gets it low like a cow. It is considered a dangerous *pepo*, and many people do not get rid of it without paralysis of some of their limbs or of one whole side of the body.

The procedure followed to make the *pepo* speak is the same as that in cases of *pepo ya ki-galla*, that is to say the Turkish bath.

The *pepo ng'ombe* speaks Swahili, but in a hesitating manner, and interlarded with bovine noises. Grass must be cut and brought in to him to eat. If no grass is given he will try to get out of the house to go and graze. Water must be given to him to drink in a bucket or other large receptacle, into which he puts his face and drinks like a cow. Some of the water must be thrown over the body of the patient, for, if this is not done, rigidity of the limbs is believed to set in.

If the patient's mouth begins to twist to one side, the case is considered to have entered a very serious phase, and another Turkish bath is given. The patient is rubbed with castor oil, but no other sort of grease must be brought near him, nor any kind of perfume or scent.

As soon as the patient is strong enough, dark blue cotton clothes are put on him as in the manner of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*, and he then sits up, and ultimately as he gets stronger he takes part in the dancing, which is of the same style as that of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. He also wears a *shumburere* hat and a *torosi* (described in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*), and waves a fly-switch. The dance may be protracted to three weeks, as the illness is sometimes very stubborn. A person who has once suffered from *pepo ng'ombe* can never again tolerate the sight or smell of beef, whether raw or cooked, and sometimes even faints at the sight of it. 776 755 535

On being questioned as to where they come from, the *pepo ngombe* state that their home is in Guran at Bwana Manolo's. There is no country known in Malindi by this name.

Some of the names of *pepo ngombe* known in Malindi are: Darsheh wa Losinga, Darsan wa Bwana Manolo, Darwesh wa Bwana Msija, Lisiji wa Mpinde, Suta wa Bwana Darwasi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

## PEPO YA PUNDA.

This is a most serious illness, the majority of cases proving fatal. The name *pepo punda* is due to the noises which the patient makes, and which may be assimilated, with a good stretch of imagination, to the braying of a donkey. There is, however, no similarity at all, the noises made by the patient being merely hollow groans of pain, for the disease is extremely painful, and from the symptoms there is no doubt whatever that the *pepo punda* is tetanus. 776 755

The patient cannot speak. No drumming or dancing is allowed. Native medicine only is given to drive out the *pepo*. This medicine consists of a mixture of the following ingredients: *koto* (a root imported from Arabia), *udi-il-karah* (an astringent wood from Arabia), *arkisus* (a wood with a taste like pepper, from Arabia), *habbasoda* (a small seed like a cummin seed, but black, from Arabia), *khardal-filfil* (a root from Arabia with a taste like mustard), common black pepper, *yayi leusi* (a seed like blasting powder with a bitter taste, from Arabia), mustard seed, garlic, *shinari* (a seed like cummin seed), *zatari* (dried aromatic leaves imported from Arabia), also the horn or hoof of a black cow pounded up to powder. All these ingredients are boiled together and given to the unfortunate patient to drink. 278 757

A piece of hard wood scraped clean is placed between the teeth so as to allow of his being given medicine after the lower jaw has become rigid. 776 755

As soon as the spine of the sick person becomes arched, a fire is lighted in the sick room. A mixture is then made from donkey's dung, dog's excreta, garlic, *mouge*, (asafœtida), sulphur and *sunduna* (a black kind of seaweed). All this is made into a paste by the addition of castor-oil, and lumps of it are cast on to the fire, from

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176 which then emanates acrid smoke with an appalling smell. This is supposed to
155 relieve the patient.

Natives do not know the origin of the *pepo punda*, and are extremely afraid of it. Happily it is not very frequent in Malindi.

114 171 NOTE.—The description of the above dances has been compiled by a civil officer of experience who has a thorough knowledge of Swahili. Many of the dances have undoubtedly been brought from Arabia by the Muscat Arabs, others were probably brought in by the Nabahans and the Vumba chiefs who came from Shiraz in Persia about A.D. 1100. The hypnotic seizures described in some of the ceremonies are well known in Africa, particularly among the Akamba people; the phenomena would well repay investigation by a medical psychologist.—C. W. HOBLEY. Mombasa.

## NOTES BY A. WERNER.

p. 415, l. 33.—This, or some similar event, followed by faction-fighting, has been celebrated by Muhamadi bin Abubakari Kijuma, of Lamu, in a poem called *Utendi wa Mkonumbi*.

171 113 p. 419.—The Kinyago. This (called *unyago* by the Yaos and *chinyao* by the Anyanja) takes place at the initiation of young people in Nyasaland. For particulars, see Rattray, *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 178, 179.

p. 420.—A list of *pepo*, with the appropriate exorcisms, songs, etc., as used in the Mrima region (the mainland opposite Zanzibar) is given in Velten's *Desturi za Waswahili*, pp. 149–167. The Arab *zar*, described for Mecca by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (The Hague, 1889), vol. ii, pp. 124–128), belongs to the same category.

p. 426.—The Wasanye in the Malindi district all speak Galla, but they say their old language is still spoken by the Waboni in the Witu territory.

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302 Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.[1]

[771] The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan
754 cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under
reference explained the details of Ra'aba Hamra spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the
● 755 imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the
752 spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work, however, and was followed by another next day. This, called Habil, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

754 These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally
for their flocks and herds. The ceasing of lactation is invariably ascribed to *Ain Balis*. The
755 cure is frankincense. I witnessed the ceremony on occasion and made a cinema film of it, though it is usually performed at sunrise or at sunset. The incense burner was brought and wood introduced and lighted. The practitioner, the cow-owner, broke a fragment of frankincense about the size of a walnut into three pieces. Then spitting upon it three times he introduced it into the burner. While two other witnesses held the afflicted animal by head and leg [illegible]ely, he waved about its head the burning frankincense, chanting a set sacrificial chant.

782 For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

753 A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify
776 *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinns*, *jinnyat* and *Zars*. *Zars*[2] are the most accommodating, *jinns* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

782 The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the
556 deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

[1] Detailed descriptions will be found in my *Arabia Felix* (Jonathan Cape, 1932).

[2] A detailed description of the "Zar" cult as practised in Oman is given in my *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

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are given vent to by singing and running round in a circle, in time to the beating of a drum, very much in the same manner as children do. No invitations are given, and anyone may join in. No refreshments are handed round. 535 534 782

### THE MDEMA DANCE.

This also is an importation from Nyasaland (see Ki-Nyasa dance), and is danced by the slave population only, either by day or by night. It is exactly like the Ki-Nyasa dance described above, with the exception that no iron bells are strapped round the knees, and it is, if possible, of a simpler character, the Ki-Nyasa being in truth simple enough. Like the latter it is merely a vent for high animal spirits. No refreshments are given and no invitations are necessary. 534 567 782

### THE KINDIMBA.

The Kindimba is not a dance, but a musical entertainment into which enters a slight element of the mystical. It is only given by people of the slave class in fulfilment of a vow. Any person who greatly desires something or some event to come to pass makes a vow to give a Kindimba if his wish is fulfilled. 533 667 517 782

Invitations are issued to his friends by the person who is giving the entertainment, and they assemble at his house. The men and women sit together either indoors if there is room, or else in the open. Songs are sung by a leader, the other guests joining in the chorus, and clapping their hands in time to the singing, which is accompanied by a small drum called a *mgumbaro*, very like a *marwasi* (see Shebwani dance), with this difference that only one end is covered with a goat skin, while in the *marwasi* both ends are covered. The other end, which is open, is made to rest on the chest or stomach of the player, who performs upon it in that position with both hands. Hard grains of maize are placed in dry gourds of various sizes, and these are rattled in time to the singing. 533 634 782

The entertainment partakes of the nature of thanksgiving, and frivolous songs are therefore avoided. Although not exactly of a religious character, a certain amount of superstition is far from being foreign to the Kindimba.

### THE VUGO.

At a wedding, a procession of women is often formed in the evening after dark to parade the streets, and is called a Vugo. The women sing in chorus to the sound of buffalo horns beaten with short sticks. No men are allowed to take part in the procession, which is both an Arab and a Swahili custom. 533 562 585

### THE KINYAGO DANCE.[1]

This is a Swahili medicine-dance usually held outside the town in a plantation on a moonless night. No artificial lights are allowed. Swahilis who have any 535 756

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

535 756 pretensions to being medicine-men inform their friends that a Kinyago is to be danced at a certain spot on a certain night, and a crowd consequently congregates there. The medicine-men, most of whom in Malindi District apart from Giryama are of Shambala slave origin, make themselves up with the help of clothes stuffed with grass to represent certain wild animals, such as elephants, lions, etc. A ring having been made in the waiting crowd, a medicine-man thus disguised as an animal suddenly dashes from behind a convenient bush and enters the ring, where he capers about and makes a noise in imitation of the beast he represents. On getting tired he retires again behind the convenient bush, and another disguised medicine-man [533] takes his place in the ring and so on. A *msondo* drum is used, described above (see Ki-Nyasa dance). The crowd takes no part in the performance.

535 527 756 The Kinyago is, of course, a heathen dance from Nyasaland imported by slaves. It takes place usually after a good harvest, and is intended more or less as a thanksgiving to the spirits that control the rain and the abundance of food generally. It is also intended by the medicine-men to impress the people with the powers which they ascribe to themselves of being able to change the shape of their bodies into that of any wild animal. But these pretensions are not accorded much credence nowadays in the Malindi District.[1]

## NGOMA YA PEPO.

776 753 The Swahili word *pepo* 1 is the equivalent of the Arab word *jin*, or devil or evil spirit. The people inhabiting the coastal zone, both Arabs and Swahilis, believe in the existence of these beings, some of whom are considered harmless while others, entering into the human body, create various ills and pains, insensibility or sometimes a demented state accompanied by violent gestures. It is quite evident, even to a layman, that these ills are due to a disturbance of the nervous system of imaginative and highly-strung individuals. Thus one finds that the great majority of the people who get *pepo* are women.

753 533 The native cure for *pepo* is principally drumming. The natives of Africa are particularly sensitive to rhythm, pure and simple, even more so perhaps than Europeans. The rhythm of certain kinds of drumming has the effect of exciting the nerves to an ecstatic degree, while other rhythms appear to have the contrary effect upon the nervous system of Africans. It is the latter rhythms that are used as a cure for *pepo*.

This physiological effect of rhythmic drumming is, however, unknown to the nhabitants of the coastal zone, and believing as they do, that the nervous disturbance known as *pepo* is caused by the presence of evil spirits in the body, they set about propitiating the *jin* and putting him in a good temper by giving a drumming

[1] This reminds one of some of the corn dances recorded by Sir J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*; and by Professor Ridgway in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), pp. 335-374.

1 [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

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entertainment in his honour, so as to induce him to depart from the body of the person possessed. 753 776 533

The exorcising of the *pepo* is conducted by a professional man or elderly woman known as a *fundi* or *mganga* who specializes in certain kinds of *pepo*. 753 776 533

The *pepo* themselves are divided into various tribes such as the *pepo ya ki-galla*, *pepo ya ki-arabu*, *pepo ya ki-somali*, *pepo ya ki-shakini*, *pepo ya i-pemba*, *pepo ya ki-nubi*, etc., and some even are said to be like animals, such as the *pepo ya ng'ombe* and the *pepo ya punda*. Besides belonging to various tribes, the *pepo* have individual names similar to those common to human beings of the same tribe. Thus some *pepo ya ki-galla* are known as Guyo, Barsa, Godana, Galgalo, all of which are fairly common amongst the Gallas on the Tana River. 756

The *pepo* is recognised by the language it speaks through the lips of the person possessed. The *fundis* make out that the language spoken is actually Galla, Somali, Arabic, etc., but that it is an ancient form of these languages, and that no one can understand them but the *fundis* themselves. This, of course, is nonsense, as it is impossible for a person ignorant of a language to speak it suddenly and quite fluently. What actually happens is that the person possessed speaks ordinary Swahili,[1] but being in a state of high nervous tension the voice assumes an unnatural pitch, and the words are spoken indistinctly and interlarded with inarticulate sounds, so that they may be said to assume, with a stretch of imagination, either an Arab, a Somali, or any other accent, and, together with the inarticulate sounds uttered, are interpreted by the "*fundi*" as being ancient Arabic or ancient Somali, or some other ancient language.[2]

Each *fundi* has his own special set of *pepo* whom he knows by name, and to him only will such *pepo* respond. If a *fundi* is called in to attend to a possessed person, and is unable to make the *pepo* speak to him through the lips of the patient, then he knows that the *pepo* in question is not one of his set, but is a client of some other *fundi*. He then withdraws from the case, and suggests to the relations of the patient that such or such *fundi* be called in.

The first step in the treatment of a possessed person is to get the *pepo* to "come into the head" of the patient and speak to the *fundi*, the object of this being to find out from the *pepo* what would be acceptable to him as an offering in order to induce him to depart from the body of the possessed person. 753 755 756 776

The method of making the *pepo* speak is by administering *dawa*, or native medicine. The various tribes of *pepo* respond each to its particular kind of *dawa*, which in most cases consists of a decoction of roots mixed with leaves of plants found in the bush, and sometimes fresh seaweed. Each *fundi* has, of course, his own secret prescription. The mixture of roots and leaves is placed in a

[1] This is not certain.—C. W. H.

[2] For possession by spirits of other tribes, see Junod, *Les Baronga*, pp. 440, 441.

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753 765 756 776

pot and made to boil. The patient is made to sit close up to the pot, or, if possible, over it, and is then entirely covered with a sheet in such a manner as to allow as little as possible of the vapour from the pot to escape. This is practically a Turkish bath, the effect on the patient being naturally a soothing one, and on leading questions being put to the patient by the *fundi*, the *pepo* will state through the mouth of the sick person who he is and how many days' drumming he would like in order to induce him to depart and leave the patient in peace. This method of applying native medicine is used to make the *pepo* of almost all the heathen tribes respond to the *fundi*, provided, of course, that the *fundi* is the right man for that particular *pepo*, and provided the right decoction of roots and leaves is used.

If the *fundi* called in has a suspicion that the *pepo* he has to deal with belongs to a Moslem tribe, such as Arab, Somali, or Nubi, he does not employ the Turkish bath method in order to induce him to speak, but makes a mixture of camphor, musk, and saffron, with a little water, and writes with it on a plate the various attributes of Allah. By means of a little more of the mixture, the writing is carefully washed off the plate into a cup, and is given to the patient to drink. The camphor has a soothing effect, and the *pepo* then states who he is and what he wants as a propitiation.

The *fundi*, having recognised the *pepo* as one of his set, now comes to an agreement with the relations of the sick person as to the amount of the fees to be given to him. These vary according to the financial position of the relations, but generally range from 5Rs. to 10Rs. Much higher fees are sometimes given, however, and the total expenses, including the cost of the food for the *fundi*, the drummers, and the guests have been known to amount to 300Rs. The *fundi's* fees are paid after he has succeeded in getting rid of the *pepo*.

The drumming and dancing invariably take place indoors, except on the last day when the patient is practically cured, and then the dancing goes on outside the house.

The various kinds of *pepo* believed to seize people in Malindi are :—

*Pepo ya ki-galla*
*Pepo ya ki-sanya*
*Pepo ya ki-shakini*
*Pepo ya ki-rima*
*Pepo ya ki-nyika*
*Pepo ya ki-pemba*
*Pepo ya ki-habshi*
*Pepo ya ki-arabu*
*Pepo ya ki-somali*
*Pepo ya ki-nubi*
*Pepo ya Ng'ombe*
*Pepo ya Punda*

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The names of the *fundis* now practising in Malindi are as follows :— 776 756

Mohamed bin Mhaji
Make Chocho
Habiba wa Jora
Biasha wa Ali
Shaibu wa Saburi
Fundi Ali
Fundi Matano
Said wa Famao
Hussein (a police constable)
Kiranja Mhaji
Mwalim Kai

When a *fundi* has recognised a *pepo* as one of his own, and when the bargain as to the fees to be paid has been made, he sends round to all the other *fundis* and invites them to witness his efforts to exorcise the *pepo*.

New clothes must be bought for the *pepo* in all cases, and they are worn by the patient in the manner of the tribe to which the *pepo* belongs.

The following are detailed descriptions of the procedure followed in exorcising the various kinds of *pepo* who are believed to seize people in Malindi :— 776 756 782 757 171

### PEPO YA KI-GALLA.

On being called to see a sick person the *fundi* examines the patient and decides whether he is suffering from *pepo* or not. As a rule the decision is in the affirmative. He then orders a "*sadaka*" or sacrifice of food to be made. This varies according to circumstances of the patient and his relations, but it usually consists of boiled rice and goats' meat or fowl. The relations and friends of the sick person partake of this, as well as the *fundi* and his drummers. But before the meal begins, a *mwalim* or person versed in the prayers of the Koran is called in and the *fathiha—Illa kathrati el habibi Muhamad Nabbi al mustafa* is read over three times. Both prayers and feast take place just outside the house of the patient. But the women remain inside, and the food is taken in to them.

The *fundi* then goes and gets the native medicine necessary to make the *pepo* come into the head of the patient, and state what it wants as propitiation in order to induce it to leave the body of the patient. The medicine used consists of the leaves and small roots of certain trees to be found in the bush. The special kinds of trees used are professional secrets of the *fundis*, each of whom has his own prescription. Certain kinds of sea-weed gathered from coral rocks at low water are sometimes used, and these together with the roots and leaves are pounded together so as to form a paste which is mixed with water and placed in a pot to boil over a fire in the sick-room. The patient is then made to sit on a stool or native bed

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776 over the pot, or as close as possible, and is entirely covered over with a sheet so as
756 to receive all the vapour from the pot and the heat from the fire.
782
757 While this primitive method of giving a Turkish bath is being carried out, the
171 *fundi* chants an appropriate song of praise to the *pepo*, and the women, if they know the song, join in and clap their hands in time to the tune. This ceremony takes place soon after sunrise, at mid-day, and in the evening from about 7 p.m. to 8.30 or 9 p.m., each session lasting about an hour to an hour and a half, more or less. After each session the *fundi* questions the *pepo* to ascertain what *pepo* he has to deal with and what propitiation it requires, but the *pepo* may refuse to speak at once, and the same ceremonial is repeated every day up to seven days. If by that time the *pepo* has not spoken, the *fundi* usually comes to the conclusion that the *pepo* in question is not one of his clientele, and he suggests that some other *fundi* be called in.

If, however, success is attained in making the *pepo* speak through the lips of the patient, which is very often the case owing to leading questions being asked by the *fundi*, and perhaps to a certain amount of mental ascendancy on his part, to which a hypnotic element may not be foreign, arrangements are then made to fulfil the desires of the *pepo*, which invariably take the form of an *ngoma* or dance repeated every day for seven days, with or without a *pepo* feast, and a male goat to be ridden by the *pepo* on the last day of the dance.

776 Before the dancing begins, new clothes are bought for the *pepo*, and the patient
535 puts them on. If the latter is a man, a white cloth is tied round his chest and hangs
756 down to his feet and another white cloth is put over the head and shoulders in such
171 a manner as to leave only the face visible, the head and neck being covered. A pair of white cotton trousers tight at the ankle are also worn. If the patient is a woman the same clothes are worn, but the first-mentioned cloth is tied round her waist, and not round the chest as in the case of the man.

Guests are invited, both men and women, but the majority of the dancers at an *ngoma ya pepo* are women. The latter are the only ones allowed to enter the sick room, except the *fundi* and his drummers, and one or two male guests by request of the relations of the patient. The *fundi* and his drummers may also sit in the *ukumbi*, or entrance to the house, according to the wishes of the relations.

The dancing begins at eight or nine o'clock in the morning and lasts for two or three hours, or until the patient, impelled by the *pepo*, lifts his hands as a sign of having had enough for the time being. A second session takes place the same day from about 6 p.m. till 9 p.m., and so on every day till the seventh day.

535 *Pepo ya ki-galla* generally begins to take part in the dancing on the third
755 day of the dance. The patient, while still seated, begins to jerk his shoulders back-
171 wards and forwards and up and down, in time to the drumming. Then he gradually rises from his seat. A fly-switch, made from the tail of any wild animal which could be used for the purpose is placed in one hand, and a small calabash filled with leaves

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While this primitive method of giving a Turkish bath is being carried out, the
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The dancing begins at eight or nine o'clock in the morning and lasts for two or three hours, or until the patient, impelled by the *pepo*, lifts his hands as a sign of having had enough for the time being. A second session takes place the same day from about 6 p.m. till 9 p.m., and so on every day till the seventh day.

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As soon as the patient is strong enough, dark blue cotton clothes are put on him as in the manner of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*, and he then sits up, and ultimately as he gets stronger he takes part in the dancing, which is of the same style as that of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. He also wears a *shumburere* hat and a *torosi* (described in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*), and waves a fly-switch. The dance may be protracted to three weeks, as the illness is sometimes very stubborn. A person who has once suffered from *pepo ng'ombe* can never again tolerate the sight or smell of beef, whether raw or cooked, and sometimes even faints at the sight of it. 776 755 535

On being questioned as to where they come from, the *pepo ngombe* state that their home is in Guran at Bwana Manolo's. There is no country known in Malindi by this name.

Some of the names of *pepo ngombe* known in Malindi are: Darsheh wa Losinga, Darsan wa Bwana Manolo, Darwesh wa Bwana Msija, Lisiji wa Mpinde, Suta wa Bwana Darwasi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

## PEPO YA PUNDA.

This is a most serious illness, the majority of cases proving fatal. The name *pepo punda* is due to the noises which the patient makes, and which may be assimilated, with a good stretch of imagination, to the braying of a donkey. There is, however, no similarity at all, the noises made by the patient being merely hollow groans of pain, for the disease is extremely painful, and from the symptoms there is no doubt whatever that the *pepo punda* is tetanus. 776 755

The patient cannot speak. No drumming or dancing is allowed. Native medicine only is given to drive out the *pepo*. This medicine consists of a mixture of the following ingredients: *koto* (a root imported from Arabia), *udi-il-karah* (an astringent wood from Arabia), *arkisus* (a wood with a taste like pepper, from Arabia), *habbasoda* (a small seed like a cummin seed, but black, from Arabia), *khardal-filfil* (a root from Arabia with a taste like mustard), common black pepper, *yayi leusi* (a seed like blasting powder with a bitter taste, from Arabia), mustard seed, garlic, *shimari* (a seed like cummin seed), *zatari* (dried aromatic leaves imported from Arabia), also the horn or hoof of a black cow pounded up to powder. All these ingredients are boiled together and given to the unfortunate patient to drink. 278 767

A piece of hard wood scraped clean is placed between the teeth so as to allow of his being given medicine after the lower jaw has become rigid. 776 755

As soon as the spine of the sick person becomes arched, a fire is lighted in the sick room. A mixture is then made from donkey's dung, dog's excreta, garlic, *mouge*, (assafœtida), sulphur and *sunduna* (a black kind of seaweed). All this is made into a paste by the addition of castor-oil, and lumps of it are cast on to the fire, from

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in the middle of the night? Will they be able to do anything for our patient? We stand, like beggars, in front of the house allotted to us, waiting for an answer to our knocks and shouts. The painful uncertainty does not, however, last for long, for the owner of the house opens the door and gives immediate instructions for a part of the roof to be cleared for us, and the village medicine-woman is summoned. Whilst awaiting her arrival, we cut open the dark-blue poisoned spot[1] with a pocket-knife in order to suck out some of the poison. The old woman arrives and we are glad to leave the treatment to her expert knowledge; she rubs the wound with garlic and before long the pain is somewhat less acute. Meanwhile, our host and the male members of his family have brought everything that we need, and we lay our tired heads down that evening with a feeling of great gratitude and forget our troubles. We learn yet again, under the care of our Ḥaḍramī host, that it is a sacred duty imposed by religion itself to receive hospitably the traveller who, passing by night, should knock at the door. The whole caravan crouches together in brotherly fashion on the roof-terrace. A huge amount of food is prepared by our *muqaddam*, who himself likes good food and plenty of it, as do most of the Bedouins who are with us and have only come for the reward of free meals. We enjoy many glasses of hot, weak tea with lemon, with which we eat some dates and biscuits. It is long past midnight before our brown travelling companions, replete with food and after much talk and quarrelling, at last lay themselves down to sleep.

## 5. FUGHMA AND THEN THE HEART'S DESIRE OF EVERY ḤAḌRAMĪ.

On June 1st we set off early; it is barely five o'clock when the caravan leaves es-Sōm, which is just awakening from sleep. One is forced to get up directly after sunrise in this country, where everyone sleeps in the open air. We can see

1 [from a scorpion's bite --Analyst]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



people had a remedy which they unanimously declared to be unfailing, namely, a large spoonful of fine pepper. I conquered my distrust and managed to get down half a spoonful. The cure was not so immediate as my medical advisers had expected, but I was at least able to go on with the caravan in the afternoon, and we left that unhealthy spot with a sigh of relief. 757

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2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



701 the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts
702 in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The
[743] force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making.
875 The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys; district schools
758 have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dis-
731 pensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these
657 places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

871 A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school. A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants
759 and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

000 So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their
[275] request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

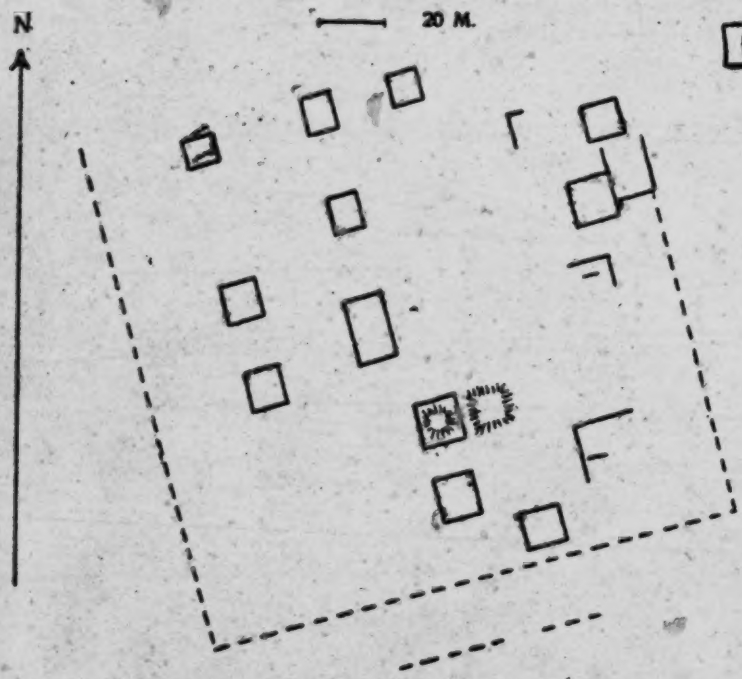
609 As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a com-
771 munity which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was
648 always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my
000 duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

24 Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



us on the return journey, many disappointments would most certainly have been spared us.

Our help had been asked for by several sick old women




RUINS OF GHEBŪN. SOUTHERN BUILDINGS.

and men in el-Meshhed, and we now returned there. There is much surprise when we refuse to give medicine for a *sherifa* (the daughter of a sayyid), because we are not allowed to see the patient.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



on a hill. Whilst we photograph, survey and sketch, we feel as if our narrow standing-place were swaying gently to and fro. It is unpleasant to contemplate that we are so high above the level of the ground, standing on a slender tower made of almost nothing but dried mud.

## 5. SMALL RUINS OUTSIDE TERĪM.

In the evening, during the family motor drive, when the el-Kāfs and their set ride in slow procession through the gardens of Terīm and the baked plains of stone that lie outside it, a hill in the midst of Wādī ʿĒdīd is pointed out to us, which is said to have associations dating from the ʿĀd epoch. From a certain distance an old, paved high road is clearly visible, leading to the summit of the hill, where a temple must have stood. Only loose stones with mortar between them are now to be seen on the hill; at its base there are the remains of foundations of buildings, which seem to point to a guest-house with many small rooms. For the people of Terīm these ruins have an odour of sanctity; a similar hill, close by, is used by childless women as a place of worship, where they have to perform certain nocturnal rites by means of which they hope to have children.

## 6. A WALK THROUGH THE TOWN.

On the following day, May 28th, we go with the doctor to see his house and clinic. This pioneer of western medical science has no easy time here; the people still cling to their own ideas as to the functions of the human body and the causes of illness. They think that there are three chief causes of sickness, namely *riyāḥ* (gasses in the blood), *burūda* (cold), and *ḥarāra* (heat). They say of foods that they make the body cold or hot, or cause or disperse flatulence. Even the men of standing talk about their ailments in this terminology

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



753 and our doctor has had to adapt himself temporarily to it and
758 to fixed wishes regarding diet, in anticipation of the growth of better understanding and more trust. The result of his work as the first and only doctor in all Ḥaḍramaut is not as great as one would expect. Sayyid Abū Bakr himself is not yet sufficiently convinced of the value of western medical art to allow the never ending outlay on medicines and instruments for the expert help of the doctor. The first nurse in Terīm was an Arab from one of the African coast towns, who missed his cinema and café so much that he speedily fled from the place of banishment, to return to the towns where he could enjoy the blessings of western civilization. Thus the doctor has all the work again on his own hands.

743 An enormous mud building has been placed at his disposal. In it he lives, has his pharmacy, the polyclinic and the beginnings of an operating-room. Further, one of the young el-Kāfs, who was assistant to an Egyptian dentist who formerly worked here for some months, has a room where, equipped with modern instruments, he practises dentistry.

164 According to the doctor, Ḥaḍramaut seems to be a healthy country. Among the lower classes there is, however, a good deal of eye disease, and it is also true that malaria makes its appearance in the autumn. What will be the eventual outcome of this beginning of medical help will depend on the tact and devotion and staying-power of the young doctor.

312 After this we go with the doctor on a walking tour to see the sights of the town of Terīm. First of all, naturally, we visit the remains of old Terīm, on the borders of the residential area of the town; it consists of a bare low hill on whose top stand the ruins of the once great and mighty castle. There are always wells for drinking-water in castles of this kind. These wells are very deep as they are in the inner courtyard of the castles and are, consequently, dug from the summit of the hill. From this ruined castle one had a good view over
346 Terīm so rich in mosques, palaces and . . . graves. The popular report in Ḥaḍramaut is that the town possesses 360 mos-

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



871 under the auspices of the British Council. At the end of 1950 five Hadhrami students at Bin Khaldun School in Syria gained the first five places in the final class results for the year.

Twenty-two Qu'aiti pupils are now studying outside the Hadhramaut, nine being in the Sudan, five in Syria, four in Egypt and four in Iraq. The scholars in the Sudan are being financed by the Qu'aiti Government, while the remainder are being paid for from the Mukalla Charitable Fund. There are seven Kathiri students abroad, two being in Iraq, and five in Syria. Two of these students are being financed by their parents, while the rest are supported by the Tarim Brotherhood.

## HEALTH

### *Western Aden Protectorate*

744 Two outstanding developments have characterised the growth of the Protectorate Medical Service in 1949 and 1950. First, the ten most promising dressers were called in from their tribes in the mountains, deserts, valleys and coasts of the Protectorate for a year's course in curative and preventive medicine at the Keith Falconer Hospital, Sheikh Othman. Secondly, the first major malaria control scheme has been successfully undertaken at Abyan. This area which was once a death-trap due to malaria is now virtually rid of the anopheline mosquito. This enterprise was financed by a grant under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1949 and has subsequently been carried on by local funds.

Major tours were made to the Dhala', Dathina and Beihan areas besides the usual routine visits to the twenty dispensaries.

164 Malaria, dysentery, tuberculosis and malignant malnutrition with its
743 associated conditions remain the most prevalent diseases. Trachoma is very prevalent at the desert end of Beihan. There is very wide scope
758 for nurses and lady doctors who can stand the rigours of the road, who will learn Arabic and who will take to heart the welfare of the women and children. On the whole the dressers are doing a good piece of work amongst their own tribes. There are six dispensaries between 3,000 and 5,000 feet up, three dispensaries in the mountains at 7,000 ft. or more—two of which are reached on foot and one by air—and the rest are in Subeihi, the Wadi Tiban, Abyan and the coast.

Many patients come too late for treatment, but after one has seen the difficulties of the roads it is astonishing that so many of them come at all, and it is for this reason that the dressers visit the villages from their dispensaries and the medical officer and nursing sister visit all areas as much as possible.

744 Recently a visit was made to Mukalla and Sai'un to advise about public health work, but the demands of the Western Aden Protectorate are so great and the staff so small for its needs that there is little time left for the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In 1949 when the Protectorate Medical Officer was on leave, Dr. R. B. Smith, of the Keith Falconer Scottish Mission Hospital, acted in an honorary but full-time capacity.

Colonial government. Five physicians were working in the eastern protectorate; one in the western. H A 759

Dentists. In 1950, there were 3 dentists in Aden, one of whom was employed on the government's school health program.

## DISEASES

The statistics compiled from the reports of cases of illness and death in the Colony are apt to give an erroneous impression of the health status of the local inhabitants, since a considerable proportion of the cases treated in hospitals and dispensaries are immigrants from Yemen or the Protectorate. Large numbers enter the Colony each year as transient laborers or traders, while others seek medical attention which is nonexistent in their home communities. The majority are undernourished and live in miserable, crowded quarters under conditions which facilitate the spread of infection. Morbidity and fatality rates in the immigrant population are abnormally high, and affect adversely the health statistics of the Colony as a whole. In the absence of adequate laboratory facilities, the diagnosis of many diseases is necessarily provisional, and the differentiation of various types of infection is seldom made. Moreover, from 10 to 15 per cent of the deaths are usually recorded under the heading "other fevers." A 164 167 464 A 464 511 167 A [165]

The health facilities in the Protectorate are of recent origin, and although dispensaries have been established in increasing numbers within the last two decades, they are elementary and serve only a small fraction of the population. The meager information derived from the reports of a few medical observers who have toured sections of the interior and from records of admissions to the hospitals in Aden permits scarcely more than rough generalizations as to the prevalence and the distribution of specific diseases among the peoples of the Protectorate. The diseases of primary concern in this area are malaria, tuberculosis, dysentery and eye and skin infections, all H 758 H 464

619 He is no longer apt to be shot at by Government soldiers and he brings his troubles to the Government. The provincial governors and the district 647 heads are better men and better paid than they used to be and all new candidates have courses of instruction before appointment. There are 692 systems of State and tribal courts which are becoming more and more 619 effective. There is a special department of bedouin affairs which is staffed entirely by Hadhrami tribesmen; five or six years ago no Hadhrami tribesmen were employed in any positions of responsibility.

759 As regards social services, in 1934 there was one doctor, mainly for the Sultan though he ran a public dispensary, and medical services cost Rs. 5,500 657 a year: in 1944 the sum voted was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary 652 services. There was an establishment of four doctors, and a State hospital 748 for fifty in-patients was being built in Mukalla.

In 1934 education cost Rs. 6,000 and about three hundred boys received 871 some sort of schooling. In 1944 Rs. 1,054,000 was provided. The number of boys in primary Government schools on the coast has increased to about 652 seventeen hundred. There were between a hundred and thirty and a 657 hundred and forty girls in the new Mukalla girls' school, and an inter- 658 mediate boarding school, assisted by the British Council and a grant from His Majesty's Government, had been started with about eighty boys. As part of the famine relief measures, children were brought down from the Hadhramaut and have now been taken over by the Qu'aiti State which bought a village outside Mukalla and is now housing three hundred boys [674] and girls in it. A wall enclosing garden land has been built round it and the children work the garden and are apprenticed to various local trades. They are given a modest schooling and it is hoped that they will also be taught by means of a village council to run their own village.

658 Another State educational experiment owes its impetus mainly to the enthusiasm of the young men of Mukalla. A number of young men have 871 gone through a course organized by the Education Department in how to teach illiterate adults to read and write. These teachers compiled a coolies' vocabulary of seven hundred words or so and when I left were about to teach coolies from the Hadhramaut, who had come seeking for work at the coast on account of the famine, how to write the language they speak, a sort of basic Arabic. There are schemes for producing a small newspaper in this simplified form of speech and for developing some public-health consciousness.

701 What little the State could do towards the war effort it has done. It provided a company for guard duties in Aden while the Italians were in 648 the war. It has raised a Pioneer Company for service in the Middle East Command. It has guarded the R.A.F. aerodromes in the State and pro- [712] vided coastal guards. The Public Works Department has built an R.A.F. station at about a third of the cost expected. It has landed and handled a great quantity of R.A.F. stores. In addition, at the outbreak of war when the surplus balance was about Rs. 80,000, it contributed Rs. 20,000 for 648 general war purposes, and Hadhramis at home and abroad subscribed to a

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making. The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys: district schools have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dispensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

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5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



*Liaison*

In the first half of 1947 the post of Protectorate Education Officer was filled, a post which had been vacant for a year. This Officer's duties include tours of inspection throughout the Protectorate, and advice and assistance, through the British Agents, where required. 647

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate advance was somewhat hampered by the absence of the Sudani Adviser for the greater part of the year on leave. However, estimates for grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act were prepared and despatched; these include schemes for enlarging the Intermediate School at Gheil Ba Wazir and for primary schools for the Kathiri State and Wahidi area. A number of scholarships for Hadhramis were given by the Governments of Syria, Egypt and Iraq. 658 648

## HEALTH

*Medical Report for the Western Aden Protectorate*

His Majesty's Government finance a small medical service in the Western Aden Protectorate. The area covered is large, communications are poor and access to many parts is difficult. In consequence only a small proportion of the population, who are in great need of health services, can be visited and treated. Nevertheless, 16 dispensaries are maintained at strategic points in the Protectorate. New dressers are given instruction in hygiene and elementary medicine and nursing care, and are then sent out to open up new areas or to work with more senior dressers in the established dispensaries. They have to deal with diseases common to all races. Certain tropical diseases such as schistosomiasis and dysentery are very prevalent. 743 759 164

Drought and the vagaries of the climate also play their part in undermining the health of the inhabitants. The third year of drought in Sublihi country undoubtedly had an effect on the prevalence of tuberculosis, dental caries and vitamin deficiency diseases in that area. 731

Apart from the dispensaries in the Protectorate, the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital in Sheik Othman which trains the dispensers also welcomes up-country patients. More would come than do at present if ignorance and superstition did not prevail in the Protectorate. Again, for many the road to the hospital is physically difficult and it is certain that they come only as a last resort and after long deliberation. In consequence doctors do all they can to visit the dispensaries as frequently as possible and to spend adequate time at each one to treat the sick, and to give instructions to dressers to keep them up to date. 743

*Famine Relief*

During 1947 the situation in the Hadhramaut continued to improve. At the beginning of the year there were 1,112 persons being fed in the kitchens, which were closed by the end of March, leaving only Malja—a relief centre for those incapable of work—whose 716 inmates in March were gradually reduced to 227 in December. Nuqra dam, the major famine relief work undertaken, was finished in June. Remittances 735 [312] 008

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of 000
religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past 178
in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protec- 771
torate. Any development of education initiated by Government had
therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, 212
there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people 875
who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom
this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and
obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the
people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply
of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the
biggest problem in Protectorate education to-day.

## HEALTH

### *Western Aden Protectorate*

The development of the Protectorate Medical Service was rather 759
upset in the past three years by numerous changes of senior medical
staff. However, one advantage came from this, namely that in the
drawing up of a plan for future development, co-operative help and
advice was given by every doctor and nurse who ever worked in the
Protectorate.

At the beginning of the year, a three-month course was given for new
tribal dressers, who were posted to work under senior dressers in the
Protectorate.

It is estimated that in the course of the year 50,000 patients were 743
treated in the 18 dispensaries. Malaria, dysentery, schistosomiasis and 164
tuberculosis were the four most prevalent diseases. Obstetrical problems
and gynaecology offer a very large field for research. Owing to customs [562]
necessitating the seclusion of women any estimate of these problems is
pure conjecture. In spite of these restrictions, the Medical Officer
attended a great many during his visits, especially in Beihan at the very
edge of " the empty quarter " of Arabia. A number of those who other-
wise would never receive surgical treatment were flown down to the
hospital at Aden. Venereal disease was unfortunately on the increase in
Abyan, where crowds of people of all kinds came to find work in the
agricultural project there.

Many visits including some of several days duration were paid by
the Medical Officer to the various dispensaries in the Protectorate during
which between 4,000 and 5,000 selected patients were treated. Besides
those patients who found their own way down to hospital in Aden,
150 or more were brought down on the Protectorate Medical Officer's
recommendation.

## HOUSING

The settled Western Aden Protectorate population is housed for the 342
main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under
camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm
huts, and even under matting placed over
vegetation or trees.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



A case of smallpox in Audhali area was immediately and effectively dealt with by Dr. Affara, also from the Keith Falconer Scottish Mission Hospital, and 4,500 people were vaccinated. 744 751

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

In the Eastern Protectorate, advances in medical and public health services were retarded in early 1949 by lack of staff. It was not until late in 1950 that the staff situation was relieved by the arrival of a medical officer from India for the Kathiri State and of a German lady doctor from Germany for Shibam. 744

With the obvious exception of cases of scurvy and malnutrition during the famine of 1949, there was a very mild outbreak of small-pox in Mukalla in February and March, 1949, and sporadic outbreaks of malaria in particular in the coastal areas, and the health of the population has been reasonably good in the past two years. [164]

Stringent and vigorous anti-malarial measures were started in January, 1950. All pools, including the source of water supply in the vicinity of Mukalla and Shihr were oiled or stocked with larvae-consuming fish, and water collecting tanks were closed and cleaned out weekly.

An additional sanitary inspector in Mukalla was appointed during 1950.

In October, 1950, Dr. R. B. Smith, Acting Protectorate Medical Officer, was invited to visit Eastern Aden Protectorate and his recommendations on the best methods of improving and safe-guarding public health are being implemented.

In November, 1950, four soldiers of the Mukalla Regular Army and two of the Kathiri Armed Constabulary proceeded to the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital, Sheikh Othman, on an anti-malarial course for three months. 744 759

## HOUSING

No greater contrast could be imagined than exists in the houses of the Aden Protectorate. 342

The most elementary are the goat-hair tents of the nomadic people, and the even more primitive shelters of some shepherds, consisting only of a mat hung on poles, or spread over a branch of a bush.

The simplest form of house for the settled population, or those who stay for some period in a place to work at harvest time, is a kind of inverted nest of brush-wood, with a little matting incorporated in places. This provides privacy and shelter from the sun, though not of course from rain if it falls, or from the all-pervading dust storms.

The most common type of permanent house is built of mud-brick in the plains and rough stones bound with mud in the hill districts, and more rarely of squared stones. Rooms are generally small (long timber being very scarce) and dark, affording a relief from the glare outside; ventilation is usually adequate and the thick walls provide

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



000 remedies and sulphamezathine in small containers with instructions in Arabic.

*Organisation and Policy*

647 The health administration has a triple aspect: (a) co-ordination
743 and standardisation in the interests of efficiency, (b) direction of activities financed by Her Majesty's Government, that is health work
759 among States with as yet no health services of their own, and (c) advice and practical help to administrations with health services and doctors in their own employment.

There is a Health Adviser, with headquarters in Mukalla (Eastern Protectorate) and a sub-headquarters in the West at Sheikh Othman, and two Protectorate Medical Officers, one for the East and one for the West. The Protectorate Medical Officer and a nursing sister-midwife have been lent by the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital and are paid for by Her Majesty's Government.

In the West the Fadhli and Lower Yafa'i States have a joint health service under the control of a Health Board on which is represented the Abyan Board (the local agricultural development body), which contributes to the health service budget and is building a base hospital associated with a health service training centre for the Western Protectorate. The health service has a Senior Medical Officer in executive charge. Lahej State has a hospital half built and has budgetted for a doctor in the near future.

In the East the Qu'aiti health service has a Senior Medical Officer based on Mukalla Hospital and responsible for the Southern Qu'aiti District, and one woman doctor based on the newly built Shibam Hospital in the Wadi Hadhramaut and responsible for the Northern Qu'aiti District. The Kathiri health service has a Senior Medical Officer based on Sai'un in the Wadi Hadhramaut. The Wahidi health service came into being in 1952 and has an embryo hospital building. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri States have State Health Boards. Good progress is being made with the provision of accommodation, staff and equipment at Mukalla Hospital, which is to be a health service training centre and base hospital for the Eastern Protectorate.

Each hospital has a system of administratively dependent health units staffed by literate personnel who are being increasingly trained in preventive and therapeutic skills. The Keith Falconer Hospital of the Church of Scotland Mission at Sheikh Othman continues for the present, as it has been for the past 25 years, as the administrative and training base for most of these health units in the Western Protectorate. It is the intention to transfer these functions gradually to the local administrations. Mobile health units are based on Sheikh Othman in the West and Mukalla in the East.

*Work by Voluntary Bodies*

743 Church of Scotland and Danish Mission sisters and midwives have
741 established clinics at Dathina, Abyan, and Beihan. The Aden Society for the Blind late in 1952 carried out a small but valuable survey and treatment campaign in the Western Protectorate.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MN2

# Appendix: Aden Protectorate Health Service

759

STAFF

| Category | Her Majesty's Government | Fadhli & Lower Yafa'i | Qu'aiti | Kathiri | Wahidi | Non-Government | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Doctors | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | — | 1 | 10 |
| Nursing Sisters and Midwives | 1 | — | — | — | — | 3 | 4 |
| Technical Assistants (Hospital, pharmacy, laboratory, etc.) | 2 | — | 10 | — | — | — | 12 |
| Health Assistants | 29 | 8 | 19 | 8 | 4 | — | 68 |
| Senior Health Inspectors | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | 2 |
| Health Inspectors and Overseers | — | 1 | 9 | 2 | — | — | 12 |
| Head Sick Attendants | — | — | 2 | 1 | — | — | 3 |
| Sick Attendants | — | — | 15 | 3 | — | — | 18 |
| Health Technicians (trained sprayers) | — | 6 | 6 | — | — | — | 12 |
| Ancillary Staff (clerk, driver, etc.) | 9 | 4 | 4 | 1 | — | — | 18 |

*N.B.*—Sanitation labour, such as sweepers, is not included.

652

EXPENDITURE

| Service | 1951–52 Capital | 1951–52 Recurrent | 1952–53 Capital | 1952–53 Recurrent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Her Majesty's Government‡ | 4,250 | 11,573 | 5,340 | 15,114 |
| Fadhli–Lower Yafa'i Health Service | 3,600 | 9,331 | 1,100† | 14,403 |
| Lahej State | — | not known | 300 | 1,185 |
| Amiri State | — | 60 | — | 150 |
| Shaib State* | — | 140 | 300 | — |
| Audhali State* | — | not known | 250 | 50 |
| Dathina State* | — | — | 50 | 200 |
| Beihan State | — | — | — | 300 |
| Upper Aulaqi State | — | — | — | 5 |
| Qu'aiti State | 262 | 11,405 | 1,987 | 14,261 |
| Kathiri State | — | 2,424 | 300 | 2,582 |
| Wahidi States* | — | 14 | 360 | 280 |
| TOTAL | 8,112 | 34,947 | 9,987 | 48,530 |

* These figures are approximate.

† In addition the Abyan Board is building a hospital at Makhzan for £20,000 as a free service to the joint State Health Service.

‡ Estimates. Actual total expenditure by H.M.G. amounted to £14,036 in 1951–52 and £16,110 in 1952–53.

Against the walls there are cushions on which to recline. The ugly modernity of mirrors fixed into the ceiling has been introduced into el-Bārr's house. Also, the old Ḥaḍramī colours of rust-red, black and white, which harmonize so well with the brown wood and with the lighter brown mud, have had some ugly new ones added to them.

In order to give pleasure to the family we take some more photographs of grown-ups and children. The household slaves and their jet-black children are with us in the *madjlis*; they serve round coffee and tea and many sweets, and talk with us, but nevertheless remain modestly in the background.

One can see from the many negro types in the streets and plantations that there are a great many slaves in Wādī Dō'an. They are employed for work on the land and as domestic servants.

In the afternoon we did what we could to treat a great number of patients, who came to us to ask for medicines or to have wounds and ulcers attended to. We could do little, however; and what, in any case, is the use of but one treatment? In all Ḥaḍramaut and its surroundings there is only one doctor with a western training. It is again the progressive Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf who has got this young Indian doctor to come here, but his work lies in far-away Terīm. The rich go sometimes to Aden to consult a doctor, and the Mission Hospital at Shēkh 'Uthmān near Aden is also known to a few.

Towards evening I stroll with Sayyid 'Aluwī to Qāret Āl el-Miḥḍār, half an hour distant, where lives Sayyid Muṣṭafā bin Aḥmad el-Miḥḍār, to whom we have a letter from the Vizier at Makalla. Our reception is particularly friendly. The old sayyid has seen something of the world, and he compares life in Wādī Dō'an to sleep, which is something like death. I am urged to talk constantly and the atmosphere grows so friendly that he takes me with him to his other and larger house and shows me all over it, having first, with his own hands, shut in his young wives behind bolted doors and hung the keys on his belt. The wives take their revenge by having a good look at the stranger from the flat roof!

ADEN MMI
HADHRAMAUT MM2

sistent progress in breaking down the prejudices of the Arab community. In 1950, a venereal disease treatment center functioned in the Civil Hospital, and a second center at the mission hospital was subsidized by the government. In that year, small dispensaries were conducted in Aden by the Sudan Interior Mission and the Danish Church Mission, and two clinics were operated by private physicians.

A H 743

Two small hospitals, with a combined total of 60 beds, were located at Mukalla and Ash Shihr, in Eastern Aden Protectorate, in 1950. A child welfare center was organized in Mukalla, while 15 dispensaries were active in scattered towns in the coastal region and the Hadhramaut. Eighteen dispensaries were in operation in different parts of Western Aden Protectorate.

**Laboratories.** The principal medical laboratory is that of the Civil Hospital at Crater, in Aden township. It is equipped for the performance of clinical, serologic and microscopic examinations. Clinical laboratory facilities are also available at the mission hospital.

A 742

**Schools.** There are no schools for the training of medical personnel, but government scholarships are provided for professional study and for postgraduate work at schools in the eastern Mediterranean countries or in the United Kingdom.

A H 874 658

In 1948, a course designed to improve the standards in midwifery was started at the Maternity and Child Welfare Clinic at Crater. Practical training in nursing is given to men and to a limited number of girls at the Civil Hospital. The Keith Falconer Mission Hospital undertakes the training of medical assistants for work in the dispensaries in Western Aden Protectorate.

## Personnel

**Physicians.** The number of civilian physicians practicing in the Colony totaled 26 in 1950. Nine medical officers and 13 assistant medical officers were affiliated with the Medical and Health Department of the

H A 759

ADEN MMI
HADHRAMAUT MMZ

Colonial government. Five physicians were working in the eastern protectorate; one in the western. H A 759

Dentists. In 1950, there were 3 dentists in Aden, one of whom was employed on the government's school health program.

## DISEASES

The statistics compiled from the reports of cases of illness and death in the Colony are apt to give an erroneous impression of the health status of the local inhabitants, since a considerable proportion of the cases treated in hospitals and dispensaries are immigrants from Yemen or the Protectorate. Large numbers enter the Colony each year as transient laborers or traders, while others seek medical attention which is nonexistent in their home communities. The majority are undernourished and live in miserable, crowded quarters under conditions which facilitate the spread of infection. Morbidity and fatality rates in the immigrant population are abnormally high, and affect adversely the health statistics of the Colony as a whole. In the absence of adequate laboratory facilities, the diagnosis of many diseases is necessarily provisional, and the differentiation of various types of infection is seldom made. Moreover, from 10 to 15 per cent of the deaths are usually recorded under the heading "other fevers." A 164 167 464 A 464 511 167 A [165]

The health facilities in the Protectorate are of recent origin, and although dispensaries have been established in increasing numbers within the last two decades, they are elementary and serve only a small fraction of the population. The meager information derived from the reports of a few medical observers who have toured sections of the interior and from records of admissions to the hospitals in Aden permits scarcely more than rough generalizations as to the prevalence and the distribution of specific diseases among the peoples of the Protectorate. The diseases of primary concern in this area are malaria, tuberculosis, dysentery and eye and skin infections, all H 758 H 164

p. 245 (B)

484 and we were in country with which there had been practically no contact
It must really have been alarming to the Badawin: a noisy party in lorries
which they had not seen before, and ourselves in cars, shouting directions to
[486] each other in the night and firing Verey lights to show each other the way;
but the Badawin materialized out of the darkness, most surprisingly without
rifles, directed us time and again on our way, and pushed our cars out of
the sand.

880 After Thukmein, which we left about half-past eleven, we had no great
difficulty in moving on as the moon was up. We drove on for some hours
and then stopped to let the rest of the party come up. It was bitterly cold and
the keen wind cut through us as we huddled together trying to sleep on the
sand, but we did sleep and woke to a marvellous dawn. The sunset of the
night before, the brilliant moon, and the sunrise are three enduring memories
of that night.

The four flat-topped hills of Al 'Abr lay about 10 miles ahead of us, and
although only one of the lorries had come on, the other having had one of its
many breakdowns, we decided to go on. It was marvellous hard sand on
which a speed of fifty was easy and we had quickly left the lorry behind.
We made our way into the wadi bed, myself acting as guide as I was the only
one who knew the country even from the air. There were one or two Bureiki
Sheikhs about with camels, and rather reluctantly they told us that the
'Abdulla bin 'Aun were also there with the camels. A few minutes' driving
up the hard wadi brought us to the ruins of the fort, said by the Al 'Abdulla
bin 'Aun to have been built by them.

619 The dozen or so Badawin round the well looked extremely surprised when
[291] the car drew up. I suppose they were hardly awake, as the morning was still
chilly and they were all wearing their sheepskin coats. A few Bureiki Sheikhs
came down and bade us welcome. All the rest of the Badawin claimed to
belong to every tribe except the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun. Some said they were
Sheikhs, some claimed to be Daham, a Yemeni tribe, and some Nahd, but
there were a good many shifty looks and in the course of the morning we
sorted out nine who had given themselves away and who finally admitted to
belonging to this raiding section. There are only forty-three males all told
of the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun, but from the amount of trouble they had given in
619 the past it was well worth getting them under control. They have no houses
361 or settled habitation and are about the only people of the Hadhramaut who
342 have goatskin tents. They are part of the Al Hatim, but Bin Mulhi, their
chief, says he has no control over them and the Sei'ar themselves were delighted
when we took hostages from them and put in a garrison, whose function is
to protect the travellers and not to interfere in other ways.

Presently the lorries came up and I installed the wireless and settled the
342 garrison into temporary quarters. There was nothing at Al 'Abr except the
764 ruined fort of which only one wall still stood, a small stone *murabba'a*, one of
the dark cube-shaped shelters used by travellers all over the Hadhramaut,
and a hut built of branches of trees and grass of which there was a great
profusion. There was also a new *weli's* tomb decorated with ibex horns, and
one of the Bureiki Sheikhs took us there and slapping the tomb addressed its
880 lately canonized occupant and introduced us. We put the garrison into the

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764

Makalla. The tongue of land with the cemetery.

See page 13.

p. 16 (A)

was deeply disappointed. In this land the hurry of Europeans is neither understood nor valued. One has plenty of time oneself, and the Arabian proverb: "Patience and waiting are of the All Merciful, but haste is of Satan", is carried into practice. When Shēkh Elmās poured coals of fire on our heads by insisting that we should take his coat in place of one of our own, which had been torn in pushing the car, we departed with fresh wonder at Arabian hospitality.

It was already dark when we arrived at the frontier of the Makalla territory. The Bedouins were still lying in ambush, waiting for the foe, small fires were burning in their camp among the rocks, and the look-outs were posted close beside the road. We were under the protection of the *Dōla*, and the latter had only to fear attack from the Ḥumūmī.

### 7. THE LAST DAYS OF WAITING IN MAKALLA.

In Makalla it appeared that preparations for our departure were really advancing. Nevertheless we had to have patience for yet another day, as everything must be in good order. The Vizier told us that we should only be able to travel by day, as the ground was too difficult for night-journeys. "He who has not yet seen the mountains of Ḥaḍramaut has not yet learned what *real mountains* are."

So we had one day more in which to enlarge our acquaintance with the town, visit divers officials and, after that, climb the rocks behind the town, to collect plants and insects and to lay the foundation for the map of our itinerary.

The Vizier, Sayyid Abū Bakr, lives in the centre of the town, at the base of the tongue of land where, formerly, the Sultan also lived. The promontory turns out to be occupied, for the greater part, by the cemetery, in the centre of which is a fine *qubba* dedicated to Shēkh Yaʿqūb, the patron saint of Makalla. The *ithl*[1] trees spoken of by earlier travellers no longer exist, and the cemetery has now no green whatsoever.

[1] *Ithl* or *athl* (اثل), *tamarix nilotica* Ehrenb., cf. L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 90, 306; G. Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 172, 174.

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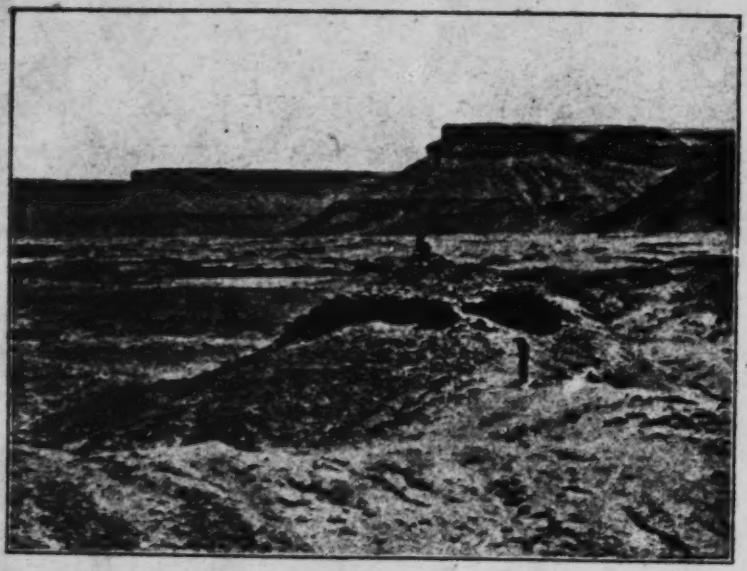

The "Graves of the Kings".

342

The el-ʿAṭṭās house in Ḫurēḍa.

p88 (B)

See pages 86 and 90.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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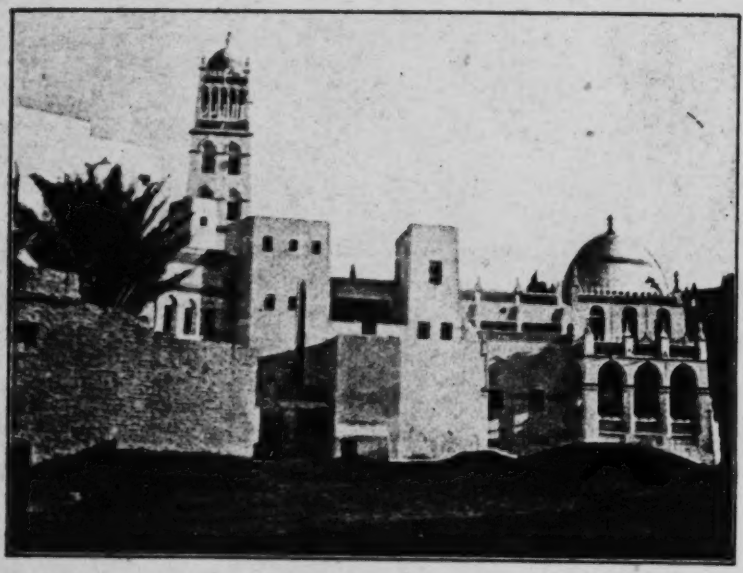

The principal mosque of Ḥurēḍa.

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38. The cemetery of Ḥurēḍa.

p88(c)

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

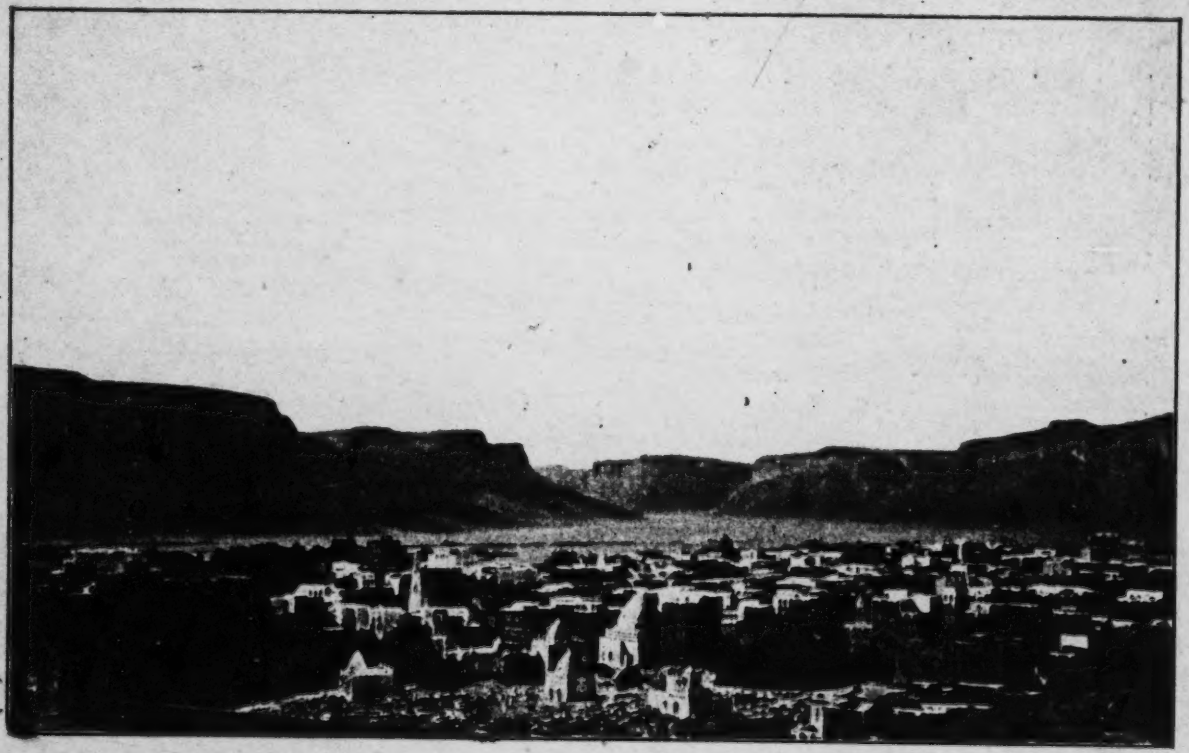


terrace of ʿIzz ed-Dīn, with the moon-lit tops of the palm-trees all around and the star-lit sky of Arabia above, are unforgettable.

On May 25th the Sultan invites us to a motor drive through the gardens of Sēwūn. The two cars pass slowly between mud walls enclosing gardens; the white summer residences in the midst of palm-trees are hidden from the gaze of the inquisitive. Then, in order to get a good view of beautiful Sēwūn, we were taken as far as the mountain-wall, where we climbed a hill on the slopes of the rock débris. The city, which lies at the foot of the mountain-wall, gleams white and thus gives a prosperous impression. On the highest point stands, wide and tall, the palace of the Sultan, one of the best examples of Ḥaḍramī palace architecture that we came across. Only the roof-terraces, with the rooms built upon them, are entirely white. The rest of the buildings has two white bands on a line with the windows, whilst the ventilation openings are framed in white. The corners of the edifice, which is long and rectangular, are fortified by round turrets. The heavy mud walls are thinner above than below and, consequently, the outer walls are not perpendicular, but slope inwards, which strengthens the impression of power and beauty in the building. The palace rises up from walled-in terraces, on which are gatehouses, powder magazines, stables and soldiers' quarters. At a little distance lies the graceful palace, entirely white, but somewhat smaller, of the Sultan of Terīm.

The cemetery is situated nearly in the centre of the town and has five graves of *walīs* with graceful *qubbas* in their honour. Several white minarets rise out of the sea of houses of the city, reminding us that Sēwūn was once famous as a seat of religion and learning. Schools were habitually connected with the mosques and that is still the case with their scanty remnants. Surrounding the city is a wide border of palm-groves, with the white of summer residences dotting it here and there. Those of the es-Saqqāf family are noticeable for their number and their size.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (193)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Sēwūn with the cemetery in the foreground.

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P124 (C)

000 before we got our caravan on the move. A disappointment of this kind does not improve the mental atmosphere, especially before one has learnt to know one's followers. Distrust of the honesty of their promise to do all in their power, and the overwhelming desire to go quickly forward on account of the scantiness and bad quality of our food bred in us a mood of tension and exhaustion.

133 312 712 The mountain scenery through which we passed became gorgeous. The geological strata were clearly visible in the walls of the dry river-beds through which our path ran. Before us was a lofty chain of granite mountains like a huge wall with sharp peaks and jagged tops. It grew very warm among those bare rock-walls where we had to climb laboriously over sharp, slippery ground. To one side of the path was a brackish spring of whose water even the animals refused to drink. We mounted towards the high mountain-pass which our people called Hūta. The remains of a strongly fortified wall built of fragments of uncut stone stand in the pass. Heavy fighting took place there ten years ago when [764] el-Qeʿēṭī sent an expedition to conquer Wādī Ḥadjr. The graves of the slain are marked by simple heaps of stones, on either side of the mountain path. After a long descent we reached the wādī again at just about the hottest time of day. Its banks here are steep and so we could not get at the enticing water or the green *rāk* bushes, but our Bedouins went in search of a place where it would be possible 000 to descend. We had made up our minds to rest for the afternoon, not here in el-Qulēta, but further on at Nēfa. The intense desire to hurry on at all costs and to get to the end made Von Wissmann and me decide foolishly to force matters and, if need be, to walk alone to Nēfa without the caravan. The path wound on through a region of sand-hills and the heat was so great that we became uneasy over our decision. Luckily Dhēb had the magnanimity to give way and gave the order to follow us. Nor had we trusted in vain to Little's map, for Nēfa was close at hand. Near the path was a great

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



exceeding 40 cows, 20 cows are the limit, may be a camel and a few sheep as well. In the case of a poor man, perhaps a single cow or sheep. Two cows are slaughtered near the grave of the deceased on the day of burial (*i.e.* death generally), if overnight, a third cow. Two nights are allowed to pass and on the third night a cow is slaughtered. This is called *khutum*. A further period elapses varying according to the economic condition of the deceased's relatives. It may be so little as a fortnight or so much as three months when the big sacrifice takes place, may be of 10, 15 or 20 cows respresenting half of the deceased man's herds. This is called *yom el nahaira*. Both *khutum* and *nahaira* are performed at the place where the man lived and not upon his grave. More cows will be sacrificed by relatives and friends of the deceased towards whose families in his lifetime he has acted similarly. This vast slaughter attracts the whole neighbourhood and the sectional tribe of the dead man divide up the flesh for themselves, and go away under their great burdens. Visitors from other tribes have no such rights, but partake of the feast of cooked meat for which one cow will have been roasted for the occasion. 782 556

There is a widespread belief in *Subiro*, *i.e.* spirits of the departed and their power for good and evil. In the Wadi Rizat I came upon scraps of food and tobacco in the pool beneath where the spring comes gushing out of a cavern. The locals emerge at night to throw morsels on the ground or into the pool shouting, "We are your sons and your daughters—don't harm us. Be awake so that we are not harmed by *Jins* (human kind) or *Jinns*." 769 776

*Nughush* they call this casting of bread upon the waters. In theory these spirits brood over running water only: they are amenable to kind treatment and treat mankind in the same way that they are treated by mankind.

The people of Jurbaib, lower down, sacrifice a cow before the harvest after it has made a circuit of the crops—its blood being drained into the irrigation ducts. Bits of its flesh are cast amongst the growing grass. 782 769

This spring of Rizat was in old days the subject of a notorious government case. Bait Zaiyan, a section of the Shahara, claimed the exclusive right to practise *nughush* in it. The Qara overlords who wished to share in the benefits of ghostly grace demanded to go "fifty-fifty" in the sacrifice. The government wali, in order to make government itself a partner in the scheme and share in the crops of the plains, decided that both parties would receive exactly equal quantities of food from government so that there should be no cheating. But in later years the slave soldiers of government, becoming overbearing in their treatment of Bait Zaiyan, the latter called upon the departed spirits of their forefathers who promptly made the water run up hill, so that the crops in the plains withered and died, whereupon government's share lapsed. 312 [619]

Cases of virtue held to be latent in certain dying animals I met with on several occasions. The highly valued contents of the antelope's bladder for man, and its stomach for camels, may be purely a rational custom, but that cannot be said of a raven I had shot. While it lay dying a Badu asked for its heart, which he proposed thus to eat raw and palpitating. This was, he said, a protection to his own heart from evil influence, its bile also which he proposed mixing with kohl with which to annoint his eyelids. The Shahari who killed my biggest cobra, 825 789 754

compelled all the people of the Hadhramaut to wear the black dress of the Abbasides.[1] 175

Hadhramaut remained loyal to the Abbasides to the year A.H. 263 (A.D. 877). During this time there had been about 53 Governors in the Hadhramaut. When the reign of the Abbasides came to an end, Hadhramaut became independent once again.[2]

## 2. Yemeni Domination.

We learn from Omārah[3] that the authority of Ibn Ziad, the Yemeni ruler who acquired the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by the Tubbas, extended to the provinces of Hadhramaut, ash Shihr, and Dīār Kinda. East of the Hadhramaut he was master of Merbat, and west, of Abyan, Lahej, and Aden, as well as the Red Sea coast as far as Hali. After the death of Muhammad ibn Ziad, his son 'Ibrahim and his grandson Ziyad followed. Ziyad was succeeded by his brother 'Abu'l Jeish Ishaq whose reign endured for a long time, according to Ibn Khaldun, until he had reached the age of eighty, though Omārah says he reigned eighty years over "Yemen, Hadhramaut and the maritime islands."

In A.H. 259 (A.D. 873) Muhammad ibn Ya'far succeeded to his father, and was invested by the Caliph al Mutamed, with the Government of San'ā. Hadhramaut was included in his dominions, "but he owed allegiance to the Ziyadites and paid them tributes."

The Ziyadite rule lasted a long time, and in A.H. 409 (A.D. 1018) their great Wazir, Ibn Salama, carried out one of his greatest public works. "Among the splendid works executed by Husayn ibn Salāmah must be reckoned the construction of great mosques and lofty minarets along the road from Hadhramaut to the city of Mecca (may God Most High guard it). The distance extends over sixty days' journey. He dug wells and channels with running water in solitary wildernesses, and he erected along the road constructions on which were indicated the distances in miles, in *parasangs*, and in *stages*. Some of these works I have seen, either in good order or in ruins, and of the remainder I have received descriptions from other persons, all agreeing with one another. The first stations were at Shibam and Tarim, two cities of Hadhramaut. (A footnote adds, "Of Tarim, al-Hamdāni merely says that it was a 491 175

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[1] The Beduins still wear the black of the Abbasides, though they think it was imposed upon them as a punishment. Unlike the townswomen who wear their dresses short in front and long behind, the women of the Beduins wear their dresses long all round, and it is thought that this too is a survival of the Abbasides. 291

[2] It is apparent that the Hadhramaut took hardly to Islam. After several vicissitudes the country shook down to orthodox Shafi'ism, but from the time of the Abbasides paid no more than lip service to the Caliphate. To-day, while there are mosques almost everywhere, one may suspect that the Beduins are more attached to their patron saints, whom they have adopted into Islam, than to orthodox worship. Laxity like this may have not a little to do with the bigotry of the conservative Seiyid party. 771

[3] See Kay's Omārah, pp. 5, 141–2, 224.

619 given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My
721 first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir
578 for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Seheil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathīri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathīri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a " B " agreement with them.

231 The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: " The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and
438 Manahil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have, of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell *saf* leaves for making mats, *'elb* trunks, and charcoal.

609 Bertram Thomas records the following description of them:
771 " The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. 'They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them!' " We learned from the
582 Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

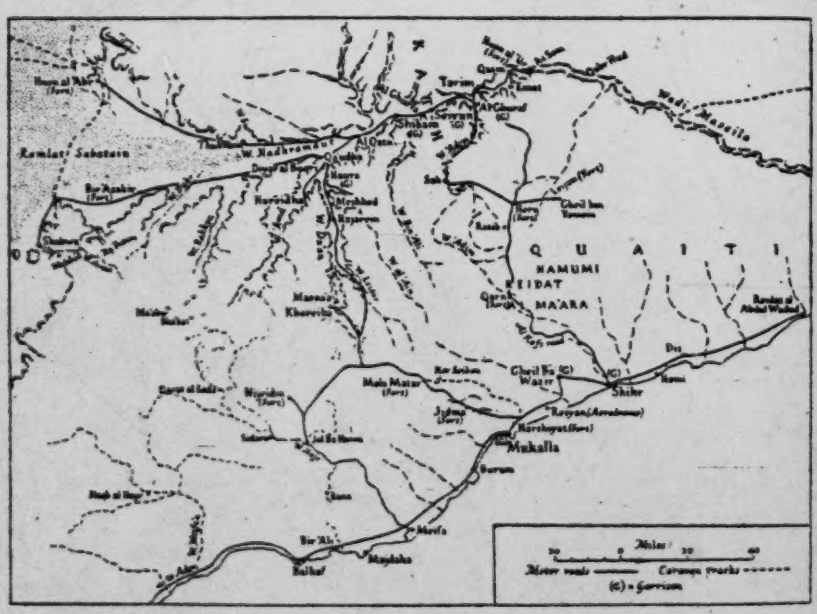
622 The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and Ahmed
619 bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

[See pg 92 CATigory 116 Analyst]

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



serfs whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells. The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.




*Reproduced by courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society*

The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from considerable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft, however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



and the people are natural Muslims having learnt in a hard school absolute submission to the will of God. Religious fanaticism is strongest where the seiyids are strongest. In other places there is greater tolerance and, among the bedouins, it is what a man is rather than what his religion is that counts.

When we started everybody wanted independence. Many of the old secluded seiyids, whose ideas of independence merely amounted to the exclusion of infidels, had sons and relations who read the Egyptian papers and their ideas of independence were based on grandiose schemes of complete self-government. Some of them, who thought themselves moderate, demanded no more than independence on the Egyptian and Iraqi models and talked airily of Parliaments and so on. In Singapore and Java in 1939 I had petitions presented to me three times demanding this sort of independence. Once at Solo the deputation was pointed out to me as representative: it contained seiyids, tribesmen and a Sultan of the Kathiri family. Only the last had ever been in the Hadhramaut. He asked me if he might see me privately after the meeting and then asked me to arrange independence for Jahiz. Jahiz was his village in the Wadi 'Amd and consists of five houses. The tribesmen, settled and bedouin, wanted independence; the bedouin claim was at least easy to understand for all it amounted to was that their freedom in the hills and deserts should be undisturbed. The settled tribesmen were and are more difficult. Every little section considered itself independent, and the more powerful, who could afford not only to arm themselves but to buy and arm private forces of slaves, did all they could to extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbours.

The strangest example of this kind of campaign was that of the Bin 'Abdat section of the Kathiri tribe, who own much landed property in Singapore and Java. The treaty chief of the Kathiris is the Kathiri Sultan whose capital is Seiyun. About 1928 the head of the Bin 'Abdat section forcibly occupied the walled town of Al Ghurfa, belonging to some unarmed sheikhs. This brought him into conflict with the Kathiri Sultan, who was supported by the Qu'aiti Sultan, and with the neighbouring heads of other Kathiri sections. War ensued which carried on with little interruption till 1937. Bin 'Abdat built up a respectable force of slaves and tribesmen of his own and constructed an elaborate system of forts and trenches which extended right across the Wadi Hadhramaut some three miles or more, and almost to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary at Shibam. In the course of the fighting, a curious armoured vehicle was imported from Java, which was intended to be towed by a motor car into the enemy camp. Bin 'Abdat acquired a very large stock of ammunition and really good rifles at very high prices. The Qu'aiti Sultan brought artillery, ancient and modern, to the aid of the Kathiri, but no decision was ever reached.

When I came to the Hadhramaut in 1936 Bin 'Abdat instructed his lawyer in Singapore to address a letter to the Government in which he claimed to be an "independent rajah." He was informed that the only recognized treaty chiefs in the main Hadhramaut were the Qu'aiti and

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making. The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys; district schools have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dispensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school. A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a community which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

000 faith in which I was brought up, but when, in such a position as I have held, I have to deal with people of another faith, I feel it is essential to help and encourage them to live up to the best in their own faith, 771 for a live religious spirit is a vital necessity to all progress. The Had- 871 hramaut is sadly afflicted, as I have said, by over-emphasis on formalism, but I have found great support in pressing more and more the necessity of working and living in the spirit of religion. This type of teaching is employed in educating troops and boys and girls in the new schools, particularly in the children's village and in the bedouin boys' and girls' schools. My educational assistant has a candidate for training as a teacher of the spirit of religion, leaving the other teachers to teach, for example, the methods of prayer and fasting. In the course of time it has been generally accepted that the position of religion in the affairs of the country is being strengthened and not weakened.

## TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS FROM EXPERIENCE IN THE HADHRAMAUT

114 As I spent the first fifteen years of my service in Zanzibar and Mauritius and have had opportunities of studying the administration of East Africa, Malaya and the West Indies, whether on the spot or in the Colonial Office, it is natural for me to approach consideration of the best way to help backward areas in the Middle East, like the Hadhramaut, to more effective self government, by comparison with the better known colonial methods of approach to the same goal.

000 It seems to me that if success is ultimately achieved in teaching the people of such areas to govern themselves it will probably not be by the traditional methods of colonial administration. The practical difficulties of doing so seem to be due to the nature of the country, to the nature of the people and to political considerations. The country is mainly desert and our colonial tradition has been built up in lands [609] capable of economic development. Owing to their environment the people, taking them as a whole, are neither simple nor tractable and, by contrast with most peoples of tropical dependencies, they are suspicious of outside interference. As the close control of any part of Arabia is looked on with dislike by other parts of Arabia and as there is, as far as I can see, no over-riding necessity for us to control such an area as the Hadhramaut closely, it does not on political grounds seem worth while to do so. The less we interfere with the internal

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



302 Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.[1]

[771] The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan
754 cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under
755 reference explained the details of Ra'aba Hamra spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the
752 imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work, however, and was followed by another next day. This, called Habil, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

754 These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally
755 for their flocks and herds. The ceasing of lactation is invariably ascribed to *Ain Balis*. The cure is frankincense. I witnessed the ceremony on occasion and made a cinema film of it, though it is usually performed at sunrise or at sunset. The incense burner was brought and wood introduced and lighted. The practitioner, the cow-owner, broke a fragment of frankincense about the size of a walnut into three pieces. Then spitting upon it three times he introduced it into the burner. While two other witnesses held the afflicted animal by head and leg [illegible]ely, he waved about its head the burning frankincense, chanting a set sacrificial chant.

782 For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

753 A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify
776 *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinns*, *jinnyat* and *Zars*. *Zars*[2] are the most accommodating, *jinns* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

782 The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the
556 deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

[1] Detailed descriptions will be found in my *Arabia Felix* (Jonathan Cape, 1932).

[2] A detailed description of the "Zar" cult as practised in Oman is given in my *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of 000
religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past 178
in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protec- 771
torate. Any development of education initiated by Government had
therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, 212
there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people 875
who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom
this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and
obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the
people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply
of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the
biggest problem in Protectorate education to-day.

## HEALTH

### *Western Aden Protectorate*

The development of the Protectorate Medical Service was rather 759
upset in the past three years by numerous changes of senior medical
staff. However, one advantage came from this, namely that in the
drawing up of a plan for future development, co-operative help and
advice was given by every doctor and nurse who ever worked in the
Protectorate.

At the beginning of the year, a three-month course was given for new
tribal dressers, who were posted to work under senior dressers in the
Protectorate.

It is estimated that in the course of the year 50,000 patients were 743
treated in the 18 dispensaries. Malaria, dysentery, schistosomiasis and 164
tuberculosis were the four most prevalent diseases. Obstetrical problems
and gynaecology offer a very large field for research. Owing to customs [562]
necessitating the seclusion of women any estimate of these problems is
pure conjecture. In spite of these restrictions, the Medical Officer
attended a great many during his visits, especially in Beihan at the very
edge of "the empty quarter" of Arabia. A number of those who other-
wise would never receive surgical treatment were flown down to the
hospital at Aden. Venereal disease was unfortunately on the increase in
Abyan, where crowds of people of all kinds came to find work in the
agricultural project there.

Many visits including some of several days duration were paid by
the Medical Officer to the various dispensaries in the Protectorate during
which between 4,000 and 5,000 selected patients were treated. Besides
those patients who found their own way down to hospital in Aden,
150 or more were brought down on the Protectorate Medical Officer's
recommendation.

## HOUSING

The settled Western Aden Protectorate population is housed for the 342
main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under
camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 passages connect the house with the lower portion as well as with the flat roof of the mosque. In the hot season the sunset and evening ritual prayers are always performed on the roof, and the ᶜālim[1] sits here in the evenings, teaching the 556 recitation of the Koran to a circle of lads. A sayyid who has 782 made his fortune abroad will first build a mosque in his native ●791 village and afterwards a big house for himself. For does he not owe the privileged position in his own country to religion, and to Allah's help the riches that he has successfully amassed in foreign lands? The abnormally large number of fine mosques in the poor country of Ḥaḍramaut is the result.

353 As in the other houses, the passages and stairs in Sayyid el-Bārr's house are plastered with light-brown mud mixed with finely chopped straw. The floor is always ribbed in a design of waving lines imprinted into the mud whilst it is wet. There are wooden pillars in the large rooms as there are no strong supporting beams for the construction of the roofs, which are always made of the split trunks of date-palms. The fibrous, brown stem of the tree is often plastered over with mud or covered with a wattle-work made of the split ribs of the leaves of the date-palm. Rust-red, black or white are the tasteful colours used in such wattle-work and, indeed, also on the layer of mud.

353 One usually enters the *madjlis* or reception-room by a door 352 in the middle of the shortest wall. On either side of the door there are great wooden chests, in which the sleeping-mattresses and pillows are hidden away during the day-time. These heavy, finely carved chests, decorated with tin-plated iron, are frequently the only ornament of the room. The window openings are small and close to the ground. In the houses of the rich, the wooden shutters and framework of the windows are carved. The floors are covered with simple mats of plaited palm-leaves over which the rich people lay carpets.

104 [1] *ᶜĀlim* (عالم), a learned man, in this case, a man who thoroughly knows the religion.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



619 The tribesman forms the real fighting strength of the Sultanate, and provides his own weapons, drawing ammunition—or its equivalent in cash—from the Sultan, when on state service. His 761 hardihood, activity, and keen sight make him a formidable opponent. He has a natural aptitude for scouting and possesses remarkable powers of endurance, being independent of much transport, whilst the constant friction along the tribal borders engenders a high state of combatant training. The Sultan frequently uses one tribe to fight another as a punishment for raiding, but he cannot claim tribal service against tribal interests; any real emergency, however, will bring the tribesmen in. Individuals and small detachments will serve an alien for pay beyond the limits of their tribeship.

The tribesmen are really civilians (a term used for want of a better, though this word does not exactly translate the Arabic word *rawi*, plural *raya*), but prepared at a moment's notice to leave flocks and camels, farms or pasture, or trekking, when danger threatens clan, tribe, or Sultanate. They give no regular [702 military service under any condition, nor do they practise the use of weapons, but content themselves with the reluctant payment 651] of a tax and the unavoidable imposts of the Government that guards their lives and property. They may be divided into the 619 following classes: merchants, of more or less influence and wealth; mechanics and artisans; the '*hejris*' or freed serfs, usually 562 attached to some chief as agricultural labourers or to some master craftsman; and lastly, and lowest in the social scale, the slaves, the males serving as retainers or subordinate husbandmen and the females as domestic servants or attendants on children. The latter class, however, are slaves only in name, having usually their own *menage*, and they remain in one family from generation to 562 generation; they are mostly Swahilis and Nubians. One other class needs passing mention—the *shāhids* or bards, whose duty, in the 703 exercise of their profession, is to stimulate the tribal standard of chivalry by heroic strains of former prowess, or with stinging satire to lash a slothful ruler to martial vigour. When belligerent tribes are set in battle, it is the *shāhids* on either side who urge the courage of the combatants.

[671 In religion two schools of the Sunni creed—the Hanifi (or philosophic school) and the Shafei—are followed, the latter, the nearest to the early Islamic tradition, being the more general. 771 The practice of religion varies, of course, in different districts, and among some of the nomad races it is little more than a name. Speaking of religious observance among the people of this region as a whole, Bury says: 'The laity, while fanatical to the verge of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



frenzy on religious matters, and ever ready to accuse any one, whose actions are not readily explained, of being an infidel, are apt to be rather slack in their devotions. Some even shirk their prayers at sunset, when such exercises are obligatory. Much of this attitude, however, has to do with their turbulent mode of life and illiteracy, for the most nonchalant are always ready to "fall in" behind any man who has the gift of prayer and follow his attitude and genuflexions, giving the responses with devout accuracy and attention. As to the religious self-denial with which they observe the fast of Ramadan (refusing to avail themselves of the exemption extended by the Koran to all travellers, sick persons, &c.) their austerity would shame more civilized Mussulmans.' 771

## Products and Industries

The products of this region are so similar to those of the Yemen that they need no special treatment; and the crops are referred to in detail in the section on climate. The staple food-stuff of the country is either *dhura* or *dukhn*. Of *dhura* there are two chief varieties: white and red. The staple fodder for animals is, universally, the stalks and leaves of *dhura* and *dukhn*. As to the native industries they are not of any great importance, but attention may be called to the following: 241 246

Boat-building is carried on to a limited extent. Though a very great number of native craft of very varied type ply in Aden harbour and around the coast of this district, only 'jolly-boats' are built at Aden; they are after the model of an English rowing-boat, with heavier and stronger frames, and of very rough workmanship. Mat-making and string-making are carried on chiefly in the neighbourhood of Aden. Dry leaves of the *dom* and date-palms are imported from the ports of the Dankali and from Musawwa', and are manufactured into mats. String is also made by twisting the leaves together with the hand; this is called 'Aden string'. To make mats the leaves are divided into small strips, which are plaited into a ribbon three or four inches wide and of great length. The ribbon is stitched or spliced spirally into a cylindrical shape, the circumference representing the required breadth, and the axis the necessary length; this hollow cylinder is then cut down with a knife parallel to the axis, and the broken edges are bound. Somali women are exceedingly expert in the manufacture of such mats, which are in great request for sleeping purposes. The coarser kinds are largely used for the construction of sheds and the roofing of houses. Plates, baskets, sacks, and many other articles are made of such strips of matting. 396 285

T: Sturler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

# TOWNS AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE HADHRAMAUT

By MRS. M. DE STURLER-RAEMAEKERS

000 Report of a lecture illustrated by a film delivered to the Society on Thursday, May 21, 1953, Mr. W. H. Ingrams, C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: As you can well imagine, it is a great pleasure to me to take the chair this afternoon for Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers, because I have spent ten years in the country which she is about to describe. Unfortunately, ever since I left it in 1944 time has done nothing but take me somewhere else in the world. I have just returned from a tour of the United States, Mexico, Central America and the West Indies. Most of my time seems to be taken up in Africa and it is difficult to get an opportunity of looking again at the Hadhramaut. Hence it is a great pleasure to be able to see Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers' slides and to hear her account this afternoon.

341 I expect that in some respects at least the architecture of the Hadhramaut is
113 familiar to many of you through Freya Stark's books, perhaps particularly the illustrations in her book *Seen in the Hadhramaut*; also Mr. Osbert Lankaster, an architect who many may know better as a cartoonist, wrote an article on the architecture of the Hadhramaut some years ago which appeared, I believe, in the *Architectural Journal*.

341 There is a very long tradition of architecture in the Hadhramaut. One wonders
● 773 how long this wonderful working in mud has gone on. In ancient days the ancient
333 Hadhraumauti used to go in for monumental stone masonry on a large scale. I remember seeing huge stones lying on the old Hadhramauti ruins and being told by the local people that the stones had been transported to the early buildings by the Adites, who were formerly giants. Hadhraumaut is a country which has always recognized the Book of Genesis, that there were giants in the land in those days.

114 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers was born in Holland and came to England as a child, first, during the first World War. Here she was educated, so we can at least claim part of her. Then she went to France and later came back to England to study architecture for three years at the Architectural Association. She took her degree in Brussels and practised there. Then she travelled a good deal in Europe. She returned to England again at the outbreak of the recent World War and has been here ever since except for her travelling. In 1948 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers thought she would go further afield and, fortunately for us and for Arabia, she chose to go there, but before doing so she took the precaution of studying Arabic for two years at London University.

Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers spent ten months in the Hadhramaut in 1950-51 and was there again in 1952 for five months. She has told me, very modestly, that that is a very inadequate time in which to study the Hadhramaut, but I think we shall discover that she found out a great deal of much interest while she was there.

MY experience of the Middle East is, as you have heard, somewhat brief, being only three years. I therefore feel a little embarrassed when speaking before a gathering in which there may be many who have probably travelled there for much longer periods. I trust they will show some indulgence towards anything I may say which may not be either new or just as they saw it; I have at least specialized knowledge in
121 one subject which took me there, and that is architecture. I went to study the buildings of Hadhramaut and make measured drawings of them. I do not intend to give a technical discourse on exactly how the buildings are constructed or how the bricks are made, because I do not think that this is

7: Stuzler-Rasmussen T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently 679
killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not 131
more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. 186
Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through 114
or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, 177
and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to 773 ●
Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaveth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became [101]
"Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along 131
a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and 133
deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, 133
one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent 311
moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is [504]
Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



that is to say, small piles of stones on which a fire is made till they are hot and on which meat can be roasted.

The number of people in this village who seemed to be afflicted with blindness or with other diseases of the eye was startling. The cemetery, which lies outside the village, is large; rows of graves covered with little hillocks of stones give the impression of not yet being old. Dahma has, apparently, been decimated by an epidemic. The neatly cultivated fields lie awaiting the rain. Two date-palms as well as some *nibq* trees increase the parched and barren impression of the place.

Apparently we are over the watershed here and in the river-basin of Ḥaḍramaut Proper. The landscape looks dryer and emptier of vegetation. The *euphorbia* bushes have neither fruit nor blossom, and the few grasses are dried up. After passing Dahma we saw an artificial pond, at present dry, made at the cost of much labour, which is intended to hold the water after rain.

Half an hour after sunset we reached Bureyyira, our quarters for the night, situated close by a small village.

## 7. AN EXCURSION TO THE RUINS OF THE PEOPLE OF ʿĀD.

There were great things on the programme for May 14th. We had often questioned our Bedouins about ruins and inscriptions, and they understood what we meant, for all of them knew about the remains of the towns and graves of the people of ʿĀd and Thamūd, the original inhabitants of the land, whom Allah had swept from the face of the earth, in punishment for their many sins. The groups of ruins are actually situated more towards Ḥaḍramaut Proper, with their centre in the direction of the Yemen. Probably we were setting foot here on the borderland of Sabaean civilisation. Old Aḥmad, one of our Sēbānī Bedouins, attracted by the promised reward, said that he had pondered well over it and remembered that there were inscriptions, painted by the people of ʿĀd, on a wall of rock in Wādī Thiqbe, not far to the north-east of our route, and that, besides

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101 776

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

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792 582 423 tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

792 778 346 The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

778 651 423 792 754 Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

792 778 In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We [776] must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

792 [622] 778 796 782 All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

535 756 pretensions to being medicine-men inform their friends that a Kinyago is to be danced at a certain spot on a certain night, and a crowd consequently congregates there. The medicine-men, most of whom in Malindi District apart from Giryama are of Shambala slave origin, make themselves up with the help of clothes stuffed with grass to represent certain wild animals, such as elephants, lions, etc. A ring having been made in the waiting crowd, a medicine-man thus disguised as an animal suddenly dashes from behind a convenient bush and enters the ring, where he capers about and makes a noise in imitation of the beast he represents. On getting tired he retires again behind the convenient bush, and another disguised medicine-man [533] takes his place in the ring and so on. A *msondo* drum is used, described above (see Ki-Nyasa dance). The crowd takes no part in the performance.

535 527 756 The Kinyago is, of course, a heathen dance from Nyasaland imported by slaves. It takes place usually after a good harvest, and is intended more or less as a thanksgiving to the spirits that control the rain and the abundance of food generally. It is also intended by the medicine-men to impress the people with the powers which they ascribe to themselves of being able to change the shape of their bodies into that of any wild animal. But these pretensions are not accorded much credence nowadays in the Malindi District.[1]

## 1 NGOMA YA PEPO.

776 763 The Swahili word *pepo* is the equivalent of the Arab word *jin*, or devil or evil spirit. The people inhabiting the coastal zone, both Arabs and Swahilis, believe in the existence of these beings, some of whom are considered harmless while others, entering into the human body, create various ills and pains, insensibility or sometimes a demented state accompanied by violent gestures. It is quite evident, even to a layman, that these ills are due to a disturbance of the nervous system of imaginative and highly-strung individuals. Thus one finds that the great majority of the people who get *pepo* are women.

753 533 The native cure for *pepo* is principally drumming. The natives of Africa are particularly sensitive to rhythm, pure and simple, even more so perhaps than Europeans. The rhythm of certain kinds of drumming has the effect of exciting the nerves to an ecstatic degree, while other rhythms appear to have the contrary effect upon the nervous system of Africans. It is the latter rhythms that are used as a cure for *pepo*.

This physiological effect of rhythmic drumming is, however, unknown to the nhabitants of the coastal zone, and believing as they do, that the nervous disturbance known as *pepo* is caused by the presence of evil spirits in the body, they set about propitiating the *jin* and putting him in a good temper by giving a drumming

[1] This reminds one of some of the corn dances recorded by Sir J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*; and by Professor Ridgway in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), pp. 335–374.

1 [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

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entertainment in his honour, so as to induce him to depart from the body of the person possessed.

The exorcising of the *pepo* is conducted by a professional man or elderly woman known as a *fundi* or *mganga* who specializes in certain kinds of *pepo*.

The *pepo* themselves are divided into various tribes such as the *pepo ya ki-galla*, *pepo ya ki-arabu*, *pepo ya ki-somali*, *pepo ya ki-shakini*, *pepo ya i-pemba*, *pepo ya ki-nubi*, etc., and some even are said to be like animals, such as the *pepo ya ng'ombe* and the *pepo ya punda*. Besides belonging to various tribes, the *pepo* have individual names similar to those common to human beings of the same tribe. Thus some *pepo ya ki-galla* are known as Guyo, Barsa, Godana, Galgalo, all of which are fairly common amongst the Gallas on the Tana River.

The *pepo* is recognised by the language it speaks through the lips of the person possessed. The *fundis* make out that the language spoken is actually Galla, Somali, Arabic, etc., but that it is an ancient form of these languages, and that no one can understand them but the *fundis* themselves. This, of course, is nonsense, as it is impossible for a person ignorant of a language to speak it suddenly and quite fluently. What actually happens is that the person possessed speaks ordinary Swahili,[1] but being in a state of high nervous tension the voice assumes an unnatural pitch, and the words are spoken indistinctly and interlarded with inarticulate sounds, so that they may be said to assume, with a stretch of imagination, either an Arab, a Somali, or any other accent, and, together with the inarticulate sounds uttered, are interpreted by the "*fundi*" as being ancient Arabic or ancient Somali, or some other ancient language.[2]

Each *fundi* has his own special set of *pepo* whom he knows by name, and to him only will such *pepo* respond. If a *fundi* is called in to attend to a possessed person, and is unable to make the *pepo* speak to him through the lips of the patient, then he knows that the *pepo* in question is not one of his set, but is a client of some other *fundi*. He then withdraws from the case, and suggests to the relations of the patient that such or such *fundi* be called in.

The first step in the treatment of a possessed person is to get the *pepo* to "come into the head" of the patient and speak to the *fundi*, the object of this being to find out from the *pepo* what would be acceptable to him as an offering in order to induce him to depart from the body of the possessed person.

The method of making the *pepo* speak is by administering *dawa*, or native medicine. The various tribes of *pepo* respond each to its particular kind of *dawa*, which in most cases consists of a decoction of roots mixed with leaves of plants found in the bush, and sometimes fresh seaweed. Each *fundi* has, of course, his own secret prescription. The mixture of roots and leaves is placed in a

[1] This is not certain.—C. W. H.

[2] For possession by spirits of other tribes, see Junod, *Les Baronga*, pp. 440, 441.

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pot and made to boil. The patient is made to sit close up to the pot, or, if possible, over it, and is then entirely covered with a sheet in such a manner as to allow as little as possible of the vapour from the pot to escape. This is practically a Turkish bath, the effect on the patient being naturally a soothing one, and on leading questions being put to the patient by the *fundi*, the *pepo* will state through the mouth of the sick person who he is and how many days' drumming he would like in order to induce him to depart and leave the patient in peace. This method of applying native medicine is used to make the *pepo* of almost all the heathen tribes respond to the *fundi*, provided, of course, that the *fundi* is the right man for that particular *pepo*, and provided the right decoction of roots and leaves is used.

If the *fundi* called in has a suspicion that the *pepo* he has to deal with belongs to a Moslem tribe, such as Arab, Somali, or Nubi, he does not employ the Turkish bath method in order to induce him to speak, but makes a mixture of camphor, musk, and saffron, with a little water, and writes with it on a plate the various attributes of Allah. By means of a little more of the mixture, the writing is carefully washed off the plate into a cup, and is given to the patient to drink. The camphor has a soothing effect, and the *pepo* then states who he is and what he wants as a propitiation.

The *fundi*, having recognised the *pepo* as one of his set, now comes to an agreement with the relations of the sick person as to the amount of the fees to be given to him. These vary according to the financial position of the relations, but generally range from 5Rs. to 10Rs. Much higher fees are sometimes given, however, and the total expenses, including the cost of the food for the *fundi*, the drummers, and the guests have been known to amount to 300Rs. The *fundi's* fees are paid after he has succeeded in getting rid of the *pepo*.

The drumming and dancing invariably take place indoors, except on the last day when the patient is practically cured, and then the dancing goes on outside the house.

The various kinds of *pepo* believed to seize people in Malindi are :—

*Pepo ya ki-galla*
*Pepo ya ki-sanya*
*Pepo ya ki-shakini*
*Pepo ya ki-rima*
*Pepo ya ki-nyika*
*Pepo ya ki-pemba*
*Pepo ya ki-habshi*
*Pepo ya ki-arabu*
*Pepo ya ki-somali*
*Pepo ya ki-nubi*
*Pepo ya Ng'ombe*
*Pepo ya Punda*

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The names of the *fundis* now practising in Malindi are as follows :— 776 756

Mohamed bin Mhaji
Make Chocho
Habiba wa Jora
Biasha wa Ali
Shaibu wa Saburi
Fundi Ali
Fundi Matano
Said wa Famao
Hussein (a police constable)
Kiranja Mhaji
Mwalim Kai

When a *fundi* has recognised a *pepo* as one of his own, and when the bargain as to the fees to be paid has been made, he sends round to all the other *fundis* and invites them to witness his efforts to exorcise the *pepo*.

New clothes must be bought for the *pepo* in all cases, and they are worn by the patient in the manner of the tribe to which the *pepo* belongs.

The following are detailed descriptions of the procedure followed in exorcising the various kinds of *pepo* who are believed to seize people in Malindi :— 776 756 782 757 171

## PEPO YA KI-GALLA.

On being called to see a sick person the *fundi* examines the patient and decides whether he is suffering from *pepo* or not. As a rule the decision is in the affirmative. He then orders a "*sadaka*" or sacrifice of food to be made. This varies according to circumstances of the patient and his relations, but it usually consists of boiled rice and goats' meat or fowl. The relations and friends of the sick person partake of this, as well as the *fundi* and his drummers. But before the meal begins, a *mualim* or person versed in the prayers of the Koran is called in and the *fatihka*—*Illa hathuti al habibi Muhamad Nabbi al mustafa* is read over three times. Both prayers and feast take place just outside the house of the patient. But the women remain inside, and the food is taken in to them.

The *fundi* then goes and gets the native medicine necessary to make the *pepo* come into the head of the patient, and state what it wants as propitiation in order to induce it to leave the body of the patient. The medicine used consists of the leaves and small roots of certain trees to be found in the bush. The special kinds of trees used are professional secrets of the *fundis*, each of whom has his own prescription. Certain kinds of sea-weed gathered from coral rocks at low water are sometimes used, and these together with the roots and leaves are pounded together so as to form a paste which is mixed with water and placed in a pot to boil over a fire in the sick-room. The patient is then made to sit on a stool or native bed

776 756 782 757 171 over the pot, or as close as possible, and is entirely covered over with a sheet so as to receive all the vapour from the pot and the heat from the fire.

While this primitive method of giving a Turkish bath is being carried out, the *fundi* chants an appropriate song of praise to the *pepo*, and the women, if they know the song, join in and clap their hands in time to the tune. This ceremony takes place soon after sunrise, at mid-day, and in the evening from about 7 p.m. to 8.30 or 9 p.m., each session lasting about an hour to an hour and a half, more or less. After each session the *fundi* questions the *pepo* to ascertain what *pepo* he has to deal with and what propitiation it requires, but the *pepo* may refuse to speak at once, and the same ceremonial is repeated every day up to seven days. If by that time the *pepo* has not spoken, the *fundi* usually comes to the conclusion that the *pepo* in question is not one of his clientele, and he suggests that some other *fundi* be called in.

If, however, success is attained in making the *pepo* speak through the lips of the patient, which is very often the case owing to leading questions being asked by the *fundi*, and perhaps to a certain amount of mental ascendancy on his part, to which a hypnotic element may not be foreign, arrangements are then made to fulfil the desires of the *pepo*, which invariably take the form of an *ngoma* or dance repeated every day for seven days, with or without a *pepo* feast, and a male goat to be ridden by the *pepo* on the last day of the dance.

776 535 756 171 Before the dancing begins, new clothes are bought for the *pepo*, and the patient puts them on. If the latter is a man, a white cloth is tied round his chest and hangs down to his feet and another white cloth is put over the head and shoulders in such a manner as to leave only the face visible, the head and neck being covered. A pair of white cotton trousers tight at the ankle are also worn. If the patient is a woman the same clothes are worn, but the first-mentioned cloth is tied round her waist, and not round the chest as in the case of the man.

Guests are invited, both men and women, but the majority of the dancers at an *ngoma ya pepo* are women. The latter are the only ones allowed to enter the sick room, except the *fundi* and his drummers, and one or two male guests by request of the relations of the patient. The *fundi* and his drummers may also sit in the *ukumbi*, or entrance to the house, according to the wishes of the relations.

The dancing begins at eight or nine o'clock in the morning and lasts for two or three hours, or until the patient, impelled by the *pepo*, lifts his hands as a sign of having had enough for the time being. A second session takes place the same day from about 6 p.m. till 9 p.m., and so on every day till the seventh day.

535 755 171 *Pepo ya ki-go'la* generally begins to take part in the dancing on the third day of the dance. The patient, while still seated, begins to jerk his shoulders backwards and forwards and up and down, in time to the drumming. Then he gradually rises from his seat. A fly-switch, made from the tail of any wild animal which could be used for the purpose is placed in one hand, and a small calabash filled with leaves

supposed to have medicinal properties is placed in the other. A string of oval iron bells (*njuga*) with a pebble inside is tied just below his right knee, and he then shuffles forward alone, dragging his feet. He takes up his position between the two lines of dancers, one at each end of the room, and shuffles backwards and forwards between the two lines of dancers while waving the fly-switch and the calabash, and still jerking his shoulders as described above. The two lines of dancers move their shoulders in the same manner, but remain in the same place. 535 755 171

These proceedings are repeated twice a day, morning and evening, until the evening of the seventh day, when the session is prolonged through the night well on into the next day, sometimes even until mid-day.

During the last dance, the cloth over the head of the patient is allowed to drop on to his shoulders, and another white cloth is put on his head and is kept on by a cord being wound round the temples after the manner of the Beduins. 535

If the *pepo* has required the production of a goat amongst other things to be done for his propitiation, a male goat is now produced and brought to the door of the house. The patient comes out and strokes the goat, passing his right hand three times from its head along its back to its tail. He then gets astride of it and pretends to ride it like a horse, jumping up and down, and jerking his shoulders as before in time to the drumming. 755 776 782 171

If at any time the *pepo* calls for food, a small piece of bread is produced, on which is placed a speck of ambergris and musk, and it is then placed in the mouth of the patient, who eats it. A few raisins are also given, and a lump or two of sugar candy.

After the patient has got tired of riding the goat, the *fundi* asks the *pepo* in the presence of the assembled guests if he has received all he had asked for. The *pepo* says "yes." The *fundi* then asks him if he will ever seize the patient again, to which the *pepo* replies, "I will not seize him again," and thereupon he is considered to have taken his departure, and the patient goes to bed to sleep off his fatigue, and awakes later to find himself quite cured.

There are about fifty propitiatory songs for the *pepo ya ki-galla* known in Malindi.

The names of some of the *pepo ya ki-galla* who are believed to possess people in Malindi are as follows:—Guyo, Barsa, Godana, and Galgalo. All these are common Galla names.

The drums used are two *Vumi* drums, one *Chapuo* drum, and *Vitasa* cymbals, all described in the Shebwani dance.

### PEPO YA KI-SANYE.

The ceremonies and medicines used to cast out a *pepo* of the Sanye tribe are exactly similar to those used in connection with a *pepo* of the Galla tribe. The only difference is that the *pepo* speaks the Sanye language through the medium 171 776 782 755

171 776 782 755 of the patient, and the propitiatory songs are also in the Sanye language, although Galla songs may also be sung effectively.

The names of the *pepo ya ki-sanye* who are believed to frequent Malindi are merely common Sanye names.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla.*

## 1 PEPO YA KI-SHAKINI.

171 776 755 The people of Malindi do not know here where the Shakini country is. They tell one vaguely that it is *mbarani mbali sana*, that is somewhere in the distant interior of Africa. The Shakini language is said to be understood by the Zigula people. The *pepo ya ki-shakini* is thought to have been introduced to Malindi by slaves brought from the interior, but very little is known of its origin.

The ceremonies which take place at the casting out of a *pepo ya ki-shakini* are exactly the same as those of the *pepo ya ki-galla*; the roots and leaves which make up the ingredients of the medicine used to make the *pepo* speak are, however, different, but the medicine is applied in the same way, that is by means of a Turkish bath.

The clothes worn by the patient when the dancing begins are similar to those worn by a person possessed of a *pepo ya ki-galla*, only the clothes are made of a dark blue cotton (*kaniki*) instead of white cotton (*amerikani*). The trousers worn may be made of blue cotton cloth or red cotton cloth (*bendera*). On the last day of the dance the white cloth worn on the head of the patient suffering from *pepo ya ki-galla* is replaced by a red or blue cloth secured on the head in the same way, by a cord bound round the temples. Formerly, when colobus monkey skins were obtainable, the head-dress consisted of a conical hat made from these skins, about a foot to fifteen inches high, in the shape of a dunce's cap with a peak to it in front, and the monkey's handsome tail hanging down behind. A leather breast-plate and back-plate connected by straps that hang over the shoulders are also worn as an ornament, being profusely decorated with beads and kauri shells. This is called a *torosi* (a Ki-rima word), and is worn on the last day of the dance.

171 776 755 535 782 The dancers of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* form a circle, one behind the other, and move round and round with short jerky steps in a direction opposite to that of the hands of a clock, and stamp their feet in time to the drums. They move the upper part of the body by alternatively throwing the chest forward and the shoulders back and then the shoulders forward and the chest in. The patient dances along with the others, and waves a fly-switch made from the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The *pepo* of the Shakini tribe are believed to be very fond of tembo, and the patient is given frequent libations of this drink. But he cannot tolerate the smell of mutton, and all cooking of this meat must be done at a distance while the patient is possessed of this *jin*.

On the last day of the dance a male goat may be produced if the

1 [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

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*pepo* so desires, and the same ceremony is gone through as for the *pepo ya ki-galla*. 171 776

The songs of praise of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* sung in Malindi amount to about twenty-five. 755 536 782

Some names of *pepos* of the Shakini tribe known here are, Shinga Kamba wa Goshi, Hotea, Shingwa Rambo wa Seraf, Giwa wa Mwenne Panganga Waso wa Jentangu.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-RIMA.

The origin of these *pepo*, as their name indicates, is of course well known, but their introduction to the Malindi District dates only to nineteen years back. 171 776 535

The ceremonial followed is the same as that of the *pepo ya ki-galla*, and of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The head-dress is, however, different, and consists of what is called a *shumburere*, which is of exactly the same shape as a Mexican hat with a tall conical crown and a very wide brim. It is woven from the split fronds of the dom palm or the *mkindu* palm, the wild date. From the outer edge of the brim is suspended a fringe composed of strips of coloured cloth which hang down to the pit of the stomach in front, and to the same level at the back. The head and face of the patient are consequently completely hidden. 755 782

As in the Shakini *pepo* dance, the dancers follow each other round and round in a direction opposite to the hands of the clock, and perform the same steps and antics as in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The patient also waves in the same manner a fly-switch made out of the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The patient is anointed with castor oil as soon as he shows signs by jerks and twitches that he is about to begin to dance.

The *torosi* breast-plate and back-plate of leather are also worn by the patient in this dance, and a male goat is produced if so required by the *pepo*, and is ridden and danced round in the same manner as described in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

There are some forty songs known in Malindi sung in praise of the *pepo ya ki-rima*.

Some names of these *pepo* known here are, Lairan wa Laitua, Laitoni wa Laimoran, Lukwalla wa Lugawane. They remind one of Nandi or Masai names.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-NYIKA.

This is considered a benign form of *pepo* who does not cause the patient any great pain or ill, nothing more serious than a headache or a cough, which do not incapacitate the person possessed. 753 755 535 782

Native medicine is not usually given in order to make the spirit speak and say who he is and what he wants. He is generally recognised by the ache or pain he 776

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753 755 535 782 776 causes to the patient, and he is not exacting in his requirements of propitiation. Generally two or three days' dancing will satisfy him together with a large supply of boiled mealie-meal served with grilled fowl or goat. Sometimes as a special treat some *kunde* beans are mixed with the meal. This is given as a farewell dinner to the *pepo* after the dancing is finished. All the guests partake of it as well as the patient.

The dancing begins about 9 a.m., and lasts about an hour and a half. The patient then goes about his work as usual. In the evening the dancers reassemble and dance through the night with the patient. A line is formed, and one dancer at a time advances to where the drums are being played, jerks his shoulders about while bending over one of the drums for a few minutes, then suddenly stamping his foot he retires with a shuffling step back to his place in the line and another dancer goes forward and repeats the performance, and so on. The patient dances with the others, but is distinguished by having a fly-switch in one hand and a live fowl in the other, both of which he waves about.

The patient is dressed in two new dark blue cotton cloths (*kanikí*), worn as a Swahili woman wears her *leso*. No head-dress is worn. On the second day of the dance, if the patient is a woman, she exchanges her two dark blue cloths for a kilt such as the Nyika women wear.

During the dancing, the patient goes occasionally to a pot of cold water in which leaves of wild trees believed to have certain properties have been pounded and mixed up. He puts both hands into the pot and raises some of the liquid to his mouth and drinks. Having quenched his thirst he throws some of the liquid over each shoulder on to his back, and also pours some on his chest as if he were taking a bath.

At the end of the dance on the third day a meal is partaken of as stated above and the *pepo* departs.

The names of *pepo ya ki-nyika* known in Malindi are without number, and are similar to ordinary names at present heard amongst the various Nyika tribes. The songs of praise sung in honour of these *pepo* in Malindi are also numberless.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-PEMBA.

171 776 758 534 As their name indicates, these "*pepo*" are supposed to come from the island of Pemba.

In order to make the *pepo* declare himself, the usual native medicine and Turkish bath are given. The patient is then dressed in two white cloths after the fashion of the *pepo ya ki-galla*. He is placed on a stool, and as soon as the drumming begins he sways his body about in time to it, and ultimately jerks the stool which he sits on round the room. A *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance) is also played to the accompaniment of the drums. This jerking about on the stool goes on for seven days, and on the eighth day matting is laid on the floor. The

patient sits on the matting at one end, and proceeds to jerk himself forward to the other end. On reaching this he jerks backwards without turning round. This is a very laborious business and takes a good deal of effort. 171 776 755

On the eleventh day the patient assumes an upright position, and dances, standing up between two lines of dancers. He advances with short shuffling steps to the line of people in front of him. On getting within a couple of feet of them he begins to retire, shuffling backwards without turning round, and keeping his body bent forwards almost at a right angle with his lower limbs. He is followed by the line of dancers facing him, who dance the same shuffling step, and who keep within a couple of feet of him. On reaching the line of dancers behind him, he straightens his body and starts forward again, the line facing him then retiring and the line behind him following him. He waves a fly-switch in his hand, and a string of small oval iron bells, *ujuga*, with pebbles inside, is tied round his right ankle. 534 535 755 782

No head-dress is worn by the patient, but a paste is made by pounding to a powder a certain scented wood called *udi*, and mixing it with water. This is applied all over the head. If no *udi* wood is available, the wood of the *mukuhu* is used. A black line about half an inch wide is also painted from the tip of the nose over the head to the back of the neck.

On the last day of the dance, fruits and delicacies in very small quantities are laid before the patient, who eats a little of each for the benefit of the *pepo*.

If the *pepo* demands it, and the financial position of the patient will allow of it, a white bull or a male goat is produced on the last day, and is ridden and danced round by the patient as described in the ceremonies which take place to expel a *pepo ya ki-galla*, after which the *pepo* departs from the sick person.

The names of some of the *pepo* known in Malindi are, Mwana Mashungi wa Ukulu, Kekecha wa Mawamba, Makata wa Mapinga, Maungua wa Maamba. A great many propitiatory songs are also known at Malindi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-HABSHI.

171

The Abyssinian spirit is not believed to have seized anyone at Malindi yet, and very little is known about it here. It is, however, believed to have possessed people in Zanzibar and Kismayu. 776

### PEPO YA KI-ARABU.

The ceremonies which are gone through to expel a *pepo* of this variety constitute a type which is followed with slight variations in exorcising almost all the *jins* believed to belong to Moslem tribes. 776 755

The fundamental difference between the method of treating heathen *pepo* and Moslem *pepo* consists in the substitution of strong perfumes for the Turkish bath method, in order to induce the *pepo* to declare himself.

776 755 [782] The preliminaries are the same as those described in the *pepo ya ki-galla* up to the point where it becomes necessary to ascertain what the *pepo* requires as a bribe or propitiation to depart from the body of the person whose sickness he is believed to be causing.

In order to get this information from the *pepo*, a mixture is made of rose water, ambergris, musk, saffron and camphor. Using this as an ink, the *fundi* writes on a plate the name of Allah with His various attributes (the all-powerful, the all-merciful, etc.), also the names of some of the archangels. The writing being completed, it is carefully and reverently washed off the plate into a cup with a little more of the mixture above mentioned. The contents of the cup are then given to the invalid to drink, and incense is also burnt beside him. In a short time the *pepo* comes into the head of the patient and states who he is and what he wishes.

776 755 535 Arrangements are then made for a dance, and guests are invited in the usual way. New white cloths are put on the patient, who wears them in the same way as *lesos* are worn by Swahili women. A pair of trousers, tight at the ankle, is also worn.

The patient sits on a stool and gradually begins to sway his body in time to the drumming. Later on the swaying becomes more and more accentuated, till it develops into jerks of the body of sufficient violence to move the stool, on which the patient sits, all about the room. Ultimately he becomes sufficiently excited to stand up and dance with a sort of gliding step, backwards and forwards between two lines of dancers, who imitate his step and gestures. In each of his hands is placed a small white flag, on which is written the verse of the Koran *Ayat il kursi*. The flag in his left hand he holds over his left shoulder, and the one in his right hand he waves about. A *maharuma* or Beduin head-dress is secured on his head, but if none is available an ordinary white cap will do. On standing up to dance the patient must change his clothes. He discards his two white cloths, and if the *pepo* who possesses him has been ascertained to be a male he dons a white *kanzu* as worn by men. If the *pepo* is a female, then a short *kanzu* of some coloured material or, if possible, of silk such as the Arab women of Muscat wear, is put on by the patient.

If a male *pepo* seizes a man, or a female *pepo* a woman, there is believed to be little hope of the recovery of the patient, whose fate is practically sealed. If on the other hand a *pepo* of one sex seizes a human being of the opposite sex, then the recovery of the patient is assured.

The drumming is accompanied by songs in Arabic appropriate to the occasion, and usually in praise of the spirit.

755 782 At the end of the dance on the last day, a feast is given to the *pepo*, with delicacies consisting of small quantities of Turkish delight (*halua*), powdered white sugar, white lump sugar, moist sugar, sugar candy, almonds, raisins, milk, eggs, young coconuts (*dafu*), but of the pale coloured variety, rose scent, scented oil and European scents.

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If the patient can afford it, a white bull is produced and, dressed in his best turban with dagger and sword, the patient mounts it like a horse. It is then led round and round the dancing ring in the open, while he flourishes his sword and shows off generally. If the patient is a woman, the dagger and sword are dispensed with.

Some names of Arab *pepo* known in Malindi are, Maruhani bin Kaftan, Luranni bin Dervess, Rikh bin Zariha, Duban bin Dabran, Amir Ghaish bin Sudian, Jinwi bin Jinan, Hodeida binti Jabal Duhan, Sharua binti Haruta, Saida binti Saida, Saida binti Kisti, Zilzalla binti Harun bin Alwan.

The patriarch Noah is said to have had great ascendancy over Arab *pepo*, and each time his name is mentioned the *pepo* will give a start.

The *pepo ya ki-arabu* are the only *pepo* who appear to have sex distinction. All the other seem to be sexless.

*Tari*, or tambourines, described in the Chama dance, and a *vumi* drum, described in the Shebwani dance, are used.

## PEPO YA KI-NUBI.

This *pepo* is unknown in Malindi, but used frequently to seize people in Takaungu, and does still occasionally. His introduction to that town took place at the time when Said Bargbash, Sultan of Zanzibar, maintained a garrison there under Liwali Salim bin Hamis, father of the present titular chief of the Mazrui tribe, Rashid bin Salim. Some of the *askaris* of the garrison were Sudanese, and the introduction of the *pepo ya ki-nubi* is without doubt due to them.

This *jin* is a Moslem, and the preliminary ceremonies carried out to make him speak are the same as for the *pepo ya Ki-arabu*. He is not an exacting spirit, and two or three days' dancing and drumming will satisfy him. He does not require any *sadaka* to induce him to speak, but will eat ordinary food, and in the matter of raiment, any clothes will do. In fact he is a mild fellow, and is rarely the cause of any serious ailment.

On the arrival of the guests, a ring is formed in the open, the dancers facing inward with the sick person amongst them. They move round and round the circle in the opposite direction to the hands of the clock, jumping and jerking their shoulders about. The drums, consisting of three *msondo* (described in the Ki-Nyasa dance), are played in the centre of the ring, together with the *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance). The dancing begins at 3 p.m. and goes on well into the middle of the night. This is repeated for two or three days.

The last dance continues right through the night to the next morning, when the dancers disperse. As the dance is just about to break up, the sick person makes a rush to a cauldron placed a few paces away from the dancing ring, and filled with water. He plunges his head and shoulders into the water, and the *fundi* and several muscular friends hold his head under water until he begins to struggle from loss of breath. They let him struggle for a minute or so, and then release him.

171 Instantly he makes a dash back to the dancing ring and prostrates himself on the
776 ground near the drums, probably from exhaustion. But he is not given much time
755 to consider what ails him, for he is closely followed by the *fundi* armed with a
635 *bakora* or cane, who rouses him with a smart cut across the shoulders. The patient jumps up in fear of receiving another blow of the *bakora* and is surprised to find himself quite cured. He returns home to sleep off his fatigue.

Some names of *pepo ya ki-nubi* are Fatuma wa Abdalla, Abdeh wa Hamdeh, Tai wa Yusuf, Saida wa Abana.

There are no *fundis* of *pepo ya ki-nubi* at Malindi, and it is doubtful if any remain at Takaungu.

### PEPO YA KI-SOMALI.

776 This *pepo* being a Moslem, the preliminary ceremonies are exactly the same as
535 those which take place in connection with the *pepo ya ki-arabu*.
755

The dancing is also similar to that of the Arab *pepo*, but is much more rapid.

When the sick man is able to get up and dance he puts on Somali clothes instead of Arab clothes. He also flourishes two small flags with sacred words on them. If he rides a bull on the last day of the dance, he flourishes a spear instead of a sword as the Arab *pepo* does.

[534] The drums used are the *tari* (described in the Chama dance), and they are beaten in very quick time.

The names of the Somali *pepo* are the same as modern names common to Somalis.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-arabu* dance.

### PEPO NG'OMBE.

776 This *pepo* is said to make the unfortunate person who gets it low like a cow. It
755 is considered a dangerous *pepo*, and many people do not get rid of it without paralysis of some of their limbs or of one whole side of the body.

The procedure followed to make the *pepo* speak is the same as that in cases of *pepo ya ki-galla*, that is to say the Turkish bath.

The *pepo ng'ombe* speaks Swahili, but in a hesitating manner, and interlarded with bovine noises. Grass must be cut and brought in to him to eat. If no grass is given he will try to get out of the house to go and graze. Water must be given to him to drink in a bucket or other large receptacle, into which he puts his face and drinks like a cow. Some of the water must be thrown over the body of the patient, for, if this is not done, rigidity of the limbs is believed to set in.

If the patient's mouth begins to twist to one side, the case is considered to have entered a very serious phase, and another Turkish bath is given. The patient is rubbed with castor oil, but no other sort of grease must be brought near him, nor any kind of perfume or scent.

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As soon as the patient is strong enough, dark blue cotton clothes are put on him as in the manner of the *pepo yu ki-shakini*, and he then sits up, and ultimately as he gets stronger he takes part in the dancing, which is of the same style as that of the *pepo yu ki-shakini*. He also wears a *shumburere* hat and a *torosi* (described in the *pepo yu ki-shakini*), and waves a fly-switch. The dance may be protracted to three weeks, as the illness is sometimes very stubborn. A person who has once suffered from *pepo ng'ombe* can never again tolerate the sight or smell of beef, whether raw or cooked, and sometimes even faints at the sight of it. 776 755 535

On being questioned as to where they come from, the *pepo ngombe* state that their home is in Guran at Bwana Manolo's. There is no country known in Malindi by this name.

Some of the names of *pepo ngombe* known in Malindi are: Darsheh wa Losinga, Darsan wa Bwana Manolo, Darwesh wa Bwana Msija, Lisiji wa Mpinde, Suta wa Bwana Darwasi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo yu ki-galla* dance.

## PEPO YA PUNDA.

This is a most serious illness, the majority of cases proving fatal. The name *pepo punda* is due to the noises which the patient makes, and which may be assimilated, with a good stretch of imagination, to the braying of a donkey. There is, however, no similarity at all, the noises made by the patient being merely hollow groans of pain, for the disease is extremely painful, and from the symptoms there is no doubt whatever that the *pepo punda* is tetanus. 776 755

The patient cannot speak. No drumming or dancing is allowed. Native medicine only is given to drive out the *pepo*. This medicine consists of a mixture of the following ingredients: *koto* (a root imported from Arabia), *udi-il-karah* (an astringent wood from Arabia), *arkisus* (a wood with a taste like pepper, from Arabia), *habbasoda* (a small seed like a cummin seed, but black, from Arabia), *khardal-filfil* (a root from Arabia with a taste like mustard), common black pepper, *yayi lousi* (a seed like blasting powder with a bitter taste, from Arabia), mustard seed, garlic, *shimari* (a seed like cummin seed), *zatari* (dried aromatic leaves imported from Arabia), also the horn or hoof of a black cow pounded up to powder. All these ingredients are boiled together and given to the unfortunate patient to drink. 278 757

A piece of hard wood scraped clean is placed between the teeth so as to allow of his being given medicine after the lower jaw has become rigid. 776 755

As soon as the spine of the sick person becomes arched, a fire is lighted in the sick room. A mixture is then made from donkey's dung, dog's excreta, garlic, *mvuge*, (asafœtida), sulphur and *sunduso* (a black kind of seaweed). All this is made into a paste by the addition of castor-oil, and lumps of it are cast on to the fire, from

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which then emanates acrid smoke with an appalling smell. This is supposed to relieve the patient.

Natives do not know the origin of the *pepo punda*, and are extremely afraid of it. Happily it is not very frequent in Malindi.

NOTE.—The description of the above dances has been compiled by a civil officer of experience who has a thorough knowledge of Swahili. Many of the dances have undoubtedly been brought from Arabia by the Muscat Arabs, others were probably brought in by the Nabahans and the Vumba chiefs who came from Shiraz in Persia about A.D. 1100. The hypnotic seizures described in some of the ceremonies are well known in Africa, particularly among the Akamba people; the phenomena would well repay investigation by a medical psychologist.—C. W. HOBLEY. Mombasa.

## NOTES BY A. WERNER.

p. 415, l. 33.—This, or some similar event, followed by faction-fighting, has been celebrated by Muhamadi bin Abubakari Kijuma, of Lamu, in a poem called *Utendi wa Mkoumbi*.

p. 419.—The Kinyago. This (called *unyago* by the Yaos and *chinyao* by the Anyanja) takes place at the initiation of young people in Nyasaland. For particulars, see Rattray, *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 178, 179.

p. 420.—A list of *pepo*, with the appropriate exorcisms, songs, etc., as used in the Mrima region (the mainland opposite Zanzibar) is given in Velten's *Desturi za Waswahili*, pp. 149–167. The Arab *zar*, described for Mecca by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (The Hague, 1889), vol. ii, pp. 124–128), belongs to the same category.

p. 426.—The Wasanye in the Malindi district all speak Galla, but they say their old language is still spoken by the Waboni in the Witu territory.

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302 Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.[1]

[771] The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan
754 cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under
755 reference explained the details of Ra'aba Hamra spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the
752 imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work, however, and was followed by another next day. This, called Habil, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

754 These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally
755 for their flocks and herds. The ceasing of lactation is invariably ascribed to *Ain Balis*. The cure is frankincense. I witnessed the ceremony on occasion and made a cinema film of it, though it is usually performed at sunrise or at sunset. The incense burner was brought and wood introduced and lighted. The practitioner, the cow-owner, broke a fragment of frankincense about the size of a walnut into three pieces. Then spitting upon it three times he introduced it into the burner. While two other witnesses held the afflicted animal by head and leg [illegible]ely, he waved about its head the burning frankincense, chanting a set sacrificial [illegible]nant.

782 For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

753 A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify
● 776 *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinns*, *jinnyat* and *Zars*. *Zars*[2] are the most accommodating, *jinns* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

782 The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the
556 deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

[1] Detailed descriptions will be found in my *Arabia Felix* (Jonathan Cape, 1932).

[2] A detailed description of the "Zar" cult as practised in Oman is given in my *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

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exceeding 40 cows, 20 cows are the limit, may be a camel and a few sheep as well. In the case of a poor man, perhaps a single cow or sheep. Two cows are slaughtered near the grave of the deceased on the day of burial (*i.e.* death generally), if overnight, a third cow. Two nights are allowed to pass and on the third night a cow is slaughtered. This is called *khutum*. A further period elapses varying according to the economic condition of the deceased's relatives. It may be so little as a fortnight or so much as three months when the big sacrifice takes place, may be of 10, 15 or 20 cows respresenting half of the deceased man's herds. This is called *yom al nahaira*. Both *khutum* and *nahaira* are performed at the place where the man lived and not upon his grave. More cows will be sacrificed by relatives and friends of the deceased towards whose families in his lifetime he has acted similarly. This vast slaughter attracts the whole neighbourhood and the sectional tribe of the dead man divide up the flesh for themselves, and go away under their great burdens. Visitors from other tribes have no such rights, but partake of the feast of cooked meat for which one cow will have been roasted for the occasion. 782 356

There is a widespread belief in *Subiro*, *i.e.* spirits of the departed and their power for good and evil. In the Wadi Rizat I came upon scraps of food and tobacco in the pool beneath where the spring comes gushing out of a cavern. The locals emerge at night to throw morsels on the ground or into the pool shouting, "We are your sons and your daughters—don't harm us. Be awake so that we are not harmed by *Jins* (human kind) or *Jinns*." 769 776

*Nughush* they call this casting of bread upon the waters. In theory these spirits brood over running water only: they are amenable to kind treatment and treat mankind in the same way that they are treated by mankind.

The people of Jurbaib, lower down, sacrifice a cow before the harvest after it has made a circuit of the crops—its blood being drained into the irrigation ducts. Bits of its flesh are cast amongst the growing grass. 782 769

This spring of Rizat was in old days the subject of a notorious government case. Bait Zaiyan, a section of the Shahara, claimed the exclusive right to practise *nughush* in it. The Qara overlords who wished to share in the benefits of ghostly grace demanded to go "fifty-fifty" in the sacrifice. The government wali, in order to make government itself a partner in the scheme and share in the crops of the plains, decided that both parties would receive exactly equal quantities of food from government so that there should be no cheating. But in later years the slave soldiers of government, becoming overbearing in their treatment of Bait Zaiyan, the latter called upon the departed spirits of their forefathers who promptly made the water run up hill, so that the crops in the plains withered and died, whereupon government's share lapsed. 312 [619]

Cases of virtue held to be latent in certain dying animals I met with on several occasions. The highly valued contents of the antelope's bladder for man, and its stomach for camels, may be purely a rational custom, but that cannot be said of a raven I had shot. While it lay dying a Badu asked for its heart, which he proposed thus to eat raw and palpitating. This was, he said, a protection to his own heart from evil influence, its bile also which he proposed mixing with kohl with which to anoint his eyelids. The Shahari who killed my biggest cobra, 825 789 754

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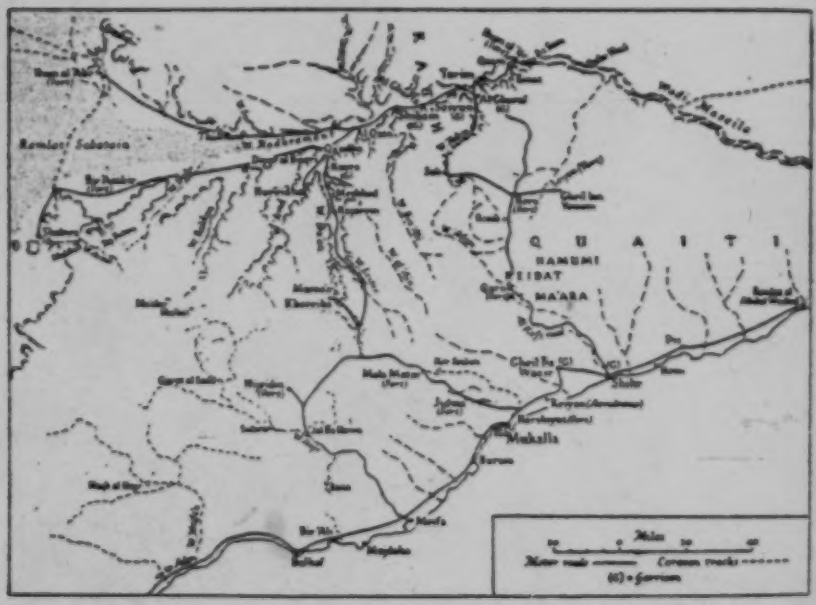
serfs whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells. The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.

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The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from considerable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft, however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut. 174 619 621 144 101

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba. 174 101 776

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes. 619 621 [778]

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau. 101 619 631 [623]

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another. 142

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable. 565

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each. 643 622

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

792 582 423 tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

792 778 346 The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

778 651 423 792 754 Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

792 778 In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We [776] must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

792 [622] 778 792 782 All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM21



Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court. 778 796 782 792 [2 T 2]

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer. 778 735

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed. 693 671 [692]

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of 671 693 577 626

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west. 142

You spoke about the shirines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration. 778

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting. 181 291 576

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy. 619 631 643

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it. [144]

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe. 576

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregor: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 101 174 619

cost was paid by him. The way across the mountains is 491
fantastically dangerous, but an expert chauffeur with a first class auto seems to be able to pass over it without any accident. I made up my mind, however, not to risk it again, and on the way back to follow the longer way round through the *wādī*. The mountain road was constructed at a time when it was impossible, owing to hostilities, to pass through the level country.

From the 27th of May until the 7th of June we were 741
in Terīm as the guests of Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf 871
As a Sayyid he has no official part in the government of 185
his country, but actually he is the man who is now doing most for his country and people. It was he who founded the schools at Makalla, at ash-Shihr, at Dō'an and in the towns of the Wādī Hadramaut, and it is he who supports them; it was he who made possible the transport of the first automobiles from the coast to Terīm, along the great road which he is now engaged in constructing. He is the man who constructed the automobile road from Terīm to Sēwun, and it is he who gives generously to thousands of the poor, to whom he has food supplied every Thursday evening. Terīm is the town for religion and learn- 361
ing; once it was the most important town of Hadramaut, and it is again on the road to become that. It is a town with a multitude of mosques and dozens of palaces, in which are living those families the members of which were able to amass millions of money in Java and at Singapore. The home of Sayyid Abu Bakr is the place where religious and political leaders meet one another, and where the future of the country is discussed.

Thanks to the help of our host, we were able to make 779
a trip to Sūne, the center for archæology, and finally to [782]
attain our most distant goal by being able to visit the 788
central sanctuary of Hadramaut, namely, the grave of the prophet of Allah, Hūd, and to explore the mythical abode of the souls of the unbelievers, Bīr Barhūt. The tomb of Hūd (Qabr Hūd) is the Mecca of Hadramaut and of the surrounding countries. For three days in

every year pilgrims assemble there from all those regions, and both before and after that a Truce of God prevails during an appointed period, in this country which is rent asunder by mutual warfare. Never before had a Christian been able to get further than Terīm in the direction of this sanctuary, and without the protection and the planning of the powerful Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf we should not have succeeded. On the way to Qabr Hūd we passed the magnificent ruined castles of el-'Urr and Thōbe, and the remains of houses and a cemetery at Makēnun. Qabr Hūd seemed to be a silent and defunct little town, with great houses which are only occupied for three days in a year. In the bed of the *wādī* there appeared to be water here, but before it reaches the sea it is said to disappear underground or else to dry up. The grave of Hūd, the great preacher of repentance in Hadramaut, is adorned with a dome which impresses one by its simplicity and beauty. The other sacred buildings are equally beautiful and are well kept. Where we had expected to find a Bedouin sanctuary which was neglected and primitive and surrounded by mud huts for the pilgrims, we found instead on the border of Arabia's "empty quarter," far away from the world, a sanctuary built and cared for with devotion and great talent.

We entered still further into the branch valley of Barhūt, and at the end of this *wādī* we saw at a height of about one hundred meters above the bottom of the valley the dark yawning chasm of the Bīr Barhūt, of which even the ancient geographers furnished descriptions, and definitely anticipated that there must be here the crater of a great volcano. After an investigation of two hours in the dark passages, arches and tunnels of Bīr Barhūt we were able to determine that we have here to deal with an ordinary limestone cave. Nowhere in this region did we see any trace of volcanic action. It was only in the broken ridge of mountains on the coast that we saw many traces of volcanic action. Further north the strata are horizontal; a layer of limestone about

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and there was a general desire for peace in order to get on with the work in the fields.

My wife was accompanied by Seiyid 'Alawi al 'Attas and Jemila, a devoted maid servant of the family, who perched precariously on the back of my wife's camel singing Badawin war songs. My wife learnt some of them and they proceeded up the wadi singing duets. Besides being an amusing companion Jemila was a very useful one, for she proved an excellent lady's maid and a masseuse as well. Seiyid 'Alawi has married a tribeswoman, so the party stayed at Zeila in the house of his brother-in-law, one of the principal Ja'da chiefs. Like many Ja'dis their host had been to Java, but the only sign of his travels was a bicycle which he had brought back with him and which he said he preferred to a camel. From Zeila they rode through many small villages to 'Anaq belonging to the Al ash Shaibi, who are credited with possessing the Evil Eye and consequently shunned as much as possible. Seiyid 'Alawi thought it prudent not to mount his camel till the village had been left well behind, in case he was made to fall off by some evilly disposed person. They spent a night at 'Amd, which is almost at the end of Ja'da territory, for a little farther up the wadi the Madhi tribe have their habitat. All the villages in the wadi are much alike with a few three- and four-storeyed houses set amongst smaller ones, and most of them have well-built tanks for catching rain-water. Particularly in the left bank there are many dug-out caves, largely used now for habitation and grain stores. Miss Caton-Thompson says that these were probably all Himyaritic tombs. I think some cave dwellers she met were rather put out when she told them they were living in tombs. Many of the Al 'Attas family, who have much influence over the Ja'dia, have been canonized and their domed tombs are objects of veneration in several villages. My wife's appearance was taken for granted at 'Amd, where she spent a night with women who had been to Java and had seen European women before. They had brought back a few momentos of their travels and impelled by the same spirit that makes us hang Eastern curios on our walls they had hung up a pair of cheap European high-heeled slippers for the admiration of their untravelled friends.

From 'Amd they returned down the wadi following the left bank and passed many ruins, most of which covered low spurs jutting out from the cliffs. At Husn Ba Qasm there are ruins known as 'Adiya Qudha'a which may indicate the site of what was once the principal town in the wadi, as in the days before Islam it was called Wadi Qudha'a. Near the large village of Bateh they passed the time of day with a man who spoke to them from a second-storey window of his house as he dared not go out, for he was carrying on single-handed a war with all his neighbours. Like many others with whom my wife talked he asked for peace. Another had said "We want peace, we're sick of fighting. A man works in his fields and is shot dead—what's the use of it?" And another stopped them and said: "A country without a government is not a country. Bring us peace and settled government."

Returning to Shibam, which is of course the principal Qu'aiti town of the interior, there is west of it past Al Qatn and as far as the junction of the Wadi Du'an a bloc of Yafa'is, with a few Kathiris surviving in such places as Ajlasin on the junction itself and also in the Wadi 'Amd. These Yafa'is have been

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he tries to mount it unnoticed. We have seen, however, and call out to him to get off, because we have just dismounted out of pity for the animal. His Yāfiᶜ comrade, who is walking in front of me, calls to him *not* to obey. I angrily bid him be silent, with the remark that I have paid for the donkeys and that, consequently, the command over them lies with me. At his insolent reply: "Hold your tongue!", he gets without further ado a box on his ears. He turns in fury, his rifle clenched in his hands.

"Shall I let myself be struck by you?"

"You shall obey me, you are under my command."

ᶜAbdallāh sulkily vanishes into the rear-guard, while we all keep our eyes on his rifle. His comrade comes to me before long to ask forgiveness for him. "Do not be angry with him, he is a little mad." Who can be angry for long with these rough children of nature? Towards evening, when the heat is over and thirst and fatigue no longer torment, both Yāfiᶜ soldiers get their so much desired remuneration and part with the two *Naṣrānīs* as the best of friends.

Close to Hadjarēn we passed a mosque at a saint's grave, and all sought the cool shadow of this place, forbidden to unbelievers. We were allowed to stand for a breathing-space in the porch. There is an earthenware jar full of water in the building, but we may not go inside, so our Makalla soldiers fetch water for us. A few peasant women who are passing by also come for the sake of the shelter. Their wide, dark-blue, rough, cotton garments leave their faces uncovered. However, as soon as they see strangers, they draw their head-cloths over their faces. They wear straw hats, with pointed crowns and wide brims, as a protection against the sun.

### 3. AN UNFORGETTABLE RECEPTION IN HADJARĒN.

From here the way mounts towards the foot of the mountain close up against which lies Hadjarēn. A steep, paved, zigzag path leads at last to the gate of this town, which by

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on a hill. Whilst we photograph, survey and sketch, we feel as if our narrow standing-place were swaying gently to and fro. It is unpleasant to contemplate that we are so high above the level of the ground, standing on a slender tower made of almost nothing but dried mud.

## 5. SMALL RUINS OUTSIDE TERĪM.

In the evening, during the family motor drive, when the el-Kāfs and their set ride in slow procession through the gardens of Terīm and the baked plains of stone that lie outside it, a hill in the midst of Wādī ʿĒdīd is pointed out to us, which is said to have associations dating from the ʿĀd epoch. From a certain distance an old, paved high road is clearly visible, leading to the summit of the hill, where a temple must have stood. Only loose stones with mortar between them are now to be seen on the hill; at its base there are the remains of foundations of buildings, which seem to point to a guest-house with many small rooms. For the people of Terīm these ruins have an odour of sanctity; a similar hill, close by, is used by childless women as a place of worship, where they have to perform certain nocturnal rites by means of which they hope to have children.

## 6. A WALK THROUGH THE TOWN.

On the following day, May 28th, we go with the doctor to see his house and clinic. This pioneer of western medical science has no easy time here; the people still cling to their own ideas as to the functions of the human body and the causes of illness. They think that there are three chief causes of sickness, namely *riyāḥ* (gasses in the blood), *burūda* (cold), and *ḥarāra* (heat). They say of foods that they make the body cold or hot, or cause or disperse flatulence. Even the men of standing talk about their ailments in this terminology

# CHAPTER XI.

## A TOUR TO THE RUINS NEAR SŪNE.

In the evening, in conversation, we lead up to the question of our plans for further travel. They laugh incredulously at first and say that it is now too hot to travel by day: they themselves only go out of doors towards sunset. When we say that we cannot understand how the great leaders of business of Singapore and Java and these men, who played an active part there in education and journalism, can stand this life of inaction, they answer: "This is the land of sleep and of death. We come here to sleep and towards the end of our lives, so that we may die here." The changeless, scorching plains of stone, the rock-walls, the deserts of sand, the ever green date-palms, the glowing heat and the noiseless nature in Ḥaḍramaut do indeed make one think of sleep and of death. But we are still full of the restlessness of the West, and they see that we are serious in our desire to see more of the country, in spite of heat and thirst and in spite of difficulties certainly to be anticipated from the Bedouins, who are also in bad odour here. Our great object is to see Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhūt, the former, because it is the great sanctuary of Ḥaḍramaut to which each year thousands go on pilgrimage, and the latter, because for centuries past the most fantastic tales have been current about Bīr Barhūt and no one can say with certainty what this "mouth of hell" actually is. Sayyid Abū Bakr has promised to help us. The expedition to Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhūt demands days of preparation and therefore we had better undertake a simpler excursion first and visit the ruins in Wādī Sūne.

On Friday, May 29th, we leave Terīm early in the morning in two cars. We are in the first with Sayyid Hāshim and the

# CHAPTER XII.

## THE AIM OF EVERY HADRAMAUT EXPLORER: QABR HŪD AND BĪR BARHŪT.

000 Very early on May 31st we depart in two cars for the journey to the tomb of Allah's prophet Hūd and for Bīr Barhūt. None of the family or their intimates have any desire to join this tiring, hot expedition and only Sayyid ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās el-Badawī, who made the descent of Bīr Ghumdān near Ḥurēḍa, remains faithful to us. He wishes to be the first Ḥaḍramī to go down into the mysterious depths of Bīr Barhūt [1], so that thereafter his name may be immortalized in his country's history.

For companions we have Ṣāliḥ, our cook, and further, Bedouins and soldiers of Sayyid Abū Bakr. We first pass large villages, palm-groves and fields of *dhura*, as we drive through the wādī. One can see from the outward appearance of the villages and gardens that we are going through a district that is on the decline. This becomes very clear as we approach ᶜĒnāt which lies on the right bank of the wādī-bed.

### 1. THE NUQRA.

361 ᶜĒnāt was once one of the largest and most famous towns in
778 Ḥaḍramaut. The great *qubba* of Shēkh Abū Bakr bin Sālim, as well as the tombs of six other holy men, attracted great numbers of pilgrims to it. The approach to the town was made a pleasure by a large wood of palms. The white cupolas and numerous mosques, real gems of the pure Ḥaḍramaut style of architecture, drew the admiring glances of the thousands

[1] Later on (pp. 150 and 165) we shall see that one Haḍramī, the late Sayyid Muḥammad bin ᶜAqīl, penetrated into Bīr Barhūt, twenty years ago, but gave up the endeavour after some hundred yards.

p. 148

of pilgrims who used to come and worship here. ᶜĒnāt is well situated for this: nearly *all* pilgrims to the tomb of God's Prophet Hūd must pass through it. Now its greatness has fallen, and everyone in Ḥaḍramaut knows the *nuqra*[1], the cause of its gradual ruin. Since the disappearance of the dams periodic strong currents of water have worn out and deepened the *sēl*-bed. This erosion has moved slowly up-stream. By a dam nearly a mile in length Shibām has had to protect its palm plantations against this action, which lays bare the roots of the trees. ᶜĒnāt is situated further down-stream than any town in Ḥaḍramaut, so that it gets the full force of the torrents and the erosion occurs here first and makes itself most seriously felt. The *sēl* is very much strengthened at times by water from various side-wādīs, and in the thick layer of loess covering the valley here its bed is washed out deeper and deeper.

The roots of the palm-trees are washed bare and, consequently, the crop becomes smaller. Finally the tree falls; it goes on living and still bears fruit, but its death is near. The broad zone of palms around ᶜĒnāt is slowly perishing through the *nuqra*. The palms are doomed; the sun penetrates through the many open spaces, the works for distributing water are destroyed, and everything is covered by a layer of white sand. We only visited ᶜĒnāt on the way back, keeping now to the northern bank, which soon rises high up above the bed of the wādī. The loess wall is becoming more and more undermined by the water and it is therefore difficult for our drivers to find a safe way along it. This danger proved real on the way back; one of the two cars overturned and was badly damaged. An attempt has been made to divert the *sēl*-bed to the foot of the mountains on the north by constructing a dam. A great sum was raised for this, but the dam was repeatedly destroyed by the water so that the undertaking was, at last, abandoned. The plan to construct a dam was due to the initiative of one

[1] *Nuqra* is the gradual erosion by the water.

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## 6. THE TOMB OF THE PROPHET HŪD AND THE SILENT PILGRIMS' TOWN.

•778 At last we see the white domes of Qabr Hūd and the buildings belonging to it, against the dark rock-wall. The wādī bends at a right angle towards the north; from the distance it almost looks as if it had no outlet and ends in a steep chasm between black rocks. About half an hour before we reach Qabr Hūd we come upon a square mud building on a flat-topped hill, in which a guard is posted. Our *muqaddam* maintains that we may only enter the town under the protection of this guard. We manage to arrange for our protectors to await the caravan and to go with it to the house in Sha$^{c}$b Hūd (the Chasm of Hūd) where we are to spend the night.

778 133 And now we are making our way unaccompanied to the goal which we had hardly dared to hope to reach. It is only thanks to Sayyid Abū Bakr that we, as the first Christian visitors, are allowed to enter this renowned sanctuary of Ḥaḍramaut. To approach it, my companion and I leave the road and go across country, each following what he thinks to be the shortest and best way. Wādī Barhūt here leads into Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. The thick layer of loess is, in many unexpected places, deeply cut into by water flowing away after rain. The banks of these dry *sēl*-beds are so steep that it costs time and effort to get through. The hills between them are covered with a layer of fine dust more than eight inches thick. A great number of bushes of $^{c}$*ushar, rāk* and *ithl* make the landscape a charming picture of fresh green.

361 778 But our eyes turn towards the wonderful white buildings that lie there before us, up against a grey-black precipice of rock, and towards the dead town lower down in the narrow ravine — the town which is only inhabited for three days in the year. The whole scene is much greater and more beautiful than we had ventured to picture it in our thoughts. The pure white buildings, destined for the cult of the saint, give the impression of being brand-new, and of being most devotedly

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preserved and cared for. The town with its solidly built, large 361
houses looks well-kept and attractive. We had expected to see 778●
a great camp with tumble-down huts and certainly not a town with cupolas and mosques, with tall houses of many storeys with whitewashed roofs and high windows. In earlier times it was indeed different. Qabr Nebī Allāh Hūd has been the headquarters of a religious cult, belonging to and destined for Bedouins, dating from pre-Muḥammadan times. Wealth, amassed abroad, has been partly used to show gratitude to Allāh, the Giver. Thus, a full ten years ago, a rich member of the el-Kāf family left a large sum of money for the restoration of this sanctuary; only the cupola of the tomb is old, the other religious buildings being new. The tomb lies higher than the rest against the steep rock-wall. I will recall here the 792
popular story of the Prophet Hūd, the man of God of pagan times, who called his people to repentance and conversion, yet, like many another prophet, was not honoured in his own country. He ended his earthly career in this place, hunted down by his enemies. Allāh opened the rock for him and his pursuers saw him no more. The faithful she-camel (the *nāqa*) that Hūd rode and the milk of which he drank died close by his master's grave. When Islām had penetrated into Ḥaḍramaut, the cult of the Prophet Hūd arose and the pilgrimage to his tomb was incorporated into that Faith.

Hūd must have been a very big man, for his grave is about [792]
120 feet long. The *qubba* is built on the spot where his head 778
is said to rest, the place where, also, the rock was cleft open. 346
The building is in pure Ḥaḍramī style, simple and lovely. In the narrow ravine encircled by threatening, dark precipices and rude, brownish-black blocks of stone, this gay, white edifice with its beautiful simplicity and its sober ornamentation is like the voice of all that is finest and highest in man in a world of harshness and want. This voice, speaking in the eternal silence of this out-of-the-way, motionless corner of the world, is heard and understood even by us, the first Christian pilgrims from the West. We understand how the

778 Bedouin, calling himself a Muslim, yet still a heathen, ap-
346 proaches this spot with holy dread. Here, for three days, he knows peace with his fellows and brotherly intercourse; here fear is banished; here he stands, in very truth, on the threshold of holy ground. He, with his life's great need, approaches the miracle-working tomb of his Prophet like a hopeful and trustful child. He, or more often she, carries a wooden wedge and a coloured thread of wool with a little stone attached to it, lightly in the hand. The wedge has to be driven into the outer wall of the *qubba* or into the rounded border of stone, plastered with white, which marks the place where the body lies. It does not seem to be permitted to drive wedges into the inside of the cupola. The threads of wool are chewed into lumps and, well-moistened with saliva, are stuck on to the walls and ceiling. The walls are decorated in this way so profusely that they look as though hung with a many-coloured wall-paper or enriched with a gaily painted design.

778 We have approached the sanctuary warily and noiselessly.
346 No one comes to forbid our entrance, so we venture to go in.
782 Fortunately there is no one inside either. Below us, in the *nāqa* mosque, there are a few pilgrims, and if there are keepers of the buildings they will be with them teaching them how to recite the special prayers. The sound of litanies said in unison rises up to us; they are repeated with monotonous persistance and increasing urgency. In the *qubba* of Nebī Hūd we see, in the middle, a round piece of masonry like the base of a very thick pillar. It is built upon the protruding rock, which has a wide, deep fissure in it just here. This is the place where the rock, at Allāh's command, must have opened for His servant to enter and never closed again completely. The rock and, in particular, the edges of the cleft, are polished smooth by the thousands of hands that have stroked them gently in prayer and by the lips that have kissed this sacred spot. Verses from the Koran in which the Prophet Hūd is mentioned, or sayings of Muḥammad handed down by word of mouth, extolling the merits of the pilgrimage to the tomb of Hūd, are written here and there on the walls.

●778
346

The national sanctuary, the tomb of Allāh's Prophet Hūd.

p160 (B)

See page 158.

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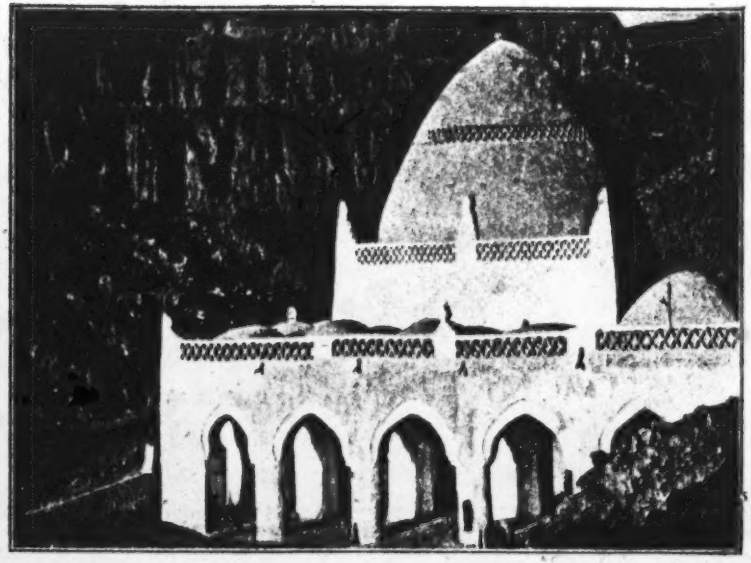
346
178



The heart's desire of every Hadramī, the cupola of Nebī Hūd.

See page 160.

p 160 (D)

ment. We drink then as much as we can, and that is saying a great deal!

Our Bedouins now begin with the cooking of a meal. It is late before the rations are dealt out and still later by the time they have eaten their fill and have settled down to sleep. The moon has risen over the mountains and illumines the wādī through which we have come. The *sēl*-bed, smooth as a mirror, looks like a silver ribbon, the bushes and trees make a white mist along the banks, the crumbled rock-walls are like primeval, impassive witnesses of the ruin of the people of ᶜĀd, grown rigid by silence and inaction.

## 7. BĪR BARHŪT, THE ENTRANCE TO THE ABODE OF THE SOULS OF UNBELIEVERS.

We plan to set out next day before day-break for Bīr Barhūt, to have a close view of that volcano of legend and its crater. Two Bedouins are enlisted to show us the way, but only a few others of our company have the courage to go with us. Ṣāliḥ, our cook, who has tramped through the whole rough country of the Yemen as donkey-boy to a Greek merchant, has no fear and casts in his lot with ours; he says that where we go he too will go. Then there is Sayyid ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās, who is trying to make a name for himself in Ḥaḍramaut, who made the descent into Bīr Ghumdān with Von Wissmann, and who has set out with us this time, in order to add the descent into Bīr Barhūt to his laurels. The leader of our caravan will also come; he has shown himself to be a daring rock-climber and is curious to investigate whatever interests us. Then again there are a few Bedouins who will let this night's dreams decide for them whether or no they are to accompany us. The undertaking is much harder in the eyes of our companions than in our own, for they are firmly convinced that snakes and monstrous creatures live in the black abysses of Bīr Barhūt, and they know and accept credulously the tales that are told of suffocating vapours rising out of it. Never-

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•778 theless, their trust in the ability of the white Westerner and in the power of his instruments counterbalances these intimidating factors. If we go calmly ahead armed with our automatic pistols and electric torches they can keep enough courage to follow.

165 778 Bīr Barhūt is mentioned in several old Arabic works on geography.

El-Hamdānī, who wrote, about A. D. 900, his *Kitāb Ṣifat Djazīrat el-ᶜArab*, mentions Bīr Barhūt among other remarkable wells and quotes the curse: "May Allāh send his soul to join the souls of the unbelievers in Barhūt!" [1]

El-Masᶜūdī, who wrote, about A. D. 950, his *Kitāb Murūdj edh-Dhahab*, says: "The volcano of Wādī Barhūt lies somewhere in the country of Asfār and Ḥaḍramaut, belonging to the land of esh-Shihr, which lies between the Yemen and ᶜOmān; its voice, like that of thunder, is to be heard from many miles away. It ejects coals as large as mountains and pieces of black rock, whose sound as they are thrown into the air can be heard afar off, and which fall into and around the crater. The coals which come out of it are stones, red hot from the fire", etc. [2]

El-Qazwīnī writes in his *ᶜAdjāʾib el-Makhlūqāt*, about A. D. 1250: "Bīr Barhūt is close to Ḥaḍramaut. The Prophet — on whom be the *ṣalāt* and the *salām* — has said of this *Bīr*, that the souls of unbelievers and of hypocrites dwell within it. It is a well from the time of ᶜĀd, in the desert part of a dark wādī. It is told of ᶜAlī — to whom God be merciful — that he said: 'The bit of earth most hated by Allāh is Wādī Barhūt, in which there is a well filled with evil-smelling, black water, wherein go the souls of the unbelievers.' El-Aṣmaᶜī says that he was told by a man from Ḥaḍramaut: 'Whenever we notice

[1] El-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 128, l. 25; 201, l. 2; 203 *infra*. See also for the legend of Bīr Barhūt, J. Halévy, *La légende arabe sur Bourhoût* in *Journal Asiatique*, 8e Série, T. ii., p. 442—454.

[2] *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Vol. ii. (Paris, 1863), p. 26—27.

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a foul smell in the neighbourhood of Barhūt, then, later on, we are informed of the death of one of the most prominent among the unbelievers'."[1]

Other writers when speaking of Ḥaḍramaut also mention Bīr Barhūt and record what they have heard of it. That does not differ in essentials from what is said by the old writers.[2]

The first more exact information comes from the aforementioned Ḥaḍramī scholar, the late Sayyid Bin ʿAqīl; he was the first writer to see Bīr Barhūt for himself and even had the courage to enter it for some distance and he gives a detailed account of what he thinks he saw and observed within it.[3] It is true that he speaks still of the trails of snakes, of the smell of sulphur and of the ashes of burnt sulphur, but his description differs widely from the pool of sulphur into which were thrown the souls of unbelievers.

This description of his travels was only published after our return from Ḥaḍramaut. We both, however, had the privilege of meeting the learned Sayyid and of hearing from his own mouth much that was worth knowing. He spent his last years in Ḥodēda in the Yemen, being exiled by the Qeʿēṭī Government. We had met a brother of his at el-Kāf's house in Terīm.

We left Qabr Hūd for Bīr Barhūt at five o'clock on the morning of June 3rd. We went on foot, but had a camel with us laden with water-skins. As baggage we had only cameras, electric torches, compasses and a rope. Wādī Barhūt debouches into the main wādī close to Qabr Hūd. It is fairly wide at first and the surface soil is a thick layer of loam. A remnant of agriculture and a few small date-groves still remain. There is also the well from which, on the previous evening, we had procured drinking-water. No trace is left

[1] El-Qazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1849), Vol. i., p. 198.

[2] Cf. Th. and Mrs. Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 138 *sq.*; C. Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Vol. i., *Ḥaḍramoût*, Leiden, 1901, p. 440 *sq.*, 445 *sqq.*, 483.

[3] See the weekly paper *Ḥaḍramaut*, 9th year, No. 304, Surabaya, 9th Oct. 1931.

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of the woods of date-palms and the villages spoken of in the popular accounts, nor did we see any ruins of houses or castles. The *sēl*-bed has dug itself deeply in and the last ten date-palms or so are in danger of being uprooted by this smaller *nuqra*. As we proceed, boulders and sand get the better of the loam, the wādī narrows and a small footpath winds between annoying fragments of rock. We walk fast, spurred on by the desire to look upon the mystery of Ḥaḍramaut. The table-land is very much intersected here; wild crags rise on all sides. No trace of volcanism is to be found. There is a thick stratum of limestone on sandstone here as everywhere else in Ḥaḍramaut. Here and there the dark mouths of caves can be seen in the mountain slopes.

We walk fast for two or three hours through Wādī Barhūt, ever narrowing as it winds upwards, and we see no living being in this savage, silent world of rock. Were one to journey through it alone one would surely be overwhelmed by a feeling of great loneliness. Furthermore, as the sun rises, it becomes unbearably hot in this narrow, deep wādī of rock; it is a region of terror, but, as a matter of fact, all uninhabited parts of Ḥaḍramaut are. It is a little more savage here than elsewhere, but that alone does not explain why popular imagination has created such terrifying tales about Bīr Barhūt, tales which are believed all over the country up to the present day.

At last we stand at the foot of the mountain-side of Bīr Barhūt. We see the wide, dark mouth of the cave, in a steep mountain wall, about 300 feet above us. The sight has the effect of a challenge. Our escort hasten to throw down everything superfluous in a heap beside the camel with the bags of water, and then to clamber up to the entrance of the cave. We take a good drink and then follow them. A zigzag path, where camels can go, has been cut into the rock; parts of it have been destroyed by water and it does not give the impression of being in use. Sayyid Bin ʿAqīl tells in his paper [1]

[1] See p. 165.

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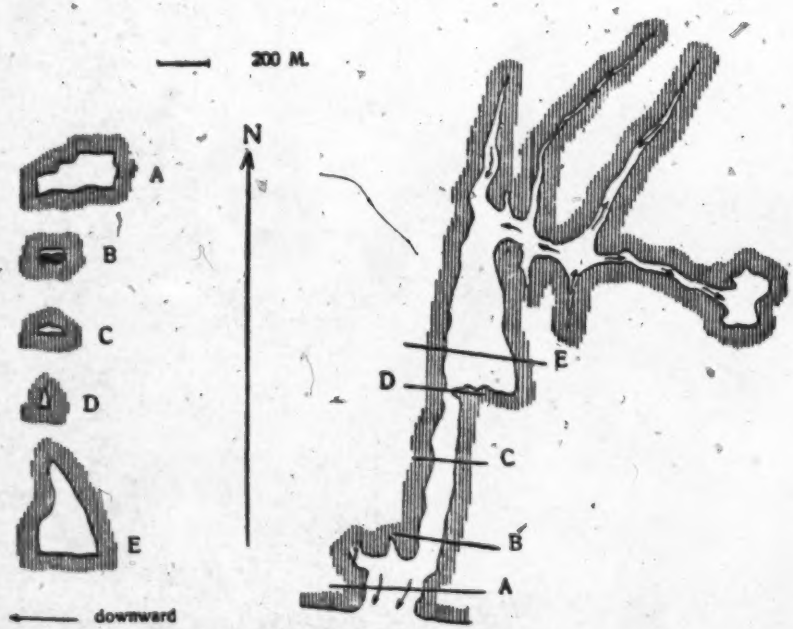
that camels used to go by this path to fetch manure from out of Bīr Barhūt. This must have been the dung of bats. 778

When we arrived at the top, we found our companions sitting on boulders scattered on the floor of a broad, high porch, the portal of Bīr Barhūt, which is about 120 feet wide, 45 feet high and 60 feet deep. Boulders many feet in height lie in disorder before the entrance to the cave in the further wall, which is nine feet wide and four feet high. Having established this fact we take a short rest. Sayyid ʿAlī sniffs adventure and his thoughts see fame beckoning to him. Naked but for a loin-cloth and with a gun of one of the Bedouins who remain behind slung over his shoulder, he leads the way, creeping into the cave. We follow with the torches and the rope. Von Wissmann has with him the compass and the route note-book. He, as an experienced investigator of caves, will sketch our route inside Bīr Barhūt, and thus we hope, if torches and compass work properly, to find our way back again to the entrance. Besides three electric torches we have a *fānūs*, a kerosene lamp, by means of which we can verify whether the air in the cave has a sufficiency of oxygen. Sayyid ʿAlī goes ahead with this lamp, Von Wissmann follows with the measuring tape in his hand, I follow as soon as the tape becomes taut and the direction has been noted down.

Cautiously we climb, one behind the other, into the thick darkness; the cave leads fairly horizontally into the limestone mountain. Passing over sharp, rough boulders we reach a spot where the cave becomes so low that we have to creep through on hands and feet. Beyond this the passage becomes roomy and high again. We have to pass deep clefts, the bottom of which even the beams of our lanterns cannot fathom. The rock on which we walk is covered with a thick layer of fine dust into which our feet sink noiselessly. Daylight does not penetrate here. The gloom makes a deep impression on the Arabs who are with us, for they are convinced that this black night hides monsters and spirits, who must resent the pre-

778 sence of intruders in their kingdom. It is too much for some of them; they can still find their way out and do so, and none of those who remain utters a word of scorn or reproach. We *will* not leave our leaders, Von Wissmann and Sayyid ʿAlī, alone and, with beating hearts, we press onward. It is very warm in the cave; we feel bats flapping around us and smell




CAVE CALLED BĪR BARHŪT.

an unpleasant odour, which we ascribe to those animals, and we hear their gentle rustling. We go forward walking cautiously on the carpet of dust. The passage emerges into a high, wide space. We tell our Arab companions, who stare in stupefaction upon the dimensions of this unexpected hall: "This is the Cathedral of the Unbelievers." Their murmured answers are: "Allāh is the greatest, Allāh knoweth best." On the further side the space narrows and becomes a corridor

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again, which ends by being so narrow as to be impassable. It seems to us that the "Cathedral" has no other exit than a broad, high one in the wall on the right. This last passage leads upwards at first, over boulders; the further we penetrate into the cave, the hotter it becomes. The oppression caused by the darkness and heat, combined with the still increasing unpleasant smell, rises in my gorge; and I think that most of us hope that those corridors will come to a dead end so that we can turn back! Meanwhile we proceed with care and pass side corridors leading off to the left and right. At the beginning of the passage which we have taken we find traces of human presence; a small niche has been hacked out of the limestone wall with a tool, the scars of which can be clearly seen, and some charcoal is lying about and there is soot on the wall of the niche. Somewhat further on there is another similar spot, where some branches also lie among the charcoal and the ashes. The Bedouins presume that it has been a place of refuge for those fleeing from the pursuit of enemies.

This corridor is long and at last narrows and comes to a dead end. In these narrow passages with no outlet it is noticeably hotter than in the broad, main corridor. If our attention had not been so much concentrated on examining the cave we should hardly have been able to endure the temperature. But now we did not think of it and only when we reached the daylight again did we see that we looked like stokers, sweating at every pore and covered all over with dust! Sometimes the side corridors descended sharply; one of them could only be entered through a small hole. Sayyid ʿAlī went first. As soon as he was through we saw him with his lamp glissading down all the while on a layer of fine rubble. Von Wissmann followed him, but we did not venture to do so. Their light vanished far away in the depths and an avalanche of stones noisily followed them; then came silence. I had the torches extinguished to economise the batteries; the pitch darkness and stillness oppressed my companions who, every moment, wished to switch on the lights again. Our thoughts

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778 dwelt anxiously on the possibility that the two dare-devils might have had an accident, if the slope had perhaps become steeper further down. They had with them our only rope of 70 feet. We stood waiting there for twenty minutes, with increasing anxiety; then to our great relief a faint glimmer of light could be seen far away in the depths, and a little later we were helping the two weary men to climb up again along the wall of the corridor.

All sorts of sharp objects stuck out of the wall where the passages were narrow. They appeared to be shells and were frequently quite intact. We picked some off and took them away with us. The walls also sparkled as if covered with a layer of salt or other white powder, though, to judge from the taste, it was not any ordinary kind of salt.

At last all the passages within reach had been searched and we set out on the return to the main corridor. It became appreciably cooler as we neared the exit; unfortunately we had forgotten to bring a thermometer with us to measure the high temperature inside the cave. When we came out into the great porch of Bīr Barhūt we found our guides stretched out on the boulders, fast asleep. When we awakened them, they were dumb with amazement to see us again. They had waited for perhaps half an hour, hoping for our return, but then, as we still did not come, they felt sure that we had been overwhelmed by snakes and hellish spirits or suffocated by sulphurous vapours!

However, there we were standing before them, after two hours, certainly very dirty and drenched in perspiration, but very much alive. We had established the fact that Bīr Barhūt is a typical limestone cave, with nothing whatever volcanic about it. The curious but innocuous smell inside does not come from sulphurous vapour; it is probably due to the dust from the weathering of rock or, perhaps, to bats. The high temperature, especially at the ends of the corridors, is not a consequence of volcanism, but is connected with the very high temperature reached by the outer air in Wādī Barhūt.

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the hot air penetrates to the furthest and highest parts of the 778
ve and does not cool down much there. In the whole region
Ḥaḍramaut, after the broken mountainous strata of the
coast, we saw no further trace of volcanism.

When our eyes had grown accustomed once more to the 000
light and we had had a drink, we descended again into the wādī. The sun shone right into it and it was suffocatingly hot, nor could we escape from the heat until we reached Qabr Hūd, so we walked as fast as we could and in two hours arrived at the well at the beginning of the wādī. Our escort were unable to keep up with us, but two young Minhālī Bedouins, with the slender suppleness and strength of the ibex, offered their society and were entertaining companions. We were thoroughly exhausted by the time we got to the well, but they were absolutely fresh. They drew water for us and, afterwards, drank themselves but once. We drank the water — warm, but clear — again and again, and had it poured over our backs and chests, so getting a long needed bath. One of the two spoke Swahili; he had spent five years in Nairobi where he had had a shop and had saved 600 *riyāls*. Now he was the happy possessor of ten camels and a young 583
wife. The other was still unable to marry, as the marriage 291
portion here is from 150 to 200 *riyāls* and, for the moment, 301
he had not this amount. He would like us to take him abroad, 302
there to try his luck as his comrade had done. The Minhālīs wear necklaces of plaited leathern straps and red and white coral, and round their waists, under the cartridge-belt, I saw similar, very artistic bands. They are bare-headed, with a strap round their greasy hair, which is waved and worn half-length, and they wear small loin-cloths over which the cartridge-belt is buckled. Many of them have still muzzle-loading guns. It is obvious from their primitive appearance that the lands where they rove lie along the southern border of the Rub$^{c}$ el-Khālī, the extreme northern limit of Ḥaḍramaut.

In the house in the ravine of Qabr Hūd it was also un- 000
bearably hot, the indoor temperature reaching from 40° to

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has made his fortune abroad has built here a princely house for himself. He has, of course, not forgotten to render thanks to Allah at the same time by building a mosque, a glittering white masterpiece of Ḥaḍramī architecture. The contrast between the great wealth of many sayyids and the poverty of the great mass of the people does not seem to be poignantly felt here. The palaces of the rich stand right in the midst of dying towns; their children, frequently overdressed, play with the almost naked black children of slaves. The rich return of their own accord from lands of culture and prosperity to their own land of appalling poverty, to enjoy within its borders the wealth they have accumulated. Allah has willed that there be rich men in the world and poor men to whom they should be able to give alms. It is fit and proper that there should be beggars in every good Muslim society and especially a plentiful supply of them in places of pilgrimage, so that the pious may have ample opportunity to practise the generosity commanded by Allah. We have noticed little jealousy or class conflict in Ḥaḍramaut. This is certainly due partly to the democratic way of living. The privileges of the sayyid class have a religious and not a money basis. Soldiers, household slaves and the free citizens of the village meet in the *madjlis* of the rich and all eat there in company, drink from the same bowl and join in the same converse.

From Qasam we go by car along the high clay bank of the *masīla* (the bed of the wādī), which has been eroded by the *nuqra*. Having reached a point opposite ʿĒnāt we attempt to cross the wide sandy bed of the *masīla* to reach the town. The palm plantations have been growing progressively thinner and the soil here is entirely covered by a layer of sand. We stall constantly in this sand in the *masīla* and have difficulty in reaching ʿĒnāt, where everything speaks of vanished glory. The town is scattered over a wide area; great open spaces give one the impression that the population was formerly much larger than it is now. At one time many pilgrims were attracted here by the seven *qubbas* which adorn

361 the tombs of holy men. The Āl el-ᶜĒderūs, one of the families
●778 of sayyids whose riches are made in Java, come from ᶜĒnāt
788 and are, moreover, the ruling family in this pious city, which owes the few houses that are kept in repair, the beautiful white mosques and the fine school for boys to these sayyids and to those of the Āl Ḥāmid. At the seven *qubbas* we meet Sayyid ᶜAlī bin el-ᶜĒderūs, who feels an exile from his people who live in Surabaya, but his place here will be taken by another member of the family in a few years' time. He is glad to meet someone who knows Java and invites us to take a cup of tea with him. We learn from him that ᶜĒnāt can
312 boast of thirteen mosques and has, at the present time,
172 5000 inhabitants. Water for drinking has to be brought from
[162] a great distance, as the local supply is not fit for it. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh Āl Ḥāmid, who lived for ten years in Dār es-Salām, is also glad to have an opportunity of talking once more with Europeans and comes to Sayyid ᶜAlī's *madjlis*. He has some acquaintance with the early history of his country and tells us of the great dam which is said to have existed in pre-Islamic times between Qabr Hūd and the sea. The destruction of this dam ushered in the decline of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh has his own theory of the means by which the great stones of the buildings in the pre-Islamic period were piled one upon the other; he asserts that he has seen representations of elephants on the ruins and assumes that it was by them that these heavy stones were dragged to their places. I doubt whether this supposition is correct, although it is true that elephants play a part in the historical traditions of Arabia. The great castles are built on high, rocky hills, whose slopes are barely practicable even for man.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



361 Dō'an, 'Amd, and 'Adam, and the large towns of the main wādi. Speaking of this palace, Bent says, 'Like a fairy palace of the Arabian Nights, white as a wedding cake, and with as many battlements and pinnacles, with its windows painted red, the colour being made from red sandstone, and its balustrades decorated with the inevitable chevron pattern, the castle of El-Qatan rears its battlemented towers above the neighbouring brown houses and expanse of palm-groves; and behind it rise the steep red rocks of the encircling mountains.'

There are several mosques and a busy bazaar; the houses are built largely of stone. The town is surrounded by mud walls, which wind over the hill-side, beginning and ending at the palace of the Jemadar; they are protected at the most elevated point by a strong fortress. The population of Qatan is probably well over 2,000. The water-supply is good and abundant, and is derived almost entirely from very numerous wells. A special kind of date called 'Hajar', which is much prized, seems almost peculiar to this district.

[178] The Wādi Sirr is within easy reach of Qatan, in the recesses of which is *Qabr Sālih*, the tomb of Sālih, of no architectural pretensions, but looked upon as one of the principal sacred places of the Hadhramaut.

4. **Shibām** is built on an extensive knoll, in the midst of what is probably the largest agricultural settlement of the whole Hadhramaut system of wādis. The town is surrounded by a wall, about 20 feet in height, of sun-dried brick, with bastions and turrets at intervals; it occupies a very strong strategical position, being situated in the very middle of the wādi, so narrow here that the cliffs on either side are within gunshot of the citadel. On the side of the wādi, immediately opposite the citadel, is a fort with some cannon, and all the lower hills around are dotted with smaller fortresses. The town is entered by a high double main gate on the eastern side, and just inside is a large square, on one side of which stands the lofty palace of the Jemadar. Near by are other large houses of wealthy Seyyids or townsmen, many of them rivalling the palace in height and size, and whitened and adorned with domes and spires. It is to be remarked that many of these houses communicate by subterranean passages. Most of the streets are very narrow and steep, with occasional runnels of dirty water. In strong contrast to the quarter of the notables, some parts of the town are entirely in ruins; Hirsch says, 'in fact, all around speaks ruin; houses falling to pieces; miserable collections of huts and heaps of rubble'. Shibām, with a population of 6,000 souls (Van den Berg puts it much lower than this), is perhaps the largest of

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



792 tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are
582 given tithes of other land by ancient right.
423

The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they
792 claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a
778 white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs
346 are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

778 Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls
651 on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land
423 or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the
792 title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best
754 description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

792 In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets.
778 They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We
[776] must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

792 All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at
[622] Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who
778 derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of
792 villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or
782 Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

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Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court.

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer.

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed.

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of

## THE DANDARO DANCE.

535 This is rarely if ever danced by free men, and is considered essentially a slaves
567 dance. In a convenient open space, men and women stand in a circle facing inwards,
562 the drums being in the middle. The men stand together, occupying one part of the circle and the women the other. The dancers place the right hand on the left shoulder and the left hand under the right elbow, and in this position they bend the knees slightly and sway the body in time to the music while progressing very slowly sideways
535 round the circle to the right. A *zumari* or clarionet described above (see Sherha
534 dance) plays the tune to which the dancers sing the words of a song, or rather a chorus repeated over and over again at short intervals which are filled by the clarionet solo. The accompanying drums consist of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* (see Razha dance), also a *kurugo* drum, about two feet high and ten inches in diameter, with a goat-skin on one end only which is beaten with a stick, the drum resting on the ground in an upright position.

The Dandaro may be danced during the daytime as well as at night. Occasionally food may be cooked and partaken of towards the end of the dance. In the larger townships no invitation is necessary, and anybody may join in.

## THE KI-NYASA DANCE.

535
171 As its name indicates, this dance is an importation from Nyasaland, introduced
567 first to Zanzibar and then to the coast of the mainland by slaves captured in Nyasa-
562 land and brought here by the Arabs. Consequently it is a dance practised only by slaves and people of humble origin.

It is danced in the open either by day or by night. Men and women, arranged in no special order as to sex, form a circle standing one behind the other and go round in a direction opposite to the hands of a clock, moving in quick time but taking very short steps and bending the knee considerably at each step. The arms are held in the position of a person running, that is to say with the elbow bent and the fore-arm at right angles to the body, which is bent slightly forward. Some of the dancers jerk their shoulders up and down occasionally. The leader of the dance sings a solo and the others take up the chorus. The men wear a string of small iron bells known as *wjuga* strung round their knees, and stamp their foot at each step so as to make them jingle.

535 One large drum is used, called a *msondo*, and fashioned somewhat after the drum
534 of the Washambala. It is rather a high-toned drum in spite of its size, which is about
782 six feet in length and twelve to fifteen inches in diameter. One end only is covered with goat-skin, struck with the player's hands. The open end of the drum rests on the ground while the drummer stands astride the other end which is supported by a cloth round his waist, and he plays it in that position. This dance has no mystical meaning, and is merely an expression of a superabundance of animal spirits which

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are given vent to by singing and running round in a circle, in time to the beating of a drum, very much in the same manner as children do. No invitations are given, and anyone may join in. No refreshments are handed round. 535 534 782

### THE MDEMA DANCE.

This also is an importation from Nyasaland (see Ki-Nyasa dance), and is danced by the slave population only, either by day or by night. It is exactly like the Ki-Nyasa dance described above, with the exception that no iron bells are strapped round the knees, and it is, if possible, of a simpler character, the Ki-Nyasa being in truth simple enough. Like the latter it is merely a vent for high animal spirits. No refreshments are given and no invitations are necessary. 536 567 782

### THE KINDIMBA.

The Kindimba is not a dance, but a musical entertainment into which enters a slight element of the mystical. It is only given by people of the slave class in fulfilment of a vow. Any person who greatly desires something or some event to come to pass makes a vow to give a Kindimba if his wish is fulfilled. 533 667 517 782

Invitations are issued to his friends by the person who is giving the entertainment, and they assemble at his house. The men and women sit together either indoors if there is room, or else in the open. Songs are sung by a leader, the other guests joining in the chorus, and clapping their hands in time to the singing, which is accompanied by a small drum called a *mgumbaro*, very like a *marwasi* (see Shebwani dance), with this difference that only one end is covered with a goat skin, while in the *marwasi* both ends are covered. The other end, which is open, is made to rest on the chest or stomach of the player, who performs upon it in that position with both hands. Hard grains of maize are placed in dry gourds of various sizes, and these are rattled in time to the singing. 533 534 782

The entertainment partakes of the nature of thanksgiving, and frivolous songs are therefore avoided. Although not exactly of a religious character, a certain amount of superstition is far from being foreign to the Kindimba.

### THE VUGO.

At a wedding, a procession of women is often formed in the evening after dark to parade the streets, and is called a Vugo. The women sing in chorus to the sound of buffalo horns beaten with short sticks. No men are allowed to take part in the procession, which is both an Arab and a Swahili custom. 533 562 585

### THE KINYAGO DANCE.[1]

This is a Swahili medicine-dance usually held outside the town in a plantation on a moonless night. No artificial lights are allowed. Swahilis who have any 535 756

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

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The names of the *fundis* now practising in Malindi are as follows :— 776 756

Mohamed bin Mhaji
Make Chocho
Habiba wa Jora
Biasha wa Ali
Shaibu wa Saburi
Fundi Ali
Fundi Matano
Said wa Famao
Hussein (a police constable)
Kiranja Mhaji
Mwalim Kai

When a *fundi* has recognised a *pepo* as one of his own, and when the bargain as to the fees to be paid has been made, he sends round to all the other *fundis* and invites them to witness his efforts to exorcise the *pepo*.

New clothes must be bought for the *pepo* in all cases, and they are worn by the patient in the manner of the tribe to which the *pepo* belongs.

The following are detailed descriptions of the procedure followed in exorcising the various kinds of *pepo* who are believed to seize people in Malindi :— 776 756 752 757 171

### PEPO YA KI-GALLA.

On being called to see a sick person the *fundi* examines the patient and decides whether he is suffering from *pepo* or not. As a rule the decision is in the affirmative. He then orders a "*sadaka*" or sacrifice of food to be made. This varies according to circumstances of the patient and his relations, but it usually consists of boiled rice and goats' meat or fowl. The relations and friends of the sick person partake of this, as well as the *fundi* and his drummers. But before the meal begins, a *mwalim* or person versed in the prayers of the Koran is called in and the *fathiha*—*Illa hathrati el habibi Muhamad Nabbi al mustafa* is read over three times. Both prayers and feast take place just outside the house of the patient. But the women remain inside, and the food is taken in to them.

The *fundi* then goes and gets the native medicine necessary to make the *pepo* come into the head of the patient, and state what it wants as propitiation in order to induce it to leave the body of the patient. The medicine used consists of the leaves and small roots of certain trees to be found in the bush. The special kinds of trees used are professional secrets of the *fundis*, each of whom has his own prescription. Certain kinds of sea-weed gathered from coral rocks at low water are sometimes used, and these together with the roots and leaves are pounded together so as to form a paste which is mixed with water and placed in a pot to boil over a fire in the sick-room. The patient is then made to sit on a stool or native bed

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776 756 782 757 171 over the pot, or as close as possible, and is entirely covered over with a sheet so as to receive all the vapour from the pot and the heat from the fire.

While this primitive method of giving a Turkish bath is being carried out, the *fundi* chants an appropriate song of praise to the *pepo*, and the women, if they know the song, join in and clap their hands in time to the tune. This ceremony takes place soon after sunrise, at mid-day, and in the evening from about 7 p.m. to 8.30 or 9 p.m., each session lasting about an hour to an hour and a half, more or less. After each session the *fundi* questions the *pepo* to ascertain what *pepo* he has to deal with and what propitiation it requires, but the *pepo* may refuse to speak at once, and the same ceremonial is repeated every day up to seven days. If by that time the *pepo* has not spoken, the *fundi* usually comes to the conclusion that the *pepo* in question is not one of his clientele, and he suggests that some other *fundi* be called in.

If, however, success is attained in making the *pepo* speak through the lips of the patient, which is very often the case owing to leading questions being asked by the *fundi*, and perhaps to a certain amount of mental ascendancy on his part, to which a hypnotic element may not be foreign, arrangements are then made to fulfil the desires of the *pepo*, which invariably take the form of an *ngoma* or dance repeated every day for seven days, with or without a *pepo* feast, and a male goat to be ridden by the *pepo* on the last day of the dance.

776 535 756 171 Before the dancing begins, new clothes are bought for the *pepo*, and the patient puts them on. If the latter is a man, a white cloth is tied round his chest and hangs down to his feet and another white cloth is put over the head and shoulders in such a manner as to leave only the face visible, the head and neck being covered. A pair of white cotton trousers tight at the ankle are also worn. If the patient is a woman the same clothes are worn, but the first-mentioned cloth is tied round her waist, and not round the chest as in the case of the man.

Guests are invited, both men and women, but the majority of the dancers at an *ngoma ya pepo* are women. The latter are the only ones allowed to enter the sick room, except the *fundi* and his drummers, and one or two male guests by request of the relations of the patient. The *fundi* and his drummers may also sit in the *ukumbi*, or entrance to the house, according to the wishes of the relations.

The dancing begins at eight or nine o'clock in the morning and lasts for two or three hours, or until the patient, impelled by the *pepo*, lifts his hands as a sign of having had enough for the time being. A second session takes place the same day from about 6 p.m. till 9 p.m., and so on every day till the seventh day.

535 755 171 *Pepo ya ki-galla* generally begins to take part in the dancing on the third day of the dance. The patient, while still seated, begins to jerk his shoulders backwards and forwards and up and down, in time to the drumming. Then he gradually rises from his seat. A fly-switch, made from the tail of any wild animal which could be used for the purpose is placed in one hand, and a small calabash filled with leaves

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supposed to have medicinal properties is placed in the other. A string of oval iron bells (*njuga*) with a pebble inside is tied just below his right knee, and he then shuffles forward alone, dragging his feet. He takes up his position between the two lines of dancers, one at each end of the room, and shuffles backwards and forwards between the two lines of dancers while waving the fly-switch and the calabash, and still jerking his shoulders as described above. The two lines of dancers move their shoulders in the same manner, but remain in the same place.

These proceedings are repeated twice a day, morning and evening, until the evening of the seventh day, when the session is prolonged through the night well on into the next day, sometimes even until mid-day.

During the last dance, the cloth over the head of the patient is allowed to drop on to his shoulders, and another white cloth is put on his head and is kept on by a cord being wound round the temples after the manner of the Beduins.

If the *pepo* has required the production of a goat amongst other things to be done for his propitiation, a male goat is now produced and brought to the door of the house. The patient comes out and strokes the goat, passing his right hand three times from its head along its back to its tail. He then gets astride of it and pretends to ride it like a horse, jumping up and down, and jerking his shoulders as before in time to the drumming.

If at any time the *pepo* calls for food, a small piece of bread is produced, on which is placed a speck of ambergris and musk, and it is then placed in the mouth of the patient, who eats it. A few raisins are also given, and a lump or two of sugar candy.

After the patient has got tired of riding the goat, the *fundi* asks the *pepo* in the presence of the assembled guests if he has received all he had asked for. The *pepo* says "yes." The *fundi* then asks him if he will ever seize the patient again, to which the *pepo* replies, "I will not seize him again," and thereupon he is considered to have taken his departure, and the patient goes to bed to sleep off his fatigue, and awakes later to find himself quite cured.

There are about fifty propitiatory songs for the *pepo ya ki-galla* known in Malindi.

The names of some of the *pepo ya ki-galla* who are believed to possess people in Malindi are as follows:—Guyo, Barsa, Godana, and Galgalo. All these are common Galla names.

The drums used are two *Vumi* drums, one *Chapuo* drum, and *Vitasa* cymbals, all described in the Shebwani dance.

### PEPO YA KI-SANYE.

The ceremonies and medicines used to cast out a *pepo* of the Sanye tribe are exactly similar to those used in connection with a *pepo* of the Galla tribe. The only difference is that the *pepo* speaks the Sanye language through the medium

171 776 782 755 of the patient, and the propitiatory songs are also in the Sanye language, although Galla songs may also be sung effectively.

The names of the *pepo ya ki-sanye* who are believed to frequent Malindi are merely common Sanye names.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla.*

## PEPO YA KI-SHAKINI.

171 776 755 The people of Malindi[1] do not know here where the Shakini country is. They tell one vaguely that it is *mbarani mbali sana*, that is somewhere in the distant interior of Africa. The Shakini language is said to be understood by the Zigula people. The *pepo ya ki-shakini* is thought to have been introduced to Malindi by slaves brought from the interior, but very little is known of its origin.

The ceremonies which take place at the casting out of a *pepo ya ki-shakini* are exactly the same as those of the *pepo ya ki-galla*; the roots and leaves which make up the ingredients of the medicine used to make the *pepo* speak are, however, different, but the medicine is applied in the same way, that is by means of a Turkish bath.

The clothes worn by the patient when the dancing begins are similar to those worn by a person possessed of a *pepo ya ki-galla*, only the clothes are made of a dark blue cotton (*kaniki*) instead of white cotton (*amerikani*). The trousers worn may be made of blue cotton cloth or red cotton cloth (*bendera*). On the last day of the dance the white cloth worn on the head of the patient suffering from *pepo ya ki-galla* is replaced by a red or blue cloth secured on the head in the same way, by a cord bound round the temples. Formerly, when colobus monkey skins were obtainable, the head-dress consisted of a conical hat made from these skins, about a foot to fifteen inches high, in the shape of a dunce's cap with a peak to it in front, and the monkey's handsome tail hanging down behind. A leather breast-plate and back-plate connected by straps that hang over the shoulders are also worn as an ornament, being profusely decorated with beads and kauri shells. This is called a *torosi* (a Ki-rima word), and is worn on the last day of the dance.

171 776 755 535 782 The dancers of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* form a circle, one behind the other, and move round and round with short jerky steps in a direction opposite to that of the hands of a clock, and stamp their feet in time to the drums. They move the upper part of the body by alternatively throwing the chest forward and the shoulders back and then the shoulders forward and the chest in. The patient dances along with the others, and waves a fly-switch made from the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The *pepo* of the Shakini tribe are believed to be very fond of tembo, and the patient is given frequent libations of this drink. But he cannot tolerate the smell of mutton, and all cooking of this meat must be done at a distance while the patient is possessed of this *jin*.

On the last day of the dance a male goat may be produced if the

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

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*pepo* so desires, and the same ceremony is gone through as for the *pepo ya ki-galla.* 171 776 755

The songs of praise of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* sung in Malindi amount to about twenty-five. 535 782

Some names of *pepos* of the Shakini tribe known here are, Shinga Kamba wa Goshi, Hotea, Shingwa Rambo wa Seraf, Giwa wa Mwenne Panganga Waso wa Jentangu.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-RIMA.

The origin of these *pepo*, as their name indicates, is of course well known, but their introduction to the Malindi District dates only to nineteen years back. 171 776 535

The ceremonial followed is the same as that of the *pepo ya ki-galla*, and of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The head-dress is, however, different, and consists of what is called a *shumburere*, which is of exactly the same shape as a Mexican hat with a tall conical crown and a very wide brim. It is woven from the split fronds of the dom palm or the *mkindu* palm, the wild date. From the outer edge of the brim is suspended a fringe composed of strips of coloured cloth which hang down to the pit of the stomach in front, and to the same level at the back. The head and face of the patient are consequently completely hidden. 755 782

As in the Shakini *pepo* dance, the dancers follow each other round and round in a direction opposite to the hands of the clock, and perform the same steps and antics as in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The patient also waves in the same manner a fly-switch made out of the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The patient is anointed with castor oil as soon as he shows signs by jerks and twitches that he is about to begin to dance.

The *torosi* breast-plate and back-plate of leather are also worn by the patient in this dance, and a male goat is produced if so required by the *pepo*, and is ridden and danced round in the same manner as described in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

There are some forty songs known in Malindi sung in praise of the *pepo ya ki-rima*.

Some names of these *pepo* known here are, Lairan wa Laitua, Laitoni wa Laimoran, Lukwalla wa Lugawane. They remind one of Nandi or Masai names.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-NYIKA.

This is considered a benign form of *pepo* who does not cause the patient any great pain or ill, nothing more serious than a headache or a cough, which do not incapacitate the person possessed. 753 755 535 782

Native medicine is not usually given in order to make the spirit speak and say who he is and what he wants. He is generally recognised by the ache or pain he 776

753 causes to the patient, and he is not exacting in his requirements of propitiation.
755 Generally two or three days' dancing will satisfy him together with a large
535 supply of boiled mealie-meal served with grilled fowl or goat. Sometimes as a
782 special treat some *kunde* beans are mixed with the meal. This is given as a
776 farewell dinner to the *pepo* after the dancing is finished. All the guests partake of it as well as the patient.

The dancing begins about 9 a.m., and lasts about an hour and a half. The patient then goes about his work as usual. In the evening the dancers reassemble and dance through the night with the patient. A line is formed, and one dancer at a time advances to where the drums are being played, jerks his shoulders about while bending over one of the drums for a few minutes, then suddenly stamping his foot he retires with a shuffling step back to his place in the line and another dancer goes forward and repeats the performance, and so on. The patient dances with the others, but is distinguished by having a fly-switch in one hand and a live fowl in the other, both of which he waves about.

The patient is dressed in two new dark blue cotton cloths (*kaniki*), worn as a Swahili woman wears her *leso*. No head-dress is worn. On the second day of the dance, if the patient is a woman, she exchanges her two dark blue cloths for a kilt such as the Nyika women wear.

During the dancing, the patient goes occasionally to a pot of cold water in which leaves of wild trees believed to have certain properties have been pounded and mixed up. He puts both hands into the pot and raises some of the liquid to his mouth and drinks. Having quenched his thirst he throws some of the liquid over each shoulder on to his back, and also pours some on his chest as if he were taking a bath.

At the end of the dance on the third day a meal is partaken of as stated above and the *pepo* departs.

The names of *pepo ya ki-nyika* known in Malindi are without number, and are similar to ordinary names at present heard amongst the various Nyika tribes. The songs of praise sung in honour of these *pepo* in Malindi are also numberless.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-PEMBA.

171
776 As their name indicates, these "*pepo*" are supposed to come from the island of
755 Pemba.

534 In order to make the *pepo* declare himself, the usual native medicine and Turkish bath are given. The patient is then dressed in two white cloths after the fashion of the *pepo ya ki-galla*. He is placed on a stool, and as soon as the drumming begins he sways his body about in time to it, and ultimately jerks the stool which he sits on round the room. A *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sheuha dance) is also played to the accompaniment of the drums. This jerking about on the stool goes on for seven days, and on the eighth day matting is laid on the floor. The

patient sits on the matting at one end, and proceeds to jerk himself forward to the other end. On reaching this he jerks backwards without turning round. This is a very laborious business and takes a good deal of effort. 171 776 755

On the eleventh day the patient assumes an upright position, and dances, standing up between two lines of dancers. He advances with short shuffling steps to the line of people in front of him. On getting within a couple of feet of them he begins to retire, shuffling backwards without turning round, and keeping his body bent forwards almost at a right angle with his lower limbs. He is followed by the line of dancers facing him, who dance the same shuffling step, and who keep within a couple of feet of him. On reaching the line of dancers behind him, he straightens his body and starts forward again, the line facing him then retiring and the line behind him following him. He waves a fly-switch in his hand, and a string of small oval iron bells, *njuga*, with pebbles inside, is tied round his right ankle. 534 535 755 782

No head-dress is worn by the patient, but a paste is made by pounding to a powder a certain scented wood called *udi*, and mixing it with water. This is applied all over the head. If no *udi* wood is available, the wood of the *muhuhu* is used. A black line about half an inch wide is also painted from the tip of the nose over the head to the back of the neck.

On the last day of the dance, fruits and delicacies in very small quantities are laid before the patient, who eats a little of each for the benefit of the *pepo*.

If the *pepo* demands it, and the financial position of the patient will allow of it, a white bull or a male goat is produced on the last day, and is ridden and danced round by the patient as described in the ceremonies which take place to expel a *pepo ya ki-galla*, after which the *pepo* departs from the sick person.

The names of some of the *pepo* known in Malindi are, Mwana Mashungi wa Ukulu, Kekecha wa Mawamba, Makata wa Mapinga, Maungua wa Maamba. A great many propitiatory songs are also known at Malindi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

### PEPO YA KI-HABSHI.

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The Abyssinian spirit is not believed to have seized anyone at Malindi yet, and very little is known about it here. It is, however, believed to have possessed people in Zanzibar and Kismayu.

### PEPO YA KI-ARABU.

The ceremonies which are gone through to expel a *pepo* of this variety constitute a type which is followed with slight variations in exorcising almost all the *jins* believed to belong to Moslem tribes. 776 755

The fundamental difference between the method of treating heathen *pepo* and Moslem *pepo* consists in the substitution of strong perfumes for the Turkish bath method, in order to induce the *pepo* to declare himself.

776 755 [782] The preliminaries are the same as those described in the *pepo ya ki-galla* up to the point where it becomes necessary to ascertain what the *pepo* requires as a bribe or propitiation to depart from the body of the person whose sickness he is believed to be causing.

In order to get this information from the *pepo*, a mixture is made of rose water, ambergris, musk, saffron and camphor. Using this as an ink, the *fundi* writes on a plate the name of Allah with His various attributes (the all-powerful, the all-merciful, etc.), also the names of some of the archangels. The writing being completed, it is carefully and reverently washed off the plate into a cup with a little more of the mixture above mentioned. The contents of the cup are then given to the invalid to drink, and incense is also burnt beside him. In a short time the *pepo* comes into the head of the patient and states who he is and what he wishes.

776 755 535 Arrangements are then made for a dance, and guests are invited in the usual way. New white cloths are put on the patient, who wears them in the same way as *lesos* are worn by Swahili women. A pair of trousers, tight at the ankle, is also worn.

The patient sits on a stool and gradually begins to sway his body in time to the drumming. Later on the swaying becomes more and more accentuated, till it develops into jerks of the body of sufficient violence to move the stool, on which the patient sits, all about the room. Ultimately he becomes sufficiently excited to stand up and dance with a sort of gliding step, backwards and forwards between two lines of dancers, who imitate his step and gestures. In each of his hands is placed a small white flag, on which is written the verse of the Koran *Ayat il kursi*. The flag in his left hand he holds over his left shoulder, and the one in his right hand he waves about. A *maharuma* or Beduin head-dress is secured on his head, but if none is available an ordinary white cap will do. On standing up to dance the patient must change his clothes. He discards his two white cloths, and if the *pepo* who possesses him has been ascertained to be a male he dons a white *kanzu* as worn by men. If the *pepo* is a female, then a short *kanzu* of some coloured material or, if possible, of silk such as the Arab women of Muscat wear, is put on by the patient.

If a male *pepo* seizes a man, or a female *pepo* a woman, there is believed to be little hope of the recovery of the patient, whose fate is practically sealed. If on the other hand a *pepo* of one sex seizes a human being of the opposite sex, then the recovery of the patient is assured.

The drumming is accompanied by songs in Arabic appropriate to the occasion, and usually in praise of the spirit.

755 782 At the end of the dance on the last day, a feast is given to the *pepo*, with delicacies consisting of small quantities of Turkish delight (*halua*), powdered white sugar, white lump sugar, moist sugar, sugar candy, almonds, raisins, milk, eggs, young coconuts (*dafu*), but of the pale coloured variety, rose scent, scented oil and European scents.

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342 In Ṭarīm many houses belonging to the wealthy saiyids seem
552 to have a name chosen by the owner, and Saiyid 'Umar b. Šaiḫ
174 Āl Kāf, our neighbour in Tarīm, called his house al-'Iššah, or 'the
212 nest', but others seem to be called after the name ot the locality, or as the Ḥaḍramī says, after the name of the well, such as the house Ḥamṭūṭ, our neighbour to the east. Houses in Tarīm often have chronograms over the door, generally some pious phrase, worked in the plaster and painted. In Šibām the Maṣna'ah or fort has inscriptions, including dates, in the woodwork. I am convinced that herein lies the explanation of why so very few pre-Islamic and early Islamic inscriptions have been found in Ḥaḍramawt. On dams, on buildings, even in the mosques, the inscriptions which today record the foundation, or repairs effected to a construction, are all drawn in the plaster. The only two Kufic inscriptions I saw in Ḥaḍramawt were on the grave-stones at Ḳabr Nabī Allāh Hūd, and the strange shrine of Mawlā Maṭar. Pre-Islamic stone inscriptions will of course be discovered when excavation is made in the mud mounds which represent the ancient towns and villages of the country.

782 The sacrificial rites described here are probably general to South-
342 West Arabia. (In the Ṣubaiḥī village of Am-Fadjarah, west of Aden I came across very similar practices. A ewe (ganamah) was slaughtered at the foundation (sās). In the space under the stairs called ḳuṭb, when it was made, another was slaughtered, and on completion of the building a third ewe, called the iklīl or 'crown', was also immolated. As the occupier of the house in question I was asked to defray the cost of these. This is some hundreds of miles from Ḥaḍramawt.) Comparisons with ritual in the ancient world may be made by scholars.

463 According to my early notes in Tarīm, every craft seems to
342 have different categories of workmen, perhaps graded, but I did not explore this possibility. A fully trained craftsman is called a mu'allim, and if you want to have a house built, you go to the mu'allim. Tarīm once had fifty to sixty mu'allims, but now (1947) there are probably only about thirty. Other categories are, the musawwis who builds the dry stone foundation of your house, and the bānī who builds with the clay bricks (madar) and clay (ṭīn). A bānī in Ḥaḍramawt is also a potter (syn. in Yemen, maddār). I heard of an architect in Tarīm who bore the name 'Umar Ya'mur

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which is interesting, because the name for a builder in other parts of South-West Arabia is 'ammār (verb, 'ammar yi'ammir). 343 342

When you start to put the first clay brick (madrah) on the stone foundation of your house, you slaughter a sheep or two, or more if you are a rich man. You invite one of the Ṣāliḥīn (pious) such as a saiyid or manṣab to lay the first madrah; a cermony is made out of the entire proceeding, and an entertainment given known as the ḍiyāfah of the laying of the brick (ṭarḥ al-madrah). A sheep is slaughtered on one of the corners (ḫuṯm pl. ḫiṯam), probably the first to be completed. You then take the sheep's head and lay it on each corner for about a minute or so, in order that the blood may be scattered on each corner. This is done to stop the Djinn from entering the house. Sometimes, if you are slaughtering two head of sheep, you kill on one ḫuṯm and anoint a second, then you kill again, and blood the remaining two. If it is a large house like al-Munaiṣūrah, the Āl Yaḥyā house in which we were living, one may slaughter eight to ten sheep. A photograph of the sās of a house building in Daw'an stained with the blood of a sacrifice is shown by Ingrams [1]. 782 342

As the sheep is slaughtered, one of the ḫaddāmīn (i.e. the workers on the building) gets on top of the foundation (sās) and halloos (yiḫawwil), and all the other other ḫaddāmīn do the same. (This hallooing is also performed when the rain-flood is coming down the Wādī, and by the Bedouin on the Djōls when rain comes.) They then repeat a number of formulae for good luck, such as the following : —

> Ṣallā 'alā Muḥammad — wa-ṭuwwil 'umr filān bin filān — Allāh ya'ṭīh min 'aṭā' — wa-yrazziḳuh māl wa-'ayāl, etc.
>
> Bless Muḥammad — and make long the life of so and so (the master of the house) — God give him sustenance — and provide him with money and off-spring.

The sheep's carcase is then taken to a house and divided, one quarter goes to the owner of the house which is being built, one fifth of the remainder goes to the Dawlah (Sultan), two fifths go to Ahl al-Sās, i.e. the builders of the foundations who in

[1] See art. noted in the bibliography.

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782 342 Tarīm are the Ahl Bā Ḥuraiš, also the Tarīm grave-diggers [2], and two fifths to the other ḥaddāmīn. The owner of the house customarily gives some of his portion away, but my informant did not remember exactly how much this is, or to whom it is given. Apart from the foundation sacrifice, the owner will also make a separate ḍiyāfah or entertainment in his own house, killing a sheep or two there.

When you have finished setting in position the beams which act as lintels to the windows, exits, cupboards, etc., on the ground floor, and which are known as taisūrah (pl. tayāsīr) or mafkir), a sheep [574] is usually slaughtered on the corner tayāsīr. The feast given at this point is known as Ġadā al-Tayāsīr [3]. The blood lies on the tayāsīr, and the Djinn drink. Being grateful to the lord of the house, they leave him alone, and protect him from the other Djinn [4]. If however you should happen to be a poor man, you may not be able to afford to slaughter an animal on this occasion, but you give the workmen a meal. At least, in the past you gave the workmen a meal, but as they brought their children etc., with them, you used to find yourself giving thirty a meal, instead of ten or twelve. So this practice has now ceased, and a bargain is made that the men get food in kind, and money to buy meat, instead of having a meal provided for them.

782 342 535 At the placing of the cross-beams on top of the wooden or stone columns (tarkūb ishum, or ta'kīd ishum), the master of the new house provides a ḍiyāfah known as Ġadā Tarkūb Ishum, and also

[2] Cf. my article in *Le Muséon*, 62 (1949), p. 159.

[3] Ġadā is used in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt and Wāḥidī territory to denote food provided in kind for an employee as part of his contract.

[4] I have a pamphlet by 'Abd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥ. al-Šiblī of Ḥabbān where it was given me, entitled Toko « Singapore » (Singapore, 1352 H.) which mentions slaughtering on ('alā) the feet of the bride and groom at the Lailat al-Zafāf when the bride comes to her husband's house. Those who cannot buy a beast to sacrifice (ḏabīḥah) brek eggs at their feet, a custom common enough in Ḥaḍramawt where I have often seen eggs lying broken outside rooms in which newly-born children lay. An opinion on the practice is cited. « If the ḏabīḥah is slaughtered at the feet of the bride and groom, its religious injuriousness is known, for it is slaughtering out of fear of something other than God, such as the Djinn or the Šaiṭān. This arises from the belief that if the ḏabīḥah is not slaughtered, then a touching (mass) from the Djinn will befall them. Slaughtering at that time is therefore forbidden. »

a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended [5]) for the carpenter (nadjdjār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥaśwān of the Āl Bā Ḥaśwān, all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two [6]. One says for instance, Ḏī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah [7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee [8]. The people of the Quarter [9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian tašt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥakk al-salīṭ, ḥakk al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. ANDREE, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers*, *Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍrami coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my article in *Le Muséon* cited above.

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467 this reduction should be made, issued a decree (taḳrīr) defining the
466 wages of the various categories of people engaged in building. The workmen still refused to accept the revised wages, and some left Tarīm and went to the independent Ḥawṭah of Thibī, outside it and beyond Kathīrī jurisdiction. Some however stayed in Tarīm, but worked at collecting firewood, and refused to undertake building. A *modus vivendi* was established through the good offices of Saiyid Bū Bakr al-Kāf, but whereas, before, the wage of the builders had been two three Āl Kāf ḍarībahs per day, which the wealthy had attempted to reduce to one ḍarībah only, after the dispute all the workmen received three ḍarībahs [10].

172 To revert to the sacrifice on the sās, I noticed in the fine archaeo-
782 logical site of the town known as Am-'Ādīyah [11] that on some buildings an inscription was located at the *corner* of the sās which was constructed of the typical lozenge-backed Himyarite hewn stone, and that it stood about three feet from the ground. Possibly therefore it was sometimes a custom to place inscriptions in the sās about the place of the sacrifice; they could not be placed higher as the wall above this point is of adobe. These particular Am-'Ādīyah inscriptions are very weather-beaten, and to the best of my knowledge no attempt has been made to copy them.

322 An interesting feature of Ḥaḍramī building is the shape of the
342 columns, generally carved from 'ilb wood, which strikes one immediately as descended from an ancient tradition. In the Ḥawṭah of
531 Thibī near Tarīm, I first saw the curious capital sketched (fig. C.) from below, with its little round pendants underneath the rectangular blocks. Later I realised that this was a very stylized type of capital, derived from a prototype somewhat resembling the examples in figs. A & B., sketched in my field-book at 'Azzān and

436 [10] Reproductions of the ḍarībah in J. A. S. Bucknill, *A note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia, Journ. of the Malay of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, 1925), III, 1. It is the coin which has the number 16 written on it. There were about five to six ḍarībahs to the riyāl (kirš franzāwī).

[11] For notes on this town see S. Prowne, *'Im'adiya and Beihan, Aden, Antiquity* (London), xiii (1939), p. 50. The author confuses the name امادية with عمادية, but it is really the South Arabian article Am = Al, followed by the word 'Ādīyah. It is therefore « the 'Ādite city » which means little more really than « the ancient city ». I visited it in 1941.

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302 Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.[1]

[771] The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan
754 cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under reference explained the details of Ra'aba Hamra spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the
755 imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the
752 spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work, however, and was followed by another next day. This, called Habil, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

754 These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally
755 for their flocks and herds. The ceasing of lactation is invariably ascribed to *Ain Balis*. The cure is frankincense. I witnessed the ceremony on occasion and made a cinema film of it, though it is usually performed at sunrise or at sunset. The incense burner was brought and wood introduced and lighted. The practitioner, the cow-owner, broke a fragment of frankincense about the size of a walnut into three pieces. Then spitting upon it three times he introduced it into the burner. While two other witnesses held the afflicted animal by head and leg respectively, he waved about its head the burning frankincense, chanting a set sacrificial chant.

● 782 For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

753 A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify
776 *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinns*, *jinnyat* and *Zars*. *Zars*[2] are the most accommodating, *jinns* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

782 The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the
556 deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

[1] Detailed descriptions will be found in my *Arabia Felix* (Jonathan Cape, 1932).

[2] A detailed description of the "Zar" cult as practised in Oman is given in my *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

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exceeding 40 cows, 20 cows are the limit, may be a camel and a few sheep as well. In the case of a poor man, perhaps a single cow or sheep. Two cows are slaughtered near the grave of the deceased on the day of burial (*i.e.* death generally), if overnight, a third cow. Two nights are allowed to pass and on the third night a cow is slaughtered. This is called *khutum*. A further period elapses varying according to the economic condition of the deceased's relatives. It may be so little as a fortnight or so much as three months when the big sacrifice takes place, may be of 10, 15 or 20 cows respresenting half of the deceased man's herds. This is called *yom el nahaira*. Both *khutum* and *nahaira* are performed at the place where the man lived and not upon his grave. More cows will be sacrificed by relatives and friends of the deceased towards whose families in his lifetime he has acted similarly. This vast slaughter attracts the whole neighbourhood and the sectional tribe of the dead man divide up the flesh for themselves, and go away under their great burdens. Visitors from other tribes have no such rights, but partake of the feast of cooked meat for which one cow will have been roasted for the occasion. 782 556

There is a widespread belief in *Subiro*, *i.e.* spirits of the departed and their power for good and evil. In the Wadi Rizat I came upon scraps of food and tobacco in the pool beneath where the spring comes gushing out of a cavern. The locals emerge at night to throw morsels on the ground or into the pool shouting, "We are your sons and your daughters—don't harm us. Be awake so that we are not harmed by *Jins* (human kind) or *Jinns*." 769 776

*Nughush* they call this casting of bread upon the waters. In theory these spirits brood over running water only: they are amenable to kind treatment and treat mankind in the same way that they are treated by mankind.

The people of Jurbaib, lower down, sacrifice a cow before the harvest after it has made a circuit of the crops—its blood being drained into the irrigation ducts. Bits of its flesh are cast amongst the growing grass. 782 769

This spring of Rizat was in old days the subject of a notorious government case. Bait Zaiyan, a section of the Shahara, claimed the exclusive right to practise *nughush* in it. The Qara overlords who wished to share in the benefits of ghostly grace demanded to go "fifty-fifty" in the sacrifice. The government wali, in order to make government itself a partner in the scheme and share in the crops of the plains, decided that both parties would receive exactly equal quantities of food from government so that there should be no cheating. But in later years the slave soldiers of government, becoming overbearing in their treatment of Bait Zaiyan, the latter called upon the departed spirits of their forefathers who promptly made the water run up hill, so that the crops in the plains withered and died, whereupon government's share lapsed. 312 [619]

Cases of virtue held to be latent in certain dying animals I met with on several occasions. The highly valued contents of the antelope's bladder for man, and its stomach for camels, may be purely a rational custom, but that cannot be said of a raven I had shot. While it lay dying a Badu asked for its heart, which he proposed thus to eat raw and palpitating. This was, he said, a protection to his own heart from evil influence, its bile also which he proposed mixing with kohl with which to annoint his eyelids. The Shahari who killed my biggest cobra, 825 789 754

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825 a 3 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
789 impart virtue to his sight.

754 I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

## INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
[782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

## LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

582 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere
583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
832 the triple nose-kiss, left, right, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

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a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting 576
a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 832

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part
I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which 562
are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman
would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten
as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes,
and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire 585
of his wife and say *Talog* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house 586
with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If
she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. 583
It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really
expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper,
ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representative father
or brother descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the
women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only
cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter [782]
a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous
chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of
circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day 844
or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the
possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken
up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is
generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal 848
marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere 837
in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would 684
on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be
done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and [628]
have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation
of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

## CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees 342
at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain [754]
itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four
nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. 782
When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342

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342 782 a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hens' eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

[784 609]

## LAW AND DISPUTES.

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342 passages connect the house with the lower portion as well as with the flat roof of the mosque. In the hot season the sunset and evening ritual prayers are always performed on the roof, and the ʿālim[1] sits here in the evenings, teaching the 556 recitation of the Koran to a circle of lads. A sayyid who has ●782 made his fortune abroad will first build a mosque in his native 771 village and afterwards a big house for himself. For does he not owe the privileged position in his own country to religion, and to Allah's help the riches that he has successfully amassed in foreign lands? The abnormally large number of fine mosques in the poor country of Ḥaḍramaut is the result.

353 As in the other houses, the passages and stairs in Sayyid el-Bārr's house are plastered with light-brown mud mixed with finely chopped straw. The floor is always ribbed in a design of waving lines imprinted into the mud whilst it is wet. There are wooden pillars in the large rooms as there are no strong supporting beams for the construction of the roofs, which are always made of the split trunks of date-palms. The fibrous, brown stem of the tree is often plastered over with mud or covered with a wattle-work made of the split ribs of the leaves of the date-palm. Rust-red, black or white are the tasteful colours used in such wattle-work and, indeed, also on the layer of mud.

353 One usually enters the *madjlis* or reception-room by a door 352 in the middle of the shortest wall. On either side of the door there are great wooden chests, in which the sleeping-mattresses and pillows are hidden away during the day-time. These heavy, finely carved chests, decorated with tin-plated iron, are frequently the only ornament of the room. The window openings are small and close to the ground. In the houses of the rich, the wooden shutters and framework of the windows are carved. The floors are covered with simple mats of plaited palm-leaves over which the rich people lay carpets.

104 [1] ʿĀlim (عالم), a learned man, in this case, a man who thoroughly knows the religion.

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fluential, privileged position, though abroad this position is 565
constantly attacked, and with increasing violence. Western colonial governments make no distinction between the *sāda* (plural of *sayyid*) and those who are not descended from the Prophet, but here this kind of democracy is neither understood nor respected by the *sāda*. It was the only objection that I heard raised against the Netherlands' Colonial Government. 565

In their own land they are the maintainers of religion, and in 782
no other Muḥammadan country are there so many and such 554
beautiful mosques. Also I have seldom seen the *ṣalāt* performed with so much devotion as among the *sāda* in Ḥaḍramaut. Their influence on the government of their land is great: the Sultans are financially dependent on them, the Bedouin tribes are governed by them both by means of money and by religious influence. If they were not so hopelessly disunited among themselves, the political conditions in the "country of the *sāda*" would be much better. It will be seen from what follows how distressingly bad these are at the present time.

The place of honour is given to the sayyid in daily life; 565
he takes the lead during the performance of the *ṣalāt* and sees 554
that it is duly carried out. He is greeted with a respectful kiss on the hand, a salute which even the Sultan does not evade, at least in appearance; the sayyid shows his appreciation of this by drawing back his hand and making as if he will kiss that of the Sultan. This game of make-believe is carried on for quite a little time, for people in Ḥaḍramaut have plenty of time to spare and cling with great respect to the decorum of life. For the non-sayyid of distinction it also suffices if he makes a pretence of kissing the hand.

In Ḥurēḍa all worldly authority is subordinate to that of the sayyids. The Governor is a poor young man who is completely dependent, financially, on the el-ʿAṭṭās family. The schools, mosques, wells and other objects of public utility are maintained by the sayyids.

Water-supply for Ḥurēḍa is a matter of difficulty. We saw 312
great wells lined with masonry, which are about 55 *qāma* deep

778 Bedouin, calling himself a Muslim, yet still a heathen, ap-
346 proaches this spot with holy dread. Here, for three days, he knows peace with his fellows and brotherly intercourse; here fear is banished; here he stands, in very truth, on the threshold of holy ground. He, with his life's great need, approaches the miracle-working tomb of his Prophet like a hopeful and trustful child. He, or more often she, carries a wooden wedge and a coloured thread of wool with a little stone attached to it, lightly in the hand. The wedge has to be driven into the outer wall of the *qubba* or into the rounded border of stone, plastered with white, which marks the place where the body lies. It does not seem to be permitted to drive wedges into the inside of the cupola. The threads of wool are chewed into lumps and, well-moistened with saliva, are stuck on to the walls and ceiling. The walls are decorated in this way so profusely that they look as though hung with a many-coloured wall-paper or enriched with a gaily painted design.

778 We have approached the sanctuary warily and noiselessly.
346 No one comes to forbid our entrance, so we venture to go in.
782 Fortunately there is no one inside either. Below us, in the *nāqa* mosque, there are a few pilgrims, and if there are keepers of the buildings they will be with them teaching them how to recite the special prayers. The sound of litanies said in unison rises up to us; they are repeated with monotonous persistance and increasing urgency. In the *qubba* of Nebī Hūd we see, in the middle, a round piece of masonry like the base of a very thick pillar. It is built upon the protruding rock, which has a wide, deep fissure in it just here. This is the place where the rock, at Allāh's command, must have opened for His servant to enter and never closed again completely. The rock and, in particular, the edges of the cleft, are polished smooth by the thousands of hands that have stroked them gently in prayer and by the lips that have kissed this sacred spot. Verses from the Koran in which the Prophet Hūd is mentioned, or sayings of Muḥammad handed down by word of mouth, extolling the merits of the pilgrimage to the tomb of Hūd, are written here and there on the walls.

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the tomb of Hūd, are written here and there on the walls. 000
The sun is sinking as we go from the pillared hall of the 346
cupola to the terrace built round it and look out over the long wādī through which we have come. There is water in the *sēl*-bed, which shines like gold in the light of the setting sun. The bushes and trees along its banks have taken on a violet colour. The shapes of the stern rock-walls are becoming blurred and have lost their look of sombre menace. This is the solemn moment when desert, *djōl* and wādī are movingly beautiful. The silence and infinity oppress, nevertheless, and man deeply realizes his littleness and finiteness.

We descend the steps to the silent town in the ravine. In 782
the mosque of the *nāqa*, between the white pillars, we 346
see pilgrims at prayer in rows, prostrating themselves and standing up again. Their prayer of supplication has a moving sound in the great silence of the evening. The mosque is quite new; a great block of rock which is said to be the petrified camel projects from the mountain-side above the building. A great white terrace, on which are straight rows of simple, round pillars supporting a flat roof, and a broad white stairway leading down to the town, complete a sober, beautiful whole.

We have been able to enter one of the great houses of the 000
el-Kāf family by a small backdoor. The rock-walls and the houses are radiating the heat that they have absorbed during the day; gusts of hot air pass from time to time through the ravine. We climb up to the roof-terrace. The caravan has arrived shortly before us and our companions have lain down to rest on the roof. No one has energy left to attend to us, no one provides for food or for drink, and yet we are dying of thirst and must have water. One of the Bedouins who followed the caravan is persuaded by the promise of a meal to go in search of water. The wells in the town do not supply good 812
drinking-water; the water in the wādī is bitter and is only drunk by the pilgrims, who also bathe in it, ascribing a purifying power to it, but there is a well with sweet water in
Wādī Barhūt, at least half an hour's walk
from the town. 11

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000 42° C. The task which every one imposes upon himself is to lie still, try to feel as calm as possible and to wait patiently until the greatest heat is past. When the sun is somewhat lower in the sky we give the signal to break camp, but there is general protest, for they must all go and pray in the cupola of the tomb and in the *nāqa* mosque. Sayyid ʿAlī, who besides being a daring man of adventure is also a pious Muslim, takes the lead and recites the prayers and passages from the Koran, suitable to the occasion. Further, everyone has charges to carry out for relations or friends and so it happens that these last prayers at Qabr Hūd seem never-ending. From our house we can see their small forms between the pillars on the dark, stony hill-side, and their recitations and supplications rise and fall on waves of sound, raising echoes in the silent, deathlike valley.

000 They come back from their prayers at last down the white steps, as if satisfied with themselves, and go on towards the town. We are ready to leave, but they are not. They wish, for some time, to enjoy in retrospect their religious ecstasy and not to break camp until after sundown. Our patience, however, is by this time exhausted and Von Wissmann and I set out together under general protest, followed by the two donkey-boys with the donkeys carrying the instruments and the drinking-water. When the others see that our decision is irrevocable, an armed guide is sent to follow.

## 8. THE RUINS OF EL-MEKĒNŪN, ḤUṢN THŌBE AND EL-ʿURR.

We stride fast over the soft path of loess. The shadow of the mountain wall soon fills the wādī-bed through which we are walking. The fierce, blinding light of the hot day has disappeared; the evening sky takes on soft gay colours and reflects them over the quiet country. There are bushes beside the path into which a few birds have come to roost, sparrows and a kind of dove, which have very little shyness and break the silence and rigidity of the landscape. Here, where there

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



342 782 a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hens' eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

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he tries to mount it unnoticed. We have seen, however, and call out to him to get off, because we have just dismounted out of pity for the animal. His Yāfiᶜ comrade, who is walking in front of me, calls to him *not* to obey. I angrily bid him be silent, with the remark that I have paid for the donkeys and that, consequently, the command over them lies with me. At his insolent reply: "Hold your tongue!", he gets without further ado a box on his ears. He turns in fury, his rifle clenched in his hands. 000

"Shall I let myself be struck by you?"

"You shall obey me, you are under my command."

ᶜAbdallāh sulkily vanishes into the rear-guard, while we all keep our eyes on his rifle. His comrade comes to me before long to ask forgiveness for him. "Do not be angry with him, he is a little mad." Who can be angry for long with these rough children of nature? Towards evening, when the heat is over and thirst and fatigue no longer torment, both Yāfiᶜ soldiers get their so much desired remuneration and part with the two *Naṣrānīs* as the best of friends.

Close to Hadjarēn we passed a mosque at a saint's grave, and all sought the cool shadow of this place, forbidden to unbelievers. We were allowed to stand for a breathing-space in the porch. There is an earthenware jar full of water in the building, but we may not go inside, so our Makalla soldiers fetch water for us. A few peasant women who are passing by also come for the sake of the shelter. Their wide, dark-blue, rough, cotton garments leave their faces uncovered. However, as soon as they see strangers, they draw their head-cloths over their faces. They wear straw hats, with pointed crowns and wide brims, as a protection against the sun. 778 784 291 834

### 3. AN UNFORGETTABLE RECEPTION IN HADJARĒN.

From here the way mounts towards the foot of the mountain close up against which lies Hadjarēn. A steep, paved, zigzag path leads at last to the gate of this town, which by 000

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



cost was paid by him. The way across the mountains is 491
fantastically dangerous, but an expert chauffeur with a first class auto seems to be able to pass over it without any accident. I made up my mind, however, not to risk it again, and on the way back to follow the longer way round through the *wādī*. The mountain road was constructed at a time when it was impossible, owing to hostilities, to pass through the level country.

From the 27th of May until the 7th of June we were 741
in Terīm as the guests of Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf 871
As a Sayyid he has no official part in the government of 185
his country, but actually he is the man who is now doing most for his country and people. It was he who founded the schools at Makalla, at ash-Shihr, at Dō'an and in the towns of the Wādī Hadramaut, and it is he who supports them; it was he who made possible the transport of the first automobiles from the coast to Terīm, along the great road which he is now engaged in constructing. He is the man who constructed the automobile road from Terīm to Sēwun, and it is he who gives generously to thousands of the poor, to whom he has food supplied every Thursday evening. Terīm is the town for religion and learn- 361
ing; once it was the most important town of Hadramaut, and it is again on the road to become that. It is a town with a multitude of mosques and dozens of palaces, in which are living those families the members of which were able to amass millions of money in Java and at Singapore. The home of Sayyid Abu Bakr is the place where religious and political leaders meet one another, and where the future of the country is discussed.

Thanks to the help of our host, we were able to make 778
a trip to Sūne, the center for archæology, and finally to [792]
attain our most distant goal by being able to visit the 788
central sanctuary of Hadramaut, namely, the grave of the prophet of Allah, Hūd, and to explore the mythical abode of the souls of the unbelievers, Bīr Barhūt. The tomb of Hūd (Qabr Hūd) is the Mecca of Hadramaut and of the surrounding countries. For three days in

every year pilgrims assemble there from all those regions, and both before and after that a Truce of God prevails during an appointed period, in this country which is rent asunder by mutual warfare. Never before had a Christian been able to get further than Terīm in the direction of this sanctuary, and without the protection and the planning of the powerful Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf we should not have succeeded. On the way to Qabr Hūd we passed the magnificent ruined castles of el-'Urr and Thōbe, and the remains of houses and a cemetery at Makēnun. Qabr Hūd seemed to be a silent and defunct little town, with great houses which are only occupied for three days in a year. In the bed of the *wādī* there appeared to be water here, but before it reaches the sea it is said to disappear underground or else to dry up. The grave of Hūd, the great preacher of repentance in Hadramaut, is adorned with a dome which impresses one by its simplicity and beauty. The other sacred buildings are equally beautiful and are well kept. Where we had expected to find a Bedouin sanctuary which was neglected and primitive and surrounded by mud huts for the pilgrims, we found instead on the border of Arabia's "empty quarter," far away from the world, a sanctuary built and cared for with devotion and great talent.

We entered still further into the branch valley of Barhūt, and at the end of this *wādī* we saw at a height of about one hundred meters above the bottom of the valley the dark yawning chasm of the Bīr Barhūt, of which even the ancient geographers furnished descriptions, and definitely anticipated that there must be here the crater of a great volcano. After an investigation of two hours in the dark passages, arches and tunnels of Bīr Barhūt we were able to determine that we have here to deal with an ordinary limestone cave. Nowhere in this region did we see any trace of volcanic action. It was only in the broken ridge of mountains on the coast that we saw many traces of volcanic action. Further north the strata are horizontal; a layer of limestone about

619 them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

619 The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri
601 who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their
595 mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call them-
562 selves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan
583 bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

788 I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when
172 we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

368 There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its
243 walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

508 Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-
701 ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in
567 the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom
368 to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

000 Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

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them shooting, and singing for joy, but now the feast has succumbed to the heat; the merry-makers lie in the shadow up against the rocky slopes, in grottoes, under blocks of rock, or under shelters made of sticks and fragments of cloth, resting after the noisy racket. The number of participants does not seem to be great, a fact which also points to the decline of the district. A group come up to us and overwhelm us with questions. We reply that we are truly on the way to the tomb of their Prophet Hūd and that we also intend to pray there. When I answer their question as to whence we come by saying: "From the Holy Land, from Djedda", it becomes apparent that they are not very well informed as regards the founder of their religion and his country. But some of them have been in East Africa, and these relate that the Muslims there are in the habit of going to Mecca just as the Ḥaḍramīs go to Qabr Hūd. We are then invited to stay on with them, for a short time, to resume the feast, but being convinced that friendship with these suspicious, brutal fanatics is a very fragile affair we prefer to continue our march. We cannot rest until we have reached our goal, Qabr Hūd.

One of the group acts as spokesman; he was for some time in Zanzibar and there made acquaintance with Europeans. He promises to follow in our rear and to accompany us to Bīr Barhūt on the morrow. It is thanks to his intercession that we are allowed to proceed without hindrance.

We march on further as fast as we can through the valley, which becomes narrower. On the right, over a great distance, the high bank has been broken through, namely where the "Seven Wādīs" (Sabᶜa Wudyān) open into the main wādī. It is as still as death in the wādī, no living creature is to be seen. The path is good on the whole, thanks to the fact that every year, in the month Sha'bān, thousands of pilgrims pass backwards and forwards along it. Sometimes it goes through barren sand-hills, sometimes between bushes of *rāk* and by a few crooked *ithl* trees.

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has made his fortune abroad has built here a princely house 361
for himself. He has, of course, not forgotten to render thanks 346
to Allah at the same time by building a mosque, a glittering 511
white masterpiece of Ḥaḍramī architecture. The contrast between the great wealth of many sayyids and the poverty of the great mass of the people does not seem to be poignantly felt here. The palaces of the rich stand right in the midst of 565
dying towns; their children, frequently overdressed, play with 735
the almost naked black children of slaves. The rich return 511
of their own accord from lands of culture and prosperity to their own land of appalling poverty, to enjoy within its borders the wealth they have accumulated. Allah has willed that there be rich men in the world and poor men to whom they should be able to give alms. It is fit and proper that there should be beggars in every good Muslim society and especially a plentiful supply of them in places of pilgrimage, so that the pious may have ample opportunity to practise the generosity commanded by Allah. We have noticed little jealousy or class conflict in Ḥaḍramaut. This is certainly due partly to the democratic way of living. The privileges of the sayyid class have a religious and not a money basis. Soldiers, household slaves and the free citizens of the village meet in the *madjlis* of the rich and all eat there in company, drink from the same bowl and join in the same converse.

From Qasam we go by car along the high clay bank of the 361
*masīla* (the bed of the wādī), which has been eroded by 758 ●
the *nuqra*. Having reached a point opposite ʿEnāt we attempt 778
to cross the wide sandy bed of the *masīla* to reach the town. The palm plantations have been growing progressively thinner and the soil here is entirely covered by a layer of sand. We stall constantly in this sand in the *masīla* and have difficulty in reaching ʿEnāt, where everything speaks of vanished glory. The town is scattered over a wide area; great open spaces give one the impression that the population was formerly much larger than it is now. At one time many pilgrims were attracted here by the seven *qubbas* which adorn

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361 the tombs of holy men. The Āl el-ᶜĒderūs, one of the families
778 of sayyids whose riches are made in Java, come from ᶜĒnāt
788 and are, moreover, the ruling family in this pious city, which owes the few houses that are kept in repair, the beautiful white mosques and the fine school for boys to these sayyids and to those of the Āl Ḥāmid. At the seven *qubbas* we meet Sayyid ᶜAlī bin el-ᶜĒderūs, who feels an exile from his people who live in Surabaya, but his place here will be taken by another member of the family in a few years' time. He is glad to meet someone who knows Java and invites us to take a cup of tea with him. We learn from him that ᶜĒnāt can
312 boast of thirteen mosques and has, at the present time,
172 5000 inhabitants. Water for drinking has to be brought from
[142] a great distance, as the local supply is not fit for it. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh Āl Ḥāmid, who lived for ten years in Dār es-Salām, is also glad to have an opportunity of talking once more with Europeans and comes to Sayyid ᶜAlī's *madjlis*. He has some acquaintance with the early history of his country and tells us of the great dam which is said to have existed in pre-Islamic times between Qabr Hūd and the sea. The destruction of this dam ushered in the decline of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid ᶜAbdallāh has his own theory of the means by which the great stones of the buildings in the pre-Islamic period were piled one upon the other; he asserts that he has seen representations of elephants on the ruins and assumes that it was by them that these heavy stones were dragged to their places. I doubt whether this supposition is correct, although it is true that elephants play a part in the historical traditions of Arabia. The great castles are built on high, rocky hills, whose slopes are barely practicable even for man.

It seems that herein lie pagan ideas attached to the person of a Muslim saint who appears to be regarded in much the same way as a tribal god of the pre-Islamic era. On consideration, I do not think that the intent is to bring the head of the foe to 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, but he is evidently regarded as assisting the quarter in battle against, perhaps, another quarter, Muslims and Šawāfi' notwithstanding. 621 789 792

In the case of a quarrel between two quarters, when one quarter denies its culpability it uses the following formula : 539 621 578

لَا عَصَبْنَا وَلَا طَلَقْنَا وَلَا رَمَزْنَا وَلَا غَمَزْنَا

« We did not decide (to do anything), nor did we omit (to do anything), we did not look nor did we whisper [12]. »

This is known as the « oath of the denial » (yamīn al-inkār). 621 539 527

2. Ahl al-Ḫilaif 533

a. Metre : Basīṭ, ||—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

اَلْيَوْم جُمْعَة وَغُدْوَة مِثْلَهَا
لَمَّا تَقُومَ ٱلْقِيَامَة كُلَّهَا.
عِيوْءَة ! وَوْ ! مِسَّه !

« Today is Friday, tomorrow the same,
Until the Resurrection comes, all of it. »

The sense is, probably, that today is a holiday, or at least a fortunate day. After this and other verses, exclamations such as the above are commonly used. Another common exclamation is wō-lākhap. What these exclamations signify none can say, but all Ḥaḍramis concur that they are old and curious. I am tempted to suggest they might be corrupt vestiges of pagan religious ritual.

12 The latter two verbs of the « oath of denial » were thus paraphrased for me, but I feel that the classical senses of the Lexicons might be more appropriate here.

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



exceeding 40 cows, 20 cows are the limit, may be a camel and a few sheep as well. In the case of a poor man, perhaps a single cow or sheep. Two cows are slaughtered near the grave of the deceased on the day of burial (*i.e.* death generally), if overnight, a third cow. Two nights are allowed to pass and on the third night a cow is slaughtered. This is called *khutum*. A further period elapses varying according to the economic condition of the deceased's relatives. It may be so little as a fortnight or so much as three months when the big sacrifice takes place, may be of 10, 15 or 20 cows respresenting half of the deceased man's herds. This is called *yom el nahairu*. Both *khutum* and *nahaira* are performed at the place where the man lived and not upon his grave. More cows will be sacrificed by relatives and friends of the deceased towards whose families in his lifetime he has acted similarly. This vast slaughter attracts the whole neighbourhood and the sectional tribe of the dead man divide up the flesh for themselves, and go away under their great burdens. Visitors from other tribes have no such rights, but partake of the feast of cooked meat for which one cow will have been roasted for the occasion. 782 556

There is a widespread belief in *Subiřō*, *i.e.* spirits of the departed and their power for good and evil. In the Wadi Rizat I came upon scraps of food and tobacco in the pool beneath where the spring comes gushing out of a cavern. The locals emerge at night to throw morsels on the ground or into the pool shouting, "We are your sons and your daughters—don't harm us. Be awake so that we are not harmed by *Jins* (human kind) or *Jinns*." 769 776

*Nughush* they call this casting of bread upon the waters. In theory these spirits brood over running water only: they are amenable to kind treatment and treat mankind in the same way that they are treated by mankind.

The people of Jurbaib, lower down, sacrifice a cow before the harvest after it has made a circuit of the crops—its blood being drained into the irrigation ducts. Bits of its flesh are cast amongst the growing grass. 782 769

This spring of Rizat was in old days the subject of a notorious government case. Bait Zaiyan, a section of the Shahara, claimed the exclusive right to practise *nughush* in it. The Qara overlords who wished to share in the benefits of ghostly grace demanded to go "fifty-fifty" in the sacrifice. The government wali, in order to make government itself a partner in the scheme and share in the crops of the plains, decided that both parties would receive exactly equal quantities of food from government so that there should be no cheating. But in later years the slave soldiers of government, becoming overbearing in their treatment of Bait Zaiyan, the latter called upon the departed spirits of their forefathers who promptly made the water run up hill, so that the crops in the plains withered and died, whereupon government's share lapsed. 312 [619]

Cases of virtue held to be latent in certain dying animals I met with on several occasions. The highly valued contents of the antelope's bladder for man, and its stomach for camels, may be purely a rational custom, but that cannot be said of a raven I had shot. While it lay dying a Badu asked for its heart, which he proposed thus to eat raw and palpitating. This was, he said, a protection to his own heart from evil influence, its bile also which he proposed mixing with kohl with which to annoint his eyelids. The Shahari who killed my biggest cobra, 825 789 754

825 a 3 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
789 impart virtue to his sight.

754 I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

## INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
[782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

## LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

582 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere
583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
832 the triple nose-kiss, left, right, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Imra'al-Qeis refused and gathered together the tribes of Midhij,[1] who were another Qahtani tribe, and the tribe of Kinda and set out to attack the Beni Asad. By mistake he attacked the Kinana tribes instead of the Beni Asad, killing many of them, whereupon he cried out that he had revenged his father's death. When told of his mistake he was filled with remorse and returned to Dammūn. Then Nu'man bin al Mundhir, king of Hira in 'Iraq, who, as has been said, had been sowing discord among the tribes in Hadhramaut. brought an army against Imra'al-Qeis, causing all the tribes to follow him and declaring that if Imra'al-Qeis were captured, he must be killed, and if he ran away, no one was to render him assistance. As the tribes in the Hadhramaut were against him Imra'al-Qeis left and went to Syria. From Syria he went among the Arab tribes, but none would accept him. He then took refuge with the Emperor of Constantinople, who brought an army and marched against Nu'man at Angora. But the Beni Nu'man and the Beni Asad sent word to the Emperor that all the Arabs were against Imra'al-Qeis, whereupon the Emperor had him poisoned. His grave is at Angora and bears an inscription.

The Kinda tribes returned to Upper Hadhramaut and their kingdom extended no further than this territory. Between them and the Hadhramaut tribes there was always discord. The Saqsaq and Sukun tribes were in the Lower Hadhramaut. All these tribes were under petty chiefs, each in his own territory, and there was continual fighting between them.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE MIDDLE AGES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

### 1. The Coming of Islam.

Then Islam came to the Hadhramaut. The Prophet Muhammad, on whom be peace, sent Ziad bin Dhubed in the eighth year of the Hejira[2] and he converted the Kinda and Hadhramaut tribes without

[1] The Midhij (or Madhagi) still exist as a clan of Upper 'Aulaqi and a son of the house is a pupil in the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs. They claim to be descended from a son of 'Abd Shems Saba named Mizzah or Madhig. They came from the north and once opposed Aelius Gallus' expedition. Wyman Bury. *Arabia Infelix*, p. 3.

[2] So Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir whose story is here continued. But Ziad does not appear to have come to the Hadhramaut at this date.

In the tenth year of the Hejira among the missions that came to Muhammed was one from the Hadhramaut. Wa'il bin Hoji, the coastal chief, and Al Ash'ath, chief of the interior, and both of the Beni Kinda arrived in Mecca and made their submission. Wa'il, the Prophet confirmed in his rights, subject to the payment of tithes, and Al Ash'ath was married to Um Farwa, the sister of Abubekr. He was not, however, allowed to take his bride home as her parents thought the Hadhramaut too far away. Some idea of Hadhramaut manners then prevailing can be gleaned from Wa'il's behaviour to the host to whom he had been allotted. Though the ground was scorching hot, Wa'il would neither allow his host to ride on his camel with him nor even lend him his sandals, declaring it was unheard of in the Yemen for a common man to wear the sandals of the king. Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 462.

175 bloodshed, but they were only nominally converted. At that time there were five rulers, four kings and a queen, Jemid, Manhūs, 792 797 Mashera, Abdh'a, and their sister Al 'Amureda.[1] (The Prophet corresponded with these rulers as he corresponded with other sovereigns.)

When Abu Bekr became Caliph the tribes in the Hadhramaut fell away from Islam, so Ziad[2] brought an army from Yemen and the Hejaz and killed the five rulers, after which Hadhramaut tribes again became followers of Islam and were loyal to the other Caliphs and at first to their successors the Omeiyads. But in A.H. 128 (A.D. 746) the tribes revolted against the Omeiyads as the ruler of Yemen, 'Āmr Qasim Bin 'Umar Ath Thaqafi, tyrannized over them.

175 Hadhramaut tribes then became Ibadhis[3] under Yahya bin 'Abdulla, known as Talib Al Haqq, from Kinda, who ruled the tribes after their revolt against the Omeiyads. All Hadhramaut was then Ibadhi and for twelve years recognized no outside authority, killing anyone who came to rule over them. But in A.H. 140 (A.D. 757) when the Abbasides were in power, Ma'n bin Zaida Ash Sheibani brought a large army from Yemen against them. He passed Henin and came to Furt al Hussein which lay between Henin and Qatn. Here the men of Hadhramaut met him and gave battle. They were defeated, 15,000 being killed including their ruler Talib al Haqq. Ma'n bin Zaida then ruled over the Hadhramaut under the Abbasides. Ma'n was a tyrant, and he

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[1] The princes of the Hadhramaut bore the 'itle of 'Abāhila.

[2] Ziad was the Governor of the Hadhramaut under Al Muhājir. About a year after the prophet's death, Al Muhājir set forth for South Arabia and in due course met 'Akrima, who had been sent to subdue the Mahra, at Ma'rib. The two chiefs then proceeded to the Hadhramaut where Ziad was holding the country with difficulty. He had made himself unpopular with the Beni Kinda by his exactions of tithes, and in one of his raids had carried off the families of a tribe. Al Ash'ath gathered the clans and rescued the prisoners after which, being compromised, he raised the whole country against Ziad. At this moment Muhājir and 'Akrima arrived and routed Al Ash'ath. At last in a desperate bid for personal safety Al Ash'ath offered to betray the remnant of his force. His terms were accepted and he was sent to Abubekr at Mecca. The Caliph spared his life and even allowed him to fulfil his marriage contract with his sister.

[3] In the reign of the second Merwan. At this time the Khawarij had spread extensively over South Arabia and 'Iraq and were often strong enough to paralyse the Government. 'Abdulla bin Ibadh, founder of the Ibadhis, whose only date we know is A.D. 744, was active in Merwan's reign. He belonged to the Tamimi tribe. To-day the Ibadhis are still the rulers of Oman and of Zanzibar and there is a community of them in Morocco.

Masudi says, (VI, 67) that Merwan gave command of an army to fight the Ibadhis to 'Abdul Malik bin Muhammad bin 'Atia as Sa'adi. "Abdul Malik marched the Syrian troops of Merwan against the Yemen. 'Abdulla bin Yahya al Kindi set out from San'ā and the two parties met in the district of Taif in the territory of Jorsh. There was a terrible battle which cost their lives to 'Abdulla and to the majority of the Ibadhis whom he commanded. The rest of the heretics took refuge in the Hadhramaut of which the population is almost all Ibadhi still in 332 of the Hejira. It does not differ in the way of beliefs from the Khawarij of Oman."

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



643 The Sultan of Lahej rules over the territory of the 'Abdali tribe, and
425 his frontier marches with the northern frontier of Aden Colony. He is descended from a Yafa'i family, who were appointed as Governors of Lahej by an Imam of San'a. Later they revolted against the Imams and declared their independence. By purchase, Imamic grants and seizure they own a considerable portion of the Lahej lands; they are of foreign origin to the tribe over which they rule.

The Amirs of Dhala' were appointed Governors of the Dhala' province, including the lands of the tribes of Halumein, Ahmad, Azraq and Shu'Ar, by the Imamas of San'a, and, later, of the lands of Sha'ib by a Sultan of Turkey. I see that the official handbook describes the Amirs of Dhala' as descendants from slaves. It is surprising how such obvious inaccuracies persist. To see that they have no slave blood in them requires
567 no more than ordinary eyesight, and it would be impossible for an Imam of
795 San'a to appoint a slave to any post, since there are no slaves in the Yemen
144 at all, slavery being forbidden by the tenets of the Zeidi sect. The Amirs are of typical Central Yemeni type, such as is found on the Yemen plateau.

643 Later, they rebelled against the Imams and established their independence. Thus they rule over a confederation of small tribes, while belonging to none of them.

These appointed Suzerains, of whom the Sultan of Makalla is one, form a distinct class among Arab Chiefs. They do not mix with their tribesmen in the usual democratic Arab way, but stand apart, as it were, and are addressed by titles of exaggerated respect. Not being tribesmen of the tribe they rule, they have no traditional and family holds over the people and their attitudes towards their tribesmen are those of foreign rulers. They do not, as a rule, favour elected hereditary headmen in their villages, but prefer to appoint outsiders as headmen, whom they pay as retainers.

When a Suzerain dies, the election of the new Chief is held by the family only and the tribesmen are not consulted.

622 The accepted Suzerains are represented by one example only—the
● 792 Sharifs of Beihan. It is, however, an interesting example.

628 In Beihan there are settlements of Sharifs and of Seyyids. There are
648 also two tribes among whom these holy men live. Both the Sharifs and the Seyyids are arms-bearing families, and for some time were divided by a feud. Before the Great War, the elected Chief of the Sharifs, a far-sighted man called Ahmad, negotiated a treaty of protection and friendship with Great Britain. In this he gained the support of the lower tribe and of half the upper tribe, which was divided by a feud. After the Great War he concluded a truce with the Seyyids, and consolidated his relationships with his supporters among the tribesmen, who amounted to three-quarters of the population of Beihan. They accepted him as Suzerain and as their general agent for dealing with their foreign affairs. Thus, while he is undoubtedly a Suzerain, he is one of limited authority. He does not claim taxes from the land or the trade except in his own settlements, and is, consequently, very poor. But, for all that, the influence of the Sharifs is considerable in all the Beihan area. Their position is not, of course, unique in Arabia, but it is doubtful if any others than holy men could find themselves in a similar one.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM 2



The elected hereditary tribal Chiefs form the third type. In each tribal confederation there is a central tribe. Of this central tribe one family only provides Chiefs to the confederation. Normally the election of a Chief is the concern, not of his family only, but of the central tribe, while powerful petty Chiefs of other tribes within the confederation have a considerable say in it. Such Chiefs are, by virtue of the conditions of their election, truly democratic. By ancient tradition, however, they are held in great respect and are referred to invariably, as is their family, as the "Dola," or dynasty. They are accorded high-sounding titles by the Government and by other Chiefs, but their tribesmen address them by their names, and it would appear that the high-sounding titles are of recent adoption in the country. The Imam of San'a rarely uses them. Government correspondence is, for this reason, often a source of merriment. 622 21

It will be seen that all Chiefs are, whatever their type, elected in a greater or lesser degree—the Suzerains within their family circle and the hereditary Chiefs within their tribe. The main difference between the types is that, whereas the Suzerains are of foreign descent to the tribes over which they rule, the hereditary Chiefs are of the tribe and, as such, do not need to surround themselves with the trappings of imposed authority. In appearance the Suzerains are more imposing, and this has misled officials into supposing that they are of more consequence socially than other Chiefs are. This is, of course, not so. 643 622

In all these types of Chief, when the Chief dies his eldest son would appear, by custom, to have less right to succeed than others. Suzerains always try to impose their eldest or their favourite son as accepted heir during their lifetimes. This has happened in Lahej, where it led to a revolt among the Sultan's relations, and in Makalla by arrangement. The Sharifs of Beihan have been exceptions to this, and have abided by custom. When Sharif Ahmad died, they held discussions among themselves. The eldest son was Sharif Hussein, but he was appointed Regent to his own eldest son, a young boy, who was elected Sharif. The reason given for this was that the grandson of the dead Chief had longer to live than his father and that frequent change in leadership was a bad thing. As a rule, however, Chiefly families pass the Chiefdoms from branch to branch, and, when the Chief dies, a nephew will usually succeed. Among the 'Audhali recently, the Chief was murdered by his cousin. The tribe was split in two by feud, but one half elected the murderer's son, a boy of eight years old, to the Chiefdom. This boy was accepted in 1934, when the feud ceased, as Sultan of the tribe. 628

We next come to the holy classes. The first of these are the Sharifs and Seyyids, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. They live in settlements and elect among themselves in each family a headman. They have great influence in the community, but it varies, of course, with the amount of their riches. Most Seyyids—the only Sharifs are those in Beihan—do not bear arms and take no part in tribal warfare. They are peacemakers, and derive considerable income as such, and as dispensers of the Sharia or holy law of Islam. They are treated with veneration and respect and, after death, are frequently treated as saints. They marry 792 [556] 821 423

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792 582 423 tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

792 778 346 The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

778 651 423 792 754 Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

792 778 In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We [776] must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

792 [622] 778 792 782 All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM21



Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court. 778 796 782 792 [21 T21]

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer. 778 735

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed. 693 671 [692]

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of 671 693 577 626

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693 tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had
671 touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt
577 or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's
626 own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

365 This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and
631 tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

565 We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past
463 incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will
465 therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of
421 those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The
792 Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

421 Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of
565 the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

565 Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen
144 and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

565 Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class.
463 The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

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as far as I know, nothing written to define their position, but it is accepted that they can only use their position to influence their tribesmen, and that the rule of the tribe is that of the tribal council, which is drawn from all the heads of tribe and family, and is influenced by all strong personalities within the tribe as well as by the holy classes—the Seyyids and descendants of saints. The strength of rule which the Chief can impose depends, therefore, on how much he can influence the influential. By his own position he is not a ruler; he is a figurehead; and if his ancestors at one time could inspire respect and fear through their magical powers, he inspires neither, except through his own personality. By a reluctance to enforce his rule, even when he is assisted to do so, he shows that in some vague way he appreciates his peculiar hereditary position. Until the official understands this he will live in wonderland, where the Chief he wishes to assist blandly gives Government arms away to his enemies and then returns to demand equality of force with them and the assistance of aircraft to defend himself. But the official is dealing with the older thing, with a type of community which long ago ceased to have meaning or motive, but has preserved the ancient forms of its pagan birth.

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It is notable that the Imam does not attempt to rule the Yemen through hereditary tribal Chiefs. He rules, as his ancestors did, through appointed Governors of provinces, and these provinces often disregard tribal areas. It may be that the Yemen progressed beyond the Priest-Chief state of rule in the days of the kingdoms and under a succession of Governors never returned to it. I do not myself believe that the Mushreq has ever known other than tribal life and the rule of tribal councils and public opinion from the days of the Grand Council of Ma'an to the present day. The Yemeni parts of the Protectorate which are under Suzerains are governed after the Yemeni autocratic model. Here the tribal figurehead counts for very little, unless he is a strong personality and a favourite of the Suzerain. But the figurehead is still there for all the centuries of " foreign " rule.

It would seem that it is usual for the rule of Priest-Chiefs to be followed by that of tyrants. Perhaps it is that as trade develops some firmer kind of rule is needed than a vaguely conservative council under a Priest-Chief. The church, as it were, cannot keep the functions of the state. When it can it tries to endow every activity of the individual with a magical colour. It usually succeeds. But in South Arabia the religion was violently changed by a militant Christianity and after a few centuries by a militant Islam, and in the place of the old order, under which each man worshipped his tribal god, there came the new order of the conqueror and his appointed Governors. In this small strip of Arabia we are fortunate to be able to study both these types of rule as they react to contact with the modern world.

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Almost the whole world has been through the phase of passing from the rule of the Priest-King to that of the tyrant, and we are no exception. It would almost seem to be a necessary growing pain for the people to first be ruled by autocrats before they rule themselves. But it would be interesting, to us who have passed through this phase and who see ourselves on the frontiers of the wider democracy of our age, to dispense with this phase and to at once develop a government of truly democratic form

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who 000
nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's
picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators.

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all 619
cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked 182
on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of
Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula'
tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who
should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to
claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula'
tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have
closed the important road through their country to try and force the
Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more 421
complicated than in most places in the Protectorate.

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell 427
land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary.
It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession 565
of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for 792
wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly pro- 651
tected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the pro-
perty of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the 619
extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm
and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argu-
ment and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to
the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship
of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with
the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dis-
pute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who,
they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir
sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also,
and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between
Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis,
who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a
consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all
tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation
is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some
parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence
of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued [672]
disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their 182
centres.

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people
is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how
they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on
the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the 182
down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms 628
broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main con-
tributory cause of their disintegration is the blood fued, and there is little 411
doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of 436
the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to

182 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last
628 quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras
411 carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease
436 of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some
● [792] years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by
182 Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small
671 thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the
576 gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

183 Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

182 I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into
683 their confederations and have shown the course which these confedera-
728 tions are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in
671 about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts,
[625] whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when
000 nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



cost was paid by him. The way across the mountains is 491
fantastically dangerous, but an expert chauffeur with a first class auto seems to be able to pass over it without any accident. I made up my mind, however, not to risk it again, and on the way back to follow the longer way round through the *wādī*. The mountain road was constructed at a time when it was impossible, owing to hostilities, to pass through the level country.

From the 27th of May until the 7th of June we were 741
in Terīm as the guests of Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf 871
As a Sayyid he has no official part in the government of 185
his country, but actually he is the man who is now doing most for his country and people. It was he who founded the schools at Makalla, at ash-Shihr, at Dō'an and in the towns of the Wādī Hadramaut, and it is he who supports them; it was he who made possible the transport of the first automobiles from the coast to Terīm, along the great road which he is now engaged in constructing. He is the man who constructed the automobile road from Terīm to Sēwun, and it is he who gives generously to thousands of the poor, to whom he has food supplied every Thursday evening. Terīm is the town for religion and learn- 361
ing; once it was the most important town of Hadramaut, and it is again on the road to become that. It is a town with a multitude of mosques and dozens of palaces, in which are living those families the members of which were able to amass millions of money in Java and at Singapore. The home of Sayyid Abu Bakr is the place where religious and political leaders meet one another, and where the future of the country is discussed.

Thanks to the help of our host, we were able to make 778
a trip to Sūne, the center for archæology, and finally to [782]
attain our most distant goal by being able to visit the 788
central sanctuary of Hadramaut, namely, the grave of the prophet of Allah, Hūd, and to explore the mythical abode of the souls of the unbelievers, Bīr Barhūt. The tomb of Hūd (Qabr Hūd) is the Mecca of Hadramaut and of the surrounding countries. For three days in

When there is a fire the people in the streets should out « Wa-'n-nār wa-'n-nār », or, if there has been an accident when some one has fallen into a well, « Wa-'l-bir ». At this all of the males of the quarter come running out at a trot, leaving their occupations. If it is a fire they take tanaks (tins) and fill them at the mosque cistern (djābiyah). Only the Masākīn perform these duties of course, not the saiyids or maśā'iḫ. Apart from the occasions cited in a previous article[8] another time when the quarter turns out is when a clay-bank (djurf) of a water-channel or water-course has fallen on top of some person or persons. The latter are dug out by the quarter.

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Each quarter has a tanṣūrah (pl. tanāṣīr), a kind of rallying-song or theme special to each quarter, and doubtless each with its special tune. These tanṣūrahs are used on all sorts of occasions, festal or otherwise, and probably, indeed, whenever a body of men from the quarter assemble together. The tanṣūrah may be compared in some respects with the tribal ṣarḫah and 'azwah[9] examples of which are given by Landberg. The following are examples of some of the themes used by the principal quarters of Tarîm.

621 539 533

1. Ahl al-Sūḳ

a. Metre : Wāfir type, ||—|———∪|———∪

لَنَا ٱلزَّايِدْ وَفِينَا ٱلزَّايِدْ

Metre : Radjaz type, ||—|—∪——|—∪—∪

وَشَيْخنَا ٱلمِخضَار مَعْنا

« We have the most, and amongst us lies the most.
And our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār is with us. »

As the metre of these two pieces differs I assume they are independent of each other though given me as a single tanṣūrah. The sense is that the Ahl al-Sūḳ is greater in numbers than any other quarter, it being the largest of all. Al-Miḥḍār is the celebrated Tarîmî saint. [792]

[8] *The Cemeteries of Tarîm, op. cit.*
[9] C. DE LANDBERG, *Arabica IV* (Leiden, 1897), pp. 18, 20, etc.

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b. Metre : Ramal type, ||—|——∪—|——∪—

شَيْخنَا ٱلْمِخضَار يَطفِى ٱلنَّار

« Our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār puts out the fire. »

This is a raǧjaz or zāmil known as raǧjaz ḫābbah, or « jingle used by a party of men at the trot ». It would be sung after a fire had been extinguished. It should be noted that extinguishing of the fire is attributed to the patron saint of the quarter, and one can with justification see in this the survival of some ancient pagan ceremony.

c. Metre : Basiṭ type,

||—|—∪—|—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

وَٱلشَّيْخ وَٱللهْ عُمَرْ يَا سَعْد مِن كَان شَيْخَهْ

« By the Šaiḫ, by God, 'Umar, O the good fortune of him whose šaiḫ he is. »

This raǧjaz (jingle) is also used in trotting.

d. Metre : Banī Miǧhrāh [10],

||——∪|———∪|——∪|———∪

عُمَرْ مِخضَار فِى كُلِّ حِجَّهْ نَهْتَرِى بَهْ

وَرَاسَ ٱلْخَصْم لِى قِدْ عَصَبْنَا بَيْن جِيَّهْ

« 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, in every matter we shout for assistence to him.

And the head of the foe whom we have made up our mind (to attack) we shall bring [11]. »

[113
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10 I have named this metre Banī Miǧhrā because it seems to be invariably used in the poems which begin with this phrase. The Banī Miǧhrāh poem is the traditional hunting song of Ḥaḍramawt; it is discussed at length in my *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramaut.*

11 اهترى LANDBERG, *Glos Daḫ.*, « prononcer le cri de ralliement de la tribu, crialiler ». My informant said it meant « to seek assistance from. » For عصب he gave the synonym اراد. One can say عصبنا السيله equivalent to ننيا السيله « We want to go to the Masīlah ». In the « oath of denial » *ḥafva*, I think that the first two verbs must have the fundamental sense of « binding and loosing » بين جيه is equivalent to بنينا نحيه .

It seems that herein lie pagan ideas attached to the person of a Muslim saint who appears to be regarded in much the same way as a tribal god of the pre-Islamic era. On consideration, I do not think that the intent is to bring the head of the foe to 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, but he is evidently regarded as assisting the quarter in battle against, perhaps, another quarter, Muslims and Šawāfi' notwithstanding. 621 789 792

In the case of a quarrel between two quarters, when one quarter denies its culpability it uses the following formula : 539 621 578

لَا عَصَبْنَا وَلَا طَلَقْنَا وَلَا رَمَزْنَا وَلَا غَمَزْنَا

« We did not decide (to do anything), nor did we omit (to do anything), we did not look nor did we whisper [12]. »

This is known as the « oath of the denial » (yamīn al-inkār). 621 539 527

2. Ahl al-Ḥilaif 533

a. Metre : Basīṭ, ||—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

اَلْيَوْمَ جُمْعَةْ وَغُدْوَةْ مِثْلَهَا
لَمَّا تَقُومَ اَلْقِيَامَةْ كُلَّهَا.
عِيوْهْ ! وَوْ ! مِسَّهْ !

« Today is Friday, tomorrow the same,
Until the Resurrection comes, all of it. »

The sense is, probably, that today is a holiday, or at least a fortunate day. After this and other verses, exclamations such as the above are commonly used. Another common exclamation is wō-lākhap. What these exclamations signify none can say, but all Ḥaḍramis concur that they are old and curious. I am tempted to suggest they might be corrupt vestiges of pagan religious ritual.

12 The latter two verbs of the « oath of denial » were thus paraphrased for me, but I feel that the classical senses of the Lexicons might be more appropriate here.

539 b. Metre :

533 Perhaps ‖— — ∪ | — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — فَاعِلْ مُسْتَفْعِلْ فَعُولْ

621 قَدْ قَنَصْنَا ٱلصَّيْدْ فِي رُبُوعَهْ [13]

224 شَيْخَنَا عَلِيّ بِنْ مُحَمَّدْ

« We have hunted the game in its lairs (or mountain-sides). Our šaiḫ is 'Alī bin Miḥimmid. »

This tanṣūrah has no small interest when it is recalled that the ritual hunt played an important part in the pre-Islamic religion of this part of Arabia, especially the hunting of the ibex [14]. The first half-verse is commonly sung by *all* the quarters of Tarīm, and is even used by the people of the ḥawṭah of Ṯibī not far away. [792] Šaiḫ 'Alī bin Muḥammad is a saint of the Āl Ḫaṭīb family, known as Ṣāḥib al-Wi'il, i.e. « He of the Ibex ». Once, on the occasion of a feast, either the lesser or the greater 'Īd, he had no animal to slaughter by way of celebration, but on returning home from the mosque he found an ibex standing by his door. This was evidently a miracle performed on his behalf. Šaiḫ 'Alī is the patron saint of al-Ḫilaif, and is buried in the cemetery of al-Furaiṭ [15]. [346 361] The chief mosque of the quarter is Misdjid al-Wi'il, and at one time when, owing to the dissension between three sections of the Yāfi'ī rulers, Tarīm was divided into three territories with three separate djāmi' mosques, the Misdjid al-Wi'il was used for the Friday prayer; this took place about a century ago.

No doubt this tanṣūrah would be used by parties of hunters returning from the ibex-hunt as I have described in the preface to my book on Ḥaḍrami popular verse.

3. Ḥārat al-Saḥīl

[792] The people of this quarter mention their saint, an 'Aidarūs saiyid who is buried in Tāribah, but I have no further particulars about their tanṣūrahs. They shout

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[13] Variant شَعُوبَهْ.

[14] Cf. A. Bertron, *The Ritual Hunt*, Le Muséon, LXI, 3-4, pp. 183-96.

[15] For this cemetery see *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, *op. cit.*

Metre : Ramal, ||— — ∪ — | — — ∪ —

شَيْخنَا عَلْوِى بِنْ أَحْمَدْ

4. Al-Nuwaidarah

The patron saint of al-Nuwaidarah is Šihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Alī bin Abī Bakr al-Sakrān [16].

5. Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī

The tanṣūrah of this quarter mentions the saint of the ḥawṭah šaiḫanā al-Ḥaddād, i.e. the celebrated saint and author 'Abdullāh al-Ḥaddād who is also known beyond the confines of Ḥaḍramawt.

It would however seem that the term tanṣūrah is not confined to the rallying-cries of the quarters of the cities, for I can recall the word being used in the Daṯīnah area when tanṣūrahs were performed over the grave of a man whose murder had been successfully avenged. It is a cry used also by the tribes [17] in Ḥaḍramawt.

Very similar to the Tamīmī tanṣūrah quoted by Landberg [18] is the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd of Tarīm. The 'Abīd have an organisation in many respects similar to that of the Masākīn with a headman (muḳaddam). Their tanṣūrah runs :

بَنِى سِوَيْدَ ٱلْغَلَّابَهْ

كَمْ مِنْ قَبِيلِى ظَفِرْنَا بِهْ

« Banī Siwaid, the conquering,
How many a tribesman have we overcome. »

Landberg remarks that the verse he quotes is defective, if one must see a metre in it, but the first half-verse which he gives corresponds exactly in metre to the first half-verse of the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd.

16 « The Drunken » might, at first sight, seem an odd term to apply to a Muslim saint, but the term of course is Sufistic, and implies that he was drunk with the ecstacy of the knowledge of God. Some names are much more curious. I was told that the 'Aṭṭās saiyids derived their name from a miracle performed by their ancestor who is said to have been heard to sneeze while still in the womb!

17 C. DE LANDBERG, *Ḥaḍramoût* (Leiden, 1901), p. 184.

18 Loc. laud.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



preserved and cared for. The town with its solidly built, large 361
houses looks well-kept and attractive. We had expected to see 778
a great camp with tumble-down huts and certainly not a town with cupolas and mosques, with tall houses of many storeys with whitewashed roofs and high windows. In earlier times it was indeed different. Qabr Nebī Allāh Hūd has been the headquarters of a religious cult, belonging to and destined for Bedouins, dating from pre-Muḥammadan times. Wealth, amassed abroad, has been partly used to show gratitude to Allāh, the Giver. Thus, a full ten years ago, a rich member of the el-Kāf family left a large sum of money for the restoration of this sanctuary; only the cupola of the tomb is old, the other religious buildings being new. The tomb lies higher than the rest against the steep rock-wall. I will recall here the 792
popular story of the Prophet Hūd, the man of God of pagan times, who called his people to repentance and conversion, yet, like many another prophet, was not honoured in his own country. He ended his earthly career in this place, hunted down by his enemies. Allāh opened the rock for him and his pursuers saw him no more. The faithful she-camel (the *nāqa*) that Hūd rode and the milk of which he drank died close by his master's grave. When Islām had penetrated into Ḥaḍramaut, the cult of the Prophet Hūd arose and the pilgrimage to his tomb was incorporated into that Faith.

Hūd must have been a very big man, for his grave is about [792]
120 feet long. The *qubba* is built on the spot where his head 778
is said to rest, the place where, also, the rock was cleft open. 346
The building is in pure Ḥaḍramī style, simple and lovely. In the narrow ravine encircled by threatening, dark precipices and rude, brownish-black blocks of stone, this gay, white edifice with its beautiful simplicity and its sober ornamentation is like the voice of all that is finest and highest in man in a world of harshness and want. This voice, speaking in the eternal silence of this out-of-the-way, motionless corner of the world, is heard and understood even by us, the first Christian pilgrims from the West. We understand how the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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form, geographically and socially, a remarkably homogeneous whole. It may be said, in brief, that the districts of the Hadhramaut are singularly fertile and self-sufficing, and so situated geographically as to hang closely together and to be isolated socially, as a whole, from the rest of Arabia; while, at the same time, they lie within reach of ports which are in constant communication with mid-eastern Africa and India. To the north stretches unbroken the most terrible waste of sand-dunes in the peninsula; to the east the district is practically isolated from the Oman provinces by the almost waterless desert of Mahrah; while to the west it is difficult of access from the Yemen and its outlying provinces on account of a mountainous and sterile desert-steppe which, up to the present, remains almost entirely unexplored.

Possessing more frequent and easy communication with Moslem communities outside Arabia than within it, the population of the Hadhramaut has had ample opportunity to develop particularism in its social organization as well as in its religious spirit. The fertility of its lands makes its farmers self-sufficient and jealous with the jealousy of men who have much to lose; and, while their relations with Africa have given them unusual wealth of slaves, their relations with India and other parts of the East, greatly enhancing their material civilization, have at the same time made them fully aware of the nature of European rule and the danger of giving free entrance to members of a race which condemns slavery. For long they succeeded in barring the way to the encroachments of all foreigners, and it is only within comparatively recent times that travellers, few in number, have succeeded in acquiring information, and that only to a very limited extent, about the social organization, customs, and manners of this interesting and highly exclusive people.

The population may be divided into four more or less distinct classes:

1. The Seyyids.
2. The Tribesmen.
3. The Townsmen.
4. The Servile classes, or slaves.

The *Seyyids*, descendants of Husein, grandson of Mohammed, form a numerous and highly respected aristocracy. They are divided into families, the heads of which are known as 'Munsibs', who are looked upon as the religious leaders of the people and are in some cases venerated as saints. They do not bear arms, nor occupy themselves in trade or manual labour, or even agriculture;

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathīri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

### Domestic Life and Appliances

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Of governmental administration as a whole, in spite of the comparative homogeneity of the region, there is none, in the usually accepted sense of the term. The tribal lords have no care for what are considered in Europe the duties of government. Education, police, and public works are left entirely to private initiative, and as a result the two last are almost entirely non-existent. Instruction alone flourishes, and that only among the Seyyids and townsmen. There are some schools for so-called primary, secondary, and higher instruction; in the two former the teaching is almost exclusively confined to language, grammar, and religion. The chief centre of higher instruction is at Seyyūn, where the Academy, known by the name Ribāt, is a sort of annexe to the Great Mosque; here there are about 100 students who receive free board and lodging and 300 outside students who pay fees of varying amounts. The teaching is confined to the intensive study of grammar, law, and theology, to the almost entire exclusion of the so-called modern sciences, astronomy (as interpreted by the Arabs) alone excepted. The study of medicine, among others, is entirely non-existent.

As for Law and Magistracy, the influence of the Seyyids is a powerful curb on any oppression by the Muqaddams or tribal lords, and in the Hadhramaut there is a sufficiently independent magistrature. The Seyyids have the greatest interest in seeing that the Mussulman law is honoured and respected, because the law and religion are one: the decadence of religion would inevitably bring about the loss of that superstitious respect which the people have for them as descendants of the Prophet.

Each town or village of any importance has a *Qādhi*, with a sub-Qādhi for the country district round about. The Qādhis are nominated by the Muqaddams, but the latter consult the Seyyids and renowned savants before fixing on their choice; sub-Qādhis are nominated by the Qādhis. The Qādhis have both civil and criminal jurisdiction, and base their decisions on the works of jurists of the Shafei rite. Judgements must be drawn up in writing and signed and sealed by the Qādhi who has delivered them, but can only be put into execution on authorization by the Muqaddam, who, however, uses his veto but rarely. The jurisdiction of the sub-Qādhis is limited to marriage and other acts of family life, the majority of the inhabitants of the country rarely having recourse to the judge in their other affairs. Differences between persons of the same family are in general adjusted by the Abu, and differences between persons belonging to different families by the Muqaddam. In the latter cases, failing accord, justice is settled

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



the interior Hadhramaut towns; and all the houses are gathered within the walls, since there is no security outside on account of the neighbourhood of the Kathīri. 361

(*b*) The principal towns of the Kathīri are the following:

5. **Seyyūn,** built on the slopes of Jebel Seyyūn, at the edge of a very extensive and fertile area, which stretches away to the lower ground of the wādi and is dominated by the castle of the ruling Sultan. The town is surrounded by walls of mud; embracing, within the enceinte, a great number of gardens; it is entered by a low gateway. The streets are broader and cleaner than most of the Hadhramaut towns; and the place has some pretensions to a drainage system, many of the houses having outlets for this purpose to walled pits.

Seyyūn is a town of many mosques, their number being reputed to exceed 300: the principal one, the Grand Mosque, stands on one side of the great square. The town is the intellectual centre of the Hadhramaut, the so-called Academy (*Ribāt*), an annexe of the grand mosque, being the place of assemblage of a great number of reputed savants. The market is said to be the busiest in the whole country, and is held in the square on Fridays at the termination of noon-day prayers, merchants coming to it from all parts. Hirsch, however, states that, when he was there (1893), 'there seemed to be but little trade carried on, and there were only a few stalls in the market'. The population is estimated at about 4,500. 346 [73] 443

The Seyyids of Seyyūn are very powerful and wealthy, and many of them have large castle-like houses. The palace of the ruling head of the Kathīri stands on an elevated site, and is surrounded by its own wall fortified with bastions and outstanding watch-towers. The main block of the palace is surmounted by three very conspicuous look-outs, the middle one being higher than the other two. The chief is reputed to have two or three field-pieces and some old cannon in his possession. 365 792

6. **Terīm,** some 19 miles NE. of Seyyūn, is a considerable and straggling town built along a mountain slope above a broad belt of cultivation and palm-groves which stretches away towards the east. Its population, according to Hirsch (probably the only European who has succeeded in visiting it, but who, owing to the hostility of the Seyyids, was obliged to return precipitately before he had very thoroughly explored it), was about 4,000 in 1893, and was declining. A low gate, with a large ruined fortress close by, gives entrance to the town on the Shibām side, and just within this is the main square, where the market is held: one side of the square is occupied by the principal mosque. It does not appear, however, 361

565 Seiyids do not carry arms,[1] nor have they troops to support
554 them, so that instead of relying on the sanction of arms to main-
461 tain their authority they rely on their descent from the Prophet and the reverence which is given to them on account of their ancestry. They are extremely jealous of their privileges as Seiyids; realizing that their influence depends on the respect shown to them, they adhere keenly to such customs as the kissing of their hands and avoid any form of manual labour. They are usually comparatively well educated, and exercise influence on this account.

OOO Some years ago a movement started in the East Indies to restrict the power of the Seiyids. It is said to have had its origin in a squabble over a school, but its roots were deeply set in the growing contact of the Hadhrami immigrants with western influence which produced a liberal class keen on modernisation. The Seiyids were innately conservative and mistrusted the encroachment of western civilization. It cannot be said that the struggle between the church and the laity is yet over, but it is apparent that the victory will ultimately be with liberal tendencies rather than diehard conservatism. According to most accounts the 'Irshadis, as the rebels against ecclesiastical predominance termed themselves, never set up actual organizations in the Hadhramaut itself, but there is no doubt that their tenets have made considerable headway there.

565 In Qu'aiti territory the influence of the Seiyids has officially gone.
554 They are not allowed to interfere in politics though they are given respect for their descent. As long as the majority of them adhere to their mediaeval ecclesiasticism it is clearly right that they should be out of power. Unofficially, however, some of the best of them still play an important and indeed essential part in those districts not yet under direct Government control. In Kathīri territory they have more influence, but the leading families have moved with the advancing tide of progress, allied themselves with the forces of law and order, and are amongst the keenest advocates of modern methods in the country.

### Sheikhs.

● 793 Before the advent of Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa in the ninth century
565 and the gradual growth of the religious influence of the Seiyids,
554 the Sheikhs were the principal ecclesiastical influence in the country.
162 They probably took the place of an earlier ecclesiastical hierarchy formed by the priesthood of the old religion. Though they definitely take precedence after the Seiyids, they resemble them in that they exercise much the same privileges. Like them, they are a very much respected class, are better educated than the tribesmen, and do not as a rule bear arms.

565 The principal families are: Al 'Amūdi living in Du'an, Āl Is-hāq,
162 Āl Bā Wazīr living at Gheil, Wadi al 'Ain, and other places, Bā

[1] There are in fact a few families of Seiyids who do carry arms and are indistinguishable from Beduins.

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
YEMEN ML 1



elected Imam, he goes outside the acknowledged boundaries of his kingdom (the present Imam acknowledges no boundaries, nor have any of his predecessors) he ceases to be Imam, and a new Imam must be elected. The Imam is usually elected during the lifetime of his predecessor, so that when one dies the country is not without an Imam. H 174 Y 643

Now all these conditions are those pertaining to divine Kings. There is little doubt that they are ancient pre-Islamic conditions, and it is possible that they are taken from the conditions under which the Tobbas of Himyar became King and which governed the ancient kingship of Sheba. Some inscriptions made by the Tobbas, who ruled over Axum in Abyssinia, as well as Saba and Eastern Yemen, are countersigned, as it were, by a Minister who styles himself "The Sacrifice"—in itself a very significant title. These conditions must have been accepted by the Persian and Abyssinian rulers of the Yemen, and both they and subsequent rulers must have thought it as well to assume the kingship in its ancient form.

In the same way as the Imam is elected and proclaimed, so under him each confederation elects its Chiefs and petty Chiefs within their tribes and families. The central tribes elect their Chiefs, who become the heads of confederations, and each tribe elects its leaders within itself; only in the case of the smaller units, from the confederation downwards, there appear to be no such conditions as I have mentioned regarding the Imamate. All these Chiefs are figureheads who can exert a strong influence but who are not expected to rule. H 622

The scene thus represented is one of the greatest interest to anthropologists and to sociologists. It is a stage in the development of nations. Before the formation of kingdoms and before Islam, Arabia was a land of many gods. Each of these gods was the particular god of a tribe, and his worship was in the hands of a priestly tribe who elected a Priest-Chief. He was, as it were, a divine Chief, and doubtless it was his main duty to ensure fertility, which entails all the priestly functions of bringing rain, guarding against disease and supervising agriculture. Both the magic and the custom were higher than him. He could not change either but was himself ruled by both. In inter-tribal disputes he spoke for the tribe and not for himself as ruler of the tribe. When Islam came, the tribal god vanished, but the Priest-Chief was left as a figurehead, with a vague aura of holiness but with nevertheless a considerable loss of his power, which was never very great. This is the position of the elected hereditary Chief in the Aden Protectorate to-day. H 174 622 793

It is obvious that such Chiefs cannot be expected to rule their confederations and tribes unless they obtain military power. For the most part they are reluctant to do this. At one time it was the policy of the Government to give arms and ammunition to the Chiefs so as to strengthen their hands against their more unruly tribesmen. The hereditary elected Chiefs, however, did not respond to the policy as they were supposed to do, but gave the arms away to brigands in the form of bribes. The Suzerains avidly accepted these presents from the Government, for they understood rule as we do, and have held their positions through this understanding. This, by contrast between the two types of Chief, throws a strong light on the accepted position of the hereditary Chiefs. There is, H 622 643 648

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The palaces, the Wazir's house, and the guest house are fitted with
365 electric light generated by a petrol engine. The system is continued along the water front as far as Sultan 'Umar's mosque.

365 The town water supply in Shihr is brought in a covered aqueduct
312 from Tubala, 6·7 miles away. There are many springs at Tubala, most of which are hot, and a number are heavily impregnated with sulphur. The reservoir for the Shihr water supply consists of a large open tank which is fed by an open channel from the spring. As in the case of Mukalla there is no sort of protection. Shibam draws its water supply from wells, for the most part in the suburb of Seheil. The water is slightly brackish. The rest of the country depends on wells, springs, rivers, and rain cisterns.

**Educational Activities.**

658 In Mukalla there are three Government schools (two Arab and
871 one English), and at least three private schools. In addition to these Arab schools Yusuf Sherif, the principal Indian merchant and
794 Collector of Customs, maintains a private Gujerati school in which there are 42 boys and eight girls at present. There used to be schools in every mosque, but Sultan 'Umar suppressed them and ordered the boys to attend the Government schools. However, despite this prohibition I understand that a few maintain a precarious existence.

871 The larger of the Arabic schools, Al Madrassa al Khariya as Sultanja had been in existence for four years at the time of my visit and had twelve classes: *Hijar*, or Elementary, four classes; *Tahdir*, two classes; *Daraja Awal*, First standard, three classes; *Daraja ath Thani*, Second standard, one class; *Daraja ath Thalath*, Third standard, one class, *Daraja al Arb'a* Fourth standard, one class. A Fifth standard was to be added shortly.

On the register there were 290 to 300 boys aged from six to 14 and even 16, and perhaps older. On inspection the attendance at the various classes was as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Hijar* ... | | 56 |
| *Tahdir* | 1 ... | 20 |
| | 2 ... | 31 |
| *Daraja* | I.—1 ... | 32 |
| | 2 ... | 20 |
| | 3 ... | 27 |
| *Daraja* | II ... | 12 |
| *Daraja* | III ... | 13 |
| Total exclusive of the Fourth standard ... | | 211 |

The staff consists of a *Mudir* or Principal, a *Murakib*, who is responsible for the discipline of teachers and boys, and 12 teachers. There are nine class rooms, the four classes of *Hijar* sitting in one room. Up to *Daraja* I the boys sit on the floor, after which they are at desks. The school is closed on Fridays and on the 'Id days which are as follows: 'Id al Hajj, five days, 'Id al Fitr, five days, 12th Rabi' Awal, Maulad an Nebi, one day, 29th Ramadhan,

6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Literacy*

873 212 Measures to deal with adult illiteracy are extremely meagre. In the Western Protectorate there are none; in the Eastern Protectorate 17 centres were opened in 1947, but these dwindled to eight during 1948 on account of non-attendance of pupils. They represent an average attendance of 230.

It is impossible to estimate the number of literates turned out by the small independent Quranic schools which exist throughout the Protectorates. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by Government or local government authorities was in the region of 4,300 in 1948; in 1939 it was not more than 100.

*Expenditure*

652 The total amount of money expended on education in the Protectorates (including scholarships abroad) was in the region of £38,110. It comprised the following approximate amounts:

| | £ |
|---|---|
| From His Majesty's Government funds, including £1,664 on scholarships in the Sudan . . . | 13,200 |
| Mukalla Government (including about £760 on scholarships in the Sudan. This is 10 per cent of the total state expenditure) . . . . . | 18,190 |
| Lahej State, including considerable financial assistance from Egypt . . . . . | 5,500 |
| Other local governments in the Western Aden Protectorate . . . . . | 1,220 |
| | £38,110 |

*Summary*

871 794 From this brief review it will be gathered that educational provision in the Protectorates is extremely meagre and development over the whole area apparently slow. It is therefore only fair to point out that until 1937, with the exception of the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs started in 1935, there was no Government provision or supervision of education in the Protectorates. It would not be true to say that there was no education in the Protectorates before that time. It existed rather haphazardly, maintained by private individuals, trusts and associations and by a few local chiefs; but its bias was almost always entirely religious, just as the mosque was nearly always the village school and the Imam of the mosque the village schoolmaster.

In the part of the Eastern Protectorate loosely called the Hadhramaut, and particularly in the towns of Seiyun and Tarim, this traditional religious education reached a highly advanced stage about a century ago. It produced a body of men, drawn mainly from the Seiyid class, who were well read in Quranic studies, Sharia law and in the Arabic language. These men travelled widely in surrounding countries, spreading Islamic culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a center of religious education.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



**Religion.**

Islam is, of course, practically exclusively the religion of the Hadhramaut. There are a number of Banians in Mukalla and a few in Shihr, but, apart from these, other faiths are represented only by one or two Christians and possibly Parsees in the same ports. Occasional Memons, Khojas, and Ithnasheris among the Indian population represent the only exceptions to the universal adherence in the Hadhramaut to the Shafite Sunni school. Rumour has it that traces left from the old Ibadhi-ism are still to be found in the north west in Nejran, and there are of course Ibadhis from Oman, eastwards in Dhufar. 162 795

## CHAPTER VI.

## CONDITIONS OF LIVING IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

The report deals with the conditions found in the Hadhramaut and, to some extent at least, peculiar to that country; it assumes a general knowledge of Arabian conditions of life which are common to the whole Peninsula. It may, however, be well in a few remarks to call attention to some general features of tribal life which should be borne in mind. 121

The culture of the Arab is determined by his environment, which also largely affects his religion. In the more fertile wadis the people are settled and conservative, on the barren steppes and desert places they are nomadic and communistic. The Beduin, and indeed many of the settled tribes, are extremely poor; their food is of the simplest, their staples being dates, home-grown millet and other grain, imported rice, and dried fish. The tribesman's wardrobe consists of two or three pieces of cloth, and indigo, in which he has implicit faith as protection alike from sun and cold. His dwelling is poor and its furniture hardly makes a camel's load. There are three things he saves up to acquire—arms (a rifle and *jambiya* or curved dagger), a camel, and a wife. The wife is my own addition; Beduins have often mentioned the other requirements to me, which shows, I suppose, that the wife is either an essential who goes without saying or that she is an afterthought. But these are the only things for which a Beduin saves. In other respects he is thriftless. 105

Poverty affects them in one of two ways: either they raid to augment their scanty means of living or they emigrate and earn their increment in more favourable surroundings abroad. Raiding is a paradox: it is not only a crime against society, but also a recognized means of livelihood. Furthermore, as it is played according to recognized rules it is a national sport. As more and more of the population become settled, raiding tends to become less popular. It is of course a large overstatement to suggest that football and other games will take its place as a sport, but the overstatement does contain some truth, for football is rapidly becoming

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



643 The Sultan of Lahej rules over the territory of the 'Abdali tribe, and
425 his frontier marches with the northern frontier of Aden Colony. He is descended from a Yafa'i family, who were appointed as Governors of Lahej by an Imam of San'a. Later they revolted against the Imams and declared their independence. By purchase, Imamic grants and seizure they own a considerable portion of the Lahej lands; they are of foreign origin to the tribe over which they rule.

The Amirs of Dhala' were appointed Governors of the Dhala' province, including the lands of the tribes of Halumein, Ahmad, Azraq and Shu'Ar, by the Imamas of San'a, and, later, of the lands of Sha'ib by a Sultan of Turkey. I see that the official handbook describes the Amirs of Dhala' as descendants from slaves. It is surprising how such obvious in-
527 accuracies persist. To see that they have no slave blood in them requires
● 795 no more than ordinary eyesight, and it would be impossible for an Imam of
144 San'a to appoint a slave to any post, since there are no slaves in the Yemen at all, slavery being forbidden by the tenets of the Zeidi sect. The Amirs are of typical Central Yemeni type, such as is found on the Yemen plateau.

643 Later, they rebelled against the Imams and established their independence. Thus they rule over a confederation of small tribes, while belonging to none of them.

These appointed Suzerains, of whom the Sultan of Makalla is one, form a distinct class among Arab Chiefs. They do not mix with their tribesmen in the usual democratic Arab way, but stand apart, as it were, and are addressed by titles of exaggerated respect. Not being tribesmen of the tribe they rule, they have no traditional and family holds over the people and their attitudes towards their tribesmen are those of foreign rulers. They do not, as a rule, favour elected hereditary headmen in their villages, but prefer to appoint outsiders as headmen, whom they pay as retainers.

When a Suzerain dies, the election of the new Chief is held by the family only and the tribesmen are not consulted.

622 The accepted Suzerains are represented by one example only—the
792 Sharifs of Beihan. It is, however, an interesting example.

628 In Beihan there are settlements of Sharifs and of Seyyids. There are
648 also two tribes among whom these holy men live. Both the Sharifs and the Seyyids are arms-bearing families, and for some time were divided by a feud. Before the Great War, the elected Chief of the Sharifs, a far-sighted man called Ahmad, negotiated a treaty of protection and friendship with Great Britain. In this he gained the support of the lower tribe and of half the upper tribe, which was divided by a feud. After the Great War he concluded a truce with the Seyyids, and consolidated his relationships with his supporters among the tribesmen, who amounted to three-quarters of the population of Beihan. They accepted him as Suzerain and as their general agent for dealing with their foreign affairs. Thus, while he is undoubtedly a Suzerain, he is one of limited authority. He does not claim taxes from the land or the trade except in his own settlements, and is, consequently, very poor. But, for all that, the influence of the Sharifs is considerable in all the Beihan area. Their position is not, of course, unique in Arabia, but it is doubtful if any others than holy men could find themselves in a similar one.

5 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM3 Hadramaut MM 21
YEMENITE JEWS ML4
YEMEN ML 1



they are a race apart and are much respected, frequently attaining positions of high rank. A man will trust his slave before his brother. Tribesmen will eat with a slave when the slave has attained a position of eminence, such as governor of a village or commander of a post, but never with a Doshan or with a Heiq. A Chief's responsibility for his slaves is a very real one, and should he sell a slave or part with one he will be considered to have committed a shame. The slaves that I have met in the territory upheld the reputation slaves have always had for loyalty and courage.

We next come to two curious races, the Akhdam and the Hajur. I am satisfied that these are quite separate races, although there are a few instances of intermarriage in the major settlements. Akhdam is the plural of Khadim, which means "servant." This race is of African origin, but I can make no guess at the date at which they came to Arabia. Whenever it was, they appear to have left no relations or traces behind them in Africa. Their main settlement is at Zabid in the Western Yemen. They are of the Shafa'i sect, but practise witchcraft, make phalli and hold snakes and snake-charmers in great respect. In appearance they are small and their skin is a dull dark brown, not a glossy East African black. The only race in the country which will do filthy work, the Akhdam are in great demand and are employed as sweepers. They have their own headman in their small communities, successful wizards appointing themselves to the post without election.

The second foreign race is the Hajur. They appear to be South-west Abyssinians and are very like the Galla. Like the Akhdam, they have long ago lost any linguistic connection with Africa and speak Arabic. They are hardy and well-built and live in grass-hut settlements on the coastal belt between Lahej and Abyan. Some, on occasion, bear arms, but they are on the whole un-warlike and seek casual labour at harvest time. The 'Abdali tribes of Lajeh have intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and for this reason the 'Abdalis are darker than most coast Arabs and many villages in their territory are occupied by settled Hajur. In a few generations the Hajur and the 'Abdali will be indistinguishable, and I think this mingling of the two races must be very recent, and probably began during or just before the Turkish occupation of Lahej in 1916.

East of Aden, for some hundred miles, the coastal fishing communities are of Hajur or mixed Hajur stock. They elect their headmen as the Arabs do and are of the Shafa'i sect, but, like the Akhdam, they incline towards witchcraft and phallic worship. The observant traveller on the Lahej road will see plenty of evidence for this close to their settlements.

It is possible that these two African races came to Arabia during the second and third centuries A.D. as camp-followers to Abyssinian armies. But this is pure conjecture.

Finally, we come to the Jews. Jewish settlements exist all over the Protectorate. The principal settlement is in San'a, and all Jews of South Arabia claim inter-relationship and have many family connections in Palestine. They claim to be descended from the Jews of Kheybar. It is more probable, however, that the original Yemeni Jews are of South Arab race. Before the rise of Islam the people of South-west Arabia were

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his 181
friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came 577
to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a 795
strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They 102
belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their 276
neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African [144]
blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an 567
institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, 648
when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from 631
attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth

721 is a case of the neglect, to which you referred, of the Government
648 towards our so-called protected sheikhs.

000 There are one or two rather curious facts in connection with that Commission. The head of the Commission was a Colonel Wahab, a very talented officer. His assistant was a Major Abud. Anyone who understands Arabic will understand the strange coincidence of those two names. When I first made contact with the Turks, they asked me in a puzzled way: "Who are these two men, Wahab and Abud?" They thought that, whereas they had sent some of their most important men, we had sent some local Arabs to deal with them.

You mentioned the frequency of the travel of the tribes of the Protectorate to foreign lands. That was a very striking feature even in those days. It was quite a common thing to meet a half-naked Arab leading a string of camels, who would say: "Bon jour, monsieur."

We had great difficulty in getting a cook there. Our Indian cook went sick, and to our surprise a local Arab turned up from a village in the mountains. We found he talked English with a very Australian accent, and had been an assistant cook in a temperance hotel in Queensland.

Captain ACWORTH: Sir Bernard spoke of the very great religious enthusiasm of the tribes, but he also mentioned a sort of friction between the various tribes, and some of them did not think very highly of the others. I was wondering whether in the very keen Moslem faith in the south of Arabia they have among them the same sort of divergencies and different views that we have in our churches here, like High Church, Modernist, and so on—whether there are really a considerable number of sects among the Moslems.

Then, are the various tribes something like the counties in England —say, Lancashire and Cornwall? Can they all understand each other? Those two points I have always wondered about.

795 Sir BERNARD REILLY: The division I spoke of was between the Shafeis and the Zeidis. The Shafeis belong to the great Sunni Division of the Moslem faith. The Zeidis are more akin to the Shiahs, though they are not precisely Shiahs. They take their name from the founder of their sect, named Zeid, but they have more in common with the Shiahs than the Shafeis have.

I do not think it would be right to say there are many subdivisions in the Aden Protectorate. The people of the Protectorate are all Shafeis, and there are no serious divisions among them from a religious point of view at all.

69:Simmons et al G-5 (1961-1951) 1954
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equently return to their home settlements with their savings. Arabic is the language of the indigenous peoples, but Malay tongues are widely used in the towns of the Hadhramaut. Swahili, the *franca lingua* of East Africa, is understood throughout most of the area, while English is extensively employed in Aden proper. The majority of Arabs are Moslems, belonging to branches of the Sunni sect. Other religions are found chiefly among the different racial groups in the Colony and in the coast towns of the Protectorate.

Education has made considerable progress in the Colony, and is gradually being introduced into the Protectorate. Primary schools for both sexes are supported by the government in the Colony, and by mission and private organizations. The Colonial authorities also operate secondary and vocational schools for boys. There are no post-secondary institutions, but government scholarships are available for the training of teachers and various professional personnel in the Anglo-Egytian Sudan or in the United Kingdom. The literacy rate among children of 6 to 12 years of age is estimated at 90 per cent, in contrast with 10 to 25 per cent in the general population. A program for the expansion of education

ficiency are widespread. Pellagroid lesions of the skin are often encountered among the peoples of the Protectorate. In a survey of 518 Arab schoolboys in Aden township in 1949, no cases of overt deficiency were found, but enlargement of the liver, possibly suggestive of low protein intake, was revealed in 27 per cent.

A H 146 164

### Miscellaneous Conditions

A small outbreak of epidemic muscular rheumatism, classified as Bornholm disease, was reported from Aden in 1946. It involved 35 persons—34 British and 1 Arab.

A 164 H

Hepatic cirrhosis is one of the most frequent conditions seen at the Civil Hospital. Local physicians have noted that most of the cases come from malarious regions where qat is widely used, but the underlying causes have not been investigated.

A 164 733 146

Chewing the leaves of *Catha edulis*, or qat, is a general custom in Western Aden Protectorate. The leaf juices contain a stimulant, and habitual indulgence is said to produce loss of appetite, sleeplessness and a variety of more serious nervous disorders. Local observers believe that addiction to the drug contributes to the widespread undernutrition among the people.

## SUMMARY

The Colony of Aden and the adjacent Protectorate, on the southern coast of Arabia, have been British dependencies for over a century. The population of the Colony, including the port of Aden, was enumerated at 80,516 in the census of 1946, and calculated at over 100,000 in 1950. The Protectorate territory comprises two administrative divisions—Western Aden Protectorate and Eastern Aden Protectorate, in which the estimated population for 1948 was about 350,000 and 300,000, respectively. The local governments are tribal and diverse in organization, ranging from sultanates to smaller autonomous units. The inhabitants of both the Colony and the Protectorate are predominantly Arabs and adherents of Islam.

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p. 251 (8)

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



792 582 423 tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

792 778 346 The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

778 651 423 792 754 Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

792 778 In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We [776] must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

792 [622] 778 792 782 All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM21



Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court. 778 796 782 792 [21 721]

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer. 778 735

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed. 693 671 [692]

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of 671 693 577 626

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## THE MWARIBE DANCE.

A dance for women only, which takes place indoors if danced by free women, and out of doors if the dancers are slaves. The women stand in a circle singing songs and clapping their hands in time to a triangle described above (see Shebwani dance). One dancer then advances, executing various fancy steps, towards another dancer in front of whom she stamps her foot and then retires, still executing fancy steps, to her place in the ring. The person in front of whom the first dancer stamped her foot then advances from her place in the ring in the same manner as the first dancer and stamps her foot in front of a third, who comes out in her turn, and so on. 535 562 567

The songs are led by one of the women, who sings the solo while the remainder join in the chorus. No drums are used. 535 585 796

This dance often takes place at wedding festivals when betel nut and cigarettes are handed round with tea. Then towards the end of the entertainment meat and rice are eaten. It may also be danced on the occasion of other rejoicings, the special time of year for having it being the first week of the North-east monsoon, that is, in November and December.

This Mwaribe dance has no mystic meaning.

## THE MWASHA DANCE.

This is also a woman's dance and is of Bajuni origin, its introduction to the Malindi District from Witu having begun about four years ago. If the dancers are free women they dance indoors; if they are slaves the dance takes place in the open, but always by invitation. 535 562 171 567

The guests line up in two or three rows, one behind the other, and move forward slowly an inch or two at each step, while they jerk their chins forward and move their shoulders in time to the drums. When the front row gets up to the wall of the room, or to the limits of the dancing-floor, all the dancers face about and move slowly as before in the opposite direction, the front row becoming the back one.

If it takes place indoors, no men are allowed to be present except the orchestra, consisting of the performers on a *vumi* described above (see Razha dance) on a tari or tambourine (see Chama dance), and on a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). 535 562 534

This dance, which has an undoubted touch of savagery about it, may perhaps be derived from the Somalis, and tends to work the dancers up into a nervous state. It is often danced in competition with another dance faction. No refreshments are served. 535 171 578

It has no mystic significance and appears to be indulged in when the general physical condition of the performers calls for a nervous outlet of some sort.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 from our roof how they begin to stir on the other roofs close to us and then go down to the kitchen to light a fire for a cup of ginger coffee. There is a small grove of date-palms round es-Sōm, on either side of the *sēl*-bed, which is full of water. We wash and drink our fill at one of the wells before resuming our journey in the heat.

After about three hours we arrive at the village of Fughma, which consists of a few mud houses encircled by huts. It is scorchingly hot although still early in the day. Our escort declare that we must rest and eat here, as there is no other village and no water to be met with for the next four or five hours. We do not believe this and insist that we must go on, but they, as one man, refuse, warning us of the consequences of such folly, and promise to set out again after an hour's rest. We give in against our will, with the unpleasant feeling that we are being taken in and that we could quite well take the risk of going further. A kid is purchased from our host and is carefully prepared for a splendid meal. Fughma is the last stopping-place before Qabr Hūd, and a four hours' walk through barren country still awaits us.

312 With great difficulty we get the caravan going again at
133 two o'clock. We continue to follow the bed of the wādī, where we find water nearly everywhere! It is now the middle of the dry season; after the scanty rains or when the *sēls* rush down from the western mountains, then, at this point, the *mesīla*[1] of Wādī Ḥaḍramaut must have the aspect of a real river. Thus the British airmen from Aden reported truly when they said they had seen a river running through the wādī beyond Qabr Hūd. The river disappears under the surface of the soil, however, long before it reaches the Indian Ocean.

•796 Close to Fughma we pass through small groves of palms with groups of miserable huts. This is the spot where the Bedouins of the neighbourhood come together once a year, to feast in pious memory of a holy man. Those are days of truce dedicated to God and trade. In Fughma we could hear

104 [1] A *mesīla* (مسيلة) is the bed of a *sēl*, a torrent, a streaming water.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



them shooting, and singing for joy, but now the feast has succumbed to the heat; the merry-makers lie in the shadow up against the rocky slopes, in grottoes, under blocks of rock, or under shelters made of sticks and fragments of cloth, resting after the noisy racket. The number of participants does not seem to be great, a fact which also points to the decline of the district. A group come up to us and overwhelm us with questions. We reply that we are truly on the way to the tomb of their Prophet Hūd and that we also intend to pray there. When I answer their question as to whence we come by saying: "From the Holy Land, from Djedda", it becomes apparent that they are not very well informed as regards the founder of their religion and his country. But some of them have been in East Africa, and these relate that the Muslims there are in the habit of going to Mecca just as the Ḥaḍramīs go to Qabr Hūd. We are then invited to stay on with them, for a short time, to resume the feast, but being convinced that friendship with these suspicious, brutal fanatics is a very fragile affair we prefer to continue our march. We cannot rest until we have reached our goal, Qabr Hūd.

One of the group acts as spokesman; he was for some time in Zanzibar and there made acquaintance with Europeans. He promises to follow in our rear and to accompany us to Bīr Barhūt on the morrow. It is thanks to his intercession that we are allowed to proceed without hindrance.

We march on further as fast as we can through the valley, which becomes narrower. On the right, over a great distance, the high bank has been broken through, namely where the "Seven Wādīs" (Sabʿa Wudyān) open into the main wādī. It is as still as death in the wādī, no living creature is to be seen. The path is good on the whole, thanks to the fact that every year, in the month Shaʿbān, thousands of pilgrims pass backwards and forwards along it. Sometimes it goes through barren sand-hills, sometimes between bushes of *rāk* and by a few crooked *ithl* trees.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Imra'al-Qeis refused and gathered together the tribes of Midhij,[1] who were another Qahtani tribe, and the tribe of Kinda and set out to attack the Beni Asad. By mistake he attacked the Kinana tribes instead of the Beni Asad, killing many of them, whereupon he cried out that he had revenged his father's death. When told of his mistake he was filled with remorse and returned to Dammūn. Then Nu'man bin al Mundhir, king of Hira in 'Iraq, who, as has been said, had been sowing discord among the tribes in Hadhramaut, brought an army against Imra'al-Qeis, causing all the tribes to follow him and declaring that if Imra'al-Qeis were captured, he must be killed, and if he ran away, no one was to render him assistance. As the tribes in the Hadhramaut were against him Imra'al-Qeis left and went to Syria. From Syria he went among the Arab tribes, but none would accept him. He then took refuge with the Emperor of Constantinople, who brought an army and marched against Nu'man at Angora. But the Beni Nu'man and the Beni Asad sent word to the Emperor that all the Arabs were against Imra'al-Qeis, whereupon the Emperor had him poisoned. His grave is at Angora and bears an inscription.

The Kinda tribes returned to Upper Hadhramaut and their kingdom extended no further than this territory. Between them and the Hadhramaut tribes there was always discord. The Saqsaq and Sukun tribes were in the Lower Hadhramaut. All these tribes were under petty chiefs, each in his own territory, and there was continual fighting between them.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE MIDDLE AGES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

### 1. The Coming of Islam.

Then Islam came to the Hadhramaut. The Prophet Muhammad, on whom be peace, sent Ziad bin Dhubed in the eighth year of the Hejira[2] and he converted the Kinda and Hadhramaut tribes without

[1] The Midhij (or Madhagi) still exist as a clan of Upper 'Aulaqi and a son of the house is a pupil in the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs. They claim to be descended from a son of 'Abd Shems Saba named Mirzah or Madhig. They came from the north and once opposed Aelius Gallus' expedition. Wyman Bury. *Arabia Infeliz*, p. 3.

[2] So Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir whose story is here continued. But Ziad does not appear to have come to the Hadhramaut at this date.

In the tenth year of the Hejira among the missions that came to Muhammed was one from the Hadhramaut. Wa'il bin Hoji, the coastal chief, and Al Ash'ath, chief of the interior, and both of the Beni Kinda arrived in Mecca and made their submission. Wa'il, the Prophet confirmed in his rights, subject to the payment of tithes, and Al Ash'ath was married to Um Farwa, the sister of Abubekr. He was not, however, allowed to take his bride home as her parents thought the Hadhramaut too far away. Some idea of Hadhramaut manners then prevailing can be gleaned from Wa'il's behaviour to the host to whom he had been allotted. Though the ground was scorching hot, Wa'il would neither allow his host to ride on his camel with him nor even lend him his sandals, declaring it was unheard of in the Yemen for a common man to wear the sandals of the king. Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 482.

175 bloodshed, but they were only nominally converted. At that time
792 there were five rulers, four kings and a queen, Jemid, Manhūs,
797 Mashera, Abdh'a, and their sister Al 'Amureda.[1] (The Prophet corresponded with these rulers as he corresponded with other sovereigns.)

When Abu Bekr became Caliph the tribes in the Hadhramaut fell away from Islam, so Ziad[2] brought an army from Yemen and the Hejaz and killed the five rulers, after which Hadhramaut tribes again became followers of Islam and were loyal to the other Caliphs and at first to their successors the Omeiyads. But in A.H. 128 (A.D. 746) the tribes revolted against the Omeiyads as the ruler of Yemen, 'Āmr Qasim Bin 'Umar Ath Thaqafi, tyrannized over them.

175 Hadhramaut tribes then became Ibadhis[3] under Yahya bin 'Abdulla, known as Talib Al Haqq, from Kinda, who ruled the tribes after their revolt against the Omeiyads. All Hadhramaut was then Ibadhi and for twelve years recognized no outside authority, killing anyone who came to rule over them. But in A.H. 140 (A.D. 757) when the Abbasides were in power, Ma'n bin Zaida Ash Sheibani brought a large army from Yemen against them. He passed Henin and came to Furt al Hussein which lay between Henin and Qatn. Here the men of Hadhramaut met him and gave battle. They were defeated, 15,000 being killed including their ruler Talib al Haqq. Ma'n bin Zaida then ruled over the Hadhramaut under the Abbasides. Ma'n was a tyrant, and he

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[1] The princes of the Hadhramaut bore the title of 'Abāhila.

[2] Ziad was the Governor of the Hadhramaut under Al Muhājir. About a year after the prophet's death, Al Muhājir set forth for South Arabia and in due course met 'Akrima, who had been sent to subdue the Mahra, at Ma'rib. The two chiefs then proceeded to the Hadhramaut where Ziad was holding the country with difficulty. He had made himself unpopular with the Beni Kinda by his exactions of tithes, and in one of his raids had carried off the families of a tribe. Al Ash'ath gathered the clans and rescued the prisoners after which, being compromised, he raised the whole country against Ziad. At this moment Muhājir and 'Akrima arrived and routed Al Ash'ath. At last in a desperate bid for personal safety Al Ash'ath offered to betray the remnant of his force. His terms were accepted and he was sent to Abubekr at Mecca. The Caliph spared his life and even allowed him to fulfil his marriage contract with his sister.

[3] In the reign of the second Merwan. At this time the Khawarij had spread extensively over South Arabia and 'Iraq and were often strong enough to paralyse the Government. 'Abdulla bin Ibadh, founder of the Ibadhis, whose only date we know is A.D. 744, was active in Merwan's reign. He belonged to the Tamimi tribe. To-day the Ibadhis are still the rulers of Oman and of Zanzibar and there is a community of them in Morocco.

Masudi says, (VI, 67) that Merwan gave command of an army to fight the Ibadhis to 'Abdul Malik bin Muhammad bin 'Atia as Sa'adi. "Abdul Malik marched the Syrian troops of Merwan against the Yemen. 'Abdulla bin Yahya al Kindi set out from San'ā and the two parties met in the district of Taif in the territory of Jorsh. There was a terrible battle which cost their lives to 'Abdulla and to the majority of the Ibadhis whom he commanded. The rest of the heretics took refuge in the Hadhramaut of which the population is almost all Ibadhi still in 332 of the Hejira. It does not differ in the way of beliefs from the Khawarij of Oman."

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB 1
Arabs



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4. *Coalescence with other members of the community in the Netherlands-Indies.*—The method of living and the language among Arab families in the Netherlands-Indies and particularly in the Netherlands-Indian Arabic families, are practically the same as among the Netherlands-Indian population of corresponding kind and position. In the Hadhramaut women do not travel abroad according to the customs of their country. Arabs who wish to found a family in the Netherlands-Indies are thus obliged to look for a wife among the native population, or among the daughters of their own country-men who have been born and brought up in the Netherlands-Indies. The more well-to-do aim at sending their sons to the Hadhramaut or to the private Arabic schools existing here to complete their education. This helps to keep up their knowledge of the Arabic language and Arabic customs. The sons of those who are less well-to-do for the most part receive no Arabic education, and thus know little of their own language and customs. The establishment by the Government of the H.A.S. (Holland-Arabic School) at Sole in recent years provides an opportunity for the Arabs to give their children also a Western education.

H 798 I 798 671

5. *The part they play in the life of their adopted country.*

The principal part played by the Arabs in this country in the life of the community is of a religious nature. The Hadhramis, once they have been established in the Netherlands-Indies, generally take care to moderate the fanaticism ruling their fatherland. But some of them have shown a keen proselytising spirit in their own localities. Above all the law scholars in the Arabic community have had a steadying and by no means inconsiderable influence on Islam in the Netherlands-Indies, through their teaching, their pupils and their widely distributed writings. These law scholars are consulted by their native colleagues in cases concerning Mohamedan law and several " fatwas " or expert judgments exist thanks to them.

H 167 641 186 I 641

6. *What proportion permanently sever their connections with the Hadhramaut.*

None of the Arabs in this country who have been born in the Hadhramaut completely sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. Many of them are so attached to the land of their birth that they have only one wish and that is to spend the last days of their lives in the Hadhramaut. Some of them who have grown rich here return from time to time to the Hadhramaut to visit members of their families and for a short change. Now and then one will leave the Netherlands-Indies to establish himself once more for good in the Hadhramaut. Lately a group of Netherlands-Indian Arabs have been trying to establish connections with the native populations. These Arabs desire to consider the Netherlands-Indies as their fatherland. They will also try to adapt their

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21
Remittances



457 of money from the Far East—the basis of Hadramaut's economy—began to arrive to a certain extent, at least from Singapore. From Java and the Dutch possessions there, is, however, little hope as yet of any but very limited sums being released.

### HOUSING

342 The fixed population are housed for the main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees. The poorer sections live in mud-brick houses, one-storeyed stone huts and straw huts.

## Chapter 9: Law and Order

### JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts are of two kinds: (*a*) Shari'a Courts (which administers the Shari'a or Quranic Law), and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Shari'a Courts.

798 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate there has been a revival of religious intolerance. A most unfortunate development in Mukalla during the year was the formation of a religious committee whose activities have been something between those of a vigilance committee and the inquisition. It selects those whom it considers have committed offences against Islam, condemns them and sentences them. The local Government carries out its sentences and there is no appeal. This being a matter of religion, the [643] Resident Adviser has under the treaty no power to interfere. Hadramaut has never been the home of religious tolerance, but it was hoped that the fires of fanaticism were dying.

### GOVERNMENT GUARDS

*Strength*

704 The force of Government Guards operates in the Western Aden Protectorate. The most outstanding event for the Government Guards 712 in 1947 was the transfer of the Headquarters from the Hindu garden in Sheikh Othman to the Champion Lines, Khormaksar, in the early part of the year.

The task of adapting the camp to meet the needs of this force was not completed for several months, but in its present form provides ample living and store accommodation for the approved establishment which has now been brought up to full strength.

*Tribal Guards*

The arrival of the Depot Officer in May has permitted the calling in of Tribal Guard units for training in drill and musketry, and up to

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



825 a 5 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
789 impart virtue to his sight.

754 I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

## INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
[782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

## LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

582 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere
583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
932 the triple nose-kiss, left, right, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

Yafa'i circles in the Hadhramaut. Some of the Seiyids of the Hadhramaut have an enigmatical way of speaking Arabic amongst themselves. 191 177

**Currency.**

The currency consists of rupees and Maria Theresa dollars. The exchange value of the latter depends on the price of silver, and in November 1934, when much of the information contained in this report was collected, the dollar was practically equivalent to a rupee. For this reason the two denominations were often used indifferently. By mid-May 1935, the rate was Rs.149 to $100 in Aden and Rs.150 to $100 in Mukalla. 486 [435]

Small change is almost entirely British Indian, though there are a few Mukalla pice, a little Javanese money, and some Italian lire from Somaliland. Indian notes circulate fairly freely in Mukalla. The copper coins are called *besa* and the other Indian change *shauli bauli*. Generally speaking, any known money will be exchanged. In the towns of the main Wadi many ancient coins pass for small change, and there are also a number of small coins struck by the Al Kaf family. Small change is given for dollars according to their relative value with rupees.

**Weights and Measures.** 804

The weights and measures in use in Mukalla are as follows:—

1 Qofla.—The weight of 4 annas.
1 Waqia.—1 English ounce.
1 Ratl.—1 English pound.
1 Frasila.—20 lb. of fish or 32 lb. of shells.
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1 Bahar.—10¾ Aden maunds or 300 English lb. of tobacco, or 360 lb. of dates, but dates from the interior 300 lb.
1 Qosra.—180 lb. of Basra dates. Trucial Oman dates are in packages of 70-80 lb. They are of an inferior quality.
1 Ma'bar.—A basket of 30-40 lb. of *Wazif* (dried *'aid* fish).

In Shibam the pound is of 12 ounces; 28 lb. equal 1 *frasila*, and 14 *frasilas* 8 lb. equal one *bahar*.

MEASURES OF LENGTH.

1 Banan—1 finger's breadth.
2 Shubrs—1 Dhirra.
2 Dhirras—1 Wara.
1 Wara—1 Yard.

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

As a general rule liquids are sold by weight; there is however a small measure used for oil called a *Baura*. Such a quantity is sold for one or two pice.

**Calendar.** 805

For official and sometimes for business purposes, when dealing with Europeans, the date is expressed A.D. as well as A.H., but

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



by men and also serve for fodder. It is sold by *ma'bar*, a basket of about 30 to 40 lb. The price for eight baskets is from one to three dollars.

*Hanīt* (cooked and dried *tamad* fish). About fifteen to twenty *bahars* of this are made a day in Mukalla and sold for local and up country consumption.

*Safīf* (dried *tarnak* and *tamad* fish). This used to be made only from the *tarnak* but now includes *tamad* as well.

*Lakhm* (dried shark). A great deal is prepared in Mukalla and one *frasila* costs one and a half to two and a-half dollars.

*Rish* (shark fins). A certain amount of these are exported to China.

The fish manufactories have been removed from the town of Mukalla, a sanitary measure for which credit is due to Sultan 'Umar. The drying-grounds and godowns for *wazīf* are situated beyond Therb, the camel park, outside the western gate. Here too there are old fish-oil tanks. The drying of fish for human consumption takes place at Al Khalf, east of the town, and here large godowns for storage and export are in process of completion. Dried fish forms a staple article of diet of the population. It is also a valuable manure and a widely-used fodder for animals. The extent of this coastal industry may be judged by the millions of gulls lining the seashore and the ever-pervading smell in the coastal towns.

Mr. Heald, referring to the fish-curing industry, writes " Along the coast in the various villages, a primitive fish-curing industry was carried on for sale in the interior, which consisted merely of digging a hole about one yard deep and half a yard broad, lined with stone; in this, wood was burnt and then the large-sized fish were placed in the hot ashes and covered over and left for 24 hours, afterwards taken out and sent up to the interior for sale. I was informed that the cured fish would keep for a considerable length of time, but, as a word of warning to intending travellers in this country, I strongly advise them not to allow any of their luggage especially bedding to be put on the same camel carrying the fish, as the smell was abominable and tainted everything it came into contact with. The Beduins on the journey fed their camels with the small sun dried fish and also partook of the same themselves without any attempt at cooking."

## Visit of Agricultural and Geological Experts in 1919.

### Agricultural Report.

At the request of the Sultan, then Sir Ghalib bin 'Awadh, K.C.I.E., experts were obtained from Egypt to examine and report on the agricultural and mineral possibilities of certain parts of his territory

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



631 361 UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION: Sultan Muhammad bin Salih, *Capital*: Mahjaba.

Mausatta, Sheikh Ahmed Bubaker 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Musin 'Askar. *Capital*: Al Qudma.

Dhubi, Sheikh 'Abdurahman bin Salih (under age). Regent: Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital*: Dhi Sura.

Maflahi, Sheikh Qasim 'Abdurahman. *Capital*: Al Jurba.

Hadrami, Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital*: Ash Shibr.

SHAIB: Sheikh Ahmed Mana As Saqladi. *Capital*: Awabil.

QUTELIBI: Sheikh Hassan 'Ali. *Capital*: Ath Thumeir.

ALAWI: Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital*: Al Qash'a.

AQRABI: Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl ba 'Abdullah. *Capital*: Bir Ahmed.

AUDHALI: Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital*: Lodar.

UPPER 'AULAQI: Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital*: Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital*: As-Said.

LOWER 'AULAQI: Sultan Nasir bin Aidrus bin Ali bin 'Abdullah (under age). Regent: Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. *Capital*: Ahwar.

BEIHAN: Amir Salih bin Husein. Regent: Sharif Husein bin Ahmed. *Capital*: Beihan Qasb.

SUBEIHI: Sheikh Muhammad 'Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah ba Sa'id of the Atifi.

## Chapter 13: Weights and Measures

804 These vary considerably from place to place, but the tendency of late has been towards standardisation. Generally speaking, liquids are weighed and grain is measured. The measures of weight most used are the pound, the frasila = 28 lb. and the khandi = 24 frasilas. The keila, a cubic measure for grain, varies from place to place, but the one mostly used is equivalent to about 40 lb. of grain. The qadah = 200 lb. and the qasa = 2½ lb. are also in use. Linear measurement is mostly in qamas, one equalling 5 feet 6 inches approximately, or else the dra = 1½ feet approximately.

Areas are generally quoted in dhumd or fadan, which is equivalent to the area ploughable by a yoke of oxen in a working day of about eight hours. It is roughly an acre or 4,840 square yards.

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7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



631 ALAWI : Sheikh Salih Sayil. *Capital:* Al Qash'a.
622 AQRABI : Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl Ba Abdullah. *Capital:* Bir Ahmed.
AUDHALI : Sultan Salih bin Husein. *Capital:* Lodar.
UPPER 'AULAQI : Sultan Awadh bin Salih bin Abdullah. *Capital:* Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. *Capital:* As-Said.
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SUBEIHI : Sheikh Muhammad Ali Ba Salih, Sheikh Muhammad bin Ali of the Barhimi and Sheikh Abdullah Ba Sa'id of the Atifi.

EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

[643] QU'AITI : His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla.
KATHIRI : Sultan Husein Ali bin Mansoor Al Kathiri.
BALIHAF : Sultan Ali bin Mohsin bin Saleh Al Wahidi.
BIR ALI : Sultan Nasir bin Yaleb al Wahidi.
HAURA : Sheikh Awadh bin Saleh Ba Shatid.
IRQA : Sheikh Ahmed bin Abdullah bin Abdullah bin Awad Ba Das.

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8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



| | |
|---|---|
| MAUSATTA | : Sheikh Ahmad Bubakr 'Ali 'Askar and Sheikh Hussein Salih Muhsin 'Askar. Capital: Al Qudma. |
| DHUBI | : Sheikh 'Abdulrahman bin Salih (under age). Regent: Sheikh Salih Salim. Capital : Dhi Sura. |
| MAFLAHI | : Sheikh Qasim 'Abdulrahman. Capital : Al Juba. |
| HADRAMI | : Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. Capital : Al Shibr. |
| SHAIB | : Vacant. Capital : Awabil. |
| QUTEIBI | : Sheikh Hasan 'Ali. Capital : Al Thumeir. |
| 'ALAWI | : Sheikh Salih Sayid. Capital : Al Qash'a. |
| 'AQRABI | : Sheikh Muhammad Fadhl Ba 'Abdulla. Capital : Bir Ahmad. |
| 'AUDHALI | : Sultan Salih bin Hussein. Capital : Lodar. |
| UPPER 'AULAQI | : Sultan 'Awadh bin Salih bin 'Abdullah. Capital : Nisab. Sheikh Muhsin bin Farid. Capital: Al Said. |
| LOWER 'AULAQI | : Sultan Nasir bin 'Aidrus bin Ali bin 'Abdullah (under age). Regent : Sultan Ahmed (Sheikh) bin Ali. Capital : Ahwar. |
| BEIHAN | : Amir Salih bin Hussein. Capital : Beihan Qasb. |

EASTERN PROTECTORATE

| | |
|---|---|
| QU'AITI | : His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib Al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla. Capital: Mukalla. |
| KATHIRI | : Sultan Hussein bin 'Ali bin Mansur Al Kathiri. Capital : Sai'un. |
| MAHRA (Qishn and Socotra) | : Successor to Sultan 'Ahmed bin 'Abdulla bin 'Isa bin 'Afrar not yet elected. Capital : Hadibu (Socotra). |
| BALHAF | : Sultan Nasir bin 'Abdullah Al Wahidi. Capital : Azzan. |
| BIR 'ALI | : Sultan 'Alawi bin Muhsin Al Wahidi. Capital : Bir 'Ali. |

## Chapter 4 : Weights and Measures

These vary considerably from place to place, but the tendency of late has been towards standardisation. Generally speaking, liquids are weighed and grain is measured. The measures of weights most used are the pound, the frasila = 28 lb. and the khandi = 24 frasilas. The keila, a cubic measure for grain, varies from place to place, but the one mostly used is equivalent to about 50 lb. of grain. The qadah = 200 lb. and the qasa = 2½ lb. are also in use. Linear measurement is mostly in qamas, one equalling 5 feet 6 inches approximately, or else the dra = 1½ feet approximately.

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30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21



## Weights and Measures

•804 The following are in use, according to Hunter :

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Oqīyah . . . . . | =1 ounce (avoirdupois). |
| 16 Oqīyah . . . . . | =1 Rotl. |
| 30¾ Rotl . . . . . | =1 Farāsilah (used for coffee only). |
| 33 Rotl . . . . . | =1 Farāsilah of the Jebel (Interior). |
| 28 Rotl . . . . . | =1 Farāsilah (used for skins, sugar, rice). |

For larger weights the following are used :

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Bahār . . . . . | =3 cwt. (avoirdupois). |
| 1 Hakīsah . . . . . | =3¼ cwt. |
| 1 Hamal (heml) of dates . . | =4 bags (or Kūsarah) =5 cwt. |
| 1 Hamal (of other articles) by land | =6 to 7 cwt. |
| 1 Hamal (of other articles) by sea | =14 to 15 cwt. |
| 1 Candy (of grain) . . . | =6 cwt. |
| 1 Candy (of firewood) . . | =8 cwt. |
| 1 Maund . . . . . | =40 seers (Indian weights). |

Pounds, quarters, hundredweights, and tons of the English standard are also in use in the district.

*Measures of Capacity :*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Thuman or payali . . | =5¼ lb. avoirdupois=4 Bombay seers. |
| 3 Thuman or payali . . | =1 Keilah=15¾ lb. avoirdupois. |
| 1 Kasīmah or keilah . | =3 lb. =2 quarts. |
| 3 Kasīmah or keilah . | =1 Imperial gallon. |
| 1 Qāsa . . . . . | =5 Rotl. |
| 16 Qāsa . . . . . | =1 Qāda. |

*Measures of Length :*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Dhrā' . . . | = ± ½ yard. |
| 1 Thobe . . . | =16 Dhrā'. |

*Notes.* The *oqīyah*, a standard weight, is equal to very nearly an ounce (or one silver German crown), and is used in weighing small quantities, and fractional parts of a rotl.

The *rotl* is used for valuable articles, such as feathers, saffron, tortoise-shell, raw silk, cotton twist, and yarns ; also grey cotton goods are sold and purchased by this weight.

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Hadhramaut MM21



The *farāsilah*. There are three kinds, all used in different places; by it gums, coffee, wax, honey, ivory, shells, and tallow are weighed. There does not appear to have ever been an original standard farāsilah; the recent practice was to fix a stone standard or farāsilah for each transaction; gradually, however, the farāsilah assumed a fixed weight in different places: 33 rotl in the interior; 32½ at Berbera; 35 at Zeila or Harrar. 804

The *bahār*. There are three kinds, varying in size according to the article to be weighed: for cotton, 1 bahār = 3½ cwt.; for incense and gum, 1 bahār = 3 cwt.; for tobacco, 1 bahār = 2½ cwt. It is used mainly by the inhabitants of Shiheir and Makalla.

The *hakīsah*. Cotton only is sold by this weight to the Arabs of the interior.

The *hamal* or *heml* (load). Dates and *jowari* are sold by this weight, which varies with the article weighed, and the manner of import or export (see table above).

The *candy*, an Indian weight, is used at Aden in weighing grain and pulse, cotton from India, and firewood.

The *thuman* or *payali* is used in selling small quantities of grain.

The *keilah* or *kasīmah*. The former is used for measuring grain, pulse, and salt, and the latter for measuring liquids, such as oil, *ghi*, and vinegar. The weight of each varies according to the article weighed—in the case of the *keilah* from 14 lb. 12½ oz. to 18 lb. 11½ oz., and in the case of the *kasīmah* from 3 lb. to 3 lb. 5 oz.

The *qāsa* and *qāda* are also used in measuring grain.

The *dhrā'*. The Arabs use this lineal measure for lengths of cotton piece-goods, &c., of different manufacture. It is supposed to be equal to the distance from the tip of the forefinger to the elbow.

## Government

For administrative purposes Aden Settlement forms part of British India and is under the control of the Governor of Bombay in Council. It is administered by a Political Resident, who is also the General Officer Commanding the Aden Brigade, with the assistance of four officers of the Bombay Political Department, one military officer in charge of Perim, one officer of the Public Works Department, as chairman, one officer of the Aden Settlement and Port Trust, and one officer of the Bombay Provincial Police Department. The Resident exercises political influence over the whole tract of country extending, on the north and west, to the Anglo-Turkish frontier of Yemen and extending to and including the Hadhramaut on the east. The Resident has jurisdiction as a judge of the Vice- 636

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



## Currency

436 The coins in use, according to Van den Berg, are :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Copper. | Rub' Khamsīyah | = ±0·005 florin. |
| ,, | Khamsīyah | = ±0·02 ,, |
| Silver. | Haraf | = 8 Khamsīyah. |
| ,, | Oqīyah | = 2 Haraf. |
| ,, | Qarsh | = 7½ Oqīyah. |
| Gold. | None. | |

There is also a coin, current in some districts, called Buqshah, worth ⅓ Khamsīyah ; and a copper coin, current only at Shiheir, the Diwani, worth ⅛ Khamsīyah.

The five-franc piece, in place of the Qarsh, is popularly current all over the Hadhramaut, and the 10-cent pieces of the Dutch East Indies are largely in use.

435 556 Money has a high purchasing power in the Hadhramaut, or, in other words, everything of native production is incredibly cheap ; the only dear articles are horses and arms. There are no great fortunes in the Hadhramaut, with the exception of that of the Jemadar of Shiheir ; his resources may be placed at several millions of florins, invested mostly, however, in India. The Sultan of Seyyūn possesses a fortune of some hundreds of thousands, mainly property in the country, and there are some few individuals with fortunes nearing 100,000 florins. Amongst the Bedouins money is rare.

## Weights and Measures

•804 The weights are as follows :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Qaflah | = ± | 2½ grammes. |
| Oqīyah | = | 10 Qaflah. |
| Rotl | = | 12 Oqīyah (16 Oqīyah at Makalla and Shiheir). |
| Raf'ah | = | 12 Rotl. |
| Farāsilah | = | 2 Raf'ah. |
| Bahār | = | 12½ Farāsilah. |
| Jābir | = | 2 Bahār. |

The measures of length are :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shibr | = ± | 16 centimetres. |
| Dhrā' | = | 3 Shibr. |
| Sāqit | = | 5 Dhrā'. |
| Farsakh | = | 80 Sāqit. |

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Distances are reckoned by Khatwah (an hour's march, on the level, over ordinary ground, of about 3½ miles) and by Marhālah (a day's march of from 8 to 9 hours). 804

The measures of capacity are :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shatr | = ± | ½ litre. |
| Musra or Mudd | = | 2 Shatr. |
| Rabā'i | = | 1½ Mudd (*plu.* Musra). |
| Sā' | = | 4 Rabā'i. |
| Qahāwil | = | 2 Sā'. |

The Qahāwil is not in use at Makalla and Shiheir, where another measure, the Mikyāl = 8 Qurs or Musra (Mudd).

### Government

The government of the Hadhramaut is in the hands of a number of tribal chiefs. The most powerful clan or tribe, at present, is the *Ka'aiti* (estimated pop. 50,000), a branch of the Yāfa' tribe, whose territory lies farther west. Originally invited by the Seyyids to protect the settled districts from the attacks of marauding tribes, they have established themselves as practically the rulers of the country, and now control the coast district with the ports of Shiheir and Makalla, as well as the towns Hajarein, Haurah, Qatan, and Shibām in the interior. The founder of this family accumulated great wealth and rose to the highest position in the service of the Nizam of Haidarabad, as 'Jemadar', or commander of an Arab levy composed of his tribesmen, numbers of whom still go to the East and elsewhere to seek their fortune. His descendant took the title of Sultan of the Ka'aiti in 1902. The *Kathīri* tribe was formerly the most powerful; they now occupy the greater part of the Central Hadhramaut, Seyyūn, Terīm, and Ghurfah being their chief strongholds. These two tribes are extremely hostile to each other. The paramount chiefs of both have been in political relations with the British Government, through the Resident at Aden, but the Kathīri have less intercourse with us than the Ka'aiti and, of late, have broken off relations. 631 622 619

The Hadhramaut tribal chiefs nominally also recognize the supremacy of the Sublime Porte and profess to be its protégés, but no part of the country has ever been really incorporated in the Ottoman Empire, nor has the Porte ever imposed taxes, sent troops or officials, or exercised any form of sovereignty. In so doing it would doubtless meet with the most obstinate resistance; on the other hand, the Turks have never sought the aid of the Hadhramaut chiefs, though the Imam of Yemen has made overtures to them latterly. 648

Yafa'i circles in the Hadhramaut. Some of the Seiyids of the Hadhramaut have an enigmatical way of speaking Arabic amongst themselves. 191 177

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1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Historical South Arabia ML2



H 805

as a general rule only the Muhammadan calendar is used. As it is used in internal affairs of Government, it appears in this report. I left Aden for the Hadhramaut on 29th October 1934, which is equivalent to 20th Rajab, 1353, and returned on 1st January, 1935, or 26th Ramadhan, 1353.

H 805 177 H [171]

In Mukalla and Shihr the time is officially considered to be half-an-hour in advance of Aden, and is announced by the beating of gongs, somewhat erratically it must be confessed, at police posts. This is a familiar kind of public clock to those who know East Africa. The hours are marked in these towns in the European way, but in the interior the Arab reckoning is followed, and the day ends at sunset which is 12 o'clock. Thus our Wednesday night is the "night of Thursday" and 7 p.m. or 7 a.m. is one o'clock. It is curious that in most other parts of the Protectorate the Arabs have adopted the European reckoning of the hours, learnt of course from Aden.

## CHAPTER II.

## HISTORY IN INSCRIPTION AND TRADITION.

### 1. The Early History of the Hadhramaut.

SA 127

"What a famous man believes as to his remote ancestral origins is often of more import than the dry, literal truth." With these words a great biographer began his biography of a great man. They apply perhaps with almost equal force to a country. What the people believe of their early history is often more important in the shaping of their future history than the forgotten truth. Certainly it has seemed so to me with the history of the Hadhramaut. For this reason I have summarized in some detail the traditional, and often orthodox, account of its origins, continuing it in one narrative to modern times, and leaving it to the reader to decide at which point he cares to accept it as a record of actual happening.

I propose to preface to the narrative a short summary of the history of the country, as far as it has been gleaned to date, from the South Arabian, commonly called Himyaritic, inscriptions. Before these inscriptions, of which comparatively few have as yet been published, were discovered and deciphered, knowledge of ancient South Arabian history was derived from a few scripture texts and some treasured references in Greek and Latin authors. Apart from this, there were only Arab sources. The witness of the monuments and modern exploration have abundantly confirmed the former and seriously impeached the latter.

SA 101 438

The amount of information to be gleaned from the classical geographers can be written in a very few lines. Strabo, after mentioning the Sabaeans and the Katabanaeans, says "lastly furthest to the east are the Chatramotitae, having the city of Sabata." He also says "Kattabania produces incense, but Chatramotitis myrrh." Theophrastus in his *History of Plants* says

241 plants, chillies, *faqus* (a kind of gourd, *Cucumis prophetarum* L.), and lubia. The fruits include limes, bananas, dates, pawpaws and a few grapes and pomegranates.

Speaking of the Meifa district, Heald states that "near the river the main cultivation was the date crops. The sesame did not receive any special cultivation than that given for the millets; the land was ploughed or broken up by the hoe and, after levelling down with a board, the seed was sown in holes at a distance of 18 inches apart; the crop being sown generally in September. The crop was manured with dung or fish, if available, and good results were obtained from liberal manuring; four or five waterings were generally given. The crop was ready for harvest in 3½ months, when the plants were cut down close to the ground and laid out in rows to dry; the plants were then shaken for the seed to fall out on a mat." Speaking of crops generally, Heald says, "All the crops, being from seed bred in and in, had become very poor as one might expect, and unless they import fresh seed from abroad, nothing can prevent the crops from becoming even poorer than they are at present."

## Methods of Agriculture.

134 *Soil.*—Mr. Heald's remarks on the lahd in Asfal al 'Ain apply pretty generally to much of the land in the Hadhramaut. He says, "The soil was of an alluvial nature, and in general very light loam, devoid of humus and requiring heavy manure to produce good yields. The soil in most of the villages in the Meifa valley was alluvial; very thin and with a stony subsoil." In parts of the Wadi Maseila owing to the heavy vegetation there is more humus.

805 241 *Seasons.*—The seasons are arranged by the stars and called Summer (*Seif*), Autumn (*Kharif*), Winter (*Sheita*) and Spring (*Rabia*). From an agricultural point of view it is difficult to distinguish. Crops are often to be seen in all stages, sowing, grown and harvested. According to Heald, the summer crops are Italian and bullrush millet and tobacco, which is sown towards the end of the summer for transplanting in early winter. The winter crops are great millet, maize, lucerne, wheat, barley and all the vegetables.

241 492 412 *Implements.*—The implements are few and primitive. A small plough is used for breaking up the surface of the soil. It consists of a sharpened piece of wood with an upright for the farmer to hold and press the "share" into the soil. It is pulled by oxen or a camel. The hoe used has a pear-shaped head; sometimes the soil is levelled after ploughing by dragging a small board over the surface. Small curved knives are used in the tobacco nurseries for scratching up the soil. Heald saw a "weeder" which was very much like a chisel.

241 *Manures.*—Tobacco beds are occasionally treated with sheep dung, but the principal manure in the lower Hadhramaut is fish manure. As many as three small fish are put on the soil round each plant.

and within the area round them demarcated by white pillars. Any murder or loot in these areas is regarded as an offence against Government. Murderers of Beduins, subjects, soldiers, or slaves, are liable to death in these areas, and apart from restoration of loot, thieves are liable to imprisonment, deportation, or amputation of the hand.[1] If an individual contracts debts with any of the subjects of Government and absconds, the Government arrests any available member of his tribe and forces him to pay the debt. Routes between Qu'aiti towns are also sacrosanct and carriers may not be made the targets of blood feuds on them. The Qu'aiti is enabled to enforce these measures by his control of the ports and important markets.

## Government Finance.

The financial year coincides with the Muhammadan year, i.e., it begins with the 1st Muharram and ends with the 29th Dhu'l Hijja. The year 1353 began on the 16th April 1934, and this report must be taken to cover the period up to the 29th Dhu'l Hijja 1352, i.e., 15th April 1934.

### Revenue and Expenditure.

The annual Qu'aiti revenue at present is stated in the annual Aden Administration Report to be Rs.12,50,000 but it appears to me that seven lakhs is a more probable if rather conservative figure. It is based on figures given for Mukalla, Gheil ba Wazir and Shihr (Rs.6,30,000), and on other figures given for the Du'an province and for Shibam. I have no figures for the Hajr province which includes the rich Meifa lands. The excess of revenue over expenditure is said to be about one third.

The expenditure on all public services, except His Highness the Sultan, is said to be Rs.3,00,000 *per annum* in Mukalla and Shihr. His late Highness drew officially Rs.72,000 *per annum* but, I was told, " no one knows what he really spends ". The following are some of the principal items of expenditure :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Defence. Mukalla only, soldiers and slaves. | Rs.2,04,000 *per annum*. The total is perhaps Rs.2,25,000. |
| Tribal subsidies ... ... | Rs.12,000 *per annum* (formerly Rs.36,000 to 48,000 *per annum*). |
| Education ... ... ... | Rs.6,000. |
| Medical and Public Health ... | Rs.5,500. |
| Customs ... ... ... | Rs.10,000. |
| Du'an province ... ... | $21,000. |
| Shibam ... ... ... ... | more than $12,000. |

[1] I am told that, as in certain other parts of the Protectorate, this Qu'ranic penalty is no longer enforced.



[in the Qu'aiti free towns -- Analyst]

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
HadhramautMM2



291 either with a plain piece of stuff (*dismāl*) worn turban-like, or with a fringed head-cloth (*jibāl*) falling over the shoulders. The
302 Bedouins wear the same type of costume as the other members of their race, but of poorer material; they rarely wear sandals, and have their bodies bare above the waistband and below the knees.

The garments of the women are very similar to those of the men, and, excepting in small particulars, resemble the dress in other districts of Arabia. They ordinarily wear, not sandals, but boots of a yellow or red colour; they dress their hair in short tresses to the number of from 50 to 60, and married women, in addition, have a fringe over the forehead. The better classes go veiled, but the lower classes cover the head with a form of kerchief (*nuqbah*) which they can use as a veil to cover the forehead and mouth, if need be. Young girls do not cover the face.

## Industries and Agriculture

433 Of great industries there are naturally none in the Hadhramaut. A small amount of weaving is carried on in the houses, especially at Terīm, but the quantity is decreasing owing to the importation of stuffs from abroad. Formerly the cultivation and preparation of indigo for the dyeing of locally woven stuffs were carried on to a considerable extent, but that industry too has greatly declined except in the more remote districts of the interior. Boat-building, fishing, and the salting of fish are the occupations of many along the littoral. It has been remarked that the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut mountains become the most intrepid sailors; not only the Arabs of Shiheir and Makalla, but also those of the mountain regions show an innate disposition for navigation, even those who may never have seen a boat before.

241 For the most part the land in the settled centres is in the hands of the Seyyids or of other influential members of a tribe. The chief agricultural products are wheat, maize, millet, indigo, tobacco, sesame, dates, and coco-nuts, the latter grown only on the littoral. Cotton is cultivated here and there, but in insufficient quantities to supply the needs of the district; lucerne is much grown for fodder. A kind of tobacco, known as Humuni, is grown round Ghail Ba Wazīr and has a great local reputation. There are plantations of *ithl* (tamarisk) and *'elb*, two kinds of wood suitable for making utensils and for building purposes. The seasons are determined by the stars. Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither

133 tufa surrounds, and almost blocks, the outlet, and forms a small fan below. In one case a narrow channel has been humanly cut in the deposit to lead the water into a cement tank from which periodically a few palms are watered. 137 The surplus water overflows and is lost in the scree. Growing amongst the huge boulders are shrubs and trees, wild figs, *Ficus salicifolia*, and *F. sycamorus* being particularly common. Around the water itself maiden-hair fern and other small plants make a pleasant green garden in the rocky desolation.

133 At this level there is a limestone platform or shelf some 10–11 m. wide, and on the edge of this occur the outcrops of Pleistocene tufa. In the Wadi Luqrun it is a block 5 m. thick and 3–4 m. high, which is evidently but a remnant of a much more extensive deposit, for traces were detected on the walls of the great limestone overhang. Its present size and isolation are some measure of the time that has elapsed since its formation. A few badly preserved fossil leaves were found here, but also a considerable number of small cavities which, as in Kharga, are the moulds of fruits. Most of these show no structure and are therefore unidentifiable, but Mrs. E. R. Reid, who kindly examined them, found one that was certainly a fruit of a species of *Celtis*.

A climb of 50 m. or so up the scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone leads over bare rock to the upper course of the wadi. In time of spate the waters must cascade in a fall over the lip. At Luqrun traces only of tufa occurred at this upper level, but in a valley east of Hureidha a much larger outcrop was found which yielded many leaves. Here, after half an hour's ride along the wadi floor, the track climbs gradually up the stony scree slope to the top of the Cretaceous limestone. A hundred metres or so from the edge a mass of tufa occurs as a terrace remnant 15–16 m. above the limestone floor. It is 4·6 m. high and rests on limestone breccia. This outcrop was particularly 137 rich in leaves. The commonest types closely resemble figs, but without the fruits this identification cannot be assured. Some however seem identical with the *Ficus sycamorus* leaves found in the Kharga tufas,[1] and another resembles *F. salicifolia*; as both trees are still growing nearby they probably occur as fossils. Some kind of palm is certainly present and one or two other unidentified types. The shells are scarce and not well preserved. *Melania tuberculata*, *Zootecus insularis*, and a *Planorbis* were present. More abundant is the cast of a lava very similar in appearance to that found in Kharga and considered by Dr. Zeuner to be that of a dipterous insect.

103 The pool at the foot of the cliff was examined. It is called "El Bahr"—the 529 sea[2]—and is a favourite bathing-place, the Badawin climbing the cliff and 823 diving in from a considerable height. Local tradition calls it bottomless, and a weighted tape failed to touch bottom at 19 m. It would seem to be a super 133 pot-hole, ground out through the ages by the swirling stones and water of the seasonal cascade from higher levels. It is in the shade for most of the day, and water remains all the year. The shallows around are covered with soft

113 [1] Gardner, "The Pleistocene fauna and flora of Kharga Oasis" (*Quart. J. geol. Soc.*, vol. xci, December 1935.)

[2] Van der Meulen and von Wissmann in 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled' describe this place. "After energetic scrambling over fields of stone and up slopes of rock we actually arrive at El Bahr, a deep, rocky basin, full of water, with high cavernous walls, from which, after rain, the water must fall in spray into the basin."

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



exceeding 40 cows, 20 cows are the limit, may be a camel and a few sheep as well. In the case of a poor man, perhaps a single cow or sheep. Two cows are slaughtered near the grave of the deceased on the day of burial (*i.e.* death generally), if overnight, a third cow. Two nights are allowed to pass and on the third night a cow is slaughtered. This is called *khutum*. A further period elapses varying according to the economic condition of the deceased's relatives. It may be so little as a fortnight or so much as three months when the big sacrifice takes place, may be of 10, 15 or 20 cows respresenting half of the deceased man's herds. This is called *yom al nahaira*. Both *khutum* and *nahaira* are performed at the place where the man lived and not upon his grave. More cows will be sacrificed by relatives and friends of the deceased towards whose families in his lifetime he has acted similarly. This vast slaughter attracts the whole neighbourhood and the sectional tribe of the dead man divide up the flesh for themselves, and go away under their great burdens. Visitors from other tribes have no such rights, but partake of the feast of cooked meat for which one cow will have been roasted for the occasion. 782 556

There is a widespread belief in *Subiro*, *i.e.* spirits of the departed and their power for good and evil. In the Wadi Rizat I came upon scraps of food and tobacco in the pool beneath where the spring comes gushing out of a cavern. The locals emerge at night to throw morsels on the ground or into the pool shouting, "We are your sons and your daughters—don't harm us. Be awake so that we are not harmed by *Jins* (human kind) or *Jinns*." 769 776

*Nughush* they call this casting of bread upon the waters. In theory these spirits brood over running water only: they are amenable to kind treatment and treat mankind in the same way that they are treated by mankind.

The people of Jurbaib, lower down, sacrifice a cow before the harvest after it has made a circuit of the crops—its blood being drained into the irrigation ducts. Bits of its flesh are cast amongst the growing grass. 782 769

This spring of Rizat was in old days the subject of a notorious government case. Bait Zaiyan, a section of the Shahara, claimed the exclusive right to practise *nughush* in it. The Qara overlords who wished to share in the benefits of ghostly grace demanded to go "fifty-fifty" in the sacrifice. The government wali, in order to make government itself a partner in the scheme and share in the crops of the plains, decided that both parties would receive exactly equal quantities of food from government so that there should be no cheating. But in later years the slave soldiers of government, becoming overbearing in their treatment of Bait Zaiyan, the latter called upon the departed spirits of their forefathers who promptly made the water run up hill, so that the crops in the plains withered and died, whereupon government's share lapsed. 312 [619]

Cases of virtue held to be latent in certain dying animals I met with on several occasions. The highly valued contents of the antelope's bladder for man, and its stomach for camels, may be purely a rational custom, but that cannot be said of a raven I had shot. While it lay dying a Badu asked for its heart, which he proposed thus to eat raw and palpitating. This was, he said, a protection to his own heart from evil influence, its bile also which he proposed mixing with kohl with which to anoint his eyelids. The Shahari who killed my biggest cobra, 825 789 754

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



825 a 5 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
789 impart virtue to his sight.

754 I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

## INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
[782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

## LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

582 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere
583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
832 the triple nose-kiss, left, right, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



this, there were the remains of the houses which these people had inhabited in the days of the preaching of Hūd, the prophet of Allah. It was arranged for the caravan to go ahead as usual and for us to rise early and set out on a rapid excursion to the ᶜĀd remains, without losing a day of the time on our schedule.

The night in Bureyyira seemed very cold, yet in the morning the temperature was only 18° C. The night-wind and the great contrast with the heat of the day make one feel the cold very much. We set out at 5 o'clock under the leadership of Aḥmad and the protection of the soldier ᶜUbēd. We went first by the road on donkeys for some hours and then, leaving the animals with their attendants behind us, we struck into a side-path that led over massive rocks to the source of Wādī Ghār. The wādī is very soon deeply hollowed out and we climb with difficulty high up along its steep wall, but luckily that does not last long, and we approach the wādī-bed. Occasionally our way is blocked by great, greyish-white boulders. All sorts of interesting plants grow against the wall of rock as, for example, *anisotes*, which is also to be found at el-Ḥisī. We followed the bed of this narrow, deep wādī for a long time, and our eyes were refreshed by the colour of many an acacia. After strenuous climbing we reached the broader Wādī Thiqbe, where we had to circumvent immense blocks of rock. The *sēls* must have formed waterfalls here by which deep basins have been hollowed out of the rock, which in several places still held some water, though rather thick and brown. Now that the sun is so high that its rays reach the bed of the wādī, the temperature rises very quickly, and the prolonged and hard exertion makes us very thirsty. The water-supply that we brought with us is soon exhausted, but these basins of brown water arouse aversion. There is some shadow given by a number of trees, among which are some large *nibqs*, and that is the spot where we rest. Aḥmad really knows the way well. He brings us to a deep pool, hidden from sight by rocks, which has straight walls and is quite full of brown water. Though we dare not

•825 drink it, we will, at least, swim in it! Our guide urgently advises against doing so: according to him, there are large snakes in the water. We do not see the dangerous reptiles and do not believe the story, but wish to treat with respect the superstitious awe with which the Bedouins have shown us this beautiful bit of nature, so we forego our bathe.

172 Not far from this place there rises a high rocky precipice which, more than has been the case hitherto, makes the wādī like a real cañon. The people of ᶜĀd must have had their dwellings up there, where the perpendicular part begins. Some climbing along the steep rock débris at the foot brings us into the Dār ᶜĀd, the region of ᶜĀd. We see, clinging to the base of the partly overhanging wall of rock, the remains of very simple dwellings about ten feet long by six feet high. Holes in the rock-wall are, in places, closed up with stones, but in others are open. They go fairly deep into the wall, but, on examination, have nothing remarkable to show. They attain a height of about one foot. One can see also a row of small holes where the rafters of the roof were supported. There are drawings in red paint in several places higher up on the wall of rock, which look like alphabetic characters, and some can be recognised as Sabaean. They are only in a state of preservation in such places where neither sun nor rain can touch them.

The copies which we made were deciphered by Professor Mordtmann of Berlin, who found that these inscriptions consisted exclusively of proper names.

The houses can be identified over a space of about 450 feet. The walls which still stand are made of natural stones bound together by means of mud; they do not look very old and can well be of later date than the drawings.

000 The Dār ᶜĀd lies just at the junction of Wādī Menwe with Wādī Thiqbe. We continue our climbing along the rock-wall of the former to the noon halting place of our caravan, by the Murabbaᶜa Bā Khemīs, where we arrive an hour after midday.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-S (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



The youth of the village was
diverting itself in the street below us, when suddenly we heard a great noise and saw people running from all directions and bombarding the house opposite ours with stones. We thought that a general fight was about to ensue. Then came some men carrying burning palm-leaves and the house which was a target for the stones was fantastically lit up. To our great relief we discovered the cause of the disturbance: a large snake was trying to escape along the front of the house. Some of the stones hit their mark, the twistings and writhings grew slower and then the creature fell into the street as if broken. One of the most daring in the crowd approached and cut off the end of its tail; with that the danger was ended and peace was soon restored.

When we were thoroughly tired of answering the numerous questions put to us and of greeting those who put them, we asked permission to retire to rest. The whole assembly gave its approval; our host announced that we were to sleep on this same terrace, but no one moved an inch for us to be alone. So there was nothing for it but to stretch ourselves out between our visitors, who were packed as close as sardines. A little later on we were awakened for a meal; every one was still sitting in the same place. We ate and then at once went to sleep again, but were awakened before the sun rose by the loud voices of our visitors, who had already come back.

That day was to be devoted to getting our caravan ready for the journey to Makalla. Stammering Saʿīd, who had been such a trusty helper to us all the way from Rēdet ed-Deyyin, would give his exhausted camels a good feed and rest and then return with them to his boundless, hard rock-plateau. The taciturn black slave from el-Qarn in the Yebʿeth district had been a good guide; he went his way homewards well pleased with a thank-offering for the faithfulness, of which we had had so much doubt at first.

A reconnaissance of the neighbourhood showed that several hot springs water the date-gardens and cultivated fields near

643 Henin and the Nahd tribe. During his tour he arranged the
484 following truces: At 'Einat, on 26th August, a two years' truce between the Seiyids of Āl Hussein and Āl al Hamed; at Al Qatn on 5th September a truce between all the Yafa'i tribesmen and their clans and sections to last five years; on 6th September at the same place, a 10 years' truce between the tribesmen of Āl Makhashin of the Nahd, and another of five years between the clan of Āl Mahfudh, and, again at Al Qatn, on 7th September, an eight months' truce between the Nahd tribesmen; on 9th September in Wadi al 'Ain a truce of five years between the tribesmen of Āl Batati, and another of five years between the Āl Batati and Āl Mahfudh.

643 His Highness left for India on 15th October 1934 for medical reasons. He did not return to Mukalla again, for he died in India of cancer, after a long and painful illness, in March 1936. Recognition has now been given to his nephew and successor, His Highness Sultan Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, who has been accorded a salute of 11 guns.

## CHAPTER V.

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

173 I have already drawn attention to the importance of a knowledge of traditional history, and there is one aspect of history in par-
829 ticular of which any one dealing with Arabs must have some knowledge, and that is genealogy. Arabs would regard families going back to the Conquest as mushroom growths, and many can carry their own trees back to Adam. Each one will at least know the main lines of his descent, and though in its earlier stages it is legendary, this is of no importance to others than purists, for it is believed. Wherever known, the origin of each tribe is indicated in this report, and genealogical trees show the accepted descent of tribal ancestors from Shem.

829 Racially, the Arabs divide themselves into four categories, of which three are represented in the Hadhramaut, the Baida or ex-
173 tinct Arabs represented by the sons of 'Ad, the 'Ariba or descend-
162 ants of Qahtan or Joktan embracing all the remaining Arabs except
565 the Seiyids and a few sons of Ma'ad who, being descended from Ishmael, are Musta 'Ariba.

The population of the Hadhramaut may be divided into seven social classes, almost castes. They are not all represented in every part of the country, and the order in which they appear below is partly historical and partly represents the order of their importance.

### SEIYIDS.

162 The Seiyids of the Hadhramaut derive their descent from Ahmed
565 bin 'Isa al Mohajir who migrated to the Hadhramaut from Basra and died there about 1,050 years ago. His grave is on the right bank of the main Wadi Hadhramaut at Al Hasisa, a few miles

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



headed Sayyid Hūd es-Saqqāf receives us with great friendliness and conducts us to a room, in his princely mud-built dwelling, where a table-cloth spread on the carpets is hidden beneath dishes of pastry, sweets and tinned fruits. Even a Dutch cigar, to accompany a cup of the finest Java tea, is not lacking. Grateful recognition of much good treatment from a Western Christian government finds expression here. Our visit to Sayyid Hūd is of short duration, but every moment of it is filled with hearty hospitality.

In the afternoon we bid farewell to the Sultan of Sēwūn, his young sons, his brother, his counsellors and servants, and also to the Sultan of Terīm and his brother, with a "We meet again, if Allah will!" We stand together on the steps by the entrance of the white ʿIzz ed-Dīn: the first contact with a Kathīrī ruler has gone excellently well. We have gained the impression in conversation that the political condition in their territory is far from ideal, but that they themselves feel this and desire improvement with all their hearts. Their notables have known a well-governed country too intimately not to long for an end to their disputes, for legal security, for safety, for a united setting of the hand to the plough to bring progress in the land, for the opening of roads to link up with the outside world, which goes forward on its way without troubling itself about sleepy Ḥaḍramaut. Even rulers and notables repeatedly called their country a land of slumber and added: "Sleep is like death." The first essential for improvement exists already: they are dissatisfied with things as they are, and the energetic among them have seen a different state of affairs abroad. The fanaticism which shuts off its own country from the outside world, in order to keep its religion and its sacred soil inviolate, is being more and more overcome. It is the *sāda* themselves, the protectors of the faith of their fathers, who are foremost in the endeavour to throw down the barriers shutting off their country.

# CHAPTER XI.

## A TOUR TO THE RUINS NEAR SŪNE.

In the evening, in conversation, we lead up to the question of our plans for further travel. They laugh incredulously at first and say that it is now too hot to travel by day: they themselves only go out of doors towards sunset. When we say that we cannot understand how the great leaders of business of Singapore and Java and these men, who played an active part there in education and journalism, can stand this life of inaction, they answer: "This is the land of sleep and of death. We come here to sleep and towards the end of our lives, so that we may die here." The changeless, scorching plains of stone, the rock-walls, the deserts of sand, the ever green date-palms, the glowing heat and the noiseless nature in Ḥaḍramaut do indeed make one think of sleep and of death. But we are still full of the restlessness of the West, and they see that we are serious in our desire to see more of the country, in spite of heat and thirst and in spite of difficulties certainly to be anticipated from the Bedouins, who are also in bad odour here. Our great object is to see Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhūt, the former, because it is the great sanctuary of Ḥaḍramaut to which each year thousands go on pilgrimage, and the latter, because for centuries past the most fantastic tales have been current about Bīr Barhūt and no one can say with certainty what this "mouth of hell" actually is. Sayyid Abū Bakr has promised to help us. The expedition to Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhūt demands days of preparation and therefore we had better undertake a simpler excursion first and visit the ruins in Wādī Sūne.

On Friday, May 29th, we leave Terīm early in the morning in two cars. We are in the first with Sayyid Hāshim and the

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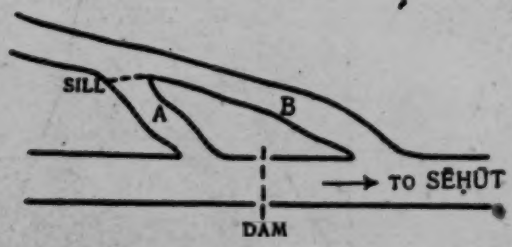
312 upon the dam. Bin ʿAqīl has made much propaganda all his life long for the restoration of the dam. Three tribes have a direct interest in the matter, namely: the Āl Djābir, who dwell up-stream in Wādī ʿAdim, the Manāhīl, in whose territory is the site of the ancient dam, and the Banū Tamīm dwelling between the two former tribes. According to Bin ʿAqīl, the Manāhīl have promised the half of the loam soil and the whole waste land of their territory to those who will put the dam into working order again.

312 The obvious question is put why this work, presumably
829 so important for Ḥaḍramaut, has not yet been undertaken.




It is the great, urgent question which is coming more and more under consideration and discussion in the advanced circles of those who have lived abroad and who feel with sorrow the backwardness of their fatherland. These painful questions are brought once more to our attention before we take farewell of this group of men who feel themselves responsible for the future of Ḥaḍramaut. They want to hear our reply although they know it quite well. The fundamental weakness here is the lack of unity. They have realized from experience that they cannot attain this unity by themselves.
829 Therefore they regard as necessary the coming of a compelling power which shall be stronger than all the little groups with conflicting interests in the country, a power which shall impose unity and which, by a curt command, shall put an end to the suicidal intertribal warfare. But that is merely shifting the difficult task, that is flight. True change for the

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



better must come from within the land itself: they must shoulder their own burden. The times seem ripe for it. On our return journey we were to see yet more of the distress of war and also of war weariness.

After consultation with our host the following plans for our journey were drawn up. We were again to go by car up the Ḥaḍramaut valley to el-Qaʿūẓa, via Sēwūn and Shibām. From there we should try to ride on camel-back in quick stages across the flat sandy region straight to Niṣāb, the farthest point inland of the territory belonging to the British protectorate. Should the way from el-Qaʿūẓa to Niṣāb be rendered too unsafe by robber bands, we should have to go by camel up Wādī ʿAmd to the town of ʿAmd and try to get through from there to Niṣāb. Once there, and with British help, we should certainly get further, if needs be by aeroplane, for there is a British military aerodrome at Niṣāb. We calculated that the whole journey to Aden would take from three to four weeks.

June 6th was a day of preparation and farewell. The baggage was packed to be sent by camel to esh-Shiḥr. We ourselves only took one change of linen with us (and that is not much in this land of dry heat), a blanket to ride upon and to sleep in, and a small rug to serve as a sort of mattress when sleeping on the rocky *djōl*. Further, *qirbas* (skins) for water, a kettle, a few mugs for tea, a large cluster of the excellent dates that grow in Sayyid el-Kāf's garden, sugar, cubes of Maggi's soup extract and some tins of biscuits. Then we went to express our gratitude by gifts to Sayyid Abū Bakr, his children, wives and servants. We are taken in his car for a last drive through the palm-gardens to the gate of the city, and across the bare, rocky plain to the equally barren, rocky bluffs. Then we walk once more with these men who seem to have overcome all their prejudices against us, unbelievers, and who have given us their friendship, even their trust. After sunset it is still very warm on the stony plain near Terīm; the heat absorbed by it during the day is then given out again. It is

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825 a 5 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
789 impart virtue to his sight.

754 I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

## INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
[782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

## LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

582 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere
583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
832 the triple nose-kiss, left, right, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

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a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting 576
a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 832

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I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which 562
are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman
would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten
as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes,
and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire 585
of his wife and say *Talog* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house 586
with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If
she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. 583
It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really
expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper,
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or brother descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the
women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only
cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter [782]
a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous
chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of
circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day 844
or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the
possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken
up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is
generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal 848
marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere 837
in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would 684
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have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation
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## CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees 342
at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain
itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four [754]
nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. 782
When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342

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Against the walls there are cushions on which to recline. The ugly modernity of mirrors fixed into the ceiling has been introduced into el-Bārr's house. Also, the old Ḥaḍramī colours of rust-red, black and white, which harmonize so well with the brown wood and with the lighter brown mud, have had some ugly new ones added to them.

In order to give pleasure to the family we take some more photographs of grown-ups and children. The household slaves and their jet-black children are with us in the *madjlis*; they serve round coffee and tea and many sweets, and talk with us, but nevertheless remain modestly in the background.

One can see from the many negro types in the streets and plantations that there are a great many slaves in Wādī Dōʿan. They are employed for work on the land and as domestic servants.

In the afternoon we did what we could to treat a great number of patients, who came to us to ask for medicines or to have wounds and ulcers attended to. We could do little, however; and what, in any case, is the use of but one treatment? In all Ḥaḍramaut and its surroundings there is only one doctor with a western training. It is again the progressive Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf who has got this young Indian doctor to come here, but his work lies in far-away Terīm. The rich go sometimes to Aden to consult a doctor, and the Mission Hospital at Shēkh ʿUthmān near Aden is also known to a few.

Towards evening I stroll with Sayyid ʿAluwī to Qāret Āl el-Miḥḍār, half an hour distant, where lives Sayyid Muṣṭafā bin Aḥmad el-Miḥḍār, to whom we have a letter from the Vizier at Makalla. Our reception is particularly friendly. The old sayyid has seen something of the world, and he compares life in Wādī Dōʿan to sleep, which is something like death. I am urged to talk constantly and the atmosphere grows so friendly that he takes me with him to his other and larger house and shows me all over it, having first, with his own hands, shut in his young wives behind bolted doors and hung the keys on his belt. The wives take their revenge by having a good look at the stranger from the flat roof!

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he tries to mount it unnoticed. We have seen, however, and call out to him to get off, because we have just dismounted out of pity for the animal. His Yāfiᶜ comrade, who is walking in front of me, calls to him *not* to obey. I angrily bid him be silent, with the remark that I have paid for the donkeys and that, consequently, the command over them lies with me. At his insolent reply: "Hold your tongue!", he gets without further ado a box on his ears. He turns in fury, his rifle clenched in his hands.

"Shall I let myself be struck by you?"

"You shall obey me, you are under my command."

ᶜAbdallāh sulkily vanishes into the rear-guard, while we all keep our eyes on his rifle. His comrade comes to me before long to ask forgiveness for him. "Do not be angry with him, he is a little mad." Who can be angry for long with these rough children of nature? Towards evening, when the heat is over and thirst and fatigue no longer torment, both Yāfiᶜ soldiers get their so much desired remuneration and part with the two *Naṣrānīs* as the best of friends.

Close to Hadjarēn we passed a mosque at a saint's grave, and all sought the cool shadow of this place, forbidden to unbelievers. We were allowed to stand for a breathing-space in the porch. There is an earthenware jar full of water in the building, but we may not go inside, so our Makalla soldiers fetch water for us. A few peasant women who are passing by also come for the sake of the shelter. Their wide, dark-blue, rough, cotton garments leave their faces uncovered. However, as soon as they see strangers, they draw their head-cloths over their faces. They wear straw hats, with pointed crowns and wide brims, as a protection against the sun.

### 3. AN UNFORGETTABLE RECEPTION IN HADJARĒN.

From here the way mounts towards the foot of the mountain close up against which lies Hadjarēn. A steep, paved, zigzag path leads at last to the gate of this town, which by

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



its fine strategic position once commanded the great route from the coast to Ḥaḍramaut. Within the gate the streets also mount steeply. The town gives an impression of decay; there are few tall or fine houses, the white colour of prosperity is to be seen on hardly a single one of them; the town is grey-brown as the mountain against which it stands.

We stop in front of a double house that is built over a small side-street. Sayyid Muḥammad bin Sālim bin ʿAbdarraḥmān Āl Qāf, the man to whom we were given an introduction by our host in Dōʿan, is said to live here. The letter is taken in, the door closed again, and we wait in the shadow of the narrow, overarched street. Time passes and we ask ourselves anxiously whether the *Efrendjīs* are perhaps not welcome in this house. No, that is not the case, but a double wedding is being celebrated at this moment, and the house is therefore full of women, who have to be removed and shut up, before our company can be allowed to enter. At last this stage is reached and we are taken to an apartment which shows signs of having been very much inhabited. It is warm there and not clean, and, although we already fill the room, a number of inquisitive people force themselves in. The master of the house himself as well as his snivelling small son appear to have economised water for all other purposes than washing. But his friendly glance and hearty welcome make everything all right at once.

It is perhaps here timely to pay grateful tribute to the wonderful hospitality of the Arabs. Who, in the West, would hide his disappointment at having a wedding feast broken in upon by a whole caravan of tired and hungry men? Who amongst us would immediately throw open his whole house to the travellers, "the sons of the road", himself bring water to slake their thirst, and immediately prepare food to strengthen them?

Life is democratic here. In the reception-room, which is chock-full, sit slaves, servants, children and master all together, who drink out of the same bowl and pour out coffee

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



tern bank of the wādī. The fields are bone-dry and trimly 241
cultivated, rain being expected this month. One substantial 812
downpour of rain or a good inundation caused by rain elsewhere is said to be enough for this loam soil, which holds water for so long. Great pains have been taken over the irrigation system; the dams, made of piled-up stones and plastered with an inner lining of mud, suffer much from the *sēls*. Groups of inquisitive people come running towards us out of the villages and ask all sorts of questions of our escort. A grey-headed village-chief turns to us with the inquiry how to put an end to the repeatedly recurring destruction of the stone dykes through the *sēl*. We answer that it would probably suffice if they were to use lime as cement for the boulders: the initial cost of this would be considerable, but it would be a great economy in the long run.

All the women of this district are veiled, even the poor 834
women working in the fields. When working in the sun they 291
wear straw hats with very wide brims. They are not so 301
frightened of us as women were elsewhere and are quite ready for a chat or even to be photographed. The young girls, at the request of the men, climb like cats right up to the crowns of the palm-trees, to pick the ripe fruit from the bunches of dates. Their wide black garments hang untidily about them, the only pretty thing in their dress is the broad girdle ornamented with large and small silver buttons, which encircles the waist. An attempt to buy one of these fails, as the women are all too modest to think of selling a part of their clothing. Many 857
children run all over the place with little bows made of the rib of a palm-leaf, and sharp-pointed arrows of the same, with which they try to kill the few birds that alight on the ripening fruit. Occasionally, as we pass, some relative of one of our escort will present us with a handful of the first really ripe dates.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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rugs or mats, or on cushions placed around or under the windows. A very low table, or a special circular mat, is put in the middle of the room for meals. Rough but solidly made coffers and cupboards are much used for clothes, silver, books, or domestic utensils. Lighting is by lamps of a very primitive form, which burn petroleum or, more commonly, sesame oil. The walls carry little or nothing of ornament, though the tribesmen sometimes adorn them with their arms, banners, or hunting equipment. A bathroom is usually found on each floor of a house, all being situated one above the other, the waste water running off by pipes through the wall; the apparatus consisting merely of a vessel from which water is poured over the body.

Wheaten or maize bread, dried dates, eggs, and meat (of sheep or poultry), taken in meagre amounts and usually in some form of soup or stew, form the staple foods; rice is not largely eaten; the people on the coast consume much fish; but only the Bedouin ever eat game. Butter, oil, and honey are much used; also spices, onions, and garlic, and much salad and green vegetables. Fruits, with the exception of the date, are considered as delicacies. Coffee is much drunk in the houses between meals, but there are no public cafés. It is customary for all persons paying visits to bring along with them some coffee-beans wrapped in the turban or plaid (*rādi*); when the party is complete these are collected by the host, and the coffee is prepared in the manner common to all the East. Before drinking, the name of Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Omar esh-Shadhli, whose tomb is at Mocha, is invoked, he being reputed to have been the first to discover the stimulating properties of the berry.

Very few servants are kept in most houses, even in those of the well-to-do; the housework and cooking are done by the housewife and the daughters, with the aid, in case of stress, of help called in from other branches of the family, friends, or neighbours. Only the very rich have slaves, and these are treated more as members of the household than as property; for this reason slaves rarely desire to be freed. All slaves in the Hadhramaut are Moslems; even if they come from a Christian or pagan country, they are forced to embrace Islām. But marriage between free persons and slaves is extremely rare.

Dancing is regarded in the Hadhramaut as permissible, but never among persons of two sexes, and the Seyyids and townsmen usually abstain from it. The music is made by a primitive form of guitar (*qanbus*), a large oblong drum, and three or four small drums, the players often accompanying their music with

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609 "No, we eat the same things that you do."

"Stay with us and we will dance for you to-night with clapping of hands" — and our merry questioner danced and clapped her hands to the great diversion of the other women.

"We would gladly stay, but we have no time; we must go further."

837 "No, stay here! We will give you a wife."

Here I could not help glancing critically round the circle of my anything but beautiful questioners. They read my thoughts.

"No, the young girls are with the flocks, but they come home towards nightfall."

301 However poor and primitive may be the life of a Bedouin
302 woman, she will go to great pains to make herself beautiful. She learns when quite young that she who wishes to be beautiful must suffer. At an early age, 8 to 10 fine round holes are pierced all the way round the rims of the ears and through these, later on, silver rings of the average size of a crown piece or small silver chains will be hung and the poor little ears dragged downwards. Then the nails of both hands and feet are coloured brown with *ḥinnā'* [1], the tips of the fingers and toes are blackened, and the inside of the hand made brown. The face, the hands and forearms, and the legs and feet are coloured yellow with curry. The rims of the eyelids are smeared with *kuḥl* [2]; even the men do this, as it is said to make the eyes strong.

The women and girls paint their faces with all sorts of figures, and their necks, breasts and shoulders and the upper surface of the hands and feet with a network of lines, mostly with some blue or black dye, but also sometimes with red or

137 [1] *Ḥinnā'* (حنّاء), *lawsonia inermis*, is a plant used for dyeing brown hands and feet. Cf. G. Schweinfurth, *op cit.*, p. 167, 181; E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1865.

[2] *Kuḥl* (كحل), antimony powder, which usually mixed with grease makes a cosmetic for the rims of the eyelids.

we first went up there they[1] charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

1 [THE BA HASAN TANBULIS -- ANALYST.]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



on a hill. Whilst we photograph, survey and sketch, we feel as if our narrow standing-place were swaying gently to and fro. It is unpleasant to contemplate that we are so high above the level of the ground, standing on a slender tower made of almost nothing but dried mud.

## 5. SMALL RUINS OUTSIDE TERĪM.

In the evening, during the family motor drive, when the el-Kāfs and their set ride in slow procession through the gardens of Terīm and the baked plains of stone that lie outside it, a hill in the midst of Wādī ʿĒdīd is pointed out to us, which is said to have associations dating from the ʿĀd epoch. From a certain distance an old, paved high road is clearly visible, leading to the summit of the hill, where a temple must have stood. Only loose stones with mortar between them are now to be seen on the hill; at its base there are the remains of foundations of buildings, which seem to point to a guest-house with many small rooms. For the people of Terīm these ruins have an odour of sanctity; a similar hill, close by, is used by childless women as a place of worship, where they have to perform certain nocturnal rites by means of which they hope to have children.

## 6. A WALK THROUGH THE TOWN.

On the following day, May 28th, we go with the doctor to see his house and clinic. This pioneer of western medical science has no easy time here; the people still cling to their own ideas as to the functions of the human body and the causes of illness. They think that there are three chief causes of sickness, namely *riyāḥ* (gasses in the blood), *burūda* (cold), and *ḥarāra* (heat). They say of foods that they make the body cold or hot, or cause or disperse flatulence. Even the men of standing talk about their ailments in this terminology

## Honey Industry.

231 The only other product of economic consequence is the celebrated
263 Du'an honey. Honey from Jerdan has an even greater local renown
438 but is not produced in such quantities. At places like Tarim it is
not considered possible to grow honey owing to the depradations
[134] of the Blue-cheeked Bee eater (*Merops persicus persicus*), one of
the most common, as well as most beautiful, birds in the Hadhramaut. We did not observe this bird at all in the Wadi Du'an, where it is shot on sight.

231 The hives are tunnel-like structures fitted into the walls of the
263 houses, and consist of circular sections about a foot in diameter. In the outside wall is a small hole through which the bees enter and leave the hives. Du'an enjoys two honey crops in a year; that of June, July and August being regarded as the best, for in it the bees collect the honey from the blossoms of the *'elb* trees. The honey obtained during the second crop, from November to March, is gathered from a small bush called *Qarmala*, and while it is
[343] highly esteemed it is considered very heating and may not be eaten by pregnant women. If there is much rain during April and May, the bees make a black honey called *helb*, and they are said to grow much stronger, for they consume this honey themselves. The swarming of the bees was thus described by a bee-keeper: A second queen bee, whom they call *ab* or father, sometimes leaves the hive and goes a short distance away followed by some of the others. The bee-owner takes a mat and rolls it up in the shape of a hive, closing one end, and sprinkling inside a perfume of the perfumes used by the ladies. Approaching the swarm, he gently takes the queen in his fingers out of it and puts her into a small cage made for the purpose. The cage is then put inside the rolled mat. An assistant beats a tin or copper tray and the bees leave the place where they have swarmed and come to the queen. The swarm is now carried to a hive, the queen bee and her cage put into the hive, and in go the bees after her.

The bees collect the crop in 12 to 20 days, and when the owner sees the hive is full he fits on more sections until they have finished. Thirty to 40 pounds of honey are collected from a single hive at each crop. The honey is gathered by smoking the bees out from behind. When they have left, the exit hole is stopped up and the honey is taken, one section being left for the bees. In times of drought, honey is put into the hives for the bees to eat. The honey
251 is packed in comb and as liquid. In the former case two sizes of round tins are used, containing 4 lb. and 7 lb. respectively. An inside cover is soldered to the tins in Mukalla. Liquid honey is packed in cases of two kerosene tins. The value of the honey
435 in Mukalla is one rupee a pound. The total production is 20,000 to 100,000 pounds.

000 In view of the great renown which Du'an honey enjoys in South Arabia and the East Indies, and in view of the fact that it is much appreciated by Europeans, I had hoped that there might be

21: Thomas F6 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only. 576 832.

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *gasidas* which are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes, and very charming they sounded. 562

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire of his wife and say *Talag* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper, ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representative (father or brother) descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of circumcision. 585 586 583 [782]

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is generally fit for work the next day. 844

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword. 848 837 684 [628]

## CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring— 342 [754] 782 342

21: Thomas F5 (no date) 1982 MM2 HaCreamer MM2



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535 171 The dance itself resembles the Arab Razha dance, the men standing in a row and jerking sticks in the same manner that the Arabs jerk their swords, one of which may sometimes be seen in the hand of a Swahili dancer of the Chama.

536 534 517 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* drum, a *chapuo* drum, a pair of cymbals or *vitasa*, a *zumari* or clarionet, all of which are described above (see Razha dance, Shebwani dance and Sherha dance), also a tambourine called a *tari* or *pari*. This is sometimes ornamented with loose brass discs that jingle together, as in the Spanish tambourine. The goat-skin is pegged to the wooden frame and is tightened by stuffing a more or less thick cord between the skin and the frame.

The Chama is usually danced in a public place and no invitation is necessary. Anyone may join in who feels so inclined. No refreshments are served nowadays in the Malindi District at a Chama dance, which has no mystical significance.

### THE SHANGWI DANCE.

535 562 578 554 The dance is identical with the Chama and is danced by the winning faction in the Chama competition, which is judged by the "*wazee wa Ngoma*," or elders of the dance, men who are accustomed to take the lead in dances, in other words "masters of the ceremonies." The winning faction proceed to the house of the organizer of the opposition dance and dance the Shangwi in front of it. He is supposed to take this as a compliment, and passes round a scent bottle and sometimes takes part in the dancing himself. The Shangwi has no mystical significance and is usually danced at night with the same orchestra as for the Chama.

### NGOMA YA FIMBO. (Walking-stick dance.)

535 585 552 562 The Ngoma Ya Fimbo is danced at Swahili wedding feasts, and at Swahili circumcision feasts. The dancers, all men, assemble by invitation and form a ring in the open near the house of the host, all carrying sticks, hence the name of the dance. While those in the ring balance themselves slowly and rhythmically from one foot to the other, two of their number go into the centre and make passes at each other with their sticks as if they were swords, in time to the drumming. After a few minutes of this, another pair go into the centre of the circle and perform in the same manner while the first two retire, and so on to the end of the dance, which usually takes place by day.

535 534 Cigarettes and betel nuts are passed round to the dancers. The music is supplied by *vumi* and *chapuo* drums described above (see Razha dance) by *vitasa* or cymbals (see Shebwani dance), and by a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). In a temporary pavilion of palm-thatch erected close by, a number of young slave women generally stand holding buffalo horns in their left hands, which they strike with small sticks in time to the drumming.

This dance has no mystic significance and is merely a form of rejoicing.

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Indigo is in common use throughout South-West Arabia as far as Aden, more especially amongst the settled elements. (In Oman I remember it only in the Bani Ali–Bani Kalban area where it is grown.) A black dye used in tattooing their gums is derived from the coconut. This is used down through the centre of the woman's hair parting, too. Anklets, affected by coastal women, are not found amongst these tribes, but many bracelets and necklaces (mostly beads) and ear-rings; the men often wear a single bangle above one elbow and a single ear-ring, generally in the right ear. 301 302 171

*Wars*, another vegetable product which stains a canary yellow, is not met with at all in the Dhufar area, probably it is too expensive. The Ja'alan and Hajar districts of Oman use it extensively, not elsewhere, except amongst women. But no ill is thought of a man amongst them who emerges with a patch on his shoulder or sleeve come by in an embrace with his wife, but for such to appear on an unmarried man would cause derision. In the western Hadhramaut where it is grown it is also not extensively used except amongst women. *Henna*, the only other dye, is common on festive occasions but generally limited to hands and feet. Red and green face paint, not permitted in Oman, is in everyday use in the Dhufar province.

Girls throughout these tribes wear a nose-ring in the right nostril. When approaching puberty the edge of their ears is pierced in six or seven places from which charms or rings depend. Women adorn their faces also with black paint: over eyebrows, round nostrils and a straight line to ears from nostrils, around edge of chin, black bands around throat, red lips, green brow. The Mahra ladies also on special occasions paint their faces red. With the greenish dye *subur* they smear their faces indiscriminately, also their arms from the elbow downward; their legs from the knee downward, and the upper part of the breasts to the neck. In the Hadhramaut a headband dyed with indigo woven around the head is affected instead of a *Mahafif* (a local variant of the *aqal*) (see my paper under reference). 181 301 302

## CIRCUMCISION AND HAIR CUSTOMS.

Circumcision and hair customs have been dealt with exhaustively in my previous paper, but one or two corrections in detail need stating.[1] The scalping system of *munzerot* usually synchronizes with the first third of the month of married life, the shaving of the boy's lock with circumcision. The Mahra were said to have at one time carried on male circumcision on the night before marriage. Great festivities accompany male circumcision still, in contrast to the private untalked-of female circumcisions. For the former some eight or ten of the most presentable females in the neighbourhood line up. The men select who is the most beautiful amongst them—the other ladies protesting No! No! No! No! With the Qara the festivities of male circumcision are attended by women opening their garments to disclose the upper parts of their breasts. Camp fires are the centre of dancing and merry-making by both sexes. 304 852

[1] The pursuit, immediately after the operation, of the circumcised youth by his sister does not now take place. The milking of animals from behind is nowhere practised.

A 165 731 1,000 live births in the 4 years 1945-48, and subsequently declined to 162 in 1949 and to 166 in 1950. As in the case of population death rates, the infant mortality statistics A [167] are exaggerated by the inclusion of immigrant deaths.

A 165 Figures for the 5 years 1946-50 indicate that deaths among children under 5 years of age accounted for 34 to 38 per cent of the total deaths. The stillbirth rate varied from 54 to 73 per 1,000 births; the maternal mortality rate, from 4 to 7 per 1,000 live births and stillbirths.

N 165 Few statistical studies have been made in the Aden protectorates. The total death and infant mortality rates are believed to be generally higher than those of the Colony, but in the absence of authentic records, inadequate data are available for measuring the actual health status of the people. Evidence obtained from the interrogation of 76 women, from 15 to 45 years of age, in Western Aden Protectorate in 1939-40[20] suggests an average infant mortality of 245 per 1,000 live births, varying from 80 to over 500 in different localities. Infancy was not accurately defined, however, and any baby breast-fed and unable to walk was classified as an infant. The mortality among children H under 5 years of age was 25 to 100 per cent 165 greater in most areas. Malnutrition and 146 ignorance of the fundamental principles of 854 child care are important factors contributing to the high mortality in infancy and early childhood in both the Colony and the Protectorate.

## Social Economy

A 433 489 The economy of the Colony is based almost entirely upon shipping and trade. Not only is Aden a prominent fueling station for ocean and coastwise vessels, but it derives considerable wealth from the transshipment of goods to and from Yemen and adjacent territories, usually by means of A dhows and camel caravans. The production 489 of salt in evaporation beds along the coast 317 surrounding Aden harbor is the only export A industry. Numerous small plants have been 491

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Women, with little children, or decrepit, sick old men are sitting under the rough shelters. The babies lie in very practical cradles, which look just like gaping oyster-shells with little feet. The little one lies in the lower shell whilst the upper slants over him as a protection against sun and wind. When mother has to go away she takes the cradle and its contents with her, carrying it with the open side against her. The infant lies on woven rushes or on a skin, and, in the latter case, a round hole four inches in diameter is cut in it so that thus diapers are dispensed with! The mothers stand in great dread of the evil eye, so one must not show too much interest in the babies.

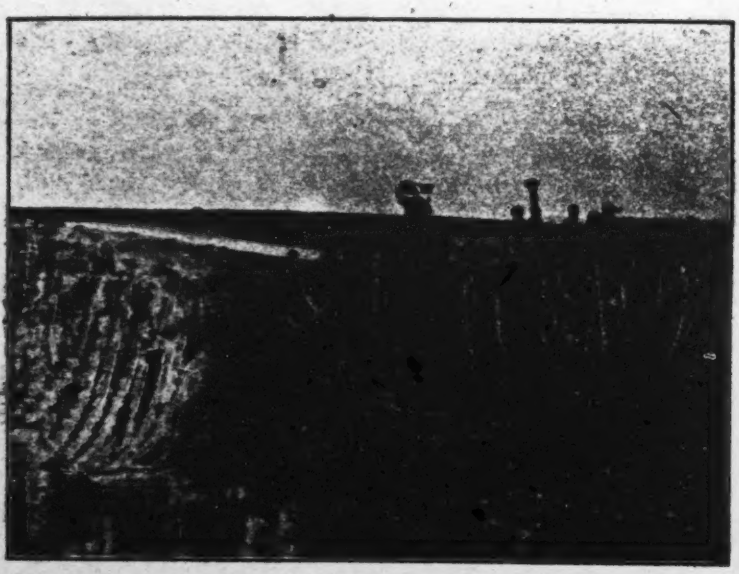
We distributed some small coin among the children and old men, and, as we talked, the uneasiness of the others gave way. A woman discovered a gold tooth in the mouth of one of us, and we both had to submit our mouths to a detailed examination. Outcries of amazement and, thereupon, great and general merriment!

Then they found more strange things about these *Efrendjīs*. The most forward among the women, after having examined our mouths, went further. She began to rub vigorously with her dark, hard fingers on the white inner side of my arm. They all watched in suspense: it remained white! Then she pulled my khaki shirt a little wider open at the neck: again white. All the bystanders burst into laughter, and the examination was continued. My shirt was pulled out of my breeches, and a long-drawn "Ah! Ah!" of amazement went up when it appeared that my abdomen was also quite white. The black hand was passed admiringly over that part of my anatomy.

When my examiner wished to continue her exploration, I assured her that the rest was really all the same colour. "Had we done it with soap?" They had heard that the *Efrendjīs* were in the habit of rubbing it into themselves.

"No, God has made us so."

"Doubtless you live in houses so that the sun cannot make you black as we are? Doubtless you only live on milk?"



137

Euphorbia candelabra, on the coastal terrace between Makalla and esh-Shiḥr.

342
854

Dwelling of Ḥaiqī Bedouins at Rēdet Sheḥēr. In the foreground a Bedouin cradle.

[facing p. 24]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



000 seem to look upon it as the most ordinary thing in the world and to concentrate all their attention on the rifle-fire which, at intervals, proceeds from the other side. The noise of war has put a sudden end to all the bickering and squabbling, and all the troubles of the day, now nearly at its close, seem to be forgotten. Everyone lets himself go in tales of war, we are all carried away by our imagination, and in a gentle, happy and friendly mood we ascend the mountain path which leads us away from our fellow men in the hot wādī below. The path again leads along the safe side of the spur and, at this point, is overhung by a long piece of rock, under which travellers are in the habit of bivouacking. It is too late to reach the *djōl* before dark, so we decide to stay here and to go on the following morning as quickly as possible to the next *neqāba*[1] in the hope of finding water there. We have just enough left for a pot of tea and we are parched with thirst, but no one can be induced to return to ᶜAmd to fetch water. As we look down from the steep rocky slopes into the wādī far below us we are filled with great rejoicing. ᶜAmd is still visible just at the bend, and we are well away from the wearisome negotiations with the people there and from their rather intrusive interest in us. Also the protecting rock-wall is between us and enemy territory. To-night we are free and alone, far above men, looking out, from our shelf of rock, right to the eternal kingdom of the stars.

485 Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, our *siyāra*[2], relates how, a short time ago, sharp-shooters with mausers succeeded in sniping three men on this very zigzag path. It is the custom towards the close of day to exchange a few shots from the fortified watch-towers, as if to show that guard is being kept. Perhaps we had underestimated the danger again on this occasion.

•855 Little Sayyid Muḥammad bin ᶜAlī felt quite at home in his narrow camp in the rocks on the edge of the precipice. He had

[1] See p. 52.

104 [2] A *siyāra* (سيارة) is a guide in Bedouin territory, who makes possible safe travelling in the area of his tribe.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



a good tuck-in to our biscuits — to him something wonderful — and then curled up peacefully to sleep on his hard bed of rock. In the middle of the night cries reached us from the plain below: Muḥammad bin ᶜAlī's mother was very anxious about her truant son and kept up a continuous moan: *"Yā waladī, yā waladī!"* (Oh, my son!), nor did she stop till some members of the family came up the mountain with a donkey to fetch the little chap home. She did not seem to place much trust in her adventurous husband. The relief expedition got up to us safely, but dared not make the dangerous return by night. Towards day-break Sayyid ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās, with his little son sitting proudly on the donkey, returned to Wādī ᶜAmd, and we went on upwards to the plateau of the Deyyin Bedouins, with the primary object of finding water for ourselves and our camels.

## 2. TREKKING OVER THE DJÖL AGAIN.

Our escort was now reduced to two sayyids. One was for the camels and he knew the way although he had been over it only once in his life; the other, Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, a ready-witted and talkative man, was responsible for our safety and was to be the intermediary in our relations with the Deyyin Bedouins. These latter are very primitive and so might be dangerous for strangers travelling alone. We had met their old shēkh, ᶜUthmān, in the *Maṣnaᶜa* of Dōᶜan with Governor Bā Ṣurra, and Von Wissmann had taken advantage of the occasion to pick up information from him about his territory and tribe and to put out feelers as to whether a visit to their headquarters at er-Rēda would be welcomed. Thereupon the old shēkh had invited us to come and had even promised to let us see his still very wild country.[1] Thus, much depended upon whether we should find the chief of the Deyyin himself in er-Rēda.

[1] See p. 66 sq.

tern bank of the wādī. The fields are bone-dry and trimly 241
cultivated, rain being expected this month. One substantial 812
downpour of rain or a good inundation caused by rain elsewhere is said to be enough for this loam soil, which holds water for so long. Great pains have been taken over the irrigation system; the dams, made of piled-up stones and plastered with an inner lining of mud, suffer much from the *sēls*. Groups of inquisitive people come running towards us out of the villages and ask all sorts of questions of our escort. A grey-headed village-chief turns to us with the inquiry how to put an end to the repeatedly recurring destruction of the stone dykes through the *sēl*. We answer that it would probably suffice if they were to use lime as cement for the boulders: the initial cost of this would be considerable, but it would be a great economy in the long run.

All the women of this district are veiled, even the poor 834
women working in the fields. When working in the sun they 291
wear straw hats with very wide brims. They are not so 301
frightened of us as women were elsewhere and are quite ready for a chat or even to be photographed. The young girls, at the request of the men, climb like cats right up to the crowns of the palm-trees, to pick the ripe fruit from the bunches of dates. Their wide black garments hang untidily about them, the only pretty thing in their dress is the broad girdle ornamented with large and small silver buttons, which encircles the waist. An attempt to buy one of these fails, as the women are all too modest to think of selling a part of their clothing. Many 857
children run all over the place with little bows made of the rib of a palm-leaf, and sharp-pointed arrows of the same, with which they try to kill the few birds that alight on the ripening fruit. Occasionally, as we pass, some relative of one of our escort will present us with a handful of the first really ripe dates.

He cannot resist the wishes of his guests and very soon there is again a crowd of inquisitive people in the sweltering upper room, staring at us and hampering us with questions and loud conversation.

## 2. PROSE AND POETRY IN WĀDĪ ḤADJR.

We manage, by exercising much insistence, to get off at four o'clock that afternoon. There are two roads to Makalla: one goes direct through the mountains, the other makes a great circuit by following the main wādī as far as the sea and then going up the coast to Makalla. The mountain route is the shortest but the hardest; we are told that it is *too* hard for our camels, who are not strong. Moreover, it would be unsafe for our little company in the mountains, in the absence of an armed escort. Considering that even Little, with a big military escort, was attacked in this country — a sayyid who was acting as his guide was killed in an engagement — we accepted the assertions of the people in Ṣidāra as reasonable and therefore chose the detour by way of the wādī, which however has a bad name for malaria. Little had to contend much with this illness: his escort had to be almost entirely renewed after a short sojourn in Wādī Ḥadjr. We tried to avoid risk by sleeping away from human habitation and, as far as possible, on high-lying, dry ground.

The caravan was under the leadership of a strong, slight Arab, of the name of Dhēb. He had spent his youth as hostage in the Sultan's palace at Makalla. This shows that Ṣidāra some twenty years ago was still a part of the Qeᶜēṭī territory, but that the Sultan considered it necessary to strengthen his hold on the country by bringing up the sons of the leading families in his palace. It was to this circumstance that Dhēb owed his education — for this country a very good one — and he was much more cultivated than the other young men of Ṣidāra. In spite of his long hair, his face was handsomer and gentler in expression than is usually the case here. We also had

661 with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of
212 being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of
533 the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way
857 he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the
463 *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.*
221 Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā . . . ā . . . ā . . . āl"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

292 The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

241 Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the
311 palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water
137 and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

114 Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf*, *i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes :—

"The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

"Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

"Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

## Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [858 582] [202]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

The palaces, the Wazir's house, and the guest house are fitted with electric light generated by a petrol engine. The system is continued along the water front as far as Sultan 'Umar's mosque.

The town water supply in Shihr is brought in a covered aqueduct from Tubala, 6-7 miles away. There are many springs at Tubala, most of which are hot, and a number are heavily impregnated with sulphur. The reservoir for the Shihr water supply consists of a large open tank which is fed by an open channel from the spring. As in the Mukalla there is no sort of protection. Shibam draws its water supply from wells, for the most part in the suburb of Seheil. The water is slightly brackish. The rest of the country depends on wells, springs, rivers, and rain cisterns.

**Educational Activities.**

In Mukalla there are three Government schools (two Arab and one English), and at least three private schools. In addition to these Arab schools Yusuf Sherif, the principal Indian merchant and Collector of Customs, maintains a private Gujerati school in which there are 42 boys and eight girls at present. There used to be schools in every mosque, but Sultan 'Umar suppressed them and ordered the boys to attend the Government schools. However, despite this prohibition I understand that a few maintain a precarious existence.

The larger of the Arabic schools, Al Madrassa al Khariya as Sultanja had been in existence for four years at the time of my visit and had twelve classes: *Hijar*, or Elementary, four classes; *Tahdir*, two classes; *Daraja Awal*, First standard, three classes; *Daraja ath Thani*, Second standard, one class; *Daraja ath Thalath*, Third standard, one class, *Daraja al Arb'a* Fourth standard, one class. A Fifth standard was to be added shortly.

On the register there were 290 to 300 boys aged from six to 14 and even 16, and perhaps older. On inspection the attendance at the various classes was as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Hijar* ... ... ... ... ... ... | 56 |
| *Tahdir* 1 ... ... ... ... ... | 20 |
| 2 ... ... ... ... ... | 31 |
| *Daraja* I.—1 ... ... ... ... | 32 |
| 2 ... ... ... ... | 20 |
| 3 ... ... ... ... | 27 |
| *Daraja* II ... ... ... ... ... | 12 |
| *Daraja* III ... ... ... ... ... | 13 |
| Total exclusive of the Fourth standard ... | 211 |

The staff consists of a *Mudir* or Principal, a *Murakib*, who is responsible for the discipline of teachers and boys, and 12 teachers. There are nine class rooms, the four classes of *Hijar* sitting in one room. Up to *Daraja* I the boys sit on the floor, after which they are at desks. The school is closed on Fridays and on the 'Id days which are as follows: 'Id al Hajj, five days, 'Id al Fitr, five days, 12th Rabi' Awal, Maulad an Nebi, one day, 29th Ramadhan,

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



one day, 27th Rajab, one day, 15th Sha'ban, one day, 30th Sha'ban one day, and 10th Muharram, one day, making a total of 16 days. 871

School hours are from 7 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. in winter, and 6.30 a.m. to 11.30 a.m. in summer. In Ramadhan the hours are from 7 a.m. to 11 a.m. After three periods of the school session there is half an-hour's interval. In the evening some of the older boys attend the Sultan's mosque for religious teaching, *hizb*, and grammar.

The curriculum includes, besides reading, writing, and religious instruction, elementary arithmetic, composition, history, and geography. Semaphore signalling is taught to the older boys. The Fifth standard will be taught drawing, handicraft, book-keeping, and hygiene, as well as a more advanced course of the other subjects. There are examinations every year for all, and special ones every six months. There are neither organised games nor physical training.

A school register is kept which contains the following information: Name, name of father, occupation of father, birth-place, dwelling-place, any previous education, class in which placed, date of entrance, father's or guardian's signature, date of leaving, and father's or guardian's signature agreeing to rules. A visitors' book is also kept.

The second Arabic school, Al Madrassa al Watanía, has eight classes, *Hijar*, *Hijar* and Quran, *Tahdir* I and II, *Daraja* I to IV. The boys number 130 to 140 and their ages range from eight to eighteen. There is a staff of seven teachers not including the headmaster, who also teaches. The curriculum, examinations, working hours, and holidays are the same as for the other Arabic school.

The English school had been opened for only five or six months, but already had 61 boys from nine or ten to sixteen and even twenty. There are three classes, Primer, 2nd Primer, and 1st standard. A second standard is to be started shortly. There is only one teacher, a British Indian from the Danish Mission school in Aden, but he has worked out a time table by which the three classes are working on different subjects at the same time and he goes from one to the other. The curriculum is based on the Aden syllabus, and besides English it also includes the teaching of Gujerati. There are about ten or twelve British Indian boys attending, the rest are all Arabs. All the pupils are Boy Scouts.

In Shibam there is a charity school for boys and girls. Attendance is compulsory for boys and the Government brings back those who leave without permission. There are 250 boys and 150 girls attending. The staff consists of six masters and two mistresses. Religion only is taught. There is a good deal of religious education in 'Einat, and it is also remarkable for having a girls' school. There are said to be no schools in the Hajr province other than mosque schools. The Al Kaf Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun maintain a school at Khoreiba in the Du'an province.

The Kathiris have no organised Governmental institutions in the accepted sense of the word, though the Sultan and his supporters, including the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun, are very anxious for progress. Sultan 'Ali's state income is estimated at $20,000 a year in respect of Seiyun, Taris and Mariama; $6,000 of this is a direct contribution from the Al Kaf Seiyids, and the remainder consists of taxes on dates and on goods entering Seiyun. The whole sum is expended on state services, for Sultan 'Ali has a private income derived from Singapore. He maintains a force consisting of 200 indifferently armed slave soldiers in Seiyun, and 200 in Tarim. 643 642 651 565

In Tarim the Al Kaf contribute $12,000 a year to the city Treasury. There is a Town Council which organises the local taxation, and thanks to the Al Kaf Seiyids its affairs are said to be run in a very business-like way, for its budget balances. In normal times the political expenditure on maintaining peace between Tarim and the neighbouring tribes is perhaps $4,000 a year, and this is all borne by the Al Kafs. But to this normal expenditure is often added extraordinary expenditure as, for instance, in a case which occurred about May 1934, when Seiyid Bubekr, the second brother of the family, spent $12,000 in settling a dispute between Tarim and the Tamimis. 651 632 565

In Tarim and Seiyun there is a doctor and dispensary, but they are supported by the Seiyids. At the time of my visit, the doctor, a Punjabi, was on leave and such work as was being carried on was being done by a dispenser. No great public use was made of his services. The dispensary costs the Al Kafs about $1,000 a month, and they spend $2,000 a month on charities and roads. As regards their expenditure on communications it should be recorded that they built all the water pools on the caravan route from Tarim to Shihr, that they spent $7,000 on building a pass at Al 'Arsha for caravans, and that Seiyid Bubekr has spent over $180,000 on road making between Tarim and Shihr. 743 565 735 653

The schools in Kathiri territory are almost entirely supported by the wealthy Seiyids. There are two Ribāts, religious foundations, principally supported by *Waqfs* (religious endowments) for the teaching of religion and philosophy. Of these one is in Seiyun and has an attendance of 40 students, and the other is in Tarim with an attendance of 120. The Saqqaf family of Seiyids maintain two schools in Seiyun, one containing 500 boys and seven teachers, the other 100 boys and four teachers, and the Al Kafs, who also contribute to the Ribāts, run two schools in Tarim. One of these formerly had an attendance of 400 boys but it is now only attended by children of the family, numbering 54. The other, a public school, accommodates between 300 and 400 boys. The Al Kafs also run one if not two schools at Khoreiba in Wadi Du'an in Qu'aiti territory. They are, in fact, the only people undertaking educational activities in a wider sense in that province. I believe, too, that they support the private schools in Mukalla and Shihr. 565 871

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB 1
Arabs



H 563 582 871 I 563 658

4. *Coalescence with other members of the community in the Netherlands-Indies.*—The method of living and the language among Arab families in the Netherlands-Indies and particularly in the Netherlands-Indian Arabic families, are practically the same as among the Netherlands-Indian population of corresponding kind and position. In the Hadhramaut women do not travel abroad according to the customs of their country. Arabs who wish to found a family in the Netherlands-Indies are thus obliged to look for a wife among the native population, or among the daughters of their own country-men who have been born and brought up in the Netherlands-Indies. The more well-to-do aim at sending their sons to the Hadhramaut or to the private Arabic schools existing here to complete their education. This helps to keep up their knowledge of the Arabic language and Arabic customs. The sons of those who are less well-to-do for the most part receive no Arabic education, and thus know little of their own language and customs. The establishment by the Government of the H.A.S. (Holland-Arabic School) at Sole in recent years provides an opportunity for the Arabs to give their children also a Western education.

H 798 I 798 671

5. *The part they play in the life of their adopted country.*

The principal part played by the Arabs in this country in the life of the community is of a religious nature. The Hadhramis, once they have been established in the Netherlands-Indies, generally take care to moderate the fanaticism ruling their fatherland. But some of them have shown a keen proselytising spirit in their own localities. Above all the law scholars in the Arabic community have had a steadying and by no means inconsiderable influence on Islam in the Netherlands-Indies, through their teaching, their pupils and their widely distributed writings. These law scholars are consulted by their native colleagues in cases concerning Mohamedan law and several "fatwas" or expert judgments exist thanks to them.

H 167 641 186 I 641

6. *What proportion permanently sever their connections with the Hadhramaut.*

None of the Arabs in this country who have been born in the Hadhramaut completely sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. Many of them are so attached to the land of their birth that they have only one wish and that is to spend the last days of their lives in the Hadhramaut. Some of them who have grown rich here return from time to time to the Hadhramaut to visit members of their families and for a short change. Now and then one will leave the Netherlands-Indies to establish himself once more for good in the Hadhramaut. Lately a group of Netherlands-Indian Arabs have been trying to establish connections with the native populations. These Arabs desire to consider the Netherlands-Indies as their fatherland. They will also try to adapt their

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Arab Sudan MQ1
Saudi Arabia MJ1



H 186 AS 863

compare unfavourably with the Hedjazi and the Yemani. All are on the make, and quite prepared to start at the bottom and work up.

H 167 SA 555 426

*Saudi Arabia.*—Writing about the year 1885, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje (Mecca, Leiden, 1931) says that the Hadhramis in Mecca are among the most serious competitors of the Indians in the money-lending business. "These come to Mekka almost invariably without money, but endowed with great adaptability and endless endurance. No sense of honour hinders them from making their choice of trade or situation accord solely with the advantages that circumstances offer. Many have begun as heavy porters in Jeddah where the guild of porters carries on the whole traffic between town and harbour: some of these porters become rich men. In Mekka, they, in the first place, seek situations as day labourers in some trade. Thus they gain local and technical knowledge of which they as soon as possible make the most on their own account; a 14-year old boy who has earned some 25 dollars at once puts 20 of them out at interest, and such small loans often bring in one hundred per cent. even though the time for which the money is lent is only a few months."

H 871 167

But the dubiously respectable profession of disguised money-lending was not the only occupation of Hadhramis in the Hejaz. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramaut supplied many professors and quotes as eminent amongst them the "almost dwarfish Muhammad Sa'id Ba Beseil" who acted as Amin al Fatwa to the Sheikh al Ulema. At that time the Hadhramis had "from of old" their own Sheikh who transacted business between the local government and his countrymen. Generally speaking the learned doctor gave it as his opinion that religion plays no part in the wanderlust of the Hadhramis, and other observers have made the same comment.

Emigration to the Hejaz, however, was, and no doubt is, for some, in a different category. Many students go there to study and Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramis being brought up in a poor, cultureless land regard the great town of Mecca as a modern Babylon. Those who have a taste for learning derive from the holiness of Mecca blessings not to be found in the Hadhramaut. Immigrants soon adapt themselves to Meccan customs and consider the change a progress.

SA 162 167 H 167

Captain Seager estimates that there are about 5,000 Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia to-day. They live mainly in Jedda and Mecca. A few are to be found in Medina but it is doubtful whether they exceed a total of 30 souls. It would be true to say that since 1930 the Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia are decreasing in numbers. This decrease is no accident. Since the advent of the general economic depression, Hadhramis have found it more and more difficult to earn a living in Saudi Arabia. The finances of the country have been shaky for the past four years and money is naturally scarce. This has badly hit the shopkeeper class and by far the greatest

619 He is no longer apt to be shot at by Government soldiers and he brings his troubles to the Government. The provincial governors and the district
647 heads are better men and better paid than they used to be and all new candidates have courses of instruction before appointment. There are
692 systems of State and tribal courts which are becoming more and more
619 effective. There is a special department of bedouin affairs which is staffed entirely by Hadhrami tribesmen; five or six years ago no Hadhrami tribesmen were employed in any positions of responsibility.

759 As regards social services, in 1934 there was one doctor, mainly for the Sultan though he ran a public dispensary, and medical services cost Rs. 5,500
657 a year: in 1944 the sum voted was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary
652 services. There was an establishment of four doctors, and a State hospital
748 for fifty in-patients was being built in Mukalla.

In 1934 education cost Rs. 6,000 and about three hundred boys received
871 some sort of schooling. In 1944 Rs. 1,054,000 was provided. The number of boys in primary Government schools on the coast has increased to about
652 seventeen hundred. There were between a hundred and thirty and a
657 hundred and forty girls in the new Mukalla girls' school, and an inter-
658 mediate boarding school, assisted by the British Council and a grant from His Majesty's Government, had been started with about eighty boys. As part of the famine relief measures, children were brought down from the Hadhramaut and have now been taken over by the Qu'aiti State which bought a village outside Mukalla and is now housing three hundred boys
[874] and girls in it. A wall enclosing garden land has been built round it and the children work the garden and are apprenticed to various local trades. They are given a modest schooling and it is hoped that they will also be taught by means of a village council to run their own village.

658 Another State educational experiment owes its impetus mainly to the enthusiasm of the young men of Mukalla. A number of young men have
871 gone through a course organized by the Education Department in how to teach illiterate adults to read and write. These teachers compiled a coolies' vocabulary of seven hundred words or so and when I left were about to teach coolies from the Hadhramaut, who had come seeking for work at the coast on account of the famine, how to write the language they speak, a sort of basic Arabic. There are schemes for producing a small newspaper in this simplified form of speech and for developing some public-health consciousness.

701 What little the State could do towards the war effort it has done. It provided a company for guard duties in Aden while the Italians were in
648 the war. It has raised a Pioneer Company for service in the Middle East Command. It has guarded the R.A.F. aerodromes in the State and pro-
[712] vided coastal guards. The Public Works Department has built an R.A.F. station at about a third of the cost expected. It has landed and handled a great quantity of R.A.F. stores. In addition, at the outbreak of war when the surplus balance was about Rs. 80,000, it contributed Rs. 20,000 for
648 general war purposes, and Hadhramis at home and abroad subscribed to a

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



## Organization of the Residency and Methods Used

After persuading the tribes to make the general truce for three years, 647
I turned my attention to Government organization. I had hoped at first 648
that it would not be necessary to have more than three European assistants, two political and one military, but the burden of work became so heavy that by the beginning of the war I think there were eight European officers working in the Hadhramaut. Owing to the general anti-foreigner feeling, [609]
I thought it better that these officers should belong to the Residency staff as assistants to the adviser and that they should not have executive authority, and I told them to regard themselves rather as men with oil cans, who saw that the machinery was working, than as part of the machinery itself. Furthermore I felt sure that the actual responsibility must remain in the hands of the local Government. I believed, and I am sure that events have proved me right, that if you give people responsibility and make them exercise it they are eventually able to do so fairly effectively. You begin by collecting a group of what are in effect pictures labelled as heads of departments and in due course they come, like Galatea, to life. This rather extensive employment of Europeans did not turn out very successfully and, in 1942, it was approved that I might reduce my European assistants to two and engage trained orientals to instruct the local Government staff in the conduct of bedouin affairs, district administration, finance, medical, educational, agricultural, military and police work. Not all these posts have yet been filled owing to the difficulty of finding qualified candidates but there are now Transjordanis holding the posts of Bedouin Affairs Assistant and Police Assistant, a Hadhrami seiyid who is a Major in the Hyderabad military forces and a Punjabi Mussulman as Military Assistants, and a Sudani as Educational Assistant.

The functions of the Residency are advice, instruction and inspection. 648
As regards instruction the Residency runs a military school which is 647
attended by officers and non-commissioned officers of all the forces, and 871
promotion in the forces cannot be had without a certificate from it. It runs courses for teachers, courses for administrative candidates for employment as district officers, and police courses. Other courses are obtained by sending candidates to Aden, for example for training as dispensers, and by sending boys for education to the Sudan.

Most Government departments were in their beginning practically directed by Residency staff. When they are able to stand sufficiently on their own feet, the Residency withdraws and leaves them entirely to their own heads and the State Secretary.

Some things, however, are paid for by His Majesty's Government and 648
are under Residency control. The most important of these is the Hadhrami 701
Bedouin Legion. It is modelled as far as possible on Brigadier Glubb's Desert Patrol, which he kindly enabled me to see in 1938, and he generously provided Arab officers for it. The bedouins were quite unaccustomed to 701
any sort of military service and the force experienced ups and downs for 702

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



701 the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts
702 in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The
[743] force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making.
875 The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys: district schools
758 have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dis-
731 pensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these
657 places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

671 A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school.
759 A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

000 So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their
[275] request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

609 As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a com-
771 munity which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was
648 always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my
000 duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

000 faith in which I was brought up, but when, in such a position as I have held, I have to deal with people of another faith, I feel it is essential to help and encourage them to live up to the best in their own faith, 771 for a live religious spirit is a vital necessity to all progress. The Had-
871 hramaut is sadly afflicted, as I have said, by over-emphasis on formalism, but I have found great support in pressing more and more the necessity of working and living in the spirit of religion. This type of teaching is employed in educating troops and boys and girls in the new schools, particularly in the children's village and in the bedouin boys' and girls' schools. My educational assistant has a candidate for training as a teacher of the spirit of religion, leaving the other teachers to teach, for example, the methods of prayer and fasting. In the course of time it has been generally accepted that the position of religion in the affairs of the country is being strengthened and not weakened.

## TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS FROM EXPERIENCE IN THE HADHRAMAUT

114 As I spent the first fifteen years of my service in Zanzibar and Mauritius and have had opportunities of studying the administration of East Africa, Malaya and the West Indies, whether on the spot or in the Colonial Office, it is natural for me to approach consideration of the best way to help backward areas in the Middle East, like the Hadhramaut, to more effective self government, by comparison with the better known colonial methods of approach to the same goal.

000 It seems to me that if success is ultimately achieved in teaching the people of such areas to govern themselves it will probably not be by the traditional methods of colonial administration. The practical difficulties of doing so seem to be due to the nature of the country, to the nature of the people and to political considerations. The country is mainly desert and our colonial tradition has been built up in lands [609] capable of economic development. Owing to their environment the people, taking them as a whole, are neither simple nor tractable and, by contrast with most peoples of tropical dependencies, they are suspicious of outside interference. As the close control of any part of Arabia is looked on with dislike by other parts of Arabia and as there is, as far as I can see, no over-riding necessity for us to control such an area as the Hadhramaut closely, it does not on political grounds seem worth while to do so. The less we interfere with the internal

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



official members serving as consultative representatives of the "popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public services consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educational facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the state's own postage stamps[5] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, appears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements[8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

[5] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

[8] The Anglo-Kathiri treaty engagement of 1918 was merely an extension of the terms of a previous Anglo-Qualiti treaty to those parts of the Hadhramaut interior controlled by the Kathiri sultan. By terms of the Anglo-Kathiri agreement the Kathiri State was placed under British protectorate. The 1939 Adviser Agreement provided for the appointment of a British Resident Adviser to the court of the Kathiri sultan.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



to advise him in his rule so as to establish confidence in him as a ruler, to help in agriculture, medical work, and schools. The work done so far has been of an experimental nature, but a measure of success has been achieved in the Beihan and Ahwar areas, and work in other areas, such as Shaibi country, has been started. I have not been in close touch with the work, but I believe the experiment is distinctly promising. If there is a weakness about it, it may be that there is not sufficient promise of continuity—that is to say, it may be it is too dependent on one man, the chief. The areas are small, there is no government establishment. If you have an establishment one man may fail and you can put another in, but the thing continues. If you have only one man, and he dies, there is no guarantee that his successor will be like him. Even if a political officer is permanently in the country he is dependent on there being a co-operative chief, unless he is to run the country himself.

The W.A.P. is almost entirely tribal, as I have said; there is therefore little culture. Indigenous schools are rare and there are none beyond the Quran school stage. Illiteracy is very general. But there is little doubt that schools, if provided, will be quickly filled. The main question is what will the newly educated do in their own countries? Certainly there is room for educated chiefs and for the comparatively few who are, or will be, required to help them in governing or providing social services. But the opportunities there will only absorb a few and there are no mercantile communities worth mentioning. There may be scope for some technical training and even agricultural training, but it is not easy to see how the tribesman already expert at the cultivation of oases, terrace cultivation in the comparatively few parts where agriculture is possible, is going to be given an education which will greatly assist him. There are few areas where over-education could cause more trouble with discontented literates than the protectorate. So that a question that to my mind still requires much thought is—what sort of education can be given which will help the advancement of the country and not upset it? And I don't think that a satisfactory answer is yet forthcoming as to what can be the future of the W.A.P. Until it is answered it is difficult to decide on the lines education should follow, for there is nothing old to build on.

### The Eastern Aden Protectorate

So much for the W.A.P. The Eastern Aden Protectorate provides a great contrast. Perhaps it may be helpful to catalogue the contrasts briefly. In the first place, the area of the E.A.P. is between 70,000 and 80,000 squares miles, while that of the W.A.P. is between 30,000 and 40,000. The estimated population of both is about 300,000, so that the E.A.P. is much more sparsely inhabited. But the bulk of the population lives on the coast and in the Wadis Du'an and Hadhramaut 100 to 150 miles inland. So that there are vast areas which are practically uninhabited. Therefore there are bigger distances to cover between communities. In the second place, as I have already said, the total acreage of cultivable land is very much less than the W.A.P., and the people who own it are much less agriculturally minded than the farmer-owners of the W.A.P. It is an essentially desert country, with the Rub'al Khali just

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Government and beduin. Many beduin tribes who were inveterate foes of the Qu'aitis have now declared permanent peace with the Government and said they are "sons of government." The State Government has now a beduin affairs department staffed entirely by local tribesmen, and there is a system of tribal courts. There are many tribesmen in Government service, and the greater number of the soldiers and police are now tribesmen and beduin. In the old days, Hadhrami tribesmen were hardly ever employed in Government and there were very few in the forces. The only effective soldiers were Yafa'is, irregular mercenaries and slaves. Even the Government slaves have now disappeared. There is an African company in the regular army which consists of ex-slaves and Somalis and is employed on guarding an R.A.F. station, and others are employed as Government servants on the same footing as Arabs; the old slaves have been pensioned. All soldiers and police are taught to read and write, and by passing examinations in the military school can and do secure promotion. Enlistment is popular now because of the amenities provided and because a soldier can definitely expect to be more fitted for civil life when he leaves the forces. The status of a military life is very definitely advanced.

Another thing that attracts attention is the development in education. The coastal elementary schools have 1,700 boys in them instead of 300, and the education department is rapidly extending over the interior. There is an intermediate boarding school for 80 boys which opened last year. There is a boarding school attached to the Hadhrami Beduin Legion with 100 beduin boys in it, and another with 24 beduin girls. There are several town girls' schools, the biggest and best being in Mukalla with 150 girls, who learn not only to read and write, but to sew, embroider, wash, and cook. A most interesting experiment has lately been started with a whole village organized as a school, where 300 boys and girls of the serf class—a class which works hard but does very little thinking for itself—are being trained to run their own village and to learn various industries and crafts. Teachers of the Mukalla Government and other volunteers are also teaching adults of the serf class to read and write the language they speak and trying to induce in them some public health consciousness.

On the medical side a hospital is being built in Mukalla, and the sanitary state of the town—which may shortly have a municipality—has been greatly improved.

Of old, Government was mainly carried on by a handful of officials with a Sultan generally in India, but the present Sultan has spent most of his reign in his state and has a state council of officials and unofficials to help him. The executive work of Government is in charge of a state secretary and twenty organized departments.

In the Kathiri State progress has not been nearly so spectacular. The revenue is much smaller and the Wadi Hadhramaut is so divided by the jealousies of Sultans and tribesmen, and handicapped by the unwillingness or inability of the bulk of the seiyids to get together and co-operate, that the Government is not nearly so alive. There is, however, a state secretary at Seiyun and a good deal of the work of a government has been organized.

[Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1



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Buried under all the politics the Hadhramaut is a cultured country
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It has far more culture than the Western Aden Protectorate, and of indigenous Arab culture, more than Aden. The outlook of Mukalla and Shihr is commercial, but recent advances in education and the provision of clubs, the organization of public debates and so on, is spreading culture of a suitable kind. The driving force behind this movement is largely local, but great assistance has been given by the Sudan Government in the provision of teachers and by the British Council and His Majesty's Government in subsidizing the intermediate school. Arab culture flourishes at a fairly high level in the Wadi Hadhramaut itself, where there are religious academies of old standing and where, when you go to a dinner-party, poetry and philosophy are commonly talked. The Wahidi country and the other tribal areas have no culture to compare with this, though almost everywhere there are seiyids and mansabs who have kept alight the torch of learning since Ahmed bin Isa al Mohajir, the ancestor of all the seiyids, came to the Hadhramaut and started the work which his descendants have carried on for over 1,000 years.

## The Colony of Aden

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Lastly, Aden itself. No doubt many of you are familiar with its general appearance. Everybody who sees it is struck with its natural grandeur, which, however desolate and forbidding, forms a fitting setting for one of the great fortresses of our Eastern Empire. After a visit ashore one is left with a feeling of depression at the general shoddiness of man's handiwork, and the shoddiness is even more depressing when one realizes that it is entirely due to British work and influence. All over the Yemen and the two protectorates you find towns and villages that provide pictures worth photographing. Probably many of you have seen Miss Stark's book of pictures, *Seen in the Hadhramaut*, and if you know Aden will agree that it would be a waste of film to photograph it.

This was not always the case, and it is worth while reading descriptions of previous Adens.

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As you probably know, Aden and Eden are the same word, but I won't try to persuade you that Aden was once the fairest garden of all. Nevertheless, the Eden mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel was no doubt our Aden and so in his time it may have been a fair city. Apostrophizing Tyre and Sidon, the prophet included it amongst the great marts of the then known world which traded with them :

> "Haran and Canneh and Eden, the merchants of Sheba,
> Asshur and Chilmad were thy merchants."

What the early Aden looked like we do not know. In the first century it had suffered destruction. The Periplus says :

"... there is Eudaemon Arabia, a village by the shore, also of the Kingdom of Charibael, and having convenient anchorages, and watering-places, sweeter and better than those at Ocelis; it lies at the entrance of a bay, and the land recedes from it. ... But not long before our own time Charibael destroyed the place."

But this did not prevent a new and worthy Aden arising. Ibn Batuta,

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1
Yemen ML1



## Conclusion

If Aden were to exert itself to become the cultural capital of the area of which it is the centre, it could attract all that is best in that area to it, and they could take back the best that British culture could offer them. For in Aden, if anywhere, is the chance for Arab culture and British culture to mix on equal terms and to produce something worth while.

I think it is apparent from what we have seen of South-West Arabia that British culture and Western education alone are not going to make a strong appeal to the principal elements in the country, and in many ways it would be dangerous to give too much of it undiluted. It is by no means clear how many people with a Western education the W.A.P. is going to be able to absorb, and discontented educated people unsuitably employed can very well create trouble and discontent by no means divine. The Yemen is afraid of too much Western education and a Zeidi Government will do all it can to discourage it.

Taking the country as a whole, there are first of all the very fertile highlands of the Yemen, where almost any temperate crop could be grown; lower down are the mountains of the 4,000- to 6,000-foot level, mostly barren but with good cultivable areas; and then there is the huge area of desert mountain and coastal plain with only occasional oases. The Yemeni highlands are the preserve of the Zeidis, a most exclusive people. The rest of the country is mostly populated by settled and nomadic tribesmen of Shafi'i persuasion, with here and there in the Yemen and the Hadhramaut large towns with an urban population and commercial or cultural interests. About a fifth of the population of the Hadhramaut are seiyids. The whole of this area, whether independent Yemen or protected chiefdoms, is independent minded and places Islamic culture far above any other, and we for our part have no desire to threaten its independence or its culture.

The academies of the Yemen and Hadhramaut are poorly endowed, but they are always full with students, who live on a starvation diet in order to get their education. As another pointer to the demand for Arab culture, look at the three bookshops of Aden. In them it is possible to buy most of the great Arab classics of the Abbasid period and Arab Spain. All the shopkeepers tell me they find their best buyers among up-country visitors; the young men of Aden buy, when they buy anything, modern books and translations of novels from the Cairo presses.

If we provided Western education only, it would in the end attract people to it, but the risks of doing this are considerable. Has Western education been an unqualified success elsewhere in the East? There is no space to discuss this much-discussed question here, but I think on the whole it is safe to say that there are a good many who would agree that there are aspects of what we have done which are open to criticism and that the results of it all have not on the whole been too happy.

Considering, therefore, what was achieved by the culture centres of old, such as Cairo, Baghdad, and Damascus, and that the south has never had a cultural centre to compare with them, and considering that there is much we can offer of our own culture which need not be destructive of Arab

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Yemen ML1

 Y 563

the better-class houses there is a great deal of comfort. I do not think there is any oppression of the Jewish community, and within the limits of the sumptuary laws they are properly treated. There is a natural feeling of resentment on the part of the Jews against the sumptuary laws. On the other hand, they are much more lightly taxed than are the Arabs as Muslims. The reason why they are popular as immigrants into Palestine is no doubt that they fit in well and are welcome as very good citizens. In the western area of the Hadhramaut, too, they are felt to be very valuable citizens. In Yemen, like all other citizens, they lose their property if they leave the country. The law is that only Yemeni subjects can own immovable property in the country, and if anyone leaves the country with the intention of acquiring another domicile he ceases to be a Yemeni subject.

Y 563 167 H [167]

ANOTHER MEMBER: I have been told that King Ibn Sa'ud got teachers to supply his schools from the University of el Azhar in Cairo. Can the lecturer tell us whether it has been possible to follow a similar plan in the Hadhramaut? It seems a pity that a Westernized form of education should be brought in.

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Mr. INGRAMS: In the Hadhramaut the improvement in education has been due to local enthusiasm and to several teachers from the Sudan. Great care has been taken in drawing up the educational programme to make it conform with the natural cultural traditions of the country. The seiyids are nervous of Westernized education, and it is all under the direction of Arabs in an attempt to strengthen the old culture of the Arab world while assimilating what is useful from the West.

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Dr. HUZZAYYIN: Although time has not allowed the lecturer to develop that side of his subject, Aden has great possibilities as a meeting place. If we could build up an Arab centre there, we could have a wedding of Arab and British culture.

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The CHAIRMAN then expressed the very warm appreciation of the audience and their thanks to Mr. Ingrams for his lecture and the really beautiful photographs by which it was illustrated.

# THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

701 DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

579 721 643 Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathīri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

648 728 Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

648 At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

185 625 701 From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls. [871]

113 * Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

tendency to fire high. Tactics are simple, usually an advance in strength 725
or the investment or defence of small forts or houses. Any more compli- 703
cated manœuvre involving strict timing or detailed concerted action would be beyond their capacity at present. They are difficult to control in action, and in the heat of the moment tend to forget their training and to expose themselves by not making use of ground and cover, but as their potential opponents suffer from the same faults this is not so serious as it would be against more experienced troops. The Bedouin does not favour night-fighting, but he is expert at moving and taking up position in the dark. He is willing to follow his officers, and has particular faith in those from 703
the Arab Legion, who in simple fashion he believes must be more com- 609
petent, as they have been brought in from another country. The same would apply to British officers, provided they understood his language and customs and accurately gauged his capabilities. Unless equipped with this knowledge, however, a British officer would find the Bedouin soldier awkward to handle and disappointing in action.

By showing promise and industry the soldier will gain promotion or 701
can become a specialist such as wireless operator or armourer. At present the highest rank reached by any is lieutenant; owing to lack of experience, knowledge, and background, they are not yet suitable for higher rank, but in time this will be overcome. Part of the remedy may result from the [871]
foundation a few years ago of a Bedouin boys' school in Mukalla. This worth-while enterprise, sponsored and paid for by His Majesty's Government, is of considerable interest, and it is anticipated that ex-pupils will not only help to fill the ranks of H.B.L. with good material, but that others, encouraged to further education, will become much-needed Government servants, teachers and leaders in other walks of life.

There is a cadre of men who have voluntarily remained in the H.B.L. for longer periods, but after four years or so the average soldier, unless he has attained rank, will retire. He may ask that his place be taken by his brother or cousin, as he has liked the life, and his length of voluntary service speaks for itself. On his return to his tribe he will be an asset to Government, and his understanding and experience will be of help to political officers or other Government servants who may have dealings with his tribe or work to perform in his area. There is no reserve. The [157]
Bedouin in the Protectorate dislikes being tied down to a period of time, and a reserve as understood in a European army would be impossible to administer or co-ordinate. But in an emergency many ex-soldiers would return for temporary service if strongly requested.

Whatever the future may hold, there is no doubt that the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion performs useful tasks at low costs. It is in no sense planned as a national army, but in its military and political rôles has fully justified itself. One hopes that its ties with the Arab Legion will not be broken and that in the years to come it will attain the prestige and success in its own area which the Arab Legion enjoys in the Arab world as a whole.

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I am indebted to Major I. E. Snell, Royal Sussex Regiment, at present 115
seconded as Military Adviser to the British Agent, Mukalla, for certain facts and technical details used in this article.

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



cost was paid by him. The way across the mountains is 491
fantastically dangerous, but an expert chauffeur with a first class auto seems to be able to pass over it without any accident. I made up my mind, however, not to risk it again, and on the way back to follow the longer way round through the *wādī*. The mountain road was constructed at a time when it was impossible, owing to hostilities, to pass through the level country.

From the 27th of May until the 7th of June we were 741
in Terīm as the guests of Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf 871
As a Sayyid he has no official part in the government of 185
his country, but actually he is the man who is now doing most for his country and people. It was he who founded the schools at Makalla, at ash-Shihr, at Dō'an and in the towns of the Wādī Hadramaut, and it is he who supports them; it was he who made possible the transport of the first automobiles from the coast to Terīm, along the great road which he is now engaged in constructing. He is the man who constructed the automobile road from Terīm to Sēwun, and it is he who gives generously to thousands of the poor, to whom he has food supplied every Thursday evening. Terīm is the town for religion and learn- 361
ing; once it was the most important town of Hadramaut, and it is again on the road to become that. It is a town with a multitude of mosques and dozens of palaces, in which are living those families the members of which were able to amass millions of money in Java and at Singapore. The home of Sayyid Abu Bakr is the place where religious and political leaders meet one another, and where the future of the country is discussed.

Thanks to the help of our host, we were able to make 778
a trip to Sūne, the center for archæology, and finally to [782]
attain our most distant goal by being able to visit the 788
central sanctuary of Hadramaut, namely, the grave of the prophet of Allah, Hūd, and to explore the mythical abode of the souls of the unbelievers, Bīr Barhūt. The tomb of Hūd (Qabr Hūd) is the Mecca of Hadramaut and of the surrounding countries. For three days in

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2



248 1950–1, with a quality considered equal to that of the Sudan, and a contract lasting until 1955–6 has been secured with the British Raw Cotton Commission. This irrigation has, however, [136] created a new problem in the establishment of a semi-permanent population of desert locusts where they were formerly sparse.[1]

*Education*

871 Until the opening of the Aden Protectorate College for the
658 Sons of Chiefs in 1935 there had been no government provision
872 for education. In the Hadramaut, and especially in the towns of Sayun and Tarim, traditional Islamic education had reached
[212] a highly advanced stage about a century ago and produced a body of Islamic scholars; but in other parts of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate. Present educational policy is that, as each state becomes sufficiently advanced, it should be helped to set up a self-supporting department of education with village schools, central primary schools, and intermediary or secondary schools in the larger states. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by government or local government authorities had risen from not more than 100 in 1939 to about 6,700 by 1951. The total expenditure on education in 1949–50 was about £39,000, of which the Quaiti state contributed 54 per cent, the British Government 36 per cent, and the remaining states about 10 per cent. There were then 74 primary boys' schools, varying from the small Koran school to those of full primary status; about half received British financial help. The Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs was being closed down as the newer primary schools reached the desired level. There were seven girls' primary schools in the Eastern Protectorate and one in the Western, with a total attendance of about 800. In each Protectorate there was one post-primary school, with Egyptian and Sudanese teachers on the staff. A junior secondary school at Ghail ba-Wazir near Mukalla was completed in 1950 to provide a two-years' course for the local administrative service, the police, and the army. Full secondary education in Aden Protectorate is unlikely for some years, but the new Aden College, a secondary school opened in 1951, receives boys from the Protectorate as well as from the Colony and will it is hoped eventually be developed to university standard. In 1950 ten Protectorate boys held scholarships in the Sudan, and some twenty from the Eastern Protectorate were studying in other Arab countries.

[1] Dr B. P. Uvarov, director of the Anti-Locust Research Centre, reported in *The Times*, 27 September 1952.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Post-Primary Education*

873 There are two schools, one in each Protectorate, with post-primary classes. The school at Gheil ba Wazir near Mukalla was opened in 1944
875 and has four Sudanese on the staff including the headmaster. It is a boarding-school with a rural bias, and now contains four post-primary classes with about 100 pupils. In it extra-curricular activities and societies of all kinds are developed to a high degree. The other school at Lahej has eight Egyptians on the staff, including the headmaster. It has 140 pupils, and during the year a fifth post-primary class was started. Art and handwork were introduced into the school, and good results achieved under an Egyptian instructor.

*Primary Education*

872 Facilities for full primary education are available at 13 schools main-
658 tained by the Mukalla state Department of Education, at the Bedouin Boys' Military Boarding School near Mukalla and at the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs (both maintained by funds provided by His Majesty's Government), as well as at the primary sections of the two schools at Gheil ba Wazir and Lahej mentioned above. Apart from these there are about 30 sub-grade schools (schools which almost but not quite reach primary level) under Government supervision.

In the more backward parts of the Protectorate it is the policy to aid directly by grants provided by His Majesty's Government schools which are capable of development beyond the level of elementary Quranic teaching. These grants range from small fixed amounts in the case of Quranic schools to the full payment of teachers' salaries in the case of sub-grade schools. Assistance in supplies of books and school materials is also given in each case.

*The Aden Protectorate College for Sons of Chiefs*

873 One exception to the indirect connection of the Aden Government Department of Education with the Protectorates is the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs, which the Department runs directly. A primary boarding school with a maximum capacity of 36 pupils, it was started in 1935. It has served a most valuable purpose in spreading interest in education in the Western Protectorate, and in providing scholars for teacher-training courses abroad.

*Female Education*

● 871 Public opinion, taken as a whole throughout the Protectorate, is still opposed to female education. There are, however, the beginnings of a change. There is in Ahwar in the Western Protectorate a class of 12 little girls learning the Quran. The Eastern Protectorate is more advanced; H.M. Government maintains a school for Bedouin girls, and the Mukalla Government maintains a sub-grade girls' school in Mukalla with about 130 pupils, and a girls' section of a village school with an agricultural bias near Mukalla, where another 30 more girls receive education.

6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 8 : Social Services

## EDUCATION

*General*

658 Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education inspects schools within the area, gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout the whole territory.

*Policy*

871 The general educational policy in the Protectorates has been to build up self-supporting state departments of education as the States become sufficiently advanced for this to be possible. The intention has been that these departments should organise and control a system of village schools, central primary schools and, in the case of the larger States, intermediate schools.

*Education Departments*

647 Two such education departments are already in existence. One functions under the Mukalla Government in the Eastern Protectorate, with a Sudanese Director of Education (who is also Education Adviser to the British Agent), and an inspectorate of five local Arab inspectors. The other is at Lahej, 25 miles inland from Aden in the Western Protectorate, where Emir Ali, brother of the Sultan, performs the duties of Director of Education.

*Primary Education*

871 Apart from the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs in Aden and the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion Boys' School near Mukalla, both of which are maintained by His Majesty's Government funds, there are just over 50 primary schools. These schools vary in standard, from the small Quranic schools to those which are approaching the Colony level. Those in the Eastern Protectorate, 23 in number, are maintained by the Mukalla State Department of Education, and are of a higher standard than those in the Western Protectorate. The remainder receive help from His Majesty's Government in the payment of teachers' salaries and the supply of school materials.

873 *The Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs.* One exception to the indirect connection of the Aden Government Department of Education with the Protectorates is the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs, which the Department runs directly. A primary boarding school with a maximum capacity of 42 pupils, it was started in 1935. It has served a most valuable purpose in spreading interest in education in the Western Protectorate, and in providing scholars for teacher-training courses abroad. Since, however, it is too small to be run either economically or with the full development of activities which

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



it should contain, it is intended to allow it to become defunct as the new primary schools in the Protectorate reach the required level. 873

*Post-Primary Education*

There are two schools, one in each Protectorate, with post-primary classes. The school at Gheil ba Wazir, near Mukalla, in the Eastern Protectorate, was opened in 1944 and has four Sudanese on the staff, including the headmaster. It is a boarding school with a rural bias, and now contains four post-primary classes with about 125 pupils. In it extra-curricular activities and societies of all kinds are developed to a very high degree. The other school at Lahej has nine Egyptians on the staff, including the headmaster. It now has 175 pupils in the six post-primary classes. 872

*Secondary and Higher Education*

There is no higher education in the Protectorates, and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come. Plans were made to send boys to the new Aden College which is to be established near Sheikh Othman in the Colony, but that will not be for another two years. This College will provide full secondary education for Protectorate as well as Colony boys, having boarding facilities for the former. Teacher-training will be an important part of its work. In the meantime it was necessary to send abroad selected scholars who had reached the required standard. Four boys returned from the Sudan having completed their training, and there are ten scholars still studying there. Of these one is studying agriculture, one is entered for Gordon College to pursue higher teacher training, one is at Hantoub Secondary School, and the remaining seven are at the Bakht er Ruda Institute of Education. 873

*Building*

During the year the Secretary of State gave his approval to the expenditure of £16,000 from Colonial Development and Welfare funds for the erection of 20 primary schools buildings in the Western Protectorate. These will in some cases replace old and unsuitable buildings, in others they will mark expansion. Two buildings have already been begun, one in the Shaibi district being near completion. 658

*Female Education*

Public opinion, taken as a whole throughout the Protectorate, is still opposed to female education. In the Eastern Protectorate there are about 180 girls receiving education; 130 of these attend the Mukalla Girls' School, a subgrade school maintained by the Qu'aiti State; there are 20 more in the girls' section of a village school, with an agricultural bias near Mukalla, while the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion Girls' School, maintained by His Majesty's Government funds, has 30. Of the latter, two are to become teachers, eight nurses. In the Western Protectorate female education is almost non-existent; it is confined to the reading of the Quran, and even that does not amount to more than 15 girls in the whole area. 871

6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Literacy*

873 212 Measures to deal with adult illiteracy are extremely meagre. In the Western Protectorate there are none; in the Eastern Protectorate 17 centres were opened in 1947, but these dwindled to eight during 1948 on account of non-attendance of pupils. They represent an average attendance of 230.

It is impossible to estimate the number of literates turned out by the small independent Quranic schools which exist throughout the Protectorates. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by Government or local government authorities was in the region of 4,300 in 1948; in 1939 it was not more than 100.

*Expenditure*

652 The total amount of money expended on education in the Protectorates (including scholarships abroad) was in the region of £38,110. It comprised the following approximate amounts:

| | £ |
|---|---|
| From His Majesty's Government funds, including £1,664 on scholarships in the Sudan . . . | 13,200 |
| Mukalla Government (including about £760 on scholarships in the Sudan. This is 10 per cent of the total state expenditure) . . . . . | 18,190 |
| Lahej State, including considerable financial assistance from Egypt . . . . . | 5,500 |
| Other local governments in the Western Aden Protectorate . . . . . | 1,220 |
| | £38,110 |

*Summary*

871 794 From this brief review it will be gathered that educational provision in the Protectorates is extremely meagre and development over the whole area apparently slow. It is therefore only fair to point out that until 1937, with the exception of the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs started in 1935, there was no Government provision or supervision of education in the Protectorates. It would not be true to say that there was no education in the Protectorates before that time. It existed rather haphazardly, maintained by private individuals, trusts and associations and by a few local chiefs; but its bias was almost always entirely religious, just as the mosque was nearly always the village school and the Imam of the mosque the village schoolmaster.

In the part of the Eastern Protectorate loosely called the Hadhramaut, and particularly in the towns of Seiyun and Tarim, this traditional religious education reached a highly advanced stage about a century ago. It produced a body of men, drawn mainly from the Seiyid class, who were well read in Quranic studies, Sharia law and in the Arabic language. These men travelled widely in surrounding countries, spreading Islamic culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a center of religious education.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



still far below anything within living memory prior to 1948–49. In consequence there has been no surplus for export from the Qu'aiti coast, the Qu'aiti merchants having had, in fact, to import much of the small surplus from the Mahra coast for consumption inland. 228

Six fishery statistical posts have been established on the Qu'aiti coast in the Eastern Aden Protectorate and three in the Abyan area of the Western Aden Protectorate. They are financed by His Majesty's Government through the Fishery Department, but are administered by the states in which they are situated.

Because of the poor fishing seasons plans for promoting the export trade have been postponed. Preliminary trials are in hand for salt-curing sardines on the Eastern Aden Protectorate coast, to provide a cheap protein food for the agricultural labourers in the Wadi Hadhramaut and the Abyan area. The first small batches of fish were very well received. Now larger quantities are being tested for keeping qualities, as the most acute shortage of cured fish occurs during the summer when no sardines are being caught. At present the poorest people eat the dirty and rancid sun-dried sardines in the wadi and semi-putrid small fishes in Abyan. 228 258 262

A scheme is in preparation at Shihr, on the Qu'aiti coast, for mechanising the local fishing sambuks with outboard motors. These craft are sewn together with coir twine and are too flexible to take a normal inboard installation, but by fitting a flat hog in place of the keel, it is possible to ship an outboard motor through a trunk. The Qu'aiti State has financed a loan to a selected fisherman with which he will purchase the first sambuk and outboard. The sambuk is now being altered under Fishery Department supervision, and the Aden agents have the engine waiting. 501 228 654

An interesting development on the Qu'aiti coast is the building at Mukalla, for a local merchant, by Italian engineers and technicians, of a cannery with a capacity of from 500 to 1,500 yellow-fin tunny per day. This merchant has also recently brought an 80-ft. diesel-engined fishing vessel from Italy as well as two small motor launches. The cannery is in operation and samples opened have proved to be excellent. It is to be hoped that the project succeeds, as it is not only a bold step deserving of success as such, but also a source of local employment and of exports, both of which are needed in that area. 255 228

# Chapter 8: Social Services

## EDUCATION

*General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout 871

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



871 the whole territory. A full-time European Education Officer is responsible for educational work in the Western Aden Protectorate.

*Policy*

658 The general educational policy in the Protectorate has been to build up self-supporting state departments of education as the states become sufficiently advanced for this to be possible. The intention has been that these departments should organise and control a system of village schools, central primary schools and, in the case of the larger states, intermediate or secondary schools.

*Primary Education*

872 Apart from the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs in Aden, and the Hadhrami Beduin Legion Boys' School near Mukalla, both of which are maintained by His Majesty's Government funds, there are 74 primary boys' schools, varying in standard from the small Quranic schools to those of full primary status. About half of these receive help from His Majesty's Government in the payment of teachers' salaries and the supply of school materials.

*The Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs*

One exception to the indirect connection of the Aden Government Department of Education with the Protectorate is the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs, which the Department runs directly. This school was founded in 1935, and has served a most valuable purpose in spreading interest in education in the Western Protectorate, and in providing scholars for teacher training abroad. Since, however it is too small to be run either economically or with the full development of activities which it should contain, it is being allowed to become defunct as the new primary schools in the Protectorate reach the required level. The number of boys are 33 at present and it is planned to close it altogether within the next two years.

*Post-Primary Education*

There are two schools, one in each Protectorate, with post-primary classes. The one at Lahej has six post-primary standards and has a number of Egyptian teachers on the staff. The other at Gheil ba Wazir near Mukalla, in the Eastern Protectorate, was opened in 1944 and now has five post-primary standards. There are 413 pupils and a staff of 24 including a number of Sudanese. Extra-curricular activities and societies of all kinds are developed to a very high degree in this school.

A new junior secondary school was completed at Gheil ba Wazir in September, 1950. It is going to prepare boys for the local government administrative service, for the police and for the Army. The period of the curriculum will be two years. Fifteen students were selected from those who had obtained intermediate school certificates for entry to the new school.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



*Secondary and Higher Education*

There is no higher education and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come, but there is one teacher-training college at Gheil ba Wazir in the Eastern Protectorate. The new Aden College which is under construction in Sheikh Othman will provide full secondary education for Protectorate as well as Colony boys, having boarding facilities for the former. Teacher training will be an important part of its work. In the meantime it is necessary to send abroad selected scholars who have reached the required standard. There are at present 10 boys on scholarships in the Sudan, one of whom is at Gordon Memorial College, as well as some 20 boys from the Eastern Protectorate attending schools in Egypt, Iraq and Syria. 873

*Buildings*

The scheme for the building of some 11 primary schools in the Western Protectorate from the £16,000 Colonial Development and Welfare grant has been going ahead. There are now eight new schools and six more are nearing completion. 346

The building of new schools with Colonial Development and Welfare grants went on apace in the Eastern Protectorate. A new primary school at Hajr (Meifa) was completed, while the new Sai'un boys' school was almost ready at the end of 1950. The junior secondary school was completed at Gheil ba Wazir. New schools are being built at Shibam and Haura.

*Female Education*

There are eight primary schools for girls in the Protectorate with an attendance of just over 800 and a staff of 31. Of these one is in the Western Protectorate, the remainder in the Eastern. The school in the Western Protectorate was opened at Zinjibar in 1949, and marks a great advance in this territory where there was previously no education for girls. 872

*Literacy*

Measures to deal with adult illiteracy are extremely meagre. In the Eastern Protectorate they are confined to eleven classes which are conducted for members of the Quaiti State Forces and two for inmates of the Mukalla prison. 212 871

It is impossible to estimate the number of literates turned out by the small independent Quranic schools which exist throughout the Protectorates. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by Government or local government authorities was in the region of 6,500 in 1950; in 1939 it was not more than 100.

*Expenditure*

The total expenditure on education in the financial year 1949–50 was in the region of £38,937 comprising: 658 871

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



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| | |
|---|---|
| His Majesty's Government .. .. .. .. | 11,337 |
| C.D.W. Schemes (including Scholarships) .. | 2,833 |
| Quaiti State .. .. .. .. .. .. | 21,111 |
| Kathiri State .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1,313 |
| Western Protectorate States (exclusive of Abdali, Audhali and Beihan territories of which figures are not known .. .. .. .. .. | 2,343 |
| TOTAL .. | £38,937 |

Thus though educational provision in the Protectorates is still meagre, there has been steady development over the last few years. It is only fair to point out that until 1937, with the exception of the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs started in 1935, there was no Government provision or supervision of education in the Protectorates. It would not be true to say that there was no education in the Protectorates before that time ; it existed rather haphazardly, maintained by private individual trusts and associations and by a few local chiefs; but its bias was almost always entirely religious, just as the mosque was nearly always the village school, and the Imam of the mosque the village schoolmaster.

871 875 In the part of the Eastern Protectorate loosely called the Hadhramaut, and particularly in the towns of Sai'un and Tarim, this traditional religious education reached a highly advanced stage about a century ago. It produced a body of men drawn mainly from the Seiyid classes, who were well read in Quranic studies, Sharia law and in the Arabic language. These men travelled widely in surrounding countries, spreading Islamic culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protectorate. Any development of education initiated by Government had therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the biggest problem in Protectorate education today.

871 Some detailed information which is available on education in the Eastern Protectorate is given below.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

An educational event of significance and interest was the return visit to the Protectorate in May, 1950, of Mr. V. L. Griffiths of the Sudan Ministry of Education. Mr. Griffiths was the planner and architect of education in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, having drawn

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



up the blueprint of its educational policy and method twelve years ago. 871
As a result of his visit he was able to submit a valuable, encouraging and practical report, reviewing educational progress in the Hadhramaut over the past decade and giving guidance for the next ten years.

On 15th January, 1949, a Teachers' Training College was opened at 874
Gheil ba Wazir.

The Kathiri State Education Officer completed a six months' training course at Mukalla and Gheil ba Wazir in September, 1949, and returned to Sai'un to take up his duties.

A new religious institute for training Qadhis was opened at Gheil ba Wazir at the end of October, 1949, the principal for which was appointed from the Sudan. Half the cost of the building was met from public funds and half from public subscription.

After consultation with the local people new schools were opened 871
at Qaidoon, 'Amd, Hajrein and Lajrat in the Du'an Province.

Advances were made during 1950 in female education. The Director of Education, Mukalla Government, visited Gheil ba Wazir and Shihr Province during April, 1950, to gauge public reaction to the proposal to set up girls' schools. The scheme met with a favourable reception and it was agreed to set up girls' schools in Gheil, Shihr and Dis.

Furthermore, in December, 1950, a Government girls' school was established in Sai'un, two female teachers being provided by the thriving Beduin Girls' School at Dis. There are also four non-government girls' schools in the Kathiri State with 651 students and 23 teachers.

In September, 1950, the headmistress of the Mukalla Girls' School inspected the girls' school at Gheil ba Wazir and submitted a report of her findings to the Mukalla Education Department. This visit, the first of its kind in the Protectorate is symptomatic of the new enlightened spirit in the Hadhramaut in regard to female education.

During October, 1950, it was found possible to select four pupils from Gheil ba Wazir for employment as irrigation pump apprentices, while one pupil from the Beduin Boys' School at Dis was appointed to the Mukalla secretariat for training as a tribal court clerk.

It was agreed, subject to approval to the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme No. D806 being received, to send nine Qu'aiti, Kathiri and Wahidi students for periods varying from six to 10 years, to Hantub Secondary School, Bakht-er-Rudha and the Gordon Memorial College in the Sudan. The Sudan Government has agreed to receive these pupils.

Hadhrami scholars continue to do well abroad. In 1949, three students returned from the Sudan after doing the full Bakht-er-Rudha course and took up appointments as primary school teachers. One student gained a first-class school certificate and passed into the Gordon Memorial College, and another at Bin Khaldun school in Syria was placed first out of a class of 150 pupils in sixteen subjects.

The beginning of 1950 saw the return of another Hadhrami pupil from Hantub Secondary School in the Sudan, where he had been sent

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



871 under the auspices of the British Council. At the end of 1950 five Hadhrami students at Bin Khaldun School in Syria gained the first five places in the final class results for the year.

Twenty-two Qu'aiti pupils are now studying outside the Hadhramaut, nine being in the Sudan, five in Syria, four in Egypt and four in Iraq. The scholars in the Sudan are being financed by the Qu'aiti Government, while the remainder are being paid for from the Mukalla Charitable Fund. There are seven Kathiri students abroad, two being in Iraq, and five in Syria. Two of these students are being financed by their parents, while the rest are supported by the Tarim Brotherhood.

## HEALTH

### *Western Aden Protectorate*

744 Two outstanding developments have characterised the growth of the Protectorate Medical Service in 1949 and 1950. First, the ten most promising dressers were called in from their tribes in the mountains, deserts, valleys and coasts of the Protectorate for a year's course in curative and preventive medicine at the Keith Falconer Hospital, Sheikh Othman. Secondly, the first major malaria control scheme has been successfully undertaken at Abyan. This area which was once a death-trap due to malaria is now virtually rid of the anopheline mosquito. This enterprise was financed by a grant under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1949 and has subsequently been carried on by local funds.

Major tours were made to the Dhala', Dathina and Beihan areas besides the usual routine visits to the twenty dispensaries.

164 Malaria, dysentery, tuberculosis and malignant malnutrition with its
743 associated conditions remain the most prevalent diseases. Trachoma
758 is very prevalent at the desert end of Beihan. There is very wide scope for nurses and lady doctors who can stand the rigours of the road, who will learn Arabic and who will take to heart the welfare of the women and children. On the whole the dressers are doing a good piece of work amongst their own tribes. There are six dispensaries between 3,000 and 5,000 feet up, three dispensaries in the mountains at 7,000 ft. or more—two of which are reached on foot and one by air—and the rest are in Subeihi, the Wadi Tiban, Abyan and the coast.

Many patients come too late for treatment, but after one has seen the difficulties of the roads it is astonishing that so many of them come at all, and it is for this reason that the dressers visit the villages from their dispensaries and the medical officer and nursing sister visit all areas as much as possible.

744 Recently a visit was made to Mukalla and Sai'un to advise about public health work, but the demands of the Western Aden Protectorate are so great and the staff so small for its needs that there is little time left for the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In 1949 when the Protectorate Medical Officer was on leave, Dr. R. B. Smith, of the Keith Falconer Scottish Mission Hospital, acted in an honorary but full-time capacity.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 7: Social Services

## EDUCATION

*General*

The Aden Protectorate is divided administratively into two parts, Eastern and Western, with a British Agent for each at Mukalla and Aden respectively. Education, which is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents, has thus two distinct divisions. The Aden Colony Department of Education gives advice and assistance and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout the whole territory. A full-time European Education Officer is responsible for this, working under the Director of Education and in consultation with the British Agents. His activities have for some years been devoted mainly to the more backward Western Protectorate. 631 871

The general policy is to build up self-supporting State departments of education, which may control a system of full primary schools of equal standard to those in the Colony. Post-primary education is more directly a concern of Government and the aim is to establish intermediate schools at suitable points in the Protectorate. It is intended that these schools should in most cases serve more than one State and that the States should contribute to their upkeep. Full secondary education is not at present envisaged for the Protectorate, but the intermediate schools will prepare boys for entry to Aden College and the Technical College in the Colony.

Government co-ordinates the courses and syllabus of these schools but, although this has been effected for most of the primary schools, a certain amount of diversity still exists in the intermediate schools. The ages for entry and leaving are in the theory the same as for Colony schools but there is no registration of births and ages are known only approximately.

*Expenditure on Education*

The Colony Government does not make any contribution towards education in the Protectorate; all expenditure over and above what the States can afford is borne by Her Majesty's Government. 652 [48]

Expenditure on education for the year 1951–52 was in the region of £51,000, divided between the Eastern and Western Protectorate thus:

| | *West* | *East* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Expenditure by States | 6,781 | 25,188 | 31,969 |
| Expenditure by Her Majesty's Government | 5,432 | 4,767 | 10,199 |
| Expenditure from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds | 1,094 | 7,122 | 8,216 |
| | £13,307 | £37,077 | £50,384 |

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



652 Details are not available as to how much State expenditure was non-recurrent, but the proportion for the year was small. None of the expenditure by Her Majesty's Government was of a non-recurrent nature and all but £1,867 from C.D. & W. Funds was.

*Number of Schools*

871 The number of schools under Government control or supervision is 75 primary boys' schools, four primary girls' schools and four intermediate boys' schools.

The number of pupils enrolled at 31st March, 1952, was as follows :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Primary boys' schools | 5,139 pupils with | 222 teachers. |
| Primary girls' schools | 269 pupils with | 15 teachers. |
| Intermediate boys' schools | 408 pupils with | 16 teachers. |

In addition there are a number of privately controlled schools which do not follow the Government syllabus, and usually have a religious bias.

*Studies Abroad*

There were 39 students studying abroad during 1952. Two were at university colleges, one taking a pedagogics course at University College, Exeter, the other an arts course at Gordon College, Khartoum ; both these students are at present in the teaching profession. The remainder were either at Bakht er Rudha Institute of Education in the Sudan, or at secondary schools in the Sudan and elsewhere, and were distributed as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Sudan . . | 18 |
| Egypt . . | 10 |
| Syria . . | 5 |
| Iraq . . | 4 |

658 741 Eleven of these students were paid for by Colonial Development and Welfare grants for teacher-training ; the remainder were financed by State or charitable funds.

*Teachers and Teacher-Training*

875 Apart from training abroad mentioned in the previous paragraph there were two centres at home. In 1951 the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs trained six teachers in a one-year course for teaching at the primary level. At Gheil ba Wazir in the Eastern Protectorate there were three students training as teachers at the intermediate level. In addition all Western Protectorate teachers were brought in for the annual refresher course of a fortnight's duration in the Colony.

The teaching profession is in constant danger of wastage, both in the East and in the West, though for different reasons. In the East the Quaiti State offers pensionable employment, but the general conditions of service are lower than in Aden or the Western Protectorate. In the West the nearer proximity of Aden Colony and the possibility of more lucrative employment there is an ever-present danger, but more serious still is the fact that no State in the West can

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2
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quently return to their home settlements with their savings. Arabic is the language of the indigenous peoples, but Malay tongues are widely used in the towns of the Hadhramaut. Swahili, the *franca lingua* of East Africa, is understood throughout most of the area, while English is extensively employed in Aden proper. The majority of Arabs are Moslems, belonging to branches of the Sunni sect. Other religions are found chiefly among the different racial groups in the Colony and in the coast towns of the Protectorate.

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Education has made considerable progress in the Colony, and is gradually being introduced into the Protectorate. Primary schools for both sexes are supported by the government in the Colony, and by mission and private organizations. The Colonial authorities also operate secondary and vocational schools for boys. There are no post-secondary institutions, but government scholarships are available for the training of teachers and various professional personnel in the Anglo-Egytian Sudan or in the United Kingdom. The literacy rate among children of 6 to 12 years of age is estimated at 90 per cent, in contrast with 10 to 25 per cent in the general population. A program for the expansion of education

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622 At the castle we found Bā Ṣurra again seated between two
623 sons, in the midst of his counsellors and the Bedouin chiefs;
162 there are also present some soldiers somewhat in the background, the grandsons and other offspring in our vicinity, and the slave who makes the tea.

The old *Ḥākim* and his family are photographed in a large group on the terrace close to the *madjlis*. Then begin long conversations in which our endless questions are patiently answered. Bā Ṣurra himself tells us that the whole of Wādī Dōᶜan and its tributary, Wādī el-Ēsar, are under his jurisdiction. In about fifty villages there are 20.000 inhabi-
● 871 tants. There are only two small schools, both of them founded and maintained by that remarkable sayyid of Terīm, Abū Bakr bin Shēkh el-Kāf. It is certainly extraordinary that this leading personage of the Āl Kathīr district should be the founder and supporter of most of the schools in the territory of el-Qeᶜēṭī. Many of the schools in Makalla and esh-Shiḥr are also due to el-Kāf's generosity. Khurēba, the old centre of Wādī Dōᶜan, has a school with seventy to eighty pupils, and the other is in Qēdūn, with from twenty to fifty pupils.

346 There are in Bā Ṣurra's province nearly 200 mosques, some
167 among them very fine ones, which are often the property of
556 rich sayyids and connected with their houses. The fortunes of these rich men are always made in foreign lands. Every district of Ḥaḍramaut has its own particular countries to which its people emigrate in swarms to make money; from Wādī Dōᶜan they go to Abyssinia, the coast towns of the Red Sea, and the coast of East Africa. Barely a hundred have gone out from here to Java, though from Wādī el-Ēsar, on the other hand, quite 500 have done so.

162 There are also 1500 Bedouins under Bā Ṣurra's jurisdiction,
622 among them the whole Sēbān tribe from the Qibla region (*i. e.* from the North). The chief of the Deyyin tribe, ᶜUthmān bin Muḥammad el-ᶜAmūdī, the ruler in Rēdet ed-Deyyin, is

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



We march on for hours under a gorgeous heaven of stars. The great promontory towards which we are setting our course is Djebel Ghumdān. Only when we have passed it do we see the lights of Ḥurēḍa. The nearer we approach the more messengers with lamps, and people filled with curiosity come out to meet us. Youth especially is well in evidence, handsome, frank youngsters, who accompany us pushing each other aside and talking busily. Quite soon the boys try to put a few questions in Malay. When the answers come also in that language, questions follow thick upon each other, and these wordly-wise youths, born in Java and sent here to get a real Arabian education, become objects of admiration and envy to their fellows.

"Do you find it pleasant here?"

"No, not at all. It is much finer in Java. This is a dreadful country of poverty, heat and boredom."

They are home-sick for Java, where their parents are and where they would like to return at once.

We dismount at the entrance to Ḥurēḍa, which is unwalled, for we see, by the light of many gasoline lamps, the white figures of the notabilities of the town awaiting us. The Governor of el-Meshhed comes forward as spokesman. He says that the people of Ḥurēḍa are grateful for, and feel themselves honoured by, the first official Dutch visit. It is not so long ago that foreigners were denied entrance to Ḥurēḍa, but now opinion has become much more modern. In the whole of Ḥaḍramaut there is sympathy for Holland and gratitude to that country for the hospitality and good treatment enjoyed by the Ḥaḍramīs in the lands under her rule. Hope is expressed that an enduring contact between Ḥaḍramaut and Holland may spring from this visit.

The many lanterns light up fantastically this unusual spectacle on the outskirts of Ḥurēḍa, where the first Europeans, weary and dirty, with limbs stiff from long riding, make their entry into the little town, hand in hand with its notables in their clean, white garments. The Governor has solemnly taken

of Ḥurēḍa. There are eight large, fine mosques in this little town of not more than 2000 inhabitants. Two of these are connected with excellent school-buildings, where the male youth of the place gets elementary instruction, followed by training in the recitation of the Koran and some dogmatical tuition. The mosques and schools have been erected at the expense of men of Ḥurēḍa who have become rich in foreign lands and who also supply the funds for their maintenance. The first mosque they showed us was the work of an Indian architect. To our great amazement we were invited to take off our shoes and to enter: this is the first occasion on Arabian soil that I have been permitted to enter a mosque. We hear criticism among many bystanders and murmurs of disapprobation, but our escort give but short replies to these and simply take us in with them. The great, open space in the centre is entirely paved, in places with Italian marble. Behind it there is a closed room where the *ṣalāt* is performed in winter. Behind that again is the space containing the tomb of the donor of the building. The coffin as well as the doors and beams are of beautifully carved *nibq* wood. This at least is true native art in this building of non-Arabian architecture. The tomb stands underneath a separate, cupola-shaped roof which is attached to the mosque. The donor's wish was that there should be a library and study for theological sciences above his grave: thus, under the cupola-roof and above the grave, there is a roomy, cool hall, where there are books indeed, but where students, however, are generally lacking! Nothing is omitted in our inspection. We are allowed to see the arrangements for performing the ablutions. We ascend to the minaret passing by two large, expensive English clocks. From the mosque a door gives access to the school, where there are at present no pupils, as it is holiday time on account of the date harvest.

We go on in procession to the second, older mosque of Ḥurēḍa built by a local architect and, thus, in the beautiful, severe Ḥaḍramī style. Then we go round the town to a lovely, brand-new mosque built for a plutocrat from Djohore, who is

# CHAPTER X.

## TO TERÎM, THE HOPE OF ALL HAḌRAMAUT.

871 In the Qeᶜēṭī country, already, we heard the name of Sayyid
487 Abū Bakr el-Kāf invariably pronounced with respect, and here
491 we have entered the land of his activity. Sayyid el-Kāf has plac-
741 ed his energy, his love, and all his possessions at the service of
493 his country and of his people. His example is an impressive
185 call to unity and to the setting aside of personal interests and susceptibilities for the general good. Schools, endowed and maintained by him, are scattered all over the country. The Qeᶜēṭī Sultans and Governors have them in their residences, and the influence of these little schools will slowly penetrate through the whole land. His other sensational enterprise, which may become of the greatest significance for the country's future, is the construction of a motor road from the Ḥaḍramaut valley to the coast. Although the road is not yet completed, its influence is already making itself felt. The most difficult *ᶜaqabas* have been conquered so that it is possible to bring cars into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut, though the transport of these is still expensive. There, where the first car passes, others will soon follow, and in a country where travelling is very tiring and very slow, the motor-car will be particularly appreciated. The Ḥaḍramīs who have been successful abroad do not lack money. The motor-car having arrived will not disappear again, and conditions within the borders of Ḥaḍramaut will be entirely changed thereby. The construction of roads in the valley itself has been started without delay, and drivers and mechanics have already found their way there.
721 The inconvenience of intertribal warfare makes itself felt more and more forcibly, but Sayyid Abū Bakr will be greatly
p 128

ques. One of the el-Kāfs told us that there are 200 in use and 346
160 falling into disrepair. My friend Sayyid Hāshim makes it
60 in use and 300 falling into disrepair; this is, doubtless, nearer to the truth.

The number of the inhabitants of Terīm is almost certainly 162
12000, for our host has lists of names in connection with the distributions of food made by him to the masses. Sēwūn must then have rather more, that is, between 12000 and 15000.

There are two elementary schools here with about 400 871 ●
pupils, and one school for more advanced religious instruction with some 200 students.

After the visit to the castle we go to New Terīm. There 361
a completely new suburb is being built, partly for people who are in the service of the el-Kāfs. In none of the places that we had visited up to now was there so much life and expansion as here. In Terīm a conscious and well-considered effort is being made to become, within a short time, the foremost town of Ḥaḍramaut. El-Kāf and Terīm are the names that we heard everywhere whenever new undertakings or plans were under discussion.

We pass through the new suburb till we strike the wall of 712
the city, which ascends the slope of the mountain at this spot until it becomes unclimbable. Two forts manned by soldiers strengthen this starting point of the defence works of the town. From their high position they overlook quite half of the well-maintained and solid wall which encloses the town and the palm-groves in straight lines.

It is Thursday, the day for the distribution of food to the 735
poor. As we return home, the street and square before our 554
host's house are black with women, children and greybeards, awaiting the portions of rice and flour that are destined for them. The work of distribution lasts for hours. Servants hand out the portions; others check and sign long lists of names. The soldiers and Bedouins from the Qeʿēṭī territory who accompany us gaze in dumb amazement at this lavish charitableness. Soon when they return to their country, they will

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



Of governmental administration as a whole, in spite of the comparative homogeneity of the region, there is none, in the usually accepted sense of the term. The tribal lords have no care for what are considered in Europe the duties of government. Education, police, and public works are left entirely to private initiative, and as a result the two last are almost entirely non-existent. Instruction alone flourishes, and that only among the Seyyids and townsmen. There are some schools for so-called primary, secondary, and higher instruction; in the two former the teaching is almost exclusively confined to language, grammar, and religion. The chief centre of higher instruction is at Seyyūn, where the Academy, known by the name Ribāt, is a sort of annexe to the Great Mosque; here there are about 100 students who receive free board and lodging and 300 outside students who pay fees of varying amounts. The teaching is confined to the intensive study of grammar, law, and theology, to the almost entire exclusion of the so-called modern sciences, astronomy (as interpreted by the Arabs) alone excepted. The study of medicine, among others, is entirely non-existent.

As for Law and Magistracy, the influence of the Seyyids is a powerful curb on any oppression by the Muqaddams or tribal lords, and in the Hadhramaut there is a sufficiently independent magistrature. The Seyyids have the greatest interest in seeing that the Mussulman law is honoured and respected, because the law and religion are one: the decadence of religion would inevitably bring about the loss of that superstitious respect which the people have for them as descendants of the Prophet.

Each town or village of any importance has a *Qādhi*, with a sub-Qādhi for the country district round about. The Qādhis are nominated by the Muqaddams, but the latter consult the Seyyids and renowned savants before fixing on their choice; sub-Qādhis are nominated by the Qādhis. The Qādhis have both civil and criminal jurisdiction, and base their decisions on the works of jurists of the Shafei rite. Judgements must be drawn up in writing and signed and sealed by the Qādhi who has delivered them, but can only be put into execution on authorization by the Muqaddam, who, however, uses his veto but rarely. The jurisdiction of the sub-Qādhis is limited to marriage and other acts of family life, the majority of the inhabitants of the country rarely having recourse to the judge in their other affairs. Differences between persons of the same family are in general adjusted by the Abu, and differences between persons belonging to different families by the Muqaddam. In the latter cases, failing accord, justice is settled

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2



248 1950–1, with a quality considered equal to that of the Sudan, and a contract lasting until 1955–6 has been secured with the British Raw Cotton Commission. This irrigation has, however, [136] created a new problem in the establishment of a semi-permanent population of desert locusts where they were formerly sparse.[1]

*Education*

871 Until the opening of the Aden Protectorate College for the 658 Sons of Chiefs in 1935 there had been no government provision 872 for education. In the Hadramaut, and especially in the towns of Sayun and Tarim, traditional Islamic education had reached [212] a highly advanced stage about a century ago and produced a body of Islamic scholars; but in other parts of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate. Present educational policy is that, as each state becomes sufficiently advanced, it should be helped to set up a self-supporting department of education with village schools, central primary schools, and intermediary or secondary schools in the larger states. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by government or local government authorities had risen from not more than 100 in 1939 to about 6,700 by 1951. The total expenditure on education in 1949–50 was about £39,000, of which the Quaiti state contributed 54 per cent, the British Government 36 per cent, and the remaining states about 10 per cent. There were then 74 primary boys' schools, varying from the small Koran school to those of full primary status; about half received British financial help. The Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs was being closed down as the newer primary schools reached the desired level. There were seven girls' primary schools in the Eastern Protectorate and one in the Western, with a total attendance of about 800. In each Protectorate there was one post-primary school, with Egyptian and Sudanese teachers on the staff. A junior secondary school at Ghail ba-Wazir near Mukalla was completed in 1950 to provide a two-years' course for the local administrative service, the police, and the army. Full secondary education in Aden Protectorate is unlikely for some years, but the new Aden College, a secondary school opened in 1951, receives boys from the Protectorate as well as from the Colony and will it is hoped eventually be developed to university standard. In 1950 ten Protectorate boys held scholarships in the Sudan, and some twenty from the Eastern Protectorate were studying in other Arab countries.

[1] Dr B. P. Uvarov, director of the Anti-Locust Research Centre, reported in *The Times*, 27 September 1952.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



*Post-Primary Education*

873 There are two schools, one in each Protectorate, with post-primary classes. The school at Gheil ba Wazir near Mukalla was opened in 1944
875 and has four Sudanese on the staff including the headmaster. It is a boarding-school with a rural bias, and now contains four post-primary classes with about 100 pupils. In it extra-curricular activities and societies of all kinds are developed to a high degree. The other school at Lahej has eight Egyptians on the staff, including the headmaster. It has 140 pupils, and during the year a fifth post-primary class was started. Art and handwork were introduced into the school, and good results achieved under an Egyptian instructor.

*Primary Education*

872 Facilities for full primary education are available at 13 schools main-
658 tained by the Mukalla state Department of Education, at the Bedouin Boys' Military Boarding School near Mukalla and at the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs (both maintained by funds provided by His Majesty's Government), as well as at the primary sections of the two schools at Gheil ba Wazir and Lahej mentioned above. Apart from these there are about 30 sub-grade schools (schools which almost but not quite reach primary level) under Government supervision.

In the more backward parts of the Protectorate it is the policy to aid directly by grants provided by His Majesty's Government schools which are capable of development beyond the level of elementary Quranic teaching. These grants range from small fixed amounts in the case of Quranic schools to the full payment of teachers' salaries in the case of sub-grade schools. Assistance in supplies of books and school materials is also given in each case.

*The Aden Protectorate College for Sons of Chiefs*

873 One exception to the indirect connection of the Aden Government Department of Education with the Protectorates is the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs, which the Department runs directly. A primary boarding school with a maximum capacity of 36 pupils, it was started in 1935. It has served a most valuable purpose in spreading interest in education in the Western Protectorate, and in providing scholars for teacher-training courses abroad.

*Female Education*

871 Public opinion, taken as a whole throughout the Protectorate, is still opposed to female education. There are, however, the beginnings of a change. There is in Ahwar in the Western Protectorate a class of 12 little girls learning the Quran. The Eastern Protectorate is more advanced; H.M. Government maintains a school for Bedouin girls, and the Mukalla Government maintains a sub-grade girls' school in Mukalla with about 130 pupils, and a girls' section of a village school with an agricultural bias near Mukalla, where another 30 more girls receive education.

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



it should contain, it is intended to allow it to become defunct as the new primary schools in the Protectorate reach the required level. 873

*Post-Primary Education*

There are two schools, one in each Protectorate, with post-primary classes. The school at Gheil ba Wazir, near Mukalla, in the Eastern Protectorate, was opened in 1944 and has four Sudanese on the staff, including the headmaster. It is a boarding school with a rural bias, and now contains four post-primary classes with about 125 pupils. In it extra-curricular activities and societies of all kinds are developed to a very high degree. The other school at Lahej has nine Egyptians on the staff, including the headmaster. It now has 175 pupils in the six post-primary classes. 872

*Secondary and Higher Education*

There is no higher education in the Protectorates, and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come. Plans were made to send boys to the new Aden College which is to be established near Sheikh Othman in the Colony, but that will not be for another two years. This College will provide full secondary education for Protectorate as well as Colony boys, having boarding facilities for the former. Teacher-training will be an important part of its work. In the meantime it was necessary to send abroad selected scholars who had reached the required standard. Four boys returned from the Sudan having completed their training, and there are ten scholars still studying there. Of these one is studying agriculture, one is entered for Gordon College to pursue higher teacher training, one is at Hantoub Secondary School, and the remaining seven are at the Bakht er Ruda Institute of Education. 873

*Building*

During the year the Secretary of State gave his approval to the expenditure of £16,000 from Colonial Development and Welfare funds for the erection of 20 primary schools buildings in the Western Protectorate. These will in some cases replace old and unsuitable buildings, in others they will mark expansion. Two buildings have already been begun, one in the Shaibi district being near completion. 658

*Female Education*

Public opinion, taken as a whole throughout the Protectorate, is still opposed to female education. In the Eastern Protectorate there are about 180 girls receiving education; 130 of these attend the Mukalla Girls' School, a subgrade school maintained by the Qu'aiti State; there are 20 more in the girls' section of a village school, with an agricultural bias near Mukalla, while the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion Girls' School, maintained by His Majesty's Government funds, has 30. Of the latter, two are to become teachers, eight nurses. In the Western Protectorate female education is almost non-existent; it is confined to the reading of the Quran, and even that does not amount to more than 15 girls in the whole area. 871

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



871 the whole territory. A full-time European Education Officer is responsible for educational work in the Western Aden Protectorate.

*Policy*

658 The general educational policy in the Protectorate has been to build up self-supporting state departments of education as the states become sufficiently advanced for this to be possible. The intention has been that these departments should organise and control a system of village schools, central primary schools and, in the case of the larger states, intermediate or secondary schools.

*Primary Education*

872 Apart from the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs in Aden, and the Hadhrami Beduin Legion Boys' School near Mukalla, both of which are maintained by His Majesty's Government funds, there are 74 primary boys' schools, varying in standard from the small Quranic schools to those of full primary status. About half of these receive help from His Majesty's Government in the payment of teachers' salaries and the supply of school materials.

*The Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs*

One exception to the indirect connection of the Aden Government Department of Education with the Protectorate is the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs, which the Department runs directly. This school was founded in 1935, and has served a most valuable purpose in spreading interest in education in the Western Protectorate, and in providing scholars for teacher training abroad. Since, however it is too small to be run either economically or with the full development of activities which it should contain, it is being allowed to become defunct as the new primary schools in the Protectorate reach the required level. The number of boys are 33 at present and it is planned to close it altogether within the next two years.

*Post-Primary Education*

There are two schools, one in each Protectorate, with post-primary classes. The one at Lahej has six post-primary standards and has a number of Egyptian teachers on the staff. The other at Gheil ba Wazir near Mukalla, in the Eastern Protectorate, was opened in 1944 and now has five post-primary standards. There are 413 pupils and a staff of 24 including a number of Sudanese. Extra-curricular activities and societies of all kinds are developed to a very high degree in this school.

A new junior secondary school was completed at Gheil ba Wazir in September, 1950. It is going to prepare boys for the local government administrative service, for the police and for the Army. The period of the curriculum will be two years. Fifteen students were selected from those who had obtained intermediate school certificates for entry to the new school.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



*Secondary and Higher Education*

There is no higher education and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come, but there is one teacher-training college at Gheil ba Wazir in the Eastern Protectorate. The new Aden College which is under construction in Sheikh Othman will provide full secondary education for Protectorate as well as Colony boys, having boarding facilities for the former. Teacher training will be an important part of its work. In the meantime it is necessary to send abroad selected scholars who have reached the required standard. There are at present 10 boys on scholarships in the Sudan, one of whom is at Gordon Memorial College, as well as some 20 boys from the Eastern Protectorate attending schools in Egypt, Iraq and Syria. 873

*Buildings*

The scheme for the building of some 11 primary schools in the Western Protectorate from the £16,000 Colonial Development and Welfare grant has been going ahead. There are now eight new schools and six more are nearing completion. 346

The building of new schools with Colonial Development and Welfare grants went on apace in the Eastern Protectorate. A new primary school at Hajr (Meifa) was completed, while the new Sai'un boys' school was almost ready at the end of 1950. The junior secondary school was completed at Gheil ba Wazir. New schools are being built at Shibam and Haura.

*Female Education*

There are eight primary schools for girls in the Protectorate with an attendance of just over 800 and a staff of 31. Of these one is in the Western Protectorate, the remainder in the Eastern. The school in the Western Protectorate was opened at Zinjibar in 1949, and marks a great advance in this territory where there was previously no education for girls. 872

*Literacy*

Measures to deal with adult illiteracy are extremely meagre. In the Eastern Protectorate they are confined to eleven classes which are conducted for members of the Quaiti State Forces and two for inmates of the Mukalla prison. 212 871

It is impossible to estimate the number of literates turned out by the small independent Quranic schools which exist throughout the Protectorates. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by Government or local government authorities was in the region of 6,500 in 1950; in 1939 it was not more than 100.

*Expenditure*

The total expenditure on education in the financial year 1949–50 was in the region of £38,937 comprising: 658 871

palace, that a school is carried on there, in which some hundred and fifty boys receive elementary secular and religious instruction. The silent, but friendly representative of the Sultan shows us out as far as our car and allows us to photograph him with his own surroundings in front of the house.

## 3. THROUGH A SAND-STORM TO "THE TOWN" OF ḤADRAMAUT.

We now drive through the cultivated tract of land to its sandy, outer margin. The sand-storm meanwhile has increased in violence and Bin Marta<sup>c</sup> loses the way from time to time so that we make but slow progress towards Shibām. It is fortunate that we had clear weather in which to see this part of our route on the return journey and so were able to fill in the necessary details in describing it. Not far from Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn the fertile strip of land becomes very narrow and later on quite vanishes. The villages look then like small green islands in the otherwise bare land at the foot of the mountain. Our way goes through sand-hills grown over with a kind of reed.

Not far from Shibām we pass through the fields of *dhura* and small palm-groves belonging to the villages of el-Hēme and Āl Shēkh ᶜAlī.

At this point the cultivated ground reaches the bank of the deep *sēl*-bed. During the rains the *sēl* here threatened to degenerate from a blessing into a danger: rushing torrents of water forced their way through to the valuable palm plantations of Shibām and washed bare the roots of the trees. A cemented stone dam with sluices has been made in the *sēl*-bed to keep down the rush of water; it is quite half a mile long. Earlier dams have been destroyed, over and over again, by the *sēl*; this one has been made at great expense, and it seems to be capable of holding up and conducting the water.

The last part of the way to Shibām goes again over a plain, bare of vegetation, where the hot sand-storm has full play. On

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21



November. They began testing fish livers for vitamin-A content and also canning samples. Meanwhile several local merchants showed interest and applied for permission to set up canneries and the like. A board to consider such applications and fisheries development in general was set up. 654 226

FORESTRY

No true forests exist. Bush products exploited are timber, fuel, charcoal, fibres, gum incense and dragon blood. 313 314

# Chapter 8: Social Services

EDUCATION

*General*

Education in common with other services is under the immediate general guidance of the British Agents. The Aden Government Department of Education inspects schools, gives such advice and assistance as is required, and co-ordinates so far as is possible educational development throughout the whole territory. 658

*Policy*

The general education policy in the Protectorates has been to build up self-supporting state Departments of Education as the states become sufficiently advanced for this to be possible. The intention has been that these departments should organise and control a system of village schools, central primary schools and, in the case of the larger states, intermediate schools.

*Education Departments*

Two such Education Departments are already in existence. One under the Mukalla Government in the Eastern Protectorate, with a Sudanese Director of Education (who is also Education Adviser to the British Agent), and an inspectorate of five local Arab inspectors. The other is at Lahej, 25 miles inland from Aden in the Western Protectorate, where Emir Ali, brother of the Sultan, performs the duties of Director of Education. 647

*Higher Education*

There is no higher education in the Protectorate, and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come. It is thus necessary to send abroad selected scholars who reach the required standard. There is at present one boy at Gordon College in the Sudan, and three there are at secondary schools. 873

5:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Post-Primary Education*

873 There are two schools, one in each Protectorate, with post-primary classes. The school at Gheil ba Wazir near Mukalla was opened in 1944
875 and has four Sudanese on the staff including the headmaster. It is a boarding-school with a rural bias, and now contains four post-primary classes with about 100 pupils. In it extra-curricular activities and societies of all kinds are developed to a high degree. The other school at Lahej has eight Egyptians on the staff, including the headmaster. It has 140 pupils, and during the year a fifth post-primary class was started. Art and handwork were introduced into the school, and good results achieved under an Egyptian instructor.

*Primary Education*

872 Facilities for full primary education are available at 13 schools main-
658 tained by the Mukalla state Department of Education, at the Bedouin Boys' Military Boarding School near Mukalla and at the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs (both maintained by funds provided by His Majesty's Government), as well as at the primary sections of the two schools at Gheil ba Wazir and Lahej mentioned above. Apart from these there are about 30 sub-grade schools (schools which almost but not quite reach primary level) under Government supervision.

In the more backward parts of the Protectorate it is the policy to aid directly by grants provided by His Majesty's Government schools which are capable of development beyond the level of elementary Quranic teaching. These grants range from small fixed amounts in the case of Quranic schools to the full payment of teachers' salaries in the case of sub-grade schools. Assistance in supplies of books and school materials is also given in each case.

*The Aden Protectorate College for Sons of Chiefs*

873 One exception to the indirect connection of the Aden Government Department of Education with the Protectorates is the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs, which the Department runs directly. A primary boarding school with a maximum capacity of 36 pupils, it was started in 1935. It has served a most valuable purpose in spreading interest in education in the Western Protectorate, and in providing scholars for teacher-training courses abroad.

*Female Education*

871 Public opinion, taken as a whole throughout the Protectorate, is still opposed to female education. There are, however, the beginnings of a change. There is in Ahwar in the Western Protectorate a class of 12 little girls learning the Quran. The Eastern Protectorate is more advanced; H.M. Government maintains a school for Bedouin girls, and the Mukalla Government maintains a sub-grade girls' school in Mukalla with about 130 pupils, and a girls' section of a village school with an agricultural bias near Mukalla, where another 30 more girls receive education.

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

# Chapter 8 : Social Services

## EDUCATION

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647 Two such education departments are already in existence. One functions under the Mukalla Government in the Eastern Protectorate, with a Sudanese Director of Education (who is also Education Adviser to the British Agent), and an inspectorate of five local Arab inspectors. The other is at Lahej, 25 miles inland from Aden in the Western Protectorate, where Emir Ali, brother of the Sultan, performs the duties of Director of Education.

*Primary Education*

871 Apart from the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs in Aden and the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion Boys' School near Mukalla, both of which are maintained by His Majesty's Government funds, there are just over 50 primary schools. These schools vary in standard, from the small Quranic schools to those which are approaching the Colony level. Those in the Eastern Protectorate, 23 in number, are maintained by the Mukalla State Department of Education, and are of a higher standard than those in the Western Protectorate. The remainder receive help from His Majesty's Government in the payment of teachers' salaries and the supply of school materials.

873 *The Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs.* One exception to the indirect connection of the Aden Government Department of Education with the Protectorates is the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs, which the Department runs directly. A primary boarding school with a maximum capacity of 42 pupils, it was started in 1935. It has served a most valuable purpose in spreading interest in education in the Western Protectorate, and in providing scholars for teacher-training courses abroad. Since, however, it is too small to be run either economically or with the full development of activities which

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



it should contain, it is intended to allow it to become defunct as the new primary schools in the Protectorate reach the required level. 873

*Post-Primary Education*

There are two schools, one in each Protectorate, with post-primary classes. The school at Gheil ba Wazir, near Mukalla, in the Eastern Protectorate, was opened in 1944 and has four Sudanese on the staff, including the headmaster. It is a boarding school with a rural bias, and now contains four post-primary classes with about 125 pupils. In it extra-curricular activities and societies of all kinds are developed to a very high degree. The other school at Lahej has nine Egyptians on the staff, including the headmaster. It now has 175 pupils in the six post-primary classes. 872

*Secondary and Higher Education*

There is no higher education in the Protectorates, and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come. Plans were made to send boys to the new Aden College which is to be established near Sheikh Othman in the Colony, but that will not be for another two years. This College will provide full secondary education for Protectorate as well as Colony boys, having boarding facilities for the former. Teacher-training will be an important part of its work. In the meantime it was necessary to send abroad selected scholars who had reached the required standard. Four boys returned from the Sudan having completed their training, and there are ten scholars still studying there. Of these one is studying agriculture, one is entered for Gordon College to pursue higher teacher training, one is at Hantoub Secondary School, and the remaining seven are at the Bakht er Ruda Institute of Education. 873

*Building*

During the year the Secretary of State gave his approval to the expenditure of £16,000 from Colonial Development and Welfare funds for the erection of 20 primary schools buildings in the Western Protectorate. These will in some cases replace old and unsuitable buildings, in others they will mark expansion. Two buildings have already been begun, one in the Shaibi district being near completion. 658

*Female Education*

Public opinion, taken as a whole throughout the Protectorate, is still opposed to female education. In the Eastern Protectorate there are about 180 girls receiving education; 130 of these attend the Mukalla Girls' School, a subgrade school maintained by the Qu'aiti State; there are 20 more in the girls' section of a village school, with an agricultural bias near Mukalla, while the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion Girls' School, maintained by His Majesty's Government funds, has 30. Of the latter, two are to become teachers, eight nurses. In the Western Protectorate female education is almost non-existent; it is confined to the reading of the Quran, and even that does not amount to more than 15 girls in the whole area. 871

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Literacy*

873 Measures to deal with adult illiteracy are extremely meagre. In the
212 Western Protectorate there are none; in the Eastern Protectorate 17 centres were opened in 1947, but these dwindled to eight during 1948 on account of non-attendance of pupils. They represent an average attendance of 230.

It is impossible to estimate the number of literates turned out by the small independent Quranic schools which exist throughout the Protectorates. The number of pupils attending schools supervised by Government or local government authorities was in the region of 4,300 in 1948; in 1939 it was not more than 100.

*Expenditure*

652 The total amount of money expended on education in the Protectorates (including scholarships abroad) was in the region of £38,110. It comprised the following approximate amounts:

| | £ |
|---|---|
| From His Majesty's Government funds, including £1,664 on scholarships in the Sudan . . . | 13,200 |
| Mukalla Government (including about £760 on scholarships in the Sudan. This is 10 per cent of the total state expenditure) . . . . . | 18,190 |
| Lahej State, including considerable financial assistance from Egypt . . . . . | 5,500 |
| Other local governments in the Western Aden Protectorate . . . . . | 1,220 |
| | £38,110 |

*Summary*

871 From this brief review it will be gathered that educational provision
794 in the Protectorates is extremely meagre and development over the whole area apparently slow. It is therefore only fair to point out that until 1937, with the exception of the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs started in 1935, there was no Government provision or supervision of education in the Protectorates. It would not be true to say that there was no education in the Protectorates before that time. It existed rather haphazardly, maintained by private individuals, trusts and associations and by a few local chiefs; but its bias was almost always entirely religious, just as the mosque was nearly always the village school and the Imam of the mosque the village schoolmaster.

In the part of the Eastern Protectorate loosely called the Hadhramaut, and particularly in the towns of Seiyun and Tarim, this traditional religious education reached a highly advanced stage about a century ago. It produced a body of men, drawn mainly from the Seiyid class, who were well read in Quranic studies, Sharia law and in the Arabic language. These men travelled widely in surrounding countries, spreading Islamic culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a center of religious education.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



*Secondary and Higher Education*

There is no higher education and there is no likelihood of full secondary education for some years to come, but there is one teacher-training college at Gheil ba Wazir in the Eastern Protectorate. The new Aden College which is under construction in Sheikh Othman will provide full secondary education for Protectorate as well as Colony boys, having boarding facilities for the former. Teacher training will be an important part of its work. In the meantime it is necessary to send abroad selected scholars who have reached the required standard. There are at present 10 boys on scholarships in the Sudan, one of whom is at Gordon Memorial College, as well as some 20 boys from the Eastern Protectorate attending schools in Egypt, Iraq and Syria. 873

*Buildings*

The scheme for the building of some 11 primary schools in the Western Protectorate from the £16,000 Colonial Development and Welfare grant has been going ahead. There are now eight new schools and six more are nearing completion. 346

The building of new schools with Colonial Development and Welfare grants went on apace in the Eastern Protectorate. A new primary school at Hajr (Meifa) was completed, while the new Sai'un boys' school was almost ready at the end of 1950. The junior secondary school was completed at Gheil ba Wazir. New schools are being built at Shibam and Haura.

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There are eight primary schools for girls in the Protectorate with an attendance of just over 800 and a staff of 31. Of these one is in the Western Protectorate, the remainder in the Eastern. The school in the Western Protectorate was opened at Zinjibar in 1949, and marks a great advance in this territory where there was previously no education for girls. 872

*Literacy*

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*Expenditure*

The total expenditure on education in the financial year 1949–50 was in the region of £38,937 comprising: 658 871

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



yet afford to offer pensionable service. Conditions of employment for a qualified teacher are therefore inferior to those obtainable, even in teaching, in the Colony. 875

*Principal Events*

The greatest change in the period under review was the closing down in March, 1952, of the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs, a boarding school of primary standard which has been running for 17 years in the Colony. The College served a useful purpose and gained a high reputation in its time but was too small to be run economically. It has now been superseded by the primary schools in the various districts of the Western Protectorate. 873

Work on an intermediate boarding school at Zinjibar in the Western Protectorate began about the same time. The new intermediate school, which will take another three years to complete, forms a vital link between the primary schools and the Aden and Technical Colleges.

## HEALTH

*General*

Protectorate health statistics are not yet available, though in places such as Tarim recent local studies show an infantile mortality rate of 439 per 1,000 live births, a rate rather greater than those previously reported for Mukalla and parts of the Western Protectorate. 165

*Diseases*

Important causes of sickness in the population are malaria, the dysenteries, ulcers, trachoma and conjunctivitis. Less obtrusive are pulmonary tuberculosis, bilharzia of both urinary and intestinal types, guineaworm (in patchy distribution), leprosy, dermal leishmaniasis and the common venereal diseases with, in places, what appears to be either yaws or bejel. In areas where night-soil is used as manure for salad vegetables round-worm infection is common. Where, as in the Hadhramaut towns, rigid purdah still obtains, ostemalacia, obstructed labour and puerperal fever are of relatively frequent occurrence. Through failure of the capricious rainfall or floods in the winter months, famine and its associated subnutrition are an ever present threat. In certain Western States the consumption of qat (*Catha edulis*) is a cause of subnutrition and affections of the digestive tract. 164 [291]

Important causes of death in both young and adults are malaria and the dysenteries, and in adults pulmonary tuberculosis.

Prevention and treatment are provided by mobile health units, static health units (previously called dispensaries) and hospitals. Prevention is furthered by lectures, demonstrations and film shows to teachers and local administrators, and by emphasis in the training of subordinate technical staff on the preventive aspects of medicine, more particularly cleanliness, insect control, balanced feeding and the values of local foodstuffs. A series of propaganda leaflets has been planned and the first one—on malaria—issued to the public. An effort is being made among communities remote from hospitals and health units to market at controlled prices insecticides, malarial remedies and sulphamezathine in small containers with instructions in Arabic. 743 744

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2



the interior Hadhramaut towns; and all the houses are gathered within the walls, since there is no security outside on account of the neighbourhood of the Kathīri. 361

(*b*) The principal towns of the Kathīri are the following:

5. **Seyyūn,** built on the slopes of Jebel Seyyūn, at the edge of a very extensive and fertile area, which stretches away to the lower ground of the wādi and is dominated by the castle of the ruling Sultan. The town is surrounded by walls of mud, embracing, within the enceinte, a great number of gardens; it is entered by a low gateway. The streets are broader and cleaner than most of the Hadhramaut towns; and the place has some pretensions to a drainage system, many of the houses having outlets for this purpose to walled pits.

Seyyūn is a town of many mosques, their number being reputed to exceed 300: the principal one, the Grand Mosque, stands on one side of the great square. The town is the intellectual centre of the Hadhramaut, the so-called Academy (*Ribāt*), an annexe of the grand mosque, being the place of assemblage of a great number of reputed savants. The market is said to be the busiest in the whole country, and is held in the square on Fridays at the termination of noon-day prayers, merchants coming to it from all parts. Hirsch, however, states that, when he was there (1893), 'there seemed to be but little trade carried on, and there were only a few stalls in the market'. The population is estimated at about 4,500. 346 [73] • 443

The Seyyids of Seyyūn are very powerful and wealthy, and many of them have large castle-like houses. The palace of the ruling head of the Kathīri stands on an elevated site, and is surrounded by its own wall fortified with bastions and outstanding watch-towers. The main block of the palace is surmounted by three very conspicuous look-outs, the middle one being higher than the other two. The chief is reputed to have two or three field-pieces and some old cannon in his possession. 365 792

6. **Terim,** some 19 miles NE. of Seyyūn, is a considerable and straggling town built along a mountain slope above a broad belt of cultivation and palm-groves which stretches away towards the east. Its population, according to Hirsch (probably the only European who has succeeded in visiting it, but who, owing to the hostility of the Seyyids, was obliged to return precipitately before he had very thoroughly explored it), was about 4,000 in 1893, and was declining. A low gate, with a large ruined fortress close by, gives entrance to the town on the Shibām side, and just within this is the main square, where the market is held: one side of the square is occupied by the principal mosque. It does not appear, however, 361

N 212 185 658 in the Protectorate has recently been undertaken by the British authorities, while in some areas, particularly in the Qu'aiti Sultanate, schools are now supported by the local governments. Scattered primary and Koranic schools, and at least one postprimary school, are found in each of the protectorates. In the course of a medical survey H 212 565 in Western Aden Protectorate in 1939-40,[30] the degree of literacy was found to average 20 per cent among the men and practically zero among the women. The highest literacy rates were encountered among the Seiyids, a group recognized as the social and the H [873] religious leaders. A college for the sons of chiefs from Western Aden Protectorate is located at Aden.

## Vital Statistics

A 659 163 165 Registration of births and deaths is compulsory in the Colony. In the 5 years 1946-50, the birth rate, calculated on the basis of the census returns for 1946, ranged from 26.6 to 31.7 per 1,000 population; the A 165 464 death rate, from 20.1 to 23.5 per 1,000 population. The significance of the mortality statistics is influenced adversely by the continuous movement of laborers between the Colony and their homes in Yemen and the Protectorate, and the influx of sick individuals from the interior to Aden hospitals, many of whom are in a seriously debilitated condition on arrival. In 1950, for example, the recorded deaths totaled 1,644, of which 411 were among nonresidents. The death rate, as reported, was 20.1 per 1,000 of the 1946 census population, but, eliminating the nonresident deaths, it is reduced to 14.2 per 1,000 population. Corrected to the estimated population for that year, the crude death rate figured at 16.4 per 1,000 and the resident rate at 11.3 per 1,000 population.

A 165 731 The infant mortality rate has declined appreciably within recent years. It had been less than 200 per 1,000 live births for several decades, but it reached a peak of 239 per 1,000 in 1943, when famine conditions prevailed throughout much of southwestern Arabia. The annual rates averaged 176 per

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619 He is no longer apt to be shot at by Government soldiers and he brings his troubles to the Government. The provincial governors and the district
647 heads are better men and better paid than they used to be and all new candidates have courses of instruction before appointment. There are
692 systems of State and tribal courts which are becoming more and more
619 effective. There is a special department of bedouin affairs which is staffed entirely by Hadhrami tribesmen: five or six years ago no Hadhrami tribesmen were employed in any positions of responsibility.

759 As regards social services, in 1934 there was one doctor, mainly for the Sultan though he ran a public dispensary, and medical services cost Rs. 5,500
657 a year: in 1944 the sum voted was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary
652 services. There was an establishment of four doctors, and a State hospital
749 for fifty in-patients was being built in Mukalla.

In 1934 education cost Rs. 6,000 and about three hundred boys received
871 some sort of schooling. In 1944 Rs. 1,054,000 was provided. The number of boys in primary Government schools on the coast has increased to about
652 seventeen hundred. There were between a hundred and thirty and a
657 hundred and forty girls in the new Mukalla girls' school, and an inter-
658 mediate boarding school, assisted by the British Council and a grant from His Majesty's Government, had been started with about eighty boys. As part of the famine relief measures, children were brought down from the Hadhramaut and have now been taken over by the Qu'aiti State which bought a village outside Mukalla and is now housing three hundred boys
[874] and girls in it. A wall enclosing garden land has been built round it and the children work the garden and are apprenticed to various local trades. They are given a modest schooling and it is hoped that they will also be taught by means of a village council to run their own village.

658 Another State educational experiment owes its impetus mainly to the enthusiasm of the young men of Mukalla. A number of young men have
871 gone through a course organized by the Education Department in how to teach illiterate adults to read and write. These teachers compiled a coolies' vocabulary of seven hundred words or so and when I left were about to teach coolies from the Hadhramaut, who had come seeking for work at the coast on account of the famine, how to write the language they speak, a sort of basic Arabic. There are schemes for producing a small newspaper in this simplified form of speech and for developing some public-health consciousness.

701 What little the State could do towards the war effort it has done. It provided a company for guard duties in Aden while the Italians were in
648 the war. It has raised a Pioneer Company for service in the Middle East Command. It has guarded the R.A.F. aerodromes in the State and pro-
[712] vided coastal guards. The Public Works Department has built an R.A.F. station at about a third of the cost expected. It has landed and handled a great quantity of R.A.F. stores. In addition, at the outbreak of war when the surplus balance was about Rs. 80,000, it contributed Rs. 20,000 for
648 general war purposes, and Hadhramis at home and abroad subscribed to a

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



out to meet you. Many people prefer to walk down the *'aqaba*, and in any case the drivers stop at the top to tie up the brakes. I have only walked down once, and that was on the morning of the New Year. I sat for a short time at the top and it really was a most beautiful sight watching the day break over the minarets and white houses of Tarim. 600

"Tarim and thou desirest no more" is a local saying, and in truth I know of no happier places to live in than Tarim and Seiyun. I shall never forget our first impressions of Tarim nor I think does anybody else forget his, but the charm of these places grows with knowledge and they have a hospitable and cultured society. There is little literary learning in Mukalla or Shihr: 212 Mukalla can be difficult to live in, but Shihr is always friendly and welcoming. 538 Seiyun and Tarim are not only that, but can talk of affairs, of history, and of philosophy. The whole country is full of poets, and not only quotes the old poets but records constantly current history in *qasidas*, and that is how much of it survives. At a Shabwani dance the poets assemble and in turn compose extempore couplets, which are repeated by the choir leaders and taken up by a hundred throats.

Tarim and its rich suburb of 'Aidid, where there are several beautiful Riviera 631 villas, are of course under Kathiri rule, but they and the small village of Al [361] Ghuraf are in Tamimi country. One interesting fact about Tarim that I have learnt recently is that it contains a state within its walls. This enclosure, which contains a few houses inhabited by the Seiyids of Al Haddad, is ruled by their *mansab* under some ancient right. His subjects are completely under his jurisdiction, and even if they commit offences in the city of Tarim are not tried by the Sultan but handed over to him. The intelligentsia of Tarim call him the *Baba* (the Pope) and his state the *Fatikana*. Tarim and Seiyun both have old religious academies (*Rubats*) to which students come from considerable distances in the west of the Protectorate and from the Yemen. 874 I remember when I first passed the Tarim Rubat a long time ago there was 609 a rush to exclude the contaminating influence, and all the doors and window shutters were hastily banged. Life gets more pleasant when crowds of children and adult hangers on cease to follow you shouting *Nasrani* (Christian). When I returned to Mukalla from the interior in March 1937 one small boy did shout Nasrani, but was immediately corrected by a friend who said "*That's* not a Nasrani, that's Ingrams."

The Tamimis, who stretch several miles on the way to Seiyun, and down 619 the Wadi Maseila to below Qasm, the Tamimi capital, are a Qu'aiti tribe, so that Tarim and Al Ghuraf form islands in their territory. There are no Badu [167] sections to the Tamimis, and they all live in the wadi and emigrate largely to East Africa and the East Indies. They are however an astonishingly disunited tribe whose sections were constantly warring against each other, mostly over land questions. In this way they are a great contrast to their neighbours, the Manahil, who belong to the same Confederation, the Beni Dhanna. The Manahil are all Badus but are completely united in following their young chief 'Aidha bin Tannaf, a very fine lad of about twenty-five. I thought at first that the Manahil were not going to join in the truce, but after holding back for a little while they came and signed, and have never caused the slightest trouble, though 'Aidha had considerable difficulty in restraining

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2



up the blueprint of its educational policy and method twelve years ago. As a result of his visit he was able to submit a valuable, encouraging and practical report, reviewing educational progress in the Hadhramaut over the past decade and giving guidance for the next ten years. 871

On 15th January, 1949, a Teachers' Training College was opened at Gheil ba Wazir. 874

The Kathiri State Education Officer completed a six months' training course at Mukalla and Gheil ba Wazir in September, 1949, and returned to Sai'un to take up his duties.

A new religious institute for training Qadhis was opened at Gheil ba Wazir at the end of October, 1949, the principal for which was appointed from the Sudan. Half the cost of the building was met from public funds and half from public subscription.

After consultation with the local people new schools were opened at Qaidoon, 'Amd, Hajrein and Lajrat in the Du'an Province. 871

Advances were made during 1950 in female education. The Director of Education, Mukalla Government, visited Gheil ba Wazir and Shihr Province during April, 1950, to gauge public reaction to the proposal to set up girls' schools. The scheme met with a favourable reception and it was agreed to set up girls' schools in Gheil, Shihr and Dis.

Furthermore, in December, 1950, a Government girls' school was established in Sai'un, two female teachers being provided by the thriving Beduin Girls' School at Dis. There are also four non-government girls' schools in the Kathiri State with 651 students and 23 teachers.

In September, 1950, the headmistress of the Mukalla Girls' School inspected the girls' school at Gheil ba Wazir and submitted a report of her findings to the Mukalla Education Department. This visit, the first of its kind in the Protectorate is symptomatic of the new enlightened spirit in the Hadhramaut in regard to female education.

During October, 1950, it was found possible to select four pupils from Gheil ba Wazir for employment as irrigation pump apprentices, while one pupil from the Beduin Boys' School at Dis was appointed to the Mukalla secretariat for training as a tribal court clerk.

It was agreed, subject to approval to the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme No. D806 being received, to send nine Qu'aiti, Kathiri and Wahidi students for periods varying from six to 10 years, to Hantub Secondary School, Bakht-er-Rudha and the Gordon Memorial College in the Sudan. The Sudan Government has agreed to receive these pupils.

Hadhrami scholars continue to do well abroad. In 1949, three students returned from the Sudan after doing the full Bakht-er-Rudha course and took up appointments as primary school teachers. One student gained a first-class school certificate and passed into the Gordon Memorial College, and another at Bin Khaldun school in Syria was placed first out of a class of 150 pupils in sixteen subjects.

The beginning of 1950 saw the return of another Hadhrami pupil from Hantub Secondary School in the Sudan, where he had been sent

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sistent progress in breaking down the prejudices of the Arab community. In 1950, a venereal disease treatment center functioned in the Civil Hospital, and a second center at the mission hospital was subsidized by the government. In that year, small dispensaries were conducted in Aden by the Sudan Interior Mission and the Danish Church Mission, and two clinics were operated by private physicians. A H 743

Two small hospitals, with a combined total of 60 beds, were located at Mukalla and Ash Shihr, in Eastern Aden Protectorate, in 1950. A child welfare center was organized in Mukalla, while 15 dispensaries were active in scattered towns in the coastal region and the Hadhramaut. Eighteen dispensaries were in operation in different parts of Western Aden Protectorate.

Laboratories. The principal medical laboratory is that of the Civil Hospital at Crater, in Aden township. It is equipped for the performance of clinical, serologic and microscopic examinations. Clinical laboratory facilities are also available at the mission hospital. A 742

Schools. There are no schools for the training of medical personnel, but government scholarships are provided for professional study and for postgraduate work at schools in the eastern Mediterranean countries or in the United Kingdom. A H 874 658

In 1948, a course designed to improve the standards in midwifery was started at the Maternity and Child Welfare Clinic at Crater. Practical training in nursing is given to men and to a limited number of girls at the Civil Hospital. The Keith Falconer Mission Hospital undertakes the training of medical assistants for work in the dispensaries in Western Aden Protectorate.

## Personnel

Physicians. The number of civilian physicians practicing in the Colony totaled 26 in 1950. Nine medical officers and 13 assistant medical officers were affiliated with the Medical and Health Department of the H A 739

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2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



701 the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts
702 in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The
[743] force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making.
875 The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys; district schools
758 have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dis-
731 pensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these
657 places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

671 A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school. A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants
759 and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and teachers.

000 So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their
[275] request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhramaut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

609 As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a com-
771 munity which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was
648 always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches. I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them, and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my
000 duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



*Post-Primary Education*

873 There are two schools, one in each Protectorate, with post-primary classes. The school at Gheil ba Wazir near Mukalla was opened in 1944 875 and has four Sudanese on the staff including the headmaster. It is a boarding-school with a rural bias, and now contains four post-primary classes with about 100 pupils. In it extra-curricular activities and societies of all kinds are developed to a high degree. The other school at Lahej has eight Egyptians on the staff, including the headmaster. It has 140 pupils, and during the year a fifth post-primary class was started. Art and handwork were introduced into the school, and good results achieved under an Egyptian instructor.

*Primary Education*

872 Facilities for full primary education are available at 13 schools main-658 tained by the Mukalla state Department of Education, at the Bedouin Boys' Military Boarding School near Mukalla and at the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs (both maintained by funds provided by His Majesty's Government), as well as at the primary sections of the two schools at Gheil ba Wazir and Lahej mentioned above. Apart from these there are about 30 sub-grade schools (schools which almost but not quite reach primary level) under Government supervision.

In the more backward parts of the Protectorate it is the policy to aid directly by grants provided by His Majesty's Government schools which are capable of development beyond the level of elementary Quranic teaching. These grants range from small fixed amounts in the case of Quranic schools to the full payment of teachers' salaries in the case of sub-grade schools. Assistance in supplies of books and school materials is also given in each case.

*The Aden Protectorate College for Sons of Chiefs*

873 One exception to the indirect connection of the Aden Government Department of Education with the Protectorates is the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs, which the Department runs directly. A primary boarding school with a maximum capacity of 36 pupils, it was started in 1935. It has served a most valuable purpose in spreading interest in education in the Western Protectorate, and in providing scholars for teacher-training courses abroad.

*Female Education*

871 Public opinion, taken as a whole throughout the Protectorate, is still opposed to female education. There are, however, the beginnings of a change. There is in Ahwar in the Western Protectorate a class of 12 little girls learning the Quran. The Eastern Protectorate is more advanced; H.M. Government maintains a school for Bedouin girls, and the Mukalla Government maintains a sub-grade girls' school in Mukalla with about 130 pupils, and a girls' section of a village school with an agricultural bias near Mukalla, where another 30 more girls receive education.

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of 000
religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past 178
in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protec- 771
torate. Any development of education initiated by Government had 212
therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, 875
there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the biggest problem in Protectorate education to-day.

## HEALTH

### *Western Aden Protectorate*

The development of the Protectorate Medical Service was rather 759
upset in the past three years by numerous changes of senior medical staff. However, one advantage came from this, namely that in the drawing up of a plan for future development, co-operative help and advice was given by every doctor and nurse who ever worked in the Protectorate.

At the beginning of the year, a three-month course was given for new tribal dressers, who were posted to work under senior dressers in the Protectorate.

It is estimated that in the course of the year 50,000 patients were 743
treated in the 18 dispensaries. Malaria, dysentery, schistosomiasis and 164
tuberculosis were the four most prevalent diseases. Obstetrical problems [562]
and gynaecology offer a very large field for research. Owing to customs necessitating the seclusion of women any estimate of these problems is pure conjecture. In spite of these restrictions, the Medical Officer attended a great many during his visits, especially in Beihan at the very edge of " the empty quarter " of Arabia. A number of those who otherwise would never receive surgical treatment were flown down to the hospital at Aden. Venereal disease was unfortunately on the increase in Abyan, where crowds of people of all kinds came to find work in the agricultural project there.

Many visits including some of several days duration were paid by the Medical Officer to the various dispensaries in the Protectorate during which between 4,000 and 5,000 selected patients were treated. Besides those patients who found their own way down to hospital in Aden, 150 or more were brought down on the Protectorate Medical Officer's recommendation.

## HOUSING

The settled Western Aden Protectorate population is housed for the 342
main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



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| | |
|---|---|
| His Majesty's Government .. .. .. .. | 11,337 |
| C.D.W. Schemes (including Scholarships) .. | 2,833 |
| Quaiti State .. .. .. .. .. .. | 21,111 |
| Kathiri State .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1,313 |
| Western Protectorate States (exclusive of Abdali, Audhali and Beihan territories of which figures are not known .. .. .. .. .. | 2,343 |
| TOTAL .. | £38,937 |

Thus though educational provision in the Protectorates is still meagre, there has been steady development over the last few years. It is only fair to point out that until 1937, with the exception of the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs started in 1935, there was no Government provision or supervision of education in the Protectorates. It would not be true to say that there was no education in the Protectorates before that time ; it existed rather haphazardly, maintained by private individual trusts and associations and by a few local chiefs; but its bias was almost always entirely religious, just as the mosque was nearly always the village school, and the Imam of the mosque the village schoolmaster.

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In the part of the Eastern Protectorate loosely called the Hadhramaut, and particularly in the towns of Sai'un and Tarim, this traditional religious education reached a highly advanced stage about a century ago. It produced a body of men drawn mainly from the Seiyid classes, who were well read in Quranic studies, Sharia law and in the Arabic language. These men travelled widely in surrounding countries, spreading Islamic culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protectorate. Any development of education initiated by Government had therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the biggest problem in Protectorate education today.

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Some detailed information which is available on education in the Eastern Protectorate is given below.

*Eastern Aden Protectorate*

An educational event of significance and interest was the return visit to the Protectorate in May, 1950, of Mr. V. L. Griffiths of the Sudan Ministry of Education. Mr. Griffiths was the planner and architect of education in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, having drawn

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



652 Details are not available as to how much State expenditure was non-recurrent, but the proportion for the year was small. None of the expenditure by Her Majesty's Government was of a non-recurrent nature and all but £1,867 from C.D. & W. Funds was.

*Number of Schools*

871 The number of schools under Government control or supervision is 75 primary boys' schools, four primary girls' schools and four intermediate boys' schools.

The number of pupils enrolled at 31st March, 1952, was as follows :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Primary boys' schools | 5,139 pupils with | 222 teachers. |
| Primary girls' schools | 269 pupils with | 15 teachers. |
| Intermediate boys' schools | 408 pupils with | 16 teachers. |

In addition there are a number of privately controlled schools which do not follow the Government syllabus, and usually have a religious bias.

*Studies Abroad*

There were 39 students studying abroad during 1952. Two were at university colleges, one taking a pedagogics course at University College, Exeter, the other an arts course at Gordon College, Khartoum ; both these students are at present in the teaching profession. The remainder were either at Bakht er Rudha Institute of Education in the Sudan, or at secondary schools in the Sudan and elsewhere, and were distributed as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Sudan . . | 18 |
| Egypt . . | 10 |
| Syria . . | 5 |
| Iraq . . | 4 |

658 741 Eleven of these students were paid for by Colonial Development and Welfare grants for teacher-training ; the remainder were financed by State or charitable funds.

*Teachers and Teacher-Training*

875 Apart from training abroad mentioned in the previous paragraph there were two centres at home. In 1951 the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs trained six teachers in a one-year course for teaching at the primary level. At Gheil ba Wazir in the Eastern Protectorate there were three students training as teachers at the intermediate level. In addition all Western Protectorate teachers were brought in for the annual refresher course of a fortnight's duration in the Colony.

The teaching profession is in constant danger of wastage, both in the East and in the West, though for different reasons. In the East the Quaiti State offers pensionable employment, but the general conditions of service are lower than in Aden or the Western Protectorate. In the West the nearer proximity of Aden Colony and the possibility of more lucrative employment there is an ever-present danger, but more serious still is the fact that no State in the West can

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2



yet afford to offer pensionable service. Conditions of employment for a qualified teacher are therefore inferior to those obtainable, even in teaching, in the Colony. 875

*Principal Events*

The greatest change in the period under review was the closing down in March, 1952, of the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs, a boarding school of primary standard which has been running for 17 years in the Colony. The College served a useful purpose and gained a high reputation in its time but was too small to be run economically. It has now been superseded by the primary schools in the various districts of the Western Protectorate. 873

Work on an intermediate boarding school at Zinjibar in the Western Protectorate began about the same time. The new intermediate school, which will take another three years to complete, forms a vital link between the primary schools and the Aden and Technical Colleges.

## HEALTH

*General*

Protectorate health statistics are not yet available, though in places such as Tarim recent local studies show an infantile mortality rate of 439 per 1,000 live births, a rate rather greater than those previously reported for Mukalla and parts of the Western Protectorate. 165

*Diseases*

Important causes of sickness in the population are malaria, the dysenteries, ulcers, trachoma and conjunctivitis. Less obtrusive are pulmonary tuberculosis, bilharzia of both urinary and intestinal types, guineaworm (in patchy distribution), leprosy, dermal leishmaniasis and the common venereal diseases with, in places, what appears to be either yaws or bejel. In areas where night-soil is used as manure for salad vegetables round-worm infection is common. Where, as in the Hadhramaut towns, rigid purdah still obtains, ostemalacia, obstructed labour and puerperal fever are of relatively frequent occurrence. Through failure of the capricious rainfall or floods in the winter months, famine and its associated subnutrition are an ever present threat. In certain Western States the consumption of qat (*Catha edulis*) is a cause of subnutrition and affections of the digestive tract. 164 [291]

Important causes of death in both young and adults are malaria and the dysenteries, and in adults pulmonary tuberculosis.

Prevention and treatment are provided by mobile health units, static health units (previously called dispensaries) and hospitals. Prevention is furthered by lectures, demonstrations and film shows to teachers and local administrators, and by emphasis in the training of subordinate technical staff on the preventive aspects of medicine, more particularly cleanliness, insect control, balanced feeding and the values of local foodstuffs. A series of propaganda leaflets has been planned and the first one—on malaria—issued to the public. An effort is being made among communities remote from hospitals and health units to market at controlled prices insecticides, malarial remedies and sulphamezathine in small containers with instructions in Arabic. 743 744

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2



Indigo is in common use throughout South-West Arabia as far as Aden, more especially amongst the settled elements. (In Oman I remember it only in the Bani Ali–Bani Kalban area where it is grown.) A black dye used in tattooing their gums is derived from the coconut. This is used down through the centre of the woman's hair parting, too. Anklets, affected by coastal women, are not found amongst these tribes, but many bracelets and necklaces (mostly beads) and ear-rings; the men often wear a single bangle above one elbow and a single ear-ring, generally in the right ear. 301 302 171

*Wars*, another vegetable product which stains a canary yellow, is not met with at all in the Dhufar area, probably it is too expensive. The Ja'alan and Hajar districts of Oman use it extensively, not elsewhere, except amongst women. But no ill is thought of a man amongst them who emerges with a patch on his shoulder or sleeve come by in an embrace with his wife, but for such to appear on an unmarried man would cause derision. In the western Hadhramaut where it is grown it is also not extensively used except amongst women. *Henna*, the only other dye, is common on festive occasions but generally limited to hands and feet. *Rol* and green face paint, not permitted in Oman, is in everyday use in the Dhufar province.

Girls throughout these tribes wear a nose-ring in the right nostril. When approaching puberty the edge of their ears is pierced in six or seven places from which charms or rings depend. Women adorn their faces also with black paint: over eyebrows, round nostrils and a straight line to ears from nostrils, around edge of chin, black bands around throat, red lips, green brow. The Mahra ladies also on special occasions paint their faces red. With the greenish dye *subir* they smear their faces indiscriminately, also their arms from the elbow downward; their legs from the knee downward, and the upper part of the breasts to the neck. In the Hadhramaut a headband dyed with indigo woven around the head is affected instead of a *Mahafif* (a local variant of the *aqal*) (see my paper under reference). 181 301 302

## CIRCUMCISION AND HAIR CUSTOMS.

Circumcision and hair customs have been dealt with exhaustively in my previous paper, but one or two corrections in detail need stating.[1] The scalping system of *munzerat* usually synchronizes with the first third of the month of married life, the shaving of the boy's lock with circumcision. The Mahra were said to have at one time carried on male circumcision on the night before marriage. Great festivities accompany male circumcision still, in contrast to the private untalked-of female circumcisions. For the former some eight or ten of the most presentable females in the neighbourhood line up. The men select who is the most beautiful amongst them—the other ladies protesting No! No! No! No! With the Qara the festivities of male circumcision are attended by women opening their garments to disclose the upper parts of their breasts. Camp fires are the centre of dancing and merry-making by both sexes. 304 852

[1] The pursuit, immediately after the operation, of the circumcised youth by his sister does not now take place. The milking of animals from behind is nowhere practised.